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POLEMICAL ENCOUNTERS

CHRISTIANS, JEWS, AND MUSLIMS
IN IBERIA AND BEYOND

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9

MARCOS DOBELIO'S POLEMICS AGAINST THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE GRANADAN LEAD BOOKS IN LIGHT OF THE ORIGINAL ARABIC SOURCES

Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers

Introduction

The Granadan Lead Books affair presents us with an excellent case study of a polemical debate about the relations between Islam and Christianity in Europe and North Africa. This interesting episode began in 1588 when, during the demolition of a tower located in the center of Granada, relics and a parchment were discovered. The Parchment contained prophetic texts in Arabic, Spanish, and Latin, the contents of which proved to be controversial. The tower in which these materials were found was allegedly of Roman origin and had been the minaret of the Grand Mosque in Muslim times. Beginning in 1595, the so-called Lead Books were discovered on the slopes of the Valparaiso hillock, which is known today as Sacromonte. The Parchment and Lead Books, which contain Arabic texts, describe the life and religious ideas of a group of Arabic-speaking Christians, who, in the company of the apostle St. James himself, lived in Granada in the first century CE and were martyred by the Romans. The Parchment describes a Granadan bishop, Cecilio, who committed to writing a prophecy of St. John about the end of time. This prophecy had allegedly been written by St. John in Hebrew and was translated into Greek and, for later generations, into Spanish, the language used in the Parchment, which also includes a commentary in Arabic

that paraphrases the Spanish prophecy. The commentary states that its esoteric meaning would be explained by a servant of God at the end of time, “when the City of the Sea will be possessed by the Oriental.”¹ The document was to be hidden from the infidels—that is, the Moors (*mauri*). The twenty-one Lead Books, which were discovered on the slopes of the Sacromonte between 1595 and 1599, refer back to the Parchment and the tower (the Lead Books refer to it as the Turpiana Tower) and present a collection of pseudo-Christian writings written by two Arabian brothers, one of them the aforementioned Cecilio. The brothers, who allegedly were miraculously cured by Jesus, present themselves as reliable witnesses of Jesus’s life.

The Lead Books became the object of veneration, giving rise to pilgrimages and religious festivals, but opponents very soon claimed that they were Muslim forgeries and accused the Moriscos of concocting them. After a prolonged debate, they were sent to the Vatican in 1642 and examined there by committees of Arabists and theologians. In 1682, Pope Innocent XI condemned them for containing Muslim heresies. The Lead Books remained in the Vatican until they were returned by Pope John Paul II to Granada in 2000. The affair of the Parchment and the Lead Books has puzzled students of Spanish history and Muslim-Christian relations ever since they were discovered. In recent decades, the topic has generated a lot of scholarly interest, and numerous studies have appeared. But until relatively recently, the documents themselves were not available for research. In 2003, the Sacromonte archive allowed the present authors to study the Parchment and publish an article in the journal *Al-Qanṭara*.² The original Lead Books became accessible in 2010. In that year, the archbishopric of Granada gave us permission to study them also and to prepare a critical edition.

In the present chapter, we will focus on the heated polemical debates about the Parchment and the Lead Books that took place in Spain between 1595 (the year in which the first discoveries were made) and 1638 (the year in which a very important polemical text was published). As we will see, there was one central theme that dominated the discussion: whether the Parchment and Lead Books were authentic early Christian documents or not. Interestingly, some of the translators who studied the original Lead Books argued that they were authentic, while others argued, on the basis of the same texts, that they were forgeries. Anyone who studies the polemics about the Lead Books will at some stage be confronted with the question of how such

widely differing interpretations were possible even though these early readers of the Lead Books had empirical, firsthand knowledge of the original texts. Very early on, the religious authorities—in particular, Pedro Vaca de Castro y Quiñones (1534–1623), archbishop of Granada and Seville, who was the Lead Books’ most important advocate and a staunch defender of their interpretation as authentic Christian documents—were accused of manipulating the discussions and, in any case, of not allowing opponents to voice doubts about their authenticity. Without access to the original documents, it was very difficult to judge the nature and background of the individual contributions to the polemical and scholarly (less polemical) debates, but we can now begin to form a better idea about this and thus make some progress in solving the mystery. Of course, it is impossible to evaluate the entire debate here, nor can we pretend to do full justice to its many complexities. Needless to say, the polemical character of the debate was influenced not only by different views on the contents of the books but also by religious, political, social, and economic interests. It was closely connected, for example, to the economic interests of Granada as a pilgrimage center, to its prestige as a sacred and historical site, and to the religious authority of the Granadan church and its archbishop.³

We will focus here on a particular case, the work and activities of Murqūṣ al-Du‘ābilī al-Kurdī (ca. 1572–1654), a man who in Spain became known as Marcos Dobelio. Unlike some of the Lead Books’ other early translators, Marcos Dobelio knew Arabic very well. He took part in the debates in Spain between about 1610 and 1638 in several ways.⁴ García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano consider his assessment to be one of the most important contributions to the debate about the Lead Books in Spain. In addition, his is an outright polemical contribution and one that is a straightforward attack on the authenticity of the Lead Books.

Probably an Eastern Christian of Kurdish origin who had lived for some time in Aleppo, Marcos Dobelio was well acquainted with both Eastern Christianity and Islamic thought and practice. In about 1597, he arrived in Rome, where he stayed in the neophytes’ college and also taught Arabic at the University of La Sapienza. In view of his excellent knowledge of the Qur’ān and the Islamic tradition, we think it is very likely that he was a Muslim convert to Christianity. In October 1610, Dobelio traveled from Rome to Granada, having been summoned there by a committee assembled by King Philip III in 1609, which was presided over by the cardinal of Toledo, to

review the case of the Lead Books and decide how to proceed with the evaluation process.⁵ In Granada, Dobelio had access to the original texts when he worked in the service of Archbishop Pedro de Castro. As mentioned before, Pedro de Castro was a staunch defender of the Parchment and Lead Books as orthodox, authentic early Christian documents. From 1595 onward, he tried to find translators who were not only capable of understanding and rendering the texts accurately but also inclined to interpret them in such a way that they confirmed his own views. The background of Dobelio's arrival in Spain seems to indicate, therefore, 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 for the Vatican rather than the Spanish church or Castro himself to be responsible for their translation. Dobelio's work on the Lead Books soon came to an end. After having translated the first two Lead Books that had been found, he informed Castro that he considered them to be forgeries. Castro broke with him. Needing money and increasingly frustrated, Dobelio apparently departed Granada in search of work.⁶ He tried to earn a living in the service of the Inquisition, teaching Arabic and studying, translating, and editing Arabic manuscripts and documents. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano argue that Dobelio prepared several draft translations that he organized around the titles of some of the Lead Books he studied and commented upon in the years 1610–11.⁷ As we will see, on closer study, these drafts appear to date from a much later time, 1633, and do not include translations of several Lead Books but in fact only one, the *Vita Jesu*, Lead Book 7. We will return to this below.

On July 23, 1613, Dobelio wrote a letter in Arabic from Madrid to the great classical scholar 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 promised⁸) and tells him about the dramatic dénouement of his rift with Castro.⁹ He was considering going to England, he writes, where Casaubon lived at the time, but was still awaiting his payment.¹⁰ Dobelio never did end up going to England. In the following years, he apparently made a living by teaching Arabic to, among others, the Basque translator Francisco de Gurmendi, to whom we will return below.¹¹ Dobelio possessed an important collection of Arabic manuscripts, so impressive that the Dutch Arabist Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) referred to it as one of the most important in Europe in his

second inaugural lecture about the merits of the Arabic language, delivered in Leiden in 1621.¹² Dobelio describes 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, as García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano maintain.¹³

Dobelio's foremost contribution to the discussions about the Lead Books is the analysis he offers in his *Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal* (The new unveiling of the falseness of metal), the introduction of which can be dated to 1638.¹⁴ 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. Of this text, the subject of the present chapter, at least three manuscripts are extant today. We are using here the manuscript at the Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo.¹⁵

In the following pages, we will first briefly discuss the sources of Dobelio's text, then discuss his analysis and compare his views to the original Arabic texts of the Lead Books, especially *Kitāb maḥāsīn sayyidinā Yaṣū' wa ma'ājizihi wa-ummihi Maryam al-sāliha al-'udhrā* (*Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus and of His Mother the Holy Virgin Mary*), Lead Book 7, henceforward referred to us as the *Vita*. We include an edition of the Arabic with an English translation of this hitherto unpublished and inaccessible text at the end of this chapter. In the third and fourth sections, we take a look at the broader perspective of the polemical debate about the Lead Books in Spain and in the Vatican and Dobelio's contribution to them. We will finish with some conclusions.

Sources of the *Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal*

Dobelio bases his extensive analysis of the Lead Books mainly on three books—namely, (1) *Kitāb qawā'id al-dīn li-Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār, tilmīdh Ya'qūb al-hawārī* (“Book of the Fundamentals of Religion by Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār, a Disciple of James the Apostle”), or, as it was called in Latin on its now-lost cover, *Liber Fundamenti Ecclesiae Salomonis characteribus escriptus* (Lead Book no. 1 of the Sacromonte Abbey in Granada);¹⁶ (2) *Kitāb li-Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār fī al-dhāt al-karīma* (“Book by Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār about the Venerable Essence [viz. of God]”), called, in Latin, *Liber de essentia Dei* (Lead Book no. 2); and

(3) the *Vita* (Lead Book no. 7). He bases his argument primarily on a translation of this last book, since he claimed that “God had permitted me that the life of our Lord Jesus came into my possession in a translation from which I have taken everything which the ‘laminaries’ have always kept secret as an excuse.”¹⁷ The *Vita* may be considered one of the most important Lead Book texts. We will return to it below. The two other books we just mentioned were also the first Lead Books to be discovered, on April 22 and 25, 1595. Both books have strongly theological and dogmatic content, as their titles indicate. These were also the two Lead Books that Dobelio studied in 1610 while still in the service of Archbishop Pedro de Castro.

In his study of the Lead Books in the introduction to the *Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal*, Marcos Dobelio presents useful drawings of some of the leaves, including their pictorial engravings.¹⁸ He also discusses at length a translation of another Lead Book, referred to by him as the *Oraçión y nómima de Jacob el Zebedeo el Apóstol*. This is in fact Lead Book number 3, entitled *Du‘ā wa-ḥirz li-Ya‘qūb ibn Shamīkh al-Zabādī al-ḥawārī* (“Invocation and Amulet by the Apostle Ya‘qūb ibn Shamīkh al-Zabādī”).¹⁹ In this case, his direct source was not his own work but a lecture about the Lead Books written by someone referred to as Morillo, who quoted a transcription made by Alonso del Castillo.²⁰ The Morillo in question is probably Gregorio Morillo, a chaplain in the Collegiate Church of the Sacromonte and one of the defenders of the Lead Books.²¹ Alonso del Castillo (1525–1607) was one of the Granadan Morisco translators of the Lead Books and an official Arabic translator of the king.²² From the documents preserved in the Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey, it appears that in 1611, Dobelio transcribed parts of the Arabic texts of the Parchment and made attempts to translate them.²³ We also find a sheet on which he wrote the first lines in Arabic of the *Cathechismo Maior* (Arabic title: *Kitāb nadhrat al-ḥawāriyyīn*)—namely, Lead Book number 5. In conclusion, Dobelio’s work on the Lead Books and the Parchment is based partly on his own work on the original texts and partly on transcriptions and translations made by others. With regard to his most important source, the *Vita*, he had to rely on a translation only. 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.²⁴ He also refers to manuscripts kept in the library of the count of Humanes, Francisco de Eraso,²⁵ and most important, 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.²⁶ 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 Inquisition²⁷ to make a selection of the best manuscripts among them for the library of the count- duke of Olivares.²⁸ He refers, for example, to texts such as al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s *Kitāb al-shifā fī huqūq al-Muṣṭafā*, al-Bakrī’s very popular *Kitāb al-anwār*, and a magical text in which Solomon/Sulaymān plays an important role, *Kitāb al-asrār fī funūn madhāhib al-shuṭṭār wa-hum al-ṭayālīq*.²⁹ Dobelio also cites a Spanish polemical manuscript, the *Libro de la disputa contra los judíos y cristianos* (Book of the disputation against the Jews and Christians), written by “an Arab Spaniard who was not only learned in the Holy Writ, but also in the Hebrew language.”³⁰ His use of these manuscripts in his interpretation of the Lead Books has been discussed by García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano. They convincingly argue that because the collections represent such a good cross section of the Morisco written heritage, they explain why Dobelio was able to argue that the Lead Books were written by Moriscos.³¹ In addition, Dobelio quotes extensively from the Qur’ān, which he often cites in Arabic and apparently knew very well.

That Dobelio bases his argument on a translation rather than on the original Arabic text of the *Vita* is due to the fact that his break with Castro occurred before he was able to study this important book. Who was the author of that Spanish translation? The translation used by Dobelio is certainly not the one by Miguel de Luna, which we traced in the Archive of the Real Chancillería de Granada, the only other contemporary translation known to us and discussed by us in the notes to the edition and translation of the *Vita* we include at the end of this chapter.³² Rather, Dobelio used a Spanish translation made by a Maronite interpreter named Sergio probably from about 1629–30, when Sergio is known to have worked in the service of the Marquis of Estepa.³³ After Castro’s death in 1623, Estepa became one of the most important defenders of the Lead Books. In 1629, he obtained permission to use the original Arabic tablets to prepare a Spanish translation. His Spanish version would serve as the basis of Miguel Hagerty’s Spanish edition of the Lead Books, which has remained a standard reference work until today.³⁴ It presented the Lead Books as Christian texts. As we know, this translation

was prepared under the supervision of Estepa by the aforesaid Sergio and a Morisco by name of Juan Bautista Centurión. That this is indeed 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.³⁵ This manuscript includes texts that García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano interpret as draft translations of various Lead Books made by Dobelio in 1610–11, when he was still in the service of Archbishop Pedro de Castro. A closer examination of the notes, however, reveals that this assessment is incorrect. The 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 Qurʾān) by Johan Martín de Figuerola (1521), discussed by Mercedes García-Arenal in her contribution to the present volume. This treatise occupies folios 1–267r. 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 Valparaiso entitled *Life and Miracles of Christ Our Lord*).³⁶ It occupies folios 269r–387v, 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, the *Vita*. The disarray into which the treatise has fallen perhaps explains why earlier researchers were unable to fully understand its title, text, and authorship.³⁷ Dobelio makes clear that he had come across the translation of Lead Book number 7 in March 1633, when he was inspecting Arabic manuscripts at the Escorial Library on the orders of the Spanish king.³⁸ That Dobelio was indeed working in the service of the king at that time is confirmed by the historian Luis Tribaldos de Toledo (1558–1636), who had been Dobelio’s close friend for more than twenty-six 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.”³⁹ In fact, the part in 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ Another, perhaps more important, reason may be that the *Vita* is a longer and richer text, which enabled Dobelio to make a much stronger case against the authenticity of the Lead Books.

Dobelio’s Assessment and the Original Arabic Texts of the Lead Books

We have seen above that Dobelio’s interpretation of the Lead Books, and primarily of the *Vita*, was not based on his knowledge of the entire collection. His knowledge stems rather from his analysis of some of the original texts, a few available transcripts, and the aforementioned translation, which he compared to Islamic sources such as the Qurʾān, a number of Islamic Pastrana manuscripts, a number of Arabic Christian texts from his own collection, and others. All this was sufficient, as we will see, to convince him of what he saw as the partly Islamic, partly heterodox Christian polemical intentions of the Lead Books. Since space does not allow us to deal in an exhaustive way with Dobelio’s work, we will select a number of paradigmatic elements for closer analysis.

First of all, it is clear that Dobelio closely follows the narrative of Sergio’s Spanish translation. Very soon, he puts his cards on the table. He considers it to be a central idea of the Lead Books that they identify Muḥammad as the savior promised in the Jewish and Christian scriptures—in other words, “the promised one” (*prometido*) is the Prophet Muḥammad, while many elements of Jesus’s life and characteristics attributed to him are in fact derived from the (sources about the) life of Muḥammad.⁴² This idea (which we think is correct) returns in several places in Dobelio’s analysis. It is the paradigm that informs his entire interpretation of the Lead Books, which he derives from Sergio’s translation; his knowledge of the other Lead Books we mentioned; as well as his readings in the aforementioned Islamic and Christian Arabic manuscripts.

We will illustrate with a few examples how Dobelio uses Sergio's translation. According to Dobelio, the text recounts that on the eighth day after his birth, Jesus was baptized,⁴³ an act later repeated by John the Baptist. According to Dobelio, this first baptism serves to conceal the author's true intention—namely, to introduce the Muslim (and Jewish) custom of infant circumcision.⁴⁴ This is a bizarre argument, since the New Testament mentions Jesus's circumcision explicitly (Luke 2:21). The original Arabic text of Lead Book 7 (fol. 10b) says *circumcision*, though the word has the same Arabic root as the word used for Jesus's baptism in the River Jordan.⁴⁵ Dobelio's error may be due to the fact that Sergio's version mistranslated the Arabic original and speaks of baptism instead of circumcision.⁴⁶

The identity of the Blessed One, the promised Messiah (Ar. *al-man'ūm*), is discussed by Dobelio in reference to the translation of a passage we can find on folio 6a of Lead Book number 7. Here, Gabriel tells Mary that after Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise, it was promised that they would be saved by the Blessed One, symbolized by the name *hīd mīd*. Dobelio quotes this passage from Sergio's translation and interprets the words *Aid Magid* to be a faulty rendering of the Hebrew *bi-meod meod*, which he translates as *vehementemente* (exceedingly). In order to understand this expression, he then turns to an anti-Christian and anti-Jewish polemical treatise found in Pastrana, in which the author identifies this name as a reference to the Prophet Muḥammad. 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 *Iḥām al-yahūd*.⁴⁷ It is therefore very likely that the same sort of Islamic polemical argument was found in one of the Pastrana manuscripts.

On the subject of the death of Jesus, the Spanish translation that Dobelio used apparently said that when Jesus was betrayed and arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane, the disciples were dispersed with great fear and lost their faith, and that for that reason, "God admonished them and promised them the Kingdom," without going into the question whether it was in fact Jesus who was crucified.⁴⁸ According to Dobelio, the author was not very familiar with the Christian creed and the story of the passion.⁴⁹ Here and later in his narrative, the author tries to convince his readers that they should not believe the Christian narrative of Jesus's life and crucifixion. This becomes apparent in the way the author of Lead Book 7 presents Peter, who

is said to have mourned and wept for seven years and three months after Jesus's death.⁵⁰ According to Dobelio, the author introduces this long period of mourning to create a temporal and doctrinal gap between Jesus's life and the early Christian community. He believes that it is the Lead Book narrative and doctrinal views about Jesus's life and death that fill this gap.⁵¹ Thus the readers are told that the disciples based their beliefs on faulty evidence; the only true witnesses to the life of Jesus are Tis'ūn ibn 'Aṭṭār and his brother Sa'is al-Āyah, the Cecilio who later became bishop of Granada. The Lead Book narrative posits, according to Dobelio, an Islamic view about Jesus's life and death but also introduces innovations (*novedades*), such as the Solomonic symbols and the numerous references to magic practices, which Dobelio considers to be proof that the Lead Books were contemporary Morisco falsifications. Based on these insights, Dobelio asserts that the entire narrative of Jesus's birth, life, and death as presented was composed on the basis of Islamic sources about both Jesus and the prophet's lives instead of the canonical Gospels. We will now turn to the evidence of the Arabic texts—in particular, Lead Book 7.

A comparison of Dobelio's *Nuevo descubrimiento* with the original Arabic text of Lead Book 7 as preserved in the Sacromonte Abbey, published here for the first time, immediately makes clear that he was in many ways headed in the right direction. We are indeed dealing with a Gospel text in which many Islamic elements have been interwoven into a polemical narrative. These Islamic elements serve to represent Jesus as a sort of proto-Muḥammad, denying his crucifixion while suggesting that the savior was the Prophet Muḥammad himself. However, the Spanish translation that Dobelio used lacked the precision that would have allowed him to come to entirely reliable conclusions about the content of the Lead Books. One example must suffice here: the crucifixion. As we have seen above, Dobelio posited that the *Vita* casts doubt on the crucifixion, but he did not find any passages in Sergio's translation that flatly denied it. However, the original Arabic text is clear. Using a wording that is clearly inspired by sura 3:54–55, it says about Jesus that God completed his time through the angel (*tawaffāhu Allāhu wa'dahu*⁵² *bi-al-malak*) when he was arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane. In the text following this passage, the possibility is left open that the person who was crucified was not Jesus but another.⁵³ It therefore implicitly denies the crucifixion. This, however, remained unclear to Dobelio because Sergio's

translation reads differently. According to Dobelio, the discourse of the Lead Books was, in many respects, frank and open but hidden and ambiguous in others. It was hidden and ambiguous in the sense that, even though the text of the *Vita* followed the broad pattern of Jesus's life as described in the canonical Gospels, the subtext in fact often made use of elements from the life of Muḥammad as described in Muslim sources. And this is entirely correct, as our edited text shows.

On the subject of the Trinity, Dobelio argues that the Lead Books express not Trinitarian beliefs but rather a form of Christian heterodoxy that he deems to be close to Muslim ideas. The words *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* are taken by him as an expression of the rejection of the Trinity. He bases his argument on a work by al-Ghazālī on the Trinity and a lengthy discussion of the first two Lead Books. Here, he accuses the authors of being ambiguous and vague, with the goal of sowing doubt among Christians in order to prepare them to accept Muslim ideas without expressing outright any Muslim beliefs.⁵⁴ Dobelio's inclination to see the Lead Books as Islamic lore also holds true for his interpretation of the expression *Lā ilāha illā Allāh* and the accompanying letters: *mīm* and *rā'* found in Lead Books 2 and 6. Most critics (as well as Dobelio) interpret this as an abbreviated or cryptic reference to the Islamic confession of faith—*Lā ilāha illā Allāh; M[ūḥammad] R[asūl] Allāh* (“There is no God but God; Muḥammad is the Envoy of God”)—and Dobelio is of the opinion that the authors of the Lead Books were exploiting the fact that *mīm* and *rā'* could be read as *al-masīḥ rūḥ Allāh* (Jesus is the spirit of God) as well as Muḥammad *rasūl Allāh* in Lead Book, no 2 and in the other Lead Books, in which this combination of letters occur.⁵⁵ He thinks that the intention of the authors of the Lead Books, again, was to refer covertly to Muḥammad.⁵⁶

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

The interpretation that Dobelio defends in his work, 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 *laminas*, the Lead Books—and as the “theologians,” a label that he applies to them because they argue that those without a theological background lack the

expertise required to judge the Lead Books. Dobelio's opinions caused him great difficulties, starting with the rift with Castro, especially since the latter had spread many rumors about him.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ It is interesting to observe, however, that in his *Discurso* of 1633, Dobelio also includes 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 (Spanish: *disimular*) in his translation from the Arabic.⁵⁹ 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 (*Kitāb qawā'id al-dīn* and *Kitāb fī 'l-dhāt al-karīma*, Lead Books 1 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.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ 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.⁶²

It is clear that Dobelio's text was meant as a contribution to a debate that had already turned intensely polemical. Around 1617, translations of Lead Books 1 and 2 were circulated and made public. These translations were probably made by the Basque student of Marcos Dobelio, Francisco de Gurmendi.⁶³ Gurmendi served as an Arabic, Persian, and Turkish translator to King Phillip III.⁶⁴ He had close ties to other opponents of the Lead Books—in particular, the humanist Pedro de Valencia—and at some stage, he became a member of the circle that Valencia founded. Gurmendi seems to have come into the possession of a transcription of the two Lead Books after the death of his protector and employer, Don Juan de Idiáquez (1540–1614),

who is said to have been the transcription's original owner. Juan de Idiáquez had been chairman of the Council of the Military Orders, a member of the Council of State, and for some time, secretary of Philip II. It was probably Phillip III who commissioned the translation from Gurmendi in the latter's capacity as the royal translator. Gurmendi's translation appeared along with the equally critical theological commentary written by the Jesuit theologian Martín Derrotarán y Mendiola. The defenders of the Lead Books, probably led by Pedro de Castro, reacted to it by publishing at least two anonymous polemical pamphlets.⁶⁵ It is in particular the first of these pamphlets that concerns us here. From this anonymous pamphlet, in which the name of the authors' opponent is also not mentioned, we can extrapolate some of the positions taken by Gurmendi in his translation. As we will see, these positions seem to have been very close to those of Dobelio. Not only are the ideas that are refuted identical to the ones expressed by Dobelio in his *Nuevo descubrimiento*; the terms are identical to those used by Dobelio and analyzed here. Let us first briefly discuss the contents. At the very start, the polemicist mentions the fact that the king had received a translation into Romance of two Lead Books by the translator of the two books, accompanied by a "comment against them." He then sets out to argue why the king should disregard that assessment right away.⁶⁶ The polemical attack is entirely directed at the Spanish translator (Spanish: *intérprete*), Gurmendi; the commentary plays no role at all. In fact, the polemicist states that the translation and commentary were written by one and the same person. According to the polemicist, this translator—his opponent (whose identity he says he does not know)—lacked the necessary expertise (and orthodoxy) to prepare such a translation, since he was not a theologian, nor did he have the philological competence to translate the books adequately. The polemicist states that the translator's interpretations of the Arabic were wrong and that he had not studied the original texts but only drafts (*borradores*).⁶⁷ They are labeled mere nonsense, *disparates* (a word, it should be noted, that was also frequently used by Castro to refer to interpretations he disagreed with).⁶⁸ The translator is even mocked: would a noble, learned, and pious person such as Archbishop Pedro de Castro spend a fortune on Islamic lore? The archbishop, he states, might as well have put a statue of the Prophet Muḥammad above the altar of the church of the Sacromonte between the ashes of the Granadan martyrs. And why, he continues, did the critic ignore Pope Clement VIII's brief

prohibiting any further discussion of this sacred matter?⁶⁹ According to the translator of the two books, the authors of the Lead Books were Moriscos, and the language they were written in was the corrupt Arabic used by Moriscos.⁷⁰ But according to the author(s) of our pamphlet, Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo were among those who best understood these texts, and De Luna considered them to be very ancient.⁷¹ The translator had also asserted that the contents of the books were derived from the Qur'ān, but because of his lack of expertise, he had failed to see that Arabic Christian texts were known to have included doctrinal expressions similar to those of the Lead Books. This even held true for the Trinity, which, according to the anonymous translator, was denied in the Lead Books. Not so, according to the author of the pamphlet. The archbishop himself had used the Arabic language to pronounce the confession of faith in Arabic in the presence of Oriental Christians.

At this point, we note that a number of passages attributed to the anonymous translator are in fact entirely identical to Dobelio's arguments. We are referring especially to the discussion about the words *wa-kafā bi'llāh shahīdan 'alā dhālika, lā ilāha ilā 'llāh, mīm rā'*, which occur in both Dobelio's text and the text attributed to Gurmendi. This holds true for the quotation of the first words, the creed (interpreted as a denial of the Trinity), and the letters *mīm rā'*. The first part of the sentence refers to the preceding passages of the Lead Book ("And let it be enough that God is [my] witness on that, there is no god but God. M[uḥammad] is the M[essenger] of God" or "Jesus is the Spirit of God"). According to Dobelio, the words about God as a witness are derived from the Qur'ān, sura 12.⁷² Both Dobelio's *Nuevo descubrimiento* and the translation attributed to Gurmendi see the creed as a denial of the Trinity and the letters *mīm* and *rā'* as references to the Islamic creed about "M[uḥammad] as God's Envoy (R[asūl])." Both Dobelio and Gurmendi seem to offer an extensive discussion about the meaning of the Arabic word *ṭahāra* (purity), interpreted as a reference to Islamic rituals: partial ablution (*wuḍū'*) and circumcision (*khitān*).

In conclusion, it seems clear that the labels, arguments, accusations, and terminology used in the polemic that we find in Dobelio's *Nuevo descubrimiento* of 1638 were already present in the debates between Gurmendi and the circle around Archbishop Castro in 1617, which centered on one question: Could the Parchment and Lead Books be considered authentic early Christian documents? How is this similarity to be explained? Dobelio respected Gurmendi very much. He knew Gurmendi

had translated *Kitāb qawā'id al-dīn* and *Kitāb fī l-dhāt al-karīma* and had rejected them as Morisco fabrications. Gurmendi also refers to Dobelio as an expert in the matter.⁷³ 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 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.

Dobelio and the Condemnation of the Lead Books in Rome

While it is probably true that the most influential arguments against the authenticity of the Lead Books in the debates that took place in Spain between 1595 and 1638 were made by Dobelio, especially in his 1638 treatise, his views were only partly based on firsthand knowledge of the original Arabic texts of the Lead Books. That he was able to come 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. Added to this were the papal restrictions on discussions about the contents of the Lead Books. This becomes even clearer when we now take a look at the last stage of the discussions, when, after a prolonged debate, the books were finally transferred to Rome in 1642 and were submitted to a Vatican committee for evaluation.

In the year 1666, one of the foremost experts on the Vatican committee, Ludovico Marracci (1612–1700), presented a study of 128 folia as his *votum* to the Vatican evaluation committee, entitled *Disquisitio laminarum Granatensium quinque partibus comprehensa*. Marracci was an Italian Arabist who was the chair of Arabic at La Sapienza between 1656 and 1699. He was involved in two major projects: the publishing and printing of the *Sacra Biblia Arabica* (1671) and the assessment of the Lead Books.⁷⁴ He was an influential figure at the Vatican, also serving as Pope Innocent XI's confessor

between 1676 and 1689. Marracci was openly polemical in his intentions, as can be seen from the translation of the Qur'ān he published. His *votum* is by far the most thorough and extensive of those of the nine assessors of the evaluation committee preserved in the Vatican Archive file dedicated to the Lead Books.⁷⁵ Marracci's views were influenced by the work of Dobelio, which he must have had in front of him, although he does not mention his name. The resemblance between the language and ideas of the Qur'ān and other Islamic sources, on the one hand, and the Lead Books, on the other, was demonstrated by Dobelio with a long series of examples from the *Vita*. 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 the books Dobelio had not mentioned. Dobelio discussed his points in the order in which they occur in the *Vita*. Marracci's work, on the other hand, is an analytical study based on all the Lead Books.

In the first part, Marracci demonstrates that the Lead Books are replete with Islamic words, sentences, fables, and errors.⁷⁶ He then demonstrates, in the second part, that the Lead Books contain many elements that deviate from sound (Christian) doctrine in a way that often parallels Islamic error.⁷⁷ 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 while concurring with Islamic traditions.⁷⁸ After presenting in section four various notes that do not fit under the subject headings of one the first three parts,⁷⁹ Marracci concludes his *Disquisitio* with a masterly summary in chapter 5, dealing with the artifices of the Lead Books and the purposes of their author.⁸⁰ In this last section, he argues that the origins of the Lead Books are to be found in the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571 and its repercussions for the Moriscos in Habsburg Spain.⁸¹ Marracci had transcribed and translated the original plates of all the Lead Books, while Dobelio appears to have been mainly directly familiar with the Arabic texts of the first two books only while having to rely upon a translation (in Spanish) of the *Vita*, which was the main text upon which he based his views. However, the conclusions of both scholars were the same, and through the work of Marracci, Dobelio's insights were to form the basis of the official condemnation of the Lead Books in 1682.

Conclusions

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, as well as on the Parchment of the Turpiana Tower, until he told Castro that he believed they were Morisco forgeries and Castro dismissed him. From that moment onward, 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 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 (*laminarios*) had taken the form of a fierce polemic. Like Gurmendi, Dobelio pointed to De 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. These are all well-known tricks of the polemical trade: to attack not only the sources but also the opponent as an individual person. 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. We have shown how part of the Pastrana collection found its way to the Vatican Library. In 1633, Dobelio came across the Spanish translation of the *Vita* made by Sergio, the Maronite translator working in the service the Marquis of Estepa in 1629–30. He found out about it when he was inspecting Arabic manuscripts in the service of the Spanish king. The *Discurso*, preserved in the manuscript of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, shows that around that time, he started to work on a polemical text that was eventually made public in the *Nuevo descubrimiento*. In it, he tried to convince his readers of the Islamic contents of the Lead Books and the errors of the *laminarios*. Thanks to the fact that we now have access to the Arabic texts of the Lead Books, we know that Dobelio and Marracci were right. The Lead Books should be seen as forged proto-Islamic texts whose purpose was to legitimize the presence of Arabic speakers in the Iberian Peninsula by fabricating the existence of an early Arab "Christian" community at a time when the crypto-Muslim community was under threat, and 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 to survive. Where modern scholars would differ with them is perhaps that they, and especially Marracci, considered not only the Lead Books but also the Qur'an itself and, by extension, Islam to be cunning devices (Latin: *technas*): according to Marracci, the aim of Islam was no less than the destruction of the Gospel—that is, Christianity.⁸² Another conclusion we may draw from a comparison of the actual Lead Books and the various works they spawned is that very little progress was made in elucidating their true nature while the Lead Books were still in Spain because first-hand knowledge of the plates was rare and the discussion fraught with censorship. The progress made by Dobelio in his *Nuevo descubrimiento* of 1638 was due far more to his work on the Arabic Islamic manuscripts we described above and far less to an extensive knowledge of 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. Only in Rome would the full scope of the Lead Books become clear to the evaluators after they had been duly studied outside the sphere of public polemics. But it would take another four hundred years before the texts would be made available for research.

BOOK OF THE OUTSTANDING QUALITIES AND
MIRACLES OF OUR LORD JESUS AND OF HIS
MOTHER THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY

كتب محاسين سيدنا يصوص ومعاجزه وامه مريم الصالحة العذرة

Edition and Annotated Translation of Sacromonte Lead Book Number 7
(Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Wiegers)
Lead Book 7, Sacromonte Abbey, Granada, fol. 2b

Annotated Translation
Arabic Text
List of Abbreviations

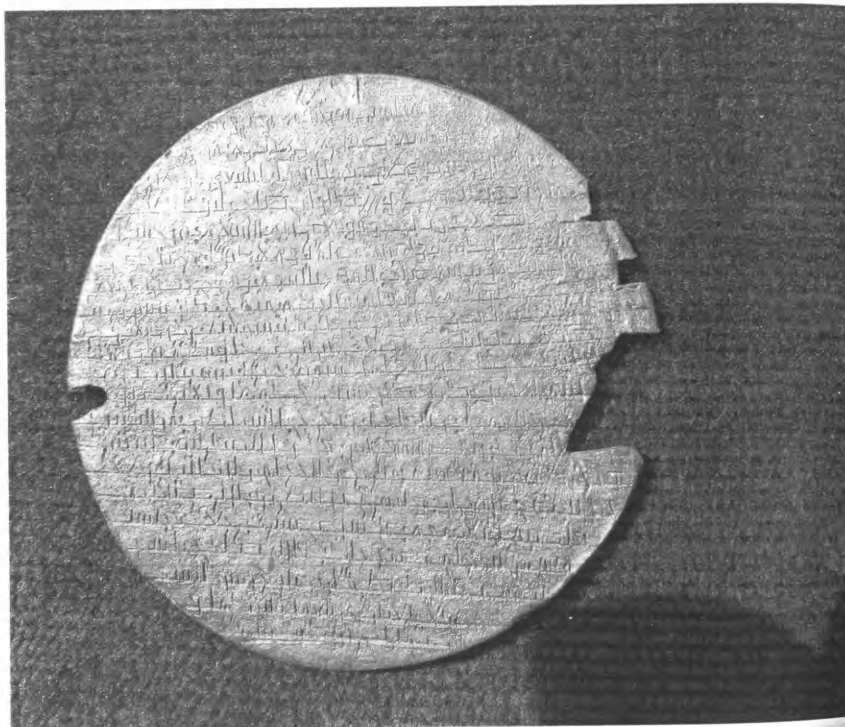


FIG. 9.1. *Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles of Our Lord Jesus and of His Mother the Holy Virgin Mary*, Lead Book 7, fol. 2b, 62.69 mm diameter x 2.17 mm thick. Photograph by the authors, Granada, August 13, 2012.

[2a] Book of the Outstanding Qualities and Miracles¹ of Our
Lord Jesus² and of His Mother the Holy³ Virgin Mary

[2b] 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'ūn⁴ ibn 'Aṭṭār, disciple of James the Apostle.⁵

My father, Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Aṭṭār, was an Arab by origin from the town of Daws⁶ of Arabia Minor, of a noble stock and enjoying a great reputation. Endowed with knowledge and great wealth, he was born with a high pedigree going all the way back to Ṣāliḥ,⁷ the prophet of God, to whom Prophethood and the Spirit had been granted.

1. Arabic: *ma'ājiz* (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 (*awliyā*). *Mu'jiza*, "miraculum," is also documented in CDAA, s.v. "jz," where the *Vocabulista in Arabico* (often ascribed to Ramon Martí) is the only source quoted for this meaning.
2. Always written in the original Arabic as *Yasū'*, with emphatical *ṣ*, in contradistinction to *Yasū'* (with *sīm*), as usually found in Christian Arabic sources, also from al-Andalus. Only in the Granada Parchment is Jesus indicated by his Qur'ānic name, *ʿIsā*. 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 (fol. 6a ff), comments that "our lord Jesus" is not a Christian way to designate Jesus Christ. He adds (fol. 10bf) 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 only referred to between parentheses.
3. Arabic: *al-ṣāliḥa* (*al-ṣāliḥa*). *Ṣāliḥ* as the meaning of "sanctus" is documented in CDAA, s.v. "ṣlh," where the Leiden Mozarabic

Latin-Arabic Glossary, s.v. "sanctus" is the only source quoted for this meaning.

4. Literally, "ninety." Old translations as well as contemporary studies have read the name as *Tasfūn* and translated it as "Thesifon." However, the Lead Books consistently read *Tis'ūn*. *Tis'ūn* and two of his brothers have names ending in *ūn*, frequently to be found in al-Andalus.
5. Dobelio (fol. 18b f) points out that *al-hawārī* and *al-hawārīyyūn* are the Islamic designation for the apostles of Jesus with the denigrating meaning of *lauanderos*. According to him, Christian Arabs are using the word *al-rasūl*, *al-rusul*. However, in biblical translations from al-Andalus, the word *al-hawārī* is in fact used—for example, *Baulush al-Hawārī* in Cod. Ar. 4971 of the BNE in Madrid.
6. The Arabian Banū Daws are mentioned by Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, 115–116. Dobelio (fols. 16b–17a) says, "El autor dice que fue Árabe noble de la tierra de دوس Dus (laqual no halla en toda Arabia)"; he adds (fols. 19b–20a) that he had seen a book written in Spain by an author dealing with Islamic Law who called himself "fulano al-Dūsī, Addusio, que significa natural de Dūs. A mi parecer sera el autor de un lugar de África y vino a ser grande en España (conforme se puede congeturar)."
7. About Ṣāliḥ as an Arabian prophet in the Qur'ān and the Islamic tradition, see A. Rippin, in EI⁷, s.v. "Ṣāliḥ." Dobelio (fol. 19a sq) stresses that there is no relation between this Ṣāliḥ, a descendant of Thamūd, and the biblical Saleh, great-grandson of Noah.

He had four male and three female children. The names of the males were 'Īsūn, Sa'dūn, I, Tis'ūn, and Ibn al-Raḏī; the females were Shamsa, Yaqūta and Durriyya.

I was created blind.⁸ My brother Ibn al-Raḏī was created deaf and dumb. Our father was sad about us, and when he heard news about our lord Jesus, the Trustworthy Spirit of God,⁹ [and] about how he cured the blind born, the lepers, the deaf, the blind and the lame, and how he cast out the devils from people and revived the death in the Holy Land, so that [people] traveled towards him in search of his blessing, he prepared the necessary provisions and servants, and put myself and my brother Ibn al-Raḏī 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 he had cured of leprosy.

At that occasion, Ṣāliḥ said to him: "My Lord, I took the roads towards you from the town of Daws, lest you cure for me these two children from blindness, dumbness and deafness. I see you are a great wonder-worker [3a]. I put my trust in you and I am confident that without any doubt no one in the world but you can cure them."

Jesus said to him: "Ṣāliḥ, 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) eye-sight. He ordered me to wash it off in the place for purification¹⁰ of the prayer-hall (*al-masjid*).

8. Literally, "seeing," but the opposed meaning is implied here.

9. In Arabic: *Rūḥ Allāh al-Amīn*. Jesus is referred to in the Qur'ān as "a spirit from Him"—that is, of God (sura 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 Qur'ān, the expression *trustworthy spirit* (without the explicit attribution of the Spirit to God), however, refers to Gabriel (Jibrīl), not Jesus. Cf. J. Pedersen, in EI², s.v. "Djabrā'il." 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 Qur'ānic qualifications and the honorific name given to Gabriel in the Qur'ān—

namely, "the Trustworthy Spirit" (*al-Rūḥ al-Amīn*). This central point in the doctrine of the Lead Books will be discussed further in our introductory study to the edition of the Arabic texts and their English translation. In his translation of 1596, Miguel de Luna systematically translates this expression as "Nuestro Señor Jesus hijo de Dios verdadero," concealing its Islamic tendency.

10. De Luna, in a marginal note: "La dicción arábica [al mahda] significa agua en fuente o en pila o de otra manera." Compare CDAA, s.v. "mḥd: mīḥād" (latrine) from the Vocabulista in Arábigo (often ascribed to Ramon Marti). Dobelio (fol. 23a): "Mi parecer es que el autor entiende por los lavacros de los templos los lavatorios que hazen en sus templos los Mahometanos antes de entrar en sus azalas, dichos comunmente al-wuḏū."

He then put his hand on the head of my brother Ibn al-Raḏī, blew into his mouth three times, cured him and filled him with knowledge, so that he (even) talked 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."¹¹

Thereupon our Lord Jesus said to him: "You are (from now onwards) Sa'is al-Ayah."¹² Thus that name was imposed upon him by our Lord Jesus, meaning: 'preacher of the faith, making it victorious.'¹³ 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."

At that occasion, our father Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Aṭṭār donated our Lord Jesus a hundred Arab pieces of gold, putting them into the hands of Peter¹⁴ the Apostle by his order and asked him to buy for him a house so that he would dwell near to him. He then traveled to the town of Daws [3b] in order to bring to him his whole family, leaving us (and our) sisters in his care and in (the care of) our master James.

11. De Luna: "Que vos soys su hijo verdadero." Dobelio (fol. 23a ff): "El decir '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-Ghazālī "en el libro 1º escriuiendo de la fe, tratado 1º, parte 2ª," where al-Ghazālī 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 sura 38 (fol. 25b). Exactly the same information is provided by Marracci (fols. 23a–b), including the sources quoted.

12. In the Arabic original, the name is written in 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 Sa'is al-Āyah in Arabic as a pun meaning "leader of the sign." De Luna writes, "Çay Çeleyah."

13. The author is providing a (fancy) Arabic etymology for the name Cecilio, explaining its origin and meaning in the ancient, paleo-Christian Arabic only accessible to himself.

14. Here, the Arabic original reads *Badruḥ*, with *b*; elsewhere in the Lead Books, it is frequently written with *yā'*, thus *Yadruḥ*. 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 *aljamiado* alphabet and in the Ottoman-Turkish and Persian alphabets. Not understanding the meaning of these *three* dots, the scribe/engraver confined himself in those cases to *two* dots, erroneously changing Peter's name into *Yadruḥ*. In his lengthy quotations from the Lead Books, Al-Ḥajarī also consistently writes *Yadruḥ* in his autograph manuscript preserved in the National Library in Cairo of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn alā al-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*.

At that occasion, Jesus ordered Peter to distribute that money as a charity to those turning to him. Thereupon Peter said to him: "My Lord, to which of those turning to us shall I give it as a charity, as they are many? Those who are turning to you are destitute, poor, sick and aiming at attending (your) admonition. (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 Šāliḥ to whoever asks you, even if he comes on a horse and asks for it,¹⁵ 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 get lost.¹⁶ Do not you 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 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 [4a] gave away that money as a charity to those asking for it.

At that time my father came to him with all his family and asked him: "My Lord, did you buy for me the house?" He answered him: "Šāliḥ, I indeed built a house for you in Paradise,¹⁷ so that you will live near to 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, Šāliḥ! You lived a blissful life (*sa'īdan*) and you died

15. Dobelio (fol. 60b f) refers to "un predicador Mahometano, el qual exortando la gente a dar limosna, diçe desta manera *fi faḍl al-ṣadaqa* de la exçelencia de los limosnas . . . *wa-qāla al-nabī ṣallā Allāhu 'alaihi wa-sallama: inna al-ṣadaqa la-taqa'u bi-yad al-Raḥmān qabla an tūda'u bi-yad al-sā'il fa-taṣaddaqū wa-law atākum 'alā faras mulajjam masrūj.*" Dobelio informs us that this quotation was taken from an acephalous manuscript dated 870 Hijra (fol. 61b). Marracci (fol. 21a) quotes the same: "*Liber Mahumethicus, cui titulus est fi faḍl al-ṣadaqa* id est de

excellentia eleemosyane, 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."

16. Dobelio (fol. 60b): "El Alcorán y sus doctores diçen las mesmas palabras que pone el autor." Marracci (fol. 19a) remarks that the expression "and the reward of those who do well will never get lost" is found in "sect. 6, par. 126" of the Qur'ān.

17. A more neutral translation by De Luna is "En la bienabenturanza."

as a martyr (*shahīdan*). You left your family in a blessed state." And again also after three more days my mother Rebecca,¹⁸ 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 belonged to the holy.

We then thanked God, I, as well as my brother Ibn al-Raḍī, for having been saved from error and (having been given) the greatest of faiths. We stayed in the service of James, who favored us [4b] 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 eye-witnessed (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 from the side of her father was from Naṣrān,¹⁹ while the family of her mother was from Batlān, both of which were belonging to 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 row of forty-two venerable prophets who were announcing the Blessed One (*al-man ūm*)²⁰ in the Tawrāt,²¹ the best of the descendants of Adam,²² sent

18. De Luna: "Rubaka."

19. The author suggests that this is the ancient Arabic name of Nazareth. Compare *Jarjalān* for "Jerusalem" and *Batlān* for "Bethlehem." All these names are repeatedly used in our text as well as in the Parchment and the other Lead Books.

20. De Luna translates this expression consistently as "Messias" (occasionally also "el Messias prometido").

21. The author uses the Qur'ānic name of the Old Testament. Here and elsewhere

in the text, De Luna translates *Al-Tawrāt* as "la Sagrada Escritura."

22. Dobelio (fol. 62b): "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 Hadith, "anā sayyid wuld Ādam wa-lā fakhr," which evoked the well-known Islamic epithet for Muḥammad: *khair wuld Ādam*.

(to realize) the victory announced by the Gospel,²³ God's Trustworthy Spirit and Redeemer from sin by mediation (*al-shaf'*) and salvation (*al-falāh*). All of them belonged to the descendants of the Prophet, son of Shaykh al-Raḍī, Abraham, the Friend of God,²⁴ 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 trembled²⁵ so that the intimate angels became fearful." And when He had put our father Adam [5a] 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 were wearing jewels and tunics²⁶ 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 them,²⁷ 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 pleasure to (commit) the dubious²⁸ 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,²⁹ once again the Throne and the earth trembled a second time and the angels feared, and He expelled them from Paradise [6a], and God attached him 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 cried about it. They did not interrupt their weeping until their eyeballs were consumed and the flesh of their faces lacerated, saying: "Our Lord,

23. Arabic: *bi-al-fath al-munajjāl*. See also *mubashshirīn bi-al-fath*: LP I/2. De Luna: "El que vino a el mundo a enseñar el euangelio hijo de Dios uerdadero."

24. *Khalīl Allāh*, as in the Qur'ān (Dobelio).

25. The translation used by Dobelio (fol. 63a) reads, "Que los cielos abaxaron al suelo con los ángeles, quando conçiuiò, y çercaron el estrado." To this he comments, "Esto diçen los Mahometanos de su propheta."

26. Compare CDAA, s.v. "ḥll: ḥulla" (purple tunicle; based on the Leiden Mozarabic Latin-Arabic Glossary, s.v. "clamis" and "fulua").

27. For this expression, Marracci (fol. 22b) refers to the Qur'ān: "Alcor. Sect. 6 Ahrāph" and "Alcor. Sect. 19 Tah. §122."

28. 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, De Luna chooses the latter possibility, translating "El peccado contingente." This is also the position of our text, as will become clear in various passages.

29. Dobelio (fol. 63b): "Todo esto lo diçen los autores Mahometanos."

we have harmed ourselves. If you do not accept our repentance and forgive us and grant us mercy, we will be lost."³⁰ Then the angel Gabriel descended to them and brought them the good tiding of their salvation. [He wrote on the back of Adam: Hīd Mīd, (meaning:) he is your mediator, and the mediator of your offspring.]³¹ 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].³² From that time, the prophets announced among their people the good tiding of the Blessed One, (who would come) to intercede for [6b] men, as well as to admonish them about intercession and salvation.

When the time came for Holy Mary to conceive of him,³³ in other words: she said that when the angel Gabriel descended to her and informed her that she was going to conceive of him, while she was reading the Book,³⁴ he said to her: "Holy Mary, who receives the mercy (of your Lord), God is with you, you are blessed among the 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 upon in the Council of the Apostles as we described in the Book of the Foundations of the Faith.³⁵ Whosoever dissents from it, will be lost.

30. Dobelio (fol. 64a): "Todo esto lo tenemos notado con autoridades bastantes de los Mahometanos, donde hablan cosas increíbles de la penitencia que hizo Adam, quedando negro él y su muger del continuó llorando hasta que Dios les perdonó y entonzes se volvieron blancos."

31. The passage between square brackets was left blank in De Luna's translation as one of the passages he claims not to have been able to understand (!). Dobelio (fol. 64a): "Diçe después el texto de las láminas que en las espaldas de Adam estaua escrito la venida del prometido con todo lo que sigue, todo sacado de los autores Mahometanos."

32. The passage between square brackets was left blank in De Luna's translation as one of the passages he claims not to have been able to understand (!).

33. De Luna: "Encarnar."

34. De Luna: "La Scriptura Sagrada."

35. Dobelio (fol. 66b):

Halló en los libros de los Mahometanos (como está notado) que a Xristo nuestro Señor y a la Virgen su Madre no les alcanzó 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 da 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 fue el primero a peccar, y que quando la Virgen nasció, los ángeles la çercaron con una cortina, y haviendo llegado el peccado primero para tocarla con la mano o darla con la punta del dedo, dio en velo, y así no la alcanzó.

So when she heard his words, she became afraid and lifted her head in order to seek help from God, while she was thinking about who would be (the person) who had spoken (to her).

Then Gabriel took on the shape towards her of a most beautiful human being, who was spreading a glittering light. [7a] He said to her: "Do not be afraid! God enters upon you³⁶ in His mercy to grant you a son in your womb who is the Spirit of the Exalted,³⁷ 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):?"

The angel answered her: "That is easy for God,³⁸ (it will occur) through His Holy Spirit upon you. [And when he will have born, he will be called Spirit of the Exalted God.]"³⁹

She answered him: "Make me a sign for that!"⁴⁰

He said to her: "Elisabeth, your friend, is (already) pregnant for six months, notwithstanding her advanced age following her sterility, but everything is easy for God."

At that point, Mary said: "I am the servant of God, obedient to Him, like (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.

During various days she did not divulge this secret to her husband Joseph, until she visited Elisabeth. Then her fetus John manifested himself to him while (she was) kissing her, in order to greet him, saying: "Peace upon you, o Trustworthy Spirit of God!"⁴¹ And Elisabeth said: "What a welcome event, that the mother of my Lord the Blessed One is visiting me!"

36. De Luna: "Porque Dios está con vos."

37. De Luna: "Hijo del alto."

38. In his commentary, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī explains the Qur'ānic expression *wa-mā dhālika 'alā Allāh bi-'azīz* with the words *bal huwa hayyīn 'alā Allāh*, using the same words as our author.

39. The passage between square brackets left untranslated in De Luna's translation. Dobelio (fol. 68a): "San Lucas diçe et filius altissimi vocabitur, y el

autor quiere que se diga espíritu y no hijo de Dios."

40. Dobelio (fol. 68a): "Después alterando la doctrina del Euangelio, diçe que la Virgen pidió señal al ángel para çertificarse, si era verdad lo que deçia: el Alcorán diçe lo mismo."

41. De Luna: "Saludo hijo de Dios verdadero." Dobelio (fol. 68b): "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 asleep that night, and he 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.'"⁴² He thanked God for that.

[Chapter on His Birth and the Miracles Thereof]⁴³

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 and his that God had shown parts of the Well-Preserved Tablet⁴⁴ He saw fitting (for that purpose) [8a] to Moses on the Mountain of Al-Tūr.⁴⁵ Moses said to Him: "My God and my Lord, I see in the Tablet a nation⁴⁶ invoking one (punishment) for an evil deed, but ten (rewards) for a praiseworthy deed."

He answered, speaking to him: "Moses, that (nation) will be in 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 in 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."

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) lest their bodies remain on the earth only a few days."

42. De Luna: "Que sobre el con luz resplandiente ueras escrito: 'Jesús hijo de Dios uera uerdad trayda al Mundo.'"

43. The chapter title between square brackets was left blank in De Luna's translation. Miguel De Luna annotated in the margin, "Aquí queda un blanco que no sea entendido por agora. M. de L."

44. *Al-Lawh al-mahfūz*, Islamic and Qur'ānic concept par excellence. De Luna obscures the Islamic nature of the expression and translates (here and elsewhere in our text) as "Su libro de sabiduría." Dobelio (fol. 70b) refers to "un libro muy antiguo intitulado Vida de los Prophetas [probably *Qisās al-anbiyā'*,

K-W], quando introduçe a Moysen hauiendo tales preguntas diçe desta manera: ilāhī wa-sayyidī innnī ra'aytu fī al-alwāh." Parallels of the ideas following in the text are probably also to be found in the Arabic *Munājāt Mūsā* literature.

45. Qur'ānic name of the Mountain of Sinai. De Luna: "La dicción arábiga [tor] es nombre de monte y puede ser el Monte Sinay llamado de los árabes [torīçinai] que quiere deçir monte Sinay. Aye de uer para esto las historias arábicas porque no se equivoque un monte con otro y se entienda de qual monte habla aquí, que hasta agora no se entiende. M. de L."

46. Arabic: *umma*, important Islamic concept.

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 their merit."

[8b] He answered: "Moses, his merit over you is like your merit over your nation and over all the prophets (before you)."

He said: "My God and my Lord, make me one of his family, so that I can obtain part of his superiority."

He answered: "Your wish will be fulfilled, Moses."

He said: "My God and my Lord, I ask from Your grace that you will 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 only speak unto him by revelation or from behind a veil."⁴⁷

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 (=the mountain) was crushed. Moses fell down on the ground dumbfounded [and was 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].⁴⁸ 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."⁴⁹

47. Qur'ānic.

48. The passage between square brackets left blank in the translation of De Luna.

49. At this point, Dobelio (fols. 70b–75b) draws a comparison between Exodus 33 and sura 6, concluding that the author follows the Qur'ānic 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 (fol. 20a) 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. 6a and 21a in our Arabic text and translation).

God answered him: [9a] "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,⁵⁰ and belong to those who are grateful.⁵¹ Admonish My servants and announce 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 tremble from fear of God, and all this points to our Lord Jesus, and after him, to the Spirit by the descending of God's mercy [upon the (gathering) of the apostles].⁵² Because in his conception⁵³ 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 *al-tttrt (=?)*,⁵⁴ the angel Gabriel descended upon her, while with her was her husband Joseph. And that house was filled for them by the angels with heavenly light and mercy. The Throne, the heaven and the earth trembled, the divine mercy descended on earth and she begot him as a virgin [9b], while his birth took place in the month of *al-milād*.

After he had been sent Joseph said 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 would be uncovered. So he gave up (pursuing) this purpose.⁵⁵

50. In the Arabic: *dhikr*. De Luna: "El camino de mi servicio."

51. Dobelio (fol. 74b) quotes sura 6 as the real source of the preceding sentences.

52. De Luna: "Y la venida del mismo Spirito quando uino sobre los apóstoles." De Luna adds in the margin, "Esta cláusula está obscura, es menester explicarlo mejor."

53. Marracci (fol. 100b):

Sermo est de conceptione Christi, quam author uocat intibādih, 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 afferri 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 [101a] sanctae.*

54. De Luna: "En el pesebre."

55. De Luna: "Quiso considerar su hermosura y perfección corporal y que boluió los ojos mirando y le uido que con las manos por honestidad tenia cubiertas las partes occultas y estonçes se abstiuo de aquel propósito 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 in order to⁵⁶ 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."⁵⁷

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,⁵⁸ before God created heavens and earth, and it means: the Saviour of Mankind. And when he created it and the angels asked God about him, He related to some of them his mission, who were unable to endure that, which was the cause of their fall," as we described in the book.⁵⁹

He has another name in the Well-Preserved Tablet, 'Truthful and Trustworthy Spirit of God.'⁶⁰ [10a] He has (also) a name in [the Leaves]⁶¹ of Abraham,⁶² 'Hīd Mīd' Guide of Men towards (eternal) Bliss. It (also) contains another name, 'Farūq Jamīṭ' which means: the one who separates between truth and falsehood.⁶³ 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 wipes out infidelity from the world.

56. The Arabic text has "that they should not" (*allā*).

57. De Luna: "Le mostró Gabriel aquella luz referida sobre él que dezía no ay otro Dios sino Dios, Jesús hijo de Dios, uera uerdad trayda al Mundo." Dobelio (fol. 77b) refers to *Kitāb al-Anwār* by Al-Bakrī, "donde se puede ver todo lo que el autor habla de nuestro señor Ihesus, es de Mahoma encubierto debaxi del nombre de Ihesus." Dobelio stresses that the manuscript used by him had been copied in 694 Hijra in Denia. Similarly, see Marracci on fol. 25a, with additional sources.

58. De Luna: "En la presencia diuinal con luz resplandante," concealing the throne and its trunk.

59. This is probably a reference to *Kitāb Qawā'id al-Dīn* (LP 1), 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—for example, in LP 9. De Luna: "Assí como tenemos referido en escritura."

60. De Luna: "Spíritu de Dios uerdadero que quiere decir enuaxador de la uerdad al Mundo."

61. Left blank in the translation of De Luna.

62. Qur'ānic and Islamic concept par excellence.

63. Marracci (fol. 36b): "*Duo alia nomina tribuit Christo author laminarum, nimirum Fariq Jamit. Primum nomen Pharec significat separans et ita laminae ipsae interpretatur. Secundum relinquit sine interpretatione et quidem apparet manifeste esse prae scriptum. Debebat enim pro Jamit (Gemit), quod nihil significat, scribi Jami' (Gemih) quod significat congregator, oppositum per antithesin priori.*"

In addition to this he has in the books of the prophets, apart from his name written on his back,⁶⁴ fifteen names.⁶⁵ And in the universe⁶⁶ (he has) 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 site that night in which he was born, they did neither see cold nor heath, but when anyone of them left the place, he believed to freeze to death. Yet, that (same) night dry wood thrived 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 languages with beautiful voices [rob], 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, [the jinns were reviled],⁶⁷ men put on cloths of purity in their hearts, while the demons were chased away. Idols were collapsing in the prayer-halls, while the stars were hitting one against the other.⁶⁸ The hearts of the misguided became fearful.⁶⁹ 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."⁷⁰

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 oriental horizon. Three [11a] kings from the people of Midian saw it, who were informed by way of the ancient stories of their ancestors, the signs whereof were that star. So they gathered and agreed to undertake a mission

64. De Luna: "Sobre el."

65. Dobelio (fols. 80a–85b) refers to parallels for these same names with reference to Muhammad in two Islamic sources, viz. (1) "El autor del libro de la disputa contra Judíos 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 'Iyād.

66. De Luna: "Y los nombres occultas en la sabiduria de Dios."

67. Omitted in the translation of De Luna.

68. De Luna: "Mostraron señales nouistas."

69. For Islamic parallels of the preceding details related to Muhammad, Dobelio (fols. 86b–89b), refers to *Kitāb al-Anwār* of Al-Bakrī as well as to the Qur'ān. Parallels to many of the preceding passages are in fact to be found in numerous works dealing with the *Sīra* of Muhammad.

70. Dobelio (fol. 90a) points out that the same remark is found in Islamic sources but with reference to Chosroes, king of the Persians.

(following) those signs. They prepared for themselves and their people and came out of the eastern parts of the earth to look for him.

After they had traveled 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 will stand still, you will fulfil your mission."

So traveled towards the West, together with the star, they entered the City of Jarjalān, in the land of which the star stood still. They asked the people: "Where is the place 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, they entered upon him and his mother, believing in him. They gave him from their money and donated him a vessel of gold, incense and myrrh.

In that night there appeared to them [11b] 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.

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 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.⁷¹

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?"⁷²

He answered: "Yes, I saw them passing by at the time this crop was planted." And he was right, because a miracle of God made it grow at once in order to save our Lord Jesus.

71. De Luna translates here "[Y assí salio Ibrabii] su criado con mucha gente." Hagerty: "Y assi salió en su seguimiento Abrahe, su criado, con mucha gente." Hagerty annotates, "Es posible que este nombre recuerde a Abraha, el jefe abisinio que atacó

la Meca en la época preislámica" (109n48).

72. The Arabic: *al-kāhil*, "upper part of the back." See CDAA, s.v. "khl" (quoting the *Vocabulista in Arábico*, often attributed to Ramon Martí). De Luna: "En brazos"; Hagerty: "En pañales."

They said: "The people passed by days after that [12a] matter; we will not be able to reach them." They thus returned from behind him by God's will whose order cannot be turned off.

Thus Joseph and Mary traveled until they land of Egypt on the [. . . ?]⁷³ of a mountain in front of which there was a plain. Mary wept vehemently because of her exile and her need of everything, as hunger and thirst and the separation from her family 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 opened. At its door a tree grew which stilled their hunger every day. At once there descended heavenly food to nourish them with. The earth opened and a delicious well sprang up for those who wanted to drink. Jesus wore a dress of heavenly silk. He concealed with God's permission so that, with God's permission, no one could take notice of them. [12b] He reserved them (there) until a time, He would command whatever He wished.⁷⁴

My master James told from Joseph that he had said: "By God, I never saw 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."⁷⁵

They remained in that cave dwelling for seven years and three months, without anyone taking notice of them. Joseph was making himself familiar with the manufacturing of ladles, while Virgin Mary assisted him, so that both of them would refrain from idleness. They paid through (those ladles) the amount they were obliged to pay⁷⁶ and it was distributed as alms among the poor. They were adoring God night and day, without neglecting of that anything, even during the twinkling of an eye. And they nourished themselves from the tree that fully provided them their provisions every day.

73. De Luna: "Una parte de tierra llana"; Hagerty: "Sobre la cima de un monte."

74. Dobelio (fol. 95b-96a) draws a parallel here with suras 22 and 18 and some relevant Qur'anic commentaries.

75. Dobelio (fols. 99a-101b) refers to various Islamic sources, like *Kitāb al-Shifā*, and works by al-Ghazālī, and

al-Bakrī, for parallels to these qualities of Jesus—especially his odor—in descriptions of Muḥammad.

76. Arabic: *al-madīna al-farḍiyya*, a reference to the *zakāt*. De Luna: "Y lleuáuala al pueblo de Caridiata y las daua por amor de Dios"; Hagerty: "Y venía con ellos y la ciudad de Phardiet y dábala a pobres."

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 sea⁷⁷ but did not drown in it. When his mother finished her religious exercise, he lowered his eyes, took his right leg⁷⁸ [13a] 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.⁷⁹ His sleep was light, and Gabriel and the angels were protecting him with love by the commandment of God from everything feared to obnoxious.

When the assigned time was fulfilled, the angel Gabriel said to them: "Return to the Holy Land, because God has wiped out your enemy and your dwelling-place will be Naṣrān." At that moment Joseph lost his fear that had surrounded him (all the time).

My master James told from Holy Virgin Mary that she had said: "I took Jesus by my hand and Joseph (took) my hand by his hand. [13b] Gabriel traversed the earth and immediately we arrived at Naṣrān. We entered it, without anybody recognizing us, until we informed the people about our journey. They rejoiced, and the maternal cousins Jesus and John embraced each other, so that nothing failed them both at all 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 in the best land, like He preserved Jesus in order to do whatever He wished as it was preordained in His knowledge of old."

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,⁸⁰ because he was in reality a human being. Most often, he would eat dates, bread of barley, 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.⁸¹ On him was the odor of bliss. [14a] That odor would remain in any place he had entered, without ever being extinguished."

77. De Luna: "Y se pasaua por las aguas del Nilo."

78. De Luna: "Su mano derecha."

79. Like Muḥammad, as Dobelio (fol. 102b) points out with reference to al-Ghazālī.

80. In Arabic: *Lam yaftur bi-al-insaniyya min dhikr Allāh.*

81. Dobelio (fol. 104a-b) refers to the Islamic sources for parallels of the simple food eaten by Muḥammad.

Chapter about His Baptism⁸² in the River of the Proof⁸³

John, Jesus' maternal cousin, said in a quotation from himself (Jesus) that he, having reached the age of thirty years, in other words at the age Adam was created,⁸⁴ 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,⁸⁵ behind the River of the Proof, while preaching the glad tiding 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 flocking towards 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 me in rank, and I am not worthy to carry his sandals."⁸⁶

Then Jesus came to him, saying: [14b] "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.⁸⁷ 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 saying to him: "You are My beloved Spirit and My delight!"⁸⁸

When he had finished this, Satan attempted to seduce him (again) saying to him before the mountain in the shape of an aged old man: "Say: God is the creator of the heavens and the earth. There is no Lord but He!"

82. We read the Arabic as *ṭuhrihi*. 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 *ṭuhūrun* and *ṭuhrun* is the Leiden Mozarabic Latin-Arabic Glossary, s.v. "Babtismum" (see also in DS, s.v. "thr"; and in GAA, s.v. "thr"). 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. This point will be discussed more extensively in our introduction to the

Arabic text and English translation of the Lead Books.

83. *Wadī al-Burhān*, playful reference to the River Jordan (elsewhere: *Al-Wadī al-Burhānī*).

84. De Luna: "La perfecta edad de consistencia en la qual crió Dios a nuestro padre Adán."

85. An implicit reference to Judea.

86. De Luna: "De limpiar sus çapatos."

87. Here: *al-wadī al-burhānī al-muqaddās*.

88. 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*. De Luna: "Uos soys mi hijo amado en quien está todo mi contento y gozo."

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 ascended the mountain, to adore God there. And he fasted on it for forty days and nights, without being saturated 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,⁸⁹ then make from that [. . .] a bread."⁹⁰

He answered him: "Man lives not by bread alone,⁹¹ 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 [15a] two more times in various ways of seduction. But he chased him away.

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."

When having finished this, he started to preach the obedience of God the Exalted and the entrance of Heaven. He went down to the coast of the Lake of Galilee at Tiberias.⁹² 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, Bartolomeo,⁹³ Filibūn, Idrīs,⁹⁴ Mateo,⁹⁵ Thomas,⁹⁶ James Alfeo, Simeon the Canaanite,⁹⁷ Tadeo,⁹⁸ Judas al-Athraī.⁹⁹ 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 (*sawā'ī*) of the Israelites with whom Moses crossed the sea.¹⁰⁰ [15b] He asked them: "Will you help God?" They answered: "Yes!" He then remained with them on a mountain.

They asked him: "Our lord, tell us what we should do and (what path) should we follow?"

89. De Luna: "Hijo de Dios."

90. The Arabic reads *fa-'sna' min dhālika 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.

91. We read the Arabic as follows: *Laysa bi-ni'matin haddan (haddan, bi-al-tahdīd) huwa ya'ish al-insān*.

92. Arabic: *saḥīl baḥr Ghalāliya al-Tabariya*.

93. 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.)

94. Here and elsewhere in our text, *Idrīs* instead of *Andreas*.

95. The name is given in the original Arabic as *Matāyūh*.

96. Arabic: *Tumah*.

97. Arabic: *Shim'un al-Qanānī*.

98. Arabic: *Tadiyūh*.

99. Judas Iscarioth.

100. De Luna: "Los 12 tribus de los hijos de Ysrael."

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 hearts because they will see the face of God. Blessed are those who weep about their sins because God will give them patience. Blessed are the rightly guided¹⁰¹ because they are the children of God. Blessed are those who are in need of justice (*shar'*), 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 guide you along the right way."

Chapter about His Miracles

My master James said: "Were the power of a miracle to be ascribed to him, then when his name was mentioned over a dead person, who would then be revived thereby. But God reserved him for another purpose in His pre-ordained knowledge."¹⁰²

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,¹⁰³ in order to reveal His power and His splendor, even though the infidels detest it.¹⁰⁴ When the assigned time for Jesus to reveal his miracles had come, 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.¹⁰⁵ He ascended with them the Mountain of al-Ṭūr,¹⁰⁶ to the place where God spoke to Moses, His Spokesman.¹⁰⁷ He stood between them and his light shone and his face reflected a radiant light by with the rays

101. In Matt 5:1-12, those who will be called the children of God are the "makers of peace." In Qur'anic language, the "rightly guided" (*al-mahdīn*) are Muslims who are following the right path by God's guidance, rather than Jews or Christians. De Luna: "Paçíficos."

102. De Luna: "Que nuestro Señor Jesus no le auía embiado Dios para manifestar la potencia que tiene sino para redimir al mundo porque si su contenido fuera manifestarla con mentar solo el nombre de Jesús sobre el sepulcro de un muerto resuscitara, mas este misterio de potencia dexole Dios reseruado para quando fuere

su uoluntad como tiene determinado en su sabiduría."

103. Dobelio (fols. 111a-113b) refers to *k. Zād al-wā'iz wa-rawḍ al-ḥāfiḥ* (a book of sermons) for Islamic parallels to this idea.

104. *Wa-law kariha al-kāfirūn*: Qur'anic expression.

105. This name refers, of course, to Zebedee, but let us keep in mind that *Al-Zabādī* = "milkman."

106. This is a reference to the Qur'anic name of the mountain climbed by Moses to talk with God.

107. Arabic: *kalīmahu*. In Islam, Moses has the epithet *Kalīm Allāh*.

of the sun eclipsed, and the earth and the garment lightened up like snow. There had appeared Moses [16b] al-Kalīm at his right and Elijah at his left side. He told them: "With which good tiding have you been sent to the world?"

They answered: "With (the message) that you are the Spirit of God (and) the Mediator of Men through the Venerable Gospel."¹⁰⁸ They then saw a veil in the clouds which radiated a dazzling light. The mountain trembled and an angel voiced, and lo a call from near God was saying: "This is my Spirit and my pleasure!"¹⁰⁹ 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 face and only saw our lord Jesus alone between them. Then, when they descended from 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: [17a] "Our lord Jesus did not take any moment rest from the times of prayers. And he only performed a miracle for the reason of (providing) proof (of his mission), like 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.

"Nothing was asked from him without him 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 light-hearted word, but he cured the blind born, the lepers, the blind, the lame, the handicapped, the deaf and the thumb. He forgave sins, revived the death, 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.¹¹⁰ 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 [17b] their causes and their virtues, or write them down in a book. Holy Virgin Mary said about him that he told her that the number of his greater miracles were like the number of the Children of Israel whom Moses freed from oppression and with whom he split the sea 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 the hearts

108. Arabic: *bi-al-injil al-'aziz*, applying to the Gospel the Islamic epithet of the Qur'an, *al-qur'an al-'aziz*. De Luna: "Que uos soys hijo de Dios el redemptor del género humano."

109. De Luna: "Este es mi hijo amado en quien está todo mi contento."

110. De Luna: "Y subía por el ayre y no se caía."

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, (like) the apostles signify the liberation of man from the danger of the world to the (eternal) bliss in order to fulfil the law. And after he had completed the afore-mentioned number (of miracles), he fulfilled the commandment to leave the world and ascend to heaven. The apostles passed after him, together with the multitude of the faithful, the sea of the world and the limbo and their dangers, and led them [18a] from misery to bliss, like 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 God make us belong to the saints, Amen.

Chapter on His Good Qualities and His Morals, as Well as of His Mother Mary

My master James said that Holy Virgin Mary was asked about the morals of our lord Jesus. She answered: "If you want to know his morals, you should know that they are (identical to) the Gospel. If you know it, you know Jesus' morals, all of them."¹¹¹ 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 the most beautiful morals, because God created them, formed them both with the hands of His might and blew into them both (His) spirit. David, the prophet of God, was similar to them, and Joseph the son of Jacob was also similar in nature and morals. (Also) Zādiḥa¹¹² was similar to Eve in nature and morals. [18b] Jesus and his mother Mary surpassed all of them by far as both of them were attached to all the prophets in nature and morals, and in knowledge and speech. Not (a single beautiful) young man could ever equal them.¹¹³ 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 and in the deepest of secrets. No human being would meet him without his heart being inclined towards him. He would only leave him against his own will.

111. Inspired by the Hadith: *kāna khuluquhu al-qur'an* (with reference to Muḥammad). Muslim, *musāfirūn*, p. 139; *Abū Dāwūd*, *taḥawwū*, p. 26; *Ibn Ḥanbal*, VI, pp. 54.91, 163.216. See Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur*, 44.

112. De Luna: "Zenobia"; Hagerty: "Raquel."

113. The following physical descriptions of Jesus find their origin (directly or indirectly) in various hadiths. See EQ, s.v. "Jesus," physical description (Robinson). Dobelio (fols. 126a, 128b-131a) refers here to many parallels in descriptions of Muḥammad in *Kitāb al-Shifā* and al-Ghazālī.

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 morals were like those of him. Nobody 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 Jarjalān [19a] and said to the Apostles: "Don't you know that the announced time has come for the son of man to be crucified?"

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 from it, saying: "Eat, because this is my body." And after having finished eating, he took a large glass¹¹⁴ and said: "Drink, this is my fresh blood shed in the [. . .]¹¹⁵ book."

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 me."

Peter said: "I will (only) leave you in death."

He answered him: "In this same night you will deny me three times, before the crowing of the cock."

In that time the ruler in Rome was Tiberius Caesar and his governor in Jarjalān was Pilate. The Pharisees looked for Jesus to crucify him by false witnesses. [19b] 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 completed his time through the angel.¹¹⁶

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 one kissed who was exemplified in the Tawrāt and they carried him to the governor, but he found

114. Arabic: *qumṣāl*; see CDAA, s.v. "qmṣl."

115. At this place, there is a hole in the original, allowing for (no more than) two letters. De Luna: "Eso es mi sangre del nuevo testamento."

116. We read "Wa-lakīn [*wa-lakīn*] tawaffāhu [*tawaffāhu*] Allāh w'dh [*wa'idahu*], which in fact = *waqtahu* bi-al-malak" (God completed for him [Jesus] his time through the angel). This is clearly inspired by the Qur'an (cf. i.a. 3:54-55).

Most commentaries usually assume that these verses refer to the Jews' plot against Jesus's life and God's counterplot to rescue him by having them crucify a look-alike substitute. There are more parallels and details in EQ, s.v. "Jesus" (Robinson). De Luna: "Mas ya le auñia Dios explicado su determinada uoluntad por medio del ángel." Hagerty: "Mas hizole haber pavor Dios y confortole por medio de un ángel." The translation used by Dobelio (fol.

no cause against him. However, the Jews demanded him to 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."

So, because of the obstinate Jews, he sent him to be crucified, and he was crucified between two thieves, as [20a] was their customary penalty. They opened his breast with a stick and gave him myrrh and vinegar to drink.¹¹⁷ 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 hitting each other and the veil of the prayer-hall tore 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."¹¹⁸

After this, his family took him by permission and laid him in the grave. They informed about 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 Gospel¹¹⁹ 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."

Holy Virgin Mary said: "The first he visited was she." After that, during forty days he visited her every night,¹²⁰ and other people God wished (to be visited by him) after her. When that period had been completed, he ascended to heaven.

135a) reads "Por esto Dios los castigò y les prometio el Reyno." Marracci (fols. 104^a-107^a) recognized the Qur'anic 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 Tablets. 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 the Islamic doctrine.

117. Dobelio (fol. 142a): "Después, quando San Marcos diçe que el vino era mezclado con myrra; el autor diçe que era

vinagre; pienso que lo haría por euitar el escándolo que causaría, si dixera vino por ser vedado en su ley, por este pone vinagre en lugar de vino."

118. De Luna: "Sin duda ninguna este es hijo de Dios."

119. Marginal annotation by De Luna: "En el original de este libro en este lugar ay una parte escrita en quatro letras, no se entienden ni leen porque no son arábigas parecen hebreas. Miguel de Luna." In fact, after the word *al-injil*, a space was left open in the original of about one word. De Luna's remark is a mystification.

120. In accordance with Islamic mourning customs.

(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,¹²¹ 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 [21a] of his face stuck to his bones by fasting. His prayer was: ‘My God and Lord, I repent to you, and if you don’t 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, lo and behold a voice from the side of God was saying to him: ‘Peter, stop your action, I have forgiven you!’”

Holy Mary said: “Our father Adam, God’s Prophet David and his son Solomon were profoundly weeping over their sins.¹²² 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.”

Below all these events there are marvelous mysteries and a great enigma only known and grasped by God and those of His servants He wishes. First of all, I wished to be brief [21b] 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 below 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 myself as well as by my brother and assistant Sa’is al-Āyah, during the illness that befell me, may God grant him and all his holy servants a garden in Paradise, Amen!

To God belongs the Unity!

*There is no god but God; Jesus is the Spirit of God!*¹²³

121. De Luna: “Mi yglesia cathólica.”

122. Dobelio (fols. 148b–154b) 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.

123. De Luna: “No ay otro Dios sino Dios; Jesús hijo de Dios.”

[2و] كتب محاسين سيدنا يصوع ومعاجزه

وامه مريم الصالحة العذرة¹²⁴

[2ظ] كتب محاسين سيدنا يصوع والعذرة مريم امه وعموره¹²⁵ ومعاجزه من يوماً بعثت الى وفاته وطلوعه لئلسا لتسعون ابن عطار تلميذ يعقوب الحوري،

كان ابي صلح ابن عطار اعربي اصلا من بلد دوس الاعربية السفرة من حسبا ونسبا ومجداً كبيراً واهباً¹²⁶ علماً وملا كثيراً قد نتج علي نسبا عليا من نبي الله صلح المويد بالنبوة والروح، وكان له اربعة اولاد ذكورا¹²⁷ وثلاثة اناث، فاسم الذكورة¹²⁸ منهم كان عيسون¹²⁹ وسعدون وانا تسعون وابن الرضى، والاناث شمسة ويقة [ودرية،

وقد خالقت انا بصراً واخي ابن الرضى خلق بكمياً وعمياً¹³⁰، [وكان ابنا محزنا علينا، ولما سمع خبراً بسيدنا يصوع روح الله الامين كيف كان يشفي الاكمها والابرسا [والصبا] والعميا والفلجا ويخرج الشياطين من الناس [ويجي] الموتى بالارض المقداس فاتوا¹³¹ للصفار¹³² اليه استبركاً، ولذلك يعوال¹³³ نفسه بالزاد والخدام والقاليا ولاخي ابن الرضى على بعران، واسرى على الطريق الى ارض غلاليا، فاصبه وتلاميذه على سبع¹³⁴ عشرة رجلا قد اشفهم من الجذام،

فعند ذلك قال له صلح يا سيدي اني قصدت اليك طرفاً من بلد دوس لتشفي لي هؤلاء الانان من العما والبكيا والصبا، اني رايتك محسناً [3و] عظماً وانا امنت بك ويقنت ان لم يشفها في الاجود غيرك احد بلا شك،

فقال له يصوع: يا صلح انت قوي اليقين وانا اقضي¹³⁵ حجتك، فعند ذلك اخذ ترباً في كفيه وضربه برقه والقاه على عينيا فارتد عليا البصار وامراني بغسله في محصة المسجد والقي يده على راس اخي ابن الرضى ونفخ في فاه ثلاثة مرارة فشفه ومله علماً وتكلام بانواع اللسان 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، فعند ذلك نذرا لتلميذه يعقوب الحوري—شيخنا—وقال له: هتي تلامذك الصلحين الى نصر الدين، اكفلهم بالواجب اليه،

124. Words and passages of the text between square brackets have been provided from the available contemporary transcriptions of the Lead Books, especially MS A1 of the Sacromonte Archive in Granada, as well as from the transcriptions made by the Vatican Commission made in Rome in the sixties of the seventeenth century. Most of these passages have become partly or completely illegible in the original lead disks during the course of time, presumably by wear and tear. There are also some disks that have been severely damaged with the loss of smaller

or larger parts of the lead, as is the case in the second disk of the present text (compare our photograph of f 2b).

125. LG: *fi umrihi*.

126. Read perhaps *wa-ahabahu Allāh*.

127. LG: *dh.kr.nan*.

128. LG: *fa-asmā' al-dh.k.ra*.

129. LG: *ʿĪsūn* (with *ṣād*).

130. LG: *wa-ṣamman*.

131. LG: *fa-nawū*.

132. LG: *al-ṣafār*.

133. LG: *ta'awwāla*.

134. LG: *sawā'*.

135. LG: *wa-anā qaḍī*.

فعد ذلك ابنا صلح ابن عطر اهب لسيدنا يصوع مائة ذهاباً اعرابية وجعلها في يد¹³⁶ بدره¹³⁷ الحوري [بامره¹³⁸] ورغبه يشتري له داراً [ليسكن¹³⁹] جواره¹⁴⁰، ورحال الى بلد [دوس] [3ظ] ليتي اليه باهله اجمعين وتركنا¹⁴¹ الاخوات في كفلته وشيخنا يعقوب،
فعد ذلك سيدنا يصوع امر لبدره¹⁴² بتصدق¹⁴³ ذلك المال للقصدين اليه، فقال له: يا سيدي لاي قصدين اصدقه وهم كثيرة، القصدين اليك مسكين وفقار¹⁴⁴ ومرضا وعمدين النذرة وذلك المال صحبه حياً وكيف اعطه بغير سحه¹⁴⁵ وهو يبغني به يشترى¹⁴⁶ الدار؟

فقال سيدنا: الدنيا داراً لمن لا دار له! اعط ذلك المال في حياة¹⁴⁷ صلح لمن يستلك ولو جا على فراس، وعليه سئله [ليكون] عملاً حياً لانه¹⁴⁸ كان لله لم يفنا ولا يضيع اجر المحسنين ابدأ، او ما علمت ان التصديق في الحياة هو عملاً حياً وبعد المامات هو عملاً مائة¹⁴⁹؟ فاعطي في الحيا قبل المامات لان خير الاعطاء¹⁵⁰ قبل الوافات، واقل لك ان الصدقة البلغة لله هي في الحيا وهي تطفي غضاب¹⁵¹ الرب، والمتصدق¹⁵² قريب من الله والله معه في كل مكان، فعد [4] ذلك تصدق ذلك المال للطلبين،

فاتاه عند ذلك ابي باهله اجمعين فقال له أسيدي، اشترت لي الدار؟ فقال له: اصلح اني بنيت لك دارا في الجنة لتسكون جوارى في الدنيا والاخرة لان نيتك جميلة ويقنك كبير وهو مقبول عند الله، فعد ذلك حمله الى داره فاتته الحمة¹⁵³ وتوف¹⁵⁴ بعد ثلاثة ايام، فقال له سيدنا يصوع: طبى لك اصلح! عشت سعيداً ومت شهيداً واسعدت اهلك من بعديك، ايضا كذلك بعده بثلاثة ايام اخرى توافت امي ربك زوجته، وبعدهم من اجل معاجيز سيدنا يصوع آمنوا به اخواننا¹⁵⁵ واهلنا فكانوا من الصلحين،

فعد ذلك شكرنا الله، انا واخي ابن الرضى، على النجاة من الضلال والايهان الاكبار، ويقينا في خدمة يعقوب فضلنا [4ظ] تفضلا على جميع تلامذه فاخترنا بينهم لصلاح اموره في طعة الله، فعد ذلك اجب علينا رضوان سيدنا يصوع وشيخي الذي امراني بكتب حسبه ونسبه وعيشه ومعاجزه 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 للسا وبعده الى اخير الحديث الضرور لتورخ الحق، ذلك كله يكون لمرضية الله ونذرة عباده، امين،

136. LG: *yaday*.

137. Here, the original reads *Badruh*, with *b*; elsewhere in the Lead Books, it is usually *Yadruh*, with *y*. As a rule, we are following the spelling of the original Lead Books. But wherever one or both diacritical dots are lacking, we are writing *Badruh* or *Badrūh*. LG: *Yadruh* (!).

138. LG reads *bi-amrihi*, but we corrected this to *tilmidhihi*.

139. LG: *li-yaskūna*.

140. LG: *jawarahū*.

141. LG: *wa-tarakānā*.

142. LG: *li-Yadruh*.

143. LG: *yataṣaddīqa*.

144. LG: *wa-faqīr*.

145. Sic! Read *samāhihi*. LG: *samaḥihi*.

146. LG: *ashtarī*.

147. LG: *hayyat*.

148. LG: *li-an mā*.

149. LG: *māyit* (with *tā* 'marbūṭa).

150. LG: *li-anna khayr al-'atā*.

151. LG: *ghaḍab*.

152. LG: *wa-al-mutaṣaddīq*.

153. LG: *al-ḥamā*.

154. LG: *wa-tuwuffiya*.

155. LG: *akhawātunā*.

باب¹⁵⁶ في حسبه ونسبه وارضه ومعاجيز حمله

كان سيدنا يصوع ابن مريم العذرة البتلة عبرني وكان دار ابا امه [5] من جانب امها من نصران، وآل امها من بتلان من اسفار 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 بالمنعم في التورة، خير ولد ادام المبعث بالفتح المناجل، روح الله الامين ونقيض من الذنب بالشفع والفلاح، وكلهم من آل النبي ابن شيخ الرضى خليل الله ابرهم الموابد بالروح المقداس،

وقالت الصالحة مريم عن جبريل انه قال لها: لما خلق الله الملائكة في احسن تقوم ولم عصوا ربهم من اجل الغيل على حمله¹⁵⁷ اهتد العرش والسموات والارض حتى خفت الملائكة المقرابين، ولما القا ابنا ادام [5ظ] وزوجته حوة في الجنان ياكلوا اياها¹⁵⁸ شأ وانهبها عن الشجرة، كان¹⁵⁹ في نعيم دائم وكان عليهم الحلي والحلال لا يعلم قيمته الا الله، وكان لم جزيان آفات الدنيا وكان غير شكران لله في ذلك النعيم، [ف]بدأت لهما سوءاتهما من قلة الشكر وهما لا يشعرون بها، فنحست عليهما الوسوسة للذنب والعصيان، وكان ذلك سباب الارض للذنب المشكوك [وك] لان الله هو حكيم عدل وبذلك العدل هو يقضي ما يشاء، فاكلان فكهة الشجرة المنهى عنها، فلما عصان امر ربها ايضا كذلك اهتد العرش والسموات والارض ثني مرة وخفات [الملائكة واخرجهم¹⁶⁰ من الجنان [6] ولحقه¹⁶¹ الله ابي موضع شاء في كونه لم يطلع عليه احد¹⁶² من عباديه الا من يشاء،

وهبطان الى الارض ودركتها النذمة بقدر ان اسود لونهما من اجل الذنب وبكه مطرحان على الارض ولم يفتروا من البكا حتى سالت مقلتها وتمزقت لحوم وجهها قيلان: ربنا ظلمنا لنفسنا وان لم تتب علينا وتغفر لنا وترحمنا لكوننا خصران، فنزل عليها الملك جبريل وبشرهما بالفلاح وكتاب¹⁶³ في ظهر ادام: هيد ميد هو شفك وشفيع ذريتك، وقال: يا ادم قوم انت وزوجتك ان الله سيعا دعاكما وقيل ندمتكم¹⁶⁴ وغفار لك بشرط الايمان وشكور النعام¹⁶⁵ والتكفر المعاصي¹⁶⁶، وانتذار المنعم المكتب في ظهرك، ومن ذلك الوقت بشاروا الانبياء في قومهم بذلك المنعم لشفع¹⁶⁷ [6ظ] العباد ولينذرهم للشفع والفلاح،

فاذا وصل الوعد لا يتباده¹⁶⁸ الصلحة مريم ابي قالت لما نزل عليها الامين جبريل واخبرها بانتبادهها 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 يلحقها¹⁶⁹ لان الله اخترها لذلك الامر لان ما دونها من بعد آدم دركهم الخطا¹⁷⁰ من اجل الذنب ولم دركها من اجل التطهر منه، وذلك مجمع عليه في جمع الحوارين كما وصفنا في كتب قواعد الدين ومن خلافه كان خصرأ، فلما سمعت كلمه خفات ورفعت رسها مستعيذة بالله مفكرة من ذلك المتكليم، فتمثال¹⁷¹ لها جبريل في احسان سره بشرية يتلال نوراً شعشعنيا [7] وقال لها: لا تخف ان الله دخالاك¹⁷² في رحمته¹⁷³ لاهب لك في رحمك ابناً روح الاعلا وتسمه يصوع من آل داود وسكين¹⁷⁴ في دار يعقوب الى الابد، وملكه لم يفنا ابدأ، فقالت له كيف يكون ذلك واني لم يمسا شأني¹⁷⁵ بشاراً ولم ابغ ذلك؟

156. LG: *bābī*.

157. LG: *min ajli al-'iṣyān 'alā khalqihī*.

158. Sic! Read *ayyamā*. LG: *sā 'ū* (or *shā 'ū*)
ayyahā shā 'ā.

159. Read probably *kānā*.

160. LG: *wa-akhrājūmā*.

161. LG: *wa-akhafāhu*.

162. LG: *lam yuḥli 'alāihī aḥadan*.

163. LG: *wa-kanāt*.

164. LG: *minka*.

165. LG: *wa-al-dhikr al-muṣallīn*.

166. LG omits *wa-al-takaffur al-ma 'āṣī*.

167. LG: *li-shifā*.

168. LG: *li-intibādh*.

169. LG: *lam yudrikhā*.

170. LG: *al-khaṭa*.

171. LG: *fa-imtathāla*.

172. LG: *naḥakhā lāk*.

173. LG: *wa-rahmatuhu* (instead of *fi rahmatihī*).

174. LG: *wa-yaskūna*.

175. LG: *wa-lam yamsunī basharun* (instead of *wa-lam yammussā sha 'nī bashāran*).

فاجبها الملك: ذلك هين على الله بروحه المقداس عليك، فاذا امتحضا يسما روح الله الاعلى،
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 مثل¹⁷⁶ قولك الصديق،
فذهب عنها الملك وخوفها ارتدا عليها تمحراً وهي شكرة لله بالسان¹⁷⁷ طلق وفرداً طلب¹⁷⁸ على
ذلك الخبار العلي لطعة الله المرو عن الانبياء القدوم [7ظ] لشفع الانسان الذي كنت تليته في الكتب،
فبقت اياماً 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 لتزاني ام سيدي
المنعم!
وتصداع يسف¹⁷⁹ في نفسه ولم ينطق بذلك السداع¹⁸⁰، فاته الملك في النوم تلك¹⁸¹ الليلة وقال له
من كان يصوع سيدنا، فقال للملك: أ جعل¹⁸² آية لذلك، فقال ايت¹⁸³ بالنور السطيع في ظهره يكون¹⁸⁴
مكتب: يصوع روح الله الصديق¹⁸⁵ الامين، فعند ذلك شكر¹⁸⁶ الله على ذلك،

باب¹⁸⁷ انتبهذ والمعاجز فيه

قال شيخي يع¹⁸⁸ عن الصلحة مريم العذرة عن جبريل الملك انه قال لها عن انعم¹⁸⁹ سيدنا يصوع
وفضئله ان الله اعرضاً¹⁹⁰ ما يلقي من من¹⁹¹ الاوح¹⁹² المحفوظ على¹⁹³ [8و] موسى¹⁹⁴ كلمه في جبال
الطور، وقال له موسى: الاهي وسيدي اتي ارا في الاوح¹⁹⁵ امة تدعا السية بوحد¹⁹⁶ والحسنة بعشر،
فقال له يكلمه: يا موسى هي في اخير الزمان،
فقال له: الاهي وسيدي اتي ارا في الاوح¹⁹⁷ امة تنزير عليهم رحمتك التمة،
فقال¹⁹⁸: يا موسى هي في اخر الزمان،
قال: الاهي ومولاي اتي ارا في الاوح¹⁹⁹ امة يقرأ عيوب الناس كلهم الناس²⁰⁰ لم يقرأ عيياهم²⁰¹،
قال: يا موسى اخترتهم²⁰² الى اخير الزمان لانهم عبادي ولم اريد اطيع الناس على عيوبهم
وليمكثوا اجسدهم في الارض اياماً قليلة،
قال: الاهي وسيدي اتي ارا في الاوح²⁰³ المنعوم²⁰⁴ عليك في التورة، لاي قوم تبعته في الاجود؟

176. LG: *umatththilu*.

177. LG: *bi-lāsān*.

178. LG: *tābat* (?).

179. LG: *Yusūf*.

180. LG: *al-tasdī*.

181. LG: *dhālika*.

182. LG: *ij'ālnī*.

183. LG: *āyatuka*.

184. LG: *yakun*.

185. LG omits *al-ṣiddīq*.

186. LG: *shakāra*.

187. LG: *Bābī*.

188. LG: *Ya qūb* (no abbreviation).

189. LG: *an'ām*.

190. LG: *a'raḍa*.

191. Sic! LG omits the second *min*.

192. LG: *al-lawh*.

193. LG: *ilā*.

194. LG adds *lamma*.

195. LG: *al-lawh*.

196. LG: *bi-wahīda*.

197. LG: *al-lawh*.

198. LG: *qāla lahu*.

199. LG: *al-lawh*.

200. Read *wa-al-nās*.

201. LG: *'uyūbahum*.

202. Read probably *akhhartuhum*. LG:

akhtartuhum.

203. LG: *al-lawh*.

204. LG: *al-man'um*.

قال: يا موسى انا ابعثوه²⁰⁵ للقوم تبعته للقوم²⁰⁶ المدركين²⁰⁷ المعرضين²⁰⁸ في الاوح²⁰⁹ اليك،
قال: الاهي وسيدي، أصف لي فضله،
[8ظ] قال: يا موسى، فضله عليك كافضلك على امتك وعلى الانبياء كلهم،
قال: الاهي وسيدي، اجعلني من اهله لأنال من فضله،
قال: لك ذلك، يا موسى،
قال: الاهي وسيدي اتي اطلب من فضلك ان تراني انذير²¹⁰ اليك،
قال: يا موسى، متقول²¹² اتي سباق²¹³ في علمي ان لم يراني في الاوجود²¹⁴ بشراً بعين الظهر
ولم اكلمه الا وحيًا او من ورا حجاباً²¹⁵،

قال: الاهي وسيدي فأريني من نورك شيئاً،

فعند ذلك تجلّ الله الجبال من نور وجهه الكريم ما يلج على سم الخياط²¹⁶ فتدكدك،
وحزّ موسى سعيماً ولولا رحمة سبقت عليه بالالواح الذي جعلهم الله عليه لاختراق بشعاع ذلك
النور فجزات عليه في سعيه الملكة²¹⁷ رغبين الله عنه ونهين²¹⁸ اليه بالاستغفار لله من ذلك الخطأ،
فلما آتتها²¹⁹ من سعيه قال: ربي تبت اليك وان لم تبت عليا وتغفر لي وترحمني اكون خصراً،
وقال له الله: [9و] يا موسى اتي اسطفتك برسلي²²⁰ وكلامي فخذ²²¹ ما آتيتك بقوة ولا تغفال
عن الذكر وكون²²² من الشكرين، انذير عبادي وبشرهم بالمنعم في الكتب كما امرتك وخذ اخك هرون
معك لذلك الامر، وانا املكنا نوراً وعلماً بالروح المقداس،
وعند²²³ ذلك اهتدات السموات والارض من خشية الله خوفاً منه وذلك كله يعني عن المنعوم²²⁴
سيدنا يصع²²⁵ ومن بعده²²⁶ من²²⁷ الروح لشفع العباد بنزول الرحمة [للملاية الحورية]²²⁸ لان في انتبهذ
في مشرقية الارض المقداسة في نصرأ²²⁹ ومحضه في بتلان اي موضع اصبها الانتياذ به الصلحة مريم
العذرة في التبرت²³⁰ نزال عليها الملك جبريل وكان معها زوجها يسف²³¹ وامتلك ذلك البيت عليهم من
الملئكة بالنور والريحة السموية²³²، واهتر العرش والسموات والارض ونزلة الرحمة الربنية في الارض
وتفتسته بكرأ²³³ [9ظ]، كما انتبيتته²³³ في شهر المدد،

205. LG: *ab'athuhu*.

206. Sic! LG omits the second *tab'athuhu*
li-al-qawm.

207. LG: *al-muwāyadīn*. Read probably
al-madhkurīn.

208. LG: *al-mu'radīn* (with *dāl*).

209. LG: *al-lawh*.

210. LG: *andhūr*.

211. Sic! LG omits the second *yā*.

212. LG: *mā taqūlu*.

213. LG: *sabaqa*.

214. LG: *al-ujūd*.

215. LG: *aw min warā'ī hijaban*.

216. LG: *al-kh.y.t*.

217. LG: *al-mala'ika*.

218. LG reads also *nahīn*. Read probably

nabihīn (?).

219. LG: *atanabbahā*.

220. LG: *bi-risālatī*.

221. LG: *fa-khudh* (with preceding
alif).

222. LG: *wa-kun*.

223. LG: *fa-īnda*.

224. LG: *al-man'um*.

225. LG: *Yaṣū'*.

226. LG: *wa-mā*.

227. Probably read *'an*.

228. The reading between square brackets
also found in LG.

229. LG: *Naṣrān*.

230. LG: *al-t.y.th.r.t*.

231. LG: *Yusūf*.

232. LG: *al-samawāya*.

233. Sic! LG: *intabdhāt bihi*.

فقال يسف²³⁴ لم بعث²³⁵: ارد يشهد²³⁶ ذكرنه²³⁷ فجعال يسف يده²³⁸ اليسرى على عورته واليمن منع يد يسف²³⁹ استحيًا²⁴⁰ لم يكشف عليه، فتركه عن ذلك القزد، وكان نفسه في شدة البرد وكان نزل²⁴¹ الثلج تلك الليلة واخبار²⁴² الملك المرعين الذي كانوا حول المنزل الا²⁴³ يشهدوا ذلك المقام وفي حضرتهم كتب في ظهره جبريل بالنور السطيع: لا الاله الا الله، يصوع روح الله الصدق²⁴⁴ الامين،

وعن يس²⁴⁵: روي انه قال: اخبار²⁴⁶ جبريل للصلحة مريم العذرة: ان اسم المنعم²⁴⁷ كان مكتبا²⁴⁸ في ساق العرش بالنور السطيع قبلا²⁴⁹ خلق الله السموات والارض، وهو يعني النقيض للعباد، واذا خلقها والملئكة سئلوا عنه لله، فروي لبعضهم بعثه ولم يحمله بصر، وكان سباب وقهم كما وصفنا في الكتب، وله اسم آخر في اللوح المحفظ²⁵⁰: روح الله الصدق²⁵¹ الامين، [10 و] وله اسماً في صحوف ابرهم²⁵²: هيد ميد²⁵³ هدى الناس للنعيم، وفيه اسم اثار²⁵⁴: فروق جھيط²⁵⁵، يعني يفراق بين الخلق²⁵⁶ والبطل، وعند الانبيا يسما طبطا²⁵⁷ يعني: طبيا طبيا²⁵⁸، في التورة يسمى المنعم يعني خريج الناس من الظلمات²⁵⁹ الى النور، ايضا كذلك اسمه الماحي يعني يمحي الكفر من الاجود، له ما دون ذلك في كتب الانبيا من²⁶⁰ دون اسمه المكتب في ظهره خمسة عشار اسم، وفي الكانات²⁶¹ سبع وسبعين اسم والله اعلم بغييه والله الصفات²⁶² ليس لها عدداً ولا يحصهم²⁶³ الا الله،

وقال ايضا كذلك: ان في ذلك المنزل²⁶⁴ تلك الليلة الذي اولد فيها لم يروا برداً ولا حراً، فاذا فراغ احدهم منه مة²⁶⁵ بالبرد، فذلك²⁶⁶ الليلة افلح العد اليس في شدة البرد واثمر²⁶⁷ بعد سبعة سنين وتبلع²⁶⁸ الماء في البر بعد عشرة اعوام، وتكلام الملك السكة²⁶⁹ بانواع لغات الكلام باصوتاً²⁷⁰ [10 ظ] حسان شكرين لله على ذلك الامر، ونزلة الرحمة على العباد واشراق الشمس والقمار فوق الحد، وخضاع

234. LG: *Yusūf*.

235. LG: *bu'ītha*.

236. LG: *yashhadā*.

237. LG: *dhakrānahu*.

238. LG: *fa-aḍa'a yadahu* (omitting Joseph).

239. LG: *mana'at li-Yusūf*.

240. LG: *istihya'an*.

241. LG: *nuzūl*.

242. LG: *wa-akhbara*.

243. One would have expected an rather than *allā*. LG: *li-yashhadū*.

244. LG: *al-siddiq*.

245. LG: *Yusuḥ*.

246. LG: *akhbara*.

247. LG: *al-man'um*.

248. LG: *maktub*.

249. LG: *qablan* (with *tanwīn* = *qabla an*).

250. LG: *al-mahfūz*.

251. LG: *al-siddiq*.

252. LG: *Ibrāhim*.

253. LG adds *ya'nī*.

254. LG: *ākhar*.

255. Marracci proposes to read as *al-jami'* (*al-jāmi'*). See our translation and the corresponding note.

256. Read probably *al-ḥaqq*. LG: *mufarrīq bayna al-ḥaqq*.

257. LG: *Tabṭaban* (with *tanwīn*).

258. LG: *tayyiban tayyiban* (with *tanwīn*).

259. LG: *al-zulūmāt*.

260. LG: *mā*.

261. LG: *al-kā'ināt*.

262. LG: *wa-al-muḍafāt* (without *li-'llāhi*).

263. LG: *wa-lā yaḥsāhum*.

264. LG: *al-manzil*.

265. In LG with *tā'*.

266. LG: *wa-dhālika*.

267. LG: *wa-athmāra*.

268. LG: *wa-naba'a*.

269. LG (with corrections): *al-mala'u al-samāwī*; originally written as *al-malak al-sakit* (with *tā' marbūta*).

270. Read *wa-takallāmu al-mala'ika al-sakita bi-anwā' lughāt al-kalām bi-aṣwātīn hisān*. LG: *bi-aṣwat* (with *tā' marbūta*).

الشجر²⁷¹ اليه، وتعبير الجين²⁷² ولسات²⁷³ العباد ثوب النقا²⁷⁴ في قلوبهم وانهم²⁷⁵ الشيطان²⁷⁶ ووقعات الاصنام في المساجيد²⁷⁷ وضربات الكوكب²⁷⁸ لجلجا²⁷⁹ عكساً بعكس، وخفات قلوب الضلين وشعه²⁸⁰ ردى لتجمعاته²⁸¹ بالعلماء وأخبرته ان في الارض قد بعث متمريرق دنه²⁸² وكان بارضه وكان حيراً لم يدري ما يفعل²⁸³،

ورجعنا لسيدنا يصوع انه طهير في اليوم الثامن²⁸⁴ من بعثه ليكمال الدين الشريعي، والصلحة مريم العذرة انى²⁸⁵ قالت ان الامن²⁸⁶ جبريل اخبرها ان الله يوما خلق السموات والارض خلاق²⁸⁷ نجما لم يخلق مثله في النجوم واخفه في كونه حتى ابعث²⁸⁸ سيدنا يصوع، فلما بعث²⁸⁹ طلاع ذلك النجم على الافق المشارق²⁹⁰، فراوه ثلاثة [11 و] ملوك من اهل مديان وكانوا عالين بمتراق²⁹¹ السير عن ابائهم وكانت²⁹² علاماته ذك²⁹³ النجم فتحجموا واجمعوا ببعثهم²⁹⁴ على ذلك العلامة، فاعولوا²⁹⁵ انفسهم واهلهم وخراجوا من مشاريق الارض في فشته²⁹⁶،

فلما رحلوا مرحلة اعرض²⁹⁷ عليهم في النوم بالملك جبريل: اتبعوا النجم يهدكم لقزدكم، فاي موضع يمكث عليه تقضا حاجاتكم،

فطراقوا²⁹⁸ للمغرب²⁹⁹ والنجم معهم ودخلوا³⁰⁰ الى مدينة جرجلان وقف³⁰¹ النجم بارضها، وكانوا³⁰² سيلين: ايها الناس اي موضع هو للمبعث³⁰³ مولا بني اسرائيل المهدين؟ راينا نجما في المشرق³⁰⁴ علامة³⁰⁵ لبعثه وجين لنعبده في ذلك الامر،

فعند ذلك تذاكر³⁰⁶ الملك لقول ملائه وامرهم³⁰⁷ بالندرة مرة اخر³⁰⁸ لذلك الامر، والملوك جزوا لبتلان مهدين ودخلوا عليه وامه ومعهم³⁰⁹ مومنين به، واعطوه³¹⁰ من امولهم وهذه³¹¹ اناية³¹² ذهاب ولوبان ومو³¹³،

271. LG: *al-shajār*.

272. LG: *wa-tagħayyara al-hīn*.

273. LG: *wa-labisat*.

274. LG: *al-tuqā*.

275. LG: *wa-inhazāmāt*.

276. LG: *al-shayātīn*.

277. LG: *fi al-māsājīd*.

278. LG: *al-kawākib*.

279. LG: *liḥājan*.

280. Read *wa-sha'aba*. LG: *wa-sha'ata*.

281. LG: *tajamu'āt*.

282. LG: *dīnīhi*.

283. LG: *ya'māl*.

284. LG: *al-thāmīn*.

285. = *innahā*.

286. LG: *al-amīn*.

287. LG: *khalaqa*.

288. LG: *ba'atha*.

289. LG: *bu'ītha*.

290. LG: *al-mashraqī*.

291. LG: *bi-mitrāf* (?).

292. LG: *wa-kanāt*.

293. LG: *dhālika*.

294. LG: *bi-baḥthihim*.

295. LG: *fa-'awwalū*.

296. = *fatshihī*.

297. LG: *ū'īda*.

298. LG: *fa-taraqū*.

299. LG: *li-al-maghrib*.

300. LG: *fa-dakhalū*.

301. LG: *fa-waqafa*.

302. LG: *wa-kanū*.

303. LG: *al-mab'ūth*.

304. LG: *al-mashraq*.

305. LG: *'alamatan*.

306. LG: *tadhakkara*.

307. LG: *wa-amarāhum*.

308. LG: *ukhrā*.

309. LG: *ma'ahu* (without prefixed *wa-*), which is the correct reading.

310. LG: *wa-a'īwahu*.

311. LG: *wa-hadūhu*.

312. LG: *āniyat*.

313. LG: *mūr* (which is the correct reading).

فذلك الليلة اعرض عليهم [11 ظ] في النوم رويته جبريل الملك: ايها الملك³¹⁴ ايها الملوك³¹⁵ ارجعوا الى ارضكم امنين على طرق³¹⁶ غير الطرق³¹⁷ الذي اطيمه³¹⁸ ففعلوا ذلك، وقال الملك ليسف³¹⁹: ارحال بالطفل وامه للميسر لان ردوس الملك يقتل الاطفال من اجل يصوع، وكتال ثلث مائة طفلا، فرحال ذلك اليلة والشيطان عدوه اخبار³²⁰ في النوم لرديس قبلا له عن ارحله، فخراج في اتبعه ابراح في اتبعه³²¹ خدمه³²² بملائته، فعند ذلك نزال جبريل في سورة بشار يحز فدان الزرعي³²³ المسبل من الطير جوار طارهم³²⁴ الى ارض الميسر فسئلوه: ايها ايها³²⁵ العبد ارايت نسا جزوا قدما بطفلا سغيرا في الكهل؟ قال: نعم اني رايتهم جزوا بوقه نبات هذا الزرع، وكان على حق لان معجزة الله اسبلته في الحين لنجة سيدنا يصوع، فقلوا³²⁶ القوم جزات ايها بعد ذلك [12 و] الامر ولم دركه³²⁷، فارتدوا من وره باذن الله³²⁸ الذي لا مستردا لامره،

فطرقان يسف³²⁹ ومريم حتى الى ارض الميسر³³⁰ على شوع³³¹ (؟) جبال قدمه الارض المسطة فيكت الصلحة مريم العذرة بكأ³³² شديدا على غربتها واحتياجها من كل شياً لان احرقتها الجوع والعطش والغربة من اهلها ولكن قولها لله: الاهي وسيدي انا صبرة³³³ لامرك وانت علم³³⁴ بذلك الصبر، وبكا بكاهها³³⁵ يسف³³⁶ زوجها فنزال عليها الامين جبريل وقال لها: يا مريم لا تقطق، الله معك فاهتد الجبال وانفتح باذن الله سنيع بيت³³⁷ ونبتة³³⁸ على بابه شجرة تطعم جمعهم كل يوم وانزال في الحين الطعام الكوني ليتزودان به، وانفتحت³³⁹ الارض ونبتات عينا لذيذا³⁴⁰ للشربين، والباس ليصوع ثوبا من السندوس الكوني، وحججهم باذن الله لم يطلع³⁴¹ عليهم احدأ [12 ظ] باذن الله³⁴²، ووخرهم لوكت³⁴³ يميز فيه ما يشا،

وقال شيخي يع³⁴⁴ عن يسف³⁴⁵ انه قال: والله لم رايت ابداع ريحة من ريحة يصوع ولا افضل سورة من سورته ولا اخف بششة من بششته ولا اسطاع³⁴⁶ نوراً وبهاءً من نوره وبهائه ولا اطيب نفساً منه،

314. LG: *al-mulūk*.

315. Sic!

316. LG: *ṭarīq*.

317. LG: *al-ṭarīq*.

318. = *ataytumūhu*. LG: *ataytumuhu*.

319. LG: *li-Yusūf*.

320. LG: *akhbara*.

321. Sic! Most probably a corrupted dittography of *fa-kharāja fī ittiba'ihī*.

322. LG: *fa-kharāja fī ittiba'ihī 'brāh* (the second *fī ittiba'ihī* crossed out) *wa-khadamahu*. De Luna thus maintained 'brāh, not identifying it as a corrupted remnant of a dittography of *fa-kharāj*.

323. LG: *al-zar'*.

324. Read probably *ṭarīqihim*.

325. Sic! LG omits the second *ayyuhā*.

326. LG: *fa-qalū*.

327. LG: *adrakahu*.

328. LG adds: *ta 'ālā*.

329. LG: *Yusūf*.

330. Sic! LG: *al-Maysīr*.

331. LG: *shawā'*.

332. LG: *baka 'an*.

333. LG: *ṣabīra*.

334. LG: *'alīm*.

335. LG: *li-bakahā*.

336. LG: *Yusūf*.

337. LG: *baytan*.

338. LG: *wa-nabatāt* (with *tā*).

339. LG: *wa-inḡatahat*.

340. LG: *l-ddatan*.

341. LG: *yaṭla'*.

342. LG crossed out this second *bi-idhn Allāh*.

343. LG: *li-waqt*.

344. LG: *Ya'qūb* (no abbreviation).

345. LG: *Yusūf*.

346. LG: *asṭā'*.

ومكثوا³⁴⁷ في ذلك البيت الكهفي سبعة اعوام وثلاثة³⁴⁸ شهور لم يطلع³⁴⁹ عليهم بشراً، وكان يسف³⁵⁰ يعترف³⁵¹ نفسه في صنع المغرب والصلحة مريم العذرة تعونه ليهربان المراح، وكان يتي³⁵² بهم المدينة³⁵³ الفرضية ويتصدق على الماساكين، وكان يعبدان الله ليلاً ونهاراً لم يغفلان طرفة عين³⁵⁴ من ذلك شياً، ويتزودوا³⁵⁵ من ذلك الشجرة التي كانت تشبع رزقاهم³⁵⁶ في كل يوم³⁵⁷، وكان سيدنا يصوع يلتعب في الجبال ويخذ الحياة³⁵⁸ المسممة³⁵⁹ بيديه ولم يلسعه، وكان يطا اليم³⁶⁰ ولم يغرق فيه، واذا فرغات³⁶¹ امه من العبدية كان يغض³⁶² عينيه ويخذ رجلها³⁶³ اليمنا و[3 و] يتقبله، وي طرح³⁶⁴ جسمه³⁶⁵ في الارض ويلقه على راسه قبلا لها: يا امي اني امرت بالبر لله واليك لان لم استوجب بالايهان ولكن استوجابي³⁶⁶ على الله بالطعة اليه واليك، وكان لم يفتر من الذكر الصلح ابدأ، واذا نام نام على عضديه اليمنا وجعل يده اليمنا تحته خده اليمنا واليسرى على فخضه اليسرى، وكان نومه نوماً خفيفاً، وكان جبريل والملئكة يحرضه³⁶⁷ بالود بامر الله من كل شئ يخاف ضره،

فاذا كمال الورد والموصف قال لها الملك جبريل: ارجعوا الى الارض المقداسة، لان الله هلك عدواكم ويكون³⁶⁸ سكنكم في بلد نصران، هذا ما وعدكم الله على³⁶⁹، فعند ذلك ذهب عن يسف³⁷⁰ الخوف المحيط به، وقال شيخي يع³⁷¹ عن الصلحة مريم العذرة انها قالت: اخذت بيدي يصوع³⁷² ويسف بيده³⁷³ [13 ظ] في يدي واطوا جبريل الارض واتينا في الحين قبل نصران فدخلنا اليها، لم يميزنا احدأ حتى اخبرنا القوم بسعيها³⁷⁴ ففرحوا³⁷⁵ بنا فتعشقان البناء خلة يصوع ويحنا³⁷⁶ لم ينقصهما نقيصا³⁷⁷ بعد الفراق الروحاني والحب في نعمة الله السبعة³⁷⁸ عليها، ولكن احصنه الله في اجود³⁷⁹ الارض مثل حراص³⁸⁰ ليصوع ليفعال ما يشا كما سباق³⁸¹ في سابق³⁸² علمه،

ايضا كذلك قال شيخي يعقوب³⁸³ عن الصلحة مريم العذرة انها قالت: كان سيدنا يصوع من يوم³⁸⁴ دخال³⁸⁵ لنصران لم يفتر بالانسانية من ذكر الله لان كان في الحقيقة انسان وكان اكثر اكله التمر

347. LG: *fa-makathū*.

348. LG: *wa-thalāth*.

349. LG: *yaṭla'*.

350. LG: *Yusūf*.

351. LG: *yaḡtarifu*.

352. LG: *ya'tī*.

353. LG: *li-al-madīna*.

354. LG: *ṭarafāt 'ainān*.

355. LG: *wa-yatazawwādū*.

356. LG: *riḡqahum*.

357. LG had written *yawma*, but we corrected this into *yawm*.

358. LG: *al-hayyāt* (with *tā*).

359. LG: *al-musamma*.

360. LG: *al-yām*.

361. LG: *faraghat*.

362. Read probably *yaghmuḡu*. LG: *y. 'd*.

363. LG: *yadahā al-yumnā*.

364. LG: *wa-yaṭrāhu*.

365. LG: *jasādahu*.

366. LG: *istawjabī* (with short *a*).

367. LG adds *ma'an*.

368. LG: *wa-yakun*.

369. LG: *'alayya*.

370. LG: *Yusūf*.

371. LG: *Ya qūb* (no abbreviation).

372. LG: *akhadhtu Yaṣū' bi-yadī*.

373. LG: *bi-yadīhi*.

374. LG: *bi-sha'yinā*.

375. LG: *fa-fariḡū*.

376. LG: *wa-Yūḡannā*.

377. LG: *naqdan*.

378. Read *al-sabiqa* (?). LG: *al-sabigha*.

379. LG: *luḡūd*.

380. LG: *ḡaraṣ*.

381. LG: *sabaqa*.

382. LG: *sabiq*.

383. LG: *Ya'* (abbreviated form).

384. LG wrote originally *yawman*, but we corrected this into *yawmin*.

385. LG: *dakhala*.

وخبز الشعير والعسل ولم يلم³⁸⁶ طعمًا ما دون ذلك، فلما اشتتهه اكله وان لم يشتهه تركه³⁸⁷، وكانت عليه ريحة النعيم [14 و] اذا دخل في موضع سكنات³⁸⁸ فيه ذلك الريحة لم تفنا منه ابدأ،

باب³⁸⁹ طهره في ودي البرهان

قال يحنأ ابن خلة سيدنا يصوع عنه انه اذا بلاغ ثلاثين سنة اي كان على وقه³⁹⁰ خلق الله لأدام³⁹¹ امير بفضح³⁹² السر الذي اوداع الله عنده ليفلح آدم³⁹³ وذريته وامراه بتطهير العباد على اسمه وتبشيريه فخراج الى فلاء ارض اليهود خلف ودي البرهان وهو خطب بشرة³⁹⁴ بقرب رضون³⁹⁵ الله، وكان لم يرجع لمعمور ويكل الجريد³⁹⁶ والعسل والعشاب³⁹⁷ ويطهار³⁹⁸ الناس من كل موضع³⁹⁹ القصد الى مستقيرين⁴⁰⁰ ذنوبهم فسيله اقوماً: ايها السعيد، انت هو الذي نحن منتدريين اليه ام لا؟ فقال لهم: اني اطهركم بالما المقداس واقل لكم ان الذي ياتي من بعدي هو اعظم مني درجة ولم انا مستهيل حل نعليه، فاتاه⁴⁰¹ سيدنا يصع فقال [14ظ]: له: طهراني⁴⁰²! 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 شبهه⁴⁰³ حممة واذا بالنداء من قبل⁴⁰⁴ الله ايلا له⁴⁰⁵: انت هو روحي المحبوب واقتراحي!

واذا فراغ⁴⁰⁶ من ذلك داسه⁴⁰⁷ الشيطان قبيلاً له قبل⁴⁰⁸ الجبال في شبهة شيخا كابراً⁴⁰⁹ يصوع: قل الله فطير السموات والارض لا رباً غيره،

قال له سيدنا يصوع: اني اقلها، ليس اقلها لقولك، اليك عني يا عين، فعند ذلك طلع⁴¹⁰ الجبال ليعبد فيه الله، وصم فيه اربعين يوماً لبليها لم يتشبع⁴¹¹ طعمًا، فاذا قضى ذلك الصوم دسه الشيطان قبيلاً: يصوع دركتك المحمصه والاحتياج، ان كنت روح الله اسنع من ذلك السلام نعمة،

فقال له: ليس بنعمة حضاً هو يعيش الانسان لكن عيشه في كلام الله، اليك عني يا عين، فبعد عنه، ودسه⁴¹² [15 و] مراتان⁴¹³ اخرى بانواع التدسيس وهو مهره، فقالت الصلحة مريم العذرة: بالله⁴¹⁴ لو اجب قول الشيطان⁴¹⁵ لم يسلم بعده من الاستحية عبداً من عباد الله الصلحين، ولكن الله نجيهم من ذلك الفتنة،

386. LG: *yatūm*.

387. LG: *tarākahu*.

388. LG: *sakanat*.

389. LG: *bābī*.

390. LG: *waqt*.

391. LG: *li-Adam*.

392. LG: *bi-faḍh*.

393. LG: *Ādām*.

394. LG: *bashīra*.

395. LG: *riḍwān*.

396. LG: *al-jarād*.

397. LG: *w-al-'ashab*.

398. LG: *wa-yuṭāhhīr*.

399. LG: *mawḍī'*.

400. LG: *mustaqarirīn* (two separate *rā's*).

401. LG: *fa-atahu*.

402. LG: *tahhirnī*.

403. LG: *fi shibhat*.

404. LG: *qibal*.

405. Read *qā ilān lahu*. These words omitted in LG.

406. LG: *faragha*.

407. LG: *dassahu*.

408. LG: *qubāla*.

409. LG: *kabīran*.

410. LG: *talā'a*.

411. LG: *lam yash.q.h*.

412. LG: *fa-dāssahu*.

413. LG: *marratan*.

414. LG: *wa-'llāhi*.

415. LG adds *Yaṣū'*.

فلما فراغ⁴¹⁶ من ذلك بدا النذرة لطعة الله⁴¹⁷ الاعلى ودخول⁴¹⁸ السماء، وهبط لسحيل بحر غلالية التبرية واختار⁴¹⁹ سبعين رجلاً مؤمنين على تمثل السبعين رجلاً الذي اختر موسى لمقتره⁴²⁰، منهم⁴²¹ فضل اثنان عشار واسميه⁴²² كانوا⁴²³ بدره⁴²⁴، ويعقوب، ويحنا اخه، ومرتمويه، وقلبون، وادريس، ومتايوه، وتمه⁴²⁵، ويعقوب الفي، وشمعون القناني، وتديوه، ويدياش الاثرطي⁴²⁶، وكال بعد ذلك عداد⁴²⁷ السبعين وازداد⁴²⁸ اثنين ولكن بعضهم فسقين من بعده، وذلك الاثنان⁴²⁹ عشار ساهم حواريون على تمثل سواعي⁴³⁰ باني اسرائيل الذي شق موسى [15ظ] بهم البحر وقال لهم: أتصدوا⁴³¹ الله؟ قالوا: نعم! فمكث بهم على جبال، فقالوا له: أسيدنا أخبرنا بما نحن عملين ونسجين⁴³² اليه،

فقال لهم: طيبى للفقراء الصبرين لان اعدت⁴³³ لهم جنة السماء، وطيبى للرحمين لان الله يرحمهم، طيبى للخلصين قلوبهم لان هؤلاء يراو⁴³⁴ وجه الله، وطيبى للبيكين⁴³⁵ ذنبهم⁴³⁶ لان يتهم⁴³⁷ الله الصبر، وطيبى للمهدين لان هؤلاء هم اولد الله، وطيبى للفقيرين من الشرع لانهم من اهل جنة السماء، وطيبى لكم اذا سبتم⁴³⁸ واتبعتم مهزين⁴³⁹ من أجلي: أفرحوا⁴⁴⁰ لان اجركم على الله في السماء لان ذلك كله قضا الانبيا من قبلكم، انتم ملح الارض، اطبعوا الله يهدكم طريق الرشاد⁴⁴¹، [16 و] باب⁴⁴² في معجزه⁴⁴³

قال شيخني يعقوب: كن لسيدنا يصوع لونسبات قدرة⁴⁴⁴ اية اليه⁴⁴⁵ اذا ذكر اسمه على ماء⁴⁴⁶ لاستحيا به، لكن⁴⁴⁷ الله وخاره⁴⁴⁸ لقرزداً غير ذلك سبق في علمه، ورجعنا الى الامر الذي بعث اليه، قال شيخني المذكور ان الله بعث موسى في زمان السحرة وبعث يصوع في زمان المرضا ليشهر قدرته ونوره ولو كره⁴⁴⁹ الكافرين، فلم وصل ذلك الوعد ليشهر سيدنا يصوع معاجزه اختر من صاحبه⁴⁵⁰ الحوارين⁴⁵¹ يدره الذي كان اسمه⁴⁵² شمعون قبل ايمنه⁴⁵³ [ولشيخني يعقوب واخه يحنا اباني (؟) الزبدي وطلاع بهم جبال الطور اي موضع كلام الله لموسى كلمه فوقف بينهم وشرح نوره ووجهه يتلال نوراً شعشعنياً قد خسف نور الشمس شعاعه واشراقات الارض والثوب مثل الثلج وقد امتثلان

416. LG: *faragha*.

417. LG omits *Allāh*.

418. LG: *dukhul*.

419. LG: *wa-akhtara*.

420. LG: *li-m.q.t rabbihi* (two words).

421. LG: *wa-minhum*.

422. LG: *wa-asmā'ihim*.

423. LG: *kānū*.

424. LG: *Yadruh*.

425. LG: *wa-T.mma* (with *tashdīd* and *fatha*).

426. LG: *al-Aqraṭī*.

427. LG: *al-'adad*.

428. LG: *wa-'zāda*.

429. LG: *al-ithnain*.

430. LG: *sawā'*.

431. Read probably *tanṣurū*. LG: *a-tanṣurū*.

432. LG: *nasiḥīn*.

433. LG: *i'tadāt*, omitting *li-an*.

434. LG: *yarā'u*.

435. LG: *li-al-bākīna*.

436. LG: *dhunūbahum*.

437. LG: *yatāhum*.

438. LG: *usbūtum*.

439. Read probably *muharrabīn*. LG: *muhazzabīn*.

440. LG: *afriḥū*.

441. LG: *al-rashād*.

442. LG: *bābī*.

443. LG: *ma'ājizihī*.

444. LG: *q.d.r.hu*.

445. LG: *āyat Allāh*.

446. = *mayyit*. LG: *mayyitan*.

447. LG: *wa-lakin*.

448. LG: *wakhkharahu*.

449. LG: *wa-law karihā*.

450. LG: *ṣahābihī*.

451. LG: *al-ḥawāriyūn*.

452. LG: *yusammā*.

453. LG: *īmānihī*.

454. Between square brackets inserted from LG.

للسما، وجزو الحواريون بعده بجسد⁴⁹⁶ المؤمنين على بحر الدنيا والمطبق⁴⁹⁷ وغرارها⁴⁹⁸ واخراجهم من [18 و] من⁴⁹⁹ العار⁵⁰⁰ للنعيم مثل جز موسى البحر بسواعي⁵⁰¹ باني اسرائيل وجيسه الى الارض المنعمة اليهم وبذلك كمال الودي⁵⁰²، جعلنا الله من الصالحين، امين،

باب⁵⁰³ في محاسنه وخلوقه وامه مريم

قال شيخني يعقوب ان سئل الصلحة مريم العذرة عن خلوق سيدنا يصوع فقالت: اما تريد⁵⁰⁴ تعراف⁵⁰⁵ خلوقه اعلام⁵⁰⁶ انها الانجيل فاذا عرفته عرفت خلوق يصوع كلها، وايضا كذلك قل يسف⁵⁰⁷ زوجها عن الملك جبريل انه اخبره⁵⁰⁸ ان ابنا ادم وزوجته حوة كانا حسان سدراً⁵⁰⁹ واجمال خلوقا ان خلق⁵¹⁰ الله لان سورهما بيدي قدرته⁵¹¹ ونفاخ فيها الروح ونياً⁵¹² بالله⁵¹³ داود⁵¹⁴ شبه بهم⁵¹⁵، ويسف⁵¹⁶ ابن يعقوب شبيه⁵¹⁷ ايضا كذلك في الخلق والخلوق، وزادحة⁵¹⁸ شبيهة لحوة في الخلق والخلوق، [18 ظ] ويصوع سيدنا وامه الصالحة مريم جزان الجمع فوق الحد لان لاحقان⁵¹⁹ الانبياء كلهم بالخلق⁵²⁰ والخلوق وفي العلم والكلم⁵²¹، لم يلحقها احداً من الشابين⁵²²، فكان معتقل⁵²³ القيمة، وسيع الارداد، علي الصدر، مدوار الوجه، قمحي اللون، وشعره لون الرطبة المنتهية، حسين الوجه، ونذرتة مرحة بالاعلان والسير الغميص⁵²⁴، لم يلتقه عبداً⁵²⁵ الا وامال قلبه اليه لم يبغى تركه الا كرها على نفسه،

وايضا كذلك امه كانت⁵²⁶ معتدلة⁵²⁷ القيمة، قمحية الاون⁵²⁸، مدورة الوجه، علية الصدر، وشعرها لون شعر ابنيتها⁵²⁹ ومحاسنها مثل محاسنه وخلوقها مثل خلوقه، لم يشتهي مجلسها يفرغ⁵³⁰ من حضرتها الا كرهاً على نفسه،

باب الوفات⁵³¹

لما كمال سيدنا يصوع النذرة دخل لجرجلان [19 و] وقال للحوارين: اوما علمتم ان وصال الودي الذي هو يصلب فيه ابن الانسان؟

موسى الكليم ليمنه وليس لشماله وقال لها بما اذا ارسلتم موشرين في الاجود؟ قلان: بانك روح الله شفيع للعباد بالانجيل العزيز فعند ذلك رءآ⁴⁵⁴ حجاب⁴⁵⁵ في الصحاب يتلال نوراً خطفاً للابصار فهد الجبال وهتاف الملك واذا بالندا من قبل الله قبيلا: هذا هو روحي واقتراحي، فاذا سمعوا ذلك⁴⁵⁶ ساجدوا⁴⁵⁷ في حضرته سعيين مرعبين،

فقال لهم: أقموا ولا تخفوا ان الله معكم فرفعوا رسهم ولم يراوا⁴⁵⁸ الا سيدنا يصوع وحده بينهم، فاذا هبطوا من الجبال امرهم ليبحوا⁴⁵⁹ بذلك السير الذي راهم حتى لبعث ابن الانسان، وقال بدره⁴⁶⁰ الحوري⁴⁶¹ [17 و]: ان سيدنا يصوع لم امرح⁴⁶² من اوقات العبادة⁴⁶³ طرفه عيناً ولم عمال معجزة الا بسباب البرهان مثل يوم اطعام خمسة الف رجلاً في مخمستهم⁴⁶⁴ دون الاطفال والنساء بخمسة عليف⁴⁶⁵ شعير وحتان،

ولم سئل حجة الا وقد قضها للطالب، ولم طلب بشريعة الا وتكمال الشرع في حقيقة الدين ولم يطلق الاندية⁴⁶⁶ فاشفا الاكهما والابرص⁴⁶⁷ والعميا والفلجي والمباطل والصمه⁴⁶⁸ والبكا، وغفار⁴⁶⁹ الذنوب ويحيا⁴⁷⁰ الموت⁴⁷¹ واشفا⁴⁷² ووهدى⁴⁷³ الفقارا⁴⁷⁴ من ذرية ادم بالانجيل، ويطى⁴⁷⁵ البحر ولم يغرق ويلج في الرياح⁴⁷⁶ ولم يهو⁴⁷⁷، وطعته الجنون واخراج الشيطان من الناس وكان حيطوا⁴⁷⁸ مكشفاً على الاسرار العظمة⁴⁷⁹ في الصدور،

ومعاجزه و[17 ظ] اسبابها⁴⁸⁰ وفضلها⁴⁸¹ لم يقدر يصفها وصف⁴⁸² ولا يسطرها كتب،

وقالت الصلحة مريم العذرة عنه انه قال لها ان عداد⁴⁸³ معاجزه الكبار كانت عداد⁴⁸⁴ باني اسرائيل الذين اخرج موسى من الضيق وشاق⁴⁸⁵ بهم البحر لكمال القزد لان خروج كل واحد منهم من قهر فرعون كان معجزة يمثل⁴⁸⁶ لمعاجزه⁴⁸⁷ ليشفي الصدور بالايان لان كان خرجهم⁴⁸⁸ يمثل لخروج باني ادم من بحر الدنيا⁴⁸⁹ الى نعيم الاخرة، كان الممثل بالحوارين لخروج الانسان من غرار الدنيا⁴⁹¹ الى النعيم لكمال الدين، فلم كمال العداد⁴⁹² المذكور وهي⁴⁹³ الامر في خروجه من الدنيا⁴⁹⁴ وطلعت⁴⁹⁵

455. LG: *hijāban*.

456. LG: *dhālika al-nidā*.

457. LG: *kharrū*.

458. LG: *yarawna*.

459. LG: *lam yubihū*.

460. LG: *Yadruh*.

461. MS Ar: "No esta esta linea en el original."

462. LG wrote, as it seems, first *amrah*, then corrected this to *afrah*.

463. LG: *al-'amāl*.

464. LG: *fī mujamma'atihim*.

465. LG: *raghā if*.

466. LG: *wa-lam yanṭuq illā bi-ḥikma*.

467. LG: *wa-al-abrās*.

468. LG: *wa-al-ṣammā*.

469. LG: *wa-kafāra*.

470. LG: *wa-ahyā*.

471. LG: *al-mawtā*.

472. LG: *wa-'stasqā or istasfā*.

473. Sic! LG: *wa-hadā*.

474. LG: *al-fuqarā* (with *alif maqṣra*).

475. LG: *wa-aṭā* (with *alif maqṣra*).

476. LG: *al-rīh*.

477. LG: *yahwī*.

478. LG: *h.ṭ.wān*.

479. LG: *al-ghamiḍa*.

480. LG: *asbabuhā*.

481. LG: *wa-faḍa iluhā*.

482. LG: *wasīf*.

483. LG: *'adad*.

484. LG: *'adad*.

485. LG: *wa-shaaqa*.

486. LG: *mumāthil*.

487. LG: *li-mā 'ajizihī*.

488. LG: *khurūjuhum*.

489. LG: *al-dunyā*.

490. LG: *wa-kāna*.

491. LG: *al-dunyā*.

492. LG: *al-'adad*.

493. LG: *qadā*.

494. LG: *al-dunyā*.

495. LG: *wa-ḥulā'ihī*.

496. LG: *bi-jaysh*.

497. Read: *wa-al-madīq* (?).

498. LG: *wa-m.h.r.r.hā* (?).

499. 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*.

500. LG: *al-'ā'ī*.

501. LG: *bi-sawā'ī*.

502. LG: *al-dīm*. Sic (read *al-wa'd*).

503. LG: *babī*.

504. LG: *a-turidu*, instead of *ammā turidu*.

505. LG: *ta'rifu* (without *alif*).

506. LG: *i'lām*.

507. LG: *qāla Yūsūf*.

508. LG: *akhbarahā*.

509. LG: *aḥsan suwaran*.

510. LG: *an khalāqa*.

511. LG: *qudrānihi*.

512. LG: *wa-nabā'ī*.

513. Read *wa-nabiyyu Allāh*. LG: *Allāh*.

514. LG: *Dawud*.

515. LG: *shabihan li-Adām*.

516. LG: *wa-Yūsūf*.

517. LG: *shabihuhu*.

518. LG: *Zā'ihā* (?).

519. LG: *m. 'ān*, or *m. qān?*

520. LG: *fī al-khuluq*.

521. LG: *wa-al-karām*.

522. The reading is uncertain. LG: *al-s.l.b.īn* (?). (The *lām* is connected to the following letter but is loose from the preceding *sīn*).

523. Read *mu'tadil*. LG: *ma'dūl*.

524. LG: *al-'āmīṣ*.

525. LG adds *'mh* as a separate word (?).

526. LG: *kānat ummuhu*.

527. LG: *ma'dulat*.

528. LG: *al-lawn*.

529. LG: *ibnihā*.

530. LG: *yafraghu*.

531. LG: *bābī al-wafat*.

وكان عيد الجبال فتعشى على المائدة معهم، ولما قسم النعمة اعطهم منها وقال: كلوا لان هذا جسدي⁵³²، فاذا فراغ⁵³³ من الاكل أخذ⁵³⁴ قمصال وقال: اشربوا، هذا هو دمي في الكتب الـ[...]⁵³⁵ الطارى المهرق⁵³⁶،

ثم قال اليهم: في ذلك الليلة يهرام الرعي وتتفرق نعجه⁵³⁷،
قال بدره⁵³⁸: من هو الرعي؟

قال له: انا،

قال بدره⁵³⁹: انا لم افركك بالموت⁵⁴⁰،

فاجبه: في ذات الليلة تنكرني ثلث مرات قبل صراح⁵⁴¹ الديك،

كان⁵⁴² عند ذلك الوقت امير في رمة تربيه سجار⁵⁴³ وحكمه بلطه في جرجلان وكانوا يفتاشون⁵⁴⁴ لسيدنا يصوع الفرس لصلبه⁵⁴⁵ بشواهد⁵⁴⁶ الزور، [19ظ] فلما دخلوا في الجنان⁵⁴⁷ ا⁵⁴⁸ موضع كان يدع⁵⁴⁸ ربه تفرقوا الحاورين ولم يبق لهم شيا من اليقين، ولكن⁵⁴⁹ توفه الله وعده⁵⁵⁰ بالملك،

وقال⁵⁵¹ اليهم: بيعه يداش بلثان المعدد من الورق⁵⁵²، هتي المبيع بالاقبال، فاخذوا المقبول⁵⁵³ المثل في التورية⁵⁵⁴ وحماله⁵⁵⁵ الى الشرع فلم يجد عليه عضراً⁵⁵⁶، ولكن يدعوه له⁵⁵⁷ اليهد⁵⁵⁸ جلده⁵⁵⁹ وخذاده⁵⁶⁰ بلطه والت على راسه عمامة⁵⁶¹ الشوك،

وقل [لـ]: اوما علمت انا ان شيت اصلبك وان لم شيت اطاللك⁵⁶²؟

فقال له: ليس لك عليا قهراً ما دون الذي اعطك من سكن⁵⁶³ السماء فمن اجل اليهود المتعدين⁵⁶⁴ ارسله للصلب فصلبه بين السران كما [20و] استعدودوا الامتحان، وفتحوا صدره بالعصاة واسقوه المور⁵⁶⁵ والخال، وقبل وقته قال: الاهي الاهي لما⁵⁶⁶ ا[...] تني؟ وقال: قضى الامر،

532. *Hadhā jasadī* between square brackets in LG.

533. LG: *faragha*.

534. LG: *ah/kh.da*.

535. LG has left a blank space here for one word.

536. LG: *al-ḥarī al-muftariq*. In LG, the passage *Hadhā huwa* until *muftariq* is given within square brackets.

537. LG: *nī ājuhu*.

538. LG provides no points for deciding between *Badruh* or *Yadruh*.

539. LG: without points.

540. LG provides the same text. Read perhaps *illā bi-al-maut*.

541. LG: *ṣarākh*.

542. LG: *wa-kāna*.

543. LG: *sājir*.

544. LG: *yafshaw*.

545. LG: *li-yuṣallibahu*.

546. LG: *bi-shawāhīd*.

547. LG: *ay*.

548. LG: *yad ī*.

549. LG: *wa-lakin*.

550. LG: *wa-ʾahadahu*.

551. LG: *fa-qāla*.

552. LG: *fa-qāla ilaihim bayī ʾuhu Yūdāsh di-al-iqbāl Allāhu ʾajaba minhu: hatī . . .*

553. LG: *al-maftūn*.

554. LG: *al-tawrāt*.

555. LG: *wa-ḥamālnāhu*.

556. LG: *ʾt.ban*.

557. LG: *yad ʾuhu*.

558. LG: *al-yahūd*.

559. LG: *jalādahu*.

560. LG: *wa-ḥaddadahu*.

561. LG: *ʾamamat*.

562. LG: *uṣliquka*.

563. LG: *sakīn*.

564. LG: *al-muta ʾannīn*.

565. LG: *al-mur*.

566. LG: *l.m m afr . . . ānī* (not clear; apparently DL could not read it).

فعند ذلك اهتد⁵⁶⁷ التراب⁵⁶⁸ هدأ وخسفة الشمس واتاة الظلمة والقمر اتائه اهله⁵⁶⁹، والكوكب⁵⁷⁰ لطيات بعضاً ببعض وانفتح حجاب المسجد وانبعثوا الموت⁵⁷¹ من القبور ولكن خفوا القوم حائرين قائلين: لا شكاً ان هذا الروح الله فالقوم حائرين⁵⁷² ولكن ضلما انفسنا ظلماً⁵⁷³ كبيراً به، بعد ذلك اخذوه اهله بالصبح⁵⁷⁴ والقاء في الاحد، استخبروه بعد ثلث ايام ولم يصبه، فتجل سيدنا يصوع للحوارين قياً: ما اقلو لكم في الحيا بينكم انا من راني بعد الوافة⁵⁷⁵ فقد [20ظ] راني حقاً⁵⁷⁶؟ قل⁵⁷⁷: نعم، قال: وانا هو موادبكم فانذروا⁵⁷⁸ في الاجود لكل اناس بالانجيل⁵⁷⁹ فمن تاب واما⁵⁸⁰ وتطهار⁵⁸¹ بالما وعمال صلحاً بفلاح، ومن لم يفعل ذلك كان خصرأ،

وقالت الصلحة مريم: ان اول⁵⁸² من زار بعد وقته⁵⁸³ زرها وبعده⁵⁸⁴ في اربعين يوم كان يزرها كل ليلة ولمن شا الله بعدها من العباد، فلما كمال ذلك الوعد طلع للسا،

وعن ادريس الحوري انه قال: لما را يدرة خطه للنكران⁵⁸⁵ لكن⁵⁸⁶ يصوع في حياته قياً له: انت حجرأ وعلى ذلك الحجر اقميد بيتي المقداس واعطيك الخلفة في الارض بالحال⁵⁸⁷ والربط ومفاتيح⁵⁸⁸ السماء فمن ربطته بالعدل كان في السماء مربوطاً ومن حللته⁵⁸⁹ كان محالاً⁵⁹⁰، دركته النديمة وبك⁵⁹¹ ذنبه بكأ⁵⁹² شديداً حتى سلت عينيه⁵⁹³ وتمزقات لحوم [21و] لحوم⁵⁹⁴ وجهه والتصق خاده⁵⁹⁵ لعظمه بالصوم⁵⁹⁶، وكان دعائه: الاهي وسيدي تبت اليك وان لم تبت عليا وتغفر عني⁵⁹⁷ وترحمني اكون⁵⁹⁸ خصرأ، ومن بعد سبعة⁵⁹⁹ اعوام وثلاثة⁶⁰⁰ شهور الذي⁶⁰¹ كان يدع⁶⁰² في الكهف ويجي الليل فاذا النداء من قبال الله قياً له: ابدره⁶⁰³ استنف العمال فقد غفرتك⁶⁰⁴،

567. LG: *ihtaddā*.

568. LG: *al-ard*.

569. LG: *wa-al-qamar adā ʾat*, instead of *wa-al-qamar atāahu ahilluhu*.

570. LG: *wa-al-kawākib*.

571. LG: *al-mawtā*.

572. Sic! The expression *al-qawm hā ʾrīn* seems to be an erroneous repetition (dittography) of the same words as appearing in the immediately preceding sentence.

573. LG: *fasan* or *fassan*.

574. LG: *bi-al-samah*.

575. LG: *al-wafāt*.

576. LG: *haqqan* (with *tashdīd*).

577. LG: *qālū*.

578. LG: *andharū* (without preceding *fa*).

After this word, a space was left open in the original of about two words. The same in LG.

579. After this word, a space was left open in the original of about one word.

580. LG: *wa-amāna*.

581. LG: *wa-tatahhara*.

582. LG: *awwālu*.

583. LG: *wafatihi*.

584. LG: *wa-ba ʾdahā*.

585. LG: *bi-al-nikrān*.

586. LG: *wa-lakīn*.

587. LG: *li-al-hāll*.

588. LG: *wa-mafātiḥ*.

589. LG: *halāltahu*.

590. LG: *muḥallalan*.

591. LG: *wa-bakā*.

592. LG: *baka ʾan*.

593. LG: *muqlat ʾaynaihi*.

594. Sic (*ditt.*). It is possible that the first appearance of the word is used as a "catchword" placed at the end of the page and corresponds to the first word of the following page. LG omits the second *luhūm*.

595. LG: *jildūhu*.

596. LG: *bi-al-ṣawm li- ʾizamihi*.

597. LG: *lī*.

598. LG: *akun*.

599. LG: *tis ʾat*.

600. LG: *wa-thalath*.

601. LG: *an*.

602. LG: *yad ī*.

603. LG: *a-Yadruh*.

604. LG: *Qad ghufira laka*.

فقالت الصلحة مريم: ان ابنا ادم ونبي⁶⁰⁵ الله داود⁶⁰⁶ وابنه سليمان كان⁶⁰⁷ ذنبها بكاً⁶⁰⁸ شديداً،
وغفير⁶⁰⁹ لهما ولكن الخلفة يدره جزاهما⁶¹⁰ في البكاء وكان اول من بك ذنبه بعد وفات سيدنا يصوع،
ولكن فضله كبيراً⁶¹¹ عند الله،

وتحت ذلك الموف⁶¹² كله اسراراً عجيبة⁶¹³ ولغزاً كبيراً لم يعلمها ولم يعصها⁶¹⁴ الا الله ومن يشا من
عباده، واول احبته الاختصار [2 ظ] وترك التطول اوصفت منها حظاً⁶¹⁵ اهب لي الله ولكن قزدي
وصف⁶¹⁶ عمر سيدنا يصوع وماعجزه⁶¹⁷ الى الوفات وترك ما تحت ذلك كله من سير لمن اته⁶¹⁸ الله اعلى
درجة وحضاً مني، فان فرطت شيئاً في ذلك الكتب لم سميت عنه⁶¹⁹ ولكن اخفيتها⁶²⁰ لضرورة يشهرها
الله على يدي الحواريون وما رويهم لمن يشا من عباده، والشكر لله على كل شيئاً، هو الاول والاخر وعنده
العلم كله، الذي اخرافي⁶²¹ لكمال الكتب، ولكن كمال كتبه على يدي ويدي اخي سيس الايه ومعوني⁶²²
في المراض الذي احاط⁶²³ بي، رزقه الله جنانا⁶²⁴ في الجنة ولجميع عباده الصالحين، امين،
التوحيد⁶²⁵ لله،

لا اله الا الله، يصوع روح الله

List of Abbreviations Used in the Edition of the Text

CDA = Corriente, *Dictionary of Andalusī Arabic*.

De Luna = *Libro de las excelencias de nuestro Señor Jesús, y sus milagros, y de su madre María la bendita uirgen*. Annotated translation by Miguel de Luna. Dated March 11, 1596. Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Granada, N^o 2432-14, fols. 146r-160v.

Dobelio = Marcos Dobelio, *Nuevo descubrimiento de la falsedad del metal*. Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo, MS 285.

DS = Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*.

EI² = Bearman et al., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

EQ = Dammen McAuliffe, Gilliot, and Graham, *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*.

Hagerty = Hagerty, *Libros Plúmbeos*.

605. LG: *wa-nabā' u*.

606. LG: *Dawūd*.

607. LG: *bakāni*.

608. LG: *baka 'an*.

609. LG: *fa-ghufira*.

610. LG: *jazahumā*.

611. LG: *kabīran*.

612. LG: *al-mawṣūf*.

613. LG: *'azīma*.

614. Thus also in LG. Read perhaps *yuhṣihā*.

615. LG: *ḥaḍḍan mā*.

616. LG: *fi waṣf*, instead of *qazdī waṣf*.

617. LG: *ma 'ājizihī*.

618. LG: *wa-rakā ḥattā Dhaka kullihī min sār* (corr.).

619. LG: *lam sahaytu 'anhu*.

620. LG: *akhfaytuhu*.

621. LG: *akhtarānī*.

622. LG: *mu 'awinī* (without *wa-*).

623. LG: *ahaṭa*.

624. LG: *ḥaḍḍan*.

625. LG: *al-tawḥid*.

Leiden Mozarabic Glossary = *Glossarium latino-arabicum*.

LG = Museo Lázaro Galdiano (Madrid), MS 147.

Marracci = Ludovicus Marracci, *Disquisitio Laminarum Granatensium Quinque partibus comprehensa*. Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Vatican City Rome (ACDF), 17e, fol. 14-140.

Vocabulista = Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico*.

Notes

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1. Parchment of the Torre Turpiana, Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey.
2. Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, "Parchment of the 'Torre Turpiana'" (includes photos of the parchment).
3. For the historical aspects, see the recent study by Olds, *Forging the Past*.
4. Important studies about Dobelio are, in chronological order, Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione*, 280-87; Morocho Gayo, "Estudio introductorio a El discurso sobre el pergamino y las láminas de Granada," especially "Primera etapa de Marcos Dobelio (1610-1630)," in Morocho Gayo, *Pedro de Valencia*, 4:307-14; and in particular García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, 251-307. In the present chapter, we refer to the original Spanish edition while sometimes referring also to the English translation, *The Orient in Spain*.
5. We owe the information that he traveled to Spain at the request of this committee to his *Discourse* of 1633, preserved in a manuscript kept in the Real Academia de la Historia (RAH) in Madrid, MS 19-2-2 36, to which we will return below.

In fol. 363v, he mentions "hauiendo sido llamado por orden de la junta que mandó hacer el rey Phelipe 30," and a few lines later, he mentions the name of its president, the cardinal of Toledo, Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval, leaving no doubt that it was this committee.

6. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*; Archivo General de Simancas, Legajo 2645.

7. Their source is MS Gayangos 19-2-2 36, RAH. See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Orient in Spain*, 251-52. Among these drafts, they state, there is a draft translation entitled the *Vida y milagros de Cristo, Nuestro Señor (Life and Miracles of Christ, Our Lord)*—that is, a translation of Lead Book number 7, our edition and translation of which are included at the end of this chapter.

8. But see Harvey and Wiegiers, "Translation from Arabic," 65: "Marco Dobelio, que fue intérprete de Paulo Quinto en Roma, y lo hoy es de su Magestad . . . que aviéndole llamado el Arçobispo a Sevilla y viendo luego lo que dellos le mostró, al punto le desengaño, diziéndole cómo todo era

- invencción Morisca, y cosa indigna de apoyarse por buena, y el Arçobispo le dijo que no avía llamado por eso, y así le dio cien escudos y le despidió." Here, the fee is said to have consisted of no more than one hundred escudos.
9. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, 282–83.
 10. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, 236.
 11. Medina Conde, MS 1271, BNE, fol. 34v; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, 237.
 12. Erpenius, *Orationes tres*, 39–96. See the translation in Jones, "Thomas Erpenius." 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 Spain (El Escorial, PSvK, and GW). He also mentions private ones—namely, his own collection in the Low Countries and the library of "Marcos Dobelo."
 13. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, 260 (referring to Ussher MS 27610, Bodleian Library, Oxford). The shelfmark of the manuscript is MS Add C. 296, fols. 174–81 (the note is on fol. 176r), a collection of papers once belonging to Archbishop Ussher. Here, we base our analysis on the manuscript.
 14. The title refers to the Lead Books but perhaps also in an indirect way to counterfeit copper coins that were circulating in Spain.
 15. The text is extant in three manuscripts: St R7-C, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Vatican City Rome (ACDF), fols. 7–176; MS 285, Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo; and Archivo de la Abadía del Sacromonte (no shelfmark known), García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, 275. MS 285 seems to represent a more advanced stage of the text compared to the Vatican manuscript. For example, fol. 27r of the Toledo manuscript shows an image of fol. 3v of *Kitāb fi l-dhāt al-karīma*. This image is absent from the Vatican manuscript.
 16. We emend the Arabic and Latin to their classical orthography. Note, however, that the documents contained idiosyncratic linguistic elements. For the language used by the authors, see Van Koningsveld, "Parchemin et les livres."
 17. "Pues ha permitido que la vida de nuestro señor Jesucristo . . . llegase a mis manos traducido de donde he sacado todo el sobredicho y lo que sigue el qual lo tuvieron [viz. the 'laminaries'] secreto siempre con escusa." MS 285, fol. 127v; and see fol. 5r, where he notes that in this book, Jesus is never called Christ ("Demás de lo susodicho no he podido topar con el nombre de xpo en todo el libro traducido de las láminas").
 18. Dobelio also quotes from the parchment of the Turpiana Tower (MS 285, Toledo, fol. 47r).
 19. The original of this book is lost—that is, it is not found among the Lead Books that were returned to the archive of the Sacromonte Abbey by the Vatican. Transcriptions are extant in MS A 1, Archivo del Sacromonte de Granada, and documents about the evaluation process preserved in the Vatican archives.
 20. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 50r. Dobelio criticizes Alonso del Castillo, saying that his Arabic transcription is more extensive than the original text of the Lead Book, accusing him implicitly of not being faithful to the Arabic text. Moreover, Castillo's text lacks the translation.
 21. Harris, *From Christian to Muslim*, 161n2.
 22. On him, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, 107–27 and the sources referred to by them.
 23. See Archivo del Sacromonte de Granada, Leg VI, s.n.; also mentioned by García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, 270. They refer to Isabel Boyano Guerra's ongoing research on the Lead Books.
 24. MS 285, Toledo fol. 169v. For the Islamic Psalms, see Sadan, "Some Literary Problems."
 25. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 37v.
 26. On Pastrana, see García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, 275–302; al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, 35, 47–48. Some of these manuscripts later found their way into the Vatican Library and are still to be found there. See Levi della Vida, "Manoscritti arabi de origine spagnola" (= Studi e Testi 220). We have been able to trace five Pastrana manuscripts mentioned by Dobelio in the Vatican Borgia Arab. Manuscripts described by Levi della Vida: (1) Borg. Arab. 125: Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-anwār*, dated 694/1295, pp. 153–55 (pp. 20–23); (2) Borg. Arab. 130: *Zād al-wā'iz wa-rawd al-hāfiḥ*, dated 803/1401, pp. 157–58 (pp. 24–25); (3) Borg. Arab. 163: *Mujādala ma'a al-yahūd*, dated 786/1384, pp. 165–66 (pp. 32–33); (4) Borg. Arab. 171: "Letter of Bū Jum'a from Fez (et alia)," pp. 169–71 (pp. 37–38); (5) Borg. Arab. 129: "Pentateuch in the Arabic translation of Sa'adyah Gaon," pp. 173–75 (pp. 39–42).
 27. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 36v.
 28. MS 285, fol. 73r.
 29. MS 285, fol. 31v. On this text, see Albarracín Navarro and Martínez Ruiz, *Medicina, farmacopea y magia*.
 30. "Un árabe español docto no solo en la sagrada escritura, pero también de la lengua hebrea." MS 285, Toledo, fols. 80r–81r. García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano identify this as a reference to a polemical work written by the Morisco Muhammad Alguazir in about 1611 (*Oriente español*, 297). It is also possible, however, that it refers to the polemic written by the converted priest Juan Alonso Aragonés. See Wiegiers, "Muhammad as the Messiah."
 31. See García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, "Libros de los Moriscos."
 32. Miguel de Luna, "Libro de las excelencias de nuestro Señor Jesús y sus milagros, y de su madre María la bendita virgen." Annotated translation by Miguel de Luna, dated March 11, 1596, Leg. 2432–14, Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Granada, fols. 146r–60r.
 33. A manuscript version of the translation of the *Vita* that came into being under the supervision of Estepa is found in BNE MS 10503, fol. 16r fols. This manuscript includes the complete translation of the Lead Books.
 34. Hagerty, *Libros Plumbeos del Sacromonte*.
 35. MS 19, 2–2 36, RAH. We will discuss the manuscript below. On Sergio, see Alonso, *Apócrifos del Sacromonte*, 244–45, 265. Alonso notes that not much is known about him. Sergio came from Rome 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. 323r. It is interesting that Dobelio does not mention Sergio in his *Nuevo descubrimiento*.
 36. This title is found on fol. 298r.
 37. 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 Bu Jum'a (found on fol. 343r 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 that were later transferred to the Vatican Library, as we have seen. Dobelio interpreted the existence of such a *fatwā* and its circulation among the Moriscos as evidence for the Morisco authorship of the Lead Books. This translation was analyzed by Rosa-Rodríguez, "Simulation and Dissimulation," 143–80. The author of this article did not identify the role of Dobelio. Dobelio mentions the *fatwā* in the *Nuevo descubrimiento* as well (MS 285, Toledo, fol. 36v).
 38. MS 19-2-2 36, RAH.
 39. Harvey and Wiegiers, "Translation from Arabic," 65.
 40. Floristán, "Francisco de Gurmendi," 366.
 41. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 4r. The anonymous and titleless pamphlet against Gurmendi's translations of the Lead Books is found in a convolute, BNE MS 1271, fol. A 2r. The same fear of accusations of heresy in matters of faith is expressed by other opponents.

42. This is an important difference with the *Gospel of Barnabas*, in which the story of Jesus's life is based on a Gospel harmony.
43. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 91r-v.
44. MS 285, fol. 91v.
45. The Arabic text of the Lead Book reads *tuhhira*—that is, *tuhhira*; in the second example, it uses the *maṣdar* form *tahhīr*. In the first case, it means “circumcision”; in the second case, “purification” (viz., by baptizing).
46. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 91v: “Después de lo susodicho, el autor dice, que nuestro Señor Jesús fue bautizado en el 8º día de su venida para cumplir con la ley legal.” The translation by Miguel de Luna says *circumcision*.
47. See the references in Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 107.
48. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135r: “Partieronse todos con grande temor, y no quedó en ellos ninguna fe, por esto Dios los castigó y les prometió el Reyno.” Apparently, the translator read in Arabic *wacada* (instead of *wa-cadda*) and *mulk* (instead of *malak*). De Luna reads, “Mas ya le auía Dios explicado su determinada uoluntad por medio del ángel.”
49. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 135v: “El autor no supo el credo donde diçe passus sub Pontio Pilato, a que lo haze para introducir novedades en la fe.”
50. Lead Book 7, fol. 21a.
51. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 146r-147r.
52. For *waqtahu*, as occurs in other places in the Lead Books as well.
53. As rightly observed by Bernabé Pons, “Mecanismos de una resistencia,” 488.
54. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 161r ff.
55. See, for example, MS 285, fol. 30r.
56. Not all books read “Lā ilāha illā Allāh” with the accompanying letters *mīm* and *rāʾ*. We do indeed find it in the Arabic text of Lead Book 2, *Kitāb fi ʿl-dhāt al-karīma*, fol. 3v and in Lead Book 6. It should be noted that Miguel de Luna’s Spanish translation of Lead Book 2, dated May 20, 1595 (Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Granada, leg. 2432-20, fol. 437r), renders the same passage in the Arabic text of

Lead Book 2 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—.” These words refer to the four dots that are found around the *mīm* and *rāʾ*. However, in a copy in Arabic script of Lead Book 2 prepared by the same Miguel de Luna and dated October 1, 1596, preserved in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano in Madrid, this passage reads, “Lā ilāha illā Allāh; Ṣ. R. Allāh” (There is no God but God; Ṣ is the R of God), probably to be read as “Yaṣūʾ Rūh Allāh” (Jesus is the Spirit of God; Museo Lázaro Galdiano, MS 147). In order to understand the background of this variation, it is important to look at parallel passages in other Lead Books. This leads us to the following. At the end of Lead Book 6, *Bukā Bidruh al-Hawārī al-Khalīfa* (*Llanto de San Pedro*), the same passage appears: “Lā ilāha illā Allāh; M. R. Allāh,” again emended by De Luna in his translation of this Lead Book in the same manner as before—both in his Arabic transcription and in his translation. However, these appear to be the only two (!) passages in the Lead Books where this textual phenomenon appears. The phrase “Yaṣūʾ Rūh Allāh” (Jesus is the Spirit of God), on the contrary, appears no fewer than twenty-four times in the Lead Books: seventeen times in the body of the Lead Book, five times as a marker at the end of a book, and once as a marker at the beginning. In addition, the expression “Rūh Allāh,” not preceded by “Yaṣūʾ” but nonetheless referring to Jesus, appears another twenty-nine times in the Lead Books. Therefore, it can be stated that, in fact, the idea that “Jesus is the Spirit of God” is a more central doctrine of the Lead Books than the (ambivalent) doctrine included in “*mīm-rāʾ*.” In this light, we must perhaps *reconsider* the significance of the words “Lā ilāha illā Allāh; M. R. Allāh” as found in Lead Books 2 and 6. Are these the genuine, authentic readings belonging to the original text or corruptions of the

text due to a copyist, like so many others we were able to indicate in the notes to our forthcoming diplomatic edition? Or should we perhaps consider them to be as a concept that was later on replaced by another (less conspicuously Islamic) symbol?

57. MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364r.

58. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 165r; MS St R7-C, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Vatican City Rome (ACDF), fol. 170v.

59. MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 323r.

60. MS 285, Toledo, fol. 127v.

61. MS 285, fol. 128r.

62. MS 285, fol. 56r.

63. As mentioned explicitly by one of the defenders of the Lead Books, Cristobal Medina Conde, in his *Informe*, MS 1271, BNE, fol. 34v. See also Magnier, “Pedro de Valencia,” 205n21. According to Morochó Gayo, *Pedro de Valencia*, 327n592, the original treatise, dated 1617, is extant in the Vatican process documents (shelfmark MS R7i) and in the Archive of the Sacromonte, Leg 6, parte 2, fols. 1137r-1142v. This 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. We do not think, however, that the manuscript kept in the Sacromonte is the original treatise. See, for general information on the period, Alonso, *Apócrifos del Sacromonte*, 201, esp. 210, on the translation that Gurmendi made with *scholios* by Mendiola, documents that were sent to the Concejo Real and the Inquisition in 1616. On Gurmendi, who died on March 31, 1621, see Kendrick, *St. James in Spain*, 104, who describes Gurmendi as a “rogue.” According to Kendrick, some transcriptions of the Lead Books in the possession of Juan Idiáquez had been stolen by Gurmendi, his staff member, who in turn provided the enemies of the books with information about their contents. Kendrick does not

- mention his source. For Gurmendi, see also Magnier, “Pedro de Valencia”; García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Oriente español*, 246-49; Morochó Gayo, *Pedro de Valencia*, 324-32; and Floristán, “Francisco de Gurmendi.”
64. According to Medina Conde, in his aforesaid *Informe* (MS 1271, BNE, fol. 34v), Gurmendi succeeded Miguel de Luna as royal translator after the latter died in 1615. However, Floristán, “Francisco 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 between various offices and tasks. Further research is needed here. It was Dobelio himself who introduced Gurmendi to the Arabic language. He writes in his *Discurso* (MS 19-2-2 36, RAH, fol. 364r), “Y hauiendo entroducido [*sic*] a Francisco de Gurmendi en la lengua.”
65. This pamphlet is extant in MS 1271, BNE, fols. 1-11r; in MS 6437, BNE, fols. 24-37r; and in the Archivo de la Real Chancillería in Granada. Here, we base ourselves on BNE MS 1271, a convolute of various handwritten documents and printed texts, and follow the foliation of the pamphlet itself.
66. MS 1271, BNE fol. A r.
67. MS 1271, fol. A v, B r.
68. MS 1271, fol. A 2v.
69. MS 1271, fol. A 2r.
70. MS 1271, fol. B r.
71. MS 1271, fol. B v. The author is very likely referring here to De Luna’s remarkable lecture held in Granada in 1595 in which he defended the authenticity of the Lead Books. See Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, “Five Documents,” 239.
72. MS 1271, BNE, fol. C v; and MS 285, Toledo, fols. 28r-v, with a reproduction of the original lead plate leaf on 27v (Lead Book 2). The words are indeed Qurʾānic. See, for example, sūra 4:166 and other places, where it is said that God suffices as a witness. The words *alā dhālika* are not part of one of any of these Qurʾānic passages and refer to the preceding

- passage in the Lead Book. The expression is not found in sūra 12.
73. 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 la los fundamentos y reglas de la ley y la otra De Essentia Dei. Que parece inuención de moriscos." Magnier, "Pedro de Valencia," 210, 211n45.
74. On Ludovico Marracci, see Bevilacqua, "Qur'an Translations"; and the recent study by Gleis and Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work*.
75. Archive of the Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, documents related to the Lead Books of Granada, no. 17e, 315 fols. (papal bull of 1682 and "votos" of the evaluators of the assessment committee).
76. "Pars prima: Laminas Granatenses Mahumetanicas verbis, sententiis, fabulis, erroribus respersas esse."
77. "Pars secunda: Laminas Granatenses multa sanae doctrinae dissona, quorum pleraque Mahumetanicas erroribus consonant, continere."
78. "Pars tertia: Laminas Granatenses a sacris et ecclesiasticis historiis saepe dissentire, cum Machumetanicas conuenire."
79. "Pars quarta: Alia quaedam a laminis Granatensibus confusim adnotata."
80. "Pars quinta: Laminarum Granatensium techna et earundem authoris scopus," fol. 122r.
81. "Pars quinta, Laminarum Granatensium techna," fol. 126v.
82. Marracci, *Disquisitio*, "Pars quinta," fol. 122r.