

The Lead Books of the Sacromonte and the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana: Granada, 1588-1606

*General Introduction, Critical Edition,
and Translation*

Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld
& Gerard Albert Wieggers



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The Lead Books of the Sacromonte and the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana:
Granada, 1588–1606

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General Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation

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Cover illustration: Poetic prophetic text introducing the *Essence of the Gospel* (Lead Book 17). Its six lines, written on a Seal of Solomon, were constructed after the pattern observed in the Arabic poetical “commentary” on the Spanish prophecy of the Parchment of the Turpiana Tower.

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<https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.24138933>.

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Preface

In June 2021 the joint work that lies before you now had advanced to such a stage that we could assemble a first version of almost the entire publication, the result of years of doing research and travelling together to the Sacromonte Archive and other archives and libraries, and writing. We both departed for holidays and individual research, but before we could meet on a new round of our usual discussions about the completion of our work, my dear colleague Sjoerd van Koningsveld suddenly passed away in his house in Rijswijk on 28 July 2021 at the age of 78. In the following pages I will take up the texts we had assembled, now bringing them to completion in a way I had always expected to be able to do together, while missing my colleague and friend sorely. Since we had already discussed all relevant issues about our work and how we would both see it published, and adhering as much as possible to our joint work, I was certain that I could continue the way we were writing the book as the joint research it is. And so, still writing in the plural, I therefore continue as best I can, with the passion for the subject and immense joy that has always marked our cooperation.

On 17 June 2000 the Vatican made a public statement about a series of documents that had been in its possession for centuries. These documents were a parchment and two plaques written in Latin and twenty-two Lead Books, written predominantly in Arabic, originally bound together as small books, preserved in caskets of stone.¹ The documents, found between 1588 and 1606, had been the object of a long and fierce debate in Hapsburg Spain before they were brought to the Vatican in 1643 to be evaluated there.

In 1682 Pope Innocent XI condemned the Lead Books for including Muslim heresies. It was made public that they were from that moment on only to be mentioned in order to be refuted and condemned. They would have been returned to Granada had they been judged as orthodox, but now they were kept in Rome in the archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.²

Finally, it was Pope John Paul II and Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, later emeritus Pope Benedict XIV, under whose supreme responsibility the Vatican decided to

1 As we will discuss further below, the existence of three Lead Books (nos. 20, 21 and 22) was brought to the attention of Archbishop Pedro de Castro only in 1606. They had allegedly been found in Granada eight years before.

2 For descriptions of the circumstances, including present-day requests for the return of the Lead Books to Spain by various groups and individuals, see Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 157–158; Bernabé Pons, “Sacromonte Lead Books”; Sánchez Ocaña, *El Sacro Monte de Granada, Imaginación y Realidad*, 143–146.

hand over the books to their “historical owners” with the intention of putting them in this indirect way at the disposal of researchers in the field. The archbishopric of Granada organized a series of events and oversaw the production of an important, illustrated publication. In that publication, not only the official letter by the then prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, but also photos of a few specimens of Lead Books were published for the first time in history.³ The Vatican also presented a CD-ROM with documents from the Vatican evaluation process, and a series of photos of the original Lead Books.

The return of the Lead Books to the Sacromonte Abbey in Granada, nearly four hundred years after their discovery, attracted wide public attention. The return of the Lead Books to the city also led to an upsurge of scholarly interest, and in the following years many publications saw the light, among which were several contributions by the present authors.

We were very honored when in 2003 the archivist of the Sacromonte Abbey, Don Vicente Redondo, kindly granted us permission to study and publish the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana. This we did in the article “The Parchment of the ‘Torre Turpiana’: The Original Document and its Early Interpreters,” *Al-Qanṭara* 24, no. 2 (2003): 327–358.

While we continued our research on the Sacromonte Lead Books, the archbishop of Granada granted us permission to prepare a critical edition and translation in 2010. This is the work which we now submit.

In the present publication in which we edit and translate the Parchment and the Lead Books we have made use of some of our earlier publications. We are grateful to the journals and editors of book publications for their permission to build upon them here. First of all, we make use of various articles published in *Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento y estudio del Sacro Monte. IV Centenario Fundacional (1610–2010)*, edited by María Julieta Vega García-Ferrer, María Luisa García Valverde and Antonio López Carmona, 121–141 (Granada: Fundación Euroárabe, Cátedra al-Babtayn y Abadía del Sacromonte, 2011), which included a first edition and English translation of Lead Book 22. We also draw on our article “Marcos Dobelio’s Polemics against the Authenticity of the Granadan Lead Books in Light of the Original Arabic Sources,” in *Polemical Encounters: Polemics between Christians, Jews and Muslims in Iberia and Beyond*, edited by Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, 203–268. State College, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019, which includes our edition of

3 Martínez Medina, ed., *Jesucristo y el Emperador Cristiano, Catálogo de la exposición celebrada en la catedral de Granada*, the photos of the caskets on 621, specimens of the Lead Books on 620, 622 and 623. The official letter, dated 17 June 2000, is found on 749.

LP7, “Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus and of His Mother the Holy Virgin Mary.” 222–268.

We also make use of the publication we prepared on the occasion of the presentation of our preliminary findings in the Palace of the Archbishop in Granada on 19 March 2019, *The Sacromonte Parchment and Lead Books. Critical Edition of the Arabic Texts and Analysis of the Religious Ideas. Presentation of a Dutch research project, Granada, March 19, 2019. With images of the original Lead Books and the Parchment*. Rijswijk: Avondrood, 2019, along with a Spanish translation by Mònica Colominas Aparicio, and Wieggers, “The Christianization of the Mudejars of Granada and the Persistence of Islam after the Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain (1492–ca. 1730),” in Adela Fábregas García, ed., *The Nasrid Kingdom of Granada between East and West (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)*, 519–543. Handbook of Oriental Studies, No. 148, Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Finally, we published some passages of Lead Book no. 7 in Christian-Muslim relations. Primary Sources, 1500–1700, vol. 2, edited by Martha Frederiks (London, etc.: Bloomsbury Academic, in press).

An electronic repository containing a set of digital reproductions of all the lead tablets made by the authors with a digital camera in the Sacromonte Archives has been made available online. It may be accessed via this QR code and the following dynamic link: <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.24138933>.



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We should like to record that the research leading to these results has been partly funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program, grant agreement no. 810141, project EuQu: "The European Qur'an. Islamic Scripture in European Culture and Religion 1150–1850", of which the project leader is Mercedes García-Arenal (CSIC Madrid). Because of our shared interest in the Lead Books we coincided in the course of the years on many occasions with her and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano in conferences and meetings and enjoyed our conversations and exchanges of ideas. We should also like to thank our friend and colleague, the late professor Leonard Patrick (Pat) Harvey, who in the course of the years followed our work and contributed to it by his observations, suggestions, and critical remarks.

We thank Nanda de Groot of the University of Amsterdam for preparing our digital photos of the Lead Books for publication, and Consuelo López-Morillas for her meticulous correction of the style of our work, and for her suggestions. We thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable remarks and comments.

We would like to express our thanks to our esteemed friends at the Archive of the Sacromonte, María Luisa García Valverde and Antonio López Carmona of the University of Granada, who have been a great help during our research. We are grateful to the staff of the archives and libraries in which we have done our research ever since we have worked on this project.

We have visited the archive of the Sacromonte numerous times, and we have always received a warm welcome, first by the then archivist, D. Vicente Redondo, to whom we are very grateful for helping us time and again. We should like, finally and once again, to express our deepest gratitude to His Eminence the then archbishop of Granada, Francisco Javier Martínez Fernández, and to D. Juan Sánchez Ocaña, the former archivist of the Sacromonte Archive, for having facilitated our work during all these years and for his friendship. Acknowledgement is also due to the Brill editors and the Numen Book series, in particular the assistant editors for Religious Studies, Rashmi Shetty and Boris van Gool. Pieter te Velde has been helpful during the production process.

Finally, we are grateful to our families, who have lived with this research project ever since we began it.

Abbreviations

ACDF	Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Vatican City, Rome
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
ASMG	Archivo del Sacro Monte, Granada
ARCG	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada
BCLM	Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
BRAH	Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia
CDA A	Corriente, Federico. <i>A Dictionary of Andalusí Arabic</i> . Handbuch der Orientalistik, Band 29. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
Dobelio	Dobelio, Marcos. <i>Nuevo Descubrimiento de la Falsedad del Metal</i> . BCLM, Toledo, MS 285 (available online as pdf).
DS	Dozy, Reinhardt. <i>Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes</i> . 2nd ed., 2 vols. Leiden-Paris: Brill, Maisonneuve Frères, 1927.
EI ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam. Second Edition</i> . Edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. 11 vols. + Supplement. Leiden: Brill, 1960–2002.
EI ³	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam. Third Edition</i> . Edited by Fleet, Kate, Gudrun Krämer, John Nawas and Everette Rowson. Leiden: Brill, 2007 etc. [online]
EQ	<i>Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān</i> . Edited by Jane Dammen MacAuliffe and Claude Gilliot. Leiden: Brill, 2001–2016.
GAL	Brockelmann, Carl. <i>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</i> . Zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1943–1949.
GAL S	Brockelmann, Carl. <i>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</i> . Supplementbände. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1937–1942.
Hagerty	Miguel José Hagerty. <i>Los Libros Plúmbeos del Sacromonte</i> . 2nd ed. (1st ed. Editora Nacional, Madrid, 1980). Granada: Editorial Comares, 1998 (reprint 2007).
LG	Museo y Fundación Lázaro Galdiano
Leiden	<i>Glossarium Latino-Arabicum. Ex unico qui exstat codice Leidensi undecimo saeculo in Hispania conscripto</i> . Nunc primum edidit, praefatione notisque instruxit, tabulam phototypicam adiecit Christianus Fredericus Seybold. Ergänzungshefte für Assyriologie. Semitische Studien, Heft 15–17. Berlin: Emil Felber, 1900.
LP	Libros Plúmbeos, the Lead Books.

- Marracci Ludovico Marracci, *Disquisitio Laminarum Granatensium Quinque partibus comprehensa*. ACDF, r7e, fols. 14^a–140^a and r6^a, fols. 1126^a–1157^a. The references are to the version in r7e.
- RCDG Real Chancillería de Granada
- Vocabulista *Vocabulista in Arabico*. Pubblicato per la prima volta sopra un codice della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze da C. Schiaparelli. Firenze: Tipografia dei Successori Le Monnier, 1871. Later edited in Federico Corriente. *El léxico andalusí según el vocabulista in arabico*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1989.

Figures

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General Introduction



The Conquest of the City of Granada and Its Aftermath

1 The Capitulations

Shortly after the conquest and surrender of the Islamic city of Granada in January 1492, the Christian conquerors began to discuss the religious significance of the conquest in the history of Christianity and to construct a Christian discourse about it. Isabelle Poutrin has argued that it was the expectation of a rapid massive conversion of all Muslims to Christianity, rather than the preservation of a status quo ante—that is, a continuation of the Mudejar situation—that permeated the spirit of the capitulations of the city of Granada.¹ What this early-sixteenth-century discourse lacked, however, was a role for pristine Christian origins. In fact, Granada could not claim much in this respect. It had been ruled by Muslims for many centuries and then became a frontier between the worlds of Christianity and Islam. But according to the Aragonese and Castilians, many Muslims living in Granada had been descendants of converts from Christianity and Islam was only a superficial layer.² Such assessments must be considered ideology-driven and meant to justify the efforts towards a rapid conversion of the Muslims. More reliable figures indicate that the number of Christian converts to Islam living in Granada must have been about three hundred.³ The city and the Granadan kingdoms had also been associated with a very long Jewish history, and Jews had lived there as a minority until the conquest of the city by the Catholic Monarchs, but, as is well known, shortly after the conquest the Monarchs decided to expel the Jews, and those who remained behind were punished by the death penalty if they refused to convert.⁴

In the emerging Christian discourse the city was seen as the New Jerusalem and Spain as the New Israel, and a messianic role was projected onto the Catholic Monarchs, whose conquest of Jerusalem as well as the defeat of Islam

1 Poutrin, “Los derechos de los vencidos.”

2 García-Arenal, “Granada as New Jerusalem,” 33.

3 Salvador Miguel, “Cisneros en Granada,” 157.

4 On fifteenth-century Nasrid Granada and its transition to the sixteenth century, see, for example, Leonard Patrick Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250–1500*, 1–44, Celia del Moral, ed., *El epílogo del islam andalusí*, Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Ángel Galán Sánchez, eds., *La Historia del Reino de Granada a Debate. Viejos y nuevos temas. Perspectivas de Estudio*.

and the spread of Christianity over the whole world, beginning with North Africa, was assumed to be near.⁵ Oran would indeed be conquered in 1506, and later on strongholds were established on the North African coast.⁶ While many Muslims fled the city, others stayed behind as Mudejars while still others converted to Christianity.⁷

The new Christian discourse extolled religious and political unity to the detriment of religious diversity. Judaism and Islam were meant to disappear and the early modern nation-state model began to replace the earlier pluralistic state-religion model. Two religious figures played an important role at this stage: the first was the Hieronymite Hernando de Talavera (1428–1507), the second the Franciscan Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (1436–1517). While Talavera and Cisneros differed regarding conversion policies, they differed less than hitherto assumed about their view of Islam. While supporting a politics of gradual conversion, Talavera held no less polemical views on Muslims and Islam than Cisneros did.⁸

Between 1492 and 1499 a campaign was started to achieve the conversion of the Mudejars. In 1492 Talavera founded the Colegio de San Cecilio de Granada, which was meant to serve the spiritual education of the children of the Granadan Mudejars.⁹ Several works of instruction in Arabic came into being, among them the *Arte* and *Vocabulista* (both printed in 1505) by Pedro de Alcalá, who worked in the service of Hernando de Talavera and had prepared these works before the forced conversions of 1499. It is interesting to observe that among the passages meant to be read by the Mudejars in the *Arte* was also the beginning of the *Gospel of John* in Andalusi Arabic.¹⁰ Talavera also had the *Vita Christi* by the Catalan Franciscan theologian Francesc Eiximenis (1330–1409) translated into Castilian and adapted, so that it fitted the alleged need for a *Life of Mary and Jesus* that accentuated elements that were acceptable from a Muslim point of

5 Ferdinand *el Católico* received the title King of Jerusalem in 1510, a title that the Spanish monarchy has kept ever since.

6 García-Arenal, "Granada as a New Jerusalem," 16; Galán Sánchez, "De Mudéjares a Moriscos," 326; Salvador Miguel, "Cisneros en Granada," 167; Pastore and García-Arenal, eds., *Visiones imperiales y profecía. Roma, España, Nuevo Mundo*.

7 For late-fifteenth-century migrations see the Arabic chronicle translated as *Fragmento de la Época*, ed. Bustani; for the migrations and settlement in the Maghrib after 1610, see for example García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco"; Razūq, *Al-Andalusīyyūn wa hijratuhum ilā 'l-maghrib*.

8 García-Arenal, "Granada as a New Jerusalem," 36–40; Biersack and Martínez Medina, *Fray Hernando de Talavera*.

9 Valdés Sánchez, *El Poder persuasivo de Maryam*, 221–222.

10 Alcalá, *Arte*, F fol. 6^b–7^a. The said passage does not seem to be the source of the Arabic translation of John 1–14 in the Parchment.



FIGURE 1 Granada around 1565. Engraving by Simon Novellanus, perhaps after a drawing by Joris Hoefnagel, meant to be included in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Cologne 1572–1617 (6 vols.), vol. 5: *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum quintum*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, object no. BI-1956-1074-8

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view. Further, he tried to spread the devotion of Mary among the Mudejars by promoting the manufacture of images of her.¹¹ He also used the printing press and the Castilian language as means to evangelize the Muslims. According to Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza the Muslim population called Talavera *el santo alfaquí de los cristianos* (the pious faqih of the Christians).¹²

11 Valdés Sánchez, *El Poder persuasivo de Maryam*, esp. 207 ff. On the campaigns, the role of images and the stress on shared beliefs, albeit in a polemical way, the fundamental study is Pereda, *Images of Discord. Poetics and Politics of the Sacred Image in Fifteenth-Century Spain*; see also García-Arenal et al., “The Perennial Importance of Mary’s Virginity.”

12 Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia Eclesiástica*, fol. 186^b. Don Francisco Núñez Muley (Garrad,



FIGURE 2 The Sacromonte Abbey and Colegio, the caves of the ‘martyrs’ in the foreground and the Alhambra in the background. (from: *Abadía y Colegio del Sacro Monte*, Granada, n.p. n.d., ca. 1930)

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Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, cardinal of Toledo and inquisitor in the city of Granada between 1499 and 4 February 1500, was the main force behind the harsher policies towards the children of Christian converts to Islam (*elches*, *rumías*) that led to the revolt that broke out in the Muslim quarter, the Albaicín.¹³ *Elches* had had their rights guaranteed in the capitulations, but it seems that it was Cisneros’s method to secure their return to Christianity in December 1499 that led to the said revolt in the Albaicín, which spread to the Alpujarras and was put down by military force in 1501. Massive conversions followed, while still more Muslims took the opportunity to emigrate to Islamic territories.

“The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley,” 215) tells us that he had worked as a page in Talavera’s household for three years and travelled with him to the Alpujarras, where Talavera celebrated a mass accompanied by traditional Granadan music by ‘Mudejar’ musicians. Núñez Muley calls Talavera the ‘santo Alçobispo’ [*sic*].

13 Salvador Miguel, “Cisneros en Granada,” 156, 161.

2 After the Conversion

The partly voluntary (i.e., of the so-called collaborators) and partly forced conversions of the Granadan Mudejars to Christianity between 1499 and 1501 were followed by continued campaigns of evangelization and repressive measures by which the authorities aimed to eradicate all memory of Islamic life among the new converts and transform the city from a Muslim to a Christian one. One of these was the edict to burn all Islamic books in the entire Kingdom, including Qurans. The orders to do so date from 12 October 1501.¹⁴ In February 1502 the Mudejars of Castile (which included Granada) were offered the choice of conversion, emigration or death.¹⁵ In their international diplomatic efforts in Egypt and the Ottoman Empire to justify the events, the Catholic Monarchs argued that the rebellion had nullified the capitulations and that thus a forced conversion was justified.¹⁶

We may conclude from the difficulties placed in the way of those who opted for emigration (they could only leave via the harbors in the Bay of Biscay and had to abandon most of their possessions) that conversion was what the Castilian authorities in fact sought to achieve. In addition to those who remained Muslims in secret, to whom we will turn below, other Mudejars accepted Christian rule and beliefs. Among them were members of the Nasrid elite, even the nobility, and religious scholars, who had collaborated with the Christians during the conquest and had accepted their dominant position.

Shortly after the conquest, the Catholic Monarchs had founded a hermitage very close to the place where the keys of the Alhambra had been handed over to them, and close to the *mazmorras*, the underground caves where Christian captives had been held in the Muslim period. They did so as a commemoration of the martyrs who had died in the city during the Muslim period, among them the Franciscans Pedro de Dueñas (1377–1397) and Juan Lorenzo de Cetina (1340–1397).¹⁷ Today this place is called the Garden of the Martyrs (*Carmen de los mártires*). Isabella ordered a (now lost) retablo to be made that showed the earliest martyrs of the church: Saints Sebastian, Marcellus, Stephen, and Hermenegild, along with the Franciscan friars who had been

14 Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla*, doc. 146. The association of the book burning with Cisneros seems to be of a later date, as Salvador Miguel, “Cisneros en Granada,” has argued.

15 Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudéjares de Castilla*, doc. 148; Wiegers, “Moriscos” in EI³.

16 Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 45 ff.

17 Padial Bailón, “Venerable hermandad de los santos mártires Cosme y Damián,” 2.

martyred in Granada and another martyr, Saint Peter Pascual (c. 1227–1300).¹⁸ Dedicated the martyrs and Saints Cosmas and Damian, the hermitage became a place of veneration by the medical doctors of the city, very likely also those of Muslim descent, of which there were many, both women and men.¹⁹

Next to this visible commemorative marker of the history of Christianity and its history of martyrdom, very early on a start was made in transforming the Islamic urban cityscape into a Christian one. The call to prayer ceased and both *mu'adhdhins* converted to Christianity.²⁰ In 1502 Christian worship began to be celebrated in the interior of the great mosque, and later the new cathedral was to be built on that very same spot. An extensive building program was begun, aimed at transforming the city.²¹ Many of the New Converts (Sp. *nuevos convertidos de Moros*), expected the effects of baptism to be temporary and hoped to be able to practice Islam openly again. But they would not. Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Jum'a al-Maghrāwī al-Wahrānī (d. 917/1511), a mufti at Fez, wrote around 1504 a *fatwā* for Muslims living as “strangers” (Ar. *ghurabā'*) who were forced to express unbelief and dissimulate their Islamic beliefs.²² His advice, which was soon translated from Arabic into Spanish for the crypto-Muslims, or Moriscos, as they were called by the Old Christian population, was that they might, if forced, dissimulate (*taqīyya*): they were allowed to express unbelief and dispense with the obligations connected with ritual ablutions and prayer.

3 Mounting Tensions and Conflict

During the sixteenth century tensions between Christians and Muslims in Granada mounted. In 1567 Francisco Nuñez Muley, an elderly Granadan nobleman—in his youth a page in the household of Archbishop Hernando de Talavera—voiced in a discourse the Morisco protest against a number of imminent measures to be taken at the highest level of church and state.²³ These measures aimed at prohibiting the wearing of the *almalafa* by Morisco women, the use of baths, and even the use of written and spoken Arabic. His protest was in vain.

18 Antolínez de Burgos, *Historia eclesiástica de Granada*, 126.

19 See Harvey, “In Granada under the Catholic Monarchs,” 73–74.

20 Salvador Miguel, “Cisneros en Granada,” 161–162.

21 García-Arenal, “Granada as New Jerusalem,” 28 ff., esp. 30; Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*; Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*.

22 See Stewart, “Dissimulation in Sunni Islam and Morisco taqīyya”; García-Arenal and Glazer-Eytan, eds., *Forced Conversion in Christianity, Judaism and Islam*; Richardson, *Roma in the Medieval Islamic World*, 79–80.

23 Garrad, “The Original Memorial of Don Francisco Núñez Muley.”

In 1568 the Granadan Moriscos revolted.²⁴ The revolt spread to the Alpujarras, a mountainous region to the southeast of Granada, and was especially virulent there, with many killings on both sides.

The war lasted for two years and could be repressed, but only at the cost of many lives and disappointment in the possibilities of a peaceful coexistence. Granadan Moriscos actively sought help from Muslim authorities, in particular the Ottomans. They sent diplomats to Istanbul, but the Ottomans prioritized the conquest of Cyprus (which indeed took place in 1571) over military assistance to the Granadan Moriscos.²⁵ Most Granadan Moriscos were expelled from the city and were forcibly dispersed all over Castile. In fact, of the fifteen or twenty thousand Moriscos who lived there at the beginning of the revolt, only three or four thousand remained in 1571.²⁶ Some were able to avoid expulsion to Castile, such as for example the Granadan Morisco physician and translator Alonso del Castillo and his family, because he had been of great service to king during the rebellion, as we will see below.

The consequences of the expulsion of the Granadan Moriscos to Castile were profound. It is from this time onwards that the sources start to speak of a “Morisco problem” in Castile and in Spain in general, as Granadan Moriscos formed networks of open or silent resistance. On the surface, the expulsion ended Muslim life in Granada. But as we will see, this was not the whole story. Islam in Granada appeared to be remarkably persistent. In order to explain how that persistence came about, we must return to the fifteenth-century conquest of the Kingdom.

During the long conquest and for some time after it had been effected, Granada, as a frontier society, had attracted many people from other parts of Iberia and even beyond, among them many Mudejars from Castile.²⁷ For these migrants Granada offered many economic possibilities. Apparently, many of the Granadan Moriscos were able to acquire considerable wealth and good positions as notaries, medical doctors, and advocates of the Royal Chancellery.²⁸ Some even rose to the nobility. The most notable example of such a person was Pedro de Granada Venegas, who became the first Marquis of Campotéjar (1559–1643). According to Enrique Soria Mesa, not all families which flourished

24 See on this period Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los Moriscos*, 25–26; Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500–1614*, 204–237.

25 Krstić, “The Elusive Intermediaries: Moriscos in Ottoman and Western European Diplomatic Sources from Constantinople, 1560s–1630s.”

26 Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 185.

27 See López de Coca Castañer, “La emigración mudéjar al reino de Granada”; Salvador Miguel, “Cisneros en Granada,” 158.

28 Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, 15.



FIGURE 3 The uprising of the Moriscos in the Alpujarras, showing the martyrs of Mairena: the bachiller Joan Martínez Xargui (A) and two children, Gonçalo and Melchor (B). Engraving by Francisco Heylan. Francisco Heylan was an artist from Flanders, probably Antwerp, who had settled in Granada and made a series of engravings illustrating the Christian character of the Lead Books.

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were of noble Nasrid birth; many stemmed from the lower classes. The research by Soria Mesa and others has in recent years led to a drastic revision of the established image of Moriscos as belonging to the margins of Spanish society. They now appear to have been very much a part of that society and were integrated so well that they were able to escape, first, the expulsion to Castile after the revolt in 1568–1570, and then, much later, the expulsion from Spain to North Africa.

The main way in which they achieved this, as research into archival documents by Enrique Soria Mesa shows, was that they were able to produce forged documents that proved their status as faithful collaborators with the Castilian crown before and after the conquest of the city. Many of these Moriscos had probably become sincere and faithful Christians and participated in the Christian social and literary life of the city.²⁹ A number of them, however, while completely assimilating and integrating and hence virtually disappearing, remained Christians only outwardly and Muslims inwardly.³⁰ Even after the forced migrations to Castile in 1571, therefore, Moriscos still lived in Granada, but they had integrated well into the Old Christian society and outwardly lived as Christians. These Moriscos often tried to pursue noble status (*hidalgúia*) in order to prevent a possible expulsion, and for the same reason produced fraudulent documents that they hoped would serve to prove their Old Christian status.³¹

It was in such a context of revolt, forced migration to Castile, and a continued Morisco presence in Granada that first in 1588 and then between 1595 and 1599/1606 a series of discoveries were made, which seemed to elevate a city that had no Christian past to a city that had been a place where Saint James had lived and with him some Apostolic men including Granada's first archbishop, Caecilius. But along with that Christian past went the Arabic and Spanish language and a series of documents which in addition to belief raised also many doubts and outright rejection.

Two places occupy an important position in the story of the Parchment and the Lead Books. First, the tower in which the Parchment was found, which was located at the center of the old Islamic city. Second, the Valparaíso hillock

29 See on them García-Arenal, "El Entorno de los plomos"; ead., "Alonso del Castillo, Miguel de Luna y otros Moriscos: Una propuesta para la autoría de los plomos"; Childers, "Disappearing Moriscos."

30 The Muslim identities of these individuals remained hidden to the outside world and, if not for research into Morisco sources and the Inquisition trials discussed below, would never have become known.

31 Childers, "An Extensive Network of Morisco Merchants."

on the outskirts of Granada, on which, allegedly hidden in various caves, four Latin plaques, ashes, and twenty-two³² Lead Books were discovered. The tower was said to be very old, allegedly even dating back to Jewish (not Roman) origins, and had served as the minaret of the main mosque in the Nasrid period.³³ At the time of the conquest of the city by the Christians it had been extended with a new upper part that served to house the bells. According to others, for example the Granadan chronicler and priest Luis de Cueva (a firm believer in the authenticity of Parchment and Lead Books), the tower had been built by Phoenician Arabs.³⁴ We will see below that one of the Lead Books testifies to the life of such a Phoenician Arab in Granada in the first century!³⁵

At the time of the discovery, the tower was being demolished to make room for the new cathedral. While the Old Christian inhabitants had not attached any particular value to Mount Valparaíso before the discoveries, there are indications that the Morisco population had seen it as a sacred site, associated with the presence of saintly figures and healing as well as cursing practices.³⁶ According to A. Katie Harris, the land where the discoveries occurred had belonged to Moriscos until in 1570 it had been confiscated by the Crown.³⁷

The use of lead may seem strange, but we have to remember that it was not an uncommon writing material in ancient Iberia, and so when the authors invented the Latin plaques and covers, written in pseudo-Iberic script, they also had to invent a corollary in the Arabic equivalent: the Lead Books.³⁸ But the usage is also notable among Granadan Moriscos some years before the discoveries of the Lead Books. Coleman refers to a Morisco resident in Granada, Miguel Hernández Haganí, who in 1571 had been penanced by the Inquisition

32 The secondary literature mentions various numbers, ranging from 19 to 22 Lead Books. We will return to this variation below.

33 Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 118; Archivo y Biblioteca de Francisco Zabáburu, Altamira 161, GD 5, carpeta 129.

34 These Arabs had even maintained ties with King Solomon, see his *Diálogos de las cosas notables de Granada*, Sevilla 1603; see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 181ff., and on Cueva also Collado Ruiz, “El médico romanceador,” *passim*. On the historical background of the building see also Urquizar-Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*, 121–122; 169–181.

35 See LP20, fol. 34^a. It should be noted, however, that this Lead Book surfaced only in 1606—after the publication of Cueva’s work.

36 Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 114–117.

37 Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 118.

38 Lafon, “Les écritures anciennes en usage dans la péninsule ibérique, d’après des travaux récents,” *passim*.

and sentenced to six years in the galleys for having in his possession “some papers written in Arabic and a plaque of lead (*plancha de plomo*) with Arabic letters that included some of the sayings of Muhammad.”³⁹

Nowadays, the most conspicuous buildings on the Sacromonte are the Church, the Abbey, the Colegio, and the caves of the martyrs, while at the foot of the mountain Roma live and perform their dances. While it is very likely that the Roma already lived in Granada before the conquest, we do not know whether they lived at Mount Valparaíso.⁴⁰

Shortly before the discoveries were made, several persons, including the Morisco translator Miguel de Luna, whom we will meet below as one of the main actors in the Lead Book affair, appeared in a long series of witnesses in the records of the evaluation process, and in his testimony claimed to have seen miraculous lights when he was staying in his walled garden (*carmen*) near the hillock. On that piece of soil Luna had owned a summer house (*cenador*) for 25 years, i.e., from 1570 onwards.⁴¹

In 1598 the hillock was bought by Archbishop Pedro de Castro. He erected the ‘Insigne’ Iglesia Colegial in 1609 (inaugurated in 1610), replacing the small chapel that he had built there earlier, and in that year Castro also started to build the Sacromonte Abbey.

In 1600, the cult of Caecilius and the veneration of the relics were officially approved upon their authentication during a solemn regional council. During the solemn mass of thanksgiving on Sunday, 30 April 1600, the relics were displayed to the “overjoyed public.”⁴² The following Sunday, thousands of people attended a mass at the Sacromonte, transforming it into a holy site. It soon became a center of (local) pilgrimages and processions, and pilgrims would erect crosses on the mountain to commemorate the martyrs.

In 1610 Castro also founded a college, whose building took a long time.⁴³ The church housed the Lead Books and the saintly remains of the twelve martyrs who had allegedly died on the mount, called thenceforth the Sacro Monte, the

39 Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 193 and n. 69. The source is AHN, Inquisición, legajo 1953, no. 5, penitent #26. The same incident is also discussed in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 95, who refer to him as Miguel Hernández Hagim, a Chandler, and assume that these lead texts were related to the seeking of fortunes. See for lead texts circulating in Granada the appendix.

40 Richardson, *Roma in the Medieval Islamic World*, 79–80, referring to a cemetery of the Roma (also called in Arabic *ghurabā'*) in the fourteenth century across the Río Genil, close the former hermitage of San Antón el Viejo.

41 ASMG, C 49, fol. 31^a ff. Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 113.

42 Quoted in Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 128.

43 Barrios Aguilera, “El Sacromonte de Granada,” 22–23; Sánchez Ocaña, *El Sacro Monte*, 159 ff.

Sacred Mountain, and gave access to the caves. According to oral traditions one of these caves had been called in Arabic the cave of the “burned one.”⁴⁴

The findings were important elements in the transformation of Granada into a Christian city. However, the basis on which the Christian narrative rested remained controversial and became the subject of a very long and heated debate. From the outset the Parchment and the Books were defended by one group as Christian lore, while others rejected them as Muslim heresies and as (Morisco) fabrications.

One may ask how it is possible that the discoveries of these Arabic texts, which were difficult to read, ever found supporters among the religious authorities. Part of the answer must be that in the case of the Parchment the decisive factor was the prophecy written in Spanish, and the Latin list of remains with the signatures of Caecilius and his servant Patricius; while in the case of the Lead Books the first findings were Latin plaques, of which the first, our L₁, mentioned the martyr’s death of Mesithon. Mesithon was one of the apostolic men (Sp. *varones*) who according to certain traditions had brought Christianity to Spain. Furthermore, Hiscius, a disciple of the Apostle James, is mentioned in L₂, which also tells us that he was martyred along with his servants Turillus, Panucius, Maronius and Centulius. Thesiphon, whose martyr’s death is mentioned in L₃, was among these apostolic men as well; he had died there along with his servants Maximinus and Luparius.

L₄, finally, not only mentioned the fourth apostolic man, Caecilius (*sic*, not Cecilio, as in the Parchment and the Lead Books!), disciple of Saint James, but his ashes were also found together with it.⁴⁵ The plaques and ashes, therefore, “proved” the historical truth of the tradition of the apostolic men and connected them with the journey to and burial of Saint James in the Iberian Peninsula. Latin was also used in the first two Lead Books: they bear both a Latin and an Arabic title.

The discovery of Caecilius’s remains followed the discoveries of the bodies of other apostolic men in the years preceding it. In 1593 the body of Torquatus, who had allegedly been bishop of Guadix (near Granada), had been found in Celanova, in northwest Spain, where it had been taken from Guadix in order to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Moors. The body of Secundius was discovered in Ávila at about the same time.⁴⁶

44 Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 114.

45 These seven apostolic men were Caecilius, Torquatus, Ctesiphon, Euphrasius, Indaletius, Hesychius and Secundius. On the legend of the seven men see Kendrick, *Saint James in Spain*, 72. See on the legend of James and its later connection to the legend of the apostolic men: Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago: Trayectoria de un mito*, 47.

46 Kendrick, *Saint James in Spain*, 72.

Very soon, however, critics started to identify Islamic, heretical aspects, but the defenders of the Christian nature of the Books did not pay heed, perhaps because the general population was very soon committed to the findings.⁴⁷ The question of how these conflicting interpretations came into being and how they continued to exist side by side until well into the twentieth century has been a guiding question for many scholars of the Sacromonte affair, including ourselves. This important question could not be answered as long as the original sources remained out of reach. No interpretation could be tested against the original sources.

In presenting our study and critical edition of the Parchment and the Lead Books we first of all offer an historical overview of the interpretation process of the Parchment and the Lead Books. It is not our aim here to deal with all the aspects of that complex and long process. We will limit ourselves to analyzing the contributions of translators and interpreters *who were able to study the original Arabic Lead Book texts and /or the Parchment* and who were thus in a position to make an informed assessment. In that way, we surmise, they contributed to the body of knowledge about their contents and in a sense controlled the stream of information, including the possibility that they contributed to their coming into existence (i.e., were authors). In this way, we aim to reconstruct the “genealogy” of the interpretation, which allows us to establish whose authority was followed.

In order to assess the corpus of translations and interpretations we have focused in our research in the archives and libraries on identifying Arabic transcriptions of the Parchment and Lead Books and on determining dates and authorship. Our study concentrates on the rich materials in the Sacromonte Abbey, the Archive of the Real Chancillería (Granada), the Library of the Royal Academy of History, the National Library of Spain, the Museo Lázaro Galdiano (Madrid), the Library and Archive of Zabálburu (Madrid) and the Vatican Archives that were made available to us in the Sacromonte Abbey, as part of the documentation on CD-ROM that had been handed over by the Vatican in 2000.

47 Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 195. According to Coleman, it was the support of the Granadan people rather than that of the secular and religious authorities (including the Chapter and Archbishop Pedro de Castro) that acted in the crucial years 1595–1596 as a moving force: “Yet the cathedral chapter, the municipal council, and even Archbishop Castro himself all appear in the key events of 1595–1596 to have acted in ways that were more responsive than directive, following rather than leading the broad-based devotional fervor” (ibid., 196). Coleman assumes that the forgers aimed to create a reform towards a more inclusive and open society. As we will see, however, the Lead Books threaten with a curse those who will not believe in the *Essence of the Gospel* (see LP18, question 1).

We will analyze the process in chronological order, taking into account the contexts in which each translator with first-hand knowledge of the sources worked. Our work will discuss those who wrote about the Lead Books on the basis of *secondary knowledge* about them if this is relevant.

We will start with the discovery of the Parchment and the Lead Books and then analyze the interpretation process in Spain and Rome until their condemnation by Pope Innocent XI (Chapters 1–4). Then we will discuss the academic studies about the Parchment and the Lead Books (Chapter 5). Following this, we will present a general introduction to our edition and translation in Chapters 6 to 9. These chapters will discuss the material and paleographical aspects (Chapter 6), style and language (Chapter 7), the methodology we follow in our edition and translation (Chapter 8), and the structure and contents of the Parchment and the Lead Books, including the question of their authorship (Chapter 9).

TABLE 1 Chronology and Concordance of the titles of the Lead Books in Arabic, English, Spanish, and Latin

Our chronological numbering	Title	Hagerty	Vatican order, ACDF, r7g / MS BCLM 265	MS, BNE 10503 (Estepa)
1	Lat./Ar. <i>Liber Fundamenti Ecclesie/Kitāb Qawā'id al-Dīn</i> Eng. <i>Book of the fundaments of Religion</i> Sp. <i>Libro de los fundamentos de la ley</i> Lat. Vat. <i>Liber fundamentorum fidei</i>	1	1	1
2	Lat./Ar. <i>Liber de Essentia Dei/Kitāb Fī al-Dhāt al-Karīma</i> Eng. <i>Book of Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār on the Venerable Essence</i> Sp. <i>Libro de la esencia de Dios</i> Lat. Vat. <i>Liber de essentia veneranda</i>	2	2	2
3	Ar. <i>Du'ā' wa-ḥirz li-Ya'qūb ibn Shamīkh al-Zabādī al-Ḥawārī</i> Eng. <i>Prayer and Amulet against all evils by James, the son of Shamīkh al-Zabādī, the Apostle</i> Sp. <i>Oración de defensorio de Jacobo</i> Lat. <i>Oratio et defensivum Iacobi</i>	6	4	6
4	Ar. <i>Kitāb šifat al-qurbān</i> Eng. <i>The Book of the Form of the Mass</i> by James the Apostle written by his secretary, Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār Sp. <i>Libro de la relación de la misa de Jacobo</i> Lat. <i>Liber ordinationis missae Iacobi Apostoli</i>	3	3	3
5 (= 9)	Ar. <i>Kitāb Nadhrat al-Ḥawārīyyīn</i> Eng. <i>Book of the honorable and blessed apostle James ibn Shamīkh al-Zabādī about the admonition of the Apostles</i> Sp. <i>El Libro del Cathecismo mayor</i>			

TABLE 1 Chronology and Concordance of the titles of the Lead Books (*cont.*)

Our chronological numbering	Title	Hagerty	Vatican order, ACDF, r7g / MS BCLM 265	MS, BNE 10503 (Estepa)
	Lat. <i>Liber beatissimi Apostoli Iacobi filii Zamechii Zebedaei de predicatione Apostolorum et de rebus quas ipsi constituerunt circa hoc.</i>	4	5	4
6	Ar. <i>Bukā Bidruh al-Ḥawārī al-Khalīfā</i> Eng. <i>The Weeping of Peter the Apostle, the Vicar</i> Sp. <i>Llanto de San Pedro</i>	5	6	Included in 5 (not numbered separately)
7	Lat. <i>Planctus Petri Apostoli Vicarii</i> Ar. <i>Kitāb Maḥāsīn Sayyidinā Yaṣūʿ wa-Maʿājizihī wa-Ummihī Maryam al-Ṣāliḥa al-Adhra</i> Eng. <i>Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of our Lord Jesus and his mother Holy Virgin Mary</i> Sp. <i>Libro de los actos de Nuestro Señor</i>	7	7	7
8	Lat. <i>Liber rerum praeclare gestarum Domini nostri Iesu et miraculorum eius et matris eius Mariae sanctae Virginis</i> Ar. <i>Kitāb Muntahā ālāt al-Qudra wa-al-Ḥilm wa-al-Sharīʿa fī al-Khalīqa 1</i> Eng. <i>Book of the Utmost Instruments of Power, Clemency and Justice in Creation</i> Sp. <i>El Libro de summa Providencia</i>	15	14	16
9 (= 5)	Lat. <i>Liber assequilibrium divinae potentiae, clementiae ac iustitiae circa Creaturas</i> Ar. <i>Kitāb Nadhrat al-Ḥawāriyyīn</i> Eng. See our number 5 Sp. <i>El Libro del Cathecismo Menor</i> Lat. –	4	5	5
10	Lat. <i>Pars secunda liber assequilibrium divinae potentiae</i> Ar. <i>Kitāb Muntahā ālāt al-qudra, 11</i> Eng. Second part of the book of the Ultimate Instruments of Power, Clemency and Justice in Creation Sp. <i>Libro de Providencia</i>	16	15	17
11	Ar. <i>Kitāb Tawriḥh Khātām Sulaymān</i> Eng. <i>Book of the History of the Seal of Solomon</i> Sp. <i>La Historia del Sello, ó anillo de Salomon</i>	17	13	18
12	Lat. <i>Liber historiae sigilli Salomonis</i> Ar. <i>Kitāb Waṣf Munān Dār al-Salām wa-ʿAdhāb Dār al-Intiqām</i> Eng. <i>Book of the Blessings of the Abode of Peace and the Punishments of the Abode of Revenge</i> Sp. <i>Tratado del Infierno y de la Gloria</i> Lat. <i>Liber relationis doni domus pacis et tormenti domus vindicate</i>	18	17	19

TABLE 1 Chronology and Concordance of the titles of the Lead Books (*cont.*)

Our chronological numbering	Title	Hagerty	Vatican order, ACDF, r7g / MS BCLM 265	MS, BNE 10503 (Estepa)
13	Ar. <i>Kitāb fī Ṭabīʿat al-Malak wa-Qudratihi</i> Eng. <i>Book on the Nature and Power of the Angel</i> Sp. <i>Libro de la naturaleza del angel y de su poder</i> Lat. <i>De natura angeli et eius potentia</i>	19	16	20
14	Ar. <i>Kitāb al-Ḥikām fī al-Dīn</i> Eng. <i>Book of Wisdoms and Sayings (Hadith) for the End of Times</i> Sp. <i>Libro de las sentencias acerca de la ley</i> Lat. <i>Liber sententiarum circa fidem</i>	11	12	12
15	Ar. <i>Kitāb Tawrikh ḥaqīqat al-injīl</i> Eng. <i>Book of the History of the Essence of the Gospel</i> Sp. <i>El Libro de la Historia de la Haqīqa</i> Lat. <i>Liber historiae certificationis Evangeliae</i>	8	8	8
16	Ar. <i>Kitāb Munājāt al-Ṣāliḥa Maryam al-ʿAdhra</i> Eng. <i>Book of the Intimate Conversations of the Holy Virgin Mary</i> Sp. <i>El Libro del Coloquio de Nuestra Señora</i> Lat. <i>Liber colloquii Sanctae Mariae Virginis</i>	10	11	11
17	Ar. <i>Ḥaqīqat al-Injīl</i> Eng. <i>The Essence of the Gospel</i> Sp. <i>Libro mudo, "Certificación del Evangelio"</i> Lat. <i>Liber mutus</i>	Apéndice IV	-	-
18	Ar. <i>Kitāb Mawāhib Thawāb Ḥaqīqat al-Injīl</i> Eng. <i>Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who believe in the Essence of the Gospel</i> Sp. <i>Libro de los dones del galardón</i> Lat. <i>Liber donorum premii certificationem evangelii credentibus</i>	9	9	9
19	Ar. <i>Kitāb al-asrār al-ʿazīma</i> Eng. <i>Book of the Enormous Secrets</i> Sp. <i>Libro de misterios grandes</i> Lat. <i>Liber mysteriorum magnorum</i>	-	-	10 (en sigilos)
20	Ar. <i>Kitāb Maḥāsīn Yaʿqūb al-Ḥawārī</i> Eng. <i>Book of the Outstanding Qualities of James</i> Sp. <i>Libro de las acciones de Jacobo</i> Lat. <i>Liber rerum praeclare gestarum Iacobi Apostoli et miraculorum eius</i>	12	18	13
21	Ar. <i>Kitāb Maḥāsīn Yaʿqūb al-Ḥawārī</i> Eng. <i>Second Book of the Outstanding Qualities of James</i> Sp. <i>Libro de las acciones de Jacobo</i> Lat. <i>Pars secunda liber rerum praeclare gestarum Iacobi pars II</i>	13	19	14

TABLE 1 Chronology and Concordance of the titles of the Lead Books (*cont.*)

Our chronological numbering	Title	Hagerty	Vatican order, ACDF, r7g / MS BCLM 265	MS, BNE 10503 (Estepa)
22	Ar. <i>Kitāb al-asrār al-‘azīma</i> Eng. <i>Book of the Enormous Secrets</i> Sp. <i>Libro de misterios grandes</i> Lat. <i>Liber mysteriorum magnorum</i>	14	10	15

The ‘Discovery’ of the Parchment of the Turpiana Tower, the Plates and the First Seven Lead Books (1588–1596)

1 The ‘Discoveries’

On 19 March 1588 a discovery was made in the ancient tower in the city center of Granada, which had been a part of the Great Mosque complex and had to make room for the new cathedral. During the demolition a small lead box was found, which was sealed with lead and bitumen. It contained a parchment with texts in Latin, Spanish and Arabic, a piece of linen, a small bone, and ashes.¹ That the box would also include an image of the Virgin Mary seems a later addition to the reports about the discovery, and not found in the earliest versions. The then archbishop of Granada, Juan Méndez de Salvatierra (c. 1530–1588), gave orders to determine the authenticity of the discovery including the relics, and to interpret the parchment.²

1 In his *Información*, published in 1632, the Marquis of Estepa describes the discovery as follows: “hallò una caixa pequena de plomo, larga de un xeme, alta de dos, ancha algo mas de quatro, quadrangular. Estava betunada por dentro, y por de fuera con cierto betun grueso negro, para mayor conseruacion de lo que contenia, y el plomo rayado, para que el betun asiesse mexor en el. Dentro tenia en una tablica pintada vna Imagen de Nuestra Señora, y un lienço casero basto, a medida dela caixa, que cubria lo demas; luego un pergamino arrollado, y doblado, y dentro del un lienço, que parecia ser la mitad de vno quadrangular de poco mas de media vara de ancho, y casi vna de largo, cortado de esquina a esquina, y assi triangular. Avia debaxo vn hueso de vn coto de largo, ancho como vn dedo pulgar. El demas vazio de la caixa llenavan ciertas arenas, ò poluos como limaduras de color entre azul y nagor, que se ignora que fuessen [...]” Estepa, *Información*, fols. 5^a–6^b. It is highly unlikely that the image of the Virgin Mary was among the findings. According to Estepa, it had been hidden by one of the discoverers, Francisco Cano, immediately after the discovery (*Información*, fol. 5^b) No reason is mentioned. However, no image is mentioned in the Parchment itself, which offers only a list of saintly remains, nor does it appear in the original report, or on the commemorative plaque in the Cathedral (reproduced in Martínez Medina, “La Abadía y su legado artístico cultural,” fig. 20, 294 [the photo is also found in Medínez Medina, *Cristianos y Musulmanes*, 185]). In the evaluation report preserved in the Archive of the Sacromonte (ASMG C 49, *Calificación*, fol. 641), Paz Maldonado offered a copy of the report describing the discovery in 1588 (copy dated 1595). This report did not mention an image either.

2 He had been archbishop since 11 September 1577. See on his life: Antolínez de Burgos, *Historia Eclesiástica de Granada*, 365–370.

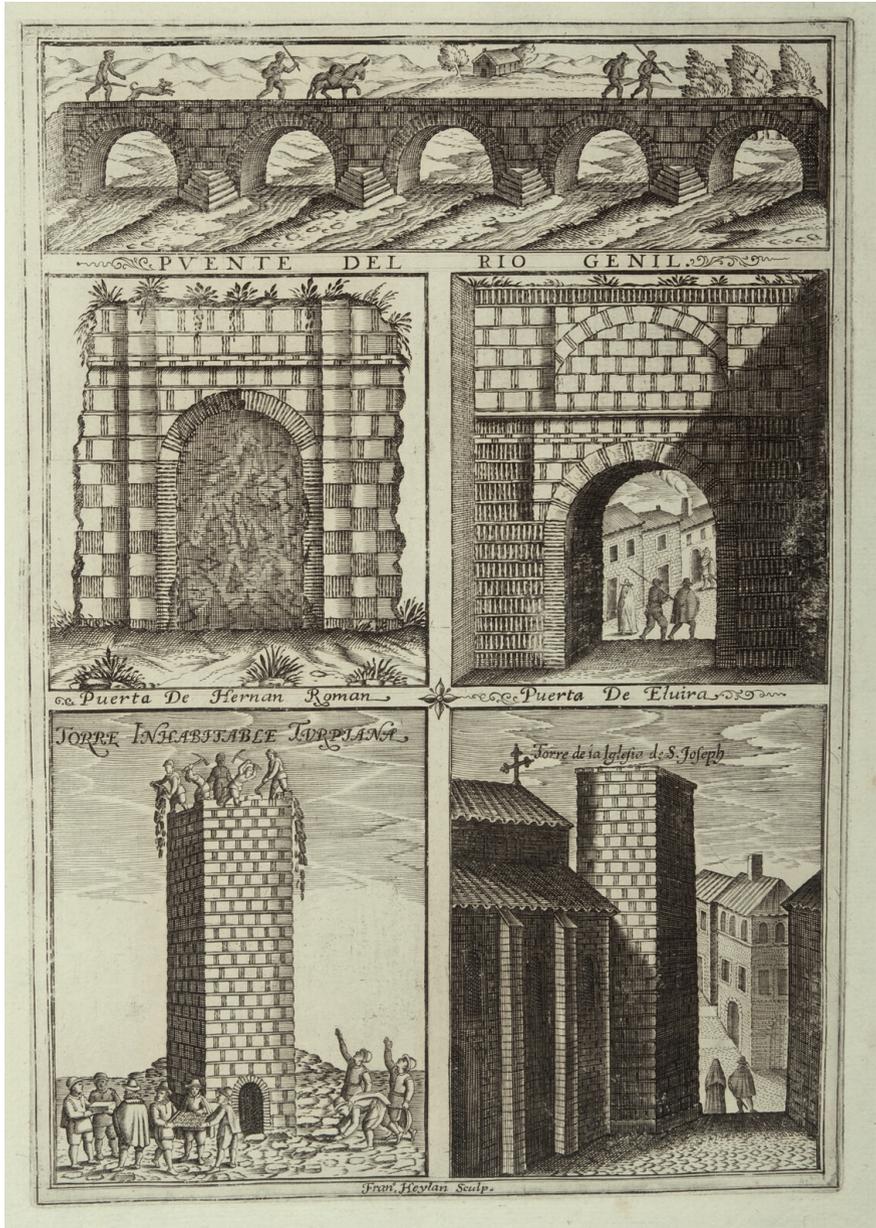


FIGURE 4 *Los cinco monumentos antiguos de Granada* ("the five ancient monuments of Granada"), left below the Turpiana Tower. Engraving by Francisco Heylan REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

The first person whom we could identify as interpreter of the Arabic passages was the Granadan Morisco translator Miguel de Luna.³ Luna (and the translators that would follow him) allegedly did their work independently of each other. Luna worked in his own house between 26 and 30 March.⁴ We publish his report here as P1. In this transcription and literal translation, Luna did not translate the square below the prophecy (*çifra de la profhecia*), which “needs more study.”⁵ He signed the document as “medical doctor, inhabitant of Granada, interpreter of the Arabic language” (*medico vezino de Granada, intérprete de lengua araviga*) and declared that he worked in the service of Archbishop Juan Méndez de Salvatierra, and in the presence of the licenciante José Fajardo, a former professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Salamanca, who had himself declined to do the interpretation but had recommended Luna.⁶ Also involved, but at a later stage, around June 1588, was the licenciante Francisco López Tamarid, first prebendary of the Cathedral, royal interpreter and interpreter for the Inquisition.⁷

A second interpretation was done by Alonso del Castillo between 2 and 5 April 1588.⁸ Both men had been active as Arabic interpreters for some years. Let us briefly introduce them.

Miguel de Luna was born in Granada in 1552.⁹ His family originated in the city of Baeza and they considered themselves descendants of Mudejars who

3 The result is found in our document P1. This document is in fact the earliest we are aware of in which a partial transcription of the Arabic passages of the parchment is offered. It is not clear what was the role of Francisco López Tamarid, a familiar and interpreter for the Inquisition in the Kingdom of Granada, probably himself a Morisco. See on him Wieggers, “The ‘Old’ or ‘Turpiana’ Tower in Granada and its Relics according to Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajārī,” Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 152–157. Harris argues that Tamarid may well have been one of the forgers, see also García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 124–130, and Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, 119.

4 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 24. According to Boyano Guerra, “En busca del original,” 126 n. 16, the text is also preserved in ASMG, Leg III (caja) s.f.

5 P1, fol. 407^b.

6 P1, fol. 407^a. See on Fajardo and the Parchment: García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 171.

7 ASMG, Leg. v, fol. 24 ff., translation of parts of the Parchment by López Tamarid, dated 25 June 1588; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 171; Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 154.

8 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 26; Boyano, “En busca del original,” 126 n. 15, mentions a copy signed by both Luna and Castillo in ASMG, Leg. 244. In addition we find a translation by Luna and Castillo in MS 5785, BNE, fols. 156^b–162^b (see on this manuscript Wieggers, “The ‘Old’ or ‘Turpiana’ Tower in Granada”).

9 ARCG, leg. 2432-14, fol. 296^a, which includes a translation of LP4. On 18 February 1596, he tells the notary that he is 43 years old.

had converted out of free will, i.e., they were so-called Old Moriscos (*moriscos antiguos*). For this reason, they were probably exempted from being expelled to Castile along with many other Granadan Moriscos after the uprising in the Alpujarras between 1568 and 1571. Be that as it may, Luna read medicine at the University of Granada and lived in that city as a practicing doctor. He belonged to the parish of San Miguel and possessed a garden at the foot of the Valparaíso hillock for more than 25 years, i.e., from 1570 onwards.¹⁰ Luna married an Old Christian woman, Maria de Veráztegui. They had at least two sons, Alonso and Juanico. We do not know much about Miguel de Luna's life before the discovery of the Parchment and the Lead Books.¹¹ We have seen that he owned the said carmen. He is also known to have been active in translating documents related to the revolt of the Moriscos (he suggests that his work in this respect had been useful to the king) and had done the same with regard to letters of the Moroccan king.¹² In this letter to the king, dated 1584, he offered his services. The response was negative, perhaps also as a result of negative advice by his coreligionist and Granadan Morisco translator Alonso del Castillo, who wrote the king saying that since Luna belonged to those of the *contrabando* (i.e., Luna's political and religious loyalties were not to be relied upon), it could be hazardous to allow him to travel to Morocco. Castillo and Luna do not seem to have been on a very friendly footing.¹³

The first datum we have about Luna's involvement in the Lead Books is that he worked on the translation of Arabic passages of the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana in March 1588, as can be seen from the autograph document, P1. In search for tools he asked the king in these years to be able to consult al-Jawharī's dictionary extant in the Library of El Escorial.¹⁴

He translated several medical treatises and in 1592 sent a letter to the king about the hygienic advantages of the use of baths, the *Tratado de los baños* (Treatise about Baths). In it he mentioned the Prophecy of John and the commentary on it in the Parchment as a text which was meant to come to light in this period because it alludes to the French disease and to a divine intervention which would remedy it in this time and age.¹⁵ Thus, he presented it as completely authentic.

10 ASMG, C 49, fol. 31aff.

11 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 166 ff.

12 García-Arenal, "Miguel de Luna y los Moriscos de Toledo: 'No ay mejor moro,'" 253–262, esp. 256.

13 Boyano, "En busca del original," 140.

14 Archivo y Biblioteca de Zabálburu, Altamira, Carpeta 161, GD 5, D 125.

15 See our P5, beyt 5, in Luna's interpretation. See the edition of this treatise in García-Arenal

In the same year Luna published the first part of his soon very successful and popular pseudo-historical work *Historia Verdadera del Rey don Rodrigo* (The True History of King Don Rodrigo). We do not know when he began this work, but he completed writing it in 1589, one year after the Parchment had been found. A second part would follow later.

The *Verdadera Historia* was allegedly a faithful translation of an Arabic manuscript extant in the library of El Escorial, and according to Luna, the Arabic original was a history written by the wise (*sabio*) alcaide Abulcasim Tarif Abentarique, “of the Arab nation” (*de nación árabe*). Luna presented Abulcasim Tarif Abentarique as an eyewitness to the conquest of Iberia by the Arabs and to the establishment of Muslim rule. Unlike the received historical records of these events known in Spain at the time, in this chronicle the Arab rulers are presented as evenhanded and mild towards all their subjects, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Modern historians have argued that Luna’s aim was to show that Muslim rulers had presented no threat to Christian minorities and that the contemporary Moriscos had always been loyal subjects of the Spanish king and therefore deserved to be treated by the Spanish authorities on an equal basis with Old Christian subjects, in spite of their different cultural habits and their spoken and written use of the Arabic language.¹⁶

Even though Luna presented himself as the reliable translator of this eyewitness report, he was already under suspicion of having forged it in the 1590s by such contemporaries as the Arabist Diego de Urrea. Others, however, defended him.¹⁷ From 1595 onwards, the year in which the first Lead Books were discovered, until his death in 1615, Luna was involved in the translation and interpretation of Lead Books and expressed again and again his opinion that they represented authentic early Christian lore.¹⁸

and Rodríguez Mediano, “Miguel de Luna,” 226–230, the citation of the prophecy on 229. See on his medical background and medical works, Bernabé Pons, *Estudio preliminar*, x–xii.

16 See on this: Bernabé Pons, “Estudio preliminar,” xlvff., and the sources referred to by him. See on Cervantes’s playful reference to Luna in the *Quijote*, for example: Harvey, *The Moriscos and Cervantes*; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *the Orient in Spain*, 191–193; Wieggers, “The Granada Lead Book translator.”

17 It should be noted, however, that others, such as the Granadan licenciante and attorney Joan de Faría, extolled Luna, and argued that the *Verdadera Historia* confirmed Luna’s capacities as a translator of the Parchment, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 90–91; Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones*, 125.

18 See Luna’s authenticated official statements accompanying his translation of LP1 and LP2 in ARCG 2432-14, fols. 73^a–82^b from July 1595, his testimony as witness 23 in ASMG, C 49, fol. 31, and even as a witness to one of the discoveries of the Lead Books, *ibid.*, fol. 8^a–8^b.

The process went along with his evolving career as an Arabic interpreter. In 1588 he signed documents as “physician, inhabitant of this city [Granada] and Arabic interpreter,” which he continued to do until at least February 1596 when he signed his Spanish translation of LP4.¹⁹ But in a document dated 8 July 1596 he is called “interpreter to his Majesty for the Arabic language” (*interprete de su Magestad en la lengua árabe*).²⁰ It seems very likely that he earned this well-paid position as a result of his “successful” efforts to interpret the Parchment and the Lead Books, and maybe in particular the Parchment, about which he gave a magisterial lecture in August 1595.

His ambitions to earn the position are also clear in the foreword to the king in his *Verdadera Historia*.²¹ Already in 1588, after having done a first translation of the Parchment, he voiced ambitions in correspondence with the king.²² Juan Vázquez del Mármol (d. 1615), a Latinist, paleographer and book corrector at the court, tells us that Luna, after completing his first translations in March 1588, had written to the king that he had made the best translation of the Prophecy, but that in view of the threat of excommunication by Castro he was only willing to speak personally with the king himself about it. Castillo, he said, had merely based himself on his (Luna’s) work. For that reason he, Luna, deserved at least the same salary as Castillo. Moreover, he asked the king for favors in the form of possible positions at court.

It seems very likely that Alonso del Castillo would have experienced Luna’s career and success as an interpreter as a threat to his own position. In any event, Castillo died in 1607 and in about 1610 Luna also attempted to achieve recognition as a noble (*hidalgo*), something that, if successful, would certainly have helped to save him and his family from being expelled from Spain.²³ But even without achieving this he seems to have succeeded in this: he, his wife (who was an Old Christian) and his sons remained in Spain after the expulsion of the Moriscos. One of these sons, Alonso, practiced medicine in Italy and lived for some time in Rome.²⁴ In 1609, Alonso was a connection between the Vatican and those in Spain who were seeking qualified translators of the Lead Books in Rome. It was in this context, as we will see below, that Marcos Dobelio came to

19 See P1 and LP4.

20 See P5, fol. 142^a.

21 See Gilbert, *In Good Faith*, 203.

22 Juan Vázquez del Mármol to Archbishop Pedro de Castro, 17 June 1588, ASMG, Leg. V, fols. 24^a–26^b.

23 See Cabanelas Rodríguez, “Cartas del morisco Miguel de Luna,” 31–47.

24 *Ibid.* 38, Letter written by Miguel de Luna to Pedro de Castro, 4 November 1609.

Spain.²⁵ Luna died in Granada in 1615 and was buried in that city as a “good and faithful Christian.”²⁶

But while Luna was seen by the outside world as an Arab Christian, somewhere between 1600 and 1603 he was mentioned in the Inquisition trial of Jerónimo de Rojas, a Morisco from Toledo. He is said to have told a Morisco friend from Hornachos shortly before Rojas was arrested that in the “lead leaves” found on the Sacromonte in Granada it was written in the hand of Jesus Christ that he himself said that he was not God, nor the son of God, and that God does not have a son; and that no one should be deceived, and that on the Day of Judgement these miserable Christians would be nastily surprised and when they would find that they were condemned, they would turn to Jesus Christ and ask: “Why did you deceive us”? Jesus would deny this, replying that at no moment had he said that he was God, but that they, with their Latin and their councils, had started this; and he admonished them to return to the Prophet Muhammad, and he told them that Jesus Christ had never said that he was God, but rather that he was a Prophet.²⁷ According to the witnesses, there lived no better Muslim than Luna (*no había mejor moro que él*). Luna was therefore said to have been a Muslim who, according to these witnesses, expressed his faith in the Islamic victory of the Lead Books. However, we have to bear in mind that these were witnesses who testified before the Inquisition. No other evidence of such suspicions were voiced during Luna’s life, and he was buried

25 See also the list of possible translators in ASMG, Leg. VI, fols. 373–425, in which Dobelio is mentioned.

26 ASMG, Leg. V, fol. 737, a letter from Alonso Nuñez de Valdivia y Mendoza to Archbishop Pedro de Castro discussing the “Christian” death of Miguel de Luna, 10 December 1615. The letter is followed on fol. 738 by an undated letter to Castro by doña María de Veráztegui, his widow, confirming this information. It is not said exactly where he was buried.

27 “Como en las hojas de plomo que se han hallado en el Monte Santo de Granada está scripto de mano de Jesuchristo como el mismo dixo que ni era Dios, ni hijo de Dios, ni Dios tenía hijo, que no se engañasse nadie, y que en el día del juiçio los miserables christianos engañados, quando se vean condenar yran a Jesuchristo a deçir ‘¿por que nos engañaste?’ Y el se descanter con decir que no se hallara scripto que él es Dios que el dixesse que era hijo de Dios sino que ellos con su latin y con sus conçilios lo han venido a deçir y le dirá al nabi (ques Mahoma), ‘nabi, volved por mí y deçidles a estos lo que supistes en el mundo’ y el nabi dirá como supe de la gente de verdad //41a// que Jesuchristo no dijo tal y Dios dirá que es verdad que Jesuchristo nunca dixo sino que era propheta.” (AHN Inquisición, Toledo, exp. 197-5, fols. 40^b–41^a). Our transcript is based on the document itself. It is also transcribed in García-Arenal, “Miguel de Luna y los Moriscos de Toledo,” 258, and García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 187–188. See for a detailed study of the trial: García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial of Jerónimo de Rojas, a Morisco of Toledo (1601–1603)*.

in Granada as a Christian. Four years after Miguel de Luna's death, however, a man called Alonso de Luna, claiming to be the son of Dr. Luna, was tried before the Inquisition of Granada and Murcia for Islamic heresies. During his trial he also discussed the Lead Books, and showed that he had intimate knowledge about them. We will return to this trial below.

Alonso del Castillo was born in Granada in about 1525,²⁸ and died in the same city in 1607, at the colación de San Miguel, at about 82 years old.²⁹ He was also buried in the parish church.³⁰ Like Miguel de Luna, Castillo had read medicine in Granada, and became involved in the translation of Arabic documents. Castillo had also studied classical Arabic with the Flemish student of Arabic Nicolas Cleynaerts when the latter stayed in Granada.³¹ Castillo was the first to make an inventory of the Arabic manuscripts in the Escorial library and searched for manuscripts to be included in its collections in the archives of the Granadan Inquisition.³² In 1566 he was appointed municipal *romanceador* (Arabic translator) as successor to Juan Rodríguez.³³

Since the uprising, Castillo, who in the Arabic report of another Morisco is called Al-Ukayḥil, lived in the Albaicín, in a house that he had received from the king because of his services as an Arabic interpreter during the rebellion. Because of the good services he and his family had rendered to the king they were also exempted from the expulsion of the Moriscos from Granada to Castile in 1571. In 1582 he was appointed *romanceador de la lengua árabe* to the king. He had a brother, García, who exercised the same profession and whose work Castillo protected.³⁴ As brothers and translators they were no exception: the office of translator was often transmitted within families and across generations. Translators were active in various positions, for example in the chapter (*cabildo*), the chancellery and the Inquisition. Castillo, and also Luna, were active as translators in the service of the Inquisition.³⁵ In his last will, which he had drawn up in 1607, Castillo appointed his grandson as his sole heir and owner of the house in the Albaicín.³⁶ This grandson still lived there in 1614,

28 ACRG, leg. 2432 14, fol. 106^a. In the said document, dated 23 June 1595, he states his age to be more or less seventy years old.

29 ASMG, Leg. 14E, testament drawn up in the presence of Juan Calvo Navarro.

30 García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la Muerte*, II, 1010.

31 Van Koningsveld, "Mon Kharuf."

32 Daniel Hershenson, "Doing Things with Arabic in the Seventeenth-Century Escorial," 162, n. 7.

33 See Gilbert, *In Good Faith*, 45.

34 See Collado Ruiz, "El médico romanceador Alonso del Castillo," 476-479.

35 Gilbert, *In Good Faith*, 46.

36 ASMG, Leg. 14E.

and he in his turn was apparently excluded from the general expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. In short, Castillo had acquired a great deal of symbolic and social capital that he was eager to protect. In his public testimonies Alonso del Castillo stated that he believed in the authenticity of the Parchment and Lead Books, as we will show below.³⁷

Even though we will deal in detail with the contents of the Parchment below and in our critical edition, a brief explanation must be given here, restricting our discussion to the way in which the early interpreters, primarily Luna and Castillo, constructed their interpretations, based upon their own study of the sources. In very broad lines, and focusing on the commonalities between their interpretations, the picture which arises from their work is that of a Granadan bishop who transmitted a prophecy by John about the end of time. Allegedly written originally in Hebrew, it was then translated into Greek and also, for later generations, into Spanish, together with a commentary in Arabic; that commentary paraphrased the prophecy and added that its esoteric, hidden meaning would be explained by a servant of God at the end of time, when a city of the sea would possess that of the East. The said documents were to be hidden from the infidels, that is, the Moors (*mauri*)!

The first lines, written in Arabic, were interpreted as follows. Cecilio, bishop of Granada, writes in Arabic about his discovery of a prophecy, whose Hebrew original had been translated into Greek and encrypted by Dionysius the Areopagite.³⁸ Dionysius the Areopagite had added a commentary to the encrypted prophecy, which, if interpreted in the correct way, would explain the hidden/esoteric meaning of the prophecy. Caecilio had translated the prophecy into Spanish, and the commentary into Arabic, for use of the Spanish Arabic-speaking Christians.

The text of the Spanish Prophecy can be summarized as follows: The author of the fourth Gospel announces the imminent End of the World. When six centuries will have passed, the text says, because of grave sins that will be committed in the world, dark shadows will arise in the Eastern parts and will be spread to the Western parts of the world by furious ministers, by which the light of the sun will be eclipsed and the temple of his master and his faith will suffer heavy persecution.³⁹ When fifteen centuries will have passed a second set

37 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, "Five Documents," 217–218; ASMG C 49, fols. 431–439 (about the ancient, Christian nature of the Parchment, on 20 September 1595).

38 The author stipulates that the prophecy had originally been written in another language, and from that language translated into Greek.

39 Perhaps the perils of the temple and the maestro are references to al-Mansur's campaign against Santiago de Compostela (= the temple of the master). In the poem *In Sancti Jacobi*

of shadows will appear in the lands of "Aquilon," and out of them will emerge a dragon whose mouth will spew forth seed that, once planted, will divide the faith into sects; and once joined with each other they will conquer the world together. From Western lands will come forth the "three enemies"⁴⁰ increasing their malice, and through their master they will bring sensuality, and a plague theretofore unseen will infect the world. In a tiny corner of the world the light will retreat to where it will be sheltered by the column of its stone with these miraculous signs and another that the veil will reveal; humankind and particularly the priesthood will be threatened and the Antichrist will announce his imminent coming, with which the prophecy will be fulfilled and the Last Judgment will approach when the complete truth will be announced to the world; and from the South will come forth the judge of the truth. We will return to this part of the text below, and deal in greater detail with the textual problems not addressed by either Luna or any of the other contemporary translators.⁴¹

Then follows a commentary—which basically follows the text of the prophecy and explains it to the Arabic readership—and some closing words. Then follow verses 1–14 of the Gospel of John in Arabic. In the subscript in Latin, Patricio tells us that Cecilio (*sic*), bishop of Granada, had, when his end was near, asked him to hide his treasure of relics from the Moors in a sacred place: those relics being the prophecy of John the evangelist about the end of the world, the bone (*os*) of Saint Stephen protomartyr, and the veil of Saint Mary (Latin subscription: *pannus*). There God would make them manifest. According to the Latin text, the cloth had been used by Mary to wipe her tears during the passion of her son. These words refer back to the text at the top of the Parchment.⁴²

In order to understand the impact which the discovery made on the population, we have to turn to the traditions which circulated in Granada about its early Christian history. Caecilius was well known in Granada before 1588 as one the seven apostolic men (*los siete varones apostólicos*) who had allegedly come to Granada to spread the faith. A Caecilius cult had been instituted in Granada around 1501, the same year in which one of the parishes in the city was dedi-

James is referred to as "Clari magistri lateri" (line 6), see Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago*, 420–421.

40 Here we make use of and follow to a great extent the wordings of the translation by Consuelo López-Morillas in: García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 17–18.

41 We dealt with these problems in Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "The Parchment," *passim*.

42 The subscript by "Patricius" does not say anything about the image of the Virgin Mary, which according to Estepa had been found in the lead box as well (see above).

cated to him.⁴³ In 1584 Canon Pedro Guerra de Lorca of the Granadan Cathedral wrote his *La historia de la vida y martirio de San Çecilio y sus seis compañeros llamados los apóstoles de Nuestra Hespaña* (History of the life and martyrdom of St. Caecilius and his six companions called the Apostles of our Spain).⁴⁴ The protomartyr Stephen, a very important saint, was the object of veneration in the cathedral as well.⁴⁵ The Parchment presented itself as a historical source for the early history of Christianity in Spain and aimed to authenticate the discourse that circulated in Granada. In sections 6, 7 and 8 we will discuss in more detail the form and nature of the original text and its relationship to the Lead Book texts.

For the early interpreters of the Parchment, then, the Parchment, the relics and the ashes seemed to situate themselves firmly within the local and universal history of the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁶ The prophetic text was seen by the chronicler Juan Mármol y Carvajal (1524–1600) as referring to the prophet Muhammad and the Christian heretics in his day, and to Luther and other heretics in his day, and in this respect this interpretation would fit into a sixteenth-century discursive tradition which stipulated a dangerous alliance between Muslims and Reformers.⁴⁷ However, as would become clear much later, there were references to a built-in code in the square in Arabic. This magic square (*çifra*) resisted interpretation and raised many doubts. More-

43 Martínez Medina, *La Abadía*, 267.

44 On Lorca: García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, “Luna,” 100; Barrios Aguilera, *Fraude*, 225; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Orient in Spain*, 16. Manuscript BNE MS 1499, a treatise by Lorca on Granada’s ecclesiastical history, is also to be found in ASMG MS C 48 (see Alonso, *Los apócrifos del Sacromonte*, 54 n. 42). Martínez Medina, *Cristianos y Musulmanes*, publishes excerpts from his work (apéndice I, 467–470).

45 It is interesting to note the existence of a connection between Arabic and Stephen before the sixteenth century. The medieval Iberian iconography of Saint Stephen depicts him in relation to Hebrew and Arabic, as can be seen from Jaume Serra’s Retablo of St. Stephen (ca. 1385, Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya), which depicts him buried in a tomb with a pseudo-Arabic inscription on it, but also shows him in a debate with Jews holding pseudo-Hebrew books in their hands and with Muslims, who hold pseudo-Arabic books. See Glazer-Eytan, “*The Spirit of The Letters*. The Hebrew Inscription in Bermejo’s Pietat Revisited.”

46 ADCF, R7C parte 1, fol. 278^a ff. discusses the entire process of evaluation through the eyes of the Sacromonte authorities.

47 On Mármol’s identification: see Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada y el Maghreb*, 511; Tinsley, *History and Polemics in the French Reformation*; Geddes, *Miscellaneous tracts*, vol. 1, London, 1730, 345–383, esp. 352, explains that the “‘three enemies in the West’ in the Prophecy are Dr Egidio, Dr. Constantino, Dr. Cazala, all burnt in Spain for being Protestants, in the beginning of Philip II.” Indeed, these three prominent figures were burnt at the stake in 1559/1560 in Spain for being heretics.

over, according to the critics, the conceptual framework of the commentary in Arabic betrayed Islamic notions which seemed to indicate that the document could not be ancient nor Christian. It speaks about the esteemed Gospel (Arabic: *al-injil al-'azīz*), an expression strongly reminiscent of the Quranic term *al-qur'ān al-'azīz*. Another interesting element is the use of the name 'Īsā b. Maryam, the Quranic name of Jesus, while the common name of Jesus among Arabic-speaking Christians was Yasū'. If we assume that the anonymous author wished to convince his readers that Cecilio was a Catholic Christian, he had made a few mistakes and had to do some explaining. Two other important elements which drew attention were, as we will see, the use of Spanish and Arabic, in addition to Latin, which resulted in severe criticism from many scholars, since neither Spanish nor Arabic was known to have existed in the first century CE.

As we have seen above, we are not certain whether the earliest independent translation attributed to Alonso del Castillo was really done by him, but fortunately we possess a transcription by Castillo which is dated only slightly later, i.e., 22 June 1588, a few weeks after the unexpected death of the archbishop of Granada, Juan Méndez de Salvatierra, on 24 May 1588. We are dealing in fact with a faithful copy of the Turpiana Parchment, which was sent to Philip II and is still preserved in the library of El Escorial today. The Escorial version of the parchment is one of at least two faithful copies of the Parchment which were apparently drawn up for such official use.⁴⁸ In our edition of the Escorial manuscript (P2), we have inserted in the footnotes references to Luna's version of March 1588 (P1).⁴⁹

After the death of Méndez de Salvatierra in 1588 the process of evaluation came to a halt and was resumed only when the new archbishop of Granada took up his duties on 6 May 1590.⁵⁰ The name of the new archbishop, who would play a crucial role in the defense of the Parchment, the Lead Books, and the relics as authentic Christian lore, was Pedro de Castro Vaca y Quiñones (1543–1623). Pedro de Castro was president of the Real Chancillería de Valladolid at the time of his appointment, but before that had served in various functions in Granada. In 1562 Castro had been appointed custodian of the Royal Chapel and the chapel of the Holy Martyrs.⁵¹ He was well known, therefore, among the Granadan population and he knew the city well.

48 The other is kept in the ARCG, Caja 2432 pieza 4. The parchment is heavily damaged and lacunar.

49 See also Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "The Parchment of the 'Torre Turpiana.'"

50 Alonso, *Los apócrifos del Sacromonte*, 43.

51 Visitador de la Capilla Real, con la de los Santos Mártires.



FIGURE 5
Portrait of Archbishop Pedro de Castro Vaca y Quiñones, one of the lead tablets in his hands. Oil painting in the Sacromonte Abbey
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

Between 1588 and 1595 the work on the Parchment and the relics continued at a slow pace. In agreement with the rules established at the Council of Trent, the authentication of relics was a matter for local churches, whereas documents had to be submitted to Rome for evaluation. One of the signs that the work continued is a study by Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna preserved in MS B 2 of the Archive of the Sacromonte de Granada, a detailed study which included the commentary in Arabic of the Parchment and which is dated 5 April 1592 (see P3).

In 1595 the scenery changed completely when another series of discoveries, this time not in the center of the city but on a hill at the outskirts, began to occur. On 21 February 1595 a treasure hunter, Sebastián López, a native of Jaén, discovered a lead plaque in Latin in one of the caves of Mount Valparaíso. According to some sources, Sebastián López had hoped to find a lost treasure of the Visigothic King Roderic, hidden before the invasion of the Arabs in 711. He had allegedly learned about this lost treasure through a Morisco book writ-

ten in Arabic that had come into his possession after the death of an infantry captain from Seville, who had acquired it when he had served in Granada as a soldier during the revolt of the Alpujarras.⁵² The lead plaque he discovered (our document L1) appeared to commemorate the martyr's death of Saint Mesiton, one of the apostolic men.

On 21 March 1595 a lead plaque commemorating the death of another apostolic man, Hiscius, i.e. Hesychnius, was found (L2). In it the said Hiscius was described as a disciple (*discipulus*) of Saint James, who had suffered martyrdom in the second year of the reign of Nero together with a number of his disciples. On Monday 10 April 1595 the *Lamina of Saint Thesiphon* (L3) was found, again made of lead, and dedicated to another Apostolic man, who in the inscription is described as a disciple of Saint James who, before his conversion, had been called Abenathar, referring to his Arab name in the Lead Books, Tis'un ibn 'Atṭār.⁵³

Then two Lead Books were discovered. On 22 April 1595 a book with a title in Latin and Arabic, *Liber Fundamenti Ecclesie* (The Book of the Fundament of the Church)/ *Kitāb Qawā'id al-Dīn* (The Book of the Fundamentals of Religion), was found (LP1).⁵⁴ It was allegedly written by the aforesaid Tis'un ibn 'Atṭār, the disciple of James, whose death had been mentioned in L3. James had ordered him to write down (fol. 5^a) this treatise about God, the creation of Angels, and of Adam and Eve. The text refers to a "promised one" (Ar. *al-man'ūm*) without making the identity of this promised messianic figure clear. The treatise discusses sin, then Jesus and then Mary, who is described as a mirror.⁵⁵ Mary, the treatise explains, is untouched by sin. It furthermore discusses how Jesus went into Limbo and then rose again and is now seated on the right hand of the father in Heaven. He is to judge mankind on the Day of Resurrection. The treatise discusses Heaven and Hell as well. Sin, we are told, is atoned for in the mass. Jesus is said to have fulfilled the grace of God prefigured by the Law. Jesus's main maxim, with which the treatise ends, is: Love God and your brother, wishing for him what you wish for yourself.⁵⁶

52 See for treasure hunting, Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 29, 190, and the sources referred to by him. We will see below that the Morisco Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī tells a similar story. See on the hunting of treasures also Richardson, *Roma in the Medieval Islamic World*, 159–161.

53 "[...] dictus priusquam converteretur Abenathar."

54 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 62. Estepa, *Información*, fol. 30^b: "debaxo de una piedra un plomo doblado, y plegado [...] y estaban dentro cinco laminas, o hojas de plomo redondas."

55 Affifi, *Mystical Philosophy*, 16, on mirrors in the works of Ibn al-'Arabī.

56 Tradition from the Prophet Muhammad, see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, quoted in Neuser and Chilton (eds.), *Golden Rule*, 103, see Mark 12:30.



FIGURE 6 The discovery of the relics on the Valparaíso Hilllock. Engraving by Francisco Heylan

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

On 25 April 1595, three days later, a book entitled *Liber de Essentia Dei* (The Book of the Essence of God), and (in Arabic) *Kitāb li-Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Atṭār fī al-Dhāt al-Karīma* (The Book of Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Atṭār on the Venerable Essence), was found (LP2). This was, again, a lead book with both a Latin and an Arabic title. The Latin title is found on the cover plate; the book was found *doblado en forma triangular* (folded into a triangular shape). Also written by Tis‘ūn, disciple of James, it deals with God’s essence (*dhāt*) in Unity (without any deficiency), or, at the end, Trinity in Unity. At the very end the creed “M is the R of God” is found (not yet the standard creed of the Lead Books, see the note at our translation).

On 30 April, a plaque dedicated to the martyrdom of Saint Caecilius (L4) was found.⁵⁷ It commemorates the martyrdom of Caecilius, who is described as a disciple (*discipulus*) of Saint James, and two of his disciples, Setentrius and Patricius, who had been martyred together with him. The inscription on L4 also mentions that Caecilius was the author of a commentary on the prophecy of John that “is put with other relics in the highest part of the uninhabited “Tur-

57 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 63.

ris Turpiane,” connecting the Parchment and the relics that accompanied it to these new discoveries.

In May, 1595, near to the plaque earthly remains of the martyr Caecilius, i.e., ashes and bones were found.⁵⁸ These discoveries were the cause of enormous joy in the city: the earthly remains of its most important apostolic man and first bishop of the city had been found, and the story about his mission and that of James to Iberia confirmed. While here Caecilius is mentioned in Latin, the author of the Parchment, as we have seen, spelled his name as Cecilio. In the Lead Books he appears first as Ibn al-Riḏā (in LP7) and in LP8 as “Says al-Aya,” a pseudo-Arabic form for Cecilio rather than Caecilius. We will therefore henceforward refer to him as Cecilio.

On 20 September 1595 another Lead Book was found, entitled *Du‘ā’ wa-ḥirz li-Ya‘qūb ibn Shamīkh al-Zabadī al-Ḥawārī* (Prayer and amulet against all evils by James, the son of Shamīkh al-Zabadī, the Apostle, LP3).⁵⁹ Recorded, again, by Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār, on the authority of James, on the authority of Jesus, this amulet tells about Jesus’s words on the cross, his descent into Limbo and his ascent into Heaven where he is now seated at the right hand of God. The resurrection is discussed together with the expectation that justice will be done. At the end we find a discussion of the seal between the shoulders of Jesus, reading: “No God but God, Jesus spirit of God, manifest truth and sincere trustworthiness.”

On 1 October 1595 *Kitāb šifat al-qurbān* (The Book of the Form of the Mass, LP4) was found.⁶⁰ This is a treatise about the “best work,” i.e., the mass, written by James and recorded by Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār. It describes and prescribes the ritual of the mass and discusses the places where it may and may not be celebrated (for example, not in the “Land of Fear”). The priest prepares bread and water, mixed with wine. The text discusses the words spoken at the consecration of both and the transubstantiation. The believers eat the bread, but do not drink the water (mixed with wine).

Kitāb qawā'id al-nadhra li al-Ḥawāriyūn (“The Book of the fundamentals of the admonition to the Apostles,” in contemporary Spanish *El Libro del Catecismo mayor*, LP5) was found on 16 October 1595.⁶¹ This admonition by James

58 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 64.

59 This book has not been preserved among the originals of the Vatican and, as we will see below, we had to reconstruct the text based on, among others, the documents included in the Vatican process. Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 106, who says that it was found “en una cajita oval,” calls this discovery the first of a second series of discoveries of Lead Books. According to him, Castro first asked Luna and Castillo to translate this book.

60 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 106.

61 The title is found on fol. o^b.



FIGURE 7 The martyrdom of Cecilio and his disciples Patricio and Septentrion at the Sacromonte. Engraving by Francisco Heylan
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

to the Apostles in the land of Spain is recorded by order of his disciple Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār. It discusses the "three most important matters": faith, baptism and good deeds. In it we find a baptismal formula by "our brother John the Apostle" (a reference to the brother of James) and the Vicar Peter (fol. 7^b). The last lines of LP5 discuss martyrdom, which is "the best addition to pious works." Martyrs are in Paradise. This passage is lacking in LP 9. The book ends with the creed: M R Allāh (as LP2 does).

The next book, *Bukā Bidruh al-Ḥawārī al-Khalifa* (The Weeping of Peter the Apostle, the Vicar, LP6) was found together with LP5.⁶² No mention is made of an author, but the work was completed at the hands of the "Arab" Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār. The short text discusses the weeping of Peter, the Vicar, because of his denial of Jesus at the time of the crucifixion. The book extols martyrdom. The earliest interpreters saw LP6 as the final part of LP5, and hence LP5 as one lead book consisting of 12 folios. However, the foliation numbering and the Seal of Solomon heading LP6 strongly suggest that it is a separate booklet.

On 23 November 1595, LP7, *Kitāb Maḥāsīn Sayyidinā Yaṣū' wa-Ma'ājizihī wa-Ummihī Maryam al-Ṣāliḥa al-'Adhra* (The Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus⁶³ and of His Mother the Holy Virgin Mary) was found. It deals with the lives, qualities and miracles of Jesus and Mary. Written by Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār, the narrative introduces his Arab father Ṣāliḥ, and his own brothers, among whom was also (Cecilio) Ibn al-Riḍā, and his sisters. It is a book of central significance in the Lead Book corpus, as it offers an Islamic representation of a gospel text, meant to serve as an Islamic alternative to the canonical gospels. It is said to have been written with the assistance of Cecilio, perhaps also serving to enhance its authority and authenticity as an eyewitness report about the lives of Jesus and Mary. We have discussed its contents elsewhere extensively.⁶⁴

62 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 109, following Estepa, *Información*, fol. 38^a, does not consider this a separate lead book, as Godoy did. Godoy, however, followed the Vatican order of the books.

63 Always written in the original Arabic as *Yaṣū'*, with emphatic ṣ, in contradistinction to *Yasū'* (with *sūn*), as usually found in Christian Arabic sources, also from al-Andalus. Only in the Parchment is Jesus indicated by his Quranic name, 'Īsā. To disguise his all-too-obvious Islamic intentions, the author decided to change his strategy concerning this name in the Lead Books, adopting its Christian Arabic form, but with a pseudo-archaic spelling added to suggest that his name was more ancient and more original than the one found in more recent Christian Arabic sources. Dobelio, *Nuevo Descubrimiento*, fol. 6^a ff., comments that "our lord Jesus" is not a Christian way to designate Jesus Christ. He adds, fol. 10^b, that in the *Vita* there is no reference to Jesus as the Son of God, while in the *Fundamentum Ecclesie* and the *De Essentia Dei* this doctrine is referred to only between parentheses.

64 Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "Marcos Dobelio's Polemics."

On 2 January 1596 was found LP8, *Kitāb Muntahā ālāt al-Qudra wa-al-Ḥilm wa-al-Sharī'a fī al-Khalīqa*, the first part of “The Book of the Ultimate Instruments of Power, Clemency and Justice in Creation” by Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā.⁶⁵ It starts with God, repeating passages from LP1 and 2. Then the text turns to questions asked by James to Jesus on the “Mountain of Figs” about the “most excellent creature in grace.” Then there follows the creation story based on Genesis (i.e., on the *Tawrāt*, also mentioned in the “second part of the book,” i.e., LP10), continuing with Adam and Adam’s sin (referring, without mentioning it explicitly, to LP16 and explaining that sin occurred not out of necessity, but because of God’s will and justice), turning to Adam and Eve’s offspring, and the announcement of the coming of the Blessed One, calling Jesus the best of creation and his religion victorious over the old one. Then finally it turns to Mary, who is described as being untouched by the “first sin.” The book announces that the obligations of following the guidance and the evangelical faith will be described in part two (i.e., LP10).

On 24 April 1596 LP9 was found. It is entitled *Kitāb Nadhrat al-Ḥawāriyyīn* (The Book of the Admonition of the Apostles), called at the time “El Libro del Cathecismo menor” while it presented with some variant readings the same text as LP5 but lacks some parts, as we have seen above.⁶⁶ After the discovery of this book, almost exactly one year after the discovery of the first one, it would take until September 1597 for a new Lead Book to be found. Nine Lead Books had appeared and were submitted to an interpretation process in Granada.

2 Criticism, Public Discussion and Attempts at Translation

In this period a number of critical and highly polemical works about the Lead Books (continuing the earlier criticism about the Parchment) saw the light. We will not discuss these here in detail, because none of the authors of these works on the Lead Books studied the original Parchment or the Lead Books themselves. Let us briefly mention them. The first of these was the licenciado Gonzalo de Valcárcel, who on 18 May 1595 presented his critical *Discurso sobre las reliquias* to the Council of Castile.⁶⁷ He based his attack on the authenticity of

65 The second part of the book is included in LP10. We see here a shift in the Lead Book to a larger focus on the role of Cecilio.

66 According to Estepa, this is a copy of the same text as LP5, lacking the weeping of Pedro passage (LP6) and “something the other texts has on the first leave, while the number of folios is less” (nine instead of twelve), Estepa, *Información*, fol. 39^b.

67 Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, “El Discurso del licenciado Gonzalo de Valcárcel”, 178. This article includes an edition of the *Discurso*.

the Parchment and the relics mainly on the contradictory evidence presented by the Latin plaques (our L1–4), and apparently also had some secondary information about the interpretation of some of the Arabic passages in the Parchment (for example the passage about the Mozarabs) to which he refers in a critical way.⁶⁸ The *Discurso* was also the first critical writing that raised another public reply, by Gregorio López Madera, who defended the authenticity of the Parchment, including the first-century dating of the Spanish language, and the Lead Books in his own *Discourse on the plates, relics and books in this year of 1595, and the relics and prophecy which had been found in the year 1588*.⁶⁹ Other critical works were written by, among others, Juan Bautista Pérez, bishop of Segorbe, and Canon Francisco Aguilar Terrones del Caño.⁷⁰ From these early criticisms we can see that it was primarily the information provided by the Latin texts that triggered the critical responses.

In 1595 and 1596 a number of Spanish (and, on that basis, Latin) translations were made at the order of Archbishop Pedro de Castro. We find such official translations with learned notes of LP1⁷¹ and LP2 done by Miguel de Luna, dated 8 July 1595,⁷² LP1⁷³ and LP2⁷⁴ by Alonso del Castillo, dated May–June 1595, LP4 by Miguel de Luna, dated February 1596,⁷⁵ and by Castillo,⁷⁶ LP5 by Miguel de Luna, dated 8–18 February 1596,⁷⁷ LP7 by Miguel de Luna, dated 11 March 1596,⁷⁸ and LP8 by Alonso del Castillo, dated 12 March 1596.⁷⁹ LP6 (The Weeping of

68 See Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, “El discurso,” esp. 189.

69 *Discurso sobre las láminas, reliquias y libros que se han descubierto en la ciudad de Granada este año de 1595. Y las reliquias y profecía que avian hallado el ano pasado de 1588*.

70 On Juan Bautista Pérez see Benjamin Ehlers, “Juan Bautista Pérez y los Plomos de Granada: el humanismo español a finales del siglo XVI.” On Terrones, Heredia Barnuevo, *Místico Ramillete*, año 1597 (quoting Terrones’s *Parecer*).

71 ARCG, 2432-14, fols. 63^a–67^a (Spanish translation and notes).

72 ARCG, 2432-14, fols. 67^a–69^a (Spanish translation and notes), fols. 69^a–72^a declaration on the texts, fols. 72^b–82^a (Latin translation of the preceding Spanish translations, notes, and declaration).

73 ARCG, 2432-14, fols. 97^a–101^b (Spanish translation and notes, and declaration).

74 ARCG, 2432-14, fols. 101^b–103^a (Spanish translation, notes), fols. 103^a–106^a (declaration about the dating).

75 ARCG, 2432-14, fols. 107^a–110^b (Spanish translation and notes), fols. 111^a–111^b (declaration).

76 ARCG, 2432-14, fols. 113^a–116^b (Spanish translation and notes), fols. 113^b–117^b (declaration).

77 ARCG, 2432-14, fols. 119^a–124^a (Spanish translation, notes and declaration).

78 ARCG, 2432-14, fols. 135^a–150^b.

79 ARCG, 2432-14, fols. 125^a–133^a (Spanish translation, notes and declaration). In AHN, Universidades, L. 1179, fol. 23 ff., we also find several unidentified manuscript translations of the Lead Books. On fol. 23^a: “Libro de los fundamentos de la ley” (translation of LP1), fol. 27^a: “Essencia de Dios” (LP2), fol. 29^b: “Libro de los fundamentos,” fol. 34^a (LP1): “Libro del modo de celebrar la missa” (LP4), fol. 41^a “Providencia de Dios” (LP8), fol. 61^a: “Libro de

Peter) is seen by the Estepa as the concluding part of LP5, and not as a separate book, but it is not included by Luna in his translation of LP5. LP3, the *Prayer and Amulet against all Evils by James*, is also missing among these translations, and is missing in the Vatican collection as well. A transcript of LP3, dated 1 October 1596, is found in the Lázaro Galdiano manuscript 149, which we will discuss below. Hence we have to assume that it was still extant at that time.

How did Luna and Castillo evaluate the Lead Books in this period? Fortunately, we are well informed. After taking an official oath of secrecy and truth in the presence of the archbishop, both Luna and Castillo declared that the Lead Books were authentic early-Christian documents. Luna stated on 8 July 1595 that the texts were old, and written in Solomonic characters that were known from other writings by Solomon among the Arabs, for example those on “natural magic” such as the *Clavicula* by Solomon and the *Ars magica*, copied by a “great scribe,” “who must have lived long before the time of the Quran.”⁸⁰ The script was very ancient, they both said; no one “in the last hundred years” (*sic!*, the reference is to the fall of Granada and the end of *dār al-islām*) would be so knowledgeable in theology, philosophy, and grammar that he would be capable of even forging (*fingir*) it. Castillo says that he has never seen texts similar to these Solomonic writings. He had seen texts meant for exorcism in the Library of El Escorial and in the Inquisition (he was also active as an interpreter in the service of the Santo Oficio), but they were very different. He had felt incapable of interpreting these texts when asked to. He had known others far more learned than he, mentioning among others Nicolas Cleynaerts and Alonso el Merini. The Lead Books, Castillo claims, contain words that are not be found in modern dictionaries. No “Moor” in Granada would have been able to write such texts, he added. He estimated that the texts were written between 1000 and 2000 years ago.⁸¹

The discovery of the Lead Books was the reason that the process of the evaluation of the Parchment, which had been suspended after the death of Archbishop Méndez de Salvatierra, was started again.⁸² We have seen that L4

las sentencias en la ley” (LP14). These translations were probably made by Luna, for the said manuscript also includes several writings by Benito Arias Montano about the Lead Books.

80 Thérèse Charmasson, “Divinatory Art,” in Hanegraaff, ed., *Dictionary*, 312–319, esp. 314; Gilles Le Pape, *Cryptography*, in Hanegraaff, ed. *Dictionary*, 287–291.

81 fol. 106^a, June 1595.

82 Archivo y Biblioteca de Zabálburu, Altamira, Carpeta 161, GD 5, 110, fol. 1. This official report about the findings by Archbishop Pedro de Castro to the king, dated 14 June 1597, states, “hallado esta caxa y reliquias començaron luego á poner dificultades contra ellas. Y con la muerte del Reverendisimo Arçobispo don Juan Mendez y elección de prelado nuevo,

suggested a hitherto unknown connection between the Lead Books and the discoveries in the tower, to which L4 refers as *inhabitabilis turris turpiane*. In an address delivered on 4 August 1595 (P4) in the presence of Pedro de Castro, Miguel de Luna gave his interpretation of the contents of the Parchment and discussed its authenticity, defending its ancient Christian origins. P4 also shows that Luna, right from his involvement at the beginning of the interpretation process of the Parchment, must have been sharply aware of its orthographic, paleographic, grammatical, and lexical idiosyncrasies.⁸³ Luna was also aware of the fabricated nature of the text. That becomes clear when we see him in his lecture actually referring to his own, fabricated *Historia Verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo* as evidence for the authenticity of the Parchment as an early Christian document. But there are other indications that Luna was aware at the time that he was not dealing with an authentic ancient document. He was also the only early translator of the Parchment who seems to have known the code of the square in which the Arabic commentary on the prophecy attributed to Saint John, contained in the Parchment, was written (see P4, P5, P6 and P7).⁸⁴ We will deal with this code below. His capacity to decipher the code must have given him an advantage, and may have helped him to advance his career as an interpreter, which, according to Mármol, he was zealously striving for, perhaps to the dismay of Alonso del Castillo. It is clear that his "private," "expert" views contributed to Castro's public defense of the authenticity of the Parchment and Lead Books, which only grew stronger in his later life.

Our documents P5 and P6 suggest that a collective effort to decipher the Parchment and the nine Lead Books was also undertaken by a committee of experts that had been installed by Pedro de Castro within the framework of the Brief of Pope Clement VIII *Ex prioribus fraternitatis tuae* from 15 January 1596 (P5). In that Brief, quoted in P5, the Pope recommended the evaluation of the (material) relics, but admonished the religious authorities in Spain not to evaluate the contents of the Parchment and Lead Books themselves; and he warned

cesso y suspendio el tratar de la uerificacion dellas hasta que despues fue Dios seruido de descubrir las reliquias del monte de Valparayso."

83 Alonso del Castillo appears to have been unaware of these technical tricks and may have genuinely believed in the authenticity of the Parchment (as well as the Lead Books) as texts dating back to ancient Christianity. See especially P3 for his attempts to decipher the commentary, dated 5 April 1592.

84 Those who had no idea of this code, such as Alonso del Castillo, remained unable to understand the commentary, as appears from his interpretations from 1592 which are included in P2 and P3.

that no discussions about these books with outsiders ought to take place.⁸⁵ This message was in agreement with Tridentine rules: relics were a matter left to the local churches, while the assessment of sacred writings was to be dealt with exclusively by the Vatican. We will see that the prohibition against discussing the contents of the Lead Books publicly will remain a constant factor in the entire process of evaluation.

The committee was installed on 28 July 1596 and apparently completed its work on 1 October 1596.⁸⁶ The members mentioned in P5 are Miguel de Luna, Diego de Urrea, Lorenzo Hernández (el) Chapiz, and the licenciado (Jerónimo) Pinto. The work of this committee probably served to support a committee of theologians that was to evaluate the doctrinal side.⁸⁷ The work of that committee would serve to validate the recognition of the relics to be worthy of veneration, which would indeed follow in 1600. It is very likely that this committee made use of the translations by Luna and Castillo that we discussed above, made in 1595 and the first half of 1596. This would also explain why Castillo is also mentioned as a member of the committee in some documents.

Who were the members of the said committee, in addition to Luna? First of all, Diego de Urrea. Diego de Urrea was an intriguing figure, whose original name is unknown. He had been born in Italy in about 1559, and, taken captive by the Turks at the age of five, had been raised as a Muslim. He had learned Arabic at a madrasa in Tlemcen and became an important diplomat in the service of several North African rulers. After being captured by the Spanish, Urrea converted to Christianity again, and served as an interpreter in Spain after 1591. He was appointed to the chair of Arabic at the University of Alcalá in 1593. We know that he made at least two journeys to Granada, the first between 11 July and 2 October 1596, and the second from 5 May to 16 August 1597, to work on the Lead Books at the request of Pedro de Castro.⁸⁸ Later he seems to have become a critic of the Lead Books, but apparently never voiced his critical views in public.⁸⁹

85 P 5, fol. 142^a: “y por virtud del breue de su sanctidad de Clemente octavo.” See also Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 122 and 123.

86 The first date is found on fol. 142^b. It seems that at some stage of the process part of the archival materials extant in the Sacromonte Abbey were transferred to the Real Chancillería de Granada, thus causing that some documents were not preserved as a unity. We have reconstructed this particular document.

87 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 133.

88 See also the Diocesan Archive, Mesa arzobispal, diezmo 1597–1600, fol. 5^a, where his payment for travels from Alcalá to Granada and his stay are mentioned.

89 In his letter to Estepa, dated 15 February 1633, Luis de Tribaldos discussed Urrea's true opinions about the Lead Books, which he had kept to himself at the time he had translated

Lorenzo Hernández El Chapiz was a Morisco merchant who was originally from Baeza. His Arabic name, the equivalent of El Chapiz, was al-Jabbis/Chávez. He owned a large house in the Albaicín and was related to the rich Granadan Hermes family, which had settled in Pastrana.⁹⁰ He had a grandson, Muḥammad ibn Abī l-ʿĀṣī, who lived with him for some time.⁹¹ Both grandfather and grandson were engaged in translation activities, as we will see below. El Chapiz belonged to a network of Moriscos in Castilian cities and towns such as Granada, Pastrana, and Toledo, the members of which aimed to pursue by means of (fraudulent) litigation the status of Old Christians for the Morisco families involved.⁹²

About Jerónimo Pinto we know almost nothing. The document merely describes him as a medical doctor from Valencia. The Morisco al-Ḥajarī may refer to him when he speaks about a medical doctor from Valencia with whom he had studied Arabic, but it is also possible that he refers to Alonso del Castillo, whom he does not want to get into trouble by saying that he had been studying Arabic with him.⁹³

The work process of the committee seems to have consisted of individual contributions by two or more members on the one hand, and a collation of the individual interpretations on the other. According to Isabel Boyano, the model that the Sacromonte had in mind was the process of the work on the Septuagint.⁹⁴ In spite of the Papal Brief that we mentioned above, this commit-

them in the presence of the archbishop, in particular that he had seen many indications of “bad Muhammedan doctrine.” However, instead of speaking frankly, Urrea had “dis-simulated” (Harvey and Wieggers, “The translation from Arabic,” 65). Estepa did not agree with Tribaldos, stating that such disagreements do not appear from Urrea’s translation of the *Fundamentum Ecclesiae* (= LP1), done by him with Miguel de Luna in the presence of the archbishop. Estepa does not agree that the Lead Books contain Islamic doctrine (Harvey and Wieggers, “The translation from Arabic,” 68–69), see also Rodríguez Mediano and García-Arenal, “De Diego de Urrea a Marcos Dobelio,” and García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 233 ff., in which Urrea’s criticisms uttered in 1596 regarding the authenticity of Luna’s *Verdadera Historia* are discussed.

90 Our hypothesis that al-Jabbis should be identified as Alonso del Castillo and al-Ukayḥil as Miguel de Luna, which we proposed in our first edition of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* (1997), and also in Van Koningsveld and Wieggers, “The Parchment” and in Wieggers, “Alonso de Luna,” should be corrected on the basis of convincing arguments by García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano in *Un Oriente Español*, 109 ff., and later also in *The Orient in Spain*, 98 ff.

91 Coullaut Cordero, “Vida y obra de un médico morisco en el exilio: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-ʿĀṣī (ss. XVI–XVII).”

92 Childers, “An Extensive Network of Morisco Merchants,” 150–151.

93 *Nāṣir al-dīn* (ed. 2015), fol. 7^b.

94 Boyano, “En busca del original a través de la traducción. De nuevo sobre el pergamino,” 134.

tee issued some learned comments about the nine Lead Books that had been found. Each of the five members first made a transcript of the Arabic parts of the Parchment in solitude and independently from the others, and a translation.⁹⁵ All transcripts and translations were collated by Luna and Urrea, and the result was compared and turned into a single version with which all are said to have agreed. Then all members were asked to come up with a translation. Luna and Urrea were apparently responsible for drawing up a set of learned notes (*escolios*) which have been recorded in P7 (1 October 1596). These commentaries are found in many of the extant translations as marginal notes with philological commentaries. That it reflects the work of all interpreters can be seen from remarks such as comment 27 about the beginning of the Parchment, where it is said “one interpreter translates ‘to whom God grants His benediction.’”⁹⁶

Another product of the said committee is most probably a manuscript including transcriptions of Lead Books extant in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid, shelfmark LG 149, consisting of 110 folia, which also tells about the official authentication before notary Miguel de Muru. Most transcripts are signed by Urrea and Luna, all of them on October 1, 1596.⁹⁷ This is the same date mentioned in P5 and 6 as the date on which the proceedings were concluded and the report was completed. The manuscript indeed appears to include the Arabic transcriptions of the first nine Lead Books, without any evidence, however, that authors other than Luna and Urrea were involved. We assume, therefore, that Luna and Urrea were the authors (and perhaps even predominantly Luna), and that the other members were of secondary importance.

What is the relationship of this committee with the one we have discussed above, or are we in fact dealing with one and the same group? The last possibility seems the most likely. According to a document extant in the Archive of the Sacromonte, dated 22 November 1596, Castro had sent to Rome “[...] the slightly adapted versions of the first two books, signed by the five interpreters Urrea, Pinto, Hernández, Luna, and Castillo to Rome, with some notes [*escolios*] by each of them on the other seven, copies of all of them (probably the transcripts as included in draft in MS 149 Lázaro Galdiano), and the version by

95 P6, fol. 142^a.

96 P7, fol. 420^a.

97 According to the description quoted by Alonso (*Los apócrifos*, 129 n. 36), these transcripts are: the *Fundamentum Ecclesiae* (= LP1), *Essencia* (= LP2), *Cathecismo* (= LP5/LP9), *Vida de Christo* (LP7), *Misa* (LP4), *Oración de Santiago* (LP3) and *Libro de Providencia* (LP8). Missing from this list is the *Llanto de San Pedro* (LP6), but this due to the fact that this Lead Book was considered a part of LP5.

the same of the prose and Arabic verse of the Parchment.”⁹⁸ The document reveals the existence of Arabic transcriptions, learned notes (*escolios*: these are the discussions in the margins of the translations) about the first two books, and the other seven made in the context of a joint work, in which, it is clear Luna and Urrea played a major role. A full study of the activities of the committee remains outside the scope of the present study. Here it suffices to say that there exist a number of transcriptions that might be related to its activities and which need further study, but that the whereabouts of most of the actual notes which the committee is said to have prepared are unknown. In conclusion: we have been able to trace the activities of a committee which in the first phase of the discoveries occupied itself with the nine books discovered to that date and with the Parchment of the Turpiana Tower. The results of its activities were submitted to Castro and then, in November 1596, forwarded by him to the Vatican and to the Spanish Court. Further research should make clear whether these documents are still extant. There are a few exceptions. There is a mention of one draft “interpretation and glosses of the *Liber Fundamenti ecclesie* by Diego de Urrea, Miguel de Luna and Lorenzo Hernandez (el) Chapiz,” but the said text itself has not been preserved.⁹⁹ All transcriptions in the Lázaro Galdiano manuscript and the relevant translations by Luna and Castillo have been collated in the footnotes of our edition.

98 ASMG, leg. II, no. 313, dated 22 November 1596, published in Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, 384 (1.15, commentary to 1.14) (*ibid.*, 381, “Carta de Arias Montano al S^{or} D. Pedro de Castro, arzobispo de Granada, Campo de Flores cerca de Sevilla, 10 de noviembre de 1596”): “Esperando esta respuesta se detuvo el arzobispo sin cerrar los pliegos que tenía prevenidos para enviar al Rey, Consejo y Nuncio, y a la Corte de Roma. Viendo que no contenía cosa que embarazase su remisión, cerrólo en 24 de Nouiembre [de 1596], incluyendo en el de Roma dos libros, las versiones, algo reformadas de los dos primeros libros, firmadas por los cinco intérpretes Vrrea, Pinto, Hernández, Luna y Castillo. Con algunos escolios de cada vno sobre los otros siete, copias de todos ellos, y la versión conteste de la prosa y verso árabe del Pergamino, con Carta para su Santidad bien digna de leer y se remite al Apéndice. Y en los otros pliegos a la Corte de España, los escolios de los siete últimos libros, con la traducción concorde de los cinco intérpretes y las copias de las dos primeras Cartas, que le avía escrito el Jesuita Hierónimo Roman de la Higuera. Vna ofrezriendo hazer vna *Apología* y *Antiapología* en defensa de las reliquias. Su fecha en Toledo a 7 de diciembre de 1595; y la otra auisándole estar ya acabados los discursos ofrecidos y respondidas 55 dificultades. Su fecha de enero de 1596.” See on Jerónimo Román de la Higuera (d. 1611), García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 195–224. This Jesuit pseudo-historian and defender of the Christian character of the Parchment and the Lead Books never studied the documents himself, however, and therefore he falls outside the scope of our study.

99 ASMG, Leg. III, fols. 487^a–487^b (a list of interpreters and their work on the Lead Books).

3 Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)

In the period between 1592 and 1597 the Spanish scholar Benito Arias Montano (15 November 1527–6 July 1598) became involved in the Sacromonte Affair. As an authoritative biblical scholar with an outstanding international reputation, counselor to the Spanish king and his *sacerdos aulicus*, Benito Arias Montano was consulted about the Parchment in 1592 at the instigation of King Philip II himself, by Canon Francisco Aguilar Terrones del Caño.¹⁰⁰ At that time Montano saw a manuscript copy of the Parchment, very likely our document P2, the Escorial copy of the Parchment.¹⁰¹ It had been brought to him personally by the aforesaid Granadan canon Pedro Guerra de Lorca. Montano also received the transcriptions and translations of the Parchment by Miguel de Luna, whose work he described as careful and punctual.¹⁰² In a letter of 4 May 1593 to the deacon of the Granadan Cathedral, Juan de Fonseca, Montano mentions the fact that he had worked on the original document and some of the relics for some days. He did so with another person, perhaps his student, the humanist scholar Pedro de Valencia, to whom we will return below.¹⁰³ Montano judged the Parchment in clear words to be a fraud.¹⁰⁴ In his critical assessment, Arias Montano focuses on the historical and codicological aspects. His maxim was *no*

100 Pedro de Valencia, *Obras*, IV, 363 n. 21. On Montano see: Lazure, “Building Bridges Between Antwerp and Seville.”

101 See Cabanelas Rodríguez, *Alonso del Castillo*, 243; Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 27, quoting Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza’s *Historia eclesiástica de Granada*, fol. 260^a.

102 “y ahora viendo el mismo pergamino original, que recibí de mano del señor Lorca, y juntamente las prefaciones, copias y traducciones del licenciado Luna, *hecha con diligencia y puntualidad*” [our italics, K-W], in: Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, 363, letter dated 4 May 1593. Montano had at his disposal also a study about the Parchment made by Lorca himself.

103 Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El Morisco*, 143, supposes that Arias Montano saw the (copy of the) Parchment and gave a first impression in 1588. See Morocho Gayo, *Estudio Introductorio*, 216, who also thinks that it is most likely that Arias Montano saw the Parchment for the first time in 1592 in Carabanchel. We will return to Pedro de Valencia below. Montano’s views were discussed by the Chapter of the Granadan Cathedral from February 1593 onwards (García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 173, with references to the *Actas capitulares*). Lorca very interestingly quotes Luna’s views on the liberties Muslim rulers awarded to Christians (ibid., 73, and AHN, Universidades 1179, fol. 19^b: “A me dicho el licenciado Luna que no solo ubo yglesia parrochial en Granada del tiempo de San Cecilio, sino tambien ubo heremita dedicada al sancto Anthon.” Christians prayed to the saint during a plague epidemic and the saint cured Christians and Muslims, and thenceforth the Muslim king “dexo libremente a los christianos vivir con mas libertad y ampliar su iglesia y hermitas”).

104 Morocho Gayo, *Estudio Introductorio*, 362–367.

admitir las cosas inciertas por ciertas, that is, to be very careful with admitting as religious doctrine writings other than Holy Scripture and opinions other than the established doctrine of the Church.¹⁰⁵ The Parchment, he says, is not truly old, and seems to be processed to make an impression of antiquity.¹⁰⁶ The Latin script is modern, and written in such a way that it looks ancient, written with a quill and not with a reed (the sort of instrument one would have expected, he says).¹⁰⁷ About the signature of Cecilio in Arabic he tells us that it is true that is written with another quill, and another letter, without *xuclas* (diacritics), so that its reading remains uncertain.¹⁰⁸ Without discussing the details of the contents of the Parchment, he situates its background in the myths of fortunetellers and those who tell fantastic stories or forgeries, such as *Testament of Christ*. He rejects the idea that the writing could in any way be connected to John.¹⁰⁹ But in addition to forgeries with a more or less “public” and clear message, there are esoteric and enigmatic ones (i.e. *disimulado estilo*), which are written in a way that he refers to as *cifra*.¹¹⁰ Arias Montano discussed the

105 “Verdad es que la que pone por firma es de otra pluma, de otra letra y de otra forma de tinta, y el tercer vocablo de esta firma adrede puesto, no solo sin xuclas, sino sin notas que distingan las letras, por hacer la lectura dudosa y maravillosa,” in: Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, IV, 364.

106 “viejo, empero no antiguo; viejo digo usado y maltratado más que guardado y conservado, como suelen y saben hacer los que descubren cosas nuevas que nunca fueron antiguas.”

107 “empero no que imite a las que usaba quatrocientos años ha entre buenos y ruines escribientes, de que tenemos asaz muestras en nuestras libros escritos e instrumentos. La tinta negra y roja no es antigua, sino mala tinta y sin cuerpo para que parezca vieja. Escrito con pluma y no con caña, cosa que ha menos de quatrocientos años que se introdujo entre los latinos y griegos y aún estos no han dejado—digo los griegos—del todo; los árabes mucho menos.”

108 *Ibid.*, 364.

109 “Conforme a esto, estuvo aquí vn maestro de latín Mal Lara [Juan Mal Lara, a sixteenth-century Sevillian poet, K-W], que enloquecía los hombres hallando invenciones de enterar escritos que prometían tesoros escondidos. Y otro, pintor, que hinchó la tierra y los moldes de monstruos y apariencias y maravillas falsas, sin ningún provecho suyo, aunque lo daba a los impresores. El lenguaje o estilo, traducido, como se pretende, de hebraico en griego, de griego en arábigo y en español, con título de Profecía de san Juan apóstol, evangelista y profeta, que lo fue todo, no concierta en frases ni en las cosas ni en los vocablos de ellas con el decir de alguno de cuantos tenemos por verdaderos profetas, ni con el *Apocalipsis*, ni menos con el de las Epístolas y Evangelio de San Juan,” *ibid.*, 364–365.

110 It resembles “las recetas de los alquimistas y a [las] de algunos empíricos paracelsistas que, con poca ciencia, desatinan a los que siguen hasta entender sus misterios.” The Castilian language of the prophecy is modern (“el cual que se hable el día de hoy”), letter to Juan Fonseca, Deán de la Catedral de Granada. Full transcription in Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, IV, appendix 1.3, 365–366.

Parchment again in a letter dated 10 November 1596.¹¹¹ Because of the lack of diacritics, he tells us (basing himself on a faithful copy, probably that extant in the Escorial), the entire reading is uncertain.

With regard to Montano's involvement with the Lead Books, his first acquaintance with them was a printed report about the findings: *Relación impresa de las láminas*.¹¹² A long discussion followed in an ensuing correspondence between Montano and Castro, but nothing indicates that Montano ever set eyes on the original Lead Books.¹¹³

In a very critical and ironic letter to Castro, dated 10 November 1596, Montano argued that he was not versed enough in the Arabic language to be counted as an expert.¹¹⁴ The letter is well known and needs no extensive comment. There is, however, one element which sheds new light on the identity of one of the persons who, as we will see, studied the Lead Books themselves. Montano mentions him in a discussion about the dearth of scholarly, grammatical knowledge of Arabic in Spain, even among the Granadan Moriscos who, he says, were mostly unaware of the grammar of classical Arabic. In this respect he mentions a certain Gonçalo de Ayala, a Granadan Morisco, who had studied medicine "according to the Latin tradition," and also spoke the Andalusian language, in which he was raised (i.e. Granadan Arabic).¹¹⁵

111 "El pergamino que acá tengo sacado del que se dize hauer sido hallado en las ruinas de la Torre, si es puntualmente sacado o copiado del original, no lo leerán quatro que entiendan la lengua sin variar en muy muchos lugares de grande manera, porque no solo carece de xuclas o haracas, que son las vocales (que esto no haze mucho negocio a quién está diestro en leer) sino lo que más importa: está falta de los puntos sustanciales de las letras consonantes, y por esto juzgo yo hará adivinar a los ingenios. Y viendo yo quatro interpretes, cada lo qual diría lo que le ocurría," Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, IV, 381–384 (14.4).

112 Letter of 3 May 1595 to Pedro de Castro, in: Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, IV, 370–373. The said report is found in BNE MSS 6437.

113 The cedula is published in Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, IV, 380–381. In a letter to Castro dated 5 March 1596 Montano relates that he had received a case in which "venía impromptada la lamina de figura oval, por ambas fazes." A letter by the Sacromonte canon Medina Conde, which speaks about an "Oración de Santiago." This suggests that we are dealing with the first folio of LP3, see Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, IV, 379, note 97.

114 Published in Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, IV, 381–384. He speaks about "tan qualificados qualificadores, quantos en esta corte se nombran, los quales refiere vs auer dado todos conformes a su Parecer o censura; diziendo parecerles dotrina reuelada y dittada por el Espíritu Santo, y que sería muy vtil a la Iglesia que su Santidad mandasse escribirla, y que estirpa todas las heregías de nuestros tiempos, y que otras cosas de mucha importancia," while in other letters he stated his conviction that the Lead Books were fabrications.

115 "Es verdad que yo tengo conocimiento con Gonçalo de Ayala, médico natural de ese reyno, que por via de comunicacion en la lengua con vn mi sobrino, accudió a mi casa algunas vezes. Y assi mesmo, Gerónimo d'Alaua, que tambien cura, según me dizen. Y el Geronymo

4 Gonçalo de Ayala (?–?)

Gonçalo de Ayala was a Granadan Morisco physician who is the author of a number of draft translations of Lead Books texts and of Arabic texts of the Parchment found among the many draft translations in the Archive of the Sacromonte.¹¹⁶ Ayala signs many of them as “el licenciado Gonçalo de Ayala de Sevilla.” His draft transcriptions of LP22 (*Kitāb al-asrār al-‘aẓīma*) and of the Parchment cover some one hundred folios. Since this Lead Book came to light only in 1606, his involvement is spread over a number of years. Castro notes at the beginning of some of these drafts in his own handwriting: “nonsensical notes, I do not understand them” (*disparates, no lo entiendo*), but it is far more likely that Ayala was a critic of the Lead Books, and that Castro rejected his interpretations because he disagreed with them. The contents of the drafts confirm this assumption. Ayala saw very well, for example, that the Arabic text of LP22 mentions the names of two Meccan hills in the immediate surroundings of the Ka’ba, Ṣafā and Marwa, a reading that Castro would not have accepted.

On 9 August 1596 Philip II asked Arias Montano and Diego de Urrea to travel to Granada to prepare a full translation of the books, together with the chronicler Luis del Mármol y Carvajal (1524–1600).¹¹⁷ This was an important moment, and it tells us something about the persons in whom Philip confided most. All three men involved were highly critical of the authenticity of the Lead Books. That the king wished Mármol to take part in this mission should not surprise us. Mármol had served as a soldier in Africa, been taken captive in Morocco and served in the army that had repressed the rebellion of the Moriscos in the Alpujarras. He was the author of a number of important chronicles, among them his *General Description of Africa* and the *History of the Rebellion and Punishment of the Moriscos of the Kingdom of Granada* (*Historia de la Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada*).¹¹⁸ Mármol had been consulted about the Parchment, which he studied only on the basis of a copy. No such translation as the one sought by Philip came into being.

What can we conclude about Montano’s contribution to the interpretation of the Parchment and the Lead Books? We have seen that he gained access

d’Alaua entiende menos la lengua antigua que el Ayala, porque este se ayuda de su ingenio, y de que ha estudiado la medicina en latin y habla la lengua andaluza, en que se crió,” Pedro de Valencia, *Obras completas*, 383.

116 ASMG, Leg VII, 1a, dated 21 April 1608.

117 The letter was published in Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, IV, 380–381 (based on the original document in the ASMG, Leg. IV, parte 1, fol. 697^{a-b}).

118 See on him García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, esp. 358ff.

to the original Parchment in 1593. He also knew and made use of Luna's transcription of the Arabic parts of the Parchment, dated 31 March 1588 (P₁ of our edition). With regard to the Lead Books, his knowledge was far more limited. In fact, in 1597 he wrote that he had not seen them himself.¹¹⁹ On the basis of the evidence available to him, Montano reached the conclusion that their contents had an Islamic ring, referring for example to such expressions as Jesus as Rūḥ Allāh, one of the central dogmatic tenets of the Lead Books, as we will see below.

To what extent these insights were the result of his conversations with the Morisco Gonçalo de Ayala cannot be ascertained, but it seems likely to us that Ayala influenced him. It is furthermore interesting to observe that Montano judged Luna's work as precise and considered Castillo a reliable person.¹²⁰ Castillo himself apparently did not consider Luna to be reliable, either professionally or personally.¹²¹ Did Montano know that Luna was mentioned in the Inquisition records as a crypto-Muslim, and that he had boasted to fellow Moriscos about his intimate knowledge of the Islamic contents of the Lead Books? It is possible, for, after all, Montano had been involved in activities of the Inquisition of Llerena and may well have had inside information. Comparing the letters, we think it is highly likely that he indeed realized that Luna not only managed to produce a coherent reading of a virtually indecipherable document, but also declared that the document was very old. This is also what Arias Montano suggests in his letter of 3 December 1597: "I assume that the person who was able to read it and deduce clear and meaningful equivalent words in translation must have been an able diviner."¹²²

Be this as it may, Montano's own experience with the original sources remained limited to the Parchment. But his judgement about the Lead Books was the same as about the Parchment: he rejected them as authentic Christian documents. This must have been a tremendous blow to the defenders, most of all

119 Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, iv, 385.

120 In the context of his discussions on matters of Arabic grammar, Montano speaks in the following way about Alonso del Castillo: "Vna sola vez hable en corte al Licenciado Castillo, aunque brevemente, entendí que tenia noticia de la grammática. No sondè [*sic*] hasta dónde llegasse, más que en un verbo que acá en nuestras lenguas no admite pasiva voz, viniendo a propósito, dixo que en arábico la tenia, y lo prouó. *Y siempre he tenido al Castillo por hombre senzillo, y de buena voluntad, y no iattador de su habilidad*" (letter dated 10 November 1596, in Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, iv, 383 [emphasis ours]).

121 García-Arenal, "Miguel de Luna y los Moriscos de Toledo: 'No ay mejor moro.'"

122 "Y entiendo que quien las leyó y sacó de ellas equivalencia de vocablos bien scritos fue buen adiuino," in: Pedro de Valencia, *Obras Completas*, iv, 388–389, letter dated 3 December 1597.

to Pedro de Castro. Montano's views would prove to be of great weight in the struggle about the Lead Books, which continued up to their condemnation by the Vatican in 1682.

In June 1597 Archbishop Pedro de Castro drew up an official report about the evaluation process up to that date, and sent it to the king.¹²³ In it he described the relics and texts as authentic early Christian lore, and reports about the four *láminas*, the seven books known to him at that moment (the document mentions eight books, but as we have seen LP 5 and 6 were counted as one book) and, in addition, mentioned four other leaves (*láminas*). The first is described as made of bronze. It had been in the possession of Matheo López, a citizen of Granada, and of his father for the previous forty years (!). The other three were made of lead and, as a result of wear and tear, allegedly very difficult to read. All of them were written in Arabic in Solomonian script. The second leaf had belonged to a silversmith of Granada, Luys de Veas, who had received it from a youth who had found it in the river Darro, when during heavy rains floods had poured into the river from Mount Valparaíso in 1596. The third had been found in Cazorla (Jaén) "in a hoard with ancient coins" (*en una heredad con monedas antiguas*). The last one allegedly was from the Sierra of Elvira, where the city of "Illiberis" or "Eliueria" had been built. The last remark increases our suspicion that the report served to demonstrate that lead books had circulated more widely and much earlier outside Mount Valparaíso. The document, which we reproduce in an appendix, includes only the very brief Spanish translations done by Miguel de Luna, Alonso del Castillo, and Diego de Urrea, and while the alleged contents are similar to the known texts, not much can be said about them with any certainty.

123 See the edition in the Appendix.

The ‘Discovery’ of Lead Books 10–19 (1597–1599)

1 The ‘Discoveries’

On 27 August 1597 another stone casket was found in the caves of Mount Valparaíso. It appeared to contain four Lead Books.

The first, LP10, appeared to be the second part (the first being LP8) of *Kitāb Muntahā ālāt al-qudra* (The book of the Ultimate Instruments of Power, Clemency and Justice in Creation) by Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā, disciple of James, as an expression, not of his own view, but of that of the Spirit of God and all twelve apostles (fol. 8^a). Writing in the first person, the author—very likely Cecilio—says that a word from God came over him (fol. 1^b). Whereas the first part of this book had focused on the “Tawrat,” in this second part the doctrinal interest shifts to the teachings of Jesus, who is called the “best of God’s creation” (fol. 3^a); but it then continues with a narrative beyond Jesus to a future “seal of the faith and of the envoys” (a clear reference to Muḥammad, see also below). The book offers a discussion about Jesus and Mary as protected from sin, unlike earlier Prophets, and mentions Abraham, Hosea (?), Moses, Solomon, and Peter [*sic*] here. There is a special discussion of Jesus (against the “nation of unbelief,” fol. 2^b), and of Mary. Mary is called the “seal” (fol. 3^a) and Jesus has one nature, not two, Cecilio tells us, clearly denying the doctrine of one nature in Christ. God, so the text tells us, is all-powerful and no star can counteract Him, which seems to be an argument by the author against astrology. The text again mentions the three most important matters (see LP5/9)—faith, baptism and good deeds—, and includes a discussion of the importance of the Mass. We are told that God looks after all believers in all corners of the world, even those who are in “rejection” (fol. 5^a). Martyrdom is meritorious, and heretics (*khawārij*, i.e., the Islamic term for the Kharijites) will be severely punished.

LP11 is *Kitāb Tawrikh Khātām Sulaymān* (The Book of the History of the Seal of Solomon), written by Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā. It describes how Solomon received the sign from God on his ring, empowering him to rule over demons and spirits. Seduced by the Devil in the form of a woman of outstanding beauty, he loses the ring, but in the end can retrieve it and restore order in his realm.

LP12 is *Kitāb Waṣf Munān Dār al-Salām wa-‘Adhāb Dār al-Intiqām* (The Book of the Blessings of the Abode of Peace and the Punishments of the Abode of Revenge (i.e., heaven and hell)), by Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā. It is a reflection on eter-

nal bliss in Paradise, and the relation between knowledge and the vision of God in it, and the punishment of Hell. It makes clear that the author subscribes to the resurrection of the body.

LP13 is *Kitāb fī Ṭabīʿat al-Malak wa-Qudratihi* (The Book on the Nature and Power of the Angel). Written by Cecilio, this is a theological treatise which starts with God, then discusses the creation of Adam in the heavenly Paradise and his fall and his relationship with the Angels, both the obedient ones (“holy,” fol. 3^b) and the disobedient, evil ones. The evil ones consist of two tribes, we read, Abū Murra and Ibn Ḥārith. The author explains that he is not an expert in the field, being knowledgeable in religious sciences (*fiqh wa-dīyāna*), but he refers for this to “The Book of Unbinding and Enchanting of the Disasters of the Jinn” by King Solomon and “The Book of the Manners of the Jinn” by Ezra. He also refers to a (lead) book by his Master James, the Book of Wisdoms (LP14), and to Holy Mary’s Book of her Intimate Conversations (LP16). In that book it is related that Gabriel speaks to Mary about very powerful angels, about whom she had never heard before, while he (Gabriel) has the most intimate knowledge of all these things. Gabriel is probably the angel referred to in the title of this book.

On 4 September 1597 was found the *Kitāb al-Ḥikām fī al-Dīn* (The Book of Wisdoms and Sayings [*Hadith*] for the End of Times), LP14.¹ It is worth mentioning here that this Lead Book was, according to the reports, discovered by Juan Calvo Navarro, who was “escrivano de su Magestad,” i.e., secretary to His Majesty the King. We will come back to him below. The book is written as an eyewitness report in the first person by James. It is Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā who, in Mary’s house in Jerusalem, witnesses a meeting between Mary and James and then receives from James a “list of parchment” in Hebrew, which he, on James’s order, translates into Arabic and inscribes on lead: the present Lead Book. Therefore James is the author, which is confirmed by a remark in LP13, fol. 4^b, where reference is made to this book. The book mentions 101 maxims, referring to three marks: 1 plus 3 plus 97 (98). There are three parts. The first consists of one maxim, dealing with the fundamental significance of intention (*niyya*). The second is a doxology in three sections: One on the Oneness of God, belief in the last Day (very Islamic, and unique in the Lead Books) and the Divine precepts (*shurūt*); the next on belief in Jesus; and the last on belief in the “Mahī” and in the Paraclete. Then follow 98 maxims, on Mary’s authority, sometimes in the form of questions by James. There is a clear

1 “Libro de las Sentencias de Nuestra Señora.” Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 110; Estepa, *Información*, fol. 40^a. This is LP12 in the numbering of Estepa according to the Astarloa manuscript.

focus on ethics (*iḥsān*) and strong mystical notions; we also read about life in the desert. There is a maxim on circumcision and one on the seclusion of women.

On 31 December 1597² three more books were found: LP15, 16 and 17. They were kept in two caskets of stone, the first containing LP15 and 16, the second LP17.³ The three form a thematic unity, the *Essence of the Gospel* and its context.

LP15 is *Kitāb Tawriḫ ḥaḳīqat al-injīl*, in 11 leaves (The Book of the History of the Essence of the Gospel). Written by James, speaking in the first person on the authority of Holy Virgin Mary, and recorded by Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār, it contains her answers to questions asked her by the Vicar Peter. The questions are not numbered, but they are ten in all. All questions relate to the events concerning the *Essence of the Gospel*: from its descent from God to the Virgin Mary around the time of Pentecost, the start of the narrative, when the apostles are gathered in Jerusalem in Mary’s house, how it is revealed to Mary and disappears in the Mount of Olives. It also tells how, after the original Tablets of the *Essence* had disappeared, Mary ordered James to take the copy in lead to a remote district of the earth and preserve it there in a sacred place, where God would protect it until that promised time, how he conceals it and performs a miracle: he resurrects a man called al-Ḥaqq (the Truth) from his grave. James encourages his disciples to visit it (*ziyāra*) frequently (LP15, fol. 11^b).

The questions deal with (1) the specific qualities of the *Essence of the Gospel*, (2) more information about it, (3) the end of time, when its secrets will be made known, (4) the reason that Jerusalem is called “Ramat al-hamal,” (5) what shall be done with the *Essence of the Gospel*, (6) how God will support His religion in a corrupt time and will make his Gospel victorious, (7) who are the best of peoples who will do so, (8) who these will be (Priest, Protector, Council), (9) what the Great Council is, and (10) the venue of that Great Council. LP 15 is the first time James is connected to Iberia. Until then he had been mentioned in particular as the master of his two disciples.

The second book in this casket was *Kitāb Munājāt al-Ṣāliḫa Maryam al-Adhra*, (The Book of the Intimate Conversations of the Virgin Mary), LP16. This is a record of conversations (*munājāt*) between Mary and God, recorded by Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā on the authority of James, who tells about a meeting in the house of Mary, 52 days after Jesus’s demise, i.e., at Pentecost. On that occasion Mary tells us about her spiritual journey to the Heavens, during which she ‘sees’ Paradise and Hell. Mary is told by Gabriel, who accompanies her on her jour-

2 Estepa: “postrero de diciembre.”

3 As is shown in MS Stamp Barb v.vi 30, Biblioteca Vaticana. This illustration is also found in Alonso, *Apócrifos*, 192.



FIGURE 8 Mary with the *Essence of the Gospel* in her hands on the Mount of Olives (cf. LP15, fol. 8^b and LP20, fol. 6^b). Engraving by Francisco Heylan
 REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

ney, that she is the first woman to have been shown all these things. Mary is again called pure from sin (fol. 5^a). She sees a small lamb with a crown on its head, on which a line is written in a brilliant light. The inscription on fol. 6^a is written in the same unreadable script found in LP17 and LP18, fol. 14^b, consisting of 22 letters, which are said to have a secret value that will be manifest on a day known to God only. Mary goes to Paradise and has a discussion with Gabriel about Adam. Gabriel explains that Adam was separated from God because of his disobedience, “so that he would reach the highest level of faith,” and was put in the terrestrial paradise below the lowest heaven, the White Pearl, called the abode of perdition (fol. 9^b–10^a).⁴ The entire passage deals with Adam’s transgression, described as “intrigue.”⁵ Adam’s fall, the text tells us, implies loss of the vision of God (*ruʿya*).⁶ Those in punishment (in hell) will be withdrawn from his sight.⁷ Mary meets Adam. He tells her that their meeting had been prophesied by Jesus, her son, the Spirit of God. She is shown the light on Adam’s back, the light of the Blessed one in the *Tawrāt* (i.e., the *Nūr Muḥammadī*). Gabriel takes Mary to Paradise and Hell. Paradise has eight gates, one more than Hell, the Gate of Repentance, “because of the fact that God’s mercy has overcome his wrath.” Mary sees her son Jesus (fol. 20^a) and the (Divine) Throne of God. She asks Jesus to take her to God (fol. 20^b). He promises her that she will be a sign for mankind and a witness to the truth of the Gospel, while she will return to earth and then remain there for a while. She sees the *Essence of the Gospel* as writing on a cupola of light. She asks what it is. God explains that it is the Essence “which was brought by Jesus, the Spirit of God, to the world. It preceded in my [God’s] knowledge that I would make it descend intentionally in order to assist religion and my Holy church after the dissension of the sects concerning it” (fol. 20^b). Then God promises to bring it down upon her. Gabriel tells her to assemble all the apostles in her house on the 52nd day of Jesus’s demise and to tell them about her intimate conversations, then write them down; the meaning of allegories contained in them will become clear only at the End of Time. Thereupon Mary awakes in her house, does what Gabriel asks, and tells the Apostles about it. Cecilio records everything (i.e., the intimate conversations) on lead.

4 For this: see Coppens, *Vision*, 158; it is a mystical stage.

5 This concept is chosen in order to solve the problem of Adam’s transgression in the light of his reaching the highest, mystical stage. See also LP1, about the first sin. This is also a central issue in Sufi commentaries, see Coppens, *Vision*, 162.

6 According to the mystics seeing God on earth is possible during an ecstatic experience, but sighting God will only truly be restored after the Day of Reckoning for those in Paradise.

7 LP14, fol. 16^b.

The other casket contained *Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl* (The Essence of the Gospel). It was called at the time the dumb book (*el libro mudo*), because most of it proved impossible to decode (LP17).⁸ It contained the central message of the Lead Books, albeit for the most part in magical script. We will deal with it extensively below.

LP18 and 19 were found together on 11 May 1599.⁹ LP18, *Kitāb Mawāhib Thawāb Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl* (The Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who believe in the Essence of the Gospel)¹⁰ contains eight questions written on the authority of the Virgin Mary by James. The setting of the scene is again Mary's house, after the descent of the *Essence of the Gospel*. Mary tells those who are present about the special properties of the *Essence of the Gospel*, without revealing its mysteries, knowledge of which will be postponed until the Last Days. Thereupon, as in LP15, Peter the Vicar asks Mary eight questions about *The Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God* who believe in the Essence of the Gospel and the events at the end of time and the punishment of those who will disbelieve. These questions are followed by two further, uncounted ones. They are about (1) the *Essence* and the rewards for believers (in it) and punishment for disbelievers, (2) the role of the Arabs at the end of days, (3) the Pious priest, (4) the Protector, (5) those whose hearts will be reconciled at the Great Assembly, (6) the translators and their rewards, (7) the interpreter at the Great Assembly, and (8) the blessing of the place where the ashes and books are kept, and the reward for those who will visit it. Thereupon Mary prays, and a hand miraculously writes six lines of Solomon's seal on the wall. Then James tells us in the first person that he is told to transmit these lines, and Peter asks two further questions to Mary, one about the meaning of the seal and the second about the time when the divulgence of the *Essence of the Gospel* will be seen, and after. Thereupon a grim picture of this time is given: a reversal of morals, the return of Jesus and the rise of the False Messiah, the sun rising in the West, very much identical to the signs of the Hour in the Islamic eschatological Tradition.

The next book, LP19, *Kitāb al-asrār al-ʿazīma*¹¹ (The Book of the Enormous Secrets) tells us that it was revealed to James during a stay of forty days on the Holy Mountain, recorded by Tisʿūn ibn ʿAṭṭār. The book contains several talismanic seals and letters, and only a few lines of text.¹² This is also, except for a

8 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 111.

9 Estepa, *Información*, 46^a–b.

10 "El Libro de los Dones de los que creyeren la verdad del Evangelio."

11 "Libro de misterios grandes que fueron revelados a Santiago."

12 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 111, has only one treatise by this name, see also below. We have two, LP19 and LP22, Hagerty (1998, 14), 267–269. The treatise mentioned by Alonso as the one found on 11 May 1599 is our LP19.

brief reference in LP 13 (fol. 5^b), the first Lead Book that mentions James's stay in Iberia on the Holy Mountain. James's travels will be narrated in detail only in the last three Lead Books, which appeared in 1606. One of these last three would also include another book entitled *Kitāb al-asrār al-'azīma*. We will compare these two books in more detail below.

The years 1597–1600 mark an intense activity in attempts to make transcriptions, translations and interpretations acceptable to the archbishop. Castro had gradually become an ardent defender of the authentic Christian character of the discoveries, and a debate between defenders on the one hand, and the opponents on the other started. Castro used several strategies to have the documents accepted as authentic. The first was to have them translated in such a way that his convictions about their Christian early origins were confirmed. He insisted that such translations be done in Granada itself, under his personal supervision. The second was a non-discursive strategy namely to exploit their symbolic and experiential meaning. He stressed, for example, that so many miracles had accompanied the appearance of the Lead Books and the Parchment that their authenticity could not be denied.¹³ He invited critics to come to the Sacromonte and inspect the surroundings, the caves, the remains, the ashes, the Parchment and the Lead Books as material objects.

And Castro had his successes. It was to a large extent the archbishop who took the initiative in recruiting possible translators. Factors that determined their suitability in his eyes were their knowledge of Arabic and also their Catholic orthodoxy. The ideal translator would be acceptable to Rome, would possess an excellent knowledge of theology and preferably a favorable attitude towards the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. The Dominicans were opponents of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which was thought to be an important doctrine of the Lead Books.¹⁴ But some of the translators who were involved by the archbishop and were initially supporters of the authenticity of the Lead Books became opponents later. We will meet those who worked on the original documents in the following pages. During the time of the second and last series of discoveries no mention is made of a committee again.

13 ASMG, C 49, *Calificación*, includes numerous testimonies.

14 See on Western discussions: Mossman, "Western Understandings of Islamic Theology in the later Middle Ages. Mendicant responses to Islam from Riccoldo da Monte di Croce to Marquard von Lindau," Gay-Canton, "Lorsque Muhammad Orne Les Autels. Sur l'utilisation de la théologie islamique dans la controverse autour de l'immaculée conception de la fin du xive au début du xviii^e Siècle," Ben-Tov, "Der Blick nach Osten. Die Islamische Maria im Konfessionellen Zeitalter."

2 Ignacio de las Casas (1550–1608)

The first translator we must discuss here is a Granadan Morisco Jesuit, Ignacio de las Casas (1550–1608). Casas, summoned to Granada by Castro, worked on LP1 and LP2 from the summer of 1597, when he arrived in Granada, until June 1598, when he left the city. In this period he changed from being a supporter of the Lead Books into an opponent. When Ignacio de las Casas made this known, Castro told him to leave at once. He was unable to take any transcriptions with him.¹⁵ Turning against the Lead Books, Ignacio de las Casas also became very critical about his predecessors.

In a letter dated 1 July 1600, he wrote about their shortcomings with respect to their knowledge of classical Arabic (they merely knew the colloquial language, he said); they did not master the theological vocabulary, and their Latin was mediocre. He also clearly referred with his critical remarks to Urrea, who had occupied the chair of Arabic, but was according to Casas unable to read the documents well. He also seemed to refer Castillo and Luna.¹⁶ Casas's criticism was of a theological nature: he objected to the doctrinal formula in LP2, which he considers to be Arian (see on this idea also below). From this quotation it appears that Castro did not consider the work of the committee as the final word about the Lead Books, and indeed we know that he continued the

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- 15 On Ignacio de las Casas much has been written. See, for example, Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "De Pablo a Saulo," 403–436, id., "Mesianismo y milenarismo morisco: Los plomos del Sacromonte en la interpretación del Jesuita Ignacio de las Casas," Barrios Aguilera, "Ignacio de las Casas y la polémica laminaria en la *Historia auténtica* de Viana y Laboraría. El texto (Documentos del Sacromonte de Granada, 1)," Alonso, *Apócrifos*, 149. Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la historia*, 136 and n. 144, mentions a statement by de las Casas to the effect that Castro had offered him money to give a favorable opinion about the Lead Books. Many transcriptions of Lead Books texts by Casas can be found in ASMG and ARCG.
- 16 "Últimamente se advierta que las ynterpretaciones hechas por los yntérpretes que hasta aquí ha avido, aunque ellos saben bien la lengua árabiga bulgar y algo de la que se enseña por arte y medianamente la castellana, y uno dellos medianamente la Latina, como no son Theólogos ni saben los términos de esta facultad, no se an hecho con la la verdad y seguridad devida. Y lo que es más de notar, que del que a leydo la Cátedra en Alcalá desta lengua dixo el Sr Arçobispo que no avía sabido leer la letra de los libros, y de otro de los de Granada tenia Su S.^a poca satisfacción porque, según Su S.^a dezía, no sabía la gramatica aráviga. Y del otro de la mesma ciudad certificava Su S.^a que es tan ynepto que le harán dezir y desdeçir como quisieran y que a solas no es para ynterpretar cosa ninguna, y así se decía deste que aunque es el que sabe más la lengua aráviga y el que sabe la latina, le hacían desmenuçar tanto las partes de la sentençia que en presençia del Sr Arçobispo y otros yva interpretando que aunque él deziese algún error o eregía que contenía la sentençia, le hacían con el menudear que la hiciesse correspondiese a la católica," cited in Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "De Pablo a Saulo," 418–419.

search for suitable translators.¹⁷ In his letter to the nuncio written in 1600, Casas expressed the view that the Parchment and the Lead Books were to be seen as examples of the Morisco prophetic tradition and evidence of their millenarian ideas.¹⁸ The Lead Books, he argued, served to reinforce the Moriscos in their beliefs in the political victory of the Arabs in Spain as well as in the spiritual victory of Islam.

3 Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajārī/ Diego Bejarano (ca. 1570–after 1640)

The next person who studied the original Parchment and Lead Books in these years was a Morisco, Aḥmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajārī/Diego Bejarano, a native of Hornachos in Extremadura. Diego/ Aḥmad b. Qāsim had been secretly raised as a Muslim in an Arabic-speaking Morisco family in Hornachos. He devoted himself to reading widely in contemporary Spanish learning. Later in life he also studied Arabic with al-Ukayḥil/Alonso del Castillo.¹⁹ In 1598 he fled from Spain to Morocco, where he became secretary and Spanish interpreter to Sultan Mawlāy Zaydān in Marrakesh. In 1611 he was entrusted with a mission to France of recovering goods stolen from fellow Moriscos who had been forced to leave Spain for Morocco, during the expulsion of the Moriscos on board French ships. He visited France and the Netherlands and returned to Marrakesh in 1613. He left Morocco in 1634 and, after performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, wrote in 1046/1637 in Egypt a travel account called *Riḥlat al-shihāb ilā liqā al-aḥbāb* (The Journey of the Meteor [his *laqab* was Shihāb al-dīn] to Meet his Beloved). In the same year he also composed a summary of that—now lost—account, which he entitled *Kitab nāṣir al-dīn ‘ala ‘l-qawm al-kafirīn* (The Supporter of Religion against the Infidels). In it he focused on his polemical encounters with

17 According to Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 198, Castro himself was still restrained in these years. He cites Castro's letter of 7 April 1595 to the king: "This is what has been done up to this point, and with all this I neither affirm nor approve anything, nor do I do more than simply relate the facts. Because there remain so many inquiries to be made."

18 Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Mesianismo y Milenarismo morisco," 641–642; García-Arenal, "Un reconfort pour ceux qui son dans l'attente"; Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance*; Wiegiers, "History and the Study of Religion."

19 Martínez Medina, *Cristianos y musulmanes*, 114, mentions one Diego López [our italics, K-W] Bejarano among the late-sixteenth-century Granadan families and their members who descended from Granadan Mudejars who converted to Christianity out of free will before the forced conversions at the end of the fifteenth century. However, we have been unable to trace this family in the sources or in the secondary literature referred to by the author.

Christians and Jews in Spain, the Netherlands and France. In about 1640 he was living with his family in Tunis and/or Testour, and it seems likely that he died in Tunisia as well.

Al-Ḥajarī relates in the first chapter of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* that at some moment he became personally acquainted with people close to Archbishop Pedro de Castro, who himself was also interested in learning the Arabic language.²⁰ About his stay in Granada and his first involvement in the Lead Book affair, al-Ḥajarī tells us about a priest whom he refers to as Maldonado, probably to be identified as Pedro de Paz Maldonado, secretary to the Cabildo.²¹ Maldonado had taken Arabic lessons with the aforesaid Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿl-Āṣī, the grandson of al-Jabbis. Maldonado discovered that al-Ḥajarī knew Arabic and for this reason introduced him to the archbishop, who had the Parchment brought to him in order to study it. Al-Ḥajarī worked on the document in Granada in June 1598.²² It took him twenty-one days to complete his translation.²³

Al-Ḥajarī considers the Parchment and Lead Books to be the literary products of a single group of authors. He describes the Parchment as very old and written in an eastern Arabic hand. His translation, he says, aims to correct the Trinitarian interpretations that had been made so far; he denies the validity of such interpretations, and suggests that the wording of the Arabic text of the Gospel of John deviates from the received Christian tradition. For al-Ḥajarī, these were the most important parts of the Parchment, next to the commentary which he claimed to have understood, and he devotes considerable attention to these passages in *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*. However, he passes over in silence some other elements of the Parchment, such as the five crosses at the top and the Latin passage at the bottom, which contains the story of the priest Patricius.²⁴ He interprets the Trinitarian passage in the Parchment as an erroneous reading of what in fact should be a Unitarian, that is Islamic, interpretation. Al-Ḥajarī claims to have understood the commentary better than those before him, and even though he is able to give a decent interpretation, a comparison with the

20 Boyano Guerra and Sánchez García, "Una biblioteca en los márgenes. Pedro de Castro aprende árabe."

21 This is a correction of our earlier identification of this person as Diego de Maldonado, abbot of Santa Fe, in: *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, 88. Unlike him, the person we propose here was very much involved in the Lead Book affair.

22 Boyano, "Al-Ḥajarī y su traducción," 146, "estante en Granada 3 de junio de 1598."

23 *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, 102, n. 104.

24 That he passes over these crosses in silence is interesting, because when discussing a letter written by a monk to Moulay Zaydān in chapter twelve, he does mention the cross on top of it as a sign of the Christian's polytheist beliefs.

interpretation that the committee delivered in October 1596 shows that his claim, namely that he did a better job than all those before him, cannot be substantiated. He interprets the commentary as predictions of the victory of Islam in both a military and a spiritual sense.

Al-Ḥajārī mentions three other Moriscos involved in the interpretation of the Parchment and the Lead Books by name: the *faqīh* al-Ukayḥīl al-Andalusī, i.e., Alonso del Castillo, whom he refers to as an official translator, the *faqīh* al-Jabbis, the aforesaid Granadan Morisco Lorenzo Hernández (el) Chapiz, and his grandson, Muḥammad ibn Abī 'l-Āṣī. He states that they were not the only ones, but unfortunately he does not mention the names of the others.

It seems likely that al-Ḥajārī was aware of the existence of the transcriptions, translations and notes of the committee that we described above. He makes remarks about several expressions in the Parchment, one of which seems to refer to commentaries (*escolios*, no. 5) made by the committee as a collective, and perhaps by El Chapiz/Jabbis as an individual, namely on the point of the interpretation of *al-jānī* as an active adjective.²⁵ He also refers to discussions that had already occurred before his involvement, for example about the very beginning of the Parchment and the invocation of God, in particular the question of whether the beginning of the prophecy refers to the Trinity or not. Al-Ḥajārī reads *multabība*, which he interprets as “the plain and pure essence which was neither composite nor mixed”, while the translation produced by the committee reads, along the same lines: *Essencia divina lo que la una y gran fee nos enseña*. However, the transcription by Castillo (al-Ukayḥīl) of the Parchment reads *muthallatha* (threefold), which confirms that he interpreted the document in a Trinitarian way.²⁶

Al-Ḥajārī tells us that the archbishop was very pleased with his work and that a copy of it was sent to Rome. We doubt that this actually happened. As we have seen, Castro promoted a Christian interpretation of the Parchment and the Lead Books, while al-Ḥajārī was convinced that the contents agreed with Islamic doctrine. He denies that the text of the Parchment contained Trinitarian formulas.²⁷ How, then, should we understand al-Ḥajārī's involvement in the interpretation of the Lead Books? He was apparently not asked to produce translations of the Lead Books after he had interpreted the Parchment, nor can we say that he produced a better interpretation of the Parchment (especially

25 See al-Ḥajārī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, Arabic text, 27–31/translation, 91—(Cairo MS, fol. 9^{a-a}).

26 The said reading is found in the Escorial copy of the Parchment, dated 1588, our P3; the passage from the translation of the committee is found in P6, fol. 146^a.

27 See Harvey and Wieggers, “The translation from Arabic of the Sacromonte tablets and the Archbishop of Granada.”

of the poetic commentary) than the members of the committee had done. Indeed, there is no evidence that al-Ḥajarī studied the texts of the Lead Books in Granada with the same intensity with which he studied the Parchment, even though he tells us in the appendix to *Nāṣir al-Dīn*, which contains the complete text of LP18 and parts of another book, to which we will return below, that he had seen some of the books (or rather some leaves) with his own eyes and had read and translated them. When discussing the Lead Books he relies chiefly on the transcriptions made by al-Ukayḥil (Alonso del Castillo), which he found in Tunis in 1637. These transcriptions had been sent there by a man he calls Yūsuf Qalbu al-Andalusī, whom we can identify as Juan Calvo Navarro, the king's scribe, one of the discoverers of the Lead Books, and the notary who drew up such documents as the testament of Alonso de Castillo.²⁸

In conclusion, al-Ḥajarī was not seen as a key figure by the Granadan church authorities, nor does it seem likely that he belonged to the circles of the authors. Al-Ḥajarī himself attached great religious significance to his experiences with the Parchment and the Lead Books. He considered them to be genuine and very old, dating from the time of Jesus and the first Christians. He believed their contents to agree with Islamic ideas about early Christianity, that is, as being witnesses of monotheist ideas and a rejection of the Trinity and the Crucifixion.²⁹ He describes the overwhelming religious experience he had when

28 ASMG, Legajo 14E. The testament starts with the words: "Yo Juan Calvo, Escribano del Rey". We will return Calvo Navarro below when we turn to the authorship of the Parchment and Lead Books.

29 This did not hold true for other Muslim interpreters. The Marquis of Estepa, whose role we will discuss below, mentions in his correspondence with the historian Luis Tribaldos de Toledo that Castro, when he consulted Muslim interpreters, discovered that they considered the Lead Books to be Christian, not Muslim, documents. Estepa considers this as evidence that Castro was correct in defending them as Christian doctrine. Among the Muslims consulted by Castro were persons in the entourage of the Moroccan prince Muley Xequé (Mulay as-Shaykh), who stayed for some time in Spain: see Harvey and Wieggers, "The Translation from Arabic," 69. An intriguing story is told by the Jesuit José de Tamayo y Velarde in his account of Muslim Life in "Barbary" (in fact, Tetouan) in about 1645. A Muslim interlocutor had told him that archbishop Pedro de Castro had converted to Islam and that the Spanish elite was in reality Muslim: "Y esto lo tienen [the inhabitants of Tetouan, K-W] tan creído, que piensan que en España la gente más docta y más exemplar profesan la falsa ley de los moros, y que los que el Tribunal de la Santa Inquisición quema son moros finos. Y esto es en tanto grado que vna persona de autoridad en esta ciudad [Tetouan, K-W] me dixo que entendiese que esto era mucha verdad. Porque el *señor* don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones arzobispo que fue primero de Granada y después de Seuilla, era moro y auía viuido y muerto como tal. Yo, con mucha rissa quanto pedía semejante desatino, le pregunté me dixese *qué fundamento* tenía para decir este tan manifiesto engaño. Respondióme que quando el dicho *señor* arzobispo descubrió el santo monte de Granada halló

holding the Parchment and Lead Plates in his own hands. Especially he tells us how his recognition of a difference in the wording of the beginning of the Gospel of John in the Parchment made him realize that Christians were mistaken and not sincere. In fact, he considered the canonical Gospel of John as the basis of their unbelief, that is, their belief in the incarnation. However, as we have discussed elsewhere, he chose to deny the existence of Trinitarian passages, not only in the Parchment but also in some of the Lead Books, such as LP2.³⁰

In Morocco, and later in Tunis, he continued to be interested in the Lead Books, as appears in many places in his writings. Perhaps influenced by him, other Moriscos in Tunis such as Ibrahim Taybili read the Lead Books and accused the Christians of misleading interpretations as well.³¹

While the discussions about the relics, the Parchment and the Lead Books continued, Castro succeeded in taking an important step. In 1600, the relics found in the Turpiana Tower and the caves were discussed in a regional council in Granada convened by the archbishop.³² The council was inaugurated on 16 April. On Saturday 29 April 1600, the archbishop pronounced the benedic-

el Alcorán escrito en lengua arábiga en láminas de metal, y conociendo la verdad se auía buelto moro, y que los cuerpos que halló sepultados con aquellas láminas eran cuerpos de moros santos." See Tamayo y Velarde, *Memorias del cautiverio y Costumbres, ritos y gobiernos de Berbería según el relato de un jesuíta del siglo XVII*, 137–138.

30 See *Kitáb Nāšir al-Dīn*, n. 110, about the passage on fol. 17^a.

31 See Ibrahim Taybili, MS Bologna D 565 (Túnez-Testour) ed. Norri, *Edición y Estudio* (with some modifications): "Y el día de asora, Alah açá guachala, le dio Gran potestad a su querido profeta Çulayman alayhi al çalam, [fol. 234^a] le hiço merçed de que le obedieçiesen los ayres y nubes y aves y animales y los espiritus y Grandes afrites de los chines y demonios, y le dio el sello con que los sujeto y echava aprisionados en la mar y tierra y fue grande Señor y querido de Alah no como los malditos cristianos an dicho. Pues, después de aber escripto sin temor de Dios las mentiras que les pareçio como lo an hecho con otros profetas y queridos de Dios cuando fue servido y quiso descubrirles la berdad, y como an mentido en los libros que se descubrieron en el monte santo de Granada, se an hallado sellados con su sello para su firmeza, y algunos con quatro y çinco sellos de que se an quedado [fol. 234^b atónitos y espantados por aver sido tan antiguos, pues estuvieron debaxo de tierra mil y seisçientos años, y los an dado por buenos y verdaderos, y ansí luego mandaron que en todos los libros que el perro de Villegas avía escripto la mentira que le levantaron se quitase y borrarse, y ansí cuando sea llegado el tiempo en que se descubran los demás hierros en questán, se acabarán de desengañar." Is Villegas Don Francisco Gómez de Villegas and Quevedo? Or Alonso de Villegas, author of *Flos Sanctorum* (1586)? We thank Gardien Evertse for drawing our attention to this passage in the Bologna manuscript.

32 The details of the council, including the names of the delegates, are found in Heredia Bar-nuevo, *Místico ramillete*, 59–98; see also Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 157–159.

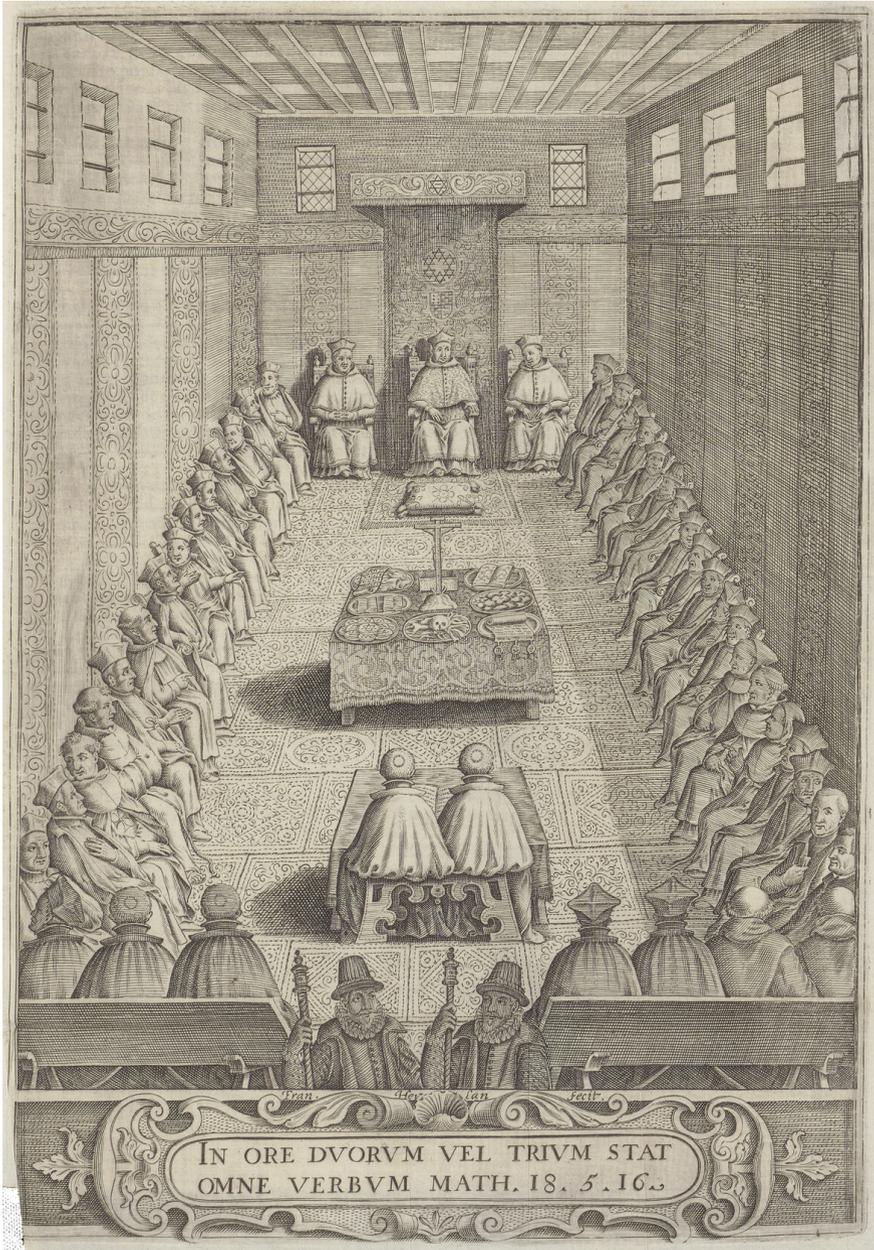


FIGURE 9 The Regional Council of 1600 approving the veneration of the relics. Engraving by Francisco Heylan
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

tion *Ut hanc praesentem synodum* during the solemn procession in the Cathedral to the Virgen de la Antigua, patroness of Granada, to celebrate the declaration of cultic and historical dignity of the relics discovered in the Sacromonte and those found in the Torre Turpiana, namely the Parchment, the veil of Mary, and the bone of St. Stephen. All these relics are still preserved in the Granadan cathedral today. The Parchment is kept in the Sacromonte Abbey.³³ The said ritual marked the beginning of a veneration of the relics and the initiation of pilgrimages and other festivities that have lasted until this very day.

33 Martínez Medina, *Abadía*, 270; Heredia Barnuevo, *Místico ramillete*, 81–83, and the detailed declaration on 83–84; Martínez Medina, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la Granada del XVI, una ciudad intercultural*, 125–126.

Lead Books 20–22 and the Evaluation Process in Spain (1600–1643)

1 The ‘Discoveries’

In the years following the approval of the veneration of the relics, a group of scholars, religious persons, and state officials began to form a network of opponents of the Sacromonte discoveries. In the polemical discussions of these years these opponents started to use the word “laminaries” (*laminarios*) to refer to the defenders and supporters of the Lead Books. But before we turn to these discussions, we will have to discuss the appearance of three more Lead Books.

In December 1606 Pedro de Castro was informed by the secretary to the king about “a Lead Book of fifty leaves,” kept in a wooden casket. This casket had allegedly been found about eight years earlier in the Sacromonte by an inhabitant of Granada who at the time had decided not to give it to the archbishop of Granada because “he would not give him a worthy price for it” (*porque no le daría premio de consideración*). Recently that person had fallen ill and started to feel regret, and had sent the casket to Alonso Núñez de Valdivia y Mendoza, the royal secretary. Núñez de Valdivia decided to send the casket to the archbishop, who notified the king on 22 December 1606 about its arrival.¹ We are apparently dealing with a casket which contained three Lead Books, LP20, 21, and 22.² LP20 and 21 are the first and second parts of *The Book of the Outstanding Qualities of James*, which together consist of 45 leaves, while LP22 has 5 leaves.³

LP20 and LP21 describe two journeys made by James to Iberia.⁴ The first one, a missionary journey, is described largely in LP20, *Kitāb Maḥāsīn Ya‘qūb al-Ḥawārī wa-ma‘ājazīhi*, the first part of *The Book of the Outstanding Qualities of James the Apostle and his Miracles*. This book describes how James sets out for Iberia with the *Essence of the Gospel* and six disciples and travels to,

1 ASMG, Leg v, fol. 412–416.

2 Estepa, *Información*, fol. 46^b.

3 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 113–114, takes the 43 leaves of LP20 and LP21 as one book, and omits *Kitāb al-asrār al-‘azīma* (LP22). Alonso thinks that this is an error by Estepa (Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 114), but this is not the case.

4 Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago: Trayectoria de un mito*.

among other places, the city of Illabbula, i.e., Ilipula (Granada) (LP20, fols. 8^a–9^a).⁵ His mission, the book tells us, was to convert at least one person. Near a Holy Mountain, James indeed converted one person, a Phoenician Arab called Ibn al-Mughīra (LP20, fol. 34^a), who received the name of Dāyish al-Kufr or “Trampler of Unbelief,” and who was an ancestor, as we will read later, of the commentator of the *Essence of the Gospel* who will explain it at the end of time (LP 20, fol. 34^b). James takes him to Jerusalem to meet Mary with the other six disciples (LP20, fol. 35^a). In all the places that he visits James is confronted with the resistance of the idolatrous Romans and other inhabitants. He is frequently accused of being a magician, which gives him the contours of both Paul (to whom the Lead Books do not refer at all) on his mission journeys and the Prophet Muhammad in his opposition to the Meccan unbelievers.

While in Granada, James, so this book tells us, writes LP15, *Kitāb Tawrīkh Ḥaḡīqat al-Injīl* (The Book of the History of the Essence of the Gospel, cf. LP20, fol. 9^b) and through a divine revelation he also writes *Kitāb al-Asrār al-‘aẓīma* (The Book of the Enormous Secrets). James and his apostles then return to Jerusalem. Mary dies and her soul ascends to the heavens. A council takes place (LP20, fol. 37^{a–b}). This event marks the moment when, under the guidance of Peter and James, the decision is made regarding the teachings of the religious community, called *al-jamī‘ al-muqaddas*, (the Holy Church). Based on the consensus of the community (LP20) and the highest authority of Peter, the successor to Jesus, who is called *al-khalīfa* (the Vicar, i.e., Pope), James is authorized to write the *Liber Fundamenti Ecclesie* or *Kitāb Qawā‘id al-dīn* (The Book of the Fundamentals of the Faith, LP1 [see LP20, fols. 36^b–37^a]) and LP2, the *Liber de Essentia Dei* or *Kitāb Fī al-Dhāt al-karīma* (The Book of the Divine Essence, see LP20, fol. 37^b).

LP21, *Al-juz’ al-thānī min Kitāb Maḡāsīn Ya’qūb al-Ḥawārī* (The Second Part of the Book of the Outstanding Qualities of James the Apostle), tells us that after Mary’s death, James and his (now) seven disciples undertake a short journey to the land of the Samaritans. James is tortured by a man called Mahrajānis, in a scene reminiscent of the questioning of James by the magician Hermogenes in one the legends of the *Legenda Aurea*. Here it is James who is accused of being a magician, while he replies that he is preaching what the apostles had established in their aforesaid council. James is severely tortured, his right eye is taken out, and his right hand is cut off. He and the others are chased into the desert. James and his seven Apostles miraculously escape by boat to Iberia (Ishpanya), where James wishes to die a martyr’s death. The burial of James at

5 As a response to the arrival of the *Essence*, a man named al-Ḥaqq (the Truth) rises from the dead, see LP20, fol. 9^b. LP20 reads Illapula.

the “seaside” follows. After his death and burial in a high mountain, the disciples cross the peninsula to the south and conceal all the Lead Books (including the copy of the *Essence of the Gospel*) in the Holy Mountain (LP21, fol. 7^b).

LP22, the last Lead Book, is, like LP19, called *Kitāb al-Asrār al-‘Azīma* (The Book of the Enormous Secrets).⁶ This small book tells us about a dream of James on the Holy Mountain: he sees in Heaven Moses with the Tablets in his hands, while Moses is complaining to God. Then he sees the *Essence of the Gospel* as a locked book and angels who explain that, in it, God restores in it the ten verses which the Jews had blotted out from the *Tawrāt* (Torah). This restoration will become manifest at the Great Council for all mankind when the *Essence of The Gospel* will appear and be explained. The dream occurs during James’s missionary voyage in Spain after Ibn al-Mughīra had converted. Again, Moses’s tablets are presented as a model for the *Essence of the Gospel*. James reveals a great secret about the *Essence*, which knowledgeable readers understand is the Quran.

How to interpret the fact that we have two books entitled *The Book of the Enormous Secrets*? We are inclined to think that they were meant as two different occasions. In LP20, fol. 35^a, it is remarked about James’s stay on the Holy Mountain that: “There the sign (*al-āya*) was revealed to him that we will describe in *The Book of the Enormous Secrets*, God, the Exalted, willing.” This seems to be a reference to LP19, in which we find such esoteric symbols, rather than LP22. LP22, therefore, adds something new to the existing corpus, and it is remarkable that it, perhaps more than any Lead Book that had been found so far, is very closely connected to themes that occur in Aljamiado Morisco texts of this period.⁷

Thus, all four last books deal with an aspect of the narrative that was lacking so far: the connection between Palestine and Iberia and the details about the travels of James and his burial in Iberia. The year is 1606, and no other Lead Books would ever appear after this date. We will now turn to the reception of the Lead Books in these years.

2 Pedro de Valencia (1555–1620) and His Circle

Among the opponents, Pedro de Valencia, humanist, biblical scholar and chronicler of the Kingdom of Castile, played an important critical role.⁸ Pedro

⁶ Hagerty (1998, 14, 267–269), Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, “El libro.”

⁷ See our notes to LP22.

⁸ See on him, among others, Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists*.

de Valencia had been a close friend to and student of Arias Montano, whom we have met above as perhaps the most influential critic of the Lead Books before 1600. In 1607, Pedro de Valencia was asked by Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas (1547–1618), Primate of Spain and Inquisitor General, to give his views on the Parchment and the Lead Books for a committee that had been installed at the instigation of Pope Paul v and over which Sandoval presided. This led Pedro de Valencia to write his critical treatise *Sobre el Pergamino y láminas de Granada* (About the Parchment and Tablets of Granada).⁹ Valencia's treatise, dated 26 November 1607, closely follows the arguments of Arias Montano and those of another critic, the bishop of Segorbe, Juan Bautista Pérez, set out in a critical text.¹⁰ Interesting in itself, Pedro de Valencia's treatise gives a few important insights into the wording of the texts of the Parchment (and of the Lead Books), but it does not seem that he studied the original texts.

In February 1609 Castro travelled to Madrid and had several private (the Spanish sources say *secreto*) meetings with the King, together with the Duke of Lerma. He also convened there with the aforesaid committee of important persons, presided by Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval, who held several sessions between 8 and 15 April 1609. Castro had brought with him the Lead Plaques commemorating the martyrs, and perhaps also the original Lead Books, as well as the Parchment. The outcome of the meetings was that Castro was allowed to continue the search for translators competent in Arabic, Roman Catholic theology and Latin in order to prepare a reliable translation.¹¹ Castro had also remained strongly opposed to the Vatican's proposal to send the Lead Books to Rome. The nuncio accepted his opposition for the time being, apparently expecting that in the end the books would be brought to the Vatican.¹²

The search for translators therefore continued. They were looked for in official ways in many places (including the Islamic world), but Castro also continued the search on his own. For example he asked Miguel de Sala, an Arabist and physician to the Duke of Gandía in about 1608, to come to Granada.¹³ Carlos Alonso and Morocho Gayo also mention a Turkish translator by the name of

9 Of this work two editions exist, one by Hipólito B. Riesco Álvarez in Gaspar Morocha Gayo's edition of the *Obras Completas*, vol. IV: 429–457, and the 2006 edition by Grace Magnier based on MS 2316 of the BNE (Pedro de Valencia, *Sobre el Pergamino*).

10 See for his text, dated 1595, appendix I of Grace Magnier's edition of Valencia's *Sobre el pergamino*, 71–87. This work is entirely dedicated to the first two Lead Books.

11 On that Junta's and Castro's actions, see Alonso, *Apócrifos*, 187; Harvey and Wieggers, "The Translation," 66; BNE, VE Ca 190 47, Memorial to the archbishop of Granada, fol. 2^b; Heredia Barnuevo, *Místico Ramillete*, 134.

12 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 189.

13 Alonso, *Apócrifos*, 189, n. 29.

Cosme Dragut, and the Franciscan Francisco Martellotto, the author of a grammatical work, *Institutiones linguae Arabicae*, published in Rome at the order of Pope Paul v. In the event, none of these persons would come to Granada.¹⁴ The same held true for Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597), who died before he could come to Spain, and an Algerian convert to Christianity known as Miguel de Santa Fe.¹⁵

While knowledge about the contents of the books remained limited to a small circle, it is also clear that the texts (either in Arabic transcription or in translation) must have circulated among those interested in translating the books outside of Spain. Miguel de Luna, for example, is known to have sent transcriptions to his son in Rome.¹⁶ We do not find any evidence of activities of any other committees. Most of the translations were attempted based on individual agreements between Castro and his translators. This was also true for Murquş al-Du‘ābilī al-Kurdī (ca. 1572–1654), a man who in Spain became known as Marcos Dobelio. He took part in the debates in Spain between about 1610 and 1638.¹⁷

3 Murquş al-Du‘ābilī al-Kurdī, Known in Spain as Marcos Dobelio (ca. 1572–1654)

Marcos Dobelio was probably an Eastern Christian of Kurdish origin who had lived for some time in Aleppo. In view of his excellent knowledge of the Quran and the Islamic tradition, it is possible that he was a Muslim convert to Christianity. In about 1597 he arrived in Rome, where he stayed in the neophytes' college, became a translator to Pope Paul v, and also taught Arabic at the Sapienza in Rome. In October 1610 Dobelio travelled from Rome to Granada, having been invited there by the aforesaid committee assembled by King Philip III in 1609 to review the case of the Lead Books and the evaluation process.¹⁸

14 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 208; Morocho Gayo, *Estudio Introductorio*, 315.

15 Morocho Gayo, *Estudio Introductorio*, 317.

16 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 188.

17 Important studies about Dobelio are, in chronological order: Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, 280–287; Morocho Gayo, “Estudio introductorio,” especially “Primera etapa de Marcos Dovelio (1610–1630),” 307–314; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, esp. 245 ff.; see also: Van Koningsveld and Wieggers, “Marcos Dobelio’s Polemics,” 209, 264–265 (n. 26).

18 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 202. Dobelio, *Discurso*, Real Academia de la Historia Madrid, ms 19-2-2 36, fol. 363^b: “hauiendo sido llamado por orden de la junta que mandó hacer el rey

The motive of Dobelio's arrival in Spain seems to have been, therefore, to aid in evaluating the Lead Books. It appears that it was not Castro who had requested him to come, but rather circles in which there were critical voices who questioned the authenticity of these texts and advocated that the Vatican, rather than the Spanish church or Castro himself, should be responsible for their translation.

On 3 August 1610 Castro became archbishop of Seville, but before he left Granada he solemnly inaugurated the recently finished collegiate church with a well-attended ceremony on 21 August 1610.¹⁹ The relics and the Lead Books were deposited in boxes in the altar next to the Gospel. Castro, despite his transfer to Seville, continued to think of them as his personal affair, also because he had spent a great part of his personal fortune in their cause.²⁰ A plaque was placed on one of the columns at the Cathedral to commemorate the discovery of the Parchment and relics.²¹

Castro travelled back from Seville to Granada to work with Dobelio.²² We find some traces of Dobelio's interpretations of the Lead Books and the Parchment in 1611 in the Sacromonte Archive.²³ After having translated LP1 and LP2, Dobelio informed Castro in Seville that he considered them to be forgeries done by Moriscos. Castro told him that this was not why he had asked for his services, and asked him to leave, paying him 100 escudos.²⁴ Needing money and frustrated, Dobelio apparently departed from Granada in search of work.²⁵ He tried to earn a living in the service of the Inquisition, teaching Arabic and studying, translating and editing Arabic manuscripts and documents. On 23 July 1613,

Phelipe 3^o," and he mentions the name of the chair of that committee, Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval, the cardinal of Toledo.

19 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 199.

20 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 202.

21 Hagerty, "Los Libros Plúmbeos y la fundación de la insigne iglesia colegial del Sacromonte," 18.

22 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 202.

23 ASMG Leg VI, fol. 177^a (first folio of LP5 in Latin translation), fols. 178^a–199^b (transcriptions and translations of the Parchment).

24 This information is found in a letter by historian Luis de Tribaldos from 1633, in: Harvey and Wieggers, "The translation from Arabic of the Sacromonte tablets and the Archbishop of Granada: an illuminating correspondence," 65: "Marco Dobelio, que fue interprete de Paulo Quinto en Roma, y lo es hoy de su Magestad ... que aviendole llamado el Arçobispo a Sevilla y viendo luego lo que dellos le mostrò, al punto le desengañò, dizriendole como todo era invencion Morisca, y cosa indigna de apoyarse por buena, y el Arçobispo le dijo que no le avia llamado por eso, y asi le dio cien escudos y le despidio."

25 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 251. Their source is Archivo General de Simancas, Legajo 2645.

Dobelio wrote a letter in Arabic from Madrid to the famous classicist Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), in which he informs Casaubon about his services to the papal library and to the royal committee (for which, he tells him, a fee of six hundred escudos was promised²⁶), and tells him about the dramatic dénouement of his rift with Castro. He was considering going to England, he writes, where Casaubon lived at the time, but was still awaiting his payment.²⁷ Dobelio did not go to England but stayed in Spain. In the following years he apparently made a living by teaching Arabic to, among others, the Basque Arabic translator Francisco de Gurmendi.²⁸ Apparently he was successful: Tribaldos tells us that at some stage, Dobelio, who had been a close friend of his for 26 years, became a royal Arabic interpreter to the Spanish king.

Dobelio possessed an important collection of Arabic manuscripts. The Dutch Arabist Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) referred to it as one of the most important in Europe.²⁹ Dobelio described his private collection in a handlist, at the end of which is a short remark that he had left other manuscripts in Seville and Rome. The list may have been drawn up for the English Arabist Thomas Bedwell.³⁰

4 Francisco de Gurmendi (d. 1621)

Another translator at this time was the aforesaid Francisco de Gurmendi, who had been a student of Diego de Urrea, and of Marcos Dobelio, as we just saw.³¹ Gurmendi served as an Arabic, Persian and Turkish translator to King Philip III.³² He had close ties to other opponents of the Lead Books, in particular the

26 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, 282–283.

27 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 252.

28 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 241 ff., here: 242.

29 Erpenius, *Orationes tres de linguarum hebraeae atque arabicae dignitate*, 39–96. Translation: John Robert Jones, “Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) on the Value of the Arabic language.” Erpenius refers to the existence of public collections of Arabic manuscripts in Europe which the students may use to learn the language, in Leiden, Heidelberg, and also Spain [El Escorial, K-W], as well as private ones—namely, his own collection in the Low Countries, and in Spain the library of “Marcos Dobelo.”

30 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 260 (referring to Ussher MSS 27610 [erroneously 27619], Bodleian Library, Oxford). The shelfmark of the manuscript is MS Add C. 296, fols. 174–181 (the note is on fol. 176^a), a collection of papers once belonging to Archbishop Ussher. Here we base our analysis on the manuscript.

31 See on the period: Alonso, *Los apócrifos*. 201 ff., esp. 210; Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*.

32 According to Medina Conde, in his *Informe* (MSS 1271, BNE, fol. 34^b), Gurmendi succeeded Miguel de Luna as royal translator after the latter died in 1615. However, Floristán, “Fran-

humanist Pedro de Valencia, and at some stage he became a member of Valencia's circle. In about 1616 Gurmendi came across Arabic transcriptions of LP1 and 2, probably those made by Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo, the first transcriptions to have circulated, and he translated them into Spanish.³³

Their original owner of these transcriptions had been Juan de Idiáquez, who had been President of the Council of the Military Orders, a member of the Council of State and for some time secretary of Philip II. Gurmendi is said to have lived in Juan de Idiáquez's household for some time.³⁴ Gurmendi's translation appeared along with the equally critical theological commentary written by the Jesuit theologian Martín Derrotarán y Mendiola. His highly critical views raised the concerns of the Inquisition and of the king, and very early on his work was sent to Rome, where it made a lasting impact on the later process of evaluation in Rome. It is unlikely that Gurmendi ever set eyes on the original Lead Books, however, and he based his translation on the said transcriptions and possibly also used the translations done by Luna and others. The defenders of the Lead Books, probably guided by Pedro de Castro, responded to his treatise by publishing at least two anonymous polemical pamphlets, which we have discussed in detail elsewhere and which fall outside the scope of this introduction.³⁵

cisco de Gurmendi," 359, posits that this date is not correct and that Gurmendi was active as a translator as early as 1604. Perhaps we have to distinguish here between various offices and tasks. It was Dobelio himself who introduced Gurmendi to the Arabic language, as he writes in his *Discurso* (MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364^a). On Gurmendi, see also García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 241–243; Morocho Gayo, *Estudio Introductorio*, 324–332, Floristán, op.cit.

- 33 According to one of the defenders of the Lead Books, Medina Conde, in his *Informe*, MSS 1271, BNE, fol. 34^b. According to Morocho Gayo, *Estudio Introductorio*, 327, n. 592, the original treatise, dated 1617, is extant in the Vatican process documents (ACDF, r71) and in the Archive of the Sacromonte, Leg VI, parte 2, fols. 1137^a–1142^b. See on this Vatican version: Llopis Mena, "Francisco de Gurmendi y los Libros Plúmbeos del Sacromonte. Una traducción polémica," 73–75. We have consulted the manuscript in the Sacromonte Archive, but that is clearly a draft version. The treatise would later serve as an important source in the request by theologians and cardinals to the Pope to condemn the Lead Books. The text deserves a separate study and cannot be dealt with here in detail. See for general information on the period: Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 201 ff., esp. 210; Floristán, "Francisco de Gurmendi"; Magnier, *Pedro de Valencia*, 211 ff.
- 34 Kendrick, *Saint James in Spain*, 104, describes Gurmendi as a "rogue." According to him, he had stolen the transcriptions of the Lead Books in the possession of Juan Idiáquez after his death in 1614, and "was providing the enemies of the books with information about their contents." Kendrick does not mention a source.
- 35 Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "Marco Dobelio's Polemics," 216–217.

5 Juan Bautista Hesronita (?-?)

The year 1618 was a crucial one. Another Eastern Christian Arabic traveler, the exiled Dominican Maronite archbishop of Mount Lebanon (“archbishop” is how he described himself—we do not know whether he actually was one), Juan Bautista Hesronita, came to Granada. Hesronita was, together with another Maronite, Gabriel Sionita, the author of a Latin translation of an Arabic historical work entitled *Geographia Nubiensis* (printed in Paris 1619), and an Arabic grammar, the *Grammatica Arabica Maronitarum*. Hesronita was requested by Castro to travel from Madrid (where he lived) to Granada. Castro considered him a friend of the Sacromonte, describing him as a Saul who had become Paul. Hesronita’s initial hostile position may perhaps be partly explained by his Dominican background. It is reasonable to assume that Juan Hesronita indeed studied the original Lead Books during his stay in Granada at the Dominican Convent of Santa Cruz.³⁶ Hesronita is said to have translated LP1 and LP2, and indeed initially seems to have made positive statements about their authenticity as early Christian lore.³⁷

After his return to Madrid, however, he is said to have changed his mind and have become a critic. But another version of the story is found in Kendrick. While staying in Madrid, Kendrick tells us, Hesronita had been very poor and had accepted money from an agent of the archbishop to go to Granada and convince himself that the books were genuine.³⁸ He had gone to Granada, seen the books and relics, and written a very favorable statement, but he was robbed on the way back to Madrid and sold himself for money again, this time to the enemies of the Lead Books.³⁹

Hesronita’s opposition to the Lead Books did not go unanswered. It was while the “archbishop of Lebanon” was staying in Madrid that an anonymous pamphlet was written in which the author responded to the anonymous attack on the interpreter Gurmendi, which we discussed above. The author defended Gurmendi as the Interpreter of the king and referred to the archbishop of Lebanon and to Marcos Dobelio, whom he described as having been an inter-

36 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 234, see also Harvey and Wieggers, “Tribaldos,” 67. Estepa denies that Castro had a conflict with the archbishop: “Tampoco se puede creer que cohechase al Arçobispo del Monte Libano, ni el hospedarle y pagarle y socorrerle para la buelta mereze nombre de cohecho”. Kendrick, *Saint James*, 105, states that he stayed at the Sacromonte Abbey.

37 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 231.

38 Kendrick, *Saint James in Spain*, 105.

39 The story about the robbery is also found in Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 233.

preter to the Pope.⁴⁰ He said that the archbishop of Lebanon had been raised in Syria, had preached to the Muslims for a long time, and had also worked as an interpreter in the service of the Pope.

The pamphlet consists of three parts. In the first, the author attacked the views of Castillo and Luna on the ancient nature of the Arabic language used, stating that the Lead Books were written about fifty or sixty years before (i.e., around 1570, K-W) in a Morisco idiom, except for those parts in which the authors quoted the Quran, or use Quranic sayings as part of their own discourse.⁴¹ He also attacked the authors for their allegedly questionable beliefs, stating that one them had requested to be buried outside the city in virgin earth, according to the “custom of the Moors.”⁴² In the second part the author attacked a number of errors of the Lead Books, and pointed out parallels with Islamic sources. Here the author drew attention to commentaries on the Quran by al-Samarqandī, and identified a passage in the Lead Books as a text written by the Granadan scholar Ibn al-Khaṭīb.⁴³ In the third part, he attacked doctrines that were in contradiction with the doctrine of the Trinity, and pointed out, for example, that such ideas as that of Mary as a mirror were heterodox.⁴⁴

In a letter to Hesronita dated 17 July 1618, Pedro de Castro took issue with these remarks, referring to the *Memorial* we just discussed. He defended both Luna and Castillo and rejected the accusations about their alleged heretical beliefs.⁴⁵ Castillo, he claimed, had prayed on his deathbed after having received the viaticum in a way that shows the contrary: “what I have [just] received is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the truth, and all else is a lie. Saint Caecilius, pray for me, Saint Thesiphon, pray for me, Saint Hiscius, pray for me.”⁴⁶

40 BNEVE Caja 55-3, Memorial without title, ca. 1619. Our references are to the printed numeration of the pamphlet itself. The memorial is mentioned in Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Ensayo de bibliografía menor hispanomusulmana*, 130, no. 593. We wonder whether in fact Dobelio might himself be the author. The remark that the archbishop was in Madrid at the time of writing (*residente al presente en esta corte*), is on fol. 6^a, and suggests it was written around 1618.

41 Ibid., fol. 2^b.

42 Ibid., fol. 4^a–4^b. See on the issue of the burial below.

43 Ibid., fol. 8^a: “Dios es el que tiene la grandeza y perfección; lo primero de todas las cosas es su sabiduría, es a saber su ser perdurable: no tiene principio su principio, ni sus juyzios fin.”

44 Ibid., fol. 17^a.

45 ASMG, Leg. IV, fol. 852^a–^b. The letter is published in García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, 2: 1010–11.

46 “[...] lo que e recibido es el cuerpo de nuestro señor Ihesu Christo, esta es la verdad, lo demás es mentira. Sancte Cecilio, ora pro me, Sancte Thesiphon, ora pro me, Sancte Hiscio, ora pro me.”

He also mentioned the fact that Castillo was buried in the Parish of San Miguel in Granada.

The controversies lingered on. We do not know whether Hesronita responded to the pamphlet and Castro's letter. However, he was still a critic when he later went to Rome, a journey made, according to Alonso, to spread his critical ideas about the Lead Books there.⁴⁷ The books still remained in Spain and Castro continued the search for translators.

In 1622 another Maronite, Sergio, came from Madrid to Granada to take up the work left by Hesronita, but his command of Arabic was said to be too poor, and he did not continue his work.⁴⁸ Another translator and student of some passages in the Lead Books was the aforesaid Dutch Arabist Thomas Erpenius, who in 1623 corresponded with Pedro de Castro and considered a journey to Spain. In the end he decided not to undertake the voyage and died in 1624.⁴⁹

On 20 December 1623 Pedro de Castro died in Seville. He was first buried in that city, but in 1626 his body was transferred to the church of the Sacromonte Abbey. This is where he still rests today. The Lead Books and the remains of the martyrs were stored in two boxes at the two sides of the high altar.⁵⁰ The Lead Books had lost one of their staunchest defenders, but the struggle of the Sacromonte Abbey for their recognition as authentic Christian lore was far from over. In the years between Castro's death and the arrival of the Lead Books in Rome, the Sacromonte Abbey remained the main promotor of the cause of the Lead Books. At this period, we know of two Lead Book translators, one of them Adán Centurión y Córdova, Marquis of Estepa, probably a supervisor of the translation rather than a translator himself and a believer in their authentic

47 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 233.

48 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 244.

49 At the request of Castro he translated five plates of the *Liber Fundamenti Ecclesiae* (LP1), which we can identify as fol. 1^a (scheda prima), fol. 1^b (scheda secunda), fol. 2^b (scheda quarta) and 3^a (scheda quinta), omitting, for unknown reasons, fol. 3^b. Erpenius must have done so on the basis of a transcription sent to him. See further: Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 247; Martínez Ruiz, "Cartas de Thomas van Erpen (Thomas Erpenius) en un archivo de Granada (1623–24)"; and see on Erpenius's correspondence with the Vatican on Bible studies in the same period: Willemsen, "Thomas Erpenius en de 'Propaganda.'" Among the other Arabists who are mentioned in the discussions in Spain, but who in the end did not make it to Granada, we find another Eastern Christian scholar, Victorio Scaliac or Nasralah Salac al-Aquri (d. 1635), see Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 245.

50 After Castro's death, it was arranged that four keys were kept in the possession of respectively the president of the Royal Chancellery of Granada as the representative of the Spanish king, the archbishop of Granada, the city of Granada, and the abbot of the Sacromonte Abbey. Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 249.

Christian character. The other translator, whom we have already briefly mentioned above, had in the meantime become a sharp critic and enemy of the Sacromonte Lead Books, Marcos Dobelio.

6 Adán Centurión, Marquis of Estepa (1582–1658)

Adán Centurión, third Marquis of Estepa, had been born in a family of Italian origins and had moved to Granada because of his marriage.⁵¹ In 1621 the Granadan authorities had decided to erect a monument devoted to the Inmaculada.⁵² It was the inscription to be placed on the monument on the Plaza del Triunfo (where it is still found today) that gave rise to a tremendous discussion, especially when the intention became known to include some quotations of passages in the Lead Books which were seen as confirmation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.⁵³ The opponents of the Lead Books wished to prohibit this. Estepa, convinced that Castro fought for a just and worthy cause by defending them, felt obliged to step in. Estepa decided to push to provide such a translation and promote in this way the cause of the Lead Books.

In those days the Granadan archbishopric and the Sacromonte still insisted on doing the authoritative translations themselves, while the authorities in Madrid felt that this activity should take place outside the influence of the Sacromonte and the archbishop. The king installed a council (*Junta*) to decide about the permissibility of quoting from the Lead Books in the inscriptions on the Granadan monument dedicated to the Immaculate Conception.⁵⁴ The Marquis of Estepa appeared before the Council, stating that the problem of the Lead Books had been a lack of reliable translations. The translations commissioned by Castro had indeed been incomplete and unsatisfactory, he admitted, but he maintained that he would be able to make a reliable translation and, by doing so, act in agreement with the advice of earlier Juntas, namely, to continue the search for competent translators. He reported that he had not only found such translators, but that they had also completed a transcription. But that was not enough.

51 Gómez Gómez, "Adán Centurión," 165. See also Estepa's introduction to his translation in Hagerty, *Los libros*, 59–66.

52 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 242.

53 Kendrick, *Saint James*, 109.

54 Kendrick, *Saint James*, 108.

In an anonymous pamphlet from 1629, the author, whom we can identify as Estepa, directs himself to the then archbishop of Granada.⁵⁵ He briefly summarizes how the evaluation process has proceeded (mentioning several *consultas* and committees), and defends the Lead Books and the course of the process between the demands of Rome and the preference of the Spanish king for keeping the Lead Books in Spain and taking care of the translation. At this moment, he explains, there is a risk that the matter may be reaching a dead end and that the Lead Books, still in Granada, will soon be forgotten. The existing translations, made under the supervision of Castro, he maintains, are certainly not perfect. He mentions white spaces (*lugares en blanco*)—see above, where we have seen that the translations by Miguel de Luna indeed refer to such spots—but no suitable other translators have been found so far. Now he has taken up the translation himself based on transcriptions and available translations. He defends Castro's Morisco translators against what he believes to be unjustified allegations, but begs the archbishop (claiming that other keepers of the keys will be bound to cooperate as well) to grant him access to the original Lead Books in order to reach a breakthrough and accomplish God's will (the author sees it as the Divine will that the books had been made known at that time and place).⁵⁶

Estepa did obtain permission to work with the original Lead Books.⁵⁷ According to his own testimony, he had learned Arabic for a time with a Morisco servant (perhaps a former Muslim slave?) raised on his estate, about whom we know nothing more than his name, Juan Bautista Centurión. According to Estepa, Juan Bautista and the aforesaid Maronite Sergio, who had been rejected by the Sacromonte, completed the work in about six months, working eight or nine hours daily between 1630 and 1631.⁵⁸ That may seem a short time, but as we have seen, his team did not work from scratch but used the transcriptions done

55 BNE VE Ca. 190-47. The untitled pamphlet is dated 10 September 1629. It consists of six folia. See for a brief description Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Ensayo de bibliografía menor hispanomusulmana*, 130, no. 594. Earlier authors who published on the Lead Books do not mention it.

56 *Ibid.*, fol. 4^b.

57 The text is included, according to Gómez Gómez, "Adán Centurión," 167, in ASMG, B 6, n. 18, and BNE MS 10503. Indeed, the said manuscript contains a copy of Estepa's Spanish translation. But ASMG B 6 includes only a curious transliteration which bears Centurión's name as author of the Torre Turpiana parchment, transferred from Arabic into the Solomonic characters of the Lead Books.

58 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 272, Kendrick, *Saint James*, 208, Gómez Gómez, "Adán Centurión," 167.

by Luna and others.⁵⁹ They also made use of the vocabularies and other texts available in the Sacromonte Abbey.⁶⁰

In his translation, the Marquis of Estepa arranged the Lead Books according to the two secretaries of James. The first series are headed under San Cecilio, and the second series under Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār (following here BNE MSS 10503). Estepa's translation lists twenty-one books, including among them the book of the prophecy of John (= the Parchment). The manuscript does not separately list LP6, which is presented as the last part of LP5. From LP17, the *Essence of the Gospel*, he includes, as the last book on the list, the legible verses in Arabic.⁶¹

The king's response to the report of the Junta (submitted to him in April 1631) seemed mild and was seen a victory for Estepa and the Sacromonte. The existing doubts could be resolved in Spain itself, and that the search for competent translators would have to continue. However, the Marquis of Estepa was told that his translations would have to remain under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition and should not be circulated.⁶² All manuscript versions in private possession had to be submitted to the Holy Office. To the dismay of Estepa and the other supporters of the Lead Books, on 15 July 1631 King Philip IV ordered the transfer of the Lead Books to Madrid to be studied there. They arrived in Madrid in 1632. The Parchment remained in Granada.⁶³ The Lead Books were transferred to the High Altar of the Convent of San Jerónimo el Real and were kept there under close surveillance.

In 1632 Estepa published the first part of a defense (in two parts) of the authenticity of the Lead Books and a report about the process of interpretation so far, the *Información*. On 6 May 1633 the Inquisition banned it, because it included translations of the Lead Books, the texts of which were not to be circulated so long as they were not evaluated. The second part would never appear. Upon publication of the first part, Estepa was also attacked by the

59 Letter by Estepa to Tribaldos, 22 February 1633, in: Harvey and Wiegers, "The translation from Arabic," 68. This letter is perhaps the most important source for Estepa's methods and approaches. A manuscript in the possession of Astarloa's antiquariat in 2022 includes a hitherto unknown copy of Estepa's Arabic transcription of LP16, see: <https://astarloarebooks.com/product/copia-del-libro-de-las-sentencias-de-nuestra-senora-de-scubierto-en-el-monte-valparaiso-de-granada-en-4-de-septiembre-de-1597/> (retrieved 10 March 2022). This transcript is very likely another, but far more developed copy of ASMG MS A3, which includes the Arabic transcription of the same Lead Book. The title page of A3 tells us it was copied for Estepa from another transcription, dated 1597.

60 See Van Koningsveld, "Manuscripts"; Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 264.

61 BNE MS 10503, fol. 110.

62 Kendrick, *Saint James*, 111.

63 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 272.

humanist, geographer and chronicler Luis Tribaldos de Toledo (1558–1630). A very revealing polemical exchange of letters between the two, rich in historical and biographical details regarding main players in the Lead Books affair, unfolded between 15 February and March 1633.⁶⁴ Tribaldos accused the late Castro of preventing the production of a reliable translation by rejecting all translations that did not conform to his views. Estepa's translations were never published. A version roughly based on Estepa's work was published by the late Miguel José Hagerty. We will study this publication below.⁶⁵

7 Dobelio's Polemics against the Lead Books 1630–1638

We have seen above how Pedro de Castro had rejected Marcos Dobelio's interpretations of the Lead Books in 1611 and have briefly discussed his activities in Spain in the following years. In this section, we will discuss Dobelio's foremost contribution to the study of the Lead Books, in which he built on his earlier work. This important contribution consists of two studies, the first called *Discurso sobre el libro que se halló en el monte de Valparayso y entitulado uida y milagros de Xro nuestro señor* (Discourse about the book that was found on Mount Valparaíso entitled the life and miracles of Christ our Lord), written in about 1633, and his unpublished but influential *Nuevo Descubrimiento de la Falsedad del Metal* (The New Unveiling of the Falseness of Metal), the "Introduction" of which can be dated to 1638.⁶⁶ In fact, this introduction is the only part of the work that is extant today, but it is a complete treatise in itself, and we do not know whether the author ever wrote any additional chapters. We have dealt with this text extensively elsewhere and will limit ourselves here to a short summary.⁶⁷ Dobelio's work on the Lead Books and the Parchment was partly based on his own work on the original texts and partly on transcriptions and

64 Harvey and Wiegers, "The Translation from Arabic," 59–78.

65 In these years there were also some concerns about the state of preservation of the Lead Books (Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 246, 272). Perhaps these concerns explain why Estepa's activities included, according to Kendrick, the preparation of "bronze facsimiles of each book," Kendrick, *Saint James*, 108. We do not know whether these facsimiles have been preserved.

66 The title refers to the Lead Books but perhaps also in an indirect way to counterfeit copper coins that were circulating in Spain.

67 The text is extant in three manuscripts: St r7-C, ACDF, fols. 7–176; MS 285, BCLM, and ASMG (no shelfmark known). MS 285 seems to represent a more advanced stage of the text compared to the Vatican manuscript. For example, fol. 27^a of the Toledo manuscript shows an image of fol. 3^b of LP2. This image is absent from the Vatican manuscript. We are using here the manuscript at the BCLM.

translations made by others. About his most important source, LP7, he had to rely on a Spanish translation only, which can be identified as done by the aforesaid Sergio. But that was not all he had at his disposal. Dobelio made extensive use of his wide readings in Islamic and Christian Arabic manuscripts in the Vatican Library, among them an Islamic version of the Psalms.⁶⁸ He also referred to manuscripts kept in the library of the Count of Humanes, Francisco de Eraso,⁶⁹ and, most importantly, to a collection of Andalusian Arabic manuscripts in the possession of the Inquisition that had been discovered in about 1622 hidden in a cave in or near the Castilian village of Pastrana. Pastrana had been a well-known center of Morisco economic, intellectual and religious activity.⁷⁰

Dobelio had probably come across the Pastrana manuscripts while he was in Madrid. He was asked by Don Pedro Pacheco of the Council of the Inquisition⁷¹ to make a selection of the best manuscripts among them for the library of the Count-Duke of Olivares.⁷² He refers, for example, to texts such as al-Qāḍī 'Iyād's *Kitāb al-shifā' bi-ta'rīf fi huqūq al-Muṣṭafā*, al-Bakrī's very popular *Kitāb al-anwār*, and a magical text in which Solomon plays an important role, *Kitāb al-asrār fi funūn madhāhib al-shuṭṭār wa-hum al-ṭayālīq*.⁷³ Dobelio also cites a Spanish polemical manuscript, the "Book of the disputation against the Jews and Christians" (*Libro de la disputa contra los judíos y cristianos*), written by "an Arab Spaniard who was not only learned in Holy Writ, but also in the Hebrew language."⁷⁴ His use of these manuscripts in his interpretation of

68 MS 285, BCLM, fol. 169^b. See for the Islamic Psalms: Sadan, "Some Literary Problems Concerning Judaism and Jewry in Medieval Arabic Sources."

69 MS 285, BCLM, fol. 37^b.

70 See on Pastrana, García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 269ff.; al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, 35, 47–48. Alegre Carvajal, "Identidades de desarraigo y diáspora. La travesía de los moriscos granadinos hasta Pastrana," 221–222, mentions two discoveries of books, respectively in 1615 and 1622 (400 kilos of books in Arabic, more than 300 books). Pastrana had its own Albaicín neighborhood, built by rich Granadan merchants, who had gone there at the time of the uprising of 1568–71, negotiating favorable conditions. The place was attractive for these Moriscos because of the silk industry. Some of the manuscripts in question later found their way into the Vatican library and are still to be found there, see Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "Marcos Dobelio's polemics."

71 MS 285, BCLM, fol. 36^b.

72 Ibid., fol. 73^b.

73 Ibid., fol. 31^b. On the significance for the Moriscos of Al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-anwār*, see, for example, Lugo Acevedo, *El Libro de las Luces. Leyenda aljamiada sobre la genealogía de Mahoma*; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 285–288; on *Kitāb al-asrār fi funūn madhāhib al-shuṭṭār wa-hum al-ṭayālīq*, see Albarracín Navarro and Martínez Ruiz, *Medicina, farmacopea y magia en el Misceláneo de Salomón*. On magic among the Moriscos see also López-Baralt, *La Literatura secreta*, 237–346.

74 "Un arabe español docto no solo en la sagrada escritura, pero también de la lengua hebrea."

the Lead Books has been discussed by Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, who convincingly argue that the collections represent a good cross-section of the Morisco written heritage and may have influenced Dobelio, who argued that the Lead Books were written by Moriscos.⁷⁵ In addition, Dobelio quotes extensively from the Quran, which he often cites in Arabic and apparently knew very well.

That Sergio was indeed the author of the translation that served as the main source for Dobelio can be surmised from a manuscript preserved in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.⁷⁶ This manuscript includes two texts, both related to Morisco and Mudejar themes. First of all, it includes the *Lumen fidei contra sectam Mahumeti et doctrinam Alcorani* (Light of the Faith against the Muhammadan Sect and the Doctrine of the Quran) by Juan Martí Figuerola (1519). This treatise occupies folios 1–267^a. The second text in the manuscript is a study by Marcos Dobelio, probably originally entitled *Discurso sobre el libro que se halló en el monte de Valparayso y entitulado uida y milagros de Xro nuestro señor* (Discourse on the book which was found on Mount Valparaíso entitled Life and Miracles of Christ our Lord).⁷⁷ It occupies folios 269^a–387^b, but the original order of the leaves has not been preserved. Most, if not all, the references in it to material in the Lead Books in fact appear to refer to one Lead Book only—namely LP7. The disarray into which the treatise has fallen perhaps explains why earlier researchers were unable to fully understand its title, text and authorship.⁷⁸ Dobelio makes clear that he had come across the trans-

MS 285, Toledo, fols. 80^a–81^a. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano (*The Orient in Spain*, 291 ff.) identify this as a reference to a polemical work written by the Morisco Muhamad Alguazir in about 1611. It is also possible, however, that it refers to the polemic written by the converted priest Juan Alonso Aragonés; see Wieggers, “Muhammad as the Messiah.”

75 See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, “Los libros de los Moriscos y los eruditos orientales.”

76 MS 19-2-2 36, RAH. We will discuss the manuscript below. On Sergio, see Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 244–245, 265. Alonso notes that not much is known about him. Sergio came from Rome first to Madrid and then from Madrid to Granada in 1622, when he started working on the Lead Books there. Castro was not impressed by his knowledge of Arabic. Dobelio mentions Sergio briefly in an autobiographical passage in MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 323^b. It is interesting that Dobelio does not mention Sergio in his *Nuevo Descubrimiento*.

77 This title is found on fol. 298^a.

78 It also explains why some earlier authors posited that the manuscript included a third text, a Spanish translation of the fatwā by the Moroccan mufti Ibn Bū Jum’a (found on fol. 343^a ff.), but in fact the translation of the fatwā was done by Dobelio as *part* of his *Discurso*. An Arabic manuscript containing it was found in the Pastrana collection, and from his remarks it seems clear that he is indeed referring to that particular manuscript. This same manuscript was among those which were later transferred to the Vatican Library, as we have seen above. Dobelio interpreted the existence of such a fatwā and its circu-

lation of LP7 in March 1633, when he was inspecting Arabic manuscripts at the Escorial Library on the orders of the Spanish king.⁷⁹

That Dobelio was indeed working in the service of the king at that time is confirmed by the historian Luis Tribaldos de Toledo, who had been Dobelio's close friend for more than 26 years (i.e., since 1607). Tribaldos writes in February 1633 that Dobelio "had been [Arabic] translator to Paul v in Rome and is now working in the service of His Majesty."⁸⁰ In fact, the part of the manuscript of the Real Academia de la Historia that can be attributed to Dobelio is a draft of his later *Nuevo Descubrimiento*. We may therefore surmise that Dobelio conceived of writing both his *Discurso* and the *Nuevo Descubrimiento* after he had come across Sergio's translation.

In the *Nuevo Descubrimiento* Dobelio focuses on the *Vita*, and far less on other books. He tells us that this decision was more or less forced by the fact that the first two books had already been claimed as the domain of sacred theology by his opponents, the "laminaries." More than once, all those involved in the debates about the Lead Books had been warned by religious authorities in Spain that Pope Clement VIII had forbidden in his *Brief* of 1595 any discussion of their theological contents.⁸¹ It was the Vatican, they argued, that should be responsible for the evaluation of their doctrine. Offering a critique of the *Vita* implied analyzing a narrative, and not dogmatic doctrine, Dobelio argues.⁸²

8 Dobelio and the Broader Perspective of the Polemical Discussions about the Lead Books in Spain

The interpretation that Dobelio defends, he tells us, had been thoroughly rejected by those he refers to throughout his text as the laminaries (*laminarios*)—that is, the defenders of the authenticity of the "láminas," the Lead Books—and as the "theologians," a label that he applies to them because they

lation among the Moriscos as evidence for the Morisco authorship of the Lead Books. This translation was analyzed by Rosa-Rodríguez, "Simulation and Dissimulation: Religious Hybridity in a Morisco Fatwa." The author of this article did not identify the role of Dobelio. Dobelio mentions the fatwā in the *Nuevo Descubrimiento* as well (MS 285, BCLM, fol. 36^a).

79 MS 19-2-2 36, RAH.

80 Harvey and Wiegers, "The Translation from Arabic," 65.

81 Floristán, "Francisco de Gurmendi, intérprete de árabe, turco y persa en la corte de Felipe III," 366.

82 MS 285, BCLM, fol. 4^r, and the anonymous and untitled pamphlet against Gurmendi's translations of the Lead Books is found in a convolute, BNE MSS 1271, fol. A 2^r. The same fear of accusations of heresy in matters of faith is expressed by other opponents.

argue that those without a theological background lack the expertise required to judge the Lead Books. Dobelio's opinions caused him great difficulties: to begin with, the rift with Castro, especially since the latter had spread many rumors about him.⁸³ The "laminaries" even went so far as to threaten their opponents, and Dobelio was not the only target. In his *Nuevo Descubrimiento de la Falsedad del Metal* he mentions one of the others who was persecuted by name, Ludovico de Malta.⁸⁴ It is interesting to observe, however, that in his *Discurso* of 1633 Dobelio also included Sergio, the author of the Spanish translation, among the translators who were unable to express themselves honestly about the contents of the Lead Books. According to him, Sergio had, for financial reasons, dissimulated (*disimular*) in his translation from the Arabic.⁸⁵ Evidently Dobelio's Islamic, messianic and eschatological interpretation of the contents of the Lead Books propelled him into the midst of a heated polemical exchange in the decades preceding the Lead Books' transfer to the Vatican. In that polemical exchange, matters of religious and political authority played an important role. The "laminaries" apparently accused him of lacking the appropriate theological background, but they made only two of the books (LP1 and 2) available to the common people (*el vulgo*), while he himself also knew other texts, which, he added, the "theologians" had always kept secret.⁸⁶ However, with the support of the Council of the Inquisition, Dobelio was now, in this text, going to demonstrate that in order to understand the true (Islamic) nature of the Lead Books, it was not enough to be a theologian.⁸⁷ The authors of the Lead Books were, in Dobelio's opinion, Moriscos, and he mentions explicitly Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo as the two authors. He repeats this allegation various times throughout his book but, remarkably, nowhere does he give any proof for it.⁸⁸

It is clear that Dobelio's text was meant as a contribution to a debate that had already turned intensely polemical at the time in which Dobelio's student Gurmendi wrote, i.e., around 1617; translations of LP1 and 2 were circulated and made public. At this point we note that a number of passages attributed to the anonymous translator are in fact entirely identical to Dobelio's arguments.

In conclusion, it seems clear that the labels, arguments, accusations and terminology used in the polemic which we find in Dobelio's *Nuevo Descubrimiento*

83 MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364^a.

84 MS 285, BCLM, fol. 165^r; ACDF, r7c, fol. 170^a.

85 MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 323^a.

86 MS 285, BCLM, fol. 127^b.

87 MS 285, BCLM, fol. 128^a.

88 MS 285 BCLM, fol. 56^a.

of 1638 were already present in the debates between Gurmendi and the circle around Archbishop Pedro de Castro in 1617, which centered on one question: could the Parchment and Lead Books be considered authentic early Christian documents, or if not, how were they to be explained? Dobelio respected Gurmendi very much. He knew Gurmendi had translated LP1 and 2 and had rejected them as Morisco fabrications. Gurmendi also refers to Dobelio as an expert in the matter.⁸⁹ We think that Gurmendi owed many of his ideas to Dobelio, who not only had a far superior knowledge of Arabic and Islam but had, albeit briefly, worked with the original materials, whereas Gurmendi only had a transcription. Long after Gurmendi published these ideas in 1617, Dobelio expressed them again in his *Discurso* of 1633 and his magnum opus, the *Nuevo Descubrimiento de la Falsedad del Metal*, in 1638.

9 Dobelio and the Condemnation of the Lead Books in Rome

While it is probably true that it was Dobelio who made the most solid arguments against the early authenticity of the Lead Books as Christian lore in the debates that took place in Spain between 1595 and 1638, especially in his 1638 treatise, his views were only partly based on first-hand knowledge of the original Arabic texts of the Lead Books. That he was able to argue that the books were Islamic forgeries was also the result of his access to various collections of Arabic manuscripts (in the Vatican, the Escorial, and the Pastrana collection) and the manuscripts he had collected himself. In this regard Dobelio was one of the first Arabists who worked in a truly European context. In fact, the highly polemical discussion in which he took part in Spain was only partially based on expert and direct knowledge of the Arabic texts, access to which remained very restricted.

We have seen how Dobelio became involved in the Lead Books affair in 1610 when he was summoned to Granada by the committee headed by the cardinal of Toledo. There, he worked for some time on several Lead Books and the Parchment, until he told Castro that he believed they were a Morisco forgery and Castro dismissed him. From that moment onwards, he no longer had access to the original texts and had to rely largely on available transcriptions and translations. In the 1610s his ideas became known among opponents and supporters

89 Dobelio describes him as “vn hombre inteligente en la lengua árabe y traduxo las láminas, que se hallaron en el Monte Valparaíso, que la vna se intitula: Libro de los fundamentos y reglas de la ley y la otra De Essentia Dei. Que parece inuención de moriscos” (Magnier, “Pedro de Valencia,” 210 and 211, n. 45).

of the books, including Gurmendi. We have argued that there are close parallels between the ideas expressed by the latter and those of Dobelio, which can be explained by assuming that Gurmendi was aware of Dobelio's views. Gurmendi's translation and the anonymous refutations of it make clear that as early as 1617 the relations between critics and defenders ("laminaries") had taken the form of a fierce polemic. Like Gurmendi, Dobelio pointed to Luna and Castillo as the two most likely forgers. Dobelio's contribution to the debate was highly polemical, something that can be explained as an expression of his frustration about the situation in which he found himself. As we have seen, in about 1616, two "parties" seem to have emerged: the "laminaries," supported by Archbishop Pedro de Castro, and the group that argued against the authenticity of the Lead Books, among them Martín Derrotarán y Mendiola, Diego de Urrea, Pedro de Valencia, Marcos Dobelio and Francisco de Gurmendi. That the circle around Castro chose to react anonymously to Gurmendi's translation, commissioned by the king himself, was probably due to the papal brief forbidding further discussion of the Lead Books. This debate pitted scholarly expertise against religious authority. Could the "theologians" claim expert knowledge on the sacred matter of the Lead Books, or were they out of their depth? The laminaries, on the other hand, cast doubt on their opponents' scholarly, ethical and religious expertise in an attempt to undermine their credibility. Dobelio compensated the paucity of his direct acquaintance with the original Arabic texts in an original way—namely, by reading widely in Morisco literature (i.e., the manuscripts of Pastrana) and by using other Arabic manuscripts, including those in his own collection. Part of the Pastrana collection later found its way to the Vatican library.

In 1633 Dobelio came across the Spanish translation of LP7 made by Sergio, the Maronite translator who worked in the service of the Marquis of Estepa in 1629–1630. The progress made by Dobelio since 1611, as it appears from the *Discurso* of 1633 and his *Nuevo Descubrimiento* of 1638, was due to his work on the Arabic Islamic manuscripts we described above. Ever since 1611 he had had no access to the Lead Books themselves. He used Sergio's Spanish translation of the *Vita*, even though he was convinced that the translator had not been faithful to the original Arabic text. We do not know of anyone other than the Marquis of Estepa who had access to the (texts of the) Lead Books in Spain after 1632. The defenders continued to attempt to avoid the transfer of the Books to Rome but lost the struggle in the end. After a long journey, by land and by sea, the Lead Books finally arrived in the Vatican in 1643.⁹⁰

90 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 323.

The Lead Books in Rome

The Translation Work of Bartolomeo de Pettorano, the Vatican Committees, and the Condemnation of the Lead Books by Pope Innocent XI in 1682

In Rome itself, as a last attempt, another defender and later member of a Vatican committee appointed to make the transcriptions and translations, the Italian Franciscan friar Bartolomeo de Pettorano, was allowed to transcribe and translate the Lead Books.¹ Bartolomeo de Pettorano, Latinized Bartholomeus a Pectorano, was born in Pettorano sul Gizio (Italy) around 1600. He had prepared himself as a priest for the Oriental missions in the School of Oriental languages of the Franciscan San Pietro in Montorio Monastery in Rome. In 1631 he departed for the Holy Land. After he returned to Italy he taught Arabic in Rome and in Naples. In 1645 he became a member of the editorial committee that prepared the revised Arabic Bible edition. In 1649 he was appointed Professor of Oriental languages at the Sapienza in Rome.

Bartolomeo de Pettorano became interested in the Lead Books through his contacts with Bartolomé de las Torres, who had brought the Lead Books to Rome in 1642. He continued his interest all his life and became a defender of the Lead Books.² A manuscript discovered a few decades ago by the historian and anthropologist Julio Caro Baroja, now kept in the library of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, describes him as the “apostolic advocate to the cause of the Lead Books.”³ It makes clear that Pettorano kept working on his translations of the Lead Books as their advocate and defender in the cause against the

1 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 328 and n. 3.

2 Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la historia (en relación con la de España)*, plate 20.

3 The manuscript is kept in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, shelfmark 9-2-2 99. The title pages (see the fotos in Caro Baroja, *op. cit.*, plates 13 and 14) read: “Sol veritatis. Version Latina lineal de las laminas o libros de plomo descubiertos en el Monte Santo en la ciudad de Granada en 1595. El R. P. fr. Bartholome Pectorano fue como interprete, y abogado apostólico a la causa de los libros. La dedico a la santidad a el S. Alexandro VII en el año de 1666, teniendola en su bufete para leerla. Adolecio de el accidente que murio en 1667. En el siguiente Pontificado de Clemente IX hasta 1670 y en el de Clemente X hasta 1676 y en el de Ynocencio XI hasta que en 1680 se promovio la causa y empezo a tratar de ella, hasta que en el año de 1682 se dió el decreto proscriptivo. Prosiguió el author, y adicionó este trabajo y lo perficcionó más y más hasta que falleció en 1688.”

Lead Books in Rome until his death in 1688. Four Lead Books which were initially transcribed and translated into Latin by him are extant in British Library manuscript Harley MS 3507.⁴

Early in 1645, a Vatican committee entrusted with the task of transcribing and translating the books started its work.⁵ This committee consisted of three cardinals: Roma, Spada and Ginetti, and, as assessor of the Holy Office, Msgr. Francisco degli Albizzi, in addition to five scholars who acted as interpreters: the aforesaid Franciscan Bartolomeo de Pettorano (who had already translated twelve books by then), the Franciscan Antonio de l'Aquila, the Jesuits Giovanni Battista Giattini and Athanasius Kircher, Ludovico Marracci of the Clerics Regular of the Mother of God, and Filippo Guadagnoli of the Clerics Regular Minor.

Antonio de l'Aquila (d. 1679) entered the Dominican Order in 1623. He worked as a missionary for some time in Syria (Aleppo) and on his return to Italy became a member of a preparatory committee for the revised Arabic edition of the Bible. He was the author of an Arabic grammar and taught Arabic in the Colleges of Montorio and St. Pancrazio.⁶

The Jesuit Giovanni Battista Giattini (1601–1672) was a native of Palermo. He was a theologian, philosopher, mathematician and orientalist.⁷

Ludovico Marracci (1612–1700) was an Italian Arabist who between 1656 and 1699 held the chair of Arabic at the Sapienza in Rome and is considered the most knowledgeable European specialist in the study of the Quran in early Modern Europe. He was involved in many projects including the publishing and printing of the *Sacra Biblia Arabica* (1671), the evaluation of the Lead Books (around 1666) and his Latin translation of the Quran (1698).⁸ He became influential at the Vatican, serving as Pope Innocent XI's confessor between 1676 and 1689. Marracci was openly polemical towards Islam in his many works, as can be seen from his translation of the Quran and especially the *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani* (Introduction to the Refutation of the Quran) written around 1680, published for the first time as a separate work in 1691 and later, with the

4 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 337, and see on Bartolomeo de Pettorano, Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 328, n. 3. As we will have seen, Harvey made extensive use of the manuscript in his studies about the Lead Books.

5 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 338.

6 See Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, iv, 179.

7 See Alonso, *Apócrifos*, 338 (and the sources referred to by him), 374, 381.

8 Tottoli, Roberto, "Ludovico Marracci"; idem, "Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani" and idem, "Refutatio Alcorani, in qua ad Mahumetanicae superstitionis radicem securis apponitur." Bevilacqua, "The Qur'ān translations of Marracci and Sale"; Gleis and Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work*; Pedani Fabris, "Ludovico Marracci: La Vita e l'opera."

equally polemical *Refutatio Alcorani* (Refutation of the Quran), included in the Latin translation of the Quran published in 1698.

Athanasius Kircher was born in Geisa (Germany) on 2 May 1602 and died in Rome on 27 November 1680. In 1618 he became a member of the Jesuit order and was ordained priest in 1628. He studied in Fulda, where he had also studied Hebrew with a rabbi. He became a professor of ethics and mathematics at the University of Würzburg. He also taught Aramaic and Hebrew and developed an interest in hieroglyphs. After having taught in Avignon for some time he was appointed professor of mathematics, physics and Oriental studies at the Collegium Romanum, the Jesuit university in Rome. Kircher was a famous scholar, revered as a universal man (*homo universalis*) and as the last man “who knew everything.” He was also known for his esoteric ideas. The many studies on Kircher only rarely mention his involvement in the evaluation of the Lead Books.⁹

Filippo Guadagnoli was born in Magliano (Abruzzo). He became a member of the Clerics Regular Minor in 1612 and studied Oriental languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Persian, Arabic). He taught at the Sapienza. Among his publications is an apologetic work against an anti-Christian polemical treatise written by the Indian Muslim scholar Aḥmad Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿAbidīn. This polemic was a refutation of Jerónimo Xavier’s polemic against Islam, *Mirror of Truth*.¹⁰ Guadagnoli wrote an Arabic grammar and contributed to the aforesaid Arabic Bible project. He died in Rome in 1656, when the Lead Books evaluation process was still going on.¹¹

On 12 March 1645 the evaluation committee started transcribing and translating the Lead Books.¹² On the orders of the pope the procedure was the same as before in Granada (referred to, as we have seen, as the Septuagint model): each scholar had to produce his own independent transcription and translation. The members met three times a week. The transcription phase took from March 1645 until October 1646.¹³ In between, there was contact with the Marquis of Estepa and especially his servant Juan Bautista Centurión (Sergio had died) about a collation of the committee’s translation with the one made under

9 An exception is Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus. Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity*, 116.

10 See on this polemic: Alam and Subrahmanyam, “Frank Disputations. Catholics and Muslims in the court of Jahangir (1608–1611).”

11 On Guadagnoli see Pizzorusso, “Filippo Guadagnoli, i caraccioleni e lo studio delle lingue orientali e della controversia con l’Islam a Roma nel XVII secolo”; Tiburcio, “Filippo Guadagnoli,” in: *CMR*, consulted online on 22 March 2021.

12 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 341.

13 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 344.

the supervision of Estepa, who prepared an improved translation.¹⁴ A collation and control phase followed. This phase lasted from October 1646 until September 1647.¹⁵ The next year was occupied with the preparation of the six individual translations.

A notary of the Holy Office, Giovanni Lupi, was then commissioned to prepare a hexapla in six columns. Under the supervision of various cardinals, the translations were compared. This work took until 1652. Then, a collation between the complete Vatican translation of the Lead Books and the Parchment with that of the Marquis of Estepa was done in 1652.¹⁶ Corrections on both sides were made between 1652 and 1655. The death of Innocent x on 7 January 1655 created a new situation. On 28 April 1655, after a period of three years of *sede vacante*, Alexander VII became the next pope. Under his pontificate, the corrections to the Latin translation (which had been completed in the time of Innocent x) by Marracci and Pettorano were accepted by the others.¹⁷ But in the meantime the composition of the group had changed: Guadagnoli had died in 1656. The approved Latin translation was signed on 13 June by five translators.¹⁸

Once the work of this committee was finished, a group of cardinals decided to make a proposal to the pope to install a committee of learned persons to prepare a theological evaluation. The pope approved this decision, but according to Alonso rejected two persons on the list, Pettorano and a Jesuit whose name is unknown. The nine accepted members were Marracci, who acted as *fiscal*, Casatane (Cardinal Girolamo Casanatta) (1620–1700), De Laurea (Cardinal Lorenzo Brancati di Lauria) (1612–1693), Cardinal Giovanni Bona (1609–1674), Suares (bishop Joseph Marie de Suarès, 1593–1677), Ricci (Michelangelo Ricci) (1619–1682), Alessandro Pollini, a man of letters), De Rubeis (Benedetto Rossi), and Allatius (the Greek Leon Allatios, in Italian: Leone Alacio, 1586–1669).

In the year 1666, all members of the committee of theologians gave their written votes in the form of smaller or larger assessments. Marracci presented a study of 128 folia as his *votum*, entitled *Disquisitio laminarum Granatensium quinque partibus comprehensa*. Marracci's *votum* is by far the most thorough and extensive of those of the nine assessors of the evaluation committee.¹⁹ Marracci's views were influenced by those of Dobelio, whose work he must

14 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 341.

15 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 344–346.

16 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 349.

17 Alonso, *Los apócrifos*, 366.

18 ACDF, r7g, 247 fols.

19 ACDF, r7e, 315 fols. (including the Papal Bull of 1682 and the votes of the nine evaluators of the committee, mentioned in the following order on fol. 000c: Marracci, Casanatta, De Laurea, Bona, Suares, Ricci, Pollini, De Rubeis, and Allatii).

have had in front of him, although he does not mention him by name, and by other scholars, such as Abraham Ecchellensis, the Lebanese Maronite scholar Ibrāhīm al-Hāqilānī (1605–1664), whom he mentions as one of those who had given him information, in particular about the Quran.²⁰ Marracci applied Dobelio's method to the whole collection of Lead Books and demonstrated that his views were valid for all of them. Marracci integrated the examples adduced and the Islamic sources quoted by Dobelio, adding to them a long list of additional examples from other books, focusing on doctrinal passages which Dobelio had not mentioned. Dobelio discussed his points in the order in which they occur in the *Vita*. Marracci's, on the other hand, is an analytical study based on an examination of all the Lead Books.

In the first part, Marracci first studies the resemblance between the language and ideas of the Lead Books on the one hand and the Quran and some Islamic sources, such as Prophetic Traditions, on the other. Then, basing himself on the preceding section, he demonstrates that the Lead Books are replete with Islamic terms, sentences, "fables" and doctrinal "errors."²¹ He then demonstrates, in the second part, that the Lead Books contain many elements that deviate from Catholic orthodox (Christian) doctrine in a way that often parallels Islamic error.²² Following up this same line of thought, he shows in the third section that the Lead Books often deviate from the holy (biblical) and ecclesiastical traditions and historical sources, while concurring with Islamic traditions.²³ After presenting in section four various notes that do not fit under the subject headings of one the first three parts,²⁴ Marracci concludes his *Disquisitio* with a masterly summary in chapter five, dealing with the artifices of the Lead Books and the purposes of their author.²⁵ In this last section he argues that the origins of the prophecies of the Lead Books are to be found in the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571 and its repercussions for the "Mauri" in Spain.²⁶ The Parchment does not play a large role in the deliberations but is not absent either. We find some transcripts, an approved Latin translation in

20 Heyberger, "L'islam et les Arabes chez un érudit maronite au service de l'Église catholique (Abraham Ecchellensis)," 500–501.

21 "Pars prima: Laminas Granatenses Mahumeticis verbis, sententiis, fabulis, erroribus respersas esse." Fol. 16^a ff.

22 "Pars secunda: Laminas Granatenses multa sanae doctrinae dissona, quorum pleraque Mahumeticis erroribus consonant, continere." Fol. 48^a ff.

23 "Pars tertia: Laminas Granatenses a sacris et ecclesiasticis historiis saepe dissentire, cum Machumeticis conuenire." Fol. 86^a ff.

24 "Pars quarta: Alia quaedam a laminis Granatensibus confusim adnotata."

25 "Pars quinta: Laminarum Granatensium techna et earundem authoris scopus" Fol. 122^a ff.

26 "Pars quinta, Laminarum Granatensium techna." Fol. 126^b, esp. 127^b ff.

the Vatican Archive (see P8 of our text edition), and a separate discussion by Marracci at the end of his *Disquisitio*.²⁷

The death of Pope Alexander VII on 22 May 1667 caused a delay in the process of evaluation, which finally culminated in the condemnation by Pope Innocent XI on 6 March 1682. The efforts of the Sacromonte Abbey to defend the cause of the Lead Books were far from over yet, and some of the canons and abbots even continued to defend them until well into the twentieth century. After the books were condemned, no person outside the Vatican ever had access to them again until they were returned to Granada.

27 "Membrana s. Caecilii breviter expensa." Fol. 140^{a-b}.

Academic Studies on the Texts of the Parchment and the Lead Books

The first academic study in which the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana and the Lead Books are discussed is the *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones* by historian José Godoy y Alcántara (1825–1875), published in 1868.¹ Godoy, who situates the Lead Books within the larger context of forgery in Spain, devotes the first chapter to the discovery of the Parchment against the background of the discussions in Spain about the many prophetic texts that circulated at the time. He discusses, for example, Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias's *Tratado de la verdadera y falsa profecía* (1588). He postulates a historical connection between the content of the Parchment and Luna's *Verdadera Historia*, observing in both forged documents a similar stress on the existence of spoken and written Castilian in Iberia from Roman times onwards.² The second chapter is dedicated to the Lead Books, their contents, significance and condemnation in 1682.³

Godoy relies for his useful summaries of the contents of the Lead Books on the Latin translation done by the Vatican committee. Following Gurmendi and Dobelio in the seventeenth century, he argues that Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo were responsible for forging the Lead Books. He describes the religion which the authors projected as hybrid, being neither Islam nor Christianity.⁴ He describes their performance in producing the Lead Books as a sort of comedy (as we will see, the burlesque, playful element will be a recurrent theme in studies of the Lead Books), since after forging the documents Luna and Castillo in their capacity as interpreters pretended to be puzzled by the archaisms the texts presented.⁵

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- 1 See Rey Castelo, "La Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones de José Godoy Alcántara"; Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Mesianismo y milenarismo morisco," 635, n. 1, mentions Vicente Lafuente's *Historia eclesiástica* (1855) as well. An electronic version of the 1868 edition is found on: <https://archive.org/details/historiacrticad00alcoog> (accessed 20 March 2022).
 - 2 Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, 101. He relies on a manuscript dated 15 June 1665 in the library of the Granadan writer Aurelio Fernández-Guerra y Orbe (125 n. 1)
 - 3 Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, 44–129.
 - 4 Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, 94 ff.
 - 5 Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, 105.

In 1958 Leonard Patrick Harvey defended his DPhil thesis about the religious writings of the Moriscos in Arabic and Aljamía at the University of Oxford.⁶ In it he analyzed, especially in chapter 5, the Lead Book texts as an expression of late Granadan Islamic culture. Here, and in many of his later publications, Harvey considers the Lead Books to be evidence of the continued use of the Andalūsī Arabic dialect among the Granadan Moriscos until the end of the sixteenth century.⁷ The fifth chapter is entirely dedicated to the Lead Books. Central in the argument is LP18, of which he used the Arabic transcription and interlinear translation into Latin done by Bartolomeo de Pettorano extant in Harley, British Museum 3507. Of this Arabic version he also provides an English translation. Harvey considers it likely that Granadan crypto-Muslims would have had a hand in the Lead Books. He was the first to consider the Solomonian characters as a self-description of the authors. He reminds us of the expression *Liber fundamenti ecclesie Salomonis characteribus scriptus*, which he considered as being likely to give credit to the antiquity of these “remains,” especially as associated with the charm called Solomon’s Seal.⁸ This holds true as well for the script, which he thought was close to Kufic, perhaps “to give their texts an aura of antiquity.” However, he considers other grammatical characteristics to be testimony of the continued use of the Granadan Andalusian dialect.⁹ He believes the authors to be crypto-Muslims on the one hand (thus *Kitāb Mawāhib Thawāb*) and Catholic Christians on the other (Papal Supremacy and Infallibility, the Immaculate Conception of Mary in *Kitāb Qawā’id al-dīn*, LP1).¹⁰ He compares the doctrines of the Lead Books to those of a hybrid religious sect such as the Dönme.¹¹ He considers the Lead Books to be the fruit of a daring plan to persuade the Catholic church to accept Islamic doctrine. Harvey’s thesis took a major step forward in the study of the Lead Books. For the first time, one of the Arabic texts (albeit in the form of Pettorano’s transcription) was carefully analyzed.

Harvey would continue publishing about the Lead Books. Later publications on them included articles and his monograph *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*.¹²

6 Harvey, “The literary culture of the Moriscos 1492–1609: A study based on the extant manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamía,” 2 vols.

7 Volume 1, chapter Five (212–268) and Volume two, appendix B 1, 159–160 (Method of transcribing the Arabic text of ms. Harley 3507) and appendix B 2, 161–183 (selected extracts of ms. Harley 3507).

8 Harvey, “The literary culture of the Moriscos 1492–1609”, 220.

9 He published about this in most detail in Harvey, “Pan-Arabic sentiment in a late (A.D. 1595) Granadan text: British Library ms Harley 3507.”

10 *Ibid.*, 235–236.

11 *Ibid.*, 236.

12 Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*.

In it he returned to the topic and offered a revised version of his English translation of *Kitāb Mawāhib Thawāb* based on Pettorano's transcription in the Harley manuscript.¹³ Since his earlier studies, some of his views had changed. Harvey rejects syncretism as a main characteristic of the Lead Books doctrines, because, he argues, the term syncretism implies a balance between the old and the new. The aim of the authors was, rather, to insert Islamic ideas into the fabric of Catholic thought in order to erode that thought from the inside and defeat it, replacing it by Islam. He called this entryism.¹⁴

Harvey should also be mentioned here because of his contribution to the study of a manuscript containing a fragment of an Arabic manuscript which includes a doctrinal point strongly reminiscent of the Lead Books. Let us briefly turn to this text. The papers and fragments contained in the recently described collection of fragmentary Arabic manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid are of unknown origin: "Nadie sabía la procedencia de estos manuscritos."¹⁵ The paper of interest to the study of the Lead Books is Caja 18062–18063 XXV: "Una hoja de una plegaria popular que parece de inspiración cristiana. (17 × 12)." Ron Barkai published a photocopy of this text, together with a French translation and a study.¹⁶ In his critical comments on Ron Barkai's article, Harvey rightly related the contents of the text to the Lead Books.¹⁷

The small piece of paper we are dealing with has now fallen apart into two pieces of identical size along what seems to be an original fold line exactly in the middle of the paper. This confirms the impression that we are dealing with a prayer (*du'ā'*), to be carried with the owner in folded form, as an amulet. In view of the very numerous corrections, it seems that it is an autograph, rather than a copied text. The writer must have known more than one of the texts of the Lead Books, as he spells Yaṣū' (Jesus) "correctly," with *ṣād*, provides Jesus with the epithet *rūḥ Allāh* (spirit of God), refers to *Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl* (The Essence of the Gospel) which had appeared on a Holy Mountain and had been "written by the hand of our Lady Mary," as well as to *al-mujtama' al-akbar* (the great council) where, according to the Lead Books, the secrets of the *Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl* would be divulged.

13 Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 265–290, and appendix III, "The Sacromonte Texts" (382–398). The appendix includes a survey of the Lead Books on the basis of Alonso's *Los apócrifos*, and the English translation of *Kitāb Mawāhib Thawāb*.

14 Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 268.

15 Dagorn, Losada and Villuendas, "Un nuevo fondo de manuscritos árabes fragmentarios de Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid," 123. Most of the fragments in this collection are in fact of Andalusian or North African origin.

16 Barkai, "Une invocation musulmane au nom de Jésus et de Marie."

17 Harvey, "A New Sacromonte Text? (Critical Notes)."

The writer says:

In the name of God, the Merciful and Clement,
 O God, our Lord, we believe in the truth of Your word with which You
 sent our Master Jesus, Your Spirit,
 And in the *Essence of the Majestic*¹⁸ Gospel which was revealed on that
 holy mountain,
 Written by the hand of Our Lady Mary,
 In a reversed/reversible script,¹⁹ with magical spells
 You revealed it to her to diffuse it to this earth
 We ask You our God, on behalf of Your greatest awesome name,
 And on behalf of Your majesty, Your beauty and Your awe, on behalf of
 Your blessing, Your glory and Your mercy,
 By which you have mercy upon Your servants,
 That you elevate by it and by him the superiority of Your rightly guided
 religion over all (other) re[ligions], and strengthen by it and by him
 the community of pious believers
 And grant peace to that Great Council
 And by it and by him make Your servants enter under the wing of Your
 mercy
 And by it and by him humiliate the unbelief of the ignorant, infidels and
 deniers. Because You are the Merciful and possess the power to do
 everything!

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 اللَّهُمَّ رَبَّنَا نَأْمَنُكَ بِحَقِّ كَلِمَتِكَ يَا إِلَهِي أَرْسَلْتَ سَيِّدَنَا يَسُوعَ رُوحَكَ،
 وَبِحَقِّقَةِ الْإِنْجِيلِ الْجَلِيلِ 21 مَظْهَرًا فِي ذِي الْجَبَلِ الْقُدُّوسِ،
 مَكْتَبًا عَلَّ يَأْدُ مَوْلَانَا مَرْيَمَ،

18 In the Lead Books, without exception, the Gospel is provided with the epithet *al-‘azīz*, not *al-jalīl* as used here.

19 Reading *al-kitāba*. The “reversed” script could be a reference to the mysterious script of LP17. If we understand *maqluba* as “reversible,” it could refer to the different ways the legends of the Seal of Sulaymān can be read, as explained by al-Ḥajāri in his *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*.

20 The writer at first wrote *āmannā*, but crossed it out and replaced it by *niamanū*.

21 The writer first added the words *mazhūr fi al-jabal* to the preceding words, but then crossed them out and replaced them by *mazhhurā fi dhī al-jabal*. In the Lead Books, the usual epithet of the Gospel is *al-‘azīz*, never *al-jalīl*, which is a divine epithet.

مِنَ الْكِتَابِ الْمَكْلُوبَةِ²² مِنَ الْعِظَمَاءِ²³ [،]
 أَنَّهُ الَّذِي أَنْزَلْتَهُ عَلَيْهَا، لِتَرْسَلَهُ²⁴ إِلَى ذِي الْأَرْضِ [،]
 نَسْتُلِكَ اللَّهُمَّ عَنْ أَسْمِكَ الْعِظْمِ [يَم] 25 الْأَكْدِ [بِر]،
 وَعَنْ جَلَالَتِكَ وَجَمَالِكَ وَعِظْمَتِكَ وَعَنْ بَرَكَتِكَ وَعِزَّتِكَ وَرَحْمَتِكَ،
 بِمَا²⁶ رَحِمْتَ عِبَادَكَ،
 أَنْ تُعْزِبَهَا وَبِهِ فَضْلُ²⁷ دِينِكَ الْهَدَى عَلَى كُلِّ د [....] وَتُبَيِّتَ بِهَا وَبِهِ مُجْتَمَعُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الصَّالِحِينَ،
 وَتُسَلِّمَ عَلَى ذِي²⁸ الْمُجْتَمَعِ الْكَبِيرِ،
 وَتَدْخُلَ بِهَا وَبِهِ عِبَادَكَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ تَحْتَ جَنَاهُ²⁹ رَحْمَتِكَ،
 وَتَسْفِ بِهَا وَبِهِ كُفْرَ الْجَاهِلِينَ وَالْكَافِرِينَ وَالنَّكَدِ [....]³⁰ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الرَّحِيمُ وَعَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
 قَدِيرٌ [،]

All the details of the Lead Books mentioned in this prayer/amulet can be traced to one text, namely “The Book of the History of the Glorious Gospel.” Of this text Hagerty used a seventeenth-century (block-)printed copy in his doctoral thesis preserved in the Sacromonte Library in Granada. The writer of our text may have seen another copy of that same (block-)printed edition.

Taking all the preceding details into consideration, the prayer/amulet does not contain any convincing evidence of an existing cult around the Lead Books. The writer may very well have been a professional writer of amulets in seventeenth-century North Africa who happened to have come across one of the texts of the Lead Books and extracted a prayer from it for his circle of clients.

22 *Al-makluba* = *al-maqlūba*. This term is also used in LP17, *Ḥaḡiqat al-Injil: maqlubat al-‘allāma*.

23 The writer first added the words *wa-min al-‘z̄mā* (without vowels) to the preceding words, then crossed these out and made them followed by the text presented above. We propose to read the *z̄ā* in *al-‘aẓamāt* as a *z̄āy*.

24 Preceding this word, the writer had at first written *wa-amirtahu* but then crossed this word out.

25 This word was at first followed by *al-jalīl*, but the writer crossed it out.

26 The writer had at first written *bi-allatī*, but crossed it out and replaced it by *bi-mā* in the margin.

27 Following this word, the writer had at first written *wa-brk*, but then crossed it out.

28 At first, the writer had written *wa-tusallim dhī al-mujtama’*. As he corrected this into *wa-tusallim ‘ala dhī al-mujtama’*, he partly wrote over the word *dhī*, adding *dhī* once again, for clarity’s sake.

29 Read probably: *janāḥ* (“wing”).

30 Read probably: *al-nākirīn*.

Another important study is Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez's intellectual biography of Alonso del Castillo, which appeared in 1965.³¹ Cabanelas was of course not able to study the Parchment or Lead Book texts themselves but made good use of several very important sources, including the transcriptions, extant in the archive of the Sacromonte to which he had access. This study influenced the scholarly discussions a great deal, which is why we will briefly discuss its most relevant findings here. Following up on the interpretations of Godoy, Cabanelas discovered evidence for the existence of a historical connection between Morisco prophecies (*jofores*) and the Lead Book doctrines. He also focused attention on some remarks by the historian Luis del Mármol y Carvajal, as well as on his opinion about the Parchment formulated in 1593, in which he had based himself on a manuscript copy of the Parchment.³² Mármol points out that prophecies very similar to the prophecy of the Turpiana Tower already circulated before the rebellion of the Moriscos of Granada, and that Alonso del Castillo also possessed several of them.³³ Cabanelas draws attention to two letters written by Mármol to Pedro de Castro. In these letters (dated 1593 and 1594) he told Castro that he had heard the licenciado Castillo tell to whomever wanted to hear it that four or six years before the uprising of the Moriscos (i.e., in about 1562, K-W) an Old Morisco (*morisco antiguo*) called el-Merini, who was seen as very learned and owned many Arabic papers, had told him and others—it seemed to be well-known among them—that when a tower were demolished they would find a great Levantine prediction (*pronóstico levantisco*).³⁴ The said Merini had died in the first year of the uprising (i.e., 1568) and

31 Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El Morisco*. This study was reprinted in 1991 with a valuable introductory study to Cabanelas's work by his Granadan colleague Juan Martínez Ruiz (9–50, followed by three plates).

32 Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El Morisco*, 250–251. This was probably a manuscript similar to the Escorial copy. The said copy was in the possession of Diego Rodríguez de Torres. An edition of the said documents is found in the recent study by Javier Castillo Fernández, *Entre Granada y El Maghreb*, Appendix VI. “El parecer de Mármol sobre la autenticidad del pergamino de la Torre Turpiana en Granada (1593–1594),” VI.1. s.f. (c. 1593, diciembre, Granada) “Memorial de Luis del Mármol dirigido al arzobispo Vaca de Castro transcribiendo, glosando y dando su opinión sobre el manuscrito (AAS) (= ASMG, K-W), Leg IV, parte 1^a, fols. 17^r–22^r” (509–516), VI. 2 1594, enero, Iznate. “Carta de Luis del Mármol al arzobispo Vaca de Castro advirtiéndole de la posible implicación de algunos moriscos en el asunto del pergamino remitiéndole un traslado de los tres pronósticos traducidos por Alonso del Castillo, AAS Leg IV, 1^a fol. 23/r/v” (516–517), and VI.3. “Primer Jafor que llaman la Abeçia”: pronóstico morisco inédito remitido por Mármol en su carta al arzobispo de Granada. AAS, Leg IV, parte 1^a, fols. 24^a–25^b (518–520).

33 Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El Morisco*, 251–252.

34 Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El Morisco*, 253, 254.

left a daughter who, at the time of writing the letter, lived in Granada and was married to a Morisco called Mendoza el Seis. This Morisca had told Mármol that this Morisco gave the papers of her father (el-Merini, K-W) to a Morisco called Luna, and she gave him (Luna) a book that dealt with the “destruction of Spain,” which Luna translated into Romance and which had been printed (*imprimió*) three years earlier (i.e., before 1594, K-W). Mármol says that the said el-Merini had this book in his possession when he, Mármol, was writing his *Description of Africa*. He had approached the father of Alonso del Castillo, who apparently knew the said el-Merini and said that he had lent it to him. The book had not been of much use to Mármol, and he mistrusted it, and found it significant that Luna and Castillo had played an important role in the translation of the Parchment. About Luna he tells Castro: “They also tell me that when the relics were found, the said Luna solicited with a lot of effort and diligence to translate the parchment, and to bring it to his Majesty the King in order to be favored.”³⁵ We have seen above that this is indeed what Luna did. Cabanelas studies the role of Castillo (and Luna) in the translation process of the Parchment and the Lead Books. In this chapter, Cabanelas gives general information about the affair, in which he relied on the works of Godoy Alcántara, Zótico Royo Campos, abbot of the Sacromonte abbey, and Thomas Kendrick.³⁶ A few elements need to be mentioned here. The first is that according to Cabanelas there were still leaves of lead in the possession of the Granadan population at the time he was working on his study. An unnamed person had shown such a leaf to him.³⁷ The second is that Cabanelas devotes a section to the authorship of the Lead Books, in which he points out that he too thinks that Castillo and Luna are their most likely authors. The aforesaid study is not the only one Cabanelas devoted to the Lead Books. In later articles Cabanelas returned to them, arguing that the Parchment and Lead Books represent an attempt to achieve a *modus vivendi*, i.e., a syncretic form of religion between Moriscos and Christians.³⁸

Another important scholar of the Lead Books was Miguel José Hagerty Fox (1946–2010), a PhD student of Cabanelas Rodríguez. Hagerty devoted his MA and PhD dissertations to the Arabic texts of the Lead Books. His doctoral dissertation (Granada, 1983) presents the Arabic text with a Spanish translation

35 Cabanelas Rodríguez, “El morisco granadino,” 256: “También me dicen que, cuando se hallaron aquellas reliquia[s fue con] mucha diligencia y solicitud el dicho Luna y acudió luego a traducir el per[gamino] y lo llevó a Su Majestad para que hiciese merced.”

36 Royo Campos, *Reliquias martiriales y escudo del Sacro-Monte*.

37 Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El Morisco*, 263.

38 Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El Morisco*, 289.

and study of LP15 and LP16.³⁹ Hagerty had no access to the original Lead Books, which were then still in the Vatican, but relied on seventeenth-century transcripts preserved in the Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey. LP15, for which he had two sources at his disposal in that Archive, appears to be of a better quality than LP16, for which he had only one source.⁴⁰ In the latter text there are very numerous reading errors and even the order of some pages is confused. The translation presented in his thesis appears to be strongly influenced by that of Estepa, with which Hagerty was already familiar as he had published it, with some modifications, in a printed edition in 1980 that was re-edited in 1998 and reprinted in 2007.⁴¹

In the original edition, the editor includes numerous footnotes with references to the Arabic titles and some Arabic words and passages of the Lead Books as he found them in copies of the Arabic transcriptions of the Lead Books available to him in the Sacromonte Archive. Though Hagerty's notes are full of errors, the author had these notes reprinted in their original, erroneous form in the later editions of the book, respectively of 1997 and 2007, even though he had provided these editions with a new prologue.⁴²

When we compare the two editions we find that a new preface, dated 1997, has been added (pp. 7–12). In it Hagerty stresses the hitherto understudied creative imagination of the authors of the fraud (1998: 7–12) and expresses his appreciation of its burlesque character. Next we find the updated introduction

39 In a note to the second edition of Estepa's Spanish translation of the Lead Books, on p. 16, Hagerty erroneously remarks that his doctoral dissertation of 1984 (read: 1983) contains *four* Lead Books. In reality, however, the first pair of Lead Books presented by Hagerty are included in his "Memoria de Licenciatura" of 1979: "Transcripción, traducción y observaciones de dos de los 'Libros Plumbeos' del Sacromonte." (The original typewritten copy of this "Memoria," in the library of the Faculty of Letters at Granada, is not available for consultation). Hagerty's doctoral dissertation of 1983 presented the second pair of Lead Books: *Transcripción, traducción y observaciones de dos de los "Libros Plumbeos" del Sacromonte* was published in the form of "7 microfichas (473 fotogramas)" by the Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Granada, 1988. It is now also available in digital format in the digital collection of the Library of the University of Granada.

40 For the former text, Hagerty based himself on MS A1 and IMPR A5 of the Archivo del Sacromonte de Granada. According to his own bibliography at the end of his thesis, MS A1 contains: "Copias vorradores de los libros plumbeos árabes, Granada 1607, fols. 181+7," by Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna. According to the same bibliography, IMPR A5 of the same archive contains: "Copias de siete libros árabes salomónicos exarados [sic] en laminas de cobre, Granada, s. XVII, fols. 83."

41 *Los Libros Plumbeos del Sacromonte. Edición de Miguel José Hagerty*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1980.

42 *Los Libros Plumbeos del Sacromonte*, Granada: Editorial Comares, 1998. *Los Libros Plumbeos del Sacromonte*, 2a edición, Granada: Editorial Comares, 2007.

(1998: 13–30, 1980: 13–51). The footnote order and numbers are still the same, which holds true for the basic structure of the text as well. Some notes mention the more recent secondary literature (e.g., note 1 mentions, in addition to the same earlier literature, Caro Baroja's *Falsificaciones* [1992] and the author's MA and PhD theses). It is important to observe that the list of manuscripts which were used for the edition is the same in both editions (footnote 27). Also, the passage which discussed the merits of the Estepa translation is the same. That translation is not as incorrect as some would think (“no es tan incorrecta ...”). In both editions Hagerty announces that he is preparing a translation and critical edition of the Lead Books, based on the extant Arabic transliterations. Then follow the prologue by Estepa to his translation (pp. 59–66), and the translation itself. In this part, the footnotes have been maintained with minor corrections, and leaving out diacritics. There is no critical apparatus. As remarked above, the errors in the Arabic titles of the Lead Books found in the first edition were left untouched and appear in virtually the same form in the second. The appendices are identical as well.

In Hagerty's view, the “Morisco authors of the sixteenth century pretended that the language of the Lead Books showed elements of a theoretical Arabic language of the first century. Evidently, this language is a pure invention of the Morisco imagination. Long ago we already had to discard a major part of the original Arabic as an example of the Granadan dialect.” This same view can be regarded as the rewarding conclusion of the aforementioned “Memoria de Licenciatura,” which this Doctoral Thesis is confirming. “Definitely, our knowledge of the Arabic dialect of Granada is not much enriched by the study of the Lead Books.”⁴³ On this view Hagerty also based his editorial method. He first presented a “paleographical transcription” of his source(s) in modern Arabic script, on the basis of which he then formulated his edition, which he called the “corrected version.” The corrections he applied to the paleographical text aimed to remove the archaic elements, which he regarded as artificial, and replace them by “correct” forms. One of these “corrections” is, for instance, the consequent replacing of the name of Jesus, which is *Yaṣūʿ* in the Lead Books (characteristically written with ṣād and never with sīn!), by his “correct” Islamic name of ʿĪsā. For further discussion of these aspects, we refer to our separate section on the language of the Lead Books and the method followed in our edition.

In 1992 Julio Caro Baroja devoted attention to the Lead Books in his historical study *Las falsificaciones de la historia (en relación con la de España)*. In it

43 Hagerty, *Libros Plúmbeos* (ed. 1983), 2.

he compares the Lead Books to other historical and pious forgeries in Spanish history.⁴⁴ Basing himself on recent studies (such as those by Hagerty and Cabanelas Rodríguez) as well on as his own research into manuscripts and early printed materials, he presents a useful overview of the discussions about them and about the long process of interpreting them. Caro Baroja follows his predecessors in arguing that it is likely that Luna and Castillo were assisted by other Moriscos (such as the Granadan Morisco el-Meríní), stressing the complexity of the pious fraud.⁴⁵ Caro Baroja also discusses the continued resistance of the Sacromonte against the Vatican verdict, and even its outright denial. We have already seen above that he briefly discusses a manuscript with transcriptions of the Lead Books by Castillo and Luna, which he had been able to buy at an antiquarian bookshop, now to be found in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. Caro Baroja never worked with the original texts.

In 2000 Pope John Paul II and the then Cardinal Ratzinger, later Pope Benedict XVI, returned the Lead Books to their “historical owners,” and a ceremony was organized in Granada that included a visit of Cardinal Ratzinger. On that occasion an elaborate publication saw the light. However, the Lead Books were not immediately made accessible for scholarly research. The first document to be made available was the Parchment.

In 2003 the present authors published an article about the parchment of the Torre Turpiana based on our study of the document itself, although only the recto side of the parchment was visible to eye, since it was put behind glass and could not be taken out. Between 2003 and 2010 the library of the Sacromonte Abbey was restructured, and gradually became more accessible. Researchers such as A. Katie Harris, Isabel Boyano Guerra, and Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano profited from the wealth of archival materials in the Sacromonte archive. While Harris’s consideration of the Lead Books is limited and focuses primarily on their role in the Christianization of the city of Granada, other scholars have examined the discussions about the texts in more detail.

The study by García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente Español* (2010), translated as *The Orient in Spain* (2013), is the most important contribution so far to the historical and scholarly context of the Lead Books and the long and complex process of their interpretation in Spain. In it the authors focus especially on the connection between the Lead Books and the rise of the study of Arabic and Islam in its Iberian and Middle Eastern context. The

44 Caro Baroja, *Las falsificaciones de la historia (en relación con la de España)*.

45 *Ibid.*, 127.

book is based on a rich spectrum of hitherto unexplored archival and other primary sources. Regarding their interpretation of the contents of the Lead Books the authors rely in particular on the contributions of Dobelio (Chapters 9 and 10). Isabel Boyano Guerra devoted her master's thesis and several articles to the abovementioned translation by al-Ḥajarī of the Parchment, based on the original documents she discovered in the Archive of the Royal Chancellery in Granada (ARCG).⁴⁶

In 2003 Philippe Roisse offered a critical edition and French and Spanish translations of LP11, *Kitāb Tawriḫh Khātam Sulaymān*.⁴⁷ The edition is based on a collation of transcriptions made by Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo, the Spanish translations prepared under the supervision of the Marquis of Estepa, the Latin translation by Bartolomeo de Pettorano, and copper block prints of the text prepared by Pedro de Castro extant in the Archive of the Sacromonte. The methodological principle of the edition is that it discusses the idiosyncratic and archaizing elements of the text in the footnotes, while the edition itself presents the text in classical Arabic. Roisse considers the text to be faithful to the Islamic traditions about Solomon's magical capacities as well as the narrative tradition about the Seal of Solomon, which, he assumes, was immersed in an esoteric, universalistic milieu. In a later article written in 2005, Roisse and Pedro Monferrer Sala analyzed the same book from a linguistic perspective as a pseudoarchaic Andalusian Arabic text.⁴⁸

Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons has, in a series of publications, focused on the relationship between the well-known pseudepigraphical *Gospel of Barnabas* and the Lead Books.⁴⁹ He bases his work on Estepa's translations published by Godoy y Alcántara and Hagerty to analyze the contents of the books. He argues that there is a direct relationship between the Lead Books and the *Gospel of Barnabas*, and that the authors of the Lead Books intended to present the *Gospel of Barnabas* as the culmination of the Lead Books. In a recent contribution Bernabé stresses the Islamic character of the Lead Books but also states:

46 For example, Boyano, "La traducción."

47 Roisse, "L'Histoire du Sceau du Salomon ou de la *coincidentia oppositorum* dans les livres de plomb." Id., "La *Historia del Sello de Salomón* en los Libros Plúmbeos." Roisse's article first appeared in French and later in Spanish. The Spanish article includes an improved edition and a completely revised Castilian translation. We will take this last version as a point of reference here.

48 Roisse and Monferrer Sala, "Notas sobre el 'registro pseudoarcáico' de los Libros Plúmbeos de Granada."

49 Bernabé Pons, "Islamic Anti-Christian Polemics in 16th Century Spain: The Lead Books of Granada and the Gospel of Barnabas. Beyond the limits of taḥrīf."

[...] This is the vision remaining of the Lead Books of Sacromonte, which speak of Christianity, of Jesus and the Virgin in terms which, being acceptable to Christians, are perfectly recognizable to Muslims. Perhaps the Morisco authors tried to make a testimony of faith, with the audacity to release it among Christians. As part of a very calculated ambiguity [NB: not syncretism, K-W], the Sacromonte books proposed a message acceptable to all. Beyond polemics, the Lead Books were set in a time before Muḥammad, but an Islamic time nevertheless.⁵⁰

The late Granadan historian Manuel Barrios Aguilera has devoted several studies over the last decades to the historical context of the Lead Books. One his central foci of interest is the figure of Pedro de Castro and the so-called re-Christianization myth of Granada which Castro allegedly used. Castro constructed the myth of Granada as a paleo-Christian city, i.e., a city which was Christianized first by the seven apostolic men, confirmed in its Christian nature and re-Christianized by the Old Christians, both priests and lay persons, who had suffered a martyr's death at the hands of the rebellious Moriscos in 1569–1571, the so-called martyrs of the Alpujarras. That event had already impressed Castro long before the appearance of the Lead Books, when he was a witness to the revolt in several capacities, as Barrios Aguilera argues in a series of publications beginning in 1993.⁵¹ Use of this myth, Barrios Aguilera argues, explains Castro's staunch defense of the Christian narrative of the Lead Books, the Parchment and the relics. Barrios does not consider Castro to be one of the forgers, but certainly a person who skillfully used the narrative of the Parchment and Lead Books.⁵²

Another study that we will briefly discuss here is Francisco Javier Martínez Medina's "Christians and Muslims in sixteenth-century Granada, an intercultural city. The Discovery of the Relics and the Lead Books: The Sacromonte" (2016).⁵³ This was originally a doctoral dissertation in social anthropology submitted to the University of Granada. The author, who had a long record of research into the Lead Books, defends the thesis of the Catholic character of the Relics and the Lead Books, that is, as Catholic, Early Modern Granadan fabrications. In doing so the author aims to prove, taking the Latin translation of the Vatican committee as a point of departure, that the Lead Books include

50 Bernabe Pons, "Islamic Anti-Christian Polemics in 16th Century Spain," 218.

51 See Barrios Aguilera, "El Sacromonte de Granada," 25.

52 Barrios Aguilera, *La Invención*, 451.

53 Martínez Medina, *Cristianos y Musulmanes en la Granada del XVI, una ciudad intercultural. Invenciones de Reliquias y libros plúmbeos: El Sacromonte*.

such un-Islamic dogmas as the crucifixion and the Trinity, and hence cannot be Muslim texts.⁵⁴ Finally, Elizabeth Drayson published a historical study of the Lead Book Affair in 2013.⁵⁵

Throughout this growing body of work in the Lead Books, three theories about the nature and functions of the Parchment and Lead Books can be distinguished. The first theory is that of the ancient Christian nature and dating of the texts. This theory was defended by Pedro de Castro, by the Marquis of Estepa and by Bartolomeo de Pettorano. Al-Ḥajarī is of the same opinion, but he had entirely different reasons than the other authors. He believed the Lead Books to be ancient Christian documents, but Christian documents which agreed with Islamic teachings. The idea that the Lead Books were authentic early-Christian documents finds hardly any adherents anymore today.

The second theory springs from the idea that the Lead Books were Muslim forgeries and at best pious frauds, i.e., fabrications (see on the terms below), usually thought to be composed by more than one forger of Morisco descent. Some authors defend the idea that Moriscos were perhaps the sole persons responsible, but that Old Christians may have been involved in the fraud. The earliest proponents of the theory of Morisco origin among those who were able to study the texts themselves were Arias Montano, Ignacio de las Casas, Marcos Dobelio, and the interpreters of the Vatican committee.

In modern times, these early theories were developed and refined by academic scholars in several directions. The second theory, that of a Morisco fraud, lives on, and is still defended in various forms. The theory defended by Ignacio de las Casas still has adherents, and the present authors have also defended a two-pronged goal in earlier publications on the basis of our readings of a number of the Lead Book texts. Other forms of this theory are Harvey's aforesaid theory that the Lead Books should be seen as a form of entryism, Cabanelas's syncretism, and the theory of symbiosis, which we also find in Hagerty's preface to the edition of Estepa's translation of the Lead Books. This theory is also defended by Bernabé Pons.

54 MS B 21 ASMG. A copy made by the canon José Miguel Moreno, consisting of 221 folia and dated 1759. See Martínez Medina, *Cristianos y Musulmanes*, 210 and n. 266. In arguing his case, it is unfortunate that the author does not seem to know Van Koningsveld, "Le parchemin et les livres de plomb de Grenade: Écriture, langue et origine d'une falsification,"; id. and Wieggers, "The Book of the Enormous Mysteries that James the Apostle Saw on the Sacred Mountain"; Wieggers, "El contenido de los textos árabes de los Plomos," which offer an explanation for the aforesaid Christian doctrinal aspects congruent with the Islamic character of the Lead Books.

55 Drayson, *The Lead Books of Granada*.

Our hypothesis is that the Parchment and Lead Books served a two-pronged goal. First, to persuade the Moriscos to accept Christian domination outwardly, and reach a *modus vivendi* to deal with the forced conversions by promising an eschatological victory of Islam; this was also the intention of the *fatwā* of the mufti of Fez. Second, to promote an inclusive view of Iberian history among the entire population, including the Moriscos. The authors of the Lead Books attempt to achieve that goal by presenting a plural image of early Christianity, which consisted of persons holding opposing and contrasting views on matters of history and salvation, and even of “Christians” who held heretical, “Islamic” views. In such a way doubt was cast on the very foundations of Christianity. We will present our arguments for this theory below.

Material Aspects and Script

1 Material Aspects of the Parchment

When it was found in a box of lead, the parchment was folded. Its unfolded size is 63,5 × 49 cm. Its wild and cursive Arabic script with Maghribi features combines elements of fantasy and of a hybrid nature, in which individual letters are often completely obscured and diacritical signs are usually omitted, resulting in a largely indecipherable text.

Though the condition of the ink has deteriorated through the ages, we believe that the opaqueness of the Arabic text was made willfully by the writer(s) of the texts on the parchment, in order to add to its enigmatic character. As we have seen, Arias Montano not only rejected it as a falsification but also concluded that it was illegible. Our conclusion does not differ essentially from his. The fact that Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo were able to produce transcripts implies, in our view, that at least one of them (probably Luna) had access to another copy of the same text in a legible form. The Latin script used in the Spanish prophecy text is interspersed with various kinds of fantasy forms as well, including Greek letters, mainly capitals. The script of the Latin annotation, ascribed to a certain Patricius, on the other hand, is fairly legible and “normal,” fitting well into the Latin script forms of the sixteenth century.

The composer of the parchment calls himself in an Arabic signature “Cecilio, bishop of Granada.” Returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he had visited, among other places, the grave of Jesus, in whom he believes as the second person in the Trinity, he brought back with him a prophecy about “the destruction of the world” ascribed to “San Juan the Evangelist and Apostle.” He, Cecilio, had translated this originally Hebrew prophecy from Greek into Spanish. He translated its commentary from Greek into Arabic “for the sake of the ‘Mozarabs’ [arabophone Christians] living in Spain.” The precise meaning of both the Spanish prophecy and its poetical commentary in Arabic are opaque and obscure, and, as can be expected of oracles and prophecies in general, they can be interpreted in many different ways, especially because the poems of which the commentary consists can, according to contemporary Morisco authors, be construed in different manners. As will become clear below, however, we can state that there is a connection between the contents and style of the Parchment and the Lead Books.

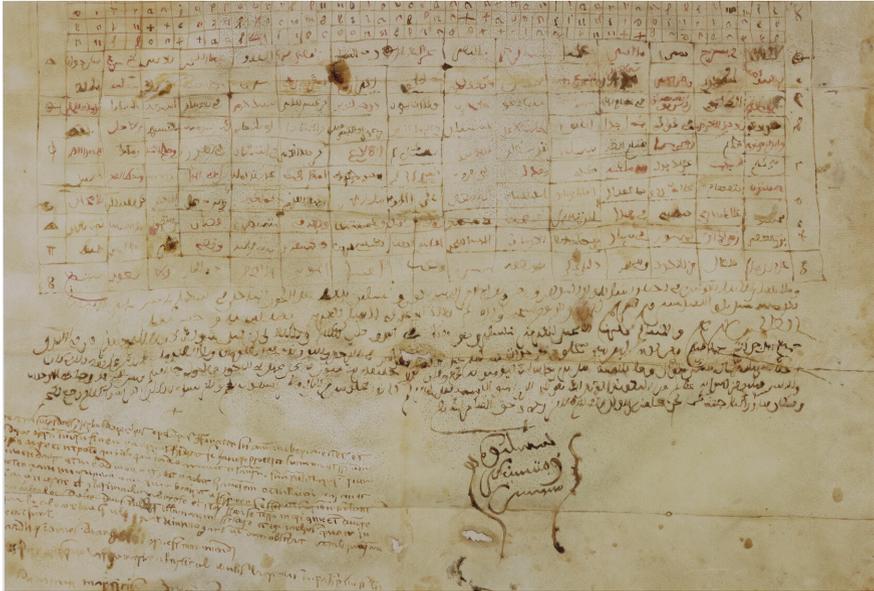


FIGURE 10 The Parchment of the Torre Turpiana, lower side
 PHOTO BY JAVIER ALGARRA, GRANADA

In a final note on the parchment, this time in Latin, a servant of Cecilio by the name of Patricius informs us that his master Cecilio, when he saw the end of his life and his martyrdom drawing near, had asked him to hide the treasure of the prophecy and relics in a safe place, lest they be lost or ever come into the power of the “Moors” (Muslims). One thing that seems evident from all this is that the author postulates that Cecilio was living in a time prior to the arrival of Arabs and Islam in Spain. This corresponds with the belief that the former minaret of the Great Mosque of Granada, where the box with the parchment was discovered, also dated back to ancient, pre-Islamic, that is, Roman times. The Lead Books will provide us with many more details about Cecilio's background, activities and companions.

2 Material Aspects of the Lead Books

It has become customary to speak nowadays of the “Lead Books” and the materials concerned in fact consist of small round pieces of lead with a small hole in each of them to allow a cord of lead to pass through and keep the various leaves (“folios”) of a booklet together.¹ According to the anonymous pamphlet

1 Hence the contemporary designation as *láminas*.

Relación Cierta (1598), the lead was alloyed with another substance.² Their size varies from a diameter of circa 75 millimeters weighing about 100 grams to one of circa 50 millimeters weighing some 50 grams. By both their material aspects and their added characteristics, the books present themselves as Islamic amulets. Islamic lead seals are usually very old (eighth to tenth centuries),³ which may have been the main reason that the author(s) chose this material, namely, to give them an ancient look and to lend credence to the claim that they had been made in times immemorial, in the first century of Christianity. Some booklets have only a few lead “leaves,” others may have more than twenty. When we take a closer look we can distinguish various forms and terminologies, however. First of all, we have tablets in two forms, cover plates (in Latin) which are rectangular, and the books, referred to in Arabic as *kitāb*. Then there is the book called the *Essence of the Gospel* (LP17), which is referred to in the Lead Books texts as *al-awwāh* (singular *al-lawḥ*) i.e., tablets or tables. The rationale behind this is the author’s idea that the *Essence of the Gospel* represents the restored, perfect Tablets of Moses, and as such represents the Quran. The Vatican translators spoke about all “leaves” as *laminae granatenses* (Granadan plates), and from there the term Lead Tablets is also used by present-day studies to refer to the Lead Books. Finally, LP3 is called *prayer and amulet*, not book.

3 The Arabic Script of the Lead Books

The rather archaic kind of Arabic script engraved on the leaves of the Lead Books is characterized by the sublimation of the lower part of some of the letters into the special lines on which they are always written, as illustrated by the first page of one of the first booklets to have been found, the *Kitāb qawā’id al-dīn* (The Book of the Fundamentals of Religion).

This script is not an innovation of the Lead Books but can be traced also in the texts of amulets and seals in magical writings that circulated among the Muslims of Spain, for instance in an acephalous fifteenth-century manuscript that had been hidden away in Ocaña (province of Toledo), photocopies

2 Anonymous, *Relación Cierta*, 8. Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, Arabic text, 40/translation, 99 (Cairo MS, fol. 13^b) tell us the same. The other substance may be antimony (Sb), used at the time to harden lead (which is by nature soft) in order to make it better usable for (block) printing. Would the authors have aimed to have the books printed?

3 See Porter, *Arabic and Persian Seals in the British Museum*, 28–30.



FIGURE 11 LPI, fol. 1^a, photographed in the Sacromonte Archive
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

of which were published in Granada in 1987. In these magical texts the script is used exclusively for the mysterious legends of the “seals,” as for instance on fol. 8^b of the aforementioned Ocaña manuscript.⁴ The script is not specific to either Spain or the Islamic West; it also figures on many seals from the Orient, as illustrated by inscriptions on a Mamluk silver magical bowl from Cairo, dated 710/1310. (See Figure 13). In agreement with Maghribi usage, the qāf is written

4 Albarracín Navarro and Martínez Ruíz, *Medicina, farmacopea y magia: El “Misceláneo de Salomón,”* 206. Specimens of the “linear Kufic” script also in Labarta (ed.), *Libro de dichos maravillosos. (Misceláneo Morisco de magia y adivinación), passim* (manuscript of around the year 1600AD that had been hidden in Almonacid de la Sierra).

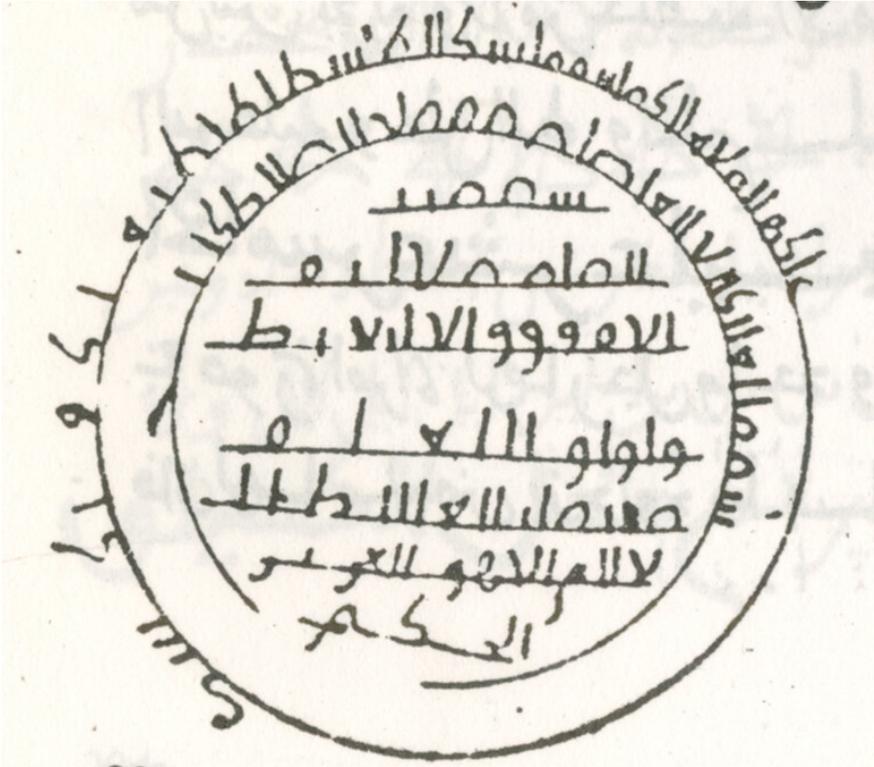


FIGURE 12 “*El Misceláneo de Salomón*”, MS from Ocaña, fol. 8^b. Published in Albarracín Navarro and Martínez Ruiz, *Medicina, farmacopea*, p. 216
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE EDITORIAL UNIVERSIDAD DE GRANADA

with one dot above the letter, except in two cases where two dots are written above it.

In the Jewish and the Islamic tradition, magic and the use of seals were closely connected to the name of King and Prophet Solomon, witness the Arabic expression *khātam Sulaymān*, i.e., the “ring” or “seal” of Solomon, which is often depicted as a five- or six-pointed star. In the Latin cover-text of the first Lead Book, the name of Solomon is applied to the type of Arabic script used in the Lead Books: “LIBER FUNDAMENTI ECLESIE SALOMONIS CHARACTERIBUS ESCRIPTUS” (The Book of the Fundaments of the Church written in the characters of Solomon). It is possible that the name “characters of Solomon,” “Solomonic script,” or, in Arabic, *al-Qalam al-Sulaymānī* was the current name of this script among the Moriscos, though we have not been able to trace this name in Arabic or other Islamic sources which are independent from

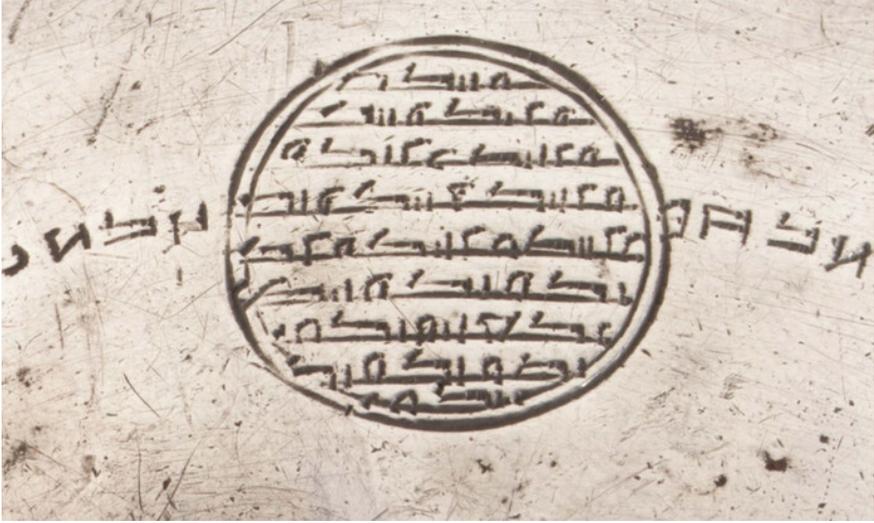


FIGURE 13 Seal on a magical bowl from Cairo, dated 710/1310 (private collection)

the Lead Books. In an article of 1921 the French orientalist Casanova, who had come across the same type of script in several magical seals from the Near East, referred to a marginal note in an Arabic magical manuscript where this script was called *al-Qalam al-Nabaṭī* (Nabataean script). He himself coined the term for this script as *Koufique linéaire*.⁵ Contrary to the seals in magical texts, where the inscriptions usually seem to be devoid of any meaning, the Lead Books contain genuine texts, their script is legible, incidentally diacritical dots have been provided, and spaces as well as certain reading signs often help the reader to distinguish between words and sentences.

4 Cryptography in Three Lead Books

In three Lead Books, a cryptic script has been used that has baffled all scholars who have worked with these materials, including the experts of the seventeenth-century Vatican Commission. In two instances we are dealing with only a few words, but in a third instance the script fills almost a complete booklet. We are referring here to Lead Book 17, entitled *Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl* (The Essence of the Gospel). Except for a few lines in Arabic script provided as legends in a Seal

⁵ Casanova, "Alphabets magiques arabes." See also Porter, "Islamic Seals: Magical or Practical?", 190.

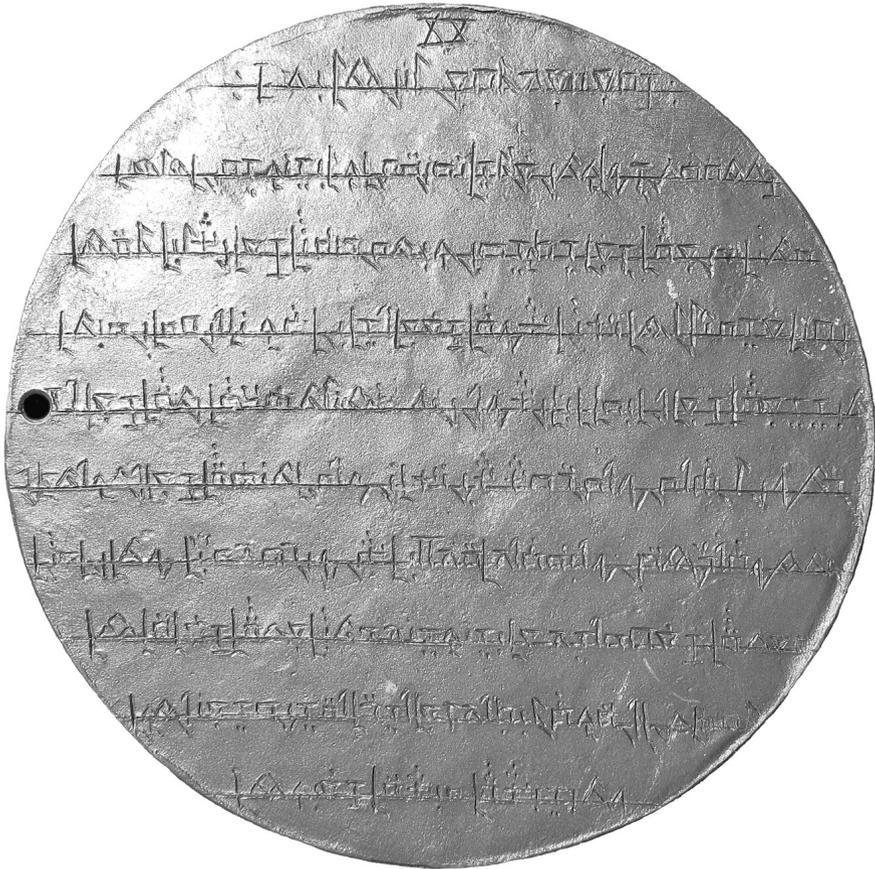


FIGURE 14 LP17, fol. 3^b: First page of “Ḥaḳīqat al-*Injīl*,” photographed in the Sacromonte Archive

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of Solomon to serve as a kind of “cover-page,” the complete text of this booklet was written in the cryptic script in question.

It is possible to distinguish between two separate cryptographic traditions in Islamic civilization. The first of these figures in magical texts and consists of a variety of alternative alphabets, different from the usual Arabic alphabet, by which Arabic texts can be expressed. These strange, non-Arabic alphabets are dealt with by various authors, for instance Ibn Waḥshīyya (d. ca. 935 CE)⁶ and al-Jildākī (d. 1342 CE).⁷ In the alphabets presented by Ibn Waḥshīyya and

6 Ibn Waḥshīyya, *Shawq al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aqlām*.

7 Aidamūr al-Jildakī (d. 743/1342 in Cairo, according to others in 762), *Durrat al-ghawāss wa-*

al-Jildākī the number of signs in one type of script is more or less identical to the number of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. The idea here is that when the author of a text wanted to keep certain Arabic names or words secret or of limited access, he presented them in one of these mysterious alphabets.

The second tradition is a cryptographic one in the real sense of the word, in that it bears various examples of forms of cryptography used for official purposes, for instance in letters and documents that contain state secrets. This tradition is characterized by the replacement of Arabic letters by other Arabic ciphers and letters or by symbols of different origin, in accordance with certain (secret) formulas. The famous ninth-century scholar al-Kindī wrote a study analyzing the different types of encipherment.⁸ In the case of our Lead Books we would be dealing with the first tradition, but the truth of the matter is that our mysterious script contains many more different signs than the letters of the Arabic alphabet. We are thus inclined to assume that we have here a case of pseudo-cryptography, not uncommon in magical texts and inscriptions, where the text is in fact devoid of any meaning at all. We are reminded of the warning expressed repeatedly by the Lead Books themselves with respect to each of the texts presented in this mysterious script, namely, that their meaning will only be revealed at the end of time, under divine intervention!

5 The Images of the Seal of Solomon in the Lead Books

Drawings of the already-mentioned “Seal of Solomon” figure at the beginning and end of most of the Lead Books. Apart from their decorative role, especially in the case of more or less complex constellations of various “Seals of Solomon,” their primary function is to emphasize the divine truth of the Lead Books. Another function may be to certify their authenticity symbolically as records of this group.⁹ Often they are devoid of any legend, but in some cases they are filled or surrounded with short texts, or even with the first letters of these short texts. The first of these is what presents itself as the “creed” of

kanz al-ikhtisās fī maʿrifat ʿilm manāfiʿ al-khawāss. GAL SII 172, 10. The survey of the magical alphabets is provided by the author at the end of his book, and is lacking in the lithographed Bombay edition of 1309/1891. We base ourselves on a photocopy of a manuscript in a private collection.

8 Mrayati and at-Tayyan, *Al-Kindī's Treatise on Cryptanalysis*. This is volume 1 of a series on the “Arabic Origins of Cryptology.” Various other important Arabic texts on Arabic cryptology have been published in this series.

9 Richardson, *Roma in the Medieval Islamic World*, 125–126, draws attention to the connections



FIGURE 15 LP7, fol. 22^a: Seals of Solomon with Creed: “Lā ilāha illā Allāh; Yaṣū‘ rūḥ Allāh.”
 Photographed in the Sacromonte Archive
 REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

the Lead Books: لا اله الا الله يصوع روح الله—“There is no god but God, Jesus is the Spirit of God” (See Figure 15). Then there is a short text that can be characterized as an article of faith or a conviction which seems to lie at the basis of many Lead Books, namely: كل كتب حق—“Every (sacred) Book is the Truth” (See Figure 16).

Finally, there is the poetic text that introduces the “Essence of the Gospel.” Its six lines were constructed after the pattern one observes in the Arabic poeti-

between minorityness and archive-keeping as a means of preserving historical memory, and as a response to marginalisation and repression.

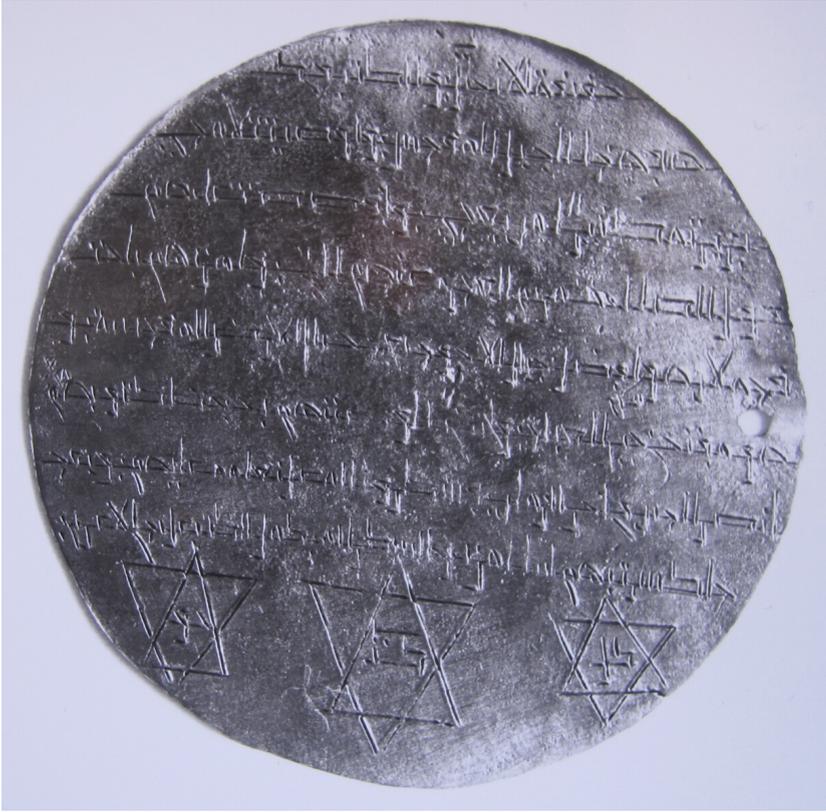


FIGURE 16 LP15, fol. 11^a: Three Seals of Solomon with article of faith: “Kullu kitāb ḥaqq,”
 photographed by the Vatican Library
 REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

cal “commentary” on the Spanish prophecy of the Parchment, as we mentioned earlier (See Figure 17).

كبيرة القدر	مقلبة العلامة	حقيقة الانجيل
لتعظيم الاجر	واليمين والنعمة	تهدي الى السبيل
يسراً على يسر	جليلة العظامة	كلمة الجليل
ايضى من الشمس	من جمر الكرمة	فهي للمكتبس
لحظة القدس	في مشهد القيامة	تنجيه من النحوس
بالروح والنفس	يا سعد من اقمه	فلاح النفوس



FIGURE 17 LP17, fol. 1^a: Seal of Solomon with poetical prophecy
 PHOTOGRAPH OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY. REPRODUCED WITH PERMIS-
 SION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

In our translation, its meaning would be as follows:

- (1) “[This is] the Essence of the Gospel, in an inverted sign of great power.”
- (2) “It leads to the way of prosperity and to the assiduous glorification of the reward.”
- (3) “[It is] the word of the Exalted [God], of lofty sublimity, ease upon ease.”
- (4) “For him who derives light from the embers of grace it is more splendid than the sun.”
- (5) “It will save him from disasters on the day of Resurrection, in the presence of the Most Holy.”
- (6) “Salvation of souls; whoever will uphold it will be happy in spirit and soul.”



FIGURE 18 LPII, fol. 1^b: History of the Seal of Solomon
 PHOTOGRAPH OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY. REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION
 OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

In one of the smaller Lead Books, an explanation is given of the origin and power of the Seal of Solomon (see Figure 18). It describes how Solomon received the sign from God on his ring, empowering him to rule over demons and spirits. Seduced by the Devil in the form of a woman of outstanding beauty, he lost the ring, but in the end was able to retrieve it and restore order in his realm. The “Shield of David” (*Magen David*) or the “Seal of Solomon” (*Khātam Sulaymān*, as it is exclusively called in Arabic) has its origin in pre-Islamic Jewish magic.¹⁰ Originally Solomon’s ring was not covered by the magical emblem

¹⁰ Gershom Scholem, *Das Davidsschild. Geschichte eines Symbols*. This is a chapter in the author’s “Judaica,” 175–118.

of a six- or five-pointed star, but by the holy, unpronounceable name of God, the *tetragrammaton*. Important elements of the story as recounted in LP11 are of Jewish origin as well, but with important Islamic elements added, as is the case with so many other so-called “Prophetic Tales” (*Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*).

Style and Language

1 Style

The Lead Books present different styles in relation to a variety of subject matters. First of all, there are discursive treatises of religious doctrines and rules. Among them we find texts on the fundamental articles of faith (LP1), the divine essence (LP2), the ritual of the mass (LP4), a “catechism” in two copies (LP5, LP9), a text about paradise and hell (LP12), one on the nature of the angels (LP13), and a list of religious rules and maxims (LP14).

The dialogue in the form of questions and answers is a second characteristic style to be observed in some Lead Books. Sometimes the questions are posed by Peter the Vicar and the answers are given to him by the Holy Virgin Mary, as in *The History of the Essence of the Gospel* (LP15). In the *Ascension of Mary* (LP16) it is Mary herself who asks the questions, while Gabriel and others give the answers. We find the same form and style in *The Virtues of the Essence of the Gospel* (LP18). Stylistically speaking, these texts are strongly reminiscent of the Islamic literature of the so-called *munājāt* (intimate conversations), for instance between Moses and God, which we also encounter among the Moriscos.¹

Then there are narrative texts, in a third group, as in the *Life of Jesus and Mary* (LP7) and the *Life of James* (LP20 and LP21).

A fourth group has theological texts in a solemn and elevated language, in rhymed prose, strongly reminiscent of the Quran, as in LP8 and LP10 (both on predestination and free will). This same style is occasionally also applied in a “historical” text, as in LP11, dealing with the history of the Seal of Solomon. The author numbered each sentence with a letter of the alphabet, evoking the “loose letters” to be found at the beginning of some suras of the Quran.

Finally, there remain a few small texts with an amulet (LP3), a prayer (LP6) and a magical text which presents itself as “The Seal of the Mount which was chosen for the *Essence of the Gospel*” (LP19, fol. 1^a).

1 See Villaverde Amieva, “Historia de Muça.”

2 Grammar

We have briefly discussed above the academic studies that have dealt with the linguistic aspects of the Lead Books. We have seen that Harvey, basing himself on Pettorano's transcription of LP18 preserved in Harley MS 3507, saw the language of the books as evidence of the late Granadan Andalusi dialect.² Roisse and Monferrer Sala come to a similar conclusion in an article about LP11 written on the occasion of the 65th birthday of Federico Corriente.³

Several aspects of the Arabic language of the Lead Books and Parchment lead us to the conclusion that we are indeed dealing with a variety of the Andalusi dialect, as described by Federico Corriente, with some archaizing elements added by the author(s) in order to strengthen the claim of their origin in the first century CE.⁴ That the author of the Lead Books would construct this language can perhaps be seen in some passages in the Lead Books themselves, where the author discussed the language use by the contemporaries of Tis'un ibn 'Aṭṭār and Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā. The language of the pagan, idolatrous inhabitants of Iberia is described in one passage as *'ujmā'* (non-Arabic, barbaric.)⁵ Elsewhere it is said that the local Roman tribes speak the "local colloquial language." Perhaps here the use of the Andalusian dialect is imagined as the (Romance) language spoken by these first-century Christian Arabs, the existence of which is also suggested by the Spanish Prophecy in the Parchment. On the other hand, Tis'un ibn 'Aṭṭār and Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā

2 Harvey, "Pan-Arabic sentiment in a late (A.D.1595) Granadan text: British Library ms Harley 3507." In this article Harvey continued the research of his "Literary Culture," in which he had compared the language of LP18 with a private letter written by the Granadan Morisco leader of the revolt of the Alpujarras, Abenaboo (see specially 230–233) in a transcription by Alonso del Castillo. On this last source see originally Alarcón, "Carta de Abenaboo en árabe granadino (estudio dialectal)."

3 Roisse and Monferrer Sala, "Notas sobre el 'registro pseudoarchaico' de los Libros Plúmbeos de Granada."

4 Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*. Corriente himself does not refer to the Lead Books in that book, nor in its updated version, *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Andalusí Arabic*. The second study lists several text samples of Andalusí Arabic, among which are proverbs from Alonso del Castillo's collection (see also Corriente and Bouzineb, *Recopilación de refranes andalusíes de Alonso del Castillo*). In his overview of recent studies on Granadan Andalusí Arabic published in 1997, "Balance y perspectivas de los estudios de árabe granadino," 156, Corriente makes clear that he was awaiting a critical edition to be able to judge the value of the Lead Books as a possible late Granadan Arabic source. We thank Adrián Rodríguez Iglesias for sending us this article. Our references below are to Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle* and his *Dictionary of Andalusí Arabic*.

5 LP20, fol. 19^a.

themselves are pictured as Arabs and their colloquial language might have been imagined as close to the Andalusī Arabic dialect used by the author himself.

We will illustrate these points with a few examples, while a detailed study of the linguistic aspects of the Lead Books will have to wait for further research. This also holds true for the remarks in the anonymous pamphlet from around 1618 discussed above, that the Lead Books are written in a Morisco idiom except for those parts in which the authors quote the Quran or use Quranic sayings as part of their own discourse. This is again not the place to study this in detail, but it is interesting to observe that in LP2, fol. 3^a, one of the many places where a sura (in this case sura 31:27) is quoted, the word *shajara* (trees) is replaced by Andalusian Arabic *shajār* (CDAA, s.v. *šjr), perhaps to slightly “dissociate” the Quranic text from its alleged first-century text, not completely altering the Quranic text, however.

In any case, among the relatively scarce materials for the study of the late Granadan Andalusī dialect, the Lead Books seem to represent important (though complex) new evidence for the second half of the sixteenth century.

Regarding the phonological aspects we point to the following vocalisms.

- A: Often short a instead of long ā is used, e.g.: *Al-ḥawarī*, not *al-ḥawārī*, *kitāb*, not *kitāb*, *ṭa’a*, instead of *ṭā’a* (*passim*). On the other hand we find long ā instead of short a in a final syllable: *nasāb*, not *nasab* (20/3a); *ḥasāb*, not *ḥasab* (20/3a); *adāb*, not *adab* (20/3b); *ḥasān*, not *ḥasan*; *karām*, not *karam*.
- I: Long ī instead of short i in a penultimate syllable: *tilmidhihi*, not *tilmīdhihi*, 20/3a (by the change of emphasis the long ī of *tilmīdh* is shortened); *ma’ājizīhi* (his miracles), 20/2a, but also *ma’ājizīhi*, 20/3^a. Short i instead of long ī in word-final position: *Dhawī*, not *dhawī*, 20/3a; *Ūlī al-abāb* = *ūlī al-albāb*, 20/3a, but also *ūlī al-albāb*. Long ī for short i in a final syllable: *maḥāsīn*, not *maḥāsīn*.
- U: Short u instead of long ū in word-final position: thus also 15/6^a: *dhw* = *dhawu*, not *dhawū*, elision of long vowel in final position, but also *dhawū*; Long ū instead of short u in closed position: *lūbb*, not *lubb*.

With regard to A and I:

Imāla: *Al-qīma* instead of *al-qāma* (stature), 20/3b in this form (ā>ī) a late development (Corriente, *A Sketch*, 1.1.3, id., *A Descriptive and*

Comparative Grammar, 1.1.1.2), perhaps also in such hypercorrect forms as *lakīn* instead of *lākin* (but).⁶

Fā'il becomes *fa'il: kamīl*, instead of *kāmīl*, *passim*; 'adīl, not 'ādīl; *zahīd*, not *zāhīd*, 20/3b (hapax); *tabīr*, not *tābīr*; *natīj*, from *nātīj* or *nitāj*, 20/3^a.

Regarding consonants:

Hamza—Elision of *hamza*: *yṭmn* instead of *yaṭma'īnu* (20/31^b)

Ḍād—often replaced by *zā'*: *zarrat*, not *ḍarrat* (20/3b).⁷

Ṣād—*Ṣād* replaced by *sīn*: *ikhlasihim*, not *ikhhlāšihim*, 20/3a; *siḡharihi*, not *ṣiḡharihi*, which may be, per Corriente, *Bundle*, paragraph 2.17.2., develarization of *ṣād* and merger between *ṣād* and *sīn*.⁸

Sīn replaced by *ṣād*. Corriente provides many examples, e.g., *ṣurra* instead of *surra* (navel),⁹ and the same phenomenon occurs in the Lead Books with similar frequency, e.g., in *Yaṣū'* instead of *Yasū'* (Jesus). The very frequently occurring name of Jesus is always written with *ṣād*, not with *sīn*, following the phonetic characteristics of Andalusī Arabic.

Alif maqṣūra replaced by *hā'*: *al-taqwah*, not *al-taqwā*, 20/3a, *jadwah* not *jadwā* (11/1^b)

Lām—Elision of *lām* in vowelless position: *Ūlī al-abāb* = *ūlī al-albāb*, 20/3a, but also *al-albāb*.

Wāw—the replacement of an initial *wāw* by *alif* in primary position: *ujūd*, instead of *wujūd*, (existence) illustrates the Andalusī character of the dialect of the Parchment and the Lead Books. We also find it in *ajaba*, instead of *wajaba* (to be obliged); likewise *ahaba* instead of *wahaba* (to donate), *ūjūd* instead of *wujūd* (existence, world), and *aṭā*, instead of *waṭa'a* (to step), etcetera. Compare the examples mentioned by Corriente: *irātha* instead of *wirātha* (inheritance), quoted from the *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcalá, and *zain al-izāra* instead of *zain al-wizāra* (ornament of the ministry), quoted from the *Dīwān* of Ibn Quzmān.¹⁰

6 Roisse and Monferrer Sala, "Notas sobre el 'registro pseudoarcháico' de los Libros Plúmbeos de Granada," 392.

7 Also observed in Harvey, "Pan-Arabic Sentiment," 228.

8 Also Harvey, "Pan-Arabic Sentiment," 228.

9 Corriente, paragraph 2.15.2, 48.

10 Ibid., paragraph 2.5.1, 36.

2.1 *Syntax*

A few examples from syntax. Our first example: consistently, and with very rare exceptions, the undefined form of a noun has its ending, the Arabic *tanwīn*, exclusively in the form of *-an* in all cases, thus excluding the use of *-un* and *-in*, for nominative and genitive, respectively, a phenomenon analyzed by Corriente.¹¹ This is observed, for instance, in the small sentence: *lahu mulkan lā yazāl* instead of *lahu mulkun lā yazāl* (He possesses a kingship that has no ending), in LP1. Another example from the same first Lead Book is: *laysa bāban aqrāban dalīl ‘alā Allāh min al-qurbān* instead of *laysa bābun aqrābu dalīl ‘alā Allāh min al-qurbān* (there is no closer gate leading towards God than the mass).

A second example is the use of the denying particle *lam* followed by a verbal form in the imperfect, to deny something in the present or future, different from the well-known use of *lam* followed by a verbal form in the apocope in order to deny something that already happened in the past. An example from LP4: *li-anna mā kāna li-‘ibādat Allāh lam yajibu li-manfa‘at ‘ibādihi* (because what is [destined] for the adoration of God should not be used by His servants). And from the same booklet: *wa-dhālika ba‘da iqrāran min al-dhunūb faṣīḥ wa-‘ahdan [an]¹² lam ya‘ūdu ilaihim abadan* (and that, after a clear confession of the sins and a promise that he will never return to them).¹³

3 Vocabulary

The Islamic background of the author is revealed on every page of the Lead Books by the use of expressions, even the shortest ones, derived from the two fundamental normative sources of Islam, namely the Quran and the Tradition literature (*Ḥadīth*), which consists of reports about saying and deeds of Muhammad or one of his Companions. Here we are witnessing the creation of an Islamic “atmosphere,” in which an audience with a Muslim background would easily feel at home. At the same time there is a complete avoidance of the exposition of any specific Islamic doctrine or any explicit reference to Islam; the name of Muhammad, for instance, is not mentioned a single time in any of the Lead Books. The Islamic expressions, as well as major Islamic images, are applied here to biblical figures. The ascension of the Holy Virgin Mary (*Maryam*

11 Ibid., paragraph 7.1.1, 121–122.

12 We have an example here of the frequent phenomenon of “involution” in the Lead Books, where two identical graphemes directly following each other are written only once.

13 Ibid., paragraph 9.3.2, 144–145.

al-ṣāliḥa al-ʿadhra), for instance, has been calqued from the Ascension (*miʿrāj*) of Muhammad, a major event in Islamic sacred history (LP16).

An example of an Islamic tradition applied here to Jesus is the passage in the “Catechism” (LP5/9): “While our lord Jesus, His Spirit, is stretching out His arms before him, in accordance with His words: ‘Whosoever approaches me one span, I will draw near to him one cubit, and whosoever draws near to me a cubit, I will draw near to him the length of two arms, and whosoever comes to me walking, I will come to him running.’” These words, attributed here to Jesus, are a widespread so-called “sacred Tradition” (*ḥadīth qudsī*), in which God Himself speaks directly, mentioned in many different Islamic sources. Used in this way it could easily be understood to suggest that Jesus is in fact God. However, this does not mean that the “correct” Islamic name of ʿĪsā is used. In fact that name is used only in the Parchment, and we may consider the Lead Books as correcting that, for as we have seen the name of Jesus is *Yaṣūʿ* in the Lead Books (characteristically written with *ṣād* and never with *sīn* as happens with other cases where *ṣād* is used, for example in the case of *ikhlasihim*, not *ikhlašihim*, LP20, fol. 3^a).

In addition, numerous specifically Islamic concepts are used in the Lead Books to indicate specific Christian institutions, rituals and customs. This is a phenomenon already in vogue in Christian missionary texts directed towards the Moriscos. Bartolomé Dorador, for instance, in his *Catechism* of circa 1554, used Islamic concepts like *faqīh* for “priest,” *ṣalāt* for “Mass,” and *miḥrāb* for “altar.”¹⁴ The Lead Books expand considerably an identical use of such Islamic concepts. They use, for instance, *al-jamīʿ al-muqaddas*, the Andalusī form of *al-jāmiʿ al-muqaddas*, for “the Holy Church” rather than the “Holy Mosque.”

Apart from all the Andalusī specificities in the form of their vocabulary, the Lead Books present several lexical idiosyncrasies, to be found especially in certain proper names and institutions. *Jarjalān*, for instance, is used for Jerusalem¹⁵ and *Batlān* for Bethlehem. Perhaps we should understand these forms in the context of corresponding contemporary Spanish names, for instance Jerusalén. The author seems to have faced some difficulty in writing the letter *p* in Arabic. The very frequently occurring name of Peter, for instance, is written as *Yadru* (with *yāʿ*). We can only guess why he chose the letter in this case. Thesiphon, whose name is mentioned once in Latin, bears the Arabic

14 Torres Palomo, *Bartolomé Dorador y el árabe dialectal andaluz*, 49–50; Garrido García, “El uso de la lengua árabe como medio de evangelización-represión de los moriscos del reino de Granada.”

15 Note that this idiosyncrasy appears in both the Parchment and the Lead Books, once again confirming their common authorship.

name Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār in the Lead Books.¹⁶ Since the name Thesiphon is found on the commemorative plaque accompanying the first Lead Books, we are led to believe that, in the author’s view, the name Thesiphon had been derived from his original Arabic name.

¹⁶ Compare the Latin cover text of LP2.

Edition and Translation: Methodological Aspects

1 Edition

In briefly discussing the method followed in our edition we must distinguish between the Parchment and the Lead Books. In our edition of the Parchment we focus on the earliest transcripts made by Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo. In all probability it was Luna who had access to another copy of the text in a more legible form, on which he could rely to produce his transcripts and translations. Alonso del Castillo seems to have relied on Luna's transcripts, standardizing and correcting them, wherever he thought this was desirable in the light of the opaque script of the Parchment itself. It is striking that this process coincides with Luna's own testimony about the relationship between his own translation and that of Castillo; it is perhaps no coincidence, but due to the possibility that Luna authored the text! Our edition offers the work of them both and points to the differences between their readings of the Arabic texts as well.

Our English translations of the Parchment are based on the Arabic, Spanish and Latin texts, not on the extant translations by Luna and Castillo, since, as we argue, their interpretations of the Parchment offer a Christianizing rendering, a tendency we also find in their translations of the Lead Books, to which we refer in the footnotes to the edition of the Lead Book texts.

In our edition of the Lead Books we aim to provide a transcription of the original lead plates which is as truthful as possible, while maximizing their accessibility to the modern reader. It is not a so-called "diplomatic" edition, because: (1) we do not follow the layout of the texts as found on the tablets, but are editing them in paragraphs and sections, in accordance with their inner structure and contents; (2) we are not confining ourselves to the incomplete diacritical dots as found on the tablets, but are continuously adding those we deem necessary in order to produce a readable text. However, we do faithfully reproduce all errors we believe were committed (usually by a scribe) in the main text, while suggesting a more correct reading in the notes only.

Our method implies a constant process of interpretation, even at the level of the edition of the Arabic texts, which, we believe, is inevitable, in view of the characteristics of the Arabic script in handwritten texts in general, with their customary and continuous omission of numerous diacritical signs, and the usual absence of the slightest editorial order in these texts, especially when

they are in prose. However, in order to enable the reader to fully verify our edition, an online repository with a set of digital reproductions of all the tablets made by ourselves with a digital camera in the Sacromonte Archives is available via <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.24138933>. The order we follow in arranging the various texts in our edition is based on the well-documented chronological order of the “discoveries.” We have maintained the original order in presenting them in our edition. The chronology of the texts themselves may of course differ from that chronology as established by the events of discoveries.



During the process of evaluation from the moment of the discovery until the anathematization in 1682, the titles of the Lead Books were referred to in varying ways. In the beginning Spanish titles dominated, but later, under the influence of the Vatican Latin translation, the Latin titles started to be used as well. We use the bilingual titles of the first two Lead Books (Arabic and Latin) and the original titles in Arabic of the other Lead Books, as well as our own English translations of these original titles. In order to allow the reader to trace the varying titles used in the contemporary sources we have added a concordance of titles in Arabic, English, Spanish, and Latin (see above).

In the course of the more than 400 years of their existence outside the caves of Valparaíso Hillock, various tablets were damaged and passages were effaced, resulting in an irreparable loss of texts. In all those cases, we have made grateful but critical use of the transcripts of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century translators who worked in Granada and the members of the first seventeenth-century Vatican Commission, who were working with the same, but still less damaged materials. Wherever we have collected the various solutions to be found in those external sources in order to propose a text of our own choice, we have always added texts of various lengths, varying from a few letters to the texts of our choice within square brackets. Let us not forget, however, that our edition is no more than an *editio princeps* of extremely difficult texts, likely to be in need of correction at various points after a certain period of time has elapsed and specialists of various disciplines have been able to work with them.

2 Translation

Our translation aims to do justice to the meaning of these very difficult texts, and especially to the Islamic culture of their author(s) that is revealed on almost every tablet. In Estepa’s seventeenth-century translation, published with some modifications by Hagerty, the Islamic backdrop or “soul” of these texts has remained almost completely obscure. We have refrained from enter-

ing upon an elaborate discussion with Estepa and Hagerty about the meaning, and especially the Islamic meaning, of ever so many words and passages. The critical evaluation of the work of the seventeenth-century translators from Granada and Rome merits a separate study, which will be possible with the help of our edition of the Arabic originals. Yet, in addition to notes of an Islamological nature, we have introduced many references to the translations and some of the transcriptions of the two main protagonists of the late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Morisco translators, namely Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo, wherever these were available. These critical notes show, among other things, how and to what extent both scholars were personally engaged in these texts. They may be helpful in further studies on the problem of authorship.

Structure and Contents

1 The Historical Narrative of the Parchment and Lead Books

The main protagonists in the Lead Books are, first of all, “our lord Jesus, the son of Mary” (*sayyidunā Yašū‘ ibn Maryam*) and “The Holy Virgin Mary” (*al-Šāliḥa Maryam al-‘Adhra*). Then there are the Apostle James, Ya‘qūb al-Ḥawārī, and his disciples, Cecilio (*Sais al-Aya*) and Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār. They are said to be of Arab origin. The Lead Books present themselves as direct sources recorded by Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār and Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā for a hitherto unknown life and demise of Jesus and Mary, “The Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus and of his Mother the Holy Virgin Mary” (*Kitāb Maḥāsīn Sayyidinā Yašū‘ wa-Ma‘ājizihī wa-Ummihī Maryam al-Šāliḥa al-‘Adhra*, LP7) and for the missionary travels of James, his death and burial in Spain, and his role in the history of early Christianity, in which a turning point appears to be the revelation to Mary of a holy book (*kitāb*) called the “The Essence of the Gospel” (*Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl*). The moment of revelation comes after Jesus’s demise and Pentecost. Mary was chosen, as unique among women, to make this scripture known to the world (LP16, fol. 3^a). During her spiritual (*rūḥānī*) journey to the heavens Mary saw her beloved son Jesus seated to the right of the Heavenly Throne,¹ close to a dome (*qubba*) in which she saw a book (LP16, fol. 20^b). She asked that she be allowed to reveal this book to mankind. This wish was granted, and the *Essence of the Gospel* “descended” on her (LP 15, LP20). The Lead Books inform us that this scripture was revealed after Jesus’s demise² and sent down to her immediately after Pentecost (LP15, fol. 2^{a-b}, LP16, fol. 2^b, fol. 23^b, LP20, fol. 4^b [without the context of Pentecost, cf. Acts 2:1–31]).³ It descends on her, and it

1 This indicates that the author of the Lead Books posits that Jesus had been elevated (*rafʿ*) to God (i.e., after the Ascension, 40 days after his demise; in Christian terms, Passover).

2 Described in LP7, *Kitāb Maḥāsīn Sayyidinā Yašū‘ wa-Ma‘ājizihī wa-Ummihī Maryam al-Šāliḥa al-‘Adhra*, and LP6, *Bukā Bidruḥ al-Ḥawārī al-Khalīfa*, a prayer (*du‘ā*) which stems from the weeping of Peter and describes his penance after denying his master.

3 The narrative deserves some further comments here. First of all, it takes place 52 days after Jesus’s demise (*wafāt*, LP16, fol. 1^b). Second, on that occasion the number of twelve disciples is restored with Matthias, following a revelation (*waḥy*). The number of 52 days is odd, since the Christian tradition speaks about 50 days. Here, as elsewhere in similar cases the purpose is to focus attention on an alternative historical and religious trajectory. In this case, the author sheds doubt on the early Christian calculation of Pentecost (named from the Greek “fifty”)

will also descend on the Promised One (*al-manʿūm*) we are told (LP15, fol. 4^b). In Jerusalem, Mary produces the book (referred to as “the original” [*al-aṣl*], LP20, fol. 36^a) written in her own hand with brilliant light on tablets made of precious stone. A copy, written on tablets of lead, is sealed by her with the Seal of Solomon, her paternal ancestor (see LP15, fol. 1^b–2^a; LP20, fol. 4^b). This copy on lead is LP17 (LP16, fol. 23^a, cf. LP20, fol. 4^b). Codicologically speaking, LP17 has the form of all other Lead Books, that is, it has a title page and opens and closes with the Seal of Solomon, but except for the folio mentioned above it presents an unreadable script. The original *Essence of the Gospel* disappeared into the interior of the Mount of Olives, which burst open and then closed up again (LP20, fol. 6^b). Directly connected to the *Essence of the Gospel* is the *Book of the Gifts of Reward of the Essence of the Gospel to Those Who Believe* (LP18), a book which discusses why it is mandatory to believe in *The Essence of the Gospel*. We will return to the *Essence of the Gospel* in more detail below. For now it suffices to say that our research shows unequivocally that it is identical to the Quranic revelation and that hence the Lead Books prophesy the conversion of the entire world to Islam.

The Lead Books go on to describe two journeys made by James to Iberia.⁴ The first one, a missionary journey, is described largely in LP20, *Kitāb Maḥāsīn Yaʿqūb al-Ḥawārī* (“The First Book of the Outstanding Qualities of James”). This book describes how James sets out for Iberia with the *Essence of the Gospel* and six disciples, and visits, among other places, the city of Illabbula, i.e., Ilipula (Granada) (LP20 fols. 8^a–9^a).⁵ His mission was to convert at least one person. Near a Holy Mountain James indeed converted one person, an Arab called Ibn al-Mughīra (LP20, fol. 34^a), who received the name of Dāyish al-Kufr or “Trampler of Unbelief.” James took him to Jerusalem where he met Mary, with the other six (LP20, fol. 35^a), as we have already discussed above.

While in Granada James writes LP15, *Kitāb Tawrīkh Ḥaḥīqat al-Injīl* (“The Book of the History of the Essence of the Gospel,” cf. LP20, fol. 9^b). This is an eschatological prophecy rather than a history (*jafr*). Upon divine revelation he also writes *Kitāb al-Asrār al-ʿaẓīma* (“The Book of the Enormous Secrets”), which contains Prophetic visions and of which we have two separate versions,

fifty days after Jesus’s resurrection on Easter Sunday, and by implication on Jesus’s crucifixion (on the Friday before Passover Sunday [the fiftieth day]). The completing of the number of disciples/apostles is based on Acts 1:15–26, in particular verses 24–26, which tells us how Matthias was chosen by casting lots, replacing Judas. The Lead Books do not mention Judas here (but they do so in LP7).

4 Márquez Villanueva, *Santiago: Trayectoria de un mito*.

5 As a response to the arrival of the copy of the *Essence of the Gospel* at the Holy Mountain a man named al-Ḥaqq (“the Truth”) rises from the dead, see LP20, fol. 9^b.

LP19 and 22, i.e., two different books with the same title. James and his apostles then return to Jerusalem. After the death of Mary, told in LP20, and her ascension to the heavens, a council takes place (LP20, fol. 37^{a-b}). In the Lead Books this event marks the moment when the decision is made under the guidance of Peter and James with regard to the teachings of the religious community, called *al-jamīʿ al-muqaddas*, i.e., the “Holy Church.” Based on the consensus of the Apostles (LP20, fol. 37^{a-b}) and the highest authority of Peter, the successor to Jesus, who is called *al-khalīfa*, the “Vicar” (Pope), James is authorized to write the *Liber Fundamenti Ecclesie/Kitāb Qawāʿid al-dīn* (“The Book of the Fundamentals of the Faith”—both the Arabic and Latin titles are preserved, LP1), a summary of the theology of the Lead Books (LP20, fol. 36^b–37^a), and LP2, the *Liber de Essentia Dei* or *Kitāb Fī al-Dhāt al-karīma* (“The Book of the Divine Essence”—again, both an Arabic and a Latin title are preserved, see LP20, fol. 37^b). There are several Lead Books apparently dealing with the rituals of the community (for example, LP4: *Kitāb ṣifat al-qurbān*, “The Book about the Characteristics of the Mass”), and books dealing with theology and ethics. After Mary’s death, James and his (now) seven disciples undertake a short missionary journey to the land of the Samaritans (LP20, fol. 37^b, LP 21, fols. 2^b–6^b). After their return to Jerusalem (Rāmat al-Haml) James is confronted with opposition by the Chief Rabbi, Abū ‘Aṭṭār, and a great scholar, Mahrajānis, and is tortured. James, badly injured, and his disciples set out on a second journey to Iberia (Ishpanya), where James wished to die a martyr’s death (LP21). They travel to Iberia. The martyrdom and burial of James near the Atlantic Ocean follow (see LP21, fol. 8^b). All the Lead Books, including the copy of the *Essence of the Gospel*, are hidden in the Holy Mountain (LP15, fol. 11^b; LP21, fol. 7^b). Finally, the apostles are martyred in Granada and their martyrdom is recorded in the Parchment (P).

While the historical narrative claims that the Parchment was the last document to have been written by this group, our research has demonstrated that the empirical history of the Parchment and the Lead Books is in fact completely the reverse. The Parchment is the oldest document and the Lead Books were written later. The Parchment includes elements that do not return later, such as the Gospel of John, the use of Spanish, and the use of the Quranic name of Jesus, ʿĪsā b. Maryam, instead of Yaṣūʿ, as used among Christian Arabs.

Within the Lead Book corpus there are also changes to be observed. For example, the concept of the *Essence of the Gospel* is found only in the books that were discovered later. The first book in which it is mentioned is LP11. The reverse holds true for the use of Latin. Only in the Parchment and the first two Lead Books is Latin used. The concept of the Trinity seems to be mentioned especially in the Parchment and the first Lead Books, and it dis-

appears from the later books. This indicates that in the earliest stages of their activities the author(s) tried to attract the attention of the Old Christian population, in particular the clergy. It suggests that the books show a tendency towards an increasingly clearer Islamic message. The historical narrative of the Lead Books presents itself as Christian, but on closer inspection this character appears to be superficial, and geared only toward its outward appearance. The subtext is an Islamic narrative. This Islamic narrative is heavily imbued with mystical notions. Its key notion is that of *Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl*, “The Essence of the Gospel,” a concept we have not been able to trace in Islamic sources. We propose, however, that the concept of the *Essence of the Gospel* in the Lead Books is to be understood as a “counterpart” or “precursor” of the Islamic mystical concept of *al-Ḥaḳīqa al-muḥammadiyya* (the Muhammadan Reality).

This concept finds its origins in the widespread Islamic mystical philosophy of the “Unity of Existence” (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) of which the idea of the unity and oneness of religions formed part as well. (It is represented, among other places, in the works of the Andalusian mystical philosopher Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, whose works were read among the Moriscos of Granada, as the *Tafsīra* by El Mancebo de Arévalo shows).⁶ This unity and oneness was thought to find its ultimate manifestation in Islam. The expression “Every Book is the Truth,” which is used repeatedly in the Lead Books, points in this same direction, as does the idea that the *Injīl* is the spirit of the *Tawrāt*, while the “Essence of the Gospel” is the spirit of the *Injīl*. This major essentialist trend in Islamic mystical philosophy is constantly searching for the distinction between *wahm* (illusion) and *ḥaḳīqa* (reality; essence). The logical implication is also that the Quran is the ultimate manifestation of the single and unique reality as contained in the previous revelations. This idea is clearly suggested by the various data provided concerning the *Essence of the Gospel*. LP15, fol. 2^a, reads “from its light and its truth [i.e., of the *Essence of the Gospel*] everything was created.” This is precisely one of the major attributes of the mystical concept of *al-ḥaḳīqa al-muḥammadiyya* as developed by Ibn al-‘Arabī and other mystical philosophers. *Al-Ḥaḳīqa al-muḥammadiyya* comprises the essence of Muhammad which is manifested in the Quran. With his use of the concept of the *Essence of the Gospel*, the author refers to this reality, as crystallized in the Quran. We will return to this aspect below.

⁶ Mancebo de Arévalo, *Tratado [Tafsīra]*.

2 Jesus and the Trinity in the Parchment and Lead Books

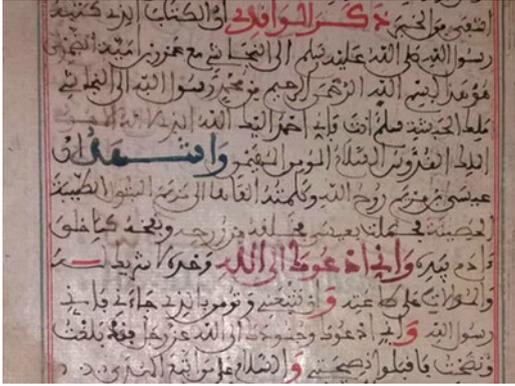


FIGURE 19

Passage from a manuscript in Maghribi script of the Andalusī type of al-Kalāʾī's *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ* with creed professed by Muḥammad (private collection)

The central doctrinal expression, found throughout the Lead Books, reads: “There is no god but God, and Jesus is the Spirit of God” (*Lā ilāha illā Allāh, Yaṣūʾ rūḥ Allāh*). We can characterize this creed, or *shahāda*, as an expression of the Christian creed in Islamic monotheist terms. The first part (*kalima*) of this testimony of faith (*shahāda*) is identical to the first part of the Islamic testimony of faith. In line with

Quranic terminology and Muslim Tradition (*Ḥadīth*), throughout the Lead Books Jesus is referred to as *rūḥ Allāh* (“Spirit of God”), though in one instance he is called “a word from Him,” as also in the Quran (LP14, fol. 3^b, cf. sura 4:171). According to Islamic sources concerning the biography of the Prophet, the second *kalima* of the *shahāda* of the Lead Books was pronounced by Muḥammad himself in a letter in which he addressed the Christian ruler of Ethiopia, where he is reported to have said: “*ashhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāh wa ʿĪsā ibn Maryam rūḥ Allāh alqāhā ilā Maryam al-batūl ...*” (I confess that there is no God but God, and Jesus is the Spirit of God and His word that He laid on the Virgin Mary ...).⁷ In the Lead Books it seems to suggest a certain closeness to the concept of the “Son of God,” a type of Islamically recognizable “evocation” of a Christian belief which is quite characteristic for the doctrines of the Lead Books. Jesus is also qualified as *al-manʿūm*, which can be translated as “the promised one.” We will return to the meaning of this title below.

⁷ E.g., in the work of the Andalusī author Ibn al-Kalāʾī (d. 634), *Kitāb al-Iktifāʾ bi-mā taḍammanahu min maghāzī Rasūl Allāh (...)*. Here, of course, the Islamic name of Jesus is used, namely, ʿĪsā ibn Maryam.

3 God and the Trinity

Trinitarian formulae appear in the Parchment and the earliest Lead Books. In LP2, the essence of God is qualified as follows: “He is one in Trinity (*tathlīth*), Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (*rūh qudūs*), three persons (*nufūs*), One God.”⁸ In LP1 this Trinitarian expression is explained as follows: The Father looks in the mirror and sees through the spiritual light (*bi’l-nūr al-rūhānī*) the son (*ibn*). Mary is the mirror. The Father is the first person (*nafs*), the Son is the second person, and the Holy Spirit is a third person (fol. 2^b). This kind of explanation of the Trinity seems to have its roots in a Christian context, not only in the works of such sixteenth-century authors as the Dominican friar and theologian Luis de Granada (1505–1588), but also in earlier Christian Arabic texts.⁹ The meaning of the expression “son” becomes clear in other passages. In LP7 Satan says to Jesus: “If you are the *Rūh Allah*, make then from that [stone] a loaf of bread.” Compare this with the same story in the Gospels of Matthew (4:3) and Mark (4:3), which refer to Satan’s challenging Jesus as the “Son of God.” The conclusion must be that in the vision of the author of the Lead Books the concept of *Rūh Allah* is to be preferred.¹⁰ Noteworthy as well is the role ascribed to Mary as a mirror. We will return to this aspect below.

4 The Incarnation

In order to determine the place of the doctrine of the incarnation we must analyze the relationship between Jesus’s human and divine natures (LP2, 4^b). The earliest books, such as LP1, state that humanity and divinity are both present in Jesus, and that he will hide his divinity (*ilāhiyya*) from the evildoers on the day of Judgement by his humanity (*insāniyya*). The clearest statement is found in the Parchment, in particular in the long reading of the Gospel of John 1:1–14, which, though differing from the canonical text, indeed mentions the verse which states that the word has become flesh (P: *al-kalām raja’a laḥm*, Vulgate:

8 [⤴] [⤵] انه وحدا بتثلث ابي وابن وروح قدوس، ثلاثة نفوس، الالهة وحدا، LP2, fol. 2^a–3^b, and Parchment.

9 Thomas, *Christian Doctrines in Islamic Theology*, 75.

10 The same implication in LP7, fol. 20^a, when describing the reaction of people dumbfounded after the crucifixion: “This is surely the Spirit of God,” referring to: This is surely the *Son of God*. Note that some mystics, such as Ibn al-‘Arabī, accepted the idea that Jesus had a progenitor and that he could be considered as a son, see Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time. Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Book of the Fabulous Griffon*, 523–524, and appendix IV, 601. Ibn al-‘Arabī refers to Jesus as “The Spirit and the son of the Spirit [of God] and the mother Mary.”

verbum caro factum est, John 1:14). But in LP10, fol. 3^b, *Dāl*, Jesus is said to have one essence/nature (*dhāt*), not two: “the being sent [into her, i.e., Mary] was one, not two beings.” LP7, 13^b reads: “because in reality he was a human being.”

5 The Crucifixion

With regard to the Crucifixion the Lead Books express various views. In LP2, fol. 3^a, we read that Jesus was sent to save mankind, was crucified under Pontius Pilate/Tiberius, descended into limbo, and carried the souls away. He is resurrected on the third day, ascends to Heaven, and is now seated at the right hand of the father. Similar references to Jesus’s crucifixion are found in other places.

In “The Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus and of his Mother the Holy Virgin Mary” (*Kitāb Maḥāsīn Sayyidinā Yaṣū‘ wa-Ma‘ājīzihi wa-Ummihi Maryam al-Ṣāliḥa al-‘Adhra*, LP7), however, we come across a passage that suggests another view. Here we read: “When they entered the garden, viz. the place where he used to invoke his Lord, the Apostles dispersed and lost all their confidence,” but that “God took him to Himself through the angel,”¹¹ an expression reminiscent of sura 3:54–55, *tawaffāhu*. In this passage it is suggested that it was not Jesus who was crucified, but another person instead. This is in agreement with majority Muslim doctrine.

6 Mary and the *Essence of the Gospel*

In the Lead Books, and especially the oldest ones, Mary is referred to as being a virgin before, during and after giving birth, in complete accordance with Islam, and as pure (*tāhir*) with regard to the sin of Adam, the “first sin” (*al-dhanb al-awwal*), as it is called in the oldest books. The last statement was interpreted by the Roman Catholic defenders of the Books as a confirmation of the correctness of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which at the time was a very controversial doctrine (LP2, fol. 3^a). In the later books, and in particular LP16, “The Book of the Intimate Conversations of the Holy Virgin Mary” (*Kitāb Munājāt al-Ṣāliḥa Maryam al-‘Adhra*) another expression is used, that is, that Mary was pure from all sin, and had never been touched by anything related to it (LP16, fol. 7^a). We may perhaps see this as an evocation of the Islamic doc-

11 LP7, fol. 19^b.

trine of the protection of prophets from sin (*ʿiṣma*). Mary indeed functions as a prophetess, to whom a scripture, the *Essence of the Gospel*, is revealed. In the Lead Books Mary ascends into heaven and is the recipient of revelations, events comparable to the ones narrated in the framework of such genres as the *munā-jāt* (intimate conversations, for instance in Islam between Moses and God) and *miʿrāj* (Ascension, especially of Muhammad) (LP16). Books mentioned as being revealed to Mary are: LP11, LP14, LP15, LP16, LP 17 and LP18. At the end of her nightly journey she sees the *Essence* as a book (*kitāb*) in a heavenly dome (LP16, fol. 19^a). Pentecost itself was announced by the appearance of a Heavenly Light (LP16, fol. 2^a, 22^b–23^a), and by the sending down of the Holy Spirit (نزل الروح المقدس—LP15, 2b).

Here the Quranic concept of revelation is used. LP15 tells us that Mary shows those present in Jerusalem during Pentecost both the plates of the *Essence of the Gospel* and its copy. The original plates of the *Essence of the Gospel* were sent down to her during the night when a great light appeared, and the Mount of Olives (Jabal al-Zaytūn) opened itself and the *Essence* disappeared into it. The history of the original tables is therefore a parallel of the history of Moses's Tablets, which, after being rejected by the people of Israel for the first time, were kept in the Ark in the Temple in Jerusalem. It is very significant that Jerusalem is referred to in the Lead Books as *Ramat al-Hamal* (the Height of Neglect). This notion has a strong anti-Jewish polemical connotation in Islam. In our context it symbolizes the Divine rejection of the Jews and God's election of the Muslims. The copy (*nuskha*) of the *Essence of the Gospel* is thus in a way parallel to the Tablets of Moses, taken to the extremities of the World, where it will be kept safe (LP15, fol. 4^b); it serves, together with the original tables that remained in Jerusalem, as the perfect guidance for those living there at the End of Time.¹² The apostles ask Mary about the contents of the *Essence*, but Mary replies that full understanding of the *Essence of the Gospel* is reserved to those who live in the Last Days (LP15, fol. 2^b). LP20, 3^b reads: "All these things were predestined by God in agreement with his eternal [pre-existing] knowledge" (*kullu shay qaḍāhu Allāh ʿalā ʿilm fī sabiq ʿilmihī*). As we have seen, one of the things God predestined for the End of Time is the *Essence of the Gospel*, which itself (i.e., the Gospel) is revealed to the Blessed One (*manʿūm*) mentioned in the *Tawrāt* on the strength of His overwhelming bounty. In it is *al-dhikr al-ḥakīm* (the wise admonition). This last expression is a clear reference to sura 3:58, where the expression "Reminder Full of Wisdom" is found. With this same expression Muslim Tradition also refers to the Quran itself. Added to this is also

12 LP16, fol. 20^b.

the fact that the *Essence of the Gospel* is described as uncreated (LP15, fol. 2^a), evoking for the Muslim reader the dogma of the uncreatedness of the Quran. In conclusion: the *Essence of the Gospel* is conceived as identical to the Quran, but revealed to Mary, who in the Lead Books acquires the traits of a prophetess and, above all, a saint. Like many mystics she makes a spiritual¹³ heavenly journey, and as a perfect example she has to embody the *Essence of the Gospel* on Earth until her death (LP16, 20^b). In Muslim readers this will evoke the idea of the *insān kāmil*, the perfect human being. While mystics in general venerated Mary, as Schimmel has pointed out, according to historical records Granadan Mudejars and Moriscos venerated Mary in a special way, even in comparison to the Old Christian community.¹⁴ In conclusion, the place of Mary in the Lead Books is virtually that of a sinless prophetess and a saint. Even though her prophetic characteristics do not present a conflict with the finality of the prophethood of Muhammad (since she lived before, not after him), this element is remarkable, but not completely outside the boundaries of Islam.¹⁵ According to Ibn Ḥazm, Mary was a prophet because an angel had spoken to her. According to him, this also held true for Sarah, mother of Isaac, and the mother of Moses.¹⁶ This position was later adopted by al-Qurṭubī (d. 1271) and the mystic Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī.

7 The Chain of Revelation in the Lead Books: The *Ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm*, the *Zabūr*, the *Tawrāt*, the *Injil*, and the *Ḥaḡiqat al-Injil*

What is the place of the *Essence of the Gospel* in the chain of prophecy in the Lead Books? The Lead Books, just like the Quran, describe a sequence of revelations that begins with the Scrolls of Abraham (*Ṣuḥuf Ibrāhīm*), followed by the Psalms of David (the *Zabūr*) (LP10, fol. 2^b, LP16, fol. 19^b), the Torah (*Tawrāt*),

13 Only the Prophet was believed to have made a corporal journey (*bi-jismihi*), see Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, 154.

14 Schimmel, *Mystische Dimensionen des Islam*, 609. Schimmel argues that Ibn al-'Arabī considered it possible that women were *abdāl*; García Pedraza, "El otro morisco: algunas reflexiones sobre el estudio de la religiosidad morisca a través de fuentes notariales," 229–231; id., *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI*; Remensnyder, "Beyond Muslim and Christian: The Moriscos' Marian Scriptures," 545–576.

15 Smith and Haddad, "The Virgin Mary in Islamic Tradition and Commentary."

16 Turki, "Femmes privilégiées et privilèges féminins dans le système théologique et juridique d'Ibn Hazm"; Fierro, "Women as Prophets in Islam"; Freyer Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an*, 67–82, esp. 77.

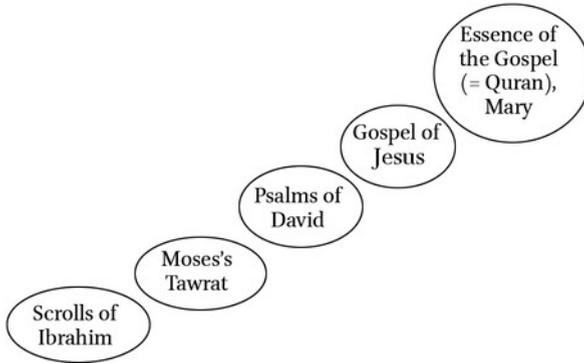


FIGURE 20 The chain of revelation in the Lead Books

and the Gospel (*Injil*), while the truly perfect book is the *Essence of the Gospel* (*Ḥaqīqat al-Injil*), to be the guidance for the believers at the end of time (as set out in LP15).¹⁷

The central element is God's light, which permeates all revelations and was pre-existent. Regarding the form of the *Essence of the Gospel*, on Tablets, it can be seen as a restored and perfected *Tawrāt* (*abwāḥ Mūsā*) and *Injil*. The *Injil* is the spirit (*rūḥ*) of the *Tawrāt* and the spirit of the *Injil* is the *Essence* (LP15, fol. 2^a). Furthermore, we read in many places in the Lead Books that "every [revealed] book is the truth (*kullu kitāb ḥaqq*)," i.e., it is taken from the "Well-preserved Tablet" (*al-lawḥ al-mahfūz*), in which Jesus as Rūḥ Allāh figures as well (LP7). This is the clearest sign of the inclusive, mystically inspired message of the Lead Books that we referred to above.

But this mystical unity does not exclude the sometimes polemical nature of the Lead Books. The original *Tawrāt* is said to have been corrupted by the Jews. These corruptions include the alleged original passages in it about the promised savior, but the Jews are accused of having removed those verses (LP22, fol. 3^b). We have seen above that the transferal of the copy of the *Essence of the Gospel* from the Height of Neglect to the farthest West also symbolizes that the Divine covenant with the Jews had been abrogated, and a new one concluded. In that covenant a vanguard of the Muslims, namely the Moriscos of Granada, appear as the newly chosen people. The corruption of the Gospel (*Injil*) is less conspicuous in the Lead Books, but the authors do not present it as perfect either. As we have seen, that perfection is exclusively projected on the *Essence of the Gospel*, that is, on Islam, albeit with several peculiar elements, such as the

¹⁷ The other Lead Books may be seen as a parallel to the Ḥadīth.

elevation of Mary to the level of a prophetess. The overall picture of the testimony of the Lead Book narrative is that while presenting a better, improved version of Christianity, it implies that the perfect religion is Islam. The phrase that all books are the Truth, and that the *Essence of the Gospel* permeates the universe, however, suggests that the author holds mystical views.

8 The Eschatological Scenario of the Parchment and Lead Books

The universal claims of the Lead Books are also found in their eschatological scenario. As we have seen, in several Lead Books Jesus is referred to as the “Blessed One” (*al-man’um*, LP7, fol. 10^b).¹⁸ This suggests that Jesus, as in the Christian tradition, is the Promised Saviour, the messiah. The epithets attributed to Jesus are: *al-amīn*, *al-ḥaqq al-mubīn al-ṣidiq al-amīn* (LP3); *sayyidunā Yaṣū’ rūḥ Allāh al-amīn*, *Rūḥ Allāh shafī’ al-‘ibād bi-al-Injīl al-‘azīz*; *rūḥ Allāh al-‘alā* (LP7); *Rūḥ Allāh al-marḍī* (LP10); *al-amīn* (LP10); *sayyidunā Yaṣū’ Rūḥ Allāh*; also: *‘abd* (LP10); (LP16); *rūḥ Allāh al-shafī’ laka* (LP16); *al-Masīḥ Yaṣū’ ibn Maryam Rūḥ Allāh sayyidunā* (LP20); *Rūḥ Allāh al-amīn shafī’ al-‘ibād*. Several of these epithets are also well-known Islamic epithets of Muḥammad. This seems to be a rhetorical device to increase even more the acceptability of the doctrine that Jesus occupies a very lofty place, but alongside Muhammad, even though the latter is never mentioned explicitly. The author of the Lead Books here stresses his particular Islamic veneration for Jesus. But there are ambiguities. *The Life of Jesus and Mary* (LP7) confirms that the Blessed One is Jesus, but uses epithets which in Muslim anti-Jewish polemical texts are connected to the future coming of Muhammad. This holds true in the first place for the words *hīd mīd*, which according to LP7 were originally found in the Scrolls of Abraham (the *suḥuf Ibrāhīm*). However, the words *hīd mīd* are references to the Hebrew *bi-meod meod* in Genesis 17:20, and are used by Muslim anti-Jewish polemicists to prove the future appearance of Muhammad from the Jewish scriptures.¹⁹ The same passage in LP7 also refers to the promised one as *al-Māhī*, which is one of the names of the prophet Muhammad mean-

18 LP7: He is the *man’um* announced by 42 prophets who preceded him in the *Tawrāt*.

19 Indeed, the words found in Genesis 17:20 play a key role in anti-Jewish polemical texts. We find them, for example, in Samau’al al-Maghribī’s well-known anti-Jewish polemic *Iḥḥām al-yahūd*, see the references in Lazarus Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 107, and see Van Koningsveld and Wieggers, “Marcos Dobelio’s Polemics against the Authenticity of the Granadan Lead Books,” 212.

ing “he who wipes out [Unbelief].”²⁰ In other Lead Books such as LP14 (fol. 3^b), Jesus is clearly *not* the culmination of messianic expectations, as the text points to another, future savior. We read here: “After Jesus the Spirit of God, there will come to the world a Light from God (*nūr min Allāh*), whose name is the Effacer (*al-Māhī*), while the non-Arabs [call him] the ‘Paraclete,’ the seal of the envoys (*khātām al-rusul*), in order to comfort [humankind].” We can see here that these texts are at best ambiguous, and may even be contradictory. In the first text, LP7, Jesus is presented as the savior, but from this attribute it clearly appears that he is to be understood as the prophet Muhammad. The expression in the second text (LP14) is an evident reference to Muhammad. We argue that this is similar to the relationship between the revealed books. Both tend to argue in the same direction: the revelation culminates in the spirit of the *Injīl*, its Essence. While the descriptions of the *Essence of the Gospel* evoke the Quran, the Paraclete and other titles evoke the prophet Muhammad. At the end of time *al-Ṣālīḥ al-faqīh* (the Pious Priest) will make the true contents of the *Essence of the Gospel* known (see LP1, fol. 5^a, repeated in LP15 and LP18). Aided by the Vicar, i.e., the pope, a Great Council will be held on the island of Subbar (Cyprus), in the “regions east of Venice,” presided over by a Conqueror, a king of the Arabs, who lives in the Eastern lands of the Greeks, though he is not an Arab himself. The *Essence of the Gospel* will be explained at the great assembly by the most humble of God’s creatures. The most humble one will in this way also resolve the differences of opinion about the correct interpretation of the scriptures, and in particular the interpretation of the contents of the Gospel (LP15): فعند ذلك يبعث الله فيه بينهم اضعف خلقه ليشرح حقيقة الانجيل الذي هم فيها يختلفون. Jesus returns (again the Lead Books are in agreement with the Parchment, which also speaks about “a second Jesus” very likely his second coming) and struggles against the false messiah, the *dajjāl*. The sun will rise in the West (LP15, LP18) and one religion will prevail. This religion is Islam. While these events coincide with Islamic descriptions of the Hour and its Signs, including the turmoil with regard to the social order (LP1, fol. 5^a, LP15, LP18), they are set in the time that is closely associated with the fate of the Moriscos in Spain, as we encounter it in a number of Morisco prophecies and eschatological Traditions. It is in this context that LP15, fol. 3^b, mentions the fact that the religion (*dīn*) will again be a “stranger” (*gharīban*), as it had been at the start of its existence. This is a reference to a Prophetic Tradition that states that Islam had begun as a stranger, and will return to being one. As we know from other sources, the Moriscos applied

20 Compare “Trampler of Unbelief” (*Dayish al-kufr*), Ibn al-Mughīra’s name. Two other epithets are mentioned: one is *Farūq jamūt* (the separator who brings together, an expression that we have not found elsewhere), and *Tabtabā’*, for which the same holds true.

this well-known but spurious Tradition to their own situation as an oppressed minority living at the end of time.²¹ We also find a reference to “strangers” in the well-known initial response to the forced conversion of Muslims in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century by al-Wahrānī.²² Moreover, it was a time in which the Christians were divided because of the Reformation, a fact to which a clear reference is made in the Spanish prophecy contained in the Parchment, as well as in its Arabic commentary.

9 Authorship

We have seen above that it is likely that the Parchment was composed before the Lead Books, but, as we have shown, together they constitute an ideological unity and must have been written by one author or a number of cooperating authors. The Parchment consists of a Spanish pseudepigraphic prophecy about the End of Time that is commented upon in Arabic. This commentary presents an explanation of the Spanish prophecy. The Arabic commentary is written in poetic form. Amidst all the interpreters who worked on the Parchment in the period between 1588 and 1596, when the interpretation tradition took shape, it was only Miguel de Luna who was able to decipher it and offer a plausible interpretation. Between the Parchment and the Lead Books there are commonalities, but also differences. The Parchment provides the only instance of a Gospel text, that of John. No such texts, not even in an Islamized form, occur in the Lead Books. The Parchment fits into the genre of the *jafr*, the prophetic tradition in Iberian History, as was already pointed out by Mármol and Alonso del Castillo in the early stages of the interpretation process of the Parchment.²³ In this respect, we may assume that in writing the Parchment

21 Harvey, “A Morisco Collection of Apocryphal Ḥadīths on the Virtues of Al-Andalus,” 29; id.: *Muslims in Spain 1500–1614*, 60, 63, n. 8.

22 We are referring to the fatwā by Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Jum‘a al-Maghrāwī al-Wahrānī (d. 917/1511). He was a mufti at Fez who wrote a fatwā for Muslims who lived as “strangers” (*ghurabā’*) and were forced to express unbelief, in about 1504, so two years after the general conversion edict in Castile and the kingdom of Granada. Several manuscripts of this text are extant in Romance, one in Arabic: Vatican Library, Ms Borgiano Arabo 171, fols. 2–4.

23 See Barceló and Labarta, “Tawq al-Ḥamāma: un muwašṣaḥ apocalíptico.” The authors also include a study of the version of the *Tawq al-Ḥamāma* known to Alonso del Castillo. See also Green-Mercado, *Visions of Deliverance. Moriscos and the Politics of Prophecy in the Early Modern Mediterranean*; Fleischer, “A Mediterranean Apocalypse. Prophecies of Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries”; Colominas Aparicio and Wiegner, “A

before 1588 the author connected his message, largely contained in the combination of Spanish Prophecy (*jafr*) and poetical commentary to the existing prophecies circulating in the region. The commentary puts the prophecy into the perspective of the conquest of the city of sea by an non-Arab king residing in the Orient, very likely referring to the Ottoman conquests. The prediction of the revelation of the mystery which will happen by the hands of a servant is strongly reminiscent of what we later find about a modest young man who will explain the true message of the Lead Books, in particular that of the *Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl*.²⁴ There may well have been connections between Granadan Moriscos, including the author, and the Ottomans, which may explain why the author shows knowledge of Ottoman words such as *khamrkhan* (wine house, LP 21, fol. 3^a), and sometimes writes the *qāf* with two dots, and why the Ottoman sultan plays a messianic role. As Tijana Krstić has shown, around the years of the civil war in the Alpujarras a Granadan intermediary, Ibraim Granatino, visited Istanbul various times, aiming to promote the Morisco cause.²⁵ Gerard Wiegers drew attention to the similarities between the Lead Books and the ideas of the antitrinitarian Jacobus Palaeologus.²⁶ However, the Ottomans preferred to concentrate on Cyprus and conquered such port cities as Famagusta. The contacts with Ottomans and the stay in Istanbul and active diplomatic actions of such Granadans as el Chapiz's grandson, Muḥammad ibn Abī 'l-Āṣī, after 1609 point to the existence of uninterrupted ties.

It may be possible that the author conceived of the Parchment and Lead books at the same time, but we think it is much more likely that he started to conceive of the message of the Lead Books in order to respond to particular events that took place after the discovery. This may explain why Gospel texts do not return, no Spanish is used later, etc. Other elements are maintained, and new ones are added.

From the Lead Books it appears that the author knew the Quran very well, and probably had memorized it. His work focuses on theology and mysticism, with which he was well acquainted. He shows almost no knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), or in any case shows no affinity with it. Yet in speaking about the jinn in LP16, fol. 6^a, he states (apparently with the voice of the true author):

Moor of Granada: Prophecies as political instruments in the entangled histories of Spain, Portugal, and the Middle East (16th–18th centuries)."

24 See P4, fol. 151^b.

25 Krstić, "The Elusive Intermediaries: Moriscos in Ottoman and Western European Diplomatic Sources from Constantinople, 1560s–1630s."

26 Wiegers, "Prophecy, imagination and religion in the Granadan Lead Books, Nicholas of Cusa, and Jacobus Palaeologus."

Whosoever wants to have a look at their malice and depravation may read *The Book of the Unbinding and Enchanting of the Disasters of the Jinns* by the prophet of God, Solomon, the son of David, and *The Book of the Manners of the Jinns* by Ezra, because it is not appropriate for me [to deal with this subject], as the religious sciences,²⁷ for the obedience of God, are my special field.

In general, the author's knowledge of Islam seems like something superficial, while his thought is profoundly marked by Christian ideas. It is characteristic of the Lead Books that, unlike the Parchment, which quotes the beginning of the Gospel of John, they quote almost no biblical texts, not even in islamized versions (such as we find for example in the polemical works of Muḥammad al-Qaysī in the fourteenth century).²⁸

The notion of the *ḥaqīqa muḥammadiya* shows the influence of mystical ideas, in particular those of Ibn al-ʿArabī (this again may point to an Ottoman connection—Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas were very popular in the Ottoman Empire). Another notion found in both the Parchment and the Lead Books is that of martyrdom. The Early Christians are presented as martyrs, reflecting skillfully the self-image of the Granadan Moriscos at the end of the sixteenth century. The Lead Books can be seen as an attempt to make explicit the notion that the Granadan Moriscos are a vanguard at the end of time that presents itself as both Islamic and as heirs to an authentic early Christianity on the Iberian Peninsula, while strongly rejecting Judaism. The use of Latin in the first two Lead Books served to sensitize the Old Christians, and very likely in particular the archbishop, first Juan Méndez de Salvatierra and later Pedro de Castro, to the "Christian" aspects of the message of the Lead Books, while maintaining and promoting the role of Arabic and particular aspects of Morisco religious culture. At their core, they present Moriscos as an integral part of the Spanish population who should not be expelled but rather accepted, including their cultural habits, such as the use of the Arabic language. In later Lead Books, through the doctrine of the *Essence of the Gospel*, a messianic and esoteric Islamic message starts to predominate. We may assume that LP17 was written with the aim of being incomprehensible (apart from the one page we have discussed already). Rather, the author wished to adhere to only the promise of an Islamic scripture, knowing that the perfect revelation already existed and circulated in sixteenth-century Spain, namely the Quran itself. It is very striking that

27 Arabic: *al-fiqh wa-al-diyāna*.

28 Van Koningsveld and Wiegens, "The polemical works of Muḥammad al-Qaysī (fl. 1309)."

the poetical text in the Seal of Solomon, attached to the indecipherable text, appears to be composed—in the interpretation of Miguel de Luna—according to exactly the same structural principles as the poetical commentary in the Parchment. This points to the unity of authorship of both texts, and since only Miguel de Luna offers this interpretation, he is very likely to have been the principal author of both the Parchment and the Lead Books. Luna was also the author of another historical and literary forgery, the *Historia Verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo*, the alleged Arabic original of which he defended for some time as an authentic source. Luna defended the Christian authenticity of the Parchment and Lead Books on many official occasions, in the presence of the archbishop and notaries, but in 1603 he was mentioned in an Inquisition trial as having said to other Moriscos that their contents were fully Islamic.²⁹ The two viewpoints may not have been mutually exclusive, however, as we have shown above.

The probability that he was the principal author of the Parchment and the Lead Books becomes even higher if we turn to the case of a man who was in all likelihood a son of Miguel de Luna, Alonso (born in about 1570), who defended the Islamic Truth of the Lead Books in 1618–1619, when he was tried before the Inquisition. Two Inquisition documents about him are known. The first is found in the National Historical Archive (Archivo Histórico Nacional, AHN) in Madrid, the second in the Archive of the Sacromonte of Granada. The ASMG document is much more extensive on the accused's ideas and practices than the one in the National Historical Archive. It mentions the alleged "crimes" committed by the accused by name and dates them to particular periods of his life.³⁰ These documents tell us the following: Alonso de Luna was first tried before the Inquisition of Granada in 1609 (ASMG) for apostasy and heretical Muslim views, but apparently fled during the hearings (*audiencias*). In 1614 he was caught and tried before the Inquisition of Murcia, which continued the process that had started in Granada five years earlier. The first statement he had made regarded the question of whether a confession to a priest was neces-

29 García-Arenal, "Miguel de Luna y los Moriscos de Toledo: 'No ay mejor moro,'" AHN, Inquisición, expediente 197-5; García-Arenal and Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *The Inquisition Trial of Jerónimo de Rojas, A Morisco of Toledo (1601–1603)*.

30 AHN, Inquisición 1953, exp. 65, fols. 1^a–3^b, and ASMG, Legajo VII, 2^a parte, fols. 350^a–353^b. The second document, quoted in Cárdenas Bunsen, *La aparición de los libros plúmbeos*, 244, is much more detailed about Alonso's beliefs and practices and includes dates not found in the AHN document. The AHN document referred to was discussed by and published in Vincent, "Et quelques voix de plus." We base ourselves here on the original documents. The text published by Vincent lacks some vital elements of the original document: for example, it does not mention the passage which calls Alonso an inhabitant of Granada.

sary, the second was that the Holy Virgin Mary had said that the best generation was that of the Muslims, and the third was that many of those found guilty were in fact sinless, because of false testimony against them. He was sentenced to an abjuration *de levi*, and punished with banishment from the districts of the Inquisition of Murcia and Granada for six years. Probably around 1618 he was arrested again because new evidence against him had become available. After hearings he was locked in the secret prisons of the Inquisition in Granada in June 1618 (as the AHN document tells us), and finally, after having been delivered to the "secular arm," he was sentenced to life imprisonment. He had to appear at a public *auto de fe* in the Church of Santiago in Granada, which was used for these rituals, as it was very close to the buildings of the Holy Office. The first of his new heretical statements, confirmed by witnesses, was that illness leads to death only because doctors have not yet been able to find a cure, and that God does not wish the death of humans. This statement, judged heretical, may have been twisted, and perhaps expressed a medical position that was not uncommon at the time, one that no longer accepted the divine as a cause of illness.³¹ The origins of illness had to be sought in natural causes, to be established through empirical investigation. The second statement was that Heaven and Hell were not eternal, and that God's mercy would prevail: on the Day of Resurrection he would bring all those in Hell to Heaven. This statement, also seen as heretical, is in fact in line with the sort of inclusive, mystical thought that we find in the Lead Books. Alonso had been told that this was against the Christian faith, but he had not been convinced and had made statements about life in heaven, such as that life and matter were the same there as in this existence. During the trials he made additional statements. He told the inquisitors that his name was Alonso de Luna (in one instance in the AASG document, Alonso Fernández de Luna), that he was a citizen of the city of Granada, had been born in Linares and was fifty years old in 1618, the beginning of his interrogations. He must have been born in 1568. He had spoken Arabic from childhood onwards. He claimed to have been initiated into Islam around his eighteenth birthday by a "Moor in the city of Granada" (AAGS document), and had lived for four years in Italy, Rome, and later Madrid and other places. He had been in contact with Moriscos in the South of France. He was steeped in the Quranic sciences, had studied medicine, and had earned a licenciante in medicine, philosophy and Latin. He had mastered four languages: Castilian, Latin, Italian, and Arabic. At first it was said that he had suffered from diseases which had obscured his memory and his judgement at the time he was taken prisoner again by the

31 Arrizabalaga, "Medical responses to the 'French Disease'."

Inquisition of Murcia. For that reason he denied the accusation that he had made heretical statements about the question of whether Adam's Paradise was on earth or not, saying that he had never said heretical things when he was of sound mind. Then, by August 1618, additional statements against him were made, and four of his letters were read, one written to "*su santidad*"—perhaps the pope (thus the AHN document), but maybe the archbishop (perhaps of Granada)—and three to "*su Magestad*," i.e., the Spanish king, which had been signed by him and were written in "a Moorish way." In them he stated that he had received a revelation in which he had been taken from the fourth to the sixth heaven (i.e., had performed a *Mi'rāj*) where God had told him that the Time of the Resurrection was near, all heresies would come to an end, that the Arab nation and the Arabic language were chosen by Him to be the language that all faithful should turn to, and that all the world would convert to the "Holy Catholic" faith. He was to bring this Divine message to the pope and the Spanish king and act as an interpreter of a book that had hitherto proved to be impossible to decipher, which was found among the Books of the Holy Mountain in "this city" (i.e., Granada); all this would produce a general conversion and a "general reformation to be brought about by the accused." He claimed that the Lead Books he was going to interpret contained "the complete Catholic and evangelical truth" while, according to him, the Quran was divine revelation as well.³² *The complete Catholic truth was thus equivalent to the truth of Islam.* This, as we have seen, is identical to the views we have identified as the core message of the Lead Books. Moreover, he claimed that the time of the Resurrection had already started and that the earthly Paradise was already visible. This explains why he said that his father, "*el doctor Luna*," who had passed away, was in fact not dead but had been lifted by God to a "*fábrica*" called *el Ternete*, a word perhaps related to Spanish *tierra* or Italian *terra*, meaning something like "earthly paradise." This *fábrica* is above us, and God houses the righteous and the good there (*que está sobre nosotros que llama Dios el ternete, porque tiene allí a los justos y buenos*).³³ Humans live in the earthy Paradise, while the more perfect angels live in the Heavens. This fits quite well with the doctrines of the Lead Books on Heaven and Hell in *Kitāb Munājāt al-Šāliha Maryam al-'Adhra* (LP16),

32 The expression used was "*rerum divinarum collectio*."

33 See for the use of the word *fábrica* in this context also Soto González, *A Sombraluz*, 2: 405 (edition of British Library, MS Harley 7501, fol. 15^b): "Pues cuando alla [Allah] fue servido/ qu'el primer ombre tomase/el ábito d'este mundo/y en él viviese y morase/sin tener ningún acuerdo/previno a sus potestades/aparejar un alarx/entre todos los alarxes. / Quiso dezir un lugar/una fábrica, una parte, / un mundo dondse se tubiesen/ las criaturas que criase."

in particular the passage on fol. 9^b, where the question of whether Paradise is found in Heaven or on Earth is discussed. He also said that demons did not exist. According to witnesses he had practiced Islamic rituals, and the said letters contained quotations from the Quran. In short, he was a Muslim heretic, something he himself denied, saying among other things that since God himself had commanded him to say and do these things he could not be considered a heretic.

It seems likely, therefore, that Alonso was the son of Miguel de Luna, had lived in Rome around 1609–1610, and had mediated between Miguel de Luna and the Vatican (including one of the physicians of the pope) about a possible transfer of Miguel de Luna to Rome.³⁴ The elder Luna had indeed died in 1615. Alonso was a Morisco physician (although according to the AHN document he claimed to be an Old Christian [*Cristiano Viejo*], which implies that he saw himself as having that status probably because he belonged to a family that had converted voluntarily to Christianity before the forced conversions). Miguel de Luna, very likely his father, had claimed the same. He probably lived in Granada for most of his life, leaving for Rome in 1609, after he had been exiled by the Inquisitions of Granada and Murcia. It does not seem likely that he was indeed taught about Islam by a random crypto-Muslim in the city; more likely he was carefully instructed. Perhaps he taught at the university, since the document discusses his disputes with students; perhaps these were his own students. In a letter dated 1609, Archbishop Pedro de Castro speaks about a Morisco who holds a chair at the university.³⁵ Might this have been Alonso de Luna? Be that as it may, Alonso claimed a number of things that match the message of the Lead Books very well and display an intimate knowledge of their contents, which were unknown to the outside world. “Might he be one of those who had served as interpreters?” the Inquisitors wrote in the margin of the AHN document. His knowledge of the Lead Books’ contents included their mystical aspects, related to the doctrine of the Oneness of Being. The conclusion seems therefore inescapable that he, as well, must have had a hand in the affair as an author. As the son of Miguel de Luna, he probably cooperated with his father. This may also explain why Miguel de Luna sometimes does not seem to understand particular passages in the Lead Books. Under pressure of torture, Alonso de Luna took back some of his earlier statements, but the things he said then only seem to confirm his authorship: he confesses that he had made up things that had been revealed to him by Divine intervention, and that he had merely

34 See Cabanelas Rodríguez, “Cartas del morisco Miguel de Luna,” 39.
 35 Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia*, Appendix VIII, 282.

wanted to propagate the Sect of Muhammad. We conclude from this that he not only believed himself Divinely inspired to transmit the message, but probably also (co-)created it. Taking this information into account, and within the framework of the Islamically heterodox views of the Lead Books on Mary as a prophetess, we may wonder whether we are dealing with an esoteric group, a kind of *cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Sacromonte*, inspired by the Lead Books, and of which Miguel de Luna and Alonso de Luna perhaps formed part.

That a sort of group of believers in the message of the Lead Books actually existed can be made plausible on the basis of evidence about such a group long after the expulsion had taken place. The religious interest in, and circulation of knowledge about, the Lead Books seem to have existed in a community consisting of hundreds of persons in Granada who cherished beliefs and practices in which the Lead Books played an important role. During an Inquisition trial against a group of people in Granada around 1728, the Inquisitors describe their beliefs as follows:

They rejected the veneration of statues and painted images, because, as they say, these are just wooden sticks, which one should not adore. They maintain that only Abraham, Isaac, and some saints are in heaven, and they venerate them in four 'temples' in this city, believing them to be the saints of the Holy Mountain, and to them and to no others, nor to their images and paintings, should prayers be offered, because their descendants were believers in the sect of Muhammad, and for his sake they suffered martyrdom at the said Sacred Mountain. And [they say] that in a stone which is found in the said church [at the Sacromonte], in which we Christians believe piously, a book is buried which deals with the immaculate conception of the Most Blessed Mary, and they say that it contains the true explanation of the Quran. And [they say] that this book will not become manifest until a certain year which is mentioned in the [Inquisition] trial records, and in that year a council will be convened in Cyprus to which all Arabs will be summoned; and then, by the high providence of their Prophet, the said stone will be opened, producing the said book, which has been shut up for so many years, in order to undeceive the Christians, so that they will know that only their [the Muslim] sect is the true one.³⁶

36 "Negaban asimismo la adoración de las imágenes de talla y pinturas, porque dicen ser éstas unos palos, a quien no se debe ve [*sic*] venerar. Dicen que sólo están en el cielo Habraham, Isaac y algunos santos que se veneran en cuatro templos de esta ciudad, los cuales se cree ser los s[an]tos del Monte s[an]to, y a éstos y no a otros ni a sus imágenes y pinturas se

The historical and religious background of this group has been the subject of a number of recent historical studies, starting with Rafael de Lera García, María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, Mikel de Epalza, and Enrique Soria Mesa.³⁷ These studies show that there must have existed a continuous transmission of crypto-Islamic learning. However, as can be seen from their beliefs, their ideas about the Lead Books and their contents are not completely in line with the doctrines of the Lead Books, as they appear from the texts themselves. It may be possible, therefore, that the beliefs of the people tried in 1728 were inspired by popular beliefs about the Lead Books which circulated among the Granadan Moriscos and their descendants.

deben dar oración, por haver sido observantes de la secta de Mahoma sus descendientes, y que por él padecieron martirio en d[ich]o Sacromonte, y que en una piedra que está en d[ich]a Iglesia, en la qual los Christianos creemos piadosam[en]te que está enterrado un libro que trata de la puríssima conceción de María Santíssima, dicen ellos que en dicha está y contiene la verdadera explicación del Alcorán, y que este dicho libro no se manifestará hasta cierto año que en las causas se cita, en el qual se juntaría un concilio en la Chipre, al qual serán convocados todos los árabes; entonces, por alta providencia de su Profeta, se abrirá dicha piedra, entregando el dicho libro, que tantos años ha tiene encerrado para desengaño de los christianos y que reconozcan que sola su secta es la verdadera": Carrasco Urgoiti and Epalza, "El Manuscrito 'Errores de los moriscos de Granada,'" 240. This is the publication of a manuscript in the Library of the Fundación Bartolomé March (Mallorca).

37 In 1984 Rafael de Lera García published an article based on the Inquisition trial records extant in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid: Lera García, "Cripto-musulmanes ante la Inquisición Granadina en el siglo XVIII." Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*, 194, mentions the trial, but does not mention the connection between the religious ideas of this group and the Lead Books. After the trial, the persons involved went to Istanbul.

Conclusions

We have shown how the interpretation of the Parchment was dominated by the figure of Miguel de Luna, a Morisco from Baeza, student of medicine at the University of Granada. He was the first to offer an interpretation of the Arabic passages, and in 1595 was able to present a solid interpretation of the enigmatic poetry, solving the riddle that this poetical text posed. He continued to play an important role in the interpretation of the Lead Books. His work on the Lead Books was strongly colored by his ambitions to rise in prestige and on the social ladder, sometimes in conflict with others in his profession, such as Alonso de Castillo, his senior. Luna was, with Diego de Urrea, the most important voice in the committee that did its work in 1598. We have shown how the translations produced by Luna and Castillo at the order of Castro were christianizing, and that this also seems to have been the only acceptable way to interpret the Parchment and Lead Books in the eyes of Pedro de Castro. Numerous clashes between Archbishop Castro and those who advanced another view on the Parchment and Lead Books show that their Christian nature was staunchly defended. This is remarkable, since the critics included some of the best scholars in Spain at the time, such as Benito Arias Montano, Pedro de Valencia, Marcos Dobelio, and Luis de Tribaldos. In 1628–1629 the Marquis of Estepa and his team used the work done by Luna and Castillo for their translation, a translation that formed the basis for Hagerty's edition of the Spanish translation of the Lead Books.

That the defenders slowly lost the argument can be seen from the fact that the Parchment and Lead Books were first brought to Madrid, and from there to Rome, where they were finally condemned in 1682. We have seen that it was Marcos Dobelio who was by far the most important interpreter in those days. His work was on the desk of Ludovico Marracci when the latter wrote his critical and polemical *Disquisitio* in Rome. We have shown how Marracci used, in addition to Dobelio's work, the Andalusian manuscripts in his possession, and was able to make use of his knowledge of the work of the Maronite Abraham Ecchelensis. Both were able to show the Islamic nature of the Lead Books. Their approach was, of course, theological, and their views on the Lead Books were inspired by their missionary and doctrinal ideas.

We have argued that the Parchment and Lead Books adopt some of the elements of the Iberian Christian discourse about the Christian origins of Granada. They show that Cecilio, one of the seven apostolic men, as the first

bishop of the city and a martyr, indeed lived and died in Granada. Moreover, they present evidence about James's mission to Spain, and connect that narrative with that of Cecilio by showing how Cecilio was a disciple of the master and witnessed James's burial near the sea, thus confirming a controversial narrative. However, the original texts make clear that the authors projected upon that Christian past another discourse, that of Islam, in a variety that exalted the position of Jesus and Mary in a very idiosyncratic way, presenting Mary as a sinless prophetess and presenting the most pious among the early "Christians" as Arabs. It is interesting that the idea that they would have venerated images of Mary (as Estepa suggests by referring to the presence of such an image among the relics in the box in the Turpiana Tower) is not confirmed. James and Mary, as pictured in the Lead Books, seem to offer an implicit rejection of the images spread by Christian missionaries. The Arabs who converted to Christianity and traveled to Iberia were the ancestors of the inhabitants of seventeenth-century Granada. The Holy Mountain in Granada was presented as a place of pilgrimage and an alternative to, if not a substitute for, Jerusalem. In the Lead Books we find Islamic polemical notions with regard to Jerusalem in relation to Jewish life. They refer to Jerusalem as the "Height of neglect." Of course that Islamic veneration, for Moriscos, could only have been an *inward* veneration. To the outside world, the devotees were Christians. In this way the Lead Books legitimized the participation of Moriscos as a vanguard of Islam at the end of time. In other words, they seem to have served a two-pronged goal: integrating the Moriscos into Old Christian society, and legitimizing the existence of the Moriscos, including their religious practices and use of Arabic, in the eyes of Christian society. A very small group, escaping the expulsion, was actually able to maintain these beliefs in Spain until well into the eighteenth century. Its members believed that in the church of the Sacromonte Abbey a (hollow) stone was buried which hid a book that, once discovered, would prove the truth of Islam. They venerated four saints associated with the Lead Books in four churches in the city, and did so while not turning to the images of these saints. Being Muslims, they rejected the veneration of images.

The Lead Books can be seen as forged proto-Islamic texts whose purpose was to legitimize the presence of Arabic speakers in the Iberian Peninsula by fabricating an early Arab "Christian" community, at a time when the crypto-Muslim community was under threat and when establishing a link with an alleged ancient, proto-Islamic past would have provided this community with a historical and religious genealogy that they lacked and needed in order to survive. Where modern scholars would differ with earlier ones is perhaps that the latter, and especially Marracci, considered not only the Lead Books to be

a cunning device (Latin: *techna*), but the Quran itself, and by extension Islam: according to Marracci, the aim of Islam was no less than the destruction of the Gospel—that is, Christianity.¹

What can be said about the beliefs of the author(s) of the Lead Books? Was the author a mere forger, or did he also somehow genuinely believe in the message he invented, much as how we come across such ideas and practices in present-day “invented religions”?² It seems clear that Luna himself did not believe in the authentic Ancient Christian nature and dating of the Lead Books. In his discussions with Moriscos involved in the Rojas trial, he made clear that he was aware of their Islamic discourse and ascribes an (implicit or explicit) polemical, anti-Christian message to them, marking the Moriscos as a religious group separate from the Old Christians. If indeed a connection between the later groups we have just discussed and the authors of the Lead Books existed, and if Miguel de Luna and his son Alonso were themselves believers, they may have considered their ideas to have been Divinely inspired (in a mystical way). We would be inclined to assume that this is the case. We have seen how the Lead Books include many references to Quran and Hadith, and these quotations, although put in the mouth of Jesus, add to the argument that the forgers were also believers. There are also, however, some facts that point to other motives, for example the insistence in the Lead Books that the interpreters of the Lead Books should be remunerated well and that the Lead Books, if accepted, not only would protect Moriscos in Granada from expulsion, but also provide them with a noble genealogy: descent from Phoenician Arabs who had converted to Christianity when they met Jesus and were miraculously cured from deafness and blindness. They, not the Castilian and Aragonese Christians from the north nor the Jews, now Judeoconvertos, had the oldest papers. Such ideas point to a well-understood idea of the economic, social and cultural significance of the Lead Books for the *naturales* of Granada. Against this, we may point to the fact that the Lead Books are extraordinarily detailed, and that the effort put into writing and composing them is so enormous that it far exceeds the effort needed if they were to serve only these more practical aims. Be that as it may, a very interesting figure whom we need to take into account is a man whom we have already met above: Juan Calvo Navarro. The Morisco al-Ḥajarī tells us that after Castillo’s death in 1607, transcripts of the Lead Books made by him had come into the possession of another Morisco, the *faqīh* Yūsuf Qalbu al-Andalusī, who took them to Tunis, where he died. Al-Ḥajarī found them there in 1637 after

1 Marracci, *Disquisitio*, “Pars quinta,” fol. 122^a.

2 See Sutcliffe and Cusack, “Introduction. Making it all up. Invented religions and the study of ‘religion.’”

coming from Cairo.³ The Spanish name of this Morisco was Juan Calvo, secretary (*escribano*) in the treasury of the Kingdom of Granada, who was in close contact with Moriscos in Tunis. In one of his letters Calvo spoke about the licensee (*el licenciado*), perhaps Alonso del Castillo, and about the friend (*amigo*) Miguel de Luna, who had died to a well-known and influential Morisco, Luis de Zapata.⁴ Documents discussed in a recent publication by Soria Mesa confirm that this Yūsuf Qalbu al-Andalusī is in fact Juan Calvo Navarro.⁵ Juan Calvo Navarro turns up in a number of documents related to the Sacromonte. He was mentioned as the discoverer of one of the Lead Books, and was involved in drawing up the will of Alonso del Castillo.⁶ Calvo Navarro was not the only Morisco who had witnessed the discovery of Lead Books. Others, including Miguel de Luna and Alonso de Castillo, had also been witnesses to the discoveries, as we have seen above. But Calvo Navarro was the only highly placed Morisco who, as it now appears, played a conspicuous role as an intermediary between Moriscos who were still in Granada and those in Tunis, and who can be shown to have been actively involved in spreading the texts, bringing a copy to Tunis himself in a later phase of his life. Further research into the Morisco networks both in Spain and outside it, in the Diaspora communities, may shed further light on the origins and authorship of the Parchment and Lead Books. We hope that the present first edition and translation of the original texts of the Lead Books will serve as a tool for this future research.

3 Al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, 65–66, translation, 275.

4 Archivo General de Simancas, leg. 1170, also published in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, XLV, Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Calera, 1865, doc. CCCLXXIX, 390–393. The letters written by Juan Calvo Navarro are discussed in a message by the Duke of Osuna to the King, 30 May 1616.

5 Soria Mesa, *Últimos Moriscos*, 91–92.

6 ASMG Leg. 14A, testament of Alonso del Castillo.

Edition and Translation



Edition and Translation of the Parchment of the “Torre Turpiana” (P)

The Parchment of the “*Torre Turpiana*” was found on 19 March 1588: “y entre las piedras, y yeso hallò una caixa pequeña de plomo, larga de vn xeme, alta de dos, ancha algo mas de quatro, quadrangular. Estava betunada por de dentro, y por de fuera con cierto betun grueso negro, para mayor conseruacion de lo que contenia, y el plomo rayado, para que el betun asiesse mexor en el. Dentro tenia en vna tablica pintada vna Imagen de Nuestra Señora,¹ y un lienço casero basto, a medida dela caixa, que cubria lo demas; luego un pergamino arrollado, y doblado, y dentro del vn lienço, que parecia ser la mitad de vno quadrangular de poco mas de media vara de ancho, y casi vna de largo, cortado de esquina a esquina, y assi triangular. Avia debaxo vn hueso de vn coto de largo, ancho como vn dedo pulgar. El demas vazio de la caixa llenavan ciertas arenas, ò poluos como limaduras de color entre azul y negro, que se ignora que fuessen. [...] Alli desemboluiendo el pergamino, se vio ser vna una piel no pequeña, que en lo alto della tenia cinco Cruces pequeñas [...]” (Estepa, *Información*, 5–6)

P1 Partial transcription and translation by Miguel de Luna in his own handwriting (31 March 1588)—(ASM_G, Legajo VI, 1^a sección, Pedro de Castro (provisional), fols. 405^a–407^b), followed by our annotated translation.

Traslado y traduction de todo lo contenido en Arauigo questa en el pergamino dentro de la caixa de Plomo que se halló con otras Reliquias en la torre vieja desta sancta yglesia de Granada el sabado Pasado, día de Sant Joseph diez y nueve de Março deste año de Mill y quinientos y ochenta y ocho, y la traduction della en lengua castellana literalmente por la horden y firma que está en el original Arauigo traduzida por Miguel de Luna, medico, vezino de Granada, interprete de lengua Arauiga, laqual se hizo por Mandado de su s^a. Don Joan Mendes de Salvatierra, Arçobispo de Granada del consejo del Rey nuestro señor.

405^a

1 We do not know whether the inclusion in this report of an image of the Virgin Mary among the contents was an error or a deliberate mystification; such an image was not mentioned in the oldest descriptions of the discovery of the box, nor in the short description of the relics in the Parchment itself. We assume it was not found in the box. See also our introduction.

(1)² جفر المناجل الحوري شان جوان (2) في نخرب الاجود وما يتصلي (3) عليها من الافات الى اليوم المعلم (4) في الانجيل العزيز مترجم بالانان (5) على يدي العالم الصالح نخر الدين ديونشيوه ليوبشطه،

Propheçia del euangelista Apostol sant Joan çerca del Acabamiento del Mundo y de las persecuçiones que bendran sobrel hasta el dia significado en el sagrado euangelio traduzida en lengua Griega por manos del sapientisimo sieruo de Dios, ensalçador de la fee, Dionisio Ariopagita.³

("Prophecy⁴ of the Evangelist⁵ and Apostle⁶ Saint John about the destruction of the world and the disasters that befall it until the day signalled in the Esteemed Gospel⁷ translated into Greek⁸ at the hands of the learned saint Fakhr al-Dīn Diyūnīshiyuh Liyūb.sht.h,⁹ Pride of the Faith"¹⁰).

(1) ¹¹ بسم الذات الكرمه الثلاثه بتوحد الامان الاجار وحب المصلب بارض البيت المقداس الذي بجرجلين الثاني في الاتاج منها الموص بود الذنب الاول من حبيه وشفقته ذلك عيسى بن مريم العذرة المشفق علينا بالانتبذ واخذ الانسية

2 The numbers 1–5 are not in the ms. They indicate line breaks.

3 Dionysius the Areopagite, converted to Christianity by Paul (Acts 17:34).

4 We have added the English translation of the Arabic text as a contribution to the critical understanding of the text.

5 Arabic: *Al-Munājil* ("the Evangelist"), a word occurring in both the Parchment and the Lead Books which seems to be a neologism coined by the author(s) of these pseudographical writings. Normally Arabic has *al-Injīlī*. In his lecture on the Parchment (see P4 below), Luna draws the attention to this word as a sign of the ancient age of the Parchment.

6 Here and elsewhere in the Parchment and the Lead Books, the Quranic name *al-ḥawārī* (pl. *al-ḥawārīyyūn*) is used to refer to the apostles of Jesus, reaching out to a Muslim audience, as in so many other cases.

7 *Al-Injīl al-ʿazīz* is a parallel to the standard Islamic expression *Al-Qurʿān al-ʿazīz*, "the Respectable Quran." Luna's translation "sagrado evangelio" is Christianizing.

8 *Al-Anāni* (instead of *al-Yunāni*), referring to Greek (and also *al-Anān*, instead of *al-Yunān* for "Greeks"), occurs in both the Parchment and the Lead Books. In his lecture on the Parchment (see P3 below), Luna draws the attention to this word as a sign of the ancient age of the Parchment.

9 In his translation, Miguel de Luna "corrects" the text at this point to Dionysius Areopagita. See also note 1 above.

10 "Pride of the Faith" is our literal translation of the surname (*laqab*), well known in the author's time, of Fakhr al-Dīn. The author apparently uses such *laqab*-s to impress readers who are familiar with such names. Similarly, in LP18, the Apostle James is called *ʿĀqibat al-Dīn* "the Result of the Faith." See also below, note 21.

11 The numbers between parentheses appear in the margins of the document and refer to the beginnings of new lines in the original Parchment.

(1) En el nombre de la deidad diuina trina y una, conforme a la gran fee que creemos, y en amor del Cruçificado en la Tierra del Palaçio sancto de Hierusalem, segunda Persona que proçede del padre, el enbiado á pagar el pecado original, mediante el Amor y Misericordia que nos tubo, y este es Christo hijo de Maria virgen, el que nos hizo Misericordia mediante su concepción, tomando nuestra Carne humana,

(1) In the name of the Bountiful Essence,¹² triple in the unity of our great faith and our love of the Crucified One in the land of the Holy Temple¹³ which is in Jerusalem¹⁴, the second in proceeding therefrom, entrusted with the requital of the first sin out of his love and compassion for us, who is Jesus¹⁵ son of the Virgin Mary, who showed us his compassion through his conception¹⁶ and his assumption of human nature.

(2) وشرح ما اوداع عند صحابه الحوريون من الانجيل العزيزالذي اتى به الا الاجود على يديهم وعن طعته والوصف في هذا الامر المعلم اليسر علينا يطل من رحمته واختصارا قزدنا في كتبنا هذا اذ كن سارين الى زيرة بيته المذكور المقداس

(2) Y declarandonos su sancta Doctrina, que dio a los Apostolos en el Euangelio sagrado, que enbio al mundo por sus Manos: para que fuesse ensalçado, y obe-deçido y el tratar desta Materia sabida, y que a nos perteneçe su explicaçion (por la misericordia de Dios) seria cossa muy larga. Sola nuestra intençion en esta nuestra escriptura es, dezir: que haziendo camino á visitar la casa sancta nombrada,

12 In Arabic: *al-dhāt al-kaṛīma* (referring to the divine essence). This expression re-occurs in the title of LP2: “Kitāb fi al-dhāt al-kaṛīma”.

13 In Arabic *al-Bait al-Muqaddas* of course refers to Jerusalem, but here in this “paleo-Christian” text the author distances himself from this Islamic name and seems to recoin it to denote the Church of the Resurrection, which contains Jesus’s grave, referring to Jerusalem with the name of *Jarjalān* or *Jarjalīn*.

14 Arabic: *Jarjalīn* and *Jarjalān*, apparently neologistic names of Jerusalem that figure in both the Parchment and the Lead Books.

15 In the Parchment Jesus is referred to with his Muslim name, ‘Īsā, but in the Lead Books only his Christian-Arabic name is used: Yasū‘ (but written with emphatic ṣ: Yaṣū‘).

16 *Al-Intibādḥ* (also: al-Intibādha, also written without alif: al-Intibadh), a term frequently used in both the Parchment and the Lead Books to denote the supernatural “conception” of Jesus in the body of Mary. Alonso del Castillo translates this term with “aduenimiento,” referring to the “advent” of Jesus. It should be taken into account that the verb *intabadha* is used in Quran 19:16 with reference to Mary: *intabadhat makānan* “she withdrew to a place apart from her family,” to avoid showing her pregnancy. Apparently the “Christian” usage of this word denoting Mary’s “conception” was borrowed from this Quranic verse.

(2) and to explain the Esteemed Gospel which he deposited with his companions¹⁷ the Apostles, and which he brought to the world through them out of obedience of him. Due to God's mercy, our task to describe this well-known matter is easy for us. Our aim in this book, in short,¹⁸ is to tell that when I was traveling to visit the aforementioned¹⁹ Holy House,²⁰

(3) وقبره وما يتصلي بذلك من المواضيع المتهمة بالبركة لتقصيص الذنوب والمعاص الذي اصبتنا من اجلي هو النفس واتباع الشيطان من بعد ما قضينا ذلك اذ كن سارين الى هو الروح بنور العلم الطبع والاعلى في لغت النحو الانان الذي

(3) y su sepulcro, y los demas lugares, donde se entiende hay bendición, Perdon y remision plena de Pecados, y defectos, en que incurrimos, siguiendo nuestro 406^a Apetito, y las tentaciones | del Demonio, y abiendo cumplido con esta peregrinación, como tenemos referido, proseguimos nuestro Camino, buscando el Manjar del Alma, que es la sciencia natural y diuina, en la frasis Griega.

(3) and his grave and the other places attached to it which are supposed to grant blessing, to requite sins²¹ and disobediences which occurred to me because of 406^a my personal inclinations and the seductions | of the Devil. After having completed that [visit], I travelled following the inclination of my soul, enlightened by natural and higher science,²² [as found] in the language of Greek grammar, which

(4) يدراس بمدينة اطناس المشرقية حرسها الله وفي سيار سيرنا والارياح وفسد الاوقت اصبتنا ما شا الله من زيرته بادا الرمد في العينان حتى غشي البصار بالبيض شكرا له على ذلك واذا بيوم اذ كنت زيرا عبدا من انخلصا قطب الدين

17 The term used in Arabic usually denotes the companions of Muḥammad (*al-ṣaḥāba*).

18 The idea of a short summary of the author's aim in a certain text is an idea that occurs in several Lead Books.

19 The words *al-madhkūr* and *al-ma'lūm* are frequently used in both the Parchment and the Lead Books to refer to matters already mentioned before in the same text, almost giving the impression that one is dealing with legal documents or with an author experienced in the drafting of such documents.

20 The author is apparently referring to a pilgrimage made by him to the Holy Temple or the Temple Mount (and other holy places, including Jesus's grave in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or Church of the Resurrection) in Jerusalem.

21 The Arabic has *taqṣiṣ al-dhunūb*, an expression that occurs repeatedly in the Lead Books.

22 Luna translates here: *sciencia diuina*. Could it also be philosophy? Cf. the juxtaposition of natural and religious sciences in LP4, fol. 1: *wa-man qara'a al-'ulūm al-ṭabī'iyya ḥājja al-'ulamā' wa-man qara'a al-tawrāt ḥājja al-rūḥ al-qudūs*.

(4) la que se lee, en la çidad de Athenas, questa en el parte oriental, laqual Dios guarde. Y en el discurso de nuestro camino con los vientos y malos temporales, Dios fue seruido, de visitarnos con una Enfermedad de ojos en tanto grado que casi se enpanaron²³ y boluieron blancos, bendito sea Dios para siempre por ello, y un dia estando visitando un sieruo de sancta intençon, Polo de la fee,

(4) is studied in the Eastern City of Athens²⁴—may God preserve it!²⁵ During our travels, and due to the winds and the terrible weather, I was, by God’s will due to (my) visiting Him,²⁶ afflicted by the filling of my eyes with dust, so that my sight was covered by the white of my eyes, but I praise God for that! Then, on a certain day when I was visiting a sincere friend, “Pole” of the Faith,²⁷

(5) الموكل على الجميع المقداس بالمدينة المذكورة رضي الله عنه افضاح لي سرّاً عجباً من بعدما امراني بالاقرا ر | من الذنوب واخلص القلب واقبل جسد الالهنا عند ذلك في القربان أخرج دخرة وهي نهار الصالحه مريم العذره

ب405

(5) Patriarca de la yglesia sancta de la çidad ya nombrada: alqual de Dios su bendiçon, descubrimonos un secreto admirable, despues que nos mando, hiziesemos plena confesion de los pecados, y con limpieza de Coraçon reçibiesemos el cuerpo de nuestro Dios y abiendo hecho esto, en la Missa, saco una reliquia y era una toca de la sancta Maria virgen

23 Sic, read enpañaron.

24 It seems the author intends to inform the reader that the City of Athens is in the East, assuming that such information might be useful. In view of the information below, implying that the author knew Greek, it seems that he is vaguely evoking here the possibility that he had studied Greek in Athens. (Readers in Spain of the second half of the sixteenth century might have wondered how he had acquired his knowledge of that language.)

25 A reader with Muslim sensibilities might easily get the impression that the author prayed for the preservation of Athens under Ottoman rule, though at the end of the Parchment he makes himself known as Cecilio, first bishop of Granada at a time when Islam—let alone the Ottoman dynasty—did not even exist. This may have been somewhat confusing for an ordinary reader!

26 Luna has here: de visitarnos, which does not seem to be correct.

27 In the time of the real author (the sixteenth century), laqab-s composed with the noun *al-Dīn* were quite common as honorific names. Here we have to understand it literally. Cf. above the name Fakhr al-Dīn for Dionysius the Areopagite, meaning “the Pride of the Faith”.

405^b (5) who was in charge of the Holy Church²⁸ in the aforementioned city²⁹—may God be pleased with him! He revealed to me a remarkable secret after having commanded me to confess | my sins and to purify my heart and to receive the body of our God³⁰ on that occasion in the Mass,³¹ after which he brought me a treasure, the veil of the Virgin Mary,

(6) الذي جفت به الدمع الممزج بالدم من عينها في صلب ابنها الاخير فوضعه علي وجهه فارتد علي البصار في الحين والشفاء والرحمة ورايت معها جفر ملغز عبراني مترجم على يدي الصالح العلم الفيلسوف نخر الدين ديونشيويه ليوبشطه

(6) con que enxugo las lagrimas mezcladas con sangre de sus ojos, en la crucifixion de su Hijo Preçioso, y pusola sobre mi Cara, y al instante cobre mi vista, y la salud por su Misericordia. Y vi con ella una propheçia çifrada en hebreo, traduzida por manos del siervo de Dios el sapientisimo philosopho Dionisio Ariopagita,

(6) in which the tears mixed with the blood of her eyes during the crucifixion of her most excellent son had dried up. He placed it on my face and my sight was returned to me at once, as well as my health and [His] mercy. Together with it, I saw a riddled prophecy in Hebrew translated at the hands of the pious scholar and philosopher, Pride of the Faith, Diyonysio Liyüb.sht.h.

(7) وقوله في النثر المنظم انه شرح ذلك الاغز الى الانانيين المسمى بجفر الصديق المناجل الحوري شان جوان في وصف فنا الاجود وما يتصيل عليها من الآفات بعد مدات المصلب المذكور فعجبنا من ذلك القول الصديق وامال قلبنا الى نسخة

(7) y su declaracion compuesta en prosa en que declara aquella çifra á la naçion Griega la qual se nombra propheçia del verdadero Euangelista Apostol sant Joan en la qual cuenta la fin del Mundo y las persecuçiones, que sobre el vendran despues de la Passion del Cruçificado ya nombrado y marabillamonos de palabras tan verdaderas, y conçebimos en nuestro coraçon un deseo grande de su traslado,

28 Arabic: *al-jamī' al-muqaddās*, i.e., *al-jāmi' al-muqaddas*, where the word *al-jāmi'* is used, here as well as in the Lead Books, for "Church," its genuine meaning in Arabic of course being "Friday mosque."

29 Apparently, Jerusalem is referred to here, not Athens.

30 The expression of the Christian faith is clear and unambiguous.

31 Here, as well as in the Lead Books, the Arabic word *al-qurbān* is used to refer to the Mass.

(7) together with his statement in rhyming prose³² that he explained that riddle for the Greeks, [and that] it was called “The Prophecy of the Trustworthy³³ Evangelist and Apostle Saint John,” describing the extinction of the world and the disasters related to it after the aforementioned crucifixion had passed. I was amazed by those truthful words and my heart desired a copy [thereof]

(8) ورغبته عليه فاجب رغبتي وترجمته بلاسان الحالي اعجمي وعليه اشرحنا شرحا محط بالاغز المذكور
عربيون المصراف في جزيرة اشبنيه وما نحوها بالغروب الى النصار المستعربين وليس يوجب خرب
الاغو

(8) y le rogue nos congediese esto y vino en mi petiçion. Y luego la traduxe en lenguaje comun español y sobre ella hezimos cumplido comento, que en si comprehende el secreto ya dicho en Arauigo, lenguages usados en la tierra de España, y las tierras occidentales çircumvezinas, para que no | careçiesen della
los Christianos Arauigos. Y no por esto corrompimos el frasi ni el modo secreto,

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(8) I asked him for it, and he complied with my wish, and I translated it into the spoken Spanish language, and on it I composed a commentary encompassing the aforesaid riddle in the Arabic language used in the Peninsula of Spain and what lies near it in the West,³⁴ for the Mozarab Christians. One should [, however,] not destroy

(9) الانية والعبرنية الذي رصيص فيها وما يحط بفهمها وشرحها الى العباد الا من شا الله وانعم
عليه بخيره في وقت معلم لتذكر الملوك ولا قبله وما ترجمنا فيه صدقاً محط بالسر المذكور في الصفة الذي
ترى وهي هذا

(9) ansi Hebreo como Griego, en el qual esta escripta. Y no comprehendera su verdadero sentido, y comento della hecho para los sieruos de Dios, sino quien el fuere seruido en el tiempo determinado, y no antes, para que los Principes sean avisados. Y nuestra traduction es verdadera que en si comprehende la çifra ya dicha en la manera que aqui vereis. Y es esta que se sigue.

32 Not real poetry, but prose with sentences or parts thereof with rhyming final letters. The author anticipates his rhyming translation of these comments on the riddle that he has provided in Arabic in the Parchment. See below, P4.

33 The author provides John with the Quranic honorific name of Abraham, *al-Şiddiq*, “the Trustworthy.”

34 The author indicates that his translation is written in the dialect of al-Andalus and the Maghrib. Note that he speaks of Mozarab Christians in both Spain and the Maghrib.

(9) the [texts in the] Greek and the Hebrew language in which they are fixed.³⁵ No one is able to understand and explain it to mankind except he whom God wills and upon whom He bestows His blessings at a predetermined time and not before, in order to admonish the kings.³⁶ And what we translated in it is truthful and encompasses the aforementioned secret in the figure which you see, which is the following:³⁷

(10) ومعه صقتنا نصف الخمار المذكور الذي اهب لي الموكل المذكور من حبه في الله وشفقه علي يعلم الله ما قضيت في طلبه واوصاني وعهداني على حزره وفعلت ذلك ورايت به معاجز كبار نفع الله بها ورضي عنه وعن جميع عباداه. امين

(10) Y con ella truximos la media toca ya dicha, laqual me dono el Patriarca ya nombrado, mediante el amor y caridad que en Dios tenia con nosotros: á el pongo por testigo lo que padeçi en adquiririlla, el qual me amonesto, y juramento, que la conseruase con muncha veneraçion y ansi lo cumpli y con ella vi milagros grandes. Dios nos haga capaçes de sus meritos, y de la bendiçion al que me la dio y a todos sus sieruos. Amen.

(10) Together with it we brought the aforementioned half of the veil which the aforesaid governor gave to me as a present out of his love of God and his feelings of compassion towards me—God knows how much I exerted myself to obtain it! And he made me swear that that I would preserve it [with the greatest care which I did, and through it I saw great miracles—may God make them³⁸ useful, and may He be pleased with him³⁹ and with all his servants. Amen.

Despues de todas las çifras Castellanas y Arauigas estan seys renglones y medio en Arauigo del tenor siguiente:

35 Arabic: *ruṣṣiṣa*, here written: *ruṣ(ṣ)īṣa*. The same expression in LP10, fol. 5^b: *ruṣṣiṣa al-dīn* "the faith was firmly put together." The implication of this statement is that the author brought with him from Jerusalem a copy of the prophecy and its commentary in Hebrew and Greek, together with the second document containing the Arabic and Spanish texts, which is our Parchment. We are thus left with the conclusion that the original Hebrew-Greek document brought back by the author is lost, notwithstanding his clear admonitions.

36 This idea of the final and complete explanation of the secret of the riddle is further developed in the Lead Books, where it is specifically related to the explanation of the secret contents of the book entitled *Ḥaqīqat al-Injil*.

37 This is a reference to the 150 cases with parts of the comments in Arabic, to be dealt with below (see P2 and P4).

38 Apparently, the holy texts and the piece of Mary's veil are intended here.

39 The governor of the Holy Church in Jerusalem, Quṭb al-Dīn.

(1) وما بلغنا من الانبيا الاولين في اجفر انتبذ المولد المذكور ونقض ولد آدم من الذنب الاول والشيطان بلغنا بهذا الحوري المناجل في اتبعهم باجفر سائر الاوقات بعد صلب سيدنا والاهنا عيسى بن مريم المذكور الى يوم البحث ودره الى المعاد الموعد في الانجيل العزيز نفعنا الله به وجعلنا الله من الصالحين،

(1) Y lo que entendimos de la intencion de los primeros Propheetas en prophetizar la Encarniçion ya dicha y la libertad de los Hijos de Adan del Pecado Original, y del captiuerio del Demonio: eso mesmo entendemos deste Apostol y euangelista siguiendo sus pisadas, en prophetizar el discurso de los tiempos, despues de la passion de nuestro señor y Dios Jesu Christo, hijo de Maria ya nombrado hasta el dia de su Adbenimiento y las señales del dia final del juicio que nos dize el sagrado euangelio. Dios nos de su graçia con el y nos haga de sus escogidos. Amen.

(1) The prophecies that reached us from the early prophets concerning the advent of the aforementioned birth and the deliverance of the offspring of Adam from the first sin and from the Devil, were brought to us as well by this Apostle and Evangelist in following their prophecies about the remaining periods after the crucifixion of our Lord and God, the said Jesus, son of Mary, until his Return and the signs of the Last Day of Judgement mentioned in the Esteemed Gospel—may God let us profit from him and may He make us one of the chosen/pious!

(2) والتام بقرات الانجيل العزيز المسطور وهو هذا: في البدى كان الكلام والكلام كان عند الله والله كان الكلام وهذا كان في البدى،

(2) Y la conclusion sea con con la lection del euangelio sagrado questa escripta, y es la que se sigue. En el principio era la palabra y el palabra era çerca de Dios, y Dios era la Palabra. Esto era en el prinçipio.

(2) In conclusion, [let us] read the esteemed Gospel as recorded,⁴⁰ as follows: In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word; this was in the beginning.⁴¹

⁴⁰ The expression *al-Injil al-'aziz al-masțur* evokes the Quranic expression *wa-kitābun mas-țūrun* in Quran S. 52, suggesting that this is the very book the Quran has in mind.

⁴¹ John 1:1.

(3) جميع الموجودات خلقهم ومن دونه ليس شي يخلق، والموجدات فيه لهم حياءً والحيا هو النور في الرجال، والنور يذى في الظلومات ولا الظلمات قدرين

(3) Todas las cosas por el fueron criadas, y sin el ninguna cosa pudo ser criada. Y todas las Criaturas en el tienen vida y la vida es la luz en los hombres. Y la luz resplandece en las tinieblas. Y las tinieblas no le comprendieron.

(3) All matters in existence were created by him,⁴² and without him there is nothing created. The creatures possessed life, and the life is light in men. The light shines in the darkness but the darkness was incapable

(4) على رمة ذلك كان رجلا مرسلا يسمى جوان وجا بالبيننة ينذر من جانب الله ليؤمنوا به الجمع، وكان نوراً حقيقاً من الله ينور به كل عبد في الاجود، والاجود خلقهم وليس عرفه وجا في الموجودات

(4) Fue un hombre enviado de Dios llamado Joan, y vino para testimonio, á enseñar de parte de Dios, para que todos en el creyesen, y era luz verdadera, que con ella álumbra toda Criatura en el Mundo, y el Mundo por el fue criado, y no le conoció. Y vino en el Mundo

(4) of understanding him. There was a man sent out by the name of John,⁴³ who brought proof to preach on behalf of God so that everyone would believe in him. He was a true light from God enlightening with it every human being in the world. Though he created the world, it did not know him. He came into the world,

407^a (5) وانه ليس | قبله ومن امنوا به اعطهم قدرة ليكونوا اولد الله، هولاء الذي امنوا باسمه وهولاء من لم كانوا مخلقين من الدم ولا من شهوات اللحم ولا من شهوات الذكار الا من الله والكلام رجع لحم

407^b (5) y los suyos no le reçibieron. Y los que en el creyeron | les dio potestad, para que fuesen Hijos de Dios. Estos son los que creyeron en su Nombre y los que no fueron criados de la sangre, ni del deleyte de la Carne ni de la concupiscencia del varon, sino de Dios. Y la palabra se hizo carne,

42 I.e., God. In the canonical John 1:2-3, the reference is to the "word."

43 Arabic: again Juwān.

(5) but it did not accept him. But those who believed in him, he gave them the power to be children of God. These are the ones who believe in his name and these are those who were not born from blood or from the desire of the flesh, nor from the lust of a male, but from God only. And the word became flesh

(6) وسكان فينا وراينا جنته كما نحن مخلقين من الولد والكلام ملا من رحمة وحق، الشكر لله.

(6) y moró en nosotros. Y vimos su gloria, ansi como somos criados del Padre. Y la palabra fue llena de misericordia y verdad. Loado sea Dios.

(6) and dwelt among us and we saw his Paradise,⁴⁴ just as we have been created by the Father. And the word was filled with mercy and truth. Thanks be to God!

سسليوه
وبشب غر
نتنشش

Cecilio obispo granatensis
[Cecilio,⁴⁵ Bishop of Granada⁴⁶]

Yo Miguel de Luna, medico vezino de Granada, interprete de lengua Arauiga, por mandado de su señoria Don Joan Mendez de Saluatierra, Arçobispo de Granada del consejo del Rey nuestro señor, traduxe todo lo questaua escrito en el pergamino susodicho exçpto la çifra de la prophecía porque requiere mas estudio y consideraçion laqual voy traduziendo. Todo laqual se hizo en presençia del licenciado Faxardo, cathedratico de lenguas [orientales], comunicando con el la dicha traducion laqual es conforme al original. Y juro Dios y a los sanc-

44 John 1:14. Luna's translation of the Arabic *al-janna* as "gloria" intends to follow the biblical text, but the original *al-janna* evokes specific Islamic and Quranic connotations.

45 It is quite clear that the author treated Cecilio as an Arabophone, or bilingual, Arabic-Spanish, Christian. In the Lead Books, especially LP7, his Arab origins are explained in detail. Also the precise way in which his name is written in Arabic differs in the Lead Books from the Parchment. It is Sā'is al-Āyah, suggesting that the (later) "Cecilio" as written in Latin script is in fact a derivation from that purely Arabic name. A comparable development between Parchment and Lead Books can be observed in the change from Jesus' name in the Parchment (Īsā) to Yaṣū' in the Lead Books.

46 The last three lines in Arabic are written in the form of a signature on a seal-ring, surrounded by the letter *hā'*, meaning *intahā*, "finished," "complete." These lines intend to reproduce Cecilio's seal as Bishop of Granada.

tos euangelios en que puse mis manos que a mi leal saber y entender sigund el termino gramatical arabe esta fiel y lealmente traduzida de verbo ad verbum todo loqual se hizo en presençia del licenciado Antonio Barba, prouisor deste arçobispado de Granada, a quien yo se lo entregue y lo firme de mi nombre y el dicho prouisor en Granada a 31 de março de 1588 años.

Miguel de Luna

El licenciado Ant[onio] Barba

Ante my: El doctor Montoya secretario

P2 Transcription of the Parchment sent as a faithful copy of the original to King Philip II. The Arabic parts are in the handwriting of Alonso del Castillo. It is dated 27 June, 1588. (Biblioteca Real de El Escorial, No. R II 15)⁴⁷

جفر المناجلي الحواري سان جوان | في خرب الاجول⁴⁸ وما يتصل⁴⁹ | عليها من الافات الى اليوم
المعلم | في الانجيل العزيز مترجم بالاناني | على يدي الصالح العالم⁵⁰ شفر الدين ديونيسي البيوشطه⁵¹،

بسم الذات الكريمة المثلثة⁵² بتوحد الايمان⁵³ الاجار وحب المصلب بارض البيت المقداس⁵⁴ الذي
بجرجلين الثاني في الانتاج منها الموصى⁵⁵...⁵⁶ الذنب الاول من حبه⁵⁷ وشفقه علينا⁵⁸ ذلك عيسى بن
مريم العذرى⁵⁹ المشفق علينا بالانتباذ واخذ الانسية وشرح ما اوداع عند صاحابه⁶⁰ الحواريون⁶¹
من الانجيل العزيز الذي اتى به الا الاجول⁶² على يديهم وعن طعته ورضاه⁶³ والوصف في هذا الامر
المعلم اليسر عليها⁶⁴ يطلى من رحمته لي واختصارا ان في كتبنا هذا⁶⁵ اذكر⁶⁶ اخباري⁶⁷ بيته المذكور

47 In order to enhance the accessibility of the text, we have added diacritical signs wherever necessary.

48 Luna (we are referring to Luna's transcription, see P1, above): الاجود which is no doubt "correct" as it corresponds with the frequent use of the same word in the Lead Books.

49 Luna: وما يتصلي (Standardization by Castillo).

50 Luna: العالم الصالح

51 Luna: ديونسيوه ليوبشطه

52 Luna: المثلثة (Standardization by Castillo).

53 Luna: الامان (Standardization by Castillo).

54 Luna: المقداس

55 Luna: الموص (Standardization by Castillo).

56 Luna: بود (؟)

57 Luna: من حبيه (Standardization by Castillo).

58 Luna: وشفقه علينا بالانتباذ واخذ الانسية ذلك

59 Luna: العذرة

60 Luna: صحابه (Standardization by Castillo).

61 Luna: الحواريون (Standardization by Castillo).

62 Luna: الاجود (See our previous note 42 on this word).

63 Luna omits: ورضاه

64 Luna: علينا (Luna's transcription seems to be more adequate).

65 Luna: واختصارا قزدينا في كتبنا هذا (Luna's transcription is better, as similar remarks, including the words *kītib*, *qazd* and *ikhtīṣār*, occur at the end of some Lead Books).

66 Luna: اذ كن

67 Luna: سارين الى زيرة

المقداس وقبره وما يتصل⁶⁸ بذلك من المواضع⁶⁹ المتهمة المبركة⁷⁰ لتقصيص الذنوب والمعاصي الذي اصابتنا⁷¹ من اجل⁷² هو⁷³ النفس واتباع الشيطان، ومن بعد ما قضينا ذلك اذ كنا صائرين⁷⁴ الى هو⁷⁵ الروح بنور العلم الطبيعي⁷⁶ والاعلى في...⁷⁷ النحو الاناني الذي يدراس بمدينة اطيناس⁷⁸ المشرقية حرسها الله وفي...⁷⁹ والارواح⁸⁰ وفساد الوقت⁸¹ اصابتنا⁸² ما شاء الله من زيارته⁸³ بداء الرمد⁸⁴ في العينان حتى غشى البصار...⁸⁵ اشكر الله⁸⁶ على ذلك، واذا بيوم اذ كنت زائرا⁸⁷ عبدا من الاخلاصي⁸⁸ قطب الدين المواكل⁸⁹ على الجامع⁹⁰ بالمدينة المذكورة رضيا الله عنه يوطالع⁹¹ لي سرا عجيبا⁹² من بعدما امراني بالاقرار من الذنوب واخلاص⁹³ القلب واقبل جسد الالهنا عند ذلك في القربان أخرج ذخيرة⁹⁴ وهي نهار الصالحة مريم العذرى⁹⁵ الذي جفف⁹⁶ به الدمع الممزوج بالدام⁹⁷

68 Luna: وما يتصلي (Standardization by Castillo).

69 Luna: الموضوع (Standardization by Castillo).

70 Luna: بالبركة (Luna's reading seems to be better).

71 Luna: اصبتنا (Standardization by Castillo).

72 Luna: من اجلي (Standardization by Castillo).

73 Luna: هو (Standardization by Castillo).

74 Luna: سارين

75 Luna: هو (Standardization by Castillo).

76 Luna: الطبع (Standardization by Castillo).

77 Luna: لغت

78 Luna: اطناس (Standardization by Castillo).

79 Luna: وفي سيار سيرنا

80 Luna: والارياح (Standardization by Castillo).

81 Luna: وفسد الاوقت

82 Luna: اصبتنا (Standardization by Castillo).

83 Luna: زيرته (Standardization by Castillo).

84 Luna: يادا الرمد (Standardization by Castillo).

85 Luna: بالبيض

86 Luna: شكرا له

87 Luna: زيرا (Standardization by Castillo).

88 Luna: الاخلاصا (Standardization by Castillo).

89 Luna: الموكل

90 Luna: الجمع المقداس. Luna's version is in accordance with the Lead Books, where *al-jam' al-muqaddās* is a very frequent expression to refer to the Holy Church.

91 Luna: افضاح

92 Luna: عجبا. (Standardization by Castillo).

93 Luna: واخلص (Idem).

94 Luna: دخرة (Idem).

95 Luna: العذره (Idem).

96 Luna: جفت

97 Luna: بالدم (Standardization by Luna).

من عينها في صلب ابنها الاخير فوضعه على وجهي⁹⁸ فارتد علي البصار في الحين والشفاء والرحمة ورايت معها جفر ملغوز⁹⁹ عبراني مترجم على يدي الصالح العالم¹⁰⁰ الفيلسوف نجر الدين ديونسي¹⁰¹ الينوبجطه¹⁰² وقوله في السر¹⁰³ المعظم ان يشرح ذلك الاعتراض¹⁰⁴ للانانيين¹⁰⁵ المسمى بجفر الصديق الحواري المناجى¹⁰⁶ سان¹⁰⁷ جوان في وصف وفاء الاجول¹⁰⁸ وما يتصل¹⁰⁹ عليها من الآفات بعد مدآت المصلب المذكور فعجبنا من ذلك القول الصديق¹¹⁰ وامال قلبنا الى نسخة ورغبته عليه فاجاب رغبي وترجمته بللسان¹¹¹ الحال¹¹² اعجمي وعليه اشرحها¹¹³ شرحا محيطا¹¹⁴ بالسر¹¹⁵ المذكور عربون الحضرة¹¹⁶ بجزيرة¹¹⁷ اسبنة¹¹⁸ وما نحوها بالغروب¹¹⁹ الى النصارى المستعرباس¹²⁰ وليس يوجب

98 Luna: وجه (Standardization by Castillo).

99 Luna: ملغز (Idem).

100 Luna: العلم (Idem).

101 Luna: ديونسيوه

102 Luna: ليوبسطه

103 Luna: النثر المنظم (An important variant where Luna in this earliest version already shows awareness of the rhymed nature of the text of the Arabic "comments," while Castillo does not).

104 Luna: الاغز (Castillo stays away from Luna's "riddle" (*al-laghz*), and his "objection" (*al-ittirād*) seems to be meaningless in the present context).

105 Luna: الى الانانيين

106 Luna: المناجل الحورى

107 Luna: شان (Standardization by Castillo).

108 Luna: فنا الاجود (Castillo replaces Luna's *ujūd* systematically with *al-ujūl*, but Luna's version is more correct as confirmed by the Lead Books, where *ujūd* for "world" is very frequent. Also Luna's *fanā* is more logical and acceptable from a linguistic point of view).

109 Luna: يتصيل (Standardization by Castillo).

110 Luna: الصديق (Idem).

111 Luna: بلاسان (Luna's spelling concords with that of the Lead Books).

112 Luna: الحالى (Standardization by Castillo).

113 Luna: اشرحنا (Castillo's version is certainly not correct, as the author speaks in the first person).

114 Luna: محط (Standardization by Castillo).

115 Luna: بالاغز (Like the previous *sirr*, Castillo's present *sirr* is not correct either).

116 Luna: المصراف. (Maybe Castillo associated the city of Granada with the word *al-ḥadra*. By reading *urūb* instead of Luna's *al-ghurūb*, Castillo confines the geographical area of the language concerned to the Iberian Peninsula).

117 Luna: بجزيرة (Standardization by Castillo).

118 Luna: بجزرة اشبنيه (Idem).

119 Luna: بالغروب (see note 110).

120 Luna: النصارى المستعربين

نخرب اللغة¹²¹ والصفة المسرورة¹²² العبرنية واليوننية¹²³ الذي رسم¹²⁴ فيها وما يحط بفهمها وشرحها للعباد¹²⁵ الا من شا الله وانعم عليه بخيره في وقت معلم لتذكير¹²⁶ الملوك ولا قبله وما ترجمنا فيه صوقا¹²⁷ محيط¹²⁸ بالسر المذكور في الصفة التي ترا¹²⁹ وهي هذا ومعه صقنا نصف الخمار المذكور الذي وهب لي¹³⁰ الوالي¹³¹ المذكور برحمة في قلبه¹³² وشفقه علينا¹³³ يعلم الله ما قضيت في طلبه واوصاني وعاهد لي¹³⁴ على حرزها¹³⁵ وفعلت ذلك ورايت به معاجزا كبارا¹³⁶ نفع الله بها ورضي عنه وعلى¹³⁷ جميع عبادہ. امين

La edad de la luz ia comencada por el maestro i con su pasion rredemida con dolor del cuerpo i los profectas pasados, q[ue] alumbrados de la tercera persona esperaron su venida. Del mundo el acabamiento quiero contar por boca deste maestro en la misericordia preferido.

A las seis siglos cumplidas de su adbenimiento por pecados graues en el mundo q[ue] cometidos seran, tinieblas se leuantaran mui oscuras en las orientales partes i a las occidentales se estenderan por ministros furiosos, q[ue] en ellas seran criados; con q[ue] la luz de nuestro sol se eclipsara, i el templo del maestro, i su¹³⁸ fee graues pe[r]secuciones padeceran; i las quinze siglos cumplidos por los pertinazes coracones endurecidos signun¹³⁹das tinieblas se

121 Luna: الاغو (Standardization by Castillo).

122 Luna omits the words المسرورة (Interpolation by Castillo).

123 Luna: الاننية والعبرنية (Standardization by Castillo).

124 Luna: رصيص (Standardization by Castillo, who perhaps was not familiar with the verb as used here and in the Lead Books).

125 Luna: الى العباد

126 Luna: لتذكر (Standardization by Castillo).

127 Luna: صدقا (Not clear what Castillo intended with his transcription).

128 Luna: محيط (Standardization by Castillo).

129 Luna: ترى

130 Luna: اهب لي (Standardization by Castillo).

131 Luna: الموكل (Luna's version is more correct in view of the preceding text).

132 Luna: المذكور من حبه في الله

133 Luna: علي

134 Luna: وعهداتي (Standardization by Castillo).

135 Luna: حرزه

136 Luna: معاجز كبار (Standardization by Castillo).

137 Luna: وعن

138 MS: sn.

139 Words between [[]] appear twice, once in this place and once at the end of the prophecy, after "le placera."

leuantaran en las partes de aquilon, y dellas un dragon saldra, q[ue] por su boca arrojara simiente, q[ue] sembrá; la fee diuidira en setas, i con la otra ju[n]tada, el]] mu[n]do ocuparan. I de las occidentales partes saldran los tres enemigos su malicia aumentando, i por su maestro la sensualidad traيران, i con lepra nunca vista, el mundo se inficionara. La luz en parte diminuta de la tierra, se rretirara donde con naufragios sustentada sera en el abrigo de la coluna de su piedra con estas señales prodigiosas, i otras q[ue] el cielo mostrara. El genero umano sera amenazado, i en especial el sacerdocio, i anunciando el antecristo,¹⁴⁰ que sera brebe su benida, con que esta profecia se cumplira, i el juicio final se acercara, quando se manifestara al mu[n]do esta uerdad, uerdad, uerdad cu[n]plida del medio dia saldra el juez de la verdad quando le placera.¹⁴¹

As the age of light has already been begun by the master and his passion, which redeems with bodily pain and [by] the past prophets, who, enlightened by the third person,¹⁴² awaited his coming. About the end of the world I wish to speak through the mouth of this master, [who was] chosen in mercy.

At the completion of six centuries after his [the master's] coming because of grave sins that will be committed in the world, very dark obscurities will arise in the Eastern parts and will be extended to the Western parts by furious ministers,¹⁴³ who will be bred in them, with which the light of our sun will be eclipsed and the temple of the master¹⁴⁴ and his religion will suffer grave persecutions. When fifteen centuries have passed, because of the persistence of their hardened hearts, second obscurities will arise in the Northern parts, and there, a dragon will arise which will spew seed from its mouth which it will plant, and will split the religion into sects, and united with the other, they will occupy the world. And from the Western parts the three enemies will rise,

140 Abbreviated in the manuscript.

141 In red after the word "placera" we find the following letters: a-b-t-l-o-o, which, probably because they could not be understood, were left out in later translations. Then, as noted above, follows: "das tinieblas se leuantaran en las partes de aquilon, y dellas un dragon saldra, q[ue] por su boca arrojara simiente q[ue] sembrá; la fee diuidira en setas, i con la otra ju[n]tada e." This last passage was left out in many later transcriptions, thus avoiding mention of the textual problem. The Vatican transcript (our document P8) includes it, however, and its copyist notes the textual problems.

142 The Holy Spirit. We have used here the translation by Consuelo López-Morillas in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain*, 17, introducing some changes.

143 A reference to the Arab conquests after the advent of Islam.

144 A reference to the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem and the seeming threat posed by the Muslim conquests.

augmenting their malice. And through their master they will bring sensuality and it will infect the world with [an outbreak of] leprosy that has never been seen before. The light will retreat to a tiny part of the earth where in shipwrecks it will be supported, shielded by the column of its stone with these forecasting signs, and others that will be seen in the sky.¹⁴⁵ Humankind shall be in great danger, and especially the priesthood, and announcing the Antichrist whose coming will soon occur, with which this prophecy will be fulfilled, and the final judgement will draw near, when this truth, truth, truth, will be fulfilled and at the light of noon the judgement of truth will emerge when it pleases him.

[Here follow the Arabic "comments" to the prophecy. For these, see Castillo's separate transcription and translation below, P3]

وما بلغنا من الانبياء الاولين في اخبار ابتداء المولود¹⁴⁶ المذكور ونقض ولد آدم من الذنب الاول والشيطان بلغنا بذلك الحواري¹⁴⁷ المناجلي¹⁴⁸ في في اخبار¹⁴⁹ سائر الوقت¹⁵⁰ || بعد صلب سيدنا والاهنا عيسى بن مريم المذكور الى يوم البحث ورد¹⁵¹ الى المععاد¹⁵² الموعود¹⁵³ في الانجيل العزيز نفعنا الله به وجعلنا الله من الصالحين، امين [انتـ]هـ[ى]—¹⁵⁴والهمام¹⁵⁵ بقرئـة الانجيل العزيز المسطر¹⁵⁶ وهو هذا: "في البدء كان الكلام والكلام كان عند الله والله كان الكلام، هذا كان في البدء، جميع الموجودات خلقهم¹⁵⁷ ومن دونه ليس شيء مخلوق¹⁵⁸، والموجودات فيهم حياء والحيا

145 These are very likely references to miraculous signs in the sky which were often seen as having predictive value; see López de Cañete, *Compendio de los pronosticos y baticinios antiguos y modernos*; Milhou, "Esquisse d'un panorama de la prophétie messianique en Espagne (1482–1614)."

146 Luna: جفر انتبذ المولد Luna's version seems to be more appropriate.

147 Luna: الحواري Standardization by Castillo.

148 Luna: المناجل Idem.

149 Luna: اتبعهم باجفر

150 Luna: الاقات

151 Luna: ودره

152 Luna: المعاد

153 Luna: الموعود Standardization by Castillo.

154 Luna om: امين انتهى

155 Luna: التمام Pseudo-correction by Castillo.

156 Luna: المسطور

157 Luna: خلقهم

158 Luna: مخلوق Pseudo-correction by Castillo.

هو النور في الجبال¹⁵⁹، والنور بدي¹⁶⁰ في الظلمات والظلمات لم قدروا¹⁶¹ على.....¹⁶² ذلك، وكان¹⁶³ رجلا مرسلًا يسمى جوان وجا.....¹⁶⁴ من جانب الله ليمنوا به الجميع¹⁶⁵، وكان نورًا حقيقًا والله ينور به كل عبد في الاجود، والاجود خلقهم وليس عرفوه¹⁶⁶ وجاء في الموجودات وانه ليس قبلوه¹⁶⁷ ومن امنوا به اعطاهم¹⁶⁸ قدرة لتكونوا¹⁶⁹ اولاد¹⁷⁰ الله، هولاء الذي امنوا باسمه وهولاء من لم كانوا مخلوقين من الدم ولا من شهوة¹⁷¹ اللحم ولا من شهوة الذكور¹⁷² والكلام رجع للحم¹⁷³ ورأينا جنته لما نحن مخلوقين من الوالد والكلام ملاً من رحمة وحق، الشكر لله.

سلسيوه

وبشب هر

مسنن¹⁷⁴

Relacio patricii sacerdotis. Serbus dei cecilius episcopus granatensis cum in iberia esset et cum videret dierum suorum finem oculi mihi dixit se hauere pro certo suum martirium et apropinquare et ut pote qui ille qui in deo amauat tesaurum suarum rreliquiarum mihi comendauit et me admonuit ut oculte hauerem et in loco locarem et ut in potenciam maururum nunquam beniret affirmans esset tesaurum salutis atque çiençiae certae et plurimum laborase et iter ffcise terra marique et deuere esset in oculito loco donec deus velit illum maniffestare et ego melius quam intellexi in hoc loco clausi ubi iacet. Deum rrogans ut eum obseruet et reliquiae quae nunc hic iacent sunt:

-
- 159 Luna: الرجال
 160 Luna: يذبي Pseudo-correction by Castillo.
 161 Luna: ولا الظلمات قدرين
 162 Luna: رمه
 163 Luna: كان
 164 Luna: بالبينة لينذر
 165 Luna: ليؤمنو به اجمع
 166 Luna: عرفه
 167 Luna: قبله
 168 Luna: اعطاهم Standardization by Castillo.
 169 Luna: ليكنو
 170 Luna: اولد Standardization by Castillo.
 171 Luna: شهوات
 172 Luna: الذكار
 173 Luna: لحم
 174 Luna: غر تنشش

- profeciae diui iohannes euangelistae circa finem mundi
 - medius pannus quo uirgo maria abtersit ab oculis lacrimas in passio
sui filii
 - os diui steuan primi martiris
- Deo gracias

Statement by the priest Patricius, servant to Cecilius, bishop of Granada, when he was in Iberia and saw that his days were ending and holding his martyrdom certain and accepting it, he told me in secret [oculti], seeing that as someone, who in God loved the treasure of his remains entrusted me and admonished me that in secret I would have [it] in my possession and that I would put it in a certain place where it would never come in the power of the Moors, affirming that it was the treasure of well-being and certain science and having done many efforts and finding a way through land and sea, it should be in an occult place until God would want to make it manifest. And I understood this closed place very well. I am asking God that He guard it. And the relics that now rest here are:

- The Prophecy by the saintly evangelist John about the end of the world
- Half of a veil with which Virgin Mary dried the tears in her eyes during the passion of her son
- A bone of Saint Stephen, the first martyr

God be thanked.

Reverse side of the Escorial parchment:

Yo el liçençiado Alonso del Castillo, ynterprete de lengua Arabiga por Su Majestad, e vezino de Granada, por mandado del Dean y Cabildo desta Sancta Iglesia de Granada saque este traslado del Pergamino original que se hallo con las otras reliquias en la torre vieja della excepto el latin de Patricio que lo escribio otra persona e juro a Dios nuestro Señor e a esta señal de la [Cruz] que esta bien y fielmente sacado a todo mi leal saber y entender e lo firme de mi nombre en Granada 27 Junio de 1588.

El Liçençiado Alonso del Castillo

Yo el Liçençiado Juan Lopez Serrano, Theologo Clerigo Presbytero vezino de Granada, por mandado del dean y cabildo desta sancta yglesia de Granada saque el traslado de la prossa del latin de Patricio que está en el pergamino original, que se halló con las otras reliquias en la torre vieja de la dicha sancta

yglesia y doy fe e juro in verbo sacerdotis, que está bien y fielmente sacado, y lo mejor imitado que yo pude en la letra antigua material, que esta en el pergamino. Y lo firme de mi nombre en testimonio de verdad. Granada, ultimo die de Junio deste año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y ocho años.

El Licenciado Juan Lopez Serrano.

Digo yo Francisco Tamarid, racionero desta sancta yglesia de Granada, ynterprete de lengua Arauiga en la sancta ynquisiçion del Reyno de Granada, que por orden del dean y cabildo de la dicha yglesia fui presente a los trasumptos que hizieron Alonso del Castillo y Miguel de Luna del pergamino original que se hallo con las sanctas reliquias en la torre vieja de la dicha yglesia y juro in verbo sacerdotis que estan bien y fielmente ymitados, y retratados, excepto que las letras negras y coloradas de la propheçia que está en el dicho pergamino en los veynte y nueve renglones de los quadricos pequeños son de letra antigua, y por la dificultad que ay en ymitarla se puso en forma moderna, y lo firme de mi nombre en testimonio de verdad fecho en Granada ultimo de Junio de mill quinientos y ochenta y ocho años.

Francisco Tamarid.

Deçimos nos el doctor Don Luis de Pedraza Arcediano, y el Doctor Don Pedro Guerrero Thessorero y el Doctor Bartolome de la Placa y Martin Romero, todos prebendados y capitulares de la sancta yglesia de Granada, commissarios deputados por el Dean y Cabildo della para assistir a los autos de la califiçion de las sanctas reliquias que se hallaron en la torre vieja de la dicha sancta yglesia, al trasladar y retratar lo conthenido en el pergamino que con ellas se hallo— que lo trasladado y retratado por los ynterpretes Arauigos liçençiadados Castillo y Miguel de Luna en dos pergaminos y visto y corregido por el raçionero Tamarid, ynterprete Arauigo del sancto offiçio de la Ynquisiçion, y lo retratado de lo en el conthenido de Patriçio por el licenciado Joan Lopez Serrano— a nuestro leal saber y entender esta bien y fielmente sacado, y retratado, saluo que la letra de la çifra de la prophecia colorada y negra escrita en castellano que va trasladada en forma de la letra moderna está en el original en forma de letra muy antigua y si necessario es lo juramos in verbo sacerdotii y lo firmamos de nuestros nombres fecho en Granada ultimo de Junio de mill quinientos y ochenta y ocho años.

El doctor Pedraza- El Doctor Guerrero- El D. Placa- El Canonigo Romero.

P3 Alonso de Castillo's deciphering of the Arabic "commentary" to the prophecy as presented in his study of the Parchment (ASMG, MS B2, dated 9 April, 1592). Extracts from fols. 20^a-58^b175

Dark Brown Script

1. ¹⁷⁶	الانتبأذي Alintibedyû	el Aduenimiento
2.	نصر Naçrun	es Socorro
3.	علينا Aleyne	A nos heçho
4.	فالنصير fe Alnaçiru	y el que nos socorrio
5.	رب البشار Rabu Albasari	es el dios de todo el criado
6. ¹⁷⁷	الصفو Al Çaf'u	que es la luz
7.	الغيز Allaguizu	el que esta profeçia compuso
8.	شان جون S. Juan	es San Joan
9.	الحوري Alhauriyû	el Apostol
10.	نفر الحور Fahru Alhuguari	el mas preferido de los Apostolos
11. ¹⁷⁸	يا الانسان ye alinçenu	o hombre
12.	التقى Altuca	el camino de dios (altuca)
13. ¹⁷⁹	امراً بديع Amrun badi'un	es muy singular negocio

175 Title of the study: "Compendio de lo Ynterpretado del Pergamino descubierto con otras reliquias en la Torre Vieja de la Metropolitana de Granada en 19 de Marzo de 1588 por el Lizenziado Alonso del Castillo Interprete de su Magestad y de la Santa Inquisición; medico y vecino de dicha ciudad en 9 de Abril de 1592."

176 1-5 correspond to the collective version of the commission headed by Urrea (in P5, below), verse 1, line 1 (= 1/1). Henceforth we refer to that document as "Luna," because the work of deciphering the Arabic text of the "comments" to the prophecy can be ascribed mainly to him, as is evident by the contents of P4, where Luna in a lecture of August 24, 1595 gives a literary analysis of the poetical commentary and as an example presents the first verse of 5 lines of it, identical to the version presented in the collective work of the commission, dated in 1596.

177 6-10 correspond to Luna 1/3.

178 11-12 correspond to Luna 1/4, first part.

179 13 corresponds to Luna 5/3, last part.

- 14.¹⁸⁰ والدنا وَالْعَصِيَانُ gue Aldene gue Alyçyen y el vicio y desobediencia
15. فِيهِ عِلَّةُ الشَّمْتِ fihi illatu Alsemti son aparejadas ocasiones para toda ynfamia y desonra
16. سَيَفْتَحُ الْمَفْطَحَ çeyaftah Almafadiha con façilidad abren las puertas para todo Abatimiento y deshonor
- 17.¹⁸¹ إِلَيْهِ مَفْتَانٌ مِنْ الدَّنْصِ Yleyhi meftenun min Al deneçi porque se yncluye en ellos una pocilga de hidiandez y pudricio
18. وَالْغَدْرَ وَالسُّحْتَ Gue algadru gue Al çuhtu y ynfidelidad y logro
19. دَاءٌ جَرَاهِنِ deu girahin enfermedad de sangto spiritu
- 20.¹⁸² نُورُ بَيْتِ الْمَوْلَى nuru beyti almeule la luz del templo del señor
21. بِشَبْكِ الْأَرْضِ bisebq alardi con el enredo de la tierra
22. قَدْ يَرْتَدَا cad yertede sera offendida
- 23.¹⁸³ مَدْوَمَةُ الْمَصَلِّ modoguemetu almo-çala la continuacion del culto diuino
24. وَحَرَزَ الْفَرَضِ gue harzu Alfardi y custodia de los mandamientos
25. عَمِدٌ أَبَدًا ymedun abeden son muy çanjado y firme presidio para siempre
- 26.¹⁸⁴ حَاجِبِ الْأَعْلَى alhagibu alaale el soberano portero
27. الرِّضَى الْمَرْضِيّ alrida almardi gracia muy açepta y bien recibida
28. وَالْإِنْقِدَا gue alincuide y la humillacion
- 29.¹⁸⁵ لَيْسَ يُوجَدُ مِثْلَهُ leyçe yugedu mitluhu que no se le halla ygal
30. وَلَا أَجْلَى guele ahle ni mas dulce
31. وَأَنْوَاعَ مَجْنِيهِ gue anguah megenihi y las maneras de sus frutos

180 14–16 correspond to Luna 5/4.

181 17–19 correspond to Luna 5/5.

182 20–22 correspond to Luna 6/1.

183 23–25 correspond to Luna A6/2.

184 26–28 correspond to Luna A6/3.

185 29–31 correspond to Luna A6/4.

32. ¹⁸⁶	ولا يَرْضَى	guele yarda	y no consienten
33.	الْهَمْلَةَ	Alhemlete	Abatimiento
34.	قَدْ يَثِيرُ نُورًا	cad yatiru nuran	antes claridad y luz
35.	الطَّالِعُ	Altalihu	el asçendente
36.	فِي إِسْبَانِيَا	fi hispaniata	en hespana
37. ¹⁸⁷	وَصَلِحِ الْأَعْدَاءَ	gue salhu eleeeday	y rectificaçion de los enemigos
38.	فِي هَذَا النَّقَمِ	fihede alniqami	en estas venganças
39.	لِلتَّعْجِبِ	Lilteejubi	con admiraçion
40. ¹⁸⁸	عَلَى مَلِكِهَا	ale meliquihe	por su Rey della
41.	يُقْتَدَا	Yuctede	ha de ser sustentado
42.	فِي شَرْحِ الْغَمِّ	fi sarhi algammi	en la ilustracion desta obscuridad
43.	أَمْرٌ عَجِيبٌ	amrun agibun	se vera un caso admirable
44. ¹⁸⁹	قَبْلَ أَنْ يَتَى الْمَدَّ	cabla en yeti elmede	antes que allegue el cumplimiento
45.	وَحَطَّ الْقَوْمَ	gnehata alcauma	executera su venganca
46.	بَيْتُ شَرَفٍ	beytu xarafin	un palacio sancto
47. ¹⁹⁰	بِالْأَنْفِصَالِ	alemetu aljafri	las señalas de la profeçia
48.	إِذَا يَتَى الْوَقْتُ	yde yeti alghahtu (<i>sic</i>)	quando se açercare el tiempo
49.	بِالْأَنْفِصَالِ	Bilynfiçali	con el cumplimiento
50. ¹⁹¹	مَدِينَةَ بِالْبَحْرِ	medinatun bilbahri	una almedina en la mar
51.	يَمْلِكُهَا	Yemluquhe	Poseera
52.	الشَّرْفُ	Alsarafu	esta generosidad
53.	بِلا مَحَالٍ	bile mohalin	sin ninguna ymposibilidad

186 32-36 correspond to Luna A6/5.

187 37-39 correspond to Luna 7/1.

188 40-43 correspond to Luna 7/2.

189 44-47 correspond to Luna 7/3.

190 47-49 correspond to Luna 7/4.

191 50-53 correspond to Luna 7/5.

54. ¹⁹²	عَلَامَاتِ الرَّحْمَنِ	alemetu alrahmeni	las señaldas del piadoso
55.	فِي هَذَا	Fihede	en estos
56.	النَّصَبِ	Alnoçobi	trabajos y angustias
57.	هِيَ بِاشْتِهَارٍ	hi bi ystiharin	seran manifestadas
58. ¹⁹³	وَالْفَقْهُ فِي	gue alfichu fi	estando el sacerdoçio en
59.	عَصِيَانٍ	Yçyenin	Desobediencia
60.	بَدَلَ الشَّهْبِ	bedelu alsuhabi	la permutaçion deste yncendio (alias tedullu alsuhbu idest daran a entender las ympresiones çelestes)
61. ¹⁹⁴	يَذُرُ الْعُصْرَ	Yedri aloçra sibe biderri aloçre	exeliryra este trabajo (alias biderri aloçre id est la ebentacion o expul- sion deste trabajo)
62. ¹⁹⁵	نَبِيٍّ شَرِيفٍ	nebiun serifun sibe binebi serifin	un profeta generoso (alias binebi serifin id est por medio de un pro- feta generoso o por su intry ... ion [?] y gracia, bi preposiçion ynstru- mental)
63. ¹⁹⁶	مِنْ جَانِبِ الْأَنْصَارِ	min genibi alançari	de parte de los socorredores
64.	إِلَى دُجَا الْفَجْرِ	ile duga elfejri	al dilueulo del alba
65.	يَطْفِي حُزُونَ	yetfi huzune	apagara estas tristezas
66. ¹⁹⁷	وَزَرَاعٍ مِنْ يَحْنَهُ	gue zarhu men yahunhu ¹⁹⁸	y la simiente de los que se le rebe- laren
67.	قَدْرٍ فَطِينٍ	cadrun fatinun	potestad sublime
68.	الْمِلَّةِ	Almiletu	la religion
69.	بِإِلْحَالٍ	bile mohalin	sin ymposibilidad

192 54–57 correspond to Luna 8/1.

193 58–60 correspond to Luna 8/2, first two parts.

194 61 corresponds to Luna 4/2, second part.

195 62 seems to correspond to Luna 4/2, last part.

196 63–65 correspond to Luna 4/3.

197 66–69 correspond to Luna 4/4.

198 The author added the Arabic letter خ underneath the first letter h of *yahunhu*.

70. ¹⁹⁹	واليمين	gue alyumnu	y la seguridad
71.	هو يصتمه	hue yaçucuhu	el la traera
72.	وَحُبُّ	gue hubun	y el amor
73.	المولى	al meule	del señor
74.	ذو الجلال	du al geleli	de ymmensa grandeza
75. ²⁰⁰	يَعُودُ	Yaudu	bolbera

Red Script

1. ²⁰¹	فِي شَرْحٍ	fi sarhin	con jubilarior gozo
2.	مَا أَسْنَى	me açne	o quan excelente y hermoso
3.	عَلَيْنَا مَرَّ حَبًّا	aleyne merheben	sera sobre nos su reçibimiento
4.	على العبار	'aly alybari	de alta estima
5. ²⁰²	مِنَ أَقْصَى الْغَرْبِ	min açça elgarbi	de la parte mas subida del occidente
6.	على ماء البحر	ale mei albahri	sobre las agues de la mar
7.	يَتِي شَرِيعٌ	yeti sarihun	vendra un juez legislador rectissimo
8. ²⁰³	رِفْعَةً وَذَهَبٌ	rifatun gue dehebun	excelençia y riqueza
9.	وَمَجْدُ الْأَعْلَى	gue mejdu alaale	y la generosidad del soberano
10. ²⁰⁴	لِتَشْرِيحِ الْقَلْبِ	li tasrihi alcalbi	para ejultaçion de nuestros coraçones
11.	وَتَوْشِكِ الْأَجْرِ	gue teguesuque alajri	y esperança de galardon

199 70–74 correspond to Luna 4/5.

200 75 corresponds to Luna 8/5, last word.

201 1–4 correspond to Luna 1/2.

202 5–7 correspond to Luna 5/1.

203 8–9 correspond to Luna 5/2.

204 10–11 correspond to Luna 5/3, first two parts.

- 12.²⁰⁵ اِقْتِدَارَ رَفِيعٍ yctide raf'in guïa de sublimaçion
13. عَتَرَى Atara en quanto a las plagas
14. فِيهَا فُصُولٌ fihe fuçulun ay muchas maneras en ellas
- 15.²⁰⁶ تَفْصِلُهَا Tufaçiluha las quesadas distinguen
16. اللُّغَازِي Alugazi las figuras
17. فِي نِقَمِ الْأَمَمِ fi nicami alumemi en venganca de las gentes
18. حَرْبِ الْأَجُولِ harabu alujuli el abamiento del mundo
- 19.²⁰⁷ وَعِيدَاتِ بِالْبُرْهَانِ v ydat bilburhani esta conaprobacion de terminada
20. مِنْ عَيْسَى الثَّانِي min yça elteni que sera en la venida de Xristo el Segundo
21. فِي الْاِقْتِدَارِ Filyctidari en potestad
- 22.²⁰⁸ سِنِينَ ضَنَّأَ çinin dana en anos climatericos
23. فَوَائِدِ الْغَفْرَانِ fegueyd algofrani los beneficios de la conversion (?)
24. هِيَ الْخَيْرُ لَكَ hie alhayru lek seran tu bien
25. بِالْفَنَى bil fene en el acabamiento
26. الْمَشْتَهَارِ Almustahari tan manifiesto
- 27.²⁰⁹ مِنْ عَمْرَانَ الشَّرْقِيِّينِ min omrani alsarcuyne de la poblacion de los orientales
28. يَتِي مَلِكٌ جَانِي yeti meliqun geni saldra un furioso rey
29. بِالْاِنْشِرَارِ Bilynsirari con milicia y arma
- 30.²¹⁰ عَلَى الْأَجُولِ ale alujuli por el discurso del mundo
31. قَائِمٌ Caymun Victorioso
32. بِتَمَامِ الْقَدْرِ bitememi al cadri con cumplimiento de potestad

205 12–14 corresponds to Luna 1/4, last two parts.

206 15–18 correspond to Luna 1/5.

207 19–21 correspond to Luna 2/1.

208 22–26 correspond to Luna 2/2.

209 27–29 correspond to Luna 2/3.

210 30–33 correspond to Luna 2/4.

33.	قد ينتصر	cad yantaçaru	sera socorrido
34. ²¹¹	بِسُلْطَانٍ دَائِمٍ	bi çultanın deimin	con perpetuo seniorio
35.	مِنْ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ	min hede alamri	deste poderia
36.	أَيْنَ الْفِرَارِ	ayne alfiraru	a donde sera la guarida
37. ²¹²	وَمُلْكُهُ	gue mulquhu	y su reyno
38.	مُتَحَكِّمًا	Mutehequemun	sera tan pujante
39.	عَلَى الْأَجُولِ	ale alujuli	por las hedades
40.	كُلِّهَا	Qulihe	y portado su proceso
41.	إِلَى الْغُرُوبِ	yle algorobi	hasta el occidente
42. ²¹³	وَدُونُو يَتَقَدَّمُ	gue dunû yetecuedemu	con daño que se adelantara
43.	عَلَى مَرَقْدِ آمَالِهِ	ale marcadi amelihi	en el obdormieto de su deseo
44.	مِنَ الْعُيُوبِ	min aluyubi	por mandado de los inconuenientes
45. ²¹⁴	وَالْيُسْرِ	gue alyuçru	y la Felicidad
46.	يَتَهَمَمُ	Yetehememu	sera atribulada
47.	بِمَا الْقَدَرُ	bime alcadaru	con lo que la potestad
48.	أَعْطَاهُ	Ahtahu	le conçedio
49.	عَلَى الذُّنُوبِ	ale aldunubi	sobre los vicios
50. ²¹⁵	وَجَامِعِ الْقُدْسِ	gue jamiu alcudçi	y el templo de la glorificacion
51.	وَالْبَيْنِ الْأَعْلَى	gue alyumnu alaale	y la celestial pacificacion
52.	قَدْ يَنْتَهَارُ	cad yancaharu	seran anguatiadas
53. ²¹⁶	بِحُلُوفِهِ	bi hulufihi	con su succession
54.	يَطْنِي	Yatga	Cresçera

211 34–36 correspond to Luna 2/5.

212 37–41 correspond to Luna 3/1.

213 42–44 correspond to Luna 3/2.

214 45–49 correspond to Luna 3/3.

215 50–52 correspond to Luna 3/4.

216 53–56 correspond to Luna 3/5.

55.	الحزن والهملُ	alhuznu gue alhemlu	la tristeza y el abatimiento
56.	كَمَا جَفَّرَ	queme jafar	ansi como esta profetizado
57. ²¹⁷	والخمسة عَاشِرَ	gue alhamçata axara	y en los quinze
58.	مُتِمَّةَ الْأَمْرِ	mutimetu alamri	cumplido su negoçio y quenta
59.	مِنَ الْقُرُونِ	min alcuruni	por los siglos
60. ²¹⁸	نَبِيِّ مِنَ الْفَجَّارِ	nebiun min alfujari	un profeta de los façinorosos
61. ²¹⁹	يَرْمِي الْجَمَارَ	yermi aljimara	arrojara ascuas encendidas
62. ²²⁰	فِي يَسَارٍ	fi yaçari	en la bonança
63.	الْأَزْمَانِ	Alezmeni	de los tiempos
64.	إِذَا تَبَيَّ اللَّهْبُ	yde yeti alehebu	quando succiedere este ynçendio
65.	وَالِاسْتَعْدَارِ	gue aliçtihdaru	y este ympedimento
66. ²²¹	وَفَضَحُ	Guefadhu	y la manifestación
67.	هَذَا الشَّرُّ	hede alsarri	deste dano
68.	عَلَى يَدَيْ عَبْدِ	ale yedey abdin	por manos de algun sierbo
69.	مِنَ الْأَجُولِ	min alujuli	destas hedades
70. ²²²	دَلِيلٍ عَلَى	delilun ale	es señal que
71.	تَبَيُّرٍ	Teyçiri	se apareja
72.	الْفَنَاءِ	Alfene	el feneçimiento
73.	وَالْخُسْرَانِ	gue alhoçrani	y perdicion
74. ²²³	وَلَا	gue le	y no
75. ²²⁴	تَتَشَفَعُ	tatasafa'u	Abra mas proçeso

217 57–59 correspond to Luna 4/1.

218 60 corresponds to Luna 4/2, first part.

219 61 corresponds to Luna 8/2, third part.

220 62–62 [63?] corresponds to Luna 8/3.

221 65–69 correspond to Luna 8/4.

222 70–73 correspond to Luna 8/5, first two parts.

223 74 corresponds to Luna 8/5, first word of third part.

224 75 not traced in Luna.

P4 Lecture by Miguel de Luna in the presence of Don Pedro de Castro, Archbishop of Granada, on the antiquity of the Parchment, dated August 24, 1595. Archivo del Sacromonte, *Calificación* (Shelfmark C 49), fols. 752^a–754^b

752^a Discurso hecho por Miguel de Luna Medico Vezino de Granada, interprete de la lengua Arabiga sobre la antiguedad del Pergamino que se hallo con las sanctas Reliquias en la Torre Vieja de la sancta Yglesia de Granada en 19. dias del mes Março de 1588 elqual hizo por mandado de su sa. Rma. Don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones Arçobispo de Granada en la manera siguiente—

Su sa. Rma. me mando que como interprete de la lengua Arabiga y que antes de agora auia visto muchas vezes el Pergamino que se hallo en la torre vieja y el comento de Sant Çeçilio sibre una Propheçia de Sant Joan y le auia interpretado en lengua Española y hecho sobre el algunas diligençias, que tornase á ver el dicho Pergamino original que Su Sa. Rma. me mostro y que sobrello declarase si se colegia antiguedad del Pergamino y que antiguedad y por que razones y si podia auerle hecho o fingido en nuestro tiempo alguna persona y de todo ello de á su Sa. Rma. relacion particular jurada y firmada de mi nombre. Yo el dicho Miguel de Luna en cumplimiento de lo que su Sa. Rma. me mando respondo y digo lo siguiente—

Por muchas razones se prueua la antiguedad del Pergamino que se hallo con las sanctas Reliquias, la primera es por el frasi y termino de hablar que tiene el Arabigo muy diferente del moderno. La segunda es por la letra antigua. La terçera por el uerso. La quarta por los nombres propios y bocablos que usa desusados de los Arabes modernos. La quinta y ultima por la antiguedad del pergamino y por las tintas con que esta scripto—

Lo primero es el introyto desta letura començar, assi, en el nombre de la Deidad diuina trina y una, este termino no lo usaron los Arabes jamas ni hazen mencion del sus scripturas, por ser contra su seta, antes lo annulan y abominan grandemente. Mas adelante donde dize en amor del cruçificado en la tierra del palacio sancto de Hierusalem, tambien es termino nunca usado entrellos porque á Hierusalem llaman ellos alarda almucaddassa, i. tierra sancta o bendita y al nombre de Hierusalem llaman corruptamente Ariusalam, y no con el asçento latino como esta en el Pergamino. Tambien aquel termino de referir la predicacion del Euangelio y el sacramento de la penitencia y de la Eucharistia y el ganar perdones por la visitaçion de los lugares sanctas y los milagros obrados en virtud de las Reliquias, ni los moros lo creen, ni entienden, ni tienen termi-

nos propios para explicar estos conceptos como estan en el Pergamino, y dexase entender a buen juicio que Sant Çeçilio como hombre docto en las lenguas inuentó aquellos terminos de hablar en aquel tiempo para poder explicar bien aquellos conceptos conforme aquel dicho: "Rebus inuentis noua nomina sunt imponenda" como cosa nueua en el mundo no sabida ni creyda hasta alli por los hombres. La elegancia con que esta escripto, sin que se entremeta ninguna palabra superflua tambien arguye mucha antiguedad, de laqual usaron los gentiles Arabes antes que tomasen la seta Mahometana (como parece por las obras del sigundo Yahrob | Rey del Arabia) y tambien al tiempo que la tomaron y algunos años despues (como son las obras de Abentarique y el Rey Almançor que conquisto á España y a Africa como parece por sus prouisiones reales y cartas minsibas²²⁵) y Homar Almottaleb Rey del Arabia (en la Historia que escriuió de Alexandro Magno) y Lucman en su natural Historia, que á penas muchos lugares de sus obras se entienden y quedan escurissimos respeto de la brevedad con que escriuieron: loqual todo es contra los modernos Arabes porque usan de tanta veruosidad y palabras superfluas por elegancia que cansan al lector primero que alcança la raçon que busca en ellas, como son sus contratos, partiçiones, cartas dotales y minsibas, prouisiones de Reyes, que para dezir una razon escriuen una plana de papel pudiendose dezir con quatro palabras—

752^b

La segunda es por la forma de letra que tambien representa mucha antiguedad, ya que la screuiron sin puntos para el conoçimiento de las letras, ni bocales comas ni parentesis, como escriuen los modernos á su uso, mas de solo apartar las partes para su conoçimiento ni poner las señales con que se conoçen las silabas longas o breues ni la puntuacion que haze la pronunçiaçion de algunas bocablos aspera o blanda; que es un genero de abreuaturas que usaron los antiguos Arabes en sus obras, como tambien las usaron los Latinos y Españoles a su modo con aquellos partes abreuadas en ellas difiçiles de leer y entender sino especialmente a quellos questan muy peritos en leerlas, prueuase esto por los libros antiguos de mediçina arabiga y otras facultades y que á penas se pueden leer de losquales su Magestad tiene muchos y diuersos auctores en la libreria del Escorial, todo lo qual es contra el uso de los modernos porque escriuen con grande puntuacion y distincion a su uso como esta dicho y poniendo bocales y las demas señales neçesarias para la buena y clara intiligencia de sus escripturas mayormente quando son de mucha importancia que se esmeran en ellas muy de ueras, assi libros como cartas dotales y minsibas prouisiones y otros contratos que yo e uisto muchissimos de todo lo qual se ynfiere ques antigua esta scriptura.

225 Read misivas?

Lo terçero es por el uerso en que esta scripto el Comento de la Propheçia de San Juan ques muy diferente de las composiçiones que usan los modernos, assi como es uerso mayor y menor con sus cadençias, cançiones, sonetos eglogas, glosas, terçetos, coplas redondillas y quebradas exçepto otauas rimas que yo no las e visto en esta lengua Arabiga de todas las quales composiçiones difiere esta del Comento, porques uerso elegante, obligado cada uerso en tres partes a letra y sentençia y cadas tres uersos obligados unos á otros en nueue partes á la misma letra y sentençia. Y despues de cada tres uersos se siguen otros dos que por todos son çinco con el mismo estilo que abraçan la conclusion de lo que quiso dezir en los tres anteçedentes. Tienen otras exçelencias, que si quitamos de qualquier uerso la primera sentençia de tres que contiene queda entera la razon como si no se quitase. Y si quitamos la del medio dexando las dos primeras significan lo mismo que todas tres juntas. Tienen otra graçia que se leen al reues y salteadas sin mudar el peso del uerso ni la sentençia ni la | significaçion. Esta composiçion parece uerso mayor muy diferente del hordinario, mas si queremos partirlo por tres sentençias forman cada tres uersos mayores nueue pequeños y hazen una copla redondilla con sus correspondençias muy galanas y de bien exagerada significaçion. Tienen otra exçellençia estas sentençias que aplicadas á qualquiera sentençia del texto de la Propheçia de Sant Juan se denominan todos al proposito délla declarando lo que quiso dezir en ella como si a otro proposito no se obiesen escripto. Y aplicandolas despues á otra sentençia muy diferente hazen lo mismo, ques cosa que causa admiraçion porque no dexan cosa a la opinion del entendimiento porque todo lo declaran con grande distinçion de donde ynfero que demas de ser sapientissimo el Auctor tenia don gratuito del çielo sin el qual era imposible poder componer este comento y escriuirlo con tantos requisitos y obligaciones correspondençias de claraçion de Propheçia y con tanta elegança como esta escripto y porque podria auer algun docto en la lengua que lo quiera uer porne aqui exemplo desto con los çinco uersos primeros del Comento de Sant Çeçilio sobre la dicha Propheçia y lo mismo podria hazer en todos los demas uersos del comento. Hagolo en estos çinco no mas para exemplo agora—

ربّ البشار	عليّاً بالنصر	الاهي تمنّي
على العبار	علينا من جفر	في شرح ما اثني
خير الحوار	شان جوان الحور	الصدق الاغنى
فيه قعود	لغزاً رفع عبري	بلاسان الحق
خرب الاجود	في تمام الامر	دليلت الطلق

Por la quarta consideraçion representa tambien mucha antigüedad que son los nombres propios, y otros bocablos que usa nunca usados por los Arabes modernos, y son llamar á Dios Deidad Diuina trina y una y á Hierusalem con el acçento latino, y el sacramento de la Penitençia y de la Eucharistia terminos nunca usados por los Arabes, tambien el llamar á sant Juan por su propio nombre iohan usado en aquel tiempo y no como los modernos arabes, que le llaman Yahia, y el llamarle almunachal i. Euangelista, nunca usado este termino por ellos creydo ni confesado por tal y a Christo nuestro Redemptor llamarle el sant Çeçilio segunda persona en la Potençia de la Deidad, no usando ellos jamas deste termino ni creyendolo. Tambien llamar a la sancta Yglesia de Roma, Palacio del Señor, cosa negada por ellos y termino nunca usado, ni á su Mezquita mayor de Meca ponen tal nombre, antes la llaman al macam, ques nombre diferente. Tambien el llamar á España por este nombre España ellos no lo usan, antes la llaman algezira alhadra, i. la isla deleytosa, y por otro nombre la llaman alandaluz i la Bandalia o tierra de los Bandalos. Tambien firmar Sant Çeçilio obispo arguye antigüedad este termino porque ellos no saben que quiere dezir | obispo ni ques su offiçio, dignidad ni potestad. Tambien argueye antigüedad la orthographia conque estan escriptos estos nombres referidas y otros del pergamino usando de la letra çin por la çad y en otras de la çad por el çin, y en otras usando de la dat por la da ques contra modernos todo loqual arguye antigüedad grande como façilmente entendera el que supiere esta lengua y tuuiera notiçia de antigüidades y los terminos y orthographia que usaron los antiguos escriptores—

753^b

La quinta y ultima consideraçion es estar la tinta assi prieta como colorada con que esta scripto este Pergamino tan deslauada y perdido el color con la antigüedad y en algunas partes tan gastadas las letras que se leen con grande trabajo y tambien pro la grande antigüedad que representa el Pergamino, porque cotejado con una carta dotal que esta en poder de su sa. Rma. escripta en pergamino de tiempo de moros, como pareçe de su data que á çiento y quatro años que se scriuio, pareçe un niño de quatro años y el pergamino de las sanctas reliquias un viejo de çient años en su comparaçion por todas las quales razones y argumentos pareçe claramente que esta scriptura es antiquissima y del tiempo de sant Çeçilio y no despues como algunos contemplatiuos an querido sentir—

Á lo que su sa. Rma. pregunta y quiere saber si puede auer hecho o fingido este pergamino alguna persona docta o en otra manera, respondo que no puede ser fingido por las razones siguientes. La primera es porque para hazer tal engaño auia de saber neçesariamente el auctor mucha historia antigua assi arabiga como española y latina. Lo segundo tambien auia de saber theologia

para escriuir el Euangelio y propheçia de sant Juan. Lo terçero auia de ser gran poeta para componer el comento. Lo quarto tambien habia de ser grande escritor de letras antiguas assi arabigas como españoles, latinas y griegas que son las questan en el pergamino scriptas. Y creçe mas la dificultad de que esto no puede ser cosa fingida ni ubiera quien lo fingiere en nuestros tiempos por otra razon muy fuerte, y es que una de las laminas que se hallaron en las cabernas de Bal de Parayso scriptas en letra y lengua latina muy antigua haze mençion deste pergamino y de las sanctas reliquias que con el se hallaron y del martirio de sant Çeçilio y de sus discipulos, y esta lamina de sant Çeçilio es de la misma letra, language y antiguedad de las otras laminas que se hallaron en las mismas cabernas que hazen mençion del martirio que los gloriosos martires padeçieron en aquel monte, y tambien las cubiertas de los libros escritos en plomo que alli se hallaron, son las cubiertas de la misma letra de las laminas dedonde se ynfiere que este pergamino y aquellas laminas y libros son de unos mismos sanctos y antiguedad y tiempo y no diferentes porque si queremos negar que este pergamino y lamina de sant Çeçilio que del haze mençion | 754^a y reliquias de la torre vieja no son de la misma antiguedad, neçesariamente siendo, come es esta dicha lamina de la letra²²⁶ antiguedad y language que las demas laminas, se an de negar todas y dezir que son fingidas y no verdaderas, loqual no puede ser porque negar tanta maquina como se hallo en aquel monte y cauernas de laminas libros cubiertos de libros huesos quemados cenizas y braseros todo cubierto y terra plenado que costo tanto trauajo, tiempo y gasto el descubrirlo à su sa. Rma. como costo es grande horror y engaño que no puede ser cosa fingida porque ningun hombre de entendimiento que lo aya visto cabra en su juizio que aquello se pudo fingir aora ni en ningun tiempo porque un rey muy poderoso no podria fingirlo ni ponerlo de la manera que estaua enterrado sin ser visto ni sin que se entendiese lo que hazia. Por todas las quales razones queda aueriguado y tengo por cierto que estas reliquias son verdaderas y antiquissimas y no fingidas, ni tanpoco á auido persona en nuestra era ni la emos oydo dezir que pudiese fingir y componer el dicho pergamino ni los libros y laminas porque lo primero auia de ser el auctor grande escultor y grauador en metales porque los libros *De Esençia Dei* y *Fundamentum Ecclesie* estan bien grauados y esculpidos los caracteres de Salomon con que estan escritos en el plomo y muy bien formados a la vista que dan contento. Tambien auia de ser gran gramatico y orthographo porque estan ortographa y grammaticalmente escritos y neçesariamente auia de ser grande theologo scolastico porque toda la scriptura es theologia scolastica que admira su gran delicadeza y

226 Sic! Read: misma.

profundidad à los entendimientos que la an visto. Y tambien auia de ser grande philosopho y historiador de historia eclesiastica y profana y saber mucho de antiguedades para no herrar la Scriptura y poner cada cosa en su conueniente lugar. Tambien auia de saber el officio de enbutidor y los characteres antiguos conque estan escriptas las laminas para enbutillas en el plomo como lo estan, todo lo qual no puede caber en un subgeto, ni yo e conoçido ni oydo dezir que aya auido hombre en España de çient años a esta parte que tenga tantas partes juntas de sçiençias, artes y facultades. Y si lo ouiera auido no podriamos dexar de de auerle conoçido o oydo dezir como hombre tan famoso. Lo otro porque si este tal fuese moro o luterano el que lo quisiera fingir ubiera mezclado en estas scripturas algunas heregias para introducir las y engañarnos con ellas o por grande interes particular suyo, pues buen christiano chatholico no haria tal engaño porque seria graue pecado de todos las quales defetos careçen estas scripturas y reliquias por lasquales razones totalmente esa qualquiera mala presunçion que dellas sequiera tener mayormente que el que fingiera el pergamino neçesariamente auia de ser el que obiese fingido los libros y todo lo demas pues penden unos de otros por causa de la Lamina de Sant Çeçilio. Lo otro porque tambien es verosimil que si fuese esta maquina | de scripturas y reliquias cosa fingida siendo como son las cosas que en ellas se contienen y comprehenden tan diferentes materias, lenguages, facultades, sçiençias, artes y formas de letras que el auctor se descuidaria en algunas cosas en que se echariade ver con façilidad su engaño y maldad porque la mentira o ficçion luego se descubre y conoçe y quien lo contario dixero con su açendrada solerçia y agudeza prueue o procure contra hazer o fingir, todas las scripturas y lo demas que se hallo con ellas, y vera que nadie lo puede hazer. Y verran con façilidad en conoçimiento de la verdad por la experiençia como madre ques de la sçiençia. Y tengo por çierto ques verdad que esta scriptura de pergamino que se hallo en la torre es antiquissima y verdadera y que deue de ser del tiempo que ella dize y que no es fingida ni inuentada y que no ubiera persona que supiera fingilla ni simularla ni hazer tal falsedad. Y juro a Dios y a esta † que esta es la verdad y lo que siento a todo mi saber y alcançar y en mi consçiençia, saluo el parecer de quien mejor lo entendiere. En Granada, 24 dias del mes de Agosto de mill y quinientos y nouenta y çinco años.²²⁷

754^b

Miguel de Luna

227 Two lines follow with a list of the marginal and interlinear corrections made in the document.

En Granada a veynte y seis dias del mes de Agosto de mill y quinientos y nouenta y cinco años ante su Sa. del Arzobispo de Granada mi Sr. Miguel de Luna medico vecino desta ciudad interprete de la lengua arabiga presento este discurso hecho sobre el pergamino que se hallo con con las reliquias de la torre y su Sa. le ouo por presentado. Ante mi, el liçençiado Hieronimo de Herrera, secretario y notario.

P5 New collective contribution to decipher and translate the Parchment, by Diego de Urrea, Lorenzo Hernandez Chapiz, the Valencian medical doctor Pinto and Miguel de Luna (dated 1 October, 1596) (ASMG, Legajo v, fols. 142^a–152^b)²²⁸

²²⁹La ciudad de Granada al veinte y ocho dias del mes de Jullio de mill e quinientos e nouenta y seis años, ante nos, los notarios infrascriptos su sanctidad Don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones mi señor, Arzobispo de Granada del consejo del Rey nuestro señor, que Dios de gracia, y por virtud del breue de su sanctidad de Clemente octavo, nuestro señor, que está en este processo aviendo trahido y juntado en esta ciudad ante si a Diego de Urrea, Interprete del Rey nuestro señor de la lengua arabe y cathedratico de la cathedra de arabe en la Universidad de Alcalá y a Lorenzo Hernandez Chapiz, vezino de la ciudad de Baeça, y al licenciado Pinto, medico natural de Valençia, con el liçençiado Miguel de Luna, medico, vezino de esta ciudad e interprete de su Magestad en la lengua árabe, lee, dixo e propuso que era neçessario traduzir en lengua castellana de lengua Arabe en que esta scrip[...] en pergamino una escriptura en pergamino que se halló el año passado de mill e quinientos y ochenta y ocho en la torre vieja derrocandola que estaua edificada en el sitio y lugar en que agora se edifica la iglesia mayor nueva desta ciudad y que la scriptura es de sanct Çeçilio en Arabigo y una propheçia del euangelista sanct Joan en lengua castellana y un commentto sobre ella del mismo sanct Cecilio tambien en lengua Arabiga y les rrogaua y les cargaua que cada uno de por si hiziesse una traduccion fiel y verdadera arrimandose a la letra del Arabigo todo quanto mas pudiessen lo qual hagan con mucho cuydado y diligençia porque era negoçio gravissimo, y que assi hecha la dicha traduccion por cada uno dellos se boluerian a juntar con sus traslados para conferirlas y communicarlas entresi los susodichos y para | hazer una traduccion de todas. Y ellos se encargaron de lo hazer y cumplir assi con todo cuydado y diligençia que pudiessen.

142^a142^b

Y luego su Sa. sacó la dicha scriptura del pergamino y mandó a los susodichos qua sacassen traslados del commentto della corregidos y conçertados con el oreginal para cada uno dellos. Uno para el dicho effecto y para lo estudiar y travajar cada uno de por si. Y los dichos Miguel de Luna y Diego de Urrea

²²⁸ In view of the contents of Luna's lecture of August 1595 (see P4, above), it is evident that the commission did indeed accept in substance his decoding of the Arabic poetical text, which therefore should be ascribed to him, exclusively. The collective work of the commission is, however, clearly reflected in the translation and the "scholios" (see below, P6).

²²⁹ Note in the left upper margin: interpretes a ? de 1596 a 28 folios. Diego de Urrea, Lorenzo Hernandez, El ludo Pinto, Luna en 1 de octubre de 1596. Firmaron (unreadable word).

trasladaron y sacaron los dichos traslados y juntos con los susodichos los demas interpretes los conçertaron y corregieron letra por letra con diligencia y dixeron que estauan sacados bien y fielmente y que conçertauan con el oreginal.

Despues de lo qual en diez dias del mes de Agosto del dicho año su Sa. el Arçobispo mi señor mandó llamar y juntar a todos los susodichos y cada uno dellos exhibio ante su sanctidad una traduccion del dicho pergamino y comentario la que cada uno hauia traducido y sobre ello todos los dias siguientes continuos hasta acabarla se juntaron y confinieron y consultaron y antes de resolver las traducciones se resolvieron y notaron lo siguiente.

143^a Confirmaronse todos los dichos interpretes que el dicho commento de San Çecilio se a de leer en esta forma que ha de leerse del primer ringlon çinco cassas negras arreo las primeras y luego quatro cassas coloradas las primeras del mismo ringlon. Pruebase, porque si las dichas quatro cassas coloradas no las leyessen en este lugar y las dexassen para las leer en otro lugar despues de las negras no harian sentido. | Y se romperia el sentido corriente y serian imperitinentes. Como tales se auian de dudar de la santa escriptura.

Ytem leydas alli hazen uerso y guardan la ley del uerso que todo el comentario es uerso como luego se dirá y obliga a leerlas alli la connexion del uerso y si las mudassen a otro lugar se perderia el verso de todo el comentario. Assi que an de leer las quatro cassas coloradas primeras luego despues de las cinco cassas negras. Y despues de estas nueue cassas assi leydas se a de leer del mesmo primer ringlon arreo las tres cassas negras que restan y consequtiuue todas las demas cassas negras de los ringlones siguientes hasta fin del comentario saltando y dexando las cassas coloradas. Y acauadas de leer todas las cassas negras en la forma dicha se a de boluer al primer ringlon y leer la quinta cassa colorada y consequtiuue arreo todas las cassas demas coloradas hasta el fin del dicho comentario dexando y saltando las cassas negras y con esto quedara leydo el dicho comentario.

Ytem se conformaron que el dicho comentario todo está en poesia muy elegante y con mucha propiedad de la lengua y muy significativa [y que el autor como gran poeta juega y ussa de las dicçiones arabes y las corta como señales de la lengua]²³⁰ y que cada uerso se haze y tiene diez y seys silabas enteras y que le pueden cantar y escandir.

Ytem que todo el comentario ua de çinco en çinco uersos, tres uersos y luego dos, otros tres y otros dos: Y assi ua todo el comentario hasta el fin.

Ytem que cada uerso se parte en tres partes, o inçisiones, y en cada parte o inçision destas tres queda y acaba entera la diccion y pie del verso, sin tomar

230 The words between square brackets were added in the margin, in the original handwriting.

silaba precedente, ni siguiente como diçen que se ussan los versos bucolicos que tienen esta | inçision en parte y dicçion entera en los quatro pïes del uerso y la llaman inçision bucolica.²³¹ Y que en la primera y segunda parte y inçision destas tres tiene cada inçision sus silabas y la ultima y terçera inçision tiene quatro.

143^b

Ytem que cada çinco versos los tres primeros de ellos es la ultima o sexta sylaba de las seys de la primera parte o inçision son similiter cadentes y como deçimos de los uersos Italianos o Hespãnoles que acauan en consonantes. Assi aqui todos los tres primeros uersos tienen la mesma desinençia en la sexta y ultima silaba de las seis silabas primeras o de la primera inçision. Y luego tienen otra desinençia tambien similiter cadens entresi en la silaba final de las otras seis silabas, o segunda inçision que es la duadeçima silaba de todo el uerso. Y luego tiene otra desinençia y final similiter cadens en la ultima silaba de las quatro postreras que es la ultima de todo el uerso la deçimasexta.

Ytem que los dos ultimos uersos de los çinco que son el quarto y quinto que tienen otra correspondençia o desinençia entresi que en la ultima silaba de las seis silabas primeras que es la sexta son similiter cadentes entresi. Y en la ultima, o sexta de[...] seis entresi tambien son similiter cadentes. Y en la ultima de las quatro postreras entresi las desinençias destes tres²³² uersos no tienen correspondençia con las desinençias o consonantes de los tres primeros uersos.

Ytem que a esta composiçion de uerso y poesia llaman los Arabes *nadm* y assi lo llaman communmente los Arabes doctos y lo tracta el Hazaragi que escribe el arte poetica Arabe que todos los generos y composiçion de uerso y cada | çinco en çinco uersos llama el Arabe *veyt*, como un capitulo, y son como si dixessimos en poesia Castellana una octaua rima, o, en prosa, un capitulo. Y a los tres primeros uersos de ellos llaman *forox*, y a los dos ultimos *minquil* y ussaremos de estos nombres. Y para que mejor se entienda esto se pone aqui demonstraçion dello.

144^a

<u>asar</u> _ _ _	<u>acri</u> _ _ _ _ _	<u>ana</u> _ _ _ _ _
<u>ibar</u> _ _ _	<u>afri</u> _ _ _ _ _	<u>ana</u> _ _ _ _ _
<u>aquar</u> _ _ _	<u>auri</u> _ _ _ _ _	<u>ana</u> _ _ _ _ _
<u>cohot</u> _ _ _	<u>abri</u> _ _ _ _ _	<u>haqui</u> _ _ _ _ _
<u>uehot</u> _ _ _	<u>abri</u> _ _ _ _ _	<u>talqui</u> _ _ _ _ _

(Podriamos dezir que son de este modo çinco coplas castellanas.)

²³¹ In the document these words were originally followed by the following passage: “de que esta lleno Theocrito.” These words were then crossed out.

²³² Correctly: dos.

Otros dos uersos ultimos de otros çinco:

(Aunque guardan entresi desinençia y consonantes en la final, no guardan, ni es la mesma con los otros minquiles siguientes.)

Ytem que estos versos y composiçion de San Çeçilio y este commento que tienen una particularidad de uerso antiguo contra lo que guarda y ussa el moderno oy. Que el moderno los dos ultimos uersos que llaman *minquil*, los acaba siempre en una misma letra la final. Aunque sea de muchos, y de çient beytes, siempre los dos uersos ultimos de cada *minquil*, y de todos son semejantes en la desinençia y letra y consonante final. Aqui no guarda esto este autor sino que aunque los dos versos ultimos, y *minquil* tienen entresi la mesma desinençia en la mesma letra, y el otro *minquil* de los otros veytes siguientes tienen la mesma consonante entresi, pero no tienen la mesma los dos a los otros dos sino varias aunque guardan la mesma elegança. Esto diçen ser usso muy antiguo y cossa nunca uista a los modernos.

144^b Ytem que cada çinco uersos destos los primeros tres uersos por si y los dos ultimos tambien por si hazen el mesmo sentido leyendolos alrebes comenzando | a leer de la terçera çisura, y despues la segunda y despues la primera, o comenzando de la çisura de en medio, de arriba abaxo o de abaxo arriba. Saluo que el sentido le hazen muy mal difficultoso y duro.

Ytem que leyendo con uariiedad de capitulo preçedente no se muda la poesia, y queda siempre con semejantes desinençias y consonantes como quando se lee alderecho.

Ytem se conformaron que la dicha poesia del dicho commento se puede diuidir de otra manera. Y el que se diuida todo el commento de quinze en quinze uersos. Y estonçes el primer uerso, segundo, quarto, quinto, septimo, octauo, diez, onze, treze, catorze, tenia cada uno dellos seis silabas. Y los uersos restantes tenían cada uno quatro silabas, el terçero, el sexto, el nueue, el doze, y el quinze.

Ytem que el primero, y quarto, y septimo son similiter cadentes entresi, y el terçero, sexto y nono similiter cadentes entresi; y el diez y el treçe entresi. Y el honze y catorçe entresi. Y el doze y quinze entresi. Como aqui se pinta:

ana _ _ _ _ _ (1)
agri _ _ _ _ _ (2)
 asar _ _ _ _ (3)
ana _ _ _ _ _ (4)

<u>afri</u> _ _ _ _ _	(5)
<u>ibar</u> _ _ _ _	(6)
<u>ana</u> _ _ _ _ _	(7)
<u>auri</u> _ _ _ _ _	(8)
<u>aquar</u> _ _ _ _	(9)
<u>aqui</u> _ _ _ _ _	(10)
<u>abri</u> _ _ _ _ _	(11)
<u>cohot</u> _ _ _ _	(12)
<u>talqui</u> _ _ _ _ _	(13)
<u>abri</u> _ _ _ _ _	(14)
<u>uehot</u> _ _ _ _	(15)

Con esto quedaran leydas todas las cassas saluo la ultima que es tambien colorada. No la leen los interpretes con las demas cassas para hazer uerso con ella porque diçen que esta no entra con el uerso ni con la sentido del commento y que traduzida esta cassa dice: 'acabose'. |

145^a

Esto en quanto a la lección de como a de leerse el dicho commento y de su poesia.

La construcción del se conformaron que para le construir y entender el sentido del, que ay liçençia de construir los tres primeros uersos de cada *veyt* y los dos ultimos sin guardar el orden de las cassas anteponiendo, o postponiendo alguna dicçion como el sentido lo pidiere como se construye en latin y mas la poesia, que con la liçençia del poeta es mas frequente el anteponer y postponer, y no impide que el oreginal arabigo esta ... [?] de cassas scriptas arreo, pues trae la dadas [?] es como otra escriptura, o poesia que se puede construir anteponiendo y postponiendo como la scriptura y el sentido obliga.

En quanto a la traducción se conformaron que toda la dicha scriptura de Sanct Çeçilio que es difficultossissima de entender y traduzir y que reçibe sentidos muy uarios y ambiguos porque todo esta escripto sin uocal, nu jujclas, y sin puntos en muchas letras y que tampoco tiene puntos ni duission, comma collum, ni peryodo sino que todo ua arreo.

Item porque la letra con la antiguedad esta muy gastada que en muchas partes apenas se diuisa.

Ytem que tiene dicçiones y phrases antiguas y orthographies antiguas, que no se ussan agora.

Item que es poesia.

Item ques escriptura muy profunda, y sobre todo que es propheçia de futuro y enygma, que todas estas cossas lo hazen muy obscuro.

146^a Esto assi presuppuesto diçen que el original Arabe es muy elegante y altissimo y todo oro, y que la tracçion que hazen es lodo y queda muy lexos de la propiedad y elegaçia del Arabigo original. Y para mas intelligençia dello hizieron algunos scholios que uan con la mesma traducçion. Y la traducçion y scholios que hizieron auriendose communicado y conferido la que cada uno tenia hecha y haziendo de todas una es de la forma siguiente: |

Propheçia (2) del Euangelista el Apostol sanct Juan del acabimiento (3) del mundo y de las calamidades (4) que le sobreuendran hasta el dia enseñado en el sublime Euangelio interpretada en lengua ionica (5) por manos del sabio el sancto (6) ensalçador (7) de la fee (8) Dionysio Areopagita. En el nombre de la essençia diuina (9) lo que la una (10) y gran fee nos enseña (11). Y en amor del crucificado en la tierra de la cassa (19)²³³ sancta que esta en Hierusalem el segundo en el orden (12) el embiado (13) a pagar el peccado primero por el amor y piedad que nos tuuo. Este (14) es Iesus Hijo de Maria la Uirgen, el que tuuo piedad (15) en nosotros y uino al mundo (16) y torno la humanidad y declaro lo que encomendo a sus amigos los apostoles en el euangelio sagrado (17) y le embio (18) al mundo por manos dellos y para su obediencia y declaracion deste negocio el qual nos enseña el camino de uiuir y lo que emos de hazer para saluarnos y nos hizo esta manera por sola su misericordia y en summa nuestra determinacion en esta nuestra scriptura es decir que yendo caminando a uisitar su cassa (19) sancta ya dicha y su sepulchro y los demas lugares donde se entiende que ay bendiccion para satisfaccion de los peccados y offensas, las quales nos sebreuinieron para auissa de auer seguido el desseo del aptito y seguir a Sathan. Despues de auerlo cumplido y uimos caminando al desseo del alma con el respandor | de la scientia natural y la mas alta (20) en la lengua elegante ionica (22) la qual se estudia (45) en la ciudad de Athenas la oriental que la guarde Dios del, visitarnos (23) con enfermedad de empanarse ambos ojos hasta que se priuaron (24) de la uista con pano blanco albanças a el por ello. Y estando un dia uissitando a aun sieruo (46) de Dios de los amigos (29) intimos, polo (33) de la fee, a cuyo cargo esta la iglesia sancta, que estando en la ciudad ya dicha grato (27) a Dios me descubro un secreto admirable despues que me mando que me confessasse de los peccados y limpiase (28) el coraçon y recibiesse el cuerpo de nuestro Dios. Hecho (29) esto en la missa (30), saco un thesoro muy muy preçiaodo (31) y era un pano de la uerdaderamente Sancta

146^b

Maria la Uirgen con el qual enjugo las lagrimas mezclados con sangre de sus ojos en la crucifiçacion de su muy escogido Hijo y la puso en ençima de mi rostro y me boluio la uista en el enstanti y la salud por su misericordia, y ui con ella una propheçiaen hebreo enygmado traduzida por manos del sancto el sabio el philosopho grandeza (25) de la fee Dionysio Areopagita y lo que diçe en prosa a manera de uerso es declaraçion çierta de aquel enyigma para los ionicos | nombrada propheçia del uerdadero (36) el euangelio el apostol sanct Joan que declara el acabamiento del mundo y de las calamidades que le sobreuernan- despues del tiempo del crucificado ya nombrado y nosadmiramos de aquellos mysterios (47) uerdaderos y se inclino nuestro coraçon y la interprete en lengua no (37) Arabe que de presente se ussa. Y sobre ella emos commentado comentario que comprehende el dicho enyigma en lengua arabiga ussada en la isla de España y en las partes a ella çercanas hazia el poniente para las christianos que saben la lengua Arabigay no mude el estilo (39) y el modo secreto del Hebreo y Ionico en que fue escripto. **Y no comprehendera su sentençia, ni su comentario para los hombres** sino aquel que Dios quisiere y le hiziere merçed de declararsela en tiempo señalado y no antes: para auiso (41) a los Reyes. Y lo que emos traduzido es uerdad que comprehende el dicho enyigma en la manera que aqui uereis y ella es esta. Y con ella (42) traximos la mitad del dicho paño el qual me dono el dicho a cuyo (43) cargo esta la iglesia por su amor en dios y piedad en mi. Sabe Dios lo que padesci en pedirla y me encomendo y tomola fee que le guardaria y los hechos assi, y ui con el milagros grandes. Aprouechenos Dios con el y se sirua del (44) y de todos sus sieruos. Amen. [fol. 147^b: empty] |

147^a148^a

La hedad de la luz ya començada por el Maestro y con su passion redimida con dolor del cuerpo y los prophetas passados que alumbrados de la terçera persona esperaron su uenida. Del mundo el acauamiento quiero contar por boca deste Maestro en la misericordia preferido. A los seis siglos cumplidos de su aduenimiento por peccados graues en el mundo que commetidos seran, tinieblas se leuantaran mui obscuras en las orientales partes se estenderan por ministros furiosos que en ellos seran criados con que la luz de nuestro sol se eclipsara y el templo del Maestro y su fee graues persecuçiones padeceran. Y a los quinze siglos cumplidos por los pertinaçes coraçones endurecidos, segundas tinieblas se leuantarán en las partes de Aquilon y dellas un dragon saldra que por su boca arrojará simiente que sembra la fee diuidira en sectas, y con la otra juntada el²³⁴ mundo ocuparan. De las occidentales partes saldrán los tres enemigos, su maliçia aumentando, | y por su maestro la sensualidad traheran,

148^b

234 In the left-hand margin: aqui empieçan las letras coloradas.

y con lepra nunca uista el mundo se inficçonará. La luz en parte diminuta de la tierra se retirara adonde con naugrafios [*sic*, authors] sustentada sera en el abrigo de la columna de su piedra. Con estas señales prodigiosas y otras que el cielo mostrara, el genero humano será amenazado y en especial el sacerdoçio y anunciando el antecristo,²³⁵ que sera breue su uenida, con que esta propheçia se cumplira, y el juicio final se açercará quando se manifestará al mundo esta uerdad uerdad uerdad cumplida y del medio día saldrá el juez de la uerdad quando le plaçerá. Authodas²³⁶ tinieblas se leuantaran en las partes de Aquilon y dellas un dragon saldra que por su boca arrojara simiente que sembra la fee diuidira en sectas, y con la otra juntada. [fol. 149^{a-b}: empty] | 150^a

1—Dios mio socorre nos con fabor o criador (2) de las gentes	الهي تمنى—علينا بالنصر—رب البشار	My God, grant me help, o Lord of mankind ²³⁸
Para commentar lo que nos annunçio en una propheçia de alta consideraçion	في شرح ما اثنى—علينا من جفر—علي العبار—	In commenting the prophecy of high esteem commended to us
El que siempre dixo uerdad el mas (3) rico San Joan el Apostol bien de los Apostoles	الصدیق الاغنى—شان جوان الحوري—خير الحوار	By the most precious and trustworthy San Juan the Apostle, the best of the apostles,
Con lengua de uerdad enyigma alta Hebrea en que ay clausulas (4)	بالاسان الحق—لغز ²³⁹ رفع عبري—فيه قعود	In the language of truth, a highly esteemed enigma in Hebrew, containing (rectangular) cases
Que son (5) muestra (6) infalible (7) de las finales persecuçiones de la deshabitaçion (9) del mundo	دليله الطلق—في تمام الامر—نحرب الاجود	Its major significance being, when all matters have been completed, the destruction of the world

235 MS: antexpo.

236 In the left-hand margin, in the handwriting of Pedro de Castro: esto ya no es nada. Repetido por enchir las casillas. Those remarks hold true for the remainder of the text, which is covered with diagonal slashes, apparently by Castro, to mark it as not relevant because he realized it is a duplicate.

237 Original without diacritics. Diagram lines added by us.

238 The English translation in this third column has been added by us, as a contribution to the critical understanding of the text.

239 In the original a small *ʿyn* was written underneath the sign we are reading as a *ghayn*. This should, actually, indicate that it is to be read with a *ʿyn*. We suppose this is a writing error by the copyist, who was Miguel Luna himself.

(cont.)

2—Y la quenta çierta es (2) desde Iesus el segundo en la potestad	وعداد البرهان—من عيسى الثاني—في الاقتدار	The demonstrating number (is) from the second Jesus in power
De cien años es el siglo del mouimiento perezederlo el manifesto (3)	سنين ميا هو القرن—في الحراك الفاني—المشتهار	A hundred years, ²⁴⁰ i.e., a century, in the well-known movement towards destruction ²⁴¹
De los desiertos de entre los dos leuantes uendra un rey جاني que con (4) dissimulacion	من عمرة الشرقين—يتي ملك جاني—بالاسترار	From the desert between the two Orients ²⁴² comes an scandalous king in dissimulation ²⁴³
Sobre el mundo se lebantara con cumplido poder sera uictoriosso con ayuda de otros	على الاجود قايم—بتمام القدر—قد انتصار	He rises over the world, with full power he will be victorious
O Rey eterno desta tribulacion a donde sera la huyda	يا ملك ان ²⁴⁴ دايم—من هذا الامر—اين القرار	O, eternal King, where can one escape from this matter
3 beyte—Y su reino se apoderera (1) sobre el mundo todo hasta el occidente	وملك محكام—على الاجود كله—الى الغروب	And a kingdom that dominates the whole world, as far as the Occident
Y su ley la reçibiran los que fueren inclinados (2) a los viçios que el ... [?]	ودنو يتقدم—على من قد امله—من العيوب	And his religion ²⁴⁵ progresses towards those who were hoping for his vices

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240 Sic. The Spanish texts reads “six hundred [years].”

241 It seems the text says that it will take a hundred years until Jesus will have assumed power upon his return and the world will be destroyed.

242 Perhaps a calque of the Quranic *rabb al-mashriqain wa-al-maghribain*, in Quran S. 55, Sūrat al-Raḥmān. The Quranic expression is usually understood as the “Lord of the two Orients,” i.e., of the Orient of the summer and the Orient of the winter, because of (as Muslim exegetes explain) the different positions of the sun in each season.

243 Perhaps a reference to the Antichrist (*al-Dajjāl*). It may also be possible to identify this “outrageous king” (= *al-Dajjāl*) with the Ottoman sultan or as a reference to the Prophet Muhammad as enemy of Christianity.

244 Here the Arabic *malik an* is presumably to be understood as *malikan*, which is identical to *malikun* in the Andalusi dialectal tradition of the author.

245 Arabic *dmw* = *dīnuhu*.

(cont.)

Y el misterio secreto desto (3) se entiende que el poder se le dio (4) por los peccados	والسير مفهام—بما القدار اعطه—على الذنوب	And the secret will be known, insofar as the divine will provide it, notwithstanding (our) sins
Y la iglesia (5) sancta y la (6) fee alta sera (7) abatida	وجميع القدس—واليمين الاعلى—قد يقتهار	And the Holy Church ²⁴⁶ and the exalted faith will be subdued
Por sus califas (8) sera uestida de tristeza y desprecio assi como el (9) lo prophetizo	لخلفه يكيبي—الحزن والهملى—كما جفار	to its Vicars ²⁴⁷ who will be overcome by distress and neglect, ²⁴⁸ as he ²⁴⁹ has foretold
4. beyte—Y los quinze siglos cumplidos (7) enteramente (13)	والخمسة عشر—متممة الامر—من القرون	And the fifteen centuries completed fully
Un annunciador (4) falssissimo (5) uendra con doctrina falsa (6) y mentirosa (7) con uiolencia (8) destruyendo (9)	نبي من الفجار—بزر العصر—ياتي منون	A false prophet will come fatefully, through the evil of the age
De la parte (10) de los saboresçedores (11) al rompimiento del Aurora uestira de tristeza	من جانب الانصار—الى دحا الفجر—يكيبي حزون	From the side of the allies, until daybreak, he will be overcome by distress
Y el que cogiere su (13) simiente saldra de la union christiana sin dubda	وزرع من يحنه—يرفض من الملة—بلا محال	The seed of those following him will undoubtedly be rejected from the Faith
Y la fe se le secara (14) y el amor del señor de summa grandeza	واليمين هو يصفه—و حب المولى—ذو الجلال	And he will shrivel the creed, and the love of the Exalted Lord

246 This expression figures also in the Lead Books as the standard expression to refer to the institution of the Church.

247 *Al-khalīfa*, plural *al-khuluf*, is widely used in the Lead Books to refer to clergymen of a higher rank, especially bishops and the Pope.

248 Scil. (The neglect) of the Temple Mount by the Jews of Jerusalem before the Muslim conquest.

249 Referring to the Apostle and Evangelist John.

(cont.)

5. beyte—Del Occidente mas remoto sobre la agua del mar uendra presto (2)	من أقصى الغرب—على ما البحر—يتي سريع	Fom the farthest West, on the water of the sea, comes speedily	151 ^a
Plata y oro y cossas preciosas de grandeza y admiracion	من فضة وذهب—ومجد الامر—شيارفيع	Silver and gold, precious matters, of great value	
Que (3) disolutos (4) se (5) daran (6) de coraçon (7) a todo (8) viçio y (9) anihilaran (10) el merito cossa nunca vista	لتسريح ²⁵⁰ القلب—وتهتك الاجر—امراً بديع	To release the heart, and to annihilate merit, an extraordinary matter	
En la fornicacion y en (13) la desouediençia (14) en ella abrá enfermedad de infamia ella ciertamente con desverguença (15) se descubrira	بالزنا والعصيان—فيه علة الشمت—هي تنفضاح ²⁵¹	In fornication and disobedience, including the disease of malice, but it will (certainly) be exposed	
Y el testimonio (10) falso y la mentira (17) con daño (18) y la traycion y la auaricia (19) insaciable todo esto (20) es la fermedad de lepra (21)	والزور والبهتان—والغدر والسخت ²⁵² —دا جراح	And fraud and untruth, and treason and resentment, the malady of the bubonic plague ²⁵³	
[6. beyte] La luz de la cassa (2) del señor (1) a la extremidad de la tierra çiertamente se passara	نور بيت المولى—لسبك الارض—قد يرتدى	The light of the House of the Lord, ²⁵⁴ in view of the melting of the earth, will be destroyed	
Desde Roma la despreçiada (4) y la tristeza (5) deste trauajo como quando començo	من رمة الهملى—وحزن العرض—كما بدا	From Rome the Neglected, ²⁵⁵ and (with) distress ²⁵⁶ of the presentation, just as when it began	

250 In P6 (below) Luna seems to have corrected this reading into *tashriḥ* "to gladden the heart."

251 In P6 (below) Luna adds the letter *lām* as a prefix, reading: *la-tanfadhāh*.

252 I.e., *sukht*. In P6 (below) Luna writes *suht*, but the corresponding word in standard Arabic is *sukht*.

253 This part is quoted by Luna in his treatise on baths.

254 This might be a reference to the miraculous light appearing annually in the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem.

255 This is an expression used several times in the Lead Books, referring to Jerusalem.

256 In P6 (below) Luna seems to have corrected his reading of *huzn* into *hirz*, which would result in a translation like: "preserving the objective."

(cont.)

	A la parte (7,8) mas alta el contento (9) cumplido y la redempçion (10)	للجنب الاعلى—والرضا المرض—والانقدا	At the most elevated side, and with satisfaction, and re-demption
	Y no hallara otro como el ni mas dulce ni mejor amparo	ليس يجد مثله—ولا احلى وابداع—مجا[ني]ه ²⁵⁷	Nothing else like its fruits will be found, neither sweeter nor more unique
	Y no consentira su maltratamiento pues el es (13) la luz de las atalayas (14) en Hespaña	ولا يرضا بهمله—فهو نور الاطلاع—في اسبنيه	It will not consent to its maltreatment, as it is the light of the watchtowers in Spain
151 ^b	Beyle 7. —Y la paz (2) con los enemigos en esta calamidad a el combiene (3)	وصلح الاعدى—في هذا الهم—له يجب	A truce with the enemies, in this emergency, is necessary
	Con ella su (4) reyno rescatara (5) de la repentina tribulaçion cossa marauillosa (6)	به ملكه يفدى—من سرع الغم—امراً عجب	Through it, its kingdom will be ransomed from the speedy tribulation, a marvellous matter indeed
	Antes que uenga el tiempo determinado y le çerque (7) la gente a el çercana (8)	قبلا ما يتي المدا—ويحط القوم—به مقترب	Before the time comes and he will encircle the people near to him
	Las señales de la propheçia quando llegare el cumplimiento dellas por la orden (9) dicha	علامات الجفر—اذا يتي الوفق—بالانفصال	The signs of the prophecy will be fulfilled,
	La çiuudad (10) del mar la posseera el de leuante sin dubda	مدينة البحر—يملكه الشرق—بلا محال	The Orient will possess the City of the Sea without any doubt ²⁵⁸
	[Beyle 8 ²⁵⁹]—Las señales del misericordioso en esta persecuçion ellas se manifestaran	علامات الرحمان—في هذا النصب—هي مشتهار	The signs of the Compassionate on this stone marker are well known ²⁶⁰

257 Text illegible, supplemented from P6 (below).

258 Perhaps a reference to the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, and its port cities such as Famagusta.

259 Not in MS, added by the editors.

260 This may be a reference to the "signs of the hour," i.e., the signs that indicate the approaching end of the world (*'alāmāt al-sā'a*) as found in the Islamic tradition.

(cont.)

Y el saçerdoçio (2) en des-ouediencia andara (3) significarlo an inçendios en el ayre arrojando çentellas de fuego	والفقه في عصيان—يدل الشهب—رمي الجمار	And theology ²⁶¹ in disobedience indicates flames and the flight of embers
En todo el discurso (4) de los tiempos quando uiniere el inçendio (5) de fuego (6) sin humo y la marillez	في سار ²⁶² الازمان—اذا يتي اللهب—والاسفرار	In all times, when the fire comes, with yellowness ²⁶³
La manifestacion deste secreto al mundo por manos de un (9) sieruo de Dios	وفضح هذا السير—على يدي عبدا—من الاجود	The revelation of this mystery of the world will happen by the hands of a servant ²⁶⁴
Sera seña del acabamiento y destruçion y no abrá mas. Acabose.	دليل على مسير—الفنا والخصران—ولا يعود	Indicating the course of destruction and perdition, without any return.

Y lo que entendimos de los prophetas primeros en las propheçias el aduenimiento del unigenito (2) ya nombrado y libertar los hijos de Adam del peccado primero y del Demonio, esso mesmo emos entendido por este Apostol Euan-gelista siguiendolos en prophetizar (3) el discurso de los tiempos despues de la cruçifigacion de nuestro señoer y nuestro Dios Iesus hijo de Maria ya nombrado hasta el dia del juicio (4) final y llamamiento a el en el tiempo señalado (5) en el Euangelio sagrado. Aprouechenos Dios de los sanctos Amen. Y el fin (6) sea con la lección el Euangelio sagrado escrito aqui y es este:

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En el principio era el uerbo y el uerbo era çerca de Dios. Y Dios era el uerbo. Este era en el principio. Todas las cossas que tienen ser, el las crio. Y sin el ninguna cossa fue criada. Y las cossas criadas en el tienen uida. Y la uida es la luz en los hombres. Y la luz resplandeçe en las tinieblas. Y las tinieblas no pudieron comprehenderle. Fue un hombre embiado de Dios que le llamauan Ioan. Y uine con

261 The Arabic *fiqh* rather refers to the religious sciences, thus, in a Christian context, “theology.”

262 In the elaborated text of P7 (below), Luna seems to correct *sā’ir* into *minbār*, “pulpit.”

263 In standard Arabic: *al-iṣfūr*.

264 This seems to correspond to the view of the Lead Books about a humble servant who will play a major role in revealing God’s secret Gospel at the end of time.

152^b probança (7), amonestando de parte de Dios para que creyessen en el todos. Y era luz uerdadera de Dios que alumbra a todos los hombres y el mundo le crio (8), y el mundo (9) no le conoçio. Y uino al mundo | y los suyos no le reçibieron. Y a los que creyeron en el les dio potestad para que sean hijos de Dios. Estos son los que creyen en su nombre y estos son los que no fueron nasçidos de la sangre ni de los deleytes de la carne, ni del deseo de varon (10), sino de Dios. Y el uerbo se hizo carne y moro con nosotros. Ojuimos (11) su Gloria como el unigenito (12) que es del Padre. Y el uerbo fue lleno de graçia y de uerdad. La alauança a Dios.

Ceçilio Obispo Garnatense

La qual traduçion los susodichos todos dixeran ser çierta y uerdadera a todo lo que alcançan y entienden, y que an procurado que concuerde con el arabe original todo quanto han podido mirandolo sin pasion, ni respecto ninguno, sino por solo seruiçio de Dios y cumplir lo mandado por su sanctidad. Y assi lo juraron a Dios nuestro Señor y a una señal de la cruz en que pusieron su mano derecha en mano del liçençiado Don Miguel de Muru notario infra escripto. Y nos los dichos notarios damos fee, y uerdadero testimonio que los susodichos an hecho, y la que entregaron a su sanctidad esta de suso contenida y lo firmaron en primero de octubre de mil quinientos nouenta y seys años.

Diego de Urrea, Jeronimo Pinto, Miguel de Luna, Lorenço Hernandez

Por mandado de su sanctidad el arçobispo mi señor: El liçençiado Miguel de Muru, De Paz Maldonado.

P6 Notes to the preceding text by Miguel de Luna and Diego de Urrea (October 1, 1596). Sacromonte Archive. Leg VI, 1ª sección, Pedro de Castro (provisional)

*Scholios sobre el Principio del Pergamino hasta la Propheçia*²⁶⁵ |

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2. La dicçion arabe جفر signif[ica] [cual²⁶⁶]quier cossa que se escriue en çifra o algu[...] modo occulto de hablar prophetizando.

3. حرب no tiene puntos en el original y assi puede leer diferentemente segun los puntos que le applicaren. O que diga حرب q[uiere] dezir pelea o guerra o dissençion. O puede leerse qu[...]a حرب q[uiere] dezir deshabiçion, desamparo, destruiçion, aca[...]. Tomose la seg[...] signifiçacion en la traducçion, porque deste termin[...]ento usa santi[...] y dize el acabamiento del mundo.

4. الافات significa calam[idade]s, angustias, traba[jos], infortunios y persecuçiones.

5. بالاناني yd est lengua Ionico, El arabe moderno qu[...] se usa dize Ionani, que es lo que los Latinos dizen Ionico, de manera que dezir Inani es antiguedad que ussa el pergamino; y a mucho que ya no ay esta nasçion Ionica. Dizelo un libro Turquesco traducido en arabigo que se yntitula Futuhatisan yd est las expugnaciones de Damasco.²⁶⁷ Otros interpretes entienden esta dicçion mas latamente por la naçion Griega, y traduçen en Griego.

6. الصالح significa summamente bueno, luzero de la fe.

7. شرف الدين es muy significante, quiere dezir honrrarse, y engrandeçerse con une cossa, como un señor se honrra con un criado. Assi aqui quiere dezir honrra y engrandeçimiento, y juntando con el nombre fee que esta junto a el, quiere dezir que la fee se honrra, engrandesçe con Dyonisio.²⁶⁸

8. الدين significa fee, y ley.

9. الكرمه es dicçion muy ampla que ussan della en cada sciencia para declarar los terminos de la sciencia. Propiamente significa liberalidad de todas las cosas, y en la theologia significa muchos o, todos los atributos de Dios.

10. ---- significa tambien, y se puede leer en [...] sabida, enseñada, entendida, conocida con la una y gran fee. |

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11. الملسه es participio activo o passivo, segun las vocales que le pusieren en, nos enseñan, o somos enseñados.

265 On the upper margin of the document: "Año de 1596 en 1 de Octubre."

266 The paper is damaged and deteriorated by humidity in numerous places, indicated in our edition by dots between brackets. The proposals are reconstructions.

267 Arabic: *Futūḥ al-Shām*. The book must have been translated from Arabic into Turkish, not vice-versa.

268 I.e., Areopagita.

12 Puede traducirse en la procession, porque la dicçion arabe demas de significar orden, significa procession, y es la dicçion Arabe *في الانتاج* significa produccion, o, proceder de ramos de una rayz tronco, o arbol. Significa tambien coronacion, coronar en la coronacion.

13. *الموصى* Por la orden grammatical significa, como esta aqui traducido, el embiado, o el encomendado, encargado y superioridad en el que comienda, y obediencia, en el que acepta. Pero porque no hay palabra de romance que abraze este significado se puso el embiado. *الموصى* es participio pasiuo *وصيا* del uerbo *وَصِيَ* çercanos del que hazen las cossas solamente por Dios sin otro respecto.

420^a 26. *الموكال* quiere dezir persona puesta para gouernar y administrar con manda. Comprehende prefecto prelado. |

27. Un interprete traduce a quien dio Dios su bendiccion.

28. *اخلاص* comprehende pureza, limpieza y que no tiene otro amor sino solo el de Dios.

29. *عند ذلك* es termino arabe, y aunque algo duro significa y quiere dezir, y declarar que auia cumplido lo que le fue mandado, traduximos hecho esto puede en la propiedad, y fuerça del vocablo traducirse, cumplido con su mandado.

30. *القربان* Propiamente quiere dezir açercamiento o cossa con que me açerco a dios; quiere dezir sacrificio en el Jauhari²⁶⁹ en la dicçion carabe dize que qurben significa açercamiento a dios y aproximacion a dios y cossa con que se açercan a dios, sacrificio.²⁷⁰

31. *دخرة* significa tambien joya preçiada muy guardada, estimada y uenerada.

32. *البيض* significa enfermedad que llaman albugo, que es que se cubre los ojos de paño blanco [...] nube que occup[...] el ojo que digamos en Romance empañamien[to ...].

33. Quando se da este termino de Polo a los ho[...] [...]ffica al subi[...] o el major quiere dezir titulo grande.

34. *الخمار* significa [...] de muger asi lo p[...] el Jauhari en la dicçion *نحر*. Traduximos paño porque Pa[triçio] le llama medius panus, en su relacion al fin del pergamino original.

35. *شجر الدين* tambien significa ensalçador de la fee o, victoria de la fee, con quien se engrandeze la fee.

269 The dictionary of al-Jawharī, of which a copy was found in the possession of Pedro de Castro, see Van Koningsveld, "Les manuscrits arabes."

270 With an additional note in the handwriting of Don Pedro de Castro: "Los nuestros llaman asi la missa."

36. الصدق segun se leyeren las uocales significara puede adgetibarse con la prophesia, y significarà prophesia uerdadera. O, sera nombre sustantiuo, la uerdad, o puede adiectiuarse con el euangelista y dira, del uerdadero.

37. El autor en el original ussa desta dicçion اعجمي qualquier lengua que no sea arabe, y asi se traduxo, no arabe, y se ue claro que Çecilio en quanto dixo اعجمي entendio la hespañola pues traduxo la prophesia en español, como se vee por la misma traduçon de Çecilio, y la dicha dicçion اعجمي es antiquissima, y son conformes los interpretes en que la ussan autores de mas de mil y doçientos años.²⁷¹

38. ليس يُوجِبَ quiere dezir, no combiene, puede tambien leerse ليس بوجوب y quera dezir no fue conbiniente. Es idioma arabigo. Traduximoslo, no mude. | 420^b

39. اللغة quiere dezir lenguaje, lengua, estylo.

40. Esta en el en original شرحها y terna vario sentido segun le aplicaren los puntos. Si leyeren شرحها significara, entendera, y si leera يسرحه significara darla a entender a otro.

41. لتذير significa para aviso, despertar para memoria, hazer memoria, traer a la memoria.

42. Se comprehende y usa del articulo hi, que es pro nombre masculino. Refiere al paño.

43. Ya se declaró en el numero 26.

44. Se refiere al prelado que se la dio.

45. يدراس es verbo significa moler o machacar, en latin terere, desmenuçar, uso de metaphor [?] en el original arabe, por la mucha diligencia con que se estudiaua.

46. E[...]escoliado en el fin del comento de la prophesia no. 9.

47. [...] arabe العول abraça y significa todo lo que contiene [escrip]tura o libro que trata de cossas mysteriosas o no mysteriosas. | 421^a

Siguense los scholios sobre el comento de Sant Çecilio

Scholios sobre el primero ueyt o tex^o del comento de Sant Çecilio

Este primero ueyt se haze de ueinte y tres casas del comento, desta manera.

Leyendo en el primero renglon cinco cassas negras, las primeras y luego quatro cassas coloradas, las primeras del mesmo renglon, y leyendo despues en el mesmo primer renglon las tres cassa negras del, y luego del segundo renglon las cassas negras, que son ocho, y del terçero renglon, leyendo las tres cassas negras primeras que por todas son ueynte y tres cassas, y estas asi juntas hazen un ueyt de çinco uersos en la forma que esta dicho.

²⁷¹ Implicit reference to the Quran where this word is used several times.

que [...] el original como le faltan otros muchos puntos. Los demas dizen [...] original en todas las partes en que tienen necessidad preçissa de letra [...] [...] señala en la escriptura, y en esta dicçion no la tiene ni la puede tener con[...] al verso, y que en otras partes en que el original no pone letra duplice [...] porque no hay necessidad preçissa de ponerla. Dize uno de los interpretes, que el verbo es *جنى* y el partiçipio es *جاني* y quiere dezir gozar, y el verbo que dize el que traduçe demonio familiar es *جنَّ يَجُنُّ* y el partiçipio a de dezir *جَانِي* y que siempre en la lengua arabe los participios an de seguir la fuerça, y condiçion de los verbos porque si tienen letras duplices ellos, las an de tener sus participios, y que de otra manera seria confusion, tratose si cabria en la poesia, y dizen que no quiebra el verso aunque sea duplice, y que el poeta puede pronunçiar duplice, o no duplice.

5. Quiere dezir: no rey coronado y publico, sino encubierto y con desimulacion no publicandose, ni llamandose rey descubiertamente, sino con disimulacion, occultamente.

Escholios sobre el tercero ueyt o texº tercero

Este terçero ueyt se hasse de veinte cassas negras començando, de la ultima negra del quinto renglon y ocho negras del sexto renglon y quatro cassas negras del octauo renglon.

1. Es verbo presente en el original arabigo
2. Lo propio
3. Esta clausula puede resçibir dos (2) sentidos entrambos propios segun las vocales y consonantes que dieremos a un verbo que tiene que esta en el original escrito con estas letras *امله* porque el verbo puede ser *امل يمل* de la segunda conjugacion que quiere dezir desear una cossa y assi aqui se puede entender los que desearan los mesmos uizios y carnalidades que este rey o fueren inclinados a ellos juntando al verbo el nombre que se sigue *العيوب* que significa vizios, faltas y defectos. Y assi quera dezir segun esto: que su ley la resçibiran los²⁷² que fueren inclinados a los viçios que el. El mesmo sentido puede hazer si leyeremos el verbo *مل يمل* de la segunda conjugacion que quiere dezir, inclinarse. Otro sentido puede haber leyendo el verbo *ملا يملوا* de la tercera conjugacion que quiere dezir inchir una cossa, y asi podra dezir sobre quie le incho de imperfecciones, contumelias, y de quantas cossas malas ay y de quantas tachas y de defectos malos ay. Y assi diga que seguiran su ley, los que antes la inpropecaban.

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272 In the margin, in the handwriting of Don Pedro de Castro we read the following remarks preceded by numerals: "1. Es inproprio. 2. No puede ser porque el verbo es singular y todos estos supuestos son plural. 4. Haze aqui el verbo plural y en el texto es singular." Without number, the following remark: "Movia de sobrar la (d ?)."

3. El original arabe aunque no tiene expresos (esto) relatiuo le tiene subintellecto y sea de traducir para abraçar el sentido original de[1] autor.

4. Sobre.

6. Esta palabra *الين* que dize el ara[...] entender en [...] sentidos segun las vocales con que la leyeren[...]eremos *من*[...] significara la fee como va aqui traducido [...] *الين* sig[...] las probincias o reynos de la tierra de Alie[...] reynos muy g[...] en Asia la mayor.

5. El arabe dize *القدس*. Puede entender por la cassa sancta, y tie [...] de Jerusalem porque el arabe significa lo uno y lo otro.²⁷³

7. Subiectada, acoçada, abatada, perseguida, todo esto significa la dicçion arabe *يقتهار* que esta en el original.

8. Quiere dezir successions, sequaçes, son gouernadores, y cabezas prinçipales.

9. El arabe tiene este pronombre subintellecto refiriendose a Sant Juan, y assi sea de entender que dize, como Sant Juan lo prophetiço en esta prophesia que comenta Çecilio.

Scholios sobre el quarto ueyt o texº quarto

Este quarto ueyt se haze de diez y ocho casas negras todas, de las quatro ultimas del octavo renglon y de las ocho negras del noveno renglon, y de las seis negras del dezimo y ultimo renglon, y con esto se acaban las cassas negras.

2. Cumplido lo dicho por la orden suso dicha.

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3. Un interprete dize que dize mas cumplido lo dicho. |

4. La dicçion arabe *nebi* quiere dezir anunçiator, o predicador, y aunque la diccion *nebi*, significa tambien propheta, significalo quando el tal propheta esta embiado de dios, y porque este anunçiator de quien aqui se trata no es embiado de dios, no se puede interpretar, ni traducir propheta, y por esto traduximos y pusimos la palabra anunçiator.

5. El arabe dize *من الفجار* y signiffica carnal, falso, mentiroso, dudador, y propiamente signiffica dado a todos los viçios, y que heretica, y que es nombre que signiffica todo mal, y no se puede dezir, ni comprehender bien en Romance todo lo mal que signiffica, porque por mas mal que lo interpreten, queda mas mal que dezir todo con superlatiuo porque el nombre es superlatiuo (de uerbo)²⁷⁴ de la segunda conjugaçion porque tiene quatro silauas que signiffica lo dicho.

273 In the margin, in the handwriting of Don Pedro de Castro: "No tiene razon, es la yglesia sancta."

274 The words "de verbo" were inserted above the lines by Pedro de Castro.

6, 7, 8. Todo [...]to significa la dicción arabe.²⁷⁵

7. [...]echando, y apretando con maldad, y malos successos.

9. [...] arabe منون significa mucho, dar, destrozor, descomponer, [...] muerte, fuerça.

10, 12. [...]tes estan diferentes en estos dos terminos, uno interprete desde [...]undalo en que el desde, dize el arabe original من y el [...] dize الى de manera que el mim, yd est desde; sea principio de lugar a quo, y el rah. sea fin y termino de lugar ad quem y dize que esta es la propiedad destas dos dicções, y mas quando se juntan entrambas que respanda la una a la otra, y que en ninguna manera el الى puede ser dicción de datiuo, y que assi es el sentido, y segun el lo entiende desde tal parte hasta donde rompe el aurora quesca todo local. Otros no hazen local la una dicción ni la otra, y la²⁷⁶ الى la hazen dicción para datiuo, y que diga de tal parte vestira de insteza al rompimiento del aurora.

11. La dicción arabe انصار alançar, que significa fauoreçedores, los que fauoresçen, los ensalçadores, los christianos, los mas graves, mas grandes. Todos los interpretes se conforman en que sea de traducir desde la parte de los fauoreçedores. La dubda es quienes son estos fauoreçedores.

13. Este pronombre reçiproco, relatibo, su, aunque no esta expresso en el arabe, está subintellecto.

14. Tambien puede traducirse, sevele acabara, o de otra manera, que se la secara scilicet este falso propheta. |

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Scholijs sobre el quinto ueyt o texº quinto

Este quinto ueyt comiençan las cassas coloradas dejando las quatro primeras que se leen en el primero, y se hasse de quinze casas coloradas de las tres ultimas del primer renglon; siete del segundo, y quatro del tercero renglon.

2. Id est luego succesiuo a lo dicho.

3.5.7.8.9. La dicción arabe لتسريح القلب comprehende tanto que no se puede de dar sentido español qua la abraçe, por que abraza, entregarse a toda sensualidad con dureza de corazon, y liuertad apriessa, eleuados ciegos arrienda suelta.

4.10. Entrambos son nombres beruales en el arabe como si dixeremos en castellano disoluçion, y anichilaçion, siruen tambien de infinitiuo.

11. Estas dos dicções anichilaran el merito. Dize el arabe original تفتك الاجر En [...] tiene dos accçiones. Una تفتك que [...] significa romper [...] cubrir rompiendo, destrozor, disfaz[...], [...]blar y esta a q[...] nombre verbal, como

275 Originally, the text continued: "y los argumentos diçen que a presente," but these words have been crossed out.

276 Originally the text read: "y la rah," but this was corrected to "y la الى."

anichilacion, [...] [...] la segunda d[...] es الاجر significa merito [...] [...], o estip[...] o paga de trabajo, no se entiende bien [...] dezir am[...] a dos juntas.

6. La diccion arabe لتسريح quiere dezir daçion, y tiene el [...]culo, li, que quiere dezir para, y juntos ambos, para daçion, no[...] este nombre verbal en castellano, y por esto traduximos, se daran, y aunque el articulo, li, significa para, traducen que se daran, sin [...] para, porque es sentido propio, y lo que la letra quiere dezir.

12. Quiere dezir que este venir oro, y plata etcetera en la forma que a dicho del occidente mas remoto. Es cossa nueua nunca vista, y marauillossa y de admiracion, y que de alli tendra principio porque antes nunca le tubo ni se supo del, y tambien puede dezir cossa nunca vista por los vicios referidos a el.

13. El arabe tiene la preposicion, bi, puede significar, en, con, juntamente.

14. La diccion arabe العصيان significa desobediencia, pertinacia, offensa.

15. Puede ser ornatua sin significar nada.

16. La diccion arabe الزور significa mentira con juramento y testimonio.

4. Estos tres versos siguen estan elegantissimos en el arabe [...] [...] [...] [...] [...]]²⁷⁷ |

17. Aqui esta la letra و. Puede ser conjunçion copulatiua, y puede ser letra iniçiatua, y no se puede collegir de la letra siendo uno, o lo otro. Si fuere copulatiua sera el sentido que es la enfermedad de la lepra todo lo que a precedido desde donde dize, en la fornicacion, y si fuere iniçiatua sera el sentido que la enfermedad de lepra es donde dize y la mentira etcetera.

18. La diccion arabe البهتان significa mentira con daño de tercero.

19. حب الشمت significa todo malganado summa mi[...] en qualquier manera, codicia, insaçiable, glotoneria, todo esto puede comprehender el arabe.

20. El arabe suple eteriderbi [??] es,

21. داء جراح signiffica y comprehende, llagas fistulas ulçeras [...] y toda infecçion corporal, e ynterior, y [...] qualquier genero que sean.

[Scholios so]bre el sexto ueyt o texº sexto

[...] se hasse de diez y siete cassas coloradas. Las quatro ultimas del [...] renglon y las siete del quarto y las seis primeras del quinto renglon.

2. بيت signiffica propriamente aposento. Puede signifficar çassa, templo.

3. En el original es لسبك. Puede leerse variamente, o sea لسبك seria nombre verbal del verbo سَبَكَ يَسْبِكُ de la segunda conjugacion, y quera dezir, destruir, o fundir y entonçes quera dezir a donde se funde la tierra. Puede leerse que diga

²⁷⁷ Illegible through water damage.

سَنَبِكْ y sera verbal que viene del verbo سَنَبَكَ de quatro silabas de la segunda conjugacion, que quiere dezir parte extrema, esteril, y estonces terna el nombre una silaba mas que el original y quieren consumirla por sinalepha. Otro interprete dize que le paresçe que no se puede leer con esta silaba mas, y que no se puede hazer la sinalepha, porque tampoco se hace en el verso preçedente, y que assi es dificulosso leerse con quatro silabas.

4. المَهْمَلْ quiere dezir desamparada, dexada, despreçiada, menoscabada, menospreçiada. |

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5. حَزْرُ الْعُرْضِ significa qualquier acçidente, fortuna, trabajo, suçcesso malo, nublado grande que cubre el cielo, langosta que cubre la tierra, y todo quanto contradixere a la buena fortuna y quietud. Y todo esto puede caber en este lugar en propiedad, o, con metafora, y en este sentido lo entienden los unos, y por esso traduçen desta calamidad y persecuçion, o trabajo. Significa tambien honrra o respecto a alguna persona, y en esta significacion le entiende, y traduce un interprete.

6. حَزْرُ الْعُرْضِ esta dudosa como esta escrita en el original porque con la antigüedad está deslabada, y no se lee bien. Unos leen que diga حرن y aña [...] aora ellos las vocalas. Dizen que dize حزن que quiere dezir tristeza, o luto, que juntando esta diçion con la diçion hurdi, p[...] passada traduçen el l[...] o, tristeza desta calamidad, y [...] [...] como querido otro lee que diga en el original [...] [...]miendole [...] vocales dize que lee, y significa [...] [...]tandolo con [...] traduçe la guarda del respecto será con[...] [...]menço.

7. Dizen como quando començo en la pa[...] [...] y que la diccion [...] questa a la parte mas alta. Entienden [...]one por, fi, que [...] nifique, en, y trae para ello auto[ria] [...]o haziendo punto [...] [...] el verbo lee en la parte mas alta [...]façion, y obediencia, y redempcion, o que el terçer verso se tome por clausula entera, y diga que la bendicion, y obediencia y redempcion suple, pertenesçe a la parte mas alta, y entonçes suple el verbo, pertenesçe, y que dara la, li, en su propiedad.

8. Uno en la parte mas alta que esta en el original esta diccion arabe الجانب الاعلى y admite dos sentidos segun la bocal que se le diere. Si leyeremos للجانب الاعلى significara situs, lugar, parte, o probinçia, y esto le paresçe sentido mas propio. Pero si leyere الجانب الاعلى significara rey, o estado alto del rey.

9. La satisfaccion satisfecha, el contento cumplido.

10. La redempcion, rescate, liuertad, quiere dezir que hara por ella todo quanto pudiere sin perdonar a gastos, y a otra qualquier cossa. El original en esta diccion dize الانفدا, y es nombre verbal | determinado con el articulo el, y significa lo que esta dicho redemption, y liuertad etcetera. Pero si dixessemos que la ف fuesse ق, y fuesse la diccion الانتفا entonçes significaria obediencia, pero para esta significado es necessario anadir a la caf, ençima otra puncto

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mas que el que tiene el original, y abriasse de deçir que el autor no puosso este puncto, como no pone otros, y no se corrompe el verso en esto.²⁷⁸

11. Leenlo actiuo. O, pasiuo, segun las uocales que le dan, y no hallara, o, no se hallara.

12. Puede entenderse scilicet el estado, o parte mas alta,²⁷⁹ scilicet la luz de la cassa [...], y en la letra no ay menos razon para referir a lo uno que a lo otro.

13. Los v[...]n que la dicçion arabe حزر العرض que esta en [...] [...] significa de los cismaticos.

14. [...] [...] الطلاع es partiçipio actiuo. Significa con fuerça [...] [...] el nombre atalayas, o los que atalayan pudiessen [...] [...] deriuase del verbo طلاع.

Scholios sobre el septimo ueyt o texº septimo

Este se [...] siete cassas coloradas las dos ultimas del quinto renglon [...] del sexto renglon y todas las ocho del septimo renglon.

2. Hazer paz con los enemigos.

3. Puede entenderse de la parte mas alta que le combrendra, o se puede entender de la cassa del señor que le combendra, esta mas proximo a este. Relatiuo, el, el antecedente, estado, mas alto, y referirlo a la luz de la cassa del señor es mas remoto y mas impropio, el relatiuo sub, y reciproco como el numero passado.

8. Como el numero passado.

6. Todos diçen estas dos dicçiones امرأً عجيباً que son acusatibos, como que aduerbiasen, y significassen cossa maravillosa, cossa grande. Un interprete los junta con el nombre, tribulaçion, que esta en la cassa proxima preçedente de manera que quiere dezir que la tribulaçion sera tan grande, y tan repentina que sea cossa marauillosa. Los demas dizen que el sentido es lo que açertada cossa sera, scilicet el hazer paz con los enemigos para rescatar la repentina tribulaçion, y que esta paz sea antes que venga el tiempo determinado. |
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7. Septimo. Puede ser actiuo, o pasiuo, que le çerque la gente, o que sea çercado de la gente.

8. La dicçion arabe به مقتريب esta como hecha aduerbio, y quiere dezir cossa çercana, y que la gente estara çerca del, o le terna çercado en tanto extremo que este como dizen la sog a la garganta, y vea su fin a sus ojos. Puede entenderse gente vezina. La fuerza del pronombre relativo, la, de que ussa aqui el arabe, significa, la, dicha o esta videlisçet esta orden ya dicha. Esta muy dudoso con que la letra esta escrita esta dicçion en el arabe, si con د o con ل para entrambas

278 Added after "en esto" in the handwriting of Don Pedro de Castro: "No seria cordura ponerse."

279 Added between the lines: "o desta manera" in the handwriting of Luna.

cossas ay consideracion si fuere con د o claramente quiere d[ezir] la çiuad del mar, y si con ا quiere dezir el sen[...].ar.

Scholios sobre el octau[o ueyt o tex^o octauo]

Este se hace de veynte y dos [...] del octauo renglon y siete del noueno renglon [...] imo rengl[...] con que se acaban todas las cassas [...]

2. La dicçion arabe es الفقه [...] sace]rdoçio y ma[...] generalmente los hombres doctos, sa[...] trades y mas prop[...] es el saçerdocio o letrados tragan d[...] (? Humidity and hole) el verbo es فقها que quiere dezir saber y entender. Es[...] terçera conjugaçion.

3. El uerbo esta comprehendido en la fuerça de la proposiçion, fi.

4. La dicçion ربي في سا ئر tiene un ا que es uso antiguo.

7. Todo esto significa la dicçion arabe رمي الجمار.

8. Aqui tiene el original una و que es copulativa a vezes. Aqui tiene fuerça de la iniçiatiua y por esso no se tradujo, y porque no es iniçiatiua en Romançe.

9. Significa la dicçion arabe عبدا esclauo, sieruo de alguno, y sieruo de dios. Y tambien significa hombre en general pero aqui propiamente se de tomar por hombre que esta en graçia y amistad de dios, puro con dios, fidelissimo determinado a morir por dios. Viene del uerbo عبد que significa adorar a dios de la primera conjugaçion. |

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Scholios sobre la relaçion que haze san Çeçilio despues del comento, hasta el fin de la escriptura

2. المولود significa tambien engrnado.²⁸⁰

3. اجفار significa enprophetizar ençifrar en las prophesias o enigmas.

4. المعاد significa tambien examen.

5. Puedese interpreter prometido, dicho.

6. التمام significa tambien conclusion y remate

7. البيانات significa testimonio o probança uerdadera tanto que no se puede negar ni contradeciçir porque era uerdad uerdadera.

8. El arabe tie[...] plural los entendiendo los hombres, o las cossas o[...] era que la diçion, mundo se entiende por los hombres[...]nadas.

9. [...] no lo tiene el original aqui aadimosla por quitarla [...]ubiera si quedara el relatiuo, el, sin aadidir [...] se entendia quien no conoçia a quien en el arabe [...] das extendiendo por ellas el mundo y luego el relatiuo, el, [...] porque la dicçion traduçion no tubiesse equivocaçion aadimos [...] la dicçion,

280 Annotation in the handwriting of Pedro de Castro: "antes no tiene razon en lo que tradujo umgenito no es sino engendrado."

mundo, que por otro termino pudieramos traducir y el mundo a quien el crio o que el crio no le conoçio.

10. Ussa de la dicçion a lo antiguo الذڪار para con ا haze la silaba longa. Los modernos no la ponen y hazen la silaba breue.

11,12,13. Esta clausula en el arabigo a hecho dificultad hasta aora y no se a entendido bien. Entendemos que a de traduzirse, y uimos su Gloria como unigenito que es del Padre. A causado la dicha dubda y dificultad la dicçion, engendrado que algunos la an leydo en plural, engendrados, o, criados, y a les paresçido que en la clausula esta un pronombre, nos, y los que ellos leyen نحن, nos, entendimos que ay de leerse ك es, y es el verbo sum, es, fui, y no importa que este verbo كن no tenga ا porque en muchas partes destes libros²⁸¹ se escriue sin ا. Deçimos tambien que no es plural [*sic*], sino singular el nombre unigenito, y que es genetiuo, y tambien puede ser acusatiuo segun la buena gramatica que da acusatiuo | a este uerbo. No obsta que el tenuin que auia de tener en el genetiuo, o, acusatiuo que no esta apuntado en el original porque respondemos que el sancto le quito y usso del al usso antiguo, poniendole por letras, in, de la misma manera mas arriba resolbio el tenuin, en el comento en el uerso dezimo en la dicçion ان دائم يملك que siendo como es la dicçion del numero plural y que auia de tener tenuin, la resoluió, y usso della con las letras, en, con aqui y mas extraordinariamente porque metio con el tenuin, la alif(2)²⁸² y daremos usso en muchos autores que ussan seste tenuin suelto y no impide que paresçe deplurar. Y es mas façil hazer este dientezillo, y a todos nos succeed frequentemente escriuir d[....] ados en lo que escriuimos se[...] aduertirlo coriendo la pluma [...] lo dello, ni se tiene au[...] ante se el sancto entendie[...] plural señala[...] mente, y como el autor mesmo [.....]lugares de[...]tançia donde es necessario que [...]bras algunas [...] debajo dellas pone otra figura de le[...]nda que letr[...] la de ençima.

11. Yten. No puede ser [...] plural porque y[...]auia de tener dos uezes en dos lugares [....]. 9. Quiesçente. No [...] y seria mas imprio dezir que el sancto es[criue??] con mala orthographia d[...] uezes en una mesma dicçion[...]. Yten [...]re del padre señalado[...] y numerado con el numero 13. Si se entienda del Padre eterno tampoco el nombre engendrado puede ser plural porque diria que nosotros eramos engendrados del. Yten que ver traducir uimos su gloria assi como nosotros somos engendrados del padre; no haze sentido, ni dize nada, ni quadra con la clausula siguiente y el uerbo fue lleno de graçia y de uerdad, y assi entendemos que es el sentido y que a de traduzirse, unigenito del Padre;

²⁸¹ Apparently a reference to the Lead Books.

²⁸² In the margin, in the handwriting of Miguel de Luna: (2) "y lo mismo hizo en lo escrito en la margen en la dicçion[?] ملك."

persuade lo mesmo el osso de hablar de Çiçilio porque ariba en todas partes lla[ma] hijo del padre unigenito, segunda persona en la trinidad, y uerbo, y otros terminos para nombrar el hijo. Y no es de creerque aora en esta clausula se contradixesse a todo lo que a dicho y assi tenemos por çierto que se a de leer en genitiuo o acusatiuo de singular, unigenito del Padre²⁸³ | con estas mismas 426^b letras consonantes y solo se uarian en los puntos, o uocales, que no las tiene el original.

En la çiudad de Granada a primero dia del mes de octubre de mil quinientos y nouenta y seis años, Miguel de Luna, medico ueçino desta çiudad de Granada y interprete del rey nuestro señor y,²⁸⁴ Diego de Urrea, catedratico de Arabigo dela uniuersidad de Alcalá y interprete de su Magestad ante su s^a. el señor Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, arçobispo de Granada del consejo del rey nuestro señor, y ante nos notarios infraescriptos. Dixeron el dicho Diego de Urrea y Miguel de Luna medico ueçino desta çiudad, interpretes arabes, que ellos an traduçido de la lengua arabe en lenga española una escriptura de pergamino en lengua arbiga de Sant Çeçilio sobre la prophesia del apostol y euangelista Sant Juan la qual traduçon hizieron presente a todo su s^a. y por su s^a. se les mando como le yban traducidas.[...] hizieron scholios sobre la dicha escriptura en los lugares qu[.....] necessarios que por tanto cumpliendo el dicho mandado qu[...]ho los scholios y aduertencias que les an paresçido mo[...]do cuydado y diligençia estudiandolo, y uiendo[....] que los scholios que han hecho los entregan [...] cotenidos, y entender sin fraude, ni dolo, sino[....] dad, uerdad y Buena fee, y que esto es lo que [...] maron uator m. mu se glorian en cumpli.[...] lo dicho per [...] ntos diçen que [...] taron ras [...] de [...] Diego de Urrea, Miguel de Luna, ante mi el liçençiado Miguel de Muru.

283 Note in the lower margin in the handwriting of Miguel de Luna: "En lo escrito en la margen esta traduçido la prophesia hebrayca. Puede traduçirse tambien Arabica porque entrambos nasçe [?] dicçion [...]."

284 The name Luna is inserted above the lines.

- P7 Five of the Arabic poems of the Arabic "commentary" on the Prophecy, presumably again in the handwriting of Miguel de Luna. They present a text fully provided with diacritical signs and vowels, whereas the text presented in P5 (above), a direct transcript of the Parchment, is devoid of diacritical signs and vowels (though we added the diacritical signs for the sake of accessibility). (ARCG, Granada, Caja 2432-14, fol. 59^a–fol. 61^a).

[Verse 4]

مِنَ الْقُرُونِ	مِتْمَةٌ أَمْرِي	وَالْخَمْسَةُ عَشَارُ
يَأْتِي مَنْوُنٌ	بِزْرِ الْعَصْرِ	نَبِيٍّ مِنَ الْفَجَارِ
يَكْسِبِي حَزُونٌ	إِلَى دُحَا الْفَجْرِ	مِنَ جَانِبِ الْأَنْصَارِ
بِلَا مُحَالٍ	يَرْفُضُ مِنَ الْمَلَّةِ	وَزَرْعٌ مِنْ يَحْنَهُ
ذُو الْجَلَالِ	وَحُبُّ الْمَوْلَى	وَالْبَيْنُ هُوَ يُصِفُهُ

[Verse 5]

يَأْتِي سَرِيعٌ	عَلَى مَاءِ الْبَحْرِ	مِنَ أَقْصَى الْعَرَبِ
شَيْئاً رَفِيعٌ	وَمَجْدِ الْأَمْرِ	مِنْ فِضَّةٍ وَذَهَبِ
أَمْرًا بَدِيعٌ	وَتَهْتِكِ الْأَجْرِ	لِتَشْرِحَ الْقَلْبِ
هِيَ لَتَنْفُضَاحٌ	فِيهِ عَلَّتِ الشُّمْتِ	بِالزُّنَا وَالْعِصْيَانِ
دَاءُ جَرَّاحِ	وَالْغَدْرِ وَالسُّحْتِ	وَالزُّرِّ وَالْبُهْتَانِ

[Verse 6]

قَدْ يَرْتَدَا	لِسَبْكِ الْأَرْضِ	نُورِ بَيْتِ الْمَوْلَى
كَمَا بَدَا	وَحِرْزِ الْعُرْضِ	مِنْ رُومَةِ الْأَهْمَلَى
وَالْأَنْفَدَا	وَالرِّضَى الْمُرْضِ	لِجَانِبِ الْأَعْلَى
مَجَانِيهَ	وَلَا أَحْلَى وَابْدَاعِ	لَيْسَ يَجِدُ مِثْلَهُ
فِي إِسْبَانِيَهَ	فَهُوَ نُورُ الطَّلَاعِ	وَلَا يَرْضُ بِهَمَلِهِ

[Verse 7]

لَهُ يُجِيبُ	فِي هَذَا الْمَهْمِ	وَصَلِحُ الْأَعْدَا
أَمْرًا عَجَبٌ	مِنْ سُرْعِ الْعَمِّ	بِهِ مُلْكُهُ يَفْدَا
بِهِ مُقْتَرِبٌ	وَتَحِطُّ الْقَوْمِ	قَبْلَ أَنْ تَأْتِيَ الْمَدَا
بِالْإِنْفِصَالِ	إِذَا يَأْتِي الْوَفْقُ	عَلَامَاتِ الْجَفْرِ
بِالْمُحَالِ	يَمْلِكُهُ الشَّرْقُ	مَدِينَةَ الْبَحْرِ

[Verse 8]

هِيَ تَشْتَهَارُ	فِي هَذَا النَّصْبِ	عَلَامَاتِ الرَّحْمَنِ
رَمِي الْجَمَارُ	يَدُلُّ الشَّهْبُ	وَأَلْفَقَهُ فِي عَصِيَانِ
وَالْأَسْفِرَارُ	إِذَا يَأْتِي اللَّهْبُ	فِي سِيَارِ أَزْمَانِ
مِنْ الْأَجُودِ	عَلَى يَدَيْ عَبْدٍ	وَفَضَحُ هَذَا السِّرِّ
وَلَا يَعُودُ	الْفَنَاءُ وَالْخُصْرَانِ	دَلِيلٌ عَلَى تَيْسِيرِ

P8 The Vatican Archive

The Vatican Archive preserves (1) a partial transcript of the Spanish prophecy, signed by a number of interpreters, among whom are Kircher and Marracci (Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (ACDF) R7b, fols. 1–7), (2) a number of draft transcripts of Arabic parts (R6b, part 3, fols. 1654^a–1672^b) and (3), the Latin translation of the Arabic and transcriptions of the Spanish and Latin parts in R6^a part 2, fols. 1097^a–1099^b. This last, complete version, approved and signed in 1665 by Joan Bautista Giattini, Athanasius Kircher, Ludovico Marracci, Bartolomeo de Pettorano and Antonio ab Aguila, is edited here.

[Five crosses]

1097^a Arcanum Euangelistae, Apostoli, sancti Ioannis circa finem Mundi et quod eueniet super eum de calamitatibus usque ad diem significatum in Euangelio glorioso, traductum in grecum per manum sapientis, sancti, gloriae legis, Diunisiij Liopagitae.

[Five crosses]

In nomine essentiae ueneranda, quam docet unitas fidei magnae, et charitatis crucifixi in terra domus sanctae, quae est Hierosolymis; secundi in processione illius; missi ad satisfaciendum pro peccato primo ob suum amorem et intercessionem pro nobis; Iste est Iesus filius Mariae Virginis Miserator nostri, mediante incarnatione, assumendo humanitatem. Et declarauit illud quod comendauit (per quod ipse uenerat) Apostolis de Euangelio glorioso, quod tribuit Mundo per manus illorum, quos et confortauit ad suam obedientiam, et ad predicationem circa hoc negotium, quod docuit. (Protectio nos defendat ob suam misericordiam)

Summa igitur nostri intentio in hac scriptura nostra, est: Quod quando fuimus ad uisitandum domum eius supradictam sanctam, ac sepulchrum eius, et quod adiungitur de illis locis aestimatis, cum benedictione pro indulgentia peccatorum, ac transgressionum, que eueniunt nobis ob concupiscentiam personae ac sequelam Satanae. Postquam compleuimus ipsum prefatum iter ad desiderium spiritus cum luce scientiae naturalis, et supremae in lingua gramaticalis greca, quae discitur in ciuitate Athena Orientali, quam Deus custodiat; In progressu autem nostri itineris, propter ventus, et corruptiones temporis, superuenit nobis id quod uoluit Deus de suis uisitationibus, principium ophthalmiae in oculis, ita quod opertus fuit visus albedine (gratias illi propter istud);

et dum quadam die essem ad uisitandum virum sanctum, polum legis, prae-
sulem super ecclesiam sanctam, quae est in ciuitate predicta; (gratia Dei sit
cum eo) patefecit mihi secretum mirabilem, postquam mandauerat mihi confi-
teri de peccatis, ac purificare cor, nec non et suscipere corpus Dei nostri propter
hoc, in sacrificio Missae; eduxit foras suum thesaurum, eratque velum sanc-
tae Mariae Virginis, quo abstersit lacrymas permistas sanguine oculorum suo-
rum in crucifixione filij sui electissimi. Posuit igitur illud super faciem meam,
et redditus est mihi uisus in instanti, nec non et salus et misericordia. | Et
uidi simul cum eo quodam Arcanum uulgarizatum in Hebreo, traductum per
manum sancti, sapientis, ...²⁸⁵ gloriae legis, Diunisi Liubagitae; et sermo illius
erat in prosa obstrusa, ex eo quia est declaratio illius uulgarizationis in greco.
Intitulatur: “Arcanum veracis Euangelistae, Apostoli, Sancti Ioannis circa nar-
rationem finis Mundi et illius quod eueniet super eum de calamitatibus post
tempora crucifixi supradicti”.

1097^b

Et admirati sumus de illa locutione usitata. Propensum fuit autem cor nos-
trum ad dilucidationem eius, ac anxie deprecatus sum ipsum propter illud; et
exaudiuit deprecationem meam. Interpretatus sum igitur illud in lingua uulgari
barbara, (quam et declarauimus declaratione comprehensiuua linguae pefa-
tae Arabicae) assueta in terra Hispaniae, et penes eam in partibus occidenta-
libus pro Christi fidelibus callentibus linguam Arabicam; et non fuit expediens
inuestigare locutionem, ac narrationem mysteriosam hebraicam, et grecam
que insertae sunt in ea, quia non comprehendunt intelligentiam eius, nec eius
declarationem serui, nisi quem Deus uoluerit; et gratiam dabit illi manifestare
eas in tempore determinato ad recordationem Regum, et non ante illud. Et
quod interpretati sumus ibi est ueritas comprehendens uulgarizationem supra-
dictam in narratione, que uidetur, et est ista. Preter illud habuimus medietatem
veli predicti, quam donauit mihi prefatus prelati ob suum amorem in Deum
ac benignitatem suam erga me. Scit Deus quod sustinuimus in petitione illius;
et praecepit mihi, ac fide me obstrinxit circa conseruationem eius, et feci hoc.
Et uidi per illud miracula magna. Proficiat nobis Deus cum illo, et gratiam suam
ipsi prestat, ac omnibus seruis suis. Amen. finis.

²⁸⁶La hedad de la luz ia començada por el maestro, y con su pasion rredemida
con dolor del cuerpo i los profectas pasatos, q[ue] alombradois de la tercera
persona esperaron su benida del mundo, el acabamiento quiero contar por

²⁸⁵ Sic in MS.

²⁸⁶ The passage imitates the writing, spelling and layout of the original parchment. *In mar-
gine*: “O indagator succesuum lege de colore in colorem, scies notitiam illius, quod dicitur;

boca deste Maestro en la misericordia preferido. A las seis siglos complidas de su adbenimiento por pecados graues en el mundo q[ue] cometidos seran, tinieblas se leuantaran mui oscuras en las orientales partes i a las occidentales se estenderan por ministros furiosos, q[ue] en ellan seran criados con q[ue] la luz de nuestro sol se eclipsara, i el templo del maestro, i su fee graues persecuciones padeceran; i las quinze siglos cumplidas por los pertinazes coraçones endurecidos sigundas tinieblas se leuantaran en las partes de aquilon, i dellas vn dragon saldra, i por su boca arrojara simiente, i sembrà; la fee diuidira en setas, i con la otra juntada, el mu[n]do²⁸⁷ ocuparan. I de las occidentales partes saldran los tres enemigos su malicia aumentando, i por su maestro la sensualidad trairan, i con lepra nunca vista, el mundo se inficionara. La luz en parte diminuda de la tierra, se rretirara donde con naufragios sustentada ser en el abrigo de la co-
 1098^a luna de su piedra con estas señales prodi| giosos, i otras q[ue] el cielo mostrara; el genero umano sera amenazado, i en especial el sacerdocio, i anunciando el antexpo, que sera breue su benida, con que esta profecia se cumplira, i el juicio final se acercara, quando se manifestara al mundo esta verdad, verdad, verdad cumplida del medio dia saldra el juez de la verdad quando le placera. φ²⁸⁸

Abtpoij das tinieblas se leuantaran en las partes de aquilon, i dellas un dragon saldra, i por su boca arrojara simiente, i sembra; la fee diuidira en setas, i con la otra juntada, el.²⁸⁹

Deus: presta nobis auxilium, dominus hominum, ob explicationem Arcani sancti Ioannis Apostoli, selecti Apostolorum cum lingua ueritatis cuius significatio est sublimis hebraica habens clausulas indicatiuas solutionis circa intelligentiam decreti consumationis Mundi. Numerus igitur sumit demonstrationem a Jesu, secundo in potestate. Centum anni sunt unum saeculum in motibus deficientibus, quod est manifestum. Ex habitationibus duarum partium orientalium ueniet Rex, ueniens cum nequitia in Mundum consistens cum plenitudine potestatis, qui auxiliatus fuerit. (O Rex eterne) ab hoc decreto ubi erit refugium? Rex uero eleuabitur super totum orbem terrarum usque ad Occidentem, et lex eius excedit supra id quod considerari potest, in uitijs; secretum autem intellegitur ab eo, cui potestas data fuerit super peccata. Et ecclesia sancta, ac fides sublimis, iam oppressae per Imperatores Asiae, induen-

et quod est post illud similiter complebis; et si linguam non possides, arcanum hebraicum scire utique non ualebis."

287 ms Mundo.

288 *In margine*: "Usque ad illud φ significant color rubeus. Quod est ei alligatum expressum absque dispositione percurrere."

289 The scribe notes the doubling of the last sentence.

tur merore, et uilipendio, sicut uaticinatum est. Et quindecim seculis completis Decreti, quidam Predicator ab Aquilone cum peccato contumaciae ueniet separans se a moribus Christianorum, qui usque ad expansionem Aurorae operiet tribulatione et seminem suae deceptionis expellet legem a populis sine dubio, nec non et fidem is opprimet, et charitatem Domini gloriosi.

Circa explicationem illius, quod communicatum est nobis de Arcano super considerationem, est: Quod ab extremis Occidentis super aquas Maris ueniet cum celeritate de argento, et auro, ac gemmis pretiosis ad dilatationem cordis, et subuersionem directionis; negotium quod diuulgabitur cum fornicatione, et inobedientia, turpitudine, in qua erit contagium infamiae, cui superuenient perturbationes, et scortationes, et deceptiones, et corruptiones, nec non et morbus uulcerum. Lux domus Domini erit in parte terre, iam reiecta a Rama infelice, et habebit tribulationes aduersitatis, sicut quando incepit, in parte sublimi.

Fauores acceptabilis habebit, et obsequia, quibus non inuenientur similia, neque suauiora, nec non et inuittissimos Protectores, cuius ulipendium minime permittent, et est lux quae ascendet in Hispaniam. Pacem autem habere cum inimicis in ea afflictione ei conuenit, qua mediante, regnum suum redimet a futura tribulatione, (O' res mirabilis) antequam ueniet tempus, et eam consequetur Gens ei propinqua; Signa Arcani erunt, quando ueniet tempus, quod per colligationem, ciuitatem Maris possidebit, qui erit in Oriente sine dubio. Signa Miseratoris in tali afflictione erunt manifesta, et clarus erit in contumacia, quod indicabit quaedam stella scintillis radians in progressu temporis, quando uenerit expeditis, et tranquillitas. Declaratio autem huius secreti que fiet per manus cuiusdam serui ex perfectis, erit signum aduentis consummationis, et afflictionis, et non erit reiteratio. finis. 1098^b

Quod ergo assecuti sumus à Prophetis antiquis de uaticinijs incarnationis filij supradicti, ac liberationis generationis Adae a primo peccato, et a Satana, consequimur per hunc Apostolum euangelistam, sequendo eos in successibus in progressu temporum post crucifixionem Domini nostri, ac Dei nostri Iesu filij Mariae supramemorati usque ad diem iudicij, et uisitationis eius, iuxta dispositionem assignatam in euangelio glorioso. Proficiat Deus nobis per illud, ac omnibus seruis, faciens Deus nos sanctos. Finis uero sit cum lectione euangelij gloriosi obtruncati, et est hoc:

In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum, hoc autem erat in principio; Omnia que esse habent ipse creauit, et sine ipso nihil creatum est. Quae esse habent in ipso, eis uita erat, et uita erat lux in hominibus,

1099^a et lux luxit in tenebris, et tenebrae non ualuerunt in conatu ad comprehensionem illius. Fuit homo missus à Deo, quo nominabatur Ioannes, et uenit, ut testimonium perhiberet ex parte Dei, ut omnes crederent per illum. Erat ipse creauit, et eum non cognouit; et in propria uenit, et sui eum non receperunt. Qui autem crediderunt in eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine eius, et his qui non erant creati ex sanguinibus, neque de uoluntate carnis, neque ex uoluntate uiri, sed ex Deo. Et uerbum euasit caro, et habitauit in nobis et uidimus gloriam eius, quasi geniti a Patre, et est uerbum plenum misericordiae, et ueritatis. Deo gratias. Finis.

Cecilius Ep[iscop]us Garnatensis

Rrelaçio Patricij sacerdotis serbus dei. Cecilius episcopus Granatensis, cum in Iberia esset, et cum uideret dierum suorum finem, occultè mihi dixit, se hauere pro certo suum martirium et apropinquare et utpote qui ille qui in Deo amaui tesauro suarum rreliquiarum, mihi comendauit et me admonuit ut occulte hauerem, et in loco locarem, et ut in potençiam Maurorum nunquam beniret, affirmans esse tesauro salutis atque ueniae certae et plurimum laborasse et iter fecisse terra marique et deure essere in oculo loco donec deus uellet illum manifestare. Et ego melius quam intellexi, in hoc loco clausi, ubi iacet, Deum rogans ut eum obseruet. Et rreliquiae quae hic iacent sunt:

- Profecia Diui Ioanis euangelistae circa finem Mundi
- Medius pannus quo Virgo Maria abstersit ab oculis lacrimas in passio sui filij sacra
- Os diui Steuan primi martiris

Deo gras.

Signed by Joan Bautista Giattini, Athanasius Kircher, Ludovico Marracci, Bartolomeo a Pectorano, and Antonio ab Aguila, Vatican interpreters, in 1665 [on fol. 1099^b]

Edition of the Lead Books

L1

On 21 February 1595, the *Lamina de San Mesitón* was found by several men who were allegedly hunting for treasures. Estepa, *Información*, fol. 23^a–23^b: “[...] es larga mas de tres quartas, ancha tres dedos, y estàva doblada en quarto doblezes, y en el que cubrian los demas, se veen escritos tres renglones, y debaxo dellos quarto letras. La forma de letra es estraña, y hazenla parecerlo mas el estar escrita con sincel, a golpe, hacienda cada letra de muchos golpes, y con lineas rectas. [...] La lamina dize assi:

CORPVS VSTVM DIVI MESITONIS
MARTIRIS: PASSVS EST SVB NERO
NIS' IMPERATORIS POTENTAVR”¹

Estepa reproduces it as follows:²

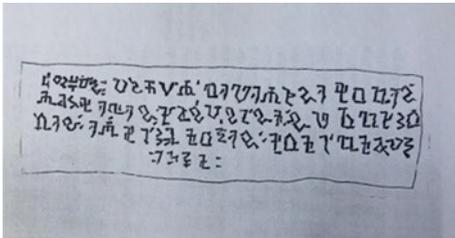


FIGURE 21
Lamina of San Mesitón. Estepa, *Información*, after fol. 23^a–23^b
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF
THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

¹ The four letters, ISFT (?) in the last row are not mentioned.
² The four letters in the last row are not mentioned.

L2

Estepa, *Información*, fol. 26^a, mentioned the discovery of another Lamina, viz. the *Lamina of San Hiscio*, disciple of James, on 21 March 1595:³

“ANNO SECVNDO NERONIS IMPERII, MARCI KALENDIS PASVS EST MARTIRIUM IN HOC LOCO ILIPULITANO, ELECTVS AD HVNC EFECTVM, SANCTVS HISCIVS, APOSTOLI IACOBI DISCIPVLVS CVM SVIS DISCIPVLIS TVRILLO, PANVCIO, MARONIO, CENTVLIO, PER MEDIVM IGNEM IN QVO VIVI COMBSTI FVERVNT, ETERNAM VITAM PETENTITIBVS TRANSIVERE. VT LAPIDES IN CALCEM CONVERSI FVERVNT, QVORVM PVLVERES IN HVIVS SACRI MONTIS CAVERNIS IACENT, QVI, UT RATIO POSTVLAT, IN EORVM MEMORIAM VENERENTVR.”⁴

Estepa reproduces it as follows:

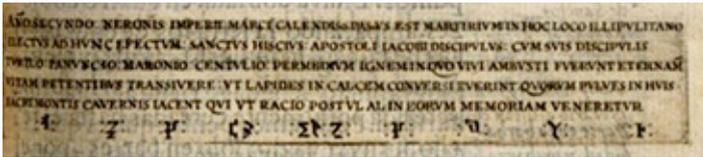


FIGURE 22 Lamina of San Hiscio. Estepa, *Información*, fol. 26^a
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE
ABBEY

3 Alonso, *Los Apócrifos*, 60.

4 Latin text also in Godoy Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos cronicones*, 47.

L3

On Monday 10 April 1595 was found the *Lamina de San Thesiphón*. Estepa, *Información*, fol. 29^a “doblada en doblezes, de dos quartas y media poco mas, ò menos de largo, y quarto dedos de ancho escrita en seis renglones del mismo modo, y letra que la primera, y es algo torcida a modo de media luna, y dize assi, en seis renglones:”

- (1) ANO SECVNDO NERONIS IMPERIJ: CALENDIS APRILIS. PASSVS EST MARTYRIVM IN HOC LOCO ILLIPVLITA[...⁵]
- (2) VS THESIPHON DICTVS PRIVSQVAM CONVERTERETUR ABENATHAR DIVI IACOBI APOSTOLI DISCIPLVVS
- (3) VIR LITERIS ET SANCTITATE PREDITVS PLVMBI TABVLIS ESCRIPSIT: LIBRVM ILLVM FVNDAMENTVM
- (4) ECLESIE APPELLATVM: ET SIMVL PASI SVNT SVI DISCIPLVE DIVS MAXIMINVS: LVPARIVS
- (5) QVORVM PVLVIS: ET LIBER SVNT CVM PVLVERIBVS DIVORVM MARTYRIVM IN HVIVS SACRI MONT[...].
- (6) CAVERNIS: IN EORVM MEMORIAM VENERETVR :: G :: C :: P :: C : FLORENTI: ILLIBERRITANI.

Estepa reproduces it as follows:

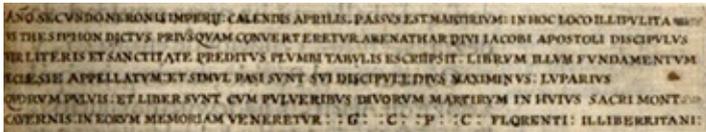


FIGURE 23 Lamina of San Thesiphón. Estepa, *Información*, fol. 29^a
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE
ABBEY

5 ILLIPYLIT[NO DI]VUS.

LP1

Found on 22 April 1595 was *Liber Fundamenti Ecclesie* or *Kitāb Qawā'id al-dīn*, consisting of five plates. Vatican digital photographs: II, 4–8, with 11–15 lines per side; independently numbered with dots; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plates chosen at random:⁶ diameter: 73,90 mm; weight: 96,02 grams; 2,23 mm. thick.

The cover plate contains the following title in Latin:

LIBER FUNDAMENTI ECLESIE
SALOMONIS CHA
RACTERIBUS
ESCRIPTUS

Estepa, *Información*, fol. 31^a, reproduces it as follows:

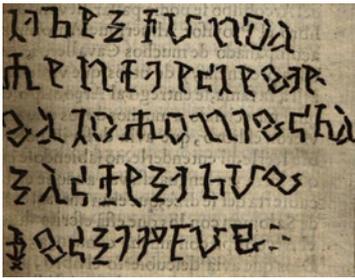


FIGURE 24
Cover plate of LP 1. Estepa, *Información*, fol. 31^a
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE
SACROMONTE ABBEY

⁶ The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

The original plate:



FIGURE 25 LP1, cover plate

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

Then follows the *Arabic* text on the five plates:

و¹ كتب⁷ قواعد الدين لتسعون ابن عطر تلميذ يعقوب الحوري
 اله ذو جلال وكمال، اول كل شي، علمه قبل كونه لايزال، ليس لبداه ابتدا ولا لفاصلته انقضا،
 الموجود في كل مكان، خلق من فضله الموجدات وكال من الشاموس وراء الاعدال، خلق المليكة
 الروحانية وبالارادة ايدهم، وكنت سباب الأجال المخصوص، والذنب المشكك عدّد النقصان على
 الكمال،

⁷ Text preceded by a small six-pointed starlet devoid of any legend.

1ظ وقال: خلقت الملاك الروحاني | [ولا] تخلق ملك مجسد واجب خلق الانسان، خلق الله الانسان من حماء وحوّة من ضلعه موانسته، والقاهما في الجنة وأيدهما بالجسد، ملكان سفلان في الريب، وأعطهما اردة لسباب الذنب الاول وأنهما عن الشجرة، امر الملائكة بالاستسغار فالذين عصوا ربهم عقبهم بالكبر مع الشيطان، واختلف ذنوبهم جعلهم درجات،

الشیطان دعا حوة للذنب وحوّة لادام فأكلان من الشجرة، فدرکهما الذنب عن امر الله، سباب الادعا جعل ذنبهم مشفع، والملائكة والشيطان غير مشفع لان ليس كان لهم دعا، ادم وحوّة في الاجود درکهما الندمة، وبکان ذنبهما فأعطهما الله الدين الطبع وأنعمهما بالفلاح 2و بالزوح فانتمس منها قبل وهبل، هبل زكيا ويل 8 غليا، قتل لهبل وكن أول الضلمن، بعث الله في العلمين منهم الانبيا مبشرين بالفتح ومنذرين بالمنعم في التورة، فالمؤمنين منهم صروا المتق الابراهم 9 والكافرين في النار خلدین،

الذنب كان عظیم في عکس عظیم ولبس له کفراً بالموجدات، الله جمع رحمته وحكمه لشفع الانسان عند عظم الذنب كان عظیم ولبس له کفراً، فاجبة على الله من رحمته فتجلّ النقص بانه باجمع الانسانية والالهية، ما يفهم الله الا الله وان فهم | الله مکان الله لان الانسان فهمه ضعيفا، 2ظ فأنا أمثل لك التوحد المثلث بمثلي هذا: الابي نذار في المرء وبالنور الروحاني المقدس ظهر الابن المرء: 10 الابي اول نفس والابن النفس الثان والروح القدوس نفسا ثلاثا 11، ثلاثة نفوس في ذات وحدة، فريم كنت المرء، ليس انسان رأ حمله وانتبذاه وهو مومين به، أيضا كذلك يجب عليه الرضا بم لم يطق في ضعف فهمه، وهو الايمان بالجميع المقدس ليس 12 دنه نجة لاحد من العلمين، خصران الانسان كان هو سببه ونجته كانت على يدي انسان، وكن يصوع شفعه مثل انسان لا مثل اله،

3و إبعث يصوع | بالروح في مريم من ال داود مدون ذكر فكانت بكر بعد النفاس كما كانت فيه وقبله،

8 Sic! Read: wa-Qābil.

9 LG: al-lisīn al-ibrahimi.

10 Read probably: fī al-marāʾ.

11 Read probably: thālithan.

12 Three letters crossed out in the original.

ادام خلق مدون ولداي وحوه من ابي مادون ام تحت الرضا، لكمال الخلقه خلق يصع بأم
مادون أبي فعند ذلك مريم لم دركها الذنب الاوال،

بعث لشفع الانسان يصوع وأصلب تحت قهر بلطه وتبريه، وهبط للمطبق وفتح الابواب وحمال
الارواح المنتدريين النعيم، فتجب عبدته وصلبه لأن كان باب الرحمة، في ثلث يوم استحيا لطل
الابد لإثقان الغرد واتبعه في الموت والاستحيا، | فطلاع للسماء وجلس ليمين الابي،
امر الحواريون بالندراة بالانجيل في الاجود لكل اناس، فمن تطهر بالماء وامان وعمال صلحاً يفلاح
وما لم يفعل كان خصيراً،

جاء الروح القدوس عليهم وتكلاموا بالالسين ويده رصاص الجميع للحال والربط العديل،
الفهم في الرأس والرأس له أمعا والامعاهم نخا¹³ خلقه¹⁴، كذلك الجميع له فهم الروح القدوس،
والامعا للجميع المقداس والنخا الخلقه فيدل ذلك ان الله لم يزال ولا جمعه ولا خلفته ولا |
ايمان للجميع الجميع¹⁵ المقداس بالغيب، الزمان طول والعمر قليل فعند ذلك لم تنفد النبوة ولا الخلافة
المنذرة، الايمان يزدد بزيادات الاعمال وينقص بنقصها،

الانسان متمدي والافعال رديا، فيجب تكفر الذوب¹⁶ بايمان الجمع وفعل ما أمر،
ليس احد في خصمه حكيم، وانلخصام هو [الذنب،
والله فعل بالاثنا فيجب المذنب طلب العفو والحكيم الله ونلخفته التكفر، وفي ذلك يجب الاقرار
الفصيح بالنديمة والحلال والتكفر وعهداً لا يعد للذنب،

الذنب يبعدها من الله والرضا يسكنه فنا، فيجب اقبل جسد الاهنا الحقيقي يصوع والقرين¹⁷ كما
قبله الحواريون | المرضو في المئدة ليزددا امنا،

ان متوا الضلمين دون حكم والصلحين دون أجر في الدنيا، ذلك دليل على الاخرة لان الله هو
حكيم عديل في يوم البعث،

يصوع استحيا بعد موته تمثل لنا فنحن منعدها اليه في الموت والاستحيا للخلود ما دون الموت،
الضلمين لم يروا الاله وذلك للصلحين آمال، فذلك دليل أن يصوع هو الحكيم يوم القيمة ويكتم
الالهية من الضلمين بالانسانية، ويفلاحو الصلحين والضلمين في نار جهنم خلدن والصلحين في جنة

13 Read probably: nukhā' (marrow, brains).

14 Perhaps this word was misplaced here. It has its correct place in the following sentence.

15 Dittography.

16 Read: al-dhunūb. LG: al-dhunūb.

17 Read: fi-al-qurbān (i.e: fī al-qurbān).

خلد¹⁸ فيها نعيماً ملا عينا رات ولا أذنًا سمعات ولا خطر على قلب بشار، وجهنم بعكسها للضلمين،
كان الشريعة تمثل للمثل وكال الرحمة بيصوع،

و5 ذلك اجمع | الحورين فمن خلفه فه في شي خلفه كله وكان من الخصرين،
وقوعدها اثنان: حب الله بقلب خليص وحب الانخي في الله باردة له ميريد لنفسه،
أمرني شينخي يعقوب بكتبي هذا ليشهره الله على يدي صلح الفقه لنصر الدين في زمان يدفنوا
الضلمين مع الصلحين في المساجيد ويكتنور الفساد وقلت الحق والموليا يمتحنوا بالفسطرة¹⁹ والحرس
وقلت الشرع ويرفضوا الاثار من الدين، وذلك وقت احتياج عظيم في اواخر الازمان،
كجال كتب | الدين ومجموع الحوريون على يدي تصعون في عدد التلاميذ ابن عطار الاعرابي.²⁰ 5ظ

18 Read: khālidīn.

19 Read: bi-al-qasṭara.

20 End of the text marked by 4 six-pointed small stars devoid of any legend. LG dated 1 October 1596.

LP2

On 25 April 1595 was also found *Liber de Essentia Dei*, also called *Kitāb fī al-dhāt al-karīma*, consisting of three plates. Vatican digital photographs: 11, 1–3, with 7–8 lines per side; independently numbered with dots; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plates chosen at random:²¹ diameter: 73,90 mm; weight: 98,30 grams; 2,23 mm. thick. On the covering lead plate there figures the following *Latin* text, as reproduced also in the old printed facsimiles of the Sacro Monte Archive:²²

LIBER DE ESSENTIA DEI QUEM DIBUS
 THESIPHON APOSTOLI IACOBI DISCIPULUS
 IN SUA NATURALI LINGUA ARABICA
 SALOMONIS CHARACTERIBUS SCRIPSIT
 ET ALIUM FUNDAMENTUM ECLESIE APPE
 LLATUM. QUI IN HUIUS SACRI MON
 TIS CABERNIS IACET. DEUS A NERONE
 IMPERATORE HOS DUOS LIBER ET LIBROS IMP(O)SUIT FINENEM²³
 HIC. M SUI OPERIBI SCRIBENS MIRACULA ET VITAE INTE[GR]ITA
 TEM SUI MAGISTRI [...]UI IN HUIUS SACRI MONTIS CA[BERNIS] EST

21 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

22 Cf. p. XII of MS Vatican Library, Arabic Manuscript No. 1300, where this text is also provided.

23 *Sic!*



FIGURE 26 Cover plate of LP 2
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

Estepa reproduces it as follows:

LIBER DE ESENCIA DEI: QVEM DIBVS
THISIPHON: APOSTOLI ^{IACOBI} DISCIPVLVS
IN SVA NATVRALI LINGVA: ARABICA
SALOMONIS: CHARACTERIBVS: SCRIPSIT
ET ALIVM FVNDAMENTVM ECLESIE APPE
LLATVM. QVI IN HVIVS SACRI MON
TIS CABERNIS IACET: DEVS A NERONE
IMPERATORE. HOS DVOS LIBER ET LIBROS
IN POSVIT FINENEM HIC: M: SVIS OPERI
BVS: SCRIBENS MIRACVLA ET VITE INTE
GRITATEM SVI MAGISTRI
VI IN HVIVS SACRI MONTIS CA
EST

FIGURE 27
Cover plate of LP 2. Estepa, *Información*, fol. 34^a
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF
THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

The text then in Arabic continued on the three lead plates preserved in the Sacro Monte Archive:

- 1 و كتب²⁴ لتسعون ابن عطار في الذات الكرية²⁵ ،
قال: الدوام لا يزال هو في الله، اول كل شي، الذي ليس لبدائه ابتداء، ولا لفصلته انقضا،
لا يبلغوا كنه صفته الوصفون ولا يتفكروا في مائة²⁶ ذاته المتفكرون،
ليس احدا²⁷ من العلمين راه ابدأ بعين الظهر،
له ملكاً لا يزال لان ان ازال ما كان الله،
وله صفة²⁸ لا تتبدال لان ان تبدالت ما كان الله،
و | له جلاله لا تدراك لان ان²⁹ كان نقصاناً به،
له عظمة لا تنفك لان انفكت³⁰ عظمته اته النقصان وليس ذلك وسيع فيه ابداء،
هو ذو علم مدون جهل، علم كل شي قبل كونه،
هو قدراة³¹ دون نقصان،
هو ذو رحمة وفضل دون امان،
هو حكم وقسط لا يفنان،
ليس له احتياج لاحد من العلمين ليزدد سلطته وليس دونهم له نقصان | في ذاته ولا في ملكه،
وكل ما خلق خلقه من رحمته مادون احتياج،
الموجدات كون وهوالمكوان،
لو امر الدنيا ومن عليها بالغرراق ادمت في غرق ما دم ملكه لا يزال ولم تجيد³² مستقرّاً لها في
موضع،
هو خالق كل شي، ليس بمخلق،
هو ذو انس ليس موانس له،
هو ذو علم مدون انتاج من غيره،

24 Text preceded by a six-pointed starlet devoid of any legend. This starlet is repeated at the top of every page.

25 Read: al-karīma.

26 Read probably: mā'īyyat.

27 Sic! Read probably: aḥadan.

28 Read probably: šifāt.

29 Scribal error, omitting probably udrikat or udrika.

30 Read: in infakkat.

31 LG: dhū karama (emendation).

32 LG: wa-lam tajid.

هو ذو رحمة مادون نقصان،

هو اول كل | شي ليس قبله شي وبعد كل شي ليس بعده شي،
اله ليس شي مثله،

ليس هو جم وعداد ولا فصل ولا فرق ولا تحت وفهم ولا خيال ولا كلام ولا لغة ولا صنع
مثل خيلنا،

هو فوق العقول ليس يصف له الا الجلال والكمال مادون نقصان،
وذلك هو في وحدنيته لا يعلم الله الا الله،
له العظمة والعبادة والشكر على كل شي،
والايامن ما دون ذلك الخصران³³،

وانه وحدا بتثلث | ابي وابن وروح قدوس، ثلاثة نفوس، الاله وحداً،
وذاته كريمة ليس دونه نجة لاحد من العلمين،

والفعل بما امر في الانجيل كما وصفنا في كتب قواعيد الدين، فمن سايرها عليه بالقرا،
والامر في ذلك طول لان ان كان البحر مداداً والشجار اقلماً والملكاة بالسموات والارض كاتباً
لنفد المداد وانكسرات الاقلام ولم يقدر على وصف ذلك الامر،

فارضاً بما اتيتك به | وكفا بالله شهدا على ذلك³⁴،
لا له الا الله: م: ر: الله³⁵،

كمال الكتب³⁶.

التوحد لله³⁷

33 Here ends the text as quoted by Al-Ḥajarī in his *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘alā al-qawm al-kāfirīn*, 104–105, fol. 17^a. Al-Ḥajarī remarks at this point: “Intahā. Wa-kāna fī al-kitāb hādhihi al-ḥurūf wa-al-khawātim: lā ilāha illā ‘llāh m. r. Allāh. Kamala al-kitāb, al-tawḥīd li-‘llāh.”

34 The long passage between brackets is not found in the work of Al-Ḥajarī quoted in the previous note.

35 LG: ṣ. r. allāh, suggesting the correct reading would be: “Yaṣū’ rasūl (or: rūḥ) Allāh”, rather than “Muḥammad rasūl Allāh”. The original lead tablet clearly has a *mīm* here, not a *ṣād*. Estepa also has: lā ilāha illā ‘llāh ṣ. r. Allāh. Perhaps, the *mīm* was chosen by the author, as an ambiguous element, leaving the possibility open of reading: “Muḥammad rasūl Allāh”, in addition to: “al-Masīḥ rūḥ Allāh”. This second reading undoubtedly concurs with the central creed of the Lead Books, viz.: “Lā ilāha illā Allāh; Yaṣū’ Rūḥ Allāh”. At other places in the Lead Books the author preferred unambiguously: ṣ r Allāh (Yaṣū’ Rūḥ Allāh).

36 Followed by 6 six-pointed stars devoid of any legend, marking the end of the text.

37 Both words, written at each side of a six-pointed starlet, refer to the first “kalima” of the “shahāda” of the Lead Books, viz. “lā ilāha illā ‘llāh”. LG dated 1 October 1596.

L4

On 30 April 1595 the *Lamina of San Cecilio* was found. Estepa, *Información*, fol. 34^b: “y en letra Latina en la forma de las demas, teniendo de largo poco mas de dos quartos, y de ancho menos de quatro dedos, en seis renglones, dize assi:”

- (1) ANO SECVNDO: NERONIS IMP: CALENDIS FEBRVARI: PASVS EST MARTIRIVM. IN HO ::::::::::
- (2) TANO DIVS CECILIVS: SANCTI IACOBI DISCIPVLVS: VIR LITERIS LINGVIS ET SANTIT[ATE] ::::::::::
- (3) PREDITVS: PROPHETIAS DIVI IOANIS: APOSTOLI COMENTAVIT: QVE SVNT POSITE CVM ALII[S] :::::
- (4) RELIQVIIS : IN SVBLIMI PARTE INHABITABILIS TVRRIS TVRPIANE: SICVT DIXERVNT MIHI SVI
- (5) DISCIPVLI DIVS SETENTRIVS ET PATRITIVS QVI CVM ILLO PASI SVNT: QVORVM PVLVERIS IACET
- (6) IN HVIVS SACRI MONTIS CAVERNIS IN QVORV MEMORIAM VENERETVR

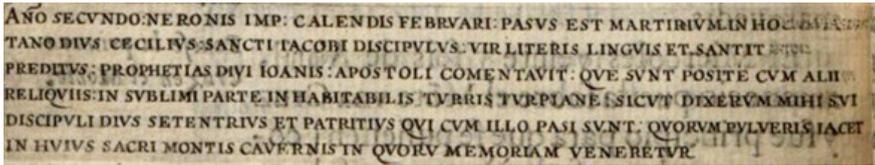


FIGURE 28 Lamina of San Cecilio. Estepa, *Información*, fol. 34^b
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

LP3

On 20 September 1595 the book entitled *Du'ā' wa-ḥirz li-Ya'qūb ibn Shamīkh al-Zabādī al-Ḥawārī* ("Oración de Santiago") was found, consisting of six plates. These plates are apparently lost. They do not figure among the Vatican digital photographs, nor among the original plomos in the Sacromonte Archive. We are basing our edition on critical comparisons between LG, which is dated 1 October 1596, MS A1 ASMG, dated 1607, and the Vatican transcripts of the second half of the seventeenth century. According to the Vatican transcript by Athanasius Kircher, the original plates had a numbering in dots.

دعا وحرز ليعقوب ابن شميخ الزبدي الحوري

- دعا وحرز ليعقوب ابن شميخ الزبدي الحوري لجميع الافات، وكان يدع به ربه، وحرز منع من 1ظ
جميع الافات علامه له يصوع ابن مريم معلمه:
- الهي اني اسئلك يا علم الخفيات، يا من السماء بقدرته مبنية والارض بعزيتة مدحية،
يا من الشمس والقمر بنور جلاله مذية،
يا من هو كفل بكل نفس مومنة نقيه،
يا مسكين الرعية اهل الحق والنعمة،
يا من حوايج المتقين عنده مقضية،
يا من نجا يوسف³⁸ من الدنو والعبدية،
يا من ليس له بواب يسوا ولا حاجيب يوانس ولا وزير اليه | ولارب غيره،
يدعا ولا يردد على عثره الحوايج الا جودا وكرما،
اشئلك³⁹ بحق روحك يصوع،
وبحق انبذه بكريه مريم امه قبل النفاس وفيه وبعده،
وبحق | الانجيل وفضائل مقصه على الانسان،
وبحق معاجزيه اجمعين في سار عمره،
وبحق الكلمات الذي نطق بها في الصلب،
وبحق هبوطه للمطبق وخروج الارواح السعديين المنتذرين ايه،

38 LG originally read: yā man akhrajā al-ajrad/ijrad, and then corrected this.

39 Read: as'aluka.

- 3ظ وبحق استحيه | بعد المامت ،
 وبحق طلوعه للسما وجلسه ليامنك ،
 وبحق ابحق⁴⁰ رضه لاله⁴¹ في كل وقت ،
 وبحق مجية يوم البعث للشريعة ،
 وبحق جميع فضله⁴² عليك :
- 4و ان تجعلي من جميع اوموري | كلها فرجاً ومخرجا وتحرصني بعين العنية والطعة ولا تذلني بذل المعسية ،
 وان تدفع علي⁴³ كل ما هممني من امر دني ودينبي واخرتي وتغفر ذنوبي وتدخلي جنتك ،
 4ظ انك على كل شي قدير ، | وانك ذو فضل وعفو ومغفرة والقدير ذلك وعلى كل شي ،
 5و وهذا الخاتم الذي كان مكتب بالنور السطيع بين كنتفي | يصوع ابن مريم روح الله الامين وحرز
 5ظ منيع من جميع الافات والامراض والاعراض والجنون والشيطان لكل من سقه عليه واستبرك به ، |
 وهو هذا :

لا اله الا الله
 يصوع روح الله
 الحق المبين
 الصدق الامين⁴⁴

- 6و كمال الدعا المبارك والختم السعيد | على يدي تسعون ابن عطار في عداد التلاميذ الاعربي نفع الله به⁴⁵ ،

40 Sic! Ms A1 reads: al-ḥubb, which seems to be a conjectural emendation.

41 Read probably: Allāh.

42 Read probably: faḍā'ilīhi.

43 Read: 'annī.

44 These words would probably have been written in combination with a numer of six-pointed starlets or a constellations thereof, as in other Lead Books.

45 LG dated 1 October 1596.

LP4

On 1 October 1595 was found *Kitāb Ṣifat al-qurbān* ("El Libro de la Misa de Santiago"), in seven plates. Vatican digital photographs: XIV, 1–7, with 10–13 lines per side; numbered in dots; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plates chosen at random:⁴⁶ diameter: 50,02 mm; weight: 42,26 grams; 2,11 mm. thick. Deplorably eroded, and various parts of the text are now illegible.

و¹ كتب صفة القربن ليعقوب الحوري على يدي كتبه وتلهذه تسعون ابن عطار
قال يعقوب الحوري: افضال شيا يمين به هو الايمان بالله وجمعه المقداس، وافضال العمال هو
القربان لان ليس لله عملا يقبله من عباده مثل القربان لان فيه مرضية الله وافضل امر جميعه
المقداس ورحمته المقبلة من روحه يصوع ابن مريم وهو فضيل مقصه، وهرق دمه لشفع الانسان
فيجب عماله وسمعه بنية خلصة لان ليس يقبال الله عملا من عباده دناها،

وذلك العمال يجب بنطق لسان وعمال بجاورح، وذلك كله باخلاص في القلب على ذمة يصوع
سيدنا، لان ليس باباً اقرباً دليل على الله من القربان، لان من قر العلم | الطبيعية حاج العلماء ومن
ظ¹ قر التورة حاج الروح القدوس والانبيا، ومن تل القربان المنجال حاج الله، ومن سمعه سمع قول الله
الصليح، فاذا [ا] وقف الايمان بجراب ونية وقزد بقربان، لم يبقا بينه وبين الله مجاباً فهو حقاً في حضرته
سميعاً بصراً، فيجب صفتة كما نصـ[فه] لك في كتب هذا،

اول يجب عماله في الجواميع الطهرة المعمدية لله وبعدها في البيوت الطهرة وبعدها [ا] في الغران
والحيرات والكهوف والاحود⁴⁸ وافضال اليه المواضع العلية من الغمضة وليس يجب عماله البراح |
و² الا لضرورة، واحتياج بالحجاب فوق الراس ولا دونه، ايضاً يجب الثوب الطهر والقاميص الطهر من
الكان الابيض النقي الطهر لم ينتفع به لشي غيره لان ما كان لعبدة الله لم يجب لمنفعة عباده،
ثم الفقه قدسا⁴⁹ باسم الله والتصلب عليه، على يدي الخلفة او احد من الحواريون او تلامذاهم او
تبعهم في ولية الفقه الاجار الثاني في دراج الخلفة ولا غيره ويرقه بتسمية الصلب | الذي اصلب فيه
ظ² سيدنا يصوع ويرسمه بالعرار⁵⁰ للمصلب بالنية لذلك الامر،

46 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

47 Read: al-ʿulūm.

48 Read perhaps: al-ukhdūd.

49 None of the Vatican scholars succeeded in deciphering this word. LG: q.d.sā.

50 Read probably: bi-al-qarār.

ثم المحراب يعمل في موضع رفيع من تراب او خشاب او حجر مثل ميده الاكل ليعني به ميده يصوع سيدنا الذي تعشا عليها والحواريون معه،

ثم تحجب من الكافرين لم يسبوه،

و3 ثم يلبس الايما قصبه الطهر المذكور فعند ذلك يلقي على المحراب المذكور مندبلاً نقيباً كتنياً ووقدان | سراجان لليمنى واليسرى، ويبعد من المحراب قدر اربعة اوباع،

ثم يهو سجداً على صدره في الارض، ذلك بعد اقراراً من الذنوب فصيح وعهدا لم يعود اليهم ابداً، ثم يقول: الاهنا انا وقفنا بين يديك فارحمنا واسمع دعنا واقبل منا قربنك على ذمة سيدنا يصوع روحك ومقصه علينا، واطعيم ارواحنا جسده ودمه وتقبله منا [ز]ك [ة اليك] و | اندرنا بنذار الرحمة والطعة ولا تذلنا بذول المعسية، ذلك كله يقول والسمعين المومنين وراه، فيجبه المعوين التلهيد الذي يكون ليمنه: امين،

ثم يقوم ويدور وجهه للناس ويلقي ظهره في المحراب، ويلقي اليهم يديه ويقول: الله معكم! فيقول التلهذ: معك ومعنا اجمعين!

ثم يعطه التلهذ ماء طاهراً ويغسل به يديه وفه ووجهه ويتمسح بمندبلاً طهراً،

و4 ثم يخذ انية طهراً | من ذهاب او فضة او نحاس او قردر او رصاص او حجر او عراق⁵¹ او حتتام

اسعها ستة اواق⁵² من الماء، ويلقها على المحراب بالمندبلة⁵³ المذكور، ثم يصلبها، ثم يخذ فيه [ر]غفة من دقيق القمح الطهر الفطر ولا غيره يجب لذلك، ويلقها قبل الانية المذكورة في انية اخر مفرشة، ثم يخذ

ظ4 صلبا ويلقه عليها، ثم يلقي يديه عليها ويرفاه وجهه للسماء مستحياً ويقول: الاهنا اجعل امرنا واربطنا | لطعتك، ثم يخذ في يديه وينقلها ليمنه ويلقي من الماء المعاض في الانية الاول مثل اوقياتان او انكار، ثم

يلقي يديه عليه ويقل مثل ما قال على الرغبة، ثم يخذها في يديه ويقول: [هذا هو جسدي]⁵⁴ فيدور وجهه للناس وهوى به في يديه ليعبده لان هو حق[يقه]⁵⁵ جسد سيدنا يصوع، ثم يلقيه في الانية الثانية

المذكورة، ثم يخذ اول اول⁵⁶ انية ويلقي عليها فه ويقول [هذا هو دمي]⁵⁷، ثم يخضاع جسده ويرفعه على كتفه ايمناً | يتميل قليلا ليعبده الناس لان هو دام سيدنا يصوع حقيقة، ويجعل الرغبة في ذلك

و5

51 Two dots over the qāf!

52 Two dots over the qāf!

53 Read: bi-al-mandīla.

54 Written between square brackets in a somewhat larger script.

55 The letters between brackets were removed by a hole to allow a lead fetter to bind the lead leaves together.

56 Sic!

57 Written between square brackets in a somewhat larger script.

الانية مقتية ويغطيها بانيتها الاخر، ثم يلقي يديه عليها ويغمض عينيه ويقول [مسلمنا مترويا (؟) 58] مستحيا: [رب]نا تقبل منا قربنك وزكنا [اليك] عن سيدنا يصوع روحك واغفر به ذنبا⁵⁹، ونجنا من فتنه الدنيا والاخرة، وادخلنا جنتك انك على كل شي قدير،

ثم يخذ مغرفة طهرة ويلقم كل ما في الانية، هو وكل عبد مقروور خلص عميد لذلك الاقبال، ثم يسقي نفسه ونفسهم⁶⁰ شيا | قليلا من الماء، ثم يضاع ما اُخار في الانية المذكورة ويشربه بقدران لم يبقا فيها شيا، ثم يرفعها، ثم يقول: الا هنا اجعلنا الطيعين اليك والنسحين لعبدتك [ك] والقائمين بدينك فهاء لنا امرا استاق [م] دينك، والقه في قلوب الضلين واهدهم اليك بفضلك العظيم، فيقول التلميذ: امين، فعند ذلك يدور وجهه للناس ويتقبلوا يداه ايما وهو روض عنهم بالتصلب، ثم ينصريف القوم | بتمام القربان، فعند ذلك الاتمام يقر ما يش من النوافل، ثم يفراغ وينصريف،

فذلك القربان تفعله في اي موضع يجب عليه مرة او مرتان او ثلاث مرارا في اليوم ليزدد الله امنا في [لوب عبادته]، ويزدد من ذلك العدد احسان الله اليه لان اذا ازداد العمال زد اجر العبد على الله،

تم كتب القربان على يد تسعون ابن عطار الاعرابي،

انها شيخنا [يعقوب من] الحفض الاوان القربان بمرووات الحيض والمكان الطهر والاستحيا | 6ظ في ارض المخاف خوفا من الاعداء الضلين ان يسبهم وايضا كذلك كتوب الدين وحليات⁶¹ القربان والصواب، ولم يرفع جسدا ولا دم سيدنا يصوع الا بارض يكون فيها [كثرون من⁶²] المومنين بدين الله الرشيد ولا غيرها،

ايضا امرنا بالاستسغار⁶³ وذكر الله كثيرا والقنعة والصدقة [على ما يرزقنا⁶⁴ الله ليسكوننا⁶⁵] في طعته وليستقيم الناس وولنا⁶⁶ ويدخلوا في دين الله وتحت رضوانه، [امين]،

كمال الكتب القربن،

و7

58 Two illegible words here, approximately: mtšmāšrwyā. We are following LG here.

59 Read: dhunubanā = dhunūbanā.

60 Read: wa-yasqīhim.

61 Conjectural. Original: whṭāth. LG: wa-t/b/n-t/b/n-l-b/t (?).

62 Hardly legible to the naked eye. We are following LG. Other transcripts read: š.r.ūn bi-khayr.

63 LG: bi-al-istiqrār.

64 LG: mimmā razaqanā.

65 LG: li-yuskinanā.

66 Read: qawlanā.

LP5/9

On 16 October 1595 was found *Kitāb Qawā'id li-al-Nadhra al-ḥawāriyyīn* ("El Libro del Cathecismo mayor"), in twelve plates. Vatican digital photographs: XII, 1–12, with 10–11 lines per side; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plates chosen at random:⁶⁷ diameter: 46,83 mm; weight: 39,49 grams; 2,10 mm. thick; numbered with dots. See below under number 9, for the separate listing of the *Cathecismo Menor*. LP5 and LP9 are two copies of one and the same text. We are presenting a diplomatic edition of LP9, while giving the *variae lectiones* of LP5 in the notes. The numerous differences between these two copies concern mainly: (a) differences in the spelling of words, (b) omissions of words and smaller passages in LP5, and (c) an occasional misplacement of a few sentences in LP5, resulting in a confused and corrupted text. On the whole, LP9, found on 24 April 1596, has a better text. LP9 informs us on its title-page, that the booklet was written on 12 plates of lead ("waraqā min al-raṣāṣ") but consist in fact of nine plates (hence its contemporary title "Cathecismo menor"). LP5 indeed does have 12 leaves in all and numerous corruptions in it have been improved in LP9. Since both LP 5 and 9 are copies, going back to an earlier Vorlage, the conclusion therefore is that we are dealing with a text that has been available in at least three copies on lead, perhaps even (many?) more. Due to corrosion and other consequences of wear and tear, several sides of the plates of LP9 have become almost illegible. As we did in other parts of the present edition, we relied for these passages on early transcripts of LP9, especially on ASMG MS A1, and the transcripts of the Vatican Commission. Passages between square brackets are illegible now in the lead tablets and have been adopted from the aforesaid seventeenth-century copies.

The general structure of LP 5 is:

Fol. o^a presents a 6 six-pointed starlets devoid of any legend.

Fol. o^b presents the title: "Kitāb Qawā'id li-al-nadhra li-al-ḥawāriyyīn".

Fol. 1^a has the beginning of the text preceded by one six-pointed starlet devoid of any legend.

Fol. 11^a has the end of the text. Before the colophon, there are 3 six-pointed starlets. At both sides of the third starlet is written the text of the following creed:

67 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

فانا اصف لك ذلك الثلاث اشيا في كتب هذا لان ليس دناهم⁸¹ نجة لاحد من العلمين،
الاول هي الايمان فذلك يجب بالله، انه ابي وابن وروح قدوس: ثلث⁸² نفس⁸³ في ذات
واحدة⁸⁴، وبانبتذة سيدنا يسوع روحه، تلج⁸⁵ الروح القدوس على مريم البكرية⁸⁶ قبل النفاس وفيه
وبعده، وبمقاصه⁸⁷ وهرق دمّه | لشفع الانسان، وهبطه⁸⁸ للمطبق، | وبخروج⁸⁹ الارواح المنتدزين
اليه، واستحياه⁹⁰ وطلعه للسماء، وجلسه⁹¹ ليامن⁹² الابي، ويوم البعث والنشور للحساب⁹³ يعطى
الجنة للفالحون⁹⁴ وبعكسهم النار للمضلين⁹⁵،
ايضا كذلك يجب الايمان بكل ماجمعا⁹⁶ عليه الحواريون بالضرورة⁹⁷ اليه كما وصفنا في الجوز الثاني
من كتب قواعد⁹⁸ الدين، هو فرض حفضه⁹⁹ | على كل عبد مومن¹⁰⁰،
الثاني¹⁰¹ هو الطهر | بالما¹⁰²،
والثلث هو العمال الصليح¹⁰³، فاصل ذلك [كله]¹⁰⁴ بعد الايمان المذكور¹⁰⁵ هو الطهر وصفته
[هي]¹⁰⁶ كذا: اذا اتى الايمان¹⁰⁷ عبداً من عباد الله يجب له الانذار بالايمان المذكور¹⁰⁸، فاذا حفضه

- 81 LP5: dūnahum.
82 LP5: thalāth.
83 LP5: nufūs.
84 LP5: waḥīda.
85 LP5: talājja.
86 LG: al-'adhra.
87 LP5: wa-bi-maqāṣṣihi; LG: wa-bi-ṣalbihi.
88 LP5: wa-bi-huḅuṭiḅhi.
89 LP5: wa-khurūj.
90 LP5: wa-'stihyahu.
91 LP5: wa-jalasa.
92 LP5: li-yamān.
93 LP5: li-al-ḥisab; LG: li-al-sharī'a.
94 LG: li-al-ṣaliḥīn; this seems to be the correct reading.
95 LP5: wa-al-nār li-al-ḡallīn bi-'akṣihim.
96 I.e. mā ajma'ū 'alayhi.
97 LP5: min al-ḡarūra; LG: bi-al-ḡarura.
98 LP5: al-qawā'id.
99 LP5: ḥifzihi.
100 LP5: māmīn.
101 LP5: wa-al-thānī.
102 LP5: bi-al-mā.
103 LP5: al-ṣaliḥ.
104 The word between square brackets is omitted in LP5.
105 LP5: al-madhkur.
106 The word between square brackets is omitted in LP5.
107 LG: li-al-īmān.
108 LP5: al-madhkur.

- يجب عليه طلب الماء المقداس فاذا طلبه بنية خلصة يجب على المنذر¹⁰⁹ طهره بذلك النية من جانبه ولا دنها، فاذا عمد لذلك يخذ ماءً طهراً نقياً | بعد غسل يديه من كل قشاب، ويصلب عليه | ويرقه¹¹⁰ باسم الله علي ذمة الماء المقداس¹¹¹ الذي تطهر¹¹² به سيدنا يصوع، ويقول¹¹³ المطهر باسمه: افلان اتريد الفلاح بالطهر على ذمة سيدنا يصوع؟ فيقل: نعم اني¹¹⁴ احببته [وبطهره]¹¹⁵ وايمان جميعه¹¹⁶ المقداس، فعند ذلك يقل¹¹⁷ المطهر: اني اطهر بك¹¹⁸ باسم الله ابي وابن وروح قدوس ثلاث نفوس في ذات واحدة¹¹⁹، ويضاع | على رسه كله ذلك الماء¹²⁰، فاذا فعل¹²¹ ذلك لم يبقا عليه ذنبا [كبيراً ولا سغيراً]¹²²، ولو كانت ذنبه ازباد¹²³ البحر¹²⁴ [مقررة]¹²⁵ ووراق الشجار¹²⁶ وحصا الارض كلها، وان كان طفلاً سغيراً يفلح¹²⁷ ويرفع¹²⁸ الجوب عنه بثلاث، ذلك صفة الطهر على يحنا الحوري اخنا¹²⁹ [وجمعوا | الحواريون عليه، وذلك¹³⁰ الطهر يجب على الخلفة او على احد من الحواريون او على تلامذاهم¹³¹ وتبعهم¹³² وللضرورة على عبد مومن^{133, 134}]

109 LP5: al-mundhir.

110 LP5: yurqihi.

111 LP5: al-muqaddās.

112 LP5: taṭāhhāra bihi.

113 LP5: wa-yaqulu.

114 LG: anā.

115 The word between square brackets is omitted in LP5.

116 LP5: jami'ihī.

117 LP5: yaqūlu.

118 LP5: ṭāhhartu bika; LG: uṭāhhiruka.

119 LP5: waḥida.

120 LP5: wa-yaḍa' al-mā 'alā ra'sihi kullahu.

121 LP5: fa'āla.

122 The words between square brackets are omitted in LP5.

123 LP5: zabad; LG: + mithla.

124 LG: +kullihī.

125 The word between square brackets is omitted in LP5.

126 LP5: al-shājār.

127 LP5: yaflaḥu.

128 LP5: wa-yarfā'.

129 LP5: Yuḥannā akhinā.

130 LP5: dhalika.

131 LP5: talāmidhihim.

132 LP5: aw tabi'ihim.

133 LP5: wa-li-al-darura 'alā kulli 'abd mūmin.

134 The passage between square omitted and erroneously misplaced in a corrupted form below in LP5.

والتث¹³⁵ هو العمال الصلح المذكور¹³⁶ وتكفر المحلقة اليه، هو¹³⁷ الاقرار¹³⁸ بالذنوب، | وصفته
 كذا: الله فعل¹³⁹ بلائتي¹⁴⁰ وذلك¹⁴¹ الثاني والخلفة¹⁴² وامة¹⁴³ الفقه التبعين اليه، وبعدهم للضرورة
 [والاحتياج]¹⁴⁴ عباد¹⁴⁵ الله المومنين، فاذا | كان العبد على ذنب يجب عليه الاقرار بنية واخلاص¹⁴⁶ [ظ4]
 لذلك وفضح لسان¹⁴⁷ وتحليل وكفر¹⁴⁸ وعهداً لم يعد للذنب ابدأً،
 فاذا اتى المقرر ينو لذلك كله في نفسه¹⁴⁹ بالندمة¹⁵⁰ والاسعتار¹⁵¹ والتكفر¹⁵² القدير عليه ينو¹⁵³
 في نفسه، اذا خضع جسمه قدمه ان الخير هو قبله¹⁵⁴ لينله والغير¹⁵⁵ شمله ليتركه، والجنة | لينه والنار |
 تحته والله فوق رسه¹⁵⁶ سميعاً بصيراً، وسيدنا يصوع روحه بسطاً¹⁵⁷ درعيه امامه كما قال: من دنا مني
 شبراً دنوت منه درعاً ومن دنا مني درعا دنوت منه بعاً ومن اتني مشياً آتيته هرولة، والمقرر خضعاً¹⁵⁸
 تحت صلبه وهو استثنه¹⁵⁹ على المذنب ليسمعه ويكفر ذنوبه،

- 135 LP5: wa-al-thalātha.
 136 LP5: al-madhkur.
 137 LG omit huwa.
 138 LG: wa-bi-al-iqrar.
 139 LP5: fa'īla.
 140 LP5: bi-al-ithnā.
 141 Originally the scribe had written wa-dhalika twice, but then crossed out the first wa-dhalika.
 142 LP5: wa-huwa al-khalifa.
 143 LP5: wa-amāt (is perhaps: a'immat?).
 144 The word between square brackets is omitted in LP5.
 145 LP5: li-'ibād.
 146 LP5: wa-ikhlaṣ.
 147 LP5: bi-al-asān.
 148 LP5: wa-kafara; LG: wa-takaffur.
 149 LG: fi ḥaḍratihī.
 150 LP5: bi-al-nadīma.
 151 LP5 and LG: wa-al-istighfār.
 152 LP5: wa-al-takfīr.
 153 LP5: yanwā (with alif).
 154 LP5: qudāmahu.
 155 LP5: al-sharr.
 156 LP5: rasāhu.
 157 LP5: basīṭan.
 158 LP5: jalāṣ.
 159 LP5: wa-'stathnahu.

- [5ظ] فيجب على المقرير¹⁶⁰ في ذلك المقام¹⁶¹ الاستحيا والندمة¹⁶² والبك¹⁶³ على ذنوبه | وعلى¹⁶⁴ ما فته
 من رضوان الله، [واتبع المعاصي]¹⁶⁵ ليغفر الله لها¹⁶⁶ هو | الغفر¹⁶⁷ الرحيم، ويسفتتاح اقراره قائلاً:¹⁶⁸
 6 و
 الاهي اني عصيتك¹⁶⁹ وضلمت نفسي واتبعت الشهوات واستندت للشيطان، اني اسالك بفضلك
 ومجدك ان تغفر لي وترحمي وتدخلي جنتك، اني تبت اليك بعهداً لم اعد للذنب ابدًا، فاتني برحمتك
 انك على كل شي قدير،
- [6و] فيجبه المقرير: ايها | العبد صف ذنوبك لله ليرحمك ويغفر لك، فعند ذلك يلقي شخصه¹⁷⁰ في الارض
 6 ظ مستحيا ويصف له كل ذنباً وعليه¹⁷¹ بعكس | الاردة لآخه¹⁷² المومن فيريد¹⁷³ لنفسه فكل¹⁷⁴ ذنب
 فعله وانوه مدون¹⁷⁵ المسبيون عن يذكره اليهم،
- فاذا فراغ من ذلك يجب علي المقرير النهي عنهم والندمة على فعلهم وما فرط في امور الخير
 [6ظ] والفلاح، | ويجب الكفرة والحلال على قدر جهده الحقي في الحين، وان لم يقوم به اسرع¹⁷⁶ اي¹⁷⁷
 7 و وقت قدار¹⁷⁸، والقصاص لم يلزمه شيا ملاطفة له به لان الله لم يصق¹⁷⁹ عبده شيا ملاطفة له به، |
 والعهد بقدر لم يعد للذنب لا شفعة فيه ابدًا،

160 LG: al-mudhnib.

161 LP5: al-māqām.

162 LP5: wa-al-nadīma.

163 LP5: wa-al-bukā.

164 LP5 and LG: wa-'alā.

165 The words between square brackets is omitted in LP5.

166 LP5: li-yaghfira lahu an.

167 LP5: inna huwa al-ghafūr.

168 LP5: qayilan.

169 LP5: 'aṣatuka.

170 LP5: shakhṣahu.

171 LG: huwa 'alayhi.

172 LP5: li-akhīhi; LG: wa-li-akhīhi.

173 LP5: mḥ yuridu; LG: mā yurīdu.

174 Read: fi kulli.

175 LP5: mā dūna.

176 LP5: isrā'.

177 LP5: māy.

178 LP5: waqt (with tā' marbūṭa) qadara.

179 LG: lam y.ṣ.q. LP5: yaḥmū? Read probably: lam yulṣiq.

- [7] ويكن التكفر بالصوم والصدقة وطلب الحال¹⁸⁰ وإيا ما يرى المقرر¹⁸¹ هو تلوته من الانجيل العزيز وغيره من الافعال الصالحة الذي استعودها الحواريين¹⁸² وتلامذهم¹⁸³ ويجب يلزمه¹⁸⁴ الى القيام به¹⁸⁵ والاسترضا منه ولا دنه، فاذا استرضه لزمه قضا واجب عليه تمامه فان لم تمه عصه ربه كان استقرار¹⁸⁶ سياً،
- 7ظ
[7ظ] فاعند¹⁸⁷ ذلك يخذ المقرر مفتحا في يده ليعني به قدرة الخلفة يدره¹⁸⁸ || للحال والربط ويلقه على رسه ويقول: اني خلفه اله وعلى ذمة خلفته اتيتك بالغفران من جميع الذنوب المقررة¹⁸⁹ والمسهي¹⁹⁰ عن ذكرك وابعد عنك كل ما¹⁹¹ هو يبعدهك من الله ورضوانه¹⁹²، ارحال مرضيا عنك من الله¹⁹³،
- [8] ذلك كله يقل¹⁹⁴ ويده [اليمنا]¹⁹⁵ على رساه¹⁹⁶ بالفتاح المذكور، فاذا فراغ | صلب عليه ورحال عنه،
- 197,8 وذلك يفعال بالذنب اي مراراً ياتي لذلك الامر، ولو تكات لم تحصا | في العداد لان رحمة الله وسعة¹⁹⁸ كل شي،
- ثم سئل¹⁹⁹ يدره الحوري: ²⁰⁰ ايها الخلفة الحوري السعيد²⁰¹ أخبرنا عن ثواب الاقرار²⁰² وتكفر الذنوب،

180 Read perhaps: al-ḥalāl. LG: al-ḥīl (or: al-ḥābl).

181 LP5: wa-ṭalab al-ḥ..l wa-al-bl (is this a corruption of al-ḥābil wa-al-nābil?) mā yarā al-muqarrir.

182 LP5: al-ḥawṣriyūn.

183 LP5: + wa-tabī'uhum.

184 LP5: yalzamahu.

185 LP5: bi-ḥḥ.

186 LP5: al-istiqrār.

187 LP5: fa-'inda.

188 Written without diacritical sign.

189 LP5: al-maqrūra.

190 LP5: wa-al-mashiya; LG: wa-al-mashiyūn.

191 LP5: dhanb.

192 LP5: wa-riḍwanihi.

193 LP5: li-yarḍā 'anka Allāh.

194 LP5: yaqūlu.

195 The word between square brackets is omitted in LP5.

196 LP5: rasihi.

197 This page is lacking among the Vatican photographs.

198 LP5: wasī'āt.

199 LP5: thumma sa'ala.

200 LP5: Bidruh al-khalifa.

201 LP5: ayyuhā al-sa'īd.

202 LP5 and LG: al-istiqrār.

قال: اذا العبد²⁰³ استقرار بنية خلصة²⁰⁴ لله وعهدا لم يعد للذنب ابداء، لم يبقا عليه ذنبا كبيرا ولا | [8ظ] سغيرا الا غفرله الله²⁰⁵، وان غير(؟)²⁰⁶ ذلك الحصال²⁰⁷ [عن حقوقها]²⁰⁸ اختليف²⁰⁹ في سعدهته على قدر تغيرها عنها،

لان الله اعد لذرية²¹⁰ ادام اربعة مواضع²¹¹ وهي الدنيا |²¹² ودار القصاص والجنة وجهنم، [8ظ] للمومنين²¹³ العصين المستعودين والصلبين²¹⁴ موضعين وهما²¹⁵ الدنيا | وجهنم، وللمومنين المذنين [9ظ] المستغفرين ذنباهم²¹⁶ الثلاثة²¹⁷ مواضع²¹⁸ [من ذلك الاربعة]²¹⁹ وهي الدنيا ودار القصاص والجنة،

لان دار الدنيا اعده لجميع عبادته لينال فيه²²⁰ ما يشاه²²¹ خيرا او غيرا وفيه انواع القصاص، [9ظ] ودار القصاص²²² اعده للمذنين المفلحين فيه لم ينالوا لسوه ولا غيرها ولكن²²³ | يقتصوا | ذنبهم [9ظ] ويدخلوا²²⁴ النعيم، و[في]²²⁵ جهنم لم ينلوا²²⁶ ولم يتدون ولم يقتصوا ابداء، وهو لهم اصل الخلود فيها، واهل الجنة اعنهم²²⁷ عن ذلك كله وأكرمهم فيها بالندار الى وجهه الكريم،

203 LP5: 'abd.

204 LP5: khalīṣa.

205 LP5 and LG: illā wa-qad ghafāra (LG: ghafara) lahu Allāh.

206 LP5: wa-in taghayyāra; LG: wa-in taghayyara (or: ta'ayyana) anna.

207 Read probably: al-khiṣāl.

208 Illegible in LP5; LG: ḥ.q.qīhā.

209 LP5: 'kht.lifa.

210 LP5: ilṣ dhurriyyat.

211 LP5: mawāḍī'.

212 The original disk is hardly legible.

213 LP5: al-mudhnibīn.

214 LP5: wa-al-ḡallīn.

215 LP5: wa-hiya.

216 LP5: dhunūbahum.

217 LP5: al-thalath.

218 LP5: mawāḍī'.

219 LP5: minhum.

220 LP5 and LG: fḡhā.

221 LP5: mashā'ahu.

222 LP5: al-qāṣāṣ.

223 LP5: wa-lakīn.

224 LP5: wa-yadkhulūna.

225 Omitted in LP5.

226 LP5: yanālū.

227 LP5 adds: Allāh.

- ثم سئل²²⁸ ايضاً الحوري²²⁹ [السعيد]:²³⁰ أخبرنا عن اوقات الاستقرار،
 قال: الذنب يبعثنا من الله بقدر | ان لم يقبل²³¹ منا العبد²³² صرفاً²³³ ولا عدلاً الا الخروج منه ولا
 [10] انكار فيجب للعبد المومنين لم يتي على | ذنب²³⁴ الا واستقراره اي وقه قدار ليغفر له الله ويردده²³⁵
 9ظ امناً وحباً [وتقرباً منه]²³⁶ وليجعله من الصالحين،
 وايضاً كذلك اوصنا باقبال جسد سيدنا يصوع لذلك الامر، وصفة | اقبله بعد الاستقرار يكن²³⁷
 10ظ كما وصفنا في كتب²³⁸ صفة القربان، لمرضية الله ليجعلنا من الصالحين العاملين لطعته، امين،²³⁹
 11و [يضيف كرقم |:
 ومن استشهد كان احسن ثواب في العمال لان هو يهاب نفسه كله وروحه لله، وهو موله على كل
 حال فغفرا لذنبه ويجعله في الجنة،
 لا اله الا الله م ر الله²⁴⁰

كامل كتب نذرة الحواريون على يدي تسعون ابن عطار الاعريبي

- 228 LP5: sa'ala (omitting thumma).
 229 LP5: yā ayyuhā al-ḥawārī.
 230 The word between square brackets is omitted in LP5.
 231 LP5: yaqbālu.
 232 LP5: al-'ibād; LG: al-'ibada.
 233 Read perhaps: ṣidqan.
 234 LP5: dhanban. LG adds: kabīran aw saḡhīran.
 235 LG: wa-yarḡamahū.
 236 The words between square brackets is omitted in LP5 and LG.
 237 LP5: yakūna.
 238 LP5: kitab.
 239 LG presents here a text of one page dealing with the weeping of Peter (= LP6, below).
 240 LG: ṣ.r. allāh, suggesting the correct reading would be: "Yaṣū' rasūl (or: rūḡ) Allāh", rather than "Muḡammad rasūl Allāh". The original lead tablet clearly has a *mīm* here, not a *ṣād*. Perhaps, the *mīm* was chosen by the author, as an ambiguous element, leaving the possibility open of reading: "Muḡammad rasūl Allāh", in addition to: "al-Masiḡ rūḡ Allāh". This second reading undoubtedly concurs with the central creed of the Lead Books, viz.: "Lā ilāha illā Allāh; Yaṣū' Rūḡ Allāh". At other places in the Lead Books the author preferred unambiguously: ṣ.r Allāh (Yaṣū' Rūḡ Allāh).

LP6

Found together with LP 5: *Bukā Bidruh al-Ḥawārī al-Khalīfa* ("Llanto de San Pedro"), in three plates. Vatican digital photographs: v, 10–12, with 10 lines per side; numbered in dots.

- و¹ بكاء بدروه²⁴¹ الحوري الخلفة بعد نكرته لسيدنا يصوع في وقت صلبيه
 نح علينا ميلاده الخلفة بدره الحور السعيد في التكفر²⁴² بعد نكر|ن] سيدنا يصوع في وقه صلبيه لان
 بك ذنبه بكاً شديداً بقدران سلت²⁴³ مقلة عينيه وتمزقات لوجوم وجهه وتغير لونه²⁴⁴ والتصق |جلده
 الى عظمه بالصوم وكان لم يفتر ليلا ولا نهرا من ذكر الله قتلا: الاهي ومولاء وسيدي اني عصيتك
 وضلمت نفسي وان لم تب عليا وتغفر لي وترحمي اكن خصيرا،
 ودام²⁴⁵ على ذلك البك والدعا بسبعة اعوام في الكهف²⁴⁶ وثلاثت شهر فاذا فرغ | فرغ²⁴⁷ من
 ذلك الوقه، اذ كان ليلا يبكي ويدعي ربه سماع النداء من قبله وهو يقول ايده، استنف العمال فقد
 غفر لك ذنبك، فعند ذلك، أتى الله شكراً على ذلك النعمة وكان أكبر الصلحين وعماد الدنيا والجميع
 المقداس واوال خلفه²⁴⁸ الله في الارض | نفعنا الله به وبالصلحين، امين.
 فيجب علينا بطعة الله وطعة خلقته لان أوصان²⁴⁹ بالصدقة والسقة²⁵⁰ والصبر على البلا في دار
 الدنيا ليرحمنا الله ويجعلنا من اهل طعته، ومن استنهد²⁵¹ كان خير له واحسنا ثوابا عند الله وأجرا
 عظما لننال ما وعادنا في الانجل العزيز | من نعمه الذي ليس لها انقسام ولا يقدر احد من العلمين
 و³ على وصفها ابداً.

241 The original is devoid of any diacritical signs defining the consonant.

242 LG: al-baka.

243 LG: tamazzaqat.

244 LG: wa-işfarra.

245 LG: fa-dama.

246 LG: kamalahu, instead of: fđ al-kahf.

247 Sic! Dittography suggesting the function of a catchword, as elsewhere. LG omits the second faragha.

248 One dot over the letter!

249 LG first wrote: li-an awşānā. This he corrected into: izalat al-nuqşān.

250 = al-thiqa? LG: wa-ilayka. There are two dots over the letter!

251 = istashhadā? LG: istashhadā.

كَمال الكُتُب على دي²⁵² الاعرب
 م ر الله²⁵³ لا الله له

252 Read probably: ‘alā yadai.

253 Written at both sides of three six-pointed starlets, marking the end of the text. The original lead tablet clearly has a *mīm* here, not a *šād*. Perhaps, the *mīm* was chosen by the author, as an ambiguous element, leaving the possibility open of reading: “Muḥammad rasūl Allāh”, in addition to: “al-Masīḥ rūḥ Allāh”. This second reading undoubtedly concurs with the central creed of the Lead Books, viz.: “Lā ilāha illā Allāh; Yaṣū‘ Rūḥ Allāh”. At other places in the Lead Books the author preferred unambiguously: ṣ r Allāh (Yaṣū‘ Rūḥ Allāh).

LP7

On 23 November 1595 was found *Kitāb Maḥāsin Sayyidīnā Yaṣū‘ wa-ma‘ājizihī wa-ummihi Maryam al-Šāliḥa al-Adhra* (“El Libro de la vida de Nuestro Señor”), in 22 plates. Vatican digital photographs: IX, 1–22; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plates chosen at random:²⁵⁴ diameter: 62,69 mm; weight: 64,69 grams; 2,17 mm. thick; independently numbered with the letters of the alphabet. The remarkable difference between the number of lines of plate 2b and all following plates (21 and 14, 15, 13 or 16 lines respectively) suggests that the author expanded the opening passages of the text, after having completed the lead disks following it, thus forcing himself to increase the number of lines on page 2b, at the same time decreasing the letter font used there.

كتب محاسين سيدنا يصوع ومعاجزه
وامه مريم الصالحة العذرة²⁵⁵

2 كتب محاسين سيدنا يصوع والعذرة مريم امه وعموره ومعاجزه من يوماً بيعث الى وفاته وطلوعه
للسما لتسعون ابن عطار تليذ يعقوب الحوري،
كان ابي صلح ابن عطار اعربي اصلا من بلد دوس الاعربية السغرة من حسبا ونسبا ومجداً كبيراً
واهابة²⁵⁶ علماً وملا كثيراً قد نتج علي نسبا عليا من نبي الله صلح المويد بالنبوة والروح،
وكان له اربعة اولاد ذكورا وثلاثة اناث، فاسم الذكور منهم كان عيسون²⁵⁷ وسعدون وانا تسعون
وابن الرضى، والاناث شمسة ويقتة [ودرية،
وقد خـ]لقت انا بصراً واخي ابن الرضى خلق بكماً وصماً، [وكان ابـ]نا محزننا علينا، ولما سمع خبراً
بسيدنا يصوع روح الله الامين كيف كان يشفي الاكهما والابرصا [والصما] والعميا والفلجا ويخرج
الشياطين من الناس [ويحي] الموتى بالارض المقداس فتوا الصفار اليه استبركاً، ولذلك تعوال نفسه
بالزاد والخدم والقاليا ولاخي ابن الرضى على بعرا، واسرى على الطريق الى ارض غلاليا، فاصبه
وتلاميذه على سبع عشرة رجلا قد اشفهم من الجذام،

254 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

255 Written within a constellation of 10 six-pointed starlets, to mark the “title-page” of the book.

256 Read perhaps: wa-ahabahu Allāh.

257 LG: ‘Iṣūn (with šād).

فعد ذلك قال له صلح يا سيدي اني قصدت اليك طرقا من بلد دوس لتشفي لي هوذا الابنان
من العما والبكا والصما، اني رايتك محسنا | عظما وانا امت بك ويقتن ان لم يشفهما في الاجود
غيرك احد بلا شك،

فقال له يصوع: يا صلح انت قوي اليقين وانا قضي حجتك، فعد ذلك اخذ ترباً في كفيه وضربه
برقه والقاه على عينيا فارتد عليا البصار وامراني بغسله في محصة المسجد والقي يده على راس اخي ابن
الرضي ونفخ في فاه ثلاثة مرة فاشفه ومله علماً وتكلام بانواع الالسان واول قوله قال شهدة ان لا اله
الا الله وانك روحه الامين،

فقال له يصوع سيدنا: انت هو سيس الايه فاستوجب ذلك الاسم من يصوع سيدنا يعني به خطب
الدين مستفتحه، فعد ذلك نذرا لتلهذه يعقوب الحوري—شيخنا—وقال له: هتي تلامذك الصلحين
الى نصر الدين، اكفلهم بالواجب اليه،

فعد ذلك ابنا صلح ابن عطر اهب لسيدنا يصوع مائة ذهاباً اعربية وجعلها في يدي يدره الحوري
بامر²⁵⁸ ورغبه يشترى له داراً ليسكن²⁵⁹ جواره²⁶⁰، ورحال الى بلد دوس | ليقي اليه باهله اجمعين
وتركا الاخوات في كفلته وشيخنا يعقوب،

فعد ذلك سيدنا يصوع امر ليدر²⁶¹ بتصدق²⁶² ذلك المال للقصدين اليه، فقال له: يا سيدي
لاي قصدين اصدقه وهم كثيرة، القصدين اليك مسكين وفقار²⁶³ ومرضا وعمدين النذرة وذلك
المال صحبه حياً وكيف اعطه بغير سح²⁶⁴ وهو يبغى به يشترى²⁶⁵ الدار؟

فقال سيدنا: الدنيا داراً لمن لا دار له! | اعط ذلك المال في حياة صلح لمن يسئلك ولو جا على
فراس، وعليه سئله [ليكون] عملا حيا لان مكان لله لم يفنا ولا يضيع اجر المحسنين ابداً، او ما علمت
ان التصديق في الحياة هو عملا حيا وبعد المامات هو عملا ماء²⁶⁶؟ فاعطي في الحيا قبل المامات
لان خير العطاء قبل الوافات، واكل لك ان الصدقة البلغة لله هي في الحيا وهي تظفي غضاب الرب،
والمصدق قريب من الله والله معه في كل مكان، فعد | ذلك تصدق ذلك المال للطلبين،

258 LG reads: bi-amrihi, but corrected this into: tilmidhihi.

259 LG: li-yaskāna.

260 LG: jawarahu.

261 Original without dot to distinguish between bā' and yā'; we follow LG here.

262 LG: yataṣaddīqa.

263 LG: wa-faqīr.

264 Sic! Read: samāḥihi; LG: samaḥihi.

265 LG: ashtarī.

266 LG: māyit (with tā' marbūṭa).

فاتاه عند ذلك ابي باهله اجمعين فقال له أسيدي، اشتريت لي الدار؟ فقال له: اصلح اني بنيت لك دارا في الجنة لتسكون جواري في الدنيا والاخرة لان نيتك جميلة ويقنك كبير وهو مقبول عند الله، فعند ذلك حمله الى داره فاتته الحمى وتوف بعد ثلاثة ايام، فقال له سيدنا يصوع: طي لك اصلح! عشت سعيداً ومت شهيداً واسعدت اهلك من بعدك، ايضا كذلك بعده بثلاثة ايام اخرى توافت ام ربك زوجته، وبعدهم من اجل معاجيز سيدنا يصوع آمنوا به اخواننا واهلنا وكانوا من الصالحين، فعند ذلك شكرنا الله، انا واخي ابن الرضى، على النجاة من الضلال والايمان الاكابر، وبقينا في خدمة يعقوب فضلنا | تفضلا على جميع تلامذه فاخترنا بينهم لصلاح اموره في طعة الله،⁴ فعند ذلك اجب عليا رضوان سيدنا يصوع وشيخي الذي امراني بكتب حسبه ونسبه وعيشه ومعجزه الى وقته، وانا افعال ذلك فما رايته بعين البيان وما دون ذلك الذي لم رايته اسطره مروين عنه وعن الصلحة مريم العذرة امه وعن يسوف زوجها وعن سائر الحواريون تلامذه حتى الى طلوعه للسماء وبعده الى اخير الحديث الضرور لتوريج الحق، ذلك كله يكون لمرضية الله ونذرة عباده، امين،

بابي في حسبه ونسبه وارضه ومعاجيز حمله

اذ كان سيدنا يصوع ابن مريم العذرة البتلة عبرني وكان دار ابا امه | من جانب ابها من نصران،⁵ وآل امها من بتلان من اسغار المدون بالارض المقداسة، وكان في الانسية من اشرف حسبا واعلى نسبا في بني اسرائيل قد نتج على نسلة اثنائي واربعين نبيا من الانبياء الكرام المباشرين بالمنعوم في التورة، خير ولد ادم المبعث بالفتح المناجل، روح الله الامين ونقيض من الذنب بالشفع والفلاح، وكلهم من آل النبي ابن شيخ الرضى خليل الله ابرهم المواید بالروح المقداس، وقالت الصالحة مريم عن جبريل انه قال لها: لما خلق الله الملكة في احسن تقوم [و] لم عصوا ربهم من اجل الغيل على حمله²⁶⁷ اهتد العرش والسموات والارض حتى خفت الملائكة المقرايين، ولما القا ابنا ادم | زوجته حوة في الجنان يكلوا ايها²⁶⁸ شأ وانهمما عن الشجرة، كان²⁶⁹ في نعيم دائم وكان عليهم الحلي والحلال لا يعلم قيمته الا الله، وكان لم جربان أفات الدنيا وكان غير شكران لله في ذلك النعيم، [ف]بدأت لهما سوأتها من قلة الشكر وهما لا يشعرون بها، فنحست عليهما الوسوسة للذنب والعصيان، وكان ذلك سباب الارضا للذنب المشك[وك] لان الله هو حكيم عديل وبذلك

267 LG: min ajli al-‘iṣyān ‘alā khalqihī.

268 Sic! Read: ayyamā.

269 Read probably: kānā.

العدل هو يقضي ما يشاء، فاكلان فكهة الشجرة المنهى عنها، فلها عصان امر ربهما ايضا كذلك اهتد
 6و العرش والسموات والارض ثني مرة وخفا[ت] الملكة واخرجهم²⁷⁰ من الجنان | ولحقه²⁷¹ الله اي
 موضع شاء في كونه لم يطلع عليه احد²⁷² من عباديه الا من يشاء،

وهبطان الى الارض ودركتهما الندمة بقدر ان اسود لونهما من اجل الذنب وبكه مطرحان على
 الارض ولم يفتروا من البكا حتى سالت مقلتهما وتمزقت لحوم وجههما قيلان: ربنا ظلمنا لنفسنا وان
 لم تتب علينا وتغفر لنا وترحمنا لكوننا خصران، فنزل عليهما الملك جبريل وبشرهما بالفلاح وكتب في
 ظهر ادم: هيد ميد هو شفيعك وشفيع ذريتك، وقال: يا آدام قوم انت وزوجتك ان الله سماع دعاكما
 وقبل ندمتك²⁷³ وغفار لك بشروط الايمان والتكفر المعاصي، وانتذار المنعوم المكتب في ظهره،
 6ظ ومن ذلك الوقت بشاروا الانبياء في قومهم بذلك المنعم لشفيع²⁷⁴ | العباد لينذرهم للشفيع والفلاح،
 فاذا وصل الوعد لا تنبأ الصلحة مريم اي قالت لما نزل عليها الامين جبريل وأخبرها بانتبذها به
 وهي تلية في الكتب، وقال لها يا صلحة مريم يا مرحة، الله معك، مبركة انت في النساء وذلك البركة
 هي من اجل تطهرها من الذنب الاول، لم يلحقها²⁷⁵ لان الله اخترها لذلك الامر لان ما دونها
 من بعد آدم دركهم الخطاة من اجل الذنب ولم دركها من اجل التطهر منه، وذلك جمع عليه في
 جمع الحوارين كما وصفنا في كتب قواعد الدين ومن خلافه كان خصيراً، فلها سمعت كلمه خفات
 ورفعت رسها مستعيذة بالله مفكرة من ذلك المتكلم،

7و فتمثال²⁷⁶ لها جبريل في احسان سره بشرية يتلال نوراً شعشعنيا | وقال لها: لا تحف بان الله
 دخالاك²⁷⁷ في رحمته لاهب لك في رحمك ابناً روح الاعلا وتسمه يصوع من ال داود وسكين²⁷⁸
 في دار يعقوب الى الابد، وملكه لم يفنا²⁷⁹ ابدأ، فقالت له كيف يكون ذلك واني لم بمسا شأني²⁸⁰
 بشاراً ولم ابغ ذلك؟

فاجبها الملك: ذلك هين على الله بروحه المقداس عليك، فاذا امتحضنا يسما روح الله الاعلى،

270 LG: wa-akhrajahumā.

271 LG: wa-akhafahu.

272 LG: lam yaṭṭali' 'alaihi aḥadan.

273 LG: minka.

274 LG: li-shifā'.

275 LG: lam yudrikhā.

276 LG: fa-imtathāla.

277 LG: nafakhā lāk.

278 LG: wa-yaskūnu.

279 A dot written on the fā'.

280 LG: wa-lam yamsusnī basharun (instead of: wa-lam yamussā sha'nī bashāran).

وقالت له: اجعل لي آية لذلك!

فقال لها: الاشبة صحبتك حملة في ستة اشهور في كبار عمورها بعد عقمها وكل شي هين على الله، فعند ذلك قالت مريم: انا عبدة الله طيبة اليه مثل²⁸¹ قولك الصديق،

فذهب عنها الملك وخوفها ارتدا عليها ترحباً وهي شكرة لله بلسان طلق وقزداً طليب على ذلك الخبار العلي لطة الله المرو عن الانبياء القدوم | لشفع الانسان الذي كنت تليتيه في الكتب،⁷ فبقت ايماً لم تنجي بذلك السير لزوجها يسف حتى زرت الاشبة فتجلّ جننها يحنا اليه عند تقبلها ليسلم عليه، وهو قيل: سلام عليك يا روح الله الامين! وقالت الاشبة: مرحباً بك لتزرائني ام سيدي المنعم!

وتصداع يسف²⁸² في نفسه ولم ينطق بذلك السداع²⁸³، فاته الملك في النوم ذلك²⁸⁴ الليلة وقال له من كان يصوع سيدنا، فقال للملك: اجعل لي آية لذلك، فقال ايتك بالنور السطيع في ظهره يكون²⁸⁵ مكتب: يصوع روح الله الصديق²⁸⁶ الامين، فعند ذلك شكر²⁸⁷ الله على ذلك،

بإبي انتبهه والمعاجز فيه

قال شيخني²⁸⁸ عن الصلحة مريم العذرة عن جبريل الملك انه قال لها عن انعم²⁸⁹ سيدنا يصوع وفضياله ان الله اعرض لما يلق من من²⁹⁰ الاوح²⁹¹ المحفوظ على²⁹² موسى²⁹³ كلمه في جبال الطور،⁸ وقال له موسى: الاهي وسيدي اني ارا في الاوح²⁹⁴ امة تدعا السية بوحدة²⁹⁵ والحسنة بعشر، فقال له يكلمه: يا موسى هي في اخير الزمان،

281 LG: umaththilu.

282 LG: Yusūf.

283 LG: al-tasdīf.

284 LG: dhālika.

285 LG: yakun.

286 LG omits: al-ṣiddīq.

287 LG: shakāra.

288 LG: Ya'qūb (no abbreviation).

289 LG: an'ām.

290 Sic! LG omits the second min.

291 LG: al-lawḥ.

292 LG: ilā.

293 LG adds: lamma.

294 LG: al-lawḥ.

295 LG: bi-waḥīda.

فقال له: الاهی وسیدی انی ارا فی الاوح²⁹⁶ امة تنزیل علیهم رحمتک التمة،

قال: یا موسی فی اخر الزمان،

قال : الاهی ومولاء انی ارا فی الاوح²⁹⁷ امة یقرأ عیوب الناس کلهم الناس²⁹⁸ لم یقرأ

عیباهم²⁹⁹،

قال: یا موسی اخترتهم³⁰⁰ الی اخر الزمان لانهم عبادی ولم ارید اطلیع الناس علی عیوبهم ولیمکثوا

اجسدھم فی الارض ایماً قليلة،

قال: الاهی وسیدی انی ارا فی الاوح³⁰¹ المنعوم³⁰² علیک فی التورة، لای قوم تبعثه فی الاجود؟

قال: یا موسی انا ابعثوه³⁰³ للقوم تبعثه للقوم³⁰⁴ المدرکین³⁰⁵ المعرضین³⁰⁶ فی الاوح³⁰⁷ الیک،

قال: الاهی وسیدی، أصف لی فضله،

قال: یا موسی، فضله علیک کافضلک علی امتک وعلی الانبیاء کلهم،

ظ8

قال: الاهی وسیدی، اجعلنی من اهله لأنال من فضله،

قال: لك ذلك، یا موسی،

قال: الاهی وسیدی انی اطلب من فضلک ان ترانی اندور الیک،

قال: یا یا³⁰⁸ موسی، متقول³⁰⁹ انی سباق³¹⁰ فی علمی ان لم یرانی فی الوجود³¹¹ بشراً بعین الظھر

ولم اکلھه الا وحیا او من ورء حجاباً³¹²،

قال: الاهی وسیدی فأریننی من نورک شیاً،

فعند ذلك تجلّ الله الجبال من نور وجهه الکریم م لچی علی سم الخیط فتدکک،

296 LG: al-lawḥ.

297 LG: al-lawḥ.

298 Read: wa-al-nās.

299 LG: 'uyūbahum.

300 Read probably: akhkhartuhum. LG also: akhtartuhum.

301 LG: al-lawḥ.

302 LG: al-man'um.

303 LG: ab'athuhu.

304 Sic! LG omits "tab'athuhu li-al-qawm".

305 LG: al-muwūyadīn. Read probably: al-madhkurīn.

306 LG: al-mu'radīn (with dāl).

307 LG: al-lawḥ.

308 Sic! LG omits the second yā.

309 LG: mā taqūlu.

310 LG: sabaqa.

311 LG: al-ujūd.

312 LG: aw min warā'i ḥijaban.

وخر موسى سعيقاً ولولا رحمة سبقت عليه بالالواح الذي جعلهم الله عليه لا خترق بشعاع ذلك
النور فجرات عليه في سعيقيه الملكة³¹³ رغبين لله عنه ونهين³¹⁴ اليه بالاستغفار لله من ذلك الخطأ،
فلما انتهت³¹⁵ من سعيقيه قال: ربي تبت اليك وان لم تبت عليا وتغفر لي وترحمني اكون خصباً،
وقال له الله: ايا موسى اتي اسطفيتك برسليتي³¹⁶ وكلامي نفذ³¹⁷ ما ايتتك بقوة ولا تغفال عن
الذكر وكون³¹⁸ من الشكرين، انذير عبادي وبشرهم بالمنعم في الكتب كما امرتك وخذ اخك هرون
معك لذلك الامر، وانا املكما نوراً وعلماً بالروح المقداس،
فعدت³¹⁹ ذلك اهتدات السموات والارض من خشية الله خوفاً منه وذلك كله يعني عن
المنعوم³²⁰ سيدنا يصب³²¹ ومن بعده³²² من³²³ الروح لشفع العباد بنزول الرحمة [للملايه الحورية]³²⁴
لان في اتبذه في مشرقية الارض المقداسة في نصراً³²⁵ ومحضه في بتلان اي موضع اصب [ا] لا تباذ
به الصلحة مريم العذرة في التثرت نزال عليها الملك جبريل وكان معها زوجها يسف³²⁶ وامتل ذلك
البيت عليهم من الملكة بالنور والريحة السموية³²⁷، واهتز العرش والسموات والارض ونزلة الرحمة
الربنية في الارض وتنفسته بكرةً، ا كما اتبذت به في شهر الملد،
فقال يسف: ³²⁸ لم بعث ³²⁹ ارد يشهد ³³⁰ ذكرته ³³¹ ففعال يسف يده ³³² اليسرى على عورته واليمنا
منع يد يسف ³³³ استحيأ ³³⁴ لم يكشف عليه، فتركه عن ذلك القزد،

- 313 LG: al-mala'ika.
314 LG reads also: nahin. Read probably: nabihin?
315 Read probably: atanabbahā.
316 LG: bi-risālātī.
317 LG: fa-'khudh (with preceding alif).
318 LG: wa-kun.
319 LG: fa-'inda.
320 LG: al-man'um.
321 LG: Yaṣū'ī.
322 LG: wa-mā.
323 Probably read: 'an.
324 The reading between square brackets also found in LG.
325 LG: Naṣrān.
326 LG: Yusūf.
327 LG: al-samawāya.
328 LG: Yusūf.
329 LG: bu'ītha.
330 LG: yashhadā.
331 LG: dhakrānahu.
332 LG: fa-aḏa'a yadahu (omitting Joseph).
333 LG: mana'at li-Yusūf.
334 LG: istiḥya'an.

وكان نفسه في شدة البرد وكان نزل³³⁵ الثلج تلك الليلة واخبار³³⁶ الملك المرعين الذي كانوا حول المنزل ليشهدوا ذلك المقام وفي حضرتهم كتب في ظهره جبريل بالنور السطيع: لا اله الا الله، يصوع روح الله الصديق³³⁷ الامين،

وعن يسف: روي انه قال: اخبار³³⁸ جبريل للصلحة مريم العذرة: ان اسم المنعم³³⁹ كان مكتبا³⁴⁰ في ساق العرش بالنور السطيع قبلاً³⁴¹ خلق الله السموات والارض، وهو يعني النقيض للعباد، واذا خلقها والملائكة سئلوا عنه لله، فروي لبعضهم بعثه ولم يحمله بصبر، وكان سباب وقعهم كما وصفنا في الكتب،

وله اسم آخر في اللوح المحفوظ: روح الله الصديق الامين، | وله اسماً في صحوف ابرهم: هيد ميد³⁴² هدى الناس للنعم، وفيه اسم اخار: فروق جميط³⁴³، يعني يفرق بين الحاق³⁴⁴ والبطل، وعند الانبيا يسما طبطباً يعني: طيباً طيباً، في التورة يسمى المنعم يعني خريج الناس من الظلمات الى النور، ايضا كذلك اسمه الماحي يعني يمحي الكفر من الاجود، له ما دون ذلك في كتب الانبيا ما دون اسمه المكتب في ظهره خمسة عشار اسم، وفي الكائنات سبع وسبعين اسم والله اعلم بغيبه والله صفات³⁴⁵ ليس لهم عدداً ولا يحصم الا الله،

وقال ايضاً كذلك: ان في ذلك المنزل تلك الليلة الذي اولد فيها لم يروا برداً ولا حراً، فاذا فراغ احدهم منه امة³⁴⁶ بالبرد، فذلك الليلة افلح العد اليبس في شدة البرد واثر بعد سبعة سنين وتبع³⁴⁷ الماء في البر بعد عشرة اعوام، وتكلام الملائك السكتت³⁴⁸ بانواع لغات الكلام باصوتاً | حسان شكرين لله على ذلك الامر، ونزلة الرحمة على العباد واشراق الشمس والقمار فوق الحد، وخضاع الشجر

335 LG: nuzūl.

336 LG: wa-akhbara.

337 LG: al-ṣiddīq.

338 LG: akhbara.

339 LG: al-man'ūm.

340 LG: maktub.

341 = qablan, viz. qabla an.

342 LG adds: ya'nī.

343 Marracci (1666) proposes to read: al-jamī' (= al-jāmi'). See our translation and the corresponding note.

344 LG: mufarriq bayna al-ḥaqq.

345 LG: wa-al-muḍafāt (without: li-'llāhi).

346 Sic! In LG: mata, with tā'.

347 LG: wa-naba'a.

348 LG: (with corrections) al-mala'u al-samāwī; originally written: al-malak al-sakit (with tā' marbūṭa).

اليه، وتعيار الجين³⁴⁹ ولبسات العباد ثوب التقا في قلوبهم وانهم مات الشيطان ووقعات الاصنام في المساجيد³⁵⁰ وضربات الكوكب³⁵¹ لجلجا³⁵² عكساً بعكس، وخفات قلوب الضلين وشعه³⁵³ ردرس لتجمعاته³⁵⁴ بالعلماء وأخبرته ان في الارض قد بعث متمريرق دنه وكان بارضه وكان حيراً لم يدري ما يعمل،

ورجعنا لسيدنا يصوع انه طهير في اليوم الثامن من بعثه ليكال الدين الشرعي،
والصلحة مريم العذرة انهي³⁵⁵ قالت ان الامن جبريل اخبرها ان الله يوماً خلق السموات والارض خلاق نجما لم يخلق مثله في النجوم واخفه في كونه حتى ابعث³⁵⁶ سيدنا يصوع، فلما بعث طلوع ذلك النجم على الافق المشرق³⁵⁷، فراوه ثلاثة | ملوك من اهل مديان وكانوا عالمين بمتراف¹¹ السير عن ابائهم وكانت علاماته ذك النجم فتجمعوا واجمعوا ببحثهم على ذلك العلامة، فعولوا انفسهم واهلهم وخراجوا من مشاريق الارض في فشته³⁵⁸،
فلما رحلوا مرحلة اعرض عليهم في النوم بالملك جبريل: اتبعوا النجم يهدكم لتزدكم، فاي موضع يمكث عليه تقضا حجاتكم،

فطراقوا للمغرب والنجم معهم فدخلوا الى مدينة جرجلان فوف³⁵⁹ النجم بارضها، وكانوا سيلين: ايها الناس اي موضع هو للبعث مولا باني اسرايل المهدين؟ راينا نجما في المشرق علامة لبعثه وجين³⁶⁰ لتعبده في ذلك الامر،

فعند ذلك تذاكر الملك لقول ملائه وامرهم بالندرة مرة اخر³⁶¹ لذلك الامر،
والملوك جزوا لبتلان مدين فدخلوا عليه وامه معه مومنين به، واعطوه من امولهم وهذه³⁶² اناية³⁶³ ذهاب ولوبان ومور،

349 LG: wa-taghayyara al-hīn.

350 LG: fī al-māsjīd.

351 LG: al-kawākib.

352 LG: liḥājan.

353 Read: wa-sha'aba. LG: wa-sha'ata.

354 LG: tajamu'āt.

355 = innnahṣ.

356 LG: ba'atha.

357 LG: al-mashrāqī.

358 = fatshihi.

359 Read: fa-waqafa; LG: fa-waqafa.

360 = wa-jī'nā.

361 LG: ukhrā.

362 LG: wa-hadūhu.

363 LG: āniyat.

فذلك الليلة اعيضاً عليهم | في النوم روية جبريل الملك: ايها الملك ايها الملوك³⁶⁴ ارجعوا الى ارضكم
امين على طرق³⁶⁵ غير الطرق³⁶⁶ الذي اطيمه³⁶⁷ ففعلوا ذلك،

وقال الملك ليسف: ارحال بالطفل وامه للميسر لان ردوس الملك يقتل الاطفال من اجل يصوع،
وكال ثلث مائة طفلا، فرحال ذلك اليلة والشيطان عدوه اخبار في النوم لرديس قبلا له عن ارتحله،
نفرج في اتبعه ابراح في اتبعه³⁶⁸ خدمه³⁶⁹ بملائته،

فعند ذلك نزال جبريل في سورة بشار يحرز فدان الزرع المسبل من الطير جوار طارهم³⁷⁰ الى
ارض الميسر فسئلوه: ايها ايها³⁷¹ العبد ارايت نسا جزوا قدمنا بطفلا سغيراً في الكهل؟
قال: نعم اني رايتهم جزوا وقة نبات هذا الزرع، وكان على حق لان معجزة الله اسبلته في الحين
لنجة سيدنا يصوع،

فقلوا القوم جزات ايماً بعد ذلك | الامر ولم دركه³⁷²، فارتدوا من وره باذن الله³⁷³ الذي لا
مسترداً لامره،

فطرقان يسف ومريم حتى الى ارض الميسر³⁷⁴ على شوع³⁷⁵ جبال قدمه الارض المبسطة فبكت
الصلحة مريم العذرة بكاً شديداً على غربتها واحتياجها من كل شيئاً لان احرقها الجوع والعطش
والغربة من اهلها ولكن قولها لله: الاهي وسيدي انا صبرة لامرك وانت علم بذلك الصبر، وبكا
بكاها³⁷⁶ يسف زوجها فنزال عليهما الامين جبريل وقال لها: يا مريم لا تقنط، الله معك فاهتد الجبال
وانفتاح باذن الله سنيع بيت³⁷⁷ ونبته على بابه شجرة تطعم جمعهم كل يوم وانزال في الحين الطعام
الكوني ليتزودان به، وانفتحات الارض ونبعات عيناً لذيداً³⁷⁸ للشربين، والباس ليصوع ثوبا من

364 Sic!

365 LG: ṭarīq.

366 LG: al-ṭarīq.

367 = ataytumūhu. LG: aṭaytumuhu.

368 Sic! Most probably a corrupted dittography of fa-kharāja fi ittibā'ihī.

369 LG: fa-kharaja fi ittiba'ihī 'brāḥ (the second "fi ittibā'ihī" crossed out) wa-khadamahu. De Luna thus maintained 'brāḥ, not identifying it as a corrupted remnant of a dittography of fa-kharāj.

370 Read probably: ṭarīqihim.

371 Sic! LG omits the second ayyuhā.

372 LG: adrakahu.

373 LG adds: ta'ālā.

374 Sic! LG: al-Maysir.

375 LG: shawā'.

376 LG: li-bakahā.

377 LG: baytan.

378 LG: lddatan.

السندوس الكوني، وحجبه باذن الله لم يطلع عليهم احداً | باذن الله³⁷⁹، ووخرمهم لوكت³⁸⁰ يميز¹² فيه ما يشاء،

وقال شيخني يع عن يسف انه قال: والله لم رايت ابداع ريحة من ريحة يصوع ولا افضل سورة من سورته ولا اخف بششة من بششته لا اسطاع نوراً وبهاً من نوره وبهاه ولا اطيب نفساً منه، فكثوا في ذلك البيت الكهفي سبعة اعوام وثلاثة³⁸¹ شهور لم يطلع عليهم بشراً، وكان يسف يحتراف نفسه في صنع المغريف والصلحة مريم العذرة تعونه ليربان المراح، وكان يتي بهم للمدينة الفرضية ويتصدق على الماساكين، وكان يعبدان الله ليلاً ونهاراً لم يغفلان طرافة عين من ذلك شيا، ويتزودوا من ذلك الشجرة التي كتات تشبع رزقاهم في كل يوم³⁸²،

وكان سيدنا يصوع يلتعب في الجبال ويخذ الحياة³⁸³ المسمة بيديه ولم يلسعه، وكان يطأ اليم ولم يغرق فيه، واذا فرغات امه من العبدية كان يغض³⁸⁴ عينيه ويخذ رجلها³⁸⁵ اليمنا و| يتقبله، وي طرح¹³ جسمه³⁸⁶ في الارض ويلقه على راسه قيلا لها: يا امي اني امرت بالبر لله واليك لان لم استوجب بالايمن ولكن استوجابي على الله بالطعة اليه واليك، وكان لم يفتر من الذكر الصلح ابدأ، واذا نام نام على عضديه اليمنا وجعل يده اليمنا تحت خده اليمنا واليسرى على نخضه اليسرى، وكان نومه نوما خفيفا، وكان جبريل والملائكة معه يحرضنه³⁸⁷ بالود بامر الله من كل شي يخاف ضره،

فاذا كمال الوعد والموصف قال لهما الملك جبريل: ارجعوا الى الارض المقداسة، لان الله هلك عدواكم ويكون سكنكم في بلد نصران، هذا ما وعدكم الله عليّ، فعند ذلك ذهب عن يسف الخوف المحيط به،

وقال شيخني يع عن الصلحة مريم العذرة انها قالت: اخذت يصوع بيدي ويسف يده³⁸⁸ | في¹³ يدي واطوا جبريل الارض وايتنا في الحين قبل نصران فدخلنا اليها، لم يميزا³⁸⁹ احداً حتى اخبرنا

379 LG read out this second "bi-idhn Allāh".

380 LG: li-waqt.

381 LG: wa-thalāth.

382 LG had written: yawman, but corrected this into yawm.

383 LG: al-ḥayyāt (with tā').

384 Read probably: yaghmuḍu. LG: y.'ḍ.

385 LG: yadahā al-yumnā.

386 LG: jasadahu.

387 LG: adds: ma'an.

388 LG: bi-yadihi.

389 Read probably: yumayyizunā.

القوم بسعينا ففرحوا بنا فتعشقنا البناة خلة يصوع ويحنا لم ينقصهما نقيصا بعد الفراق الروحاني والحب في نعمة الله السبعة عليهما، ولكن احصنه الله في لحود الارض مثل حراس ليصوع ليفعال ما يشا كما سباق في سبق علمه،

ايضا كذلك قال شيخني يع عن الصلحة مريم العذرة انها قالت: كان سيدنا يصوع من يوماً³⁹⁰ دخل لنصران لم يفتر بالانسنية من ذكر الله لان كان في الحقيقة انسان وكان اثار اكله التمر وخبز الشعير والعسل ولم يلم طعاماً ما دون ذلك، فلما اشتهه اكله وان لم يشتهه تركه، وكانت عليه ريحة النعيم | اذا دخل في موضع سككات فيه ذلك الريحة لم تفنا منه ابداً،

14و

بابي طهره في ودي البرهان

قال يحنا ابن خلة سيدنا يصوع عنه انه اذا بلاغ ثلاثين سنة اي كان على وقة خلق الله لآدام امير بفضح السير الذي اوداع الله عنده ليفلح آدام وذريته وامراه بتطهير العباد على اسمه وتبشيريه نفراج الى فلاء ارض اليهود خلف ودي البرهان وهو خطب بشرة³⁹¹ بقرب رضون الله، وكان لم يرجع لمعمور ويكل الجرد والعسل والعشاب ويطهار الناس من كل موضع القصدين اليه مستقرين ذنوباهم فستله اقوماً ايها السعيد، انت هو الذي نحن منتذرين اليه ام لا؟ فقال لهم: اني اطهركم بالمأ المقداس واقل لكم ان الذي ياتي من بعدي هو اعظم مني درجة ولم انا مستهبل حمل نعليه،

فاته سيدنا يصع فقال | له: طهراني!³⁹² فقال له كيف اطهرك وانا يجب عليا ان تطهراني؟ فقال له: نحن اجمعين بذلك نعدلون في الشريعة، فتطهره بالماء في الودي البرهاني المقداس، وانفتاح السماء واشراقات الارض بالنور وهبط عليه روح الله المقداس في شبة حممة واذا بالنداء من قبال الله: انت هو روحي المحبوب واقتراحي!

14ظ

واذا فراغ من ذلك داسه الشيطان قليلاً له قبل³⁹³ الجبال في شبة شيخاً كبيراً: ايصوع! قل الله فطير السموات والارض لا رباً غيره،

قال له سيدنا يصوع: اني اقلها، ليس اقلها بقولك، اليك عني يا لعين، فعند ذلك طلع الجبال ليعبد فيه الله، وصم فيه اربعين يوماً بليلها لم يشته طعاماً،

390 LG wrote originally: yawman, but corrected this into yawmin.

391 LG: bashira.

392 LG: tahhimī.

393 LG: qubāla.

فاذا قضى ذلك الصوم دسه الشيطان قبلاً: ايصوع دركتك المخصمة والاحتياج، ان كنت روح الله اسنع من ذلك السلام نعمة،
فقال له: ليس بنعمة حضاً هو يعيش الانسان لكين عيشه في كلام الله، اليك عني يا لعين، فبعد عنه،

ودسه | مراتان³⁹⁴ اخرى بانواع التدسيس وهو مبربه،
فقال الصلحة مريم العذرة: والله لو اجب قول الشيطان يصوع لم يسلم بعده من الاستحية عبداً من عباد الله الصلحين، ولكن الله نجيم من ذلك الفتنة،
فلما فراغ من ذلك بدا النذرة لطة الاعلى ودخول السماء، وهبط لسحيل بحر غلالية التبرية واختار سبعين رجلاً مؤمنين على تمثل السبعين رجلاً الذي اختر موسى لمقتربه³⁹⁵، ومنهم فضل اثنا عشر واسمهم كانوا بدره³⁹⁶، ويعقوب، ويخا اخه، ومرتلبيوه، وفليبون، وادريس، ومتايوه، وتمه³⁹⁷، ويعقوب النبي، وشمعون القناني، وتديوه، ويداش الاثري³⁹⁸، وكال بعد ذلك عداد³⁹⁹ السبعين وازداد اثنين ولكن بعضهم فسقين من بعده، وذلك الاثنان عشر سماهم حواريون على تمثل سواع باني اسرايل الذي شق موسى ا بهم البحر وقال لهم: أتصدوا⁴⁰⁰ الله؟ قالوا: نعم! فمكث بهم على جبال،

فقلوا له: أسيدنا أخبرنا بما نحن عملين ونسحين اليه،
فقال لهم: طبي للفقراء الصبرين لان اعدات⁴⁰¹ لهم جنة السماء، وطبي للرحمين لان الله يرحمهم، طبي للخلصين قلوبهم لان هؤلاء يراء وجه الله، وطبي للبكين ذنبهم لان يتهم الله الصبر، وطبي للمهدين لان هؤلاء هم اولد الله، وطبي للفقيرين من الشرع لانهم من اهل جنة السماء، وطبي لكم اذا سبيتم واتبتم مهزبين⁴⁰² من أجلي: أفرحوا لان اجركم على الله في السماء لان ذلك كله قضا الانبيا من قبلكم، اتم ملح الارض، اطيعوا الله يهدكم طريق الرشاد،

394 LG: marratan.

395 LG: li-m.q.t rabbihi (two words).

396 LG: Yadruh. In the original there are no diacritical dots to indicate bā' or yā'.

397 LG: wa-T.mma (with tashdīd and fatḥa).

398 LG: al-Aqrāfi.

399 LG: al-'adad.

400 Read probably: taṣṣurū. LG: a-taṣṣurū.

401 LG: i'tadīt, omitting: li-an.

402 Read probably: muharrabīn. LG: muhazzabīn.

16و باي في معجزه

قال شيخنا يعقوب: كن لسيدنا يصوص او نسبات قدرة اية الله اذا ذكر اسمها على مائة⁴⁰³ لاستحيا به، ولكن⁴⁰⁴ الله وخاره⁴⁰⁵ لتزداد غير ذلك سبق في علمه، ورجعنا الى الامر الذي بعث اليه، قال شيخنا المذكور ان الله بعث موسى في زمان السحرة وبعث يصوص في زمان المرضا لبشهر قدرته ونوره ولو كرها الكافرين، فلم قضى ذلك الوعد لبشهر سيدنا يصوص معاجزه اختر من صاحبه⁴⁰⁶ الحوارين⁴⁰⁷ يدره الذي كان اسمه⁴⁰⁸ شمعون قبل ايمنه ولشيخنا يعقوب واخه يحنّا ابان الزبادي وطلاع بهم لجال الطراي موضع كلام الله لموسى كلمه فوقف بينهم واشراح نوره ووجهه يتلال نوراً شعشعنياً قد خسف نور الشمس شعاعه واشراقات الارض والثوب مثل الثلج وقد امتلان موسى | الكلم ليمنه والياس لشملة وقال لهما بما ذا ارسلتم مبشرين في الاجود؟ قلان: بانك روح الله شفيع العباد بالانجيل العزيز فعند ذلك را حجاب⁴⁰⁹ في الصحاب يتلال نوراً خطفاً للابصار فهد الجبال وهتاف الملك واذا بالندا من قبل الله قبالا: هذا هو روحي واقترحي، فاذا سمعوا ذلك النداء خروا في حضرته سعقين مرعبين،

16ظ

فقال لهما: أقموا ولا تخفوا وان الله معكم فرفعوا رسهم ولم يراوا⁴¹⁰ الا سيدنا يصوص وحده بينهم، فاذا هبطوا من الجبال امرهم لم يجوا بذلك السير الذي راهم حتى لبعث بعث ابن الانسان، وقال بدره⁴¹¹ الحوري⁴¹²: | ان سيدنا يصوص لم امرح⁴¹³ من اوقات العباد⁴¹⁴ طرفة عيناً ولم عمال معجزة الا بسباب البرهان مثل يوم اطعام خمسة الف رجلاً في محمتهم⁴¹⁵ دون الاطفال والنساء بخمسة عليف⁴¹⁶ شعير وحتان،

17و

403 = mayyit. LG: mayyitan.

404 LG: wa-lakin.

405 LG: wakhkharahu.

406 LG: ṣaḥābihi.

407 LG: al-ḥawāriyūn.

408 LG: yusammā.

409 LG: ḥijāban.

410 LG: yarawna.

411 LG: Yadruh. In the original without diacritical dot(s).

412 MS A1: "No esta esta linea en el original".

413 LG wrote, as it seems, first: amrah, then corrected this to afrah.

414 Sic! Read probably: al-'ibāda. LG: al-'amāl.

415 LG: fī mujamma'ātihim.

416 LG: raghā'if.

ولم سئل حجة الا وقد قضها للطالب، ولم طلب بشريعة الا وتكامل الشرع في حقيقة الدين ولم يطلق
الاندية⁴¹⁷ فاشفا الا كهها والابرس⁴¹⁸ والعميا والفلجى والمبايطيل والصمه⁴¹⁹ والبكا، وغفار⁴²⁰
الذنوب ويحيا⁴²¹ الموت⁴²² واشفا⁴²³ ووهدى⁴²⁴ الفقار⁴²⁵ من ذرية ادم بالانجيل، ويطى⁴²⁶
البحر ولم يغرق ويلح في الرياح⁴²⁷ ولم يهوى، وطعته الجنون واخراج الشيطين من الناس وكان
حيطوا⁴²⁸ مكشفاً على الاسرار الغمظة⁴²⁹ في الصدور،

وماعجزه و| اسبابها⁴³⁰ وفضالها⁴³¹ لم يقدار يصفها وصف⁴³² ولا يسطرها كتيب،
وقالت الصلحة مريم العذرة عنه انه قال لها ان عداد⁴³³ معاجزه الكبار كانت عداد⁴³⁴ باني اسرائيل
الذين اخراج موسى من الضيق وشاق⁴³⁵ بهم البحر لكامل التزد لان خروج كل واحد منهم من قهر
فرعون كان معجزة يمثل⁴³⁶ لمعاجزه ليشفي الصدور بالايمان لان كان خرجهم⁴³⁷ يمثل لخروج باني
ادام من بحر الدنية⁴³⁸ الى نعيم الاخرة، وكان الممثل بالحوارين لخروج الانسان من غرار الدنية⁴³⁹
الى النعيم لكامل الدين، فلم كمال العداد⁴⁴⁰ المذكور قضى⁴⁴¹ الامر في خروجه من الدنية⁴⁴² وطلعته⁴⁴³

417 LG: wa-lam yanṭuq illā bi-ḥikma.

418 LG: wa-al-abrās.

419 LG: wa-al-ṣammā.

420 LG: wa-kafāra.

421 LG: wa-aḥyā.

422 LG: al-mawṭd.

423 LG: wa-'stasqā or istasfā.

424 Sic! LG: wa-hadā.

425 LG: al-fuqarā (with alif maqṣūra).

426 LG: wa-aṭā (with alif maqṣūra).

427 LG: al-rīḥ.

428 LG: ḥ.ṭ.wṣn.

429 LG: al-ghamīḍa, which would be the correct reading.

430 LG: asbabuhā.

431 LG: wa-faḍa'iluhā.

432 LG: waṣīf.

433 LG: 'adad.

434 LG: 'adad.

435 LG: wa-shaqqa.

436 LG: mumḍthil.

437 LG: khurūjuhum.

438 LG: al-dunyā.

439 LG: al-dunyā.

440 LG: al-'adad.

441 LG: qaḍā.

442 LG: al-dunyā.

443 LG: wa-ṭulū'ihī.

للسماء، وجزو الحواريون بعده بجيس المومنين على بحر الدنية والمطبق⁴⁴⁴ وغرارها⁴⁴⁵ واخراجهم
من | من⁴⁴⁶ العار⁴⁴⁷ للنعم مثل جز موسى البحر بسواع باي اسرايل وجيسه الى الارض المنعمة اليهم
وبذلك كمال الودي⁴⁴⁸، جعلنا من الصالحين، امين،

بابي في محاسنه وخلقوه وامه مريم

قال شيخني يعقوب ان سئل الصلحة مريم العذرة عن خلق سيدنا يصوع فقالت له: أتريد⁴⁴⁹
تعرف⁴⁵⁰ خلقوه؟ اعلام⁴⁵¹ انها الانجيل فاذا عرفته عرفت خلق يصوع كلها،
ايضا كذلك قل يسف⁴⁵² زوجها عن الملك جبريل انه اخبرها ان ابنا ادام وزوجته حوة كان
احسان سوراً⁴⁵³ واجمال خلقوا لذ⁴⁵⁴ خلق⁴⁵⁵ الله لان سورهما في يدي قدرته⁴⁵⁶ ونفاخ فهما
الروح ونبا⁴⁵⁷ الله⁴⁵⁸ داود⁴⁵⁹ شبه ادام⁴⁶⁰، ويسف⁴⁶¹ ابن يعقوب شبيه⁴⁶² ايضاً كذلك في الخلق
والخلق، وزائحة⁴⁶³ شبيهة لحوة في الخلق والخلق، | ويصوع سيدنا وامه الصالحة مريم جزان الجمع
فوق الحد لان لخلق⁴⁶⁴ الانبياء كلهم في الخلق والخلق وفي العلم والكرام، لم يلحقهما احداً من

444 Read: wa-al-maḍīq?

445 LG: wa-m.ḥ.r.r.hā (= ?)

446 *Sic* (ditt.). The first use of the word can be interpreted as a "catchword" placed at the end of the page and corresponding with the identical first word of the next page. LG omits the second "min".

447 LG: al-'ā'i.

448 LG: al-dīn. *Sic* (read probably: al-wahy or al-wa'd).

449 LG: a-turīdu, instead of ammā turīdu.

450 LG: ta'rīfu (without alif).

451 LG: i'lam.

452 LG: qāla Yusūf.

453 LG: aḥsan ṣuwaran.

454 = alladhī, with "involutio" of the preceding alif.

455 LG: an khalāqa.

456 LG: qudrānihi.

457 LG: wa-nabā'i.

458 Read: wa-nabīyyu Allāh. LG: Allāh.

459 LG: Dawud.

460 LG: shabihan li-Adām.

461 LG: wa-Yusūf.

462 LG: shabihuhu.

463 =? LG: Zā'iḥa. Read probably: Zulayḥa.

464 LG: m.'ān, or: m.qān?

الشابين⁴⁶⁵، فكان يصوع معتقل⁴⁶⁶ القيمة، وسيع الاردا، علي الصدر، مدار الوجه، قحي اللون، وشعره لون الرطبة المنتهية، حسين الوجه، ونذرتة مرحمة بالاعلان والسير الغميص⁴⁶⁷، لم يلتقه عبد⁴⁶⁸ الا وامال قلبه اليه لم يبغى تركه الا كرها على نفسه،

وايضا كذلك امه كانت⁴⁶⁹ معدلة⁴⁷⁰ القيمة، قحية الاون⁴⁷¹، مدورة الوجه، عليه الصدر، وشعرها لون شعر ابنها⁴⁷² ومحاسنها مثل محاسنه وخلوقها مثل خلوقه، لم يشتهي مجلسها يفرغ⁴⁷³ من حضرتها الا كرهاً على نفسه،

بابي الوفات⁴⁷⁴

لما كمال سيدنا يصوع النذرة دخل لرجلان و | قال للخوارين: او ما علمتم ان وصال الوعد الذي هو¹⁹ يصلب فيه ابن الانسان؟

وكان عيد الجمال فتعشى على المائدة معهم، ولما قسم النعمة اعطهم منها وقال: كلوا لان [هذا جسدي]، فاذا فراغ⁴⁷⁵ من الاكل أخذ⁴⁷⁶ قصال وقال: اشربوا، [هذا هو دمي في الكتب ال...]⁴⁷⁷ الطارى المفترق⁴⁷⁸،

ثم قال اليهم: في ذلك الليلة يهرام الرعي وتتفرق نعيه⁴⁷⁹،
قال بدره: ⁴⁸⁰ من هو الرعي؟
قال له: انا،

465 The reading is uncertain. LG: al-s.l.b.īn (?) (The lām connected to the following letter, but loose from the preceding sīn).

466 Read: mu'tadil. LG: ma'dūl.

467 LG: al-ṣmiṣ = ghāmḥd.

468 LG adds: 'mh as a separate word (?)

469 LG: kānat ummuhu.

470 LG: ma'dulat.

471 LG: al-lawn.

472 LG: ibnihā.

473 LG: yafraghu.

474 LG: bābi al-wafat.

475 LG: faragha.

476 LG: aḥ/kh.ḍa.

477 LG has left a blank space here for one word. In the original there figures the hole for the rope to hold the plates together.

478 LG: al-ṭariq al-muftariq. In LG and in the original the passage *Hadha huwa* until *muftariq* is given within square brackets.

479 LG: ni'ājuhu.

480 LG provides no points for deciding between Badruh or Yadruh.

قال بدره: 481 اني لم افرقك بالموت 482،

فاجبه: في ذات الليلة تنكرني ثلث مرات قبل صراخ الديك،

وكان عند ذلك الوقت امير في رمة تبريه سجار 483 وحكمه بلطه في جرجلان وكانوا يفتاشونا 484

لسيدنا يصوع الفرس ليصلبه بشواهد 485 الزور، | فلما دخلوا في الجنان اي موضع كان يدعى ربه 19ظ

تفرقوا الحاورين ولم يبق لهم شيا من اليقين، ولكن 486 توفه الله وعده 487 بالملك،

فقال اليهم: بيعه يداش بلثمان المعدد من الورق 488، هتي المبيع بالاقبال، فاخذوا المقتون الممثل

في التورية 489 وحماله 490 الى الشرع فلم يجد عليه عضراً 491، ولكن يدعوه له 492 اليهد 493 جلده 494

وحداه بلطه والى على راسه عمامة 495 الشوك،

وقل [ل]ه: اوما علمت اني ان شيت اصليك وان لم شيت اطالك 496؟

فقال له: ليس لك علياً قهراً ما دون الذي اعطك من سكن 497 السماء فن اجل اليهود المتعتدين 498

ارسله للصلب فصلبه بين السرقات كما | استعودوا الامتحان، وفتحوا صدره بالعصه واسقوه المور 499 20و

واخلال، وقبل وفته قال: الاهي الاهي لما [...] تي 500؟ وقال: قضى الامر، فعند ذلك اهتد 501

التراب 502 هدأ وخسفة الشمس فاتاة الظلمة والقمر اتائه اهله 503، والكوكب 504 لطمات بعضاً

481 LG: without points.

482 LG provides the same text. Read perhaps: illā bi-al-maut.

483 LG: sājir.

484 LG: yafshaw.

485 LG: bi-shawūhid.

486 LG: wa-lakin.

487 LG: wa-'ahadahu.

488 LG: fa-qāla ilaihim baya'uhu Yūdāsh bi-al-iqbāl Allāhu 'ajaba minhu: hatī ...

489 LG: al-tawrāt.

490 LG: wa-ḥamālnāhu.

491 LG: 't.ban.

492 LG: yad'ihu.

493 LG: al-yahq̄d.

494 LG: jalādahu.

495 LG: 'amamat.

496 LG: uṭliquka.

497 LG: sakīn.

498 Read probably: al-muta'annidīn; LG: al-muta'annīn.

499 LG: al-mur.

500 LG: lmm afr ... ānī (not clear; apparently DL could not read it).

501 LG: ihtaddā.

502 LG: al-arq̄.

503 LG; wa-al-qamar aq̄ā't, instead of: wa-al-qamar atā'ahu ahilluhu.

504 LG: wa-al-kawākib.

بعض وانفتاح حجاب المسجد وانبعثوا الموت⁵⁰⁵ من القبور ولكن خفوا القوم حائرین قائلین: لا شكاً ان هذا الا روح الله فالقوم حائرین⁵⁰⁶ ولكن ضلنا انفسنا فاسأ⁵⁰⁷ (؟) كبيراً به،

بعد ذلك اخذوه اهله بالصبح⁵⁰⁸ والقاه في الاحد، استخبروه بعد ثلث ايام ولم يصبه، فتجمل سيدنا يصوع للحوارین قیلاً: ما اقلوا لكم في الحيا بينكم انا من راني بعد الوافه⁵⁰⁹ فقد ا راني حقلوا⁵¹⁰؟
 قل: نعم، قال: وانا هو موادبكم اندروا⁵¹² في الاجود لكل اناس بالانجيل⁵¹³ فن تاب واما⁵¹⁴ وتطهار⁵¹⁵ بالما وعمال صلحاً يفلاح، ومن لم يفعل ذلك كان خصراً،

وقالت الصلحة مریم: ان اوال من زار بعد وفته زرها وبعده في اربعين يوم كان يزرها كل ليلة ولمن شا الله بعده من العباد، فلها كمال ذلك الوعد طلوع للسماء،

وعن ادريس الحوري انه قال: لما رأ يدره حظه⁵¹⁶ بالانكران ولكن يصوع في حياته قیلاً له: انت هو حجراً وعلى ذلك الحجر اعيد بيت المقداس واعطيك الخلفة في الارض بالحال⁵¹⁷ والربط ومفتاح السماء فن ربطته بالعدل كان في السماء مربوطاً ومن حللته⁵¹⁸ كان محالاً⁵¹⁹، دركته النديمة وبكاً⁵²⁰ ذنبه بكاً⁵²¹ شديداً حتى سلت مقلة عينيه وتمزقات لحوم | لحوم⁵²² وجهه والتصق جلده بعظمه بالصوم⁵²³،
 21و

505 LG: al-mawtā.

506 Sic! The expression "al-qawm ḥā'irīn" seems to be an erroneous repetition (dittography) of the same words as appearing in the immediately preceding sentence.

507 LG: fasan or fassan.

508 LG: bi-al-samah.

509 LG: al-wafāt.

510 LG: ḥaqqan (with tashdid).

511 LG: qāli.

512 LG: andharū (without preceding fa-). After this word, a space was left open in the original of about two words. The same in LG.

513 After this word, a space was left open in the original of about one word. The same in LG.

514 LG: wa-amāna.

515 LG: wa-tatahhara.

516 Read probably: khaṭa'ahu.

517 LG: li-al-ḥāll.

518 LG: ḥalāltahu.

519 LG: muḥallalan.

520 LG: wa-bakā.

521 LG: baka'an.

522 Sic (ditt.) It is possible the first appearance of the word as a "catchword", placed at the end of the page and corresponding to the first word of the following page. LG omits the second luḥūm.

523 LG: bi-al-ṣawm li-'iẓamihi.

وكان دعائه: الاهي وسيدي تبت اليك وان لم تبت عليا وتغفر عني⁵²⁴ وترحمني اكون⁵²⁵ خصراً،
ومن بعد سبعة⁵²⁶ اعوام وثلاث شهور الذي⁵²⁷ كان يدع⁵²⁸ في الكهف ويحيي الليل فاذا بالندا من
قبال الله قِيلاً له: أبدره⁵²⁹ استنف العلال فقد غفرلك⁵³⁰،

فقال الصلحة مريم: انا ابنا ادم ونباء الله داود⁵³¹ وابنه سليمان بكاني ذنبهما بكاً⁵³² شديداً،
وغفير⁵³³ لهما ولكن الخلفة يدرة⁵³⁴ جزاهما⁵³⁵ في البكاء وكان اول من بك ذنبه بعد وفات سيدنا
يصوع، ولكن فضله كبراً⁵³⁶ عند الله،

وتحت ذلك الموف⁵³⁷ كله اسراراً عجيبة⁵³⁸ ولغزاً كبيراً لم يعلمها ولم يعصها⁵³⁹ الا الله ومن يشا
من عباديه، واول احببته الاختصار | وترك التطول اوصفت منها [حظاً]⁵⁴⁰ ماهب⁵⁴¹ لي الله
ولكين قردي وصف⁵⁴² عمر سيدنا يصوع وماعجزه⁵⁴³ الى الوفات وترك ما تحت ذلك كله من سير
لمن اته⁵⁴⁴ الله اعلى درجة وحضاً مني، فان قرطت شيئاً في ذلك الكتب لم سميت عنه⁵⁴⁵ ولكين
اخفيها⁵⁴⁶ لضرورة يشهرها الله على يدي الحواريون وما رويهم لمن يشا من عبادته، والشكر لله على
كل شيئاً، هو الاول والاخر وعنده العلم كله، الذي اخراني⁵⁴⁷ لجمال الكتب، ولكن كمال كتبه على

ظ21

524 LG: lī.

525 LG: akun.

526 LG: tis'at. It is possible to read tis'at as well in the original.

527 LG: an.

528 LG: yad'ī.

529 LG: a-Yadruh. The original without diacritical dot(s).

530 LG: Qad ghufira laka.

531 LG: Dawud.

532 LG: baka'an.

533 LG: fa-ghufira.

534 Or: Bidruh; not clear in the original.

535 LG: jazahumā.

536 LG: kabīran.

537 LG: al-mawṣuf.

538 LG: 'aẓima.

539 Thus also in LG. Read perhaps: yuḥṣihā.

540 LG: ḥaḍḍan mā.

541 Read: mā ahibu (involution).

542 LG: fī waṣf (instead of: qazdī waṣf).

543 LG: ma'ājizihī.

544 LG: wa-rakā ḥattā dhaka kullihī min sā'ir (corr.)

545 LG: lam sahaytu 'anhu.

546 LG: akhfaytuhu.

547 LG: akhtarānī.

يديا ويدي اخي سيس الايه معوني في المراض الذي احط بي، رزقه الله حضاً⁵⁴⁸ في الجنة ولجميع
عباده الصالحين، امين،

التوحيد⁵⁴⁹ لله⁵⁵⁰،

لا اله الا الله، يصوع روح الله⁵⁵¹،

و22

548 LG: ḥaḍḍan.

549 LG: al-tawḥid.

550 This expression refers to the first "kalima" of the Creed of the Lead Books, viz. "Lā ilāha illā 'llāh". The two words written at both sides of a six-pointed starlet.

551 Each of the five words of this Creed of the Lead Books written within the overlapping spaces of two six-pointed starlets. At their turn, these starlets are encircled by 4 smaller six-pointed starlets devoid of any legend.

LP8

On 2 January 1596 was found the first part of *Kitāb Muntahā ālāt al-qudra wa-al-ḥilm wa-al-sharī'a fī al-khalīqa* ("El Libro de Providencia"), in ten plates (Estepa, *Información*, 38^b). Vatican digital photographs: VII, 1–10, with 14–16 lines per side, but plate 2a (with the beginning of the text) has 20 lines (see our comments on the possible significance of this difference in our introductory remarks to the text of LP7, above); data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plates chosen at random:⁵⁵² diameter: 64,56 mm; weight: 71,79 grams; 2,10 mm. thick; numbered with the letters of the alphabet. Various tablets are heavily damaged and we have completed our text (between square brackets) from the seventeenth-century copies by Miguel de Luna and Ludovico Marracci.

Fol. 1^a presents 9 six-pointed starlets without any legend.

1 ظ كتب منتهى الآلة القدرة والحلم والشرعة⁵⁵³ في الخلقة⁵⁵⁴

2 و كتب⁵⁵⁵ منتهى الآلة القدرة والحلم والشرعة في الخلقة لسياس الايه ابن الرضي تليذ يعقوب الحوري نصير الدين المناجال،

الله حلیم قدیر علی کل شیء المجید بالقدرة والحب والارادة فوق عباده قهراً،
 ا: هو الخلق العظيم لا مستردة لامره، اذ قضا امرأ،
 ب: تفرد بالعزة، والبقا والكبرية⁵⁵⁶ سنوا⁵⁵⁷، ولم یخل منه مکتاً،
 ت: هو الاول والاخير الذي ليس قبله ولا بعده شیاً،
 ث: ليس لبدائه بدی⁵⁵⁸ ولا ابتداءً ولا لفصلته منقضى ولا نقضاً،
 ج: لم یبلغوا المتفكرين بمأیة⁵⁵⁹ ذاته من الوصفون وصفاً ولا بلغاً،
 ح: ولكن الايمان به ابلغ من العلم والاوهام على ذمة الطعة بالكتب والانباء والمسجید المومین
 قدساً،

552 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

553 LG: wa-al-sharī'a.

554 Followed by three six-pointed starlets devoid of any legend.

555 Text preceded by a tiny six-pointed starlet devoid of any legend.

556 LG: wa-al-kibriyā'.

557 LG: siwan.

558 LG: badiyyun.

559 Viz: bi-mā'yyat.

خ: وترك المراء والتخصيص والشكوك والضان⁵⁶⁰ من عكوس اليمن⁵⁶¹ اعظام⁵⁶² درجة وطفو⁵⁶³ جيداً وفضلاً،

د: وقردنا في ذلك الكتب وصف منتها قدرته بالحلم والشرع في الخلقلة والامر افقاً،
ذ: ولكن ملكه فوق كل شي لم ينال العزة من غيره قهراً،

ر: ولم يزال ملكه ابداً من اجل احتياج او خسف ملاءً ولكن امره وبقاه حياً نداءً،

ظ

ز: | هو غية الانس لم يحتاج ان يتبوه⁵⁶⁴ انساءً،

ط: هو الغني عن كل شي منيب اليه الذي لا يستغنى عنه شيئاً،

ظ: وعلمه القديم لم يحط به احد من عبادہ الا بما يشاء فضلاً،

ك: ولوحه المحفظ المبين عجي ويثبت فيه ما يشا وكل شي احط به علماً ولم يسقط عنه شيئاً،

ل: وكل ما خلق من الموجدات [خلقه فضلاً]،

م: ولكن بعلم وقدار⁵⁶⁵ بعثه بعثاً،

ن: بين الكاف والنون اذ قال له كن فكان باذنه قبل ان يصيل⁵⁶⁶ الحرفان الفاء،

ص: ما بين زيد⁵⁶⁷ قدرة واردة [يحبه بيعث نور مثل] خردلة مما لم كان ليقتضى ما يشاء من

[الكار] والاوهام امراً،

ض: لم تنفعه طعة ليزدد ملكه [ولا نصره⁵⁶⁸] معصية ليته نقصاً،

ع: ولقد سوا كل شي خلقه واثقنه بعثاً،

غ: وقدره بقدار ليعلم مثوه⁵⁶⁹ بالحلم والشرية العدالة سهواً،

و

ف: لينال ذات الثقلين | من الاعمال جزياً،

ق: وفضل الادم والمملك على من خلق ليند[لوا من اجل الشهو] على قدر اعمالهم خيراً او غيراً،

560 LG: wa-al-taḏānī.

561 Read probably: al-īmān.

562 LG: a'ẓam.

563 LG: wa-ufuq. Read perhaps: wa-ẓafaran. Marracci did not succeed in deciphering this word.

564 Ascend. LG: yatabāwahu.

565 LG: ya'lamu wa-qadār (without any blank space between these two words).

566 LG: yašila.

567 LG perhaps: zabad.

568 LG; taḏurruhu, which seems to be a correct emendation.

569 LG: li-ya'lama mithwahu.

س: ذلك سباب⁵⁷⁰ ل[ما سبق في علمه ليقضي ما يشاء] حكماً،
 ش: [سبحنه⁵⁷¹ جل عن الشرك والطغيان والفكر والالوهام] والسنة والنوم جلاً⁵⁷²،
 هـ: هو ال[هنا] وخلقنا [وحسيننا ومثونا⁵⁷³ ومغثنا] ورحمنا، [ليس] لنا [غيره رباً]،
 و: ومنه الخير كله] على عباده رحمة وفضلاً، والغير بالعكوس لامره من النفس والشيطان [يتنا
 وزراً]،

لا: ذلك كله ليقضي ما يشاء، ينور الاذهان للهدى فضلاً، ويضل الطغيان عدلاً،⁵⁷⁴ لم يطع على
 ذلك الامر احداً،

ظ 3 ي: ولكن ذلك كله بشريعة ورحمة وفضله، وكل | شي اقسطه قسطاً واعدله عدلاً، ان الله لا
 يضل من عباده احداً،

ا: اذ كان يعقوب بن شميخ [مودبنا والحوارين] جمعاً على جبال التين لسيد[نا يصوع سئله] عنهم
 حكماً،

ب: أخبرنا يا روح [الله عن] افضال من خلق فضلاً،
 ت: فقال نور ادم في حضرة [القدس كان اوال⁵⁷⁵ خلقاً]،
 ت: ومنه كل شي سوه ثقاً⁵⁷⁶،
 ث: وكان افضال الموجدات نسلاً واصلاً،
 ج: فن ذلك الاجل احببه ربه حياً لم يمسه ابدأً الضر مساً،
 ح: الاسباب الشهر⁵⁷⁷ له لما سبق في علم الله لينال في اضعف الادراج نيلاً،
 خ: فقولنا على ذلك الائتمان قزداً،
 خ: اذا خلق ربنا في البدا السموات والارض جرماً،
 د: والنور والظلمات⁵⁷⁸ اعدهما في الطبعة ضيداً،

570 LG: nasāb.

571 LG: subhānahu.

572 LG: jalālan.

573 Read perhaps: muthawwibunā.

574 LG: alif, indicating the beginning of a new statement.

575 LG: awwalu.

576 nasaqan.

577 = al-sahw.

578 LG: wa-al-zulumāt.

- ذ: والميآء افضلهما في الارض و⁵⁷⁹ على عرشه وجعله بينهما خلقاً،
 و4 ر: واحصى الماء الاسفال في الارض بحراً،
 ز: وابتت في الارض نباتاً وزرعاً وفكهة من كل سنف طعاماً ونسلاً وطبعاً،
 ز: وخلق الشمس والقمر في السماء بها ونوراً ليعلموا عدد الدهر حسباً والليل والنهار سلباً
 والكواكب زهراً في العرش ادا⁵⁸⁰،
 ط: وفراق الظلمات من النور امراً،
 ظ: ولقد خلق كل شي حياً من الكبار في البر والبحر والهوائ⁵⁸¹ من الانعام والحوت والطيراناً
 وذكرنا وامرهم بالتوريث نسلاً،
 لك: وذلك كله في ستة ايام قضه بالروح قضواً،
 ل: واوحى في كل سماء لمعديل حسبهم حركتهم⁵⁸² امراً،
 م: والملئكة لا يعصى⁵⁸³ عدادهم | الا الذي ليس لنا غيره رباً،
 ن: ولقد قضى وقع بعضهم من اجل وحي الله بالانعام انسان،
 ص: لم يصبروا عليه بعكس الرضى وامال الشهو المفسد طوعاً،
 ض: وكان سباب الغيل من ادام اتمه منهم الداس عدواً،
 ص: خلق الانسان من روحه زوجين وفضله على من خلقه فضلاً،
 ع: امر كل شي بالهدا اليه طوعاً وكرهاً،
 غ: وذلك الامر على قولنا برهناً وديلاً⁵⁸⁴ وكفى بالله على قولنا بالحق شهيداً،
 غ: ولكين خلق من اجل ادام كل شي وادام من اجله خلقه عبداً،
 ف: لقد روي عن جبريل الملك للصلحة مريم العذرة قولاً على شيخنا يعقوب نطق لنا به صدقاً،
 ق: عن الجنان الذي اعد الله لادام نعيماً، | لم يكن فيه برداً ولا حراً الا سلباً وعدلاً،
 و5 س: فيه من كل شي ما تشتهي الانفوس شهواً من الفواكه والرزق طعاماً ولذاً،
 ش: ولقد خلق الله لادام من الامساج الابرار ضيداً والقه في ذلك الجنان حياً،

579 The first "wa" can be seen as a kind of "catchword". LG omits the second wa-

580 LG: adhan? Read perhaps: iḏā'an.

581 LG: wa-al-hawā.

582 LG: wa-ḥarākihim.

583 Read: lā yuḥṣā.

584 Read with LG: dalīlan.

- هـ: ولقد سله⁵⁸⁵ بعد لقاياه فيه عن الرضا جزياً،
 و: الا هي انس وحده⁵⁸⁶ واتني بمثلي انسا،
 لا: فاته النوم من اجل دعائه وفرأ⁵⁸⁷،
 ي: فأخرج الله من ضلعه حوة شغلا وانسا،
 ا: فلم استيقض من نومه راها حبا وانسا،
 ب: فالبسهما الله من لباس الرحمة حلا⁵⁸⁸ وختمهما بالخلي الدرري المعزز⁵⁸⁹ ختما،
 ت: واطعمهما مما يشاء وانهما عن الشجرة | الاسطية نيا،
 ت: ايها السكان في الجنان لا تقرها ولا تكلها اكلا،
 ث: وانها لنفسكما⁵⁹⁰ ظلما كبرا،
 ث: واني انها⁵⁹¹ ان الشيطان لكما عدوا ميينا،
 ج: والشهوة التي اعطيتكما اتني بها عدلا فان عدتما لم تمسكما الضر مسا،
 ح: ولكين ادم اصبه الذنب عن حب الله غفلا اذ ترك⁵⁹² الشكر الوجوب عليه شيا قليلا بحب
 حوة شغلا ووعدا،
 ح: وذلك كان سباب الذنب دسا،
 ح: وذلك كان سباب الذنب رسا⁵⁹³ ليقضى الله ما يشاء امرا،
 ح: وما كان وقع ادم ضررة، ولقد كان قضا وعدلا،
 خ: لينال اعلى درجة [من] اتباع الهدا | عن عكوس احسان الشهوى حبا،
 د: ولكين ضلمان انفسهما باجبة الشيطان حيا،
 ذ: فلها اكلان من اسط الشجرة المنى عنها اتتهما اوراق الشجاعة خسفا،

585 Sic! LG: sa'alahu.

586 LG: bi-wahdātī.

587 LG: waqaran.

588 LG: ḥulalan.

589 The original has no diacritical dots. LG: bi-al-ḥilā al-maghrūr ḥatman (omitting al-durrī).

590 LG: wa-la-t.ḡlumā anfasakumā.

591 Probably read: unabbihukumā.

592 Sic! LG: an yatrūka.

593 Sic! Erroneous repetition of the preceding line? This repetition omitted in LG.

ر: وذهبات [عن] ما الافضال من الله والحلى والحلال المذكور عر[ي]نا⁵⁹⁴ ، وندهما ربهما: لما عصيتما امري؟ ولكن عضرهما عند الله مرداً⁵⁹⁵،

ز: فهتاف الملك: اهبطان الى الارض لاجل⁵⁹⁶ وعدته ولكن الله اعدل امره قياً:

ز: لتراب تعدان⁵⁹⁷ كما كنتما اوال مرة، [تكونان] عوداً،

ط: وقضى الامر وبعده اخفى الله الجنان من مشارق الارض اي شا⁵⁹⁸ لم يطع عليه احداً،

ظ6

ظ: الا من يشا من | عباديه الصالحين فضلاً ووعداً،

ك: لقد خلق الله ثلث انواع فرقاً،

ل: من الانس والملك والحيوان قزداً،

م: الانس اعطه اردة ملبسة شهواً، والملك اعطه اردة ما دنها⁵⁹⁹ ابته حراً، والحيوان اتتها الشهوة

ما دون عقلاً،

ن: ذلك الثلث ذكرتها للثال خصاً،

ص: ادام اته الذنب بشهوة على تدسيس الشيطان وقبيل منه عضراً،

ص: والملك لم يكن له في ذلك الاستعضار حضاً لان عقله من الشهوات الادمية كان حراً،

ص: وما كان العصيان لادام ضرورة ولقد كان عند الله فضلاً ميينا لينال على قدر عمله فضلاً

وعدلاً،

ض: ليس الله بظلم لعباده ولكن العبد يظلم نفسه عن الرضا جهلاً،

و7

ع: | لينال برحمة ربه الغفران منه لانها له طلية الاحتراف والشراف⁶⁰⁰ علواً،

غ: وان لم عصي الانسان ربه لم تعرف⁶⁰¹ رحمته بالوجب عرفاً،

ف: والشرع يهتاف بقسط العدل في اموره، قيل⁶⁰² يا ربي لا تحسبني من العدل شياً،

ق: ذلك على طعتك للعصين المومنين بك المستمسكين بالرحمة، فانا اطعها بامر^ك لينالوا في الرضوان

حضاً،

594 Original not clear. LG: 'ariyyan.

595 The scribe wote first: ymrdan, but corrected this then into mrdan, with initial mīm in its final form. LG wrote first qazdan, but corrected this into qadaran.

596 LG: li-ḥāl.

597 LG: li-al-turāb ta'udū.

598 LG: yashā'.

599 LG: mā dunahā.

600 LG: li-al-sharāf.

601 LG: na'rif.

602 LG: qayilan.

- س: ولمن عصه بالكفر والطغيان بي انت جديله لينال على قدر الاعمال في الجاحيم عذاباً،
 ش: فانت القدير على كل شي ولم يطلع على ذلك الامر احداً،
 هـ: فلم وقاع من الرضا عن⁶⁰³ الامر بلغ الغيل في صدره بالعصيان ما يشا نزلاً،
 و: وذهبات عنه جميع ما حاسنه ولم يبقا فيه الا الرجاء بالانعام ظمماً،
 لا: ذلك من فضل الله عليه برحمته ولكن غفرانه بشروط الايمان به والتكفر للذنوب والانتذار
 بافضال التجير اداً،
 ي: فن عمال من ذريته خيراً يره ومن فعال سية كذلك ايضاً،
 ا: ان لم عصى ادم امر ربه لاستخلد بعد الداس في الجنان اداً واستوجب النعمة والبانين يه من
 حوة ما دون الغآ والامتحان رغداً،
 ب: والروح ياته بغتة من الله في نشئته ولم تنفذ كلمة الرب ولكن اده بالانعام الموهب نتجاً،
 ت: لان ربه على كل شي احببه ورفعه في الاخلاق درجاً،
 ث: ولكن نور الانعام في ادم قبل العصيان وبعده لم يفرقه حيناً،
 ج: ذلك من فضل الله وحبه فيه لان ذلك الاخلال كان عليه كبيراً،
 ح: ولكن الذنب الاول في ادم وذريته بعث انلخت فهم والشهو المنقب وزراً،
 خ: وطفو عليهم⁶⁰⁴ بالاتباق للشهو المبين ولكن الايمان فهم والاعمال على قدره افضال درجة
 واعلى اداً،
 د: ذلك على الانبياء المايدين بالروح الذين لم يجب في قولهم اكتسب الوحي ولا التهمة ولكن
 قولهم على الله صدقاً،
 ذ: هم المنذرين والمبشرين بالمنعم للعباد في الاجود كالكواكب الزهر يظهرون اليهم النور المتون
 منه⁶⁰⁵ الى خروجه⁶⁰⁶ بالبعث في الاجود تماً،
 ر: فلم يطلع⁶⁰⁷ بتمام الدين على افق الرضا احيا العباد من الموت الذي كانوا فيه غفلاً،
 ز: والايمان بذلك افضال درجة من غية الت-[حقيق]-ى والتدسيس سهرأ،

603 LG wote first: 'an, but corrected this into: 'aks.

604 LG: 'alayhi.

605 LG: munatan (vocalized).

606 LG: li-khurūjīhi.

607 LG: ṭala'a.

ط: لان الله الذي فصال كل شي ما دون تطيل لم تحيط به العقول والاوهام الادمية ولا الملك لان عقلهم ضعيفاً وهبوا،

ظ: ولكين الايمان بما امان و امار المسجد الماء يد بالروح المقداس المنذير للعباد اعلى فضلاً وجنداً، لك: ذلك لينال المومنين به الرضا والكافرين ينالوا بعكسه من جهنم ضيداً،

ل: ولقد القى الله على العباد حفظة لكتب الاعمال ولا يسقط من علمه شيئاً،

م: وكل شي خلق و امار ائقته وانهى عن الغآ المفسد | واتباع الشهوات واحبة الشيطان نهياً، و9

ن: ووصفي⁶⁰⁸ في ذلك الاشياء بقوته على الطعة تشرييحاً للمحبين⁶⁰⁹ تبعين الهدا لينالوا منه خيراً، ص: ورحمان⁶¹⁰ ربّي من اجله معهم بالوجب رحماً،

ض: ويكن وصفي في الموصف بالهدا يصوع خير خلق الله المثل على ممثيل الانباء بالانجيل المثل للمشتبه حقاً،

ع: ودينه القايم على الدين القديم ومنافعه على اليوم الموعد الذي يكن الخلق فيه بعثاً،

غ: فاذا وصال الوعد الموعد للهدا⁶¹¹ يلاج روح الله المقداس على مريم العذرة وكلمات به في رحمها حملاً،

ف: ولكين خلد الابكار فيها ظررة وكان قول الملك جبريل اليها على الله صدقاً،

ق: وان لحقها الذنب الاول اذ هبات⁶¹² عنها محسنها | ومسها الامتحان في الانتباز⁶¹³ والنفاس و9 مساً،

س: ولكين الله اخترها لذلك الامر والقابيتها وبينه حجا وستراً،

ش: ذلك اجماع الحوارين الصديقين المأيدين بالروح المقداس حقاً، والرفض منه كفرٌ وذلة لمن اختلف فيه شيئاً،

هـ: والرضا به اوال قعدة من دين الله الراشيد واعلى سبيلاً،

و: وما بعده من الوجيب بالدين والاستوجب الهدى والايمن المنجال نصفه لك في الجوز الثاني من كتاب هذا ان شاء الله وصفاً،

608 LG: wa-waṣafa.

609 LG: li-al-m.ḥ.nin.

610 LG: wa-bi-rahmāti.

611 LG: bi-al-hudā.

612 LG: li-dhahabāt.

613 LG: fī al-inthiyān.

لا: كمال الجوز الاوال من كتب منتهى الآلة القدرة والحلم والشريعة في الحلقة [على يد] اي سياس
 10 والايه ابن الرضى [تلميذ يد] عقوب ابن شميخ الزبدي [الحوري] نفعنا الله به، | ولحقنا بالصلحين،
 لا اله—الا الله—يصوع—روح—الله⁶¹⁴،

614 Each of these five expressions of the Creed of the Lead Books written in a six-pointed starlet, to end the booklet.

LP9

On 24 April 1596 was found: *Kitāb Nadhrat al-ḥawāriyyīn* ("El Catecismo Menor"), in 9 plates; Vatican digital photographs: v, 1–9, with 8–11 lines per side; numbered in dots; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plates chosen at random:⁶¹⁵ diameter: 54,65 mm; weight: 53,03 grams; 2,20 mm. thick. This text is identical to LP5. The *variae lectiones* of LP5 have been presented above, see LP5.

615 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly vary.

LP10

On 27 August 1597 was found the second part of *Kitāb Muntahā ālāt al-qudra* (“Libro de Providencia”), in eight leaves. Vatican digital photographs: VII, 11–18, with 18–22 lines per side; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plates chosen at random:⁶¹⁶ diameter: 63,87 mm; weight: 70,80 grams; 2,40 mm. thick; numbered with dots. Legible throughout.

و الجوز الثاني من منتى الالة القدرة⁶¹⁷

ظ الجوز الثاني من كتب منتى الالة القدرة والحلم والشرية⁶¹⁸ في الخلقاة لسايس الايه ابن الرضى
تلهد يعقوب الحوري،

وصفي كان في جوز اول لمغتتم المنى بتورة المواد بالروح وبالنور المتين مجور القلزم والممثل بالاية
امراً،

أ: قد عمه عليه كلية⁶¹⁹ من الله تهدي للهدى ينل من يشا من نورها برحمته في النعيم حصاً،
ب: طعمها لذيد للارواح كطعم العصف اللذيذ للابدان لمن يحبها ويكلها من دون عصفها اكلاً،
ت: امرها حلم صريع وهي قديمة غير مقترينة بزمان محطة بكل شي كنور الشمس اذا طلع على
الاجود وفقاً،

ث: ففي خبيرة بعلم منب من الله وحكمة معانها مثل انواع لذاذ المن الذي كان⁶²⁰ كان لبني
اسرايل طعماً زكياً،

ج: [ففي خبيرة بعلم منب من الله وحكمته]⁶²¹ ونورها عظيم كصردق بجر لاقع ولا سخل له،
يكتسبون منه اولي الالباب من كل جانب بالاقتشاع والتذكر تكبساً⁶²²،

ح: اغتنامهم منها دقيقة وهي في القدر عليه كخين من الدهر في ازل الازل فليس له معها كفواً
ولا تنسباً،

616 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

617 Title written within a constellation of 10 six-pointed starlets, presenting itself as a title-page.

618 Read probably: wa-al-sharī'a.

619 Read probably: kalima i.e. kalima.

620 Erroneous repetition.

621 The passage between square brackets belongs to the previous sentence and was erroneously repeated here and then crossed out to some extent by the scribe.

622 Read probably: taksiban.

خ: قد لحت بها اصاور الكنوى من كل جانب على الانبياء والرسل لضررة فهم الوعض يسرها
الله تيسراً،

د: بلسان الحل في كل قوم وقت⁶²³ وموضع بقدر ان لم يقدر على نكرها احد حسداً ولا جهلاً،

ذ: ليس الله بكلام تجـ[رم] 624 | ولا بصوت نطق جريحة ولكن تكلم بالروح المقدس وبالوحي^{و2}
روحياً،

ر: ما دون شفتان لسان حروف ولغات واختص بالنبوة والتبئد والختتر⁶²⁵ من عباديه من يشا
وانزل الذكر عليه تنزلاً،

ز: ولكن تنزله باسباب ضررة من فضله لا دنها في صيار الاوقات كما جاء في الكتب مروياً،

ز: على اخير خلقه في مترف القراء يسر كليمتة التمة بالسنات الاقوام تيسراً،

ط: وايداهم بالروح المقدس والصدق والعلم والهدا وابن قولهم عنه واثقنه بالمعجزات يتقناً،

ظ: ليس بوجب كلام فهم الا باحسن الذكر وجمل الثنا لان ذنبهم ابتلاءً كان ووعض العباد

وارجاء تيسراً،

ك: هي سبقة في علمه بتقدير وعدلة في كل حركة لهم وتهه الافهام تيهة فكل شي سبحانه فصله

تفصيلاً،

ل: ان لم عمد ابراهم لضحي ابنه استحاق ابتغاء رضا باخلص نية، لم اتي الحمل المكنى بالسر تحته

مروياً،

م: ولو لم ثقن وشي الصبر على البلا من اجل الشيطان واعتراض لمراته لم يعرف منه الصبر بالفقر

والفروخ والدود مطرح على المزبلة طرحاً،

ن: وموسى كلام⁶²⁶ الله، ان لم قتل الفتى لم يعرف الغفران لمن قتل النفس وعد للتوبة والرجوة

مرجياً،

ص: ولول زوجة الاورئ احتوى الحب على دود لم يعرف قدر الندام للهوت ولم ينزل عليه زبراً،

ض: وابنه سليمان ذو العلم والهام والشرع والتقى بعد الخطات من اجل قراط[نة] بكى ذنبه

وخفض الاصنام | تخفضاً،

ظ2

623 Read probably: wa-waqt.

624 Reading uncertain.

625 Read probably: al-ikhtiyār.

626 Read: kalīm.

ع: ومن بعدهم يدره خلفه في الارض يبكي ذنبه عرفنا التكفر بالصوم والتذكر، وتسيل مقلته حتى كدان يسرفاتاً،

غ: وما من نبي الا واصبته الفتنة والامتحان حتى ليصوع روح الله المرضى امتحانوه احزاب الاقوام بالمترف وسوء الضان تحنأ،

ف: لقد فضل الله بعض منهم على بعضهم وقف⁶²⁷ عليهم به واته ايتها الكبرى واشرح به انجيلاً،
ق: واتى فيه بكل حكمة ما دون تفرط ويسره الذكر والعمال الصالح تيسيراً،

س: وانعم فيه ببشرة ونجاة وغفران لمن تبع الهدى بل هو فوز من الله واعظم تنعماً،
ش: يكدوا امت الكفران يطفوا زهم وايه فلن يقدرن لانه متم نوره واتقنهم وايه عليهم ورفعهم على صار عباديه في ادراج الافضل تفضيلاً،

هـ: هم شهبو للحب البليغ الهدى انباءً على الانجيل وعلى روح الله يصوع الذي كان لذلك الاجرام روحياً،

و: نبا بني اسرايل المهدين بالدين للرضى انبت بما اقول فيه وهو بمن بعده في صبار الاوقات العلمين السلبين⁶²⁸ تنياً،

لا: معنه من الرحمان جليل القدر اعياء به الورى كمتلع شمس الافق على الاجود مغنياً،

ي: كبير سغير بعيد قريب حظير غيب على قدر الاستمسك به والضان فيه يتنا مجيباً،

ا: يسرى في الارواح والقلوب | منه منرة ينور الازهان ويقوي الابدان لعبدة الله تقوياً،

ب: تكلام بالبعث⁶²⁹ الارباع اركان مجيبة الاثقان من ادم وحوة ومريم العذرة ختمتهم به تحتيماً،

ت: لا اباً ولا ام لادم وحوة اب لها⁶³⁰ ولمريم ابان وهو المبرر لله والياها ما دون اب سليم تسليماً،

ث: لمارا ملك العلم والحب والحلم والعدل والكمل في سابق علمه خصران الانسان بعد يسره عصرأ،

ج: اجبره بيصوع بعد الانباء على بعثه في مريم المخترة بالبكرية وطهر من الذنب ورفعها على نساء

العلمين رفعاً،

ح: اسقها من اكواس نمر حبه من كل حمل ما تشتهي بالروح عليها فكانت به حملاً،

خ: تخطر الشمس المونز على زجاج الصوار كنية خريج، دخيل كميل المحاسن ولن يطمئث فيها

تمطياً،

627 Read perhaps: wa-qafala.

628 Read probably: al-salifin.

629 Read probably: bi-al-baghti.

630 = lā aba lahā?

د: فذات بعث فان فيه وحدة لا ذواتان موصوف بروح الله الامن ولد ادم لله عبد في الحقيقة تحقيقاً،

ذ: والابكار خليلد فيها ونعمة الله سبيغة لا شك ولا محل وكان هذا كلام من الله جداً،
 ز: والمتي بعده من الله روح مقدس خاتم الدين والرسول ونور منه على من يشا من عباديه تفضيلاً،
 ح: فطعة العباد ليصوع فرض محسب ومن اطع امره اطع الله ومن عصه يتي عليه وزراً،
 ط: ومن خلفه في الارض بالمسجد المومين للفعل بامرہ بطل السنين تحت طعته وجب ما دون شكاً،

ظ: فهو مفسير الانجيل بالمجد والرضا وله امرة الدين وتحثية المعرف لا شك وعن الكرهات نهى بالتهية تنبيهاً،

ك: والايما بكل ذي كمال وجمل في الله وجب خير من التعين والظهير بالعكس تجهيراً،
 ل: تهت عقول اهل العلم بما الفكار | به ولكن التوفيق على الايمان بالتحقيق تبديلاً،
 م: بان لا شك فيه ولا في انجيله ولا في رسله وفي روحه وفما امر به وفما انتهى عنه تضديداً،
 ن: فالاجمع ربة الدين بتحقيق الهدى والله يرضه⁶³¹ بالروح في الجهر قدساً،
 ص: واما الانجيل بمسطور الا في القلوب والتذكير خوفاً من التاخذ واللحن والتغير فيه عنواً،
 ض: لان الشيطان وقايله اعداً لله ولادم واحترفهم هذا ليستطعون عليه نقباً،
 ع: ولكن الله من فضله يحرص من يشا من عباديه المخلصين بقدر ان لم يقدر يكد عليهم كيداً،
 غ: والضلين بعدله من اهل جهنم يخذلهم⁶³² فيها من اجل ذنوبهم بانوع العذاب الاليم تجديلاً،
 ق: والله عدل في جميع اموره ويعلم وشريه وفصل اقسط كل شي قسطاً واعدله عدلاً،
 ف: ولن يجب الضان فيه بان المغفر له خلى من حقوق المتيب ولا الشقي بري من الذنب قطعاً،
 ق: فكل نفس تجزى بما كسبها وتسئل عنه وهو لم يسئل وختم السعدة لم يطلع عليه احداً بل كتمة تكتيماً،

س: والنية الجميلة وجبة لكل عمال صالح لان دنها لم يقبل عملاً،
 ش: من فضله بالعدل اتقن المراد بعقل الانسان واوزنه في سابق علمه توزناً،
 هـ: وايدہ بالحور وشا الشامام لما يشا من خير ومن غيره وفهمه استفهماً مييناً،

631 Read perhaps: ya'duduhu.

632 Read probably: yukhliduhum.

- و4
 و: فلا كوكب ولا | تطوع يعكسه البتة واعطى لاحد من خلقه عليه سبيلاً،
 لا: وامره بمعرف وانته عمى هو منكر ليختر لنفسه ما يشاء يختلف الاعمال تبديلاً،
 ي: واعطه فهم لاسعة نفسه وليس عظر له في المعاصي استوجب تجهيلاً،
 ا: وهو بورو⁶³³ كيد الضلال كإد عليه التخلد فيه وربما يعكسه الايمان يسمه تسميماً،
 ب: والايمان المذكور يجب اثقنه بالعمال الصالح لان دنه يطفى من القلب بقدر ان لم يبق فيه
 شي منه بل يعد لشيئاً مشمأً،
 ت: مثل نور النبراس المود⁶³⁴ حين طفى اذا عد من الادهان الموقدات خلياً،
 ث: ليس على الانسان اشد من ظل الامال والشيطان وهو هوى النفس ولكن لعكوس النفس
 غير مرجياً،
 ج: وكل هذا بعد من الله للعباد وصفة الموت الاكبار بسموم السلس الذي يسمه مثل السقاب
 القاتل بسوم الاطراف الذي ما دون مس يقتله تقتيلاً،
 ح: الميران المراح بحسن ضمان المدى يوم المعاد والتتقش يكون عنه مستلاً،
 خ: والقرب من الله وجب على العباد وليس قرب منه الا بالدعا وفعل ما ثقن⁶³⁵ لهم به امرأ،
 د: فهو معهم ايما الشمام حتى في الارواح، قريب | لمن دعاه، كريم لمن طلبه، مجيب لمن سئله
 سئلاً،
 ذ: فالعبد انخليص لله هو موله على كل حال والكفبر يعنه بالطبعة خصاً،
 ر: فيا معشار العباد اتونه مخلصين واستدنوا للقول العمال الصالح اني اصفه ووصفاً،
 ز: ثلث هي قواعيد دين الهدى، الاول الايمان والثاني الرجا والثالث الانفاق جهداً،
 ط: وكل يتوفق لهم امال ولكن الانفاق له على الاثمان تفضلاً،
 ظ: ولن يبلغ الانسان حقوق الايمان الا بحب الله بقدر ان يرد لآخه المومن ما يريد لنفسه من
 التخير رغداً،
 ك: وذلك كله على طعة الجميع المقدس وايمنه والمستخلف له خصير ولو يكون ادنى شي بل يعد
 كفوراً،
 ل: والظهر بالماء الطهير من الذنب فرض بعكس الضلال، به عرفنا يصوع روح الله تعريفاً مييناً،

633 Read probably: bi-wurūd.

634 Read probably: al-muwaqqad.

635 Read probably: mā athqana.

م: يسم⁶³⁶ الانسان من كل خطئة، يقربه لله من بعده وينجه للنعم رضىً مرضياً،
 ن: ليس نجة دنة محتلم من اجل ادم وذلك اميربه بالانختان الموهب للضحى تبديلاً،
 ص: والرجوع بقلب خليص باستقرار منيب فصيح ما دون كتمان عسى ان يكون عنده مقبلاً،
 ض: لان الاعمال الصلحات منه اذا خلت وحق الخروج ولو كانت بطل الدهر لم يقبل منها تقبلاً،
 ع: وقطع الرجا من الغفران طريق | الجحيم وليس الله برضى لان رحمته وسعة كل شي يغفر لمن
 5 و يشاء، الكجائر كلها اذا احسن به ضناً،
 ع: والرحمة على قدر الاحتياج الطالبين لم يمنعها وهو يقسمها من فضله على العصاة النديمين تقسيماً،
 غ: يعد كبير سغار الاعمال الصلحات والممام الذنوب للمومنين ايضا يعد من سبع طبقات مبعثاً،
 ف: لهما النوعين على المرء من احتيط ضدين بقدر ان معبر الخير يعده للمولى والعصي في الحقيقة
 يكتب ولي الشيطان واكبرائماً،
 ق: وصلة الله بقربان تصليه ليس باباً للقرب منه اقرب ولا احسن اذا كان عنده مقبلاً،
 س: مجيب فيه لمن دعاه مخلصاً شرقاً وغرباً جنوباً وضديه ولو كان في اقصى السنايك⁶³⁷ مهزياً،
 ش: يستجب دعاه على قدر نيته فله ليله⁶³⁸ من فضل فتح غفران ونصرة في ما يشاء وينصره نصراً
 عزيزاً،
 هـ: والحليم النادي للعباد يجد عنده ثوابه وباب رحمته في كل الاوقات له مفتحاً،
 و: كون⁶³⁹ ميدة كونياً طعماً ومشرّباً غدّ بهما ارواح الاثنان عشر حورياً،
 لا: واسقى بجمهر الحب والعلم والتقى الحدرى⁶⁴⁰ نيماً وسنن بالغدر الغدار⁶⁴¹ تسنناً،
 ي: وقلد الامر للناكر موعضاً وبشر بالسعد لمن سعد تبشيراً،
 ا: فوعض من الله | في ذلك المقام الخليص ومن ضده يدخر تدخيراً،
 ب: وامر بالتقوى للجمع بالايمان واكنى مقام العدل واسرار المولى بالسبقة في علمه، واثقن
 ورمص الدين وليس لكليمة الله تبديلاً،

636 = yusallimu?

637 Read probably şanājiq (= sanājiq).

638 Read perhaps: li-yanalahu.

639 Read perhaps: kawwana.

640 The scribe hesitated between ḥadarī and ḥaḥarī. Read perhaps correctly: al-ḥawarī, as in the previous line.

641 Here, al-ghadr is probably to be understood as al-khadar, and al-gh.dār as al-khaddār.

ت: اشترى الهدى الجميل المفضل النفوس بثمان عظيم قليل مضعاف، ولكن عدل به الشريعة
واجرا الثواب تعديلاً،

ث: معاني لول⁶⁴² توسطها في الامور لرفع الموت عن الناس بقدر ان لم يمسه الامتحان تقديراً،
ج: وما من داءٍ ميؤس من البرء في ذرية ادم الا واشفه للداعي باللمس واكنى تحته لا ولي الاباب
تكنياً،

ح: وقضى بفتح الدين المنجل رضياً طبعاً حتى توفه الله وعده وايمنه بالرفع تيمناً،
خ: فالهدى والرضي علينا وجب منعده من ذي اهتدا في كل الامور والحركات نصبوا به تحييراً،
د: والصبر على البلاء والدادس وافات دار الفنا لان الله يحب الصبرون وهو اكبر صبوراً،
ذ: يشفق على عبده بالزور لتجرب صبره مثل الابي الشافق على ابنه خوفاً من الخصران يخوفه
تحوفاً،

ر: لينل توبة وتكفراً وغفرناً وصلاحية وولية وتقريباً منه وفلاحاً واعظم نعيماً،
ز: وانوع الاستشهد على الدين بقلب سليم لله مخلصاً قطع شكوك الفلاح لا خوف على شهيدٍ لان
نيله⁶⁴³ به نيلاً كبيراً،

ط: ولكل امرء اجل في كتاب مبين فاذا وصل لم يستخرون حين من الدهر وليس لهم بعده تقدماً،
ظ: وللارواح بقية من يوم خلقهم لا شك في كليمه الله وهم في غفلة نوم في الاجود وبعد الموت
له يستيقضوا تقلباً،

ك: على قدر الموت يكون بعثهم ويسعد من يشاء الله من فضله تفضيلاً،
ل: ومن الكجائر اشد نعمة تئس من الروح وقطع الرحيم والشرك والضلال وكفر النعام اعذب
الله من ذلك كله تعويداً،

م: والميت على ذنب لا شك في شقائه وفي تخلده فيه على قدر عصيانه يقسط عليه العذاب تقسطاً،
ن: والسعة وعد من الله تبي بغتة بامر له لم يطع عليها احد من عباديه ولكن سرها منه تفضيلاً،
ص: ولكن وعد بها اماءير رفع العلم والحيا والشرع واتبع الشهاوات والفواحش والفساد وكل
يد من تدمناً،

ض: واذا رايت الزهاد بتشيد البناء وبالبحل وحرص على المال وتجرة الامتاع معراضين للزهد
تعرضاً،

642 Read probably *lawlā*, as elsewhere in the Lead Books.

643 Perhaps we should read: *yanālu bihi naylan kabiran*.

ف: ويتعلمون لغير عمال صالح ويعون به التقى وليس فقههم للدين وحق طعة الله | تحقيقاً،
 ق: والربا والشحة والزور والغدر ظهير فلا يمين العبد لآخه لان اذا ايمنه يغدره تغديراً،
 س: وعلامة اخيرة وعدها الله لنا طلوع الشمس على الافق بضد جريها من المشرق تغريباً،
 ش: ونحس ايضاً كتم مثله تغوض الارحم والمتي غدى وبقعة والموت⁶⁴⁴ وسير الصدور وكل
 حل به بين الانسان وقلبه تحتلاً⁶⁴⁵،

هـ: ولكين في العمال الصلح وشكر النعام بطي، وبعد المصيبة دعى الله وبعد كشفها عروضاً،
 و: كيف يعرض بجبهله عن مقام علي ليس نجة منه، والموت يطو ملاكها اجمعين تكرهاً،
 لا: مقام لدى حطرة القدس والحفضه بالكتب متيه والله قد احط بكل شي علماً،
 ي: والقدري الكفير بالبعث جهيل الذي ير⁶⁴⁶ ان الزر⁶⁴⁷ يخرج بعد موته في كل الاوقات ويعد
 نباتاً،

ا: وان الله عديل في اموره لا شك وانه يمهن الضليم في العجلة صبير وربما التقى ليس بضده فيها
 يخره تخيراً⁶⁴⁸،

ب: ففيه للانسان يوم ملكه ليزرع ويبنى ما يشاء وضرتها⁶⁴⁹ لله يوم الحقيقة يغفر لمن يشا وينقش
 من يشا وله فيها تصرفاً بالعدل ولن يظلم من عباديه احداً،

ت: يبعث فحل⁶⁵⁰ قدسه المخلقات كلهم في كمال باذنه، ترة يجمع عظامهم | شرقاً ومغرباً ولو
 كانوا ابقى رميماء،

ث: وبقاع الارض تشهدوا بتحرك الفتى حتى الخواريج وكل لاناس⁶⁵¹ بكرهه هيج ولن يلتفت لغيره
 تلفيتاً⁶⁵²،

ج: واشرق نور الله الحق عن روجه كل يروونه وليس برويته الكبرى في ذلك المقام لاحد [من]هم
 تفضيلاً،

644 Read probably: buq'at al-mawt.

645 Sic.

646 Read probably: alladhī lā yarā.

647 Sic. Read probably: al-zar', with final 'ayn.

648 Yu'akhhiruhu ta'khiran?

649 Read perhaps: naẓratuhā.

650 Id est: fi maḥall.

651 Read probably: al-unās.

652 Sic.

ح: وكل يعرفون بسماهم ونورهم من كل جانب [مت]ى وبالايمن وضدهم يكفي بالنفوس
تشهداً،

خ: وتضع الموازين والملاء الاعلى نظير ويحكم بينهم بالعدل ان الله يعدل كل شي تعديلاً،
د: عنده الامر والخترو والحلم والعدل والاسطحي وكل شي اثقنه بعلمه لتكسب كل نفس ما عملت
تكسباً،

ذ: واشد تنقش الصور لمن دعى على مضلمة وليسر الحسب بضده منه مغفراً،
ز: فيا ربي ان كان لي وجبا سئلتك المكث في الجحيم طل امديه لان هو يوم شديد النقمة عبوس
مخوف حتى لعبادك وهو له اعظم تهولاً،

ز: ائقن باذنه البعث في صيار الموتى المبعثة مثلاً واختمه بالازراء النتير في تربع ابيي تحتيماً،
ط: فعجزه الله كميلاً وفقت⁶⁵³ كل معجزة خيلة حتى لوان هم عن نجسهم لقلبتهم لله تقليباً،
ظ: ومضف الامر للشيطان مذهب كل ذي جهيل، الذي ير ان نسبة كيده بعكس القدير اسوأ
تنسباً.

ك: وانه ليس بقدير | على بعث ولا على سير الصدور ولا على ادنى شي متياً⁶⁵⁴،
ل: وضان المرء الذي دنى يدينه من النار، والضان الجميل بالعكس مضف الامر الى صاحب الامر
خاتم تحتيماً،

م: فبعد الحساب يقسمون الناس فرقين، طبي لمسعد ومن شقى يصير لجهم ويقعد [د] فيها ملوماً،
ن: المفلحون في نعيم دايم خلدون ويكريمهم الله بالنظر الى وجهه الكريم وهو اكبر واعظم تكريماً،
ص: والنعام عليهم في كل يوم متية ترة ترة ولم يعد ما كان عنهم سلباً⁶⁵⁵،
ض: وقدرها ومعانيها لم يصفه وصيف في حياته ولو عش سنين ليس لها عدداً،
ع: فلا غيل فيها ولا حساد ولا فتنة ولا لغو، ولن يرون فيها الا سلماً،
غ: خلدين معه ما دون موت لطل ابد الابد وذلك فوز عظيم منه واكبر تخليداً،
ف: والعصاة في جهنم خلدين في ادراج العذاب بضدها، يا خصرة لمن تختصر فيها تحصييراً،
ق: مجنين عن النظر في وجه الله الكريم لم يروونه ابداً، وذلك بعد انخلود لهم اعظم عذاباً،
س: فيا بطي في العمال الصالح اتبه من نومك، لا تبديل اجلاً منك بدار الفنا تبديلاً،

653 Read probably: wa-fāqat.

654 Read probably: muṭīyyan or maṭīyyan (cf. ṭayy: concealment).

655 Read probably: salafan.

ش: وكون صادق لله حبيب مخلص يجرك من فضله في ادراج الثواب تجيراً،
 هـ: فذلك وطلب العلم في الدين نلصه نفسك فرض ويوم الحساب يكون عليك محسباً،
 و: وما من وصف وصفته في كتب | هذا ليس بمذهابي ولكن انقلته عن روح الله وعن صاءر 8و
 التبعين اليه من الاثنان عشر حورياً،
 لا: وعن الصديقة الصالحة العذرة مريم وعن الروح جبريل ملك الرسل تبشراً،
 يا: كل الكتاب على يدي سئس الايه الاعرني الرجى رحمة ربه ابن الرضى تلمذ يعقوب الحوري
 نفعا الله به نفعا،⁶⁵⁶

8ظ

الا الله

لا اله

يصوع

الله⁶⁵⁷

روح

656 Followed by 6 six-pointed starlets devoid of any legend, marking the end of the text.

657 This text of the "Creed" or "Shahāda" of the Lead Books written within a constellation of 6 six-pointed starlets.

LP11

On 27 August 1597 was also found *Kitāb Tawrīkh khātām Sulaymān* (“La Historia del Sello, ò anillo de Salomon”), in three leaves. Vatican digital photographs: VII, 29–31, with 16–18 lines per side; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plates chosen at random:⁶⁵⁸ diameter: 63,95 mm; weight: 70,04 grams; 2,11 mm. thick; numbered with dots. Previously published edition of the text by Philippe Roisse, l’Histoire du sceau de Salomon ou de la Coincidence Oppositorum dans les “Livres de Plomb”. *Al-Qantara* 24 (2003), 359–408. Republished with slight corrections of the text in Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García Arenal (eds.), Valencia 2006, pp. 141–172 and Roisse and Monferrer Sala, “Notas” Roisse, Philippe and Pedro Monferrer Sala. “Notas sobre el ‘registro pseudoarcháico’ de los Libros Plúmbeos de Granada.” In: *Sacrum Arabo-Semiticum. Homenaje al professor Federico Corriente a su 65 Aniversario*. Jorge Aguadé Bofill, Leyla Abu Shams Pagés, Angeles Vicente (eds.). 398–420 (Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, 2005). Roisse, who had no access to the original plates, based his edition on contemporary transcripts available to him, and normalized the Arabic to a certain extent in accordance with the rules of standard Arabic, as explained by him in the introduction to his edition. The same holds true for the edition and translation published with Monferrer Sala.

كتب توريخ خاتم سليمان⁶⁵⁹ 1و

توريخ خاتم نبي الله سليمان ابن داود وكنياته عن الصالحة مريم العذرة لسيس الايه ابن الرضى 1ظ⁶⁶⁰

تلهد يعقوب الحوري

سئل شيخنا⁶⁶¹ يعقوب الصالحة العذرة مريم ونحن عنه في كتبنا هذا بأمره أكتب تورخاً:

658 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly vary.

659 Followed by a constellation of 10 sixpointed starlets devoid of any legend.

660 In the middle of the page a six-pointed starlet overlapping a square with legend: *lām, alif, alif, mīm, rā, alif* (reading the letters in the following order: top left, top right, top center, bottom center, bottom left, bottom right). It can be interpreted as: “Lā ilāha illā ‘llāh—al-Masīḥ Rūḥ Allāh” (“There is no god but God—Christ is the Spirit of God”), but also as: “Lā ilāha illā ‘llāh—Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh” (“There is no god but God—Muḥammad is God’s Envoy”). The first is the overt creed of the Lead Books, the second the veiled creed of Islam.

661 Roisse: *sā’ihunā*: “La traduction exacte pourrait alors être ‘ascète gyrovague.’” But the “author” (Cecilio) simply refers to his “master” with the Islamically flavored word *shaykh*, as he does in many other Lead Books.

ا: لما ختمت نسخة حقيقة الانجل بخاتم هذا؟ وما خواصه وخواص الكتب فيه معنيا؟

ب: واني رأيتك في كل الامر جدواة، عرفنا به من حسن فضلك تحسناً،

ت: فقالت: لو علمت مفيه من فضل الله العظيم لأطت به البحر ولم تغرق ولا⁶⁶² بك قدراً كبيراً.

ث: فيه وعض للعلمين⁶⁶³ وعلم تكنية تحته عن سليمان ابن دود نبي الله ومن خاتمه من الله ختمه به تحتماً،

ج: لما بلغ أشده قال: رب اتني ملكاً لغير ليس بموهب وات صرفة علم⁶⁶⁴ وعلمني تعليماً،

ح: فاستجابه ربه وأعطه الخاتم بالجدول والكتب فيه مكنى⁶⁶⁵ وبه شد ملكه تشديداً،

خ: واته علماً وقدرة وملكاً وشريعة وحلماً وبه ينخر له الانس والجن والطير والرياح بامرہ تسخيراً،

د: وأمره لم يفرقه حين من الدهر لما سبق في علمه من بعد موعضة العباد ولصاور⁶⁶⁶ تنعيماً،

ذ: ولكن قرآنة | انس على نسائه مفضلة منه حوت عليه بضميظ خطير في صنمها علمها تكيد⁶⁶⁷،^{2و}

ر: ان لا تستجب سئله فما كان طلبه حتى يضح جردة له وبها يرك تزكياً،

ز: وان يرضه في ملكه لمن يشا السبل رغبياً ويرفعه للجبال في المساجد مكاً علياً،

ط: وان تطلب له الخاتم في الحمام نسخة لحرصه لتعلم بالتجرب حبه فيها على نسائه تفضيلاً،

ظ: فلما توسطت بينهما خلوة سألته الامر بكتمان طلبها فاهبه لها توهباً،

ك: وعرفته به بعد الوهب بأكيد الكلام واستضعفت الموهب لها منه استضعفاً مجهولاً،

ل: وطلبتة الاتقن بتياد ملكه وعبست مقلتها للمنع تعبساً،

م: فاستجب لها ابتغاء جر ضره والظهير لرضونها⁶⁶⁸ وان التفت بعلمه ان السغير في العظام مبنياً،

ن: فلما دخل الحمام بعد خطايه أودعها خاتم الملك عند دخله فيه بعكس الامر له به توديعاً،

ص: ودخل فيه والشيطان | من خلفه خريج تمثل لها في شبهته تمثلاً،^{2ظ}

ض: فنزع عنها خاتم الملك سيل وأرمره في البحر الملتقم في سبقة الله موعداً،

662 Read perhaps: wa-kāna.

663 Roisse: *fīhi wa'z li-al-āmmī* ("Il s'y trouve de l'instruction pour le vulgaire").

664 Roisse: *Wa-ti ṭarāfat 'ilm* ("donne-moi une science originale").

665 Roisse: *wa-al-kitāb fīhi maknūn* ("et son inscription mystérieuse").

666 Read perhaps: *wa-li-ṣārū*. Roisse: *wa-la-ṣāra* ("et il en fut heureux").

667 Roisse: *allamahā kaydan* (verse 11: "laquelle lui fit part d'un stratagème"), but the intensive form *takyīdan* forms part of the style of the text.

668 Roisse: *wa-al-ṣāhīr li-raṣānatihā* ("et l'applomb dont elle faisait montre").

ع: فلما خرج سليمان من حممه استضعفته نكيرة لطلبه محبة: ما طلبك ثنياً؟
 غ: وخرج لبساطه ذهب عن محاسنه وطعته وقد راء على كرسية شبة⁶⁶⁹ تجسداً،
 ف: وذن بالتحقيق فنته خطائه مستمسك بالله فودي القرار بالندام في المفاز توديا،
 ق: بضع سنين عددا مكيث لله رغب التوبة والغفران والرحمة خائف من انحصار تحوفاً،
 س: فأوحى اليه: قد غفر لك، انتة الى سجيل البحر، قد استجب دعائك وخذ ما اتيت منه وايك⁶⁷⁰
 لن تعد تعوداً!

ش: فاصب قراصيل الحوت بكلسهم غريق⁶⁷¹ فطلبوه العون والاستغثة تطلياً،
 ه: ولما خرج⁶⁷² استعمدوا لاستجره ولن يقبل منهم الا واحد من الحوت بالختام في أحشائه
 مكنوزاً،

و: فلما فتحه ل⁶⁷³ الخاتم في يديه وعد عليه ملكه ومحاسنه عوداً مكلاً،
 لا: فسيح بقلب سليم لله شكير وعد لما كان فيه من النعام تعوداً،
 ي: وخفض الاصنام تحت أقدامه مطرحين وختم عليه بخاتم الختم تختياً،
 ا: وزغرف البيت بجدوله حتى المسابح | على صفته أصنعهم وأوقدهم بالشمع وأنواع العبيل
 الريحات والشعاع تنورا،

ب: وتهتف مقام العدل والقسط في الامور وعش ايام سعد ومت امينا ميمنا،
 ت: تمثل مكنى⁶⁷⁴ ليصوع سيدنا الذي اكنه البيت بأيته الكبرا تكنياً،
 ث: ودل كنية الدين⁶⁷⁵ فيه موصفة على الانبياء والرسل وقدرته ومن بعده خاتم الدين تكهلاً،
 ج: والرجوع اليه⁶⁷⁶ بقلب خليص لانه احسن تنوراً واعنا قدرة البارئ على خلقه وفضله عليهم
 برحمته لمن رجع بعد الذنب اليه ترجيعاً،
 ح: وانه ليس يخسف نعمة بعباديه حتى يضلون عن سبله ويزعموا تركه⁶⁷⁷ تضليلاً،

669 Read probably: *shabihahu*.

670 Roisse: *wa-ilaika* ("attention!").

671 Roisse: *markabuhum gharīqan* ("dont la navire avait fait naufrage").

672 Roisse: *wa-lammā ukhrija* ("Quand [le navire] fut remis à flot").

673 Roisse: *ajā'a* ("glissait").

674 Roisse: *maknūn* ("il prit exemple en secret sur").

675 Roisse: *kinān al-dīn* ("le voile de la religion").

676 Roisse: *lillāhi* ("à Dieu").

677 Roisse: *yarghamū tarkahu* ("et qu'ils le poussent à l'abandon").

د: وايضا اعنى ختم السعدة على من يشا وتكملها بعد الحساب من فضله تفضلا،
 ذ: واوصت به الاستبرك في الله لكل الامور وان تختم الكتب⁶⁷⁸ به في البدا والتمام تختيما،
 ز: كل الكتب على يدي سايس الايه ابن الرضي تلهذ يعقب الحوري.⁶⁷⁹

678 Roisse: al-kitāb ("le livre").

679 Followed by 3 parallel six-pointed starlets devoid of any legend.

LP12

On 27 August 1597 was also found *Kitāb Wasf Munān dār al-salām wa-‘adhāb dār al-intiqām* (“Tratado del Infierno y de la Gloria”), in four plomos. Vatican photographs: VII, 25–28, with 17–19 lines per side; numbered with dots; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁶⁸⁰ diameter: 63,58 mm; weight: 68,96 grams; 2,13 mm. thick. Legible throughout.

أ₁ لا اله الا الله يصوع روح الله⁶⁸¹

كتاب وصف منان دار السلام وعذاب دار الانتقام لسئس الايه ابن الرضي تلهذ يعقوب الحوري
ارتجى الجنة بغير عملها جور، والجور كبر، ولن يدخلها من كان في قلبه مثقل خردلة منه، لان
الله وعدها لعباديه الصالحين ولم يخلف⁶⁸² المعاد، من كان في قلبه مثقال خردلة من الايمان لحول
بها جبال الدنيا لانه اخير واعظم قدراً منها، يدخل به الجنة وهذا مروى عن سيدنا يصوع وبالعكس
ذلك مثقل خردلة من كبر يستوجب به الخلود في العذاب لانه رأس كل خطية، العلم قرب من الله
والجهل بعد منه، فمن يشا قرب به يتعلم لان الله يحب العلماء بقدر ان ياواهم⁶⁸³ عباديه، وان اختر لذلك
جهيلاً علامه من فضله والجهال اولية⁶⁸⁴ الشيطان، العمال الصالح تعبد وبه اضعف الله الحسنات
للعلمين وذلك في ادراج الجنة، وكل فيها نعمين رضين وفي جهنم بالعكس،
انعم الله الجنة استجار عمال صالح لعباديه، والعمل صرف غير عدل، فكيف يدخلونها ان لم
يزدهم من فضله وذلك++++++++++++++++⁶⁸⁵ من فضله⁶⁸⁶ وذلك رحمته وبالعكس لاهل جهنم،
دليل العذاب التنقش وعلى الغفران التسهل وذلك على قدر الضان في الله وعليه وقع ختم السعدة
والخلود في العذاب فلا يعضمن⁶⁸⁷ | على العبد العصي طليبه بمظلمة من اجل فقر بعد اخلص نية
بوضعها المضلم تحليلاً لان الله يدها عنه فما يشا وخازينه لن تنفذ ابداً، ولن يعجز له سبيل الغفران

680 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

681 “Shahāda” of the Lead Tablets. On the cover [fol. 1^a] within a constellation of 9 six-pointed starlets.

682 With one dot over the consonant sign!

683 Read perhaps: yuwallihim.

684 Read probably: awliyā’.

685 These fillers figure in the original. They probably mark an erased passage.

686 Read probably: in lam yuzidhum min faḍlihi wa-dhalika raḥmatuhu.

687 Read probably: yuḍmanu ‘alā.

ولا قدرة الانتقام بعكس ذلك النية لمن استطع سبيلاً لوضعها ولن يدها بالوجب خوفاً من العذاب استخرجاً منه او تخليداً فيه،

الروح نور والجساد غلظ يخسفه والخسف حزن وليس بجنة البتة والجساد مستوجبها مع الروح فيذهب الخسف ويظهر النور باستوا الروح على الجساد في الجنة، بقدر ان يعد على طبعته تعوداً، وفي جهنم بالعكس لاهلها،

السفر نقصان عدل القيمة وايضاً تغير المحاسن وذلك استوجيه المرأ من اجل الذنب، فاذا ذهب عنه في جنة النعيم قيمته معدلة ومحاسنه كميلة وفي جهنم بالعكس ضم الغلظ والطول والعرض لاهلها، العلم نور من الله والجهل ظلمة فمن اخرجه الله من ظلمات الكفر الى نور الايمان وبه الى الجنة الى وجهه الكريم نظير كيف يمسه جهل وهي دار العلم؟ ومن خذله في النار بعدله كيف يمسه نور علم في دار الجهل والضلام الاكبار؟

الغيل رجز في الصدور لاحتياج ضرره او اكتسب نعمه، وليس غيل في صدر من تتعم واغنى عن 2 كل شي بغناء دار السلام والنار بالعكس،

اشواق الاحباب صفت نفوسهم بتغير المحاسن والنعام فكيف يتذكروا اهل الجنة بعد الخلود لمن ليس من اهلها والنعام عليهم في كمال سبيغ مشغلين بمحب لا محب بعده ولا قبله لان هو خير محب واهل النار مشغلين بصفت نفوسهم بعكس اهل الجنة،

لو عطى الله ملك الدنيا لرجل وحد ما دن تشكس ونزع وتكل نعمها عليه لتمنى دنية ثنية وبعد الثانية ثلاثة واكثر ولن يرتضى بهن وهي ادنى 688 شيا في المواهب وبعكسه ادنى نعيماً في الجنة خير منها بخمسين مرة والنعيم الاكبار فيها لا عينا راه واذنا سميعه وخطر على قلب بشار، واعظم عذاباً لاهل النار الاحتجاب منه ابداً،

اجسد العلمين وابدع ملبسهم وحليم في الدنيا فنيات مقهرة الابدان وبالعكس ذلك كيف يقهر او يفنى من انعم الله عليه بنعيم دايماً ما دم ملكه والبسه من جلال رحمة وحله من حلي نعامه وكليمتة تمة لن تنفذ ابداً واهل النار بالعكس، عياء النفوس والفكرة بالحركة فكيف يعيا من شغيل بالندرة الكبرى واستوا روحه على جساده حتى عد مثله بشعاع نور لو خرج منه لدر الفنا خردلة نخسف نور شمس الضحى؟ | واهل النار بعكس ذلك كله، هذا مروى عن الصالحة مريم،

3و

تلقم لدوم دار الفنا والشرب نقيب الى الابدان وبعكسها كيف يتنقب من اطعمه الله من طعم ذكره واسقه من اكواس نمر حبه وهو اركى طعماً واللذ نحرراً لعباده الصالحين واهل النار بالعكس،

لكل اناسٍ انسٍ استوجبه من احتيجه وكيف يشغيل نفسه بانسٍ من له محبباً لا انسٍ بعده ولا قبله وهو غية انسٍ لا انسٍ له، واهل جهنم لا انسٍ لهم،

تعلم دار الفنا ترة ترة بارتحال الازمان ولكن هي عودة كرهتها النفوس قليلا ابتغاء الملل وذلك من شروط العجلة ويعكسها دار البقي نعامه على اهله ترة ترة ما دون عود لا يشبه نعيم الى نعيم وكان ذلك على الله يسير واهل جهنم بالعكس انخلود والملال والعياء وبكل شي غليظ عليهم دايم،
الارواح قوة الحيا الى الاجساد لم يفنوا ما دم فهم سكنهم فكيف تعدم قوة حيا لا حياً الا فيها لاحد من العلبين وهي ديمة لم تفنا ابداً ولن تفرقهم ما دم ملكه الذي لا يزل؟ واهل النار لا حيا لهم ولا [م]وت ابتغوا من العذاب،

لكل شي امر وقوت التزود والارواح من امر الله لم يحط بعلمه احد ولا بقتهم فكيف تك لذاذ اجسام استوات ارواحهم | عليهم طبيعة ثنية لا يعلمهم الا الله؟

ظ3

ومن اهل العلم من زعم ان العلم قتهم وقيل الذكر الصالح وقيل النظار في الله وقيل مستخص بطبعهم والله اعلم، واهل النار بعكس ذلك كله، النظار قسمين: قسم تسلب به النفوس وقسم بعكسه مكتيب فكيف يلتمس اکتياب لمن نظرتة دئمة في الله وهي اعظم سلوة لا سلوة بعدها ولا قبلها؟ وكيف يلحق سلوة من حجب عن النظار في وجهه الكريم ما دم ملكه الذي لا يزل؟

لكل شي قشاب وهو نوعين خليلد وغير خليلد فانخليلد لا طهر له والغير خليلد يرجى طهره وقشب الارواح الذنوب فمن كان ذنبه مشفوع يطهر دخيل الى جنة النعيم ومن كان ذنبه غير مشفوع لم تطهره نار جهنم يتلحمها فها لطل الابد وذلك هو اصل انخلود فيها لان ليس هي تطهر العصاة وليس العصاة بخروج منها ابداً،

الطراب يثر في ارواح العباد على نوعين: يسلب السلين ويزدد الزهاد فكرة فكيف تلحق فكرة لمن سمع طراباً لبشرة بانخلود في دار السلام؟ او كيف يلحق سلوة لمن بشير بانخلود في دار جهنم وعذابها من بعد دخليه فيها؟

كمال الكتاب على يدي سايس الايه ابن الرضي تلميذ يعقوب الحوري نفعنا الله به وجعلنا من اهل جنته ونجنا من العذاب الاليم بجمده وكرامه،

لا اله الا الله، يصوع روح الله⁶⁸⁹،

و4

689 Creed of the Lead Books. Written within a constellation of seven stars, marking the end of the text.

LP13

On 27 August 1597 was also found *Kitāb fī ṭabīʿat al-malak wa-qudratihi* ("Libro de la naturaleza del angel y du su poder"), in six plomos. Vatican photographs: VII, 19–24, with 17–18 lines per side; numbered with dots; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁶⁹⁰ diameter: 63,82 mm; weight: 69,18 grams; 2,12 mm. thick. Some passages have become illegible in the course of time.

في طبعة الملك وقدرته⁶⁹¹

و¹

ظ¹

كتب في طبعة الملك وقدرته لسئس الايه ابن الرضي تلهذ يعقوب الحوري
ابدي بالله الذي لا اله الا هو الملك الدائم القدس السلام، واقول: ان له ملكاً لا يزل وصفة لا
تبدل وجلال لا يدرك وعظمة لا تنفك، ليس يوجب الفكرة بمايئة ذاته ولا بنشئة صفته ولا باحتوا
على علمه ولا بكشف سره ولا بفهم فضله ولا بمتهى انتشار رحمته ولا بتصريف اعدل شريعته،
ولكين يجب ذلك بوحدانية ذاته والاختبار بقدرته وبايته الكبرى، وبعده في كل الامور وان كل
شيأ خلقه وفضله تفصيلا بعلم وحق ما دون بطيل ونقصان، وان لا يخفى عليه شي وليس شي عنه
بعبيء، جل جلاله العظيم،

وانما من شي اعطه او علم يعلمه لعباده لحقه عليهم لطعته وعبادته وان الخير كله من عنده والشار
بالعكس من النفس والشيطان، فضله يعدل لما سبق في سابق علمه وانه ليس بمخلوق ولا بدى ولا
انقضى له وانه مبدي كل شي [ك] ان له فيه حياء، ولا حيه دنه لاحد من خلقه بل هو الخلق العظيم
الذي لم يعجز له قدرة عند احد خلقه او عند انتها رحمة واعدل شريعة لما يشاء، لا يستل عما هو يفعل
ولكين عباديه يستلون وانه ليس بضليم لاحد من خلقه وانه ذو فضل ورحمة وشريعة⁶⁹² وعدل وكل
وجمل وجلال ما دون نقصان،

و²

خلق الخلق من شمس أي لا من شيء الا ما اعطها من فضله، منها ايضا رتب سبعة اشياء
روحانية ومجسدة: الستة منهن لهن بدى ما دون انقضا والسبعة لها بدا وانقضا، الملكة لهم بدى ولا
انقضا لهم والارواح الادمية على طبيعتهم في اضعف الادراج اسفل سفيل، ودار السلام ودار
الانتقام بدء ما دون انقضى لانهما ماثاهم على قدر اعمالهم في ما يشون بتياد الاردة، والاربعة

690 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

691 Followed by a six-pointed star covering the complete plate.

692 Read probably: shari'a.

اركان لا انقضا لهم وايضا للسماوات، وذلك الستة اشيا بخلف الخلق لهم بدا ولا بدى له، والسيعة خلق الدنيا واعد لها بدى وانقضى بعكسه، بداها من فضله وانقضها [ب]سكن الحركات كلها باردته وعدله لانها اضداد ولا ضيد لها دليل على خصرتها،

الاطغى للعباد بالفساد واتبع الشهوات وترك مرضية الله وذلك مروى عن روحه،

خلق المثلثة وبهاهم عظم [يم] وقواتهم روحية، لا تمنى ولا تنفى وذلك الخلق خلقها فالحين المعنوي من نار السموم مثل ما خلق ادم من تراب، وفي ذلك الحين خلق السماوات وما فوقها من الاكوان المسررة وملهن منهم، لا يحصى عدداهم الا هولان الله تتبع الطبعة وما فوقها ولم يفعل المعجزات الا عند احتياج ضرورة فكان قدير على ان يخلق ادم ما دون تراب وخلق منه، | والمملك ايضا وخلق من ذلك النار مختص بطبعته وهو روحاني، اقوى وابهى من النار الطبيعي بسبعين ضعفاً، وذلك مروى عن روح الله،

ظ

واعلم ان روح ادم على طبعة الملك في اضعف الادراج وزد عليه بالتجسد، وجسده مثل روحه في السلام⁶⁹³ كثير البها والنشطة والخطوة [والخفة، والمملك] والروح قوة روحية من امر الله وهما طبعة وحدة كله [فهم لم يحط بنشئته] ولا بجمل صفته الا الله الذي [ا]يد ذلك الخلق باردة حرية لا قهر عليها البتة، واعطها نشية جميلة وايضا [ا]عطى الملك فهماً سريعاً اسرع من سرع الفكر، وحركته ايضا كذلك على قدر فهمه، وله قدرة من الله عظيمة القوة بقدر ان لو شا حول السماوات والارض بمن عليه كالمح بالبصار ما دون عياء وقهرة، ولكن طوعه الله بقدر ان لم يعصي امره طرفة عين، وطبته⁶⁹⁴ في عبادته وامثله امره فيما يمره لما يشا وعكسه اعطى لادم التذكر لم يفهم دونه شيئاً، والسكينة من فضله عليه لذلك وقدرته على قدر قوة ايمنه كما قال روح الله للحوارين: ان كان لكم مثل خردلة من ايمان لا حولتم به الجبال في البحر ولم تعجز لكم قدرة، فهذا قدرة خردلة كيف تكون قدرة من كان له | فيه يقين قوي؟

و3

ليس الملك بلسان لغة تجريم ولا بصوت نطق ولكن لسانه روحي يتكلم مع بعض به كل ما يريد وهو حسين الافظ والمعاني وان اتخض جسداً يتكلم به على قدر لسان الحال والامر به له، مثل الملك جبريل للصالحه مريم في بشرتها ولسيدنا يسوع عند توفيه وعده ولصاار الانبيا الذي ارسل اله اليهم الملك لامر قضاءه في علمه او وحي لطعته ونظرة عبادته،

693 Read probably: dār al-salām, with erroneous omission of the first word.

694 Read probably: wa-ṭabī'atuhu.

ليس حفصة على ادم قبل عصينه لان الله كان الشهيد عليه والنبي له عن الذنب والخير بعدوة الشيطان ولا الملك بعدوه قبل كبره وبعده وبعد عصـ[يان] ادم الملك خصر محاسنه وليس بخصران قوة طبعته وقدرته ولكين هي مغلاة فيه، ادم خصر محاسنه وليس بخصران لفيدته وطبعة روحه وفهمه لان لو خصران ذلك الاشيا الحسنات الطبعيات مكان⁶⁹⁵ الملك ملكاً ولام⁶⁹⁶ ادم ولكين من بعد غرور الكبر للملك والاقوع في الذنب انذره الله لادم بالدس والطيعون منهم القى حفصة عليه وعلى ذرياته للحرص وكتب اعمالهم من حبه فيه تشفع ذنبه والملك العصي ليس بحفيض ولا تشفع من اجل كبره وذلك فضمه⁶⁹⁷ مباح وهو يرحى الشفعة ولم يبيح بها من اجل عصينه وكبر كيده يصف الخطي لله عليه وهو فيه سبيغ وللخلود في النار لعنه الله،

3 | من اجل الرضا والعصيان جعل الله المثلثة ادراج في النعيم والعذاب وفرق بين الصالحين منهم والفسدين واعطى عليهم قهراً للعدلين والقى طيب عيشهم في طعته وخلصهم في النعيم، والفسدون المتكبرون سمهم جنون وشياطين وكل واحد في الطبعة والضلال، والقى فهم ادراجاً على قدر عصيهم واحترافهم، وخلص الشيطان راس الاوزار والاثام والتبعين اليه في العذاب، ومن الانس يملي الله جهنم معهم اجمعين وهي مئوهم بعد الحساب ويجزا عباديه الصالحين فضلاً منه، وذلك الادراج اصفهم في الموضوع الذي يجب في كتاب هذا،

والحفصة مثلثة كرام من فضل اله يحرصون الاطفال من يوم خلقهم من كل الافات ويحبونهم حباً شديداً، فاذا بلغ الطفل اشده واستدن النوعين ليس الملك بحفيض له ولكين يره بالرقبة عليه والنبي له عن المحاريم ويكتب الاعمال، فاذا استدن للملك كتب له عمله وهو فريحاً وان استدن للشيطان واتبع الشهوات الملك غير رضياً بالعمال الفسيد فيكتب له مسوم العمال،

وانما الشيطان عليه بقدير ولا سبيل له الا الداس خصه وهو له اكبر الاعدى بعكس الملك يكذ

4 | على هلكه وانخلود معه في النار والعذاب وذلك الملك العصي من | اجل عصينه بالكبر ومن اجل اختلاف ذنبه له سبعة ادراج من كبد السما الى اسفل جهنم وهو على فرقين: فرق رهط اب مرّة واسم ذلك الرهط شياطين وفرق رهط ابن الحارث واسمه جنون وكل اعداً ادم وذريته،

695 Read: mā kāna.

696 Read: wa-lā Ādam.

697 Read: fī ḡamīrihi.

واوول⁶⁹⁸ دراج منهم تحت ساق الدرّة البيضاء في اول ركن النار، والثاني في الصحاب، والثالث في الرياح، والرّبع في وجه الارض، والخميس في الغران والكهوف والمخود والجيران وفي كل موضع ضليم، والسدس في البحار والعيون والانهار، والسبع في جهنم، وقدرهم عظيم وكيدهم كبير ولكين الله اعتدى لهم الامر ان يقدرّون على شي الا بامرّه، ولهم احتراف بالفساد في كل موضع والداس لباني ادم ومن يشايري كيدهم وفسدهم يقرأ كتاب الاطلاق والتعزم في نحوس الجن لنيي الله سليمان ابن دود وكتاب طوارق الجن للعزير لان ليس لي يوجب ولكين في في الفقه والدينة لطعة الله، واقول ان عذبهم هو عذاب اليم وخبثهم اكبر خبثاً، ولم يشتهوا الا الخبث اعذنا الله منهم، فاذا قضى الله بتودب العباد يرمهم به على الملك الصالح مثل العقاب الى قوم لوط والتخوف الى قوم ينوس ومثل ذلك، ولم ير الملك الا بخير لطعته والنصرة لعباديه كما اخبر لوط وامره بالخروج من اقومه باله قبل السيح والرسلة لنبية دود للرجوع اليه ومثل ذلك،

ظ4

واما الجن والشيطان بقدير على عذاب العصا في جهنم والانتقام منهم الا بانتقام التسنين خصّة، وليس لهم فيها امرة وكل فيها محصرين معذبين على الخزنة الذي اعد الله لذلك الامر، هم ملكة غلاظ لم يعصوا الله طرفة عين ابدأ والتقى طيب عيشهم في [ش]ريعته والانتقام من العصا كلهم من الانس والجن والشياطين بانواع في [الع]ذاب الهوني بامرّه، وهذا مروى عن الصالحة مريم العذرة في كتاب منجتها [ال]روحانية لله،

وادراج الملك الصالح ابدى من الارض واقول عن الصالحة مريم في كتاب الحكام لشيخ يعقوب اي قالت ان الارض مكيكة بمكيل وموزنة بميزان وعليها ملك موكل، وقالت في كتاب المنجة ان رات من الدرّة البيضاء وهي اول سماء ملك عظيم القدر والجلال والارض بيده قبضة مثل حبة خردلة وهو شخص فيها، وقسم بالذي فطر السموات والارض ان لم تتحرك فيها ذرة ولا بعضة في اكونها الا وهو عالم بتحركها وكتبه بعلم من الله في كتاب موبين،

واعلم ان من ذلك الملك الى محل قدسه والملك الذي هو موكل بحجاب بسط عرشه لهم ادراج افي المنزلة والتفضيل من الله، وهم ملائكة الاعلى واهل مملكته وهو يحبهم ولم يتعدى عليهم ابدأ، وذلك مروى عن الصالحة مريم في كتاب الحكام لشيخ يعقوب اي قالت: ان الله لا يتعدى على اهل مملكته ابدأ،

و5

ولذلك الملكة قدرة عظيمة ولن يحطون بعلم الله ولا بأسراره العظيمة الخفية الا بما يشاء من فضله العظيم ولهم فيها ادراج، وللمقربين منه اعظم درجة وتفضيلاً وفهماً على بعضهم وكل خلوقهم مرضية الله، يفهمون امره باذنه اسرع من لمح البصار ويفعلوا ما يمرهم بذلك السر⁶⁹⁹ بذلك السرع في الامر وكشف الاسرار الذي يكشف لهم لا يمرهم يعدلون السير على بعضهم وهو العليم بكل شيء جل جلاله العظيم، وليس يكشف الله اليهم واسراره العظيمة خفية لم يطلع عليها ولا على ذاته احداً من عباديه ولكين الملك في غفلة عن اسرار اوحها اليه من فضله بروحه المقداس والمسجد المومنين تفضيلاً عليه لبني ادم،

واما السموات بحق قدرة هتف على الارض لان الارض فضلها الله بالروح ملين (؟)⁷⁰⁰ الانجيل العزيز وايد فيها مساجيد وخلفه وبرك فيها بالانبياء والصلحين واعداها دار تجرب لاهل جنته وفضلهم على صاءر من خلق بروحه والشفع والفلاح والخلود | معه ارواض نعم بالجنة، الى وجهه الكريم⁵ نذرين والملكة يحفونهم من كل جانب تيسراً وتخيراً بكل ما تشتهون لنفسهم وذلك فوز عظيم، ورجعنا بعون الله الى ادراج الملكة، قال روح الله: وما من امة من الانس والجن اذا استطعوا الانفاذ من اقطار السموات والارض [لن ينفاذ] الا بسطان—صدق قوله العظيم، وبعكس ذلك الملك لا سلطان له الا الله وهو القى دراج الملكة في تسعة محاطير بتخير كل واحد منهم على من تحته من الدرّة البيضاء الى منتهى عرشه، وجعل قتهم في ذكره والاختيار بقدرته وسلطنه وخشيته، وذلك مروى عن الصالحة مريم وكتاب المنحة المذكور، وفوق ذلك التسعة محظير من الملكة الكرام المقربين لا يعلم عددهم وعظمة قدرتهم الا الله،

ومن اعظم شيء يجب تورخه هو ان الملك جبريل اثني جوباً على الصالحة مريم ليلة منحتها لله عند سئله اليه عن ملك عظيم القدرة راته خريج من حجاب الله يسبحه ويقده فقال لها ان لم سمع بذلك الملك قط ولم عرفه من يوم خلقه الله الا في ذلك الحين وجبريل من المقربين ومن افضل الملكة عند الله ولكين كونه كبير وقدرته | عظيمة وعلمه لا انفصم له، فالقى من الملك على الانسان⁶ حفصة والارض موكلاً وفي الاقلام اقطباً، وفي السموات حركاتاً وفي المحجوب موكلون بهم ولكل شيء معدل امره وفضله تفضيلاً،

699 Erroneous dittography.

700 Is it *mulayyin*, or perhaps *mulabbîn*, or even *mu'în* (with alif instead of 'ain?).

ولا يخفي عليه شي في السموات والارض بل هو الخبير العليم غني عن كل شي وقدير على تصريف مملكته ما دون ملك والانس والجن وما من تصور الملك ضربته مثلاً في كتاب هذا ضربته لضررة فهم الانسان لان الملك كما قلت قوة روحية ليس له صفة تجسد ولا حرية مفدة⁷⁰¹ له ولن يحط بنشئته الا الله،

ولول احببت الاختصار وترك التطويل لوصفت لك في قدرة الملك ومحاسنه واحترافه وفهمه وعبادته لله وخشيته منه وطعته اليه، معاني لم يحط بفهمها الا فهم فارضى بما اتيتك به واشكر لله على ذلك لان الخير كله من عنده ومن يشا الله يره معاني الملك واسراره وقدرته يونخره لوقت قرات كتاب منجاة الصالحة مريم لان فيه اسراراً عظيمة مستوجبة الاختبار والتذكر اولى الالباب مفدة تقر بهم لله وتبعدهم من المحاريم لكن اخره الله لآخر الزمان وحفضه في الجبل المقدس يره من هويشا،
كل الكتاب على يدي ساس الايه ابن الرضى تلهذ يعقوب الحوري نفع الله به به⁷⁰² لجميع عباديه الطيعين لامره وعبادته،

ظ6 لا اله الا الله، يصوع روح الله⁷⁰³،

701 Perhaps to be read as *mu'adda*.

702 Dittography.

703 Creed of the Lead Books. This line is given within a constellation of seven stars, marking the end of the texts.

LP14

On 4 September 1597 was found *Kitāb al-Hikām fī al-dīn* ("Libro de las Sentencias de Nuestra Senora"), in eighteen plomos. Vatican photographs: XI, 1–18, with 10–13 lines per side; numbered with the letters of the alphabet; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁷⁰⁴ diameter: 58,08 mm; weight: 60,23 grams; 2,17 mm. thick. Legible throughout.

- ظ¹ لا اله الا الله، يصوع روح الله⁷⁰⁵،
- و² كتب الحكام في الدين⁷⁰⁶
- ظ² كتاب الحكام في الدين والمقام ينل بها اليقن ودار السلام مروى عن الصالحة مريم العذرة البتلة ليعقوب ابن شميخ الزبدي الحوري، مترجم بالعربية بامرها على يدي تلمذه وكاتبه ساس الايه ابن الرضي،
- دخلت يوماً على الصالحة مريم العذرة البتلة فتبش لشيخي يعقوب فوجدته معها وهي خطيبته خلوه، فاحتفضت من الدخول عليهما مستحياً، فلما فرغ من حضرتها قبلت يده فرايتها ببرنامج الراق، قلت: ما ذا البرنامج؟
- فقال لي: هي الحكام والحديث في الدين والمقام اليه عن الصالحة مريم، خذها بقوة وترجمها باللسان العربي واسطرها في الرصاص ليستفدون منه العباد لطة الله في آخر الزمان، امرها هذا الينا،
- و³ فعند ذلك اخذتها وترجمتها واسطرها كما وجدتها في الراق مكتبة من يده بالعبراني لم ازيد ولا انقص منها شيئاً، واعلم ان كل وجدته من ذلك الحكام قالتها لضررة ولا دنها للساتلين نثر غير التمام يبنهن وتحت كل وحدة منهن اسرار عظيمة وعلم كثير وهي مائة حكمه وحكمة،
- الاول منهن اصل كل شي واكبر قعيده في الاعمل الصالحة والثلاثة الاوت بعدها فهن حق الايمان والسبعة وتسعين فهن حق الاحسان وهي هذا:
- عليكم بالنيه الجملة لانها من فضائل الله على عباديه وهي اصل العمال الصالح لان دنها لن يقبل الله عملاً،
- ظ³ ا: هو فرض على العباد الايمان بالله الذي لا اله الا هو | وباليوم الاخر وشروط دينه المستقيم فعليكم بذلك كما امركم لان دنه ليس نجة لاحد من العلمين،

704 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

705 Creed of the Lead Books. Written within a constellation of seven stars.

706 Title. Written within a six-pointed star.

ب: حق الايمان وفرض على العباد من الله بان يصوع كليمه منه نفخها وانه روحه الامين، رحمة للعباد تباداً، وانه مصدقا لما بين يديه من الانجيل والكتب وحق الضلال والكفر بالعكس، قيل: يا صالحه اخبرنا عن اي موضع نفخها لنمونا بها حق الايمان، فسكتت وذلك دليل على انها الموصفة بذلك وسكوتهما يرفض الفخر،

ت: يتي في الاجود بعد روح الله يصوع نور من الله اسمه المحي المنور والمعجم البرقلطس، خاتم المرسلين تباداً وهو خاتم الدين ونور الانبياء لا نور لهم دته ولا لاحد من العلمين فالذين يمنوا به من بعد يسعدوا حق السعدة | وينور حق التنور المبين من الله ومن كفر به لا حض له في الجنة ولكن اكثر الناس كفرون،

ث: عليكم بحقوق الطعة ليصوع روح الله لان من اطعه الله ومن عصه عصى الله ومن اطع امره فقد اطعه ومن عصى امره فقد عصه⁷⁰⁷، فاطعه تتالوا من اجل ذلك دار السلام، ج: دليل على ان الله يحب عبده اقمه والمقام اليه، فعليكم بالشكر على تلك النعم ليثبتكم عليها لانها طريق الرشدا الى الاخرة،

ح: حثوا انفسكم على خلق الدين ينوركم الله ويعظيم قدركم في اعيون عباديه، قيل: يا صالحه ما خلقو الدين؟ قالت: الحياء،

خ: من احبب منكم طلب الولية وطعة الله فليعتصم من الدنيا واصل ذلك النية والتزم [النية فليعتصم من الدنيا واصل ذلك النية والتزم⁷⁰⁸ البيت والتدبير وذكر الله كثيراً والانتقطاع من الناس والمفزع افضل لذلك من | العمران، ومن عمل ذلك تاح عليه اسرار الله العظيمة على قدر عماله،

د: ومن المتعدة لله من جانب عباديه: ان ليس ينبغي لعبد مومين ان يتعدى على اله وعباله لان الله لا يتعدى على اهل مملكته ابداً،

ذ: حثوا انفسكم على الاحسان والشفقة متعددة لله لان هو يحب المحسنين والمشفقين، ودار ليس فيه احسان وشفقة خلي من الله ويخسروا اهله يوم القيمة خبلا، وليس لهم حضاً في الجنة، ر: حثوا انفسكم على احسن الذكر والعمال الصالح في كل وقت ولا تغفلوا عنه ابتغاء مراح لان يوم القيمة عنه تسألون،

707 The scribe had written: fa-qad atā'ahu, but crossed this out and replaced it by: 'ašahu.

708 Probably an erroneous repetition, a case of homoioteleuton.

- ز: ارضوا للولدي⁷⁰⁹ يرضى الله عنكم لان ان حفصتم لهم جناح الذول يحفض لكم الله جناح العدل والشريعة وان | نشرتم عليهم قول جميل ينشر الله عليكم جناح رحمته وتناولوا الرضى منه،
 5و ط: من غفر لاخيه المومنين خطية كرامة في الله وحباً فيه، يغفر الله له جميع خطياته ولو كانت مثل زبد البحر وحصات الارض ونجوم السماء واكثر من ذلك، ويدخله الجنة، وفي ذلك علامة كبيرة دليله على لين القلب والايمان، وبالعكس علامة الكفر لان الكفير قلبه اقصى من صم السام⁷¹⁰ لن يغفر خطية في الله ولن يغفر الله له لانه بعيد منه لا مولا له، والمومنين قريب من الله وهو موله حقاً على كل حال،
- ظ: لم يبلغ المومنين بالله واليوم الاخر حقيقة الايمان حتى يريد لاخيه المومنين | ما يريد لنفسه فعليكم
 5ظ بالحلب لتبلغوا حقيقة الايمان وتكونوا حقاً عباديه،
 ل: انهم عن الشحن لان المشحن لن يغفر الله له وهو تحت سخاطه ويخسره وهو مشحن ويدخله النار وهو مشحن ان لم يرجع عن ذلك حق الرجوع لله،
 ل: خير الناس الذي يسمع الانجيل العزيز ويفعل ما امير فيه، وبالعكس اشر عباديه،
 م: ارفقوا في الامور باخوانكم المومنين يرفق الله بكم في اموركم ولا تقطعوا رحيمكم لان القطيع رحمه لن يغفر الله له الا ان يرجع عن ذلك حق الرجوع،
 ص: تمنوا افضل العمال للتلاق وهو الاستشهد على الدين لان ان استشهدتم تناولوا به اعلى درجة في الجنة | بعد درجة الانبياء، وان لم استشهدتم يعطكم الله على قدر ذلك النية خير العطي في ذلك
 6و الدراجات،
 ض: افضل عباد الله الذي يهب نفسه وماله في سبيله حتى يموت، والفعليل ذلك له عهداً عنده ان يدخله الجنة،
 ع: يجب الكلام باحسن الذكر ولا ينبغي غيره للمومنين، وان لم يبلغه اجب عليهم الصمت لان السفها من جهنم،
 غ: اكسوا العرياً حباً في الله لان من اكسهم يكسه الله من جلال رحمته،
 ف: لا تسخروا من اخوانكم المومنين لان ذلك ذنب كبير وهو دين يوم القيامة شديد الكفرة ان لم يصفحه المعنون،

709 Read probably: li-al-wālidain.

710 Pseudo-corrected into: al-salām.

- ق: ايكم ثم ايكم الشرك بالله لان الله لن يغفره | ابدأ والربا جز منه يسمى اسغر في انواعه،
ظ6
س: الهوى قسمين، قسم لله وقسم للعلوم، قسم الله يسكمم وقسم للعلوم يصمكم فاتبعوا احسنه لان
هو باب كل خير يهدكم الله طريق الرشاد،
ش: عليكم بترك ما لا يعنكم الاخرة لان ذلك من حسن ايمنكم بالله واليوم الاخر، يهيي الله صوركم
عند لقائه،
ه: استعدوا بالله من الشيطان في كل وقت لان هو لكم اشر الاعداء، عسى يعبدكم⁷¹¹ الله منه،
لان في ذلك الاستعد اجر كبير،
و: حثوا انفسكم للعدل في كل مكان لان لم يخل منه الله والارض جميعاً مكيلة بمكييل وموزنة بميزان
وعليها ملك موكل والمليكة الحافضين عليكم يكتبون اعمالكم ولن يسقط من علم الله شي،
لا: لا تحفون افتراء الشيطان عليكم لان ليس له سبيلاً لذلك، نخفوا الله من اجل ذنوبكم لان الله
هو العلم الخبير يعلم ما في انفسكم وما في الشيطان وانتم وايه لم تعلموا ما في نفسه،
وي: ارفضوا الدنيا لانها داراً لمن لا دار له وطليها بعيد من الله وهو خديمها، واخذ ايم الله ريفضا
وخديمته⁷¹² بالعكس،
ا: ارضوا صلة اهل الله لتنالوا من اجلهم الهدى في الدنيا للاخرة واتركوا الجهلين لانهم اشرار
والخلق تنالوا منهم الشر بالعكس،
ب: عليكم بمجلسة العلماء في الدين لان في ذلك اجر كبير وقرب من الله لتستوجبوا من اجلهم
مغفرة منه، وايكم الجهل لانه اصل الكفر بالله،
ظ7
ت: عليكم بطهرة الجساد والثوب لان ذلك دليل على طهارة الروح وطهارة | الروح دليل على الطهر
من الذنب والطهير من اهل الجنة والخبيث من اهل النار،
ث: ادفنوا الموتى وارفقوا بهم حتى في قبورهم مثل ما ترفقون بالاحياء، لان الله خلق بني ادم
على صورته وهو خير اب، والعكيس ذلك فهو تحت سخط الله ولعنته،
ج: ايكم النيش لانه ذنب كبير ويحسب المفتون عند الله لنبشه مثل ما يحسب المحي الحي على
الخشفة،

711 Read probably: yub'idukum.

712 Read probably: wa- khadimuhā.

ح: يجب الطهر في المساجد من كل خباث وابعد الخبثاء منهم ان يدفنوا فهم، وليدفنوا في ارواضهم المباركات لان المساجد حق طهرهم من كل خباث وهو سكينهم وجب الطهر، وامر لموسى بنزع نعليه من اجل ذلك عند لقائه ويصوع ايضاً لتلامذه | عند شعاعه في الطور اخلاصاً،^{8و} والفعل بالعكس ردي،

قيل: ما الخبثاء يا صالح؟ قالت: هو الذنب واهله الموتى عليه دون حق الخروج منه، يكرههم الله في الدنيا وفي الآخرة، واعد لهم نار جهنم ولا يعلم بالطهرين الا الله ومن يشا من عباديه،

خ: تصدقوا في الحيا قبل الممت لانه خير التصدق وتجز الحسنة بمائة بعد الممت، والصدقة يظفي⁷¹³ غضاب الرب، والمصدق عنده اجر عظيم،

د: لا تكون اموال اليتيم ضلماً لان اكلهم ذنب كبير واشفقوا عليهم لانهم مضرين القلوب والمشفق عليهم يكتب الله له بكل شعرة في ابدنهم حسنة ويحي عنه جميع | سيئاته، والعكيس ذلك^{8ظ} من اهل النار،

ذ: عليكم برفع الكراب عن اخوانكم المومنين، لان من رفع عن اخيه المومن كربة في دار الدنيا يرفع الله عنه عشرة كراب من كراب الآخرة، كل وحدة منها اشد من مائة ضربة بالحسام ويحشره تحت الرضا،

ر: ايكم الزنا لانه فحيشة وذنوب كبير، والزاني والزنية من جهنم ان لم يتركان ذلك ويخرجان منه حق الخروج،

ز: عليكم بالصدق ان الله يحب الصادقين والكاذبين تحت سخاطه لانهم اخوان الشيطان،

ط: لا تعضمون الذنب بقدر ان يقطع رجمكم⁷¹⁴ من الرحمة لان ذلك ذنب كبير وعرفنا بحسن الضان في الله قريب من الغفران فعليكم برجاء رحمته لتنالوا الغفران منه،

ظ: انهكم التوكل على اعمالكم وليكن | ذلك على الله لان من توكل على عماله ينقص رجه عند تحييط المصيبة به، ومن توكل على الله عندها يزيد يقيناً وهو حسبه،

ك: دليل على ان العمال الصالح والجد لله اسراره وعلى انه للناس اشهره، فايكم الشهرة وعليكم بالسير ليكون عمالكم لله لا للناس،

ل: تزودون بالقوت من كل شي ولا تتمتعوا لان القوت من شان الايمان والتمتع من شان الكفر بالله،

713 With one dot over the consonant to indicate fā'

714 Read probably: rijākum.

م: عليكم بالصبر في كل شي لان الصبر هو اصل الاجر على الله، وايكم القنات لانه اصل قطع الرجا من رحمته، والصبر فيه اجر عظيم ينل به النعيم والقنات بالعكس ينل به النار،
ن: عليكم بالاحسان المجيد بمال لمن يجب من اخوانكم المؤمنين وان لم استطعتم فبقول جميل يرحمكم الله من اجل ذلك،

وظ ص: | عليكم بالندى وترك البخل لان النادي من اهل الجنة والبخيل من اهل النار،
ض: ايكم التيبس من روح الله لان لا يبتسون منه الا القوم الكافرين المغضب عليهم،
ع: لا ترجوا العصمة من انفسكم بالعمل الصالح ولترجها من الله وفضله عليكم ولتعديل الطلب يرحمكم ويحكم من تعب الاخرة،

غ: استعنوا بالله عند تحيط المصيبة وارجعون اليه يكون حسبكم ووليكم وهو خير ولي،
ف: الدنيا سجن وشجان لاهل الله وتجرباً للصبرين فاصبروا على البلاء فيها ليعلم الله منكم الصبر بالتجرب ويزدكم فضلاً منه،

ق: سئلتها قوم عن السعة اي وقتها فقالت: ايكم السئل عنها وعن الخفي من دونها، قيل: ما الخفي من دونها يا صاحبة لنتحفظوا | منه، قالت: سير الصدور وتغوص الارحام، وباي بقعة ووقت يحيط بكم يحيطكم الموت وما يتي غدا عليكم من خير وغير، واعلموا مني ما علمت من الله ان ذلك الكتمان هو من فضله عليكم وبه حل بين الانسان وقلبه ولكن السعة تبي بغتة لا يعلم وقته الا الله،
س: قالت لقوم سئلتها عن فضل الله على عباديه: اشتركتم الله بثمان قليل وشروءه من اعظم المنان عليكم وكنتم عباده حقاً يدخلكم من اجل ذلك الجنة، قيل: ما اعني الثمان القليل فيما لا تقدر له يا صاحبة؟ قالت: ان اشتركتم ثمناً كثيراً لرفع عنكم الموت وحملكم للنعيم دون امتحان ولكن قلت ثمانه رحمة منه لا عدل شريعة الفضل والعبادة، والشريعة بالعكس، واقل ثمنه لا يحصى ابداً،

ش: استعنوا بحق اقية الله وقوته واخواتهما لانهم افضل الاستعان وفي حق اقية الله وقوته واخواتهما اجر عظيم وعبدية كبيرة وكانت عبدة ابنا ادم وحوه لله،

ه: امركم الخبير وانهمك الشار، لان كل تراه وتلوه يوم التلاقي ولن يسقط من علم الله شي،
و: عليكم بالكرام لان الكرام يعرفون عند الله مويدته في الارض ولهم جنة النعيم، وايكم البخل لان البخيل لم يدخلها حتى يلج الجمل في سم الخيط،

لا: عليكم بالصبر في الامور ليزدكم على قدر صبركم ايماً واجراً وفي الامرض والاعرض حسبة لان الله يشفق فهم على عباديه كما يشفق الابي الصديق على ابنه ويخرج الدواء من السوم،
ي: الموت باباً دخيله كل حي ولا نجة منه | فاخطروه بقدر ان تتمنونه ليدخلكم الله في رحمته،

ا: عليكم بمعكسة الكفار في جميع امورهم لان الكفار يعكسون الله ودينه الرشيد والمعكس اليهم هو حقاً عبده ويحبه حباً كبيراً،

ب: لم يجب ذكر الانبياء الا باحسن الذكروترك الضان والانسفر منهم بان ذنبهم غير ابتلاء لان ذلك ذنب كبير ولكن فهم الذنب لسبب تنزيلاً ووعض من الله للعباد وتيسراً رجياً،

ت: عليكم بالطيب وترك الربآء واخلبة لان اهل الطيب من الجنة واهل الربآء واخلبة من النار،
ث: عليكم بعدوة الشيطان بقدر ان تقطعوا رجه من الداس تنلوا من اجل ذلك مرضية الله لان من عدّه⁷¹⁵ حب الله والله يحبه لان الشيطان اكبر عدو له،

ج: عليكم بشكر النعام وايكم الكفرا بهم لان ذلك من الكبائر الذين يستوجب بهم النار، والكفير¹¹ بالنعام اشر الخلق ويعد به الله عذاباً شديداً في الجحيم،

ح: اتقوا الله في اموركم وخفوا مقمه لان من ضنه شديد العقاب⁷¹⁶ خيف منه يجده غفور رحيم،
ومن ضنه غفور رحيم ابتغاً فساد يجده شديد العقاب،

خ: تعبر الامر نقصنه وتعبر الخير احسنه فعبر الخير واتركوا تعبر الامر تناولوا بذلك دار السلام،
د: ازددون العمال الصالح ليزدكم الله ايمناً لانه ينقص بالعكس بقدر ان لم يبق منه شي ويظني نوره من القلب كما يظني نور النبراس الخلي من الدهن،

ذ: دليل على التقى لرضوان الله مخافة شهوات النفس وبالعكس اتبع الحلوم، فعليكم بالمخافة لتناولوا¹² رضون الله،

ر: حفظ الانسان ومحاسنه في موضع لا يخف عليهم الاحتراف بعبدة الله، واكنز المال في موضع لا يخف عليه ابدأ ابداله في سبيل الله، فانتهاوا للعبدة وابدال المال على قدر جهدكم لان بذلك تناولوا ما وعدكم الله من نعمه في الاخرة،

ز: استقام لبعضكم من اهل الاستقام لا من غير مستقيم فعليكم بالاستقام منهم ليستقيم قولكم في البعض،

ط: الدنيا كون اضفته النار في كبدها وليس للعباد خرج منها الا عليها، والعمال الصالح جيداً منها فائقوا الحجاب بقدر ان لا تمسك ولا تسمعوا لها حسساً عند الخروج، هذا كنية على الاخرة،

715 Read probably: man [huwa] 'adūhu.

716 Al-'iqāb was followed by several words crossed out by the scribe.

ظ12 | عليكم بترك الضان بان العبد المدمن على العصيان يغفر الله له وهو خلي من اخلاص او غير منيب لحقوق التوبة والرجوع اليه ولا المقتضى عليه بالنار بعد غيه عبادة خلي من ارداء العمال الصالح، ومن يضمن ذلك ضمن نقصن العدل في الله وذلك ذنب كبير لن يغفره الله الا بالخروج منه واصل ختم السعادة لم يطلع الله عليه لاحد من عباديه،

لك: اشفقوا على انصار الله واحسنوا اليهم لانهم انصر لكم في الدنيا للعيش وفي الاخرة للسعادة، قيل لها: يا صالحه من انصار الله؟ قالت: الفقراء،

ل: عليكم بالفقر في الروح والفقر من الكبر والغنا في الدين والشكر، وفي ذلك اجر كبير، لان لا فقر من مال ولكن فقر الدين والشكر من اعظم الفقر ولا يغني عن الفقر الا غنا الدين والشكر،

م: | اصل الايمان النية اليه واصل الكفر الشكوك في الدين، فاتركوا الشكوك واتقوا النية حتي يتكم اليقين من الله ويدخلكم في رحمته،

ن: دليل على الايمان بالله السكينة في الدين ودليل على الشكوك فيه نحر العقول عنه مثل الريح في الحركات المختلفة فعليكم بالسكينة وترك النحر عنه لتكونوا مومنين حقاً،

ص: كل شيئاً تحبه يفقدكم بالموت والعمال الصالح لم يفقدكم به فعليكم بأدبه على قدر أدبه اليكم لانه خير صديق ورافق للصفار الى الاخرة والنجة اليكم تتالوا من اجل ذلك رضوان الله،

ض: اصلحون بينكم وبين الله لانه خير سلطان ولا تحفوا سلطاناً معكساً لذلك مادام سلطانه لانه دايم لا ينفد ابداً وفعيل ذلك يته حق اليقين منه،

ع: عليكم بالصبر على المصبة والرضى بالعطى لان بهما | يثبت العبد تحت كفاف الله لانه خير صبير وهو يحب الصبرين الرضين ويدخلهم الجنة،

غ: من نسي الله عند عصر نعامه عليه ينسه الله عند تحيط المصبة به، ومن تذكر اليه عند عصر نعامه ينشر عليه رحمته عند المصبة ويخرجه حق الخرج منها ويدخله في كفاف رحمته، فعليكم بالشكر والعبدة

في كل وقت ليدخلكم في كفاف رحمته وينجكم من الافات في الدنيا والاخرة،

ف: عليكم بالتوبة الصدقة من الذنب وشروطها بقدر ان لم تعدون اليه ابداً يخرجكم الله حق الخروج منه لان من تغيرات عنه التوبة تغيرات عنه التوبة⁷¹⁷ ولن يقبل الله عمله، ويسمى عند المليكة المدمن على الذنب وهو من اهل النار،

717 Sic! Read perhaps: al-rahma.

ق: لا يعظمن عندكم العمال الصالح خوفاً وضناً أن فيه ضيق النفوس وذلك رجز من الشيطان عليكم لان الله لن يضق نفساً الا ما وسعت | ولا تغيروا النعام التي بكم من الله ولتعتصموا بها ليعصمكم الله لان الله لم يغير نعمكم حتى تغير انفسكم،

س: عليكم بطلب الدين في خصّة انفسكم وذلك فرض من الله عليكم لتكنوا عباده حقاً والمعكيس لذلك اشر خلقه وهو من اهل النار ان لم يرجع حق الرجوع لله،

ش: عليكم بالوصف لله بكل ذي جلال وكمال وايمكم ثم ايمكم ضمن النقصان فيه بان تعجز له قدرة او ان له ضرورة عند ايجاد خلقة او انتشار رحمة او عدل شريعة لما سبق في سابق علمه لانه قدير على كل شي وعديل فيه على كل حال لا يسئل عمي هو يفعل وانتم تستلون لان ذلك الضان ضمن الكافرين به، وفي جهنم باب يسمى باب الضان يدخلون عليه ذلك القوم وهم فيها خلدون،

ه: عليكم بالنية الجميلة في جميع اموركم و ايجب عليكم تظلها بالحزم الجميل لان الله يحب اهلها الحزمين و اتركوا عكوس ذلك لان الشيطان يحبه حباً شديداً لان مقمكم في دار الغرور مثل النعاج ما بين الذياب، فمن غفل منكم عن النية والحزم يهلك،

و: اذا يتحدث احدكم بالله وطعته استجبون كلامه لان اذا تحدثان اثنين بالله وطعته كان هو ثلثهم ومعونهم ومنورهم والشيطان بالعكس،

لا: تهذوا بعض لبعض بكداقمة وشبهها في الله تنمي محبتكم في طعته بقدر ان يذهب عنكم الغيل والحساد وتعرفون عنده اخير خلقه، ويكون لكم عنده اجر كبير، ان الله كريم وهو يحب الكريمين، ي: عليكم بستر عيوب اخوانكم المومنين يستر الله عيوبكم ويكتبكم عنده اخير عباديه وايمكم كشفهم لانه ذنب كبير،

ا: ايمكم التهمة | واصلحوها بين اخوانكم المومنين لان الصليح بينهم يصلح الله جميع اموره ويعطه حق العطي في الدنيا والاخرة، والنمام بالعكس من اهل النار لان هو اخي الشيطان،

ب: لا تقتلون النفس التي حرم الله والعامد لقتلها هو من اهل النار ان لم يرجع من ذلك حق الرجوع لله، ويقم شروط تكفر الذنب،

ت: عليكم بحب الله على كل شي لان هو افضل محبباً لكم يحبكم وينظركم بعين رحمته، ومن نظره الله بعين رحمته لا خوف عليه من شي يخف ضره في الدنيا والاخرة،

ث: ايمكم الضان بان من صح حسن ضانه في الله بنية خلصة ورجوع اليه طمعاً في رحمته يهلك في الاخرة ولو كانت ذنوبه لم تحصى في العدد لان هو خير نصير لمن اصتنصر به ورحيم لمن استرحمه،

ومن يضمن بالعكس ضمن النقصن فيه وهو من اهل النار،

ج: تقربوا الى الله يقرب | منكم، انه قال: من دنى مني قدر شبراً دنوت منه ضرعاً ومن دنا مني ضرعاً دنوت منه بعاً ومن اتني مشياً آتيته هرولة وليس قرب منه الا بالدعاء وفعل ما امر به،
 ح: عليكم بكرمة الضيف حسباً في الله يكرمكم الله في الدنيا والاخرة لان في ذلك اجر عظيم عنده،
 خ: الدنيا نوم وغفلة لسكنها فاذا متوا لس 718 تيقضوا من نومهم نوعين: 719 فمن اسعد منهم يقضته قرار، ومن شقى يقضته اختصار، فايكم الغفلة في نوم الدنيا عن ذكر الله لتكون يقضتكم الى القرار لا الاختصار،

د: على النساء بالاحتجاب وفيه القى الله لهن اجر كبير وبالعكس اعظم سية لان الشيطان ليس له شباكاً يصد بها العباد مثلهن وكشفهن اصل المعاصي والخطيات فعليكم بالستر اليهن وغضة الابصار عنهن يدخلكم الله في | رحمته وايهن، وارعوا ويعدوا لمن استعودته ورعته حق رعيته، قيل: يا صالحه، من استعودته واسترته حق رعيته للحكو في المنعدة فسكتت، وسكتها دليل على انها الموصفة بذلك لان كانت ابتل امرأة خلق الله في الاجود،

ذ: عليكم بالصدقة لكل من يسئلكم في الله ولو جا على فراس وعليه سئله لان الصدقة تطفي غضب الرب والمصدق قريب من الله والله معه في كل مكان،

ر: عليكم برفع الخمسة والعطش عن اخوانكم المومنين على قدر جهدكم اليه حسباً في الله وحباً فيه لان في ذلك اجر عظيم يطعمكم الله من اكوان رحمته ويسقكم من اكواس حبه، ومن اطعمه واسقه الله ذلك طبي له طبي له طبي له،

ز: لا تحسدون نعمة عباد الله ولا تغلوا بهم لان ذلك ذنب كبير يتزود به الشيطان وعيشه في الحساد والغيل حتى هو مغال فيه | ان لعنه الله عليه،

ط: ايكم مضرات العباد لان ذلك ذنب كبير والله عدل في شريعته بجمع عباديه، ومن يفعل ذلك هو اشر خلقه ويعذبه عذباً شديداً ان لم يرجع عن ذلك ويعدل شروط الرجوع اليه،

ظ: حثوا انفسكم على التذكر لله في خلق السموات والارض وما خلق بينهما ليزدركم حبا فيه وخشية منه وفي ذلك التذكر اجر عظيم واختبار في قدرته للمحبين،

ك: دليل على الايمان بالله واليوم الاخر اذا ذكر الله وايته لنت قلوب المستمعين اليها وبالعكس دليل على الشماز والكفر وقصوات القلوب، فعليكم بلبنت قلوبكم عند ذلك ليكتبكم الله عنده مومنين ويعلم منكم الايمان بالتجرب ويدخلكم في رحمته،

718 Read probably: laysa.

719 Read probably: illā naw'ain.

ل: دليل على قرب السعة اذا يكثر الجهل ويقل العلم وما يتعلم منه الا ما يكون للمعش ولغير طعة
 وعمال صالح، واذا يطغى الزنا ويقل الحق والشرع والحيا ويكثر الفساد والمعاص | لانها تقم على
 اشرار الخلق،

م: ثم قالت ليعقوب: تحثية حكام هذا للعباد بقوة الله ما دم بينهم ودومه⁷²⁰ ما دموا سغرههم على
 كرمة الكبار منهم والكبار رحمين اليهم واعلم ان في ذلك الحكام علم الاولين والآخرين،
 كل الكتاب على يدي الاعرابي،

ك:ك:ك: بح:ع: بح:721

لا اله الا الله، يصوع روح الله⁷²²،

ظ17

720 This word seems to be the result of a scribal confusion caused by the preceding *mā dāma* and the following *mā dāmū*.

721 Each of these five letters written within a six-pointed starlet, marking the end of the text. The precise meaning of these letters remains unclear. The end of LP 16 has the text: *Kullu kitāb ḥaqq*. In this light, one can speculate that the meaning of our five letters might be: *Kullu kitāb ḥaqq Yaṣū' ḥaqq*.

722 Creed of the Lead Books. Written within a constellation of 7 six-pointed stars.

LP15

Found at the end of December 1597 was *Kitāb Tawrikh ḥaqīqat al-injil* ("El Libro de la Historia de la Hakika"), in 11 plomos. Vatican digital photographs: VI, 1–12, with 11–12 lines per side; numbered with dots; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁷²³ diameter: 59,19mm; weight: 59,67 grams; 2,27 mm. thick. Some of the tablets are in a deplorable condition and very hard to decipher.

1و [كتب تورخ حقيقة الانجيل]⁷²⁴

1ظ قضيات تورخ حقيقة الانجيل العزيز والامر بها عن الصالحة مريم العذرة ليعقوب ابن شميخ الزبدي الحوري مكتب بأمره على يدي كتبه وتلهذه تسعون ابن عطار الاعرابي، فيه ضوق سئل يدره الخلفة اليها والجوا⁷²⁵ الاكمل منها،

[قال] يعقوب الحوري: جمعت جمهرنا الحواريون الاثنان عشر الصالحة مريم العذرة في بيتها بعد نزول الروح المقدس ومنبت اللسان علينا،

وقالت: أمرت بوح الله على جبريل الملك ابشركم بقول هذا وأن أركم حقيقة الانجيل العزيز التي أنزلها علي بعد منجتي الروحانية اليه وهي الاية الكبرى التي راتها فيها، فعند ذلك أخرجتها وهي مكتبة بيد العذرة⁷²⁶ بالنور السطيع في ألواح من جواهر كوني مدررا لا يعلم قمتها الا الله، وأخرجت معها نسخة عليها مكتبة في ألواح الرصاص مختمة منها بتختم سليمان ابن دود عصبها، فعجبنا منها وشكرنا لله عليها،

قال لها يدره الخلفة: يا مولتنا [أخبرنا] ما حوص الكتب في ألواح هذا!

[فقا]الت: كل شيء له روحا وروح الألواح⁷²⁷ الذي أعطاه الله لموسى في طور سنا هو الانجيل العزيز وروح الانجيل العزيز هو حقيقة هذا، ولكن ليس هو بخلق، وأقول لكم ان فيها الذكر الحكيم

723 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

724 This title was written in the central star of a constellation of 12 six-pointed stars on the recto-side of the first plate, as appears from the facsimile with transcription given by Marazzi and other members of the Vatican Commission. Nowadays, the text has almost completely disappeared by erosion or otherwise. Only small traces of some letters can still be discerned. The text itself, starting on fol. 1^b, is preceded by a single central six-pointed starlet.

725 Read probably: al-jawāb.

726 Hagerty reads: bi-yad al-qadīra, translating: "con mano firme".

727 This word was added between the lines as a correction by the scribe.

والعلم القديم ومن أجلها أنزل الله صحوف إبراهيم وتورات موسى ومن نورها | وحققها خليق كل شيء،² وانزل الوح والانباء على الانبياء والرسل أجمعين بالروح المقدس وعليها أمسكت السموات والارض بمن عليها وهي ولية الله والله وليها وليس شيء اول بها منه جل جلاله.

ثم قال لها: يا مولتنا [أقصصها] علينا لنعلبها ونكتسوا⁷²⁸ منها نوراً!

[فقلت: الله أعطاكم] من توي العلم ما يلق باسعت انفسكم ولا [أكثر لنذرة] العباد بالانجيل العزيز، وانه ليس بمسطر الا في القلوب والتذكر فافعلوا ما امركم روح الله يصوع من نذرة به، وحقيقة هذا روحه من امر ربّي بقي بعلمها من يشاء، ليس بكشف سرها في وقت هذا لأحد من خلقه، ولكن | أحرها لآخر الزمان رحمة للعباد من فضله، واعلموا ان في نسختها نصرة الى الانجيل وهذا³ ورحمة وتيقنا وفلاحاً للمومنين.

قال لها يدره: يا مولتنا أخبرنا عن ذلك الزمان وأموره!

فقلت: هو زمان يطغى فيه الاختلف والكفر بين [الاحزاب] وأجناس العجم في يصوع روح الله وانجله العزيز من المشرق الى المغرب ومن الجوف الى الظهر ويرفضون من [حق] الانجيل ويلحدون فيه ويغيرونه ويبعونه⁷²⁹ عوجا وايضا التورات، وينكرون حق الله وحق روحه يصوع، ويتشتتون بشتات شديد وعدوة كبيرة حتى يعد الدين غريباً كما بدأ بينهم، ومن أجل ذلك الاختلف يطغى ايضاً | بينهم الغدر وقللت الشرع والبخل وأكل الحرام وأتبع الشهوات والضلم [الشديد] للعباد من³ جانب ملوكهم ومترافهم يكون شديد عليه⁷³⁰ فذلك الزمان — كل ذلك بعكس مرضية الله وشروط دينه الرشيد ولذلك الوقت [أخر] الله حقيقة هذا النصر دينه الرشيد زمان لا نبيا ولا تنزيلا [فيه] ولا بعده الا بالروية [خصه] وهو قريب من السعة، ولذلك الامر أمرت [بمخروجها] من رمة الحمل التي نحن فيها،

قال لها يدره: لما سميت مدينة هذا رمة الحمل؟

فقلت: لان الله يرم الحمل عليها وعلى سكنها الكافرين وغضب عليهم وعلى أبناءهم وعلى أبناء أبنائهم، لم ترتفع لهم علامة في الدنيا ولا في الآخرة وهم | تحت سخط [الله الى] يوم البعث، فهم في النار خلدون ولم يبقا فيها سلم على سلم من أجل ضلالهم الكبير وتكرنهم ليصوع روح الله وانجله العزيز لأنهم أشرار خلقه،

728 Read probably: wa-naktasibu.

729 Read probably: yattabi'unahu.

730 Read probably: 'alaihim.

قال لها يدره: فما تمرنا افعلوا بحقيقة هذا؟

فقالت: أمرت أن أفعل بها مثل ما فعل موسى ونسختها يحملها يعقوب الى سنبك من الارض ويحفظها فيه في موضع مقدس وفيه يحرصها الله لذلك [الوعد الموعد] كما سبق في سابق علمه،

قال لها يدره: أخبرنا كيف يشهرها الله لنصر دينه الرشيد وعلى يدي من ينصر الانجيل في زمان مفسد كما وصفت لنا؟

فقالت: حقيقة هذا هي نور المسجد المومين المقدس وبرنج حقيه | لا نور له دنها ولا لأحد من العلبين، وهي موكلة من الله ومكفلة في كفلة الملك جبريل، فاذا طغى الاختلف والفسق والتحزب بين العجم في يصوع روح الله وانجليه العزيز كما وصفت لكم، تشتكي لله المليكة وأولياه [أجمعين فيدعونه] ويستلونونه أن ينصر دينه الراشد على الكفر [والضلال وأن يهلكه] ويفنه من الاجود، فيستجب الله [دعاهم وسئلهم فيصح جبريل] صيحة في الارض بأمره [ويفتح] الموضع [المقدس الذي يرمها] في كبيده ويشهرها الله والكتب الذي يكون معها على يدي صلح الفقه لما سبق في سابق علمه القديم، فاذا أشهرها تميل قلوب سكن الارض لسمعها والايمان بحق الانجيل العزيز باذن الله ورحمته عليهم لأنها وسعت كل شيء، وينصر الله دينه الرشيد النصر المومين على⁷³¹ أقوام من أفضل خلقه من ذرية آدم في ذلك الزمان،

قال لها يدره: من ذلك الاقوام يا مولتنا؟

فقالت: العراب ولسنهم.

قال يدره: العراب ولسانهم؟

فقالت: العراب ولسانهم! وأقل لكم أن العراب من أفضل الامام ولسانهم من أفضل اللسان، اخترهم الله لنصر الدين في آخر الزمان من بعد أن يكون له أكبر الأعداء، ويتهم الله لذلك الامر قدرة وحكما وعلم لان الله يخص برحمته من يشاء من عباديه كما قال لي يصوع: لقد سبقت على بني اسرئيل الكافرين منهم كريمة العذاب وفنا ملكهم، لم ترتفع لهم علامة أبداً ولكن العراب ولسانهم ينصروا الله ودينه الراشد وانجليه العزيز ومسجده المقدس | في آخر الزمان، ثم قال: يا مولتنا أخبرنا كيف يكون ذلك لتستريح قلوبنا!

731 Read probably: 'alā yaday.

فقلت: أعلموا أن في أقصى المغرب أرضاً تسمى اشبنيه وهي سنبك من الارض وفيها يحرص الله نسخة حقيقة هذا، فاذا وصل الموعد بالطعا المذكور يشهرها الله كما وصفت لكم والكتب الذي معها على يدي صلح الفقه كما ذكرت، والنصير يكون عبداً من عباد الله المكتمين ليس غيره في الاجود بقدير على ذلك الامر في ذلك الزمان،

قال لها يدره: يا مولتنا! من هو ذلك النصير الى الانجيل العزيز؟

قلت: اكبر عدواً يكون لأجناس العجم من ملوك العرب في المجتمع الأكار،

قال يدره: ما المجتمع الاكبر يا مولتنا؟

قلت: اذا يقرب ذلك | الزمان يبعث الله ملك من ملوك المشرق يقوم لهفين على النصر ويعطه الله ملكا كبيرا وقهرا ورعة في القلوب حتى الى المغرب على صائر الاجناس، ويكون ملك⁷³² العرب وليس بأعرابي، واذا يشهر الله حقيقة هذا في الموضع المقدس المذكور، [يب-]رهن الله حقه وحق انجليه العزيز وحق روحه يصوع وكتبه ومعاجزه بمعجزات كثيرات من جانب السماء الاعلى ومن جانب الارض السفلى في ذلك الموضع المقدس الذي يحرصها فيه بقدر أن لم يقدروا على نكرتها ذوالالباب، فعند ذلك تبدأ تسهل الامور لنصرة الانجل وحقيقته بلا محال، ويتالف الله بين قلوب الملوك والعباد في المشرق | والمغرب والجوف والظهر من جميع الاجناس ليينها لو اتفق ما في الارض كلها لم يقدر على وقفهم⁷³³ ولكن الله يوقفهم لطعته ويتالف بينهم اجمعين، فيجتمعون في ذلك المجتمع اخير العلماء المفسرون والمترجمون من اجناس الاجود في العلم الفرد، طي لمن يره⁷³⁴ ويمن بقولي هذا، اجره عند الله كبير،

ويكون اول مجتمع يدعون اليه العرب وتبعهم من جانب العجم والاخير في الاجود، فيستجبون باذن الله لهم من اجل الكتب بلسانهم العربي لان يكون لسان الحال في ذلك الزمان، فيجتمعون اذا يدعون رغباً ونسجاً لتحثية القراءة وليعلموا ما في الكتب لطعة الله فاذا يتللفوا اليه يقهرون⁷³⁵ فيه | قهراً شديداً فتبر حياهم اجمعين،

فعند ذلك يبعث الله فيه بينهم اضعف خلقه ليشريح حقيقة الانجيل الذي هم فيها يختلفون بنور الروح المقدس، واقول لكم ان لم يقدر على شرحها احد قبل ذلك الوقت لان كل شي اخره الله

732 The word *malik* written between the lines.

733 Read perhaps: *wafāqihim*.

734 Read perhaps: *li-man lā yarāhu*.

735 With two dots over the *qāf*.

لاجل مسمىً وفصله تفصيلاً مبيناً من فضله، فاذا اشرحها ذلك العبد لم يقدر احد منهم على نكرها فيشهر الله الحق مثل ما أشهره موسى في حضرة فرعون، وينقلب البطليل فيه بالمعاجز مثل ما انقلب فرعون وسحرته، كذلك ينقلبون الضالين والكافرين والرافضين من الانجيل،

7ظ وينصر الله دينه ومسجده المومن المقدس، ولمن يصتنصر | به النصر الموبين ويعد الروح امناً والكفر بعكسه ايماً، والدين كله وحده وبير النفاق من الاجود، ويهزم الله الكفر والضلال الهزم الموبين، ويدم ذلك الخير والسكنة ما يشاء الله ولكن تكون ايماً قليلة يومنوا فيها كثيراً من العباد ويفلحوا الفلاح الموبين وبعدها يعد الفساد، فلن ينتظر بعده الا المسيح الدجل لعنه الله، واعلموا ان كل ما وصفته لكم هي فعليته معجزة الله بايته الكبرا وقدرته، طي تخلفه يصوع في النصرانية وملأء المسجد المقدس المومين ولذلك الملوك الذين يحثوا انفسهم على سباب المجتمع المذكور في ذلك | الزمان والذين يعنون عليه بنية واخلاص لطعة الله لان الله ينصرهم به النصر الموبين في الدنيا والاخرة، ويكون عنده اجر عظيم وثواب جسيم وانحصرة ثم انحصرة للكافرين،

ثم قال لها يدره: اخبرنا في اي موضع يكون ذلك المجتمع لنستبركوا به،

8ظ فقالت: يكون بارض الانانين في جزيرة في البحر تسمى جزيرة السبر في مدينة فيه اسمها الحق مدينة البحر، يعني بحر العلم والقدس والدين وموسطة الاجود بين الاجناس لذلك الامر الذي يملكها من البنادق ملك من ملوك العرب وليس باعربي، سكين في المشرق عند انتهي الامر في آخر الزمان، طي لمن يدخلها في ذلك الزمان بنية لذلك الامر ويمن بالجمع عليه في ذلك المجتمع على حقيقة الانجيل العزيز والكتب الذي معها، وانحصرة لمن يمنع نفسه عنه فلينعه منه ومن الحظور فيه بعكس جهده اليه والاستطع عليه،

فعد ذلك اخذت الالواح المذكورة وخرجنا معها في جون الليل نحو المدينة الى جبل الزيتون فدعت فيه لله فاذا بالجبل انفتح بشعاع نور عظيم من السماء وضم الالواح في كبده وانعلق عليهم فرجعنا الى بيتها معها،

9ظ فالتفتت الي وقالت: ايعقوب اسرى بنسخة الواح حقيقة هذا وبالكتب الذي معها | الى سجيل البحر، يهب الله اليك سفنة النجا ورايسها الملك جبريل ولا تخف عليها ولا على الكتب لان الله يحرصها وايه ولك ولمن معك فيها بعين العنية في البحر مثل ما حرص سفنة نوح في الموج وفي الارض مثل ما حرص ليونس في احشاء الملتقمة الى وضعه فيها، فاذا وصلت الى اشبونية ادخل فيها على جانب المشرق وفي الموضع الذي يعد فيه الميت حياً ليمنها فيه، فن بعد تمام ذلك انذير فيها لسكنها ولا تخرج منها حتى يمن لك عبداً من عباد الله وذلك اية لتجرب صبرك للندرة ووعض من الله انه

9ظ يحب الصبرين، انك | منذير لقوم اكبر قصوة منهم ولكن تشقى، ولن يمن لك احد غيره وتلامذك يستفتحنها من بعدك على ايمنهم ويستشهدون بعضهم عليه في ذلك الموضع المقدس، فاذا امن ذلك العبد اخرج منها على طريق غير الذي تدخلها عليه واسرى الى ارض السميرين وانذرهم، هذا ما وعدتك عن السبقة في علم الله فلا تخاف المعاد يهدك طريق الرشاد،

فعند ذلك ذهبت عنها مرضياً واللقت تلامذي تسعون الاعرabi واخيه سايس الايه، والحسي العبراني وطرققاريوه فطون الاناني وافراج القصدني | والاشقندر السمري فانتهينا الى سحيل البحر في 10و جن ليل دميس، ووجدنا السفنة الموعدة منها الينا بنور من الله فركبنا فيها وسرت في البحر بريسة الملك برح طيبة حتى الى مشاريق اشبئية فدخلنا الارض حتى الى جبل هذا الذي قدمه النهر المتبر، فكثنا عليه لنسترحوا من عيا الطريق والحر ولتزدوا بشي من الزيد،

ووضعت الالواح والكتب في الارض فاهتدت وانبعث منها عبد من عباد الله من لحده، فقال لي: لما بعثتني من لحي هذا؟ واكترحي فيه من عذاب الدنيا وافاتها | من مدة موسى نبي 10ظ الله وروحي سعيداً من بعده،

فقلت له: ما ابعثك انا ولكن بعثك قدرة الله ونسخة حقيقة انجليه العزيز، ما اسمك؟

فقال: اسمي الحق! ما اسمك انت؟

قلت: انا يعقوب حوري من حواريصوع ابن مريم روح الله الذي انبت به نبأ بني اسرائيل، فقال لي: مرحباً بك، روحي سعيداً معه فاني فرحت بلقك، اني ارغبك ان تعديني الى مرقي هذا فعدته اليه، وعد كما كان اول مرة، فاكترحت وتلامذي في جبل هذا اربعين يوماً، وورخت فيه تورخ هذا كما امرت ليعلموا الحق العباد في آخر الزمان، والقيته ونسخة الواح | حقيقة 11و الانجيل والكتب في كهف هذا الجبل المقدس واوصيت تلامذي بزيرته كثيراً من بعدي، واقصصت عليهم قول الصالحة مريم العذرة عنهم الي و امرتهم باحتفده⁷³⁶ لان هو من افضل جبال الاجود بعد جبال الارض المقدسة، وهو مفتح خير العباد، وايضا اوصيتهم بحفظ كتبهم فيه لنصر الدين في آخر الزمان، فشكروا لله على نعمه عليهم، وبعد ذلك سرت بهم كما امرت، والشكر لله،

كل الكتب على يدي الاعرabi،

كل كتب حق⁷³⁷،

736 One dot over the fā'.

737 Each of these three words written within a six-pointed starlet, marking the end of the text. Omitted by Hagerty.

LP16

At the end of December 1597 was also found *Kitāb Munājāt al-ṣāliha Maryam al-Adhra* ("El Libro del Coloquio de Nuestra Senora"), in twenty-five plomos. Vatican digital photographs: IV, plomos 1–25, with 12–18 lines per side; with alphabetical numbering; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁷³⁸ diameter: 56,15 mm; weight: 58,60 grams; 2,63 mm. thick. Legible throughout.

كتاب منجاة الصالحة مريم العذرة⁷³⁹

و2

كتاب⁷⁴⁰ كنيات الاسرار الذي راتبها الصالحة العذرة مريم من فضل الله في ليلة منجتها الروحانية لله ليعقوب ابن شميخ الزبدي الحوري مكتب بامرها على يدي كاتبه وتلهذه سئس الايه ابن الرضي، قال يعقوب ابن شميخ الزبدي الحوري: مكيلة الاثنان وخمسين ايام من وقت سيدنا يصوع روح الله اجمعتنا في بيتها الصالحة مريم العذرة امه الحواريون الاثنان وعشار المكل عددنا بالوحي على متيه اخنا واخبرتنا في حضرة اخواتها قيلة: اخبراني جبريل الملك ان في يوم هذا يعلمكم الله من علمه ما يلق باسعة انفسكم لفقته قوله و قولي اليكم وليستقيم قولكم في الاجود ويتم الله نعمته على من يشا من عباديه فاستعنوا بالله ليهدكم من فضله انه يهدي من يشا ويثبت المومنين بالقول الثابت، فادعوا ربكم مخلصين متبين اليه،

ظ2

فدعونه طبعين الامر فاذا بحسس حسين من | السماء بنزول النور السطيع قد عم⁷⁴¹ علينا والبيت يتلال الشعاع وملا الله جمعنا من توي العلم بالروح المنيب بانوع لغات الكلام والالسان فتكلام جمهرنا بهن تمة، فشكرنا لله معها، فعند ذلك جلسنا حولها، وقالت: استمعوا قولي في ما اقصص عليكم مما راني الله من اسراره العظيمة المكنية تحت كنيات هذه في ليلة منجتي اليه من فضله فاخترت لوصفها لشان هذا،

و3

وقالت: بينما كنت ليلة تذكر مفكرة باشواق ابني يصوع سمعت صوتاً حسناً خلفي من قبل السماء قياً امريم! فالتفت اليه واذا بشعاع نور خطف بصاري وسهر جسمي وامضيت ما بين صفاً ومروة وروحانية، فاذا انا بملك كريم لا يعلم عظمة شنه الا الله وقد كسه نور لم يستطيع احد النظر فيه، فقلت

738 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

739 Written within a constellation of 2 six-pointed starlets, presenting a "title-page".

740 Text headed by a central starlet devoid of any legend.

741 Hagerty: *a'mā* ("que nos cegaba").

له: من انت من ملئكة ربي، فقال لي: انا جبريل، الله يخصك بكرمة منه وبشرة بانك تنجني في ليلة هذا ليرك اسراراً عظيمة لم ارها لاحد من نساء العالين من قبلك ويرك ابنك يصوع، فقلت مرحباً بك وبما انت به رسول من رب العالين، انا طيعة لامره افعل ما امرت، فاخذ بيدي اليمنى واوقفني | بباب 3 المسجد قبل المحراب، فاذا انا بقبة من نور سطيع لا يعلم قيمتها الا الله وفيها كرسي من نور وفريس يت لها كهمح بالبصار لا يعلم عظمته ولا قدرته الا الله والملئكة يحففنها من كل جانب فاوقفها قبالي فقلت للملك: من ذا الفريس وما ذا القبة والكرسي؟

فقال لي: الفريس ملك من ملئكة الله الكرام يسمى الهدى، وجوده يسمى جواد القدرة، والقبة تسمى قبة الرضى، وكرسيها كرسي الطعة قد اهبها الله اليك من فضله في سابق علمه، فقلت له: لما سمي الفريس الهدى وجوده جواد القدرة وسميت القبة قبة الرضى وكرسيها كرسي الطعة؟

فقال لي: سمي الفريس الهدى لان هو يهدك بي على اسرار المولا جل جلاله، وسمي جواده جواد القدرة لان قدرة الله هي تحمله على الامر الممر اليه، وقبة الرضا رضي الله بها عنك، وكرسي الطعة اكرمك به ورفعت الرضى والطعة على نساء العالين في ازل الازل، فقلت له: لما سميت انت جبريل وانا مريم؟

فقال لي: سميت انا جبريل لان على يدي اجبر الله امماً كثيرة من الهلك واجبر على يدي في الاجود الانجيل | العزيز بالرسلة اليك بالبشرة بروحه يصوع وانا خبرك⁷⁴² به والملئكة في ليلة هذا، وسميت انت مريم لان القى الله فيك من الرحمة مثل ما القى في البحر من الملوحة واكثر ومن البركة مثل ما القى في السموات والارض من نور الشمس واكثر، ومن الصلوحية مثل ما القى في الملئكة المقربين الذين لم يعصونه طرفة عين واكثر، ومن البتل مثل ما القى في الزهاد في دار الفناء واكثر، ومن الطعة مثل ما القى في عباديه الصالحين واكثر وايدك بالروح المقدس تبيداً، وملك نوراً وعلماً والسناً، واعطك صبراً وولية على قدر ما يلق بذلك الاستخص، كله من فضله عليك لامثل امره وقدره واختم عليك في الهدى بدرجة عليية في المنزلة كما ترى في ليلة هذا الذي اهبها الله اليك من فضله عليك، فشكرت لله على ذلك كله،

بينما ذلك القول خطفني واجلسني على ذلك الكرسي واسرى بي الفريس كهمح بالبصار وجبريل معي لم يفرقني طرفة عين واوقفني على اول سماء يسمى الدرة البيضاء، فاذا | انا بمملكة لم يعصى عددهم 4ظ

742 Read probably: wa-anā ukhbiruki (inversion).

ولا ضمة⁷⁴³ قدرتهم الا الذي خلقهم من شمس فالتفت الى الارض فاذا هي بيد ملك عظيم القدرة والجلال وهي في كف يده اليمنى مثل خردلة وهو شخيص فيها مقسم بالذي فطر السموات والارض ان لم تتحرك فيها ذرة ولا بعضة في اكوانها الا وهو كتيب تحركها بعلم من الله في كتاب موبين، ولم يسقط من علم ربه شي، واذا بالقمردنى منى حتى دخل تحت قدمي وملئكة القبة التي كنت فيها قبيلين باصوات حسان: سبحان الذي خلقك باحسن تقوم منه ومن هو تليها ورجع بعد ذلك الى مكانه،

فعند ذلك اسرى بي الفريس وجبريل كلحج بالبصار الى محال القدس فالتفت الى الدرة البيضاء فاذا انا بتسعة محاطير من الملكة الكرام تحتي وكل محطر منهم بت خيره على من كان تحته في التفضيل والمنزلة يزد ضعفاً لا يعلم عظمة قدرتهم ولا عددهم الا الذي خلقهم من شمس، وذلك الملكة وطمعهم التسبح وشربهم التهليل ولبسهم القدس، نطقين باصوات حسان ولغات | مختلفات وطراب و5 مجنس لم يفترط طرة⁷⁴⁴ عين من ذلك الطراب فسبحه وهلت و قدست لتسبحهم وتهللهم وتقديسهم، فلما راووني قال ملائمتهم للملك: من ذلك المرأة التي معك؟

فقال لهم: هي مريم العذرة الطهيرة من الذنوب البتة ام يصوع روح الله، فاذا بالتسعة محاطير من الملكة على صوت وحد نطقين: سبحان الذي له ملك لا يزل وصفة لا يتبدل وجلال لا يدرك وعظمة لا تنفك، يرفع من يشا ويخفض من يشا ويهدي من يشا ويذل⁷⁴⁵ من يشا وعنده العلم كله والحر⁷⁴⁶ والرحمة والعدل لم يعدم من ذلك كله شي وهو على كل شي قدير،

فبعد ذلك مرحبوا بي بانواع الترحوب والطراب وعدوا [ل] ما كانوا عليه من اضافة الدعاء لله، فوالذي اكرمني رحمة وفضلاً منه لو سمع احد من اهل الدنيا بصوت وحد من ذلك الملكة لمت شوقاً من الله ونعامه، فنظرت الى محل القدس قبلي وبابه مفتوح | لا يعلم عظمته الا الله وملك موكل عليه عظيم القدر والجلال ويده مفتاح منازل رتاب الملكة الكرام لو اخرجت الى دار الدنيا لملت ما بين السما والارض ولكن ذلك الملك يمسكهم في كف يده اليمنى ولم يستقلهم مثل استئقل خردلة، فقسم بقدرة الله بصوت حسين ان من يشا يدخل على ذلك الباب لم يمنعه منيع لان الله هو سميع لمن اطعه ودعاه بقلب سليم ونية واخلاص، وهو محجب دعوات المومنين،

فقلت له: يا جبريل، من هو ذلك الملك الكريم من ملكة ربي وما اسم ذلك الباب الشريف؟

743 Read probably: 'uḍmat (= 'zmat).

744 Read probably: *ṭarafat*.

745 I.e: yuḍillu.

746 Read probably: al-khair.

فقال لي: الملك يسمّى الحب والباب يسمّى باب العطي، فالتفت ليمني فاذا انا بباب عظيم من
زمردة خضرة لا يعلم قيمتها الا الله،

فقلت له: ما ذلك الباب؟

فقال لي: من ذلك الباب هي تظهر نعم الله الذي انعمها على عباديه الصالحين، اتريد افتحه لك؟
فقلت له: نعم!

فقال لي: قول "لا اله الا الله لا رب غيره"،

فقلتها وفتح الباب في الحين فاذا بملك عظيم القدر | والجلال رأسه فوق السماء الاعلى وقدميه في
الارض السفلى بسيطاً ضريعاً وهو يدعي لله بصوت حسين قيلا اللهم يا من وسعت رحمته كل شي،
اغفر لعبادك المومنين واجعلهم من اهل جنتك انك على كل شي قدير،
فقلت له: من ذلك الملك الكريم؟

فقال لي: هو ملك الرحمة، خلقه الله رحمة لعباده، فشكرت لله على ذلك النعمة، فالتفت قبلي فاذا
انا بحمل نسري في راسه تاج وفيه من [كتب] سطر بالنور السطيع مثل هذا: ⁷⁴⁷



FIGURE 29 LP 16, fol. 6^a. Line in cryptic script

وعليه شعاب مثلث عظيم القدر يتلال الشعاع،

فقلت له: ما ذلك الحمل النسري وما السطر الذي في تجه والشعاب المثلث الذي عليه؟

⁷⁴⁷ This line is also reproduced in our translation.

فقال لي: لوعلموا بني ادم قيمته بالاثان⁷⁴⁸ وعشرين حرفاً في تجه لفرحوا كثيراً وبكوا كثيراً،
ولكين الله اخر ذلك السير ليوم معلم يشرحه فيه،

فعدت ذلك سرى بي الفريس وجبريل علي ذلك الباب الى مروج خضر لون السندس الحسين،
وهي تسمى مروج الرحمة، وواقفني في مكان علي فاذا انا ببلد قبلي | وعليه صور من الفضة البيضا
مزغرف ومنيل بالدور الملون لا يعلم قيمته الا الله، وفيه اربعة ابواب: باب المشرق وباب المغرب
[ش]عشعنياً وبين باباً وباباً اربعة انهار يخرجون من ذلك البلد ماء هم اصفى من ماء القطار واحل
من الشهد لا يعلم قتهم الا الله لون خرج نهر منهم لدار الدنيا املا⁷⁴⁹ في لحظة الابصار ما بين السماء
والارض، ولكين الله يصرف ذلك الماء في كون رحمته حيث يشاء،

فقلت للملك: ما ذلك البلد؟

فقال لي: هي الجنة التي وعدنا الله لعباده الصالحين،

فقلت: صف لي اسماء الاربعة ابواب،

فقال لي: الباب الذي للمشرق هو يسمى باب النية والباب الثاني بضده للمغرب هو يسمى باب
الايان والباب الثالث للجوف هو يسمى باب الرجا والباب الظهري الذي بضده يسمى باب
الحلم والندى، وذلك الاربعة ابواب هم ابواب مشور ذلك البلد مقترينة بصوره الاول،
بينما انا بملك عظيم القدرة | والجلال خرج علي باب النية وهتف بصوت حسين وقسم بالذي
خلق السموات والارض ان لم يدخل ذلك البلد من كان في قلبه مثقل خردلة من كبر ولن يراه
ابدأ،

فقلت له يا جبريل: من ذك الملك الكريم من ملكة ربي؟

فقال لي: هو ملك الابن⁷⁵⁰ واسمه العدل،

فقلت له: ارني الجنة، اني احببت ان ارها،

فقال لي: قل "لا اله الا الله لا رب غيره"، فلما قلتها ادخلني في الحين علي الباب الذي خرج عليه
الملك فاوقفني علي باب قبل المشوار عظيم العرض والمدى، فاذا انا بملك عظيم القدر والجلال يتلال
نوراً شعشعنياً ويده مفتاح ابواب قصورها ومنازلها، لون اخرجت لدار الدنيا مات ما بين السماء
والارض ولكين ذلك الملك يمسكها في يده اليمنى ولم يعدلوا صوردي يده بملاء ولا استثقل،

748 Sic!

749 Read probably: kāmīlan.

750 In the original written with alif maqṣūra.

فقلت له: من ذلك الملك الكريم من ملئكة ربي؟

فقال لي: هو خزير الجنة،

فقال لجبريل: من ذا المرأة التي معك؟

فقال له: هي العذرة مريم الطاهرة من الذنوب البتة، والكبر لم يمسه شي منه أبداً، افتح الباب لترى الجنة،

فقال له: او ما علمت يا جبريل اني ممر من الله لم افتح هذا الباب لاحد [من] العلبين الا بعد يوم

الحساب لان من دخل على ابوابها هو خليل فيها لا يخرج منها أبداً وليس له حساب،

فقال له جبريل: اني امرت ان ارها الجنة،

فقال له الملك: نعم يا جبريل ايضا امرني ربي ان ارها لها من منزل علي الشراف، فدخلنا على

باب في المشوار الايمان وسرى بي الى منزل علي لا يعلم قيمته الا الله،

فقلت: اجبريل ما ذا المنزلة؟

فقال لي: هو منزل الذي اهبه الله اليك من رحمته فاقول ان لا يعلم النعام الذي فيه الا الله وليس

يصفها وصف، فشكرت لله عليها ولم انطق بشي منها، واوقفتني في ذلك المنزل وهو في مكان علي يصل

لجنه في كون الله، وراتها ما دون دخل على ابوابها بعين البيان وهي مشيدة بصور ثاني مركان من

الذهاب الاحمر مزغرف بانواع الازتغراف محلال بالدور الملوان لا يعلم قيمته الا الذي خلقه من

شموس، ولها في ذلك الصور ثمانية ابواب في كل جانب بيان وباب للمشوار بينهما، والابواب من

الفضة البيضة واقفله من الذهب الاحمر لا يعلم قيمتهم الا الله، ومن الباب ال الباب مسير مثل ما

يسرى الركب في مائة الف سنة باسرع السير،

فقلت: يا جبريل اخبرني باسماء ابواب هذا الجنة الثمنية!

فقال: اسماهم هي الاطواب الثمنية الذي وعد الله لعباديه في الانجيل | العزيز وانت عليمه بهن،

فقلت: نعم فراتها تتلال نوراً لا برداً ولا حرّاً الا سلماً وعدلاً، ورايت فيها اغدراً مسير كل

وحد منهم الف سنة مائهم اصفي من ماء القطار واحل من الشهد والاعيون ينبعون على الانهار

والانهار يدخلون فهم لا يعلم قتمهم ولا عددهم الا الذي خلقهم من شمس قتراب الجنة المسك

الاصفر وحجارها اليقوت الايباض والاحمر والزمرد الاخضر والزبرجد الحسين والطفو المختلف

الالوان، ورايت فيها قصوراً من الذهب الاحمر والفضة البيضا مزغرفة بانوع التزغرف والتجليل

والتنبل طل كل وحد منهم مد البصار في دار الدنيا وعليهم غلال يكشفون على الجنة لا تعديل

قمة ثمان مفتح من مفاتحهم الدنيا كلها، ورايت فيها من الشجار الاخضار ثماراً جلال القدر،

يطر الطير تحت غصن من اغصانهم خمسين سنة، وفواكهها تسمى تقدس وتسيح وتهليل وهي
فكهه اهل الجنة، فالتفة الى وسطها فاذا | انا بشجرة عظيمة في الطول والعرض يسر الركيب
تحتها خمس مائة عام ولم يخرج من ظلها وهي خطيرة النظير ولا يعلم قيمة فكهتها ولا انواعها الا
الله،

فقلت: يا جبريل، ما ذلك الشجرة؟

فقال لي: هي شجرة الحيا واسمها النعيم، ورايت في ذلك الجنة المنابر العلية والمنازل تحتها والكراسي
تحتها والقواعد تحتها والعباقر تحتها الذي اعدهم الله لعباديه لا يعلم قيمتهم الا هو، وذلك كله في
القصور وفي مروج السندس الاخضر الحسين لا يعلم قيمة نورهم وبهاهم الا الله، ورايت فيها من
الملئكة الكرام ملا يعصى عددهم ولا عظمة قدرتهم الا الله، يسبحون ويهليلو ويقدمون لله باصوات
حسان لا يفترون ابداً فحكوت لهم في ذلك كله،

و⁷⁵¹ يا جبريل ما ذلك الملئكة ولما جعلهم الله في الجنة؟

فقال لي: خلقهم فيها رحمة للعباد، فليس في الجنة غيلا ولا حسد ولا امتحناً ولا فناءً ولا بولا
ولا تغوطاً ولا نجساً ولا نكداً، ولكن فيها طيب عيش وحسن ونعيم دايم ورضوان | من الله وخلود،
واقول ان لو سمع الراجل من اهل الدنيا صوت من اصوات الملئكة الذي خلقاهم الله فيها لمت شوقاً
من الجنة، والذي خلقتني رحمة منه لعباديه، اقول عن جبريل انه قال: ان لون المرأة من اهل الجنة
تجلت لدار الدنيا اخسف نورها نور الشمس وافوجت بريحتها جميع الاقطار والقت رقها في البحر لعد
احل من الشهد وان هبت هببة من فيها لعدت بها النار برداً وسلاماً، وذلك ادنى نعيماً في الجنة،
ورايت فيها النعام شان بعد شان مختلفة الانواع لا يشبه الشان لمن دخل عليه مثله ولا يتقص ابداً
من اجل الدخول، ورايت فيها ملا عينات رات ولا اذنا سمعات ولا خطر على قلب بشار من النعام
والطراب والذكر والاكتراح والتحليل والتخليل والفواكه والفتوح والنور لا يقدر وصيف على وصفها
ابداً ولا يعلمها الا الله، فرفعت راسي فاذا انا بحجاب عليها قد عم بها كلها يتلال نوراً واذا بملك خرج
من ذلك الحجاب وهتف بصوت حسين سميعوه جميع | الملئكة الذي كانوا في اقصى الجنة وهو قيل:
سبح سبح سبح قدس قدس رب الملئكة والروح فاذا بالملئكة اجمعين على صوت وحد مجبين
اليه قايلن: "لا اله الا هو، لا رب غيره، لا بعده ولا قبله" وعدوا لما كانوا عليه من اصفه الدعاء لله،
فقلت له: يا جبريل، من ذلك الملك الكريم من مليكة ربي؟

751 There is an omission here, e.g: wa[-qultu].

فقال لي: يا مريم، هو ملك الحجاب يسمى الحاجب، فعند ذلك حلف بالذي خلق السموات والارض ان لم يرفع ذلك الحجاب ولا ير الله جهرة احد الا بعد الخلود للعباد في ذلك الجنة،

فقلت: يا جبريل ما ذك الحجاب؟

فقال لي: لولا ذلك الحجاب لم عصى ادم لربه،

فقلت له: اتر هذا الجنة هي التي التي الله فيها لادم؟

فقال لي: نعم،

فقلت: يا جبريل، ما وعدنا الله في كتابه ان الجنة التي التي لادم فيها هي في مشارق الارض؟
فقال لي: نعم، يا مريم، اعلم ان ليس جنة تحت الدرة البيضاء الا فناءً وخصران [و]لكين ذلك الجنة ضرب الله بها مثلاً لعباده كنية على جنة هذا واخفها الله تحتها ليذكروا لشي قليل من نعمه عليهم،

فقلت: يا جبريل، لما احتجب الله من ادم بذلك الحجاب | ان كان سباب عصيانه؟^{10و}

فقال لي: ليس الله بمحجب ولم يقدر حجاب يحجبه لان الله هو في كل مكان وهو الاول قبل كل شي والظهير بكل شي وفي كل شي ومن كل شي والباقي بعد كل شي واعظم من كل شي والتقدير القهير على كل شي واكبر من كل شي، فكيف يحجبه شي ولكين ادم وذرياته هم المحجبين عنه لما سبق في سابق علمه لينال اعظم درجة بالايمان وهو اعظم اجراً على الله، لو عرض ادم للداس لاستخذ في الجنة ولكين لم ينال ادراج الاجر والثواب الذي ينال هو وذريته الصالحين برفع الحجاب بعد الحساب والخلود في الجنة، فالعباد محجبين عن النظر اليه حتى لذلك الوقت في مشاوير الجنة كما وصفت لك وهو ليس بمحجب عنهم ابداً، وهو معهم قريب، ليس شي اقرب منه اليهم سميع بصير وهو علم الغيوب يعلم ما في انفسهم وليس احد منهم يعلم ما في نفسه سبحانه جل جلاله لا رب غيره، واعلم ان تحت ذلك الحجاب هي النظرة الكبرى واعظم نعم ينظر العباد الى وجه الله الكريم،

فقلت له: ان لم يدخل الجنة احد قبل | يوم الحساب كيف دخل فيها الشيطان ودس لابي ادم^{10ظ}

واخرجه منها؟

فقال لي: دخل بسمح الله وشريعته لما سبق في سابق علمه ووقع سبل الحجاب بعد خروج ادم منها، فلما فرغ من ذلك القول سرى بي الفريس وجبريل واوقفاني في المشوار الايمان من الجنة فاذا انا برجل حسن الوجه جليس على منبار من النور السطيع وارواح كثيرة حوله نعمين معه وهو قد كس ظهره نور لم يستطيع احد النظر فيه،

فقلت له: من ذك النبي الكريم من انبياء الله وما الارواح الذي حوله؟

فقال لي: هو ابك ادم والاروح الذي حوله ارواح الانبيا الاولين فادني منه واقبل عليه لان هو ابك الاول وابا اباك الاولين، فقربنا وسلطنا عليه،
فقال لجبريل: من ذا المرأة الحسنة التي معك؟
فقال له: هي الصالحة مريم الطاهرة من الذنب البتة، ام روح الله يصوع الشفيح لك وذريتك من الهلاك،

فقال: لله الشكر على لقاءها كم اي 752 في انتظارها شوقاً، وقال: اني لقيت وذريتي بروح الله ابك وسميعي ربي بانباء بلك وبشراني به فلم ارك حتى لسعتاذ هذا، فاردت ان اقبل يده ولم يرضى بذلك ولكن جعله على راسي،

فقلت: يا جبريل، ما ذلك النور الذي في ظهر ابي ادم؟ 11 و

فقال لي: هو نور المنعم في التورة لم يفرقه حين من يوم خلقه الله لان لو فرقه طرفه عين وقت عصيانه لاته انحصران الموبين، ولم يدخل الجنة ولا احد من ذريته، فشكرت الله على ذلك الفضل العظيم ورايت الارواح دخلين في مشاور ذلك الجنة لا يعلم عددهم الا الله وهم نعيمين،
فقلت: كم يلبثوا في ذلك المشاور؟

فقال لي: يلبثوا فهم الى يوم الحساب وبعده يدخلون في الجنة لان من دخل الجنة لا حساب عليه ولم يخرج منها ابداً،

فاذا فرغ من ذلك سرى بي الفارس وجبريل واوقفاني قبل حضرة القدس واذا لنا بملك عظيم القدر والجلال يتلال نوراً وقدمه اطم لا يعلم عظمتة الا الله ويده بوق كبير وهو شخيس في ذلك الاطم ولم يلتفت لغيره ابداً،

فقلت: من ذلك الملك يا جبريل؟

فقال لي: اعلم ان ذلك الملك هو ملك البعث والاطم هو اسم اطم الاحتباس وهو اي موضع ينفخ والبوق صيحته فهو على ذلك الصيفة من يوم خلقه الله حتى ليوم البعث ويكون صوته نفيذ في الارض كما يكون في السماء، فالتفت الى شمالي فاذا انا بباب من حديد اسواد وعليه قفل من النحاس المسموم لا يعلم قيمته الا الله،

فقلت له: يا جبريل، ما ذلك الباب الغليظ؟ 11 ظ

فقال لي: هو باب تظهر منه مروج الشريعة، ان شئت افتحه لك قل: لا اله الا الله لا رب غيره!
فقلتها ففتح الباب في الحين فوقفت عليه وجبريل والفريس فكتما نورهما،
فقلت لهما: لما كنتمما نوركما؟

فقال لي جبريل: لم يرضى الله بنور ملكته في ذلك المروج ولكن قضى فهم بالذي ترى سعتائد
فنظرت اليهم وهي قد اتت عليهم الظلمة والغممة فاذا انا بشفاق عظيم اسود المحورة يتلال منه الشعاع
التي على ذلك المروج وذهبت من عليهم الغممة وظهر كل ما فهم⁷⁵³،
فقلت: يا جبريل، ما ذلك الشفاق؟

فقال لي: هو نور شريعة الله السكينة في ذلك المروج ولكن يوم القيمة يتلال نورها مثل نور رحمته،
فاذا انا ببلد في وسطهم مشيد بصور من الحديد الاسود لا يعلم عظمة غلظه وعرضه الا الله وفيه سبعة
ابواب مفتحة | من قولك اسود لوان دخلت الارض بما رجيت على باب من ذلك الابواب اوسعت¹²
دون تكلف، وبين الباب والباب مسرة مائة الف سنة باسرع السير، ورايت اربعة اناهار خرجين منه
ماهم اسود منتن لون المداد الحبري فالوديين منهم لليمان كالمهل في الحررة والوديين للشمال يفلجون
كالثلج في العقد الشديد لون⁷⁵⁴ خرج احدهم الى دار الفنا ملا ما بين السموات والارض في لمح
الابصار ولكن الله يصرف ماهم في كون لعنته ولن يعدلون فيها شي،
فقلت له: يا جبريل، ما ذلك البلد ومن هم سكانه؟

فقال لي: اعلم انه جهنم التي اعدّها الله للجهلين الكافرين الضالين عن سبيله والمغضب عليهم لعنهم
الله، اترد ان ارها لك؟
فقلت: نعم!

فقال لي: قل سبحان الله خالق كل شي لا رب غيره! فقلتها فارتفع من على جهنم حجاب الضلام
وظهر كل ما فيها فالتفت اليها ورايت حجاباً فوقها قد عم بها كلها بطنه اسود،
فقلت: يا جبريل، ما ذلك الحجاب،

فقال: هو حجاب الضلال وبطنه بطن العقاب، نخرج منه ملك غليظ العبسة لا يعلم عظمة قدره
وجلاله الا الله، وقسم بالذي فطر السموات والارض بصوت كالرعد | القصف ان لن يرفع ذلك¹²
الحجاب عن العصاة من اهل النار ولن يرون الله ابداً،
فقلت له: من ذلك الملك؟

753 Read probably: fihim.

754 Read probably: law an.

فقال لي: هو ملك التيتس واعلم ان جهنم خلقها الله في اسفل الخلقه وادراج الافتغار لا دراج⁷⁵⁵ ولا افت[خ]ار بعدها، فرايت نخرج على بابها الاسطى ملك عظيم القدر والجلال لون⁷⁵⁶ خرجت صورته الى دار الفنا لتوا الاحيا خوفاً ورعباً منه ويده مفاتح منازلها وابوابها لا يعلم عددهم الا الله وملئت ما بين السموات والارض [.]ن اخرجت اليها وهو يمسكها بيده الشمال ورايت بيده اليمنى حسام لا يعلم قيمته ولا عظمة كبره الا الله، وهتف بصوت كالرعد القصف وقسم بالذى خلق السموات والارض ان لم يدخل فيها من يكون في قلبه مثقل خردلة من ايمان بالله وهو عميل به، وجلس على ذلك الباب،

فقلت له: يا جبريل، من ذلك الهتيف وما حسمه؟

فقال لي: هو خازين جهنم وحسمه حسام الشرع فعجبت منه واستعدت بالله من كل ما اخف عصره،

فقلت: يا جبريل، صف لي اسماء ابواب جهنم،

13و

فقال لي: هي السبع الكجار المبقات⁷⁵⁷،

فقلت له: لما للجنة ثمانية ابواب ولجهنم سبعة؟

فقال لي: اعلم ان زدت الجنة على جهنم بباب لان سبقت رحمة الله به على غضابه ووسعت كل شي وهو يسمى باب التوبة، ورايت باباً اخرًا من الحديد الاسود في وسط جهنم وهو مطبق، فقلت: يا جبريل، ما ذلك الباب المطبق في وسط جهنم؟

فقال لي: هو يسمى باب الضان يدخلون عليه لاسفلها الطغات والجبارين والمشركين وكل من يضون النقصان في الله يعمرون في النار وعليهم غواش ويعذبون فيها اشد العذاب الاليم وهم فيه خلدون، اتريد ان يفتح؟

فقلت: نعم!

فقال: قل سبحان الله! فقلتها وفتح في الحين، فرايت صوردد جهنم وعمقه لم يصفه بالحساب والتعب حاسيب، ثم رايت فيها من الملائكة ملا يحصى عددهم ولا عظمة قدرتهم الا الله على اوجههم من العبسة والغلظة ملا يصفها وصيف وهم بدرون بين النران ولم تمسهم البتة | فعجبت من ذلك، وقلت له: من ذلك الملائكة؟

13ظ

755 Read: lā adrāj (involutio).

756 Read probably: law an.

757 Read probably: muṭbaqāt ("subterranean").

فقال لي: هم مواكلين من الله على جهنم يسمون ملئكة العذاب،
فقلت له: كيف لم تمسهم النار ولا عذبها؟

فقال لي: اعلم ان من مسه العذاب والاحتصار لم يقدر على ان يعذب غيره بالوجب، والمعذب لم
تمسه العذاب وذلك الملائكة هم ملئكة من ملئكة الله الكرام وكلهم بجهنم وهم طيعين له في ما امرهم
ولن يعصونه طرفة عين في تلك الطعة، قد التقى الله طيب عيشتهم واكثرهم في الاحتراف بشريعته
ولن يغفلون عنها حين من الدهر، واكلهم وشربهم ذكر شريعة الله والانتقام من اهل جهنم اجمعين
وهم سعدين واجرهم عند الله كبير لان من اطع الله لم يمسه الضور ابداً ولو كان هو في كبده لان
الله لم تعجز له قدرة،

ثم رايت فيها الشياطين لعنهم الله لا يعلم عددهم ولا عظمة قدرتهم الا هو، لون احدهم اعطه الله
سبلا لحول جبال الدنيا كلها ولكين اغلاهم في النار وغيرها عن ذلك | بالسلاسل والقيود الموقدات¹⁴
وعذبهم فيها عذاباً ايماً،

فقلت له: يا جبريل، اتر الشيطان الذي اخرج ادم من الجنة بالداس هو في جهنم وعذبها او في دار
الدنيا؟

فقال: يا مريم، اعلم ان هو خليل في النار والعذاب من يوم عصى ربه واذا يخرج بصمحه لن يخرج
من العذاب، اتر يد اريه لك؟

فقلت: نعم يا جبريل، فندى: يا خازين جهنم اعريض على مريم العذرة للشيطان لعنه الله فطف
جهنم كلها كالمح بالبصار حتى اصبه فعرضه علي في الحين فرايته لا يعلم قدره وجلاله الا الله وهو
مخسف اللون مفتوح من الظهر مشوي الصدر مغلل بالسلاسل والقيود الحميه بالنار مربوط اليدين
ولكين كيده رايته حراً للداس خصاً، لوخرج الى دار الدنيا على تلك الصورة اذهبت عقول سكنها
ومتوا خوفاً ورعباً فتقضب قديمي تقضيباً شديداً،

فقال جبريل: اسئله ما تريد لم يقوى عليك كيداً ولكين يعدل الحق لك جواباً،
فقلت له: ما خسف نورك؟

فقال: الكبير،

قلت: وما اشوى صدرك؟

فقال: تذكر العباد لله،

قلت: ما | فتح ظهرك؟

فقال لي: خروج نور الرحمة عليه وقت عصياني،

قلت: ما غلاك؟

فقال لي: الغيل والحساد،

قلت: من ربط يديك؟

فقال لي: روح الله ابنك،

قلت: ما اسكنك في النران؟

فقال لي: قطع الرجا من حسن الضان بالله،

قلت: ما عيشك؟

فقال: سو الضان والخبث،

فقلت: ما غداك؟

فقال لي: اللعنة والكذب والداس لبني ادم لان الله انذرني بذلك وليس اعطني سبيلاً على اهل طعته لانهم محرصين منه بعين العنية، وعند ذلك نحى لعنه الله،

قلت له: ما تحب؟

قال: العصيان والفساد،

قلت له: ما تكره؟

فقال: العمال الصالح فانا اذيه مثلها يذب الشمع في النار،

قلت: من اعداك؟

فقال لي: الله وادم وانت وابنك وبعدم الصالحين،

قلت له: ابكي ذنبك وارجع لله ارغبه عنك ليتب عليك ويغفر لك ويدخلك في رحمته وليبر شرك عن العباد.

فقال لي: فاتنى النياح والتعذر فكيف ابكي والبكا يدل على الندام واني ليس بناديم ولا اقوى على ذلك لان الله كان سباب عصياني بادم ولو شايعم عليّ بخير لم عصيته، ولكن عصبي سبق في سابق علمه وفضليه،

فقلت له: فسقت يا لعين! ان الله لا يغير نعمتك حتى غيرت نفسك عنها، ارجع لله،

فقال لي: ذني عظيم ولم يسع في رحمته ويغفره لي ابدًا،

فعجبت من شدة فسقه وضلاله وكيده وقلت: اشهد حقيماً ان الله ارحم الرحمن واعدل العدلين وانك سو خلقه واكبر من فساق وان احتجب رحمته عنك فضل منه وعقابه عليك عدل منه، اليك عني يا لعين! فصح صيحه كالرعد القصيف ومضى في النار،

ورایت فی وسطها شجرة كبيرة ظل كل غصن منها مسير مائة سنة بفكهة مختلفة فی الخبثات، قلت:
یا جبریل، ما ذلك الشجرة وفكهاها؟

فقال لی: هي تسمى شجرة اللعنة وفكها العقاب وهي زید اهل النار،

ورایت فیها الحیات والعقارب والیفاع والاحوش والوزاع والرتائل والصفدیع لا یصف کرهتهم
ولا شدة قوتهم فی السوم وصدیف، ورایت فیها سهریج للنار فی اسطهم خصاً، وسهارج | مملیة منها، 15ظ

فقلت: ما دام السهارج؟

فقال لی: هي تسمى ساهریج العذاب،

قلت: یا جبریل، صف لی انواع عذاب اهل النار،

فقال لی: اعلم انه علی تسعة انواع وهم عذاب الاقدام وعذاب الكعن وعذاب الصدر وعذاب
الاعلال وعذاب الاضع وعذاب ما بین البرد والحرو عذاب الاكل والشرب وعذاب الخلود وعذاب
الاحتجاب،

فاما عذاب الاقدام لم یصال النار للعصات الا الكعبین، واما عذاب الكعن هو یصل النار فیها
للكواعین الاسبیة، واما عذاب الصدر یصال النار الیها، واما عذاب الاعلال هي الاعلال والسلاسل
والقیود التي یقیدون ویغللون بها العصات، واعلم ان لو اوضعت سلسلة علی ربوة من ربا الارض
المصفحة لاحرقها كلها وسلت فی لمحة الابصار،

واما عذاب الاضع اعلم ان الحیات والعقارب والیفاع والاحوش والوزاع والرتائل والصفادیع
فهم من السوم بقدر ان اذا اضع احدهن العصى من اهل النار تدم فی جسمه حررة الاضعة سبع
مائة سنة، وایضا كذلك اضع ذلك الحناش المذكورات والاحوش ونفخة الصفادیع كذلك ایضاً
فینتفخون الجسد العصاة حتی یرجع العاصی من اهل النار لا یعلم عظم جسده الا من رآه، وذلك | 16و
لیترحموا العصاة ویلتحم فهم النار والعذاب،

واما عذاب الحار والبرد اعلم ان جهنم اضداد ما دون اعتدال، لا حرها یشبه بحار ولا بردها
یشبه ببرد، فاذا عذبوا اهلها بالحار الشدید یخرجون للبرد الشدید فیینما یخرجون الیه یریدهم العذاب
بالاضداد بقدر ان یرغبوا المثلثة الموكلون بالعذاب ان یعدونهم للنار، ولم ینقص لهم العذب بالعود
الیها بضد البرد،

واما عذاب الاكل والشرب فاكلهم من شجرة اللعنة فكهة العقاب وهي مسمة منتنة لا طب
لها وهي ملتتهم بالعطش فاذا اكلوا منها طلبوا اغثة الماء فیسقون بماء انك واصراب مسیال حر
كحرة النار ومن المعصر من جهنم فاذا شربوا منه لا یعلم العذاب المحیط بهم فی اجوافهم الا

الله، واعلم ان لو خرج احد من اهل النار الى نار الدنيا لاسترح فيها ونم مثل ما يسترح الحي وينم بعد الام الاوجاع الشديديات اذا ذهبت عنه لان نار جهنم اقوى من نار الدنيا سبعين ضعفاً،

16ظ وأما عذاب الخلود اذا يعلموا ان من ذلك العذاب الذي هم فيه لم يخرجون منه ولم يخفف عنهم ا طرفة عين ما دم الملك لله الذي لا يزال فهو يقوى جميع عذابهم،

وختيمة العذاب عليهم هي الاحتجب عن النظر في وجه الله الكريم وهو لهم اشد عذاباً، فالتفت الى اسطوح جهنم فريتهم من نحاس مسموم وحجرها هي الكبرت الموقد وبحيراتها من النار وفيها الورد المورد ظل كل وحدة منهم مسير خمس مائة عام، ورايت فيها بحيرات من الماء المحمي المنتن ومن الماء الثلج المنتن ومنزلها الثوابة والسهارج والاجواب والمطامر والغران ظل كل واحد منهم مسير سبعين سنة باسرع السير، وقال لي جبريل ان يكون العصاة مزحجين فيها بين الشياطين والجنون بعد الحساب،

وقال لي: اعلم ان اعرض جهنم على العصاة جوع وعطش ووجاع وعياء وتقلب وكلاخ وتبواس وشجان وتحسير والم وهنة ووحشة وخوف ورعبة ولعنة وزجاج وعدوة وضلمة وغواش ومشممة وشقا وجهل وحر شديد وبرد شديد وقفرة وقبحة وكرهة وسواد | وعبسة وعراق منتن وسياح ويبيد(?) 17و

وصهار وهول وزول وحقد وكفر وفسق وضلال وغساق وتقل وخباث وتنتة ومسغبة وعذاب مهين وسو عيش دايم دون فناء وتحفف وكشفة لا بعدها كشفة ادها من افات الدنيا واعرضها اضعفاً لا يصفها وصيف ابداً ولكن مثلتها كنية على سبيل الخطب، ويعلم الجنة لاهلها بعكس ذلك كله لا يعلمها الا الله لان هو ذورحمة وكرمة وفضل كميل لاهل الجنة ونعمها لا تستقصى ابداً، وبالعكس ذو عذاب وتوديب عدل لاهل جهنم لا يصفها وصيف،

فالتفت الى جنوبها الايمان فاذا انا بمشور مشيد بصورغليظ من الحديد الاسود طله مسير خمس مائة سنة، والارواح يهبطون اليه مثل نزول الشتاء من الصحاب الى الارض، فقلت: يا جبريل، ما ذلك الارواح؟

فقال لي: هي ارواح العصاة،

فقلت له: كيف لم يدخلوا في جهنم ولم يضقوا النار منها؟

فقال لي: اعلم ان من دخل في جهنم لم يبق عليه حساب ولكن هو خليلد في عذابها، وارواح اهل النار يحسبهم الله يوم القيمة، | بعد البعث واخذ من الاجساد بعود ذلك الارواح اليهم حسياً شديداً 17ظ قبل ان يدخلونها ومن اجل ذلك اعد لهم ذلك المشوار يلبثون فيه حتى ليوم الحساب، واعلم ان هي معذبة ذلك الارواح بحر نار جهنم وتنتها وهي لطفة عليهم شوقاً وشهواً الى الاشتعل فهم مثل لشوق

النار الاشتعل في الادهان في دار الفنا واكثر فهم على ذلك الصفة حتى الى اليوم الموعد وذلك الحر والنتنة هي اقوى جند من نار الدنيا وتنتها بسبعين ضعف في العذاب، فاذا نقشوا الحساب يدخلون على ابواب جهنم السبعة خلدن في العذاب الذي اعده الله لهم ويخترون لاسفلها الجبار والطغات والمشركين والضانين بنقصان في الله رب العلمين ويدخلون على باب الضان ويطبق عليهم كما رايت، فبعد ذلك التفت الى شمالك فاذا انا باطم مشيد باصوار النحاس طله مسرة مائة سنة ورايت الارواح به يهبون اليه مثل الشتاء في دار الفناء وهم فيه ملهين بالحر الشديد والعراق النهج والمثلثة يخرجون |¹⁸ و منهم اقوماً ويسرون بهم الى باب في منتهى العرش ويمضوا بهم عني،

فقلت: يا جبريل، ما ذلك الاطم وما ذلك الارواح؟

فقال لي: هو دار القصاص للمؤمنين العصيين اعده الله لهم رحمة ليقصوا فيه من ذنوبهم والارواح الخرجين منه هم المقتصون تمًا، واعلم ان حره وعذابه هو جز واحد من سبعين جز من الحر والعذاب الذي في جهنم وبعد القصاص يدخلهم الله في رحمته ويعد البيت خلي، اما تر المثلثة يخرجون المقتصين منهم ويحملهم للنعم،

فشكرت لله على ذلك فالتفت ليسرها من دار القصاص ورايت حجاباً بقي للحار وللهب وهو كبير الغلظ وخلفه اطم طله مسيرة سنة وفيه اطفال سغار لم يضقوا حرًا وبرداً ولا عذاباً ولا كين هم مكثين في ذلك الاطم،

فقلت: يا جبريل، ما ذلك الاطم وذلك الاطفال فيه؟

فقال: الاطم يسمى اطم الاجل والاطفال الذي فيه هم الذين خرجوا من دار الدنيا ما دون ايمان وحلم مستدين فيوم التلاقي الله يتهم ما يشاء استحرفا على حبه،

فالتفت الى غروب جهنم فاذا انا بيت عظيم القدر مشيد باصوار النحاس القلي⁷⁵⁸ وفيه |¹⁸ الظ الاقتشاع الطبعي وعليه مطبق مفتوح من الحديد الاسود وهو خلي من النعم،

فقلت: يا جبريل، ما ذلك البيت والمطبق المفتاح؟

فقال لي: هو بيت الغرار ومطبقه يسمى الفنا الذي جزوا عليه الانبيا والصالحين مع يصوع روح الله من ذرية آدم الى النعم، فشكرت لله على ذلك الفضل العظيم،

فعدت ذلك عدت الغممة على ذلك المروج كما كانت اول مرة وغلقيق الباب في الحين فسرى بي الفارس وجبريل كبح بالبصر الى منتهى عرش رب العلمين جل جلاله فاذا انا بالمياء تحته اصغى من ماء القطار طلهم وعرضهم لا يعلمه الا الله ولكن امسكهم في ذلك المكان بقدرته العظيمة،

758 Uncertain reading; it could as well be al-qāni or similar readings.

ورايت تحتهم بيتاً لا يعلم كبره الا الله والملائكة الكرام يخرجون عليه نطقون باصوات حسان قيلين:
سبحان الذي امسك المياہ المقدسة تحت عرشه، لا رب غيره!

فقلت لجبريل: ما ذلك البيت وما ذلك الملائكة؟

فقال لي: هو يسمّى بيت الاحتفد، واعلم ان الملائكة يزورنه ويجزون عليه الى اكوان رحمة الله
في كل يوم سبعين الف ملك ولم يعدون اليه ابداً ولم تبرا الزيرة ابداً منه ما دم ملكه الذي لا يزل
فانفتحت المياہ باذنه وجزنا كملح بالبصار الى محال القدس وهو مكان شريف تحت بسط العرش لا
يعلم عرضه ولا طله الا الله، فاذا انا بملائكة كرام يتلال النور السطيع منهم لا يعلم عظمتهم ولا جلالهم
ولا قدرتهم الا الله واذا بملك كريم عظيم القدر والجلال خرج من حجاب قبل بسط العرش وهتف
بصوت حاسن وقال: لا اله الا الله لا رب غيره فاذا انا بذلك الملائكة كلهم نطقين باصوات حسان:
قدس قدس قدس سبح سبح سبح رب الملائكة والروح!

فقلت له: يا جبريل، من ذك الملك الكريم من ملائكة رب؟

فقال لي: لم سمعت به قط من يوم خلقتني الله ولا اميزه الا سعتاذ هذا.

فالتفت قبلي فاذا انا بخمسة ابواب مغلقة باقفال لم ارى مثلها فما رايت لا يعلم قيمتهم الا الله،

فقلت لجبريل: ما ذلك الابواب والاقفال الذي عليهم؟

فقال لي: اما الباب الاول هو باب الاسم العظيم الاعظم الذي سمي الله به نفسه واستوى به على
عرشه وخلق به | كل شيئاً ودبر امور خلقه اجمعين وبه علم لا يرهم الصحف ولموسى التورات ولدود
الزبور وليصوع روحه الانجيل واوحى به الى الانبياء والرسل اجمعين ولم يطلع عليه الا من يشا من
عباديه فضلاً منه وقفله يسمّى قفل القدرة، ان شئت يفتح لك قل: لا اله الا الله فقفلتها وفتح في
الحين فرايته مكتب بالنور السطيع فاوحى الى ان لم ابح به، واما الباب الثاني هو يسمّى باب العلم
والقضا وقفله يسمّى الحق لم يطلع الله عليها احداً، ولم يفتح ابداً لان علم وفضليه لم تحط به الا فهم،
واما الباب الثالث هو يسمّى باب الروح وقفله المراد فلم يفتح الا لمن يشا الله بالامر قد فتح لك وقت
الرسالة اليك وملك منه نوراً وعلماً، واما الباب الرابع هو يسمّى باب السير الاعظم وقفله الخفي وهو
سير ذاته وجلاله وصفته لم اطلع ولا يطلع عليه احداً ابداً سبحنه جل جلاله العظيم، واما | الباب
الخامس هو يسمّى باب السعة وقفله يسمّى العقلة، اعلم ان هي تاتي بغتة يوم يفتح والله لم اطلع ولم يطلع
عليه ملكا مقربا ولا نبياً مرسلأ ولا يعلم وقته الا هو،

ثم قال لي: اتريد ترى ابنك يصوع؟

فقلت: نعم!

فقال لي: قول: لا اله الا الله، فقلتها فاذا بجحباب رفع عاني⁷⁵⁹ ورايت محل القدس ومكان شريف تحت بسط العرش، ورايت فيه ابني يصوع روح الله في ايمان محل قدسه جليساً على كرسي من نور وهو قد كسه نور لم ارى اسطع نوراً منه وهو نذير للمحل المذكور، لم يلتفت الى غيره ورايت معنى لم يستطيع وصيف على وصفه ابدأ، ولم يقدير بانواع لغات اللسان والتعبر وليس لي بكشف بساط العرش ولا بنور الله ولا باسرار العظيمة، فعند ذلك جر سد لساني وانويت في نفسي وقلت: الاهي وسيدي احلل عقدة من لساني! فخلها وقوني والهمني لما اقل،

فقلت: اني اسئلك بتسح المئكة اجمعين وادعك بكل اسم دعك به ملك مقرب او نبي امرسل²⁰ واسئلك بحسن ايمان العرفين بجلالك العظيم وبكل من صن بك خيراً كما انت اهل اليه، فاذا بالندی: اعديل الطلاب بما بما⁷⁶⁰ تريد يا مريم!

فقلت: الاهي وسيدي اسئلك ان تقبضني اليك، فاذا بالندی: سبق في عليي مكثك في الارض حين من الدهر لتكن اية للعباد وشهيدة على حق الانجيل ووشي صبر للمتقين الطمعين في رحمتي ولتبتد المسجد المومنين المقدس، فعند ذلك رفعت راسي فاذا بقبة من نور لا يعلم عظمتها ولا نورها الا الله وفيها مكتب بالنور السطيع الابيض اية الله الكبرى ونعمته العظمة للعباد،

فقلت: الاهي وسيدي ماذا القبة والكتب فيها؟

فقال لي: هي حقيقة الانجيل الذي اتى به روح الله يصوع الى الاجود سبق في عليي تنزلها طوى في اخر الزمان لنصر الدين ومسجدي المقدس بعد اختلف الاحزب فيه،

فقلت: الاهي وسيدي هب لي حقيقة الانجيل من فضلك العظيم!

فقال لي: اني منزلها عليك كما سبق | في عليي لتفعل حقاً ما امرتك بوحى عليك لتشرحها في اخر²¹ الزمان وذلك الحقيقة اهبا اليك من فضلي في سابق عليي ونسختها هدأ ورحمة وتيقناً وفلاحاً للعباد بحق الانجيل الذي يختلفون فيه وفي روح يصوع وفي التبعين اليه في اخر الزمان،

فقلت: الهي وسيدي اني شكيرة على ذلك النعام والسمح والطعة اليك، فعند ذلك خطفني جبريل وعدني على كرسي القبة التي حملني عليها واوقفني في مكان علي وكشفت منه على الارض ورايتها قديمي مثل ما ارى طفلاً سغيراً،

759 Read probably: 'anni.

760 Erroneous dittography.

وقال لي: اعلم ان لو شا الله نخلق في كل حين من دوامه الذي لا يزل خلقه مثل هذا الذي رايت
 من الارض الى محل قدسه | نخلقها لا يشبهن بعضهن الى بعض في غية كلهن واضعف ذلك ولن
 يزددن في ملكه ولا في قدرته ولا في عله⁷⁶¹ شي ولم يملن في صردق كونه شي مثل ما تملى خردلة في
 دار الدنيا ولو شا نخسف بهن افاك الامسك لغرقت بمن عليهن ما دم ملكه ولن يجدن موضع مستقر
 وان شا لجعهن دكاً، ولن ينقص منه شي ولم يجان من صردق كونه شي بل هو الخلق العظيم يخلق
 ما يشا ويقضي ما يشا، لا يسئل عمى هو يفعل ولكن عباديه يسئلون،
 فقلت: يا جبريل: ما هو انس ربنا وما نبه؟

فقال لي: هو غية الانس، لا انس دنه، | قبله ولا بعده ولكن ذلك في ذاته سبحانه جل جلاله
 ينال انساً ونبلاً، وينال⁷⁶² منه الانس ونبلاً دونه لاحد من عباديه، واعلم انك لم اخذت من علمه في
 كل ما رايت نقطة من بحر لاقع ولا سحيل له،

فعدت ذلك سرى بي الفريس وجبريل معي الى باب المسجد وقال لي اجمع الحواريون في بيتك
 اليوم الاثنان وخمسين بعد توفيه يصوع روح الله لان في ذلك اليوم يتهم من الروح المقدس المنبات
 بالالسان فضلاً من الله ما يلق بهم ليقفه قوله وقولك اليهم ويعلمهم من تولى العلم ويتم نعمته على من
 يشا من عباديه، فن بعد تمام ذلك اقصص عليهم بذوات عدل صلحية وصدق | اخوانك منجتك
 هدأ، وليكنوا عليها من الشهدين، والله على كل شي شهيد واسطرها لنصر الدين واختبار اولى الالباب
 وليستفدون العباد في اخر الزمان، طي للذين يمنون بها وبحقيقة الانجيل التي راتها، هم مفلحون
 والكافرين بها في نار جهنم خلدن،

فبينما هذا سلم عليّ وذهب عني فانتبهت في بيتي من سهر شكره لله على ذلك النعام من فضله العظيم
 ورحمته عليّ وعلى عباديه فاوصتنا بنذرة الانجيل للعباد فما امرنا سيدنا يصوع حصاً، ولن نستلوا عليه
 اجراً وان لم اجحوا بذلك المنجة ولا بتفسير كنياتها لان الله اخرها لآخر الزمان، | فقلنا اجمعين السمع
 والطعة لله ولمولاتنا فامررتي تسطرها في الرصص وفعلت امرها بالطعة كما وجب عليّ،
 كل الكتب ليعقوب الحوري بامر الصالحة مريم على يدي سايس الايه ابن الرضى كتبه وتلهذه—
 اسعدنا الله به وجعلنا من الصالحين،

ك: ك: بح: بح: بح: 763

761 Read probably: 'ilmih.

762 Read probably: wa-lā yunālu.

763 These five mysterious letters written within five 6-pointed stars, filling the remainder of the page, marking the end of the book.

LP17

At the end of December was also found: Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl (“El Libro Mudo”), in 16 tablets. Vatican photographs: III, 1–16; plomos 2–6 (7 ?) have 9–10 lines of text in an undeciphered cryptic script; the remaining tablets are empty or covered with drawings. The tablets with text in cryptic script have a numbering in dots, from 1 till 7; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁷⁶⁴ diameter: 73,90 mm; weight: 97,08 grams; 2,23 mm. thick. Tablet 1a, according to our own numbering, is covered by a Seal of Solomon with a legend in Arabic script. This is the only page of the booklet legible to us, reading the text from the right hand side below, and onwards one obtains the following poetical text, structurally closely resembling to the poetical structure of the Arabic “comments” to the prophecy in the Parchment:

كبيرة القدر	مقلبة العلامة	حقيقة الانجيل
لتعظيم الاجر	واليمين والانعمة	تهدي الى السبيل
يسراً على يسر	جليلة العظامه	كليمه الجليل
ايضاً من الشمس	من جمهر الكرمه	فهبي للمكتبس
لحظة القدس	في مشهد القيامة	تنجه من النحوس
بالروح والنفس	يا سعد من اقمه	فلاح النفوس

⁷⁶⁴ The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

LP18

On 11 May of 1599 was found *Kitāb Mawāhib thawāb ḥaḥīqat al-injīl* ("El Libro de los Dones de los que creyeren la verdad del Evangelio"), in sixteen plomos. Vatican digital photograph: VIII, plomos 1–16, with 12–15 lines per side; alphabetical numbering; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁷⁶⁵ diameter: 60,87 mm; weight: 62,27 grams; 2,06 mm. thick. Many traces of corrosion and damage, affecting legibility.

1 كتاب مواهب ثواب حقيقة الانجيل للمؤمنين، فيه ثمانية مسائل للصلحة مريم⁷⁶⁶

1 ظ ك ك ح ع ح⁷⁶⁷

2 كتاب مواهب الثواب لعباد الله المؤمنين في حقيقة الانجيل والامر بها في التورخ لآخر الزمان واللعان بعكسها للعكسين اليها، فيه ثمانية مسائل يدره بجمهور الحواريون للصلحة العذرة مريم وجوابها اليه، لم يقدر احد على فهم معاني تورخ الحقيقة تماماً دونه، يعقوب ابن شميخ الحوري عقبه الدين مكتب بامرها على يدي تلهذه وكتبه تسعون ابن عطار الاعرابي،

2 ظ قال يعقوب الحوري: جمعت جمهورنا الحواريون الاثنان عشر الصلحة العذرة مريم في بيتها بعد نزول حقيقة الانجيل عليها ووصفها في الامر بها اليها، وخطبتنا | وحظرتنا بقول قد انسحرت به عقولنا وطبت انفسنا وسكنت قلوبنا وخشعت الى ما يجب الخشوع اليه من احسن الذكر والعمل الصالح والطعة لله،

3 ثم خطبتنا بأسرار عظيمة لم يجب ذكرها في كتاب هذا ولكن اقل ان خطبها يوقف الملك في السماء والانس في الثرى تعظيماً لله ووعضاً ومعجزة منه للسمعين، فلم راينا ابدأ اطيب نفساً من نفسها ولا افصح لسناً من لسنها ولا اكبر علماً من علمها بعد سيدنا يصوع، وذلك الوصف كله كان في خصوص حقيقة الانجيل في ازل الازل من دون كشف | سرها اليها،

ولما فرغت من ذلك الخطاب قال لها يدره الخليفة: نورت قلوبنا يا مولاتنا بنور رحمة الله من فضله بخصوص حقيقة الانجيل العزيز شكراً له على ذلك النعام، ولكن اطلب من مجدك وفضلك

765 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

766 Title-page with central six-pointed starlet devoid of any legend.

767 These letters written within a six-pointed star consisting of two overlapping triangles. At the six corners of this star 5 times the letter alif, and, so it seems, once the letter nīm, have been written. ms Harley adds here as an explanation of these letters: لا اله الا الله المسيح روح الله. كل كتاب حق يصوع المسيح.

ان تقصص علينا ثمنية مساليل في مواهب ثوابها وعن المتوكلين الامر بها، والتبعين اليها بالايمان وعن ثوابهم للموصفين في وصفك بالتورخ للعباد في اخر الزمان، وما ينبغي بالعكس للمعكسين اليها من اللعنة والعذاب ليكتسب جمهورنا والعباد من بعدنا من اجل ذلك نوراً وعلماً وتستريح به قلوبنا | وقلوبهم من بعدنا في آخر الزمان،

فقلت ليده: صف الاول منهم!

قال: اخبرنا عن حقيقة الانجيل وعن ثوابها يا مولانا!

فقلت: حقيقة الانجيل هي روح الانجيل وهي كنز من كنوز العرش فلاح للمومنين، لما من عبد يمن بها حق الايمان باخلص ونية لم يخلطها شيء من الشك ومت على ذلك الا ويكتب الله له برة من النار ويغفر له جميع ذنوبه ولو كانت لم تحصى في العدد، وما من عبد مومين يتلها على علم بعد شرحها للعباد يرفعه⁷⁶⁸ الله في الجنة درجات عليات، والعميل بالعكس | لا شفعة فيه، يلعنه الله وملئته الف مرة في كل يوم وهو تحت سخطه ويخلده في نار جهنم الا ان يرجع عن ذلك كله حق الرجوع لله،

ثم قالت ايده: صف الثانية!

قال: اخبرنا عن فضل العراب انصار الدين بحقيقة الانجيل في آخر الزمان وعن ثوابهم وعن فضل

لسانهم على الالسان يا مولانا!

فقلت: العراب انصار الدين في آخر الزمان، وفضل لسانهم على الالسان مثل فضل الشمس على درار السماء، اخترهم الله لذلك الامر، وايدهم بنصره، وفضل المومنين منهم عند الله كبير | وثوابهم جسم فما من عبد مومين يدعي اليهم بالنصر والتبند بعد ان يشهر الله حقيقة الانجيل في الموضع المقدس الذي يرمها الا وينصره الله النصر الموبين ويكتبه حقاً عبده تباع لمريضته، ومنيب لنصر دنه الراشد ومن يردهم بسوء يلعنه الله وملئته الف مرة في كل يوم وهو تحت سخطه الا ان يرجع عن ذلك كله حق الرجوع لله،

ثم قالت: صف لي الثلاثة ايده!

قال: اخبرنا عن صالح الفقه الذي يشهر الله الحقيقة على يديه وعن ثوابه يا مولانا!

768 Sic! But read: illā yarfa'uhu.

5 و فقالت: انما صالح الفقه حقاً للمؤمن بما وضع الله في الاجود من كليته التمة | بالانجيل العزيز على
 فه روح⁷⁶⁹ يصوع، وبالْحَقِيقَةُ رُوحه من بعده، ما دون الشكوك والضنون، وذلك جمهور المسجد
 المؤمنين بِالْحَقِيقَةِ الصالح العالم المنوار بنور الايمان والرحمة والخلافة اليصعية الموكلة عليه بقدره النبي
 والامر والحل والربط لانها ذلك الْحَقِيقَةُ برئح حقه ونوره فلاح للمؤمنين، لا نور له دنها ولا لاحد
 من العالين، فما من عبد يمن بذلك كله حق الايمان بنية واخلص لطة الله لم يخلطها شي من الشك
 ويحي نفسه على تسهل الامر بِالْحَقِيقَةِ للمجتمع الاكبار الذي بجزرة السبر بمشارك البندقية | وشرحها
 للعباد ليدخلون بها في دين الله، الا ويكتب عنده صالح الفقه حقاً وعصبة متصلة من ذلك الجمهور
 وصلحيته، ويصل سلسلت ربقته في عنوقه وينظره بعين عينيه ويكفله في كنف رحمته، وان ينفق
 لذلك الامر درهماً طيباً من ماله في سبل الله، يغفر الله له جميع ذنوبه ويحشره تحت رضائه ويعطه
 في الجنة اجر المصدقة التي بنت مسجد نبي الله سليمان ابن دود لانه معيناً لاستبناء المسجد المؤمنين
 بالله واليوم الاخر بذلك الصدقة المقبلة منه، وبالعكس ما من عبد يصل تورخها بيده وخصوص الامر
 بها | في علمه ويشك فيها ويريد طل الامل بها ويرضى بكتمنها وكتمان تورخها وكتاب هذا ادنى حناً
 من الدهر من ذلك الجمهور ومن اخلافة اليصعية ومن العراب الانصار ومن النصير السكين في المشرق
 ومن ملوك الارض ومن عباد الله ليتبعوا مرضيته ولينالوا من ثواب الْحَقِيقَةِ الموهب لهم من فضله،
 الا ويرفضه الله من ذلك الجمهور وصلحيته ويقطع منه عصبته ويخلع سلسلة⁷⁷⁰ ربقته من عنوقه،
 ويكتب في غيبه عدواً له معكسا لمرضيته، ويلعنه وملثكته الف مرة في كل | يوم لعنة تلزم في الحين
 لكل من يبلغ قولي هذا وتورخ الامر بِالْحَقِيقَةِ عنده كان من كان ويجعله كمشكة دون مسباح ويقعده
 في نار جهنم ملوماً مدجراً خليداً في عذبا مدم ملكه، الا ان يرجع عن ذلك كله حق الرجوع لله
 ويعفى عنه،

ثم قالت: صف الربعة أيدره!

قال: اخبرنا عن النصير السكين في المشرق وعن ثوابه يا مولانا!

7 و فقالت: النصير ملك من ملوك العراب وليس باعراي، سكين في المشرق بارض الانانين، عدواً
 بلغاً لاجناس العجام والملتهم ومذاهبهم واختلفهم في الدين، يكن له نية جملة لطة الله | ولنصر دينه
 الراشد، ايده الله بنصره والقي نصر حقيقة الانجيل العزيز في حكمه واوقف لواء الدين بيده وايده

769 Read probably: rūhihi.

770 Sic! Read probably: silsilat.

بالنصر والتمكين في الاجود على صائر الاجناس في ذلك الزمان وملاه نوراً وعلماً لطعته بذلك الامر وهو في غفلة عن قول هذا الى وقة يبلغ الامر بالحقيقة المقفلة عنده، وذلك كله سبقة في سبق علم الله، سبحانه يهدي بفضل له من يشاء، حتى ان يكن في ملكه ملا يريد، لا مسترد لامره، له عند الله ثوباً كبيراً ودرجة عالية،

وما من عبد مومين يدعي اليه بالنصر والتبند ويعنه بنفسه او بماله لذلك الامر ومتم على ذلك الا ويغفر الله له جميع ذنوبه |، ويعطه في الجنة اجر الشهداء الذين يستشهدون على الدين، ومريده 7ظ بالعكس يلعبه الله وملئكته الف مرة في كل يوم ويرفضه من رحمته الا ان يرجع عن ذلك كله حق الرجوع لله،

ثم قالت: صف الخمسة ايدره!

قال: اخبرنا عن المتلطفين قلوبهم للمجتمع الاكبار وعن ثوابهم يا مولانا!

فقالت: انما المتلطفون قلوبهم للمجتمع الاكبار الا الذين تميل وتخشع قلوبهم لله واستندهم الى الانجيل العزيز والحقيقتة، والمومين بما يجمع فيه على الحقيقة كانوا من كانوا من جميع الاجناس وايضا الذين يهبوا الصدقة اليه ويحثوا انفسهم والعباد على الحظور | فيه بقدر الاستطاع عليه او بالنيات، فما من 8و عبد من عباد الله يفعل ذلك ويهب نفسه وصدقته الطيبة بنية واخلاص في سبيل الله لذلك الامر ومتم على الايمان الا ويغفر الله له جميع ذنوبه ولو كانت لم تحصى في العدد ويكتبه من المتألفين قلوبهم اليه، وان حظه فيه ويمن بالجمع عليه الا ويكتب الله له برة من النار ويعطه اجر الشهداء المستشهدون على الدين والمعكيس لذلك والمنيع للعباد من الحظور فيه لا شك في خلد في نار جهنم وعذابها الاكبار الا ان يرجع عن ذلك كله حق الرجوع لله،

ثم قالت: صف السادسة ايدره!

قال: اخبرنا عن المترجمين والمفسرين وعن ثوابهم | يا مولانا!

فقالت: انما المترجمون حقاً مترجمون للكتب الذي بحقيقة الانجيل وانما المفسرون حقاً مفسرون حقيقة الانجيل بعد شرحها للعباد في المجتمع الاكبار، يعيهم الله في ذلك الزمان مسابح بين اجناس الاجود يتلوا نوراً بنور العلم والفقهاء الموهب، واذا يدخلون بارض السبريزدهم الله قوة من فضله في العلم ولغات اللسان للترجمة والتفسير المذكور ليستقيم بعضهم من بعض وقواهم في الاقوام بشرح دينه الراشد والاستقام فيه لطعته، ولكين يكون عددهم قليل ثم قليل بين الاجناس لبرهان معجزة الله في العلمين، وراسهم اضعف خلقه شريح الحقيقة طيع لله | ونخلافه المسجد المومين بالله واليوم الاخر 9و ومومين بذلك الايمان تمًا وعصبة متصلة من جمهوره، يعيئه الله في ذلك الزمان بنور العلم والفقهاء

والرحمة لذلك الامر كما وصفت لكم، وكلهم القهم الله في كفة الملوكة والمتارف والله يحب اهل العلم الصالحين ويكره اهل الفسق الجهلين، اجر المومنين منهم عند الله كبير وثوابهم جسيم ولهم درجة عالية في الجنة فما من ملك او متراف او عبد من عباد الله المومنين يحسن اليهم يهي امرهم للمجتمع الاكبار المذكور وشرح الحقيقة وتفسرها وترجمة الكتب الذي معها الا ويغفر الله له جميع ذنوبه | ويكتب عنده من الشهداء الذين يستشهدون على الدين ويرفع له بكل درهم طيب ينفق لذلك الامر من ماله درجة في الجنة، ومن يردهم بسوء او معكسة يلعنه الله وملئكته الف مرة في كل يوم ويرفضه من رحمته الا ان يرجع عن ذلك كله حق الرجوع لله،
ثم قالت: صف السبعة ايدره!

قال: اخبرنا عن اضعف خلق الله شرح حقيقة الانجيل في المجتمع الاكبار وعن ثوابه يا مولانا!
فقالت: الله يخص برحمته ويعلم⁷⁷¹ تول العلم لمن يشا من عباده وذلك العبد من المخلصين والمكتمين في علم غيبه، مواهبه له ومانته عليه كبيرات ورحمته ومعجزته ظهرة | فيه للعباد المخلصين الذين يشاء الله يطعمهم عليه من فضله، ولكن يكون عددهم قليل في العلمين، عنصره طيب زكي اعرابي لان النصر لا ينبغي لغير العراب، والنصير في ذلك الزمان فهو مظهر من جميع العلوم كما كان ابني يصوع ولا يعدم [ف]هم جوب السائلين منوار بأنوار الاحسان والرحمة، خليص النية وله علم كبير موهب من الله ليس يصف به بين العباد، له نشية معتدلة وبششة في وجهه مشتملة وفصح في الإسان بلفض قصير وعلم كثير واثق ان، يبعثه الله في تكبرة متم بسنابك الارض وفيها يعلمه الذكرى | ليكون أضعف خلقه في الاجود واقطع تهم الضلين والمرتدين والفسقين والمنافقين والمختلفين من جميع الاجناس في الانجيل العزيز وفي الحقيقة بالشهو المنقوب ... (؟) في منزلة الصبر، صبور على داء الفقر والافات، رفيض الفخر والكبر، ويكون له لفة كبيرة لتعظم الاجر في طعة الله، مجتنب من المحاريم والعيوب، صديق في القول والوعد، حفيظ الميمنة، لم يغفل من ذكر الله وخشيته بقلبه وتذكره طرفة عين، وان تلحقه معصية يسبقها بالندم ويرتجى من الله العفو والغفران، ثوابه عند الله كبير واجره جسيم على قدر نيته وايمانه وعماله وطعته اليه ويزده من فضله لان الله لا يضع اجر المحسنين، اهب الله له شرح حقيقة انجليه العزيز المقللة والتي علمها في فهمه وشرحها في محفظه ونور قلبه بايمانه وادخله في كنف رحمته، ونظره بعين عينته، وذلك سبقة في علم غيبه، بشرح الحقيقة اذا يشاء الله بشرحها في ذلك المجتمع لطعته، وليس هو بنوبة ولا بنظرة العباد ولكن الله ينهم بالحقيقة والتي فيها من

771 This word is perhaps redundant and the result of an erroneous dittography.

كل حكمة ما يلق بذلك المقام ما دون اختلف، | وينذر لعباده بها الى يوم كان وعده مفعلاً تعياً¹¹ظ
 للعقول فيه، فما من عبد مومين يدعي اليه يقول اللهم ربّي احرص بعين عينتك لأضعف خلقك شريح
 حقيقة الانجيل العزيز في المجتمع الاكبار وهي امره اليه واجعلن بما يشرح فيه من الحق مومينا ويسر
 عليّ حفظه وعميل بما امرت فيها وفي الانجيل من الطعة إنك على كل شيء قدير، الا وينظر الله له
 بعين رحمته ويحرصه من جميع الافات، ومريده بالعكس يلعنه الله وملثكته الف مرة في كل يوم
 وهو تحت سخطه الا ان يرجع عن ذلك كله حق الرجوع لله،

12و

ثم قالت: صف الثمنة ايدره!

قال: اخبرنا عن بركة الموضع الذي يرم الحقيقة وعن ثواب زيرته للعباد يا مولانا!

فقالت: دليل على بركة الموضع المقدّس الذي يرم الحقيقة والكتب فيه، خترته لذلك الامر وكفى
 بذلك فما من عبد مومين طهير نقي يزوره بنية وإخلاص لم يخلطها شيء من الشك في الانجيل العزيز
 وفي الحقيقة روحه وحق الكتب الذي معها ويدعي لله بعد اشهرها فيه ويقول اللهم ربّي أمنت حق
 الايمان بكليمتك التمة التي ارسلت بها سيدنا يصوع وروحك وبحقيقة انجلك العزيز التي اشهرت نسختها
 في ذا الموضع | المقدس والكتب الثبيت الصحيح الذي معها، اسئلك باسمك العظيم الاعظم وبجهدك¹²ظ
 وفضلك وجلالك ورحمتك بها على عبادك ان ترفع بها وبه اولي دنك الراشد على الدين كله وان
 تؤيد بها وبه مسجداك المومين المقدس وزكي جمهوره الصالح وان تدخيل بها وبه عبادك المومنين في
 كنف رحمتك وان تهتك بها وبه ستر المعكسين اليها، انك على كل شيء قدير،—الا ويغفر الله له
 جميع ذنوبه ولو كانت لم تحصى في العدد، وان تصدق يرفع الله له درجة في الجنة على قدر نيته وعمله
 بكل درهم طيب يعطي | في ذلك الموضع لتهيئة الامر المذكور، واقول لكم كله لطة الله ومرضيته وما¹³ظ
 كان لله حشى ان يضع ابدأً انه يحب المحسنين الطيعين اليه فلا خوف من الأعداء ان الله لا يهدي
 كيد الظالمين وينزل السكنة في قلوب المومنين والرحمة على عباده أجمعين ليستندوا لشرح الحقيقة
 والايمان بها ويهدي من يشاء منهم بفضله العظيم،

فلما فرغت من ذلك القول اذا بالندی قبلاً من قبل الحق: يا من له الخلافة الموهبة والقدرة
 اليسعية بالنهي والامر والحل والربط: ابثق كليمه الاثقان بذلك القدرة على من سبقت عليه الفضائل
 ومواهب | الثواب الموصفة على مريم العذرة في جواب الثنية مسائل وابثق كليمه اللعنة والرفض من¹³ظ
 جمهور المسجد المومين المقدس وصلحيتته على من سبقت عليه اللعنة والرفض في وصفها، ثواباً وفضلاً
 لا لا⁷⁷² ينفذ أبدأً، ولعنة لا ينبغي لاحد من بعدك حلّها الا بحق الرجوع لله عن المحاريم،

فقال الخليفة: السمح والطعة ارب العلبين اشهدكم يا معشر الحواريون بمولاتنا مريم العذرة وهي
 وانتم معها خير الشهدين على الحق: اني ابثق كليمة الاثقان بقدره الخلافة اليصعية | لمن سبقت عليه 14و
 كليمة اثقان الفضائل وثواب المواهب كما وصفتها في جواب المسائل الثنية، ثواباً وفضلاً لا ينفذ أبداً
 من بعدي، وابتق بالعكس كليمة اثقان اللعنة والرفض من جمهور المسجد المومنين الصالح المقدس
 على من سبقت عليه كلمة اللعنة والرفض في جوابها في الثنية مسائل المذكورة، لعنة لا ينبغي نقضها
 لاحد من بعدي الا بحق الرجوع لله عن المحاريم،
 ولما فرغت من ذلك اهتد البيت وانفتح فرشه الاعلى وخرج منه يد رايته الى المعصام وكتب على
 جدول خاتم سليمان الذي كان مرصماً في جدار وسطه هذا الستة اسطار وبعد تممها | مضى عن 14ظ
 جمهورنا ذلك اليد وانغلق الفرش المذكور:

FIGURE 30 LP 18, fol. 14^b

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

و15 فعند ذلك التفتت الى | الصلحة العذرة مريم وقالت: أيعقوب عقبه الدين: اسطر الوصف كله والكتب على الجدول واحفظه مع الحقيقة في الموضع المقدس ليعلمون العباد الحق والقول الثبت الصحيح لطة الله وليستقيم قولي فهم يستفدون من فضائل ثواب مواهب حقيقة الانجيل الموصفة في الثنية مسائل في آخر الزمان،

ثم ستلهما يدره بالجمهور وقال: يا مولاتنا، ما يعني الكتب على جدول الخاتم؟
وقالت: عليكم بالتقوى، لا ينبغي في وقت هذا شرحه ولكن وخره الله لشرح حقيقة الانجيل في آخر الزمان!

ثم قال يدره: زدنا على التورخ امير الوقت لاشهر الحقيقة وما يتي بعده يا مولاتنا!
فقالت: اذا يتعلمون الناس العلم لغير عمال صالح و| ينولون المقاييد والرتاب لغير طعة الله وليكونون عراق العباد بين ظلماً بغير حق ويجتهدون على حيلهم لا على الله ويكون عيش النساء في الكبر واتبع الرجال بالزنا وقلت الحيا ويطغى اللباس من الحرير الاسود ويكثر الحديث بالكنية والخداع ويدفنون الصلحين والصلحين في المساجد وتثنى على العباد كليمه الله ولم تاثر في قلوبهم، ويرفع الله بركته من الارض، في وقت هذا يشهر الله الحقيقة والكتب في الموضع المقدس واشهرها دليل على شرحها في المجتمع الاكبار عن قريب، وعود يصوع روح الله الى الوجود بدينه الفصيح | المحمود وذلك دليل
على المسيح الدجل، والمسيح الدجل دليل على طلوع الشمس من المغرب!

كل الكتاب على يدي الاعرابي،

ك ك ح ع ح 773

773 These letters have been written within a six-pointed star composed of two overlapping triangles, marking the end of the text. Al-Hajari adds the following explanation: كل كتب حق يصوع المسيح. So does Pectorano and with him Harvey.

LP19

On 11 May of 1599 was also found *Kitāb al-Asrār al-‘azīma* (“Libro de misterios grandes que fueron revelados a Sanctiago”), in 5 plomos. Vatican digital photographs: VIII, plomos 17–21, with 2–5 lines per side; alphabetical numbering; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁷⁷⁴ diameter: 62,14 mm; weight: 72,78 grams; 2,30 mm. thick. Completely legible.

كتاب الاسرار العظيمة ٥
 كتاب الاسرار العظيمة لمن يشاء الله يطلعها من عباده المخلصين وهو خاتم الجبل المختص ١
 بحقيقة الانجيل والمقصد بالحق الذي وضع الله على اهل السعدة ليعقوب روهها الله له في الاربعين
 يوم الذي مكث فيه لتوريج الحقيقة من فضله العظيم مكتب بامرہ على يدي تلهذه وكتبه تسعون ابن
 عطار الاعرابي،
 ي م ا ص ا ح ج
 ك ص د م ع ع ع

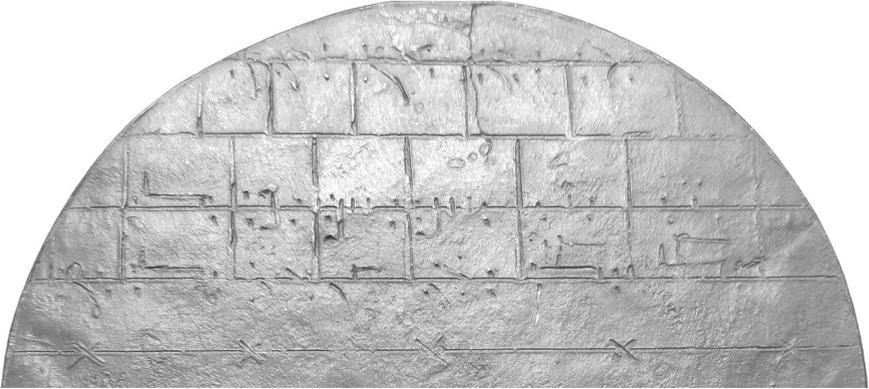


FIGURE 31 LP 19, fol. 1^a

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

ظ د ج ح ح م
 ت ت س س و ك
 ك ك ح ع ح م

774 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly vary.

FIGURE 32 LP 19, fol. 1^b

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

كل السير الأول وهو مقفل يسمى حروف المقصد
السير الثاني وهو مختم غير مقفل يسمى المنزل

و2

FIGURE 33 LP 19, fol. 2^aREPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE
ABBEY

ظ 2 السير الثالث وهو مقفل باسم سير النية



FIGURE 34 LP 19, fol. 2^b

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE
ABBEY

و 3 كل الكتاب على يدي العبد الفقير الرجى رحمة ربه تسعون ابن عطار الاعرابي

LP20

On 22 December 1606 the Archbishop of Granada was informed about *Kitāb Maḥāsīn Ya'qūb al-Ḥawārī* ("Libro de la Historia de Sanctiago"), consisting of two parts (LP 20 and LP21). Part 1 has 37 plomos, with 9–13 lines per side; numbered with the letters of the alphabet; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁷⁷⁵ diameter: 58,51mm; weight: 60,47 grams; 2,17mm. thick. Vatican photographs: x, 37-1. Legible throughout, with the exception of a few words.

- كتب محاسين يعقوب الحوري ومعاجزیه⁷⁷⁶
- و2 كتب محاسين يعقوب ابن شميخ الزبدي الحوري ونسابه وحسابه ومعاجزه وسيره في الاجود
- و3 للندرة بلانجيل العزيز الى وفاته، فيه لباب الفقه اختبرا لاولى الاباب⁷⁷⁷، لسياس الايه ابن الرضي تلهذيه وكاتبه،
- كان يعقوب ابن شميخ الزبادي المعنى الممكن⁷⁷⁸ نتيجا من الايرار الاحبار العليا في العبار ذو الطرفين متارف التقوه والايمان لا شك في اخلسهم لله والمقام، وكان قححي اللون، | معدل القيمة،
- ظ3 احل الحلية⁷⁷⁹، وسع الاردف، كميل الجنة ذو لوب وعلم، عقل، اداب وسكنة، سني السيرة وحسان الصورة، ذو بششة، عديل في اموره، محسن للداعي، زهيد في ظرة العقيم، عرض عن الجهل، مجيب في العلم والتقى، ذو خشية من الله وحبه فيه كبير، تبيع الطعة، لم ينسى الذكرى في نفسه طرفة عين، اختبرا في الاية، ذو خلق وخلق علم وكرام عظيم، موهب من الله من سغره ليس بموديب ولا دريس هدي السبيل والندرة للعباد، تبيع لطة الله بالانجيل العزيز، مظهر لايتة الكبرى في نفسه ونيته واخصله اليه بين الاقوام، عروض لجهلهم، | قدسه ربه واسقه العلم الموهب على الطبعة
- و4 طوى، واختره على ساير عباداه، وانب ونوى في جنته على مكث وسكنة بهدم الكفر والضلال، ونام قيلا: ربي انت وليي فالدينا والانخرة اتني بكفلين من رحمتك وانصرتني وانت خير النصرين، واقم قيام الايمان في قلبه وبدت له اسراراً من كل جانب ولحت عليه انوراً سنية من كل الجهات ونجم فيه العلم نجماً موفراً، واوعذ بالندرة والاستفتح بالانجيل العزيز،

775 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

776 Written within the center of a six-pointed star.

777 Read probably: li-ūli al-albāb.

778 Read probably: al-muknā.

779 Read probably: al-liḥya.

4ظ نوا بجمهور الاحبة الحوارين برمة الحمل المقدسة بيت الصلحة مريم البتل | العذرة ذات ليلة طيعين لامرها، فنامت عليهم: كل شي قضاه الله على علم في سابق علمه ومن تفضله حقيقة الانجيل لآخر الزمان المنزلة على المنعم في التورة وعليّ وحياً من الله بفضله العظيم،

فبدت لهم من جانبها في الواح من جواهر مكتبة بالنور السطيع يتلال نوراً لا يعلم قيمته الا الله ونسختها في الواح الاسراب عليها مكتبة مفصلة محزبة بتحزب الاصل،

5و وقالت: انما حقيقة هذا حقيقة الانجيل العزيز وهي روحه فيها الذكر الحكيم | والعلم القديم عليها امسكت السموات والارض وهي ولية الله والله وليها وليس شيئاً اول بها منه، جل جلاله العظيم، فقال يدره: اخبرنا يا مولاتنا ما حقيقة هذا وشرحها علينا لنكتسبوا منها نوراً،

فقال: لقد اتاكم الله من العلم ما يلق باسعة انفسكم للندرة بالانجيل العزيز، وحقيقة هذا روحه اخرها لآخر الزمان، ليس يوجب كشف سرها في وقت هذا لاحد من خلقه ولكن اخرها ليشهرها على يدي افضل | خلقه،

قال يدره: يا مولاتنا اخبرنا من افضل خلقه،

فقال: العراب ولسناهم،

فقال يدره: العراب ولسناهم؟

6و فقالت: العراب ولسناهم، واقول لكم ان العراب افضل الامام ولسناهم من افضل اللسان، اخترهم الله لنصر دينه الراشد وانجليه⁷⁸⁰ العزيز ومسجده المومنين المقدس في اخر الزمان، وامرت ان افعل بها مثل ما فعمل بالواح موسى ونسختها، امرت بخرجها من رمة الحمل، ليحرا سها الله في سنبك من الارض لآخر الزمان،

فقال يدره: لما سميت مدينة هذا رمة الحمل؟

6ظ فقالت لان الله يروم الحمل على اهلها الكافرين منهم وغضب عليهم وعلى ابناهم وابناء ابناهم، لن ترتفع لهم علامة في الدنيا والاخرة وهم في النار خلدون ولم يبق فيهم سلم على سلم من اجل كفرهم وضلالهم ونكرتهم ليصوع روح الله وانجليه العزيز والوصف في هذا المعنى يطل، ولكن قصدنا الاختصار تركاً | التطول للتورج الاعجب المكتب في جبل هذا لاني تسعون اي خبراً وتورخاً عجيباً لآخر الزمان واختبراً واية للعباد،

فاخذت الالواح في يديها وخرجت بالجمهور في عظم الى جبل الزيتون فاذا بنور عظيم من قبل السماء قد انشق الجبل وضمف الالواح في كبده، وعد كما كان اول مرة فارتدت الصلحة الى بيتها بالجمهور وقالت ليعقوب مودبنا: اسري بكاب هذا | الى سنك الارض اسمه اشبنيه وفي الموضوع 7 و الذي يعد الميت حياً، احرسها فيه ولا تخف عليها لان الله يحرسها ولك ومن معك بعين عينته في البحر مثل حرس لنوح في السفنة وفي البر مثلها حرس لينوس في احشاء الحوت الى وضعه فيها، فاذا قضيت الامر انذير في الارض المذكورة ولا تخرج منها حتى يومين لك رجلاً وحداً وذلك لتجرب صبرك للندرة، انك منذر لقوم اشد قصوة منهم،

فقال يعقوب: السمح والطعة | لله واليك يا مولانا، ثم اداثوبها واتصل بطعة امرها ونوى الطاريق 7 ظ بتلامذته، انا سايس الايه واخي تسعون وطرقت والاشقندر والحسي وافراج—احسن الله الينا من فضله العظيم، وسرى في الغروب اذ سنت بحجاب الى شطى البحر في عظم الى فلك النجاء رايسها الملك الامين جبريل، وحي ووعذ ووهب من الله بلسان الصلحة، وركبنا بسنا من قبل السماء بريح طيبة لنحية المغارب، وبلغنا بالمشرق مقاصد المفاز في اجم | بالجزرة وضعنا فيه سريراً فاسهمنا سهماً 8 و وشدونه بالعياء الى مدينة يقل لها أقصي وهي معمرة بجهلة⁷⁸¹ الروم لم يلتفت احد منهم الينا بضور، ولكين مكثنا فيها قليلاً للترود، ولما قضينا امرنا سرينا الى مدينة يقل لها الابله بنحيتها مشرقاً مقدر ميلين من الارض بشطى نهر يقل له نهر التبر اي يخرج منه التبار، فعزينا عن اللقام وقصدنا العلم جنباً واستوينا على الشراف على حنوة واشجارة ظلها مكتريح للمكثين لتزودوا بالزيد ولنكترحوا من العياء والشهام،

فوضع مودبنا تقار الكتب | في الارض وهدد الجبل هداً شديداً فعذنا بالله، واذا باناس قد انبعث 8 ظ من لحده مقماً مترسلاً ونام نحياناً ليعقوب: لما بعثتني من لحدي هذا ومكثي واكتراحي فيه من الدنيا واقتها من مدة موسى نبي الله وروحي سعيداً معه الى سعتاذ، فقال يعقوب: ما بعثتك ولكين بعثتك حقيقة الانجيل، فقال له: اسئلك ما اسمك؟

[فقال: اسمي] يعقوب بفضل الله من حوار يصوع ابن مريم | روح الله التبعين اليه، 9 و فقال: مرحباً بك، كم لي منتذير اليك! قال يعقوب: اسئلك ما اسمك؟

فقال: انا الحق، ههنا عدني ولا تعذني سعتاذا واخرني الى وقت معلم،
فعده بالحقيقة الحقيقية⁷⁸² ملحداً في المكان المقداس فسبح يعقوب لله تسبحاً وبدا بسير واية الينا،
لو بدات الى صم الجبال لهدت وخرت ودكت من خشية الله والتفت يعقوب مودبنا للجبل فاذا بغار
فيه،

قال: انما هذا غار نطي فقلت اي غار النطا، نرحلوا ام نلبثوا فيه؟

فقال: انما هذا اسم مليق بمكان هذا | وبالمدنة النطية منه بالدين، ومدون الجهلية بدلاً بمعرفها ان
شاء الله في وقت معلم، امكثوا فيه وانا معكم من المكثين حتى يحكم الله لنا بمقصدنا وهو خير الحكمين،
فكثنا فيه اربعين يوماً لكتب توريح الحقيقة لانحر الزمان ولما يلق للندرة والاستفتاح للدين في طعة
الله،

9ظ

وقال يعقوب: ابعثوا احدكم للمدينة ليتنا بطعام وليخبرنا بحكم امر اهلها، فسريت انا سياس الايه الى
المدينة فدخلتها على باب المشرق فرايت مكانها عال وتشيدها صم واهلها | بيدون⁷⁸³ اواة العزا فتعزيت
عنهم واتيت ازكى طعاماً وجدته سيلاً بلسان الحال فاستجبوا لي الجهلية محسنين من فضل الله العظيم
فتزودنا به،

10و

فقال يعقوب: على علم اتوا الستة وادخلوا المدينة ترة اخرى على ابوابها مختلفين لثمنوا من شار اهلها
واكتموا ايمنكم حتى يحكم الله لنا وسندوا امركم اليه كالحمام وكنوا كالحيات حزمين، وبدا يعقوب باية
سناء على اثر الجبل فبدت للقوم على امرء منهم ونحن سيلين،

فاتى ملاءهم الى يعقوب واتينا من المدينة الى معزيل نطيء | من الجبل قليلاً،

10ظ

وقالوا: ايها العبد راينا علامة بالمدينة من تلقاء جبل هذا، اخبرنا بها اذا⁷⁸⁴ كما راينك محسناً؟

فقال يعقوب: أترون الاية باخلاص؟

فقالوا: بل!

فنام يعقوب وقال: رب انصرتني وانت خير النصرين!

وفتح الجبل فتحا واسحر النظرين، وندى: ايها التلاميذ لا خوف عليكم اتوني نصرين،

وقال القوم ليعقوب: زدنا على قولك، لنا لاضنك سحراً كبيراً،

فقال: انما امري بالله رب العالمين،

782 Erroneous dittography.

783 Read probably: ya'budūna.

784 Read probably: idh.

وهووا يعقوب وبمقصده وتسدعوا⁷⁸⁵ بينهم وسدعوا⁷⁸⁶ الجبل وقال بعضهم: ان هذا الا | مر¹¹ عجيب، ومنهم يضمنون فيه ضن السوء، وكانوا عنه ذهبين، وبدا امر يعقوب عليهم ولكن لا يمتنون الا بالعلامة خصاً،

فاستقر يعقوب مكانه وتورخ الحقيقة على المقام اليها في اخر الزمان، وسرى الى المدينة ومكث فيها للندرة ايماً كثرة لم يمين لقوله احداً، فبكي يعقوب وبكينا لبكايه سيراً وعلنية على قصوة قلوب الجهلة⁷⁸⁷، وصبر ونهى وقال: اصبروا ان الله مع الصبرين، الله يهدي من يشا بفضله ولا يرضى لعباده بالكفر ويضل من يشا بعدله ولا يضل لاحد من عباده | وعنده سبقة بالعدل في كل الامور،¹¹ وطف يعقوب ترة اخرى في المدينة يسوس اعدل كلام الصلحة بقصد الخروج من الجزيرة وهو خيب ايس فسرى بنا نحو جنوبها الى مدينة صغيرة يقل لها منتسة في وسطها نجماً لذيذا للشاربين ومكث فيها ايماً قليلة وايس من اهلها غير راجي، وسرى منها الى مدينة يقل لها مدينة طالمون فدخلها بحكم العجاب، ورايتها وهي قد شيدها نهراً كبيراً منهميراً للغروب وهي من ابحار مدون الجزيرة، فدخلها على مسفة السفون ووجدنها باقوام مختلفة منهم من بائي اسرايل ومنهم | من امة الروم الجهلية¹² وهم مترفها العليا، ومنهم قدريون ومنهم مجسيون، واكثر لسان حلهم مرثون الارض منهم، وهي امة الروم باوة العزاء، لهم كئاساً كثيرة وما دنهم جزاءً.

فاتينا الى منزل رجل اكرمنا وزودنا رغداً فكشنا فيها ايماً كثيرة ولم يثر في اهلها قول يعقوب، فقال: العيذ بالله واليه المسير، فنوى بالصفى الى مدينة سغرة يقال لها مدينة القنطرة وهي بشطى نهر ادهم عليه القناطر فدخلها واشفى يعقوب لقوم مرضياً سقمين غير رجين من البرء وبدت منه | لهم آية خير¹² الشفاء،

وقال مترفها الى ملايه اتوني بكرام ضيف يقال له يعقوب في منزل متول من منازل المدينة فاذا قضيت امرى اتوني به وبصحبه معه انا راينه محسناً للعباد باية الشفاء،

ولما رأ يعقوب قال: ساولك⁷⁸⁸ بأمر تصه⁷⁸⁹ ولك عندنا امين الصلاح، فقال يعقوب: ليس امرى بطوم ولكن لطة الله فطر السموات والارض، قال: من الالهك؟

785 = taşadda'ū.

786 Read perhaps: şa'idū.

787 Read probably: al-jahiliyya.

788 Read perhaps: nas'aluka?

789 Read perhaps: taqdihi (i.e. taqdihi)?

فقال: الذي خلقتني وصورني من امشاج وماء مهين، رب المليكة والروح الملك القدس السلام
الذي لا ربّ غيره | ولا معبداً سواه، 13و

قال الامير: اتكفر بالالهة وتجعل بدلهم الالهاً وحداً، ان هذا لشي مريب ونحن له نكرون،
فبدا له يعقوب باية عجيبة واسحر النظرين، وضنه الملاء بضان السوء وسحر عظيم، وتلقاهُ وه بمدينة
سغرة من تلقاء تلك المدينة جنوباً⁷⁹⁰ بمقدر عشرين ميلاً موضع الدسام واتجنه فيها سجنًا خشناً لم
اسمعوا له سميّاً بطول اربعين يوم ولما جاءه الرسول قال: ما شيت؟

فقال يعقوب: اني لا اشا الا ما شاء الله، عليه توكلت واليه المصير، وانب ونام: ربّ ايدي بصبر
جميل على ما قضيت، واني عبدك فقير | رحمتك انشرها عليّ نشرًا حسنًا وانصري وانت خير الناصرين، 13ظ
فاستجبه ربّه وامين من شار ذلك القوم ومن معه وفتحت ابواب سجنه،
وقال الملاء: اصمت انا من الصمتين على قولك، ليس يوجب اظهر ايتك في قريتنا فان اظهرتها
لا جزينك جزاءً ضريماً،

وتذكر يعقوب لقول الصلحة وايس وقال: لا غشم لنا في القوم ان يمين منهم احداً، وجمعنا بعد حين
وقال: اتقوا الله بنية واخلاص لعل يرحمكم وليخرجنا مخرج صدق وينجنا من القوم الضلّين،
وسرى يعقوب قبل مشارق الارض | سريراً نطياً على مقدار مائة ونحسين ميلاً واذا بارض مبسطة 14و
فيها مدينة تشيدها عال مشراف واطمها علت يقل لها مدنة غابر وهي عل شطى نهر كبير يقل له
العبوري حدودها حدود غليا فتزودنا قبل الدخول اليه، واكثرحنا من العياء ودخلها فراينها معمرة
بقبايل الروم الجهلية ولما تقبلوا الينا تسدعوا بينهم وسئل احدهم لاني تسعون عناً،
فقال له: نحن غرباء سيلين ومقصدنا بالارض المقدسة اي ملجنا،
قال له: من هو كبيركم؟

فقال: كبرونا سغرونا وسغرونا كبرنا،
فضنه يهزل ورفعنا فامر الملاء بنا | الى سجن ظليم ودخلته في ظلومات اربع تمثنا كنية لاهل الصبر 14ظ
على البلاء المحيط بالطيعين الصلحين لحقنا الله بهم،

فكثنا فيه حيناً من الدهر وقال الامير ليعقوب: ما دخولكم بارضنا انا لاضنكم مفسدين فيها،
فقال يعقوب: اني ومن معي ليس بفساد ولكين مقصدنا باصلاح الارض بعد فسادها لعل
يفلا حوا اهلها،

قال: بما تنذر الناس؟

فقال: بالايمان الخليص،

قال: وبما تمين؟

فقال: بالذي فطر السموات والارض الملك القدّس السلام رب الملائكة والروح الذي لا ربّ غيره ولا معبداً سواه، | قال: اتجعل الاهتنا الأهاً وحداً بعكس ما وجدنا عليه اباونا الاولين وتظهر 15 في ملتنا نكوساً لنا لاضنك في سفهة وتسدّع، وحكم عليه بالسجن والاغالال والاصفاد وعلينا معه، وامسك الطعام قليلاً، وتلقى يعقوب قبل دخله باية، وقال قئيل منهم خشعين ان هذا الا امر كبير واكثرهم ظلمين وشاء يعقوب للسوء،

وانب بقلب خليص وقال: اذكروا ان الذكرى نفعكم واشكروا ان الشكر زدكم واصبروا ان الصبر ذفركم وجدوا باخلاص ان الله معنا ومعكم ولا تخشوا⁷⁹¹ الا من الله ونام جمهورنا ربنا زدنا احسناً و 15 افرغ علينا صبراً واجعلنا من اهل طعتك وارحمنا انك ارحم الرحمن،

واوحى ليعقوب براق الاغالال النطية والمصليح الطبيقة فرقا بنية واخلاص وفتح في الحين ضقهها ونوى وسر الى اولة العزا، ولما تلقى بالحق هوى اكبرهم وتهدى⁷⁹² وذهب منه ما يخفى ان الحق فيه ما يخشى والبطيل زهوقاً يتدشى⁷⁹³،

وقال يعقوب للقوم: اتعبدوا ما لا يغني عنكم شيئاً ولا ينفعكم ولا يسمع ولا يعقل ولا يرزقكم وتكروا الذي خلقكم وصوركم في ارحام امهتكم او ما علمتم ان صوار⁷⁹⁴ الاجرام بايدكم | ما نزل⁷⁹⁵ 16 الله بها امراً ولا قدراً انه روف رحيم لعباده، ولا امر اليها بالسجود ولكن السجود لله الذي فطر السموات والارض وهو الذي خلقكم وخلق كل شي فامنوا به مخلصين، او ما علمتم ان من ضله الله فلا هدى له ومثواه جهنم يبس مثنى الضلمين، او ما علمتم ان عباد الاصنام والجبايرة والشياطين هم اهل الطغت⁷⁹⁶ وعباد الخصران يتهم عذاب اليم؟ ولا يزدهم قول يعقوب الا نفوراً، واذا بالملاء قال: ما نقض اغلالك واغالال من معك؟

فقال: سميع الاصوات مجب الدعوات | مقيل العثرات، منزيل الاياة الذي لا ربّ غيره ولا معبداً 16 سواه وهو ربّ وربكم وانتم له تكرون، استندوا قولي لعل يستقيم فكم ويهدي الله من يشاء، انه اهدى

791 Read probably: takhsa'ū.

792 Read probably: wa-tahadda.

793 Read probably: yatadashsha.

794 = šuwar.

795 Read: mā anzala (convolutio).

796 Al-ṭāghūt.

17و لمن امن بقلب خليص، اوما رايتم من ايته لواقيح درّات بغيث ونجات الارض بنجم مختلف واشجار ورزق العباد ولن تشكروا فضله العظيم، اوما علمتم ان الخفيون لم يقدرروا على شي وما لهم علماً بملوكات السموات والارض ولا نبأء على ادنى شي متى واتم لهم عبدون، اوما علمتم | ان السجود فرض على العباد للحى الدايم الذي لا يموت؟ اوما علمتم انه فرض على العباد تحثية الايمان والدين المستقيم وترك المعترضين عنه واكتراح فيه نوركم الاية العظمى والدين المستقيم ولا نستلکم عليه اجراً ولكن اجري على الله وانتم تعرضون عن القول واجركم الى يوم معلم لا ريب فيه،

فسده امرء منهم: يا ايها النكير ان انت صديق اخبرنا بمرسى السعة!
17ظ فقال يعقوب: صدق الله العظيم اوما علمتم ان | لم يطلع عليها لاحد من عبادہ ولكن تتي على سير⁷⁹⁷ مجهل الوقت،

فقال قيل⁷⁹⁸ منهم: فسق فسق⁷⁹⁹ فسقاً كبيراً مسخاً بعنوقه ومن معه،
قال يعقوب: ليس لكم عليّ من سبيل ان حرسني ربّ وهو خير الحرسين،
وامر الملاء بخرجننا من المدينة حيناً لا مكث فيها ولا ملجأ ولا حسنى،
وقال يعقوب للهلاء: اترلا رجوا لنا عندك؟
فقال: لا نجوا لك عندنا ان لم تنفذ امرنا سعتاذ،
18و قال يعقوب: هذا فراق بيني وبينك الى يوم البعث لا ريب فيه والله شهيد | عليكم وملثكته وهو خير الشهدين سبحانه لا رب غيره ولا معبداً سوه،

وقال يعقوب: ربّ كل شي خشيع اليك والقصين قلوبهم من جهنم، انت عليم بكل شي، تحكم بين العباد يوم القيامة بالعدل فيما هم يختلفون فيه ولا تضلم لاحد منهم وانت خير العدلين،
فاته الروح وقال: اصبر ان الله يهدي من يشا وعنده سبقة بالعدل لا يطلع عليه احداً وهو بكل شي عليم، فقرب بقربان وصبر باحسان وعدل في اموره باعدل | من فضل الله العظيم،
18ظ فقال يعقوب: اصبروا ان الله مع الصبرين وقصد علماً وتذكر فيه الحى الدايم الذي لا يموت قتلاً:
ربّ اشريح لي صدري ليستقيم قولي باي ارض شيت واني قد عييت بالقوم القصين قلوبهم وقد اتايت عليهم القول فلن يستقيم فهم⁸⁰⁰ ولا في قلوبهم اثرًا منه ولا بدى الايمان،

797 = sirr.

798 = qā'il.

799 Erroneous dittography.

800 Read probably: fihim.

فاوحيا اليه منيب ونوى وسرى بنا بديراً⁸⁰¹ على اقام | نطعي بالمشاريق فدخلنا على اثر الفلاق
مدينة كبيرة مبسطة على شطى البحر وهي مشيدة باصم التشيد، اية للنظرين يقل لها رومة السغراء،
وعمرتها قبائل الروم باواة العزا ولغة كلامهم عجماء، فدخلنها على باب البار الى محكم السواري واذا
بزويج مكلوم سئل يعقوب فقال: اني لا ملك⁸⁰² لنفسي دراهم اتريد من ركاز رب ان ركازيه
افضل ركزاً، وانه قريب برحمته من المحسنين، فقال: بلى! ولكن الضرام | بي اشد ورداً، فاشفه
برق وسهل ضرمه بلقمة خيل جفها⁸⁰³ بغيل، وندي: ايها الملاء، ان هذا الا سحر⁸⁰⁴ ورفعنا
للكهان،

وقال الملاء ليعقوب: ايها العبد، ان راينا منك عجباً بايتك، اتشفي باولة العزا؟

قال: اني اشفي باسم الحي الدايم الذي لا يموت،

قال: من ذلك؟

فقال: الذي لا رب غيره ولا معبداً سوه، الذي فطرني وخلق السموات والارض وما بينهما وهو
رب وربكم ورب اباونا الاولين، واني منذر بانجله العزيز من فضله العظيم | ليفلحوا به عباده فاستمعوا
القول لعلكم ترحمون ولا تشك بريب مخل ان الله يحب المومنين،

وتسدع الملاء وقال: سروا به الى كهان اواة العزا وجدال العلاماء وارجعوا به خبراً لحظرتنا، ولما
ارا الاية تلقاء جسداً هوي وتقدي وذهب عنه ما خفى وصاق وغوى وهد الثرى وخفت ايمة المبني
وذهب البطيل زهقاً وظهرت الاية الكبرى ولا يزدهم عليه الاقصوى،

وقال بطرق العظماء بملايه: اتريد خروج القوم وتظهر في ملتنا | اقترأً وفسداً ونحن لاضنك مسياً
في قولك ومفسداً في الارض، ما لك ملجأ من عذاب اليم عندنا،
ولم يثنى عليه وقال احدهم: لما لم تثني على من اوجب الثنا؟

فقال يعقوب: رب السموات والارض يثني عني الحق الذي [اقول] لكم ويشفي من يشا بفضله انه
هو الهدي للسبيل والخسرة ثم الخسرة للقصين المكذبين واني اقوص عليكم كليمه رب التمة فاستجبوا
القول لعلكم ترحمون،

801 Read probably: sayran.

802 Read probably: innī lā amliku (involutio).

803 Read perhaps: jaifuhā.

804 Read probably: ṣahḥār, or: ṣāḥir.

21و وقال البطريق: ارينا اية بالجبل بلقننا | ان انت صدقاً،
 ونام يعقوب: ربّ انصرني وانت خير النصرين وانب ورأوا العلم خشياً متسدياً بالاية وتسدع
 القوم قليلاً مريين ثم تساوا بينهم بسوءٍ وامرهم بقتل يعقوب ومن معه وهموا بريهم وازموا بطرقاً
 بالزمام سيراً، ولما ارتد اخبار للملاء كل اجمعوا بالسجون فتنفذ الامر علينا ولما رأ يعقوب السجن اشر
 اليه مرتحاً ونام سير هباءً باذن الله فتهي ان الله بايته وقدرته قد ير على كل شي،

وقال البطريق للسجن: ان هذا الا سحر علم،
 قال يعقوب: اني ليس بسحر ولا مكر ولكن سحر الله ومكره اعظم من كل شي، وقال للملاء:
 21ظ اردده علينا، |

ولما رآه هموا بسئل شديد ليعقوب في وقت نجم الارض قد بدا بحطم وتقليص من جذاب
 ليست ثروا منه العتاب عليه، وقالوا: ادعي ربك بانهل دايماً ليفرقنا القحط ان كنت صديق، فدعى
 ثم دعى فاذا بلواخ من كل جانب في البعاق، ونجات الارض وبسق الشجار بسقاً وقالوا: انما سنع
 هذا الخفيون في البواعق، وشدوا ربيهم عليه،

وقال الملاء: ايها السحار العليم اخرج ومن معك من قريتنا بهرولة سعتاذا فان لم تثر الخروج
 لاجزيانك جزاً ضريماً لا عفو فيه البتة، وسبوا في يعقوب ومن معه سباً،
 22و وخر احدنا ونوى لشيخنا: | ادعي على القوم لله بجم مرجس ياتي عليهم من قبل السما لانهم
 فرس وكتاب وقوم كفرون،

وقال يعقوب اني لادعي عليهم انما خلقت لعناً ولكن امرت بالرحمة للعباد والله يهدي من يشا
 بفضله وبانجله العزيز وعنده الكتب ولا يرضا لعباده بالكفر،

ثم سرى على باب السوارى فتلقت به عاماء سئل الشفا لسبطها مواق وانشت اليه ايسة صدقاء: لا
 تهربني واني ارك حسيناً محسناً، ابقى كربتي لانها لي كرهاً، فرقا اذاً بسيره وذهب الخفي بعد اضطجاع
 السبط في اللقام واقه مقمماً ووضع رحته على علمها فاشفها الله باذنه، انه هو الشفي الكفي المعافي
 22ظ لمن دعاه باخلص، ولن تضن ليعقوب على شي لانها طبعاء،

ثم سرى بالغروب ومكث على شفق عال وزودنا من الشعير للخيول وغيلف بطرم وعسل في شمعة،
 وخطب علينا بالصبر وبدا لنا اسرراً به لو بدأت الى ليس اصبر على شدايد البلاء صبراً جميلاً وتحكي
 صبره لوشي الصبر على البلاء والكوم بالدود والفقير، واقول: لا فقر من الغناء ولكن الفقر من الايمان
 والذكر واصل الفقر لفقير مهبة الجهل وقنام الايمان لمومين في الخلوص والصبر والخشية اول كل ذي

علم | والايمان بدى كل ذي خير، 23و

ثم انب وسرى على المفاز مداً بعيداً، وتسحل البحر وتذكر الحي الدائم الذي لا يموت، فاصبنا عطشاً شديداً وايقنا الهلك طلبين،

ثم توسل وحكى لموسى بالسخور شقاً وشق سخرة بالقنا قد بلغنا مشربها لذيداً للشاربين، وقال: اتقوا الله ان كنتم مومنين ليشفى صدوركم ويدخلكم في رحمته، ثم سرى على سحيل البحر الى مدينة صغيرة وسئل عيان القوم عنا لاحدنا فاجبه مكتئباً حزيماً،

وقال يع: انما هذ القرية عينها قليل وقصده مريب فاستنشق ثراها وقال: حتى ارضها كفرأ الرحيل علينا وجيب لا مكث فيها البتة، ثم سرى وقصد بنا الى علم وتزودنا | في شنقه وشربنا من عابن، ثم علا وطوى على كلب العلم واشرنا بالاحتكاء اليه، فقال: العين للطعة يا مودبنا، ثم خطب بعد حين بلفظ قسير وعلم كثير بشفع الانسان وفلاحه من فضل الله العظيم وختم بفضيل الصبر واستوجه بالاطواب بصوت حسان وبششة فبكينا، ثم عيناً عيناً، ثم اكرتحت اروحنا وسنات قلوبنا من قوله ونام جمهورنا بالشكر لله على نعمه للعباد، ثم كهفنا لله طعين تهولا على محراب الثرى والسلام الجعبة للقربان، نغتمه علينا ورضنا، ثم قبلنا يده، ثم رضا ترة اخرى ونوى يعقوب وطلع الى علم آخر عال وبالعين فيه سجا، وتذكر الحي الدائم الذي لا يموت، ثم امرنا بالسكنة،

ثم سئلته | عن لباب الفقه وعن مراسها وشخوسها فقال: استمعوا القول واني فقتشت الايمان ووجدته في النية البليغة وفتشت النية البليغة ووجدتها في الخلووص وفتشت الخلووص ووجدته في العمال الصليح وفتشت العمل الصليح ووجدته في النية الجملة وفتشت النية الجملة ووجدتها في الاختبار في الاية واخلقة وفتشت الاختبار ووجدته في الخشوع لله وهو اول كل علم وفتشت الغناء ووجدته في القنعة وايضاً في رحمة الله الافتقار والولية في الزهد والرضا في الصبر والصبر⁸⁰⁵ في البلاء والحب في الصدقة والصدق في اليقين والرجاء في الدعاء والاجر في العبادة والقرب من الله في القران والفلاح في الانجيل العزيز والصلحية في الطعة والقدرة | في الايمان والعلم في اهل المعرفة واستخبرت الفناء ورأيته في الدنيا واستخبرت النقصان ورايته في الجهل واستخبرت الذول ورايته في المعصية، واستخبرت المعصية ورايتها في العباد، وفتشت الغفران ووجدته في التوبة، ففتشت التوبة ووجدتها في الندام، وفتشت الندام ووجدته في الروح، ففتشت الروح ووجدته في القلب وهو بيد الله، وفتشت الكفية ووجدتها في الاستقرار وفتشت الاستقرار ووجدته في الخلووص لله تماماً بقلب سليم، وفتشت الخلووص ووجدته في الدية وفتشت الدية ووجدتها في الحيا والقضاء دين وهو جوز منه، وفتشت مرسى الفلاح

805 Erroneous dittography.

ووجدته في ترك المحاريم | لان مدمين الذنب طميعاً في الرحمة لن يغفر الله له لان ذلك مومين بالرحمة و25 وكفير بالاومير، والتيب حقاً بعهد ان لم يعد للذنب ابداً لا ذنب عليه والله يهدي بفضله من يشا من عباده ولم يضلهم، وقتشت الاستحيا ووجدته في خالق⁸⁰⁶ والدين، وقتشت الحياء ووجدته في الله، وقتشت الله ووجدته في ارواح عباده الصلحين وهو معهم في كل مكان وهو ذو كل وجلال وجمال واخير كله من عنده والشار من النفس والشيطان، وقتشت السلوة الكبرى ووجدتها في النظار الى وجهه الكريم، وقتشت الرحة ووجدتها في | الحي الدائم الذي لا يموت وفيه رحمة عباديه السعدين، 25ظ سبحانه جل جلاله العظيم، فاتبعوا رضوانه ليزدكم من فضله احسناً ويدخلكم في كنف رحمته، فعند ذلك سئلته انا سايس الايه: يا شيخنا اقلت ان الله يهدي بفضله من يشا من عباديه؟ اخبرنا مما علمك ربنا من علم القضا والقدر وختم السعادة!

فقال: هو علم حجه الله من عباده ولكن بلغنا من ادنى معانه عن الروح انه اذا نفع مبعثاً في الرحيم يكتب له الاجل والرزق والعمال | والمثوى، فمن سبقت عليه كريمة الرحمة في سابق علمه 26و لو كانت ذنوبه لم تحصى في العدد يغفر الله له من اجل عمال صليح بعد الفساد، ثم يدخل الجنة من فضله، ومن حقت عليه كريمة العذاب في سابق علم الله وعمل عملاً صليحاً ظل حيثه يدخل جهنم من اجل عمال فسيد بعد الصليح، لا شك في ذلك والله خير العالدين وعدله لم يطليح عليه لاحد من عباده، وختم السعادة من فضله محججاً عن الافهم لم يطليح عليه ملكاً مقرباً ولا نبياً مرسلأ فايكم الضن في الله بان المغفر له خلياً من حقوق | المتب ولا المقتضى عليه بالنار خلياً من الذنب، فاعملوا واتكلموا ولا تعملوا الا ما سبق في علم الله ولا اكثر لقدر المصير اليه، واعلموا ان الله ليس بضليم للعباد، الخير كله من عنده والشار من النفس والشيطان، يرضى لعباديه بالايمان ولا يرضى لهم بالكفر، يفعل ما يشا وعنده اماماً مبيناً ولا يسقط شي من علمه، انه هو علم العيوب،

ثم سئلته عن اسم الله العظيم الاعظام وعن بركته فقال: هو اسم عظيم لم اطلع الله عليه لاحد من المليكة المقربين ولا من النبيين ولا لاحد من خلقه اجمعين، ومن اجل ذلك هو يقال له الاسم المخزون 27و المكنون | الذي سمي الله به نفسه وبه استوى على عرشه وبه دبر امور خلقه جل جلاله العظيم له الاسمى الحسنى وهي تسع وتسعين وبالاسم العظيم الاعظام ختم المائة، وبذلك الاسم وبركته العظيمة الذي سمي به نفسه خلق السموات والارض بمن عليها وما بينهما من الانس والجن والملك على علم ونور الشمس والقمر والنجوم وخلق الظل والنور والحرور، ثم وضعه على الارض فاستقرت،

806 Originally written: wa-wajadtuhu fi khlq Allāh. The word Allāh was then crossed out.

ثم وضعه على الجبال فارست، ثم وضعه على الانبياء الكرام وعلمهم به من تول العلم الموهب والنبوة ما يلقى باسعت انفسهم لتصرف الامر وهو اسم مختص بميثة⁸⁰⁷ ذاته ويعلمه وجملة وكلمه ويقدرته وبعده^{27ظ} وبحلمه جل جلاله وهو الذي اوهم المتفكرون في ايته بالاختبار فكيف يقدررون على فهم ميثة⁸⁰⁸ ذاته واسمه العظيم الاعظام وهو العلي العظيم المحجب من عباديه وليس احد رآه بعين الظهير، هو لينه⁸⁰⁹ ولا يعلم احد لينه ولا كيف هو الا هو فعليكم بالاستبرك به وترك الفكار فيه ليردكم من فضله ببركة اسمه العظيم الاعظام والروح من امره والعلم المتى على عباديه قليل،

ثم سرى الى مدينة كبيرة يقال لها مدينة قرطبة وهي بشطى نهر كبير يقال له البطيش، ودخلها فراينها مشيدة مبسطة وسكانها قبائل الروم يعبدون | اواة العزا، فدخلنا الى كلهان العلم وندى يعقوب^{28و} وقال: ايها الملاء اني رايت منكم عجباً مختلفاً تكلوا رزق الله وتعبدون غيره وتفسدوا في الارض وتنون عن الفساد وتمنوا بالعقل وتنكروا ما يقبل بالعلم والفهم الذي اعطه الله سبحانه، او ما علمتم ان المتشكسون في الله خلدون في نار جهنم وعذابه الابكار، او ما علمتم ان المفسدون في الارض من اهل النار، او ما علمتم ان الله لا يضييق لعباديه بما تعيا العقول به؟ بين لهم طاريق الراشد بيناً مبيناً وهو الروف الرحيم، اتبعوا نور الحق لعلكم تفلحون واني اخف ان يمسمك عذاباً الايماً من اجل ذنوبكم وتكنوا اولياء الشيطان الذي عصى ربه بكبره وايمكم باواتكم كعنكبوت في خيامه مقصراً ولما هبت عقاب^{28ظ} الرياح يعر جثيماً: هكذا عقيبية الضلمين، او ما علمتم ان الموت في باب الدخول كصيد الذباب غفلة لا نيجة منه لاحد من العلمين، والمستمسكون بالطغوت مشوهم جهنم بنس مشوى الضلمين، اتغيطوا غبطاً بالحلوم وتنسون الحق وتضلوا انفسكم باوو (بلود؟) ملا يغني عنكم شيا يا ايها الجهلون، وقال اكبرهم الجبرى: من الاهك الذي تعبد، انا لاضنك في سفهة، فقال يع: رب المليكة والروح الذي لا رب غيره ولا معبداً سوه الذي خلقني وخلقكم من امشاج وماء مهين،

قال: ما لك عليه من برهان لا استثار في القلوب واستثنا (؟) العقل؟

وقال يع: اتريد استثار | العلم؟

فقال: بلى!

807 Read probably: bi-mā'iyat.

808 Read probably: bi-mā'iyat.

809 Huwa li-yanalahu seems to be an erroneous dittography, and, consequently, to be eliminated.

فقال يعقوب: اني ليس بعليم ولكن علمي من الله موهباً، اتريد الاستئثار عليه بايته نورها لكم كيف شئتم بقوته؟

ثم تسدعوا بينهم وسوأوا انفسهم بسوء كبير ليستثروا على يع العتب للهالك،
وقال احدهم: ارنا الهك جهرًا نكلّموه كما نحن نكلّموا اواتنا،

فقال يعقوب: اروني الاهتم نكلّمهم لأستثر الاية بالحق ان كنتم صدقين واني اراكم الحق عيناً مبيّناً،

قال الخبر: سلوك بساً شديداً ان لم تثر،

قال يعقوب: نعم، فاتينا والملاء الى المبنى وتلقى يع بجسد له فه صايق (صليق؟) عليه صوتاً من جوفه الخفي يحضر القوم عند السئل مثل صداء بالحذف والكنية والاضدد والعجمي، ولما رءا ليعقوب صاق (صلق) | وهوى وهذ الثرى وذهب عند السئل من حظته وغوى،

ظ29

وقال يع: للقوم: اينا الهكم الذي تعبدون وتر من كلمي تهيّ ومضا، او ما علمت اني رايتكم فيه الاية الكبرى وزهق البطل الذي تعبدون وظهر الحق الذي اقول لكم فاتبعوا طريق الرشاد يهدكم الله سبيل الهدى ولم يزداهم قوله الا قصوى،

وقال الخبر: يا ايها السحر اخرج من قريتنا سعتاذ لم ازيد لك عليها حيناً من الدهر، فان لم تثر الخروج بمن معك لا جريتمك جزاً شديداً الباس والنقمة وان عكستم امري من ذلك نسكم بسوء كبير،
نفرج يع: وقصد علماً وعيا صبره بضلال القوم وفيه سخا ودعا لله وقال: الاهي ومولاء وسيدي |
انت الهدى للسبيل وليس غيرك فعيلاً دنك، اسلك الهدى اليه وان توحى اليّ لي⁸¹⁰ موضع اجيد العبد الذي سبق في علمك ايمانه بقوى وما يجب ان شئت زيدا على ذلك لتنفيذ امرك، واهدني وانت خير هاد [للهدى]، وكبر وهوى سجيداً في القربان،

و30

ثم روى بين الصفاء والمروى لان له قلبا لا يسنى فاوحى اليه: اصبر ان الله مع الصبرين ولا تغفل عن الذكر لان الذكر قوت الشكرين واسرى لا يمنك بين الحميتان توسطى فتلقا باعرابي له قلباً لا يسنى ونية جميلة الهدى اسمه ابن المغيرة عبيداً بالريب لا واة العزا، ذلك يمين بقولك ومن عدد تلامذك يزكى ويسعد بالتقوى، وفي تلك الجزيرة منه ينتاج شرح حقيقة الانجيل في الوقت الموعد للهدى، او ما علمت | ان الله اذا اشفق على عبده بالداء اهب منه تمام الدواء، وما العصر الا لليسر، ويشفى صدور المومنين بالاية الكبرى ويفلاح من تزكى نفسه وهدى،

ظ30

ولما استيقض سَبحَ لله تسبِحاً وبعينه نوا وسرى لتنفيذ الامر الى غمس الدجاء فتلقى بقري، ثم سرى
 فدخلنه نساء⁸¹¹ اول المنزلة فاذا بامرء بدا وقال: تالله ان هذا الامر عجيب دخل اضياف على كإب⁸¹²
 ذورعة وغوى ولم يسهم بسوءٍ وهو مسي الانس والدواب اجمعين كفى، مرحباً بكم لكم عندنا حسن
 ماءٍ في اواة العزا امكثوا فمكثنا واتنا يزيد على ميده السندس فيها الحلب والطرم والعسل في شمعة
 والمليل من جيل (؟) الشعير واسقنا من حلوا | الطلاء الحب على ضفف قد انهات عليه بركة الله على³¹
 قدر منحصتنا من فضله العظيم واذا في الفلاق بامرء قد دخل علينا، وقال: مرحباً بلقاء قوم كرام،
 روي لي ثلث مرات ان اسرى الى خيامي هذا وفيه نلقى برجل اسمه يعقوب وهو هدي الهدى، هو
 معكم ام لا؟

فقال يع: اتكون ابن المغيرة؟

فقال له: من انبك باسمي؟

فقال يع: الذي هدك الي بالروية خمسة اعمواً سلبت على لقتك في جزيرة هذا،

فقال: مرحباً بك، لك اليوم عندنا مكين امين في قلبنا الرحيل الى بيتنا، فسرينا معه الى مكاريم
 ضيف كريم فآكرنا سواء المجد الكريم، وكان ابن المغيرة اعرابي فنسى ذوشراف وعلم في النجم
 والعلوم وكان يعبد اواة العزا | على ريب، وكان احق بعلمه وصحّ عنده بعث المسيح سيدنا وكان يدعى³¹
 ويقول اسئلك يا خليق الخلق ان لا تقبض روحي من جسادي هذا حتى تلقني بالمسيح الكريم او
 باحد من خدامه الصالحين واشرح لي صدري واجعلني من اهل المعرفة واسعدني بلقايه انك على كل
 شي قدير، قاستجابه الله انه سميع علم، وكان لابن المغيرة رجول في بيته مواق قد⁸¹³ التسه يع: وذهب
 عنه في الحين باذن الله وكليمته التمة،

وقال ابن المغيرة ليعقوب: باي شي انت عليه؟

فقال يع: بالذي هداني لطعته الملك القدس السلام الذي لا ربّ غيره ولا معبداً سوه، اتريد

الايمان؟

قال: اني اريد ما يقبل العقل فيه من الاجوب في ذات الالهك ليظهر به قلبي ويثر الايمان | في³²

روحي،

811 Read probably: nas'alu.

812 Read probably: kalbin.

813 Both preceding words with two dots on the qāf in the original.

فقال يعقوب: نصف لك فيه عشرين صفة وابد لك بالمستخصة بنفسه وهي الاجود بذاته،
والقدام: لا شيا قبله، والبقاء: لا شيا بعده، والمخلفة: بعد الحوادث ليس محدث فيه، والقيام بنفسه:
لا معين له، والوحدانية: ليس احداً سوه، والقدرة والاردة والعلم والفهم والحياة والسمع والبصار
والكلام: فهو قدير على كل شي ومريد لما يشا وعليم بكل شي، وحي: لا حية دونه لاحد من العلمين،
وسميع لمن دعاه وبصير: لا يخفا عليه شي في السموات والارض، ومتكليم لمن يشا من عباده من غير
حروف ولا صوت،

فقال ابن المغيرة: برك الله فيك، اخبرني عن المستحيل في ذاته الكريمة،

ظ32

فقال يع: لا يصع في مولانا العدم: انه ليس بعديم والفناء: انه ليس بفناء، والممثلة: انه ليس كمثل
شي، والافتقار: انه غني عن كل شي، والشريك: انه لا شريك له في الملك والقدرة، والعكس: انه
لا معكساً له، والكراهة: انه ليس بمكره، والصنام: انه ليس [بمتشبه]، والجهل: انه ذو علم، والعماء: انه
بصير بكل شي ليس يخفى عليه في السموات والارض، والبكم: انه ذو فصحة ما دون شفتان ولسان
ومتبعة حروف ولغة، والصمام: انه ذو سمع وعقل، والموت: انه حي ممت كل حي وهو لا يموت ابداً،
وهو | ذو كمال وجمال جل جلاله العظيم سبحانه لا رب غيره ولا معبداً سوه الذي اذا قال للشي
كون فيكون قبل ان يصال الكف للنون، وهو على كل شي قدير،

و33

فقال ابن المغيرة: اخبرنا بما يجب الفكار في مائة ذاته،

فقال يع: ليس يجب الفكار بمائة ذاته الكريمة، ويجب الاختبار بآيته، واما البرهان فيه اقول انه
لا من شي ولا في شي ولا تحت شي ولا على شيء، لو كان من شيء لكان مخلقاً ولو كان في شيء
لكان محسراً، ولو كان تحت شي لكان مقهراً ولو كان على شي لكان محملاً، ليس يتقيد في مكان ولا
يخل منه ولا يقترن بزمان وهو كل يوم في شان، رب المليك والروح والقدرة والسطان⁸¹⁴، سبحانه
لا اله الا هو الفعل | لما يريد،

ظ33

فقال ابن المغيرة: يا سيدي نورت قلبي بنور سنيء واقل عقلي قولك بنية سبعة، زدني ما شئت
على ذلك كله ما يجب للنساء،

فقال يع: اتريد الايمان بالمسيح يصوع ابن مريم روح الله سيدنا وبانجمله العزيز وقواعد دينه الراشد،
لان ليس نجة دونه لاحد من العلمين،

فقال: السمح والطعة يا سيدي امنت بذلك كله حتى الايمان بنية واخلاص جميل هب لي يدك من فضلك فقبله، ويع: عنه رضا فحتمه على الدين وطهره بالماء الطهير وعن حلوم العجلة تعزاً، ويقول الوح عن شريح حقيقة الانجيل ونتجه منه | انبه ومن عدد تلامذه جعله سواء (سوى؟)،
 وقال يع: يا ابن المغيرة انت دايس الكفر من الاجود في جزرة هذا، ومن سعتاذا يكون اسمك الدايس، فسبح الدايس بقلب سليم لله على ذلك الفوز العظيم،
 وقال يع: عرفني ما يجب في المسيح سيدنا!

فقال يع: يجز الصدق والامنة والتبليغ، الصدق ما دون نقصان والامنة ما دون غدر والتبليغ ما دون كذب لان هوروح الله الامين شفيع العباد، طي لمن يتبعه بالهدى، والخسرة ثم الخسرة للكافرين، ثم طلع بالعين الى ربوة فيها كهف ملحد وفيه اقم القربان بالشكر على نعمة الله وعلى كلب الجبل استوى،

وقال للدايس: | اتحب المكث في ارضك ام ترحل معنا،
 فقال: لا فرق اليوم بيني وبينك، اني تبعك بالهدى،
 فقال يع: الرحيل علينا وجب من جزرة هذا وتذكر لقول الصلحة مريم ولامرها عند الخرج منها على طريق غير الذي دخلنا عليه،
 وقال يع: رب اهيح ذماننا وسير اقدمنا لطعتك والى سواء سراط مقيم للخروج منها وهب لنا سفنة النجاء من فضلك، فاوحى اليه ارجع الى الجبل المقدس وفيه امكث ثلاثة اشهور والاسرار الذي يرك الله فيه اسطرها لآخر الزمان ولا تسئل عما ليس لك به علماً الا ما يشاء الله يورك من فضله واتبع رضوانه يهدك به الى سبيل الهدى،

ثم سرا بنا الى الجبل المقدس وفيه سجا وروي له فيه من الاية ما نصف | في كتاب الاسرار العظيمة ان شا الله تعالى،

ولما توفي الوعد في سفنة النجاء بسحيل البحر لقي فركبته وسرينا بالريسة الملكية الى ناحية المشرق بريح طيبة حتى الى مرسى النجاء وقصدنا البر بالارض المقدسة الى بيت الصلحة، ولها بالعين كله يع: لقا، وهي اذاً به وبنا ترحجت، وانب اليها قيل السمح والطعة لله واليك يا مولاتنا، واني قضيت امرك تماً وخباري غريب للسمعين ولكن اجزنا على الله رب العلمين واني انذرت القوم خمسة اعوام وعييت بالندرة والسجن والهزوء ولم يمين لقولي الا هذا العبد خصه، واشر للدايش ولكن قصت قلوب القوم ولم يردهم قولي الا فراراً من الهدى، ولكن قولك اليّ اني منذير لقوم اقوى قصوة | منهم
 فكيف يكون حلي بينهم فادعي لله ان انزل علي صبراً ويجعلني من الصابرين،

فقال ليع: لا تسأل عمى سبق في علم الله وكون من المطعين اليه يهدك طريق الرشاد، ولكن اجرك عليه وهو يتك من العلم وتوله قوة لذلك الامر، فقال يع: يا مولانا اخبرنا كيف لم يقدرّون العباد على نكران الحقيقة بعد شرحها وقصوة قلوبهم جمّة؟

فقلت: نعم، اقول لكم ان الله كل شياً فضله على علم وعدله كبير وكيده متين القى، الحقيقة اصلاً محرسة في المشرق ونسختها في اقصى المغرب ويبعث الشريح بتلك الجزرة الاقصاء ليشريح الحقيقة بنسختها في المجتمع الابدائي وهو معصم من الله لم يطلع عليه احداً من عباديه | حتى لذلك الوقت الموعد في ذلك المجتمع، ولقطع تهم الضلين والكافرين ببرهان الله حقاها بالاصل الذي يكون في المشرق ويظهرها يتلال نوراً في الصفة الذي يشا وتشرق الارض بنور الحق ویتی بها سلطان الذكر في القلوب من المشرق حتى الى المغرب في افواه العباد حتى في افواه الاطفال ويجد علمها ويرهنا في كل مكان، وتنسحر العقول ويذكروا فيها اولوا الالباب، ولم يقدرّون على نكرانها والتكرين بجملهم اخوان الشيطان لم تنفعهم شفعة وهم في النار خلدون، وكل ما وصفت لكم كان على الله يسير، انه على كل شى قدير،

ثم قالت: كلمي هذا، وفي التورخ على الحقيقة هو بلا لغز ولا حذف ولكن هو | هو⁸¹⁵ وصفاً عربياً فصيحاً مبيناً غير ذي عواج، طي لمن يتبع الهدى به من العلبين، وكنياته لا يعلمها الا الله ومن يشا من عباد،

ثم اجمعت جمهورنا الحواريون، وبتنا بوفتها مقضيا من الله بعدله، وبكينا على فرقها بكاً شديداً صبراً لا سرح فيه، وفي اول الليل عند المغرب ليلة الحد توفت من بينهم محوفة بمليكة الرحمة وحثوة مع الهبوب جرت ختمها مسك اظفر وريحة الجنة لحت عليها ودجى العظام والشعاع بدا في السماء والظهر بالماء اليها على المليكة قضي به من قبل العرش | وفي ثوب سجيل كفتت ورفعت بالروح الى السماء وهم به حفين حول العرش يقدسوا تقدساً لله، ولكن تركا وقتها ومعانه الى كتاب الوفت، وقال للجمهور كله بكى: هذا يوم فرقنا، ومن اجل التحزب للندرة قواعد الدين جمعت والمجمع عليه ينذرون به للعباد في الاجود تقسطاً بينهم، وقضي الامر وتفرّقوا الندرة ويديره الخلفة احذقنا طلعاً على علم مستمخج الندرة وامر لشيخنا بكتب كتاب قواعد الدين والكتب الذي معه بمعاني المجمع عليه فكتبها بامر اخي تسعون سمحاً وطعة في منزل الاحزاب، ثم ركزهم في الثرا الى وعد موعد وامر

815 Note the phenomenon of the catchword, here again.

انخلفة لشيخنا بالرجوع بسمح الجمهر | الى جزيرة اشبّنية بعد سيره بالتلامذ السبع الى ارض السمارين
 لكل الوعد له على الصلحة العذرة مريم،
 كل الجوز الاول من الكتب على يدي العبد الخطي الرجى رحمة ربّه سئاس الايه ابن الرضى تلمذ
 يع: الحوري⁸¹⁶:

LP21

Al-juz' al-thānī min Kitāb Maḥāsīn Ya'qūb al-Hawārī, the Second part of the Book of the Outstanding Qualities of James the apostle, consisting of eight plomos. Vatican photographs: XIII, plomos 1–8, with 12–14 lines per side; alphabetical numbering; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁸¹⁷ diameter: 58,10 mm; weight: 60,25 grams; 2,21 mm. thick. Completely legible.

الجوز الثاني من كتب محاسن يعقوب الحوري⁸¹⁸ و2

ولما توفت العذرة البتل لبوا على على⁸¹⁹ علم بالجهور تفرقاً على الاجود وعهداً على كل واحد منهم بالمشاق الاعل وبالدين والنذرة للعباد وكل اناس يبلغ عنهم كليمة الهدى بالانجيل العزيز والشهدة بالايان الثبت لهم تعظيماً لله وفلاحاً للعباد وقضاوا للمعكسين بقوله جل جلاله عن الروح اي قال: يتناوله باساً شديداً في الحجيم،

وسرى يع بتلامذيه سريراً نطياً وغروب الشمس وسجا الليل علينا بمعزبل على قرى اهل المجد والكرام قد ندى ضيفه الينا ندياً موقراً، واذا بالفلاق فد بدا وشيخنا سبح بقربان لله ورضاً،

وسرينا الى سمرية | وبلغنا بمشرب يعقوب فراينه والماء فيه جمماً احلى من الشهد واصفى من الدمع،² ظ

فاطفينا عطشنا بعد تزود بالطعام، فاذا بامرء عقيم الرجلين سئل ليعقوب فقال: أتريد الشفاء؟ قال: نعم، قال يع: اخليص نيتك للذي فطر السموات والارض، قال: السمح والطعة اليه! فوضع يده ورقى باسم الله فاشفه وعلمه من تور⁸²⁰ العلم الفلاح،

وسرى بنا الى مدينة يقال لها مدينة شكر، ودخلنا فراينا اهلها مختلفين الاصناف في المذاهب والاجناس، وعلم يع بقصواتهم في النواصي والاقدام، وقال: العيد بالله، عليه توكلت وهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل، واوصنا بالصبر الجميل وذكر الله كثيراً في السير والعليه انه عليم بذات الصدور،³ و

ودخل يع كهان العلم واثروا على المذاهب بالسمع، وندا بعد حين: يا ايها الملاء ما انتم تجهلون، اتعبدون الاصنام وتسون الذي خلقكم وصوركم في ارحام امهتكم واعطكم السمع والبصار والعقل والافيدة وانتم له تكرون؟

817 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

818 The tekst is preceded by a central starlet without legend.

819 Erroneous dittography.

820 Read probably: nūr.

فتسّدع مجلسهم وندى احدهم عن رساءهم الاربعة، وقال: يا ايها العبد انا لاضنك في سفهة وانك من الكاذبين!

وحبسونه حبساً خشناً وتسوّأوا بينهم فيما يفعلون بيعقوب، ثم امروا به الرفع الى حبر مسجد انخرقان، فدخلنه وراينا فيه منسكاً عليه جسداً من نحاس اصفار وانخفي من بطينه يصلق صلقة خفيفاً عند سئل نساكه،

ووقف يع في سواء الاحبار بكمهم وقال حبر العظمى بخبر بلغه عن الملاء المرسيل بيع: يا ايها العبد³ الزاعم أتريد ان تظهر في قريتنا فسدأ بعكس ما وجدنا عليه اباونا السلبين⁸²¹، اتجعل الالهة الالهاً وحداً يا ايها الجهيل ونحن لقولك منكرون؟

فسجا يع وعين العين، ثم سكان والى قوله استدان، وقال: امري بالهدى للعباد على ذمة يصوع روح الله الذي فطر السموات والارض وانزل الانجيل العزيز وهو طريق الرشد والاستقام لعل يفلحوا عباديه الصلحين التبعين اليه، قال الحبر: من هو ذلك الاله؟

وقال (فقال؟): الملك القدس السلام الذي لا ربّ غيره ولا معبداً سوه، الذي خلقتني وخلقكم⁴ من ماء مهين،

وقال الحبر: ارينا اية وبرهاناً على قولك ان كنت من الصديقين، فقال يع: اني اورها لكم بقوة ربّ العلمين، فسرى بهم الى المنسك وقال: أيلي، أيلي اذني رب الملكة والروح انصرتي وانت خير النصرين، فصلق انخفي صلقةً وذهب عن الشبهة ذهباً وهوى الصنام مبرراً وهدّ الهيكل هدأً، وخفت ايمه المبني خوفاً،

ولما كشف عنهم الروع مرّوا وقلوا: ان هذا الا سحّاراً عليماً بعكس ملتنا ولكين كيدهم في ضلال مبين،

وقال يع: يا ايها الناس او ما علمتم ان انخفي الذي تعدبون ليس بقدير على شي متين والله عليم كل | شي قبل كونه، انه علم الغيوب، اتعددون ما لا يغني عنكم شيئاً، فاتبعوا الغني الحميد، او ما علمتم ان الله لن يمنع لكم رزقه فن يرزقكم من دونه يا ايها الجهلون،

وبدا الحبر بضرام شديد وقال: السجن ليعقوب ومن معه، او عذاب اليم!

821 Read probably: al-salifin.

ولما قضا امرهم دخلنه وهو كمنزلة الكبوس، وقال صحيب اسوته ليعقوب بعدما علم عتاب القوم عليه تسنياً: يا ايها السفه ارجب الالهك انت ومن معك ليفرج عنكم كربكم وعذاب السلاسل والاعلال ان كنتم من الصديقين، ولم يجبه يعقوب بشيء،

ولما فرغ عنه قال يعقوب: عليكم بالصبر لان هو | نصركم ان الله يحب الصبرين، وتوسل لله مرراً مخلصاً وقال: افرج علينا أربنا (؟) الجليل صبراً جملًا فانت هو الجميل، مثقنا في حبك شديد، ثبتنا فيه، يا غني حميد، واجعلنا كالتبر في سبك النار، بقوة منك اذى الاحبار، طي لمن قضيت له القدرة، في حبك تهب له النجوة، شد الميثق يا شديد القوى، في اروحا وارزقهم التقوى، نسبحوا بحمدك في السجن، زدنا يقين واسرى بنا اليمن ليستقم القول في الجهال، ويخرجوا عن طريق الضلال، وقال يع بقلب سليم على يقين: يا ايها التلاميذ سندوا امركم للحي الدائم الذي لا يموت، لا تخشون غيره احداً وانما من شدة الا وهو مفرجها عند درها على | عباديه وينصرهم، انه هو خير النصرين، ورقى الابواب والاعلال بعد اربعين يوماً فأنحل صلحها (صلحها؟) وفتحت وخرجنا الى الهيكل،

وقال يع: يا ايها الاحبار، أوما علمتم انما من شي خلا من الله، خليق السموات والارض وما بينهما هو بطيل، اليس الله يكلف لعباده الصلحين وهو معهم في الارواح وانما النصر الا من عنده، يا ايها الجهلون!

وقال الملاء: من اخرجك ومن معك من السجن، يا ايها السحار العلم؟ وقال: مقبل العثرات، سميع الاصوات، مجيب الدعوات، الذي لا رب غيره ولا معبداً سوه، واني ليس بسحير وانما الامر كله لله يتي بنصره لمن يشا من عباديه، اوما علمتم ان الالهة الذين اتم تعبدون ليس هم بسلطان على | عباد الله الصلحين؟ اوما علمتم ان الله يرزقكم وان يمك رزقه فمن يرزقكم من دونه يا ايها الجهلون؟

وقال الخبر الاعظم: اتوا بالسحرة العلاماء لينقلب كيد سخره وكنوا لامري هذا نفذون، ولما تلقا يعقوب بالسحرة جاوا بسحر كبير، ثم يعقوب دعا اله فاجب عنه فانقلبوا عن امرهم سغرين فامنوا اكثرهم ايمناً حسناً وقالوا: الامر لله جميعاً، عليه توكلنا وهو حسبنا ونعم الوكل، اللهم ربنا خالق السموات والارض اخلص امرنا اليك ونجدنا من القوم الظلمين، فاستجب الله اليهم وتوفهم شهدين،

ثم سرى يع بالعين مهزباً بامر الملاء الى مشارق الارض وهو منذر العباد بالانجيل | العزيز ولم يثر في قلوبهم قوله لانهم قاصيون،

ثم اقم النذرة في القوم خمسة اعوام ولم يثر قوله فهم،

ثم سرى بالعين على طعة الامر ترة اخرى على الاجناس في سهل الارض ووعرها سبعة اشهور ولم يثر فهم قوله ولا معاجزه الا في اناس وحد، وتذكر لقول الصلحة اي قالت له: انك منذير لقوم اقوى قسوة لانهم قوم ضرمون، وقطع الایس من ايمانهم ودعى لله سائل الخروج منها، فوحي اليه الرحيل الى رمّة الهل⁸²²، ولما دخلها يع وصل به خبراً لابي عطار الربّي الاعظام وزعم ان يهلكه، واذا بذات يوم دخل شيخنا في المسجد وبدا بالنذرة، فرفعه | الى ملاً الشريعة ابي عطار فاذا هو بكمهم فعتب عليه عتياً شديداً فسواوا انفسهم امراً بمهرجانس العليم العلامة البحر الفهمة الخبر النحرير في العلوم وجاؤا به الى الكلمان وملاً المسجد جمعاً فجده جلا شديداً في المدينة والايمان، ولما عقب يع بما بلغ عنده منه على مجمع الحوارين ومذهبهم فيه، قال مهرجانس: يا اانس انيس لبیس اتيس في غناء الوحشية انيس وشكيس بثلث ومثلث في وحد والمشرکين في دراک اسفل من النار عليهم غواس ييس مثنى الضلمين، اتفترى على الله الكذبية بثي لم ايوحه للعباد على الانبياء الاولين؟⁸²³ وقال يع: اني ليس بضليم ولكن امرت بالنذرة للعباد بانجيل يصوع ابن مريم روح الله لعلهم يفلحون، على مذهب مجمع الحوارين،

وقال مهرجانس: فساق السفیه فساق فسقاً كبيراً وضلّ ضللاً بعيداً،

ثم قضوا الامر بينهم فقرضوا يد يع اليمنى قرضاً وجلدوه تجلداً شديداً وحوكوا عينه اليمنى وسببوه ولمن معه في المفاز مطرداً، فصبر وتذكر لما يجب اليه التذكر وذكر الذكرى،

وقال لتسعون: اخنا، ما فعلت بالكتوب المكتزة بوصف المجمع عليه في مجتمع الحوارين؟

فقال تسعون: ههنا عندي نقارهم | يا سيدي،⁸²⁴

قال يعقوب: سندوا امرکم لله واسروا بي قبل وفي الى جزرة اشبنيه واحروسوا الكتوب فيها مع نسخة الحقيقة، وانهم ان ليس بوجب قهري في الجبل المقدس الذي هي فيه محرسه، والحدوني في جنوب الجزيرة على شط بحر الظلومات وبعد ذلك افعلوا ما امرتم في التورج عليه لعلكم تهتدون،

وقصدنا به ذات ليلة بريح طيبة الى سحيل البحر فوهب الله لنا سفنة للنجاء ودخلنا به فيها وسرينا بريح طيبة على موصل بحر ذا القرنين الى خليج مضيقه نخرجنا الى بحر الظلومات وشيخنا مقرب

الوفات، ولم | وضعنه في سحيل البحر ونحن معه غرت فيه السفنة لم اسمعوا لها حسيساً ولا او⁸²³ عينوا⁸²⁴ منها شيئاً وتوفي شهيدا مستشهدا على الدين سعتاذ، ولحدنه في ثوب سحيل في كهف بجبل عال على بحر

822 Read probably: Ramat al-haml, i.e: Jerusalem.

823 The word is probably redundant.

الظلومات كما وجب علينا، وشققنا الجزيرة على فراقه بكين حتى الى جبل هذا اي موضع حرسنا
الكتب مع نسخة الحقيقة كما امرنا، والشكر لله على ذلك كله وعلى كل شي،
كل الكتب على يدي سياس الايه ابن الرضي تلميذ يعقوب الحوري الرجي رحمة ربه،
ك ك ح 824

824 These three mysterious letters follow three six-pointed starlets, marking the end of the text.

LP22

On 22 December 1606 the Archbishop of Granada was also informed about Kitāb al-Asrār al-'Azīma ("El Libro de los Secretos Misterios"), in five plomos. Vatican photographs: XIII, plomos 9–14, with 12–14 lines per side; with alphabetical numbering; data measured in the Sacromonte Archive for one of these plomos chosen at random:⁸²⁵ diameter: 58,95 mm; weight: 59,76 grams; 2,15 mm. thick.

كتب الاسرار العظيمة

و¹

و² كتب⁸²⁶ الاسرار العظيمة⁸²⁷ التي رايعقوب الحوري في الجبل المقدس للمجتمع الالكبار مكتب
بامرہ على يدي سياس الايه تلهذه،

قال يعقوب ابن شميخ الزبدي الحوري: لما كَلَّمْت امر الصلحة العذرة مريم بلندرة وايمان ابن المغيرة الذي سميتہ الدايس في جزرة هذا اسبنيه قصدت للخرج منها الى رمة الحمل، فعند ذلك اوحى لي الرجوع للجبل المقدس والمكث فيه لروية الاسرار العظيمة من قبال الله، وامرت ان اسطرها لآخر الزمان، فرجعت اليه ومكثت فيه ثلاثة شهور منيباً لله،

واذ كنت ليلة في جنها ادعي لله نزل عليّ النوم الخفيف بين صفاء ومروة فاذا بملك اعظيم القدر والجلال راته⁸²⁸ يتلال نوراً شعشنياً قصد لي من قبل العرش وقال لي لا تخف أيع اكتب ما يروى اليك في تلك البيلة في الواح الرصاص واحفظها في هذا الجبل المقدس مع حقيقة الانجيل والكتب ليعلموا الحق عباد الله في المجتمع الالكبار الذي تشرح فيه الحقيقة في آخر الزمان، فقلت: السمع والطعة لله،

و³ فعند ذلك انفتح السما ورايت فيه بيتا وثلاثة مقفل يقفل من ذهب احمر لا يعلم قيمت ذلك البيت الا الله، ورايت موسى نبي الله بالالواح في يديه وهو يشكي لله، ورايت فيهم عشرة مواضيع محسبة | الاية، واذا بملك اعظيم القدر والجلال هتف من قبال العرش وقال: يا موسى، ما عليك من حزن على الالواح؟ لان الله يتم نوره ولو كرهوا الكفرون،

825 The data for the other plates may (very) slightly variate.

826 The text is preceded by a central six-pointed starlet devoid of any legend.

827 Read probably: al-'azīma.

828 Read perhaps: ra'aytuhu.

ثم فتحت ابواب البيت فرايت فيه كتباً مقفلاً وعليه سبعة من الجدويل مذهبة لا يعلم قيمته الا الله، والبيت يتلال نوراً يخطف الابصار ودخل موسى فيه بالالواح وعدا كما كان اول مرة،

فعند ذلك سئلت الملك عن ذلك المقام فقال لي: اعلم ان ذلك البيت هو بيت يقال له بيت الرحمة والكتاب الذي رايت فيه هو حقيقة الانجيل لم يطلع الله عليها احداً من الجهال حتى ليوم شرحها |
 في المجتمع الابرار، واعلم ان اليهود احدث من تورة موسى عشرة ايات كان فيهم حق المنعم في تلك التورة وخواصه كان فيها فصيحاً معلماً من دون لغز ولا رمز ولا كنية لان الله بين دينه على عباديه بينا موبنا ولكين وسوس لهم الشيطان بحياها من اجل فناء ملكهم ودينهم ببعثه فالاجود، ومن اجل ذلك الخطاب دخل بينهم ويدخل بين اجناس العجم الاختلاف وانشتات الكبر،

وخواص ذلك العشرة ايات جعله الله في حقيقة الانجيل وانخر شرحها للمجتمع الابرار اي موضع لم يقدر احداً على نكرنها ويتم الله | فيه نوره كرهاً على مقصد الكافرين فسبحت المليكة على ذلك المقام لله تسبحا بصوت الرعد فانتهت فزيماً مرعباً،

وامرت بكتب ذلك الروية كما اميرت، والشكر لله على كل شي،
 كل الكتب على يدي سايس الايه ابن الرضي تلهذ يعقوب الحوري،

ك ك ح ع ح 829

829 Each of these 5 letters written within a six-pointed starlet marking the end of the text.

Translation of the Lead Books

LP1

^{1a} *Book of the Fundamentals of Religion by Tis'ūn¹ ibn 'Aṭṭār, disciple of James the Apostle.*²

God possesses majesty and perfection. He is the first of everything. His knowledge thereof,³ before its existence, has no end. His beginning has no start, neither His ending a conclusion. He is omnipresent. By His grace He created the existing things in a perfect manner from nothing,⁴ and saw that it was well balanced. He created the spiritual angels and backed them with a will. They were the cause of the preordained time of death.⁵ And the dubious⁶ sin⁷ multiplied deficiency at the expense of perfection.

^{1b} He said: I created the angel spiritually |, no corporal angel was created. It is [therefore] necessary to create man.⁸

1 Luna and Castillo translate “Thesiphon,” while the Lead Books read consistently *Tis'ūn*, with one exception, viz. the Latin cover plate of LP2, which refers to him as Thesiphon. It should be noted that all extant translations of the Lead Books by Luna and Castillo were done between 1595 and 1596. Here, we simply mention their names. See our Introduction for an overview and dates of each translation.

2 The Arabic word for Apostle used in the Lead Books is *al-ḥawārī* (plural *al-ḥawārīyyūn*), which is also the word used in the Quran. See our discussion of the language of the Lead Books in the Introduction.

3 Luna: “sabidor dellas antes de su creaçion”; Castillo: “su uerbo (i.m.: “palabra”) antes de su concepcion”, which is a Christianizing interpretation apparently based on the reading *kali-matuhu* instead of *'ilmuhu*.

4 Arabic: *min al-shāmūs*. Elsewhere in the Lead Books (in LP13 and 16) the word is used without the article and with a short *fatha* in the first syllable: “khalaqa al-makhlūqa *min shamūs ay min lā shay* illā mā a'tāhā min faḍlihi” (LP13, fol. 2^a), and “lam yuḥṣā 'adaduhum wa-lā 'uzmat qudratihim illā 'lladhī khalaqahum *min shamūs ...*” (LP16, fol. 3^b). Luna translates: “de nada”; Castillo: “de uida” (adding i.m.: “de uiuir”).

5 Luna: “y fue causa para en aquel tiempo: merezer ò desmerezer”; Castillo: “y escribio la ley del fin apropiado” (apparently reading *kataba* instead of *k(ā)nat*).

6 Arabic: *al-dhanb al-mashkūk*. This concept, which occurs twice in the Lead Books, seems to refer to the theological issue of whether the sin of Adam was committed out of free will or because it had been preordained by God, because, in committing the sin, man acted out of his God-given nature, which included the property of *desiring* (see below). See further LP7, fol. 5^b.

7 Luna: “y el pecado uoluntario”; Castillo: “y el pecado occulto: ignoto.”

8 Luna: “Y assi conuiene que a nuestra imagen y semejança sea criado el hombre”; Castillo: “y amo la creaçion del hombre” (apparently reading *uḥibbu* instead of *ajaba* (which is *wajaba*)).

God created man from clay⁹ and Eve, his companion, from his rib. He placed them in Paradise and backed them with a body: two angels of a lower rank.¹⁰ He gave them will¹¹ because of the first sin, and He forbade them [to approach] the tree.

He ordered the angels to be humble. Those who disobeyed their Lord were punished by Him because of their arrogance, together with the Devil. Their sins varied and He arranged them in ranks [accordingly].

The Devil incited Eve to sin, and Eve Adam. Thus, they ate from the tree. Thus sin overcame them [by deviating] from the commandment of God. Because they had been incited [to sin], he made their sin pardonable. The angels and the Devil, however, are not pardoned because they were not incited [to do so].¹²

Adam and Eve became repentant in [this] world, and they mourned their sin. Thus God gave them the natural religion¹³ and blessed them with prosperity and marriage.¹⁴ Thus sprang from them Cain and Abel.¹⁵ Abel was blameless, but Cain was envious, so he killed Abel. He was the first evildoer.

From among them God sent prophets to the world, bringing the good news of the victory¹⁶ and proclaiming the Blessed One¹⁷ [mentioned] in the Old Tes-

2^a

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- 9 Arabic: *khalāqa Allāhu al-insān min ḥamā*. This language is from the Quran, S. 15:26.
- 10 Luna: “dos angeles infimos en las inteligencias”; Castillo: “posseyentes alto ser y estado” (i.m.: “para ser capazes de la bien abenturanza”).
- 11 Arabic: *irāda*. Luna: “y les dio libre albedrio que fue causa del peccado original”; Castillo: “y dioles a ambos a dos uoluntad (i.m.: concupisçiençia) que fue causa del peccado primero.” In LP8 (fol. 6^b) it is explained that man’s God-given will is mixed (*mulabbasa*) with *desire* (*shahwan*).
- 12 Luna (correctly): “y el de los angeles y Satan indigno de perdon porque no tuuieron quien los tentase”; Castillo (incorrectly): “y los angeles y el demonio uieron a Jesus ser autor desta misericordia, porque el demonio era azechador a ellos” [i.m.: “la diction arabiga [ayenu] quiere deçir uieron por la uista”], thus probably misreading *ghayr mashfū*’ as *‘ayanū Yashū*’.
- 13 This seems to be a reference to the Islamic concept of the *dīn al-ḥiṭra*, the belief in one God and the command to adore Him in an appropriate manner, considered to be present in the natural disposition of man as created by God, which itself is believed to be the kernel of Islam as preached by the prophets.
- 14 Arabic: *al-zawāj* (= marriage). Luna reads *al-rūḥ* and presents the following comment: “La diction arabiga es *alrauhu*; comprehende propriamente la segunda persona de la Trinidad: su hijo, el messias, el redemptor. En otro significado significa el spiritu y por el spiritu el hijo de Dios.” Castillo: “y les amonesto que siguiesen la uirtud en su spiritu.”
- 15 Arabic: Qābil and Hābil, which are the Quranic names of Cain and Abel.
- 16 Arabic: *al-fatḥ*, which is a Quranic concept to indicate the victory of God’s religion or some aspect of an eschatological triumph; Luna translates “de la redempçion,” which is somewhat Christianizing; Castillo: “de la Reparacion.”
- 17 Arabic: *al-man’um* (elsewhere: *al-man’ūm*), a word which appears fourteen times in the Lead Books and refers to Jesus or Muḥammad (see for instance LP 7, fol. 7^b, where Elisa-

tament.¹⁸ Those who believed became the Abrahamic Covenant;¹⁹ the infidels were to remain forever in the fire.

Sin was, however, enormous.²⁰ There was no atonement for it in the world. God combined His mercy and judgment to pardon man in view of the enormity of his sin. God had to bestow His mercy. Thus salvation through His son was revealed in combining humanity and divinity.—Only God [Himself] understands God. If God were understood |, He would not be God, because man's understanding is weak.

I exemplify for you the trifold Unity by my following example. The father looks in the mirror and by the holy spiritual light the son appears in the mirror. The Father is the first person, the Son the second person, and the Holy Spirit a third person. [They are] three persons in one essence. Mary was the mirror. [No human being has seen his being conceived or carried [by his mother], but he [nevertheless] believes in it.

He also has to accept what he cannot grasp because of his weak understanding, viz. the belief in the Holy House of Congregation,²¹ without which there is

beth addresses Mary as “the mother of our Lord, the *Blessed One* [*al-man‘um*]” and *ibid.*, fol. 9^a), while several other passages in which this word figures were directly inspired by Islamic sources referring to Muḥammad. For these passages of Islamic background, see: LP7, fol. 6^a, LP7, fol. 9^b, LP16, fol. 10^a, and LP22, fol. 3^b. Luna: “y dotrinadores con el Messias prometido en la sagrada scriptura,” adding i.m.: “Pusose el Messias porque caue en la diction arabiga, que es *Almanhum* que quiere decir el messias prometido, o el Redemptor prometido.” Castillo: “y pregoneros del amor del graçioso Reparador.”

- 18 In Arabic: *al-Tawrāt*, which is the Quranic name of both the Torah and the Hebrew Bible in a broader sense.
- 19 Luna: “y assi los que creyeron dellos, fueren depositados en el seno de Abrahan”; Castillo: “y se demostraron en los creyentes dellos las alegrías prometidas por causa de su obediencia” (far from the Arabic original). According to Islamic doctrine, Abraham “was not a Jew or Christian, but a monotheistic *ḥanīf* (*ḥanīfan musliman*), not being a polytheist” (Quran S. 3:67). By following Abraham’s monotheistic message (*Islām*), Muslims were the *Āl Ibrāhīm* (the “people of Abraham” par excellence, comprised in the Covenant of Abraham) and they thereby also belonged to the *millat Ibrāhīm* (religious community of Abraham).
- 20 Luna: “el peccado fue infinito, y contra infinito”; Castillo: “El peccado fue grande y desobediencia grandissima.”
- 21 In Arabic: *al-jamī‘ al-muqaddās* = *al-jāmi‘ al-muqaddas* (literally: “the Holy Friday-Mosque”). This expression is used in the Lead Books to denote the “Holy Church,” in addition to the expression *al-masjid al-muqaddas* (“the Holy Prayer-Hall”) or *al-masjid al-mu‘min al-muqaddas* (“the Holy Believing Prayer-Hall,” where the additional adjective “believing” suggests that there may also exist an unbelieving “Prayer-Hall”). It would seem the author of the Lead Books is following here the vocabulary of Bartolomé Dorador, for instance, in his *Catechism* of circa 1554, see further our introduction. These linguistic usages again reflect the author’s constant strategy, to be observed throughout the Lead

no salvation for any living being, and which was necessary in order [to prevent] the perishing of man. His salvation was to take place through a human being. Jesus was his savior, as a human being, not as God.]²²

Jesus was brought to life by the Spirit | in Mary from the kinfolk of David, without a male. She was a virgin after childbirth, during it and before it. 3^a

Adam was created without parents, Eve from a father without a mother, by the grace [of God], in order to complete the creation. Jesus was created from a mother, without a father, so Mary was not touched by the first sin.

Jesus was sent to save man and he was crucified under the reign of Pilate and Tiberius. He descended to Limbo,²³ opened its gates and carried the souls that were waiting for [eternal] bliss. Therefore he [himself] as well as the Cross must be adored, because he is the gate of grace.²⁴ On the third day he was resurrected forever, in order to realize his goal, and [in order for us] to follow him in death and resurrection. | Then he ascended to Heaven and sat at the right hand of the Father. 3^b

He ordered the Apostles to preach the Gospel in the world to all people. Whosoever is baptized,²⁵ believes and performs a pious work²⁶ will be saved, but will perish when he does not do this.

Books, of referring to Christian institutions and concepts in Islamic terms which apparently were familiar to the audience the author had in mind.

- 22 The preceding passage between square brackets was not fully grasped by Castillo, who rendered it as follows: “A Jesus hombre fue profetiçada su concepción. Ningun hombre uido su concepción. Fue engendrado Adan, y creyo en el assimesmo y en su sanctidad. Y por esto conuino le alcanzase su cumplida gracia. Jesus es obscura su inteligencia y es el sol de la yglesia sagrada, en ninguna manera sin el saluacion a ninguno de los hombres. La perdiçion del hombre fue el, su causa y su saluacion fue por manos de hombre, y fue Jesus su Redemptor, como hombre, no como Dios.”
- 23 In Arabic: *al-mṭbq* (“subterranean prison, dungeon”). This word occurs nine times in the Lead Books. Luna translates “Limbo,” while Castillo gives “profundo” (“auaxo al profundo”), with the following gloss in the margin: “La diccion arabe *almatbac*, que quiere decir cobertor, y aqui quiere decir la parte mas superior de auajo como couertor del infierno, que quiere decir sotano cubierto, o seno o calabozo.”
- 24 Luna: “Conuiene su adoracion y la de su cruz, porque fue puerta de misericordia.” Castillo: “Y libro a sus sieruos y a sus crucificadores, porque fue puerta de misericordia.” Castillo did not understand the text correctly.
- 25 Luna: “que el que se *baptizare* con el agua”; but Castillo: “el que se *purificare* con el agua” (with marginal gloss: “el que se *baptizare*”).
- 26 Figuring frequently in the Lead Books, *al-īmān* and *al-aʿmāl al-ṣāliha* (“faith and pious works”) are the Quranic expressions par excellence to denote the two religious pillars of faith and works. An audience with an Islamic background, even of modest education, would recognize these key expressions immediately.

The Holy Spirit descended upon them, and they spoke in tongues. Peter founded the Church in order to absolve and bind²⁷ in a just manner.

Understanding is seated in the head. The head has intestines, and the intestines have a brain²⁸ as [their] vicar. Thus also the Church has the understanding of the Holy Spirit, while the intestines are the Church (itself), and the brain [its] Vicar.²⁹ This indicates that God is eternal, as is His Church, and the
 4^a brain, His Vicar, as well as the faith of the Holy Church | in the unseen, are likewise. Time is long, while life is but little. Therefore prophecies will not come to an end, neither the admonishing of the Vicar. Faith increases with the increase of [pious] works, and decreases with their decrease.³⁰

When man stretches out [and becomes idle],³¹ works become bad. Thus, atonement of sins is needed by the creed of the Church³² and by executing what it commands.

No one is the judge of his opponent, while the opponent [in this case] is sin.³³

God works in a twofold manner.³⁴ Therefore the sinner must seek forgiveness. The judge is God, and to [the competence of] the Vicar belongs atonement. In this matter, a frankly spoken confession is required, with repentance, absolution³⁵ and atonement, and with the vow not to return to sin. Sin separates us from God, but grace makes Him stay in us. Therefore it is necessary to receive the true body of our God Jesus in the mass, as the Apostles
 4^b received it | when they were graced by the table, in order for our faith to increase.

When the evildoers die without judgment and the pious without reward in this world, this points to the Hereafter, because God is a just Judge at the Day of Resurrection.

27 The Arabic expression used here is a reminiscence of the Islamic expression *ahl al-ḥall wa-al-ʿaql*, the people who unbind and bind, who in Islamic jurisprudence are those in authority who can lawfully choose or legalize the highest authority in the state.

28 Following our emendation of *nukhā* into *nukhāʿ* (with *ʿain*).

29 The Pope. The Arabic has: *al-khalīfā*, which is the title par excellence of the Vicar (Caliph) of Muḥammad. The word is used consistently throughout the Lead Books.

30 This is exactly the Sunnite Ashʿarite position in Islamic theology.

31 Castillo: “el hombre es proteruo y sus obras malas” (with i.m. the following gloss: “inclinado a mal. La diction arabiga es *mutahamid*”).

32 Castillo: “con las cabezas de la yglesia” (probably reading *bi-aʿimmat al-jamīʿ*).

33 Castillo: “Ninguno puede ser en su propia causa juez; y el pleyto es el peccado.”

34 Castillo: “Y Dios mando la buena opinion.”

35 Arabic: *al-ḥ.lāl*, which occurs twice in the Lead Books with this meaning. Luna: “con contriçion”; Castillo: “humillaçion.”

Jesus's resurrection after his death is an example for us, as we are returning to him in death and in resurrection in order to live forever, without death. The evildoers will not see God, while this is what the pious may hope for.³⁶ This is proof that Jesus, who will be the judge on the Day of Resurrection, hides his divinity from the evildoers with his humanity. The pious will be saved, while the evildoers will be forever in the fire of Hell. The pious will be forever in Paradise, where there is bliss that no eye has seen, neither an ear has heard of, neither did it occur to the heart of any human being. But hell, to the contrary, is for the evildoers.

The Law³⁷ brought a prefiguration, but grace was fulfilled [only] by Jesus.

This is the consensus of | the Apostles. Whosoever deviates from it in any matter deviates from all of it, and will be one of those who perish. 5^a

Its foundations are two: the love of God with a pure heart, and the love of your brother in God, wishing for him what one wants for oneself.

My master James ordered me to write this down, so that God will make it known through the Pious Priest³⁸ in order to support religion at a time when the evildoers will be buried together with the pious in the churches,³⁹ and in which corruption will spread, the truth will be rare, while the magnates will be

36 As professed in the Islamic creed.

37 In Arabic: *al-Sharī'a*, the Islamic Law. But here, apparently, it refers to the Law of the Old Testament.

38 The figure of "Pious Priest" is mentioned several times in the Lead Books and plays a key role at the end of time, especially in the explanation of the full truth of the "Essence of the Gospel," the *Ḥaqīqat al-Ḥjīl*, on the occasion of a great council to be held on the Island of Cyprus. See: LP15, fol. 4^b; *ibid.*, fol. 5^b; LP18, fol. 4^b (bis); *ibid.*, fol. 5^a. Luna translates: "porque lo manifestara Dios por manos *de sancto Prelado*." In an extensive marginal note, Luna remarks the following: "pontifice. La diction arabiga [çaleh alfiqh] significa prelado mas principal, o cabeza mayor, primera persona despues del Vicario de Christo, gouernador de clerecia o Rector della. Porque esta diction [alfiqh] significa theologia, çiencia, que haze demonstracion de Dios para uenir en su uerdadero conoçimiento, y de aqui se diriuu [focaha] id est sacerdotes, theologos, ministros, profesores desta scientia que la administran scolastica y positiuamente. Y de aqui se diriuu [Caleh] alfiqh id est prelado protector, o corrector, o Rector, o administrador, o gouernador destes sacerdotes, y ministros. Y esta diction [caleh alfiqh] es compuesta de dos dictiones de çaleh que quiere decir sancto y alfiqh, prelado, y estas dos dictiones son las que estan aqui, que diçen sancto prelado. Y no pueden entenderse del Papa, porque al Papa le nombra por otro nombre [alhalifata] que quiere decir Vicario o sucesor legitimo en la silla de S. Pedro y assi le llama en muchas partes deste tractado por este nombre [alhalifata] y no çaleh alfiqhi." Luna apparently reads: *al-fiqh*, not *al-faqih*, but the omission of a *mater lectionis* is quite common in the orthography of the Lead Books, and the word occurs twice without a *yā'* in *Kitāb šifat al-Qurbān* (LP4). Castillo: "por mano del aclamador del sacerdoçio."

39 Here: *al-masājid* ("places of prayer, mosques").

afflicted by the profusion of false money⁴⁰ and avarice and the rare administration of justice. They will reject most parts of religion. That will be a moment of great need at the end of time.⁴¹

5^b Here ends the Book of | Religion and the Council of the Apostles, written by one of the disciples, Tiṣ‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār the Arab.

40 Reading: *bi-al-qasṭara*. Castillo: “con soberuia,” with i.m. the following gloss: “es dición antiquissima en arabe, y dize [fastara] que no la pone ningun dictionario; significa soberuia, uanagloria, sofisteria.” Luna: “y los grandes seran perseguidos con la adulaçion.”

41 The details of the eschatological situation provided here are repeated in LP15 and 18, where the role of the Pious Priest at the end of time is discussed further.

LP2

*Latin text on the covering lead plate:*⁴²

Book of the Essence of God which the divine Thesiphon, disciple of the Apostle James, wrote in his Arabic mother tongue in characters of Solomon, together with another one called Fundamentals of the Church. It lies in caves of this sacred mountain. God imposed an end in this place to these two book and books⁴³ through the Emperor Nero. M (?), writing in his works the miracles and the totality of the life of his master [...] is in the caves of these sacred mountains.

Book of Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār on the Venerable Essence.⁴⁴

1^a

He said: Eternity has no end in God, the first of everything, whose beginning has no start and whose ending has no conclusion.⁴⁵

No one can describe the true nature of his attributes;⁴⁶ neither can anyone fathom the quiddity of His essence.

No living being has ever seen Him with an exterior eye.

His might has no end, because, if it had, He would not be God.

He possesses attributes⁴⁷ that do not change, because, if they did change, He would not be God.

He | possesses a majesty that cannot be grasped, because, if it could be grasped, it would be a defect in Him. 1^b

He possesses an exaltedness that cannot be undone, because if it could, deficiency would affect Him, and that is never possible in Him.

He possesses knowledge without ignorance. He knows everything before it exists.

42 LP 2, plate not numbered.

43 Sic!

44 In Arabic: *al-dhāt al-karīma*, an expression also used in the opening passage of the Parchment and in LP20, fol. 31^b and 32^a (bis). Otherwise the word *al-karīm* is often used to describe the face of God (*wajh Allāh al-karīm*) or an angel (*malak karīm*) or a prophet (*nabī karīm* or *al-Masiḥ al-karīm*).

45 Cf. LP1, fol. 1^a.

46 Luna: "no es dado ni conçedido alcançar su ser a sus criaturas," with marginal gloss: "la dición arabe diçe [la iablugu canhu çifatihī alguaçifun] que quiere deçir su ser propriamente, tambien en rigor comprehende forma, figura, ser."

47 Luna: "tiene forma que no se puede trocar," with i.m.: "figura, ser."

He [possesses] power⁴⁸ without deficiency.

He possesses mercy and grace [even] without [the presence of] faith [in those who are the objects of His mercy and grace].⁴⁹

He [possesses] judgment and justice that will not perish.

2^a He does not need any living being to increase His sovereign power, nor is there, without them, any deficiency | in His essence or His sovereign power.

Everything He created was created by Him from His mercy without any need.

Existing things are creatures, and He is the Creator.

[If He ordered the world and its inhabitants to be drowned, it would fall into nonexistence by drowning as long as His everlasting kingship endures, and they would not find a residence in any place.]⁵⁰

He created everything, but was not created [Himself].

He possesses friendliness [towards others], but is not dealt with on intimate terms.

He possesses knowledge without anything produced by others.

He possesses mercy without deficiency.

2^b He is the first of everything |, nothing comes before Him; He is after everything, nothing comes after Him.

God, nothing is like Him.

He is not a multitude,⁵¹ not a number, nor a division, nor a separation, neither a sculpture,⁵² nor an understanding, neither imagination, nor speech, nor language nor anything fabricated in accordance with our imagination.

He is beyond minds, nothing but majesty and perfection without deficiency can describe Him.

48 Castillo: “es señor de de hinrra (?) sin diminuçon,” adding the following gloss i.m.: “la dición arabe es *heiza* (?).”

49 Luna: “es su summa misericordia y bondad tan immensa que con ellas no ay cosa que no comprehenda,” adding i.m. the following gloss: “alcance, el arabe diçe [hua du rahmatin gua fadilatun dun aman], quiere dezir que por muy peccadores que sean sus criaturas es perdonador de peccados por grandes peccados que sean.” Castillo: “es señor de misericordia y virtud sin oluido,” adding the following gloss i.m.: “la dición arabe es [marati].”

50 The passage between square brackets was rendered by Castillo as follows: “y aquel que triumpho con justificacion y gloria mientras durare su reyno. No se le puede recompensar y no hallareys ninguno que no confiesse esta su misericordia,” which indicates that he was unable to fully decipher and grasp it.

51 Luna: “no es accidente.”

52 Luna: “ni substancia.”

All this within His Unity, no one knows God but God Himself.

To Him belong greatness and adoration. Thankfulness is due for everything. Believing in something else than this leads to perdition.

He is one in a Trinity |, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three persons, one God. 3^a
There is no salvation for any creature without [belief in] His bountiful essence, and [without] doing what has been ordered in the Gospel, as we have described in the *Book of the Foundations of Religion*. Whosoever comes across it should read it.

To deal with this matter exhaustively takes a long time. Even if the sea were ink and the trees were pens, and the angels in the heavens and the earth writers, the ink would be finished and the pens would be broken, and they would not be able to describe this matter.⁵³

Therefore be content with what I brought you. | Let it suffice that God is our 3^b
witness for this.

53 Cf. sura 18:109 and sura 31:27.

There is no God but God;⁵⁴ M. is the R. of God!⁵⁵

Here ends the book.

To God belongs the Unity!⁵⁶

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- 54 Castillo: “No ay otro dios Dios sino Dios,” to which he added i.m. the following gloss: “diçe que el arabe lo diçe [le yleh yle alah rabuna aleh] que quiere deçir no ay otro Dios sino Dios, y nuestro criador es Dios.”
- 55 Normally one would interpret this as an abbreviated or cryptic reference to the Islamic confession of faith: *Lā ilāha illā Allāh; Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh* (“There is no God but God; Muḥammad is the Envoy of God”). It deserves to be noted, however, that Miguel de Luna in his translation renders this same passage as follows: “no hay Dios sino Dios ----,” adding the following personal comment: “luego tras esto se siguen quatro letras singulares litera proparte, que por agora no se entienden ----.” However, in his copy of 1 October 1596 in Arabic script, preserved in the Museo Lazaro Galdiano in Madrid (MS 149), this passage reads: *Lā ilāha illā Allāh; Ş. R. Allāh* (“There is no God but God; Ş is the R of God”). In this context, it is useful to look at possible parallels in the Lead Books themselves. At the end of LP6 the same passage figures: *Lā ilāha illā Allāh; M. R. Allāh*, again changed by Luna in the same manner as before, both in his Arabic transcript and in his translation. However, these are the only passages in the Lead Books where this remarkable textual phenomenon appears. The phrase *Yaşū‘ Rūḥ Allāh* (“Jesus is the Spirit of God”), on the other hand, figures no less than 24 times in the Lead Books: 17 times in the body of one of the booklets, 5 times as a marker at the end of a booklet, and 1 time as a marker at the beginning of such a booklet. In addition, the expression *Rūḥ Allāh*, without the preceding *Yaşū‘* but related to Jesus as well, appears another 29 times in the Lead Books. It can be stated, in fact, that the idea that “Jesus is the Spirit of God” is one of the most central doctrines of the Lead Books. In this light, one may want to reconsider the reading *Lā ilāha illā Allāh; M. R. Allāh* as found in LP2 and LP6. Are these genuine, authentic readings belonging to the original text, or corruptions of the text due to a copyist, like so many other corruptions we were able to indicate and attempted to emend in the notes to our diplomatic edition, or should they perhaps be interpreted otherwise? See for further discussion of this point the Introduction to our work. It deserves to be mentioned here also that Castillo renders this passage as follows: “y nuestro criador es Dios,” to which he added the following gloss in in the margin: “dice el arabigo [gue rabuna alah] que quiere deçir y nuestro criador Dios. Porque la [gue] es copulativa y [rabune] es nombre quiere deçir criador compuesto con pronombre plural [ne], criador nuestro [alah] dios, que quiere deçir y criador nuestro dios, suplese el uerbo es. Y en la letra arabiga estendio la *b* del [rabune] hasta el fin del renglon para hinchirle e ygualarle con los otros.”
- 56 The preceding two sentences were not translated by Luna. Castillo: “Cumpliose el libro. La Gloria a dios *Altahidu lilehi*.” To the latter passage Castillo added the following gloss in the margin: “Diçe que son solas dos dictiones, nominatiuo y datiuo, id est la gloria a Dios, y que otra qualquiera interpretacion seria paraphrasis como si dixese a solo Dios se debe la adoracion.”

LP3

*Prayer and amulet*⁵⁷ against all evils by James, the son of Shamīkh al-Zabādī, the Apostle. He used to recite this prayer to his Lord, it being an amulet that protected him from all evils taught to him by Jesus, son of Mary, his teacher: 1^b

My God, I ask You, who knows all matters hidden, by whose power heaven was constructed and by whose strength the earth was spread out,—

You by whose light the sun and the moon are shining,—

You who take care of every pure believing soul,— 2^a

You who provide shelter to the flock, the people of truth and blessing,—

You, with whom the needs of the pious are fulfilled,—

You, who saved Joseph from contempt and slavery,—

You, who have no gatekeeper who regulates [access], no chamberlain to entertain, nor a vizier |, while there is no Lord apart from Him,— 2^b

Who is invoked and answers needs only with liberality and generosity,—

I ask You by the truth of Your Spirit Jesus,—

And by the truth of his conception⁵⁸ of the virginity of his mother Mary, [which existed] before childbirth, during it, and afterwards,—

And by the truth | of the Gospel and the virtues of his having been punished for man,— 3^a

And by the truth of his miracles altogether during his whole life,—

And by the truth of the words he said from the Cross,—

And by the truth of his descending to Limbo and having taken the blissful souls that were waiting for him,—

And by the truth of his resurrection | after death,— 3^b

And by the truth of his ascension to heaven and his sitting at Your right hand,—

57 Our text is the Christianized form of an Islamic amulet as it used to circulate among the Moriscos (Arabic: *al-ḥirz*.) This is usually a small religious text on a piece of paper or on any other material carried on the body of a person in order to provide protection or healing. See: Álvarez de Morales, “Magia y seres maléficos en el Islam,” esp. 118 ff.; Albarracín Navarro, “Normas”; Labarta Gómez, *Libro de dichos maravillosos*.

58 Arabic: *intibadhīhi*, i.e: *intibādhihi*. This is the standard word used in the Lead Books to denote Mary’s conception of Jesus through the Holy Spirit. Apparently inspired by the Quranic use of the same word denoting Mary’s “retreat,” when she became aware of her pregnancy. Cf. Quran, S. 19:26–21.

And by the truth of his loving obedience to God at every moment in time,—
 And by the truth of the coming of the Day of Resurrection when justice will
 be administered,—

And by the truth of all his graciousness towards You,—:

4^a That You will grant me relief from all my sorrows | and preserve me in vigilance
 and obedience, and do not humiliate me by the disgrace of sin,—

And that you repel from me everything that worries me in the matters of my
 faith, my worldly life and my hereafter, and that you forgive my sins, and make
 me enter Your Paradise.—

4^b Because You have power over all things,⁵⁹ | You possess grace and mercy, and
 You have the power for that and over everything.

5^a Here is the seal that was written in radiant light between the shoulders | of
 Jesus, son of Mary, Spirit of God, the truthful, the trustworthy, and an amulet
 against all evils, accidents, *jinn*s and demons, for all who carry it with them and
 derive blessing from it. It goes as follows:

“There is no God but God; Jesus is the Spirit of God. Manifest truth and sincere
 trustworthiness.”⁶⁰

5^b Here ends the blessed prayer and blissful seal | written by Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār, one
 of the disciples of the Arab,⁶¹ may God make him useful!

59 This expression, which occurs frequently in the Quran, is found 14 times in the Lead Books.

60 In various sources of the Islamic Tradition “manifest Truth” refers to God, while “trust-
 worthy sincere one” refers to Muḥammad. Here the latter expression is related to Jesus
 instead.

61 Viz. James, who is usually referred to in the Lead Books as Ya‘qūb ibn Shamikh al-Zabādī
 al-A‘rābī.

LP4

The *Book of the Form of the Mass* by James the Apostle written by his secretary, Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār. ^{1^a}

James the Apostle said: the best thing to believe in⁶² is belief in God and His Holy Church, and the best work is the mass. There is no work accepted by God from His servants like the mass, because God is pleased with it,⁶³ while it is also the best precept of His Holy Church, as well as His mercy received by His Spirit Jesus, the son of Mary. It has the virtues of the punishment he underwent and of the shedding of his blood in order to save man. Therefore it has to be performed and listened to with a pure intention, because without it God does not accept any work of His servants.⁶⁴

This work is done by the speaking of the tongue and the action of the limbs. All this with purity of heart and for the sake of Jesus our lord,⁶⁵ because there is no gate through which we draw closer to God than the mass. Whosoever studies natural sciences | needs scholars [in those fields], but he who studies the *Tawrāt*⁶⁶ needs the Holy Spirit and the prophets. And he who recites the evangelical mass needs God. Whosoever hears it hears the holy word of ^{1^b}

62 Luna i.m.: “la diccion arabiga *afdalū xayān yumīna bihi* comprehende que se debe creer entre todas las crehençias.”

63 Castillo: “porque en ello se haze gran serviçio de Dios,” adding the following gloss i.m.: “la diccion arabiga *wardiatan* quiere deçir hazer gran serviçio a Dios y que Dios reçiue gran contento con ella, y es la cosa que mas le agrada.”

64 According to Islamic Law, *nīyya* or intention is a prerequisite for the valid performance of every religious duty. The author argues with the erudition of a Muslim legal scholar. The concept of *nīyya* appears no less than 34 times in the Lead Books.

65 Luna translates: “como es la voluntad de Jesus nuestro Señor,” adding i.m.: “la diccion *dimata* quiere deçir que este obrar se haga siguiendo la doctrina de Jesus nuestro Señor, y puniendole delante para que el sacrificio sea açcepto al Padre.” The involvement of heart, tongue and limbs in faith as well as the performance of good deeds is a basic view in Islamic doctrine.

66 Luna: “la sagrada Scriptura,” adding i.m.: “la diccion que esta en el original as *altaura* que es hebrea y arabiga por symboloçar mucho estas dos lenguas, y significa el Genesis, Exodo, Levitico, Numeros, Deutheronomio.” *Al-Tawrāt* occurs 4 times, *al-Tawra* (with *tā' marbūṭa*) 8 times in the Lead Books. It is the Pentateuch. It is to be remarked that the Lead Books, following Quranic custom, *never* refer to the Bible as a whole, but they do refer to the Pentateuch (*al-Tawrāt*), the Psalms (*al-Zabūr*), the Scrolls (*Ṣuḥuf*) of Abraham and the Gospel (*al-Injīl*, in the singular, not “the Gospels”). These four texts are all mentioned in the Quran as divine revelations to prophets before Muḥammad. Luna's translation seems to be rather tendentious.

God. Thus, when the priest⁶⁷ stands at the altar⁶⁸ with the intention and purpose to celebrate the mass, there remains no barrier between him and God, as He is truthfully in his presence, Hearing and Seeing [everything]. It should be described as it is described for you in this book.

First of all, it should be performed in purified churches, christened to God. After that, in clean houses, then in caves,⁶⁹ limekilns,⁷⁰ caverns or in charnel vaults.⁷¹ Elevated places are better for it than hidden ones. It should not be celebrated in the open air except | in case of necessity.⁷² It needs to be done with one's head covered, not without. Also, one needs to wear a clean garment⁷³ and a purified shirt of white, clean and pure linen, which is not used for anything else, because what is meant for the adoration of God should not be used by His servants [for other purposes].

Also, the priest [must have been ordained] in the name of God and [by sanctifying him] with the sign of the cross, at the hands of the Vicar⁷⁴ or anyone from among the Apostles, their disciples or those who succeeded them in the office of the Bishop, second in rank of the Vicariate, and not by someone else.
 2^b He promotes him invoking the name of God while making the sign of the cross | on which our lord Jesus was crucified, and he ordains him permanently⁷⁵ to the Crucified One, in keeping with the intention to do so.

Also, the altar is made at an elevated place of earth, wood or stone, like a dining table, signifying the table of Jesus our lord at which he took the supper together with the Apostles.

67 Arabic: *al-imām*, which in an Islamic context refers to the leader in prayers. LP4 uses *al-imām* and *al-faqīh* alternately to refer to the priest.

68 Arabic: *al-mihrāb*, which in an Islamic context refers to the prayer-niche of a mosque or prayer-hall that indicates the direction of the prayers (*qibla*).

69 In Luna's translation there is a blank space at this point. In the margin, Luna remarks: "Aquí estan en blanco dos dicciones que el interprete no las alcanza por agora." We propose to read the additional word as *wa-al-jūrāt* (limekilns).

70 Castillo: "y en los aduares," adding the following gloss i.m.: "la dición arabiga [hيرانum] quiere decir aduares que son unas tiendas o casas portatiles de que usan los arabes hasta oy día, que andan uagando."

71 Luna: "concauidades de la tierra."

72 The reasoning is that of a Muslim legal scholar, applying the legal basic principle (*qā'ida*) of "necessity" (*ḍarūra*).

73 Luna comments i.m.: "Quiere decir vestido que trahe de ordinario el sacerdote."

74 Luna i.m.: "La dición arabiga *alhilafata* comprehende vicaria de Dios desde San Pedro hasta la fin del Mundo."

75 Luna translates this sentence as follows: "Y lo señalara (i.m.: ungira) con las señales [...] del crucificado por la virtud de aquellos misterios." Concerning the word left undeciphered, Luna adds the following gloss i.m.: "Esta en blanco, no entendio la dición."

Also, it should be hidden from the infidels lest they should abuse it.

Also, the priest should wear his clean shirt already referred to. He then places on the said altar a towel of pure linen and | while two candles are burning at his right and left hand.⁷⁶ He stands at four spans from the altar. 3^a

He then prostrates himself⁷⁷ on his chest on the ground, after having made a crystal-clear⁷⁸ confession of his sins, vowing never to return to them.

Then he says: “My God, I am standing before You.⁷⁹ Have mercy upon me, hear my prayer and accept from me Your sacrifice for the sake of our lord Jesus Your Spirit⁸⁰ and his punishment because of us. Feed our souls with Your body and blood and accept it from us as a purification⁸¹ to You, and | look upon us with mercy and benevolence.” 3^b

All this he says while the audience of believers is behind him. Then his student who is standing at his right hand says: Amen.

Then he stands up and turns his face to the people and his back towards the altar. He raises his hands⁸² over them saying: “God be with you!” His student then answers: “With you and with us, all together.”

His student then gives him pure water. He washes with it his hands, mouth and face, and dries himself with a clean towel.

76 Luna: “Y se ençenderan dos velas a la diestra y a la siniestra,” adding the following gloss in the margin: “La dición arabiga [çirachani] los arabigos modernos significan con ella lo que nosotros llamamos candiles, y los antiguos significan con ella lumbres de çera que eran unos instrumentos que los Reyes tenian en sus palaçios que en cada uno cauian muchas velas ençendidas.”

77 Also here the author uses Islamic terminology, in this case of the *sujūd* or prostration during the Islamic ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*).

78 Luna adds i.m.: “La dición arabiga *bi-façehin* comprehende y significa en rigor clara, abierta, sin fraude, ampla. Uso de la mesma dición en el libro *Fundamentum Ecclesie*.”

79 Luna i.m.: “La dición arabiga *baina yadayca* quiere deçir en su proprio rigor: ‘estamos parados entre vuestras manos que el lo mesmo quiere deçir en hespañol estamos parados ante vuestro acatamiento o ante vuestra presençia.’”

80 Luna translates here (as always) “hijo,” adding i.m.: “Ya en otras partes esta declarada esta dicçión.”

81 Here the important Islamic concept of the *zakat* is introduced.

82 Luna: “Y estendera las palmas de las manos açia ellos,” adding i.m.: “La dición arabiga *yalqui* comprehende y estendera sus manos las palmas dellas açia ellos.”

- 4^a He then takes a clean vessel | of gold, silver, copper, crystal, lead, stone,⁸³ resin⁸⁴ or ceramics,⁸⁵ with the capacity of half a *ratl* of water, and places it on the altar together with the towel mentioned. He then makes the sign of the cross over it. He then puts in it a piece of pure unleavened bread made of wheat flour. Nothing else fits this purpose. He puts it in front of the said vessel in another vessel prepared for that purpose. He then takes a cross and lays it on it. He then lays his hands on it and respectfully⁸⁶ raises his head
- 4^b towards heaven, saying: “O God, make our works tied | to your obedience.” He then takes it in his hands and transfers it to his right-hand side. He then pours about two ounces of water mixed with some drops of wine or more.⁸⁷ He then puts his hands on it and speaks the same words as he did over the bread. He then takes it into his hands and says: “This is my body.” He then turns his face towards the people and bows while holding it in his hands, in order to adore it, because it is the true body of our lord Jesus. Then he places it in the second vessel mentioned. Then he takes the first vessel and puts it to his mouth, while saying: “This is my blood.” He then inclines his body and raises the it [the vessel] over his right shoulder | while turning himself away somewhat, so that
- 5^a the people may adore it (as well), because it continues to be truly the blood of our lord Jesus. He then breaks the bread into pieces in that vessel and covers it with the other vessel. He then lays his hands on it, closes his eyes⁸⁸ and

83 Luna: “Aquí quedan dos dicciones que el interprete no las entiende por agora.” Castillo: “Esta dición esta muy obscura en el original. No se resuelve el interprete ensi dice de piedra o de uidriado, porque las letras que tiene pueden significar lo uno y lo otro”.

84 Castillo: “o de uidrio sirico,” adding the following gloss i.m.: “la dición arabiga *yraçui* quiere decir uidrio sirico o della Siria adonde se hazian unos vasos reços que son como metal, que no se quiebran muy buenos y de mucha estima que se presentauan a los reyes y prinçipes assi le diçe el Jauari en su diccionario dición *araca*.”

85 Arabic: *al-ḥntām*. See DS I, s.v. ḥntm. Castillo: “o de tierra berde lebantisca que llaman *hintem*. El Jauari en su diccionario dición [hintem] diçe que esta tierra uerde es una tierra uerde de mucha estima que hazen della en la tierra sancta y en todo el lebante unos vasos de mucha estima que no se quiebran.”

86 Luna: “con uerguença y modestia,” with the additional gloss i.m.: “La dición arabiga *muz-tahian* comprehende tener los ojos bajos o quasi çerrados con encogimiento.”

87 Arabic: [al-mā’ al-mu’āq] (“substituted water,” viz. wine diluted with a quantity of water). Probably: water with some drops of wine added. Luna translates: “y pondra del agua y de uino en la uasixa primera cantidad de dos onças.” Castillo: “La dición arabiga *almoadi* quiere decir originalmente agua atormentada, significando el uino que es periphraisis o figura tomando la metafora del uino que se atormenta y pissa primero y se estruja con tornilla y por esso diçe atormentada.”

88 Luna: “bajos los ojos,” adding the following gloss i.m.: “La dición arabiga [yaguit ‘ainaihu] significa que uaxos los ojos esten medio çerrados.”

says, [...] rendering himself in humility, “O Lord, accept from us Your sacrifice and our gift of purification⁸⁹ offered to You on behalf of our lord Jesus Your Spirit, and forgive us our sins by it, and save us from the temptation of this world and the hereafter.⁹⁰ Make us enter Your Paradise. You are mighty over everything!”

He then takes a clean spoon and eats⁹¹ all the pieces of bread remaining in the vessel,—he and every sincere confessed worshipper aiming at receiving it. He then pours himself and pours them a tiny | bit of the water. He then puts 5^b some more water into the said vessel and drinks it until nothing remains in it. He then raises it and says: “Our God, make us obedient to You, and sincere in our adoration of You, and in keeping with Your religion,⁹² and provide us with the means to establish Your religion, and put it into the hearts of those that err⁹³ and lead them towards You by Your awesome grace.” The student then says: “Amen!”

At that moment he turns his face to the people, who may kiss his right hand while he blesses them with the sign of the cross.

Then the people leave, | as the mass has ended. After the completion of the 6^a mass he reads the supererogatory⁹⁴ texts of his choice.

He then terminates [his reading] and leaves.

This mass should be celebrated in any appropriate place, once, twice, or three times a day, so that God may augment the faith in the hearts of His servants, and God’s favor towards him may increase by that number, because when works increase remuneration of the servant by God will increase as well.

Here ends the *Book of the Mass* written down by Tis’ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār al-A‘rābī.

Our master James forbade us to preserve the vessels of the mass in the⁹⁵ 6^b of menstruation, in places of cleaning and of relieving | in the Land of Fear,

89 Arabic: *zakāt*.

90 Luna: “y libradnos de las miserias del mundo y de las del día del juicio,” adding the following gloss i.m.: “Cae en la diccion arabiga *fimatun* miserias, calamidades, tentaciones, persecuciones.”

91 Luna: “y consumira,” adding the following gloss i.m.: “la diccion arabiga *yalcum* quiere decir tragara, traduxose consumira porque parecia no tan honesta palabra tragara.”

92 This is a characteristically Islamic expression: Islam is the religion of God.

93 Arabic: *al-ḍāllīn*, “those who err.” Figuring in the first sura of the Quran, this word is often interpreted as a reference to the Christians by Muslim exegetes. In the present context it would refer to pagans living around the Christian community, not (yet) converted to Christianity.

94 Arabic: *al-nawāfil*, Islamic *fiqh* term denoting those pious works, for instance certain prayers, that are not obligatory but extra, performed out of free will, or the reading and/or recitation of religious texts following the prayer service.

95 Arabic: *m.rwāt*.

where there is reason to fear that the errant enemies will desecrate them. The same holds true for books of religion and the ornaments of the mass, as well as crosses. The body and blood of our lord Jesus shall be raised only in the land where there are many who believe in God's rightly guided religion,⁹⁶ nowhere else.

He also ordered us to be humble, to commemorate God often, to practice abstinence, and to give alms⁹⁷ from what God provides to us, so that He may establish us in His obedience and the people may accept our words and enter the religion of God under His grace. Amen.

7^a Here ends the Book of the Mass.

96 "God's religion" is a Quranic expression referring to Islam.

97 Arabic: *al-ṣadaqa*, one of the Five Pillars of Islam.

LP 5/9: (LP9 as main text, with LP5 in the footnotes to the Arabic text)

Book of the honorable and blessed apostle James ibn Shamīkh al-Zabādī about the admonition of the Apostles and their consensus concerning it, written on twelve leaves of lead at his order by his disciple Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār al-A‘rābī for the convenience of His servants and in order to admonish them in the land of Spain. Its copy is as follows: 1^a

Book of the Admonition of the Apostles⁹⁸ 1^b

Book of the Admonition of the Apostles by James the Apostle, written down by his secretary and disciple Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār al-A‘rābī. 2^a

James said: “The fundament of belief in God and His Holy Church is the intention⁹⁹ towards it, leaving behind doubts and thoughts concerning faith. Therein three things are obligatory, viz. speaking with the tongue, sincerity of heart and acting with the limbs,¹⁰⁰ on behalf of our lord Jesus, as he said to the apostles: ‘preach to all people in the world. Whosoever believes |, is baptized with water and performs good deeds will be blessed [eternally], but whosoever does not do that will perish.’” 2^b

I am going to describe to you those three matters in this book, because without them there is no rescue for any living being.

The first is faith, which ought to be in God, viz. that He is Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three persons in one essence. And [in] the conception of our lord

98 Luna’s translation begins, mentioning as heading, on LP5 fol. 0^b: “Libro de los fundamentos de la doctrina de los Apostoles,” noting i.m. “este titulo esta escrito en la primera hoja deste libro en la segunda plana [*sic*, K-W] por de dentro y no tiene en ella escrito otra cosa ninguna.” (N.B. our foliation of LP5 differs from Luna’s.) In his the official statement following the translation Luna says that he was able to work with the Arabic text between 8 and 18 February 1596. The notary makes the following remark about Luna’s translation: “afirmo que el dicho libro es muy dificultoso en algunas clausulas, y que tiene la phrasis, propiedad de dicciones y uocables, scriptura, puntuacion y stilo antiguo en todo, y esta escrito por mano de singular scribano como lo dixo y declaro en la traduccion que hizo de los libros *Fundamentum Ecclesie* y *Essentia Dei* y que este libro es conforme en todo esto con los dichos libros y todo lo sujeto a la correccion de la Santa Madre Iglesia, y a quien lo entendiere mejor que no el, porque traducido este libro sin libros y con corto estudio con aquel que el tiempo breue dio lugar, traduciendo le como traduxo en presencia de su Sa. El Arzobispo su Señor en su casa y de mi el dicho notario [...]”

99 Arabic: *nīyya*, key Islamic concept. Luna: la limpia intencion.

100 Normal elements in any treatise of Islamic doctrine.

Jesus His Spirit,¹⁰¹ as the Holy Spirit overcame Mary who was a virgin before she gave birth, during it, and after it. And in His retribution and the spilling
 3^a of His blood | in order to intervene¹⁰² for mankind. And that He descended to the gate [of Hell], and the exodus of the spirits waiting for Him there. And in His resurrection and ascension to heaven, and His sitting at the right hand of the Father. And in the Day of Resurrection and Gathering for the Reckoning, to grant Paradise to the pious,¹⁰³ and, to the contrary, the Fire to those who err.

Belief is also obligatory in everything on which the apostles have agreed in cases of necessity, as we have described in the second part of the *Book of the Fundamentals of Religion*.¹⁰⁴ That is a duty that every believing servant must memorize.

3^b Secondly, to be baptized | with water.

Thirdly, good deeds. The root of it all, after the faith mentioned, is baptism, which is performed as follows: If one of God's servants embraces the faith, he has to be instructed in the said faith. After he memorizes it he has to ask for the holy water,¹⁰⁵ and when he asks that with a pure intention, the instructor has to baptize him with the same intention on his part, and not without it. When he is about to do so, he takes pure, clean water, after having washed his hands clean from every stain. Then he makes the sign of the cross over him and lifts him up in the name of God on behalf of the holy water by which our lord Jesus was baptized.

Then the baptizer addresses him by his name: "Mr. so and so, do you desire to be blessed by being baptized in the name of our lord Jesus?"¹⁰⁶

He answers: "Yes, I love him, as well as his baptism, and the belief of His Church."

The baptizer then says: "I baptize you in the name of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, three persons in one essence," while pouring all that water over his head. After he does that no major or minor sin will remain on
 4^b him, even if his sins were | like all the foam of the sea, the leaves of the trees

101 Luna: su hijo, i.m.: "la dicción arábica es alrrauh aunque arriua a no. 12 le llama hijo."

102 Arabic: *shaf*^c, in an Islamic context usually referring to the Islamic doctrine of the intervention (*shafā'a*).

103 Luna: "predestinados."

104 This book does not figure among the Lead Books of the Sacromonte.

105 Luna: "agua del spiritu sancto."

106 "Por la intençion de nuestro Señor Jesus," with, i.m., "la dicçion arábica dimma quiere decir deuaxo de la bendiçion, proteccion o obediencia, ley, euangelio de nuestro Señor Jesus y usa desta dicçion en muchas partes."

and the pebbles of the earth.¹⁰⁷ If he is a small child he will have [eternal] bliss, while the answer [to the question] is presented on his behalf by a third person.

That is the description of baptism¹⁰⁸ according to our brother John the Apostle, with which the apostles were in agreement.¹⁰⁹ That baptism is the duty of the Vicar or one of the apostles or one of their disciples and their followers, and in case of necessity of [any] believing servant.

Thirdly, it is [the performance of] good deeds as mentioned before, and penitence for [unfulfilled] vows, viz. the confession of sins |, which goes as follows. God acts through a second [person]. That second person is the Vicar and the priests¹¹⁰ who follow him, and after them, in case of necessity, the believing servants of God. Thus, if a servant has sinned, he has to confess with a pure intention towards it, in clear language, absolution and penitence, while vowing never to return to sinning. 5^a

When he comes to the confessor, he should have the intention in his soul of all this, with regret, asking for forgiveness and intending [also] the expiation [of his sins] by something he is able to do. When he inclines his body in front of him, the blessing to be obtained is before him, while the evil to be left behind is behind him. Paradise | is at his right, and the Fire is under him, while God is over his head, Hearing and Seeing, while our lord Jesus, His Spirit, is stretching out His arms before him, in accordance with His words: “Whosoever approaches me one span,¹¹¹ I will draw near to him one cubit,¹¹² and whosoever draws near to me a cubit, I will draw near to him the length of two arms,¹¹³ and whosoever comes to me walking, I will come to him running.”¹¹⁴ Thereby the confessing person is bowing his head under the cross,¹¹⁵ while he [the confessor] is bowing over the sinner in order to listen to him and expiate his sins. 5^b

107 A common expression to be found in many Islamic prayers and traditions.

108 “Este es el modo del baptismo.” Luna does not translate further until “believing servant,” leaving space, saying: “en este blanco ay tres dicciones en el original que no las entiende el interprete.” See for an explanation the Arabic edition.

109 The last sentence is missing in Luna’s translation. He remarks i.m.: “Aqui ay en blanco dos dicciones que no se an entendido hasta agora.”

110 Here: *a’immat al-fiqh*, perhaps more appropriately: the bishops.

111 Luna: “un palmo.” About the following words in the quote he remarks: “Estos terminos suenan muy bien en el arabigo y son significantes.”

112 Luna: “codo.”

113 Luna: “passo.”

114 A widespread *hadith qudsī* (in which God Himself speaks), mentioned in many different Islamic sources.

115 Luna: “y al confessor asentado al pie de su cruz”.

The confessing person should be reverential and regretful in that place and weep over his sins and over the grace of God he has missed, and about the trespasses he has committed, so that God may forgive them, | who is the Forgiving, the Merciful.

And he begins his confession with the following words: "My God, I was disobedient against You, and I have damaged my soul, I followed my desires, and I attached myself to Satan. I ask You by Your grace and glory that You forgive me, have mercy upon me, and lead me to Your Paradise. I repent to You, vowing never to return to sinning, Give me Your mercy, You have might over everything!" The confessor answers him: "O servant, describe your sins to God, so that He may have mercy upon you and forgive you."

At that moment he will throw himself on the earth with reverence¹¹⁶ and describe to him all the sins he has committed, | [acting] against [the principle of] wanting for his believing brother¹¹⁷ what he wants for himself, in every sin he committed or intended to commit, without the sins he neglectfully omitted to mention.¹¹⁸

After having finished this, the confessor has to prohibit these and make him repent having committed them, and remind him of the blessings he missed. He is obliged to do penitence¹¹⁹ and expiation at once to the extent of his true ability, and if he does not do so [at once], then as soon as he can, at any time. He is not obliged to provide full compensation, out of grace towards him, because God does not impose upon a servant anything he cannot bear,¹²⁰ out of grace towards him. | But he should vow not to return to sinning, for which there will never be any salvation.

Expiation should be made by fasting, charity and seeking expiation, and whatever the confessor deems appropriate, viz. that he recite part of the venerable Gospel and other pious deeds the apostles and their disciples were wont to perform. He must be obliged to perform and agree with them, [it is] not possible without this. When he agrees to their obligatory character, he is bound to execute [these deeds] fully. But if he does not fulfill them he disobeys his Lord, and [consequently] it was a bad confession.

At that point the confessor takes up a key in his hand to symbolize by it the power of the Vicar Peter | to loosen and bind, putting it over his head while say-

116 Luna: i.m. "la dicción arábiga muzthian comprehende uergonçoso, modesto, encogido."

117 Luna: "proximo creyente."

118 Following this word i.m.: "Aqui ay una clausula que no se a entendido por ahora."

119 Up to here, starting from the beginning of the sentence, there is a blank in Luna's translation.

120 Quranic expression.

ing: “I am the Vicar of God, and on behalf of His Vicar I grant you forgiveness from all the sins you confessed and omitted to mention. I remove from you all that may remove you from God and His grace. Depart now, with the grace of God.”

All this he says while his right hand with the said key lies on his head, and when he has finished he makes the sign of the cross over him and leaves.

He does this with the sinner as often as he comes to him for that purpose, even if he comes | innumerable times, because the mercy of God is all-encompassing. 8^a

Peter the Apostle¹²¹ was then asked: “O vicar and blessed apostle, tell us about the reward of confessing and expiating sins.”

He answered: “If a servant confesses with a pure intention towards God, vowing never to return to sinning, then no major or minor sin remains on him that has not been forgiven by God. But if those qualities are changed with respect to their true sense, his blessing will differ as well, in accordance with the degree of his deviation from them.”

“Because God prepared for the offspring of Adam four places, namely the World |, the House of Retaliation,¹²² Paradise and Hell. For the stubbornly disobedient and the evildoers there are two places, namely the World and Hell. But for the believing sinners who seek forgiveness there are three of these four places, viz. the World, the House of Retaliation, and Paradise.” 8^b

“The World was prepared by God for all His servants, in order to obtain the good or evil He wishes, and it has [also] different kinds of retaliation. The House of Retaliation is prepared for the sinners who do not acquire [any] evil [there] or otherwise, but are punished for their sins | and then enter Paradise. But in Hell they do not obtain anything and are not registered (?) and they are never acquitted [of their sins], which is the source of their eternal stay in it. The people of Paradise are freed from all this [by God] and He honors them by looking at His venerable face.”¹²³ 9^a

The blessed Apostle was then asked: “Tell us about the appropriate times of confession.”

He answered: “Sin removes us from God to the extent that He does not accept from us any act of worship as truthful and right, unless we leave sinning and do not commit more sins. Thus, the believing servant must not commit a

121 Luna: “Pedro Vicario de Christo.”

122 Luna: “el purgatorio,” i.m.: “notese esta dicción que en el árabe es [dar al açaz] que quiere decir el purgatorio.”

123 Luna: “y los honrró en ella goçando con su vista de la visión de su diuinidad.”

sin without confessing it at any time he can, so that God may forgive him¹²⁴ and return him to safety, love and nearness to Him and make him one of the pious.”¹²⁵

He also admonished us to receive the body of Jesus for the sake of that. The description of how this is received after confession is in accordance with what we described in the *Book of the Description of the Mass*, for the grace of God, so that He will make us one of the pious, who work for His obedience. Amen.

[LP5 has the following text, lacking in LP9]:¹²⁶ [Whosoever dies as a martyr [will obtain] the best reward for the performance of good deeds, because he gave himself completely, with his soul, to God, being His master in every circumstance. Therefore God will forgive his sins and place him in Paradise.

There is no god but God! M R Allāh.

The Book of the Admonishment of the Apostles has been completed by the hands of Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār al-‘Arabī.]

124 At this point Luna puts a blank space and notes i.m.: “aquí queda en blanco una clausula porque no la entiende por agora el interprete.”

125 Luna: “y le haga con sus siervos,” the first words after the blank space.

126 The phrase in LP 5 is translated by Luna.

LP6

The Weeping of Peter the Apostle, the Vicar, after he had denied his lord Jesus at the time of his crucifixion. 1^a

Peter the Vicar and blessed Apostle bewailed to us his birth as an expiation after having denied our lord Jesus at the time of his crucifixion, because he wept profoundly over his sin, to the extent that his eyeballs protruded, the flesh of his face was torn, his color changed, and his | skin stuck to his bones 1^b through his fasting. He did not stop remembering God day and night, saying: “My God, my Lord, I have been disobedient, I have done evil to myself. If you do not answer my repentance, forgive me and have mercy upon me, I will perish.”

He remained in this state of weeping and prayer in a cave¹²⁷ for seven years and three months. When he had finished | this period of time, one night, as he 2^a was weeping and supplicating his Lord, he heard a call before him [from one] who said: “O, Peter: stop what you are doing, your sins have been forgiven to you.”

He then came to God, praising Him for that blessing, and he became the most pious person and the pillar of the world and the Holy Church and the first Vicar of God on the earth |—may God favor us by him and by [all] the 2^b pious. Amen!

Thus we have to obey God and obey His Vicar, because he admonished us to be truthful, to trust in God and to be patient in the face of the trials of the world, so that God will have mercy on us and make us one of the people of His obedience.

But whosoever dies as a martyr, that will be better for him, and yield a higher reward from God and an enormous recompense, so that we receive the blessings He promised us in the Venerable Gospel |, to which there will be no interruption and which no living being can ever describe. 3^a

The book has been completed by the hands of the Arab.

There is no god but God, M R Allāh.

127 Reminiscent of the *taḥannuth* ritual, practiced by the prophet Muḥammad. The seven years recall the myth of the seven sleepers. For stories current among the Mudejars and Moriscos see Labarta, “Los nombres de los siete durmientes.”

LP7

2^a *Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles*¹²⁸ of Our Lord Jesus¹²⁹ and of His Mother the Holy¹³⁰ Virgin Mary

2^b Book of the outstanding qualities of our lord Jesus and of his mother the Virgin Mary and of his lifetime and his miracles, from the day he was sent until his demise and his ascension to heaven, by Tis'ūn¹³¹ ibn 'Aṭṭār, disciple of James the Apostle.¹³²

My father, Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Aṭṭār, was an Arab by origin from the town of Daws¹³³ in Arabia Minor, of noble stock and enjoying a great reputation. Endowed with

128 Arabic: *ma'ājīz* (plural of *mu'jiza*), in Islamic theological language usually indicating the miracles, granted by God to prophets to allow them to prove their claim to prophethood, contrary to the *karāmāt* of saints (*awlīyā*). *Mu'jiza*, "miraculum" is also documented in CDAА s.v. 'jz, where the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (often ascribed to Ramón Martí) is the only source quoted for this meaning.

129 Always written in the original Arabic as *Yāṣū'*, with emphatical ṣ, in contradistinction to *Yasū'* (with *sīn*), as usually found in Christian Arabic sources, also from Al-Andalus. Only in the Parchment is Jesus indicated by his Quranic name, 'Īsā. To disguise his all-too-obvious Islamic intentions, the author decided to change his strategy concerning this name in the Lead Books, adopting its Christian Arabic form, but with a pseudo-archaic spelling added to suggest that his name was more ancient and more original than the one found in more recent Christian Arabic sources. Dobelio, *Falsedad*, fol. 6^a ff, comments that "our lord Jesus" is not a Christian way to designate Jesus Christ. He adds, fol. 10^b, that in the *Vita* there is no reference to Jesus as the Son of God, while in the *Fundamentum Fidei* and the *De Essentia Dei* this doctrine is referred to only between parentheses.

130 Arabic: *al-ṣāliḥa* (= *al-ṣāliḥa*). *Ṣāliḥ* as the meaning of *sanctus* is documented in CDAА s.v. ṣlh, where the Leiden Mozarabic *Latin-Arabic Glossary* s.v. *sanctus* is the only source quoted for this meaning.

131 Old translations as well as contemporary studies have read the name as Taṣfūn and translated it as Thesifon. However, the Lead Books consistently read "Tis'ūn", except for the covering plate of LP2 which reads Thesiphon. Tis'ūn and two of his brothers have names ending in *-ūn*, emphasizing the standing of the person concerned. This type of name was also frequently found in Al-Andalus. In Arabic Tis'ūn also means: "ninety." Was the choice of this precise name perhaps also intended as a pun?

132 Dobelio, fol. 18^b f, points out that *al-ḥawārī* and *al-ḥawārīyyūn* are the Islamic designation for the apostles of Jesus with the denigrating meaning of "lauanderos." According to him, Christian Arabs use the word *al-rasūl*, *al-rusul*. However, in Biblical translations from Al-Andalus, the word *al-ḥawārī* is in fact used, e.g: Baulush al-Ḥawārī in Cod. Ar. 4971 of the BNE.

133 The Arabian Banū Daws are mentioned by Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale*, 115–116. Dobelio, fols. 16^b–17^a, says: "El autor dice que fue Arabe noble de la tierra de دوس Dus (laqual no halla en toda Arabia)"; he adds, fols. 19^b–20^a, that he has seen a book written in Spain by an author dealing with Islamic Law, calling himself "fulano al-Dūsī, Addusio, que significa

knowledge and great wealth, he was born with a high pedigree that goes all the way back to Šāliḥ,¹³⁴ the prophet of God, to whom Prophethood and the Spirit had been granted.

He had four male and three female children. The names of the males were ʿĪsūn, Saʿdūn, ʾ, Tisʿūn, and Ibn al-Riḍā; the females were Shamsa, Yaqūta and Durriyya.

I was created blind.¹³⁵ My brother Ibn al-Riḍā was created deaf and dumb. Our father was sad about us, and when he heard news of our lord Jesus, the Trustworthy Spirit of God,¹³⁶ [and] how he cured the blind from birth, lepers, the deaf, the blinded and the lame, and how he cast out devils from people and revived the dead in the Holy Land, so that [people] traveled towards him in search of his blessing, he prepared the necessary provisions and servants, and put me and my brother Ibn al-Riḍā on two camels. He set out by night to the Land of Galilee, where he found him and his disciples in the company of seventeen men whom he had cured of leprosy.

On that occasion, Šāliḥ said to him: “My Lord, I took the roads towards you from the town of Daws, that you may cure for me these two children from blindness, dumbness and deafness. I see you are a great wonder-worker |. I put my trust in you and I am confident that without any doubt no one in the world but you can cure them.”

3^a

Jesus said to him: “Šāliḥ, your faith is strong, and I will fulfill your wish.” He then took some earth in the palms of his hands, stamped it with his saliva and put it on my eyes, thereby returning to me [my] eyesight. He ordered me to

natural de Dūs. A mi parezer sera el autor de un lugar de Africa y vino a ser grande en España (conforme se puede congeturar).”

134 About Šāliḥ as an Arabian prophet in the Quran and the Islamic tradition, see A. Rippin, in *E.I.*², s.v. Šāliḥ. Dobelio stresses, fol. 19^a ff, that there is no relation between this Šāliḥ, a descendant of Thamūd, and the biblical Saleh, great-grandson of Noah.

135 Literally: “seeing,” but the opposite meaning is implied here.

136 In Arabic: *Rūḥ Allāh al-Amīn*. Jesus is referred to in the Quran as “a spirit from Him,” viz. of God (Quran S. 4:171), which, from an Islamic point of view, would allow to call him Rūḥ Allāh, as he is also occasionally referred to in the Lead Books. In the Quran the expression “Trustworthy Spirit” (without explicit attribution of the Spirit to God), however, refers to Gabriel (Jibrīl), not to Jesus. Cf. J. Pedersen, in *E.I.*² s.v. Djabrāʾīl. In the Lead Books Jesus is most frequently referred to as Rūḥ Allāh al-Amīn as an almost standard expression. It would seem that the epithets, in this specific form, are a fusion of Jesus’s Quranic qualifications and the honorific name given to Gabriel in the Quran, viz. “the Trustworthy Spirit” (al-Rūḥ al-Amīn). In his translation, Miguel de Luna systematically translates this expression as “Nuestro Señor Jesus hijo de Dios verdadero,” concealing its Islamic tendency.

wash it off in the place for purification¹³⁷ of the prayer-hall (*al-masjid*). He then put his hand on the head of my brother Ibn al-Riḏā, blew into his mouth three times, cured him and filled him with knowledge, so that he (even) spoke different languages. The first thing he said was: “I testify that there is no god but God and that you are the Trustworthy Spirit of God.”¹³⁸

Thereupon our Lord Jesus said to him: “You are [from now onwards] Cecilio.”¹³⁹ Thus that name was imposed upon him by our Lord Jesus, meaning: ‘preacher of the faith, making it victorious.’¹⁴⁰ He then looked at his disciple James the Apostle—our master—and said to him: “These two are your holy pupils in order to assist [our] faith; take them under your care and provide them with the necessary [knowledge/means] for that purpose.”

On that occasion, our father Šāliḥ ibn ‘Aṭṭār gave our Lord Jesus a hundred Arab pieces of gold, putting them into the hands of Peter¹⁴¹ the Apostle by his order, and asked him to buy a house for him so that he could dwell near him.

137 Luna, in a marginal note: “La diccion arabiga [al mahda] significa agua en fuente o en pila o de otra manera.” Compare CDAА s.v. mḥḍ: *mīḥāḍ* (latrine) from the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (often ascribed to Ramón Martí). Dobelio, f. 23^a: “Mi parecer es que el autor entiende por los lavacos de los templos los lavatorios que hazen en sus templos los Mahometanos antes de entrar en sus azalas, dichos comunmente al-wuḍū’.”

138 Luna: “que vos soys su hijo verdadero.” Dobelio, fol. 23^a ff.: “el deçir ‘No hai Dios, sino Dios, Ihesus spiritu de Dios’ es propriamente la negatiua de la santissima trinidad y de la Diuinidad de la 2a persona.” To substantiate this view, Dobelio quotes Al-Ghazzālī “en el libro 1^o escriuiendo de la fe, tratado 1^o, parte 2^a,” where Al-Ghazzālī explains, among other things, that the formula *lā ilāha illā ‘llāh* implies a denial of the Trinity as professed by the Christians. Dobelio also quotes Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Al-Naqqāsh in his explanation of the word *al-tawḥīd* in sur 38 (fol. 25^b). Exactly the same information is provided by Marracci, *Disquisitio*, fols. 23^{a-b}, including the sources quoted.

139 In the Arabic original the name is written as two separate words, viz. Sa’is al-Ayah. If, it had been intended as a mere transcription of “Cecilio” it would likely have been written as a single word. It is possible to understand the name of Sa’is al-Ayah in Arabic as a pun meaning “leader of the sign.” Luna writes: “Çay Çeleyah.”

140 The author is providing a (fancy) Arabic etymology for the name of Cecilio, explaining its origin and meaning in the ancient, paleo-Christian Arabic only accessible to himself.

141 Here the Arabic original reads Badruh, with *b*; elsewhere in the Lead Books, it is frequently written with *yā*, thus: Yadruh. A possible explanation might be that, in the original the scribe/engraver was working from, Peter’s name had been provided with *three* dots underneath its first letter, in order to indicate the letter P, as was done, for instance, in the Ottoman-Turkish and Persian alphabets. Not understanding the meaning of these *three* dots, the scribe/engraver may have confined himself in those cases to *two* dots, erroneously changing Peter’s name into Yadruh. Occasionally, in other booklets engraved by a different scribe, the name is given as Badruh, in accordance with Peter’s name in some Mozarabic manuscripts. In his lengthy quotations from the Lead Books, Al-Ḥajarī too consistently writes Yadruh in his autograph manuscript preserved in the National Library in Cairo of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘alā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*.

He then traveled to the town of Daws | in order to bring his whole family to him, leaving us [and our] sisters in his care and in [the care of] our master James. ^{3^b}

On that occasion, Jesus ordered Peter to distribute that money as a charity to those who turned to him. Thereupon Peter said to him: “My Lord, to which of those who turn to us shall I give it as a charity, as they are many? Those who turn to you are destitute, poor, sick and meaning to attend [your] preaching. [Moreover,] the owner of that money is alive; how shall I give it away without his permission, while he wishes to buy a house?”

Our Lord Jesus answered him: “The world is a house for those who have no house! Give that money during the life of Ṣāliḥ to whomever asks you, even if he comes on a horse and asks for it,¹⁴² so that it will be a living work, because that which belongs to God will never perish and the reward of those who do well will never be lost.¹⁴³ Do you not know that to give charity during one’s life is a living work, but after death it is a work that has died? Therefore give during life [and] before death, because the best gift is [given] before passing away. And I say unto you that the charity that reaches God is given during life and this appeases the Lord’s wrath. He who gives charity is near to God and God is with him in every place.” He then | gave away that money as a charity to those who asked for it. ^{4^a}

At that time my father came to him with all his family and asked him: “My Lord, did you buy the house for me?” He answered him: “Ṣāliḥ, I indeed built a house for you in Paradise,¹⁴⁴ so that you will live near me in this world and in the Hereafter, because your intention is beautiful and your faith is great and it is accepted by God.” He then brought him to his house, where he caught a fever and passed away after three days. Our Lord Jesus said unto him: “Blessed are you, Ṣāliḥ! You lived a blissful life (*saʿīdan*) and you died as a martyr (*shahīdan*). You left your family in a blessed state.” And again also after three more

142 Dobelio, fol. 60^b ff., refers to “un predicador Mahometano, el qual exortando la gente a dar limosna, diçe desta manera *fi faḍl al-ṣadaqa* de la exçelencia de la limosna [...]: *wa-qāla al-nabī ṣallā Allāhu ʿalaihi wa-sallama: inna al-ṣadaqa la-taqaʿu bi-yad al-Raḥmān qabla an tūdaʿa bi-yad al-sāʿil fa-taṣaddaqū wa-law atākum ʿalā faras mulajjam masrūj.*” Dobelio informs us that this quotation was taken from an acephalous manuscript dated 870 Hijra (fol. 61^b). Marracci, *Disquisitio*, fol. 21^a, quotes the same *Liber Mahumethanicus*, cui titulus est *fi faḍl al-ṣadaqa* id est de excellentia eleemosynae, cuius auctor vixit ante ducentos fere annos legimus: Dixit propheta Mahumetus: Facite eleemosynam, etiam, si ille, qui eam petit, uenerit ad uos super equum freno et ephippiis ornatum.

143 Dobelio, fol. 60^b: “El Alcoran y sus doctores diçen las mesmas palabras que pone el autor.” Marracci, *Disquisitio*, fol. 19^a, remarks that the expression “and the reward of those who do well will never be lost” is found in “sect. 6, par. 126” of the Quran.

144 A more neutral translation by Luna: “en la bienabenturanza.”

days my mother Rebecca,¹⁴⁵ his wife, passed away. After them, because of the miracles of our Lord Jesus, our brothers and sisters and our family believed in him and were among the holy.

We then thanked God, I as well as my brother Ibn al-Riḏā, for having been saved from error and [having been given] the greatest of faiths. We remained
4^b in the service of James, who favored us | over all his disciples and he chose us from among them for the benefit of his affairs in the obedience of God.

Therefore we are in need of the grace of our Lord Jesus and of my master, who commanded me to write down his noble character and high descent, his life and his miracles until his death. In doing that, I write down what I eyewitnessed [myself] and other matters which I did not witness, related from him and from his mother, the Holy Virgin Mary, from Joseph, her husband, as well as from all the apostles, his disciples, until his ascension to Heaven and afterwards, including the last report necessary to chronicle the truth. All that will be for the glory of God and the admonishing of his servants, Amen.

Chapter on his noble character (ḥasab), his high pedigree (nasab), his country, and the miracles connected to his being conceived

Our Lord Jesus, the son of Virgin Mary, was a Hebrew. The house of the parents of his mother on the side of her father was from Naṣrān,¹⁴⁶ while the family of her mother was from Batlān, both of which were among the smallest towns in the Holy Land. As a human being he was of an outstandingly noble character and of the highest pedigree among the Israelites. He was born in a series of forty-two venerable prophets who announced the Blessed One (*al-man'ūm*)¹⁴⁷ in the *Tawrāt*,¹⁴⁸ the best of the descendants of Adam,¹⁴⁹ sent [to realize] the

145 Luna: "Rubaca."

146 The author suggests that this is the ancient Arabic name of Nazareth. Compare Jarjalān for Jerusalem and Batlān for Bethlehem. All these names are used repeatedly in our text, as well as in the Parchment and the other Lead Books.

147 Luna translates this expression consistently as "Messias" (occasionally also "el Messias prometido").

148 The author uses the Quranic name of the Old Testament. Here and elsewhere in the text, Luna translates *Al-Tawrāt* as "la Sagrada Escritura."

149 Dobelio, fol. 62^b: "Y quando diçe que es el mejor de los hijos de Adam no por esto diremos que es Christo, porque Mahoma se intitula Señor de los hijos de Adam y el mejor dellos y que descende de los prophetas de Dios." Dobelio refers here to the ḥadīth "*anā sayyid wuld Ādam wa-lā fakhr*," which evoked the well-known Islamic epithet for Muḥammad: *khair wuld Ādam*.

victory announced by the Gospel,¹⁵⁰ God's Trustworthy Spirit and Redeemer from sin by mediation (*al-shafʿ*) and salvation (*al-falāḥ*). All of them belonged to the descendants of the Prophet, son of Shaykh al-Riḍā, Abraham, the Friend of God,¹⁵¹ who was strengthened with the Holy Spirit.

Holy Mary said that Gabriel told her: "When God created the angels in the most beautiful shape, and when they disobeyed their Lord out of jealousy because of his having been conceived, the Throne, the heavens and the earth trembled¹⁵² so that the intimate angels became fearful." And when He had put our father Adam | and our mother Eve in Paradise, they ate whatever they wished, but He forbade them [to eat from] the tree. They [lived] in everlasting bliss and wore jewels and tunics¹⁵³ the value of which is known to God only. They did not experience the evils of the world, but they were not thankful to God for that bliss. Thus their pudenda became apparent to them¹⁵⁴ because of their lack of thankfulness, though they were not aware of it. Then they were overcome by temptation towards sin and disobedience. That was the cause of their indulging in [committing] the dubious¹⁵⁵ sin, because God is wise and just, and by that justice he decides whatever He wishes. Thus they ate the fruit of the forbidden tree. And when they had disobeyed the commandment of their Lord,¹⁵⁶ once again the Throne and the earth trembled a second time and the angels feared, and He expelled them from Paradise |, and God attached it¹⁵⁷ to a place in his Creation of His choice, which none of His servants would find without His will.

They descended to the earth, where they became repentant to the extent that the color of them both blackened because of the sin. Stretched out on the earth, they wept over it. They did not interrupt their weeping until their eye-

150 Arabic: *bi-al-faṭḥ al-munajjāl*. See also: *mubashshirīn bi-al-faṭḥ*: LP 1/2. Luna: "El que vino a el mundo a enseñar el euangelio hijo de Dios uerdadero."

151 Khalil Allāh, as in the Quran (Dobelio).

152 The translation used by Dobelio, fol. 63^a, reads: "que los çielos abaxaron al suelo con los angeles, quando conçiuiò, y çercaron el estrado." To this he comments: "Esto diçen los Mahometanos de su propheta."

153 Compare CDAА s.v. ḥll: *ḥulla*—purple tunicle (based on the Leiden Mozarabic Latin-Arabic Glossary s.v. clamis and fulua).

154 For this expression, Marracci (fol. 22^b) refers to the Quran: "Alcor. Sect. 6 Ahraph," and "Alcor. Sect. 19 Tah. § 122."

155 This concept seems to refer to the theological issue of whether the sin of Adam was committed out of free will or because it had been preordained by God. In his translation, Luna chooses the latter possibility, translating "el peccado contingente." This is also the position of our text, as will become clear in various passages.

156 Dobelio, fol. 63^b: "Todo esto lo diçen los autores Mahometanos."

157 Viz. Paradise.

5^b6^a

balls were consumed and the flesh of their faces lacerated, saying: “Our Lord, we have harmed ourselves. If you do not accept our repentance and forgive us and grant us mercy, we will be lost.”¹⁵⁸ Then the angel Gabriel descended to them and brought them the good tidings of their salvation. [He wrote on the back of Adam: Hid Mīd, [meaning:] he is your mediator, and the mediator of your offspring.]¹⁵⁹ He also said: Adam, stand up, you and your wife, God has heard your prayer and accepted your repentance and forgiven you, on the condition of faith, thankfulness for blessings, as well as the atonement of [your] sins. You should [also] expect the Blessed One written [on your back].¹⁶⁰ From that time, the prophets announced among their people the good tidings of the Blessed One, [who would come] to intercede for | men, as well as to admonish them in view of intercession and salvation.

When the time came for Holy Mary to conceive him,¹⁶¹ in other words: she said that when the angel Gabriel descended to her and informed her that she was going to conceive him, while she was reading the Book,¹⁶² he said to her: “Holy Mary, you who receive the mercy [of your Lord], God is with you, you are blessed among women.” This blessing was because of her being untouched by the original sin, which was not attached to her because God had chosen her for this task, while all others who came after Adam were affected by faults because of the sin, but she was not affected thereby, as she had remained unimpaired by it. This was consented to in the Council of the Apostles as we described in the *Book of the Foundations of the Faith*.¹⁶³ Whosoever dissents from it will be lost.

158 Dobelio, fol. 64^a: “Todo esto lo tenemos notado con autoridades bastantes de los Mahometanos, donde hablan cosas increíbles de la penitencia que hizo Adam, quedando negro el y su muger del continuo llorando hasta que Dios les perdonò y entonzes se volvieron blancos.”

159 The passage between square brackets was left blank in Luna’s translation, as one of the passages he states not to have been able to understand (!). Dobelio, fol. 64^a: “Diçe despues el texto de las laminas que en las espaldas de Adam estaua escrito la venida del prometido con todo lo que sigue, todo sacado de los authores Mahometanos.”

160 The passage between square brackets was left blank in Luna’s translation, as one of the passages he claims not to have been able to understand.

161 Luna: “encarnar.”

162 Luna: “la Scriptura Sagrada.”

163 Dobelio, fol. 66^b–67^a: “Con todo esto hallo en los libros de los Mahometanos (como està notado) que a Xristo nuestro Señor y a la Virgen su Madre no les alcanzò el peccado primero en este modo. Diçen que quando nasçen los hijos de Adam el Demonio llega y les passa la mano por enzima de la caueza, o les dà en el lado una puntada con el dedo, que por esto nasçemos llorando; y este es el peccado primero que es el Demonio, el qual fuè el primero a peccar, y que quando la Virgen nasçìo, los Angeles la çercaron con una cortina, y hauiendo llegado el peccado primero para tocarla con la mano o darla con la punta del dedo, diò en velo, y assi no la alcanzò.”

So when she heard his words she became afraid and lifted her head in order to seek help from God, while she thought about who might be [the person] who had spoken [to her].

Then Gabriel took on towards her the shape of a most beautiful human being, who spread a glittering light. | He said to her: “Do not be afraid of the fact that God enters upon you¹⁶⁴ in His mercy to grant you a son in your womb who is the Spirit of the Exalted One,¹⁶⁵ and you will call him Yaşū‘, of the descendants of David, who will live forever in the House of Jacob. His kingship will never perish.” She asked him: “How will this happen, while no human being has touched my matter, and I do not desire this [either]?”

7^a

The angel answered her: “That is easy for God;¹⁶⁶ [it will occur] through His Holy Spirit upon you. [And when he will have been born, he will be called Spirit of the Exalted God.]”¹⁶⁷

She answered him: “Make me a sign for that!”¹⁶⁸

He said to her: “Elisabeth, your friend, is [already] six months pregnant in her advanced age after having been sterile, but everything is easy for God.”

At that point Mary said: “I am the servant of God, obedient to Him, as [to] your truthful words.”

Then the angel left her and her fear turned into joy. She thanked God with incomparably eloquent speech, as required for the obedience of God at [hearing] such elevated news, related from the prophets [concerning] the arrival | of the Intercessor of mankind, about which she had been reading in the Book.

7^b

For several days she did not divulge this secret to her husband Joseph, until she visited Elisabeth. Then her fetus John sprang up to him while [she was] kissing her, in order to greet him, saying: “Peace upon you, o Trustworthy Spirit of God!”¹⁶⁹ And Elisabeth said: “What a welcome event, that the mother of my Lord the Blessed One is visiting me!”

164 Luna: “porque Dios esta con vos.”

165 Luna: “hijo del alto.”

166 In his commentary, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī explains the Quranic expression: *wa-mā dhāltka ‘alā Allāh bi-‘azīz* with the words: *bal huwa hayyin ‘alā Allāh*, using the same words as our author.

167 The passage between square brackets is left untranslated in Luna’s translation. Dobelio, fol. 68^a: “San Lucas diçe *et filius altissimi vocabitur*, y el autor quiere que se diga spiritu y no hijo de Dios.”

168 Dobelio, fol. 68^a: “Despues alterando la doctrina del Euangelio, diçe que la Virgen pidio señal al angel para çertificarse, si era verdad lo que deçia: el Alcoran diçe lo mismo.”

169 Luna: “Saludo hijo de Dios verdadero.” Dobelio, fol. 68^b: “de donde se descubre que no quiere en ningun modo que se diga hijo de Dios.”

Joseph felt shocked but did not talk about that shock. Thereupon the angel came to him while [he was] asleep that night, and told him who our Lord Jesus was. So he said to the angel: “Make me a sign for that.” He answered: “The sign is: in radiant light there will be written on his back: ‘Jesus, the Truthful and Trustworthy Spirit of God.’”¹⁷⁰ He thanked God for that.

*Chapter on His Conception and the Miracles Thereof*¹⁷¹

My master James told me from the holy virgin Mary, from the angel Gabriel, that he had said to her concerning the blessings and virtues of our Lord Jesus that God had shown the parts of the Well-preserved Tablet¹⁷² that He saw fit
8^a [for that purpose] | to Moses, His kalīm,¹⁷³ on the Mountain of Al-Ṭūr.¹⁷⁴ Moses said to Him: “My God and my Lord, I see in the Tablet a nation¹⁷⁵ invoking one [punishment] for an evil deed, but ten [rewards] for a praiseworthy deed.”

He answered, speaking to him: “Moses, that [nation] will be at the end of time.”

He said: “My God, I see in the Tablet a nation upon whom your full mercy descends.”

He answered: “Moses, that [nation] will be at the end of time.”

He said: “My God and my Master, I see in the Tablet a nation reading the faults of all people, while the people [themselves] do not read their defects.”

170 Luna: “que sobre el con luz resplandiente ueras escrito: ‘Jesus hijo de Dios uera uerdad trayda al Mundo.’”

171 The chapter title was left blank in Luna’s translation. Luna annotated in the margin: “Aqui queda un blanco que no se a entendido por agora. M. de L.”

172 *Al-Lawḥ al-maḥfūz*, Islamic and Quranic concept par excellence. Luna obscures the Islamic nature of the expression and translates (here and elsewhere in our text): “su libro de sabiduria.” Dobelio, fol. 70^b, refers to “un libro muy antiguo intitulado Vida de los Prophetas (probably *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, K-W), quando introduçe a Moysen hauiendo tales preguntas diçe desta manera: ilāhī wa-sayyidi innī ra’aytu fi al-alwāḥ.” Parallels of the ideas following in the text are probably also to be found in the *Munājāt Mūsā* literature in Arabic and Aljamiado, see, for example, Villaverde Amieva, “Historia de Muça. Un relato aljamiado entre los descendientes de Moriscos exiliados en Túnez.”

173 Arabic: *kalīmuḥu*. In Islam and the Quran Moses is God’s kalīm, *kalīm Allāh*, viz. the person addressed by God directly.

174 Quranic name of the Mountain of Sinai. Luna: “La diction arabiga [tor] es nombre de monte y puede ser el Monte Sinay llamado de los arabes [torīḥinai] que quiere deçir monte Sinay. Aye de uer para esto las historias arabigas porque no se equivoque un monte con otro y se entienda de qual monte habla aqui, que hasta agora no se entiendo. M. de L.”

175 Arabic: *umma*, important Islamic and Quranic concept.

He answered: "I postponed them until the end of time, because they are my servants and I do not want to inform the people about their faults, and [also] that their bodies may remain on the earth only a few days."

He said: "My God and my Lord, I see in the Tablet the One Blessed by You [mentioned] in the *Tawrāt*. To which people in the world are You going to send him?"

He answered: "Moses, I will send him to the people mentioned [and] shown in the Tablet to you."

He said: "My God, describe to me his merit."

He answered: "Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets [before you]." 8^b

He said: "My God and my Lord, make me one of his family, so that I may obtain part of his superiority."

He answered: "Your wish will be fulfilled, Moses."

He said: "My God and my Lord, I ask of Your grace that you show me that I am seeing you."

He answered: "Moses, you should know that it is preordained in My knowledge that no human being will see me in the world with outward eyes, and I speak unto him only by revelation or from behind a veil."¹⁷⁶

He said: "My God and my Lord, show me part of Your Light."

At that moment God radiated on the mountain from the light of His venerable face the amount [of light] that shines through the eye of the needle of a tailor, whereupon it [i.e. the mountain] was crushed. Moses fell down on the ground dumbfounded, [and were it not for the grace granted to him before by the Tablets that God had made for him, he would have been broken by the rays of that light].¹⁷⁷ Thus the angels passed him by in his bewilderment, expressing their dislike of him to God and admonishing him to ask God's forgiveness for that sin.

When he had recovered from his bewilderment, he said: "My Lord, I repent to you; if you do not accept my repentance, forgive me and have mercy upon me, I will be lost."¹⁷⁸

176 Quranic.

177 The passage between square brackets left blank in Luna's translation.

178 At this point, Dobelio, fols. 70^b-75^b, draws a comparison between Exodus 33 and sura 6, concluding that the author follows the Quranic version of the story of Moses in his conversation with God, especially in his assumption that Moses had sinned by asking God's permission to see Him, a view absent in the Biblical story. Marracci, *Disquisitio*, fol. 20^a, refers here to Alcor. "Sect. 6 § 19" as the source for Moses's repentance. He adds that elsewhere in this book the same prayer is put into the mouth of others like Solomon and Peter. (See fols. 6^a and 21^a in our Arabic text and translation.)

9^a God answered him: | “Moses, I elected you through My message and my speech. Take with firmness what I have given to you, and do not neglect the invocation of God,¹⁷⁹ and belong to those who are grateful.¹⁸⁰ Admonish My servants and announce to them the Blessed One [mentioned] in the Scriptures as I have commanded you to do, and take with you your brother Aaron for that cause. I will fill you with light and knowledge through the Holy Spirit.”

At that moment the heavens and the earth trembled from fear of God, and all this points to the Blessed One, our Lord Jesus, and after him to the Spirit, in order to save the servants by the descent of God’s mercy [upon the (gathering) of the apostles].¹⁸¹ Because in his conception¹⁸² in the eastern part of the Holy Land in Naṣrān, and his cradle in Batlān—in other words, in the place where Holy Virgin Mary gave birth to him in the tūtrt (= ?)¹⁸³—the angel Gabriel descended upon her, while her husband Joseph was with her. And that house was filled for them by the angels with heavenly light and odor. The Throne, the heaven and the earth trembled, the divine mercy descended on earth and she bore him as a virgin, | as when she conceived him, in the month of *al-milād*.¹⁸⁴

After he had been sent, Joseph said that he wanted to witness his masculinity. Thus Joseph put his left hand on his pudendum, but [his, viz. Jesus’s] right hand withheld Joseph (from looking) out of shame, lest he be uncovered. So he gave up [pursuing] this purpose.¹⁸⁵

179 In the Arabic: *dhikr*. Luna: “el camino de mi serviçio.”

180 Dobelio, fol. 74^b, quotes sura 6 as the real source of the preceding sentences.

181 Luna: “y la venida del mismo Spirito quando uino sobre los apóstoles.” Luna adds in the margin: “Esta clausula esta obscura, es menester explicarlo mejor.”

182 Marracci, *Disquisitio*, fol. 100^b: “Sermo est de conceptione Christi, quam author uocat *intibādha*, nempe *discessum*. Nam apud *Camus* et omnes lexicographos linguae Arabicae *intabadha* est *discedere* aut *recedere*. Cur autem iste ita uocet conceptionem actiuam B. Virginis preter omnium usum, nulla potest afferi ratio, nisi quia in Alcorano sect. 19 de Maria § 14 loquens Mahometus de B. Virgine, quando recessit (ut ipse fingit) a suis, et in recessu concepit Christum, utitur hoc uerbo: *intabadhat*, dicens: *Et commemorata in Libro Mariam, quando recessit (intabadhat) a suis uersus locum orientale. Et misimus ad eam spiritum nostrum, qui dixit ei: Ego sum missus a Domino tuo, ut donem tibi puerum. Et uide qua ratione Noster dicat conceptionem Christi fuisse in parte orientali terrae sanctae scilicet in Nazareth: loquitur scilicet cum Alcorano. Nam alias certum est Nazareth esse in extrema parte occidentali terrae [fol. 101^a] sanctae.*”

183 Luna: “En el pesebre.”

184 December.

185 Luna: “quiso considerar su hermosura y perfeccion corporal y que boluio los ojos mirando y le uido que con las manos por honestidad tenia cubiertas las partes occultas y estonçes se abstuuo de aquel proposito por no uerlo.”

His birth took place in extreme cold, and snow had fallen that night. The angel had informed the shepherds who were around that dwelling place that they might¹⁸⁶ witness that place. And in their presence Gabriel wrote with radiant light on his back: “There is no god but God, Jesus is the Truthful and Trustworthy Spirit of God.”¹⁸⁷

And it is related from Joseph that he said: “The angel Gabriel informed holy virgin Mary that the name of the Blessed One had been written with radiant light on the trunk of the Throne,¹⁸⁸ before God created heavens and earth, and it means: the Savior of Mankind. And when he created them and the angels asked God about him, He related his mission to some of them, who were unable to endure that, which was the cause of their fall,” as we described in the book.¹⁸⁹

He has another name in the Well-Preserved Tablet, “Truthful and Trustworthy Spirit of God.”¹⁹⁰ | He has (also) a name in [the Leaves]¹⁹¹ of Abraham,¹⁹² ‘Hīd Mīd, Guide of Men towards [eternal] Bliss.’ It [also] contains another name, ‘Farūq Jamīṭ,’ which means: the one who separates truth from falsehood.¹⁹³ Among the prophets he is called ‘Ṭabṭabā,’ which means good, good. In the *Tawrāt* he is called the Blessed One (al-Man‘ūm), which is the one who leads men out of the darkness to the light. Then also his name is Al-Māhī, which means the one who eliminates infidelity from the world. In addition to this he has in the books of the prophets, apart from his name written on

10^a

186 The Arabic text has: “that they should not” (*allā*).

187 Luna: “le mostro Gabriel aquella luz referida sobre el que dezia no ay otro Dios sino Dios, Jesus hijo de Dios, uera uerdad trayda al Mundo.” Dobelio, fols. 77^b, refers to *Kitāb al-Anwār* by Al-Bakrī as a source “de donde se colige que todo lo que el autor de la vida de nuestro señor Ihesus ha sacado todo lo que diçe del nascimiento de Mahoma encubierto debaxo el nombre de Ihesus [...]” Dobelio stresses that the manuscript used by him had been copied in 694 Hijra in Denia. Similarly, Marracci, *Disquisitio* on fol. 25^a, with additional sources.

188 Luna: “en la presencia diuinal con luz resplandante,” concealing the throne and its trunk.

189 Probably a reference to *Kitāb Qawā'id al-Dīn* (LP1), where the punishment of the angels is dealt with at the very beginning. However, the same subject is dealt with in other Lead Books as well, e.g. in LP9. Luna: “assi como tenemos referido en escritura.”

190 Luna: “Spirito de Dios uerdadero que quiere decir enuaxador de la uerdad al Mundo.”

191 Left blank in Luna’s translation.

192 Quranic and Islamic concept par excellence.

193 Marracci, *Disquisitio*, fol. 36^b: “*Duo alia nomina* tribuit Christo author laminarum, nimirum *Fariq Jamīṭ*. Primum nomen Pharec significat *separans* et ita laminae ipsae interpretatur. Secundum relinquit sine interpretatione et quidem apparet manifeste esse prae scriptum. Debat enim pro *Jamīṭ* (*Gemi*), quod nihil significat, scribi *Jamīṭ* (*Gemih*) quod significant *congregator*, oppositum per antithesin priori.”

his back,¹⁹⁴ fifteen names.¹⁹⁵ And among the [extraterrestrial?] beings¹⁹⁶ there are seventy-seven names, but God knows best about His hidden world. To God belong the attributes which are innumerable. No one can count them but God [Himself].

He also said: “In that place on that night in which he was born, they saw neither cold nor death, but when any one of them left the place, he believed he would freeze to death. Yet that [same] night dry wood revived notwithstanding the extreme cold, and it bore fruit after seven years. And water bubbled up in its well, after ten years. Moreover, the silent angels talked in various spoken
 10^b languages with beautiful voices |, praising God for this event. Mercy descended upon men, and the sun and the moon were shining beyond [their] limit. The trees bowed to him,¹⁹⁷ [the jinns were reviled],¹⁹⁸ men put on clothes of piety in their hearts, while the demons were chased away. Idols were collapsing in the prayer-halls, while the stars were striking one against the other.¹⁹⁹ The hearts of the misguided became fearful.²⁰⁰ Herod rallied his assembly of scholars and informed them that an impostor of his law had been born in his land, and that he was confused, not knowing what to do.”²⁰¹

Let us now return to our Lord Jesus: he was circumcised on the eighth day of his birth in fulfilment of the religious precept.

Holy Virgin Mary said that the Trustworthy Gabriel informed her that God, on the day He created heavens and earth, had created a star the like of which he had not created among the [other] stars. He hid it [somewhere] in His cosmos until He sent our Lord Jesus. When he was sent, that star rose at the eastern
 11^a horizon. Three | kings from the people of Midian saw it, who were informed by

194 Luna: “sobre el.”

195 Dobelio, fols. 80^a–85^b, refers to parallels for these same names with reference to Muḥammad in two Islamic sources, viz. (1) “El autor del libro de la disputa contra Judios y Xristianos prouando con autoridades del Testamento Viejo y Nuevo” (= perhaps the work of Juan Alonso Aragonés, K-W), and (2) *Kitāb al-shifā*’ by al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ.

196 Arabic: *al-kā’ināt*. The precise meaning is not clear to us. Luna: “y los nombres occultos que tiene en la sabiduria de Dios son setenta y siete.”

197 Just as they did to Muḥammad.

198 Omitted in Luna’s translation.

199 Luna: “mostraron señales nouistas.”

200 For Islamic parallels of the preceding details related to Muḥammad, Dobelio, fols. 86^b–89^b, refers to *Kitāb al-Anwār* of Al-Bakrī, as well as to the Quran. Parallels to many of the preceding passages are in fact to be found in numerous works dealing with the *Sīra* of Muḥammad.

201 Dobelio, fol. 90^a, points out that the same remark is found in Islamic sources but with reference to Chosroes, King of the Persians.

way of the ancient stories of their ancestors, the signs whereof were that star. So they gathered and agreed to undertake a mission [following] those signs. They prepared themselves and their people and came out of the eastern parts of the earth to look for him.

After they had traveled the distance of one day, the angel Gabriel appeared to them in their dream: “Follow the star, which will guide you to your purpose. Wherever it stands still you will fulfil your mission.”

So they traveled towards the West, together with the star; they entered the City of Jerusalem,²⁰² in whose land the star stood still. They asked the people: “Where is the place where the lord of the rightly guided Israelites was brought to life? We saw a star in the East as a sign of his birth and we came to adore him for that matter.”

At that moment the king remembered the words said in his meeting, and he ordered them once again to look into that matter.

The kings passed to Batlān, rightly guided, [and] they entered upon him and his mother, believing in him. They gave him part of their money and donated to him a vessel of gold, incense and myrrh.

That night there appeared to them | in their dream a vision of the angel Gabriel: “Kings, return safely to your land through another road than the one you came by.” So they did. 11^b

The angel said to Joseph: “Travel with the child and its mother to Egypt, because Herod the King is killing the children because of Jesus. He has killed three hundred children [already].” So he traveled that [same] night, but Satan, his enemy, informed Herod in his dream telling him about his journey. Therefore his servants together with his council went out to pursue him.²⁰³

At that moment Gabriel descended in the form of a man who was guarding a field with young crops from birds near their road to the land of Egypt. They asked him: “Slave, did you see people passing by in front of us with a small child on their back?”²⁰⁴

He answered: “Yes, I saw them passing by at the time this crop was planted.” And he was right, because a miracle of God had made it grow at once in order to save our Lord Jesus.

²⁰² In the Arabic original: Jarjalān.

²⁰³ Luna translates here: “[Y assi salio Ibrabii] su criado con mucha gente.” Hagerty: “Y assi salió en su seguimiento Abrahe, su criado, con mucha gente.” Hagerty annotates (109 note 48): “Es posible que este nombre recuerde a Abraha, el jefe abisinio que atacó la Meca en la época preislámica.”

²⁰⁴ The Arabic *al-kāhil* = “upper part of the back.” See CDAAS.v.khl (quoting the *Vocabulista in Arabico*, often attributed to Ramón Martí). Luna: “en brazos.” Hagerty/Estepa (1997): “en pañales.”

12^a The people said: “Days have passed by since that | matter; we will not be able to reach them.” Therefore they returned from behind him by God’s will, whose order cannot be reversed.

Thus Joseph and Mary traveled unto the land of Egypt on the [...] ²⁰⁵ of a mountain in front of which there was a plain. Mary wept bitterly because of her exile and her need of everything, as hunger and thirst and the separation from her family had exhausted her. Nevertheless she said to God: “My God and my Lord, I am patiently obeying your commandment and you know about my patience.” Joseph wept similarly. Then the Trustworthy Gabriel descended to them and said to her: “Mary, do not despair; God is with you.” Thereupon the mountain trembled and by the will of God the construction of a house was begun. At its door grew a tree which stilled their hunger every day. At once there descended heavenly food with which to nourish them. The earth opened and a delicious spring flowed out for those who wanted to drink. Jesus wore a dress of heavenly silk such that, with God’s permission, no one could perceive them. | He preserved them [there] until a [later] time, He would command whatever He wished.²⁰⁶

My master James told from Joseph that he had said: “By God, I never knew a more beautiful odor than the odor of Jesus, neither a figure superior to his, a nicer smile than his smile, or a more radiant light than his light and splendor than his light, or a better person than he.”²⁰⁷

They remained in that cave dwelling for seven years and three months, without anyone taking notice of them. Joseph learning how to manufacture ladles, while Virgin Mary assisted him, so that both of them would refrain from idleness. They brought them [those ladles] to the town of F.r.ḍiyya²⁰⁸ and distributed them as alms among the poor. They were worshipping God night and day, without neglecting any of that for even the twinkling of an eye. And they nourished themselves from the tree that fully provided them with their needs every day.

Our lord Jesus used to play on the mountain, taking into his hands a poisonous snake that did not bite him. He [also] walked on the sea²⁰⁹ but did not

205 Luna: “una parte de tierra llana”; Hagerty, 109: “sobre la cima de un monte.”

206 Dobelio, fols. 95^b–96^a, draws a parallel here with suras 22 and 18 and some relevant Quranic commentaries.

207 Dobelio, fols. 99^a–101^b, refers to various Islamic sources, like *Kitāb al-shifāʾ*, Al-Ghazzālī, al-Bakrī, for parallels to these qualities of Jesus, especially his odor, in descriptions of Muḥammad.

208 Luna: “y lleuauala al pueblo de Caridiata y las daua por amor de Dios.” Hagerty: “Y venía con ellos a la ciudad de Phardiet y dávalas a pobres.”

209 Luna: “y se pasaua por las aguas del Nilo.”

drown in it. When his mother finished her religious exercise, he lowered his eyes, took her right leg²¹⁰ | and kissed it, while laying down his body on the ground and reclining on his head, while he said to her: “My mother, I was commanded to be righteous towards God and you. My merit lies not in [my] faith, but my merit from God lies in my obedience towards Him and you.” He never interrupted the holy invocation of God. When he slept he was sleeping on his right side, and he put his right hand under his right cheek and his left hand on his left thigh.²¹¹ His sleep was light, and Gabriel and the angels were protecting him with love by the commandment of God from everything feared as noxious. 13^a

When the assigned time was fulfilled, the angel Gabriel said to them: “Return to the Holy Land, because God has destroyed your enemy and your dwelling-place will be Naṣrān. This is what God promised you through me.” At that moment Joseph lost the fear that had surrounded him [all the time].

My master James told from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “I took Jesus by the hand and Joseph [took] my hand in his hand. | Gabriel traversed the earth and immediately we arrived at Naṣrān. We entered it without anybody recognizing us, until we told the people about our journey. They rejoiced, and Jesus and John greeted their nieces with great affection; nothing at all failed them both after their spiritual separation and [due to] the love through God’s blessing that had been awarded to them both before. But God protected him [John] in the caves of the earth, as He preserved Jesus in order to do whatever He wished, as was preordained in His knowledge of old.” 13^b

Again also my master James said from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: “From the day he entered Naṣrān, our Lord Jesus, as a human being, did not stop invoking God,²¹² because he was in reality a human being. Most often he would eat dates, barley bread, and honey. Apart from that he did not touch any food. When he felt appetite he ate, but when he had no appetite, he left it.²¹³ The odor of bliss was upon him. | That odor would remain in any place he had entered, without ever being extinguished.” 14^a

210 Luna: “su mano derecha.”

211 Like Muḥammad, as Dobelio, fol. 102^b, points out with reference to Al-Ghazzālī.

212 In Arabic: *Lam yaftur bi-al-insaniyya min dhikr Allāh.*

213 Dobelio, fol. 104^{a-b}, refers to the Islamic sources for parallels of the simple food eaten by Muḥammad.

Chapter about his Baptism²¹⁴ in the River of the Proof²¹⁵

John, Jesus's maternal cousin, said in a quotation from [Jesus] himself that, having reached the age of thirty years, in other words the age at which Adam was created,²¹⁶ he was ordered to divulge the secret God had confided to him in order to save Adam and his offspring. He commanded him to baptize the people in His name and to bring them good tidings. He went out to the desert of the Land of the Jews,²¹⁷ behind the River of the Proof, while preaching the glad tidings that God's Grace was drawing near. He did not return to the inhabited world, but was eating locusts, honey and plants, while baptizing people who flocked to him from everywhere, who were confessing their sins. Some people asked him: "Saint, are you the one whom we are waiting for, or not?" He answered them: "I baptize you with holy water, but I say to you: the one who will come after me is higher than I in rank, and I am not worthy to carry his sandals."²¹⁸

¹⁴^b Then Jesus came to him, saying: | "Baptize me!" He answered: "How shall I baptize you while I am obliged to be baptized by you [myself]?" He answered: "All of us are equal in that [respect] in the Law (*al-sharī'a*)." So he baptized him with water in the holy River of the Proof.²¹⁹ Heaven opened and the earth shone with light and the Holy Spirit of God descended upon him in the shape of a dove. And lo, there was a call from near God: "You are My beloved Spirit and My delight!"²²⁰

When he had finished this, Satan attempted to seduce him [again], saying to him before the mountain in the shape of an old man: "Say: God is the creator of the heavens and the earth. There is no Lord but He!"

Our Lord Jesus answered him: "I say that [indeed], but I do not say that because you said so. Leave me alone, you cursed one!" At that moment he

²¹⁴ We read the Arabic as *tuhrihi*. This same word is used in the meaning of "baptism" in various other Lead Books. The single and only lexicographical source providing the meaning of "baptism" for *tuhūrun* and *tuhrun* is the Leiden Mozarabic Latin-Arabic Glossary, s.v. *Babtismum* (see also in DS s.v. *ṭhr*, and in GAA, s.v. *ṭhr*). This indicates that the author of the Lead Books might have used ancient Mozarabic sources to coin the Arabic terms for Christian concepts and customs to be used in the Lead Books.

²¹⁵ Wadī al-Burhān, playful reference to the River Jordan. (Elsewhere: Al-Wadī al-Burhānī).

²¹⁶ Luna: "la perfecta edad de consistençia en laqual crio Dios a nuestro padre Adan."

²¹⁷ An implicit reference to Judea.

²¹⁸ Luna: "de limpiar sus çapatos."

²¹⁹ Here: *al-wadī al-burhānī al-muqaddās*.

²²⁰ Compare Luke 3:22: "Thou art my beloved *son*; in thee I am well pleased." Note that the word *son* was replaced by the words *Holy Spirit*. Luna: "uos soys mi hijo amado en quien esta todo mi contento y gozo."

ascended the mountain, to adore God there. And he fasted on it for forty days and nights, without being filled by any food.

When he had completed that fast, Satan tempted him [again] saying: “Jesus, you are now overcome by hunger and need. If you are God’s Spirit,²²¹ then make from that [...] a loaf of bread.”²²²

He answered him: “Man lives not by bread alone,²²³ but his life is in the Word of God. Leave me alone, you cursed one!” He then parted from him.

And he attempted to seduce him | two more times by various means of seduction. But he chased him away. 15^a

Holy Virgin Mary said: “By God, had he answered the call of Satan, after him none of the holy servants of God would be saved from falling to shame. But God rescued him from that temptation.”

Having finished this, he began to preach obedience to God the Exalted and entrance into Heaven. He went down to the coast of the Lake of Galilee at Tiberias.²²⁴ He chose seventy believing men similar to the seventy men Moses chose to keep him close company. From them he privileged twelve, whose names were Peter, James, John his brother, Bartholomew,²²⁵ Philemon,²²⁶ Idrīs,²²⁷ Matthew,²²⁸ Thomas,²²⁹ James Alfeo, Simeon the Canaanite,²³⁰ Thaddeus,²³¹ Judas al-Athraṭī.²³² After that he completed [their] number [again] to seventy, while adding two more, but some of them became sinful after him. Those twelve he called apostles, similar to the twelve runners (*sawāṭī*) of the Israelites with whom Moses crossed the sea.²³³ | He asked them: “Will you help God?” They answered: “Yes!” He then remained with them on a mountain. 15^b

221 Luna: “hijo de Dios.”

222 The Arabic reads: *fa-’sna’ min dhālīka al-salām ni’ma*. One would have expected a word denoting “stone.” For *ni’ma* in the meaning of “bread”, see DS II, 692; this meaning is not given in CDAA.

223 We read the Arabic as follows: *Laysa bi-ni’matin ḥaddan* (= *ḥaddan*, = *bi-al-tahdīd*) *huwa ya’īsh al-insān*.

224 Arabic: *saḥīl baḥr Ghalāliya al-Tabariya*.

225 The name is given in the original Arabic as Martulumiyuh, but we presume there is a scribal error here. (This error may, of course, have occurred already in the author’s source).

226 Filibūn.

227 Here and elsewhere in our text *Idrīs*, instead of *Andreas*.

228 The name is given in the original Arabic as *Matāyūh*.

229 Arabic: *Tumah*.

230 Arabic: *Shim’ūn al-Qanānī*.

231 Arabic: *Tadiyūh*.

232 Judas Iscariot.

233 Luna: “los 12 tribus de los hijos de Ysrael.”

They asked him: “Our lord, tell us what we should do and [what path] should we follow?”

He answered them: “Blessed are the poor who are patient, because for them is prepared the Paradise of Heaven. Blessed are the merciful, because God will have mercy upon them. Blessed are the pure of heart, because they will see the face of God. Blessed are those who weep over their sins, because God will give them patience. Blessed are the rightly guided,²³⁴ because they are the children of God. Blessed are those who are in need of justice (*sharʿ*), because they belong to the inhabitants of the Paradise of Heaven. Blessed are you if you have been taken prisoner and are persecuted on your flight for my sake. Rejoice, because your reward is on God in Heaven, because all that has been fulfilled by the prophets before you. You are the salt of the earth. Obey God, and He will
16^a guide you along the right way.” |

Chapter About His Miracles

My master James said: “The power of a miracle of God was possessed by our lord Jesus or ascribed to him, so that, when his name was mentioned over a dead person, [that one] would be revived thereby. But God reserved him for another purpose in His preordained knowledge.”²³⁵

We will now return to the mission he was sent for. My aforementioned master said that God sent Moses in the time of magicians, and he sent Jesus in the time of the sick,²³⁶ in order to reveal His power and His splendor, even though the infidels detest it.²³⁷ When the assigned time for Jesus to reveal his miracles had been fulfilled, he chose from his companion apostles Peter, whose name was Simeon before he [entered] the faith, our master James and his brother John the son of al-Zabādī.²³⁸ He ascended with them the Mountain of al-Ṭūr,²³⁹

234 In Matt. 5:1–12 those who will be called the children of God are the “peacemakers.” In Quranic language the “rightly guided” (*al-mahdīn*) are Muslims who are following the right path by God’s guidance, rather than Jews or Christians. Luna: “paçificos.”

235 Luna: “que nuestro Señor Jesus no le auia embiado Dios para manifestar la potencia que tiene sino para redimir al mundo porque si su contento fuera manifestarla con mentar solo el nombre de Jesus sobre el sepulcro de un muerto resuscitara, mas este mysterio de potencia dexole Dios reseruado para quando fuere su uoluntad como tiene determinado en su sabiduria.”

236 Dobelio, fol. 111^a–113^b, refers to *k. Zād al-wāʿiẓ wa-rawḍ al-ḥāfiẓ* (a book of sermons) for Islamic parallels to this idea.

237 “*Wa-law kariha al-kāfirūn*”: Quranic expression.

238 This name refers, of course, to Zebedee, but let us keep in mind that Al-Zabādī = “milkman.”

239 Reference to the Quranic name of the mountain that Moses climbed to talk with God.

to the place where God spoke to Moses, His Spokesman.²⁴⁰ He stood between them and his light shone and his face reflected a radiant light by which the rays of the sun were eclipsed, and the earth and the garment lighted like snow. Moses | al-Kalīm had appeared there at his right and Elijah at his left side. He told them: “With which good tiding have you been sent to the world?” 16^b

They answered: “With [the message] that you are the Spirit of God [and] the Mediator of Men through the Venerable Gospel.”²⁴¹ They then saw a veil in the clouds which radiated a dazzling light. The mountain trembled and an angel spoke, and lo a call from near God was saying: “This is my Spirit and my pleasure!”²⁴² When they heard that they fell to the earth, dumbfounded and frightened.

He said to them: “Stand up and fear not, because God is with you.” They lifted their faces and saw only our lord Jesus alone between them. Then, when they descended the mountain, he commanded them to preserve this secret which they had seen until after the resurrection of the Son of Man.

Peter the apostle said: | “Our lord Jesus did not take any moment’s rest from the times of prayers. And he performed a miracle only for the reason of [providing] proof [of his mission], as on the day when he fed five thousand hungry men, without [counting] the children and women, with five loaves of barley bread and two fishes.” 17^a

Nothing was asked of him without his complying with the person’s request. Whenever he was asked to administer justice, he applied the religious rules according to the essence of the Law. He never uttered a lighthearted word, but he cured those born blind, the lepers, the blinded, the lame, the handicapped, the deaf and the dumb. He forgave sins, revived the dead, cured and guided the poor among the descendants of Adam through the venerable Gospel. He walked on the lake without drowning, he summoned the winds and they stopped blowing.²⁴³ The jinns obeyed him and he drove out the demons from the people. He fathomed the greatest of secrets in their hearts.

Nobody can describe his miracles, | their causes and their virtues, and no one can write them down. Holy Virgin Mary said about him that he told her that the number of his greater miracles was like the number of the Children of Israel whom Moses freed from oppression and with whom he split the sea 17^b

240 Arabic: *kalīmahu*. In Islam, Moses has the epithet Kalīm Allāh.

241 Arabic: *bi-al-injīl al-‘azīz*, applying to the Gospel the Islamic epithet of the Quran: *al-qur’ān al-‘azīz*. Luna: “que uos soys hijo de Dios el redemptor del genero humano.”

242 Luna: “este es mi hijo amado en quien esta todo mi contento.”

243 Luna: “y subia por el ayre y no se caya.”

to complete his goal, because the liberation of every one of them from the power of Pharaoh was a miracle, which signifies his miracles to cure hearts with faith, as their liberation signifies the liberation of the Children of Adam from the sea of this world to the bliss of the Hereafter, [just as] the apostles signify the liberation of man from the danger of the world to [eternal] bliss in order to fulfil the law. And after he had completed the aforementioned number [of miracles], he fulfilled the commandment to leave the world and ascend to heaven. The apostles passed after him, together with the army of the faithful, the sea of the world and the limbo and their dangers, and he led them | from misery to bliss, as Moses had passed the sea with the runners of the Children of Israel and his army to the land promised to them, whereby the promise was fulfilled. May He make us belong to the saints, Amen.

Chapter on his Good Qualities and his Character, as well as of his Mother Mary

My master James said that Holy Virgin Mary was asked about the character of our lord Jesus. She answered: "If you want to know his character, you should know that it is [identical to] the Gospel. If you know it, you know Jesus's character, all of it."²⁴⁴ Thus also Joseph, her husband, said about the angel Gabriel that he informed him that the children of Adam and his wife Eve were of outstanding form and of the most beautiful character which God created, because He formed them both with the hands of His might and blew [His] spirit into them both. David, the prophet of God, was similar to them, and Joseph the son of Jacob was also similar in nature and character. [Also] Zā'iḥa²⁴⁵ was similar to Eve in nature and character. | Jesus and his mother Mary surpassed all of them by far as both of them were attached to all the prophets in nature and character, and in knowledge and magnanimity. Not [a single beautiful] young man could ever equal them.²⁴⁶ His stature was straight, his backside wide, his breast high, his face round, his skin wheat-colored, his hair had the color of ripened dates. His face was beautiful, his gaze full of mercy, both in public

244 Inspired by the Hadith: *kāna khuluquhu al-qur'ān* (with reference to Muḥammad): Muslim, *musāfirūn*, 139; Abū Dāwūd, *taṭawwu'*, 26; Ibn Ḥanbal, VI, 54.91, 163.216. Apud Addas, *Quest for the red sulphur*, 44.

245 Luna: "Zenobia"; Hagerty: "Raquel."

246 The following physical descriptions of Jesus find their origin (directly or indirectly) in various hadiths. See EQ s.v. *Jesus*, physical description (Robinson). Dobelio, fol. 126^a, 128^b–131^a, refers here to many parallels in descriptions of Muḥammad in *Kitāb al-shifā'* and Al-Ghazzālī.

and in the deepest of secrets. No human being would meet him without his heart being inclined towards him. He would leave him only against his own will.

Also his mother's stature was straight, her skin wheat-colored, her face round, her breast high, her hair had the color of the hair of her son. Her excellent qualities and her character were like his. No one would wish a meeting with her to be devoid of her presence, unless against one's own will.

Chapter of his Demise

When our lord Jesus had completed his preaching, he entered Jerusalem | and said to the Apostles: "Don't you know that the announced time has come for the son of man to be crucified?" 19^a

It was the Feast of the Sheep. Thus he took dinner with them at a table. After he had divided the bread, he gave them of it, saying: "Eat, because this is my body." And after having finished eating, he took a large glass²⁴⁷ and said: "Drink, this is my fresh blood shed in the [...] ²⁴⁸book."

He then said to them: "In this night the shepherd will be taken away and his sheep will be dispersed."

Peter asked: "Who is the shepherd?"

He answered: "That is I."

Peter said: "I will leave you [only] in death."

He answered him: "In this same night you will deny me three times, before the crowing of the cock."

At that time the ruler in Rome was Tiberius Caesar and his governor in Jerusalem was Pilate. The Pharisees looked for our lord Jesus to crucify him by false witnesses. | When they entered the garden, viz. the place where he used to invoke his Lord, the Apostles dispersed and lost all their confidence. But God took him to Himself through the angel.²⁴⁹ 19^b

247 Arabic: *qumṣāl*; see CDAA s.v. *qmṣl*.

248 At this place there is a hole in the original, allowing for (no more than) two letters. Luna: "eso es mi sangre del nuevo testamento."

249 We read: *wa-lakīn* (= *wa-lākin*) *tawaffāhu* (= *tawaffāhu*) *Allāh w'dh* (= *wa'dahu*) *bi-al-malak*: "God made him die/ took him to Himself through the angel". This is clearly inspired by the Quran. Cf. i.a. S. 3:54–55. Most commentaries assume that these verses refer to the Jews' plot against Jesus's life and God's counter-plot to rescue him by having them crucify a look-alike substitute. There are more parallels and details in EQ s.v. Jesus (Robinson). Luna: "Mas ya le auia Dios explicado su determinada uoluntad por medio del angel." Hagerty: "mas hizole haber pavor Dios y confortole por medio de un angel." The translation used by Dobelio, fol. 135^a, reads: "por esto Dios los castigò y les prometio el Reyno." Marracci,

The one who sold him for a fixed price of silver, Judas, said to them: “Take the one kissed as the person sold.” So they took the afflicted [one] who was exemplified in the *Tawrāt* and they carried him to the judge, but he found no cause against him. However, the Jews demanded that he be whipped, and Pilate chastised him, putting a turban of thorns on his head.

He told him: “Don’t you know that I can crucify you if I wish, and set you free if I wish?”

He answered him: “You have no power over me, apart from the [might] given to you by Him who dwells in Heaven.”

20^a So, because of the obstinate Jews, he sent him to be crucified, and he was crucified between two thieves, as | was their customary penalty. They opened his breast with a stick and gave him myrrh and vinegar to drink.²⁵⁰ Before his time [had come], he said: “My God, my God, why hast thou [forsaken] me?” And he said: “It is fulfilled.” At that moment the earth trembled enormously, the sun sank, darkness spread, and the new moon appeared. The stars were striking each other and the veil of the prayer-hall was torn down, while the dead were revived from their graves. But the people feared and were bewildered, saying: “Undoubtedly, this was no one else than the Spirit of God, but we have done great injustice to ourselves.”²⁵¹

20^b After this, his family took him by permission and laid him in the grave. They sought news of him after three days but did not find him. Then our lord Jesus appeared to the Apostles saying: “Did I not say to you when I was living among you that whoever will see me after my demise | will have seen me truly?” They answered: “Yes”. He answered: “I am your teacher, teach the Gospel²⁵² to all men in the world. Whosoever repents, believes, is baptized with water and performs good deeds will be saved. But whosoever does not do that will perish.”

Disquisitio, fols. 104^a–107^a, recognized the Quranic meaning of *tawaffāhu* and presents a long discussion about the implications of this passage for the understanding of the story of Jesus’s passion as presented in these Lead Books. He suggests, among other things, that the systematic absence of any reference to the name of Jesus in the passion story as presented here casts doubt about the true identity of the person crucified, in accordance with Islamic doctrine.

250 Dobelio, fol. 142^a: “Despues, quando San Marcos diçe que el vino era mezclado con myrra; el autor diçe que era vinagre; pienso que lo haria por euitar el escandolo que causaria, si dixera vino por ser vedado en su ley, por este pone vinagre en lugar de vino.”

251 Luna: “sin duda ninguna este es hijo de Dios.”

252 Marginal annotation by Luna: “En el original de este libro en este lugar ay una parte escrita con quatro letras, no se entienden ni leen porque no son arabigas parecen hebreas. Miguel de Luna.” In fact, after the word *al-injil*, a space was left open in the original Lead Book of about one word. Luna’s remark is a mystifying.

Holy Virgin Mary said: “The first [person] he visited after his demise was she.” After that, during forty days he visited her every night,²⁵³ and other people God wished (to be visited by him) after her. When that period had been completed, he ascended to heaven.

[And it was transmitted] from Idrīs the Apostle that he had said: “When Peter realized his sin of denying [him], while Jesus during his life had told him: ‘You are a stone and on this stone I will found my Holy House,²⁵⁴ I give you the vicariate (*al-khilāfa*) on earth to loosen and to bind, as well as the keys of heaven. Whomsoever you will justly bind will be bound in heaven, and whomsoever you will loosen, will be loosened’,—he was overcome by repentance and he wept so profoundly over his sin that his eyes dried out, while the flesh | of his face stuck to his bones through fasting. His prayer was: ‘My God and Lord, I repent to you, and if you do not accept my repentance and forgive me and have mercy upon me I will be lost.’ And after seven years and three months he was praying in the cave while the night was coming, (and) lo and behold a voice from the side of God was saying to him: ‘Peter, cease your ailing, I have forgiven you!’”

21^a

Holy Mary said: “Our father Adam, God’s Prophet David and his son Solomon were weeping profoundly over their sins.²⁵⁵ Both of them were forgiven, but the vicar (*al-khalīfa*) Peter surpassed them both in weeping, while he was the first to weep over his sins after the demise of our lord Jesus, but God’s grace for him was great.”

Beneath all these events there are marvelous mysteries and a great enigma known to and grasped by God alone and those of His servants He wishes. First of all, I wished to be brief | and to omit long-windedness. I described a part of [those matters] that God granted me, whereas my goal was to describe the life of our lord Jesus, his miracles until his demise, while omitting the secrets beneath all that to whomever God will grant a higher degree and [a greater] portion than me. If I have missed anything in this book, I did not omit it [out of negligence] but I hid it because of a necessity which God will make known through the Apostles and their reports to the servants he wishes. God be praised for everything. He is the first and the last, all knowledge is with Him. He who preserved me to finish this book, though the writing of it was completed by

21^b

253 In accordance with Islamic mourning customs.

254 Luna: “mi yglesia catholica.”

255 Dobelio, fols. 148^b–154^b, provides a long discussion of the Islamic stories on Solomon, including his weeping, as an additional argument for his theory of the Islamic background and intention of the work and its author.

myself as well as by my brother and assistant Cecilio, during the illness that befell me, may God grant him and all his holy servants a share in Paradise, Amen!

To God belongs the Unity!

There is no god but God; Jesus is the Spirit of God!²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ This is the central creed of the Lead Books, written within a constellation of five small six-pointed stars, marking the end of the book. Luna: "No ay otro Dios sino Dios; Jesus hijo de Dios."

LP8

*Book of the Utmost Instruments of Power, Clemency and Justice in Creation*²⁵⁷ 1^b

Book of the Utmost Instruments of Power, Clemency and Justice in the Creation by Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā, disciple of James the Apostle, the Defender of Religion and Evangelist.²⁵⁸ 2^a

God is clement and powerful over everything; praiseworthy by His forceful power, love and will over His servants.

Alif. He is the great Creator; there is no rejecting His order²⁵⁹ when He issues an order.

Bāʾ. He stands alone in glory and everlastingness in lofty greatness, and He is omnipresent.

Tāʾ. He is the first and last, nothing is before Him or after Him.

Thāʾ. His beginning has no start, neither is there a conclusion to his ending.²⁶⁰

Jīm. Those who reflect do not grasp the quiddity of His essence, neither can anyone describe Him.

Ḥāʾ. But faith reaches more [of His essence] than science²⁶¹ and understanding, through obedience of the Scriptures and the Prophets and the Holy Faithful Church.

Khāʾ. Omitting quarreling, being vile and expressing doubt, contrary to faith, is of a higher level and a good victory as well as a grace.

Dāl. Our goal in this book is to describe the utmost of His power in clemency and in justice in the creation, which is an appropriate matter.

Dhāl. But His kingship is over everything. No one else's power reaches Him, perforce.

Rāʾ. And to His kingship there is no end ever, because He would be in need of anything or because of the disappearance of (?).²⁶² His order and everlastingness are equally alive.

257 Castillo: "Libro dilucidatorio de la grandeza, misericordia, y justicia que Dios administra en lo que cria."

258 Castillo: "Defensor de la ley euangelica."

259 Castillo: "no hay falta en su mandado."

260 Repetition of elements of LP 2; see also LP 1.

261 Castillo: "la sabiduría que del se puede tener."

262 Arabic: *al-malāʾ*. Castillo: "Y no dexara de ser su Reyno para siempre por causa de necesidad o diminucion de honor, mas empero su uoluntad y obra y bondad es amor sin cessar eternalmente."

2^b *Zāy*. | He is the purpose of mankind, but He does not need man to ascend to Him.

Ṭāʾ. He is in no need of anything that tries to approach Him frequently, whereas nothing can do without Him.

Zāʾ. His eternal knowledge is grasped by no one of His servants, except for what He wishes, out of grace.

Kāf. In His clear, well-preserved Tablet²⁶³ He effaces and confirms whatever He wishes. He encompasses everything by His knowledge, nothing escapes Him.

Lām. Every existing thing He created was created by Him out of grace.

Mīm. But He knows [...] and is able to bring it back to life.²⁶⁴

Nūn. When He said between *kāf* and *nūn*: be! (*kun*),²⁶⁵ it came into existence [even] before the letters were closely connected.²⁶⁶

Ṣād. Whatever He makes manifest increases in power and will. By His love He sends a light like a mustard seed from whatever did not exist, in order to realize the great matters and the illusions He wishes.

Dād. Obedience is of no use to Him to increase His kingship, and no transgressing hurts Him by attaching a shortcoming to Him.

Ayn. He arranged everything He created and brought it to perfection by resurrection.

Ghayn. He made it to measure in order to mark its abode through clemency, law and justice.

3^a *Fāʾ*. So that both humans and jinns | would obtain requital for their deeds.²⁶⁷

Qāf. He favored Adam and the angels over His [other] creatures, in that they would obtain, because of their desires, good or ill, in accordance with their deeds.

Sīn. That was the reason of His preordained decision to pass whatever judgment He wanted.

Shīn. Praise to Him, He is far elevated beyond polytheism and oppression,²⁶⁸ over thoughts and ideas, over slumber and sleep, altogether.

Hāʾ. He is our God, our Creator, our Reckoner, our Rewarder, our Savior, our Merciful [One], we have no other Lord than He!

263 *Al-Lawḥ al-maḥfūz*, a well-known Quranic notion. Castillo: “su libro de sabiduría muy cierto.”

264 Castillo: “empero con sabiduria y prouidenciā dio ser a lo que crio.”

265 Quran, for example, S. 2:117.

266 Castillo: “Y entre la q y la n en diciendo que es hecho por su poderío antes que se junten las dos letras con el alif.”

267 Castillo: “Y para que puedan conseguir las dos naturalezas humana y angelica.”

268 A reference to the situation of the Moriscos in the author’s time.

Wāw. From Him come all blessings for His servants out of mercy and grace, as well as the evil [that comes from] going against His order through the mind and through Satan, falling upon us together (?).²⁶⁹

Lām Alif. All this, so that He will execute whatever He wishes. He enlightens the minds by guidance out of grace, and He leads the oppressor into error out of justice. No one knows that matter, but all that is through justice, mercy and grace. And everything | is dealt with by Him with equity and justice. God does not commit injustice to any of His servants. 3^b

Alif. When James, son of Shamikh, our teacher, was together with the apostles on the Mountain of the Figs in the company of our lord Jesus, he asked him for his judgment on their behalf.

Bā'. Tell us, o Spirit of God, who is the most excellent creature in grace?

Tā'. He answered: The light of Adam in the presence of the Holy was the first created [matter].²⁷⁰

Thā'. And from it, He arranged everything with perfection.

Thā'. It was the most excellent creature, in generation and origin.

Ĵīm. And from then on God loved him dearly; no harm ever touched him.²⁷¹

Ḥā'. Except by reason of what he desired, because of God's predestined will, to make him reach a doubly higher rank.²⁷²

Khā'. Our words about that perfection have a purpose.

Khā'. When our Lord created in the beginning heavens and earth with corporality ...

Dāl. And light and darkness He placed in nature as counterparts.

Dhāl. And the waters, both of which He separated on the earth and | on His throne, while making between them a creation. 4^a

Rā'. And He designed the lower waters on the earth as a sea.

Zāy. He planted on the earth plants and seeds and fruits from all kinds of taste, generation and nature.

Zāy. And He created the sun and the moon in heaven with splendid light so that the calculation of the number of times might be known, as well as the alternation of night and day, with the radiant stars, lighting²⁷³ the throne.

269 Castillo: de la sensualidad y del demonio con grauamen.

270 Castillo: "la luz de Adan en la estancia del Parayso fue la primera criatura humana." I.m. "Hasta allí son palabras de Christo y luego en adelante habla el autor."

271 Castillo: "que por entonces no le toco el peccado ni le offendio."

272 Castillo: "Sino fue por causa de la concupisciencia en la qual ouo providençia de Dios para auer en el Mundo trauaxo, y la claridad que nosotros podemos dar en esto es muy poca." (The text refers here to Adam's future elevation to Paradise.)

273 Reading: *iqā'an*.

Ṭāʾ. And the separation of darkness from light, by His order.²⁷⁴

Ẓāʾ. He created everything sizable alive on land, in the sea and in the air: cattle, fish and birds, both female and male, ordering them to procreate.

Kāf. All that in six days, providing them with a spirit, completely.

Lām. He infused their movement into every heaven, in order to adjust their calculation.

4^b *Mīm*. The number of the angels can be counted | only by Him, next to whom we have no other Lord.

Nūn. It was decreed that one of them, because of God's revelation of His blessings, would be a human being.

Ṣād. [However] they could not endure him, against their delight and their aspirations out of desire leading to corruption of their obedience.

Ḍād. This was the reason of the ruin inflicted upon Adam by the Seducer from among them, in animosity.

Ṣād. He created man from His spirit with two spirits, and He privileged them over His other creatures.²⁷⁵

ʿAyn. He ordered everything to be guided towards him, by free will or by force.

Ghayn. That order is a convincing proof of our words. God Himself is the witness of the truth of our words!

Ghayn. But He created everything because of Adam, and He created Adam on behalf of Himself, as a servant.

Fāʾ. This was related from Gabriel to the Holy Virgin Mary, who transmitted these words to our master James, who spoke to us about it truthfully.

5^a *Qāf*. About the Garden God had prepared for Adam as a delight. | There was no cold in it nor heat, only peace and justice.

Sīn. In it was everything souls desire of fruits and livelihood, of taste and pleasure.

Shīn. God created for Adam from the natural dispositions²⁷⁶ of those who inhabited the earth an opposite which he placed in that Garden out of love.

Hāʾ. After having met them, he asked Him [however] readily for a reward.

Wāw. My God, delight my loneliness; give me someone similar to me as a companion.

Lām Alif. Because of his supplication, he fell into a deep sleep.

Yāʾ. Then God took out of his rib Eve, as a help and a companion.

Alif. When he awakened from his sleep, he saw her with love and tenderness.

274 Castillo: "mediante el el espíritu y su providencia."

275 Quranic.

276 Castillo: "los elementos puros."

Bāʿ. God clothed them out His mercy with robes, and gave them precious ornaments and rings with pearls.

Tāʿ. He fed them with what He wanted and strictly forbade them the tree | in the middle. 5^b

Tāʿ. You, inhabitants of the Garden, do not come near to it and do not eat it, at all!

Thāʿ. I warn you against committing a great wrong.

Thāʿ. I warn you that Satan is an evident foe towards you.

Jīm. The desire I gave you, act justly with it. If you act justly, no harm will ever touch you.

Hāʿ. But Adam was overcome by sin, forgetful of God's love, omitting the gratitude he owed, as he was fully occupied by his love of Eve.

Hāʿ. That was the cause of the sin by seduction.

Hāʿ. That was the main cause of the sin, so that God would execute the order He had willed.

Hāʿ. It did not happen to Adam by necessity. It was the execution of [God's] will and justice.²⁷⁷

Khāʿ. In order to reach the highest degree of following the [divine] guidance, | through acting against the approval of lust in the case of love. 6^a

Dāl. But they harmed both of themselves because of his love of Satan, the snake.

Dhāl. When they had eaten from the forbidden tree in the middle, the leaves of the tree served them to cover them.

Rāʿ. They lost God's grace and the ornaments and robes mentioned, so that they were naked. Their Lord called them: Why did you disobey My order? Their excuse was rejected by God.

Zāy. Then the angel cried: Descend to the earth to fulfill His promise, but God adjusted His order saying:

Zāy: Both of you will certainly return to dust, as you were before [...].

Ṭāʿ. The order was executed, and thereafter God concealed the Garden from the eastern part of the earth, as He wanted no one to be able to see it.

Ẓāʿ. But for those of His pious servants He wants |, out of grace and promise. 6^b

Kāf. God created three different kinds [of living beings].

Lām. Mankind, angels and animals, in accordance with His decree.

Mīm. To mankind He gave will clothed by desire.²⁷⁸ To the angels He gave will, which came free in substance. And the animals obtained desire without reason.

277 Castillo: "[...]antes fue permissiua, y con justicia, para alcance con esto mayor estado [...]"

278 Castillo: "con seys apetitos."

Nūn. That third [kind] we mention especially for the sake of comparison.

Ṣād. To Adam He gave sin by desire through the seduction of Satan, while his excuse was accepted.

Ṣād. The angel had in that matter no excuse at all, because his reason was free of human desire.

Ṣād. Adam's transgression did not occur out of necessity, but [as] an obvious grace from God, so that he would receive grace and justice in accordance with his deeds.

Ḍād. God does not commit injustice to His servants, but His servant commits injustice towards himself, neglectful of His benevolence,

7^a *Ayn.* | in order to obtain forgiveness from Him by the mercy of his Lord, because that is for him the most attractive practice of the highest honor.

Ghayn. If man had not disobeyed his Lord, His mercy would by necessity not have been known.

Fāʾ. The Law extols the equity of the just person in his affairs with the words: O Lord, do not make me fear any element of justice,

Qāf. In accordance with the obedience towards You, for the disobedient believers,

Kāf. Who cling to Your mercy—through which I abide by Your commandment—in order to obtain a share of your favor.

Sīn. But he who disobeys Him²⁷⁹ by unbelief and rebellion against me, You will be his opponent, so that he will obtain his punishment in Hell, in accordance with his works.

Shīn. You have power over everything. No one can fathom this matter.

Hāʾ. And when he stopped complying with His order, evil entered his breast with whatever degree of disobedience he wished.

7^b *Wāw.* All he had reckoned with left him, the only thing left was hope for grace with tears.²⁸⁰

Lām Alif. This is from God's grace upon him by His mercy, but His forgiveness [is granted] on the condition of belief in Him, expiation of sins, and the expectation of producing the best possible reward.

Yāʾ. Whosoever from among his descendants does any good will see it, but whosoever commits any evil [will be treated] in the same way.

Alif. Had Adam not disobeyed His Lord, he would have stayed in the Garden after the seduction, and he would have largely deserved [eternal] bliss in it, as well as his children from Eve, without revocation or probation.

279 Castillo: "y al que offendiere con deferencia y maldad, maldícele."

280 The original has *ẓam'an* = *dam'an*.

Bā'. The spirit came to him suddenly from God during his genesis, and the word of the Lord was not executed but he blessed him with the grace He granted him as a result.

Tā'. Because God loved him over everything and elevated his rank in morality.

Thā'. | However, the light of blessing in Adam, both before and after his disobedience, did not leave him for a moment. 8^a

Jīm. That was due to God's grace and His love for him, because that infraction was a grave thing to Him.

Hā'. But the first sin brought evil in Adam and his offspring, as well as the unfortunate desire that came as a burden.

Khā'. They were overflowed and encircled by clear desire, but faith in them and works accordingly were of the best rank and the highest conveyance.

Dāl. This, according to the prophets who were assisted by the Spirit,²⁸¹ who do not need to have their words acquired by a revelation or by an inspiration thereof, but whose words about God are trustworthy.

Dhāl. They are the admonishers, announcing the Blessed One²⁸² to the servants in the world. Like the brilliant stars they show them the strong light from him until his appearance when being sent to the world, fully.

Rā'. When he appears to complete religion on the horizon of grace, he will revive the servants from the death in which they are, neglectfully. 8^b

Zāy. Belief therein is more excellent than the ultimate goal of vigilant verification and seduction.

Ṭā'. Because God, who decided everything without delay, cannot be grasped by human reason and imagination, neither by the angels, as their reason is weak and ephemeral.

Zā'. But the belief in what the Church believes and orders, which is assisted by the Holy Spirit and admonishes the servants, is of the highest excellence and species (*jundan*).

Kāf. That is so that the faithful will obtain grace by it and the infidels, to the contrary, receive Hell as its opposite.

Lām. God placed guardians over His servants to write down their deeds and nothing escapes His knowledge.

Mīm. He created everything and ordered its perfection; He strictly prohibited the spread of corruptive evil, | to follow one's desires and to love Satan. 9^a

281 Castillo: "por el spiritu sancto."

282 Castillo: "los predicadores y los anunciadores del Reparador."

Nūn. My description thereof by His power and out of obedience consists in explaining this to lovers who follow the right guidance in order to obtain blessing therefrom.

Ṣād. And by the mercy of my Lord on behalf of Him, to comply with my duty towards them, and out of grace.

Ḍād. My preceding description, which [was made] by [divine] guidance of Jesus, the best of creation,²⁸³ who is the likeness of the allegories of the prophets concerning the Gospel, and who is truly similar to that likeness.

Ayn. And to his religion which was victorious over the old religion, and its benefits for the Promised Day²⁸⁴ on which mankind will be resurrected.

Ghayn. Thus when the promised moment had come for Guidance, God's Holy Spirit came over the Virgin Mary and she became pregnant in her womb.

Fāʾ. But virginity remained in her out of necessity, as the word of the angel Gabriel on behalf of God to her was truthful.

Qāf. If she had been affected by the first sin, her beauties would have left
9^b her | and she would have been touched by distress in her pregnancy and her delivery.

Sīn. But God chose her for that matter and put a veil and a cover between her and Him.

Shīn. This is the consensus of the trustworthy apostles, who were truly assisted by the Holy Spirit.²⁸⁵ Rejecting this is unbelief and a depravity to the one who differs from it in any way.

Hāʾ. To accept this is the first fundament of God's truthful religion and its loftiest way.

Wāw. Obligations in following the Guidance and the evangelical faith that come after this, I will describe to you in the second part of this book, if God wishes!

Lām Alif. Here ends the first part of the Book of the Ultimate Instruments of Power, Clemency and Justice in Creation at the hands of Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā, disciple of James the son of Shamikh al-Zabadi²⁸⁶—may God make him useful
10^a to us | and attach us to the pious.

There is no god but God; Jesus is the Spirit of God!

LP9 contains the same text as LP5, with some variants. These variants have been included in the translation of the edited edition of LP5/9, above.

283 Castillo: "el mejor de los naçidos el prophetiçado en las prophecias."

284 Castillo: "el día de la general Resurreccion."

285 Castillo: "En esto se confirmaron en Concilio todos los Apostoles uerdaderos alumbrados con el Spiritu Sancto."

286 Castillo: "Jacob hijo de Salome el Cebedeo el Apostol."

LP10

Second part of the Book of the Ultimate Instruments of Power, Clemency and Justice in Creation. 1^a

Second part of the Book of the Ultimate Instruments of Power, Clemency and Justice in Creation by Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā, disciple of James the Apostle. 1^b

In the first part I described the hopes to be gained from the *Tawrāt* with the help of the Spirit and the solid light near the Red Sea allegorized in the miracle by commandment [of God].

Alif. A word from God comes over him, providing guidance, so that whosoever He wishes may obtain a share from its light in Heaven, by His mercy.

Bā?. Its taste²⁸⁷ is delicious for spirits, as the taste of straws of corn is delicious for bodies to whomsoever likes it and eats [the corn] without its straws.²⁸⁸

Tā?. Its nature is clement, speedy, and it is eternal, unrelated to time, encompassing everything, like the light of the sun when it rises over the world from the horizon.²⁸⁹

Thā?. It is informed with knowledge from God, and the wisdom of its meanings are like the different types of delicious manna which was a pure food for the Children of Israel.

Jīm.²⁹⁰ Its light is enormous, like the canopy of a towering sea which has no coast; intelligent people acquire it [light] from every side, by elucidation (?)²⁹¹ and remembrance.

Ḥā?. Their gaining from it is subtle, while it is elevated in size, like a short moment in all eternity; it has no match or correlation.

Khā?. From every side appear by it images of the allegories provided by God, to the prophets and envoys in view of the need to understand the Admonition.

Dāl. In the language spoken by each people, time and place, so that nobody can deny it out of jealousy or ignorance.

Dhāl. God does not speak in a material manner, | his voice is not of a bodily organ, but He speaks spiritually by the Holy Spirit, through inspiration. 2^a

287 Apparently the author continues to speak of the word of God.

288 The Arabic text has: *min dūni 'aṣfihā*.

289 Arabic: *wfqan*, which is *ufuqan*.

290 In the original, the words "It is informed with knowledge from God, and the wisdom" were repeated erroneously and then partly erased by the scribe.

291 Original: *bi-al-iqtishā'*, the meaning of which escapes us. Is it perhaps *al-iktishāf* (elucidation)?

Rāʾ. Without lips, tongue, letters and words, and this is characteristic in prophecy and [divine] assistance, and in the choosing from His servants of whomever He wants, and to reveal the Remembrance²⁹² to him.

Zāy. But its revelation takes place out of His grace in accordance with causes necessitating it, not without them, at all times, as transmitted in the books.²⁹³

Zāy. To the best of His creation among the outstanding reciters He facilitated His perfect word in the languages of the people.

Ṭāʾ. He assisted them through the Holy Spirit, through truthfulness, knowledge and guidance, and he explained their word from Him, confirming them by miracles.

Ẓāʾ. One should speak about them only by the most excellent way of referring to them and by the most beautiful praise, because their sins were [merely] an affliction and an admonition to mankind and a hope in despair.

Kāf. In accordance with His prescience, it is measured and just with regard to all their movements, perplexing their understanding. And everything He arranged perfectly—praised be He!

Lām. Had Abraham not intended to sacrifice his son Isaac, desiring the satisfaction [of His Lord] with the purest intention, the ram with its allegorical mystery as related [in the Scriptures] would not have come.

Mīm. And had Hosea²⁹⁴ not remained patient in the time of affliction because of Satan and the opposition of his wife, patience in poverty²⁹⁵ would not have been known from him, nor the chickens and the chickens and worms thrown on the dunghill.²⁹⁶

Nūn. And Moses, who talked with God, had he not killed the young man, forgiveness would not have been known to anyone who has killed a human being but turns to repentance, hoping for [forgiveness].

Ṣād. And had not the wife of Uriah caught David in love, the power of repentance towards God would not have been known, and the Psalter would not have been revealed.

Ḍād. And Solomon, his son, who possessed knowledge, design, justice and piety, lamented the sins he committed because of Qarāta, and humiliated the idols | completely.²⁹⁷

2^b

292 Arabic: *al-dhikr*, which is also used in the Quran with reference to the Quranic revelation.

293 Or: in the Book.

294 The translation is tentative, in view of the Arabic original: w.sh.y.

295 Following the word “poverty,” the Arabic original has a few illegible words that were crossed out by the scribe.

296 There seems to be a confusion with the story of Job here.

297 This story is referred to in more detail in LPII.

Ayn. After them Peter, the Vicar on the earth, lamented his sin and thereby brought to our knowledge the expiation of sins by fasting and meditation. His eyeballs flowed until they were exhausted, thus bringing him abundant compassion.²⁹⁸

Ghayn. There was no prophet who was not afflicted by strife and trial. Even Jesus, the Spirit of God, who enjoyed God's pleasure, was afflicted by groups of people with luxury and evil intentions.

Fā'. God favored some of them over others, and ended²⁹⁹ [their row] through him,³⁰⁰ giving him its³⁰¹ greatest miracle, whereby he explained the Gospel.³⁰²

Qāf. In him,³⁰³ he brought every wisdom without any neglect, and He provided him abundantly with remembrance and good works.

Sīn. He blessed him³⁰⁴ with good tidings, salvation and forgiveness to those who follow the guidance. He is indeed a triumph from God and the greatest blessing.

Shīn. The nation of unbelief³⁰⁵ had almost extinguished their light and his, but they could not because He perfected his light and established them and him³⁰⁶ over them, and (in the end) he elevated them over His other servants in degrees of excellence.

Hā'. They became meteors of love, bringing guidance, prophesying the Gospel and Jesus the Spirit of God, who was the spiritual element of those [celestial] bodies.

Wāw. The Children of Israel who are rightly guided by Faith towards (divine) grace, prophesied about the one I am speaking of, including those after him³⁰⁷ in all the times of the preceding worlds.

Lām Alif. His significance [derived] from the Merciful is of majestic size. Through him He informs mankind like the rising of the sun from the horizon bringing rain to the earth.

Yā'. Large, small, far, near, present, absent. In accordance with our attachment to him and our thought of him, he comes to us answering.

298 LP6 is dedicated to the Weeping of Peter.

299 The original has: *qaffa*; we propose to read: *qafala*.

300 An ambiguous reference to Muḥammad.

301 Reference to the Word of God, the Revelation.

302 Reference to the Quran.

303 Muḥammad.

304 Muḥammad.

305 Reference to the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, see also Quran S. 9:32 and compare the same sort of polemical passage in LP22, fol. 3^a, where the reference is to the Jews.

306 Muḥammad.

307 Should we perhaps read: *before* him, viz. before Muḥammad?

3^a *Alif*. He provides spirits and hearts | with a lamp that enlightens minds and strengthens bodies for the service of God.

Bā. The four elements speak all of a sudden in response to the perfection of Adam and Eve, while Mary the Virgin seals them completely thereby.

Tā. Adam has no mother, while Eve has no father, whereas Mary has two parents, justifying towards God and to her that without a father, [he³⁰⁸ was] blameless and committed to God.

Thā. When the king of knowledge, love, clemency, justice and perfection saw in his predestined knowledge how man would fall into perdition after having lived easily for some time,

Jīm. He strengthened him through Jesus after having prophesied his being sent through Mary, who was chosen by virginity, and whom He purified from sin and elevated over the women of the whole world.

Hā. He gave her to drink from the wine-cups of His love, of every pregnancy she would desire, through the Spirit upon her, by which she became pregnant.

Khā. Like the occurrence of the shining sun upon a mirror, tantamount to leaving and entering, of perfect beauty, without deflowering her in the least.

Dāl. The being sent [into her] was one, not two beings,³⁰⁹ described as the trustworthy Spirit of God, the descendant of Adam, truly Servant of God.

Dhāl. Her virginity was everlasting and God's grace abundant, without any doubt. He truly was a Word of God.³¹⁰

Rā. And he who came after him from God³¹¹ was a Holy Spirit, seal of the faith and of the envoys, and a light from Him on the servants He wished to honor.

Zāy. Thus, obedience of mankind to Jesus is a duty for the fulfilment whereof man is accountable. Whosoever obeys his commandment obeys God, and whosoever disobeys him will have to bear a heavy responsibility.

Ṭā. And [likewise] it is a duty without any doubt to act in accordance with the commandments of whosoever takes his place on the earth in the believing church as long as one finds oneself under his order.

Ẓā. Because he is the interpreter of the Gospel with distinction and approval, he has the commandment of the faith, and the task, no doubt, to spur towards the recommendable and to prohibit the detestable³¹² with full conviction.

308 Jesus.

309 A rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity.

310 As announced by the Quran.

311 Muḥammad.

312 The Islamic duty of *al-amr bi-al-ma'rūf wa-al-nahy 'an al-munkar* is apparently also promoted by the Pope.

Kāf. Belief in everything perfect and beautiful in God is a duty, better than prescribing and manifesting the contrary.

Lām. The minds of scholars go astray when they reflect | upon him, but they are successful when truly relying upon the faith as an alternative. ^{3b}

Mīm. In that there is no doubt about Him, neither about His Gospel, nor about His envoys, and His Spirit, or about His commandments and, contrarily, His prohibitions.

Nūn. Consensus is therefore the cord of the faith,³¹³ by realizing the guidance, and God supports this by the Holy Spirit among the faithful at large.

Ṣād. The Gospel is written down only in the hearts [of the faithful] and in their remembrance, out of fear of denigration, of linguistic corruption and of changes with evil intention.³¹⁴

Ḍād. Because Satan and his spokespersons are its enemies, [as they were] of Adam. This practice of his aims at breaking it open.

ʿAyn. But God watches over His sincere servants as He wishes, so that [Satan] will not be able to beguile them at all.

Ghayn. Those who err will inhabit Hell by His justice. Because of their sins, He will keep them there eternally, punishing them with different kinds of punishments, time and again.

Ghayn. And God is just in all His affairs, and by His knowledge, His law and His grace. He deals with everything justly and equally.

Fāʾ. One should not think of Him that he who has been pardoned has been dismissed from the duties of the penitent, [as] the culprit is certainly not innocent of sin.

Qāf. Every soul is rewarded according to what it has acquired; it will be asked about it, but He will not be asked.³¹⁵ But [no] one is informed about the sealing of [eternal] happiness, as He keeps that completely secret.

Sīn. And a beautiful intention is obligatory for every pious work, because without it no work is accepted.³¹⁶

Shīn. By His grace and justice He founded [His] will in the reason of man and (thereby) assigned to it its proper place in His prescience.

Hāʾ. He supported him with liberty and He wished to provide him with a notion of what He wanted and did not want, and made him understand that fully.

³¹³ Cf. the ḥadīth: “*Man khālafa al-jamāʿa fa-qad khālafa ribqat al-dīn.*”

³¹⁴ Likewise, in the Islamic perception the Quran is protected against corruption by being memorized by the faithful from generation to generation.

³¹⁵ Quranic.

³¹⁶ Cf. the ḥadīth: *Innamā al-aʿmāl bi-al-niyyāt.*

4^a *Wāw*. Thus, no star³¹⁷ nor | any [human] voluntary deed can counteract Him and provide any way against Him to any creature at all.

Lam Alif. He ordered him to act properly and forbade him to commit despicable acts, in order to choose for himself, if he so wishes, contrary acts instead.

Yā'. He gave him understanding in accordance with his personal capacity, so that ignorance will be no excuse for him to commit sins.

Alif. When he is tricked into error, it may ensnare him forever; but perhaps, to the contrary, faith might very well strengthen him [away from committing errors] completely.

Bā'. The said faith must be founded in pious works, because it is extinguished from the heart without them, so that without it nothing remains and it becomes something fragrant.

Tā'. Like the light of a burning lamp which is extinguished when it is again empty of oil.

Thā'. There is nothing more difficult for man than a long [unfulfilled] desire and the Devil, who is the [human] soul;³¹⁸ but man is not inclined to act against his soul.

Jīm. All this removes [one] from God and is the sign of the great death [caused by] the poison of flattery, which poisons like al-s.qāb, (= ?)³¹⁹ which kills through poisoning the extremities without touching.

Ḥā'. Does he not realize that he will be responsible for not worrying about the time of the Day of Reckoning and enjoying his rest?

Khā'. To draw near to God is a duty of servants, and there is no nearness to Him without faith, and by acting in accordance with His clear commandments to them.

4^b *Dāl*. He is with them, wherever they are breathing, even in souls. He is near | to whomever implores Him, generous to whomever asks Him, answering to whomever begs Him.

Dhāl. Of the sincere servant to God, He is his guardian under all circumstances. But the infidel He helps especially in matters of nature.³²⁰

Rā'. You, servants, come to Him sincere, and let your words be followed by pious work, as I describe clearly.

317 A reference directed against astrological notions.

318 More specifically referring to the Islamic notion of "*al-naḥs al-ammāra bi-al-sū'*"

319 Apparently referring to a contagious disease. Perhaps a name related to Latin *scabies*? We were unable to trace this word in the available dictionaries.

320 Not in spiritual matters related to faith and the future world.

Zāy. Three matters are the fundament of the religion of right guidance.³²¹ The first is faith, the second is hope and the third is spending with every conceivable effort.³²²

Ṭāʾ. All of these grant success and are to be hoped for, but spending is more excellent than the other two.³²³

Ṣāʾ. Man does not fulfil the ordinances of the faith without loving God and wishing the blessings for his brother which he likes for himself.

Kāf. All that in obedience to the Holy Church and the Faith, but he who opposes it will be lost, even if it concerns the smallest matter, nay, he will become an infidel!

Lām. And baptism³²⁴ with pure water that cleanses from sin is a duty, and certainly not an error.³²⁵ Jesus the Spirit of God made us clearly acquainted with it.

Mīm. It saves man from every sin, it brings him near to God after it, and saves him for everlasting bliss.

Nūn. There is no salvation without it for any adult³²⁶ on account of Adam. That was ordered [instead of] circumcision, which [itself] was given as a replacement for sacrifice.

Ṣād. And returning [from sin] with a sincere heart and with a repentful confession which is clearly expressed and without hiding anything, is likely to be accepted by Him.

Dād. Because without it, pious works, and when they have been abandoned, will certainly not be accepted, even if they had existed for a long time.

ʿAyn. Cutting off hope for forgiveness is the road | to Hell. This does not please Him, because His mercy is wide; He forgives everything to whomever He wishes, all the grave sins, if He thinks well [of him].

5^a

ʿAyn. And He will not withhold His mercy in accordance with the need of those who implore Him, but divides it generously among the repentant disobedient.

321 Arabic: *dīn al-hudā*, standard expression used to refer to Islam.

322 Note that the Pauline "love" (1Corinthians 13:13) has been replaced by the concept of spending, here probably referring to spending for the *jihād*.

323 Spending is contributing money for the sake of God (*fī sabīl Allāh*), which includes the *jihād*.

324 Using the word which also applies to circumcision.

325 It would seem that the author argues against opponents of baptism who considered it an error.

326 Arabic: *muhtalim*, one who in Islamic terminology is "*mukallaf*," viz. responsible for living in accordance with the prescriptions and prohibitions of the Law.

Ghayn. Small pious works will become great, and the committing of sins by believers will pour out from the seven storeys [of Hell].

Fāʾ. These two impose two contradictory categories on man, viz. that he who expresses good feelings is considered by God as an ally, but the disobedient in the true sense will be written down as the ally of the Devil and as a major criminal.

Qāf. The connection with God is the Mass. When it is accepted by Him, there is no gate of closer and better connection with Him.

Sīn. He answers him who appeals to him sincerely, whether he is in the East, the West, the South or in the opposite part, and even when he lives in rejection in the remotest district of the world.

Shīn. His prayer is appreciated in accordance with his intention, so that he will receive [a share] of the favor of forgiveness and support in whatever he wishes, and He will provide him considerable support.

Hāʾ. And the gentle person who convokes the servants finds his reward with Him; the gate of mercy is opened to him at all times.

Wāw. He creates a cosmic table with food and drinks from which the spirits of the twelve apostles will be fed.

Lam Alif. He pours out the wine of love, knowledge and piety to the apostles, leading them to sleep, while making the languid slumber deeply.

Yāʾ. He entrusts the opponent³²⁷ with authority as a religious exhortation, and announces everlasting bliss to the happy.

^{5b} *Alif.* | He admonishes [man] about that pure station, but whosoever is against Him will be put away altogether.

Bāʾ. He orders the Church piety by faith and allegorizes the station of justice and the mysteries of the Lord in His [eternal] prescience. He confirms and founds the faith; there is no change in the Word of God.

Tāʾ. He buys the Right Guidance that embellishes souls with grace, for a high, low or double price, but He thereby administered justice equally, as well as the wage of reward.

Thāʾ. Had He not introduced certain concepts into the center of the commandments, death would have been lifted from man so that he would not be affected by the trial by implication.

Jīm. There is no incurable illness among the offspring of Adam, or He cures it for him who implores him by merely touching him,³²⁸ providing an allegorical reference beneath that for people of understanding.

327 Lit: the denier, the contester.

328 It seems the author is speaking here of Jesus, whereas he was referring to God in the previous sentences.

Hāʾ. He accomplished the victory of the evangelized religion gratefully and obediently, until God fulfilled His promise to him, elevating him and putting him at His right-hand side.³²⁹

Khāʾ. Therefore guidance and acceptance are obligatory, as they are counted by the Lord of Right Guidance in all matters and movements performed to do good.

Dāl. So is also patience in trial, seduction and the misfortunes of the House of Perdition,³³⁰ because God loves the patient,³³¹ and He himself is the most patient of all.

Dhāl. He is concerned for His servant by force, in order to test his patience, like a father concerned for his son out of the greatest fear that he will perish.

Rāʾ. So that he will acquire repentance, atonement, forgiveness, piety, holiness and proximity to Him, and happiness, as well as the greatest bliss.

Zāy. And the different kinds of martyrdom for the sake of religion with a heart purely devoted to God, remove every doubt of eternal bliss. A martyr has nothing to fear, | as he will acquire a great reward.

Ṭāʾ. There is a fixed time for every man in a Clear Book.³³² When it arrives they cannot postpone it or place at an earlier point in time.

Zāʾ. Souls continue to exist from the day of their creation, undoubtedly, in accordance with God's Word. In this world, they find themselves in the absent-mindedness of sleep, but after death they are awakened in reverse.

Kāf. Their resurrection will be in accordance with their death, and God will grant happiness to whomever he wishes, out of His grace.

Lām. Among the major sins³³³ deserving the severest punishment are: to despair of (the existence of) the soul, to cut blood relations,³³⁴ polytheism, heresy, as well as rejection of the belief in Paradise. God will punish all that in revenge.

Mīm. Whosoever dies in sin will undoubtedly suffer and stay in it forever; in accordance with his disobedience his punishment will be measured justly.

329 Apparently we are dealing here with Jesus. The idea that he accomplished the victory of the religion he had evangelized is used rather Islamically in relation to Muḥammad.

330 Arabic: *dār al-fanāʾ*, Islamic expression to indicate this world, distinguishing it from the Hereafter, *dār al-baqāʾ*.

331 Quran S. 3:146.

332 This is a Quranic expression the precise meaning of which is widely discussed among Quranic scholars.

333 *Al-kabāʾir*, an Islamic theological expression distinguishing the major from the minor sins (*al-ṣaghāʾir*).

334 "Whoever cuts blood relations will not enter Paradise" is a prophetic saying in Islam, and the cutting of these relations is considered one of the major sins.

Nūn. The Hour³³⁵ is fixed by God, coming suddenly by His command. No one of His servants will be informed about it, but its secret is a grace from Him.

Ṣād. However, it will be announced by the signs of the abolition of science, shame and justice, and of the following of lusts, turpitudes and corruption. Everyone will be addicted to this.

Ḍād. When you see ascetics constructing buildings, acting with greed by protecting their money while dealing in goods, thus acting completely contrary to ascetics.

Fāʾ. They learn of other matters than pious works, for which they sell piety, while their doctrine does not focus on matters of religion and on the duty of obedience to God, | at all.

Qāf. Usury, avarice, fraud and betrayal will be manifest, and a servant will not confide in his brother, because if he does so, he will be betrayed by him fully.

Ṣīn. A final sign God will administer for us is that the sun will rise at the horizon contrary to its [normal] course from the East towards the West.

Shīn. Likewise, He also hid [from us] five matters, viz. the evacuation of wombs,³³⁶ what will happen tomorrow, the place of death, the inner secrets [of man], as well as everything occurring between man and his heart.³³⁷

Hā. However, in pious works and thankfulness for blessings he is slow. It is only after the disaster that he implores God, but after [this disaster of sinful behavior] has been revealed, he yet turns away.

Wāw. How can he turn away in his ignorance from a lofty station from which there is no salvation, while the angel of death sets foot on all of them, [even] against their will?

Lām Alif. A station near the Presence of Holiness, where [the angels] who guard the books³³⁸ will come, although God [already] encompasses everything by His knowledge.³³⁹

Yāʾ. The determinist who does not believe in the resurrection is ignorant, as he can see that a seed, after its death, emerges and returns to being a plant.

Alif. And that God undoubtedly is just in His affairs, and that He may patiently leave alone the evildoer in this world, and that [such a person]

335 *Al-sāʾa*. The moment of the beginning of the eschatological drama.

336 When a pregnant woman will give birth or will have a miscarriage. The original *tghwḍ = taghawwut*.

337 Referring to man's conscience.

338 Containing the deeds of each and every man.

339 In fact, He would not even need the books of the angels.

perhaps will not even come across his counterpart, as [God, in His wisdom] postpones this.

Bāʿ. For man that is the day of his sovereignty, that he may sow and harvest whatever he wishes, while its examining on the Day of Truth belongs to God, who will forgive whomever He wishes, and will condemn whomever He wishes. He will administer this with justice, without committing an injustice to any of His servants.

Tāʿ. He will resurrect all creatures in the place of His sanctuary³⁴⁰ in a perfect state by His permission. All at once, He collects the bones | East and West, even though their remains are fully rotted away. 7^a

Thāʿ. The various places of the earth witness the moving of men, even of the heretics,³⁴¹ and all the people are troubled by their own grief, they do not pay attention to anyone else.

Jīm. The true Light of God shines from His Spirit. Everyone sees it, and there is no preference for any one of them in His great vision.

Hāʿ. Everyone will be known by their names, their light coming from every side, and also by their faith; as for their counterparts, it suffices that they witness [this event] with their souls.

Khāʿ. The exalted assembly [of angels]³⁴² will be looking, and all of them will be judged justly, as God treats everything with full justice.

Dāl. He possesses authority, gravity,³⁴³ clemency, justice and serenity. He established everything in such a manner that every soul is rewarded in accordance with its acts.³⁴⁴

Dhāl. The most terrible image is painted of the person who induces [another] to commit a crime, in order to facilitate a judgment to the contrary from him, together with forgiveness.

Rāʿ. O my Lord, if needed I will ask you to let me stay in Hell as long as it lasts, because that is a terrible day of severe reckoning, even for your servants, for whom it is extremely dreadful.

Zāy. He established the resurrection of all the resurrected dead by way of an allegory. This He sealed by scattered winnowing (?) during a most splendid mounting [of the Throne].³⁴⁵

340 Jerusalem.

341 Arabic: *al-khawārīj*, originally the Kharijites, a sect considered heretics in Sunni Islam.

342 Arabic: *al-malaʿ al-aʿlā*, a Quranic concept, see e.g. S. 38:69.

343 The original *al-khtr* = *al-khaṭar*.

344 Cf. Quran S. 16:111: "... and every soul will be completely compensated for what it did ..."

345 The meaning is not clear to us.

Ṭāʿ. God's miracle is perfect and exceeds every miracle of revivification. Even when their filth is completely fermented, it³⁴⁶ will turn them back towards God [by revivification].

Ẓāʿ. To attribute the matter to Satan is the way followed by every ignorant [one] who thinks that the ascription of his deceit to the Perfect Almighty is the worst form of ascription.

7^b *Kāf*. As he holds no power | to resurrect [the dead], neither over inner secrets nor over the least matter concealed.

Lām. A man's despicable opinion³⁴⁷ draws him near to the Fire, but a beautiful thought, to the contrary, attaches the matter to the Lord of Matter, sealing it off completely.³⁴⁸

Mīm. After the Judgment people will be divided into two groups. Blessed are the felicitous, but the damned will go to Hell and [...] in rejection.

Nūn. And the successful live eternally in bliss, while God honors them by [allowing them] to look at His face, which is certainly the greatest honor.

Ṣād. Blessings come repeatedly on the desired day, time and again, and [blessings that have already] passed by will not return.

Dād. No one will [be able to] describe its size and its meanings in his whole life, even if he lived innumerable years.

ʿayn. In it there is neither evil nor envy, no discord or foolish talk. They will see only peace there.

Ghayn. Remaining [there] forever, without death, as long as eternity lasts. That is an enormous triumph by him, and the greatest honoring.

Fāʿ. On the contrary, the disobedient will be eternally in Hell [suffering from] various degrees of punishment. What perdition for those who will perish there eternally!

Qāf. [Deprived] of looking at the venerable face of God, which they will never see. And the Abode of Eternity is the greatest punishment for them.

Sīm. You who are slow in the performance of good works, do not lose the time awarded to you in the Abode of Extinction!

Shīm. And if you are true to God, and a sincere friend, He will reward you generously with various degrees of reward.

346 Viz. the miracle.

347 In the Lead Books, as in Sunni religious thought in general, an "opinion" (Arabic: *ḍān* = *ẓann*) is usually an idea conceived by a person contrary to religious truth and expressing doubt of religious truth.

348 The precise meaning remains obscure to us.

Hā'. That, as well as searching for knowledge in matters of religion specifically for yourself, is a duty.³⁴⁹ The Day of Reckoning has been calculated for you!

Wāw. Everything I have described in this | book is not my own view, but I have transmitted it from the Spirit of God and from all the twelve apostles who followed him. 8^a

Lam Alif. And from the true Holy Virgin Mary and from the spirit Gabriel, the angel of the Envoys, who announced good news.

Yā'. The book was completed at the hands of Cecilio the Arab, who hopes for the mercy of his Lord, son of al-Riḏā, and disciple of James the Apostle, may God make us profit from him, time and again.

There is no god but God, Jesus is the Spirit of God! 8^b

349 *Ṭalab al-'ilm* is a duty in Islam.

LP11

1^a *Book of the History of the Seal of Solomon*³⁵⁰

1^b History of the Seal of Solomon, son of David, the prophet of God, and its metaphorical meanings. On the authority of the Holy Virgin Mary, by Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā, disciple of James the Apostle.³⁵¹

Our master James³⁵² asked the Holy Virgin Mary, while we, on his authority and by his order, are writing a report [thereof]:

Alif. Why was the copy of the *Essence of the Gospel* (*Ḥaḡiqat al-Injīl*)³⁵³ sealed with this seal? And what are its specific properties as well as the specific properties of the writing it contains?

Bā'. I find you helpful in everything. Let me know this, please, as a favor.

Tā'. She answered: If you knew the enormous grace of God contained therein, you would walk on the sea with it without drowning, and it would confer great power upon you.

Thā'. Therein is an admonition for mankind, and a hidden metonymical knowledge from Solomon, the son of David, the prophet of God.—And whose seal is from God, seals with it in the most effective way!

Jīm. When he had reached his adulthood, he said: Lord, give me an authority which was not given to anyone,³⁵⁴ and give me a piece of knowledge,³⁵⁵ instruct me with Your knowledge.

350 Relevant background information about the image of Solomon among Mudejars and Moriscos is provided by Vespertino Rodríguez, *Leyendas Aljamiadas y Moriscas*, 42–49.

351 In the middle of the page a small six-pointed star overlapping a square with legend: *lām, alif, alif, mīm, rā, alif* (reading the letters in the following order: top left, top right, top center, bottom center, bottom left, bottom right). It can be interpreted as: “Lā ilāha illā ʾllāh—al-Masīḥ Rūḥ Allāh” (“There is no god but God—Christ is the Spirit of God”), but also as: “Lā ilāha illā ʾllāh—Muḡammad Rasūl Allāh” (“There is no god but God—Muḡammad is God’s Envoy”). The first is one of the forms of creed of the Lead Books, the second the hidden creed of Islam.

352 Roisse: “La copie indique *sāʾihunā* et non *sayyidunā* (...) La traduction exacte pourrait alors être ‘ascète gyrovague’ (cf. Lory, *Alchimie*, 7).”

353 Referring to LP17. Roisse: “Pourquoi la copie authentique de l’évangile se marque-t-elle avec ce sceau?” In his Spanish translation, Roisse proposes: “la copia de la verdad del evangelio.” The reference is to the copy of the *Ḥaḡiqā* which was buried at the Holy Mountain.

354 Cf. Quran S. 38:35.

355 Roisse: “donnez-moi une science originale.”

Ḥāʾ. Thereupon his Lord answered him and gave him the seal with the drawing³⁵⁶ and the writing [thereon] with the occult meaning. Through it he strengthened his authority considerably.

Khāʾ. And He gave him knowledge, power, authority, justice, and magnanimity, by which he subjected men, jinns, birds, and winds completely, at his order.

Dāl. He ordered him also not to separate from it for the slightest moment, because of His preexisting knowledge³⁵⁷ [of matters to happen in the future in case they do not obey] after having admonished His servants, so that they may lead a life of happiness.

Dhāl. However, Qarāṭina,³⁵⁸ | a consort favored by him over his [other] women, put him under her spell through a dangerous demon [contained] in her idol³⁵⁹ which taught her a stratagem. 2^a

Rāʾ. That she would not comply with any of his requests before having sacrificed a locust³⁶⁰ to him whereby he would be thoroughly purified.³⁶¹

Zāy. And that he [the demon] would imitate him [Solomon] in his kingship for whomsoever would wish to [come to him with a] supplication, and elevate him on a high place for the ignorant in the houses of prayer.³⁶²

Ṭāʾ. And that she should ask him for a copy of the seal in the bath, in order to keep it and to know by experience his love for her and his favoring her over his [other] women.

Ẓāʾ. Then, when they were together alone, she asked him for the thing, while concealing [the real intention of] her request. He gave it to her without hesitation.

Kāf. [Then] she informed him of having received it as a gift, with firm words, denigrating the gift she had received from him as if it were a thing of no value.

Lām. Then she demanded from him the full endorsement of his kingship, giving him a very angry look in case he should refuse to do so.

356 Ar. *jadwal*, which also means [magical] square.

357 Arabic: *li-mā sabaqa fi ʿilmihī*, indicating God's preexisting knowledge or *prescience*, an expression frequently used in the Lead Books. God knows in advance what man will decide with his free will. Roisse: "Et pendant un certain temps il ne s'écarte pas de son commandement, dont il avait eu connaissance suite à l'exhortation [de Dieu]."

358 In Islamic sources her name is Jarāda, which is in fact identical to Qarāṭa or Qarāṭina but with a different pronunciation of *jīm* and *dāl*. See further E.I.², s.v. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd (article by J. Walker and P. Fenton).

359 Roisse: "au moyen de Ḍamīṭ, sa principale idole."

360 In Arabic: *jarāda*, identical to the name of Solomon's consort. We are dealing with a word-play here.

361 Thereby preparing him for sexual intercourse. Roisse: "pour la lui offrir (i.e. à Ḍamīṭ)."

362 Perhaps aiming at the erection of statues in temples with the likeness of King Solomon, but to be inhabited by the said demon and to be adored by the ignorant.

Mīm. Thus he conceded to her, wishing to silence his conscience, showing that he wanted to please her, even though it occurred to him that a small thing [...] in great matters.

Nūn. So when he entered the bath after his error, he [even handed her the seal of his kingdom when he entered it, contrary to the order that had been given to him when it [the seal] had been granted to him.

^{2b} *Ṣād.* After having entered it, the Devil came out [of the bath] | behind him, appearing to her in his [Solomon's] shape.³⁶³

Ḍād. He then took the seal away from her after having asked for it, and threw it into the swallowing sea, thereby fulfilling what had been preordained by God.

Ayn. Then when Solomon [himself] left the bath, she denigrated him by refusing his request [to return the seal to him], answering him: Why do you ask me a second time?³⁶⁴

Ghayn. He now retired to his carpet,³⁶⁵ abandoning his privileges and his servants, while seeing on his throne the incarnation of his own figure.³⁶⁶

Fāʾ. Profoundly aware of the trial of his transgression, he sought refuge in God and fulfilled his decision to repent in the desert.

Qāf. For some years, waiting for God, longing for repentance, forgiveness and mercy, profoundly fearful of perdition.

Sīn. Then it was revealed to him: You have been forgiven. Go away to the coast of the sea, your prayer has been answered. Take what will be given to you from it.³⁶⁷ And see to it that you do not return [to your transgression]!

Shīn. He encountered fishermen³⁶⁸ who were in danger of drowning, together with their fish. They implored him to help and rescue them.

Hāʾ. When [the boat] had emerged, they wanted to compensate him, but he accepted only one fish from them, in whose intestines the ring was hidden.

Wāw. And after he had opened it the ring remained in his hands, whereupon his royal authority and his privileges returned to him completely.

Lām Alif. So, with a sincere heart he thankfully praised God and returned to his former comfort.

363 So that she would think that it was in fact Solomon himself.

364 In other words: why are you asking me a second time; *I have already given you the ring.* She sincerely believed to have given it to him, while in fact she had given it to the Devil who had appeared to her in the likeness of Solomon. Roisse, who believes that Solomon demanded sexual intercourse from her, translates: "elle le méprisait en refusant ses avances."

365 Roisse provides an interesting reference to the Chronicle of Al-Ṭabari with detailed information about Solomon's royal carpet.

366 Quran S. 38:34: "*la-qad fatannā Sulaymāna wa-alqaynā 'alā kursīhi jasadān*".

367 A reference to the fish and the ring to be mentioned in the following verses.

368 Arabic: *qarāṣil al-ḥūt*: "corsairs of fish". Cf. Dozy, SDA, vol. 2 s.v. qarṣana and qarṣala.

Yāʿ. He then trampled the idols on the ground under his feet, while reaffirming his knowledge with the mark of the seal.

Alif. He embellished the Temple³⁶⁹ with its figure³⁷⁰ and even had lamps | made in its form, which he kindled with wax candles and with the fragrant oil of different kinds of wild roses, spreading rays of light.

Bāʿ. He encouraged the prevalence of right and justice in [all] matters, lived his days in happiness, and died blessed and in peace.

Tāʿ. He allegorically represented our lord Jesus to whom the Temple alludes allegorically through its greatest sign.

Thāʿ. The religious allegory concerning him³⁷¹ points to a description of the prophets and envoys [before him]³⁷² and of his power, and, after him, [it indicated] the seal of religion that completed it.³⁷³

Jīm. And [it indicates also] to return to God with a pure heart because it is He who provides the best illumination, meaning: the power and grace of the Creator over his creatures by His mercy for those who return to Him of their own will after having sinned.

Ḥāʿ. He takes away a blessing from His servants only when they stray from His way and decide to leave it in error.

Dāl. It also means the sealing of happiness on those He wishes, and its perfection by His grace after the Reckoning.

Dhāl. She [the Holy Virgin] recommended drawing blessing by it [viz. by the Seal of Solomon]³⁷⁴ from God in all matters, and [also] that books be sealed with it at the beginning and at the end.³⁷⁵

Rāʿ. Here ends the book written down by Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā, disciple of James the Apostle.

369 Arabic: *al-bayt*.

370 The figure of the Seal of Solomon, as it also appears in the Lead Books.

371 Jesus.

372 The Arabic text, here as well as in other Lead Books, distinguishes between prophets (*anbiyāʿ*) and envoys (*rusul*), a distinction elaborately discussed in Islamic theology. According to some views, envoys came with a revealed book, while prophets brought the (Islamic) message orally.

373 Muḥammad, who, in the doctrine of Islam and Quran, is the “seal of the prophets,” by whom God “completed” His religion which He had begun to unfold through the prophets and envoys before him. Roisse: “et qu’après lui le sceau de la religion serait complet” (implying that it is the seal that will be completed, instead of religion, which is to be completed by the seal [of the prophets], viz. Muḥammad).

374 The Seal of Solomon is a sign by which one may draw blessing from God, as was the case with other holy signs, for instance images of the sandals of the Prophet Muḥammad.

375 The Holy Virgin recommends sealing books with this sign at the beginning and at the end, which is exactly to be observed at the beginning and end of each of the Lead Books.

LP12

- 1^a There is no god but God; Jesus is the Spirit of God.³⁷⁶
- 1^b *Book of the Blessings of the Abode of Peace and of the Punishments of the Abode of Revenge, by Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā, disciple of James the Apostle.*

To hope for Paradise without [the performance of the appropriate pious] works for it is an outrage, and an outrage is a form of arrogance. Whosoever merely has a mustard grain thereof in his heart will not enter it, because God promised it to His pious servants, and He does not break His promise. [But] whosoever possesses in his heart a mustard seed of faith will move the mountains of the world thereby, because its power is better and greater than theirs. He will thereby enter Paradise, as is related from our lord Jesus.³⁷⁷ On the contrary, a mustard seed of arrogance entails eternal punishment, because it is the principle of every sin.

Knowledge is nearness to God, but ignorance is remoteness from Him. So whosoever wants to draw near to Him should learn, because God loves the learned³⁷⁸ to such an extent that He puts them in charge of His servants, and if He chooses for that an ignorant (person), He will teach him out of His grace,³⁷⁹ while the ignorant are Satan's allies. Pious work is a form of veneration, God doubles His blessings thereby for the inhabitants of the world, viz. within the [framework of the] grades of Paradise. Everyone in it will rejoice and be happy, but in Hell it will be the opposite.

God blesses His servants with Paradise as a reward for their pious deeds, but mere [pious] work is not equal [to His blessings]. How shall they, therefore, enter if He does not add His grace to them? That is His mercy, but the contrary [occurs to] the people of Hell. Dispute is a sign of punishment, but making it easy is a sign of forgiveness, and this in accordance with one's thought of God. And along this same line falls the decision of [everlasting] bliss or eternal subjection to punishment.

- 2^a The claim against a sinful servant | will not be awarded for an offense committed out of poverty when the offender has purified his intention as an excul-

376 Creed of the Lead Books, figuring at the beginning and at the end.

377 Reference to the parable of the mustard seed in the Gospels, Matthew (13:31–32), Mark (4:30–32), and Luke (13:18–19).

378 In Arabic: the *‘ulamā*, religious scholars or clerics in Islam.

379 The association evoked here is the example of Muḥammad, the “illiterate prophet” (*al-nabī al-ummi*), who was taught by God.

pation, because God may remove it from him in the way He wishes, as the treasure-houses [of His mercy] are inexhaustible. Every way of forgiveness and every power of revenge is accessible to Him. The opposite is true of that intention assumed by the one who has a way to do that but does not compensate for (his offense) by the prescribed (expiation), out of fear that he cannot escape from the punishment or will remain therein forever.

The soul is light but the body is compact and obscures it. Darkness is sadness and does not exist at all in Paradise. But the body is entitled to it³⁸⁰ [also], together with the soul. Therefore, the darkness disappears and the light appears by prevailing over the body in Paradise, so that its natural state is restored completely.³⁸¹ But in Hell, the contrary occurs to its inhabitants.

Smallness is an impairment upon [man's] most perfect stature and also a deterioration of [the natural signs of] beauty. Man deserves this because of the sins he commits, because, when they leave him in Paradise, his stature will be in balance and his signs of natural beauty perfect, while in Hell, to the contrary, (there will be) contraction of the thickness, length and width of its inhabitants.

Knowledge is a light from God, but ignorance is darkness. So how will someone who is led by God out of the darkness of unbelief into the light of faith, and through it to Paradise where he will look at the venerable face of God, be touched by ignorance as he finds himself in the Abode of Knowledge? And how will he, whom He abandons, by His justice, in Hell, be touched by the light of knowledge in the Abode of Ignorance and Major Darkness?

Rancor is filth in the hearts [of men], because of the damage it necessarily leads to, or the blessings it aspires to acquire. There is no rancor in the breast of someone who is blessed and is in no need of anything by the wealth of the Abode of Peace, while the contrary is true for Hell.

The souls of desiring lovers become purified with [every] change of advantages and blessings. So how would the inhabitants of Paradise, after having stayed there forever, remember those who do not belong to its inhabitants, while they are fully endowed with blessings and occupied with a Lover to whom no other lover can be compared, as He is the best of [all of] them, whereas the inhabitants of Hell are occupied with the purification of their souls,³⁸² contrary to the People of Paradise?

If God gave the sovereignty of the world to one man without a quarrel or fight, and bestowed its blessings upon him to the fullest extent, he still would want a second world, and after the second a third and more, but he would not

380 Viz. to Paradise.

381 The author subscribes to the bodily resurrection of the believer.

382 But this process will never be completed, as we shall see below.

be satisfied with them, while this is the greatest gift [imaginable]. Nevertheless the smallest blessing in Paradise is fifty times better than it, while the greatest blessing in it has not been seen by any eye or heard by any ear, neither did it occur to the mind of any man, the greatest punishment in Hell being that one is hidden from Him for all eternity.

The bodies of the inhabitants of the world and their most beautiful clothes and jewels are [all] subject to extinction, because of their corporality. Contrarily, how will someone be subject [to perdition] or annihilation while being blessed by God with eternal bliss, as long as His sovereignty lasts, and clothed by Him with the majesty of His mercy, adorned by Him with the ornaments of His blessings, while His word is fulfilled and never fails? For the inhabitants of Hell, the opposite of all of this applies.

[Among the inhabitants of Hell] souls become tired and movements are broken, but how will someone grow weary when he is occupied with the great vision,³⁸³ while his spirit overcomes his body so that the [latter] will become like [the former] by a light so radiant that the light of the midday sun will become obscured, when only a mustard seed thereof would lead it towards the
 3^a Abode of Perishing? | The contrary holds true for the inhabitants of Hell. This was related on the authority of Holy Mary.

Eating as well as drinking, as long as the abode of Perishing lasts, are a veil for the body. But on the other hand, how will a person be veiled when he is fed by God from the food of His commemoration, and given to drink from the cups of the wine of His love, which are the purest food and the most delicious wine for His pious servants, and the inhabitants of Hell contrary to all this?

Every man must have a companion whom he needs. So how should someone occupy himself with a companion, when he has a Beloved to whom no other companion can be compared, who is the ultimate companion, who Himself has no companion? [And this], while the inhabitants of Hell have no companion?

The Abode of Perdition is known, time and again, by the flowing of the times. But this [implies] a repetition that souls detest, desiring no boredom. That is a condition of [our] transitory life. In contrast, the blessings of the Abode of Eternity are each and every time without repetition, no blessing being similar to another blessing, which was easy for God to realize. The people of Hell, to the contrary, are eternally bored and fatigued by everything weighing heavily upon them, forever.

Souls are the force of life for bodies, which do not perish as long as they dwell in them. So how would the force of life, without which there is no life at all, be

383 Seeing God's face.

absent from a human being, while it is everlasting and never perishes and does not leave them as long as His sovereignty lasts, to which there is no end, while the inhabitants of Hell have no life or death, craving to be relieved from punishment?

Everything has a command as well as daily provisions. Souls are under the command of God. No one grasps His knowledge nor their food. How then would the pleasures of bodies, whose souls are occupying them, | be of a different nature, known only to God? 3^b

There are scholars who opine that knowledge is their [real] food, others say it is pious commemoration, again others the [direct] vision of God, again others say that it is (something) specifically appertaining to the nature of each of them—but God knows best! The inhabitants of Hell are completely contrary. The vision [of God] is of two types: a type by which souls are consoled, and another type by which it [the vision] is, to the contrary, dejected. But how would depression befall one whose vision is constantly on God, while that is the greatest of all consolations? And would consolation come to one who is separated from the vision of His venerable face as long as His sovereignty endures, to which there is no end?

Everything has some uncleanness. This consists of two types, everlasting and non-everlasting. The everlasting type cannot be purified, while it is hoped that the non-everlasting will be purified. The stain of souls are sins: [one] whose sin is redeemed will be purified and enter Paradise, but [one] whose sin is not redeemed will not be purified by the fire of Hell, (not even) by being closely attached to it for all eternity. That is the [very] principle of the everlasting stay in it, because it is not a purification of the sinners, and sinners will never leave it.

Music influences the souls of man in two ways: it comforts those in need of consolation, and it deepens the thought of ascetics. But how will the music of the announcement of the everlasting stay in the Abode of Peace³⁸⁴ deepen contemplation? And how will consolation be provided to one who receives the news of the everlasting stay in the Abode of Hell, while his punishment will begin after he has entered it?

Here ends the book at the hands of Cecilio ibn al-Riḍā, disciple of James the Apostle, may God let us profit from it, and may He make us one of the inhabitants of Paradise and rescue us from the painful punishment [of Hell], out of His goodness and generosity.

There is no god but God; Jesus is the Spirit of God. 4^a

384 The trumpet announcing the Hour.

LP13

1^a *On the Nature and Power of the Angel.*

1^b Book of the Nature and Power of the Angel by Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā, disciple of James the Apostle.

I begin with God, without whom there is no God, the everlasting, holy and perfect, and say: He has an everlasting kingship, properties³⁸⁵ that do not change, a majesty that cannot be reached, and an authority that does not collapse. It is inappropriate to think about the quiddity of His essence, the origin of His properties, the extent of His knowledge, the unveiling of His mystery, the understanding of His grace, the fullest extent of His mercy, or the application of His highest justice. However, one should ponder the unity of His essence, the experience of His power, His great signs,³⁸⁶ His equity in all matters, and that He created and set forth everything in detail with knowledge and truth, without falsehood and defect. Nothing is hidden from Him, and nothing escapes His attention—His majesty is highly elevated!³⁸⁷

He provided His servants only with matters and knowledge, because of His right to be obeyed and venerated by them. Good things are only from Him, evil things, to the contrary, come from the [human] soul or from the Devil. The equity of His grace is in accordance with His prescience. He was not created, and has no beginning nor any end. He created every living thing. None of His creation possesses life without Him, nay, He is the almighty creator who is not incapable of anything towards His creation, nor in the ending of His mercy and the dispensing of His justice to whomever He wishes. He is not asked about whatever He does, but His servants are asked [about their acts]. He commits no injustice towards any of His creatures. He possesses grace, mercy, justice,
2^a equity, perfection, beauty, and majesty without defect. | He created the creation from *shamūs*, i.e., from nothing, except for His grace that He gave. From it He also arranged seven spiritual and corporal matters: six of these have a beginning without an end, while the seventh has a beginning and an end. The angels

385 *Ṣifa* (with *tā' marbūta*) read as *ṣifāt* (plural), a key concept in Islamic theology.

386 Read: *āyātihi* (plural). This is a Quranic concept to indicate the manifold miraculous "signs" in God's creation that point to His existence.

387 The reader may have noticed that the preceding passages are closely similar to various passages in LP1 and LP2, respectively the *Book of the Foundations of Religion* and the *Book of the Venerable Essence*. In various other Lead Books we find reminiscences of these passages as well, as they express some central theological concepts of the author of the Lead Books.

have a beginning but no end. Human souls appertain, according to their nature, to the weakest degree [of the angelic beings], in the very lowest category. The Abode of Peace and the Abode of Revenge [also] have a beginning without an end, because their reward is in accordance with their deeds, in what they wanted by virtue of their will. Also the four elements and the heavens have no end. These are the six things of the creation that have a beginning [without an end], contrary to their creator, who has no beginning. And the seventh thing is the creation of the world and its balancing, which has a beginning, and to the contrary [also] an end: its beginning by His grace, and its end by the ceasing of all its movements, by His will and equity, because they are phenomena with opposites [counterbalancing them], while [the creation] has no opposite, which is evidence of its [future] destruction.

Immoderateness comes to men through corruption and through following their lusts and abandoning what God pleases. That has been related from His Spirit.³⁸⁸

God created the angels, who possess enormous light and spiritual force. They neither grow nor fade away. Those creatures He created at the time concerned³⁸⁹ from scorching fire, as He created Adam from earth.³⁹⁰ And in that time He created the heavens and the earth and the delightful beings above them and filled them with those [beings], whose number can be counted by Him alone. Because³⁹¹ God follows nature and what is beyond it: He performs miracles only if necessary. He could have created Adam without earth, but nevertheless, He created him from it. | Also the angel, while He created him from that fire, particular for his nature, which is spiritual, seventy times stronger and brighter than natural fire. [All] this is related from God's Spirit.

2^b

And know that the spirit of Adam [was created] according to that of an angel, in the weakest degree. For this He provided him with a body. In [the Residence of] Peace³⁹² his body, like his spirit, spreads a bright light, it is agile, moving about, light of weight. Angel and spirit are a spiritual force by order of

388 I.e., Jesus.

389 It is also possible to translate in the abstract time, contrary to the material time of the world. However, we prefer the proposed translation because of the implicit reference here to S. 15:27: "And the jinn We created *before* from scorching fire." The Arabic has *al-ma'nawī*, which we would emend to *al-ma'nī*.

390 Compare Quran S. 15:26: "And We did certainly create man out of clay from an altered black mud."

391 This conjunctive is not necessarily related to the preceding sentence. Here it is a rather casual way to introduce the following main idea.

392 The Arabic text omits the word *dār*, we believe erroneously. This interpretation implies that he possesses a spiritual body in the Residence of Peace, which is Paradise.

God; they are of one nature. Both are intelligence. No one grasps their origin nor the beauty of their properties but God alone, who strengthened that creation with free will, without any compulsion upon him whatsoever. God gave him a beautiful appearance, and to the angel He gave a quick understanding, quicker than the speed of thought. And his movements as well are in accordance with his understanding. In addition he possesses great power from God, so that he could turn round heavens and earth with everyone on it in the blink of an eye, without fatigue or force. But his obedience to God is such that he does not resist His command for a single moment. His nature is to venerate Him and to comply with His command in whatever He may wish. To Adam, however, He granted memory, without which he cannot understand anything, the divinely inspired peace of mind³⁹³ being upon him, for that purpose, out of His grace. His force is in accordance with his faith, as said by the Spirit of God to the Apostles: If you had only a mustard seed of faith, you would overturn the mountains into the sea, without failing in force. This is the force of a

3^a mustard seed, so what would be the force of someone [blessed] | with strong certainty?³⁹⁴

The angel does not speak in a physical language, nor with sound. Its language is spiritual. They speak to each other whatever they wish, and their words and meanings are beautiful. Whenever he assumes a body he speaks through it in the spoken language, expressing the [divine] command given to him. Like the angel Gabriel to Holy Mary, when announcing to her the good news, and also to our lord Jesus when his time was completed,³⁹⁵ as well as to the other prophets to whom God sent the angel, [to convey] a command He had predestined in His knowledge, a revelation concerning obedience of Him, or the contemplation of the veneration of Him.

Before his disobedience, there was no angel guarding Adam. God was observing him and informing him about the animosity of Satan. The angel was not his enemy prior to his arrogance. But after that, and after the disobedience of Adam, the angel lost his outstandingly virtuous qualities, but he did not lose his natural force and his power, as these were excessively present in him. Adam lost his outstandingly virtuous qualities, but did not lose his utility or the nature of his spirit and his understanding, because if those beautiful natural things had been lost, the angel would not have been an angel, and Adam no longer Adam.

393 Arabic: *al-sakīna*. Cf. e.g. Quran S. 2:249: *fīhi sakīnatun min rabbikum*.

394 Arabic: *yaqīn*, certainty of faith; especially in a mystical sense it is considered the summit of the many stations by which the path of *walāya* (sometimes translated as Sainthood) is fully completed.

395 Gabriel spoke to Jesus at the end of his life. See also LP7, fol. 19^b.

But after the angel had behaved out of arrogance, and [Adam] had fallen into sin, God warned him against the seduction [by Satan] and the obedient from among them. He appointed a guardian angel over him and over his offspring to guard them and to write down his deeds, out of love for him, to pardon his sin. The disobedient angel is no guardian, nor does he pardon, because of his arrogance, which in his conscience is permitted. He hopes for salvation but is blocked from it, because of his disobedience and his great malice. He ascribed the sin to God against him, while he [himself] abounds in it, and [merits] eternal residence in Hell, may God curse him!

And | according to satisfaction and disobedience, God put the angels in various degrees of bliss and punishment, distinguishing between the holy among them and the evil, over whom He gave power to the just [angels], placing their upright life in His obedience, and awarding them with Paradise, eternally. But the evil and arrogant he called jinns and satans, every one of them being in [some kind of] error, according to his nature. In accordance with their disobedience and deviation He gave them various degrees. He placed Satan, the head of misdeeds and crimes, as well as his followers, in eternal torment. Together with all of them, God fills Hell with men, which is their retribution after the Reckoning, while rewarding his holy servants from his grace. Those degrees I will describe in this book in their appropriate place. 3^b

The guardians are venerable angels, who by God's grace protect children from the time of their creation from all misfortunes, loving them intensely. But when the child reaches adulthood and approaches [the ability to distinguish between] good and evil, the angel is no longer its guardian, but watches over it by supervision of him and prohibiting him forbidden things, while writing down his deeds. When he inclines towards the angel he writes down his act with joy, but when he draws near Satan and follows his desires, the angel is not satisfied by an evil act and writes down his punishable deed.

Satan can overpower him only by seduction especially, by no other way. He is his greatest enemy, contrary to the angel. He plots his perdition and eternal stay with him in fire and torment. That [type of] disobedient angel, | because of his disobedience through arrogance and because of his various sins, has seven degrees, from the center of heaven to the lowest part of Hell. They consist of two groups: the tribe of Abū Murra—and the name of that tribe is satans—and the tribe of Ibn al-Ḥārith, whose name is jinns. All of them are enemies of Adam and his offspring. 4^a

Their first degree is under the stem of the White Pearl,³⁹⁶ in the first corner of the Fire. The second is in the clouds, the third in the winds, the fourth on the

396 Arabic: *al-durra al-baiḍā*. This is the first emanation of intelligence from the Divinity, within a Neoplatonic and mystical tradition, as, for example, in Ibn al-'Arabi.

face of the earth, the fifth in caverns, caves, graves, and quarries, and in every dark place. Their sixth grade is in seas, springs and rivers, the seventh in Hell. Their size is enormous and their malice is great, but God stands against them through His command, as they are unable to do anything without His command. They are busy all the time with depravation in every place, and with seduction of the Children of Adam. Whosoever wants to have a look at their malice and depravation may read the *Book of the Unbinding and Enchanting of the Disasters of the Jinns*³⁹⁷ by the prophet of God Solomon, the son of David, and the *Book of the Manners of the Jinns* by Ezra,³⁹⁸ because it is not appropriate for me [to deal with this subject], as the religious sciences,³⁹⁹ for the obedience of God, are my special field. I say: their punishment is a painful one, and their malice is the greatest of its kind. They desire only malicious things—may God rescue us from them! Thus when God decides to punish his servants, He orders a holy angel to administer that to them, like the punishment to the people of Lot, and the threat to the people of Jonah, etcetera. He commands the angel to do well only for obedience of Him and for support of His servants, as when

4^b he informed Lot ordering him to leave with his family | from his people before morning, and the message to David to repent,⁴⁰⁰ and other similar cases.

The jinns and satans are able to punish the sinful and take revenge on them in Hell only in accordance with the ordained rules. They have no authority in that matter [themselves]. All of them are locked up and punished by the guardians appointed for that matter by God. They are terrifying angels who never disobey God for the wink of an eye. God placed their good life in [the execution of] His justice and the retribution of all the humans, jinns and satans [who were] disobedient towards Him by various kinds of disgraceful punishment by His command. This is related from the Holy Virgin Mary in the book of her intimate spiritual conversations with God.⁴⁰¹

397 Arabic: *Kitāb al-iṭlāq wa-al-ta'zīm fi nuḥūs al-jinn*. This book is possibly identical to the so-called "Misceláneo de Salomón", an Arabic manuscript with Aljamiado glosses which had been hidden in Ocaña, and which contains a description by Solomon of the habitat and other characteristics of the various "unbound" *jinns* ("ṭayāliq"), and the ways to enchant them in order to cure the diseases and other misfortunes they are causing. This text was published and translated into Spanish by Albarracín Navarro and Martínez Ruiz, *Medicina, farmacopea, y magia en el "Misceláneo de Salomón."*

398 Arabic: al-'Uzayr. We have been unable to trace this title. Uzayr figures once in Ullmann's *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, and not in a context related to the jinns.

399 Arabic: *al-fiqh wa-al-diyāna*.

400 After his adultery with the wife of Uriah.

401 Reference to LP16, below.

The grades of the angels begin from the earth. I say [this] on the authority of Holy Mary in the *Book of Wise Sayings*⁴⁰² by my Master James, where she said that the earth has been measured and weighed, and an angel has been assigned over it as a supervisor. And she said in the *Book of the Intimate Conversations*⁴⁰³ that she saw from the White Pearl, which is the first heaven, an angel full of power and majesty, holding the earth in his hand like a grain of mustard, while he was staring at it and swearing by Him who created heavens and earth that no atom or fly among its beings could move without his being informed about their movements and writing that down, with knowledge of God, in a clear book.⁴⁰⁴

Know that from that angel to the place of His sanctuary and to the angel appointed over the veil of the extension of His throne, they have grades | of station and excellence towards God. They are His heavenly host⁴⁰⁵ and the people of His kingdom, He loves them and never engages in a hostile action against them. This is related from Holy Mary in the *Book of Wise Sayings* by my master James when she said that God will never engage in hostile action against the people of His kingdom.⁴⁰⁶ 5^a

Those angels possess great power, but they do not grasp God's knowledge or His great hidden secrets, apart from what He wishes by His vast grace. Therein they have different grades. Those who are close to Him have a higher grade of excellence and understanding than others, while all their behavior serves the pleasure of God. With His permission they understand His command more quickly than the wink of an eye. And they do what He commands them with that [same] speed and command. And when a secret is revealed to them in view of a command He has given, they share this secret equally with others of them, while God is aware of all this—His great majesty be glorified! But God [Himself] is not revealed to them. His great mysteries remain hidden from His servants, they do not obtain knowledge of them, neither any one of them of His essence. But to the angel who is ignorant of the mysteries, He reveals them out of His mercy through His Holy Spirit. And His believing Church, by His grace, reveals them to the Children of Adam. The heavens rejoice over the earth only by virtue of [His] power, because God privileged [the earth] by the

402 Reference to LP14, below.

403 Reference to LP16, below.

404 The expression in Arabic, *kitāb mubīn*, is Quranic (figuring in several verses); its precise meaning is widely discussed among Quranic scholars.

405 Arabic: *al-mala' al-a'lā*, also a Quranic expression (Quran S. 38:69).

406 A reference to LP14, below.

Spirit, who received the assistance⁴⁰⁷ of the Glorious Gospel.⁴⁰⁸ On it He established churches and a vicariate, and He blessed it through prophets and saints. And He prepared it as an abode of testing for the people of His paradise, whom he favored over His other creatures by His Spirit, and by the Intercessor, and
 5^b by eternal bliss | together with Him [in] the gardens of blessing in Paradise, [as they] look at His glorious face, while the angels surround them providing them with everything they desire for themselves, which is a great prize.

But with the help of God we will now return to the grades of the angels. The Spirit of God said: no community of men or jinns will ever reach towards the regions of heavens and earth without having been empowered [by God]—how true are his great words! Contrarily, the angel does not possess [this] power, except for God, as He imposed upon them grades, in nine assemblies, where each of them was made superior to the one below it, from the White Pearl up to the Utmost Limit of His Throne. He made their food out of their remembrance of Him, out of their experience of His power and their fear of Him. That is related from Holy Mary and the aforementioned *Book of the Intimate Conversations*. And over and around these nine assemblies there are venerable favorite angels whose number as well as the size of their power are known only to God.

And the greatest thing to be laid down in writing is what the Angel Gabriel gave as an answer to Holy Mary during the night of her intimate conversations with God, when she asked him about an angel of great power whom she saw coming out from behind the veil of God, praising and sanctifying Him; [Gabriel] said to her that he had never heard of that angel and had not known him, from the time God had created him until that moment, while Gabriel is one of the intimate angels and one of those most favored by God; furthermore,
 6^a he is of great shape and enormous power | and his knowledge is unlimited. Over mankind He appointed guardian angels, over the earth a supervisor, and in the various geographical zones He made poles; in the heavens He made movements and in the veiled areas He appointed those supervising them, and in everything [he appointed] one who settled His command, on whom He bestowed His favor.

Nothing in heaven and earth is hidden from Him, but He is informed and knowledgeable about everything, not in need of anything, able to govern His kingdom without any man, angel or jinn. The comparisons I made with the form and shape of the angels in this book were made by me out of the neces-

407 Arabic: m'.n, which we read as *mu'in*.

408 The meaning of the sentence is not completely clear, but it is probably a reference to Jesus.

sity of human understanding, because the angel, as I said earlier, is a spiritual force, without corporal characteristics, neither has it innate freedom. Only God grasps his origin.

Had I not wanted to be brief and to avoid longwindedness I would have described to you aspects of the angel's outstanding qualities, his skillful acting, his understanding, his veneration of God, his fear of Him, and his obedience towards Him, which no intellect would be able to understand. Therefore be content with the things I have given you, and thank God for it, because all blessings are from Him. Whosoever wishes God to show him the full meanings, mysteries and power of the angel may postpone this until he reads the Intimate Conversations of Holy Mary,⁴⁰⁹ because in it are great mysteries which need to be taken notice of and be meditated upon by people of sound judgment, [being] useful to bring them near to God and to hold them away from forbidden matters. However, God postponed this to the end of time and preserved it in the Holy Mountain, where whosoever He wishes will see it.

Here ends the Book by the hands of Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā, the disciple of James the Apostle—may God make him useful for all His servants who obey His command and His veneration.

There is no god but God; Jesus is the Spirit of God.⁴¹⁰

6^a

⁴⁰⁹ LP16, below.

⁴¹⁰ Ending with the creed of the Lead Books.

LP14

1^b There is no god but God; Jesus is the Spirit of God!

2^a *Book of Religious Wise Sayings.*

2^b Book of Religious Wise Sayings and of the station wherefrom one reaches Certainty⁴¹¹ as well as the Abode of Peace,⁴¹² related from the Holy Virgin Mary by James the son of Shamīkh al-Zabādī the Apostle. Translated into Arabic at her order by the hands of his disciple Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā.

One day I entered upon the Holy Virgin Mary, looking for my master James, and I found him with her, while she was talking to him alone. Thus I refrained from entering upon them, out of modesty. When he had concluded his meeting with her, I kissed his hand and saw that he held a list [written on] parchment.

I asked: "What is this list?"

He answered me: "These are religious maxims and sayings,⁴¹³ and the station towards it⁴¹⁴ from Holy Mary. Take them firmly and translate them into the Arabic language and inscribe them on lead so that [God's] servants may profit from them for the obedience of God at the end of time." This was her order to us.

3^a I then took it and translated it and inscribed it as I found it on the parchment written in her own handwriting in Hebrew, without adding or omitting anything. Know that every single wise saying I found had been said by her out of necessity and not without it. They are in prose, and there is no connection between them. Each of them contains great mysteries and much wisdom. They are a hundred and one maxims.

The first of them is the root of everything and the greatest doctrine concerning pious works. The first three following it concern the true faith, and the remaining ninety-seven are about truly good behavior. They are the following:

You should always be of good intention, because that is one of God's favors to His servants, and it is the root of every pious work; without it God does not accept any work.⁴¹⁵

3^b *Alif.* Men are obliged to believe in God, there is no god but He, and | in the Last Day, and in the precepts of His righteous religion. You have to do that as

411 In Arabic: *al-yaqīn*, which is the highest station of the Islamic mystical path.

412 Paradise.

413 In Arabic: *ḥadīth*, in an Islamic context pointing to the sayings and deeds of Muḥammad.

414 Viz. towards religion.

415 This first saying has no number. It is a paraphrase of one of the most famous prophetic sayings in Islam, viz. "Works exist by virtue of their intentions" (*Innamā al-a'māl bi-al-niyyāt*).

He commanded it, because there is no salvation for any dweller in this world⁴¹⁶ without it.

Bā'. It is [part of] the true faith and imposed on mankind that Jesus is a Word from Him that He blew into her and that he is His trustworthy Spirit,⁴¹⁷ a grace from God to strengthen mankind, and that he confirmed the Gospel and the Scriptures that were before him.⁴¹⁸ The contrary is the true error and unbelief. Someone said: "O Holy [Virgin], show us into which place He blew it, so that we truly believe in it." But she remained silent, and her silence indicates that she herself was the one described. Her silence was a rejection of pride.

Tā'. After Jesus, the Spirit of God, there will come to the world a light from God whose name is the Effacer, the Illuminator, while the non-Arabs [call him] the Paraclete, the Seal of the Envoys,⁴¹⁹ in order to comfort [mankind]. He is the seal of religion and the light of the prophets. They have no light without him, neither does any human creature. Those who believe in him will be truly blissful afterwards | and will be truly enlightened by God. But whosoever does not believe in Him will have no share in Paradise. Nevertheless most people disbelieve.⁴²⁰

4^a

Thā'. You are obliged to follow the rules of obedience towards Jesus, the Spirit of God, because those who obey him obey God, and he who disobeys him disobeys God; one who obeys his command obeys Him, but one who disobeys his command disobeys Him. Therefore obey him, and you will obtain thereby the Abode of Peace.

Jīm. A sign that God loves His servant is that He puts him in a station towards Him. Therefore you should be grateful for those blessings, as He confirms you in it, while it is the right path to the Hereafter.

Hā'. If you incite yourself to [live according to] the character of religion, God will enlighten you and increase your rank in the eyes of His servants. Someone said: "O Holy [Virgin], what is the character of religion?" She answered: "modesty."

Khā'. Whosoever among you likes to seek God's friendship⁴²¹ and His obedience should seek refuge from the world, the source of which is intention. Thus, stay at home and isolate yourself, meditate often about God and cut yourself off from people. The desert is better for that purpose than | the inhabited world.

4^b

416 *Li-ahad min al-'ālamīn*, a Quranic expression denoting the whole of mankind.

417 Cf. Quran S. 4:171.

418 This is exactly what is told of Muḥammad in the Quran.

419 Clear reference to Muḥammad, who is seen, among other things, as the Seal of the Prophets.

420 This sentence is also Quranic.

421 Arabic: *wilāya*, by which the Islamic mystical concept of sainthood is expressed as well.

To him who does that God's great secrets will be revealed, in accordance with his works.

Dāl. A vow to God on the part of His servants is that a believing servant should not behave aggressively towards his family, because God does not act with aggression against the people of His kingdom.

Dhāl. Urge yourself to behave beautifully and to be compassionate, as a vow to God, because He loves those who behave well and show compassion. A house without good behavior and compassion is devoid of God, and its people will be lost in confusion on the Day of Resurrection. They will not have a share in Paradise.

Rāʾ. Urge yourself to the best meditation and pious works at all times, and do not be forgetful of that, wishing to take your ease, because on the Day of Resurrection you will be asked about it.

Zāy. Please your parents so that God will be pleased with you, because if you preserve them in submissiveness, God will preserve you in equity and justice, and if | you address them with kind words, God will grant you His mercy and you will obtain His favor.

Ṭāʾ. Whosoever forgives a fault of his believing brother, out of respect and love of God, all his faults will be forgiven by God, were they [as numerous] as the foam of the sea and the pebbles of the earth and the stars of heaven and more than that, and He will make him enter Paradise. This is a great sign indicating [the importance] of a flexible heart and of the faith. The contrary, however, is a sign of unbelief, because the infidel has a heart which is harder than the core of a stone. He does not forgive a fault out of love of God, and God does not forgive him, because he is far removed from Him and has no Lord, while the believer is close to God, who is truly his Lord, always.

Ẓāʾ. The believer in God and the Last Day will not reach the true faith before he wants for his believing brother | what he wants for himself. You therefore have to love [each other], in order for you to reach the true faith and to be His true servants.

Kāf. I forbid you to foster rancor, because the rancorous one will not be forgiven by God, and he is the object of His fury, and He will lead him into perdition as long as he is rancorous, and will bring him into Hell as long as he is rancorous, unless he repents of that with true repentance to God.

Lām. The best people are those who did not hear the Gospel but act according to its commandments; the contrary of these are the worst of His servants.

Mīm. If you deal in a friendly manner with your believing brothers in matters [of common interest], God will deal in a friendly way with you in your [own] matters. And do not cut your family relations, because he who cuts his family relations will not be forgiven by God, unless he truly repents of that to God.

⁴²²*Ṣād*. Desire the best work in preparing for the meeting [with God], which is martyrdom for the sake of religion. Because if you die as a martyr you will obtain thereby the highest grade in Paradise, | after the grade of the prophets. But if you do not die as a martyr, God will reward you in the best way within those grades, in accordance with [your] intention to do that. 6^a

Ḍād. The best of God's servants is the one who gives away himself and his property for His sake, until he dies. For him who does that there is a covenant with Him that He will bring him into Paradise.

Āin. You have to speak with the most beautiful words; nothing else is appropriate for a believer. If they do not wish to do so they should remain silent, as the insolent [ones] are from Hell.

Ghain. Clothe the naked for the love of God, because those who clothe them will be clothed by God with the greatness of His mercy.

Fā'. Do not ridicule your believing brothers, because that is a debt very difficult to repay on the Day of Resurrection, unless the person addressed pardons him.

Qāf. Stay away, nay, stay away from polytheism, because God will | never forgive that. Hypocrisy is part of it, which is called the smallest kind of it. 6^b

Sīn. Desire is of two parts: one part of God, and another part of the [world of] dreams. The part of God elevates you, but the part of [the world] of dreams poisons you. Therefore follow the best part, because it is the gate to every blessing, and may God lead you along the right way.

Shīn. You have to leave everything that does not help you towards the hereafter, because such is part of your good faith in God and the Last Day. God will then enlighten your forms when you meet Him.⁴²³

Hā'. Seek refuge with God from Satan at all times, because he is your worst enemy, so that He may remove you from him. In your seeking refuge lies a great reward.

Wāw. Urge yourself to justice in all places, as God is omnipresent, and the whole earth is weighed by Him in His scale. And an angel is appointed to supervise it, and the angels guarding you are writing down your deeds. Nothing escapes God's knowledge.

Lām Alif. Do not fear Satan's slander against you, because he will not succeed therein. But fear God because of your sins, because God is the one who possesses profound knowledge and expertise about you. He knows your inner- 7^a

422 The letter *nūn*, which was to be expected here, was erroneously omitted in the original Lead Book.

423 Reference to Quran S. 64:3.

most thoughts, as well as those of Satan, while you and he do not know what is in Him.

Yāʿ. Reject the world because it is an abode for those who have no abode, and he who seeks it is far removed from God while being its servant. Whosoever serves God rejects it, but the contrary holds true for its servant.

Alif. Be pleased with your ties with the people of God, so that you will obtain, because of them, guidance in this world towards the other world, and leave the ignorant alone, as they are the worst of creation, from whom, to the contrary, you will obtain only evil.

Bāʿ. You should sit with religious scholars because there is a great reward in that, and an approach towards God, so that you deserve His forgiveness on their behalf. And beware of ignorance, because it is the root of unbelief.

Tāʿ. Keep your body and clothes clean, because that signals the purity of your soul, and the purity | of your soul indicates cleanness from sin; and the pure [one] inhabits Paradise, while the dirty [one] inhabits Hell.

Thāʿ. Bury the dead and treat them gently, even in their graves. Just as you treat the living in a gentle manner, because God created the Children of Adam according to His image, and He is the very best father.⁴²⁴ He who behaves contrary to this falls under God's wrath and curse.

Jīm. Beware of the exhumation [of the dead], because it is a grave sin. The captivated will be judged by God for his act of exhumation, as a living being may judge another by his foreskin.⁴²⁵

Ḥāʿ. The houses of prayer should be clean from every (kind of) dirt. The dirty should be removed from them so that they cannot be buried in them. But let them be buried in their blessed gardens, because the houses of prayer should remain free from any dirt, while their inhabitants are obliged to purify themselves. For that reason Moses was ordered to take off his sandals when he was going to meet Him. And Jesus ordered his disciples the same | when he was glorified on the mountain, for purification.⁴²⁶ Whosoever acts contrarily is bad.

Someone asked: "What is dirt, o Holy [Virgin]?"

She answered: "That is sin, as well as the sinners who do not repent truly. God detests them in this world and the next, preparing for them the fire of Hell. But only God, and those of His servants He wishes, know who are these pure ones."

424 There is an extensive discussion in Islam about the interpretation of the notion of the creation of Adam in his (God's) Image.

425 It would seem that this "wisdom" has to be understood in the context of the prevailing prohibition of circumcision in the sixteenth century.

426 Lit.: when shining on the mountain.

Khāʿ. Give alms during your life, before your death, because that is the best [form of] alms. Its reward surpasses that which is given after death a hundred times. Also, alms quench the anger of the Lord. And the person who gives alms has a great reward [in the Hereafter].

Dāl. Do not consume unjustly the wealth of orphans, because that is a grave sin. Be compassionate with them, as their heart is afflicted. He who is compassionate with them will receive a reward from God for every hair on their bodies, and He will remove from him all | his evil deeds. Whosoever acts contrarily will inhabit Hell. 8^b

Dhāl. You are obliged to lift the sorrows from your believing brothers, because whosoever lifts from his brother a sorrow in this world will be liberated by God from ten sorrows of the afterworld, every single one of these sorrows being heavier than hundred blows of a sword. And God will gather him with those who enjoy His pleasure.

Rāʿ. Beware of adultery. It is an outrage and a grave sin. The adulterer and the adulteress go to Hell, if they do not abandon it altogether.

Zāy. You are obliged to be truthful, because God loves the truthful. Liars fall under His wrath, because they are Satan's brothers.

Ṭāʿ. Do not make a sin greater than it is, lest you lose your hope for His mercy, because that is a grave sin. Those of us who are wont to think well of God are close to His forgiveness. Therefore hope for His forgiveness, so that you will obtain it from Him.

Ẓāʿ. I forbid you to rely on your works. You should rather | rely on God, because he who relies on his works will lose his hope when he is afflicted by a disaster. But he who trusts God will in that case increase in certainty, as He is enough for him. 9^a

Kāf. Proof that good works and earnestness are for God is their discreetness; when they are publicized that proves that they are for men. Beware therefore of publicity and be discreet, so that your works will be for God, not for men.

Lām. Feed yourself with anything but do not feast, because food is part of faith but feasting is part of unbelief.

Mīm. Be patient in everything, because patience is the root of God's reward. And do not despair, because that is the root of losing hope for His mercy. In patience there is great reward; one reaches eternal bliss thereby. By despair, to the contrary, one obtains Hell.

Nūn. You are obliged to act well and in a praiseworthy manner with your money to your believing brothers who deserve that; if you are unable to do that, then with kind words. God will reward you for that.

Ṣād. | Be generous and abandon avarice, because the generous [one] is an inhabitant of Paradise, but the avaricious [one] is an inhabitant of Hell. 9^b

Dād. Beware of despairing of the Spirit of God, because only the infidels, who are the object of God's wrath,⁴²⁷ lose hope in him.

Ain. Do not hope to protect yourselves by pious works. Do hope for that from God through His grace upon you. To balance your request, He will have mercy on you and save you from the hardships of the afterlife.

Ghain. Seek help from God when affliction befalls you. Return to Him; He makes up your account and is your protector, and He is your best protector!

Fāʾ. The world is a prison and a place of grief for the people of God, as well as a test for the patient.⁴²⁸ Endure the trial in it with patience, so that God will know your patience by testing you, and will increase His grace upon you.

Qāf. People asked her about the Hour, viz. about its time. Beware of asking about that, as well as about other hidden matters. Someone said: "What are those other hidden matters, o Holy [Virgin], so that we may abstain from [asking about] them?" | She answered: "The secrets of your hearts, the deep contents of your wombs, the place and hour that death will befall you, and the good and bad that will come to you tomorrow. And learn from me what I learnt from God, that that secrecy is a grace from God upon you, who thereby descended between man and his heart.⁴²⁹ But the Hour comes suddenly, only God knows its time."

Sīn. She answered someone who asked her about God's grace upon His servants: "God bought you for a low price, and His buying [you] is one of his greatest blessings upon you. If you are truly His servants, He will bring you because of that into Paradise." Someone said: "what does a low price mean for something inestimable?" She answered: "If He bought you for a high price, He would lift death from you and would bring you to eternal bliss without trial. But I say: its price is a mercy from Him, and to balance between the justice of grace and veneration, and justice [in general], on the other hand." And I say [also]: "its price can never be counted."

Shīn. Seek help in God's protection and power, and [His properties] similar to both, because they are the best sources of help. In [seeking help from] God's true protection and power, as well as in [His properties] similar to both, lies a great reward and a great act of veneration. It is the veneration of God by [all] the Children of Adam and Eve.

Hāʾ. He orders you to do good and forbids you to do evil, because you will see and appropriate all [your deeds] on the Day of Meeting, and nothing escapes God's knowledge.

427 Reference to Quran S. 1: 7.

428 Mystical notions.

429 The author adheres to the doctrine of *ḥulūl*.

Wāw. Be generous, because the generous will be known to God as His helper on earth and will obtain Paradise. But beware of avarice, because the avaricious will not enter it before a camel will have passed through the eye of a needle.⁴³⁰

Lām Alif. Be patient in all matters, so that God will increase your reward and faith in accordance with your patience. In sickness and adversities there is a reckoning, because God pities His servants in those circumstances as the true father is concerned about his son, extracting the medicine from poison.

Yāʾ. Death is a gate to be entered by every living being, from which there is no escape. | Take fearful notice of it, in accordance with your longing for it, as God will then bring you to His mercy. 11^a

Alif. You have to stand against the infidels in all their affairs, because the infidels stand against God and his righteous religion. Therefore [he] who stands against them is truly His servant and loves Him dearly.

Bāʾ. The prophets should be mentioned only in the most excellent way, omitting doubting and ridiculing them [by saying] that their sin is no affliction, because that is a grave sin. Sin exists in them for the sake of a revelation and an admonition from God to His servants, and to [create] hope in [a time of] despair.

Tāʾ. Act with goodness, and omit taking rent and deceit, because good people inhabit Paradise but those who take rent and deceive inhabit Hell.

Thāʾ. You have to be an enemy of Satan, so that you will dash his hope of seducing [you]. By doing so you will obtain God's acceptance, because he who is his enemy loves God, and God loves him, because Satan is his greatest enemy.

Jīm. Be grateful for the blessings you receive, and beware of ungratefulness | for them, because that is one of the grave sins for which one deserves Hell. The [one] ungrateful for blessings is the worst of creatures, and because of it God prepares for him a severe punishment in Hell. 11^b

Ḥāʾ. Be fearful of God in your affairs, because whosoever thinks He will bring severe and terrible punishment will find Him merciful and compassionate, but [he] who thinks that He is merciful and compassionate, desiring to spread corruption, will find Him with a severe punishment.

Khāʾ. Surpassing a command is diminishing it, while surpassing the good is a charitable act. Omit therefore surpassing a command, so that you will obtain Paradise thereby.

Dāl. Increase pious works so that God will increase your faith, because without them it will diminish until nothing is left of it, and its light will be extinguished from your heart as the light is extinguished from a lamp devoid of oil.

430 Cf. Quran S. 7:40.

12^a *Dhāl.* A sign | of devoutness for the satisfaction of God is fear of the desires of your ego, and following one's dreams [is a sign] of the contrary. Therefore one has to fear [one's desires], in order to obtain God's satisfaction.

Rāʿ. Man and virtuous qualities are best protected in a place where he does not have to fear aberrations in the service of God; store your wealth in a place where you do not have to fear spending it for God's sake.⁴³¹ Therefore realize that service and that spending of wealth as much as you can, because you will receive thereby the blessings God promised you in the Hereafter.

Zāy. Ask guidance from those who are rightly guided, not from someone who does not follow the right path. Thus, ask for guidance from them so that your words may provide guidance to others.

Ṭāʿ. The world is a reality that contains fire at its center. Men can leave [this reality] only by departing it. Good works are a protection against it. Therefore establish this protection firmly, so that you will not be touched by it nor hear its sound when you leave [the world]. This is an allegory of the Hereafter.

12^b *Ṣāʿ.* | Do not think that someone who perseveres in disobedience will be forgiven by God, while he is devoid of sincerity and does not repent truthfully by returning to Him. [And do not think] that He will not condemn to the Fire when someone transgresses a religious duty and is devoid of the clothing of good works. Whosoever thinks that believes in the deficiency of justice in God, and that is a grave sin which will not be forgiven by God, unless one leaves that behind. But God does not inform any of His servants about the seal of bliss.

Kāf. Have compassion on the helpers of God and treat them well, because they are your helpers to live in this world and to obtain bliss in the next world. Someone said to her: "O Holy [Virgin], who are the helpers of God?" She answered: "the poor."

Lām. Be poor in spirit and poor in arrogance, while being rich in religion and gratitude. Therein lies a great reward. Because not the poverty of wealth, but the poverty of religion and gratitude is the greatest poverty. Only richness in religion and gratitude is a substitute for poverty.

13^a *Mīm.* | The fundament of faith is the intention towards it, and the fundament of unbelief is doubt in matters of religion. Therefore leave behind doubt and strengthen your intention, so that certainty will come to you from God and He will bring you to His mercy.

Nūn. A sign of faith in God is tranquility in matters of religion, and a sign of doubts about it is the concealment of the mind from it, like the behavior of an

431 E.g. in the *jihād*.

ape in its various movements. Therefore seek tranquility in it, and leave behind mindlessness from it, so that you will be true believers.

Ṣād. Everything you love will be failing you at your death, but for good works, which will not fail you at that moment. Therefore you have to do them, as much as they are done towards you. They are the best friend and companion towards the Hereafter and your rescue. You will obtain God's pleasure thereby.

Dād. Make peace between yourselves and God, because He is the best Lord, and do not fear an authority contrary to that as long as His power endures, because it is everlasting and will never expire. Whosoever does that, to him will come true Certainty from Him.

Ain. Be patient in times of affliction and satisfied with giving [rather than receiving], because by both of these [properties] | man is confirmed under God's wings, because He is the best in patience, and He loves the patient who are satisfied, and will bring them into Paradise. 13^b

Ghain. Whosoever forgets God when He bestows His blessings upon him will be forgotten by God when he is surrounded by disaster, but [he] who remembers Him when He bestows His blessings upon him will be covered by His mercy when afflicted by disasters, and He will truly liberate him from them and bring Him under the wings of His mercy. Therefore be grateful and serve [Him] at every moment, so that He will bring you under the wings of His mercy and save you from the ruins of this world and the hereafter.

Fāʿ. True repentance from sin and its conditions is your duty, so that, if you never return to it, God will truly liberate you from it. Because [for him] whose repentance is lost His mercy is lost as well, and God will no longer accept his works. And among the angels he will be called someone addicted to sin who is an inhabitant of Hell.

Qāf. Do not exaggerate among yourselves the weight of good works, out of fear and presuming that they are a heavy burden upon you. That is a confusion laid upon you by Satan. Because God does not impose anything upon someone beyond his capacity. | And do not change the blessings you possess from God but cling to them, so that God will keep you safe. Because God will not change your blessings unless you change yourselves.⁴³² 14^a

Sīn. Search for religion in accordance with your specific properties and circumstances. This is a duty imposed by God upon you, so that you will be His true servants. Whosoever does the contrary to that is the worst of creation and an inhabitant of Hell, if he does not return to God with true repentance.

432 Quran S. 13:11.

Shīn. You have to refer to God in everything that possesses majesty and perfection. And beware, nay beware, of the thought of any defect in Him, because His power would be insufficient; or that He acted out of necessity when [His] creation came into existence, or [His] mercy is spread or [His] justice is equally dispensed, because of His prescience, as He has power over everything and acts justly in it under any circumstance. He is not asked about what He does, but you are asked [about what you have done]. That thought is of those who do not believe in Him. In Hell there is a gate called the Gate of Thought, through which those people enter, staying there forever.

14^b *Hāʾ*. You must have a beautiful intention in all your affairs | and arrange them with good judiciousness, because God loves those who act judiciously. Refrain from the contrary thereof because Satan loves that immensely, because your stay in the Abode of Delusion is like that of sheep among wolves. Thus, whosoever ignores intention and judiciousness will perish.

Wāw. If one of you speaks about God and obedience to Him, you should answer his words, because when two speak about God and obedience to Him, He will be the third, helping them and enlightening them. Satan [acts, however], contrarily.

Lām Alif. If you guide each other in the task of celebration and other similar matters regarding God, your mutual love in obedience to God will grow so that hatred and jealousy will disappear from you, and you will be known to Him as the best of His creation. With Him there will be a great reward for you. God is generous and He loves the generous.

Yāʾ. When you hide the faults of your believing brothers, God will hide your [own] faults and inscribe you with Him as the best of His servants. Beware of uncovering them, because that is a grave sin.

15^a *Alif*. Beware of calumny | and foster friendship between your believing brothers, because he who does that, God will put in order all his affairs and will reward him truly in this life and the next. The slanderer, to the contrary, will inhabit Hell, because he is the brother of Satan.

Bāʾ. Do not kill the soul that God has forbidden. He who intends to kill it will inhabit Hell, if he does not truly repent of it to God, while upholding the conditions of the expiation of sins.

Tāʾ. Love God for everything, because He is the most excellent beloved for you. He loves you and looks upon you with the eye of His mercy, and he who is looked upon by God with the eye of His mercy does not have to fear the evil influence of anything, in both this world and the next.

Thāʾ. Beware of the thought that he who fosters the highest thought of God with the purest of intentions, while repenting to Him in the hope of His mercy, may [yet] perish in the Hereafter, even if his sins are uncountable, because He

is the best helper to the one who seeks His help, and merciful to the one who seeks His mercy. Whosoever thinks the contrary imagines defects in Him and is an inhabitant of Hell.

Ĵim. If you draw near to God He will draw near | to you, because He said: 15^b
 “Whosoever approaches me one span, I will draw near to him one cubit, and whosoever draws near to me a cubit, I will draw near to him the length of two arms, and whosoever comes to me walking, I will come to him running.”⁴³³

Hā. You have to honor your guests out of respect for God, so that God will honor you in this world and the next, because therein lies a great regard with Him.

Khā. The world is a dream and forgetfulness for those who inhabit it. Thus, after their death they will awaken in only two kinds. Those who are happy to awaken will repose, but those who suffer from being awakened will perish. Therefore beware of being forgetful of remembering God in the dream of the world, so that your awakening will lead to rest, not to perdition.

Dāl. Women have to stay apart by covering themselves; God put therein a great reward for them. In the contrary behavior there is the greatest evil, because there is no net wherewith the servants of God are hunted like them, and the uncovering of them is the root of [all kinds of] sins and perversities.⁴³⁴ 16^a
 Therefore you have to cover them; lower your eyes from them so that God will | bring you and them into His mercy. Observe this and visit [only] those who are wont to observe this truthfully, [as well]. Someone said: “O Holy [Virgin], who is wont to observe this truthfully so that she may speak in an ordinary manner?” Hereupon she remained silent. Her silence was a sign that she herself was the one described thereby, because she was the most virginal woman created by God in this world.

Dhāl. You have to give alms to whomsoever asks you [to do so] for the sake of God, even if he comes on a horse and asks while riding it, because alms quench God’s wrath, the almsgiver is near to God and He is with him in every place.

Rā. It is your duty to alleviate hunger and thirst from your believing brothers to the best of your ability out of reverence and love for God, because therein lies a great reward, viz. that God will feed you from the worlds of His mercy and give you to drink from the cups of His love. Whosoever is fed and watered by God will be blessed many times.

433 A wide-spread *ḥadīth qudsī* (where God speaks Himself), mentioned in many different Islamic sources. Also quoted in LP5/9.

434 Possibly a reference to the situation of the Granadan Moriscos, who were not allowed to veil themselves after 1567.

Zāy. Do not envy the prosperity of God's servants and do not behave with harshness towards them, because that is a grave sin whereby Satan is feeding himself, as his livelihood lies in jealousy and hatred, to the extent that he is hated, because | God curses him for it.

Ṭāʾ. Beware of damaging God's servants, because that is a grave sin. God is equitable in His justice towards all His servants. Whosoever does that is the worst of His creation, and He will punish him severely, if he does not repent from that and fulfils the conditions of reversion to Him.

Ẓāʾ. Commemorate God assiduously for His creating the heavens and the earth and for His creating what is between both of them, so that He may increase your love for Him and your fear of Him. In that remembrance lies a great reward and an experience of His power for the lovers.

Kāf. A sign of faith in God and the Last Day is that during the remembrance of God and His miracles the hearts of those who listen incline towards them, the contrary of that being a sign of abhorrence, unbelief and the hardness of hearts. You should therefore, on that occasion, have a soft heart, so that God will inscribe you among the believers and know your faith by actual proof, and bring you into His mercy.

Lām. A sign of the proximity of the Hour is the increase of ignorance and the diminishing of knowledge, except for the part to be learnt from it for livelihood and for other purposes than the obedience of God and pious works, and when adultery becomes excessive while truth, justice and shame become rare, and corruption and [other] sins will be teeming [as well], | because those are brought about by the worst of creation.

Mīm. She then said to James: "Diffuse these wise saying to mankind by the power of God, for as long as you remain among them, and as long as their younger ones hold the older ones in respect, while the older ones have mercy upon them. And know that those maxims contain the knowledge of the earlier and later generations."

Here ends the book at the hands of the Arab.

Kāf, kāf, ḥāʾ, ʿain, ḥāʾ.: [Every Book is the Truth; Jesus is the Truth.]

17^b There is no god but God; Jesus is the Spirit of God.

LP15

*Book of the History of the Essence of the Gospel*1^a

The issues of the history of the Essence of the Precious Gospel and the command concerning it from the Holy Virgin Mary to James the Apostle written down by Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār the Arab, containing questions to her by Peter the Vicar and her complete answer.

1^b

James the Apostle said: "Our group of twelve apostles gathered and was brought together by the Holy Virgin Mary in her house after the Holy Spirit had descended and the tongues had been poured out upon us."

She said: "I was ordered by God's revelation to Gabriel the angel to bring you this good message, and that I show you the *Essence of the Precious Gospel* that he sent down to me after my intimate spiritual conversations with him, and this is the great token that I saw in it." At that moment she produced it. It was written in the hand of the Virgin with radiant light on plates of a heavenly brilliant stone, | the value of which is known to God alone. Together with it she produced a copy thereof written on plates of lead sealed by her with the seal of Solomon, the son of David, her paternal relative. We marveled at it and thanked God for it.

2^a

Peter the Vicar said to her: "Our Lady, tell us about the specific qualities of the book in these plates!"

She answered: "Everything has a spirit, as the spirit of that thing that was given by God to Moses on Mount Sinai is the precious Gospel, while the spirit of the Precious Gospel is this *Essence*. However, this not created,⁴³⁵ and I tell you that it contains the Wise Admonition⁴³⁶ and the Eternal Knowledge, and, because of it, God revealed the Scrolls of Abraham and the Torah of Moses, and from its light and | its quintessence everything was created. And the revelation and prophecy were sent to all the prophets and envoys by the Holy Spirit.⁴³⁷ The heavens and the earth together with its inhabitants are fastened to it, as it is God's supporter, while God is its protector. Nothing in it antedates Him, His majesty be elevated!"

2^b

435 Apparently, the Essence of the Gospel shares its uncreatedness with the Quran according to mainstream Islamic theology. See for instance EQ, vol. 1, s.v. Createdness of the Qur'an (article by Richard C. Martin).

436 Arabic: *al-Dhikr al-ḥakīm*, a Quranic expression referring to the contents of the Quran itself: "*dhālika natlūhu 'alayka min al-āyāt wa-al-dhikr al-ḥakīm*" (Quran S. 3:58).

437 Identified in the Islamic concept of revelation as the Archangel Gabriel.

He then said to her: “Our Lady, tell us about it, so that we will know it and acquire light from it.”

She answered: “God entrusted you with a portion of knowledge that corresponds to the scope of your souls and no more, in order to admonish you by the Noble Gospel. This is written down only in the hearts [of men] and their memory. Therefore admonish the people, as Jesus, God’s Spirit, commanded you to do. This Essence is its spirit,⁴³⁸ by the command of my Lord. Only when God wills may a person bring knowledge thereof. To unveil its secret is given to no creature in this time, rather | He postponed this to the end of time, as a sign of His mercy toward His servants. And know that in its copy⁴³⁹ there is a victory for the Gospel, as well as guidance, mercy, certainty and bliss for the believers.”

Peter said to her: “Our Lady, tell us about that time and the matters related to it.”

She answered him: “That is a time of extreme dissension and unbelief among the sects and the nations of the non-Arabs concerning Jesus, the Spirit of God, and his Noble Gospel, from the East to the West, and from the South to the North. They will reject the truth of the Gospel, deviate from it, change it, and sell it left and right, and also the Torah. They will deny the truth of God and the truth of Jesus, the Spirit of God, and split up fanatically and with great animosity, until the religion becomes strange, as it began among them.⁴⁴⁰ Because of this dissension there will also be | among them excessive treason, scarcity of justice, greed, the eating of forbidden food, the following of feelings of lust, heavy oppression of servants on the part of the kings and their rich men, which will be heavy upon them in that time—all this contrary to the pleasure of God and the rules of His true religion. Until that time God has postponed this *Essence*, to make His true religion victorious, a time in which there is no prophet and no revelation, in it nor after it, except by transmission [thereof] in particular, and [that time] is close to the Hour. And for that matter I have been commanded to bring it out of Ramat al-Hamal,⁴⁴¹ where we are [now].”

Peter asked her: “Why was this city called *Ramat al-Hamal*?”

She answered: “Because God subjected it, together with its infidel inhabitants, to neglect and made them, their children and the children of their children the subject of His wrath. No flag will be raised for them in this world nor

438 Viz. of the Gospel.

439 Arabic: *fī nuskhathihā*, a reference to LP17, especially its cover page with the Seal of Solomon and its legends. These legends correspond closely with the description given here.

440 Derived from the *ḥadīth*: “*Bada’ā al-islām gharīban wa-ya’ūdu kamā bada’ā.*”

441 “The height of neglect”, referring to Jerusalem.

in the world to come, as | they are under God's anger until the Day of Resurrection, while they remain forever in Hell, no stone remaining on the other, because of their great error and their denial of Jesus, the Spirit of God and its Noble Gospel, they being the worst of His creation." 4^a

Peter said: "And what do you command us to do with this *Essence*?"

She answered: "I have been ordered to do with it like what was done with the *Tablets* of Moses. As for its copy, James should bring it to a remote district of the earth and preserve it there in a sacred place, where God will protect it until that promised time, as defined in His prescience."

Peter said: "Tell us how God will make it public to support His religion in a corrupt time and through whom He will make His Gospel victorious, as you described to me."

She answered: "This *Essence* is the light of the holy believing Church, and a survey of its truth. | It has no light without it, neither do any of the inhabitants of the world. It is entrusted by God and protected by the custody of the angel Gabriel. Thus, when dissension, depravity and splitting become extreme among the nations of the non-Arabs, concerning Jesus, the Spirit of God, and his Noble Gospel, as I described to you, the angels and saints together will complain [about this] to God, and implore Him to make His true religion victorious over unbelief and error, and eliminate them from existence. God will answer their prayers, and Gabriel will cry out over the earth, by His command. Thereupon the sacred place in the bowels of which he placed it will open, and God will make it public, together with the book that is together with it,⁴⁴² by a pious priest,⁴⁴³ as was determined in His eternal prescience. When it is made public the hearts of the inhabitants of the earth will incline towards it, to hear it and to believe in the truth of the Noble Gospel, by God's permission and His grace upon them, because it is able to do anything. And God will make His religion victorious | in a striking victory, through peoples of the best of His creation, from among the children of Adam." 4^b

Peter said to her: "Our Lady, who are these peoples?"

She answered: "The Arabs and their language! I tell you that the Arabs are the best people, and their language the best language. God chose them to support His religion at the end of time, after they had been its worst enemy. For that case God will grant them power, rule and judgment, because God will single out by His grace whomever He wants from among His servants, as Jesus told me: 'The word of punishment and the disappearance of their kingship has been

442 i.e with the undecipherable book.

443 Arabic: *ṣāliḥ al-faqīh*.

announced against the Children of Israel, no standard will be raised for them ever more. But the Arabs and their language will, at the end of time, support God and His true religion, His Noble Gospel and his Holy Church.’”

5^b He then said: “Our Lady, tell us how this will be, so that our hearts will be at rest.”

She answered: “Know that in the farthest West there is a country called Spain, it being a remote district of the earth. In it God preserves the copy of this *Essence*. When the time is fulfilled by the said extremism God will make it public, as I described to you, together with the book that is with it,⁴⁴⁴ through a pious priest, as I described earlier. And the Protector will be one of the hidden servants of God. No one but he will be able to perform that matter in that time.”

Peter told her: “Our Lady, who will be that Protector of our religion?”

She answered: “He will be the most noxious enemy of the peoples of the non-Arabs from among the kings of the Arabs in the Great Council.”

He asked: “What is that Great Council, our Lady?”

6^a She answered: “When | that time approaches, God will send one of the kings of the East, with a people eager to conquer. God will grant him a great kingdom, oppressive power, and terror in the hearts of people, even into the West, over all other nations. He will be a king of the Arabs, without being an Arab [himself]. And when God makes this *Essence* public in the already mentioned holy place, God will prove its truth and the truth of His Noble Gospel, as well as the truth of His Spirit, Jesus, and His books and His miracles by many miracles coming from the highest heaven and the lowest earth, in that holy place in which He preserves it, so that no intelligent person will be able to deny it.

On that occasion, matters will undoubtedly be eased to allow for the victory of the Gospel and its Essence. God will bring the hearts of kings and subjects
6^b together, in the East |, the West, the South and the North. Even if the whole earth should work together it would not be able to stop them, but God will grant them success, towards His obedience, and bring all of them together. Thus the best of the learned exegetes and translators will come together in that Council from among the nations of the world with their unique knowledge. Blessed are the ones who do [not] see this but believe in these my words. Their reward from God will be great.

It will be the first Council to which the Arabs and their non-Arab followers will be convoked, and the last in the world. They will answer this call by the permission of God, because of the book in their Arabic language, as it will be the spoken language at that time. When they are called they will come together

444 Or books that are together with it.

with desire and sincerely, to spur the reading of the book and to know what is in it, for the obedience of God. And when they unite they will be strongly convinced by it |, so that their ruses will be exculpated altogether.

7^a

At that time God will send the weakest of His creation to explain the Essence of the Gospel about which they are divided, by the light of the Holy Spirit. And I tell you that nobody before that time will be able to explain it, because God has postponed everything for a specific time, arranging it in details, by His grace. When that servant has explained it, nobody will be able to deny it. Thus God will make the truth public, as He made it public by Moses in the presence of Pharaoh. Falsehood will then be confounded by miracles, as Pharaoh and the magicians were confounded. Thus also, the erroneous, the infidels and those who reject the Gospel will be confounded. | God will make His religion and His holy believing Church victorious, and [also] for those who ask Him for a clear victory, terror turning into security, and unbelief, contrarily, into faith. Religion will all be one. Hypocrisy will be dissolved from the world. God will manifestly chase away unbelief and error. That blessing and peacefulness will last as long as God wills, but those will be few days in which many servants will believe and be utterly happy. After that corruption returns, and after that only the Antichrist will be expected, may God curse him! Know that everything I have described to you is brought about by God's miracle through His great signs and power. Blessed be the vicariate of Jesus in Christendom, as well as the assembly of the holy believing Church and those kings who exert them for the cause of the said Council | at that time, and engage themselves for its sake with pure intention, for the obedience of God, because God will make them victorious through it, in this world and the next. There will be a great reward with Him, but perdition, once again perdition, be upon the infidels."

7^b8^a

Then Peter said: "Tell us at what site the Council will take place, so that we may draw blessing from it [by visiting it]."

She answered: "It will be in the Land of the Greeks, on an island in the sea called Subbar, in a city in it, the true name of which is City of the Sea, viz. the city of science, holiness and religion. It [is situated] in the center of the world between the nations for that purpose. An Arab king will take possession of it from the Venetians, though he is not an Arab [himself], living in the East when this matter comes to an end in that time. | Blessed are those who will enter it at that time with a [pure] intention towards that matter, and who will believe in the decisions agreed upon by that Great Council concerning the *Essence of the Glorious Gospel* and the books⁴⁴⁵ that are with it. And perdition be upon him

8^b

445 Or book.

who withholds himself from it and who blocks [the council itself] and [blocks] others from attending it.”

Then she took the said *Tablets* and we went out with her in the darkness of night towards the city near the Mount of Olives. There she implored God, and behold the mountain opened, with radiation of an enormous light from heaven, while the Tablets were taken into its bowels, whereupon [the mountain] was closed in their⁴⁴⁶ presence. We then returned to her house with her.

9^a She then turned to me and said: “James, go with the copy of the tablets of this *Essence* to | the coast of the sea, where God will provide you with a rescue boat and with its captain, the Angel Gabriel. And do not fear for it, neither for the book, because God will protect both of them and you as well, on the sea together with those who are with you, by His utmost care, as He protected the ark of Noah in the waters and on the earth, and as He protected Jonah in the entrails of the whale, until he put him on [land]. When you reach Spain, enter it from the side of the East, and at the place where a dead man will be revived, to preserve it safely in it. After having completed that, admonish its inhabitants about it, and do not leave it before one of God’s servants believes you. That will be a proof of your patience in preaching, and an admonishing from God that He loves the patient. You are indeed | a preacher to a people more stubborn than 9^b they, but no one else than he alone will believe you, and you will be distressed. Your disciples will conquer it after you for their faith, while some of them will die as martyrs for it in that sacred place. Leave it, when that servant become a believer by a road different from the one you took when you entered it. Then go to the land of the Samaritans and preach to them. This is what I convey to you about the future, from God’s prescience. And do not fear: the life to come will lead you towards the right way.”

10^a Then I left her with joy. I brought together my disciples, Tis‘ūn the Arab, his brother Cecilio, as well as al-Ḥissi⁴⁴⁷ the Hebrew, Ṭurqatariuh⁴⁴⁸ of Pheton the Greek, Afrāj⁴⁴⁹ the Chaldean | and Al-Ishqandar the Samaritan.

We reached the coast of the sea in the deepest darkness of night and found the ship promised by her to us by a light from God. We boarded it and I sailed the sea with the angel as captain and a favorable wind towards the eastern parts of Spain, where we entered the country towards this mountain, opposite the

446 *Sic.*

447 Here, as well as in the parallel passage in LP20, fol. 7^b, we have stayed close to the names as we find them in the Lead Book texts. Al-Ḥissi is perhaps a reference to Hiscius.

448 Perhaps a reference to Torquatus.

449 Perhaps a reference to Euphrasius.

river filled with ore.⁴⁵⁰ We stayed near it in order to take rest from the fatigue of the journey and from the heat, and to take some food.

I placed the Tablets and the books⁴⁵¹ on the earth, which began to tremble, and one of God's servants was resurrected from his grave in it.

He said to me: "Why did you resurrect me from this my grave, and from the rest I enjoyed from the torment of the world and its adversities | from the time of Moses, the prophet of God, while my soul was blissful after him?" 10^b

I answered him: "It was not I who resurrected you, rather the power of God resurrected you, as well as the copy of the *Essence of the Glorious Gospel*. What is your name?"

He answered me: "My name is al-Ḥaqq [the Truth], and what is your name?"

I answered: "I am James, one of the apostles of Jesus, the son of Mary, the Spirit of God, who was foretold by the prophecies of the Children of Israel."

He said to me: "Welcome to you, my soul is blissful with that, I am happy to have met you. However, I wish that you would bring me back to this my place of rest." This I did, whereupon he returned to his prior state.

I rested together with my disciples for forty days on this mountain, and I compiled on it this history, as I had been commanded, so that the servants would know the truth at the end of time. Together with the Tablets | of the copy of the *Essence of the Gospel* and the books,⁴⁵² I placed it in a cave of this Sacred Mountain, charging my disciples to visit it frequently after me. And I told them what Holy Mary had said to me about them. I ordered them to preserve it well, because it is one of the most excellent mountains, after the mountains of the Holy Land, it being the key of blessing for the servants. I also counseled them to preserve their books in it as an aid in the victorious defense of the religion at the End of Days. Thus they thanked God for His graces bestowed upon them. After that I departed with them, as I had been ordered. 11^a

Here ends the book, through the hands of the Arab.

Every Book is the Truth.

450 The Darro.

451 Or: book.

452 Or book.

LP16

2^a *Book of the Intimate Conversations of the Virgin Mary.*

2^b Book of the Allegories of the Mysteries that the Holy Virgin Mary saw by the grace of God during the night of her intimate spiritual conversations with God, by James, the son of Shamikh al-Zabadi the Apostle, written by her order at the hands of her secretary and disciple Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā.

James, the son of Shamikh al-Zabadi the Apostle, said: When fifty-two days after the demise of our lord Jesus had passed, the Holy Virgin Mary, his mother, brought us together in her house. [We were] twelve apostles, as our number has been completed by revelation with our brother Matiyah. In the presence of her sisters she related: “Gabriel the Angel told me that on this day God will teach you from His knowledge what befits your personal capacity of understanding His words and mine to you, so that your words will be rightly placed in the world and God will fulfil His grace on the servants He wishes. Thus, ask God for help so that He will guide you out of His grace, as He guides whomsoever He wishes, and confirms the believers with firm words. Therefore implore God sincerely and turn repentantly towards Him.”

3^a Thus we implored Him in obedience to his command, and behold!, a pleasant sound | descended upon us from heaven with a dazzling light, while the house reflected its rays and God filled our congregation with the attainment of knowledge, by the Spirit acting on His behalf, of various kinds of spoken languages, so that our gathering spoke them perfectly. For this we thanked God with her, and on that occasion we sat down around her.

She said: “Listen to the words I will tell you about the enormous mysteries God showed me, alluded to in these allegories, during the night of my intimate conversations with Him out of His grace, which I was chosen to describe because of their importance.”

She further said: “While one night I was devoting myself to God’s remembrance and was thinking about my longing for my son Jesus, I heard a beautiful voice behind me from the side of heaven, saying: ‘Oh Mary!’ I turned towards it, and behold! the rays of a light captured my sight awakening my body, and I was passing my time spiritually between Şafā and Marwa. Then, behold! a venerable angel whose enormous majesty is known only to God, clad in a light on which nobody would be able to look. I said to him: ‘Who are you from among the angels of my Lord?’ He answered me: ‘I am Gabriel; God has chosen you as a miraculous sign of His generosity and good tidings, that He might speak to you intimately during this night in order to show you enormous mysteries He never showed to any of the women of the whole world before you, and to

show you your son Jesus.' I answered: 'Welcome to you, as you are a messenger from the Lord of the Universe. I will obey His command, so do as you were told.' He took me by my right hand and placed me | at the gate of the temple, in front of the altar, and behold me finding myself in a cupola of shining light, the value of which is known to God only. And in it there was a chair of light, while a knight was approaching it like the wink of an eye, whose enormous size and power are known to God alone. Angels were surrounding it from every side, while [Gabriel] made a stand in front of me, while I asked the angel: 'Who is this knight, and what are this cupola and chair?' 3^b

He answered me: 'The knight is one of God's venerable angels, called Guidance, and his horse is called the Horse of Power, while the cupola is called the Cupola of Satisfaction, and its chair the Chair of Obedience. God granted them to you out of His grace, as foreseen in His foreknowledge.'

I asked him: 'Why is the knight called Guidance and his horse the Horse of Power, while the cupola is called the Cupola of Satisfaction and the chair the Chair of Obedience?'

He answered me: 'The knight is called Guidance because he guides you through me towards the mysteries of the Exalted Lord. And his horse is called the Horse of Power because the power of the Lord is carrying you in accordance with the command given⁴⁵³ towards Him. And by the Cupola of Satisfaction God is satisfied with you, while by the Chair of Obedience He honors you, as satisfaction and obedience elevate you over the women of the universe for all eternity.'

So I said to him: 'Why are you called Gabriel and I Mary?'

He answered: 'I was called Gabriel because God restored⁴⁵⁴ through me many nations [thus saving them] from death, and He [also] restored⁴⁵⁵ through me the Noble Gospel in the world | by sending [me] to you with the annunciation of His Spirit Jesus, as I, as well as the angels, will inform you about him this night. And you were called Mary because God put in you a mercy like the salt in the sea and more, and a blessing like the light of the sun He put into the heaven and earth and more, as well as a holiness like [that] He put into the angels of the most intimate circles who do not disobey Him for the twinkling of an eye, and more, and a virginity like [that] He put into the ascetics of the 4^a

453 Arabic: *al-amr al-mmr*. We propose to read: *al-amr al-ma'mūr*. It is also possible to read *al-amr al-mumīrr (ilayhi)*, i.e: the command leading towards Him, or to assume that *al-mmr* is an erroneous grapheme under the influence of the preceding *al-amr*.

454 Arabic: *ajbara*, sharing its three consonants with Jibril (Gabriel).

455 Here also *ajbara* in the Arabic original.

House of Perdition,⁴⁵⁶ and He supported you by the Holy Spirit. He filled you⁴⁵⁷ with light, knowledge, and speech,⁴⁵⁸ He gave you patience and friendship⁴⁵⁹ as befitting this singular position. All this from His grace to you, as you comply with His command and His [preordained] decree. And He sealed upon you as part of His guidance a highly elevated station, as you will see this night. This is what God granted you from His grace upon you.” Hereupon she gave thanks for all this.

4^b During these words he took me away and put me on that chair, and the knight ascended with me in the twinkling of an eye, while Gabriel was with me, without parting from me for even the slightest moment. He placed me in the first heaven called the White Pearl,⁴⁶⁰ and behold! | I found myself among angels whose number, size and power is known only to Him, who created them out of nothing. I turned to the earth and behold! it was in the hand of an angel of enormous power and majesty, it was in the palm of his right hand like a mustard-seed, while he was staring at it, swearing by Him who created heavens and earth that no dust particle or mosquito among its creatures would move on it without his writing down their movements in a clear record,⁴⁶¹ while nothing would fall from the knowledge of his Lord. And behold! the moon drew near to me until it entered [the space] under my feet, while the angels in the cupola where I found myself were saying with beautiful voices: Praise to the One who created you in a shape more beautiful than that of anyone coming after her. After that he returned to his place.

At that moment the knight and Gabriel travelled with me in the twinkling of an eye to the place of the Sanctuary.⁴⁶² I turned to the White Pearl and behold, there were nine choruses of venerable angels beneath me, and each of those choruses had obtained a blessing more than twice as great in privileges and station as the one below it. Only He who created them from naught knows their enormous power and their number. The food of those angels was praise and their beverage was jubilation, their clothes sanctification. They were speaking

456 Arabic: *Dār al-Fanā*, this world, contrary to the House of Eternity (*Dār al-Baqā*), the after-world.

457 Arabic: *mlk*, to be understood as *malaʿaki*, i.e., He filled you.

458 Written in the original: *wʿlsnan*, to be understood as: *wa-lisānan*.

459 Arabic: *wilāya*, nearness to God, the Islamic concept of sainthood.

460 In the Arabic original: *al-durra al-baiḍā*. This is the name of the 7th, i.e., the highest heaven in a widespread (spurious) hadith, one of the *Isrāʾīlīyyāt*, dealing with the names and colors of the seven heavens. The precise source from which our author took the text of the hadith remains to be identified.

461 In the Arabic original: *fī kitāb mubīn*. The concept is Quranic. Cf. Sura 6:59.

462 The House of God.

with beautiful voices in different languages | and with homogeneous joy, without interrupting that joy for a moment. Thus I praised, jubilated and sanctified [along] with their praise, jubilation and sanctification. 5^a

When they noticed me, their assembly said to the angel: 'Who is that woman with you?'

He answered them: 'She is the Virgin Mary, pure from all sins, the mother of Jesus the Spirit of God.' And behold, the nine choruses were saying with one voice: 'Praise to Him who possesses a kingdom that does not end and properties that do not change, a majesty that cannot be grasped, and a sublimity that cannot be undone. He elevates and lowers whomsoever He wishes, He guides and leads into error whomsoever He wishes, while He possesses all knowledge, all blessings and mercy, and all justice, without lacking anything of all this, He being mighty over everything.'

At that moment they welcomed me with various expressions of welcoming and joy, whereupon they returned to their task⁴⁶³ of imploring God. By Him who honored me from His mercy and privilege, anyone of the people of the world who heard only one voice of those angels would die out of longing for God and His blessings. I looked at the place of the Sanctuary before me. Its gate was opened |, no one knows its enormous size but God. There was an angel put in charge of it of enormous size and majesty, holding the keys of the mansions of the stations of the venerable angels in his hand. Were these to be brought out to the Abode of the World, everything between heaven and earth would have been filled, but this angel held them in the palm of his right hand, and for him they did not weigh even as much as a mustard-seed. He swore by the Almighty God with a beautiful voice that no one would withhold whomsoever would wish to enter upon that gate, because God listens to those who obey Him and implore Him with a pure heart, good intention and sincerity, as He answers the prayers of the believers. 5^b

I asked him: 'Gabriel, who is the venerable angel among the angels of my Lord, and what is the name of that noble gate?'

He answered me: 'The angel is called Love and the gate is called the Gate of Award. Then I turned to the right, and behold, I found myself in an enormous gate of green emerald, the value of which is known only to God.'

I asked him: 'What is this gate?'

He answered me: 'From that gate are shown the blessings bestowed by God on His pious servants. Do you want me to open it for you?'

I answered him: 'Yes, indeed!'

463 The original has *'dfat*, which we understand as *wazifat*.

He told me: “Then, say: “There is no god but God; beside Him there is no [other] lord!””

I said it, he opened the gate to me at once, and behold, an angel of enormous size | and majesty whose head rose above the highest heaven and whose feet were on the lowest earth, extending his arms, was praying to God with a beautiful voice, saying: ‘Oh God, whose mercy encompasses everything, forgive your believing servants and make them of the people of your Paradise, You are mighty over everything.’

I asked him: ‘who is that venerable angel?’

He answered me: ‘He is the Angel of Mercy. God created him out of mercy for His servants. I thanked God for that blessing.’ Then I turned to the side in front of me, and behold, there was an insignificant⁴⁶⁴ lamb and on its head there was a crown, on which a line was written in a brilliant light, like this:



FIGURE 35 LP 16, fol. 6^a. Line in cryptic script

On it there was a threefold deerhorn of enormous size with glittering rays.

I asked him: ‘what is that small lamb and what is the line in its crown and the threefold deerhorn⁴⁶⁵ which is upon it?’

He answered me: ‘If the Children of Adam knew its value contained in the twenty-two letters in its crown, they would rejoice greatly and weep greatly, but God has postponed that secret to a day known to Him on which He will explain it.’

At that moment the knight and Gabriel set out with me through that gate to green meadows of the color of fine silk, called the meadows of mercy. He stopped me in a high place, and behold, I found myself facing a land | on which

464 In the Arabic original: *nsrī*, read: *nathrī*, petty, insignificant.

465 In the Arabic original: *al-sh'āb*; the translation is tentative.

there was a wall of white decorated silver, plated with colored pearls the value whereof is known only to God. In it there were four gates, a gate of the Orient, a gate of the Occident, one of the South and one of the North. And on each of these gates an angel of enormous power and majesty emitted a bright light. Between one gate and another there were four rivers that sprang from that area, with water purer than filtered water, and sweeter than honey, their value being known to God only. If one of them streamed out towards the Abode of the World it would fill the space between heavens and earth in the twinkling of an eye. But God diverts that water through His mercy to where He wishes.

Then I asked the angel: 'What is that land?'

He answered: 'It is Paradise, promised by God to His holy servants.'

I asked: 'Tell me the names of the four gates.'

He answered me: 'The gate at the East is called the Gate of Intention, the second gate, at the opposite side, the Gate of Faith; the third gate at the South is called the Gate of Hope and the northern gate, at the opposite side, the Gate of Tolerance and Magnanimity. Those four gates are the gates of the citadel⁴⁶⁶ of that area, connected with its first wall.'

While ...,⁴⁶⁷ I found myself with an angel of great power | and majesty who left the Gate of Intention, and called out with a beautiful voice, swearing by Him who created heaven and earth that nobody would enter that land in whose heart there were merely a mustard seed of arrogance and that he would never see it. 7^a

I asked him: 'Gabriel, which of the venerable angels of my Lord is that?'

He answered me: 'That is the Angel of the Father, whose name is Justice.'

I asked him: 'Show me Paradise, I [would] like to see it.'

He answered me: 'Say: "There is no god but God, no lord but He!"' And when I had said that, He at once made me enter through the gate from which the angel had come out and stopped me at a gate in front of the citadel, of enormous breadth and length. There I found myself with an angel of great power and majesty, who emitted a brightly shining light, holding the keys of the gates of its palaces and dwellings in his hand. Were they [the keys] to be brought out to the Abode of the World, everything between heaven and earth would be filled, but that angel was holding them in the palm of his hand⁴⁶⁸ and they did not even fill the palm of his hand and were not heavy [to him].

I asked him: 'Who is he from among the venerable angels of my Lord?'

He answered: 'He is the Guardian of Paradise.'

466 Arabic: *mashwar*, a Maghribi term; see Dozy, S I, 800.

467 Some words apparently omitted in the Arabic original.

468 In Arabic: *fī šūrdaq yadihi*; cf. DS I 648, s.v. *srđq*, where this precise meaning is not given.

He asked Gabriel: 'Who is that woman with you?'

He answered: 'She is the Virgin Mary who is totally immaculate from sins. Not the slightest element of arrogance has ever touched her. Open the gate, so that she will see Paradise!'

7^b He answered him: 'Do you not know, Gabriel, that I was ordered by God not to open that gate to any of the inhabitants of the world, except after the Day of Reckoning? Because whosoever enters through its gates | will stay there forever, he will never leave it and will not be judged.'

Then Gabriel told him: 'But I have been ordered to show her Paradise.'

Then the angel answered him: 'Yes, Gabriel, I also have been ordered by my Lord to show it to her, from a dwelling through the gallery.'⁴⁶⁹ Thus we entered the citadel through the Gate of Faith and he set out with me to a high dwelling the value of which is known to God only.

I asked Gabriel: 'What is this dwelling?'

He answered me: 'This is your dwelling that God granted you out of His mercy, and I tell you that no one knows the blessings therein but God, and no one is able to describe them. I thanked God for it, but did not speak of anything thereof. He established me in that dwelling, which is in a high place attached to Paradise in the universe of God.' I⁴⁷⁰ saw it without anyone entering its gates, with a clear eye, it being fortified with a second wall plated with red gold decorated with various ornaments and interspersed with pearls of various colors, whose value is known only to Him who created them from naught. It had in that wall eight gates, at each side [whereof] there were two more gates, in addition to a gate between the two of them towards the citadel. The gates were of white silver, their locks of red gold, their value being known only to God. The distance between one gate and another was that of a rider's journey of a hundred thousand years when traveling at full speed.

I said: 'Gabriel, tell me the names of these eight gates of Paradise.'

8^a He answered: 'Their names are the Eight Beatitudes God promised to His servants in the Highly Esteemed Gospel'⁴⁷¹ | and which you know.'

I said: 'Yes!' And I saw them'⁴⁷² shining with a light without coldness or heat, but of peace and justice. In them I saw creeks, each of which was the length of a journey of a thousand years. Their water was purer than filtered water and

469 Preserving her modesty and dignity, as from that place she would remain invisible to outsiders.

470 In the original: she saw it, see below.

471 Matthew 5:3–8.

472 In the original: she saw them, but we presume the correct reading would be: *fa-ra'aytuhā*, in view of the context.

sweeter than honey. Springs welled up into rivers and rivers entered upon them, of a value and number known only to Him who created them from naught. The earth of Paradise is yellow musk, its stones white and red gems, green emeralds, fine jewels of peridot, and topazes of different colors. I saw in it palaces of red gold and white silver decorated with various kinds of ornamentation, covering and embellishment. The length of each of these was as far as the eye can see in the Abode of the World and on top of them there were gardens with a view of Paradise. The value of the whole world would not be equal to that of one of its keys.⁴⁷³ I saw in them green trees with enormous fruits; it would birds fifty years of flying under one of their trees. There were also fruits called sanctification, praise, and psalmody, which were the fruit of the inhabitants of Paradise. I turned to its center and behold, | I encountered an enormously broad and long tree. A rider would travel for five hundred years without leaving its shadow. Its sight is intimidating, the value of its fruit and its various kinds is known to God only.

8^b

I said: 'Gabriel, what is that tree?'

He answered me: 'That is the Tree of Life, called Felicity.' And I saw in that Paradise high pulpits; beneath them were dwellings; beneath them [professorial] chairs; beneath them seats; beneath them carpets, [all of them] prepared by God, who alone knows their value, for His servants. All that was in the palaces as well as in the meadows of fine green silk, the value of the shining light whereof is known to God only. And I saw a number of venerable angels of an enormous power counted by God only. They were praising and sanctifying God with beautiful voices without any interruption. I copied them in everything.

And [I said]: 'Gabriel, who are those angels and why did God place them in Paradise?'

He answered me: 'God created them as a mercy for His servants. There is no hatred or jealousy in Paradise, neither proof nor perdition, no urinating or defecation, no dirt or misery. But there is a happy, beautiful life, eternal felicity, and enjoying the pleasure | of God, eternity. And I say to you that if a man from the inhabitants of the world heard a voice of the angels created by God therein, he would die out of longing for Paradise. By Him who created me out of mercy from Him for His servants, I inform [you] on behalf of Gabriel that he told me that if a woman from the inhabitants of Paradise appeared to the Abode of the World, her light would eclipse the light of the sun, and her odor

9^a

473 The text literally says: the price-value of one of its keys would not be equal to that of the whole world, but we believe the meaning of our translation must have been intended here.

would be diffused to all sections of the earth, while her saliva, if falling into the seas, would make it sweeter than honey; if a breath issued from her mouth, fire would become cool and peaceful. And [all] that would be the least felicity of Paradise.’

I saw in it that the blessings, case after case, were of different kinds, no case of someone entering it resembling the other, and never lacking in someone who was entering. I saw in it felicity and joy, remembrance and relaxation, clothing of different kinds of robes,⁴⁷⁴ as well as fruits, victories and light that no eye has seen and no ear has heard and that has not occurred to the mind of any human being and that nobody is able to describe, and is known only to God. Then I raised my head and behold, I found myself with a veil over it completely, reflecting a shining light, and there was an angel coming out of that veil calling
 9^b out with a beautiful voice heard by all | the angels that were in the utmost part of Paradise, saying: ‘Praise, praise, praise, sanctify, sanctify, sanctify the Lord of the angels and the Spirit.’ And behold, the angels together answered him in one voice, saying: ‘There is no god but He, no lord but He, not after Him and not before Him!’ Then they returned to the choicest invocation of God that they were praying before.

I then said to him: ‘Gabriel, who is that venerable angel of my Lord?’

He answered me: ‘Mary, he is the Angel of the Veil (*ḥijāb*), called Gatekeeper (*ḥājib*).’ Then he swore by the One who created heavens and earth that he would not lift that veil and that no one would see God openly, before the everlasting stay of the servants in that Paradise.

I then asked: ‘Gabriel, what is that veil?’

He answered me: ‘But for that veil, Adam would not have disobeyed his Lord.’

I asked him: ‘Do you believe that this is the Paradise in which God placed Adam?’

He answered me: ‘Yes!’

I said: ‘Gabriel, did God not promise us in His Book that the Paradise in which he placed Adam was in the Eastern parts of the earth?’

He answered me: ‘Yes, Mary, but you should know that there is no [other] paradise beneath the White Pearl than that of perdition.⁴⁷⁵ But God set that paradise as an example for His servants, as an allegory of this Paradise, and God hid it [this Paradise] below it [i.e. the paradise of perdition below the White Pearl], in order for them to remember a small part of His blessings upon them.’

474 In the original: *al-taḥlīl wa-al-takhlīl*; our translation is tentative; cf. DS s.v. *ḥll* and *khll*.

475 Here the White Pearl is the lowest, not the highest paradise.

I said: 'Gabriel, why did God veil Himself from Adam with that veil, | if it was the cause of his disobedience?' 10^a

He answered me: 'God is not veiled, and no veil is able to veil Him, because God is in every place, and He is the first before everything, and the one apparent by everything and in everything as well as from everything, and the one remaining after everything, more enormous than everything, the powerful and forceful over everything, greater than everything, so how would anything veil Him? However, as for Adam and his offspring, they are the ones who are veiled from Him, because of His earlier prescience, so that he would reach the highest level of the faith, which receives the highest reward from God.⁴⁷⁶ If Adam had resisted the Intrigue⁴⁷⁷ he would have remained in Paradise forever, but without receiving the degrees of reward that he and his holy offspring are receiving by lifting the veil after the Reckoning and the eternal stay in Paradise. Thus the servants are veiled from the sight of Him, until that time in the citadels of Paradise, as I described to you, and He [then] is not veiled from them, ever. Nay, He is close together with them. Nothing is closer to them than He, the Hearer, the Seer, who knows the hidden, knows what is in themselves, while none of them knows what is in Himself, Praised be He, High is His Majesty, there is no lord but He! And know that underneath that veil is the greatest sight and the most encompassing blessing, viz. that servants will look upon the venerable face of God.'

I asked him: 'If no one will enter Paradise before | the Day of Reckoning, how then did Satan enter it and tempt my father Adam and expel him from it?' 10^b

He answered me: 'He entered by permission of God and His justice, because of His earlier prescience. The way of the veil occurred after Adam's expulsion from it.'

After he had finished those words, the knight and Gabriel set out with me and stopped me in the Citadel of the Faith of Paradise. And behold, I found myself with a man of beautiful face sitting on a pulpit of brilliant light, while many spirits around him were rejoicing with him, as a light was covering his back into which nobody could look.

I asked him: 'Who is that venerable prophet of God and what are the spirits around him?'

He answered me: 'He is your father Adam and the spirits around him are the ancient prophets. Draw near to him and kiss him, because he is your forefather and the father of your forefathers. Thus we drew near to him and greeted him.'

476 See Coppens, *Visions*, 158.

477 See Coppens, *Visions*, 138.

He said to Gabriel: 'Who is that good woman who is with you?'

He answered him: 'She is Holy Mary, who is immaculate from all sins, the mother of the Spirit of God Jesus, Savior for you and your offspring from perdition.'

He answered: 'Praise be to God for having met her! With how much longing I was waiting for her!'

He also said: 'I and my offspring met with the Spirit of God your son, and my Lord let me hear a prophecy about meeting you and he announced it to me, but I did not see you until this very hour. I wanted to kiss his hand, but he did not agree to it, but made it on his head.'⁴⁷⁸

11^a I said: 'Gabriel, what is that light | on the back of my father Adam?'

He answered me: 'That is the light of the Blessed One in the *Tawrāt*, which did not leave him for a moment since God created him, because if it had left him [only] for the twinkling of an eye at the time of his disobedience, the evident perdition would have overcome him and he would not have entered Paradise, neither any one of his offspring.' I praised God for that great favor, while seeing the spirits entering the citadels of that Paradise in felicity—only God knows their number!

I asked: 'How long will they remain in those citadels?'

He answered me: 'They will remain there until the Day of Reckoning. Thereafter they will enter Paradise, because he who enters Paradise will have to undergo no Reckoning and will not leave it forever.'

When he had finished this, the knight and Gabriel set out with me and stopped me before the Presence of the Holy, and behold, I found myself with an angel of enormous size and majesty who emitted a shining light, and before him there was a fort, the enormous size of which was known to God only. In his hand he held a large trumpet, while he stared at that lofty building without ever turning to anything else.

I asked: 'Who is that angel, Gabriel?'

He answered me: 'Know that that angel is the Angel of Resurrection, and the fortress is called the Fortress of Imprisonment, that being the place where [the trumpet] is blown. And the trumpet is his cry. He stands there in that way from the day God created him until the Day of Resurrection. His voice will be spread
11^b over the earth, as it will be | in heaven.' Then I turned to my left side, and behold, I encountered a black gate of iron on which there was a lock of beaten copper the value of which is known only to God.

478 As an expression of love, rather than respect for his authority expressed by a kiss on his hand.

I asked him: 'Gabriel, what is that heavy gate?'

He answered me: 'That is a gate through which the meadows of justice become visible. If you like, I will open it for you.' Say: "There is no god but God, no Lord but He!" I said it and he opened the door for me at once. I halted at it, and Gabriel and the knight hid their light.

I asked them: 'Why did you hide your light?'

Gabriel answered me: 'God is not pleased with the light of His angels in those meadows, but decreed for them something you will see right away.' I looked at them, and behold, they were covered by darkness and clouds, while I found myself in an enormous dark-red twilight from which rays were shining that were on those meadows. Then the clouds disappeared from upon them and all there was of them became visible.

I asked: 'Gabriel, what is that twilight?'

He answered me: 'That is the light of God's justice residing in those meadows, but on the Day of Resurrection its light will shine like the light of His mercy.'

Then I found myself in a land in their midst fortified by a wall of black iron, the enormous thickness and breadth of which is known only to God. It had seven open gates | of black limestone.⁴⁷⁹ If you entered the earth as you wished through one of these gates, you would be able to do so without any burden. The distance from gate to gate was a journey of a hundred thousand years, at the highest speed of traveling. I saw coming out of it four rivers with black and stinking, ink-colored water. Two of the rivers at the right side [were] dreadfully hot, while the two other rivers at the left side were bursting like snow that is fully frozen. If one of them flowed out to the Abode of Perdition, it would fill the space between heavens and earth in the twinkling of an eye, but God diverts their water towards the world of His curse, and they will not be able to deviate therefrom in any way.

12^a

Thereupon I asked him: 'Gabriel, what is that land and who are its inhabitants?'

He answered me: 'Know that it is the Hell prepared by God for the ignorant infidels who depart from His ways, and who are the object of his wrath, may God curse them! Do you wish that I show it to you?'

I answered: 'Yes!'

He then told me: 'Say: "Praise be to God who created everything, there is no Lord but He!"' I said it, and the Veil of Darkness was raised from Hell, so that

479 Tentative translation, reading the Arabic original as: *qawālik aswad*.

everything in it became visible. I turned towards it and saw a veil beyond it covering it fully, its inner side being black.

Thus I asked him: 'Gabriel, what is that veil?'

12^b He answered: 'That is the Veil of Shadows, its inner side being the Inner Side of Punishment. From it came out an angel of great austerity, only God knowing his enormous size and his majesty. He swore by Him who created heavens and earth with a voice like heavy thunder | that that veil would not be removed from the sinful inhabitants of Hell, and that they would never see God.'

I asked him: 'Who is that angel?'

He told me: 'That is the Angel of Despair, and know that God created Hell in the lowest part of creation and in degrees of deep space. After them there are no more degrees of openness and depth.' I saw an angel coming out of the middle gate, of enormous size and majesty; if its stature set out to the Abode of Perdition, the living would die out of fear and terror of him. In his hand he held the keys to its dwellings and gates, the number of which is known to God only. Everything between heavens and earth would perish if they [the keys] left towards them, but he [only] held them in his left hand. And I saw in his right hand a sword, the value and enormous extension of which is known to God only. He called out with a voice like that of heavy thunder, swearing by Him who created heavens and earth that no one would enter it who had a grain of faith in God and was practicing it. He sat down on that gate.

I asked him: 'Gabriel, who is that cryer and what is his sword?'

He answered me: 'He is the gatekeeper of Hell, his sword is the Sword of Justice.' I was astonished and sought my refuge in God from everything of which I feared oppression.

13^a I then asked: 'Gabriel, relate to me | the names of the gates of Hell!'

He told me: 'They are the seven great dungeons.'

I asked him: 'Why has Paradise eight gates and Hell seven?'

He answered me: 'Know that Paradise has one more gate than Hell, because of the fact that God's mercy overcame His wrath for it and encompassed everything. It is called the Gate of Repentance.'

Then I saw another gate of black iron in the midst of Hell, which was a dungeon. I asked: 'Gabriel, what is that subterranean gate in the midst of Hell?'

He told me: 'That is called Gate of Opinion entered downwards by tyrants, oppressors, polytheists and everyone who opines that there is a deficiency in God. They will dwell in Hell forever. They have lost consciousness while being tormented most painfully. Do you wish me open it?'

I said: 'Yes!'

He said: 'Say: "God be praised,"' which I said, and it was opened at once. I saw then the interior of Hell and its depth, which no one is able to describe in

number or quality. Then I saw a group of angels whose number and power is assessed only by God. On their faces was a stern gravity that no one is able to describe. They were moving between the fires, which did not touch them at all.

I was astonished by this and asked him: 'Who are those angels?' 13^b

He told me: 'God put them in charge of Hell, they are called the Angels of Punishment.'

I asked: 'How are they not touched by the fire and its torment?'

He told me: 'Know that whosoever is touched by the torment and confinement is perforce not able to torment others, as the tormentor is not touched by the torment [himself]. Those angels are from among the venerable angels of God, all of them being in Hell, obeying His orders to them, without deviating from that obedience of Him for the twinkling of an eye. By His justice God established for them a good life with [intervals of] rest from their work, of which they are not negligent for the slightest moment. Their eating and drinking are the remembrance of God's justice and taking revenge on the inhabitants of Hell altogether, while they are happy and are entitled to a great reward from God; because he who obeys God is never touched by damage, even if he finds himself in its bowels surrounded by it, because no power fails God.'

Then I saw in it the devils, may God curse them, whose number and power are known only to Him. If God granted permission to one of them, he would turn all the mountains of the world upside down. But He bound them in the fire and elsewhere | with shackles and burning fetters, tormenting them severely. 14^a

I then asked him: 'Gabriel, would the Devil who expelled Adam from Paradise by intrigue be in Hell and its torment, or in the Abode of the World?'

He answered: 'Mary, know that he stays forever in the fire and its torment, from the day he disobeyed his Lord. And when he leaves it, he will not leave the punishment. Do you wish me to show him to you?'

I answered: 'Yes, Gabriel.' Whereupon he called out: 'O Keeper of Hell, show the Devil, may God curse him, to the Virgin Mary.' He walked all the way around Hell in the twinkling of an eye, until he came across him; He then showed him to me at once. I saw him—only God knows his [real] size and loftiness. He was of dark color, had an open back and a grilled breast. He was bound with shackles and fetters heated by the fire, both hands bound [as well]. However, I saw that his maliciousness was free, especially to prepare any intrigue. If he should set out to the Abode of the World in that stature, the minds of its inhabitants would be taken away and they would die of fear and terror. I felt that my feet were cut off all of a sudden.

Gabriel said: 'Ask him what you want. His maliciousness will overcome you, but he will give you a truthful answer.'

So I asked him: 'What obscured your light?'

He answered: 'Arrogance.'

I asked: 'And what grilled your chest?'

He answered: 'The remembrance of God by His servants.'

14^b I asked: '|: 'What opened your back?'

He answered me: 'The departure of the light of mercy from it at the time of my disobedience.'

I asked: 'And what fettered you?'

He answered: 'Hatred and jealousy.'

I asked: 'Who bound your hands?'

He answered: 'Your son, the Spirit of God.'

I asked him: 'What made you dwell among the fires?'

He answered me: 'Abandoning every trust in God's goodness.'

I asked him: 'What keeps you alive?'

He answered: 'Evil thoughts and wickedness.'

I asked him: 'What feeds you?'

He answered: 'Cursing, lying and intriguing against mankind, because God announced this to me, but He did not give me permission [to proceed] against the people who obey Him because they were protected by Him with the utmost care. He then sighed, may God curse him.'

I asked him: 'What do you love?'

He answered: 'Disobedience and corruption.'

I asked him: 'What do you detest?'

He answered: 'A holy work, which I melt down, as a candle is melted down in the fire.'

I asked: 'Who are your enemies?'

He answered: 'God, Adam, you, your son, and after you [all] holy people.'

I told him: 'Bemoan your sins and return to God, then I will implore Him to accept your repentance and forgive you and include you in His mercy and will free His servants from your evil.'

He answered: 'I am devoid of weeping and regret. How should I weep, as weeping indicates remorse and I am not regretful, and I am incapable of that because God was the cause of my disobedience through Adam. If He had wished to fill me with His blessing, I would not have disobeyed Him. But my disobedience preceded [the actual event of it] in His prescience and by His eternal grace.'

15^a I told him: 'You deviate, o cursed one! God will not change His blessing towards you, as long as you do not change your own [evilness].'

He answered me: 'My sin is too enormous for His mercy, so that He will never forgive me!'

Astonished by his severe deviation, error and intrigue, I said: 'I testify in truth that there is no one more merciful and more equitable than God; you are the worst of His creation and the greatest of all deviators. The withdrawal of His mercy from you is a grace from Him, and His punishment upon you is justice from Him. Go away from me, you cursed one! Thereupon he cried out like heavy thunder and went into the fire.'

And I saw in the midst of it a large tree, the length of every branch of it being equal to a journey of a hundred years, with fruits of various [degrees of] repulsiveness. I asked: 'Gabriel, what are that tree and its fruits?'

He answered me: 'That is the Tree of the Curse, its fruits are [called] the Punishment. They are the food of the inhabitants of the Fire.'

I [also] saw in it snakes and scorpions, as well as vipers and wild animals, salamanders and spiders as well as frogs, whose repulsiveness and poisonous power cannot be described. I [also] saw in it ponds of fire, especially in their midst.⁴⁸⁰ The ponds | were filled with it.

15^b

I asked: 'What are these ponds?'

He answered me: 'They are called the Ponds of Punishment.'

I asked: 'Gabriel, describe to me the different kinds of punishment of the inhabitants of the Fire.'

He answered me: 'Know that there are nine different kinds, viz. the punishment of the feet, of the elbows, of the breast, of the shackles, of the biting, between cold and heat, of drinking and eating, of eternity, and of the veil.

As for the punishment of the feet, here the fire reaches not farther than the heels. As for the punishment of the elbows, in that case the fire reaches the elbows of the evildoers. As for the punishment of the breast, there the fire reaches the said part of the body. As for the punishment of the shackles, those are the shackles, fetters and bonds by which the sinners are fettered. And know that a shackle, if it were placed around a hill on the flat earth, would burn and consume it completely within the twinkling of an eye.

As for the punishment of biting, know that snakes, scorpions, vipers, wild animals, salamanders, spiders and also frogs are poisonous, so that when one of them bites a sinner of the inhabitants of the Fire, the heat of the poison will remain in his body for seven hundred years. The same holds true for those aforementioned snakes and wild animals, as well as for the inflating of frogs. They blow up the bodies of the sinners until a sinner from among the inhabitants of the Fire [himself] no longer knows the size of his own body, except if someone [else] sees him. This |, in order to let the sinners implore God for mercy, while the fire and the torment are clinging to them.

16^a

480 In the midst of the aforementioned animals.

As for the punishment of heat and cold, know that Hell consists of opposites without balance. Its heat does not resemble heat, its cold does not resemble cold. Thus when its inhabitants are tormented with severe heat, they leave for the severe cold, but when they are leaving for it, their punishment increases by the [effect of the] opposites to the extent that they implore the angels in charge of their punishment to bring them back to the fire. But their punishment is not diminished, because of the opposing nature of the cold.

As for the punishment of eating and drinking, their eating is from the Fruit of Punishment of the Tree of the Curse, which is poisoned and stinking. There is nothing delicious in it, and it fills them with thirst. When they eat from it they ask to be given water in abundance, whereupon water of ink and liquid lead is poured for them, as hot as the fire, as well as from the most pressed from Hell. When they drink that, only God knows the torment they are subjected to in their bellies. And know that any inhabitant of the Fire who set out towards the fire of the world would relax in it and sleep, as any living being would relax and sleep after the extreme pains of hunger had left him, because the fire of Hell is seventy times stronger than the fire of the world.

16^b As for the punishment of eternity, [it] is that they know that they will never leave the punishment to which they are subjected and that it will not be diminished for them | for the slightest moment, as long as sovereignty belongs to God, who has no end. This strengthens all their torments.

The seal of their punishment is their being withdrawn from the sight of God's venerable face, which is their most severe punishment.'

Then I turned to the roofs of Hell, and I saw that they were of beaten copper, its stones of burning sulfur, its lakes of fire wherein were descents, the length of each of them being a journey of five hundred years. I saw in it lakes of heated stinking water and of ice-cold stinking water, their dwellings being streams,⁴⁸¹ ponds, hollows, subterranean streams and caves, the length of each of them being a journey of seventy years at its highest speed. And Gabriel told me that the sinners were pressed together in them between the devils and the jinns after the Reckoning.

17^a He told me: 'Know that the accidents of Hell that befall the disobedient are hunger, thirst, pains, exhaustion, unsteadiness, austerity, distress, anxiety, grief, ache, humiliation, desolation, fear, terror, curses, sadness,⁴⁸² animosity, darkness, deception, calamity, misfortune, ignorance, extreme heat, extreme cold, desolation, ugliness, despicability, mourning, | sternness, stinking sweat, cry-

481 The original has: *al-thwāba*, probably derived from *syb*, to flow, to stream.

482 The original has: *zjā'*, grapheme perhaps derived from *sijā*.

ing,⁴⁸³ ... (?), smelting, horror, phantoms, rancor, unbelief, viciousness, error, dusk, heaviness, malice, rotting, famine, humiliating punishment, continuous bad living without end or alleviation, being submitted to the severest probe, more calamitous than twice the misfortunes and accidents of the world, which can never be described by anyone but only be exemplified by allegorical speech.—The people of Paradise, however, experience the contrary of all that, which is known only to God because He is merciful and generous and perfectly graceful to the people of Paradise, and its blessings will never be exhausted. Contrarily, He gives just punishment to the inhabitants of Hell, which cannot be described by anyone.

I turned to its right side, and behold, I encountered a thick wall of black iron, the length of which was a journey of five hundred years. Souls were descending upon it, as rains fall from clouds upon the earth. I said: Gabriel, what are those souls?

He answered: 'Those are the souls of sinners.'

I asked: 'Why do they not enter Hell and do not taste⁴⁸⁴ the fire in it?'

He answered me: 'Know that whosoever enters Hell is no longer subject to the Reckoning, but remains forever in its torment. But the souls of the people of Hell will be judged by God on the Day of Resurrection | after having been brought to life again and having assumed their bodies while their souls are returning to them [those bodies], very severely, before they enter it [Hell]. And for that reason He prepared for them that citadel where they will remain until the Day of its Reckoning. And know that those souls will be tormented by the heat of the fire of Hell and its foul odor, which leaks over them, longing to flame up in them, like the desire of fire to flame up in oils in the Abode of Perdition, and still more in them according to that description until the fixed day [of reckoning]. That heat and foul odor are of a seventy-times-stronger kind in punishing than the fire and foul odor of the world. Then, when they have been judged fully, they will enter the seven gates of Hell for the punishment prepared by God for them. For the lowest part will be chosen the dictators, tyrants, polytheists, and those who opine that there is a deficiency in God, the Lord of the Worlds, [all of them] entering through the Gate of Opinion, which will be closed over them, as you have seen.'

17^b

I then turned to its left side, and behold, I encountered a fort strengthened by walls of copper, the length whereof was a journey of a hundred years. And I saw souls flowing down towards it like the rain in the Abode of Perdition, they

483 The original has *šiyāh*, i.e., *šiyāḥ*.

484 *Ḍwq* from *dhwq*.

18^a being inflamed by the burning heat and the apparent sweat, while the angels were bringing | out some groups of them, going with them towards a gate at the extreme end of the Throne, and passing by me with them.

I asked: 'Gabriel, what is that fort and who are those souls?'

He answered: 'That is the Abode of Retaliation for the believing sinners, which God has prepared for them out of mercy, so that they will be compensated for their sins. The souls leaving it have been retaliated completely. Know that the heat and torment thereof are one out of seventy parts of the heat and torment in Hell. After the retaliation God will bring them into His mercy, and the house will be empty again. Do you not see that angels are bringing those out who have already been retaliated, and carrying them to Paradise?'

I thanked God for that and turned to the left of the Abode of Retaliation and I beheld a veil protecting from heat and flames, thick and large. Behind it was a fort with a length of the journey of one year, wherein were small children who were not affected by heat, cold or punishment, but were merely remaining in that fort.

I asked: 'Gabriel, what is that fort and who are those children in it?'

He answered: 'The fort is called the Fort of Delay, and the children who are in it are those who left the Abode of the World without faith or religious discernment. On the Day of Meeting God will give them whatever He wishes acting thereby out of His love.'

18^b Then I turned to the Western side of Hell, and I found myself in a house of enormous size strengthened with walls of pure⁴⁸⁵ copper. In it there was a natural serenity⁴⁸⁶ | and over it an open dungeon of black iron devoid of any felicity.

I asked: 'Gabriel, what is that house and that open dungeon?'

He answered me: 'That is the House of Heedlessness and its dungeon is called Perdition. The prophets, the saints with Jesus the Spirit of God from among the offspring of Adam passed by it on their way to Paradise. I thanked God for that great grace.'

At that moment the cloud returned over those meadows, as it had been before, and the gate was closed at once. Thus, the knight and Gabriel set out with me in the twinkling of an eye to the utmost end of the Throne of the Lord of the Worlds, whose majesty is elevated over everything. Then I found myself in the presence of waters under it [the throne], purer than distilled water, whose length and breadth are known to God only, but He holds them in that place by His enormous power.

485 Conjectural translation.

486 The original has: *al-iqtishā' al-ṭbī*, our translation being tentative.

And below them I saw a house, whose enormous size is known to God only. Venerable angels were coming out of it, speaking with beautiful voices, saying: Praise to Him who holds fast the holy waters under His throne, there is no lord but He!

I asked Gabriel: 'What is that house and who are those angels?'

He answered me: 'That is called the House of Guarding.⁴⁸⁷ Know that the angels visit it and pass by it to the worlds of God's mercy, every day seventy thousand angels, and they never return and it is never without visitors as long as His sovereignty lasts, | which has no end.' Then the waters opened by His permission and in the twinkling of an eye we passed to the Place of Holiness, which is a noble place under the extension of the throne, whose breadth and length are known to God only. And behold, I found myself in the presence of venerable angels from whom was shining a brilliant light, whose enormous size, majesty and power are known to God only. And behold, a venerable angel of enormous size and majesty appeared from behind a veil before the extension of the Throne, calling out with a beautiful voice: "There is no god but God; there is no lord apart from Him!" Then I found myself in the presence of all those angels who were pronouncing with beautiful voices: "Holy. Holy, holy, praise, praise, praise the Lord of the Angels and the Spirit!"

19^a

I asked him: 'Gabriel, who is that venerable angel of the Lord?'

He answered me: 'I never heard of him from the day God created me, and I discerned him only at this very hour.'

Then I turned to see what was in front of me, and behold, I encountered five closed gates with locks the like of which I had never seen before, whose value is known to God only.

I asked Gabriel: 'What are those gates and the locks on them?'

He answered me: 'As for the first gate, its name is the Gate of the Greatest Name whereby God has named Himself. Therewith He sits on the Throne and thereby creates | everything and manages the affairs of all His creatures. Through it He taught Abraham the Scrolls (*al-ṣuḥuf*), Moses the Torah (*al-tawrāt*), David the Psalter (*al-zabūr*), and Jesus, His Spirit, the Gospel (*al-injīl*), and He revealed it⁴⁸⁸ to all the prophets and apostles. From among His servants, only those whom He wished gained access to it⁴⁸⁹ by His grace. The lock [of this gate] is called the Lock of Power. If you wish that it be opened to you,

19^b

487 The original had: *bait al-iḥtifād*, from *bait al-iḥtifāz*.

488 Or: read it. This may refer to the just-mentioned scriptures, though one would have expected here: *bihim* (plural).

489 Same remark; one would have expected *'alaihim*.

say: "There is no god but God." I said it, and it was opened at once. I saw that it was inscribed with splendid light, and it was revealed to me that I would not be allowed to enter. As for the second gate, it is called the Gate of Knowledge and Judgment, and its lock is called the Truth, to which God has given access to no one. It is never opened because His knowledge and grace cannot be fathomed by any intelligence. As for the third gate, it is called the Gate of the Spirit, and its lock Benevolence. It is opened only to whomever God wishes. It was opened for you at the time of the mission towards you, filling you⁴⁹⁰ with light and knowledge from it. As for the fourth gate, it is called the Gate of the Greatest Secret and its lock is called the Hidden. It is the secret of His essence, majesty and attributes.⁴⁹¹ No one has ever had or will have access to it, praised be He and
 20^a elevated His great majesty! As for | the fifth gate, it is called the Gate of the Hour and its lock is called the Knot. Know that it will come all of a sudden on the day it will be opened. God has given and will give no access to it to any angel of His surrounding or any prophet sent with a mission; no one knows its time but He.'

Then he asked me: 'do you want to see your son Jesus?'

I said: 'Yes, indeed!'

He told me: 'Say: "There is no god but God!"' I said it, and behold, I encountered a veil that was removed from me. I saw the Station of Holiness, as well as a noble place below the extension of the Throne. In it I saw my son Jesus, the Spirit of God, at the right-hand side of His Station of Holiness, sitting on a throne of light, clothed in [pure] light. I never had seen a brighter light than that. He was looking at that place, without turning anywhere else. I saw a reality⁴⁹² that no one would ever be able to describe, in any of the kinds of languages and [other] forms of expression. I could not unravel the extent of the Throne, nor the light of God or His enormous mysteries. At that moment my tongue was blocked, I reflected upon my situation and said: "My God and my Lord, loosen the knot of my tongue," whereupon He unbound it [and] strengthened me to speak on.

Thus I said: 'I ask you by the praise of all the angels, and I implore you by every name by which you are addressed in prayer by an angel in your close proximity or a prophet sent out | on a mission, and I ask you by the integrity of the
 20^b faith of those who know your great majesty, and by everyone who thinks good of you, to which you are entitled!' Then, I heard a call: 'Complete the request that you want to make, o Mary!'

490 Read: *Wa-mala'aki*.

491 Reading: *ṣifāṭihi* (plural).

492 Arabic: *ma'nā*, allegorical representation, reality in the mystical sense.

Thus I said: 'My God and my Lord, I ask you to take me to you.' And behold, a voice was calling: It already preceded in my knowledge that you must stay on the earth for a while, in order to be a sign for mankind, and a witness of the truth of the Gospel⁴⁹³ and example of the patience of the godfearing who hope for my mercy and in order to assist the believing holy Church. Then I raised my head, and behold, there was a cupola of light, the size and light whereof God alone knows, and on it there was written in splendid white light the greatest sign of God and His greatest blessing towards mankind.

I asked: 'My God and my Lord, what is that cupola and the writing on it?'

He answered me: 'That is the *Essence of the Gospel*, which was brought by Jesus, the Spirit of God, to the world. It preceded in my knowledge that I would make it descend intentionally in order to assist religion and my Holy Church after the dissension of the sects concerning it.'

I asked: 'My God and my Lord, give me the *Essence of the Gospel*, out of your enormous grace!'

He answered me: 'I will make it descend upon you, as it preceded | in my knowledge, so that you will faithfully do what I command you in a revelation upon you, so that we will explain it at the end of time. And that Essence, as well as its copy, I will give to you out of my grace, as contained in my foreknowledge, as a guidance, a mercy, a certainty and a felicity to mankind, by the truth of the Gospel about which they are in different [minds], and concerning the Spirit of God, as well as his followers at the end of time.' 21^a

I said: 'My God and my Lord, I am deeply thankful for those blessings, your obedient servant at all times.' Then Gabriel took me away and brought me back to a chair of the cupola on which he carried me, and he put me down on a high place wherefrom I overlooked the earth, which I saw before me as if it were a small child.

He told me: 'Know that if God so wished, He would create at every moment of His everlasting eternity a creation like the one you are seeing, from the earth until His Station of Holiness. | He would create it such that they would not resemble each other, in sublime perfection, and more than twice, without their adding anything to His sovereignty, His power and His knowledge, and without their filling anything in the innermost part of His universe, not even the space filled by a mustard seed in the Abode of the World. And if He so wished He would make the horizons of cohesion swallow them up, and they would be drowned with everyone on them, as long as His sovereignty lasts, and they would not find any place to rest. And if He so wished He would make them rubble, without [thereby] causing any deficiency, nor would anything fall out 21^b

493 Arabic: *ḥaqāq al-injīl*, allusion to *Ḥaqīqat al-Injīl*, the central text of the Lead Books.

from the innermost part of His universe. Nay, He is the great creator, creating whatever He wishes, deciding whatever He wishes. He is not called to account about anything He does, but His servants are called to account.'

I asked Gabriel: 'Of what consists our Lord's friendliness and nobility?'

22^a He answered me: 'That is the highest friendliness, no other friendliness surpasses it. Without it, | before it and after it, there exists no friendliness. But it belongs to His essence, praised be He, and elevated His majesty!, that He possesses friendliness and nobility. No one of His servants can obtain friendliness and nobility without Him. Know also that in everything you saw you merely took a drop from a deep sea without a coast.'

At that moment the knight and Gabriel set out with me to the gate of the prayer-hall, telling me: 'Bring all the apostles together in your house on the fifty-second day of the demise of Jesus the Spirit of God, because on that day will come to them from the Holy Spirit prophecies in [various] languages, as a grace from Him that they deserve, so that his words and yours will be brought to their attention and will teach them to take charge of knowledge, and His blessing on all servants He wishes will be completed. And after that has taken
22^b place, then tell your brothers, in an equitable, holy and honest manner |, about your intimate conversations, as a guidance, and so that they will be witnesses thereof, although God [Himself] is a witness of everything. And write it down and inform the intelligent people, so that the servants may profit therefrom at the end of time. Blessed are those who believe in it and in the *Essence of the Gospel* that she has seen. They will be blessed, but those who disbelieve in it will be in the fire of Hell forever.'

And herewith he greeted me and went away. I woke up in my house from my state of wakefulness, thanking God for that blessing granted to me out of His great grace and mercy, as well as to His servants.

23^a She admonished us to preach the Gospel to mankind, as well as the commandments our lord Jesus had given us in particular. We should not ask any reward for it, and should not disclose thereby the Intimate Conversations, nor explain their allegories, because God postponed that to the end of time |. Then we all said together: 'we are the obedient servants of God and of our Lady.' She ordered me to write it down on lead, which I did obediently, as I should.

Here ends the book of James the Apostle, by order of Saint Mary, at the hands of Cecilio the son of Al-Riḏā, his secretary and disciple—may God grant us felicity by it and make us belong to the saints.

Kāf, kāf, ḥā', 'ain, ḥā'⁴⁹⁴

494 These five letters, figuring also at the end of some other books, are sometimes explained as: "*Kullu kitāb ḥaqq Yaṣū' ḥaqq*", "Every book is the truth, Jesus is the truth."

LP17

Fol. 1^a, according to our own numbering, is covered by a Seal of Solomon with a legend in Arabic script. This is the only page legible to us. Reading the text from the right-hand side below and onwards one obtains the following poetic text, structurally resembling closely the poetic structure of the Arabic “comments” on the prophecy in the Parchment:

- [1] The essence of the Gospel, in an inverted sign, of great power.
- [2] It leads to the (right) way, to prosperity and to glorification of the reward.
- [3] The word of the Exalted, of lofty sublimity, ease upon ease.
- [4] For him who derives light from the embers⁴⁹⁵ of grace it is more splendid than the sun.
- [5] Salvation of souls; whosoever upholds it will be happy in spirit and soul.
- [6] It will save him from disasters on the Day of Resurrection, to the presence of the Holy.

495 Translation based on the emendation of the Arabic text (which erroneously reads *jumhur* instead of the correct *jamr*).

LP18

1^a *Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who Believe in the Essence of the Gospel*, containing eight questions posed to Holy Mary.

1^b Kāf, kāf, ḥā', 'ain, ḥā'.

2^a *Book of the Gifts of Reward to the Servants of God who Believe in the Essence of the Gospel* and the command [what is to be done] with it at the end of time, as [mentioned] in the *History*,⁴⁹⁶ and, contrarily, the cursing of its opponents. It contains eight questions put by Peter in the assembly of the apostles to the Holy Virgin Mary and her replies, without which no one can completely comprehend the meaning of the vicissitudes of the *Essence*, by James the Apostle, the son of Shamikh [known as] 'Āqibat al-Dīn, written at her order by the hands of his disciple and scribe Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār the Arab.

James the Apostle said: "The Holy Virgin Mary brought our assembly of the twelve apostles together in her house after the *Essence of the Gospel* had been revealed to her, and she described it to us in the course of enjoining it upon us. She then addressed us | with words that captivated our senses and filled our souls with satisfaction. Our hearts grew calm in due abasement to the best invocation of God, righteous action and obedience to God."

2^b Then she preached to us about mighty secrets which may not be mentioned in this my book, but I will say that her address would make the angels in Heaven and man on earth stand to magnify God, and as an exhortation and miracle from Him, for those who hear. I have never seen a sweeter soul than hers, or a purer tongue or greater knowledge than her knowledge, after our Lord Jesus. All that description was of the special properties of the *Essence of the Gospel* for all eternity, without revealing | its mysteries to us.

3^a After she had finished that address, Peter the Vicar said to her: "You have enlightened our hearts, o our Lady, with the light of God's mercy, due to His grace and by virtue of the special properties of the Highly Esteemed Gospel. Thanks be to God for those blessings! But I ask of your power and bounty that you relate to us eight questions about the gifts of their rewards and about those who are in charge of enjoining to believe in it and are following it in faith, and of the reward of those who are mentioned in your description, together with the events [that happen to] the servants at the end of time, and of the cursing

496 Reference to LP15, *History of the Essence of the Gospel*. The present text can be seen as an elaboration of LP15, which explains the numerous overlaps between the two.

and punishment that should be administered against those that oppose it, so that our Council and the worshippers after us may acquire light and knowledge because of it, and our hearts after us will be calmed thereby | as well as their hearts at the end of time.” 3^b

Whereupon she said: “Tell me the first of them, Peter!”

He said: “Tell us about the *Essence of the Gospel* and its reward, O our Lady!” She replied: “The *Essence of the Gospel* is the spirit of the Gospel, which is a treasure of the Throne, a happiness for the believers. There will be no worshipper who shall believe in it with a true, sincere belief and pure intention unmixed with any sort of doubt, and who shall die in that state, but God shall decree him to be free of [hell]fire and shall pardon him all his sins, even if they were without number. There is no believer who shall recite it on a mountain after it has been explained to the servants but God will grant him a high station in Paradise. He who does the opposite will have no pardon |, God and His angels will curse him a thousand times a day. He will be subject to the wrath of God, who will keep him perpetually in the fire of Hell unless he repent of that completely and return to God.” 4^a

Then she said: “Peter, tell us the second.”

He said: “Tell us of the excellence of the Arabs, who are those who aid the religion through the *Essence of the Gospel* at the end of days, and of their reward and of the superiority of their language over all other languages, O Our Lady.”

She said: “The Arabs will be those who aid the religion in the last days. The superiority of their tongue over all other languages is as the superiority of the sun over the twinkling stars of heaven. God has chosen them for this purpose and has strengthened them with His victory. The excellence of the believers among them is great in the sight of God, | and their reward is copious. And no believing servant shall pray for their victory and aid after God has made public the *Essence of the Gospel* in the holy place in which He concealed it, but God shall grant him a clear victory and will indeed register him as His servant who follows His will, and as a vicar to render His religion victorious, but those that oppose them with evil shall be cursed by God and His angels a thousand times a day, [and shall be] subject to his wrath, unless they repent and return from all that truly to God.” 4^b

Then [Mary] said: “Tell the third [question], Peter.”

He said: Tell us about the pious priest at whose hands God will make public the *Essence* and about His reward, O Our Lady.

She replied: “The pious priest will indeed be he who believes the complete words | in the Glorious Gospel that God has put into the world, through the voice of His Spirit, Jesus, and in the *Essence*, its spirit after it, without doubts or speculation. That is the assembly of the House of Prayers, believing in the 5^a

Essence, holy, learned and illuminated by the light of faith and mercy, and [in] the Jesuite⁴⁹⁷ Vicariate, which has been entrusted with the power of forbidding and of commanding, loosening and binding, because that *Essence* is a schedule of its truth and light, and a happiness to all believers, for there is no light for them apart from it, nor for anyone in all the world. There will be no believer who shall believe it sincerely and in truth in obedience to God with no admixture of doubt, who will exert himself to facilitate the commandment concerning the Essence for the Great Council which will be on the Island of Cyprus, in
5^b the eastern regions of Venice |, and shall explain it to the believers so that they may enter through it into the Religion of God, but the pious priest shall have it recorded with him to his benefit, and as a tie connected with that council, and its holiness, and the chain of His protection will be put around his neck and He will look upon it with the eye of His care, and He shall protect him in the lap of His mercy. If he spends for that purpose one pure dirham of his money in God's service then God will pardon him all his sins, and He will gather him in His good grace, and will grant him in Heaven the reward [like that of] the alms that built the House of Prayers of the Prophet of God, Solomon, the son of David, because he has been singled out to set up the temple of the Believer(s) in God and in the Last Day with the alms received from him. In contrast, no
6^a worshipper to whose hand its date has come, and who knows as well the peculiarities of its matter |, and who doubts it and who wishes to defer the affair and is pleased to hide it and hide its date, and this book however short a length of time from that Council and from the Vicariate of Jesus and from the Arabs, the helpers, and from the Protector who lives in the East, and from the Kings of the Earth, and from the servants of God who might follow His will and gain the reward of the *Essence* which has been granted to them out of his bounty, but God will drive him out from that Congregation and its Holiness, and will cut him off from its federation and will take off the protective chain from his neck; and he will be written down in His unseen world as an enemy to Him, and an opponent of His will, and He and His angels will curse him a thousand
6^b times a | day, with a curse which is incurred at once by everyone who receives this my word and the date of the matter of the *Essence*, whosoever he may be. He shall make him as a lamp without light and He will put him down in the fire of Hell, condemned, banished for ever in the torment [of Hell] so long as His reign shall last, except if he should truly repent to God and is pardoned for it."

Then she said: "Tell the fourth, Peter."

497 i.e. connected to Jesus.

He said: "Tell us about the Protector who lives in the East and about the reward he shall receive, O Our Lady!"

She said: "The Protector is one of the Kings of the Arabs, but he is not an Arab. He dwells in the Eastern lands of the Greeks, a great enemy of the non-Arab peoples, their religious community, their doctrines and their differences in matters of religion. He will have the fine intention to obey God | and to [secure] the victory of His true religion. God will strengthen him with His victory and cast the victory of the *Essence of the Gospel* in his power. He will set the banner of the Religion in his hand and strengthen him with victory and dominion in the world over all other peoples at that time, and He has filled him with light and wisdom in obedience to Him in that matter. He will be unaware of these words until the time that the commandment concerning the *Essence*, which has been put under custody with him, shall reach him. That is all in the foreknowledge of God, praised be He, who will grant His grace to whom He wills. Let there not be in his kingdom anything He does not wish, or anything contrary to His command. His reward with God will be great, and he will be set in a high station.

7^a

There will be no believer who will pray for his victory and strengthening and will aid him himself or with his money for that purpose, and who dies in that condition, but God will pardon all his sins | and will give him in Paradise the reward of those who have died as martyrs for the Religion. And whosoever brings him the contrary will be cursed by God and His angels a thousand times a day, and He will drive him out from His mercy, unless he repent truly to God."

7^b

Then she said: "Tell us the fifth, Peter."

He said: "Tell us about those whose hearts are reconciled to the Great Assembly, and about their reward, O Our Lady."

She said: "Those who incline their hearts to the Great Council are those only who incline and submit their hearts to God, and call for the *Noble Gospel* and its *Essence* and to those that believe in that towards which the *Essence* unites, whoever they should be of all peoples, also those who will give alms to it and will drive themselves on and the worshippers to be present at it | insofar as is possible, or in intention [only]. Therefore there shall be no one of the worshippers of God who shall do that and give his intention and his pure alms for it, with a [good] intention and in sincerity in the service of God for that purpose and shall die in [that] faith, but God will forgive all his sins, even if they are numberless, and will inscribe him as one of those who reconciled their hearts to Him. [And] if he was present there and believes in the consensual decisions of the Council, [then surely] God will inscribe him as safe from Hell, and will give him the reward of those who have died for the Religion. As for the opponents, and those who warn the worshippers away from being present there,

8^a

there is no doubt that they will dwell eternally in the fire of Hell, and its great torment, unless they repent truly to God.”

Then she said: “Tell us the sixth [question], Peter.”

He said: “Our Lady, tell us about those who will translate and about those who will write commentaries, and about the reward that they will receive.”

- 8^b She said: “The translators in truth translate the book that is in the *Essence of the Gospel*, and the exegetes in truth are the commentators of the *Essence of the Gospel* after it is explained to the worshippers in the Great Assembly. God will send them at that time like lamps among the peoples of world, shining with the light of knowledge and understanding which has been granted through grace. When they enter the land of Cyprus God will increase their power, out of his bounty, in knowledge and languages for the said translation and commentary, so that some may ask others to understand it. And He will strengthen among the peoples with the explanation of His true religion and the standing firm in it for His obedience, but their number shall be very few among the peoples to bring evidence of the miracles of God in the universe. Their head will be the
- 9^a most humble creature, the commentator of the *Essence*, obedient to God and | to the Vicariate of the House of Prayers, who believes in God and the last day, and believing completely in this belief, and in a federation connected with His Assembly. God will send him at that time, with the light of knowledge, understanding and mercy for that purpose, as I have told you. God has gathered them all together under the protection of the Kings and the Overseers. God loves holy people of knowledge and hates sinners who are ignorant. Those of them who believe will have a great reward in the sight of God, and a considerable recompense, and a high station in Paradise. Thus there is no King or Overseer or any servant of God who shall do good to them, or shall prepare their business for the Great Council aforementioned, and the explanation of the *Essence* and its commentary and the translation of the book which comes with it, but God will
- 9^b pardon all his sins | and [he] will be inscribed in the sight of God as one of those martyred for the faith. And for every sound dirham that he spends for that purpose God will raise him a stage in Paradise. And whosoever opposes them with evil or contradiction, God and His angels will curse him a thousand times a day and will drive him out of His mercy, unless he repent truly to God.”

Then she said: “Tell us the seventh, Peter.”

He said: “Our Lady, tell us about the most humble of God’s creatures, who will be the interpreter of the *Essence of the Gospel* in the Great Assembly, and about his reward.”

She said: “God will privilege by His mercy whomsoever of His servants He wishes. That worshipper is one of those singled out and hidden in His supernatural knowledge. His bounties upon him will be great, and His mercies and

miracles in his person will be evident | to those servants who are sincere, those whom God wishes that they take notice of him, but their number will be small among the inhabitants of the world. His lineage will be noble and pure, an Arab, because it is not fitting that victory fall to any but the Arabs. The Protector⁴⁹⁸ of that time will be the expositor of all sciences, as my son Jesus was. He will not be lacking in understanding to answer those among them who question. He will be illuminated by the light of righteousness and of mercy. His intention will be pure and he will have great knowledge granted by God. There is not his like among the worshippers. He will have a moderate figure and on his face a smile. He will be clear in his speech and his words will be brief and his knowledge great and thorough. God will send him in advanced old age to the districts of the earth, and there He will teach him to commemorate Him⁴⁹⁹ | so that he may be the most humble of creatures in existence, and the sharpest in the accusation of those who have gone astray, of the apostates, evil-doers, and hypocrites who have diverged from among all peoples concerning the *Noble Gospel* and [its] *Essence* by lust breaking the ... rank of patience.⁵⁰⁰ He will be patient under suffering of poverty and want, ready to condemn pride and haughtiness, and he will have a great desire to increase his reward in obedience to God. He will turn aside from what is unlawful and what is shameful, he will be truthful in his speech and in his promises, he will uphold safety. He will not neglect the commemoration of God and the fear of Him and His remembrance for the twinkling of an eye. If any offence should touch Him, he will forestall it by contrition and he will hope for pardon | and forgiveness from God. His guerdon from God will be great and his reward mighty, in proportion to his [good] intentions and his faith, his [good] works and his obedience to Him. He will increase his reward out of His bounty, for God does not take away the reward of those who do good. God has granted him the interpretation of the hidden Essence of the Noble Gospel, and has installed knowledge of it in his heart and his understanding and its explanation in his memory. He has illuminated his heart with faith in Him and brought it into the lap of His mercy with the eye of His care. That is a thing that is foreknown in his hidden knowledge. He will

498 It is to be noticed that the Arabic original applies the same term, viz. *al-naṣīr* (= *al-nāṣir*) to both the King from the East and the humble translator of the *Essence of the Gospel*. Thus, there are two "Protectors" here, one with great military power, the other blessed with great scholarship. We observe the same use of the term in Al-Ḥajārī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*, where the Protector or Supporter of the Religion, on the one hand, refers to the Ottoman Sultan, and at the other hand to Al-Ḥajārī himself, who defends the Religion of Islam with his disputations and scholarship.

499 Arabic: *al-dhikrā*, with mystical connotations.

500 The translation is uncertain.

explain the *Essence*, if God so wills, by its commentary in that Assembly in obedience to Him. That is no prophecy, nor a supervision of the worshippers, but God admonishes them through the *Essence*. And He has placed in it all wisdom
 11^b that is fitting for that station without disagreement | and He will give warning to His servants by it until the day His promise is fulfilled, making the intellects aware of it. There is no believing servant who will pray to Him and say: ‘O God, my Lord, protect by your very aid the humblest of your creatures, the commentator of the Essence of the Noble Gospel in the Great Assembly, and prepare for him the affair concerning it, and make me a believer in the truth he shall explain, and make it easy for me to memorize it, and acting in accordance to the obedience I am commanded in the Noble Gospel, as You are powerful over all things, but God will look at him with the eye of His mercy and protect him from all disasters. He who desires the contrary, God and His angels will curse him a thousand times a day, and he will be subject to His wrath, unless he repent truly to God.’”

12^a Then she said: “Tell the eighth [question], Peter.”

He said: “Our Lady, tell us about the blessing of the place where the Essence will be put [and] about the reward of the servants who visit it.”

She said: “An indication of the blessing of the Holy Place in which will be placed the *Essence* and the book is that I have chosen it for that purpose, no more. No pure, undefiled believer shall visit it with a pure, sincere intention unmixed with any doubt about the Noble Gospel and about the truth of His Spirit, and the truth of the book⁵⁰¹ which is with it, and shall pray to God after their having been made public in that place, and shall say, O God, my Lord, I have believed truly in Thy full word that Thou sentest with our Lord Jesus Thy Spirit, and in the truth of the Blessed Gospel of which Thou hast divulged the
 12^b copy in that Holy Place |, and in the true firm book which is with it. I pray to Thee by the mightiest of Thy names, and by Thy glory, bounty, majesty and mercy therein for all Thy servants that Thou mayest raise by them and by him the bearers of Thy righteous religion over all religion(s) and that Thou mayest strengthen by them and by him Thy believing Holy House of Prayers and purify its holy assembly, and that by them⁵⁰² and by him⁵⁰³ those that believe in Thee be introduced to the hidden treasures of Thy mercy, and that by them and by him the veil of those who contradict it may be rent asunder, for Thou art powerful over all things! but God will forgive him all his sins, even if they were without

501 Or: books (plural).

502 The Gospel and the *Essence*.

503 Jesus.

number, and if he has given alms, God will raise his station in Paradise in proportion to his [good] intention and [good] works, for his good work through every honest dirham that he gives | in that place to prepare the aforementioned affair. 13^a

I say to you that all this is in obedience to God and His wishes, and may what has been God's never perish. He rewards those who do good and are obedient to Him. There is no fear from enemies, for God never guides aright the evildoers, and He will bring down His peace in the hearts of all believers and His mercy on all His servants that they may rely on the explanation of the *Essence* and the faith in it, and He will guide aright whom He wills from among them, out of His mighty bounty."

When she had finished this speech, behold! one crying out and saying from the direction of God: "O thou who hast been granted the Vicariate and the power of Jesus to prohibit and command, and to loosen and to bind, confirm explicitly the power over those who have been granted mercies and the gifts | of reward described to the Virgin Mary in the answers to the eight questions, and confirm the word of cursing and rejection from the community of the Holy Believing House of Prayers upon all those who have been accursed and rejected there from a grace and a bounty that will never fail, and a curse that must never be lifted by anyone after you, except [in the case of] a true repentance to God from the things forbidden." 13^b

Then said the Vicar: "I shall be obedient to the Lord of the universe. I bear witness to you, O gathering of apostles by Our Lady, Mary the Virgin, she and you being the best of witnesses to the truth, that I give my confirmation according to the power of the Vicariate of Jesus | to those who have previously received the word of confirmation and the special graces and rewards that are granted as described in the answers to the eight questions, rewards and bounty unceasing after me. And, on the other hand, I confirm the cursing and rejection from the community of the Holy Believing House of Prayers of all those who have been previously accursed and rejected in her answer to the eight questions aforementioned, with a cursing that it behooves none to diminish after me except [in a case of] a true repentance to God from things forbidden." 14^a

When she⁵⁰⁴ had finished this, the house was shaken and the upper hangings were opened, and from them came out a hand which we could see as far as the wrist, and it wrote upon the lines of Solomon's Seal, which was recorded on the middle of the wall, these six lines, and after completing it that hand disappeared | from our company, and the said hangings were closed: 14^b

504 Sic!

FIGURE 36 LP 18, fol. 14^b

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE
 ABBEY

15^a After this | Holy Mary turned to me and said: “James, ‘Āqibat al-Dīn, set down all the narrative and the writing on the lines and keep it with the *Essence* in the Holy Place, so that the worshippers may know the truth and the certain word to obey God, so that my Word will stand, and so that they may profit from the graces and bounties granted [in] the *Essence of the Gospel* in the last days described in eight questions.”

Then Peter asked her in the Assembly [and said]: “Our Lady, what is the meaning of the writing on the seal?”

She said to him: “It behooves you to fear God. It is not proper to be explained at a time like this, but God reserves it to the interpreter of the *Essence of the Gospel* at the end of time.”

Then he said: “Our Lady, tell us more of the signs of the time of the divulgence of the *Essence*, and what will come after it, O Our Lady.”

15^b So she said: “When the people learn things for purposes other than pious works |, and when the people acquire high positions and dignities without obeying God, when they exploit the worshippers’ sweat unjustly without right, and they exert themselves for their trickery, not for God—, when the life of women will be pride, and men will be given up to fornication and smallness of

shame, and clothing of black silk will prevail, when speaking lies and deceit is common while the pious and evil-doers are buried [together] in the houses of prayer, when God's Word has been repeated to the believers without making an impression in their hearts, and God withdraws His blessing from the earth and the light of the learned pious is extinguished in the houses of prayer, at that time shall God divulge the Essence and the books⁵⁰⁵ in the Holy Place, and its discovery will be an augury of its explanation in the Great council within a short time and the return of Jesus, the Spirit of God, to the world with His true and praiseworthy religion. | That will be as a sign of the False Messiah, and the sign of the False Messiah will be that the sun rises in the West.” 16^a

Here ends the book by the hands of the Arab.

Kāf, kāf, ḥā', 'ain, ḥā'.⁵⁰⁶

505 Or book.

506 Letters written within a six-pointed star composed of two overlapping triangles, marking the end of the text. The meaning is perhaps: “Kullu kitāb ḥaqq Yaṣū' ḥaqq” (“Every Book is the Truth; Jesus is the Truth”).

LP19

0^a *The Book of the Enormous Secrets.*

1^a The Book of the Enormous Secrets, a [book] which is [meant] for those sincere servants with regard to whom God wills that they attain [understanding of] them. It is the seal of the Mountain assigned for the *Essence of the Gospel* and the way to the truth that God put to the people of happiness for the sake of James, to whom God revealed it during the forty days he stayed on it [the mountain] because of *The History of The Essence*⁵⁰⁷ out of his great grace. Written by the hands of his disciple and secretary, Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār the Arab.

Yā, mīm, ‘alif, šād, ‘alif, ḥā’, jīm.

Kāf, šād, dāl, mīm, ‘ain, ‘ain, ‘ain.



FIGURE 37 LP 19, fol. 1^a

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

1^b Dāl, jīm, ḥā’, ḥā’, mīm.

Tā’, tā’, sīn, sīn, wāw, kāf.

Kāf, kāf, ḥā’, ‘ain, ḥā’,⁵⁰⁸ kāf, mīm.

507 A reference to LP 15.

508 Perhaps: “Kullu kitāb ḥaqq Yaṣū‘ ḥaqq” (“Every Book is the Truth; Jesus is the Truth”).

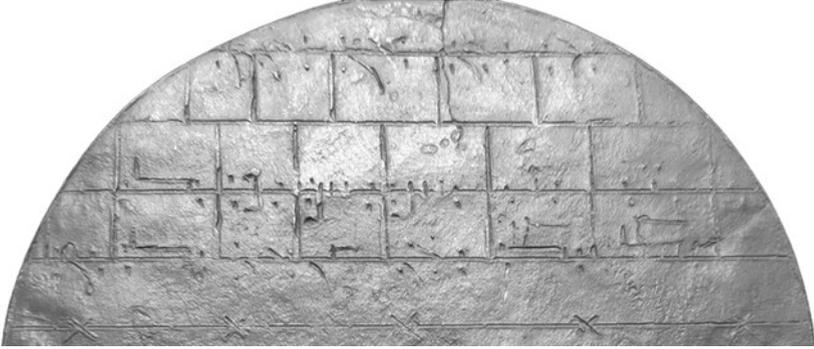


FIGURE 38 LP 19, fol. 1^b
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

Here ends the first secret, it is closed, it is entitled “the letters of the assignment.”

The second secret, which is sealed, not closed, entitled “the dwelling.”

2^a



FIGURE 39 LP 19, fol. 2^a
REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE ABBEY

2^b The third secret, it is closed, called “the secret of the intention.”



FIGURE 40 LP 19, fol. 2^a

REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE SACROMONTE
ABBEY

3^a Here ends the book by the hands of the poor servant, seeking the compassion of his Lord, Tis‘ūn ibn ‘Aṭṭār the Arab.

LP20

Book of the Outstanding Qualities of James the Apostle and His Miracles.

2^a

Book about the outstanding qualities of Ya‘qūb ibn Shamīkh al-Zabadī, the apostle, his descent, his high regard, his miracles and his travels in the world to preach the Glorious Gospel, until his death. It contains [also] the kernel of understanding⁵⁰⁹ as experienced by those who possess sound knowledge and intelligence,⁵¹⁰ by Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā, his disciple and secretary.

3^a

Ya‘qūb ibn Shamīkh al-Zabadī, the person referred to, descended from virtuous high priests among the Hebrews, of high regard from both sides, of abundant piety and faith, and of undoubted devotion to God and to the *maqām*.⁵¹¹ He was wheat-colored, | of straight stature, with a black beard, broad posteriors, and a perfect body. He was a man of understanding and knowledge, intelligence, good manners and equanimity; of sublime conduct, beautiful appearance, gifted with a smile, equitable in his affairs, doing well to questioners, refraining from hurting the oppressed, opposing ignorance, ready to answer questions in matters of knowledge and piety; fearful of God, with great love towards Him, follower of obedience, who would not forget the inward remembrance of God for a moment, experienced in miracles, naturally disposed to science and with great magnanimity, gifted by God from his childhood, not by any teacher; guide and preacher of mankind, following God’s obedience through the Glorious Gospel, manifesting His Greatest Sign⁵¹² through himself and his pure intention and devotion towards Him among the peoples, opposing their ignorance. | His Lord sanctified him and filled him with knowledge as an abundant natural gift. He chose him over all His other servants, and under His protection he acted with determination and steadfastness in uprooting unbelief and error.

3^b4^a

509 Arabic: *lubāb al-fīqh*.

510 Arabic: *ūlī al-albāb*, an expression that occurs frequently in the Quran.

511 Possibly an allusion to the *Maqām Ibrāhīm* in Mecca, where Abraham is believed to have stood when (re)building the Kaaba at God’s instructions, symbol of Abrahamic monotheism.

512 Arabic: *āyatahu al-kubrā*, expression adopted from Quran, S. 79:20, where it is used with reference to Moses showing the “great sign” of the changing of the staff into a serpent. In the case of James, the great sign is shown through the missionary activities of James among the peoples he addressed (“through himself, his intention and his devotion to Him among the peoples”). This expression appears several times in the present booklet.

He spoke out and said: “My Lord, You are my protector in this world and the hereafter, provide me with protectors out of Your mercy, and help me, as You are the best of helpers!”

Thereupon faith was firmly established in him, and from every side mysteries appeared to him, brilliant lights shone upon him from every direction, and abundant knowledge sprang up in him. He then vowed to preach and proclaim the Glorious Gospel.

4^b On a certain night, together with the other beloved apostles, he turned to the house of the Holy Virgin Mary | in the holy city of Ramat al-Haml,⁵¹³ in obedience to her commandment.

She proclaimed to them: “God ordained everything in accordance with His preexisting knowledge, and one of His graces will be the Essence of the Gospel for the end of time [to be] sent down upon the Blessed One, [mentioned] in the *Tawrāt*, as well as upon me, through a revelation from God by His great grace.”

Then it was manifested to them from her side on tablets of precious stones, written with a splendid light that spread a light the value of which was known to God only, together with a copy thereof written on tablets of lead, arranged according to the original.

5^a She said: “This *Essence* is the *Essence of the Glorious Gospel*, which is its spirit, containing the wise memorization⁵¹⁴ | and the eternal knowledge. Heavens and earth are fixed to it. It is God’s friend and God is its Protector. Nothing in it is before Him, His great majesty be glorified!”

Then Peter asked: “Tell us, our Lady, what this Essence is, and explain it so that we may thereby be enlightened.”⁵¹⁵

She answered: “God has granted you such knowledge as befits your own scope, in order to preach the Glorious Gospel. [The explaining of] the soul of this *Essence* He left for the End of Time. Its secret should not be revealed to any
5^b one of His creatures at this time, as He left it to be made known by the best | of His creatures.”

Peter asked: “Tell us, our Lady, who are those best of His creatures.”

She answered: “The Arabs and their language.”

Peter asked: “The Arabs and their language?”

513 Jerusalem.

514 Arabic: *al-dhikr al-ḥakīm*, a Quranic expression (S. 4:58) whereby the Quran refers to itself. For a reader with an Islamic background, the expression is immediately recognizable as a synonym of the Quran.

515 Compare LP 15, fol. 4^a–5^b, where these three questions are raised and answered in a slightly different form.

She answered: “Yes indeed. And I say to you that the Arabs are among the best of nations and their language is among the most excellent languages. God chose them to assist His righteous religion⁵¹⁶ and His Glorious Gospel, as well as His holy believing Prayer-House,⁵¹⁷ at the end of time. And I was ordered to do with [them] like what was done with the Tablets of Moses, and their copy. I was ordered to bring them out of Ramat al-Haml, so that God will preserve them | in a rough piece of the earth, until the end of time.”

6^a

Peter asked: “Why is this city called Ramat al-Haml?”

She answered: “Because God wishes the infidels of its people to fall into oblivion.⁵¹⁸ They have become the object of His wrath, together with their children and the children of their children. No flag will be mounted for them in this world and the hereafter, while they will remain in the Fire eternally. In it no stone will remain on the other, because of their disbelief, their heresy, and their denial of Jesus the Spirit of God and his Glorious Gospel.” But to describe this at full length would take us too far, while we aim at brevity, leaving | a more lengthy treatment thereof to the marvelous history written on this mountain by my brother Tis‘un, which will be a marvelous report and history for the end of time, an experience and a sign for mankind.⁵¹⁹

6^b

She then took the tablets into her hands and went with the group in the darkness to the Mount of Olives. And lo, there appeared an enormous light from the part of heaven, while the mountain split open and the tablets were engulfed into its depth. Then it became as it was before, whereupon the Holy [Virgin] returned to her home together with the group, and said to our master James: “Go with this book | to a faraway region of the earth called Spain, to a place where the dead become alive. Preserve it therein and do not fear for it, because God will protect it, as well as you and those who will be with you, while you are on the sea, by His special care, as He protected Noah in the ship and on land, as He also protected Jonah in the entrails of the whale, as He [Himself] placed him therein. Then, when you have fulfilled this task, preach in the said land and do not leave it until one man believes in your message, and this in order to test your patience in preaching, as you will have to preach to a most stubborn people.”

7^a

James answered: “At God’s and your orders, | may God protect you, our Lady.” He then touched her robe and turned to complying with her order. He

7^b

516 In the Quran, the “religion of God” is Islam.

517 *Masjiduhu*, His “mosque,” but here, in Islamic parlance, referring to the Church.

518 Arabic: “*yarūmu al-haml ‘alaihā*.”

519 Reference to LP15.

took to the road with his disciples, viz. with me, Cecilio, my brother Tis‘ūn, with Ṭurqatuh, al-Ishqandar, al-Ḥissī and Afrāj⁵²⁰—may God bless us out of His great grace! He traveled at sunset, as it eased [the journey] by providing a cover, towards the coast of the sea, in the darkness towards the rescue boat, the captain of which was Gabriel, the trustworthy angel. Instructions had been revealed to him from God through the Holy [Virgin]. We sailed with a light from heaven and a favorable wind towards the western regions. We arrived in the

8^a east, towards the desert at a swampy ground | in the peninsula where we landed secretly. We longed for food and strengthened this desire by a tiring journey to a city called Aqṣī,⁵²¹ which was inhabited by pagan Romans.⁵²² None of them turned towards us to harm us, but we stayed there only briefly in order to provide ourselves with food. After we had fulfilled our needs, we headed towards a city called Ilāpula,⁵²³ at the eastern side of which there was land two miles wide alongside a river called *al-Tibr*,⁵²⁴ because gold dust (*al-tabbār*) is taken from it. We endured refraining from anything to eat, approaching the mountain sideways. We sat down at an elevated place, at a bend with shade trees that soothed those who stayed there, in order to feed ourselves from the provisions and to rest from our fatigue and endurance.

8^b Then our master put down the tablets of the book | on the earth, whereupon the mountain began to tremble severely, so we sought refuge with God. And behold, there was a human being who had been resuscitated from his grave, standing up slowly. Turning to James, he spoke: “Why did you resuscitate me from my grave and my place of resting from the world and its evils from the time of the prophet Moses, God’s prophet, while my soul was happy with that until this very hour?”

James answered: “I did not awaken you, rather it was the *Essence of the Gospel* that awakened you.”

He said: “I ask you: What is your name?”

9^a He answered: “My name is James, by God’s grace one of the apostles of Jesus the son of Mary, the Spirit of God |, his followers.”

He said: “Be welcome. How long have I been waiting for you!”

James said: “I ask you: What is your name?”

520 In the parallel passage in LP15, fol. 9^b, the same narrative is found, but there written by James in the first person. The names of companions are slightly different as well.

521 Perhaps a reference to Guadix.

522 Arabic: *bi-jahalat* (read probably: *bi-jahiliyyat*) *al-Rūm*.

523 Perhaps to be read as Ilipula (assuming imāla of ā). The letter p is expressed in the Arabic script by *bā’ mushaddada*.

524 = “Ore,” allusion to the river Dauro/Darro.

He answered: “I am al-Ḥaqq.⁵²⁵ Return me here and do not admonish me at this very moment, but leave me until an appointed time.”

Thus he returned him together with the *Essence*, buried in that holy place. Thereupon James praised God with all his power, and such a tremendous mystery and miracle were made manifest to us that the dumb mountains, if they were manifested to them, would tremble, bow down and be flattened by the fear of God. Then our master James turned to the mountain, and behold, there was a cave in it.

He said: “That is a protruding cave! I remarked: indeed, it is the cave of a tumor; shall we travel on or stay in it?”

He answered: “That is a fit name for that place | and for the city swollen therefrom, as well as the cities of Paganism instead of the highly reputed [city] at a fixed time, God willing.⁵²⁶ Stay here and I will stay there with you until God decides our goal, as He is the best to decide!” 9^b

So we stayed there for forty days, in order to write the *History of the Essence*⁵²⁷ for the end of time and as a proper message to make religion victorious in obedience to God.

James said: “Send someone to the city to bring us food and report reliable information to us about its people.” Thus I, Cecilio, went to the city, which I entered through the eastern gate. I observed that it was an elevated place, heavily fortified. Its people | worshipped idols.⁵²⁸ I refrained from contacting them and brought back the purest food I could find. I asked them for it in the colloquial language and the pagans complied with my request, treating me well, by God’s great grace, and we fed ourselves with it. 10^a

James said: “Let the six of you go over the mountain and enter the city through different gates, so as to remain safe from the evil of its people. And hide your faith until the moment that God decides. Entrust your affair to Him, as pigeons do, and be as prudent as snakes!”

Then James performed a miracle of a lightning flash that showed the outline of the mountain, which became manifest to the people as it touched upon

525 i.e., the Truth.

526 This seems to be an allusion to the “City of the Sea” (east of Cyprus), where, at the end of time, “the great council” will be held and the *Essence of the Gospel* will be explained. About this central set of concepts, see also our Introduction.

527 =LP15.

528 In Arabic: *awāt al-‘azā*, perhaps to be understood literally as “deposits of consolation,” actually indicating “idols,” used in LP20 as a synonym of *al-aṣnām*. The author conceived of them as a kind of statues, each of which would contain a demon, as becomes clear from various passages in the present story.

a man from among them, while we were asking [ourselves what was happening].

Then their governors came to James, while we came from the city to a separate part of the mountain, somewhat protruding from it.

10^b They said: "You, slave, we saw a sign in the city that came from the side of this mountain. Tell us about it, as we regard you as a well-doing person."

James asked: "Do you regard this miracle with sincerity?"

They answered: "Most certainly!"

Then James spoke out, saying: "Lord, help me, as you are the best of helpers!"

Thereupon he split the mountain and left those who were present under a spell. He exclaimed: "You, my disciples, do not fear, come and help me!"

The people said to James: "Tell us more, we consider you a great magician!"

He added: "But my case rests solely with God, the lord of the universe."

11^a They were worried about James and his [real] purpose. They were disturbed and ascended the mountain. Some of them said: "This | is a strange affair!" Others among them thought evil of him. They left him alone, but James's case manifested itself to them. Nevertheless, they believed only in the sign [they had seen], specifically.

And James settled in that place, as well as the *History of the Essence*, so that it would remain [there] until the end of time. He went to the city and preached there for many days, without anyone believing his message. James wept and we wept with him secretly and openly, because of the harshness of the hearts of the pagans. But he was patient and admonished us, saying: "Be patient, God is with those who are patient! God guides whomever He wishes, by His grace, and is not pleased with his servants when they are infidels. He leads into error whomever He wishes, by His justice, and He does not treat unjustly any one of

11^b His servants. | His justice in all matters is preordained."

James circulated one more time through the city, attempting to comply with the words of the Holy [Virgin],⁵²⁹ aiming at leaving the peninsula, but he failed and despaired. Then he went on with us towards the south, to a small city called Muntasa, with a delicious well in its center for those who wanted to drink from it. He stayed there a few days, but despaired of the people and lost hope. He then travelled from there to a city called the City of Ṭālamūn. We entered it with great amazement. We saw that it was surrounded by a broad river curving westward, it being one of the largest cities of the peninsula. We entered it alongside the ships. We observed that there were various peoples, among them some

529 Viz. to trace that single person who would accept his message and be converted to the religion of Jesus, the Spirit of God. The Virgin had told him that he could return only after having met that person.

Israelites, and some | from the nation of the pagan Romans who formed the highest elite. Among them there were heretics⁵³⁰ and atheists.⁵³¹ Those among them who had inherited the land⁵³² were best knowledgeable of the local colloquial language, viz. the Romans with their idols, who had many temples. The other people were subjects who paid poll tax. 12^a

We then went to the house of a man who invited us and gave us a loaf to eat, and we stayed in [that place] for many days, but the message of James had no impact on its people. He said: “Our refuge is with God and to Him we turn!” He aimed at traveling to a small city called Madīnat al-Qanṭara situated on the border of a deep-black river with several bridges, which we entered. James cured there several emaciated sick who had lost all hope, thus showing | them the miracle of the blessing of healing. 12^b

The lord of the city said to his governing body: “Bring me an honored guest by the name of James to one of the official houses of the city, and after you have complied with my order bring him to me together with his companions, because I see that he treated the people well by the miracle of healing.”

When he saw James, he said: “I am asking you to do something for me, and be sure that I will reward you for it.”

James answered: “I foster no ambition, my only wish is to obey God, who created heavens and earth.”

He asked: “Who is your God?”

He answered: “He who created and formed me from [a drop consisting of] mixtures⁵³³ and a disdained liquid,⁵³⁴ Lord of the angels and of the Spirit, the holy and peaceful king. There is no lord but He, | no one is entitled to veneration but He.” 13^a

The prince said: “Do you deny the gods, and do you uphold one god instead of them? That is a terrible thing and we hate that.”

James showed him an amazing miracle whereby he enchanted the spectators. But the governing body thought badly of him, accusing him of being a great magician. They brought him to a small town, twenty miles southwards, a filthy place, imprisoning him there in a rough way. They heard no news about him for forty days. And when an envoy came to him, they asked: “What do you want?”

530 Arabic: *qadariyyūn*.

531 Arabic: *majusiyyūn*.

532 The original inhabitants of the land.

533 Viz. of sperm and blood, or: of sperm and blood of the man mixed with the fluid of the woman. Cf. Quran S. 76:2.

534 A well-known Quranic expression, see Quran S. 32:8.

James answered: "I only want what God wishes, I put my trust in Him, and to Him I turn." Turning to God in repentance, he implored: "My Lord, help me to be patient with dignity to endure what You have decreed, because I am your
 13^b servant who is in need | of Your mercy. Spread it fully over me and help me, as You are the best of Helpers!"

His Lord answered him and he and those who were with him were rescued from the evil of that people, and the gates of his prison were opened.

The senate said: "If you keep silent we will not react to your words [either]. But you should not show your miracles in our town. If you show them, we will put you to the fire."

Then James remembered the words of the Holy [Virgin], and despaired. He said: "We do not act unjustly against this people, because some one [of them] might believe." After a while, he brought us together and said: "Fear God with a pure intention, so that He will have mercy upon us and grant us a true way out, rescuing us from the evildoing people."

14^a Then James made a long journey towards the eastern parts of the land |, a distance of over a hundred and fifty miles. The land was flat and it had a city constructed with high battlements and high towers, called the City of Ghābir. It was situated on the bank of a large river called al-'Ubūrī.⁵³⁵ Its borders were the borders of Ghaliyā.⁵³⁶ Before entering it, we took a meal and relaxed from [our] fatigue. We then entered and observed that it was inhabited by tribes of pagan Romans. When they approached us they divided themselves, and one of them asked my brother Tis'ūn about us.

He answered him: "We are mendicant strangers, [and] we are on our way to the Holy Land, our home."

He asked him: "Who is your elder?"

He answered him: "Our elder is our minor and our minor is our elder."

14^b He thought that he was jesting; he made us stand up and ordered the council to put us | into a dark jail. We entered it through four dungeons. Thus we became like those who are patient in the face of disaster, when it surrounds the pious obedient—may God make us belong to them!

We had stayed there for a while, when the prince asked James: "Why did you enter our land? We suspect that you want to make havoc in it."

James answered: "My companions and I are no evildoers; our aim is to improve the land after it has been corrupted, so that its people will be happy."

535 Perhaps a reference to the Ebro.

536 Perhaps Gallia, i.e. Gaul.

He asked: "What are you preaching to the people?"

He answered: "The pure faith."

He asked: "In what do you believe?"

He answered: "In Him who created heaven and earth, the holy and peaceful King, Lord of the angels and of the Spirit. There is no Lord but He, no one is entitled to veneration but He."

He asked: "Do you make our gods one God, contrary to the faith of our ancestors? And do you want to promote inversions in our faith for us? I really think that you are a fool who has lost his mind." He then condemned him to prison in chains and shackles, and us with him. He refrained from taking food for some time. Before entering prison James received a miracle, upon which some of them said out of fear that it was a great matter, but most of them were evildoers wishing James evil.

15^a

With a pure heart, James, in his turn, said: "Commemorate, because commemorating benefits you, and praise, because praising is your food, and be patient because patience is your victory, and exert yourselves in sincerity because God is with you and with us, and do not fear anyone but God."

Then our group prayed: "Our Lord, increase us in well-doing, | and grant us patience in abundance, make us people who obey You, and grant us mercy, as You are the Most Merciful."

15^b

Then it was revealed to James [how] to charm the large shackles and the heavy stone walls. Thus he charmed them with a sincere intention, and their confinement was opened at once. He then stood up and went to the idols. When the greatest of them was confronted with the truth, it fell down and collapsed. What was hidden in it disappeared,⁵³⁷ because the truth has something frightening and lies vanish and are crushed.

James said to the people: "Do you adore matters that are of no avail to you, cannot hear, possess no reason nor provide for you, while denying the One who created you and formed you in the wombs of your mothers? Do you not know that God did not send down any importance or any power to the bodies formed by your hands? | But He is merciful and forgiving to His servants. He did not command you to prostrate [yourselves] towards them, but you should prostrate yourselves towards God, who created heavens and earth. He also created you, and everything else. Therefore believe in Him sincerely. Do you not know that he who is led by Him into error has no guidance, and will be rewarded with Hell, the terrible abode of evildoers? Do you not know that those who adore idols, heroes and devils, are people of disbelief and worshippers of perdition, over

16^a

537 An evil spirit.

whom shall come a painful punishment?" But James's words only increased their aversion.

And behold, the council asked: "Who broke your shackles and the shackles of your companions?"

16^b He answered: "That was He who hears calls, who answers prayers |, who prevents false steps, who sends down miracles. There is no Lord but He, and no one is entitled to be venerated but He. He is my Lord and your Lord, notwithstanding the fact that you deny Him. Heed my words, so that you may follow the right path, though God guides whomever He wishes. But He gives guidance to whomever believes. Do you not see how the fields sprout after a rain shower, and the earth is blessed with various springs and with trees, as well as livelihood for mankind, but you nevertheless do not praise His enormous grace? Do you not know that demons have no power over anything, they have no knowledge of the kingdoms of heavens and earth and no prophetic understanding of the smallest future event? But you, nevertheless, adore them. Do you not know |

17^a that prostration is the duty of man towards the Everlasting Living One who does not die? Do you not know that it is the duty of man to spur on [others] to the right faith and religion and to leave those who oppose it, and to take rest in it—may the Greatest Sign as well as the Right Religion enlighten you? I do not ask you a reward for it,⁵³⁸ as my reward is with God. You turn away from my message, but your reward will follow on the well-known day about which there is no doubt."

Then one of their men plotted against him: "You, denier, if you are upright, tell us when the Hour will arrive."

17^b James answered: "God's words are the truth. Do you not know that | no one of His servants can obtain knowledge thereof, as it comes secretly at an unknown time?"

One of them said: "This is the greatest blasphemy. Let us cut his throat and those of his companions!"

James said: "If my Lord protects me, you can do me no harm, as He is the best of all protectors."

The council ordered us to leave the city at once, without staying, residence or any collecting of charity.

James said to the alderman: "Is there no hope for us with you, at all?"

He answered: "We will not rescue you if you do not comply with our order immediately."

538 The language is again Quranic: "*lā as'alukum 'alaihi ajran*" (Quran S. 42:23).

James said: “This will be a separation between you and me until the Day of Resurrection about which there is no doubt. God will be a witness | against you, as well as His angels, and He is the best of all witnesses. His name be praised, there is no Lord besides Him, and no one but He is entitled to be venerated.” 18^a

James said: “God, everything is subject to you, and those of stubborn hearts belong to Hell. You know everything, You will judge justly between Your servants on the Day of Resurrection concerning the matters about which they differ, and You will not commit injustice to anyone, as You are the best of all the just.”

Then the spirit came to him and said: “Be patient, God guides whomsoever He wishes, His justice is preexistent, no one can take notice of it, while He knows everything. Offer a mass, be patient with kindness, and act justly in all His matters, | through the enormous grace of God.” 18^b

Thereupon James said: “Be patient, as God is with the patient.” He headed for a mountain and commemorated there the Living and Eternal One who does not die, saying: “Lord, open my heart so that my words will be firmly established in any land You may wish, as I am tired of people with stubborn hearts. I brought them the message but it did not strike roots among them; it did not leave any trace in their hearts, not even the beginning of faith.”

While praying he received a revelation, whereupon he decided to leave with us at once via a wide road | towards the eastern parts. At daybreak we entered a large extended city at the coast of the sea, very strongly fortified, a miracle for observers, called Little Rome. It was inhabited by Roman tribes with idols, whose language was barbaric.⁵³⁹ We entered it from the gate at the landward side, leading towards heavy pillars, and behold, there was a blistered evil jinni, who begged from James. He told him: “I do not have any money with me, but do you want something out of the treasures of my Lord? There are no richer treasures than His, while by His mercy He is near to benefactors.” 19^a

He answered: “Most certainly, but I am | burning with hunger!” He then cured him with saliva, and quenched his hunger with a piece of horsemeat from the carcass of a mule.⁵⁴⁰ He then shouted: “You, council, this is sheer magic!”⁵⁴¹ He then took us to the seat of the council. 19^b

The council told James: “You, slave, we saw that you are performing miracles. Do you cure with the help of idols?”

539 Arabic: ‘*ujmā*’, “non-Arabic,” perhaps meaning Spanish here. Elsewhere the local Roman tribes speak the “local colloquial language.”

540 The meaning is not clear. There seems to be a wordplay here.

541 He behaved like a genuine devil.

He answered: "I cure in the name of the Living Eternal One, who does not die."

He asked: "Who is that?"

He answered: "He who has no Lord besides Him, while no one is entitled to be venerated but He. Who formed me and created heavens and earth, and everything in between. He is my Lord and your Lord, as well as the Lord of our
20^a ancestors. Out of His great grace I am preaching His Glorious Gospel, | so that His servants will be blessed by it. Therefore listen to the message, and do not doubt shamefully that God loves those who believe."

The alderman stood up and said: "Take him to the hall of the idols where the discussions of the scholars take place and report back to us."

Then, when he had manifested a miracle towards the body [of a statue], it fell down and crumbled, whereupon the demon within it went away. It moaned and howled, the earth trembled, and the priests of the building went into hiding. The lie disappeared in shame, while the great miracle became apparent, only adding to their distress.

The patrician of the magnates in his senate said: "Do you want the people to leave [the right path] and to spread lies and depravity in our religious community? | I believe your words are evil, and you spread havoc on earth. You cannot
20^b escape a severe punishment from us."

But he did not answer him, whereupon one of them said: "Why do you not answer the person you are obliged to answer?"

James answered: "The Lord of heavens and earth will respond on my behalf with the truth I am telling you. He will save whomever He wishes by His graces, He guides towards the right way! Loss and perdition on the harsh who have been refuted! But I tell you the perfect word of God, so answer the call, that you may receive mercy."

21^a The patrician said: "Show us the miracle on the mountain in front of us | if you are truthful."

James prayed: "God, help me, You are the best of helpers!", turning himself repentantly to God. They then saw the mountain submitting itself and cracking, through the miracle.

The people were a little alarmed and in doubt. Then they conspired among themselves, and he ordered them to kill James together with his companions. They were fully occupied by their evil intentions and urged the patrician to put matters into motion. When the news came back to the senate, everyone agreed that they should be imprisoned. Thus the order was dispatched against us, and when James saw the prison, he pointed to it with confidence, and called out that it would be pulverized by God's order. So it fell into dust, as God, by His miracle and power, is able to do anything.

The patrician said to the jailer: “This is certainly a skilled magician!”

James answered: “I am certainly not a magician, but God’s magic and His cunning is greater than everything else.”

The crowd said: “Return him to us.” | And when they saw him they intended to pose a very difficult request to him, at the time when the earth should bring forth its products, but [plants] had begun to break and dwindle because of drought, without any yield, notwithstanding all the energy put into it. [They did this] in order to blame him. They said: “Implore your Lord for a continuous flow of water, that He may rid us of the drought, if you are truthful.” Then he implored [God] once and again, and behold, rain-showers pouring forth with vehemence approached from every side. The earth was delivered⁵⁴² and the trees began budding intensely. 21^b

They said: “This was done merely by the demons of the thunder-clouds!”, strengthening their malicious intention against him.

The alderman said: “O you skillful magician, leave our town at once, running, together with your companions, and if you do not leave now we will requite you with a blazing punishment and without any mercy,” thereby insulting James and his companions severely.

One of us heedlessly turned to our master saying: | “Ask that God send down on them a filthy bulk⁵⁴³ from heaven, because they are Pharisees and Scribes and infidel people.” 22^a

James answered: “I will not implore God against them.⁵⁴⁴ I was not created to curse,⁵⁴⁵ rather I was commanded to have mercy on men. God will guide whomsoever He wishes by His grace and His Glorious Gospel. He holds the Book,⁵⁴⁶ and does not agree to infidelity by His servants.”

He then went to the Gate of the Pillars, where he was approached by a blind woman who asked him to cure her grandson who was handicapped.⁵⁴⁷ She implored him in genuine despair: “Do not chase me away, I see you are a good and well-doing person. Alleviate my sorrow, as it afflicts me.” Thus he exorcised [him] by his secret [formula], and the demon left after [James] made the lad

542 The Arabic has *najāt*. Could it be a scribal error for *najamat*, a verb used before, which would yield the meaning: the earth began to sprout?

543 Arabic: *jthm mrjs*, which we interpret as *jism murajjas*.

544 Reading: *lā addaʿ ʿalaihīm* (involution).

545 The text says: I was created only to curse, *innamā khuliqtu laʿnan*, but the intended meaning is clear.

546 The language is Quranic. Cf. Quran S. 13:39: “*wa-ʿindahū umm al-kitāb*”, referring to the original Book (the “archetype”) from which all revealed books are believed to have been derived.

547 The Arabic has *mwāq*, understood by us as *muʿawwaq*.

22^b repose with some food. He then informed her about his recovery, and, consequently God | cured her [as well], by His order, as He is the one who cures with efficacy, who pardons the one who implores Him with a pure heart. And you should not think that James [himself] had played any role [in this], as she [was blind] by nature.

He then went westwards and stayed on the pass of a mountain. We fed ourselves with the barley for horses and wrapped bread with butter and honey in honeycombs. He preached to us to have patience and showed us secrets thereof, which if shown to someone without patience in severe hardship would enhance patience against hardship and suffering through worms and poverty. And I say: [we are dealing here with] poverty, not [to be understood as the counterpart] of richness, but of faith, of commemoration,⁵⁴⁸ while the root of poverty is the disaster of ignorance, and the establishment of faith in a believer is in purity and patience, while the fear [of God] is the principle of every person of knowledge | and faith the beginning of every blessing.

23^a He then turned to travel a long distance through the desert, following the seacoast, while remembering the Living, never-dying Eternal One. We had a severe thirst and were sure that we were about to die.

He then implored God, relating how Moses had split the rocks. He split a rock with his stick, and its water flowed forth to us, delicious for those who drank it. He said: "Trust God, if you are believers, that He may cure your hearts and bring you into His mercy."

He then made his way to the seacoast, to a small town where a spy of the [local] people asked one of us [about us], who answered him indirectly but resolutely.

James said: "There are [only] a few wells in this town, its frugality is terrible!" He inhaled the smell of the earth and said: "Even the earth is infidel! We have to leave here, and not stay here at all!"

23^b He then moved on and went with us to a mountain, on the pass of which we took some food | and drank from a spring. He then climbed further and sat down at the top of the mountain, signaling to us to approach him. I said: "At your orders, master!" Then, after some time, he preached to us with a few words but with great knowledge, about the salvation of man and his [eternal] felicity, due to God's enormous grace. He closed his words with the virtues of patience, expounding it as an obligation for repentants, with a beautiful and tender voice, which made us cry, but then we recovered ourselves. Our souls came to rest and our hearts were comforted by his words. Our group expressed

548 Arabic: *dhikr*, a major Islamic concept of practical devotion in the mystical tradition.

our thanks to God for His blessings to mankind. We then entered a cave, in obedience to God, constructing an altar of earth and stones, on which the satchel for the mass was placed. He performed [the mass] for us and gave us his benediction. We then kissed his hand, he blessing us another time.

James decided to ascend another high mountain with diligence. There he remained in tranquility and commemorated the Living, Eternal One who does not die. He then ordered us to repose.

We then asked him | about the kernel of [religious] understanding,⁵⁴⁹ its main lines and its individual cases. He said: “Listen to what I say. I searched the faith and I found it in profound intention; then I searched profound intention and found it in purity; I searched purity and found it in pious work; I looked for pious work and found it in beautiful intention; I looked for beautiful intention and found it in the proof of miracles and creation; I looked for the [said] proof and found it in the fear of God, as He is the beginning of all knowledge; I looked for richness and found it in God’s mercy towards poverty, in the holiness of abstinence, the satisfaction of patience, patience in disaster, love in alms, honesty in certainty, hope in prayer, reward in veneration, nearness to God in the mass, felicity in the Glorious Gospel, piety in obedience, power | in faith, and science among the people of knowledge. I tested extinction and saw it in this world, I tested deficiency and saw it in ignorance, I tested humiliation and saw it in sinfulness, I tested sinfulness and saw it among the servants, I searched for forgiveness and found it in repentance, I searched for repentance and found it in the soul, I searched for the soul and found it in the heart which is in God’s hand. Then I looked for efficiency and found it in confession, I looked for confession and found it in complete sincerity towards God with a pure heart, I looked for sincerity and I found it in faith,⁵⁵⁰ I looked for faith⁵⁵¹ and I found it in shyness⁵⁵² and in performing [one’s obligation], as it is part of it [as well]; and I looked for the harbor of salvation and found it in abstaining from forbidden matters, | because he who is entangled in sins while hoping for mercy will not be forgiven by God, as he longs for mercy but disbelieves in the commands, whereas the real repentant with the commitment never to return to sinning again has no sin upon him, while God in His grace guides whomsoever He wishes of His servants, without treating them unjustly. And I searched for shyness and found it in the nature of faith,⁵⁵³ and I searched for shyness and

549 In the Arabic: *lubāb al-fīqh*.

550 The Arabic has *dīya* (“blood-money”), which we propose to emend to *dīn*.

551 Same remark as in the preceding note.

552 Cf. the Islamic tradition: “*Li-kulli dīn khuluq wa-khuluq al-islām al-ḥayā’*.”

553 The Arabic had originally: “*wa-wajadtuhu fī khuluq Allāh wa-al-dīn*.” The word *Allāh* was

found it in God; I searched for God and found Him in the souls of faithful servants, as He is with them in every place, while He possesses perfection, majesty and beauty, and every blessing comes from Him, whereas every evil comes from the soul and from the Devil. I looked for the greatest consolation and found it in the sight of His venerable face. I looked for rest | and found it in the Everlasting, the Living One who will not die and in whom lies the repose of His contented servants—His great majesty be elevated! Therefore follow His consent, that He may increase His grace towards you out of goodness, and make you enter into the fold of His mercy.”

At that point, I, Cecilio, asked him: “Master, did you say that God by His grace guides whomsoever He wishes of His servants? Tell us what our Lord taught you about the knowledge of the Decree and the Destiny and about the seal of [eternal] felicity.”

James answered: “God veiled that knowledge from His servants, but concerning the issues closest to the soul [the tradition] reached us that whenever a [soul] dispatched is blown into a womb, its lifespan, livelihood, work and abode will be written down for him |. God will forgive whomsoever is mentioned in His prescience with the word of mercy, even if his sins are countless, the same as for a good work after depravity. Consequently, he will enter Paradise. But whosoever is mentioned in God’s prescience with the word of punishment, and performs good deeds during all his life, will enter Hell after committing an evil deed after [having acted in] piety. There is no doubt about that, as God is the best of the just, while allowing nobody to take note of His justice. The seal of felicity is [as well] veiled by His grace from intellects; no intimate angel, no prophet sent [with a revelation] has access to it. Beware therefore of any doubt about God, in that he who is forgiven may not have to fulfill the duties | of the repentant, and that he who was condemned to Hell may have been free from sin. Perform, therefore, good works and put your trust [in God], but you will [by necessity] perform works only in accordance with God’s prescience, and no more, in proportion to your returning to Him. Know that God does not deal with His servants unjustly. All good is from Him, and evil is from the soul and from the Devil. He is pleased by His servants’ faith, but displeased with them by their disbelief. He does whatever He wishes, and He possesses a Clear Archetype.⁵⁵⁴ Nothing escapes His knowledge; verily, He is well informed about all vices.”

crossed out, resulting in “*wa-wajdatuhu fi khuluq wa-al-din.*” We propose to read: “*wa-wajdatuhu fi khuluq al-din.*”

554 Arabic: *imāman mubīnan*. Cf. Quran S. 16:12, where this expression, according to commentators, refers to the archetype of the Quran that is with God.

We then asked him about God's greatest name and its blessing. He answered: "That is a great name to which God gave no access to any one of His intimate angels, neither to the prophets, nor to any one of His creatures altogether. For that reason it is called the well-stored, hidden name | by which God named Himself and by which He sits on His throne, and whereby He decides the affairs of his creatures—His great majesty be elevated! He possesses the beautiful names which are ninety-nine, while by the greatest name the number of one hundred is sealed. By that name and its blessing whereby He called Himself, He created heavens and earth and its inhabitants, as well as humans, demons and angels with knowledge between both of them [heaven and earth]. He gave light to the sun, the moon and the stars. He created darkness, light, shadow and heat and placed it⁵⁵⁵ upon the earth, whereupon it came to rest. He then placed it on the mountains and it sat down. He then placed it on the venerable prophets and taught them thereby to care for the knowledge granted to them and the prophethood, as befitting their capacity to deal with that matter. It is a name that is characterized by the quiddity | of His essence, His beauty, His perfection, His power, His justice, and His clemency—His majesty be elevated! It is [that name] that prompts those who meditate to experience His miracles. How would they, then, be able to understand the quiddity of His essence and of His greatest name, while He is the Supreme, the Great, hidden from His servants, so that nobody can see him with the outer eye, and nobody knows how to reach Him but He [Himself]. Thus you should seek His blessing and stop thinking about Him, that He may return His grace to you by the blessing of His greatest name, as well as the spirit by His order, though the knowledge given to His servants is but little."

He then went forth to a big city by the name of Córdoba, lying on the banks of a river called al-Baṭīsh. We entered it and saw that it was fortified and well paved. Its inhabitants were tribes of Romans who venerated | idols. We entered the reception room of the learned men, James calling out with the words: "Members of the senate! To my amazement, I see that you behave contradictorily: you eat the daily livelihood God grants you, but you venerate others than Him. You create havoc on earth, but prohibit any corruption. You believe in reason, but you deny what reason and understanding, granted by the highly praised God, accept. Do you not know that those who quarrel with God will remain forever in Hell and its terrible punishment? Do you not know that those who create havoc on earth belong to the People of the Fire? Do you not know that God does not harass His servants with something that their reason cannot

555 The object is perhaps the divine name referred to previously.

grasp? Explain to them the right path in a clear manner, as He is clement and merciful. Follow the light of truth, that you may be fortunate, because I fear that a painful punishment will strike you on account of your sins and that you will
 28^b become allies of the | Devil, who disobeyed God by his arrogance. Beware of your idols, you are like the spider in its fragile web: when strong winds blow, it finds itself in grave difficulty. Such is the end of the evildoers. Do you not know that your entering the gate of death is like the inadvertent killing of a mosquito, as there is no escape from it for any of the inhabitants of the world? Those who hold fast to tyranny will dwell in Hell, the terrible dwelling of evildoers. Are you looking for happiness in dreams but forget the truth, while committing injustice to yourselves through an idol that is of no avail to you at all, you ignorant people?"

Their eldest priest asked: "Who is your god whom you adore? I think you are a stupid person."

James answered: "The Lord of the angels and of the Spirit, who has no lord besides Him, while He is the only one entitled to adoration; who created you and me from mixed fluids and from vile water."⁵⁵⁶

He answered: "What evidence do you have for that, which imposes itself on hearts and is accepted by reason?"

29^a James said: "Do you mean the convincing evidence | [provided by] knowledge?"

He answered: "Indeed!"

James said: "Of myself I possess no knowledge, as my knowledge was granted by God. Do you want to be convinced by His miracle that I will show to you, as powerful as you would like?"

Then they were greatly disturbed and concocted among themselves the great evil of afflicting upon James the death penalty.

One of them said: "Show us your god openly, that we may speak to him as we speak to our idols."

James answered: "Show me your gods, that we may speak to them in order to provide a truly convincing miracle, if you are sincere, as I will show you the truth which you will witness with your own eyes."

The priest said: "You will be afflicted by a great evil, if you do not deliver it convincingly."

James said: "Nay!"

We then went with the senate to the building, where James met with a body that had a mouth attached to it with a voice from its belly. The demon used

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. Quran S. 76:2; 32:8.

to give an oracle to the people when they asked something, like an echo, with ellipsis, allegory, contradictions and linguistic deviation. When it saw James it shouted | and fell down, and the earth trembled. When he asked something, it went away from his presence and howled. 29^b

James said to the people: “Where is your god that you adore? He was frightened by my words, got up and left. Do you not know that I showed you therein the greatest miracle, as the idol broke down and the falsehood they were adoring collapsed and the truth became manifest?⁵⁵⁷ [This is the truth concerning which] I tell you: if you follow the right path, God will lead you to the path of Guidance.” But his words only increased their stubbornness.

The priest said: “Magician, leave our city immediately, I will not grant you any more time. But if you do not effectively leave with your companions, I will submit you to a terrible punishment and revenge, and if you cross my order I will afflict you with a great evil.”

James then left and turned towards a mountain, his patience having been worn out by the heresies of the people. On it he reposed and implored God, saying: “My God and my Master and my Lord |, you are the guide towards the right path, no one but You can do that. I ask you for guidance towards it, and that you reveal to me the place where I will find the servant who, as established in your prescience, will believe firmly, and what has to be done in addition to that, if you so wish, so as to execute your order. Guide me, as you are the best Guide.” He then pronounced the formula ‘God is great’ (*Allāhu akbar*), while bowing down in prostration for the mass. 30^a

He then received a vision between wakefulness and sleep, because he had a heart that did not slumber. Thus it was revealed to him: “Be patient, as God is with the patient. And do not neglect commemoration, because it is the food of those who praise [the Lord]. Go forth towards your right side, holding the middle between the two garrisons. There you will meet an Arab with a heart that does not slumber and a beautiful intention towards the right path, whose name is Ibn al-Mughīra, a servant who is skeptical of the idols. That man will believe in your words and he will be one of your disciples, he will be purified and will rejoice in the fear of God. In that island the commentator of the *Essence of the Gospel* will descend from him, at the time promised for the Guidance to come. Do you not know | that God, when he afflicts His servant with an illness, will provide him with a perfect medicine [as well]? There is no hardship but for the purpose of easing it. He will cure the hearts of the faithful with the Great Sign, and he who will have purified himself and who follows the right path will rejoice.” 30^b

557 Cf. Quran S. 17:81.

And when he had awakened he praised God abundantly, and then turned to go forth with diligence in order to execute the order, until night's darkness fell. He still went forth and encountered a village, which we entered, asking at the first mansion, where a man appeared, saying: "Lo and behold, this is indeed a strange matter, guests arrived notwithstanding a frightening and howling dog, without being hurt by him at all, although he attacks all people and animals without interruption. Welcome to you, you will be well received among the idols." We stayed and he brought us food on a table covered with silk, where
 31^a there was milk, butter, honey in wax, and pieces of bread baked in hot ashes made of the hull of barley. He gave us to drink from the sweetness | of the ...⁵⁵⁸ of the barley (?), against a poverty that was ended by God's blessing in accordance with our need, by His great mercy.⁵⁵⁹

And behold, at daybreak there came a man who entered upon us. He said: "Welcome to a honorable people. It was shown to me in a vision three times that I would travel to this my tent and would meet a man called James, who would provide right guidance. Is he with you or not?"

Whereupon James asked him: "Are you Ibn al-Mughīra?"

He answered him: "Who told you my name?"

He said: "The One who guided you to me five years ago by a vision about meeting you in this island."

He answered: "Welcome to you, today you obtained a safe place with me in my heart! Let us go to my home." Thus we went with him to the rooms of an honored guest. He treated us all with equal honor. Ibn al-Mughīra was a Phoenician Arab, a man of honor and knowledge of the stars and the sciences.
 31^b He worshipped the idols | with skepticism, but adhered to his knowledge. He was convinced of the truth of the mission of our Lord Christ and used to pray: "I ask you, creator of the creation, that you not take my soul from this my body before I have met our Lord, the honorable Christ, or one of his holy servants. Open my heart and make me a man of knowledge and make me happy by meeting him, as you are powerful over everything." God answered him that He listens and knows. Now there was in the house of Ibn al-Mughīra a handicapped man, whom James touched, whereupon [the demon] left him at once by the permission of God and His perfect word.

Ibn al-Mughīra said to James: "In what do you believe?"

James answered: "In the One who guided me towards obeying Him, the Holy and Peaceful King, beside Whom there is no Lord and no one deserving veneration! Do you wish to believe [in Him, as well]?"

558 Arabic: *al-ṭlā' li-al-khb*, the meaning of which has remained unclear to us.

559 The sentence is not completely clear.

He answered: “I want to believe in that which reason accepts as necessary in the essence of your God, so that my heart will be at rest and the faith will be imprinted | upon my soul.”

32^a

James answered: “Let me describe to you twenty attributes⁵⁶⁰ in Him, starting with the special characteristics of Himself, namely: existence by His essence; priority: there is nothing before Him; everlastingness: there is nothing after Him; inconsistency: after all accidents, there is no accident in Him; subsisting by Himself: He has no assistant; uniqueness: no one is equal to Him; power, will, knowledge, understanding, life, hearing, sight, speech: he has power over everything, wills whatever He wishes, and knows everything; He is living: there is no life to any one of the inhabitants of the world; He listens to and observes whomsoever prays to Him; He speaks to the servants He wishes, without letters and sounds.”

Then Ibn al-Mughīra said: “May God bless you. Tell me about the matters that are impossible in His venerable essence.”

32^b

James answered: “In our Lord nonexistence is impossible, as He is not nonexistent; the same holds true for extinction, as He cannot be extinct; thus also similarity, as He is not similar to anything; the same holds for need, because he is not in need of anything; thus also companionship, as He has no one sharing his sovereignty and power; and contrariety, as He has no counterpart; also compulsion, as He cannot be compelled [to act]; thus also [the quality of] an image [like an idol], as He is not similar [to anything]; also ignorance, as He possesses (all) knowledge; as well as blindness, because He observes everything, nothing in heavens and earth remaining hidden from Him; thus also dumbness, because He is eloquent without lips, tongue, sequenced letters and language; thus also deafness, as He possesses hearing and reason; thus also death, because he causes death to every living being, but does not die [Himself]; [at the same time], | He possesses perfection and beauty—His great majesty be elevated, praised be He, as there is no Lord but He and no one is entitled to be venerated but the One, who may order anything into existence before the *kāf* reaches the *nūn*,⁵⁶¹ while He has power over everything.”

33^a

Ibn al-Mughīra said: “Tell me what one should think about the quiddity of His essence.”

560 This may be a reference to the works by al-Sanūsī, in which the twenty attributes of God play a significant role. See Wieggers, “The Andalusī Heritage in the Maghrib”; Wieggers and García-Arenal, “Polemical comparisons in the *Apology against the Christian Religion* by Muḥamad Alguazir (c. 1610)”; Casassas Canals, “Traducciones, versiones, glosas y comentarios.”

561 Forming together the word *kun* (“be!”).

James answered: “One should not ponder the quiddity of His venerable essence. But one should probe His signs [in His creation]. As for the proof of His [quiddity], I say that He is neither from anything, nor in anything, nor below anything, nor above anything. Were He from anything, He would be created; were he in anything, He would be limited; were He below anything, He would be subjected; were He above anything, He would be carried. He is not confined to any place, nor is any place devoid of Him. He is not connected to any time, although He is in charge every day, Lord of the angels and of the Spirit, the power and the might—praise be He, there is no god but He, who does | what-
 33^b ever He wants.”

Ibn al-Mughīra said: “My lord, you have enlightened my heart with a splendid light. My reason accepts your words with full conviction. Please add to all that for me what is needed for [my] salvation.”

Thus James answered: “Do you want to believe in Jesus Christ son of Mary, the Spirit of God, our Lord, and in his Glorious Gospel, as well as in the fundamentals of his righteous faith? Because there is no salvation without it for any of the inhabitants of the world.”

He then answered: “To listen is to obey, my lord. I do indeed truly believe in all that, with a pure and beautiful intention; give me your hand, please,” and he kissed it. James blessed him and encouraged him further towards the faith, he baptized him with pure water, whereby he was consoled from the disillusion of this world. He informed him about the revealed words concerning the commentator of the *Essence of the Gospel* and about the fact that he would be
 34^a a descendant from him. | He made him one of his disciples, on an equal footing.

James said: “Ibn al-Mughīra, you are the Extirpator of Unbelief⁵⁶² from existence in this island. From now on your name shall be Al-Dāyis.”

Al-Dāyis praised God with a pure heart for that great victory. He then said to James: “Teach me the prescribed [devotion] concerning our Lord Christ!”

James answered: “Prescribed are trustworthiness, reliability, and preaching. Trustworthiness without deficiency, reliability without treachery, and preaching without lying. Because he is the Trustworthy Spirit of God, the mediator of mankind, blessed are those who follow him through the Guidance, and perdition, I repeat, perdition, to the infidels!”

He then mounted diligently to a height [where there was] a cave with a niche, where he offered the mass, thanking God for His blessings. He then sat
 34^b down on the ridge of the mountain, saying to Al-Dāyis: | “Do you prefer to stay

562 Arabic: *anta dāyis al-kufr*.

in your country or to travel with us?" He answered: "Today there should be no separation between you and me. I will follow you through the right Guidance."

James said: "It is our duty to travel away from this island." He remembered the words of the Holy [Virgin] Mary and her command to leave it by a way different from the one through which we had entered it.

James said: "Lord, remove our stumbling-blocks and guide our feet towards your obedience. And to the straight path towards leaving it, and grant us from your mercy a rescue boat." Then it was revealed to him: "Return to the Holy Mountain and stay there for three months and write down the secrets that God will show you on it for the end of time, but do not ask about matters of which you possess no knowledge, other than what God wishes to show you out of His mercy. And if you follow His pleasure, He will guide you thereby to the straight path."

He then went with us to the Holy Mountain and on it he rested. There the sign was revealed to him that we will describe | in the *Book of the Enormous Secrets*, God, the Exalted, willing.⁵⁶³ When the time of the promised rescue boat was completed, it was found on the coast of the sea. Thus we embarked and travelled with the angel as our captain towards the east, with a good wind, until we arrived at the safe haven. We disembarked towards the Holy Land, to the house of Holy [Virgin]. James met her with full devotion. She welcomed him and us. He addressed her saying: "With obedience towards God and to you, o our Lady! I fulfilled your command completely, though my story is extraordinary to those who will hear it. But our reward comes from God, the Lord of the Worlds. I preached to the people for five years, and I had to bear preaching, prisons, and denigration. No one believed in my words but the single servant" and he pointed to Al-Dāyish. "The hearts of the people were hard, and they reacted to my words only by fleeing from the Right Guidance. But you had told me that I would [not] preach to a people more stubborn | than they, so what could have been my solution among them? Therefore I implored God to grant me patience and make me one of the patient."

35^a35^b

She told James: "Do not ask about a matter in God's prescience, be obedient to Him, as He will then guide you upon the right path. Your reward will be upon Him, and He will give you the knowledge and grant you the power (needed) for that matter."

James said: "Our Lady, tell us about how mankind will not be able to deny the *Essence* after it has been explained, (notwithstanding) the general stubbornness of hearts."

563 A reference to LP22.

36^a She answered: “Yes, I say to you, God ... everything ..., His grace ..., over His knowledge, His justice is great, and His plotting is solid.⁵⁶⁴ He deposited the original of the *Essence* in the Orient, to be preserved [there], and its copy in the Farthest Occident, sending the person to explain it to that farthest island to explain the Essence by its copy in the Great Gathering; as it is protected by God, none of His servants will have looked into it | until that assigned time in that gathering. And in order to destroy the accusation of the heretics and the infidels, God will demonstrate its truth through the original which is in the Orient, which will pour forth its light in the way that God wishes, while enlightening the earth with the light of truth. Together with it will come the commemoration [of God] which will overpower hearts, from the Orient towards the very Occident, in the mouths of servants, even in the mouths of children. Its knowledge and proof will be found in every place. Human minds will be enchanted, and people of intelligence will make mention thereof. They will not be able to deny it. Those who do deny it by their ignorance are the brothers of the Devil, for whom intercession⁵⁶⁵ is of no avail, as they will remain in Hell forever! Everything I mentioned to you is easy for God, as He is able to do anything!”

36^b She then said: “These are my words. In the *History of the Essence* it [can be read] without any riddle or omission, but as | a clear and eloquent description with no deviation. Blessed are those inhabitants of the world who follow the right guidance in it. Its hidden meaning is known only to God and to those of His servants He wishes.”

37^a Then our group of apostles gathered and she prophesied to us her death, decided by God in His equanimity. We wept sorely because of her departure, patiently and without any interruption. And at the beginning of the night of Sunday, at sunset, she passed away from them, surrounded by angels of mercy. A breeze of wind brought with it the seal of yellow musk, while the odor of Paradise took hold of her, as darkness fell and flashes of light appeared in heaven. The angels were ordered from the part of the Throne to clean her with water | and she was shrouded in a folded cloth, her soul was lifted towards heaven, where they were encircling the Throne with it, while praising God assiduously. But we are leaving her death and the themes related to it for the *Book of Death*.⁵⁶⁶

564 The sentence is deficient in the original.

565 Arabic: *shafā'a*, Islamic theological term to indicate the intercession of Muḥammad with God for his followers.

566 *Kitāb al-Wafāt*, probably dealing with Mary's death specifically, does not figure among the available Lead Books.

He said to the gathering full of tears: “This is the day of our separation. Because of [the danger[of [the development of different] parties in predication, foundations of the faith must be gathered and those about which there is consensus should be preached to mankind in the whole world, dividing [the different territories] among them.” This was effected, and they spread out [to different regions] for the predication. Peter the Vicar, our most intelligent and most widely studied, granted us license to preach and ordered our master to write the book [entitled] *The Foundations of Faith*, as well as the book that is with it,⁵⁶⁷ with the ideas about which there was consensus. By his order it was written down obediently by my brother, Tis‘ūn, in the House of the Parties.⁵⁶⁸ He then buried them in the earth, [to be preserved there] until the assigned time. Then the Vicar ordered our Master to return, with the permission of the gathering, | to the Peninsula of Spain, after he had journeyed with his seven disciples to the land of the Sammārīn, to fulfil the promise (made) to him by the Holy Virgin Mary.

37^b

Here ends the first part of the book at the hands of the sinful slave, who hopes for the mercy of his Lord, Cecilio ibn al-Riḏā, disciple of James the Apostle.

567 Most probably LP2: *Kitāb al-dhāt al-karīma* (“Book of the Venerable Essence”).

568 Arabic: *Manzīl al-Aḥzāb*. Playful reference to Maṣjid al-Aḥzāb in Medina from the time of Muḥammad.

LP21

2^a *Second part of the Book of the Outstanding Qualities of James the Apostle.*

After the Virgin had died, they remained on a mountain in their congregation, in order to spread out over the world, each of them taking the vow upon them to maintain the High Covenant and the faith, and to preach to mankind conveying to them the word of guidance of the Glorious Gospel and witnessing to them of the firm faith, for the glorification of God and the felicity of mankind and condemnation of opponents in accordance with His words—His majesty be elevated!—related by the Spirit, who said: “A terrible evil will be unleashed upon him in Hell.”

Together with his disciples, James went forth a considerable distance. The sun was setting and night fell upon us in the neighborhood of some villages of praiseworthy and generous people. Its host invited us most respectfully. At daybreak our master praised the Lord in the mass, and pronounced the benediction.

2^b We then went forth towards Samaria, | reaching the watering-place of Jacob, with abundant water, sweeter than honey and purer than tears. We quenched our thirst after having taken some food. There came a man with lame feet who pleaded with James.

He asked him: “Do you seek to be cured?”

He answered: “Yes.”

James said: “Purify your intention towards Him who created heavens and earth.”

He answered: “I listen and obey.”

He put his hand on him and exorcised (him) in the name of God, cured him and taught him salvation by the light of knowledge.

He then traveled on with us to a town called the City of Sh.k.r.⁵⁶⁹ We entered it and saw that its people were of different kinds of doctrines and ethnicities. James knew about their stubbornness in their foreheads and in their feet.

He said: “I take my refuge in God! I place my trust in Him, He suffices me and He truly takes care of me!”⁵⁷⁰

3^a He then admonished us about the beauty of patience and the frequent commemoration of God, secretly and overtly, as He is knowledgeable about the essence of (man’s) inner thoughts. |

569 Hagerty, 258: Sicar, cf. John 4:5–6.

570 The language is completely Quranic.

James entered the reception room of the scholars and urged the adherents of the different doctrines to listen. After some time he called out: "You, crowd, why are you ignorant? Do you adore the idols while forgetting the One who created you and formed you in the wombs of your mothers? Who gave you hearing, sight, reason and hearts, while you deny Him?"

Their gathering was confounded and one of them cried out on behalf of their four leaders:⁵⁷¹ "I think you are stupid and a liar." They imprisoned him harshly and consulted among themselves what to do with James. Then they ordered him taken to the priest of the Temple of the Winehouse.⁵⁷² We entered it and saw in it an altar on which there was a body of yellow copper, from which the inner hidden demon spoke softly when answering the devotees.

James stood amidst the priests in their reception room. The High Priest said to him by virtue of the message of the senate who had sent James: "Leader, do you want to spread corruption in our town, contrary to the tradition of our forefathers? Do you make the gods one god, you ignorant man, while we deny your words?" 3^b

James was calm and composed himself, he quietened and prepared himself to speak out, saying: "My mission is to bring guidance to mankind by virtue of Jesus the Spirit of God, who created heavens and earth and sent down the Glorious Gospel, which is the right path towards salvation for the pious servants who follow it."

The priest said: "Who is that god?"

He answered: "The Holy and Peaceful King, who | has no lord besides Him, and apart from whom no one is entitled to adoration. He, who created me and you from a vile liquid." 4^a

The priest answered; "Show me a sign and evidence to prove your words, if you are trustworthy."

James answered: "I will show it to you by the power of the Lord of the inhabitants of the world." He then went forth with them to the altar and said: "Eli, Eli, Adonai, lord of the angels and of the Spirit, help me, as you are the best of helpers!" The demon uttered some words and departed from the statue. The idol bowed down in devotion and the sanctuary trembled in all its seams. And the imams of the building were sorely afraid.

571 This is a reference to the four recognized legal doctrines in Sunnite Islam, each of them represented here by a leading legal scholar. This reflects the situation at Islamic courts in the East in the sixteenth century. Apparently, the author of the Lead Books was familiar with this typical situation, which did not exist in the Maghrib.

572 Arabic: "*ilā* [...] *masjid khamrān*." There is a playful reference to the wine-drinking habits of these idol-worshippers.

When their terror had abated, they again spoke and said: "He is merely a learned magician who stands against our religious community, but their guile is in clear error."

4^b James said: "People, do you not know that the demon you worship is unable to do anything of substance, while God knows everything | before its existence, as he knows all hidden matters? Do you worship that which is of no avail to you? Follow the Rich and the Praiseworthy. Do you not know that God will not withhold His sustenance from you? Who will provide you your livelihood, you ignorant ones?"

Then the priest began to flare up again, saying: "Imprison James and his companions, or give them a painful punishment!"

When they had passed their judgment, we entered [prison], which was like the dwelling place of wild animals.

The jailer said to James when he realized the sharpness of his condemnation by the people: "You fool, implore your god that he alleviate your sorrow and that of your companions as well as the punishment of chains and shackles, if you are truthful." But James did not give him any answer.

5^a When he had finished with him, James said: "Be patient, because He | is your helper, God loves the patient." He then turned to God in prayer several times with a pure heart, saying: "Pour beautiful patience into us, o glorious Lord, as you are the Beautiful One. Our trust in your love is strong. Confirm us in it, o Rich and Praiseworthy One! Make us ore in the foundry of fire. By Your power, punish the priests painfully. Blessed are those to whom You allotted force. By Your love You grant him salvation. Strengthen the covenant, You, strengthener of forces in our souls, and sustain them with piety. We speak Your praise in prison, increase our certainty, and bring us to the faith so that our words will be firmly established among the ignorant, and they will leave the path of error."

5^b Then James said with a pure heart in full certainty: "Disciples, put your fate into the hands of the Living Eternal One who will not die, do not fear anyone but Him. There is no hardship without His giving relief from it when it hurts | His servants, when He helps them. He is indeed the best of helpers." He then charmed the gates and the shackles after forty days. Their locks fell apart, they opened and we left for the sanctuary.

James said: "Priests, do you not know that nothing is devoid of God, who created heavens and earth, and that what is between them is null and void? Does God not take care of His servants, as He is with them in their souls and there is no help but from Him, you ignorant ones?"

The congregation answered: "Who took you and your companions out of prison, you learned magician?"

He answered: “The One who removes obstacles, listens to voices and answers prayers, beside whom there is no lord, while no one is entitled to adoration apart from Him. Moreover, I am not a magician, everything is the work of God, who provides support to whomever He wishes of His servants. Do you not know that the gods you adore possess no authority over | His pious servants? Do you not know that God provides your livelihood, and if He withholds his sustenance from you, who will sustain you without Him, you ignorant ones?” 6^a

The High Priest said: “Bring the learned magicians, so that the guile of his magic will be turned around. Go and execute this my order!”

When James met the magicians they brought works of great magic. James then implored God and He answered, so that their magic was confounded, to their humiliation. Many of them, consequently, believed in a virtuous manner, saying: “Everything is subjected to God, in Him we trust, and He suffices us and He is an excellent curator! O God, creator of heavens and earth, purify us towards You, and liberate us from the evildoers.” God answered their prayers and took them to Himself as martyrs.

James then went forth diligently in flight by order of the senate to the eastern parts of the earth, preaching the Glorious Gospel to mankind, | but his words did not impress their hearts, as they were stubborn. He then continued to preach among the people for five years, but his words had no impact on them. He then once more went forth diligently in obedience to God’s command to the nations for seven months, in plain fields and waste areas, but his words and his miracles left no impact on any single human being. He then remembered the words of the Holy Virgin, viz. when she told him: “You are a messenger to the most stubborn people, as they are a furious people.” He lost hope in their faith, and he implored God asking him that he would leave them. It was then revealed to him to travel on towards Ramat al-Hamal,⁵⁷³ and when he had entered it, a message reached him from Abū ‘Aṭṭār, the Chief Rabbi, who threatened to destroy him. 6^b

And behold, one day our master was entering the temple and started to preach. Thereupon Abī ‘Aṭṭār brought him before | the court of justice. Finding himself also in their court, he accused him severely. They consulted about the matter with Mahrajānis, the great scholar and scientific genius, bringing him to the reception room, while the temple was entirely filled.⁵⁷⁴ There he disputed with him severely in matters of religion and faith. 7^a

573 Jerusalem, more particularly the Temple Mount.

574 Perhaps a reference to the story about Saint James and the magician Hermogenes found in the Golden Legend, see also Marracci, *Disquisitio*, fol. 96^a.

When James had finished expounding the teachings about which the gathering of the apostles had reached consensus, Mahrajānis said: “You friendly, confused man, do you have sympathy for the richness of the Unity, while [at the same time] being friendly towards but also disputing Three and Three-fold, although the polytheists [will have to remain] in the lowest level of the fire, it being the most terrible dwelling place of the evildoers? Do you fabricate
7^b falsehoods against God in a matter He did not | reveal to mankind though the ancient prophets?”

James answered: “I am not an evildoer, but I was ordered to preach the Gospel of Jesus, the son of Mary, the Spirit of God, to mankind, in accordance with the doctrine of the apostles, that they may be saved.”

Mahrajānis answered: “The idiot committed serious blasphemy and went a long way in his heresy!”

Then they decided the matter among them. They cut off James’s right hand, lashed him severely and took out his right eye. They chased him and his companions into the desert. There he remained patient, commemorating what has to be commemorated, and then turned to his memory. He asked my brother Tis‘ūn: “What did you do with the stored books that describe the [teachings] agreed upon in the Council of the Apostles?”

8^a Tis‘ūn answered him: “Their plates are here with me, | my lord.”

James said: “Entrust yourselves to God, and travel with me, before my passing away, to the Peninsula of Spain. Store the books in it, together with the copy of the *Essence*, and I charge you that it is not obligatory to bury me on the Holy Mountain in which they will be preserved, but bury me in the south of the peninsula, on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, and after that, do as you have been ordered in the *History*⁵⁷⁵ dealing with it, so that you will be rightly guided.”

We traveled with him one night towards the coast of the sea, when a favorable wind was blowing. God gave us a rescue boat, which we boarded. We sailed with a favorable wind to the middle of the Sea of the Man with Two Horns,⁵⁷⁶ towards the Strait which we left for the Atlantic Ocean while our master was
8^b close to passing away. And after | we had landed it on the coast of the sea, while we were with him, the ship sank, without their⁵⁷⁷ hearing any sound of it, nor seeing anything of it. At once he passed away as a martyr, bearing witness to his faith at the same moment. We buried him in a folded cloth in the cave of

575 A reference to *The book of History of the Essence of the Gospel* (LP15).

576 The Mediterranean.

577 *Sic.* Apparently the author refers to the apostles.

a high mountain overlooking the Atlantic Ocean, as was our duty. We crossed the peninsula weeping for his departure until [we arrived at] this mountain, viz. the place where we stored the books together with the copy of the *Essence*, as we were ordered. Praise be to God for all that and for everything.

Here ends the book at the hands of Cecilio, the son of Al-Riḏā, the disciple of James the Apostle, who hopes for the mercy of his Lord.

Kāf, kāf, ḥā'.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁸ Sometimes explained as “Every (revealed) book contains the truth” (“Kullu kitāb ḥaqq”).

LP22

1^a *Book of the Enormous Secrets.*

2^a Book of the Enormous Secrets of the Great Council that James the Apostle saw on the Holy Mountain, written down at his order by Cecilio his disciple.

James, son of Shamīkh al-Zabadī, the Apostle, said: After I had fulfilled the order of the Holy Virgin Mary to preach, and when Ibn al-Mughīra, whom I called “the Trampler”⁵⁷⁹ in this Peninsula of Spain, had accepted the faith, I intended to leave from it towards Ramat al-Hamal (the “Height of Neglect”).⁵⁸⁰ At that moment, however, it was revealed to me that I should return to the Sacred Mountain⁵⁸¹ and stay there in order to behold great mysteries from God. And I was ordered to write them down for the end of time. Thus I returned to it and stayed there for three months, turning to God in repentance.

2^b Then, when a certain night had fallen and I was praying to God, a light sleep came over me (as if I found myself) between Ṣafā and Marwa. And behold, there appeared an angel | of enormous size and majesty. I saw a brilliant light shining from him, while he approached me from the side of the Throne. He told me: “Do not be afraid, James, and write down on tablets of lead what will be shown to you in this night, and preserve those [tablets] in this Holy Mountain together with the *Essence of the Gospel*⁵⁸² with the [other] books,⁵⁸³ so that the servants of God will know the truth at the Great Council in which the *Essence of the Gospel* will be explained at the end of time.” I answered: To hear is to obey!

Then the heaven was opened and I saw in it a temple locked by three bolts of red gold, the value of which was known only to God. And I saw Moses, God’s prophet, with the Tablets in his hands, while he was complaining to God. And I saw in them⁵⁸⁴ ten places where the verse had been annotated in order to draw

579 Reference to LP20, fol. 34^a: “Yā Ibn al-Mughīra anta dāyish al-kufr min al-wujūd fi jazīrat hadhā” (“O, Ibn al-Mughīra, you are the trampler of unbelief in this peninsula”).

580 Jerusalem, more particularly the Temple Mount.

581 In Granada.

582 *Ḥaḳīqat al-Injīl*, the mysterious book which is at the center of the conceptual universe of the Lead Books.

583 I.e., the other Lead Books. The Arabic has k.t.b, without alif. In the orthography of the Lead Books this can be read as *kitāb* (“book”), but of course also as *kutub* (“books”). Elsewhere, as in LP18, the author speaks of “the *Essence of the Gospel*” and “*al-k.t.b. alladhī ma’ahu*”, where one can translate as well: “and the books (plural) that are with it,” as the language of the Lead Books does not insist on the female form of the relative pronoun in similar cases.

584 Viz. in the Tablets.

special attention |.⁵⁸⁵ And lo, there was an angel of enormous size and majesty calling from the side of the Throne, saying: Moses, why are you so sad about the Tablets? *God will certainly fulfil his Light, even though the infidels detest that.*⁵⁸⁶ 3^a

Then the doors of the house were opened and I saw in it a locked book on which there were seven [amulets with] diagrams made of gold, whose price was known only to God. From the house a light was shining that captured the sight. Moses entered it with the Tables, after which it became as before.

Then I asked the angel about that station. He answered me: Know that that temple is called The Temple of Mercy, and the book you saw in it is the *Essence of the Gospel*. God does not allow any ignorant one to see it until the day when it will be explained | at the Great Council. And know that the Jews blotted out from the *Tawrāt* of Moses ten verses where the truth of the Blessed One and of his characteristics was mentioned in that *Tawrāt*, in a crystal-clear manner, without enigmas, symbols or allegories, because God explains his religion clearly.⁵⁸⁷ But the Devil whispered to them to wipe them out because their sovereignty and their religion would disappear by his mission to the world. And because of that discourse there entered among them, as well as among the nations of the non-Arabs, discord and dispersion of power. 3^b

The specific qualities [mentioned in] those verses have been put by God into the *Essence of the Gospel*, and He postponed their explanation until the Great Council, viz. a place that nobody can deny. And in it God will fulfil | His Light, notwithstanding the aim of the infidels.⁵⁸⁸ Then the angels praised God for that place with a voice like a thunderstorm, instilling fear and terror. 4^a

I was ordered to write down this vision as I was ordered.⁵⁸⁹ Praise be to God for everything!

585 In Arabic: *maḥsuba*, i.e. *maḥsūba*. The translation is tentative.

586 Cf. Quran S. 9:32.

587 Possibly a reference to a well-known polemical text that circulated in Arabic in Spain: see Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics of the Muslims*, 81. Here, Colominas discusses BNE MS 5390, Madrid, dated 1012H/1603 CE, which mentions on fols. 136^b–137^b the discovery by Ka'b al-Aḥbār of a number verses of the Torah that had been secretly altered by Jews, upon the discovery of which he converted to Islam. The number of verses is ten. See also Colominas, "Translation and Polemics in the Anti-Jewish Literature of the Muslims of Christian Iberia: The 'Conversion of Ka'b al-Aḥbār' or the 'Lines of the Torah.'" 3^b

588 Quran S. 9:32.

589 Understand: as I witnessed it.

The book was completed at the hands of Cecilio the son of al-Riḍā the disciple of James the Apostle.

Every (Sacred) Book is the Truth. Jesus is the Truth!⁵⁹⁰

590 This is a tentative explanation of the five mysterious letters by which the text ends, viz. “k k ḥ ‘ ḥ”, reading them as abbreviations of: “Kullu kitāb ḥaqq, Yaṣū‘ al-ḥaqq”. It is to be noted, however, that elsewhere the name of Jesus is abbreviated with the letter *ṣad*, not with the *‘ain*.

Edition and Translation of a Report about Four Fragments of Lead Books Found in Granada

From an official report for the King by Archbishop Pedro de Castro about the discoveries of the Torre Turpiana, the Plates, the first eight Lead Books and four other leaves which had circulated among inhabitants of the Kingdom of Granada, 14 June 1597

Archivo y Biblioteca de Zabálburu, Altamira, Carpeta 161, GD 5, 110.

[110/7] [...] Demas de lo suso dicho, se an hallado en otros lugares fuera deste monte y estan en este processo otras quatro laminas la una pequena redonda, torneada vaciada, antiquissima, de bronce metal campanil, claro, escripta en aravigo: y estan con el tiempo gastadas las letras en medio. Hallose en poder de Matheo Lopez, vecino desta ciudad, que la tenian el, y su padre por mas de quarenta anos y traduzida dize lo siguiente.

Cueua con otras anexas á ella ilustrada de congregaciones de Sanctos, alto lugar poseen en el Cielo collocados. Gran gozo gozaran manifieste la luz destes, que padescieron por Dios, con lo qual hizieron sus almas bien auenturadas por la luz grande de Dios, con que fueron álumbrados. Padecieron martyrio: menospreciando esta vida, óxala fuera yo uno dellos, son enriquezidos con luz. No luz criada sino con la luz de su faz diuina gozandole. De quien procede todo bien.

[Tentative translation: A cave [?] with others connected to it, enlightened by congregations of Saints. Situated in Heaven, they possess a high station. They will taste great delight [lit. They will enjoy great joy], [when] the light of these [saints], who suffered for God is manifested, with which they made their souls blessed through the great Divine light with which they were enlightened. They suffered martyrdom, disdaining this [earthly] life; if only I were one of them, enriched as they are by the light. Not [by] created light, but with the light of the divine countenance, rejoicing [in] Him from whom proceed all good things.]

Las otras tres laminas son todas tres de plomo antiquissimas, tambien vazizadas, todos tres de una mesma hechura, y tamaño, letra, forma, y caracteres.

Parecen echas por una misma mano, escriptas en arabigo con caracteres antiquissimos, galanos, dizen los Arabes que son mas estimados que los vulgares, y que les llaman caracteres cufis, y algunos renglones con caracteres de Salomon, están [110/8] escriptas estas laminas por ambas partes con el tiempo y antigüedad muy gastadas que en muchas partes no puede leerse. La una dellas lo esta tanto, que por la una parte no an podido leerse nada. Por la otra parte¹ se lee algo y lo que puede leerse della traduzido, dize entre otras cosas

no ay otro Dios sino un Dios solo, nuestro criador Jesus, hijo de Dios, luz verdadera, el que traxo el Euangelio.

[There is no god but God alone, our creator Jesus, son of God, true light, who brought the Gospel.]

Hallose esta lamina en poder de Luys de Veas platero vecino de esta ciudad, y dize auer compradola de unos muchachos, que auian halladola en el rio Darro. Que la traxo con una grande avenida el ano de nouenta y seis. Este rio corre por pie del dicho monte de Valparayso, y quando ay lluvia, vaja por el monte vn arroyo, que luego al pie del monte entra en el rio Darro.

La otra lamina, traducido, lo que puede leerse della dize entre otras cosas

No ay mas que un Dios todopoderoso, y criador. Y que nos encamina a la saluacion con el euangelio. Y con la fe y creencia. Y con lo que nos ensena la Iglesia.

[There is only one almighty God, and creator. And who guides us to salvation with the Gospel. And with faith and belief. And with what the Church teaches us.]

Esta lamina dizen que se hallo en caçorla en una heredad con monedas antiguas.

La otra lamina, lo que puede leerse dize

bendito sea quien nos hizo misericordia con el prometido. Somos obligados de prestar obediencia a lo que ensena. El es el que con victoria alumbrá. El poder de Dios, el lo tiene cumplido Dios el bien con su hijo. Cumplio Dios el bien con su hijo²//////// No ay Dios sino el//// el prometido.

¹ MS: p[arte] repeated, a scribal error.

² Scribal error?

[Blessed be the One who showed us mercy by [sending] the promised [one]. We are obliged to obey what he teaches. It is he who, with victory, enlightens us. God's power, God has completed it with his son. God completed the good with his son [...³]. There is no god but he[....] the promised [one]].

Lo peloteado no puede leerse. Esta lamina se halla en la sierra de Eluira, legua y media de la ciudad de Granada a donde fue edificada la ciudad Illiberis o Eliueria.

3 According to the report, these parts were unreadable because of tear and wear.

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R II 15. Copy of the Parchment of the Turpiana Tower

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Texts and Sources in the History of Religions

The Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey in Granada preserves a historical treasure: Arabic texts on a sheet of parchment and on numerous small tablets of lead, which were discovered in Granada at the end of the sixteenth century in the tower of the old Friday Mosque and in caves of the "Valparaíso" hillock, from then on called "Sacromonte". They became the object of heated discussions in Europe and were condemned by the Pope in 1682. The texts are among the very last literary productions of the Moriscos, the Andalusí Muslims, many of whom continued to practice Islam in secret until their expulsion from Spain between 1609 and 1614. With the permission of the archbishop of Granada, we offer, for the first time in history, a study, edition, translation, and images of all the tablets and shed new light on the fascinating religious messages of these enigmatic texts and their authors.

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