



A Connecting Polemic in the Medieval Mediterranean

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF LEO III AND 'UMAR II

*Edited and translated by Thomas E. Burman, Nuria de Castilla,
Seonyoung Kim, Sergio La Porta, Jeremy Pearson, and Alison M. Vacca*



INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LATE ANTIQUE AND MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC NEAR EAST • NUMBER 6

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Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Near East (LAMINE)

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2025950947

ISBN (paperback): 978-1-61491-141-8

ISBN (Adobe PDF): 978-1-61491-142-5

ISBN (Adobe Digital Editions): 978-1-61491-143-2

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Printed in the United States of America.

Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LATE ANTIQUE AND MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC NEAR EAST • NUMBER 6

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Engraved portrait of Leo III from Giovanni Battista Cavalieri and Thomas Treterus,

Romanorum imperatorum effigies, Rome: Vincenzo Accolti, 1583

(image courtesy of Biblioteca Comunale di Trento);

and folio from the Muslim Arabic letter of 'Umar

(Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul, MS §_E_4419).

Cover Design

Laurie Buman

Layout

Susanne Wilhelm

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of
American National Standard for Information Services—Permanence of Paper
for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992. ☺

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A Note on Navigating This Book

IN BOTH THE EDITIONS OF the individual texts and their respective translations, folio numbers of the base manuscript (or, in one case, an early printed book) appear in brackets in boldfaced type. We have used these numbers, rather than the page numbers of this volume, for cross-referencing throughout. Moreover, rather than use the texts' titles (where they have them) in cross-references, we refer to them simply by language and religious confession (where necessary): Latin I, Christian Arabic, Muslim Arabic, Armenian, Latin II. A typical internal reference, therefore, will look like this: "Aljamiado, A9r." It can be chased down by turning to the Aljamiado translation or Aljamiado edition and paging through to where the boldfaced, bracketed "A9r" indicates the beginning of that folio.

Acknowledgments

WE THANK, FIRST OF ALL, the Office of Research at the University of Notre Dame for providing much-needed funding in the form of a faculty Research and Scholarship-Regular Grant in 2017–18 that allowed us six editor-translators to launch our project, as well as to meet together three times. But the collaboration necessary for the completion of this volume went beyond the countless ways we labored together. Many scholars assisted along the way: Manuela Ceballos, Fr. Sidney Griffith, Jocelyn Hendrickson, Nicole N. Kançal-Ferrari, Father Justin Sinaites, Devin Stewart, Shawqi Talia, and Fr. Miguel C. Vivancos, OSB. Our copy editors, Emily Mahan and Connie Gundry Tappy, read this complicated text with astonishing care. Aelfine Mischler compiled the excellent indices. LAMINE series editors Fred M. Donner and Antoine Borrut, and managing editor Andrew Baumann in the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures publications office, were unfailingly helpful throughout the latter stages of completing the book.

Abbreviations

<i>Autoridades</i>	Real Academia Española, <i>Diccionario de Autoridades</i> . 3 vols. Madrid: Gredos, 1976. Facsimile of 1726–37 edition.
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España.
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France.
DRAE	Real Academia Española, <i>Diccionario de la lengua española</i> . 21st ed. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1992.
EI ³	Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Devin J. Stewart, eds., <i>Encyclopedie of Islam</i> , 3rd ed. Leiden: Brill, 2007–.
GVAM	Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, Mercedes Sánchez Álvarez, Antonio Vespertino Rodríguez, and Juan Carlos Villaverde Amieva, <i>Glosario de voces aljamiado-moriscas</i> . Biblioteca Arabo-Románica et Islamica 1. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo and Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 1994.
PG	J. P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca</i> . 161 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1857–66.

Introduction

AT SOME POINT NEAR THE beginning of the sixteenth century, an industrious French scholar and physician from Lyon named Symphorien Champier (1471/72–1539) came across a manuscript of a short Latin treatise titled *The Letter of Leo the Emperor Sent to 'Umar, King of the Muslims* (*Epistula Leonis imperatoris ad 'Umar regem Sarracenorum directa*). Rather than being an instance of straightforward diplomatic correspondence, something late antique and medieval rulers often engaged in, this short letter claimed to have been composed by the Eastern Roman emperor Leo III (r. 717–41) and sent to his contemporary, the Umayyad caliph 'Umar II (r. 717–20), in an attempt to persuade that leader of the Islamic world to become a Christian. Pleased with the content of the letter, Champier, who was passionate in his anti-Islamic convictions, proceeded to put it into print in 1508. In doing so, though, he was merely the latest in a long line of scholar-polemists going back some 700 years to publish versions of this letter—or its counterpart in which 'Umar tries to persuade Leo to become a Muslim—in a variety of languages from across the Mediterranean. In addition to a lost Greek version, texts of one or the other letter survive not only in Latin but also in Armenian, Arabic, and Aljamiado (Castilian written in Arabic characters) and range in date from the late eighth to the early sixteenth century. None of them was actually written by either ruler, the attribution of their authorship to the leaders of the Roman-Christian and Islamic world being a pious fiction that their anonymous authors and adaptors all insisted on maintaining.¹

We publish and translate for the first time in this volume all the surviving versions of these letters in order of the dating of the earliest extant manuscript for each recension. In the introduction that follows, we address the main philological and textual problems offered by these texts. We focus on delineating the relationships among them and reflect on the collective message they send. The correspondence of Leo and 'Umar was not an even remotely stable text. It survives in four languages, and each of these versions—whether of Leo's or 'Umar's letter—varies notably from the other extant texts. These frequent and extensive changes began early in its textual history and continued through Champier's work with the text in sixteenth-century humanist France. Moreover, it is clear that the surviving versions emerged from and reflected the entangled, multilingual milieux so typical of the Mediterranean and, more broadly, Eurasia. While a text might be written in, say, Armenian or Arabic, sources—sometimes oral, sometimes written—in neighboring languages could be drawn on and deployed.

1 For a full discussion, see Kim 2017, 1–5, 8–46.

Yet beneath the bewildering variety these texts present, there are some clear patterns of affiliation. The six surviving texts sort themselves into three clearly connected textual groups. More than that, despite their remarkable differences, they share at least one remote set of common strands of argumentation, probably originating in a Muslim context and based almost entirely on an extended passage from the Qur'an's third surah. But there is something else that all the versions share, something that is ultimately of even greater importance for how we understand not only this body of texts but also the enormous literature of Mediterranean religious polemic: not only do they all maintain the fiction that they are part of a two-sided correspondence, but some actually state explicitly—and the others imply much the same—that this correspondence had been going on for some time, with multiple letters having already been exchanged and likely more to follow. Collectively, therefore, they imagine a world of endless Christian-Muslim disputation.

A FAR-FLUNG AND FAST-CHANGING POLEMIC

We do not know where Champier found the Latin version of Leo's letter, which seems to have circulated mostly in medieval Spain. The Latin version was known in the early medieval period in what is now southern France, for the oldest manuscript of this treatise in any language resided in Champier's day some 250 miles west of Lyon in the Church of Saint-Martial in Limoges (though it is certain he did not consult that copy).² Wherever he found it, this letter caught Champier's eye because he was a dedicated enemy of both Islam and, as a medical humanist, of the huge influence that Arab medicine had for centuries exercised on Latin medical thought and practice. In the introductory preface he added to Leo's letter, Champier noted with some relish that the emperor "splendidly and sanely discusses the Christian religion against the most filthy sect of Muhammad" (*in quo splendide et sane imperator de religione christiana contra spurcissimam mahometi sectam disseritur*).³ Indeed, Champier included it in a large miscellany of texts (one of several he published in his lifetime) that he put into print in 1508 and titled *On the Threefold Discipline Whose Parts are Natural Philosophy, Medicine, and Theology, Integrating Moral Philosophy as a Fourth*.⁴ Champier thus inserted what was by then an ancient diatribe against Islam that he titled *Epistula Lenis ad Amarum* among some of his own works on natural philosophy and medicine, as well as excerpts from, or whole versions of, works by the likes of Saint Isidore and Pico della Mirandola.⁵

Or rather, he inserted a reworked version of the letter, for Champier was not content to leave it in the condition in which he found it. The text he published is somewhat shorter than the manuscript versions, and he reworked many of the medieval Latinisms, at which a proper humanist would wince, into something slightly resembling the Ciceronian style. He rewrote one section that included much of the Qur'anic passage about how Jesus's disciples demanded that God send down a heavenly table at which they might feast (Q5:112–15)

2 See the introduction to Latin II (chapter 6).

3 Latin II, C nnviiR.

4 Champier 1508. For the bibliographic details of this work, see Allut 1972 (1859), 153–57, though the list of contents for the volume is incomplete.

5 For bibliography on this version, see the introduction to Latin II (chapter 6).

into a puzzling scene in which the disciples asked Jesus to “call on God to send us manna from heaven” (*inuoca Deum vt dirigat nobis manna de celo*).⁶ But this contentious medical humanist was only the last in a long line of premodern readers to rework Leo’s letter to ‘Umar or the corresponding letter from ‘Umar to Leo (which usually circulated separately from Leo’s letter). Indeed, different versions of these two texts had been circulating around the Mediterranean in at least five languages for more than 700 years by Champier’s days, and almost everyone who touched this correspondence felt obliged to fiddle with it, or so the complex record of its survival suggests.

A Carolingian manuscript in Latin, now in Paris (BnF MS lat. 2826)—the one that in Champier’s day was in Limoges—contains the oldest-known copy of the letter in any language. The text we find there makes clear that it is not by any means the original version of the letter, but rather a translation from a “Chaldean” text that itself had originally been written in Greek.⁷ While the date and provenance of the manuscript attest that the extant Latin version of the text existed already in the first half of the ninth century in southern France, internal evidence makes clear that “Chaldean” in this case refers to Arabic, as it did generally in the corpus of Latin literature produced in al-Andalus in the period leading up to and including the Córdoban martyrs’ movement of the 850s.⁸ The passages of the Psalms conform to the Mozarabic Psalter, a Latin version of Psalms used only in Iberia.

Its sentence structure sometimes mimics Arabic syntax precisely (making for curious Latin), and its versions of Qur’anic verses, while sometimes paraphrasing, often follow Islamic scripture closely.⁹ While there are sporadic hints that the underlying Arabic source text was perhaps—as it claimed—itself originally written in Greek, we have no clear evidence that this is so, though, as will become clear in chapter 1, we have irrefutable evidence from elsewhere that a Greek version of Leo’s letter had existed in the eighth century. The claim, then, of our oldest manuscript of this correspondence, that it had already gone through two other versions in two other languages, is scarcely far-fetched. The Latin version, moreover, continued to be read and copied. Spanish scribes produced three manuscripts of Leo’s letter dating from the late eleventh through the mid-fifteenth centuries.

While the oldest surviving text of Leo III’s epistle is a Latin translation of an Arabic original copied into a Carolingian manuscript in southern France in the first half of the ninth century, the oldest version of the other half of the correspondence—‘Umar II’s letter—survives in an Arabic manuscript from late in the same century, now in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul (MS S_E_4419), and copied at the other end of the Mediterranean Sea. This version is but a fragment of what was certainly a rather longer text (it begins in mid-sentence) that advances a thoroughly Islamic critique of Christianity and its practices. Addressing Leo directly, the Arabic version of ‘Umar’s letter admonishes his Christian correspondent: “You claim, in your disgrace, your ignorance, and your insolence before God that God (may He be blessed and exalted!) descended from His dignity, His royalty, His omnipotence, His light, His power, His authority, His greatness, and His strength in order to enter into the belly of a woman [in] affliction, blood, narrowness, darkness, and

⁶ Latin II, C ooiR.

⁷ See Latin I, P61r.

⁸ See the introduction to Latin I (chapter 1).

⁹ See the introduction to Latin I (chapter 1).

grievance. So He dwelt inside her belly for nine months, then emerged, just like humans وزعمت من غرتكم بالله وجها لكم به وجراتكم عليه ان الله تبارك وتعالى نزل من وقاره وملكه وجبروتة“ ونوره وعزته وسلطانه وعظمته وقدرته حتى دخل في بطن امراة [في] الغم والدم والضيق والظلمة والاذى. فمكث في (بطنها تسعة اشهر ثم خرج من حيث خرجت بني ادم)¹⁰. The fact that its many biblical quotations seem rooted in Syriac versions of the Bible, moreover, suggests that this text was written in a part of the Islamic world where Syriac and Syriac Christianity were thriving, such as Damascus, where we know this manuscript once resided in the library of its Great Mosque. As we will see in chapter 3, there is as well other evidence linking this version to Syria. Indeed, it seems possible that this version of our correspondence was the work of a Syrian Christian who had converted to Islam, bringing his knowledge of the Syriac Bible with him.¹¹

From a slightly later period—the first half of the tenth century—a manuscript version of Emperor Leo’s letter inviting his contemporary caliph to embrace Christianity also survives in the Arabic language, in this case among the remarkable cache of codices discovered in the mid-1970s at the ancient monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai (MS Ar. New Finds 14). Beginning with an invocation of the Trinity, followed by an address, “From Leo, the King of Rome, to ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, the Commander of the Faithful, Peace” (من اليون ملك الروم الي عمر بن عبد العزيز امير المؤمنين سلم)¹², this manuscript was probably copied at one of two venerable Palestinian monasteries, Mar Saba or Mar Khariton.¹³ Though we might hope to find in this text the source for the Latin version translated in al-Andalus, this is distinctly not the case. Indeed, while they share some substantial portions, they are often quite different—sometimes even using material they have in common for completely different argumentative ends. Furthermore, while the Latin version claims ultimately to derive from Greek, the Saint Catherine’s Arabic version is clearly an original composition in that language—there are no signs whatsoever of an underlying Greek original. We cannot help but be struck by the fact that the Arabic version of Leo’s letter, one of the earliest Arab-Christian polemical works written against Islam, was remarkably malleable from the start: by 850 two notably different recensions of it, the Saint Catherine’s Arabic text and the Arabic source text for the extant Latin version, were already circulating at opposite ends of the Mediterranean.

Now it must be stressed that neither the Latin nor the Christian Arabic version of Leo’s letter is obviously a response to the Arabic version of ‘Umar’s letter that appears in the Istanbul manuscript, nor does it directly respond to either of them. Nor do the Latin or Christian Arabic versions of these texts match still another Christian version of the correspondence—the only case in which we have what claims to be both ‘Umar’s and Leo’s letters side-by-side—copied in the later medieval period, this time in Armenian. A very short version of the letter of ‘Umar to Leo, followed immediately by the longest version of Leo’s reply, is found within the historical chronicle of Lewond. The earliest manuscript (Erevan, Mesrop Maštoc’ Institute of Armenian Manuscripts, MS 1902) to contain this work was

10 Muslim Arabic, 1r–1v.

11 See the introduction to Muslim Arabic (chapter 3). *Pace* Palombo (2015, 250–58), who argues that this text represents the first part of a Christian dialogical work whose components were split and preserved in different linguistic and religious milieux.

12 Christian Arabic, 62v.

13 See the introduction to Christian Arabic (chapter 2).

produced by a scribe named Sargis in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century at the monastery of Yovhannavank¹⁴ in the village of Ohanavan in the Aragacotn Province of Armenia. Lewond completed his history in the late eighth century (ca. 790), thus making the Armenian version the oldest surviving witness to the correspondence.¹⁵

And the travels of this far-flung and fast-changing correspondence were not over. We have no idea when the version of 'Umar's letter preserved fragmentarily in the Istanbul manuscript managed to cross the Mediterranean, but it clearly had done so by the fifteenth century, because the first part of that text had been translated into Aljamiado by that time. Such Castilian texts preserved in the Arabic alphabet were produced by and for Muslims living in Christian Spain in ever more difficult circumstances. Indeed, the only two surviving manuscripts of this version (Madrid, BNE, MS/4944 and MS/5302) were copied in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁶ When joined together, the Istanbul text and the Aljamiado version form a single, coherent text (the end of the Aljamiado text overlaps closely with the first quarter of the Muslim Arabic text). The Aljamiado portion, moreover, testifies to the extent to which these persecuted Muslims had refashioned the Castilian tongue along Muslim lines. It begins, for example, with an isnad—a list of authorities testifying to its transmission: “Abd al-Quddusi b. al-Hajjaj related to us (*alhadizonos*): He said: Isma'il b. 'Ayyas related to us (*alhadizonos*).”¹⁷ The translator here intriguingly created a Castilian verb, *alhadizar*, meaning “to relate to, pass on to”—though literally it means something like “to hadith”—from an Arabic noun, *al-hadith*, which means “tradition” or “account,” rather than from the corresponding Arabic verbal root (*h-d-th*) that does mean “to relate to, pass on to.” Such usages derived from Arabic occur throughout this version, though mostly in the form of nouns borrowed directly as nouns: for example, in this text “religion” is *adín*, the Qur'an is *alquiteb d'Allah*, and the Psalms are *Azabur* (from the Arabic *al-dīn*, *al-kitāb*, and *al-Zabūr*, respectively).¹⁸

We have thus come full circle, as Champier printed his reworked version of Leo's letter in much the same period that the Mudejar or Morisco scribes copied their version of 'Umar's. These, then, are the surviving witnesses, the refugee recensions, of a broader polemical conversation that extended across the Mediterranean.

A VIBRANT, ENTANGLED, MULTILINGUISTIC MILIEU

There were, of course, many texts that moved profligately across the medieval Mediterranean from one language to another, one revision to the next. Perhaps the most notable example is the ancient story of the Buddha that had migrated out of India by late antiquity and into a Persian version (now lost) which, in the early medieval period, was the source for Arabic versions that minimally Islamized the story. Circulating especially in Shi'i circles under the title *Bilawhar wa-Budasaf*, one version came into the hands of Georgian monks in Jerusalem who put it into their native language and thoroughly Christianized it in the process, the story's heroes becoming Saints Barlaam and Josaphat. From there,

¹⁴ See the introduction to Armenian (chapter 4).

¹⁵ See the introduction to Aljamiado (chapter 5).

¹⁶ Aljamiado, A6r.

¹⁷ See, for example, Aljamiado, A6r, A10v, A8r.

Armenian, Greek, and Latin versions soon followed, and their hagiography was told eloquently in the *Golden Legend*. By the end of the medieval period it had been translated into nearly every vernacular language of Europe, including Old Norse.¹⁸

Moreover, there were other specifically polemical texts that moved around and across the Mediterranean and have survived in more than one medieval language. Perhaps most famously the widely read Christian *Apology of al-Kindi*, dating probably from the ninth century and originally written in Arabic, was translated into Latin in Iberia in the mid-twelfth century. The Arabic original survives in some twenty manuscripts, the Latin in another nine.¹⁹ Similarly, two Coptic anti-Islamic treatises traveled to Iberia in the thirteenth century there to be converted into Latin. As David Bertaina has shown, Bulus b. Raja' (c. 955–c. 1020), born a Muslim in Egypt, converted to Coptic Christianity and wrote a lengthy treatise against Islam called *The Truthful Exposer* that an anonymous translator put into Latin under the title *The Book of Denuding*, a text which then became the major source for the most widely read Latin work against Islam, Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's *Against the Sect of Muslims* (c. 1300), which itself was put into Greek in the late Middle Ages.²⁰ The late Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld described a similar Coptic-Arabic-into-Latin transition when he showed in 2018 that the Catalan Dominican Ramon Martí (fl. 1250–84) had acquired a nearly contemporary Coptic refutation of Islam called *The Whetted Sword*, which he then translated and abbreviated into his own Latin work, *On the Sect of Muhammad*.²¹

The 'Umar–Leo correspondence, though, traveled farther and made it into more languages than any other polemical text that we know of. Moreover, it resolutely resisted stability and in this respect is more like the huge range of stories about Alexander the Great that proliferated across the medieval Mediterranean.²² This resistance to stability may have been because the 'Umar–Leo correspondence existed much of the time on a tenuous and deeply permeable boundary between written text and oral performance.²³ But whether the particulars of any one version emerged from a written source text or an oral conversation, a close reading of the arguments demonstrates that they emerged within a vibrant polemical milieu that was thoroughly multilingual and multiconfessional. Ideas, challenges, and rebuttals migrated across linguistic and confessional boundaries. Even without any extant Greek or Syriac versions, for example, it is abundantly clear that Greek and Syriac were part of the interreligious conversations out of which the correspondence evolved, as is clear from two arguments—about the Ka'ba and the Paraclete—that we find entangled fragments of in the correspondence.

18 See Lopez and McCracken 2014.

19 See Bottini 2009 and González Muñoz 2011.

20 See Bertaina 2022.

21 See van Koningsveld 2018.

22 See Konstan 1998 and the relevant studies in Cupane and Krönung 2016; Stoneman, Erickson, and Netton 2012; Manteghi 2018; and MacFarlane 2020.

23 Our understanding of the production of the texts as we now possess them thus assumes a very different cultural dynamic from the purely textual approach assumed in many earlier studies, such as Hoyland 1994 and Palombo 2015.

THE KA'BA AND THE TAKBIR

Specific references to the Ka'ba and the Muslim *takbir* (the exclamation “God is great”) suggest that the Latin and Armenian versions tapped into broader conversations familiar to Greek-speaking communities. Both versions accuse Muslims of idolatry through denying the Muslim traditions that associated Abraham with the Ka'ba and presenting it instead as a locus of pre-Islamic paganism. This line of argument appears elsewhere in Greek polemics. The specifics of this argument differ, however, in the two versions of the Umar–Leo correspondence.

The Armenian version locates pre-Islamic sacrifice at “the rock that you call *rukñ* (զպան զոր ոռուն կոչեցիք),²⁴ transliterating the Arabic word for the corner, *rukñ* (ركن), of the Ka'ba. This reference appears as part of a broader refutation of Abrahamic connections to Mecca in which the Christian author denies that Abraham ever saw such a desert, even in a dream. Here the argument is that the origin and ritual centrality of the Ka'ba—“your house, which you call the Ka'ba and [which] you say was some house of Abraham” (սուն պն զոր քարան կոչեցիք. և Արքահամս իմն սաւս ոռուն) —derived ultimately from paganism, a view that echoes earlier Greek polemics. John of Damascus, for example, claimed that “[t]hese [Muslims], then, were the idolaters and they venerated the morning star and Aphrodite, whom notably they called *Xaber* in their own language, which means ‘great’ (Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν εἰδωλολατρήσαντες καὶ προσκυνήσαντες τῷ ἑωσφόρῳ ἄστρῳ, καὶ τῇ Αφροδίτῃ, ἣν δὴ καὶ Χαβᾶρ τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐπυνόμασαν γλώσσῃ, ὅπερ σημαίνει μεγάλη).²⁵ By associating Aphrodite with the word “great,” Christians could assert that the *takbir* in fact revealed that Muslims worshipped both God and Aphrodite (*Allah akbar* became *Allah-wa-akbar* to render *Allah-wa-Khabar*). We might speculate, then, that the unusual spelling of Ka'ba in the Armenian as *puupup* reflects the Greek *Xabâr*.

The Latin version similarly accuses the Muslims of perpetuating paganism in criticizing the sacrifices made at the “corner of the house” (*in angulo domus*). However, the connection to the Greek argument is perhaps more tenuous:

We know something has been left over from the idolatry that they were worshiping, that is, Jahot and Iahoc and Nuzara and Allat and Adozei and Menna. Certain of these were gods in the likeness of men, but certain were in the likeness of women. For the greater [gods] were called “alla uccibere,” whence also this phrase is derived among you, “Alla Ucciber.” Camels and cattle are sacrificed to them one day each year, and you have followed the custom of the pagans upon that rock in Mecca, in the corner of the house of the same idolatry which those ancient pagans were observing and were sacrificing to.

24 Armenian, 67r.

25 Armenian, 66v.

26 Glei 2013, 35–37 seeks to explain how Greek-speaking polemicists arrived at *Xaber* as the name for Aphrodite and suggests that the original confusion here was with the definition of the Arabic word *hajar*, which means “stone”; cf. John of Damascus, cited by Glei: “This, then, which they call *stone* is the head of Aphrodite, whom they used to venerate (and) whom they called *Xaber*” (Οὗτος δὲ, ὃν φασι λίθον, κεφαλὴ τῆς Αφροδίτης ἔστιν ἣν προσεκύνουν, ἣν Χαβᾶρ προσηγόρευον). Cf. Germanus 1865, 168A–D (105–6). Both examples demonstrate that this interpretation was well-known among Greek scholars already by the eighth century.

Scimus aliquid remansisse de idolatria illa quos [sic] uestri adorabant, id est Jahot et Iahoc et Nuzara et Allat et Adozei et Menna. Quidam ex eis erant dii in simultudine uirorum, quidam uero in simultudine feminaram. Nam maiores dicebantur alla uccibere unde et sermo iste diriuatur in uobis alla ucciber. Immolate eis peccora et camelos [sic] uno die per unoquoque anno, et secuti estis consuetudinem paganorum super lapide illo in Macca, in angulo domus ipsius idolatriæ cui seruiebant et immolabant antiquitas [sic] ipsa paganorum.²⁷

This passage identifies pre-Islamic Arabian gods and goddesses and connects them to the rock in Mecca. It also explains the Islamic *takbir* as a pagan exclamation, thereby demonstrating familiarity with the arguments circulating in a Greek milieu.

In the Latin text, the *takbir* appears as *alla uccibere* or *alla ucciber* in the Paris manuscript, whereas the other three Latin manuscripts instead read *alcubre* and *Allãoquiber*. Unlike the Armenian example discussed above, which renders the Greek Χαβῆρ, the Latin reads *uccibere* as a masculine plural. As such, it likely renders the Arabic *al-kubara'*, translated in the same passage in the Latin masculine plural *maiores* ("the greater"). The argument in the Latin version, then, refers to the multiplicity of gods allegedly worshipped at the Ka'ba, as listed by name in the text, thereby charging Muslims with the evocation of multiple gods in the *takbir*. Read in this way, the Latin *uccibere* must have derived directly from Arabic rather than from Greek. Nonetheless, the Greek connection between pre-Islamic paganism, worship at the Ka'ba, and maligning the *takbir* remain intertwined despite differences in their deployment.

THE PARACLETE

Like the references to the Ka'ba, the argument about the nature of the Paraclete reveals the entangled, multilingual, multiconfessional milieu in which the correspondence emerged. The Aljamiado version offers the Muslim claim that Muhammad was the Paraclete foretold by Jesus:

And you consider that he [Jesus] said: "I go to my Lord. And when I will have gone to Him, the Paraclete will come to you. He will speak the truth to you, and he will not say anything except what God will command him. So when the Paraclete will come to you, the one who is sent to all the people, then he will make testimony concerning me." And the meaning of "paraclete" in the Greek language is "Ahmad." And this was already asked of someone who knows your language and ours.

Y razonades que dixo: "Vo<y>me a mi Señor. Y cuando yo <me> seré ido a Él, venirvos [a] el pa<r>áclito. Él vos dirá la verdat, y no vos dirá sino lo que Allah le mandará. Pues cuando vos verná el pa<r>áclito, aquel que a todas las gentes será enviado, pues él fará testimonio a mí." Y la declaración del pa<r>áclito en lenwaje romano [e. d. griego] es Aḥmad. Ya fue demandado aquesto a quien sabe vuestro lenwaje y el nuestro.²⁸

27 Latin I, P67r–v.

28 Aljamiado, A14r–v.

Here the Muslim author uses the Gospels to argue that Jesus foretold the coming of Muhammad. The relevant passage of the Greek Bible is John 14:16, where Jesus explains, “And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another advocate (παράκλητον) to help you and be with you forever.” The word “Paraclete” (Παράκλητος) refers to an advocate or comforter. According to Qur'an 61:6, on the other hand, Jesus said: “O children of Israel, indeed I am the messenger of God to you confirming what came before me of the Torah and bringing good tidings of a messenger to come after me, whose name is Ahmad” يَا بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ إِنِّي (رسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ مُّصَدِّقًا لَّا بَيْنَ يَدِيِّ مِنَ الْقُرْآنَ وَمُبَشِّرًا بِرَسُولٍ يَأْتِي مِنْ بَعْدِي أَحَمَّدًا. The superlative *ahmad*, “most worthy of praise,” shares a root with the name Muhammad. In explaining that “the meaning of ‘paraclete’ in the Greek language is ‘Ahmad’” (*la declaración del paráclito en lenwaje romano [e. d. griego] es Ahmad*), the author of the Aljamiado interprets John 14:16 in the light of Qur'an 61:6. The author of the Aljamiado notes explicitly that the argument equating the Paraclete of the Gospels and the Ahmad of the Qur'an requires familiarity with both Greek and Arabic, but he does not fully explain the relationship beyond equating *paráclito* (“advocate”) and *ahmad* (“most worthy of praise”).²⁹ The most likely explanation for the equivalence between the two terms is a confusion between the two Greek words περικλυτός (“praised one”) and παράκλητος (“paraclete”).³⁰

The Armenian version of the correspondence acknowledges the linguistic thrust of the argument but sees the problem in the mistranslation of *ahmad* into Greek.

Knowing that men are in need of God's aid, He promised to send them the Holy Spirit, called the Paraclete, that is, the Comforter, for indeed they were pained and in mourning when they heard from their Teacher and their Lord that He would be leaving them. And as we said, for that [reason] He called the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, as truly a comforter for them on account of His ascension and as a reminder of everything that He had spoken with them and that He had done before them, which they were to write for the entire world. Now know that Paraclete means “comforter” and not Ahmad [as you think], that is, “I give thanks,” *euk'aristē* (= εὐχαριστῶ), in our language, not *paraklētos* (παράκλητος).

Եւ զիտացեալ էթե մարդիկ են կարաւա աւգնականութեանն Աստուծոյ. խստացաւ նոցա առարել զիոզին սուրբ պառակղիտոս կոչեցեալ. այսինքն միսիքարիչ. զի տրտութին իսկ և սպային յորժամ լսէին ի վարդապետն իրեանց և ի Տեաննեն եթե քողլոց է զնոսա: Եւ որպէս ասացաք՝ վասն այնորիկ զիոզին սուրբ պառակղիտոս կոչեաց՝ որպէս զարդարև միսիքարիչ իսկ զնոսա վասն նորա համբարձման, և որպէս զիշեցուցանող ամենայն խաւեցելոցն ընդ նոսա և զործեցելոցն առաջի նոցա. զոր և զրելոցն էին ամենայն տիեզերաց: Արդ զիտեա զի պառակղիտոս միսիքարիչ անուանի, և ոչ Ահմատ, այսինքն զիհանամ. եւ քաղաքարէ ի մեր լեզու. ոչ ապառակղիտոս.³¹

The author of the Armenian version thus claims that the underlying argument in the Aljamiado—that Jesus foretold the coming of Muhammad—could not be valid. He explains

29 Guthrie and Bishop 1951; Schacht 2024.

30 Pace Anthony (2016), who discounts the possibility of such a confusion.

31 Armenian, 43v–44r.

that “Paraclete means ‘comforter,’” rather than “Ahmad.” In the process, he misinterprets *ahmad*. In classical Arabic, the same root means not only “to praise” but also “to thank.” Instead of the common interpretation of Qur’ān 61:6 as a superlative, “the most praised,” the author instead parses *ahmad* as a verb in the first-person singular, “I give thanks,” which he then translates into Greek as εὐχαριστῶ. If the περικλυτός/παράκλητος argument lies behind the confusion here, the author of the Armenian version of the correspondence apparently does not recognize it.

The passages about the Paraclete exemplify the charged interpretation of specific scriptural references in both Greek and Arabic. Moreover, both sides attempt to make linguistic arguments with hermeneutical ramifications grounded in each other’s language. This discussion underscores that within the context of the linguistic diversity of the Mediterranean, language was not a barrier to intercultural communication. Disputes over and through language were instead generative, where questions and confusions about the meaning of different words propelled conversations forward.

THREE TEXTUAL GROUPINGS

We have emphasized thus far the amazing malleability of this correspondence and the resulting broad range of different versions that survive, emerging as they do both from the wide borderland that existed in the medieval period between the written and the oral and from the linguistic diversity of the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, as the examples of the Ka’ba and Paraclete disputes indicate, there are real linkages between different extant versions of the correspondence. Indeed, it is clear that, despite the constant shape shifting of the correspondence, the six extant versions of ‘Umar and Leo’s polemical exchange sort themselves into three coherent groups.

THE (LOST) GREEK AND ARMENIAN LETTERS OF LEO

The Armenian version of Leo’s letter to ‘Umar is clearly a translation from Greek.³² Three arguments suggest so. First, the text transliterates certain Greek terms into Armenian and refers to Greek as “our language.” For example, Leo mentions the books of the Bible that “the Hebrews [call] Kohelet^c (קֶחֶת) and Širat^cširiim (שִׁירָתִים), and which we call Parimon (Παρομία, Proverbs) and Samaton (Ἀσμάτων, from Ἀσμα Ἀσμάτων) (զոր Կոհելեթ և Շիրաթիմ Եպրաւեցիք. և Պարուին. և Սամատոն մեր անուանումը).³³ Similarly, as we saw above, in Leo’s discussion of the definition of the word “paraclete,” he asserts that it “means ‘comforter’ and not Ahmad [as you think], that is, ‘I give thanks’ (= *euk’aristē*, i.e., εὐχαριστῶ), in our language, not *paraklētos* (παράκλητος)” (միսիքարիչ անուանի, և ոչ Ահման, այսինքն զոհանամ. եւ բարիստէ ի մեր լեզու. ոչ ապառակղիսու).³⁴ In other places, Greek words appear in the Armenian text, even though the author does not draw attention

³² See also Akinean (1930, 607–8) and Lewond (2015, 347–48), who both also mention some of the examples noted here.

³³ Armenian, 39r.

³⁴ Armenian, 44r.

to the language. In its citation of Isaiah 60:13,³⁵ the text uses պեկի, *pekiw*, and պեկինիսաւ, *pekiwrisaw*, for “cypress” and “pine”; both words derive from the Greek πεύκη, though the latter is likely a corruption of κυπάρισσος. The word միրինէս, *miwrinēs*,³⁶ derives from the Greek μύριανα, in a passage that is probably indebted to Basil’s *Hexaemeron*.

Second, there are certain cases where a citation disagrees with the Armenian Bible and shows signs of having been translated directly from the Septuagint. For example, in the citation of Psalm 136:2, the Armenian version of the correspondence reads, “we hung our instruments” (զունեաց կախեցար զզործարան մեր).³⁷ “Instruments” (զզործարան) renders the Greek τὰ ὄργανα against the Armenian Bible’s use of զկտակարան, *zktakarans*, or “covenants.” Similarly, in the next verse, the letter renders “words of song” (λόγονς ῳδῶν) as բան երգն, *bans ergoc* (lit., “words of songs”), rather than as բան արհնութեան, *bans awrhnut’ean* (lit., “words of blessing”), as found in the Armenian Bible. The Armenian version also renders the end of that grammatically troubled verse in accordance with the Septuagint and completely differently from the Armenian Bible:

Correspondence:	and they who led us away words of blessing	եւ տարիշը մեր բան արհնութեան
Septuagint:	and they who carried us away a hymn	καὶ οἱ ἀπαγαγόντες ἡμᾶς ὕμνον
Armenian Bible:	our captors forced us and they were saying	զերեվարը մեր ստիպէին զմել եւ ասէին

Likewise, the letter of Leo cites Psalm 148:5–6 as “he commanded and they were built” (Չինեցան),³⁸ following the Septuagint (ἐκτίσθησαν), against the Armenian: “he commanded and it was established” (հսսսսսնեցան). Each of these examples demonstrates that the author’s point of reference for biblical quotations was Greek rather than Armenian.

The citation of Psalm 40(41):10(9) relies on an error that could have happened in only Greek. The text cites David, who prophesied, “he who ate my bread magnified his heel over me” (ηπ̄ πινετερ̄ զիս իմ մեծացոյց ի վերս իմ զզարշապար իր).³⁹ The Septuagint here reads πτερνισμόν, “cunning,” which the translator mistakenly read as πτέρνων, “heel,” and so translated as “heel” (զզարշապար). It is not possible to derive the reading “heel” (զզարշապար) from this verse as it appears in Armenian, where the word is “deception” (լսարենորին).⁴⁰ In addition, Leo refers to the books of Ezra-Nehemiah as 2 Esdras in accordance with the Septuagint.⁴¹ Although the correspondence does not consistently adhere

³⁵ Armenian, 66r.

³⁶ Armenian, 68r.

³⁷ Armenian, 41r.

³⁸ Armenian, 63r.

³⁹ Armenian, 55r–v.

⁴⁰ Cf. also the citation of John 14:26 on 44r; of Ps. 21(22):7–9(6–8) on 51r–v; Ps. 109(110):1, 3 on 51v; Mic. 5:2 on 53v; and Zeph. 3:8 on 68v.

⁴¹ Armenian, 41r. We may further observe that the author refers to the pericope of the bloody sweat and the strengthening by the angel in Luke 22:43–44 on 58r. Although the passage was known to Armenian authors, it does not occur in extant copies of the Armenian Gospel of Luke prior to the twelfth century

to one version of the Bible, these examples demonstrate that the biblical citations were translated from a Greek parent text and were not originally composed in Armenian.

Finally, there are constructions that read awkwardly in Armenian but may reflect a more literal rendering of the Greek text underneath.⁴² For example, we have translated սրսագնի, *arasc'uk'* (lit., “let us make”)⁴³ as “let us consider,” suggesting that the verb here renders the Greek ποιήσωμεν, which can mean “to consider, reckon.” Similarly, we take the phrase յանդիման տեսանկելով, *yandiman tesanelov* (lit., “looking opposite”),⁴⁴ to render the Greek ἐπισκοπέω and translate it as “looking at.”

The appearance of Greek words transliterated into Armenian, the reliance on the Septuagint in several citations of the Bible, and the examples of the literal rendering of Greek terms into Armenian all indicate that the Armenian version of the correspondence derives from a now-lost Greek source text.

THE LATIN AND CHRISTIAN ARABIC LETTERS OF LEO

While the Latin version of Leo’s letter is based on an Arabic text quite different from the extant one at Saint Catherine’s, the Latin and Christian Arabic clearly share at least one substantial source. The differences between them, to be sure, are not trivial. The Latin version, for example, contains a (fairly unimpressive) argument for the validity of the Christian scriptures, especially the Old Testament, in response to the Muslim accusation that “[t]he Law of Moses had been burned in fire, and Ezra noted it down [working] from memory and mendaciously, and there was no mention in it of the resurrection or eternal life or paradise” (*Moysi igne cremata fuisse et notauerit ea Esdras memoriter et mendaciter, et non rememoratus in ea fuerit de resurrectione aut uitam eternam aut paradisum* [sic]).⁴⁵ After describing how God had given the Torah to Moses in the first place, and summarizing its content briefly, the Latin Leo insists rather that

we find these things written in the Old Testament by Ezra, to whom God revealed them. And [God] gave to him knowledge of this matter and of the Law, and [Ezra] recalled it and wrote in that fullness just as God had given it to His prophet Moses previously. And [Ezra] declared them and omitted from them neither a little nor a lot.

*et inuenimus ea scripta in Ueteri Testamento omnia per Esdram cui reuelauit Deus illam [sic]. Et dedit ei huius rei scientiam legis, et rememorauit illam et scripsit ea ad ea plenitudine [sic] sicuti antea eam dederat Deus Moysi prophete suo. Et declarauit illa, et non pretermisit ex ea modicum aut multum.*⁴⁶

and becomes common in only the thirteenth. The pericope was a central point of contention in the Julianist controversies in Armenia in the seventh and eighth centuries.

42 See Akinean 1930, 608; Mahé 2015, 347–48; and notes to the translation in chapter 4.

43 Armenian, 48r.

44 Armenian, 66r.

45 Latin I, P68r.

46 Latin I, P68v.

This passage is entirely absent from the Arabic version, which, on the other hand, contains a lengthy discourse on how the vast spread of Christianity is proof of its truthfulness. “Therefore, if Christ,” this portion reads in part,

were not God from God and light, and mercy for His creation, then His word would not have been established, nor would His command have stood in all the nations from the eastern to the western reaches of the world, from the first day when Christ spoke about it to our days, and through all ages.

فَلَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ الْمَسِيحُ إِلَهٌ مِّنَ الْأَنْجَلِ وَنُورٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِخَلْقِهِ مَا ثَبَّتْ قَوْلُهُ وَلَا اسْتَقَامَ امْرُهُ فِي الْأَمْمَ كُلُّهَا مِنْ مُشَارِقِ الْأَرْضِ وَمُغَارِبِهَا مِنْ أَوَّلِ يَوْمٍ تَكَلَّمُ بِهَا الْمَسِيحُ إِلَى يَوْمِنَا هَذَا وَإِلَى الْدَّهْرِ كُلِّهِ⁴⁷

The Latin version contains nothing like this.

Nevertheless, there are sections of the two versions that are very similar indeed. Early in both letters, for example, Leo offers a list of Old Testament passages that demonstrate that God created all things through his Word. Here we cannot help but be struck by the fact that in both versions, Leo offers virtually the same proof texts in the same order, though the Latin text includes a few quotations not in the Arabic:

Christian Arabic version of Leo's letter⁴⁸

Ps. 33:6

Ps. 119:89

Ps. 107:20

Job 33:4

Gen. 1:2

Isa. 61:1

Ps. 104:30

Ps. 143:10

Isa. 7:14

Ps. 2:7–8

Zach. 9:9

Latin version of Leo's letter⁴⁹

Ps. 33:6

Ps. 119:89

Ps. 107:20

Job 33:4

Gen. 1:2

Isa. 61:1

Ps. 104:30

Ps. 143:10

(Ps. 50:12)

(Ps. 51:14)

Isa. 7:14

(2 Sam. 7:12–14)

Ps. 2:7–8

Zach. 9:9–10

Not only are the verses quoted nearly identical in both cases, but even some of the connective tissue between them is much the same. The Arabic version introduces the Job quotation with the words: “And Job the faithful testified to the Holy Spirit” وَشَهَدَ إِيُوبُ الصَّدِيقُ عَلَى (علي) the Latin is much the same: *Job propheta testis est de Spiritu Sancto*.⁵⁰

There are other portions of both works where we find a similar commonality of scriptural citations, but this lengthy section, by itself, is clear evidence that the Arabic and

⁴⁷ Christian Arabic, 79r–v; the whole passage runs from 78v to 84r.

⁴⁸ Christian Arabic, 67r–68r.

⁴⁹ Latin I, P62v–64r.

⁵⁰ Christian Arabic, 67v; Latin I, P62v.

the Latin versions share a common source. Both versions also quote precisely the same Qur'anic verses from the Surah of the Table—the very ones that give the surah its name, Qur'an 5:112–15. In this famous passage, Jesus's disciples prevail on him to ask God to send down a table from which they might eat, and Jesus does exactly that: "O God our Lord, send down upon us a table from heaven, and it shall be a feast day for first and last among us, a miracle from you" (Q5:114), a request God happily obliges. The context in both the Christian Arabic and Latin versions of the correspondence, moreover, is Leo's defense of the Eucharist. At the same time, this indication of a shared source also bears witness to the differences between the two versions, for in each case the quotation is used quite differently. For the Arabic Leo, these verses amount to a Qur'anic justification of Christian practice: "And this table is the very one that God sent down to the apostles through Jesus. فهي تلك المائدة التي انزلها على يدي عيسى للحواريين. فنحن مستمسكين" (فـهـيـ تـكـ الـمـائـدـةـ الـتـيـ اـنـزـلـهـاـ عـلـىـ يـدـيـ عـيـسـىـ لـلـحـوـارـيـنـ) (بـهـاـ الـىـ الـيـوـمـ); while for the Latin Leo, far from authorizing this sacrament, these Qur'anic verses "are statements of some Nestorian heretic not thinking correctly about Christ" (*Et tamen hii sunt sermones Nestoriani cuiusdam heretici non recte scientis de Christo*).⁵¹ As this example shows, the fact that these two versions may have shared a common source does not mean they used it in the same way. A common source does not imply similar deployment.

The largest section of Leo's letter that the Latin and Arabic versions have in common, however, is the account of Constantine's vision of the cross and Saint Helena's discovery of the true cross.⁵² While the version of Constantine's vision of the cross in the sky as he rode off to battle and his subsequent victory will be familiar to anyone who knows Eusebius's famous account, the rendition of the story in the Christian Arabic and Latin versions of the correspondence is not identical to any other known version.⁵³ The account of Saint Helena's rather aggressive efforts to locate the true cross and her ultimate success conforms in both to the so-called "Judas Kyriakos" version of this famous legend.⁵⁴ Throughout, the two versions coincide in their basic narrative, and here and there the Latin reads like a direct translation of the Arabic, such as the following lines describing the famous vision itself—when Constantine, "with eyes lifted to the sky in the middle of the night, saw in the sky something like two columns, one lying upon the other in the likeness of a cross, and on it a writing in Greek letters shining with the brilliance of fire" (*elevatis oculis ad caelum media nocte, uidit in caelo quasi columnas duas una super alia incumbentem [sic] in similitudinem crucis, in eam scriptam [sic] igneo fulgore rutilante scriptum Grece*). The translator of this version must have had a text in front of him that, at this point, read very much as the extant Arabic does: "He lifted up his eyes and gazed to heaven and saw two great luminous pillars, one lying across the other, in the shape of the cross. There was writing on the more luminous of them in the language of the king, in Greek" (لكنه رفع عينيه) (فـنـظـرـ إـلـىـ السـمـاءـ فـأـبـصـرـ عـمـودـيـنـ عـظـيـمـيـنـ نـيـرـيـنـ اـحـدـهـاـ مـعـتـرـضـ عـلـىـ الـأـخـرـ كـهـيـةـ الصـلـيـبـ. وـفـيـهـاـ كـتـابـ اـنـورـ مـنـهـاـ (بـلـسـانـ الـمـلـكـ بـالـرـوـمـيـةـ).⁵⁵

51 Christian Arabic, 71v–72r (quotation 72r); Latin I, P69r–69v (quotation 69v).

52 Christian Arabic, 74v–78r; Latin I, P69v–P70v.

53 See Kim 2017, 247–51.

54 See Drijvers 1992; Drijvers and Drijvers 1997; Kim 2017, 252–53.

55 Christian Arabic, 75v–76r; Latin I, P70r.

Not only do the two versions share a common source or sources, but they also both emerge from a specifically Melkite context. Both versions' extended discussion of Constantine and Helena and the finding of the true cross suggest so. Moreover, as Mark Swanson has pointed out, the extant Saint Catherine's version of the letter shares much in common, including on the doctrine of the Incarnation, with the oldest Christian Arabic text, *On the Triune Nature of God*, itself the work of an anonymous Melkite author. Given the circulation of these versions of the correspondence in both Egypt and al-Andalus, it is worth remembering that at some point in the year 852, a monk and deacon named George from the Melkite monastery of Mar Saba arrived in Córdoba, just at the beginning of what would become known as the Córdoban martyrs' movement.⁵⁶ Indeed, the monk George, who had been traveling in the western Mediterranean to solicit donations from North African monasteries and had decided to cross the Straits of Gibraltar into al-Andalus, would himself join the movement and suffer martyrdom on July 27, 852.⁵⁷ Though, given the dating of the Latin version of Leo's letter, its source text must actually have reached the Iberian Peninsula before the monk George did, his travels remind us that connections between al-Andalus's Arabic-speaking Christians and their coreligionists in the Muslim Middle East began early and continued for centuries,⁵⁸ so we should scarcely be surprised to find a Latin version of a treatise from a Melkite milieu in a ninth-century Carolingian manuscript.

A further characteristic of this Latin-Christian Arabic grouping is what we might call "argumentative incompleteness." While there is plenty of connected, though usually quite simple, argumentation in the surviving versions of the 'Umar–Leo correspondence, many passages in this grouping are very difficult to make sense of unless one already knows the basic script of Christian or Muslim polemic as it had developed and was developing.⁵⁹ While such a laconic approach to demonstration is not all that surprising in connection with biblical proof texts⁶⁰—which by this point had been listed countless times in Christian treatises against Jews and had begun to be deployed in essentially the same manner against Islam⁶¹—we find a similar assumption that readers know the script elsewhere as well.

⁵⁶ The literature on this movement is immense, but for an excellent overview together with an exhaustive bibliography, see Wolf 2019.

⁵⁷ Wolf 2019, 28–29.

⁵⁸ There is a lengthy bibliography here of which two examples are Burman 1994, 95–124, and van Koningsveld 2018, *passim*.

⁵⁹ This is especially true of the Latin version in which we have several other cases of quotations of proof texts whose import is not at all obvious without any explanation: for example, 2 Samuel 7:12–14, Zachariah 9:9–10 (both on fol. P63r), and Hebrews 2:3 (fol. P63v).

⁶⁰ For example, both the Armenian and Latin versions quote Psalm 109:1 when setting out biblical prophecies about the nature of Jesus as divine Word and Son. Christians famously interpreted this verse as alluding to Jesus as the divine Christ raised to equality with God the Father (see Luke 20:42; Acts 2:34; 5:31). But in neither version is there an explanation of why this verse has anything to with Jesus's nature, divine or otherwise, or indeed why the passage should be taken as referring to Jesus at all. The reader is assumed to know the Christian exegesis of this verse without needing to have it rehearsed.

⁶¹ See most recently Swanson 2007, *passim*, as well as the widely cited article of more than a century ago: Harris 1901.

The Latin Leo, for example, prevails on his Muslim correspondent

not [to] let power or riches or bodily health raise you up against God, because all these things are similar to a vision which appears in sleep as whatever it might be, and when [the sleeper] has been awakened, he understands that what he had seen in the vision was nothing. Such is the ornamentation and the power of the world.

*Sed non te eleuet contra Deum potestas aut diuitię aut sanitas corporis, quia hec omnia similia est [sic] uisioni que appetet in somnio ut aliquid sit, et cum expergefactus fuerit, intelligit quia nihil erat quod in uisionem uidit. Ita est ornatus mundi et potestas ipsis.*⁶²

This sentence comes just after that version's long discussion of the discovery of the true cross, and just before the final section of the work that criticizes a handful of Muslim practices and beliefs: not greeting people who are not Muslims, divorce, and God's preordination of all events. It has, in short, nothing to do with what comes before or what comes after but appears to be a rebuttal of the idea that Islam's truth is demonstrated by the great power and wealth that the caliphate acquired after the early Islamic conquests. The Christian reader is supposed to grasp this purpose without having it explained.

In the Christian Arabic version of Leo's letter, virtually the same observation about the dangers of letting power and wealth deceive you appears as well, once again without any foregoing or ensuing elaboration.⁶³ Similarly, two sentences about Jesus's humanity are inserted, seemingly at random, without follow-up here or elsewhere in the letter: "Also, you said, 'How could God eat, drink, sleep, rejoice, pray, and fear, as you have written about him?' I know it is only because of your lack of knowledge about Christ that makes you tell me this" تقول كيف كان يأكل ويشرب وينام ويفرح ويصلى ويخرجوا من هذا كتبت به وقد علمت بأنه انما (فان) [المسيح حيث جا لم يجي بجيشه ولا بسيف] but no extended critique of Islam for its spread through conquest. Near the end of the letter, the author inserts a particularly cryptic reference to the so-called "oath-saying" surahs of the Qur'an in which God is depicted as swearing, for example, "By the lashing gales!" (Q51:1) or "By the mountain!" (Q52:1), but without any direct reference to either the Qur'an or any of those surahs: "We do not find that God (blessed and exalted be His name!) takes an oath by anything, but only by Himself. Then what is the oath that you say [i.e., the *basmallah*]? The Father is His Word and His Spirit. So God does not take an oath except by His Word and His Spirit" ولا نجد ان الله تبارك وتقديس (فماذا القسم الذي تقولون؟ الا هو وكلمته وروحه. فان الله لا يقسم الا بكلمته (روحه).⁶⁴ The reader is expected to know in these cases some of the standard arguments for how Jesus as second person of the Trinity was also fully human and could, therefore, drink and sleep just like any other human; to be able to fill in the details of Christianity's supposedly entirely peaceful conversion of much of the world in contrast to Islam's spread

62 Latin I, P70v.

63 Christian Arabic, 78r.

64 Christian Arabic, 64v–65r.

65 Christian Arabic, 70r.

66 Christian Arabic, 80r.

through violence; and to know enough about the Qur'an's contents to be shocked by its depiction of God as swearing by natural phenomena, a common Christian criticism of Islamic scripture. This tendency toward implied argumentation draws even stronger connections between the two versions of this group.

The Christian Arabic and Latin versions of Leo's letter share characteristics that identify them as a single grouping apart from the other versions: the same biblical quotations in the same order, shared information reflecting Melkite traditions, and a similar argumentative incompleteness. Again, while such similarities indicate a shared source (or sources), the two versions each deploy common material in different ways.

THE MUSLIM ARABIC AND ALJAMIADO LETTERS OF 'UMAR

Though with what surely must have been a number of intervening copies, as well as extensive travels separating them, it looks very much as though the Muslim Arabic and Aljamiado versions of 'Umar's letter derive from the same source. The end of the Aljamiado text overlaps closely, as we have seen, with the first quarter of the Muslim Arabic text. In this overlapping section, nearly all the Castilian sentences of the one are essentially direct translations of the Arabic of the other. In the first lines of the Arabic text, for example, 'Umar asks, "Does Jesus then damn himself, since he knew that he would be crucified as you claim?" (افيلعن عيسى نفسه وقد علم انه سيصلب كما زعمتم), of which the corresponding Aljamiado is a precise translation: "So, how can Jesus condemn himself, knowing that he had to be crucified?" (*Pues ¿cómo maldezía Isá a sí mismo, sabiendo que abía de ser crucificado?*).⁶⁷ Similarly, on the second folio of the Arabic version, 'Umar argues that "[i]f you make Jesus a god because he revived the dead, cured illness, and performed wonders according to the will of God, Ezekiel also revived 35,000 people according to the will of God" (وان كنتم انما تجعلون عيسى الاها لانه احيا الموتى وابرا الاسقام وصنع الاعاجيب باذن الله فقد احيا حرقيل كما تجدون في كتابكم خمسة وتلثين الف نفس باذن الله). Once again, the corresponding Aljamiado tightly captures the Arabic word order and syntax: "Now if you consider Jesus as Lord because he resuscitated the dead, and healed the sick, and did miracles, well all this he did with the authority and power of his Lord! Ezekiel, according to your view, had already resuscitated 35,000 with the power of God" (*Pues si vosotros tomades a Isá por Señor porque reçucitaba los muertos, y sanaba los malabtos y fazía los milagros, pues ¡todo aquello feba con lecencia de su Señor y poder! Ya reçucitó Hazqil, según razonades, treinta y cinco mil con el poder de Allah*).⁶⁸

Furthermore, once joined together, the Syrian origin of the whole becomes quite apparent. The Muslim Arabic version was written, as we will see,⁶⁹ by someone with knowledge—direct or indirect—of the Syriac Bible, and the Aljamiado version begins with an isnad that points to a Syrian origin:

He said: Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Awfi al-Tayy, in the city of Homs, informed us: He said, 'Abd al-Quddusi b. al-Hajjaj related to us: He said: Isma'il b. 'Ayyas related to us: He said: 'Umar, son of 'Abd al-'Aziz (may God be satisfied with him!) wrote:

67 Muslim Arabic, 1r; Aljamiado, A20r.

68 Muslim Arabic, 2r; Aljamiado, 21v–22r.

69 See the introduction to Muslim Arabic (chapter 3).

Dixo: Fízonos a saber Abū Ḵaṣfar Muḥammad ibnū ‘Awfi Aḥṭā’ī, fī madīnati Ḥimṣā.

Dixo: Alhadizonos ‘Abdu {B85r} al-Qudūsi ibnū l-Hajjāj. Dixo: Alhadizonos Ismā’īl ibnū ‘Ayyās. Dixo: Escribió ‘Umar, fillo de ‘Abdu l-‘Azīz’ (apáguese Allah d’él):⁷⁰

Not only does the isnad specifically mention the Syrian city of Homs, but as well the three scholars cited in the Aljamiado all lived there in the late eighth and ninth centuries.⁷¹ Intriguingly, then, while the Latin and Christian Arabic versions of Leo’s letter derive from circles in Palestine, this Aljamiado/Arabic version of ‘Umar’s letter originates in Syria.

POSSIBLE SYRIAC VERSION?

The Syrian origin of the Aljamiado and Arabic versions of ‘Umar’s letter opens another line of inquiry. Earlier scholars have asserted that there was once a Syriac version of the correspondence, now lost. Originally this conclusion was based on the claim that the Latin version of Leo’s letter was translated from Chaldean: “Now, however, with God’s favor, we have converted it from Chaldean speech into Latin in accordance with [Latin’s] proper way of speaking” (*Nunc uero, Deo opitulante, de Caldaico eloquoi, iuxta proprietem sermonis, uertimus in Latinum*).⁷² As we have seen above, however, “Chaldean” meant “Arabic” in the Latin-Christian works that survive from eighth- and ninth-century al-Andalus where that version was translated.⁷³ The importance of the Syriac language in the late antique and early medieval periods certainly renders this assertion plausible. However, there is no compelling evidence for the existence of a lost Syriac version, however logical it would be to find one.

Modern scholarly references to a lost Syriac version of the correspondence rest on evidence that could be equally explained in other ways if we do not assume the existence of a Syriac text. Scholars have argued, for example, that the spelling of the name Simon as Sham‘un in the Aljamiado and Muslim Arabic versions suggests that the text was translated from Syriac.⁷⁴ This is scarcely conclusive evidence. The only references to Sham‘un in this text are in conjunction with biblical proof texts. While some early Arabic translations of the Gospels were translated from Greek, as indicated by the use of the name Batrus (بطرس) to render the Greek Petros (Πέτρος), others relied on a Syriac source text and therefore render the Syriac Sham‘un (ܫମୁନ) as either Sam‘un (سمون) or Sham‘un (شمون).⁷⁵ The spellings Sam‘un or Sham‘un appear regularly in Arabic. As discussed in the introduction to the Muslim Arabic version of the correspondence (chapter 3), the biblical citations clearly indicate that the author was working with an Arabic Bible translated from Syriac. The appearance of the name Sham‘un in the Muslim versions of the ‘Umar–Leo correspondence does not by itself, therefore, obviously indicate that these texts were based

70 Aljamiado, A5v–A6r.

71 Kim 2017, 53–56; Gaudeul 1984, 132nn1–3.

72 See Latin I, P61r. Although the incipit does not appear in the earliest extant manuscript (P) of the correspondence, it does appear in all the other manuscripts (M68r/T199r/S99vb), as well as in Champier’s printed edition (see Latin II, C nnviiR).

73 See above, p. xiii.

74 Sourdel 1966, 19n5; Gaudeul 1984, 138–39n30.

75 Kashouh 2011, 690, 692.

on an underlying, now-lost Syriac version. Indeed, it is far more likely that the authors of the earliest layer of the Muslim Arabic/Aljamiado grouping were simply familiar with the Syriac-based Arabic translations of the Gospels.

Similarly, the Christian Arabic version includes a single Syriac word when it describes Jesus's handing bread to his disciples and telling them to "Eat of it, for it is My body" (اطعموا) **منه** فان فجري.⁷⁶ The puzzling Arabic word for "my body," فجري, could derive from **فجنة**.⁷⁷ Like the name Sham'un, though, the appearance of a Syriac word in a biblical quotation does not confirm that there was once a Syriac version of the 'Umar–Leo correspondence. At best, the spelling of the name Simon and the use of the word *fajri* suggest that the correspondence circulated in communities that were familiar with the Syriac-based Arabic Bible.

In short, while it would have been entirely natural for there to have been a version of the correspondence circulating in Syriac, given its importance as a Christian language in the Middle East, we currently have no compelling evidence that any extant version of the 'Umar–Leo correspondence derives from a Syriac source or, indeed, that there ever was a Syriac version of the correspondence at all. Rather, these examples demonstrate the pervasive influence of Syriac on Christian and Muslim knowledge of the Gospels in the early Islamic period.

CONNECTIONS AND COMMON STRANDS AMONG GROUPS

The interconnectedness of the six quite disparate versions of the correspondence extends beyond the three textual groupings described above. For one thing, there are some striking connections between the Armenian version translated from an early eighth-century Greek original, and the Arabic/Aljamiado versions of the letter of 'Umar, for the Armenian version of Leo's letter responds at some points precisely to criticisms leveled against Christianity by that text. The Muslim Arabic version, for example, asks: "And why should God (may He be glorified and praised!) make Iblis treasurer of the souls of the prophets and the righteous of His creation who served Him and did not allow him to exert power over them?" ما كان الله سبحانه ويعمله ليستخزن ابليس على انفس انبيائه وصالح خلقه الذين يعبدونه ولا (ليسلطه عليهم). The Armenian Leo responds pointedly to this argument: "As for what you said about Satan and the souls of the righteous, you make Satan the treasurer of God. You have many highly incorrect ideas about our wisdom" (Իսկ կան սաստանի և արդարոցն հնոց որ սասցեր զատանան Ասունծոյ զանձապահ առներ. կարի յոյժ սխալեցեր ի խնհականութեն մեր).⁷⁸ The Aljamiado portion of 'Umar's letter likewise asserts that "[a]ccording to your views, Jesus said, 'You come naked, and you go naked'" (Ya dixo 'Isā según vosotros razonades: "Espollados venides, y espollados vos iredes").⁷⁹ The Armenian Leo rejects just this claim: "Now, you said that our Lord said in the Gospel, 'You came naked and naked you will return,' but nowhere in the Gospels do we find our Lord to have said this, although He always orders us to contemplate death. Rather, this is a saying of

⁷⁶ Christian Arabic, 72v.

⁷⁷ Kim 2017, 101n38. Brockelmann 1982, 556, lists the Arabic فجر as derivative of the Syriac **فجنة**.

⁷⁸ Muslim Arabic, 3v; Armenian, 68r–v.

⁷⁹ Aljamiado, A7r.

Job" (Արդ ասացեր Տեսան մերոյ ասել յԱւետարանն՝ մերկ եկիր և մերկ դառնայք. և ոչ որեք յԱւետարանս զուանեմք Տեսան մերոյ ասացեալ զայ. թէպէսու միշտ մեզ հրամայէ առնել զիսկումն մահու. այլ այս բան Յորս է).⁸⁰ Finally, the Aljamiado text has 'Umar argue that "you [Christians] went away from Jesus and the apostles regarding seventy-two beliefs through lying against them" (*Y partiestes vos después de Ḥisā y de los apóstoles de setanta y dos cre>ye>ncias por esmentimiento a ellos*).⁸¹ Once again the Armenian version of Leo's letter has a rejoinder specifically to this criticism: "Then you said that after the disciples of the Lord we divided into seventy-two groups. It is not so, so do not contrive to comfort yourself with a lie by making an example of some fault of ours. Your [faith] is truly contemptible, which is not befitting the servants of God" (Իսկ որ ասացեր յես աշակերտացն Տեսան յեթանասուն և յերկուս քածանեալ մեզ մասուն. չէ այդպէս. քանզի մի սոսոթեամք զբեզ միսիքարել կարծիցես զմեր սիսալանս ինչ արինակ առնով. և արդարս աղարսնիլ է որոյ որ ոչ է նման ծառայից Ասսունուն).⁸² So somehow, despite emerging from very different linguistic and religious contexts—Greek/Armenian Christianity and Syrian-Arabic Islam—there is some systematic, textual relationship between these two otherwise very different textual groupings of the correspondence, as first demonstrated by Jean-Marie Gaudeul.⁸³

More than that, though, certain strands of argument related to the reliability of scripture as a testimony to Jesus's humanity and incarnation appear in all the extant texts. These core strands—woven together at times with each other, but often with much different material—are so similar in wording that we must conclude that, while the extant texts emerged in distinct groupings rooted in different milieux and underwent repeated reworkings over the centuries, they nonetheless share some remote but key strands of argument.

Of course, many bite-sized morsels of argumentation traveled back and forth between Muslim and Christian communities in the early Islamic period. From this polemical storehouse, the composers of the source texts of each group selected multiple units of argumentation to assert or challenge in their works. The strands of this argumentation mixed with many other arguments that do not appear in all the versions. Based on the specific word choices and the diversity of arguments paired with these common strands, there is no evidence to suggest a sustained written relationship between the main groups of the correspondence. Instead, the common argumentative strands that bring them all together may well have circulated predominantly within oral discourse. Such oral discourse does not preclude the circulation of written lists of proof texts or simple argument headings.

Given that most of these common argumentative strands derive from a reading of *Surat Al 'Imran*, the Surah (3) of the Family of 'Imran, we think it likely that the polemical arguments originated within a Muslim milieu. Though they are common to all extant versions, we have no reason to conclude that they represent the opening salvo of the 'Umar–Leo correspondence. Indeed, since the Muslim versions themselves suggest that they were responding to some preexisting Christian challenge, it is more helpful to imagine that, in looking now at each of these strands, we are entering the middle of a polemical

80 Aljamiado, A7r; Armenian, 34v.

81 Aljamiado, A10r–v.

82 Armenian, 45r.

83 Gaudeul 1984.

conversation already long underway. In this ongoing oral and written dialogue, it is not possible to discern an origin.

Despite being a very late entry into the wide-ranging dispersal of the 'Umar–Leo correspondence, the Aljamiado text—a translation, completed by the fifteenth century, of the ninth-century Arabic original—preserves the shared strands of argumentation in their most easily discernible form. In particular, the Aljamiado text offers an extended argument about the reliability of scripture and its relation to Jesus's humanity. The argument includes four distinct but interrelated claims: First, Jesus testified about himself directly, and that testimony is to be trusted above all. Second, the Hebrew scriptures were distorted and therefore do not provide more reliable testimony than he provides himself. Third, there should be no difference between the Hebrew scriptures and the Gospels; any deviations suggest that the Christians must have also altered their scriptures. Fourth, since Jesus referred to his Lord, he himself cannot be the Lord. As we will show in what follows, this multifaceted argument appears to emerge from a close reading of Qur'an 3:45–51.

The Christian versions respond to this multistrand argument at various points, at times losing the thread of the logic that held the four claims together. Differences in specific word choices and sentence structure preclude the possibility of direct textual transmission, as do the order and framing of the material. Nevertheless, all acknowledge the argument's existence and wrangle with each of its points.

THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS (Q3:45–46)

The first common argumentative strand is the assertion that Jesus himself testified about his mission and that his words must carry more significance than the those of prophets of the Hebrew scripture because he was “close to God.” This argument is clearly informed by the Qur'an, particularly 3:45–46, which describes Jesus as one who is close to God (من المقربين), who will speak to men in both their cradle and adulthood. The Aljamiado text puts this language to work, arguing that Christians should not privilege the Hebrew scriptures as a proof for the divinity of Jesus: “Jesus himself knew better and was closer to God and more to be believed than the Scriptures of the communities which have been manipulated and changed, for you do not know what they changed and what they expanded and what they abridged” (*Y Isā conocía mejor su presona y era más cercano de Allah y más de creyer que no las Escribturas trastornadas de las alumas, maneyadas y demudadas, que no sabedes lo que demudaron y lo que crecieron y menwaron*).⁸⁴ The Armenian letter from Leo to 'Umar specifically raises this point: “You wrote that ‘Jesus was truly worthy of trust, for he was close to God. He knew himself better than [do] the Scriptures, which peoples whom you do not know have altered and changed’” (Գրեցեք Էթէ արդարի Յիսուս արժանի Էթ հաւատարմոթեան և մասն Էթ յԱստուած. և լաւազյն զիսէք զինքն քան զգրեալսն. զոր վիդիութեցին ազգ զորս ոչ զիսէք. որ այլայլեցին ի նոցանէ և փոխեցին).⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Aljamiado, A8v.

⁸⁵ Armenian, 36r. The Armenian version of 'Umar's letter to Leo also includes this accusation, but that letter was constructed to make sense of Leo's answer: “You doubted and [were] weak in your thought, and you did not consider sufficient that which Jesus testified about himself, but believed that which the prophets said. But Jesus was truly worthy of confidence, for he was close to God. He knew himself better than [do] the Scriptures, which peoples whom you do not know have changed and corrupted” (և երկուական և փոխեցին ազգ զորս ոչ զիսէք. որ այլայլեցին ի նոցանէ և փոխեցին).

The Latin and Christian Arabic versions also refer to Jesus's bearing witness on his own behalf but, while responding to an assertion rooted in Qur'an 3:45–46, redirect the argument to the Christian scriptures. The Christian Arabic Leo puts it this way: "You also said, 'Why do you venerate Jesus, the messenger of God, and why do you regard Him as God? But He testifies about Himself in the Gospel, 'I am the messenger of God to men. Therefore, whoever believes in Me, he believes in the one who sent Me, and whoever denies Me, he denies the one who sent Me [John 12:44–45]' [جَاءُوكُم مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ رَّجُلٌ نَّبِيٌّ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ يَأْتِيُكُمْ مَّا أَنْتُمْ تَحْتَ�ِمُونَ وَهُوَ شَاهِدٌ عَلَيْكُمْ فِي أَنَّهُ إِنَّمَا أَنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ ۝ وَمَنْ كَذَّبَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ فَكَذَّبَ مِنِّي ۝]."⁸⁶ The Latin aligns closely with the Christian Arabic: "Now then, in reference to Christ son of Mary, you have asked me why we worship Him, since He offers testimony concerning Himself saying that He was sent by God, and [that] the one who had acknowledged Him [i.e., Jesus], he acknowledges before the one who sent Him, and the one who denies Him [i.e., Jesus], he denies before the one who sent Him [cf. John 12:44–45]" (*De cetero innotuisti mihi, commemorans de Christo filio Marię, quare adoremus illum, cum ipse testimonium de semetipso perhibet dicens quod missus sit a Deo, et qui confessus fuerit eum confiteatur ille eum coram eo qui misit illum, et qui negauerit eum abneget eum coram eo qui missit illum*).⁸⁷

In addition to invoking different scriptural proof texts (one Qur'anic, the other biblical), the versions also deploy this argument in different contexts. While the Aljamiado and Armenian versions embed this point within the larger issue of the corruption of scripture, the Christian Arabic and Latin versions do not associate it with the question of the validity of the Hebrew scriptures. Instead, the testimony of Jesus stands on its own in these versions, and the Muslim argument is rebutted through recourse to a long list of biblical testimony to the persons of the Trinity. Nonetheless, all the versions reflect an argument preoccupied with what Jesus said about himself.

THE CONTAMINATION OF THE TORAH

Following the argument that we should trust Jesus's words over those of the Hebrew scriptures, the Aljamiado goes on to claim that the Hebrew Bible also suffered textual corruption (*tahrif*) and attacks its validity still further by asserting that it omits central tenets of both Muslim and Christian belief, since it says "nothing about paradise, nor the fire [of hell], nor about bringing to life, nor raising up after giving life again, nor judgment nor giving account[.] And on this account the Jews lie about the Samaritans and the day of resurrection" (*¿No veyedes que vosotros no trovades en el Ataurá—aquej que razonades que fue deballado sobre Músā—que fable en nenguna cosa ni del aljana ni del fuego, ni reçucitar ni levantar depués del revibcamiento, el judicio y el conto? Y por aquello esmentieron los cemirías y l'alqiyama*).⁸⁸

ի կարծիս անկար. և ոչ բաւական համարեցար զոր վկայեաց Յիսոս զանձնէ իր. այլ հաւատացեր յայն զոր ասացին մարգարեքն: Այլ Յիսոս արդարի արժանի էր հաւատարմոթեան և մատ էր յԱստուած. և լաւագյուն զիտէր զինքն քան զգրեալսն զոր վիովիսեցին ազգը զորս ոչ զիտէր և այսպէցին [32v]).

86 Christian Arabic, 64r–v.

87 Latin I, P61r.

88 Aljamiado, A9r.

The Armenian, Christian Arabic, Latin, and Aljamiado versions all discuss the destruction of the Hebrew scriptures at the time of the Babylonian captivity and the inability of human memory to reconstruct them. The Armenian version restates the polemical point concisely (“When you said, ‘We do not find anything in the laws of Moses concerning the kingdom [of heaven], hell, judgment, and resurrection’” [Իսկ որ ասացեր ոչ գտանել մեզ յարենսն Սովուսի վասն արքանութեան և դժոնց և դաստասանի և յարութեան]⁸⁹ and, in rebuttal, directly defends the scribe Ezra—the typical focus of Muslim charges of scriptural corruption: “You said that ‘the Scripture was written with human reason.’ I know that you mean to defame the second [composition of the Torah] by Ezra even though the grace of the Holy Spirit was upon him and he told everything without error” (Իսկ որ ասացեր մարդկան հանճարով գրեալ զգրեանն. զիտեմ զի զան ի յԵզրէ զԵրկրորդումն կամի բամբասել զի թԵպէտն եղեն ի վերա նորա շնորհ հոգոյն սրբոյ և առանց վրիսանաց պատմեաց զամենայն. և յորժամ միանգամայն ազգն յաշխարհացն յորց սփոթեցան).⁹⁰ It is notable that, while the Armenian version is quick to defend Ezra, there is no indication that Ezra’s supposed inability to remember the Torah accurately was ever explicitly part of the original Muslim argument to which he was responding.

By contrast, the Christian Arabic and Latin versions of Leo’s letter include an explicit reference to Ezra that is lacking in the Aljamiado text of ‘Umar’s. “You said,” the Christian Arabic text reads, “‘The Torah was corrupted. Ezra himself altered it and wrote it wrongly. وَقُولُوا إِنَّ التُّورَةَ حُرْفٌ وَبِدَلُهَا عَزِيزٌ’”⁹¹ (نفسه وكتبها خطأ. ولم تذكر فيها القيامة ولا الجنة ولا النار). The Latin version preserves the same complaint: “And again you say that the Law of Moses had been burned in fire, and Ezra restored it as he was able to recall [it] from the memory of his heart, but not without a falsehood; there was there [i.e., in the Torah] no mention of the resurrection, nor of paradise, nor of hell” (*Et iterum dicis quia lex Moysi igne fuisse cremata, et renouauit eam Esdra ut potuit de memoria cordis sui recordare, sed non sine mendacio; et non fuerit ibid rememoratus de resurrectione neque de paradiso neque de inferno*).⁹²

The Aljamiado, Armenian, Christian Arabic, and Latin all share strikingly similar statements about the lack of core beliefs in the Hebrew scriptures. The Armenian version’s inference of a charge against Ezra suggests the author’s awareness of a larger controversy that surrounded the biblical prophet, despite the lack of any mention of him in the surviving versions of ‘Umar’s letter. The Christian Arabic and Latin versions’ response to a direct accusation against Ezra’s rewriting of scripture attests to their familiarity with this particular argument. Taken together, the various versions provide us with a window into the shifting shape of conversations about *tahrif* and the reliability of scripture between Muslim and Christian interlocutors.

⁸⁹ Armenian, 41v–42r.

⁹⁰ Armenian, 41r.

⁹¹ Christian Arabic, 64v.

⁹² Latin I, P61r–v.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES AND GOSPELS (Q3:50)

The Aljamiado version of 'Umar's letter in a third argumentative strand then criticizes the Christian understanding of revelation by asserting that God revealed only one message to his prophets, thus the Torah and Gospels must agree with each other in their messages. Any differences between them, therefore, must result from the falsification of both: "According to your views, the Torah and the Gospel differed in many things. And if not, why did you and the Jews depart from it, and dispute with each other? The Torah and the Gospel should not disagree with each other, because the Book of God is all one, and is truthful, and the one should verify the other, and neither the commandment of God nor His religion nor His Book is disputed" (*Y ya s'encontrasta el Ataurá y el Evangelio en muchos fechos, según razonades. Y si no, ¿por qué mudastes d'ello vosotros y los judíos, y vos contrastastes? No se contrastaría el Ataurá y los Evangelios, porque el alquiteb d'Allah todo es uno, y es verdadero, que averdadece lo uno a lo otro, y no es contrastado el mandamiento de Allah ni su [a] adín, ni su alquiteb*).⁹³ Here the Muslim author follows the logic of Qur'an 3:50, where Jesus declares, "I will confirm the Torah revealed before me" (وَمُحَدِّقًا لَمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيِّ مِنَ الْتُّورَةِ).

In response, all the Christian versions pointedly affirm that the Hebrew scriptures and Gospels agree, most especially in the Hebrew Bible's foretelling of the coming of Christ. The Armenian version, which, as we have seen, has close connections to the Aljamiado, expectedly responds most directly to the accusation, "We know, however, that the Old and the New [Testaments] do not contradict each other" (քեզենու ոչ հակառակ միմեսանց զիշի և զնորու զինտուր),⁹⁴ and then goes on to argue that Jesus acted to fulfill the Hebrew scriptures. In the Christian Arabic text we are told: "You will find [in the Hebrew scriptures and Gospels alike] a clear story and a correct way regarding the issue of Christ. You will be pleased with it and will be beyond doubt, when [you see] the Scriptures of God confirm one another and the prophets [confirm] one another, even agreeing about Christ, whom God sent, in the Old and the New [Testaments]" (فَإِنْ سَأَلْجَدْ مِنْ شَانَ الْمَسِيحَ امْرًا مُضِيًّا وَطَرِيقًا) قافية. وتنشرح إليها وتستقر نفسك من الشك اذا صدقت كتب الله بعضها بعضها والأنبياء بعضهم بعضًا حتى يتفق (في المسيح الذي أنزل الله في العقيقة والحديثة).⁹⁵ The Latin version is much the same: "You will find the truth about Christ, and the correct path, so that there is no wavering within you, while you will see Scripture offering testimony to Scripture and harmonizing mutually what is in the Old and New Testament about Christ" (*tunc repperies de Christo ueritatem et uiam rectam donec non sit in te ulla titubatio, dum uideris scripturam scripturę testimonium perhibentem sibimet inuicem concordantem in Christo quod est in ueteri et in nouo testamento*).⁹⁶

LORD AND GOD (Q3:51)

The final thread of the multistrand argument in the Aljamiado version of 'Umar's letter is that Jesus referred to God as "his Lord," implying, therefore, that he was not himself the divine Lord God, echoing here Qur'an 3:51, where Jesus exclaims, "God is my Lord

93 Aljamiado, A10v.

94 Armenian, 35v.

95 Christian Arabic, 65v.

96 Latin I, P61v–62r.

and your Lord.” Although the overall shape of the Aljamiado critique adheres to Qur'an 3 closely, the author uses the Gospels instead of the Qur'an to prove his point, repeating the claim that we should trust the testimony of Jesus: “You offer that which Jesus gave testimony of in the Gospel, that he had a Lord, whom he worshipped, and to whom he prayed, and asked help of Him, and beseeched Him. And he ceased being the Lord” (*Y dexas lo que testemonió Isá en el Evangelio, qu’él abía Señor, que adoraba en Él y fazía oración enta Él y demandaba acorro a Él y lo pregaba. Y lo quitaba de seyer Señor*).⁹⁷ In support of this argument, the Aljamiado ‘Umar then offers a number of biblical proof texts:

- John 4:34; 5:30, 36: “I cannot do anything, and cannot say anything, without the power of my Lord. What I do, I do, and what I say, I say in the power and name of my Lord God, the One who has sent me” (*Yo no puedo fazer cosa ni puedo fablar sino que seya con poder de mi Señor. Que fago lo que fago, y fablo lo que fablo con el poder y nonbre de mi Señor Allah, Aquel que me á enviado*).⁹⁸
- Matt. 26:42; Luke 22:42: “Lord, if You do choose to have anyone else drink this cup, then take it from me. But no, let it be as You want, O my Lord” (*Señor, si Tú escoges a nenguno de beber este vaso, pues escúsalo de mí. Mas no, seya como Túquieres, ye mi Señor*).⁹⁹
- Ps. 22:1; Matt. 27:46: “O my Lord, do not abandon me into the power of your servants” (*Ye mi Señor, no me deenpares en poder de tus siervos*).¹⁰⁰
- John 12:44: “Whoever believes in me, does not believe in me, but believes in the One who has sent me” (*Quien creye en mí no creya en mí, mas creya en Aquel que me á enviado a mí*).¹⁰¹
- John 16:18: “My Lord has sent me to the world; afterward I will return to Him” (*Ame <e>nviado mi Señor al mundo, depués tornaré a Él*).¹⁰²

The Armenian version provides the clearest response to this argument, denouncing the polemicist's method of relying on Christian scripture. The author even accuses the Muslims of having changed the text of the Gospels to suit their own purposes: “But I am extremely surprised at this, since you reject the Gospels of the Lord and the books of the prophet[s], saying that men corrupted them and wrote them as they wished, yet you make every effort to gather testimony from them for your inconsistent suppositions. You remove a word [from a verse], which is produced as a witness, so that where ‘Father’ is written, you transpose it with ‘Lord’ or ‘God’” (քայլ ընդ այս յոյժ զարմանամ զի խոսես զԱւետարանն Տեսն և զմարզարէհ<g>ն՝ զիս ասելով Եթէ խանզարեցին մարդիկ զնսա և որպէս կամեցան զրեցին. և դու զվկաութեանն անհաստատ կարծեացդ քն անդուս

⁹⁷ Aljamiado, A8v.

⁹⁸ Aljamiado, A12v.

⁹⁹ Aljamiado, A12v–13r.

¹⁰⁰ Aljamiado, A13v.

¹⁰¹ Aljamiado, A13v.

¹⁰² Aljamiado, A13v.

շանացար ժողովել. և զրան զոր առնի վկաութին ի բաց բաժանես. զի որ հայր զրեալ է, Տէր կամ Աստուած փոխեալ դնես).¹⁰³

In addition, the Armenian version addresses most of the proof texts offered in the Aljamiado:

- John 4:34; 5:30, 36: “He said: ‘The Son of Man cannot do anything by Himself, but the Father, who has dwelt in Me, does the work.’ If you believe this [verse] of Scripture, ‘I cannot do anything by Myself,’ believe that one [which says,] ‘The Father, who has dwelt in Me, does the work’” (ասաց՝ ոչ կարէ որդի մարդոյ յանձնէ առնել և ոչ ինչ. այլ հայրն որ յիս բնակեալ է նա զործէ զգործն. եթէ հաւատսա այն զրելոցն ոչ կարեն յանձնէ առնել և ոչ ինչ. հաւատսա այն թէ հայր որ յիս բնակեալն է նա զործէ զգործն).¹⁰⁴
- Matt. 26:42; Luke 22:42: “He did not say as you wrote. Rather, He said: ‘Father, if it is possible, take this cup from Me,’ indicating that ‘I am truly a man’” (այլ յաղաթելն ոչ ասէր որպէս դուռ զրեցէր. այլ եթէ հայր եթէ հնար է անց զրաժակս զայս յինէն. ցուցանելով թէ մարդ ճշմարիտ եմ).¹⁰⁵
- Ps. 22:1; Matt. 27:46: Absent from the Armenian rebuttal.
- John 12:44: “You did not lie only about this one thing, but even when you took testimony correctly, you were not able to believe that ‘he who believed in Me believed not in Me, but in the one who sent Me,’ that is, not in this visible man, but in this invisible Word [of] God” (յոյժ կարծես յանիրաւութեան զմինս ևեթ ոչ ստեցեր. այլ թէ կ վկասութինն ուղիղ եղիր հաւանել ոչ կարացեր. որ հաւատսա յիս՝ ոչ հաւատսա յիս այլ յայն որ առաքեացն զիս. այսինքն է, ոչ յերևելի մարդս. այլ յաներևոյթ Աստուած բանս).¹⁰⁶
- John 16:18: “And again, He did not say ‘God sent Me to the world and I return to Him,’ as you also wrote, but ‘the Father who sent Me is with Me.’ Again, ‘I came out from the Father and I came to the world; again, I am leaving the world and going to the Father.’ But where ‘Father’ is written, you change it to either ‘Lord’ or ‘God.’ Do you think to justify it for yourself? [Then] you think very unjustly” (և դարձեալ ոչ ասաց առաքեաց զիս Աստուած առ տիեզերս և դառնամ առ նա որպէս և դու զրեցեր. այլ թէ որ առաքեացն զիս հայր ընդ իս է. և դարձեալ ելի ի հարէ և եկի յաշխարհ. դարձեալ թողում զաշխարհ և երթամ առ հայր. Բայց որ հայր զրեալ է. դու զայն Տէր կամ Աստուած շրջես. և անձամբ զանձն իրաւացուցանել կարծես).¹⁰⁷

The Armenian version, therefore, once again demonstrates a clear familiarity with the specific argumentative form of the Aljamiado ‘Umar, adhering to its logic and offering rebuttals verse by verse.

103 Armenian, 47v–48r.

104 Armenian, 57v–58r.

105 Armenian, 57v.

106 Armenian, 58v.

107 Armenian, 58r–v.

The Christian Arabic and Latin versions both take up the accusation that Jesus himself referred to a Lord other than himself as well, but both the adduced proof texts and the corresponding responses differ from what we find in the Aljamiado and Armenian versions. Presenting the original Muslim critique, the Christian Arabic Leo writes,

You also said, “Why do you venerate Jesus, the messenger of God, and why do you regard him as God? But He testifies about Himself in the Gospel, ‘I am the messenger of God to men. Therefore, whoever believes in Me, he believes in the one who sent Me, and whoever denies Me, he denies the one who sent Me.’ When God lifted Him up to Him, he said to the apostles, ‘I am ascending to My Lord and your Lord, and to My God and your God.’ He testifies about himself that he is the messenger of God.”

وتقول لم تسجدون لعيسى رسول الله وتجعلونه الها؟ وهو شاهد على نفسه في الانجيل اني رسول الله الى الناس. فمن صدقني صدق الذي ارسلني ومن كذبني كذب من ارسلني. وقال للحواريين اذ رفعه الله اليه اني اصعد الى ربكم والاهمي والهكم. وهو يشهد على نفسه انه رسول الله.¹⁰⁸

The line of attack is much the same, but the proof text is John 20:17 (“I am ascending to My Father and your Father, to My God and your God”), which appears in neither the Aljamiado nor the Armenian. Intriguingly, though, the Muslim argument as recorded in the Christian Arabic version does, in fact, replace “Father” with “Lord” in its citation of John 20:17, apparently substantiating the argument found in the Armenian that Muslims had tampered with the wording of Christian scripture to suit their own purposes. The Christian Arabic Leo, however, does not object to this reading as incorrect, suggesting that he may not have noticed the polemically charged, altered citation of scripture. He thus offers no textual rebuttal to the Muslim critique beyond the expected support for the divinity of Christ.

The Latin version likewise has no qualms about citing John 20:17 incorrectly, in this case with “creator” in place of “Father”: “I ascend to My creator and your creator, to My God and your God” (*ascendo ad creatorem meum et ad creatorem uestrum, ad Deum meum et ad Deum uestrum*).¹⁰⁹ Unlike the Christian Arabic, the Latin does quote John 16:28, one of the other proof texts adduced by the Aljamiado ‘Umar and the Armenian Leo: “I came from the Father and I have returned to God” (*ego a Patre exiui, et ad Deum reversus sum*).¹¹⁰ However, this verse is buried in a lengthy list of biblical proof texts for understanding Christ as the Son of God and so is not deployed in the broader argument as it appears in the Aljamiado or Armenian. The authors of the Christian Arabic and Latin versions, therefore, preserve the basic elements of this part of the common strands of argumentation, while simultaneously revealing that its transmission was neither neat nor clear. Different polemicists seized on different parts of the argument and developed their responses in divergent ways.

The multistrand argument about the reliability of scripture and its relation to Jesus’s humanity present in both the Muslim and Christian versions of the epistolary exchange is

¹⁰⁸ Christian Arabic, 64r–v.

¹⁰⁹ Latin I, P61r.

¹¹⁰ Latin I, P64v.

not the only instance of argumentative strands that bring all five versions of the polemic together, as two other cases make clear.

THE IMPURITIES OF THE WOMB (~Q3:42)

In an effort to deny the Incarnation, the Muslim-Arabic 'Umar tells us that Jesus entered “into the belly of a woman [in] affliction, blood, narrowness, darkness, and grievance” (دخل في بطن امراة [في] الغم والدم والضيق والظلمة والاذى).¹¹¹ This polemical tack seems rooted in Qur'an 3:42, where the angels announced to Mary, “God has chosen you and made you pure and chosen you above all women of the world” (إِنَّ اللَّهَ اصْطَفَاكَ وَطَهَّرَكَ اصْطَفَاكَ عَلَى نِسَاءِ الْعَالَمِينَ).¹¹² We find the same objection in the Aljamiado version: “He placed Himself in the body of a woman, among the hay and the blood, and among the discomfort and the anguish” (*se metió en el cuerpo de una muller, entre el pienso y la sangre, y la escomedad y la engostura*).¹¹³ All the Christian versions repeat this assertion with slight variations, though none include the entire list of adjectives that appear in the Muslim Arabic. The Armenian response contains some of the specific descriptors: “And I have not forgotten what you said: ‘How was it possible for God to live in a human womb, among the blood and flesh and various impurities?’” (Ոչ ես եմ մոռացեալ որ ասացերն. եթե զիա՞րդ էր հնար Ասսուծոն ի մարդկան արզանի թնակել. ի մեջ արեան և մարմնոյ և պէսպէս աղտեղորդեան).¹¹⁴ The Christian Arabic puts the claim in the mouth of 'Umar and is, once more, more succinct: “Also, you said, ‘How could God enter into the womb of a woman in affliction and stench?’” (وتقال كيف كان) ¹¹⁵ The Latin version also poses it as a question, though it is aimed back at 'Umar: “And of what sort is your speech or understanding, that you say that God had not been able to enter into the belly of a woman in darkness, narrowness, and foulness?” (*Et qualis est sermo tuus aut intellectus ut dicas non poterat Deus ingredere in uentre mulieris in tenebram et angustias et fetorem?*).¹¹⁶

All five versions of the correspondence, therefore, offer a Muslim argument against the possibility of the Incarnation based on Mary's humanity. Although the verbal parallels between the versions are sometimes striking, the fact that the words employed for “womb” in Arabic—*baṭān* in the Muslim Arabic and *jawf* in the Christian Arabic—do not correspond once again underscores that the relationship between them is not directly textual. Instead, all the versions seem to have been familiar with this specific polemical strand. It is also important to note that an accusation about the impurity of Mary's womb was not necessarily a natural Muslim argument against Christianity, since Qur'an 3:42 expressly proclaims that God purified Mary. Nonetheless, this line of argument reflects a polemical engagement with Qur'an 3:42 and suggests that Mary was purified only to an extent sufficient for bearing a human prophet, not God himself.

¹¹¹ Muslim Arabic, 1r.

¹¹² Aljamiado, 20r–v.

¹¹³ Armenian, 62v.

¹¹⁴ Christian Arabic, 64v.

¹¹⁵ Latin I, P67v.

ADAM AS A COMPARISON TO JESUS (Q3:59)

A final example of a common argumentative strand is the claim that Jesus's birth without a human father is not a sign of his divinity, since Adam was fully human and was born without any parents, here alluding to Qur'an 3:59: "Indeed, in the sight of God, the creation of Jesus is similar to the creation of Adam whom He created out of dust, and then said: 'Be,' and he was" (إِنَّ مِثْلَ عِيسَى عِنْدَ اللَّهِ كَمَثْلَ آدَمَ خَلَقَهُ مِنْ تُرَابٍ ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُنْ). The Muslim Arabic 'Umar puts it this way: "You are saying a terrible thing, as you have made Jesus into a god because he was not created from man. Yet, Adam was [also] not created from man, nor from woman, and he did not grow up as children grow, year by year" (فَإِنَّمَا لَقُولُونَ قَوْلًا عَظِيمًا).¹¹⁶ The Aljamiado offers a similar challenge, though not in the same words: "How can you say such contemptible words? Now if you are among those who consider Jesus as Lord because he was not made by a male, then we are not able to make sense of the creation of Adam and Eve, because they were not formed from male or female nor did they nurse like children nurse, year after year" (*Cómo dezides palabras tan groseras? Pues si sodes que tomades a Isá por Señor porque no fue feyto de masclo, pues no podemos pensar en el formamiento de Ádam y de Hawā, porqu'ellos no fueron formados de masclo ni de fenbra, ni se criaron como se crían los niños, año enpués año*).¹¹⁷ The Armenian Leo summarizes this argument: "This is what I am saying: you resist speaking of our Lord as God and you profess [that He was] a mere man, citing the example of Adam as one who was also born from God without parents" (Ա այս է զոր ասենան աստուածաբանել զմեր Տերն ընդդիմանանա. Ա մարդ սուկ խստովանի. արինակ ածելով զԱղամ թէն նա առանց ծննդաց յԱսսուծոյ ծննեակ եղլի).¹¹⁸

The Christian Arabic does likewise: "And, as for your statement that, 'He is like Adam,' you are well aware of the fact that Adam did not have a father or a mother" (وَامَّا قَوْلُكَ (انه مثل ادم فقد علمت ان ادم لم يكون له اب ولا ام).¹¹⁹ Elsewhere, in fact, the Christian-Arabic Leo provides the Qur'anic rationale for this argument by citing Qur'an 3:59 verbatim: "As for your statement in your Scripture that 'The example of Jesus to God is like that of Adam. He created him from dust, and said to him, 'Be!' and he was'" (فَامَّا قَوْلُكَ فِي كِتَابِكَ ان مِثْلَ عِيسَى) (عَنْ اللَّهِ كَمَثْلَ آدَمَ خَلَقَهُ مِنْ التُّرَابِ وَقَالَ لَهُ كُنْ فَكَانَ).¹²⁰ The Latin version does not refer to the mother and father of Adam but instead claims that God created him from mud: "And you say that Christ is similar to Adam before God, and [in doing so] you propose that [Adam's] creation from mud . . ." (*Et dicitis quod similis Christus ante Deum sicut et Adam, et ponitis factura [sic] de luto . . .*).¹²¹ The appearance of the specific Qur'anic verse in the Arabic Christian refutation, although absent from the surviving Muslim attestation of the argument, once again points to the complex transmission of this argument and its rejoinder—the Christian

¹¹⁶ Muslim Arabic, 1v.

¹¹⁷ Aljamiado, A21r.

¹¹⁸ Armenian, 59v.

¹¹⁹ Christian Arabic, 85v–86r, cf. 64v.

¹²⁰ Christian Arabic, 66r.

¹²¹ Latin I, P67v.

Arabic Leo is responding to what appears to be a different version of argument from what survives in the extant Muslim texts.

The comparison between Adam and Jesus continues in most versions with the attestation of the humanity of both Jesus and Adam. The Muslim Arabic begins with the claim for the humanity of Jesus: “Jesus ate, drank, slept, was circumcised, and was afraid” (وقد) *(اكل عيسى وشرب ونام واختن وخاف)*.¹²² The same appears in the Aljamiado: “But Jesus was born and ate and drank and slept and was circumcised, and had fear” (*pues ya nació ‘Isā y comió y bebió y durmió y se hatenó yubo miedo*).¹²³ The Christian Arabic and Latin versions respond, “You said, ‘How could God eat, drink, sleep, rejoice, pray, and fear, as you have written about him?’” (وتقول كيف كان يأكل ويسرب وينام ويفرج ويصلى ويحثوا من هذا كتبته به؟), and, “And in regard to this you wrote to me, saying that . . . he ate and drank and slept” (*Et in hoc scripsisti mihi dicens quia dixerit . . . quia comedenter et biberit et dormierit*).¹²⁴ Although the Armenian tackles the issue of the humanity of Jesus, including the specific reference to his fear,¹²⁵ it does not include the wording that is so close in the other versions. The absence of that specific wording in the Armenian renders impossible any direct line of transmission for this strand of argumentation; rather, it formed part of a shared storehouse of arguments from which polemicists might draw their own. We should note, furthermore, that this passage echoes Qur'an 5:75 closer than anything in Qur'an 3, indicating that the common argumentative strands included material that went beyond the latter surah, even if the majority derive from it.

All the extant versions of the correspondence attest to the fact that, at the earliest moments when we are given textual entrée into this conversation, a set of argumentative strands rooted overwhelmingly in Qur'an 3:45–51 had been absorbed into this body of texts and clung to it in all its forms, despite its otherwise profoundly movable and mutable character. The striking similarities in wording, moreover, suggest that these strands derive from a shared source, whether oral or written. It is impossible either to reconstruct what that source looked like in detail or to delineate by what circuitous path elements wound up in this or that surviving version. Nor should these shared strands be thought of as the most important source for any of the texts, since they clearly were drawing on a whole range of disputational conversations and texts that circulated in the entangled, multilingual, multi-confessional world of the early medieval Mediterranean.¹²⁶

A MEDITERRANEAN POLEMIC

Despite the substantial differences between the various versions of the correspondence, we have seen that they sort themselves into three meaningful subgroups and that all the extant versions share several strands of argument derived from Qur'an 3:45–51. There are,

122 Muslim Arabic, 1r.

123 Aljamiado, A19v.

124 Christian Arabic, 64v, Latin I, P66v.

125 Armenian, 58r.

126 This complex picture of textual and oral transmission of pieces of disputational information thus differs from that of Palombo (2015, 259), who concludes that “[t]he simplest way to explain the many symmetries between the extant version of the ‘correspondence’ is to suppose that they depend on an original common source.”

though, a handful of other features they share as well. For one thing, they are all what can be categorized only as unsophisticated polemics, meant more perhaps for what Jack Tannous has called the “Simple Believers” than for the highly learned strata of the Christian and Muslim worlds.¹²⁷ We have none of the sophisticated, philosophically informed arguments by the likes of Theodore Abu Qurra in the early medieval period or Ibn Taymiyya later on. They also generally lack literary quality—most contain a lot of awkward writing and grammatical infelicity. But we conclude this introductory essay by lingering over a feature of the correspondence in all its versions that is especially striking: that it is a correspondence between a caliph and a Byzantine emperor and that the start of this correspondence is lost in a hazy, remote past grounded only in its attribution to the same two leaders in the eighth century, while the implication remains that the correspondence between them has no foreseeable conclusion.

There are other apologetic or polemical texts in which powerful rulers figure as protagonists—most famously in the eighth-century dialogue between Timothy I, patriarch of the Church of the East, and Caliph al-Mahdi, but also in the charming eleventh-century discussions between Bishop Elias of Nisibis and the Marwanid vizier al-Maghribi¹²⁸—but the correspondence between ‘Umar II b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and Leo III is unique in being attributed to a caliph and a Byzantine emperor. Moreover, despite the enormous range of differences between the extant versions, the association of these letters with those two potentates remains consistent over time and across languages.

It is easiest to speculate about the inclusion of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz. Although ‘Umar was a scion of the much-reviled Umayyad family, he typically evades the condemnation of later generations. He is sometimes referred to as “the fifth Rightly-Guided Caliph,” drawing a direct connection to the earliest days of the Muslim community after the death of the Prophet. This nickname also draws a direct connection to his celebrated namesake and maternal grandfather, the second caliph, ‘Umar I b. al-Khattab. The grandson—‘Umar II—earned his reputation through a careful and selective presentation of his reign in many of the later Arabic texts.¹²⁹ They commend his fiscal reforms to bring caliphal taxation into line with Islamic precepts, his release of prisoners who had suffered under earlier Umayyads, his fair treatment of converts to Islam (*mawali*), his determination to stamp out nepotism, and his decision to recall the Umayyad siege of Constantinople. Although some sources retain hints that ‘Umar’s story is far more complicated than typically allotted,¹³⁰ he is usually celebrated as an exceptionally pious and fair person. Furthermore, the correspondence between ‘Umar and Leo can be situated in a larger body of letters purportedly penned by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz to a variety of other recipients, including some in which the caliph critiques Muslims for beliefs he finds unacceptable.¹³¹ Writing to a Roman emperor is apposite for the curated image of ‘Umar that has survived today. As an

127 Tannous 2018, *passim*, esp. 46–81.

128 On the former see most recently Samir and Nasry 2018; on the latter see Monferrer Sala 2010, 730–32.

129 Gibb 1955; Guessous 1996.

130 For example, stories abound that he was a spendthrift who squandered his funds in search of excessive luxuries before becoming caliph. Such anecdotes are effective specifically because they offer a stark contrast to ‘Umar’s reputation as a humble, frugal, pious caliph who eschewed social norms and rejected luxuries of any kind.

131 For other letters from ‘Umar, see Crone and Hinds 2003, 77n123.

additional benefit, ‘Umar retained this positive image in both Islamic and Christian texts, making him the ideal interlocutor. Since many (though certainly not all) Christian texts acknowledged that he was a good ruler and an upright person, perhaps he was chosen to give additional weight to the arguments through his credibility. Given this reputation, ‘Umar’s involvement as the champion of Islam in this exchange of letters is not particularly surprising.¹³²

By contrast, the choice of Leo III the Isaurian as the champion of Christianity in this correspondence is harder to explain. Like his counterpart, Leo also instigated reforms, focusing here on Roman law and administration. He also repelled the Umayyad attack on Constantinople. However, his legacy is more difficult to trace. Many of the policies that build the image of Leo as an emperor elicited condemnation in later texts, so his memory is deeply tarnished. In particular, Leo is remembered as the instigator of the Iconoclast Controversy with the order to destroy icons in 726 CE.¹³³ However, it seems that Leo’s standing as a representative voice of iconoclasm in this era was not in fact a primary concern of the authors of the various versions of the correspondence. All versions of ‘Umar’s letter to Leo (Muslim Arabic, Armenian, and Aljamiado) challenge the efficacy of icon veneration, but the Armenian letter of Leo to ‘Umar offers a rebuttal to confirm the relevance of icons in Christian worship. None of the versions of the correspondence hint that iconomachy is a concern within the Christian world, so the value of veneration here offers a space to delineate Christian from Muslim belief. Leo’s reputation as an iconoclast emperor, therefore, did not inform the choice of Leo as the voice for Christianity. It is possible that the same epistolary impulse was shared by both ‘Umar and Leo, as an Armenian source purports to preserve correspondence between Leo and the Umayyad governor Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik.¹³⁴ However, this anecdote does not seem to participate in a broader association of Leo with letter writing. The logical explanation for Leo’s inclusion in the correspondence is not his personal feats or his troubled reputation but instead merely chance timing. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and Leo came to power in the same year, but ‘Umar passed away after only two and a half years. Leo was the only Roman emperor to reign conterminously with ‘Umar. He was therefore the only choice if the correspondence started with ‘Umar as the voice to champion Islam, assuming the authors attempted to keep to the verisimilitude of two contemporary rulers challenging each other.

In addition to the letters’ consistent association with ‘Umar and Leo, in all of them the conceit that this is an exchange of letters survives. Often the letters imply that the correspondence has, in fact, involved repeated exchanges of letters that seem to have no end. The first sentence of the Armenian version of Leo’s letter tells us that “‘Umar, the prince of the Ishmaelites, wrote all of these disputation and many more to the king Leo. For that reason, it was necessary for the emperor Leo to respond” (Ղայու ամենայն և յոլովազոյն բան զայս ընդդիմաբանութիւնս. զրեք Ումար իշխանն Իսմաելի առ բազաւորն Ղետոն: Վասն որոյ

¹³² To trace the memory of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz in both Islamic and Christian historiography, see Barthold 1971; Borrut 2005; 2011, chap. 6.

¹³³ The classic work on this front is Gero 1973. However, Brubaker 2012, 27–29, has demonstrated that Leo’s policies are not as well attested as we might expect, given the predominant narrative of iconomachy.

¹³⁴ See Lewond 2024, 213.

հարկադրի կայսրն Ղետն զրել պատսախանի).¹³⁵ The Aljamiado ‘Umar similarly claims, “Now then, you have written to me many letters in which you have spoken about the matter of Jesus. . . . I do not now know what has made you write me again” (*A cuanto depués tú me as escribo a mí muitas cartas, que as lonbrado en ellas del fecho de Ḥsā. . . . no sé qué te á fecho retornar a escribir a mí*).¹³⁶ It is notable, moreover, that while the Armenian Leo is supposedly responding to the short Armenian version of ‘Umar’s letter tacked on to the beginning of it, almost certainly after the long Christian text had already been written, he specifically refers to things that ‘Umar wrote that are not in that letter at all, as on 57r (“And as to what you said, that ‘there is one faith’” [Եւ որ սասցիք եթե մի են հսկանք]) and 68r (“As for what you said about Satan and the souls of the righteous, you make Satan the treasurer of God” [Իսկ վասն սատանաի և արդարոցն հնուց որ սասցիք զսատանա Աստծոյ զանձապսս սանութք]), giving the reader the impression that Leo is responding to more than one missive sent his way by ‘Umar.¹³⁷

Other versions likewise allude to there being additional letters besides the single exchange between ‘Umar and Leo that survives in the extant texts. The Arabic version of Leo’s letter, for example, observes at one point, “As for what you asked us about Christianity, it is the same as I have described to you in my letter, and what I have explained to and فاما الذي سالت عنه من امر دين النصرانية فهو كالذى وصفت (فاما الذي سالت عنه من امر دين النصرانية فهو كالذى وصفت) written to you about the issue of Adam” (لك في كتابي وما فسرت لك وكتبت به اليك في شأن ادم ¹³⁸). All versions repeat over and over statements that collectively give the impression that this discussion is ongoing, with little end in sight: “You wrote to censure us for . . .” (¹³⁹“You claimed that . . .”; ¹⁴⁰“You (زعمتم ان); ¹⁴¹“كتبت الي تذكر شأن المسيح عيسى” (¹⁴²“As for your question about the Eucharist . . .”; ¹⁴³“And in regard to this you wrote to me, saying that [Jesus] said, ‘I was sent of God to you’ . . .” (*Et in hoc scribesisti mihi dicens quia dixerit Dei missus sum ad uos*); ¹⁴⁴“[Regarding] that which you noted about the cross . . .” (*Quod tamen de cruce notuisti*); ¹⁴⁵“You wrote to me that you find in the Psalms of David . . .” (*Escribísmene tú a mí que trovas en el Azabur de Dāwūd*)).

Among these many reminders of the seemingly endless nature of this correspondence, and the broader Christian-Muslim conversation in which it participates, one cannot help but notice something else: the beginning of the correspondence appears to be as uncertain as its conclusion is impossible. The Armenian version of Leo’s letter implies that ‘Umar initiated the exchange of letters in the form of “all these disputations and many more” (Չոյս ամենայն և յոլովազնյ բան զայս լորդիմարսանոնքին) that he had sent Leo; the Aljamiado

135 Armenian, 33v.

136 Aljamiado, A6r.

137 Armenian, 57r, 68r.

138 Christian Arabic, 70v.

139 Muslim Arabic, 7v.

140 Muslim Arabic, 7v.

141 Christian Arabic, 62v.

142 Christian Arabic, 71v.

143 Latin I, P66v.

144 Latin I, P69v.

145 Aljamiado, A8r.

version claims the opposite.¹⁴⁶ None of the extant versions suggests anything more concrete. The correspondence thus appears to have no agreed-upon initiator. According to the Muslim versions, Leo started the exchange, while according to the Christian versions, it was 'Umar who did so. More significantly, the repeated reference to other epistolary exchanges between the two figures opened a space in which this conversation could continue seemingly without end. It is the hazy contours of this correspondence, without a clear beginning or firm conclusion, that allowed the Christian and Muslim residents of both extremities of the Mediterranean to inscribe themselves into it.

146 Armenian, 33v; Aljamiado, A6r.

1

The Latin Letter of Leo (Latin I)

INTRODUCTION

WITHIN ABOUT HALF A CENTURY of the appearance of the Armenian and Christian Arabic version of the correspondence, an anonymous Christian in al-Andalus got his hands on an Arabic version of Leo III's letter to 'Umar II and translated it into rather awkward Latin. This version survives in a Carolingian manuscript (P) copied in southern France not later than 850. At some point between its initial translation and about 1100, this original version of the translation was revised to improve its grammar and clarity, and this revised version survives in three later manuscripts as well, all of Iberian provenance (M, T, and S).¹ In all four of these manuscripts, the last of which dates to the fifteenth century, the *Epistula Leonis imperatoris* forms an adjunct to Isidore of Seville's seventh-century *De fide catholica contra Iudeos*, a widely read treatise against the Jews that survives in nearly thirty manuscripts from before 1100, though there is no way to determine whether this was the original intent of that translator.² When the *Epistula Leonis imperatoris* shows up in the manuscript record at all, it always follows Isidore's work immediately, therefore supplementing its broadsides against Judaism with Leo's attacks on Islam.

A quick glance through both the Armenian and the Christian Arabic versions of Leo's letter make clear that the Latin translation is not derived directly from either one, though they all share, as we have seen, a series of common arguments and themes. After listing some of 'Umar's main questions, the Latin Leo calls on 'Umar to scrutinize the scriptures of the Old and then the New Testaments for evidences of the Trinity, Jesus's status as the divine Word, and his divine sonship. He recalls the history of the devil's and God's dealings with humanity with vignettes from the life of Noah, the children of Israel at Mount Sinai, the prophets, and, ultimately, the Incarnation. He describes how the divine Word could be incarnate in Mary and discusses Old Testament anticipations of the Incarnation, such as the veneration of the ark of the covenant and Moses's worshipping God in the burning bush. He asserts that Ezra's transcription of the Hebrew Bible from memory is accurate; defends the Christian Eucharist and refutes Qur'an 5:112–15's supposed account of it; and defends Christian veneration of the cross and describes the finding of the true cross through Constantine and Helena. Finally, he argues against the supposed Muslim ban on greeting infidels and against Islamic notions of divine predetermination.

The date of the translation—sometime before 850—can be firmly established on paleographical grounds. The twentieth century's greatest scholar of Carolingian manuscripts has securely dated the earliest manuscript of it, Paris, BnF lat. 2826 (P), to the first half of

1 For more on these manuscripts, see the end of this introduction.

2 Castro Caridad and Peña Fernández 2012, 42.

the ninth century and specified that it was copied south of the Loire River.³ The translator himself, though, claims that it is a translation from “Chaldean” (*Translata est hec epistula olim de greco in caldaicum sermonem*), an ambiguous term that could mean either Aramaic/Syriac or Arabic in this period. This ambiguity would make it difficult to ascertain where the translation itself was done, since we can think of a number of places in the early eighth century where Aramaic/Syriac or Arabic might have been put into Latin—Saint Catherine’s Monastery in Sinai, which had Latin monks, for example, or anywhere in western North Africa where the Latin Church still thrived in this period, as well as in al-Andalus, where Latin letters were very much a going concern, as the works of Saint Eulogius and Paulus Alvarus indicate.⁴

Nevertheless, one prominent feature of the Latin *Epistula Leonis imperatoris* argues definitively that its translator worked in al-Andalus, and almost certainly from an Arabic original. As Miguel C. Vivancos has shown, the Latin translator put the quotations of the Psalms in his source text into Latin versions that strikingly reflect the so-called “Mozarabic Psalter,” or *Psalterium uisigoticum-mozarabicum*, used in al-Andalus. Where the Vulgate has *Postula a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam* in Psalm 2:7–8, both the Mozarabic Psalter and the *Epistula Leonis imperatoris* have *Pete a me . . .* Likewise, when Leo quotes Psalm 104:30, the Latin version and the Mozarabic Psalter read *Emitte spiritum tuum*, while the Vulgate has *Emittes spiritum tuum*.⁵ In al-Andalus, moreover, as Vivancos also points out, the Latin word *Chaldaicus* generally meant “Arabic” in the early Middle Ages, as is clear from the works of ninth-century authors such as Alvarus and Eulogius.⁶ While it is conceivable that someone in ninth-century al-Andalus knew Syriac and could have translated a Syriac version of the letter into Latin—we know that Christian monks from the eastern Mediterranean had made their way there in the early Middle Ages⁷—it is far more likely that, in this land where *Chaldaicus* meant “Arabic,” our Latin translator was working from Arabic, a language which, as Alvarus famously lamented, Andalusi Christians embraced so enthusiastically that they no longer knew how to write proper Latin.⁸

Furthermore, while there is no definitive evidence in the translation itself that it is from an Arabic original, it certainly often reads that way. For one thing, the Latin syntax occasionally betrays an Arabic source text. While describing how Jews in Jerusalem preserved secret knowledge of the location of the true cross, the *Epistula Leonis imperatoris* offers a sentence that reads as follows: *Et quidam de Iudeis principes qui erant, comprehendit eos timor ualidus propter ipsas cruces ut celarent omnibus ueritatem*.⁹ By classical and medieval standards this is bad Latin syntax: an absolute, *quidam principes . . . iudeis*, in the nominative, stands before the main clause, which begins with the verb *comprehendit*, but then the “certain leaders” of the preceding nominative absolute become the *object* of

³ Bischoff, 2014, 83. The online catalog of the Bibliothèque nationale de France affirms this dating: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc60614z> (accessed August 26, 2019).

⁴ For an ample introduction to this cultural milieu and an exhaustive bibliography, see Wolf 2019.

⁵ Vivancos 2013, 425–27; Latin I, P63r, P62v.

⁶ Vivancos 2013, 427.

⁷ See Wolf 2016, 28–29; Millet-Gérard 1984, 154–55, 159–63, 166.

⁸ Alvarus 1973, 1:314–15. For one of the many discussions of this passage, see Wasserstein 1991, 1–7.

⁹ Latin I, fol. P69v.

that verb, as their reintroduction in the form of the accusative *eos* makes clear. Literally translated, the whole reads: “And certain leaders from among the Jews, a great fear seized *them* on account of those crosses, so that they concealed the truth from everyone.” While it is bad Latin style, though, it is very good Arabic style, for such nominal absolutes¹⁰ occur frequently in written Arabic, sometimes as the subject but often as the object of the main clause.

Moreover, if we look at the passages of the *Epistula Leonis imperatoris* that contain quotations from the Qur'an, for the most part they give the impression of being translated directly from Arabic, without any intervening language. The quotation of Qur'an 5:112–15 (P69r–v), for example, begins *dixissent discipuli ad Christum inuoca deum ut dirigat nobis mensam de caelo* (“The disciples had said to Christ, Call upon God to us send a table from heaven”). This is a close translation of the Arabic, adhering to its word order especially in the second clause: *إِذْ قَالَ الْخَوَارِيْقُنْ يَا عِيْسَى ابْنَ مَرِيْمَ هَلْ يَسْتَطِيْعُ رَبُّكَ أَنْ يُرْزِقَ عَلَيْنَا مَائِنَةً مِنَ السَّمَا*: It is true that there are departures from the Arabic here and there: the translator substitutes “Christ” for “Jesus son of Mary” and “God” for “your Lord.” But there is nothing here that clearly suggests an intermediate translation between the Latin and the Arabic. We see something similar in the following verse (Q5:113). The Latin reads, *Et dixerunt discipuli uolumus comedere de illa et credimus tibi, et scimus quia uerum loquutus es nobis et testis super ipsa heris* (“And the disciples said, we want to eat from [this table], and we believe in You, and we know that You have spoken the truth, and you will be a witness regarding the same”). The disciples are not named explicitly in the Qur'anic text here, but the translator has added *discipuli* to clarify the point. There is no obvious reason for replacing the Qur'an's “and our hearts will be at rest” (*wa-tatma'inna qulubunā*) with “and we believe in you” (*credimus tibi*), and the translator misread *nakūn* (“we will be”) as *takūn* (“you will be”) in the last clause. Yet in general the Latin follows the Arabic fairly closely: *قَالُوا نَرِيدُ أَنْ تَكُلُّ مِنْهَا وَتَطْمَئِنُّ قُلُوبُنَا وَنَعْلَمُ أَنْ قَدْ صَدَقْنَا وَنَكُونُ عَلَيْهَا مِنَ الشَّاهِدِينَ*. The last phrase of the passage (in Q5:115) is especially close to the Arabic: *cruciabo illūm cruciatiōne qua nemo cruciatus est* (“I will torture him with a torture by which no one has been tortured”). In the repeated use of the same root in different forms, we see another reflection of a style common in Arabic, and once again the Latin syntax follows the Arabic closely: *فَإِنَّمَا أَعْذِبُهُ عَذَابًا لَا أَعْذِبُهُ أَحَدًا مِنَ الْعَالَمِينَ*. That the *Epistula Leonis imperatoris* was translated directly from Arabic without a Syriac intermediating text, therefore, is almost certain.

A quick examination of the critical apparatus indicates that the four manuscripts readily divide into two major groups, with the oldest manuscript, the Carolingian codex P, copied in southern France, in one group, and the remaining three, all copied in Iberia, in the other. In the edition that follows, we have adopted the Carolingian codex P as the base text—not, however, merely because it is the oldest but also because, while its text has many important variants from that preserved in M, T, and S, it almost certainly preserves the earliest version of the text. Two quite different kinds of evidence suggest so: (1) P's quotations from other texts—the Bible and Qur'an in particular—are at points rather more accurate than the Iberian manuscripts; and (2) its Latin is much worse from a grammatical

¹⁰ As the late George M. Wickens (1980, 45–46) referred to them. The same construction appears elsewhere in the letter as well: *Iterum temptati a diabolo, immisit in eis ignem et consumpsit multitudinem ex eis* (fol. P66r).

point of view, similar in this way to many of the other texts written by Andalusi Christians the ninth century. Both points require discussion.

On several occasions, P offers quotations of the Bible and Qur'an that are either more intelligible in context or notably closer to the source text. Like countless Christian apologists in antiquity and the Middle Ages, the Latin emperor Leo quotes Genesis 49:10 (P63v). Deeply beloved of Christian apologists across the ancient and medieval periods, this verse proclaims, “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, *until Shiloh comes*; and unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be” (our italics). What made this verse so attractive to Christians was that it sometimes was read Messianically by Jews themselves: in Targum Onkelos, Shiloh—a proper name of endlessly contested meaning across the ages—was translated into Aramaic as *Mesihā*, “the Messiah.” Embracing this interpretation as their own, Christians proceeded to read the verse as evidence that the Messiah had, indeed, already come, since, so the argument went, governing power had certainly disappeared among the Jews more or less at the time when the Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, came.¹¹ While devised for use against Jews, Christians also trotted out this argument from Genesis 49:10 against Muslims in the Middle Ages, as we see in the *Epistula Leonis imperatoris*. Yet when the verse is invoked in M, T, and S, we find only a truncated version that leaves out the key point: “You are the lion's cub, a prince, until he comes who is the hope of the nations.” What is missing here is the part of the verse that most fascinated Christians—that the sceptre, or the prince, or princely rule, or governing authority (there were countless translations and interpretations of the Hebrew *shebet* and Latin *sceptrum*) *would not pass away* until Shiloh/the Messiah comes. P, on the other hand, gives us the verse in full: “You are the ‘lion's cub; *neither a general nor a prince will decline from your leg until he comes* who is the hope of the nations” (our italics).¹² The abbreviated text in M, T, and S, therefore, looks distinctly as though it incorporates a copyist's error, while P preserves the more intelligible, and likely original, reading.

Moreover, when the *Epistula Leonis imperatoris* quotes Qur'an 5:112–15, P's version of these verses is closer to the Arabic original. In Qur'an 5:113, its text follows the Arabic precisely: *uolumus comedere de illa* / قالوا نريد أن نأكل منها, “we want to eat from it.” The “it” (*illa*, *-hā*) in question here is the table that the disciples hope God will send down from heaven (P69r). Just here, however, we find an expansion in T and S (M does not preserve this portion of the text): they add *mensa celesti* to clarify the point. Furthermore, in Qur'an 5:114 the Arabic text of the Qur'an and P tell us that this heavenly table will be a feast and “a sign from you” (*wa-āyatan minkum / et signus [sic] ex te*). But in the Iberian manuscripts (M, T, S) we have *hoc signum* in place of *et signus* (presumably making this the beginning of a new clause: “and this is a sign from you. . .”). The later manuscripts' text, therefore, is further from the Arabic original than P's.

We have seen, furthermore, that the *Epistula Leonis imperatoris* is not a direct translation of the Arabic version of Leo's letter that survives in the Sinai manuscript. There are,

¹¹ See, for example, Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 1.53. For a complete recapitulation of this argument in high medieval guise, see Martinus 1990, 1.72–76.

¹² M, T, S: “tu es *catulus leonis princeps donec ueniat qui sit expectatio gentium*”; P: “tu es *catulus leonis; non minuetur de femore tuo dux neque princeps donec ueniat qui sit expectatio gentium*.” M adds *mittendus est qui* after the *qui*, aligning the verse more fully with the Vulgate translation (P63v).

nevertheless, passages of both that parallel each other closely. In these cases as well, we find that P's text is closer to the relevant Arabic text. A small example occurs when both the Latin and Arabic letters essentially recite a eucharistic prayer. In the former we have: "Take and eat; this is My body which I offer in sacrifice on account of the sins (*peccata*) of humans" (P69r). In M, T, and S, those sins, however, have become singular (*peccatum*), though in the Sinai Arabic they are clearly plural, just as in P: خطبا (Christian Arabic, 72v). Something more substantial happens toward the end of the letter when both versions speak, somewhat cryptically and after a lengthy discussion of the Christian veneration of the cross, of someone who, in a dream, sees a vision: "but," P's text says, "when he had awokened, he understood that there was nothing that he saw in the vision" (P70v). Though it is not an exact translation of the corresponding Arabic passage, it matches its larger syntax precisely: "And when he woke from his dream, he knew that what he saw in his dream was worthless" (Christian Arabic, 78r): *cum expergefactus fuerit . . . intelligit / fa-idha istay-qaza . . . 'alama. . .* In the Iberian manuscripts, on the other hand, an interrupting indefinite pronoun, *quis*, has appeared (*et cum expergefactus fuerit quis intelligit quia nichil erat . . .*), presumably providing us a new subject for these verbs ("and anyone, when he had awokened, understood . . ."). As in the case of the quotation of Qur'an 5:112–15, then, these passages in P are closer to the closest Arabic parallel we know of for this text.

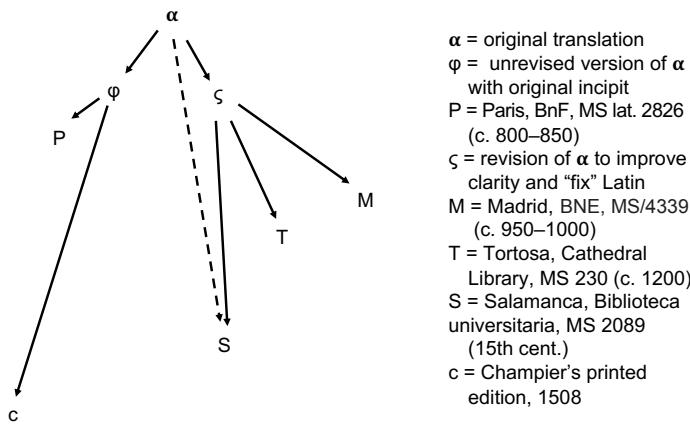
P's quotations of the Bible and Qur'an, then, suggest that P is closer to the original Latin translation, as do certain places where its texts parallels similar passages in the Christian Arabic. Its many grammatical defects suggest the same thing. We saw above that when quoting Qur'an 5:114, P had *et signus* where the Iberian manuscripts have *hoc signum*. The former corresponds directly to the Arabic but also includes a mistake in gender: Latin has no masculine form, *signus*, but only the neuter, *signum*. M, T, and S, therefore, have a text that is both further from the Arabic original and more correct in its Latin at the same time. Now, in fact, we find mistakes in gender, inflection, and usage repeatedly throughout P. It is true that in some of these cases we can just imagine that an especially sleepy copyist introduced them from a more correct exemplar. Thus, at one point the Latin Leo asserts that "Umar will find in his scripture that "many from among those who are in any religion are truthful before God." Here, where the three Iberian manuscripts have the proper *lege qualibet* ("any religion"), with both words in the feminine gender, P quite wrongly puts the second into the masculine, *quolibet* (P71r). Abbreviations for the many forms of *qui* are, of course, notoriously easy to confuse with one another, especially in a hastily written manuscript, so reading *quo* where *qua* would be entirely possible, especially if the copyist's grammatical reflexes had weakened after hours of work.

But while some of the differences between P and M, T, and S could be explained as grammatical errors inserted accidentally into P by an inadequate copyist, many require a quite different interpretation. The Latin Leo repeats, for example, 'Umar's accusation that the Hebrew Bible contains no mention of resurrection or eternal life, and just here the grammar runs off the rails in P—*et non rememoratus in ea fuerit resurrectionem aut uitam aeternam aut paradisum*. The accusative endings (-m) are quite wrong (P68r), while in M, T, and S we have a prepositional phrase (*de resurrectione aut uita aeterna aut paradiso*) that makes better sense. Yet these proper ablative endings must be a correction of the errors in P, rather than those errors being the ugly results of a sloppy copyist, as the principle of *lectio difficilior* demands. No scribe would *add* accusative m's to these ablative nouns through

inattention. Nor would a drowsy copyist make P's problematic *excepto sacrificium* [sic] out of the proper *excepto sacrificio* that appears in the other manuscripts (P68v); nor *de uinum* [sic] out of *de uino* (P69r); nor indeed *de ciuitatem* [sic] out of *per ciuitatem* (P70v).

Moreover, we find many other cases in which the main difference between P on the one hand and M, T, and S on the other is that the text in the latter is simply better Latin: replacing a problematic indicative *perhibat* with the subjunctive *perhibeat* (P61r); leaving out the superfluous *qui sit in quis est qui sit expectatio gentium nisi unus Deus?* (P63v); or shortening a puzzling *eo quod* to *quod* on several occasions (*Et uos habetis in Lege uestra . . . eo quod angelus dixit Zacharie* [P64v]; *ostendam tibi eo quod in Christo fuerint due operaciones* [P66v]; *Numquid non inuenitur in lege Dei eo quod filii Israel adorassent archam* [P67r]).

All this evidence argues strongly, therefore, that the Iberian family of manuscripts, M, T, and S, all derive from a corrected version of the original Latin translation, surviving only in P (and, as we will see, indirectly in Champier's abbreviated version of 1508), that was both more accurate in its quotations of sacred texts and sketchier in its Latin, as indicated in our proposed *stemma codicum*.¹³ The fact that its Latin is sketchy, moreover, should scarcely surprise us. In his detailed studies of the Latinity of other Andalusi Christian writers in precisely this period, Fernando González Muñoz has shown that precisely the problems we see in the Latin of the Carolingian manuscript were commonplace. For example, Alvarus—despite his own, widely quoted lament that in his day Christians no longer knew Latin properly—on the one hand “forced himself to elaborate an elevated and complex literary discourse” in his Latin writings, yet “the control” of that complex Latin style “often escaped him,” with confusion over case endings, gender, and number showing up commonly throughout his writing, just as in the *Epistula Leonis*.¹⁴



¹³ Note, however, that the Iberian manuscripts do not derive directly from it. For more on the relationships between the four manuscripts and the sixteenth-century revision by Symphorien Champier, see the manuscript appendix below.

¹⁴ See González Muñoz 1996, 241–43; also 2001, 387–98.

We will not be surprised, therefore, to discover that **P** preserves one more peculiarity that points both to the primacy of its text and the revising and clarifying concerns that shaped **M**, **T**, and **S**. A bit more than halfway through, its text tells us that the Muslims “have followed the custom of the pagans on that rock in Mecca.” Though there were no grammatical slip-ups to set right here, the text of the later Iberian manuscripts is slightly different: “You have followed the custom of the pagans by sacrificing on that rock in Mecca.” Christians who knew little about Islam will have learned here from the reviser of the Iberian text that the business of the rock in the Islamic holy city involved sacrificing animals. In the process of this clarification, however, a bit of precision was irretrievably lost, for “Mecca” in the Iberian manuscripts is spelled, as it typically is in medieval Latin, *Mecha*. Only in **P**, the Carolingian manuscript copied in France in the age of Charlemagne, do we have *Macca*, an exact transliteration of the Arabic *Makka(h)*.

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

P: PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, MS 2826

Language: Latin. Date: ca. 800–850. Origin: France, south of the Loire. Provenance: Saint-Martial de Limoges (14th-cent. ex-libris). 158 fols. + 153 bis. Parchment. 24.0 × 27.5 cm. Script: Carolingian minuscule, single column. Lines per page: 24–27. Condition: good.

Contents

1. fol. Ir: Table of contents, 14th cent.
2. fols. IVr–IVv and 1r–3v: Propers for the office of Saint Géraud, 12th-cent. addition
3. fols. 4r–61r: Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholica contra Judeos*
4. fols. 61r–71v: *Epistola ad Omarum Saracenorum regem*
5. fols. 71v–125v: Julian of Toledo, *Liber pronosticorum futuri seculi*
6. fols. 126r–129r: Alcuin, *De fide sanctae Trinitatis*, book 3
7. fols. 129v–132r: (*Invocatio ad ss. Trinitatem et Fidei symbolum*)
8. fols. 132r–136r: (*Quaestiones de Trinitate*)
9. fol. 136r: Alcuin, *Oratio*
10. fols. 136v–141r: (*Epistolae*)
11. fol. 141v: Alcuin, *Epitaphium*
12. fols. 142r–145v: Venantius Fortunatus, *Commentarium in symbolum Athanasii*
13. fols. 146r–147r: Brief commentary of the parts of the mass
14. fol. 147v: Hymn to Saint Agatha
15. fols. 148r–151r: Augustine of Hippo, *Regula ad servos Dei*
16. fols. 151v–153v: Capitulary of the council of Aix-la-Chapelle
17. fols. 153v, 153bis–154v: Abecedarian hymn
18. fols. 155r–156r: Readings from Job for the nocturnes of the office for the dead, 11th-cent. addition
19. fols. 157v–158: Chronicle de Saint Martial de Limoges and liturgical notes in the hand of Bernard Itier, 13th-cent. addition

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Hubert Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse* (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1995), 432–33.

M: MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MS/4339

Language: Latin. Date: Late 11th cent. Origin: Spain. 90 fols. 17.0 × 12.5 cm. Ten gatherings (1–8, 9–16, 17–24, 25–32, 33–40, 41–48, 49–56, 64–71, 72–79, 80–90) without numbering or catchwords. Script: fols. 1–78v, Visigothic minuscule; fols. 80r–90v, Carolingian minuscule. Majuscules and titles in red. Incomplete at the end. Fols. 57–73 missing; fols. 83–84 out of place. Condition: good.

Contents

1. fols. 1v–68r: Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholica ex Veteri et Novo Testamento contra Iudeos ad Florentiam sororem*
2. fols. 68r–78v: *Epistola Leonis Imperatoris ad Hymar* [sic] regem sarracenorum directa. The text concludes with *Nam primum obtuerunt duo filii adæuo et acceptum est ab alio*, after which the scribe adds *finit amen*; the remaining third of the work is, therefore, absent from this copy.
3. fols. 80r–90r: Augustine of Hippo, *De vera religione*, book 1, excerpt

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Miguel C. Vivancos, “La *Epistola Leonis imperatoris* según un manuscrito visigótico (BNM, ms. 4339),” *Biblias hispanicas* 2 (2013): 423–38.

T: TORTOSA, ARCHIVO CAPITULAR DE TORTOSA, MS 230

Language: Latin. Date: early 13th cent. Origin: Spain/western Mediterranean. 215 fols. 14.0 × 21.8 cm. Script: late protogothic. Titles in red ink. Condition: good.

Contents

Twenty-eight short works and extracts from Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville, including many sermons; for a complete list, see Bayerri y Bertomeu 1962 in the following bibliography. Of relevance here are:

1. fols. 129r–199r: Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholica ex Veteri et Nouo Testamento contra Iudeos*
2. fols. 199r–212r: *Epistola leonis imperatoris ad umar regem sarracenorum directa*
3. fols. 212r–214v: Historical note on the destruction of Spain and Jerusalem by the Muslims: *[Q]ua causa sanctorum memoriae pene sunt deletae in partibus hispaniae. . . . episcopia restruxerunt monasteria rehedicantes libertati reddiderunt*

Bibliography

Enrique Bayerri y Bertomeu, *Los códices medievales de la catedral de Tortosa: Novísimo inventario descriptivo* (Barcelona: Porter-Libros, 1962), 382–85.

Antoni Rubio i Lluch and Jordi Rubio y Balaguer, “La biblioteca del Capitol Catedral de Tortosa,” *Anales del Institut d'Estudis Catalans* 7, no. 2 (1913–14): 745–57, esp. 756.

S: SALAMANCA, BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITARIA, MS 2089

Language: Latin. Date: 14th (fol. 1–24) and 15th cent. (fol. 122–32). Origin: Spain. 132 fols. 28.5 × 21.5 cm. Script: several hands in gothic cursive, semi-cursive, and bastarda. Varying uses of red and blue initials, titles, catchwords, and headers in red in some portions. Condition: good.

Contents

1. fols. 1ra–22rb: Scholastic questions on God
2. fols. 25ra–83ra: Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Dialogus libri vitae*
3. fols. 85ra–99vb: Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholica contra iudeos*
4. fols. 99vb–102rb: *Epistula ad Omar, regem sarracenorum*
5. fol. 102rb–102vb: Historical note on the destruction of Spain and Jerusalem by the Muslims: *Qua causa sanctorum memorie pene sunt delete in partibus hispanie. . . . episcopia restauraverunt monasteria reedifaverunt libertat reddiderunt*
6. fols. 102vb–108va: Nicholas of Lyra, *Tractatus contra Iudeos*
7. fols. 109ra–119vb: Honorius Augustodunensis, *Elucidarius de divinis rebus*
8. fols. 122ra–132va: Arnau de Villanova, *Tractatus de diversitatum infirmitatum curis*

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Guy Beaujouan, *Manuscrits scientifiques de médiévaux de l'Université de Salamanque et de ses “cologios mayores”* (Bordeaux: Féret & Fils, 1962), 108–11.

OUR EDITION

For all these reasons, then, we have taken P as the base text of our edition, maintaining its orthography (including the vacillation between “ae,” “ç,” and “e” for the classical “ae” diphthong) and grammar (whether good or bad) throughout, though we have introduced

modern punctuation and capitalization. We have recorded all the variants in M, T, and S other than differences in spelling and meaningless repetitions or reversals of words.

TRANSLATION

The Letter of Leo the Emperor Sent to 'Umar King of the Saracens

{M68r/T199r/S99vb} Here begins the letter of Emperor Leo sent to 'Umar, King of the Saracens. This letter was translated some time ago from Greek into the Chaldean language. Now, however, with God's favor, we have converted it from Chaldean speech {T199v} into Latin in accordance with [Latin's] proper way of speaking.

{P61r} Glory be to God and manifold giving of thanks.¹⁵ [He is] the one whose goodness and mercy is upon His servants, who is one and there is no other beside Him, achieving those things which have pleased Him, [and] penetrating the things believed about Him. His is the height and the greatness and the kingdom and the power, and He is encompassing all things on every side. We believe in one God to whom no one is similar, nor is there any beside Him.

Now then, in reference to Christ son of Mary, you have asked me why we worship Him, since He offers testimony concerning Himself saying that He was sent by God, and [that] the one who had acknowledged Him [i.e., Jesus], he acknowledges before the one who sent Him, and the one who denies Him [i.e., Jesus], he denies before the one who sent Him. And again when He was ascending to the heavens, He said to his disciples, *I ascend to my creator and to your creator, to My God and to your God.*¹⁶ And again you say that the Law of Moses {P61v} had been burned in fire, and Ezra restored it as he was able to recall [it] from the memory of his heart, but not without falsehood; there was there [i.e., in the Torah] no mention of the resurrection nor of paradise nor of hell. And again you say that what Christ is before God so too is Adam, and that Christ ate and drank and slept just like Adam. And yet nothing except the scantiness of your understanding of Christ moved you [to say these things]. And again, I know that you say that Mary, sister of Moses and Aaron, begat Christ. And how was this possible, when she died in the desert after they left Egypt (and not one of them entered the promised land), long before Mary, mother of Christ, and her father, Ioachim, were born. For Mary, the sister of Moses, daughter of Amram, was from the tribe of Levi son of Jacob. But Mary, mother of Christ, was the daughter of Ioachim from the stock of David, from the tribe of Judah, son of Jacob.

Nevertheless, if you wish to know about Christ, so that knowledge of Him might reach [you] to the extent that there is no wavering within you, look closely at the Old Testament which God gave to the sons of Israel, Moses and David, His prophets. And again scrutinize the new law which is the Gospel, which was given to the apostles of Christ, and then you will find the truth about Christ, and the correct path, so that there is no wavering within you, while you will see Scripture offering testimony to Scripture and harmonizing mutually what is {P62r} in the Old and New Testament about Christ. And then you will truly understand about Christ. We imparted to one who knows about our faith how we worship

¹⁵ Reading "hactione" as "actio."

¹⁶ Cf. John 20:17.

God, and what the tradition is in which we are, giving you testimony concerning the New and Old Testament, so that you may understand, if it is pleasing to God, that what we say about Christ we say as the truth, according to what I have made known to you: consider and examine, so that you may understand, if it is pleasing to God.

Know that, after [the Bible said], “In the beginning God made heaven and earth,”¹⁷ whose name is blessed and a great light of heaven and earth, which nothing holds, nor can the human understanding of mortals attain it, [God] appeared to Moses in fire on Mount Sinai in the word of Light, and He said, “Do not be afraid, Moses; I am the Lord God, your creator, Light from Light and the Word from the Father, from both of whom the Holy Spirit proceeds.” And therefore we say, “Father and Son and Holy Spirit”; the Light [proceeds] from the Light and the Word proceeds from God, and the Spirit [proceeds] from God: they are one. We do not divide between those because¹⁸ the Word proceeds from the Light and the Spirit from the Light, and [we say] that [God] is not small in a small place and manifold in a large place, but He is whole everywhere.

Look at the sun which has rays and splendor. Do you not see that it is equal everywhere? How much more [is this the case for] God, who made the sun and all things which are under heaven and earth; both through the Light and the Word which is from Himself all things were made, and He wanted to call the Word His Son. But do not be afraid to call the Word of God the Son, because God is the Father of His own Word, and wherever the Word of God is, there is {P62v} God, because the Word of God is from God, and the Holy Spirit is from God. And the Word works whatever it wishes, and the Holy Spirit works whatever it wishes, and the Father works whatever He wishes, and behold, one God works all these things. We do not divide between them, nor do we call them many gods, to whom there is no one similar in sovereignty, who remains in perpetual, holy sovereignty, the Father who is not begotten, the Son who is begotten, the Holy Spirit who is neither begotten nor unbegotten.

But it is necessary for us to offer testimony from the prophets that the blessed God called Christ the Word His Son, and through the Word which proceeded from the Light He fashioned heaven and earth and all things which are in them. The prophet Moses is a witness in the Law¹⁹ [that] God made all things through the Word.²⁰ And again David in the Psalms: “By the Word of the Lord the heavens were made fast, and from the spirit of his mouth is all strength of them.”²¹ And again: “Your Word remains forever in heaven from generation to generation.”²² And again: “He sent His Word and healed them.”²³ And again, the prophet Job is a witness concerning the Holy Spirit: “The Spirit of the Lord made me.”²⁴ And again Moses: “The Spirit of the Lord was carried over the waters.”²⁵ And again

17 Gen. 1:1.

18 Reading “quae” as “quia.”

19 I.e., “in the Torah.”

20 Cf. Gen. 1:1–2.

21 Ps. 33:6.

22 Ps. 119:89–90.

23 Ps. 107:20.

24 Job 33:4.

25 Gen. 1:2.

Isaiah testifies: “The spirit of the Lord is above me, through which He has anointed me.”²⁶ And again, David: “Send out Your spirit, and they will be created, and You will renew the surface of the earth.”²⁷ And again: “Your good Spirit will guide me along the right way.”²⁸ And again: “Renew the Holy Spirit in my inward parts.”²⁹ And again: “Strengthen me by the chief spirit.”³⁰ These are from the Old Testament {P63r}, [attesting] that the Word and the Spirit which are from God created every creature.

And it behooves us also to offer testimony that God called His Word His Son. The prophet Isaiah is a witness: “Behold, a virgin will conceive in the womb and will give birth to a son, and his name will be called Emmanuel,”³¹ *which is translated* “God is with us.”³² And again: “A young child has been born to us: and a son has been given to us. And authority has been established upon his shoulders, and his name will be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Father of the World to come, Prince of Peace. His ruling power will be multiplied, and there will be no end to his sovereignty.”³³ And again God the Father spoke to David: “After you rest with your fathers I shall wake from your loins [him] who shall sit upon the throne of Israel. And I will be to him as a Father, and he will be to me as a Son.”³⁴ And again, David the prophet in the Psalms: “The Lord said to me ‘You are my son, I begat You today, ask of me, and I shall give to You the nations as your inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession.’”³⁵ And again the prophet Zachariah: “Rejoice and be happy, daughter of Sion; shout, daughter of Jerusalem, because, behold, your king will come to you, sitting gently upon the foal of an ass, and he speaks peace to the nations.”³⁶ These are the testimonies from the prophets [attesting] that God called His Word His Son.

And again, it behooves us to give testimony from the Law of God that Christ Jesus, son of Mary, is God from {P63v} God. Israel, who is Jacob son of Isaac, son of Abraham, testifies, when he had come to the end of his life. Blessing his sons, he prophesied about them, saying to Judah his son: you are “the lion’s cub; neither a general nor a prince will decline from your leg until he comes who is the hope of the nations.”³⁷ And who is it who is the hope of the nations but the one God Himself? And again, the prophet Jeremiah said: “Behold: our God to whom no one is similar, who discovered every path of prudence, and after these things He will appear on the earth and His interaction will be with all people.”³⁸ And again, David in the Psalms: “God will come openly and will not delay.”³⁹ And again,

26 Cf. Isa. 61:1.

27 Ps. 104:30.

28 Ps. 143:10.

29 Ps. 50:12.

30 Ps. 51:14.

31 Isa. 7:14.

32 Matt. 1:23.

33 Isa. 9:6–7.

34 Cf. 2 Sam. 7:12–14.

35 Ps. 2:7–8.

36 Zach. 9:9–10.

37 Gen. 49:10–11.

38 Cf. Bar. 3:32, 38.

39 Heb. 2:3.

Isaiah: "They will walk after You; they will continue with hands bound, and they will adore You and pray to You because you are God, and there is none other except You, God, Savior confounding Your enemies: they will be absent in confusion."⁴⁰ And again, David: "God looked down from heaven over the sons of humans so that He might see if there is anyone understanding or seeking God; all declined at once; they were made useless" in their lustful desires; "there was no one who does good, not even one."⁴¹ And again, David: "The Lord said to my Lord, sit on my right until I place your enemies as a footstool for your feet."⁴² And again, Moses spoke of the passion of Christ: "You shall see your life hanging before your eyes and you do not believe."⁴³ And again, David: "They will pierce my hands {P64r} and my feet, they number all my bones."⁴⁴ And again: "They divided my clothes among themselves and they cast lots over my tunic."⁴⁵ And again, Isaiah: "There will be a man able to bear sickness and pain because his face has been hidden, on which account we did not reflect upon him; truly he has borne our weaknesses and he has carried our sorrows":⁴⁶ this is about the crucifixion of Christ.

And again, it behooves us to offer from the New Testament testimony pronounced by the apostles that Christ is God from God. John son of Zebedei gave witness in his Gospel saying: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word."⁴⁷ Likewise, Gabriel, prince of the angels, when he announced to Mary saying: "The Holy Spirit will come over you, and the power of the highest will cover you."⁴⁸ And again, Christ in the Gospel spoke to his disciples about the Holy Spirit when "he breathed" on their faces: "Receive the Holy Spirit."⁴⁹ Again, Paul, greatest of the apostles, said: "The Holy Spirit of God examines all things and knows the hidden things of God."⁵⁰ And again, John: "We do not receive the spirit of servitude but the Holy Spirit which is from God."⁵¹ And again: "If anyone does not have the spirit of Christ, he is not His."⁵² These are testimonies from the Holy Spirit that He is God from God.

Again, it behooves us to offer testimony from the New Testament that Christ is the Son of God: Gabriel, prince of the angels, said to Mary, whom God chose and raised up: "Behold, you will conceive and give birth {P64v} to a son and call His name Jesus, and He will redeem his people from their sins."⁵³ And again, Paul: "God sent His Son, born from a woman, fashioned under the Law, so that He might rescue those who were under the

40 Cf. Isa. 45:14–16.

41 Ps. 52:3–4.

42 Ps. 110:1.

43 Deut. 28:66.

44 Ps. 22:16–17.

45 Ps. 22:18.

46 Isa. 53:3–4.

47 John 1:1.

48 Luke 1:35.

49 John 20:22.

50 1 Cor. 2:10.

51 Cf. Rom. 8:15.

52 Rom. 8:9.

53 Matt. 1:21; Luke 1:31.

Law.”⁵⁴ And again, John the apostle, son of Zebedei, in the Gospel: “He who believes in the Son has eternal life, but he who does not believe in Him will not see eternal life, but the wrath of God remains upon him.”⁵⁵ Again, Paul: “God, the one Son of God, through whom all things were made.”⁵⁶ Again, Simon, the head of the apostles, said: “You are Christ son of the living God.”⁵⁷ Again, Gabriel: “Hail Mary, full of grace; the Holy Spirit will come over you, and the power of the highest will cover you; and the holy thing that will be born from you will be called the Son of God.”⁵⁸ Again, Christ in the Gospel: “I am the light of the world,”⁵⁹ and “I came from the Father and I have returned to God,”⁶⁰ and “I am the life and resurrection,”⁶¹ and “he who sees Me also sees the Father,”⁶² and I and the Father are one.”⁶³ And again, Paul: “The world will be illuminated from Judah.”⁶⁴ And again he said: “God ascends above the heavens, above His holy seat, gazing on the earth so that He might see those whom Satan bound in their sin.”⁶⁵ These are the testimonies from the New Testament that God called his Jesus his Son.

And you have in your law,⁶⁶ as you say, that “an angel spoke to Zachariah when he was praying in the temple: behold I announce to you that a son will be born to you coming forth as the Word of God, and he will be called the Word itself, [and] his name will be Messiah.”⁶⁷ And therefore we say that the Word itself {P65r} is the Son whom he had called Messiah. And the Word of God was not created, but it created all things. And do not consider in your heart that the Word of God is like the utterance or word or speech as of humans, because the Word of God is the light through whom all things were made. And because you ask why God wished to send His Word into the womb of a virgin, <and> I respond to you regarding why he did this: it is because God—He is blessed and His name is holy—created heaven and earth and all things which are in it. And He created his angels in their original state and they were around His throne. And suddenly arrogance and haughtiness entered into one legion of the angels, [who,] pretending they were similar to God, said, “Let us set up a seat for ourselves just like the seat of God, and let us encompass heaven and earth like God does.” And when God had recognized what was in their thoughts, He cast down Satan and all his legion from Heaven to earth, and they became demons and enemies of the sons of Adam, raising themselves up against God in opposition. And when God had made

54 Gal. 4:4–5.

55 John 3:36.

56 Cf. 1 Cor. 8:6.

57 Matt. 16:16.

58 Luke 1:28, 35.

59 John 8:12.

60 John 16:28.

61 John 11:25.

62 John 14:9.

63 John 10:30.

64 Such a passage does not exist in Paul’s letters.

65 Cf. Ps. 68:18; Eph. 4:10 (see Vivancos 2013, 432n59).

66 I.e., the Qur’an.

67 This is a conflation of Qur’an 3:39 and 3:45 (both contain the phrase *inna Allah yubashiruku*, making the conflation essentially a slip of the eye). The portion from 3:45 is a considerable expansion of the Arabic, though the portion from 3:39 follows the Arabic closely, except that “angel” is plural in the original.

Adam, He placed him in paradise, saying to him: “Eat everything whatsoever you want; do not eat from this tree which I prohibit to you: on whatever day you eat from it you will die in death.”⁶⁸ But tempted by the Devil, he ate from it, and was thrown out of paradise and inherited death and contradiction and sin among his progeny {P65v} after him. But God, whose name is blessed, wished to seize His creation from the hand of the Devil who had made them stray.

But afterward, after a long time, He sent Noah to His people so that they might repent, and they might turn back from the work of the Devil. And when [Noah] had come to them, they scorned him and considered him a liar. And God commanded Noah to build an Ark and send into it [two] of every creature. And God sent a flood, [and] the vast cisterns and waterfalls of the sky were opened, and the waters poured down. And those inhabiting earth and everything which moved over the earth were consumed, except Noah, who remained in the Ark, and his wife and three sons and the wives of his sons. And after these things, God lamented the things He had done. He commanded the waters to return as they had been before, and the land dried, and the humans and beasts of burden came out of the Ark. And God blessed them and said: “Grow and multiply and fill the earth,”⁶⁹ and it happened so that it became just like before.

And then humans, tempted by the Devil, made sculpted gods for themselves, worshipping them apart from God who had made them. And God, wishing to seize His creature[s] from the hand of the Devil who had come to them, suddenly came down in power above Mount Sinai, and spoke to His servant Moses and gave him commandments of the Law, {P66r} choosing the sons of Israel out of all people. And then the sons of Israel, abandoning those [commandments] which God had given to Moses, made for themselves a sculpture, worshipping it apart from the living God. And immediately He sent serpents among them, and He consumed part of them. And again God took pity on them. Yet again, tempted by the Devil, He sent among them fire, and consumed a multitude of them. And in pity God removed His anger from them. Afterward, they again had made idols for themselves, worshipping them as God. They sacrificed their sons and their daughters to demons.

And God raised up prophets who bore witness that they should repent and return to God and recede from the Devil. They denied God, and called [the prophets] liars, and they killed some of them. And when God had observed that the Devil had prevailed among them, from the moment when Adam was made and was cast out of paradise all the way to [when] the prophets had come to them and they had killed them, God wished to seize them from the hand of the ancient enemy. He sent His Word, who is from His Light, to Mary whom God had chosen and foreknown. The Word of God accepted human form, that is, [human] nature, putting on the flesh of Mary together with soul and understanding. And this Word, which was from God, lived in this body without separation from [God] in perpetuity. And if there were not that body {P66v} which the Word of God put on, no one would have been able to see the Word of God, just as Moses had not been able to see the Word of God: but the Word of God, coming and putting on a body from Mary, <and> seized his people from the power of the Devil. That is certainly the Word which Mary had borne, and He is the one whose name is Messiah. And God, who existed before the annunciation,

68 Gen. 2:16–17.

69 Gen. 1:28.

came to Mary, and assumed a body from Mary, and He is God Himself. But this is darkness for you, so that you do not understand.

And in regard to this you wrote to me, saying that [Jesus] said, "I was sent of God to you" and that He ate and drank and slept. But now I will show you this, that there were two operations and two ways of speaking in Christ, one of the Word and the other of the body which He had received from Mary, a complete body having a soul and understanding. And, nevertheless, it is the work itself of the Word when He was creating all things with the Father. And He, remaining in the body, was forgiving sins, and was raising the dead, and healing mutes and lepers, and making the lame walk, and was knowing hidden things, and was walking with His feet on the sea, and ascending to heaven. This is the operation of the Word which wrought the works of God. And you, abandoning the works of the Word, follow the works of the body which He received from Mary and which was from Adam.

And, therefore, you say {P67r} that Christ is similar to Adam because He ate and slept. But this is the talk of those who do not understand about Christ or look closely at the Law of God.⁷⁰ And according to your understanding, the Jews, knowing about Christ, following and seizing Him, crucified Him, speaking words of blasphemy against His mother Mary in whom modest chastity was present.

And as for what you asked, why do we adore the Word of God: is it not found in the Law of God that the Sons of Israel had worshipped the Ark which God had commanded Moses to make? And nevertheless they were neither worshipping nor serving the Ark nor the wood [it was made of], but they were worshipping and observing the Word and Law of God because it was within the Ark, and nevertheless not for this reason were they estranged from God, nor were they judged to have served two [gods].

Now you say that you find in your law that God commanded the angels to worship Adam. But if this is to be believed, what do you think about the Word which was named Messiah, which is from God Himself, and through Him He created heaven and earth, and He is not a creature but through Him He created all things: is it not fitting that we worship this Word [even] while [it was] remaining in this body? [This is] better than [that] we worship the deaf rock which you worship where we know that something has been left over from that idolatry that they were worshipping, that is, Jahot and Iahoc and Nuzara and Allat and Adozei and Menna. Certain of these were gods {P67v} in the likeness of men, but certain were in the likeness of women. For the greater [gods] were called "alla uccubere," whence also this phrase is derived among you, "Alla Ucciber." Cattle and camels [are] sacrificed to them one day each year, and you have followed the custom of the pagans upon that rock in Mecca, in the corner of the house of the same idolatry which those ancient pagans were observing and sacrificing to.

And you say that Christ is similar to Adam before God, and [in doing so] you propose that [Adam's] creation from mud, he who contradicted his God, and did not honor his commandment, is something similar to the Word of God and of His Light, which was not created but through it all things were created. Descending from heaven, He returned to heaven; not abandoning God, He was not separated from Him. And He is the Messiah whose kingdom is eternal. And He will judge the living and the dead at the time of

70 I.e., the Torah.

resurrection, the eternal judge of men and angels. This is the reason that the Word whose name is Christ descended to Mary.

And of what sort is your speech or understanding, that you say that God had not been able to enter into the belly of a woman in darkness, narrowness, and foulness? But we give a likeness to you, if perhaps you might understand: do you not see the sun, that it crosses over pollution and shit and filth and in no way is the sun itself corrupted from that shit or whatever else is {P68r} something similar? But the sun itself cleans all things and is not corrupted. How much more can God, who made the sun, not be corrupted by a created thing? But do not be disbelieving that God entered into the womb of a woman, who also entered the bush that was on Mount Sinai, and spoke to His servant Moses, and gave him the Law. And was not the body of Christ, both the Word of God and [His] Spirit, better before God than that thorny bush? And did not God Himself make Adam and compose and raise up and establish and give to him all that he had made in six days? But do not deny that God sent His Word into the work [i.e., Jesus] which he had made, and had formed and had established [Him] above [all] His [other] work.

Moreover, you say that the Law of Moses had been burned in fire, and Ezra noted it down [working] from memory and mendaciously, and there was no mention in it of the resurrection or eternal life or paradise. But now I will show you, if it pleases the Lord, that the blessed God sent revelation to His prophets, and every prophet spoke through revelation of God. And He gave the Law to Moses, in which were written the commandments to the children of Israel, and the exodus from Egypt, and the enumeration of them, and the contradiction of the same ones, and the indignation of God over them, and how He created all things, and again the {P68v} recollection of the kings, and how He lifted them up and brought them down, and revealed psalmody to His servant David, and wisdom to Solomon, and prudence to His beloved Job and Daniel and to many prophets. And we believe that there is a resurrection and paradise and hell, and we find these things all written in the Old Testament by Ezra, to whom God revealed them. And [God] gave to him knowledge of this matter of the Law, and [Ezra] recalled it and wrote these things in that fullness just as God had given it to His prophet Moses previously. And [Ezra] declared them and omitted from them neither a little nor a lot, because there is neither lying nor forgetting among the prophets of God, because God is their revelation and He is the God of the first and the last things.

Mentioning sacrifice, you have made known to me what it is—if you are familiar with sacrifice—and that you will not find anyone, merely among the servants to the Lord, but that he offered sacrifice and ornament in honor of God, and whoever from among all of them offered this from which the human was created was accepted [by God]. For two sons of Adam offered the first fruits, and it was accepted from one and was not accepted from the other. And sacrifice is the truth regarding people, and was accepted before God for the instruction of whoever offered it, except for the sacrifice that was offered to idols. And these are the ones who offered that,⁷¹ who, estranged [from God] and lost, consider other gods to be similar to God, whose sacrifice God does not accept {P69r}.

But Christ, on that night before He was seized by the Jews, and that [night] was the beginning of the passion, told his disciples and apostles what the Jews were going to do,

⁷¹ The word *sunt* in this clause seems superfluous, and we have translated it accordingly.

and announced to them His resurrection from among the dead, and [said] what they would do and [that] they would return to Him. And, nevertheless, on that night, eating with His disciples, He took bread and blessed [it] and said to them: “Take and eat; this My body”⁷² which I offer in sacrifice on account of the sins of humans.” And again, He *took the cup* in which there was wine, and He said: “Drink from this all [of you]; this is My blood which is offered for remission of sins.”⁷³ And He commanded us to do likewise regarding bread and wine in commemoration of Him, through the Holy Spirit and the prayer which he made known to His disciples, that it be for us the remission of sins, whoever offers that [sacrifice] in faith and love.

And that is the sacrifice, even though it is not that in accordance with what you say you have in your law, that the “disciples had said to Christ, Call on God to send us a table from heaven. And Christ had said, Fear God if you are faithful. And the disciples said, ‘We want to eat from this [table],’ and we believe you, ‘and we will know that you have spoken the truth to us, and you will be a witness regarding the same. And” Christ “said, ‘God, send a table to them from heaven so that there will be a solemn feast for us and our posterity, and a sign from You. And give this to us from You because You are the giver of good things.’ And God said to them, ‘I will send it to you, and he who denies after this {P69v}, I will torture him with a torture by which no one has been tortured.”⁷⁴ And nevertheless, these are statements of some Nestorian heretic not thinking correctly about Christ, who sort of instructed you so that you might understand something about the faith of Christ, but not in such a way that it is truth and [what] reason showed us.

[Regarding] that which you noted about the cross: we repeat to you, one who knows, that on the day when Jesus Christ was crucified, two thieves were with Him, one on the right to Him and the other on the left, and soon [Jesus] sent out His spirit. Immediately the earth shook and the sun was darkened and the rocks were split and the veil of the temple was torn. And many of the Jews believed that He was the son of God. And certain leaders from among the Jews who were [there], a great fear seized them on account of those crosses, so that they concealed the truth from humans. They seized [the crosses] and buried them so that no one would know except for one house, and [only] one person from that house. And [this person] spoke to no one during his life, [either] to his sons or his brothers, until he had come to his death, saying [then] that “whenever there will be a search for these crosses, know the place.”

When, however, Christ wished to show humans the confusion of the Jews among those who had remained, and so that humans could see the grace and mercy which was in His cross, and the goodness and promise in the finding of His cross, [He did so] through one of the kings of the Romans whose name was Constantine, who was not yet a Christian. When he had gone out {P70r} to battle against his enemies, he began to call upon God, turning himself to seek help from Him, saying, “My God, creator of Heaven and earth, You give the power of sovereignty to whomever You desire, I ask You by Your mercy and goodness that You show to me the correct faith which is pleasing to You, and convert me to [that faith].” And while he was advancing against his enemies, he lifted his eyes to the

72 Matt. 26:26.

73 Matt. 26:27–28.

74 Q5:112–15.

sky in the middle of the night, and saw in the sky something like two columns, one lying upon the other in the likeness of a cross, and on it written a Greek text shining with the brilliance of fire: “Insofar as you asked your God to show you the correct faith which has pleased Him, and the greatest sign of His faith, make for yourself a royal insignia in the likeness of this cross; let [this sign] precede you against your enemies in accordance with God, which [sign] you saw in the sky.” Then the king commanded, and they broke their royal insignia, and made them as the likeness of the cross. And then God raised him up over his enemies.

But when he had returned, he asked what had happened regarding Christ’s cross. He immediately directed his mother, along with an army, to travel from the land of the Romans, all the way to Jerusalem. And she interrogated the greater ones of the Jews and better of them who had remained [there] from the kindred of that house. Now when everyone had been gathered together, she asked them what had happened regarding Christ’s cross, and for a long time one pointed to another until discussion regarding that house ended, at which point suspicion went back and forth, despite the fact that she had already previously tortured many regarding whom she had suspicion. And she ordered that man who had remained from that house [that] they throw him into a pit without food and water. And when he knew that he was near death, he shouted out, “Pull me out {P70v} and I will show you the place!” And while they dug [in that place], the smoke of a flame came out of the hole, showing them three crosses, 300 years having passed from when Christ had come, and no one knew where the cross itself was. And when they had been brought before the queen, and she did not know which one was Christ’s cross, unexpectedly, a dead man was being carried through the city, and the queen commanded [that] this dead man be brought over. And they applied⁷⁵ one [cross], and the dead man did not rise, and they applied the second one, and nothing happened. But when they had applied the third, the one who had been dead rose. And many of the Jews immediately believed in Christ. Yet the queen, with marvelous labor, made a church over the tomb of Christ and at Calvary, in the place where Christ was crucified, <and> she left part of the wood of [the cross] in that sacred house. The rest, however, she carried back with herself to her son in the land of the Romans.

This is the matter of the cross of Christ, and on account of this we adore the cross of Christ, and we commemorate its eminent grace among us through the goodness which is in the cross, and [it is] the sign of the Christian faith. And with that cross Gabriel, prince of the angels, will go forth before [Christ] at that time of judgment when He will come from heaven to judge the living and the dead. And the cross is a light for those believing in Christ, and it is agreed [that] it is a strength to the faithful, and the path of truth by which many who are vexed by an evil spirit, lepers, blind, deaf, [and] sick will be healed by God, through that very cross.

⁷⁵ Translating *hadibuerunt* (= *adhibuerunt*), meaning “to bring, employ, apply, use”). The Christian Arabic version of Leo’s letter contains a somewhat different account of Saint Helena’s discovery of the true cross, but its version of this scene is clearer. It says that the “queen ordered that the three pieces of wood be placed upon (*wada‘a*) the corpse” to determine which was part of Jesus’s cross (Christian Arabic, 76r). The Latin’s (*h)ad(h)ibuerunt* is much vaguer than *wada‘a* but must have been intended to communicate something like what the Christian Arabic says here.

But do not let power or riches or bodily health raise you up against God, because all these things are similar to a vision which appears in sleep as whatever it might be, and when [the sleeper] has been awakened, he understands that what he had seen in the vision was nothing. Such is the ornamentation and the power of the world.

And it has been said to me that you do not greet {P71r} those who are in a religion which you are not in, and you say that you hold in your law that women from another faith are allowed for you to marry. And how can it come to be that God had commanded a man to take a wife whom he deigns neither to greet nor bury her? And if his mother had died, who begot him, and if she was likewise from another faith, is it not fitting [for him] to stand over her tomb and pray for her when you find it written in your law that many of those who are in any religion are faithful before God? And if your wife or mother are faithful before God, why do you not pray for her? Where did your decency or understanding come from, inasmuch as, according to every religion, God ordered [people] to offer great obedience to their parents?

And again, it has been said to me that whoever of you “when he abandons” his wife for whatever reason, “it is not proper for him to return to her until another man joins with her.”⁷⁶ Truly you are corruptors of the Law and the Gospel. For in the Law it is written, “if any man sent away his wife for whatever reason and wishes indeed to return to her, she is his without doubt, if another has not defiled her. If another has covered her, she is forever prohibited from him.”⁷⁷ But in the Gospel “it was not permitted for a man to send away his wife other than by reason of fornication, and he who takes another’s divorced wife is judged an adulterer and a lecher.”⁷⁸

And again, it has been said to me that in your law it is written that whatever a person does, good or bad, has been prescribed and predestined for him by God before he was born {P71v}. Now if this is so, that whatever a person does was prescribed for him before he was born, on this account that is deceit in God that He should prescribe and foreordain this upon him. [God] appears [thus] to have acted unrighteously regarding him. But far be it from God to do these things among humans. Why did He send the prophets and give the Law other than that there be debate toward God among everyone about what He has made known? And if the matter according to God were as you say—whatever good or bad a person had done was foreknown and prescribed for him before he was made—God would not have sent the prophets in order to show hell to humans so they would tremble. The foretelling and preordination of them would have sufficed for them. But let not your understanding, O man, be other than that God made the human seeing and hearing and shows him what he should choose as between good and evil, and those who have been warned guard their souls, and there will be no one who perished except by his free will. It is finished.

76 Q2:230.

77 Cf. Deut. 24:2–4.

78 Cf. Matt. 5:32.

EDITION

Epistula Leonis imperatoris ad Umar regem Sarracenorum directa⁷⁹

{M68r/T199r/S99vb} Incipit epistula Leonis imperatoris ad Umar⁸⁰ regem Sarracenorum directa. Translata est hec epistula olim de Greco in Caldaicum sermonem. Nunc uero, Deo opitulante,⁸¹ de Caldaico elo-{T199v}quo, iuxta proprietatem sermonis,⁸² uertimus in Latinum.⁸³

{P61r} Gloria Deo et multiplex gratiarum hactione⁸⁴ et perueniens ad hec que⁸⁵ placita sunt illi et⁸⁶ penetrans credita ipsius;⁸⁷ cuius est bonitas et miseratio {M68v} super seruos suos; qui est unus, et non est aliis preter eum. Ipsius est altitudo et magnitudo⁸⁸ et regnum et potestas, et ipse est omnia circunquaque complectens. Credimus in unum Deum cui similis non est nec aliis preter eum.

De cetero innotuisti mihi,⁸⁹ commemorans de Christo filio Marię, quare adoremus⁹⁰ illum, cum ipse testimonium de semetipso perhibet⁹¹ dicens quod missus sit a Deo, et qui confessus fuerit eum confiteatur ille⁹² eum coram eo qui misit illum, et qui negauerit eum abnegat⁹³ eum⁹⁴ coram eo qui missit illum.⁹⁵ Et iterum cum ascenderet ad celos, dixit discipulis suis,⁹⁶ “ascendo ad creatorem meum et ad creatorem uestrum,⁹⁷ ad Deum meum et ad Deum uestrum.” Et iterum dicis⁹⁸ quia lex Moysi {P61v} igne fuisset cremata,⁹⁹ et renouauit eam Esdra ut potuit de memoria cordis sui recordare,¹⁰⁰ sed non sine mendatio; et non

79 P = Paris, BnF, MS lat. 2826, fols. 61r–71v; M = Madrid, BNE, MS/4339, fols. 68r–78v; T = Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa, MS 230, fols. 199r–212r; S = Salamanca, Biblioteca universitaria, MS 2089, fols. 99vb–102rb.

80 Hymar M.

81 favente T, S.

82 iuxta proprietem sermonis] *absent in M.*

83 Incipit epistula . . . uertimus in latinum] *absent in P.*

84 actio M, T, S; *after* actio M, T, S *add* exsuperans celos.

85 que *absent in P.*

86 et *absent in M, T, S.*

87 credita ipsius] abdita M, T, S.

88 Et magnitudo] *absent in M, T, S.*

89 *After* michi M *adds* hic, S *adds* hunc.

90 adoramus M, T, S.

91 perhibeat M, T, S.

92 ille abs M, T, S.

93 abneget M, T, S.

94 eum abs M, T, S.

95 et qui negauerit . . . missit illum] *absent in S.*

96 suis *absent in S.*

97 *after* uestrum M *adds* et.

98 dicis *absent in T.*

99 *after* cremata T, S *add* dicis.

100 recordari M, T, S.

{T200r} fuerit idem¹⁰¹ rememoratus¹⁰² de resurrectione neque de paradysō neque de inferno. Et iterum dicis quod talis sit Christus {S100ra} ante Deum qualis¹⁰³ et Adam, et quia commedit Christus et {M69r} babit¹⁰⁴ et dormiuit¹⁰⁵ sicut et Adam. Et tamen non te commouit ad hoc nisi pa<u>citas¹⁰⁶ intelligentiae tuç de Christo. Et iterum cognoui quia dicitis¹⁰⁷ quod Maria soror Aaron et Moysi genuerit Christum. Et quomodo potuit esse cum mortua fuerit¹⁰⁸ postquam egressi sunt de Egypto in deserto,¹⁰⁹ et nemo ex eis fuit ingressus terram repromotionis, longe antequam nasceretur Maria mater Christi et pater eius Ioachim? A¹¹⁰ [sic] Maria soror Moysi filia Amare¹¹¹ fuit de tribu Leui filii Iacob. Maria uero mater Christi filia fuit Ioachim de genere Dauid de tribu Iuda filii Iacob.

Verumtamen si uellis scire de Christo, ut perueniat ad te notitia ipsius¹¹² donec non sit in te ulla titubatio, perscrutare uetus testamentum quem¹¹³ [sic] dedit Deus filiis Israel,¹¹⁴ Moysi et Dauid¹¹⁵ prophetas suos [sic].¹¹⁶ Et iterum scrutare nouam legem quod [sic] est Euangelium quod datum est ad apostolos Christi, et tunc repperries de Christo ueritatem {T200v} et uiam rectam donec non sit in te ulla titubatio, {M69v} dum uideris scripturam scripture¹¹⁷ testimonium perhibentem¹¹⁸ sibimet¹¹⁹ inuicem concordantem in Christo quod est {P62r} in ueteri et in nouo¹²⁰ testamento. Et tunc uere intelliges de Christo. Scientem¹²¹ reddimus¹²² de fide nostra quomodo adoramus¹²³ Deum¹²⁴ et que sit traditio in qua sumus, donec intelligas, si tamen¹²⁵ placitum est Deo, dantes tibi testimonia¹²⁶ de nouo et ueteri

101 Ibidem M, T, S.

102 *after* rememoratus T *adds* a deo.

103 sicut M, T, S.

104 uiuit P.

105 dormiuit M, T, S.

106 Peccatis M.

107 dicens T, S.

108 *after* fuerit M, T, S *add* in deserto.

109 in deserto *absent in* M, T, S.

110 Nam M, T, S.

111 soror Moysi filia Amare] filia Mambre M, filia Abrahe T, filia Ambre S.

112 eius M, T, S, *and after* eius M, T *add* ad te.

113 quod M, T, S.

114 *absent in* P.

115 *after* David, M *adds* seruis.

116 prophetis suis M, T, S.

117 scripture^ç *absent in* M, T, S.

118 *after* perhibentem M, T, S *add* et.

119 sibi T.

120 et in nouo] et nouo M, *absent in* T, S.

121 Scientes M, T, S.

122 credimus M, T, S.

123 adoremus M, T, S.

124 Dominum T.

125 tamen *absent in* M, T, S.

126 testimonium M, T, S.

testamento,¹²⁷ quia quod dicimus in¹²⁸ Christo uerum dicimus secundum quod¹²⁹ notui¹³⁰ tibi: trutinare¹³¹ et scrutare donec intelligas, si placet Deo.

Cognosce quia postquam¹³² “in principio¹³³ fecit Deus¹³⁴ caelum et terram,” cuius nomen est benedictum et magnum lumen caeli et terre, quae¹³⁵ [sic] non capiunt cuncta, neque mortalium adtingit intelligentia, uisus est Moysi in igne in monte Syna [sic] in uerbo lumines, et dixit, ne timeas, Moyses, ego sum dominus Deus creator tuus, lumen de lumine, et uerbum de Patre¹³⁶ ex quibus procedit Spiritus Sanctus. Et ideo dicimus, Pater et Filius {M70r} et Spiritus Sanctus; lumen de lumine, et uerbum procedet de Deo, et Spiritus Sanctus de deo: unum sunt. Non separamus inter eis quae procedet uerbum de lumine et spiritus sanctus de lumine et¹³⁷ quia non est in loco minimo minimus et in maximo multiplex, sed ubique totus est.

Intuere solem cuius sunt radii et splendor. Nunquid non uides quia ubique equalis est?¹³⁸ Quanto magis Deus qui fecit solem et omnia quae sunt infra caelum et terram, et per lumen et uerbum quod ex ipso¹³⁹ facta sunt omnia, et uoluit ipsum uerbum dicere Filium suum? Sed ne paureas uerbum Dei¹⁴⁰ dicere filium Dei, quia Deus pater est uerbi sui, et ubi est uerbum Dei ibi est {P62v} Deus, quia uerbum Dei ex Deo est, et Spiritus Sanctus ex Deo est. Et que uult uerbum operatur, et que uult Spiritus Sanctus operatur, et quae uult pater operatur, et ecce¹⁴¹ {S100rb} omnia unus Deus operatur. Non diuidimus inter eis,¹⁴² neque plures deos dicimus¹⁴³ cui non est similis in regno, manens in perpetuum regnum sanctum,¹⁴⁴ Pater qui non est {M70v} genitus, Filius qui est genitus, Spiritus Sanctus qui non est genitus neque¹⁴⁵ ingenitus.

Sed neccesse est nobis ex prophetis proferre testimonium quia Deus benedictus uocauit Christum uerbum suum filium,¹⁴⁶ et per uerbum quod procedet¹⁴⁷ {T201v} ex lumine condidit

127 testamentum M.

128 de M, T, S.

129 secundum quod] sicut M.

130 innotui M, T, S.

131 trutina M, T, S.

132 priusquam T.

133 in principio *absent in S.*

134 Deum *absent in S.*

135 quem M, que T, quoniam S.

136 deo M, T, S.

137 lumen de lumine . . . lumine et] et hec tria unum sunt, nec separamus inter eos quia procedit uerbum de lumine et spiritus sanctus de eodem lumine, et dicimus M, T, S.

138 Intuere solem . . . equalis est] *absent in P, M.*

139 et per lumen . . . ex ipso] Deus pater est lumen, et uerbum est lumen quod ex se ipso per quod M, T, S.

140 *after* Dei M, T, S *add nos.*

141 hec M, T, S.

142 eos M, T, S.

143 *after* dicimus M, T, S *add* Scimus et credimus Deum.

144 sanctum] Deus, M, T, S.

145 *illegible in P, but corrected by later hand to* sed; neque M, T, S.

146 filium *absent in M, T, S.*

147 procedit M, T, S.

caelum et terram et omnia que in eis sunt. Testis est Moyses¹⁴⁸ propheta in lege¹⁴⁹ Deus per uerbum fecit omnia. Et iterum Dauid in Psalmis: “verbo¹⁵⁰ Domini caeli firmati sunt et spiritu oris eius omnis uirtus eorum.” Et iterum: “in aeternum permanet uerbum tuum in caelo in generatione et progenie.” Et iterum: “Misit uerbum suum et sanauit eos.” Et iterum Job propheta testis¹⁵¹ est de Spiritu Sancto: “Spiritus Domini fecit me.” Et Moyses iterum: “Spiritus Domini ferebatur super aquas.” Et iterum testatur Esaias: “Spiritus Domini super me, per quem¹⁵² uncxit me.”¹⁵³ Et iterum Dauid: “emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur, et renouabis faciem terrae.” Et iterum: “Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in viam rectam.” Et iterum: “Spiritus Sanctum innoua in visceribus meis.”¹⁵⁴ Et iterum:¹⁵⁵ “Spiritu principali confirma me.” Hec sunt¹⁵⁶ ueteri testamento¹⁵⁷ {P63r} quia¹⁵⁸ uerbum et spiritus qui sunt ex Deo creauerint omnem creaturam.

{M71r} Et oportet nos iterum proferre¹⁵⁹ testimonium¹⁶⁰ quia Deus uocauit uerbum suum Filium suum. Testis est Esayas propheta: “ecce uirgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et uocabitur¹⁶¹ nomen eius Emmanuel, quod¹⁶² interpretatum nobiscum Deus.” Et iterum: “paruulus natus est nobis,¹⁶³ filius {T202r} datus est nobis. Et factus est principatus eius¹⁶⁴ super humeros¹⁶⁵ eius, et uocabitur nomen eius admirabilis consiliarius, Deus fortis, Pater futuri seculi, princeps pacis; multiplicabitur eius imperium, et regni eius¹⁶⁶ non erit finis.” Et iterum Deus pater locutus est ad Dauid: “postquam dormieris cum patribus tuis, suscitabo de femore tuo, qui sedeat super tronum Israel. Et¹⁶⁷ ego ero ei in Patrem, et ipse erit mihi in Filium.” Et iterum Dauid propheta¹⁶⁸ in Psalmis: “Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te; pete a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam et possessionem tuam terminos terre.” Et iterum Zacharias propheta: “gaude et laetare, filia

148 Moyser [sic] M.

149 *after* lege T, S *add* quia.

150 verbum M.

151 testatus T, S.

152 per quem] propter quod M, T, S.

153 Et Moyses iterum . . . uncxit me] Et Moyses iterum: Spiritus domini super me propter quod uncxit me M.

154 Spiritus tuus bonus . . . visceribus meis] Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in uiam rectam M, *absent in* T, S.

155 *after* iterum T *adds* Dauid.

156 *after* sunt M, T, S *add* de.

157 testamento] et nouo M.

158 qui T.

159 proferre P, S; proferri M, T.

160 testimonia M, T, S.

161 uocabis T, S.

162 *after* quod M, T, S *add* est.

163 *after* nobis M, T, S *add* et.

164 eius *absent in* T.

165 humerum T.

166 eius *absent in* M, T, S.

167 Et *absent in* M, T, S.

168 propheta *absent in* M, T, S.

Syon; clama filia Hyerusalem quia ecce¹⁶⁹ rex tuus ueniet¹⁷⁰ tibi mitis sedens super pullum asine,¹⁷¹ {M71v} et loquetur pacem gentibus.” Hec sunt testimonia de prophetis quia Deus uocauit uerbum suum Filium suum.

Et iterum oportet nos proferre¹⁷² testimonium de lege Dei quia Christus Ihesus filius Marię Deus sit¹⁷³ Deo. {P63v} Testatur¹⁷⁴ Israel, qui est Iacob filius Isaac fili Abraham¹⁷⁵ {T202v} cum esset in¹⁷⁶ obitum uitę suę. Benedicens¹⁷⁷ filios suos, prophetauit¹⁷⁸ de ipsis dicens ad Iudam filium suum: tu es “catulus leonis; non minuetur de femore tuo dux neque¹⁷⁹ princeps donec ueniat¹⁸⁰ qui¹⁸¹ sit expectacio gentium.” Et quis est qui sit¹⁸² expectatio gentium nisi ipse¹⁸³ unus Deus? Et¹⁸⁴ iterum dixit Hieremias propheta: “ecce {S100va} Deus noster cui similis non est, qui inuenit omnem uiam prudencię; et post hec uidebitur super terram et cum omnibus¹⁸⁵ erit conuersatio eius.” Et iterum Dauid in Psalmis:¹⁸⁶ “Deus manifeste ueniet et non tardabit.” Et iterum Esaias:¹⁸⁷ “post te ambulabunt; uincti¹⁸⁸ manus pergent, et te adorabunt teque¹⁸⁹ deprecabuntur quia tu es Deus, et non est aliis preter {M72r} te, Deus¹⁹⁰ Saluator confundens inimicos tuos: habierunt in confusione.” Et iterum Dauid: “Deus¹⁹¹ de caelo prospexit super filios hominum ut uideat¹⁹² si est intelligens aut requirens Deum; omnes declinauerunt simul; inutiles facti sunt” in uoluntatibus suis; “non est qui faciat bonum; non est usque ad unum.” Et iterum David: “Dixit dominus domino meo, sede ad dextris meis donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.” Et iterum dixit Moyses de passione Christi: “videbitis uitam uestram pendentem coram oculis uestris et non creditis.” Et iterum Dauid: “foderunt manus meas {P64r} et pedes meos,

169 *ecce absent in* T, S.

170 *ueniet* M, T, S.

171 *after asine* M, T, S *add et dissipabitur arcus belli.*

172 *dare* M, T, S.

173 *after sit* M, T, S *add de.*

174 *after testatur* M *adds hoc.*

175 *after Abraham* M, T, S *add quia.*

176 *esset in]* *uenisset ad* M, T, S.

177 *benedicens]* *et benedixisset* M, T, S.

178 *prophetauerit* M, T, S.

179 *non minuetur de femore tuo dux neque]* *absent in* M, T, S.

180 *aueniat* M.

181 *after qui* M *adds mitendus est qui.*

182 *qui sit]* *absent in* M, T, S.

183 *ipse absent in* T.

184 *et absent in* M, T, S.

185 *hominibus* M, T, S.

186 David in psalmis *absent in* M, T, S.

187 *after Ysaias* M, T, S *add ait.*

188 *uinctis* M, T, S.

189 *atque* T.

190 *after Deus* M, T, S *add Israel.*

191 Dominus M, T, S.

192 *uideatur* T.

dinumerauerunt omnia ossa mea." Et iterum:¹⁹³ {T203r} "diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea, et super uestem meam miserunt sortem." Et iterum Esaias:¹⁹⁴ "homo potens ferre plagam¹⁹⁵ et dolorem quia absconditus est uultus eius, unde nec reputamus¹⁹⁶ eum; vere langores nostros ipse tulit et dolores nostros ipse portauit: hec¹⁹⁷ est de crucifixione Christi.

Et iterum oportet nos testimonium proferre de Nouo Testamento adnunciatum per apostolos Christi quia Deus de Deo.¹⁹⁸ Testatus¹⁹⁹ Iohannes apostolus²⁰⁰ filius Zebedei²⁰¹ in Euangeli²⁰² dicens:²⁰³ "In principio erat uerbum, et uerbum erat aput Deum, et Deus erat {M72v} uerbum." Et iterum²⁰⁴ Gabrihel, princeps angelorum, quando adnunciauit Marię dicens:²⁰⁵ "Spiritus Sanctus superueniet in te, et uirtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi." Et iterum Christus in Euangeli²⁰⁶ de Spiritu Sancto dixit ad discipulos suos cum "insufflasset"²⁰⁷ in facies eorum: "accipite Spiritum Sanctum." Iterum dixit Paulus apostolus maximus in apostolis:²⁰⁸ "Spiritus Sanctus scrutatur omnia et nouit occulta Dei." Et iterum Iohannes: "non accipimus²⁰⁹ Spiritum seruitutis sed Spiritum Sanctum qui ex Deo est." Et iterum: "si quis spiritum Christi non habet hic non est eius." Hec sunt testimonia de Spiritu Sancto quia Deus ex Deo est.²⁰⁹

Et iterum²¹⁰ oportet nos testimonium proferre de Nouo Testamento quia Christus Dei Filius.²¹¹ {T203v} Dixit Gabrihel princeps angelorum ad Maria quem²¹² [sic] elegit Deus et exaltauit: "ecce concipies et paries {P64v} filium, et uocabis nomen eius Ihesum, et ipse redimet Israhel²¹³ populum suum a peccatis eorum." Iterum Paulus: "misit Deus filium suum natum²¹⁴ de²¹⁵ muliere factum sub lege ut eos qui sub lege erant erueret."²¹⁶ Et iterum

193 Dixit dominus domino meo . . . ossa mea et iterum] *absent in* M, T, S.

194 *after* Isaias M, T, S *add* erit.

195 infirmitatem M, T, S.

196 reputauimus M, T, S.

197 hoc T, S.

198 Christi quia deus de deo] *absent in* M, T, S.

199 testatus] per M, T, S.

200 apostolos *absent in* M, T, S.

201 *after* Zebedei M, T, S *add* qui.

202 *after* Evangelio M *adds* suo; T, S *add* suo de Spiritu Sancto.

203 dicit M, T, S.

204 Et iterum] Iterum M, item T.

205 dicit M, T, S.

206 insufflauit M, T, S.

207 in apostolis] apostolorum M, T, S.

208 accepimus M, T, S.

209 Et iterum si quis spiritum Christi . . . de Spiritu Sancto quia Deus ex Deo est] *absent in* M, T, S.

210 iterum M, T, S.

211 *after* Filius M, T, S, *add* sit.

212 Maria quem] Mariam quam M, T, S.

213 Israhel *absent in* M, T, S.

214 factum M, sanctum S.

215 ex T.

216 redimeret M, T, S.

Iohannes apostolos²¹⁷ filius Zebedei in Euangelio: “qui credit in Filium Dei²¹⁸ habet uitam aeternam; qui uero non crediderit in²¹⁹ illum, non uidebit uitam {M73v} aeternam, sed ira Dei manet super eum.”²²⁰ Iterum Paulus: “Deus unus Filius Dei per quem facta sunt omnia.” Iterum²²¹ Symon caput apostolorum dixit:²²² “tu es Christus Filius Dei uiui.” Iterum Gabriel: “haue Maria gratia plena; spiritus sanctus superueniet in te, et uirtus altissimi obumbravit tibi; et hoc²²³ quod nascetur ex te sanctum uocabitur Filius Dei.” Iterum Christus in Euangelio: “ego sum lux mundi,” et “ego a²²⁴ Patre {S100vb} exiui, et ad Deum²²⁵ reversus sum,” et²²⁶ “ego sum uita et resurrectio,” et “qui me uidit uidit²²⁷ et Patrem,” et “ego et Pater unum sumus.” Et iterum Paulus: “inluminabitur mundus de Iuda.” Et {T204r} iterum dixit: “ascendit Deus super²²⁸ caelos, super²²⁹ sedem sanctam suam, intuens terram ut uideat obligatos quos ligauit Satan in delicto suo.” Haec sunt testimonia de Nouo Testamento quia Deus uocauit Ihesum²³⁰ Filium suum.

Et uos habetis in lege uestra, ut dicitis, eo quod²³¹ “angelus dixit Zacharię cum esset orans in templo: ecce adnuntio tibi eo quod²³² nascetur tibi filius precedens uerbum Dei, et uerbum ipsum {M73v} uocabitur²³³ nomen eius Messias.” Et ideo dicimus uerbum ipsum {P65r} Filium quem dixerat Messiam. Et non est uerbum Dei creatum sed ipse creauit omnia. Et non extimes in corde tuo quod ita²³⁴ sit uerbum Dei uox aut uerbum aut sermo sicuti hominum, quia uerbum Dei lumen est per quem facta sunt omnia. Et quia dicis quare uoluit Deus mittere²³⁵ uerbum suum in uterum uirginis, et ego respondeam²³⁶ tibi quare fecit sic: quia Deus, benedictus et sanctum nomen eius, creauit caelum et terram²³⁷ et omnia que in eis sunt. Et creauit angelos suos²³⁸ in prima conditione sua et erant in circuitu throni.

217 apostolos *absent* in M, T, S.

218 filium *absent* in T, S.

219 in *absent* in M, T, S.

220 illum T.

221 Item M, T, S.

222 dixit *absent* in M, T, S.

223 hoc *absent* in M, T, S.

224 ex S.

225 eum M, T, S.

226 et *absent* in P.

227 uidet uidet M, T, S.

228 supra M, T, S.

229 supra M, T, S.

230 Ihesum] uerbum suum M, T, S.

231 eo quod] quod M, T, S.

232 eo quod] quod M, T, S.

233 *after* uocabitur M, T, S *add* et.

234 quod ita] quo dita [sic] M.

235 ut mitteret M, T, S.

236 respondeam] respondebo M, T, S.

237 *after* terram M, T, S *add* et mare.

238 suos *absent* in M, T, S.

Et subito in-{T204v}gressus est una legione²³⁹ angelorum tumor et superbia,²⁴⁰ facientes se Deo similes dixerunt: ponamus sedem²⁴¹ nobis sicut est sedes Dei et circuiamus caelum et terram sicut²⁴² et Deus. Cumque cognouisset²⁴³ quod erat in cogitationibus eorum proiecit Satan et omnem legionem ipsius²⁴⁴ de caelo ad terram,²⁴⁵ et facti sunt demones et inimici filiorum Adam,²⁴⁶ eleantes se contra Deum in con-{M74R}tradictione.²⁴⁷ Cumque fecisset Deus Adam, constituit eum in paradysō dicens ei:²⁴⁸ “commede²⁴⁹ omnia²⁵⁰ quecumque uolueris; de ligno²⁵¹ hoc quem²⁵² [sic] prohibeo tibi ne comedas; quocumque²⁵³ die comederis ex eo morte morieris.” Temtatus uero a diabolo comedit ex eo et projectus²⁵⁴ de paradysō et hereditauit mortem et contradictionem et delictum in progenie sua {P65v} post eum.²⁵⁵ Deus uero cuius nomen est benedictum uoluit eripere creaturam suam de manu diaboli qui eos prevaricauerat.²⁵⁶

Postea uero post multum tempus²⁵⁷ direxit Noe a populo suo²⁵⁸ [sic] ut peniterent et recederent ab opere diaboli. Cumque uenisset²⁵⁹ ad eos contempserunt et mendacem eum {T205r} reputauerunt. Et precepit Deus Noe ut faceret archam et mitteret in ea de omni creatura. Et inmisit²⁶⁰ Deus diluuium, aperti sunt fontes²⁶¹ abyssi et catharacte caeli, et effuse sunt aque. Et consumpti²⁶² sunt habitantes terram²⁶³ et omne quod mouetur super

239 una legione] unam legionem M, T, S.

240 *after* superbia M, T, S *add* qui.

241 *after* sedem M, T, S *add* nostrum.

242 *sic* T.

243 cognouit M, T, S *and after* cognovit *they add* deus.

244 eius M, T, S.

245 terram P, S, terras M, T.

246 Ade M, T, S.

247 contradictionem M, T, S.

248 constituit eum in paradysō dicens ei] constituit in paradiso illum dicens M, T, S.

249 *after* comedē M, T, S *add* ergo.

250 omnia *absent in* M, T, S.

251 *after* ligno M, T, S *add* uero.

252 quod M, T, S.

253 quocumque] in quacumque M, T, S.

254 *after* projectus M, T, S *add* est.

255 post eum] *absent in* M, T, S.

256 prevaricaverat] prevaricari fecerat M, T, S.

257 Postea uero post multum tempus] *absent in* P.

258 a populo suo] ad populum M, T, S.

259 *after* uenisset M, T, S *add* Noe.

260 misit M, T, S.

261 fontes *absent in* M, T, S.

262 Et consumpti] Consumptique M, T, S.

263 habitantes terram] habitatores terre M, T, S.

eam,²⁶⁴ excepto Noꝝ, qui fuit²⁶⁵ {M74v} in archa,²⁶⁶ et uxorem²⁶⁷ [sic] eius et tres filios²⁶⁸ [sic] ipsius²⁶⁹ et uxores filiorum illius.²⁷⁰ Et post hec²⁷¹ misertus²⁷² Deus super ea que²⁷³ fecerat. Precepit aquis ut reuerterentur²⁷⁴ sicuti antea fuerant, et exsiccata est terra, et exierunt²⁷⁵ de archa homines et iumenta. Benedixit²⁷⁶ eis Deus et dixit: “crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram”; et factum est ut fieret {S101ra} sicut et antea.

Et tunc homines temptati a diabolo fecerunt sibi deos sculptiles, adorantes eos absque Deum²⁷⁷ [sic] qui fecit²⁷⁸ eos. Et uolens Deus eripere creaturam suam de manu diaboli qui eos peruerterat, subito descendit in potentia sua²⁷⁹ super²⁸⁰ montem Sinay, et locutus est seruo suo Moysi, et dedit ei precepta legis {P66r} eligens filios Israel de omni plebe. Et tunc filii Israel, derelinquentes ea que dederat {T205v} Deus Moysi, fecerunt sibi sculptile adorantes illum²⁸¹ [sic] absque Deum uiuum [sic].²⁸² Et statim inmisit in eis serpentes, et consumpsit partem ex eis. Et iterum misertus²⁸³ Deus eis. Et²⁸⁴ iterum temptati a diabolo, inmisit in eis ignem et consum- {M75r} psit multitudinem²⁸⁵ ex²⁸⁶ eis. Et misertus Deus amouit iram ab eis.²⁸⁷ Et iterum²⁸⁸ postea fecerunt sibi idola adorantes illa in Deum. Immolauerunt filios suos et filias suas demoniis.

264 terram M, T, S.

265 remansit M, T, S.

266 archam M.

267 uxor T, S; duor [sic] M.

268 filii M, T, S.

269 eius M, T, S.

270 eius M, T, S.

271 post hec] postea M.

272 misertus P, M; miseratus T, S.

273 que *absent in* M.

274 reuertenntur [sic] M.

275 exierunt] egressi sunt M, T, S.

276 Benedixitque M, T, S.

277 deo M, T, S.

278 fecerat M, T, S.

279 sua] luminis M, T, S.

280 supra M, T, S.

281 illud M, T, eum S.

282 deo uiuo M, T, S.

283 misertus P, M; miseratus T, S; *after which* M, T, S, *add* est.

284 Et *absent in* M, T, S.

285 multitudinem] multituta [sic] est M.

286 ab S.

287 Misertus Deus amouit iram ab eis *absent in* T, S.

288 Et iterum] Iterum M, T, S.

Et suscitauit Deus prophetas suos²⁸⁹ contestantes²⁹⁰ ut peniterent et reuerterent²⁹¹ ad Deum et recederent a diabolo.²⁹² Negauerunt Deum,²⁹³ et mendaces eos dixerunt, et quos-dam²⁹⁴ ex ipsis²⁹⁵ occiderunt.²⁹⁶ Cumque uidisset Deus eo quod preualuisset²⁹⁷ diabolus in eis, ex quo factus est Adam et electus²⁹⁸ est²⁹⁹ de paradysu usque ad prophetas qui uenerant ad eos et occiderent³⁰⁰ illos, uoluit Deus ut eriperet eos³⁰¹ de potestate³⁰² antiqui hostis.³⁰³ Misit³⁰⁴ uerbum suum,³⁰⁵ qui est de lumine suo, ad Mariam quem³⁰⁶ [sic] elegerat Deus et prescierat. Accepit formam id est naturam humanam³⁰⁷ uerbum Dei inducens³⁰⁸ carnem de Maria cum anima et intellectu. Et habitauit uerbum ipsum, quod erat ex Deo, in ipso corpore absque sepa-*{T206r}*ratione³⁰⁹ in perpetuum. Et si non esset corpus ipsum quae [sic]³¹⁰ {P66v} induerat uerbum Dei, nemo poterat uidere uerbum Dei,³¹¹ sicut nec Moyses poterat uidere uerbum Dei: sed ueniens uerbum Dei, induens corpus de Maria, et eripuit³¹² {M75v} populum suum de potestate Diaboli. Verbum utique illut quod suscepserat Maria, et ipse est cuius³¹³ nomen est Messias. Et Deus, quod [sic]³¹⁴ erat antequam adnuntiatio, ueniret ad Mariam, et corpus adsumeret de Mariam³¹⁵ [sic], et ipse est Deus. Sed hec est caligo in uobis ut non intelligatis.

289 suos *absent in* M, T, S.

290 contentantes M; *after which* M, T, S *add eos.*

291 reuerterentur M, T, S.

292 et recederent a diabolo *absent in* M, T, S.

293 deum *absent in* M, T, S.

294 et quosdam] esse et aliquos M, T, S.

295 eis T.

296 occiderant M, T, S.

297 eo quod preualuisset] quod ualuisset M, T, S.

298 deiectus M, T, S.

299 est *absent in* M, T.

300 occiderant M, T, S.

301 ut eriperet eos] eripere illos M, T, S.

302 potestate] manu M, T, S.

303 antiqui hostis] diaboli M.

304 *before* misit M, T *add Et.*

305 *after* uerbum suum M, T, S *add Christum.*

306 quam M, T, S.

307 formam id est naturam humanam] formam hominis M, T, S.

308 induens M, T, S.

309 *after* separatione M, T, S *add ab ipso.*

310 quod M, T, S.

311 nemo poterat uidere uerbum dei] *absent in* T.

312 eripiens M, T, S.

313 cui M, T, S.

314 qui M, T, S.

315 Maria M, T, S.

Et in³¹⁶ hoc scripsisti mihi dicens quia dixerit³¹⁷ Dei missus sum ad uos, et quia commederit et biberit³¹⁸ et dormierit. Sed hunc³¹⁹ ostendam tibi eo quod³²⁰ in Christo fuerint³²¹ due operationes et due locutiones, una uerbi et alia corporis que³²² [sic] suscepserat de Maria, corpus perfectum³²³ animam habentem³²⁴ et intellectum. Et tamen operatio uerbi ipsa est quando³²⁵ cum Patre cuncta creabat.³²⁶ Et³²⁷ manens in corpore,³²⁸ peccata³²⁹ dimittebat, et³³⁰ mortuos suscitabat, et mutos et leprosos sanabat, et³³¹ claudos currere {T206v} faciebat, et occulta sciebat, et super mare³³² pedibus ambulabat, et ad caelum ascendebat. Hec est operatio uerbi {M76r} que operata est opera Dei. Et uos relinquentes opera uerbi, sequimini opera corporis quem³³³ [sic] adsumpsit de Maria quod fuit de Adam.

Et ideo dicitis {P67r} quod similis sit Christus de Adam³³⁴ in eo quod³³⁵ commedebat et dormiebat. Et iste est sermo eorum qui non intelligunt de Christo neque perscrutantur legem Dei.³³⁶ Et secundum uestrum sensum, intelligentes Iudei de Christo persequentes eum³³⁷ comprehendentes illum³³⁸ crucifixerunt, dicentes uerba blasphemie^q {S101rb} ad matrem eius Mariam cui pudor castitatis inerat.

Nam et hoc quod notesces³³⁹ quare adoramus³⁴⁰ uerbum³⁴¹ Dei: numquid non inuenitur in lege Dei eo quod³⁴² filii Israel adorassent archam quem³⁴³ [sic] precepérat³⁴⁴ Deus Moysi

316 in absent in M.

317 dixit S.

318 uiuerit P.

319 nunc M, T, S.

320 eo quod] quod M, T, S.

321 fuerunt S.

322 quod M, T, S.

323 perfectam M, T, S.

324 habens M, T, S.

325 quando] que erat M, T, S.

326 creauit M, T, S.

327 after Et M, T, S add hic deus.

328 after corpore M, T, S add quod assumpsit de Maria uirgine.

329 peccata P, M; peccatam T, S.

330 et absent in M, T, S.

331 et absent in T, S.

332 after mare M, T, S add pedibus.

333 quod M, T, S.

334 de adam] ade M, T, S.

335 in eo quod] eo quod M, T, S.

336 dei absent in M, T, S.

337 after eum M, T, S add et.

338 eum M, T, S.

339 notuisti M, T, S after which they add nobis.

340 adoremus M, T, S after which they add Christum.

341 uerbum absent in S.

342 eo quod] quod M, T, S.

343 quam M, T, S.

344 precepit M.

facere? Et tamen non adorabant³⁴⁵ neque seruiebant ad archam neque ad ligno,³⁴⁶ [sic] sed adorabant et seruiebant uerbo et legi Dei quod erat in archa, et tamen³⁴⁷ non ob hoc erant alieni a Deo neque ad duos deos³⁴⁸ seruisse³⁴⁹ iudicabantur.

Nam et quod dicitis³⁵⁰ in lege uestra inueniatis eo quod³⁵¹ {T207r} Deus angelis³⁵² precepit³⁵³ adorare Adam. {M76v} Quod si ita credendum est, quid existimas de uerbo quod nominatum est Messiam³⁵⁴ quod est ex ipso Deo,³⁵⁵ et per eum creauit caelum et terram, et non est creatura sed per eum creauit omnia: et nunquid non oportet ut adoremus uerbum ipsum manentum³⁵⁶ in ipso corpore? Melius³⁵⁷ quam adoraremus ad³⁵⁸ petram surdam³⁵⁹ quem³⁶⁰ [sic] adoratis ubi scimus aliquid³⁶¹ remansisse³⁶² de idolatria illa quos³⁶³ [sic] adorabant,³⁶⁴ Jahot³⁶⁵ et Iahoc³⁶⁶ et Nuzara³⁶⁷ et Allat et Adozei³⁶⁸ et Menna.³⁶⁹ Quidam ex eis erant dii {P67v} in similitudine³⁷⁰ uirorum, quidam uero in similitudine³⁷¹ feminaram. Nam maiores dicebantur alla uccubere³⁷² unde et sermo iste diriuatur³⁷³ in uobis³⁷⁴ alla ucciber.³⁷⁵

345 non adorabant *absent in* T.

346 lignum, M, T, S.

347 tamen *absent in* M, T, S.

348 deos *absent in* M, T.

349 seruisse] seruire M, T, S.

350 et quod dicitis] et uos dicitis quod M, T, S.

351 eo quod] M, T, S.

352 angelos M, T, S.

353 preceperat M.

354 messias M, T, S.

355 domino T.

356 mantens M, T, S.

357 *after* melius M, T, S *add* est hoc.

358 adoraremus *ad*] adorare M, T, S.

359 *after* surdam M, T, S *add* uillisimum.

360 quam M, T, S *after which they add* uos.

361 ubi scimus aliquid], quod M, S, quid T.

362 *before* remansisse M, T, S *add* quidem *and after it they add* uidetur.

363 quos] quam uestri M, T, S.

364 *after* adorabant M, T, S, *add* id est.

365 laot M, S, Iaoc T.

366 iahot S; abs M.

367 Mazara M, Nazara T, muzara S.

368 ea lege M, T, S.

369 menenna M, T, S.

370 similitudinem M, T, S.

371 similitudinem M, T, S.

372 alcubre M, T, S.

373 *after* uerbo M, T, S *add* Allá.

374 uobis] nobis S; uerbum T.

375 alla ucciber P] Alláoquiber M, T, S.

Immolate eis³⁷⁶ peccora et camelos³⁷⁷ [sic] uno die pre unoquoque anno,³⁷⁸ et³⁷⁹ secuti estis consuetudinem paganorum super lapide illo in Macca,³⁸⁰ in angulo domus ipsius idolatrię cui seruiebant³⁸¹ et immolabant³⁸² antiquitas [sic] ipsa paganorum.

Et dicitis quod³⁸³ similis Christus ante Deum sicut et Adam, et ponitis factura³⁸⁴ [sic] de luto, qui³⁸⁵ [sic] contradixit {M77r} Deo suo,³⁸⁶ et non custodiuuit preceptum eius similem³⁸⁷ [sic] uerbo Dei et lumini ipsius qui³⁸⁸ non est factus³⁸⁹ sed per ipsum facta sunt omnia.³⁹⁰ Descendens de caelo et³⁹¹ ad caelum reuersus est;³⁹² {T207v} non relinquens Deum neque separatus est ab illo. Et ipse est Messias cuius regnum est³⁹³ sempiternum. Et iudicaturus uiuos et mortuos tempore resurrectionis, iudex perpetuus hominum et angelorum. Hec est causa uerbi quod descendit in³⁹⁴ Mariam cuius nomen est Christus.³⁹⁵

Et qualis est sermo tuus aut intellectus ut dicas non poterat Deus ingredere³⁹⁶ in³⁹⁷ uentre³⁹⁸ mulieris in tenebram³⁹⁹ et angustia⁴⁰⁰ [sic] et fetorem?⁴⁰¹ Sed damus tibi similitudinem, si forte intelligas: nunquid non uides solem, quia graditur super inmunditiam et stercorem⁴⁰² et fetorem et nullo modo inquinatur ipse sol de stercore illo aut quidquid est {P68r} illut aliut simile? Sed⁴⁰³ ipse sol mundat omnia et non inquinatur.⁴⁰⁴ Quanto magis

376 immolate eis] Immolantes eius M, T, S.

377 et camelos, *absent* in M, T, S.

378 pre unoquoque anno] per unumquemque annum M, T, S.

379 sed M, T, S.

380 super lapide illo in Macca] super lapidem sacrificantes illum in Mecha M, T, S.

381 seruiebat M, T, S.

382 immolabat M, T, S.

383 *after* quod M, T, S *add* sit.

384 facturam M, T, S.

385 que M, T, S.

386 Deo suo] deum suum M.

387 simile M, T, S.

388 quod M, T, S.

389 factum M, T, S.

390 *after* omnia M, T, S *add* et.

391 et *absent* in M, T, S.

392 *after* est M, T, S *add* et.

393 erit M, T, S.

394 ad M, T, S.

395 cuius nomen est Christus *absent* in M, T, S.

396 ingredi M, T, S.

397 *absent* in M.

398 uterum M, T, S.

399 tenebras M, T, S.

400 angustias T, S.

401 fetore M.

402 stercora M, T, S.

403 sed *absent* in M, T, S.

404 coquinatur M, T, S.

Deus qui fecit solem⁴⁰⁵ ut ipse quo⁴⁰⁶ quo inquit a creatura? Sed noli esse incredulus ut ingredere⁴⁰⁷ Deus in uterum mulieris qui in-{M77v}gressus est in rubo⁴⁰⁸ qui erat in montem⁴⁰⁹ Syna, et locutus est seruo suo Moysi, et dedit ei legem.⁴¹⁰ Et nunquid non erat melior⁴¹¹ corpus Christi, et uerbum Dei et Spiritus, ante Deum quam spina illa rubi?⁴¹² Et nunquid non ipse Deus fecit Adam et {T208r} composuit et erexit et constituit et dedit ei omnia quae fecerat⁴¹³ in sex dies? Sed noli abnegare ut mitteret uerbum suum Deus in opus quam [sic] fecerat, plasmauerat, et constituerat {S101va} super opera sua.

Nam et [quod] dicas quia lex Moysi igne cremata fuisset et notauerit⁴¹⁴ ea⁴¹⁵ Esdras memoriter et mendaciter, et non rememoratus in ea⁴¹⁶ fuerit resurrectionem, aut uitam eternam aut paradisum [sic].⁴¹⁷ Sed nunc⁴¹⁸ ostendam tibi, si domino placet,⁴¹⁹ quia Deus benedictus misit reuelationem in prophetas suos, et omnis propheta locutus est per reuelationem Dei. Et dedit Moysi legem in qua scripta sunt precepta filiis Israel et exitus eorum⁴²⁰ de Egypto et dinumeratio illorum⁴²¹ et contradictio {M78r} ipsorum et indignatio Dei⁴²² super eos et quomodo creauit omnia, et iterum {P68v} rememoratio⁴²³ regum et quomodo exaltauit et humiliabit [sic] eos et reuelauit seruo suo Dauid psalmodium,⁴²⁴ [sic] et Salomonis⁴²⁵ sapientiam, et Iob dilecto suo et Danielo⁴²⁶ prudencia⁴²⁷ et super multos de⁴²⁸ prophetas [sic]. Et nos credimus resurrectionem esse et paradisum et infernum, et inuenimus ea scripta in Ueteri Testamento omnia⁴²⁹ {T208v} per Esdram⁴³⁰ cui reuelauit Deus⁴³¹

405 *after* solem M, T, S *add* potest operari.

406 quo] non M, T, S.

407 ingredetur M, T, S.

408 in rubo] in rubum M, rubum T, in rubum S.

409 monte M, T, S.

410 lege M.

411 melius M, T, S.

412 *after* rubi M, T, S *add* quem uulgo [uulgu] senticem ursinam appellant [appelat T, S].

413 fecit S.

414 mutauerit M, T, S.

415 eam M, T, S.

416 eam M.

417 resurrectionem, uitam eternam aut paradisum] de resurrectione, uita eterna aut paradiso M, T, S.

418 Sed nunc] Nunc M, T, S.

419 placit M, T, S.

420 eorum *absent in* M, T, S.

421 eorum M, T, S.

422 Dei *absent in* M, T, S.

423 memoratio M, T, S.

424 psalmodium M, T, S.

425 Salomonis T, S.

426 Danieli M, T, S.

427 prudenciam M, T, S.

428 de *absent in* M, T, S.

429 omnia *absent in* M, T, S.

430 *after* esdram M, T, S *add* prophetam.

431 dominus T.

illam [*sic*].⁴³² Et dedit ei⁴³³ huius⁴³⁴ rei scientiam⁴³⁵ legis, et rememorauit illam et scripsit ea ad ea plenitudo[n]e⁴³⁶ [*sic*] sicuti antea⁴³⁷ eam dederat Deus Moysi prophete suo. Et⁴³⁸ declarauit illa,⁴³⁹ et non pretermisit ex ea modicum aut multum quia non est in prophetis Dei mendatium neque obliuio eo quod Deus sit reuelatio illorum et ipse est Deus priorum et nouissimorum.

Notuisti mihi commemorans de sacrificio et quid est—si nosti⁴⁴⁰ sacrificium—et quia non repereris quemquam, tantum de seruientes⁴⁴¹ [*sic*] Deo⁴⁴² nisi quia obtulerit⁴⁴³ sacrificium {M78v} et hornamentum in honore⁴⁴⁴ Dei et acceptum⁴⁴⁵ est quicumque obtulerit illut⁴⁴⁶ ex omnibus ex quo creatus est homo. Nam primitias⁴⁴⁷ obtulerunt duo filii Ad[am] et acceptum est ab uno⁴⁴⁸ et non acceptum es ab alio.⁴⁴⁹ Et⁴⁵⁰ sacrificium ueritas est super homines, et acceptum est ante Deum et⁴⁵¹ pro <e>dificatione ei⁴⁵² quicumque obtulerit⁴⁵³ illud, excepto sacrificium⁴⁵⁴ [*sic*] quod offertur ydolis. Et hii sunt⁴⁵⁵ qui offeruntur⁴⁵⁶ illud qui⁴⁵⁷ Deo alios deos⁴⁵⁸ similes esse⁴⁵⁹ existimant⁴⁶⁰ alieni et perdit, quorum non acceptat Deus sacrificium. {P69r}

432 illa M, T, S.

433 ei *absent in* M, T, S.

434 *before* huis T *adds* dominus.

435 *after* scientiam M, T, S *add* et.

436 ea ad ea plenitudo[n]e] eam ad eam plenitudinem M, T, S.

437 antea *absent in* M, T, S *after which* T, S *add* ei.

438 Et *absent in* P.

439 illam M, T, S.

440 nostis M, S.

441 de seruientes] tantum seruientem M, T, S.

442 domino T.

443 nisi quia obtulerit] quantum et ille qui obtulit M, T, S.

444 honorem M, T, S.

445 acceptus M, T, S.

446 illum T, S.

447 primum M, T, S.

448 alio *and after* alio M *adds* finit amen. [Its text ends here.]

449 et non acceptum es ab alio *absent in* M, T, S.

450 Et *absent in* T, S.

451 et *absent in* T, S.

452 ei] hominum et eius] T, S.

453 illum ex omnibus . . . quicumque obtulerit] *absent in* T.

454 sacrificio T, S.

455 sunt *absent in* T, S.

456 offerunt T, S.

457 qui *absent in* T, S.

458 deos P, S; dominos M, T.

459 esse *absent in* T, S.

460 existimantes sunt T, S.

Christus uero nocte illa antequam comprehenderetur a Iudeis, et ipsa erat nox in quoatio passionis, dixit discipulis suis et⁴⁶¹ apostolis quid ei facturi essent Iudei, et adnuntiauit eis resurrectionem suam,⁴⁶² et quid⁴⁶³ agarent⁴⁶⁴ et reuerterentur⁴⁶⁵ ad illum. Et tamen nocte illa, commedens cum discipulis suis accepit panem et benedixit et dixit illis: “Accipite et commedite; hoc est corpus meum” {T209r} quod offero in sacrificium⁴⁶⁶ pro⁴⁶⁷ peccata [sic] hominum. Et iterum “accepit calicem” in quo erat uinus⁴⁶⁸ et dixit: “bibite ex hoc omnes;⁴⁶⁹ hic est⁴⁷⁰ sanguis meus qui offertur in remissione peccatorum.” Et precepit nobis ut similiiter faceremus de pane et de uinum⁴⁷¹ [sic] in eius commemorationem, per spiritum sanctum et orationem quem⁴⁷² [sic] ostendit discipulis suis, ut sit nobis remissio⁴⁷³ peccatorum, quicunque obtulerit⁴⁷⁴ illud in fide et dilectione.

Et iste est sacrificius [sic],⁴⁷⁵ licet non ista⁴⁷⁶ [sic] secundum quod in lege uestra dicitis habere⁴⁷⁷ quia “dixissent discipuli ad” Christum “inuoca Deum ut dirigat nobis mensam de caelo.” {S101vb} Et dixisset⁴⁷⁸ Christus “timete Deum si estis fideles.” Et “dixerunt” discipuli “uolumus commedere de illa,⁴⁷⁹ et credimus tibi, “et sciemus⁴⁸⁰ quia uerum locutus es nobis, et testis super ipsam⁴⁸¹ heris [sic]. Et dixerit” Christus: “Deus, dirige eis mensam de caelo ut sit nobis festum sollemnem⁴⁸² [sic] et posteris nostris, et signus⁴⁸³ [sic] ex te. Et tribue nobis hoc ex te⁴⁸⁴ quia tu es dator⁴⁸⁵ bonorum.” Et dixit Deus:⁴⁸⁶ ‘dirigam eam uobis, et

461 *et absent in* T, S.

462 *after* suam T, S *add* ex mortuis.

463 *quia* M, T, S.

464 *fugerent* M, T, S.

465 *reuerterentur* T, S.

466 *sacrificio* T, S.

467 *propter* T, S.

468 *uinum* T, S.

469 *ex hoc omnes]* *ex eo* T, S.

470 *est absent in* T, S.

471 *et de uinum]* *et uino* T, S.

472 *quam* T, S.

473 *remissio]* *in remissionem* T, S.

474 *obtulit* T, S.

475 *Et iste est sacrificius]* *Et istud sacrificium* T, S.

476 *ita* T, S.

477 *habetur* T, S.

478 *dixit* T, S.

479 *after* illa T, S, *add* mensa.

480 *scimus* T, S.

481 *ipsa* T, S.

482 *sollemne* T, S.

483 *et signus]* *Hoc signum* T, S.

484 *et tribue nobis hoc ex te]* *absent in* S.

485 *doctor P; T, S dator which does conform better to the Arabic of this Qur’anic verse: anta khayr al-rāziqīn.*

486 *dixit deus]* *dixit eis* T, S.

qui post hec {P69v} negauerit cruciabo illum⁴⁸⁷ cruciationem⁴⁸⁸ qua⁴⁸⁹ nemo cruciatus est.”
Et tamen hii sunt sermones Nestoriani cuiusdam heretici non recte scientis⁴⁹⁰ de Christo,
qui introduxit uos quasi⁴⁹¹ aliquid intelligeretis de fide Christi, sed non ita ut est ueritas et
{T209v} ratio demonstrabit uobis.⁴⁹²

Quod tamen de cruce notuisti:⁴⁹³ scientem te reddimus⁴⁹⁴ quia die qua crucifixus est
Iesus⁴⁹⁵ Christus fuerunt⁴⁹⁶ cum eo duo latrones, unus ad dexteram eius⁴⁹⁷ et alius ad sinistram,
et mox⁴⁹⁸ emisit spiritum. Statim contremuit terra, et sol obtenebratus est,⁴⁹⁹ petre
scise sunt, et uelum templi disruptum⁵⁰⁰ est.⁵⁰¹ Et multi crediderunt ex Iudeis eo quod
Filius Dei esset. Et quidam de Iudeis principes qui erant,⁵⁰² comprehendit eos timor uali-
dus propter ipsas cruces et⁵⁰³ ut celarent hominibus⁵⁰⁴ ueritatem. Comprehenderunt eas,
et sepelierunt illas⁵⁰⁵ ita ut alii nescirent⁵⁰⁶ nisi una domus et⁵⁰⁷ unus homo ex ipsa domo.
Et nemini⁵⁰⁸ in uita sua ad filios aut⁵⁰⁹ germanos dicebat nisi cum in morte⁵¹⁰ uenisset,
dicens quia quando quidem questio erit⁵¹¹ propter illas⁵¹² cruces scitote locum.

487 illam *corrected by later hand* to illum P.

488 cruciatione T, S.

489 quam *corrected by later hand* to qua P.

490 sentientis T, S.

491 *after* quasi T, S *add* ut.

492 nobis M, T, S.

493 notuisti *corrected by later hand* to innotuisti P; innotuisti M, T, S.

494 scientem te reddimus] scienter credimus T, S.

495 iesus *absent in* T, S.

496 fuerunt] crucifixi sunt T, S.

497 eius *absent in* T, S.

498 *after* mox T, S *add* ut.

499 *after* est T, S *add* et.

500 scissum T, S.

501 *after* est T, S *add* et cetera.

502 quidam de Iudeis principes qui erant] quidam principes qui erant ex Iudeis T, S.

503 et *absent in* T, S.

504 omnibus T, S.

505 illas *absent in* T, S.

506 non scirent S.

507 aut T, S.

508 et nemini] Neminem T, S.

509 *after* aut T *adds* ad.

510 cum in morte] in morte T, S.

511 fuerit T, S.

512 ipsas T, S.

Quando tamen uoluit Christus ut hostenderet⁵¹³ hominibus⁵¹⁴ confusionem Iudeorum in eis qui remanserant, et⁵¹⁵ ut uiderent homines⁵¹⁶ gratiam et misericordiam⁵¹⁷ quę erat in cruce ipsius, et bonitatem et prestationem inuentionem⁵¹⁸ [sic] ipsius crucis, per regem unum de regibus Romanorum cui nomen erat Constantinus, qui necdum erat Christianus. Cum egressus esset {P70r} ad prēlium {T210r} contra inimicos suos, cepit inuocare Deum, conuertens se petere ab illo auxilium⁵¹⁹ dicens: “Deus meus, creator caeli et terrae, tu donas potestatem regni cui iubes, obsecro te per misericordiam et bonitatem tuam⁵²⁰ ut ostendas⁵²¹ mihi rectam fidem que placita est tibi; et conuerte me ad illam.”⁵²² Et dum pergeret contra inimicos suos, eleuatis oculis⁵²³ ad caelum media nocte,⁵²⁴ uidit in caelo⁵²⁵ quasi columnas duas una super alia incumbentem [sic]⁵²⁶ in similitudinem crucis, in eam scriptam [sic]⁵²⁷ igneo fulgore rutilante scriptum Grece:⁵²⁸ “qua appetisti a Deo tuo⁵²⁹ ut ostenderet tibi rectam fidem quae placita est⁵³⁰ illi, et maximum signum fidei ipsius, facito tibi signum regale⁵³¹ [sic] in similitudinem⁵³² crucis istius quae⁵³³ precedat te⁵³⁴ contra inimicos tuos secundum Deum⁵³⁵ quod uidisti in caelo.” Tunc precepit rex, et confregerunt signa regalia, et fecerunt ea⁵³⁶ in⁵³⁷ similitudinem crucis. Et tunc eleuauit eum Deus super inimicos suos.

513 ut ostenderet] ostendere T, S.

514 omnibus T, S.

515 et *absent* in T, S.

516 omnes T, S.

517 et misericordiam *absent* in T, S.

518 inuentione T, S.

519 petere ab illo auxilium] ad illum petere auxilium ab eo T, S.

520 tuam *absent* in T, S.

521 ostendetis T.

522 ipsam T, S.

523 eleuauit oculos T, S.

524 *after* nocte T, S *add* et.

525 caelum T, S.

526 una super alia incumbentem [sic]] unam super aliam incumbents.

527 eam scriptam] eas scripturam T, S.

528 rutilante scriptum grece] rutilantem grece scriptam T, S.

529 qua appetisti a deo tuo] quia petisti a domino [deo S] tuo T, S.

530 rectam fidem quae placita est] fidem rectam placitam T.

531 regale T, S.

532 similitudine S.

533 quod T, qui S.

534 te *absent* in T, S.

535 Deum *absent* in T, S.

536 eam T, S.

537 in *absent* in T, S.

Cum tamen reuersus fuissest perquisiuit quid esset factum⁵³⁸ de cruce Christi. Direxit⁵³⁹ matrem suam statim de terra Romanorum cum exercitu⁵⁴⁰ usquequo ueniret⁵⁴¹ Hierusalem. {T210v} Et introgauit maiores Iudeorum⁵⁴² et meliores ipsorum et⁵⁴³ qui {S102ra} remanserant de cognitione domus illius. Congregatis⁵⁴⁴ omnibus, perquisiuit eos⁵⁴⁵ quid factum esset de cruce Christi, et tamdiu indicauit unus alium⁵⁴⁶ donec quiesceret sermo super domum illam unde suspicio uertebatur,⁵⁴⁷ et tamen iam multos antea cruciauerat quos antea⁵⁴⁸ suspicionem habuerat. Et precepit uirum illum qui remanserat de domo illa mitterunt et in⁵⁴⁹ putoe⁵⁵⁰ absque cibo et potu. Cumque cognouisset se propincum morti clamauit,⁵⁵¹ “eicite me {P70v} et ego⁵⁵² hostendam uobis locum!” Et dum foderent exiliuit⁵⁵³ de fouea fumus incensi, hostendens eis tres cruces post transactos⁵⁵⁴ trecentos annos ex quo Christus uenerat, et nemo sciebat ubi ipsa crux esset. Et cum esset adducte⁵⁵⁵ ante reginam, et nesciret qualis esset crux Christi, subito deferebatur⁵⁵⁶ mortuus de ciuitatem [sic],⁵⁵⁷ et precepit regina ferebatur⁵⁵⁸ mortuum ipsum. Et hadibuerunt⁵⁵⁹ unam,⁵⁶⁰ et non surrexit mortuus, et adibuerunt secundam et nihil profecit. Cum uero adhibuissent terciam,⁵⁶¹ surrexit qui fuerat mortuus. Et multi ex Iudeis statim crediderunt in Christum. Regina tamen fecit ecclesiam super Christi {T211v} sepulchro⁵⁶² et⁵⁶³ in caluarie, locum⁵⁶⁴

538 *esset factum*] factum fuissest T, S.

539 *after* Direxit T, S *add* autem.

540 *after* exercitu T, S *add* suo.

541 *after* ueniret T, S *add* in.

542 seniorum T, S.

543 *et absent in* T, S.

544 *after* congregatis T, S, *add* autem.

545 perquisiuit eos] tamdiu percunctatus est eos T, S.

546 *et tamdiu iudicauit unus absent in* T, S.

547 *sic* P *but corrected to* uersabutur *by slightly later hand.*

548 quos antea] super quos T, S.

549 mitterunt et in] mittere T, S.

550 puteum T.

551 *after* clamauit T, S *add* dicens.

552 ego *absent in* T, S.

553 exiuit T, S.

554 transactos *absent in* T, S.

555 confuse [sic] P.

556 ferebatur T, S.

557 de ciuitatem [sic]] per ciuitatem T, S.

558 *corrected in* P *by slightly later hand to* afferibatur [sic]; deferebatur T, S.

559 habrerunt [sic] P *corrected to* hadiberunt [sic]; adhibuerunt T, S.

560 *before* unam, T, S *add* crucem.

561 *after* terciam T, S *add* statim.

562 *corrected in* P *to* sepulchrum; sepulchrum T, S.

563 *et absent in* T, S.

564 loco T, S.

ubi crucifixus est Christus, opere mirifico, et reliquid in domo sancta partem de ligno ipsius. Relicum uero secum⁵⁶⁵ deportauit ad filium suum in terram Romanorum.

Hec est causa de cruce Christi, et ob hoc adoramus crucem Christi, et commemoramus⁵⁶⁶ super eminentem gratiam eius in nobis per bonitatem que est in cruce, et signum fidei Christiane. Et cum cruce ipsa prohibet Gabrihel, princeps angelorum, ante illum tempore iudicii cum uenerit de caelo iudicare uiuos et mortuos. Et crux lumen est credentibus in Christo,⁵⁶⁷ et placitum est firmitas⁵⁶⁸ fidelibus, et uia ueritatis per quem⁵⁶⁹ [sic] multi demonio uexati, leprosi, ceci, surdi, infirmi, sanabuntur⁵⁷⁰ a Deo⁵⁷¹ per ipsam cruxem.

Sed non te eleuet⁵⁷² contra Deum potestas aut diuinit̄ aut sanitas corporis, quia hec omnia similia est⁵⁷³ [sic] uisioni⁵⁷⁴ que appetet in somnio⁵⁷⁵ ut aliquid sit,⁵⁷⁶ et cum expergefactus fuerit,⁵⁷⁷ intelligit quia nihil erat quod in uisionem⁵⁷⁸ uidit. Ita est ornatus mundi et potestas ipsius.

Et dictum est mihi eo⁵⁷⁹ quod non salutetis {P71r} eos qui in lege sunt quod [sic] non estis,⁵⁸⁰ et uos dicitis habere in lege uestra eo⁵⁸¹ quod mulieres de alia {T211v} fide licite sint uobis⁵⁸² in coniugium ducere.⁵⁸³ Et quomodo potest fieri ut precipisset Deus homini uxorem ducere quem⁵⁸⁴ [sic] non indignetur salutare neque sepelire illam? Et si mortua fuerit mater eius qui et⁵⁸⁵ genuit similiter si⁵⁸⁶ de alia fide fuerit, non oportet⁵⁸⁷ super sepulcrum eius stare aut⁵⁸⁸ deprecari⁵⁸⁹ pro illam,⁵⁹⁰ [sic] cum uos inueniatis in lege uestra scriptum quia

565 secum *absent in* T, S.

566 commemorationem T, S.

567 Christum T, S.

568 firmiter T, S.

569 quam T, S.

570 sanati sunt T, S.

571 Domino T, S.

572 levet T, S.

573 sunt T, S.

574 uisionis S.

575 somnis T, S.

576 ut aliquid sit *absent in* T, S.

577 *after* fuerit T, S *add* quis.

578 visione T, S.

579 eo *absent in* T, S.

580 quod non estis] quam uos nescitis T, S.

581 eo *absent in* T, S.

582 licite sint uobis] licitum est T, S.

583 accipere T, S.

584 quam T, S.

585 mater eius qui et] mater que eum T, S.

586 et T, S.

587 poterit T.

588 et T, S.

589 deprecari T, S.

590 illa T, S.

multi ex eis⁵⁹¹ qui in lege quolibet [sic] sint fideles sunt⁵⁹² apud Deum? Et si subito⁵⁹³ uxor tua aut mater⁵⁹⁴ fideles sunt apud Deum, quare non depreceris⁵⁹⁵ pro illa?⁵⁹⁶ Ubi deuenit prudentia uestra aut intellectus cum Deus maximum iusserit obsequium prebere parentibus in omni lege?

Et iterum dictum est mihi quia quislibet⁵⁹⁷ uestrum “cum reliquerit” uxorem {S102rb} suam quolibet⁵⁹⁸ [sic] “ex causa non oportet eum ad eam⁵⁹⁹ regredi⁶⁰⁰ donec alter conueniat cum ea.” Vere preuaricatores⁶⁰¹ estis legis et Euangeli. In lege enim scriptum est “ut si quislibet⁶⁰² homo dimiserit uxorem suam qualibet ex⁶⁰³ causa, et uoluerit ad eam quando quidem⁶⁰⁴ regredi, ipsius est sine dubio, si tamen alter non sordidauerit eam. Et si alias⁶⁰⁵ tetigerit eam⁶⁰⁶ proibita est ab illo in perpetuum.” In Euangelio tamen⁶⁰⁷ “non est licitum homini di-{T212r}mittere uxorem suam absque fornicationis causa, et qui dimissam alterius in⁶⁰⁸ uxorem acceperit adulter et mecus iudicetur.”⁶⁰⁹

Et iterum dictum est mihi eo⁶¹⁰ quod in lege uestra sit scriptum quia quodcumque⁶¹¹ fecerit homo, bonum uel malum, prescriptum⁶¹² et predestinatum est illi a Deo antequam nasceretur. {P71v}⁶¹³ Nam si ita est ut quodlibet homo⁶¹⁴ [fecerit] antequam nasceretur prescriptum sit illi, quare⁶¹⁵ supplantatio ista sit⁶¹⁶ in Deum, ut ista prescriberet et preordinaret super eum. Impie egisse uidetur super illum.⁶¹⁷ Sed absit hoc a Deo ut ista in

591 his T, S.

592 quilibet [sic] sint fideles sunt] qualibet sunt fideles sunt T, S.

593 subito *absent in* T, S.

594 *after* mater T, S *add* tua.

595 deprecaris T.

596 illis T, S.

597 quilibet T, S.

598 qualibet T, S.

599 illam T, S.

600 ingredi T.

601 *after* preuaricatores T, S *add* facti.

602 ut si quislibet] si quilibet T, S.

603 pro T, S.

604 quandoque] T.

605 Et si alias] Si uero alter T, Si uero alias S.

606 eam *absent in* T, S.

607 autem T, S.

608 in *absent in* T, S.

609 iudicabitur T, S.

610 eo *absent in* T, S.

611 quecumque T, S.

612 perscriptum T, S.

613 *after* nasceretur T, S *add* Et si ita est non est illi gratia si bonum operetur.

614 quodlibet homo] cuilibet homini T, S.

615 illi quare] bonum uel malum T, S.

616 fit T, S.

617 prescriberet et . . . egisse uidetur super illum] prescribendo et preordinando impie gesisse uideatur T, S.

hominibus⁶¹⁸ operetur. Quare ergo direxit prophetas, et dedit⁶¹⁹ legem, nisi ut sit Deo⁶²⁰ alteratio cum omnibus super⁶²¹ hoc quod eis⁶²² notum fecit. Et si ita esset causa⁶²³ secundum Deum⁶²⁴ quod⁶²⁵ dicitis—quodcumque fecisset homo bonum uel malum prescritum⁶²⁶ et prescriptum⁶²⁷ erat super eum antequam fieret—non dirigeret Deus prophetas ut demonstraret⁶²⁸ hominibus⁶²⁹ infernum et pertremiscerent. Sufficiebat⁶³⁰ enim illis⁶³¹ prescriptio et predestinatio⁶³² eorum. Sed non sit intellectus tuus talis homo nisi quia Deus fecit hominem uidentem et audientem et hostendit ei inter bonum et malum quid eligat, et admoniti custodiant animas suas et non erit qui perit nisi arbitrio suo. Finit.⁶³³

618 omnibus T, S.

619 *after* dedit T, S *add* eis.

620 Deo *absent in* T, S.

621 omnibus super] hominibus per T, S.

622 eius T; ei S.

623 esset causa] essent cause T, S.

624 deum *absent in* T, S.

625 quod *absent in* T.

626 prescriptum T, S.

627 preordinatum T, S.

628 demonstrarent T, S.

629 omnibus T, S.

630 sufficerat T, S.

631 illi T, S.

632 preordinatio T, S.

633 Sed non sit . . . arbitrio suo. Finit] O homo deus fecit hominem uidentem et ostendit ei inter bonum et malum quid eligat T, S.

2

The Christian Arabic Letter of Leo

INTRODUCTION

THOUGH ACCOUNTS OF A CORRESPONDENCE between the Byzantine emperor Leo III and the Muslim caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz had been circulating for more than a millennium, and actual letters attributed to Leo and 'Umar have come down to us in Armenian, Latin, Arabic, and Aljamiado manuscripts, scholars became aware of the Arabic version of the letter of Leo only relatively recently. In 1975, numerous manuscript leaves and fragments were found in Saint Catherine's Monastery in Mount Sinai, and a decade later, Meimares published a catalog of these materials. This catalog includes titles and brief paleographical information, with a photographic image of the first two pages of each work. According to this catalog, the Arabic version of the letter of Leo is preserved in MS Ar. New Finds 14.¹ It occupies folios 62v–87r of the manuscript.

Along with this text are two other works in the same manuscript; one is *The Questions and Answers Concerning Orthodox Faith*, folios 1r–62r.² The other follows the letter of Leo and is an anonymous anti-Muslim treatise that might be called *Another Letter of Leo*, folios 88r–90v. Its ending is missing. This last work is a letter between a Christian and a Muslim, undoubtedly written entirely by a Christian, so it shares some characteristics with the letter of Leo. Meimares considered this last work to be another letter ascribed to Leo and called it *A Refutation against the Letter from the Commander of the Faithful*.³ However, there is no apparent connection between it and the letter of Leo to 'Umar that comes before.

There is no colophon or internal evidence that gives the origin or provenance of these works. The copyists are also anonymous.⁴ Based on paleographical considerations, this manuscript seems to have been made in the first half of the tenth century.⁵ However, the composition of the text must have been earlier.

1 Meimares 1985.

2 Meimares 1985, 41, 43. The titles of the first and the last works are provided by Meimares in Arabic.

3 See previous note.

4 At least two hands copied the manuscript (see physical description).

5 The handwriting changes from 58r through the end of the manuscript, and *The Letter of Leo* was copied by the second hand. This handwriting, in part, shares characteristics of those of Saint Catherine's Monastery, MS Ar. 154 and Paris, BnF Ar. 382a. In giving a description of the graphic features of *On the Triune Nature of God* included in the Saint Catherine's Monastery MS Ar. 154, Samir pointed out its antiquity and raised the question of whether such characteristics can be found in the later period, saying, "All this is a sign of great antiquity. I wonder whether this can be found in 10th century manuscripts. I do not remember having come across such particularities" (Samir 1994, 60). This manuscript is undated but is most likely to have been produced in the second half of the eighth to the ninth century. BN Arabe 382a, which is also undated, is written in the New Style Script III, which was widely used from the first part of the tenth century (Déroche 1983, 47, 51, 141, pl. XXII B). Therefore, MS Ar. NF 14 might have been produced

Even though it is an alleged letter written by the emperor Leo III, it is unlikely that he himself wrote it or was involved in its composition. While it discusses theological themes such as the doctrine of Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the veneration of the cross, and the validity of Christianity, it is silent about political and diplomatic matters. Nor do the names of Leo and 'Umar appear throughout the text, save for the title.⁶ Moreover, even though it was written in the form of correspondence between two characters presumed to be Leo and 'Umar, it is a scripture-based apology written for Christian readers.⁷ 'Umar's refutations are introduced with the phrase "You said. . ." The short passages introduced in this manner, however, do not collectively comprise a whole letter from 'Umar but merely provide a pretext for the Christian apology. Finally, even though the text was attributed to the Byzantine emperor, it was composed in Christian Arabic⁸ and reveals no sign of translation from Greek. One must conclude, therefore, that an anonymous Christian writer composed it under the name Leo.⁹

In an article in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, Mark Swanson provided a detailed analysis of this text. His analysis is based on seven random folios, the first two from the photos given in the catalog, and another five that Stephen Gero made available to him. Based on the examination of these folios, Swanson drew the following conclusions: first, from the handwriting he conjectured that the extant manuscript was copied in the late ninth century. But based on the letter's argumentative approach—taking Jesus's words in the Gospel as evidence of his divinity—he argued that it was one of the earliest Christian apologies written in Arabic and suggested that the author was a Melkite monk or clergyman who lived in the middle of the eighth century. Second, in discussing its content, he pointed out its similarities to the earliest Christian Arabic apology so far known, preserved in Saint Catherine's Monastery, MS Ar. 154, and titled *On the Triune*

sometime during the ninth to the tenth century. The first half of the tenth century is more favorable. Some of the characteristics shared between *The Letter of Leo* and MS Ar. 154 are not attested in New Style Script III, but it should be noted that the *Letter of Leo* and MS Ar. 154 are produced in a particular milieu, the Melkite monasteries of the Judean Desert, where Christians produced their own literatures in Arabic. They may have developed their own style of writing and script. More studies are required to make a more precise conclusion. For orthographical features, see Kim 2017, 72–74.

6 For a general discussion on the authorship of all letters ascribed to Leo and 'Umar, see the general introduction to this volume.

7 This purpose does not exclude the possibility that Muslims might have read it, but the primary target audience of the author was Christians.

8 Syriac was used in only one instance on 72v, when the author describes Jesus's words during the Last Supper, "Eat of it, for this is My body. . ." He uses the Syriac word ܒܪ ܚܐ for body, instead of Arabic جسد. The author may have taken the phrase from a liturgical text; on the role of Syriac in the circulation of the polemic, see this volume's general introduction.

9 It may have been ascribed to Leo during the transmission. However, considering the fact that the earliest Latin translation of the *Letter of Leo* was made in the first half of the ninth century, it is more likely that the ascription was made when the letter was composed.

Nature of God.¹⁰ According to Swanson the doctrine of the Incarnation in the Arabic letter of Leo is also found in *On the Triune Nature of God* but in more elaborate form.¹¹

We have no evidence of the origin and provenance of the extant Arabic letter of Leo. But the similarities in themes and styles between other early Melkite anti-Muslim apologies and the Arabic letter of Leo show that all these texts might have been produced in the same milieu. There are many works to be consulted, but here it will suffice to describe the similarities between *On the Triune Nature of God* and the Arabic letter of Leo. Here are some examples: (1) both use nature analogies to explain the Trinity;¹² (2) both frequently use citations taken from the Bible and the Qur'an;¹³ (3) the fall of Adam is ascribed to his disobedience to God and obedience to Satan, which caused his descendants to inherit death and sin;¹⁴ (4) the term حواريون, which is of Ethiopic origin and adopted in the Qur'an as the name of Jesus's disciples,¹⁵ is used to refer to Christ's apostles rather than رسول, which was more commonly used by Christians.¹⁶ Samir Khalil Samir observes that though حواريون was used widely by writers from the Church of the East, he does "not remember having come across this word in the Melkite tradition",¹⁷ and (5) both use terminology derived from the creed and claim that the predominance of Christianity throughout the world proves the divinity of Christ and the validity of Christianity.¹⁸

These similarities are not limited to shared themes and the use of similar terminology. The author of *On the Triune Nature of God* claims that Christianity is the religion from God, saying, "If this religion was not truly from God, it would not have been established nor stood erect for 700 years and 46 years" ولولا تكن هذا ادين حقا من الله لم يثبت ولم يقم منذ سبع سنين (وست واربعين سنة).¹⁹ According to Samir, the combination of two verbs, يثبت and يقيم, is not a random or accidental pairing but "a technical expression" in this context.²⁰ The Arabic letter of Leo also uses the same verbs together in the same context. First, on folio 79r, the

¹⁰ This work is now preserved in Saint Catherine's Monastery, MS Ar. 154 and in Paris, BnF MS Ar. 6725 in fragmentary form (Samir 1994, 59). Two editions were made based on the MS Ar. 154: Gibson's edition in 1899 and Samir's in 1994. Neither edition included the entirety of the work, and they adopted a different system to indicate verses. To avoid confusion, therefore, page numbers of the editions will be used instead of MS folio numbers. Here the conventional title given by Gibson is used. For a differing opinion, see Harris 1901, 75–76.

¹¹ Swanson 2009, 377–80.

¹² Cf. Gibson 1899, 76–77 (Arabic), 4–5 (translation); Christian Arabic, 65v–66r, 68v–69v.

¹³ Cf. Gibson 1899, 87–91 (Arabic), 15–19 (translation), and elsewhere; Christian Arabic, 67r–68v.

¹⁴ Cf. Gibson 1899, 79 (Arabic), 7 (translation); Christian Arabic, 63v.

¹⁵ Jeffery 2007, 115.

¹⁶ Cf. Gibson 1899, 87 (Arabic), 15 (translation), and elsewhere; Christian Arabic, 78v, 83r, and elsewhere.

¹⁷ Samir 1994, 107.

¹⁸ Cf. Gibson 1899, 83 (Arabic), 11–12 (translation), and elsewhere; Christian Arabic, 66r, 79r, and elsewhere.

¹⁹ For the Arabic edition and English translation, see Samir 1994, 61. This part is missing from Gibson's edition.

²⁰ See Samir 1994, 62. To prove his point, Samir gives a parallel phrase comprised of the same two words taken from *Summa Theologiae Arabica* (BL.Or.4950), citing his previous article published in *al-Masarrah* 70 (cf. Samir 1994, 62n17). Unfortunately, I could not locate that phrase in the article in *al-Masarrah*. Nevertheless, Samir's insight that the combination of يثبت and يقيم indicates a "technical expression" seems still valuable.

author cites Matthew 24:35 to prove the validity of Christianity: “And Christ said to His disciples, ‘Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My word shall not pass away.’ Therefore, he established His word and [made it] stand erect to the end of the world.”²¹ Again, on folio 79r–79v he asserts that “[i]f He is not God from God and the Light, and if it were not mercy for His creation, then His word would not have been established nor would His command have stood erect in all the nations from eastern to the western reaches of the world. . . .”²² If we accept Samir’s view that the combination of two verbs, ثبت واستقام, is a “technical expression” rather than a mere coincidence of using two similar verbs together, then we can say that the Arabic letter of Leo is closely related to *On the Triune Nature of God* and suggest that they may have originated in the same milieu.

The comparison of the Arabic letter of Leo with *On the Triune Nature of God* may also shed light on the date of the former, for *On the Triune Nature of God* gives its composition date within the text. Its author says that Christianity has been established for 746 years.²³ According to Swanson’s survey, Melkite writers used the Alexandrian era up to the tenth century.²⁴ The issue is where to put Christianity’s starting point—at Christ’s incarnation or his resurrection? Griffith asserts that the Christian era referred to here begins with Christ’s incarnation, and thus the text should be dated to 755.²⁵ Samir suggests an earlier date. Following Griffith in assuming that the Christian era begins at the Incarnation, and subtracting eight or nine years from 746, Samir suggested the year 737/38.²⁶ Swanson suggested a later date—788—placing the beginning of the Christian era at Christ’s crucifixion.²⁷ Griffith’s suggestion seems convincing, but the two other views cannot be excluded entirely. Since the precise dating of *On the Triune Nature of God* is not our concern, suffice it to say that it was written sometime in the middle of the eighth century—737/38 at the earliest and 788 at the latest. And the Arabic letter of Leo might well have been composed in this period.

Examination of the entire text of the Arabic letter of Leo allows for further conclusions regarding its relationship to other letters ascribed to Leo and ‘Umar. Most notably, a close comparison with the two Latin letters of Leo reveals that both works share a common source or sources.²⁸ The recent identification of earlier versions of the Latin letter of Leo—

وقال المسيح للحوريين ولبني اسرائيل ايضا امين اقول لكم السما والارض يعبران وقولي لا يعبر. لكن ثبت واستقام لذلك 21 على قوله الى انقضى الدنيا.

فلو لم يكن المسيح الله من الله ونور من نور ورحمة لخلق ما ثبت قوله ولا استقام امره في الام كلها من مشارق الارض 22 وغاربها . . .

23 Samir 1994, 61; Swanson 1993, 118–19.

24 Swanson 1993, 139.

25 Griffith 2008, 54.

26 Samir’s suggestion is based on his examination of Melkite manuscripts of Sinaitic or South Palestinian origin. According to his examinations, in the case of these manuscripts it is necessary to subtract eight or nine years from the given date. He also suggested two alternatives: 767/68, which begins from Jesus’s ministry, and 770/71, from the ascension or Pentecost. He concludes that, whatever the date may be, this text is “the oldest known datable (if not dated) document.” See Samir 1994, 62–64. Schadler also favored the earlier dates of 737 or 755 (see Schadler 2018, 105–6).

27 Swanson 1993, 140. His suggestion was accepted by Vollandt (2015, 27).

28 See the general introduction to this volume.

which, until recently, was thought to survive in only a printed version of 1508—shed light on the history of transmission and translation of the letters of Leo in Arabic and Latin.²⁹ The exact relationship between the extant Arabic letter of Leo and the letters of Leo in Latin is unclear. However, given the fact that, as we saw in the general introduction to this volume, both share a common source or sources, at least two scenarios are possible. Perhaps the initial Latin version is an intentional reworking of the extant Arabic text during the translation process. Yet it is also possible that at least two versions of Leo’s letter were circulating in Arabic in a Melkite milieu at an early date, the Latin text being a translation of a version differing in significant ways from the extant Arabic version.

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

SINAI, EGYPT, LIBRARY OF SAINT CATHERINE’S MONASTERY, MS AR. NEW FINDS 14

Language: Christian Arabic. Date of composition: unknown. Date: first half of the 10th cent. Origin: unknown, but probably the monastery of Mar Sabas or Mar Kariton. Scribe: unknown. 90 fols. Materials: paper and parchment (fol. 1, 20–21, 40–41, 60–61, 80–90). Script: various hands, cursive (1r–58r), cursive Kufic or New Style Script III (58r–90v), single column. Lines per page: ca. 23–27 (1r–58r), ca. 20–22 (59v–62r), ca. 14–16 (62v–90r). Each page consists of two or three paragraphs, though the paragraph breaks do not correspond to clear transitions in thought. Condition: generally good (occasional signs of water damage and mold, some tearing on the edges of pages). First quire and bottom half of second missing (in the upper margin of 1r is written ﺪلّ).

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fol. 1r–62r: The Questions and Answers concerning Orthodox Faith

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fol. 88r–90v: Another letter of Leo or an anonymous anti-Muslim treatise

Bibliography

Iōannēs E. Meimarēs, *Κατάλογος των νέων αραβικών χειρογράφων της Ιεράς Μονής Αγίας Αικατερίνης του ορούς Σινά* (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1985), 41, 43.

Mark Swanson, “The Arabic Letter of Leo III to ‘Umar II,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History Volume 1: (600–900)*, edited by David Thomas and Barbara Roggema (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 377–80.

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²⁹ See the introduction to the Latin letter of Leo (Latin I).

OUR EDITION

The Arabic *Letter of Leo* now survives in a single manuscript. An edition of the Arabic *Letter of Leo*, together with *Another Letter of Leo* or *An Anonymous Anti-Muslim Treatise*, was published in a dissertation with English translation and commentary.³⁰ The edition and translation we offer here is a revised version of that earlier edition. It preserves the orthography of the sole manuscript witness, which exhibits certain linguistic features shared with the South Palestinian Christian Arabic manuscripts.³¹ Corrections and additions to the manuscript are noted in the apparatus rather than in the text of the edition.

TRANSLATION

[The Arabic Letter of Leo]

{62v} In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. From Leo, the king of Rome, to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, the Commander of the Faithful, Peace. We believe in one God, before and after whom there is no [other] god. We know that God, by His grace, truly created this world, for it did not exist until Him.

You wrote to me mentioning the issue of Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, and the meaning of this world. Now, I will explain this to you clearly. God created man from the lowest element of His creation, from dust, which is the substance of the earth. Then He ennobled him and then He exalted him and appointed him over His creation, and instructed him. He showed him the two ways³² and the reward for each one. God began to teach man {63r} about all creatures and their descendants according to the faith of the prophets, just as a teacher teaches his lesson little by little, as much as one can understand it.

Then He approached Adam and commanded him. God said to him, "Do not approach the tree, nor eat from it." But Adam disobeyed God and obeyed Satan, and transgressed against what God had commanded him concerning that. When he disobeyed, he died. But God returned him to Him after 936.³³ He made [Adam] and his descendants after him inherit death.

When people understood the signs of God and what the messengers revealed about Him, they considered the Scriptures carefully, throughout the age between Adam and Christ. He wanted to show the fullness of His grace to them and to manifest the goodness of His economy and the abundance of His mercy to them, by sending Christ to this world. {63v} We find in the Scripture of God that "Whoever inherits the inheritance shall settle the debt [first]."³⁴ We inherited from our ancestor, Adam, death and sin due to disobedience. But this status has remained with us until a man of our nature, a man perfect in piety and who was obedient to the Creator and disobedient to Satan the enemy, rose up. When Christ accomplished that, He bequeathed life, dignity, and honor, whereas Adam bequeathed

³⁰ Kim 2017.

³¹ Cf. Blau 1966–67, 61–130.

³² Cf. the two ways of life and death of Didache; cf. Niederwimmer, 59–119.

³³ Cf. Gen. 5:5.

³⁴ Cf. Rom. 6:23.

death and sin, due to disobedience. Thus, there is neither deviation nor error in the religion of God. Therefore, sin abided in the descendants of Adam and death sought them out until Christ shared in the world and elucidated the issue of the hereafter. No one before that had spoken about the meaning of the hereafter. Then came for us the signs of the prophets in order that we might believe in His word. He [Christ] cleaned leprosy, gave hearing to {64r} the deaf, made the mute speak. Any lame man they brought to Him stood. He cast out madness from men, raised the dead, walked upon the water, transformed water into wine, along with many [other] signs that I am not writing to you about. Not only did Christ perform these signs, but His companions, those who were with Him, and His apostles who were His disciples did as well. He gave them such power so that they might lead the people from their evil ways to the one God. If the people had not seen the signs through the disciples, they would not have abandoned their sacrifices and what their fathers have venerated.

You wrote to me asking about Christ and the Eucharist, saying, “What is the cross? And what is the Eucharist?” You also said, “Why do you venerate {64v} Jesus, the messenger of God, and why do you regard him as God? But He testifies about Himself in the Gospel, ‘I am the messenger of God to men. Therefore, whoever believes in Me, he believes in the one who sent Me, and whoever denies Me, he denies the one who sent Me.’³⁵ When God lifted him up to Him, He said to the apostles, ‘I am ascending to My Lord and your Lord, and to My God and your God.’³⁶ He testifies about Himself that He is the messenger of God.” You said, “The Torah was corrupted. Ezra himself altered it and wrote it wrongly. Resurrection, paradise, or hell were not mentioned in it.” You said, “The example of Jesus to God is like that of Adam.”³⁷ Also, you said, “How could God enter into the womb of a woman in affliction and stench?” And you said, “How could God eat, drink, sleep, rejoice, pray, and fear, as you have written about him?”

I know it is only {65r} because of your lack of knowledge about Christ that makes you tell me this. You said that “Mary, the daughter of Imran, the sister of Aaron and Moses, is the mother of Jesus.”³⁸ But how can this be? Mary, Aaron, and Moses died on the road during their emigration from Egypt, and not one of them entered the Holy House. Rather, Mary the sister of Aaron died of a skin disease,³⁹ a long time before Mary the mother of Jesus was born, and her father was born. Mary the mother of Jesus is a descendent of the prophet David, and she was from the tribe of Judah son of Jacob.

Therefore, if you want to learn about this, then we will explain to you until you have neither doubt nor command concerning it. Examine the Old Testament which was sent by God to the children of Israel: the Torah, Psalms, and the Prophets. Then examine the New [Testament], the Gospel, and what God sent through the apostle⁴⁰ of Jesus. {65v} Then you will find [in them] a clear story and a correct way regarding the issue of Christ. You will be pleased with it and will be beyond doubt, when [you see] the Scriptures of God confirm one another and the prophets [confirm] one another, even agreeing about Christ, whom

³⁵ John 12:44.

³⁶ Cf. John 20:17.

³⁷ Q3:59.

³⁸ Q66:12; 19:28.

³⁹ Cf. Num. 12:10–15; 20:1.

⁴⁰ The singular form is used here. This “apostle” may refer to Paul.

God sent, in the Old and the New [Testaments]. Then you will understand and know the status of Jesus.

I will report to you about the matter of our religion, how we worship God, and the law that we follow so that you understand, God willing. Then I will organize proof and testimonies for you from the prophets and the Old and New [Testaments] concerning what I am writing to you about, that what we say about Christ is true. So, understand what I have written to you about it and comprehend it. Contemplate it and reflect upon it repeatedly until you come to comprehend it, God willing.

I shall relate to you that God first created heaven and earth, which does not encompass Him. No one comprehends His quiddity. {66r} The prophet Moses saw a light on Mount Sinai—[something] that he called “light”—and that light said to him, “Moses, fear not!” From His light, which was from Him, was His ray. So He called it His Word. And from the ray of His light, there was a ray and He called it the Holy Spirit. Hence, we say, “The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,” and all of them are from God, one thing. We do not make distinction between them, and [they are] one light. From this one light, the earth spread out. The light and the Holy Spirit from the light are a single thing. Therefore, we say, “The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, God from God, Light from Light, God from God, one thing.” We do not distinguish between each one of them. Therefore, this is the status of the Son and the authority with which He is endowed.

As for your statement in your Scripture that “the example of Jesus to God is like that of Adam. He created him from dust, and said to him, ‘Be!’ and he was,”⁴¹ let us consider His issue, His actions, and His affairs. Adam is like Him {66v} save for the fact that Christ obeyed his Lord and disobeyed Satan, whereas Adam, unto whom Satan introduced lies, obeyed him [i.e., Satan] and disobeyed his Lord so that He humbled him with death.

Do you not know that Christ is the Word of God and the sign of the Holy Spirit, and that the body of Christ is today in heaven? God is in Christ as His Word—and His Spirit, for His Word is a spirit from God. Where the Word of God and His Spirit are, there is God. Therefore, through Christ, we worship God, the one who is in heaven and on earth, not the one who disobeyed and sinned. Do not suppose that God, the most Blessed and the Most High, dwells in a small place or in many places; God is equally in all places. God called His Word, by which He created everything, “Son.” Therefore, we say “the Son of God” because God is the Father of His Word. Wherever {67r} the Word of God is, there is God. The Word of God is from God and the Spirit of God is from God. The Word of God creates whatever He wishes, and the Spirit of God creates whatever He wishes. He is one single thing. Do not think that we worship two gods; rather, we worship one God. We do not associate anything with Him. He is the eternally living one.

I will tell you about this [i.e., the divinity of Christ] with evidence and testimonies that you are not able to deny. The confirmation of my words is from the upright prophets of God. God called Jesus “Son,” and through His Word, He created everything. He [i.e., David] said in the Psalms that God created everything through His Word. David also said, “By the Word of the Lord, the heaven became firm.”⁴² David also said, “O Lord! Your Word is in

⁴¹ Q3:59.

⁴² Cf. Ps. 33(32):6; cf. n148 below.

heaven always.”⁴³ He said, {67v} “God sent His Word and cured them.”⁴⁴ And Job the faithful testified to the Holy Spirit. He said, “The Holy Spirit has made me.”⁴⁵ And the prophet Moses said, “The Spirit of God was upon the water.”⁴⁶ The prophet Isaiah said, “The Holy Spirit has made me.”⁴⁷ And the prophet Moses said, “He who lifted up heaven without a pillar walks upon the sea as He does upon the land.”⁴⁸ And the prophet Isaiah said, “The Spirit of the Lord anointed me.”⁴⁹ And the prophet David said, “You sent Your Spirit and created me, and You renewed the face of the earth,”⁵⁰ [and] “Your good Spirit leads me to the firm land.”⁵¹ Now then, what testimony is truer than this and what clarification is clearer than this? This is from the Old [Testament] and there are many more beside it. The Word [and] the Spirit are from God, and they created creatures as the evidence and testimonies from the Old [Testament] also demonstrate. {68r} The prophet Isaiah said, “The virgin shall conceive and shall give birth to a son, and call him ‘Emmanuel,’ which means ‘God is with us.’”⁵² The prophet David said, “You are my son and today I gave birth to you. Ask me, and I will give you nations as your inheritance, and the end of the earth as your possessions.”⁵³ Zachariah the prophet said, “Rejoice and delight, O daughter of Zion. Sing and be happy, O daughter of Jerusalem. Your king is coming, riding on a donkey, a son of a she-ass.”⁵⁴

This is the testimony about the Son: God called His Word and His Wisdom “Son.” But do not think that God accepts fasting and prayer of anyone among men, in the same way that He accepted fasting and prayer in Christ. I spoke and explained to you about what you cannot disregard, nor avoid it, for my witnesses are the prophets, who are just and pleasing to Him.

{68v} If you want to learn about the knowledge and the matter of Christ, then I explained [sic] to you in the best and the most appropriate way. This is profound and unequivocal knowledge. This Scripture of yours [i.e., the Qur'an] says that God sent His Word and His Spirit, which are from Him, to Mary and created from her a perfect man in body and spirit.⁵⁵ Then God dwelled as His Spirit and His Word in that man without interruption, forever.

If you say, “How could God dwell inside a man?” then we shall give you an example of this so that you can understand, God willing. Do you not know that the sun is on the face of heaven and its rays and light are on earth? Or do you not know that the sun is in

43 Cf. Ps. 119(118):89.

44 Cf. Ps. 107(106):20.

45 Cf. Job 33:4.

46 Gen. 1:2.

47 Cf. Job 33:4.

48 The source is unknown. But the fourth-century Syriac writer Aphrahat gives a similar expression, saying, “He suspended the sky without pillars, and made firm the earth without supports.” See Lehto 2010, 336. In Syriac, the verb *th-l-* means “lift up or suspend.” See Payne Smith and Payne Smith 1957, 612. See also Qur'an 13:2, which says, “إِنَّمَا الَّذِي رَفَعَ السَّمَاوَاتِ بِغَيْرِ عَمَدٍ تَرَوْنَهُ”

49 Cf. Isa. 61:1.

50 Cf. Ps. 104(103):31.

51 Cf. Ps. 143(142):10.

52 Isa. 7:14.

53 Ps. 2:7–8.

54 Zach. 9:9.

55 Q4:171.

heaven, but it comes into the chamber through the window and lights up the chamber with that which is {69r} from the sun, but the sun is not at all extinguished? It [i.e., the sun] is on land and sea. If the sun, which is a created thing and like any other creatures is [like that]—and if you so desire I can add more [examples] for you about this—then what would you think about the one who is the most High and Sublime? Do you not know that God is in heaven, on earth and what is between them? God is not in a great or small place, but He is equally everywhere. So, God is in Christ, in heaven, on earth, and He is equally everywhere. But God dwells in Christ with glory, honor, greatness, mercy, and in kinship to Him, on account of the Word of God which is in Him. For the Word of God is from God and God is with His Word, and the Spirit of God is from God and God is with His Spirit. {69v} Whatever is from God, that is God.

You tell us that we are infidels and you call us polytheists.⁵⁶ But we are not infidels. Rather we believe in the one whom we know. I am not saying that they are two gods, God forbid! You say that a Christian believes in God by worshipping two gods. But we attribute the Word to God. Therefore, we say Christ is the son of God because God is the father of His Word. We believe in God the Father who was not begotten. And we believe in God the Son, who was begotten from the Father who did not beget. And we believe in the Holy Spirit which did not beget nor was begotten; three names, but one God and one Lord. He is the Father and the Son, the Word and the Spirit, the Holy Spirit which is with Him. Therefore, these are three names, but one thing and His Spirit is one, one honor, {70r} and one God. God chose this man and dwelled in Him as His Word in order to assemble the people on the day of resurrection through Him, and to set Him as judge and magistrate between the angels and people, in order for them to look at this man, who sees God, who is unseen. He dwells in Him as the Word, He who brings the Good News, and the Spirit. Where the Spirit of God is, God is.

Therefore, when Christ came, He did not bring an army or a sword. Rather He only commanded us [to live] a pure life in this world. He also commanded that we should live a life of virtue by fasting and prayer. He commanded us to forgive the one who does evil to us and trespasses against us. He commanded us to do charity privately and publicly. And He commanded us to pray without hypocrisy so that we will attain what Christ has promised us in the kingdom of heaven.⁵⁷

{70v} As for what you asked about Christianity, it is the same as I described to you in my letter, and what I explained and wrote to you about the issue of Adam. He died due to his disobedience against his Lord. Thus, his descendants after him continually increased in the wrath of God; so God's judgment was severe for them, for every person and nation, until Christ rose up. He completed the commandments of God which He ordered in the Torah⁵⁸ and in everything in the Scriptures.

But Satan tried to ensnare Him to lead Him astray from the way of God so that He might commit sin just as Adam sinned. But he [i.e., Satan] was not able to do anything.⁵⁹ Then Satan entered among the Jews and they envied Christ and begrudged Him when

56 Cf. Q5:73 for infidels and Q2:135 for polytheists.

57 Cf. Matt. 6:5.

58 In the MS, it is written as نوره.

59 Cf. Matt. 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13.

many of the evildoers followed him. They believed in Him when they listened to Him and great deeds were done by Him. {71r} Then, Christ desired to die for the sinners. Even though He did not sin, nor was He kin to death, He offered himself to God as an offering for our sin. And it was not that God, who is in Christ as His Word and his Spirit, was weak or incapable; rather if He had wished, He could have saved Christ from the Jews and destroyed them. But God, in His wisdom and His grace, allowed Christ free reign with the Jews. So they crucified Him. Therefore, He lived, died, and was buried, without uncertainty. There were guards from among the Jews at the grave for three days until Christ rose up by God's will, His command, and His Spirit, which dwelt in Christ. Satan was disgraced, and the Jews were disgraced, and the righteousness and the light of the truth were shown to the people through the resurrection of Christ. And at that time, people believed and trusted that Christ was true. If Christ had not been crucified, died, {71v}, buried, been resurrected and revealed Himself, and remained forty days after His resurrection, people would never have believed in His resurrection. As for the crucifixion of Christ, His death and his resurrection, it is as I wrote to you. God's gift and grace are upon the people, and in them He was pleased. This is the interpretation of the matter of Christ and Christianity.

As for your question about the Eucharist and what you said and asked about, I will tell to you what we know about its issue, God willing! I heard in your Scripture, "The apostles said to Jesus, 'Ask your Lord on behalf of us to send us a table from heaven.' He said, 'Fear God, if you are believers.' They said, 'We wish to eat from it so that our heart may be tranquil, so that we might know that we were correct and may be among the witnesses.' {72r} Jesus said, 'O God! Send us a table from heaven that we may have a feast and sign from you for the first to the last among us. And provide us with the means of sustenance for you are the best of the providers.' He [i.e., God] said, 'I will send it to you; for whoever disbelieves, I shall punish him with a punishment by which I will not punish anyone in the world.'"⁶⁰ And this table is the very one that God sent down to the apostles through Jesus. And we adhere to it to this day.

You know that no one implores [God] without offering a sacrifice and a gift to glorify God and satisfy Him. He helps whoever approaches Him with faithful intention, except those who transgress against God, for their deeds are only with Satan, idols, and graven images. Thus, those are the ones who strayed from the way of God and perished.

Listen, O Man, {72v} when Christ was killed, the Jews came to him at night, and it was the night of the crucifixion. He told His followers who were his disciples that Jews would come.⁶¹ Thus, He informed [them] about it and spoke to them about His resurrection and that they would abandon him but would return to Him after His resurrection.⁶² Then that night, Christ ate with His followers. He took bread in His hand, blessed it and prayed over it, and said to them, "Eat of it, for it is My body which I offer to God as a sacrifice and a gift for the sins of the world."⁶³ Then He did the same with the cup that was [filled with] wine. He said to them, "Drink of it, for this is My blood which I will offer through the wood of the

60 Q5:112–15.

61 Cf. Matt. 20:17–19; 16:21; Mark 9:31; 10:33–34; Luke 9:22; 18:31–33.

62 Cf. Matt. 26:31–35; Mark 14:27–31; Luke 22:31–34; John 36–38.

63 Cf. Matt. 26:26; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19.

cross.”⁶⁴ Thus the disciples consecrated that bread and wine with the Holy Spirit and the prayer which Christ taught them and handed down to them. Then they handed it down to those who came after them so that they might offer it. Do not conclude and do not consider {73r} the wine and the bread to be bread and wine, but consider its sublimity and grace, the Holy Spirit and blessing that are in them.

The Jews regarded Christ as a man, like one of us. Then He resurrected the dead and showed many signs which I have written to you. In appearance, He is a man like one of us, but as for the deeds, He is like God. Thus, whoever believes in Him is victorious, and whoever hardens his heart and disbelieves is wretched and shall perish. This is the status and meaning of the Eucharist. I have explained to you that which you can neither disregard nor rebuke.

Concerning the bread and wine, Jesus commanded that the priest should consecrate them both with the Word of God and call the Holy Spirit upon them both so that there will be remission of sins in them for whoever receives it with true intention and believes in it, just as Christ has commanded. {73v} And they are sufficient just as the body of Christ was sufficient. Therefore, we believe that God and His spirit abide in this bread and wine, after they are consecrated with what is in the body of Christ. Thus, He commanded us to do that (i.e., the Eucharist). We remember Christ’s grace upon us and His self-sacrifice on our behalf, so that we reach resurrection and meet Christ face to face without any shame.⁶⁵

Do not assert that Christ was not crucified, but [He was] a likeness to the Jews.⁶⁶ God, who is in Christ, has no illusion or likeness or falsehood. The crucifixion of Christ is true, His death is true, His ascension to heaven is true, and His coming down from heaven to this world at the end of time is true. He is the judge of the world through God, who is in Him. So listen and let your intellect help you. I explained {74r} to you about the status and meaning of the Eucharist, and the status of the cross and the Christian veneration of Christ.

You already knew and heard that the children of Israel were venerating the Ark in which God commanded Moses to put the two tablets of the Torah.⁶⁷ It was made only of wood. It was not the gold or wood that they venerated, but the commandment of God and His Scriptures that He revealed to the prophet Moses, which were in the Ark. Afterwards, when the children of Israel left Mount Sinai, they came to the land of Syria after Moses died.⁶⁸ And they built the Temple [lit., Holy House].⁶⁹ Then they venerated God in the Temple [lit., Holy House] and on Mount Sinai. Yet, they were not called “polytheists,” nor was it said to them, “you are venerating {74v} two lords” or “you are worshipping two gods,” or “gold” or “wood.” Therefore, that [i.e., the Ark] is the greatest, except for the one in whom the Word and Spirit of God dwell. Thus, Christ is greater and more exalted [than] the Ark. So we venerate the Word of God and His Spirit which dwell in Jesus and through

64 Cf. Matt. 26:27–28; Mark 14:23–24; Luke 22:20.

65 Cf. 1 Cor. 13:12.

66 Q4:157.

67 Cf. Exod. 25:10; 31:18; 34:4.

68 Moses died and could not enter the Promised Land (cf. Deut. 34:5–8).

69 Cf. 2 Chron. 3:1; 1 Kings 6:1–35; 8:1–11.

which God created heaven and earth. It [i.e., the Word] is not created, but it is the creator. Therefore, we must venerate it which is in that body.⁷⁰

As for the status of the cross: when the Jews drew near to and searched for Christ, and crucified two robbers with Him, one on His right side and the other on His left,⁷¹ in order to falsify His word through them.⁷² On that day, the earth shook, the sun disappeared and the rocks were split. And the curtain of the Jewish temple was torn from bottom to top. Many of them trusted that and believed in Him.⁷³

{75r} They became afraid when Christ rose. So they hurried to their house. Since they had commanded that matter [i.e., the crucifixion], they were terrified much about what they saw concerning the status of Christ that was revealed to them. Then they took that wooden cross and said, “We will be asked about this wood, and we ourselves, not anyone else, will be held accountable for it.” Then, they buried them [i.e., the crosses]. None of them [i.e., the Jews] were at their [i.e., the crosses’] place except that family. And the man, the head of that household, did not tell his son or his brother about them, except in his will. When he was dying, he said to him [i.e., to his son or to his brother] as his will, “You will answer for this wood. One day, you will be asked about it.”

When Christ wanted to bring about His resurrection and His power, and to repay the Jews, and to show His mercy and grace to the people {75v}, and the blessings they had in the cross, then Christianity spread across the sea and the land for 300 years. But the cross was buried in the earth. Not a single person knew about it except one man from that household.

Then Christ wanted to reveal His cross to one of the kings of Rome named Constantine, who was not a Christian at that time. When he went out to battle against his enemies, he began to call upon God, asking for His help and saying, “O God, the Creator of heaven and earth! Give me kingship and grant me power if You will, by Your mercy and grace. I ask You to show me and guide me to the truest religion, which is the most beloved to You.” While he was calling God and imploring Him, he was with his army confronting his enemies.

But he lifted up his eyes and gazed to heaven {76r} and saw two great luminous pillars, one lying across the other, in the shape of the cross. And there was writing on the more luminous of them in the language of the king, in Greek: “You have called upon God to show you the truest religions and what is the most beloved to Him. This sign is of the best of religions, the most beloved and the dearest to God. Therefore, mark your banners with which you are aiming at your enemies as you saw.” So he commanded that. Then their banners were changed and a cross was attached. Then God, the most Blessed and Exalted, made him victorious against his enemies he was fighting, and He made him triumphant over others.

⁷⁰ The Arabic literally reads “we must not venerate it [i.e., the Word] in that body,” meaning that we must venerate the Word itself and not the body in which the Word dwelt. This continues the comparison between the Ark and Christ’s body: as the children of Israel venerated the commandment and the Scriptures of God placed in the Ark, we (i.e., Christians) must venerate the Word, which is in the body of Christ.

⁷¹ Cf. Matt. 27:38; Mark 15:27; Luke 23:33; John 19:18.

⁷² Cf. Matt. 16:21; 20:17–19; Mark 9:31; 10:33–34; Luke 9:22; 18:31–33.

⁷³ Cf. Matt. 27:45–54; Mark 15:33–39; Luke 23:44–47.

When he returned, his heart was not at rest until he asked about the cross of Christ. Then they said to him, "When Christ rose from the grave, they [i.e., the Jews] hid the wood, which is the cross." But there was no one who knew where they were, {76v} except for the man from that household.

Then the emperor sent his mother, whose name was Helena, from Rome with a large group. She arrived in Jerusalem, which is the Holy House.⁷⁴ Then she inquired about the nobles and the prominent figures among the Jews, and the descendants who remained, until she reached that household who knew about the cross. At that time, she severely tortured whomever she was able to torture. She said to them, "If you love your lives and want to live, bring out the cross of Christ to me!" When it was the turn of a man from the evil household, he denied and blasphemed, so the queen commanded that he be tortured. He was put in a pit for three days, without any food.

Then, when he realized his predicament [lit., the evil, calamity] and feared death, {77r} the soldiers who were guarding him reported [what he said] to the noble queen: "If she lets me out, then I will show her what she is asking for." When they brought him out, he showed them the place and said to them, "Dig and you shall find what you want." Then the queen commanded that and they dug up the place. While they were digging, thick smoke with good smell came to them. When they dug deep, three pieces of wood appeared to them. They were taken out, but they looked like one another to the noble queen, so she did not know which one among them was the wooden [cross] of Christ.

At that moment, there were people coming out of the city carrying a coffin. Then the queen ordered that one of the three pieces of wood be placed upon the corpse, but the corpse did not move. Then the second piece of wood was also placed upon him, but he did not move. When they placed the third piece of wood upon him, the corpse rose up.

{77v} There is no mistake or [.]⁷⁵ about it. Many among the rest of the Jews, who were present at that time, they believed and trusted in Christ when they saw that. As for the man who showed the wooden [cross], he believed in Him and became a bishop of the Holy House until his death. Then the queen built near that, on the place of the grave and Golgotha, where Christ was crucified, a great, beautiful building, along with other churches—a third of them from her own funds. And she left a small piece of the wood of the cross in the Holy House and carried the stauros of the wooden [cross] to her son in Rome. This is the issue of the cross and its interpretation, meaning, and status. Therefore, we venerate Christ through the cross in order that we remember the grace of Christ upon us and His death for us.

The cross is the sign of Christianity and the symbol of the religion. Through the cross, {78r} Satan and those infidels of the earth who believed in him were defeated. The cross is the laws of Christianity and its sign. Therefore, know that those who believe in Christ have His aid in His cross. This cross is the very cross, and the archangel Gabriel will be marching with th[is] cross in front of Christ on the day of resurrection.⁷⁶ And the cross is light and consolation to those who believe in it. It is the great trust for the Christians

⁷⁴ Leo uses two names in this passage to refer to the city of Jerusalem. "Jerusalem" appears only here and in Leo's citation of Zach. 9:9 (68r). Elsewhere in this text, "Holy House" is used.

⁷⁵ This word cannot be identified. See n212 in edition.

⁷⁶ An allusion to Matt. 24:30.

and the way to the eternal life. How many of those who were insane, blind, leprous, mute, lame, and sick has God cured by the cross, even to this day, and forever! Therefore, this is the issue and status of Christ, of Christianity, and of the true religion.

Do not let power or wealth or good health deceive you. All these are like a dream that a person has when he is asleep. But when he awakes from his sleep, he realizes that what he saw in his sleep is worthless, as that is not of this world, or anything of its possessions.

{78v} And know that through His grace upon us and the plenitude of His mercy, Christ leads us to His kingdom, just as He testified about Himself. Thereby, we hope for His mercy and the reward of the prophets. So there are three ways that Christ has shown that He is from God and light:⁷⁷ when He spoke and testified about Himself; through many miracles and great wonders which neither people nor the messengers of God can perform except God alone by His Word and the Holy Spirit when He creates; and [when] He forgives sinners and cures all the sick. This is through the power, ability, light, effort, glory, and honor that He showed the disciples on Mount Tabor. When He was revealed to them, they were not able to see that light.⁷⁸ Thus, this sign suffices to glorify the light, and guides anyone who realizes and accepts truth for himself. And anyone who is against truth, he himself is doing wrong. God is the Self-Sufficient [and] the Praiseworthy.⁷⁹

And Christ said to the disciples, and also to the children of Israel, “Truly, truly, I say to you. {79r} Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My word shall not pass away.”⁸⁰ But He therefore established His word and [made it] stand erect to the end of the world. He said to the disciples as He sent them to propagate the kingdom of heaven and its reward in His name, “I was given the kingdom of all the powers of heaven and earth. Therefore, go out and teach all nations what I have commanded you and baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. I am with you always for your whole lives, to the end of the world. Amen.”⁸¹

O man, behold, is it as Christ has spoken about the baptism, in every nation and on the whole earth, from east to west, and throughout ages? Do you see that or not? In all nations, it is just as He said when they accept the religion of Christ, and they are baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in the eastern and western reaches of the earth, at all times.

Therefore, if Christ were not God from God and light,⁸² and mercy for His creation, then His word would not have been established, {79v} nor would His command have stood in all the nations from the eastern to the western reaches of the world, from the first day when Christ spoke about it to our days, and through all ages. And if Christ were not God from God, He would not have taken the power of heaven and earth and He would not have been able to do it, just as no one else was able to do that. No one rules over the power of heaven and earth except God, His Word, and His Spirit. Therefore, Christ said, “I was given

77 The phrase “from light” is added in the left-hand margin.

78 Cf. Matt. 17:1–9; Mark 9:2–10; Luke 9:28–36.

79 Q35:15; 57:24.

80 Luke 21:33.

81 Matt. 28:18–20; cf. Mark 16:15.

82 The phrase “from light” is added between lines above the word لَيْلَةً, “light.”

the power of everything in heaven and earth.”⁸³ Thus, if Christ were not God from God, He would not have dared to say such things about Himself. Christ was given the power of heaven and earth in the body which became incarnate among us; therefore, He was a perfect man.

Thus, when God takes an oath, He does it only by Himself.⁸⁴ And when it says in the Torah that when God promised His friend Abraham⁸⁵ the holy land, He swore by His might and said, “I am living, I am the Lord, and My glory has filled heaven and earth. {80r} This land in which you are a foreigner is for you and your descendants.”⁸⁶ We do not find that God (blessed and exalted be His name!) takes an oath by anything, but only by Himself. Then what is the oath that you say [i.e., the *basmallah*]? The Father is His Word and His Spirit. So God does not take an oath except by His Word and His Spirit. And He has already shown His command in His Scripture to those who believe and accept the truth and the guidance.⁸⁷

David also prophesied by the Holy Spirit about Christ, and said, “God said, ‘You are My son and today I gave birth to You. Ask Me. Then I will give You nations as Your inheritance and the end of the world as Your possessions.’”⁸⁸ Thus the nations were the inheritance of Christ through the body, which became incarnate among us. Therefore, He was a perfect man. Why do you reprove us that we believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit? God takes an oath by that for Himself.

Christ also ascended to the top of one of the mountains of Galilee, and the apostles came to listen to Him speak. {80v} Then He opened his mouth, spoke to them,⁸⁹ and praised those who believe in Him, accept His commandment, follow His way, and are obedient to Him. He said: “Blessed are those who are humble in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are those who weep in the world, for they shall be at rest in the next world. Blessed are those who are poor, for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are those who are hungry and thirsty for righteousness in the world, for they shall be satisfied in the next world. Blessed are those who are merciful, for the mercy shall descend upon them. Blessed are those who are pure of heart, for they shall see the Lord. Blessed are those who make peace among people, for they shall be called sons of God. Blessed are those who are rejected for their righteousness in the world, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. {81r} Blessed are you when they rebuked you and rejected you and falsely said every evil word against you on account of Me. On that day, rejoice and be glad. Your reward shall be great in heaven. For in the same way, they rejected the prophets who were before you. You are the salt of earth and the light of the world. Therefore, let your light shine among the people so that they might see your good works and praise your Father who is in heaven.”⁹⁰

83 Matt. 28:18.

84 For the theme that God takes an oath only by himself, see Hebrews 6:13–17. The author of “He” asserts that God promised Abraham that he would bless him and multiply him, taking an oath by himself as assurance of the fulfillment of His promise.

85 Q4:125; 2 Chron. 20:7; Isa. 41:8; Jas. 2:23. See also 83r.

86 Num. 14:21; Gen. 17:8.

87 Cf. Q2:2.

88 Ps. 2:7–8.

89 In the MS, “He said to him. . . .”

90 Matt. 5:1–16.

If Christ were not God from God and light, He would not have dared and would not have praised those who are rebuked, who are rejected for Him, and are called every [kind] of evil on account of Him. And He said to them, “Be glad and rejoice. Your reward shall be great in heaven.”⁹¹ So who among men—[even] among the prophets and messengers who called the people to God—dared to say such a thing to anyone? {81v} The prophets of God and His messengers said, “Lord, do not neglect our reward.⁹² For we die for You every day, and we are rebuked, rejected. And we suffer severe tribulation on account of You. O God!⁹³ Increase for us the reward and the light together with Your angels.” Not one of the prophets of God—not Moses, whom God spoke to and established as a leader for the children of Israel, nor any other messengers to the people who called them to God—[said], “Blessed are you when they rebuke you and reject you. And they said every evil against you on account of us. Be glad and rejoice, for your reward shall be great in heaven.”⁹⁴ Rather, since they were servants who belonged [to God], they accepted the messages of their Lord and were rebuked and rejected. But thereby, they hoped for the greatest reward with God.

But Christ, since He is from God and light, He descended from heaven for the redemption of Adam and his descendants from the error of Iblis, {82r} in order to lead them to His light and make [them] obedient to Him. He praised those who were rebuked and rejected on His behalf, and [those who] are called every [kind] of evil on account of Him. He brought them the Good News about the great reward and inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, since heaven and earth are in his Hands.⁹⁵ He is God from God. He rewards His friends who believe and hope for the next world, and do good deeds for the kingdom of heaven, eternal life, light, and the kingship which is His, together with His holy angels, His prophets and messengers. Thus we, God willing—and there is no power except in God⁹⁶—are those who are rebuked on account of Christ and rejected on His behalf, and yet we believe in Him and hope for our reward from God in the kingdom of heaven with His angels. Praise be to God, who provided us with faith in Christ and made us His friends and a people obedient to Him.

Christ also said {82v} to the disciples and to the children of Israel, “Truly, truly, I say to you: go preach this Gospel in the whole world that it might reach every nation.”⁹⁷ Therefore, behold! Has the story of Christ and His Gospel reached the whole world? And was every nation in the world guided by it, or not? If Christ were not God from God and light, His Gospel, His story, and His veneration would not have reached the farthest and nearest ends of the world. Every nation in the world has believed in Christ and built churches in the name of Christ. Look at the eastern and western reaches of the earth, from India to the end of the world, and islands of the sea! Do you see any place in which Christ and His Gospel are not proclaimed? And likewise, the prophet David prophesied by the Holy Spirit

91 Matt. 5:12.

92 An allusion to Q11:115: “And be patient, for indeed, Allah does not allow to be lost the reward of those who do good.”

93 ﷺ is adapted from the Qur'an. Cf. Q5:114. This word appears several times in the text.

94 Matt. 5:11–12.

95 Cf. Matt. 28:18. Also see above, 79v.

96 Q18:39.

97 Cf. Matt. 10:7.

about the word of Christ and the disciples' going out to every land in the whole world: "Their voice went out and their word reached the regions of the world."⁹⁸ {83r} Similarly, the words of the disciples and their Good News about Christ reached the whole world and every nation, from east to west, from north to south. If Christ were not God from God, He would not have been capable of that, just as none of the prophets were capable of it. His story and His veneration reached all the nations.

Abraham was the friend of God.⁹⁹ God filled him with grace. But no one believed in him at that time, nor was he called the Word of God. And people did not find his story until they believed in Christ and found the story of Abraham in the Gospel of Christ. Then, there was the prophet of God, Moses, to whom God has spoken. God filled him with grace and light. But no one believed in him, nor was he called the Word of God. But [people] used to believe in him during his lifetime and likewise, the leader of the angels, the sons of God, also believed in him.¹⁰⁰ {83v} After that came David and the rest of the prophets. They were not able to lead the nations and none of them was called the Word of God and His Spirit. None of them descended from or ascend to heaven as did Christ, who is fixed in the heart of the nations. For they believed in Christ, they are guided by Him from their error that they followed for 3,000 years. They abandoned it and rejected the idols¹⁰¹ when the story of Christ and His Gospel reached them. They never saw Him and they did not know who He was. But through His signs, which the apostles performed in the name of Christ, they came to know that He was God and that no one could perform such signs except God, who empowered the apostles through the Holy Spirit.

Since the nations were ignorant of their Lord, they devoted themselves to the worship of the idols until {84r} the story about Christ came to them in sin, then they accepted and believed in Him. Therefore, there was not a nation in the world which the story of Christ and His Gospel did not reach and which did not understand how to worship Christ. They recounted His story and invited [others] to recount it and to worship Him. After 3,000 years, they abandoned and renounced the idols when the story about Christ and his Gospel reached them. I explained to you the meaning of Christianity and the religion of Christ, who is pleased with us. I did not invite you with doubt about any matter concerning Him or Christianity. It is more illuminating than the sun and more clear than the light of day.

Yet you insist on calling us polytheists. But neither your lord nor your Qur'an called us polytheists. Rather, he [i.e., your lord, Muhammad] said, "You shall find the most hostile people to those who believe to be the Jews and those who associate [others with God]."¹⁰² So the Jews and those who associate [others with God] exist separately.

98 Ps. 19(18):4.

99 Leo uses the Qur'anic term خليل for Abraham. Cf. Q4:171. In 79v, Leo also described Abraham as God's friend, using a different word: ابرهيم صفيه.

100 Cf. Judg. 9? Judges 9 is an allusion to the *Assumption of Moses*, where the archangel Michael disputes with Satan over Moses's corpse. However, the idea that Moses was believed by the archangel is not attested anywhere in Christian literature. Referring to the angels as sons of God may be an allusion to Genesis 6:1–4.

101 Cf. Q2:256–57. The word طاغوت is a technical Islamic term meaning "an alternative to the worship of Allah." See Jeffery 2007, 202–3.

102 Q5:82.

He also said, “You shall find the most affectionate among men to those who believe to be those who say, {84v} ‘We are Christians.’ For among them are priests and monks, and they are not arrogant. And when they listen to what God revealed to the messenger, you will see their eyes overflowing with tears, since they recognize the truth. And they will say, ‘Our Lord! We believe. So forgive us our sins and count us among the witnesses.’”¹⁰³ So what praise is more favorable than the praise that your lord has attributed to us? And yet, you insist on calling us polytheists.

He said, “And as for those who believed, who were the Jews, Christians, Sabeans, and who associate [others with God], God will give preference among them on the day of resurrection according to their differences.”¹⁰⁴ Do you not see how he distinguished between Sabeans, Christians, and those who associate [others with God]? He also said in the chapter of ‘Imran, “They are¹⁰⁵ not the same. Among the People of the Book is the community standing, reciting the verses of God all night long and worshipping.”¹⁰⁶ Then who else is this community among the People of the Book reciting the verses of God all night as they worship, if not Christians?

He said, {85r} “If God had intended to take a son, He could have chosen whatever He willed from what He created.”¹⁰⁷ Then he said, “O Mary! God has chosen you and purified you and chosen you above the women of the world.”¹⁰⁸ He explained to you that God chose her, purified her, and glorified her above the women of the world. He explained to you and yet you insist on disagreeing with what your lord has ordered you about it.

Then he said, “Do not dispute with the People of the Book, except in a way that is best.”¹⁰⁹ He also said, “Let there be no disputation in religion.”¹¹⁰ But you insist on disputing even though you are forbidden from it.

And, know that Christ and Christianity are clearer than the morning light and brighter than the rays of the sun. And I have explained this to you. Whatever I did not tell you is among the testimonies of the prophets, and the account about Him {85v} from the Old and New [Testaments].

And as for your statement in your Scripture: “They did not crucify him, but he was made to appear like that to them; rather, <the fact is that> God lifted him up to Him.”¹¹¹ If it was made to appear like that to them, then, it is not our fault. But because of our faith and love for Him, which are in our hearts, He [i.e., Christ] called us so that we trust Him and believed what was made to appear. Even though it was made to appear like that,

103 Cf. Q5:82–83.

104 This verse starts off as Qur'an 2:62 but adds “those who associate [others with God]” and ends differently. Qur'an 2:62 reads: “Indeed, those who believed and those who were Jews or Christians or Sabeans [before Prophet Muhammad]—those [among them] who believed in Allah and the Last Day and did righteousness—will have their reward with their Lord, and no fear will there be concerning them, nor will they grieve.”

105 In the MS, it reads as singular.

106 Q3:113.

107 Q39:4.

108 Q3:42.

109 Q29:46.

110 Cf. Q2:256: “Let there be no compulsion in religion.”

111 Cf. Q4:157–58.

nothing else was made to appear so for us. But, His crucifixion is true. And he said, "If I had wanted 50,000 legions of angels to stand around Me, I would have done so. But the prophecies of the prophets have to be fulfilled and their word has to be confirmed."¹¹² In my first letter I clarified for you the status of the crucifixion, the meaning of Eucharist, the issue of the Nativity of Christ and his issue.

And, as for your statement that "he is like Adam,"¹¹³ {86r} you are well aware of the fact that Adam did not have a father or a mother. When He breathed the spirit into him, he stood up,¹¹⁴ and it made him move. As for Christ, we find Him in your Scripture to be the Spirit of God and His Word which He directed to Mary.¹¹⁵ Therefore, the Spirit of God is from God and the Word of God is from God. And He ascended whence He came, so He is from Him and returned to Him. So understand my letter, ponder it, and know that the matter is right. Indeed, He came with mercy and compassion and delivered man from sin.

He [i.e., your lord, Muhammad] said in your Scripture, do not ask forgiveness of "any-one among them who died—ever—nor stand at his grave."¹¹⁶ It is not permitted for you to greet anyone among the People of the Book.¹¹⁷ I read that if a man among you had a Christian mother, and she died, {86v} it is not permitted for him to bury her or to ask forgiveness for her or to greet her during her lifetime. But God truly extolled mothers.

Also, should a man among you marry a woman from the People of the Book and have intercourse with her—since God makes her licit for him—it is not permitted for him to greet her, bury her, or pray at her grave, though he has intercourse with her. Praised be God, how great [a wrong] this is! A man can neither ask forgiveness for his wife or mother, nor pray at her grave, nor walk in her funeral procession.

He said in your Scripture, "God sends astray those whom He wills, and guides whom He wills."¹¹⁸ And He created some wretched and some happy. Whatever good or evil a man does {87r}, God has already decreed it and decided it for him.

If it is so, there is no praise for him or sin upon him. If God punishes him because of something that He created for him, sent him astray, imprinted [that] on his heart, and decreed that for him, then God has wronged him. By the power and splendor of God, [He has wronged him] should He send astray or decree misfortune for him and then punish him.

He only revealed the Scriptures to the prophets in order to warn the people about the evil deeds and to show them good deeds. Hence, he who does a deed which merits hell, then God has evidence against him, when the prophets had done with it [i.e., the instruction about good and evil]. If it were so as you say—that God already decreed all good and

¹¹² Matt. 26:53–54. See also Luke 24:44–47.

¹¹³ Cf. Q3:59.

¹¹⁴ Q32:9; Gen. 2:7.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Q21:91; 4:171.

¹¹⁶ Q9:84.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Q4:86: "And when you are greeted with a greeting, greet [in return] with one better than it, or [at least] return to it [in a like manner]."

¹¹⁸ Q14:4.

evil that anyone does before He created him—then God would not have sent His prophets to people as mercy,¹¹⁹ and certainly the Book and predestination would suffice.

Therefore, do not think that God, great and forbearing, decrees misfortune for man {87v} and then punishes him. He does not do that, due to His majesty. The Lord—most just, wise, and glorious among those who are exalted—does not wrong anyone. Rather [His] mercy fills heaven and earth. Praised be He for His clemency.

Yet we say that God created man able to see and hear, and He clarified good and evil to him. He taught him, warned him, helped him, admonished him, and made him content with what he has. And He says that if you do good, your reward will be in accordance with it. And if you do evil, your punishment will be in accordance with it. Therefore, man does not have proof [to offer] to his Lord on the day of resurrection. Instead, He prescribed for them the spiritual counsel so that no one among them will perish without evidence and Scripture. Certainly, God revealed it to him and clarified for him what will come and what will pass away. There is neither power nor strength except in God.¹²⁰ So I have explained what you asked about and I have written it to you. And it is written:

EDITION

[رسالة اليون ملك الروم الى عمر بن عبد العزيز امير المؤمنين]
{62v}

بسم الاب والابن¹²¹ وروح القدس من اليون ملك الروم الى¹²² عمر بن عبد العزيز امير المؤمنين سلم. اما بعد فانا نؤمن بالله الواحد الذي ليس قبله الله ولا بعده الله. ونعلم ان الله حق خلق هذا العالم بفضل منه اذ لم يكن اليه. كتبت الي تذكر شان المسيح عيسى بن مريم وامر هذا العالم. وسا افسر لك من ذلك تفسيرا شافيا. خلق الله الانسان من اوضع شئ من الخليقة من التراب الذي هو جوهر الارض. ثم شرفه بعد وعاظمه واستخلفه على خلقه وعلمه. وبين له الطريقين وما جزا كل واحد منهما. فجعل الله يعلم الناس {63r} في كل خلق وابنيه على^{123****} الانبياء كما يعلم المعلم كتابته قليل بقدر ما يستطيع من العلم.

فكان الله قد تقدم الى ادم واوصاه وقال الله له لا تقرب الشجرة ولا تطعمها فعصى ادم الله واطاع الشيطان وخالف ما امره الله به. فلما ان عصا يمت عده الله له بعد تسع مایة وستة وتلثين سنة فاورثه الموت واولده من بعده. فلما يفقه الناس في ايات الله وبما ارسليت¹²⁴ به الرسل وتبثروا في الكتب في طول الزمان والاحقاب التي كانت بين المسيح وادم. احب ان يرى تفاصيله عليهم وبين لهم حسن سياسته لهم وسعة رحمته بارساله المسيح الى هذا العالم {63v}. ونجد في كتاب¹²⁵ الله ان من يرث الميراث يقضى الدين. وانا ورثنا عن ابينا ادم الموت والخطية عن المعصية. ولم يكن ذلك يزال بنا ابدا حتى يقوم من جوهرنا رجل كامل البر وطاعة الخالق ومعصية الشيطان العدوا. ثم ان المسيح اذ فعل ذلك ورث الحياة والرلقة والكرامة كما ورث ادم الموت والخطية عن المعصية. وكذلك كان دين الله ليس فيه عوج ولا فظ.¹²⁷ فلم تزل الخطية في ولد ادم والموت في طلبهم حتى اشرق المسيح في العالم فبين شان الاخرة.

119 Cf. Q21:107: “And We have not sent you, [O Muhammad], except as a mercy to the worlds.”

120 Q18:39.

121 و is restored.

122 Reading الى.

123 The last two letters are legible, but the missing part cannot be identified. This can be امانة, but final *nun* is connected to the preceding letter.

124 Reading ارسلي.

125 ب is restored.

126 ا is restored.

127 Reading خط.

ولم يكن قبل ذلك يذكر شى من امر الاخرة. وجانا ايات الانبياء لصدق قوله فظهر من البرص واعطا السمع {64r} من بعد الصم وينطق¹²⁸ الكلام¹²⁹ من بعد الخرس. وقام كل مكتع جاييه اليه. وطرد الجنون من البشر وبعث الموتا ومشا على لما وحول الما خمرا مع ايات كثيرة لم اكتب اليك بها. وليس المسيح فعل هذه الایات فقط ولكن اصحابه والذين كانوا معه ورسله الذين هم تلاميذه. اعطاهم السلطان ذلك ليقبلوا بالناس من طغيانهم الي¹³⁰ الله الواحد. ولو لا ان الناس راوا الایات على يدي التلاميذ ما كانوا يتربكون انساكهم وما يعبدون ابا وهم.¹³¹

كتبت الي تسل عن المسيح والقرىان وتقول ما الصليب؟ وما القرىان؟ وتقول لم تسجدون {64v} لعيسى رسول الله وتعجلون¹³² اله؟ وهو شاهد على نفسه في الانجيل اني رسول الله الى الناس. فمن صدقني صدق الذي ارسلني ومن كذبني كذب من ارسلني. وقال للحواريين اذ رفعه الله اليه اني اصعد الى ربكم والاهي والهكم. وهو يشهد على نفسه انه رسول الله. وتقول ان التوراة حرفت وبدلها عزير نفسه وكتبها خطأ. ولم تذكر فيها القيامة ولا الجنة ولا النار. وتقول ان مثل عيسى عند الله كمثل ادم. وتقول كيف كان الله يدخل في جوف امراة في الغم والنتن؟ وتقول كيف كان يأكل ويشرب وينام ويفرح ويصلى ويخوا من هذا كتبت به؟

وقد علمت بانه انما {65r} جعل على ذلك قلة عملك¹³³ بالسبيح وتدلني على ذلك. انك تقول ان مريم بنت عمران اخت هرون وموسى والدة عيسى. فكيف يكون هذا؟ وقد ماتت مريم وهرون وموسى بمخرجهما من مصر في الطريق ولم يدخل احد منهم بيت المقدس. وانما ماتت مريم اخت هرون بالشراة قبل تخلق مريم ام عيسى وقبل تخلق ابها بزمان من الدهر. فاما مريم ام المسيح فانها من ال داود النبي ومن سبط يهودا بن يعقوب.

فان احبيت ان تعلم علم ذلك وننتهي اليك حتى لا يكون منه في شك ولا في امر. فافحص عن الكتب العتيبة التي انزل الله على بني اسرائيل في التوراة والزبور والانبياء ثم افحص عن الحديثة الانجيل وما انزل الله على يدي حواري عيسى. فانك {65v} سأتجد من شان¹³⁴ المسيح¹³⁵ امرا مخيا وطريقا قائمة. وتنتشر اليها وتستقر نفسك من الشك اذا صدقت كتب الله بعضها بعضها والانبياء بعضهم بعضهم حتى يتفق في المسيح الذي انزل¹³⁶ الله في العتيبة والحديثة. عند ذلك تعرف وتتعلم حال المسيح.

واخبرك امر ديننا وكيف نعبد الله وشرعيته التي نحن عليها حتى تفهم ان شا الله. ثم اقيم لك على ما اكتب به اليك بینة وشهاد من الانبياء والعتيبة والحديثة ان الذي نقول في المسيح حقا. فافهم ما كتبت به اليك وابصر اليه وتدبره¹³⁷ وتتردد فيه حتى تفهم ان شا الله.

فاني¹³⁸ اقسى عليك من اول ما خلق الله السما والارض¹³⁹ لا تسعه. ولا يعلم احد كيف هو. {66r} وانما ابصر موسى النبي بطور¹⁴⁰ سينيا نور والذى كلمه نور وذلك النور قال له يا موسى لا تخاف! فمن نوره الذي هو منه ضوء. فسماه كلمته. ومن ضوء نوره ضوا فسماه روح القدس. فلذلك نقول الااب والابن وروح القدس وكله من الله شئ واحد. لا نفرق بينهم نور واحد. ومن ذلك النور الواحد اتسعت الارض. النور وروح القدس من النور شئ احده. فلذلك نقول الااب والابن وروح القدس الله من الله ونور من نور والله من الله شئ احده. لا نفرق بين احد منهم فهذا حال الابن والامر الذي هو فيه.

128 Here the author changes from past to present tense. The first letter is not pointed, but it cannot be form V. It must be read as form II or IV.

129 لك is restored.

130 الى Reading.

131 Reading اباهم.

132 وذ is restored.

133 لmek is restored.

134 ن is restored.

135 الله is restored.

136 Reading اترزكه.

137 و is restored.

138 فـ is restored.

139 و is restored.

140 رـ is restored.

فاما قولك في كتابك ان مثل عيسى عند الله كمثل ادم . خلقه من التراب وقال له كن فكان فنرا شانه وفعاله وامرها . يشبه ادم او من اجل {66v} ان المسيح اطاع رب¹⁴¹ [و] عصى [الشيطان] او من اجل ان ادم يولج اليه الشيطان بالكتب فاطاعه وعصى ربه حتى ذلاه في الموت .

ام ليس تعلم ان المسيح هو كلمة الله واية روح القدس وان جسم المسيح يومنك هذا في السماء؟ وان الله في المسيح بكلمته - وروحه من اجل ان كلمته روح من الله وحيث تكون كلمة الله وروحه فثم الله . فبالمسيح سجد¹⁴² الله من في السموات والارض الا من عصى واخطى . ولا تظن ان الله تبارك وتعالا في مكان قليل ولا في مكان كثير لكن الله¹⁴³ في كل مكان سوا . فسما الله كلمته التي¹⁴⁴ بها خلق كل شيء اينا . فلذلك تقول بن الله لأن¹⁴⁵ الله ابو كلمته . وحيث ما كانت {67r} كلمة الله فثم الله . كلمة¹⁴⁶ الله من الله وروح الله من الله . وكلمة¹⁴⁷ الله تخلق ما يشا وروح الله يخلق ما يشا . وهو شيء احده واحد . لا تحسب انا نعبد الاهين اثنين ولكننا نعبد الها واحدا . لا نشرك به شيئا . وهو الحي الدائم . وسا اقيم لك على ذلك من البينات والشهود ما لا تطيق ان تجده وهو تصدق لقولي من انبية الله العدول بان الله دعا عيسى اينا و بكلمته خلق كل شيء . وقال داود ايضا بكلمة الرب السما تشددت.¹⁴⁸ وقال داود ايضا للدهر يا رب كلمنتك في السماء . وقال {67v} بعث الله كلمنته وشهادهم.¹⁴⁹ وشهد ايوب الصديق على روح القدس . قال روح القدس خلقتني . وقال موسى النبي روح الله كانت على الماء . وقال اشعيا النبي روح القدس خلقتني . وقال موسى النبي الذي رفع السماء بغير عمد هو يمشي على البحر كالارض . وقال اشعيا النبي روح الرب مسحتني . وقال داود النبي تبعث روحك خلقتني وتتجدد وجه الارض . [و] روحك الطيبة تهديني في الارض المستقيمة . فاي شهادة اقوم من هذه واي بيان ابين من هذا؟ هذا مما في العتقة مع اشياء كثيرة غير هذه . ان الكلمة والروح¹⁵⁰ من الله يخلقان الخالقين واذ يدل ايضا بینة وشهود من العتقة . قال اشعيا النبي ان العذرا¹⁵¹ تحبل وتلد اينا وتدعى اسمه عمانوئيل¹⁵² وتفسيره الله معنا . وقال داود النبي انت¹⁵³ اليوم ولدتك . سل مني فاعطيلك الامم ميراثك واملك اقصى الارض . وقال زكريا النبي تهالي وافرحي يا بنت صهيون واطربى يا بنت اورشليم فان ملوك ياتي وهو راكب حمار وجحش بن ا atan .

فهذه شهادة في الابن ان الله دعا كلمنتها وحكمته اينا . ولا تظن ان الله يتقبل صوم ولا صلاة احد من الناس كما يتقبلها في المسيح . فقد نعيت اليك وفسرت لك ما لا تطيق ان تجدهه ولا تخرج منه لاني لم اقيم لك شاهد الا انبية عدول ورضاه .

{68v} فان احبيت ان تعلم علم¹⁵⁴ المسيح وامرها فقد فسرت لك ذلك على احسن الوجوه واجملها . وهذا العلم البالغ الشافي . وهذا كتابكم¹⁵⁵ يقول ان الله ارسل كلمنتها وروحه التي منه الي¹⁵⁶ مريم فخلق منها انسان كامل بالنفس والجسد . فسكن الله بروحه¹⁵⁷ وكلمنتها في ذلك الانسان بغير انقطاع ابدا .

141 ٤ is legible.

142 Reading نسجد.

143 The word الله is added in the same hand.

144 ١ is restored.

145 لا is restored.

146 كلمة is restored.

147 لم is restored.

148 وبروح فمه جميع قواتها written in the left-hand side margin in different ink and different handwriting, a later addition to finish the verse: "... and by the Spirit of His mouth all its powers [were made]."

149 وشف is restored.

150 و is restored.

151 ذرا is restored.

152 نو is restored.

153 بنى وانا is written in the left-hand margin in different ink and different handwriting.

154 Only م is legible.

155 A later hand corrected the word by adding a second-person plural suffix, كم.

156 Reading الى.

157 Reading بروحه.

فان انت قلت كيف سكن الله في جوف انسان؟ فانا نصرب لك مثل ذلك حتى تبصره ان شا الله. اما تعلم ان الشمس على وجه السما¹⁵⁸ وقرونها ونورها في الارض؟ ام لا تعلم¹⁵⁹ ان الشمس في السما وتدخل من الكوة في المخدع فيضي ذلك المخدع بالذى {69r} من الشمس ولم تتقضى¹⁶⁰ الشمس شيئاً وهي في البر والبحر. فان كانت الشمس التي هي مخلوقة ومثلما في الخليق ولو شيت اكترت عليك من هذا. فما ظنك بالذى هو اعلا واجل؟ وليس تعلم ان الله في السما وفي الارض وما بينهما؟ وليس الله في مكان كبير ولا في مكان قليل بل هو في كل مكان سوا. فالله في المسيح وفي السما وفي الارض وفي كل مكان سوا. ولكن الله ساكن في المسيح بالمجد والكرامة والعظمة والرافقة والقرابة اليه من اجل كلمة الله التي هي¹⁶¹ فيه. فان كلمة الله من الله والله مع كلمته وروح الله من الله والله مع روحه {69v} ما كان من الله هو¹⁶² الله.

وتقولون لنا انا كفار وتدعونا مشركين. ونحن لم تكفر بل امننا بمن نعرف. وليس اقول لك انهم الاهين اثنين معاذ الله. ان تقول نصراني يومن بالله بانه يعبد الهين اثنين. ولكن امنا نرد الكلمة الى الله. فلذلك نقول ان المسيح بن الله لان الله ابو كلمته. فنحن نؤمن بالله الاب الذي لم يولد. ونؤمن بالله الذي لم يلد. ونؤمن بالروح التي لم تلد ولم تولد. ثلاثة اسما الله واحد رب واحد. فهو الاب¹⁶⁴ والابن الكلمة والروح روح القدس¹⁶⁵ التي هي معه. فهو لى ثلاثة اسما [و] هي شى واحد وروحه واحد ونمار {70r} واحد الله واحد. وقد¹⁶⁶ اختار¹⁶⁷ الله هذا الانسان فسكن فيه بكلمته¹⁶⁸ ليحضر به الناس يوم القيمة وليجعله ديان وفاض بين الملائكة والبشر لينظر هذا الانسان الذي يرا الله فشم الله. وهو ساكن فيه بالكلمة والبشرة¹⁶⁹ والروح. وحيث تكون روح الله فشم الله.

فان المسيح حيث جا لم يجي بجيشه ولا بسيف. ولم يامر الا بالانصاع في هذا الدنيا. وان نسلك في طريق البر الشديدة بالصوم والصلادة. وامرنا ان نغفر لمن ظلمنا واسا علينا. وامرنا بالصدقه بسر وعلا نبيه¹⁷⁰ وامرنا بالصلادة التي ليس فيها ريا حتى نبلغ الذي وعدنا به المسيح في ملوك السما.

{70v} فاما الذي سالت عنه¹⁷¹ من امر دين النصرانية فهو كالذى وصفت لك في كتابي وما فسرت لك وكتبت به اليك في شأن ادم. انه مات من معصية ربه. فلم يزل ولده بعده يسعون في سخط الله. فكان ذلك دين الله عظيم عليهم في كل خلق وامة حتى قام المسيح. فاتم وصايا الله التي امر بها في كل توره¹⁷³ وكل شى من الكتب. ثم داوره الشيطان ان يزيفه عن طريق الله ليخططا كما اخطأ ادم. فلم يستطع اليه شيئا. ثم ان الشيطان تولج الى اليهود نفوسوا على المسيح وحسدوه لما اتبعه كثير من السو البشر. فامنوا به لما كانوا يسمعون منه ونزل على يديه من الخير العظيم. {71r} فاحب المسيح ان يموت مكان¹⁷⁴ البشر الخطأة. اذ لم يخططا ولم يكون اهل¹⁷⁵ للموت وليقرب نفسه لله قربانا مكان خطيانا. وما كان بالله الذي في المسيح بكلمته وروحه عجز ولا ضعف ان ينجي المسيح من

158 ا is restored.

159 د is restored.

160 ي is restored.

161 ذ هي written above the line between the two lines in the same hand and same ink.

162 Only و is legible.

163 الاب المولود من الاب is a correction given by a different hand.

164 ا is restored.

165 ا is restored.

166 قد is restored.

167 اخ is restored.

168 ب is restored.

169 Reading المبشر, without the feminine ending: "he who brings Good News."

170 علانية goes against what Jesus said in Matthew 6:3, or it can be اعلى النية, meaning "the highest of the intention."

171 نه is restored.

172 د is restored.

173 This word is unclear. It can be either "His word," or توره, which might be the Torah. "Torah" seems to make more sense.

174 مك is restored.

175 ا is legible.

اليهود وان يدمر عليهم لو شا. ولكن الله بحكمته وفضله خلا بين المسيح وبين اليهود. فصلبوه وذلك حي ومات وقبر بغير شبهة. وكان للقبر حراس من اليهود ثلاثة ايام حتى قام المسيح بان الله وامرها وروحه التي حلت في المسيح. فخرى الشيطان وخربوا اليهود وظهر البر ونور الحق للبشر بقيامة المسيح. وامنوا عند ذلك البشر وصدقوا ان المسيح حق. ولو لا ان المسيح صلب ومات {71v} وقبر وقام وارى ¹⁷⁶ نفسه ¹⁷⁷ ولبث بعد قيامته اربعين يوما لم يكونوا الناس يصدقون بقيامة ابدا. فاما صلب المسيح ومومته وقيامته كالذى كتبت به اليك. ومن وفضل من الله على البشر ورضاه عنهم. فهذا تاویل امر المسيح ودين النصرانية.

فاما سوالك عن القربان والذى ذكرت فيه وسائل عنه فسا اقصى عليك من ذلك ما نعلم شأنه ان شا الله. فقد سمعت في كتابك ان الحواريون قالوا لعيسى ادعى لنا رب ينزل علينا مايادة من السماء. قال اتقوا الله ان كنتم مومدين. قالوا نريد نأكل منها وتطمان قلوبنا ونعلم انا قد سدقنا ¹⁷⁸ ونكون من الشاهدين. {72r} قال عيسى اللهم انزل ¹⁷⁹ علينا ¹⁸⁰ مايادة من السماء تكون لنا عيدا لا ولينا ¹⁸¹ واخرنا واية منك. وارزقنا وانت خير الرازقين. قال اني منزلها عليكم فمن كفر عذبته عذابا لا اعذبه احد من العالمين. فهي تلك الماية التي انزلها على يدي عيسى للحواريين. فنحن مستمسكين بها الى اليوم.

وانك قد علمت انه ليس من نشد الا وله قربان او زيد يجعل الكراامة لله ورضاه. ونفع لم تقرره بنيه صادقة الا يكون اناس ابد اسووا الله وانما اعمالهم مع الشياطين والاوثان والاصنام. فاواليك الذين اخطوا طريق الله وهلوكا. واسمع يايها الانسان {72v} ان المسيح لما كان ¹⁸² قتل ¹⁸³ يقع به اليهود بليلة وهي ليلة الصلبية. اخبر اصحابه الذين هم تلاميذه جا اليهود. فاعمل به وحدتهم بقيامته وانهم سايفرون منه ويرجعون اليه بعد قيامته. ثم ان المسيح ليلة ذلك طعم مع اصحابه. واخذ الخبز على يديه ثم بررك وصلا عليه وقال لهم اطعموا منه فان هذا فجري ¹⁸⁴ اقربه لله قربان وزبد ¹⁸⁵ على خطايا العالم. ثم فعل مثل ذلك على الكاس التي هي الخمر. فقال لهم اشربوا منه فان هذا هو دمي ابدا له على يدي خشبة الصليب. فجعلوا التلاميذ ¹⁸⁶ الخبز والخمر بروح القدس والصلوة التي علمهم واسلمها لهم المسيح. فاسلموها ¹⁸⁷ الى من كان بعدهم لكيما يقربوها. ولا تقطع ولا تنظر الى {73r} الخمر والخبز كما هي خبز ¹⁸⁹ وخمر ولكن انظر الى علو ذلك وفضله وما فيها من روح القدس وبركته.

وكانت اليهود تنظر الى المسيح انسان مثل احدهنا. ثم بعث الموتا وارى ايات كثير التي كتبت اليك بها. فاما في مرأة العين فانسان مثل احدهنا. واما العمل فمثل الله. فمن امن منهم ¹⁹⁰ فلهم ومن قسا قلبه وكفر شقى وهلك. فهذا حال القربان وامرها. فقد فسرت لك منه ما لا تطيق ان تجهله ولا تغيره.

¹⁷⁶ ى is restored.

¹⁷⁷ Only ٤ is legible.

¹⁷⁸ Reading صدقنا, according to the Qur'an.

¹⁷⁹ ل is restored.

¹⁸⁰ علینا is restored.

¹⁸¹ ١ is restored.

¹⁸² ك is restored.

¹⁸³ ٣ is restored.

¹⁸⁴ This word فجري renders ^{فَجَرَ} with the first-person singular possessive, meaning "my body." There is no other instance in the text in which Syriac has been used instead of Arabic.

¹⁸⁵ "sacrifice and a gift"; see 72r.

¹⁸⁶ ١ is restored.

¹⁸⁷ ذ is restored.

¹⁸⁸ ه is legible.

¹⁸⁹ ز is legible.

¹⁹⁰ Reading منه.

وامر عيسى بخبر وخبر يقدسهما القسيس بكلمة الله ويدعوا الروح عليهم ف تكون¹⁹¹ فيهما مغفرة الذنوب لمن اخذه بنية¹⁹² صادقة وامن به كما امر المسيح. {73v} وهذا نكفي¹⁹³ كما¹⁹⁴ كما جسد المسيح. فلذلك انا نؤمن ان في هذا الخبر والخبر بعد ان يقدسان مما كان في جسد المسيح ابد الله وروحه. فامروا ان نعمل ذلك. ونذكر فضل المسيح علينا ويدل نفسه من ورائنا حتى بلغ القيامة فتقبل صفة وجه المسيح بغير خزي.

ولا تعبر بان المسيح لم يصلب وانما شبه لليهود. فان الله الذي هو في المسيح ليس عنده خيال ولا شبها ولا باطل. ولكن صلب المسيح حق وموته حق وصعوده الى السما حق وحيه في اخر الازمان من السما الى هذا العالم حق. وهو ديان العالمين بالله الذي هو فيه. فانصت ولينفعك عقلك. فقد فسرت {74r} لك حال القربان وامر وحال¹⁹⁵ الصليب وسجود النصارى للمسيح.

فقد علمت وسمعت ان بني اسرایل كانوا يسجدون للتابوت التي امر الله موسى يضع فيها لوحى التوراة. وانما كان ذلك من خشب ليس لذهب كانوا يسجدون ولا لخشب ولكن ولا مرالله ولكتبه الذي انزلها على موسى النبي وهو في تلك التابوت. فلما دخلوا بني اسرایل من بعد ذلك من طور سينا جوا من بعد موت موسى الى ارض الشام. وبينوا بيت القدس. فكانوا يسجدون في بيت المقدس وبطэр سينا الله. ولم يدعون مشركين ولا قيل لهم انكم تسجدون {74v} لربين ولا تعبدون¹⁹⁶ الهين¹⁹⁷ ولا لذهب ولا لخشب. فذلك اعظم او من حلت فيه كلمة الله وروحه. واليس اعظم واجل وتلك¹⁹⁸ التابوت. فنحن نسجد لكلمة الله وروحه الحالة في عيسى والتي بها خلق الله السما والارض وليس بمخلوقة ولكنها خالقة. فليس ينبغي لنا ان نسجد لها في ذلك الجسد.

فاما حال الصليب: فان المسيح لما اتوه اليهود وطلبوه وصلبوا معه لصين احدهما عن يمنه والآخر عن يساره ليكتبون بهما قوله. فترزلت الارض¹⁹⁹ يوميذ وانساقت الشمس وتشققت الصخور²⁰⁰ وانخرقت ستور مذابح اليهود من²⁰¹ اسفلها الى اعلاها. صدق ذلك كثيرا منهما وامنوا به.

{75r} فلما ان قام المسيح اتقوا²⁰² ذلك. انطلقو على بيت ذلك. كانوا هم يلون ذلك الامر فدخلهم رب شديد بما رأوا من حال المسيح ما ظهر لهم. فاخذوا تلك الصليب الخشب وقالوا انا سانسل عن هذه الخشب ونكلها نحن خاصة دون الناس. فدفنوهن ولم يكن احدهم بموضعهن غير اهل ذلك البيت. ولم يكون الرجل رئيس اهل ذلك البيت يطلع عليهم والده ولا اخوه الا عند الوصية. حيث حضره الموت فيقول له عند الوصية سوف تكافف هذه الخشب. وتسل عنها يوم من الدهر.

فلما احب المسيح ان يجري قيامته وسلطانه وجزي اليهود ويظهر رحمته وفضله في الناس {75v} وما لهم في الصليب²⁰⁴ من الخير وشاعت النصرانية في البحر والبر بثلاثمائة سنة والصلب مدفون في الارض. لا يعلم به احد من الناس الا رجل واحد من اهل ذلك البيت.

فاحب المسيح فاظهر صليبه في ملوك الروم يقال له قسطنطينوس ولم يكون بنصراني ذلك اليوم. وكان قد خرج الى اعدا له يقاتلهم فجعل يدعوا الله ويستغيث به ويقول اللهم خالق السما والارض! ان تهد لي الملك وتعطيني

191 ن is restored.

192 Reading بنيۃ meaning “with intention.” It is modified by the adjective which follows it, meaning “with faithful intention” or “with faith.”

193 Reading as يكفي.

194 كما is restored.

195 و is restored.

196 ون is restored.

197 الا is restored.

198 Reading و تلك من تلك instead of.

199 ا is restored.

200 ا is restored.

201 Only ن is legible.

202 وا is restored.

203 د is restored.

204 صليب is restored.

السلطان من تشا²⁰⁵ برحمتك وفضلك. واسلك ان تربني وتهديني الى اقوم الدين واحبه اليك. بين ما هو يدعوا الله ويتصرع اليه وهو²⁰⁶ يشير الى اعداه وجيشه معه.

لکنه²⁰⁷ رفع عينيه فنظر الى السما {76r} فابصر عمودين عظيمين²⁰⁸ نيرين احدهما معرض على الآخر كهية الصليب. وفيهما كتاب انور منها بلسان الملك بالرومية: فانك دعوت الله ان يبين لك اخير الاديان واحبه اليه. وان هذه الاية اخير الاديان واحبه الى الله واقربه اليه. فاجعل رياتك التي تشير بها الى اعداك كما رأيت. فامر عند ذلك. فغيرت رياتهم وضيّفت صلب. ثم ان الله تبارك وتعال اظفره باعداه اوليك الذي كان يتوجه اليهم واظفره الله بغيرهم. فلما رجع لم يطمئن قلبه حتى سال عن صليب المسيح. فقالوا له حين قام المسيح من القبر غيبوا الخشب التي هي الصليب. فلم يكون احد يعلم موضعهن {76v} الا رجل من اهل ذلك²⁰⁹ البيت.

فارسل الملك والدته من الروم ومعها جمع عظيم وكان يقال لها هلانه حتى انتهت الى اورشليم وهي بيت المقدس. فسألت عن عظما اليهود واسرافهم ومن بقي من اولك²¹⁰ الاولين حتى بلغت اهل ذلك البيت الذي يعلمون علم الصليب. وانها عذبت عند ذلك من قدرت عليه عذاب شديد. وقالت لهم ان كنتم تحبون انفسكم وترجون الحياة فاخرجوا الى صليب المسيح! فلما صار امرهم الى رجل واحد من اهل ذلك البيت السو جد وكفر حتى امرت به الملکة ان يعذب فطرح في جب ثلاثة ايام ولم يطعم شيئا.

ثم انه حين ايقن بالشر وبخوف الموت {77r} فاذا الحراس الذين يحرسونه²¹¹ اخبروا الملکة السيدة ان هي اخرجتني فاني ادلها على حاجتها. فلما اخرجوه واراهم المكان وقال لهم احرفوا فانكم سا تجدون الذي تريدون. فامرلت الملکة عند ذلك حفروا المكان. فبين ما هم يحفرون خرج اليهم دخان كثير طيب الريح. فلما حفروا حفر كثير ظهرت لهم ثلاثة خشبات. فاخرجن واشتبهن على الملکة السيدة ولم تعرف ايهن خشبة المسيح.

فاذا هم بجنازة يخرجون بها من المدينة. فامرلت الملکة عند ذلك فوضع على الميت احد ثلاثة الخشبات فلم يتحرك الميت. ثم وضع ايضا عليه الخشبة الثانية فلم يتحرك. فلما وضعوا عليه الخشبة الثالثة قام الميت.

{77v} ليس به فلتة و***م²¹² وان كثير من بقية اليهود الذين كانوا في ذلك الزمان حيث رأوا ذلك امنوا وصدقوا باليسير. فاما الرجل الذي دل على الخشبة فامن به وصيّر اسقف على بيت المقدس حتى مات. ثم ان الملکة عند ذلك بنت مكان القبر والجلالة حيث صلب المسيح بنا حسنا عظيما مع بيع اخرى ثلثها من مالها. وتركت شى يسيرا من خشبة الصليب في بيت المقدس وانها حملت الى ابنها عود الخشبة الى الروم. فهذا شان الصليب وتفسیره²¹³ وامرها وحاله. فلذلك نسجد للمسيح²¹⁴ بالصلب لنذكر فضل المسيح علينا²¹⁵ وموته من ورانا.

والصلب اية²¹⁶ النصرانية وعلامة الدين وبالصلب {78r} عنت الشياطين ومن امن به²¹⁷ من²¹⁸ كفار الارض. والصلب شرائع النصرانية²¹⁹ وایاتها. واعلم ان يد المسيح في الصليب لم امن به. فهذا الصليب الذي هو الصليب وجبريل رايس الملایکة يسیر بالصلب بين يدي المسيح يوم القيمة. والصلب هو نور وقرة عين لم امن به. وهذه امانة

205 Reading تشا.

206 Conjunction و is restored.

207 ل is restored.

208 Initial letter ء and final ن are legible.

209 ذلك is restored.

210 This word is difficult to identify. It can be either اولاد, "descendent," written as due to a scribal error, or from اولك, "those," with a *hamza* dropped.

211 سو is restored.

212 م is legible. The word cannot be identified.

213 و is restored.

214 ل is restored.

215 ء is restored.

216 Only ظ or ة is legible.

217 ب is restored.

218 ن is legible.

219 اني is restored.

عظمٰة²²⁰ لأهل النصرانية وطريق الحياة الدائمة. فكم من مجنون واعما وابرص واخرس ومقدد وسقيم قد شفاه الله وبالصلب الى اليوم والى الايد! فهذا شان المسيح وحاله وهذه النصرانية والدين الاستقيم. فلا يغرنك سلطان ولا مال ولا صحة فان ذلك كله مثل الحلم الذي يراه الانسان في منامه فادا استيقظ من نومه علم ان الذى رأى في نومه باطلا كذلك بغير الدنيا ومملكتها.

{78v} واعلم ان المسيح بفضله²²¹ علينا وبتسع²²² رافته يدخلنا مملكته كما شهد على نفسه. ونرجوا بذلك رحمته وثواب الانبياء. فهذه ابواي ثلاثة. قد بين المسيح انه من الله ونور.²²³ لما تكلم وشهد على نفسه وبينما عمل من الآيات الكثيرة والعجایب العظام التي لم يعملها احد من الناس ولا من رسول الله الا الله وحده بكلمته وروحه المقدس حين يخلق ويعفر الذنوب ويشفى كل سقم. وهذا بسلطان وقدرة وبما ارا الحوارين في طور تابور من نور وجهه ومجد وكرامته. حين تجلا لهم لم يطيقون ان ينظرون الى ذلك النور. فكفا بهذه الاية عظم النور²²⁴ وهدى لمن يعقل ويقبل الحق على نفسه. ومن²²⁵ خالق الحق نفسه ظلم. والله هو الغني²²⁶ الحمود.

وقال المسيح للحوارين ولبني الاسرائيل ايضا امين اقول لكم {79r} السما والارض يعبران وقولي²²⁸ لا يعبر. ولكن تثبت واستقام. لذلك على قوله الى انقضا الدنيا. قال الحواريين²²⁹ حين ارسلهم ينشرون ملكتوت السما وثوبه على اسمه اني اعطيت ملكتوت كل سلطان السماوات والارض. اخرجوا وعلموا كل الامم ما قد اوصيتم واعدوهم باسم الاب والابن وروح القدس. وانا معكم ايام حياتكم والى انقضا الدنيا. امين.

فانظر ايها الانسان هل يكون ما قال المسيح في المعمودية في كل امة وفي كل ارض من المشرق الى المغرب وكل حين في كل حقب؟ ترا ذلك ام لا؟ في الامم كلها كما قال حين يدخلون في دين المسيح ويعمدون باسم الاب والابن وروح القدس في مشارق الارض ومحاربها في كل حين من الدهر.

فلو لم يكن المسيح الله من الله ونور²³⁰ ورحمة لخلقه ما ثبت قوله ولا استقام {79v} امره في الامم كلها²³¹ من مشارق الارض ومحاربها من اول يوم تكلم بها المسيح الى يومنا هذا والى الدهر كله. ولو لم يكن المسيح الله من الله لم يأخذ سلطان السماوات والارض. ولا استطاع ذلك كما لم يستطعه غيره. ولا يملك سلطان السماوات والارض الا الله وكلمته وروحه.²³² فلذلك قال المسيح اني اعطيت سلطان السماوات والارض وما فيها. فلو لم يكن المسيح الله من الله ما اجترأ ان يقول على نفسه مثل هذا القول. وانما اعطي المسيح سلطان السماوات والارض²³³ بالجسد الذي تجسد منا فكان انسان كامل.

فاذ اذا اقسم الله فانما يقسم بنفسه^{***} ن²³⁴ يقول في التوراة ان الله حين وعد ابرهيم²³⁵ صفيه الارض المقدسة حلف بعنته وقال حي انا انا الرب وملت كرامتي السما والارض. {80r} ان هذه الارض التي انت فيها²³⁶ غريب هي لك

220 Reading عظيمة.

221 ٤ is legible.

222 Reading as وبوتسع, meaning "expansion, plenitude."

223 written in the left-hand side margin.

224 الد is restored.

225 و is restored.

226 الله is restored.

227 و is restored.

228 Only ي is legible. This can be كلامي or قوله.

229 Reading للحوارين.

230 نور is written between lines above the word نور.

231 كلها is restored.

232 Something is written in the space between lines 7 and 8. It looks like فـ but cannot be identified.

233 و is restored.

234 Only the final form of ن appears. But the letter may also be ر. At this point, it seems impossible to reconstruct this damaged spot.

235 ابر is restored.

236 فيها is restored.

ولذرتك. ولا نجد ان الله تبارك وتقدس اسمه اقسم بشى قط الا بنفسه. فماذا القسم الذي تقولون؟ الاب هو وكلمته²³⁷ وروحه. فان الله لا يقسم الا بكلمته وروحه. فقد بين امره في كتبه ملن يومن ويقبل الحق والهدى.

وتبا داود ايضا بروح القدس²³⁸ على المسيح وقال ان الله قال انت ابني وانا اليوم ولدتك. سلني. وفاصطلي الشعوب لميراثك وملكتك اقطار الارض. فكانت الامم ميراث المسيح بالجسد الذي تجسد منا. فكان انسان كامل. فلم تعبيون علينا ان نؤمن بالاب والابن وروح القدس؟ والله يقسم بذلك على نفسه.

ثم ان المسيح ايضا صعد فوق جبل من جبال الجليل فاتاه الحواريين يسمعون من قوله {80v}. ففتح فمه انه قال له²³⁹ فزـا الذين يؤمنون به ويقبلون وصيـته ويـتبعـون اثـره ويعـطـلون بـطـاعـتـه. وقال: طـوبـي للـذـين هـم مـتواـصـعـين بـالـرـوـحـ فـلـهـمـ مـلـكـوتـ السـمـاـ. طـوبـي للـذـين يـبـكـونـ فـيـ الدـنـيـاـ اـنـهـمـ هـمـ يـقـرـبـونـ فـيـ الـاـخـرـةـ. طـوبـيـ لـلـمـسـاـكـينـ اـنـهـمـ هـمـ يـرـثـونـ الـارـضـ. طـوبـيـ لـلـذـينـ يـجـوـعـونـ وـيـعـطـشـونـ لـلـبـرـ فـيـ الدـنـيـاـ اـنـهـمـ هـمـ يـشـبـعـونـ فـيـ الـاـخـرـةـ. طـوبـيـ لـلـرـحـمـاـ انـ عـلـيـهـمـ تـنـزـلـ الـرـحـمـةـ. طـوبـيـ لـطـاهـرـيـنـ الـقـلـوبـ اـنـهـمـ اـلـىـ الـرـبـ يـنـظـرـونـ. طـوبـيـ لـلـذـينـ يـصـلـحـونـ بـيـنـ النـاسـ فـانـهـمـ اـبـاـنـاـ اللهـ يـدـعـونـ. طـوبـيـ لـلـمـطـرـوـدـيـنـ مـنـ اـجـلـ الـبـرـ فـيـ الدـنـيـاـ اـنـهـمـ مـلـكـوتـ السـمـاـ. {81r} طـوبـيـ لـكـمـ اـذـاـ عـيـرـوـكـمـ وـطـرـدـوـكـمـ وـقـالـوـاـ عـلـيـكـمـ كـلـ كـلـامـ سـوـ كـاـنـبـيـنـ مـنـ اـجـلـيـ. حـيـنـيـدـ اـفـرـحـوـاـ وـابـشـرـوـاـ. اـجـرـكـمـ كـثـيرـ فـيـ السـمـاـ. وـكـذـلـكـ طـرـدـوـاـ الـاـنـبـيـاـ الـذـينـ مـنـ قـبـلـكـمـ. اـنـتـمـ مـلـحـ الـارـضـ وـاـنـتـمـ نـورـ الـعـالـمـ. كـذـلـكـ فـلـيـضـيـ نـورـكـمـ بـيـنـ يـدـيـ النـاسـ لـكـمـ كـمـاـ يـنـظـرـونـ فـيـ اـعـمـالـكـمـ الـحـسـنـةـ وـيـحـمـدـونـ اـبـوـكـمـ الـذـيـ فـيـ السـمـاـ.

فلو لم يكن المسيح الله من الله ونور²⁴¹ لم يجرى ولم يذكر الذين يعيرون ويطردون فيه. ويقال لهم كل شر من اجله. ويقول لهم: ابشروا وافرحوا. فان اجركم كثيرة في السما. فمن من الناس من الانبياء والرسل الذين كانوا يدعون الناس الى الله اجتروا ان يقول احد من الناس قول مثل هذا؟ {81v} ائما كان انبأ الله ورسله يقولون: رب لا يضيع اجرورنا فانما نموت من اجلك كل يوم ونعيون ونطرد. ونلقا من الناس البلا الشديد فيك. الله! تعظم لنا الاجر والنور مع ملائكتك. ولم احد من انبأ الله لا موسى الذي كلمه الله وجعله رسلا لبني اسرائيل ولا غيره من الرسل للناس الذين كانوا يدعونهم الى الله: طوبى لكم اذا عيروكم وطردوكم. و قالوا لكم كل شر من اجلنا. ابشروا وافرحوا فان اجركم كثيرة في السما. لأنهم كانوا عبيد مملوكين يقبلون رسالات ربهم ويعيرون ويطردون. ولكنهم يرجون بذلك اعظم الثواب عند الله.

ولكن المسيح لانه من الله ونور²⁴² نزل من السما لخلاص ادم وذرته من ضلاله ابليس {82r} ليهدىهم الى نوره وعمل طاعته. كان يذكر الذين يعيرون ويطردون فيه ويقال لهم كل سو من اجله. ويبشرهم بالاجر العظيم والثواب في ملكتوت السما لان بيده السماوات والارض وانه الله من الله. وانما يجازى اولياء الذين يؤمنون ويرغبون في الآخرة ويعملون الاعمال الصالحة ملكتوت السما والحياة الدائمة والنور والملك الذي له مع ملائكته المقدسين وانبياء ورسله. فنحن ان شاء الله ولا قوة الا بالله الذي نغير باليسير ونطرد فيه ونؤمن به ونرجوا من الله اجرنا في ملكتوت السما مع ملائكته. فالحمد لله الذي رزقنا الانيمان باليسير وجعلنا من اولياء واهل طاعته.

وقال المسيح ايضا {82v} للحواريين ولبني اسرائيل: امين امين اقول لكم لتكبرن هذا الانجيل في كل الدنيا وليبلغن كل امة. فانظر! هل بلغ ذكر المسيح وانجيله في الدنيا كلها؟ فاهتدى به كل امة في الارض ام لا؟ فلو لم يكن المسيح الله من الله ونور²⁴³ لم يبلغ انجيله و ذكره و عبادته في اقصى الدنيا وفي ادنها. لم يبيأ امة في الدنيا الا قد امنوا باليسير وبنوا الكتايس على اسم المسيح. انظروا في مشارق الارض و مغاربها من الهند الى اقصى الدنيا وجزاير البحر! وهل ترى مكان الا يذكر فيه المسيح وانجيله؟ وكذلك تبا داود النبي بروح القدس عن قول المسيح وخروج الحواريين وبشرهم المسيح في كل الدنيا وفي كل المشرق والمغرب واليمين والشمال. فلو لم يكن المسيح الله من الله ما استطاع ذلك كما لم يستطعه احد من الانبياء. وبلغ ذكره و عبادته في كل الامم.

237 Reading كـلـمـتـهـ, without.

238 Something has been added to a break in the manuscript here in black ink. It has been partially erased but ends in انسان.

239 قال is restored.

240 Only ٤ is legible.

241 نور is written above the word نور, which precedes it.

242 نـورـ and نـورـ is written between نـورـ and نـورـ من نـورـ.

243 من نـورـ is written in the left-hand margin.

فقد كان ابرهيم خليل الله ففيصه الله في كرامة. فلم يؤمن به احد من الناس في ذلك الزمان ولا سمي كلمة الله. ولا وجدوا ذكره حتى امن الناس باليسوع ووجدوا ذكر ابرهيم في انجيل المسيح. ثم كان موسى نبي الله كلمه الله. ثم فيصه اليه²⁴⁴ في كرامة ونور. فلم يؤمن به احد من الناس ولا سمي كلمة الله. ولكن كان يؤمن به حيا كذلك يومن به راس الملائكة ابني الله. [83v] ثم هلم الى داود وساير الانبياء. لم يستطعوا ان يهدوا الامم ولم يسمى احد منهم كلمة الله وروحه. ولم ينزل واحد منهم من السما ولم يطلع الى السما كما طلع المسيح الذي جعل في قلوب الامم ان يؤمنوا باليسوع ويهتدون به من ضلالتهم التي جروا عليها منذ ثلاثة الف سنة. تقطعوا منها وفكروا بالطاغوت حين بلغهم انجيل المسيح وذكره. ولم يرونه قط ولم يعلموا ما هو. ولكن من اياته التي عملوها الحواريين على اسم المسيح علموا انه الله وانه لا يستطيع ان يعلم تلك الایات احد الا الله الذي ايد الحواريين بروح القدس.

وذلك لأن الامم كانوا في غفلة من ربهم عاكفين على عبادة الاصنام حتى جاهم {84r} ذكر المسيح بغية فقبلوا وامنوا به. فلم يبق في الدنيا امة الا قد بلغهم ذكر المسيح وانجيله وفهم عبادة المسيح. يقظون ذكره ويدعونهم الى ذكره وعبادته. منذ ثلاثة الف سنة يقطعوا منها وفكروا بالطاغوت حين بلغهم ذكر المسيح وانجيله. فقد فسرت لك امر النصرانية ودين المسيح الذي ارتضا لنا. ولم ادعك في شك من امر شئ منه وامر النصرانية. اضوا من الشمس وابين من ضوالنهار.

وانت تابا الا تدعونا مشركين. ولم يدعنا صاحبك²⁴⁵ وقرانك مشركين. بل قال لتجدن اشد الناس عداوة للذين امنوا اليهود والذين اشركوا. فجعل اليهود والذين اشركوا جروا على حدة.

ثم قال لتجدن اقرب الناس مودة للذين امنوا الذين قالوا {84v} نحن النصارى. بان منهم قسيسين ورهبان وانهم لا يستنكرون. واذا سمعوا ما انزل الله على الرسول ترا اعيتهم تفيض من الدمع مما عرفوا من الحق. ويقولون ربنا امنا. فاغفر لنا ذنبنا واكتبنا مع الشاهدين. فاي فضل يكون افضل مما فضلنا صاحبكم؟ وانت تابون الا تدعونا مشركين.

قال ان الذين امنوا والذين هادوا والنصارى والصابرين والذين اشركوا فان الله يفضل بينهم يوم القيمة فيما كانوا فيه يختلفون. فلا ترى كف فرق بين الصابرين واليهود والمشركين؟ وقوله في سورة ال عمران ليس سوا من من اهل الكتاب امة قائمة يتلون اية الله بالليل وهم يسجدون. فمن هذه الامة التي من اهل الكتاب يتلون ايات الله بالليل وهم يسجدون غير النصارى؟

وقوله {85r} لو اراد الله ان يتخذ ولد لاصطفا ما يخلق ما يشا. ثم قال يا مريم ان الله اصطفاك وطهرك واصطفاك على نسا العالمين. فقد بين لك ان الله اصطفاها وطهرها واكرمتها على نسا العالمين. فقد بين لك وتابا انت الا ان تخالف ما امرك به صاحبك.

ثم قال لا تجادل اهل الكتاب الا بالتي هي احسن. وقال لا جدال في الدين. وانت تابا الا الجدال وقد نهيت عنه. واعلم ان المسيح والنصرانية ابين من ضوء الصبح وانور من شعاع الشمس. وقد فسرت لك بذلك. ما لم ادعك منه في عما من شهادات الانبياء ومن القول به {85v} من العقيقة والحديثة.

فاما قوله في كتابك: ما صلبوه نفسها بل شبه لهم. وبل رفعه الله اليه. فان كان شبه لهم فلا ذنب لنا. ولكن من ايماننا به وحبه الذي في قلوبنا دعانا الى ان صدقنا وامتنا بشبهه. ان كان شبه لنا مع انه لم يشبه لنا ولكن صلبه حق. وقد قال لو شئت ان يقوم حولي خمسين الف جند من اجتاد الملائكة فعلت ولكن لا بد ان تتم توبة الانبياء ويجي تصدق قوتهم. فقد بينت لك في اول كتابي حال الصليب وامر القربان وشان ميلاد المسيح وشانه.

واما قوله انه مثل ادم {86r} فقد علمت ان ادم لم يكون له اب ولا ام. فلما نفع فيه الروح قام وجعل فيه الحركة. فاما المسيح فقد نجده في كتاب روح الله وكلمه القاها الى مريم. فروح الله من الله وكلمة الله من الله. وصعد من حيث جا فهو منه واليه رجع. فافهم كتابي وتبره واعلم ان الامر مستقيم. وانما جا بالرابة والرحمة وانقذ البشر من الخطية.

ثم قال في كتابك لا تستغفر لاحد منهم مات ابدا ولا تقوم على قبره. ولا يحل لك ان تسلم على احد من اهل الكتاب. قرایت ان كانت للرجل منكم ام نصرانية فماتت {86v} لا يحل له ان يدفنها ولا يستغفر لها ولا يسلم عليها في حياتها. وقد عظم الله حق الوالدة.

244 Reading الله.

245 Probably, صاحبك, "your lord," refers to Muhammad; on 84v and 85r, these appear to be later corrections. The original text is completely illegible, but it most likely read ("رسولك") ("your prophet"), as is clearly shown from another work following the letter of Leo, folio 90v, that "the proof of this is when your prophet says . . .," which cites Q49:14.

وأيضا الرجل منكم يتزوج المرة من اهل الكتاب وهو يباشرها حلالا احلها الله له لا يحل له ان يسلم عليها ولا يدفنها ولا يقوم على قبرها وهو يباشرها. فسبحان الله ما اعظم هذا! لا يستغفر الرجل لامراته ولا لوالدته ولا يقوم على قبرها ولا يمشي في جنازتها.

ثم قال في كتابك ان الله يضل من يشا ويهدى من يشا. وخلق منهم شقي وسعيد. وما عمل الانسان من خير او شر {87v} كان قد كتب ذلك عليه وقضاء الله عليه.

فان كان هذا كذلك فلا حمد له ولا ذنب عليه. فان عذبه الله على شيء خلقه له واصله وطبع على قلبه وكان قد كتب ذلك عليه فقد ظلمه الله نعوذ. بعزة الله وجلاله ان يضل احدا او يكتب عليه الشقا ثم يعذبه.

فلم انزل الكتب على الانبياء الا لينذرون الناس من اعمال السوء وبين لهم اعمال الخير. فمن عمل النار كانت الحجة الله عليه لما انتهت²⁴⁶ به الانبياء. ولو كان الامر على ما تقولون ان كل ما يعمل الانسان من خير او شر فقد كتب عليه قبل يخلقته انما²⁴⁷ ارسل الله الانبياء الى الناس رحمة ولقد كان الكتاب والقدر يكفى.

فلا تظن بالله العظيم الحليم انه يكتب على الانسان الشقا {87v} ثم يعذبه. وما كان ليفعل ذلك لعزته. الرب اعدل واحكم وامجد من يمجد يظلم احد من الناس. بل رحمة وسعت السموات والارض. فله الحمد على حلمه.

ولكنا نقول ان الله خلق الانسان بصيرا سمعيا وبين له الخير والشر. وعلمه وحذره ونصره ورنبه فيما عنده. وقال ان علتم خير كافيكم عليه. وان علتم شر عاقبتكم عليه. فلا حجة للانسان على ربه يوم القيمة. بل خطفهم على الموعظة فلا يهلك منهم الا عن بينة وكتاب. قد انزله الله عليه وبين له ما ياتى وما يذر. ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله. فقد فسرت لك ما سالت عنه وكتبت به اليك وكتب:

246 Reading انتهى.

247 Reading ما.

3

The Muslim Arabic Letter of 'Umar

INTRODUCTION

A SINGLE QUIRE OF DAMAGED PARCHMENT, originally discovered in the Great Mosque of Damascus and housed today in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul, preserves the Muslim Arabic version of the purported correspondence between 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz and Leo the Isaurian. It begins mid-sentence, which suggests that the quire once circulated in a more extensive manuscript or notebook. Several letter forms (e.g., the *alif*, *mim*, and *dal*, among others) are distinctive and similar to Christian Arabic manuscripts dated to the late ninth or possibly early tenth century. The form of the *qaf* in particular points to a Christian scribe, because the letter, which would normally take two points on top of the form, instead has a single point beneath it.¹

Despite the paleographic similarities with Christian Arabic manuscripts, this version of the correspondence offers a thoroughly Muslim polemic against Christianity. It starts with the declaration of the humanity of Jesus and the impossibility of the Incarnation, followed by a discussion of the role and powers of Satan. The text next questions Christian orthopraxy, including worshipping on Sunday or Easter; burial practices; and veneration of the cross and icons. Finally, this version of the correspondence also serves as an apology for Islam by rebutting Christian critiques about the Islamic idea of heaven; the identification of Mecca as the *qibla*, or direction of prayer; polygyny and the Prophet Muhammad's marriage to his wife Zaynab; and the Bahira legends. The text ends with an appeal to the deeds of the Prophet Muhammad and the rightness of his message, as demonstrated by the success and spread of Islam. The correspondence is thus thoroughly Muslim in content.

Gaudeul demonstrated that the polemical text preserved in this partial manuscript includes a significant overlap with the sixteenth-century Aljamiado translation.² This overlapping raises the possibility that the title and authorities listed in the Aljamiado manuscripts might preserve the incipit from the original Arabic. If so, this polemic originally sported the title *This is the missive that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, king of the believers, wrote to Leo, king of the Christian unbelievers (Esta es mandadaria, que la escribió 'Umar ibnu 'Abdu-l-'Azīz, rey de los creyentes, <a> Alyón, rey de los cristianos descreyentes)*. The Aljamiado version also begins by attesting the line of transmission:

He said: Abu Ja'far [A6r] Muhammad b. 'Awfi al-Tayy, in the city of Homs, informed us: He said: 'Abd al-Quddusi b. al-Hajjaj related to us: He said: Isma'il

¹ Sourdel 1966, 2.

² Gaudeul (1984) was familiar with only one manuscript of the Aljamiado, as examined in the dissertation of Cardaillac (1972).

b. 'Ayyas related to us: He said: 'Umar, son of 'Abd al-'Aziz (may God be satisfied with him!) wrote. . . .

Dixo: Fízonos a saber Abū Ja'far {A6r} Muḥammad ibnu 'Awfi A'lṭṭā'i, fī madīnati Ḥimṣa. Dixo: Alhadizonos 'Abdu al-Qudūsi ibnu l-Ḥajjāj. Dixo: Alhadizonos Ismā'i ibnu 'Ayyāṣ. Dixo: Escribió 'Umar, fillo de 'Abdu l-‘Azīzⁱ (apáguese Allah d'él). . . .³

If the Aljamiado version is indeed a translation of the Muslim Arabic, then the three authorities listed at the start of the Aljamiado text would locate its Arabic production in the Syrian city of Homs. All three of the scholars listed above lived in Homs: Abu Ja‘far Muhammad b. ‘Awf al-Ta‘i died in 272/885; Abu l-Mughira ‘Abd l-Quddus b. al-Hajjaj, in 212/827; and Isma‘il b. ‘Ayyas b. Sulayym al-‘Ansi, in 182/798. Thus the text claims roots into the eighth century, though our author received it sometime before 272/885. While this dating is consistent with the late ninth-century date attributed to the manuscript based on the script, modern scholars have looked to such chains of transmission with some skepticism.

3 Aljamiado, A5v-6r.

⁴ Gaudeul 1984, 126.

5 Tannous 2018, 146.

6 Palombo 2015, 257.

correspondence, there exists no concrete evidence of the author's direct knowledge of Greek texts.

DIRECT BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN THIS VERSION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

Dominique Sourdel suggested that the author of the Muslim Arabic version might have relied on Syriac versions of scripture, potentially Tatian's *Diatessaron*. The original *Diatessaron* is no longer extant, but the eleventh-century Arabic translation demonstrates that Sourdel's suggestion is unlikely. The comparison between direct biblical quotations in the Muslim Arabic version of 'Umar's letter and the same verses in the Arabic *Diatessaron* reveals significant differences in both word choice and syntax:

Verse	'Umar's letter in § E_4419	Tatian's <i>Diatessaron</i> ⁷
Matt. 19:21	(51) بيعوا كل شى هو لكم	N/A
Matt. 5:44	(ب) احب داعيك وببارك على لاعنك	(35) وانا اقول لكم حبوا اعداكم وادعوا من لعنكم
Matt. 5:7	(ب) وقال طوبى الذين يرحمون فان الرحمة تكون عليهم	(31) الطوبى للرحماء فعليهم تكون الرحمة
Matt. 5:9	(ب) طوبى الذين يصلحون بين الناس	(32) الطوبى لفاعلي السلام فهم يدعون ابناء الله
Matt. 18:21–22	(ب) اغفر لمن ظلمني سبع مرار او اكثر من ذلك؟ فقال له عيسى بل سبعين مرة من سبع سبع	(105) يا سيدى كم دفعة ان جهل علي اخي اصفح له الى سبع دفعات. قال له ايسوع لا اقول لك الى سبعة لكن الى سبعين دفعة سبعة سبعة.
Matt. 7:15–16	(71) احتفظوا من الذين ياتونكم مثل اشباه الخرفان وهم خاطقون مثل الذباب وستعرفونهم باعمالهم	(40) احذروا من الانبياء الكذبة الذين ياتونكم بلباس الخرفان وهم داخل ذات خاطفة
Matt. 26:29	(ب) امين اقول لكم لا يتشرب من هذه الشجرة جميعا بعد يومنا هذا حتى نشرب بها في ملکوت السما	(171) اقول لكم لا اشرب من الان من هذا عصير الکرمة الى اليوم الذي فيه اشرب معكم جديداً في ملکوت الله

One of the biblical verses quoted in the correspondence (Matt. 19:21) does not appear in the *Diatessaron* at all. This comparison suggests that the author of the Muslim Arabic version did not rely on the *Diatessaron*, at least in the form in which it has come down to us today.

Nevertheless, the Muslim Arabic version certainly originated in a Syriac milieu. The author cites Matthew 18:22, a passage that has the apostle Paul asking Jesus whether he should pardon someone for a wrongdoing more than seven times. The correspondence cites the answer as: "And Jesus told him, 'Yes, seventy times seven'" (فقال له عيسى بل سبعين [5v]). The wording is awkward and reflects reliance on the Syriac, whether directly or through an Arabic translation. The Curetonian Gospels—fifth-century manuscripts from Lower Egypt preserving an earlier version of the Gospels in Syriac—read similarly: "He said to him: 'Not seven, but up to seventy times seven'" (لهم لا عد

⁷ The page numbers here refer to Tatian 1888.

الله رب العالمين (The Muslim Arabic version of the correspondence is thus close to the Syriac of the Curetonian Gospels, particularly in the repetition of the word “seven” at the end. Again, it is unlikely that the author of the Muslim Arabic version received this particular wording from the *Diatessaron*. Although the *Diatessaron* also maintains the curious repetition of the word “seven” at the end, the passage is longer: “Jesus said to him: ‘I do not say to you up to seven, but up to seventy times seven’” قال له ايسوع لا اقول لك الى (seven times). The *Diatessaron* thus remains closer to the Pshitta, which reads, “Jesus said to him, ‘I do not say to you up to seven times, but up to seventy times seven’” الله رب العالمين (seven times). The unique wording of this verse allows us to trace the connections, placing the Muslim Arabic version of the correspondence squarely in a Syriac setting; the Greek, for point of comparison, does not repeat the word “seven”: λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Οὐ λέγω σοι ἔως ἐπτάκις ἀλλὰ ἔως ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά.

Here, the author's reliance on Syriac Gospels, along with the script that closely resembles contemporary Christian Arabic manuscripts, contrasts sharply with the clearly Muslim content of the correspondence. Palombo, continuing the work of Sourdèl, Gaudeul, Gero, and Robert Hoyland, sought to reconcile this contradiction. She identified many connections between the 'Umar–Leo correspondence and Christian apologetic literature from the early Islamic period. She argued that these connections far outweigh the common ground between the correspondence and Islamic polemical material against Christianity from the same period. Based on paleography and philology (i.e., the "awkwardness" of the Arabic, particularly the syntax and hypercorrections), Palombo suggested that this version of the correspondence was part of a larger Christian text that first challenged Christianity and then offered a proper rebuttal to such disputes. In other words, despite the obviously Islamic message of this version, she maintained that the author was Christian. The goal of the text, as Palombo construed it, was to serve as a foil against which the author could create a resoundingly effective response, now lost. Palombo's theory is at first glance counterintuitive, given the explicitly Muslim and anti-Christian content of this version. Many of her arguments could equally indicate that the author was a Christian convert to Islam, a scribe who wrote like a Christian and knew well which conversations circulated in Christian milieux.

The text is largely concerned with the scriptural evidence underpinning Muslim-Christian polemics. At the same time, Sourdel demonstrated that the biblical material is inexact and at times derived from Islamic apocrypha.⁸ Gaudeul argued along similar lines, noting: “One of the characteristics of the Anonymous Pamphlet is the abundant use it makes of Scriptures: 24 quotations, mostly of the Gospel, but only 3 present some fidelity to the text. All the others are paraphrases and in several of them the wording is distorted in quite a radical fashion.”⁹ Further, almost all the quotations from Christian scripture derive from the Gospel of Matthew, suggesting that the author claimed limited knowledge of the New Testament. Whoever the author was, all evidence seems to point to someone who was not highly educated. He displays a less-than-perfect memory of both Christian and Islamic scripture.

8 Sourdel 1966, 3.

⁹ Gaudeul 1984, 121.

It seems most plausible, if still conjectural, that the author of the Muslim Arabic version of the 'Umar–Leo correspondence was a Christian convert to Islam, one who operated in post-Roman Syria in a context where Syriac and Syriac Christianity informed the Arabic-Islamic environment.

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

ISTANBUL, TURKISH AND ISLAMIC ARTS MUSEUM, MS §_E_4419

Language: Arabic. Date: late 9th or early 10th cent. Place: unspecified in manuscript, but discovered in Damascus, Syria; currently in Istanbul. Ten fols. with pagination. Material: parchment. Size: 16.0 × 12.6 cm (written text: 11.1 × 8.0 cm). Lines per page: 13. Script: New 'Abbasid bookhand in brown ink. Single-columned, very precisely (though no obvious evidence of ruling). Script includes a curved isolated *alif*, angular letters (*mim*, *fa'*, *dal*, *waw*, and *ha'*); a tilted *ta'*; an angular final *lam* on the line; *qaf* with one point below the letter-forms. Partially pointed, including dashes when two points are used on the same letterform. Condition: very good, despite its separation from the rest of the manuscript. Some damage from humidity and water. The manuscript was likely expensive (high-quality parchment, large margins, paragraph breaks). There is no indication of use (marginal notes or wear).

Contents

This quinion is preserved separately, without any other content.

Bibliography

Dominique Sourdel, "Un pamphlet musulman anonyme d'époque 'abbāside contre les chrétiens," *Revue des études islamiques* 34 (1966): 1–33.

OUR EDITION

Sourdel first published this version of the correspondence in Arabic and in French translation. Gaudeul then published it in English, side-by-side with the English translation of the Aljamiado. The following edition was made from the sole extant manuscript, reproduced with the permission of the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul. Given the centrality of Sourdel's edition in modern studies of the correspondence, any deviations from the previously published edition have been marked. The differences include words that were elided in the transcription of the manuscript, as well as suggested changes to the pointing. Following the editorial principles of this volume, much of the idiosyncratic orthography has been maintained where it was resolved in Sourdel's edition; such changes are not noted in the apparatus. The manuscript does not mark *hamzas* at all but frequently points the *ya' hamza* as a *ya'*. While Sourdel corrects these *hamzas* to read more fluidly (e.g., Sourdel gives الْمَلَكَة where the manuscript reads الْمَلِكَة), this current edition reproduces the spelling as per the manuscript. Simple spelling differences (e.g., الفَسْح instead of الفَصْح or صَلَح instead of صَالِح) and mistakes (e.g., تَعْلَمُوا instead of تَعْلَمُوا) are also maintained without correcting or noting where they deviate from Sourdel's edition.

TRANSLATION

[Letter from 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Commander of the Faithful, to Leo, King of the Romans]

{1r} . . . but Jesus ate, drank, slept, was circumcised, and was afraid. Humans¹⁰ saw him and he lived for thirty-three years, so how do you make him into a god when he has already done all of that and has witnessed it for himself? You claim that Jesus sent Moses and revealed the Torah to him, yet you find in the Torah that everything crucified is damned. Does Jesus then damn himself, since he knew that he would be crucified as you claim? God forbid! We say that indeed God raised him to Him for God is powerful and wise.

You claim, in your disgrace, your ignorance, and your insolence before God, that God (may He be blessed and exalted!) descended from His dignity, His royalty, His omnipotence, His light, His power, His authority, His greatness, and His strength in order to enter into the belly of a woman [in] affliction, blood, narrowness, darkness, and grievance. So He dwelt inside her belly for nine months, {1v} then emerged, just like humans emerge. Then He nursed for two years, doing whatever children do: growing up just as children grow, year by year, crying, eating, drinking, feeling hunger and thirst, throughout His whole life. So who was running the affairs of heaven and earth? Who was in charge of them¹¹ and who was judging in them? And who was running the sun, moon, stars, night, dawn, and wind; who was creating, giving life,¹² and sowing death while Jesus was in his mother's belly and after he was born? Glory be to God!

You are saying a terrible thing, as you have made Jesus into a god, because he was not created from man. Yet Adam was [also] not created from man, nor from woman, and he did not grow up as children grow, year by year. God created him from clay, then breathed his spirit into him and so he became a man. God honored him as He had not honored other created things before him and taught him the names of everything. {2r} He ordered His angels, who glorify and exalt him and who bear His throne, to prostrate themselves before him, though they did not prostrate themselves before Jesus or before anyone else except God alone and Adam. Then He created Eve from his rib as you claimed and He settled her in His garden, bestowed His grace [upon her], and brought forth His prophets and messengers from her. He submitted His named creations to the two of them and to their descendants. But the creation of Jesus was not more wondrous than the creation of Adam, nor of the heavens and the earth, nor what is in those two, nor the creation of the angels who do not eat, drink, sleep, wear out, or are visible to humanity.

If you make Jesus a god because he revived the dead, cured illness, and performed wonders according to the will of God, Ezekiel also revived 35,000 people according to the will of God, as you find in your Scripture;¹³ [this is] more than {2v} Jesus revived, but you do not make Ezekiel into a god. And Elijah revived the widow's son, as you claim.¹⁴ Jesus did not perform miracles that were better than Moses's miracles with Pharaoh's magicians

10 Lit., "Sons of Adam"; reading as بنو.

11 Cf. Q35:41.

12 Reading يحيى.

13 Reference to Ezek. 37:1–10.

14 Reference to 1 Kings 17:17–24.

with their ropes and their staffs. Moses cast his staff and that swallowed it all. It was the staff with which he walked and with which he struck the sea, such that it parted for them and they all escaped from him while God drowned Pharaoh and his armies.¹⁵ They had a rock from which twelve springs—one spring for each tribe—would flow when Moses struck it with his staff. When the heat bothered them, clouds shaded them; when they were in the dark, it made light for them. You claim that if one of them called a bird and it came to them and it was fat, he ate it. If it was skinny, he said to it: “Go and fatten up, then return to me” and the bird did that. {3r} You claim that there were children, one of whom had clothes that grew with him just like his body grew.¹⁶ Whatever Jesus did is not more wondrous than what Moses did, should you think about it. Both of them only did what they did according to the will of God, His order, and His judgment, for God judges with knowledge and takes with power. “His is creation and command”¹⁷ in its entirety. “There is no opposition to His judgment”¹⁸ or rejection of His sentence.¹⁹

And you claim, in your disgrace before God and your ignorance of Him, that the souls of those who died since the creation of Adam were with Iblis, the master of sin, who exerts power and passes judgment over them until Jesus came. He tore them away from him and prevailed over him for them. And among these souls were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and the souls of the prophets whom God honored and the righteous He created who obeyed God, served, {3v} and worked for Him, who showed enmity to Iblis and did not believe in him. And so why should Iblis torture those righteous souls when he already exerted power over them after they left him and disbelieved in him, while he shows mercy to the disbelieving souls that devoted themselves to him, believed in him, and worked for him? And why should God (may He be glorified and praised!) make Iblis treasurer of the souls of the prophets and the righteous of His creation who served Him and did not allow him to exert power over them? Why should Satan prevail over God regarding these souls? Is that in accordance with the power and authority of God? Glory be to God, there is nothing more false than saying this about His power and authority. “Indeed, you are in differing speech. He deludes from it anyone who is deluded.”²⁰

You claim that Jesus came only to keep Satan away from people and to guide them all. And you know that those nations that did not believe in, follow, or trust in Jesus {4r} are more numerous than those who trusted in him and believed in him. So why did Jesus not keep Satan away from them and guide them all? You claim that it was Satan who led [them] against Jesus, gave them mastery over him, and enabled them against him. So why did Jesus not keep Satan away from himself or prevent Satan from acting against him, as you claim? God forbid that He should do that. God honored Jesus too much to do that to him, but you are an unbelieving people.

15 Cf. Q7:117; 26:44–45; 20:69.

16 Cf. al-Ṭabarī 1893 I:500.

17 Q7:54.

18 Q13:41.

19 Cf. Q10:107: ﻓَلَا رَادُ لِفَضْلِهِ, “there is no rejection of His bounty.” The first letter of this word is unpointed in the manuscript such that it could read as either لِفَضْلِهِ or لِفَضْلِي. Sourdel 1966, 28 corrects it to read لِفَضْلِي.

20 Q51:8–9.

Due to your iniquity, error, and ignorance in the matter of God, you do not worship God on Sundays or for forty nights after Easter. Yet God ordered worship, and the angels, Jesus, the prophets, and the righteous from among His servants worship Him. And you bury your dead in your places of worship²¹ that God ordered {4v} you to clean and to remember His name in. Yet you put the bones of the dead into oil with which you clean and with which you treat your sick. God has said through the words of Isaiah, as you claim, that those who take their places of worship as graves and who clean with the bones of the dead . . . will reach a fire that will not be extinguished until the day of resurrection. And you know that no community other than yours has done that. You revere the cross and the image, kissing them and worshipping them even though men made them with their hands, and they do not hear, nor see, nor do harm, nor are they useful. The greatest of them in your possession are made from gold and silver, such as the people of Abraham did with their images and idols.

So reflect on all of this, make your opinion and your reasoning based on it. Know that Basil, Chrysostom, and those Jews {5r} and Christians who pursue knowledge and who write these books that you have among you that are confusing to you, they were [only] human men whom Satan surrounds in his desire, enmity, and uncertainty.

You claim that Jesus decreed duties for you. He commanded you to do them and he clarified them for you. Yet you do not observe them and you only do those that are easy for you. You claim that he said, “Sell everything that you have” and give it to him as alms.²² And whoever strikes your cheek, give him your other cheek and whoever takes your clothing, give him your other clothing [as well] and whoever exploits you for a mile, walk with him for two miles.²³ And whoever insults you, pray for him, and whoever oppresses you, forgive him. You claim that he said whoever does not leave his house destroyed and his wife a widow will not ascend {5v} to heaven.²⁴ And he said, “Love your enemies²⁵ and bless those who curse you.”²⁶ He said, “Blessed are those who are merciful, for they will have mercy.”²⁷ He said, “Blessed are those who make peace among men,”²⁸ for they are the friends²⁹ of God among humans. And you claim that he said he transgresses who is angry at his friend and tells him something that harms him. He said that should one of you place his offering onto the altar and then learn that his friend is angry with him, whether right or wrong, then he should leave his offering and go to make peace with his friend.³⁰ So should he obey him, then he will gain, and should he disobey him, then he will be made

21 In this setting, rendering مسجد, “mosque,” as “place of worship,” but it appears as “mosque” below.

22 Matt. 19:21.

23 Cf. Matt. 5:39–41.

24 Matt. 19:29.

25 Reading اعداك.

26 Matt. 5:44.

27 Matt. 5:7.

28 Matt. 5:9.

29 Reading اولئك.

30 Cf. Matt. 5:22–24.

subservient to someone. And should he obey them, then likewise; and should he refuse—may God forgive [him]—his friend is at fault.³¹

You claim that Simon said to Jesus: “Shall I pardon someone who wronged me seven times or even more than that?” And Jesus told him, “Yes, seventy times seven.”³² {6r} He said, “Forgive those who trespass against you as you will be a friend of God who is in heaven.” And they said, “Our Lord, forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who have trespassed against us. For if you forgive those who have trespassed against you, your Lord who is in heaven will forgive you your trespasses.” And he said, “Do unto others as you would have done unto you.” And you claim that he said, “If one of you is bothered by his eye, then pluck it out; or by his hand, then cut it off. It is better for him that some of his body be destroyed, than if his entire body be destroyed.”³³ He said, “Do not swear to God, but say no or yes.”³⁴

You claim that he said, “If I lend to you, then you should lend to him.”³⁵ And, “Whoever gives alms with his left [hand], may that be concealed from his right. Make your prayers in your houses and hide yourselves as you can without shouting out {6v} like the gentiles³⁶ shout out. For your God and O your Lord knows what is in your hearts and will reward you.”³⁷ There is no people on the earth who raise [their] voices in their prayers or who shout out during them more than you. And he said, “When you fast, conceal your fast and do not abase yourself in your fasts, but wash your faces and oil your heads such that it will not be known that you are fasting.”³⁸ He said, “Do not seek the world, for there is nothing in it [for you].”³⁹ Leave that which you have and do not seek the world to the destruction of yourselves, but seek yourselves in the abandonment of whatever is in it [i.e., the world]. “For you arrived naked and you will depart naked.”⁴⁰ “Do not worry about what tomorrow brings, [for today’s] worry will suffice for today,”⁴¹ and tomorrow you will confront whatever it brings. Ask God for sustenance day after day.

He said, “Do not defame people. Just as one of you sees the speck in the eye of his brother and yet does not see {7r} the beam⁴² in his own eye, so should he remove what is in his eye and [only] then should he do [the same] for his brother’s eye.”⁴³ He said, “Protect

31 Sourdel (1966, 30) notes the awkwardness of this passage and suggests that it may reflect Matthew 18:15–17; the construction is similar, even though the topic is quite different.

32 Matt. 18:21–22. The Arabic adds another “seven” here, to read “seventy times seven seven,” which follows the Pshitta’s word order; see the introduction to this version.

33 Cf. Matt. 5:29–30.

34 Cf. Matt. 5:37. This version, like the Syriac and the Greek Gospels, repeats “yes” and “no”—the English is simplified.

35 Cf. Luke 6:34.

36 The Arabic here reads “nations” (الْأَمَمُ), where the modern Arabic versions of the Bible offer المُرَأَيَّنَ or المُرَأَيَّنَ, “hypocrites,” and later عَابِدُو الْأَوْثَانِ, “worshippers of idols,” or الْوَلَّادُونَ, “gentiles.”

37 Cf. Matt. 6:3–8.

38 Cf. Matt. 6:16–17.

39 Cf. Matt. 6:19.

40 Cf. Job 1:21.

41 Cf. Matt. 6:34.

42 Lit., “mast,” but translated as δοκὸν, مَذْبَحٌ.

43 Cf. Matt. 7:2–5.

yourself from those who come at you like sheep and who are ravenous like wolves, for you will know them by their deeds.”⁴⁴ You claim that the apostles said, “O Jesus, why do you not buy a donkey for yourself so that you might ride it and travel on it?” He said, “I am more favored before God than to make work for a donkey.” You claim that Jesus said all of this, that he ordered you to do it [all], and that he imposed it upon you, but you only do⁴⁵ the part of it that is easy for you. As you claim, he said, “deeds are not valid without faith, nor is faith [valid] without deeds.”⁴⁶

You wrote to censure us for saying that the people in heaven eat, drink, get dressed, and marry, although God clarified and revealed that {7v} to our prophet whom we trust and in whom we are sure. Adam ate, drank, got dressed, and married in heaven. Jesus said to his disciples when he left them: “Verily, I say to you that we⁴⁷ will not drink from this tree together after this day until we drink from it in the kingdom of heaven.”⁴⁸ How do you call us liars and censure us about this when Adam did it and Jesus spoke of it? God created heaven only for the comfort and honor of its people. You claimed that Jesus said, “The munificence of God in heaven includes that which no eye can see and no ear can hear, which does not occur to the human heart.”⁴⁹

You wrote to censure us for turning toward and circumambulating the mosque of Abraham when we pray, but you claim that Jesus and the prophets of the children of Israel turned toward Jerusalem from every direction, circumambulating {8r} it when they prayed. You censure us for [doing] what Jesus did and what the prophets did in Jerusalem, though Abraham was the greatest of prophets and his mosque is the greatest and oldest mosque. It is the sanctuary of God, His protection, His house, and the first of His mosques.⁵⁰

You censure us for the number of women [we marry], though Abraham, the Friend of God, David, Solomon, and the prophets of the children of Israel did the same. How do you censure us when [we do] what they did, while they are the prophets of God, His messengers, and the best of His servants? Had God despised them for that, He would have forbidden it for them, for they are too honored before God to do anything disobedient to Him. You censure us because our prophet married a woman whose husband divorced her and stopped having relations with her. He did not abduct her from him and did not force him to divorce her, as David did to Uriah {8v} and his wife, as you know, then God caused him to turn back and he repented. On my life, we have great sins and many faults, such that we would be lost should God not forgive us for them and show us mercy.⁵¹

You claim that Yas[u‘yahb] and Nestorius both taught our prophet the religion that he brought with him. They were both drinking wine; turning toward the east; venerating the

44 Matt. 7:15–16.

45 Reading تَعْمَلُونَ.

46 Cf. James 2.

47 Reading شَرْب.

48 Matt. 26:29; Mark 14:25.

49 Cf. 1 Cor. 2:9. Sourdel (1966, 31) points out that this is similar to the Gospel of Thomas. In the Gospel, this passage is not put in the mouth of Jesus.

50 This word, مسجد, could be translated as “place of worship,” as it was above, and need not imply association with Islam.

51 Cf. Q7:23.

cross, the Eucharist, and baptism; forgoing circumcision; and eating pork excessively. So did our prophet follow anything from their teaching, or order us to do so? If it had been they who taught him religion, or [another] one of the Christians or Jews, he did not follow their religion or commit their obligations. When God sent him to those of his people who disbelieved, they said, “It is only a human who teaches him”; the language of the person⁵² to whom they refer is not Arabic, {9r} but this is clear, Arabic language.”⁵³

And God said to Muhammad: “And you did not recite any Scripture prior to it, nor did you inscribe one with your right hand. Otherwise, falsifiers would have had [cause for] doubt. Rather, they are distinct verses [preserved] within the breasts of those who have been given knowledge. And only the wrongdoers reject Our verses.”⁵⁴

Rather, Muhammad (may God bless him!) was a prophet whom God sent with guidance and the religion of truth to a people whom Scripture had not reached, nor had a prophet been sent among them; [a people who were] ignorant in [such] ignorance that they did not know that they had a Lord or that there is a reckoning after death; [a people who were] erring, lying; enemies disputing over a shallow well who neither obeyed nor feared God with alacrity. [Rather,] they were worshipping idols, eating meat with blood, deeming illicit things to be licit, hating guidance, and consenting to errors. They were killing one another, shedding one another’s blood, severing their familial relations, harming their children {9v} severely with the most grievous damage, the most strenuous troubles, and the most wretched lives until God sent this prophet as mercy and proof for them. So he invited them to [worship] God, showed Him to them, clarified for them what was licit or illicit, forbade them from worshipping idols, and [explained] the sins and faults that the prophets had forbidden. He ordered them to pray, fast, give alms, be pious, fear [God], respect lines of kinship, and fulfill the covenant of God. He forbade them from injustice, iniquity, perfidy, fornication, theft, and highway robbery. “He ordered us to serve God alone; not to associate anything with Him or make [another] god His equal; not to worship the sun, moon, idols, cross, or images; not to take one another as lords instead of God.”⁵⁵ So we trusted him and believed in him. God united our hearts, made us victorious over our enemies, and delivered us from division. For {10r} only the prophets, messengers, and the best of His servants demonstrate, order, and propagate the good and forbid faults, sins, and rebellions against God.

Through his [Muhammad’s] words, God ordered us to fight those who associate others with God, who do not believe in Him, and who worship others than Him until they worship a single Lord, a single God, and a single religion. Thus, whoever does that will have the same [rights] as we have and will be required [to fulfill] the same [duties] as we are required [to fulfill]. And we fought⁵⁶ those who neglect, detest, and lie about that “until they pay the poll-tax willingly while they are humbled”⁵⁷ so that God will show them their unbelief, their error, and their lies. So trusting and believing in Him, we went out barefoot,

52 Reading *الذى* as per the Qur'an.

53 Q16:103.

54 Q29:48–49.

55 Cf. Q3:64.

56 Reading *قاتلناهم*.

57 Q9:29.

naked, unprepared, without power, weapons, or provisions against the people who were greatest in dominion, the clearest in authority, the greatest in number, the most praiseworthy of people, who conquered the most nations—Persia and Rome! We, small in number and weak in power, went out against them, but {10v} God—not our own might—made us victorious over them; gave us mastery over their lands; bestowed their lands, homes, and wealth upon us. There is no power except in the truth, might, mercy, and assistance of God. Then He continued in His mercy toward us and His blessing over us, advancing us every day and night until we reached what we have become thanks to the honor, blessing, allowance, and authority of God. We hope that God will persist in that for us, should we obey His order, maintain His commandment, and make obedience to Him, God willing. It is God whom we ask for help. We have no might or power except in God. He is our Lord, our God, and our Protector. We worship only Him, we trust only in Him, and we rely only on Him. We turned our faces to Him, entrusted our backs to him, and we consigned our affairs to Him. And we . . .

We find in what God revealed through our prophet [i.e., the Qur'an] that God said: "He is the one who sent messengers with guidance and the religion of truth so that it might make it manifest over all religions."⁵⁸

EDITION

[رسالة من عمر بن عبد العزيز امير المؤمنين الى اليون ملك الروم]⁵⁹

{1r} وقد اكل عيسى وشرب ونام واحتزن وخاف. وراه بنى ادم وثوى⁶⁰ ثلث وثلاثون سنة وكيف يجعلونه الاها وقد فعل هذا كله وشهاد به على نفسه؟ وزعمتم ان عيسى بعث موسى وانزل عليه التورية فانتم تجدون في التورية ان كل مصلوب ملعون افilyعن عيسى نفسه وقد علم انه سيسصلب كما زعمتم؟ معاذ الله! ان نقول ذلك بل رفعه الله اليه وكان الله عزيزا حكينا.

وزعمتم من غرتكم بالله وجهاتكم به وجراتكم عليه ان الله تبارك وتعالى نزل من وقاره وملكه وجبروته ونوره وعزته وسلطانه وعظمته وقدرته حتى دخل في بطن امراة [في] الغم والدم⁶¹ والضيق والظلمة والاذى. فمكث في بطنها تسعة اشهر {1v} ثم خرج من حيث خرجت بنو ادم. فرفض سنتين يفعل كما يفعل الصبي وينبت كما ينبت الصبي عاما فعاما يبكي وينام ويأكل ويشرب ويحوم ويعطش حياته كلها. ومن كان يدبر امر السموات والارض؟ ويسكها ويقضى فيهما؟ ويجري الشمس والقمر والنجوم والليل والنهار والرياح ويخلق ويحي ويحيى ويميت اذ كان عيسى في بطن امه وبعدما ولد؟ سبحانه الله!

انكم لقولون قولًا عظيما فان كنتم انما تجعلون عيسى الاها لانه لم يخلق من ذكر ولا انتي ولم ينبت كما ينبت الصبي عاما فعاما. خلقه الله من طين ثم نفع فيه من روحه فكان بشرا. فاكرمه الله بكرامة لم يكرم بها احدا من خلقه علمه اسما كل شيء {2r} وامر ملائكته الذين يسبحونه ويقدسون له ويحملون عرشه فسجدوا له ولم يسجدوا لعيسى ولا احد الا الله وحده ولا دم. ثم خلق حوا من ضلعة كما زعمتم واسكتها جنته وشرف كرامته وخارج منها انبياه ورسله. وسخر لها ولذريتها ما سمي من خلقه. فليس خلق عيسى باعجبا

58 Q9:33.

59 This title has been added to the edition. The Aljamiado version begins with the *basmala* and the word *risāla*, followed by the description "Esta es mandadaria, que la escribió 'Umar ibnu 'Abdu-l-'Azizi, rey de los creyentes, <a> Alyón, rey de los cristianos descreyentes." See chapter 5, especially pp. 145, 147.

60 Sourdel 1966, 27: نبوي.

61 Sourdel 1966, 27: الدم: The manuscript is not pointed, but other versions of the correspondence confirm that this word should read as الدم. See p. xl in this volume's general introduction.

62 Sourdel 1966, 27: ان.

من خلق ادم ولا من خلق السموات والارض وما فيهن ولا من خلق الملائكة الذين لا يأكلون ولا يشربون ولا ينامون ولا يفترن ولا يرثون احد من بنى ادم.

وان كنتم انما تجعلون عيسى الاها لانه احيا الموتى وابرا الاسقام وصنع الاعاجيب باذن الله فقد احيا حرقيل كما تجدون في كتابكم خمسة وثلاثين الف نفس باذن الله اكثر مما ²⁷ احيا عيسى ثم لا جعلتم حرقيل الاها. واحياء ايليس بن ⁶³ العجوز كما زعمتم. وليس كما صنع عيسى من الاعاجيب بافضل مما صنع موسى بسحرة فرعون بحسب الهم وعصيهم. فالقى موسى عصاه والتقوفت ذلك كله. وهي عصا يمشي بها ويضرب بها البحر فانفرق لهم وخلصوا منه جميعا وغرق الله فرعون وجنوده. وكان معهم حرجا اذا ضرب فيه موسى عصاه تغيرت منه اثنى عشرة عينا كل سبط عين. واذا اذاهم الحر ظلل عليهم الغمام واذا اظلموا جعل لهم نورا. وزعمتم ان احدهم كان يدعو الطير فياتيه فان كان سميانا اكله وان كان مهزولا قال له: اذهب فاسمع ثم ارجع الي فيفعل الطير ذلك. ^{3r} وزعمتم انه كان بولد مع احدهم ثيابه فتبرت معه كما ينت جسده. وليس ما صنع عيسى ان كنتم تعقلون باعجب مما صنع موسى. ولم يصنعوا ما صنعوا الا باذن الله وامرها وقضاءه والله يقضي بعلم ويأخذ بقدرة. وله الخلق والامر كله. لا معقب لحكمه ولا راد لقضائه.

وزعمتم من غرتكم بالله وجهاللهم بامرها انه من مات من النفوس منذ خلق ادم كانت عند ابليس راس الخطية يسلط عليها ويحكم فيها حتى جاء عيسى. فانتزعها منه وغلبه عليها. وكان في تلك النفوس نفس ادم ونوح وابراهيم وموسى وانفس من اكرم الله من انبنياه وصلاح خلقه الذين كانوا يطيعون الله ويعبدونه ³⁷ ويعملون له ويعادون ابليس ويكفرون به. افما كان ابليس ليعدب تلك النفوس الصالحة وقد قدر عليهما بعد ترکهم اياه وکفرهم به ويرحم النفوس الكافرة التي كانت تعبده وتؤمن به وتعلمه له: ما كان الله سبحانه ويحمده لاستخذن ابليس على انفس انبنياه وصلاح خلقه الذين يعبدونه ولا يسلطه عليهم؟ وما كان الشيطان ليغلب الله على تلك النفوس؟ فامن قدرة الله وسلطانه؟ سبحان الله ما اضل من قال هذا بقدرته وسلطانه. انكم لفي قول مختلف. يوقد عنك من افك.

وزعمتم ان عيسى لم يات الا ليربط الشيطان عن بنى ادم وبديهم جميعا. وقد علمتم ان من لم يؤمن بعيسى ويتبعه ويصدق به من الامم ^{4r} اكثر من صدقه وامن به. فهلا ربط عيسى الشيطان عنهم وهداهم جميعا؟ وقد زعمتم ان الشيطان هو دل على عيسى وسلطهم عليه وامكنتهم منه. فهلا ربط عيسى الشيطان عن نفسه وامتنع منه ان كان الشيطان وهو فعل ذلك به كما زعمتم؟ معاذ الله ان يفعل الله ذلك. عيسى اكرم على الله من ان يفعل ذلك به ولكنكم قوم تجهلون.

وانت لم ظلمكم وخطاياكم وجهاللهم ⁶⁴ بامر الله لا تسجدون لله يوم الاحد ولا بعد الفسح بعد اربعين ليلة. وقد امر الله بالسجود وسجد له الملائكة وعيسى والانبياء والصالحون من عباده. وتقدرون موتاكم في مساجدكم التي امر الله ^{4v} ان تطهرواها وتذكروا اسمه فيها وتجعلون عظام الموتى في الزيت ⁶⁵ تطهرون به وتداؤون به مرضاكم. وقد قال الله على لسان اشعيا كما زعمتم ان الذين يتذذلون مساجدهم قبورا ويتطهرون بعظام الموتى... يصلوا نارا... لا تطفي الى يوم القيمة. وقد علمتم انه لم تفعل ذلك ⁶⁶ امة غيركم. وانتم تعظمون الصليب والصورة وتقبلونها وتسجدون لها وهي مما صنع الناس باديهم وليس تسمع ولا تبصر ولا تضر ولا تنفع. واعظمها عنكم ما صنع بالذهب والفضة وكذلك فعل قوم ابراهيم بصورهم وآواتائهم.

فتذكر في هذا كله واعمل فيه رايك وعقلك. واعلم ان سلا وخرسقموس ومن كان يتبع العلم من اليهود ^{5r} والنصارى ويكتبون هذه الكتب التي هي فيكم ⁶⁷ وتشابهت عليكم كانوا بشرا من بنى ادم يحصرهم ⁶⁸ الشيطان بامنيته وعداوته وتشابهه.

وزعمتم ان عيسى فرض عليكم فرایض. امركم بها وبينها لكم. فلم تحفظوها ولم تعلموا الا بما خف عليكم منها. وقال زعمتم بيعوا كل شي هو لكم فتصدقوا به. ومن لطم خدك فاعطه خدك الاخر ومن اخذ ثوبك فاعطه ثوبك الاخر ومن سخرك ميلا فامش معه ميلين. ومن سبك فصلى ⁶⁹ عليه ومن ظلمك فاغفر له. وقال زعمتم من لا يترك بيته خربا

63 Sourdel 1966, 28: ابن.

64 The is repeated in the manuscript.

65 Sourdel 1966, 29, omits تطهرواها وتذكروا اسمه فيها وتجعلون عظام الموتى في الزيت.

66 Sourdel 1966, 29: ذتك.

67 The manuscript reads فسكم, unpointed.

68 Sourdel 1966, 29: يحضر.

69 Sourdel 1966, 29: فضل.

وامراته ارملة فلا يصعد {5v} في ملکوت السما . وقال احب داعيك وبارك على⁷⁰ لاعنك . وقال طوبى الذين يرحمون فان الرحمة تكون عليهم . وقال طوبى الذين يصلحون بين الناس فان اوليك اصفيا الله منبني ادم . وقال زعمتم من خصب على صاحبه فقال له كلمة تونيه فقد اخطأ . وقال ان وضع احدكم قربانه على المذبح ثم بلغه ان صاحبه ساخت عليه في حق او باطل فليترك قربانه وليذهب فليصالح صاحبه . فان⁷¹ اطاعه فقد ربع وان عصاه فليستتبع نفرا فان اطاعهم فذلك وان ابى اعذر الله فيه كانت على صاحبه .

وزعمتم ان سمعون قال ليعسى اغفر لمن ظلمني سبع مرار او اكثر من ذلك؟ فقال له عيسى بل سبعين مرة من سبع سبع . {6r} وقال اغفروا لمن ظلمكم كما تكونوا اصفيا الله الذي في السما فقالوا⁷² ربنا اغفر لنا ظلمتنا كما غفرنا للذين يظلمونا فانكم ان غفرتم للذين يظلمونكم فان ربكم الذي في السما يغفر لكم ظلمكم وقال ما احبيتم ان يفعله الناس بكم فافعلوه⁷³ بهم . وقال زعمتم ان رابت احدكم عينه فاينزعها او يده فاينقطعها فانه ان يهلك بعض جسده خيرا له من ان يهلك جسده كله . وقال لا تحلفوا بالله وقولوا نعم نعم او لا .

وقال زعمتم ان اقرضكم فاقرضوه ومن يصدق بيمنه فليخفى ذلك من شماله . واجعلوا صلاتكم في بيوتكم واخفوها ما استطعتم ولا تتصيروا {6v} كما تصبح الام . فان الحكم ويا⁷⁴ ربكم يعلم ما في قلوبكم وهو يجزيكم . وليس على الارض امة ارفع اصواتا بصلاتهم ولا اصيح بها منكم . وقال اذا صتم فاخفوا صيامكم ولا بتتساووا⁷⁵ في صيامكم واغسلوا وجوهكم وادهنوا رؤوسكم كما لا يعرف فيكم الصيام . وقال لا تطلبوا الدنيا فانها ليست بشيء . وترکوا الذي لكم ولا تطلبوا الدنيا بهلکة انفسكم واطلبوا انفسكم بترك ما فيها . فانكم عراة جيتم وعراة تذهبون . ولا يهمكم ما في غد كفى باليوم همه وتستقبل غدا بما فيه وتسلاوا⁷⁶ الله رزق يوم بيوم .

وقال لا تطعنوا على الناس . وكيف يبصرون احدكم القذا في عين اخيه ولا يبصروا {7r} السارية في عينه لينزع ما في عينه ثم ليقد عين اخيه . وقال احتفظوا من الذين ياتونكم مثل اشباه الخرفان وهم خاطفون مثل الذباب وستعرفونهم باعمالهم . وزعمتم ان الحواريين قالوا يا عيسى الا تتبع لك حمارا فتركه وتسير عليه؟ قال انا اكرم على الله من ان يجعل للحمار شفاعة . فلي كل هذا زعمتم عيسى قد قاله وامركم به وفرضه عليكم فلم تعلموا الا بما خف عليكم منه . وقال كما زعمتم لا يصلح عمل الا بامان ولا ايمان الا بعمل .

وكتب تعيب⁷⁷ علينا ان نقول ان اهل الجنة يأكلون ويسربون ويلبسون ويترزبون وقد بين الله ذلك وانزله {7v} على نبينا نصده ونستيقن به . وقد اكل ادم في الجنة وشرب وليس ويتزوج . وقد قال عيسى لاصحابه حين فارقهم امين اقول لكم لا يشرب من هذه الشجرة جميعا بعد يومنا هذا حتى نشرب بها في ملکوت السما . فكيف تكبذونا وتعيرون ذلك علينا وقد فعله ادم وقاله عيسى؟ ولم يخلق الله الجنة الا لنعيم وكرامة اهلها . وزعمتم ان عيسى قال في الجنة من كرامة الله ما لا عين راته ولا اذن سمعته ولم يخطر على قلب بشر .

وكتب تعيب علينا ان تستقبل مسجد ابراهيم وندير به اذا صلينا وقد كان عيسى زعمتم وانبيا بنى اسرائيل يستقبلون بيت المقدس من كل وجه يديرون {8r} به اذا صلوا . فتعيرون علينا ما قد فعل عيسى وفعله الانبياء في بيت المقدس وابراهيم اعظم الانبياء ومسجد اعظم المساجد واقدمها وهو حرام الله وامنه وبيته واول مساجده .

وتعيرون علينا كثرة النساء وقد فعل ذلك ابراهيم خليل الله وداود وسليمان وانبياء بنى اسرائيل . فكيف تعيرون علينا ما قد صنعوا وهم انبياء الله ورسله وخيرته من عباده؟ ولو كره الله ذلك لهم نهاهم عنه وهم اكرم على الله من ان يعملوا بشيء من معصيته . وتعيرون علينا ان نبينا تزوج امراة طلقها زوجها وقضى منها وطرا لم يغصبه⁷⁸ اياها ولم يكرهه على طلاقها وقد فعل داود باوريا {8v} وامرته ما قد علمت ثم رجعه الله وتات علىه . ولعمري ان لنا ذنوبا عظاما وعيوبا كثيرة ان لم يغفرها الله لنا ويرحمنا لنكونن من الخاسرين .

70 Sourdel 1966, 30: omits على.

71 Sourdel 1966, 30: وان.

72 Sourdel 1966, 30: قوله.

73 Sourdel 1966, 30: فاعله.

74 Sourdel 1966, 30: omits يا.

75 Sourdel 1966, 30: تياسوا.

76 Sourdel 1966, 31: تسالوا.

77 Sourdel 1966, 31: here and below, Sourdel points this as تعيب . In this first instance, the word is not pointed. However, in later instances it is clearly pointed as تعيب .

78 Sourdel 1966, 32: يغضبه.

وزعمت ان ياس ونسطورهما علما نبينا الدين الذين جا به. وقد كانا يشربان الخمر ويستقبلان المشرق ويعظمان الصليب والقربان والمعمودية ويتركان الختان ويكتران اكل الخنزير. فهل اتبع نبينا من علمها⁷⁹ شيئا او امرنا به؟ ولو كانوا هما علماء الدين او احد من النصارى واليهود لا تبع دينهم وعمل بغير ايمانهم. وقد قال الذين كفروا من قومه حين بعثه الله اليهم انما يعلمهم بشر. لسان الدين يلحدون اليه عجمي {9r} وهذا لسان عربي مبين. وقد قال الله لمحمد ما كنت تتلو من قبله من كتاب ولا تخطه بيمنيك اذا لارتاب المبطلون بل هو ايات بيتات في صدور الذين اوتوا العلم وما يجحد بآياتنا الا الظالمون.

بل كان محمد صلى الله عليه نبيا بعثة⁸⁰ الله بالهدي ودين الحق الى امة لم ياتها كتاب ولم يبعث فيها نبي جاهلين في جهة لا يعلمون ان لهم ربا ولا بعد الموت حسابا ضللا مفترين اعدا متباغضين على سفا حفرة من البهار لا يعلمون الله بطاعة ولا يتقوون باريحية. يعبدون الاوثان ويأكلون الميتة والدم ويستحلون الحرام كارهين للهدي راضين بالضلال. يقتلون انفسهم ويسفكون دماءهم ويستحلون محارمهم ويقطعون ارحامهم ويوذون اولادهم {9v} باسهم شديدا في اضر الصر واجهد الجهد واضنك المعيشة حتى بعث الله اليهم هذا النبي رحمة لهم وحجة عليهم. فدعاهم الى الله ودلهم عليه وبين لهم حلاله من حرامه ونهاهم عن اشرار الاوثان والخطايا والذنوب التي نهى عنها الانبياء. وامرهم بالصلة والصيام والصدقه والبر والتقوى وصلة الرحم والوفا بعهد الله. ونهاهم عن البغي والظلم والغدر والرذنا والسرقة وقطع السبيل. وامرنا ان نعبد الله وحده لا نشرك به شيئا ولا نجعل معه الاها ولا نعبد شمسا ولا قمرا ولا اوثانا ولا صليبا ولا صورة ولا نتتخذ بعضا بعضا اربابا من دون الله. فصدقناه واماها به. فالله بين قلوبنا ونصرنا على عدونا وانجانا من الفرقة. وانه {10r} لا يدل على الخير ولا يامر به ولا يدعوا اليه ولا ينهى عن الذنوب والخطايا ومعاصي الله الا الانبياء والرسول وخيرته من عباده.

وامرنا الله على لسانه ان نقاتل من اشرك بالله وكفر به وعبد غيره حتى يعبدوا ربا واحدا والها واحدا ودينا واحدا. فمن يفعل ذلك فله مثل الذي لنا وعليه مثل الذي علينا. ومن يترك ذلك ويرغب عنه ويكتذب به قاتلتهم حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون ليذلهم الله بكفرهم وضلالتهم وتذكّرهم. فخرجنا معه تصديقا به وايقانا به حفاة عراة بغير⁸¹ عدة ولا قوة ولا سلاح ولا زاد الى اعظم الامم ملكا واظهره سلطانا واكثره عددا واشکره ناسا واقهره للامم فارس والروم. فسرنا اليهم بالعدد القليل والقوة الضعيفة فنصرنا {10v} الله عليهم ومكنا في بلادهم وانزلنا ارضيهم وديارهم واموالهم من غير حول منا. ولا قوة الا بالحق بحول الله ورحمته ونصره. ثم لم يزل برحمة ايانا ونعمته علينا يزدينا في كل يوم وليلة حتى بلغنا ما اصبهنا فيه من كرامة الله ونعمته وزيادته وسلطانه. ونحن نرجوا⁸² ان يتم الله لنا ذلك ما اطعنا امره وحفظنا وصيته وعملنا بطاعته ان شاء الله. والله المستعان. لا حول لنا ولا قوة الا بالله هو ربنا والاهنا وولينا. لا نعبد غيره ولا نتلق الا به ولا نتوكل الا عليه. واليه جيلينا وجوهنا واليه الجانا ظهورنا واليه فوضتنا امورنا. ونحن...

ونحن نجد فيما انزل الله على نبينا ان الله قال هو الذي ارسل رسوله بالهدي ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله.

79 Sourd 1966, 32: علمهما.

80 Sourd 1966, 32: بعث.

81 Sourd 1966, 33: adds و.

82 Sourd 1966, 33: نرجو.

4

The Armenian Letters of 'Umar and Leo

INTRODUCTION

THE ARMENIAN VERSION OF THE 'Umar–Leo correspondence appears within the *History* of the priest Lewond composed in 788/89 at the request of the Armenian nobleman Šapuh Bagratuni.¹ Lewond's text covers the approximate century and a half between the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 and the beginning of the reign of the 'Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid. Lewond organized his *History* according to caliphal reign, and the correspondence is found, expectedly, under the entry for the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. The earliest manuscript of both the *History* and the correspondence is MS 1902 of the Mesrop Maštoc' Institute of Armenian Manuscripts (Matenadaran), in Erevan, Armenia, copied between 1274 and 1311 at the monastery of Yovhannavank'. All later manuscripts of the text derive from this copy, and our edition relies solely on this manuscript. The main scribe was named Sargis, and the patron of the manuscript was the abbot of the monastery, Hamazasp Mamikonean. Lewond's *History* appears first in the manuscript and occupies folios 3v–130v; the correspondence appears on folios 32r–72r. The correspondence comprises forty folios, or nearly 32 percent of the entire *History*.

Although the Armenian version preserves the letters of both rulers, the correspondence is not symmetrical. The letter of 'Umar is extremely brief, encompassing slightly less than three pages of text; Leo's response consumes the rest. The main concerns of the correspondence revolve around the nature of scripture and its interpretation. They may be summarized as follows: the reliance of Christians on the Old Testament; the stability of scriptural transmission; Christian theological beliefs that do not seem to be scripturally based; Christian practices that alter their Old Testament precedents; and the question of whether the coming of Muhammad was predicted in the Bible. The brevity of the letter from 'Umar to Leo has led scholars to suggest that it was composed to reflect the response that was already circulating.²

As we saw in the general introduction to this volume, the Armenian version of Leo's letter to 'Umar is clearly a translation from a Greek *Vorlage*. A variety of evidence supports this conclusion: the transliteration of certain Greek terms into Armenian; in certain cases, the adherence of biblical citations to the Septuagint or Greek New Testament as against the Armenian version of the Bible; and syntactical constructions that are awkward in Armenian but may reflect a more literal rendering of the underlying Greek text.

1 On Lewond and discussions about the dating of the text, see La Porta and Vacca 2024, xxii–xxv; Greenwood 2012; Mahé 1996.

2 Gero 1973, 162–63; Gaudeul 1984, 113–14.

While scholars are now generally in agreement that the Armenian version is a translation from Greek,³ exactly when the correspondence was composed and the translation executed remain open to debate.⁴ In his introduction and commentary to the translation of the correspondence, Arthur Jeffery argued that the letters were originally written in the ninth century. His conclusion was based primarily on his observation of an apparent anachronism among the Islamic sects mentioned on folio 45r-v.⁵ However, a reevaluation of the various groups listed in Leo's text confirms a possible Umayyad origin for the correspondence.⁶

Armenian	Arabic	Explanation
K'uzi	Kuziyya(?)	A sect in early Islam concerned with purity, the adherents of which urinated into jugs (<i>kuz</i>)
Sabart'urabi	Saba'iyya-Turabiyya	Supporters of 'Abd Allah b. Saba' (fl. 7th cent.), whose name is associated with the <i>ghulat</i> , "extremist" Shi'i groups. Turabi is a derogatory term for the Shi'a derived from the nickname of 'Ali b. Abi Talib
Kntri	Qadariyya(?)	A sect in early Islam that argued for free will
Murji	Murji'a	A sect in early Islam that withheld judgment on others
Basli	Supporters of Wasil b. 'Ata'(?)	An early group of Mu'tazilites
Ždi	Supporters of Ja'd b. Dirham	Supporters of Ja'd b. Dirham (fl. 8th cent.)
Hariwri	Haruriyya	Kharijites, usually named the earliest sect in Islam

None of the groups listed in the correspondence require redating the text to the ninth century. At the same point in the text, Leo remarks that 'Umar has acknowledged that it has been about 100 years since the appearance of Islam. The year 100 AH corresponds to 718/19 CE.⁷ Furthermore, as Meyendorff has asserted, Leo's defense of the use of images as an opportunity for the glorification of God aligns with the position expressed in the letters of Patriarch Germanus (sed. 715–30) around 720 and generally points to an intellectual and theological context that predates the iconoclastic edict of 726.⁸ Overall, the evidence points to a date of original composition for the correspondence between 718 and 726.

³ Gero (1973, 164–70) claims that the correspondence is an Armenian forgery, but this view must be completely rejected.

⁴ For a discussion of different assessments, see Mahé 2015, 348–52.

⁵ Jeffery 1944, 275, 295–96n46.

⁶ For a full explanation, consult La Porta and Vacca 2024, 192–95.

⁷ On the other hand, Leo also asserts shortly thereafter that it has been about 800 years since the appearance of Christ. Mahé (2015, 351) has suggested that this date may reflect the time of its Armenian translation. Regardless, it is clear that we are not to take these figures as exact numbers.

⁸ Meyendorff 1964, 126–27.

No agreement has been reached on the question of when the correspondence was translated into Armenian, which is somewhat entangled with the dating of Lewond's *History*. Lewond's work ends in 788/89, and it is reasonable to assume that he composed his *History* at some point shortly after that, although an eighth-century date for the *History* has been challenged.⁹ In any case, Lewond does not claim to have translated the correspondence, and there is no reason to think he did so. If the correspondence was originally included in Lewond's *History* and Lewond completed his work around 790, then the translation must have been accomplished and put into circulation prior to that point. Some scholars, however, have doubted that Lewond's *History* originally did contain the letters and suspect that the correspondence was inserted sometime between the ninth and thirteenth centuries.

Two arguments based on the early reception history of Lewond's work have been advanced in support of this claim. Besides its presence in Lewond's chronicle, the exchange of letters between 'Umar and Leo is mentioned in the *History of the House of Arcrunik* of T'ovma Arcruni.¹⁰ T'ovma composed his work shortly after 904 and shows some familiarity with Lewond's *History*, although he does not name him.¹¹ T'ovma's reference to the correspondence would seem to support the existence of an Armenian version by the end of the ninth century, but he does not cite the letters themselves, and his very brief summary of them does not necessarily demonstrate that he had knowledge of the correspondence as found in Lewond's *History*. Thus T'ovma's testimony does not definitively corroborate that the letters existed in Lewond's work or in Armenian by the ninth century, but neither does it disprove that they did.

It has also been noted that Step'anos Taronec'i, who, writing around 1004/5 and relying on Lewond for much information for this period in his *Universal History*, does not mention the correspondence. If one looks at the passage in which Taronec'i addresses 'Umar's caliphate (bk. II.iv), however, the text appears defective.¹² The author recounts the reign of Suleyman (the Umayyad caliph Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik, r. 715–17), at the end of which he writes: "Then, after 'Umar, Yazid became prince" (Եսլ յես Ոմարայ եկաց իշխան Եղին).¹³ Either Taronec'i skipped over the entire reign of 'Umar, or something has dropped out of the text. The latter seems likely, given that the phrasing used to introduce Yazid implies that something had been said about 'Umar. Furthermore, the manuscript tradition of Taronec'i's *Universal History* is defective elsewhere. All the manuscripts bear a lacuna at II.iii, noted even by some of the scribes themselves.¹⁴ Taronec'i's silence on the correspondence then should be considered within the larger absence of any information on 'Umar's caliphate and the question of the transmission history of Taronec'i's *Universal History*. Irrespective of whether it was authorial or scribal error that resulted in this omission, it arguably provides no support for excluding the correspondence from Lewond's *History*.

⁹ See Greenwood 2012; Mahé 1996.

¹⁰ Arcruni 1887, 105; 1985, 171.

¹¹ See Arcruni 1985, 37.

¹² Cf. Malxaseanc' 1885, 370n98, cited in Mahé 2015, 350.

¹³ Taronec'i 2010, 722; 2017, 190.

¹⁴ Taronec'i 2017, 83, 180n282. In addition, the two manuscripts in Paris that Šahnazareanc' (Chahnazarian) consulted for his edition published in 1859 omit the ends of II.iii and II.iv as well as all of II.v and II.vi.

A more problematic objection to considering the correspondence as integral to the original composition of the *History* is that its presence creates stylistic imbalances in the narrative.¹⁵ As noted above, it is obvious that the correspondence's length is disproportional to the rest of the work. In addition, in contrast to other letters cited in the *History*, the text of the correspondence shows no evidence of having been revised by Lewond to conform to the language or style of the rest of work.¹⁶ Finally, Lewond does not exhibit a concern with religious controversies—whether between Christianity and Islam or within Christianity itself—elsewhere in his work.¹⁷

On the other hand, lengthy epistolary exchanges are commonplace in Armenian historiography.¹⁸ Although this particular correspondence may be of extraordinary size for a work of this length, there is no sense that narrative balance was a stylistic concern for Lewond.¹⁹ Of the other explicitly labeled written communications included in the *History*, only that between Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik and Leo is truly analogous. Lewond likely did not have access to an Armenian version of this correspondence and composed something apposite instead.²⁰ Despite the very different contexts in which the actors exchanged epistles, Leo's response to Maslama resonates with his earlier reply to 'Umar, particularly in its defense of the cross and in Leo's derision of Muslim "boasts" (*parcank*).²¹ In addition, the use of prophetic texts in the correspondence is consistent with Lewond's conception of prophecy and his attitude toward Muslim political power.²² Finally, we may note that the correspondence is marked off by the scribe Sargis in MS 1902 in exactly the same manner as other quoted material and does not appear to have been added by the scribe. If someone had interpolated the text after Lewond, that alteration had been accomplished before Sargis got hold of it. Based on the recorded colophon at the end of the text, however, there is a great likelihood that Sargis worked from the original of Lewond's work, as no other colophon is recorded. In sum, none of the objections raised to the inclusion of the correspondence in Lewond's *History* are conclusive, so the date of the latter's completion in 788/89 constitutes a reasonable *terminus ante quem* for the correspondence's translation into Armenian.

Five printed editions of Lewond's *History* that include the correspondence have been published, the first by Karapet Chahnazarian in 1857 (Paris, France); the second by Step'an Malxaseanc', although commonly attributed to Karapet Ezean, in 1887 (Saint Petersburg,

15 See La Porta and Vacca 2024, 191–92.

16 Cf. Mahé 2015, 349.

17 Despite the interpretation in Mahé 2015, 349, of the word *vardapetut'iwn*, "teaching," used to describe the *History* in the colophon as indicative of "les intentions théologiques" of the work, Lewond pays very little attention to theological or ecclesiastical issues. For example, he does not bring up the iconoclastic controversy in Byzantium, nor is there any echo of the Julianist controversy in Armenia in the seventh and eighth centuries. The important Councils of Duin (719) and Manazkert (726) are not mentioned, nor are the repeated attempts by the Byzantine Empire to enforce church unity.

18 See the discussion in Mahé 2015, 349.

19 For example, the space apportioned to and the amount of detail provided for each caliphal reign differs, as for individual battles and sieges. Such discrepancies may reasonably be accounted for by the source material that was available to Lewond, but he did not attempt to offset these imbalances for stylistic considerations.

20 Cf. Mahé 2015, 349n30.

21 Cf. Armenian, 70v and 77v–79r.

22 La Porta 2016, 377–79.

Russia); the third by Gēorg Tēr-Vardanean in 2007 (Antelias, Lebanon); the fourth by Alexan Hakobian in 2015 (Paris, France); and the fifth by Sergio La Porta and Alison M. Vacca in 2024 (Chicago, USA). The Armenian version of the correspondence is available today in six translations: two in French (by Chahnazarian in 1856 and by Jean-Pierre Mahé in 2015), one in Russian (by Kerope Patkanov in 1862), and three in English (by Jeffery in 1944, by Zaven Arzoumanian in 1982, and by Sergio La Porta and Alison M. Vacca in 2024). The English translations rely extensively on the inaccurate nineteenth-century French translation.

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTION

EREVAN, MESROP MAŠTOC' INSTITUTE OF ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPTS (MATENDARAN), MS 1902

Language: Armenian. Date: ca. 1274–1311. Origin: Yovhannavank⁴. Scribe: Sargis. Patron: Hamazasp Mamikonean. Repaired and bound by Šmawon vardapet Lōrec⁵ (1664). 315 fols. (old foliation, 1–305 = 4r–309r). Material: paper. Fols. 1r–3r, 310v–315v, blank; fols. 1–3, 8–10, 310–15 added 1664. Size: 24.4 × 16.4 cm (written space: 19.5 × 11.5 cm). Script: minuscule (*bolorgir*), single-columned. Lines per page: 19–20 (26–30, fols. 214v–217v). Flyleaves: text from commentary on the Gospel of John (10th cent.), written on parchment, double-columned, majuscule (*erkatagir*), 7 lines. Condition: generally good. Edges of binding deteriorated; occasional signs of worm damage; occasional signs of humidity; some edges of pages torn. First quire and part of second missing. Quiring noted by scribe. Throughout *History of Lewond*: end of each quire has *Lew-* written in bottom margin, beginning of new quire has *-ond* written in bottom margin.

Contents

1. fols. 3v–130v: Lewond, *History* (fol. 32r–33v: Letter of 'Umar to Leo; fols. 33v–72r: Letter of Leo to 'Umar)
2. fols. 131r–170v: Evagrius of Pontus, *Kephalaia Gnosticus*
3. fols. 170v–177v: Evagrius of Pontus, *Capita cognoscitiva*
4. fols. 177v–184v: Armenian fragments of works attributed to Evagrius
5. fols. 185r–212v: Evagrius, *Letters*
6. fols. 213r–217v: *Scholia* on the first century
7. fols. 218r–309v: *History of Georgia*

Bibliography

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OUR EDITION

This edition of the Armenian text derives from La Porta and Vacca's publication of Lewond's *History*, though some changes have been introduced to adhere to the conventions in this volume. The Armenian text follows the spelling and punctuation of the manuscript but

regularizes the capitalization. It also introduces paragraph breaks to make the text easier to read. The text is presented in its corrected version, without note of where various hands have changed the text. The numbers at the start of some paragraphs are section markers that appear in Lewond's *History*. That text treats the whole of the letters of 'Umar and Leo as a single quotation, marking it as such in the manuscript. For this reason, it appears in this volume within quotation marks.

TRANSLATION

[Letter from the Umayyad caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz to the Roman emperor Leo the Isaurian]

"In the name of God, [from] 'Umar, the prince of the believers, to Leo, the emperor of the Romans. Many times have I wanted to know the teaching of your supposed faith, and we have applied ourselves to learning what you really think; yet it has not been possible for us to comprehend [it]. But now tell me the truth.

"First, why did Jesus say to his disciples: 'You came naked and naked will you return'? Or, why do you not accept what Jesus said about himself, but instead examine the books of the Prophets and the Psalms to find in them testimony concerning {32v} the incarnation of Jesus? You doubted and [were] weak in your thought, and you did not consider sufficient that which Jesus testified about himself, but believed that which the prophets said. But Jesus was truly worthy of confidence, for he was close to God.²³ He knew himself better than [do] the Scriptures, which peoples whom you do not know have changed and corrupted.

"Or, how do you justify the Scripture[s] and follow them however seems appropriate to you? You say that the Laws, which the sons of Israel used to read and know,²⁴ were written²⁵ many times and destroyed. And some time passed when not even a part of them [i.e., the Laws] existed among them, until some men wrote [them] afterward through their own understanding, and [they passed] from generation to generation and tribe to tribe. They were mortals from the sons of Adam who forget and are caught in conjecture, for Satan is near to them and they [are] his imitators in their enmity. Or, why is nothing found in the laws of Moses concerning the kingdom [of heaven], hell, the judgment, or the resurrection? Rather, they who wrote the Gospels, {33r} Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, related [these things] through their own understanding. The Paraclete whom Christ will send, as it says in the Gospels, is none other than our Muhammad.

"Or, why did the Christian nations divide into seventy-two tribes after the disciples? You make [Jesus] a companion and equal to the incomparable power of God and like Him, [thereby] professing three gods. You yourselves freely endeavor to change all the laws:

23 Cf. Q3:45.

24 "Which the sons of Israel used to read and know," *npp լըսենուին զնոսս յորդոցն Խորայէդի. և զիսլէին զնոսս*, lit., "which were read by the sons of Israel and they knew them."

25 "Were written": the manuscript has *զելցուն*, "were captured," here and *զուցուն*, "were written," below in the analogous portion of Leo's response at folio 37v. The editions of Malxaseanc', Tēr-Vardanean, and Hakobian emend the second instance to "were captured," but we believe the reading "were written" is preferable in both cases.

changing circumcision into baptism, [changing] sacrifice into the communion of the bread and the cup of blessing [i.e., the Eucharist], and honoring Sunday instead of Saturday. Or, how was it possible for God to dwell in flesh and blood and in a womb of various impurities? Also, why do you honor the bones of the apostles and the prophets, or the sign of the cross, which according to the law was an instrument of torture, or the icons, which you venerate? For the prophet Isaiah testifies that our lawgiver [is] the companion of and equal to Jesus, since the Prophet saw him, a fellow traveler, in a vision: one mounted on {33v} an ass and the other mounted on a camel. So why do you not believe all this? Educate me, so that I will be able to know about your conjectured teaching."

[Letter from the Roman emperor Leo the Isaurian to the Umayyad caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz]

"Umar, the prince of the Ishmaelites, wrote all of these disputationes and many more to the king Leo. For that reason, it was necessary for the emperor Leo to respond in this manner:

"19. Emperor Flavian Leo, believer in Jesus Christ, our true God, and King to those who recognize Him. To 'Umar, leader of the Saracens. What should I put forward as the most correct and most truthful [response] to what you sent to us? Especially as we were taught by God to instruct adversaries with kindness, [for] perhaps it may grant them time to repent. Moreover, royal custom is not to attack those who want to hear the miraculous mystery of truth with frightening words like rocks. But since indeed the beginning of your letter did not contain even the smallest semblance to the truth, one must not call 'just' that which is not true. For you said in your letter that 'many {34r} times we wrote to you' about the divine mystery of our Christians and that 'we applied ourselves to studying the teaching of your supposed beliefs.' But neither of these was possible, because no obligation at all has led us to these things. For we were not taught by our Teacher and Lord to expose such unique godly knowledge to the jeering mockery of foreign scholars, let alone to those who are not versed in the prediction[s] of the prophets and the preaching of the apostles. This is what we are accustomed to prescribing to others. Yes, we have written to you several times, and will yet again have occasion to write concerning other worldly matters, but not about divine affairs. Still, we who are counseled by the divine voice [have learned] to 'give an answer to everything that they ask you,'²⁶ but not to respond to him who does not ask. Moreover, we do not desire to learn anew the meaning of your opinions at present; rather, we have been counseled by God also concerning this: 'Examine everything,' He says, 'and hold fast to the good.'²⁷

"Now, we have the written histories {34v} of our blessed bishops who were alive at the time when that Muhammad, your lawgiver, lived, and for that reason it is not necessary to pester you about this. But lest you think us to be ashamed of such marvelous knowledge of God, listen then, if you are agreeable, and hear me: you will eat the goodness of the earth, as Isaiah said.²⁸ It is very difficult, O you man, to cast utter falsehood away when the

²⁶ Cf. Prov. 26:5; 1 Pet. 3:15. The Armenian quotation differs slightly from the text of the Zohrab edition of the Armenian Bible (Zohrab).

²⁷ 1 Thess. 5:21. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab.

²⁸ Isa. 1:19, where, however, the verbs are in the second-person plural.

opponent always thinks of contesting everything. What I am saying is as follows: If two people are standing near a fire, [and] one says that it is a fire (which is the case), while the other disputes and says that the same thing is a source of water, the seditious falsehood [of the latter] is readily apparent.

“Now, you said that our Lord said in the gospel, ‘You came naked and naked you will return,’ but nowhere in the Gospels do we find our Lord to have said this, although He always orders us to contemplate death. Rather, this is a saying of Job. For when {35r} Satanic temptations poured down upon him, the just one said this: ‘I was born of my mother naked and I will return there naked. The Lord gives and the Lord takes; blessed be the name of the Lord.’²⁹ But you are in the habit of casting about in this way and culling one testimony after the other from the Holy Scripture, which you have not read and do not read. Rather, traffickers of God—in other words,³⁰ those traffickers of faith—who seek to gain your approval by saying something in the expression of the divine Scriptures bark out to you whatever they need to.³¹

“Even though you are swollen with pride in your tyranny, listen to my answers. You said that we find testimony about our Lord in the Psalms of David and the books of the prophets. [It is] not something new [that] we sought and found such sayings of the Holy Spirit that were spoken³² through the prophets; but, by the grace and will of God, [it was] from [these sayings] that the promulgation of Christianity began and through those same [sayings that] it was realized. {35v} Having been established, it [i.e., Christianity] grew and will grow, by the power of God the Creator.

“You wrote that ‘you reckoned sufficient and believed in those, so you leave aside what Jesus testified about himself. You doubted and fell into conjecture.’ It would be blessed if you believed as you say in the firm and unerring histories of the Gospels more than all else. We know, however, that the Old and the New [Testaments] do not contradict each other, for indeed it was not possible for the one source of good—that is, the divinity—to cause both evil and good, truth and falsehood. But to make the bodily coming of His Word easy for the lawless Jewish people to understand, He forewarned the people with parables, proverbs, and the clearest commandments through the prophets so that they should not disbelieve in the coming of Christ, as is their way. In that very way, the Lord testified concerning Himself in the Gospels; and that which He said most clearly afterward when He took a body [is] not {36r} incompatible with³³ that which He himself said incorporeally through the mouths of the prophets. By the grace of God, we will demonstrate these points one by one in this letter to profess the most sublime things [about Him to be] beyond man and the most humble things [about Him to be] like man.

“(2) You wrote that ‘Jesus was truly worthy of trust, for he was close to God. He knew himself better than [do] the Scriptures, which peoples whom you do not know have altered and changed.’ [My] answer: the truth does not know to deny what exists nor to affirm what does not exist; but falsehood easily takes hold of all, for it can disavow not

29 Job 1:21–22. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab.

30 “In other words,” զնյու ասել, lit., “to say that same thing.”

31 “Bark out to you whatever they need to,” պէտք իրենանց դաւանաշեն, lit., “their needs bark out.”

32 The verb is singular, although the logical subject of the verb is plural.

33 “Incompatible with,” աւանապ, lit., “foreign from.”

only the apparent creations, but also the very Creator Himself by saying that there is no God. Now, it is not surprising that falsehood can also deny the Scriptures of God or pretend that they are {36v} the cause of sins. Jesus was truly worthy of trust, not merely as some man deprived of the Word of God, but rather as perfect in both divinity and humanity. The sayings of the Word through the prophets are also trustworthy, not because men uttered them, but because the Word of God spoke through them incorporeally. And because He was mixed in the Old and the New [Testaments], for that reason also they do not contradict each other.

“But as for what you said, that ‘they altered the Scripture’: if the leader of your teaching taught you this, he forgot himself. If it was someone else, he lied even more. Now listen and consider this closely. The leader of your teaching says not to confirm a saying without witnesses. Similarly, he says that the Laws also order [this]. He says that ‘every word must be confirmed from the mouths of two or three witnesses.’ We know that Abraham first accepted {37r} the good news about Christ when God said to him: ‘All the peoples of the earth will be blessed through your descendants.’³⁴ With this hope, Isaac had blessed Jacob, and Jacob on account of the same reason had blessed Judah, his son: ‘Judah, from you will go forth a prince for me and a leader from your loins until the future [generations] come. He is the expectation of the heathens.’³⁵ For Moses gave laws concerning this and he commanded Joshua, David, Solomon, the twelve prophets with Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Job the just, and John the Baptist son of Zachariah. Add to those the twelve apostles of the Lord, as well as the seventy [disciples], and together in the Old and New [Testaments] there are 111 [witnesses].

“Now, are you unconvinced by the words of so many holy men, beloved of God, whom your Muhammad testified to be holy and servants of God, concerning the coming of Christ? {37v} Do you consider your Muhammad more trustworthy than God, who spoke through them, and the Word of God who appeared bodily? Now, I ask [you] succinctly. Please tell me which is the truth: the testimony of 111 servants of God, saying a single thing about a sole subject, or that of a single dissident and heterodox thinker, who thinks that he is telling the truth by lying? This is telling the truth through lying. Your Muhammad teaches you to acknowledge the abovementioned³⁶ holy servants and beloved ones of God, yet he himself does not accept—and teaches others not to accept—what God said through them.

“(3) You said, ‘How do you justify the Scripture of the Jews and follow from it whatever seems appropriate to you?’ You say that the Laws, which were read by the sons of Israel, and they knew what was in them, were written many times and were destroyed. And some time passed when³⁷ not even a single part of them [i.e., the Laws] existed among them until {38r} some men wrote [them] afterward with their own understanding according to their will, generation after generation and family after family. They were mortals from the sons of Adam, who forget and hold conjectures, for Satan is near to them and they [are] his imitators in their enmity.

³⁴ Gen. 22:18. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab.

³⁵ Cf. Gen. 49:10.

³⁶ “Abovementioned,” վերագրեալ, lit., “above-written.”

³⁷ “And some time passed when,” և մնային ժամանակ ինչ ոք, lit., “And they remained for some time who.”

“[My] response: I am very surprised, not only at the disbelief of your teaching, but at your lack of shame in disclosing this. You even commit it to writing, and by doing so you appear ridiculous. You think to seduce us with our own words. You put that which you stole at the beginning of your letter [and] think to prop up what you say with what we said in writing. Now, if you consider what we said trustworthy, you are obliged to believe all of it, for no one gives witness with a lie, accepting half of the testimony while throwing the other half away. {38v}

“But since you are not well informed, listen and learn. We say that the Jews wrote³⁸ from a state of holiness³⁹ and did not create the stories on their own; rather, they were informed by the true histories of the pious men of the Hebrews and by their books of the prophets. There are twenty-two creations that God worked in six days in the beginning and twenty-two divine books for both the Hebrews and for us, and the same number of letters in their alphabet, although five of them have double [forms]. That is not without great mystery. God arranged and taught this about that [arrangement] through the prophets, for truths are evident and confirm one another. Of these twenty-two books, five are the Laws, which the Hebrews [call] T'awra (תּוֹרָה), the Syrians [call] Orat'a (אָרָתָא), and we call Noomaws (νόμος). It contains the actuality of knowledge of God; of God's creation of the world; His command {39r} not to worship heathen idols; the covenant with Abraham about His child who is Christ; and other such orders about judgments and sacrifices to cause them to renounce heathen customs that had indeed been familiar [to them].

“Then there are the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four Kingdoms, and Chronicles. These tell the stories about the marvelous deeds of God in chronological order; the unerring genealogies of the righteous people who descend in order down to Christ; the histories of the kings of Israel (those that were pleasing to God and those that were not); the division of the people into two kingdoms, Israel and Judea, because of their transgression; and about their captivity. Then the Psalms of David, the books of Solomon, which the Hebrews [call] Kohelet' (קֹהֶלֶת, Ecclesiastes) and Širat'siriim (שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים, Song of Songs), which we call Pařimon (Παρομίαι, Proverbs) and Samaton (Ασμάτων, from Άσμα Ασμάτων). {39v} And there are all the prophecies of the twelve prophets, along with the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel about the coming of Christ. Now if some Jewish person had confused and corrupted [the Scriptures], it would not have been possible to keep the writings intact, for the villains first would have removed a number of books, and it [i.e., the Scriptures] would have been gathered into one or two, or perhaps more, into three books, and the rest suppressed,⁴⁰ for destroying them would have been easier [than altering them].

“Again, as I think that you are not uninformed about the enmity that [exists] between us Christians and the Jews, it is only about one thing: our acknowledgment of Jesus and that He is Christ, who was proclaimed Son of God by the prophets. Whereas the Jews, behold, they do not say that He is Christ. Although they confess that Christ shall come, they nevertheless remain unconvinced [by] the books of the prophets and therefore do not

38 “Wrote,” գրեալ, following A. The edition of Hakobian emends the text to read “captured,” գլուխալ; if its emendation is followed, the clause would read: “We say the Jews, captured from a place of holiness . . .”

39 “From a state of holiness,” ի սրբութեանն սեղղչէ, lit., “from a place of holiness.”

40 “The rest suppressed,” զանելուածն լս ի բաց բարձրաւմն, lit., “the rest suppression.”

confess Christ Son of God. Now then, {40r} why do the corrupters of Scripture leave in or themselves interpolate in their Scripture such firm and indubitable testimonies, which cannot be understood [as applicable] to anyone else—even if one should excessively violate the word—except to the incarnated Son of God?

“Accept my third answer, as well. The captivity of the Jews preceded the bodily coming of Christ. So why had the Temple, the Testaments, and the priesthood remained fixed in His time, as is indeed clear from the holy Gospels—just as you indeed testified about the Lord, about His circumcision, and about the other things that He fulfilled one after the other according to the Gospels? It is apparent [that] He did such things not for their own sake but in order to justify the sayings of the prophets about Him and to demonstrate that they are [not only] not incompatible with but dear to Him and are solid testimonies to {40v} the mystery of His economy. Which testaments did the Jews have, if not the writings of the prophets, which remained with the Jews after both captivities, of Israel and [of] Judah, up to the time of our Savior, in which the Lord recalled many testimonies in order to instruct the incredulous Jews in the Gospels? The Jewish people were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, but divine supervision did not permit their captivity to end immediately. Instead, He settled the entire people in the places He wanted. Along with them were the Scriptures, and also some of the prophets, as Ezekiel says about himself: ‘I was among the captives on the banks of the river K‘obar.’⁴¹ And the blessed Ananiank‘ were thrown into the fire in Babylon.⁴² The great Daniel prophesied in Babylon and was thrown into the pit of lions there.⁴³ And all the events of Esther happened there.

“But as to the fact that the Scriptures were with them, {41r} listen to the Holy Spirit speaking through the prophets in the Psalm about the captivity of the Jews. Though it had not yet happened, it [the Holy Spirit] unmistakably indicated the unfolding of the events, saying in Psalm 136: ‘By the rivers of Babylon we sat and cried, as we remembered Zion among them. We hung our instruments on the willows. For there our captors asked for words in song and those who led us away [asked] for words of blessing.’⁴⁴ You said that ‘the Scripture was written with human reason.’ I know that you mean to defame the second [composition of the Torah] by Ezra even though the grace of the Holy Spirit was upon him and he told everything without error. When the people simultaneously returned to Jerusalem from the lands where they had dispersed, carrying with them the Scriptures, the marvelous work of God was apparent there, for not one thing from the Old [Testament] was found to be missing from Ezra’s history. {41v}

“You said that they were men and seized by forgetfulness. Men are always weak in everything, as well as simple-minded and forgetful. But immortal God—who is great in power and thus has no limit or end to [His] wisdom, who spoke with man through His servants, the prophets, who possesses neither the stain of conjecture nor that of forgetfulness—He spoke to the prophets and did not abandon them to human wisdom. But do you not know that your Muhammad is really a man? You reject the testimonies of so many saints of God with a single word of his. Or, you said that ‘Satan is near the servants of

41 Ezek. 1:1.

42 Cf. Dan. 3:21–23.

43 Cf. Dan. 6:16.

44 Cf. Ps. 136(137):1–3. The citation is closer to the Septuagint than it is to Zohrab.

God, but God [is] not at all [near to them].’ But those who think critically know that Satan draws closer to the one who is without the testimony of Scripture than he does to so many saints and witnesses of God.

“As for the Scripture, this much [should] suffice. When you said, {42r} ‘We do not find anything in the laws of Moses concerning the kingdom [of heaven], hell, judgment, or resurrection,’ you did not want to know that as [much as] men are able to grasp knowledge of God, so [much] does God teach them. It is not as though God spoke with men through a single prophet and at a single time, as you said, so that whatever God has commanded for the race of men, He commanded through Moses. It is not like that. What He commanded Noah, He did not command those who came before Noah. And what He commanded Abraham, He did not command Noah. Likewise, He did not command Moses [as He did] Abraham, and what [He commanded] Joshua, He did not command Moses; and what [He commanded] Samuel, David, and the other prophets each in their own time, He did not command Joshua. For as we said earlier, in this way God was pleased {42v} to make Himself and His will known little by little to humanity, for indeed men were not able to grasp the marvelous knowledge of Him all at once. Now, if He had said everything through a single prophet, then why did God send the other prophets? Or if He permitted everything to be corrupted as you say, then why did He speak through them at all? Now, even though Moses’s instruction of man was preliminary and not yet the most perfect, God also indicated in it the resurrection, the judgment, and hell.

“Concerning the resurrection, He says: ‘You see that I am God⁴⁵ and there is no other god⁴⁶ but Me. I kill and I bring to life, I wound and I heal, and no one will deliver you⁴⁷ from My hands.’⁴⁸ And concerning the judgment, He says: ‘I will sharpen My sword like lightning and I will release My right hand in search of vengeance.’⁴⁹ And again: ‘He will demand the vengeance of judgment from [His] enemies and He will repay {43r} those who hate [Him].’⁵⁰ Whereas concerning hell, He says: ‘For a fire is kindled from My anger; it shall burn until the deepest hell.’⁵¹ So He expanded on these more completely and most clearly through the other prophets.

“So you said that Matthew, Mark, Luke, [and] John wrote the Gospels. I know that you are troubled by the truth of us Christians, so you want to find a companion for your lie that we said that God sent them down from heaven, written, just as you say about your P‘urkan [فُرْقَان], although we are also not uninformed that ‘Umar, Abu Turab, and Salman the Persian wrote your [Scripture]. And yet you, lying, spread the rumor that God sent it down from heaven. Now, know that the truth in this [matter] is ours, the Christians’. For if it [i.e., that which you said] were so, why do you slander [us by saying] that either we or someone else lied in the Gospels? What prohibited [us] from removing the names of the

45 “God,” Աստված: not in Zohrab or the Septuagint.

46 “God,” Աստված: not in Zohrab, but in the Septuagint.

47 “You,” զակ: not in Zohrab or the Septuagint.

48 Deut. 32:39.

49 Deut. 32:41. “I will release My right hand in search of vengeance,” և ի խնդիր վրիժու արձակեցից քաշ իւ. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Septuagint.

50 Deut. 32:43. The citation differs from both Zohrab and the Septuagint.

51 Deut. 32:33.

evangelists and also from writing that {43v} God sent it down from the heavens? But also see this: God did not deign to counsel them either through His own incorporeal dialogue with human populaces or through sending angels to men. Rather, He chose prophets from among them and sent them. Therefore, the Lord, when He fulfilled everything that He had predetermined, spoke through the prophets before taking flesh.

“Knowing that men are in need of God’s aid, He promised to send them the Holy Spirit, called the Paraclete, that is, the Comforter, for indeed they were pained and in mourning when they heard from their Teacher and their Lord that He would be leaving them.⁵² And as we said, for that [reason] He called the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, as truly a comforter for them on account of His ascension and as a reminder {44r} of everything that He had spoken with them and that He had done before them, which they were to write for the entire world. Now know that Paraclete means ‘comforter’ and not Ahmad [as you think], that is, ‘I give thanks,’ *euk’ aristē*,⁵³ in our language, not *paraklētos*.⁵⁴ This blasphemy is truly without pardon, as the Lord said in the Gospels that he who blasphemes the Holy Spirit shall not be pardoned.⁵⁵ [It is] something more wicked than this blasphemy [when] you say that the Holy Spirit [is] a man, unknown to the Scriptures of God.⁵⁶ As for what the Lord said concerning the Holy Spirit, listen indeed to these sayings: ‘But the Comforter, the Holy Spirit,’ He says, ‘whom the Father will send in My name, will teach you everything and remind you of that which I taught you.’⁵⁷ He says, ‘whom the Father will send in My name,’ and your Muhammad did not come in the name of our Lord, but in his own name. And the Holy Spirit, {44v} not a man, spoke [to the] holy, that is, to the disciples. You yourself know that the apostles of the Lord never saw your Muhammad.

“Now, as I said above, our Creator taught the knowledge of His divinity over time from one prophet to another; but He did not complete through the prophets all ‘the eternal righteousness to come,’ as God [said] through the prophet Daniel.⁵⁸ For God revealed three changes by which men shall be able to arrive at the truest knowledge of God: from the darkness of idolatry to the measured ray of light of the Laws; and from there to the strongest light of the Gospels of Christ; and from the Gospels to the future nightless light.⁵⁹ Men did not receive a fourth change—either a teaching of others or a promise of prophets;⁶⁰

52 Cf. John 14:16.

53 I.e., εὐχαριστῶ. The scribe misread եւրախսուէ as եւ քսխսորէ.

54 I.e., παράκλητος. The scribe misread պառակլիխնու as սպառակլիխնու.

55 Cf. Matt. 12:31.

56 “Unknown to,” ստար ի զհոնոքենէ, lit., “foreign to the knowledge of.”

57 John 14:26: “and remind you of that which I taught you,” և յիշեցնուց ձեզ զոյ ուսու[ս]ցի ձեզ. The citation here seems to follow the Greek New Testament, καὶ ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα ἐπίπον ὑμῖν, as opposed to Zohrab, որ ինչ սասցի ձեզ, եւ յիշեցնուց ձեզ.

58 Dan. 9:24.

59 MS 1902 reads “to the light in the future night,” ի հանդեռնաւ զիշեր լոյսն, but it is almost certain that the scribe omitted the *an-* privative by parablepsis. The emended reading was proposed already by Chahnazarian. The word սնզիշեր, “nightless,” is a hapax in Armenian but occurs below at 49r; cf. *Dialogus I.2*, attributed to Caesarius Nazianzus (fourth century CE), PG 38.587, which refers to the Son as “matterless and nightless light,” τὸ ἄστλον καὶ ἀνύκτερον φῶς.

60 “Either a teaching of others or a promise of prophets,” կամ մարզարէից խստումն. մարդիկ; the translation follows the correction made to the text by Hand 1^{corr}. Otherwise, the word order as originally presented reads as “either a teaching or a promise of other prophets.”

rather, {45r} on the contrary, the frequent commandment from the very Savior Himself [says] not to accept any prophet or apostle after His disciples.⁶¹

“(6) Then you said that after the disciples of the Lord we divided into seventy-two groups. It is not so, so do not contrive to comfort yourself with a lie by making an example of some fault of ours. Your [faith] is truly contemptible, which is not befitting the servants of God. And how is that? I will explain. Your teaching is in one language and for one people. And the time since its appearance, as you yourself say, has been 100 years, more or less. Now, in such a short period of time and among [only] a single people, we find many different teachings; but these are [some] that we have learned about: K’uzi, Sabart’urabi, Kntri, Murji, Basli, the godless Jdi, who deny the existence of God and the resurrection {45v} and the sayings of your prophet, and the Hariwri. This Hariwri [is divided into] two: one part is not troublesome, but the other part has such hostility [and] hatred toward you that they consider killing you to be the best [form of] righteousness, calling and considering you atheists and an enemy. Indeed, they consider dying at your hands [to be] the best of all good deeds, and this is done on account of the fact that you, killing [them], consider those who differ a little from your opinions to sin against God.⁶²

“Now, behold that such things are found among you, who are a single people with a single language and a single leader who is at once a prince, a hierarch, and a chief executioner. If the Christian faith were truly [endowed only] with human reason, would it be a surprise for there to be an even more ignoble faith than yours among us? [It has been] 800 years, more or less, {46r} since Christ appeared and the Gospel was spread among all the peoples and languages of man, from one end of the world to the other, to the civilizations of the Greeks and the Romans as well as to the remote barbarians. And if there is any inconsiderable [differing] understanding, that [is] also on account of some small variation of language, as I said, but [there is] not such inexorable enmity as you have. Since you said that [we have] seventy-two [sects], do not consider and refer to us as those who were impure and obscene in lewdness and impious against God like other heathens, who contrived to hide their filthiness in the holiest name of Christ and called themselves Christians, whose faith was blasphemy and whose baptism even [was] an abomination. When they returned from their abomination, the Holy Church baptized them like the heathens whom God destroyed long ago and [whose] {46v} vestiges are nowhere to be found. But they summoned these seventy-five Christians to us,⁶³ and they all received the same holy baptism as an assurance of eternal life. And if something [divisive] should arise about small matters among some of them—those [who are] far away and [speak] in a different language, and especially those who have dwelt in your tyranny—they are still Christian and do not need to be baptized again. And it is not surprising that those who are very far away and who speak another language are not as well informed as they should be about the traditions of the truth. However, the same books [were] preserved intact in each language, that very same Gospel without any mistakes.

61 Cf. Matt. 7:15; 24:23–24; Mark 13:21–22.

62 “You consider,” *ḥunph̄hu*: the printed editions emend to “you do not consider,” *ẓunph̄hu*, suggesting that Muslims do not consider it a sin to kill other Muslims with whom they disagree.

63 The reference to seventy-five Christians here, in contrast to seventy-two above, likely reflects a scribal error in Greek. The text may have read OB (72), but the copyist or translator read it as OE (75).

"And now I will leave aside the many languages in which the marvelous and salvific knowledge of God was spread but [only] recall a few of them: first, [the language] of us Greeks; second, that of the Romans; third, {47r} that of the Badalians; fifth [sic], that of the Syrians; sixth, that of the Ethiopians; seventh, that of the Indians; eighth, that of you Saracens; ninth, that of the Persians; tenth, that of the Armenians; eleventh, that of the Georgians; twelfth, that of the Albanians. And now, as you said, maybe someone in one or two of these peoples really changed the Scriptures, but how do you know about other peoples, who [are] very distant from us and with languages and customs that are foreign to each other? But you are accustomed to doing such things, especially that Hajjaj, who was appointed governor of the region of the Persians by you. He gathered all your old Scriptures and wrote another according to his tastes and disseminated it to your entire people, for it was much easier to do such a thing among a single people and in a single language, as indeed was done. And even so, there remained a small bit of Abu Turab's writings, for he [i.e., Hajjaj] was not able {47v} to eliminate it entirely. By contrast, we first received a strict order from God not to be rash⁶⁴ in such things. And again, if someone dared oppose His command, it would be impossible to gather up together again what has been separated into so many languages, to verify [them all] carefully in their own language, and to not idly⁶⁵ seek out and set down translators so that they might remove from the Scriptures what they wanted or to add what they desired.

"You are not uninformed, as you said yourself, that there are disputes among us Christians, although [they are] not about particularly important issues. How did the peoples not change the Scriptures according to their own wishes? Now, such a thing did not occur among us Christians, neither to those far [from us] nor to those near. Do not continue your lie, lest you render that little bit of truth distasteful. But I am extremely surprised at this, since you reject the Gospels of the Lord and the books of the prophet[s], saying that men corrupted {48r} them and wrote them as they wished, yet you make every effort to gather testimony from them for your inconsistent suppositions. You remove a word [from a verse], which is produced as a witness, so that where 'Father' is written, you replace it with 'Lord' or 'God.' If you are searching for the truth, either you have to believe the Scriptures and take them as testimony or, if you condemn them, as you say that they are corrupted, you must not take testimony from them. And you should accept the third [premise]: not to pervert the witnesses that you accept according to your wishes; rather, [you must] cite them just as they are in the Scripture.

"It is very difficult for the servants of God who are obedient to His orders to speak with you, for other heathens, when they hear the names of the prophets or the apostles, are moved to intense laughter. But you, though you do not insult their names, scorn their words, and especially [those of] the One who speaks with them. Otherwise, let us consider⁶⁶ the things that were said {48v} to Moses: 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of

64 Cf. Tit. 1:8(7); Gen. 49:7.

65 "Idly," զոյլ եւ պիստ: We tentatively suggest that the meaningless զոյլ եւ պիստ is a scribal error for ծովասպէտ. This confusion could possibly have occurred at the aural level at the time of translation.

66 "Consider," սրասագնիք, lit., "let us make." We suggest that the verb here renders the Greek ποιήσωμεν, which can mean "to consider, reckon."

Isaac and the God of Jacob';⁶⁷ or 'Come,⁶⁸ let us make man in our image and according to our likeness';⁶⁹ or 'Come, let us descend and confuse them [with different languages]';⁷⁰ or 'The Lord rained fire on Sodom and Gomorrah from the Lord'⁷¹—Lord, from the Lord. This is from the books of Moses, which you have not read and neither has your law teacher. What do you suppose—that God said such things to the angels, who cannot even look at Him? We are not like you that we could suppose the sayings of God's Scripture to be insignificant and superficial. To whom was it suitable for God to say such things, if not to His Word, who is the form of His existence and a ray of light of His glory,⁷² and to the Holy Spirit, who sanctifies and illuminates everything? And we are slandered by you as confessors of three gods.⁷³

"Listen and then answer, I beseech you. The sun and its rays are different things, even though [the rays] are from the sun. Without the rays, the sun is not the sun. If anyone says that the rays are born of {49r} the sun without stain or [without] a female, he is not lying. Although the sun and the ray are two different things, it does not mean that there are two suns. But is that not truly how you are counting them? Now if the birth of this light, which we can see with our eyes and which is God's creation, appears so pure from stain, even though it is covered by night and by the obstruction of buildings, how much more [pure, it seems] to me, should you consider a divine, uncreated, self-sustaining, and nightless light? I was obliged to show this through some example, for you do not believe the commandments of God that [are] in the holy books; rather, you consider your wishes to be superior to them. You write what you like from among them and you substitute something else for what you do not want and you condemn and discard whatever you want. Cursed are all men who profess two or three gods, for one must say these [to be of] different kinds with different origins. But we know one God, Creator of heaven and earth, not irrational, but the most sacred, and the Fashioner, through whose Word the creations were made and are maintained.⁷⁴ {49v} His Word is not like our words, dismissed and dispelled after they are spoken, and not heard or known until they are spoken. We know this, the Word of God, a ray of light without darkness, without quality—not like the sun, a birth only of rays—but above our ability to describe. The divine books call it the Son; not a birth through the passionate necessity of filthy desires, but in the manner of rays from the sun, light from fire, and word from the mind. Human language was able to render this much about the Word of God's having existence from God.

"And then, since none of His creatures is more precious to God than man, even you confess that God ordered the angels to prostrate themselves before Adam, although I do

67 Exod. 3:6.

68 "Come," b̄lqūjp: not in Zohrab or the Septuagint.

69 Gen. 1:26.

70 Gen. 11:7.

71 Gen. 19:24.

72 Cf. Heb. 1:3.

73 Cf. Q4:171; 5:73, 116.

74 "The creations were made and are maintained," upup l nūh qurqarwādu, lit., "He made and maintains the creations."

not find that in the divine Scriptures.⁷⁵ Now, Adam was a man, you have testified correctly, censuring your pride, for they who would not bow before men knew with whom they should be ranked, as you said. Now it is clear that Adam came into being in the image of God. How {50r} do you suppose that God called our sinful, repellent body His image? No. Rather, He put the likeness of Himself, His Word, and His Spirit into him: soul, mind, and word. Gathering these together in him, He fashioned [him], and investing him with the honor of free will, he became the image of God. By the Adversary's deceit he fell from the honor that the Creator had given him; he became despised through forgetting his Fashioner and through leading a dissolute life with execrable lust and various filthy impurities, with hatred, degradation of each other, slaughter, and idolatry—which is the last and first of all evils—and such fornication that I am too disgusted to mention. For they not only imagined nonexistent things as well as visible creations [to be] gods but indeed served their vices, imagining fornication and sodomy [to be] gods, which the Adversary made his worship. And he was pleased to perform in his worship the terrible signs of vices through the images of idols and through encouraging them [i.e., the people] in those things.

“Now, God saw His image {50v} hindered through worship of the Adversary and the deeds that pleased him [the Adversary]; He pitied him [i.e., man], since He is kind and truly benevolent. And since salvation lies in knowing his Creator and keeping away from the enemy, from time to time He dispersed knowledge of Himself into idolatry, like a candle into the dark, through his servants, the prophets. And since human minds were blind and not able to grasp the light of knowledge of the entire divinity, He therefore revealed knowledge of Himself to man in measures, bit by bit, as I said earlier, as much as it pleased God to instruct man until the completion of time. He promised the coming of His Word bodily in advance through the prophets, since the Word of God would take a body, a spirit, and everything of ours except for sin. And since no one from among men was able to descend to the degree of humility that He [did], {51r} we therefore know that everything referring to the most humble is about Him as the humblest man, whereas [everything referring to] the most sublime is [about Him] as the true God.

“You may truly remember what we said about Moses's sayings about the equality of the Word and God Himself. Listen now to that same Moses [speaking] about the appearance [of the Word] as a man: ‘The Lord your God will raise a prophet for you from your brothers, like me. You will listen to everything that he says to you, and it will be that any man who does not listen to that prophet—that person will be killed by his own people.’⁷⁶ Many prophets—not just one—arose in Israel after Moses, but he made this commandment regarding the one who would speak the most powerful and most difficult things to believe.

“Now, henceforth, I will muster a collection of prophetic testimonies for you about the advent of Christ.⁷⁷ But listen to the more modest sayings about Him first, for I think you—delighting in these—will listen; perhaps through this method,⁷⁸ as with a ladder, I will

75 Cf. Q2:34; 17:61; 18:50; 20:116.

76 Acts 3:22–23. The addition of “that person,” սինձն այն, in the final part of the quotation apparently derives from contamination with Leviticus 17:4 and Numbers 9:13; 15:30; and 19:20.

77 “I will muster a collection of prophetic testimonies for you about the advent of Christ,” կելացնեն պեղ… հոյր վկասութեանց մարզարթից վասն զալսութեանն Քրիստոնոյի, lit., “a collection of prophetic testimonies will come to you about the advent of Christ.”

78 “method,” ինչ, lit., “thing.”

undertake⁷⁹ to raise [you] up to the heights, if it be His will. David, prophesying about Him [Christ], said: 'I am a worm and not a man, {51v} a dishonor to man and an outrage to the people.⁸⁰ Everyone who sees me mocks⁸¹ me.⁸² They denigrate me and shake their heads. He trusted in the Lord and He shall deliver him, save him,⁸³ and preserve him, for He likes him.'⁸⁴ This was never done for David, but rather for the Lord at the hour of the crucifixion. Now, listen to this same David saying lofty things about Him: 'The Lord said to me: "You are My son; I have begotten you today."⁸⁵ And concerning filling all the heathens⁸⁶—which [means with] faith in Him—he [David] added to that [verse]: 'Ask me and I will give you the heathens as an inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession.'⁸⁷ And again: 'The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at My right hand until I put your enemies as a footstool for your feet. With you is the beginning of power, the brilliance of your saints; I begot you from the womb before the morning star.'⁸⁸

"Whereas concerning there being one divine nature in heaven, David again indicated [that], saying: 'The earth was full of the Lord's mercy, and by the word of the Lord {52r} the heavens were established and by the Spirit of His mouth, all its powers.'⁸⁹ And Jeremiah: 'The Lord sent me and His Spirit.'⁹⁰ Concerning the incarnation of the Word, listen again to Jeremiah: 'He is our God,' he says, 'to whom no other can be compared. He found all the paths⁹¹ of wisdom and He gave it⁹² to His servant Jacob and His beloved Israel. Afterward He appeared on earth and moved among men. These are the books of the commandments of God and the laws of God, which exist perpetually. . . . Turn, Jacob, and grasp it at the dawn of its first light.'⁹³ This prophet indicated two dawning[s] of His light: [the] first [is] of His ineffable humility, with whose dawn He illuminated the entire universe with the splendor of divine knowledge, whereas the second [occurs] at the universal resurrection about which the prophet forewarned the Hebrew nation, advising that they believe in the

79 "I will undertake," *հնայ կացողից*, lit., "I will stand near," possibly rendering the Greek ἀψώ. Alternatively, it may be translated "I will stand ready," rendering the Greek παρέσομαι.

80 "To the people," *ժողովրդնան*, singular; the text agrees with the Septuagint, λαοῦ, against Zohrab, *ժողովրդնց*.

81 "Mocks," *այլանէին*, rendering the Septuagint ἐξεμυκτήρισάν, against Zohrab, *արհամարհէին*.

82 "Me," *զիս*, accusative, following the Septuagint, με, against Zohrab, *զինն*.

83 "He shall deliver him, save him," *ապրեցնուց*; *զնա փրկեցնուց*; *զնա*: "He shall deliver," *ապրեցնուց*, renders the Septuagint, ὁντάσθω (< ρύομαι, which *ապրեցնուցնեն* can render). The addition of "save him," *փրկեցնուց*; *զնա*, in the text may represent an early gloss, as a scribe may have realized that Zohrab here does not read "deliver him," *ապրեցնուց*; *զնա*, but "save him," *փրկեցնուց*; *զնա*.

84 Ps. 21:7–9(22:6–8).

85 Ps. 2:7.

86 "Filling all the heathens," *զամենայն հեթանոսըն լնոյ*; cf. Rom. 11:25.

87 Ps. 2:8.

88 Ps. 109(110):1, 3. The citation is closer to the Septuagint than to Zohrab.

89 Ps. 32(33):5–6.

90 Isa. 48:16.

91 "paths," *ճանապարհ*: the plural agrees with Zohrab against the singular in the Septuagint, "path," ὁδὸν.

92 On "it," i.e., the paths of wisdom, see the previous note.

93 Bar. 3:35–4:2.

first dawn, lest they be rebellious—as they indeed became—and [lest] strangers—{52v} that is to say, heathens—enjoy His glory. ‘Turn, Jacob, and grasp it at the dawn of its first light. Do not give your glory to others or your profit to a foreign people.’⁹⁴ Heed what was said to you. He not only prophesied about the incarnation of the Word of God but also clearly predicted the transgression of revolt among the body of Israel.

“Moreover, it is not at all prohibited to listen to the prophecy of some outsider that did not [occur] by his own will, which Moses includes in his Scripture: ‘How beautiful is your house, Jacob, and your altar, Israel.’⁹⁵ And after a little bit: ‘A man will rise from his descendants and will rule over many nations. His kingdom will be raised higher than Goga⁹⁶ and his kingdom will grow.’⁹⁷ Again: ‘I will show him, but not now. I will bless him, but not soon. A star will rise from Jacob and a man will rise from Israel and he will strike the prince of Moab and take all the sons of Seth captive.’⁹⁸ Now, although he spoke about this man, see how it indicates His ruling all the heathens. You wanted to know {53r} what His ruling of all the nations means. [It refers to] everyone’s believing in Him, as you yourself indeed see. I will also point out the prince of Moab—[i.e.,] Satan and his devils who empowered the corruption and worship of idols among them—whom Christ struck, for the idolatries of the Moabites and all the nations with them were more abominable than those of any nation, for they worshipped the genitalia of men and women, through which they performed lewd passions.

“[You see] how His rule was raised above Govgay:⁹⁹ for whatever pertains to the latter is worldly, whereas that which pertains to Christ is heavenly. And since such is the kingdom of Christ, do not disobey what David says about the Spirit: ‘God,’ he says, ‘give your judgment to the king and your justice to the king’s son.’¹⁰⁰ Was not Christ the Son of the celestial and earthly king? In His divinity [He was] the Son of God, and in His humanity [He was the son] of David, just as we have said many times. Again, he adds: ‘He will remain,’ he says, ‘with the sun before the moon, from generation to generation. . . . {53v} He will reign from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of the universe. . . . All peoples¹⁰¹ of the earth will worship Him and all peoples will serve Him. . . . They will pray to Him at every hour and praise Him daily. . . . May the name of the Lord be praised, for His name is before the sun! May all nations of the earth be praised with Him and may all peoples bless Him.’¹⁰² Now, no one will be astonished to learn these [verses] concern a mere man, a descendant of David—and not a son of David physically, but the Word and Son of God according to His divinity, ruling by means of peaceful faith and not by the destruction of the sword, merciless bloodshed, and captivity. It says this clearly in that same Psalm:

94 Bar. 4:2–3.

95 Num. 24:5.

96 “Goga,” q⁹nqu: Zohrab reads qn¹lquj, “Ovgay.” Although this may be the result of simple scribal error, it is possible that “Goga” is based on the reading Γωγ of the Septuagint.

97 Num. 24:7.

98 Num. 24:17.

99 “Govga,” q⁹n¹lquj: see above.

100 Ps. 71:2(72:1).

101 “Peoples,” uqqp: “kings,” ρι¹κων¹ηρ¹η, in Zohrab; οι βασιλεῖς in the Septuagint.

102 Ps. 71(72):5, 8, 11, 15b, 17.

'In his days, justice will dawn and there will be much peace until the moon will be extinguished.'¹⁰³ Again, God said through the prophet Micah: 'And you, Bethlehem, house of Ephrat, may be small in number among the thousands of Judah; he will arise from you to me to be a leader¹⁰⁴ who will guide his people Israel, and his coming forth is from the beginning of days {54r} of the world.'¹⁰⁵ And to come forth from the beginning of the world is not possible for a mere man. And again, God said through Jeremiah: 'He is a man, and who will recognize Him? . . . The Lord is the expectation of Israel. All who forsake You will be ashamed. Those who go astray will be prisoners on the earth, for they forsook the Lord, the source of the waters of life.'¹⁰⁶

"But 'Israel' does not mean the unbelieving Jews, but rather those who saw the Word of God and believed that God is from God, for 'Israel' is translated as 'clear-sighted' in the Hebrew language. Now, God desires Israel to be a 'seer.' Listen to what was said through Isaiah: 'A child whose reign is on His shoulders was born to us. And He is named the angel of great advice, the wonderful counselor, all-powerful God, the prince of peace, the father of the world to come.'¹⁰⁷ He [the prophet Isaiah] said 'angel' on account of His humanity without sin, but 'wonderful counselor' and 'mighty God' on account of the name of divinity. And he adds this: 'Great is His authority, and His peace has no limits. He will sit¹⁰⁸ on David's throne and glorify¹⁰⁹ His kingdom;¹¹⁰ {54v} He will strengthen it with judgment and justice, henceforth and unto ages.'¹¹¹

"Now, if He did not sit on the throne of David and did not rule Israel, [it was] because He meant not a temporal throne, but that which God mentioned to David: 'I will prepare your offspring unto eternity and I will build your throne [from] generation to generation like the days of the heavens.'¹¹² Now, how or what was the throne of David? Or [how] was it eternal or like the days of heaven, if [this is] not about the heavenly kingdom of the physical son of David, who is Christ, about whom he [Isaiah] also said that 'He will sit on the throne of David and glorify His kingdom; He will strengthen it with law and justice, henceforth and unto ages'?¹¹³ It is clear that [it is] the most glorious and powerful kingdom of Christ, physically the son of David. He transferred His kingdom up to heaven, to the eternal and inaccessible. You must also pay attention to Isaiah: 'Behold: a virgin will

103 Ps. 71(72):7.

104 "Leader," Առաջնորդ: "prince," իշխան, in Zohrab; ἄρχοντα in the Septuagint.

105 Mic. 5:2.

106 Jer. 17:9, 13.

107 Isa. 9:6(5). The verse and its interpretation follow the Alexandrian version of the Septuagint and Zohrab.

108 "He will sit," նսնցի, follows Zohrab, not in the Septuagint.

109 "Glorify," Փառաւորեալ: "make prosper," յաջողեալ, in Zohrab; κατορθῶσαι in the Septuagint.

110 "Kingdom," Թագաւորութիւն: արքայոթիւն in Zohrab, βασιλεία in the Septuagint.

111 Isa. 9:7(6).

112 A conflation of Psalm 88:5, 30(89:4, 29). Nonetheless, the citation agrees with the Septuagint against Zohrab: "I will prepare," պատրաստեցից, rendering ἐτομάσω, against "I will establish," հսսուսնեցից, in Zohrab; likewise, "unto eternity," մինչ զյափիսնան, renders ἔως τοῦ αἰώνος in the Septuagint against յափիսնան in Zohrab.

113 Isa. 9:7.

conceive¹¹⁴ and bear a son, and they will name {55r} Him Emmanuel, that is, God is with us.¹¹⁵

"I also have many more assemblies of other testimonies, the abridgment of which we considered more useful, so that the audience will not become weary. If you should desire, also listen about the ineffable humility of His suffering, which He bore and endured willingly in accordance with the previous prophecy of the prophets. The Holy Spirit said through Isaiah: 'I am not obstinate and I am not resisting. I gave my back to blows and my cheek to slaps. I will not turn my face away from shame at being spat in the face.'¹¹⁶ God said this, as well, through Zachariah: 'If it seems good in your eyes, give me my wages, and if not, inform me.'¹¹⁷ They weighed my wages at thirty pieces of silver.¹¹⁸ This happened to the Savior, [i.e., His] being sold by His disciple and betrayed to His death, like other prophecies that were realized in the Lord, that the holy Gospels relate, [and] that, if¹¹⁹ you wish, you may read¹²⁰ with care and will find it thus. David, along with many [others], prophesied about this: 'He who ate my bread magnified {55v} his heel over me.'¹²¹

"Listen to another admonition of Isaiah:

Behold here, my servant¹²² will understand. He will be elevated, exalted, and glorified greatly. As . . . [so]¹²³ many nations shall be surprised by you and kings shall silence their mouths for you, for what was not related about him they will see, and what had not been heard they will understand. Lord, who believed our news and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed? We have proclaimed [it] before him like a child; [he is] like a root in the dry earth. . . . We saw him, and there was nothing to his appearance or his beauty. Rather, his appearance was more abject than

114 "Will conceive," յդութին կալցի: յդասի in Zohrab; cf., however, ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει in the Greek New Testament and the Septuagint.

115 Matt. 1:23; Isa. 7:14.

116 Isa. 50:5–6.

117 "Inform me," զոնց արարելք. The reading conforms to Zohrab's rendering of the Septuagint's ἡ ἀπείπασθε. The word ἀπείπον can mean "to declare" or "to speak" as well as "to deny" or "to refuse."

118 Zach. 11:12–13.

119 "If," թէ: added by Hand 1^{corr}.

120 "Read," ընդունից: we follow the emendation of Chahnazarian, who corrects this to ընդունիցիք. The omission of the final -իք may be due to confusion with the subsequent initial յւ-. The reading of Malxaseanc', ընդունիցիք, would be even more likely to have caused this error, but considering that the author followed a conditional clause with the imperative earlier in the passage, we believe the imperative was also intended here.

121 Ps. 40:10(41:9): "magnified his heel over me," մեծացոյն ի վերա իմ զզարշասպար իր; the text here shows that it was translated from the Septuagint, ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ πτερνισμόν, against Zohrab, "increased deceiving me," յաճախեսաց սոնել իմ յասրենիքին. Either the translator of the letter interpreted πτερνισμόν, "supplanting," as πτέρνα, "heel," or his exemplar included the reading, possibly caused by John 13:18, where the evangelist cites this verse with πτέρναν instead of πτερνισμόν. John 13:18 of Zohrab reads "deception," յասրենիքին, as in Psalm 40:10(41:9).

122 "My servant," մասնիկ իմ, lit., "my child."

123 The scribe's eye likely jumped from the beginning of verse 14 to verse 15 because of the similarity of the first words of the two verses. Isaiah 52:14 begins, "As many will be surprised . . .," Ոոր օրինակ զարմասացին քազում; 52:15 begins, "So many nations will be surprised," Այնպէս զարմասացին ազզ քազում. This error could have happened only in the copying of the Armenian text.

that of all the sons of man. A man in tribulation, knowing how to endure pain; because he turned his face away, he was despised and reckoned to be nothing. He bore our sins and was tortured for our sake. And we considered him in pains, tribulations, and tortures [to be] as though from God. But he was wounded for our sins and he was punished for our iniquity. The discipline for our peace was on him, and we were healed through his wounds. {56r} Everyone strayed like sheep; each man went astray on his own path. The Lord surrendered him to our sins, and because of his grief he did not open his mouth. Like a lamb led to slaughter, like a sheep before the sheepshearer remains mute, so he did not open his mouth. Because of his humiliation, his judgment was taken away. So who will describe his generation? Because his life was cut off from the earth, he was led to death by the iniquities of my people . . . for he committed no iniquity and no deception was found in his mouth.¹²⁴

“Now, you deny and gainsay these many testimonies of the Holy Spirit, which were proclaimed through His servants, the prophets, with only the word of your Muhammad. And what about the order of your own lawgiver not to confirm even the smallest of matters without two witnesses? How are you not ashamed to speak such terrible blasphemies on the basis of only his word?

“Truly, you forgot the terrible lie of your lawgiver. You indeed know that Mary is not the daughter of Amran {56v} the sister of Aaron, but the mother of our Lord. From those times [of Mariam, the sister of Aaron] to the mother of the Lord, there were 970¹²⁵ years and thirty-two generations. Truly, if you had a face of flesh and not of stone, it would blush with shame from such clear lies, for God promised the advent of Christ from the tribe of Judah, and Mariam the daughter of Amran was from Levi and [lived] in such ancient times, as I said.

“Yet how impossible it is to follow the greatest and most palpable of your lies! But even if¹²⁶ the unfounded tales of your limitless lies are deep, let us bail them out with a small bucket of the truth.¹²⁷ You said in the above writing that ‘you and the Jews corrupted the Laws, the Gospels, and the Psalms’ and added that ‘I testify that they are from God.’ If ours are confused and corrupted, where are yours to which you bore witness? Pray, show me other books about Moses and the prophets, and the Psalms of David that we may see them, or another gospel. Oh, {57r} your lie is worthy of shame. It is the most fictional of all lies. At least add: ‘I was not there’ and ‘do not believe!’ O you man, you take your testimony from these, which [are] our Gospels, although you violate and falsify them, and still you say that ‘you have corrupted them.’ Pray, tell about the gospel that your lawgiver saw; then I will know if you are telling the truth.

“And as to what you said, that ‘there is one faith.’ There is truly one faith and one baptism. There is no other faith transmitted from God and no [other] commandment received by men. As for what you said, that ‘the Laws did not offer prayers in the direction in which

124 Isa. 52:13–53:9. The citation agrees with Zohrab.

125 The reading of MS 1902 is confused: “2,000 thousand years.” We suggest that a scribe mistakenly read U/u, “1,” as U/u, “2,000.”

126 “But even if,” uuλκων ρτ̄ τι, rendering ἀλλὰ εἰ καὶ.

127 Cf. John 4:11.

you offer prayer, and they did not participate in your communion.' These are matters of nonsense and of pointless problems, for the direction of prayer of the prophets was not apparent. But you alone wish to honor the heathen altar of sacrifice that you named the house of Abraham. Nowhere in the divine Scriptures do we find Abraham reaching those places that your lawgiver taught your people to worship and circumambulate. {57v} As for the mystery of communion, I will respond in its own place.

"(8) But now, let us first look at what you said about the Gospels, whether it may really be as you think. Jesus truly prayed in accordance with His humanity, which He took from us, in order to teach us; and, in accordance with His divinity, He did not need prayers. But when He prayed, He did not say as you wrote. Rather, He said: 'Father, if it is possible, take this cup from me,'¹²⁸ indicating that 'I am truly a man.' For if anyone professes that the Word of God is imperfect in His divinity, he loses hope for his life; so, too, if he does not profess Him to be perfect in His humanity. But see the truth of the Gospels and of us believers, for both the humblest and the most sublime are kept intact in the books of the Gospels. And if either we or those who came before us corrupted [them], why did we not remove the humblest phrases from the Gospels? He said: 'The Son of Man cannot do anything by Himself, but the Father, who has dwelt in Me, does {58r} the work.'¹²⁹ If you believe this [verse] of Scripture, 'I cannot do anything by Myself,' believe that one, [which says,] 'The Father, who has dwelt in Me, does the work.' If you believe in His fear at the time of His vivifying death and in His sweat,¹³⁰ which He endured for the sake of the sweat of Adam, [about] which He Himself incoporeally said to Adam, 'You will eat your bread by the sweat of your brow,'¹³¹ [then believe that] the 'strengthening' by the angel¹³² was not for the sake of strengthening Him; rather, through the angel He secured the beliefs of the apostles, for they were looking [at Him] as at a mere man and they reckoned [Him] a mere man. For this reason, [it mentions the strengthening] so that from [His] conversing with the angel He might appear at least more than a mere man. Now, if you believe this, then believe that which He said in the same book: 'I lay Myself down by Myself and I take it back by Myself.'¹³³ And again, He did not say 'God sent Me to the world and I return to Him,' as you also wrote, but 'The Father who sent Me is with Me.'¹³⁴ Again, 'I came out from the Father and I came to the world; again, I am leaving the world and going {58v} to the Father.'¹³⁵

"But where 'Father' is written, you change it to either 'Lord' or 'God.' Do you think to justify it for yourself? [Then] you think very unjustly. You did not lie only about this one thing, but even when you took testimony correctly, you were not able to believe that

¹²⁸ Luke 22:42. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament: *ἴπτε ἡνυπ τε* vs. *ἴπτε λυսῆμε, εἰ βούλει*.

¹²⁹ A combination of John 5:19a and 14:10b. The citation is closer to Zohrab than to the Greek New Testament.

¹³⁰ Cf. Luke 22:43–44.

¹³¹ Gen. 3:19. The citation conforms to Zohrab.

¹³² Luke 22:43.

¹³³ Cf. John 10:18. The second part of the citation is not from the biblical text.

¹³⁴ John 8:29. The word "Father" does not appear in either Zohrab or the Greek New Testament, although it does appear elsewhere in John, for example, in 5:37; 8:16, 18.

¹³⁵ John 16:28.

'he who believed in Me believed not in Me, but in the one who sent Me,'¹³⁶ that is, not in this visible man, but in this invisible Word [of] God. And again: 'He who dishonors Me dishonors the one who sent Me.'¹³⁷ And, 'he who sees Me sees that one who sent Me.'¹³⁸ He 'is sent' as a man and He 'sends' as God. He said to the disciples, 'My Father is greater than I';¹³⁹ [i.e.,] He is greater than [His] humanity. If not, why does He say again: 'My Father and I are one'?¹⁴⁰ He said in the prayer, as you wrote: 'that they may know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom You have sent.'¹⁴¹

"Behold, he placed Jesus Christ in that same honor of divinity. Now, if He were an ordinary prophet, it would have been fitting to say 'that they may know the only true God and Moses and the other prophets and then Jesus.' So, discard your nonsensical {59r} conceptions, for He was perfect God, and by taking [humanity], He became truly man. And we find the most humble things [are] said about Him as about man and the most sublime [are said] as truly of God, as I have said many times. He was tempted by Satan through His covering, that is, His body, because Satan heard the voice at His baptism. When God said: 'This is My beloved son, with whom I am pleased',¹⁴² he became terrified and gave up, and he did not know to whom the voice truly referred. But the Lord undertook¹⁴³ the fast of forty days and as He showed Himself by some voice, He also [showed] that voice to refer to Him. As the evil one is always envious of and displeased with those who strive in virtue, he approached and saw the Lord as a man. And He, as all-knowing, responded to him as a man, not deeming our enemy worthy to reveal {59v} the fullness of His plan. But how did you not read that after finishing His temptation, Satan went away from Him for a time and angels approached and worshipped Him?¹⁴⁴ Do angels worship a mere man?

"It appears as though you are only fleeing from the truth and you want nothing else. This is what I am saying: you resist speaking of our Lord as God and you profess [that He was] a mere man, citing the example of Adam as one who was also born from God without parents. Whereas I have heard you say about His life-giving death that no one from among men can kill Him. But if He were a mere man, as you think, how is it unbelievable for a man to die? Now pay close attention and think about this, for you accept with ease the most humble verses concerning the Lord but you forsake and reject the sublime. Listen, therefore, to the Gospels concerning these things. On this matter, John the Evangelist said: {60r} 'He who believes in the Son will receive eternal life, and he who does not follow the Son will not see life, but the wrath of God.'¹⁴⁵ And again, John the son of Zachariah said:

136 John 12:44. In Zohrab and the Greek New Testament the verb "to believe" is in the present rather than the aorist tense.

137 Cf. Luke 10:16; John 12:48.

138 John 12:45.

139 John 14:28.

140 John 10:30.

141 John 17:3.

142 Matt. 3:17.

143 "Undertook," *unwus արկանիս*, rendering the Greek *ἐπιβάλλω*.

144 Cf. Matt. 4:11.

145 John 3:36.

'Behold,' Jesus, 'the Lamb of God, who removes the sins of the world.'¹⁴⁶ And similarly, the beginning of the Gospel of John: 'In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. He was with God in the beginning. All things came into being through Him and without Him nothing came into being.'¹⁴⁷ And similarly the Word of God in His body said: 'He who sees Me sees My Father'¹⁴⁸ and 'As much as the Father knows Me, so I know the Father'¹⁴⁹ and 'The Father who sent Me is with Me',¹⁵⁰ 'I am going up to My Father and to your Father, to My God and to your God.'¹⁵¹ [He is] His Father by nature and yours by grace, for 'to those who received Him,' it says, 'who believe in His name, He gave them the authority to be sons of God.'¹⁵² Whereas that which belongs to Him as God [is] with us in accordance with the body and ours naturally. He is sent as a man and He sends as God; 'As the Father sent Me, so I send you.'¹⁵³ {60v} All the voices of the evangelists [agree] on this.

"And as for what you said, about our freely turning circumcision into baptism and sacrifice into the communion of the blessing of [the] bread and cup: it is not us, but rather the Lord Himself who changed the types that [are] in the Old [Testament] into the true things in accordance with the prophecy of Jeremiah, who said: 'Behold, the days are coming, the Lord says, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers on the day when I took them out from the land of the Egyptians.'¹⁵⁴ What was the covenant that He made with their fathers in the land of the Egyptians, if not that of the blood of the lamb on Passover, that is to say Easter, about which He said: 'Let this law be among your people'?¹⁵⁵ Now, the sons of Israel were spared from the executioner by the blood of the irrational lamb, so can we not be saved from eternal death by the blood of the immaculate Lamb? The stainless Lamb of God, at the time of the Passion, took bread, blessed [it], {61r} broke [it], and gave [it] to the disciples, and similarly the cup of wine, saying that they were His body and blood, ordering [them] to take these in memory of Him and to recognize Him as the sacrifice of the immaculate and pure Lamb, for He taught that the lamb meant that true Lamb. You have not read the Scriptures or the names that the divine Scriptures call Him: Word, Son, Ray, Image of God, Image of Servant, God, Man, Angel, Pearl, Hook,¹⁵⁶ Lord of Lords, Servant, Lamb, Sheep, Shepherd, Eldest among Brothers,¹⁵⁷ Eldest among

146 John 1:29.

147 John 1:1–3.

148 John 14:9.

149 John 10:15.

150 John 8:29. The word "Father" does not appear in either Zohrab or the Greek New Testament, although it does appear elsewhere in John, for example, in 5:37; 8:16, 18.

151 John 20:17.

152 John 1:12.

153 John 20:21.

154 Jer. 31:31–32.

155 Cf. Exod. 12:17; Num. 9:14; 15:15.

156 "Hook," կարպ: cf. Matt. 17:27(26).

157 Rom. 8:29.

the Dead.¹⁵⁸ Nothing would impede [me] from pointing out each of these names, as well as why and for what reason these names were given or may be [given], if I knew that you were seeking righteousness.

“As for circumcision, which you said we changed to baptism: you did not know the mystery of circumcision, why God was satisfied to establish His covenant in that most hidden member and not in other, {61v} more glorious and visible members; so, truly, you will not know that Abraham, before his circumcision, was pleasing to God and he received the order of circumcision as a sign of his faith in and love of God. But it is not known to you why, according to what was written above, [it was established] there in the hidden member. But we received a command to circumcise the heart,¹⁵⁹ spiritually, and not the exterior body, according to the aforementioned promise of God to make a new covenant.¹⁶⁰ If Christ, the teacher of the true Law, had not eliminated circumcision, sacrifice, and the Sabbath, then what new covenant did He make? Now, you should be ashamed of that, for in the latter times when God freed the human race from the bonds of the Law, you want to be vengeful about circumcision. You greatly ridiculed it, for in the Old [Testament] God commanded to circumcise every male on the eighth day,¹⁶¹ but you {62r} shame not only the men but also the women with this disgrace, regardless of age.

“But God foretold about divine baptism through the prophet Ezekiel, saying: ‘I will sprinkle holy water over you and you will be cleansed of all your impurities. I will cleanse you of all your idols.’¹⁶² And the Lord commanded the same in the Gospels: ‘Go and henceforth make disciples of all the heathens. Baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.’¹⁶³ And the word of the prophet was fulfilled: ‘I set you as a light for the heathens’;¹⁶⁴ and again: ‘The people who sat in the darkness saw a great light.’¹⁶⁵

“We did not exchange Saturday for Sunday, as you are imprudently wont to do. You unadvisedly arranged Friday as your day of gathering, not knowing a single thing as a pretext for it. But on account of the bodily resurrection of the Lord, through which He promised us resurrection, we devote {62v} ourselves to prayer and praise of the Creator for such a truly great mystery. For it was on that day, in the beginning, that He said, “Let there be light”; and there was light.¹⁶⁶ On the same day He caused the light of the good news of the resurrection to shine for the human race, through the bodily resurrection of His only begotten Word. We did not receive an order to be idle on it [the day of rest], in the manner of the Jews, to the point of not even preparing food once on it, like the Jews. But why do you consider these true traditions of us Christians to be important, since you do not believe in either the Lord or His prophets? For God spoke about you and people like you

158 Col. 1:18.

159 Rom. 2:29.

160 Cf. Jer. 31:31.

161 Gen. 17:9–14.

162 Ezek. 36:25.

163 Matt. 28:19.

164 Acts 13:47.

165 Matt. 4:16.

166 Gen. 1:3.

through His prophet: 'Despicable people; and be repulsed and ruin yourselves. For I am doing a deed in your days; a deed that you would not believe, even if someone told you.'¹⁶⁷

"(11) And I have not forgotten what you said: 'How was it possible for God to live in a human womb, among the blood and flesh and various impurities?' As far as I know, {63r} you are informed that the creatures of God, which He ordered into being from nothing with a word, are many, as Psalm 148 says: 'He spoke and they came into being; He commanded and they were built.'¹⁶⁸ [He created] that which you perhaps consider by your own designs to be even more venerable and more pure than man: the sky and the celestial bodies with the sun and the moon and the stars, and the earth with plants and all the living creatures. But this living being, which you say is impure, was created not by a command but by the hand of the Omnipotent and Most Holy One Himself and brought to life and animated with His breath. Now the fashioning of our nature, which was created by those hands of the Creator and was honored [to be made] in the image of that same Creator, was not filthy according to God. So now do not blaspheme its good Creator [by saying that] such filth [is to be attributed] to God; not a single thing from Him [is filthy] except for sins, which God neither created nor commanded in man. Rather, no other thing exists {63v} that was created with more honor than man, on account of whom He indeed created everything.

"Now, He made that same [man] worthy of such honor. He did not consider it shameful to take His very image and to save him, for as I said, there is nothing impure in human nature, excepting only sin. What you consider to be the most impure in our nature He formed in great appropriateness for our kind, like the menses of women for human fertility and ways to eliminate excess food and drink for the maintenance of life. These things are impure to you, but to God the things you love—wantonness, killing, blasphemy, and other such things—are impure, and not the things you mentioned before, which He Himself truly defined for their procreation and rest. Beyond these, understand this: {64r} He lit the bush next to Moses with the fire of His divinity and it did not burn.¹⁶⁹ Man is more honored than a bush and all created things, for God said concerning the saints who were among humankind that 'I will dwell in them and walk among them,'¹⁷⁰ and again: 'Where will I live, if not among the meek, among the humble, and among those who tremble at My words?'

"Behold, He said that the righteous among men are the dwelling of His divinity, and the offenses of natural and human infirmities, which you classify as impurity, are not any sort of impediment to God,¹⁷² for it was befitting the Ever-living to also be a living temple.

167 Heb. 1:5. The citation differs from both Zohrab (Տեսէք արհանարհնոր եւ հայեարոր եւ զարմացարոր զարմանն եւ եղցարոր. զի զործ մի զործն եւ յալոր ձեր որու ոչ հասասայցէք թէպէւ եւ որ պարմանցէ ձեզ) and the Septuagint (ἴδετε, οι καταφρονηται, και ἐπιβλέψατε και θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια και ἀφανίσθητε, διότι ἔργον ἐγώ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἔαν τις ἐκδιηγήται).

168 Ps. 148:5–6. "They were built," շինուան, is a direct translation of the Septuagint's ἐκτίσθησαν and differs from Zohrab, which reads "it was established," հսսսանեցաւ.

169 Exod. 3:2.

170 2 Cor. 6:16.

171 Cf. Isa. 66:2. Both Zohrab and the Septuagint read "where will I look" (հայեայց, ἐπιβλέψω) instead of "where will I dwell" (պնակեցայց). Above the word "meek," հեղու, is written ւ, which must stand for Isaiah, եսայի.

172 Cf. 1 Cor. 6:19–20.

I suggest this to you, especially as you are envious of the honor of the saints of God and their relics, in which God said that He Himself dwells. For if God cares for the bones of all to raise men up at the general resurrection, [then] how much more [does He care] for His saints, whose {64v} greatness and glory He spoke of many times, and especially those who suffered death for Him? The Holy Spirit indeed also spoke concerning them through the mouth of David: ‘The death of His saints is honorable before the Lord’.¹⁷³ and again: ‘The afflictions of the just are many; He will deliver them from everyone and He will keep their bones, and not one from among them will be ground to dust.’¹⁷⁴ It says ‘many saints were not ground into dust’ about the divine power that dwelt in the saints, but they were ground into dust and burned by fire. But you are not able to contemplate this at all; rather, like a child, you look only at visible things. And again, it says: ‘God is wonderful in His saints,’¹⁷⁵ and again Solomon [says]: ‘The just stand forever and their recompense is from the Lord. Although in the eyes of man they died,’¹⁷⁶ they are at peace. I know that you are not informed that the uncircumcised foreigner was killed and thrown into the tomb of the prophet Elisha. He came close to the bones of the prophet {65r} and was resurrected immediately.¹⁷⁷ Behold, if divine power had not dwelt in the bones of the holy prophet, how were the bones of a mere dead man [i.e., Elisha] able to resurrect the dead man? The living God did not consider dwelling in the tomb of the dead to be an impurity for His divinity.

“What seems impure to me and you [is] but its opposite to God. But we shall request from you such honor for the saints, for you now torture those who fear the Lord to deny [God] in accordance with the usual heathen perversion. Indeed, by killing those who do not agree [with you], you kill yourselves with eternal death according to the predictions of our Lord: ‘There will come a time when whoever kills [you] will consider it a service to offer God’¹⁷⁸—just as Muhammad, the brother of your father, on the day that he made the ungodly sacrifice, mixed the blood of the slaughtered camel with the blood of the Christians by decapitating the servants of God. {65v} And you are angered and discomfited at this, if we lay the saints of God who were martyred because of their confession of Him in places consecrated to God in this world.

“Indeed, you recalled in regard to the sign of the cross and icon[s] [that] we honor the cross in memory of the Passion of the incarnate Word of God upon it, which we learned from God’s command to Moses as well as from the preaching of the prophets. Moses ordered to make and put the mark of the cross on the forehead of the high priest; he called the plate holy and dedicated it. And the shape of the leaf [of the Temple door] was such that it appears to have shown a living being. For this reason, the foreheads of us Christians are sealed with the sign of the cross, as with the body of the Word of God that suffered for us. Indeed, the prophet Isaiah also clearly indicated the wood from which the cross [was made and] with which the Church is ever crowned and boasts: ‘With cedar,’ he says, ‘with pine, and with cypress together {66r} to bring glory to the place of My sanctuary; and I will

173 Ps. 115:6(116:15).

174 Ps. 33(34):20–21. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab and the Septuagint.

175 Ps. 67:36(68:35).

176 Wis. 5:16; 3:4. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Septuagint.

177 Cf. 4 Kgdms. (2 Kings) 13:21.

178 John 16:2.

glorify the place for My feet.¹⁷⁹ And Solomon says: ‘Blessed is the wood through which there is righteousness’;¹⁸⁰ and again: ‘It is a wood of life to all who make it and who trust in it firmly as in the Lord.’¹⁸¹

“But as for icons, we do not have anything like you think, for we did not indeed receive such commands from Scripture, though we find in the Old [Testament] [that] God commanded Moses to make the likeness of the Cherubim for the Tabernacle of witness.¹⁸² So we, too, warmed with the wishes of the disciples of the Lord and with the love of the incarnate Lord, assuredly rejoice while looking at¹⁸³ the portrait[s] and replica[s] that have come to us from their times as images truly of them, and we glorify God our Savior, who clothed His only begotten Son in such likeness and who glorified His saints; and it is not as if we worship the wood and the paint that is on the wood. {66v}

“(13) But you are not ashamed about venerating with sacrifices your house, which you call the Ka’ba and [which] you say was some house of Abraham, though it is really an arid, demonic desert that Abraham never saw once even in a dream. Your people worshipped the house before your Muhammad, as [was] your custom. Your Muhammad did not destroy it, but instead only said that Abraham settled [there]. Lest I appear insulting and inconsiderate to you, I will clarify this for you from the holy Gospels and from your own histories, for many times the Lord sent a multitude of demons into that desert, as it says in the Gospel: ‘They move around,’ it says, ‘through waterless places.’¹⁸⁴ Indeed, some demon *jinns* reside there and appear to you sometimes in the likeness of snakes and sometimes they seduce with impure and lewd desires and give you thoughts of sexual intercourse,¹⁸⁵ as is their custom. {67r} Now you imprudently believe their deceptions [that] you are their equal here and in the world to come. You do not understand that in the world to come of the Gospel of the Savior, they are not able to draw near with such things; furthermore, his [i.e., Satan’s] rebellious tyranny was bound by the power of His becoming human. Although they are malicious like their father Satan, they are not able to harm them [i.e., humans] openly. If they were able and dared, they would have killed you, burning you by fire in a single day, but instead they only stealthily seduce you into losing your souls through deception. You do not know why you worship and kiss the rock that you call *rukñ*. And [you do not know the reason] for the demonic slaughter that the beasts

179 Isa. 60:13. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Septuagint, but the words used for “with pine,” պեկի (pekiw), and “with cypress,” պեկիւիսաւ (pekiwrisaw), are from the Greek πεύκη. According to Awetik’ian, Surmelian, and Awgerian 1836–37, 2:647, the latter occurs only in this passage, whereas the former is attested also in the Armenian translation of the *Alexander Romance*.

180 Wis. 14:7.

181 Prov. 3:18. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Septuagint. It is possible that “who make it,” որ սոնկն զնու, represents a scribal error in Armenian for “who take it,” որ սոնկն զնու, which would be closer in meaning to the Septuagint’s τοῖς ἀντεχομένοις αὐτῆς, although Zohrab reads որ պասսպարին ի նու.

182 Exod. 25:18–22; 26:1, 31.

183 “While looking at,” յսնդիման տեսանելով. We take the preposition յսնդիման, “opposite, in the presence of, in the face of,” as working with the verb “to see,” տեսանել, possibly together rendering the Greek ἐπισκοπέω.

184 Matt. 12:43. In Zohrab and the Septuagint the subject is singular: “the unclean spirit,” սյուն սիլո and τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα, respectively.

185 “Sexual intercourse,” սմունանալոյ, lit., “of marrying.”

and the birds abhor. [And you do not know the reason] they [the worshippers] would run on one foot, or [the reason] for the rock-throwing, for the fleeing, for the shaving [of] the head, or for the other shameful deeds that they commit.

"I will allow myself to mention the impure command of your lawgiver concerning men having relations {67v} with women, about which I am ashamed to speak, [and] to bring up the example of plowing the fields,¹⁸⁶ through which some of you have learned to have relations with women with such obscenity in the manner of a plough. Or what shall I say [about] the chaste demeanor of your prophet, the deceitful obscenity of the wife of Zayd, and attributing the causes of the impurity to God, whence also loathsome laws have entered among your people? What is a more evil blasphemy than making God the cause of those who desire that which he did? Indeed you said that David took Uriah's wife,¹⁸⁷ he took [her and] he sinned against God, on account of which he was punished by the Lord. Whereas your Muhammad and you do the very [thing] you oppose!¹⁸⁸ No matter how evil the sins, [you do] not consider them to be sins; you do not ask forgiveness for them, and you do not find sins [to be] shameless. God commanded in the Gospels that a man not leave his wife, except in the case of adultery. And you, when you are satisfied with your wives, as if with food, you want [to leave them] and you leave [them]. {68r} So if it were possible, I would not say anything about the shameful remarriages, as you first allow others to profane a wife and then you take [her].

"Where shall I put the unscrupulous fornication of your concubines, for whom you expend all the possessions and spoils of man? Buying expensive possessions at high cost, you satisfy that obscenity with her and then sell [her] like an animal. They say about the serpent that it has relations with the muraena, the reptile that is in the depths of the sea. And when it nears the seashore, it ejects fatal poison and in this way consummates its desire. Yet you are more venomous than even this snake, and more treacherous. Your wickedness is not relieved with bodily copulation, for even at your death, instructed by evil spirits, you sinfully exterminate one another by strangulation.

As for what you said about Satan and the souls of the righteous, you make Satan the treasurer of God. You have many highly incorrect ideas about our wisdom. {68v} But Satan rejoiced over the despair caused by the death [of] men, and simultaneously Satan himself thought that the righteous who died were truly lost and forgotten by God. Presuming that the Word of God, on account of His body and immense humility, was like such people, he induced His [i.e., Jesus's] disciple to betray [Him] and the Jews to kill [Him]. Seeing the Lord's willing advance toward death on this cross, he became frightened and began to rebuke with terror the wife of the judge in order to hinder the salvation of the human race.¹⁸⁹ Having tasted death in His humanity, He [Jesus] remained immortal in the nature of His divinity and indivisible from His humanity as true God from true God. He arose and, even more, He resurrected His humanity according to the prophecy of David: 'May God arise and may His enemies be dispersed,'¹⁹⁰ and from the twelve prophets: 'Wait for

186 نَسَاؤُكُمْ حَرَثُ لَكُمْ فَأَتُوا حَرَثَكُمْ أَئِي شَتِّنْمَ وَقَدَّمُوا لَأَنْتِسِكُمْ وَأَتَقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَغْلَمُوا أَنْكُمْ مُلَاقُوهُ وَبَشَّرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ: Q2:223.

187 Cf. 2 Kgdms. (2 Sam.) 11:4ff.

188 On the comparison between David and Muhammad, see Maghen 2007.

189 Matt. 27:19.

190 Ps. 67:2(68:1).

me on the day of my resurrection.¹⁹¹ He did not arise {69r} for His own sake, since He was incorporeal, immortal, and incorruptible; rather, He took on humanity and with that endured death for the sake of the human race. And by His resurrection He granted resurrection to humans and hope to the souls of the dead to be clothed in flesh once more, freeing incorporeal souls from the dress of the enemy incorporeally, for souls meet with not the smallest attentions of the Creator through the incarnation of the Word in Christ. Now, in this way Satan was bound with his own and his demons' despair, destruction, and impotency to no longer compel mankind to foreign worship that God does not want, and with hope of [their] inheriting the eternal fire of hell.

"I also did not forget what you said from the prophet Isaiah, the sayings about the riders on the ass and the camel. Now, the meaning of the vision is as follows. The seeing of an arid sea: the 'arid sea' is your desert, {69v} bordering on the sea, close to the Babylonian kingdom and neighbor to it. And after a little bit, he says: 'I saw two riders: one rider on an ass and one rider on a camel.'¹⁹² The two were one single rider, as the prophet says clearly, having shown it in that same place. But the prophet calls 'an ass' the Jewish people, who read the Laws and the Prophets and yet, believing the teaching of Satan, did not recognize or obey the world-saving Gospel. He accused [them] about this at the beginning of his writing: 'The ox knew its owner and the ass its master's stable, but Israel has not known Me.'¹⁹³ Whereas he called the Midianites and the Babylonians 'a camel' because these animals are common among you. That enemy, who led the Jews astray with misconceptions about obeying the law, has overturned you through idolatry, for the two are one. See how the prophet shows this clearly again; he says: 'I saw the same rider, for a pair of horses was coming.'¹⁹⁴ {70r} So what previously seemed to be two is one. And 'the pair of horses,' since he [i.e., Satan] ruled the Jews and the heathens, who persecuted¹⁹⁵ Him. Now, how was he coming and what did he say? 'He was coming,' he says, 'on a pair of horses,' and he raised a shout and said: 'Babylon has fallen and its handiwork has been destroyed.'¹⁹⁶

"Behold, the enemy is this one who laments its desolation, who did not know another place to flee to except for your desert, and who came to your people, leading both horses of his impiety, which are Jewish instability and heathen wantonness. He gave you these together. He deceived you stealthily, and not by force, for you circumcise and conceive of the divinity like the Jews do, without the substantial and creative Word and Spirit; but you believe in fortune and fate and demons who are *jinns*, like the heathens do. With those who [are] like them, you lead lives of filthy and unmentionable impurities.

"You call your raids of merciless killings and of enslaving men 'the way of God.' {70v} Such are your beliefs and rewards, and your boasts of conducting an angelic lifestyle, but we know and are familiar with the mystery of our wondrous salvation. We expect to

¹⁹¹ Zeph. 3:8. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab, where the verse reads *սսսսսսի ինա* instead of *մմայ ինա*, as here. The verb *մմասմ*, however, more usually renders Greek *ὑπομένω*, which is the verb found in the verse in the Septuagint: *ὑπόμενόν με*.

¹⁹² Isa. 21:7. The citation differs very slightly from Zohrab.

¹⁹³ Isa. 1:3.

¹⁹⁴ Isa. 21:9.

¹⁹⁵ "Persecuted," *հայութեաց*. The verb is singular in the Armenian text, probably through the influence of "he ruled," *սիլեաց*, which immediately precedes the relative pronoun.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Isa. 21:9.

enjoy the kingdom of heaven after the resurrection, since we obeyed the proclamations of the Gospel. We are obedient for such good things that ‘the eye did not see and the ear did not hear . . . , which God has prepared for those who love Him’¹⁹⁷ and believe in Him—not fountains of wine, milk, and honey, nor copulation with women who remain forever virgins, nor the birth of sons, nor any other such quackeries born of heathen and hellish folly. God forbid the nonsense of your farfetched stories, for ‘the kingdom is not food and drink,’ as the Holy Spirit says; rather, ‘it is righteousness and holiness.’¹⁹⁸ For ‘in the resurrection, they do not take wives nor are there husbands, but thus they are like {71r} the angels in heaven.’¹⁹⁹ But since you are never satisfied with impurity, with the pleasure of your filthy desires, and consider nothing else better than it, you therefore consider the kingdom of heaven nothing without it and you want to furnish it [i.e., heaven] with it [i.e., impurity].

“This we answer you in brief, since we have been troubled by you heathens because of our unshakeable and indubitable faith in the past as well as now. We are constantly dying because of the venerable, holy, and unparalleled name that has been attributed to us in accordance with the prediction of the prophet Isaiah: ‘He will call you a new name, which the Lord shall name,’²⁰⁰ as the Lord prescribed to us while He was physically on earth, saying: ‘If they persecuted Me, then they will also persecute you. If they kept My word, then they will also keep yours. But they will do this to you since they do not recognize My Creator.’²⁰¹ And again: ‘Here in this world {71v} you will have affliction’;²⁰² and in His prayers to the Father, He said: ‘They whom You gave to the world were Yours and You gave them to Me,’²⁰³ and ‘They are not from this world like I am also not from this world,’²⁰⁴ for ‘if they were from the world here, this world would truly love its own. But they are not from this world; rather, I chose them from the world. Because of this, this world hates them.’²⁰⁵

“Now because of such hope we are tortured by you with threats and with death; and [you are tormented] by us with patience, for we do not put our hope in our bow nor will our sword save us, but the right hand and arm of the Lord and the light of His countenance.²⁰⁶ Whether He wants and is pleased to in this world still or in the next, He may increase the recompense as much as He wants and whenever He may want in exchange for your punishments. Whereas you, persisting in your violence and your extortion, think this befitting of your faith for the sake of the pleasure of God, not remembering the Persians who tyrannized for 400 years. {72r} God himself knows the reason why, but it was not on account of their correct beliefs. But we are pleased with these tribulations and these afflictions that befall us for the sake of the glorified name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ,

197 1 Cor. 2:9.

198 Rom. 14:17. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament.

199 Matt. 22:30.

200 Isa. 62:2.

201 John 15:20–21. The last part of the citation differs from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament.

202 John 16:33.

203 John 17:6. The citation differs from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament.

204 John 17:17.

205 John 15:19. The citation differs slightly from Zohrab and the Greek New Testament, as in the biblical passage Jesus addresses his audience in the second-person plural rather than the third-person plural.

206 Cf. Ps. 43:4, 7(44:3, 6).

so that we may arrive at the goodness of the hereafter with those who loved the day when God's great judgment will appear for the glory and praise of those who love His name, and with whom may we also be worthy in glorifying the single divinity of the Father, His only begotten Word, and the Holy Spirit now, forever, and unto the ages. Amen."

The emperor Leo wrote this transcript of reply and sent it by means of one of his faithful servants to 'Umar, the prince of the Ishmaelites, who, when he read it, very respectfully felt great shame. And by means of this letter he also increased his mildness and consideration toward the Christian people. {72v} He presented himself everywhere as an obliging person, for, as we already related, he released the captives and pardoned all of them for their transgressions by setting them free. He also demonstrated greater sincerity to his own people than the previous ones who were princes before him did, for he opened the stores of the treasury and distributed salaries to the officers. And after all that, he died.

EDITION

Եւ յետ նորա փոխանորդէ զիշխանորինն Ոմառ ամս. երկուս. և ամիսս. հինգ. և վախճանի:

Ժը Զսա ասեն ազնուականազոյն քան զամենայն արս ազգատոհմի իրոյ: Սա արար դարձ {32r} զերութեանն զոր զերեաց Մահմետ յաշխարհէս Հայոց. յետ այրելոյն զնախարարս աշխարհիս. զի առ զրազում ամրոց. և զերեաց զարս և զիանայս: Եւ իրու հաստատեցաւ իշխանորինն Ոմառս արձակեաց զրովանդակ զերեալսն յիրաքանչիր տեղիս. և խաղաղացոյց զաշխարհս որ ընդ իրով իշխանորեամբ. սոյն Ոմառ զրէ բուղը առ Լեռն կայսր Հոռոմնց յաղաց ուսանելոյ զզաւորորին հաւատոյս մերոյ. յորում էին պէսպէս հարցմոնք զորս համառաւտ ի ներքոյ դրոշմեցից:

[Letter from the Umayyad caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz to the Roman emperor Leo the Isaurian]

Անուամբ Աստուծոյ Ոմառ իշխան հաւատացելոց. առ Ղետն կայսր Հոռոմոց: Բազում անզամ կամեցայ զիտէլ զանորոյ կարծեալք հաւատոյդ ուսումնդ. և յանելաք ուսանել. էթէ զի՞նչ արդենք խորհիք. և ոչ եղան մեզ հնար հասու լինել. այլ արդ ասա ինձ զսուզուրինն.

Նախ էթէ վասն էր ասաց Յիսուս առ աշակերտսն. եթէ մերկ եկիք և մերկ դառնայք. կամ ընդէ՞ր ոչ ընկալայք զոր ասաց Յիսուս զինքնէն: Այլ ընձեւ զզիրս մարզարէիցն և զՍաղմոսացն գտանել ի նոցանէ վկառորինս վասն մարդան{32v}ալոյն Յիսուսի. և երկուացար և ի կարծիս անկար. և ոչ բաւական համարեցար զոր վկայեաց Յիսուս զանձնէլ իր. այլ հաւատացեր յայն զոր ասացին մարզարէքն: Այլ Յիսուս արդարն արժանի էր հաւատարմորեան և մաստ էր յԱստուած. և լաւազոյն զիտէր զինքն քան զգբեալսն զոր փոփոխեցին ազգը զորս ոչ զիտէք և այլայլեցին:

Եւ կամ զիա՞րդ արդարացուցանէք զգբեանն և զիետ երթայք նոցա որ ինչ նման բուի ձեզ. դուր ասէք էթէ արէնքն զերեցան²⁰⁷ բազում անզամ և կորեան որք ընթեռուիին զնոսս յորդոցն Իսրայէլի. և զիտէին զնոսս. և մնացին ժամանակս ինչ որ չկայր ինչ առ նոսա յայնմանէ և ոչ ինչ. մինչև զրեցին ումանք ի մարդկանէ յետ այնորիկ իրեանց հանձարով ազգ յետ ազգի. և ցեղ յետ ցեղի. և նորա մարմնեղէնք լին յորդոցն Աղամա. որք մոռանան և ի կարծիս

207 զերեցան] read: զրեցան.

ըմբռնին, զի մատ է առ նոսա սատանա, և նմանող նորա թշնամութեամբն իրեանց: Եւ կամ ընդէ՞ր ոչ գտանի յարէնան Մովսէսի, վասն արքայութեանն և դժոխցն և դատաստանին. և յարութեանն. այլ որք զԱւետարանն զբթ33րԵցին նորա պատմեցին. Մարէնո. Մարկոս. Ղուկաս. Յովիաննէս. իրեանց հանձարով: Եւ զմիշիքարիչն գրով ասաց յԱւետարանն առարել Քրիստոսի, զՄահմետէն մերսէ ասացին առարել:

Եւ կամ ընդէ՞ր զկնի աշակերտացն Յիսուսի յեթանատուն և երկու ցեղս բաժանեցան ազգը Քրիստոնէց: Եւ անզուգական զարութեանն Աստուծոյ ընկեր և համեմատ և նման նմա առնէք երիս Աստուծու խոստովանելով. և զամենայն արէնան անձնիշխանաբար փոփոխել շանայր. զրիփատութիւնն ի մկրտութիւն փոխելով. և զզնիսն ի հաղորդութիւն արինութեան հացի և բաժակի. և զկիրակէն փոխանակ շաբաթու պատուեցեր: Եւ կամ զիա՞րդ էր հնար Աստուծոյ ի մէջ արեան և մարմնոյ և պէսպէս աղտեղութեանց յարզանդի քնակել. և կամ ընդէ՞ր զոսկերս առարելոց և մարզարէցն պատուէք. և կամ զնշան խաչին որ դատապարտութեան գործարան էր ըստ արինացն. կամ պատկերս զոր պատուէք: Եւ զի մարզարէն Եսայի վասն մեր արինադրին վկայէ ընկեր և համեմատ Յիսուսի. զի և ուղեկից նմա էտես մարզարէն ի տեսլեանն հեծեալ մի {33v} իշոյ և հեծեալ մի ուղու: Իսկ դուք ընդէր ոչ հաւատայր զայս ամենայն հասոյ ինձ ի գիտութիւն. զի կարացից գիտել զկարծիս ուսմանդ ձերոյ:

[Letter from the Roman emperor Leo the Isaurian to the Umayyad caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz]

Զայս ամենայն և յոլովագոյն քան զայս ընդդիմաբանութիւնս. գրէր Ոմար իշխանն Իսմաելի առ քազարու Ղետոն: Վասն որոյ հարկատորի կայսրն Ղետոն գրել պատասխանի արինակ զայս:

Ժք Փղարինն Լետոն կայսր. հաւատացեալ ի Յիսուս Քրիստոս. ճշմարիտ Աստուծ մեր և քազարու ճանաշատղա զնա. Ոմարայ, Սատակինոսաց առաջնորդի: Որպիսի քան առաջի եղից ուղղագոյն և ճշմարտագոյն զայս ի թէն մեզ առարելոց. և զի մանաւանդ ուսեալը յաստուծոյ հեղութեամբ խրատել զրնդիմակայսյն, թերևս տացէ նոցա ժամանակ ապաշխարութեան. այլև ոչ քազարուական արէնք են խրտուցանող քանիւր որպէս քարամքք հարկանել զայնոսիկ որք լսել կամին զճմարտութեանն զսքանչելի խորհուրդ: Բայց վասն զի սկիզբն իսկ քո գրոյս գրնեա փոքրագոյն ինչ զկերպարան ճշմարտութեան ոչ ունէր ապա հարկատոր է զոշ ճշմարիտն. ոչ ասել թէ արդար է. քանզի ասացեր գրովն քո. թէ քազում անգ34րյան գրեցար առ ձեզ զմերոց Քրիստոնէցս աստուծային խորհուրդ. և եթէ յաւեալք ուսանել զձերոյ կարծեալք հաւատոյդ ուսումնդ. և չէր հնար լինել և ոչ միում յայսցանն. քանզի և ոչ ինչ հարկ ի յայսպիսիս զմեզ ածեր իրս. զի և ոչ ուսար իսկ ի վարդապետէն մերմէ և ի Տեսանէ. աւտար ուսումնականաց զայսպիսի միայնակ աստուծզիտութիւն առաջի ընկենուլ ի ծաղոյ կատականաց. և մանաւանդ այնոցիկ որ չենն տեղեակ մարզարէցն կանխասացութեան, և առարելոցն քարոզութեան. զի զայս և այլոց պատուիրել սովորեմք: Այո. քազում անգամ գրեցար առ թէզ. արդեր թէ և այլ հասանիցէ գրել վասն այլ աշխարհական իրաց. և ոչ վասն աստուծային իրողութեանց: Բայց մեք որք խրատեալք յաստուծայնոյ ձայնէն. տուր պատասխանի ամենայնի որ հարցանենն զձեզ. իսկ որ ոչ հարցանէ առ նա ոչ պատասխանել: Այլ և ոչ զձերոց կարծեացդ զարութիւն այժմիկ նորոգ կամիմք ուսանել. այլ առ ի յԱստուծոյ և վասն այսորիկ խրատեալք. զամենայն ինչ ասէ քննեցէք. իսկ զբարին ընկալարուր.

Արդ ոնիմք մեր պատմութինս գրով {34v} զերանելիաց եպիսկոպոսացն մերոց որք էին առ ժամանակաւրն այնորիդ՝ առ որով Մահմետն այն արթենայիր ձեր լեալ է. վասն այսորիկ և ոչ յաղագո որոյ պետք էին աշխատ գրեա առնել: Բայց զի մի կարծիցես զմեզ ամաշեցեալս, վասն այսպիսոյ սրանչելի աստուածքիսորեանք լոր ապա: Եթէ ախորժիցես և լոիցես ինձ. զբարութինս երկրի կերիցես որպէս ասաց Եսափա: Յոյժ դժուարին է ով այր դոր զամեննեին սուսոն ի բաց ընկենուու. յորժամ հակառակալուն զիակառակելն հանապազ խորհիցի: Այսպիսի ինչ է գոր ասեմս: Եթէ երկոր ոմանք առ հոր ինչ մերձեցեալ կային. մինն հոր զնս ասէր որպէս և էրն իսկ. և միւսն հակառակելով աղբեր ջուրց զնոյն ասէրք յայտնապէս ահա երևէր սոսութին հակառակասիրին:

Արդ ասացեր Տեառն մերոյ ասել յԱւետարանն՝ մերկ եկիր և մերկ դառնայք. և ոչ ուրեք յԱւետարանն գտանեմք Տեառն մերոյ ասացեալ զայ. թէպէտև միշտ մեզ հրամայէ առնել զխոլումն մահու. այլ այս բան Յորա է: բանզի հոսեալ ի վերայ {35r} նորա սատանայական փորձութեանցն. ասաց զայս արդարն, մերկ եկի յորովայնէ մատր իմոյ. և մերկանդամ դատնամ անդրէն. Տէր ետ և Տէր առ, և եղիցի անուն Տեառն արինեալ: Բայց այսպէս մի զմիով սովորեցայք արկանել հատակոտորել զվկայութինս գրոց սրբոց. գոր ոչ դուք ընթերցայք և ոչ ընթեռնոյք. այլ աստուածավաճառը զնոյն ասել հաւատավաճառք. որք առ ձեզդ զիածոյսն ձեր որսալով աստուածայնոց գրոց բանի ասելով զինչ և պէտք իրեանց դաւդանշնեն:

Բայց թէպէտ հպարտացեալ ես բռնակալութեամբ՝ սակայն լոր զպատախանիս: Ասացեր գտանել մեզ ի Սաղմոս Դարի և ի գիրս մարգարէիցն վկայութինս վասն Տեառն մերոյ. ոչ այժմ ինչ յուզեալ գտաք զայսպիսի Ասացուածս հոգոյն սրբոյ զորս ի ձեռն մարգարէիցն խաւեցաւ. այլ Աստուծոյ շնորհաւը և կամաւք. յորմէ սկսաւ քարոզութինն Քրիստոնէից՝ նովիմք և կատարեցաւ {35v} իհմնացեալ. աճեաց և աճեսցէ նորին արարչի և Աստուծոյ զարութեամբ:

Գրեցեր թէ բայական համարեցար և հաւատացեր յայնս. և թողեր զայս զոր վկայեաց Յիսուս ի վերայ անձին իրոյ. և երկուացար և ի կարծիս անկար: Երանի. Եթէ հաւատայիր որպէս ասեսդ Աւետարանին հաստատուն և անսխալ պատմազրացն բան ամենայնի. թէպէտև ոչ հակառակ միմեանց զիին և զնորս զիտեմք. զի ոչ հնար իսկ էր միոյ քարութեան աղբերնք այսինքն աստուածութեանն. բոյսել չար և բարի. ծշմարտութինն և ստութին: Այլ յաղագո դիմունկալ առնելոյ անարէն ազգին Հրէից. զմարմնով գալուստ բանին իրոյ առակաւը և արինակաւը. և յայտնագոյն պատուիրանաւը ի ձեռն մարգարէիցն զգուշացուցանէր զազգն. զի մի անհաւանք բատ սովորութեանն իրեանց զալստեանն Քրիստոսի լինիցին: Բատ նոցին վկայեանց վասն ինքեան Տէրն յԱւետարանն. և ոչ աւտվ{36r}այր յայնցանէ զորս ինքն անմարմնարար ի մարգարէիցն խաւեցաւ բերանոց. զորս յետ ժամանակաց ի մարմնանալն յայտնագոյնս խաւեցաւ: Եւ զայնոսիկ Աստուծոյ շնորհաւնք ի սմին թրի յիրաքանչիրսն ցուցուր տեղիս. զբարձրագոյնսն առաւել բան զմարդոյ. և զխոնարհագոյնսն իբրև զմարդոյ խոստվանեն:

Բ. Գրեցեր Եթէ արդարև Յիսուս արժանի էր հաւատարմութեան և մատս էր յԱստուած. և լաւագոյն զիտէր զինքն բան զգրեալսն. զոր փոփոխեցին ազգք զորս ոչ զիտէր, որ այլայլեցին ի նոցանէ և փոխեցին: Պատասխանի: Ճշմարտութինն ոչ զիտէ զէն, չէ ասելք և զչէ, է. իսկ սոսութին զամենէ դիմու բուռն հարկանէ, զի կարօդ է, ոչ միայն զերևելի արարածս ուրանալ. այլ զնոյն ինքն զարարչէն ասէ ոչ է Աստուած: արդ չէն ինչ զարմանք թէ և զգիրս Աստուծոյ ուրանալ կարէ ստութին. կամ թէ պատճառել զնոցան{36v}էն պատճառս մեղաց: Յիսուս արդարև արժանի էր հաւատարմութեան: Ոչ որպէս մարդ որ սուկ յԱստուծոյ բանէն թափուր. այլ որպէս կատարեալ յերկոսին յաստուածութեանն և ի մարդկութեան. հաւատարիմ են և ի ձեռն մարգարէին նորին ասացուածք բանին. ոչ վասն այնորիկ են հաւատարիմ զի մարդիկ

խաւեցան զնոսա. այլ վասն զի անմարմնաբար նորաւր խաւեցան Աստուածն քան: Եւ վասն զի խառն էր ի հնումն և ի նորումն. վասն այսորիկ և ոչ հակառակ են միմեան.

Այլ որ ասացեր. այլայլեալ զգրեանն. էք առաջնորդ ուսմանդ քո ուսոյց թեզ զայդչ մոռացաւ զինքն. և էքէ այլ որ. ևս առաւել ստեաց: Արդ լուր, և զեղեցկապէս խորհեա: Քում ուսմանդ առաջնորդ ոչ ասէ հաստատել զբանն առանց վկայից. նմանապէս ասէ և արէնքն իրամայեն. ասէ ի բերանոյ երկուու և երից վկայից հաստատեացի ամենայն քան: Գիտեաք զԱրքահամ վասն Քրիստոսի յառաջ ընկալեալ {37r} զաւետիսն. ասելով ցնա Աստուած. ի զաւակի քո արինեացին ամենայն ազգը երկրի: Եւ Մահակ այսպիսի յուսով արինեալ է զՅակոր. զի Յակոր վասն սորին արինեալ է զյուղա զիր որդին. Յուղա. ի թէն ելցէ ինձ լինել իշխան և պետ յերանաց նորա մինչև եկեսցեն նմա հանդերձեալըն. և նա է ակնկալութիւն հեթանոսաց: Զի Մովսէս վասն սորին արինադրեաց. և պատուիրեաց. զՅեսու. զԴափր. զՍողովնոն. զերկոյտասան մարզարէսն հանդերձ Սամուէլի. Եղիայի. Եղիսէլի. զԵսափ. զԵրեմիայ. զԴանիէլ. զԵզեկիէլ. զարդարն զՅոր. զՅովաննէս մկրտիչ զԶարարիայի որդին. դիր ի վերա սոցա զերկոյտասան աշակերտսն Տեառն. ևս և զեւանասունսնչ և միանգամայն ընդ իհնան և ընդ նորս. հարիր մետասան:

Արդ այսքան սրբոց և սիրելեաց Աստուածոյ վասն Քրիստոսի գալստեանն խաւեցելոց. զորոց և Մահմետն քո վկայեաց լինել սուրբս և ծառայս Աստուածոյ, անհաւ{37v}յան լինիս. և զրո Մահմետն քան զԱստուած որ նորաւր խաւեցաւ. և քան զԱստուածն քան մարմնով երևեալ հաւատարի՞մ համարիս: Եւ արդ զհամառաւտն հարցանեմ. ասս աղաչեմ. հարիր մետասան. ծառայիցն Աստուածոյ. զմի և յաղազս միոյ խաւսողաց վկառութիւն ծշմարիտ է, էքէ միոյ զայլախորիի և զայլիմացի. և ստելով ծշմարտոո կարծողի. և այս է ստելով ծշմարտելն. զվերագրեալ սուրբսդ. ծառայս և սիրելիս Աստուած Մահմետն քո խոստովանել ուսուցանէ: ձեզ. և զոր ի ձեռն նոցա խաւեցան Աստուած. ոչ ինըն ընդունել ուսուցանէ:

Գ. Ասացեր, և զիա՞րդ արդարացուցանէք զգրեանն չրէից. և զիեւտ երթայք որ ինչ նման քուի ձեզ յայնցանէ. և դուք ասէք էքէ արէնքն զրեցան քազում անզամ և կորեան որք ընթեռնուին զնա յորդոցն Իսրայէլի և գիտէին զորս ի նմա. և մնային ժամանակս ինչ որ չկայր առ նոսա յայնցանէ և ոչ ինչ. մինչև {38r} զրեցին ոմանք ի մարդկանէ յետ այսորիկ իրենաց հանճարով քստ կամաց իրենաց ազգ յետ ազգի և ցեղ յետ ցեղի. և նորա մարմնեղէնք էին յորդոցն Աղամայ որք մոռանան և ի կարծիս ըմբռոնին. զի մատ է ի նոսա սատանայ. և նմանողը նորա թշնամութեամբն իրենաց:

Պատաշխանի: **Զ**արմանամ, զարմանամ. ոչ ընք²⁰⁸ անհաւատութիւն և էք ուսմանդ ձերոյ. այլ եքէ զիարդ ընդ յայսնութիւնն ոչ ամաչէք. այլ զնոյնդ և զրով աւանդէք. որպէս զի ևս ծիծաղելի լիմիցիք: Եւ զմեզ մերովք բանիր կարծէք զայրագրէցուցանել. և զգուխտ զոր ի թրիդ քո յափշտակեալ դնես մերովք ասացուածովք կարծես հաստատել զրով թէ որ ասէք դուր. արդ եքէ հաւատարիմ թուին թեզ ասացուածք մեր, ամենայնին պարտիս հաւատալ. քանզի ստով վկայի. ոչ որ. զումանս ի վկառութեանն ընդունին և զկեն ի քաց ընկեն{38v}յուն.

Բայց որովհետև շնս տեղեակ. լուեալ ուսիր. ասեմք մեք չրէիցն զրեալ ի սրբութեանն տեղոչ ոչ յանձանց ինչ ստեղծեալ զրոյս այլ ի սուոյց պատութեանց Եբրայեցի. արանցն աստուածախրաց տեղակացեալք. և ի զրոց նոցին իսկ մարզարէիցն. քսան և երկու են արարածք Աստուածոյ. զորս ի սկզբանն ի վեց աւուրս զործեաց. քսան և երկու զիրք աստուածախրաց. և որ առ Եբրայեցին նորին և առ մեզ. նոյնքան և թի աղփաքետիցն նոցա. թէպէտե իհնզն ի նոցանէ կրկնակս ունին. և այն ոչ առանց մեծի խորիրդոյ: Զայս վասն այնորիկ Աստուած մարզարէիրն ուսուցեալ կարգեաց. զի ի միմեանց հաստատեալ

Ճշմարտութիւնքն երկին այս քասան և երկու գրոց: Ճինգ են արենքն. զոր Թարա. Երրանցիք. և Որաք Ասորիք. և Նոոմաւ. մեք կոչեմք. որ ունի զաստուածզիտութեանն զարութիւն. և զարարչագործութեանն Աստուծոյ զաշխարի. և պատուէր {39r} վասն կորցն հերանսաւ ոչ այստել զնոսա և ուխտն որ առ Աբրահամ. վասն զաւակին որ է Քրիստո. և այլ պէսպէս դատաստանաց. և զոհից հրամանը ի բաց հրաժարեցուցանել զնոսա ի հերանսաւկան սովորութեանցն որում ընթելն իսկ էին:

Իսկ Յեսովա. և Դատաւորացն և Հոութա գիրքն և Թագաւորութեանցն չորեքին. և Մնացորդացն. սոքա պատմողը են ըստ ժանանակին սքանչելազործութեանցն Աստուծոյ. և անսխալ ազգաբանը արդարոցն ազգի որ զա իշանէ կարգաւ ի Քրիստո. և պատմութիւնը զբագաւորացն Իսրայէլի. էթէ ոյր եղեն հածոյր Աստուծոյ. և ոյր ոչ ևս. և բաժանումն ազգին վասն յանցանաց իրեանց յերկուս թագաւորութիւնս Իսրայէլի և Յուդա. և պատմողը վասն գերութեան նոցին. իսկ Սաղմոսը Դաւիթի և գիրք Սողոմոնի. զոր Կոհենէթ. և Շիրաջիրիին Երրանցիք. և Պատինն. և Սամասոն մեք անուանեմք. և երկոյ{39v}տասան մարզարէիցն. Եսայի. Երեմիայ. Դանիէլ. Եզեկիէլի գրենովն. ամենայնքն մարզարէութիւնը են վասն զալստեանն Քրիստոսի. արդ էթէ ի շրէից որ շփորեալ ապականէր. ոչ էր հնար գրենոյն ողջ պահի. զի շարագործաւողն յայնոսիկ նախ գրիս գրենոյն ի բաց բառնախն, և ի մի կամ յերկուս և կամ թերևս աւելի յերիս գիրս ժողովիր. և ցյաելուածն ևս ի բաց բարձումն. քանզի ի նոսա դիրագոյն է շնչելն.

Եւ դարձեալ որպէս կարծեմ չես անտեղեակ թշնամութեանն որ ընդ մեզ Քրիստոնեայս և ընդ Հրէայսն. և ոչ վասն այլոյ միոյ ուրուք. այլ վասն խոստովանելոյն մեր զՅիսուս էթէ սա է Քրիստոսն. որ և որդի Աստուծոյ առ ի մարզարէիցն քարոզեցաւ: Իսկ Հրէայր. ահա. զա ոչ ասեն Քրիստոս, այլ թէն խոստովանին թէ արժան է զալ Քրիստոսի. սակայն անհաւանք մնացեալք գրոց մարզարէիցն որդի Աստուծոյ և ոչ այսպէս խոստովանին զՔրիստոս: Արդ ապա {40r} զիա՞րդ ապականիչք գրենոյն զայսպիսի հաստատուն և անտարակուսենի վկաութիւնս յիրեանց գրեանն բողին՝ և կամ ինքեանը յաւելին. որք ոչ կարող են ի վերա այլոյ ուրուք ինանալ. թէն յոյժ որ բռնադատեսցէ զբանն. էթէ ոչ ի վերա մարմնացելոյ որդի Աստուծոյ:

Ընկալ և գերրորդ պատասխանիսս. գերութիւնն շրէից նախքան զմարմնով գալուստն Քրիստոսի եղև. իսկ զիա՞րդ առ նովաւ հաստատուն կացեալ էր եւ տաճարն և կտակարանքն և քահանաութիւնն, որպէս և յայտ իսկ է ի սրբոց Աւետարանացն որպէս դու իսկ վկանցեր զՏեսունէն. զրլիաստութեանէն և զայոցն մի ըստ միոշէ զոր ըստ Աւետարանացն կատարեաց. և զայս ոչ յադաս այլ ինչ իրաց երկի արարեալ. այլ զի արդարացուցէ զիր ասացեալսն ի ձեռն մարզարէիցն. և ցուցցէ էթէ չեն հակառակ նմա՝ այլ սիրելիք. և հաստատուն վկայր տնտեսու{40v} թեանն նորա խորհրդոյ. և որք էին կտակարանքն որ առ Հրէայսն. էթէ ոչ գրեանն մարզարէիցն որ յետ երկոցուն գերութեանցն Իսրայէլի և Յուդա. առ Հրէայսն կային մինչև ի ժամանակս փրկչին մերոյ. յորում բազում վկաութիւնս Տէրն յուսուցանելն զանհաւան Հրէայսն յիշեաց յԱւետարանսն. զերեցան ի Նաբուրողոնոսուրայ, ազգն շրէից, այլ աստուածային այցելութիւնն ոչ եւս նոցա բոյլ ըստ այժմու զերելոյդ կատարել. այլ զբաւանդակ ազգն բնակեցոյց ի տեղիս յորս կամեցաւ. ընդ նոսա էին գրեանն. այլ և ոմանք ի մարզարէիցն. որպէս Եզէկիէլ ասէ զինքենէ. թէ ես էի ի մէջ զերութեանն առ ափն Քորաք գետոյ. և Անանիանք երանելիք ի Բարելովնի ընկեցան ի հնոցն. և մեծն Դանիէլ ի Բարելովնի մարզարէացաւ. և անդ ընկեցաւ ի գորին առեւծուց. և ամէն Եսթերա իրքն ի նմին գործեցան:

Քայցիքն նոսա էին զրեանն. {41r} լորի հոգուոյն սրբոյի Սաղմոսին ասացեալ մարզարէիւն վասն զերելոյն շրէից. որ թէպէտ տակաւին չէր եղեալ. այլ զանսխալ պատահումն իրացն նշանակեաց. ի հարիր երեսուն եւ վեց. Սաղմոսին ասելով. առ զետովքն Բարելացոց անդ

նստէար և լայլար. որպէս յիշեցար զԱխովն ի միշի նոցա. զուռեաց կախեցար զգործարան մեր. զի անդ հարցին զերիշը մեր բանս երգոց. և տարիշը մեր բանս արհնութեան: Իսկ որ ասացեր մարդկան հանձարով զրեալ զգրեանն. զիտեմ զի զառ ի յԵզրէ զերկրորդուն կամիս բամբասեն զի թէպէտու եղեան ի վերա նորա շնորհի հոգույն սրբոյ և առանց վրիպանաց պատմեաց զամենայն. և յորժամ միանզամայն ազգն յաշխարհացն յորոց սփոնցան. դարձան յԵրուաղէմ թէրենով ընդ իրեանս զգրեանն. երևեցա և անդ Աստուծոյ սրանչելեացն գործ. զի և ոչ մի ինչ ի հոնյն և առ ի յԵզրէ պատմութենէն գտաւ պակաս:

Եւ որ {41v} ասացերն մարդիկ էին և մոռացմամբ ըմբռնէին. մարդիկ հանապազ յամենայնի տկարը են և պակասամիտը և մոռացկոտը: Իսկ Աստուծ յաւիտենական որ մեծ է զարութեամբ. այսպէս և իմաստութեան ոչ ունի սահման և եզր, որ խաւեցաւ ընդ մարդկան ծառահիր իրովը մարգարէիր. առ որում ոչ է կարծեաց և կամ մոռացման ախտ. նա խաւեր ի մարգարէսն. և ոչ ի մարդկան իմաստու թողոյր զնոսա: Քայց զրո Մահմետն զգիտիցէ՞ս արդենը մարդ. որոյ բանի զայրան սրբոց Աստուծոյ զվկաութիւնս միայն նորա բանի ի բաց ընկենու: Կամ որ ասացեր մատ լինել զատանայ ի ծառայս Աստուծոյ. և զԱստուծ ամենին ոչ. բայց որք բարորդն յորիհին՝ զիտեն եթէ ի մինն որ առանց վկայութեան զրոց է, նմա է մերձենալ սատանայի բան էթէ յայրան սորբս. և վկայեալս Աստուծոյ:

Եւ որ յաղազ գրենոյն բան՝ այսրան բարական: Իսկ որ ասացեր {42r} ոչ զուանել մեզ յարէնսն Մովսէսի վասն արքաութեանն և դժոխոց և դատաստանի և յարութեան, ոչ կամեցար զիտեն եթէ որպէս կարէին մարդիկ ընդունել զգիտութիւնն Աստուծոյ. այնպէս ուսուցանէր զնոսա Աստուծ. և ոչ եթէ միով մարգարէի խաւեցաւ Աստուծ ընդ մարդկան և միով ժամանակաւ որպէս դու ասացեր եթէ զոր ինչ պատուիրելոց էր Աստուծ ազգի մարդկան զամենայն ընդ Մովսէսի ձեռն պատուիրեաց. չէ այդպէս զի զոր ինչ Նոյին պատուիրեաց. չպատուիրեաց զայն նոցա որ յառաջ բան զԵնոյ. և զոր Աբրահամուն պատուիրեաց. չպատուիրեաց Նոյի. նոյնպէս զՄովսէսին չպատուիրեաց Աբրահամու. և զոր Յեսովայն, չպատուիրեաց Մովսէսի. և զոր Սամուէլին և Դաւիթ և այլոց մարգարէիցն յիրաքանչիր ժամանակս. չպատուիրեաց Յեսովս: Զի որպէս ասացարն յառաջագոյն. այսպէս առ սակաւ սակաւ հածեցաւ Աստուծ զինքն և զկամս {42v} իր ծառուցանել ազգի մարդկան. զի և ոչ կարէին իսկ մարդիկ միահաղոյն բուռն հարկանել զսքանչելի զիտութենէն նորա: Արդ եթէ զամենայն ընդ միոյ մարգարէի ձեռն խաւեալ էր, ընդէր և զայլ մարգարէսն առաքէր Աստուծ, կամ եթէ այնմ ամենայնի թոյլ տայր պապականել որպէս դուդ ասես. ընդէ՞ր բնաւ խաւեցաւ ընդ նոսա: Արդ թէն յառաջայ կրթութիւն էր Մովսէսի, մարդկան և ոչ տակաւին կատարելագոյնք. սակայն նշանակեաց Աստուծ և ի նմա վասն յարութեանն և դատաստանին և դժոխոց:

Վասն յարութեանն ասէ, տեսէք զի ես եմ Աստուծ և ոչ է այլ աստուծ բայց յինէն. ես սպանանեմ և կեցուցանեմ հարկանեմ և բժշկնեմ և ոչ որ հանէ զաեց ի ձեռաց ինոց: Եւ վասն դատաստանին ասէ. սրեցից որպէս փայլակն զուսեր իմ և ի խնդիր վրիժուց արձակեցից զաջ իմ: Եւ դարձեալ խնդրեսէ վրէժս դատաստանաց թշնամեացն. հատուցէ և ատ {43r} ելեացն: Իսկ վասն դժոխոցն. զի հոր բորբոքեալ է ասէ ի բարկութենէ իմսէ այրեսցէ մինչև ի դժոխոքն ներքին: Իսկ զառաւել կատարելութիւնն և զոցին աճումն այլովը մարգարէիր յայտնագոյն ասէ:

Իսկ որ ասացեր Մարէսու Մարկոս Ղուկաս՝ Յովհաննէս. զրեցին զԱւետարանն. զիտեն ընդ ճշմարտութիւնս մեր Քրիստոնէիցս նեղիս. և կամիս զի ստութեանդ քո ընկեր զտանէիր. թէ ասէար թէ զրեալ իշոյց զայլ Աստուծ յերկնից որպէս դու վասն փուրկանիդ քո ասես թէպէտու շեմք անտեղեակ. թէ և զրոյր Օմա՛ և Աբու Թուսա՛ և Սաղման պարսիկ զրեցին. և դոր ստելով համբաւէր եթէ յերկնից իշոյց Աստուծ: Արդ յայսմ ծանիր զՃմարտութիւն մեր

Քրիստոնէիցս. զի թէ այդպէս էր. զիս՝ որ դու զրպարտես թէ յետոյ ստեցին յԱւետարանսն կամ մեր և կամ այլ որ. զի՞նչ արգելոյր զանուանսն Աւետարանչացն ի բաց բանալ. և զայն զրել ևս թէ{43v}ն Աստուած յերկնից ի խոնարի իջոյց: Այլ և զայս տես զի ոչ համեցաւ Աստուած. ոչ իր յանդիմանախաւատորենամբ առանց մարմայ առ ժողովուրդու մարդկան. և ոչ հրեշտակս առ մարդիկ առաքելով խրատել զնոսա. բայց մարգարէս ի նոցունց ընդրեաց և զնոսա առաքեաց. վասն որոյ և Տէրն յորժամ կատարեաց զամենայն յառաջազոյն սահմանեալսն իր զորս ի ձեռն մարգարէիցն խաւեցաւ նախրան զառնոլն մարմին.

Եւ զիտացեալ էրե մարդիկ են կարաւատ աւզնականութեանն Աստուծոյ. խստացաւ նոցա առաքել զիոզին սուրբ պառակդիտոս կոչեցենալ. այսինքն մխիթարիչ. զի տրտմէին իսկ և սպային յորժամ լսէին ի վարդապետէն իրենաց և ի Տեառնէն եթէ բողոք է զնոսա: Եւ որպէս ասացաք՝ վասն այնորիկ զիոզին սուրբ պառակդիտոս կոչեաց՝ որպէս զարդարել մխիթարիչ իսկ զնոսա վասն նորա համբարձման, և որպէս զիշեցուցանող {44r} ամենայն խաւեցելոցն ընդ նոսա և զործեցելոցն առաջի նոցա. զոր և զրելոցն էին ամենայն տիեզերաց: Արդ զիտեա զի պառակդիտոս մխիթարիչ անուանի, և ոչ Ահմատ, այսինքն զրիանամ. և քատիստը²⁰⁹ ի մեր լեզու. ոչ ապառակդիտոս²¹⁰: Արդարել առանց բողոքեան է հահոյութինս²¹¹ այս որպէս ասաց Տէրն յԱւետարանսն եթէ որ հայինէ զիոզին սուրբ մի բողոք նմա. զինչ չարագոյն քան զայս հայինութին եթէ զիոզին սուրբ ասէք զայր մի ատար ի զիտութենէ զրոց Աստուծոյ. և զի զիոզիոյն սրբոյ Տէրն ասաց, լուր նոցին իսկ ասացելոցն. իսկ մխիթարիչն հոզին սուրբ ասէ զոր առաքեսցէ հայր յանոն իմ նա ուսուցէ ձեզ զամենայն և յիշեցուցէ ձեզ զոր ուսուցի ձեզ. զոր առաքեսցէ հայր յանոն իմ ասէ: Եւ որ Մահմետն ոչ եկան յանոն Տեառն մերոյ. այլ յիր անոն: Եւ հոզին սուրբ սուրբ ասաց {44v} ոչ մարդ. այսինքն աշակերտացն. և դու ինքնին զիտես թէ ոչ երբէք տեսին առաքեալըն Տեառն զՄահմետն քո:

Արդ որպէս վերազոյնն ասացի՝ ընդ միոյ մարգարէի ձեռն ըստ ժամանակաց զիւրյ աստուածութեանն զիտութիւն ուսուցանէր արարիչն մեր. բայց և ոչ մարգարէիրն կատարեաց զամենայն զալյափենական արդարութեանն. որպէս Աստուած ի ձեռն Դանիէլի մարգարէի. զի երիս յայտնեաց Աստուած փոփոխսունս, որովք ի ծշմարտագոյն աստուածզիտութիւնն մարդիկ յառաջ զալ կարացեն՝ ի կոռապաշտութեանն խաւարէ. ի չափաւոր ճաճանչ արինացն լուսոյ. և անդուս ի հզարագոյն լոյս Քրիստոսի Աւետարանիս. և յԱւետարանէ անտի ի հանդերձեալ զիշեր²¹² լոյսն: Չորրորդ փոփոխումն՝ կամ վարդապետութիւն այլոց. կամ մարգարէից խոստումն. մարդիկ²¹³ ոչ ընկալան. այլ զնորին {45r} հակառակն. և պատուէրն յոլովակի ի նոյն ինքն փրկչէն. ոչ զոր մարգարէ կամ առաքեալ յետ աշակերտացն իրոց ընդունել.

Զ: Իսկ որ ասացէր յետ աշակերտացն Տեառն յերանասուն և յերկուս բաժանեալ մեզ մասուն. չէ այդպէս. քանզի մի սսութեամբ զրեզ մխիթարել կարծիցես զմեր սխալան ինչ արինակ առնով. և արդարել աղարտելի է քոյդ որ ոչ նման ծառայից Աստուծոյ. և զիարդ է, ես ասացից. միոյ լեզուի է վարդապետութիւն ձեր և միոյ ազգի. և ժամանակ երևման դորս որպէս դորդ ասէք. հարիր. ամ փոքր ինչ աւելի կամ պակաս. արդ յայսքան սակաւ ժամանակեան և միոյ ազգի ուսման՝ զտանեմբ բազում որոշմունս. այլ որ ի զիտութիւն մեր հասին՝ են այսորիկ. Քուզի. Սաքարթուարի. Կնտրի. Մուրջի. Բալի. անաստուած

209 և քատիստէ] read: Կրատիստէ.

210 ապառակդիտոս] read: պառակդիտոս.

211 հահոյութինս] read: հայինութինս.

212 զիշեր] read: անզիշեր.

213 կամ մարգարէից խոստումն. մարդիկ] խոստումն. կամ մարգարէից մարդիկ ա.ս.

Ողի. որք ուրանան գէորիթինն Աստուծոյ. և զյարութիւնն, {45v} և զասացեալ քո մարզարէն շարիթի և այս շարիթի երկու. մի մասնն ոչ է խոռվասէր, և միւս մասնն այնքան ունի առ ձեզ հակառակութիւն ատելութիւն՝ որ լաւագոյն համարի զապանանելն զձեզ քան զամենայն արդարութիւն անաստուած և թշնամի զձեզ կարդալով և զիտելով: Իսկ զմեռանելն ի ձենց առաջին ամենայն բարեգործութեան համարին. և այս գործի ի վերա այդր. զի դու սրով կոստրել²¹⁴ զայնոսիկ որ փոքր մի որոշին ի կարծեաց քոց խորիս մեղանչել յԱստուած:

Արդ եթե ի բոյումնի աւաղիկ գտանք. . . չին այնպիսի իրք. որ մի ազգ էք. մի լեզու. մի ազգապետ, նոյն և իշխան. և քահանայապետ. և դահճապետ. թէ արդարև մարդկային իմաստիր էին հաւատք Քրիստոնէից. զի՞նչ զարմանք էին վասրարագոյն և հաւատք քան զձերդ ի մեզ լինել. ուրիշիր. ամք փոքր ինչ պակաս կամ աւելի {46r} յորմէ Քրիստոս երևեցաւ. և տարածեցաւ Աւետարանն ընդ ամենայն ազգս և լեզուս մարդկան ի ծագաց մինչև ի ծագս տիեզերաց. ի Յունաց և ի Հռոմանեցոց քաղաքավարութեանս և ի քարբարոսան հեռաւորսն. և եթե է ինչ սակա իմացութիւն. և այս վասն լեզուին այլայլութեան փոքր ինչ որպէս ասացի. բայց ոչ այդպիսի աննուէր թշնամութիւն որպէս քոյնդ. զի որ եւրանասուն և երկու ասացեր մի զայնոսիկ որք պիտիծ և աղտեղիր էին ի հեշտասիրութիւն և ամպարշտեալը յԱստուծոյ որպէս և զայլ հեքանոսքն բերեալ մեզ համարիս. որ զգարշութիւնն իրեանց ամենասուրք անուամբն Քրիստոսի քազուցանել կարծեցին. և Քրիստոնեայր ինքնեանս կոչեցին. որոց հաւատքն հայինութիւն էին և մկրտութիւնն ևս պղծութիւն, զորս ի դառնալն ի յիրեանց պղծութենէն սուրբ եկեղեցի մկրտէր իբրև զիեքանոսքն, զոր վաղ էքարձ Աստուած ի միջոյ. և զգտանին ուր{46v}եր հետք. այլ. իինք. և եւրանասուն կոչէին ի մեզ Քրիստոնեայս. և ամեներին զնոյն սուրբ և զյահիտենական կենացն զրաւական ընկալան մկրտութիւն. և էթէ իցեն ինչ բանք ուրուր ի նոցանէն վասն փոքր իրիք. և այն ի հեռաւորսն և յայլակեզուն. և մանաւանդ այնցիկ որ ի մեջ ձերոյ բռնակալութեանդ բռնակեալ են, սակայն Քրիստոնեայր են և ոչ վերստին պէտս ունին մկրտութեան. և այս շեն ինչ զարմանք էթէ յոյժ հեռաւորքն և այլակեզուքն չեն այնքան տեղեակը որքան պարտն է ծշմարտութեան աւանդիցն. սակայն նոյն գիրք յիրաքանչիր լեզուսն ողջ պահեալ. նոյն Աւետարան առանց ամենայն սխալանաց.

Եւ արդ զյուով լեզուսն թողից յորս այս սրանչելի և փրկական աստուածզիտութիւնս բաշխեցաւ. բայց զակաւասն յիշեցից: Առաջին մեր Յունաց. երկրորդ Հռոմանեցոց. երրորդն {47r} Քաղաղացոց. հինգերրորդն Ասորոցն. վեցերրորդն. Երիովպացոցն. եւրներրորդն՝ չնդկացն. ութերրորդն. ձեր Սատակինսացդ. իններրորդն՝ Պարսիցն. տասներրորդն. Հայոցն. մետասաներրորդն. Վրացն. երկյուտասաներրորդն. Աղուանից: Եւ արդ ըստ քո ասացուածք. իշտ զրէ թէ միոյ կամ զերկուց ազգի փոխէր որ զգեանն արդեւք. իսկ զիարդ և զայլոց ևս ազգաց զորս յոյժ հեռաւորս զիտէր ի մեջ և ի մինեանց աւտար լեզուալք և սովորութեամբք. բայց դուք սովորէք առնել զայսպիսիս. մանաւանդ Հաջաշն այն որ ի կողման Պարսիցն առ ի ձենց ազգապետ կացեալ. ժողովեաց զամենայն իին գրեանն ձեր. և այլ ըստ իր ախորժաց²¹⁵ գրեաց. և բաշխեաց ընդ ամենայն ազգ ձեր. զի կարի յիրագոյն էր ի միում ազգի և ի միում լեզուի գործել այսպիսի ինչ որպէս զործեցաւ իսկ. և թէպէտ այսպէս սակաւը մնացին. Աքու Թոուաքա, գրեանն. զի ամենկին նա ոչ կարաց {47v} բառնալ. իսկ մեր նախ զի պատուէր սաստիկ ընկալար յԱստուծոյ շյանդգնել յայսպիսի իրս. և դարձեալ եթե յանդգնեալ ընդդիմանայր որ իրամանի նորա անհնար էր զբաժանեալսն յայսքան լեզու դարձեալ ի միասին հաւաքել. և խնամով ըստ իրաքանչիր լեզուի փորձել. ոչ զոյլ եւ պէտ²¹⁶

214 կոստրել] read: կոստրեալ.

215 ախորժացն] read: ախորժիցն.

216 զոյլ եւ պէտ] read: ծուլապէտ (?).

թարգմանն յուզել և նստուցանել. զի ի բաց բարձեն ի գրենոյն զոր բան կամիցին և յաւելցեն զոր ախորժեսցեն.

Եւ զայս ոչ անդիտանաս երեւ հակառակութիւնը են ի մեզ Քրիստոնեայս որպէս և դուռ ասացեր թէպէտու ոչ վասն կարևորագոյն ինչ իրաց, զիարդ և զգրեանն ոչ փոխէին ազգըն ըստ իրաքանչիւր կամաց: Արդ չզործեցաւ ինչ այսպիսի ի մէջ Քրիստոնէից ոչ ի հեռաւորս և ոչ ի մատաւորս. և դու մի յաճախեր զստելու. զի մի և զակար արդարն անհամեսցեն. բայց ընդ այս յոյժ զարմանամ զի խոտես զԱւետարանսն Տեառն և զմարգարէին²¹⁷ զիրս ասելով Եթէ խանգարեցին մարդիկ {48r} զնոսա և որպէս կամեցան գրեցին. և դու զվկառթեանն անհաստատ կարծեացդ քո անդուստ ջանացար ժողովել. և զբան զոր առնի վկառթին ի բաց բաժանես. զի ուր հայր զրեալ է, Տէր կամ Աստուած փոխեալ դնես. երեւ արդարութեան ինչ ես ի խնդիր, կամ հաւանել պարտիս զրենոյն, և ապա առնուլ զնոսա ի վկառթին. կամ երեւ խոտես որպէս ասես եթէ խանգարեալը են. շառնուլ վկառթին ի նոցանէն. պարտիս և ունել զերրորդն. զվկառթինսն զոր առնուս ոչ շրել զնոսա ըստ քո կամացդ. այլ որպէս ի գրին կա այնպէս ասել զնոսա:

Է. Յոյժ դժուարին է ծառաից Աստուծոյ. որք հընազանդեալ են հրամանաց նորա խաւել ընդ ձեզ. զի այլ հերանոսք յորժամ լսեն զանուանս մարգարէիցն և կամ զառաքելոցն ի ծաղր ուժգին շարժին. իսկ դուր թէս զանուանս ոչ անարգէք. զբան նոցա բամահէք. մանաւանդ Եթէ զիսաւողին նորաւը. ապա թէ ոչ զինչ արացուր զասացեալսն {48v} առ Մովսէս ես ես Աստուած Աբրահամու. և Աստուած Սահակա. և Աստուած Յակովա. և կամ թէ եկայր արացուր մարդ ըստ պատկերի մերում և ըստ ննանութեան. և կամ թէ եկայր իշցուր և խառնակեսցուր զնոսա. կամ թէ Տէր տեղաց ի Սողոմ և ի Գոնոր հուր ի Տեառնէ. Տէր. ի Տեառնէ. և այս ի Մովսէսի գրոցն է, զորս ոչ ընթերցար դու և ոչ արէնսուսոյցն քո, զի՞նչ. ցիրեշտակս կարծիցես ասել Աստուծոյ այսպիսի ինչ որք և տեսանել զնա ոչ կարեն: Չեմք որպէս զրեզ. եթէ վայրապար և հարևանցի կարծենք զգոց Աստուծոյ զասացուածս. ցո՞վ պատշաճ եր ասել Աստուծոյ այսպիսի բանս. եթէ ոչ առ բանն իր որ է կերպարան Էութեան նորա և ճառագայր լուսոյ փառաց նորա. և ցիոզին սուրբ որ սրբէ և լուսաւորէ զամենայն. և զրպարտիմք ի ձենջ իրբի զերիս Աստուծոյ խոստովանողս:

Լուր և ապա պատասխանեա, աղաջեմ, այլ իմն է արեգակն և այլ ճառագայքը նորա. թէպէտու յարեգականէ անտի է. և առանց ճառագայթիցն արեգակն ոչ է արեգակն. և եթէ ասէ որ զառագայթսն ծնեալ յարեգակ{49r}յանէ առանց ախտի և կամ իգականի ոչ ստէ. և թէպէտ այլ ինչ է արեգակն և այլ ինչ ճառագայթն, ոչ եթէ վասն այնորիկ երկու արեգակունք իցեն. բայց թեզ արդենք շրոտի այսպէս. արդ եթէ այսմ լուսոյ զոր աշաւքս մեր տեսանել կարենք. և արարած է Աստուծոյ երկի այսպիսի մարոր ի յախտէ ծնունդ որ և զիշերաւ ծածկի և արգելանաւ շինուածոց. որշափ ևս առաւել ինձ իմասցիս զաստուածայնոյն. ինքնեղ և ինքնարաւալական և անգիշեր լուսոյն. և զայս հարկաւորեցա արթինակաւ իիք ցուցանել. զի պատուիրելոցն Աստուծոյ որ ի զիրս սուրբս ոչ հաւանի. այլ զրո կամսդ վեհագոյն բան զնոսա համարիս. զորս կամիսն զրես ի նոցանէ. և զորս ոչն կամիս յայլ ինչ փոխարկես. և զորս կամիս խոտես և ի բաց ընկենուս. անիծեալ ամենայն մարդ որ երկուս կամ երիս խոստովանի աստուածս. զի հարկ է զայնոսիկ այլացեղս և այլսկզբունս ասել: Այլ մեր մի զիտեմք Աստուած արարիշ երկնի և երկրի. ոչ անբան այլ ամենասուրբ և արուեստաւորիչն իրով բանին որով արար և ունի զարարածս. զոր {49v} բան ոչ իրբի զմեր բանս յետ խաւելոյն լուծեալ և ի բաց բարձեալ. և մինչչև խաւեալ ոչ լուեալ և ոչ ծանուցեալ: Զաս

²¹⁷ զմարգարէին] read: զմարգարէիցն.

գիտեմք Աստուծոյ բան, ճառագայթ. անխաւար անյորակ²¹⁸ լուսոյ. ոչ որպէս արեգակն ճառագայթիցն և եթ ծնունդ այլ ի վեր բան զկարողութիւն ասացուածիս մեր. զաա կոչեն որդի աստուածահն գիրք. ոչ ախտաւոր կարաւութեամբ և աղտեղի ցանգութեանց ծնունդ. այլ զոր արդինակ յարեգականէ ճառագայթ. և որպէս ի հրոյ լոյս. և բան ի մոտաց. և այս որշափ մարդկահնս կարաց թարգմանել լեզու. զբանին Աստուծոյ առ ի յԱստուծոյ ունել զգոյութիւն.

Եւ ապա բանզի ոչ ինչ պատուական է Աստուծոյ յարարածս իր բան զմարդոն. վասն զի և դու խոստովան լինս Եթէ իրամաեաց Աստուած իրեշտակաց երկրպագել Ադամա թէպէտն յաստուածահն գիրս զայդ ոչ գտանես: Արդ Ադամ մարդ Եր՝ գեղեցիկ վկանցեր բամբասեալ զրոին հպարտութիւնդ. զի որ մարդկան ոչ երկրպագեսցն. գիտացեն ընդ որս դասեսցին որպէս ասացեր: Արդ ի պատկեր Աստուծոյ եղև Ադամ յայտ է. զիա՞րդ զայս ախտ{50r} աւոր ընդդիմահար մարմինս կարծեսցն Աստուծոյ ասել պատկեր իր. ոչ. այլ զիր և զբանին իրոյ. և զիոզոյն իրոյ զնմանութիւնն եղ ի նմա. զիոզի. զմիտու. և զբան: Զսոսս ի սմա հաւաքեալ կառոյց և ընդ ինքնիշխանութեան շրջարկեալ պատի, եղև Աստուծոյ պատկեր: Սա խարանար բանսարկուին անկալ ի պատույն զոր ետ սմա արարիչն. անարգեալ եղև մոռացմամբ ստեղծողին իրոյ. և վարուք անառակ և զարշելի ցանցութեամբ պիղծ և պէսպէս զիճութեամբ կերով. ատելութեամբք զրկութեամբք միմեանց. սպանութեամբք. և որ վերջին և առաջին է ամենայն չարեաց. կուապաշտութեամբք. և այնպիսի պոռնկութեամբ որ ասել տաղտկամ. զի ոչ միայն զշէսն աստուածս կարծեցին. և կամ զերնելի արարածս այլ զնոսին իսկ զախտսն. զպոննկութիւն, և զարուագիտութիւն աստուածս կարծեալ պաշտեցին. զոր բանսարկուն իր արար երկրպագութիւն. և ուրախ լինէր պատկենաթ կոոցն. շարաչար նշանս ախտից կատարելոյ յերկրպագունսն և ի նոսին յորդորելով զնոսա:

Արդ տեսեալ Աստուծոյ զիր պատկերն ան{50v}արգեալ երկրպագութեամբ բանսարկուին եւ գործովք հաճոյիցն նորա. ողորմեցաւ սմա որպէս բարերար և արդարե մարդասէր: Եւ զի այս Եր փրկութիւն. ճանաչել զարարիչն իր և ի բաց կալ ի թշնամոյն. ըստ ժամանակի ժամանակի որպէս ի խաւարի ի կուապաշտութեան անդ. որպէս ճրագ լուցանէր զգիտութիւնն իր ի ձեռն ծառաից լուրոց մարգարէց. և զի կուրացեալ եին միտք մարդկան և ոչ կարէին զբաւանդակ աստուածութեան զիտութեանն ընդունել լոյս. վասն այսորիկ զշափառ զիտութիւնն իր առ սակաւ սակաւ յայտնէր մարդկան որպէս կանխաւ ասացի. մինչև ցկատարումն ժամանակացն որշափ հաճեցաւ Աստուած խրատել զմարդիկ. և յառաջազոյն խոստացաւ մարգարէիր զգալուստ մարմնով բանին իր. և բանզի զմարմին և զիոզի և զամենայն ինչ առնոց Եր Աստուծոյ բան զմերս բաց ի մեղաց: Եւ զի ոչ որ կարաց ի մարդկանէ այնքան ի խոնարհութեանն իշանել աշտիճան որքան նա վասն այսորիկ զխոնարհազոյնս զնմանէ որպէս զխոնարհազոյն{51r}է. մարդոյ զիտեմք ասացեալ. իսկ զբարձրագոյնս իբրև զարդար Աստուծոյ:

Յիշեսցես արդենք զոր ասացաք վասն զՄովսէսի ասացեալսն հաւասարութիւն բանին առ նոյն ինքն Աստուած: Լոր նմին իսկ Մովսէսի յաղազս մարդկապէս երևանսն. մարգարէ յարուցէ ձեզ Տէր Աստուած ձեր յեղբարց ձերոց իբրև զիս. նմա լուիշիք ըստ ամենայնի զոր ինչ և խաւեսցի առ ձեզ. և եղիցի ամենայն մարդ որ ոչ լուիցէ մարգարէին այնմիկ. սատակեսցի անձն այն ի ժողովրդենէն իրմէ: Բազում և ոչ թէ մի մարգարէք յարեան յԵսրահի յետ Մովսէսի. այլ զայս պատուէր յաղազս միոյն առնէ. և որ զարաւորագոյնս և դժուարահաւատալիսն էր խաւելոց:

Արդ եկեսցեն թեզ այսուհետն հոյլք վկառութեանց մարգարէց վասն զալստեանն Քրիստոսի: Բայց լոր նախ զխոնարհազոյն ասացեալսն զնմանէ, զի զայսոսիկ ախորժելով

218 անյորակ] read: անորակ.

որպէս կարծեն լսեա. թերևս որպէս սանդղովք ինչ այսուիկ ի քարձրագոյնան. Եթէ նորա իցեն կամք հանել հուակ կացուցից: Դաիք մարգարէանալով ընդ նորա ասէ. ես եմ որդին և ոչ մարդ. նախին մարդկան և արհամարհանը ժողովրդեան. ամենայն որ տեսանէին զիս այսանէին զիս. խասէին շրթամբք և շարժէին զգունիս իրեանց. յուսացաւ ի Տէր և ապրեցուցէ զնա փրկեսցէ զնա կեցուցէ զնա { . . } զի կամի զնա: Եւ այս երրէք ոչ գործեցաւ ի Դաիք. բայց ի Տէրն ի ժամ խաչելութեան: Արդ լուր նմին Դաւթի վասն նորա զբարձրագոյնան ասացեալ. Տէր ասաց զիս որդի իմ ես դու ես այսար ծնայ զրեզ. և յաղաց զամենայն հեթանոսքն լսոյ որ ի նայն հաւատոց. յարեաց ի նոյն. խնդրեա յինէն և տաց թեզ զիեթանոսքն ի ժառանգութիւն և յունողութիւն թեզ զծազս երկրի. եւ դարձեալ ասաց Տէր Տեառն իմոյ նիստ ընդ աջմէ իմնէ մինչև եղից զբշնամիս քո պատուանդան ոտից քոց. ընդ թեզ է սկիզբն զարութեան պայծառութիւն սրբոց քո յարգանդէ յառաջ քան զարուսեակ ծնա զրեզ:

Իսկյաղազս յերկինս մի գոլոյ աստուածութեանն բնութեան. դարձեալ նշանակեալ Դաւթ ասելով. ողորմութեամբ Տեառն լի եղև երկիր և քանի Տեառն երկ{52r}ինը հաստատեցան և հոգով թերանց նորա ամենայն զարութիւնը նորա: Եւ Երեմիաս Տէր առաքեաց զիս և հոգի նորա. և յաղաց մարմնանալոյ բանին. լուր դարձեալ Երեմիաի. նա է Աստուած մեր ասէ ընդ որում ոչ համարեսի այլ. եզիտ զամենայն ճանապարհ իմաստութեան. և ետ զնա Յակորա ծառահի իլոյ. և Խարաէլի սիրեցելոյն ի նմանէ յետ այսուիկ յերկրի երևեցաւ և ընդ մարդկան շրջեցաւ: Այս են զիրք հրամանաց Աստուածոյ և արէնք Աստուածոյ որ կան յախտեան. դարձ Յակոր և բուռն հար զնմանէն ընդ ծագումն առաջին լուսոյ նորա: Երկուս ծագումն լուսոյ նորա եցոյ մարգարէս. նախ զանձառ խոնարհութեանս որով ծագմամբ զընդհանուր տիեզերս լուսաւորեաց աստուածգիսութեանն ճառագայթիր: Իսկ զերկրորդն ի համաշխարհական յարութեանն յորմէ զգուշացուցանէ մարգարէս զերբարկան ազգն և խրատէ. զի առաջնոյ ծագմանն հաւատացեն և մի ապստամբք եղիցին որպէս և եղենն իսկ. և ատարք վաելեցեն ի փառը²¹⁹ {52v} նորա. այսինքն հեթանոսք. դարձ Յակոր և բուռն հար զնմանէն ընդ ծագումն առաջին լուսոյ նորա. մի տալ²²⁰ այլում զփառը²²¹ քո և մի զաւուտ քո ազգի աւտարուտոյ: Ունկոնիր լեր ասացելոցդ. ոչ զնարդանալոյն ներ Աստուածոյ բանին մարգարէացաւ, այլ յայտնապէս զուշակեալ և զիեստութիւն ապստամբութեանն ըստ մարմնոյ Խարաէլին:

Ոչ ինչ արգել է լսել այլևս արտաքրութեան որումն. ոչ ըստ իրոց կամաց մարգարէութեան. զոր և Մովսէս եղ յիրում զբարութեանն. իբրև զի գեղեցիկ է տուն քո Յակովը և խորան քո Խարաէլ. և յետ փոքր միոյ. եղէլ այր ի զաւակէ նորա և տիրեսցէ ազգաց քազմաց. և քարձրասի քան զԳոզա թագաւորութիւն նորա. և աճեսցէ թագաւորութիւն նորա. և դարձեալ ցուցից զնմանէն և ոչ այժմ. երանեցից և ոչ ի մաստոյ. ծագեսցէ աստղ ի Յակորա և ծագեսցէ այր յԽարաէլէ և հարցէ զիշխանն Մովսար. և անցէ աւար զամենայն որդիս Սեբայ: Արդ թէպէտ իբրև զնարդոյ զայտոսիկ ասաց. այլ տես զիարդ նշանակեաց զտիրելն նորա ամենայն հեթանոսաց. կամիցիս զիտել {53r} որ է տիրելն նորա ամենայն ազգաց. ամենեցունց հաւատալ ի նա զոր և դու իսկ տեսանես: Յուցից և զիշխանն Մովսար. զոր է հար Քրիստոս զսաւանա հանդերձ դիմաւրքն որք զարացուցանէին ի նոսա զկոռոցն մոլորութիւնն և զպաշտամունան. քանզի Մովսարցուն և որք ընդ նովա ազգացն կուպաշտութիւնը զարշելագոյնը էին քան զամենայն ազգաց. զի և զանդամս առնացի և կանացի որով անառակ ցանկութիւնքն կատարին. և պաշտէին:

219 փառը] read: փառս.

220 տալ] read: տար.

221 զփառը] read: զփառս.

Եւ զիարդ բարձրացաւ քան զԳովզայ թագաւորութիւն նորա. զի նորայն որպիսի ինչ է երկրաւոր է. իսկ Քրիստոսին երկնաւոր է, և զի այսպիսի է Քրիստոսի թագաւորութիւնն. մի ստունգաներ գիողոյն ասացեալսն ի Դաւթա: Աստուած ասէ զիրաւունս քո արքաի տուր. և զարդարութիւնս քո որդոյ թագաւորի. եթե ոչ էր երկնաւոր և երկրաւոր թագաւորի որդի Քրիստոս. ըստ աստուածութեանն Աստուծոյ որդի. և ըստ մարդկութեանն Դաւթի որպէս թագում անգամ ասացաք: Դարձեալ ի վերա ածէ. մնասցէ ասէ ընդ արևու յառաջ քան զրուսին ազգաց յազզա. {53v} և տիրեսցէ նա ի ծովէ մինչև ի ծով. և ի զետոց մինչև ի ծազս տիեզերաց. և երկիր պազցեն նմա ամենայն ազգը երկրի. և ամենայն ազգ ծառանցեն նմա. աղաւթեսցեն առ նա յամենայն ժամ. և զարդանապազ արհենեսցեն զնա. եղիցի անուն Տեառն արհենեալ զի յառաջ քան զարն է անուն նորա. արհենեսցին նովա ամենայն ազգը երկրի և ամենայն ազինք երանեսցին նմա: Արդ ոչ ոք զարդութեսցի ի վերա սուկ մարդոյ զաւակի Դաւթի զայստուկ իմանալ և ոչ ի վերա ըստ մարմնոյ որդուոյն Դաւթի. իսկ ըստ աստուածութեանն քանի և որդոյն Աստուծոյ. և ի ձեռն խաղաղարար հաւատոց տիրել. և ոչ սրոյ կոտորածի և անողորմ արինենդութեանց և գերութեանց. զայն ի նոյն Սահմասին յայտնապէս ասէ. ծագեսցէ յաւուրս նորա արդարութիւն և թագում խաղաղութիւն մինչև սպառեսցի լուսին: Դարձեալ և մարգարեին Միքելի ասաց Աստուած. և դու Բեդրէէմ տուն Եփրաթա սակաւաւոր, իցես լինել ի հազարաւորս Յուտա. ի թէն եցէ ինձ լինել առաջնորդ որ հովեսցէ գժողովորդ իւր զՄսրաէլ. և ելք նորա ի սկզբանէ աւուրց {54r} աշխարհի: Եւ սուկոյ մարդոյ ելք ոչ է հնար լինել ի սկզբանէ աշխարհի. և Երեմիաի դարձեալ ասաց Աստուած. մարդ է և ով ծանցէ զնա: Ակնկալութիւն Իսրաելի Տէր. ամեներեան որ բողինն զքեզ ամաշեսցեն հեռացեալքն յերկրի. գերեսցին զի թողին զՏէր զարբիր ջուրցն կենաց.

Բայց Իսրաել կոչէ ոչ զանհասան չրէայսն. այլ որք տեսին զբանն Աստուծոյ և հաւատացին երէ Աստուած յԱստուծոյ է. զի Իսրաել սրատեսաւ թարգմանի ի լեզու չէրբացի. արդ տեսաւ զԻսրաել կամի Աստուած. լուր ի ձեռն Եսանեա ասացելոյն. մանուկ ծնաւ մեզ որոյ իշխանութիւնն իւր ի վերա ուսոց իւրոց. և անուն կոչեցաւ նմա հրեշտակ մեծի խորիրդոյ. սքանչելի խորիրդակից. Աստուած հզար իշխան խաղաղութեան հայր հանդերձելոյ աշխարհին: Հրեշտակ ասաց վասն առանց մեղաց մարդկութեան. իսկ սքանչելի խորիրդակից և Աստուած հզար, վասն անուանն աստուածութեան. և ի վերա թէրէ զայստուկ. մեծ է իշխանութիւն նորա. և խաղաղութեան նորա չիր սահման. յարոռն Դաւթի նստցի և զբագաւորութիւն նորա փառաւորց {54v} նեսցէ. և զարացուցէ զնա իրաւամքը և արդարութեամբ յայսմետէ և յախտեանս ժամանակաց:

Արդ եթէ ոչ նստաւ յարոռն Դաւթի և ոչ թաւորեան²²² Իսրաելի. զի ոչ զանցաւոր աքոռոյ ասէ. այլ զայնանալէ զորմէ ասաց Աստուած ցԴաւթի. մինչ ցյահիտեանս պատրաստեցից զզաւակ քո. և շինեցից ազգէ յազգ զարոն քո որպէս զաւուրս երկնից: Եւ ապա զիա՞րդ. կամ որ արոռ էր Դաւթի. կամ եղէ՞ յախտեան, կամ որպէս զաւուրս երկնից. եթէ ոչ զերկնաւոր թագաւորութենէ ըստ մարմնոյ Դաւթի որդոյն որ է Քրիստոս. զորմէ և ասացն իսկ յարոռն Դաւթի նստցի և զբագաւորութիւն նորա փառաւորեսցէ և զարացուցէ իրաւամքը և արդարութեամբ յայսմետէ և յախտեանս ժամանակաց: Յայտ է թէ առաւել փառաւորագոյն և զարաւորագոյն թագաւորութիւնն Քրիստոսի ըստ մարմնոյ որդի Դաւթի. փոխեաց զնորա թագաւորութիւնն ի վեր յերկինս. յախտեանականն և յանհասանելին: Պարտիս ուշադրել և Եսայեա. ահա կոյս յդութիւն կալցի և ծնցի որդի և կոչեսցեն զանուն {55r} նորա Եմմանուէլ այսինքն, ընդ մեզ Աստուած:

222 թաւորեաց] read: թագաւորեաց.

Ունիմ և այլ վկառիթինս յոյովագոյն հոյլս զոր համառատեկ աւգտակարագոյն վարկար. զի մի լսադրն զձանձրութին ախտացին. թէ կամեսիս լուր և վասն անձառ խոնարհութեան շարչարանացն նորա. զոր կամաւրաբար կրեալ համբերեաց զնոցին կանխաւ մարգարէիցն գուշակումն: Եսայիա ասաց հոգին սուրբ. ես ոչ խստանամ և ոչ ընդրէմ դառնամ, զթիկուն իմ եսոու ի հարուածու և զծնաւու իմ յապտակս. և զերեսս իմ ոչ դարձուցից յամարտոյ ընդ երեսս թքանելոյ. զինչ և ի ձեռն Զաքարիա ասաց Աստուած. երէ բարոր բուի յաչս ձեր տուր զվարձու իմ. ապա երէ ոչ զրոյց արարէք. և կշոնցին զվարձու իմ. երեսուն. արծաթի. և այս զործեցաւ ի փրկիշն. վաճառել յիրմէ աշակերտէն մատնել ի մահ. որպէս և այլ մարգարէութինքն որ կատարեցան ի Տէր զորս պատմեն սուրբ Աւետարանքն. զոր թէ կամիցիս ընթերց²²³ խնամով և այսպէս գտցես: Ընդ բազմաց և Դաւիթ ասաց մարգարէութեամբ վասն սոցին. որ ուտէր զիաց իմ մեծացոյց ի վերա իմ {55v} զգարշապար հիր.

Լուր և միւս ազդմանն ի ձեռն Եսայեա. ահաւադիկ ի միտ առցէ մանուկ իմ վերացի և բարձրացի և փառաւրեսի յոյժ. զոր արինակ զարմացին ազգք բազումք ի վերա քո. և կարկեսեն բազաւորք զբերանս իրեանց ի վերա քո. զի որոց ոչ պատմեցաւ վասն նորա տեսցեն և որոց ոչ իցէ լուեալ ի միտ առցեն. Տէր ով հաւատաց ի լուր մեր և բազուկն Տեառն ուս յայտնեցաւ. պատմեցար առաջի նորա իբրև զմանուկ իբրև զարմատ ի ծարաւուտ երկրի. տեսար մեր զնա և ոչ զրյու նորա տեսիլ. և ոչ զրյու նորա գեղեցկութին. այլ տեսիլ նորա անարգ նուազեալ քան զամենայն որդոց մարդկան. այր մի ի հարուածու և զիտէ համբերել ցաւոց զի դարձուցեալ զերեսս իր անարգեցաւ և ոչ ինչ համարեցան. նա զմեղս մեր բառնա. և վասն մեր չարչարի և մեր համարեցար զնա ի ցաւս և ի հարուածու և ի չարչարանս իբրև յԱստուծոյ. բայց նա վիրաւորեցաւ վասն մեղաց մերոց և պատմեցաւ վասն մերոյ անարէնութեան. խրատ խաղաղորեեան մերոյ ի նմա և նորա վիրաւըն թշկեցար. ամեն{56r} իբեան որպէս ոչխարք մոլորեալք. այր ի ճանապարհի յիրում մոլորեցաւ. և Տէր մատնեաց զնա առ մենս մեր. և նա առ վշտին ոչ բանա զբերան իր. իբրև ոչխար ի սպանդ վարեցաւ. իբրև արոշ առաջի կտրչի անմունչ կա այնպէս ոչ բանա զբերան իր. առ խոնարհութեան նորա դատաստան նորա բարձաւ և զազգաստոհմն նորա ով պատմեսցէ զի բառնան յերկրէ կեանք նորա. յանարէնութեանց ժողովրդեան իմոյ ի մահ վարեցաւ. զի անարէնութին ոչ գործեաց և ոչ գտաւ նենգուրին ի բերան նորա: Արդ զայսքան վկառիթինս հոգույն սրբոյ զոր խաւանցաւ ի ձեռն ծառահի յիրոց մարգարէից. միայն Մահմետին քո բանի ուրանաս և սուտ առնես՝ և ուր է իր իսկ արինադրին քո իրամանն. առանց երկու վկայից ոչ հաստատել և զկարի յոյժ փորքագոյն իրս. իսկ զիա՞րդ զայսպիսի ահազին հայինութին միայն նորա բանի խաւան ոչ պատկատես.

Զքո արինադրին զահազին ստորիթինս մոռացար՝ արդեք. թէև զիտես իսկ ոչ. զՄարիամ զԱմրանա դուստրն. զԱհար{56v}ինի զքոյն. նայ է մայր Տեառն մերոյ. և ի ժամանակացն յայնցանէ մինչև ցմայր Տեառն են ամք. երկու հազար, պակաս երեսնի. իսկ ազգ. երեսուն ե երկու. թէ արդարե մարմնեղէն և ոչ քաղեղէն²²⁵ ունիցիս երեսս՝ ամաշես ընդ այսքան յայտնութինս յայտնի ստորիթինս: Զի ի Յուդաի, ցեղէ անդի խոստացաւ Աստուած զգալուստն Քրիստոսի. և Մարիամ Ամրանա դուստրն ի Ղեւեայ էր և այնքան երիցացոյն ժամանակար զոր ասացի.

Բայց զյուվագոյն և զգայագոյն ստորեանդ ձերոյ որքան անհնար է զալ զիետ. սակայն թէ և առասպելք քո անհաստատութեանդ անբաւ ստորեանց զոն խորք. փոքր դուլիս

223 ընթերց] read: ընթերցիր.

224 երկու հազար] read: մի.

225 քաղեղէն] read: քարեղէն.

Ճշմարտութեանն ցամաքեցուացոր. ասացեր վերագրելով զԱրիխնացն և զԱւետարանացն և զՍաղմոսացն թէ խանգարեցէր դոր և չրէայր. ի վերա ածեր. եթէ վկան եթէ յԱստուծոյ են. եթէ մերք շփորեալ են և ապականեալ. քոյն ո՞ր է. որում վկանեցր. աղէ ցոյ ինձ այլ գիրս. զՄովսէս և զմարգարէիցն և զՍաղմոս Դարի գոր տեսցոր. կամ այլ Աւետարան. ո՞հ. ամաւրոյ արժ{57r}անի ստորիհին. և առասպելագոյն քան զամենայն ստորիհին. գոնեա ի վերա ած եթէ ես ոչ էի անդ. և մի դոր հաւատայր, ո՞վ այր դու զվկաութիւնսդ որ յայս որ առ մեզ Աւետարանաց առնու թէպէտ և զնոսին բռնադատես և այլալես և տակալին ասես եթէ զայսոսիկ խանգարեալ է ձեր. աղէ յայնմ Աւետարանէ խաւսեաց գոր էտես արէնսդիրն քն. ապա զիտես եթէ ճշմարիտ ասես:

Եւ որ ասացեր եթէ մի են հաւատը. արդարն մի են հաւատը և մի մկրտութիւն. և ոչ գոյ այլ հաւատ աւանդեալ յԱստուծոյ և ոչ պատուէր առեալ ի մարդիկ: Եւ որ ասացէրն, շաղաթեցին արէնքն յոր կողմն աղաւթէրդ. և ոչ հաղորդեցան զծեր հաղորդութիւնդ. այս բազալանաց և ընդ վայրի խնդրոց են հոյլը. զի կողմն աղաւթից մարգարէիցն չերսէր. բայց դու միայն յարգել կամիս զինքանոսալկան զոհանոցն. զոր տուն Աքրահամու անուանեցնը. և ոչ որեք յաստուածուանին զիրս գտանեմք զԱքրահամ հաւեալ ի տեղիսն յայն. զոր արէնսդիրն քն շուրջանակի երկրպագել ազգիդ ձերոյ {57v} ուսոյց: Իսկ հաղորդութեան խորհրդոյն ի տեղոց իրում երից զպատասխանին:

Ը. Այլ այժմ նախ զԱւետարանացն ասացուածս տեսցոր թէ այսպէս արդարն իցէ որպէս դուու կարծես. աղաւթեաց արդարն Յիսուս ըստ մարդկութեանն զոր էտ ի մէնչ առ ի զմեզ ուսուցանելոյ. և ըստ աստուածութեանն ոչ կարաւտ աղաւթից. այլ յաղաւթեն ոչ ասէր որպէս դուու զրեցնը. այլ էրէ հայր եթէ հնար է անց զբաժակս զայս յինէն. ցուցանելով թէ մարդ ճշմարիտ եմ. զի թէ յաստուածութենէն որ թերի զԱստուծոյ քանն խոստովանի. կորուսանէ զոյս կենաց իրոց. նյյանէս և եթէ ի մարդկութեանս որ կատարեալ զնա ոչ խոստովանի: Բայց տես զճմարտութիւն Աւետարանացն և զմեր հաւատացելոց. զի և խոնահագոյնքն²²⁶ և բարձրագոյնքն ողջ պահին ի զիրս Աւետարանացն. և թէ ապականէար. կամ մեր կամ առաջինքն. ընդէր զիտնարիհագոյն ձայնսն յԱւետարանացն ոչ բատնայք. ասաց. ոչ կարէ որդի մարդոյ յանձնէ առնել և ոչ ինչ. այլ հայրն որ յիս բնակեալ է նա զործէ {58r} զզործն. եթէ հաւատաս այնմ զրելոցն ոչ կարեմ յանձնէ առնել և ոչ ինչ. հաւատա այնմ թէ հայր որ յիս բնակեալն է նա զործէ զզործն: Եթէ հաւատա երկիդին ի ժամ մահուն կենարար և քրտանցն որ վասն Աղամա քրտանցն կրեաց. զոր ինքն անմարմնաբար ասաց ցԱղամ քրտամբ երեսաց քոց կերիցես զիս քո: Եւ առ ի հրեշտակէն զարանալոյ որ ոչ վասն զնա զարացուանելոյ. այլ հրեշտական զկարծիս աշակերտացն նորա հաստատելով. զի իբրև ընդ մարդ լոկ նայէին և մարդ սոսկ կարծէին. վասն այնորիկ զի գոնես ի հրեշտակին խասակցութենէ ի վեր քան զմարդ սոսկ երևիցի: Արդ եթէ այսմ հաւատաս, հաւատա դու այնմ որ ասաց ի նմին զիրս. ես դնեմ զանձն իմ անձամբ իմով և դարձեալ անձամբ իմով առնում զսս. և դարձեալ ոչ ասաց առաքեաց զիս Աստուած առ տիեզերս և դառնամ առ նա որպէս և դու զրեցնը. այլ թէ որ առաքեացն զիս հայր ընդ իս է. և դարձեալ ելի ի հարէ և եկի յաշխարհ. դարձեալ թողում զաշխարհ և երթամ {58v} առ հայր.

Բայց որ հայր զրեալ է. դու զայն Տէր կամ Աստուած շրջես. և անձամբ զանձն իրաւացուանել կարծես. յյժ կարծես յանիրաւութեան զմին ևեթ ոչ ստեցնը. այլ թէն զվկաութիւնն ուղիղ եղիր հաւանել ոչ կարացեր. որ հաւատաց յիս ոչ հաւատաց յիս այլ յայն որ առաքեացն զիս. այսինքն է, ոչ յերեւելի մարդս. այլ յաներևոյթ Աստուած քանս. և դարձեալ որ անարգէ զիս. անարգէ զառաքիշն իմ. և որ տեսանէ զիս. զայն տեսանէ որ առաքեացն զիս.

226 խոնահագոյնքն read: խոնարիհագոյնքն.

առաքի իբրև զմարդ և առաքէ իբրև զԱստուած. ասաց աշակերտացն. հայր իմ մեծ է քան զիս. քան զմարդկութիւնն է մեծ. թէ ոչ զիարդ դարձեալ ասէր ես և հայր իմ մի եմք. ասաց յաղաթսն որպէս և գրեցեր. զի ծանիցն զքեզ միայն ծշմարիտ Աստուած. և զոր առաքեցեր զՅիսուս Քրիստոս:

Ահա ի նոյն պատուի աստուածութեանն եղ զՅիսուս Քրիստոս: Արդ եթէ սոսկ մարգարէ էր. արժան եր ասել զի ծանիցն միայն ծշմարիտ Աստուած և զՄովսէս և զայլ մարգարէսն և ապա զՅիսուս: Արդ ի քաց թող զբաջանաւր լի իմաց{59r}ուածադ. քանզի էր Աստուած կատարեալ. և առմամք եղև մարդ ծշմարիտ. և զխոնարհագոյնն գտանեմք զնմանէն ասացեալ իբրև զմարդոյ. որպէս բազում անգամ ասացի. և զբարձրագոյնն որպէս արդարն Աստուածոյ. փորձի ի սատանաէ ի ձեռն ծածկութին այսինքն է մարմնոյն. քանզի լուեալ սատանաի զձայնն որ ի մկրտութեանն. ասելով Աստուածոյ դա է որդի իմ սիրելի ընդ որ հաճեցա. զարհութեալ սոսկացաւ և ոչ զիտէր վասն ոյր արդենք եղև ձայնն. իսկ Տէրն զպահոցն քառասնարեայ ժամանակ առաջի արկեալ որպէս ձայնի ինչ ցուցանէ զինքն՝ և վասն իր եղեալ զձայնն զի միշտ ընդ առարինութեանն փութացողըն՝ նախանձի և տրտմի շարին և մատուցեալ տեսանն մարդ զՏէրն. իսկ նայ իբր զգիտակ ամենայնի. իբր մարդ առնէ նմա զպատասխանին. շարժանարեալ զքշնամին մեր և յայտնել զկատ{59v}արենութիւն խորհրդոյն. այլ զիարդ ոչ ընթերցար եթէ յետ կատարելոյ փորձութեանն. ի քաց եկաց ի նմանէ սատանա առ ժամանակ մի. և հրեշտակը մատեանն և պաշտէին զնա. և հրեշտակը զոսկ մարդ պաշտեն.

Ի ծշմարտութենէն նեթ որպէս երեկի փախչիս. և ոչ այլ ինչ կամիս. և այս է զոր ասեմս աստուածարանել զմեր Տէրն ընդդիմանսա. և մարդ սոսկ խոստովանիս. արինակ ածելով զԱդամ թէն նա առանց ծնողաց յԱստուածոյ ծնեալ եղև: Իսկ զկենարար մահուանէն որ լուեալ ես ասելով. ոչ ումեր կարող գոյ ի մարդկանէ սպանանել զնա. և եթէ սոսկ մարդ է ըստ քո կարծեացս. զինչ անհաւատ է մեռանել մարդոյ: Արդ քաջ միտ դիր և խորհեա յայնոսիկ, և զի դու զխոնարհագոյնն որ յաղազ Տեառնն ձայնս հեշտութեամք ընդունիս. և զբարձրագոյնն ի քաց լրանես ընկենուս: Լուր նոցին իսկ Աւետարանացն յաղազ այսոցիկ. Յոհաննէս Աւետարանիշ յաղազ որոյ ասելով որ հաւ{60r}ատա յորդի ընդունի զկեանսն յախտենական. և որ ոչ հնազանդի որդոյ. ոչ տեսցէ զկեանսն այլ զբարկութիւնն Աստուածոյ: Եւ դարձեալ Յովաննէս Զաքարիահ որդին ասէ. ահա Յիսուս զառն Աստուածոյ որ քառնա զմենս աշխարհի. և նոյն ինքն սկիզբն Յոհաննու Աւետարանին: Ի սկզբանէ էր քանն և քանն էր առ Աստուած և Աստուած էր քանն. նա էր ի սկզբանէ առ Աստուած. ամենայն ինչ նովս եղև և առանց նորա եղև և ոչ ինչ. և նոյն ինքն Աստուածոյ քանն հանդերձ մարմնով ասէր որ էտես զիս էտես զիայր իմ. և որպէս զիտէ զիս հայր զիտէն և ես զիայր. և որ առաքեաց զիս հայր ընդ իս է. եկանեմ ես առ հայր իմ և առ հայր ձեր և Աստուած իմ և Աստուած ձեր. հայր նորա ընութեամք, և ձեր շնորհագ. զի որք ընկալանն զնա ասէ. ես նոցա իշխանութիւն որդիս Աստուածոյ լինել որոց հաւատացեն յանուն նորա. իսկ Աստուած սորա ըստ մարմնոյն ընդ մեզ և մեր քնարար. առաքի իբրև զմարդ. և առաքէ իբրև զԱստուած. որպէս առաքեաց զիս հայր և ես առաքեմ զձեզ. {60v} ըստ այսմիկ և ամենայն ձայնք Աւետարանացն:

Իսկ այն որ ասացերն. անձնիշխանաբար զբլփատութիւնն մեզ ի մկրտութիւն փոխել. և զզիսին, ի հաղորդութիւն արինութեան հացի և քածակի. զայս. ոչ մեր այլ նոյն ինքն Տէրն զարիխնակս որ ի հնումն ի ծշմարտութիւն իրացն փոխեաց ըստ մարգարէութեանն Երեմիահ որ ասէ. ահա աւուրք գան ասէ Տէր. և ուխտեցից տանդ Իսրաելի և տանդ Յուդա ուխտ նոր. ոչ ըստ ուխտին զոր ուխտեցից ես ընդ հարսն նոցա յաւոր յորում հանի զնոսս յերկրէն Եզիդատացոց: Եւ զո՞ր ուխտ. եղ ընդ հարսն նոցա յերկրին Եզիդատացոց. եթէ ոչ զարին զատինն ի պատրահն այսինքն ի զատկին. զորմէ ասացն. այս արէն կացցէ յազգս ձեր:

Արդ արեամբն անսատոն գատինն ապրեցան որդիքն Խսրաւելի ի սաստակչէն. իսկ արեամբ անարատ գատինն ոչ ապրիմը յախտենական ի մահուանէն. ամբիծ գատինն Աստուծոյ. ի ժամանակ ի չարչարանացն առեալ հաց արինեաց Եք{61r}եկ և ետ աշակերտացն. այսպէս և զրաժակ գինոյն ասելով մարմին և արիան իր պատուիրեալ զայս առնել յիշատակ իր նշանակելով զիր իրքն զամբիծ և զանարատ գատինն զենումն: Զի և այն զառնն ճշմարիտ զայս նշանակելով ուսուցաներ զառն. զի ոչ ընթերցար զգիրս և ոչ զանուանս զոր կոչեցին սմա աստուծան զիրք. բան. որդի. ճառագայք. կերպարան Աստուծոյ. կերպարան ծառափ. Աստուած. մարդ. իրեշտակ. մարգարիտ. կարթ. Տէր տերանց. ծառա. զառն. ոչխար. հովի. անդրանիկ յեղաքց. անդրանիկ ի մետելոց. ոչ ինչ արգել էր զիրարանչիր զայտսիկ անուանս ցուցանել. թէ ընդէր և ըստ որում այսորիկ անուանեցան. և կամ իցէ երե ծանաչէի զրեզ խնդրաւ արդարութեան:

Իսկ զրլիվատութիւնն որ ասացեր մեզ փոխել ի մկրտութեանն խորհուրդ ոչ գիտացեր. երե ընդէր հաճեցաւ Աստուած յայնմ անդամի ծածկագունի դնել զուստ իր. և ոչ յայլ {61v} փառաւորագոյն և յայտնի անդամս. և զի թէ արդենք զայն ոչ գիտիցես թէ Աքրահան նախրան զրլիվատութիւնն եղի հածոյ Աստուծոյ. և նշանակ հաւատոցն և սիրոյն որ առ Աստուած. ընկալաւ զրլիվատութեանն հրաման. բայց թէ ընդէր ըստ վերագրելոցն ի ծածոկ անդամի անդ. այլ թեզ ոչ է գիտելի. բայց մեր զրլիվատութիւն սրտի հոգուվ հրաման առաք ընդունել և ոչ զարտաքին մարմնոյ. այլ ըստ վերագոյն ասացելոցդ. խոստմանն Աստուծոյ նոր ուխտ ուխտել. և թէ զրլիվատութիւնն և զոհս և զշարաթսն ոչ բառնալ ճշմարիտ արինացն ուսուցչին Քրիստոսի. ապա զոր նոր ուխտ ուխտեր: արդ արժան էր յայրմիկ ամաչել թեզ. զի կամեցեալ քո ի յետին ժամանակս յորս ազատեաց Աստուած զմարդկան ազգ ի կապանաց արինացն վրէժինդիր զրլիվատութեանն լինել. յոյժ ծաղեցեր զնա. բանզի ի հուսուն հրամանեաց Աստուած թիվատել զամենայն արու յաւուր ուրեր{ր}որդի. իսկ դոր ոչ զարս {62r} այլ և զկանայս յորում և իցէ հասակի ամարթակեար խայտառակէք.

Այլ զաստուածայնոյ մկրտութեամս կանխաւ մարգարէին Եզեկիէլի Աստուած գուշակեաց ասելով. և ցանեցից ի վերա ձեր չոր սուրք. և սրբեսչիր յամենայն պղծութեանց ձերոց. և յամենայն կոռց ձերոց սրբեցից զանեզ: Զնոյն և Տէրն յԱւետարանի անդ պատուիրեաց. զնացէք. այսուինեսն աշակերտեցէք զամենայն հեթանոսուն. մկրտեցէք զնոսա յանուն հաւր և որդոյ և հոգոյն սրբոյ. և կատարեցաւ բանն որ ի մարգարէեն. երե եղի զրեզ ի լոյս հեթանոսաց. և դարձեալ ժողովուրդ որ նստեր ի խաւարի ետես զոյս մեծ:

Իսկ զկիրակչէն ոչ փոխանակ շաբաթու եղար որպէս դու սովոր ես գործել անխորհրդաբար. դու զուրբար անխոհականապէս ար ժողովոց կարգեցեր, զպատճառ և ոչ մի ինչ իրաւանց գիտելով. այլ վասն յարութեան Տեառն ըստ մարմնոյ որով մեզ զյարութիւն խոստացաւ. յաղաթս և ի գովորիին զար{62v}արչէն պարապեմք. վասն արդարես մեծի և այսպիսի խորհրդոյ. բանզի յաւուր ի սկզբանն յորում ասաց եղիցի լոյս և եղի լոյս. ի սմին աւուր զոյս անտեսաց յարութեանն ծագեաց ազգի մարդկան: Յարութեամբ ըստ մարմնոյ միածնին իրոյ բանին. և ոչ հրէաբար դատարկանալ ի նմա հրաման ընկալաք մինչ զի և զկերակուրս անզամ հրէերեն ոչ պատրաստել ի սմա: Բայց դու որովհեսն մարգարէիցն և իր իսկ Տեառն ոչ հաւատա զիա՞րդ զաշնարիտ աւանդութիւնն մեր Քրիստոնէիցս առ կարեորս ունիցիս. զի վասն քո և նմանեաց քոց ասաց Աստուած ի ձեռն մարգարէին. տեսէք արհամարհուր և արհամարհեցարուր և եղծարուր. զի զործ մի գործեմ ես յաւուր ձեր զործ որում ոչ հաւատայցէք. եթէ որ պատմեսցէ ձեզ:

ԺԱ: Ոչ ես եմ մոռացեալ որ ասացերն. երե զիա՞րդ էր հնար Աստուծոյ ի մարդկանի արզանի բնակել. ի մեջ արեան և մարմնոյ և պէսպէս աղտեղութեան: Որպէս կարծեմ {63r} տեղեակ ես. եթէ բազում են արարածք Աստուծոյ զորս հրամանաւ և եթ յոշ լինելոյ բանի

ի լինելութիւն էած, ասելով ի. հարիր քարասուն եւ ութ. Սաղմոսին. թէ նա ասաց և եղեն ինքն հրամանաց և շինեցան. և զայն զորս թերևս պատուականագոյնս և մաքրագոյնս ըստ քոյ խորհրդոց քան զմարդն կարծիցես. զերկինն և զերկնաւորքն արեգակամք և լուսնով և աստեղար. և զերկիր բուսովք և բոլոր կենդանեար. իսկ զայն կենդանիս որ աղտեղիս ասացեր. ոչ հրամանաւ այլ ամենակարող և ամենասրբովքն իրովք ստեղծագործեաց ձեռար և փշմամբ իրով հոգիացուցեալ կենդանացոյց: Արդ ոչ էր ըստ Աստուծոյ պիտի քնորեանս մերոյ կազմած որ յայնոցիկ արարչագործ ձեռացն եղի ստեղծեալ. որ և ի պատկեր ստեղծողին ի նմին արարչէ պատուեցաւ: Եթ արդ մի հայոյներ զբարի արարողն նորա. զի Աստուծոյ պիտի և ոչ մի ինչ է որ յինքենէ եղեն բաց ի մեղաց. զոր ոչ ստեղծ Աստուծ ի մարդն և ոչ հրամանաց. այլու ոչ զոյ ինչ պատ{63v}ուականագոյն արարած քան զմարդն. վասն որոյ արար իսկ զամենայն:

Արդ զոր այսքան պատուոյ արժանի արար զնոյն իր պատկերն առնուլ և փրկել ոչ ամաւթ համարէր. զի որպէս ասացի. ոչ ինչ աղտեղի է ի մարկահն քնորենէս. բայց միայն մեղը. զի զոր դու աղտեղագոյն ի քնորեանս մերում համարիս, զայ ի մեծ յարդարութիւն ազգիս մերոյ յարինեաց. որպէս զառամսեայս կանանց ծնրնդականութիւն մարդկան. և զխողուակս բացահոսնանց աւելորդաց կերակրոցն և ընպելեացն ի կենացն պահպանութիւն. զի այսոքիկ թեզ աղտեղիք. իսկ Աստուծոյ որ թեզ է սիրելի. գիշութիւն. և հայոյութիւն. և այլրս այսպիսիքս աղտեղիք՝ և ոչ վերասացեալք զորս ինքն առ ի յարարչութիւն ծնրնդեանն և հանգստեան նոցին արդարի սահմանեաց: Ի վերա այսոցիկ և զայս ինա. զի թէ զմորենին առ Մովսէ{64r}էսի վառեաց հրով աստուածութեամբն իրով և ոչ եկեզ. պատուականութիւն մարդոյ է քան զմորենին և քան զամենայն արարածն զի վասն սրբոցն որ առ ի մարդկանէ լինեին. ասաց Աստուծ քնակեցայց ի նոսա և զնացից ի նոսա. և դարձեալ թէ յո՞ քնակեցայց երե ոչ ի հեզու և ի խոնարիս և յայնոսիկ որոյ դողան ի քանից ինոց.

Աւասիկ քնակարան իրոյ աստուածութեանն ասաց զարդարսն ի մարդկանէ. և չեղու ինչ խափանումն Աստուծոյ. և թշնամանը ի քնորինախնչկան մարդկահն ախտից նոցա զոր դու աղտեղութիւն կարգեցեր. զի և վաելուշ էր միշտ կենդանոյն կենդանի և տաճար ինն լինել: Եթ զայս թեզ առաջի արկանն մանաւանդ զի՞ խանդաս ընդ պատի Աստուծոյ սրբոց և նոցին նշխարաց յորս զինքն ասաց քնակել Աստուած. զի եթէ ամենեցուն ուսկերաց խնամ տանի Աստուած առ ի յառնել մարդկան զիասարակաց յարութիւնն. ո՞րչափ ևս առաւել սրբոց իրոց: Վասն որոյ բազում անգամ մեծամեծս և փառ{64v}աւորեալս խաստեցաւ. և մանաւանդ որք մահու վասն նորա համբերեցին: Վասն որոյ և ասաց իսկ հոգին սուրբ բերանով Դարթի: Պատուական է առաջի Տեառն մահ սրբոց իրոց. դարձեալ բազում նեղութիւնը են արդարոց յամենեցունց փրկեսցէ զնոսա և պահեսցէ զոսկես նոցա և մի ի նոցանէ մի փշուսցի: Զաստուածայնոյ զարութենէն որ ի սուրբսն քնակեալ էր ասէ ոչ փշրել. այլ բազմաց սրբոց փշրեցան և հրով կիզան. բայց դու և ոչ քնախին կարես խորհել յայսոսիկ. այլ իբրև զսղա ընդ երևելիսս ենթ հախ. և դարձեալ ասէ սքանչելի է Աստուած ի վերա սրբոց իր. և Սողոմոն դարձեալ արդարք յախտեան կեցցեն, և ի Տեառն է վարձը նոցա. զի թէպէսն յաշս մարդկան մեռան այլ նորա ի հանգստեան են: Գիտեն զի և այնմ չես տեղեակ թէ սպանեալ զանթլիատ այլազգին և ընկեցեալ ի գերեզման մարզարէին Եղիսէի. եւ նորա մերձեցեալ յոսկերսն մարզարէին {65r} յարեաւ վաղվաղակի: Ահա թէ ոչ էր աստուածախն զարութեանն քնակեալ յոսկերս մարզարէին սրբոց. զիարդ կարեին սոսկ մեռելոյ մարդոյն ոսկերք յարուցանել զմեռեալ այրն. և կենդանին Աստուած ոչ համարեցաւ աղտեղութիւն իրոյ աստուածութեանն քնակել ի գերեզման {ի} մեռելոյն.

Օր ինձ և թեզ աղտեղի բոլի. այլ Աստուծոյ նորին հակառակն: Բայց ի թէն զորպիսի պատի սրբոցն խնդրեսցուք. զի դու այժմ զերկեղածս Տեառն ըստ սովորական հեթանոսական

մոլորութեան խոշտանգես որանալ. իսկ գոշ հաւանեալսն սպանանելովն զանձն քո յախտենական մահուամբն սպանանես. ըստ կանխսասցորթեանն Տեառն մերոյ. թե եկեսցէ ժամանակ զի ամենայն որ սպանանիցց զաեց համարիցի պաշտան մատուցանել Աստուծոյ. որպէս Մահմետ երբայր հարլն քո. յատուր յորում զանաստուած զգոհագործութիւնն առներ, զարին ուղտուն սպանելոյ ընդ արին Քրիստոնէից ծառաիցս Աստուծոյ զիսատելովն խառնէր. {65v} և ընդ այս առատանեալ նեղիս. եթէ զսուրբքն Աստուծոյ որ վասն նորա խոստպահութեան կատարեցան յաշարիս ի նուիրեալ Աստուծոյ տեղիսն դնեմք:

Իսկ որ յադաց նշանի խաչին և պատկերին յիշեցեր. պատուեմք վասն յիշատակի շարշարանացն զխաչն մարմնացելոյ Աստուծոյ բանին ի վերա նորա. զոր ուսար հրամանաւ Աստուծոյ առ Մովսէս. ևս և քարոզութեամբ մարգարէիցն. Մովսէսի հրամանելով առնել և դնել զտպատրութիւն խաչին ի վերա ծակատոյ քահանայապետին անուանեալ զնա թիթեղն սուրբ և նուիրեալ. և ձև թիթեղն է այսպես որպէս և կենդանին ցուցեալ երկի: Քանզի և նշանաւ խաչին կնքին ծակատը մեր Քրիստոնէիցս որպէս վասն մեր շարշարեցելով մարմնով բանին Աստուծոյ: Իսկ մարգարէն Եսայիսա յայտնապես և զփայտէն նշանակեաց յորոց խաչն որով պսակեալ միշտ պարծի եկեղեցի. մայրի ասէ և պեկի. և պեկիտիսաւ առ հասարակ {66r} փառաւոր առնել զտեղի սրբութեան իմոյ և զտեղի ոսից իմոց փառաւորեցից. և Սողոմոն ասէ. արինեալ փայտն որով լինի արդարութիւն. և դարձեալ փայտ կենաց է ամենեցուն որ առնեն զնա և որբ յենուն ի նա իբրև ի Տէր հաստատութեամբ:

Այլ վասն պատկերի չունիմք ինչ այսպիսի կարծիս. զի և ոչ ընկալար իսկ ի գրոց այսպիսի պատուէրս. թեաքետն գտանեմք ի հնումն, հրամանեալ Աստուծոյ Մովսէսի խորանին վկասութեան առնել զնմանութիւն քրոբէիցն: Այսպէս և մեր փափազանար աշակերտացն Տեառն և նորին իսկ Տեառնն մարմնանալոյն սիրովն շետեալը. հաւաստի կենդանագրութեան և նմանագրութեան որ ի նոցունց ժամանակաց առ մեզ էհաս որպէս զկերպարանս իսկ նոցա յանդիման տեսանելով զուարձացեալ. փառաւորեմք զԱստուծ զփրկարդ զմեզ. ի ձեռն այսպիսի նմանութեամբ զգեցողին որդույն իրոց միածնի և փառաւորալի զսուրբս իր. և ոչ թէ փայտին և դեղոյն որ ի վերա փայտին {66v} երկիր պագանեմք.

ԺԳ. Բայց դու ոչ ամաշես վասն զոհիր պատուելոյ տանն քո զոր քարարն կոչեցեր. և Աբրահամա իմն ասես տուն. զոր արդարես զանջուր դիմական անապատն և յերազի անգամ չիր տեսեալ Աբրահամո. զոր տուն և նախ բան զՄահմետն ձեր ազգդ ձեր պաշտէր. զոր տվորութիւն ձեր. և Մահմետն ձեր ոչ Եքարձ. այլ միայն նստեալ Աբրահամու ասաց: Իսկ զի մի յախուն նախատող թեզ երևնցայց. զայս և ի սրբոց Աւետարանացն և ի քոց իսկ պատմութեանց յայտնի թեզ արարից. զի յոլով անգամ զբազութիւն դիմացն Տէրն յանապատն յայն յուղարկէր. որպէս և ասէ յԱւետարանին. շրջին ասէ ընդ անջրով տեղիսն. իսկ դրւ²²⁷ զեանս իմն բնակեալ անդ. և յակն անկեալ ձեր. երբեմն ի նմանութիւն աւածից. և երբեմն աղտեղի և գէճ ցանկութեամբք ըստ տվորութեանն իրենաց պատրեալ զաեց ամուսնանալոյ կարծիս տան. իսկ դուր անընդր{67r} յողաբար հաւանեալը պատրանաց նոցա. աստ և ի հանդերձելումն հաւասար նոցա էք և զայս ոչ իմանայք էքէ առ հանդերձեալսն Աւետարանի փրկչին ոչ կարեն նորա այսպիսեալ իհիք մերձենալ. այլ և մարդանալոյն նորա զարութեամբ կապեալ պաստամբ նորա բռնութիւնն թէպէսն չարասէր զոն որպէս և հայրն իրենաց սատանա. վնասել յայտնապէս ոչ կարեն զնոսա. զի թե կարէին և իշխէին ի միում աւուր իրով տոշորեալ սպանանէին զաեց. այլ միայն զողաբար խարէութեամբ ի կորուստ ողոց ձերոց պատրեն զաեց. կամ զբարն զոր ոռունն կոչեցեր. զորմէ ոչ զիտես եթէ ընդէր երկրպագեալ

227 դու] read: դեւ.

համբուրես. և դիրական կոտորածին յորմէ, զազանք և թշունք գարշին և միոտանի վազեսցն . եւ քարաձգութեանն և փախստեանն և զգլուխ զգերծնլոյն և այլոց ամարալեաց զոր գործենն:

Թողում ասել զարիհնադրին ձերոյ զաղտեղի հրամանն յաղազ մերձենալոյ {67v} արանց ի կանայ. զորմէ ամաշեմ ասել. արինակ բերել զվարեն անդաստանաց որովք արարաքար պղծութեամբ ունանք ի ձենջ ուսան մերձենալ ի կանայ. կամ զի՞նչ ասացից զողջախոհ պարկեշտորիին մարզարէին ձերոյ. զՉելա. կնոշն զխարդաւանական պղծութիւնն և զպատճառ աղտեղութեանն յԱստուած ի վեր առաքել. ուստի և տաղտկախն արէնքն յազգ ձեր ի ներս մտին. և զի՞նչ շարագոյն հահոռութիւն քան զայն կամողացն զոր գործէր, պատճառ յԱստուած դնելով: Իսկ որ Դարիք զՄուրիա կինն ասացեր առնուլ էառ, մեղուցեալ Աստուծոյ. վասն որոյ պատուհասեցաւ ի Տեառնէ: Իսկ Մահմետն քո և դոր հակառակիք բարուք առնէք. և զի՞նչ քան զայն շարագոյն. զմերդ շհամարել մեղք. որում և թողութիւն իսկ ոչ խնդրէք. և ոչ գրտանէք անամարթ մեղացն: Աստուած հրամանաց յԱւետարանան շրողու առն զկին. բայց վասն պոռնկութեան. և դոր իբրև կերակրով յագեալ կանամք²²⁸ յորժամ և կամիք թող{68r} ուր. իսկ զանդրէն առնլոյն զամարթ էք էք հնար ոչ ասէի. քանզի նախ այլոց տայք պղծել զկինն և ապա առնուր.

Իսկ զանխիդ պոռնկութիւն հարծիցդ յորս զամենայն ստացուածս և զկողոպուստ մարդկան ծախէք. որ եղից. մեծազնից զներով մեծազնոց ստացուածոց. և յագեալք որ ընդ նմայն պղծութիւն իբրև զանասուն վաճառէք: Ասեն զաւակէ էք ընդ միտինէս զեռնոյ որ ի ծովու է ի խառնակումն մերձաւորութեան զայ. և իբրև մերձենայ յեզր ծովուն զնահացու թոյնան ի բաց զնէ և այսպէս կատարէ զցանկութիւնն: Իսկ դոր քան զնյոյ ինքն զաձ թոնաւոր էք. և նենգաւորագոյն. զշարութիւնդ քո ոչ մարմնական մերձաւորութեամբն թողեալ. զի և մահուանն ձեր մեղանչական խեղդասական կորուսեալ զմիմեանս վարդապետելով շար դիին:

Իսկ վասն սատանաի և արդարոցն հոգոց որ ասացեր զսատանա Աստուծոյ զանձապահ առնէք. կարի յոյժ սխալեցեր ի խոհականութենէն {68v} մեր. այլ զի ուրախ էք սատանա ի վերա անյուսութեանն զոր վասն մահուան մարդկան. և միանգամայն կարծէք և ինքն սատանա. էք որը ննշեցին արդարքն կորեան արդեկը և մոռացեալ եղեն յԱստուծոյ. կարծելով ի ձեռն մարմնոյն և անքաւ խոնարհութեանն և զրանն Աստուած այնպիսի որ. յորդորեաց զաշակերտն նորա ի մատնութիւն և զշբէայն ի սպանութեան խորհուրդ. եւ տեսեալ զկամաւոր զալուստն Տեառն ի մահ խաչիս. երկուցեալ սկսաւ արհաւարը կշտամքել զկին դատաւորին առ ի խափանել զազգի մարդկան փրկութիւնն. և ճաշակեալ զմահ մարդկութեամբն. անմահ մնացեալ բնութեամբ սատուածութեանն. և անմենելի ի մարդկութենէն իրմէ. իբրև զԱստուած ծշմարիտ յԱստուծոյ ծշմարտէ. յարեաւ մանաւանդ. և եթե յարոյց զիլը զմարդկութիւնն ըստ մարդկարէութեանն Դարիք էք. յարիցէ Աստուած և ցրուեցին ամենայն թշնամիք նորա: Եւ յերկուտասան մարզարէսն, եթե մնայ ինձ յաւուր յարութեան իմ. որ յարուցեալ. {69r} ոչ վասն իր որ անմարմինն էք և անմահ և անապական. այլ վասն ազգի մարդկան առնու զմարդկութիւնն և նովաւ համբերելն մահու: Որ և իրով յարութեամբն շնորհեաց մարդկան զյարութիւն, և զոյս վերստին զգենլոյն մարմին ննշեցելոցն հոգոց. զերծեալք հոգիքն անմարմինք. և յանմարմնաքար զգեցութենէ թշնամոյն. քանզի և ոչ փորբագոյն խնամոց արարչին. հանդիպին հոգիքն ի Քրիստոս մարմնաւորութեամբ քանին: Արդ այսպէս սատանա անյուսութեամբն իր և դիացն իրոց կորստեամբ և տկարութեամբ կապեալ առ ի յոշ ևս բռնազբաւել զմարդիկ ի պաշտամունս աւտարուտի. զոր ոչ կամիցի Աստուած. և յուսով ժառանգելոյ զյափիտենական հոր զեհենին:

228 կանամք] read: կանամբք.

Ոչ մոռացայ և զոր ասացեր ի մարզարէն Եսայեայ, զասացեալսն հեծելոյն իշոյն և ուղտուն. եւ արդ դիտաւորութիւն տեսլեանն այսպիսի է. տեսիլ անապատին ծովուն. անապատ ծովուն քո անապատն է. ծովեզ{69}Երեայ մերձ ի Բարեկացոց իշխանութիւնն և սահմանակից նորին. և յետ փոքր միոյ ասէ. տեսանէի հեծեալս երկուս. հեծեալ մի յէշ և հեծեալ մի յուղտ. երկորին մի հեծեալ էին որպէս ի նմին տեղուց մարզարէն յայտնապէս ասէ ցուցեալ: Բայց էշ կոչէ մարզարէն զշրէական ժողովորդն որք ընթեռուին զարէնս և զմարզարէս. եւ հաւանեալը վարդապետութեանն սատանայի ոչ ծանեան և հնազանդեցան տիեզերա{յ} փրկար Աւետարանին. զորմէ և ի սկզբան զրոցն իրոց դատախազ լինի ասելով. ծանեան եզն զստացիչ իր և էշ զմսուր Տեառն իրոյ. և Խորակ զիս ոչ ծանեա: Խոկ ուղտ կոչեաց զՄադիանացիսն և զԲարեկացիսն վասն յածախ լինելոյ առ ձեզ կենդանոյս այսորիկ. և այն թշնամին որ զշրէայսն արինապահութեանն կարծեալը մոլորեցոյց. զձեզ կուապաշտութեամբն գլորեաց և զի երկորեան մի են. տես զիա՞րդ յայտնապէս ցուցանէ մարզարէս. և դարձեալ ասէ տեսանէի զմոյն հեծեալ զի զայր երկածի. {70r} ահա մի է որ յառաջն երկուրն երևեր. և զի երկածի. զի չրէից և հեթանոսաց տիրեաց որ հալածեացն զնա: Եւ արդ զի զայր, և զի՞նչ խաւեր. զայր ասէ երկածի. և զաղաղակ բարձեալ ասեր անկաւ Բարեկոն և կործանեցան ձեռագործք նորա.

Ահա թշնամին է այս որ ողբայ զամայութիւն իլր. որ այլ տեղի փախստեան ոչ էզիս բայց զանապատն քո. և զերկոսին զձիս ամպարշտութեանց իրոյ եկն եած ազգիդ քո. որ է չրէական անհաստատութիւն և հեթանոսական անառակութիւնն. և զայս ի միասին ետ ձեզ, գողախմիժաբար զձեզ պատրեալ և ոչ բռնութեամբ. զի թիվասիք, և առանց ենուու և արարշագործ բանին և հոգոյն իմանայր զաստուածութիւնն. իբրև զշրէայսն. խոկ բախտից և ճակատագրի և դիաց, որ են գեանք. հաւանիք իբրև զինքանոսքն ընդ նոսին որ իբրև զնոսա վարիք աղտեղի և անասելի զինութեամբք.

Ճանապահ²²⁹ Աստուծոյ կոչէք զանողորմ սպանութեանց. և զերութեանց մարդկան զասպատ{70v} աստակսն ձեր. հաւատը և վարձը ձեր այսպիսիք. և պարծանը ձեր հրեշտակային վարս վարողաց: Խոկ մեք զիտացեալը և ծանուցեալը զմեր սքանչելի փրկութեանս խորհուրդ. ակն ունիմք յետ յարութեանն վաէլման թագաւորութեանն երկնից որ քարոզութեան Աւետարանին հնազանդեցաք. և հնազանդիմք այնպիսնաց բարեաց. զոր ակն ոչ էտես և ունկն ոչ լուա, զոր պատրաստեաց Աստուծած սիրելեաց իրոց և հաւատացելոց. եւ ոչ զինյո և կարին և մեղու աղբերս և կանանց միշտ կոյս մնացելոց խառնակմունք. և ծնունդ որդոց և այլ այսպիսիք հեթանոսական և յիմարութեան անդրնոց շաղակրաստունք. անդր ի քաց տար զառասպեկական բազալմանցդ բարբաջնուն. զի ոչ է արքաութիւնն կերակուր և ընպէի. որպէս ասաց հոգին սուրբ. այլ արդարութիւն է և սրբութիւն: Քանզի ի յարութեանն ոչ կանայս առնեն և ոչ արանց լինին. այլ այնպէս և {71r} որպէս զիրեշտակը ի յերկինսն: Բայց վասն զի դուք զինութեամբ աղտեղի ցանկութեանցդ հեշտութեամբ ոչ երբեք յազիք. և քան զնա այլ ոչ ինչ բարի համարիք. վասն այսորիկ և զերկնից արքաութիւնն առանց այնը ոչ ինչ համարիք. և այնուիկ կամիք զարդարել զնա:

Այս թեզ համառաւտ պատախանիք զի յաղազս անսասանելի և անտարագրելի հաւատոյս նեղեցաք ի նախսումն և այժմ ի ձենց հեթանոսաց. և հանապազ մեռանիմք յաղազս պատուական սուրբ և անզուգական անուանն որ կոչեցնալ է ի վերա մեր ըստ կանխագուշակ մարզարէին Եսաեայ. թէ կոչեսցի թեզ անուն նոր զոր Տէք անուանեսցէ որպէս պատուիրեաց մեզ տէրն մինչդեռ մարմնով յաշխարիխ էր. ասելով՝ թէ զիս հալածեցին. ապա և զձեզ հալածեսցեն. երբ զբանն իմ պահեցին. ապա. և զձերն պահեսցեն. այլ զնոյնս արասցն առ

229 Ճանապահ] read: Ճանապարհ.

ձեզ զի ոչ ծանեան զառաքիշն իմ. և դարձեալ եթէ յաշխարհի աստ {71v} զնեղութիւն ունիցիք. և ցհայրն յաղաթսն ասելով. զորս ետուրն յաշխարհի քո էին և ինձ ետուր զնոսա. և յաշխարհէ աստի չեն որպէս և ես չեմ յաշխարհէս. զի եթէ յաշխարհէ աստի էին աշխարհս զիրսն սիրէր արդեւք. բայց չեն յաշխարհէս. այլ ես ընդեցի զնոսա յաշխարհէ. վասն այսորիկ ատեա զնոսա աշխարհս:

Արդ վասն այսպիսի յուսոյ ի ձենչ տանջիմք. սպառնալեաւը և մահուամբք և ի մէնջ համբերութեամբ. զի և ոչ յաղենն մեր յուսամք և ոչ սուր մեր փրկեսցէ զմեզ. այլ աշ Տեառն և բազով նորա և լուսաւորութիւն երեսաց նորա. եթէ յայսմ աշխարհի տակաւին կամնացի և հածեսցի. և եթէ ի հանդերձելումն փոխանակ ի ձենչ վտանգիցդ. զվարձան աճեցուցէ որպէս կամի և յորժամ կամնացի: Իսկ դուր ի բռնակալութեանդ և ի զրկմանդ մնալով կարծէք վասն հաճնյացն Աստուծոյ հաւատոց ձերոց վաելել զայս. ոչ յիշելով զՊարս որ չորեքհարիր ամ բռնակալեցին {72r} վասն որոյ պատճառանաց ինքն Աստուած զիտէ. այլ ոչ յաղազս նոցա ուղիղ հաւատոց. իսկ մեր հածեալ եմք ընդ նեղութիւնս և ընդ վիշտս որ հասանեն մեզ վասն փառաւորեալ անուանն Տեառն մերոյ, և փրկչին Յիսուսի Քրիստոսի, որպէս զի հանդերձելոց բարեացն հասցուր ընդ այնոսիկ որ սիրեցին զար երևելոյ մեծի դատաւորութեանն Աստուծոյ ի փառս և ի զովեստ սիրելեաց անուան նորա. ընդ որս և փառաւորելով արժանի եղիցուր զմի աստուածութիւնն հար և միաձնի իրոյ բանին և հոգոյն սրբոյ ՀՅայժմ և միշտ և յափուեանս: Ամէն:

Եւ զայս պատճէն պատասխանոյ գրեալ կայսերն Ղետնի առաքէ ի ձեռն միոյ հաւատարիմ ծառափի իրոյ առ Ունառ իշխանն Իսմաելի. զոր իբրև ընթերցաւ յոյժ պատկառանաւը ամաշեալ զամօնութեան մեծ, և ի ձեռն այսր, թղթոյ առաւել և յաւելոյր զբարէխատնութիւն և զբարէմտութիւն առ ազգ Քրիստոնէից. և ամենայն ուստ {72v}ներ բարեացապարտ զինքն ցուցանէր. բանզի որպէս նախրան զայս պատմեցար զերեաց զերադարձ առնէր. և ամենեցուն շնորհէր զյանցանս նոցա. ձրի թողութեամբ. ցուցանէր և առ իրախն ազգն մտերմութիւն լաւագոյն բան զառաշինսն որ նախրան զնա իշխանքն էին. բանզի զմթերս զանձուց բաշեալ բաշխէր հոռք սրպայիցն. և յետ այսր ամենայնի եղելոյ վախճանէր:

5

The Aljamiado Letter of 'Umar

INTRODUCTION

BY THE MID-THIRTEENTH CENTURY, an enormous number of Iberian Muslims had come to live under Christian rule as a result of vast conquests of Muslim territory in al-Andalus by the kings of Castile and Aragon. They and their descendants, usually referred to as “Mudejars,” lived for generations as Muslim subjects of Christian kings, and they gradually came to be speakers of various forms of Romance languages rather than Arabic. In the early sixteenth century (1502 in Castille and 1526 in Aragon), the Spanish crown ordered that the realm’s large Mudejar population be converted to Christianity, after which this now nominally Christian community—referred to usually as “Moriscos”—lived for another century in Iberia, secretly practicing Islam, before being expelled from Iberia in the early seventeenth century.

At some point before the late fifteenth century an Arabic version of the Letter of 'Umar, one closely connected with the fragmentary text edited and translated above, had made its way to Iberia. It eventually wound up in the hands of a Mudejar who knew enough Arabic to translate it into Aragonese, and this translation survived into the twentieth century in three Aljamiado manuscripts—in which the Romance/Spanish text has been copied in Arabic script, something that happened frequently among the Mudejars and Moriscos.¹

Titled simply “Letter” (*Risāla*), this version of 'Umar's letter begins by calling on its readers to do everything possible to seek the right religion, including holding their own faith up to careful scrutiny. It then argues that Jews and Christians have corrupted their scriptures. Having done so, though, the remaining greater part of the letter quotes the Bible repeatedly, advancing the text's central argument: that Jesus's own words in the Gospel make clear that he cannot have been a divine being worthy of being worshipped as God. Much of the argumentation of this section of the letter takes the form of scriptural quotation followed by rhetorical questions. After quoting John 12:44, for example—“Whoever believes in me, does not believe in me, but in the one who sent me”—'Umar in this version then asks, “So who is this Lord who sent him?” (Aljamiado, A13v); and, near the end, having briefly described Jesus's birth, infancy, and lifespan, he asks, “So who sustained the heavens and the earths, and ordered and judged them, and made the sun and the moon move . . . while Jesus was in the womb of his mother for this time and after he had been born, thirty-three years?” (Aljamiado, A20v).

There are three known Aljamiado witnesses to the circulation of this work. Two of them are preserved in polemical miscellanies housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España:

¹ On Aljamiado literature, see, among many other works, Wiegers 1994 and de Castilla 2010.

BNE MS/5302 (*olim* Gg. 179, previously 73, which we refer to as MS A) and MS/4944 (*olim* Gg. 75, which we refer to as MS B). They are both manuscripts *in quarto* of very similar dimensions (213 × 142 mm and 217 × 150 mm, respectively) and are both incomplete, with B (102 folios) being much longer than A (24 folios). The whereabouts of the third witness are today unknown. Deriving from the discovery of Arabic and Aljamiado manuscripts at Almonacid de la Sierra, this third exemplar of the letter was in a volume that belonged to Pablo Gil (number 33) but never came to form part of what today is the Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás (CCHS-CSIC)—the library that houses the major part of the Arabic and Aljamiado manuscripts recovered from that Aragonese city.² Its presence in Almonacid de la Sierra indicates that this text, whether in its Arabic or Aljamiado version, was not only known but probably also read and copied in that city. It was described by Gil thus: “Letter from Omar (the caliph) to the Emperor of Constantinople. It is a booklet which is found in the middle of a volume (which contains various treatises in Arabic), in good condition, having white covers embossed with beautiful reliefs of an heraldic lion with an *M* between its front paws.”³

The text of the letter transmitted in the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nacional de España (MS A, fols. 5v–23r and MS B, fols. 84v–101r) is complete in both cases, and the two witnesses derive from the same textual tradition. As we have just mentioned, like the majority of works transmitted in Aljamiado, it is not a text originally written in the Mudejar or Morisco eras but is rather a translation of an Arabic text of which we have a fragmentary witness, as we have seen above,⁴ preserved in Istanbul (Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, MS SE_4419). The features of the script indicate that the copy preserved in that museum must belong to the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, although the original text appears to have been composed in the eighth century.⁵

We have no evidence that any other witness survives of the Muslim version of this text besides the Arabic fragment from the ninth or tenth century and the Aljamiado translation edited and translated here. Nevertheless, an Arabic witness very similar to the one that is extant in Istanbul must have reached the hands of the Mudejars, because the Aljamiado translation is quite faithful to the Arabic text of the letter.

Neither of the two Aljamiado codices is dated. However, the use of the possessive pronoun “lur,” an archaic Aragoneseism, suggests that a first version of the translation of the letter into Aljamiado, now lost, must have been made in Aragon in the Mudejar period.⁶

2 Ribera and Asín 1912.

3 “Mensaje de Omar (el califa) al Emperador de Constantinopla. Es cuaderno que se halla en medio de un tomo (el cual contiene varios tratados escritos en árabe), bien conservado, con tapas de piel blanca con hermosos relieves, en los que aparece un león heráldico y entre sus garras delanteras una *M*” (Gil y Gil 1904, 544).

4 See chapter 3 above.

5 Roggema 2009, esp. 383–84.

6 Despite the fact that this form is documented until the sixteenth century (Rózsavári 2003, 71), it is not frequently found in Aljamiado texts of that century.

Although of a later date, MS B was also copied in the Mudejar period.⁷ De Castilla suggests dating it to the last quarter of the fifteenth century,⁸ since the watermarks of the codex are similar to certain ones cataloged by Briquet (n. 11,160)⁹ and Valls i Subirà (n. 45),¹⁰ dating to 1486 and 1493 and to 1475, respectively. It is very possible that MS A was copied at the beginning of the sixteenth century,¹¹ although for the moment we lack conclusive material and textual evidence to ratify this hypothesis.

In neither of the manuscripts is the place of copying indicated. Manuscript A was found hidden in a house of a resident of Belchite (Zaragoza) at the end of September 1716 (fol. 25r). The place where the manuscript was found and the high percentage of Aragonesisms that each copy offers suggest that both Aljamiado witnesses to the letter of 'Umar II to Leo III were copied in Aragon.

The presentation of the text in both codices is the same: the text is written in one column without paragraph divisions (with the single exception of A23r). Identifying the beginning of the different textual units requires some attention, since they begin on the same line that contains the end of the previous chapter. Manuscript A makes use of certain strategies to clarify textual units: greater separation between words (A3v), and use of a paraph (A5r, 5v) or a blank line (A23r). On occasion, the last line of a text is filled in with a series of paraphs (at the end of the letter from 'Umar to Leo, A23r and B101r),¹² which facilitates the correct identification of the different textual units. One should add that in MS B, the titles are written with a thicker pen, whether with punctuation (a “therefore,” or three points in the form of a pyramid) on B82v or without punctuation on B84r. The semantic function of using a pen with different thickness for titles is not very clear, since words or phrases outside the title are highlighted in the same way in MS B. In contrast, MS A makes use of neither thicker letters, nor larger letters, nor letters of a different color to mark out the headings or the beginning of a new text, so it requires a much more attentive reader than does MS B. Thus, in the “letter of 'Umar to Leo,” B84v writes *risāla* (with final *tanwīn*) in the same color of ink as the rest of the text, but with a thicker pen, while A5v only inserts a punctuation sign (a paraph) followed by the *basmala* and the word *risāla* (only with final *damma*), all with the same pen and color of ink. While in MS A the *basmala* is

7 Although the catalog descriptions of Saavedra (1878) and Guillén Robles (1889) offer no hypothesis about the dating of the manuscripts that contain the letter of 'Umar to Leo, Cardaillac (1972, 1.164) argues that BNE MS/4944 was copied in the sixteenth century, while Colominas (2014, 44, 47) suggests that it was copied in the first half of the sixteenth century.

8 De Castilla, forthcoming. Van Koningsveld and Wiegers (1994, 186) have already suggested that “this MS is probably to be dated to the end of the fifteenth century.” See also Wiegers 1994, 185.

9 Briquet 1991, 3:567.

10 Valls i Subirà 1980, 189.

11 Van Koningsveld and Wiegers 1994, 186, confirm the opinion of Saavedra (“according to Saavedra”) that this manuscript dates to the sixteenth century, although in reality Saavedra says nothing regarding the dating of this codex (Saavedra 1878, 133, or Guillén Robles 1889, 269nXL).

12 In MS A, the final line is filled out with three paragraph signs, while in MS B, a pilcrow sign, a “therefore,” and a pilcrow sign are combined, this being the last line of B101r.

what begins a new textual unit after a paraph, MS B emphasizes the key term of the title of the new text by making use of a thicker pen (what today we might consider boldface).

The two Aljamiado witnesses to the letter of 'Umar II to Leo III belong to the same textual tradition. Although MS B is the older witness, for this critical edition we have chosen MS A as the base text because its internal structure allows one to determine the correct order of the text (what is currently folio B102 must be inserted after B85—what would be B85bis). However, in MS B, the writing is clearer and the lexical units tend to be better defined, thus allowing a better grasp of the text.

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

A: MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MS/5302 (OLIM GG. 179)

Language: Aljamiado. Date of copy: ca. 16th cent. Origin: Aragon (?), Spain. 32 fols. Material: Western paper. Fols. 25–32, blank. Size: 21.3 × 14.2 cm (written text: 16.0 × 10.6 cm). Script: Maghrebi, single-columned. Lines per page: 14. Flyleaves: two flyleaves (one each glued as *doublure*) added at the beginning and end of the volume during rebinding, blank. Condition: generally good; water stains in upper external corner of fols. 4–16. Acephalous (the first quire at least is missing). Modern binding by Grimaud (end of 19th cent.).

Contents

1. fols. 1r–3v: “Disputa con los cristianos”; adaptation of *Miftah al-dīn* (“The key of religion”); acephalous
2. fols. 3v–5r: “Capítulo que fabló en el concebimiento de ‘Isā”
3. fol. 5r–v: “Capítulo que fabló en la Trenidad”
4. fols. 5v–23r: “*Risāla*” (“Letter from ‘Umar to Leo”)
5. fols. 23r–24r: About the Jewish religion

B: MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MS/4944 (OLIM GG. 75)

Language: Aljamiado. Date of copy: end of 15th cent.¹³ Origin: Aragon (?), Spain. 102 fols. Material: Western paper. No blank folios. Size: 27.7 × 15.0 cm (written text: 15.0 × 10.2 cm). Script: Maghrebi, single-columned. Lines per page: 14. Flyleaves: four flyleaves (one each glued as *doublure*) added at the beginning and end of the volume during rebinding, blank. Condition: generally good; humidity as well as wear-and-tear stains, mainly in external margin. Modern restoration of the paper (only a small fragment of fol. 61 survives) and reinforcement of the inner fold. Acephalous and apode. Fol. 102 should be read after fol. 85. Modern binding by Grimaud (end of 19th cent.).

¹³ Date suggested by watermarks on two pages of the manuscript, similar to Briquet 1991, 3:567, no. 11,160, dated 1486 and 1493, and Valls i Subirà 1980, 189, no. 45. *Apud de Castilla*, forthcoming.

Contents

1. fols. 1r–36r: “Disputa con los judíos”; adaptation of *Ta'yīd al-milla* (“Fortification of the faith”); acephalous
2. fols. 36r–82v: “Disputa con los cristianos”; Adaptation of *Miftah al-dīn* (“The key of religion”)
3. fols. 82v–84r: “Capítulo que fabló en el concebimiento de ‘Isā”
4. fol. 84r–v: “Capítulo que fabló en la Trenidad”
5. fols. 84v–101r: “*Risāla*” (“Letter from ‘Umar to Leo”)
6. fol. 101v: (About the Jewish religion. Apode)
7. fol. 102r–v: Folio that should be included after 85v

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OUR EDITION

As is the standard scholarly practice with Aljamiado texts, our edition is actually a transliteration of the Arabic text into Roman script, and in making it we have followed the criteria below:¹⁴

ء	∅	ڦ	∅
ب	b / v	ڦ	g
ڦ	b/p	ڻ	f
ت	t	ڦ	c ^{a, o, u} / qu ^{e, i}
ڻ	z	ڦ	c ^{a, o, u} / qu ^{e, i}
ج	j / g ^{e, i}	ڦ	l
ڙ	j / ch	ڻ	m
ح	h	ڻ	n
ڻ	h	ڻ	n / ñ
د	d	ڦ	h
ڏ	d	ڦ	w / u
ڙ	r- / -rr-	ڦ	y / i
ڙ	z		
س	ڙ ^{a, o, u} / c ^{e, i}		
ش	x / s	ڦ	a
ڦ	x	ڦ	a / e
ص	ڙ ^{a, o, u} / c ^{e, i}	ڦ	i
ڦ	d	ڦ	o / u
ط	t		
ڦ	d		

¹⁴ De Castilla (2005, 284) proposed these criteria with a view to respecting the usages of the written language of the period and to facilitate the comprehension of the text by the contemporary reader. The literal transliteration of proper names (as well as of words, expressions, and phrases) in Arabic follows the norms of EI³.

VOWELS

We have adopted two practices for ā: “el açalam” (< *al-salām*), which is the form we frequently find in Morisco texts in Latin characters, and “aladeb” (< *al-‘adāb*), as a consequence of the habitual transliteration of *fatha+alif* = >e< in Aljamiado texts.

We do not make use of a macron to mark the long vowels indicated in the manuscripts by *yā'* or *wāw*, nor do we point out their possible variants in the critical apparatus “adā” (A18v), “denperadōr” (A6r), “lūna” (B99r, B100r), “mīl” (A22r, B95v), “emmin” (B101r), “razōn” (B88r), or “walardōn” (A17r).

We transcribe the coordinating conjunction, often represented with *alif*, although on some occasions also with *yā'*, with >y< throughout.

We have normalized the representation of diphthongs and hiatus regardless of whether what appears in the Arabic characters is a semiconsonant (e.g., كَرِي, “crio,” A7r), an *alif* (e.g., لَأْن, “leír,” A8v) or a *hamza* (e.g., كَدْ, “caido,” A6v; إَلَرَائِشْمُ, “el reísmo,” A7v). The word “contrario” (كَنْتَرُو, A12r, A19r) was written with a *sukūn* over the *rā'* in MS A (although in MS B it appears with a *kasra*), a graph we have also normalized and whose variants are not included in the notes. Exceptionally, we maintain the spelling of “Maryam” with a >y<, written with a *sukūn* over the *rā'*, because it is the form used in both witnesses (cf. below the section on proper names). When the second part of the diphthong is formed with a *yā'*, we have transliterated it with a >y< in the edition (e.g., “ayres,” A20v, A21v; “feyto,” A19r; or “pleyto,” A18v). If in the original the diphthong is not indicated—as is the case with “trenta” (A20v)—the edition maintains it without including any sort of correction in the body of the text or in the notes.

On some occasions, the copyist opted for an anomalous graph that recalls one used for the transliteration of certain diphthongs, and these also are not reflected in the edition. Thus, to represent “lo uno” and “lo otro,” “cada uno” or “laora,” both copyists—probably imitating their model—chose to include لَأْنْ وَ, “lo uno” (A10v, B89r), and لَوْتَرْ, “lo otro” (A6v, B85bisr), but كَدْ, “el uno” (A11r), and إَلَلَّتْرُ, “el otro” (A11r, B89v); كَدْ قَنْ, “cada uno” (A17r), and لَوْرَ, “laora” (A13r).

CONSONANTS

The use of the letter ث is very limited in Aljamiado texts, and in these two witnesses, we find it only in words formed from the root حدث, which we transcribe with >z<, a letter we also use to transcribe ذ. The phonemes خ, ح, and ذ are represented with an >h< in the edition, without reporting the variants that one or the other witness contains (e.g., الْحَدِيشْ [A6r] or الْحَدِيشْ [B85r] are transliterated “alhadizonos”).

In MS A, the dental fricative ذ is practically absent (“ada” [A14r, A18r, B96r] or “aḍḍin” [A6v]), and its use and possible variants are not reflected in the edition. The emphatic consonants, whether for representing words of Romance or Arabic origin, are also not indicated by means of any special character. We have preserved the use of initial Latin >f< as a distinctive feature of Aragonese:¹⁵ “fanbre” (A20v), “fenbra” (A21r).

15 See Montaner 2004, 111, and the bibliography cited there in n. 19.

In both MS A and MS B the phoneme /š/, corresponding to the letter >x< in medieval Castilian, is systematically transcribed with *shīn* without *shadda*. Despite Aljamiado scholars' habitual practice of representing the Arabic letter with >s< and >x<, Aljamiado texts do not demonstrate any clear phonetic distribution of these sounds.¹⁶ For this reason, in this edition we transcribe both with >x< (e.g., "dixo" represents دش [passim] or ديش [A7r] in the same way that أشيطان [sic] [A14r] is transliterated "axaytán").

The use of *shadda* is rather confused in both manuscripts, and this confusion probably reflects a strictly graphic form with which the copyists do not seem to be familiar, so we encounter fluctuating forms: for example, "Quddūsi bnu l-Hajjāj" (B85r) alongside "al-Qudūsi ibnu l-Hajjāj" (A6r), or in the words "aluma" (written "alumma" or "aluma" in both manuscripts) or "doze" ("dozze" [A22v, B100v]). On other occasions, there are words that appear without the *shadda*, although in these contexts the sign would be necessary to represent the correct phoneme, because without it the word's meaning could be confusing: for example, "bues" in place of "pues" (B85v), or "señor" in place of "señor" (B89v). This absence of *shadda* leads us to believe that the copyist of B had a tendency to avoid this sign; nevertheless, in other cases its use is excessive, especially over the *lām* of the masculine definite article in Spanish. To give just a few examples: "dell-otro" ("del otro" [A9v, B88r]); "ell-aççalām" ("el açalam" [A6r, B85r]); "ell-al'adāb" ("el aladeb" [A6r, B85r]); "i-ll-alqiyāmat" ("y el alquiyama" [A9r]); "sobre llos" ("sobre los" [B85r]); "en-ell-Attawrat" ("en el Ataurá" [B88r]), but "en la Tawrāt" ("en l'Ataurá" [A9v]), and so forth. In some cases this pronunciation sign leads to confusion. Thus, on A12r we find "ninguno d'ellos anabíes" instead of "ninguno de los anabíes." Paradoxically, alongside what we have just seen, the required writing of the *shadda* on the first solar consonant of a noun preceded by a definite article in Arabic is not always present, as occurs with "axaytán" (أشيطان). In consequence, for the sake of normalization and for ease of reading by the modern person, the edition does not reflect this seemingly random vacillation brought on by the presence or absence of the *shadda*; the edition offers only normalized transcription, with the exception of the Aragonese verbs "sallir" and "levar" with their variants, which alternate with the Castilian "salir" and "llevar." Nevertheless, in cases in which the presence of *shadda* might cause confusion, we have opted to include in the body of the text the correct reading of MS B, noting the variant of MS A in the critical apparatus (e.g., "ayrre" [A21v], "ficho" in place of "fijo" [A22r], "oprarían" in place of "obrarían" [A9v], "paso" in place of "vaso" [A13r], "perná" in place of "verná" [A14v]).

To facilitate the reading of the text for those who do not specialize in Aljamiado, we have chosen to normalize the representation of words of Arabic origin and certain Romance words, according to the criteria of transliteration set forth previously. To avoid uselessly expanding the body of notes for the edition, and as a general norm, the variants of the following words are not recorded: "el açalam" for "ell a'ssalām" (A6r); "açalá" for "a'ssalāt" (A11v, B90r); "acihres" for "acihres" (A22r); "el aladeb" for "ell al'adāb" (A6r); "alarx" for "al'ars" (A21r); "adajel" for "a'ddajāl" (A18v); "el alhad" for "ell alhad" (A12r); "adín" for "a'din" (A6r or A6v) or "a'ddin" (B85r); "adunia" for "a'ddunya" (A16v); "aliçlam" for "alislām" (A11r); "albalaes" for "albālāyes" (A7r, A13v) or "albalāyes" (B85bisr, B91v); "al-jahala" for "aljahālat" (A20r); "aljana" for "aljannat(i)" (A9r); "alquiteb" for "alkitāb" (A10v);

16 De Castilla 2010, 187–88.

“anabíes” for “*a^lnnabī’es*” (A8r); “almalac” for “almalak” (A13r) or “almalaques” for “alma-lakes” (A15r); “alquiyama” for “alqiyāmat” (A9r); “alquibla” for “alqibla(t)” (A11v, A12r, B90r); “alcurbán” for “alqurbān” (A11v); “aluma” for “alumma” (A9r y B87r, but “alumas” [A8v]); “arrizqui” for “arrizqi” (A15r) or “*a^lrrizqi*” (A16r); “axaytanes” for “*al^šaytānes*” (A9r) or “*a^lšaytānes*” (B87v); “cadira” for “kadira” (A19r); “hatenar” and its derivatives for “*hatānar*” (A11v) or “*hatānar*” (A11v); “lonbre(s)” for “nombre(s)” (A19r, A21r); “paráclito” for “parráqlītō” (A14r-v) or “paráqlītō” (B93r); “tahrar” for “*ṭahrar*” (A11v); “ye” for “yā” (A14r). The only Arabic substantive for which we have adopted the transliteration method of EI₃ is the word that identifies the title, “*risāla*,” and as such it is put in italics. As indicated in these examples, we have respected the use of the double article (Spanish and Arabic) that appears in the original.

We have maintained without normalizing or modernizing certain forms in MS A (Aragonisms or obsolete words). The variants offered in MS B are indicated in the notes:

1. Variation in vowels: “almanbar” and “alminbares” (A19r); “atorgarás” for “otorgarás” (A8r); “escrebir” for “escribir” (A6v); “feguras” for “figuras” (A10r); “lecencia”¹⁷ for “licencia” (A22r); “leír” for “leer” (A8v); “sacrificio” for “sacrificio” (A11v); “setanta” for “setenta” (A10v); “trasoros” for “tesoros” (A15r). Dissimilation of nasals common in Aljamiado texts: “lonbrado” for “nombrado” (A6r). Other variations in spelling: “depués” (A6r), “enpués”¹⁸ (A9r) or “denpués” (A21r-v), which alternate with “después”; “bendicho” for “bendito” (A19v).
2. Use of the Andalusi labial semiconsonant >*g*< to represent {#gu + [vowel]}: “awas” for “aguas” (A21v); “dewellas” for “degüellas” (A12r); “enmenwe” for “enmengüe” (A14r); “wardad” for “guardad” (A15v); “lenwaje” for “lenguaje” (A14v); “menwaron” for “menguaron” (A8v); “walardón” for “gualardón” (A8r). But also the opposite: “güesos” (A11v) or “wesos” (B90r) for “huesos.”¹⁹
3. Apocope of vowels at the end of a word or voiceless occlusive in final position, an Aragonese form: “claredat” for “claredad” (A20r); “dart” (A7v) for “darte” (B85bisv); “delán” for “delante” (A16v); “gent” for “gente” (A7r, A11r, A22v), but “gentes” (A22v); “granedat” for “grandeza” (A20r); “muert” for “muerte” (A12v); “part” for “parte” (A6v); “potestat” for “potestad” (A20r); “siet” for “siete” (A22v);²⁰ “verdat” for “verdad.”
4. Bilabial voiced /b/ in an implosive position, an archaizing form: “escobdicia” for “codicia” (A10v); “escribto” for “escrito” (A6r); “escribturas” for “escrituras” (A8v or A14v).
5. Aragonisms: “feyto” for “fecho” (A8r, 10r); “muytas” for “muchas” (A6r); “vegadas” for “veces” (A8v, A14r).

¹⁷ Cardaillac (1972, 2:321n492) interprets it as “lā çençia” (2:261), saying “lo raro que es encontrar un artículo definido femenino con a larga,” but without explaining her choice.

¹⁸ A form in use in the sixteenth century, frequent in Aljamiado.

¹⁹ Montaner 2004, 111.

²⁰ The mistaken reading by Cardaillac (“cient”) supposes a very different interpretation of the passage (Cardaillac 1972, 2:263).

For the sake of better comprehension, we have normalized the following words in the edition: “av<e>” (A22v), “<a>contecimiento” (A7v), “<i>maginar” (A6v), “me<n>sajero” (A6r), “re<s>puesta” (A6v), always indicating the added letter between angled brackets <>. When the two witnesses do not offer the same reading of these forms, we have followed MS A, including in the critical apparatus the reading of MS B, although on occasion the variant offered in the latter manuscript might be considered more correct for a modern reader.

We present a literal transliteration of expressions and phrases in Arabic, following the norms of EI³, presenting all such Arabic words in Italics—for example, ‘alayihim i’ssalām (A8r-v); ṣallā Allahu ‘alayhi wa-sallam (صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ) [A14v]); subḥānahu (سُبْحَانَهُ [A15r]); yā rabba al-‘alāmina (يَا رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ [A23r]), with double vowel in MS A: “rabi/rabba.” We transliterate these Arabic expressions according to the text of MS A, though we do not note the variants in vocalization found in MS B: for example, ‘alayihim i’ssalām (A8r-v) versus ‘alayihimu-’ssalām (B86v).

For the transliteration of proper names, we have also followed the norms of EI³: Ahmād (A14v), Almasīḥ (A19r, A19v), Dāwūd (A8r), Erōdes (A19v), Ādām (A21r), Fir‘awna (A22r), ‘Ilyās (A22r), ‘Isā (passim), Hawwā’ (A21r), Hizqīl (A22r), Jibril (A18v), Maryam (A8r, 18v), Muḥammad (A23r), Mūsā (A9v), Šam‘ūn (A14r), Yerausalūm (“Jerusalén,” [A14v]). We have normalized the name “Allah” (without macron), as with other names, following the criteria of transliteration of diphthongs and hiatus in Aljamiado (see above): Mateos (مَاتَّئُوسْ [A9v]), Juanes (جُوَانِيزْ [A9v]), Elías (إِلِيَّا [A22r]), and we have done the same with the phrase “los de Bani Icráil(a)” (لِشَّ دَّبَّنِي إِسْرَائِيلْ [A8v, A11v]). We have normalized the names of sacred texts, transcribing them in the following way: “el Evangelio,” even though the first vowel in the manuscripts is systematically a *fatha* (إِنْجِيلِي [A9v, B88r]); “la Taurá” or “el Ataurá” (“la Torá”), where we have maintained the gender presented by the text (لَتُورَةً [B87r], لَتُورَةً [B88r]); “el Azabur” (أَلْأَزْبُورْ [A8r], أَلْأَزْبُورْ [B86v]). Since we have adopted the practice of normalization in these cases, no variants for these words are included in the notes.

MS B transmits more cases of vocalic crasis than does MS A, as the following examples demonstrate: “de Allah” (A8v or A23r) versus “d’Allah” (B87r or B101r); “de Almasīḥ” (A19v) versus “d’Almasīḥ” (B97v); “porque el” (A10v) versus “porqu’el” (B89r); and so forth. In these cases, the edition always maintains the reading offered in the base manuscript (MS A) without including the variant in MS B in the notes.

The two manuscripts are entirely vocalized. Exceptionally, in MS B98v there is no vowel over the final consonant of “alçolo,” and in MS A7v the copyist has corrected the vocalization of “deviedes.” On some occasions, a letter appears vocalized in two ways. Thus on B96r, “oirá mis palabras,” in which “mis” is vocalized with both *fatha* and *kasra*, or in A23r, where we have the double vocalization of *rabbi/rabba*. Choosing which diacritic is the correct one for the edition is not always an easy task. Thus on A5v the *alif* is vocalized with both *fatha* and *kasra*. The choice of one or the other vowel changes the meaning of the phrase: either “Umar ibnu ‘Abdu-l-‘Aziz, king of the believers, wrote it to Alyón” or “Umar ibnu ‘Abdu-l-‘Aziz, king of the believers, wrote it, and Alyón.” The writing of only the *kasra* in MS B does not clarify the meaning. In the same way, in MS A10v the word “dos” is triply vocalized so that it might be read as “dos,” “das,” or “dis.” We have adopted

the reading “dos,” although Cardaillac read “dis” as the first syllable of the word “discren-cias,” considering possible—but doubtful—the reading “setanta i dos.”²¹

Our English translation of the Aljamiado stands at a greater distance (necessarily) from the source text than is the case with the other translations in this volume. Aljamiado is an intriguing mixture of mostly Spanish with many Arabic words used with their Arabic meanings, and sometimes whole Arabic phrases appear as well. Moreover, there are a number of Arabic terms that have been Hispanized in surprising ways. One might want to capture some of the striking quality of this Spanish-Arabic mash-up by, say, translating only the truly Spanish terms, leaving Arabic words such as “adin” in the original Arabic (as on A6r: “y del fecho de tu adín,” which would yield “and the matter of your adin”; the Arabic word here means “religion”), or by creating calques of some of the more interesting Hispanized Arabic words (such as “alhadizonos,” which literally means “he hadithed us”). But to do so would result in English that would likely be a hard slog for anyone not quite knowledgeable of Arabic and Islam.

We have, therefore, translated the whole text, both the Spanish majority and the Arabic minority, into idiomatic English that tries to follow the Aljamiado’s syntax and tone wherever possible, and we have not indicated in the English text where we are actually translating Arabic *per se* rather than Spanish.

TRANSLATION

{A5v} In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, and may God bless Muhammad and his Family.

Letter.

This is the missive that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, king of the believers, wrote to Leo, king of the Christian unbelievers.

He said: Abu Ja'far {A6r} Muhammad b. 'Awfi al-Tayy, in the city of Homs, informed us: He said: 'Abd al-Quddusi b. al-Hajjaj related²² to us: He said: Isma'il b. 'Ayyas related to us. He said: 'Umar son of 'Abd al-'Aziz (may God be satisfied with him!) wrote: “On behalf of the servant of God, 'Umar, king of the believers, and Leo, king-emperor [sic] of the Romans. May peace be upon those who follow [right] guidance, and may there be punishment for those who lie and do not believe. And turn their back and do not draw near to the truth.

Now then,²³ you have written to me many letters in which you have spoken about the matter of Jesus (may peace be upon him!), and the matter of your religion, the matters

21 Cardaillac 1972, 2:217, 2:317n409.

22 The verb here and in the following clause, *alhadizó*, is back-formed from the Arabic noun *al-hadith*, the standard term for an item of Islamic tradition, and thus literally means that 'Umar “hadithed” us. Almost certainly this back-formed verb is translating an Arabic verb from the same root, *haddatha*, meaning “to relate, tell.”

23 The Castilian “A cuanto después” is a literal translation of the Arabic *Amma ba'd*, which is a formulaic phrase used in Arabic composition at the transition from introductory remarks to the main body of a letter, treatise, or book. Usually, it is translated in English as “Now then.”

related to you personally. And then your messenger departed. {A6v} I do not know what has made you write me again. Is it because you have decided to assert that what I have written to you is true? And now, since you want my response, I will write to you a letter in which I will guide you regarding your part of the other world, and [in which] I will declare the matter of your religion and of mine; matters that, if God wanted to do you good, you would have to take profit from them; and [those things] would oblige you, and you would have to pay attention to them. So understand them and affirm them and think upon them, since the religion of a person is the thing about which anyone must think most. And one must devote thought to it, meditate on it, and seek advice about it, since there is nothing in the matter of this world that endures other than good work and religion. And everything else will come to an end, and not endure, and one will never return {A7r} to those things. And those who desire any of these things, and will give them as a heritage to others, will lose themselves. And they will go [here] in front of God alone, just as He created, judged, and ordained them.

According to your views, Jesus said, "You come naked, and you go naked."²⁴ And all the world is without shame and is in tribulation, and everything which is in it will come to an end except God alone. Everything will come to an end and not endure except God (may He be praised!) alone, He who gave beginning to humankind, and to Him it will return. So reflect and think on this, and let the matter of your religion be the most pressing thing among the matters regarding you, and the most honored thing, and the most preoccupying thing for you. Do not surrender yourself to [the religion] that you have found yourself adhering to because of your parents and because of the others of {A7v} your belief; it is necessary to surrender yourself and turn away from [the religion] which you adhere to on account of those of your belief and of your opinion. And hence declare to them, and hence give them to understand, and plead with them, since Jesus said in the Gospel, according to your view, "Whoever asks, give to him; and whoever seeks, finds; and whoever asks that they open [the door], will open [the door]."²⁵

And if something should happen to you before you meet someone who will tell you what I will tell you about the matter of Jesus and about your religion, you would have a better excuse when you return to your Lord, and you will be asked about what you have done. Since you do not see yourself, out of fear or greed regarding your place in the world, following [right] guidance when you see it, since the kingdom of the other world is more prestigious than the kingdom {A8r} of this world, and more enduring, and better for them when they will turn to their Lord and will see their reward, because that is the reason for endurance and of joyful rest. You wake up one day as king and head and governor among those of your kingdom, and God will ask you and tell you about all this. Since you do not see yourself abandoning what you are and what you live when the right guidance and the good path will declare themselves to you, you will find in what I write to you matters with which you will not be able to deny the earlier ones [i.e., what was said before]. Indeed, you will concede, and you will not deny what Jesus, son of Mary, said and gave evidence of personally.

²⁴ Cf. Job 1:21.

²⁵ Matt. 7:8.

You wrote to me that you find in the Psalms of David and in the Books of the Prophets (may peace {A8v} be upon them!) concerning Jesus, [books] you consider true and believe. And you offer that which Jesus gave testimony of in the Gospel, that he had a Lord, whom he worshipped, and to whom he prayed, and asked help of Him, and beseeched Him. And he [Jesus] ceased [therefore] being the Lord. And Jesus himself knew better and was closer to God and more to be believed than the Scriptures of the communities²⁶ which have been manipulated and changed, for you do not know what they changed and what they expanded and what they abridged. And how do you consider the Jews credible if you yourselves explain that the Torah was stolen so many times, and those who knew how to read it among the children of Israel were disappeared and dead? And for a great deal of time there was not {A9r} among them any [written text] until men wrote it based on oral dictation following their suggestions and desires, nation after nation, generation after generation. And there were people who forgot, and [some who] doubted, and [some who] took care; and the satans brought them their shameful ideas, and doubts, and bad desires. God knows best what they learned or omitted. Do you not realize that you do not find in the Torah—which you consider was sent down upon Moses—which says nothing about paradise nor the fire [of hell], nor about bringing to life, nor raising up after giving life again, nor judgment, nor giving account? And on this account the Jews lie about the Samaritans²⁷ and the day of resurrection. {A9v}

And you consider that you find in the Torah that was sent down upon Moses information about all things, and news concerning this world and the other. And God did not send down any of His commandments without clarifying them to His people, and He guided them to it and made them understand it, and examined them about it, inasmuch as He has clear knowledge of them, and of those who depart from His commandment and undertake another. And such is the commandment of God, and His judgment regarding the first and the last, according to the Gospel which is in your possession. Indeed, you already know that Matthew and Mark and Luke and John wrote it a long time ago. {A10r} The first Gospel was the parables by which Jesus gave you examples for your advice and understanding. It was not suitable for Jesus that [someone else] should state to you the matter of your religion, because no one other than him should state this to you, good God! He brought the message from his Lord, and he commanded you with what God commanded him, and what he was commanded and that which he had declared to you. But you have changed it, and you have obscured it on your own authority, and have modified and remodified it, and have followed your own desires. And then you went away from Jesus and the apostles {A10v} regarding seventy-two beliefs, through lying against them, and greed about that which Jesus commanded you, and he judged you. According to your views, the Torah and the Gospel differ in many things. And if not, why do you and the Jews depart from it, and dispute with each other? The Torah and the Gospel should not disagree with each other, because the Book of God is all one, and is truthful, and the one should verify the other, and neither the commandment of God nor His religion nor His Book is disputed. But we testify and we believe that the Torah which God sent down upon Moses, and the Gospel which He sent down upon {A11r} Jesus, and the Psalms which he sent down upon David is

26 I.e., the Scriptures of the Hebrews.

27 In the text, “cemiries,” i.e., from the region of Samariyya.

truth—just as it was sent down by God. The one verifies the other, and we believe in [all of] them; and we testify regarding it. And that Islam is the [true] religion, and [that] the religion of His angels and the religion of His prophets is one religion, because God, our Lord, would not deal differently with His people; neither would he offer two religions that guide rightly with the one and lead astray with the other, because the Lord is one, and His religion is one. His angels and the prophets worship only Him, and believe only in Him. There is no lord other than the Lord of all the world, Lord of everything. {A11v} Doing belongs to Him and also to command “give life” and “take life.” And He is powerful over all things.

You already know that your religion, the one that you are living in day after day, neither Moses nor Jesus nor any of the prophets (peace be upon them!) lived by it, because they did not direct prayer toward your qiblah, nor [did they] make your sacrifice, nor make crosses or icons, nor perform circumcision, nor eat pork, nor place graves in churches,²⁸ nor purify [their churches] with the bones of the dead. And you consider that Jesus kept the Sabbath, and he was circumcised, and performed prayer toward the Holy House,²⁹ and he performed the sacrifice of the children of Israel. And he never ceased {A12r} to live in accordance with this, as you consider, until God raised him to Himself. But you abandon what Jesus did and the prophets before him and you do the opposite. And you put Sunday in the place of Saturday, and baptism in the place of circumcision, and offering of pigs in place of the offering of clean butchering, and the qiblah of the rising sun in place of the qiblah of Jesus, that which Jesus prayed toward. And all this Jesus did not do according to your views, nor did he oblige [you to], nor did any of the prophets (peace be upon them!) do this. Therefore, you neither affirm the Torah {A12v} nor do you do the work of the prophets, nor do you follow the religion of Jesus, nor do you heed his teaching, nor do you testify to his testimony of which he gave testimony. You assert that he is Lord so that you do not worship anyone except him or believe in anyone except him.

And it is said in the Gospel, according to what you say, that Jesus said, “I cannot do anything, and cannot say anything, without that it be with the power of my Lord. What I do, I do, and what I say, I say in the power and name of my Lord God, the One who sent me.”³⁰

And you consider that he had a fear of death of a kind that no one else had a similar one, to the extent that his sweat was like blood. And a great pain and preoccupation overtook him, and he said, {A13r} “Lord, if You do choose to have anyone else drink this cup, then take it from me. But no, let it be as You want, O my Lord.”³¹ And you think that he was moaning all the time and lamented to Him and called out to God, prayed, and asked that he be excused from drinking the cup of death, and asked God to allow him to rest from worry. And then an angel came to him and comforted him. So how—according to your view—was he the Lord, having need of comfort and encouragement from another. God is far above what those unjust people say, so far beyond and so grand!

And you consider that he said to the apostles in the hour when sleep and sadness overtook them, “Rise up and pray to your Lord; perhaps {A13v} you will be saved from

²⁸ Translating, strikingly enough, “meçquidas” = “mosques.”

²⁹ I.e., Jerusalem.

³⁰ Cf. John 4:34; 5:30, 36.

³¹ Matt. 26:42; Luke 22:42.

these calamities.”³² And he said, according to your view: “O my Lord, do not abandon me into the power of your servants.”³³ So who is this Lord, the One to whom Jesus prayed, and he required that his company pray to Him and ask Him for help, and that they make lamentation to Him?

And he said: “Whoever believes in me, does not believe in me, but believes in the One who has sent me.”³⁴ And he said: “It is not fitting for Jesus that he be greater than the One who sent him”;³⁵ and it is not becoming to Jesus that he worship two lords³⁶ [himself and his father]. And he said: “My Lord has sent me to the world; afterwards I will return to Him.”³⁷ So who is this Lord who sent him, and who is this other to whom he must return except God his Lord?

And he said, as you consider: {A14r} “O Simon, Satan asked God that He give power over you and that he test you, and that He separate you as they separate wheat from the chaff.”³⁸ “And I have lamented for you to my Lord, and I have asked that He not give him power over you so that your belief be weakened.”³⁹ So who is this Lord to whom Jesus lamented and asked Him all this?

And you consider that a man came to him, and he said to him: “O good master, show me what to do before God in order to enter paradise.” Jesus said to him: “Do not call me ‘good’ because the only good one is God alone.”⁴⁰

And you consider that he said: “I go to my Lord. And when I will have gone to Him, the Paraclete will come to you. He will speak the truth to you, and he will not say anything except what God will command him. So {A14v} when the Paraclete will come to you, the one who is sent to all the people, then he will make testimony concerning me.”⁴¹ And the meaning of “paraclete” in the Greek language⁴² is “Ahmad.” And this was already asked of someone who knows your language and ours.

Furthermore, he says: “Take comfort, Jerusalem, until the rider of the ass comes to you. Then the rider of the camel will come afterward.”⁴³ Do you not know that none of the prophets rides a camel, other than Ahmad (God bless him and grant him salvation!)? So how do you doubt Muhammad and deny him, finding this in your Scriptures?

And you consider that Jesus said, when he was asked about the day {A15r} of judgment, that neither the angels nor the prophets knew the day or the hour, no one except God (praise Him!). And he furthermore said: “The one who is asked does not know more

32 Cf. Matt. 26:40–41; Luke 22:45–46.

33 Cf. Ps. 22:1; Matt. 27:46.

34 John 12:44.

35 Cf. John 13:16.

36 Cf. Matt. 6:24; Luke 16:13.

37 Cf. John 7:33.

38 Cf. Matt. 3:12; Luke 3:17.

39 Cf. John 17:15.

40 Mark 10:18; Luke 18:18–19.

41 Cf. John 16:7, 13–14.

42 In the original, “Lenwaje romano.”

43 Cf. Zach. 9:9; Isa. 21:7.

than the one who asks. So if I had known the absent, I would have known it.”⁴⁴ And he said: “Whoever believes in me, believes in that one who has sent me.”⁴⁵ So who sent him if not God Most High?

And you say that Satan showed him the treasures and the kingdoms of the earth. And he said: “Bow down to me and I will give you everything and I will give you power over it.” And Jesus said to him: “Cast yourself away from me because I have been commanded that I bow down only before God alone.”⁴⁶ And he said: “Do not ask for wheat or silver or gold, and do not seek in your prayers anything other than the sustenance for the day in your day. {A15v} And put your treasure and your highest wish in heaven, where there will be no theft nor any eating by moths, so that your hearts are where your treasures and highest wishes are,”⁴⁷ “and you are not able to work for the other world and for this one in the same way that a captive cannot serve two masters.”⁴⁸ And he said: “Look at the birds of heaven, that do not sow or reap, and your Lord, He of heaven, gives them life and sustenance.”⁴⁹

And he said: “Say: ‘Our Lord, forgive our offenses, just as we forgive those who offend us.’ For if you forgive those who offend you, then your Lord, He of heaven, will forgive your offenses.”⁵⁰ So {A16r} who is this Lord whom Jesus (peace be upon him!) commands that they ask forgiveness for their offenses, and that they ask Him for sustenance day after day? And he said: “Do not judge between people except with justice. If not, God, He of heaven, will judge you in the same way, since by the measure that you measure by, they will measure you.”⁵¹ And he said: “Someone who will say ‘my Lord is God’ will not enter the heavenly kingdom, but rather the one who will give what is owed to the Lord and will do good works will enter it.”⁵²

And you consider that he said to the Jews: “If you were among those of the truth, you would answer me: {A16v} Since I [come] from the side of God, I go to Him, and I have not come on my own part, but God has sent me.”⁵³ And he said: “‘Whoever believes in me from among the nations, he believes in Him before my Lord’;⁵⁴ and ‘whoever has spoken truthfully about me, will speak truthfully about the One who has sent me.’”⁵⁵

And you consider that he said to the apostles, “God ordered that I come to the Holy House.” And Simon said: “God does not command calamity to happen, even as the spirit and word of God are present.” And Jesus said to him: “Think upon the matter of God and do not think about the matter of this world.”⁵⁶

44 Cf. Q5:116.

45 Cf. John 12:44.

46 Cf. Matt. 4:8–10; Luke 4:5–8.

47 Cf. Matt. 6:19–21; Luke 12:34.

48 Cf. Matt. 6:24; Luke 16:13.

49 Matt. 6:26; Luke 12:24.

50 Matt. 6:14.

51 Matt. 7:2.

52 Matt. 7:22.

53 Cf. John 8:45, 42.

54 Cf. John 12:44.

55 Cf. John 8:26.

56 No such passage exists in the Gospels.

And you consider that he said to Simon when he drew his sword {A17r} in order to defend him, "Withdraw your sword because if I wanted to ask God, He would send me more than 12,000 companies of angels."⁵⁷ And he said: "The hour comes when each one of you will be in his land; and you will leave me alone, but I will not be alone with my Lord."⁵⁸ And the apostles said: "Now we know that God has sent you."⁵⁹

And you consider that he raised his eyes toward heaven, and he said: "O my Lord, you established paradise for whoever knows that You only are God, and that You are God, the One who has sent me, and everything that You give to your people [is] from You."⁶⁰ And he said: "I have commanded them, and expecting no reward, O my Lord, with that {A17v} which You have commanded me, and not expecting a reward from the people, but expecting it from You."⁶¹

And you consider that he said to his company when he knew that he had to depart from them: "My Lord, protect them with Your name [with] which you have sent me, since I have protected them with it."⁶² And he said: "My Lord has sent me to this world in order that I testify to the truth; for whoever among you who will be from among [the people] of the truth will hear my words and speak truthfully about me."⁶³ And he said: "Make peace among the people in order that you be the chosen of God and light for the children of Adam."⁶⁴

All this you consider that Jesus (upon him be peace!) said and testified about himself, and you yourselves testify to it. And [you consider] that he completed all this {A18r} for God and he abandoned it, and he handed it over to his Lord, so what is that which you have added in excess about Jesus after what he has said and what he has testified? And what if it were Jesus who had said this and testified to it, and then he had changed it and had established himself as Lord? God does not ask Jesus to say anything but the truth! And you have raised up enormous false testimonies against him, and you have spoken audaciously about him [Jesus] in connection with God, and you have spoken strong words about Jesus. And Jesus never said in the Gospel or in any other place: "I am your Lord, and do not worship anyone but me, and believe only in me." Nor did any of the prophets say it, nor did they worship anyone other than one {A18v} Lord.

And you think that you find in your Scriptures that which appears to you [to be the case] concerning Jesus. And you know well that the Jews are in disbelief and are in error. And they await and desire the Antichrist, and they go astray with him. And, therefore, they embellish their opinion in their Scriptures, that they desire no one but him, nor [do they] believe in anyone but him or desire to believe in anyone but him, but rather they do not consider him as Lord, nor do they enlarge his kingdom. And they consider that he will be Lord of all the earth while time endures.

57 Matt. 26:51–54; cf. John 18:10.

58 John 16:32.

59 John 16:31.

60 No such passage exists in the Gospels.

61 Cf. Luke 6:35; 14:14.

62 Cf. John 17:11–12.

63 John 18:37.

64 Cf. Matt. 5:9; Luke 6:35.

And you consider that Gabriel (upon him be peace!) gave good news to Mary and said, “You will give birth to a boy {A19r} whose name will be the Messiah, and he will be the king of the children of Israel, and his kingdom will endure, and he will place himself upon the throne of David, and will cast out the powerful from their thrones, and he will cast down the mighty, and he will raise up the frightened.”⁶⁵ And Jesus never put himself on the seat of David from then until now, nor was he king of the children of Israel, nor did he cast out the powerful from their seats nor did he endure—as you argue and say—more than thirty-three years, concealed, hidden at one time in Egypt and at another time in the mountains, until God raised him up to Him. Now this clearly is contrary to what you find in the Scriptures of the Jews concerning the matter {A19v} of the Messiah. So where are your counsels and your understandings? May God be blessed!

You utter contemptible words inasmuch as you doubt about Jesus, and his reality is not proclaimed by you. You must take the facts of root, soil, and foundation, since you testify that God the Most High does not have father or son, or eat or drink, or have fear or sleep; nor do any of His people see Him. And you find in the Gospel that whoever sees God dies, but Jesus was born and ate and drank and slept and was circumcised, and had fear and fled on account of Herod, and was hidden, and he walked among the children of Adam. And they saw him as a boy and then as grown up, and he walked among them for thirty-{A20r} three years. So how do you say that he was the Lord [who] had been doing all this?

And you consider that Jesus sent Moses, and sent down upon him the Torah, and [yet] you find in the Torah that anyone crucified is evilly spoken of. So, how can Jesus condemn himself, knowing that he had to be crucified? According to what you say, God did not require that he do this, but God raised him to Him.

And in your ignorance and your dullness about the nobility of God and his simplicity, you consider that God (may He be blessed!) descended from His seat and His kingdom and from His power and from His honor and from His light and from His integrity and from His greatness, and that He placed Himself in the body of a woman, among the hay and the blood, and among the {A20v} discomfort and the anguish, and remained in her womb nine months; afterward He went out through the place where the children of Adam go out, and He nursed like an infant nurses for two years, and acted like an infant. And He grew as an infant grows year after year, crying and having fear, and sleeping, eating, and drinking, and being hungry and thirsty. His whole life was thirty-three years as you reckon. So who sustained the heavens and the earths, and ordered and judged them, and made the sun and the moon move and the night and the day and the stars and the winds, and created and brought back to life and killed, while Jesus was in the womb of his mother for this time and after he had been born, thirty-three years? {A21r} Blessed be God!

How can you say such contemptible words? Now if you are among those who consider Jesus as Lord because he was not made from a male, then we are not able to make sense of the creation of Adam and Eve, because they were not formed from male or female nor did they nurse like children nurse, year after year. And God formed Adam from earth; then, he blew on him from His spirit; and He honored him with what He honored no one else

65 Luke 1:31–34, 52.

among his people. He showed him the names of all things,⁶⁶ and commanded the angels—who prostrated before him and praised him and held up his throne—that they prostrate before him [Adam];⁶⁷ and they did not prostrate before Jesus or to any of his people, but only to him [Adam]. Afterward {A21v} [God formed] Eve from one of his ribs. And He gave them the Garden to inhabit, and He honored them with His honors, and He derived from them His prophets and His leaders, and He subjected to them and their descendants all created things. So the creation of Jesus is not more marvelous than the creation of Adam and Eve, or than the creation of the heavens and the lands, and the sun and the moon, and the stars and the mountains, and the winds and the waters, and the trees and vermin and the birds; or than the creation of the angels, who do not eat or drink, the ones whom the children of Adam do not see. Now if you consider {A22r} Jesus as Lord because he resuscitated the dead, and healed the sick, and did miracles, well all this he did with the authority and power of his Lord! Ezekiel, according to your view, had already resuscitated 35,000 with the power of God,⁶⁸ more than Jesus resuscitated. So take him [i.e., Ezekiel] as Lord! Moreover, Ilaç, whom they called Elijah, resuscitated the son of the old woman.⁶⁹

According to your view, then, what Jesus did was not more marvelous than what Moses did, when the sorcerers of Pharaoh cast their ropes and staffs, and they appeared to be snakes. And Moses threw his staff, and he swallowed all of it, and the staff and the rope which he slept {A22v} with, and he brought it with him.⁷⁰ And he touched the sea with this and opened seven paths for his people, and all of them exited, except Pharaoh and his people and his followers.⁷¹ And he brought with him a stone and he touched it with the staff, and twelve springs gushed forth from it, for each tribe, a spring.⁷² And when the sun afflicted them, he made them shade with the clouds. When the night darkened, he sent lights.⁷³ And he called, and any bird would fly and come! And [if the bird] was big, he ate it; and if it was thin and slim, he let it go and said to it: "Go, fatten yourself, and afterward return." And everyone was born, and his clothes grew with him, as their bodies continued to grow. {A23r} And all this was thus as you reckon. So it appears that what Jesus did was not more marvelous than what Moses did; and [neither] did what he did except by the command of God (may He be praised!).

The letter is finished with praise to God and his good help. May God give salutation to our prophet Muhammad and to his [followers]. Amen, amen, amen, O Lord of the Worlds.

66 Q2:33.

67 Q2:34.

68 Ezek. 37:1–10.

69 Cf. 1 Kings 17:17–24.

70 Cf. Q20:63–69; 26:43–45.

71 Q7:117; 26:44–45; 20:69.

72 Cf. Num. 20:7–11.

73 Cf. Exod. 13:21.

EDITION

[Mandadaria que la escribió ‘Umar ibnu ‘Abdu-l-‘Azīzⁱ, rey de los creyentes, a Alyón, rey de los cristianos descreyentes]

*Biçmi illāhi i'rrahmāni i'rrahīmi wa ṣallā Allāhu 'alā Muḥammadⁱⁿ wa alīhi.
Risālat^u.⁷⁴*

Esta es mandadaria,⁷⁵ que la escribió ‘Umar ibnu ‘Abdu-l-‘Azīzⁱ, rey de los creyentes, [<a>](#)⁷⁶ Alyón, rey de los cristianos descreyentes.

Dixo: Fízonos a saber Abū Ja'far {A6r} Muḥammad ibnu ‘Awfi A^lṭṭā³i, fī madīnati Ḥimṣa.⁷⁷ Dixo: Alhadizonos⁷⁸ ‘Abdu {B85r} al-Qudūsi ibnu l-Ḥajjāj.⁷⁹ Dixo: Alhadizonos Ismā'iil ibnu ‘Ayyās.⁸⁰ Dixo: Escribió ‘Umar, fillo de ‘Abdu l-‘Azīzⁱ (apáguese Allah d'él): “De parte del siervo d'Allah, ‘Umar rey de los creyentes, y Alyón, rey denperador de los romanos. El açalam sía sobre los que siguen la guía, y el aladeb⁸¹ seya para los qu'esmentirán y⁸² non creyerán. Y las cuestas⁸³ volverán, y a la verdad⁸⁴ no se acostarán.”⁸⁵

A cuanto depués, tú me as escribto a mí muitas cartas, que as lonbrado en ellas del fecho de ‘Isā (‘alayhi i'ssalām), y del fecho de tu adín, fechos que an caído en tu presona. {B85v} Y sobre aquello espartiose de tu me<n>sajero. {A6v} Y no sé qué te á fecho retornar a escrebir a mí. ¿Es porque á caído en tu voluntad de averdadercer lo que t'<é> escribto? Y agora yo t'escribiré, pues que quieres mi re<s>puesta, una carta que te guiaré en ella sobre tu part del otro mundo, y decla<ra>ré del fecho de tu adín y del mío; fechos que si Allah te quiere fer bien, aprovecharte <e>nd<e> as, y a ellos t'ablegarán, y atenderlos as. Pues entiéndelos, y afírmalos, y piensa en ellos, pues qu'el adín de la presona es la cosa que más debe en ello pensar toda presona. Y debe en ello <i>imigar, y comedir y consellar, pues {B102r=B85bisr} que no es del fecho d'este mundo cosa que dure sino la buena obra y el adín. Y todo lo otro se acabará y no durará, y nunca a ello tor-{A7r}nará. Y pierden sus presonas los que de aquello volrán⁸⁶ y a quien a eredar lo darán. Y delante d'Allah solos irán aquí, así como los creó, y los judgó y ordenó.⁸⁷

74 *wa alīhi] wwa-lihi B || Risālat^u] Risālat^{un} B.*

75 “Mandadaria” seems to be a neologism, with a similar meaning to “mandadero/a,” “el que lleva algún recado o comisión” (*Autoridades*, s.v. “mandadero”).

76 *ibnu] bnu B || <a>] i/a A* (both vowels are present): i B.

77 *ibnu] bnu B || Ḥimṣa] Ḥimuṣa B.*

78 *Synonym of “hízonos a saber.”*

79 *ibnu] bnu B.*

80 *ibnu] bnu B.*

81 “Castigo, pena, tormento,” *GVAM*, s.v. *al'adāb*.

82 *y] e B.*

83 This can be interpreted as “cosa costosa, preciada,” *GVAM*, s.v. “kosta,” or as “peticiones,” *DRAE*, s.v. “cuestación,” from Latin *quaestus - quaerēre*.

84 *verdad] verdat B.*

85 “Acercarán,” *GVAM*, s.v. “akostarse”: “acerarse, arrimarse, allegarse.”

86 *volrán] fahrán B.*

87 *creó y los judgó] emended from crió y le judgó A, B.*

Ya dixo 'Isā según vosotros razonades: "Espollados⁸⁸ venides, y espollados vos iredes."⁸⁹ Y todo el mundo es escándalos⁹⁰ y albalaes.⁹¹ Y todo lo qu'es en él se finará sino Allah solo. Todo lo otro se acabará y no durará, sino Allah (*subḥānāhu*) solo, Aquel que comenzó la gent y a Él tornarán. Pues *< i > magina* {B102v=B85bisv} y piensa en esto, y seja el feyto de tu adín el más apretado⁹² de los fechos sobre tú y el más onrado para tú de los fechos⁹³ y el más afazendado⁹⁴ en tú. No te des por lo que as trovado sobr'ello a tus padres y a los de {A7v} tu creyencia; debe dart^{< e >} y tornarte de lo qu'estás en ello, de los de tu creyencia y a los de tu consello. Y declárales ende a ellos, y dales ende a entender, y pleyteyarán con ellos, pues 'Isā ya dixo en el Evangelio, según vos razonades:⁹⁵ "Quien demanda, danle; y quien busca, trova; y quien demanda que l'abran, ábrenle."

Y si te conteciese algún *< a >*contecimiento antes⁹⁶ {B86r} qu'encontrases quien te declarase del fecho de 'Isā y de tu adín lo que yo te declararé, ternías mejor escusa cuando tornarías a tu Señor,⁹⁷ y se te demandará por tu obra.⁹⁸ Pues no te deviedes⁹⁹ de seguir la guía cuando la verás por el miedo ni cobdicia de tu reyno, pues qu'el reísmo del otro mundo es más granado¹⁰⁰ que no el reísmo {A8r} d'este mundo, y de más durada, y mejor para ellos cuando tornarán a lur Señor y lur walardón verán, que aquella es la cosa de la durança y de la folgança.¹⁰¹ Tú amaneces el día rey, y cabeza y adelantado en los de tu reyno,¹⁰² y Allah de todo aquello te demandará y te contará. {B86v} Pues no te viedes de dejar lo qu'estás y vives en ello cuando se te declarará la guía y la buena carrera, pues que¹⁰³ tú trovarás en lo que t'escribo feytos que no podrás denegar los de antes.¹⁰⁴ Bien lo atorgarás, y no los esmentirás de lo que dixo 'Isā ibnu Maryam,¹⁰⁵ y lo testimonió sobre su presona.

Escrrebisme¹⁰⁶ tú a mí que trovas en el Azabur de Dāwūd y en los libros de los anabíes ('*alayihim* {A8v} *i'ssalām*) en 'Isā, que los averdadeces y los creyes. Y dexas lo que testimonió 'Isā en el Evangelio, qu'él abía Señor, que adoraba en Él y fazía oración enta Él y

88 espollados] y espollados A.

89 "Naked" (arag.).

90 "Desvergüenzas," DRAE.

91 "Enfermedades, calamidades, plagas," GVAM, s.v. *albalā*, "tribulación."

92 GVAM, s.v. "apretar": "obrar con mayor esfuerzo o intensidad que de ordinario."

93 de los fechos] omitted in B.

94 GVAM, s.v. "afazendar": "ocupar, distraer"; s.v. "afaçendarše kon": "preocupación."

95 pues 'Isā] 'Isā A.

96 si] emended: se A, B || antes] ante B.

97 mejor] millor B || tornarías] tornaríen B.

98 se te] te B.

99 The copyist of A corrected the vocalization.

100 Cardaillac (1972, 2:205) reads "grando (sic)."

101 lur walardón verán] los gualardonarán verán A || que] porque B.

102 reyno] reynado B.

103 pues que] pues que que A.

104 no] absent in B || podrás denegar los de antes] porás denegarlos antes A.

105 ibnu] bnu B.

106 Escrebisme] Escribisme B.

demandaba {B87r} acorro a Él y lo pregaba. Y lo quitaba de seyer Señor.¹⁰⁷ Y ‘Isā conocía¹⁰⁸ mejor su presona y era más cercano de Allah y más de creyer que no las Escribturas trastornadas de las alumas, maneyadas y demudadas, que no sabedes lo que demudaron y lo que crecieron y menwaron. ¿Y cómo averdadeedes a los judíos, si vosotros razonades qu’el Ataurá fue tantas vegadas robado, y perdidos y finados¹⁰⁹ los que lo sabían leír d’ellos de los de Bani Içraíla?¹¹⁰ Y fincaron tienpo que no abía {A9r} entr’ellos cosa nenguna fasta que lo escribieron de voç¹¹¹ onbres por sus consellos {B87v} y sus voluntades, alumna enpués alumna y generación enpués generación.¹¹² Y eran presonas que s’olvidaban, y dudaban¹¹³ y cuydaban; y los axaytanes les venían con sus escándalos, y sus dubdas y malquerencias. Allah es más sabidor de lo que aprendieron o defallecieron. ¿No veyedes que vosotros no trovades en el Ataurá —aquel que razonades que fue deballado sobre Mūsā— que fable en nenguna cosa ni del aljana ni del fuego, ni reçucitar ni levantar depués del revibcamiento,¹¹⁴ el judicio y el conto? Y por aquello esmentieron los cemiríes¹¹⁵ y l’alquiyama.¹¹⁶

{A9v}{B88r} Y razonades que trovades en la Taurá que fue deballada¹¹⁷ sobre Mūsā declaración de todas cosas, y las nuevas d’este mundo y del otro. Y no deballó Allah cosa de sus mandamientos que no la declarase a sus gentes, y los guiasse a ello y les fiziese a saber d’ello, y los requiriessse en ello, por tal qu’él ubiese razón sobr’ellos y sobre los que su mandamiento dexarían y por otro obrarían.¹¹⁸ Y así es el mandamiento d’Allah, y su judgo en los primeros y en los çagueros, a cuanto el Evangelio aquel qu’es en vuestro poder. Pues ya sabedes que lo’scribió Mateos {B88v} y Marcos y Lucas y Juanes despues de tiempos.¹¹⁹ {A10r} Pues¹²⁰ el primero Evangelio fue las feguras aquellas que vos senblancó ‘Isā [o] por vuestro consello y vuestro entendimiento. Pues no convinie a¹²¹ ‘Isā que <otra persona> vos declarase a vosotros el feyto de vuestro adín, que otro¹²² menos d’él vos lo abía a declarar. ¡Y ye pora¹²³ Allah! Y aplegó la mesajería de su Señor, y vos mandó con lo que Allah le mandó, y lo que’l fue mandado y vos ubo declarado. Mas vosotros lo abedes decamiado, y sobre vuestras presonas abedes revesado, y volvido y revolvido, y vuesas voluntades

107 y lo quitaba de] y quitaba de A.

108 conocía] Conecie B.

109 I.e., “muertos.”

110 d’ellos de los] d’ellos A.

111 voç] emended from vos A, B.

112 sus voluntades] son voluntades B || generación] gerenación B || generación] gerenación B.

113 dudaban] dubdaban B.

114 revibcamiento] revibcar B.

115 “The Sāmariyya.”

116 “Resurrection, the day of judgment.”

117 que trovades] que no trovades B || en la Taurá] en el Ataurá B || deballada] deballado B.

118 dexarían] lexarían B || obrarían] oprarían A.

119 despues] depués B.

120 pues] y B.

121 Something crossed out in both manuscripts.

122 otro] otri B.

123 “Por.”

seguido.¹²⁴ Y partiestes {B89r} vos después¹²⁵ de 'Isā y de los apóstoles {A10v} de setanta y dos¹²⁶ cre<ye>ncias,¹²⁷ por esmentimiento¹²⁸ a ellos y por escobdicia¹²⁹ de lo que vos mandó 'Isā, y judgó sobre vos.

Y ya s'encontrasta el Ataurá y el Evangelio en muchos fechos, según razonades.¹³⁰ Y si no, ¿por qué mudastes d'ello vosotros y los judíos, y vos contrastastes?¹³¹ No se contrastaría el Ataurá y los Evangelios, porque el alquiteb d'Allah todo es uno, y es verdadero, que averdadece lo uno a lo otro, y no es contrastado el mandamiento de Allah ni su [a] adín,¹³² ni su alquiteb. Mas nosotros testimoniamos y creyemos qu'el Ataurá {B89v} aquel que fue deballado de Allah sobre Mūsā,¹³³ y el Evangelio aquel que fue deballado sobre {A11r} 'Isā,¹³⁴ y el Azabur aquel que deballó sobre Dāwūd, que fue verdad—de par d'Allah deballado. Que averdadece lo uno a lo otro, que creyemos en ellos, y testimoniamos sobr'ello. Y qu'el aliclam es l'adín; y el adín de sus almalaques y el adín de sus anabíes es un adín,¹³⁵ porque Allah, nuestro Señor, no revesaría¹³⁶ a su gent, ni les pondría dos adines que guiasse con el uno y desguiase con el otro, porqu'el Señor es uno, y su adín uno.¹³⁷ No adoraron sus almalaques ni anabíes sino a Él, ni creyeron sino con Él. No á¹³⁸ otro señor sino el Señor {B90r} de todo el mundo, señor de toda cosa. A Él es¹³⁹ {A11v} el fazer, y el mandar “revibca” y “mata”;¹⁴⁰ y Él es sobre toda cosa poderoso.

Ya sabedes que vuestro adín, aquel qu'en él amanecedes, non deobró Mūsā ni 'Isā ni nenguno de los anabíes (*'alayhim a'ssalām*), porqu'ellos no fizieron açalá enta vuestra alquibla, ni fizieron vuestro sacrificio,¹⁴¹ ni fizieron cruç ni fegura, ni dieron¹⁴² el hatenar,¹⁴³ ni comieron puerco, ni pusieron sus meçquidas fuesas, ni su tahrar con los güesos de los

124 vuesas] vuestras B.

125 despues] depués B.

126 This word is vocalized three ways in A, and this allows it to be read as “dos,” but also “das” and “dis.” Cardaillac (1972, 2.217) translated it “setenta y discrepancias,” considering the reading “setanta i dos” possible but doubtful (Cardaillac 1972, 2:217n409).

127 setanta y dos cre<ye>ncias] setanta y discre<ye>ncias B.

128 GVAM, s.v. “esmentir”: “mentir, engañar.”

129 “Desire, ambition.”

130 razonades] rezonades A.

131 nontrastastes] contrastestes B.

132 ni su adín] ni su a adín A.

133 que fue deballado de Allah] que deballó Allah B.

134 que fue deballado de Allah] que deballó Allah B.

135 anabíes es un adín] anabíes un adín B.

136 In a metaphorical sense, “rechazar algo que sienta mal o no está conforme con nuestras creencias o ideas” GVAM, s.v. “reveçante(s).” A word is crossed out after “revesaría.”

137 revesaría] revesaría A || pondría] pornía B || con el uno] con ello B || desguiase] desjerrase B.

138 no á] no y a A.

139 a Él es] a Él es a Él es A.

140 With the meaning “to die.”

141 no fizieron açalá enta vuestra alquibla, ni fizieron vuestro sacrificio] no fizieron vuestro sacrificio ni fizieron açalá enta vuestra alquibla B.

142 dieron] *emended from* daron A: deron B.

143 Arabic *hatana*, “circuncidar”; GVAM, s.v. “hatenar.”

muertos.¹⁴⁴ Y razonades que ‘Isā que tuvo el sábado, y se hatenó, y hizo açalá enta la Casa Santa, y hizo el alcúrbán¹⁴⁵ de los de Bani Iṣraīl. Y no cesó¹⁴⁶ {A12r} de seyer sobre {B90v} aquello segúن razonades, d'aquí a que lo alçó Allah a Él. Pues dexades¹⁴⁷ lo que hizo ‘Isā y los anabíes antes d'él, y fazedes el contrario. Y metedes el alhad¹⁴⁸ en lugar del sábado, y el batismo en lugar del hatenar,¹⁴⁹ y el alcúrbán de los puercos en lugar del alcúrbán de las dewellas linpias,¹⁵⁰ y l'alquibla de sol salliente en lugar del alquibla de ‘Isā,¹⁵¹ aquella que feba açalá ‘Isā enta ella. Y todo aquesto, non hizo cosa ‘Isā según razonades, ni vos lo adebdeció,¹⁵² nin deobró con ello nenguno de los anabíes (*‘alayhim i’ssalām*). Pues¹⁵³ ni el Ataurá averdadececes, ni obra {A12v} de los anabíes obrades,¹⁵⁴ ni el adín de ‘Isā seguides, ni su castigo¹⁵⁵ decollides,¹⁵⁶ ni su teste {B91r} monio aquel que testemonió sobr'él testemoniades. Ponédeslo Señor, que no adorades¹⁵⁷ sino a Él, ni creyedes sino con Él.

Y dixo en el Evangelio, según razonades, que dizía¹⁵⁸ ‘Isā: “Yo no puedo fazer cosa ni puedo fablar sino que seya con poder de mi Señor.¹⁵⁹ Que fago lo que fago, y fablo lo que fablo con el poder y nonbre de mi Señor Allah, Aquel que me á enviado.”¹⁶⁰

Y razonades qu'él ubo pavor de la muert cual nunca lo ubo nenguno senblan, d'aquí a qu'era su sudor senblan de la sangre. Y lo tomó gran quexa y gran pienso y dixo: “Señor, {A13r} si¹⁶¹ Tú escoges a nenguno de beber este vaso, pues escúsalo de mí.¹⁶² Mas no, seya como Tú quieras, ye mi Señor.” Y razonades que toda ora que se quexaba {B91v} y se rencuraba a Él y ada Allah se reclamaba, açalá feba, y le demandaba que l'escusase de beber aquel vaso¹⁶³ del morir; y demandaba ada Allah que le dexe folgar del pienso. Y veniole laora un almalac que lo confortase, pues ¿cómo era Señor—como vos razonades—abiendo

144 güesos] wesos B.

145 Arabic *al-qurbān*, “sacrifice, offering.”

146 cesó] emended from ceçó A, B.

147 dexades] lexades B.

148 Arabic *Yawm al-ahad*, “first day of the week, Sunday.”

149 batismo] natismo A.

150 y el alcúrbán de los puercos en lugar del alcúrbán de las dewellas linpias] y el alcúrbán de las dewellas linpias, pues ponéis ye el de los puercos malos A [“ye” added later above the line].

151 salliente] sallién B.

152 ni vos lo adebdeció] ni vos lo mandó, ni vos lo adebdó B. “Tener por deuda u obligación,” GVAM, s.v. “adebdecer.”

153 *Alif* without vocalization after “pues.”

154 ni obra] ni obra ni obra A.

155 “Consejo, amonestación, enseñanza, instrucción,” GVAM, s.v. “kastigo.”

156 “Elegir” or better “desplegar, extender.” *Autoridades*, s.v. “escoger” or “descoger.”

157 A correction in the middle of “adorades.”

158 dizia] dizi B.

159 sino que] sino B || seya] emended from sía A: se B.

160 con el poder y nonbre] con el nonbre y el poder B.

161 si] emended from se A, B.

162 a nenguno de beber este vaso] emended from a nenguno de beber este paso a nenguno A: a nenguno de beber este vaso a nenguno B.

163 vaso] paso A.

menester confortación y conortación de otro?¹⁶⁴ ¡Tan alto es Allah, de lo que dizan los torteyantes,¹⁶⁵ tan alto y tan grande!¹⁶⁶

Y razonades que dixo a los apóstoles laora que los venció el sueño y la tristeza: “Levantadvos y fed açalá a vuestro Señor; por aventura¹⁶⁷ {A13v} salvaredes d'estos albalaes.” Y dixo, según razonades: “Ye mi Señor, no me dexenpares {B92r} en poder de tus siervos.” Pues ¿quién es este Señor, Aquel que a Él feba¹⁶⁸ açalá ‘Isā, y demandaba a su conpaña que fesen açalá a Él, y que le demandasen acorro, y se rencurasen a Él?

Y dixo: “Quien¹⁶⁹ creye en mí no creya en mí, mas creya en Aquel que me á enviado a mí.” Y dixo: “No conviene a ‘Isā que seja más gran que Aquel que lo envió, ni pertenece a ‘Isā que adore a dos señores.” Y dixo: “Ame <e>nviado mi Señor al mundo, depués tornaré a Él.” Pues ¿quién es este Señor Aquel que lo <e>nvió, y quién es Aquel que a Él abía a tornar, sino Allah su Señor?

Y dixo en lo que vosotros razonades: {A14r}{B92v} “Ye Šama‘ūn,” l’axaytán demandó ada Allah que le diese¹⁷⁰ poder sobre vosotros y que vos reprobase y vos cierna¹⁷¹ como ciernen el trigo de su basura. Y eme arrencurado¹⁷² por tú a mi Señor y ele demandado que no le dé poder sobre vosotros qu’enmenwe tu creyencia.” Pues ¿quién es este Señor que se rencuraba a Él ‘Isā, y le demandaba aquello?

Y razonades que le vino un onbre, y le dixo: “Ye maestro bueno, amuéstrame qué faga enta Allah porqu’entre en l’aljana.” Díxole ‘Isā: “No me clames bueno, qu’el bueno es un solo Allah.”

Y razonades que dixo: “Vo<y>me a mi Señor. Y cuando yo <me>¹⁷³ seré ido a Él, venirvos [a] el pa<r>áclito. Él vos dirá la verdat, y no vos {B93r} dirá sino lo que Allah le mandará. Pues {A14v} cuando vos verná¹⁷⁴ el pa<r>áclito, aquel que a todas las gentes será enviado, pues él fará testimonio a mí.” Y la declaración del pa<r>áclito en lenwaje romano [e.d. griego] es Ah̄mad. Ya¹⁷⁵ fue demandado aquesto a quien sabe vuestro lenwaje y el nuestro.

Dize más: “Conwértate,¹⁷⁶ Yerausalūm, d’aqúi a que te vienga el cabalgador del asno. Depués verná aprés el cabalgador del camello.” ¿Y no sabedes que nenguno de los anabíes cabalgase camello sino Ah̄mad (*ṣallā Allahu ‘alayhi wa sallam*)? Pues ¿cómo ponedes dubda en Muhammad y lo esmentides, trovando esto en vuestras Escribturas?

164 otro] otri B.

165 “El que produce tuerto o injusticia, malhechor,” GVAM, s.v. “torteante.”

166 grande] gran B.

167 por aventura] porreventura B.

168 feba] feban B.

169 Written نَبِيٌّ in A.

170 diese] emended from dase A, B.

171 cierna] emended from ciernan A, B.

172 DRAE, s.v. “rencurarse”: “querellarse de un daño o agravio”; GVAM, s.v. “rrenkurarše,” “quejarse, lamentarse.”

173 yo <me> seré] emended from yo n seré A, B.

174 pues] pues pues A || verná] perná A.

175 ya] yo A.

176 “Consuélate,” GVAM, s.v. “konortar.”

Y razonades que ʻIsā dixo laora qu’él fue {B93v} mandado por el día {A15r} del judicio¹⁷⁷ que aquel día y aquella ora no la sabían los almalaques ni los anabíes nenguno sino Allah (*subḥānahū*). Y dixo más: “No sabe más el demandado qu’el demandador. Pues si yo ubiese¹⁷⁸ supido lo absente,¹⁷⁹ abríalo supido.” Y dixo: “Quien¹⁸⁰ creye en mí, creye en Aquel que me á enviado.” Pues ¿quién lo envió, sino Allah el Alto?

Y razonades qu’el axaytán l’amostró los trasoros y los reísmos de la tierra. Y dixo: “Açájdame una açajadada, y dártelo é todo, y dart’é poder sobr’ello.” Y díxole ʻIsā: “Tírateme, que mandado m’es que no açajde sino ada Allah solo.” Y dixo: “No plegades trigo, ni plata ni oro, y no demandededes¹⁸¹ en vuestros açalaes sino arrizqui de día {B94r} en vuestro día. {A15v} Y poned vuestro trasoro y vuestro alçado¹⁸² en el cielo, do no será furtado ni de la poliella comido, pues que vuestros corazones son do son vuestros trasoros y vuestros alçados,” “y no podedes obrar para el otro mundo y para este, así como no puede servir un cativo a dos señores.” Y dixo: “Wardad a las aves del cielo, qu’ellas nin sienbran nin siegan, y vuestro Señor el del cielo les da vida y sostenimiento.”

Y dixo: “Dezid: ‘Nuestro Señor, perdona nuestros tuertos, así como perdonamos de aquellos que nos torteyan. Pues que si perdonáes a los que vos torteyan, pues vuestro Señor el del cielo vos perdonará {B94v} vuestros tuertos.’” Pues {A16r} ¿quién es¹⁸³ este Señor aquel que les mandó ʻIsā (*ʻalayhi i'ssalām*) que le demandasen perdón por sus tuertos y que le demandasen arrizqui día enpués día? Y dixo: “No juzguedes entre las gentes sino con justicia. Si no juzgará Allah¹⁸⁴ el del cielo con senblante¹⁸⁵ sobre vos, pues con la medida que medides con aquello vos mesurarán.” Y dixo: “No entrará quien dirá ‘Mi Señor es Allah’ en el reyno¹⁸⁶ celestial; mas en él entrará quien a su Señor pagado fará y buenas obras adelantará.”

Y razonades qu’él dixo a los judíos: “Si vosotros fuestes de los de la verdat, respondermíades.¹⁸⁷ {A16v} Pues que yo de par de Allah {B95r} viengo y a Él vo<y>; y que yo no vos é venido de par de mi presona, mas Allah me á enviado.” Y dixo: “Quien creye¹⁸⁸ en mí de las¹⁸⁹ gentes, creye con Él delán de mi Señor”; y “quién me averdaderá, pues averdaderá ad Aquel que me á enviado.”

177 judicio] ju’izio B.

178 yo ubiese] y’ubiyese A (with *alif* without vocalization after *bā’*).

179 absente] *absent* in B.

180 quien] qui B.

181 demandededes] *demandades* A.

182 “Casa del tesoro, atesoramiento,” GVAM, s.v. “alçado.”

183 quién es este] quién este A.

184 Crossed out word in A.

185 senblante] *senblan* B.

186 reyno] *regno* B.

187 respondermíades] *respondermíedes* B.

188 creye] *creyerá* B.

189 de las] *delán* de las B.

Y razonades que dixo a los apóstoles: “Allah ordenó que viniese¹⁹⁰ a la Casa Santa.” Y dixo Šama‘ūn: “No mande Allah que te acaeçá l’albalá e estando espíritu de Allah y su palabra.” Y díxole ̄Isā: “Piensa en el fecho de Allah y no pienses en el fecho del adunia.”

Y razonades que dixo a Šama‘ūn laora que sacó su espada {A17r} por defenderlo:¹⁹¹ “Torna tu espada, que si yo quisiese demandar ada Allah, Él m’enviaría¹⁹² {B95v} más de doze mil de las compañías de los almalaques.” Y dixo: “Viene¹⁹³ laora que será cada uno de vosotros a su tierra; y dexármedes solo; mas no seré solo con mi Señor.” Y dixieron los apóstoles: “Agora sabemos que Allah te á enviado.”

Y razonades qu’él alçó sus ojos enta el cielo, y dixo: “Ye mi Señor, as puesto l’aljana para quien sabe que Tú eres Allah solo, y que Tú eres Allah, Aquel que m’as enviado, y toda cosa que das a tus gentes que de par tuya.” Y dixo: “Yo les é mandado y no atiendo¹⁹⁴ walardón, ye mi Señor, con aquello {A17v} que me as mandado. Y no atiendo walardón de las gentes, mas atiéndolo de Tú.”

Y razonades que dixo a su compaña laora qu’él supo qu’él se abía {B96r} d’espatriar d’ellos: “Mi Señor, wárdalos con tu lonbre aquel que m’ás mandado, pues que yo con él los é wardado.” Y dixo: “Ame enviado mi Señor al adunia porque testimonie sobre la verdad; pues quien será de vosotros de los de la verdad,¹⁹⁵ oirá mis palabras y averdadecerm á.” Y dixo: “Fed paç entre las gentes¹⁹⁶ por tal que seyades eslitados¹⁹⁷ de Allah y claredad de los fillos de Ādam.”

Todo aquesto razonades que ̄Isā (*‘alayhi i’ssalām*) lo dixo y lo testimonió sobre su persona y lo testimoniades vosotros sobr’él.¹⁹⁸ Y qu’él apuró todo aquello {A18r} ada Allah y se quitó d’ello y lo aplegó a su Señor, pues ¿qué es¹⁹⁹ lo que abedes revesado en ̄Isā depués de su decir {B96v} y de su testimoniar? ¿Y si sería ̄Isā que dezía aquesto, y lo testimoniase, y depués lo demudase y pusiese su presona señor? ¡No mande Allah que dixiese ̄Isā sino verdad! Ya abedes levantado levantanças muy grandes²⁰⁰ sobr’él, y vos abedes atrevido sobre Allah en él [i.e. ̄Isā], y abedes dito en ̄Isā palabras grandes. Y nunca dixo ̄Isā en el Evangelio ni en otro cabo: “Yo so<y> vuestro Señor, y no adoredes sino en mí, ni creyades sino con mí.” Ni lo dixo ninguno de los anabíes, ni adoraron sino en un {A18v} Señor.”

Y razonades que vosotros trovades en vuestras Escribturas lo que se vos parece a vosotros en ̄Isā.

190 viniese] vinies A.

191 defenderlo] defensarlo B.

192 enviaría] enviaré B.

193 viene] emended from tiene A, B.

194 atiendo] abiendo B.

195 verdad] verdat B.

196 las gentes] la gent B.

197 “Elegidos”; GVAM, s.v. “esleír”: “escoger, elegir.”

198 lo testimonió sobre su presona y lo testimoniades vosotros sobr’Él] lo testimoniades vosotros sobr’Él A.

199 es] e B.

200 grandes] gredes B.

Y bien sabedes que los judíos {B97r} son de descreyencia y desyerrados.²⁰¹ Y atienden y cobdician ada adajel,²⁰² y desyerran con él.²⁰³ Y por aquello, afermoseyan su pleyto en sus Escribturas, que no quieren sino a Él, ni creyen sino en Él,²⁰⁴ ni quieren creyer sino en Él, sino aquellos no [sic] lo ponen Señor, y aporlargaron su reísmo. Y razonan qu'Él señoreyará toda la tierra mientras²⁰⁵ el tiempo durará.

Y razonades que Jibril ('alayhi i'ssalām) albrició²⁰⁶ a Maryam y le dixo: "Tú parrás un mancebo {A19r} que será su lonbre Almasih,²⁰⁷ que será rey de los de Bani Içraíl, y su reísmo durará, y sobre l'almanbar de Dāwūd se posará, y a los poderosos de sus alminbarés²⁰⁸ los deballará, y a los grandiosos {B97v} abaxará y a los amedrecidos alçará." Y nunca se puso Ȑsā sobre la cadira de Dāwūd d'aquí a ad'agora, ni fue rey sobre los de Bani Içraíl, ni deballó a los poderosos de sus cadiras, ni duró—según razonades y dezides—sino treinta y tres años cubierto, escondido una vegada en Miṣra y otra vegada en los montes, d'aquí a que Allah lo alçó a Él. Pues aquesto ya es contrario de lo que trovades en las Escribturas de los judíos del feyto {A19v} de Almasih. Pues ¿dó son vuestros consejos y vuestros entendimientos? Bendicho es Allah!

Vosotros razonades palabras groseras pues que dubdades²⁰⁹ en Ȑsā y no se declara su feyto a vos. Debedes tomar los fe {B98r} chos de raiç y de suelo y de cimiento, pues que vosotros testemoniades que Allah el Alto no á padre ni fijo, ni come ni bebe, ni á miedo, ni duerme, ni nenguno de sus gentes no lo veye. Y vosotros trovades en el Evangelio que nenguno que ada Allah veye que muere, pues ya nació Ȑsā, y comió, y bebió, y durmió, y se hatenó, y ubo miedo y fuyó por el rey Erōdes,²¹⁰ y s'escondió, y andó entre los hijos de Ādam. Y lo vidieron chico y depués grande, y andó entr'ellos treinta {A20r} y tres años. Pues ¿cómo dezides que fue señor abiendo fecho todo aquesto. Y razonades que Ȑsā envió a Mūsā y deballó sobr'él el Ataurá y trovades en la Taurá que todo {B98v} crucefificado es maldicho. Pues ¿cómo maldezía²¹¹ Ȑsā a sí mismo, sabiendo que abía de ser²¹² crucificado? Según razonades, no mandó²¹³ Allah que l<e> diese aquello, mas alçolo Allah a Él.

Y razonades de vuestra aljahala²¹⁴ y vuestra torpeza en nobleza d'Allah y su simpleza, que Allah, bendicho es, que deballó de su siego²¹⁵ y su reísmo, y de su protestat, y de su

201 desyerrados] desjerrados B.

202 Antichrist, المسیح الدجال.

203 desyerran] desjierran B.

204 ni creyen sino en Él] *absent in* B.

205 razonan qu'Él señoreyará] razón qu'Él señoriará A || mientras] mientre B.

206 albrició] albiçrió B.

207 Q3:45.

208 alminbarés] almanbarés B.

209 dubdades] dubdaes B.

210 Erōdes] Arōdas B.

211 maldezía] maldiría B.

212 abía de ser] abía a seyer B.

213 mandó] *emended from* manda A, B.

214 "Ignorancia."

215 Cardaillac (1972, 2:321n480) asks whether it is possible to read this as "seo," since in other contexts "siella," "cadira," "cadiera," "almanbar," or "al'arxi" have been used. This interpretation is one that fits the context but is far removed from the written text.

onra, y de su claredat,²¹⁶ y de su onestad y de su granedad,²¹⁷ y que se metió en el cuerpo de una muller, entre el pienso y la sangre, y la es-[A20v]comedad²¹⁸ y la engostura, y fincó en su vientre nuev<e> meses; depués salió²¹⁹ por do sallen los fijos²²⁰ de Ādam, y mamó como mama la criatura dos años, {B99r} y feba como faze la criatura. Y creció como crece la criatura, año enpués año, plorando, y abiendo miedo, y durmiendo, y comiendo y bebiendo, y abiendo fanbre y sed.²²¹ Su vida toda fue treinta y tres años según razonades. Pues ¿quién sostenía²²² los cielos y las tierras, y ordenaba y juzgaba en ellos y feba correr el sol y la luna y la noche y el día y las estrellas y los ayres, y criaba y revivaba y mataba, mientras²²³ estaba 'Isā en el vientre de su madre, este tiempo y depués que lo ubo parido, treinta y tres años? {A21r} ¡Bendicho es Allah!

¿Cómo dezides palabras tan groseras? Pues si sodes que tomades a 'Isā por Señor porque no fue feyto de masclo, {B99v} pues no podemos pensar en el formamiento de Ādam y de Ḥawā, porqu'ellos no fueron formados de masclo ni de fenbra, ni se criaron como se crían los niños, año enpués año. Y ya²²⁴ Allah formó a Ādam de tierra; depués sufló en él de su espíritu; y onrolo con lo que no onró a nenguno de sus gentes; y amostrole los lombres de todas cosas; y mandó a sus almalaques—que açajdaban a él, y loaban, y su alarx sostenían—que açajdasen a él; y no açajdaron²²⁵ a 'Isā ni a nenguno de sus gentes, sino a él [i.e., Adán]. Den {A21v} pués²²⁶ <Allah formó> a Ḥawā de una costiella de sus costiellas. Y dioles por morada l'aljana y onrolos con sus onras y sacó d'ellos de sus anabíes y sus mandaderos, {B100r} y sujetó a ellos y a sus crianças las cosas criadas todas. Pues no es el formamiento de 'Isā más maravilloso qu'el formamiento de Ādam y de Ḥawā, ni qu'el formamiento de los cielos y de las tierras, y del sol y de la luna, y las estrellas y los montes, y los ayres y las awas,²²⁷ y los árboles y las alimañas y las aves, ni el formamiento de los almalaques, aquellos que ni comen ni beben, ni los fijos de Ādam no los veyen. Pues si vosotros {A22r} tomades a 'Isā por Señor porque reçucitaba los muertos, y sanaba los malabtos y fazía los milagros, pues ¡todo aquello feba con lecencia de su Señor y poder! Ya reçucitó Ḥazqīl, según razonades, treinta y cinco mil con el poder de Allah, mas que no {B100v} reçucitó 'Isā: pues ¡tomaldo por Señor [a Ḥazqīl]! Ya reçucitó 'Ilyās, que le dizan Elías, el fijo²²⁸ de la vieja otrosí.

216 claredat] claredad B.

217 su granedad] sa grandat B.

218 Cardaillac (1972, 2:321n483) suggests “darkness” (“oscuridad”). It could come from “comedir” in the metaphorical sense of “small.”

219 salió] sallió B.

220 salió por do sallen los fijos] sallió por do sallen los fillos B.

221 plorando, y abiendo miedo, y durmiendo, y comiendo y bebiendo] plorando A || sed] set B.

222 sostenía] sostenié B.

223 revivaba] revivawa B || mientras] mientre B.

224 ya] absent in B.

225 açajdaron] açajdoron B.

226 denpués] depués B.

227 ayres] ayrras A || las awas] los awas A.

228 fijo] ficho A.

Según razonades, pues no fue lo que hizo ‘Isā más maravilloso que lo que hizo Mūsā, laora que lancaron los acihres²²⁹ de Fir‘awna sus cuerdas y sus vergas, y parecían qu’eran culebras.²³⁰ Y lanzó Mūsā su verga, y tragose todo aquello, y era verga y bordón que se a {A22v} costaba sobr’él y lo levaba con él. Y dio en la mar con él y abrió siet²³¹ carreras para²³² sus gentes, y salieron²³³ todos, sino Fir‘awna y su gent y sus compañas. Y levaba con él una piedra y daba en ella²³⁴ con la verga y sallíen d’ella doze fuentes, por cada tribu,²³⁵ una fuent. Y cuando les nozía el sol, faziales sonbra {B101r} con las nubes. Cuando escurecía de noche enviábales claredades. Y clamaba, y cualquiere av<e> volatía y venía. Y si era gorda, comíala; y si era magra y flaca, dexábala y dezíale:²³⁶ “Vete y engordarás, y depués tornart<e> as.” Y nació cualquiera²³⁷ d’ellos, y crecía con él sus ropa, como iban creciendo sus cuerpos. {A23r} Y todo esto²³⁸ así fue según razonades. Pues parece que no fue lo que hizo ‘Isā más maravilloso que lo que hizo Mūsā; y no fizieron lo que fizieron sino por mandamiento de Allah (*subḥānahu*).

Cúnpiese l’alquiteb con la loación de Allah y su buena ayuda. Y faga salutación Allah sobre nuestro anabí Muḥammad y sobre los suyos. Emín, emín, emín,²³⁹ *yā rabba*²⁴⁰ *al-ālamīna*.

229 “Hechiceros,” Arabic *shr*, “to bewitch, enchant.”

230 culebras] culuebras B (1972, 2.263).

231 Cardaillac (1972, 2.263) reads “cient.”

232 para] pora B.

233 salieron] sallieron B.

234 “en ella” inserted in the upper interlinear of A.

235 Crossed out word.

236 comíala] comíela B || dexábala] lexábala B || dezíale] dezíele B.

237 cualquiera] cualquiere B.

238 esto] aquesto B.

239 Emín, emín, emín] Emmín, emmín B.

240 Double vocalization in A: “rabbi/rabba.”

6

The Latin Letter of Leo (Latin II)

INTRODUCTION

IN THE YEAR 1508, a second Latin version of the letter of Leo appeared, this time in print and in the city of Lyon. Uniquely among the several versions of these letters, we know a great deal about both the person responsible and the immediate provenance of this second Latin text of Leo's letter: it is an extensive revision of the first Latin version, *Epistula Leonis ad Umar*, by the French humanist Symphorien Champier (1471–1539). A learned Lyonnais humanist and physician, Champier was the author or publisher of a lengthy roster of books. He is most well-known to modern scholars as a doughty, diligent partisan of medical humanism—the view that Latin medicine should throw off its deep allegiance to Arab medical thought and embrace the Greek Galenic tradition directly.¹ To his hostility to Arab medicine, Champier added thoroughgoing Christian hostility to Islam. Indeed, he often conjoined these prejudices, snidely commenting late in his career, for example, that “Avicenna professed medicine under the filthy and impious Mohammedan sect.”²

His reworking and publication of Leo's letter, however, had little to do with the medical humanist polemics that occupied the last decade of his life. Rather, the *Epistula Lenis ad Amarum*, as he called it, appeared in one of his many “comprehensive, derivative”³ anthologies of texts whose title nicely summarizes Champier's main interests: *On the Threefold Discipline Whose Parts are Natural Philosophy, Medicine, and Theology, Integrating Moral Philosophy as a Fourth*.⁴ Here we find Leo's letter squeezed in among a host of other works: Champier's own *Vocabulary or Collection of Difficult Terms of Natural Philosophy and Medicine together with Platonic philosophy*;⁵ the fourth book of Isidore's *Etymologies*—which is dedicated to medicine—with Champier's commentary on it;⁶ a Latin version of Pseudo-Justin Martyr's *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, translated by Pico della Mirandola under the title *Admonitorius gentium*;⁷ a series of works on the history of Lyon and France, and all this interlarded with further works by Champier himself. Champier's version of Leo's

¹ Hasse 2016, 53, 59, 234; Siraisi 1987, 71–73, 75.

² “Avicenna sub mahometheia spurcissima et nephanda secta medicinam profitente . . .” (Champier 1532, fol. VII, as cited in Copenhaver 1978, 141n125 [Copenhaver's translation]).

³ Copenhaver 1978, 66.

⁴ Champier 1508. For the bibliographic details of this work, see Allut 1972 (1859), 153–57, whose list of contents for the volume is incomplete.

⁵ “Vocabularius siue collectaneum difficultium terminorum naturalis philosophie ac medicine vnacum philosophia platonica domini Simphoriani champeri” (Champier 1508, fol. Ai.).

⁶ Champier 1508, fols. Iiii–NiiivV.

⁷ Champier 1508, fols. mmV–nnviV.

letter occupies folios nnviiR–ooiiiR under the title *Epistola Lenis ad Amarum regem*. It seems odd that Champier, a widely read bookman, did not recognize the names of the correspondents in question as *Leo* and ‘Umar, since *Leo* (gen. *Leonis*, not *Lenis*) was a fairly common Latin name, while ‘Umar, usually in the form *Omar*, showed up frequently in Latin texts as the name of Muslim caliphs.⁸

Any brief perusal of the *Epistola Lenis ad Amarum* alongside the earlier *Epistula Leonis ad Umar* will make clear that the former is an abbreviating revision of the latter.⁹ Strikingly enough, though, in revising the text he appears to have been working from a manuscript related to the Carolingian manuscript (P), which contains the earliest version of the text rather than the “corrected” text available in the three Iberian manuscripts (M, T, S). Proper humanist that he was, he likewise felt obliged to correct the many grammatical faults of that version, but he does clearly preserve sections of the text that are missing from the Iberian manuscripts. For example, among the list of biblical authorities that he, following the early version, quotes, he includes Psalm 50:12 (*Spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis*) just after Psalm 104:10 and just before Psalm 51:14. But this verse appears only in the Carolingian manuscript (P). Likewise, and perhaps most striking, while we saw that the Iberian manuscripts all left out a crucial phrase of Genesis 49:10, both Champier and P have a full, identical version of the verse (the underlined portion is missing from the Iberian manuscripts): *tu es catulus leonis: non minuetur de femore tuo dux neque princeps donec veniat qui sit expectatio gentium*.¹⁰ But while Champier’s text preserves elements surviving only in P, he must have been working with a now-lost manuscript closely related to it, since Champier’s edition also preserves something that *does not* appear in that Carolingian manuscript: the text’s incipit.¹¹

His reworking of *Epistula Leonis* consists, most obviously, of both the typical humanist’s “correction” of what he sees as poor medieval-Latin style and abbreviation of a work that must have seemed tedious at points. We see his correcting zeal when he changes the first words of one sentence from *Et uos habetis in lege uestra* to *Vos autem habetis in lege vestra*.¹² As we have seen, great swathes of the earlier Latin version consist of little but clauses connected together by endlessly repeated *ets* (“and’s”), the original translator rendering the Arabic syntax, in which we often find clause after clause joined by *waw*, word for word. Champier, the humanist, here removes the *Et* and inserts *autem* (“however, yet, nevertheless”) after the first word, as good Latin style requires, all this indicating (quite rightly) that a major shift in narrative occurs just here. There are many other similar examples.

8 Indeed, Migne, who republished the work directly from Champier’s edition, readily corrected the names. See PG 107:315–24 at 315.

9 The *Epistula Leonis* contains roughly 7,700 words to the *Epistula Lenis*’s 3,500.

10 Latin I, P63v; Latin II, C nnviiIR.

11 They are nearly identical: “Incipit epistula Leonis imperatoris ad Umar regem Sarracenorum directa. Translata est hec epistula olim de Greco in Caldaicum sermonem. Nunc uero, Deo opitulante, de Caldaico eloquoi, iuxta proprietatem sermonis, uertimus in Latinum” (see Latin I, P61r, whereas the apparatus indicates this incipit is lacking in P); “Epistula Lenis imperatoris ad Amarum regem sarracenorum directa. Translata est hec epistula de Greco in Caldeum sermonem. Nunc uero, Deo fauente, de Caldeo eloquio, iuxta proprietem sermonis, uertimus in Latinum” (Latin II, C nnviiR).

12 Latin I, P64v; Latin II, C nnviiIV.

But his corrections can take in a broad range of issues presented by the *Epistula Leonis*, as happened with this quite representative passage near the beginning:

*Et iterum dicis quia lex Moysi igne fuisse cremata, et renouauit eam Esdra ut potuit de memoria cordis sui recordare, sed non sine mendacio; et non fuerit idem rememoratus de resurrectione neque de paradiso neque de inferno.*¹³

To clarify the ablative *igne*'s relationship to its clause's verb he inserts the preposition *in* before it; distressed by the puzzling variety of tenses and moods in the sentence's Latin verbs—Latin translators were frequently baffled by how to represent Arabic's very different system of tense and aspect, with frequently peculiar results—he puts the perfect indicative *renouauit* into the pluperfect subjunctive *renouasset* to match the previous verb, and he replaces the perfect subjunctive *fuerit* with the perfect indicative *fuit*, among other changes, all this giving us:

*Et iterum dicis quia cum lex Moysi in igne fuisse cremata, et renouasset eam Esdras propheta ut potuit ei memoria cordis sui recordari, et non sine mendacio; et non fuit ibidem recordatus de resurrectione neque de paradiso neque de inferno.*¹⁴

Some of his corrections, it should be added, fix defects which probably arose from sloppy translation in the earlier Latin version. In the section on the crucifixion and cross of Christ, the *Epistula Leonis* includes a sentence that reads as follows: *Et quidam de Iudeis principes qui erant, comprehendit eos timor ualidus propter ipsas cruces ut celarent omnibus ueritatem.*¹⁵ As we saw in the introduction to the earlier Latin version of the letter, by classical and medieval standards this is bad Latin syntax: an absolute, *quidam principes . . . de iudeis*, in the nominative, stands before the main clause, which begins with the verb *comprehendit*, but then the “certain leaders” of the preceding nominative absolute turn out to be the *object* of that verb, as their reintroduction in the form of the accusative *eos* makes clear. Literally translated, the whole reads: “And certain leaders from among the Jews who were there, a great fear seized *them* on account of those crosses, so that they concealed the truth from everyone.”¹⁶ Though Champier knew no Arabic, he had no trouble sussing out the intended meaning here, putting the whole thing to rights by converting the nominative absolute into the accusative object and removing the now superfluous *eos*: *quosdam principes de iudeis qui aderant validus timor inuasit . . .*¹⁷

Yet Champier did not just energetically correct the *Epistula Leonis*, he also abbreviated it. He hacked away what seemed extraneous in the long lists of biblical verses, taking out both verbs and the repeated *iterums* (“again”) of the introductory phrases, and often giving only the first few words of the citation, replacing the rest with *et cetera*, as Latin-Christian writers often did, so that, for example,

13 Latin I, P61r–v.

14 Latin II, C nnviiV.

15 Latin I, P69v.

16 See above, pp. 2–3.

17 Latin II, C ooiiV.

*Et Moyses iterum: "Spiritus Domini ferebatur super aquas." Et iterum testatur Esaias: "Spiritus Domini super me, per quem uncxit me." Et iterum Dauid: "emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur, et renouabis faciem terrae."*¹⁸

becomes:

*Moyses: "Spiritus Domini super aquas ferebatur." Esaias: "Spiritus Domini super me per quem unxit me." Dauid: "emitte Spiritum tuum et cetera."*¹⁹

But he also slimmed down some of the narrative sections, most notably the accounts of Constantine's vision of the cross and of Helena's discovery of the true cross. Here some thirty-eight lines of text in *Epistula Leonis*²⁰ become some twenty-three lines in *Epistula Lenis*.²¹

There was, however, more to Champier's engagement with the earlier Latin version than thoroughgoing "correction" and abbreviation, for, as he reworked the text, he also was thinking through its contents and making intriguing changes to it as well. Something about the quotation/paraphrase of much of Qur'an 5:112–15—in which Jesus, at the behest of his disciples, asks God to send down the "Table" from which this surah gets its name—puzzled him, for he substitutes *manna* for *mensa* ("table") each time it occurs.²² The Qur'anic disciples, therefore, demand manna like the children of Israel in the wilderness, rather than asking for what Christian apologists often took to be the Eucharistic table.²³

What remains after Champier's energetic reworking of the *Epistula Leonis* is a rather shorter text that still manages to cover the main points treated in the original: 'Umar's main questions are listed, the Latin Leo calls on 'Umar to examine the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments for evidences of the Trinity, Jesus's status as the divine Word, and his divine sonship. Some of the history of the devil's and God's dealings with humanity is retold, culminating in the Incarnation. How the divine Word could be incarnate in Mary is treated; the text discusses Old Testament anticipations of the Incarnation, such as the veneration of the ark of the covenant and Moses's worshipping God in the burning bush. Ezra's transcription of the Hebrew Bible from memory is defended; the Christian Eucharist is affirmed; Christian veneration of the cross is defended, and the finding of the true cross through Constantine and Helena is outlined. Finally, the text argues against the supposed Muslim ban on greeting infidels and against Islamic notions of divine predetermination.

18 Latin I, P62v.

19 Latin II, C nnviiiiR.

20 Latin I, P69v–70v.

21 Latin II, C ooiiV–ooiiV.

22 Not a change that can easily be explained, by the way, as a misreading of the Latin script in front of him.

23 Latin I, P69r–v; Latin II, C ooiiR–ooiiV.

OUR EDITION

Our edition maintains the orthography but not the punctuation of Champier's printed version (C),²⁴ and we have recorded the variant readings from Migne's edition (M)²⁵ in the apparatus.

TRANSLATION

Letter of Lenis to King Amar

{C fol. nnviiR} Simphorian Champerier of Lyon speaks abundant greeting to the most excellent, lordly man, Yuon of Aurillac, worthy professor of both laws, most dignified sacristan in the church of the divine Justus of Lyon.

You first prodded me, O man most famous for benevolence, you who, before I had any familiarity with you, as man and father distinguished in virtues, invited me into the hazard of your friendship. Because I consider it foreign to a human and plainly wicked not to respond in love, I have undertaken to engage your love more tightly toward me with a certain small gift. But recently, by accidental fortune, the letter of Lenis the Emperor to King Amar was offered [to me], of which letter I have not so much been made captive as I have, rather, found worthy that most beautiful mystery of stratagem with which the emperor splendidly and sanely discusses the Christian religion against the most filthy sect of Muhammad. Therefore, since I consider that this little work has not been found among us, I have, with a certain amount of night-study, given it over to be printed, and I have resolved to send it to you, so that you who are the best sacristan of what things are to be done, may also be the judge of writers. Accept, therefore, this small gift and (as seems necessary) correct it. But consider not the occasional improper interpretation of the words, but rather the weight of the meaning which is contained in them. Meanwhile, these small things will have served merely as a breakfast to the extent that they are compared with the dishes of a sumptuous dinner. We will, perhaps, attempt better things after these. Farewell, man of Lyon. Nineteen days before the Kalends of March 1509.

The letter of Lenis the Emperor sent to Amar, King of the Muslims. This letter was translated from Greek into the Chaldean language. Now, however, with God's favor, we have converted it from Chaldean speech into Latin in accordance with [Latin's] proper way of speaking.

Glory be to God and manifold thanks. [He is] the one whose goodness and mercy is upon His servants, who is one and there is no other beside Him, [who] is surmounting the heavens and achieving those things which please Him, and penetrating the hidden depths. His is the height and the greatness and the sovereignty and the power; He is encircling all things on every side. We believe in one God to whom no one is similar, nor is there any beside Him.

Now then, referring to Christ son of Mary, you have asked me why we worship Him, since He offers testimony concerning Himself saying that He was sent by God, and [that]

24 Champier 1508, fols. nnviiR–ooiiV.

25 PG 107:315–24.

the one who acknowledges {C nnviiV} Him [i.e., Christ], he acknowledges before the one who sent Him. And again when He was ascending to the heavens, He said to his disciples, "I am ascending to my creator and your creator, to My God and your God."²⁶ And again you say that when the Law of Moses had been burned in fire, and Ezra restored it as the memory of his heart was able to recall it for him, but not without a falsehood, there was not there [i.e., in the Torah] any mention of the resurrection, paradise, or hell. And again you say that what Christ is before God so too is Adam, and that Christ ate and drank and slept just like Adam, and yet nothing except the scantiness of your understanding of Christ moved you to [say] this. And again, I know that you say that Mary, sister of Moses and Aaron, begat Christ. And how was this possible, when she had died in the desert after they left Egypt (and not one of them entered the promised land), long before Mary mother of Christ and her father Joachim were born. For Mary, daughter of Amram, was from the tribe of Levi, son of Jacob. But Mary, mother of Christ, was the daughter of Joachim from the stock of David, from the tribe of Judah, son of Jacob.

Nevertheless, if you wish to know about Christ, so that knowledge of Him might reach you to the extent that there is no wavering within you, look closely at the Old Testament, which God gave to the sons of Israel, Moses and David, His prophets. And again scrutinize the new law because it is the Gospel, which was given to us by the apostles of Christ, and then you will find the truth about Christ {T200v} and the correct path, so that there is no wavering within you, while you see Scripture offering testimony and agreeing mutually about Christ because it is in both the New and Old Testament, and then you will truly understand about Christ. To you, a knower, we reply about our faith, how we should adore God, and what the instruction is in which we are, giving you testimony from the New and Old Testament, so that you may understand, if it is pleasing to God, that what we say about Christ we say as truth, according to what I have made known to you. Consider and examine until you know.

Know that after God made heaven and earth in the beginning, whose name is blessed and a great light of heaven and earth, which nothing captures, nor can the understanding of mortals attain it, He appeared to Moses in fire on Mount Sinai in the word of light, and He said, "Do not be afraid, Moses; I am the Lord God, your creator, light from light and the Word from the Father, from both of whom the Holy Spirit proceeds." And therefore we say [that] "the Father and Son and Holy Spirit," light of light and Word of God are one, not dividing them because the Word proceeds from the light and the Holy Spirit from the light, and [we say] that [God] is not small in a small place and manifold in a large place, but He is whole everywhere. Look at the sun, in which are rays and brightness. Do you not see that it is equal everywhere? How much more is this the case for God, who made the sun and all things which are under {C nnviiiR} heaven and earth through the light and Word because all things were made through it? And He wanted to call this Word itself his Son. But do not be afraid to call the Word of God the Son of God, because God is the Father of his Word, and wherever the Word of God is, there is God, because the Word of God is from God and the Holy Spirit is from God. And the Word executes those things which it wishes, and the Holy Spirit executes those things which it wishes, and the Father executes those things which it wishes, and one God executes all these things. We do not divide between them,

26 Cf. John 20:17.

nor do we call them many gods, [for] there is no one similar to Him in sovereignty, who remains in perpetual, holy sovereignty. The Father is not begotten; the Son is begotten; the Holy Spirit is neither begotten nor unbegotten.

But it is necessary for us to offer testimony from the prophets that the blessed God called Christ the Word his Son, and through the Word which proceeded from the light he fashioned heaven and earth and all things which are in them. Moses said: God made all things through the Word.²⁷ David in the Psalms: “By the Word of the Lord the heavens were made fast”;²⁸ and in another place: “Your Word remains forever, O Lord.”²⁹ And again: “He sent <His> Word,³⁰ etc.” Job says concerning the Holy Spirit: “The spirit of the Lord made me.”³¹ Moses: “The Spirit of the Lord was carried over the waters.”³² Isaiah: “The Spirit of the Lord is above me, through which He has anointed me.”³³ David: “Send out your Spirit, etc.”³⁴ And again: “Your good Spirit will guide me, etc.”³⁵ And again: “Renew your right Spirit in my inmost parts.”³⁶ And again: “Strengthen me by the chief Spirit.”³⁷ These are testimonies from the Old Testament that the Word and the Spirit which are from God created every creature.

It behooves us also to offer testimony that God called his Word his Son. Isaiah says: “Behold, a virgin will conceive and will give birth to a son, etc.”³⁸ And again: “A young child has been given to us, and a son has been given to us.” Again God the Father spoke to David: “After you rest with your fathers I will raise up from your leg [him] who shall sit upon the throne of Israel; I will be to him as a father, and he will be to Me as a son.”³⁹ David in the Psalms: “The Lord said to me, etc.”⁴⁰ Zachariah says: “Rejoice and be happy, daughter of Sion; shout, daughter of Jerusalem, because your king comes to you gently, sitting upon the foal of an ass, and He will speak peace to the nations.”⁴¹

Again it behooves us also to offer testimony from the Law of God that Christ Jesus, son of Mary, is God from God. Jacob son of Isaac, son of Abraham, when he was at the end of his life, and blessing his sons, prophesied about them, saying to Judah his son: you are “the lion’s cub, neither a general nor a prince will ebb from your leg until He comes who is the hope of the nations,”⁴² who is Christ himself. Jeremiah the prophet: “Behold, our

27 Cf. Gen. 1:1–2.

28 Ps. 33:6.

29 Cf. Ps. 119:89–90.

30 Ps. 107:20.

31 Job 33:4.

32 Gen. 1:2.

33 Cf. Isa. 61:1.

34 Ps. 104:30.

35 Ps. 143:10.

36 Ps. 50:12.

37 Ps. 51:14.

38 Isa. 7:14.

39 Isa. 9:6–7.

40 Ps. 2:7–8.

41 Zach. 9:9–10.

42 Gen. 49:10.

God to whom no one is similar, who discovered every path of prudence,” and after this: “He will appear on the earth and He will keep company with everyone.”⁴³ Again: “God will come openly: He will come and will not delay.”⁴⁴ Isaiah: “They will walk after You; they will continue with hands bound, and they will worship You and pray to You because You are God and there is none other except You, God of Israel, Savior confounding Your enemies; they will depart in confusion.”⁴⁵ Again David: “The Lord looked down from heaven so that He might see if there is anyone understanding or seeking God; {C nnnviiV} all declined at once; they were made useless; there was no one who does good; there is not even one.”⁴⁶ And again: “The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit at My right until I lay down your enemies as a footstool for your feet.”⁴⁷ Moses spoke of the passion of Christ: “You will see your life hanging before your eyes and will not believe.”⁴⁸ David: “They have pierced my hands and my feet; they have counted all my bones; they divided my clothes among themselves and they cast lots over my tunic.” Isaiah: “a human able to bear pestilence because his face has been hidden, on which account we did not recognize him; but he has borne our weaknesses and he has carried our sorrows.”⁴⁹

These are testimonies that [He is] God from God. John: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God was the Word.”⁵⁰ Gabriel: “The Holy Spirit will come over you, and the power of the highest shall overshadow you.”⁵¹ Paul: “The Holy Spirit of God examines all things and knows the hidden things of God.”⁵² John: “We did not receive the spirit of servitude but the Holy Spirit, which is from God.”⁵³ Again: “If anyone does not have the spirit of Christ, he is not His.”⁵⁴

These are testimonies from the New Testament that Christ is the Son of God. Gabriel to Mary: “Behold, you will conceive and give birth to a son and call His name Jesus;”⁵⁵ and He will redeem His people for their sins.”⁵⁶ Paul: “God sent His Son, born from a woman, made under the Law, so that He might redeem those who were under the Law.”⁵⁷ John: “He who believes in the Son has eternal life; but he who does not believe in Him will not see eternal life; but the wrath of God remains over him.”⁵⁸ Paul: “God, the one Son of God,

43 Cf. Bar. 3:32, 38.

44 Heb. 2:3.

45 Cf. Isa. 45:14–16.

46 Ps. 52:3–4.

47 Ps. 109:1.

48 Deut. 28:66.

49 Isa. 53:3–4.

50 John 1:1.

51 Luke 1:35.

52 2 Cor. 20:10.

53 Cf. Rom. 8:15.

54 Rom. 8:9.

55 Luke 1:31.

56 Cf. Matt. 1:21.

57 Gal. 4:4.

58 John 3:36.

through whom all things were made.”⁵⁹ Peter: “You are Christ, Son of the living God.”⁶⁰ Gabriel: “Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you,”⁶¹ the Holy Spirit will come over you, and the power of the highest will overshadow you, and the holy thing that will be born from you will be called the Son of God.”⁶² Again, Christ in the Gospel: “I am the light of the world;”⁶³ I came from the father and I will return to Him;”⁶⁴ I am the resurrection and the life;”⁶⁵ and “Who sees Me also sees My Father;”⁶⁶ I and my father are one.”⁶⁷ Paul: “The world will be illuminated from Judah.”⁶⁸ And again: “God ascended above the heavens, above His holy seat, gazing on the earth so that He might see the bound ones whom Satan bound in their sin.”⁶⁹

And you have in your law,⁷⁰ that “an angel speaks” to Zachariah: “Behold, I announce to you that a son will be born to you, coming forth as the Word of God, and the Word of Him, His name will be called the Messiah.”⁷¹ It is asked by you why God wished to send the Son into the womb of a virgin, because God—He is blessed and His name is holy—created heaven and earth and all things which are in them. And He created the angels in their original state, and they were around His throne. And suddenly arrogance and haughtiness entered into one legion of the angels, who were pretending they were similar to God, {C ooR} [and] saying: “Let us set up a seat for ourselves just like the seat of God and let us encompass heaven and earth like God does.” And when God had recognized their thoughts, He cast down Satan and all his legion from heaven to earth, and they became demons and enemies of the sons of Adam. And when God had made Adam, He placed him in paradise, saying to him: “Eat whatever you want; but do not eat from this tree from which I prohibit to you; on whatever day you eat from it you will die in death.”⁷² But tempted by the Devil, he ate from it and was thrown out of paradise and inherited death and contradiction and sin among his progeny after him. But God, wanting to seize His creation from the hand of the Devil, sent Noah to His people so that they might repent and turn back from the work of the Devil.

And when he had come to them they scorned him and thought he was a liar. God commanded Noah to build an Ark and send into it [two] of every creature. And God sent a flood, the cisterns and waterfalls of the sky were opened, and water poured down. And the inhabitants of the earth and everything which moved over the earth were consumed,

59 Cf. 1 Cor. 8:6.

60 Matt. 26:16.

61 Luke 1:28.

62 Luke 1:35.

63 John 8:12.

64 Cf. John 16:28.

65 John 11:25.

66 John 14:9.

67 John 10:30.

68 Such a passage does not exist in Paul’s letters.

69 Cf. Ps. 68:18; Eph. 4:10 (see Vivancos 2013, 432n59).

70 I.e., the Qur'an.

71 Q3:39, 45.

72 Gen. 2:16–17.

except Noah, who was in the Ark, and his wife and three sons and the wives of his sons. After this God lamented the things He had done. He commanded the water to return, and the humans and beasts of burden came out of the Ark. God blessed them and said: "Grow and multiply and fill the Earth."⁷³

Afterward, humans, tempted by the Devil, made sculpted gods for themselves, worshipping them as the God who had made them. And God, wishing to seize His creatures from the hand of the Devil, who had perverted them, suddenly came down in power above Mount Sinai, and spoke to His servant Moses and gave him the Law, choosing the sons of Israel out of all people. Then the sons of Israel, abandoning those [laws] which God had given to Moses, made for themselves a sculpture worshipping it just as the living God. And immediately He sent serpents among them, and He consumed part of them. And God took pity on them. Again, tempted by the Devil, He sent among them fire, and consumed a multitude of them. In pity, [God] removed His anger from them. Again, they had made idols for themselves, worshipping them as God, sacrificing their sons and their daughters to demons.

God raised up prophets who bore witness to them that they should repent and return to God, and retreat from the Devil. They denied them and called them liars, and they killed some of them. And when God had observed that the Devil had prevailed among them from the moment when Adam was made and was cast out of paradise and that the prophets who had come to them they had killed, wanting to seize them from the power of the ancient enemy, He sent His Word to Mary, whom He had chosen. The Word of God received the form of a human, putting on the flesh of Mary together with soul and understanding. His Word, which was from God, lived in this body without separation {C ooV} from Him in perpetuity. If there were not that body which [the Word] put on, no one would have been able to see the Word of God, just as Moses was not able to see the Word of God. But coming as the Word of God, He put on a body from Mary and seized His people from the power of the Devil. That Word which Mary had borne certainly is the one whose name is Messiah, and He is God because He existed before the annunciation [and] came to Mary and assumed a body from Mary, and He is God. But this is darkness among you, so that you do not understand.

Again you wrote to me saying that He [Jesus] said, "I was sent to you," and He ate and drank and slept, but now I will show you that there were two operations and two ways of speaking in Christ, one of the Word and the other of the body which he had received from Mary. This is a perfect body having a soul and understanding. The operation of the Word is when He created all things with the Father. And He, remaining in the body, forgave sins, raised the dead, and did other such things. But you, abandoning the works of the Word, follow the works of the flesh, which He assumed from Mary because it was from Adam.

And therefore you say that Christ is similar to Adam because He ate and slept, and this is the talk of those who do not understand about Christ or look closely at the Law. And according to your perception, the Jews, understanding about Christ, persecuting [and] seizing Him, crucified Him while speaking words of blasphemy against His mother Mary, in whom modest chastity was present.

73 Gen. 9:1.

You also asked, why do we adore Christ as the Word of God? Is it not found in the Law of God that the sons of Israel had worshipped the Ark that God had commanded Moses to make? And nevertheless they were neither worshipping nor serving the Ark nor the wood [it was made of], but they were worshipping and observing the law and the Word of God that was within the Ark, and nevertheless not for this reason were they estranged from God, nor were they judged to be serving two gods.

Again you say that in your law it is found that God commanded the angels to worship Adam. But if this is to be believed, what do you think about the Word that was named Messiah? Is this not better to worship Him than the filthy rock that you worship in a place where we know something had remained from that idolatry which Iaob and Iaoc, Nazara and Allac, and Allogi and Mena worshipped? Certain of these were gods in the likeness of men, but certain were in the likeness of women. The greater of them were called "Alcubre," whence is derived this word "Alacuiber." You sacrifice among yourselves cattle and camels one day each year, and you have followed the custom of the pagans regarding that rock in Mecca, in the corner of the house whose idolatry those ancients of the pagans observed and sacrificed [in].

Again you say that Christ is similar to Adam before God, and [in doing so] you propose that [Adam's] creation from mud—he who⁷⁴ contradicted his God and did not honor His commandment—is something similar to the Word of God and {C ooiR} of His light, which was not created, but through it all things were created. And He is the Messiah, whose kingdom will be eternal.

You ask how God could enter into the belly of a woman, dark and narrow and foul, but we give a likeness to you, if perhaps you might understand. Do you not see the sun, that it crosses over pollution and shit and filth and yet in no way is it corrupted, but cleans all things? How much greater is God, who made the sun, that He be corrupted by a creature? But do not be unwilling to believe that God entered into the womb of a virgin, who also entered the bush that was on Mount Sinai and spoke to His servant Moses and gave him the Law. Was not the body of the virgin better than that thorny bush?

<That> you say that the Law of Moses was burned in fire, and Ezra remembered it working by memory and mendaciously, and there was no mention in it of the resurrection or eternal life or paradise. Now I will show you [the truth], if it pleases God. The blessed Lord sent revelation to His prophets, and every prophet spoke through revelation of God. And He gave the Law to Moses, in which were written the commandments of the children of Israel, their departure from Egypt, the enumeration, and the contradiction, and the indignation of God over them, and how He created all things; the recollection of the kings, and how He lifted them up and brought them down, and revealed psalmody to His servant David and wisdom to Solomon and prudence to His beloved Job and Daniel. And we believe in the resurrection and paradise and hell. And we find these things written in the Old Testament through the prophet Ezra, to whom the Lord revealed them, and he wrote them in fullness and just as God had given them to His prophet Moses. Thus Ezra declared, and he omitted nothing, because there is neither lying nor forgetting among the prophets of God, because God becomes their revelation.

74 Reading *que* as *qui*.

About sacrifice, you have made known to me what it was and that you will not find anyone from among the servants of God who offered sacrifice. First of all, the two sons of Adam offered [sacrifice] and it was accepted from one. Sacrifice is the truth upon people, and was accepted by God and was edification to whomever offered it, except for the sacrifice that was offered to idols. Those who offered [it to idols] were estranged and lost. But Christ, on the night on which was the beginning of the Passion, told His disciples what the Jews were to do regarding Him, and announced the resurrection and the flight and the return to Him. And nevertheless on that night, when eating with His disciples, taking bread, He blessed [it] and said: "Take and eat; this My body⁷⁵ which is handed over for you." Again, taking the cup, He said: "Drink from this, all [of you]; this is My blood which is offered for remission of sins."⁷⁶ And He commanded us that it be done likewise so that it be the remission of sins for us. Whoever is in faith and love, we offer that sacrifice, even though I believe it is not that which you say that you have in your law: When the "disciples had said" to the Son of God, "Call on God to send us manna from heaven." And Christ had said, 'Fear {C ooiIV} God if you are faithful.' The disciples "said, 'We want to eat this'" and we believe in you, "and we will know that you have spoken the truth to us," and we will testify that Christ is God. "Send' manna 'from heaven so that there will be a solemn feast for us, and afterward it will be a sign for your [people] from you. Offer these things to us because You are the giver of gifts.' And God said, 'I will direct it to you,'" which he denied afterward: "they crucified Him with a crucifixion by which no one has been crucified."⁷⁷ And, nevertheless, these are statements of some Nestorian heretic not thinking sanely about Christ, who instructed you, as though you might understand, of something about the faith of Christ, but he did not explain to you in the manner that is reason and truth.

Because you made mention to me about Christ, [it is] only to be responded to you, a knower, that on the day when Christ was crucified, two thieves were with Him, one on the left and the other on the right. And soon [Christ] sent out His spirit. Immediately the earth shook and the sun was darkened, and a great fear seized certain leaders from among the Jews who were there, on account of those crosses. And to conceal the truth from humans they hid them underground so that no one would know but one person, and he told nobody during his life. When, however, death drew near, he appeared to someone close to him, saying: "Whenever there will be a search for the cross, see and know the place." When, however, Christ wished to show humans the confusion of the Jews He initiated the finding of the cross by Constantine, the king of the Romans, who was not yet a Christian. When he went out to battle, lifting up his eyes to the sky in the middle of the night, he saw in the sky something like columns, one stretching out upon the other in the likeness of a cross, and on these columns a writing shining with the brilliance of fire and written in Greek: "Because you asked God to show you the correct faith, make your royal sign in the likeness of this cross, which proceeds you against your enemies, according to what you have seen in the sky." Having done so he attacked his enemies and conquered them by the power of the holy cross.

75 Matt. 26:26.

76 Matt. 26:27-28.

77 Cf. Q5:112-15.

And when he had returned, he directed his mother, Helena, when she, along with an army, had come all the way to Jerusalem, to ask the Jews what had happened with the cross of Christ. After many had been tortured, she ordered that that man, who was from the tribe of the one to whom the matter was first notified, be questioned. Since, however, that man did not want to reveal the truth, she shut him up in a pit without drink or food. And when he had known that he was about to die, he showed the place, and when they dug [in that place], the smoke of a flame came out of the hole, showing them three crosses, 300 years after Christ had come. And when [the crosses] were carried before the queen, who did not know which was the cross of Christ, they suddenly placed one on a dead man, and he did not rise. With the second [cross] applied, nothing happened. But when they had applied the third, the one who had been dead immediately rose. The queen, having made a church over the tomb of Christ, left part of the cross there and the rest she carried back to her son. This is the reason why {C ooiIV} we adore the cross.

It has been said to me that you do not greet those who are of another religion, and that you maintain in your religion that it is allowed for you to take women from another faith into marriage. And how can it be that God had commanded a man to take a wife who [then] deigns neither to greet nor bury her? Likewise, if she were from another faith, it is not fitting to stand over her tomb or to pray for her. Since you find it written in your law that many of those who are in any religion are faithful before God, why do you not pray for them?

Again, it has been said to me that if anyone of you abandons his wife for any reason, “it is not proper for her to return to him until another man is joined to her.”⁷⁸ Thus you have been made corruptors of the Law and the Gospel. For in the Law it is written that “if any man sent away his wife for whatever reason and she wanted at some time to return to him, she is his without doubt if, however, another has not defiled her. But if another has covered her, she is forever prohibited from him.”⁷⁹ But in the Gospel “it was not permitted for a man to send away his wife without reason of fornication, and he who takes another’s divorced woman as wife is judged an adulterer and a lecher.”⁸⁰

Again, it has also been said to me that in your law it is written that whatever a person does, either good or bad, was foretold and preordained for [that person] by God before [that person] is born. If so, there is no grace for [that person] for doing good, or any sin for doing evil, because [the person] does not do the work, but what is prescribed or foreordained for [the person] before [that person] was born. Now if it is thus, that [what is done] has been prescribed for any person before [that person] is born, God, therefore, appears to have acted unrighteously. But far be it from God that He would do such things to humans. For if it were as you say—whatever good or bad a person does, either good, et cetera—God would not have sent the prophets to show hell to humans, and they [therefore] tremble. For indeed the prescription and predestination of them would have sufficed for them. May such an understanding be far removed! As for the fact that a man perishes, he does not perish but through his own will.

78 Q2:230.

79 Cf. Deut. 24:2–4.

80 Cf. Matt. 5:32.

EDITION

Epistola Lenis ad Amarum regem⁸¹

{C fol. nnviiR / M c. 315}⁸²

Excellentissimo viro domino Yuoni de Auriliaco vtriusque iuris professori benemerito in ecclesia diui Justi Lugdunensi sacriste dignissimo Simphorianus Champerius Lugdunensis salutem plurimam dicit.

Citasti me prior, beniuolentia vir clarissime, qui anteaquam vllam tecum habuerim consuetudinem vir et patre et virtutibus insignis, me in amicitie tue aleam inuitasti. Ego autem, quod in amore non respondere longe ab homine alienum planeque nefas esse existimari, duxi aliquo munusculo tuum arctius erga me amorem distinere. Nuper vero forte fortuna Lenis imperatoris epistola ad Amarum regem oblata est, cuius non tam epistola captus sum quam probauit potius pulcherrimum commenti mysterium in quo splendide sane imperator de religione christiana contra spurcissimam Mahometi sectam disseritur. Hoc ergo opusculum, cum putarem nusquam apud nostros inueniri, vna lucubratione imprimendum dedi, et ad te mittere constitui, vt qui optimus es agendorum sacrista, sis etiam scriptorum censor. Accipe igitur paruum munus et (vt videtur) emenda. Considera autem non ineptam fortasse interpretationem verborum, sed magis que in iis clauditur sententie grauitatem. Interim ergo hec paucula pro ientaculo fuerint, quoadusque opipere cene fercula comparentur. Alia post hac tentabimus fortasse maiora. Uale Lugdnuni. M. cccc. Ix. xix. Kalendas Martii.

Epistula Lenis imperatoris ad Amarum regem sarracenorum directa. Translata est hec epistula de Greco in Caldeum sermonem. Nunc vero, Deo fauente, de Caldeo eloquio, iuxta proprietem sermonis, uertimus in Latinum.⁸³

Gloria Deo et multiplex gratiarum actio. Exuperans celos et perueniens ad ea que placita sunt illi et penetrans abdita ipsius cuius est bonitas et miseratio super seruos suos, qui est vnum et non est aliis preter eum. Ipsius est altitudo et magnitudo et regnum et potestas; ipse omnia circunquaque complectens. Credimus in vnum deum cui similis non est, nec aliis preter eum.

De cetero notasti mihi, commemorans de Christo filio Marie, quare adoremus eum, cum ipse de semetipso testimonium perhibeat dicens quod missus sit a Deo,⁸⁴ et qui confessus fuerit eum confi- {C nnviiV} tebitur coram eo qui misit illum. Et iterum cum ascenderet ad celos, dixit discipulis suis: “ascendo ad creatorem meum et ad creatorem vestrum, ad Deum meum et ad Deum vestrum.”⁸⁵ Et iterum dicis quia cum lex Moysi in igne fuisse cremata, et renouasset eam Esdras propheta vt potuit ei memoria cordis sui recordari, et non sine mendacio; et non fuit ibidem recordatus de resurrectione neque de paradi

81 Epistola . . . regem] Leonis imperatoris augusti cognomento philosophi ad Omarum Saracenorum regem de fidei Christianae veritate et mysteriis et de variis Saracenorum haeresibus et blasphemis epis- tola M.

82 C = Champier 1508, nnviiR–ooiiiR; M = PG 107, c. 315–24.

83 Excellentissimo viro . . . uertimus in Latinum] *absent in M.*

84 adeo C.

85 John 20:17.

neque de inferno. Et iterum dicis quod talis sit Christus ante Deum qualis et Addam, et quia comedit Christus et bibit⁸⁶ et dormiuit sicut et Addam, et tamen non te commouit ad hoc nisi paucitas intelligentie tue de Christo. Et iterum cognoui quia dicis quod Maria soror Aaron et Moysi genuerit Christum. Et quomodo potuit esse cum mortua fuerit postquam egressi sunt de Egypto in deserto (et nemo ex eis ingressus⁸⁷ terram repromissionis) longe antequam nasceretur Maria mater Christi et pater eius Joachim. Nam Maria filia Ambre⁸⁸ fuit de tribu Leui filii Iacob. Maria vero mater Christi filia fuit Joachim de genere Dauid de tribu Iuda filii Iacob.

Verumtamen si velis scire de Christo, vt perueniat⁸⁹ ad te notitia ipsius donec non sit in te vlla tituba-*{M 316}*tio, perscrutare vetus testamentum quod dedit Deus filiis Israel, Moysi et David prophetis suis. Et iterum scrutare nouam legem quod est Euangeliu quod datum est nobis ab apostolis Christi, et tunc reperies de Christo veritatem et viam rectam donec⁹⁰ non sit in te vlla titubatio, dum videris scripturam testimonium perhibentem, sibi inuicem concordantem in Christo quod est in nouo et veteri testamento, et tunc vere intelliges de Christo. Scientem te reddimus de fide nostra, quomodo adoremus Deum⁹¹ et que sit eruditio in qua sumus donec intelligas, si tamen placitum est Deo, dantes tibi testimonium de nouo et veteri testamento quia quod dicimus de Christo verum dicimus secundum quod notaui tibi. Trutinare et scrutare donec scias.

Cognosce quod postquam in principio fecit Deus celum et terram cuius nomen est benedictum et magnum lumen celi et terre quod non capiunt cuncta, neque mortalium attingit intelligentia, visus est Moysi in igne in monte Syna in verbo luminis, et dixit, ne timeas Moyses; ego sum Dominus Deus tuus, creator tuus, lumen de lumine, verbum de Patre ex quibus Spiritus Sanctus procedit. Et ideo dicimus Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, lumen de lumine et Verbum de Deo quia vnum sunt, non separantes ea quia procedit Verbum de lumine et Spiritus Sanctus de lumine, et quia non est in loco minimo minimus et in maximo multiplex, sed vbique totus est. Intuere solem in quo sunt radii et splendor. Nunquid non vides quia vbique⁹² equalis est? Quanto magis Deus qui fecit solem et omnia que sunt in-*{C nnviiiR}*fra celum et terram per lumen et Verbum quod est ex se ipso facta sunt omnia? Et voluit ipsum Verbum dicere Filium suum. Sed ne paureas Verbum Dei dicere Filium Dei quia *{M 317}* Deus Pater est Verbi sui et vbi est Verbum Dei ibi est Deus quia Verbum Dei ex Deo est, et Spiritus Sanctus ex Deo est. Et que vult Verbum operatur, et que vult Spiritus Sanctus operatur, et que vult Pater operatur, et hec omnia vnu Deus operatur. Non diuidimus inter eos, neque plures deos dicimus cui non est similis in regno manens imperpetuum⁹³ regnum sanctum. Pater non est genitus, Filius est genitus, Spiritus Sanctus non est genitus neque ingenitus.

86 et bibit] *absent in M.*

87 after ingressus C adds sit.

88 Aaron M.

89 pertineat M.

90 donec] eo usque ut M.

91 eum M.

92 usque M.

93 in perpetuum M.

Neccesse est autem nobis ex prophetis proferre testimonium quod Deus benedictus vocauit Christum Verbum suum Filium, et per Verbum quod procedit ex lumine condidit celum et terram et omnia que in eis sunt. Moyses dicit: Deus per Verbum fecit omnia. Dauid in Psalmis: "verbo Domini celi firmati sunt," et alibi: "in eternum, domine, permanet Verbum tuum." Et iterum: "Misit Verbum et cetera."⁹⁴ Job dicit de spiritu sancto: "Spiritus Domini fecit me. Moyses: "Spiritus Domini super aquas ferebatur." Esaias: "Spiritus Domini super me per quem vnxit me." Dauid: "emite Spiritum tuum et cetera."⁹⁵ Et iterum: "Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me et cetera."⁹⁶ Et iterum: "Spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis." Et iterum: "Spiritu principali confirma me." Hec sunt de veteri lege testimonia quod Verbum et Spiritus qui sunt ex Deo omnem creaturam creauerint.

Oportet nos iterum proferre testimonium quod Deus Verbum suum Filium suum vocauit. Esaias dicit: "ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium et cetera."⁹⁷ Et iterum: "paruulus datus est nobis et filius datus est nobis." Iterum Deus Pater ad Dauid: "postquam dormieris cum patribus tuis, suscitabo de femore tuo, qui sedebit super thronum Israel; ego ero ei in Patrem, et ipse erit mihi in Filium." Dauid in Psalmis: "Dominus dixit ad me et cetera."⁹⁸ Zacharias dicit: "gaude et letare filia Syon; clama filia Hierusalem quia ecce rex tuus venit tibi mitis et sedens super pullum asine; loquetur pacem gentibus."

Iterum oportet nos proferre testimonium de lege Dei quia Iesus Christus Filius Marie Deus de Deo sit. Jacob filius Ysaac filii Abrahe cum esset in obitu vite sue, et benedicens filios suos, prophetauit de ipsis dicens Iude filio suo: Tu es "catulus leonis: non minuetur de femore tuo dux neque princeps donec veniat qui sit expectatio gentium" qui est ipse Christus. Hieremias propheta: "ecce Deus noster cui similis non est, qui inuenit omnem uiam prudencie," et post hec: "videbitur super terram et cum omnibus erit conuersatus." Iterum: "Deus manifeste veniet: {M 318} veniet et non tardabit." Esaias: "post te ambulabunt; vincti manibus⁹⁹ pergent, et te adorabunt teque deprecabuntur quia tu es Deus et non est alius preter te Deus Israel Saluator confundens inimicos tuos; abierunt in confusione." Iterum Dauid: "Deus de celo prospexit super filios hominum vt videat si est intelligens aut requirens Deum; {C nnnviiV} omnes declinauerunt simul; inutiles facti sunt; non est qui faciat bonum; non est vsque ad vnum." Et iterum. "Dixit Dominus Domino meo sede a dextris meis donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum." Moyses dixit de passione Christi: "videbitis vitam vestram pendentem coram oculis vestris et non credetis." Dauid: "foderunt manus meas et pedes meos; dinumerauerunt omnia ossa mea; diuiserunt sibi vestimenta mea et super vestem meam miserunt sortem." Esaias: "homo potest ferre plagam quia absconditus est vultus eius, vnde nec reputabimus eum; vere languores nostros ipse tulit et dolores nostros ipse portauit."

Hec sunt testimonia quod Deus ex Deo est. Johannes: "In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum." Gabriel: "Spiritus Sanctus superueniet in te, et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi." Paulus: "Spiritus Sanctus scrutatur omnia et nouit

94 et contra M.

95 et contra M.

96 et contra M.

97 et contra M.

98 et contra M.

99 manicis M.

occulta Dei. Johannes: “non accepimus spiritum seruitutis sed Spiritum Sanctum qui est ex Deo.” Iterum: “Si quis Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est eius.”

Hec sunt testimonia de nouo testamento quod Christus Filius Dei sit: Gabriel ad Mariam: “ecce concipies et paries filium et vocabis nomen eius Iesum; et ipse redimet populum suum a peccatis eorum.” Paulus: “Misit Deus Filium suum natum de muliere factum sub lege ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret.” Johannes: “qui credit in Filium habet vitam eternam; qui vero non credit in illum non videbit vitam eternam; sed ira Dei manet super eum.” Paulus: “Deus unus Filius Dei per quem facta sunt omnia. Petrus: tu es Christus Filius Dei uiui.” Gabriel: “ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum; Spiritus Sanctus superueniet in te, et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi; et quod nascetur ex te sanctum uocabitur Filius Dei.” Iterum Christus in Euangeliō: “ego sum lux mundi; ego a patre exiui et ad eum reversurus sum; ego sum resurrectio et vita; et qui me videt videt et patrem; ego et pater unum sumus.” Paulus: “illuminabitur mundus de Iuda.” Et iterum: “ascendit Deus super celos, super sedem sanctam suam, intuens terram ut videat obligatos quos obligauit Sathan in delicto suo.”

Vos autem habetis in lege vestra “quod angelus” {M 319} dicit Zacharie: “ecce annuncio tibi quod nascetur tibi filius precedens Verbum Dei, et Verbum ipsius uocabitur nomen eius Messias.” Queritur a te quare Deus voluit mittere filium in utero uirginis quia benedictus Deus et sanctum nomen eius creauit celum et terram et omnia que in eis sunt. Et creauit angelos suos in prima conditione sua et erant in circuitu throni. Et subito ingressus est in una legione angelorum tumor et superbia facientes se Deo similes {C ooR} dicentes: ponamus sedem nobis sicut est sedes Dei et circumeamus celum et terram sicut et Deus. Cumque Deus cogitationes eorum cognouisset proiecit Sathanam et omnem legionem ipsius de celo ad terram, et facti sunt demones et inimici filiorum Ade. Cumque fecisset Deus Adam constituit eum in paradiso dicens ei: “comede omnia quecumque volueris; de ligno vero hoc quod prohibeo tibi ne comedas; quo die comedeleris ex eo morte morieris.” Tentatus vero a diabolo comedit ex eo et proiectus est de paradiso et hereditauit mortem et contradictionem et delictum in progenie sua post eum. Deus vero volens eripere creaturam suam de manu diaboli direxit Noe ad populum suum ut peniterent eos et recederent ab opere diaboli.

Cunque venisset ad eos contempserunt et mendacem eum reputauerunt. Precepit Deus Noe ut faceret archam et mitteret in ea de omni creatura. Et immisit Deus diluuium, aperti sunt abissi et cataracte celi, et effuse sunt aque. Et consumpti sunt habitantes terram et omne quod mouetur super eam, excepto Noe, qui fuit in archa, et uxor eius et tres filii¹⁰⁰ eius et vxores¹⁰¹ filiorum eius. Post hec misertus Deus super ea que fecerat. Precepit aquis ut reuerterentur et egressi sunt de archa homines et iumenta. Benedixit eis Deus et dixit: “crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram.”

Postea homines a diaboli tentati fecerunt sibi sculptiles deos, adorantes eos sicut Deum qui eos fecerat. Et volens Deus eripere de manu diaboli qui eos peruerterat, mox descendit in potentia super montem Synai, et locutus seruo suo Moysi, dedit ei legem eligens filios Israel de omni plebe. Tunc filii Israel derelinquentes que dederat Deus Moysi fecerunt sibi sculptile adorantes illud quasi Deum viuum. Et statim immisit eis serpentes, et consumpsit

100 tribus filiis C.

101 uxoribus M.

partem ex eis. Et misertus est eis. Item tentati¹⁰² a diabolo, immisit eis ignem et consumpsit ex eis multitudinem. Et misertus iram ab eis remouit. Item fecerunt sibi idola adorantes illa vt Deum, immolantes filios suos et filias suas demoniis.

Suscitauit Deus prophetas contestantes eos vt peniterent et reuerterentur ad Deum, et recederent a diabolo. Negauerunt et mendaces eos dixerunt et quosdam ex ipsis occiderunt. Cumque vidisset Deus quod preualisset diabolus in eis ex quo factus est Adam et electus est a paradiso et quod prophetas qui venerant ad eos occiderant, volens eos eripere a potestate antiqui hostis misit Verbum suum ad Mariam {M 320} quam elegerat. Accepit formam hominis Verbum Dei induens carnem de Maria cum anima et intellectu. Habitauit Verbum ipsius quod erat ex Deo in ipso corpore sine separa-[C ooV]tione ab ipso in perpetuum. Si non esset ipsum corpus quod induerat, nemo posset videre Verbum Dei sicut nec Moyses Verbum Dei videre potuit. Sed veniens Verbum Dei, induit corpus de Maria, et eripuit populum suum de potestate diaboli. Verbum vtique illud quod Maria susceperebat ipse est cuius nomen est Messias et Deus quod erat antequam annuntiatio veniret ad Mariam et corpus sumerat de Maria, et ipse est Deus. Et hec est caligo in vobis ut non intelligatis.

Iterum mihi scripsisti dicens quia dixerit missus sum ad vos et comedetur et biberit et dormierit, sed nunc tibi ostendam quod in Christo fuerint due operationes et due locutiones, vna Verbi et alia corporis quod susceperebat de Maria. Hoc est corpus perfectum animam habens et intellectum. Operatio Verbi est quando cum Patre cuncta creauit. Et manens in corpore peccata dimittebat et mortuos suscitabat et cetera talia faciebat. Vos autem relinquentes opera Verbi sequimini opera carnis quam assumpsit de Maria quod¹⁰³ fuit de Adam.

Et ideo dicitis quod similis sit Christus Ade quod comedebat et dormiebat et iste est sermo eorum qui non intelligunt de Christo neque perscrutantur legem Dei. Et secundum vestrum sensum, iudei intelligentes de Christo persequentes¹⁰⁴ comprehendentes eum crucifixurunt dicentes blasphemie verba ad Mariam matrem eius cui pudor castitatis inerat.

Iterum dicis quare adoremus Christum Verbum Dei. Numquid non inuenitur in lege Dei eo¹⁰⁵ quod filii Israel adorassent¹⁰⁶ archam quam preceperebat Deus Moysi facere? Et tamen non adorabunt nec seruiebant arche nec ligno sed adorabant et seruabant legi et verbo Dei quod erat in archa, et tamen non ob hoc erant alieni a Deo nec duobus deis seruisse iudicabantur.

Rursum dicis quod in lege vestra inueniatur quod Deus angelis suis adorare Adam precepit. Quod si ita est credendum quid existimas de verbo quod nominatum est Messias? Nunquid est melius eum adorare quam petram surdam quam adoratis ubi scimus aliquid remansisse de idolatria illa quam¹⁰⁷ adorabant Iaob, Iaoc, Nazara et Allac, et Allogi et Mena? Quidam ex eis erant dii in similitudine uirorum, quedam uero in similitudine feminaram. Maiores horum dicebantur Alcubre vnde et sermo iste diriuatur Alacuiber. Inter vos immolantes eis peccora et camelos in vno die pro vnoquoque anno et secuti estis

102 tentatio M.

103 quae M.

104 After persequentes M adds et.

105 eo absent in M.

106 adoraverunt M.

107 qua M.

consuetudinem paganorum super lapide illo in Meccha in angulo domus ipsius idolatrie cui seruiebat antiquitas paganorum et immolabat.

Iterum dicis quod similis¹⁰⁸ ante Deum Christus sit et Adam et ponitis facturam de luto, que contradixit Deo suo et non custodiuit preceptum eius simile Verbo Dei et {C oooiR} lumini ipsius {M 321} qui non est factus sed per ipsum facta sunt omnia. Et ipse est Messias cuius regnum sempiternum existit.

Queris quomodo Deus potuit ingredi in ventrem mulieris tenebrosum et angustum et fetidum, sed si forte intelligas tibi similitudinem damus. Nonne vides solem quia graditur super inmunditiam et stercora et fetorem et tamen nullo modo inquinatur sed mundat omnia? Quanto magis Deus qui fecit solem ut inquinetur a creatura? Sed noli esse incredulus ut non ingredieretur Deus in uterum virginis qui ingressus est in rubo qui erat in monte Synai et locutus est seruo suo Moysi et legem ei dedit. Nonne melius erat corpus virginis quam illa spina rubi?

Quod autem dicis legem Moysi esse igne crematam et eam Esdras memoriter et mendaciter memorauit, et non fuit in ea memoratus de resurrectione aut vita eterna aut paradiso. Nunc tibi, si Deo placeat, ostendam. Benedictus Dominus reuelationem in prophetas suos misit, et omnis propheta locutus est per reuelationem Dei. Et dedit Moysi legem in qua scripta sunt precepta filiorum Israel, exitus eorum de Egipto, dinumeratio, et contradicatio, et indignatio Dei super eos et quomodo omnia creauit; rememoratio regum et quomodo exaltauit et humiliauit eos, et reuelauit Dauid seruo suo psalmodiam et Salomoni sapientiam et Iob suo dilecto et Danieli prudentiam. Et nos credimus resurrectionem et paradisum et infernum. Et inuenimus ea scripta in veteri testamento per Esdram prophetam cui Deus reuelauit et scripsit ea ad plenitudinem et sicut Deus Moysi prophete suo dedit. Ita Esdras declarauit et nil pretermisit quia in prophetis Dei non est mendacium neque obliuio quia Deus fit reuelatio illorum.

Notuisti¹⁰⁹ mihi de sacrificio quid esset et quod non reperieres quemquam de seruientibus Dei qui obtulerit sacrificium. Primitus duo filii Ade obtulerunt et acceptum est ab uno. Sacrificium veritas est super homines et acceptum Deo et edificatio ei quicumque obtulerit excepto sacrificio quod ydolis offertur. Qui¹¹⁰ illud offerunt alieni et perdit. Christus vero nocte illa qua erat inchoatio passionis discipulis dixit quid de eo Iudei facturi essent et resurrectionem et fugam et reuersionem ad eum annunciauit. Et tamen in illa nocte cum discipulis comedens accepiens panem benedixit et dixit: “Accipite et comedite; hoc est corpus meum” quod pro vobis tradetur. Iterum accepiens calicem dixit: “bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est sanguis meus qui offertur in remissione peccatorum.” Et precepit nobis ut similiter fieri ut sit nobis remissio peccatorum. Quicumque in fide et dilectione obtulerimus istud sacrificium, licet crederem¹¹¹ non illud quod in lege vestra vos habere dicitis: “Cum discipuli” Filio Dei “dixissent, ‘inuoca Deum ut dirigat nobis manna de celo.’ Et dixis-{C oooiV}set Christus, ‘timete Deum si estis fideles.’” Discipuli “dixerunt, ‘uolumus comedere’” illud et credemus tibi, “et sciemus quia {M 322} verum locutus es nobis,” et testabimur quia Christus Deus es. “Dirige” manna “de celo ut sit nobis festum solenne et

108 simul C, M.

109 scripsisti M.

110 *after qui* M adds enim.

111 credere M.

post erit vestris¹¹² signum ex te. Hec nobis tribue quia tu es dator donorum. Et Deus dixit dirigam eum¹¹³ vobis” quod postquam negauit: “cruciauerunt eum cruciatione qua nemo cruciatus est.” Et tamen hii sermones fuerunt Nestoriani cuiusdam haeretici non sane de Christo sentientis qui vos introduxit quasi¹¹⁴ aliquid de fide Christi intelligeretis, sed vt est ratio et veritas vobis non demonstrauit.

Quod de christo mihi notuisti¹¹⁵ scientem te reddi modo quia die qua crucifixus est Christus cum eo duo latrones vnum ad leuam alter ad dexteram fuerunt. Et mox emisit spiritum. Statim terra contremuit et sol obscuratus est et quosdam principes de iudeis qui aderant validus timor inuasit propter ipsas cruces. Et vt hominibus veritatem celarent, eas sub terra abscondiderunt ita ut alii nescirent nisi vnum, et nemini in vita sua dicebat. Cum autem mors accederet alicui propinquu aperiebat dicens: quandoque questio crucis erit locum videte et scitote. Quando tamen voluit Christus hominibus confusionem Iudeorum ostendere inuentionem crucis Constantino regi Romanorum qui necdum erat Christianus aperuit. Cum¹¹⁶ pergeret ad bellum elevans oculos ad celum media nocte vidit in celo quasi columnas vnam super aliam intentam in similitudinem crucis, et in ea scripturam igneo fulgore rutilantem et Grece scriptam: quia petisti a Deo tuo vt ostenderet tibi fidem rectam facito tibi signum regale in similitudinem crucis istius que precedat te contra inimicos tuos secundum quod vidisti in celum.¹¹⁷ Quo facto hostes inuasit et per virtutem sancte crucis illos diuicit.

Cunque reueteretur matrem suam Helenam cum exercitu vsquequo Hierusalem veniret direxit vt quid de cruce Christi factum esset a Iudeis perquireret. Multis autem cruciatis virum illum qui de tribu eius fuerat cui res primum notificabatur inquiri precepit. Illum autem rei veritatem aperire nolentem in puto sine potu et victu reclusit. Cunque se moriturum cognouisset ei locum ostendit, et dum foderent fumus incensi de fouea exiuit tres crucis post CCC annos ex quo Christus venerat ostendens. Et cum ante reginam nescientem que crux Christi esset portarentur super mortuum subito vnam crucem posuit et non surrexit. Secunda adhibita nil profuit. Cum vero tertiam adhibuissent statim qui erat mortuus surrexit. Regina facta ecclesia super Christi sepulcrum partem de cruce ibi reliquit et reliquam filio suo detulit. Hec est causa quare {C oooiiR} crucem Christi adoremus.

Dictum est mihi quod non salutatis eos qui sunt alterius legis et vos habere in lege vestra quod mulieres alicuius fidei vobis liceat in connubium ducere. Et quomodo fieri potest vt Deus homini uxorem ducere precepisset qui nec salutare ne-{M 323}que sepelire illam dignaretur? Similiter si de alia fide fuerit, non oportet super sepulcrum eius stare aut pro illa deprecari. Cum autem vos in lege vestra scriptum inueniatis quia multi ex his qui in lege qualibet sunt fideles apud Deum sunt quare pro ea non deprecemini?

Iterum dictum est mihi si quis vestrum uxorem suam qualibet ex causa “relinquerit non oportet eam ad eum regredi donec alter cum ea conueniat.” Sic preuaricatores legis et Euangelii facti estis. In lege enim scriptum est vt si “quis uxorem suam qualibet causa

112 post erit vestris] posteris nostris M.

113 illud M.

114 *after* quasi M adds ut.

115 Quod . . . notuisti] Quod de Christo [scilicet de cruce] a me quaeasti M.

116 *after* cum M adds enim.

117 celo M.

dimiserit et voluerit ad eum quandoque regredi ipsius est sine dubio si tamen alter eam non sordidauerit. Si autem alter eam tetigerit ab illo imperpetuum prohibita est.” In Euangelio tamen “non est licitum homini uxorem suam sine causa fornicationis dimittere, et qui dimissam alterius in vxorem acceperit adulter et mecus iudicabitur.”

Iterum dictum est mihi quod in lege vestra sit scriptum quicquid fecerit homo siue bonum siue malum prescriptum et predestinatum sit illi a Deo antequam nascatur. Si ita est non est illi gratia si bonum operetur neque peccatum si male operetur, quia non ille operatur, sed quod prescriptum et preordinatum est illi antequam nasceretur. Nam si ita est vt cuilibet homini sit prescriptum antequam nascatur ergo Deus impie videtur egisse. Sed hoc absit a Deo vt ista in hominibus operetur. Nam si ita esset sicut vos dicitis—quicquid faciat homo vel bonum et cetera¹¹⁸—Deus non prophetas dirigeret vt hominibus infernum demonstrarent et pertremiscerent. Sufficeret enim illis prescriptio et predestinatio eorum. Sed absit talis intellectus. Quod homo perit non perit nisi arbitrio suo.

118 et contra M.

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This book offers the first comprehensive edition and translation of all surviving versions—Latin, Armenian, Arabic, and Aljamiado—of the polemical correspondence attributed to the Byzantine emperor Leo III and the Umayyad caliph ‘Umar II. Far from simple diplomatic communication, these letters form part of a centuries-long Christian-Muslim exchange, rooted in fictional authorship but widely circulated across the Mediterranean from the eighth to the sixteenth century. The book explores their multilingual transmission and textual fluidity, as well as the evolution of their arguments, especially regarding scriptural reliability and Christology, to demonstrate how diverse communities adapted the texts to local polemical contexts. It identifies three main textual groupings and traces recurring argumentative strands, many of which derive from specific Qur’anic passages, suggesting their origins in an oral, cross-confessional polemical milieu. The correspondence not only reflects shared themes of religious disputation but also continuously imagines itself as one episode in a larger, unending dialogue between Christianity and Islam. By situating these texts within vibrant Mediterranean networks, the book provides crucial insights into the construction, adaptation, and transmission of polemical literature in the premodern world.

