Mir'āt al-quds (Mirror of Holiness): A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar

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Mir'āt al-quds (Mirror of Holiness): A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar

A Commentary on Father Jerome Xavier's Text and the Miniatures of Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. No. 2005.145

By

Pedro Moura Carvalho

With a Translation and Annotated Transcription of the Text by

Wheeler M. Thackston

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Para os meus Pais

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Emperor Akbar's ecumenical approach to religion in general and his specific interest in Christianity were expressed in a number of ways during his long reign (1556–1605), the most important of which was perhaps his commission of the *Mir'āt al-quds* (Mirror of Holiness) from the Jesuit missionary Jerome Xavier. Such interest seems to have been unique, since no other Muslim ruler is known to have ordered the writing of a comparable text. Father Jerome's remarkable Persian Life of Christ is heavily indebted to the Gospels and reveals his close familiarity with the Vulgate Bible. Indeed, from a religious perspective, it might have been best to reproduce here the corresponding passages in the Douay-Rheims Bible, the standard translation of the Vulgate. However, the aim of the current study has been to translate and analyze Father Jerome's Life of Christ as a Persian text, not as a work of piety, and Father Jerome's relative unfamiliarity with Persian inevitably takes him some way from the original Latin. Our intention has been to present Father Jerome's Persian as accurately as possible, even if it does not always read smoothly. Moreover, many of his other sources were originally translated from Latin into Portuguese, and only then into Persian, which clearly allowed space for what some would classify as gaffes, or simply poor judgment. Religion is a personal matter and what may be accurate for one reader may be simply untruthful for another. When identifying his Biblical and other religious sources, a considerable space for interpretation has been allowed, but when Father Jerome's text varies greatly from the original, or its contents are somehow conflicting or less consistent with it, this has been noted. I hope that readers with stricter religious views will not find too much reason to object to Father Jerome's text or to my own work. It should also be born in mind that the Roman Catholic Father Jerome was a guest of one of the most powerful Muslim rulers of all time and that both men understood the need to compromise for the greater good.

This book would not have been possible without the vision of Gülru Necipoğlu, Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Art and Architecture and Director of the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture (AKPIA) at Harvard University. It was Gülru's idea to extend my initial fellowship at Harvard, giving me the opportunity to transform my shorter original project on the Cleveland manuscript into a deeper study of both the text and the miniatures. I am deeply grateful not only for her time, many suggestions, and enthusiastic support, but also for the funds provided by AKPIA to conduct research at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) in Rome, and for a trip to India and Lahore. In addition to offering valuable comments that were crucial to the improvement of the text, Gülru made another vital contribution to this project when she suggested the name of Wheeler M. Thackston as a possible translator of the *Mir'āt al-quds*. He graciously accepted the challenge without hesitation. In addition to the translation, I am grateful for his notes involving non-Western languages, the transcription, and the "Order of Folios" list (Appendix II). It was a privilege to work with Wheeler and his prompt assistance in the clarification of numerous religious, linguistic, social, and political issues during the eighteen months of my fellowship and the period that followed was simply invaluable.

Karen Alexandra Leal had the immense task of transforming my manuscript into something consistent and worthy of being published. I am indebted for her enormous patience and ability. Three other scholars were of great help: Milo Cleveland Beach provided me with images of miniatures related to Salim's patronage and made crucial comments on the miniatures of the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*; Peter S. Hawkins offered a Christian point of view on Father Jerome's text; and J. M. Rogers once again found time to comment and suggest improvements in a text of mine.

I am grateful to Robert Skelton, for drawing my attention as early as 2004 to the manuscript under study here;

Brendan Lynch, for providing me with images of its miniatures long before its acquisition by the Cleveland Museum of Art; and Manijeh Bayani, for her kindness and friendship. This project would not have been possible without the full support of the Cleveland Museum of Art, which generously provided images of the entire manuscript and allowed its publication. I would particularly like to thank C. Griffith Mann, Anita Chung, Bruce Christman, Stan Czuma, and Moyna Stanton. I am indebted to the private collectors who allowed the publication of their miniatures: Suzanne and Gerald Labiner; a private European collector who wishes to remain anonymous; and Catherine Glynn, who was also exceedingly generous with her time. My gratitude is also extended to Father Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., Father José Antonio Yoldi, S.J., and Mauro Brunello for their assistance in the ARSI.

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Pedro Moura Carvalho
March 2011

FATHER JEROME XAVIER AND THE THIRD JESUIT MISSION TO THE MUGHAL COURT: HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS

The *Mir'āt al-quds* (Mirror of Holiness) marks an exceptional moment in the relations of an Islamic ruler with the members of a Catholic order and, in a broader sense, interactions between East and West.[1] It was commissioned by the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) from the Spanish Jesuit Father Jerome Xavier (1549–1617), a great-nephew of Saint Francis Xavier (d. 1552), who lived at the Mughal court from 1595 to 1614 as a guest of both Akbar and Jahangir (r. 1605–27). Although the specific date of the commission is unknown, at the end of his text Father Jerome states that he submitted it to the emperor in the capital of Agra on May 5 of "the year one thousand six hundred and two after the birth of our Lord Jesus."[2]

Of the nineteen identified copies of this original and heretofore unstudied text on Christ's life, only three are illustrated.[3] Albeit incomplete, the copy acquired in 2005 by the John L. Severance Fund of the Cleveland Museum of Art (hereafter CMA) is the most significant with respect to both the number of miniatures and artistic considerations.[4] A total of twenty-seven miniatures illustrating both Biblical and apocryphal episodes have been identified as belonging to it. These are now spread between Cleveland and various European collections, but several missing miniatures have yet to be located. The miniatures are of consequence for a number of reasons, particularly because they provide stylistic evidence suggesting that the manuscript was produced soon after the text was presented to Akbar. Because the colophon of the manuscript is missing, this is noteworthy. The miniatures also add to our knowledge of the development of Mughal painting in a period of transition, when Prince Salim, the future Jahangir, opposed his father's rule and established, in the summer of 1600, his own court and scriptorium (*kitābkhāna*) in Allahabad.[5] One in particular, cat. no. XIII, *Angels Bring Food to Jesus in the Wilderness* (see Chapter 4 for cat nos. I–XXVII), is of extreme relevance in this context. Due to a fortunate coincidence, this miniature, the only one signed by an artist—Muhammad Sharif (d. 1612)—strongly implies that this copy was illustrated under the prince's patronage in that same city, between 1602 and 1604. It was in the latter year that the prince went back to his father's court, and Sharif Khan, as he was also known, apparently stopped working (see chapter 3.3). In 1605, soon after Jahangir's accession to the throne, Muhammad Sharif also returned to the capital of Agra. According to the emperor's own memoirs, the artist was for him more than a friend or a family member.[6] He then received from Jahangir one of the highest titles in the entire Mughal Empire and was sent to command an army in the Deccan. After having such grand privileges conferred on him, Sharif apparently stopped working as a painter. In fact, his last miniature seems to have been of Salim or a young Jahangir visiting a hermit.[7]

Finally, a number of these miniatures do not follow iconographic conventions well established in the West. They are instead directly inspired by Father Jerome's text. These reveal how local artists used text as the main source for their work, resulting in a remarkable and unique group of paintings showing the fusion of different cultures.

Father Jerome's compliance with Akbar's request reflects an old and ingrained Catholic tradition of producing new versions of Christ's life. This was only possible because the canonical Gospels present conflicting views on different aspects of his life, including the chronology of certain events and the identification of specific

locations, as well as of individuals and their genealogies. As a result, over the centuries authors have creatively used the freedom provided by the lack of a codified text to speculate and make deductions about various parts of Christ's life. Often they did this to better suit their own purposes. As Father Jerome's text evidences, these purposes varied depending on the period and circumstances. Interest in Jesus Christ's earthly life began soon after his death. Around A.D. 170, Tatian the Assyrian, produced the *Diatessaron*, which may be regarded as the earliest biographical study of Jesus. Like many of the works that followed, this one was based on the canonical Gospels, which apparently were then harmonized for the first time into a single text. In subsequent centuries, numerous other versions were composed and copied in monastic scriptoria.[8] Most also include episodes from the apocryphal gospels, while many fused legends from various sources. The insertion of commentaries from the church fathers and scholastics as well as of the authors' own reflections soon became the norm. Like others before him, Father Jerome incorporated comments and explanations of his own into the text. These tend to follow the elucidation of parables and events or simply add some information of historical importance. Curiosity in the human reality of Christ did not decline with the end of the Middle Ages and the advent of the Renaissance. On the contrary, during this period various vitae were written and printed in different languages. Like the *Mir'āt al-quds*, these are not straightforward biographies of Jesus and are not concerned exclusively with his human existence. They are acts of faith and, as with Father Jerome's text, faith alone explains and justifies their existence. It is as such that the *Mir'āt al-quds* must be understood.

As the recipient of an imperial commission, Father Jerome was well aware of the importance of this specific task in the achievement of the Jesuits' ultimate goal: the emperor's conversion. Although his missionary zeal and profound spiritual beliefs were unquestionably of great assistance, the commission presented formidable challenges. To give a general overview of Jesus's life and teachings in a necessarily short text is in and of itself worthy of praise. To write it while a guest at a Muslim court and having limited access to relevant sources presented an extra number of dilemmas. Translating it from Portuguese, the language in which he first composed it,[9] into a non-Romance language even with assistance required additional confidence. Further difficulties arose from the nature of the subject. The theological content and many of the dogmas presented and often discussed in the text are difficult enough for most Christians to fully grasp. To Muslims, many aspects of the Christian doctrine are simply unacceptable. This was one of the challenges posed by the complex environment in which the Jesuit author lived and worked.

Father Jerome had a career that cannot be considered anything but exceptional. During the almost two decades that he lived at the Mughal court, he produced a remarkable corpus of work that included the *Mir'āt al-quds* and other religious texts as well as secular works. A substantial collection of contemporary sources has survived, allowing a better understanding of his life and work and specifically of the period spent at the Mughal court.[10] As a result of the highly organized and centralized system established by the Society of Jesus soon after its foundation in 1540, considerable information was compiled about the activities of each province, as well as of each of its members. This was periodically collected, copied, and often translated and published in various European countries and languages. Annual reports of their activities, as well as missionaries' correspondence, were regularly sent to Rome, where the order has its headquarters. The Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI) in Rome is the main depository of the original correspondence, though original letters or copies of them are also found in the archives of other cities.[11]

Father Jerome led the third Jesuit mission to the Mughal capital after being chosen by his counterparts in Goa. The first mission to the court of Akbar was headed by Father Rudolf Acquaviva and remained at Fatehpur Sikri between 1580 and 1583. Among the consequences of this first contact was the presentation of various paintings and a significant number of Western books introducing Akbar to certain European artistic conventions. As is well known, among the latter was a copy of the so-called Polyglot Bible,[12] the illustrations of which exerted considerable influence on Mughal court painting. In 1591, Father Duarte Leitão headed the second mission, which remained in Lahore for less than a year. After the two missions, the Jesuits rightly feared that the goal of converting the emperor was simply unreal-

istic and therefore decided not to send other missionaries. However, Akbar's interest in religious matters and specifically in Christianity led him to ask a third time for Jesuit missionaries.[13] Acknowledging the emperor's interest, the viceroy himself, D. Matias de Albuquerque (r. 1591–97), pressured the Jesuit head (Provincial[14]) in Goa to send a third mission.[15] According to a contemporary Jesuit source, the viceroy alleged that "other religious men wished and were asking to go if the Jesuits would not oblige."[16] Curiously, the third mission to the Mughal court would last for almost two centuries, until 1773, when Rome suppressed the order.[17]

Such assignments mixed pious endeavors with diplomatic skills and had the full support of the Portuguese viceroy in Goa.[18] The head of the *Estado da Índia*[19] took advantage of the missionaries' knowledge of Mughal affairs of state to guide him in his own dealings with the Mughals.[20] Furthermore, the viceroy was also under direct pressure from Philip II (r. 1556–98), the Spanish Habsburg monarch who in 1580 became king of Portugal and its overseas territories (between 1580 and 1640 the two Iberian crowns were united under Spanish Habsburg rule).[21] In 1596, in a letter to Viceroy D. Matias de Albuquerque, the king refers to Akbar's complaints that the missionaries of the second mission had left the court "too early." In that same missive, Philip II also asked the viceroy to thank the Provincial in Goa for sending religious men to the Mughal court again and requested that the viceroy "favor such things," i.e., the missions. In addition, the ruler demanded to be kept informed about the progress of the mission.[22] Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605) also showed interest in Father Jerome's mission, as Gregory XIII (r. 1572–85) had years earlier, when the first mission was sent.[23] Although it is unknown whether the letter ever reached Akbar, in December 1592 Clement VIII wrote to the emperor and lauded his interest in Christianity. In the missive, the pope recommended the missionaries to Akbar, exhorting him to listen to their words and accept their religion.[24]

The fact that Akbar commissioned the *Mir'āt al-quds* is not as surprising as one might perhaps think. His fascination with Christian texts was revealed as early as 1578, when he wrote to the Jesuits in Goa asking for "the foremost books of the Law and the Gospels." He clearly stated that he desired "to know the Law and what is perfect in it," for he wished to "acquire it."[25] Such concern is again revealed in 1582, when an informed Akbar wrote to Philip II:

> It has been brought to our notice that the revealed books, such as the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the Psalms, have been translated into Arabic and Persian. Should these books—which are profitable to all whether translated or not—be procurable in your country, send them.[26]

And in 1583, when writing to the Jesuit Provincial, he stated that he "want[ed] to know the truth on the Book of Celestial Jesus's Law."[27] It is also noticeable that two decades later the emperor still displayed an active interest in Christian matters. In 1602, through a *farman* (decree), Akbar extended imperial protection to those who, following their "own free will, should become Christian."[28] This happened in the same year that Father Jerome submitted the text under discussion.

It is common knowledge that the Koran and literature from the Islamic lands give considerable emphasis to Jesus and Akbar was surely not the first Muslim ruler who had access to and commissioned works in which the life of Christ was treated, some of them illustrated. He seems, nonetheless, to have been the first ruler to have ordered a new text on the subject from a Christian author. The *Mir'āt al-quds* deals with the life of a major historical figure and the founder of Christianity, which was per se sufficient to attract Akbar's attention. His interest in history is partly explained by the influence that Timurid ideas had at the Mughal court. In contrast to their Safavid counterparts, who were far more interested in new illustrated versions of Firdawsi's *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), Mughal rulers perceived themselves as the heirs of the Timurids, and, like them, used history to their advantage.[29] History had, of course, been employed in various periods and regions to establish lineage and justify legitimacy of rule. In the Islamic lands, works such as the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles) by Rashid al-Din (d. 1318) legitimized the Mongols' role in history. This text became relevant for the successor states of the Ilkhanids, such as the Jalayirids (1336–1442) and particularly the Timurids (ca. 1370–1506). During the rule of the latter dynasty, various illustrated copies were commissioned.[30]

Akbar certainly continued this trend, going even further in his efforts to acquire and establish new knowl-

edge of his Timurid ancestors and past.[31] Besides sponsoring an illustrated version of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (also known as the *Chingīznāma* [History of Chinggis (Ghenghis)], ca. 1596), and at least two works on his own life, both referred to as the *Akbarnāma* (History of Akbar, ca. 1590 and 1604), around 1581 he commissioned the *Tārīkh-i alfī* (History of the Millennium, ca. 1592–94), a new history of the Muslim world, meant to commemorate the first millennium of Islam.[32] Other works based on the lives and feats of historical figures include the *Ẓafarnāma* (History of Timur, ca. 1584), a book of conquests dealing with the founder of the Timurids, and various versions of the *Bāburnāma* (Memoirs of Babur, ca. 1589, ca. 1593, and 1597–98), a biographical history of his grandfather, Babur (d. 1530), founder of the Mughal dynasty. Besides these, fiction and the fabulous, as described in texts such as the *Ṭūṭīnāma* (The Tales of a Parrot, ca. 1560), greatly appealed to Akbar. As a ruler of millions of Hindus, he was most certainly used to fantastic tales being mixed with religion. His varied interests in religion led him to order translations and illustrations of Sanskrit classics such as the *Razmnāma* (Book of Wars, ca. 1582–86), an abridged version of the great Hindu epic the *Mahābhārata*, and the *Rāmāyana* (History of Rama [the Hindu god], ca. 1584–89).

It is clear that he commissioned works dealing with the feats of historical figures, who more often than not were endowed with mythical and mystical associations. His own history, the *Akbarnāma*, is a good example of this, as is the *Ḥamzanāma* (History of Hamza, ca. 1562–77), a mythical history of the Prophet's paternal uncle, which became the most ambitious project ever undertaken by his scriptorium.[33] Christ's life with its many miracles had every element required to attract the emperor's attention and that of other audiences, literate or not. It was indeed extremely suitable material for the emperor's inquisitive mind. It is also noteworthy that the arrangement of ideas and Biblical episodes in the *Mir'āt al-quds* finds parallels in other Mughal manuscripts. Among these is the *Ḥamzanāma,* with its "loosely organized narrative, which takes many an unpredictable turn, and is enhanced with optional episodes," as Seyller has noted.[34]

Although the *Mir'āt al-quds* has never before been the subject of study, the text was reproduced in Europe

داستان مسیح
HISTORIA CHRISTI
PERSICE
Conſcripta, ſimulque multis modis
contaminata,
A
P. HIERONYMO XAVIER, Soc. Jeſu.
LATINE
Reddita & Animadverſionibus notata
A
LUDOVICO DE DIEU.
LVGDVNI BATAVORVM,
Ex Officina Elſeviriana, Aº cIↃ IↃ cxxxix.
Jac. Geo. Chriſp. Arbet.

Fig. 0.1. Title page of the *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, a P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu.*, translated from the original Persian into Latin by Louis de Dieu (Leiden, 1639). Houghton Library, Harvard University, NC6.D5683.639r. (Photo: courtesy of Harvard College Library)

less than four decades after it was completed. As discussed in chapter 2.5, as early as 1639 in Leiden, the Dutch Protestant and Orientalist Ludovico de Dieu (d. 1642) published the text in Persian, side by side with its translation into Latin (figs. 0.1 and 0.2).[35] The basic purpose of the book was to denounce Catholics' excesses and the use of non-canonical sources when discussing such matters. With their ability to adapt to the indigenous traditions of the diverse regions in which they found themselves, the Jesuit missionaries became a target for Protestant criticism. And Father Jerome, even if living on the subcontinent, was not immune to the fierce arguments evoked by Protestants in Europe. In many respects, de Dieu and his followers had grounds for certain objections. Father Jerome reproduced, for example, a number of stories and legends belonging to Christian tradition that he presented as fact. In this he

IN NOMINE
PATRIS, & FILII, & SPIRITVS
SANCTI, DEI VNICI.

Speculum Sanctitatis,

In quo exhibetur Historia rerum mirabilium Majestatis Iesu Christi, & manifestatio partis doctrinæ cœlestis & miraculorum maximorum ejus.

PRÆFATIO.

* Inter alloquendum terram osculare.

VUM fama mirabilium Christi divulgata esset, & in superficie terræ dispersa, Agbarum Regem Edessæ[1] felicitatis desiderium coxit, ut conspectum benedictum ipsius consequeretur[2]. Legatum itaque sapientem misit, & nunciandum dedit: siquidem in terram meam venit, dimidium regni in ministerium ejus erit. Pictorem quoque eximium artificem, comitem fecit, ut si illum Sanctissimum advenire non contingeret, seque propensum ad hanc terram neget, [2] unicum duntaxat effigiem ejus extrahens, in hunc finem apportaret, ut eum quem alio modo videre non posset, contingeret hoc modo videre, & desiderium

A 3 suum

* *significat, Regi dicatâ esse præfationem, quem qui alloquitur, terram osculari id est adorare tenetur.*

[1] *i.e. Felicitatē eam summopere desideravit.*

[2] *ad verb. ecce hoc simplex sine multiplici.*

Fig. 0.2. Opening pages of the *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta*. Houghton Library, Harvard University, NC6.D5683.639r. (Photo: courtesy of Harvard College Library)

was certainly less prudent than Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298), the medieval author of the *Legenda Aurea* (Golden Legend), a major source for the *Mir'āt al-quds*. Voragine occasionally acknowledged his doubts and left it to the reader to judge whether certain stories were factual.[36] Father Jerome did not, for the simple reason that he could not afford to do so. If these stories had not been narrated as historical truths, his interlocutors at the Mughal court and the emperor himself would have given little credit to his magnum opus.

The defense of such positions ultimately led de Dieu and others to overlook Akbar's genuine interest in Christianity and the importance of Father Jerome's work while at the Mughal court. Other than faith, Father Jerome used a great deal of tact and subtlety while writing the *Mir'āt al-quds*. This was necessary because he wished to reach a larger audience and not only the emperor. His work was meant to be read and discussed at the court—as the author solicits at the beginning of the text, "it is requested that it be ordered that it be read repeatedly in imperial gatherings because it is the basis of teaching …."[37] He might have the emperor's protection but he clearly could not afford to have the court against him. Besides, the Jesuit mission had developed an evangelization program in the capital that it wanted to expand. Without the support of at least some members of the court, this would not have been feasible. Father Jerome's diplomatic skills are visible when, for example, in the preamble to his text he uses only the Gregorian year[38] but at the end of the text, the regnal year is also employed.[39] He had necessarily to be faithful to the New Testament, but he was also aware that Muslims would not accept it in its entirety and occasionally he compromises. He preferred, for example,

to explicitly ignore objections to divorce and treats the transubstantiation in a vague manner. Yet he was also bold when he described Jesus as the "King of Kings."[40] Although this is a Biblical reference,[41] Father Jerome was certainly aware of the weight that such titles carried in the Islamic lands.

As he mentions twice, the text is divided into four parts.[42] These are preceded by a short and enticing preamble: Father Jerome begins his work with a brief account of the legend involving Jesus and Abgar V (r. 4 B.C.–A.D. 7; 13–50), the ruler of Edessa (modern Urfa in southeastern Turkey), then a kingdom in Upper Mesopotamia. The Jesuit constructed his own version of Christ's life, incorporating episodes that he thought would be relevant in a Mughal context. At first, some events do not seem to fit into coherent story lines, but when further explored their relevance is assured in most instances. The episode involving Abgar exemplifies how Father Jerome fully appropriated an old story to better suit his own purposes and, not less important, to reach Akbar.

Over his reign of forty-nine years, the Mughal emperor showed a unique interest in religion, and in the early 1580s tried to establish his own thoughts as a religious doctrine, the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* (Divine Faith).[43] Among the religions from which he borrowed was Christianity, which he esteemed highly. Substantiating such a view are not only the *Mir'āt al-quds* but also Jesuits records and other contemporary sources, including Mughal ones. The historian Abdul Qadir Bada'uni (d. ca. 1615) states, for instance, that Akbar "firmly believed in the truth of the Christian doctrine" and ordered a translation of the Gospels.[44] His attraction to Christianity is also apparent in one of the most spectacular Akbari buildings, the Buland Darwarza, the grand entrance to the Friday Mosque of Fatehpur Sikri, the city built by him almost forty kilometers from Agra.[45] Finished in the 1570s, the so-called Gate of Magnificence is set in the south wall of the vast courtyard of the congregational mosque and was probably enlarged in 1601–2 to commemorate Akbar's victory in Gujarat. Its façade is decorated with several Koranic and other religious inscriptions.[46] One, almost certainly selected by the emperor himself, reads: "Jesus, peace upon him, has said: 'The world is a bridge; pass over it, and do not inhabit it.' "[47] The city was built in the place where the Sufi shaykh Salim al-Din Chishti (d. 1572) had foretold Prince Salim's birth, while the mosque was intended to serve also as a school for the shaykh's disciples. Sufis commonly employed metaphors in their teachings, and the Sufi flavor of the inscription fitted the environment. At the same time, the saying enhanced the mystical dimension of Christ while showing Akbar's unambiguous interest in the founder of Christianity.[48]

In a metaphorical sense, Akbar was also a builder of bridges, who consistently worked to reach the many minorities in his vast empire. The Jesuits in general, and Father Jerome in particular, followed his example. The very title *Mir'āt al-quds*, or Mirror of Holiness, reflects such interests. It reveals not only a knowledge of medieval Western literature but also an awareness of Persian literature and Sufi metaphors involving the use of mirrors. To attract the attention of the emperor and convey his message more effectively, Father Jerome used a language that can be characterized as simple, direct, and uncomplicated, with an abundant use of idiomatic expressions. Although he had the assistance of a translator, it is clear that this was a premeditated choice. The survival of such a large number of copies confirms his good judgment; these were almost certainly used by the Jesuits and perhaps by Catholics of other religious orders in their evangelization work while on the subcontinent.

NOTES

1. In the course of this study, the uniformity of the text of the Cleveland manuscript was compared and confirmed by Wheeler M. Thackston against an unillustrated copy in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Ms. 12171; the illustrated copy in the Lahore Museum, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645); and Ludovico de Dieu's printed version, *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, a P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu., Latine reddita & animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu* (Leiden, 1639). Minor variations are understood as copyists' errors. The folios in Cleveland are identified by the three letters "ASI," followed by the number of the image provided by the CMA. The London folios are identified with the letter "L," followed by the respective folio number of the manuscript, and the letter "a" or "b" (for recto or verso). A concordance by W. M. Thackston (entitled "Order of Folios in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*") is provided in Appendix II.

2. ASI.278–79.
3. Other than the copies in Cleveland and Lahore, eight miniatures belonging to a third illustrated copy were in the Howard Hodgkin Collection until 1965, when they were sold on the art market, as discussed below. Two other miniatures, one now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. no. IS 170-1950 (fig. 4.2), the other in the Free Library of Philadelphia, inv. no. Lewis O M46 (fig. 4.9), were probably part of this same manuscript, since they share stylistic elements and similar dimensions; moreover, the borders of these two paintings, especially the floral scrolls, are identical. These two works were once mounted in the same album, which has since been dismembered.
4. CMA, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.
5. Although Salim occasionally visited Agra, disagreements with his father led him to return to Uttar Pradesh, where he remained until 1604, a year before Akbar's death. Following his accession to the throne in 1605, courtly production was unified in the capital.
6. Jahangir, *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, trans., ed., and annot. Wheeler M. Thackston (New York, 1999), 28.
7. Linda York Leach, *Paintings from India*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 8 (London, 1998), 37–38, n. 12.
8. For a non-exhaustive list of these versions, see Sargent's foreword in Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Exeter, 2004), ix–x.
9. Portuguese was then the lingua franca and the language taught in all Asian territories under Portuguese rule. By 1587, Father Jerome was fluent in the language: see the letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of the College of Kochi, to Father Manuel Rodrigues, S.J., Assistant to the Provincial (see n. 14 below) of Goa, from Kochi, December 29, 1587: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI), Goa 13, fols. 381r–382v.
10. From May 1595 to 1614; by February 27, 1615, he was already in Chaul: see the letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Ituren, S.J., from Chaul, December 4, 1615, in H. Hosten, S.J., "Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier, S.J., A Missionary in Mogor," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s., 23 (1928): 123–26.
11. Copies of the correspondence were often sent to Lisbon, as all missionary work in territories under Portuguese rule was dependent on the Portuguese *Padroado* (the privilege of patronage extended by the pope to the king of Portugal for the spreading of Christianity, particularly in Asia). Jesuit correspondence occasionally found its way to other cities; see "A Collection of Letters and Papers Relative to the State of the Portuguese Jesuit Missions in the East Indies; of various dates, from 1582 to 1693," British Library, London, Add. Ms. 9854 and Add. Ms. 9855, said to have originally been in the Goan archives. Add. Ms. 9854 contains at least five missives signed by Father Jerome Xavier.
12. *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece & Latine: Philippi II. Reg. Cathol. pietate, et studio ad sacrosanctae excud.*, 8 vols. (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1569–72 [under the auspices of Philip II, king of Spain]).
13. *Annua* of 1595, sent by Father Cabral S.J., Provincial of Goa, to Rome, November 29, 1595 (ARSI, Goa 32, fol. 539r).
14. The leading father in a certain province, who, aided by consultants and consultors, oversaw both the spiritual and practical matters of his fellow Jesuits in that same province. Provincials were appointed by the General of the Order (the title given to the head of the Society of Jesus), and were responsible for sending annual reports for the General informing him of local developments.
15. Letter sent by Father Francisco Fernandez, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General of the Order, from Goa, November 7, 1594 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 209r); and *annua* sent by Father Cabral, S.J., Provincial, from Goa, November 29, 1595 (ARSI, Goa 32, fol. 539r).
16. Letter sent by Father Gomes Vaz, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 25, 1594 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 256v).
17. By means of a brief by Pope Clement XIV (r. 1769–74), and following the suppression of the order in Portugal in 1759.
18. The head of the *Estado da Índia* (Portuguese State of India) received the title of viceroy or governor depending on his background and the specificities of the period. Nevertheless, viceroys and governors had the same basic functions and powers.
19. In the sixteenth century, the *Estado da Índia* comprised not only all the territories under Portuguese rule in the subcontinent but also all her other possessions in the Indian Ocean, from the eastern coast of Africa, to the island of Hormuz, Malacca, Timor, Macao, and many other small territories such as Oman, Flores, and Mollucas. It ended in 1961, when the Indian army invaded Goa. Daman and Diu, the other two territories also under Portuguese rule at that time, were also annexed by India.
20. This becomes clear when, for example, Father Jerome reveals that Akbar's intention was to capture Goa and the other Portuguese possessions on the coast: see his letter to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Srinagar, August 18, 1597 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 344v).
21. In 1580, Philip II of Spain (r. 1554–98) inherited the throne of Portugal through his mother, Isabella of Portugal (d. 1539; consort of Charles V), ruling as Philip I of Portugal until his death in 1598.
22. Letter of Philip II to Viceroy D. Matias de Albuquerque, sent from Lisbon, January 28, 1596. Reproduced in Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, ed. and comp., *Archivo portuguez-oriental*, 10 vols. (Nova Goa, 1861; repr. New Delhi and Madras, 1992), 3: 583–95, doc. 206, XV.
23. [Louis Delplace], *Synopsis Actorum S. Sedis in Causa Societatis Iesu, 1540–1605* (Florence, 1887), 119, no. 219, dated March 1581. Here the pope also exhorted the emperor to listen to the missionaries and to "not take long in his deliberation."
24. Epistle sent by Pope Clement VIII to Emperor Akbar, from Rome, December 17, 1592 (ARSI, Instit. 194, fols. 252r–253v).

25. Letter sent by Akbar to the "head fathers of the Order of S. Paul," from Fatehpur Sikri, December 1578. Reproduced in António da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado português do Oriente*, 12 vols. (Lisbon, 1905–86), vol. 12, *Índia, 1572–1582*, p. 432, doc. 48.
26. Letter sent by Akbar to Philip II, from Fatehpur Sikri, Rabīʿ al-Awwal 990 (corresponding approximately to March 25–April 23, 1582). Reproduced in Jorge Flores and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Os Firangis na chancelaria Mogol: Cópias portuguesas de documentos de Akbar, 1572–1604 = The Firangis in the Mughal Chancellery: Portuguese Copies of Akbar's Documents, 1572–1604* (New Delhi, 2003), 87.
27. Copy of Akbar's *farman* translated into Portuguese, dated June 1583: British Library, Add. Ms. 9854, fol. 5a.
28. In a *farman* reproduced in a letter sent by Father Manuel Pinheiro, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., from Lahore, September 9, 1602 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 46r).
29. In that respect they came closer to their Ottoman contemporaries, particularly under Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95), when there was a boom in the production of illustrated historical manuscripts. For a discussion of this period, see Emine F. Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs: Transitions in Ottoman Manuscript Patronage, 1566–1617" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2005).
30. See Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 27 (London, 1995), 99–102.
31. Dates of illustrated manuscripts below are from Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C., 1981), 214–28. For more general works on these and other illustrated manuscripts from Akbar's reign, see Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India, 1600–1660* (Williamstown, Mass., 1978); Milo Cleveland Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1987); Amina Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (Paris, 1992); Linda York Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, 2 vols. (London, 1995); and J. M. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures* (London, 1993).
32. Abū 'l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, *The Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, trans. H. Blochmann, ed. D. C. Phillott, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1927; repr. New Delhi, 1989), 1:201. The hijri year of 1000 corresponds to 1591–92.
33. For the *Ḥamzanāma*, see John Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza: Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India* (Washington, D.C., and London, 2002).
34. Ibid., 12.
35. *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, a P. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu., Latine reddita & animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu* (Leiden, 1639). See n. 1 above.
36. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 1:168, no. 45; 275, no. 67; 277, no. 68.
37. L4a.
38. ASI. 278–79.
39. L145b, L146a.
40. ASI.70.
41. Revelation 19:16.
42. L2b and ASI.277. According to Father Jerome, these are: Christ's childhood (part 1); his miracles and teachings (part 2); his trials, tribulations, and death (part 3); and his Resurrection from the grave and Ascension into Heaven (part 4).
43. This might be considered an eclectic and elitist movement influenced by various religions and based on Sufi sources, which did not survive its founder. See Aziz Ahmad, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1954–2002), s.v. "Dīn-i Ilāhī."
44. ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh*, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1884–1925), vol. 2, *The Reign of Akbar, from 963 to 1004 A.H.*, trans. W. H. Lowe, 267. As an orthodox Muslim, Bada'uni had a profound aversion to Akbar's interest in other religions and the fact that he protected the members of the Society of Jesus at the court. Although highly critical, the historian's work confirms Akbar's interest in Christianity.
45. For the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, see Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, eds., *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985); Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory* (New York, 1985), 34–55.
46. For the list of inscriptions on the Buland Darwarza and the translation of the secular ones, see Z. A. Desai, comp., "Inscriptions," in Brand and Lowry, *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook*, 228–29.
47. Desai, "Inscriptions," 228 no. 19. According to Tarif Khalidi, ed. and trans., *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2001), 106, no. 99, it was al-Mubarrad (d. 898) who attributed the saying to al-Hasan al-Basri (d. 728 or 737). For the Buland Darwarza and a different translation of the inscription, see Bianca Maria Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (London, 2000), 219–20.
48. Akbar was not the first Muslim ruler to inscribe a major monument with references to Jesus. A number of these were built in various periods and regions, but only on a few occasions did they have an ecumenical purpose, as seems to have been the case with the Fatehpur Sikri monumental gateway. More often than not, the inscriptions have a strong religious message, intended to show the strength of Islam. For example, the inscribed mosaic band (dated 72 [692]) in the inner octagonal arcade of the Dome of the Rock, bears a Koranic quotation (Koran 4:171) that is used to deny the Trinity and Christ's divinity. For this inscription, see Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (London, 1996), 107, and for a discussion of its meaning, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105, esp. 23–57. A second example is the Ghurid minaret of Jam, built by Sultan Ghiyath al-Din in 570 (1174–75), which is inscribed with Sura 19. For an interpretation and discussion, see Janine Sourdel-Thomine, *Le minaret Ghouride de Jām: Un chef d'oeuvre du XIIe siècle*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 29 (Paris, 2004), 153–57.

CHAPTER ONE

A LIFE OF FATHER JEROME XAVIER

1.1. BACKGROUND AND LITERARY PRODUCTION

Jerónimo de Ezpeleta y Goñi was born in 1549 in Beire, in the province of Navarra in northeastern Spain. When he was nineteen years old, he received a bachelor of philosophy degree and on May 7, 1568, he entered the Society of Jesus. As a tribute to his great-uncle, Father Francis Xavier, S.J. (d. 1552; canonized in 1622), one of the founders of the order who as a Jesuit missionary worked extensively in India and became a saint known as the "apostle of the Orient," he adopted the name Jerome Xavier. He studied philosophy and theology in the University of Alcalá and was ordained in 1575. After spending six years teaching at Villarejo de Fuentes, he arrived in Goa in 1581.[1] In the following years, he was appointed rector of Jesuit colleges in two important cities under Portuguese rule on the Malabar Coast. Between 1584 and 1585, he was based in Bassein, Maharashtra, but because of the local climate—blamed for his poor health—and following medical advice, he was transferred to the southern city of Kochi (formerly known as Cochin), in Kerala, where he stayed until 1592.[2] It was there that he first realized how crucial a knowledge of languages would be to achieving lasting results in his work as a missionary. He wished the fathers of the College of Kochi "to be taught and learned" in Syriac in order to bring the Saint Thomas Christians—as they are still known at present—to "the Roman Church."[3] Syriac was the language used in the liturgy of the centuries-old local community of Syrian Christians, and Father Jerome seems to have been inspired by Father Francisco Ros, a long-time resident at the College (in 1601 he became bishop of the diocese of Angamaly, also in Kerala), whom he praised for his "rare ability and singular curiosity" to learn the language without a master.[4]

While in Kochi, he often protested to and made various requests of the General[5] of the Jesuits. These are useful when trying to understand some facets of his personality. In 1587, for instance, he complained that he had yet to receive a copy of the *annuae* (periodic reports) and suggested that these should be sent once a year to the main missions.[6] He was not always very impressed by their quality, remarking in 1589 that "some have little substance," and that outsiders would expect more from works by the Society of Jesus.[7] Equally revealing of his interest in books and history was his suggestion to the General to publish a history of the Company of Jesus.[8] It is unclear whether he was aware of the preparation of just such a work that was only printed in 1615,[9] but his suggestion nevertheless attests to the importance that he ascribed to history and the necessity of recording it.

His distinguished ancestry might have also given him some extra confidence. He was clearly comfortable when writing to the General in Rome, as his many letters indicate (fig. 1.1). Although he never alludes to it, letters from other Jesuits reveal that because of his name he enjoyed some immediate "devotion," not only from the locals but also from his peers.[10] In 1587, the Consultor[11] praised him very highly:

> [W]ith his prudence and virtuosity, he keeps all very happy, satisfied, and very observant of the rules and religious discipline. And this applies to those in the College whose spiritual gains are very carefully and diligently taken care of by him, as well as to the outsiders with whom he is very busy. He surprises us, with all the work he does, giving us the moral strength to be diligent and dedicated in our Lord's service.[12]

Later, in 1589, the superior at Travancore, also in Kerala, wrote that he was "virtuous, fond of the rules, prudent, educated, and beloved by the Jesuits and outsiders."[13] Some other traits of his personality are perceptible in the writings of his fellow Jesuits, but mostly

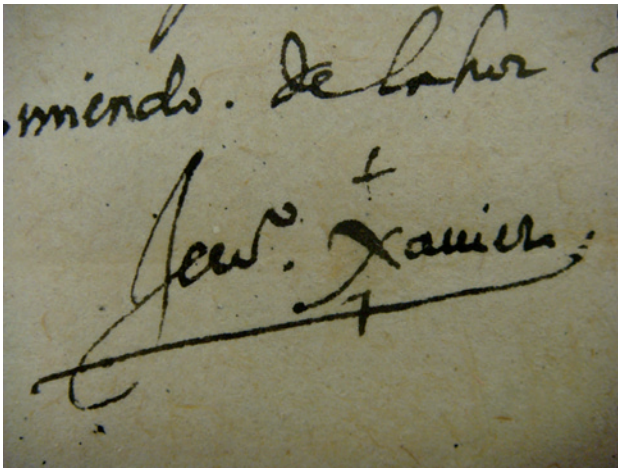


Fig. 1.1. Father Jerome Xavier's signature in a letter from Lahore. ARSI. (Photo: Pedro Moura Carvalho)

in his own. As one would expect, he had very high moral standards and made considerable efforts to improve the work of the Society, which led him to make constant complaints, including about his colleagues, to the General of the Order. These letters are of relevance because they show that even then he was not afraid of presenting and discussing complex issues with his superiors. While in Kochi, and when writing in 1586, he objected to the lack of personnel and how easy it was to leave the Society.[14] A year later, in a letter to the head of the Jesuits, he addressed these issues again, adding that only in extreme cases should a priest be dismissed. He also complained about the vanity of the Portuguese soldiers who became coadjutors[15] and suggested that the Provincial should visit other territories under his jurisdiction in the north and south, including Kochi.[16] He, of course, also wanted to promote Christianity in the city and did not hesitate to use his influence on the General. He therefore solicited the latter to write to the king of Portugal, asking him to put pressure on the ruler of Kochi, since more should be done to favor Christianity.[17] In the following years, his objections became less ambiguous and more focused on his peers. He disapproved, for instance, of brothers and fathers who used their allegedly poor health as an excuse to spend "weeks and months" in the infirmary of the College of St. Paul in Goa.[18] By the end of 1589, his patience with certain aspects of the missionaries' lives seems to have reached a limit and, in a long letter to the General, he addressed multiple issues including practical ones,[19] though religious matters were at the center of his preoccupations.[20] He also wanted to deliver more sermons, though he acknowledged that these were not always that well received by the people, who were not used to listening to them.[21] It is clear that such complaints created detractors. This is confirmed by a letter sent years later, in 1594, by the Provincial of Goa at that time to the General, in which he commented negatively on the selection of Father Jerome as head of the mission to Akbar: "people were unhappy with him in Kochi and later in Goa."[22]

By 1592, Father Jerome was back in the capital of the *Estado da Índia*, where he became the Superior of the Professed House of Goa, the second in command after the Provincial in the complex hierarchy of the Jesuits for the entire subcontinent. In this capacity, one of his tasks was to fill in for the Provincial when the latter was absent. His ability and industry were certainly why he was appointed to such high functions. However, the various letters that deal with the subject indicate that the appointment was resented by many of his peers.[23] Some of the Jesuits were also afraid that he would later become the Provincial, as it was a local tradition for the Superior to be appointed to this office.[24] Although he clearly had outstanding qualities—he was described as "very virtuous" by Father Nuno Rodrigues, a fellow missionary—he was also extremely critical. A second reason for his unpopularity was his "great love for his nation, which here [in Goa] is very badly perceived and puts much pressure on those who work with him."[25] He apparently favored Castilians,[26] something considered unacceptable by the Portuguese who formed the majority of the Jesuits on the subcontinent. Although Portuguese and Spaniards were then both ruled by the same king, the rivalry between them never ceased and was often noted in contemporary correspondence.[27] While Father Jerome was in Goa, his missives continued to reach Rome on a regular basis. In 1593, he wrote about chastity and how difficult it was to practice in India, favoring the dismissal of unfit religious men.[28] In a later letter, he criticized the lack of zeal among the newly converted and the readiness of the Inquisition to confiscate their goods.[29] In that same year, he and two other priests were suggested for the position of Pro-

vincial.[30] After much pressure from various figures of the local Jesuit hierarchy who objected to his nomination—apparently because of his nationality[31]—his name was removed from the shortlist of candidates. This shift is ultimately at the origin of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, as he had meanwhile been selected to head the third Jesuit mission to the Mughal court. Contemporary sources acknowledge that the voting, with a single dissenting voice, was clearly political.[32]

In October 1594, in an unusually poignant letter, Father Jerome announced to the General that he had been chosen to go to the Mughal court. In what seems to be a combination of the language normally used in such circumstances and perhaps some expression of penitence, he presented "himself as a sinner who ask[ed] for pardon for all his mistakes and sins" while feeling "deeply honored at being chosen, and humbly ask[ing] for the blessing of the mission."[33] According to a fellow Jesuit, he went "with much happiness, for he is a saint who is ready to die in his mission."[34]

On December 3, 1594, Father Jerome and his two Portuguese Jesuit companions, Father Manuel Pinheiro (d. 1619),[35] and Brother Bento de Góis (d. 1607),[36] left Goa for the Gujarati port of Khambhat (formerly known as Cambay), reaching the capital of Lahore on May 15, 1595. By then he was forty-six years old. Emperor Akbar's interest in having the Jesuits at the court once again is evident from the very short time that they had to wait until their meeting with him—less than a day, according to the Jesuit historian Luis Guzman (d. 1605).[37] Besides "treating them with much love and consideration, giving them a place among the nobles of the court," Akbar advised them to learn Persian "in order that themes such as salvation might be treated [debated] between ourselves without the interference of third parties."[38]

Father Jerome was fully aware of the need to master the court language even before he reached his destination. His interest in learning Persian is confirmed by the fact that he started lessons with a "Muslim" as soon as he reached Khambhat, where the mission stopped for a few weeks before progressing towards the capital.[39] Father Jerome and his fellow missionaries took Akbar's suggestion seriously.[40] A year later, in September 1596, Father Jerome wrote to the Provincial in Goa that their "only and total concern is to learn the Persian language."[41] According to various Jesuit sources as well as his own accounts, in the first years of his stay at the court Father Jerome did little else but learn the language. Although he made considerable progress in mastering Persian, he was also fully aware of his limitations as a translator. In the dedication of one of his works, *Ā'īnā-i ḥaqq-numā* (The Truth-revealing Mirror),[42] written in Portuguese and completed in 1597,[43] he humbly stated, "The style and language will be vulgar as they are my own who am so feeble in all things and especially in this language."[44] Later, in the preamble of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, submitted in 1602, after asserting that he had "spent seven or eight years learning Persian,"[45] he acknowledged his linguistic deficiencies, and that only with "much prayer and supplication, God's grace and His Majesty the Shadow of God's good fortune" was he able to conclude it.[46]

Besides taking part in the debates in which Akbar engaged with religious men from various creeds,[47] Father Jerome accompanied the emperor on his visits, on different occasions, to Kashmir and the Deccan.[48] He also participated in the daily life of the mission, celebrating mass and, as discussed below, producing an extensive number of literary works,[49] such as *The Duties of Kingship*.[50] He also translated multiple texts into Persian, including Cicero's *De officiis*. Among other works possibly written by him are *Sayings by Plutarch* and *The History of the Foundation of Rome and an Account of Her Kings*.[51]

An examination of his literary output suggests that one of his main goals was to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity over Islam. This should not be surprising, since the ultimate aspiration of every Jesuit mission to the Mughal court was the conversion of the emperor. However, it would be excessive to reduce Father Jerome's work to such a simplistic assessment. Father Jerome acted as an ambassador working for dialogue and better understanding between two cultures; he introduced Western works to the court and wrote about local customs. Prior to 1609, he also translated the Koran into Portuguese for the first time.[52] Although his interest in Islam stemmed from the desire to better present his views and challenge his opponents at the court, it nonetheless reveals a strong commitment to increasing his knowledge of a religion that he had to deal with everyday.

Among the religious texts that he translated into Persian are the lives of St. Peter and other Christian saints, the Catechism, the Psalms of David, and texts explaining the faith of Christians. There is evidence that he also worked as a copyist; his work seems to have included a Persian version of the Gospels, a copy of which was presented to Jahangir in 1606.[53] One may presume that he collaborated with at least one co-translator in most or all of his works. As Father Jerome acknowledged at the end of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, ʿAbd-al-Sattar b. Qasim Lahawri assisted him in the translation.[54] The extent of this assistance remains unknown. The simple language alluded to in the introduction seems intentional and not a product of its author's poor linguistic competence. It has been inferred that ʿAbd-al-Sattar must have concentrated on rendering difficult theological concepts more understandable for a local reader.[55] Complex concepts such as certain Church dogmas are certainly best transmitted in simple and clear words. Audiences unfamiliar with the Old and New Testaments would have been able to grasp these, but probably not difficult arguments. Information concerning ʿAbd al-Sattar is limited, but his reputation seems to have grown over time: in 1615, soon after Father Jerome left for Goa, Jahangir ordered him to paraphrase the *Ẓafarnāma* by Sharaf al-Din Yazdi.[56] He also produced his own work, including a *Thamarat al-falāsifa*, described by Storey as an "account of Greece and Rome and of the lives (doubtless more especially the sayings) of Greek and Roman philosophers."[57]

Father Jerome's correspondence from the Mughal court contains profuse data related to the court but sheds little light on his life and personality.[58] It reveals peaks of enthusiasm about the hoped for conversions of Akbar and also Jahangir (first as a prince and later as ruler), as well as their passion for Western paintings. But this is often followed by disappointment at the mission's lack of progress. A letter sent from Lahore in 1596 is an excellent example of the variety of information revealed in these missives. Father Jerome mentions Akbar's enjoyment at showing off his Western paintings and Prince Salim's reverence for an image of Jesus. He also describes how Akbar prayed to the sun several times a day, how he celebrated Nowruz, and how, when bored during evening festivities, he would shoot at geckos in the moonlight with a little bow. This same letter includes a description of Akbar's throne, a discussion of animal fights, and the author's account of being commanded by the emperor to attend his first debate.[59]

The letters normally reveal a considerable level of pragmatism and optimism, qualities to be expected in a well-educated Jesuit missionary living as a guest at a Muslim court. These were indeed crucial to dealing with the many setbacks he endured, blame for which was often laid on the opponents of the mission. In 1597, when visiting Kashmir as a guest of Akbar, part of Father Jerome's "Treatise on the Moors' Law and Ours to Clearly Show Their Differences and the Falsity of the Former" was stolen.[60] This was almost certainly the previously mentioned controversial *Āʾīna-i ḥaqq-numā*, intended to show the supposed strengths of Christianity and weaknesses of Islam. The day after, the Portuguese copy was returned but not the one in Persian.[61] The same letter that mentions the theft reveals that after only two and a half years at the court he was showing signs of disappointment about the slim chances of converting Akbar and accused the emperor of dissimulating his true feelings.[62] Throughout the years, Father Jerome's frustration at the mission's lack of progress immensely increased. In the yearly letter of 1606, the Provincial of Goa, undoubtedly reproducing Father Jerome's own words, describes the Mughal mission as "sterile." Following the death of Akbar, "who ended up not as a Christian, Moor or Gentile, for he followed no law," Jahangir "showed himself very close to the Muslims" and therefore avoided the Jesuits.[63] According to Father Jerome, Jahangir was apparently not well liked, and to calm down the "many riots in various provinces and mainly in Cambay" he had to distance himself from the Jesuits. Even the periodic allowance that they used to receive from the emperor stopped arriving.[64] Their financial aid, as well as their rapport, was restored soon afterwards, but the chances of converting the new emperor were still as slim as ever.

Father Jerome tried to return to Goa on various occasions and by 1613 he stated bitterly that "after 18 years of presence here [at the Mughal court] we did not make a single Christian by conviction. All were converted on reasons related to human rights, sustenance, or love for another Christian."[65] His letters convey disappointment and exhaustion and a feeling that there was nothing left for him to do.[66] The 1613 apostasy of

some princes (Akbar's grandsons) who had previously converted to Christianity seems to have dealt the final blow to his expectations.[67] His contacts had, however, a further result, which again demonstrates how the Jesuits often fulfilled diplomatic roles. According to Manuel de Faria e Sousa (d. 1649), the author of the seventeenth-century chronicle *Ásia portuguesa*, before leaving the Mughal court Father Jerome made use of his diplomatic skills and contacts in the resolution of a conflict in Surat involving the Mughals, the Portuguese, and the English. Following the Portuguese attack on English vessels, the chronicler wrote that the missionary's efforts were crucial in obtaining a peace treaty in 1615 between Jahangir and Viceroy D. Jerónimo de Azevedo (r. 1612–17).[68] Interestingly, Father Jerome states that Jahangir allowed him to leave the court, only to have him "arrange with the Viceroy about peace, and conceal the fact that he [Jahangir] was asking for it," adding, "[t]hat is how I was dismissed by him."[69]

That same year, Father Jerome returned to Goa, where he became the rector of Saint Paul's College, then the largest and most important Jesuit school in Asia and the site to this day of the tomb of his great-uncle, Saint Francis Xavier. He died two years later, on June 27, 1617, at the age of sixty-eight, a victim of a fire at the College.[70] In recognition of his work and dedication, Pope Paul V (r. 1605–21), following a petition by King Philip III (II of Portugal, r. 1598–1621), had had him appointed Archbishop of Cranganore (known today as Kodungallur), not far from Angamaly in Kerala.[71] He was supposed to have replaced Father Francisco Ros (d. 1624), who had inspired him in the learning of languages, but the news did not reach him in time.[72]

1.2. A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

As early as 1647, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, S.J. (d. 1658), deemed Father Jerome's life worthy of inclusion in *Vidas exemplares*. In this compilation of the lives of notable Jesuits, the missionary's feats are discussed in nine lengthy chapters under the title "Father Jerónimo Xavier, elected Archbishop of Angamale."[73] The text is not a proper biography but an assortment of information on Father Jerome's mission collected from earlier sources. It provides a brief profile of Akbar,[74] reaffirms his fondness for images,[75] particularly those of Christ and the Virgin, and discusses the religious debates at the court.[76] Of greater relevance is a reference to the writing of the *Mir'āt al-quds* and its presentation to the emperor, as well as Akbar's commission of a new work on the lives of the Apostles.[77] At the end, Nieremberg provides an incomplete list of Father Jerome's works and states that the *Mir'āt al-quds* was translated by "an heretic," Ludovico de Dieu, into Latin.[78] The text gives little information on Father Jerome's life, but the reedition in 1889[79] seems to have had lasting repercussions. It may have provided the stimulus for Edward Maclagan's extensive account of the three Jesuit missions to the Mughal court, published only a few years later, in 1896. This essay places particular emphasis on Father Jerome's mission and became the first scholarly work on the subject.[80] Maclagan published a relevant "Note on the Persian Works of Father Jerome Xavier" as an appendix; it included a short discussion of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, which was also known as *Dāstān-i Masīḥ* (Deeds of the Messiah), a title still in use at present.[81] In 1932, the same author returned to the subject with a book entitled *The Jesuits and the Great Mughal*, in which he further expanded the list of Father Jerome's works.[82] Between these two dates, the Jesuit priest H. Hosten published a series of articles dealing with Father Jerome's life and literary production.[83] Among them was a eulogy of his years at the Mughal court.[84] In the 1950s, Angel Santos, also a member of the Company of Jesus, published five more articles on the Spanish Jesuit.[85]

Further evidence of the great interest that Father Jerome's life and literary endeavors continued to garner was a monograph published in 1957 by Arnulf Camps, S.J. The sources for Camps's book, *Jerome Xavier S. J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire: Controversial Works and Missionary Activity*, were the books by the authors discussed above as well as a considerable number of letters[86] and contemporary sources. More recently, in 2004, Father Jerome Xavier's life was briefly discussed by Jorge Flores in conjunction with the attribution to him of a new text, entitled *Tratàdo da corte e caza de Iamguir, pachá Rey dos Mogores*, a treatise on Jahangir's court.[87]

1.3. EARLY AND CONTEMPORARY LIVES OF CHRIST

In the Middle Ages, the influence of Franciscan spirituality led to the writing of works in which specific episodes in Christ's life were often treated as pious meditations. The way they were written induced the visualization of crucial events that were thought to be helpful in the development of a devotee's spirituality. The *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, believed to have been composed in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century by the so-called Pseudo-Bonaventura,[88] is an exceptionally early example of how readers and listeners were inspired through this method of meditation. More than two hundred early manuscripts have survived, attesting to the popularity of this devotional work.[89] The impact of the Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes* on later texts is revealed in different ways. Authors have often incorporated parts of it into their own works and, more importantly, used the same technique to increase the reader's and listener's devotion to Christ. Besides being copied in Latin, it was also translated into vernacular languages. In the early years of the fifteenth century, an English version, by the Carthusian Nicholas Love (d. ca. 1424), was given the title *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*,[90] which presents an interesting parallel to Father Jerome's own title.

A second relevant text is the *Vita Christi* by Ludolphus of Saxony (d. 1377), a Carthusian monk.[91] This work was particularly significant to the Jesuits because it is believed to have played a decisive role in the conversion of the future Saint Ignatius of Loyola (d. 1556; canonized in 1622) and the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540.[92] This was one of the two books that Ignatius Loyola read while recovering from the wounds he suffered in the siege of Pamplona in 1521.[93]

According to some authors, the *Vita Christi* to a certain extent inspired Saint Ignatius's own *Spiritual Exercises* (1548), a text that is still regarded as essential for the formation of every Jesuit novice.[94] Saint Ignatius firmly believed in the value of such exercises and made their practice mandatory for every Jesuit. Father Jerome was also a firm supporter of these, as is revealed in his letters.[95]

Translations of Ludolphus's *Vita Christi*, or parts thereof, were printed in various Romance and Germanic languages. A Dutch translation appeared in 1487 and a Portuguese version in 1495.[96] Ignatius, for instance, apparently read it in Castilian; this was probably the edition of 1502–3 printed at Alcalá. It is unknown whether a copy of the *Vita Christi* ever reached Goa or the Mughal court, but the popularity of the text and its many editions in various languages make it quite probable.[97] Like Muslim authors dealing with the lives of Jesus and other prophets, Ludolphus made use of works by earlier authors, naming a surprising number of ecclesiastical and secular authorities.[98] In this he differs from Father Jerome, who, to increase the authority of his text, quotes prophets' sayings and often names their respective authors but does not identify non-Biblical authors.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such works continued to be composed and printed in Europe. Iberian scholars were particularly active in this field.[99] One explanation for their popularity is that events in the life of Christ were treated as a guide for a Catholic's own life. The Portuguese Thome de Jesus (d. 1582) wrote *Trabalhos de Jesus*, known in English as *Deeds of Jesus* or *Sufferings of Jesus*, which includes long visualizations of the many painful episodes of Christ's life.[100] Its mystical tone and religious fervor are unusual but it was perhaps such distinctiveness that led it to be translated into various European languages.[101] While Father Jerome was writing his text at the Mughal court, his fellow countryman Alfonso Salmerón (d. 1585) and the Portuguese Sebastião Barradas (d. 1615) were also composing new works in which the mysteries of Jesus's life were once again treated.[102] These were reprinted in later periods and in various European cities.

Father Jerome Nadal (d. 1580), a Spaniard who in 1545 became a novice of the Society of Jesus, was responsible for a further title that most certainly exerted a strong influence on Father Jerome's mind. His legacy is not particularly relevant in literary terms, but it is exceptional in its lasting artistic influence. Directly encouraged by Father Ignatius of Loyola, Father Jerome Nadal produced a visual guide to the life of Christ that first appeared in 1593 and soon after became available in many Jesuit missions. His *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Illustrations of the Gospel Stories) and its modified version *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* (Notes and Meditations on the Gospels) contain 153 images of selected episodes in the life of Christ.[103] As

with Saint Ignatius's *Exercises*, these were meant to assist novices and believers in the visualization of these same events.[104]

Nadal organized the volume and commissioned the originals. He worked with artists on the general layout of every print, where, more often than not, various moments of the same episode are illustrated. He also wrote the explanatory notes that accompany each scene in every print, confirming the didactic purpose of his work. The attractiveness of Nadal's prints and their realistic perspective made them extremely popular during the Counter-Reformation. A copy of the *Imagines* or the *Adnotationes* also reached Portuguese India and the Mughal court,[105] and under Akbar and Jahangir some of Nadal's prints were copied. For example, a miniature of *The Nativity* (ca. 1605–10) in the Victoria and Albert Museum closely reproduces Nadal's *Nativitas Christi*.[106] More often, however, elements of prints were selected and reproduced by Mughal painters in new compositions,[107] including some of those in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* (figs. 3.2 and 3.3), as discussed in chapter 3.1.

NOTES

1. For more detailed accounts on the early period of Father Jerome's life, see Angel Santos, "Dos Javieres en la India," *Miscelanea Comillas* 18 (1952): 27–87; Angel Santos, "Jerónimo Javier, S.J., Arzobispo Electo de Cranganor," *Studia Missionalia* 7 (1952): 142–49; and Arnulf Camps, *Jerome Xavier, S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire: Controversial Works and Missionary Activity* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1957), 2–13.
2. Letter written by Father Alessandro Valignano, S.J., Visitor, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, December 6, 1587 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 374r).
3. Letter written by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of the College of Kochi, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, January 1, 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 338v). Saint Thomas Christians claim to be spiritually descended from the Apostle St. Thomas. The integration of the community into the Roman Catholic tradition was a major goal of Rome since the Portuguese established themselves in Kochi, the first capital of the *Estado da Índia* (until 1530, when Goa became the capital). In 1599, following the Synod of Diamper, the Archbishop of Goa, D. Aleixo de Menezes, united the two Churches, but their differences reemerged soon after. See Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 3, *A Century of Advance* (Chicago, 1993), 162.
4. Letter written by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of College of Kochi, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, January 1, 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 338v).
5. As indicated in the Introduction, n. 14, this was the title given to the head of the Society of Jesus.
6. Letters sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of the College of Kochi, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 28, 1587 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 379v), and to Father Manuel Rodrigues, S.J., from the same city and on the same day (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 381r).
7. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 472v).
8. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of the College of Kochi, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 473r).
9. The *Historiae Societatis Iesu Prima Pars* (Rome, 1615) was begun by Niccolò Orlandini, S.J., but other authors continued it in the following years.
10. Letter sent by Father Nicolau Spinola, S.J., Superior at Travancor, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, January 2, 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 423v), and letter sent by Father Pedro Tejeda, S.J., Ordinary Confessor, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, January 7, 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 427v).
11. Name given to members of the Order appointed by the General, the Congregation, or a Provincial, who are sent to a particular province or community; one of their duties is to write annual reports to the General informing him about local developments. On some of the duties of the General and Provincial, see Introduction, n. 14.
12. Letter written by Father Tristão da Costa, S.J., Consultor, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 29, 1587 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 383r).
13. Letter sent by Father Nicolao Spinola, S.J., Superior at Travancor, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, January 2, 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 423v).
14. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of the College of Kochi, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, February 3, 1586 (ARSI, Goa 47, fols. 331r–331v).
15. Religious men who had the function of helping the professed. They could be spiritual or temporal coadjutors, depending on their preparation; the former are priests who are able to hear confessions, while the latter are members of the laity, who perform tasks that do not demand the sacerdotal office.
16. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of the College of Kochi, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, January 2, 1587 (ARSI, Goa 13, fols. 335v, 336v).
17. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of the College of Kochi, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 28, 1587 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 379v).
18. Apparently, the abundance of food there and a less austere observance of the religious rules were strong attractions for missionaries based in provincial and poorer cities, as gleaned from a letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector

of the College of Kochi, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, January 1, 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 339v).

19. He objected to the type of caps used by some priests, as well as to the extended breaks that they took during the Easter holiday, implying that these should be shorter.
20. He asserted that people should be more focused on religious topics during Lent and Easter, that fasts should be imposed on Good Friday, and that fasting and abstinence should be practiced more vigorously and dispensations restricted during these two periods.
21. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Rector of the College of Kochi, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fols. 472r–473v).
22. Letter sent by Father Francisco Cabral, S.J., Provincial, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 15, 1594 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 262r).
23. See, for example, the letters sent by: Father Nuno Rodrigues, S.J., to Father Manuel Rodrigues, S.J., Assistant, from Kollam (formerly known as Quilon), December 24, 1592 (ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 440r); Father Francisco de Monclaro, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, October 26, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 41v); and Father Cabral, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 15, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 163v).
24. See, for example, a letter sent by Father Francisco de Monclaro, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, October 26, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 41v).
25. Letter sent by Father Nuno Rodrigues, S.J., to Father Manuel Rodrigues, S.J., Assistant, from Kollam, December 24, 1592 (ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 440v).
26. Letter sent by Father Gomes Vaz, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 21, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 100v).
27. See, for example, the letters sent by Father C. de Castro, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, October 29, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fols.44r-45v), and by Father Francisco de Monclaro, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, October 26, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 41v).
28. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Provost, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 12, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 59v).
29. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., Provost, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, December 7, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 137v).
30. The other two priests were Father Valerio de Parada, S.J., and Father Nuno Rodrigues, S.J. Letter sent by Father Manuel da Veiga, S.J., Rector, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 23, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 105r).
31. See, for example, the letters sent by: Father Gomes Vaz, S.J., Treasurer of the Professed House, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 21, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 100v); Father Francisco Vieira, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 23, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 108r); and Father Cabral, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 15, 1593 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 163v).
32. As confirmed in a letter sent by Father Francisco Cabral, S.J., Provincial of Goa, to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 15, 1594 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 262r).
33. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquavia, S.J., General, from Goa, October 28, 1594 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 200r).
34. Letter sent by Father Francisco Fernandez, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Goa, November 7, 1594 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 209r).
35. Pinheiro was born in 1556 on the island of São Miguel, the Azores. He reached India in 1592 and stayed at the Mughal court until 1615. He then returned to Goa, where he died. According to Edward D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932; repr. Haryana, India, 1990), 51, he was a favorite of Akbar and wanted to return to the court.
36. Known in the English sources as Benedict de Goes, he, too, was from São Miguel, where he was born in 1562. He reached India as a soldier and only joined the Society of Jesus in Goa in 1588. He became known not so much for his work at the Mughal court but for his travels in Central Asia, which included Kabul, Khotan, and Yarkand. After an exhausting four-year journey, Bento de Góis died in Suzhou (Jinquan), China.
37. Luis de Guzman, S.J., *Historia de las Missiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, para predicar el Sancto Evangelio en la India oriental, y en los reynos de la China y Japon* (Alcalá, 1601), 260.
38. Letter written by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, August 20, 1595 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 288r).
39. Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 181.
40. Pinheiro's knowledge of Persian was apparently so remarkable that he was nicknamed "the Mughal." Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 185 n. 3.
41. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Francisco Cabral, S.J., Provincial, from Lahore, September 8, 1596 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 24r).
42. For more on this text, in which Father Jerome argues for the superiority of Christianity over Islam and other religions, see Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 206–9, and Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 16–21.
43. Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 16.
44. Ibid., 183 n. 1.
45. ASI.275.
46. ASI.276.
47. For an account of one of these debates, see Fernão Guerreiro, *Jahangir and the Jesuits: With an Account of the Travels of Benedict Goes and the Mission to Pegu*, trans. C. H. Payne (London, 1930; repr. New Delhi, 1997), 49–62.
48. Guzman, *Historia de las Missiones*, 267, 269.
49. For a list of Father Jerome's works, see Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 13–37, and Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*,

203–17. Compilations were made as early as 1649, including one by Father Francesco Morandi, S.J., who, while at Agra, collected and copied some of his works. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a second list was made by Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.

50. See Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 23–24.
51. For a list of works attributable to him, see ibid., 37–39.
52. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Ituren, S.J., from Agra, September 14, 1609, in Bartolomé de Alcázar, S.J., *Chrono-Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la provincia de Toledo, y elogios de sus varones illustres, fundadores, bienhechores, fautores, e hijos espirituales*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1710), 2:210.
53. Guerreiro, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, trans. C. H. Payne, 30–31. One of these copies, Cód. Ilum. 52-XIII-32, now in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, has its two opening pages decorated with a cross and the insignia of the Jesuits illuminated by Mughal artists; illustrated in Jorge Flores and N. Vassallo e Silva, eds., *Goa and the Great Mughal* (Lisbon, 2004), 149 and 194, respectively.
54. L145b.
55. Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 191–92.
56. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, 2 vols. (London, 1927–39; repr. 1989) vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 287.
57. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, 2 vols. in 4 (London, 1953, repr. 1972), vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 1110.
58. For the extensive literature on his life and personality, see chapter 1.2.
59. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Francisco Cabral, S.J., Provincial, from Lahore, September 8, 1596 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fols. 23r–34v).
60. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Srinagar, August 18, 1597 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 344r). For more on the text, a copy of which survives in Castilian in the ARSI, see Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 16–21.
61. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Srinagar, August 18, 1597 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 344r).
62. Ibid., fol. 345r.
63. In "Annua de 606 da Provincia de Goa," copied by Father André de Nabais, S.J., in the latter part of 1606 (ARSI, Goa 33 I, fol. 188r).
64. Ibid.
65. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Agra, December 25, 1613 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 81v).
66. Ibid., fol. 82r.
67. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father António Mascarenhas, S.J., Assistant of the General in Rome, from Agra, September 25, 1613 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 76r). This was not written by Father Jerome but it is authenticated with his signature.
68. Manuel de Faria e Sousa, *Ásia Portuguesa*, 3 vols. (Lisbon 1666–75; repr. Porto, 1945–47 [6 vols.]), 6:62.
69. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to the General (?), Rome (the General, Father Claudio Acquaviva, died in January 1615, but Father Jerome could not have been aware of this), from Chaul, December 4, 1615. Reproduced in Hosten, "Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier," 123–24.
70. For a detailed account of the event, see Santos, "Jerónimo Javier," 128–30, who followed the obituary written by Father Miguel de Paz, S.J., which was sent from Goa in that same year.
71. With the appointment of Father Jerome as bishop, Rome hoped thus to avoid, in the event of the premature death of the then bishop, Father Ros, S.J., a schism between Catholics and Saint Thomas Christians: ibid., 139. On the St. Thomas Christians, see n. 3 above.
72. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, S.J., *Vidas exemplares y venerables memorias de algunos claros varones de la Compañia de Iesus de los quales es este tomo quarto. Al Eminentissimo, y Reverendissimo Señor Cardeal Don Baltasar de Sandouval y Moscoso, Arçobispo de Toledo, &c.* (Madrid, 1647), 245; Alcázar, *Chrono-Historia*, 215–16. It is unknown where he was buried, but presumably it was in the cemetery of the Jesuits in Old Goa.
73. "Vida del Padre Geronimo Xavier, electo Arçobispo de Angamale," in Nieremberg, *Vidas exemplares*, 215–46.
74. Ibid., 216.
75. Ibid., 233.
76. Ibid., 233–34.
77. Ibid., 228.
78. Ibid., 246. Nieremberg refers to the bilingual edition published by the Orientalist in Leiden in 1639 (see Introduction, n. 1).
79. Father Jerome's life is published under "P. Jerónimo Javier," in *Varones ilustres de la Compañia de Jesus*: *Misiones de la China, Goa, Etiopía, Malabar*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Bilbao, 1889), 2:232–75.
80. Edward D. Maclagan, "The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 65, pt. 1, no. 1 (1896): 38–113.
81. Maclagan, "Jesuit Missions," 110–13; the notes on the *Mir'āt al-quds* are on pp. 110–11. For the specific use of the title *Dāstān-i Masīḥ*, see, for instance, Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 203; Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, 49; and auction catalogues such as Sotheby's, London, *Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, April 26, 1991, lot 27, 18–19.
82. Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 203–21; the *Mir'āt al-quds* is discussed on pp. 203–6.
83. H. Hosten, S.J., "Father Jerome Xavier's Persian *Lives of the Apostles*," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* n.s., 10 (1914): 65–84; H. Hosten, S.J., "Persian Lives of the Apostles: From Akbar's Agra Library," *The Catholic Herald of India* (June 22, 1921): 479–81; H. Hosten, S.J., "Some Letters of Father Jerome Xavier, S.J. to His Family (1593–1612)," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s., 23 (1927): 131–36.
84. Hosten, "Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier," 108–30.

85. Santos, "Dos Javieres en la India," 27–87; Santos, "Jerónimo Javier," 125–75; Angel Santos, "Un sobrino de Javier en la corte del Gran Mogor," *Missionalia Hispanica* 10 (1953): 417–93; Angel Santos, "El p. Jerónimo Javier y el Imperio del Gran Catay," *Missionalia Hispanica* 11 (1954): 565–77; Angel Santos, "La obra literaria persa de un Jesuíta navarro: El padre Jerónimo Javier," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 29, 113 (1955): 233–50.
86. For a list of letters sent to or from the Mughal court (and their present location), see Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 39–48.
87. Jorge Flores, "Two Portuguese Visions of Jahangir's India: Jerónimo Xavier and Manuel Godinho de Herédia," in Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 44–66.
88. The text was attributed until the eighteenth century to St. Bonaventura (d. 1274), hence the Pseudo-Bonaventura designation. More recently, unanimous opinion holds that the author of the *Meditationes* was probably a friar of the Franciscan order living in Tuscany during the second half of the thirteenth century. Sargent has suggested that the friar in question was Johannes de Caulibus from San Gimignano: see Love, *Mirror of the Blessed Life*, xi.
89. The *Meditationes Vitae Christi* was influential in not only religious but also artistic circles. The text is thought to have played a major role in, for instance, Giotto's definition of the iconographic program of his cycle on the life of Christ in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua.
90. It was widely copied and printed in England. According to Sargent, in the sixteenth century Catholics made use of it in their arguments against Lutheran translations of the Bible: see Love, *Mirror of the Blessed Life*, xxi.
91. Ludolphus might have also been the author of *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Mirror of Human Salvation): Mary I. Bodenstedt, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature 16 (Washington, D.C., 1944), 14–16. This was a popular theological text with a title related to that of the *Mir'āt al-quds*.
92. The term *Jesuitae* itself seems to have first appeared in Ludolphus's *Vita Christi*: Bodenstedt, *Vita Christi*, 78–79.
93. The other book is identified as the *Flos Sanctorum*, possibly the *Legenda Aurea*, a reference work by Jacobus de Voragine that was also employed by Father Jerome: see chapter 2.1, as well as Introduction, n. 36.
94. For the influence of the *Vita Christi* on Loyola's *Exercises*, see Bodenstedt, *Vita Christi*, 75–79.
95. See three letters written by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, sent from Kochi on December 28, 1587 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 379v), in December 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 472r), and on January 2, 1592 (ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 424v), as well as one dispatched from Lahore, on September 8, 1596 (ARSI, Goa 46, fol. 24r).
96. Printed in Lisbon by Valentim Fernandes and Nicolau de Saxónia.
97. It was not on the list of books taken by the first Jesuit mission to the Mughal court.
98. Bodenstedt, *Vita Christi*, 24–52.
99. Interest in the life of Christ was not limited to Roman Catholic Europe. Protestants also produced a number of new versions and continued to do so long after Father Jerome submitted his manuscript to Akbar. These, however, are of little relevance for the present study. For a survey of Protestant lives of Christ, see C. H. Henkey, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (henceforth *NCE2*) (Detroit and Washington, D.C., 2003), s.v. "Jesus Christ, biographical studies of."
100. Thome de Jesus, *Trabalhos de Jesu. Primeira [-segunda] parte: trata de XXV. Trabalhos, que o Senhor passou desda hora em que foi concebido até a noite de sua prisaõ; Tem considerações novas & proveitosas aos pregadores quando tratarem da vida de Christo, nosso Senhor*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1602–9).
101. These included Castilian (1622), Latin (1665), and, in later periods, English, French, and Italian.
102. Alfonso Salmerón, *Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam et in Acta Apostolorum*, 16 vols. (Madrid, 1597–1602); Sebastião Barradas, *Commentarii in Concordiam et Historiam Evangelicam*, 4 vols. (Coimbra, 1599–1611).
103. Jerome Nadal, S.J., *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines ex Ordine Evangeliorum: Quae toto anno in Missae sacrificio recitantur in ordinem temporis vitae Christi digestae* (Antwerp, 1593), was published by Christophe Plantin and contained engravings mainly by the brothers Hieronymus, Antoine, and Ioan Wierix. This was followed by two new editions entitled *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia quae in sacrosancto Missae sacrificio toto anno leguntur; cum Evangeliorum concordantia historiae integritati sufficienti* (Antwerp, 1594), which were accompanied by longer Biblical and liturgical texts. The order of presentation also changed: while prints in the *Imagines* are arranged chronologically, in the *Adnotationes* they follow the readings of the Roman Missal of the time.
104. Recent research has revealed that the Italian Livio Agresti produced the originals between 1555 and 1562. The original ink drawings are now in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome. See Maj-Brit Wadell, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines: Entstehungsgeschichte und Vorlagen*, Gothenburg Studies in Art and Architecture 3 (Gothenburg, 1985), 31–42.
105. Letter written by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., Assistant to the General in Rome, from Agra, September 16, 1603 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 52v); as noted by Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto, 1999), 129.
106. *The Nativity*, Mughal school, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. no. D 402-1885; *Nativitas Christi*, in Nadal, *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, pl. 3, and in Nadal, *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*, pl. 5; as noted and illustrated by Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor: The Art of the Book 1560–1660* (London, 2002), 112–13, pls. 78 and 79.
107. For a study of these, see Milo Cleveland Beach, "The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources," *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 63, 332 (1965): 63–91.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS* IN CONTEXT

2.1. A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS* AND ITS RECEPTION IN EUROPEAN LITERATURE

> And when father Manoel Pinheiro was here with father Jerome Xavier, in the city of Agra, the latter presented to the King a treatise in the Persian language, on the miracles, life & doctrine of Christ our Lord, which this same King had asked of him and much desired.[1]

It was with these words that in 1605—only three years after the text had been submitted to Akbar—Father Jerome's achievement was remarked upon for the first time in print. The announcement was included by Fernão Guerreiro, S.J. (d. 1617), in his first *Relaçam*, an account of the Jesuits' work in various regions of Asia, Africa, and South America (fig. 2.1).[2] This is a credit to the Jesuits' ability to put into print information concerning their religious activities in both Europe and the overseas territories in which they had established themselves. This, however, would have been of little use if the members of the Society of Jesus had not organized themselves into a remarkable network that encouraged the fluid communication crucial for the accomplishment of their ambitions. Each year, the superior of every Jesuit mission in Asia, Africa, and the Americas was required to send his respective Provincial a complete report of his mission's activities.[3] The Provincial of Goa would send the *annuae* to Rome on different vessels of the same fleet or on successive fleets, in order to substantially increase the chances that at least one copy would reach its final destination.[4] In Europe, the annual accounts from every mission were then compiled, edited, and often translated by fellow Jesuits, who were well aware of the importance of remaining faithful to the original sources. Demand for these was high, as is revealed by Father Jerome's letters, in which he repeatedly asked to be sent copies.[5] The compilations—such as those produced by Father Guerreiro—were often published and distributed to the main Jesuit centers spread across Europe, and sometimes to the overseas missions as well.

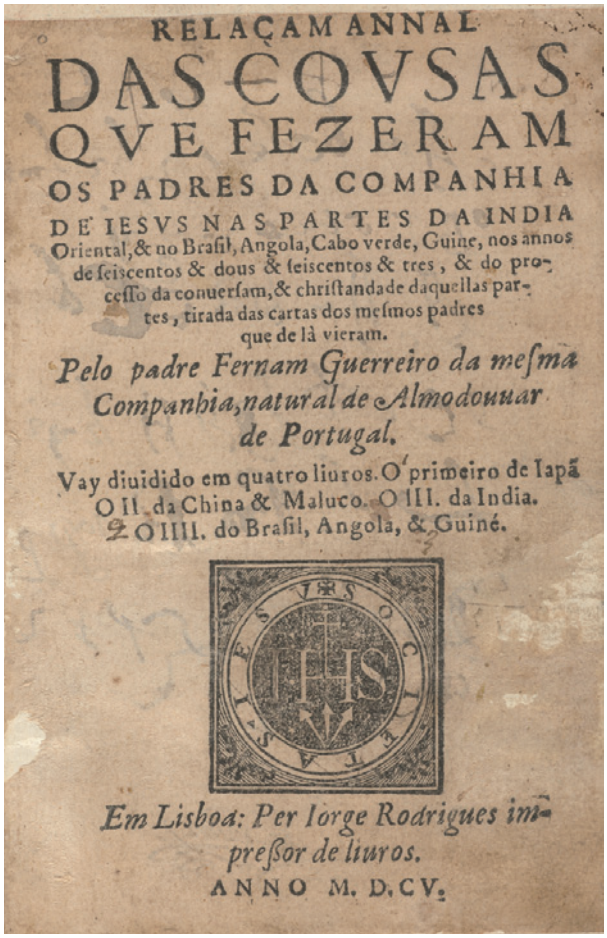

RELAÇAM ANNAL
DAS COVSAS
QVE FEZERAM
OS PADRES DA COMPANHIA
DE IESVS NAS PARTES DA INDIA
Oriental, & no Brasil, Angola, Cabo verde, Guine, nos annos de seiscentos & dous & seiscentos & tres, & do processo da conuersam, & christandade daquellas partes, tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres que de là vieram.
Pelo padre Fernam Guerreiro da mesma Companhia, natural de Almodouuar de Portugal.
Vay diuidido em quatro liuros. O primeiro de Iapã O II. da China & Maluco. O III. da India. & O IIII. do Brasil, Angola, & Guiné.
IHS
Em Lisboa: Per Iorge Rodrigues impressor de liuros.
ANNO M. D. CV.

Fig. 2.1. Title page. Fernão Guerreiro, S.J., *Relaçam annal* [sic] *das cousas que fezeram os padres da Companhia de Iesus nas partes da India Oriental…* (Lisbon, 1605). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Ind 2106.05.2. (Photo: courtesy of Harvard College Library)

Two years later, Guerreiro's *Relaçam* of 1605 reached other Jesuit centers, where—as was then the norm—parts of it were selected, translated, and included in other works. In 1608, Pierre du Jarric, S.J. (d. 1617) began to publish in Bordeaux his own compilation, entitled *Histoire des choses plus mémorables*.[6] As with Guerreiro's work, it deals with the Jesuits' activities not only in India but also in other parts of Asia. Writers in this period seldom cite their sources, but Du Jarric acknowledged that he had access to copies of the *Relaçam*, sent by Guerreiro himself, whom he regarded very highly.[7] Not surprisingly, for the part covering India in the period between 1600 and 1610, and specifically the section on the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Du Jarric used Guerreiro's text almost exclusively and followed it very closely.[8]

In the *Epitome de la Biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica*, published in Madrid in 1629, Antonio de León (d. 1660) referred to Father Jerome as the author of a book on the "Life, death and passion of Christ in the Persian language."[9] Father Jerome's *Mir'āt al-quds* had by then achieved some renown in Europe, but occasionally for undesirable reasons. In 1639, in a period when Protestants were keen to show the less orthodox views of Catholics and the liberties that they took with religious issues, Ludovico de Dieu[10] published in Leiden a bilingual edition of Father Jerome's Life of Christ entitled *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta* (figs. 0.1 and 0.2).[11] As we have already seen, the purpose of de Dieu's exercise was to denounce the "contaminated" texts of the Catholics: he printed Father Jerome's Persian account side by side with its Latin translation in order to show that the Gospels were not the exclusive source of Catholic doctrine. To him, the text was "replete with idolatrous superstition" (*superstitionibus idolatricis refertum*) and incorporated apocryphal stories from the *Evangelium Infantiae* (Infancy Gospel) and the *Acta Pilati* (Acts of Pilate).[12] References to the *Mir'āt al-quds* continued to appear in later publications. In 1643, it was mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu* by Philippe Alegambe, S.J. (d. 1652),[13] an updated edition of the earlier (1608) bibliography of Jesuits' writings by Pedro de Ribadeneira, S.J. (d. 1611).[14]

Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, S.J., also included Father Jerome's life in his *Vidas exemplares*, a work on the lives of some venerable Jesuits published in Madrid in 1647. He discussed the origin of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, stating that while in Agra "to persuade the King to accept the Christian religion [Father Jerome] gave him a book written in the Persian language on the life, miracles and doctrine of Our Lord Jesus Christ. He [Akbar] greatly esteemed it, and ordered its reading many times, because he found satisfaction in its lesson."[15] Once again, this shows the context of its reception by Akbar; oral recitation was probably followed by commentary. Nieremberg refers to de Dieu's translation only briefly, stigmatizing him as a heretic.[16] A further work in which Father Jerome's activities are described is the *Kerckelycke Historie vande Gheheele Wereldt* by Cornelius Hazart, S.J. (d. 1690). The most interesting aspect of this Universal Church History, printed in four volumes between 1667 and 1671, is perhaps the set of imaginative prints related to the Jesuit missions in several continents. Among these is an extraordinary print portraying Father Jerome seated next to Akbar in what is supposed to be an interfaith debate at the Mughal court (fig. 2.2).[17]

An account of Father Jerome's life appears in the *Chrono-Historia*, published in 1710 by Bartolomé de Alcázar, S.J. (d. 1721). This examination of the Jesuits' activities in the province of Toledo includes eulogies of its most notable "spiritual sons," and, more importantly, reproduces six letters sent by Father Jerome to fellow Jesuits in Spain.[18] Alcázar's notes, entitled "Eulogy of Fr Jerome Xavier, apostolic missionary at the Mogor," were reproduced from the earlier (1629) *Epítome de la Biblioteca oriental* mentioned above. Besides describing Father Jerome's works, notably the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Alcázar remarked that when this was "presented to the Great Mughal, he [Akbar] entitled it Mirror of Purity."[19] This appealing idea, however, is not confirmed by other sources.

De Dieu's version of the *Mir'āt al-quds* was certainly known to Mathurin Veyssière de La Croze (d. 1739), a French Benedictine monk who became a Protestant convert and authored an *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*. La Croze savages Father Jerome's work and reputation. The Frenchman rightly reports that the Jesuit wrote two works in Persian—the *Mir'āt al-quds* and a Life of Saint Peter—and that de Dieu translated both into Latin. According to the Frenchman, the *Mir'āt al-quds* was crammed with "monstrous fictions, dreadful tales" and the Jesuit had "falsified it immensely," since he was

Fig. 2.2. *Father Jerome Xavier and Emperor Akbar in an Interfaith Debate* (print). Entitled "P. Hieronymus Xaverius vande Societeÿt Iesu ende Neve vanden H. Franc: Xaverius, disputeert inde teghenwoordicheÿt vanden Coninck van Mogor, met de Mahometaenen, ende overtuÿght se," in Cornelius Hazart, S.J., *Kerckelycke Historie vande Gheheele Wereldt*, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1667–71), 1: between pp. 274 and 275. Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University, R.B.R. folio 931 H428ke 1667. (Photo: courtesy of Harvard College Library)

not faithful to the words of the evangelists.[20] Both works were simply "suitable to the fire."[21]

Eight decades later, in 1839, James Hough in his *History of Christianity in India* was even harsher in his assessment of the author of *Mir'āt al-quds*, as revealed by the farfetched title given to the section in which Father Jerome's work was discussed: "J. Xavier's fictitious Gospels disgusts Akbar; who dies leaving no satisfactory evidence of his conversion."[22] Hough was most evidently aware of de Dieu's translations of Father Jerome's works and obviously knew of La Croze's biased criticism. He states that the *Mir'āt al-quds* included "Persian legends, which he [Father Jerome] imagined would render them more acceptable to his imperial

disciple."[23] Father Jerome did take some liberties but he did not incorporate stories with an Iranian origin. Rather amusingly, Hough added:

> Akbar had long been convinced of the fallacy of those fabulous tales, and was disgusted, instead of pleased, to see them mixed up with works that purported to give an account of the Author of Christianity.[24]

Hough's words are perplexing. He ignored, for instance, the high esteem in which Akbar held Christ and the Virgin, remarking:

> Some have concluded that he [Akbar] died a Christian, from the circumstance of the images of the Virgin Mary and Ignatius being found in his mausoleum: but the more probable conjecture is, that they were placed there, as European curiosities, to decorate his tomb, without regard to the persons represented, or as any intimation of what religion he died.[25]

Hough was also aware that Father Jerome translated the Koran into Portuguese. He classified it as "quite profane and superstitious," noting "what reception it met with from the Mahomedans is not mentioned."[26]

H. Blochmann was apparently the first author who revealed a scholarly interest in the *Mir'āt al-quds*.[27] While in Kolkata (formerly known as Calcutta), this translator of the first volume of the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* had access to one of the two copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds* that entered the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at unknown dates.[28] The result of his research was published in 1870 as a short yet enlightening article.[29] It includes a translation of Father Jerome's introduction, and a long summary of the contents of the first chapter.

The most comprehensive survey of the contents of the *Mir'āt al-quds* produced up to the present came to light in 1890.[30] In contrast to most authors who have analyzed the *Mir'āt al-quds*, A. Rogers seems to have read the entire text, giving a fairly complete sketch of the four chapters, particularly the first and the last. As he himself stated, he used de Dieu's book to compare the two versions in Latin and Persian.[31] For this translator of the *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, "a more extraordinary jumble of Scripture record and the wildest legends and fables has probably never been produced."[32] Unexpectedly, he justifies "the extent to which Father Jerome could draw upon his imagination" through divine intervention, suggesting that many details "were specially revealed to him."[33] It is clear that Rogers was familiar with neither Catholic traditions nor the history of the mission to the Mughal court. However, showing an unforeseen sense of fairness, the author acknowledged in his conclusion that such a "remarkable book" was apparently written in good faith and "in a manner to strike the Oriental imagination."[34] For Rogers, it was a product of the "comparatively unenlightened age" in which Father Jerome lived.[35]

The Jesuit missions to Akbar and the later Mughal emperors had previously aroused some interest, but it was only in 1896 that the first scholarly account, based on original sources and produced by Edward D. Maclagan, appeared.[36] Maclagan's long and thorough chronological essay refers to the *Mir'āt al-quds* on various occasions, yet it contains assertions based on faulty translations of Guerreiro's work.[37] In the final part of his essay, Maclagan discusses in an appendix Father Jerome's extensive literary production.[38] The two studies by C. H. Payne on the relations that Akbar and Jahangir maintained with the Jesuit fathers are also of relevance.[39] These are basically annotated translations of sections of both Guerreiro's and Du Jarric's works. Yet, because they are in English, they attracted, and continue to attract, enormous attention, becoming key sources for art historians dealing with Mughal miniatures of Christian subjects. In the earlier of Payne's two works, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, published in 1926, it is mentioned that Akbar commissioned the *Mir'āt al-quds* and that he received a copy from Father Jerome.[40] Payne also quotes Du Jarric when he notes that Father Jerome offered a copy of the text to Salim and that the prince had several of the "mysteries of his [Christ's] life" painted in a manuscript.[41] The book ends with Akbar's obituary, which states that the emperor had the *Mir'āt al-quds* read to him.[42] Payne's second work on the subject, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, was published in 1930. It contains numerous allusions to paintings inspired by episodes in Christ's life, acquiring thereby great relevance for art historians.

In 1927, in his survey entitled *Persian Literature*, C. A. Storey was the first to note the existence and location of fourteen copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds* in European and Indian libraries.[43] Although references to the *Mir'āt al-quds* continued to appear regularly in European literature, it was only in 1932 that knowledge of its existence reached greater audiences. This happened with

the publication of Maclagan's seminal work *The Jesuits and the Great Mughal*. Following Storey, he provided the location of fourteen copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, including the illustrated version at Lahore.[44] He must have had excellent contacts with private collectors and curators, as indicated by the impressive list of miniatures inspired by episodes of Christ's life and other Christian subjects, some of which are illustrated in the book.[45] He produced one of the earliest scholarly texts on the impact of European paintings and engravings on the Mughal *kitābkhāna*, which resulted in a considerable corpus of Mughal works based on Christian subjects.[46] The quality and accuracy of the book is such that many of his conclusions and suggestions are still accepted today.

As mentioned in chapter 1.1, in 1957 Arnulf Camps, S.J., published a valuable monograph based on Jesuit primary sources entitled *Jerome Xavier, S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire: Controversial Works and Missionary Activity*.[47] The *Mir'āt al-quds* is among the works discussed but the lack of a translation in a European language prevented Camps from giving a proper analysis of its contents. A few years later, in a short article in 1961, Camps further discussed Father Jerome's works in Persian, commenting that the *Mir'āt al-quds* "is a combination of texts taken from the Holy Gospels, but there are a few popular legends in it."[48] He also added to the list of fourteen copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds* three others identified by him.[49] Among these was, according to him, an illustrated copy with twenty-eight miniatures in what he described as the Sultani Museum in Bahawalpur, Pakistan.[50]

From 1965 onwards, the focus on the *Mir'āt al-quds* shifted considerably. Its miniatures—and no longer the text—began to attract scholarly attention. Until then, only occasionally had a miniature been identified as belonging to the *Mir'āt al-quds*.[51] The stimulus for this change of interest seems to have been the sale at auction in that same year of eight miniatures, then the property of Howard Hodgkin, identified as being from a copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*.[52] Six of these were illustrated in the accompanying sale catalogue as part of "Father Jerome Xavier's *Dāstān-i-Masīḥ* (Life of Christ),"[53] a text said to have been "written before 1600"; the miniatures "were probably executed at Agra."[54] This was apparently the first time that miniatures identified as being from a copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds* had appeared in the art market; they belonged to a single hitherto unknown copy. Two of these miniatures, *The Ascension of Christ* (fig. 2.3) and *Moses Praying to End the Serpents' Attacks on the Israelites* (fig. 4.5), were then acquired by Edwin Binney 3rd.[55] Their identification was confirmed in two exhibition catalogues of his collection organized in 1966 and 1974. On both occasions, the two paintings were published accompanied by short catalogue entries identifying them as belonging to a copy of the *Dāstān-i Masīḥ* attributed to Agra between 1601 and 1605.[56]

The 1980s brought a greater interest in Mughal painting. Three miniatures formerly in the Howard Hodgkin Collection were exhibited in the 17th Council of Europe Exhibition in Lisbon.[57] This was also the period when a number of what were then poorly studied manuscripts received attention for the first time. The illustrated copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds* at the Lahore Museum was among these. Since then it has been the subject of three articles. The earliest, by Abdullah Chaghatai was apparently written in 1974, but it was only published in 1988, after the author's death. It reproduces three of "the twelve paintings" then extant[58] and identifies a "small round seal" on the opening page as belonging to Akbar.[59] The second, by Nusrat Ali and Khalid Anis Ahmed, was published in 1995 and includes the illustration in color of the "eleven miniatures" in the manuscript, the subject of each of which is identified and discussed briefly.[60] The third article, by Gauvin Alexander Bailey, dates from 1997.[61] Four miniatures of the manuscript were specifically chosen by Bailey to demonstrate the impact of Jesuit drama on Mughal painting, a thesis defended on various occasions by the author.[62]

Bailey has given particular attention to Father Jerome's work in general as well as to the *Mir'āt al-quds* and its illustrations. In 1999, the author noted in his *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America* that the text is indebted to Saint Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* because of the emphasis on "envisioning biblical characters in a visually accurate, immediate, and tangible way."[63] He described Father Jerome's physical descriptions of Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist as "acculturative," since they find parallels in Muslim and Hindu contexts.[64] He also asserted that Father Jerome was directly involved in the making of the paintings in the two copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds* documented by

Fig. 2.3. *The Ascension of Christ*. Opaque watercolor on paper, 16.5 x 8 cm. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Edwin Binney 3rd Collection. San Diego Museum of Art, inv. no. 1990.309. (Photo: courtesy of the San Diego Museum of Art)

Maclagan in 1896,[65] arguing that "with these paintings, Xavier moved towards an indigenization of Christian imagery."[66] In 2004, the same author discussed paintings on Christian subjects, including some belonging to the *Mir'āt al-quds*, in an article dealing with Christianity in a Muslim empire.[67] The following year, immediately after the Cleveland Museum of Art acquired the manuscript under examination here, nine of the twenty-four miniatures in Cleveland were reproduced for the first time.[68] Bailey attributes the Cleveland copy of the

Mir'āt al-quds to Salim's painters, who worked "in the finest court style."[69] In the long captions that accompany each of the reproduced miniatures, he comments on Father Jerome's text, pointing to the use of "Islamic and Sufi (mystical Islamic) metaphors" in the writing.[70] For Bailey, the miniatures were based on Jesuit plays[71] and the fathers were consulted regarding their making.[72]

Miniatures belonging to copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds* appear regularly in the art market.[73] In 1991, and again in 2001, four paintings from the Cleveland copy appeared in auctions in London.[74] Of these, only one, *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman at the Well* (cat. no. XVI), was in fact sold.[75] Information about the *Mir'āt al-quds* in sales and exhibition catalogues is normally very limited, since interest is generally focused on the miniatures. This is the case with the catalogue of the exhibition on *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting* (1991), where *The Annunciation of the Birth of Jesus to the Shepherds* (fig. 2.4), once in the Howard Hodgkin Collection and now in the Catharine and Ralph Benkaim Collection, was published.[76] Two books based on two important London collections of Mughal miniatures are of note. The earlier one, by J. M. Rogers, was first published in 1993; it reproduces the miniature *Jesus near Jerusalem* (fig. 4.11), formerly in the Howard Hodgkin Collection and acquired in 1965 by the British Museum.[77] More recently, in 2002, Susan Stronge included a miniature (*The Place of Jesus's Birth*) previously published by Maclagan,[78] which in the meantime entered the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 4.2).[79] A manuscript that has been misidentified since 2004 as a *Mir'āt al-quds* in the catalogues of various international exhibitions also deserves a note.[80] Preserved in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, it is, in fact, an incomplete and undated copy of the Gospels in Persian.[81] Whether this was Father Jerome's own translation or a copy of an earlier translation is unclear.[82] It is, nevertheless, certain that his version of the Gospels in Persian was produced after the *Mir'āt al-quds*, since in 1604 the Jesuit wrote to the Provincial of Goa that he was preparing just such a translation; he ultimately presented it to Emperor Jahangir in March of 1607.[83]

2.2. IDENTIFYING THE LITERARY SOURCES USED BY FATHER JEROME XAVIER

In the introduction to the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Father Jerome noted that most of the work derives from the Gospels (as understood in the Latin Vulgate Bible) and that he "disregarded the writings of others."[84] At the end of his manuscript, however, he added that "other books from the prophets"[85] were also used. Although the latter statement is more correct, it is far from accurate, as an examination of the text reveals a number of sources that do not fit in either of the two specified categories. As noted earlier, the text has been the subject of a number of studies, yet, to the best of my knowledge, none has identified specific sources, and texts such as the Gospels, the Apocrypha, and sacred and ecclesiastical traditions have been referred to only in very general terms. Most authors, such as H. Blochmann, who in 1870 translated almost all of Father Jerome's introduction and provided the contents of the first chapter, simply did not discuss sources.[86] Other than de Dieu, the only author who seems to have read and analyzed the entire text was A. Rogers, who in 1890 wrongly stated that "much of what is contained in the work has been drawn, not from the Canonical Scriptures, but from Apocrypha and tradition."[87] In 1932, Maclagan added:

> The book was to a large extent a translation from the Gospels and it contained little in the way of doctrine or moralizing that was not to be found in the New Testament. But the story itself was expanded and many legends were included which though prevalent in Europe had been rejected by the Protestant opinion of the day…[88]

In 1991, Gahlin classified Father Jerome's text as a "translation of the New Testament, though expanded with legends which were no longer accepted by Protestant opinion of the day."[89]

Bailey refers to the Bible on various occasions, but does not attempt to identify specific sources. In his doctoral dissertation, published in 1996, he stated that the *Mir'āt al-quds* "is primarly made up of New Testament stories."[90] The following year, in an article discussing the hypothetical link between Jesuit theater and the miniatures of the *Mir'āt al-quds* in Lahore, he treated the subject in general terms and with respect to other works by Father Jerome. "These Bible stories, lives of

Fig. 2.4. *The Annunciation of the Birth of Jesus to the Shepherds*. Opaque watercolor on paper, 14.7 x 7.3 cm. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection. (Photo: courtesy of the Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection)

the saints, and fictitious interfaith debates were crafted in the literary Persian style, replete with Sufi metaphors involving, for example, mirrors, and the human heart, and were built on a Neoplatonic philosophical framework that was shared by Islam and Christianity."[91] He also added that the *Mir'āt al-quds* "intersperses Gospel stories with Apocrypha and legends from the Early Church."[92] In 1999, the same author referred to the subject of sources once more but for a different reason: "The illustrations to the *Mirror of Holiness* do not even have much in common with traditional European *Christological* cycles, since they make use of legends and stories that were not in the Gospel but were a staple of mystery plays."[93]

Because of their importance, the sources employed by Father Jerome, including apocryphal gospels, historical texts, and works based on Christian legends and traditions, merit discussion. The use of non-Biblical sources in a *Vita Christi* is justifiable, since the canonical Gospels present meager information on various aspects of his life. This is particularly true when discussing Jesus's childhood and adolescence, as well as Mary's life, which are overlooked in the canonical Gospels but amply discussed in the first part of the *Mir'āt al-quds*.

In the dedication of his manuscript to Akbar, Father Jerome further pledged that his account contained "everything we have in our books on the sayings and actions of Christ."[94] This ambitious statement confirms that he of course sought to provide a truthful and authoritative account. He explained that "in order that they be better verifiable" the source of each quotation had been annotated in the margins of the (non-illustrated) copy presented to Akbar.[95] Regrettably, that copy is lost and such notes were not reproduced in the three contemporary copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds* examined in the present study, namely, those in the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Lahore Museum, and the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).[96]

Father Jerome's concern with providing the sources for the *Mir'āt al-quds* indicates that he was well aware of the possibility that his text would be examined and debated. Sources must have been cited to confirm authoritative origin in "holy texts" rather than human commentators. In many ways, this is comparable to the difference between citing the Koran as opposed to the hadith. Father Jerome's Muslim counterparts at the court might have given him cause for some apprehension. Letters from the various missionaries based in the Mughal Empire never allude to such a possibility, but it is clear that local Muslim religious authorities would not accept texts other than the Bible. It was irrelevant for this matter whether they were actually versed in the Gospels and other Christian literature, for textual sources could only come from what they considered a "holy book" and not from "later distortions," as Muslims were prone to call non-Biblical works.

It is also conceivable that Father Jerome was concerned about the eventual reactions of his European counterparts, particularly the Protestants, for whom the Bible is the *sola scriptura*. Ludovico de Dieu's publication in 1639 of Father Jerome's text side by side with its Latin translation attests that his solicitude was justified. It is unknown whether the two copies to which de Dieu[97] had access were annotated, since Father Jerome's original notes are also absent in the printed edition. Regardless of their existence, to a Protestant mind the *Mir'āt al-quds* would have remained a polluted work, with or without notes.

The Inquisition, established in Goa since 1560, was surely a potential cause for anxiety.[98] Father Jerome must have been aware that as a subject the life of Christ was among the most perilous. The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* shows how much attention the theme attracted. De Dieu's translation, for example, was placed in the *Index* in 1660–61,[99] and it is no coincidence that the last book placed on the last version of the list, in 1961, was also a Life of Christ.[100] During the almost two decades that the missionary lived at the Mughal court, he maintained permanent contact with the Jesuit authorities in both Goa and Rome and was therefore aware of the Inquisition. In contrast to his translation of the Gospels into Persian, a copy of which Father Jerome himself sent from Lahore to the pope,[101] documentary sources do not mention whether he dispatched a copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds* to Rome or, for that matter, to Goa. Yet the growing number of copies meant that the chance that at least one of these might reach the Goan or Roman authorities also increased. The large number of extant (non-illustrated) copies and the fact that some of these were available in Europe less than three decades after the writing of the *Mir'āt al-quds* justified his cautiousness.

The reasons that led the author to identify the Gospels and the books of the prophets as his exclusive sources are understandable. It would have been less problematic for Muslims to accept a text said to be based exclusively on the Old and New Testaments than one based on miscellaneous and less divulged sources. Moreover, any episode or teaching deriving from the Scriptures was certainly less likely to raise major disputes in a Muslim milieu. Father Jerome's goal was to enlighten Akbar on "the stages of Jesus's heavenly teaching and the levels of his greatness"[102] rather than to highlight complex and ambiguous issues surrounding the founder of Christianity. According to the Koran, God brought

the Gospel to Jesus.[103] Although Muslim commentators believe that Christians later distorted it, it is nevertheless regarded as a divine scripture.[104] Identifying a variety of non-Biblical sources, for the most part alien in a Muslim context, would have perhaps exposed what some might have considered to be fragilities in the Catholic discourse. It also would have obscured the text and diverted the emperor's attention from what Father Jerome considered fundamental—demonstrating the alleged superiority of Christ's teachings.

Father Jerome's erudition was sufficient for the realization of such an ambitious project. Yet examining the type of works that interested him and the immensity of the task that he imposed on himself as an author and translator while at the Mughal court, it becomes clear that this project required him to consult early literary sources of not only religious but also historical interest, which would have reached him through Goa. Soon after Father Jerome's arrival at the court, Akbar lent him a series of books on various subjects offered to him by the first Jesuit mission,[105] which Father Jerome most certainly used in his text. Most were in Latin, as he acknowledges in his preamble,[106] but others were in Portuguese. Besides the so-called Plantin Polyglot Bible, these included the *Concordandes* of the Bible, possibly by Luis de Tovar (d. ca. 1507); the *Summa Theologica* of Saint Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), in four parts; the *Lives of the Popes,* possibly by Bartolomeo Platina (d. 1481); the *Latin Grammar* of Manuel Álvares, S.J. (d. 1583); the *Chronicle of St. Francis,* by a non-identified author; what has been called the *Chronicle of Cajetan*, possibly the commentary on Saint Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* by Cardinal Thomas Cajetan (d. 1534); the *Comentários do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque* (Commentaries of the Great Afonso de Albuquerque), by his son, Brás de Albuquerque (d. 1581); the *Ordinações de Portugal* (on Portuguese Laws and Statutes); and the *Constitutions of the Company of Jesus* and the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius of Loyola.[107]

2.2.1. *The Old Testament*

Father Jerome quoted and made use of episodes from most of the books that form the Old Testament as Catholics understand it according to the Douay-Rheims Bible. He identified his sources on a number of occasions[108] but more often than not these were simply ignored. Most episodes are reproduced faithfully but he appropriated and changed several to fit his own purposes. He often used an event from the New Testament to introduce an Old Testament figure. He attributed a series of sayings and thoughts to Moses and followed the traditional belief that the prophet himself was indeed their author.[109] A considerable number of episodes derived from the five books of the Pentateuch were reproduced. However, with a single exception (in which a specific source was clearly identified[110]), he never acknowledged that he was quoting from Genesis,[111] Exodus,[112] Leviticus,[113] Numbers,[114] and Deuteronomy.[115]

Father Jerome frequently quoted from the Psalms[116] but only occasionally were these specifically identified as sources.[117] In one instance, he cleverly modified the contents of a particular Psalm by stating that "the kings of the earth shall fall before" Jesus rather than Solomon, as in the original.[118] Although the Psalm might have in any case been understood in the Christian manner as a prophecy regarding Christ, Father Jerome was certainly aware of what he had done, since he specifically identified the Psalm number (71) in the text. On a number of occasions, including when quoting from the Books of Tobias,[119] Jeremiah,[120] Daniel,[121] Joel,[122] Jonah,[123] Zacharias,[124] and Micah,[125] the titles are specifically identified. He also seems to have referred to the Books of Hosea[126] and of Malachi,[127] but their titles are not identified. On one occasion, Father Jerome was apparently confused and identified Jeremiah as the author of a certain saying, when it seems to have been by Zacharias instead.[128]

As discussed in chapter 2.3, the Old Testament figure quoted most frequently in the *Mir'āt al-quds* is Isaiah, who is named on at least sixteen occasions.[129] Unusually, in two instances Father Jerome provided the chapter numbers.[130] On six other occasions, Isaiah is quoted but without being identified.[131]

Among the figures from the Old Testament mentioned in the *Mir'āt al-quds* who are prophets of Islam are Adam, Noah/Nuh, Moses/Musa, Abraham/Ibrahim, Jacob/Yaʿqub, Elijah/Ilyas, Elisha/al-Yasaʿ, Jonah/Yunus, David/Dawud and Solomon/Sulayman.[132] Finally, 1 Kings,[133] and 2 Kings[134] were used mainly as unnamed sources for three stories involving Elijah pre-

dicting the drought, the widow of Sarepta, and the cure of Naaman the Syrian's leprosy.

2.2.2. *The New Testament*

Although their titles are never identified, the major sources for the *Mir'āt al-quds* are, as one would expect, the four canonical Gospels. As a Catholic living at the end of the sixteenth century, Father Jerome would have used the so-called Clementine Vulgate,[135] which was available in various editions in the 1590s and became the standard Bible of the Roman rite.[136] Father Jerome employed the Gospels of Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, Saint Luke, and Saint John, without concentrating on any in particular, shifting rather effortlessly from one to the other. Although the identification of the precise Gospel used is not always possible—since often the same episode is narrated in similar fashion in two or more of the Gospels—his approach would seem close to what at present could be described as "cut and paste." He sometimes quotes a specific Gospel, then interrupts it to insert a verse from a parallel passage in a second Gospel, only to go back to the initial one.

References to other texts of the New Testament (as accepted by Catholics) are not uncommon; most are from the Acts of the Apostles, which is employed mainly in the final part of the *Mir'āt al-quds*.[137] The Acts of the Apostles was quoted directly when narrating crucial events such as the Ascension[138] and the day of Pentecost.[139] Father Jerome also included references to various Epistles in his text. Most are rather vague and, because they are commonly reproduced, it is not always possible to identify the precise source, though some seem to have been directly copied.[140]

2.2.3. *The apocryphal gospels: On the lives of Mary and Jesus*

Father Jerome expounds at length on the life of Mary. In most instances, events in which the Virgin played a role but was not the central figure are narrated according to the canonical Gospels, e.g., the presentation of Jesus in the temple, the wedding at Cana, and the Crucifixion. However, for the early part of her life, on which there is scarce information, apocryphal texts and others works based on these—such as Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*—were instead employed. Although it is not always possible to identify the precise source that Father Jerome used, an examination of the text seems to indicate that for the period prior to Mary's entry into the temple he mainly consulted the *Libellus de Nativitate Sanctae Mariae* (Book of the Birth of Saint Mary), also known as the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary. For the period between this and the Annunciation, his words are closer to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, on which the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary was based. From the Annunciation[141] onwards, he draws mainly on the canonical Gospels.

For Jesus's early life, Father Jerome resorted as well to apocryphal sources. Although the years in Egypt are discussed at great length in the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew, it seems that he also consulted the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Savior, or another work based on this, in which a number of miracles supposedly performed by the child Jesus are to be found.

2.2.4. *Abgar's letter*

As pointed out earlier, Father Jerome began the *Mir'āt al-quds* with an episode from the apocryphal testament involving an exchange of letters between Jesus and Abgar V, the ruler of Edessa (r. 4 B.C.–7 A.D.; 13–50), as well as the miraculous making of Jesus's portrait.[142] He returns to this story in the second part of his narrative.[143] Like many apocryphal stories, it was never codified and a number of variants are recorded. It is unclear which version Father Jerome used. Indeed, it seems that in order to build up his narrative he employed elements from various sources. It is possible that he used a version of the episode based on Voragine, but this has yet to be identified. It is, however, apparent that Voragine's version was not his only source—if it was used at all—since his version is markedly different.[144] The episode was nonetheless adapted to serve his own purposes.

The earliest version of the Jesus/Abgar episode is known through the first book of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Eusebius of Caesarea (d. ca. 340).[145] This work was written in Greek in the early fourth century, but the text only became more accessible after its early fifth-century translation into Latin by Tyrannius Rufinus (d. ca. 410).[146] Eusebius refers to a document in Syriac found in the "Record Office at Edessa" according

to which Abgar, after hearing of Jesus's healing powers, sent a courier with a letter inviting him to visit his city, Edessa. The invitation—as described by Father Jerome—had a double purpose: to obtain a cure for the dying ruler as well as to offer Jesus refuge from the Jews who were "lying in wait," and "wanted to kill" him.[147] According to Eusebius, "all this happened in the year 340" of the Seleucid era, when Jesus would have been thirty years old.[148]

According to Eusebius, Jesus also replied by letter:[149]

> Happy are you who believed in me without having seen me! For it is written of me that those who have seen me will not believe in me, and that those who have not seen me will believe and live. As to your request that I should come to you, I must complete all that I was sent to do here, and on completing it must at once be taken up to the One who sent me. When I have been taken up, I will send you one of my disciples to cure your disorder and bring life to you and those with you.[150]

Father Jerome gives a shorter version of this letter, stating that Jesus refused Abgar's invitation and that after his Ascension a disciple came to Edessa, at which point both king and population converted to Christianity.[151] Eusebius's account alludes neither to a portrait nor to its making as found in the Jesuit's narrative,[152] indicating therefore that the latter used a second source. References to the painting first appear in the *Doctrina Addai*, a text that in its present form is datable to the early fifth century.[153] Several versions of it survive in various languages, including Armenian, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Coptic, Slavonic, and Syriac.[154] The most complete version is thought to be a sixth-century Syriac manuscript, now in St. Petersburg,[155] from which translations into English and French have been made.[156] The *Doctrina Addai* identifies Addai as the envoy sent by the Apostle Jude Thaddeus to Edessa after Jesus's Ascension to convert the king and the population.[157] The *Doctrina* also identifies the courier sent by Abgar as "Hanan the archivist," a name etymologically close to Father Jerome's version, Ananias.[158] In the *Doctrina*, instead of being given a letter, the courier is instructed by Jesus to deliver an oral message to the king[159] in which Jesus blesses Edessa, proclaiming, "May no enemy ever again rule over it,"[160] a variation on Father Jerome's words.[161] The account also contains information concerning the origin and destiny of Jesus's portrait:

> When Hanan the archivist saw that Jesus had spoken thus to him, he took and painted the portrait of Jesus with choice pigments, since he was the king's artist and brought it with him to his lord King Abgar. When King Abgar saw the portrait he received it with great joy and placed it with great honor in one of the buildings of his palaces.[162]

Because Father Jerome explicitly referred to a cloth imprinted with Jesus's face[163] and not to a painting made by Abgar's artist, it is evident that he also made use of yet another version of the episode. Literary references to a miraculous cloth printed with Jesus's face first appear in the *Acta Sancti Maris* (Acts of Mari), a text that in its present form cannot be dated earlier than the mid-sixth or, most probably, the seventh century.[164] In this work, Mari, the supposed creator of the Church of the East, is said to be a contemporary of Addai. According to the text, because the painter sent by Abgar could not make "a painting of the adorable manhood of our Lord," Jesus imprinted his face on a linen cloth.[165] This concurs with Father Jerome's statement that "… Jesus asked him for a piece of clothing, which he passed over his blessed face and gave back to him. [Ananias] found his very likeness on it."[166]

The *Acta Sancti Maris* and the *Mir'āt al-quds* both begin with the story of Abgar and Christ, and share a number of other elements as well. It is therefore likely that Father Jerome may have had access to a copy of this text.[167] However, this does not preclude the possibility that he consulted another work, or works, as well. As J. B. Segal first noticed, the sanctity of the painting increased manifestly throughout time: from a portrait drawn by an archivist, it became a work made with the assistance of Jesus, until it was transformed into a divine image.[168] Father Jerome clearly acknowledges its divinity—"because of it [Abgar] achieved victories in his campaigns"[169]—as had the author of the *Doctrina Addai* centuries earlier. Father Jerome's words refer to the failed Sasanian attack on Edessa in the year 544, when the portrait was transformed into a Christian palladium. This idea was first put forward by Evagrius Scholasticus (d. 590s), who in his *Historia Ecclesiastica,* dating to the late sixth century, attributed the failure of the siege of Edessa by Khusraw I Anusharwan (r. ca. 531–79) to the miraculous portrait.[170]

The exchange of letters between Jesus and Abgar as well as the presumed existence of a portrait of Jesus—either human-made or miraculous—became very popular among Orthodox Christians. In the West, the episode was included in various works on the story of the Latin Church, but it was never given prime importance. Some of these works were printed during Father Jerome's lifetime and became part of the debates between Catholics and Reformists in the late Renaissance. The Lutheran authors of the *Historia Ecclesiae Christi*, published in Basel between 1559 and 1574, did not consider the correspondence between Abgar and Christ spurious, but Cardinal Baronius (d. 1607) expressed doubts about its authenticity in his *Annales Ecclesiastici a Christo Nato ad Annum 1198*, first published between 1588 and 1607.[171]

An assessment of the sources related to Abgar and the portrait of Jesus is necessary to understand how Father Jerome became aware of the episode. Although a well-read Jesuit would have known the apocryphal testament and was certainly attentive to the polemics between Lutherans and Catholics,[172] evidence that Father Jerome was aware of the episode long before his arrival in India comes from his indication of the location in Genoa of the so-called Holy Mandylion (fig. 2.5). This was identified by Father Jerome,[173] and by many others, as the portrait from Edessa. While in India, Father Jerome might have also encountered the story through different sources. The possibility that he had access to a Syriac version of the episode cannot be discarded. After all, while in Kochi—where he lived from 1585 to 1592—Syriac was the language used in the liturgy of the Saint Thomas Christians, with whom he maintained close contact. As noted, Edessa and India are connected through the life of one the twelve Apostles, Saint Thomas, who is believed to have received India as a mission territory.[174] Whether he ever reached any part of the Indian subcontinent is uncertain and irrelevant for the present discussion.[175] However, like Addai, Saint Thomas is also believed to have converted a local ruler, the Indian king Gundaphorus, as well as his brother and many others.[176] The parallels between the two stories are conspicuous.

According to tradition, Saint Thomas was buried in the south of India. Marco Polo (d. 1324)[177] and the Portuguese believed this to be so; as early as 1517, the latter were searching for Saint Thomas's body in Mylapore, south of Chennai (formerly known as Madras), on the Coromandel Coast.[178] Lisbon acknowledged and promoted this idea to the utmost: after establishing themselves in the city, the Portuguese changed its name to São Tomé de Méliapor,[179] thereby honoring the Apostle.[180]

Fig. 2.5. *Holy Mandylion*. Medieval period, donated to the doge of Genoa by the Byzantine emperor John V Palaeologus (d. 1391). Church of St. Bartholomew of the Armenians, Genoa. (Photo: Pedro Moura Carvalho)

2.2.5. *Religious literature and other historical texts*

Like many of his contemporaries, Father Jerome made use of the so-called *Legenda Aurea* (Golden Legend), a

text that was widely copied and published in a number of languages since Jacobus de Voragine composed it in the thirteenth century. It became one of the most popular works of hagiography and the source of various unlikely stories from which Father Jerome drew information to compose, for instance, the list of miraculous events that supposedly followed Jesus's birth.[181]

A further work to which Father Jerome seems to have had access was the *Martyrologium Romanum*, in which the lives of martyrs and saints were celebrated by the Roman Catholic Church according to the Gregorian calendar. After it first appeared in 1583, revised editions were printed in that same decade, which certainly facilitated Father Jerome's access to it. He quotes almost word for word a paragraph combining various dates, including those of some important historical events related to Jesus's birth. These are presented in chronological order from the supposed creation of the world in 5199 B.C. to the year 42 of Augustus's rule, when Jesus is believed to have been born.[182] The Old and New Testaments are important sources for historical events, but Father Jerome also used a number of non-Biblical historical texts. Whether he used the original sources or works based on these is not always clear. For example, in describing Herod's death he states that the king committed suicide to escape his painful physical agony.[183] In this case, Father Jerome does not seem to have referred to Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*, according to which Herod was prevented from killing himself by his cousin Achiabus.[184] The same is also true when composing his long description of the destruction of Jerusalem.[185] It seems to be loosely based on *The Jewish War*, also by Josephus, suggesting that he had access to a second, unidentified text based on Josephus's original. Certain parts are indeed very faithful to Josephus's text, others less so.

Father Jerome appears to have consulted books known to have been in Akbar's library. Besides the so-called Polyglot Bible, he might also have used the *Summa Theologica* of Saint Thomas Aquinas, from which he would have retrieved information concerning some of the miracles that supposedly occurred at Jesus's birth. These included the oil fountain in Rome[186] and the appearance of three suns in the sky of Spain.[187] Father Jerome also made use of an exceptionally late source: the *Exercitia Spiritualia* (*Spiritual Exercises*), by Saint Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit order. The *Spiritual Exercises* consists of a four-week long program of visualizations, meditations, and prayers, which became an essential element in the education of every Jesuit novice. They are of relevance in the present context because the exercises for the second and third weeks are to a great extent inspired by Christ's life. By 1548, they had received papal sanction and were first published.[188] Because of their educational function, a considerable number of copies must have been sent to India, where they could be used in the local Jesuit colleges. As noted, the *Spiritual Exercises* was among the books offered to Akbar by the first mission in February of 1580.[189] Father Jerome strongly favored the *Exercises* and firmly believed in their power to strengthen missionaries' spiritual beliefs.[190] As the rector of the College of Kochi, he suggested that these should be repeated yearly,[191] even by those who were in poor health.[192] He continued to perform them even at the Mughal court, as attested by a letter sent to the General in September 1596.[193]

Although he does not acknowledge it, the influence of the *Exercises* is discernible in his work in two different ways. Father Jerome's thorough visual descriptions are meant to make a lasting impression on the mind of the reader or listener. His fondness for describing what were per se dramatic events, such as Jesus's scourging and Crucifixion, are better explained in this light. He includes minute and painful details that are not found in the canonical Gospels. In reality, without such vivid descriptions the chance that Akbar or any other reader or listener might ignore or dispute such episodes would have increased significantly. Given the Mughal/Muslim disbelief in Jesus's Crucifixion, this aspect might have been especially highlighted by the author. The impact of the *Exercises* may also be inferred directly from his text. When narrating Mary and Joseph's journey to Bethlehem, for example, he describes it in terms not found in any of the four Gospels:[194] "Mary suffered especially because her son was going to be born any day, and for that reason she rode a pack beast. They also had an ox that carried their belongings…."[195] This passage seems to have been taken from Saint Ignatius's text: "… Our Lady went forth from Nazareth, about nine months with child…seated on an ass, and accompanied by Joseph and a maid, taking an ox…."[196]

Curiously, the reference to the ox in the two Jesuit texts became an important element in two miniatures of the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*, namely, *Mary and Joseph Travel to Bethlehem* (cat. no. V), and *The Place of Jesus's Birth* (cat. no. VI).

2.3. AN INTERPRETATION OF THE ABGAR EPISODE AND SOME FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Father Jerome's decision to begin his text[197] with the story of Jesus and Abgar V was unusually bold for a Catholic missionary living as a guest at the court of one of the greatest Muslim rulers. It also demonstrates Father Jerome's singular ability and perspicacity to introduce in an alien environment a little-known but highly pertinent episode. The story must have made a strong impression at the Mughal court, since it was illustrated at least twice, including in the copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds* in Cleveland (cat. no. XXV) and Lahore (fig. 4.10).[198] There are a variety of reasons why Father Jerome opened an imperial commission with what at first seems to have been an implausible story. As a preamble to the *Mir'āt al-quds*, the episode has a clear apologetic intent. Nevertheless, more relevant are the political messages and their multiple layers of interpretation. Before trying to understand Father Jerome's choice, the history of Edessa needs to be addressed.

As Father Jerome explains, King Abgar V Ukhama ("the Black") ruled over a small kingdom in Upper Mesopotamia, the capital of which was Edessa (modern Urfa in southeastern Turkey).[199] After the Seleucids withdrew from the region (130–129 B.C.), Edessa remained autonomous under Parthian power.[200] In the following centuries, it managed to maintain its independence between Zoroastrian Iran and pagan Rome. In A.D. 213–14, Edessa became a Roman colony (*colonia*) and around the year 242 the "Abgar dynasty"[201] came to an end, when it was annexed by Rome.[202] Edessa and its ruling dynasty have usually been studied in connection with the spread of Christianity in Mesopotamia. Abgar V was, according to some Eastern traditions, the first ruler to convert to the recently established religion, while Edessa was acclaimed as the first kingdom to officially adopt Christianity.[203] Such assertions were disputed in the past, as they continue to be today.[204] However, these issues are of little relevance to the present discussion. Oral traditions and the resulting literary accounts kept the legend of Abgar's conversion as well as that of the Holy Mandylion alive a millennium later. This is confirmed by Voragine's medieval text of the *Legenda Aurea*, used almost certainly by Father Jerome as a source.[205]

Among the reasons justifying Father Jerome's decision to begin his text with this episode, one is immediately clear and was noticed as early as 1870. When translating the introduction of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, H. Blochmann remarked on the *lusus verborum* with respect to the two rulers' names.[206] The names "Abgar" and "Akbar" are phonetically very similar and the coincidence might have appealed to the emperor.

A further reason is that Father Jerome compares himself to the painter, who tried hard on repeated occasions to "draw the best and most beautiful portrait he could."[207] According to his own words, it took him many attempts to conclude his mission and submit the manuscript:

> If I have taken a long time to produce this book and copies of it, truly it has been because I arranged it several times and considered it finished, but every time I completed it and made a clean copy of the draft, when I compared the Persian to books in Latin, my heart sank, and what had been perfect appeared so defective that I was ashamed of my labor and despaired in my inability and incompetence.[208]

And like Abgar's painter, only through "God's grace"[209] did he conclude his work.

Other parallels between the two monarchs may also be suggested. Although Akbar ruled over a vast and well-established empire while Abgar's power stretched over a small territory squeezed in between two mighty empires, both maintained permanent international contacts.[210] They were each non-Christian sovereigns who ruled over a number of religious minorities, including Jews and pagans. Moreover, Abgar's story involves a king and courtiers as well as miracles, elements that are known to have appealed to Akbar.

The story is an allegory regarding the expansion of Christianity into new realms. At the same time, it demonstrates the antiquity of Christianity. It therefore served Father Jerome's purposes. He clearly used

the Abgar legend to try to influence the emperor. Perhaps the most important idea was that it was not necessary to know Jesus to have faith in him, as the words of Abgar himself reveal: "If he comes to my kingdom, half of my realm will be at his service."[211] Father Jerome also showed that despite his illness Abgar's faith remained intact and that faith in Jesus was synonymous with health and military victories. Father Jerome clearly used the power of images to show Akbar that embracing Christ was the way to salvation, a "balm for the soul and life eternal."[212] The Jesuit also compares himself, albeit indirectly, to Christ's disciple, sent "to teach you [Abgar] the path of salvation and to heal you in my name of the illness you have."[213] Like him, Father Jerome was a follower of Christ delivering a document to a non-Christian ruler. In so doing he was hopeful that Emperor Akbar would be inspired by King Abgar's conversion. Father Jerome's *Mir'āt al-quds* and Christ's letter are also comparable in a peculiar and perhaps unexpected way. The manuscript granted Father Jerome and his fellow missionaries access to the emperor, just as the letter granted Christ's disciple access to the king of Edessa, allowing him the opportunity to convert the king and the population.[214] Father Jerome was clearly not shy about this privilege. He even felt confident enough to suggest to Akbar that he read the book "repeatedly in imperial gatherings."[215]

2.3.1. *Additional reflections on the* Mir'āt al-quds

The *Mir'āt al-quds* reflects the specificities of the environment in which Father Jerome was working, while showing the extent to which he adapted himself to the local condition. Such adjustments are noticeable in different ways. Although he wrote a book on Christ's life, he began the text following a formula adopted in the Islamic lands:

> Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds and final reward of the pious, and prayers and salutations upon his apostle Muhammad and his family and companions all.[216]

The use of expressions such as "peace be upon him"[217] and "may God be content with her"[218] when first mentioning the names of Jesus and Mary, respectively, also confirms his willingness to conform to local traditions.

The narrative is localized with respect to not only customs and geography, but also language and the terminology employed. For units of currency, Father Jerome very often changed the original "talents" to "dinars,"[219] while introducing specificities of the Indian numbering system, such as the *lakh* (a unit equal to 100,000; in terms of currency, it is worth 100,000 rupees).[220] On other occasions, he made discerning adaptations and cultural "translations." At Pentecost, Christ's disciples started to speak the languages of visitors to Jerusalem;[221] Father Jerome replaced the nationalities mentioned with ones that would be more familiar to a Mughal: "Iraqis, Shirvanis, Turanians, Egyptians, inhabitants of Diyarbekir,[222] Africans, Anatolians, Arabs."[223] The absence of "vineyards"[224] in the Mughal territories led him to occasionally replace these with "gardens";[225] "silk"[226] was substituted for "fine linen"; an "idol"[227] replaced a pagan god; "idolater"[228] was used instead of the more Biblical "publican" or collector of taxes. Moreover, what were essentially local common goods such as "carpets"[229] and turbans[230] were presented as parts of Biblical accounts. On one occasion, Father Jerome made use of what must have been a local tautological saying: "as an elephant can be known from its footprint and a lion from its claw"[231]; at other times he did not hesitate to transcribe Portuguese/Latin terms such as "inferno,"[232] "limbo,"[233] and "purgatorio."[234] Typical Arabic expressions such as "God willing"[235] (also common in Latin—*Deo volente*) were widely employed, while others such as "emperor of world refuge,"[236] "his forehead on the imperial threshold,"[237] "shadow of God,"[238] and "king of kings"[239] were inspired by well-established Persianate court terminology also adopted by the Mughals. And in the concluding lines of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Father Jerome made of use of expressions such as "Emperor of the Era, the Lord of Brilliant Soul, Master of the Age" in reference to Akbar.[240]

Father Jerome's text reflects the era in which he lived and his Catholic background. He attributes the killing of Jesus to the Jews,[241] and his many references to relics and saints reflect the importance that these held for the Jesuits. Some were deposited at the Church of Bom Jesus in Goa, but the Jesuits often asked Rome for others.[242] His taste for scenes involving physical pain and bloodshed is a reflection of how entrenched these were in the Southern European Catholic discourse of the period. He often added details that were completely superfluous, but nevertheless enhance the drama and visualiza-

tion of the scenes. For example, as if it were not enough to state that Judas hanged himself after betraying Jesus, Father Jerome further remarked that "[h]is belly split open, and his intestines spilled out."[243] The aim was to make a lasting impression on the reader/listener. The description of episodes involving Jesus, including that of his scourging, are particularly violent, as if to convince the emperor and his attendants of the veracity of the accounts; again, the aim was to impress upon the reader/listener the authenticity of the narrative:

> Jesus was taken away to a special place, stripped naked, and bound to a pole. Six men were assigned to beat him, and they took turns, two by two, lashing him with leather whips and scourges in such a way that blood flowed from him onto the ground and the flesh fell in strips from his body, his bones showed white, and he was wounded and raw from head to foot. It is known that they beat him with 5,780-odd lashes.[244]

Another interesting point about Father Jerome's text is that he never discusses or refers to the Society of Jesus or its members, Goa, or even the pope and the Church as powerful political entities. Only on a few occasions does he refer to contemporaneous events and institutions. For example, when discussing various relics, he provides the reader with their then current locations.[245] In another instance, when discussing the argument about Mary's date of birth, he refers to the establishment in the year 1250 of a holiday commemorating that day by Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54).[246] The emphasis that Father Jerome placed on this commemorative date must have been related to the missionaries' own interests in perhaps setting up another religious festival, a guaranteed way of drawing attention to the Virgin, and to the Jesuit cause at the court.

Incorporating contemporary events or information into the text would have been a straightforward way of capturing Akbar's attention, but it might also have distracted the emperor from the narrative's core message. It seems, however, that Father Jerome tried to attract him with other types of references, notably to paintings, in which the emperor is known to have had a particular interest. The Abgar episode, which involved the making of Jesus's portrait, is surely the most obvious example in this regard. Father Jerome also specifically evokes artists when describing Joseph—"For this reason, painters portray him as an old man."[247]—a reference that is explainable by the emperor's regard for painting. The long physical descriptions of both Mary[248] and Jesus's facial features[249] also seem to have been directly connected to Akbar's fascination with the art of portraiture and naturalistic depiction.

The multiple references to prophets of the Old Testament seem to have been made with the same purpose in mind. The preeminence given particularly to Moses[250] (cat. no. XV) and Elijah[251] (cat. no. XVIII) derives from the fact that their names, sayings, and deeds could be used to enhance Christ's teachings and, clearly, to confer greater authority on the Jesuit's text. The reasons that led Father Jerome to introduce and discuss some episodes and not others are a matter for speculation, but in certain cases some clues might explain his choices. For Christians and Muslims, both Moses and Elijah performed miracles, both were messengers, and both stressed the importance of monotheism. According to three of the canonical Gospels, the Apostles Peter, James, and John had a vision of Jesus talking with Moses and Elijah, attesting that for a Catholic the three figures are linked in various ways.[252]

As mentioned in chapter 2.2, the most often-quoted Old Testament prophet in the *Mir'āt al-quds* is Isaiah.[253] The reason for this prominence is also understandable. Christians interpret many of Isaiah's prophecies as referring to Jesus. For Catholics, Isaiah is the prophet who foretold that a virgin would conceive Jesus;[254] that a messenger would precede him;[255] that he would perform miracles;[256] that he would be beaten and spat upon,[257] despised and rejected;[258] that he would remain silent when accused;[259] and that he would suffer for men's sins,[260] be called God,[261] and rise from the dead. To better explain and justify Jesus's death—a theme that Father Jerome accepted would be problematic for his Muslim audience[262]—he chose to reproduce a long excerpt from the Book of Isaiah[263] in which the prophet "has stated a summary of the reason for [Jesus's] death, the manner in which he would be killed, and the benefit of his death."[264] The abundant use of quotations from the Book of Isaiah had an obvious purpose: to make clear that Jesus was the only prophet who fulfilled Isaiah's prophecies. This stands in contrast with the role played by Isaiah in Islamic literature. Although Isaiah/Shaʿya (or Ashaʿya) is not identified by name in the Koran, he often appears in *Qiṣaṣ*

al-anbiyā' (Tales of the Prophets) literature, in which he predicts the coming of both Jesus and Muhammad.[265]

2.4. THE COMPLEXITIES OF WRITING ABOUT CHRIST FOR A MUSLIM AUDIENCE

While writing the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Father Jerome might have found some relative comfort in the Koran. Islam is, after Christianity, the world religion that gives the greatest consideration to Jesus, second only to Muhammad. The hadith and other Islamic literature, both religious and secular, deal with Jesus[266] and often with Mary,[267] but it is the Koran that is at the basis of such an awareness. References to Jesus appear in fifteen suras and ninety-three *aya*s (verses), where he is given titles such as "Messiah," "apostle," "prophet," "sign," "example," "word of God," "spirit of God," and "son of Mary." This eminence is extended to Mary, who is named thirty-four times. Both are "a token to mankind."[268] When dealing with Jesus and Mary, Muslims and Christians share an extensive number of beliefs and concerns. The Koran agrees that Jesus's birth was miraculous[269] and that he, like Adam,[270] was conceived without a father.[271] Likewise, his many alleged miracles do not challenge Muslims, so long as he remains a human prophet, the son of Mary, but not divine.[272]

Father Jerome might also have found it surprising that the Koran confers the status of prophet on not only Jesus but also John the Baptist:[273] both are among the twenty-five prophets named in the Koran. Moreover, many of the prophets of the Old Testament are also prophets of Islam. After living for seven years at the Mughal court, where he often engaged in religious debates with Muslim religious authorities, he most certainly would have been aware of the prominence of many Biblical prophets in Islam. It is unquestionable that he deliberately tried to establish contacts between the two religions when naming these men.[274] In addition, a number of suras explicitly state that the Bible itself is to be believed by Muslims,[275] although it is in the Koran that the ultimate answer to any given question is to be found.

Interest in comparative religion and specifically in the study of the Koran vis-à-vis Jesus and Christianity has grown dramatically in the last few decades. The subject has been debated extensively from various angles by a number of authorities in the field.[276] The aim here is not to expand that discussion but to try to understand whether Father Jerome was familiar with the Koran and its message. As stated earlier, on a number of occasions Father Jerome tried to accommodate Muslim religious views or at least to suppress assertions that his hosts might have been unwilling to consider. Contemporary sources—and, specifically, his own writings—do confirm that he had a deep interest in the Koran. The fact that in the introduction to the *Mir'āt al-quds* he designated Jesus as "the Spirit of God"[277] seems to confirm that the Jesuit was aware of how the Koran occasionally referred to him.[278]

Literary sources reveal that in 1580 the first Jesuit mission took to the Mughal court a translation of the Koran—in an unspecified European language—to help the missionaries in their disputations.[279] It is unknown what happened to this translation, yet it is clear that Father Jerome never had access to it. His own letters reveal that long before he began the composition of the *Mir'āt al-quds* he repeatedly tried to obtain a copy of the Koran in a European language. In a letter written on August 1, 1598, he directly asked the General of the Jesuits in Rome (addressed as the V.P. [the abbreviation of *Vestra Paternitas*])[280] to send "a Koran in Latin or Italian, for we do not have it in India. We just have it in Arabic, but we do not understand it, only Persian."[281] As he himself remarked, he had access to copies of the Koran but these were obviously in Arabic, and did not have, so it seems, interlinear translation. Of note is the fact that sixteenth-century Korans copied in India are extremely rare.[282] Akbar is not known to have commissioned a single copy of the Koran during his half-century as emperor,[283] and those copies to which Father Jerome had access must have been of Iranian origin, since many of those were available.[284]

Father Jerome was clearly in need of and committed to obtaining a European translation. This is shown in a missive sent on August 2nd, in which he asked for the assistance of two of his fellow Jesuits living in Spain:

> Make sure to acquire and send me a Koran in Latin or in other language, for here I can only find copies in Arabic, which I do not understand. There must be some in Murcia; the *Señores* Inquisitors would have some. I asked the same of Father Benavides, but do not be imprudent

> and think that he is complying. Hopefully, two or three [copies] will come.[285]

Before the end of that same month, he wrote yet again to the General in Rome, asking for a "Koran in Italian, Latin or Spanish," because he could not find one there.[286] As his letters attest, Father Jerome was well aware of the existence of translations of the Koran into Latin and vernacular languages, and of the difficulties in finding such a copy. The fact that he suggested where these might be located confirms this. The challenge of obtaining a copy of the Koran in a European language is explained by the strengthening of the Inquisition in Southern Europe and, as a consequence, also in the Indian subcontinent.

The Koran, or parts thereof, had been translated into European languages in earlier periods, but it was only in the mid-sixteenth century that it was first printed in Latin (Basel, 1543; Zurich, 1550) and Italian (translated by Andrea Arrivabene, 1547).[287] However, by 1547, the Koran had been included by the Inquisition in the Portuguese index of forbidden books.[288] This might now appear to be of little consequence, but it is pertinent, because it was from Lisbon that all Jesuits working in Asia (with the exception of the Philippines) departed. During the following decades, revised indices reinforced this prohibition.[289] Similar lists published in Spain,[290] Venice,[291] and Rome[292] suggest that the task of locating a copy of the Koran in a Catholic country was becoming more complicated. Updated lists published in successive decades imply that access to forbidden materials would have been difficult and risky.

In the following years, Father Jerome continued to ask the Jesuit General and others to send the much-coveted translation.[293] Because the Jesuit authorities never complied with his requests, by 1609 he had adopted a pragmatic solution:

> As for the book of the Alcoran, I should value it much, although I had it translated here from Arabic into Persian, and from Persian into Portuguese.[294] Your scruple about communicating such a book to us is amusing, when we are dealing from morning to night with these Moors and their things, so much so that even the bread we eat seems to have been kneaded with the water of Mahomet's Alcoran. However, for our greater satisfaction, I should prefer an old Alcoran, as such a one may be better translated; hence, I do not desist from my request.[295]

His repeated entreaties to Rome were never fulfilled. After waiting for almost two decades and following his departure from the Mughal court, he eventually received a copy from Europe, but it was in Arabic. In December 1615, he wrote to the General in Rome with evident frustration: "of these we have infinite [copies]."[296]

2.4.1. *Disputes and compromises: The role of Mary*

Father Jerome was certainly conscious of the aspects of the New Testament and the *Mir'āt al-quds* that had the potential to generate controversy at the Mughal court. This partly explains why in the *Mir'āt al-quds* he avoided allusions to the Koran and Islamic thought that he made in other works.[297] His superiors in both Goa and Europe had been aware of these problems since the first Jesuit mission reached Akbar's court. In the letters written by the missionaries from the various Mughal cities to which they were assigned, these issues became apparent upon the first contact between the Jesuits and the Mughals. In 1601, when Guzman published the first annual accounts of Jesuit activities, he briefly described the work of the three missions to the Mughal court. According to the Spaniard's sources, when Akbar encountered the first mission in 1580, the emperor "desired them to explain to him the mystery of the Holy Trinity and how God had a son, and how he had become a man, for these were the greatest difficulties he had."[298] As one might expect, the Jesuits' explanations were never accepted, since the Koran rejects the Trinity[299] and denies that God had offspring[300] and that Jesus was the son of God.[301] The doctrine of the Crucifixion[302] is also rejected by Muslims, but this does not appear to have raised objections; or at least, if it did, it was not noted in contemporary literature and extant letters. In the account he compiled in 1603, Guerreiro referred to similar difficulties when the missionaries tried to explain such concepts.[303] These issues are given greater attention in another annual account published by the same author in 1611. Using sources sent from the Mughal court, the Muslim rejection of Jesus's divinity was also acknowledged.[304] Regarding Jahangir's denial of Jesus's divine status, this was amusingly justified by his "lack of the fire of faith."[305] Two statements

attributed to Jahangir—who, according to Guerreiro's account, declared himself to be, on this specific occasion, on the Jesuits' side—disclose how profound and severe their differences were: "Christians call Christ God as a figure of speech, which Christians use to show their great love for him…Christ, in truth, is not God, but the great love that Christians have for him made them call him as such."[306] The second statement by Jahangir, also reproduced by Guerreiro, accentuates their differences on an equally controversial matter: "On what concerns Christ being called the Son of God, it is because he has no earthly father, and was born from the Virgin Mary in such a wonderful manner."[307] In contrast to other occasions discussed below, Father Jerome, as one would expect, stands by his beliefs and, borrowing from the Gospels, presents in the *Mir'āt al-quds* Jesus as God[308] and as the Son of God.[309]

Other divergences between the Muslim and Catholic perspectives are identified in the Jesuit accounts; these relate to the use of images of Christ's crucifixion,[310] the idea of "Muhammad's paradise,"[311] and questions concerning the number of wives that Muslims and Christians were allowed to have.[312] The missionaries understood that these issues prevented the conversion of many souls to Christianity. In his letters, Father Jerome gave additional reasons, such as the Jesuits' inability to perform miracles at the Mughal court, which were demanded by his opponents as a way of substantiating their assertions.[313] Oddly, other potential sources of conflict, concerning, for example, Jesus's death, do not appear to have generated major disputes. According to the Koran, Jesus was not crucified[314] and therefore did not die on the cross; rather, someone else was crucified on his behalf. God called Jesus before his death,[315] in an event that might be compared to the ascension of Elijah, who "went up by a whirlwind into heaven."[316] This, of course, is contradicted by Christian doctrine. And, in fact, both the third and fourth parts of the *Mir'āt al-quds* show that the author made no concessions regarding either the Crucifixion or the death of Jesus. The Resurrection of Jesus does not appear to have raised objections, though, for a Muslim, Jesus's Resurrection will only take place at the end of time, when he will die with the rest of created beings, including the angels.[317] That is why Muslims reject the Holy Sepulcher as the site of Christ's Resurrection.

Other potential sources of polemic seem, however, to have had direct consequences for the text. On some occasions, Father Jerome moderated his language and was ambiguous, to say the least. He treated transubstantiation, for example, in a short, vague sentence: "Know that my body will be taken for you, and my blood will be shed for pardoning you and many others."[318] This seems to be a conscious effort to assure that the description of the moment during the Eucharist in which Catholics believe that bread and wine change into Christ's body and blood would perhaps not attract too much attention. The author was also willing, to a certain extent, to confer on some events a higher degree of holiness, in order to make them more attractive to his Muslim audience. This would explain his fondness for Fridays, when according to him, a number of major events occurred. Besides Good Friday, when it is believed that Christ was crucified and died,[319] he asserts that occasions such as Mary's birth,[320] her presentation in the temple,[321] and John the Baptist's birth[322] all occurred on a Friday. The only apparent reason for such assumptions, which, with the exception of the first event, are clearly not supported by historical or religious sources, was his willingness and desire to connect these events to the day of the week most revered by Muslims.

Occasionally, Father Jerome explicitly overlooked a potential source of disagreement. When referring to Jesus's commands for men to be perfect as God, he closely follows the Gospel of Matthew,[323] reproducing verses dealing with adultery, swearing, and so forth.[324] However, he specifically omits verses discussing Jesus's attitude towards divorce.[325] In Islam, divorce is a relatively easy process, which, again, strongly contrasts with the position of the Roman Catholic Church. Only a few decades earlier, the divorce of the English king Henry VIII (r. 1509–47) had provoked one of the Church's greatest schisms. For a Catholic, the trauma was enormous, something that Father Jerome had necessarily in mind when writing the *Mir'āt al-quds*. He may also have avoided references to divorce since it facilitated polygamy. Because the Koran allows it,[326] but Christians strongly opposed it, consensus on subjects such as these was simply unachievable. It is therefore plausible that Father Jerome opted for a pragmatic approach, preferring to ignore these matters altogether.

The role of Mary in the *Mir'āt al-quds* also deserves some consideration. The first chapter of Father Jerome's text places considerable emphasis on her life. The reasons that led him to confer such prominence on her are understandable. For both Muslims and Christians, Mary is an incomparable example and a source of inspiration. She is the only woman identified by name in the Koran. Indeed, her name appears there more times than in the canonical Gospels. According to Koranic accounts, "signs of divine favor surrounded her from birth."[327] Various aspects of her early life, including the story of her birth, are related in Sura 3, and events such as the Annunciation and Jesus's birth are described in Sura 19, which is named after her.[328] It is manifest from Father Jerome's text that he was particularly concerned to present her as a virgin, a state that he mentioned a number of times. It is also more than probable that he was aware that her chastity is also honored in the Koran.[329]

He was certainly aware of Akbar's respect for Mary. Jesuit accounts narrate various episodes in which the emperor paid tribute to Jesus's mother, namely, when he saw paintings of her.[330] Such reverence seems to have increased with time. When Akbar first saw paintings of the Virgin in 1580, he was more impressed with the technical aspects and aesthetic qualities of the works than with what they may have represented. When commenting on a painting taken by the Jesuits to Fatehpur Sikri he referred to the painter's technique and how "ingenious" he was.[331] By Father Jerome's time, however, he had—also according to Jesuit sources—developed a genuine reverence for Mary.[332]

Akbar's respect for the Virgin seems to have been what prompted Father Jerome to provide a lengthy description of her birth and life. It seems plausible that he hoped that Akbar would transfer some of his reverence for Mary to the real focus of the Jesuit mission: Jesus and his teachings. On at least one occasion, he explicitly added the name of the Virgin to that of Jesus in a quotation from the Gospel according to Luke in which she is not mentioned: "You shall see with your own eyes the Virgin and the Christ before you die."[333] The Koran also reveres the connection between mother and son. Of the thirty-four times that Mary's name is mentioned, twenty-three do not really refer to her but to Jesus, who is repeatedly presented as the "son of Mary."[334] References to "Jesus and Mary" also appear in early Mughal literature, for instance, the *Humāyūnnāma* (History of Humayun), indicating that the two were closely linked and associated with each other.[335] Moreover, as Gülru Necipoğlu has remarked, Mary is also connected to the Mughals in a less expected way. According to Abu 'l-Fazl, the dynasty descended from a line of rulers born of Alanquwa, a legendary Mongol princess who, according to the story, was impregnated through a "divine light," a phenomenon that he compares to what happened to Mary.[336] This would also explain why the Mughal queen mother was named Maryam al-Zamani, "Mary of the Age," "who was revered for giving birth to the divinely illuminated emperor."[337] This reverence for the Virgin and Jesus had a further consequence for the Mughal arts. The pair was portrayed in a number of miniatures,[338] some of which were based on Western prints.[339] Interestingly, representations of both Jesus and Mary continued to appear in courtly miniatures from the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan (r. 1627–58).[340]

2.5. COPYING THE *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS*

The existence of at least nineteen copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds* is perhaps not as surprising as it may at first seem.[341] Father Jerome himself affirms that copies were being made when he presented it to Akbar (e.g., "If I have taken a long time to produce this book and copies of it…every time I completed it and made a clean copy of the draft …").[342] Following its presentation to Akbar, the text continued to be copied. In a letter dispatched in 1603 to the Assistant of the Jesuit General in Rome, Father Jerome revealed that while he was at Allahabad and before his return to Agra he had sent to Salim a "book on the stories of Christ written in Farsi," adding that:

> …he [Salim] read it all with great consolation, and when he arrived here [Agra] he ordered a copy in a very fine calligraphy and in very rich paper…The many stories were all ordered to be painted, and very well, for he is not satisfied with the stories printed by Father Nadal;[343] he painted those and numerous others.[344]

This makes it clear that Father Jerome was involved in the making of (non-illustrated) copies and explains

why, for example, the Portuguese title in the copy in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London was said to have been inscribed by Father Jerome himself.[345] Of greater consequence, nevertheless, is the fact that, according to the Jesuit himself, Salim, after having received Father Jerome's copy during his stay in Allahabad, ordered his own illustrated version.

The making of a second (non-illustrated) copy is confirmed in European sources only three years after it was presented to Akbar. According to Guerreiro's account of 1605, "[Akbar] showed for it great appreciation; he reads it many times,[346] and lent it to his great captain Agiscoa, who liked it so much that he asked for another copy."[347]

Although both the emperor and the Jesuit had the means to produce it, it is not clear of whom "the great captain Agiscoa" requested a copy. Guerreiro's Agiscoa might have been Khan-i Aʿzam Mirza ʿAziz Koka, known as Akbar's foster brother, who grew up with him.[348] That ʿAziz Koka might have been interested in the *Mir'āt al-quds* should perhaps not be surprising—according to Abu 'l-Fazl, he had a fondness for literature and knew a great deal of history.[349] According to Maclagan, ʿAziz Koka asked Father Jerome for a copy,[350] but Guerreiro's original Portuguese text does not allow this conclusion. Nevertheless, Akbar is known to have ordered another copy, presumably from his own copyists. In his *Epitome de la Biblioteca i oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica*, Antonio de León states that Akbar sent a copy to the ruler of Persia, then Shah ʿAbbas I (r. 1587–1629).[351]

Interestingly, the *Mir'āt al-quds* seems to have first reached Europe not through the Jesuits but through the missionaries of another Catholic order, the Discalced Carmelites.[352] According to León, the religious men of Shah ʿAbbas I wrote a book against the *Mir'āt al-quds* but asked the local community of Carmelite friars for clarification on some subjects. It is therefore probable that the Carmelite friars took a copy of the text to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide.[353] This confirms that a number of non-illustrated copies reached Europe almost immediately after the *Mir'āt al-quds* was written. By the early 1630s, when in informed circles the existence of Father Jerome's text was no longer a novelty, a further copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, dated 1627,[354] reached Ludovico de Dieu through Jacobus Golius (d. 1667), the Dutch Orientalist, who had acquired it from a merchant coming from Persia.[355] De Dieu apparently had access to not one but two copies of the text: in 1643, Philippe Alegambe mentioned in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu* that the Roman traveler Pietro della Valle (d. 1652) provided the second.[356] Where the latter acquired it remains unknown, since during the first and second decade of the seventeenth century he travelled extensively in the Ottoman Empire, Safavid Iran, and the Indian subcontinent, including the territories under Mughal and Portuguese rule.[357]

It is this combination of spirituality, diplomacy, and religious disputes that helps to explain why at least nineteen copies of the manuscript still survive, some of which are preserved in India and Pakistan. Another reason that might explain the survival of some copies must be linked to the raison d'être of the text, which may well have changed over time. It is conceivable that what was originally an imperial commission became a missionary tool. More copies might have existed, some of which may have been destroyed in less religiously tolerant periods, such as during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707).

NOTES

1. In Fernão Guerreiro, S.J., *Relaçam annal* [sic] *das cousas que fezeram os padres da Companhia de Iesus nas partes da India Oriental, & no Brasil, Angola, Cabo Verde, Guine, nos annos de seiscentos & dous & seiscentos & tres, & do processo da conversam, & Christandade daquellas partes, tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres que de lá vieram* (Lisbon, 1605), fol. 52v.
2. Divided into five volumes (with closely related titles), which are of prime importance for the study of East–West relations, they also offer a unique Western perspective on Akbar and Jahangir's reigns. Vol. 1 deals with the years 1600–1601 (Évora, 1603); vol. 2, 1602–3 (Lisbon, 1605); vol. 3., 1604–5 (Lisbon, 1607); vol. 4., 1606–7 (Lisbon, 1609); vol. 5, 1607–8 (Lisbon, 1611).
3. It was the Provincial's responsibility to ensure that information was then compiled (and often translated), copied, and sent once a year to the Jesuit headquarters in Rome. The standard procedure implied that as many as four copies (Port. *via*) of such annual reports were made. The number made of each copy was usually inscribed within.
4. Letters from the mission at the Mughal court had to be sent by December to the Provincial at the College of St. Paul, the Goan headquarters of the many Jesuit missions in India. This would allow enough time for the copyists in Goa to

conclude their annual reports before April, when one or more fleets normally left for Lisbon.

5. See, for example, his letters sent as Rector of the College of Kochi to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, December 28, 1587 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 379v.), and to Father Manuel Rodrigues, S.J., Assistant (to the General?), December 29, 1587 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 381r).
6. Pierre du Jarric, S.J., *Histoire des choses plus mémorables advenues tant ez Indes orientales, que autres païs de la descouverte des Portugais, en l'establissement & progrez de la foy chrestienne, & catholique. Et principalement de ce que les religieux de la Compagnie de Jesus y ont faict, & enduré pour la mesme fin; depuis qu'ils y sont entrez jusques à l'an 1600. Le tout recueilly des lettres, & autres histoires...mis en ordre par le R. Pierre Du Jarric, Tolosain, de la mesme compagnie*, 3 vols. (Bordeaux, 1608–11).
7. Pierre du Jarric, S.J., *Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar by Father Pierre Du Jarric,* trans. and annot. C. H. Payne (London, 1926; repr. New Delhi, 1997), xxxi.
8. Ibid., 160.
9. Antonio de León Pinelo, *Epitome de la Biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica* (Madrid, 1629), 42.
10. De Dieu (d. 1642), besides being a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, was an Orientalist with a special interest in Eastern languages and Biblical texts. He translated Father Jerome's Life of St. Peter (*Historia S. Petri* [Leiden, 1639]), as well as his Life of Christ, from Persian and wrote an elementary Persian grammar, *Rudimenta Linguae Persicae*. Remarkably, in 1639 these three texts were printed in Leiden.
11. Jerome Xavier, S.J., *Historia Christi Persice Conscripta*.
12. H. J. de Jonge, "The Study of the New Testament," in *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning*, ed. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden, 1975), 64–109, at 72.
13. Philippo Alegambe, S.J., and Pedro de Ribadeneira, S.J., *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu post excusum anno MDCVIII. Catalogum R. P. Petri Ribadeneirae Societatis eiusdem theologi* (Antwerp, 1643), 188–89.
14. Pedro de Ribadeneira, S.J., *Illustrium Scriptorum Religionis Societatis Iesu Catalogus* (Antwerp, 1608).
15. Nieremberg, *Vidas exemplares*, 228.
16. Ibid., 246.
17. Cornelius Hazart, S.J., *Kerckelycke Historie vande Gheheele Wereldt*, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1667–71), 1: between pages 274–75.
18. Alcázar, "Elogio del P. Geronymo Xavier, missionero apostolico del Mogor," in *Chrono-Historia*, 2:203–16. These were translated into English by Hosten, "Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier," 109–30.
19. Alcázar, "Elogio del P. Geronymo Xavier," 2:216.
20. Maturin Veyssière la Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1724, 1758), 2:78.
21. Ibid., 2:77.
22. James Hough, *The History of Christianity in India from the Commencement of the Christian Era*, 5 vols. (London, 1839–60), 2:282–84.
23. Ibid., 2:283.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 2:284.
26. Ibid., 2:283 and n. 3.
27. H. Blochmann, "Note on a Persian MS. Entitled *Mir-a't ul Quds*, a Life of Christ, Compiled at the Request of Emperor Akbar by Jerome Xavier," *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (May, 1870): 138–47.
28. Blochmann, "Note on a Persian MS.," 138–39, affirms that a reverend of the Calcutta Free Church gave him the copy that became the basis of his article. Presumably, Blochmann later bequeathed it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. According to Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 203, in 1932 the Asiatic Society in Kolkata owned two copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds*.
29. Blochmann, "Note on a Persian MS.," 138–47.
30. A. Rogers, "The Holy Mirror; or, the Gospel according to Father Jerome Xavier. From the Original Persian," *The Asiatic Quarterly Review* 10 (July–October, 1890; repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1968): 184–200.
31. Ibid., 186.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 196–97.
34. Ibid., 200.
35. Ibid.
36. Maclagan, "Jesuit Missions," 38–113.
37. Maclagan, "Jesuit Missions," 87, notes, for example, that 'Aziz Koka asked the fathers for a copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*. This assertion is not, however, borne out by Guerreiro's words in *Relaçam* (1605), fol. 52b, which Maclagan used as a source.
38. Maclagan, "Jesuit Missions," 110–111.
39. Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, trans. C. H. Payne; Guerreiro, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, trans. C. H. Payne.
40. Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, trans. C. H. Payne, 160.
41. Ibid., 190.
42. Ibid., 207.
43. Storey, *Persian Literature* (1953), vol. 1, pt. 1, 164.
44. Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mughal*, 203–4.
45. Such as what he identified as "The inn at Bethlehem, an illustration to Xavier's *Life of Christ*": Ibid., facing p. 203 (fig. 4.2).
46. Ibid., 222–24; for paintings illustrating episodes of the *Life of Christ*, see 252–67.
47. Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 14–16.
48. Arnulf Camps, S.J., "Persian Works of Jerome Xavier, a Jesuit at the Mogul Court," in *Studies in Asian Mission History, 1956–1998* (Leiden, 2000), 36; first published in *Islamic Culture, An English Quarterly* 35, 3 (July 1961): 166–76.
49. Ibid., 36–37.
50. Following Camps, the manuscript has "195 folios and 28 illuminations," and was identified as catalogue no. 256: Ibid., 36 n. 10. According to the restoration and exhibition officer at the Lahore Museum, Uzma Usmani, to whom I am indebted for this information, what Camps described as a museum was in fact the palace of the local nawab. After

his death, the contents were apparently divided among the nawab's twenty-two heirs, yet the division raised objections that are still a matter for litigation. It was not possible, therefore, to confirm either the existence of the manuscript in this collection, or its whereabouts.

51. An exception being "The Inn at Bethlehem, an Illustration to Xavier's *Life of Christ*," (fig. 4.2) reproduced in Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mughal*, facing p. 203.
52. Sotheby & Co., London, *Fine Western & Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, July 5, 1965, 16–18, lots 56–63.
53. Ibid., 16.
54. Ibid., 16. The small dimensions, as well as stylistic evidence, suggest that they are related to the Allahabad production.
55. These are now in the San Diego Museum of Art, inv. nos. 1990.308 and 1990.309.
56. Smithsonian Institution, Traveling Exhibition Service, *Islamic Art from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Washington, D.C., 1966), cat. no. 71a, *Moses and the Plague of Serpents* (fig. 4.5), and cat. no. 71b, *The Ascension of Christ* (fig. 2.3); Edwin Binney 3rd, *Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd: The Mughal and Deccani Schools with Some Related Sultanate Material* (Portland, Ore., 1974), 51, cat. no. 28a, *Moses and the Plague of Serpents*, and 51, cat. no. 28b, *The Ascension of Jesus Dressed as a Jesuit*.
57. These include the two miniatures that once belonged to the collection of Edward Binney 3rd, now in the San Diego Museum of Art. The third, *A Raven Brings Food to Elijah* (fig. 4.8), is now in the L. A. Mayer Museum for Islamic Art, Jerusalem, inv. no. Ms 4-68. The three are illustrated in the Council of Europe's exhibition catalogue *The Portuguese Discoveries and Europe of the Renaissance*, 17th Council of Europe Exhibition of Art, Science and Culture, 7 vols. (Lisbon, 1983), 2:287–79, cat. nos. 295–96 and 298, respectively.
58. M. Abdullah Chaghatai, "Mirat al-Quds, an Illustrated Manuscript of Akber's [*sic*] Period about Christ's Life," *Lahore Museum Bulletin* 1, 2 (July–December 1988): 95–104, figs. 3–5.
59. Ibid., 96.
60. Nusrat Ali and Khalid Anis Ahmed, "Mirat-ul-Quds (The Mirror of Holiness) or Dastan-i-Masih: A Manuscript in the Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan" in *Intercultural Encounter in Mughal Miniatures: Mughal–Christian Miniatures*, ed. Khalid Anis Ahmed (Lahore, 1995), 79–91.
61. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Lahore Mirat Al-Quds and The Impact of Jesuit Theatre on Mughal Painting," *South Asian Studies* 13 (1997): 31–44.
62. See, for example, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Counter-Reformation Symbolism and Allegory in Mughal Painting," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996), 147–58; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 129; and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Jesuit Art and Architecture in Asia," in *The Jesuits and the Arts*, ed. John W. O'Malley, S.J., and Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Philadelphia, 2005), 350, 354 (caption of fig. 10.41).
63. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 129.
64. Ibid., 129–30.
65. That is, the copy submitted to Akbar and the one that 'Aziz Koka requested: Maclagan, "Jesuit Missions," 87; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 235 n. 129.
66. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 128.
67. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Between Religions: Christianity in a Muslim Empire," in Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 148–61. On p. 154, the author is discussing the contents of the *Ā'īna-i ḥaqq-numā* (The Truth-revealing Mirror) rather than the *Mir'āt al-quds* as suggested.
68. Bailey, "Jesuit Art and Architecture in Asia," 313–60.
69. Ibid., 355.
70. Ibid., 351, caption of fig. 10.34.
71. Ibid., 354, caption of fig. 10.41.
72. Ibid., 352, caption of fig. 10.36.
73. See, more recently, Sotheby's, New York, *Indian and Southeast Asian Art*, March 21, 2002, lot 221.
74. See Sotheby's, London, *Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, April 26, 1991, lot 27; Sotheby's, London, *Arts of the Islamic World Including 20th Century Middle Eastern Paintings*, October 18, 2001, lot 63; Sotheby's, London, *Arts of the Islamic World Including 20th Century Middle Eastern Painting*, May 3, 2001, lots 74 and 75.
75. Sotheby's, London, *Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, April 26, 1991, lot 27, now in the Fondation Custodia, Paris, inv. no. 1991-T.11. Sven Gahlin, *The Courts of India: Indian Miniatures from the Collection of the Fondation Custodia, Paris* (Zwolle, 1991), 20, cat. no. 19A, pl. 23, suggests that this is part of the copy in Lahore.
76. Na'ama Brosh, with Rachel Milstein, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting* (Jerusalem, 1991), 122, cat. no. 46.
77. British Museum, London, inv. no. 1965.7-24.05; illustrated in Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, 53, fig. 24.
78. Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mughal*, facing p. 203.
79. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. IS 170-1950; illustrated in Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*, 105, pl. 72.
80. This includes Lisbon (Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 149, 224, cat. no. 68, as well as Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal e o Mundo nos séculos XVI e XVII* [Lisbon, 2009], 259, cat. no. 105), and Washington, D.C. (Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 3 vols. [Washington, D.C., 2007], 1:242–43, cat. no. I-14).
81. Ms. 52-XIII-32, as identified in the catalogue of the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, coordinated by Francisco G. Cunha Leão, *O Índico na Biblioteca da Ajuda: Catálogo da documentação manuscrita referente a Moçambique, Pérsia, Índia, Malaca, Molucas e Timor* (Lisbon, 1998), 65, no. 221, and confirmed by Wheeler M. Thackston in a personal communication.
82. For a discussion of the two possibilities, see Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 26–32.
83. Ibid., 30.

84. ASI.278.
85. L145b.
86. Blochmann, "Note on a Persian MS."
87. A. Rogers, "Holy Mirror," 184.
88. Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 205.
89. Gahlin, *Courts of India,* 21.
90. Bailey, "Counter-Reformation Symbolism and Allegory," 130–31.
91. Bailey, "The Lahore Mirat Al-Quds," 32.
92. Ibid., 33.
93. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 129.
94. ASI.275.
95. ASI.278.
96. The sources for specific biblical quotations are occasionally given in the text.
97. See chapter 2.5 below.
98. Formally suppressed in 1812.
99. As well as all his other works: Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, with Marcella Richter, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum, 1600–1966*, Index des Livres Interdits 11 (Geneva, 2002), 291.
100. *La vie de Jésus* by the Abbé Jean Steinmann, proscribed on June 26, 1961. Bujanda and Richter, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum, 1600–1966*, 41.
101. Letter written by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, September 24, 1607 (ARSI, Goa 46-I, fol. 64r).
102. ASI.219.
103. Koran 5:46; 57:27.
104. For more on the Gospel and the Koran, see Sidney H. Griffith, *Encyclopedia of the Qur'ān* (henceforth *EQ*) (Leiden, 2001–6), s.v. "Gospel."
105. For a list, see Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 63.
106. ASI.276.
107. For a divergent identification of some of the authors, see Maclagan, "Jesuit Missions," 69.
108. ASI.72–73 (Leviticus 12:6–8); ASI.106 (Deuteronomy 18:18); ASI.253 (Exodus 12:21); ASI.294 (Exodus 12:46).
109. 2005.145.20a (Deuteronomy 22:22–24); ASI.106 (Deuteronomy 18:18); etc.
110. "…the fourth book of the Pentateuch, in the twenty-first chapter….": 2005.145.14a (Numbers 21:5–9). It is unclear why Father Jerome provides details on the identification of the episode in which Israelites were attacked by the serpents.
111. ASI.11 (Genesis 3:16).
112. L62a (Exodus 20:13, 21:24); L114 (Exodus 3:6); ASI.293 (Exodus 26:33).
113. ASI.72–73 (Leviticus 12:6–8); ASI.143 (Leviticus 24:9); ASI.151 (Leviticus 19:12).
114. 2005.145.14a (Numbers 21:5–9).
115. ASI.102 (Deuteronomy 6:16); ASI.104 (Deuteronomy 6:13).
116. The numbering of the Psalms in this study follows that adopted by Father Jerome (ASI.71) and by Catholics in general. The Roman Catholic Psalm numbers follow the Greek translation of the Scriptures and are one less than those in versions following the Hebrew text (excluding the first eight and the last three Psalms). The numbering adopted in the Hebrew text is given in brackets.
117. ASI.89; ASI.47; ASI.254; 2005.145.23b; ASI.287; ASI.292.
118. ASI.71 (Psalm 71:11 [72:11]).
119. L3a (Tobias 12:7).
120. ASI.79 (Jeremiah 14:8).
121. L116b (Daniel 9:27, 11:31, 12:11).
122. L143b (Joel 2:28–29, 32).
123. L71a (Jonah 3:5).
124. ASI.217–18 (Zacharias 9:9); L126a (Zacharias 11:13).
125. ASI.2005.145.4a (Micah 5:2).
126. L116b (possibly referring to Hosea 9:7).
127. ASI.55 (possibly referring to Malachi 3:1).
128. ASI.294–95 (Zacharias 13:6).
129. ASI.271, L10a (Isaiah 11:1–2); ASI.79 (Isaiah 19:1); ASI.71, L26a, ASI.72 (Isaiah 60:1–6); ASI.68 (Isaiah 40:3); ASI.76 (Isaiah 40:3); L34a, 2005.145.9a (Isaiah 40:1–5); 2005.145.9a, L47a (Isaiah 61:1–2); 2005.145.12a (Isaiah 42:1–3); ASI.54, L67a (Isaiah 35:3–6); ASI.43–44 (Isaiah 6:9–10); ASI.159 (Isaiah 29:13); ASI.218, L108a (Isaiah 62:10–12); ASI.250–52 (Isaiah 53:1–12); ASI.268 (Isaiah 50:6); 2005.145.23b (Isaiah 53:5); ASI.288 (Isaiah 53:12).
130. ASI.71, L26a, ASI.72 (Isaiah 60:1–6); ASI.54, L67 (Isaiah 35:3–6).
131. 2005.145.1a (Isaiah 7:14); L18a (Isaiah 66:7); L32 (Isaiah 11:1); L78b (Isaiah 54:13); ASI.230 (Isaiah 9:7); L113a (Isaiah 56:7).
132. He nevertheless also quoted Old Testament prophets who are not mentioned in the Koran (e.g., Jeremiah, Daniel, Micah, Hosea, Joel, Joshua, and Tobias) but are considered to be prophets by Ibn Kathir (d. 1373), such as Jeremiah, Daniel, and Isaiah.
133. ASI.118, 2005.145.18a, L48, 2005.145.18b, ASI.119 (1 Kings 17:1–14), in which Elijah predicts the drought and meets the widow of Sarepta.
134. ASI.119–20, L49a, ASI.121–23 (2 Kings 5), which describes the cure of Naaman the Syrian's leprosy.
135. The name derives from Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592–1605), who sponsored the revision of the so-called Sistine Bible, which appeared, with many printing errors, in 1590.
136. The New Testament was translated from Latin into English, giving rise to the so-called Douay-Rheims Bible (1582).
137. For an exception, see ASI.290 (Acts 17:34).
138. L141b (Acts 1:6–8); L142b (Acts 1:11).
139. L143b (Acts 2:7–8); L144a (Acts 2:14–38).
140. Including ASI.241 (2 Timothy 3:5) and ASI.301 (1 Corinthians 15:20).
141. ASI.272.
142. L3a; L3b.
143. ASI.193; L98b; ASI.194; 2005.145.21b; L99a.
144. The disparities between the two versions are considerable: in Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:264, no. 159, Abgar states that the kingdom is enough for both (and does not offer half of it); the painter's name is omitted (he is identified as "Ananias" by Father Jerome); and Jesus's portrait, though made in a miraculous form, does not become a Christian palladium.

145. Eusebius of Caesarea, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine*, trans. G. A. Williamson, rev. and ed. Andrew Louth (London, 1989), bk. 1, story 13, pp. 30–32.
146. J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford, 1993), 538.
147. ASI.193.
148. Eusebius, *History of the Church*, 1:13. The event supposedly happened "in the year 343 of the kingdom of the Greeks," corresponding to A.D. 31 or 32, while Jesus was in Jerusalem: George Howard, ed. and trans., *The Teaching of Addai,* Society of Biblical Literature, Texts and Translations 16, Early Christian Literature Series 4 (Chico, Calif., 1981), 3.
149. This contradicts the widely accepted verdict of Saint Augustine that Jesus did not leave any writings: Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 538; F. X. Murphy, *NCE2*, s.v. "Legends of Abgar." During the Middle Ages, the letter was reproduced on various materials including parchment, marble, and metal, and used as a talisman or an amulet. See Judah Benzion Segal, *Edessa: 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford, 1970), 75.
150. Eusebius, *History of the Church*, 1:13.
151. ASI.194.
152. L98b.
153. Circa 430, in Sebastian Brock, "Transformations of the Edessa Portrait of Christ," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18, 1 (2004): 46–56, at 48.
154. Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 538.
155. Ms. Syr. no. 4, L, Saltykov-Shchedrin Public (now Russian National) Library, St. Petersburg. See Alain Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus: Présentation et traduction du texte syriaque intégral de la Doctrine d'Addaï* (Paris, 1993), 44; translation of a Greek version by Andrew Palmer and translation of an Ethiopian version by Robert Beylot. According to Howard, *Teaching of Addai*, viii, two incomplete copies from different periods also survive in the British Library, London: Add. Ms. 14644 dates to circa the sixth century, Add. Ms. 14654 to the early fifth century. Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar*, 44, mentions a third incomplete manuscript that is also in the British Library, Add. Ms. 14535, but does not suggest a date for it.
156. The English edition by Howard, *Teaching of Addai* (see n. 148 above), is a reprint of George Phillips, trans., *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* (London, 1876). The French translation, *Histoire du roi Abgar*, is by Desreumaux (see n. 155 above).
157. Following Howard, *Teaching of Addai*, 11, Addai was one of the seventy-two apostles.
158. L98b. For more on the various versions of the name found in different copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, see chapter 5, n. 576.
159. Howard, *Teaching of Addai*, 9.
160. Ibid.
161. L3b; L99a.
162. Howard, *Teaching of Addai*, 9, 11. The text also certifies the authenticity of the account (p. 11): "Hanan the archivist told him [Abgar] everything he heard from Jesus since his words had been placed by him [Hanan] in written documents."
163. L3b; 2005.145.21b.
164. According to Han J. W. Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa in the Syriac Tradition," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, Villa Spelman Colloquia 6 (Bologna, 1998), 13–31 at 26.
165. Ibid., 25–26.
166. 2005.145.21b.
167. Drijvers, "Image of Edessa," 26, goes further, suggesting a seventh-century date for the text. The Syriac text and its Latin translation were published in 1885, but the text remains poorly studied: J.-B. Abbeloos, ed., *Acta Sancti Maris, Assyriae, Babyloniae ac Persidis Seculo I Apostoli: Syriace sive Aramaice* (Brussels, 1885).
168. Segal, *Edessa: 'The Blessed City'*, 76–77.
169. L2b.
170. Segal, *Edessa: 'The Blessed City'*, 77. Evagrius Scholasticus affirms that the image was "the one that Christ the God sent to Abgar": Brock, "Transformations of the Edessa Portrait," 48; for other sources and descriptions of the image, see pp. 46–56.
171. Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar*, 154.
172. It is unlikely that any of the works mentioned reached India, but because they had been reprinted numerous times by 1600 their circulation was considerable. The continuous correspondence between the members of the Society of Jesus in Europe and those established in other continents would perhaps also allow missionaries working in India to be aware of the works and their contents.
173. L99a.
174. Acts of Thomas 1:1. Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 447–48.
175. A. F. J. Klijn, ed., *The Acts of Thomas*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum 5 (Leiden, 1962), 27. According to Klijn (p. 28), this text would indicate that he visited South India.
176. Acts of Thomas 2:22–27. Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 456–58.
177. Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, introd. John Masefield (London and New York, 1908; repr. 1967), 363–64. The first Portuguese edition of the Venetian's work was printed by Valentim Fernandes in 1502: Marco Polo, *Ho liuro de Nycolao veneto. O trallado da carta de huu[m] genoues das ditas terras* (Lisbon, 1502).
178. For an account of the search for the saint's body and of the Portuguese in the city, see Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., 4 vols. (Rome, 1973–82), vol. 2, *India, 1541–1544*, 557–95. They excavated a tomb in a ruinous church, as well as human bones, believed to belong to the apostle. See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge, 1984), 34–48, and Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 2:557–88.

179. It was named São Tomé de Méliapor to differentiate it from São Tomé e Príncipe, the archipelago in the Gulf of Guinea (in western Africa), also under Portuguese rule. The city, which is known in English as Saint Thomas of Mylapore, remained under Portuguese rule from 1523 to 1749.
180. However, according to a further version from circa 232, the relics of Saint Thomas were taken from India to Edessa. Ephraim Syrus says that Saint Thomas's relics were in Edessa when he arrived there in 363. Alexander Mirkovic, *Prelude to Constantine: The Abgar Tradition in Early Christianity*, Arbeiten zur Religion und Geschichte des Urchristentums = Studies in the Religion and History of Early Christianity 15 (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), 49–50. The relics were later transferred to the Greek island of Chios, and, in 1258, to the Cathedral of Ortona, in the Abruzzi, where they remain.
181. L20a; ASI.13–14; L21a; ASI.2005.145.6b; L21b.
182. L18a. *The Roman Martyrologe, according to the Reformed Calendar*, trans. George Keynes, S.J., (Saint-Omer [now in France], 1627), 423–24 (for December 25).
183. ASI.61.
184. Flavius Josephus, *Works, English and Greek,* 9 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1926–65; repr. 1966–69), vol. 8, *Jewish Antiquities*, trans. R. Marcus, and compl. and ed. A. Wikgren, bk. 17:7.
185. ASI.219–20, L109a, ASI.221–22, L110a, ASI.223–25, L111a, ASI.226–28, L112a.
186. ASI.11; Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 3 vols. (New York, 1947), vol. 3, pt. 3, question 36, article 3:"To whom should have it been made known?"
187. L21b; Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, vol. 3, 3:36,3.
188. Approved by Pope Paul III (r. 1534–49) on July 31, 1548.
189. Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 63.
190. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 28, 1587 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 379v).
191. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, December 1589 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 472r).
192. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Kochi, January 2, 1592 (ARSI, Goa 47, fol. 424v).
193. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, September 8, 1596 (ARSI, Goa 46, fol. 24r).
194. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John do not refer to the journey that preceded the birth of Jesus; Luke 2:1–5 states that they went to Bethlehem, without giving details.
195. L26b.
196. St. Ignatius of Loyola, S.J., *The Text of the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, Translated from the Original Spanish*, ed. John Morris, 4th rev. ed. (Westminster, Md., 1943), 111.
197. L3a; L3b.
198. Lahore Museum, *Mir'āt al-quds*, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645), fol. 3b.
199. ASI.193.
200. Judah Benzion Segal, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London and Boston, 1982–), s. v. "Abgar, dynasty of Edessa."
201. It was known as such because of the high incidence of the name Abgar among Edessan rulers, from Abgar I (r. 92–68 B.C.) to Abgar X (r. A.D. 240–42). The later Abgars must have been rulers in name only; around 214, King Abgar IX Severus (r. 212–14) was deposed by Emperor Caracalla. Ibid., 212.
202. Ibid., 14.
203. Ibid., 62.
204. As early as 494, Pope Gelasius (r. 492–96) rejected the correspondence between Christ and Abgar V, classifying it as apocryphal. See Segal, *Edessa: 'The Blessed City'*, 73, 75; Murphy, *NCE2*, "Legends of Abgar." Some scholars believe that the conversion of Edessa to Christianity occurred not earlier than the late second century, during the rule of King Abgar IX, but this has also recently been questioned. For a discussion of the theories, see Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, trans. by a team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, ed. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel (Philadelphia, 1971), 4–5. The conversion of Abgar IX is now also disputed: Murphy, *NCE2*, "Legends of Abgar."
205. Narrated in the section devoted to the Apostles Simon and Jude. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2: 260–64, no. 159.
206. Blochmann, "Note on a Persian MS.," 140, n* [*sic*]. According to Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 15, there are actually two copies in the library of the Asiatic Society in Kolkata—one of which is dated 1604 and bears Akbar's seal. It is unknown which one was used by Blochmann.
207. L3a.
208. L3a; ASI.276.
209. ASI.276.
210. In addition to Jesus, King Abgar V apparently corresponded with the Roman emperor Tiberius (r. 14–37) and with an unidentified Narses, king of Assyria: Mirkovic, *Prelude to Constantine*, 80. Emperor Akbar maintained regular contacts with a number of foreign rulers, including the Safavid shah and the Portuguese viceroy.
211. L2a.
212. ASI.278.
213. ASI.194.
214. L99a.
215. L4a.
216. L2b.
217. L2b.
218. L2b.
219. ASI.190, 197, 205, 216, etc., with the exception of ASI.72, in which the original currency was not changed.
220. ASI.204.
221. Acts 2:9–10: "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea, and Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, Egypt, and the parts of Libya about Cyrene."
222. The text has what is taken to be a scribal error for دیاربکر Diyarbekir.

223. L143b.
224. But not always, as shown by the use of "vineyard" in ASI.232–34.
225. L105a.
226. ASI.201.
227. ASI.121.
228. ASI.152, 204.
229. ASI.253.
230. L136a.
231. ASI.277.
232. ASI.298.
233. L134b.
234. ASI.299.
235. L2b; ASI.252; L144a.
236. L3b.
237. ASI.275.
238. L3a.
239. ASI.70.
240. L145b.
241. ASI.249.
242. For example, in 1585 the rector of the College of Kochi wrote to Lisbon, complaining that Saint Paul's Church (known at present as Bom Jesus) in Goa was "very poor of these; not even a head of one of the 11 thousand virgins" was in the collection. See the letter sent by Father Jerónimo Rebelo, S.J., to Father Manuel Rodrigues, S.J., Assistant, from Kochi, January 25, 1585 (ARSI, Goa 13, fol. 259v).
243. L126a.
244. L127b; 2005.145.23a; L128a.
245. As with the relics related to the Veronica in Jaén (ASI.284–85), and those of the Magi in Cologne (ASI.70–71).
246. Private collection, Europe, 1b; ASI.270.
247. ASI.1.
248. ASI.3.
249. L145a; L145b.
250. Moses is the most often named Old Testament prophet in the Koran. For Moses in the Koran and Islamic literature, see B. Heller and D. B. Macdonald, *EI2*, s.v. "Mūsā"; Cornelia Schöck, *EQ*, s.v. "Moses."
251. For Elijah in the Koran and Islamic literature, see A. J. Wensinck, rev. and updated by G. Vajda, *EI2*, s.v. "Ilyās," and Roberto Tottoli, *EQ*, s.v. "Elijah."
252. According to Mark 9:2–4, Matthew 17:1–3, and Luke 9:28–30, this occurred during Jesus's transfiguration.
253. See chapter 2.2.
254. Isaiah 7:14.
255. Isaiah 40:3.
256. Isaiah 35:5–6.
257. Isaiah 50:6.
258. Isaiah 53:3.
259. Isaiah 53:7.
260. Isaiah 53:5.
261. Isaiah 9:6.
262. See, for instance, the letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, September 24, 1607 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 64r).
263. ASI.250–52 (Isaiah 53:1–12).
264. ASI.252.
265. See Andrew Rippin, *EI2*, s.v. "Shaʿyā"; A. Rippin, *EQ*, s.v. "Isaiah."
266. See G. C. Anawati, *EI2*, s.v. "ʿĪsā"; Neil Robinson, *EQ*, s.v. "Jesus."
267. See A. J. Wensinck, rev. and updated by Penelope Johnstone, *EI2*, s.v. "Maryam"; Barbara Freyer Stowasser, *EQ*, s.v. "Mary."
268. Koran 21:91; or a "sign to the world," as in other translations.
269. Koran 3:33–63; 19:2–36.
270. Koran 3:59.
271. Koran 3:47.
272. See, for example, Koran 19:30–33, where he speaks from the cradle, and Koran 3:49, where, with God's permission, he performs miracles.
273. Known in Arabic as Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā. See Andrew Rippin, *EQ*, s.v. "John the Baptist."
274. However, he also referred to others prophets from the Old Testament not named in the Koran; see n. 132 above.
275. Koran 2:136; 42:15.
276. For general works, see Jacques Jomier, *Bible et Coran* (Paris, 1959); Edward Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān* (New York, 1977); Kenneth Cragg, *Jesus and the Muslim: An Exploration* (London, 1985); Neal Robinson, *Christ in Islam and Christianity* (Albany, 1991); Khalidi, *Muslim Jesus*; and Roberto Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets in the Qur'ān and Muslim Literature* (Richmond, Va., 2002). For the theme of the Resurrection in particular, see David Marshall, "The Resurrection of Jesus and the Koran" in *Resurrection Reconsidered*, ed. Gavin D'Costa (Oxford, 1996), 168–83. For Biblical figures in Islamic art, see Brosh and Milstein, *Biblical Stories in Islamic Painting*, and Rachel Milstein, *La Bible dans l'art islamique* (Paris, 2005).
277. L2b.
278. Even if he had not been aware, his Muslim "translator" would certainly have informed him.
279. Guzman, *Historia de las Missiones*, 246.
280. This was the term used by Jesuits to address the General of the Order.
281. Letter written by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, August 1, 1598 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 36r).
282. One exception is now in the British Library, London, Add. Ms. 18497. An inscription states that it was produced in 981 (1573–74) for the Sultan of Lahore, i.e., Akbar. See Jeremiah P. Losty, *Art of the Book in India* (London, 1982), 85.
283. David James, *After Timur: Qur'ans of the 15th and 16th Centuries*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 3 (London, 1992), 214.
284. Ibid.
285. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Pedro Paez, S.J., from Lahore, August 2, 1598; reproduced in Alcázar, *Chrono-Historia*, 2:210.

286. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, August 26, 1598 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 42r).
287. Editions in both languages derived from Robert of Ketton's version, concluded ca. 1143. For translations of the Koran, see J. D. Pearson, *EI2*, s.v. "Translation of the Ḳur'ān"; Harmut Bobzin, *EQ*, s.v. "Translations of the *Qur'ān*." As in Father Jerome's time, one of the goals of such translations was to help Christian missionaries in their disputes in the Islamic lands. See Alastair Hamilton, *The Forbidden Fruit: The Koran in Early Modern Europe*, The Hadassah & Daniel Khalili Memorial Lecture at SOAS (London, 2008), 3.
288. Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, *Index de l'inquisition portugaise, 1547, 1551, 1561, 1564, 1581*, Index des livres interdits 4 (Geneva, 1995): 143, no. 117.
289. According to indices published in the years 1551, 1561, and 1581, in ibid., 296, no. 349; 359, no. 66; 456, no. 75, respectively.
290. In contrast to what Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, René Davignon, and Ela Stanek say in *Index de l'inquisition espagnole, 1551, 1554, 1559*, Index des livres interdits 5 (Geneva, 1984), 218, a manuscript in Arabic was not necessarily forbidden in early sixteenth-century Spain. The Koran was, nevertheless, included in the Spanish indices of 1551 (no. 2), and 1559 (nos. 5, 595): see Bujanda, Davignon, and Stanek, *Index l'inquisition espagnole*, *1551, 1554, 1559*, pp. 218, 307, and 547, respectively. The same happened in the edition of 1583 (nos. 25 and 1221): see Jesús Martínez de Bujanda with René Davignon, Ela Stanek, and Marcella Richter, *Index de l'inquisition espagnole, 1583, 1584*, Index des livres interdits 6 (Geneva, 1993), 161 and 456, respectively.
291. Curiously, it does not appear in the index of 1549, but only in that of 1554 for both Venice and Milan: see Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, with René Davignon and Ela Stanek, *Index de Venise, 1549, Venise et Milan, 1554*, Index des livres interdits 3 (Geneva, 1987), 214 no. 12.
292. No. 45, in the indices of 1557, 1559, and 1564. See Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, with René Davignon and Ela Stanek, *Index de Rome, 1557, 1559, 1564: Les premiers index romains et l'index du Concile de Trente*, Index des livres interdits 8 (Geneva, 1990), 156 (for the indices of 1557 and 1559), and 362–64 (for the index of 1564).
293. See, for example, a letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, General, from Srinagar, August 18, 1597 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 345r).
294. Father Jerome's Portuguese version of the Koran is now lost or has yet to be identified.
295. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Ituren, S.J., from Agra, September 14, 1609; reproduced in Alcázar, *Chrono-Historia*, 2:210, and translated into English by Hosten, "Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier," 120–21.
296. Alcázar, *Chrono-Historia*, 2:213.
297. Notably in the *Ā'īna-i ḥaqq-numā*. It is in this work, also translated into Persian, that he tried to expose what he considered to be the "truth of Christianity and the falsehood of Islam." This is extensively discussed by Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 92–178.
298. Guzman, *Historia de las Missiones*, 246.
299. Koran 5:73; 4:171. See also David Thomas, *EQ*, s.v. "Trinity."
300. Koran 4:171; Thomas, *EQ*, s.v. "Trinity."
301. Koran 4:171 and 19:34–35; Thomas, *EQ*, s.v. "Trinity."
302. Anawati, *EI2*, s.v. "'Isā."
303. Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Iesus na India, & Japão nos annos de 600 & 601, & do processo da conversaõ, & Christandade daquellas partes: Tirada das cartas gêraes que de lâ vierão pello Padre Fernão Guerreiro da Companhia de Jesus* (Évora, 1603), 12b.
304. Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam annal* [sic] *das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Iesus, nas partes da India Oriental, & em algumas outras da conquista deste Reyno nos annos de 607, & 608, & do processo da conversaõ & Christandade daquellas partes, com mais huma addiçam á relaçam de Ethiopia: Tirado tudo das cartas dos mesmos padres que de lá vierão, & ordenado pello padre Fernão Guerreiro da Companhia de Iesu, natural de Almodovar de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1611), 12b.
305. Ibid.
306. Ibid.
307. Ibid.
308. See, for instance, ASI.178: "I and the Father are one."
309. L122a; L125a; ASI.268.
310. Guerreiro, *Relaçam* (1611), 11b.
311. Guzman, *Historia de las Missiones*, 246.
312. See, for example, Guerreiro, *Relaçam* (1611), 15b, 16a; Nieremberg, *Vidas exemplares*, 223, 233. See also the letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, August 26, 1598 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 41v).
313. Letters sent by Father Jerome Xavier to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, September 24, 1607 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 64r), and to Father António Mascarenhas, S.J., Rome, from Agra, September 20, 1611 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 72r).
314. Koran 4:157–58.
315. Koran 3:55.
316. 2 Kings 2:11.
317. Anawati, *EI2*, s.v. "'Īsā, pt. XI, 'Jesus and the Problem of the Crucifixion.'" See also Robinson, *EQ*, s.v. "Jesus." The concept of resurrection does not in general present particular challenges for a Muslim: according to the Koran 54:54, every man and woman has a chance of resurrection, depending on the way they behave during their lives.
318. ASI.255–56.
319. ASI.293.
320. L6a.
321. ASI.270.
322. ASI.18.
323. ASI.150 (Matthew 5:48).
324. Matthew 5:27–37 (excepting 5:31–32).

325. Matthew 5:31–32: "And it hath been said, Whoseoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a bill of divorce. But I say to you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, excepting for the cause of fornication, maketh her to commit adultery: and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery."
326. Koran 4:3; 23:6.
327. Stowasser, *EQ*, s.v. "Mary."
328. Koran 19.
329. Koran 21:91; 66:12.
330. See, for example, a letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, General, from Lahore, August 20, 1595 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 288r).
331. Copy of a letter written by the members of the first Jesuit mission addressed to the Captain of Daman (in Gujarat, also under Portuguese rule), from Fatehpur Sikri, March or April 1580 (Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, *Armário Jesuítico*, no. 28, fols.106r–109r).
332. See, for example, the letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, August 20, 1595 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 288r).
333. ASI.74; based on Luke 2:26, which does not include a reference to the Virgin.
334. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān*, 60.
335. Gulbadan Begam, *The History of Humāyūn (Humāyūnnāma),* trans. and annot. Annette S. Beveridge (London, 1902; repr. Lahore, 2002), 104.
336. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23*,* "A Special Issue on Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces," ed. Gülru Necipoğlu (1993): 303–42, at 314–15.
337. Ibid., 315.
338. See, for example, a *Virgin and Child* by Kesu Khurd, ca. 1595, Chester Beatty Library, 11 A.19, in Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 161, cat. no. 79.
339. See, for example, the *Virgin of the Apocalypse*, ca. 1600, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, inv. no. S1990.57, based on a print by Martin Schöngauer (d. 1491), in Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India, 1580–1630* (Washington, D.C., 1998), 32, fig. 25.
340. See, for example, *Jahangir and Prince Khurram Feasted by Nur Jahan*, ca. 1617, Freer Gallery of Art, inv. no. F07.258, in Bailey, *Jesuits and the Grand Mogul*, 10, fig. 2, and *Jahangir Receives Prince Khurram on His Return from the Mewar Campaign*, ca. 1640, *Padshāhnāma*, Royal Library, Windsor Castle, fol. 194b, in Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the World: The Padshahnama; An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, with new translations by Wheeler M. Thackston (London, 1997), 95, cat. no. 38.
341. For the first list of fourteen copies and their locations, see Storey, *Persian Literature,* vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 164. For a list of seventeen copies, see Camps, "Persian Works," 36. To this list one should add the work under discussion here and one dismembered copy (which included the eight paintings formerly in the Howard Hodgkin Collection).
342. L3a; ASI.276.
343. A reference to the *Imagines/Adnotationes* by Jerome Nadal.
344. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., Assistant to the General, Rome, from Agra, September 16, 1603 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 52v). For a different translation of the same passage, see Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 129.
345. University of London, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Ms. 12171.
346. Guerreiro was unaware that Akbar could not read, though Guzman had already acknowledged this by 1601: see Guzman, *Historia de las Missiones*, 242.
347. Guerreiro, *Relaçam* (1605), 52b.
348. For his biography, see Abū al-Fażl, *The Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, 1:343–47; mentioned in n. 32 of the Introduction.
349. Ibid., 1:346.
350. Maclagan, "Jesuit Missions," 87.
351. León Pinelo, *Epitome de la Biblioteca oriental*, 42.
352. The first mission of Discalced Carmelites left Rome in July 1604 and arrived in Isfahan, then the Safavid capital, in December 1607. The mission was active until the early eighteenth century.
353. The Congregation de Propaganda Fide was in charge of regulating ecclesiastical affairs in non-Catholic countries. Until 1982, its official title was *Sacra Congregatio Christiano Nomini Propagando*. At present, it is known as the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (*Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelisatione*).
354. Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 205.
355. Ibid.
356. Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum*, 188–89.
357. The possibility that della Valle took a copy to the Ottoman court should not be rejected. For the dates of della Valle's travels in the lands of the Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal empires, as well as in the *Estado da Índia*, see John Gurney, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "della Valle, Pietro."

CHAPTER THREE

VISUALIZING THE *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS*: CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART, ACC. NO. 2005.145

3.1. THE MINIATURES OF THE CLEVELAND *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS*

As with most Mughal illustrated manuscripts, the miniatures in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* were painted by an unknown number of artists with different backgrounds, skills, experience, and types of creativity. A brief examination of the various ways Christ's face is depicted in these images is enough to substantiate this view. Some follow idealized contemporary models of Western origin (cat. nos. XIII, XIX, and XXIV), while others are less sophisticated in aesthetic terms (cat. nos. XIV, XX, XXI, XXV, and XXVI). Regrettably, only one miniature (cat. no. XIII) is signed by an artist, Muhammad Sharif. The absence of signatures and notes ascribing other paintings to their authors makes their identification difficult, but through a comparison with other works it is possible to attribute three miniatures with some confidence to Salim Quli (cat. nos. V, XV, and XIX). Other possible identifications have been omitted because they are highly tentative. Differences of style and quality within a single miniature indicate that sometimes various artists were involved in the making of one painting. That is the case with *Mary and Joseph Travel to Bethlehem* (cat. no. V), attributed here to Salim Quli. With its strong shading, the face of Mary does not seem to be by this painter but by the author of *The Birth of Mary* (cat. no. I). It is also clear that some miniatures have been partially repainted.[1] The figures of Mary and Jesus in *The Marriage at Cana* (cat. no. XIV), for example, when compared with the other figures surrounding them, seem to be floating above the platform, and are stylistically different and of inferior quality.[2]

It is also clear that the illustration work was never completed. Although most of the miniatures were finished, some with an enormous amount of detail (cat. nos. I, IV, and XXVII), as well as elements in others, such as the decoration of the carpets, were often never begun (cat. nos. VII, XII, and XXII). In one miniature (cat. no. XXIV), the border of the carpet was left incomplete. One might speculate that the manuscript was left unfinished because the painters were suddenly ordered to abandon it, perhaps in order to start working on something else or to move elsewhere. Such an assumption is supported by the absence of rulings in one miniature (cat. no. VII), something that does not require special skills or a significant amount of time.

With a single possible exception, Western prints, which were avidly collected by Akbar long before the arrival of the third Jesuit mission,[3] were not used as models for the compositions.[4] This is perhaps surprising, since, in light of the constant demands made by Akbar and Salim/Jahangir, Father Jerome regularly requested religious prints from his counterparts in both Goa and Rome[5] and became a major provider of such images.[6] One of the letters[7] by Father Jerome mentioned above indicates that Salim, who commissioned an illustrated copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, was not completely satisfied with the illustrations based on Nadal's *Imagines*, and ordered others. This implies that he might have preferred local versions, which were better suited to Mughal sensibilities.

The only composition that might reflect influence from a Western print is *Jesus Being Awakened during a Tempest on the Sea of Galilee* (cat. no. XIX), which shares a number of similarities with an almost contemporary work on the same subject (fig. 3.1) from Jerome Nadal's illustrated Gospel Stories, a copy of which is known to have reached the Mughal court before 1603.[8] The artists involved in the illustration of the Cleveland

Fig. 3.1. *Jesus Being Awakened during a Tempest on the Sea of Galilee* (print). Entitled *Sedat porcellam maris IESVS* in Jerome Nadal, S.J., *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Antwerp, 1593), pl. 29; *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* (Antwerp, 1594), pl. 14. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Harvard College Library)

Mir'āt al-quds were nevertheless inspired by other prints, or to be more precise, selected parts of them. Some of the angels in cat. no. XIII, *Angels Bring Food to Jesus in the Wilderness*, are similar to the ones in Nadal's *Nativity* (cf. figs. 3.2 and 3.3). In both works, the central angel is also portrayed in a similar frontal view.

The figure of Simeon kneeling and with his arms crossed over his chest (fig. 3.4) in *Simeon Kneels in front of Mary and Jesus after Recognizing Them* (cat. no. X) is closely related to the figure of a sick man being cured by Jesus in *Jesus Cures Ten Lepers*, a print also found in Nadal's book (fig. 3.5).[9] Copying certain elements of a work in a more or less faithful way into new and different contexts was particularly popular in the late Akbar and early Jahangir periods. In this same miniature, the figures of the Madonna and Child (fig. 3.6) ultimately derive from a celebrated painting in Rome, the *Salus Populi Romani*, particularly treasured by the

Fig. 3.2. Detail of *Angels Bring Food to Christ in the Wilderness*. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, cat. no. XIII. Mughal school, 1602–4. Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.15. (Photo: courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

Fig. 3.3. Detail of the print *Nativity*. Entitled *Nativitas Christi* in Jerome Nadal, S.J., *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, pl. 3; *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*, pl. 5. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Harvard College Library)

Fig. 3.4. Detail of *Simeon Kneels in front of Mary and Jesus after Recognizing Them*. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, cat. no. X. Mughal school, 1602–4. Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.8. (Photo: courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

Fig. 3.5. Detail of the print *Jesus Cures Ten Lepers*. Entitled *Curat IESVS decem leprosos* in Jerome Nadal, S.J., *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, pl. 81; *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*, pl. 138. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Harvard College Library)

Jesuits and often copied at the Mughal *kitābkhāna*.[10] This alleged Protectress of the Roman People is an early icon, believed to be miraculous. It is one of the so-called Saint Luke paintings, since, according to tradition, the evangelist himself painted it. A considerable number of copies of the Roman painting were produced in various countries, including Portugal, as shown by an oil on wood of the late sixteenth century now in the collections of the Church of São Roque, the first Jesuit church in Lisbon (fig. 3.7).[11] The image was also used to encourage

Fig. 3.6. Detail of *Simeon Kneels in front of Mary and Jesus after Recognizing Them*. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, cat. no. X. Mughal school, 1602–4. Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.8. (Photo: courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

Fig. 3.7. *Salus Populi Romani*, copy of the original in the Borghese Chapel, Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome. Oil on wood, Portuguese school, late sixteenth century. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Museu de São Roque, inv. no. Pin. 32. (Photo: courtesy of the Museu de São Roque)

devotion to the Virgin in the many overseas territories where the Jesuits had established themselves, including India.[12] Documentary sources confirm that a European copy of the painting reached the Mughal court in 1580, when the first Jesuit mission arrived at Fatehpur Sikri.[13] The painting was then offered to Akbar at the same time as the so-called Polyglot Bible, inspiring various reproductions, more or less faithful, at the Mughal court.[14] Jahangir also admired this version of the Virgin and Child, as revealed by a missive written by Father Jerome in the early years of his reign. In 1608, the Jesuit stated that after seeing a painting of the *Salus Populi Romani* in the local Jesuit chapel, Jahangir ordered his artists to reproduce it "*ao natural*" on the wall near "the varanda where he shows himself to the people." Interestingly, the new representation of the Virgin was painted over another portrait of the Virgin that the Jesuit classified in the same document as "very well done."[15]

The two Roman soldiers scourging Christ in *The Flagellation* (cat. no. XXVII), together with the canopy in *The Annunciation* (cat. no. IV), are also almost certainly based on Western prints.[16] Although their models have yet to be identified, they are far too complex and intrinsically Western in taste to be the product of a local artist.

Besides prints and paintings (and possibly Mughal works inspired by these), some artists apparently used a rather unusual source of inspiration: three-dimensional models in ivory. The depiction of Christ's face in cat. nos. XIII, XIX, XXIV, and possibly XXVII, may support this idea, which was first suggested by J. M. Rogers.[17] Various elements of Christ's facial features in, for example, cat. no. XXIV (fig. 3.8), including type of beard, profile, and general aesthetic qualities, are closely related to those found in ivory figures such as a crucified Christ (fig. 3.9) in the Museu de São Roque.[18] Such religious works would have come not only from Goa, where an extremely active ivory-carving industry was based, but also from other regions where the Portuguese had established themselves.[19] That some Christian ivories reached the Mughal court is unquestionable. In describing the events of 1607, Guerreiro states that to commemorate the Passion that year, a procession was organized, "headed by a crucifix,"[20] a figure of Christ made almost certainly of ivory and carved in Goa or present-day Sri Lanka. However, Christian images, presumably of the highest quality, were also carved at the court. Around 1595, Prince Salim commissioned "his own craftsmen" to make a copy in ivory of a crucifix that he had seen at the chapel of the Jesuits in Lahore when visiting there with his father.[21] That Christian images in

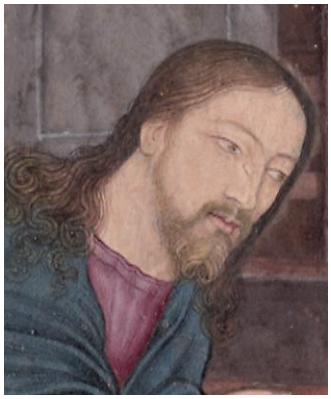


Fig. 3.8. Detail of *Jesus Writes on the Ground*. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, cat. no. XXIV. Mughal school, 1602–4. Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.20. (Photo: courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

Fig. 3.9. Detail of *Crucified Christ*. Ivory, 49 x 47 x 9.5 cm, Goa, seventeenth century. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Museu de São Roque, inv. no. Esc. 139. (Photo: courtesy of the Museu de São Roque)

ivory were carved at the court is unquestionable. Besides documentary references, a Virgin and Child, circa 1600, recently acquired by the Museu de São Roque, has an intrinsic Mughal character as well as artistic quality that confirms such production (fig. 3.10).[22]

Two other miniatures, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (cat. no. VII) and *The Adoration of the Magi* (cat. no. IX), might support the idea that artists used Christian ivory images in their works. It is obvious that they could easily have used a local baby as a model, but this does not seem to have been the case. The position of the legs and the anatomically correct and complete child's body in cat. no. IX find parallels in a standard type of baby Jesus such as that of a seventeenth-century ivory image in a private collection in Portugal.[23] In both instances, Jesus was portrayed exposed, something that is rarely seen in an Islamic context and which also seems to support the idea that the artists were in fact working with an image in ivory.[24] Documentary sources establish that this type of work was also produced at the Mughal court: when he ordered the aforementioned crucifix, Prince Salim requested as well an ivory copy of an "image of the little infant Jesus" that he had seen at the Jesuits' chapel.[25]

Having argued that the painters involved in the illustration of the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* might have on one occasion used a print to create a composition, I now turn to the sources for the other twenty-six paintings.

Fig. 3.10. *Virgin and Child*. Ivory, 27.5 x 8.2 x 5.2 cm (without base), Mughal India, ca. 1600. Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, Museu de São Roque, inv. no. Esc. 215. (Photo: courtesy of the Museu de São Roque)

Painters employed some well-established conventions in their work. The raised platforms on which Moses (cat. no. XV) and Elijah (cat. no. XVIII) are seated derive from Iranian models widely adopted at the Mughal *kitābkhāna*. Scenes in enclosed courtyards (cat. nos. VI, XII, XVII, and XX) were also extremely popular at the Mughal court. However, many of the details found in the miniatures derive directly from Father Jerome's words. The text is the basis for the compositions, including those that might be classified as being within the boundaries of the standard Western iconography (cat. nos. I, II, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXVI, and XXVII). The text also provided the elements used to illustrate events that were only rarely depicted by Western artists in the late Renaissance (cat. nos. III, X, XVII, XX, and XXIV).

Far more curious, however, are the subjects of four particular miniatures. While *Jesus Being Portrayed by King Abgar's Painter* (cat. no. XXV) is atypical simply because the event is in and of itself little known in the West, three other miniatures (cat. nos. VI, XI, and XII) are peculiar for a different reason. They do not illustrate the most relevant moment of a specific event but instead focus on unusual details while ignoring others. In *The Place of Jesus's Birth* (cat. no. VI), Mary is portrayed cleaning the stable, while in *The Preaching of John the Baptist* (cat. no. XI), the subject is portrayed not on the banks of the Jordan but sitting comfortably in an elegant setting. This suggests that whoever selected the passages to be illustrated enjoyed a great deal of freedom. Another example is cat. no. XII, entitled *John the Baptist Recognizes Jesus While Teaching*: instead of depicting the event that any Christian would likely consider the most important, i.e., when John pours water on Jesus's head and thus baptizes him, the painter illustrated the moment preceding it, in accordance with a specific passage of Father Jerome's text:

> One day he was teaching, and there were many people around him. Suddenly our Lord Christ came. John did not recognize him because he had never seen him, since he had grown up in the desert; however, he had an inspiration from God that a dove would come and sit on his head. When he was near, a dove did come and sat on top of his head.[26]

It is remarkable how closely the painter followed Father Jerome's words, thus generating an unprecedented work. It is understandable that a baptism meant little to a Mughal painter, which helps to explain why he chose to illustrate the miracle of Jesus being identified by the dove/Holy Spirit instead of the act of the baptism itself. Jesus is portrayed with a dove on his head, while John, dressed as a Jesuit, is depicted as a teacher.[27] The painter opted for archetypal solutions, which included a standard inner court with a raised platform from which the main figure addresses an audience of kneeling and standing men. Again, Father Jerome's text inspired the composition. Information on standard iconographic aspects, such as John standing by the river Jordan when Jesus approached him, or the latter being baptized in the river, are mentioned long before the description of the moment selected to be illustrated, and were therefore not taken into account.[28] Other miniatures confirm that Father Jerome's text was indeed the main source of their inspiration. This explains why in *Mary Ascends the Stairs to the Temple* (cat. no. II), she is seen climbing up a steep staircase of what appears to be about fifteen steps,[29] and why in *Jesus Being Awakened during a Tempest on the Sea of Galilee* (cat. no. XIX), a disciple is portrayed trying to rouse Jesus.[30] In both paintings, Father Jerome's words provided the key elements of the final result.

As one would expect in early seventeenth-century miniatures, the painters involved in the illustration of the Cleveland manuscript also made use of a series of conventions inspired by Western models. The depiction of heavily draped curtains in ten miniatures (cat. nos. I, VII, X, XI, XII, XIV, XX, XXII, XXIV, and XXV), the landscape with buildings at a distance in three works (cat. nos. VIII, XV, and XVI), and the tentative exploitation of the principles of perspective (especially in cat. no. IV) reflect the influence of European artistic conventions. The architectonic settings of at least three miniatures (cat. nos. VI, VII, and XXII) are nevertheless of note, as they reveal an absorption of Western ideas far greater than that seen in most architectonic pastiches found in this and other manuscripts, or in individual paintings from Akbar's period. The perfect semicircular arches supported by elegantly proportioned columns seen in cat. nos. VI and XXII are the product of Renaissance ideals, while the pillars with Ionic capitals in cat. no. VII are exceptional, if not unique, in a Mughal context.

Mughal paintings that exhibit a strong European influence often have figures of Westerners dressed in the Portuguese style. This is a formula used to identify Christians, hence a representation of "the other." It is in this context that the depictions of the three Magi dressed in Portuguese fashion in two miniatures (cat. nos. VIII and IX) should be understood. They are clearly identified in the text[31] as Arabs, but because they believed in Jesus, they fell into this same category. In three miniatures of the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* (cat. nos. XII, XX, and XXIV), Jesuits appear dressed in their traditional black garments, while in three others (cat. nos. X, XVI, and XXVII), figures are dressed in a related fashion, albeit in colorful garments. It is unclear whether in the latter paintings the artists intended to represent Jesuits, or Europeans in general. Nevertheless, what is striking is their contemporary clothing and the contemporary architectural and landscape settings. The grouping of Jesuits with figures of the New Testament in these and other miniatures may now seem unnatural and yet another Mughal extravaganza. It is, nevertheless, sufficient to recall how common it was for wealthy patrons during the late medieval and Renaissance periods to commission works in which they were anachronistically portrayed side by side with the most revered figures of Christianity, including the Virgin and Christ. The integration of Jesuits into New Testament scenes by Mughal painters was certainly favored at the court. In a letter from 1608, Father Jerome noted that Jahangir had had a picture painted on a wall near the public audience hall in Agra showing Jesus Christ together with a Jesuit holding a book in one hand.[32]

Indeed, as observed in many miniatures of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Jesuits were very often portrayed with books. The missionaries in India and elsewhere were appropriately perceived as educators; the colleges established by them were among the first and, at the time, the finest in both Europe and Asia. Books in general (and not only the Bible) were, of course, essential tools for teaching and an intrinsic part of their work.[33] Perhaps because of a lack of better options, Westerners in general tended to be portrayed with books, either in their hands or near them. It is also highly plausible that these props allowed them to be identified as "People of the Book," as stated in the Koran.[34] Occasionally, books took the place of vessels; both were employed as a suitable way of filling out space. Standard Christian subjects were often "Mughalized," a customary practice of the Mughal *kitābkhāna* in the later period of Akbar's reign and the early part of Jahangir's.[35] This "Mughalization" is evident in the miniatures of the *Mir'āt al-quds*. Besides books and vessels, the Westernized architecture of many of the settings, for instance, is painted in shades of red, the colors of the stone used in Fatehpur Sikri and parts of the Agra Fort.

Fig. 3.11. Detail of *Mary Ascends the Stairs to the Temple*. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, cat. no. II. Mughal school, 1602–4. Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.24. (Photo: courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

Some miniatures also denote different types of foreign influence. The grotesques on the outcrops and rocks seen in various miniatures (cat. nos. II, XIII, and XVIII) reveal a strong Iranian influence not elsewhere perceived.[36] In *Mary Ascends the Stairs to the Temple* (cat. no. II), this reaches a virtuoso level rarely seen in a Mughal context, with the rock formations hiding a series of appealing human and animal heads and faces (fig. 3.11).

One final remark should be made on whether this specific manuscript was illustrated under Jesuit supervision, since there seems to be a belief that this was

indeed the case.[37] As noted earlier, the Jesuits in general, and Father Jerome in particular, provided Western prints to both Akbar and Salim, and, in at least one instance, documentary sources confirm that during the first years of Jahagir's reign Father Jerome and his fellow missionaries were consulted on "how [Christian] paintings should be done."[38]

In his many letters, Father Jerome occasionally discussed paintings, but, to the best of my knowledge, he never mentioned that he had somehow been involved in their making or that he maintained a relationship with courtly artists during Akbar's period. With respect to Salim's *kitābkhāna* in Allahabad, the possibility cannot even be considered, since no Jesuit missionary is known to have visited the prince in that city. According to Guerreiro, Salim did send a messenger to Goa asking for a Jesuit mission to be sent to Allahabad. The Jesuits, however, declined the invitation because they did not want to jeopardize their relations with Akbar.[39] While at Allahabad, Salim communicated with Father Jerome through an Italian, Iacome Felippe, and, on at least one occasion, the missionary showed the prince's letters to Akbar.[40]

That the miniatures of the *Mirʿāt al-quds* were made without Jesuit involvement is suggested by the lack of pictures illustrating events that would normally be deemed crucial for any Life of Christ, such as the Crucifixion scene. As discussed below, this was never meant to be illustrated. Some of the miniatures in this manuscript also support this view. The idea that a Jesuit would allow a key event in Christianity, such as the baptism of Jesus, to be ignored in favor of the illustration of the moment that precedes it (see cat. no. XII, *John the Baptist Recognizes Jesus While Teaching*) is problematic. Likewise, the suggestion that a Jesuit would have allowed John the Baptist, one of the most important figures of the New Testament, to be portrayed as a member of his order is challenging.[41] The *Mir'āt al-quds* miniatures were the result of an indigenized interpretation of the text, and it is not apparent that a Jesuit exerted any type of influence, direct or otherwise, on the scriptorium where the manuscript was illustrated. This helps to explain the didactic character of the paintings.

3.2. THE MISSING MINIATURES AND THEIR THEMES

After comparing the text of the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* with the complete text it is possible to infer with a certain degree of confidence the number of missing folios and their place within the manuscript, as well as the identification of the themes of the missing miniatures.[42] The text of the copy used in this comparison, datable to the early seventeenth century and now at the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), presents only minor variations—most likely the copyist's errors—that are of no consequence in terms of meaning or the length of the narrative.[43] Because an undefined number of folios are missing at the end of the last part of the Cleveland manuscript, a definitive conclusion is not possible, since, a greater number of total folios would perhaps imply a greater number of illustrations. Nevertheless, the total number of missing folios may be estimated to vary between eighteen and probably not more that twenty, with the number of missing illustrations being around ten. This implies that the manuscript was perhaps illustrated with a minimum of thirty-six and a maximum of thirty-eight miniatures. As one would expect, most folios seem to have been detached because they were illustrated.[44] In most cases, the (missing) text confirms that they were indeed subjects suitable for illustration:[45] fol. 21, "The birth of John the Baptist"; fol. 31, "Signs seen throughout the world at Jesus's birth"; fol. 32, "The circumcision of Jesus"; fol. 57, "Philip and Nathaniel meet Jesus on the road to Galilee"; fol. 78, "Demons leaving a madman and entering pigs"; fol. 115, "Jesus walking on water"; fol. 118, "Jesus addresses a large group in Jerusalem"; and fol. 125, "A fish offering a dinar."

On two occasions, pairs of consecutive folios are missing: fols. 26/27, "The Nativity," and fols. 97/98, "Parable of the man who built his house on rock and the man who built his house on sand." It seems unreasonable to presume that the manuscript contained double paintings, as these were not common in manuscripts of the period.[46] A more likely explanation is related to the possibility that when an illustrated folio was detached, the one next to it was also removed.[47] The first pair of consecutive folios describes the Nativity, one of the most popular Christian themes. The sec-

ond is not directly related to Jesus, but its moralistic content seems to have been well suited to the creativity of Mughal painters.

At the end of part 4, which corresponds to the end of Father Jerome's text, a group of at least five folios is missing. According to the SOAS copy, these would have narrated scenes such as the Ascension, Christ seated to the right of God, and the Pentecost. If this final part had been heavily illustrated, there might have been more folios. There are, nevertheless, reasons to believe that perhaps only one more painting existed, if any at all. This assumption derives from an assessment of the number of text folios between every two consecutive miniatures. Although this is a topic that has attracted little academic attention, the resulting pattern allows for some interesting conclusions. The number of text folios between the last two extant miniatures (cat. nos. XXVI and XXVII) is a staggering twenty-five, while the number of folios between the last miniature and the last extant folio is nineteen. This allows the possibility that cat. no. XXVII was in fact the last illustration, since the sum of the nineteen folios and the (at least) five missing folios would still be less than the twenty-five folios just mentioned.

Parts 1 and 2 of the text feature many paintings in comparison with parts 3 and 4, which are meagerly illustrated, even if it is in the latter half of the narrative that some of the most relevant events in the life of Christ are described. Providentially, the dearth of illustrations in parts 3 and 4 resulted in the survival of a large, unbroken section of text between folios 126 and 201.[48] From this it is possible to deduce that events such as the Crucifixion,[49] deposition,[50] and entombment of Jesus[51]—which Mughal painters depicted on any number of other occasions—were never intended to be illustrated in the Cleveland copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*. It is therefore possible that the almost complete absence of illustrations related to the Passion of Christ in the Cleveland manuscript[52] was a response to Muslim sensibilities.

The fact that major events such as the Crucifixion were never intended to be part of the Cleveland *Mirʿāt al-quds* is both odd and of relevance. Although the Koran specifically states[53] that Jesus was not crucified, the event was illustrated a number of times in Mughal India, as is confirmed by the number of surviving courtly paintings on the subject. One, for instance, was commissioned by Prince Salim to adorn the copy of the (non-illustrated) *Mirʿāt al-quds* offered to him by Father Jerome.[54] The inclusion of various Crucifixion scenes in two imperial albums confirms that they were admired by Jahangir as well as by later rulers. Compilations such as the so-called *Gulshan Muraqqaʿ*[55] and the *St. Petersburg Muraqqaʿ*[56] include miniatures of the Crucifixion scene, while in a folio of an *Album of Jahangir*, another Crucifixion scene is reproduced as part of its marginalia.[57] Single paintings illustrating the same theme are at present in the British Museum and the Aga Khan Collection, as well as in a private collection in Boston.[58]

The heavily illustrated beginning also allows for some interesting conclusions. For example, it confirms that when episodes were selected for illustration little attention was given to where they would be placed in the text. Whoever chose the themes to be illustrated did not consider where they would be inserted. On at least one occasion, two illustrations were produced on two consecutive folios.[59] In three instances, two paintings are separated by a single folio of text,[60] and in one case two consecutive miniatures are separated by two folios of text.[61] It is, however, possible that some episodes, such as those that inspired cat. nos. XV and XXV (*Moses Praying to End the Serpents' Attack on the Israelites* and *Jesus Being Portrayed by King Abgar's Painter*), were illustrated because they appealed more directly to the Mughal audience. In the former, serpents are depicted biting Moses's skeptical followers, while the latter satisfied the Mughals' penchant for portraits of rulers and the depiction of paintings in paintings.

The text in the missing folios provides some clues as to what might have inspired the (possibly missing) illustrations. The brief discussion that follows is intended to facilitate their possible future identification. Most of these scenes would be easily identifiable even out of context, since, in the majority of cases, they depict well-known episodes in Christ's life. In addition, Mughal painters were often familiar with these themes, as many had already been illustrated at the court—*The Nativity*, for example.[62] One may presume that a depiction of *The Birth of John the Baptist*—an uncommon subject in Western art—would be related to that of the birth of Mary (cat. no. I), since it would almost certainly involve

the mother lying in a bed and a baby in the arms of a nearby woman.

A miniature of *Jesus Walking on Water* would have been immediately recognizable due to the uniqueness of the subject and to the certainty of its appeal to artists. Indeed, the author(s) of this work might have had access to a prototype for such a scene from an exceptionally early period: in the *Prophet Elias Rescues Nuruddahr from the Sea*, circa 1570, a miniature in the *Ḥamzanāma*, the positions of both Elias and Nuruddahr reveal striking similarities with European models.[63] The author of the composition did not follow the text; instead, he depicted the prophet walking on water while pulling the almost drowned prince. This seems to indicate that he used a different source, almost certainly a print of Western origin. If that assumption is correct, it would be the earliest direct link between a European engraving and a Mughal miniature.[64]

Among the other themes that were probably illustrated are *A Fish Offering a Dinar* and *Demons Leaving a Madman and Entering Pigs*. The singularity of such themes and Jesus's presence in the two compositions would certainly help in their identification. There is also the case of *The Circumcision of Jesus*. In contrast to Western artists, who often depicted the act itself and the religious ceremony surrounding it, Mughal painters, like their Ottoman counterparts, preferred instead to concentrate on the celebrations that followed. A contemporary double page, circa 1605, depicting the circumcision of Akbar's sons, shows only the festive environment of the ceremony.[65] The mandatory insertion of figures with well-established iconographies, such as Mary, might however facilitate its identification. A miniature entitled *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple* and identified as being "from a dispersed copy of the Mir'at al-quds" (ca. 1610) appeared in the art market a decade ago; it reveals that when illustrating this theme, Mughal artists seem to have followed Western iconography.[66] In stylistical terms, some of the figures in this miniature are closely related to others in the copy under study here, but regrettably it is not possible to be certain that this miniature belonged to the Cleveland copy.[67] It is in poor condition and the dimensions, which would be important for determining whether the miniature belonged to this or to another copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, do not seem correct in the auction catalogue.[68]

Far more problematic would be the identification of two other possible miniatures: *Signs Seen throughout the World at Jesus's Birth* and the *Man Who Built His House on Rock and the Man Who Built His House on Sand*. According to Father Jerome's text, one of the signs marking the birth of Jesus was that "a fountain of olive oil appeared [in Rome] and flowed down to the sea."[69] This would not present major difficulties to draw, but unless the painter clearly depicted Roman monuments the theme would be far more complex to recognize. One encounters the same dilemma with the latter work, which portrays one of Jesus's parables. As a subject it would seem to fit with the Mughal fondness for rendering moralistic anecdotes as visually strong images, but for an uninformed observer this most probably resulted in a confusing painting. Two other miniatures might prove difficult to identify because they would have been based on themes that do not offer visually distinguishing elements, namely, *Philip and Nathaniel Meet Jesus on the Road to Galilee* and *Jesus Addresses a Large Group in Jerusalem*.

3.3. SALIM AS THE PATRON OF THE CLEVELAND *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS* ILLUSTRATED AT ALLAHABAD (1602–4)

The number of extant Mughal miniatures illustrating Biblical themes is considerable, yet most of these were apparently never intended for a *Mir'āt al-quds*, since they were conceived as single and independent works.[70] Attempts to identify two or more miniatures belonging to another as yet unidentified illustrated copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds* yielded no significant results. As noted in the Introduction, the Cleveland manuscript is the nineteenth copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds* that has surfaced, but only the third illustrated one. None of the colophons of the illustrated manuscripts survive (or have been identified), but stylistic evidence provided by the miniatures of the three copies indicates that these were made within a short period of time from one another. Father Jerome's text provides a *terminus post quem* date, May 5, 1602,[71] for the *Mir'āt al-quds* (when the manuscript was first presented to Akbar), and obviously

for the production of all other copies. Recently, it has been suggested that "two royal copies"—unidentified but presumably those in Lahore and Cleveland—were illustrated in 1602.[72] The stylistic features of the miniatures of the three manuscripts do suggest that they were painted soon after this period. Although it is not unfeasible that two manuscripts were copied and illustrated within months after the presentation of the original text to Akbar, it remains implausible. Moreover, there is no evidence that they were produced in the emperor's *kitābkhāna.* They seem to have been copied and illustrated before Salim ascended to the throne in 1605, or just thereafter. From this date, the imperial *kitābkhāna* began to reflect more strongly Jahangir's own preferences, adopting new stylistic directions, which in turn affected non-courtly productions.

Before attempting to identify the patron of the Cleveland manuscript, as well as its place of production, a number of issues need to be addressed. In terms of dimensions as well as style, the eight miniatures formerly in the Howard Hodgkin Collection are closely related, which supports the view that they were once part of the same manuscript.[73] Their small size and simpler compositions and style are somehow related to what is known of the Allahabad production,[74] yet this does not necessarily indicate that Salim was the patron of that manuscript.

The second illustrated copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, in the Lahore Museum, consists now of fifty-four folios, eleven of which are illustrated.[75] Despite their poor condition,[76] it is possible to conclude that they illustrate episodes narrated exclusively in parts 1 and 2 of Father Jerome's text.[77] This includes miniatures such as *Jesus Curing a Man with a Withered Hand* (fig. 3.12) that are not illustrated in the Cleveland manuscript.[78] The manuscript was recently bound and an inscription states that it was offered by a certain Mirza Kamran to his son on 19 Jumada I 1013 (October 13, 1604).[79] It has been suggested that this was Akbar's illustrated copy.[80] The identification of the probable patron of the manuscript in Lahore is beyond the scope of this study, yet it should be noted that there is no evidence implying that Akbar ever commissioned an illustrated version of the text. On the contrary, the fact that neither Father Jerome nor later works based on the Jesuits' letters from the Mughal court ever mentioned either the existence of such a manuscript or its commission indicates that most probably the emperor never commissioned it. Moreover, the miniatures in Lahore are, in stylistic terms, not within the parameters expected for an imperial manuscript.

More recently, it has been suggested that the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* was the copy made for Salim.[81] A number of miniatures in fact support this view, since they show close parallels with what is known of the Allahabad production. As noted in the Introduction, the miniature signed by Muhammad Sharif (cat. no. XIII) is of extreme relevance in this context, since it indicates with great confidence that the manuscript was produced for Salim at Allahabad between 1602 and 1604. Muhammad Sharif was the son of ʿAbd al-Samad, one of Shah Tahmasp's painters who in 1555 accompanied Humayun (r. 1526–40; 1555–56) to India after the emperor's forced exile in Iran. Several Mughal authors discuss his work and episodes of his life.[82] He was known as a poet, a calligrapher, and a miniaturist, as well as a painter. Literary sources reveal that his outstanding ability allowed him to draw two armed horsemen on a grain of rice, yet he is also known to have supervised copies of manuscripts such as the *Razmnāma* and the *Khamsa* of Nizami when these were being illustrated in Akbar's scriptorium.[83]

Like his father, he occupied a special position at Akbar's court and seems to have also adhered to the emperor's *Dīn-i Ilāhī*.[84] He grew up as Salim's close friend and confidant, and was awarded the title of khan by the heir to the throne.[85] It was in this capacity that Akbar sent him to Allahabad, in order to promote the reconciliation between father and son. However, he seems to have done the opposite and taken the prince's side. As a result, when in 1604 Salim went back to the Mughal court, Sharif had to flee and did not return to Agra until the prince's accession to the throne. According to Jahangir's own words, two weeks after his accession, on November 5, 1605,

> he [Sahrif] attained the felicity of paying homage. I was overjoyed by his coming because his attachment to me is so great that I consider him as a son, brother, friend, and comrade. Since I had total reliance on his allegiance, intelligence, and experience, I made him deputy and vizier and gave him the exalted title of Amiru'l-Umara (amir of amirs), higher than which there is no title of service, and promoted him to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and *suwar*.[86]

Fig. 3.12. *Jesus Curing a Man with a Withered Hand*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Lahore Museum, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645), fol. 79b. (Photo: courtesy of the Lahore Museum)

The limited number of extant works in which Sharif was involved is normally considered to be related to his proximity to the prince, which allowed him limited time to paint.[87] Verma identified only nine paintings either authored by him or on which he somehow collaborated.[88] More recently, Linda York Leach added two more paintings to this list. One, in the Bodleian Library, portrays Salim (or a young Jahangir) visiting a hermit,[89] and the other, in the Khalili Collection, depicts an emaciated ram.[90] In stylistic terms, both are close to the conventions adopted at Allahabad.

The three miniatures (cat. nos. V, XV, and XIX) attributed here to Salim Quli, who is known to have worked for Salim at Allahabad, where he collaborated

on various projects, also point to a connection with the prince and that city. Among the characteristics that can be related to this production are the relatively small dimensions of the miniatures as well as the fact that Iranian-style grotesques are visible in a number of the paintings (mainly in cat. no. II, but also in cat. nos. XIII and XVIII). The illumination on the frontispiece (fig. 3.13) also follows the aesthetic conventions of late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century style, including, apparently, those practiced at Salim's court in Allahabad (see Appendix I).[91] However, in terms of quality, the illumination in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*, like its miniatures, cannot be compared with the much higher standards of some contemporary courtly manuscripts.[92]

In terms of technique, some of the miniatures in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* indicate a second and different type of association with the Allahabad production. When in 1995 Leach published the catalogue of the collection of Indian miniatures at the Chester Beatty Library, she remarked that Salim's painters "often lacked the best pigments."[93] As a result, one of the characteristics of works from the Allahabad scriptorium is the thinness of the painted areas.[94] Of the miniatures of the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*, one in particular—cat. no. VIII, *The Magi Follow the Star*—belongs, with respect to technique, to the group of paintings described by Leach. It is not so much that the pigments of *The Magi Follow the Star* are of lesser quality but that they seem to have been scarcely used, or were applied directly on the paper, without the standard wash of white given after the drawing in pencil is made.[95] This would explain why the text on the reverse appears through some parts of the painting.[96] Stylistically, the miniature is also closely related to other works known to have been produced at Allahabad, notably paintings in copies of the *Yog Vashisht* and the *Raj Kunwar* in the Chester Beatty Library (see cat. no. VIII).

A study of the themes illustrated in the Cleveland manuscript might also yield valuable information. In a previously quoted letter of September 1603, Father Jerome attests that after Salim received a copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds* from the Jesuits, he commissioned an illustrated version of the text. In the same letter, Father Jerome notes that the prince's copy was extensively illustrated with not only episodes "printed by Father Nadal,

Fig. 3.13. Frontispiece of the *Mir'āt al-quds*. Opaque watercolor, gold and ink on paper. *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, 1602–4. Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145, fol. 1. (Photo: courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

but these and many others."[97] Father Jerome's words are important because they show both that Salim ordered at least one illustrated copy and that this copy indeed contained many paintings. As mentioned earlier, the first and second parts of the manuscript in Cleveland are heavily illustrated, the third and fourth parts much less so, indicating that while it was being produced there might have been a sudden change of plans. The considerable number of miniatures left unfinished—including cat. no. VII, the rulings of which were never drawn—strongly supports the view that the manuscript was simply abandoned at a certain point. The fact that text panels in a number of the miniatures (cat. nos. XV, XXII, XXVI, and XXVII) were left blank reveals poor planning and that the artists had no time to conceal them. Whether this is directly or indirectly related to Salim's accession to the throne and the resulting sty-

listic changes introduced in the imperial *kitābkhāna* remains unclear.

As mentioned earlier, some miniatures of the Cleveland copy are of high quality and it is clear that artists with great skills were involved in their making: consider the fineness of the pigments used in miniatures such as cat. nos. IV and XII, the far afield horizons of cat. no. XVI, and the richness and complexity of compositions such as cat. nos. III, IV, and XXVII. Other miniatures, such as cat. nos. VII, XVII, and XXVI, however, reveal poor standards. Such variation in terms of quality is compatible with what is known about manuscript illustration at Allahabad. The possibility that Salim ordered two illustrated copies of the manuscript cannot be completely discarded but should perhaps not be given too much credence. Illustrated manuscripts were also produced for other patrons, including the ladies of the court, yet very little is known about non-imperial patronage and the artists responsible for these works. It is unknown, for example, what happened to Salim Quli after he left Allahabad, as there is no evidence supporting the view that he ever worked for Jahangir.[98] The same may be said about other painters.

3.4. A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST IN ISLAMIC PAINTING AND LITERATURE

During the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, Christ and other Biblical figures inspired a considerable corpus of paintings that continues to receive much attention. Though singular in many ways, such interest was not exclusive to the Mughal court: long before the establishment of the dynasty, Christian themes were already part of the repertoire of other Islamic scriptoria.[99] This occurred not so much because local rulers were attracted to Christianity, as in Mughal India, but because of Christ's dual condition as a prophet of Islam and the founder of a world religion.[100] Interest in Jesus and Mary extends back to the period of Muhammad, who, according to Ibn Sa'd and other early authors, upon entering the Ka'ba, ordered the destruction of all paintings, except one portraying those two figures.[101]

The life of Jesus became, therefore, a natural part of a major literary genre known as the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (Tales of the Prophets),[102] as well as world histories. The former grew in popularity, and numerous versions appeared in various parts of the Islamic world, including the Indian subcontinent, where the stories were produced in local languages.[103] This explains why the title *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* refers not to a single text, but to a variety of texts written mainly in Arabic and Persian.[104] Many of these texts are among the most read in the Muslim world. Interest in stories of the prophets and world history was particularly strong in the early centuries of Islam and continued until the medieval period. As early as the eighth century, Wahb b. Munabbih (d. ca. 730) composed what became known as the *Kitāb al-Mubtada' wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*. Some of its contents are thought to have derived from oral traditions that were then put in written form.[105] The text begins with the creation of the world, with events thereafter presented in chronological order, as would become standard. It includes the histories of a number of major pre-Islamic prophets. Jesus and other figures from the New Testament,[106] as well as Muhammad, are discussed at the end of the text.[107] Wahb b. Munabbih had a global vision of history that influenced later reference authors such as al-Tabari (d. 923) and Abu Ishaq Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Tha'labi (d. 1036).[108]

The *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk wa 'l-khulafā'* (History of Prophets and Kings) by al-Tabari confirms that the two genres converged in a single work as early as the tenth century. These lengthy annals include sections on the prophets from the Old Testament to Muhammad and miscellaneous information up to the year 915.[109] It is clear that the subject deeply interested al-Tabari, for his renowned *Tafsīr* (Commentary) also includes some of these topics. In his *History*, he covers key events with considerable detail, from the creation of the world to the conquests of the Abbasids. Jesus's life is also discussed at length.[110] A few decades later, Abu 'Ali Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Bal'ami (d. 974 or 992) translated al-Tabari's text into Persian. This was not a simple translation: al-Bal'ami edited the original text and incorporated into it various episodes, with fresh interpretations of some events.[111] The creation of the world and the lives of the prophets, including Jesus and Muhammad, were also discussed by al-Tha'labi in a celebrated work dedicated exclusively to the subject, the *'Arā'is al-majālis fī qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*.[112]

Of the many *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā',* the one composed by al-Kisa'i was among the most popular. Not much is known about the author, but it is believed that he composed his own version of the Tales of the Prophets in the early thirteenth century. The earliest extant copy is dated 617 (1220),[113] although many others, varying in size, arrangement, and contents, survive. In a copy recently translated into English, the last chapter is dedicated to Jesus, identified, as often happened, as the son of Mary.[114] Whether one or more illustrated copies of any of these works ever reached the Mughal court is unknown, but the possibility should not be discounted. Such manuscripts might have provided not only the models for some of the miniatures but also the inspiration for the illustrated versions of the *Mir'āt al-quds*. They would have shown that the life of Christ was indeed material highly suitable for illustration.

It is noteworthy that paintings of Christ's life in both literary genres are hardly religious. They have no devotional purpose and, more often than not, they are merely illustrations of events that define crucial moments in world history. A copy of al-Biruni's treatise *al-Āthār al-bāqiyya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliyya* (Chronology of Ancient Nations) (dated 707 [1307]) at the Edinburgh University Library supports this view.[115] The Chronology is illustrated with a number of miniatures of Jesus that have a pedagogic rather than a religious purpose. Among the illustrations related to the life of Christ is one in which a sinicized Gabriel delivers the news of the Annunciation to an enthroned Mary.[116] This same copy includes what at first seems to be a standard depiction of *The Baptism of Jesus*,[117] in which Jesus is semi-immersed in the waters of the Jordan while a bird flies above his head.[118] A third miniature in the manuscript, however, has a clear religious content, though exclusively from an Islamic point of view. Jesus is portrayed riding an ass side by side with Muhammad, who is depicted on a camel; both are approaching a tower from which a figure, identified as Isaiah, observes them.[119] The painting illustrates a Biblical prophecy in the Book of Isaiah[120] interpreted by Muslims as announcing the coming of Muhammad, "the seal of the prophets."[121]

A further world history that also gives considerable emphasis to the prophets' lives is the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles) by Rashid al-Din (d. 1318). Extant contemporary copies contained narrative material suitable for illustration, especially in Ilkhanid Tabriz, where the text was composed.[122] Rashid al-Din, a vizier and historian, was asked to produce a history of the peoples that the Mongol empire connected. His text deals with miscellaneous information, from the genealogy of Chinese rulers to the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament. The lives of the Buddha, Jesus, and Muhammad are discussed among various episodes of world history. A copy illustrated in the 1310s and now divided between the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art and the Edinburgh University Library shows how prophets' lives were perceived as an intrinsic part of world history. Surviving miniatures include *The Ark of Noah*,[123] *Jonah and the Whale* (fig. 3.14),[124] *The Shakiamuni Offering Fruit to the Devil*,[125] *The Annunciation*,[126] and various other paintings illustrating episodes from the life of Muhammad, notably his birth,[127] as well as the Prophet exhorting his family before the battle of Badr[128] and leading Hamzah and the Muslims against the Banu Qaynuqa.[129]

The seven-volume *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'* (Garden of Purity) by Mir Khvand (d. 1498) belongs as well to the genre of world histories. In this work, which brings us closer in chronology to the Mughals, the Timurid historian dedicated considerable space to the standard lives of the prophets, again from the creation of the world up to the time of Muhammad. Besides Jesus's life, which receives substantial attention, the author discusses Mary and John the Baptist, as well as Zacharias, the latter's father, in great detail. Mir Khvand regarded the Angel Gabriel as a crucial element in the description of the Annunciation to Mary, as well as in other often-miraculous episodes.[130] Of particular interest is the way he islamicizes certain aspects of these episodes. For example, when Zacharias prays for a son, he is described as having turned his face to the "Qiblah of prayer."[131] On another occasion, Mir Khvand states that the Gospel was sent down to Jesus, creating an interesting parallel with the Koran.[132] He also records a number of miracles related to Jesus, including those mentioned in the Koran, such as Jesus speaking from the cradle, healing lepers, raising the dead, and providing from heaven a table laid out with food.[133]

In the fifteenth century, the appeal in the Iranian world for the illustration of historical cycles diminished and poetical works began to attract the attention

Fig. 3.14. *Jonah and the Whale*. Translucent and opaque watercolor, gold, silver, and ink on paper, 12 x 25.5 cm. From the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles), Tabriz, 714 (1314–15). The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, acc. no. MSS 727, fol. 59a. (Photo: courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art)

of patrons. However, the stories of the prophets and related themes continued to inspire artists' creativity. Occasionally, as in an early fifteenth-century painting in the Khalili Collection, these resulted in works with a strong ecumenical content.[134] In the miniature *The Giant Uj and the Prophets Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad* (fig. 3.15), the higher status of Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad is confirmed by the flaming haloes around their heads.[135] The giant Uj is seen smiting Moses's foot, Mary holds Jesus in her arms, and Husayn and Hasan flank Muhammad, who stands in front of ʿAli. This miniature shows how, for Muslims, Moses and Christ are part of a long list of prophets that culminates in Muhammad. This is again revealed in the *Miʿrājnāma* (Book of Ascension) by Mir Haydar, a fourteenth-century poet who, inspired by Sura 17, described the Prophet's mystical journey to heaven and hell. The earliest and perhaps most extraordinary extant illustrated version of the text was produced in Herat in 840 (1435–36), for one of Timur's sons, Shahrukh (d. 1447); this manuscript is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[136] In a number of miniatures, Gabriel is shown leading Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem and through the seventh heaven. Jesus and many other prophets are mentioned on various occasions, and in one painting he is portrayed greeting the Prophet when the latter enters the sacred mosque in Jerusalem.[137]

Although the Safavids concentrated their resources on illustrations of the *Shāhnāma*, the great Iranian epic, an impressive number of illustrated versions of the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* were nevertheless produced then and survive. Some of the twenty-one manuscripts recently studied reveal a peculiar Ottoman influence, but most are essentially Iranian in style.[138] Stylistic evidence also reveals that they were copied and illustrated during a relatively short period of time, between 1565 and 1585, and that

Fig. 3.15. *The Giant Uj and the Prophets Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad.* Opaque watercolor, gold and ink on paper, 38 x 24.4 cm. Baghdad or Tabriz, early fifteenth century. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, acc. no. MSS 620. (Photo: courtesy of the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art)

they were not the product of the imperial ateliers.[139] The text in the twenty-one illustrated manuscripts of the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* presents variations indicating that three different versions were copied.[140] The number of miniatures and their subjects also varies considerably, confirming that artists followed a number of individual models. Topics such as Noah's ark, Yusuf in the pit, and Solomon enthroned, as well as Muhammad's *Mi'rāj* and his victory at Badr were depicted, and more common but less popular episodes were also illustrated. Among these were the birth of Jesus,[141] and the execution of his replacement on the cross.[142] Indeed, of great interest are miniatures that do not conform to Christian tradition. According to the Koran, Mary bore Jesus not in a stable but in an isolated and distant place, beside the trunk of a palm tree,[143] as depicted in a mid-sixteenth-century miniature from a Safavid *Qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'* in the Chester Beatty Library.[144]

A second text in which prophets' lives, including those of Adam, Moses, Zacharias, and Muhammad, are discussed is the *Fālnāma* (Book of Divinations or Omens).[145] The name is given to works—the contents of which also vary considerably—which were used for interpreting dreams, reading signs of various natures, and offering advice. Of the extant illustrated manuscripts, a dispersed copy attributed to artists working in Qazvin or Tabriz around the 1550s includes a miniature identified as *Jesus Resurrecting Lazarus*.[146] In a *Fālnāma* manuscript compiled circa 1615, a *Madonna del Latte*, attributed to a Safavid or Ottoman workshop circa 1580, shows how the Virgin and Jesus inspired good omens, apparently among the most auspicious of the text.[147]

Jesus was also occasionally portrayed by painters working on the illustration of stories narrated in early Islamic literature. One, in the *Khamsa* of Nizami (d. 1209), involves Jesus and a dead dog.[148] Of the three versions known,[149] one is particularly interesting because the figures commenting on the dead body are dressed in Portuguese fashion.[150] For Thomas W. Arnold, "all the pathos of the story is destroyed by the foolish expedient of dressing up the Apostles in the garb of the Portuguese."[151] Yet the miniature offers a parallel with the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*. It also reveals that Safavid painters made use of the same conventions adopted in Mughal India. Similar use of Western costumes is also found in contemporary Ottoman manuscripts such as the *Zübdetü't-tevārīḫ* (Cream of Histories) by Seyyid Lokman Ashuri, the court historian of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95). Although this text includes a history of the Ottoman dynasty as well as accounts of the caliphs and imams, most of its contents followed previous models. It includes a number of illustrations of conventional themes, from the creation of the universe to various episodes in the lives of the prophets, including Jesus and Muhammad. Of the three extant illustrated copies, one dated 991 (1583) was produced for Murad III, while the other two were presented to high officials, demonstrating that such works still had their followers in the late sixteenth century.[152] Each of the three existing illustrated copies includes a miniature of *The Ascension of Christ*.[153]

Although the devotion shown by Islamic scriptoria to the figure of Jesus and his accomplishments is of note, greater attention was obviously given to the life of the founder of Islam. This is particularly true in the Ottoman Empire, and especially during the reign of Murad III. Among the manuscripts commissioned by him was a *Siyer-i Nebi* (Life of the Prophet), a text completed in the end of the fourteenth century by Mustafa b. Yusuf b. 'Omar al-Maulavi al-Arzan al-Rumi, a Mamluk dervish known as Darir. Like other *Siyer* literature, the copy illustrated for the sultan mixes Koranic material, Arab genealogies, stories about the Prophet's battles, poetry, documentary material, and a series of imaginary stories, many of which involved miraculous events.[154] This variety of episodes with eclectic origins calls to mind Christ's vitae and specifically Father Jerome's *Mir'āt al-quds*. The sources for the miniatures in this copy derive from courtly models, while others may be found in popular versions of devotional literature, some of which are from the Mamluk period.[155] Of interest is the fact that some paintings, such as those illustrating the Prophet Muhammad's birth[156] as well as his death,[157] seem to be based on the iconography of Jesus.

Although its scale is much vaster—consisting of a now dispersed six-volume work with 814 paintings[158]—Murad III's copy of the *Siyer-i Nebi*, produced in the last years of the sixteenth century presents the closest parallel with the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* anywhere in the Islamic world. Whether Akbar and his Ottoman counterpart were aware of each other's interests is unknown, but the apparent coincidence in terms of dates confirms that in this period there was a widespread concern with religious matters, and particularly with the lives of the founders of Christianity and Islam. This was at the heart of these unique cycles of paintings, which were not produced in any other period.

Akbar's deep interest in world history is revealed by the commission of a number of new texts and illustrated manuscripts. As mentioned earlier, to commemorate the first millennium of Islam he ordered the *Tārīkh-i alfī*, a new history of the Muslim world. An illustrated version of Rashid al-Din's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* was also ordered. The work of the most celebrated Muslim poets is of relevance as well. Like the already mentioned Nizami,[159] Rumi[160] (d. 1273) and Saʿdi[161] (d. 1292) frequently used Jesus's name and character to formulate tales in which religious responsibility and

virtue are essential elements. In these Sufi poets' works, Jesus has a mystical persona that may have appealed to Akbar. These and other Islamic texts reveal that the Mughal emperor had at his disposal a considerable corpus of information on the life of Christ long before he commissioned the *Mir'āt al-quds*. Observed in light of these texts, his request to Father Jerome acquires added meaning. In addition to providing Akbar with a version of Christ's life based on Christian sources, the new text complemented and enhanced some of the information to which the emperor had already had access.

NOTES

1. No remarks on repainting are made in the general acquisition report for the manuscript (dated September 10, 2007) by Moyna Stanton, conservator of works on paper at the CMA, who kindly provided a copy. However, in individual reports on each of the miniatures (produced and supplied by the same conservator and dated August 31, 2005), she noted retouching in cat. nos. VI, VII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVII, XX, XXI, and XXII. Moreover, in the report for cat. no. XXIII, Stanton estimates that the "face of Salome has been entirely repainted." She further observes that in cat. no. XXV "several of the faces may be entirely repainted" and, with respect to cat. no. XXVI, admits the possibility that the "figure guiding mule" has a "repainted face."
2. This is not supported by the "incoming and acquisition report" for this miniature (cat. no. XIV), which simply notes "retouching" in some of the figures' clothes (i.e., Jesus's cloak and the blue cape of the kneeling figure).
3. In a letter sent by Father Jerome soon after he arrived at the court, he acknowledged that Akbar owned "very rich images [i.e., of Jesus and the Virgin] of those good ones that come from Europe." Letter sent by Father Jerome to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, August 20, 1595 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 288r).
4. Western prints are known to have reached the Mughal court decades earlier, as a number of miniatures in the *Ḥamzanāma* indicate. Although the first official contacts between the Portuguese and Mughals only occurred in the 1570s, documentary sources show that as early as 1530 Portuguese goods were available at the court, and by the 1540s Portuguese traders were living in the capital. For a discussion of the sources, see Pedro Moura Carvalho, "'Rarities from Goa' at the Courts of Humayun, Akbar and Jahangir (1530–1627)," in Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 98–115.
5. There are an extensive number of letters from Father Jerome asking for such prints. Among these were the requests he made to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, including those sent from: Lahore, on August 20, 1595 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 288v); Srinagar, on August 18, 1597 (ARSI, Goa 14, fol. 345r); and again Lahore, on August 1, 1598 (ARSI, GOA 46 I, fol. 36r).
6. These were believed to have stimulated the interest of both father and son in Christianity. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Francisco Cabral, S.J., Provincial, from Lahore, September 8, 1596 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 31r).
7. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., Assistant to the General in Rome, from Agra, September 16, 1603 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 52v).
8. The same engravings illustrate the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (printed in 1593) and *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* (first printed in 1594), but these are presented in a different order. A copy of one of the editions reached the Mughal court, as revealed by a letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., Assistant to the General in Rome, from Agra, September 16, 1603 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 52v).
9. Nadal, *Imagines* (fol. 81), and *Adnotationes* (fol. 138). For a related figure, see also the title page of Du Jarric's *Histoire* (illustrated in Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, pl. II, facing xxxvi), but this was only published in 1610.
10. For a Mughal miniature signed by Manohar, ca. 1600, and inspired by the *Salus Populi Romani* in the Fondation Custodia, inv. no. 1974-T-67, see Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, 141, fig. 160.
11. Oil on wood, Portuguese school, late sixteenth century, Museu de São Roque, Lisbon, inv. no. Pin. 32. At least four copies of the painting were identified in this church's inventories: see Teresa Freitas Morna (coord.), *Museu de São Roque* (Lisbon, 2008), 58–59, cat. no. 6.
12. The painting was also reproduced on various occasions in Goa, and an example to this day adorns one of the most important extant pieces of religious silverwork made in Goa, a late sixteenth-century oratory-reliquary. For a reproduction of the painting, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. no. 99, see Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 122. For a discussion on the *Salus Populi Romani* at the Mughal court, see Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 227–28; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 115–16, 118, 125–26, 134–35; and Bailey, "The Lahore Mirat Al-Quds," 36–37.
13. Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 19–20.
14. See, for example, a *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1600, signed Manohar, in Foundation Custodia, Paris, inv. no. 1974-T-67 (illustrated in Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, 141, fig. 160), and a more faithful version, ca. 1595, pasted in folio 53r of the *St. Petersburg Muraqqa'* (see Francesca von Habsburg et al., *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa': Album of Indian and Persian Miniatures from the 16th through the 18th Century and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy by 'Imād al-Ḥasanī*, 2 vols. [Milan, 1996], 2: pl. 90).
15. Letter written by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., Assistant to the General in Rome, from Agra, September 24, 1608 (British Library, Add. Ms. 9854, fol. 71a). An English version appears in Guerreiro, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*,

trans. C. H. Payne, 64, but the translator ignored the part where Father Jerome states that the new representation of the Virgin was painted over a previous one.

16. In Nadal, *Imagines* (pl. 121), and *Adnotationes* (pl. 94) as well, two soldiers are portrayed energetically scourging Jesus, though in different positions from those seen in the Cleveland miniature; more importantly, they are not dressed as Romans.
17. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, 68.
18. Crucified Christ, ivory, Goa, seventeenth century. Museu de São Roque, Lisbon, inv. no. Esc. 139.
19. The quality of works from Sri Lanka (formerly known as Ceylon), for example, cannot be underestimated. In the 1580s, the archbishop of Goa received a crucifix from the inhabitants of the island of such quality that it was immediately sent to the king of Portugal. See Pedro Moura Carvalho, *Luxury for Export: Artistic Exchange between India and Portugal around 1600* (Pittsburgh, 2008), 27, cat. no. 1.
20. Guerreiro, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, trans. C. H. Payne, 32.
21. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, August 20, 1595 (ARSI, GOA 14. fol. 288r). This reference to ivory works being produced by imperial craftsmen is of great interest: although some Indian ivories and literally thousands of Christian images survive, only a few Mughal ivories of quality are known. These are normally powder flasks carved with animal imagery.
22. *Virgin and Child*, ivory, ca. 1600, Mughal India. Museu de São Roque, Lisbon, inv. no. Esc. 215. For a discussion of this image, see Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "Nossa Senhora e o Menino," *Arte Oriental nas Colecções do Museu de São Roque*, ed. T. Freitas Morna (Lisbon, 2010), 119–22.
23. *Child Jesus*, ivory, seventeenth century, 18 cm, Távora Sequeira Pinto Collection, Porto.
24. Unclothed figures of the child Jesus appear in other Mughal miniatures but these normally derive from Western prints. For examples, see a *Madonna and Child*, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, inv. no. I.1986.185, and the border of a folio of the *Muraqqaʿ-i Gulshan* (Gulshan Album), Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. no. F1956.12b. The latter is illustrated in Elaine Wright, *Muraqqaʿ: Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library* (Alexandria, Va., 2008), 59, 79, figs. 24 and 33, respectively.
25. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., General, from Lahore, August 20, 1595 (ARSI, GOA 14, fol. 288r).
26. 2005.145.9a–b.
27. Although Father Jerome twice used the expression "baptize with water" and once "baptize with pure spirit," he only described what constitutes the specific act of baptizing later in the text (ASI.70).
28. ASI.68.
29. ASI.269.
30. L51a.
31. L23a; ASI.71.
32. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J. (?), Assistant (to the General?) in Rome, from Agra, September 24, 1608 (British Library, Add. Ms. 9854, fol. 71b).
33. For the Mughals, "Jesuit" was synonymous with "educator." This is confirmed by cat. no. XII, in which John the Baptist—who, according to the text, was teaching—is portrayed as a Jesuit, appropriately dressed in the customary black garments adopted by the order.
34. Koran 4:171, among others.
35. An excellent example is the miniature *The Birth of Mary*, ca. 1610, Free Library of Philadelphia, inv. no. Lewis O M 93, which is illustrated in Beach, *Grand Mogul*, 156–57, cat. no. 54. The painting is an accurate copy of an engraving (ibid., cat. no. 54a) by Cornelis Cort dated 1581, yet an examination of the two works shows how the artist, although faithful to the original, added a number of extra decorative elements. Although the original composition was per se quite dense and full of detail, the artist managed to insert even more elements into the composition. Flower motifs fill the Virgin's bedcover and part of the clothing of the figure in the lower right-hand corner, while the background wall became more traditionally Mughal. It has a niche in which a vase and two small cups stand, above a window/door with its customary "curtain" rolled up. Other added motifs of clear Mughal origin include vessels on the floor and personal jewelry such as earrings and at least one bracelet on one of the putti's arms. The female figures are less Michelangeloesque and more feminine, the putti less chubby.
36. In this period, strong Iranian influence in Mughal miniatures is seen in works normally attributed to Salim's scriptorium at Allahabad. Aqa Riza, the Iranian painter who worked for Salim before and after his accession to the throne, was greatly responsible for such an influence.
37. As suggested in 1999 by Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 128.
38. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J. (?), Assistant (to the General?) in Rome, from Agra, September 24, 1608 (British Library, Add. Ms. 9854, fol. 72a).
39. Guerreiro, *Relaçam* (1605), 59b.
40. Guerreiro, *Relaçam* (1605), 60a. See also Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mughal*, 69.
41. The same applies to the miniature entitled *The Ascension of Jesus Dressed as a Jesuit* (Binney, *Indian Miniature Painting*, 51, cat. no. 28b), formerly in the Howard Hodgkin Collection and now in the San Diego Museum of Art, inv. no. 1990.309 (fig. 2.3). This identification is questionable, since Christ is portrayed with a rope around his waist and without either shoes or the standard Jesuit hat (see cat. nos. XII, XX, and XXIV). He—and the missionary on the ground—are therefore dressed more like Franciscans than Jesuits. Again, the idea that this miniature could have been made under Jesuit supervision raises some doubts. It is more likely that painters felt free to dress Christ as a missionary, and that they were not aware of the specificities of the garments adopted by each Catholic order.
42. The list of the missing folios and the themes of the miniatures based on these were provided by Wheeler M. Thackston. See Appendix II: "Order of Folios in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*."
43. SOAS Library, University of London, Ms. 12171.
44. The missing folios are mainly from the end of part 1 and the beginning of part 2, as well as the end of part 4.

45. The folios are numbered as they are in the "Order of Folios" (Appendix II).
46. Double-page paintings, though rare, were nevertheless produced by Akbar's artists in these same years, as shown by *Akbar Fights with Man Singh* by Dawlat, ca. 1600–1603, in the Chester Beatty Library, inv. no. In 03.169; illustrated in Wright, *Muraqqa': Imperial Mughal Albums*, 256–57, cat. no. 22.
47. This is suggested by the fact that a number of paintings in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* have been matted together with folios of text. This happened whenever a folio with text and an illustrated folio belonged to the same sheet of unbroken paper. Not surprisingly, museum conservators faced the same dilemma as the previous owners and preferred to keep unbroken sheets together.
48. Miniatures interrupt these seventy-five folios of text on four occasions: fol. 130/cat. no. XXIV; fol. 143/cat. no. XXV; fol. 156/cat. no. XXVI; fol. 182/cat. no. XXVII.
49. For a discussion of the Crucifixion as a theme in the Mughal *kitābkhāna*, see chapter 3.4.
50. The deposition also deserves some attention, since at least three miniatures on the subject are known. For the miniature in the Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. IS 133-1964, fol. 79b, see John Guy and Deborah Swallow, eds., *Arts of India: 1550–1900* (London, 1990), 71; for the one in the Fondation Custodia, inv. no. 988-T.12, see Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 152; and for the one in the Cabinet des Dessins, Musées d'art et d'histoire, inv. no. 1986-34, see Jasvinder Kaur, Marielle Martiniani-Reber, and Francine Besson, *L'Esprit de l'Inde dans les collections des Musées d'art et d'histoire* (Geneva, 1997), 73, cat. no. 34.
51. Miniatures illustrating *The Entombment of Christ* are now in the Free Library of Philadelphia, inv. no. Lewis O M 92, illustrated in Beach, *Grand Mogul*, 157, cat. no. 55; and in the Navim Kumar Collection, illustrated in Pratapaditya Pal, Janice Leoshko, Joseph M. Dye III, and Stephen Markel, *Romance of the Taj Mahal* (Los Angeles and London, 1989), 109, cat. no. 108.
52. This is valid only for the Cleveland manuscript, since many episodes of the Passion and what followed were illustrated by Mughal painters as individual works.
53. Koran 4:157.
54. According to Father Jerome, this unillustrated copy was embellished "with a golden cross at the beginning; [Salim] ordered his best painter to paint a crucifix…and Our Lady with the Child Jesus in her arms…": letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., Assistant to the General, from Agra, September 16, 1603 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 53r).
55. On the *Muraqqa'-i Gulshan*, Gulistan Palace Library, see Mohammad-Hasan Semsar and Karim Emani, *Golestan Palace Library: Portfolio of Miniature Paintings and Calligraphy* (Tehran, 2000), 275, cat. no. 201.
56. *St. Petersburg Muraqqa'*, Library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 53r, pasted on the upper part of a folio where the Virgin is portrayed kneeling in front of the Crucifixion. See von Habsburg, *St. Petersburg Muraqqa',* 2: pl. 90.
57. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., inv. no. 1958.187; illustrated in Beach, *Grand Mogul*, 57, 59, cat. no. 11.
58. For the miniature in the British Museum, London, inv. no. 1983.10-15.1, see Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, 68, fig. 44; for the miniature in the Aga Khan Collection, ca. 1605, see Sophie Makariou et al., *Chefs-d'ouevre islamiques de l'Aga Khan Museum* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, 2007), 35, cat. no. 6.
59. Fol. 24/cat. no. V and fol. 25/cat. no. VI.
60. Fol. 9/cat. no. II and fol. 11/cat. no. III; fol. 34/cat. no. VIII and fol. 36/cat. no. IX; fol. 70/cat. no. XVII and fol. 72/cat. no. XVIII.
61. Fol. 63/cat. no. XV and fol. 66/cat. no. XVI.
62. These include miniatures of *The Nativity*, ca. 1605–10, after Nadal, in the Free Library of Philadelphia, inv. no. Lewis O M 93, illustrated in Beach, *Grand Mogul*, 156, cat. no. 54; the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. D 402-1885, illustrated in Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 153, cat. no. 83; and the Fondation Custodia, Paris, inv. no. 1972-42, illustrated in Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 160, cat. no. 75.
63. *The Prophet Elias Rescues Nuruddahr from the Sea*, in the *Hamzanāma*, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1925-9-29-01; illustrated in Seyller, *Adventures of Hamza*, 240–41, cat. no. 80.
64. The iconography of this miracle has little evolved, as is confirmed by the engraving *Ambulat super mare Iesvs* (Jesus Walks on the Sea) in Nadal's *Imagines* (pl. 44), and *Adnotationes* (pl. 24), published decades after the painting and known to have reached the court.
65. From the so-called Chester Beatty *Akbarnāma*, ca. 1605, now divided between the Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 71.76, and the Keir Collection, Ham; illustrated in Linda York Leach, *The Cleveland Museum of Art Catalogue of Oriental Art, Part. 1: Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings* (Cleveland, 1986), 66–70, cat. nos. 18i and 18iA.
66. Sotheby's, New York, *Indian and Southeast Asian Art*, March 21, 2002, 178–79, lot 221, now pasted on "a later album page." Its whereabouts are unknown and this author has not examined the miniature.
67. See, for example, the male figure with a hat on the upper left-hand side, which is closely related to that in the lower-right corner in cat. no. 20. The face of the priest in the miniature is also similar to the latter.
68. The dimensions of the painting indicated in the auction catalogue (14.6 x 13.0 cm) seem to be incorrect, since they suggest an almost square painting, which does not agree with the pronounced rectangular form of the illustrated miniature. (If correct, these would diverge too markedly from what would be the average dimensions of the painted area in the other miniatures in Cleveland.) The stated dimensions of the folio (26.0 x 18.7 cm), however, would be more in line with those in Cleveland.
69. L20a.
70. Great variations in the miniatures within a single volume are to be expected with respect to style, palette of colors employed, and artistic quality. However, as in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*, miniatures belonging to the same manu-

script share a number of almost mandatory characteristics regarding matters such as the type of paper and borders used, the dimensions of the folio, and the area of the painted surface in relation to the folio. The crucial evidence that might confirm whether a detached miniature once belonged to a certain manuscript is provided by the panel of text on the back. Normally, each text panel is contained within borders identical to the ones in the other folios of text, written in the same number of lines, with the same type of script, calligraphic style, and color of ink as in other folios of text. The text on the back of cat. nos. I, XI, and XVI provided the definitive evidence that these miniatures once belonged to the Cleveland manuscript.

71. ASI.278–79.
72. According to John Seyller in John Seyller with Konrad Seitz, *Mughal and Deccani Paintings*: *Eva and Konrad Seitz Collection of Indian Paintings* (Zurich, 2010), 45.
73. Sotheby & Co., London, *Fine Western & Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures,* July 5, 1965, 16–18, lots 56–63.
74. Confirmed by personal communication with Milo C. Beach, November 16, 2007.
75. Lahore Museum, Ms. 46, acc. no. M-645. See Ali and Ahmed, "Mirat-ul-Quds," 79–91. Of the eleven miniatures, one identified as *Angels Talking about Christ's Birth* does not seem to belong to the manuscript (illustrated in Ali and Ahmed, "Mirat-ul-Quds," 83, fig. 65).
76. According to information in the records of the Lahore Museum provided by Iffat Ihtisham, the curator in charge of manuscripts, "the manuscript has been deliberately defaced by a Muslim hand: although most of the figures in the miniatures have been washed out, representations of Christ, considered one of the Prophets before Muhammad, are usually spared, as are the angels." In "Persian and Urdu Illustrated Manuscripts in the Lahore Museum," Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645).
77. For a discussion of these, see Ali and Ahmed, "Mirat-ul-Quds," 79–91, and Bailey, "The Lahore Mirat Al-Quds," 31–44.
78. Lahore Museum, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645), fol. 79b.
79. Fol. 1v: Chaghatai, "Mirat al-Quds," 95. Little is known about Mirza Kamran and how he acquired the manuscript.
80. Bailey, "The Lahore Mirat Al-Quds," 33.
81. Bailey, "Jesuit Art and Architecture in Asia," 355.
82. For some of these see, Som Prakash Verma, *Mughal Painters and Their Work: A Biographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue* (Delhi, 1994), 299–300.
83. Ibid., 300.
84. Ibid., 42.
85. Jahangir, *Jahangirnama*, 28.
86. Ibid., 28.
87. Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, 77.
88. Verma, *Mughal Painters*, 300–301.
89. Identified as *The Emperor Akbar Visiting a Hermit*. However, as Leach has remarked (*Paintings from India*, 36–39, cat. no. 8, n. 12), the main figure is recognizable as Salim/Jahangir. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce or. A. I, fol. 36v; illustrated in *Mughal Miniatures of the Earlier Period*, Bodleian Picture Book 9 (Oxford, 1953), fig. 19.
90. Leach, *Paintings from India*, 36–39, cat. no. 8.
91. For an illustration of the frontispiece of the *Yog Vashisht*, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, inv. no. IN 05, copied and illustrated in 1602 at Allahabad, see Wright, *Muraqqaʿ: Imperial Mughal Albums*, 226–27, cat. no. 8i.
92. Including that on the frontispiece of a *Būstān* of Saʿdī, fol. 1v, copied in Agra in 1014 (1605–6), Art and History Trust Collection, Houston, Tex.; illustrated in Milo C. Beach, "Persian Culture and Mughal India," in Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection*, with a contribution by Milo C. Beach (New York, 1992), 339.
93. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 1:147. Earlier, in 1986, Leach had argued that a particular painting was not from Allahabad because of the "thick, creamy paint in contrast to the thin, bright tints" for which that city was known. Leach, *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings*, 75.
94. More recently, in 2008, Elaine Wright confirmed that without further studies it is not possible to make generalizations about the subject. Wright, *Muraqqaʿ: Imperial Mughal Albums*, 75 n. 20.
95. B. B. Johnson, "A Preliminary Study of the Technique of Indian Miniature Painting," in *Aspects of Indian Art: Papers Presented in a Symposium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, October, 1970*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden, 1972), 139–46, at 140.
96. The text is only visible in the area of the landscape and sky. For the portrayal of the Three Kings and their camels, either thick and opaque pigments were used or the paint was applied in several layers.
97. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., Assistant to the General, from Agra, September 16, 1603 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 52v).
98. I am indebted to Milo Cleveland Beach for this information. Personal communication, February 2010.
99. Thomas W. Arnold was apparently the first scholar to call attention to the subject. See Thomas W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture* (Oxford, 1928), new ed. with an introd. by B. W. Robinson (New York, 1965); Thomas W. Arnold, *The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art* (London, 1932).
100. For more on how Jesus is perceived in Islam, see Anawati, *EI2*, s.v. "ʿĪsā"; Robinson, *EQ,* s.v. "Jesus."
101. See Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 7.
102. See T. Nagel, *EI2*, s.v. "Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ."
103. See introduction in Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʾi, *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisaʾi*, trans. and annot. Wheeler M. Thackston (Boston, 1978), xviii–xix.
104. Rachel Milstein, Karin Rührdanz, and Barbara Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of the Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1999), 1–2.
105. R. G. Khoury, *EI2*, s.v. "Wahb b. Munabbih."
106. Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, 139.
107. Khoury, *EI2*, "Wahb b. Munabbih," 34.
108. Ibid.
109. C. E. Bosworth, *EI2*, s.v. "al-Ṭabarī."
110. Al-Ṭabarī, *The Ancient Kingdoms*, trans. and annot. of extracts by Moshe Perlmann, SUNY Series in Near East-

ern Studies, Bibliotheca Persica 4, *The History of al-Ṭabarī = Tārīkh al-rusūl wa'l-mulūk* (Albany, 1987), 112–25.

111. D. M. Dunlop, *EI2*, s.v. "Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bal'amī."
112. For more on the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, see Nagel, *EI2*, s.v. "Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'."
113. British Museum, London, Ms. Or. 3054.
114. al-Kisā'i, *Tales of the Prophets*, 326–36.
115. al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya*, Edinburgh University Library, Ms. Arab 161.
116. *The Annunciation*, Edinburgh University Library, Ms. Arab 161, fol. 141b; illustrated in Priscilla Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*," in *The Scholar and the Saint: Studies in Commemoration of Abu'l-Rayhan al-Bīrūnī and Jalal al-Din al-Rūmī*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (New York, 1975), 149, fig. 22.
117. *The Baptism of Jesus*, Edinburgh University Library, Ms. Arab 161, fol. 140b; illustrated in Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript," 146, fig. 21.
118. A close observation reveals that the bird seems to be a parakeet instead of a dove, while John does not pour water on Jesus's head but is depicted helping him dress. The latter miniature finds interesting parallels with that in Cleveland (*John the Baptist Recognizes Jesus While Teaching*, cat. no. XII), since neither illustrates the key moment of the narrative.
119. *Isaiah's Prophecy of Muhammad*, Edinburgh University Library, Ms. Arab 161, fol. 10b; illustrated in Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript," 108, fig. 2.
120. Isaiah 21:6–9. For a discussion, see Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript," 107–9.
121. Koran 33:40.
122. See Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, esp. 90–108.
123. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, acc. no. MSS 727, fol. 45; illustrated in Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 80, fig. 45.
124. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, acc. no. MSS 727, fol. 59.
125. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, acc. no. MSS 727, fol. 34; illustrated in Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 79, fig. 43.
126. Edinburgh University Library, Ms. 20, fol. 24a; illustrated in Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pl. XXIVb.
127. Edinburgh University Library, Ms. 20, fol. 44a; illustrated in Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 68, fig. 33.
128. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, acc. no. MSS 727, fol. 5; illustrated in Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 69, fig. 34.
129. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, acc. no. MSS 727, fol. 6; illustrated in Blair, *Compendium of Chronicles*, 70, fig. 35.
130. Muḥammad b. Khāvandshāh Mīr Khvānd, *The Rauzat-us-safa, or Garden of Purity*, trans. E. Rehatsek and ed. F. F. Arbuthnot, 2 pts. in 5 vols. (London, 1892–93), pt. 1, *The Histories of Prophets, Kings, and Khalifs*, vol. 2, pp. 157, 159, and 160.
131. Ibid., 149.
132. Ibid., 161.
133. Mīrkhvānd, *Rauzat-us-safa*, 168; Koran 5:110, 5:112.
134. *The Giant Uj and the Prophets Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad*, Tabriz (?), early fifteenth century. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, acc. no. MSS 620.
135. Moses and Jesus nevertheless occupy secondary positions in comparison with Muhammad; this is clearly a way to present Muhammad as "the seal of the Prophets."
136. Herat or Samarqand, ca. 1430. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. Supplément (henceforth Suppl.) turc 190.
137. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Suppl. turc 190, fol. 5v; illustrated in Marie-Rose Séguy, ed., *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet: Mirâj nâmeh; Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (Manuscrit Supplément turc 190)*, trans. (from Arabic) Mīr Haydar; trans. (from French) Richard Pevear (New York, 1977), pl. 4.
138. For the list of manuscripts examined, see Milstein, Rührdanz, and Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets*, 2–3.
139. It has been suggested that the impetus for such works was a vanished manuscript illustrated for Shah Tahmasp (r. 1525–76), who sponsored some of the most sumptuous and influential manuscripts ever produced in Iran. Ibid., 65–66.
140. For the authors and their works, see ibid., 10–15.
141. Keir Collection, Ham, Ms. K, fol. 244a; illustrated in Milstein, Rührdanz, and Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets*, fig. 18.
142. Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, Ms. B, fol. 207b, and Ms. H. 1227, fol. 173b; illustrated in Milstein, Rührdanz, and Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets*, figs. 18 and 62, respectively.
143. Koran 19:22–26.
144. *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, second half of the sixteenth century, Chester Beatty Library, Ms. Per 231, fol. 227; illustrated in Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pl. XXV.
145. On how to use such texts, see H. Massé, *EI2*, s.v. "Fāl-nāma." See also Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağci, *Falnama: The Book of Omens* (Washington, D. C., 2009), esp. 19–39.
146. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 50.32.1; illustrated in Armen Tokatlian, *Falnamah: Livre royal des sorts* (Montreuil, 2007), cat. no. 22. It is unclear whether the veiled and haloed figure portrayed is, in fact, Jesus who, according to the Koran 5:110, was known to have "put life into the dead." It is also uncertain whether the resurrected figure is Lazarus, since he is not specifically mentioned in the Koran.
147. *Fālnāma*, Ottoman Turkey or Safavid Iran, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, Ms. H. 1703, fol. 32b; illustrated in Farhad and Bağci, *Falnama: The Book of Omens*, 111, cat. no. 18.
148. Niẓāmi Ganjavī, *Makhzanol Asrār = The Treasury of Mysteries*, trans. Gholām Hosein Dārāb (London, 1945), discourse 10, 198–99.
149. *Khamsa* of Nizami, Bodleian Library, Unversity of Oxford, Elliot 192, fol. 22b; Biliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Suppl. Persan 1111, fol. 20; British Museum, London, Add. Ms. 6613, fol. 19b; illustrated in Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pls. 27a, 27b, and 28, respectively.
150. British Museum, London, Add. Ms. 6613, fol. 19b; illustrated in Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pl. 27b.
151. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, 102.
152. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 414; Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, Ms. H. 1321; Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul, Ms. 1973. See Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs".

153. For an illustration of *The Ascension of Christ* in the copy from 1583 in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Ms. 1973, fol. 40a, see David J. Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London, 2005), 457–58, cat. no. 319.
154. See C. G. Fisher, "The Pictorial Cycle of the 'Siyer-i Nebi': A Late Sixteenth Century Manuscript of the Life of Muhammad" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 1981), 33–35; Zeren Tanındı, *Siyer-i Nebî: İslam Tasvir Sanatında Hz. Muhammed'in Hayatı* (Istanbul, 1984).
155. Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, *Masterpieces from the Tokapi Museum: Paintings and Miniatures* (London, 1980), 116–17.
156. *Siyer-i Nebī*, ca. 1594, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, Ms. H. 1221-23; illustrated in Emel Esin, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo, 1960), 14–15, pl. 4.
157. *Siyer-i Nebī*, ca. 1594, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, Ms. H. 1221-23; illustrated in Esin, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, 20–21, pl. 7.
158. Vols. 1, 2, and 6 are now in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul, Ms. H. 1221-3; vol. 3, the New York Public Library, Spencer Collection 157; vol. 4 (incomplete), Chester Beatty Library, T. 419; vol. 5 is missing.
159. Niẓāmi, *Makhzan al-asrār* (Treasury of Mysteries), discourse 10, 198–99.
160. Rumi also makes frequent allusions in his various works to a number of Biblical prophets, including Jesus. In one of his discourses, he uses a tale involving Jesus to reinforce its didactic tone. See Maulana Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Signs of the Unseen: The Discourses of Jelaluddin Rumi*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Putney, Vt., 1993), discourse 10, 43–44.
161. Sa'di also uses numerous Biblical figures in his stories, namely, Adam, Moses, Solomon, Jesus, and John the Baptist. In the *Būstān*, Jesus, for example, is used in a tale denouncing the idea that a pious man's devotion may be of a lesser consequence than that of a sinner fearful of God: "Jesus, the Self-righteous Man, and the Sinner," in Sa'dī, *Morals Pointed and Tales Adorned: The Būstān of Sa'dī*, trans. G.M. Wickens (Toronto, 1974), chap. 4, story 65, pp. 124–27. This last story must have appealed to the Mughal mind because it was illustrated at least once: *Jesus and the Arrogant Hermit*, in a courtly copy, dated 1014 (1605–6), of the *Būstān* of Sa'dī, fol. 101v, Art and History Trust Collection, Houston, Tex.; see Beach, "Persian Culture," 346, cat. no. 137k.

CHAPTER FOUR

CATALOGUE OF THE CLEVELAND *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS*, ACC. NO. 2005.145

4.1. CAT. NOS. I–XXVII

Cat. no. I
The Birth of Mary
Private collection in Europe (1)
Overall: 26.4 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 16.2 x 9.2 cm

According to Father Jerome's text, Mary "was of noble stock of the lineage of the prophet David,"[1] justifying, therefore, the crown on Saint Anna's head. The opulence of the interior, the various servants, and the gold vessels convey to the viewer the noble and "wealthy"[2] status of Mary's family, as described by the Jesuit. Baby Mary is portrayed with a halo, for she "will be, from the time she appears in the womb, filled with the Holy Ghost,"[3] and the future mother of the Messiah, "the savior of the world."[4]

The Birth of Mary,[5] one of the few miniatures in this copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds* to be fully completed, reveals the superior skills of some of the artists involved in its illustration. The richness and amount of detail are impressive. Gold was extensively used to render most of the details, from the elegant scrolling on the lapis carpet to the trelliswork on the curtain and the geometric pattern of the tiled floor. Various elements betray a Western influence, for example, the heavy shading on the faces of the figures, the columns featuring pseudo-Corinthian capitals, and the two large curtains that frame the scene.

آنه بار گرفت وبس از نه ماه روز جمعه هشتم ماه پشتنبر بار دهم شهریور
ماه دختر آورد مردمان را تعجب و خوشی روی داد نام آن دختر مریم
گردند و این لفظ

Cat. no. II
Mary Ascends the Stairs to the Temple
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005. 145.24
Overall: 26.2 x 15.4 cm
Painting: 22.1 x 9.5 cm

"When blessed Mary was three years old, on Friday, the twenty-first of November,"[6] her parents took her to the temple to be educated. The painter illustrates the moment when, under the gaze of her mother, as well as an agitated crowd, Mary ascended in great paces the steps that would lead her to the high priest "above the door"[7] of the temple. "There were fifteen steps up, and it was the custom that when a child was brought, the priests would read a chapter from the Psalms as the child placed her foot on each step."[8] According to the tradition, the fifteen steps were intended to represent the so-called Fifteen Gradual Psalms,[9] thought to have been sung during annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The depiction of what seems to be a fifteen-step staircase reveals the artist's determination to adhere to the story. He also managed to convey the sense of action in Father Jerome's words: "as soon as she placed her foot on the first step, [Mary] took her hand away from the person who was holding it and, without looking in any direction, went directly up, without stopping anywhere. All were astonished."[10] This symbolizes Mary's eagerness to enter the service of God, who took the "place of her mother and father and everything else."[11]

The same episode is also illustrated in the Lahore manuscript (fig. 4.1). Both paintings share the same basic composition, but stylistic differences suggest that the miniatures are not by the same author.[12] The man running to the stairs in the Cleveland miniature is replaced by a Jesuit in the Lahore version, while the extraordinary rocky outcrops forming human and animal grotesques (fig. 3.11) do not appear in the latter image. The story of the presentation of Mary in the temple derives not from the canonical Gospels but from apocryphal texts such as the Protoevangelium of St. James,[13] the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew,[14] and the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary.[15]

Fig. 4.1. *Mary Ascends the Stairs to the Temple*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Lahore Museum, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645), fol. 8b. (Photo: courtesy of the Lahore Museum)

Cat. no. III
The Flowering of Joseph's Rod
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.1
Overall: 26.2 x 15.0 cm
Painting: 18.7 x 8.6 cm

This little-known episode is not part of the New Testament and was only occasionally illustrated in the West.[16] According to apocryphal sources, Mary's husband was selected through divine intervention.[17] Father Jerome writes that God said, "Let all unmarried men of the lineage of David assemble in the temple, and let every one of them have his staff in his hand. Him whose staff blossoms and gives forth flowers…will marry to Mary."[18] The viewer is able to identify Joseph as being "of the same lineage as the girl, that is, the lineage of the prophet David,"[19] not because he is holding a flowering staff but because he is portrayed showing great astonishment while observing what one presumes to be his rod flowering. To convey Joseph's surprise, the artist adopted various artifices. Joseph is depicted adopting a reverential stance, while the darker area surrounding his profile skillfully suggests the movement of his head. It is, nonetheless, Joseph's hat, just about to touch the ground, that discloses the immediacy of the miracle.

The artist did not follow the text exactly, since he portrayed seven men kneeling in a courtyard and facing their respective rods, which are shown resting against a wall. Recalling a common Muslim practice, the men are depicted without shoes because "they had finished their prayers."[20] Some press their palms together whereas others raise up their open arms, following what apparently was both Christian and Muslim custom. Of note is the wall with a niche that recalls a mihrab.[21] The figures are dressed in Portuguese fashion but wear types of hats alien to their costumes. The long, very thin staffs of Joseph's companions may seem too stylized, yet figures leaning on similar staffs[22] are depicted in a second miniature of this manuscript (cat. no. XXI), as well as in miniatures from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[23]

یکی بود یوسف نام پسر یعقوب بن متتان او هم آمد و عصای خویش
مثل دیگران آورد و چون از نماز فارغ شدند ناگاه عصای یوسف کل کرد

Cat. no. IV
The Annunciation[24]
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.2
Overall: 26.2 x 15.4 cm
Painting: 20.5 x 10.2 cm
Published: Bailey, "Jesuit Art," 351, fig. 10.34.

As his counterparts in Europe had done for centuries, the painter selected key elements of the narrative, creating a highly original composition. "When Gabriel came down, he did not come alone but with many angels, yet where the Virgin was he appeared alone. The Virgin was in her private chamber with the door closed, occupied with worshiping God and preoccupied with lofty thoughts."[25] The painter used Father Jerome's words to describe Gabriel but ignored a second reference to a door: "The Virgin was in these thoughts when all of a sudden the Angel Gabriel came through the door in the form of a handsome, pure young man of grave demeanor and filled with light. He knelt before her, [and] cast his gaze to the ground…." [26] Mary is portrayed sitting on a rich carpet in a state of bliss under a pseudo-Renaissance canopy, rather than in a closed room as described.

Her queenly status is revealed by the crown that a servant holds above her head. The moment of the Annunciation is witnessed by two females, who seem to be discussing the appearance of the graceful Gabriel, shown kneeling in front of Mary. His jeweled belt is painted in relief and with great detail, but more surprising are his wings, one of which the painter bent to make sure they both fit in the limited space available. The wings are made up of a combination of colors that blend into one another and show a masterly command of the gouache technique.[27] As with the previous miniatures, *The Annunciation* of the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* was fully completed.

Cat. no. V
Mary and Joseph Travel to Bethlehem
Attributed here to Salim Quli
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.3
Overall: 26.2 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 20.8 x 10.8 cm

Following Julius Caesar's decree, the Roman governor Cyrenius "heralded throughout Israel that every person would present himself in his city at a specified time and register."[28] Mary and Joseph are therefore portrayed on their way to "Bethlehem, which was their city and that of all descendants of David, whose birthplace that city was."[29] Of note is Father Jerome's emphasis on the Davidic royal descent of Mary, and hence of Jesus.

The miniature is dominated by a large panel of text in the upper section. Mary is portrayed riding a camel instead of the traditional ass. This deviation from the standard Western iconography was not a display of the artist's creative reimagining of the scene; rather, Father Jerome did not specify what type of animal carried Mary, stating only that she "rode a pack beast,"[30] understood by the Mughal painter to be a camel. Mary is realistically portrayed as an exhausted woman who "suffered especially because her son was going to be born any day."[31] The bent trees convey the harsh conditions of the journey: "Along the way they suffered from the wind, rain, and cold because it was winter and from the length of the road, their lack of supplies, and the press of people who were going for that purpose."[32] Joseph, dressed in a dark green cape with buttons and borders in gold, leads the way carrying a European sword. The figure in front of the ox imitates Joseph's movements and also bears a similar type of sword. According to Father Jerome, "they also had a cow [depicted here as an ox] that carried their belongings and which Joseph would sell and use the money for their travel expenses."[33]

A number of odd characters accompany them, among them a frail old man, another man carrying his belongings on his head, and a third one with Eastern facial traits. Above the head of the last one, at a distance and next to a lightly drawn well appears an almost phantasmagorical figure. The light green landscape features a fantastic rocky mountain in the back, and an almost white "winter" sky suggests an attribution to Salim Quli, who was known for his "low-lying, softly coloured landscape forms punctuated with insubstantial, honeycomb rocks."[34] The landscape seen here is very similar to those in cat. nos. XV and XIX, as well as in *A Royal Hunt*, in a *Dīwān* of Amir Hasan Dihlawi, illustrated in 1602 for Prince Salim while he was at Allahabad.[35]

According to Seyller, Salim Quli was also known for producing "stiff figures" with "broad faces," similar to those seen in this miniature, though Mary's face is distinct.[36] This may indicate that a different artist, possibly the author of cat. no. I, was also involved in its making. Salim Quli is known to have worked for Prince Salim in Allahabad before his accession to the throne.[37] He contributed to the illustration of a *Raj Kunwar*, now in the Chester Beatty Library,[38] and participated in the illustration of an *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, which is in the British Library.[39]

شهر مذکور مولد اوست
در راه فشاکشیدند
از باد و باران و سرما که زمستان بود و از درازی راه و بی سامانی و انبوهی
مردم که بدین واسطه میرفشد خاصه مریم از جهة انکه وقت زادن بسر برامروز
و فردا داشت و باین سبب اشتر سوار میرفت و گاوی نیز همراه میداشتند
تا بنفقد
اسباب برد

Cat. no. VI
The Place of Jesus's Birth
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.4
Overall: 26.3 x 15.7 cm
Painting: 22.4 x 10.9 cm

The circumstances surrounding the birth of Jesus are only briefly narrated by the evangelists Matthew and Luke.[40] Through time, however, they became the basis for many versions of the event. Father Jerome's long and fanciful description of the scene surrounding the Nativity is therefore not surprising, yet the miniature that it inspired is extremely unusual.

The account fulfills the prophecy that the Messiah would be born in Bethlehem, which was David's birthplace, stressing again the kingly descent of Jesus.[41] Because the local inn had no room, "they had to put up in the stable."[42] Rather than depict a shelter for animals, the painter seems instead to have created the "small, lowly, out-of-the-way, crumbling hovel outside the city"[43] described by Father Jerome. Mary's figure is immediately recognizable by her vestments and the gold rays surrounding her head, yet her actions and those of the individuals around her cannot be understood without the accompanying text: "They swept out the place, cleaned it up, put their chamber in order, and got to work in earnest and decided to stay there in all joy, harmony, and contentment with God."[44] Again, the artist made selective use of the parts of the text he chose to portray. Joseph, for example, is not shown cleaning, but seems instead to be standing outside the walls. The painter focuses his attention—and that of the viewer—on Mary, just as Father Jerome does in his narrative. He tries to capture the idea conveyed in the text that Mary was not experiencing an ordinary birth but one that happened "by a special inspiration from God":[45] according to Father Jerome's narrative, "she gave a thousand thanks for God's will that what would come to light and what she had kept hidden was for the salvation of the world, and for his having chosen for her a poor place without shelter in such misery and destitution."[46] This was done so that "he might teach by example to choose poverty, humility, and servitude."[47]

The two fine arches confer on the miniature a distinctively Western character. According to the text, the accompanying ox was meant to be sold to pay for Mary and Joseph's expenses (see also cat. no. V). The camel used to carry Mary from Jerusalem bears a typically Indian bed, while she cleans the walls with some curious peacock feathers. Outside, three male figures are shown talking with each other. The Westerner with the open arms might be Joseph, while the one facing him, probably the innkeeper, is one of the few figures in the manuscript dressed in full Mughal fashion.[48]

Fig. 4.2. *The Place of Jesus's Birth*, signed by Mas'ud Deccani. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 7.5 x 4.1 cm. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. IS 170-1950. (Photo: courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

This specific composition seems to have inspired a smaller miniature signed by Mas'ud Deccani and identified as *The Inn at Bethlehem*, ca. 1604–10; it is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 4.2).[49] Whether the latter is a copy of the former remains unclear, but it seems to be poorer in quality than the miniature discussed here. The fact that Mas'ud Deccani colored Mary's mantle pink instead of the mandatory blue indicates that he was less aware of the iconographic canons observed by the Cleveland painter.[50]

Cat. no. VII
The Adoration of the Shepherds
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.6
Overall: 26.2 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 19.8 x 11.3 cm
Published: Bailey, "Jesuit Art," 351, fig. 10.35.

Again, without the accompanying text, the theme of the miniature would easily be misunderstood, since the painter portrayed the four male figures meant to be shepherds (and perhaps Joseph) but dressed them in unlikely costumes.[51] Father Jerome's words are, nevertheless, clear: after Gabriel appeared to the shepherds, "they went in haste and saw Mary and Joseph and found the babe in the manger. Seeing him, they realized that he was the Messiah, and they understood that he was the one of whom the angel had spoken."[52] Another apparent narrative element that the painter disregarded concerns Joseph who, in contrast to cat. no. VI, has been omitted or seems to be the fourth shepherd. Again, the focus is on the Virgin and Child, this time being adored by the shepherds.

The setting depicted in the miniature is also peculiar. Instead of portraying the stable or dilapidated hovel mentioned in the text, the painter opted for a rather impressive building characterized by a unique combination of balustrade pillars featuring Ionic capitals.[53] The painter may have taken these creative liberties with the scenery thinking that Jesus, as the founder of Christianity and a prophet of Islam, should be portrayed in a more suitable setting and adored by more affluent-looking people.[54]

The size of Mary's figure is significantly exaggerated in comparison with those of the shepherds. This is a standard formula often used by artists in both Western and Eastern schools of painting to represent the most important figure in a work. Mary distinguishes herself from:

> all women in that she was a virgin who was also a mother and she was a mother who remained a virgin. As the son combined two quite contradictory things in himself, divinity and humanity, so also were motherhood and virginity combined in his mother, something that had never occurred in any creature before.[55]

The colors of her clothes stand out here: instead of a regular rose-pink color, her robe is yellow.[56] The blue color of her mantle, however, follows standard iconography. A diaphanous white cloth covers the water container, which sits on a four-legged stand made from various pieces of wood, as revealed by the visible joints. The two books on the pavement have Western-style bindings, though these are ornamented with what might be interpreted as Islamic patterns. As discussed earlier, books were standard elements in many other Mughal paintings that illustrated Christian themes or depicted Westerners. This seems to have been a direct reference to the idea of the "People of Book," which included Christians.

Like other miniatures in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* was never completed.[57] The geometric pattern on the dais was drawn but not colored, and the black carpet was meant to be ornamented, as in cat. no. IV. This is corroborated by the unexpected lack of ruling. One of the shepherd's feet was drawn in pencil but never painted, because it extended beyond the border. Likewise, the extremities of Mary's robe do not respect the limits of the area to be illustrated, confirming that the ruling was never done, which is rather puzzling, since rulings are normally made in a mechanical manner and do not require special skills. It would seem that the illustration of both this miniature and the manuscript was abruptly abandoned.

Cat. no. VIII
The Magi Follow the Star
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.5
Overall: 26.3 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 20.6 x 11.0 cm

According to Father Jerome, the prophecy that a new star would appear with the coming of "a messiah king of Israel…made many people in the land of the Arabs, which was east of Jerusalem, wonder."[58] He describes how "in search of the infant, three kings who had set out from the east in all haste," followed "the star that rose on the day of" his birth.[59] According to the Jesuit, "when Jesus was born there appeared in the sky an extremely brilliant star that was so bright and beautiful."[60] The reference to the three kings of Arabia—where "the twelfth Apostle, Thomas by name, went" to preach "the Gospel of Christ"[61]—alludes to pre-Muslim Arabs, an example of how Father Jerome adapted the episode to his Mughal audience.

The painter illustrated the moment when the Magi "met by chance and informed each other of their quest, and they set out on fleet-footed camels with the star they had seen guiding them. Day and night it went before them, and its brilliance was such that they could see it despite the sun."[62]

The figures are well integrated into the composition and by their gaze and gestures indicate the shining yellow star mentioned in the text and carefully depicted in the painting. It seems that various artists were involving in the making of this miniature, since each of the three Magi has a distinct and individual expression, while the landscape is less mature than most of the others in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*. Like most of the figures in this manuscript, the three kings are dressed in Portuguese costumes, emphasizing that they believed in Jesus. Their daggers, however, are inspired by an Iranian model adopted by the Mughals. Such anachronisms, which are also seen in many other Mughal miniatures illustrating Christian subjects, "updated" the stories for contemporary Mughal audiences.

As mentioned earlier, Leach has noted that Salim's painters often did not have access to the best pigments.[63] This would explain why the text on the reverse may be seen in a number of paintings, including this one. However, the text is only visible on parts of the landscape (the yellow and green areas), indicating, therefore, that fewer coats were applied in those areas.

آن پشاره پیدا گردید سر کدام از نهار روانه شدند ناگاه پیوستند
و یکدیگر را از مطلب خود خبر دادند و بر شتران بادپای بهم روانه
شدند و رهنمای ایشان همان پشاره بود که دیروز شب

Cat. no. IX
The Adoration of the Magi
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.7
Overall: 26.3 x 16.7 cm
Painting: 22.7 x 12.2 cm
Published: Sotheby's, London, *Arts of the Islamic World Including 20th Century Middle Eastern Painting*, May 3, 2001, 76, lot 74; Bailey, "Jesuit Art," 352, fig. 10.36.

The three kings are depicted in Bethlehem in a "humble" and "miserable place in ruins, ill suited as shelter. At this point, Joseph came up to them, and when they asked him, he told them that the child was there."[64] When "they saw a girl around fifteen years old… they insisted that she show them the blessed child whom they had come from far away, led by the star, to see and worship."[65] As depicted by the painter,

> as soon as their gazes fell upon the child's blessed face, they recognized by God's special inspiration that this was the one they were seeking. They fell on their faces and prostrated themselves before him as they would to their lord and worshipped him in all humility.[66]

The gifts mentioned were omitted but two of the kings' crowns are depicted on the floor "because they had abandoned their kingdoms and given everything to the poor that they might live better in a state of poverty for the King of Kings, whom they had seen in such poverty, which he had chosen for the sake of men and to teach them."[67] In terms of physical appearance as well as their costumes, the three Magi do not differ significantly from the shepherds portrayed in cat. no. VII. They are, nonetheless, distinguished by the two crowns and the three camels that carry them (highlighting their Arab origin), as seen in cat. no. VIII. The tongue of one of the animals hangs out to the side, indicating, not without a note of humor, that they have just arrived, while the other two camels eagerly stare at the nearby pair of water containers.

The central element of the composition is the infant Jesus in a rocking cradle. At his side, a young Mary prays, seated in Indian fashion, while Joseph seems to gesture to the kings that this is indeed the baby whom they seek. The two books near Mary are also seen in cat. no. VII, but the author of the miniature has disregarded the setting described by Father Jerome. Instead of a stable in poor condition, he has created two buildings. He clearly had difficulties in rendering perspective, but the dented wall of the entrance on the right and the curious geometric structure on the roof suggest that he tried to depict the crumbling building described. The combination on the friezes of a variety of oranges and browns with purples and also yellows and greens, is rather original. The interrupted lines surrounding the arched entrances and the railings on top of the main building also appear in other miniatures of the *Mir'āt al-quds* (cat. nos. VII and XXV).

The subject of the Magi venerating Jesus was not unknown at the Mughal court. In 1600, in preparation for Christmas, Father Pinheiro built a *presepium* (Nativity scene) on the altar of their church at Lahore. The Jesuits made and displayed various figures of the Old and New Testaments, including the "better known prophets" and "the three wise Kings" who adored "Jesus-Christ, God and Man."[68] Interestingly, Jahangir had the opportunity to admire an oil on canvas of *Our Lady and the Adoration of the Magi* by, almost certainly, an Italian painter. This was apparently sent to Jahangir by Father João Álvares, S.J., Assistant of Portugal, in Rome,[69] yet it could not have influenced the illustration of the miniature, since it only reached the court around 1608.

و بتمام عاجزی
می پرستیدند

Cat. no. X
Simeon Kneels in front of Mary and Jesus after Recognizing Them
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.8
Overall: 26.2 x 15.7 cm
Painting: 21.3 x 12.6 cm
Published: Sotheby's, London, May 3, 2001, 77, lot 75; Bailey, "Jesuit Art," 352, fig. 10.37.

The text describes Simeon as an old priest as well as a "wise man and teacher of the Jews," who "gave lessons in God's books in a school in Jerusalem."[70] After reading that "the virgin shall conceive and bear a son,"[71] an angel appeared to him predicting that he would see with his "own eyes the Virgin and the Christ."[72] The scene takes place in the temple of Jerusalem, where "he recognized them and went to Mary and spoke to her, congratulating her, in all politeness and with tears in his eyes, for such a blessed child, and he began to offer praise in thanks for having his hopes fulfilled."[73]

Although Father Jerome does not state specifically that Simeon kneeled in front of the Virgin and Jesus, it is plausible that the painting illustrates instead a later moment when, "in the manner of priests,"[74] Simeon informed the Virgin that Jews, among others, "would lie in wait for him to kill him."[75]

As mentioned earlier the artist incorporated into the composition two preexisting elements of Western origin. The central group of the Madonna and child is ultimately based on the *Salus Populi Romani* (fig. 3.7), a celebrated painting in the Borghese Chapel at the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, as discussed in chapter 3.1. Of interest is a miniature in the Lahore copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, where the *Salus Populi Romani* is reproduced behind an altar, while a group of devotees is portrayed within a chapel.[76] These reproductions tend to vary and are not always faithful to the original. Here, for instance, the infant is not holding a book, as in the original model. The paintings nevertheless share specific features, including the characteristic position of the Virgin's hands: crossed over, with a cloth in the left one. And, like here, her blue mantle covers her head according to the Byzantine fashion. The painter of the Cleveland miniature, however, adapted the painting to his needs: instead of looking at the viewer, the Virgin looks at Simeon. The latter figure, with his arms crossed on his chest, is also reproduced after a relatively common Catholic model. A kneeling figure of an old man in this same position is seen, for instance, in *Jesus Cures Ten Lepers*, an engraving reproduced in Nadal's *Imagines/Adnotationes* (fig. 3.5).[77]

Fig. 4.3. *Simeon Recognizes Mary and Jesus at the Temple*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 14.6 x 7.5 cm. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. The Suzanne and Gerald Labiner Collection. (Photo: courtesy of the Suzanne and Gerald Labiner Collection)

The representation of the old temple with its two frontal pillars seems to derive exclusively from the artist's imagination. At the top of each pillar, immediately below an arch, appears a spandrel with a carved, coiled dog. At the bottom of the left column, a minute carved figure appears to reproduce Simeon's position, though it seems to be exclusively decorative, as are the blue and white ceramic vases on the niches within the temple and the dragon-handled brown vase outside. One of the four male figures is dressed in garments inspired by

Jesuit garb, though they are colored red and yellow. He and the figure climbing the stairs are portrayed holding books. They are meant to be "Jewish scholars in the temple,"[78] while the books seem to refer to the Scriptures, "God's books,"[79] from which Simeon read the prophecy. The figure on the left feeding a dog a bunch of grapes is noteworthy since grapes (and wine) are, in a Mughal context, normally associated with Christians.[80] The many details in the composition, as well as the type of figures and their positions—particularly the way the heads are positioned in relation to the body—are similar to those in cat. no. XXVII, suggesting that they are by the same painter.

A second miniature illustrating the same subject, now in the Suzanne and Gerald Labiner Collection, shows a distinctive interpretation of the episode (fig. 4.3).[81] In this painting, which was formerly in the Howard Hodgkin Collection, Simeon is standing at the door of a Western-type building welcoming the Virgin and Child. The pair was also inspired by the *Salus Populi Romani*, though it is more freely adapted. The painting shows strong Western influence visible mainly in the type of arches, the red curtain, and the attempt to convey perspective. Although the composition is simpler than that of the Cleveland miniature, it may be attributable to the same period.

Cat. no. XI
The Preaching of John the Baptist
Private European collection (2)
Overall: 26.3 x 15.7 cm
Painting: 16.6 x 10.5 cm

The text refers to John the Baptist as the one who taught "the people so they would recognize the Messiah."[82] He is described by Father Jerome as wearing "clothing of camel's hair, with a long beard, long hair hanging over his body, very thin and lean, his cheeks sunken in, a leather girdle around his waist, bareheaded and barefoot."[83] Although in physical terms the figure at the center of the composition presents similarities with that of Jesus, the text as well as the fur coat on his shoulders permits us to identify him as John the Baptist. Besides depicting the coat, the painter follows the text with respect to the portrayal of John the Baptist's long beard. His hair, however, is not long enough to cover his body, as Father Jerome characterized it. Likewise, he is not very thin or lean. It is unknown why the painter followed certain iconographic aspects and ignored others, but it is probable that he thought that a prophet of Islam, as Muslims acknowledge John the Baptist to be, should be portrayed with dignity and not emaciated and humbly dressed. The nearby attendant depicted with a cloth acts as a flywhisk bearer, suggesting that he was regarded as a high-ranking figure, since in India such treatment is reserved exclusively for monarchs and rulers.

John the Baptist is seen preaching to "people of all sorts [who] came flocking to him, soldiers, merchants, farmers, the learned, priests, and property owners," giving "advice to each in accordance with his condition."[84] However, he is shown inside a house and not far from a city. This again contrasts with the text, which places him on the shores of the Jordan river.[85] Curiously, the book in his hands bears what seems to be Arabic script.

Various features indicate that the artist also painted cat. no. XXIV and perhaps others as well. In terms of position and facial features, John the Baptist's attendant is very similar to the one portrayed behind the Jesuit in cat. no. XXIV. Other figures and their costumes find parallels with those in cat. no. XIV. The marked lines used to depict the hands in both miniatures (excluding the figures of Mary and Jesus in cat. no. XIV) are also of the same type.

Cat. no. XII
John the Baptist Recognizes Jesus While Teaching
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.9
Overall: 26.2 x 15.7 cm
Painting: 22.4 x 10.9 cm
Published: Bailey, "Jesuit Art," 353, fig. 10.38.

This miniature illustrates the moment when John the Baptist first recognizes Jesus through the Holy Ghost. The iconography is unusual in a Western context but closely follows Father Jerome's words, which are crucial to the identification of the theme:

> One day, he [John the Baptist] was teaching, and there were many people around him. Suddenly our Lord Christ came. John did not recognize him because he had never seen him since he had grown up in the desert; however, he had an inspiration from God that a dove would come and sit on his head. When he was near, a dove did come and sat on top of his head.[86]

When the Baptist recognized Jesus by that sign, he said: "This is the lamb of God. This is he who takes away the sins of the world,"[87] referring to Jesus's sacrifice on the cross, adding in a later moment

> Truly I have seen the Spirit come down from heaven in the shape of a dove and hover above him. I did not recognize him, but he who sent me to baptize with water told me that he over whom I would see the Spirit come down and rest is he who will baptize with pure spirit. I bear witness that this is the Son of God.[88]

For the Mughals, a Jesuit was synonymous with a teacher; this apparently explains why John the Baptist is dressed in the Jesuits' customary black attire, including the hat. He is seated on a platform facing a male audience and looking at Jesus, who is identifiable not only by the dove but also by his traditional long hair and beard. He carries a book in one hand and a rosary with a premonitory cross in the other. Again, the scene is not set on the shores of the river Jordan as in the Biblical account but within a typically Mughal courtyard.

In terms of detail and quality of finishing, the miniature is among the finest in the manuscript. Great care was put into the decoration of the architectonic elements, as well as the clothing and accessories. The tiled, domed roof on the right, the many niches on the wall, and the various types of hats, belts, and garments were enhanced by a skillful use of colors. These are varied and rich but, more importantly, they are combined in a manner that is unusually refined for this manuscript. Gold, often punched, was used to confer greater richness on the composition.

داستان مسیح
که کبوتری آید و سر او نشیند چون نزدیک رسید کبوتر آمد و بالای
سر او نشست و حنا بان نشان او را شناخت و گفت اینست بره خدا آنست
انکه بر میدارد
گناه عالم

Cat. no. XIII
Angels Bring Food to Jesus in the Wilderness
Signed by Muhammad Sharif
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.15
Overall: 26.3 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 18.8 x 10.5 cm

After Jesus "had been baptized, he spent forty days and nights in worship and spiritual exercise. He had no shelter other than the sky from the cold and rain and no bed other than the ground. He fasted during this period and ate and drank nothing. He was then very hungry."[89] Satan tempted him in various ways, but after failing

> departed defeated, and nothing remained in that desert. Then angels came down from heaven and brought [Jesus] food, and he ate.[90] By this, he showed us that if we do not turn to Satan's remedies when we are in need, God will provide for us through the angels. Christ did not want bread from stones: God sent him bread from heaven.[91]

The artist thus portrayed five angels bringing food to Jesus, who is seated in Indian fashion near a cross. This is the only miniature in the manuscript that is signed. Muhammad Sharif's name appears on the surface of a small pot next to Jesus's foot. This corroborates his fame as an artist capable of doing work in minute dimensions with prowess. As discussed in chapter 3.3, only eleven miniatures have been attributed or ascribed to him. Most are heavily influenced by Iranian aesthetics, though the two works identified by Leach are stylistically closer to the painting under discussion.[92] This should not be surprising, since they are from a later period and were possibly produced at Allahabad. The miniature in the Bodleian Library and the one under discussion here demonstrate that he was a remarkable portraitist. The gracefulness of Jesus's face contrasts strongly with the angels' larger, rounded faces, suggesting that a European or European-inspired model was used.

The miniature shows how selected parts of Western prints inspired new works in the Mughal *kitābkhāna*. The standing angel in the miniature finds parallels with an angel in a print depicting Saint Matthew by Philip Galle (after Maarten van Heemskerk). His position and vestments are related, but the angel in the print holds not a tray with food but a large book, and one of his legs rests on one of Saint Matthew's legs. Of Flemish origin and datable to circa 1565, the print is known to have reached Mughal India later in the century. As Milo C. Beach has shown, Kesu Das used it in a signed and dated work (1587–88).[93] It is, nevertheless, possible that the author of the present miniature never saw the aforementioned print but only Mughal paintings based on it.

Fig. 4.4. *Angels Bring Food to Jesus in the Wilderness*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Lahore Museum, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645), fol. 47b. (Photo: courtesy of the Lahore Museum)

The five angels in the Cleveland miniature, however, reveal the adaptation of two different traditions. Four of them are dressed according to Western conventions, but the fifth is instead covered with a suit of feathers. For the more Westernized angels, the painter almost certainly had access to Nadal's engraving of the *Nativity* (fig. 3.3) in his *Imagines/Adnotationes*, as discussed in chapter 3.1.[94] It was noted earlier that a copy of this work reached the Mughal court, where it was known to have inspired a number of miniatures.[95] Angels dressed in feather suits appear in various Mughal miniatures of the period, including one in the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and one on the front cover of the lacquered binding of the same manuscript, in the Walters Art Museum.[96]

Muhammad Sharif, the son of a well-known Iranian painter, also followed Safavid trends, as revealed by the animal faces discernible in the mountains in the back and in various stones by the stream. These grotesques are nevertheless different in style from those seen in cat. no II. Clearly less Iranian and more Mughal in concept, they convey a unique sense of humor noticeable especially in the large head of what is apparently a lion, depicted with closed eyes and, it would seem, gnawing on the branches of the nearby tree.[97] The same subject is also illustrated in the Lahore manuscript (fig. 4.4).

Cat. no. XIV
The Marriage at Cana
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.13
Overall: 26.0 x 15.4 cm
Painting: 18.1 x 10.5 cm

This miniature depicts one of the most well-known miracles performed by Jesus, namely, the transformation of water into wine. Father Jerome describes in great detail how and why Jesus was invited to attend a wedding among Mary's relatives.

> Since the host was not rich and many people were gathered there, the wine he had brought for the assembly was too little. Mary felt sorry for the host and was saddened by the lack of wine and his embarrassment. Secretly she went to her son and told him they had no wine. He replied to his mother, saying, "What is it to me and you, woman? My time has not yet come."[98]

As in other miniatures, the author of the composition followed Father Jerome's text. Mary and Jesus are portrayed speaking with each other not far from the "six water jars"[99] where meanwhile "the water had miraculously turned into wine."[100] They occupy the place of honor, on a raised platform in the midst of the European-dressed guests.

From *The Marriage at Cana* it becomes clear that more than one artist worked on some miniatures of the *Mir'āt al-quds*. The painting also reveals that some miniatures were partly over-painted, as was the case with the figures of Mary and Jesus. They appear to be floating above the dais and fit artificially into the composition, while Mary's veil covers the figure behind her. Mother and son are, in artistic terms, less accomplished than, for instance, the two guests below. The male figure with the crimson hat is among the most refined in the manuscript. Interestingly, the way he interacts with and embraces his fellow guest evokes an Iranian rather than a Mughal model.[101] When figures such as these appear in a Mughal context, they are normally the work of an Iranian-trained artist.[102]

The two rows of human and animal faces immediately below the "balustrade" on the roof reveal the great care put into certain details, yet the lower areas of the walls, with their yellow and black colors, are unfinished. The artist who painted this miniature (other than the figures of Mary and Jesus) seems to have also created cat. no. XI. The figures' costumes are closely related and the bearded man dressed in yellow and purple seen here is practically identical to the figure in blue and pink facing John the Baptist.

Cat. no. XV
Moses Praying to End the Serpents' Attack on the Israelites
Attributed here to Salim Quli
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.14
Overall: 26.3 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 18.8 x 10.5 cm

The story of Moses and the serpents' attack on the Israelites was used by Father Jerome to demonstrate how repentant believers merit salvation. As he narrates,

> [i]n the fourth book of the Pentateuch, in the twenty-first chapter, it is written that the Children of Israel complained of God and of Moses as he was leading them from Egypt to Jerusalem through the desert with so much tribulation. God grew angry and sent them innumerable serpents with fire coming out of their mouths, and they bit many of the people, and all were sorely afflicted. Finally they realized their own sin and went to Moses and said, "We sinned when we spoke against you and God. Pray that the serpents be taken away from us."[103]

The painter chose to illustrate the moment when Moses, "who was the most clement of all men, immediately forgave them on his own behalf and prayed humbly that God would have mercy on them and deliver them from this torment,"[104] while ignoring the section where the prophet raised his staff with the Biblical "brazen serpent."[105] Moses is seen peacefully kneeling, praying like a Muslim, at the center of a composition that is divided into two parts. The brutal event takes place in the lower area, which strongly contrasts with the upper part, where a bucolic green landscape, with a village on the horizon, is shown. Eleven serpents attack the prophet's followers as they helplessly try to defend themselves. Various parts of their bodies, including heads, backs and knees, bear the marks of the vicious assault. While blood pours from their wounds, some figures turn to Moses, pleading for his intervention. To increase the sense of horror, in the lower left the painter portrays one of the victims facing the viewer. He is seen trying to protect his face with both hands while a serpent bites him. The scene is unusually realistic and a rare example of how Mughal artists occasionally drew the viewer into the action. In that sense, the miniature recalls the innovations that were being introduced in Europe by contemporary painters such as Caravaggio. Despite the novelty, the painter did not avoid certain standard formulae, such as the rock platform where Moses kneels and the Portuguese costumes in which the Israelites are dressed. One carries a Western-type sword but a second dressed in a white shirt has an Indian *chilanum*, a type of dagger recognized by its flaring quillons and a small bud at the end of the pommel.[106] Some of the figures wear belts with gold plaques adorned with pearls and rubies, which are also seen on the head of one of the two women, as well as on the heads of Hindu women portrayed in miniatures of the same period.[107]

The whitish sky, lower horizon, rock formations, and trees, as well as the green shades used on the ground, point to Salim Quli as the artist. These elements are found in two other miniatures in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* (cat. nos. V and XIX), as well as in the previously mentioned painting in the *Dīwān* of Amir Hasan Dihlawi in the Walters Art Museum.[108] Another miniature attributed to the same artist also shares some features of this work, including the elongated eyes, the type of jewelry adorning the women, and some of the figures' profiles.[109]

Two other miniatures from different copies of the *Mir'āt al-quds* illustrating the same episode are known. One, in the San Diego Museum of Art (formerly in the Howard Hodgkin Collection),[110] is smaller in size and shares with the Cleveland painting the same basic composition, dramatic movements, costumes, and arms, though it is far less realistic and more stylized (fig. 4.5). The other painting of the subject is part of the Lahore *Mir'āt al-quds* (fig. 4.6).[111] Due to its poor condition, it is not possible to draw many conclusions about it, but it is clear that the composition is less related to the other two, since Moses is portrayed standing.

An obscure passage in Guerreiro's *Relaçam* of 1605 confirms that the subject was known to Salim, but its interpretation was perhaps disregarded. According to the Jesuit, while at Agra in 1604, Salim

> had painted in a book pictures illustrating the mysteries of [Jesus's] life, death, and passion; and because at the beginning of the book there was a cross illuminated in gold with the superscription *Sicut exaltauit Moyses serpentum in deserto, &c.*, he ordered the artist to paint thereon the figure of Jesus-Christ crucified.[112]

Fig. 4.5. *Moses Praying to End the Serpents' Attacks on the Israelites.* Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 14.6 x 8.3 cm. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Edwin Binney 3rd Collection. San Diego Museum of Art, inv. no. 1990. 308. (Photo: courtesy of the San Diego Museum of Art)

Fig. 4.6. *Moses Praying to End the Serpents' Attacks on the Israelites*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Lahore Museum, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645), fol. 54b. (Photo: courtesy of the Lahore Museum)

Cat. no. XVI
Jesus and the Samaritan Woman at the Well
Fondation Custodia, Paris, 1991-T.11.
Overall: 26.2 x 14.5 cm
Painting: 23 x 11.5 cm
Published: Sotheby's London, April 26, 1991, 18–19, lot 27; Gahlin, *Courts of India*, 20–21, cat. no. 19A, pl. 23; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, pl. 72; Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 159, cat. no. 74.

According to the text, while on his way to Galilee, Jesus passed through Samaria, where there was a well

> that had belonged to Jacob from which he and his people had drawn water. Christ came to that well at midday and was so tired and exhausted that he sat down and sent his disciples to bring something to eat from the city. Just then a woman came to the well in search of water. Jesus said to her, "Woman, give me some water to drink." Knowing him to be from Judea by his clothing and speech, the woman replied, "How can you, who are a Jew, ask me, a Samaritan, for water?"[113]

The miniature illustrates the moment when "Jesus was in the midst of this conversation [and] his disciples came back from the city and were amazed that he was speaking with the woman, since it was not customary to speak to women, especially women alone, but no one asked what he was saying or why he was speaking to a woman."[114]

The painting follows a pattern common in the late Akbari period, in which compositions are divided into three basic parts. Jesus and the Samaritan woman occupy the center of the miniature, under a far-reaching landscape in which high mountains shield a city. Below, in the area closer to the viewer, are two women and a group of five men observing the two main figures. As in many other Mughal miniatures portraying Westerners, the wandering dog serves no other purpose than to fill part of the empty area at their feet. In contrast to Father Jerome's words, Jesus is not portrayed sitting but stands next to a follower, who is holding a flag that seems to have been painted at a later stage. Although Jesus's face is skillfully done, his body and those of his disciples are rather stiff and lack individuality. The minute figures dressed in Western fashion strolling around on the nearby hills were also a common feature in this period and show that the artist had absorbed Western artistic conventions,[115] as is confirmed by the town depicted at a distance in the background. The leaves of the large tree are skillfully painted with light washes of greens and yellows.

Fig. 4.7. *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman at the Well*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Lahore Museum, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645), fol. 58b. (Photo: courtesy of the Lahore Museum)

This is the only identified miniature of the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* that has entered a second institutional collection.[116] Besides the evident stylistic features, the painting has the same dimensions and identical framing rules as the other miniatures in the manuscript. It also shows the same added strips of paper on the margins, but it is the fourteen lines of text on its verso that confirm that it was once part of the manuscript now in Cleveland.

A second miniature illustrating the same subject is part of the Lahore *Mir'āt al-quds* (fig. 4.7).[117] The two paintings share the same basic elements, namely, the figures of Jesus and the woman, as well as the standard well. They also have in common a group of his followers (dressed as Jesuits) and the landscape with a city. The two works are related but it is unclear whether one inspired the other.

Cat. no. XVII
Jesus Heals the Nobleman's Son in Capernaum
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.17
Overall: 26.2 x 16.5 cm
Painting: 21.7 x 10.4 cm

The episode in which Jesus heals the nobleman's son in Capernaum is one of the lesser-known miracles narrated by Father Jerome. It recalls in different ways Abgar's story, which may explain why the Jesuit included it in his narrative. Like others in this manuscript, its identification would not have been possible without the accompanying text.

> In Capernaum, there was a servant of the king whose son was ill, and when he heard that Christ had come to Galilee, he set out to find him and pleaded with him to go with him and heal his son because he was near death. Christ replied, saying, "If you do not witness signs and see miracles, you will not believe." Since the father had seen signs of death in his son, he did not want to prolong the discussion. He said, "Lord, come before my son dies." Christ said, "Go. Your son lives and is healed." The father believed what he said and departed for home in all joy.[118]

The number of figures who might be identified as servants hurrying while carrying vessels seems to indicate that the painter illustrated the moment at which attempts were still being made to save the child. This precedes the father's plea to Jesus and thus Jesus's miracle.

The painter of the main figures clearly had difficulty with both proportion and perspective. The father's head is disproportionate in comparison with those of the mother and the nearby servant, while the spatial positioning of the three family members is not appealing. Equally awkward is the child's posture. It is probable that more than one painter was responsible for the figures, since the servants are stylistically different and rendered in a more natural way. The miniature is unfinished: the green area in the courtyard was clearly the initial step in a more complex pavement, perhaps one with geometric tiles. Also, the border of the carpet where the family sits was never colored. The parents, as well as the son, are seated in a room dominated by two arches, depicted frontally. A pair of angels (one of whom is mostly hidden by the text panel) is painted in the upper section of the arched walls.[119]

در ساعت هفتم تب از وی جدا شد پس مرد دانست که در همان ساعت
که حضرت عیسوع باو گفت که برو پسر تو زنده است او و تمام

Cat. no. XVIII
A Raven Brings Food to Elijah
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.18
Overall: 26.1 x 16.7 cm
Painting: 20.4 x 10.6 cm
Published: Bailey, "Jesuit Art," 353, fig. 10.39.

According to the Biblical account,

> [w]hen Ahab was king of Israel he made idols and provoked God more than anyone in the past, so God sent Elijah to Ahab, and Elijah said, "The living Lord God of Israel, before whom I stand, will not let rain or dew fall except according to my word." And God said to Elijah, "Go from here and hide yourself on the banks of a certain stream near the river Jordan, and you shall drink from that stream. I have commanded the ravens to bring you sustenance."[120]

The painter followed Father Jerome's words closely: "Elijah went and sat there, and every morning and evening a raven would bring him a loaf of bread and a bit of meat."[121] In the miniature, Elijah is portrayed with a white beard and a certain gravitas, traits used to convey what are supposedly the attributes of a distinguished prophet, while the raven seems to have just delivered a loaf of bread served with a piece of red meat.
The composition was made livelier by the competent coloring, as well as by the introduction of some alien elements, including a figure that must have been intended to be a servant, bent and washing a vessel, as well as a pair of goats drinking from a stream of water. The artist also resorted to a conventionalized type of composition to illustrate the theme. Elijah, like Moses earlier (cat. no. XV), is sitting on a raised rocky platform by a tree, elements often used in compositions of the late Akbari period.[122] A second miniature of the episode, now in the L. A. Mayer Museum for Islamic Art, was correctly identified when it was sold in 1965 and also follows the same conventions (fig. 4.8).[123] The miniature in Jerusalem adheres to the text more closely than does the Cleveland painting, since no servant and mammals are depicted, and the raven is shown delivering the loaf of bread to Elijah.

Fig. 4.8. *A Raven Brings Food to Elijah*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 15.2 x 8 cm. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. The L.A. Mayer Museum for Islamic Art, Jerusalem, inv. no. Ms 4-68. (Photo: Daniela Golan, courtesy of the L.A. Mayer Museum for Islamic Art)

جوی خواهی آشامید زاغا نزا فرموده ام که ترا روزی رسانند
ایلیا رفت و بما نجا نشست و صر صبح و شام زاغی نکان کرده
نان و لحت کوشت باو میرسانید

Cat. no. XIX
Jesus Being Awakened during a Tempest on the Sea of Galilee
Attributed here to Salim Quli
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.19
Overall: 26.1 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 19.0 x 10.5 cm
Published: Bailey, "Jesuit Art," 354, fig. 10.40.

To reach Gennesaret, on the other side of the Sea of Galilee, Jesus boarded a boat on which his miraculous powers would soon be revealed to some of his "fearful" disciples of "little faith."[124] "When he saw himself free of the people, he wanted to rest for a moment and stretch out."[125] It was then that "a great tempest arose on the sea, and the waves nearly swamped the boat."[126] The miniature illustrates the moment when he was sleeping "but his disciples came and woke him up and said, 'Lord, save us, for we are going to perish.' "[127] The painter depicts, not without some humor, that precise instant before "he stood up and rebuked the sea and the wind."[128] The sea is therefore shown convulsing while the wind blows furiously, as evidenced by the unrestrained sail. Three disciples look on, visibly apprehensive that their vessel is about to be inundated with water. The nearby crocodile is either encountering the same difficulties in the rocky waves or simply waiting for its unlikely meal. In contrast to this agitation, three groups of birds fly in formation above a rocky mountain, in a vast, almost white sky.

The miniature is unusual for the vast areas occupied by both the sky and the sea. Examining the subdued palette of colors, dominated by pastel tones, together with the distinctive greenish, rocky mountains typical of his style, one may attribute it to Salim Quli. Such elements are also observable in two other works in the Cleveland manuscript (cat. nos. V and XV), as well as in a painting of the *Dīwān* of Amir Hasan Dihlawi attributed to the same artist.[129]

Of the twenty-seven miniatures identified as belonging to the Cleveland copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, this is the only one that seems to have been loosely influenced by a Western model. A possible source is an engraving reproduced in the critical and highly influential *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* or the later, annotated edition known as *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*, published in Antwerp in the 1590s (fig. 3.1).[130] The work, by the Jesuit Jerome Nadal, was reprinted various times and widely distributed. A letter by Father Jerome confirms that a copy found its way to the Mughal court.[131] Further evidence of the influence of Nadal's work in the Mughal *kitābkhāna* is provided by a number of Mughal paintings inspired by some of the 153 engravings by Hieronymus Wierix that illustrated the *Imagines*/*Adnotationes*.[132]

Fig. 4.9. *Jesus Sleeping during the Tempest*, signed by Mas'ud Deccani. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 14.5 x 7.5 cm. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Used by permission of the Rare Book Department, Free Library of Philadelphia, inv. no. Lewis O M46. (Photo: courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

Although the composition seems to derive from a Western model, the result shows some Mughal idiosyncrasies in, for example, the combination of colors in the purple and yellow sail, the tassel at the top of the mast, and the manner in which the mast was built. Another version of this same subject, now in the Free Library of Philadelphia, is far less indebted to Western

models (fig. 4.9).[133] Like the miniature in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 4.2), similar to cat. no. VI, it is also signed by Mas'ud Deccani. The two versions share a number of details, namely, Jesus's position in the composition and the presence of a crocodile, and they are certainly contemporary.

Another print of the same theme is known to have reached the court, where, at a later stage, it was tinted, enlarged, and mounted as an album leaf in the so-called *Polier Album*.[134] Pasted into this same album is a second version of the *Storm on the Sea of Galilee*, circa 1650.[135]

Cat. no. XX
Jesus Raises Jairus's Daughter from the Dead
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.16
Overall: 26.3 x 15.7 cm
Painting: 19.5 x 11.3 cm

Although the figure of Jesus is immediately recognizable, as with some of the previous miniatures, the episode illustrated here would not be identifiable without the accompanying text. In this work, Jesus brings back to life the daughter of Jairus, a Jew who showed great faith in him: "Lord, I have a daughter who is dying. Come with me and put your blessed hand on her head. I am hopeful that she will recover and live."[136] Before Jesus could get there, the girl died, yet he insisted that he still wanted to see her. When he arrived at her house, "Jesus sent them all outside and went in with his disciples and the father and mother to the place where the body was. He took the girl's hand and said, 'Damsel, I say to you, arise.' At once, the girl came to life and arose whole."[137]

Jesus is portrayed at the center of the miniature, as if holding the hand of the girl, who sits on the terrace of her house. He is unusually dressed, in two shades of blue, like the Jesuit behind him. The painter reproduces a standard composition in which the main personages are set in a courtyard. This is one of the two most populated miniatures, with fourteen figures in total, five of whom stand outside the house. They share various features, including small heads with light blonde hair and well-defined eye pupils. The author of the miniature remains unidentified but, based on stylistic evidence, he seems to have also painted cat. no. XXII, where comparable figures wearing the same types of clothing are also seen. Many of the textiles used are decorated with interrupted lines, while others are striped. Small, circular gold medallions and pearl-like ornaments decorate the hats and belts, and are also used as buttons.

Cat. no. XXI
Jesus Praying on the Mountain[138]
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.12
Overall: 26.3 x 15.7 cm
Painting: 20.0 x 10.9 cm

The painter closely followed Father Jerome's description of the Biblical events that preceded the naming of the twelve Apostles. Jesus went

> with a crowd of people to Mount Tabor. Tabor is a mountain near Nazareth that is round and high, and on the top of it is a broad plain filled with trees. At the end of the day, he went up onto that mountain, leaving the people at the foot of the mountain, and spent the entire night in prayer.[139]

Although a large text panel occupies almost a third of the miniature, the attention of the viewer is drawn to the group of Apostles and the surreal mountain colored in pastel shades in what is the only night scene in the manuscript. Multiple yellow stars shine in a lapis-colored sky that contrasts with the light ground, where some of the Apostles are seen talking with one another. The lack of space seems to be the reason why only seven of the Apostles are included. Their figures are closely related to those in cat. no. XXVI, suggesting that the same artist painted both works. In general, all the male figures have the same type of narrow shoulders, and their Portuguese-inspired garments are also very similar. Blue hats with gold ornaments and long, slim feathers are reproduced in both paintings, as are the gold buttons and belts with medallions, also in gold. White collars are the norm and the shirts in a few cases have highly unusual checkered patterns. The stones that appear to be floating are another element that point to the same artist for both miniatures.

بس از گشتن جاهای مختلف با انبوه مردم بکوه بطور رسید بطور کوهیست نزدیک ناصره
کرد و بلند و بالای آن میدانی است فراخ پر درخت اغز و زیر این کوه بر آمد و
مردم را در دامن کوه گذاشت و تمام شب در نماز گذرانید

Cat. no. XXII
Mary Magdalene Presents Ointment to Jesus[140]
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.10
Overall: 26.3 x 15.7 cm
Painting: 20.5 x 10.3 cm

The miniature portrays Jesus sharing a meal at a house identified as belonging to a Pharisee. He went there because it was not far from the home of a "sinful woman," i.e., Mary Magdalene, who "had a reputation for evildoing."[141] Following the miraculous cure of her sister Martha, Mary Magdalene found her way to the same house. "Without waiting, she bought a crystal vial of expensive ointment and, weeping and with her hair in disarray, went there and threw herself into the midst of the people at Christ's feet.[142] Without saying anything, she wept so much that she wetted his blessed feet with her tears. She dried them with her hair, kissed them, rubbed the ointment on them, and explained the reasons she had sinned."[143]

The central figures in the miniature are Jesus and Mary Magdalene, the latter "in disarray," as described in the text, kneeling and bowing just before she touches Jesus's feet—a traditional sign of respect and subservience in India. This seems to explain Father Jerome's prolonged description of the event and perhaps the reason it was selected for illustration. Mughal painters reproduced such gestures on various occasions, including in Muslim[144] and Christian contexts.[145]

Although a relatively large number of Mughal miniatures show Western-influenced architecture, more often than not buildings are poorly rendered and tend to be simple pastiches. That is not the case with the vacant pavilion formed by round arches from which red and green draperies hang. The passage composed of three identical, round arches and supported by slim and well-proportioned columns is also to be noted. The proportions of both structures reveal a better understanding of Renaissance ideals than most contemporary and later-period miniatures. A close and interesting parallel can be drawn with the miniature *Akbar Presiding over Discussions in the Ibādatkhāna*, a well-known miniature from an *Akbarnāma*, circa 1604. There, the emperor is portrayed conversing with Jesuits, one of whom may, in fact, have been intended to be Father Jerome himself.[146]

The painting remains unfinished. The black and yellow rugs in the passage and pavilion are undecorated, the blue and white vessels are almost transparent, and what is intended to be food on the gold plates are mere patches of color. Similarly, the hands of some of Jesus's followers are poorly drawn and one is not more than a patch of color. In spite of that, the painter seems to have had the time to include some details, such as the pearl and ruby plaques on some of the belts and the gold *katar*, a type of dagger also used by Akbar in the miniature mentioned above. He most probably also authored cat. no. XX, as the figures' facial traits and hair are closely related.

مسیح انداخت

Cat. no. XXIII
Salome Receiving John the Baptist's Head on a Platter
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.11
Overall: 26.3 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 20.0 x 12.4 cm

The episode involving Herod Antipas who, in order to keep his word, ordered the death of John the Baptist, was illustrated by Mughal artists in various media, including stone carving[147] and painting. The events surrounding John the Baptist's death have a dramatic and moralistic tone that seems to have appealed to the Mughal mind. The story also reveals how imprudent rulers may be lead into treacherous situations, notably when love and sexual desire are involved. According to the text, on his birthday Herod "gave an entertainment and invited the nobles and grandees of Galilee."[148] It was then that Salome, his stepdaughter, danced for him and his guests. As a reward to her, the imprudent king promised to give her anything she wanted.[149] Following her mother's suggestion, she asked for John the Baptist's head, which was brought "on a platter, and handed… to the girl."[150]

The painter portrays the executioner carrying John the Baptist's head on the platter, while Salome extends her arms to receive it. The realism of the head, depicted with semi-opened eyes, suggests to the viewer that the decapitation had occurred just moments earlier. The artist follows a traditional Mughal formula, which includes a courtyard, where an enthroned ruler appears among people standing and kneeling nearby. In this case, Herod, is seated as Akbar is in a number of paintings.[151] The spade-shaped back of his throne also follows contemporary models,[152] but the lower part seems less Islamic in taste. As with all the male figures, the ruler is dressed in Western garb, though his jeweled belt distinguishes him from his guests. The musician's instrument and the soldier's sword are also of European origin. In addition, the artist borrowed foreign elements to depict the architectural setting. The rounded entrances and the columns are vaguely based on Western models, and a combination of inverted lions' heads[153] and winged angels on the capitals of columns seems to have been adopted to evoke non-Mughal ambiances. The barely-defined gold border of the blue carpet indicates that the miniature was not completely finished.

Cat. no. XXIV
Jesus Writes on the Ground
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.20
Overall: 26.3 x 15.5 cm
Painting: 20.9 x 11.4 cm

According to the Gospel of John, when the Pharisees brought a "woman who had been taken in adultery" into Jesus's presence, he "lowered his head and wrote on the ground with his finger."[154] Writing two or more letters is one of the thirty-nine activities forbidden during the Sabbath. What Jesus wrote and why he acted as he did are matters for speculation beyond the scope of this study, but in this way he avoided both condemning the adulteress and a direct confrontation with the Pharisees. According to the Gospel of John, Jesus writes on two occasions.[155] Therefore, this scene may depict the moment that precedes or follows Jesus's statement, in which he reveals that even the worst sinner deserves to be forgiven: "Let whichever of you is without sin cast the first stone."[156] According to the text, after he pronounced such words and "while he was writing, every one of those standing there saw his own sins written in the lines, and when they heard and saw this they departed, one by one, with those who were older departing first."[157]

The episode is rarely illustrated in Western art, but its strong moralistic content might explain why it was selected. In the miniature, Jesus is portrayed writing on a carpet, which would be Father Jerome's "ground."[158] Jesus's face is one of the most accomplished in the entire manuscript. Although he is seated in the local fashion, his face is directly inspired by a model, perhaps an image in ivory (fig. 3.9) or a Western print. Standing in the midst of the male audience, dressed in the Portuguese fashion, is the adulteress, who is portrayed in the same position as Salome appears in cat. no. XXIII. The miniature offers further evidence that the illustration of the manuscript was abruptly interrupted. The painter, for example, began decorating the border of the carpet on which Jesus sits but never concluded the task. The panels on the wooden door also remain unfinished.

سنگ زند انگاه باز سر خود را فرو انداخت و بر زمین می نوشت

Cat. no. XXV
Jesus Being Portrayed by King Abgar's Painter
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.21
Overall: 26.3 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 20.0 x 12.4 cm
Published: Sotheby's, London, October 18, 2001, 59, lot 63.

Father Jerome alludes to the apocryphal episode involving Jesus and King Abgar, "the king of Edessa, which is now known as Urfa and is a twenty-day journey from Jerusalem,"[159] both in his preamble[160] and again in the second part of the text. The fact that Jesus is seen writing a letter while being portrayed by the king's emissary indicates that the miniature illustrates a moment in the latter part of the *Mir'āt al-quds*. Father Jerome states that the ruler, "a leper, learned that Jesus was healing people of this disease"[161] and, as a result, emissaries were sent to invite Jesus to pay him a visit so that he might cure him. "He also sent an expert portraitist named Ananias along to draw his likeness and bring it back, so that if he did not come he would be able to see his countenance."[162] Jesus refused the invitation but wrote a letter promising that he would send a disciple to teach the king " 'the path of salvation and to heal you in my name of the illness you have. May God keep you.' During this time, the portraitist was busying himself with all his attention and effort on drawing a likeness. He drew it several times, but every time he thought the job was finished he found it far from a likeness."[163] Without the text, the identification of the subject proved to be problematic (it was in fact misidentified when it was put on auction in 2001).[164] According to the story, the portraitist never managed to faithfully reproduce Jesus's face, justifying therefore the accentuated differences between the model and the portrait in the painter's hands.

In terms of concept, the miniature is closer to Mughal models than European ones: painters being portrayed while working are not unusual in a Mughal context. The pseudo-Western architecture colored in dark purple shades, the series of rounded faces on the lintel, the two-toned curtains, and the wooden rail on the upper level are among the conventions observed in other miniatures of the manuscript. The architectonic setting is somehow related to that in cat. no. IX. The gold pendant hanging above Jesus is almost identical to the one seen in another miniature showing a strong Western influence: *The Holy Family* attributed to Mani.[165]

Fig. 4.10. *Jesus's Portrait Being Presented to King Abgar*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper. From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. Lahore Museum, *Mir'āt al-quds*, Ms. 46 (acc. no. M-645), fol. 3b. (Photo: courtesy of the Lahore Museum)

Illustrations of this episode in the Byzantine world are not unusual but in Western Europe they are extremely rare.[166] An illustration of the theme is found in the Torre dei Venti (Tower of the Winds) in the Vatican Palace.[167] Built by Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572–85) to commemorate his most extraordinary accomplish-

ment—the reform of the calendar—the tower consists of seven rooms decorated with frescoes. It is in the so-called Room of the Apostles that a haloed figure, identified as Jude Thaddeus, is depicted holding the mandylion in front of King Abgar.[168] Interestingly, this shows greater parallels with the miniature in the Lahore copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds*, in which a cloth with Jesus's portrait is shown being presented to Abgar (fig. 4.10).[169] The Lahore painting therefore illustrates a later moment in the narrative. According to Father Jerome, when Jesus realized the growing frustration of the painter, he "asked him for a piece of clothing, which he passed over his blessed face and gave back to him. [Ananias] found his very likeness on it."[170] He also ordered the painter to " 'give this likeness to your king in my name.' "[171] This is the scene shown in the Lahore painting.

Cat. no. XXVI
Jesus near Jerusalem
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.22
Overall: 26.2 x 15.6 cm
Painting: 19.6 x 9.9 cm
Published: Bailey, "Jesuit Art," 354, fig. 10.41.

Jesus is portrayed riding an ass, as predicted by a prophecy: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy King cometh unto thee; he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass."[172] It is, however, unclear whether Jesus is entering Jerusalem or going to the Mount of Olives, because the most conventional iconographic element of the episode—people hailing "him by taking off their garments and spreading them under his feet, [while] others cut branches from the trees and threw them in the road"[173]—was ignored by the painter. Jesus is accompanied by two disciples with a female ass, as mentioned by Father Jerome, while two figures exit Jerusalem through a gate and four men talking amongst themselves seem to welcome Jesus with their arms extended.

The most peculiar feature of the miniature is perhaps Jesus's face. He is portrayed with the countenance of an aging man, with long hair covering his shoulders, rather than as a younger man, as observed in, for example, cat. nos. XIII and XXIV. In this case, the painter either did not have access to or did not want to use a Western model. In stylistic terms, his hair and beard resemble those of a yogi, a figure frequently portrayed in Akbar and Jahangir's scriptoria.[174] Whether such an association was intended remains unclear. With the exception of three panels of text, the miniature seems complete. Another painting of the subject once in the Howard Hodgkin Collection reveals that the theme appealed to the Mughals (fig. 4.11).[175] Why this episode was selected for illustration is not immediately understandable, since Father Jerome devoted only a few lines of text to it and the story is not particularly attractive or noteworthy. It might have been employed as a way to introduce the description of subsequent events in Jerusalem, or perhaps because an old and well-known Islamic saying connects Jesus with riding an ass.[176]

Fig. 4.11. *Jesus near Jerusalem*. Opaque watercolor and ink on paper, 14.6 x 7.3 cm. *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, ca. 1605. © Trustees of the British Museum, inv. no. 1965. 7-24.05. (Photo: courtesy of the British Museum)

استقبال
کردند

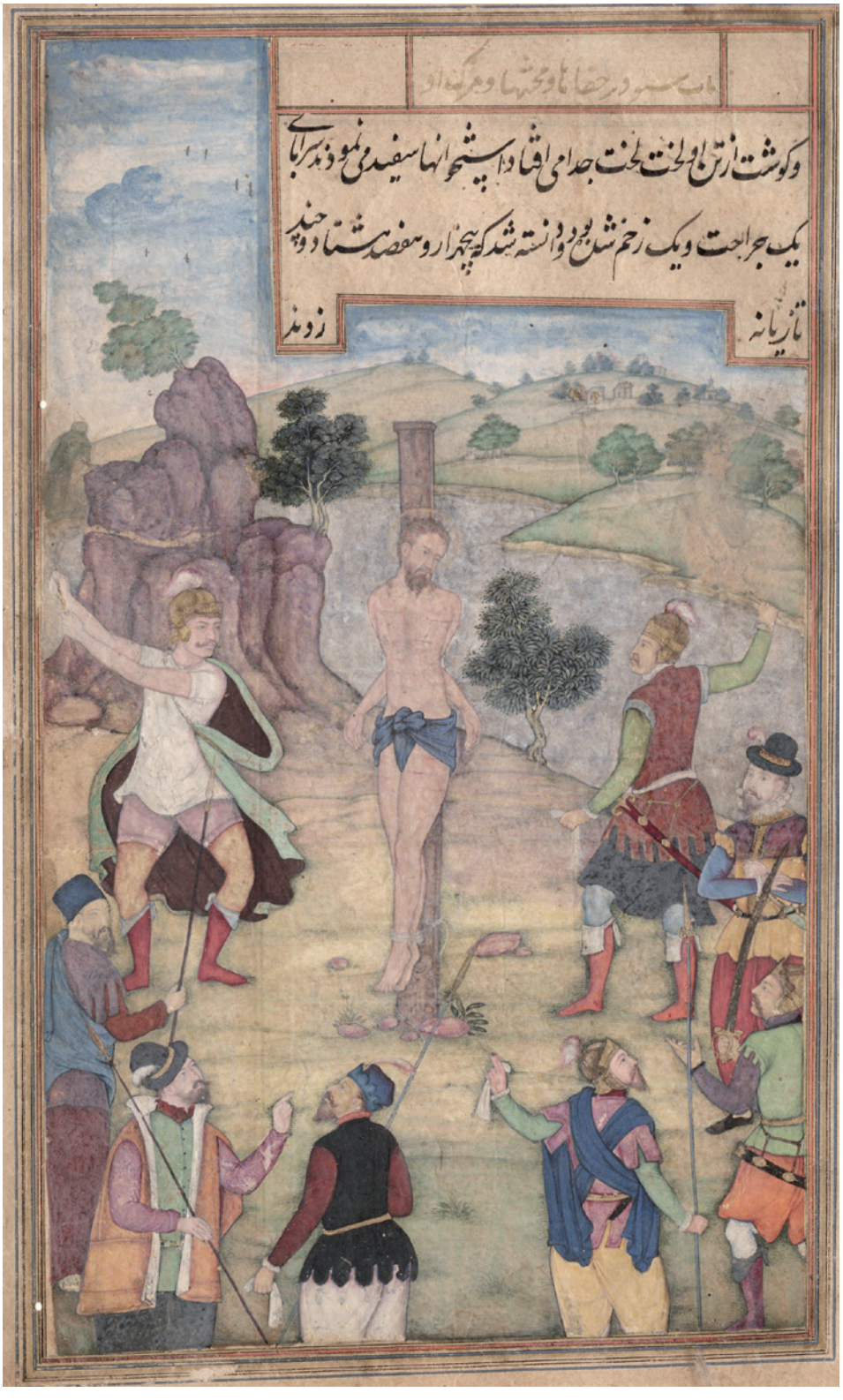
Cat. no. XXVII
The Flagellation
Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.23
Overall: 26.2 x 15.3 cm
Painting: 22.3 x 13.3 cm
Published: Bailey, "Jesuit Art," 355, fig. 10.42.

The last (identified) miniature of the Cleveland manuscript is an amalgamation of elements selected from the text: "Jesus was taken away to a special place, stripped naked, and bound to a pole. Six men were assigned to beat him, and they took turns, two by two, lashing him with leather whips and scourges."[177] Yet, it is clear that the painter ignored the physical consequences of the scourging as narrated by Father Jerome, who writes that "blood flowed from him onto the ground and the flesh fell in strips from his body, his bones showed white, and he was wounded and raw from head to foot."[178] The miniature therefore reflects the Muslim belief that Jesus's body was beyond being harmed and killed and that someone else was crucified in his place, while he ascended alive into heaven.

The author of the miniature seems to have combined two episodes of the Passion into one. Christ is portrayed tied to a column, as is conventional in a depiction of the flagellation, but he is also shown elevated from the ground, suggesting direct inspiration from a Crucifixion scene. It is also necessary to consider that in Mughal India crime suspects were apparently tied up and elevated from the ground, as seen in a miniature in the *Būstān* of Saʿdi from this same period.[179]

This is one of the most skilled miniatures of the Cleveland manuscript. Not only is the composition masterfully balanced, but Jesus's expression is among the most accomplished, a considerable demonstration of the Mughal ability to portray facial emotions. The painter managed to convey both Jesus's pain and his commiseration with his audience. The entire scene is depicted with remarkable realism, in, for example, Jesus's anatomically accurate chest, the delicate knot that secures his ankles to the pole, and the numerous details in the costumes of the audience members. The movement of the Roman soldier indicates that the intense and painful scourging is about to commence, a sharp contrast with the peaceful far-reaching landscape. The composition does not seem to have been inspired by a European print, yet the Roman soldiers, as well as the finely dressed gentleman with the voluminous ruffled collar on the right-hand side, are greatly indebted to Western models. Prints showing Roman soldiers are known to have reached the Mughal court. The margins of a folio of the *Muraqqaʿ-i Gulshan* are decorated with three of these[180] and there is also a scourging scene in Nadal's *Imagines/Adnotationes*.[181] A more exciting thought, however, is that the gentleman was the Portuguese viceroy Aires de Saldanha, who ruled during these same years (1600–1605). The face is indeed similar to that in an extant life-size portrait of the viceroy painted by a follower of Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, now in Lisbon.[182] Knowing that another portrait of the viceroy was among the gifts presented by Father Jerome and his fellow missionaries to Akbar, this possibility should not be discounted.[183]

This miniature has various elements in common with cat. no. X, including the employment of Western models, the refinement of the composition, and the palette of colors. The figure identified here as similar to the Portuguese viceroy also appears in cat. no. X, in practically the same position and with related garments.


وکوشت از تن او لخت لخت جدا می افتاد و پیشوایان آنها سیفدی نمودند برای
یک جراحت و یک زخم شش بود و دانسته شد که پنجهزار و سیصد و شصت و چند
تازیانه
زدند

4.2. A LIST OF THE MINIATURES, WITH CORRESPONDING PAGES IN FATHER JEROME'S TEXT (IN THE CLEVELAND COPY OF THE *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS*)

Cat. no. I	Private col., Europe, 1	*The Birth of Mary*
Cat. no. II	CMA, 2005.145.24	*Mary Ascends the Stairs to the Temple*
Cat. no. III	CMA, 2005.145.1	*The Flowering of Joseph's Rod*
Cat. no. IV	CMA, 2005.145.2	*The Annunciation*
Cat. no. V	CMA, 2005.145.3	*Mary and Joseph Travel to Bethlehem*
Cat. no. VI	CMA, 2005.145.4	*The Place of Jesus's Birth*
Cat. no. VII	CMA, 2005.145.6	*The Adoration of the Shepherds*
Cat. no. VIII	CMA, 2005.145.5	*The Magi Follow the Star*
Cat. no. IX	CMA, 2005.145.7	*The Adoration of the Magi*
Cat. no. X	CMA, 2005.145.8	*Simeon Kneels in front of Mary and Jesus after Recognizing Them*
Cat. no. XI	Private col., Europe, 2	*The Preaching of John the Baptist*
Cat. no. XII	CMA, 2005.145.9	*John the Baptist Recognizes Jesus While Teaching*
Cat. no. XIII	CMA, 2005.145.15	*Angels Bring Food to Jesus in the Wilderness*
Cat. no. XIV	CMA, 2005.145.13	*The Marriage at Cana*
Cat. no. XV	CMA, 2005.145.14	*Moses Praying to End the Serpents' Attack on the Israelites*
Cat. no. XVI	F. Custodia, 1991-T.11	*Jesus and the Samaritan Woman at the Well*
Cat. no. XVII	CMA, 2005.145.17	*Jesus Heals the Nobleman's Son in Capernaum*
Cat. no. XVIII	CMA, 2005.145.18	*A Raven Brings Food to Elijah*
Cat. no. XIX	CMA, 2005.145.19	*Jesus Being Awakened during a Tempest on the Sea of Galilee*
Cat. no. XX	CMA, 2005.145.16	*Jesus Raises Jairus's Daughter from the Dead*
Cat. no. XXI	CMA, 2005.145.12	*Jesus Praying on the Mountain*
Cat. no. XXII	CMA, 2005.145.10	*Mary Magdalene Presents Ointment to Jesus*
Cat. no. XXIII	CMA, 2005.145.11	*Salome Receiving John the Baptist's Head on a Platter*
Cat. no. XXIV	CMA, 2005.145.20	*Jesus Writes on the Ground*
Cat. no. XXV	CMA, 2005.145.21	*Jesus Being Portrayed by King Abgar's Painter*
Cat. no. XXVI	CMA, 2005.145.22	*Jesus near Jerusalem*
Cat. no. XXVII	CMA, 2005.145.23	*The Flagellation*

NOTES

1. ASI.279.
2. ASI.279.
3. L5b.
4. L5b.
5. For a slightly later version of *The Birth of Mary*, ca. 1610 (Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis O M 93) and the original Western engraving by Cornelis Cort (after Taddeo Zuccaro), 1581, that inspired it, see Beach, *Grand Mogul*, 156, cat. nos. 54, 54a.
6. ASI.270.
7. ASI.269.
8. ASI.269.
9. Psalms (119–133 [120–134]).
10. ASI.269; L7a.
11. 2005.145.24b.
12. *Mir'āt al-quds*, Lahore Museum, Ms. M-645/Mss-46, fol. 8b.
13. In the Protoevangelium of St. James, chap. 7, however, the number of steps is not mentioned.
14. Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, chap. 4.
15. Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chap. 6.
16. It is included, for example, in the cycle of frescoes illustrating episodes in the life of the Virgin by Giotto, ca. 1305, in the Scrovegni Chapel, Padua.
17. Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, chap. 8.
18. 2005.145.1a.
19. ASI.1.
20. 2005.145.1b.
21. Mughal miniatures portraying Muslims while praying are extremely unusual. For a contemporary example in which a mihrab is depicted, see *The Muezzin and the Drunkard*, *Būstān* of Sa'dī, fol. 196v, Agra, dated 1014 (1605–6), Art and History Trust Collection, Houston, Tex., in Beach, "Persian Culture," 353, fig. 137v.
22. Observing a number of portraits of Salim's courtiers in the so-called *Salim Album*, it seems clear that around 1600 such staffs became particularly popular at Allahabad. For portraits of courtiers holding the same type of staffs in the so-called *Salim Album*, ca. 1600–1605, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, inv. nos. In 44.2, 11A.35, and 44.1, and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, inv. no. S1986.422, see Wright, *Muraqqa': Imperial Mughal Albums*, 272–77, cat. nos. 30–32, and fig. 28, respectively.
23. For an earlier miniature of a *Bahāristān*, 1595, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Ms. Elliott 254, fol. 29a, see John Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot of India: The Walters Art Museum* Khamsa *of Amīr Khusraw of Delhi* (Baltimore, 2001), 107, fig. 37; for later paintings in the *Minto Album*, ca. 1615–20, and the *Late Shah Jahan Album*, ca. 1650, both in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, inv. nos. In 07A.9 and In 07B.36, respectively, see Wright, *Muraqqa': Imperial Mughal Albums*, 327, 387, cat. nos. 45 and 62, respectively.
24. For a courtly miniature, ca. 1600, identified as *The Annunciation* but illustrating instead the moment immediately before Gabriel appears to Mary, see Christie's, London, *Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds*, October 5, 2010, 298–99, lot 374.
25. L10a; ASI.272.
26. ASI.272.
27. For another angel with related but not as accomplished wings, see the *Angel of Tobias*, ca. 1590, ascribed to Kesu Das, Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanasi, inv. no. 9947; illustrated in Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, 102, fig. 109.
28. L17a.
29. L17a.
30. L26b.
31. L26b.
32. L26b.
33. L26b; 2005.145.4a.
34. John Seyller, "The Walters Art Museum *Diwan* of Amīr Hasan Dihlawi and Salim's Atelier at Allahabad," in *Arts of Mughal India: Studies in Honour of Robert Skelton*, ed. Rosemary Crill, Susan Stronge, and Andrew Topsfield (London, 2004), 95–110, at 104.
35. *A Royal Hunt*, 1602, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acc. no. W.650, fol. 109b; illustrated in Seyller, "Walters Art Museum *Diwan*," 101, fig. 8.
36. I am indebted to Milo C. Beach for this observation. Personal communication, February 2010.
37. For a list of works by Salim Quli, see Beach, "Persian Culture," 351; Seyller, "Walters Art Museum *Diwan*," 110 n. 25.
38. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 37, fols.15v, 106r, 122r; illustrated in Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 1:202, 230, 231, figs. 2.48, 2.87, and 2.92, respectively.
39. British Library, London, Add. Ms. 18579; illustrated in J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Lights of Canopus: Anvār i Suhailī* (London, 1929), pls. XXXI and XXXIV.
40. Matthew 1:18–25, 2:1; Luke 2:1–7.
41. 2005.145.4a.
42. 2005.145.4a.
43. 2005.145.4a.
44. 2005.145.4a.
45. L18a.
46. L18a.
47. 2005.145.4a.
48. The figure at the entrance is practically identical to a youth in a slightly earlier painting, ca. 1598, by Lala, in the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw of Delhi, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acc. no. W.624, fol. 35a; see Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot*, 54–55, cat. no. 5. Apart from the feet, the position of the arms and the rest of the body is the same, as are the orange jama and gold *patka* (cloth tied around the waist over the jama) in both figures.
49. Identified as *The Inn at Bethlehem*, ca. 1604–10, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. IS 170-1950; see also Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*, 105, pl. 72.
50. See also fig. 4.9 for a miniature signed by the same painter.
51. The figures' garments are not inspired by those normally worn by shepherds and include belts with gold medallions and boots similar to those of the Three Magi: cat. nos. VIII and IX.
52. L19a.
53. The depiction of such capitals in a Mughal miniature is extremely unusual.

54. The same seems to have happened in cat. no. XI, in which John the Baptist, too, is portrayed in an environment more affluent than that described in the text.
55. L20a.
56. In cat. no. VI, her robe is orange.
57. The identity of the painter remains unknown, but he seems to have authored cat. no. III, as revealed by the figure of the shepherd at the bottom, which is strikingly similar to that of Joachim, Mary's father. Their hairstyles, mustaches, and long whiskers are practically identical. Confirming such an assumption are the lines surrounding the shepherd's face, which are drawn to suggest the same type of movement seen in Joachim's countenance. The figures' hands are drawn in the same fashion, with strong and confident lines in pencil ending in pointed fingers.
58. L23a.
59. ASI.83.
60. L22b; ASI.83.
61. ASI.70.
62. 2005.145.5a; 2005.145.5b.
63. Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 1:147. The miniature is not only related to the Allahabad production in technical terms but is stylistically closely related to a number of paintings in the two mentioned manuscripts. The type of composition, simple and with a close-up view of the Magi, is typical of Allahabad. A number of other elements suggests an attribution to someone Leach has identified as "Artist B," the author of at least two miniatures in each of the two manuscripts mentioned: *Yog Vashisht*, dated 11 Azar, year 47 (December 2, 1602), Ms. In 05, fols. 41v and 107r (illustrated in Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 1:164 and 170, figs. 2.5 and 2.15, respectively), and *Raj Kunwar*, dated year A.H. 1012 (June 11, 1603/May 29, 1604), Ms. In 37, fols. 050v and 056v (illustrated in Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 1:217 and 219, figs. 2.69 and 2.72, respectively), both in the Chester Beatty Library. The work of this unidentified artist is characterized by this particular type of organic, rocky mountain, and by the floating stones, from which emerge perfectly aligned tufts of grass. The houses in the back and the fading of the color of the sky from light blue to almost white are other elements in this miniature also observed in the two paintings in the *Yog Vashisht.*
64. L34b.
65. 2005.145.7a.
66. L25a; 2005.145.7b.
67. ASI.70.
68. Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 127.
69. Letter written by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J. (?), Assistant to the General, Rome, from Agra, September 24, 1608 (British Library, Add. Ms. 9854, fol. 72b). An English version of the letter appears in Guerreiro, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, trans. C. H. Payne, 65.
70. ASI.73.
71. ASI.73.
72. ASI.74.
73. 2005.145.8a; 2005.145.8b.
74. 2005.145.8b.
75. 2005.145.8b.
76. Identified by Ali and Ahmed as a *Madonna and Child Celebrating a Holiday*, *Mir'āt al-quds*, Lahore Museum, Ms. M-645/Mss-46, fol. 33b; illustrated in Ali and Ahmed, "Mirat-ul-Quds," 85–86, fig. 69. See also Bailey, "The Lahore Mirat Al-Quds," 36, fig. 6.
77. Entitled *Curat IESVS decem leprosos* (Jesus Cures Ten Lepers) in Nadal, *Imagines* (1593), pl. 81; *Adnotationes* (1594), pl. 138.
78. ASI.62.
79. ASI.73.
80. This is not the only miniature in which a dog is depicted about to eat grapes. One drawing, *The Jesuit Missionary*, ca. 1590–1600, signed by Manohar, Musée Guimet, inv. no. 3619Gc, shows a dog staring at a bunch of grapes on the floor near a Jesuit. For an illustration, see Okada, *Indian Miniatures*, 144, fig. 165.
81. Described (but not illustrated) as *Presentation in the Temple,* Sotheby & Co., London, July 5, 1965, 17, lot 59.
82. ASI.67.
83. ASI.68.
84. ASI.68.
85. ASI.68.
86. 2005.145.9a; 2005.145.9b.
87. 2005.145.9b.
88. ASI.97.
89. ASI.99; ASI.100.
90. ASI.104; 2005.145.15a.
91. 2005.145.15b.
92. See chapter 3.3, nn. 89 and 90.
93. Now in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Ms. Douce Or. Al, fol.41v. For illustrations of the miniature and print, see Milo C. Beach, "The Mughal Painter Kesu Dās," *Archives of Asian Art* 30 (1976–77): 34–52, at 35–36, figs. 1 and 2, respectively.
94. Nadal, *Imagines* (1593), pl. 3; *Adnotationes* (1594), pl. 5.
95. *The Nativity*, ca. 1605, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. D.402-1885. For illustrations of both original and copy, see Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*, 112–13, pls. 78 and 79.
96. *The Youth of Rum is Entertained in a Garden by a Fairy and Her Maidens*, Manohar, 1597–98, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 13.228.33; illustrated in Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot*, 98–99, cat. no. 27. For the lacquer binding at the Walters Art Museum, acc. no. W.624, see Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot*, 134, fig. 69. The combination of the two types of angels is also seen in another *Nativity,* now in the Fondation Custodia, Paris, inv. no. 1972-T.42, illustrated in Gahlin, *Courts of India*, cat. no. 16, pl. 12; and in a miniature of a copy of the *Anvār-i Suhaylī* in the British Library, London, Ms. Add 18579, fol. 368b, illustrated in Wilkinson, *Lights of Canopus*, pl. 35.
97. A similar approach is adopted by the author of a miniature in Amir Khusraw's *Khamsa*, *The King and the Griev-*

ing Mother, 1597–98, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 13.228.26; illustrated in Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot*, 52–53, cat. no. 4. One of the rock formations at the bottom of this miniature also resembles a lion's head. Seyller attributes this work to Miskin, a painter known for, among other characteristics, his use of Western elements in Mughal settings, as well as his unique depiction of animals. Both miniatures discussed here include figures adopted from Western sources. More unusual are the two premonitory crosses, similar in dimensions and proportions, introduced into the two works for no clear purposes.

98. L39a.
99. 2005.145.13a.
100. L39b.
101. See, for example, *The Reception at the Court of Shah 'Abbas*, Isfahan, ca. 1620, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acc. no. W.771, fol. 50; illustrated in *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible*, ed. William Noel and Daniel Weiss (London, 2002), 200, cat. no. 41.
102. See, for example, *The Feat of King of Yaman*, *Anvār-i Suhaylī*, by Aqa Riza, 1604–10, British Library, London, Add. Ms. 18579, fol. 331b, in Milo C. Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, The New Cambridge History of India 1.3 (Cambridge and New York, 1992), 73, fig. 48.
103. 2005.145.14a.
104. 2005.145.14a.
105. ASI.93.
106. Such daggers apparently originated in the Deccan but were soon adopted by the Mughals. For examples from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Robert Elgood, *Hindu Arms and Ritual: Arms and Armour from India, 1400–1865* (Delft, 2004) 163, figs 16.1 and 16.2 (right-hand side).
107. *Sa'di and the Idol of Somnath*, *Būstān* of Sa'dī, fol. 174r, dated 1014 (1605–6), Agra, Art and History Trust Collection, Houston, Tex.; illustrated in Beach, "Persian Culture," 351, fig. 137r.
108. *A Royal Hunt*, 1602, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acc. no. W.650, fol. 109b; illustrated in Seyller, "Walters Art Museum *Diwan*," 101, fig. 8.
109. Note, for example, the man with the European sword in the *Mir'āt al-quds* miniature and the man with a red hat in the *Būstān*.
110. *Moses Praying to End the Serpents' Attack on the Israelites*, ca. 1605, San Diego Museum of Art, inv. no. 1990.308.
111. *Mir'āt al-quds*, Lahore Museum, inv. no. M-645/Mss-46, fol. 54b.
112. Guerreiro, *Relaçam* (1605), 61a.
113. L44b.
114. ASI.113; ASI.114.
115. See, for example, *Alexander is Lowered into the Sea*, attributed to Mukunda, *Khamsa* of Khusraw, ca. 1595, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y., inv. no. 13.228.27; illustrated in Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot*, 90–91, cat. no. 23.
116. Although often published, this is the first time that the miniature has been classified as belonging to the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*.
117. *Mir'āt al-quds*, Lahore Museum, inv. no. M-645/Mss-46, fol. 58b.
118. ASI.116.
119. This is closely related to a pair of angels depicted in a drawing signed by Kesu, ca. 1595, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 11 A.19; illustrated in Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, 1:137–38, cat. no. 1.234.
120. ASI.118; 2005.145.18a.
121. L48a.
122. For an early miniature, *Akbar and a Dervish*, attributed to 'Abd al-Samad, ca. 1586–87, Aga Khan Collection, M. 147, see Sheila R. Canby, *Princes, Poets & Paladins: Islamic and Indian Paintings from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan* (London, 1998), 110, cat. no. 80. Three other miniatures with analogous formulas stand out. One, *Akbar and Baba Bilas*, attributed to La'l, ca. 1590, from an *Akbarnāma*, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 11A.26 (illustrated in Rochelle L. Kessler, "In the Company of the Enlightened: Portraits of Mughal Rulers and Holy Men," in *Studies in Islamic and Later Indian Art from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum* [Cambridge, 2002], 16–41, at 23, fig. 2), shows Baba Bilas being portrayed under a tree, on a raised platform by a river, in the same exact position as Elijah. Another work, identified as *A Royal Outing in the Mountains*, ca. 1595, *Gulshan Muraqqa'*, Gulistan Palace Library (illustrated in Semsar and Emani, *Golestan Palace Library*, 279, cat. no. 206), is more striking in terms of composition, even though it is inverted. Here, the main figure is seated in the same position on a platform under a similar tree, and at the bottom of the miniature a servant is depicted in the same curved position, washing a vessel in the river. Finally, in a third miniature entitled *Prince at Rest*, ca. 1608, Los Angeles County Museum, inv. no. M. 84.32.7, the main figure, platform, and tree are also on the left, as illustrated in Pratapaditya Pal, *Indian Painting: A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection* (Los Angeles 1993), 242, cat. no. 63.
123. *A Raven Brings Food to Elijah*, formerly in the Howard Hodgkin Collection, now in the L. A. Mayer Museum for Islamic Art, Jerusalem, inv. no. 69.409, Ms 4-68.
124. 2005.145.19b.
125. L51a.
126. L51a.
127. L51a.
128. 2005.145.19b.
129. *A Royal Hunt*, 1602, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acc. no. W.650, fol. 109b; illustrated in Seyller, "Walters Art Museum *Diwan*," 101, fig. 8.
130. Pls. 29 and 14, respectively. Identified as *Sedat porcellam maris Iesvs* (Jesus Calms a Storm at Sea) but more properly *Jesus Being Awakened during a Tempest on the Sea of Galilee*, since, as in the Cleveland miniature, Jesus is portrayed asleep while a disciple tries to wake him.
131. Letter sent by Father Jerome, S.J., to Father João Álvares, S.J., Assistant to the General in Rome, from Agra, September 16, 1603 (ARSI, Goa 46 I, fol. 52v).
132. Although its composition is inverted, a *Nativity* in the Victoria and Albert Museum is, for example, a direct copy of

the corresponding engraving in Nadal's book, as illustrated in Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor*, 112–13, pls. 78 and 79.

133. *Jesus Sleeping during the Tempest*, ca. 1605, Free Library of Philadelphia, inv. no. Lewis O M46. The signature appears on top. I am grateful to Joseph Shemtov for his kind assistance.
134. Identified as *Storm of the Sea of Galilee*, ca. 1650, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1920.9-17.031; illustrated in Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, 103, fig. 71.
135. Identified as *Storm of the Sea of Galilee*, ca. 1650, British Museum, London, inv. no. 1920.9-17.032; illustrated in Rogers, *Mughal Miniatures*, 106, fig. 74.
136. ASI.111.
137. 2005.145.16a.
138. By 1932, Maclagan had identified another miniature illustrating this theme, but its whereabouts are unknown. Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, 253.
139. 2005.145.12b.
140. A different version of the theme, identified as *Christ Seated in a Palace Chamber with a Female Devotee Crouching at His Feet, Surrounded by Male Courtiers in European-Style Dress,* has recently appeared in the art market (Bonhams, London, *Islamic & Indian Art*, October 4, 2011, 222, lot 313), and is now in the Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore. This belongs to the dispersed copy of the *Mir'āt al-quds* and was once owned by Howard Hodgkin (Sotheby & Co., London, *Fine Western & Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, July 5, 1965, 17, lot 61).
141. 2005.145.10a; L68a.
142. L69a; 2005.145.10b.
143. ASI.35.
144. For a miniature in the *Ḥamzanāma*, *Malik Surkhab Submits to Hamza*, ca. 1570, MAK-Austrian Museum of Applied Arts/Contemporary Art, Vienna, inv. no. B.I. 8770/34, see Seyller, *Adventures of Hamza*, 144–45, cat. no. 44; for a miniature in a copy of the *Akbarnāma*, *Humayun Surprising His Parents*, ca. 1600, private collection, see Linda York Leach, "Pages from an *Akbarnama*," in Crill, Stronge, and Topsfield, *Arts of Mughal India*, 42–55, at 42, fig. 1. For a miniature of the *Pentecost*, ca. 1605, in the Eva and Konrad Seitz Collection (in which a figure very similar to Mary Magdalene appears), attributed by Seyller to Sanvala, see Seyller and Seitz, *Mughal and Deccani Paintings: Eva and Konrad Seitz Collection of Indian Paintings*, 46, cat. no. 7.
145. At least one other miniature, *Jesus and the Arrogant Hermit*, *Būstān* of Sa'dī, fol. 101v, Agra, 1605–6, Art and History Trust Collection, Houston, Tex. (illustrated in Beach, "Persian Culture," 346, cat. 137k), portrays someone touching Christ's feet. See also a *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1590, *Salim Album*, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, inv. no. In 44.4 (illustrated in Wright, *Muraqqa': Imperial Mughal Albums*, 266–67, cat. no. 27), in which a woman also touches the feet of a man carrying a cross. It does not seem that the latter figure was intended to be Jesus, since in the same painting the Madonna and Child Jesus are also portrayed.
146. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ms. 3, fol. 263v; illustrated in Brand and Lowry, *Akbar's India*, 53. The main figures in both miniatures are seated and surrounded by a number of people, and in each case a pavilion fills the upper-right area of the paintings, near a passage behind the arches.
147. The episode must have had a certain impact at the Mughal court, as shown by a unique limestone carving, ca. 1600, perhaps reproduced from a European plaquette, now in a private collection; illustrated in Moura Carvalho, *Luxury for Export*, 42–43, cat. no. 7. As in the Cleveland miniature, Salome's profile is distinctively Mughal.
148. ASI.52.
149. 2005.145.11a.
150. L76a.
151. See, for example, a contemporary portrait, *Akbar in Old Age*, ca. 1605, signed by Manohar Das, Cincinnati Art Museum, inv. no. 1950.289a; illustrated in Stuart C. Welch, *India: Art and Culture 1300–1900* (New York, 1985), 181, cat. no. 113.
152. See, for example, the thrones of Alexander depicted in two paintings of the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw, 1597–98, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acc. no. W.624, fols. 135a and 139a; illustrated in Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot*, 80–83, cat. nos. 18 and 19.
153. Lion-headed capitals, inverted or not, are shown in a number of miniatures, including: *Sita Shies Away from Hanuman Because She Believes He Is Ravana in Disguise*, *Rāmāyana*, ca. 1594, David Collection, inv. no. 68/1998, and *An Angel Receiving a Group of Europeans*, ca. 1600, David Collection, inv. no. 6/1981; both illustrated in Kjeld von Folsach, *Art from the World of Islam in The David Collection* (Copenhagen, 2001), 93, 97, cat. nos. 62 and 68, respectively.
154. 2005.145.20a.
155. John 8:6, 8:8.
156. John 8:7.
157. ASI.169.
158. 2005.145.20b.
159. ASI.193.
160. L3a; L3b.
161. ASI.193.
162. L98b.
163. ASI.194; 2005.145.21b.
164. Identified as *Jesus Teaching St. Peter and the Other Disciples in the Temple*, Sotheby's, London, *Arts of the Islamic World Including 20th Century Middle Eastern Paintings*, October 18, 2001, 59, lot 63.
165. Identified as *The Holy Family*, attributed to Mani, Free Library of Philadelphia, inv. no. Lewis O M 70; illustrated in Bailey, *Jesuits and the Grand Mogul*, 23, fig. 13.
166. In fact, the richest sources for pictorial evidence of the subject are manuscripts, copied and illustrated across the Byzantine world. Among these are manuscripts in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. cod. gr. 1528, illustrated in Kurt Weitzmann, "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennetos," *Cahiers Archéologiques: Fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen Âge* 11 [1960]: 163–84, at 171, fig. 8), and New York (Morgan Library, Ms. cod. 499, illustrated in Weitzmann, "Mandylion," 177, fig. 12). Weitzmann (p. 170) suggested that these were produced to propagate the

establishment in 945 of a new calendar feast, as well as the resulting homily, attributed to Emperor Constantine VII (r. 913–45/945–59), which celebrated the transference of the portrait of Jesus from Edessa to Constantinople the previous year. It was, however, the Byzantine emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–44) who reached an agreement with the local Muslim authorities; under the Abbasid caliph, the latter exchanged it for two hundred Muslim prisoners and twelve thousand pieces of silver: Segal, *Edessa*: *'The Blessed City'*, 215. For a description of the event and original sources, see Sebastian Brock, "Eusebius and Syriac Christianity," in *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and Gohei Hata (Detroit, 1992), 212–34. The scene is also reproduced on the silver frame of the *Holy Mandylion*, illustrated in Colette Dufour-Bozzo, "La Cornice del *Volto Santo* di Genova," *Cahiers Archéologiques: Fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen Âge* 19 (1969): 224.

167. Apparently it was only in 2003 that the frescoes were published in their entirety, in a thorough study by Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican* (Cambridge and New York, 2003). I am indebted to Gerhard Wolf for sharing this information with me.
168. In the north wall, by Matthijs Brill. For illustrations, see Courtright, *Papacy and the Art of Reform*, figs. 105 and 126.
169. *Mir'āt al-quds*, Lahore Museum, Ms. M-645/mss-46, fol. 3b; illustrated in Ali and Ahmed, "Mirat-ul-Quds," 84, fig. 67.
170. 2005.145.21b.
171. 2005.145.21b.
172. ASI.217; ASI.218.
173. 2005.145.22b.
174. See, for example, a group of yogis in a miniature (1609–10) in the so-called *Berlin Album*, assembled in 1610, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. A117, fol. 25b; illustrated in Beach, *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, 85, fig. 59.
175. Now in the British Museum, London, inv. no. 1965.7-24.05.
176. "If Jesus's ass is taken to Mecca, when it comes back it will be still an ass," as reproduced in Saʿdī, *The Gulistan (Rose Garden) of Saʿdi: Bilingual English and Persian Edition with Vocabulary*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Bethesda, Md., 2008), chap. 7, story 1, p. 130.
177. L127b.
178. L127b; 2005.145.23a; L128a.
179. *The Thief and the Beggar*, *Būstān* of Saʿdī, fol. 169r, Agra, dated 1014 (1605–6), Art and History Trust Collection, Houston, Tex.; illustrated in Beach, "Persian Culture," 350, fig. 137q.
180. For an illustration, see Beach, "Gulshan Album," 74, fig. 6.
181. Although the soldiers show the same type of movements, they are not dressed as Roman soldiers; illustrated in *Imagines*, pl. 121, and *Adnotationes*, pl. 94.
182. Ca. 1590, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 14.399; illustrated in Flores and Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal*, 109, cat. no. 39.
183. Guerreiro, *Relaçam* (1605), 50a. This was offered with a further portrait, also "*ao natural*," of D. Afonso de Albuquerque (d. 1515), conqueror of Goa (1510) and the mastermind behind the political and military expansion of the *Estado da Índia*.

CHAPTER FIVE

A TRANSLATION OF THE *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS* BY W. M. THACKSTON, WITH NOTES BY P. MOURA CARVALHO

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

As Father Jerome Xavier says in his introduction, he had spent seven or eight years in India learning Persian when Emperor Akbar asked him to produce a life of Jesus in Persian. He labored long on the work, making numerous revisions before submitting it to the emperor. Father Jerome's Persian style is certainly not highly literary, and in fact it could be characterized as bad Indo-Persian, but it is perfectly understandable.

Mainly it is word order that marks the text as un-Persian. When Father Jerome is quoting scripture, particularly the Old Testament, he opts for the word-for-word method of translation and strictly maintains the word order of the Latin, in which he was doubtlessly thinking. This would not have struck anyone in his intended audience as strange, since giving literal, word-for-word, interlinear equivalents of the Arabic text of the Koran was the only method of translation with which they were familiar for scripture. The same type of literal rendering was also used in Akbar's time for translations from Sanskrit and Hindi into Persian. As an example of such slavish following of word order, on page ASI.238 he translates from Psalm 110:1 as follows: *guft khudāvand ba-khudāvand-i man nishīn ba-dast-i rāst-i man*, a word-for-word rendering of the Latin, *Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis*. In normal word order, this passage would be *khudāvand ba-khudāvand-i man guft ba-dast-i rāst-i man nishīn*.

In the use of *-rā* in Persian, Father Jerome is very latitudinarian: sometimes he uses it, in accordance with its normal usage at the time, as a direct-object marker, e.g., *az dard-i dilgazīdagī khwad-rā ba-kārd kusht* (from the agony of despair he killed himself with a knife [ASI.61]), and *ʿibādatkhāna-rā ba-ḥukm-i Sīrō pādishāh-i Bābil az sar-i naw ʿimārat kardanad* (they rebuilt the temple anew by order of Cyrus, the king of Babylon [ASI.62]), and other times he uses it in its archaic sense of a dative marker, as in *bē ānki īshān-rā tasallī shavad* (without there being consolation for them [L29b]), and *shabē Yūsuf-rā dar khwāb firishta guft* (one night the angel said to Joseph in a dream [ASI.61]). Often, as in the continuation of the quotation above from Psalm 110 (*nishīn ba-dast-i rāst-i man tā dushmanān-i shumā zēr-i har du pāy-i tu niham* [sit at my right hand that I may place your enemies beneath both your feet]), he does not use it where it would be expected, i.e., *dushmanān-i shumā-rā*.

In only one instance, and a minor one at that, have I found evidence of influence from the Greek text of the Bible, and that is on ASI.250, where the Persian for Isaiah 53:1 has the initial anaphora *khudāvand* (O Lord) that is found in the Greek text of the Septuagint (κύριε) but is missing in the Latin of the Vulgate.

As might well be expected, Father Jerome had difficulty in finding Persian vocabulary for specifically Christian concepts. There is not now, nor has there ever been, a native Persian-speaking Christian community. There are Christians in Iran and other places where Persian is used, but that is not their communal language. The outstanding example of this is "baptism" and everything to do with it. There is no such thing as baptism in Islam, and therefore there is no Islamic word for it. Arabic, of course, has the full range of Christian vocabulary, and the Arabic word for baptism is *taʿmīd*, which was borrowed from the Syriac verb *ʿammed*. Father Jerome used *ʿimād*, which is from the right root in Arabic but the wrong form, to which he added the Persian word for water (*āb*), and came up with a verb *ʿimādāb-kardan*,

or, dropping the "b," *ʿimādā-kardan*, for "to baptize." Needless to say, this would convey nothing to a Persian speaker in India or anywhere else. For "John the Baptist" he has variously *Yūḥannā muʿtamid* (ASI.55)—again he had the right root in Arabic but the wrong form—and *Yūḥannā ʿimādākunanda* (ASI.129). Since none of these terms could have had any meaning for a Mughal audience, who would not have known what baptism was in the first place, I believe this explains the very curious depiction of what is supposed to be John baptizing Jesus in the Jordan on folio 50b (2005.145.9b)—not to mention the bird that sits on Jesus's head, a configuration that likely resulted from ambiguity in Persian between "over" and "on" (cat. no. XII).

There are only two specifically Indian references in the entire text of Father Jerome's work: on L108b, *opchī* (armed soldier), a Hindi word not used in Persian outside of India, and references to "laks of rupees" on L102b and "rupees" on ASI.204.

Catchwords. Persian manuscripts never had page or folio numbers when they were produced. Over time the folios (and even pages) of some manuscripts have been numbered, but the numbers are not original. Instead of page numbers, in order to maintain the proper order of folios, catchwords (the first two or three words of the next folio) were written at the bottom left of the B side of a folio. This enabled the binders to put or keep folios in the proper order, particularly when pages were being repaired or rebound. The catchwords in the Cleveland manuscript are unusual in several respects. Firstly, not all folios have catchwords (e.g., ASI.272), which in and of itself is very unusual. Secondly, many of the catchwords are not the beginning of the text on the next folio but rather the running subtitle of the chapter: e.g., ASI.108 has for catchwords *bāb-i avval* (chapter one), which is the beginning of the running title of the next folio. Since most, but not all, folios have these running titles, such a catchword would place the folio in the correct chapter, but it would not distinguish at all what the next folio was. The majority of catchwords in the manuscript have the running title as well as the first words of the text of the next folio. An example of this is ASI.16, which has the catchwords *bāb-i avval; yaʿnī Maryam*, and indeed the first words of the next folio are *yaʿnī Maryam*. Much more puzzling is the fact that some of the catchwords are correct for the order in which the folios are now, but that order is incorrect. It has always been assumed that catchwords were written by the scribe of the manuscript as he finished each folio, but if such were the case, the catchwords could not be wrong in the manner in which they are in the Cleveland manuscript. An example is ASI.14, which has the catchword *khujasta*. ASI.14 is the B side of a folio that is numbered 21, and the folio numbered 22 (ASI.15–16) does indeed begin with the word *khujasta*. However, folio ASI.13–14 is out of correct order. It belongs after ASI.12 but should be followed by 2005.145.6, which has an illustration on the A side and text on the B side. The catchwords that should have been on ASI.14 are *ānchi numāyān shud*, and the *khujasta* catchword should have been on ASI.10, which has only "chapter one" as its catchword. This can only mean that the catchword—in this case at least—was added after the folios were put in the wrong order and not when the manuscript was being written. (See Appendix II, "Order of Folios in the Cleveland *Mirʾāt al-quds*.")

Running titles. The use of running titles is unheard-of in Persian manuscripts of the period, but this one has, exactly like modern books, a running title of *Dāstān-i Masīḥ* (Deeds of the Messiah) on the right-hand side of a spread and running chapter titles on the left-hand side of the spread. Although a few pages do not have the running titles written in, they all have space for them at the top marked off with a gold ruling.

MIRROR OF HOLINESS

PREAMBLE

[L2b] Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds and final reward of the pious, and prayers and salutations upon his apostle Muhammad and his family and companions all.[1] This is a marvelous and rare book on the good qualities of Jesus, the Spirit of God[2] (peace be upon him),[3] son of Lady Mary (may God be content with her),[4] and it has been named the *Mirror of Holiness*. It is divided into four sections, and by reading this complete copy the entire history of Jesus will be known, God willing.[5] **[L3a]**

When the renown of Christ's miracles became known and spread throughout the earth, Abgar,[6] the king of Edessa, fortunately had a yearning desire to meet him. Consequently, he sent a wise emissary with a message, saying, "If he comes to my kingdom, half of my realm will be at his service."[7] He also sent along an expert painter, so that if the holy personage did not intend to come and was not inclined to his country, at least the painter could make a portrait of that unequaled unique one and bring it to him so that he could see it, since he would not otherwise be able to see him and thus fulfill his wish. The emissary was fortunate enough to meet [Jesus] and deliver his lord's message. When it was learned that it would be difficult for that great one to go to that country, that rare master collected himself, putting all his skill to work, and drew the best and most beautiful portrait he could and rejoiced over it. The next day, when he compared it, he was ashamed of his work. **[L3b]** Correcting his mistakes, he overcame his shame and praised God. Once again, when he scrutinized it on the second and third days, he was even more ashamed and began all over again. In the end, he did this three times, but everything he did one day and thought perfect he found to be defective and imperfect the next day. He despaired of his skill and was overcome with sorrow and shame. Jesus had mercy on his condition, and as he was bidding him farewell he asked him for a piece of clothing, which he passed over his blessed face and handed back to him. A precious image was perfectly imprinted on that cloth. [The painter] rejoiced and took it to his lord, who lifted it up with great veneration, humility, and joy and kept it with respect, and because of it he achieved victories in his campaigns.

Now, the reason I have adduced this story is that since the emperor of world refuge has heard various versions of Jesus's perfections and greatness he expressed a desire to hear something of that blessed story as it actually was. Therefore, in his search for the truth and love of knowl-

1. As a Catholic, Father Jerome used the Latin Vulgate Bible, as he himself acknowledges in a letter dated September 25, 1606: Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 30. Its first translation from Latin into English is known as the Douay-Rheims Bible (henceforth DRB), which has been used here for comparison. The New Testament was first printed in 1582; the Old Testament in 1609–10. All notes on non-Western languages are by W. M. Thackston.

2. Job 33:4, and in some translations of Koran 4:171.

3. Following some Muslim practices, Father Jerome adopted a phrase often used after the naming of a prophet.

4. This same phrase is often employed following a reference to A'isha, the wife of the Prophet.

5. The well-known term *inshā' Allāh* has its counterpart in the Latin *Deo volente*.

6. Abgar's name in the manuscript is ابكر, spelled *ABKR*. Emperor Akbar's name is اكبر, spelled *AKBR*. The similarity between the two names would not have been lost on a contemporary audience. See chapter 2.3.

7. According to the longer and slightly different version of Abgar's letter in Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:260–1 no. 159, reproduced from Eusebius's version, *History of the Church*, 1:13, Abgar is less generous: "…my city is very small, but highly esteemed, adequate for both of us." For a discussion of the episode, see chapter 2.2 on the sources.

edge, [**ASI.275**] he indicated to this, the most humble of his well-wishers, Padre Jerónimo Xavier, who has had the great good fortune to rub his forehead on the imperial threshold, to translate into Persian everything that we have in our books on the sayings and actions of Christ. Thinking that as a person who has been engaged in this activity for forty years [**L3a**] and has spent seven or eight years learning Persian,[8] I could undertake this service and thus acquire happiness, I threw myself wholeheartedly into the labor and girded my loins.[9] I spent my days without thinking of the comforts or even necessities of life in order to carry out the Shadow of God's command, for imperial orders cannot be honored less than this, especially in things the hiding of which from human beings is iniquitous and disclosing them is an act of worship of God; as the Angel Raphael said to the prophet Tobias, "To keep the king's secrets covered is good, but to speak God's secrets clearly and openly is a praiseworthy thing and pleasing to all."[10] If I have taken a long time to produce this book and copies of it, truly it has been because I arranged it several times and considered it finished, but every time [**ASI.276**] I completed it and made a clean copy of the draft, when I compared the Persian to books in Latin, my heart sank, and what had been perfect appeared so defective that I was ashamed of my labor and despaired in my inability and incompetence. After much prayer and supplication, God's grace and His Majesty the Shadow of God's good fortune came to my aid, and this last time I was consoled and my heart was calm. I therefore make bold to present it before this threshold of the true. May it be Lord Jesus's will to make His Majesty and all those who hear pleased with it.

I can say that of the things that have been translated into Persian during the time of His Majesty this one is worthy of attention, since it is not known that any such thing has come forth in any other time. Either those who knew Persian were ignorant of the Latin language or those who knew Latin did not understand Persian, and Mother Earth never gave birth to a felicitous monarch like Your Majesty, who was appreciative of learning and had such condescension. It is hoped that this work will be acceptable to Your Majesty and that you will not only pick up such a thing, which this your servant has produced after much labor, [**ASI.277**] great devotion, and perfect fealty, but consider it as something that shows that it was Blessed Jesus who taught and did such things.

May it not remain hidden that this book is arranged in four sections. In the first section is treated from the time of Blessed Jesus's birth until the beginning of his teaching. In the second section are his miracles and wonders he wrought and some of his teachings. The third section contains his death and the pains and afflictions he suffered for the salvation of men and his love of them. The fourth section treats his rising from the grave and his Ascension into heaven. I have not written all that I could have but only that Your Majesty may recognize and know who that blessed personage was. This much seemed enough to me, as an elephant can be known from its footprint and a lion from its claw.[11]

Now it is this poor one's request that the extent of my desire to serve be estimated from this labor. [**L4a**] Secondly, it is requested that it be ordered that it be read repeatedly in imperial gatherings because it is the basis of teaching goodness, rest for the heart and balm for the soul. For if someone [**ASI.278**] used to say that books are medicine for the soul, this one will be even more so for the precious soul of His Majesty, as Jesus himself used to say, "My word is balm for the soul and life eternal."[12] To increase faith in these things, it is necessary for me to make aware that most of these things I have taken from the Gospels, and I have disregarded the writings of others.[13] In order that they be better verifiable, I have written the source of every quotation in

8. Perhaps to strengthen his position as a religious authority at the court, Father Jerome seems to have exaggerated the number of years that he devoted to a religious life. He was fifty-three years old when he finished translating this text in 1602. This would suggest that he opted for a religious vocation when he was thirteen years old, but he only entered the Society of Jesus when he was nineteen. He nevertheless started learning Persian in 1595, which is in accordance with his assertion that it took him about seven or eight years to learn the language.

9. The expression "girded my loins" was perhaps inspired by Job 38:3: "Gird up thy loins like a man."

10. Tobias 12:7.

11. Probably an Indian tautological saying.

12. The source for the phrase remains unidentified, but it might have been inspired by John 6:69: "…thou hast the words of eternal life."

13. This seems to be a deliberate oversimplification of the number and nature of the sources used in this work: see chapter 2.2.

the margin of this book, and so that they may be found easily, summaries of the text have also been written in the margin.[14] Some of these words of Christ are so lofty that the mind of man is incapable of comprehending them and is perplexed, but these things and their likes have been fully explained in another book, *The Truth-Revealing Mirror*,[15] most of which has been done and is nearly finished, God willing.

May Jesus preserve His Majesty the Lord and vouchsafe him knowledge of himself, which is necessary and requisite for the salvation of the soul, as is the desire of these your servants.[16]

Completed at the capital Agra on the fifteenth of Urdibihisht in the year one thousand six hundred **[ASI.279]** and two after the birth of our Lord Jesus.

PART ONE: CHRIST'S CHILDHOOD

The birth of Mary and her upbringing

Since Christ was born of Holy Mary without the intermediary of man, the first part to be written will deal with the history of that Blessed Virgin.

Mary was of noble stock of the lineage of the prophet David.[17] Her father, Joachim by name,[18] was a native of the city of Nazareth, a dependency of the province of Galilee. Her mother was called Anna, a native of Bethlehem in Judea, which was the native land of the prophet David. They dwelt in perfect piety in the city of Nazareth, in virtue and servitude to God, according to the religion that had come to the Children of Israel through the prophet Moses. They were wealthy and spent their money wisely. What God had given them they divided into three portions: one portion they gave to the poor, to widows, and to travelers to Jerusalem; one portion they kept for the temple and temple servants; **[ASI.280]** and the other portion they spent on themselves. In this manner they spent twenty years, but despite their comfort and wealth, since they had no child, they always lived in sorrow, gave alms seeking the fruit of that blessing, and wept and moaned. **[L5a]** They had made a vow to God, saying, "If you give us a child, we will take it along with our other pledges to the temple and entrust it to your service,"[19] since they took pledges to the temple in Jerusalem three times every year on holidays, in accordance with their religion. On one holiday they had gone to the temple in Jerusalem. Joachim, as was the custom, took his gifts to the temple, as did other heads of household. Issachar, the chief of the priests, grew angry and, turning away, said, "Since God has not given you the blessing of fruitfulness in all these years, there must be some impurity within you that has occasioned God's displeasure."[20] Saying this, he distanced himself in all disrespect. Embarrassed and abashed by this, Joachim went out into the wilderness instead of going home. There he remained among his shepherds, serving God in all humility and dejection. Having seen the disrespect Joachim had endured, Anna suffered pain and sorrow at being separated from him. They both lived in sorrow, she in Jerusalem and he in the wilderness. However, they omitted nothing in their worship of God but rather increased it, like those who are in need. God, the remedy for the suffering, heard their prayer and sent a luminous angel to Joachim to give him good news and say, "God has accepted your plea and looked mercifully upon your weeping and your alms, and the patience you have practiced **[L5b]** has born fruit. He has sent me to console you and give you the good news that God will bestow upon you a daughter by Anna, and you will name her Mary.[21] From the time she appears in the womb, that girl will be filled with the Holy Ghost. You will fulfill

14. Sources and summaries are missing from the Cleveland copy and de Dieu's translation. The SOAS manuscript has numerous subtitles in red in the margin but no source references.

15. Father Jerome did complete this work, *Ā'īna-i ḥaqq-numā*, also known by its title in Portuguese, *Fonte da Vida* (Fountain of Life), in which he argued for the supposed superiority of Christianity over Islam and other religions. See chapter 1.1 on his life and work.

16. A gentle way of telling Akbar that Christ is the (only) way to God.

17. According to apocryphal sources, namely, the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chap. 1; the Protoevangelium of St. James, chap. 10; and the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, chap. 13.

18. Joachim, or Jehoiakim (יְהוֹיָקִים *Yəhōāqīm*, "Jehovah sets up"). The name of Anna's husband occurs only in the apocryphal Gospels, including the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, chap. 1.

19. Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chap. 1; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:151 no. 131.

20. Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chap. 2; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:151 no. 131.

21. Father Jerome treats Mary rather unconventionally, as if she were the Promised One. Words such as those used in the sen-

your promise to God to let her live in the temple apart from people and be brought up in service to God. She will be great. Remember that many great people have been born to an aged parent—like Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Samson, and Samuel. This means God wanted this girl to be born in your old age, when you had little hope. In order that you have no doubt of what I say to you, go toward the city, and at the Orya (Golden) Gate you will find your wife looking for you. When she sees you, she will rejoice."[22] This he said and disappeared from view. The angel went to Anna also and made her hopeful with that good news, saying, "From that daughter of yours will come the Messiah, the savior of the world."[23] And he sent her to her husband and disappeared. In her joy she came out looking for her husband. They met in rapture at the gate, embraced each other, and went inside. Several days later they went to Nazareth, which was their homeland. **[L6a]** There, on Thursday, the eighth day of the month of December, corresponding to the sixteenth of Daymah,[24] **[private collection, Europe, 1a]** Anna conceived, and, after nine months, on Friday,[25] the eighth of September, or the fifteenth of Shahrivar,[26] she brought forth a daughter [Cat. no. I].[27] The people were amazed and rejoiced. They named the girl Mary, and this word **[private collection, Europe, 1b]** has several meanings, "high salty sea" and "lord of the sea."[28] Christians celebrate a holiday on the day Blessed Mary was born. They did not celebrate at first because it was not known to them that such was God's pleasure, but God made it apparent in a manner that will be told. There was a devotee of God in the desert who was constant in his worship. Every year, on the eighth day of the month of September, he heard a strange song of joy in the heavens. He asked an angel what the reason for the joy and singing was. [The angel] replied that Mary, the mother of Christ, was born on that day. The man told this news, and after books were searched it was found that truly she had been born on that very day.[29] From that time on, with the permission of the pope, celebrations were held in some places, but not generally throughout Christendom, until Pope Innocent IV made it universal in the year A.D. 1250 **[ASI.270],** and that came about because after the death of Pope Celestine IV all the cardinals gathered to install another in his place. In no way could they agree, and nothing could be done. They remained in this thought for a year and eight months. The cardinals and other Christians were very distressed and sorrowful. Someone said, "Let us vow that whoever becomes pope order that all Christians celebrate on the day of the Blessed Virgin's birth and pass eight days in rejoicing so that this may help."[30] It was so decided, and, as soon as the vow was made, they agreed on Innocent IV. They made him pope, and he propagated the holiday.[31]

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tence "God will bestow upon you…" are normally employed in reference to males rather than females.

22. Based on a slightly more extended quotation from the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chap. 3; also reproduced by Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:152 no. 131.

23. Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chap. 4; Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:152 no. 131.

24. Since the work was completed in 1602, Father Jerome would have been using the Gregorian calendar. December 8 is the traditional date of the conception of the Virgin Mary. However, December 8 is the 17th of Adhar, not the 16th of Daymah. The 16th of Daymah is January 6, which is the Feast of the Epiphany. Apparently, the dates of the two feasts were inadvertently confused. The *ilāhī* (Persian) calendar that was in use in Akbar's time depends upon the vernal equinox for its beginning point every year; it can, therefore, vary a day or two relative to the Gregorian calendar.

25. This is the first time that Father Jerome links an important event, such as Mary's birth, to a Friday. As in other cases, there are no religious or historical grounds supporting such an association, as the precise date of Mary's birth is unknown.

26. September 8 is the traditional day of the birth of the Virgin Mary. 15 Shahrivar is correct for the converted date.

27. Again, the phrase "she brought forth a…" is normally used when referring to a male.

28. The Hebrew for Mary is מִרְיָם *Miryām,* which actually means "their rebellion." Father Jerome possibly derived the name from either a metathesized רָמָה *rāmā* (high) or the Aramaic מָרֵא *mārē* (lord) and יָם *yām* (sea). Voragine, on the other hand, mentions that the name Maria is "interpreted as *amarum mare*, bitter sea, or as illuminator or illuminated." Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:374 no. 96.

29. It is unknown to which books Father Jerome is alluding.

30. The phrase is probably Father Jerome's own creation, hence the use of the rather vague pronoun "someone."

31. Innocent IV (d. 1254) introduced the holiday upon being elected pope, after a lengthy disagreement over his succession of Celestine IV, who was pope for only eighteen days in 1241. A version of the story, albeit with less details, appears in Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:154 no. 131.

When Blessed Mary was three years old, on Friday the twenty-first of November,[32] corresponding to the twenty-ninth of Aban, **[ASI.269]** they took her, along with other gifts, to the temple and entrusted her to God, to be raised in a special place in the temple with other noble girls and to be educated by good women who were engaged in this work, until such time as she matured. When they arrived at the temple, Issachar and other priests came out above the door as was their custom. There were fifteen steps up, and it was the custom that when a child was brought, the priests would read a chapter from the Psalms as the child placed her foot on each step.[33] This child, however, as soon as she placed her foot on the first step, took her hand away from the person who was holding it and, **[L7a]** without looking in any direction, went directly up, without stopping anywhere [Cat. no. II]. All were astonished. **[2005.145.24b]** Her mother and father presented gifts and took her to the house to which girls were entrusted, in fulfillment of [their] vows, in order that she might serve God.

As young as Blessed Mary was, she occupied herself like an adult in serving God totally, and she correctly intended to hold God in place of her mother and father and everything else, and she strove to please God greatly, insofar as she could. With much humility, she asked him to love her in everything and keep her heart free of the things of this world. With humility and weeping, she constantly asked God for the salvation of mankind and fervently desired the coming of the Messiah. She was always in servitude to God. With people she kept her gaze on the ground in humility. She was very silent and very tolerant. Without cause she never spoke a displeasing word. Her companions **[unidentified folio, a side]** she served eagerly. She always considered herself lowly. She loved her virginity and she was beloved by and dear to all. Everyone was astonished that she had such beauty in her. Despite her youth, she performed such works in adorning herself that if someone in old age were to do them, people would be amazed. She divided her time such that the first watch was spent in worshiping God and imagining divine things. The next two watches she spent in labors involving the hands, such as sewing and washing things in the temple, and she also ate with great abstemiousness during these two watches. Most of the time, an angel brought her sustenance from heaven.[34] The rest of the time she spent reading sacred books. When the coming of the Messiah and his teaching the people the way to salvation would come to her view, she would become very happy and read and say, "I wish I could be the handmaiden of the woman whose son the Messiah will be!"[35] **[unidentified folio, b side]**

She remained awake most of the night and spent her time contemplating the mysteries of God, and she slept but little. She loved chastity so much that without being prompted she promised God that she would serve him in virginity and chastity. This promise and manner of living that she decided was something that had never happened until that time. She is the first woman to promise God that she would maintain her virginity. Whenever anyone praised her, she would attribute the praise to God, and she always had on her tongue the words *Deo gratias*,[36] that is, thank God, and she greeted people with this same phrase. From that time on, this manner of salutation has remained among Christian celibates and monastics.[37]

She remained in the holy temple **[L8a]** until she was thirteen years old.[38] They wanted to marry her to one of

32. November 21 is the traditional date for the celebration of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary. 29 Aban is correct for the equivalent date.

33. These correspond to the fifteen Gradual Psalms, 119–33 (120–34), which are thought to have been sung during the annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:152 no. 131, also mentions that Mary went through the same number of steps.

34. As in Koran 3:37.

35. Probably based on Luke 1:38: "And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word."

36. An old Latin formula used in the mass and prayers. It is also used in 1 Corinthians 15:57 and 2 Corinthians 2:14 as *Deo autem gratias.*

37. The passage from "As young as Blessed Mary…" to "… celibates and monastics." seems to be based on the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew, chap 6.

38. Father Jerome appears to have misread his sources. According to the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew, chap. 8, "she was fourteen years old" when the high priest convoked "every one who has no wife come, and bring his rod in his hand." Likewise, the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chap. 7, mentions that she had "reached her fourteenth year" when that happened, as does Voragine on two occasions (*Golden Legend*, 2:153 no. 131; 1:197 no. 51). On the other hand, the Protoevangelium of St. James 8:2

her relatives. She was not agreeable. **[2005.145.1a]** Then the necessity of the time manifested itself. Someone named Zacharias and other priests, seeing this manner of chastity and new promise they had never seen before, were amazed and thought long. Since they had realized that the birth of the Messiah would be of a virgin,[39] they thought that perhaps this girl had been chosen to be the mother of him whom they had expected so long. The chief priest assembled all the wise men and asked, "What should be done about this thing?" Since no decision could be made, they turned to their god so that whatever appeared from God would be done. One of them was inspired with these words: "Even if the maiden has promised this to God, it is God's pleasure that you get her married." Once again they plunged into thought, wondering what to do. God then said, "Let all unmarried men of the lineage of David assemble in the temple, and let every one of them have his staff in his hand. Him whose staff blossoms and gives forth flowers you will marry to Mary."[40] Thus it was done. Among them **[2005.145.1b]** was one named Joseph, son of Jacob son of Matthan. He, too, brought his staff like the others, and, when they had finished their prayers, suddenly Joseph's staff sprouted flowers [Cat. no. III]. **[ASI.1]** Thereby they knew that it was God's will that the girl take this man and no other.[41]

Joseph's character

Joseph was of the same lineage as the girl, that is, the lineage of the prophet David, as has been said. He was poor. He was a carpenter[42] and earned only enough to suffice himself. He was married at the age of forty, and during all that time he had never sullied himself with the company of women.[43] Even though he was married to Blessed Mary, she, with God's assistance, convinced him to promise God that he too, like Mary, would control himself as long as he lived, and they lived like brother and sister. There were no marital relations. For this reason, painters portray him as an old man, not because of his old age and great years but because of the miracle that appeared in his staff.[44] He is portrayed mostly with a blossoming staff.[45] He was a man of pure interior, so great **[ASI.2]** in the sight of God that he was chosen as a companion for such a holy virgin and because the Messiah, the savior of the world and font of chastity, would be born in his house.

The wisdom underlying the marriage of the Virgin that can be ascertained is that, since it was God's will that a son be born of Mary, if she did not have a husband, people would cast aspersions upon her. God did not want her to be sullied by accusations until such time as the truth of her chastity appeared. Secondly, since the Messiah would be her son, and since she would suffer many miseries on this account and would never find rest, indeed, she would spent most of her time in wandering and distress, **[L9a]** and would need the companionship of a man, and a strange man as companion of a virgin would not seem right to people. Also, God wanted the secret of the Messiah to remain hidden from the devil by this marriage, since it had been learned from former books that his birth would be from a virgin, and for this reason [Joseph] was not allowed to enter Mary's house after their marriage. In sum, for these and other reasons, God's will was for a marriage. **[ASI.3]** Since Blessed Mary had learned from God that she would not lose through marriage what she intended [to keep], rather her husband would be subservient and pleasing to her, she acquiesced and went to Joseph's house. They lived together for several days in Jerusalem. After that, they went to the city of Nazareth, which

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mentions that Mary was twelve years old when the council of priests was held.

39. Isaiah 7:14.

40. Based on the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew, chap. 8, and Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:153 no. 131.

41. The passage from "She remained in the…" to "…and no other" is probably based on the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew, chap. 8.

42. Matthew 13:55; Mark 6:3; Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew 10:1.

43. Father Jerome is referring to Joseph's first marriage.

44. Father Jerome's insistence that Joseph was not an old man is odd, since apocryphal texts used by him state the opposite. In the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew 8:3–4, he is "an old man," while in the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chap. 8, he is "a man of great age." According to Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:153 no. 131, he was "of advanced age." Again, this seems to be a deliberate effort on Father Jerome's part to hide from his Muslim audience potentially polemical facets of the lives of major figures of Christianity.

45. Father Jerome's effort to provide Joseph's iconography confirms that he was aware of Akbar's interest in painting and portraiture.

was Joseph's native land, and despite the fact that they had little of worldly goods, they lived together in purity, harmony, and affection.

Mary's physical appearance

Mary was a girl of middling height and olive complexion, with a long face.[46]Her eyes were large and tending to blue. Her hair was of a golden color. Her hands and fingers were long and well formed. In every feature she was well-proportioned. Her speech was extremely soft. Her gaze was modest and unassuming. The words from her lips were humble and pure, but so much greatness and magnificence were apparent in her countenance that any distressed sinner who chanced to gaze at her face **[ASI.4]** would pull himself together and become a different person in righteousness. Everyone loved and praised her good character and humility and held her in high esteem. The end of all this, both externally and internally, was that she was chosen for her goodness and worthiness to be the mother of the Messiah.[47] When the house had been built, God wanted the owner of the house to come. When the Virgin reached the age of childbearing, that is, thirteen years and six months, God did not want the coming of the Messiah to be delayed. In order to give her news of his coming and make her happy that the Messiah would be her son, he sent her an angel from heaven with this news. While the Blessed Virgin was in her private chamber in the city of Nazareth in the province of Galilee, the Angel Gabriel came to her, for since the Messiah was to be without father, God wanted an angel, **[ASI.271]** not a man, to make her aware of his coming. Since the affair was so great, he sent one of the great heavenly angels with the good news, as can be discovered from his name: Gabriel means "God's power." The Virgin's being in Nazareth was not without reason, for "Nazareth" means "sprout,"[48] and from the Virgin and also from the staff the Messiah came forth as a sprout of total goodness, as the prophet Isaiah had said. **[L10a]** A translation of his words is: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots: And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him."[49] This town of Nazareth was in the province of Galilee, which means "turning."[50] In this is a reference to the fact that with the coming of the Messiah the world would turn to God, and innumerable sinners would turn to their Creator.

When Gabriel came down, he did not come alone but with many angels, yet where the Virgin was he appeared alone. The Virgin was in her private chamber with the door closed, occupied with **[ASI.272]** worshiping God and preoccupied with lofty thoughts. These are the words of Isaiah, which are: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son (although that maiden will be a virgin). The name of the child will be Immanuel"[51] (which means "Our God is with us"). And many will be gladdened by the sight of that maiden. She would say, "I wish I could be his lowly nurse,"[52] and in her heart she praised that mother greatly and contemplated the benefits that would accrue to the world from that son. The Virgin was in these thoughts when all of a sudden the Angel Gabriel came through the door in the form of a handsome, pure young man of grave demeanor and filled with light [Cat. no. IV]. He knelt before her, cast his gaze to the ground, and greeted her cheerfully and humbly, saying, "Peace be with you, full of grace. The lord is with you. Blessed are you among women."[53] Seeing and hearing this, the Virgin was startled. **[2005.145.2b]** She wondered what that greeting meant. Her being startled was not from seeing and hearing the angel, because she had seen angels before; rather, it was from seeing the humility with which he spoke and from hearing words that imported such respect for her. She held herself in such a lowly position that she was as upset to hear herself praised as a proud woman would have been to hear herself decried and criticized. Gabriel said to her, "Fear not, Mary. Know that I am an angel of God. You have been found acceptable in the Lord's

46. The source for Mary's physical features remains unidentified, but the inner aspects of her personality seem to have drawn inspiration from the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew 6:2.

47. This is Father Jerome's own elucidation, distinct from that of Luke (1:26–38), the only evangelist who describes the Annunciation.

48. That is, the name of Nazareth is taken to be a fulfillment of the prophecy in Isaiah 11:1 of the Messiah as a "sprout" (נֵצֶר *nēṣer*) of Jesse.

49. Isaiah 11:1–2.

50. The word Galilee (גָּלִיל *gālīl*) means "rolling, turning" and "circuit," specifically the circuit of Galilee.

51. Isaiah 7:14; Matthew 1:23.

52. Variation on Luke 1:38.

53. Luke 1:28.

sight. Be aware that you will conceive and give birth to a son, and you will call his name Jesus."[54] In saying the name, there was information for her to realize that she had found such acceptability in the sight of her lord that God wanted the Savior to be born of her, for this is the meaning of Jesus,[55] that it be known that he was truly the Messiah. He said, "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David."[56] **[ASI.5]**

In saying that he would sit on the throne of David, he did not mean a physical king over the bodies of men but rather the intention was a spiritual kingship that would hold sway over souls. What he said next, **[L11a]** namely, "And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever,"[57] had the same meaning because he would reign and have lordship over all the chosen, and by the house of Jacob he meant God's chosen.

He also said, "And of his kingdom there shall be no end,"[58] for it would remain forever over the chosen and in the world, and he would be the leader of them.

These words of the angel cast the Virgin deeper into thought. When he said to her, "You will bring forth a son,"[59] which was a great thing that had never occurred to her, she said to him, "How will this be, when I do not know man?"[60] So much did she love her virginity that merely by hearing the word "son" she became watchful of her chastity and she thought of the promise she had made to God.

The birth of the Messiah without a father

Although she had no doubt of what the angel had told her, **[ASI.6]** she wanted to know in what manner such a strange thing would take place, because she knew very well that God could, with his unlimited power and knowledge, do something that would be fulfilled without breaking her vow of chastity. Gabriel said, "The Holy Ghost shall come unto thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."[61] One might say that he expressed that the manner in which this thing would come to be was beyond human comprehension. Only he who could do it knew how it would be done. He also said, **[L11b]** "Behold, thy cousin Elizabeth:[62] she has also conceived a son in her old age, and this is the sixth month with her who was called barren. For with God nothing shall be impossible."[63] At this point, there was nothing further to say, so she returned to her thoughts of such a strange thing as that she would bear a son **[ASI.7]** who would be the Messiah.

She remained with this thought until midnight, and since she knew that it was divine destiny and that such a great thing would happen, after much reflection she was content. In her contemplation she taught us that in great affairs we should be careful and not be bold, especially in matters of might that are so dangerous, for many people, before acquiring power and greatness, have served God with all their hearts but then suffered loss and gone astray. After several hours had passed, at the stroke of midnight, the Holy Virgin knelt, put her head near the ground, crossed her arms over her breast, her eyes filled with tears in all humility and servitude, and said, "Behold the handmaiden of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word."[64] As soon as she acquiesced, Gabriel disappeared from her sight in all joy, and immediately our Lord God caused that great one to take flesh and become man, because that God, who **[ASI.8]** with his absolute power made Adam from a lump of clay and brought forth Eve from his bone, then brought forth seeds of the soul, which he made from nothing, and that same God made something special from pure virginal blood, and at the same time he created the soul he placed it in her, and it was made perfect from the soul and body of humanity.

At this point, Elizabeth had conceived a son in her old age six months previously, as the angel had com-

54. Luke 1:30–31.

55. "Jesus" is the Latin version of the Greek form (Ἰησοῦς) of the name Joshua, which is in turn a contraction of the name Jehoshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ *Yəhōshua'*), meaning "Jehovah helps (or saves)."

56. Luke 1:32.

57. Luke 1:32.

58. Luke 1:33.

59. Luke 1:31; Matthew 1:21.

60. Luke: 1:34.

61. Luke 1:35.

62. Father Jerome transcribes Elizabeth's name as اليصابات (*Elīṣābāt*). "Elizabeth" (Ἐλισάβετ) is the same name as Elisheba (אֱלִישֶׁבַע *Ĕlīšebha'*), the wife of Aaron (Exodus 6:23).

63. Luke 1:36–37.

64. Luke 1:38.

municated, and this child was John.[65] His creation was marvelous because the very Angel Gabriel had given Zacharias, [John's] father and Elizabeth's husband, the good news of his birth. Zacharias was a priest of the lineage of Abia, and his wife, Elizabeth, was a descendant of Aaron.[66] Both were righteous in following the commandments of the Lord; they were meticulous, but they lived unhappily because they had no son, and continually in their worship and in happy times they asked God for a child. In this hope their lives passed until they grew old, and their hopes of a son diminished. When it was Zacharias's turn to burn incense, he entered the house of the Lord, and all the people outside were in prayer, so that he was able to enter at the time of service. Suddenly, he saw an angel inside and was perplexed and afraid. The angel said to him, "Fear not, Zacharias, God has heard your prayer. Elizabeth, your wife, will give birth to a son. You will name him John, **[ASI.9]** and thou shalt have joy and gladness; and many shall rejoice at his birth. For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall drink neither wine nor strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost, **[L12b]** even from his mother's womb. And many of the Children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God. And he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias (meaning he will live in all asceticism and tribulation), to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children,"[67] meaning Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob will hold them as their children and be content with them. He also said, "And to turn the disobedient to the wisdom of the just: to make ready a people prepared for the Lord."[68] All this is a reference to the work [John] would do prior to the Messiah so that he would find the people ready for his teaching. Zacharias was doubtful of what he heard and said, "How shall I know what you say is true? I am an old man, and my wife is past the time when she could become pregnant."[69] The angel **[ASI.10]** said, "I am Gabriel, who stands in the presence of God, and I have been sent by him to give you good news. The requital for this doubt you have harbored and for your not believing my words is that you will be struck dumb and unable to speak until such time as what I have said comes to be, because you did not believe my words, which will come to be in their time."[70] This he said and he disappeared. The people were amazed and waited for Zacharias, wondering what had happened that he tarried so long. After his conversation with the angel, Zacharias made a sacrifice and came out. In no way could he speak, **[L13a]** so he indicated by signs what he wanted. The people comprehended that he had seen something strange. After completing his work, he went to his house, and Elizabeth, his wife, had become pregnant. Therefore, Elizabeth was in this condition when Gabriel gave the good news to Mary.

Mary goes to visit Elizabeth

Elizabeth was Mary's cousin, and she was perfect in righteousness **[ASI.15]** To perform the customs of kinship, Blessed Mary wanted to go see her, for from obtaining the rank of being mother to the Messiah she did not consider herself great and wanted to go to her, in accordance with the custom of her country, and serve her as a younger would an elder. Some say that the very angel, with God's pleasure, said to her, "Go to Elizabeth's house," so that through her she might fulfill the purpose of the son that would be born of Elizabeth. When the angel disappeared, Mary obtained permission from Joseph to go to the house of Elizabeth, her relative, concurrently informing Joseph of what had come to pass with the angel. Since they were related and there was coming and going between the two houses without formality, Joseph agreed and they got ready to go. Elizabeth was in the mountains of Judea near Jerusalem, which is approximately twenty-seven leagues from Nazareth. The maiden went along the road in haste to traverse the distance quickly **[ASI.16]** and to shorten the time during which she was out of doors. Then she reached her goal. When she entered Zacharias's house she greeted Elizabeth as a younger would an elder. The manner in which she greeted her is not known to us. In her own manner, she said those same words, *Deo*

65. Father Jerome uses the correct Christian Arabic version of John's name, يوحنا *Yūḥannā* (< יוֹחָנָן *Yōḥānān*, "whom Jehovah has gracious given" > Ἰωάννης/Ioannes), instead of the Islamic version, يحيى *Yaḥyā*.

66. Based on Luke 1:5.

67. Luke 1:13–17.

68. Variation on Luke 1:16.

69. Variation on Luke 1:18.

70. Luke 1:19–20.

gratias, or "The peace of God be upon you,"[71] which was the common manner among the people and was the manner in which the angel had greeted her. However, it is known that her words were so effective that at that very moment a strange thing happened: when Elizabeth heard Blessed Mary's greeting, the child in her womb moved quickly and rejoiced. Elizabeth became filled with the Holy Ghost and shouted out in a loud voice, saying, "Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? For as soon as the sound of your salutation reached my ears, the babe leapt in my womb for joy."[72] This joy and movement of the babe was an expression of his desire to worship the one who, as he knew by God's favor, had appeared in the womb of her whose words he heard, **[ASI.17]** meaning Mary. With this was fulfilled that which the angel had told Zacharias, his father, that the mother's womb would be filled with the Holy Ghost. And the knowledge that had come to the son from God also infected the mother, for she comprehended by God's inspiration what had passed between the angel and Mary, and she, too, knew that the Messiah, whom she would call her Lord, was in Mary's womb. She, too, said, "Blessed are you that you believed because those things that were told you from the Lord will come about."[73] Humble and Blessed Mary became perplexed by God's revealing the secret she had kept so hidden **[L14a]** and by contemplation of the praises that the people of the world would give her when they learned of that great secret. Now Elizabeth, despite her old age, from her understanding of that, quickly directed her words toward God by stating, "I am not worthy of the praises that they do me, rather they are for God, the giver of all good things."[74] Based on this, [Mary] praised God when they were in private, and since she had a companion like Elizabeth in praising God, she went on **[ASI.18]** and said, "My soul has magnified the Lord, and my spirit has rejoiced in God my savior for he has regarded the lowliness of his handmaiden: for, behold, from henceforth all tribes will call me blessed, because he that is mighty has done to me great things, and holy is his name, and his mercy is on them that fear him from generation to generation. With the strength in his arm he has scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He has put down the mighty from their seats and exalted them of low degree. He has filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he has sent empty-handed away. He has raised his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy, as he spoke to our fathers Abraham and his progeny forever."[75] (To here were Mary's words.)

In this greeting and meeting with Blessed Mary, it was made known to Elizabeth how potent the Blessed Virgin was with grace and what favor God would have on those whom she met, for whom she would invoke blessings, and whom she would take under her protection for intercession. Thus it is that Christians have such hope in her intercession and strive through humility and imploring to have her as their protector.

Blessed Mary remained in Zacharias's house with Elizabeth for three months, and since it was Elizabeth's time to give birth, most believe that when John was born Mary was present.

The birth of John

Then, after nine months, Elizabeth gave birth to a son on a Friday.[76] Her relatives and neighbors rejoiced when they heard of the favor God had shown them, and many came to congratulate her. On the eighth day, in accordance with the religion of Moses,[77] they had him circumcised. At the time of the circumcision ceremony, which was for them the time to name a child, they wanted to call him after his father, Zacharias, but Elizabeth would in no way consent to this name and said, "He shall be called John."[78] Her relatives said, "But no one in your tribe has ever been called by this name."[79] Then, they turned to the father and asked, "What do

71. Father Jerome has Islamicized the Christian saying "*Deo gratias*," which is more correctly rendered as "thanks be to God"; his own translation, "The peace of God be upon you," is a Muslim salutation.

72. Luke 1:42–44.

73. Luke 1:45.

74. Unidentified source.

75. Luke 1:46–55, known as the Magnificat.

76. There are no historical or religious grounds for the assertion that John was born on a Friday. As noted, this seems to be a method of conferring greater holiness on John.

77. Leviticus 12:3; Genesis 17:12.

78. Luke 1:60.

79. Luke 1:61.

you want to call him?"[80] He asked for a tablet and wrote, "His name is John."[81] **[ASI.19]** All were astonished, and immediately his tongue was loosened and he could speak fluently, and he praised God. All the neighbors were afraid, and the miracle was spoken of in the mountains of Judea. **[L15a]** All those who heard of it contemplated in their hearts and said, "What do you think of this child? How has he appeared?"[82]—because the might of God was with him. His father, Zacharias, turned back from the Holy Ghost and began to prophesy and say, "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel, for he has visited and redeemed his people and has raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David, as he spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began: that we should be saved from our enemies and from the hand of all that hate us to perform the mercy promised to our fathers and to remember his holy covenant; the oath that he swore to our father Abraham that he would grant unto us that we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve him without fear in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our lives. And you, child, shall be called the Prophet of the Highest, for you shall go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways, to give knowledge of salvation unto his people by the remission of their sins through the tender mercy of our God, whereby the dayspring from on high has visited us to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace."[83] To here are Zacharias's words,[84] **[L15b]** and all this that has been said took place in his house on the eighth day, when John was circumcised.

Joseph doubts Mary's purity

At this time, Blessed Mary and Joseph returned to their house, and at this time the child had been in Mary's womb for three months. Finally, with the passage of days her conception became apparent, and Joseph noticed. When he saw the sign of pregnancy clearly, he was amazed **[ASI.20]** and thought, "What is this thing?"—until the girl's pregnancy became more apparent and Joseph's worry increased. Then he was perplexed and thought, "What can this be?"[85] As much as he knew that the child was not his, and since he was certain of the maiden's chastity, he was even more troubled. When no doubt of her pregnancy remained, he fell truly into consternation because God's law commanded that an adulteress be taken before the governor for judgment. He became so sad and distressed that signs of grief were apparent in his face and all his actions. When Blessed Mary perceived this distress and sadness in Joseph, whom she loved like a brother, and she knew that his trouble was not from injustice, she raised her hands in prayer to God and asked for relief of this distress. She bore it patiently and put her hope in God that He would remedy the situation in his own good time. In her own humility and modesty **[L16a]** she did not want to inform him of the secret that was in the midst, although **[ASI.21]** she could have had Elizabeth bear witness to the truth of her words, and Joseph would have relied on her word. Joseph's sorrow continually increased and grew greater all the time, but he had such belief in Mary's chastity that although he was certain that he had not touched her, he could not complain of her to the governor. Seeing that to remain in that town was difficult, he made an intention to entrust Mary to God and go himself away in secret to see what would happen.

God saw his sorrow and gazed upon his good heart, and he heard the petition of Mary, who was also sorrowful, and sent an angel to give Joseph an answer for what had happened. The angel said, "O Joseph, son of David, fear not the companionship of Mary, your wife, for that which has appeared in her is not by human intervention, but rather, by the power of the Holy Ghost, there will be born a son, and you will call his name Jesus, for he will give salvation to his nation from **[ASI.22]** their sins."[86] Joseph became very happy and was astonished, because not only was he certain of his beloved's chastity and purity but also what made him even happier and more astonished was that he had understood that by her would be born to him the Messiah, the savior

80. Luke 1:62.
81. Luke 1:63.
82. Luke 1:66.
83. Luke 1:68–79.
84. Luke 1:67.
85. Joseph's doubts are mentioned in various ways in the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew, chap. 10; the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, chap. 10; and the Protoevangelium of St. James, chap. 13, the main apocryphal sources on the life of Mary.
86. Matthew 1:20–21.

of the world, whom he and all the nation of Israel had expected for so long. Then he left all doubt behind. The reason God willed Mary's husband to fall into doubt was so that [Joseph] could take out of people's hearts any evil they could possibly harbor with regard to Mary's chastity. Then Joseph went to Mary and showed her respect, not only as a pure and chaste woman, but as the mother of Jesus, and in affection and humility he informed her of what had passed and put himself at her service, so that together with her they might serve the Lord God, who had shown them and all the world such favor. The Virgin praised God that her worry had been resolved without her having **[2005.145.3a]** to do anything extraordinary. Until the time of the birth, they spent their time thus and lived in obscurity, pretending not to know anything of the secret of which they were aware and awaiting the event.

Mary goes to Bethlehem

During this time, Octavius Augustus became the successor to his father-in-law,[87] Julius Caesar, and what Julius Caesar had built up with difficulty and hardship he controlled in peace and tranquility, and the rule over several more kingdoms, which had been left unaccomplished, he completed.[88] He was thus the first person in Rome and most of the world to rule in peace. Seeing himself as lord of the world in peace and harmony, he wanted to take a census of the inhabitants of his kingdom and so ordered there to be census takers in every city **[L17a]** to register all heads of households. Thus was it decided that the people would go from every place to their own cities to have their names registered, and everyone would give something to his emperor. At this time, the governor of Syria was Cyrenius. He had it heralded throughout Israel that every person would present himself in his city at a specified time and register. Therefore, it was necessary for the pure Joseph and the Blessed Virgin to travel to Bethlehem [Cat. no. V], which was their city and that of all descendants of David, whose birthplace that city was. **[L26b]** Along the way they suffered from the wind, rain, and cold because it was winter, and from the length of the road, their lack of supplies, and the press of people who were going for that purpose. Mary suffered especially because her son was going to be born any day, and for that reason she rode a pack beast. They also had a cow that carried their belongings **[2005.145.4a]** and which Joseph would sell and use the money for their travel expenses.[89] Although they suffered greatly along the way, they suffered even more when they reached the city because, since the city was small and people from everywhere caused such crowding, they were not able in any way to find shelter.

The place of Christ's birth

After much searching, they located a small, lowly, out-of-the-way, crumbling hovel outside the city that served as an animal shelter from the wind and rain. The stable belonged to an inn at which people stopped next to the city, and since the inn was filled by the crowds of people, they had to put up in the stable. Noticing the ruination and smallness of the stable, the Virgin praised God. Since she realized that the time of birth was near and that here would be born the Messiah, the Son of God the most high and almighty, she wondered and pondered the works of God. They swept out the place [Cat. no. VI], cleaned it up, put their chamber in order, and got to work in earnest and decided to stay there in all joy, harmony, and contentment with God. Long ago, the prophets had said that the Messiah would be born in the town of Bethlehem. As the prophet Micah said: "O Bethlehem, thou be little among the cities of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting."[90] The wisdom in his being born here was not only that it was the birthplace of his servant David but also because it was a lowly place, and God wanted

87. Octavius Caesar (63 B.C.–A.D. 14) was actually the grandson of Julius Caesar's sister Julia. Although the Persian word *khasr* normally means "father–in–law," it can be used by extension for any male remotely related by marriage.

88. Father Jerome alludes to the *pax Romana*, already established for two centuries, although wars continued to be fought at various frontiers of the empire.

89. Such details are not in the canonical Gospels but derive from apocryphal and other sources. Interestingly, Father Jerome ignores the traditional ox and ass as part of the Nativity scene. He probably followed Saint Ignatius of Loyola, who mentions an ox being used to carry Mary and Joseph's belongings but does not allude to the two animals in the Nativity (*Text of Spiritual Exercises*, 110). Voragine, by contrast, mentions them: *Golden Legend*, 1:41 no. 6.

90. Micah 5:2.

him to be born in a place more suitable for animals than for men so that he could begin to show the people of the world that the more they were content and the less they acquired, the better, and that he might teach by example to choose poverty, humility, and servitude, as after his birth he would teach this to the people of the world in a loud voice.

When it was night, the Blessed Virgin rested for a moment from her labors and realized that it was time to give birth, **[L18a]** but she did not perceive this as other women do by the presence of pain, which is retribution for the pleasure of copulation and intercourse,[91] because, since the maiden had not experienced these, there was no pain.[92] Rather, she understood by a special inspiration from God and by the movement of the child that it was time to give birth. Therefore, she knelt and prayed and turned her eyes toward heaven with her arms folded on her breast and entrusted the child that would be born to God, and she gave a thousand thanks for God's will that what would come to light and what she had kept hidden was for the salvation of the world, and for his having chosen for her a poor place without shelter in such misery and destitution, and she went deep into contemplation of the goodness and kindness of God as she waited for the birth of the Lord she had inside herself.

Then, on the eve of Sunday in the year 5199 from the creation of the world, or 2,957 years after Noah's flood, 2,015 years since the birth of Abraham, 1,510 years since Moses and the Children of Israel emerged from Egypt, 1,032 years since the anointment of David and his obtaining the kingship over Israel, in the sixty-fifth week Daniel had prophesied, 752 years after the founding of Rome, in the year 42 of the reign of Caesar Augustus,[93] when most of the world was at peace, at the point of midnight, when everything was extremely silent **[L18b]** and the Blessed Virgin was in contemplative worship, an astonishing joy came into her heart. She cast her eyes to the ground and saw Jesus born before her, and she heard the first sound he made crying like other infants. She threw herself before him on the ground and worshipped him like an object of veneration, with eyes filled with tears and a heart full of joy because she saw him clothed in humanity, and she was acceptable to be his mother. She got up, sat down, and, just like a mother, took him in her lap and kissed him and venerated him like someone who had known him for such a long time. She wrapped him in clothing she had brought in accordance with her poverty and placed him in the animals' manger since there was no other place, and she was amazed by God's willing such a wretched and lowly place for such a son.

Joseph was present for all these things that have been mentioned, and he helped in all the necessary things insofar as he was able, and he was sorry for her, who deserved so many things, when he saw her in such a ruined and poverty-stricken place. At that time, angels came down from heaven, singing and glorifying God, and they said, "Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will."[94] Aside from this, they offered thousands of other praises. **[L19a]** Blessed Mary heard this and joined them in praise in her heart. Gabriel went out from among them to inform the people of the surrounding areas. He came to a group of shepherds who were keeping watch over their flocks, and suddenly a great light shone upon them. The shepherds were afraid. Gabriel said, "Fear not. I give you tidings of great joy that shall be for all men, because today a savior for you has been born, that is Christ the Lord, in David's city. Go, and the sign shall be that you will find a babe wrapped in swaddling clothes and placed in a manger."[95] At this time, a host of angels appeared, praising the Lord and saying, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace toward men of good will."[96] After this, they went away into heaven, singing, and the shepherds, amazed, said to one another, "Let us go to Bethlehem and see that which has come to pass and which

91. Father Jerome reveals his Catholic convictions and takes the opportunity to condemn female physical pleasure, associating it with pain.

92. The idea that the labor was painless seems to have been taken from Isaiah 66:7: "Before she was in labor, she brought forth; before her time came to be delivered, she brought forth a man child." Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:39 no. 6, also mentions it.

93. This succession of numbers is taken from *The Roman Martyrologe* for December 25 in the "Proclamation of the Birth of Christ," traditionally recited at or near the beginning of the midnight Mass on Christmas Eve.

94. Luke 2:14.

95. Luke 2:10–12.

96. Luke 2:14.

God has shown us."[97] Then they went in haste and saw Mary and Joseph and found the babe in the manger [Cat. no. VII]. Seeing him, they realized that he was the Messiah, and they understood he was the one of whom the angel had spoken. Mary contemplated everything and kept in her heart what she saw and heard. The shepherds went back to their place and thanked God for what they had seen and heard. **[L19b]** Other shepherds of the same group came to see the newborn Messiah.

All this that has been said came to pass on that night in Bethlehem. Before we proceed, let us say a little something by way of summary of what appeared with this birth, which Christians measure with the scale of contemplation and softness of heart. Just as this child did not come to be in his mother's womb as other children do, through the agency of a man, but rather by means of God's favor, without any diminution in the girl's virginity, **[ASI.11]** so too at the time of birth was she singled out for special favor. Firstly, he did not give the mother the birth pangs that were given to Eve and her daughters for the shame of her sin.[98] The Virgin suffered no pain at all but rather experienced spiritual joy and comfort. Secondly, the mother's womb came through without any damage to her virginity and thus remained intact without any opening being made, and he emerged as the rays of the sun pass through glass, without tearing anything. Although this son wanted to be like humans in everything and to suffer pains, in this instance he wanted to be born as a god. His mother remained pure and intact as she had been, and he gives this joy and rank to his mother because she would suffer so many pains on his account, **[L20a]** and he distinguishes her over all women in that she was a virgin who was also a mother and she was a mother who remained a virgin. As the son combined two quite contradictory things in himself, divinity and humanity, so also were motherhood and virginity combined in his mother, something that had never occurred in any creature before.[99] Therefore Holy Mary remained a virgin.

A fountain of olive oil appears in Rome

At the time of the birth, before the birth, and after the birth, that night two strange things happened.[100] One was that at the very instant at which Jesus was born in Bethlehem, in the city of Rome a fountain of olive oil appeared and flowed down to the sea.[101] It remained for several days, and it was a sign that the Messiah, the font of mercy who remedies the needs of the needy and heals the sick, had been born into the world.

The sibyl sees the newborn Jesus

Secondly, since Octavius Caesar was victorious and ruled over the world in peace, harmony, and security, in token of this the doors of the temple of his special god, Janus, the god of opening and closing affairs, especially the conduct of warfare, were kept closed.[102] The doors had originally been kept open **[ASI.13]** as a sign that there was no peace, and when general peace occurred and warfare ended, the doors were closed amidst general rejoicing, and the people passed their time in calm and comfort. The people attributed the welfare to the felicity and goodness of the ruler of the time, and therefore they believed that this Caesar was worthy of being worshipped. With this in mind, they went to him to submit themselves to him as his worshippers, but since he was a just and moderate man and knew that every human is mortal, he would never agree that they should worship him as an immortal god, but the more he rejected the idea, the more they insisted. Since they were serious in their intentions, Caesar summoned a sibyl, which is what a woman was called who could inform of hidden things and foretell the future, and asked her, "What can you do about this affair? Ponder well. Is there anyone in the world who will be greater than I?" She said, "On

97. Luke 2:15.

98. Perhaps based on Genesis 3:16.

99. Father Jerome is exploiting what he perhaps considered to be a contradiction: Muslims deny the divinity of Christ yet accept Mary's virginity.

100. Father Jerome here describes not two but five "strange things" related to Jesus's birth.

101. The site of the olive oil fountain is traditionally ascribed to the location of the Church of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome. It is mentioned by Eusebius, *Chronicle* II, Olympics 185, and later reproduced by St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, vol. 3, 3, 36, 3, and Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:40 no. 6.

102. The doors to the Temple of Janus were closed after Augustus defeated Anthony and Cleopatra in 29 B.C., to symbolize that Rome was at peace.

that day I will give you an answer."[103] **[ASI.14]** She left and occupied herself with God. On the promised day, which was the ninth day, Caesar assembled the grandees of Rome in his house to hear what she would say. The sibyl came, took Caesar into a corner, and revealed to him what she had seen: at midday she had seen a golden circle around the sun, and in the midst of the circle was a beautiful maiden full of light holding a child to her breast. She revealed this to Caesar and said, "This child will be greater than you. Therefore, do you worship him."[104] Then all the men who had gathered **[L21a]** in the house heard a loud voice saying, "This is the altar of heaven."[105] He was astonished by **[2005.145.6b]** what appeared and what he heard. He declined their suggestion and thanked them for the affection they displayed for him. At that time, they did not understand what was meant by this sign, but a little while later it became known, for by observation of the time, they found that it was the very day Jesus Christ was born of the Blessed Virgin. In the very house of Caesar in which what has been mentioned happened a church was constructed after the passage of time, and now the fathers of the Order of St. Francis live in that house, and the church is now called Santa Maria Ara Coeli, the translation of which is "Holy Mary, Altar of Heaven."[106] She is called "altar" because, just as sacrifices to God are placed on an altar, through Mary we offer good acts of worship that God may better accept them.

That same day, at midnight, in that same city of Rome, something else strange happened. In that city, a large and extremely elaborate temple had been built and dedicated to the god of peace, and it was named the House of Peace. They asked one of the deities, whose name was Apollo and through whom Satan gave answers, how long the temple would remain. He answered, "It will remain until the time **[L21b]** when a girl, despite being a virgin, gives birth."[107] Since they knew that this was impossible, they believed that the temple would stand forever and carved on a stone slab on the face of the temple: "The House of Eternal Peace."[108] Now it happened that on the very night on which our Lord Jesus was born it collapsed altogether, and thus it was shown that what had seemed so impossible had come to be through Holy Mary's giving birth.

That same day, three extremely brilliant suns appeared in the kingdom of Spain, and after a time they came together and became one.[109] Sages say that this was a sign that the person who would teach the world with all brilliance had been born, for God the Omnipotent is three persons and only one essence.[110]

On the very night on which Jesus was born, an extremely bright cloud appeared in another part of Spain and illuminated the night like day.[111] This is what was witnessed at the birth of Jesus.

When Christ was born in the city of Bethlehem, as I have said, the king of most of the world and the king of the Children of Israel was Augustus Caesar, and in particular, by the favor of Caesar, Herod ruled over the kingdom of the Jews. In this what the prophet Jacob had said to his son Judah at the time of his death came true, for he said, "The rule of the Children of Israel will not depart the tribe of Judah and his offspring until **[L22a]** he who is to come comes, and he is the one expected by the nations."[112] This was a reference to the Messiah, and although many years had passed during which the Jews had no king of their own and they had been captive to Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, for a long time, and thereafter they fell captive to the Romans, nonetheless, even in the time of Nebuchadnezzar and during the ascendency of the Romans, the offspring of Judah had, with the permission of the emperors, ruled over the Children of Israel, until Herod became king. Herod was a foreigner to this land. His father was of the land of

103. A slightly different version is presented by Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:40 no. 6.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid. An interesting reference to the Franciscans, who were also present in Portuguese India. Following a papal bull of 1249–50, the Church of Santa Maria Ara Coeli was attributed to that religious order.

107. Ibid., 1:38 no. 6.

108. "Templum Pacis Aeternum," in Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:39 no. 6. According to legend, this is where the Church of Santa Maria Nuova in Rome stands today.

109. Reproduced by Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, vol. 3, 3, 36, 3. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:40 no. 6, mentions the appearance of the three suns but in the East.

110. A reference to the three Persons of the Trinity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—who are one (essence), God.

111. Unidentified source. It might have been a Spanish legend.

112. Variation on Genesis 49:10.

Idumaean, and his mother was an Arab.[113] He was given the title of king by the Roman emperor for various services rendered, and the land of Judah was settled upon him. He was married to Mariamne, the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, who had been ethnarch of the Jews. In order to marry her, he had had himself circumcised and converted to the religion of the Jews. Some time passed, and then he had her killed on a charge. With that, the kingdom passed solely to him, who was a foreigner. It was then that Christ was born, as the prophet Jacob had prophesied.[114]

The circumcision of Christ

On the eighth day of Christ's birth, they wanted to carry out the commandment God had given the Children of Israel through Moses and, prior to that, through Abraham and all his children **[L22b]**, that infants be circumcised on the eighth day of their birth. So too was he circumcised, and he was named Jesus.[115] This is the name the angel had spoken before he came to be in his mother's womb. Although it was God's will that Christ abolish circumcision, he still willed that Christ be circumcised, to show the rightness of this ancient custom and so that it would be apparent that Christ wanted to abolish it, not because it was wrong, but because the term of this obligation had come to an end. It was also in order that the Jews would not consider him as a foreigner or as someone without religion, for among them it was established that anyone who was not circumcised was not a man of God. Therefore, until such time as Christ taught his own religion fully, he would live in accordance with the religion of the Pentateuch, and in this he would show himself like the others in order to win the hearts of the Children of Israel.

The coming of the Three Kings to worship Christ

On the fifth day after the circumcision, there arrived in search of the infant three kings **[ASI.83]** who had set out from the east in all haste, following the star that rose on the day of the birth, and thus it was that, at the very instant when Jesus was born, there appeared in the sky an extremely brilliant star that was so bright and beautiful **[L23a]** that it made many people in the land of the Arabs, which was east of Jerusalem, wonder. From the time of Moses it had been known that a messiah would be born in the land of Judea and that the sign would be that at that very time a star connected to the land of the Children of Israel would appear. This had been foretold by Balaam, whom the people considered a prophet. Through him, the things of God had appeared to them, and the translation of his word is this: "Balaam, the son of Beor, has said [and] the man the brightness of whose eyes has been taken away has said, 'He has said, which heard the words of God and knew the knowledge of the most High, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open: I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh; there shall come a star out of Jacob, and the kingdom of the Children of Israel shall be taken away, and the commanders of Moab shall be destroyed, and it shall overthrow the children of Sheth.' "[116] In this he explained that when the king of Israel would be born, he would destroy the powers of Satan, this world, and the body, for which he uses Moab and Sheth as symbols, and a new star would appear in the sky. Therefore, there was always talk among them of the coming of a messiah king of Israel, and they were expecting this when they noticed in their sleepless nights that a star had appeared, and thus they were informed of the event. Through God's inspiration, three wise kings in Arabia knew that the Messiah for whom the people were waiting had been born. Although they were kings, they spent most of their time becoming learned and well read because, since at that time they achieved kingship through erudition, they preferred being learned and well read to being called kings. At the very time **[2005.145.5a]** the star appeared, each of them set forth. They met by chance and informed each other of their quest, and they set out on fleet-footed camels with the star they had seen guiding them [Cat. no. VIII]. Day and night **[2005.145.5b]**, it went before them, and its brilliance was such that they could see it despite the sun. When they arrived near Jerusalem, which they thought

113. According to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 14:121, Herod's mother, Cypros, was from an illustrious Arab family.

114. Unlike Muslims, Catholics consider Jacob a patriarch rather than a prophet.

115. This elaboration seems to have been intended for his Muslim audience.

116. Variation on Numbers 24:15–17.

to be the birthplace of the king, the star went away. The reason for the disappearance of the star was so that there would be a reason to ask about it and find out from the Jews what had happened. Therefore, they entered the city with all their retinue and asked, "Where is the king of the Jews who has been born and whose star we have seen in the East? We come with gifts to worship him."[117] **[L24a]** Since they were kings and foreigners and were asking about something so novel, it was reported to King Herod, and he invited them to his house. Hearing the reason they had come, he was troubled. Since the people followed the king's footsteps, the entire city was as upset as he was. Suspecting that the child might be the Messiah, Herod assembled the wise men of the religion and asked them where the Messiah would be born. They all said unanimously, "In Bethlehem. Thus it is written in the books of the prophets: 'O Bethlehem in the land of Judah, you are not small among the princes of Judah, because out of you will come a ruler who will rule my people Israel.' "[118] Therefore, Herod summoned those three kings and questioned them about the time they had seen the star. Giving them permission to go to Bethlehem, he said, "Go, search, ask in all earnestness, and let me know so that I too can go and worship him."[119] They set forth for Bethlehem, and when they had gone outside the city, the star that had disappeared reappeared and went before them.

Finding Christ in Bethlehem

Led by it, they reached Bethlehem, which is three leagues from Jerusalem. When the star reached the house in which the child was, it stopped, and they too stopped and rejoiced greatly, **[L34b]** believing that the one they were seeking was there, because the star's stopping was a sign of that. However, they wondered how it could be that a king of such greatness that the stars were in his service could be in such a humble place. They waited to see what the star would do, but it did not move at all. They dismounted to go inside the house. If they had been amazed outside, they were even more amazed when they entered and found a miserable place in ruins, ill suited as shelter. At this point, Joseph came up to them, and when they asked him, he told them that the child was there. Then they went to the place where Blessed Mary was. Finally, they found the child and they wondered, for everything they saw amazed them: they saw the smallness of the place, its crumbling state, only one servant, the room adorned with spider webs, a stable for a king's cradle, and, finally, **[2005.145.7a]** a manger and other such things. They saw a girl around fifteen years old, but as soon as they saw her they understood. In all humility, they told her why they had come and what their intention was, and they insisted that she show them the blessed child whom they had come from far away, led by the star, to see and worship. Mary showed him to them, and as soon as their gazes **[L25a]** fell upon the child's blessed face, they recognized by God's special inspiration that this was the one they were seeking. They fell on their faces and prostrated themselves before him, as they would to their lord, and **[2005.145.7b]** worshipped him in all humility [Cat. no. IX]. **[ASI.69]** They had brought oblations, which they placed before him, and they had brought three things, gold, frankincense, and myrrh. Each one placed his gift, and thus the Wise Men showed what they had comprehended. With the frankincense they acknowledged his divinity, for frankincense is only offered as a sacrifice to God. In the myrrh was a sign that he was human and mortal,[120] and the gold was a sign that he was a king and lord. After that, they spoke to the Virgin of such a blessed child and explained what they had learned of him by inspiration from God, and from Blessed Mary and the pure Joseph they heard the secrets of the Messiah's coming with great joy and comfort to the soul. They remained there only a short time because an angel had told them to return home and not to go back to Herod. Requesting leave of Blessed Mary and praying for blessings upon the child, they promised to be in his service and to give everyone the news of what they had seen, and departed with peace of mind and went to their own kingdoms **[ASI.70]** without going to Jerusalem, precisely as the angel had commanded. These three kings were learned, especially in the science

117. Matthew 2:2, excluding "with gifts."
118. Matthew 2:5–6, quoting Micah 5:2.
119. Matthew 2:8.
120. An allusion to the fact that myrrh was used in burials: John 19:39.

of mathematics. Their names were Melchior, Caspar, and Balthasar.[121]

After the Lord Jesus ascended into heaven and his Apostles dispersed over the earth, the twelfth Apostle, Thomas by name, went to their realm and preached the Gospel of Christ. He baptized those three, meaning he washed them with pure water, as is commanded in the Gospel. Since many people in their realms entered the religion of Jesus and became Christians, he made these three bishops, meaning religious commanders, because they had abandoned their kingdoms and given everything to the poor that they might live better in a state of poverty for the King of Kings,[122] whom they had seen in such poverty, which he had chosen for the sake of men and to teach them. After their deaths, their bodies were taken to Istanbul,[123] from there to Milan, and from there to the city of Cologne, **[ASI.71]** and until now they are there, and the people maintain their tombs with great veneration.[124]

These kings arrived on the thirteenth day after Christ's birth, and the prophets of God had foretold their coming, and that is in the seventy-first chapter of Psalms, where David says,[125] speaking of the Messiah:[126] "The kings of the Arabs and Sheba shall offer gifts, and the kings of the earth shall fall down before him."[127] The prophet Isaiah said in the sixtieth chapter: "Arise, shine, O Jerusalem; for the light **[L26a]** is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee. And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy birth. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side. Then thou shalt see, and flow together, and thine heart shall be enlarged: because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces **[ASI.72]** of the Gentiles shall come unto thee. The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense; and they shall shew forth the praises of the Lord."[128] And it happened as he foretold.

As was commanded by the religion that infants be circumcised on the eighth day, it was also commanded that every mother who gave birth to a son not leave her house for forty days, while any who gave birth to a daughter should not go outside for eighty days.[129] When the period was completed, she purified herself to go to the temple and make a sacrifice to God for herself. It was also commanded that every newborn male be taken and entrusted to God at the temple as a sign that he was given to Him, and in return for five talents[130] he could be redeemed from God. The reason for the command was to commemorate the time in the land of Egypt when God killed all newborn males so that after this punishment Pharaoh would let the Children of Israel go to the land that Moses wanted to take them to by God's command. Therefore, in order to carry out these two commands, Blessed Mary went to the temple, **[ASI.73]** taking her son with her, and did what was necessary, making a sacrifice, in accordance with the law of the Pentateuch,[131] of two pigeons or two pairs of doves.[132]

At that time, there was an old man among the priests named Simeon, a just, righteous, God-fearing man who was waiting for the relief of the Children of Israel, and

121. The names of the Magi are not found in the canonical Gospels but only in later literature, including Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:79 no. 14.

122. The expression "King of Kings" is found in Revelation 19:16, but Father Jerome was certainly aware of the weight that such a title carried in Islamic lands.

123. Using the modern name of the Ottoman capital, Father Jerome reveals his pragmatic approach to politics. Although the conquest of Jerusalem had happened a century and a half earlier, in 1453, in the early seventeenth century Europeans were still contemplating a possible attempt to reconquer it.

124. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:84 no. 15. The Reliquary of the Three Kings (*Dreikönigsschrein*) in the Cathedral of Cologne is said to contain their bones. In 344 it was taken from Constantinople to Milan, and in 1164 to Cologne.

125. Father Jerome, like Jews and Muslims, follows a long tradition of attributing the Psalms to David.

126. Psalm 71:10–11 (72:10–11) speaks of Solomon and not of Jesus. Father Jerome cleverly appropriated it to fit his purposes.

127. Psalm 71:10–11 (72:10–11).

128. Isaiah 60:1–6.

129. According to Leviticus 12:2–5.

130. The use of New Testament coinages is unusual, as Father Jerome normally replaced these with more familiar denominations.

131. Leviticus 12:6–8. The sacrifice of doves or pigeons was for those who could not afford a lamb: Leviticus 12:8.

132. Luke 2:24.

the Holy Ghost was with him. Since he had perceived that the sign the ancient prophets had given for the coming of the Messiah had arrived, he was constantly expecting to see him with his own eyes. God accepted his prayers and told him, "You will not see death until you see the Messiah with your own eyes."[133] The manner in which he received this inspiration was as follows: Simeon was a wise man and a teacher of the Jews, and he gave lessons in God's books in a school in Jerusalem. He came to these words in Isaiah: "The virgin shall conceive and bear a son."[134] Since he realized, after reflection on the Hebrew writing, that by the word "virgin" it meant that a maiden would give birth in a state of virginity, he fell into doubt and pondered how it could be that a virgin give birth with her virginity intact. **[L27a]** He thought that it must be a scribal error and, lest **[ASI.74]** it be a source of error for his pupils, he corrected it so they would not have to understand from those letters that a virgin would give birth with her virginity intact. When he went to the school the next day, he found the word he had scratched out as it had been. Again he scratched it out. The next day, he found it again as it had been. Three times this happened, and since he was God-fearing and righteous, he pleaded with God to reveal to him the hidden mystery. After a time, an angel appeared to him and chided him, saying, "Why did you make a correction in God's writings? However, since you did it with good intention, He has not sent down torment upon you but rather informs you that, behold, truly a virgin shall give birth in a state of virginity."[135] The angel also said, "You shall see with your own eyes the Virgin and the Christ before you die."[136] He rejoiced in what he had seen and heard and regretted what he had done, and he was waiting for the one in whom lay his hopes for the salvation of the Children of Israel.

Therefore, on the day they took the child to the temple, he went to the temple, **[2005.145.8a]** entered, and was wondering where he would see the one who was sought. He saw the mother and child [Cat. no. X]. Although they came in like poor persons, he recognized them and went to Mary and spoke to her, congratulating her, in all politeness and with tears in his eyes, for such a blessed child, and he began to offer praise **[2005.145.8b]** in thanks for having his hopes fulfilled. With permission from the Blessed Virgin he took the precious child in his arms and, praising God in all humility and tenderness of heart, he said, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word. For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, Which thou has prepared before the face of all people: A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel."[137] And he gave other praises to God, the Christ, and his mother, and he called down blessings on the mother and son. In the manner of priests, he informed the mother of what would come to pass and happen to her son, and he said, "This child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign, which shall be spoken against."[138] The meaning of these words is that he would overthrow the proud and raise the humble and that sinners and most people would oppose his regency and religion, particularly the Jews, who would lie in wait for him to kill him. And he said, **[ASI.77]** "A sword shall pierce through thy own soul,"[139] as a sign that much suffering would afflict her and she would suffer great sadness and heartbreak.

At the same time, there came a pious woman named Anna, whom the people called a prophetess.[140] She was the daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Aser. At this time she was eighty-four years old. She had lived with her husband for seven years in her youth. After that, she became a widow and never left the temple. She was constant in her prayers and fasting and service **[L28a]**

133. Luke 2:26.

134. Isaiah 7:14.

135. The episode derives from a tradition in the Eastern Orthodox Church. St. Simeon is believed to have been one of those chosen to translate the Bible from Hebrew into the Koine Greek version known as the Septuagint. When he reached a verse in Isaiah 7:14 ("Behold, a virgin shall conceive"), he hesitated and with a knife scratch out the word "virgin" only to replace it with "young woman." It was then that the angel appeared to him, giving rise to the version of the episode narrated by Father Jerome.

136. A rewriting of Luke 2:26, which does not include a reference to the Virgin.

137. Luke 2:29–32, also known as the *Nunc dimittis*, the Canticle of Simeon.

138. Luke 2:34.

139. Luke 2:35.

140. The account of Anna, the prophetess, is found in Luke 2:36–38, and closely follows that in the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew, chap. 15.

to God day and night. It is the belief of people that she taught girls who were brought up in the temple, and among them she had also raised Blessed Mary and spoken often to her. Since she had discovered by God's grace that the Messiah would come from her, this pious woman also came at that time. She recognized the Messiah and praised God highly, informing those who were waiting that this was the Christ. In commemoration of this great mystery, a holiday was observed in great joy in the city of Istanbul[141] in the time of Justinian the Great, **[ASI.78]** the emperor who was around five hundred and seventy years after the birth of Jesus. The reason is as follows: in that city innumerable people were dying, and no remedy could be discovered. Incapable of finding a remedy, they took Blessed Mary as intercessor and vowed that if they were delivered of the plague they would make this day a holiday, and at once the plague went away.[142] They proclaimed it a holiday, and the practice spread to other cities. The manner in which it is celebrated is that Christians gather, each holding a lighted candle after the chief padre[143] has blessed it and given it to each one, and, in perfect arrangement, they either go from one church to another or circle around a church in commemoration of the movement the Virgin, Joseph, Anna, Simeon, and others made when they carried the Christ into the temple to offer him to God, in accordance with their religion. The lighted candles that they hold are signs **[ASI.79]** of the living faith they have in Jesus.[144]

Christ goes to Egypt

When this command had been carried out,[145] the Virgin and Joseph set out with their child for Nazareth, their city, and in Jerusalem it remained on tongues that the Messiah had been born. They remained in their home for only a short time because an angel came from heaven and told Joseph, "Arise and take the child and his mother and flee to Egypt. Stay there until such time as I tell you, for Herod will kill many to find the child and kill it."[146] Joseph did thus and took the child and his mother to Egypt in all secrecy and remained there for seven years. Of this flight, the prophet Jeremiah had said, addressing the Messiah: "Why are you a traveler in a strange land?"[147] And Isaiah said: "Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt; and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence,"[148] and thus it was.[149] Although the people did not recognize the child for what he was, Joseph and Mary knew him as he should be known, and they were astonished by his immaculateness and goodness to them, and although they lived as strangers, **[L29a]** some of the people loved them very much and consorted with them. Near the city of Memphis, which is now called Cairo, is a spring where the Blessed Virgin Mary washed the babe's diapers and from which they sated their thirst.

The appearance of balsam

Of the land from which comes balsam, which is prized throughout the world, it has been written that when the inhabitants of that land wanted to make a large garden, they planted many balsam trees, but those trees bore no fruit, until they thought that if the water in which Jesus's diapers had been washed were brought to those trees they would bare fruit. Therefore, they joined the water channel of that garden to the one that came from the Messiah's spring into one channel, and then it came about that when the trees were watered by that water they bore fruit.[150]

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141. See n. 123 above.

142. Father Jerome is presumably referring to the bubonic plague, which afflicted large parts of the Byzantine Empire in 541–42.

143. *Padre*, the Portuguese word for priest, is still in use in the subcontinent.

144. "Candles lighted in the churches" were recommended and praised by Saint Ignatius of Loyola in his *Text of Spiritual Exercises* 358, "Rules to have the True Sentiment in the Church," no. 6.

145. One of the rare occasions in which Father Jerome is not explicit in his reference; it is unclear in the text to which command he is alluding.

146. Matthew 2:13.

147. Jeremiah 14:8.

148. Isaiah 19:1.

149. According to the Gospel of Pseudo–Matthew, chaps. 22–23, when Mary and Jesus entered a temple called the Capitol of Egypt, the 355 idols there "prostrated themselves on the ground" and were "broken into pieces."

150. This seems to be a more elaborate version of apparently the same miracle narrated in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Savior, chap. 24.

The slaughter of the innocents

[ASI.59] Herod was waiting and expecting the arrival of the kings from the east, and when they did not come to him he thought they had searched but not found him and in shame had taken a different route. At this point, he had a dispute with his sons. He went to Rome in search of Caesar and returned after making peace. Along the way, he was informed that the Three Kings, telling of what they had seen, had boarded a ship and gone to their kingdoms. Distressed by this news, Herod ordered the ships burned, and when he arrived in Jerusalem he set out in search of the child. When he learned that he had been brought to the temple and that some people had borne witness that he was the Messiah and praised him, he saw that it was necessary to remedy the situation without delay and not allow the child to grow up. He therefore ordered that in Bethlehem and the surroundings every infant less than two years old be killed. Thus it was carried out with all hardheartedness, despite the great distress and weeping of the mothers, relatives, and everyone. It went so far that his own son, who was being raised near Bethlehem, was killed in the process, without it being known **[ASI. 60]** that it was his son. Thus it was that Octavius Caesar in Rome, when he learned of this slaughter, said as a joke, "In Herod's house pigs are safer than sons"[151]—meaning that since he was a Jew he would not order a pig to be killed but he killed his own son. It was never known how many infants were slaughtered, but it was ascertained that many were killed, since all who had not completed their second year were killed in that land, and in his precaution he was not content to have only the one-year-olds killed. These children who were killed for the sake of Jesus are reckoned among the saints, and Christians hold them in great veneration. Previously, the prophet Jeremiah had said: "In the time of the Messiah in the land of Rachel (that is, in the land of Bethlehem, because Rachel's tomb is there) there will be much weeping and moaning among mothers for the death of their sons without there being consolation."[152] **[L30a]** This act of tyranny on Herod's part did not go without retribution from God, because a short time later he suffered agonies in that kingdom and endured great lesions and strange pains. Despite so many physicians, he found no remedy, and **[ASI.61]** it was so bad that in the end he killed himself with a knife in the agony of pain, and the people found relief.[153] His son named Archelaus succeeded him and adopted the title of king, and with him ended the kingdom of Jerusalem because thereafter the Romans did not allow anyone in Jerusalem to adopt the title of king.

Christ returns from Egypt

At this time Joseph, the Virgin, and the child were in Egypt, as has been said. One night, an angel said to Joseph in a dream, "Return to your land, for Herod, who was seeking to kill the child, has died."[154] With this good news they left Egypt, leaving behind the goodness and purity of the friends and well-wishers with whom they had consorted. With these words came true what God had said through the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah: "I called my son out of Egypt."[155] When Joseph entered his country with Mary and the child, he saw that Herod's son Archelaus was king in Jerusalem, and he feared lest he in his kingship had inherited his father's tyranny. In accordance with the angel's words, he went to Nazareth, a dependency of Galilee, as has been said, and there the child was nurtured until he had grown up, **[ASI.62]** and every day he showed himself greater, and he was more pleasing to the people, and their love for him increased.

Christ debates with Jewish scholars in the temple

At this point, Joseph and the Virgin were in Nazareth, but they did not consider themselves exempt from going to Jerusalem for the holy days because, since they were so righteous and God-fearing, they performed all the obligations of religion. Among those obligations was for the people to go from every part of the kingdom of the Children of Israel to Jerusalem three times every year,

151. The phrase appears as early as the fifth century: Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 2:4.11. It is reproduced in a number of later texts, including Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:58 no. 10.

152. Variation on Jeremiah 31:15.

153. Not according to Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 17:8.1, who states that he was prevented from doing so.

154. Matthew 2:20.

155. Father Jerome's words closely follow Hosea 11:1 rather than Jeremiah. Jeremiah 43:2, however, advises the people "Go not into Egypt, to dwell there."

namely, on the three great holy days, to worship in the temple. Those holidays are, first, Passover, which is in the month of Farvardin, in commemoration of the time when the Children of Israel came out so miraculously from the land of Egypt. Second is the Feast of the Pentecost, which is fifty days after the above-mentioned holiday and is in commemoration of the day when God gave Moses the Pentateuch on Mount Sinai with such awesomeness.[156] Third is the Feast of Encænia, which means "newness"; it is in the month of Adhar,[157] after the Children of Israel came out of Babylon and rebuilt the temple by order of Cyrus, the king of Babylon,[158] and consecrated it to God in their fashion. For a long time, this temple was safe until, after the death of Alexander the Great, Antiochus, who is also called Epiphanes,[159] came to power. This man was cruel and tyrannical. He ordered idols set up and sacrifices made in that pure temple, and he also ordered that on one side of the temple there be fair-cheeked boys with whom anyone who so desired could perform abominations, **[L31a]** and many people went to the temple for evil. The Jews were greatly distressed by this until someone named Judas Maccabee rose up in fanaticism and many men gathered around him. He fought battles and attained victory and cast the abominations out of the temple. In order to purify it, he did many things, destroying the altar and rebuilding it anew. He also ordered a festival to be celebrated at this time. During these three holidays, the Children of Israel came from all directions to Jerusalem, and Joseph, as was his custom, also went.

When the child was twelve years old, it happened **[ASI.64]** that they took him along too. After completing their worship, they turned homeward. Without their knowledge, the child remained in Jerusalem, and the reason they were unaware was that when the Jews went for holidays, when they reached the appointed place in the temple, the women separated themselves from the men, and each group went its separate way. Until the age of fourteen, children were free to accompany their mothers or their fathers. Therefore, when Joseph and Mary parted company, each thought that the child was with the other. They proceeded thus for a full day, until night fell and they rejoined each other and learned that the boy had gone off at the beginning of the day. Worried, they spent the entire night frantically searching for him among their relatives, and acquaintances also looked for him but failed to find him. There was nothing to do but turn back to Jerusalem, and there they found him on the third day. During the two or three days that the boy had been separated from his mother, he had been in need of shelter and sustenance, and these two he obtained as a poor person. He spent the night in the lodging for the poor and got enough food by begging to sustain him. On the third day, Mary went to the temple and found the boy seated among the learned men, asking and answering questions, and they were discussing the coming of the Messiah, for every day reports of his coming were growing louder, and the signs of which the ancient prophets had written were appearing. The blessed child joined them in all politeness and humility, listened to their various words, and in all humility began to ask them about things, quoting from the prophets to support his claims in such a way that they were made to wonder, and he gave such learned responses that they were dumbfounded. He was in the midst of this discussion when his mother saw him and experienced relief. She thanked God greatly and tarried for a time until the session was finished and the learned men returned to their houses praising the child, and many were convinced of the coming of the Messiah from the quotations and points he adduced. **[ASI.66]** The child, too,

156. Pentecost (πεντηκοστή) is the Greek rendering of the Hebrew שָׁבוּעוֹת *šəbhūʿōth* (weeks), which falls seven weeks after the second day of Passover.

157. The holiday described here is חנוכה, *Ḥanūkkah*, which means "inauguration" and celebrates the rededication of the temple after its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes. It occurs between late November and late December, the Persian month of Adhar. However, the third of the three major pilgrimage festivals is Succoth, not Hanukkah. The only reference to Hanukkah in the New Testament is John 10:22: "And it was at the feast of the dedication at Jerusalem: and it was winter." The Greek and Latin texts both have the Greek name for Hanukkah: Ἐγένετο τότε τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις· χειμὼν ἦν, "*Facta sunt autem Encænia in Ierosolymis: et hiems erat*."

158. A curious expression: Cyrus was the Persian king who allowed the Jews to leave Babylon in 539 B.C. Since Babylon had been conquered by the Persians, Cyrus could be called the king of Babylon by extension.

159. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Seleucid ruler (175–164 B.C.).

went to the place where his mother was waiting. In all joy the mother clasped him to her breast and said, **[L32a]** "My son, why have you done this to us? Your father and I have been worried looking for you."[160] He called Joseph his father because at that time he considered him his father. The blessed child replied, "Why were you looking for me? Didn't you know that I had to be occupied with the things of my father?"[161] This is the first speech recorded of Jesus in the Gospel, and in this he shows that he would abandon everything, even the happiness of such a mother, to seek the pleasure of his father, God. He accompanied them to Nazareth, and there he obeyed his mother and Joseph, and the older he grew the better he showed himself and the more people were attracted to him. Since he was raised in Nazareth, he was called Nazarene, as the prophets had said[162] of him that he would be called Nazarene.[163] Thus it is that his followers are called *Naṣrānī,* as well as *ʿĪsavī*, from *ʿĪsā* (Jesus), **[ASI.67]** and Christians, from Christ.[164] During his childhood and youth, he spent his time in acts of worship and abstinence, and he was obedient to his mother and Joseph, who was outwardly his father. When Jesus was fifteen years old, Augustus Caesar died and Tiberias Caesar succeeded him. Until Christ was nearly thirty years old, he never taught or called men to religion.

PART TWO: HIS MIRACLES AND TEACHINGS

When the time came for him to reveal himself, God willed that first John should come out of the wilderness, where he had spent five years by himself in spiritual exercise, to teach the people so they would recognize the Messiah. In the fifteenth year of Tiberias Caesar's rule, when the governor of Judaea was Pontius Pilate, and in Galilee was Herod, in Ituria and the province of Trachonia was Philip, Herod's brother, in Abilene was Lysanias, and in Jerusalem the high priests were Annas and Caiaphas, God's command came to John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness, saying, **[ASI.68]** "Come and teach the people to repent and return to God,"[165] as Isaiah had written.[166] So John came forth in clothing of camel's hair, with a long beard, long hair hanging over his body, very thin and lean, his cheeks sunken in, a leather girdle around his waist, bareheaded and barefoot [Cat. no. XI]. Seeing him like this inspired awe. His food was locusts and wild honey. Although he was only thirty years old, he was so thin and emaciated that he looked old. He went to the banks of the Jordan and began teaching the people and saying, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is nigh."[167] He spoke with such authority and impressiveness and looked so strange that word spread and people of all sorts came flocking to him, soldiers, merchants, farmers, the learned, priests, and property owners, and he gave advice to each in accordance with his condition. His conduct and speech were such that he made an impression on people's hearts, and everyone who turned to God and confessed **[L33a]** his sins he would baptize in the water of the river as a token that God would wash his soul **[private collection, Europe, 2a]** and pardon him. To the Pharisees, who came to him to be baptized he would say, "O offspring of vipers, who told you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth fruits more suitable and do not say, 'Within ourselves we have a father, Abraham.' Truly I say to you that God possesses the ability to create for Abraham sons from these stones. Of course, an ax is laid on the roots of the trees: every tree that does not bear good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire."[168] A group of people asked him, "What should we do?" He replied, saying, "Whoever has two suits of clothing should give one to him who has none, and whoever has food should do likewise."[169]

160. Luke 2:48. The preceding narrative is a major elaboration upon Luke 2:42–48.

161. Luke 2:49.

162. This is possibly a reference to Isaiah 11:1: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root." Jesse was David's father, hence a Nazarene.

163. Matthew 2:23.

164. *Naṣrānī* and *ʿĪsavī* are the two common designations for Christians in Indo–Persian. *Kiristiyān* is an importation from Portuguese.

165. Variation on Matthew 3:2–3.

166. Isaiah 40:3.

167. Matthew 3:2 and 4:17; Mark 1:15.

168. Matthew 3:7–10.

169. Luke 3:10–11.

Moneylenders also came to be baptized, and they said, "O teacher, what should we do?"[170] To them he replied, "Do not oppress anyone, and do not beat anyone, but forgive them, and you will be content."[171] When the nation had doubts about him, and everyone thought to himself that he might be the Messiah, John replied, [**ASI.75**] saying, "I am he who baptizes you as a sign of repentance, but soon there will come after me one who is mightier and more precious than I, whose shoe laces I am not worthy to unloose. He in whose hand is the winnowing fan and who will purge his harvest and gather his wheat into his bags and burn the chaff in a fire that does not die will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire."[172] In this manner did he teach the nation. His renown grew great, and everyone spoke of him. Since the sages and the priests of Jerusalem, who heard and saw such things of him, were expecting the Messiah, due to his reputation, which had grown among the people, and due to the fulfillment of those things which the former prophets had said of him, they thought that he might be the Messiah, because his speech and conduct were so strange. However, because he was not of the tribe of Judah, which was one of the prerequisites of the Messiah, and because he exhibited no miracle, they were in doubt. Finally, they decided to take John himself as his own judge and to believe whatever he would say. [**ASI.76**] Therefore, they sent several of the elders, scribes, and priests to question John on behalf of the chief priest and other residents of Jerusalem. The envoys asked him in all humility, "Who are you?" Knowing their purpose, he replied, "I am not the Messiah." "Who are you?" they asked. "Are you Elijah?" "I am not," he said. Then they asked, "Are you one of the great prophets?" "No," he said. "Then who are you?" they asked. "Tell us, so we can give an answer to those who sent us. What do you say of yourself?"[173] He answered, "I am he who cries in the wilderness, as Isaiah the prophet said:[174] 'Make straight the paths for the Lord.' "[175]

Although, to communicate his meaning, what John said was sufficient, to fill out the story [**L34a**] it seems appropriate to mention here what Isaiah said in his book in this regard. The translation of his words is: "Be comforted, O my people, saith your God. Speak comforting words to Jerusalem, and call her to yourselves because evil is ended and her sin is forgiven. She has received two good things from the Lord's hand for her sins. The voice of him that cries [**2005.145.9a**] in the wilderness has said, 'Prepare the ways of the Lord, make straight in the desert a way for our God. Every valley shall be exalted as the mountains and streets are made low, the crooked road shall be straight, and the rough shall be easy because the glory of God will be revealed, and all flesh will see health.' "[176]

They were confused and said, "If you are not the Messiah, not Elijah, and not any other prophet, then why do you baptize?" He replied, saying, "I baptize with water, but among you is he whom you do not recognize. He is the one who will come after me, who is greater than I, and whose shoelaces I am not worthy to unloose."[177] With this answer they turned away, and the people were astonished at his saying that the Messiah was among them but they did not recognize him. This was in Bethany, on the other side of the river Jordan.

One day he was teaching, and there were many people around him. Suddenly, our Lord Christ came. John did not recognize him because he had never seen him, since he had grown up in the desert; however, he had an inspiration from God [**2005.145.9b**] that a dove would come and sit on his head. When he was near, a dove did come and sat on top of his head [Cat. no. XII]. Recognizing him by this sign, John said, "This is the lamb of God. This is he who takes away the sins of the world."[178] [**ASI.97**] In saying "lamb," he was referring to his sinlessness, and in saying that he would take away the sins of the world, he was referring to an act that was carried out in the temple by God's command, for when a sinner repented and sought God's pleasure, he would sacrifice a lamb of one color and without flaw, and rub its blood on himself, and he would be forgiven. Since the sacrifice of Jesus and his Crucifixion were necessary for

170. Luke 3:12.
171. Variation on Luke 3:13–14.
172. Variation on Luke 3:16–17.
173. John 1:19–22.
174. Isaiah 40:3.
175. John 1:23.
176. Isaiah 40:1–5.
177. John 1:25–27.
178. John 1:29.

redeeming sinners, John said, "Lamb of God, he who takes away the sins of the world." He also said, "He of whom I have spoken, who will come after me, is a man who is greater than I because he was more ancient than I am and I did not recognize him, but for him to appear to the Children of Israel I have come to baptize with water." John bore witness and said, "Truly, I have seen the Spirit come down from heaven in the shape of a dove and hover above him. I did not recognize him, but he who sent me to baptize with water told me that he over whom I would see the Spirit come down and rest is he who will baptize with pure spirit. I bear witness that this is the Son of God."[179]

Christ is baptized by John

Blessed Jesus approached John and asked him to baptize him like the others. John did not want to and said, "I should be baptized by you, and you come before me." Blessed Jesus **[L35a]** replied, saying, "Let it be for now because it thus behooves us to fulfill all righteousness."[180] The wisdom in being thus baptized was for the baptism John performed to be effective, for the establishment of baptism, which is like a door to well-being, and for the water that touched him for that strange effect that is in baptism to grow stronger. Then Jesus went out into the river, and John baptized him with his own hand in all humility and washed him by throwing water on his head. When Jesus came out of the river, he raised his hands in prayer, and in this he showed that the first and greatest act a Christian can do after baptism is to pray. Suddenly the heavens opened, and at that moment a voice was heard from the sky, **[ASI.99]** saying, "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased."[181] In order that it be understood to whom the words referred, the spirit of God was seen in the shape of a dove coming down over him. In this it was shown that the heavens open for whoever is baptized, he becomes beloved of God, and he is cleansed of the sins he has previously committed. At this time, Christ was thirty years old.

Christ fasts, and Satan comes to him

As he showed us an example of the baptism we would receive for our own salvation, he likewise wanted to teach us how to repulse the temptation Satan will make to servants of the Lord God, so that we may know how to avoid the world and how to make ourselves strong by spiritual exercise when we desire to begin a great labor. Therefore, when he had been baptized, he spent forty days and nights in worship **[ASI.100]** and spiritual exercise. He had no shelter other than the sky from the cold and rain, and no bed other than the ground. He fasted during this period and ate and drank nothing. He was then very hungry. Satan was lying in wait and constantly keeping a constant watch on him, worried and afraid that this person might be the Son of God, the Messiah promised by the prophets. Many things made him believe that he was the promised Messiah, while some other things kept him from so believing. One of the former was God's testimony that came from heaven. Second was the fact that he spent several days without eating or drinking. Thirdly, he saw the signs that the prophets had predicted of the Messiah coming true. Despite all these, he also saw that he was baptized by John, like other men, and that he was very hungry. He fell into doubt, and since he did not consider himself in need of anyone because of his power, he thought that in this state difficulty and hunger would reveal the truth about him. **[ASI.101]** Therefore, he came to Christ in the guise of a hermit and, after greeting him warmly, praised his asceticism and ability to live in difficulty. He expounded the benefits he could have for others if he went among them and ceased his asceticism. He said to him, "If you are the Son of God, as it seems, it is not reasonable for you to destroy yourself in poverty. Everything is within your ability. How much exertion would it take for you to quiet your soul with a piece of bread, this little morsel you deny yourself? I have no bread, and I don't know who has any.[182] Therefore, if you are the Son of God, command that these stones turn into bread."[183] Blessed Christ, who understood the evil of his intention in these soft words, answered him and

179. John 1:29–34.
180. Matthew 3:14–15.
181. Matthew 3:17; Luke 3:22.
182. Unidentified source.
183. Matthew 4:3; Luke 4:3.

said, "It is written[184] that man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that issues from the mouth of God."[185] This is a particular reply for those who find themselves in dire need and hope that God will provide for them from the unseen realm if they do not listen to the words of Satan. **[ASI.102]**

The second temptation

Satan was even more perplexed by this answer and was more desirous of resolving his doubt. So he took Christ to Jerusalem and stood him on the edge of the temple tower. This tower was very high, and below it there were always crowds of people. He said, "You do not do well to keep yourself hidden. It would be much better for the people to know you so that they could benefit from your teaching and morals.[186] Therefore, if you are the Son of God, throw yourself down, for it is written[187] that God has charged his angels to take you in their hands lest your foot strike a rock."[188] Christ still did not want to do as Satan wanted, and he said, "It is also written[189] that you shall not tempt the Lord your God,"[190] meaning that it is good to have hope that God will assist us in danger and in times of need, but he does not want us to put ourselves at risk for no reason in that hope. What people want from God is that they do all they can, and God will give his assistance in what they cannot do. Therefore, since **[ASI.103]** all that is needed to come down from a roof is a staircase, it is not necessary to throw ourselves down. He still did not want to reveal himself to Satan and show who he was. Satan grew proudly perplexed and became even more ashamed and desirous of achieving his purpose. He took him back to the desert from which he had brought him and took him up on a high hill and showed him the kingdoms of the world and where and in which direction every kingdom and province was, saying, "All these kingdoms are mine. I will give you all these, if you will fall down and worship me,"[191] **[L37a]** meaning, "You do not want to tell me who you are. I will tell you who I am. I am Lucifer, bringer of the Lord's light. The whole world and everyone in it are under my command. I had thought you might be the Son of God, but now I realize that you are not, because if you were, what would it have been for you to speak and accept? However, you seem to me to be a great man worthy of all respect, and I want to give you everything I have for the sake of these people, and truly I will, but on condition that you bow to me and acknowledge me as your lord."[192] **[ASI.104]** Satan thought that he could deceive him by means of this taunt, which would easily pierce every hard heart, but Jesus answered, saying, "Go, Satan, for it is written[193] that you shall worship the Lord your God and serve only him."[194] Immediately Satan vanished, vexed and shamed.

Satan's temptation

In these three temptations Satan brought to bear all his blandishments, bodily pleasure in the first temptation, the emptiness of worldly vanity in the second, and greatness and wealth in the third. It is worth contemplating that the first attempt was to tempt by means of food, because by this route Satan enters every evil. Also, in the first attempt he used a pretext of goodness, for most of the time he tricks by this means. However, Jesus kept himself under control in all the temptations, lest he become greater or lesser, as Satan desired. When he was tempted, he relied on Scripture in order to teach us that in time of temptation and difficulty we should act in accordance with God's teachings.

Satan departed, defeated, and nothing remained in that desert. **[2005.145.15a]** Then angels came down from heaven and brought him food, and he ate [Cat. no. XIII]. **[2005.145.15b]** By this he showed us that if we do not turn to Satan's remedies when we are in need, God will provide for us through the angels. Christ did not want bread from stones: God sent him bread from heaven.

184. Deuteronomy 8:3.
185. Matthew 4:4; Luke 4:4.
186. Unidentified source, probably Father Jerome's gloss.
187. Psalm 90:11–12 (91:11–12).
188. Matthew 4:6.
189. Deuteronomy 6:16.
190. Matthew 4:7; Luke 4:12.
191. Matthew 4:9; variation on Luke 4:5–7.
192. Unidentified source, possibly Father Jerome's gloss.
193. Deuteronomy 6:13.
194. Matthew 4:10; Luke 4:8.

Christ comes out of the desert

When his fasting was over, Christ went among the people to teach them. He passed by the place where John was advising people and speaking great words of fear and hope. Seeing Christ from afar, he called out in a loud voice, "This is the one I said would come among you and is greater than I, he who, no matter that he comes after me, is before me,[195] whose shoelaces I am not worthy to unloose."[196] He also said, "This is he of whose fullness we have all received, and grace for grace, for the Pentateuch was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No one has seen God, but his only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has declared him."[197]

The next day, John was standing with two **[ASI.105]** of his disciples and saw Jesus walking. He said, "This is the lamb of God." One of those disciples was named Andrew, the elder brother of **[L38a]** Simon. When they heard this testimony from John, both of them went off after Christ. Jesus turned to them and said, "What are you seeking?" They said, "O nourisher, where are you?" Christ said, "Come see."[198] They joined him and saw a poor house. They spent that day conversing with him, and from his words they learned many of God's secrets and realized that what John had said, that he was the Messiah, was true.

The next day, they returned to their home, and they were so happy that they had seen and recognized him that when Andrew saw his brother Simon, he said in a loud voice, "We have found the Messiah." And he took him to Christ. When Christ saw Simon, he said to him, "You are Simon, son of Jonas. You will be called 'Rock,' that is, Peter."[199]

Christ calls Philip

The next day, when he set off for Galilee, **[ASI.106]** a man named Philip came up to him on the road, and [Jesus] said to him, "Follow me."[200] This Philip was a native of Bethsaida,[201] the city of Andrew. He followed Jesus. A man named Nathaniel came up to him on the road, and [Philip] said, "We have found him of whom Moses wrote in the Pentateuch[202] and whom other prophets have predicted,[203] and he is called Jesus, son of Joseph, he who is from Nazareth."[204] Nathaniel said, "Can anything good come from Nazareth?" Philip said, "Come and see." When Jesus saw Nathaniel coming toward him, he spoke of him and said, "This indeed is an Israelite without guile." **[L38b]** Nathaniel said, "How did you know me?" Jesus replied, "Before Philip called you, when you were still under a fig tree, I knew you." Then, after much talk, Nathaniel said, "O nourisher, you are the Son of God. You are the king of Israel." Christ said, "To the extent that I saw you under the fig tree and you believed in me, you will see greater things than this." And he said, "Verily, verily I say to you that you will see the heavens opening and God's angels ascending and descending over the head of man."[205]

Christ goes to Galilee and begins to teach the people

When he reached Galilee, he began to teach people and say, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is nigh. The time promised by the prophets[206] is come. Repent and believe in the gospel."[207] Many people crowded around to hear him. Word of him, his teaching, and the miracles he performed spread abroad, and many

195. John 1:15.

196. John 1:27

197. John 1:16–18, the "Pentateuch" replacing the original "law" (John 1:17).

198. John 1:36–39.

199. Variation on John 1:41–42. The Cleveland Ms. has صنعا (*Ṣan'ā*), which does not refer to anything other than the name of the capital of the Yemen; the London Ms. has صفا (*Ṣafā* [purity]). Both are scribal errors. The name that Jesus gives to Simon is "Rock" (πέτρος [*petrus*], which became "Peter"): Matthew 16:18. The Aramaic term for "rock" is כיפא (*kêphā*), which would normally be transcribed into Persian as کیفا (*Kēfā*), although Father Jerome may have had a Latin transcription of the Aramaic-like *cepha* in mind and transcribed it as صیفا. This may well have been miscopied as صنعا and صفا. In any case, the translation reflects the emendation to the text.

200. John 1:43.

201. The name of this village, Βηθσαϊδά (Bethsaida), no trace of which remains today, has been reconstructed as בית צידא (*Bēth Ṣaydā* [house of fishing]). Father Jerome transcribed the Latin incorrectly into Persian as بت سایده; it should be بیت صیدا.

202. Deuteronomy 18:18.

203. E.g., Micah 5:2–5 and Daniel 7:13–14.

204. John 1:45.

205. Variation on John 1:46–51; in John 1:51, "head of man" replaced the original "Son of Man."

206. Not the "prophets" but Isaiah in Matthew 3:3.

207. Mark 1:15.

followed him as disciples, promising to put everything they possessed at his disposal. Among them were Peter and his brother Andrew, whom Christ had previously recognized and who had joined him, and they followed him while occasionally engaging in fishing, which was their trade.

At this time, in the city of Cana of Galilee,[208] **[L39a]** there was a wedding among Blessed Mary's relatives. Her people took her with great insistence to their house, and through her they pressured Christ to come, as though they knew how much blessing there would be from him, and they insisted so much that he and several of his disciples went there. Since the host was not rich and many people were gathered there, the wine he had brought for the assembly was too little. Mary felt sorry for the host and was saddened by the lack of wine and his embarrassment. Secretly, she went to her son and told him they had no wine. He replied to his mother, saying, "What is it to me and you, woman? My time has not yet come."[209] Showing such alienation was in order for him to show that in doing God's work one should not take into consideration kinship or friendship. Blessed Mary, like someone who knew in her own heart, told the servants nonetheless to do whatever he said. The custom of the Jews was that at the time of eating they would use much water, and every time food was brought to the table they would wash their hands. Therefore, there was much water present at the gathering, **[2005.145.13a]** and there were six water jars [Cat. no. XIV]. When Jesus found the time, he told the servants to fill the jars to the brim. Then he said, "Now draw it out and take it to the chief of the wine stewards."[210] Since the steward knew of the situation of the wine and how little there was, but he did not know where this new wine **[L39b]** had come from, he tasted it. When he realized that it was very good, he summoned the host and said, "You did not look ahead. Everyone serves pure and good wine first, and when those present are drunk, the dregs and inferior wine are brought. You have done the opposite and have kept the good wine for last and served the inferior first."[211] Thereafter, it was learned that the water had miraculously turned into wine. All were astonished, and his disciples' and followers' belief in him increased. The result was **[ASI.85]** that John, whose wedding it was, left his bride a virgin as she was and accepted to follow Christ, remaining single. He became one of the twelve Apostles and was dear to him.

After that, Christ called Peter and his brother Andrew, who were fishing in the sea, and said, "Follow me. I will make you fishers of men."[212] They left their nets and followed him. When he left that place, he saw James, son of Zebedee, and his brother John mending nets with their father. He called them. Both brothers left their nets and their father and followed him.

From there he went to the city of Capernaum,[213] and on Saturdays he went to the synagogue, and he spoke loudly and so effectively that all were astonished, particularly those who were acquainted with him and knew where he had been raised. When his sermon ended, **[L40a]** he performed miracles, healing the sick **[ASI.86]** and freeing those possessed by demons. By this means his reputation grew, he gained renown, and the people went after him everywhere, in towns and in the wilderness. One day he was standing on the shore at Gennesaret,[214] and many people had gathered to hear the word of God. He saw two boats on the shore: fishermen had gotten out of them and were washing their nets. One of them was Simon. Jesus got into the boat in which Simon was and sat down. He said to him, "Take the boat a little way from shore." And there he taught the people. When he finished his words, he ordered Simon to take the boat into deep water and cast his nets

208. Cana of Galilee (Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας) is called *Qaṭnā* in the Pshitta. It is traditionally identified with كفركنه (Kafr Kanna), a small village less than five miles northeast of Nazareth, although the village of قانا الجليل (Qana 'l–Jalil), nine miles north of Nazareth, preserved a name that was closer to the Biblical version.

209. John 2:4.

210. John 2:8.

211. John 2:10.

212. Matthew 4:19; Mark 1:17.

213. The name of this large village is spelled variously as Καφαρναούμ (Capharnaum) and Καπερναούμ (Capernaum); in the Pshitta, it is ܟܦܪ ܢܚܘܡ (*Kphar Nāḥūm*), which Father Jerome correctly transcribed into Persian as کفرنحوم. The village itself has vanished, and although there are arguments in favor of various sites, the location is unknown.

214. The Sea of Gennesaret, also known as the Sea of Galilee, is called the Sea of Chinnereth (יָם כִּנֶּרֶת) in the Old Testament (Numbers 34:11; Joshua 12:3). All New Testament references call it by the Greek name, Γεννησαρέτ. Today it is known in Arabic as بحرطبرية (*Baḥr Ṭubariyya* [Sea of Tiberias]).

to catch fish. Simon replied, saying, "Teacher, we have toiled all night and caught nothing, but, of course, if you say so, we will cast our nets."[215] When they obeyed his command, they caught so many fish that the nets almost broke. He motioned to his friends in the other boat **[ASI.87]** to come help. When they came, they filled both boats with so many fish that they nearly sank. When Simon saw this, he fell at Jesus's feet and said, "Depart from me, Lord, for I am a sinful man."[216] He said this because he and the other fishermen with him had been seized by surprise and fear. Jesus said to Simon, "Fear not, for now you will be a fisher of men."[217] Then they brought the boats to the shore and, leaving everything, followed him, never henceforth to part from him. Thus did John and James leave their father and everything they possessed and follow him truly, and they decided that they would never part from him. Likewise, many other people followed him, and everywhere he went crowds of people followed in his footsteps.

Christ goes to Jesusalem

Since Passover, which is celebrated in the month of Farvardin on the 14th of the lunar month,[218] was near, he went to Jerusalem, and there, as word of his morals, teaching, and miracles circulated, he entered the temple. There were many people there, and they were selling oxen, sheep, doves, and other things used in sacrifice. Moneychangers sold gold coins for profit, and the priests allowed that commerce so that those who came for the holiday could acquire what was needed for sacrifice. All this seemed very bad to Christ. Making something like a whip from rope, he drove out the cows and sheep along with those who sold them, and he overturned the tables on which they placed coins. To the sellers of doves and other people he said, "Take these things away from here, and do not turn my father's house into a marketplace!"[219] The people were astonished by this act, **[L41a]** but his blessed countenance shone so brightly that all were gripped by fear and no one was able to stop him, and his disciples **[ASI.89]** remembered what was written in the Psalms,[220] to wit: "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me."[221] When he did this, the chief priests came to him and said, "By what authority do you forbid this? If it is by God's command, show it."[222] Since he knew of the corruption in their hearts, he did not want to show them any other sign at that time, but he showed the benefit they would derive from his advice, namely, that they would lie in wait to kill him. Nonetheless, they would not achieve their goal because he would rise again. Therefore, he said, "Destroy this temple, for I will make it stand again in two or three days."[223] They did not understand; indeed, imagining he was speaking of the physical building of the temple, they said, "Forty-six years were spent on this building, and you will rebuild it in three days?"[224] He, however, meant the temple of the body, and when he rose from the dead, his disciples remembered what he had said and affirmed the writings and words that Jesus had spoken.

He spent a few days in the temple, giving advice to the people. Many sick people were healed, **[L41b]** and he performed miracles to the astonishment of all, and when they heard his words, they followed him and repented. However, the Pharisees increased in envy, and many were worried and began to oppose him. They forbade the people to follow him and said, "He is not the Messiah.[225] He teaches something new."[226] They derided his miracles, but many people followed him nonetheless.

Nicodemus comes to Christ

At this time, Nicodemus, a Pharisee who was a leader of the Jews and learned, came to Christ in secret so the people would not see him and said, "Master, I know that you have come from God because no one can do the amazing things you do unless God is with him." After

215. Luke 5:4–5.
216. Luke 5:8.
217. Luke 5:10.
218. The Persian month of Farvardin begins at the vernal equinox and is equivalent to Aries (usually March 21–April 20). Passover begins on the fourteenth of the Hebrew lunar month of Nisan, which should be the first full moon after the vernal equinox.
219. John 2:16.
220. Psalm 68:10 (69:9).
221. John 2:17.
222. John 2:18.
223. John 2:19.
224. John 2:20.
225. Apparently Father Jerome's gloss.
226. Probably based on John 7:46: "Never did man speak like this man."

many other things, Jesus said to him, "Verily, verily I say to you, unless a man is born anew he cannot enter the kingdom of God." Nicodemus asked, "How can a man who is old be born? It isn't possible for him to enter his mother's womb to be born again, is it?"[227] **[ASI.91]** He did not understand what Christ meant, which was that in order for a man to enjoy the world, it is necessary for him to actually emerge from his mother's womb and be born, for if he remained always in that recess, he would not enjoy the good things of the world. Likewise, in order to see and comprehend the things of God and heaven it is necessary that a man come out of himself and leave behind the love he has for himself and his goods and become something else. This is the second birth, that is, to come out of oneself and love for oneself. However, Christ spoke the meaning of these words ever louder, for at that time he explained himself and said, "Verily, verily I say to you, if a person is not born of water and the spirit, it is not possible for him to enter the kingdom of God."[228] Therefore, to be born anew to enter the kingdom of God is to be baptized, for he stated that by that means God forgives sins and gives good things, and by that means new life, new religion, and spiritual life are confirmed, for the first life is corporeal and the **[ASI.92]** second will be spiritual. These things are acquired through baptism. Therefore, baptism is called a second birth. He also said, "What is obvious in the body is the body, and what emerges from the spirit is the spirit. Do not be surprised by this, for I say that it is necessary for you to be born anew. The spirit blows wherever it wants, and its sound can be heard, but you were not there to know from where it comes and where it is going. Thus is anyone who is born of the spirit." Nicodemus said, "How can these things be?" Christ said, "You are a teacher in Israel, and you do not know these things? Verily, verily I say to you, what we know we tell you, and what we have seen we bear witness to you, but you do not accept our testimony. Whenever we tell you of earthly things, you do not believe. If I were to tell you of heavenly things, how could you believe?[229] As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up that whosoever believes in him should not perish, but have eternal life."[230] **[2005.145.14a]**

Since he was speaking to knowledgeable people familiar with the book, they understood his reference to the story of the serpent. However, in order for all to know and comprehend the meaning of these words, I will speak a bit of the story of the serpent to which Jesus referred. In the fourth book of the Pentateuch, in the twenty-first chapter,[231] it is written that the Children of Israel complained of God and of Moses as he was leading them from Egypt to Jerusalem through the desert with so much tribulation. God grew angry and sent them innumerable serpents with fire coming out of their mouths, and they bit many of the people, and all were sorely afflicted [Cat. no. XV]. Finally, they realized their own sin and went to Moses and said, "We sinned when we spoke against you and God. Pray that the serpents be taken away from us."[232] Moses, who was the most clement of all men, immediately forgave them on his own behalf and prayed humbly that God would have mercy on them and deliver them from this torment. **[ASI.93]** God told him to make a brazen serpent and raise it on his staff. Every afflicted person who saw it would be healed. Moses did this and the serpents disappeared, and those who had been bitten recovered when they saw the image. **[L43a]** Therefore, Jesus's intent was that, just as Moses raised a serpent that was actually of brass and which, however slender it may have appeared, healed all who saw it of their snake bites, so also must he, despite his sinlessness, be crucified like a sinner so that whoever gazes upon him with belief and love would be forgiven his sins and have everlasting life. In order to explain how the healing of people lay in believing in him he said, "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten son so that whoever believes in him will not perish but have everlasting life, because God did not send his son into the world to manage the world but so that the people of the world would be saved on his account. He who believes in him does not deserve judgment, and he who does not believe in him has already been judged **[ASI.94]** because he has not believed in the name of God's only-begotten son. In any event, this is

227. John 3:2–4.
228. John 3:5.
229. John 3:6–12.
230. John 3:14–15.
231. Numbers 21:5–9.
232. Numbers 21:7.

the condemnation, for light came into the world and the people loved the darkness more than the light because their deeds were evil, and anyone who does evil hates the light, and does not approach the light, lest his deeds be revealed. But he who does right comes to the light so that it can be apparent that his deeds are from God."[233] These things and others our Lord Jesus said to Nicodemus, and he believed; but he kept it secret and waited for the time to reveal it.

He taught for several days in Jerusalem. After that he went with his disciples into the land of Judah and stayed there.

Christ baptizes believers

People came from every direction in search of him, and he baptized everyone who believed. Not only did he baptize, but he baptized Peter, and Peter baptized the other Apostles, and they baptized others who believed in Christ. John was living nearby, and he gave advice to those went to him **[ASI.95]** and baptized them. His disciples, seeing that the people were leaving John and going to Jesus, were envious and said to John, "Master, the one who was with you on the other side of the Jordan, the one whom you praised and bore witness to, is also baptizing, and everyone is going to him."[234] John replied, saying, "Man has no power to get anything unless it be given him from heaven. You bear witness to me that I have said that I am not the Messiah but only an apostle from him. He who has the bride is the bridegroom, and his friend stands and listens and rejoices greatly at hearing his voice. Now then, this joy of mine has come to an end. It is necessary for him to grow and be great. For me it is necessary to diminish. He who has come from above is above everything, and he who is of the earth speaks of the earth, and his testimony is listened to by nobody, and anyone who believes in his testimony has set his seal to God's truthfulness. **[L44a]** He who **[ASI.96]** has been sent by God speaks God's words because God does not give him the spirit by measure. The Father loves the Son and entrusts everything into his hands, and all who believe in the Son of Man will have everlasting life, but he who does not believe in the Son will not see everlasting life but rather the wrath of God will come upon him."[235] In these words John showed to what extent Christ was greater than he, for he calls him the bridegroom and master and he calls himself his friend who stands before him. He calls him heavenly and the Son of God, in whose hands is everything. He also says that whoever believes in him will not perish.

Christ goes to the city of Samaria

When the Pharisees heard that Jesus was baptizing and that people were flocking to him from every direction, they spoke ill of him and made great efforts to keep the people from him. Jesus then left that kingdom and headed to Galilee, passing through Samaria. This great city was the capital of ten tribes **[Fondation Custodia, 1991-T.11]** of the Israelites, and in size and reputation it was equal to Jerusalem. Formerly, this city had been called Sychar, and it was near the land that Jacob had given to his son Joseph over and above what he would inherit from his father.[236] For this reason, it became very grand, and in that land was a well **[L44b]** that had belonged to Jacob, from which he and his people had drawn water. Christ came to that well at midday and was so tired and exhausted that he sat down and sent his disciples to bring something to eat from the city. Just then, a woman came to the well in search of water [Cat. no. XVI]. Jesus said to her, "Woman, give me some water to drink."[237] Knowing him to be from Judea by his clothing and speech, the woman replied, "How can you, who are a Jew, ask me, a Samaritan, for water?" **[ASI.273]** Now, the Jews had no converse with the Samaritans because, since the two cities differed in the manner of worship, each thought the other to be erroneous, and by no means would they eat in the same place or drink from the same cup, since they lived as strangers to each other in religion. Christ replied, "If you had recognized the gift of God and had known who he is who says to you, 'Give me something to drink,' you would have asked him and he would have given you the water of life." The woman said, "Master, you have

233. Variation on John 3:16–21.
234. John 3:26.
235. Variation on John 3:27–36.
236. John 4:5.
237. John 4:7.

nothing to draw water with, and the well is deep. Where would the water of life come from? Are you greater than our father Jacob, who gave us this well? He, his sons, and his animals drank from this water." Jesus answered and said, "Whoever drinks of this water thirsts again, but he who drinks of the water I give him will never thirst, but rather the water I give **[L45a]** will become a source in him that will spring up in everlasting life." This is a reference to the consolation and fullness of heart that his followers will have, and those who listen to him always hope for eternal life. The woman said, "Lord, give me of this water that I not thirst and no longer be in need of drawing water from here with such difficulty." Jesus said, "Go, call your husband, and come with him." She replied, "I have no husband." Jesus said, "Well have you said, 'I have no husband.' You have had five husbands, and the one you have now is not your husband. In this you spoke well."[238] The woman said, "Master, I perceive that you are a prophet. Our fathers used to worship God on this mountain, and you people say that God should be worshipped in Jerusalem. I do not know who should be followed in this."[239] Jesus said, "Woman, believe in me. The time has come that God be worshipped neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem. You worship you know not what. We know what we worship because salvation **[ASI.113]** comes from the Jews[240] (that is, teaching the truth will come forth from Jerusalem in Galilee, as the prophets have said, particularly Isaiah[241]) but the time has come and is now, when true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth because the Father wants such worshippers, for God is the spirit and those who worship him must worship him in spirit and truth."[242] The disciples interpreted these words of Christ in a way that he himself stated later, that God is not now so concerned that people pray toward Jerusalem, as was done previously, but rather he wants people to worship him with all their hearts in spirit. This is true worship of God, since he is spirit and is present everywhere. The woman said to him, "Of course I know that the Messiah, who is called Christ, is coming, and when he comes he will teach us everything." Jesus replied and said, "I who speak to you am the Messiah."[243] Blessed Jesus was in the midst of this conversation when his disciples **[ASI.114]** came back from the city and were amazed that he was speaking with the woman, since it was not customary to speak to women, especially women alone, but no one asked what he was saying or why he was speaking to a woman. When the woman heard him say that he was the Messiah, she left her pot and hastened off to the city, crying out and saying, "Come, see a man who informed me of everything I have done. He may be the Messiah."[244] Many people came out of the city to him. In the meantime, the disciples said, "Our master, eat." He said to them, "I have other food that you do not know." To each other, they said, "Has anyone else brought him food?"[245] Jesus said to them, "My food is that I fulfill the will of my father who sent me and finish his work, which is to remedy disobedience. **[L46a]** Do you not say, 'The time of harvest will come after four months'? Behold, I say to you, lift up your eyes **[ASI.115]** and look at the earth. Behold, it has become white and is ready for harvest. He who reaps receives his wage and gathers life eternal, and he who sows and he who reaps rejoice together, because herein is comprehended the word of truth, that one sows and another reaps, and I have sent you to reap a thing on which you expended no labor. Others labored; you have entered into their labor."[246] Many of the people of the city believed the words of the woman who bore witness that he had told her everything she had done, and when the Samaritans went out to him they asked him to stay with them. He went with them and was in the city for two days. He gave amazing advice, and many people believed in him and said to the woman, "We did not believe in him because of what you said but because we heard him ourselves and realized that he is truly the Messiah, the savior of the world."[247]

238. Variation on John 4:9–18.

239. John 4:19–20; the last sentence ("I do not know who should be followed in this.") is Father Jerome's gloss.

240. John 4:21–22.

241. Including Isaiah 2:1–4.

242. John 4:23–24.

243. John 4:25–26.

244. John 4:29.

245. John 4:31–33.

246. John 4:34–38; the phrase "which is to remedy disobedience" is a gloss.

247. John 4:42.

Christ goes to Galilee

After that he went to Galilee. The Galileans received him because they had seen what **[ASI.116]** he had done in Jerusalem on the festival day, for they were there for the holiday. Then he went to Cana of Galilee, where he had changed the water into wine. In Capernaum, there was a servant of the king whose son was ill, and when he heard that Christ had come to Galilee, he set out to find him and pleaded with him to go with him and heal his son because he was near death. Christ replied, saying, "If you do not witness signs and see miracles, you will not believe." Since the father had seen signs of death in his son [Cat. no. XVII], he did not want to prolong the discussion. He said, "Lord, come before my son dies." Christ said, "Go. Your son lives and is healed." The father believed what he said and departed for home in all joy. As he was on his way, a group of his servants came to him and gave him the good news, saying, "Your son is alive and has regained his health." He rejoiced that the trouble he had taken had been profitable and that he had achieved his purpose and asked, "At what hour did he recover?" They said, "Yesterday, **[2005.145.17a]** at the seventh hour, the fever departed from him."[248] Thereby he realized that his son had recovered at the very hour in which Jesus had said to him, "Go. Your son lives."[249] He and all **[2005.1.45.17b]** his people then believed.

Then he came to Nazareth, where he had been raised as a boy. On the Sabbath, as was his custom, he went to the synagogue and stood up to read. The book of the prophet Isaiah **[L47a]** was given to him, and when he opened it, the text was this: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me. He has anointed me and sent me to give good tidings to the poor, to heal the brokenhearted, to give news of deliverance to captives and news of sight to the blind, and to deliver a message of forgiveness to the weak and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."[250] Then he rolled up the scroll, handed it to the servant, and sat down. All eyes were on him. After that he began to speak, saying to them, "Today is the scripture fulfilled in your ears."[251] By this he showed that it was he who had come for this work, and in this regard he spoke, quoting from and proving by means of Scripture in such a way that he amazed everyone, **[ASI.117]** and they wondered at the gracious words that came out of his mouth.

Since he had grown up among them and they had seen him whom he called father, and they considered him the son of the carpenter, they said to one another, "Is this not the son of Joseph? Where did he acquire this learning? What is this learning, and what are these miracles? Is this not the son of Mary? Are his family and people not among us?"[252] They therefore disparaged him, and few believed in him. This was because he did not perform a miracle in that city, and they were hoping to see miracles from him, not for benefiting from them but merely to see them. Therefore, he said to them, "You may perhaps say to me this proverb, 'Physician, heal yourself. You who did so many amazing things in Capernaum, do them here, which is your birthplace.' "[253] He also said, "Verily I say to you, no prophet has ever been honored in his own country and tribe. Verily I say to you, in the time of Elijah there were many widows **[ASI.118]** in Israel at the time when the heavens were shut for three years and six months, during which time it never rained, and famine had the entire country in its grip. Elijah was not sent to any of them, but he was sent to a widow in Sarepta in Sidon. In the time of Eliseus the prophet, many of the Children of Israel were lepers, and none of them was cleansed, except Naaman the Syrian."[254]

Although this was enough for communicating his meaning and what had been written, to clarify the words I will write a summary of these two stories from the book of one of the prophets of Israel. When Ahab was king of Israel, he made idols and provoked God more than anyone in the past, so God sent Elijah to Ahab, and Elijah said, "The living Lord God of Israel, before whom I stand, will not let rain or dew fall except according to my word." And God said to Elijah, "Go from here

248. John 4:48–52.

249. John 4:50.

250. Isaiah 61:1–2; the phrase "and to deliver a message of forgiveness to the weak" is a gloss.

251. Luke 4:21.

252. Combination of Luke 4:22, Mark 6:2–3, and Matthew 13:54–55.

253. Luke 4:23.

254. Luke 4:24–27.

and hide yourself on the banks of a certain stream near the river Jordan, and you shall drink from that stream. **[2005.145.18a]** I have commanded the ravens to bring you sustenance."[255] **[L48a]** Elijah went and sat there, and every morning and evening a raven would bring him a loaf of bread and a bit of meat [Cat. no XVIII]. **[2005.145.18b]** He ate those and drank from the stream, and since it had not rained for a long time the stream dried up. Then was Elijah commanded, "Rise, go to Sarepta in Sidon, and live there. There I have commanded a widow to give you sustenance." Elijah rose and went there. When he came to the city, he saw a widow woman gathering firewood. He called to her and said, "Give me some water to drink." When she went to bring water, he called out after her, saying, "Also bring me a piece of bread." She replied, "By the living Lord your God, I have no bread but only a handful of flour in a can and a little oil in a pot. I gather two or three sticks so that when I go home I can make some bread from the flour so that my son and I can eat and not die." Elijah said to her, "Fear not, but go and do as you have said, but first bring me a loaf of thin bread. Thereafter, you will make for yourself and your son, **[ASI.119]** for the Lord God of Israel says, 'The can of flour will not run out, and the vessel of oil will not be empty until the day God sends rain for the earth.' "[256] The widow went and did as Elijah had said, and Elijah and the widow ate with her family, and from that day on the flour and oil never ran out, just as God had said to Elijah.

Naaman the Syrian was a commander of the king of Syria.[257] He was nobly born and great and was held in honor by his lord because through him God had delivered their kingdom from enemies. He was a man of good deeds and rich, but he was a leper. Some of the Syrian soldiers had gone and kidnapped a girl from the land of Israel and turned her over to Naaman's wife. One day, the girl said to her mistress, "Would that our lord would go to the prophet who is in Samaria. He would heal him of his affliction."[258] With this in mind, Naaman went before his king and told him what the girl had said. The king of Syria said, "Go. I will write to the king of Israel." **[ASI.120]** So he went, taking abundant gold and silver and other gifts and his lord's letter, which said, "When this letter reaches you, know that I have sent my servant Naaman to you for you to heal him of his leprosy." When the king of Israel read the letter, he rent his clothing and said, "Am I God that I should be able to kill and bring to life that he has written thus to me? Can I heal this person of his leprosy? Contemplate well and know that this man is looking for pretexts to be my enemy." When Elisha heard that the king had rent his clothing, he sent word to him, saying, "Why have you rent your clothing? Bring him to me, and let him know that there is a prophet among the Children of Israel."[259] Therefore, Naaman came to Elisha's[260] house **[L49a]** and stood at his door with all his retinue. Elisha sent word to him, saying, "Go wash yourself seven times in the Jordan, and your body will be cleansed and you will be delivered of this illness."[261] Naaman grew angry and said, "I thought he would receive me, stand and call upon the name of his god, **[ASI.121]** and rub his hand on my body and give me health. Are not the Abana and Pharper rivers better than all the rivers of Israel that I should wash myself in them and be cleansed?"[262] At this point, his servants came to him and said, "O father, if this prophet had told you something difficult, you would certainly have done it. Why then do you not do this easy thing he said, that is to wash yourself and be cleansed?"[263] Therefore, Naaman went to the river Jordan and washed himself seven times as the man of God had commanded. Immediately he was healed. After that, he went to Elisha's house and stood before him, saying, "It is true that there is no god anywhere except in Israel. My plea is that you will take something from me." Elisha refused. When Naaman insisted, he said, "As the God of Israel lives, I will not take anything."[264] Naaman said, "Be it so. Order that I be allowed to take twelve

255. 3 Kings 17:1–4.
256. 3 Kings 17:9–14.
257. The similarities with Abgar's story are evident.
258. 4 Kings 5:3.
259. 4 Kings 5:5–8.
260. One of the few instances in which Father Jerome introduces a new figure without providing any information about him. He was nevertheless probably aware that Elisha, a disciple of Elijah, designated as "the man of God" (4 Kings 5:8), is also a prophet of Islam known as al-Yasa'.
261. 4 Kings 5:10.
262. 4 Kings 5:11–12.
263. 4 Kings 5:13.
264. Variation on 4 Kings 5:15–16.

ox-loads of earth from this land, for henceforth I will never bow down before an idol."[265] [**ASI.122**] Receiving permission, he set forth. One of Elisha's disciples, Gehazi by name, was covetous of those goods and set out after him, saying, "My master sends a plea requesting some of the cash and goods, for just now several of the sons of the prophets have come to him and he needs to give it to them."[266] Naaman rejoiced greatly and set before him everything he had. The disciple took all he wanted and carried it to his own house and stored it there. Elisha asked him, "Where are you coming from?" He replied, "Your servant has not gone anywhere." Elisha said, "When you went to Naaman, was not my heart worried when that man descended from his chariot and greeted you, and you took an amount of gold and goods in order to buy an olive and grape orchard and cattle, sheep, slaveboys, and slavegirls for yourself? Therefore, Naaman's leprosy shall cling to you and your progeny forever."[267] And that man came out of his house as white as snow. [**ASI.123**] This is the story of Elisha to which Jesus referred, and when the citizens understood they grew angry, drove him out of the city, and took him to a hill on which the city was built to throw him down from the hill, but since he still did not want his teaching to end, he used his power and got away from them, without anyone being able to stop him.

Christ goes to Capernaum **[L50]**

From there he went to Capernaum, and he taught in the synagogue on the Sabbath, amazing everyone because his words were powerful. There was one who had been possessed by a demon that tormented him and made him do unclean, improper things. Seeing Christ in the synagogue, he cried out, saying, "Let me alone! What have we to do with you, O Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are, O pure one of God."[268] Jesus, who did not want the devil's praise, rebuked him [**ASI.124**] and said, "Be mute and come out of him!"[269] The demon caused him to shake so much that the people thought he had killed him. Cast down in the assembly and crying out, he came forth from the man, who was not harmed at all. Everyone was left in amazement, and they said to one another, "What thing is this, and what sort of teaching is this that he commands unclean spirits and they obey him?"[270] Then his renown spread, and his fame went all over Galilee.

After that, he arose from the synagogue and entered the house of Simon, whose mother-in-law had a fever and was burning with a high temperature. For her sake, Christ was entreated to go to her and rebuke her fever. At once, the fever departed from her, and she arose and served them. When it was evening, those afflicted with various pains came to him, and he put his hand on every one of them and they were healed.

The next morning, he went up on a mountain, and there he prayed. [**L50b**] Simon and [**ASI.125**] the other disciples came to him and said, "Many people are looking for you." He said to them, "Let us go and enter the cities and teach everyone the path of salvation, for I have come into the world for this reason."[271] Then he got up, and those who were in search of him came to him and entreated him not to depart from among them. To them he said, "I must give the good news of the kingdom of God in other cities because I have been sent for this."[272] When he came down from the mountain, a man who had been dismissed from his job on account of leprosy and was wandering in the desert heard of him, and when he saw Jesus he fell on his face. Then he knelt and said, "Lord, if you wish, you can cleanse me."[273] As he felt compassion for the poor man, he stretched out his blessed hand to him and said, "I so wish. Be cleansed!"[274] He was immediately healed, but Jesus told him, "Go to the priests and offer a sacrifice for being cleansed, as is the commandment[275] of Moses."[276] He

265. Variation on 4 Kings 5:17. "Two mules' burden" is mentioned in the original rather than "twelve ox–loads." The number is probably a scribal error, but the substitution of an animal commonly used in India would be expected. Father Jerome also intentionally replaced the original phrase "other gods" with "idol."
266. Variation on 4 Kings 5:22.
267. 4 Kings 5:25–27.
268. Luke 4:34; Mark 1:24.
269. Luke 4:35; Mark 1:25.
270. Luke 4:36; Mark 1:27.
271. Luke 4:42–43; Mark 1:37–38.
272. Luke 4:43; Mark 1:38.
273. Luke 5:12; Mark 1:40; Matthew 8:2.
274. Luke 5:13; Mark 1:41; Matthew 8:3.
275. Leviticus 14:1–32.
276. Luke 5:14; Mark 1:44; Matthew 8:4.

did this [**ASI.126**] so that the priests would not doubt him and not say that he was taking their alms.

He went through many places, teaching, healing, and performing miracles. So many people were following him that such a crowd could not enter the city. They found him in the desert and wilderness, and there he taught them and consoled them all. [**L51a**]

Jesus wanted to go to Gennesaret, which is on the other side of the Sea of Galilee. A group of his disciples followed him. Then he got in a boat to cross the Sea of Galilee, and they got in too. When he saw himself free of the people, he wanted to rest for a moment and stretch out. Suddenly, a great tempest arose on the sea, and the waves nearly swamped the boat. Jesus was asleep, but his disciples came and woke him up [Cat. no. XIX] and said, "Lord, save us, for we are going to perish."[277] [**2005.145.19b**] He said to them, "Why are you fearful, you of little faith?"[278] He stood up and rebuked the sea and the wind. Immediately the sea grew calm and the winds died down. All were astonished and said, "How is it that the winds and seas listen to him and obey his command?"[279] When the boat came to the shore, Christ and his disciples got out of the boat and took the road to the city.

Along the way, two madmen who spent their lives in graveyards came forth, and they were so dreadful and strong that they broke their chains and bonds and ran after the people and tormented them, so that no one was able to go down that road or stay in that desert. When Christ arrived there, the madmen came out and ran toward him, crying out and saying, "What have we to do with you, O Messiah, O Jesus, Son of God? Have you come to torment us before the time?[280] Our request is that you not bother us."[281] Jesus said to them, "Be silent!" Then he asked one of them, "What is your name?" [**L51b**] He said, "Legion,"[282] for many demons had entered into him and "legion" is reckoned to be 6,666. Christ said, "O unclean spirits, go out of these men!"[283] The demons wailed and said, "Do not send us out of this land, especially not to hell, and if you make us leave these men, command us to enter these pigs,"[284] for in those mountains were large herds of pigs grazing. Christ gave permission. Immediately they departed from those men and went into the pigs, which hurled themselves down from the top of the mountain, and nearly two thousand pigs were destroyed. The herders fled to the city [**ASI.107**] and cried out to the people of the city what had happened. The people came out to find Christ, and they saw the two madmen calmly seated next to Christ, clothed and giving good answers like knowledgeable and rational people and telling of their adventures. The people were seized by amazement and fear because, since the pigs belonged to the commanders of the area, they were worried over such a great loss, and to console their lords they asked Jesus to leave that land and not remain among them. He agreed and departed.

When Jesus was about to get into the boat, one of the two madmen asked to be at his service, but Jesus said, "Return to your own home [**L52a**] and inform the people of the favor that God has done you."[285] He left and proclaimed in the city what Jesus had done to him.

Christ goes to Capernaum

Christ came to Capernaum and went to his own house in such a way that no one was aware of it. [**ASI.108**] However, the people found out and went to him, and he began to teach them. The people flocked to him in such numbers that the entrances and windows of the house were filled. Among them were many of the sages, Pharisees, and other great ones of the Jews who had come from Galilee, Judea, Jerusalem, and other places to hear his teaching. In that city was a paralyzed man whose entire body was immobilized. He wanted someone to get him to Christ to be healed. To his friends he said, "For God's sake, carry me to the Messiah!"[286] Four men picked him up and carried him, but there was such a crowd that in no way were they able to enter. Since his faith and love were great, and since he was greatly in need and courageous, his friends discovered that they

277. Matthew 8:25; Luke 8:24; Mark 4:38.
278. Matthew 8:26; Mark 4:40; variation on Luke 8:25.
279. Matthew 8:27; Luke 8:25; Mark 4:40.
280. Matthew 8:29; Luke 8:28; Mark 5:7.
281. Luke 8:28; Mark 5:9.
282. Luke 8:30; Mark 5:9.
283. Mark 5:8.
284. Variation on Luke 8:31–32, Mark 5:12, and Matthew 8:31.
285. Mark 5:19; Luke 8:39.
286. Probably Father Jerome's gloss.

could get in from above at the back of the house, so they made a hole in the roof, tied the sick man's bed to ropes, and lowered him down. There was a clamor among the people because of this, but Christ was not offended but rather silenced them all compassionately and, seeing the belief and love of those who had brought him, said to the sick man, **[L52b]** "O son, be hopeful. Your sins have been forgiven."[287] **[ASI.109]** Since forgiving sins was only for God to do, the priests and other great men who were there recoiled at his words, contemplated in their hearts, and said, "Who is this who says thus and blasphemes? Other than God, who can forgive sins?"[288] Knowing what they were thinking, Jesus said, "Why do you think ill? What thing is easier than that it be said to a paralytic that his sins have been forgiven? Now, I say, 'Arise.' "[289] And he picked up his bed and left. All were astonished and praised God, saying, "We have never seen such a thing before."[290]

Christ calls Matthew as his follower

Another day he was going toward the sea, and all were following after him that he would teach them. A man named Matthew, the greatest of the usurers,[291] who was also called Levi and whom the Jews considered a great sinner, was seated by the road engaged in his work. Christ's gaze fell upon him, and he said, "Follow me."[292] Matthew was stunned by these words and, **[L53a]** seeing his splendor and greatness, quickly got up, **[ASI.110]** leaving everything, and followed him. In his great joy, he made [Jesus] his guest and invited his friends. In order to show how he inclined to repentant sinners, Jesus accepted and went to his house and ate with his disciples in the midst of the people. To the Pharisees, Christ's mingling with usurers seemed bad, and they said to his disciples, "Why does your master eat together with usurers and bad people?"[293] When Jesus heard this, he replied, "They that are healthy are not in need of a physician, but they that are sick. Go learn what thing God's word is. I want mercy, not sacrifice, because I have come to call not the righteous but rather sinners."[294]

At this time, John's disciples came to him and said, "How is it that we and the Pharisees fast, and your disciples do not fast?"[295] Jesus apologized for his disciples' not fasting and said, "Can it be that the children of the bridechamber mourn while the bride is with them? The days will come when the bride is not with them, and the days will come **[ASI.111]** when the bride is taken from them, and then they will fast. No one would attach new cloth to an old garment because it would take from its strength and it would tear more easily. New wine is not put in old bottles, lest they break and the wine spill; rather, new wine is put into new bottles so that both may remain sound."[296] They were ashamed. Matthew severed his heart from all he had, discharged the people's debts, gave all that was left to the poor, and joined Christ, and he was always his follower.

[Jesus] brings a girl to life

Christ was saying this when Jairus,[297] the elder of a synagogue, came in great distress. As soon as he saw Jesus, he fell at his feet and said, "Lord, I have a daughter who is dying. Come with me and put your blessed hand on her head. I am hopeful that she will recover and live."[298] Christ, who never said no to anyone, went with him, along with his disciples. Hearing of this, innumerable people set out after him. A noble woman from whom blood constantly flowed and who had had that illness for twelve years without finding any relief from physicians heard **[ASI.112]** that Christ was coming and thought that if only she could touch the hem of his garment she

287. Matthew 9:2; Mark 2:5; Luke 5:20.

288. Mark 2:7; Luke 5:21.

289. Matthew 9:4–5; Mark 2:8–9; Luke 5:22–23.

290. Mark 2:12.

291. "Usurer" is used for the Persian سودخوار (*sūdkhwār* [profiteer or interest–devourer]). (This is for the "publican" of the DRB, which is the translation of τελώνης/*publicanus*, meaning "tax gatherer"). Since collecting interest is forbidden in Islam, *sūdkhwār* would have had a sufficiently negative connotation for Father Jerome's audience to convey the opprobrium heaped upon the publicans.

292. Matthew 9:9; Mark 2:14; Luke 5:27.

293. Matthew 9:11; Mark 2:16; Luke 5:30.

294. Matthew 9:12–13; Mark 2:17; Luke 5:31–32.

295. Matthew 9:14; Mark 2:18; Luke 5:33.

296. Variation on Matthew 9:15–17, Mark 2:19–22, and Luke 5:34–38.

297. The Latin Jairus, which Father Jerome transcribes into Persian as جایروس (*Jāyrūs*), is from the Grecized form (Ἰάειρος) of the Hebrew name יָאִיר (*Yā'īr* [Jair]).

298. Matthew 9:18; Mark 5:23.

would be healed. In all sincerity, she entered the crowd of people, managed with great difficulty to reach him, and touched his hem. That very moment she realized that the blood had stopped, and she turned away joyfully. Christ asked, "Who touched me?"[299] Everyone denied it. Simon and the other disciples said, "Lord, the people are pressing you from every side and don't allow you to walk, and you ask which person **[L54a]** touched your hem?"[300] He replied, "I know that power has left me."[301] Then he looked at the place where that woman was. When she realized that she was no longer hidden, in fear and trembling she came to Jesus, fell at his feet, and told him of her long affliction and her belief and how she had been healed. Jesus said, "Daughter, be of good heart. Your faith has made you whole. Go in health."[302] He was occupied with this for a while.

At this point, several of Jairus's servants **[2005. 145.16a]** came weeping and saying, "Master, your daughter has passed away. Do not trouble the teacher."[303] He thanked Christ for the trouble he had given him and in great distress and sadness asked for permission to depart to bury his dead daughter, but Jesus said, "Fear not, only believe, for your daughter will live."[304] He went with him, and when he entered the house, he found the people of the house in mourning [Cat. no. XX]. All were wailing and weeping. He desired that no one other than Simon, James, and John should enter the house with him, and when he entered he said to the people there who were wailing and mourning, "Why do you weep and wail? Do not cry, for the girl is not dead but only asleep."[305] With these words he showed that for him raising someone from the dead and waking someone up were the same. The people scoffed and laughed. Jesus sent them all outside and went in with his disciples and the father and mother to the place where the body was. He took the girl's hand and said, "Damsel, I say to you, arise."[306] At once, the girl came to life and arose whole. **[ASI.137]** As Jesus arose to depart, he told them to give her something to eat. The girl was twelve years old. Her mother and father and those in the house were astonished by what they had witnessed with their own eyes and offered much praise. As he departed, he insisted that they not reveal the miracle, but they disclosed it to everyone so that the news spread abroad.

Christ returned to his home and after him came two blind men who cried out and said, "O son of David, have mercy on us." When he reached his house, the blind men clung to him. Jesus said to them, "Do you have faith that I can do this?" Both said, "Yes, Lord." Then he touched their eyes and said, "May it be for you in accordance with your belief."[307] At that instant, their eyes became sighted. He forbade them to tell anyone, but they told everyone.

At the second feast, which is called Pentecost, Jesus went to Jerusalem **[L55a]** to teach the people, for at that time the Jews came there from every direction. **[ASI.138]** In Jerusalem was a place called Piscina in the Hebrew language, and in that place was a pool that had been made for washing animals before sacrifice, and around the pool were five arches where people with various illnesses, the blind, the deaf, the lame, and those with fevers, waited for the movement of the water, because every year an angel would come down from heaven and move the water, and the first person who entered the pool after the movement of the water would be healed of whatever illness he had. It is related that the power of healing in the water was from Christ's cross, which was made from wood Solomon had secretly put in the pool. In Christ's time it came to the surface and was taken out, and the cross on which Christ was crucified was made from it. Then the power of healing in the water ceased.

At this time, he was in Jerusalem. He entered that house and looked around. He saw an ill person who had been there for thirty-eight years, and when he realized that he had been there so long he said to him, "Would you like to be whole?" He said, "Yes, Lord, but I have no one to put me in the water when it moves, **[ASI.139]** and by the time I get there someone else has preceded me and gotten in." Jesus said, "Arise, take your bed, and go." The man was healed at once, and he arose, took his

299. Luke 8:45; Mark 5:30.
300. Luke 8:45; Mark 5:31.
301. Luke 8:46.
302. Matthew 9:22; Mark 5:34; Luke 8:48.
303. Luke 8:49; Mark 5:35.
304. Luke 8:50; variation on Mark 5:36.
305. Mark 5:39; Luke 8:52.
306. Mark 5:41; Luke 8:54.
307. Matthew 9:27–29.

bed, and departed, happy and joyful. Those present were amazed. This happened on the Sabbath. Since the Jews did not do any sort of work or exertion on that day, they rebuked the man and said, "You are not allowed to pick up any burden on the Sabbath." He replied, "I do not know. He who healed me told me to take my bed and go." They asked him, "Who told you to take your bed and go?" The healed man did not know who it was because Jesus was hidden among all the people who were there. After a time, Jesus saw the man in the temple and said, "You have been made whole. Sin no more lest your condition be worse than before."[308] With these words, he showed that the man's affliction had come from his sin and that most of our troubles and afflictions come from our sins. The man **[ASI.140]** excused himself and departed, and then he said to the Jews, "It was Jesus who healed me." Those who were fanatical in their religion persecuted Jesus for this reason and lay in wait to kill him. Of what they did, they said, "He is not a man of God because he does such things on the Sabbath."[309]

When Jesus heard this, he said, "Until now my Father acts, **[L56a]** and I act too.[310] Verily, verily I say to you, the things the Father does are the same things the Son does. The Father loves the Son, and whatever he does he shows him, and he will show him better things than these for you to marvel at, for just as the Father raises the dead and brings them to life, so also does the Son bring to life any whom he loves. The Father does not judge anyone, but he has given all judgment into the hands of the Son, so that all may honor the Son as they honor the Father. He who does not honor the Son does not honor the Father. Verily, verily I say to you, the hour will come and now is when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and they who hear will live, because just as there is life in the person of the Father, **[ASI.141]** he has given to the Son that there be life in his person, and he has given him the authority to judge because he is the Son of Man. Do not marvel, for the time will come when all those who are in the graves will hear his voice, and they that have done good will come out for the resurrection of life and they that have done evil for the resurrection of judgment.[311] You sent people to John, and he bore witness of the truth to me. I do not want anyone's testimony, but I say this that you may be saved. He is a burning and a shining lamp, and you were willing to rejoice for a time in his light. But I have another witness greater than that of John, for the works that the Father has given to me to complete bear witness to us that I am sent by my Father. He who sent me has borne witness to me. You have not heard his voice, you have not recognized him, and you have not seen him. His words do not abide in you because you do not have faith that he is sent. Search the Scriptures, for you think you will have eternal life from them. They bear witness to me, but you do not want to come to me **[ASI.142]** in order that you may receive eternal life. I do not want honor from men, but I know you, that in you there is no love for God. I have come in the name of My Father, but you have not received me, and if another comes in his own name you will receive him. How can you believe, you who want veneration from one another and do not seek greatness from God alone? You think that I will complain of you to the Father. He who complains of you is Moses, in whom you trust, for if you believed in Moses, you would have believed in me also, because he wrote of me. And if you did not believe his writings, how can you believe my words?"[312] With these words, the leaders of the Jews were bested and mortified. They therefore increased in their rancor and became even more determined to kill him, not because he broke the Sabbath but because he called God his father and put himself on a level with Him. **[L57a]**

Debate over the Sabbath

After several days, he set out from Jerusalem for another land, to teach the people. **[ASI.143]** Many followed him. As he passed by a field, his disciples were so poor and hungry that they picked off stalks, cleaned them with their hands, and ate. Since some of the Pharisees who were there looked upon them with envy, they blamed them and took their complaint to Jesus and said, "Your disciples are doing something that is not allowed"[313]—

308. John 5:6–14.
309. John 5:15–16.
310. John 5:17.
311. John 5:19–29.
312. Variation on John 5:33–47.
313. Matthew 12:2; Mark 2:24; Luke 6:2.

meaning to say, "You are negligent in your observance of the Sabbath."[314] He excused them on account of their neediness and adduced David's deed as proof, saying, "Have you not read[315] what he did when he and his companions entered God's house, and he ate the table bread and gave it to his companions? Only the priests were allowed to eat that bread. Then have you not read in the law that priests who defile the Sabbath in the temple are blameless? I say to you that this place is greater than the temple. If you had known what this is, that I want mercy, not sacrifice, you would not have blamed someone who has **[ASI.144]** no guilt. Truly, the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath."[316] And with these words of his they were silenced.

He left this gathering, and on the next Sabbath he was in another gathering, teaching. There was a man with a withered arm. He came to Jesus, and they were waiting for him to heal him on the Sabbath so they could blame him because they considered work on the Sabbath to be against the law. Knowing what they were thinking, he said to the man, "Stand in the midst."[317] They then asked Jesus, "It is lawful to heal on the Sabbath?"[318] He said to them, "I ask you, is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath? Should a soul be saved or destroyed?"[319] And he also said, "Who among you who has a sheep that falls into a pit on the Sabbath would not grab it and pull it out? Is not a man better than a sheep?[320] Therefore, to do good on the Sabbath is good."[321] Then he looked at them in anger because of the blindness of their hearts, and he said to the man, "Stretch out your arm."[322] He stretched it out, and it was just as long as other men's arms. They then grew even more vexed **[2005.145.12a]** and said, convincingly, that Jesus was not a man of God because he did not observe the Sabbath. The Pharisees went away at that very time and held council with Herod's friends on how they could kill him. Jesus, however, and his disciples proceeded to Galilee. In this he taught us to eliminate debate, to be tolerant of all, and to be clement, even if it diminishes us. He gave this teaching in order to fulfill the words of Isaiah,[323] which are these: "Behold my servant, whom I uphold, my elect, in whom my soul delights. I have put my spirit upon him. He shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the dying lamp shall he not quench until he brings forth judgment of victory, and in his name the nations will be hopeful."[324]

Leaving them, he went toward Galilee, and many people followed him. He healed the sick, and when those in whom were unclean spirits saw him they fell before him and said, "You are the Son of God."[325] He would rebuke them and tell them not to reveal him. **[2005.145.12b]**

Choosing the Apostles, that is, the Messengers

After passing through many places, he came with a crowd of people to Mount Tabor.[326] Tabor is a mountain near Nazareth that is round and high, and on the top of it is a broad plain filled with trees. At the end of the day, he went up onto that mountain, leaving the people at the foot of the mountain, and spent the entire night in prayer [Cat. no. XXI]. **[ASI.23]** At dawn, he summoned his disciples and selected twelve of them and named them Apostles, which means "messenger," and gave them power to drive out unclean spirits and to heal every sort of illness and infirmity. The names of the twelve are: Simon who is also called Peter; Andrew his brother; James; John; Phineas; Bartholomew; Matthew; Thomas; James, son of Alpheus; Simon, who was also called the Zealot; Jude, son of James; and Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Christ to his enemies. In order

314. Father Jerome's gloss.
315. Leviticus 24:9.
316. Variation on Matthew 12:3–8, Mark 2:25–28, and Luke 6:3–5.
317. Luke 6:8.
318. Matthew 12:10.
319. Matthew 12:12; Mark 3:4; Luke 6:9.
320. Matthew 12:11.
321. Matthew 12:12; variation on Luke 14:5.
322. Variation on Matthew 12:13, Mark 3:5, and Luke 6:10.
323. Variation on Isaiah 42:1–3.
324. Matthew 12:18–21.
325. Possibly based on John 1:49.
326. In the Persian text, *Kōh–i Baṭōr* metathesized from *Ṭabōr*, although the name should actually be تبور (*Tabōr*), from the Hebrew *Tābhōr*. Mount Tabor is considered the site of the Transfiguration by tradition: the name does not occur in the canonical Gospels, but it is mentioned several times in the Old Testament, e.g., Joshua 19:22 and Psalm 88:13 (89:12).

to tell them that the people of the world were in need of their teaching, he said to them, "You are the salt of the earth, and when salt loses its flavor, with what will it be salted? It is not good for anything but to be cast out and trodden under the foot of men. You are the light of the world. A city that is built on a mountain cannot be hid. People do not put a lighted lamp under a bushel but rather on a candlestick so it can give light to those in the house." And in order to teach them how they should teach by word and deed, he said, "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works **[ASI.26]** and glorify your Father who is in heaven."[327]

A statement of perfect righteousness

After that, he came down from the height of the mountain, and the people who had come from various places crowded around to hear what he said and to be healed of their illnesses. Those in whom were unclean spirits and who suffered torment found relief and healing, and all wished to touch him because the power of miracles came from him and he healed everyone. Then he sat and, casting his blessed gaze upon his disciples and the other people, opened his mouth **[L59a]** and began to teach them, saying, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted. Blessed are they who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled. Blessed are the kind, for they shall be given kindness. Blessed are the pure **[ASI.27]** in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."[328] In these eight statements he showed the goal of worshipping God and the greatness of the reward that will be given in heaven, for in order that perfect righteousness be acquired it is necessary for us first to detach our hearts from the things of the world, which are obstacles, and then to place our feet in the path of goodness. The first he showed in the first three statements, and the second in the other five. Therefore, what he says is, "Blessed are they who are poor in spirit,"[329] that is, those who do not attach their hearts to the things of this world, and this has three levels: first, he who does not attach his heart to what he has; second, he who is content with what he has and is not worried about acquiring more; third, he who gives everything he has to the poor and empties himself so that all his concentration may be toward goodness. This is the highest level, and what he said of the soul is an allusion to the fact that involuntary poverty **[L59b]** has no value. And thus it is customary that the people of the world not only are indifferent to anyone who gives up everything and becomes poor **[ASI.28]** but even torment him. "Blessed are the meek,"[330] for they tolerate and suffer trials and tribulations, because to be poor and to become angry and proud are pleasing neither to God nor to man.

Inasmuch as they suffer out of necessity and involuntarily, he says "blessed are they who weep, because the poor and clement have no call to rejoice."[331] It is necessary for such a one to weep constantly over his own sins and over the ultimate end of him who has tormented him. Only then will his tolerance be perfect. With these three things the heart is severed from desires and they are delivered from obstacles to goodness.

The second, which is striving after goodness, he expounds in other statements. He says "blessed is he who hungers and thirsts after righteousness."[332] In this he shows that it is not pleasing for a person to deny himself enjoyment of the things of the world but rather it is necessary to strive after goodness. It is like a person who is hungry and thirsty, because for a hungry person what difference does it make whether he eats bitter or sweet things? What does a thirsty person care whether water is cold or sweet? He who is hungry will eat anything, and he who is thirsty will drink anything and not put it off to another time. So also must a seeker after goodness seek goodness with hunger **[ASI.29]** and thirst, and no tastelessness or excuse should stop him. That which should be done now he should put off to another time. This thirst he will acquire after poverty, clemency, and weeping, **[L60a]** because until he rids himself of the

327. Matthew 5:13–16.
328. Matthew 5:3–10.
329. Matthew 5:3.
330. Matthew 5:4.
331. Matthew 5:5.
332. Matthew 5:6.

pleasures of the world in his heart by means of these three things, his appetite for perfect goodness will not be purified.

Inasmuch as the adornment of goodness is to have mercy on the poor, he says "blessed are they who are merciful in their hearts"[333] because goodness without mercy is like a rose without aroma, a face without color, or a body without a soul. Anyone who wants to do good must be merciful toward others in all bodily and spiritual needs, so that God may activate his mercy toward him for this reason and reward him with what is appropriate.

Inasmuch as in order to benefit from mercy it is necessary that we not be hypocritical so that people will praise us, he says "blessed are the pure in heart,"[334] for they have no goal other than God's pleasure, and for that reason they treat the needy. He mentioned purity after mercy because purity of heart and forgiveness of sins depend upon kindness to the poor. Since to reach perfect righteousness, it is not enough **[ASI.30]** for a man to be good for himself and not benefit others. Also, in doing good for people, the best thing is to bind people together. He said "blessed are the peacemakers,"[335] namely, they who strive to bring sinners to God and convince them to be righteous and who make peace among enemies. This he said after mercy and purity because only then can a person create a bond, for people know that he wants to bring it about purely out of mercy and unselfishness.

Inasmuch as persistence in goodness is necessary, and a doer of good will certainly suffer tribulations, **[L60b]** he says "blessed are they who suffer pain for righteousness' sake,"[336] for tolerance is a garb in which goodness should be clad and kept protected during the rain of tribulations. Without it no good can be done. Tolerance has three aspects: tolerance after sin, tolerance without sin, which is better, and tolerance for righteousness, **[ASI.145]** which is the best, because if a man is tolerant of and has fortitude for what he deserves, it is not surprising. Praiseworthy is he who has patience and is content with what he endures without sin, and when he tolerates with patience the afflictions that come upon him for righteousness' sake, this is the ultimate goal and the perfection of tolerance. When it would be appropriate for him to see goodness in return for goodness but instead he suffers evil and is cheerful, no more tolerance than this can be had. Anyone who has these eight qualities is perfected in righteousness, and the level of righteousness in paradise that the good acquire is palpably mentioned in the second part of these eight statements. First he said "theirs is the kingdom of heaven,"[337] for the greatest degree for a person is to be king, and greater than that is to rule in heaven and have more expanse than anything else. Since nothing is pleasing to its owner until it is his and is permanent, in the second he said "they will inherit the earth."[338] Inheritance is an allusion to property, and the earth is an allusion to permanence. **[ASI.146]** Inasmuch as possession **[L61a]** and permanence are not worth anything unless they bring comfort and happiness, he said "they will have comfort and consolation,"[339] for therein lie perfect consolation and comfort for body and soul. In order to show that this level will never decrease or be diminished, he said "they will be filled,"[340] for where there is satisfaction there is no desire—one is completely calm—and at every time there comes to us more than we deserve. Of these things that have been said he said "they will be shown mercy,"[341] because here, relative to other places, God will increase his mercy and goodness to the righteous. In order to show that all these acts of goodness will not be like the acts of goodness of this world, he said "they will see God there,"[342] for he is the fount of all goodness in paradise, and one does not see these acts of goodness of paradise in corporeal and earthly things without seeing God. In order to state that seeing God will be as a son sees a father, he said that "they will be sons of God,"[343] that is, God will act toward them in all kindness, mercy, and respect. This is the perfection of the kingship of heaven. Based on this, he repeatedly said that "theirs is the kingdom of heaven."[344]

333. Matthew 5:7.
334. Matthew 5:8.
335. Matthew 5:9.
336. Matthew 5:10.
337. Matthew 5:3.
338. Matthew 5:4.
339. Matthew 5:5.
340. Matthew 5:6.
341. Matthew 5:7.
342. Matthew 5:8.
343. Matthew 5:9.
344. Matthew 5:10.

After showing perfect righteousness and its reward in these eight words, he said, "Blessed are you when they rebuke you and lie in wait for you and say **[ASI.147]** all manner of evil falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be of good cheer because your recompense will be great in heaven, for thus have the prophets who were before you been persecuted.[345] Woe to you, the rich, for you have already obtained your comfort. Woe to you who scoff, for soon you will weep and grieve. Woe to you when people speak well of you, for thus your fathers spoke of false prophets."[346]

Christ came to fulfill the law

"Do not think I have come to destroy religion or the prophets. I have come not to abrogate them but to fulfill them. Verily I say to you, heaven and earth will pass away, but the law will not decrease by one word or one line until such time as all is fulfilled. Therefore, whoever neglects one of these least commandments and so teaches will be called least in the kingdom of heaven, but whoever acts and so teaches will be called great in the kingdom of heaven."[347] And in order to confirm and perfect his saying that he did not come to destroy **[ASI.148]** the law, but to fulfill it, he said, "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will in no case be able to enter the kingdom of heaven. You have heard it said by them of olden times, 'Thou shalt not kill,'[348] and whoever kills must be judged, but I say to you, whoever is angry with his brother without cause must be judged, and anyone who calls his brother empty-headed deserves rebuke by the community, and whoever calls his brother a fool is worthy of the fire of hell. If you have placed your sacrifice on the altar and then remember that you have offended your brother, leave your sacrifice there, go, and first reconcile with your brother. After that, come and continue your sacrifice. Conciliate your adversary **[L62a]** while you are on the way with him, lest your adversary entrust you to the judge, and the judge entrust you to the officers, and they cast you in prison. Verily I say, you will not come out until you pay the last farthing you owe.[349] You have heard it said,[350] 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' but I say to you, do not resist evil, but if anyone strike you on your right cheek, **[ASI.149]** turn the other cheek to him. If anyone wants to sue you and take your coat, give him your cloak too. If anyone compels you to go one mile, go two miles with him. Give to anyone who asks you, and do not deprive him who asks you for a loan.[351] As you would have people do to you, do you likewise.[352] You have heard it said[353] by them of olden times, 'Love them who are close to you and hate your enemies,'[354] but I say to you, love your enemies and bless them that curse you, do good to him who hates you, and pray for him who persecutes you, speaks ill of you, and saddens you, so that you may be sons of the Father in heaven, who causes his sun to shine on the good and evil alike and causes his rain to fall on the just, the unjust, and sinners. If you love him who loves you, what reward will you have? Do not idolators do likewise? If you greet only your friends, what have you done more than others? Do not idolators do likewise?[355] If you do good to him who does good to you, **[ASI.150]** what more do you do than others? Even evildoers do likewise.[356]

If you give a loan to him from whom you hope to be repaid, what more have you done? Even evildoers lend to evildoers to be repaid. Love your enemies and do go to them. Lend without having hopes of them, and your reward will be great, and you will be called sons of God most high, for he is kind to them who are grateful,[357] and thus you will be forgiven even as your father has forgiven you.[358] Be as perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.[359] You have heard it said by them of olden times, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,'[360] but I say to you, whenever you look at a woman and lust after her, you have committed adultery in your heart.

345. Matthew 5:11–12.
346. Variation on Luke 6:24–26.
347. Matthew 5:17–19.
348. Exodus 20:13; Deuteronomy 5:17.
349. Variation on Matthew 5:20–26.
350. Exodus 21:24; Leviticus 24:20; Deuteronomy 19:21.
351. Matthew 5:38–42.
352. Matthew 7:12; Luke 6:31.
353. Probably Leviticus 19:18.
354. Matthew 5:43.
355. Matthew 5:44–47.
356. Luke 6:33.
357. Luke 6:34–35.
358. Probably from Colossians 3:13.
359. Matthew 5:48.
360. Exodus 20:14; Deuteronomy 5:18.

If your right eye offends you, pluck it out and cast it away, for it would be better for one of your limbs to be destroyed than for your whole body to be cast into hell. If your right hand offends you, cut it off and cast it away, for it would be better for one of your limbs **[ASI.151]** to be destroyed than for your whole body to go to hell. You have heard it said by them of olden times, 'Thou shalt not swear falsely but shalt perform unto God thine oaths,'[361] but I say to you, do not swear at all, neither by heaven, which is God's throne, nor by earth, which is the place on which he entrusts his feet, nor by Jerusalem, which is the city of the great king. Do not swear by your own head, for you cannot make one hair white or black. Your word should be, 'Yea, yea,' or 'Nay, nay.' **[L63a]** Anything more than that comes from evil."[362]

Since the soul of righteousness is good intention, he expended great effort in showing that whatever we do, we should do good and have God in our view. For this reason, he said, "Think not to do good before men so that they see you, for you will have no reward with your Father in heaven.[363] When you give alms, do not trumpet it abroad as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and marketplaces to be praised by men. Verily I say to you, they have their reward. When you give alms, let not your left hand know what you right hand **[ASI.152]** is doing so that your alms be in secret, and your Father who sees what is in secret will reward you openly."[364]

With regard to prayer he said, "When you pray, do not be like the hypocrites, for they love to stand for prayer in the synagogues and corners of the marketplace to make a display before men. Verily I say to you, they have their reward. When you pray, enter into your closet, close the door, and pray to your Father in secret, and your Father who sees what is in secret will give to you openly. When you pray, do not make your words many as do the idolators, for they think they are praised for their many words. Be not like them, for your Father is all-knowing of what you need before you make a request."[365]

With regard to fasting he said, "When you fast, do not be of sad countenance like the hypocrites, for they disfigure their faces to make their fasting apparent to people. Verily I say to you, they have their reward. When you fast, anoint your head and wash your face, **[ASI.153]** so that your fasting not be apparent, and your Father who sees what is in secret will give you openly."[366]

In order that we sever all connection with the things of the world and turn wholly to God, he said, "Do not lay up treasure for yourselves on earth, where worms do damage and thieves break in and steal. Lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven, where neither insects and worms do damage nor thieves break in and steal, for where your treasure is, there will your heart be. The lamp of the body is the eye. If it is pure, your whole body will shine. If your eye is evil, your whole body will be dark. If, therefore, the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!"[367] By the eye he meant intention, and if the intention is corrupt, the deed is also corrupt.

In order to serve God with all one's might, he said, "It cannot be that a man serve two masters unless he hates one and loves the other or adores one and despises the other. You cannot worship God and mammon.[368] For this reason, I say to you, take no thought for your life what you will eat or drink, or for your body what you will wear. **[ASI.154]** Is life not more than food and the body more than raiment?[369] Consider the birds of the air: they do not sow, do not reap, **[L64a]** and do not store up, and your heavenly Father feeds them. Are you not more than they? Who among you can add, strive as he may, one cubit to his stature? For whatever you think of wearing, consider the lilies of the field, how they grow without toiling and without laboring. I say to you, Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. If, then, God so clothes the leaves and grass, which are today and tomorrow cast into the oven, are you not much better than they, O you of little faith? Give no thought and do not say, 'What shall we eat?', or 'What shall we drink?', or 'What shall we wear?' All these things the Gentiles seek. Your Father knows you

361. Leviticus 19:12.

362. Matthew 5:27–37, with the exception of 5:31–2, which deals with divorce.

363. Matthew 6:1.

364. Matthew 6:2–4.

365. Matthew 6:5–8, with the term "idolators" replacing the original "heathen" in Matthew 6:7.

366. Matthew 6:16–18.

367. Matthew 6:19–23.

368. Matthew 6:24; Luke 16:13.

369. Matthew 6:25; Luke 12:22–23.

are in need of all these. Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be added to you. Give no thought to the morrow, for the morrow will worry about itself. Every day's own evil is enough."[370]

Lest we find fault with others, he said, **[ASI.155]** "Judge not lest you be judged. Do not think anyone should be judged lest an evil judgment come upon you, for as you judge, so will you be judged.[371] Forgive, and you will be forgiven. Give, and you will be given, and a good and full measure will be poured out in your lap, for by the measure with which you mete it will be meted out to you.[372] Why do you see a speck in your brother's eye and not think of the stick that is in your own eye? You say to your brother, 'O brother, let me take the speck out of your eye,' and there is a stick in your own eye. O hypocrite, first take the stick out of your own eye, and then you will see to remove the speck from your brother's eye."[373]

Finally, he spoke a word for good living: "Do to others what you would have them do to you. This is the law of the prophets."[374] And lest we be duped and follow every claimant to prophecy, he said, "Eschew false prophets who come to you in goats' clothing but inwardly are ravening wolves. You can know them by their fruits. Is it possible to gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles? **[ASI.156]** Even so, a good tree gives good fruit, and a bad tree gives bad fruit. A good tree cannot give bad fruit and a bad tree cannot give good fruit. Any tree that does not produce good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire, and therefore you can know them from their fruits.[375] A good man produces good deeds from the good stores he has in his heart, and an evil man produces evil from the evil stores he has in his heart, for the mouth speaks from the fullness of the heart."[376]

Inasmuch as praise of God is not effective without action for salvation, he said, "Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, lord,' shall enter the kingdom of heaven but he who does the will of my heavenly Father is he who will enter the kingdom of heaven. Why do you say to me, 'Lord, lord'? You do not act in accordance with my word. Many on that day will say to me, 'Lord, lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and did we not drive out demons in your name, and did we not perform miracles in your name?' **[L65a]** Then I will say to them, 'I never knew you. Depart from me, O evildoers.'[377] He who hears my words and acts on them will be like the wise man who built his house on solid rock. Then came the clouds, and the streams flowed, and the winds blew, and they beat against the house, and it did not fall, for its foundation was on rock. And any who hear my words and do not act on them will be like the foolish man who built his house on sand. The rains came, and the rivers flowed, and the winds blew, and they beat against the house, and it fell, and great was its fall."[378]

When he had finished this speech, all were amazed by his teaching because he taught wisely, like their scribes and Pharisees.

When he was finished, he went to the city of Naum, where there was a Greek[379] centurion, a good man and clement. He loved the Jews, for whom he did good things. He had a child who was much beloved by him, but he was very ill. He set out in search of Jesus and said, "Lord, my child is ill in the house and is failing seriously."[380] A group of Jews who were at the gathering said, "It would be appropriate for you to do good to him because he is a friend to the Jews and has put a portion of his wealth at our disposal."[381] To him Jesus replied, "I will come and make him whole." The Greek said, "My lord, I am not worthy that you should come into my house, but only say the word and my child will be whole, for **[L65b]** I too am a man of power and have soldiers. To one I say, 'Go,' and he goes. To another I say, 'Come,' and he comes. I tell my servant, 'Do this,' and he does it." When Jesus heard these words, he was amazed and said to his followers, "Verily I say to you, I have not found such faith in Israel. I say to you that many will come from the east and west and sit with

370. Variation on Luke 12:24–31 and Matthew 6:26–34.
371. Matthew 7:1–2.
372. Luke 6:37–38.
373. Luke 6:41–42; Matthew 7:4–5.
374. Matthew 7:12; variation on Luke 6:31.
375. Matthew 7:15–20.
376. Luke 6:45; Matthew 12:34–35.
377. Matthew 7:21–23.
378. Matthew 7:24–27; Luke 6:47–49.
379. Father Jerome uses the word *Rūmī,* which normally means "Greek," though the centurion was, of course, Roman.
380. Matthew 8:6.
381. Variation on Luke 7:4–5.

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, and the sons of the kingdom will be cast into the outer darkness, and there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth there." Then he said to the Greek, "Go, it will be for you, as you have believed." Immediately his child recovered his health.[382]

He raises a youth from the dead

At this time, while he was traveling through the cities, he passed through the city of Nain with his disciples and other notables. As he reached the city gate, the bier of a dead man that was being carried to the graveyard came out. It was the corpse of a young man who was the only son in his mother's house, and his mother was a widow. The widow woman was walking with the people of the city, weeping. When the Lord saw him, he felt sorry for her and said, "Weep not."[383] And he came forth and put his hand on the bier. Those who had lifted it up stopped. Suddenly he said, "O youth, I say to you, 'Arise.' "[384] That very instant, the dead man sat up and started speaking, and Jesus entrusted him to his mother. The people, gripped by fear, **[L66a]** praised God and said, "A great prophet has appeared to us. God has looked upon his people."[385] News of this spread among all the Jews and throughout the surrounding provinces. John's disciples informed him of this event while he was in prison.

John is put in chains

The reason John was put in bonds was that Herod was desirous of his brother Philip's wife, whose name was Herodias. He married her, which was by no means legal because her husband was still alive. Although King Herod was guilty of this, he had gone many times to hear John's preaching, and he venerated him and did many good things for him. One day, John found an opportunity to speak to him and said, "It is not licit for you to marry your brother's wife."[386] These words had an effect on him, and Herodias was worried, because she feared he might put her away on account of these words, so she endeavored to make King Herod not believe in John **[ASI.53]** and to persuade him to kill him. She slandered him to such an extent that it took root in Herod's mind to put John in prison, so that at least he could be observed when he spoke. While he was in prison, he was informed of Christ's miracles. Knowing that he would soon be killed, he strove to have his disciples go to Jesus, **[L66b]** and he constantly said, "He is the coming Messiah."[387] However, they were so fond of John that in no way would they part from him, and they did not want to believe that anyone better than him would come. In order to make them more willing to follow Christ, he thought he would send several of them to see him and witness his marvelous deeds. Therefore, he chose two of them and said, "Go and ask Jesus on my behalf, 'Are you the one to come, or should we look for another?' "[388] They went and found Jesus in a large public square, where he was teaching a crowd of people. Approaching him, they delivered John's message. Jesus continued what he was doing, and, in order to prove his claim, **[ASI.54]** he performed some amazing things, healing the sick of their illnesses, curing the blind, and bringing the dead to life; for, in order to conciliate those who had come, he did not want to reply to them in word but in deed, as though to say, "These are powerful witnesses to me. Can anyone else do these things?"[389] Also, by performing miracles, he showed that what the prophet Isaiah had said in the thirty-fifth chapter was fulfilled, which is: "Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Your God will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. **[L67a]** Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing: for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert"[390]—that is, God's mercy and kindness will be apparent in the land of Judea. Then, he gave them permission and said, "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: the blind become sighted, the deaf hear, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the dead

382. The rest of the narrative is a variation on Matthew 8:7–13. Father Jerome replaces the original "centurion" and "servant" with "Greek" and "child."

383. Luke 7:13.

384. Luke 7:14.

385. Luke 7:16.

386. Matthew 14:4; Mark 6:18; Luke 3:19–20.

387. Based on John 1:30.

388. Matthew 11:3; Luke 7:19.

389. Unidentified source, probably a gloss.

390. Variation on Isaiah 35:3–6.

rise up, and the poor are given good news. Blessed is he who has no doubt of me."[391] They went, and lest people think **[ASI.55]** that John had revoked his testimony, [Jesus] praised him and said, "What did you come out into the desert to see? Was it to see a reed shaken by the wind? What did you come to see? Was it to see a man who wears fine clothing? They who wear fine clothing would be in kings' houses. What did you come out to see? Was it to see a prophet? I say to you, he of whom it is written,[392] 'Behold, I send my angel before you to smooth the road for you,' is greater than the prophets. Verily I say to you, among them who are born of women there has not arisen anyone greater than John the Baptist: nonetheless, he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. All the prophets and the law have prophesied until the days of John. If you will accept it, he is Elijah, who is to come. Let him hear that has ears to hear."[393] These words mean, as he would later explain, that just as it was written that before Christ comes to judge the world, Elijah would come and the Antichrist would give contrary teaching, **[ASI.56]** so did John come with such power of asceticism and force before the Messiah, who is now with you. Also, just as Elijah was an ascetic and so fanatical in the law, so also is John. Just as Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, the king of Israel, lay in wait for Elijah, so too did Herodias, the wife of Philip, lie in wait for John, for King Herod put him in prison for her sake. All people loved John and were baptized by him. Hearing this praise Christ made of John, the disciples were glad, but the sages and Pharisees were not pleased, because they accorded him no honor and took no account of his baptizing. Christ rebuked them and said, "To whom shall the men of this tribe be likened? I will liken them to children seated in the marketplace. They cry out to other children, saying, 'We sang for you, and you did not dance. We wailed for you, and you did not weep.' There came John, who did not eat or drink, and they said he had a demon. **[ASI.57]** There came a man who eats and drinks and acts like others, and they said, 'This is a man who drinks wine. He is a friend to usurers, with whom he converses.' "[394] **[L68a]** God wanted to attract this group to goodness by one means or another. If they had had no share of him, it would have been their fault. He spoke long and told them that since they had profited nothing from seeing so many miracles from him, and since most were from Galilee, where, relative to other places, he had taught more and performed more miracles, he addressed several cities in particular, saying, "Woe to you, O Chorazin. Woe to you, O Bethsaida. If the miracles that were performed in you had been performed in Tyre or Sidon, they would long ago have repented in sackcloth and ashes. I say to you, on the Day of Resurrection Tyre and Sidon will have more comfort than you. And you, O Capernaum, will you rise up to heaven? Soon you will descend into hell,[395] for if the miracles that were performed in you had been performed in Sodom, it might still be standing today. To you I say, the land of Sodom will have more comfort on the Day of Resurrection than you."[396]

391. Luke 7:22–23; Matthew 11:4–6.
392. Possibly referring to Malachi 3:1.
393. Matthew 11:7–15.

Christ goes to Jerusalem

From there Jesus set out, traveling through the cities and villages, to Jerusalem. In that city was a noble woman from the city of Bethany,[397] Mary Magdalene by name, sister of Martha.[398] They were both rich. Their father was named Syro[399] and their mother was Eucharia. They had a brother named Lazarus.[400] Mary

394. Variation on Luke 7:31–34 and Matthew 11:16–19.
395. Matthew 11:21–23; Luke 10:13–15.
396. Matthew 11:23–24.
397. The name Bethany (Βηθανία [Bethania]) in the New Testament could be from בֵּית הִינֵי (*Bēth Hīnē* [House of Dates]) or בֵּית עֲנִיָּה (*Bēth ʾĀniyyāh* [House of Sorrow]). Father Jerome renders it variously in Persian, sometimes simply transcribing the Latin and other times making an attempt to etymologize it. The name has been lost to history, but the location is well known. The modern name of Bethany, العازرية (*al-ʿĀzariyya*), is derived from Lazarus's name.
398. The identification of Mary Magdalene with Mary of Bethany (John 11:1) goes back to the first centuries of Christianity.
399. The name of the father of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus of Bethany is given as Cyrus ("Syrus") in Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:375 no. 96.
400. Father Jerome's لاغاذر (*Lāghādhar*) is either a mistranscription or variant of لاعاذر (*Lāʿādhar*) (= Lazarus < Λάζαρος < לְעָזָר *Laʿzār* < אֶלְעָזָר *Ēlaʿāzār* [Eleazar]). From Father Jerome's

Magdalene was young, rich, and beautiful, and since she had been raised without a father, she lived wantonly and went wherever she wanted. She liked to be admired and loved, and for this reason she did many things. She wore fine clothes, she bedecked herself, and she engaged in levity. As a result, in the city of Jerusalem she had a reputation for evildoing. Her sister Martha, after being healed of the constant flow of blood from which she had suffered for seven years,[401] believed in Jesus and constantly strove to win Mary over to righteousness, but since levity had taken root in her, it was of no use. Finally, she thought she would do something so her sister might hear Christ's teaching. It might be that his heavenly **[2005.145.10a]** teaching would work on her heart, and in order to win her over she told her about Christ, saying, "The whole world goes to him to hear him. He is extremely handsome and powerful in speaking."[402] In order both to see him and to show herself to the crowd of people, she went to Christ. When he saw her, he wanted to draw her out of the turmoil of the world, so he spoke in accordance with her station and talked of the impermanence of the world, the hideousness of sin, and the torments of hell. And, in order to attract everyone to repentance, he spoke long of the mercy God would have on sinners. He spoke so movingly that she changed in every respect. And it happened that on that day one of the Pharisees invited Christ to be his guest. Since he knew that this place was near the home of that sinful woman, he accepted and went. As they were eating, the evildoer Mary, who was wounded and alienated in her heart, found her way by asking to the house of the Pharisee. **[L69a]** Without waiting, she bought a crystal vial of expensive ointment and, weeping and with her hair in disarray, went there and threw herself into the midst of the people **[2005.145.10b]** at Christ's feet [Cat. no. XXII]. **[ASI.35]** Without saying anything, she wept so much that she wetted his blessed feet with her tears. She dried them with her hair, kissed them, rubbed the ointment on them, and explained the reasons she had sinned. All this she did without his saying anything, since her weeping did not give him a chance to speak. Christ was silent and left her to her grief and exhibiting her repentance. All who witnessed such a strange and novel thing were astonished and spoke ill, since they well knew the woman and her levity, and even more, since they wondered how Christ could have allowed her to touch him. In particular, the Pharisee who had invited him as his guest wondered, saying, "If he were a prophet, he would have known who this woman was who touched him and what she was like, because she is a sinner." Aware of what was in his heart, Christ said, "O Simon, I have words for you." "O great one," he replied, "speak." Then he said, **[ASI.36]** "Two people owed someone money. One owed him five hundred dinars, and the other, fifty. Since they were both destitute and had nothing with which to repay their debts, he forgave them both. Which of these two did he love more?" Simon answered, "My guess is that it is the one he forgave the more." Christ said, "You are right." Then he turned to the woman and said to Simon, "You see this woman? I came into your house, but you did not pour water on my feet. As soon as this woman came in, she wet both my feet with her tears and dried them with her hair. You did not kiss me, but she did not stop kissing my feet from the moment she came in. You did not anoint my head with oil, but she anointed my feet with expensive ointment. Therefore, I say to you, her sins have been forgiven because she loved more. He who is forgiven little loves little, and he who loves little is forgiven little." Then he said to the woman, "Your sins are forgiven." Those who were seated there contemplated in their hearts, thinking, "Who is this **[ASI.37]** who forgives sins?" Blessed Christ took no notice of them and said to the woman, "Go in peace. Your faith has saved you."[403] And she departed, changed utterly from that day forward, and she who had previously seemed wanton now became a model of righteousness. She was always engaged in ascetic practice, retreat, and contemplation of God's secrets. After Jesus Christ went into heaven, the Jews drove her from their kingdom, put her on a ship, and sent her away. She arrived at the port

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rendering into Persian, it looks as though he thought, as was generally believed, that "Lazarus" was from the Aramaic לא עדר (*lā ʿādhar*, meaning "no helper").

401. The identification of the woman healed of flowing blood with Martha is based on Luke 8:2.

402. Father Jerome's gloss, the latter part of which was probably inspired by Lentulus's description of Jesus (reproduced by Father Jerome at the end of part 4 of the text [fols. L145a–145b]).

403. Luke 7:39–50.

of Marseilles, which is in the kingdom of France, and in that land she told of Christ and the Gospel, **[L70a]** and she brought many to his religion. Later, she chose a mountain, on which she spent thirty years in all abstinence and contemplative worship in a cave. Seven times every day the angels took her to heaven and in this state she died.[404]

In the city of Jerusalem there was a deaf and dumb man possessed by a demon who was brought before Christ, who commanded him regally, saying, "Go out of this man!"[405] That very instant, it left him, and the man could speak, see, and hear.[406] The people were amazed and said, "Is not he the son of David? Never have we seen such in our own land."[407] **[ASI.38]** The Pharisees, for whom his reputation meant loss, were displeased to hear this, and to discredit him they said, "He drives out demons by the power of Beelzebub, the chief of the demons."[408] Since Christ knew what thoughts were in their hearts, he said, "Every kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed, and no city or house that is destructive of itself will stand. If demon drives out demon, their kingdom will be divided, and how then can this kingdom stand? For you say that I drive out demons through the power of Beelzebub, but if I drive out demons through the power of Beelzebub, by whose power do your sons drive them out? They shall therefore judge you. But if I drive out demons by the finger of God, then the kingdom of God has come to you.[409] If a strong armed man keeps watch over his house, everything in the house is safe;[410] and if one stronger than him comes and overcomes him, the latter will seize all the weapons upon which the former relied and take away everything in the house. He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me **[ASI.39]** scatters abroad.[411] When an unclean spirit comes out of a man, it wanders in waterless and dry lands to rest; and when it finds none, it says, 'Let me go back to the house out of which I came.' And when it comes and finds it swept and adorned, it goes in, bringing seven even more unclean bodies with it, and they take up residence in that house. In the end, the man is worse than he was in the beginning."[412]

As he was saying these things, a woman cried out and said, "Blessed is the womb of her who bore you and the breasts you suckled!" However, Jesus said, "Blessed are they who hear the words of man and act in accordance therewith."[413]

At this point, his mother and several of her relatives came, but there was such a throng of people that they could not reach him. One got to him and said, "Your mother and brothers are outside and wish to see you."[414] Jesus replied and said, "Who is my mother? Who are my brothers?"[415] Looking at his disciples, he said, "Behold my mother and brother, for whoever does **[ASI.40]** the will of my Father who is in heaven is my brother and my sister and my mother."[416]

The more he spoke, the more people thronged from word of his miracles. The Pharisees and scribes **[L71a]** said, "Show us a sign in the sky."[417] He replied to them and said, "An evil and corrupt tribe asks for a sign, and it will not be given, except for the sign of the prophet Jonah because, just as the prophet Jonah was three days and nights in the belly of the fish, so also will the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth for three days and nights. The people of Nineveh will rise up on the Day of Resurrection and condemn this tribe because they repented at the word of Jonah,[418] and behold, here is one greater than Jonah. The Queen of the South will rise

404. This basically follows Voragine's version of Mary Magdalene's final decades: see *Golden Legend*, 1:374–83 no. 96. Voragine, however, mentions that "everyday at the seven canonical hours [she] was carried up to heaven by an angel" (*Golden Legend*, 1:381 no. 96) and not that "Seven times every day the angels took her [Mary Magdalene] to heaven." This was probably a copyist's misunderstanding. The numerous extant Indo–Portuguese works of art reproducing a Magdalene lying in a cave indicate that in Portuguese India this was the adopted and most popular version.

405. These words derive from Mark 5:8 ("Go out of the man"), used in connection with a miracle narrated earlier (fol. L51b).

406. Jesus's miracle of healing a deaf and dumb man is found in Mark 7:32–37.

407. Matthew 12:23.

408. Mark 3:22, Luke 11:15; variation on Matthew 12:24.

409. Matthew 12:25–28; Luke 11:17–20.

410. Luke 11:21.

411. Matthew 12:29–30; Luke 11:22–23.

412. Matthew 12:43–45; Luke 11:24–26.

413. Luke 11:27–28.

414. Matthew 12:47; Mark 3:31–32; Luke 8:20.

415. Matthew 12:48; Mark 3:33.

416. Matthew 12:49–50; Mark 3:34–35.

417. Matthew 16:1; Mark 8:11; Luke 11:16.

418. Jonah 3:5.

up against this tribe on the day of judgment and condemn them because she came from the farthest parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon,[419] and behold, here is one greater than Solomon."[420]

While he was talking, one of the Pharisees asked him to be his guest and partake of food with him. He entered his house and sat down, and there were many of the scribes and Pharisees **[ASI.41]** at the gathering. When the Pharisee saw that he ate without washing his hands, he was amazed. Jesus said to him, "Now you, O group of Pharisees, wash the outside of the cup and plate, but your insides are full of evil and injustice. O ignorant one, he who made the outside made the inside too.[421] O blind Pharisee, first clean the inside of the goblet. Then the outside will be clean. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, for you are hypocrites because you resemble white sepulchers: from the outside you appear adorned and decorated, but the insides are full of the bones of the dead and every manner of filth. So also do you show yourselves to the people as righteous and just, but inside you are filled with hypocrisy, deceit, and evil.[422] Woe to you, O Pharisees, for you love to sit high in assemblies and to be greeted in the marketplace."[423] One of those ignorant in religion said, "Lord, do you insult us with these words?" He answered him and said, "Woe to you, O teachers of religion, for **[ASI.42]** you place heavy loads on the people, which they are unable to bear, and you do not lift a finger to the loads."[424] The Pharisees and scribes did not like these words and took them to be slanderous, but they writhed at his words.

Christ leaves Jerusalem

He went out of Jerusalem and traveled through towns and villages. He taught, and the twelve Apostles were accompanying him. When he reached the seashore, the throng of people grew larger. Since crowds were coming from every direction, he got in a boat and began to teach them with parables. In order to express the levels of effect God's teaching has on people, he gave this parable: "A farmer went out to sow. As the seed was being scattered, **[L72a]** some fell on the road and was trampled upon, and the birds of the air ate it. Some fell on rocky ground, where there was not much soil. It sprang up immediately because it had no depth, and when the sun shone it was scorched. Since it had no root, it dried up. **[ASI.43]** Some fell among thorns, and later the thorns grew up, strangling it and preventing it from bearing fruit. Some fell on good ground. It sprouted and grew tall and large, and it bore fruit, sixty-fold and thirty-fold." Then he cried out and said, "Let him who has two ears to hear listen."[425]

When he was in private, his disciples came to him and said, "Why do you speak to them in parables?"[426] He replied, saying, "The mysteries of the kingdom of heaven have been given to you, but they have not been given to them, except in parables, for he who has is given and is given more, and what he who has not has will be taken from him. That is, he who acts effectively in accordance with his knowledge will be given more knowledge, but it will be taken from him who does not live in accordance therewith. I tell them parables because they see but see not, they hear but hear not, and they do not comprehend. In them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, who said[427], 'They hear what is to be heard and comprehend not; they see what can be seen and see not. Their hearts are hardened, their ears are heavy, and their eyes are veiled, **[ASI.44]** lest they see with their eyes, hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts.' They come to me, and I heal them, but blessed are your eyes because they see, and blessed are your ears because they hear. Verily I say to you, many of the prophets and saints desired to see what you see, but they saw not, and to hear what you hear, but they heard not.[428] You do not understand this parable: how will you understand other parables?[429] Listen to the parable of the farmer.[430] Here is the explanation. The seed is the word of God,[431] and the road is a man

419. 3 Kings 10:1–10; 2 Chronicles 9:1–12.
420. Variation on Matthew 12:39–42 and Luke 11:29–32.
421. Luke 11:39–40; variation on Matthew 23:25.
422. Matthew 23:26–28.
423. Luke 11:43; variation on Matthew 23:6–7 and Mark 12:39.
424. Luke 11:45–46.
425. Matthew 13:3–9; Mark 4:3–9; Luke 8:5–8.
426. Matthew 13:10.
427. Isaiah 6:9–10.
428. Matthew 13:11–17.
429. Mark 4:13.
430. Matthew 13:18.
431. Luke 8:11.

who hears the word of God and does not understand, so he does not pay attention to it. The snatching bird is the devil, who snatches away what is planted in one's heart so that one does not believe or attain salvation. What fell on rocky ground is what a hearer hears and takes to heart immediately, but it does not last long in his heart, and when difficulty or persecution arise for the sake of God's word, he doubts and backslides. That which was planted among thorns is the word of God a hearer hears, [**ASI.45**] but the care of the world, the deceitfulness of riches, and the lusts of the self strangle the word in him, and that person is left fruitless and profitless. That which was sown on good ground means the hearer hears God's word well and rightly in his heart, understands, and acts on it: it bears fruit a hundredfold and thirty-fold, that is, in accordance with each person's capability."[432]

He gives another parable **[L73a]**

He brought forth another parable and said, "The kingdom of heaven resembles a man who planted good seed in his field, but when night came and people were asleep his enemy came, sowed tares among his grain, and left. When the grain sprouted and gave fruit and the tares appeared, the farmer's servants came and said to him, 'Lord, did you not sow good seed in your field? Where did these tares come from?' He said, 'This is the work of my enemy.' His servants said, 'Do you want us to go and gather them?' He said, 'No, lest by gathering the tares the grain also be pulled out. Let both grow until the time of harvest comes. Then [**ASI.46**] I will tell the harvesters to gather first the tares and make them into bundles to be burned but to gather the grain in sacks.' "[433] When he reached home, the disciples asked him for an explanation of the parable. He said, "The farmer is the Son of Man, the good ground is the earth, and the seeds are the sons of the kingdom. The tares are the children of the wicked one, and the enemy of the sower is the devil. The time of harvest is the end of the world, and the harvesters are the angels. Therefore, just as the tares are pulled out and burned in the fire, so will the Son of Man send his angels at the end of the world, and they will gather all the unjust and iniquitous into his kingdom and cast them into the fiery furnace, where there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then the righteous will shine in their Father's kingdom like the sun. Let him hear who has two ears to hear."[434]

He gave another parable: "The kingdom of heaven resembles a treasure in the wilderness. When someone finds it, he hides it and goes away in joy. He sells all he has and buys that land." He also said, "The kingdom of heaven resembles a merchant who sought a precious pearl. When he found such a pearl, [**ASI.47**] he went and sold all that he had and obtained it."[435]

In order to explain how the good and the evil are mingled in this world, he gave a parable and said, "The kingdom of heaven resembles a net that falls into the sea and catches all sorts of fish. When it is filled, they pull it out, and, seated on the shore, they put the good fish in their baskets and throw the bad away. So also at the end of this world will the angels come out and separate the good from the bad, whom they will cast into the fiery furnace, where there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth." Then he said to them, "Have you understood all this?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Every knowledgeable scribe in the kingdom of heaven resembles a farmer who takes out old and new from his stores."[436]

He gave many parables while teaching. Thus is it written of him in the Psalms:[437] "I will open my mouth with parables. I will make apparent those things that were covered at the beginning of the world."[438] **[L74a]**

At this time, he assigned his Apostles two by two to evangelize, [**ASI.48**] and he gave them power over the souls of the people of the world. He gave them permission to depart and said, "Do not go to the Gentiles, and do not enter the cities of the Samaritans, but go forth to the sheep of the house of Israel who have gone astray. When you arrive, call out and say the kingdom of heaven is nigh. Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, and cast out demons. Freely have you received; freely give. Do not store up or keep gold, silver, or brass

432. Variation on Matthew 13:19–23, Mark 4:15–20, and Luke 8:12–15.
433. Matthew 13:24–30.
434. Matthew 13:37–43.
435. Matthew 13:44–46.
436. Matthew 13:47–52.
437. Variation on Psalm 77:2 (78:2).
438. Matthew 13:35.

in your purses during your travels, neither two suits of clothing, shoes, or staffs, for the workman is worthy of his food. In every city and village you enter, inquire after a person who is worthy and stay there until you leave. When you enter a house, greet it by saying, 'Peace upon this house.' If the house is worthy, your greeting will come upon it; but if it is not worthy, your greeting will return to you. If anyone does not receive you and does not listen to your words, when you go out of that house or city, shake the dust from your feet. Verily **[ASI.49]** I say to you, there will be more comfort on the Day of Resurrection in the land of Sodom and Gomorra than in that city. I send you like sheep among wolves, so be wise as **[L74b]** serpents and harmless as doves. Beware of men, for they will deliver you up to assemblies and scourge you in their courts.[439] You will be taken before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. When you are delivered, do not think of how or what you will speak. Truly at that hour what you will say will be given to you, for it will not be you who speaks but rather the spirit of your Father speaking in you. A time will come when the brother will deliver the brother to death, and the father the child, and sons will rise up against their own fathers and kill them, and all men will hate you for my name's sake. He who endures to the end will be saved. When they persecute you and drive you out of this city, flee to another. Truly I say to you, you will not have finished all the cities of Israel until the Son of Man will have come. The disciple is not more than his teacher. The slave is not better than his master. **[ASI.50]** It is enough for the disciple to be like his teacher and for the slave to be like his master. If they call the master of the house chief of the demons, what will come to the people of the house? Therefore, do not fear them. Nothing is hidden that will not be revealed, and nothing is secret that will not be made public. What I say to you in darkness, you will say in light, and what you hear in your ears you will proclaim on the rooftops. I say to you, O my friends, do not fear them who kill the body, **[L75a]** for they cannot destroy the soul. I will show you whom you should fear. Fear him who can destroy the soul and the body in hell. Thus, I say to you, fear him. Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? Not one of them will fall to the ground without the command of your Father. Among you, since the hairs on your heads are numbered, fear not, for you are much better than sparrows. If anyone joins and confesses me before people, I will confess him before my Father who is in heaven. If anyone denies me before people, I will deny him before my Father who is in heaven. Do not think **[ASI.51]** I have come to bring peace to the world. I have come, not to bring peace, but the sword. I have come to separate sons from their fathers, daughters from their mothers, and daughters-in-law from mothers-in-law, because among a man's foes are members of his household. Any who loves his father or mother more than me is not worthy of us, and any who loves his son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. Anyone who does not pick up his cross and follow me is not worthy of me. Anyone who finds his own life will lose it, and anyone who loses his life for my sake will find it. He who receives you has received him who sent me. He who receives a prophet in the name of a prophet will receive a prophet's reward, and he who receives a righteous man in the name of righteousness will receive a righteous man's reward. Anyone who gives a cup of cold water to one of my little ones only in the name of a disciple, verily I say to you, in no wise will his reward be lost."[440]

By these and other words he taught his disciples how to make people aware of his gospel and how they should go through the world and endure, and how to be righteous and good **[ASI.52]** to those who do evil to them. He also told them of the tribulations that they and other believers would suffer and of the reward God would give them and other followers if they served and were steadfast in confessing him. Then they went through the cities and villages, saying, "Repent,"[441] and telling of Christ; they cast out demons and rubbed ointment on the sick and healed them.

John is killed

It has been reported that Herod was holding John in prison, and Herod's wife, Herodias by name, was quite desirous that John should be killed, but she did not

439. Matthew 10:5–17. The term "courts" replaces the original "synagogues" in Matthew 10:17.

440. Matthew 10:18–42.

441. Possibly based on Mark 6:12.

succeed in her desire because Herod respected John and, knowing that he was a good man, believed in him and acted according to his words. One day, when it was Herod's birthday, he gave an entertainment and invited the nobles and grandees of Galilee. At this point, [Herodias's] daughter came in and danced. Herod and the others in attendance were enthralled, and he said to the girl, **[2005.145.11a]** "Ask me for anything you want, and I'll give it to you." And he swore and said, "I will give you whatever **[L76a]** you desire, even half of my kingdom." The girl went out and asked her mother, "What thing should I desire?" Her mother said, "The head of John." The girl hastened back to the king and said, "I want you to give me the head of John on a platter."[442] The king regretted his oath, but because he had sworn before the people at the gathering he did not want to go back on his word and offend her. He summoned the executioner and said, "Go, bring his head on a platter."[443] He went, beheaded him, brought the head on a platter, and handed it to the girl [Cat. no. XXIII]. **[ASI.31]** She took it and gave it to her mother. Hearing of this, John's disciples took his body and entrusted it to the earth, and they informed Jesus of it. At this point, Christ's renown reached King Herod, and he heard of the marvelous things he did. Some said it was John who had risen from the dead, and others said Elijah had appeared. Still others said he was a prophet like other prophets. When Herod heard, he said, "I had John beheaded.[444] Perhaps he has risen from the dead to work miracles."[445]

At this time, some of the Pharisees came to Christ and said, "Go away from here, for Herod is seeking to kill you." He replied and said, "You go tell that fox that today and tomorrow I will drive away demons and heal the sick. On the third day, I will be finished. I must remain today and tomorrow, and the following day I will go because no prophet has ever been killed outside of his own city."[446] The emissaries who had been sent returned and told him one by one what they had done and learned. **[ASI.32]** To them he said, "Come into privacy to rest."[447] He said this because there were so many people coming and going that they had had no opportunity to eat.

Christ goes into the desert

Then they got into a boat and went to the wilderness, where they remained in retreat. Hearing that Jesus was in a certain place, the people hastened from every direction and flocked to him. When Jesus came forth, he saw the crowd and felt sorry for them because they were like shepherdless sheep. Then he began to teach them and heal the sick. When it was late in the day, his disciples said, "This is the wilderness, and the day has come to an end. Tell the people to repair to their cities and villages to get something to eat, for we have nothing for them to eat."[448] He said to them, "There is no need to go. You will feed them."[449] They said, "We have nothing more than five loaves of bread and two fishes."[450] Jesus asked Philip, "Where should we buy bread that they may eat?"[451] He said this **[ASI.33]** to test him, for Philip knew what he would do. Philip answered and said, "Two hundred **[L77a]** dinars' worth of bread would not suffice for all these people, even if everyone were given a crumb."[452] One of the disciples, Andrew by name, brother of Simon, said, "There is a lad here who has five loaves of barley bread and two fishes, but how could this little bit suffice for so many people?"[453] Jesus said to them, "Have the people sit down."[454] There was a field there. Jesus took the bread, prayed over it, and distributed it among those who were seated, and so also he gave them as much fish as they wanted. When they were satisfied, he told his disciples to collect the crumbs that remained lest they go to waste. What they collected amounted to twelve full baskets. The people who ate to satisfaction of the five loaves and two fishes numbered five thousand, aside from the women and children. Those who witnessed his miracles said, "This is truly

442. Mark 6:22–25.
443. Mark 6:27.
444. Luke 9:9.
445. Variation on Luke 9:8, with Father Jerome's gloss.
446. Luke 13:31–33.
447. Mark 6:31.
448. Matthew 14:15; Mark 6:35–36; Luke 9:12.
449. Matthew 14:16.
450. Matthew 14:17; Luke 9:13.
451. Luke 9:13; John 6:5.
452. John 6:7.
453. John 6:9.
454. John 6:10.

the prophet who is to come into the world,"[455] that is, the Messiah.[456] When Christ realized that they thought to take him and make him king, he fled by himself to a mountain. **[ASI.34]**

Christ goes to Gennesaret

When it was night, he said to his disciples, "Get in the boat and go before me to the land of Bethsaida. I will stay here for a time to dismiss the people."[457] When he had bade farewell to the people, he went into the wilderness to pray. The disciples got into the boat and set forth. Darkness **[L77b]** fell and the sea rose up in waves from a windy tempest. They proceeded two leagues. They were in this state when, at the fourth watch of the night, Jesus came toward them, walking on the water. He was about to pass them, but when they saw him walking on the water, they were afraid and thought it was an apparition. They cried out and were disturbed. Jesus said, "Be hopeful. It is I. Fear not."[458] Peter said, "Lord, if it is you, command me to come out to you on the water."[459] He so commanded. That very instant, Peter got out of the boat and walked on the water, going toward Jesus, but the water and wind were so strong, he feared and almost went under. He cried out **[ASI: unidentified folio]** and said, "Lord, save us!"[460] Jesus stretched out his hand and took him, saying, "O you of little faith, why do you doubt?"[461] Then they came to the boat, and as soon as they boarded, the wind calmed down, and those who were in the boat bowed down to him and said, "Truly you are the Son of God."[462] Then they proceeded and reached the land of Gennesaret. When the people of that province recognized him they sent word to the cities and villages of the surrounding areas, and they brought all the sick to him and asked to approach him so he could put their hands on the hem of his garment. All who came to him were made whole.

Christ is found in Capernaum **[L78a]**

The next day, several boats came from Tiberias to the place where he had distributed the loaves and fishes, and they learned from a group of people on the shore that there was only one boat making the crossing, and Jesus and his disciples had not boarded that boat, so they were unable to find him. These people directed their boats to Capernaum to seek him from his disciples. When they reached Capernaum, they found Jesus with his disciples, and, in amazement, they asked, "O teacher, how did you come here?" Jesus said, "Verily, verily I say to you, you do not seek me for miracles but because you ate bread and were filled. Do not act for the sake of food that is impermanent, but for the sake of food that lasts eternally, and it is that which the Son of Man gives." They asked him, "What things should we do to do the work of God?" He said to them, "The work of God is that you have faith in him whom he has sent." They said, "What sign do you have, and which miracle do you perform that we might see it and believe in you? Our fathers ate heavenly bread in the wilderness." Jesus said, "Verily, verily I say, did not Moses give you bread from heaven? But my Father gives you the bread of truth from heaven because the bread of God is that which comes down from heaven and gives life to the world." They said, "Master, give us continually of this bread." Jesus said, "I am the bread of life. He who **[ASI.157]** comes to me will never hunger, **[L78b]** and he who believes in me will never thirst, but I have said to you that you have seen me and do not believe. Anyone whom my Father forgives will come to me, and I will not reject anyone who comes to me, because I have not come down from heaven to work by my own desire but by the desire of him who sent me. This is the will of the Father who sent me, that I will not destroy anyone he has given me, but him I will raise on the Day of Resurrection. It is the delight of my Father that he who sees the Son and believes in him will have everlasting life, and I will raise him on the last day." The Jews doubted these words because he said, "I am the bread that came down from heaven," and they said, "This is Jesus, son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know. How can he say, 'I came down from heaven'?" Jesus said to them, "Do not say this to each other. No one can come to me save him whom my Father who sent me pulls toward me, and I

455. John 6:14.
456. A clarification addressed to a Muslim audience.
457. Mark 6:45.
458. Matthew 14:27.
459. Matthew 14:28.
460. "Lord, save me" in Matthew 14:30.
461. Matthew 14:31.
462. Matthew 14:33.

will raise him on the last day. It has been written by the prophets:[463] 'They are all taught of God.'[464] **[ASI.158]** Verily, verily I say to you, whoever believes in me will have life eternal. I am that bread of life. Your fathers and mine ate in the desert and died. This is the bread that came down from heaven. He who eats of it will not die. I am the living bread come down from heaven. All who eat of this bread will live eternally, and the bread I give is my body, which I will give for the sake of the life of the world."[465] **[L79a]** This he said in the synagogue in Capernaum, and many of his disciples said of this speech, "These words are difficult. Who can hear them?" Jesus said to them, "They make you doubt, but how will it be when you see the Son of Man coming forth to the place where he was at first? He who gives life is the spirit. The body does not allow one to dispense with anything. The words I say to you are the spirit and life." At these words, many of his disciples turned away and followed him no longer. Jesus said to the twelve Apostles, "Do you want to go?" Simon answered and said, **[ASI.159]** "Our Lord, to whom should we go? The words of eternal life are yours, and we believe and are certain that you are the anointed of the living God." Jesus said to them, "It is not I who has chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil."[466] It was Judas Iscariot, who afterwards betrayed him to his enemies.

Washing the hands

After that, the Pharisees and some of the scribes who had come to Jerusalem thronged around him, and when they saw that his disciples ate without washing their hands, they criticized them because the Pharisees and other Jews did not eat without washing their hands, and they followed the rules of their ancestors in not eating anything they bought from the market without washing it. They were also meticulous in many other things, such as washing cups, vessels, and beds. The Pharisees and scribes asked him, "Why do your disciples not follow the rules of the ancestors? Why do they eat without washing their hands?"[467] He answered, "Well did Isaiah speak of you, O hypocrites, for thus it is written:[468] 'This group pays me lip-service, but **[ASI.160]** their hearts are far from me. They serve me hypocritically.'[469] They teach people these rules, but they have abandoned the precepts of God. They cling to the rules of men, like washing cups and vessels, and other such things they do."[470] To them he would say, "You have completely abandoned the precepts of God in order to observe your own customs. God commanded, 'Honor your father and mother, and anyone who speaks ill of his father and mother, let him die the death.' You say, if a man says to his father or mother, 'Whatever is a sacrifice from me will profit you,' but you do not let him make a gift. Therefore, you have nullified the word of God that was given to you, and many such things do you do."[471]

Then he summoned a large group and said to them, "Let all of you hear and understand me: what goes into the mouth does not defile a man, but what comes out of the mouth is what defiles him.[472] Let him hear who has ears to hear."[473]

When **[L80a]** he went into the house away from the people, his disciples said, "You know that when the Pharisees hear these things **[ASL: unidentified folio]** it will be difficult for them." He replied and said, "Every sapling not planted by the Heavenly Father will be ripped out. Leave them alone, for they are blind, and if the blind lead the blind, both will fall into a pit." Peter said, "Explain this parable to us." He said, "You do not know either, and you do not understand that nothing that comes into a man's mouth from outside can defile him, because it does not reach the heart but rather the belly and then comes out. However, things that come out of a man's mouth proceed from the heart. These are the things that defile a man because they come from the inside of the heart. Bad thoughts, adultery, killing, theft, greed, black-heartedness, corruption, the evil eye, infidelity, pride in the heart, ignorance—all these evils

463. Including in Isaiah 54:13.
464. John 6:25–45.
465. John 6:47–52.
466. John 6:60–71.
467. Mark 7:5; Matthew 15:2.
468. Isaiah 29:13.
469. Variation on Mark 7:6–7 and Matthew 15:8–9.
470. Mark 7:7–8.
471. Variation on Mark 7:10–13 and Matthew 15:3–6. According to Mark 7:10, it was not God who made this pronouncement but Moses. This contrasts with Matthew 15:3, which refers to "the commandment of God."
472. Mark 7:14–15; Matthew 15:10–11.
473. Mark 7:16.

come from inside and defile a man, but eating without washing the hands does not defile a man."[474]

Christ turns toward Tyre and Sidon

When Jesus came from there to the vicinity of Tyre and Sidon, suddenly a Canaanite woman from that area came out and cried in a loud voice, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, son of David. There is a demon in my daughter, and it vexes her." He gave no reply and said nothing. His disciples came and made a request, saying, "Send away this woman who **[L80b]** comes crying after us." **[ASI: unidentified folio, a side]** The woman was an idolator. Jesus replied, "I have not been sent only to the sheep that have gone astray from the house of Israel." The woman clung to him, bowed down, and said, "Lord, help me." Jesus replied and said, "Let the sons first become lions. It is not good to take the sons' bread and give it to dogs." The woman said, "Yes, Lord, but even the dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from their masters' tables." Then Jesus replied, "Woman, great is your faith. You will have in accordance with your faith."[475] And immediately her daughter was delivered.

Christ goes to Galilee

And he also left the vicinity of Tyre and went toward the Sea of Galilee via Sidon, passing through the region of Decapolis. At this point, a deaf and dumb man was brought to him, and he was asked to put his hand on him. He took him away from the crowd and put his fingers in both ears. He rubbed some of his saliva on the man's tongue, looked toward heaven, drew a sigh, and said, "*Ephphatha*,"[476] which means "Be opened." **[ASI: unidentified folio, b side]** Instantly [the man] could speak and hear, and he spoke fluently. [Jesus] told them **[L81a]** not to tell anyone, but they proclaimed it and told with amazement all the good he was doing: he made the deaf hear and the dumb speak.

At this time, he came to a mountain, where he stayed. The people thronged him, bringing many blind, dumb, deaf, and other ill people whom they cast at his feet as they praised the God of Israel. Some time passed in this way. Then he summoned the disciples and said, "I feel sorry for these people, for it is day and they are out of their houses on my account and have nothing to eat. If we send them back to their homes in this condition, they will become exhausted on the way because some of them have come from afar."[477] The disciples said, "How can anyone give them enough food in this wilderness?" Then he said to them, "How many loaves of bread do you have?" They said, "Seven."[478] He told the people to sit down. Then he took the seven loaves, gave thanks, broke them, and gave them to the disciples **[ASI.127]** to place before the people. They had a few fish also, and he blessed them and told them to place them before the people. They put them out, and the people ate until they were satisfied. Seven baskets of remains were collected, and those who ate were nearly four thousand, not counting the women and children.

At that time, **[L81b]** he got into a boat with his disciples and went to the region of Magdala. The Pharisees and some of the Sadducees[479] came to test him, saying, "Show us a sign from heaven."[480] He sighed and said, "Such people seek a sign."[481] And he said to them, "When it is nighttime, you say the weather will be fair because it is red, and in the morning you say today it will rain because the sky is lowering.[482] When the south wind blows, you say it will be hot.[483] O two-faced ones, you know how to discern the two faces of the sky, but you do not understand the sign of the time. Why do you

474. Variation on Matthew 15:12–20.

475. Variation on Matthew 15:22–28 and Mark 7:25–29.

476. Mark 7:34. The Greek ἐφφαθά is a rendering of the Aramaic אתפתח (*ethpthaḥ*, meaning "be opened!"). Father Jerome's Persian rendering, افتی, is probably meant to be read as *ē–fatā*.

477. Mark 8:2–3.

478. Mark 8:4–5.

479. This is perhaps Father Jerome's only serious mistake in translation. The word he uses for Sadducees, زنادقه (*zanādiqa*), is the plural of زندیق (*zindīq*), which is an Arabicized form of the Middle Persian *zandīg* (interpreter), a label that was applied to unorthodox interpreters of Zoroastrianism and eventually came to mean "heretic" in Arabic. The word "Sadducees" (Σαδδουκαῖοι [Sadducæi]) is of uncertain origin but is thought to be derived from צָדוֹק (*Ṣādōq*), the name rendered as "Zadok." Correctly rendered into Perso–Arabic, it would be صدوقیین (*Ṣadūqiyyīn*). The Sadducees were a sect that recognized only a strictly literal interpretation of the written law and rejected the oral, or interpretive, law and the notion of an afterlife.

480. Matthew 16:1; Mark 8:11.

481. Matthew 16:4; Mark 8:12; Luke 11:29.

482. Matthew 16:2–3.

483. Luke 12:55.

not judge by what is true? A wicked and evil tribe seeks a sign, but no sign other than the sign of the prophet Jonah[484] will be given."[485] **[ASI.128]**

Then he left them and, getting into a boat, crossed the sea. After that, the disciples came to the shore, having forgotten to take bread, and there was only one loaf in the boat. He said to them, "Beware and avoid the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees."[486] By this they understood that he meant they should not eat the bread of the Pharisees, and it occurred to them that they were forgetful. They became worried. Jesus understood and said, "Why are you worried, O you of little faith, **[L82a]** that you have no bread?[487] You still do not recognize and do not understand. Your hearts are still blind. You have eyes and do not see; you have ears and do not hear.[488] You do not comprehend and do not remember the five loaves that were distributed among five thousand people. And how many baskets were picked up? Seven loaves were given to four thousand people, and how many baskets were picked up? Why do you not understand that I did not speak to you of bread when I told you to avoid the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, but of their teaching."[489]

He came to the village of Bethsaida. **[ASI.129]** They brought a blind man to him and asked [Jesus] to put his hand on him. He took the blind man aside, rubbed his own saliva on his eyes, put his hands on his eyes, and asked him, "Do you see anything?" [The blind man] said, "I see people like trees."[490] Again, [Jesus] put his hands on [the blind man's] eyes. Then he acquired perfect sight and was able to see everything well. [Jesus] said to him, "Go home, and tell no one."[491]

The elevation of Peter

He came to the vicinity of Caesarea and, going off the road, prayed. His disciples were with him. He asked them, "What do people say about me?" They said, "Some say that you are John the Baptist, some say Elijah, some say Jeremiah, and others say one of the prophets." **[L82b]** Then he said to them, "Who do you say I am?" Peter said, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God." Jesus said, "Blessed are you, O Simon, son of Jonan, for flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven. I say to you, **[ASI.130]** you are Peter (that is, the rock), and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell will have no power over it. I give you the keys to the kingdom. Whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you open on the earth will be opened in heaven."[492] Then he told his disciples not to tell anyone that he was Jesus the Christ.

At this time, he began to make his disciples aware that he would have to go to Jerusalem and suffer many things from the elders, priests, and scribes: they would kill him, but after three days he would arise. Peter came and rebuked him, saying, "It will never be, O Lord, that this comes to you." He turned to him and said, "Get away from me, Satan. You are a stumbling block to me because you do not deal with divine things but with things of men."[493] Then he called the people to himself and said to them and the disciples, "Let whoever would follow me come out of himself and take up his cross every day and follow me. **[L83a]** And any who wants **[ASI.131]** to save his life will lose it, because he who destroys his soul for me and for the Gospel will gain it. What does it profit a man if he gains the whole world and destroys his own life? What thing will be given to a man in exchange for his soul? If anyone is ashamed of me and my words, the Son of Man will be ashamed of him when he comes into his glory and that of his Father with the pure angels, for the Son of Man will come into the glory of his Father with his angels. At that time, everyone will be rewarded in accordance with his deeds. Verily I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death until they see the Son of Man in his kingdom."[494]

484. Jonah 2:1. See also L71a.
485. Matthew 16:3–4.
486. Matthew 16:6, 11.
487. Matthew 16:8; Mark 8:17.
488. Mark 8:17–18.
489. Matthew 16:9–12.
490. Mark 8:23–24.
491. Mark 8:26.
492. Matthew 16:13–19.
493. Matthew 16:22–23; Mark 8:32–33.
494. Variation on Matthew 16:24–28 and Mark 8:34–38.

The transfiguration of Christ

Six days later, Jesus took Peter, James, and [James's] brother John and led them alone to a high mountain, where he prayed. While he was praying, his form changed: his face shone like the sun, and his clothes became as white as snow. Suddenly, Moses and Elijah appeared in all glory and spoke of his coming out of the world **[ASI.132]** and the great number of tribulations that he would suffer in Jerusalem. The disciples who were with him had fallen into a deep slumber. When they awoke, they saw him and two persons. Peter said to Jesus, "Lord, it would be better for us to be here always. If you want, we will make three tabernacles, one for you, one for Moses, and one for Elijah."[495] He was saying this when a bright cloud appeared and cast a shadow over them, and a voice came from the cloud, saying, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. Listen to him."[496] The disciples, hearing this, fell on their faces and were very afraid. Jesus came, put his hand on them, and said, "Arise and fear not."[497] They lifted up their eyes and saw no one other than Jesus.

Christ comes down from the mountain

Then Jesus and the disciples came down from the mountain, and he said to them, "Tell no one of what you have seen until the Son of Man rises from the dead."[498] **[ASI.133]** They did as they were told and told no one, but they discussed it among themselves, saying, "What does it mean when the priests say[499] that first Elijah must come?"[500] He answered them, saying, "Elijah will come first **[L84a]** and restore everything to its state. But I say to you that Elijah has come, yet they did not recognize him but rather thought what they wanted to, and thus the Son of Man will suffer tribulations from them and be ridiculed, as has been written."[501] Then the disciples understood that he meant John.

When Jesus reached the other disciples he found a crowd of people with them, and some of the scribes were talking with his disciples. When the people saw Jesus, they were amazed and went humbly to him. He asked them what they were discussing. At this point, a man knelt and cried out, saying, "O teacher, look upon my child, for he is my only child, and an unclean spirit **[ASI.134]** has seized him. He constantly cries out and throws himself onto the ground, foaming at the mouth, clenching his teeth, and becoming stiff. Many times he has fallen into the fire, and many times he has thrown himself into the water. I have brought him to your disciples and begged them to cast it out, but they were unable. Have mercy on him."[502] Jesus answered and said, "O you of little faith and evil one, how long will I be with you and put up with you? Bring your son to me." When he came near, the demon tormented him, and he writhed on the ground and foam came out of his mouth. Jesus asked the father, "How long has he been suffering this torment?" He said, "From childhood, and many times he has thrown himself into fire or water to destroy himself, but if you can, have mercy on him and help me." Jesus said to him, "If you can have faith, everything is easy for him who has faith." The father cried out and said, weeping, "Lord, I have faith. Help my lack of faith." When Jesus saw that **[ASI.135]** innumerable people were crowding around, he rebuked the unclean spirit and said, "O deaf and dumb spirit, I command you to leave this one and enter him no more."[503] Crying out and tormenting him, the spirit came out, leaving him in a state in which many thought him dead. Jesus took his hand, lifted him up, and entrusted him to his father. All were amazed by this. When he came home, the disciples asked in secret, "Why were we unable to cast it out?" He said to them, "Because of your lack of faith. Verily I say to you, if there were in you faith the size of a mustard seed, you would be able to say to this mountain, 'Move from here to there,' and it would move, and nothing would be difficult for you. This sort of demon will go out only through prayer and fasting."[504]

Christ travels through the villages of Galilee **[L85]**

He went through the villages of Galilee, teaching and performing astonishing deeds, and when he saw his dis-

495. Matthew 17:4; Mark 9:4; Luke 9:33.
496. Matthew 17:5.
497. Matthew 17:7.
498. Matthew 17:9.
499. Malachi 4:5.
500. Variation on Mark 9:11 and Matthew 17:10.
501. Matthew 17:11–12.
502. Variation on Mark 9:17–18 and Matthew 17:14–16.
503. Mark 9:18–24.
504. Matthew 17:18–20.

ciples in amazement at the greatness and strangeness of the deeds he performed, he said, **[ASI.136]** "You keep these words in your hearts: soon the Son of Man will be turned over to the hands of men who will kill him. Though dead, he will rise on the third day."[505] They became very sad and did not understand these words, which remained obscure for them, and in their fear they asked nothing.

When they reached Capernaum, the tax collectors came to Simon and said, "Your master does not pay the poll tax." "That is right," he said. When he came to the house, before Simon could speak, Jesus said, "What do you say, Simon? From whom do the kings of the earth take taxes? From their children or from strangers?" He said, "From strangers." Jesus said, "Therefore, the sons are free. However, in order not to cast them into doubt, go to the sea and cast your net. Take the first fish that comes out and open its mouth. You will find a dinar. Take it and pay for me and for yourself."[506] With these words, the doubt they harbored increased, and their desire to know which person among them was greater grew stronger. Without informing Christ, they had discussed this among themselves along the way. **[ASI: missing folio]** When they were in the house, he asked them, "What did you discuss along the way?"[507] **[L85b]** At first they were embarrassed to reveal it, but finally they told him and asked, "Whom will you consider greatest in the kingdom of heaven?"[508] He said to them, "Whoever wants to be first will be the last of all, and he will serve everyone."[509] Then he summoned a child and set him in their midst. Then he took him in his lap and said, "Verily I say, if you do not revert and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven. Whoever makes himself as humble as this child will be greatest in the kingdom of heaven,[510] and whoever receives the like of this child receives me, and whoever receives me does not receive me but him who sent me.[511] Whoever among you is least will be greatest,[512] and if anyone doubts one of these children who believe in me and harms him, it would be better that a millstone be bound around his neck and he be drowned in the sea. Woe to the world for its troubles! It is inevitable that troubles come, but woe to a man from whom trouble comes. If your hand or foot troubles you, cut it off and cast it away from yourself. It would be better for you to enter paradise dumb and handicapped than to have both hands and feet and be cast into hellfire. If your eye troubles you, pluck it out. It would be better for you to enter paradise with one eye **[L86a]** than to be cast into the flames with both eyes"[513]—that is, if some things are necessary to you, like hands and feet, or beloved like eyes, and they cause you evil, throw them away.

He also said, "Look well and do not despise any of these children. I say to you, the angels always see the face of my Father who is in heaven."[514] John, one of the twelve Apostles, came to Christ and said, "Teacher, I saw a man driving out demons in your name, but he does not follow us, so we forbade him to do that." Jesus said, "Do not forbid him. Anyone who is not against you is one of your helpers."[515] **[ASI.161]**

Christ goes toward Jerusalem

He decided to go to Jerusalem and set out on the road. He sent several out ahead to give news of him. They went and entered one of the Samaritans' cities to find a place to stay, and since the Samaritans knew that Jesus was going to Jerusalem, they refused them a place. James and John said, "Lord, permit me to tell fire to come down from heaven and burn them, as Elijah did."[516] Jesus turned to him and rebuked him, saying, "You do not know from which spirit the Son of Man has come. He has not come to destroy people but to give them life." And he went to another village. While they were on the road, one said, "Lord, I will follow you wherever you go." Jesus said, "Foxes have rocky ground,[517] birds of the air have nests, and the Son of Man has no place to lay his head." To another he said, "Follow me." [The man]

505. Mark 9:30; Matthew 17:21–22.
506. Matthew 17:23–26.
507. Mark 9:32.
508. Matthew 18:1.
509. Mark 9:34.
510. Matthew 18:3–4.
511. Mark 9:36; Luke 9:48.
512. Luke 9:48.
513. Matthew 18:6–9.
514. Matthew 18:10.
515. Mark 9:38–39; Luke 9:49–50.
516. 4 Kings 1:10.
517. A curious modification of "foxes have holes" in the original: Luke 9:58; Matthew 8:20.

said, "Lord, first give me permission to bury my father." [Jesus] said, "Let the dead bury the dead. You go and give good news of the kingdom of God." Another said, "Lord, I will follow you, but give me permission to bid farewell to the members of my household first." Jesus said to him, "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is worthy of the kingdom of heaven."[518]

The disciples are assigned

After that, he separated seventy-two others and sent them ahead of himself two by two to every city and every place to which he would go, saying to them, "The harvest is great, but the laborers are few. Pray to the lord of the harvest that he find the laborers for the harvest. Go. Behold, it is I who send you like sheep among wolves."[519] And the charge he had given to the twelve Apostles he gave to them also and said, "All who hear you hear me, all who persecute you persecute me, and all who persecute me and receive me not **[L87a]** persecute my Father who sent me." Then the seventy-two returned in joy and said, "Even the demons **[ASI.163]** obey us in your name." To them he said, "I saw the devil falling from heaven like a lightning bolt, and I have given you the power to tread on serpents and scorpions and potency over the might of all enemies. Nothing will be able to diminish you. Do not, however, rejoice that spirits obey you. Rejoice that your names have been written in the heavens." At that time Jesus rejoiced in his soul and said, "We thank you, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that you have kept these things hidden from the wise and the prudent and revealed them to babes. Yes, thus it is, O Father, because this is your will. Everything has been entrusted to me by my Father, but no one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son and he to whom the Son wills to reveal them."[520] He also said, "Come to me, all you who toil and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest. **[ASI.164]** Take up my yoke and learn from me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and you will find rest for your souls, for my yoke is pleasurable and my burden is light."[521] He looked at his disciples and said, "Blessed are the eyes that see. I say to you, many prophets and kings have desired to see what you see, but they did not see, and they have desired to hear what you hear, but they did not hear."[522]

God's commandments

He was saying these things when one of the doctors of religion came to test him and said, "O teacher, how should I conduct myself in order to inherit eternal life?" He said to him, "What is written in the Pentateuch, and how do you read it?"[523] He answered and said, "Love your lord with all your heart, all your soul, all your ability, and all your intention, and love your neighbor as yourself." Jesus said, "Rightly have you said. Do this, and you will live." The man wanted to show himself as righteous, so he said, "Who is my neighbor?" **[ASI.165]** Jesus said, "A man went down from Jerusalem headed toward Jericho, and thieves fell upon him and stole his clothes and wounded him, leaving him half dead. A priest passed by and saw him, but he went past. A Levite also came by and saw him, but he went past. Then a Samaritan came down the road. When he was near, he saw that [the man] was wounded, and his heart melted. He poured olive oil and wine on his wounds, bound them up, put him on his mount, and took him to an inn and nursed him. The next morning, he took out two dinars **[L88a]** and gave them to the innkeeper, saying, 'Take care of him, and if you spend more than this on him, I'll pay you upon my return.' Therefore, which one of these three do you think was the neighbor of the man who fell among thieves?" He said, "The one who was kind to him." Jesus said to him, "Go and do likewise."[524] In this he showed that we should consider all men our relatives and do good to them when they are in need, of whatever religion or sect they may be.

At this time, as they were traveling, he entered the village of Bethany. A woman named Martha received him and took him to her house. She and her sister Mary sat at Christ's feet to hear what he said, but Martha rose and busied herself serving the guests. When she saw

518. Luke 9:55–62.
519. Luke 10:2–3.
520. Luke 10:16–22.
521. Matthew 11:28–30.
522. Luke 10:23–24.
523. Variation on Luke 10:25–26. Instead of the "Pentateuch," Luke 10:26 mentions "law." The change is understandable, since in Persian, "law" cannot be used in such a context.
524. Luke 10:27–37.

that her sister Mary was benefiting from and enjoying Christ's words, she said, "Lord, do you not care that my sister has left me to serve alone? Order her to help me."[525] Her meaning was that she would finish serving quickly and also benefit from Christ's words, but the Lord answered and said, "Martha, Martha, you are striving and encumbered with many things. One thing is needed, but Mary has chosen the better part, which shall not be taken from her."[526]

Christ enters Jerusalem

After that, he went through the cities of Galilee, not wanting to go into the land of the Jews because they were seeking to kill him. Since Scenopegia, which is the Festival of Tabernacles,[527] **[ASI.167]** was nigh (which festival the Jews celebrate in memory of the tabernacles that they erected on the road to Jerusalem when they came out of Egypt), his brethren told him, "Go from here to Judea so that your disciples may see your wondrous works, for there is no one who does something in secret who does not want it to be known openly. If you do these deeds, reveal yourself to the world." But these brethren did not have faith in him. Jesus said to them, "The time has not yet come, but your time is always ready. The world cannot hate you, but it hates me because I bear witness that its works are evil. You go to the feast, for my time has not yet come."[528] This he said, and he remained in Galilee. When his brethren went to the feast, he too went after a time, not openly but rather in secret. However, the Jews were looking for him and saying, "Where is he?" Some called him a good man, and others said, "He is not so, but rather he leads the people astray."[529] **[ASI.168]**

During this festival, which lasts eight days, he arrived in Jerusalem and went to the temple and began to teach. The Jews were amazed and said, "How does he know so well **[L89a]** when no one taught him?"[530] Some said, "Is this not he whom they want to kill? Here he is, speaking frankly to them, and no one says anything to him."[531] Many believed in him and said, "When the Messiah comes, will he show any greater signs than these?"[532] The Pharisees heard this and sent people to arrest him, but those who came were so moved by his words that no one was able to arrest him, and they returned, not having done their job. The Pharisees said to them, "Why didn't you bring him?" They said, "No human has ever spoken in the manner in which he speaks." The Pharisees said, "Maybe you too have gone astray. Whom did you see among the leaders or Pharisees who believe in him? These accursed ones know nothing about religion." Nicodemus, who was one of them, went to **[2005.145.20a]** Jesus one night and said, "Does our religion judge that a person be condemned without hearing from him and knowing what he has done?" [Jesus] answered him and said, "You too are a Galilean. Consider that no prophet arises from Galilee."[533] And everyone repaired to his place. Jesus went to the Mount of Olives and spent all night there in prayer. At dawn, he went to the temple and sat, occupied with teaching.

At this point, the scribes and Pharisees brought in a woman who had been taken in adultery, stood her in the midst, and said to Jesus, "O teacher, this woman has been taken in adultery, and Moses commanded[534] us in the law to stone such a person. What say you?"[535] Knowing that their purpose in this was to test him and build a case against him—for since he presented himself as so clement, if he gave a judgment to execute her, the people would no longer believe in his clemency, and if he said to pardon her, it would be against the law—Jesus lowered his head and wrote on the ground with his finger [Cat. no. XXIV]. When they persisted in asking, he raised his head and said, "Let whichever of you is without sin cast the first stone."[536] **[2005.145.20b]** Then he lowered his head again and wrote on the ground. **[ASI.169]** It is related that while he was writing, every one of those standing there saw his own sins written

525. Luke 10:40.
526. Luke 10:41–42.
527. The Festival of Tabernacles, or Succoth (סֻכּוֹת), is σκηνοπηγία in Greek and so also in Latin, *scenopegia,* which word Father Jerome transcribed into Persian.
528. John 7:3–8.
529. John 7:11–12.
530. John 7:15.
531. John 7:25–26.
532. John 7:31.
533. John 7:45–52.
534. A possible interpretation of Leviticus 20:10 and Deuteronomy 22:22–24.
535. John 8:4–5.
536. John 8:7.

in the lines, and when they heard and saw this they departed, one by one, with those who were older departing first. Jesus remained alone with the woman, who was standing there. Jesus raised his head and said to her, "Woman, where have your accusers gone? Did anyone condemn you?" "No one, Lord," she said. Jesus said to her, "Nor do I condemn you. Go and sin no more."[537]

The next day, he was teaching in the temple and said, "I am the light of the world, and he who follows me will not go in darkness but will have the light of life."[538] After much talk, he said to the Pharisees, "I tell you the truth, but you do not believe." Which one of you will embarrass me with a sin? If I speak the truth, **[L90a]** why do you not believe in me? He who is of God speaks the words of God, but you do not listen to me because you are not of God." The Pharisees said, "Do we not say well of you that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?" He replied, "I do not have a demon, **[ASI.170]** but I venerate my Father, and you demean me. I do not wish for my own greatness. He exists who desires to glorify me and judge.[539] Your father Abraham greatly desired to behold my countenance. He saw it and rejoiced." The Jews said, "You are not yet fifty years old, and you have seen Abraham?" He replied and said, "Verily, verily I say to you, before Abraham came into being, I was."[540] From these words they understood that he was calling himself God. They picked up rocks to stone him, but he hid himself and escaped. Outside the temple, he saw a man who was congenitally blind. His disciples asked, "Master, who sinned? He, or his father and mother, that he was born thus?" He replied, "Neither he nor his parents sinned, but thus was he born that the power of God might be revealed in him. While it is daylight, I must perform the deeds of him who sent me. Night will come, when no one will be able to work. So long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world."[541] So saying, he spit on the ground and made mud, which he rubbed on the blind man's eyes and said to him, "Go, wash your face in the pool of **[ASI.171]** Siloam."[542] He went, washed, and became sighted. The neighbors and those who had seen him before as a beggar said, "Yes, it is he," and others said, "No, but it looks like him." He said, "It is I." They asked him, "How were your eyes opened?" He said, "He whom they call Jesus made mud and put it on my eyes, and he ordered me to go wash in the pool of Siloam. I went and washed, and I could see." "Where is he?" they asked. He said, "I don't know. They took him to the Pharisees."[543] The time when Jesus made the mud and gave him sight was the Sabbath. The Pharisees, therefore, asked him, "How did you become sighted?" He said, "He put mud on my eyes, and I washed. I could see." Some of the Pharisees said, "This is not a man of God, for he does not observe the Sabbath." Others said, "How could a sinful man work such miracles?" And there arose a dispute among them. Again they said to the blind man, "What do you say of him who opened your eyes?" He said, "He is a prophet."[544] They did not believe this was a blind man who had gained sight, so they summoned his father and mother and asked them, **[ASI.172]** "Is this your son you say was blind from birth? How is it that he now sees?" They replied, "We know that this is our son and that he was born blind, but we do not know how he has gained sight or who opened his eyes. Ask him. He is an adult: he can respond."[545] They said this because they were afraid of the Jews, since it had been ordained that whoever called him the Messiah would be exiled from the community. Therefore, they said to ask him. **[L91a]** Again they summoned him and said, "Glorify God. We know that this man is a sinner." He said, "I don't know, but one thing I do know, and that is that I was blind and now I see." They said to him, "What did he do to you, and how did he open your eyes?" He replied, "I told you, and you heard.[546] Why do you ask repeatedly? Do you also want to become his disciples?" They cursed him and said, "You be his disciple. We are the disciples of Moses. We do not know where he is from." He said, "It is a strange thing that you do not know where he is from.

537. John 8:10–11.
538. John 8:12.
539. John 8:45–50.
540. John 8:56–58.
541. John 9:2–5.
542. John 9:7. The Pool of Siloam (OT הַשִּׁלֹחַ [*haš-Šilaḥ*] and הַשִּׁלֻחַ [*haš-Šiloaḥ*], Greek Σιλωάμ, modern Arabic عين سلوان [*ʿAyn Silwān*]) is one of the few undisputed places mentioned in the New Testament whose exact location is identifiable today.
543. John 9:8–13.
544. John 9:15–17.
545. John 9:19–21.
546. John 9:24–27.

He opened my eyes, and I know that God does not listen to sinners **[ASI.173]** but to him who is truly obedient to God and does his will. From long ago it has never been heard that anyone has opened the eyes of one born blind. If he were not from God, he would not be able to do anything." They replied, saying, "You were born in all sin, and you presume to teach us?" And they exiled him from the community. Jesus was made aware of this and, finding him, said, "Do you have faith in the Son of God?" He replied, "Lord, who is he that I may have faith in him?" Jesus said, "You have seen him, and he who speaks to you is he." He said, "I have faith, Lord." Falling down before him, he worshipped him. Jesus said to him, "I came into the world for judgment, that those who do not see may see and that those who see may become blind." Some of the Pharisees who were present at this exchange heard these words of Jesus and said, "Are we blind?" To them he said, "If you were blind, you would have no sin; but now that you say, 'I see,' your sin is established and proven.[547] Verily **[ASI.174]** I say to you, he who does not enter into the sheepfold by the gate but rather goes up from another side is a thief and a robber. However, he who comes in by the gate is the shepherd, and the gatekeeper opens the gate to him, and the sheep hear his voice, and he calls his sheep each by its own name and leads it out, and when he leads it out it goes to the other sheep, and the sheep follow his footsteps because they recognize his voice. They will not follow a stranger but rather flee from him, since they do not recognize his voice." The Jews did not understand this parable, so to them he said, "Verily, verily I say to you, I am the gate of the sheep.[548] If anyone enters through me, he will be saved and go in and out and find pasture. A thief enters only in order to steal, kill, and wreak havoc. I have come that they may have life and have it more abundantly. I am the good shepherd. A good shepherd gives his life for his sheep. He is a hireling who does not own the sheep. He sees a wolf coming and leaves the sheep **[ASI.177]** and flees, and the wolf ravages and scatters the sheep while he flees, and, because he is a hireling, he is unconcerned. I am the good shepherd, and I know my own sheep, **[L92a]** and my sheep know me. As the Father knows me, so know I the Father, and I give my life for the sake of my sheep. I have other sheep not of this flock whom I must bring. They will hear my voice, and all sheep will be of one flock and one shepherd.[549] No one will take my life from me, but I will give my life of my own accord. I can give my life and I can get it back again."[550] Many of the Pharisees said, "These words resemble those of a person possessed by the devil."[551]

One day, the Pharisees came into the temple and surrounded him, saying, "How long will you keep us waiting? If you are the Messiah, say it openly." He answered them, "I speak to you, but you will not believe the things I do in the name of my Father. They bear witness to me, but you do not believe because **[ASI.178]** you are not among my sheep. As I have said, my sheep hear my voice, and I know them. They follow at my feet, and I give them eternal life. They will never be destroyed, and no one will snatch them from me. That which my Father has given me is greater than anything, and no one can take it from me. I and the Father are one." Hearing this, the Jews picked up rocks to stone him, but Jesus said to them, "Many good things have I shown you from my Father. For the sake of which deed will you stone me?" The Jews said, "We do not stone you for your good works but for your blasphemy, that you, a human being, call yourself God."[552] Jesus replied, "You say I have blasphemed because I have called myself the Son of God. If I do not do the works of my Father, do not believe in me, but if I do, no matter how much you do not want to believe in my words, believe in my works that you may know and believe that my Father is in me and I am in the Father."[553] They were about to arrest him, but **[ASI.179]** he escaped and said to them, "Your fathers killed the prophets. You too will fulfill the promise of your fathers, O vipers. How can a viper flee from hell? For this reason, I say to you, I send prophets, sages, scribes, and apostles to you. Them you will crucify and kill, and you will scourge them in your synagogues and pursue them from city to city, so that all the blood of the

547. Variation on John 9:27–41.
548. John 10:1–7.
549. John 10:9–16.
550. John 10:17–18.
551. This strongly contrasts with John 10:21: "Others said: These are not the words of one that hath a devil: Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?"
552. John 10:24–33.
553. John 10:36–38.

people of truth that has been spilled on the ground will come against you, from the blood of good Abel to the blood of Zechariah, son of Berechiah, whom they killed in the midst of the temple and the altar. Verily I say to you, these things shall rise up. You, Jerusalem, who kill prophets and stone those sent to you, how many times have I wanted to gather your children like a hen that takes her chicks under her wings, but you wanted it not. Your house will be left desolate. Truly, I say to you that henceforth you will not see me until you say, 'Blessed is **[L93a]** he who comes in the name of the Lord.' "[554] And so saying, he departed from their midst. **[ASI.180]**

Christ leaves Jerusalem

He came out of Jerusalem and went to another land to teach the people, and crowds followed him. One of them said to him, "Our Master, tell my brother to give me my share of our father's legacy." Jesus answered, "Man, what person made me a judge or divider between you?" To everyone he said, "Beware, and keep yourselves from every sort of greed, for the life of a man is not in the abundance and multitude of things." Then he spoke this parable: "There was a rich man whose land brought forth in plenty. He thought to himself and said, 'What should I do? I do not have enough room to gather my harvest.' Then he said, 'I know what I'll do. I'll tear down my storehouses and build larger ones so I can store all my grain and say to my soul, "Soul, you have many goods and food for years. Rest, eat, drink, and have leisure." ' But God said to him, 'O you of little wisdom, tonight your life will be taken from you, and to whom will the goods you have stored up belong?' **[ASI.181]** Thus is the end of him who stores up for himself and is not rich for God."[555]

To his disciples he said, "For this reason I say to you, neither have thought of food for your soul nor worry about clothing for the body, for life is more than food, and the body is better than raiment. Consider the ravens, which do not plant or reap and do not have treasure or put things in storehouses, yet God gives them sustenance. Are you not greater than ravens?"[556] Then he spoke a few words to them, saying, "Do not worry about food and clothing, and do not desire to fly high, for all these things the Gentiles desire, and your Father knows that you need these things, but first seek the kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things will be added to you.[557] Fear not, O little flock. It is the will of your Father that he give you the kingdom of heaven. Therefore, sell what you have, give alms, and make purses that will not grow old. Make a treasure in heaven that will not grow less, for there thieves do not enter and insects do not ruin. Where your stores are, there is your heart."[558] **[ASI.182]**

In order to explain and show us how we should be awake to the great works of God and beware of questioning, he said, "Look, stay awake, and pray, for you are not aware of the time.[559] Have your loins girded, take lighted candles, and be like those who wait for when their lord shall come from the wedding, so that when he comes and knocks on the door they may open it immediately. Blessed are those servants whom, when the master comes, he finds awake. **[L94a]** Verily I say to you, he will seat them and gird his loins to serve them, and if he comes during the second or third watch and finds them thus, blessed are those servants. This much you know, that if a householder knew at what hour a thief would come, he would remain awake and not allow him to rob his house. You be ready, for the Son of Man will come at a time that is not in your mind." Peter said to him, "Lord, are you telling this parable to just us, or to everybody?"[560] Jesus answered him and said, "What I say to you and to everyone **[ASI.183]** is to be awake.[561] Who do you think is the trusted and wise steward of the house, whom the lord has assigned over his family to give them food at the right time? Blessed is that servant whom, when the master comes, he will appoint over everything he has. If that servant says in his heart, 'Our lord is late in coming,' and if he begins to beat the other servants and to eat, drink, and get drunk, and then his lord comes on a different day from what he thought

554. Matthew 23:31–39.
555. Luke 12:13–21.
556. Luke 12:22–24; variation on Matthew 6:25–26.
557. Matthew 6:31–33.
558. Luke 12:32–34.
559. Variation on Luke 12:40 and Matthew 24:44. Father Jerome added the exhortation to pray.
560. Luke 12:35–41.
561. Mark 13:37.

and at an hour he was not expecting, the lord will dismiss him and give him his share along with those who do not believe. The servant who knows his lord's will and does not act in accordance with it will be lashed, but he who does not know and does things that merit lashing, he will be beaten less. From him to whom much is given much is sought, and from him to whom much has been committed much will be asked."[562]

Some of the people of Galilee who were with Jesus informed him that Pilate had mingled the blood of several Galileans with their sacrifices. He replied to them, saying, "Do you suppose that the Galileans **[ASI.184]** who suffered this were greater sinners than other Galileans? I say no, but if you do not repent, you will all perish likewise. Do you think that the eighteen people upon whom the tower fell and who were killed were more sinful that the other residents of Jerusalem? I say no, but if you do not repent, you will all perish."[563]

In order to show them how God puts up with sinners until they repent, and if they do not repent, he torments them, he said, "A man planted a fig tree in his garden, and when he realized that it would not bear fruit, he said to the gardener, 'I have been waiting for fruit from this tree for three years, and I have not received any. Therefore, cut it down. Why should it waste space?' The gardener replied, saying, 'Lord, let it have one year more so that I can dig around it and give it manure. If it bears fruit, well and good; if not, we will cut it down.' "[564]

A bowed woman is healed

He taught on Sabbath days and in the synagogues. He saw a woman in the clutches of the devil, who had been tormenting her for eighteen years. She was so bowed over that she was absolutely unable to look up. **[ASI.185]** When Jesus saw her, he called her to himself **[L95a]** and said to her, "Woman, be delivered of your trouble!"[565] He put his hand on her, and at once she stood erect and praised God. The leader of the synagogue was indignant because [Jesus] had healed her on the Sabbath, so he said to the people, "You can work on the other six days. Come on those days and seek healing, not on the Sabbath." The Lord answered, "O hypocrite, which of you does not untie his ox or donkey from the stable to take it out and drink water on the Sabbath? This daughter of Abraham has been suffering at the hands of the devil for eighteen years. Was it not good for her to be delivered on the Sabbath?"[566] His enemies were humiliated by these words, and the people rejoiced over the works he did.

It so happened that one of the leaders of the Pharisees took him to his house on the Sabbath to partake of food with him, and they were waiting to see what he would do. A man with dropsy came to him, and he healed him, so quieting their commotion that they were unable to answer. **[ASI.186]** At the party, many people were gathered, and everyone was trying to be seated in the most important place. Noticing this, he said, "When you go to a wedding, do not sit in a high place. It may be that one greater than you will come as a guest, and he who has invited both you and him will say to you, 'Give your place to this person,' and then you will have to sit in a lower place. Rather, when you are invited, sit in a lower place so that the person who has invited you will say to you, 'Friend, sit higher.' Then you will have honor among those present because whoever thinks himself high will be low, and whoever thinks himself low will be high."[567]

Again, to him who had invited him to the feast he said, "When you give a feast or a dinner, do not invite your friends and brothers, nor yet your relatives and neighbors. It is not fitting that they also invite you and reward you, but when you give a feast invite beggars, the infirm, the lame, the blind, and the suffering, people who do not have the wherewithal to give you recompense. You will be blessed and will have a reward in the place of the righteous." One of those at the assembly heard this and said, "Blessed is he who eats bread from **[ASI.187]** the kingdom of heaven."[568] In order to make him understand that God invites everyone to his feast, but it is their own fault that people do not attend, Jesus said, "There was a rich man whose son was getting married. He had various dishes and foods prepared, and he invited many people. When the time came, he sent his

562. Luke 12:42–48.
563. Luke 13:2–5.
564. Luke 13:6–9.
565. Luke 13:12.
566. Luke 13:14–16.
567. Luke 14:8–11.
568. Luke 14:12–15.

servants to summon the people and say, 'Everything is ready. Many animals and birds have been killed. Come, for it is time.' All declined. One said, 'I have purchased a village and must go there to see to it.[569] You will excuse me.' Another said, 'I have purchased five pairs of oxen, and I am going to try them out. **[L96a]** I hope you will excuse me.' Another said, 'I am newly married. I cannot go out of the house.' When the servants insisted, they beat them and killed them, but several came and related their adventures. The lord was indignant and sent people to them to kill them. Then he said to his servants, 'The feast is ready, but the guests were not worthy. Go into the markets of the city, **[ASI.188]** find the poor, the blind, and the halt, and bring whichever of them you find.' They went and came back to their master, saying, 'It has been done as you ordered, but there is still much room.' The lord said, 'Go out to the highways and bring enough people to fill the hall.' He said, 'I say to you, of those who were invited first not one had a share of the feast, but these others did because those who are called are many, but those who are chosen are few.'"[570]

A large group of people was walking with him. He turned to them and said, "Whoever comes to me and does not hate his father, mother, son, sister, and relatives as much as his own soul cannot be of me. And he who does not pick up his cross and follow me cannot be my disciple. Who of you who wants to build a pavilion does not first sit, calculate the expense, and think whether he has enough capital to complete the pavilion? If he lays the foundation and cannot complete it, those who see will mock him and say, 'This man started building a pavilion but couldn't finish it.' What king goes to war against another king **[ASI.189]** without first sitting and thinking whether he can stand with ten thousand men against one who has come with twenty thousand? If not, while he is yet far away, he sends his emissaries and sues for peace. Likewise, not one of you will be able to be my disciple unless he abandons all the money and property he has."[571] That is, a seeker after God must first detach his heart from everything he has. Then he can step onto the road to him. If not, he will remain on the road and never reach his goal. He also said, "Salt is good. If the salt is bad, with what will things be seasoned? It is good neither for the earth nor for the garbage heap. It can only be thrown away. Let him hear who has ears to hear."[572]

God has mercy on penitents

Usurers and idolators used to come to Jesus, and the scribes and Pharisees would say, "This man allows evil people to come to him." To them he gave this parable: "Which of you with a hundred sheep would not leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness if one got lost and go out in search of the one that was lost until he found it? When he has found it, he puts it over his shoulder and returns home in joy **[ASI.190, L97a]** and invites his friends and neighbors, saying, 'Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep that was lost.' I say to you, there is more rejoicing in heaven over the repentance of one sinner than over ninety-nine righteous people who do not need to repent. What woman is there with ten dinars who, if she loses one of them, would not light a lamp and sweep the house and search for it until she finds it through her endeavor? When she has found it, she invites her friends and neighbors and says, 'Rejoice with me, for I have found what was lost.' I say to you, thus will be the rejoicing of God's angels over the repentance of one sinner."[573]

In order to show with what meekness of heart and repentance it is necessary for sinners to approach God and how God has mercy on the penitent, he said, "A man had two sons. He who was the younger said to the father, 'Father, give me my portion of your property.' He divided it between them, and after a few days the younger son gathered all he had and went to a faraway region, where he squandered his wealth because he was a spendthrift, and he was left empty-handed. **[ASI.191]** A great famine befell that land, and he then became destitute and asked a man from that area for assistance. The man sent him to a village to herd swine, and he wished he could fill his belly with the fruits the swine were eat-

569. Luke 14:16–18. Luke 14:18 mentions a "farm" rather than a "village." The use of the latter term must certainly be attributed to the fact that farms had little importance in the Indian context.

570. Considerable variations on Luke 14:18–24.

571. Luke 14:26–33. The word "pavilion" (or "kiosk") is a substitution for the original "tower" (Luke 14:28).

572. Luke 14:34–35.

573. Luke 15:1–10.

ing, but it was not given to him. He thought, 'How many hirelings of my father's are there to whom he has given more bread, while I am perishing here of hunger? Let me get up and go to my father and say, "Father, I have sinned in heaven and in your sight, and now I am not worthy that you should call me your son. Make me like one of your hirelings." ' Then he got up and went to his father's house. When he was yet far off, his father saw him and had compassion upon him. He hastened out and fell on his breast and kissed him. The son said, 'Father, I have sinned in heaven and in your sight. I am not worthy that I should be called your son.' Then the father said to his servants, 'Bring him silken garments and clothe him, and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet. Bring the fatted calf and kill it. Let us eat **[ASI.192]** and rejoice, for this my son was dead but is alive. He was lost and has been found.' He put out a feast in rejoicing, and the elder son was in a village. When he was near home, he heard the music of rejoicing. Summoning a child-servant, he asked, 'What is this thing?' He said, 'Your brother has come, and your father has killed the fatted calf because he has arrived in good health.' He grew angry and did not want to enter. The father came out and asked him to go in. To his father he said, 'I have been serving you for so many years, and never have I disobeyed your order **[L98a]** or been alienated, but you never gave me a goat kid that I might make merry with my friends. When this son of yours came, having squandered his wealth in debauchery, you killed the fatted calf for him.' The father said to him, 'You are with me, and everything that is mine is yours. It is appropriate for us to rejoice and make merry, for this your brother was dead and is now alive. He was lost and has been found.' "[574] Jesus's desire was to show in this parable compassion for one who expends his free will in separation from God **[ASI.193]** and occupies himself with carnal pleasures, and how, if in the end he turns to God, God will receive him in his mercy and bring him back to his original state, in order to make everyone hopeful and bring them to repentance.

574. Luke 15:11–32.

The portrait of Jesus

At this time, his fame had spread throughout the land, and Abgar, the king of Edessa, which is now known as Urfa and is a twenty-day journey from Jerusalem, heard of his miracles. This Abgar, a leper, learned that Jesus was healing people of this disease. He sent envoys and wrote a letter, the contents of which were: "I have heard of your pure life and of the miracles you are working, and that the Jews are lying in wait for you and want to kill you. I would consider it a privilege if you would desire to come to this land, and I undertake to give you half of **[L98b]** my kingdom and to act appropriately to you if you would honor this realm."[575] He also sent an expert portraitist named Ananias[576] along to draw [Jesus's] likeness and bring it back, so that if [Jesus] did not come he would be able to see his countenance. Jesus met these men cheerfully, and they were even more astonished **[ASI.194]** at seeing him than they had been at hearing of his reputation. They insisted greatly that he go with them, but he did not want to and wrote in reply: "I thank you for the wish you have for me to come. It would not be appropriate for me to go there. I have come for the sake of the sheep that have gone astray from Israel. It is necessary for me to be with them, to teach them, and to fulfill what the prophets have written of me. When I will have gone into heaven, I will send one of my disciples to teach you the path of salvation and to heal you, in my name, of the illness you have. May God keep you."[577]

During this time, the portraitist was busying himself with all his attention and effort on drawing a likeness [Cat. no. XXV]. **[2005.145.21b]** He drew it several

575. A longer and slightly different version of Abgar's letter is given by Voragine (*Golden Legend*, 2:260–61 no. 159), who follows Eusebius's version (*History of the Church*, 1:13).

576. In the London Ms., the name is اتينه (Atīna?); in the Cleveland Ms., it is انينه (Anīna?). Eusebius (*History of the Church,* 1:13) gives the name of the courier as Ananias; in later versions (e.g., the *Compendium Historiarum* of the eleventh–century Byzantine historian Georgius Cedrenus), Ananias becomes an artist who tried to make an image of Jesus. In the Syriac version of the story, the emissary and portraitist are one and the same, and his name is given as ܚܢܢܐ ܛܒܘܠܪܝܐ (*Ḥannān Ṭabūlārā* [Tabularius]).

577. Father Jerome's version of Jesus's reply also differs from the one given by Eusebius (*History of the Church*, 1:13), and Voragine (*Golden Legend*, 2:261 no. 159).

times, but every time he thought the job was finished he found it far from a likeness. He did it several times but only became more frustrated. Finally, Jesus asked him for a piece of clothing, which he passed over his blessed face and gave back to him. [Ananias] found his very likeness on it. Jesus said, "You will give this likeness to your king in my name."[578]

In summary, the king rejoiced and kept the likeness in all reverence. Thereafter, one of the Apostles came to his land **[L99a]** and converted him to Christianity,[579] and most of his kingdom also converted to that religion. He hung the likeness over the city gate, and every time he was pressed by enemies and they were about to enter the city, he would reveal the likeness, and the enemies would turn away in fright, unable to enter. Thus it was for many years. After a long time, the likeness was taken to Istanbul and from there to the city of Genoa in Italy, where it still is found.[580]

At this time, Jesus was on the other side of the river Jordan, where John had baptized people, and many came to him **[ASI.195]** and said, "Everything John said of him was true."[581] And they believed in him.

Christ brings Lazarus back to life

A man named Lazarus was ill in the village of Bethany. This Lazarus was the brother of Mary and Martha, and this is the Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment and cleaned it with her hair. The two sisters sent someone to Jesus to say, "Lord, he whom you love is ill." Jesus said, "This trouble is not the disease of death, but for the sake of the greatness of God and so that God's Son may be magnified." Jesus loved Martha, Mary, and Lazarus. When he heard that [Lazarus] was ill, he remained where he was for two days, and then he said to his disciples, "Let us go back to Judea." The disciples said, "Master, now the Jews want to stone you, and you want to go back there?" Jesus said to them, "Are there not twelve hours in a day? If a man travels during the day, he will not stumble because he sees the light of the world, but if he travels at night, **[ASI.196]** he will stumble because there is no light." These things he said to them, and then he said, "Our friend Lazarus is asleep. I am going to awaken him." The disciples said to him, "Lord, if he is asleep, he will get well." By "sleep" he meant death, but they understood him to mean sleep. Then he said plainly, "Lazarus is dead, and I am glad I was not there so that you may have faith. Therefore, let us go to him." Thomas, who was also called Didymus, said to his fellow students, "Let us go to die with him."[582]

Jesus came to Bethany, and it was the fourth day since Lazarus had been placed in the tomb, and many of the Jews had come to offer condolences to Mary and Martha. Martha was informed that Jesus had come. She came out of the house and greeted him, and Mary was inside the house, unaware. Martha said to Jesus, "Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died. Now I know that God will give you whatever you ask." Jesus said to her, "It is too soon for your brother to rise." Martha said, **[ASI.197]** "I know that **[L100a]** he will rise on the Day of Resurrection and the Last Day." Jesus said, "I am the Resurrection and the Life, and all who believe in me, no matter that they are dead, will live, and all who come to life and believe in me will not die eternally. Do you have faith in this?" She said, "Yes, Lord. I have faith that you are the Messiah, the Son of God come into this world." This she said and went into the house, and she secretly called her sister Mary and said, "Our teacher has come and is asking for you." Hastily she arose and went to him, meeting him where Martha had met him. When the Jews who were offering condolences in the house saw that Mary had arisen and gone in all haste, they followed her, thinking that she meant to go into the tomb to weep. When Mary saw Christ, she fell at his feet and said, "Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died." When Jesus saw her weeping, and the Jews who were with her were weeping also, it was difficult for him, **[ASI.198]** and he grew upset and said, "Where have they laid him?" They said, "Lord, come and see." Jesus

578. Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:261 no. 159.

579. According to the legend, Thaddeus (𐡀𐡃𐡃𐡉 [Addai]), one of the Seventy-Two Apostles, converted Abgar and the kingdom of Edessa.

580. The image is known as the Holy Mandylion. It is kept in the Church of St. Bartholomew of the Armenians in Genoa (fig. 2.5), and was donated to the doge of that city by the Byzantine emperor John V Palaeologus (d. 1391).

581. John 10:42.

582. John 11:3–16.

wept. The Jews were saying, "See how he loved him." Several of them said, "He who opened the eyes of one born blind did not have the power to keep him from dying," and this hurt Jesus in his heart. He came to the tomb, which was in a cave, and they had placed a heavy stone over it. Jesus said, "Remove the stone." Martha, the sister of the dead man, said, "Lord, he has rotted, for it has been four days since he died." Jesus said to her, "Didn't I tell you if you had faith you would see God's greatness?" Then the stone was removed. Jesus lifted his eyes up and said, "O Father, I thank you for having heard me, and I know that truly you always hear me, but I say this that they who are standing may believe that I am sent by you." Then he cried out in a loud voice and said, "Lazarus, come out." Immediately **[ASI.199]** he came out as he was, wrapped in a shroud and his hands and feet bandaged. Jesus said to them, "Unbind him and let him walk." And they unloosed his bandages. He rose up whole and went with Jesus to the house. Many of the Jews who had come to mourn believed in him. A group of them went to the Pharisees and informed them of what Jesus had done. They held a council of the chief priests and Pharisees and said, "What should we do? This man shows many signs and performs many miracles. If we leave him as he is, all the people will believe in him, and the Romans will come and take our kingdom." One of them, Caiaphas by name, was the chief priest that year. He said, "Do you know nothing? Do you not think **[L101a]** it would be better for us that one person die than for all the people to perish?"[583] He did not say this on a whim, for that year he was the chief priest: he prophesied because Jesus was determined to die for the nation, and from that day forth **[ASI.200]** they thought about killing him.

Christ goes to Ephraim

Jesus did not go openly among the Jews but rather set out through the wilderness near the city of Ephraim, and there he spent time with his disciples. Many people surrounded him, and in order to encourage them to give alms, he said, "A rich man had a house steward. The people complained of him and said, 'He has wasted our goods.' He called him and said, 'What is this I hear about you? Give me an accounting of what you controlled. You are no longer worthy of stewardship.' The steward thought to himself, saying, 'What should I do? My lord will take the stewardship from me. I cannot dig, and I am ashamed to beg. I know what to do so that, when I leave the stewardship, they will receive me in their houses.' Then, one by one, he called the lord's debtors. To the first he said, 'How much do you owe my lord?' He said, 'A hundred measures of olives.' Then he said, 'Take your bill, sit down, and write fifty measures.' **[ASI.201]** After that, he said to the second, 'How much do you owe?' He said, 'A hundred measures of grain.' He said to him, 'Take your bill, sit down quickly, and write eighty.' The lord praised the unjust steward because he had acted wisely, for the sons of this world are wiser than the children of light. I say to you, make friends for yourselves of the mammon that have stored up in unrighteousness so that, when you fail, they may make a place for you under their canopies for all eternity. He that is faithful in the least is faithful also in much, and he who is unjust in the least is also unjust in much. If, therefore, you are not faithful in your own stores, which are of sin, who will give you what is yours?"[584]

In this regard he said much, and when the Pharisees, all of whom loved silver and gold, heard this, they mocked him. To them he said, "You make yourselves righteous and pure in the eyes of men. God knows yours hearts, and what is esteemed by men is abominable in the sight of God. The law and the prophets ended in John's time, and from that time the good news of the kingdom of heaven has been given. Everyone strives to enter and become unjust to himself."[585]

In order to inform them and explain the torment that would come upon them from not having mercy on the poor, he said, "There was a rich man who wore silk and purple and lived sumptuously.[586] And there was a poor man named Lazarus who lay before the rich man's mansion and was beset by sores. He only desired to fill his belly with the scraps from the rich man's table, but no one gave him anything, **[L102a]** and the dogs came and licked his sores. When the poor man died, the angels

583. John 11:17–50.

584. Luke 16:1–12.

585. Variation on Luke 16:15–16.

586. Luke 16:19, though "silk" takes the place of the original "fine linen."

lifted him up and took him to the place of Abraham and the other saints. The rich man also died and was placed in hell.[587] While he was in torment, he saw Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham **[ASI.203]** and cried out in a loud voice, saying, 'O father Abraham, have mercy on me. Send Lazarus to wet his fingertip with water and put it on my tongue, for I am tormented in the heat of the fire.' Abraham said to him, 'Son, remember that you took your ease in the world and Lazarus suffered the calamity of destitution and helplessness. Now he is at ease and you are in torment. Between us and you is a great gulf no one can cross, from here to you or from there to us.' He said, 'O father, my plea is that you allow him to go to my father's house, where I have five brothers, and tell them of my state so that they too will not be tormented in this place.' Abraham said to him, 'They have the books of Moses and the other prophets. Let them hear them.' He said, 'No, O father, but if one of the dead went to them, they would repent.' He said to him, 'If they do not listen to Moses and the other prophets, they will not believe, no matter how many of the dead arise.' "[588]

In order to explain how we should act with people's **[ASI.204]** shortcomings, he said, "Beware. If your brother offends you, rebuke him when you two are alone. If your advice is effective, you will have benefitted your brother. If he does not listen, take another one or two persons with you so that the words from the mouths of two or three will be firm testimony. If he still does not listen, tell the leader of the synagogue, and if he does not listen to him either, let him be to you as a usurer and idolator."[589] At this point, Peter came and said, "Lord, how many times should I forgive a brother's offense? Seven times?" Jesus said, "If he offends you seven times a day and comes to you seven times a day and says, 'I repent,' forgive him. Therefore, I say seven times, nay, seventy times seven." And he gave this parable: "The kingdom of heaven can be likened to a king who wanted an accounting of his servants. At the beginning of the accounting, someone was brought who owed several laks of rupees, but he did not possess enough to pay that amount. The lord told his men to sell him and his family and take all he had **[ASI.205]** to pay the debt. The servant fell before him and said, 'Lord, give me respite to pay my debt.' The lord felt sorry for him and freed him and forgave the debt. He went away, and along the way he found one of his friends who owed him a hundred dinars. He took him to his house and tortured him, demanding his right. The man fell at his feet and asked for respite. He refused to listen and threw him into prison until he paid his debt. **[L103a]** Some of the king's servants who were friendly with him were informed of this and went to their lord and told him of the man's harshness. The lord summoned him and said, 'O evil servant, I forgave you all you owed. Why did you insist? Was it not incumbent upon you to have mercy on your friend as I had mercy on you?' Indignant, the king turned him over to his sergeants-at-arms until he paid his debt. Thus the Heavenly Father will do to you, if you do not forgive your brothers with all your heart."[590]

In order to state that we should keep ourselves humble no matter how much we serve God, **[ASI.206]** and not rely on our service, he said, "Which of you who has a servant who drives a plow or otherwise toils will say, when that servant comes from the field, 'Come and sit,' but will not rather say, 'Prepare food for me.' Is that servant under an obligation because of his service to his master? I think not. Likewise, when you will have done all you are supposed to, say, 'We are unprofitable servants because we do what we are supposed to.' "[591]

Christ goes toward Jerusalem

At this time, Jesus decided to go to Jerusalem to give his life for men's sake, and when he reached the borders of Judea, many people turned away from him, but he healed all the ill who were brought to him. At this point, as he was going between the borders of Samaria and Galilee, he entered a village. Ten lepers appeared standing afar, and they cried out and said, "O teacher Jesus, have mercy on us." When he saw them, he said, "Go

587. Luke 16:20–22.

588. Luke 16:23–31.

589. Variation on Matthew 18:15–17. The original "publican" and "heathen" were replaced by "usurer" and "idolator," and "synagogue" was substituted for "church" (Matthew 18:17).

590. Variation on Matthew 18:21–35. In lieu of the original "ten thousand talents" (Matthew 18:24), Father Jerome refers to "several laks of rupees."

591. Luke 17:7–10.

and show yourselves to the priests."[592] And as they were going they were cleansed. When one of them saw that he was cleansed, **[ASI.207]** he turned back and, praising God in a loud voice, fell at Christ's feet and thanked him. This man was a Samaritan. Jesus said, "Were they not ten men who were cleansed? Where are the other nine? Was there no one to turn back and praise God other than this man, who is a stranger to the nation?" To him he said, "Arise and go, for your faith has given you deliverance."[593]

In order to teach the people how they should pray in humility and meekness, he said, "Two men went up to the temple to pray. One was a Pharisee and the other a usurer. The Pharisee stood and prayed, saying, 'O Lord, I thank you that I am not unjust, vain, and corrupt like other men and that I am not like this usurer. I fast two days a week and I give a tenth of what I have in alms.' The usurer was standing far away, not wanting to raise his eyes. He beat his breast and said, 'O God, be kind to me, a sinner.' I say to you, this usurer went to his house more sinless than the Pharisee, for he who exalts himself will be low, and he who humbles himself **[ASI.208]** will be exalted."[594]

At this point, several children were brought to him **[L104a]** to lay his hands on them. The Apostles rebuked them and forbade it. Jesus was displeased and said, "Let the children come to me. Do not prevent them, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Verily I say to you, he who does not receive the kingdom of God in the manner of a child will not enter therein."[595] He took them in his lap, put his hand on their heads, and blessed them.

Coming out of the village, he continued on. At this time, a rich man came to him, knelt, and said, "O good master, what should I do to have eternal life?" Jesus replied, "Why do you call me good? Only God is good. If you want life, keep the commandments." He asked, "Which commandments?" He said, "You know the commandments: thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not steal; honor thy father and thy mother; love thy neighbor as thyself." He replied, "O teacher, all these things I have kept from my youth."[596] Jesus looked at him with compassion and said, **[ASI.209]** "One thing you must do if you want to be perfect. Go, sell all you possess, give it to the poor, make a treasure in heaven, and come follow me." When he heard this, he turned away, sad and aggrieved, because he was very rich. Then Jesus said to his disciples, "How much more difficult it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven!" The disciples wondered at this, so he said to them, "O my little sons, how difficult **[L104b]** it is for someone who relies on his riches to enter the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than it is for a rich man to find his way to the kingdom of God."[597]

They became even more perplexed by these words and said to one another, "Who can be saved?" He looked at them and said, "For men it is impossible, but not for God, for whom everything is possible."[598] Peter said to Christ, "Here we have left everything and followed in your footsteps. What will become of me now?" Jesus said, "Verily I say that when the Son of Man sits on his throne of greatness at the Resurrection, **[ASI.210]** all you who follow me will sit on twelve thrones and judge the twelve tribes of Israel, for everyone who leaves his home or his brother, sister, mother, wife, or son for me and the Gospel will receive a hundredfold in this world and everlasting life in the world to come. There are many of the first who will be last, and the last will be first."[599]

In order to express these things, he spoke these parables: "The kingdom of heaven is like a farmer who went out at dawn and hired several workmen for his garden, promising each one dinar as a wage. At the first watch, he found some idle men in the marketplace and said to them, 'Go to my garden, and you will receive your wages.' They went. Again, at the second and third watches of the day, he went out and did likewise. That evening, he came back **[L105a]** and found a group standing. To them he said, 'Why have you been standing here all day idle?' They said, 'No one hired us.' He said, 'You too go to my garden.' And when it was night, he said to his house steward, 'Summon the hired men

592. Luke 17:13–14.
593. Luke 17:17–19.
594. Luke 18:10–14.
595. Luke 18:16–17.
596. Matthew 19:16–20.
597. Matthew 19:21–24; Luke 18:22–25; Mark 10:21–25.
598. Matthew 19:25–26; Mark 10:26–27.
599. Matthew 19:27–30.

and give them their wages, beginning with the last.' He summoned them and gave them each one dinar. When it came the turn of the first ones, they thought they would receive more, but no more than one dinar was given to each. They took it and complained, saying, **[ASI.211]** 'These last ones toiled for one hour, and you treated them equally to us, who endured the sun and heat all day.' In order to give an answer, he addressed one person and said, 'Friend, I have not mistreated you. Did I not promise you one dinar? Take what is rightfully yours and go. I want to give to these last ones equal to what I give you. Am I not master of my own property, to dispose of as I wish? You are offended because I am good.' Thus will the last be first and the first last."[600]

Christ tells of his own death

He headed for Jerusalem, and he took the twelve disciples aside in private and informed them of what would happen, saying, "Here we have come up to Jerusalem, and the writings of the prophets have been fulfilled. The Son of Man will be turned over to the chief priests and the scribes, and they will condemn him to death. They will entrust him to the Gentiles to mock and scourge and crucify, and on the third day he will rise."[601] They still did not understand these words, which remained veiled to them, **[ASI.212]** but when he spoke of his rising, they understood that he would achieve great glory. Two of the twelve, John and James, were desirous of glory over the others, but they were too ashamed to speak, so they made their mother an intermediary. She came and greeted him. Jesus said to her, "What do you want?" She said, "Command that these two sons of mine will sit in your kingdom, one on your right hand and one on your left." Knowing that she had been sent by them, he said to them, "I do not know what you are seeking. Are you able to quaff the goblet I will drink?" They said, "We are able." Then he said, "You will certainly drink my goblet, but that you should sit on my left and right is not up to me to give you, but only to them for whom it is prepared by my father." When the other ten heard this, they were angry. Jesus summoned them and said, "You know that the princes of the Gentiles are in authority over them, and their leaders command power over them. Among you it will not be so, **[ASI.213]** but he who wants to be great must serve you, and he among you who wants to be leader must make himself your servant. Likewise, the Son of Man has not come that he should be served but in order to serve and to give his life for the sake of many."[602]

When Jesus reached the city of Jericho, he made two blind men sighted. **[L106a]** When he came out, many people came out with him. There was a man named Zacchæus, who was chief of the usurers and rich, and he desired to see him and know who he was, but there was such a throng of people that he could not, because he was short. He ran ahead and climbed up in a fig tree in order to be able to see, for Jesus would have to pass by there. When he came to that spot, he looked at him and said, "O Zacchæus, hasten to come down. Today I must be in your house." He quickly climbed down and, rejoicing, hastened home. When Jesus went to his house, it was grievous to the crowd, and they said, "Of course, he went to the house of a usurer." Zacchæus received him and said, "Lord, **[ASI.214]** O Lord, I give half my wealth to the poor, and to anyone from whom I have taken unjustly I give recompense four to one." Jesus said, "Today has the salvation of this house been confirmed, because he too is a son of Abraham, for the Son of Man has come to call the lost and give them salvation."[603]

When he came out of the city of Jericho with his disciples, a throng of men went with him. A blind man named Bartimæus was seated by the road, begging. When he heard the clamor of the people, he asked, "What is this uproar?" They said, "Jesus of Nazareth is passing by." He cried out, saying, "Jesus, son of David, have mercy on me." The people who were in front chided him, saying, "Be silent!" But he cried out all the more and said, "Son of David, have mercy on me!"[604] Jesus stopped and told them to summon him. They went and summoned him, consoling him and saying, "Be hopeful. Rise, for they are calling you." He threw

600. Matthew 20:1–16. Father Jerome replaced the original "vineyard" (Matthew 20:1, 4, 7, 8), which would have been meaningless to most readers and listeners, with "garden."

601. Variation on Matthew 20:18–19, Mark 10:33–34, and Luke 18:31–33.

602. Matthew 20:21–28.

603. Luke 19:5–10.

604. Luke 18:36–39.

off his garment and, stumbling, reeling, and jumping, came before Jesus. He asked, **[ASI.215]** "What do you want me to do for you?" He said, "Lord, I want to see." Jesus said, "See and go, for your faith has given you salvation."[605] At once he became sighted, and, extolling, he followed in his footsteps. Those who saw this praised God.

At this time, Passover, the great feast of the Jews, was nigh, and many went from every city to Jerusalem to practice asceticism and purify themselves before the feast. They were looking for Jesus and saying to each other in the temple, "What do you think? Why has he not come for the feast?"[606] The chief priests and Pharisees had ordained that any who had information about him should disclose it, so they could arrest him. Six days before the feast of Passover, Jesus came to Bethany, where he had raised Lazarus from the dead, and stayed in Martha and Mary's house. There was in the vicinity a man named Simon, a leper. He took Jesus to his house and hosted him. Martha was busy serving, and Lazarus was among those attending. **[L107a]** Mary took a vial of expensive ointment and anointed Jesus's head and feet, **[ASI.216]** and then dried them with her hair. At this point, Judas Iscariot, the one of the twelve Apostles who turned him over to his enemies, said, "Why do you waste this oil?[607] It could have been sold for three hundred dinars and given to the poor. Why did you do this?" Judas did not say this because he was concerned for the poor but because of what he had stolen from the chest for expenses he held, for he had taken everything that had gone into it. Jesus said, "Why do you insult this woman? She has done me a good turn. The poor will always be with you, and whenever you want you can do good to them, but me you will not always have. What she had, she spent on me and anointed me before the day of my burial. Verily I say to you, wherever there will be any knowledge of the Gospel, the world will say she did it for the sake of my grave."[608] Mary did this because she knew that his death was nigh.

Christ comes out of Jerusalem **[ASI.217]**

The Jews knew that Jesus was in Bethany, and many came to him to see him and Lazarus, whom he had raised from the dead. The chief priest agreed to kill Lazarus because, since he was a great man, many of the Jews were going to Jesus on his account and believing in him.

When Jesus came to Beth Phage, he went up on the Mount of Olives. He sent two of his disciples, saying, "Go into the village opposite you. There you will find an ass tied in the stable with her colt. Untie them and bring them to me. If anyone says anything to you, tell him the Lord is in need of it. He will give it to you at once."[609] The owner of the ass had donated [it and the colt] so that the infirm and poor could ride them and enter Jerusalem and then return them. This he did to fulfill the prophecy of Zechariah and Isaiah. A translation of what Zechariah said[610] is this: "Rejoice greatly, O **[ASI.218]** daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem; behold, thy King cometh unto thee; he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass." The gist of what Isaiah said[611] is this: "Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people. Behold, the Lord hath proclaimed unto the end of the world. Say ye, to the daughter of Zion, behold, thy salvation cometh; behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him. And they shall call them **[L108a]** the holy people, the redeemed of the Lord; and thou shalt be called, 'Sought out. A city not forsaken.' "

In short, the disciples went and did as they had been told, and they brought the female ass and her foal, and they put their pads on it and asked him to mount. First he mounted the female ass, and then he got on the colt, which had not been ridden [Cat. no. XXVI]. When the Jews heard that Christ was near and that he would enter the city that day, **[2005.145.22a]** they went out to greet him, **[2005.145.22b]** and innumerable people came out. Since he had raised Lazarus in that vicinity, they were eager in their hearts. Because of this, some hailed him

605. Mark 10:49–52.
606. John 11:56.
607. Father Jerome switches "ointment" to "oil."
608. Variation on Mark 14:4–9 and Matthew 26:8–13.
609. Matthew 21:2–3.
610. Zechariah 9:9.
611. Isaiah 62:10–12.

by taking off their garments and spreading them under his feet, and others cut branches from the trees and threw them in the road. Those who were ahead and behind cried out and praised God, telling of the marvelous things they had seen from Jesus and saying, "Blessed is the king who comes in the name of God, and peace on earth and glory in the heights." Some of the Pharisees who were then present said to him, "Master, rebuke your disciples!" Jesus answered them, saying, "I say to you, if they are silent, the stones will cry out." When he came to the summit of the Mount of Olives and was near the city, he saw the city. He wept over it and said, "If you had only known in this your day the things of peace that are for you, but now your eyes are covered, for the days will come upon you when your enemies will make a rampart around you and surround you and press you on all sides. **[ASI.219]** You and your sons who are in you they will cause to topple, and in you they will not leave one stone on top of another because you did not know the time of your well-being."[612]

All these things came to be after forty years. Although the tenor of this book is to report the stages of Jesus's heavenly teaching and the levels of his greatness, in order to fill out the narrative I will write briefly of the instructive event and some of the strange things that took place before the destruction of Jerusalem, to open the eyes of those who would learn. It is not unknown that one year before the destruction of Jerusalem a star appeared in the sky in the shape of a sword, and it rose continually for one year.[613] Also, during the festival of Artemisius,[614] which is the great feast of the Jews, one night after three watches had passed, a great light suddenly appeared and so lit up the whole temple that everyone thought it was day, and then it disappeared.[615] During the same festival of Artemisius, a cow that had given birth to a sheep was brought for sacrifice.[616] Also, for forty days continually, **[ASI.220]** at sunset they saw in the air that from every direction wheels full of fire and troops of *opchi*[617] men were coming and enjoining battle **[L109a]** and besieging cities. Also, at the second feast, which is the day on which the Pentateuch came down,[618] the sages of the Jews had gathered in the temple, as was their custom. Suddenly, they heard a voice saying, "Let us leave this place."[619] Four years prior to that, at the Festival of Tabernacles, a boy named Jesus, son of Ananus, suddenly cried out, saying, "A voice from the west! A voice from the four winds! A voice against Jerusalem and her temple! A voice against new brides! A voice against all the people!"[620] However much they asked him what the reason for this cry was and whipped him, he said nothing, and the more they beat him, the louder he spoke. They took him before the governor, and he was tortured so much that his bones showed and no flesh remained on his body. He never wept but kept on saying, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem!"[621]

Finally, Vespasian Caesar set out with his son Titus from Rome to Jerusalem, and when he arrayed his army, the Christians, **[ASI.221]** by God's inspiration, came out from there.[622] It was besieged on the festival of Artemisius, for which the Jews had come to that city from all corners of the world. Not one of those people came out.[623] In a short time, enmities appeared among the besieged, and they lay in wait for one another. They fell

612. Variation on Luke 19:38–44.

613. Josephus, *Jewish War*, bk. 6: chap. 5, para. 3.

614. *Artemisius* is the Latin name for the Jewish month of Iyar, as given by Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:5,3. Josephus actually depicts the light phenomenon as having occurred on the 8th of Xanthicus (Nisan). The appearance of troops in the sky occurred on the 21st of Artemisius (Iyar). Father Jerome mistakenly made it "the festival of Artemisius." There are no Jewish holidays in the month of Iyar.

615. Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:5,3.

616. Ibid.

617. *Opchī* (armed) is a Hindi word used in Mughal India.

618. The second great pilgrimage festival is Pentecost, as given by Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:5,3.

619. In the original (Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:5,3), the sentence is: "We are departing hence."

620. Father Jerome appears to have left out the beginning of the quote from Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:5,3: "A voice from the East, a voice from the West…" This seems to have been intentional, since the quote is also reproduced by Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:273 no. 67.

621. The story of Jesus, son of Ananus, is also taken from Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:5,3.

622. Father Jerome seems to have followed Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:274 no. 67: "…the Christian faithful who were in Jerusalem had been warned by the Holy Spirit to leave the city…."

623. This refers to the fact that Titus allowed pilgrims to enter the city to celebrate Passover, but they were denied exit: Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:5,2.

upon each other and were killed. No life or property was safe. One day in the temple, there was such fighting and so much blood shed that the whole building was awash in blood, which flowed out to the enemies. So many people were dying and being killed that there was no place to bury them. Dead bodies were thrown over the walls of the citadel, and the trench filled up. At one gate, fifteen thousand corpses were counted. Some of those inside swallowed their jewels and came out, but, although they were under amnesty from the commander, those outside killed them wherever they found them and slit open their bellies. In one day, two thousand people had their bellies slit open. Things got so bad that Titus withdrew, saying, **[ASI.222]** "O God, you know that I did not want this. I want only to obey. They themselves are killing each other."[624] First they died from scarcity of grain, and when somehow grain was brought into the citadel, they ate so much that they perished, and so the very substance of life became the cause for death. Wherever there was food, there was fighting. People were killed, and even their friends and loved ones slit open the bellies of the dead and did not cover their bodies with clothing. When there was no other remedy, they boiled the flesh of the dead and ate it. They chewed shoe leather, and there was no shame in taking into one's mouth and licking with one's tongue what had been on someone's foot. Used straw that was thrown out of houses was purchased for vast amounts. Calamity had the city so in its grip that no hope of life remained and there was no remedy. Who can write of the signs of divine wrath?[625] **[L110a]** Who can count them? Perforce, I must lift my pen from detailing that story, but I will write a brief account of a woman named Miriam and not write of others.[626]

Miriam was a nobly born woman of that region and rich. **[ASI.223]** In fear of being taken prisoner, she went into the citadel. Thieves and other ruffians carried off all her livelihood, and all the provisions she had were pillaged by the unjust and the hungry. She who had been accustomed to fine clothing and fine food came to eating straw and gnawing on shoe leather. Hard-hearted hunger took root in her bosom and made her morals coarse. She abandoned her spirit. She had a child, and she was constantly annoyed and upset by its crying. When she saw herself and her son in the maw of catastrophe and destruction, she abandoned her innate love. She turned to her son and said, "O son, what am I to do? You are in the clutches of difficulties: war, hunger, fires, thieves, the falling of houses. When I die, to whom will I entrust you? Where can I for an instant imagine that you will live? I was hopeful that when you grew up you would feed your mother and that when I died you would entrust me to the earth, but what am I to do in my misery? You and I must live, but I find no remedy. To whom, then, can I entrust you? In what tomb can I hide you so that you will not be carried off by wild beasts and dogs or other animals? **[ASI.224]** O my sweet darling, before hunger kills you, give back what your mother has given you. In that living niche in which you obtained life your resting place is prepared. So I kiss you, my son. What the expanse of love does not have the stricture of necessity may have, so that I will eat my own offspring. I have done what love required; now let me do what hunger desires. You will be better off, and it will be a sort of mercy. It would have been better for your mother to feed you, but now you will feed her." This she said, and she averted her face and cut her child's head off and cut him into pieces. She put some in the fire and hid the rest, lest the hungry people rob her of it. However, the smell wafted and reached them. Some followed the scent, and when they entered her house, their eyes red, they threatened her, saying, "You wretch, we wander in hunger, and you eat in ease **[ASI.225]** and deprive us of the food you have found." Miriam said, "Do not be angry. I have kept your portion aside. I have reserved some of my liver for salted meat. Be patient, and I'll bring it to you." She placed a covered platter, opened it, and said, "This is my food. This is one of my child's arms. This is one of his legs. This is his torso. Lest you

624. The quote is not by Josephus, but seems to have been inspired by Voragine's words, "God, you see that not I [*sic*] am doing this": *Golden Legend*, 1:276 no. 67.

625. This part of the account seems to be roughly based on Josephus *Jewish War*, 6:9,4.

626. The story of Miriam (or Mary), daughter of Eleazar of Bethezub, is also based on early accounts such as that of Josephus *Jewish War*, 6:3,4, and Eusebius, *History of the Church*, 3:6. Father Jerome's quotations do not follow the original or Voragine's version (*Golden Legend*, 1:276 no. 67), and might have been his own creation.

think it is a stranger, know that it is my son." Then she said, "Woe to you, my son. Never were you sweeter to me than today. I am obliged to you that through you I live for one day. Your sweetness keeps my soul going and has staved off the death of your wretched mother. These people came in to kill, but they became guests. They too will be grateful to you **[L111a]** when they eat my food." The people were shocked and dumbfounded. She said to them, "Why are you surprised? Why don't you eat of what I, a mother, have prepared? Enjoy and know that my son is sweet. Do not be more compassionate than a mother or weaker than a woman. I prepared the food. You forced a mother to do this. I would have been more loving, but necessity overcame me."

This amazing story **[ASI.226]** spread throughout the city, and everyone feared lest he too might be brought to do such a horrible thing—that inner turmoil might force him to feed on his own child. Titus trembled when he heard. He lifted his hands and said, "We came to wage war, but we are fighting not humans but animals that act like mad dogs. Wild beasts love their offspring and feed them when they are hungry. They make their food from the bodies of others and are repelled by their own flesh. It is worse than hardheartedness for a mother to eat her own offspring. I am free of this pollution, and I purify myself of this in your presence. O whatever power there may be in heaven, you know that many times I have heartily sought to make peace, and with all my dominion and forces I have not been ashamed to insist and plead, for I wanted to pardon them. But what could I do with the Jews, who wage war upon themselves? Many times I have called out from atop the walls for them to come out and do battle so that they would not be killed in a worse manner by their own hands."[627] This he said, **[ASI.227]** and he gave his men permission to attack and set fire to the city. The leaders took refuge in the temple, but there was no water there. Thirst became worse than the heat of the fire. The priests sued for amnesty. Titus replied, "It is low and mean for your temple to cease to exist and for you to want to live." They were all rebuffed. John, Simon, and the other leaders sought amnesty.[628] To them he said, "The time of kindness has ended now that nothing remains. I would have given amnesty, but you would not accept. I wanted to pardon you; you would not let me. I would have stopped the war, but you attacked. Now all the people have been killed and the temple is in flames. Why do you stand with arms? Throw down your arms like wounded and defeated men. Even if you are not worthy, I spare your lives."[629] Although imperial wrath had been stirred, everyone who fled to him he magnanimously spared and pardoned. When the soldiers had had enough of killing and turned their attention to taking captives, they encouraged him to pardon. Many there were for sale, **[ASI.228]** but purchasers were few because the Romans so despised them that they did not consider them worthy of being maids and slaves, and the Israelites did not have the wherewithal to redeem them. In the month of Amurdad, they burned the city. A hundred thousand dead were counted, and ninety-seven thousand were taken captive.[630] One of the strange things is that Nebuchadnezzar also took the city and laid it waste in the same month six hundred years prior to that.[631] There were so many captives and they were so miserable that thirty persons were sold for one dinar.[632] The city was so devastated that even today it has not returned to its original state. **[L112a]** The temple was destroyed, and they were never able to rebuild it. This is what Jesus had in mind when he entered Jerusalem and wept over their fate.

When he arrived in the city, there was a clamor throughout the city, and they were saying, "Who is this?" People answered, saying, "It is the prophet Jesus from Nazareth in Galilee."[633] Children sang and lauded him. **[ASI.229]** The Pharisees were stirred up and angered, and they said to each other, "You see, the more we plot,

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627. Titus's grievance is based on Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:3,5.

628. Josephus *Jewish War*, 6:6,2. John of Gischala and Simon bar Giora were two rival leaders of the Jewish revolt against Roman occupation.

629. Based on Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:6,2.

630. According to Josephus, *Jewish War*, 6:9,3, there were 97,000 captives, but the number of dead was "one million one hundred thousand." Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:276 no. 67, agrees on the number of captives but states that 110,000 perished. The discrepancies in the numbers may be explained by a copyist's error, or an intended simplification of the original figure.

631. The destructions of the First Temple in 586 B.C. and of the Second Temple in A.D. 70 are memorialized on the 9th of Av (July–August). Amurdad is the equivalent Persian month.

632. Following Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:276 no. 67.

633. Matthew 21:10–11.

the less effective it is. Soon the whole world will follow him."[634] They therefore went to Jesus and said, "Do you hear what they are saying?" Jesus answered, "Yes. Have you not read that truly out of the mouths of babes and sucklings has praise reached perfection?"[635]

While Jesus was in the temple with the Jews, one of the Greeks who had come to pray during the festival went to Philip and made a request of him, saying, "Master, I want to see Jesus."[636] Philip informed Andrew, and they went together and told Jesus, saying, "Some people without Scripture want to meet you."[637] Jesus answered, saying, "The time has come that the Son of Man be glorified."[638] In order to show the benefit that would accrue to the nations from his death, he said to them, "Verily, verily I say to you, if a mustard seed does not fall onto the ground and die, it remains alone. And if it dies, it yields much fruit. He who loves his own soul will lose it, **[ASI.230]** and he who hates his soul will keep it for eternal life. If anyone would serve me, let him follow me, and where I am, there too will my servant be. If anyone serves me, my Father will honor him. Now my soul is in turmoil. What am I to say? Father, save me from this hour, but for this purpose have I come to this state. O Father, glorify your own name."[639] Just then, a voice came from heaven, saying, "Truly I have glorified it, and I will glorify it again." Those who were standing there heard it and said it was thunder. Others said, "No, an angel has addressed him." Jesus said, "This voice was not for me but for you. Now is the judgment of this world. Now the prince of the world will be cast out, and if I am lifted above the earth I will draw everything to myself."[640] This he said to show what death he would die. The group answered, saying, "We have understood from the law[641] that the Messiah would remain forever. How can you say that the Son of Man will be lifted up? Who is this Son of Man?" Jesus said, "For a short while, the light is with you. Walk while the light is with you, lest darkness come upon you, for he who walks in darkness does not know where he is going. While the light is with you, believe in the light that you may be sons of light."[642] Many of the elite believed in him, but they did not reveal it, lest the community exile them, for they loved to be admired by people more **[L113a]** than by God.

At the end of the day, he went out of the city and spent the night on the Mount of Olives. The next morning, which was Monday, he returned, entered the temple, and started driving out the people who were buying and selling in the temple, saying, "It is written,[643] 'My house is a house of prayer,' and you have made it a den of thieves."[644] The Pharisees went there and said, **[ASI.232]** "By whose authority do you do these things? Who gave you authority to do this?" Jesus replied, saying, "I will ask you one thing. From whom was John's baptism? From men or from heaven?" They all thought to themselves, saying, "If we say it was from men, we fear the people will exaggerate it, because they all consider John a prophet of God." They replied, "We do not know." He said to them, "Neither will I tell you on whose authority I do these things.[645] What do you think? A man had two sons, and to the elder he said, 'Son, go work in my vineyard today.' He said, 'I do not want to,' but later he repented and went. The father said to his other son, 'Son, go work in my vineyard.' He replied, 'Lord, I will go,' but he did not go. Of these two, which one did the will of his father?" They said, "The first." Jesus said, "Verily I say to you, usurers and harlots will enter the kingdom of heaven before you. **[ASI.233]** John came among you with justice. You did not accept him, but the usurers and harlots had faith in him. You saw him and did not repent that you might believe."[646]

In order to show them who he was, what they would do to him, and what requital they would receive, he said, "Hear another parable. A farmer planted a vineyard, building a wall and a trench around it, and he constructed a tower and entrusted it to gardeners while he

634. John 12:19.
635. Matthew 21:16.
636. John 12:21.
637. Unidentified source, probably Father Jerome's gloss.
638. John 12:23.
639. Variation on John 12:24–28. The "mustard seed" replaces the original "grain of wheat" in John 12:24.
640. John 12:28–32.
641. Psalm 109:4 (110:4); Isaiah 9:7; Ezekiel 37:25; Daniel 7:14.
642. John 12:34–36.
643. Isaiah 56:7.
644. Matthew 21:13; Luke 19:46.
645. Matthew 21:23–27; Luke 20:2–8; Mark 11:28–33.
646. Matthew 21:28–32.

went on a trip. When the time came for harvest, he sent his servants to the gardeners to tell them to give the produce. The gardeners beat some of them, killed some, and stoned some. The owner then sent more men than before, but they did the same to them. A third time he sent his own son and said, 'Perhaps they will have some shame in the presence of my son.' When the gardeners saw the son, they said to themselves, 'He is the heir. Come, let's kill him and take the inheritance.' Therefore, they seized him, took him outside the vineyard, and killed him. [**ASI.234**] When the owner of the vineyard comes, what will he do to these men?" They said, "He will kill the evil ones for their evil and turn the vineyard over to others who will give him the produce at the proper time." Then he said to them, "Have you never read in the Scriptures that the stone the builders rejected became the cornerstone? This was the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes. For this reason, I say to you that the kingdom will be taken from your hands and given to other men who will give the produce, and anyone who falls on this stone will be shattered, and anyone on whom it falls will be annihilated."[647] When the chief priests and the Pharisees heard these parables, they realized that he was speaking of them. They wanted to arrest him, but they feared the people, for whom he was like a prophet.

In the parable, what he calls the owner is God. The garden is the Pentateuch; the wall is its interpretation and the other prophets; the trench is the temple; the tower is the priesthood; the gardeners are the Jews; the fruit is good works; the trip is leaving to free will; and those [**ASI.235**] who were sent for the harvest are the prophets and the righteous. They refused to listen to some of them, like Moses and Aaron, and others they killed, like Isaiah, Zechariah, Jeremiah, and others. Finally, he sent his own Son, who is Jesus. They had no shame before him and killed him so that rule and mastery would not go out of their own house, but in the end it was taken from them, and Scripture and everything else went to others who were not scriptural. In this same way, it will be taken from anyone who does not produce good fruit from his religion and knowledge of God and will be given to others.

That day, he performed miracles and did amazing things, and when it was night he went to the Mount of Olives and spent the whole night in prayer. As he was going, he said to his disciples, "Be always in prayer, and do not fail in this.[648] I say to you, whatever you desire in prayer, have faith that you will receive it and it will come to you. When you stand in prayer, if you are bothered by anyone, forgive him so that your Father who is in heaven may forgive your sins. If you do not forgive, your Father who is in heaven will not forgive your sins."[649] [**ASI.236**]

On Tuesday morning, he went to Jerusalem and entered the temple, where he taught the people. The Pharisees had been humiliated by the exchange the day before, but they were unable to seize him, so they conspired to catch him in his words and turn him over to the governor. They sent their disciples together with Herod's men to him and said, "Teacher, we know that you are right and that you truly teach the path to God. You do not care for or regard anyone. Tell us, is it lawful for us to give tribute to Caesar or not?" Aware of the wickedness in their hearts, Jesus replied, "You hypocrites, why are you testing me? Put a tribute dinar before me." They gave him a tribute dinar. Then he said, "Whose is this image and inscription?" They said, "Caesar's." Then he said to them, "Give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's."[650] When they heard this, they were amazed and, leaving him, went away.

Then a group of Sadducees, who denied[651] the Resurrection, came to him and said, "Teacher, Moses said[652] if a man dies and does not have a son, his brother should marry his wife and make his seed live for his brother. There were among us seven brothers. The eldest took a wife and died, and since he had no children, he left his wife to his brother. So also the second and third down to the seventh. Last of all, [**L114a**] the wife died. At resurrection, to which of the seven brothers will she belong, for each of them married her?" Jesus answered and said, "You have gone astray. You neither know the Scriptures nor are you aware of God's power, for in heaven they

647. Matthew 21:33–44.

648. Perhaps based on Luke 18:1.
649. Mark 11:24–26.
650. Matthew 22:16–21; Mark 12:14–17; Luke 20:21–25.
651. Matthew 22:23; Mark 12:18; Luke 20:27; Acts 23:8.
652. Deuteronomy 25:5.

will be not like the wives of men but like God's angels. Do you not remember what God has told[653] you about the resurrection of the dead: 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead but the God of the living'?"[654] And he said such things in this regard that they were dumbfounded. When the Pharisees realized that the Sadducees had been bested, they gathered and came to him. One of them who was more learned asked him as a test, "Master, which commandment is the greatest in the law?" He replied, "Love **[ASI.238]** the Lord your God with all your soul and all your heart.[655] This is the first and greatest commandment, and the second commandment is like it, that is, love your neighbor as yourself.[656] On these two commandments depend all the law and the prophets."[657]

When all the Pharisees had assembled, Jesus asked, "What do you know of the Messiah? Whose son is he?" They said, "He is the son of David." He said, "How then does David inspiredly call him his Lord, saying 'The Lord said[658] unto my Lord, "Sit at my right hand till I put your enemies under your feet."' Therefore, when David calls him 'Lord,' how can he be his son?"[659] No one could answer him, and from that day forward no one could ask him anything.

Jesus then turned to the gathering and his disciples and said, "The scribes and Pharisees sit on the throne of Moses. Do you therefore observe and do everything they say, but do not do as they do, for they say but do not do, because they bind up heavy and difficult loads **[ASI.239]** and put them on the backs of the people, but they do not want to lift a finger. They do all they can to make themselves conspicuous: they make wide amulets and long fringes and robes. They love the seat of honor in synagogues and feasts and to be greeted in the markets and called teacher, but do not be called teacher on the earth. One is your teacher, and he is the Messiah, and you are brothers to each other. Do not call anyone on the earth father, because one is your Father in heaven. Do not be called master, for one is your master, and he is the Messiah. He who is greatest among you will be your servant, he who exalts himself will be overthrown, and he who humbles himself will be lifted up. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you shut the kingdom of heaven to men: you neither enter yourselves nor allow others to enter. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you devour the houses of widows and orphans.[660] **[ASI.239]** For making long prayer, there will be a great judgment against you. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, for you are hypocrites, **[L116a]** because you cross land and sea to hunt down one stranger, but when you have caught him in your net you make him a child of hell twice more than yourselves. Woe to you, blind leaders, you say that if anyone swears by the temple, it is of no consequence, but if anyone swears by the gold that is in the temple, he is a debtor. Woe, fools and blind men. Which is greater, the gold or the temple that sanctifies it? If anyone swears by the altar, it is of no consequence, and if anyone swears by the sacrifice that is upon it, he is a debtor. Blind ones, which is greater, the sacrifice or the altar that purifies the sacrifice? Therefore, whoever swears by the altar swears by it and by all that is upon it. Whoever swears by the temple swears by it and by all that dwell in it. Whoever swears by heaven, swears by God's throne and by the person who sits upon it."[661] Then he said to the disciples, **[ASI.241]** "Avoid such people."[662]

During this session, he observed people throwing money as alms into a chest to the best of their abilities. A widow woman also came and threw one or two pennies, in accordance with her poverty, into the chest. He called his disciples and said, "Rightly I say to you, the widow has given more alms than anyone, because all these gave from what they possess in abundance, but she, who does not have enough to live on, threw in everything she had."[663]

He left the temple and went to the Mount of Olives with his disciples. When he arrived at a high place from

653. Exodus 3:6.
654. Matthew 22:24–32; Mark 12:19–27.
655. Deuteronomy 6:5.
656. Leviticus 19:18.
657. Variation on Matthew 22:36–40 and Mark 12:28–31.
658. Psalm 109:1 (110:1).
659. Matthew 22:42–45.
660. Variation on Matthew 23:2–14; moreover, "orphans" are not mentioned in Matthew 23:14.
661. Matthew 23:15–22.
662. Probably from 2 Timothy 3:5.
663. Mark 12:43–44; Luke 21:3–4.

which the buildings [**L116b**] of the city could be seen well, the disciples praised the buildings of the temple and the city and showed them to him. He replied, "You see all these things? Verily I say to you, no stone will remain atop another without being destroyed." They asked, "When will this be?"[664] He replied, "When you see Jerusalem besieged, know that its destruction is nigh.[665] When you see the abomination of which the prophet Daniel spoke[666] set up in the holy place, he who can read will comprehend.[667] Then will be the desolation of Jerusalem. (The abomination was an image of Octavian Caesar, who had sent a statue of himself to the temple for the Jews to worship.)[668] Then let them who are in Judea flee to the mountains,[669] let those who are in the city not go out, let those who are in the city on the rooftops not come down to find out about their goods, let those who are in the wilderness not return to take their clothing,[670] let those who are in the vicinity not enter into the city, for those will be the days of wrath that what is written[671] may be fulfilled. Woe to the pregnant and nursing on that day, for there will be great scarcity in the land, and the wrath of God will fall upon them through the edges of swords and be carried off as prisoners throughout the world. Jerusalem will be trampled by the Gentiles until the time of fulfillment.[672]

Prior to that, the wrath of God will descend. They will stretch out their hands to you and follow you. They will make you princes and take you before [**ASI.243**] kings and governors, and this will be so that you may bear witness to me.[673] Look then into your hearts. [**L117a**] Do not think ahead of time of what answer you will make, but what will be told to you, that will you say, for I will give you mouths and knowledge that no enemy will be able to resist you. Fathers, brothers, relatives, and friends will betray you, and some of you will be killed. All men will hate you because of me, but not one strand of your hair will be destroyed, and by patient endurance you will be masters of your own souls."[674] They asked, "When will the end of the world be, and what will be the sign of your coming?"[675] He said, "Be aware and awake, and pray, for you do not know when the hour will be. Of that day and hour no one will know anything, even the angels.[676] As the destruction of the world was in the days of Noah, so will my coming be, for just as in those days before the deluge they ate, drank, and had wedding celebrations until the day when Noah entered the ark, [**ASI.244**] and they did not understand until the time when the deluge came and swept everyone away,[677] so also will the coming of the Son of Man be.[678] Awake, for you do not know when the Lord will come to you.[679] Know that if a householder knew at what time a thief would come, he would be awake and not allow his house to be robbed. Be you therefore also ready because when you least expect it the Son of Man will come."[680] The reason for not revealing the hour was that we might be never unmindful of servitude to God and that we might be ever fearful.

Then he spoke of the signs of the end and said, "Be vigilant that no one deceive you. Many will come in my name and say they are I, and most people will be deceived.[681] Many false prophets will arise, and they will lead many people astray.[682] All who remain on the

664. Matthew 24:2–3; Luke 21:6–7.
665. Luke 21:20.
666. Daniel 9:27; 11:31; 12:11.
667. Matthew 24:15.
668. This appears to be related to an episode narrated by Josephus in his *Antiquities*. According to the historian, when Pilate moved his army into the "winter quarters in Jerusalem [he] took a bold step in subversion of the Jewish practices, by introducing into the city the busts of the emperor that were attached to the military standards, for our law forbids the making of images": Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 18:3,1. Pilate eventually removed the images after six days of fierce revolt. It is unknown whether Father Jerome had access to Josephus's text or any other based on it. It is, nevertheless, to be noted that a Muslim audience would have been profoundly sympathetic to his version.
669. Matthew 24:16, Mark 13:14; Luke 21:21.
670. Variation on Matthew 24:17–18 and Mark 13:15–16.
671. Luke 21:22; possibly referring to Hosea 9:7.
672. Luke 21:23–24.
673. Father Jerome seems to have appropriated some of the ideas in Mark 13:9 ("But look to yourselves. For they shall deliver you up to councils, and in the synagogues you shall be beaten, and you shall stand before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony unto them.") to confer on it a new and opposite sense.
674. Luke 21:14–19.
675. Variation on Matthew 24:3, Mark 13:4, and Luke 21:7.
676. Variation on Matthew 24:36 and Mark 13:32.
677. Matthew 24:37–39; variation on Luke 17:26–27.
678. Matthew 24:39.
679. Matthew 24:42.
680. Matthew 24:43–44; Luke 12:39–40.
681. Matthew 24:4–5; Mark 13:5–6; Luke 21:8.
682. Matthew 24:11.

straight path until the end will be saved. This Gospel of heaven will be proclaimed in all the world, for the witness of all nations, and then will be the end of the world.[683] If anyone says the Messiah is here or there, **[ASI.245]** do not believe it, for many false claimants will arise and say that they are the Messiah. Many false prophets will produce great signs and do amazing things such that, if it were possible, they would deceive the elect."[684]

He also said, "There will be many wars in the world, and many will claim that they are the Messiah."[685] In this regard, he said many things. All these were earthly signs. Then he spoke of heavenly portents and said, "Signs will appear in the sun, moon, and other stars.[686] The sun will not give light and the moon will be darkened. It will appear that the stars are falling.[687] Great scarcity will appear in the land. People will be distressed and the sea will churn up. In fear of what the end will be, people will be frozen. Fire will burn the world.[688] At that time, the Son of Man will send his angels to give life to the dead with trumpets and loud shouts,[689] and all those who are in the graves will hear the words of the Son of God and come forth.[690] The righteous will rise up for eternal life and the evil for damnation, and all will be assembled in one place.[691] **[ASI.246]** Then will the sign of the Son of Man **[L118a]** (that is, the cross) appear in the sky, and all the race of men who see it will weep for themselves.[692] Then the Son of Man will come in his glory in the clouds in the sky, attended by all the angels, and he will sit on the throne of glory, and all people will gather before him. As a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, so will he separate the good from the wicked. The righteous he will seat on his right hand and the evil on his left.[693] Then every person's deeds will be obvious to all, and every person will receive retribution for what he has done. In order to show that the quality of mercy is more beloved and dearer to him,[694] he will say to those on his right hand, 'Come, O blessed ones of my father, receive the kingdom that has been prepared for you since the creation of the world, for I was hungry and you fed me; I was thirsty and you gave me water; I was a stranger and you gave me shelter; I was naked and you clothed me; I was sick and you visited me; I was in prison and you came to me.' Then the just will answer and say, 'Living God, when did we see you hungry and feed you? When were you thirsty and we gave you water? When did we find you a stranger and give you shelter? When were you naked and we clothed you? When were you sick and in prison and we came to you?' He will answer them, saying, 'Verily I say to you, whatever you have done to one of these little brothers of mine, you have done to me.' To those on his left hand he will say, 'O accursed ones, go far away from me. Go to the eternal fire that has been prepared for Satan and his army. I was hungry and you did not feed me; I was thirsty and you did not give me water; I was a stranger and you did not give me shelter; I was naked and you did not clothe me; I was sick and in prison and you did not visit me.' They will reply, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry, thirsty, a stranger, naked, sick, or in prison and not serve you?' Then he will answer them, 'Verily I say to you, what you have done to one of these little ones of mine, you have done to me.' Then they will be in eternal torment, and the good will have eternal life."[695] **[ASI.248]** Then he said, "Heaven and earth will move from their places, but my words will never be lost."[696] All these words were spoken on Tuesday in the village of Bethany.

683. Matthew 24:13–14.

684. Matthew 24:23–24; Mark 13:21–22.

685. Matthew 24:5–6; Mark 13:6–7.

686. Luke 21:25.

687. Variation on Matthew 24:29, and Mark 13:24–25.

688. Although some of these signs are traditional, such as the rising seas and scarcity, others, such as the freezing cold, seem to have been added by Father Jerome. The northern part of the Mughal Empire was subject to extremely low temperatures during winter; Akbar himself must have experienced such cold, which perhaps accounts for this type of a reference.

689. Based on Matthew 24:31.

690. John 5:28, but also Koran 22:7.

691. Variation on John 5:29, which does not include the phrase "and all will be assembled in one place."

692. Matthew 24:30.

693. Matthew 25:31–33.

694. From "Then every person's deeds" to "more beloved and dearer to him" seems to be Father Jerome's gloss based on Biblical sources. Beliefs such as that "every person will receive retribution for what he has done" find parallels in a number of verses in the Old and New Testaments, including Psalm 61:13 (62:12), Jeremiah 17:10, and Matthew 6:4.

695. Matthew 25:34–46.

696. Matthew 24:35; Mark 13:31; Luke 21:33.

PART THREE: HIS TRIALS, TRIBULATIONS, AND DEATH

From what he said it is known for certain that Jesus spoke several times of his own death, of his being turned over to foreign governors to be killed, and of the fruit and benefit that would come from his death, which is for the salvation of men. It is also known that all this would come upon him of his own volition, without anyone's being able to inflict any pain on him, unless he so willed.[697] Thus it was that every time they wanted to kill him, stone him, or arrest him, they were never able to, because it was not his will. When the time came, however, and he wanted to give his life for the sake of men, or rather for the sake of sinners, or even more for the sake of his enemies, and to show by this act his greatness in his mercy, he went to the city of Jerusalem, where he knew they were waiting to kill him. While they wanted to kill him out of extreme enmity, [**ASI.249**] he in all love and kindness wanted to give himself to be killed for the sake of their salvation. Therefore, the reason for this death was the extreme evil of those who conspired to kill him, for there was no other reason aside from the fact that the world would be trampled on by him, and by this act of selflessness their shop would be destroyed. However, for his part, he wanted to make clear to the people of the world that he loved them so much that he would give his own life to redeem their sins, and he would now show by his own action that the endurance, love, and other things he had taught orally over the course of three years was of the utmost good. Thus it is that if Christ's death was the greatest of all sins, and since the Jews killed in pure spite and injustice, with so many torments and insults,[698] the best person in the world, who had done them so many good deeds, that very death was the best service ever rendered to God in this world, because he sacrificed to God the best thing he could and yielded himself voluntarily for the redemption and salvation of men. [**ASI.250**] In doing this he gave an example of every perfection and goodness. Of the death of Christ all the past prophets had foretold, and if I were to quote what the prophets had said in this regard before Christ came into the world, it would never end. It will be sufficient for me to quote what the prophet Isaiah wrote eight hundred-odd years prior to the coming of the Messiah:

> "Lord, who will believe these things he will hear from me? To whom has the power of God been revealed? He will grow up as a tender plant and as a root out of a dry ground. He has no form or comeliness. We saw him, and we turned our desire from him. We saw him despised and the lowliest of men, a man sunk in pains and injuries, and his face, you would say, was hidden and despised, and for this reason we took no account of him. He took up our troubles and took away our pains, and we knew that he was, as it were, more, and smitten by God and despised by Him. But he was wounded for the sake of our sins and beaten on account of our evils. The instruction of our peace was in his hands, and by his wounds [**ASI.251**] we were healed. We all, like sheep, have gone astray, each to his own way, and the Lord, having placed the evil of all of us in him, has driven it away because he did not want and did not open his mouth. Like a lamb, he is led to the slaughter, and, as a sheep, is dumb in the sight of him who picks it up and does not open its mouth. He came out of sorrow and judgment. Who can declare to his children? Because he was cut off from the land of the living: for the sake of my own sin, I beat him. He gives the evil to the grave and the rich to death, because he did no evil and there was no deceit in his mouth. The Lord wanted to beat him in his infirmity. If he gives his life for sin, his generation will last for all time, and the pleasure of the Lord will be smooth in his hands. His spirit shall see suffering and be satisfied. In his knowledge, that good servant of mine will do good to many people, and he will take on their evils. For this reason, I will forgive him much and bestow upon him the spoils of the strong of arm, because he has entrusted his soul to death [**ASI.252**] and was numbered among the sinners. He has borne the sins of many and interceded for those who transgressed.[699]

These are the words of Isaiah. In these words, he has given a summary of the reason for [Jesus's] death, the

697. Father Jerome is undoubtedly reassuring his audience that Jesus was well aware of what was about to happen (John 18:4).

698. Father Jerome's anti-Semitic remarks do not follow the Gospels. Jews derided Jesus, but he was beaten, flogged, tormented, and crucified by the Romans: Matthew 27:24.

699. Variation on Isaiah 53:1–12. Inexplicably, the translation is much less faithful to the original than in any other part of the book.

manner in which he would be killed, and the benefit of his death. Now, God willing, we will turn to the details.

Two days before the feast of Passover, he said to his disciples, "You are aware that the feast of Passover will come after two days, and that the Son of Man will be turned over to be crucified."[700] At this point, the great priests and elders of the Jews were gathered in the house of the chief priest and were expressing their opinions concerning how Jesus should be caught and killed. They did not want to seize him on the day of the feast, for since the common people believed in him, they were afraid that by seizing him a tumult would erupt. Satan had entered the heart of Judas Iscariot, the one of the twelve who would betray Christ, from the day he had been rebuked at the feast on account of the ointment. **[ASI.253]** At this time, he found an opportunity to go before the chief priests and say, "What will you give me? I will betray him to you."[701] They rejoiced and promised him thirty dinars. He made a promise to betray the Lord and was looking for an opportunity to keep his promise in such a way that there would be no uproar. At this point, Passover, the time when the Children of Israel came out of Egypt, was approaching. By decree of the Pentateuch, it was incumbent upon them to eat a lamb at this feast.[702] Jesus called Peter and John and said, "Go make ready the paschal lamb for us to eat." They said, "Where do you want us to make the preparations?" He said, "Go into the city, and as you are going, you will meet a man carrying a jug of water. Follow him, and say to the owner of the house he enters, 'The teacher asks you where there is a place for him to eat the paschal feast with his disciples.' He will show you a large pavilion spread with furnishings and carpets. There you will make preparations."[703] **[ASI.254]** They went, entered the city, found the man, and made the place ready. On Thursday, the day before the feast, Jesus entered Jerusalem at the end of the day and took up residence in that house. When the time came and they spread the tablecloth, he said to the twelve Apostles, "I wanted very much to celebrate this Passover with you before I suffered tribulations."[704] While eating, he said, "Verily I say to you that one of you who shares this table and eats with me will betray me,[705] and what is written in the Psalms[706] will be fulfilled, that he who eats with me will lift up his heel against me. Before this is fulfilled, I say to you by the time it occurs you will believe it is you."[707] They were very sad and looked at each other, not knowing whom he meant. Each one asked, "Is it I, Lord?" He replied, "He whose hand is in my plate will betray me. The Son of Man will be as is written of him, **[ASI.255]** but woe to that man who is the means of my betrayal. Better for him had he not been born." In order to cover himself, Judas said, "Is it I, master?" He said, "It is as you have said."[708]

At this point, John, in grief and by special inspiration from God, had put his head on Jesus's breast. Peter said to him, "Who is he talking about?" John said to Jesus, "Lord, who is it that will betray you?" He replied, "It is he to whom I will give a piece of bread I have moistened." And he dipped bread in the soup and gave it to Judas Iscariot. Immediately the devil entered into his soul, and he became even more determined to betray Christ. Aware of his thoughts, Jesus said to him, "Whatever you do, do it quickly."[709] None of those who were sitting understood why he said this, and since he was the keeper of the chest, they thought he was sending him on an errand and telling him to go buy what was needed for the feast or to go quickly and give something to the poor.

Then he addressed them all and said, "Know that my body will be taken for you, **[ASI.256]** and my blood will be shed for pardoning you and many others."[710] At this

700. Matthew 26:2.
701. Matthew 26:15.
702. Exodus 12:21.
703. Variation on Luke 22:8–12 and Mark 14:12–15. Luke 22:12 and Mark 14:15 mention a "furnished" room, which Father Jerome further embellished with "carpets," something that would have pleased his Muslim audience at the Mughal court, where very fine carpets were produced. Father Jerome also replaced the original "dining room" (Luke 22:12; Mark 14:15) with a "pavilion."
704. Luke 22:15.
705. Luke 22:21; Matthew 26:21.
706. Psalm 40:10 (41:9).
707. John 13:19.
708. Matthew 26:22–25.
709. John 13:24–27.
710. Father Jerome gives a simplified version of the transubstantiation (Luke 22:19–20; Matthew 26:26–28; Mark 14:22–24), a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church difficult to defend in a Muslim environment.

time, knowing that he would die, they began again saying, "Which of us will be greatest?" Jesus rebuked them and said, "He among you who is greatest will be least. He who becomes leader will be like a servant. Who is greatest? He who sits or he who stands to serve? It is not he who sits. I am among you like a person who is a servant."[711] Then he rose from the table, removed his outer garment and put it on the ground, and bound a cloth around his waist. Then he put water in a pitcher, and came to the Apostles, wanting to wash their feet and dry them with the cloth. When he began with Peter, he said to him, "Lord, Lord, do you wash my feet?" Jesus replied, "What I do, you will not understand now. You will know later." Peter said, "You will never wash my feet!" Not consenting, Jesus said, "If I do not wash you, you will not have a share of me." Then Peter **[ASI.257]** said, "My Lord, don't wash just my feet but my hands and head also." Jesus said to him, "He who has been washed need not wash anything other than his feet, and you are clean, but not all of you." This he said because he knew that he would betray him. Then he washed Peter's feet in all humility and mildness of heart, weeping, and with all love and affection. So also did he wash the feet of them all. When he was finished washing, he took his garment, put it on, sat down, and said, "You all call me Lord and Master, and you say well, for so I am. If then I, your Lord and Teacher, wash your feet, you too should wash each other's feet. I have set an example for you so that you do as I have done. Verily, verily I say to you, a servant is not greater than the master, and he who is sent is not greater than him who sends him. If you know this, happy are you if you do these things."[712]

After these words, Judas Iscariot left the assembly. **[ASI.258]** When he left, Christ said, "Now will the Son of Man be glorified, **[L122a]** and God has been glorified in him.[713] Little children, yet a little while I am with you. A new commandment I give you, that you will love one another as I love you. By this you will know that you are my disciples, if you love each other.[714] I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life. No one comes to the Father except by means of me.[715] If you love me and he who loves me is beloved of my Father, I will love him and will show myself to him, and my Father will love him who loves me and keeps my words. Let us come forth and dwell in him.[716] This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you. There is no greater love than that one give his life for his friends. You are my friends if you do what I tell you."[717] He spoke in this regard for more than an hour and said strange things. **[ASI.259]**

Then he said, "I will not speak long to you. All of you will doubt me tonight, as is written:[718] 'I strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered.' But after I arise, I will come to you in Galilee."[719] To Simon he said, "Simon, Satan wanted to sift you like wheat. I prayed for you that your faith not suffer. You will return and make your brothers firm."[720] Then he himself explained these words, saying that the faith of Peter, who was his successor, would never fail, and his job would be to make the others firm. And thus it was that up to today the faith of no pope, who is Peter's successor, has ever failed.[721] Peter answered him, "No matter how everyone will doubt, I will never doubt, Lord.[722] I am ready to go to prison and death to sacrifice my life for you."[723] Jesus replied, "You will sacrifice your life for me. Verily, verily I say **[ASI.260]** to you that tonight, before the cock crows twice, you will deny me three times."[724] He said, "Although I come to death for you, I will not deny you."[725]

Then he went out of the city, and eleven Apostles were with him. He went to the crossing of the Cedron river and entered a garden at the foot of the Mount of Olives near the village of Gethsemane, where he spent most nights in prayer. He said to his companions, "You sit here and pray, lest Satan beguile you. I will go there

711. Luke 22:26–27.
712. John 13:6–17.
713. John 13:31.
714. John 13:33–35.
715. John 14:6.
716. John 14:23.
717. John 15:12–14.
718. Zechariah 13:7.
719. Mark 14:28; Matthew 26:32.
720. Luke 22:31–32.
721. Based on Matthew 16:18.
722. Mark 14:29; Matthew 26:33.
723. Luke 22:33; variation on John 13:37.
724. Variation on Luke 22:34, John 13:38, Mark 14:30, and Matthew 26:34.
725. Matthew 26:35; Mark 14:31.

to pray."[726] Of the Apostles, he took Peter, John, and James with himself and went a stone's throw away from the others. At this time, the sins of the world and the torments that would come upon him were on his mind, and he became contemplative and bore heavy pain in his heart. To his companions he said, "My soul has come to the point of death from grief. Stay here and remain awake with me."[727] He went a short distance away from them, entered a cave, and fell on his face.[728] Then he knelt and said, [**ASI.261**] "My father, you are capable of everything. If it is possible, let this cup pass from me, [**L123a**] but let not my will be done but what is your will."[729] He was engaged in this for a long time. Then he came to his disciples and found them asleep. To Peter he said, "Peter, will you answer? Couldn't you stay awake for one hour? Be awake and pray, lest you fall into temptation. The soul is ready for work, but the body is infirm."[730] Again he prayed and said the same words, "My father, if it can be, let this cup I am to drink pass from me."[731] Again he went to them and found them asleep, so he returned to prayer.

In this he showed that when we are faced with a difficult task we should pray and ask God for help. He also showed how much one should strive to obtain God's pleasure in that condition, to be satisfied with the fate he has ordained, and to entrust the remedy of our situation to God's pleasure. He also showed that no matter how strong the spirit is, the body seems weak, and no matter how the body flees from its weakness, [**ASI.262**] the soul remains steadfast in its task.[732]

A third time he prayed and said the same thing. God's angel came to him and told him that God was pleased with him and with the benefit that would accrue to the world from his sufferings, and the angel made him strong of heart. He was so afflicted with grief and sorrow that, instead of perspiration, blood came from his pores and flowed onto the ground while he was immersed in prayer. When he was finished praying he came to them and found them asleep, for they had fallen asleep out of grief and sorrow. He said, "Sleep and rest. It is enough. Behold, the time has come for the Son of Man [**L123b**] to be betrayed into the hands of evil men. Let us go. He who will betray me has come."[733] As he was saying this, a group of men sent by the Jewish chief priests and Pharisees arrived with lighted torches and candles, in arms with Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, at their head, to point him out to them because, since he had come with him many times [**ASI.263**] for prayer, he knew where he would be. Since James, son of Alpheus, greatly resembled him, lest there be any mistake in seizing him, Judas had said, "He whom I will kiss is Jesus. Seize him and take him away under guard."[734] Jesus greeted these men and asked, "Whom do you want?" They said, "Jesus of Nazareth." He said, "I am he." When he said, "I am he," they all went forward but fell down. A second time Jesus asked, "Whom do you want?" They said, "Jesus of Nazareth." He said, "I told you I am he. If you want me, leave these alone."[735] Since it was night, the disciples had surrounded him, and because James, son of Alpheus, was like him, Judas stepped forward, went to him, and said, "Peace be with you, O teacher," and kissed him on the face. Jesus said to him, "Friend, for what purpose have you come?"[736] He said nothing. Then Jesus said, "Judas, do you betray the Son of Man with a kiss?"[737] At this point, his enemies arrived, laid hands on him, and seized him. One of the Apostles, Peter, [**ASI.264**] had a spear.[738] He threw it at a man named Malik and severed his right ear.[739] [**L124a**] Displeased by this, Jesus said, "Put your spear away. He who wields a sword will die by a sword. Do you not know that I can request assistance from my Father, and he will give me more then twelve legions of angels, but how can the Scriptures be fulfilled?[740] Thus the cup my

726. Luke 22:40; Mark 14:32; variation on Matthew 26:36.
727. Matthew 26:38; Mark 14:34.
728. It is unclear why Father Jerome mentions a "cave" in the narrative.
729. Matthew 26:39; Mark 14:36.
730. Mark 14:37–38; variation on Matthew 26:40–41.
731. Matthew 26:42.
732. An elaboration with clear homiletic contents.
733. Matthew 26:45; Mark 14:41–42.
734. Matthew 26:48; Mark 14:44.
735. John 18:4–8.
736. Matthew 26:49–50.
737. Luke 22:48.
738. According to John 18:10, Matthew 26:51, Luke 22:49, and Mark 14:47, a "sword" was used rather than a "spear."
739. Another example of how Father Jerome adapted his narrative to the local environment. Only John 18:10 gives the name of the man hurt by Peter; this was Malchus, not Malik.
740. Matthew 26:52–54.

Father has given me must be. Do you not want me to drink it?"[741] Saying this, he put his hand on [the man] and healed him. Then he said to the chief priests, the leaders of the temple, and the elders who had come, "You come with swords and spears to arrest me like a thief. I was with you every day in the temple and I sat there teaching, but you did not lay a hand on me or seize me. Thus it has happened that the Scriptures may be fulfilled.[742] This is your hour and the power of darkness."[743] Then they arrested him, bound him tightly, beat him with their fists and clubs, and kicked him. The disciples fled in fear.

They took him like that to the house of Annas, father-in-law to Caiaphas, **[ASI.265]** the chief priest that year. Of the twelve disciples, only John followed him to learn of his condition, and Simon Peter followed him. Since John was acquainted with the chief priest, he was allowed inside, but Peter was outside. John went out to the woman who was the gatekeeper to the house and said, "Let Simon into the house also."[744] This woman said to Peter, "Aren't you one of his disciples?" He said, "I am not."[745] Then he went in. Inside the house, a fire had been lit, and people were sitting around it, since it was cold. Peter went among them and sat down. When a woman saw him, she said, "This man was always with him." Peter denied it and said, "Woman, I have never seen him."[746]

At this point, Annas asked [Jesus], "What is your teaching, and who are your disciples?" He said, "I preached openly to the world, and I always taught in the synagogue and the temple, where all the Jews gather. I have never said anything in secret. Why do you ask me? Ask those who have heard me what I taught, for they know everything I said."[747] He did not want to say anything about his teaching, **[ASI.266]** lest he praise himself, and he said nothing about his disciples, because they had fled from him. One of the foot soldiers standing there slapped him so hard on his blessed face that blood ran from his nose, saying, "Is this how you answer the chief priest?" Jesus said to him, "If I have spoken ill, bear witness to my sin. If I have spoken well, why do you hit me?"[748] Then [Annas] sent him, bound as he was, to Caiaphas, the chief priest. A relative of the man whose ear had been cut off was in Caiaphas's house. He said to Peter, "This man must have been with him, for he, too, is a Galilean." Peter denied it in the presence of all and said, "Man, I don't know what you are talking about."[749] He said, "Didn't I see you in the garden?"[750] Peter cursed himself, swore, and said, "I don't know the man you're talking about."[751] Just then the cock crowed and Jesus looked in his direction. Peter remembered by this look what [Jesus] had said to him, that he would deny him three times before the cock crowed thrice. Aware of his sin, he wept in pain, **[ASI.267]** left that place, and went to a spot where no one was, **[L125a]** and there he wept. And from this time until he died, he wept and lamented, and his cheeks appeared to be burned from the hot tears that constantly flowed from his eyes.[752]

All the chief priests had gathered in Caiaphas's house. Caiaphas wanted to prove [Jesus's] offense to them. Several indicted him, and a group bore witness, but their testimony did not agree, so the indictment did not stand. Some rose and said, "I heard him say, 'I will destroy this temple built by men and rebuild it in three days without a hand touching it.' "[753] Still no agreement in testimony could be reached. Since Jesus did not testify on his own behalf, the chief priest rose and said, "Why do you not answer and rebut them?" He was silent and gave no answer. Again the chief priest said, "I adjure you by the living God to tell us whether you are the Son of God." Jesus answered him, saying, "I am as you say. **[ASI.268]** I say to you, you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of God coming down in the clouds of the sky." When the chief priest

741. John 18:11.
742. Matthew 26:55–56.
743. Luke 22:53.
744. Father Jerome's gloss.
745. John 18:17.
746. Matthew 26:71–72; Luke 22:56–57.
747. John 18:19–21.
748. John 18:22–23.
749. Luke 22:59–60.
750. John 18:26.
751. Mark 14:71; Matthew 26:74.
752. Partly based on Luke 22:62: "And Peter going out, wept bitterly." It is an odd and simplistic remark: Father Jerome seems to deliberately ignore Peter's achievements in the later part of his life. It is unclear whether he was by then already thinking of writing a life of St. Peter, which he eventually did. This was later translated into Latin by de Dieu and published in 1639.
753. Mark 14:58.

heard this, he ripped his clothing and said, "He has blasphemed. What need have I of testimony? Here you have heard his blasphemy. Now what do you say?" They said, "He should be killed."[754] Then they spat in his blessed face, slapped him, and beat him with their fists, and then they went away to sleep, leaving Christ bound there. At this point, their servants beat him, spat on him, bound his eyes, and said, "Prophesy and tell us who is beating you."[755] And they said to him anything they wanted to. He gave no reply to anyone. The rest of the night was spent like this. Isaiah had spoken[756] of this, and a translation of what he said is this: "I turned my back to the smiters and my cheek to them that plucked off the hair. I did not turn my face from those who cursed me and spat on me."

When it was daylight, they brought him forth and said, "If you are the Messiah, tell us." He said to them, "If I say this to you, you will not believe. And if I ask you anything, you will not give me an answer or let me go. The time will come when the Son of Man sits at the right hand of his Father." They all said, "Then are you the Son of God?" He said, "You say I am." They said, "What further testimony do we need? We have heard it from his own mouth. What need is there for testimony now?"[757] And they decided to turn him over to the governor. The governor of the city was Pilate. They took Jesus to him, bound. When Judas realized that the Pharisees had condemned him to death and turned him over to Pilate, he repented of what he had done, and that was because he had thought to himself, saying, "Jesus will save himself from them because he has the power. I have taken this money for naught."[758] At this time, when [Judas] realized that [Jesus] had been condemned to death, **[L126a]** he sorrowed over what he had done and repented. He picked up the thirty dinar pieces and took them back, saying, "I did wrong in betraying innocent blood." They said, "What is that to us? You are responsible."[759] And they did not want to take the money back, so he threw the dinars into the temple, went away, climbed up a tree, and hanged himself. His belly split open, and his intestines spilled out.[760] The priests took the dinars and said, "This is blood money. It is not lawful that we should put it in the temple chest."[761] Finally, they bought a plot of land from a potter for a graveyard for the poor, and thus it is that until today that plot is called the field of blood.[762] With this was fulfilled what Jeremiah had said:[763] "They took thirty dinars as the Children of Israel had valued him, and they gave it to buy the potter's land, as the Lord appointed me."[764] Zechariah had said the same thing.[765] Then they took Jesus to Pilate. Pilate came into the judgment hall, and the Pharisees turned him over to him, saying many things against him. He asked the Pharisees, "What case have you against this man?" They said, "If this man were not guilty, we would not have turned him over to you.[766] He leads the people astray and says not to pay tribute to Caesar, and he claims to be the Messiah king."[767] He said, "Take him and judge him according to your religion." They said, "It is not licit for us to kill anyone." In this was fulfilled what Jesus had said, that is, **[L126b]** "They will turn me over to foreign people." Pilate took him inside and said, "Are you the king of the Jews?" He answered, "Do you ask this of your own accord, or have others reported of me to you?" Pilate answered, "Am I a Jew? Your own tribe and the chief priests have turned you over to me. What have you done?" Jesus replied, "My kingdom is not of this world, for if my kingdom were in this world my agents would do battle, lest I fall into the hands of the Jews. But now my kingdom is not of this world." Pilate said to him, "Then are you a king?" Jesus replied, "I am a king as you say. I was born for this, and for the sake of this world I came to bear witness to the truth. He who

754. Matthew 26:62–66; Mark 14:60–64.

755. Matthew 26:68.

756. Isaiah 50:6.

757. Luke 22:66–71.

758. Partly based on Matthew 27:3, with Father Jerome's gloss: "Jesus will save himself from them because he has the power."

759. Matthew 27:4.

760. This could not have been caused by his hanging himself, though it is also mentioned in Acts 1:18: "and all his bowels gushed out." It also reveals Father Jerome's fondness for overdramatizing the consequences of unscrupulous behavior.

761. Matthew 27:6.

762. Acts 1:18–19.

763. Unidentified source. Father Jerome is clearly following Matthew 27:9, where the prophecy is attributed to Jeremiah.

764. Matthew 27:9–10.

765. Zechariah 11:13.

766. John 18:29–30.

767. Luke 23:2.

is of the truth will hear my word." Pilate said, "What thing is the truth?" So saying, he went out and said to the Jews, "I find no reason that he should be killed."[768] The Jews said to him, "He leads the community astray and teaches all the lands of the Jews from Galilee to here." When he heard the word "Galilee," he asked, "Is he from Galilee?"[769] When he understood that he was from Galilee, which pertained to Herod, the governor there, he came up with a pretext to send him to him and be rid of him, for Herod had come to Jerusalem during those days for the festival. Therefore, he was taken in all dishonor through the midst of the city. Herod was very happy, because he had long desired to see him, since he had heard many things about him, and he expected **[L127a]** he would perform a miracle in his presence. He asked him some things, but he answered none of them. The chief priests and scribes were determined, and at every point they asked him something, but he gave no answer. Herod and the other people believed him to be worthless and nothing, so they clothed him in white, mocked him, and sent him back to Pilate. For this reason, that very day Pilate and Herod, who until then had been enemies, became friends with each other. Then they dressed him in white like a madman and took him through the city marketplace to Pilate. He said to the leaders of the Jews, "Have you brought this man back to me? They said he leads the people astray, so I looked into your claim and found no transgression. I sent him to Herod, and he too found no reason to kill him. I therefore will have him whipped and then I will release him."[770] The chief priests came up with excuses, and still he gave no answer. Pilate said to him, "Do you not hear how many things they say against you?"[771] He said nothing. Finally it came to the point that the governor was very perplexed. Pilate was conversing with the Jews when a messenger from his wife came in with a message, saying, "What have you to do with this just man? I suffered many things last night on account of him."[772] Pilate, who wanted to release him, became even more determined because of these words, and since he knew that they had no cause for enmity and that they had arrested him and brought him in merely out of spite, he thought and came up with a way to release him. **[L127b]** From olden times it had been the custom for the governor of the Jews to release to them a prisoner from the race of the Jews, regardless of how guilty and criminal he was. During those days, Pilate had imprisoned a man named Barabas, who was the chief of the evildoers and had recently killed a man. Therefore, Pilate said to them, "Every year, it is incumbent upon me to release to you and pardon one person.[773] Now whom do you want me to release to you? Barabas, or Jesus?"[774] The chief priests had instructed their cohorts to ask for Barabas. Pilate said, "Do you want me to pardon your king for you?"[775] They shouted and said, "Do not do that, but pardon Barabas for us."[776] He said, "What then am I to do with Jesus, who is called the Messiah?" They shouted, "Crucify him!"[777] Pilate said, "What evil has he done? I can find no reason to kill him. I will punish him and let him go."[778] They shouted all the more, saying, "Crucify him! Crucify him!"[779] And they made an even greater tumult. Overwhelmed by their shouts, he released Barabas. Then he came up with another ruse to convince them to release him and have mercy, so he ordered him to be whipped in such a way that the Jews would feel sorry for him. Jesus was taken away to a special place, stripped naked, and bound to a pole. Six men were assigned to beat him, and they took turns, two by two, lashing him with leather whips [Cat. no. XXVII] and scourges in such a way that blood flowed from him onto the ground and **[2005.145.23a]** the flesh fell in strips from his body, **[L128a]** his bones showed white, and he was wounded and raw from head to foot. It is known that they beat him with 5,780-odd lashes.[780] **[2005.145.23b]** In all of

768. John 18:31–38.
769. Luke 23:5–6.
770. Luke 23:14–16.
771. Matthew 27:13.
772. Matthew 27:19.
773. Based on Luke 23:17: "Now of necessity he was to release unto them one upon the feast day."
774. Matthew 27:17.
775. Mark 15:9.
776. Luke 23:18.
777. Matthew 27:22–23.
778. Luke 23:22.
779. Luke 23:21.
780. The source for this specific number of lashes remains unidentified. St. Bridget of Sweden (d. 1373) seems to be the only one who mentions a number close to the one supplied by Father Jerome. According to the tradition, after much prayer the saint supposedly learned from Christ himself that his wounds

this he said not a word. Of this event it is spoken thus in the Psalms: "I have come for scourges, and my pain is constantly in my sight."[781] Isaiah also said: "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities;[782] and I struck him for my own deeds."[783] Then they untied him. He rested for a while and put on his garments. Not satisfied with this, they assembled the servants and soldiers and removed his garments, because blood had flowed over his body and stuck to it and because he had suffered much pain. They clothed him in scarlet, the color of kings, and put a crown of thorns on his head. It is known that seventy-two thorns pressed into his head. They put a broken reed in his hand. They did these things, which are signs of kingship, to mock him so that, since he called himself the Messiah, the king of the Jews, he would have these things. Then they went before him and knelt, worshiping him **[ASI.281]** and saying, "Hail to you, king of the Jews."[784] And they slapped his blessed face and spat upon him. Taking the reed from his hand, they put the crown of thorns on him in such a way that the thorns sank into his head. After doing these things for a while, they took him in that state before Pilate. His whole face was bruised from the slaps and defiled by spit and the blood that ran down from his hair and the crown on his head. When Pilate saw him, he was amazed and led him to a high place. There, where all the Jews could see him, he said to them, "I bring him before you, but know that I find in him no reason that he should be killed." Then he stood him before them and said, "Behold the man" (that is, he whom you see in this state, know that he is a man, and you should have mercy in seeing him so). But it did no good. The priests and leaders of the Jews shouted, "Crucify him! Crucify him!" Pilate said to them, "You take him and crucify him, for I find no transgression in him." The Jews said, "We have a religion, and according to that religion he should be killed because he has made himself the Son of God."[785] **[ASI.282]**

When Pilate heard this, he feared greatly. Taking him back inside, he said to Jesus, "Where are you from?" He gave no reply. Pilate said to him, "Won't you tell me? Don't you know that I have the power to crucify you, and I have the power to release you?" Jesus replied, "You could not have any power over me, if it were not given to you from above. He who turned me over to you has the greater sin."[786] Pilate was greatly desirous of releasing him. He therefore took Jesus out to a place called Gabbatha in the Hebrew language and said to the Jews, "This is your king." They shouted, saying, "Take him! Take him! Crucify him! **[L129a]** Crucify him!" Pilate said, "Shall I crucify your king?" They said, "We have no king other than Caesar."[787] When they realized that he was inclined to release him, they shouted again and said, "If you release him, you are no friend to Caesar, because whoever makes himself king is an enemy to Caesar."[788] When Pilate saw that it was no use, and that the chaos and sedition would grow louder, **[ASI.283]** he asked for water, washed his hands, and said, "I am innocent of the blood of this man. You are responsible." All the people answered, saying, "Let his blood be on us and on our children."[789] Thus it is that wherever the Jews are they are lowly and subordinate, suffering retribution for their crime.

Then [Pilate] turned Jesus over to them to do with him as they thought best. The Jews took him, stripped him of the scarlet clothing with which they had clad him in mockery, and put his own clothing on him so he would be recognized. They had a cross already made. At once they brought him, bound his hands and neck again, and put the cross on his shoulders for him to lift and carry. He took it in all eagerness, like someone who would give his life for the sake of sinners. Thus he came out of Pilate's house, and imperial men went in front. Near him a herald cried out, saying, "This is Pilate's judgment on behalf of Tiberius Caesar, **[ASI.284]** that this man, Jesus of Nazareth, be killed because he led the

numbered 5,490. This is reproduced in Ludolphus's *Vita Christi*: Bodenstedt, *Vita Christi*, 50–51 n. 146. A copyist's error might have been the origin of the discrepancy in the numbers.

781. Variation on Psalm 37:18 (38:17).

782. Isaiah 53:5.

783. Variation on Isaiah 53:8. Both here and previously the words of the Vulgate, "*propter scelus populi mei percussit eum*," have been mistranslated.

784. Matthew 27:29; Mark 15:18; John 19:3.

785. John 19:4–7.

786. John 19:9–11.

787. John 19:14–15.

788. John 19:12.

789. Matthew 27:24–25.

people astray and called himself king and Son of God. It is judged that he be crucified."[790] Thus it was heralded in the street as they passed. Jesus walked, bare of foot and head—rather with the crown of thorns and his face stained by the blood that flowed from his head and full of the saliva they had spat upon him. His entire body had been wounded by the lashes they had given him. With the cross on his back and a rope around his neck, he walked very slowly.

At this point, as he was walking in this manner, a noble woman named Veronica saw him from her window, and when she recognized him, she came down and went to Jesus in compassion and commiseration. Gathering up her apron, and with Jesus's permission, she wiped his blessed face clean.[791] When she opened her apron she found in each of the folds his very image.[792] With all eagerness she took it home and kept it in all reverence.[793] One of these three images is at present in Spain in the city of Jaén, which is inside **[ASI.285]** the realm of the king of Portugal.[794] Twice every year, it is displayed and many people gather from far and near to see it. Another is in the city of Milan in the land of Italy, and another is in the city of Rome.[795]

Behind Jesus walked many men and women, weeping. Turning his face to them, he said, "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me but for yourselves and your children, for the days will come when you will say, 'Happy is the woman who bears not, the wombs that do not give birth, and the breasts that do not produce milk.' Then you will speak to the mountains and say, 'Fall upon us, O mountains. Cover us, for if this happens to a green limb, what will happen to a dry one?' "[796]

Along with him they took two other criminals to crucify. At this time, John had gone to tell Blessed Mary what was happening to her son. She came with several women and stood in a place by which he would pass. When she saw the throng of people and the imperial men brandishing weapons and heard the herald's cry, she passed on and waited for him to come so she could see him. **[ASI.286]** When she saw her son in that state, and when his gaze fell upon her, her heart broke and she drew near to him without saying anything, but the flood of tears bespoke the state of her heart. She clasped him to her breast and, withdrawing a little, fell unconscious. The son was so moved by her falling that he too fell under the weight of his burden. The Jews beat him to make him get up, but since they knew the cross was heavy, and since he was far-gone, they feared he would die along the way or not get the cross to the place. Therefore, they hired a man named Simon, who was coming from his village, to help Christ carry the cross.[797] Thus they arrived at Mount Calvary, which was the people's place of slaughter. In the Hebrew language they call it Golgotha,[798] which means "skull," and they say the skull of Father Adam is buried there.[799] When they arrived there, they put the cross on the ground, stripped him, and took his clothes from his body. The

790. Unidentified source.

791. The story of Veronica's veil does not derive from either the canonical or apocryphal gospels, but became common in the medieval period, and compares to the Abgar legend. It reveals the Jesuits' strong interest in and devotion to religious images, especially those thought to have a miraculous origin.

792. Veronica's veil became an extremely popular artistic subject in Europe during the late medieval and early Renaissance periods, especially in Southern Europe. By the early seventeenth century, its renown had reached the Indian subcontinent, where it inspired religious works. See, for example, a seventeenth-century Goan monumental oratory (188 x 195 cm), now in a Mexican private collection: Marcos, *Marfiles*, 268–69. It is decorated with engraved and inlaid ivory scenes of the life of Christ, including two kneeling "Veronicas" holding the veil.

793. Unclear source. Father Jerome does not follow Voragine's version of the story of Veronica's veil: Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:212 no. 53.

794. Father Jerome refers to the work preserved in the Cathedral of Jaén in Andalusia, which is at present displayed to the public every Friday. Between 1580 and 1640, the Iberian crowns were united; hence, Jaén was under the rule of the king of Portugal.

795. Father Jerome is referring to an unidentified relic in Milan, and a veil, considered to be among the most celebrated Catholic relics, that is kept in the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome and displayed every year on the fifth Sunday of Lent (Passion Sunday).

796. Luke 23:28–31.

797. According to Mark 15:21, Luke 23:26, and Matthew 27:32, the man was not hired but somehow forced.

798. The New Testament version of the name, Γολγοθᾶ (Golgotha), is Aramaic: גלגלתא (*Gulgālthā*), which is cognate with the Hebrew *gulgoleth* and means "round," is interpreted as the round shape of a skull.

799. According to Jewish tradition, Adam's skull was buried at Golgotha. A skull at the foot of the Cross became part of the Crucifixion iconography, and was often reproduced by Mughal painters.

officers divided the outer garment into four parts, and each of them took one part. The inner shirt, which was not stitched [**ASI.287**] but was half woven, they did not divide, and they decided not to tear it but to cast lots to see to whom it would belong. With this was fulfilled what was written in the Psalms:[800] "They parted my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture."[801] Then they put his right hand on one beam of the cross and drove an iron spike through his palm, and they had made holes in the cross for driving spikes through each of his hands and feet. When they drove the spike through his right hand, so much blood came out that the veins dried up. When they wanted to nail the other hand, the arm was too short to reach the hole. Therefore they pulled it with all their strength and made it reach the hole so they could drive the spike through. They placed one foot over the other and drove a spike through. In this too was fulfilled what the prophet David had written: "They pierced my hands and feet, and they numbered my bones."[802] In order that the reason for killing him be apparent to all, Pilate ordered this written on the cross: "Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews."[803] This was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin so that all might read it. The leaders of the Jews said, "Don't write 'king of the Jews,' but that he said he was king of the Jews."[804] [**ASI.288**] Pilate did not want to change it and answered, "What I have written I have written."[805] Then they raised the cross up and let it fall firmly into its place. The cross shook violently, and in this shaking his pain increased and his wounds got worse. They crucified the other two thieves with him, one on his right and the other on his left. By this was fulfilled the writing of Isaiah, who said:[806] "He was numbered among the evildoers."[807]

At this time, when he was on the cross, he pronounced seven words.

The first word

The first is this: "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing."[808] With this he demonstrated in deed what he had taught previously in word, that we should love our enemies and pray for those who do evil to us. He was on the cross, and the people were taunting him and wagging their heads, saying, "You would destroy God's temple and rebuild it in three days. Save yourself if you are the Son of God. Come down from the cross."[809] The chief priests and sages mocked him and said, "Others he saved, but himself he cannot save. If he is the king of Israel, [**ASI.289**] let him come down from the cross, and we will believe in him. He relies on God. If God wants, let him save him because he himself said, 'Verily I am the Son of God.'"[810]

[The second word]

One of the two thieves who were crucified with him was named Gestas. He too was mocking Jesus and saying, "If you are the Messiah, save yourself and us."[811] The other thief, however, who was named Dismas and who was to his right, contemplated Christ's endurance, his praying for his enemies, and his silence. Realizing the truth of him, he rebuked his companion and said, "Do you not fear God, you who are in such calamity? We truly deserve this retribution because we are being rewarded for our actions, but this man has committed no offense." Then he said to Jesus, "Lord, remember me when you have come unto your kingdom." Jesus answered him, saying, "Verily I say to you, today you will be with me in paradise."[812] This is the second word.

At this time it was noon. The sun turned black, and the world was overcome by darkness until the third watch of the day.[813] [**ASI.290**] This darkening of the sun was in all respects extraordinary, for it is known that when there is an eclipse of the sun, the moon comes beneath the sun and blocks its light. At that time, however, it was the fourteenth month, and the moon was

800. Psalm 21:19 (22:18).
801. Matthew 27:35; Mark 15:24; Luke 23:34; John 19:24.
802. Psalm 21:17–18 (22:16–17).
803. John 19:19.
804. John 19:21.
805. John 19:22.
806. Isaiah 53:12.
807. Mark 15:28; Luke 22:37.
808. Luke 23:34.
809. Matthew 27:40; variation on Mark 15:29–30.
810. Matthew 27:42–43.
811. Luke 23:39.
812. Luke 23:40–43.
813. Luke 23:44–45.

opposite the sun. Furthermore, the darkness lasted for three full hours, and this cannot happen during an eclipse.

At that time, there was a wise man in Athens named Dionysius.[814] When he and other sages realized that this darkness was contrary to nature, they were perplexed. He said, "O Lord, is nature suffering, or is the fabric of the world headed to ruin?"[815] At that time, the reason for the darkness was hidden from them, but when he realized, he had faith and became a Christian. After that, he became a great teacher of the Gospel.

When the third watch came, the darkness departed from the face of the sun, and it became light.

The third word

In all the things Jesus suffered, Blessed Mary was standing in front of him **[ASI.291]** and watching. She was patient and said nothing, but in her heart she knew what was happening to him. Of the twelve Apostles, John was present and near her. Then Jesus looked at his mother and said, "Woman, this is your child." He did not say "mother," lest her heart break. Then he looked at John and said, "Behold, your mother."[816] This is the third word he spoke on the cross, and what he meant by these two words was that the Blessed Lady would see all Christ's followers as her sons, and they would all consider her their mother, as Jesus stated afterwards. From that time on, John took the Lady as the source of his happiness, and all Christians take her as their mother in all their actions.

[The fourth word]

In order to express the harshness of the pains he suffered he said, "*Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?*" That is, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"[817] This was the fourth word.

Since the imperial men did not know this language, they understood by the word *eloi* that he meant Elijah. They said to each other, "He is asking for Elijah.[818] **[ASI.292]** Let us be patient and see if Elijah comes to save him."[819]

[The fifth word]

At this point, he said, "I thirst,"[820] and this is the fifth word. There was a sponge filled with vinegar. They put it on the end of a reed and put it near his mouth. With this was fulfilled what was written in the Psalms:[821] "They gave me gall to eat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink." Jesus took the vinegar, but when he rose from the grave he explained this word and said, "By thirst, I meant the pains, for when I was suffering those pains for the veneration of God **[L132b]** and for the salvation of men, no matter how difficult they appeared, I still did not have enough."[822]

[The sixth word]

The sixth word he spoke was, "It is finished."[823] He said this to mean that everything the prophets had written of him had been fulfilled, and everything that had to happen and be endured he had done and endured, and the work of the Pentateuch and the law of the prophets was finished.

[The seventh word]

He was in this state when he cried out in a loud voice and said, "Father, into your hands I entrust my soul."[824] **[ASI.293]** This is the seventh word he spoke on the cross. This he said, and he dropped his head forward and gave up his previous life.

814. Acts 17:34. The Biblical figure Hieromartyr Dionysius, who witnessed Paul the Apostle preaching in Athens, is often confused with the fifth- or sixth-century author known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, who portrayed himself as the Biblical Dionysius in his work. Pseudo-Dionysius states in a letter to Polycarp, a hierarch, that while in Heliopolis he witnessed a solar eclipse when Jesus was crucified: Pseudo-Dionysius, *Complete Works*, 268–69, letter 7. A number of translations and commentaries confirm that by the sixteenth century his works had received great attention.

815. Unidentified source.

816. John 19:26–27.

817. Mark 15:34; Matthew 27:46.

818. Mark 15:35; Matthew 27:47.

819. Mark 15:36; Matthew 27:49.

820. John 19:28.

821. Psalm 68:22 (69:21).

822. Unidentified source.

823. John 19:30.

824. Luke 23:46; Psalm 30:6 (31:5).

At this time, the earth trembled, the mountains and stones clashed together, and the veil that had been hung by law over the ark of the Pentateuch was split in two.[825] By the earthquake and the other things mentioned, the people realized that an injustice had been done. A centurion who was discharging his duties saw these signs. He voiced thanks to God and believed that this man was just and truly the Son of God. The other people who saw these things went about beating their breasts and saying in fear and trembling, "This man was the Son of God."[826]

This was at the end of the day on Friday, and since the Sabbath was beginning—and this Sabbath was holier than other sabbaths because it fell in Passover—in order that the bodies not remain on the crosses during the Sabbath, the Jews went to Pilate and insisted he order that the legs of the three men be broken and they be taken down from the crosses. [**ASI.294**] He agreed and sent several men. They came and broke the legs of the two thieves who had been crucified with him. Then they wanted to do the same to Jesus, but because he was dead they did not break his legs, and thus it is written in the Pentateuch: "Neither shall you break his bones."[827] One of the soldiers, Longinus by name, lifted a spear to test him and thrust it into Jesus's right side, and from his blessed side flowed water and blood that dripped down the spear onto his hand.[828] The result was that the blessed blood got into his eyes, either from his hand or directly, without the intermediary of his hand, and he, who was almost blind, immediately became sighted. Jumping down from his horse, he believed, worshipped him in his divinity, and became one of the leaders of religion.

Of the five well-known wounds that Christ had, Jeremiah had spoken, and this is a translation of his words: "What are these wounds in the middle of your hands? And he will answer, [**ASI.295**] 'With these was I wounded in the house of those who loved me.' "[829]

At this time, there was a man named Joseph who was a disciple of Jesus, but he kept it secret in fear of the Jews. He went before Pilate and insisted openly that he turn the blessed body over to him. Hearing that he was dead, Pilate was astonished and, summoning the centurion, asked him, "Did he really die?"[830] He said yes. Then he gave the body to [Joseph]. He and Nicodemus went and, after first obtaining permission from Mary, took him down from the cross with all respect. Then they anointed the whole body with perfume and put him in a shroud. Joseph had made an elaborate sepulcher of marble for himself in a garden near there, and no one had yet been laid to rest there. He offered it to Mary, and there Jesus was laid.

The Jews went to Pilate and said, "Lord, it has been remembered that during his lifetime the trickster used to say he would rise on the third day. [**ASI.296**] Order, therefore, that the tomb be watched for three days, lest his disciples come, take his body away, and tell the people that he has risen from the dead, and then the trouble will be worse than before." Pilate said to them, "You have guards. Keep watch as you know best."[831] They went and took precaution, closing the tomb tightly, sealing the stone, and setting guards. Since it was a feast day, Mary, Mary Magdalene, John, and the others went to the city and remained in seclusion.

It is known that seven hundred-odd years prior to this, when the city of Rome was built, there was a Sybil named Eritrea.[832] After predicting Jesus Christ and saying that he was the Son of God and Savior, she said,

> He will be betrayed into the hands of the infidels, and they will slap him with their hands stained with evil. Then the priests of the Hebrews will gather to oppose Christ because he will perform great miracles. They will bind him and beat him on the face with their hands stained with evil [**ASI.297**], and they will spit with their filthy mouths. He will yield his holy back to lashes and, when slapped, will say nothing so that no one will know where his words come from or where they are going.

825. Based on Exodus 26:33.

826. Matthew 27:54; Mark 15:39.

827. Exodus 12:46.

828. Longinus's name appears not in the canonical Gospels but in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus 16:7, and in later works such as Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:184 no. 47.

829. Apparently not Jeremiah but Zechariah 13:6.

830. Mark 15:44.

831. Matthew 27:63–65.

832. Sibyls and their prophecies are often confused, as St. Augustine (d. 430) himself acknowledges (see n. 833 below). The prophecy to which Father Jerome refers is normally attributed to the Cumaean Sibyl. Virgil seems to be responsible for this link: in his *Eclogue* IV, she apparently foretells the coming of a savior (understood to be Jesus by Catholics in the medieval era).

> He will be crowned with a crown of thorns, and for his hunger they will give him gall and for his thirst, vinegar. They will hang him on a tree, but you, O ignorant race, have not known your God, who came in a mortal body. At midday, three hours of night will occur, and the portion of the sleep of death will last three days. At that time, he will return from the nether places and come to a place of light. He will initiate the resurrection of the dead because he will rise on the third day and show himself to his disciples. He will go to heaven in their view, and his kingdom will have no end.[833]

These were the words of the Sybil.

PART FOUR: HIS RESURRECTION FROM THE GRAVE AND ASCENSION INTO HEAVEN

It has already been written that on Friday at the third watch he died,[834] that is, his soul departed his pure body. That very day his body was laid in the tomb, and his soul **[ASI.298]** went to the place where the souls of his dear fathers, the other prophets, and the righteous who had departed this world were expecting him. As is well known, hell, which means a nether place, has four layers. The lowest layer, the place where devils and sinners who died without repentance are, is called Inferno, that is, the place of God's wrath. The second, called Purgatorio, which means the place of purification, is above it. **[L134b]** This is the place of good people who repented but had not yet completed all they had to do or who were stained by minor sins. Here they are requited of those things and become worthy of paradise. Third is the place called Limbo, a dark place. It is the place of children who died before receiving the sign of submission, which, after Jesus,[835] is baptism. Here there is no sort of torment other than deprivation of the sight of God. **[ASI.299]** Fourth is the place called the Bosom of Abraham,[836] that is, the station of Abraham. In that place were all the good people who died pure or had been purified and come out of Purgatorio. Since God called Abraham the "father of believers,"[837] this place is attributed to him. In sum, all the prophets, who were aware of Christ, his coming, and the salvation of the people of the world through him, were awaiting him most eagerly. Then, when his precious soul was separated from his holy body, he went to this place with great power and glory, ultimate detriment to the devils, and consolation and joy to the righteous, to be their rest and comfort, and there he remained until the time of his rising from the dead. When it was the third day, which is what he had promised, he came forth from the grave in all glory.

Christ comes back to life

Thus it was. Before sunrise on Sunday, Mary Magdalene and two other women who were also called Mary—both being sisters of Blessed Mary, **[ASI.300]** one the mother of James the Younger and the other the mother of James the Elder—set out to go to the tomb, taking perfumes **[L135a]** to anoint the holy body. The day before having been the Sabbath and the new festival and more important to be observed, they had been unable to anoint him. They said to each other, "Who will be able to remove the heavy stone from the door of the tomb?"[838] When it was the time of sunrise, Christ's precious soul returned to his body, removed all trace of the wounds, scars, and bruises from the body, and surrounded him with all glory, light, and power, and he came forth alive from the tomb, but he was still bound as he was in the sepulcher. He did not rise like others to die again, that is, he did not rise in the manner in which others had risen to die again, but in the glory people will have on the Day of

833. Father Jerome reproduces an extract from one of Augustine of Hippo's most famous works, the *City of God* (18:23). Saint Augustine, as he is also known, admitted that he was uncertain whether it was the Erythraean or the Cumaean Sibyl who was responsible for the prophecy, adding that he had composed the text from various quotations by Lactantius, a fourth-century Christian author.

834. Father Jerome follows the Roman Catholic tradition, which commemorates Jesus's Crucifixion and death on a Friday (the so-called Holy Friday or Good Friday). Father Jerome's "third watch" is the period between noon and three o'clock. Both Mark 15:34 and Matthew 27:46 give the "ninth hour" as the precise time of Jesus's death.

835. Inexplicably, in this chapter Father Jerome suddenly chooses to use the Islamic version of Jesus's name, عيسى (*ʿĪsā*), instead of the more Christian version, ايشوع (*Īshōʿ*), the one primarily used up to this point.

836. As mentioned in Luke 16:22–23.

837. Romans 4:12.

838. Mark 16:3.

Resurrection, never again to die, and he was delivered of pain in such a way that never again would there be suffering or death. This is what is meant by what had been written: [**ASI.301**] "He will be the first of those who come to life."[839]

When he came forth from the grave, the earth trembled violently,[840] and an angel came from heaven and removed the stone. When the guards of the tomb witnessed the trembling of the earth, the falling away of the stone, and the light of the angel, they fell unconscious. When they regained consciousness, they went to the sepulcher to see, and when they did not find him, they went to the city and informed the chief priests and scribes of what had happened. They insisted that [the guards] keep this secret and gave them an amount of gold to say to the common people, "We were asleep, and his disciples came and took him away."[841] [**L135b**] They also promised them that if Pilate questioned them, they would answer on their behalf. [The guards] did this and told the people that they had been asleep and the disciples had taken him away, but this did not achieve anything, for if they had been asleep, how could they know who took the stone away? And if they had been awake, why did they not prevent them? [**ASI.302**]

At the time when Christ arose from the dead, many of the saints and prophets arose and appeared to the people and tribes, announcing his rising. The manner in which he arose is as follows. When they approached at the above-mentioned time, they found the stone fallen away. When they went into the sepulcher, they saw an angel whose face shone like the sun and whose garments were white as snow. Seeing him, they were afraid, and in their fear they put their faces on the ground. The angel said, "I know you seek the crucified Jesus.[842] Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here. He has risen. Remember what he said to you in Galilee, that the Son of Man must be given into the hands of sinners and crucified, and he would arise on the third day.[843] Come, see the place where he was laid.[844] Go quickly and inform his disciples and Peter that he has risen. You will see him in Galilee, [**ASI.303**] as he told you."[845] [**L136a**] Peter's name was mentioned[846] particularly, so that he would not despair of the sins he had committed and so that he would know that his repentance and weeping had been accepted by God. In fear and trembling, and without saying anything to anyone, they betook themselves to the place where the Apostles were and told them what they had seen and heard. The Apostles attributed it to madness.[847] Finally, after many requests, Peter and John went in haste to the tomb, and the two eyewitnesses also went. John arrived first, but he did not enter the tomb. Peter arrived, entered the tomb, and saw the linen and the turban that had been on his head lying aside folded.[848] Then John entered, saw the signs, and believed truly that he had risen from the dead. Then they returned to their house to inform the people.

When he rose, the first person who saw him was Blessed Mary, and that happened as follows.[849] Blessed Mary was worshiping God, waiting for the time when she would see her son [**ASI.304**] risen from the dead, as he had promised. Before dawn, a great light suddenly appeared in her chamber, and at the same time Jesus appeared in all glory, not alone but with the great prophets, and Mary saw them all. When the mother apprehended her son in such glory, she took his foot and worshiped him as her God.[850] In all humaneness Jesus acted like a son to her, respected her, and blessed her. The joy that came into the hearts of mother and son [**L136b**] cannot be expressed, much less the words they spoke to each other. It would take a long time and

839. Perhaps based on 1 Corinthians 15:20. The Resurrection of Christ is believed to have been foretold by David in Psalm 15:10–11 (16:10–11) and by Isaiah 53:10–12, but the contents of these verses differ from Father Jerome's words.

840. Matthew 27:51–4 records an earthquake at Jesus's death but no biblical accounts referring to an earthquake during his Resurrection were identified.

841. Matthew 28:13.

842. Matthew 28:5.

843. Luke 24:5–7.

844. Matthew 28:6; Mark 16:6.

845. Mark 16:7.

846. Mark 16:7.

847. Luke 24:11 uses less extreme language: "And these words seemed to them as idle tales" (instead of "madness").

848. The turban that Jesus was supposedly wearing is another example of Father Jerome's attempt to localize the narrative.

849. Father Jerome seems to be confused, or perhaps he just wants to reinforce the Virgin Mary's importance in the text. John 20:1–16 and Mark 16:9 mention that Christ first appeared to Mary Magdalene.

850. Matthew 28:1 names Mary Magdalene and "the other Mary," but not the Virgin Mary.

much thought to realize what passed through Blessed Mary's mind upon seeing so many prophets honoring her in all glory. Then he disappeared from view.

Then, when Peter and John returned home to inform their friends, Mary Magdelene sat at the tomb, for she was unable to leave his grave, and she looked in every direction and wept. **[ASI.305]** At this point, she saw two extremely luminous angels of marvelous form seated in the place where Christ had been laid, one where the head had been and one at the feet. They addressed Mary Magdalene by name, saying, "Woman, why do you weep? She said, "Because they have taken my Lord, and I don't know where they have put him."[851] **[ASI.305]** She was saying this when one of the angels moved and she noticed something. Seeing the person they saw, who was Jesus, she turned her face toward him and saw a person in the garden near the tomb, but she did not recognize him as Jesus. He asked Mary, "Woman, why are you weeping? Whom do you seek?" Thinking him to be a gardener, she said, "Lord, if you have taken him, tell me where you have taken him and I will get him." When she received no answer, she turned away. While her face was averted, Jesus said to her, "O Mary." She recognized him at once and immediately said, "My teacher." So saying, she fell at his feet. Jesus forbade her and, placing his finger on her forehead, **[L137a]** said, "Stay where you are. Do not come near me, for I have not yet ascended." He said this in order to make her aware of her little faith. He said, "Go to my brothers and tell them I will ascend to my Father and yours, my God **[ASI.306]** and yours." Mary went in all joy to inform the Apostles, and she said to them, "I have seen my Lord, and he spoke to me."[852]

The other two women who had come from the city in search of Christ approached the sacred tomb. Jesus appeared to them, told them who he was, and said, "Peace be with you." They went to him, took his blessed foot, and worshiped him. He said to them, "Fear not. Go to my brothers and tell them to go to Galilee. There they will see me."[853]

At this time, Peter was thinking and contemplating the magnitude of his sin and had despaired of seeing him. Suddenly, Jesus appeared to him in glory, surrounded by mercy. Peter threw himself, weeping, at his feet, unable to speak because of shame and happiness, but Christ consoled him in all kindness and gave him good news, saying, "Your repentance has been accepted, and you have been forgiven."[854] **[ASI.317]**

At this point, James the Younger also saw him. He had sworn when Jesus's enemies arrested him that he would not eat a single morsel or drink a drop until he saw him alive. As he had said, from the time Christ was taken until midday **[L137b]** on Sunday he had been without water and food. Jesus appeared to him and said kindly and affectionately, "Eat and drink, and do not doubt the mystery that has been revealed to you."[855]

At this point, two of the disciples who were going from Jerusalem to the village of Emmaus, which is approximately one league from Jerusalem, were discussing what had happened to Christ. Christ joined them as a traveler, but they did not recognize him. He accompanied them and asked them, "What are you discussing, and why do you seem sad?" One of them, Cleopas by name, answered him, saying, "Were you alone, a stranger and traveler in Jerusalem, and do you not know what has come to pass in the city during these days?" He said, "What happened?" They said, **[ASI.318]** "Jesus of Nazareth, a prophet powerful in word and deed in God's sight and in the sight of men, was condemned to death by the chief priests and leaders of the Jews and hung on a cross. We hoped he would redeem Israel. It has now been three days since this terrible event took place, and some of the women have astonished our people by saying, 'We went to the tomb in the morning and did not find his body, but we saw angels who said, "He is alive." ' Some of us also went to the tomb and found it to be as they had said, but we did not see him." Jesus said to them, "O you of little wisdom and hard hearts, in order to believe the things the prophets have said, is it not necessary that the Messiah suffer tribulations and thus come in glory?" And, beginning with Moses and the other prophets, he quoted from all the Scriptures.

851. John 20:13.
852. John 20:15–18.
853. Matthew 28:9–10.
854. Father Jerome is referring to Peter's greatest sin, that of denying Jesus three times. The paragraph does not derive from the canonical Gospels. The gloss seems to be intended to demonstrate that penitence may bring forgiveness and to emphasize Christ's ability to forgive.
855. Matthew 13:11; Mark 4:11; Luke 8:10.

When they were near the place they were going, he pretended **[ASI.307]** to be going further. They pressed him and said, "Stay with us, for the day has ended and it is growing dark." They entered the village, and when they were seated at dinner, he took bread, blessed it, broke it, and gave it to them. At that moment, their eyes were opened and they recognized him. At once he disappeared. They said to each other, "Didn't your heart pound when he was with us and spoke to us on the road, explaining the Scriptures?" They went to Jerusalem and found the Apostles. The people were crowding together and saying to one another, "The Lord has truly risen and appeared to Simon."[856] And they too related their encounter.

On that same day, Sunday, the Apostles gathered at the end of the day, behind closed doors, in fear of the Jews, and discussed these things. Suddenly, Jesus came in and stood in their midst, saying, "Peace be with you. It is I. Fear not." Gripped by fear, they quaked **[ASI.308]** and thought that it was a phantom spirit. Seeing them astonished, he said, "What thing upsets you and causes you concern? Look at my hands and feet, for it is I. Touch them and know that a spirit has neither body nor bones, as you see I have."[857] As he said this, he showed them the wounds on his hands and feet. Although it was said above that when Christ's soul returned to his body and he rose alive, his body was absolutely whole and no trace of those wounds remained, yet he did not want the five wounds in both his palms and feet and in his chest to go away without a trace. They remained as they were, without giving pain or looking ugly. Rather, they were totally splendid and light, and he willed that these signs not go away, so that they would be witness to the fact that he was the very one who had died on the cross and show that he did not repent the torment he had suffered on the cross, and he would show God those wounds for intercession on behalf of sinners **[ASI.315]** and for other things. Therefore, he showed them these wounds that they might know that it was he. They did not really believe it. They were in such joy that they were still confused. In order to console them, he said, "Do you have anything I can eat?"[858] They brought him some grilled fish and honeycomb, and he ate in their sight and divided the remainder among them, saying, "This is what I said to you when I was with you, that it was necessary that everything that had been written about me in the law of Moses, the books of the prophets, and the Psalms be fulfilled."[859] Then were their minds opened **[L139a]** to understand the Scriptures, and he said, "Thus it has been written, and thus it was necessary that the Messiah suffer torments[860] and rise on the third day.[861] Let repentance and remission of sins be heralded in his name for all men, and let it begin in Jerusalem. You are all witnesses, and I send to you the promise of my Father, and you dwell in the city until its coming."[862] Again he said, "Peace be with you. As my Father sent me, so also do I send you. Receive the Holy Spirit. **[ASI.316]** Those you forgive will be forgiven, and those you restrain will be restrained."[863] With this he gave them all power and authority over souls and then disappeared. They became very happy.

At this time, one of the twelve, whose name was Thomas and was also called Didymus, was not present. When he came, his companions said, "We have seen the Lord." And they told him of the signs and wounds and other things, but he did not want to believe. No matter how much they told him, he absolutely refused to accept and kept saying, "Unless I myself see his hands and put my fingers in the places of the spikes in his hands and side, I will never believe." He was in denial for eight days. Then, on the eighth day, he was with the other disciples behind closed doors in the house. Jesus came in and stood in their midst, saying, "Peace be with you." Then he said to Thomas, "Come, put your finger here and see my hands. Come, stretch forth your hand to my side and be not a disbeliever but a believer." **[ASI.309]** He approached him with all respect and politeness and felt the wounds with his own hand. Then his heart was filled with light, and, falling to the floor, he worshiped him and said, "My Lord and God." Jesus said, "Thomas, you believed because you saw me. Blessed are they who

856. Variation on Luke 24:17–35.
857. Luke 24:36–39.
858. Luke 24:41.
859. Luke 24:44.
860. Isaiah 53:3–12.
861. Hosea 6:2.
862. Luke 24:47–49.
863. John 20:21–23.

do not see me and believe in me."[864] Then he told them to go to Galilee because most of his disciples were there, and he wanted to appear to all of them there. The disciples went. One day Peter, Thomas, Nathaniel, and several others were gathered on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias. Peter said, "I'm going to catch some fish." The others said to him, "We will follow you." They went out into the sea and fished all night, but not one fish was caught. Suddenly, Jesus appeared on the shore. They did not realize who it was. He said to them, "Young men, do you have anything to eat?" They said, "We do not." He said, "Cast your net on the right side of the boat and you will find." They did this **[ASI.310]** and caught so many fish that it was difficult to draw in the full, heavy net. John, the beloved of Jesus, said to Peter, "It is our Lord."[865] When Peter heard that it was the Lord, he tied his shirt around his waist, for he was naked, and threw himself into the sea. The other disciples came to the boat dragging their nets, **[L140a]** for they were not far from the shore. When they came to shore, they saw a charcoal fire with fish and bread on it. Jesus said to them, "Bring the fish you have just caught."[866] Peter ran and dragged his net onto the dry land. There were 153 large fish in the net, and, despite so many fish, the net was not torn. Amazed and distressed, they brought their nets onto the shore. Jesus said, "Come and eat."[867] They were all dumbfounded, but no one had the nerve to ask him who he was, although each one thought he was the Lord. Then Jesus took the bread and divided it among them all, and so also the fish. Then he told them all who he was.

After they had eaten, **[ASI.311]** Jesus said to Peter, "Simon, son of John, do you love me more than all these?" "Yes, Lord," he said. "You yourself know that I love you." He said, "Take my lambs to graze." Again, he said to him, "Simon, son of John, do you love me?" He said, "Yes, Lord. You know I love you." Again, he said, "Take my lambs to graze." A third time he said, "Simon, son of John, do you love me?" This time it was difficult for Peter because he was asking for the third time if he loved him. He said, "My Lord, **[L140b]** all is clear to you. You know I love you." He replied, "Take my sheep to graze."[868] Three times [Jesus] asked him about his love, in commemoration of the three times [Peter] denied him when he was suffering death, in order to make him aware that when he told him to graze the sheep, he meant that tribulations would come to him and to indicate that he would give his life. He said to him, "Verily, verily I say to you, when you were young, **[ASI.312]** you bound your loins and went wherever you wanted, but when you will have grown old you will stretch forth your hands and another will gird your loins and carry you where you want to go." This he said to express by what death he would glorify God. In order to teach him the manner of grazing the sheep, he said, "Follow me"[869]—that is, do what I have done. As Peter was following him, he turned his head and looked and saw the disciple who was beloved of Jesus, who had put his head on Jesus's breast when they were eating the paschal feast, and who had asked for Peter's sake which one of them would betray him. When Peter saw him, he said to Jesus, "Lord, what will he be?" Jesus said to him, "If it is my will that he remain thus until the time of my coming, what is it to you? You follow me."[870] From these words it fell on the tongues of the disciples that John would not die, **[L141a]** but Jesus did not say he would not die but that if he willed **[ASI.313]** him to remain thus until he came again, what was that to him?

In the land of Galilee, many times his followers saw him clearly with his distinguishing characteristics, and he performed many miracles among them for them to be certain that it was he. One day, he said, "Let all gather at Mount Tabor."[871] More than five hundred persons gathered with the eleven[872] apostles, and he appeared to them, for he had said, "Go to Galilee, for you will see me there."[873] Initially, some doubted, but in the end they all recognized him, believed, and worshiped him as a divinity. He spoke to them all, especially to the Apostles and

864. John 20:25–29.
865. John 21:3–7.
866. John 21:10.
867. John 21:12.
868. John 21:15–17.
869. John 21:18–19.
870. John 21:21–22.
871. None of the Gospels identifies the mountain in Galilee where Christ appointed them (Matthew 28:16), yet it is generally assumed to be Mount Tabor.
872. According to Luke 24:33; Matthew 28:16; John 20:24; and Mark 16:14.
873. Matthew 28:10.

other great disciples, to whom he now revealed, "To me has been given all power in heaven and earth. Therefore, go and teach all the people and baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and teach them to keep all those things I told you. Behold, I will be with you all the days until the end of the world."[874] It is related that he was in Galilee with the disciples for twenty days, and then the Apostles went to Jerusalem at his command. **[ASI.314]** One day, when they were eating in Jerusalem, Jesus suddenly appeared to them in the middle of the first half of the day. He ate with them so that their conviction would increase. **[L141b]** Then, in dreadful words, he chastised them for the doubt they had had about his rising and for their hardheartedness when they did not want to believe those who had seen him alive from among the dead. After that, he became kind and said with softness, "Do not go far from Jerusalem. Rather, stay here and wait for the promise of my father that you have heard from my mouth,[875] for John baptized with water but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit not many days hence."[876] He also said, "Go to the Mount of Olives near Bethany."[877] They went, and Lady Mary, the other women, and many disciples gathered there. Suddenly, he appeared and made it clear that now was the time for him to go to heaven.[878] Those who were present asked him, "Lord, at this time will you restore the kingdom of Israel?" He said to them, "It is not for you to know the tongues and points that the Father has placed in his power, but you will receive the power of the Holy Spirit that will descend upon you, and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem and throughout the kingdom of Judea and Samaria, to the end of the land."[879] And he said, "Go to the people of the world and call all creatures to my Gospel. He who has faith and is baptized will have salvation, but he who **[L142a]** does not have faith will be in everlasting torment. The signs of those who have believed will be that they will cast out demons in my name, they will speak in new tongues, they will take serpents, and if they drink mortal poison, they will not be harmed, and they will lay hands on the suffering and they will be healed."[880]

After saying many things, he said to them, "I am going. I charge you to live as I have told you and to teach what you have been taught by me."[881] He singled out several of the leaders for certain things and showed kindness—most of all to his blessed mother—and after lifting his hands and calling down blessings upon them, he began in their very sight to rise up and ascend gradually until he began to disappear from their view. Then a bright cloud screened him, and Christ went up into highest heaven. He did not go alone but took with himself the souls of all good people who had died since the time of Adam until then. The angels received him with all rejoicing, and, entering heaven, he sat at the right hand of the Father. That is, he took his place in the greatest position, for sitting expresses two things, one being honor since sitting is more honorable than standing, and the second being establishment and serenity in glory. While the disciples were transfixed with their eyes on the sky, two angels **[L142b]** garbed in white came and said to them, "O people of Galilee, why are you standing looking at the sky? This Jesus who has gone away from you into heaven will come just as you have seen him ascend."[882] They said this, meaning that just as he had fulfilled his mission and returned in power to heaven, so also would he return at the end in his might to judge, as he himself had said. They went to Jerusalem perplexed, sad, and happy, and there they sat in a corner of the house where they had partaken of the paschal feast with the Lord.

Since Jesus had told them not to go far from Jerusalem until the promise of his Father, which they had heard from him, came true, the eleven Apostles, Blessed Mary, and several of the disciples, 120 persons in all, spent ten days in the house in prayer and fasting. Sunday was the festival of the Jews that they call Pentecost. It is the day on which God gave Moses the Pentateuch and one of the three festivals on which the Jews had to go from every direction to Jerusalem. Christ's disciples

874. Matthew 28:18–20.
875. Luke 24:49.
876. Acts 1:4–5.
877. Based on Luke 24:50. The reference to the Mount of Olives is not found (in this context) in the canonical Gospels and may derive from Acts 1:12: "Then returned they to Jerusalem from the mount that is called Olivet…"
878. The Cleveland Ms. ends here.
879. Acts 1:6–8.
880. Mark 16:15–18.
881. Variation on Matthew 28:20.
882. Acts 1:11.

were worshiping God on that day, and nearly one watch of the day had passed. Suddenly, a dreadful noise came in the sky, and a fast wind blew with such violence that it opened the doors of the house and filled the whole house, **[L143a]** especially the place in which they were. A fire descended from heaven and tongues like tongues of fire appeared, and a fiery tongue sat over the head of each of them. They were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to praise God in various languages according to the amount of the Holy Spirit they received. This was the promise of the Father, that the Holy Spirit would descend upon them in the form of wind and fire and put power inside them to carry out what Christ had commanded.

At this moment, gifts were given to each of them. First, they were given perfect knowledge of every sort, be it of divine books or of other books, and their minds were opened to understand the things that they had seen and heard from Jesus. Second, they were given the power to perform every sort of miracle and produce supernatural events. Third, flames of divine love and desire for the salvation of men were kindled inside them. Fourth, they were given the power to endure the torments they would suffer in order to teach. When the people saw these flames and heard the dreadful sound, they thought a lightning bolt had fallen on the house and killed the inhabitants. Therefore, they flocked around it, because at this time the Jews from most of the world were in Jerusalem, and they were astonished to see something so strange, since **[L143b]** each of them heard them speaking in his own language. Dumbfounded, they said, "Are not these people, who are speaking in various tongues, from Galilee? How is it that each of us hears them speaking in the language to which we were born?[883] Iraqis, Shirvanis, Turanians, Egyptians, inhabitants of Diyarbekir,[884] Africans, Anatolians, Arabs[885]—each of us understands them praising God in our own language."[886] Astonished, they said, "What can this be?" Some laughed and said, "They are drunk." Peter and ten of the Apostles arose. Then Peter raised his voice and said, "O Jews and other inhabitants of Jerusalem, know and lend your ears to my words. They are not drunk, as you may think, for one watch of the day has not yet passed. No, this is what the prophet Joel said:[887] 'It shall come to pass in latter days that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and I will pour out my spirit upon your sons and daughters and they will prophesy.[888] And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered.'[889] O Children of Israel, hear these words. Jesus of Nazareth came from God and appeared to you. Many were the things, miracles, and signs he performed in your midst, as you yourselves know, and you, by your own determined counsel and by God's foreknowledge, turned him over into the hands of the wicked, **[L144a]** crucified him, and killed him. God delivered him of the pains of death and resurrected him,[890] as David and other prophets had said of him.[891] We are all witnesses to this event and glorified by God's power. As we received the promise of the Holy Spirit from the Father, this gift you see and hear has been poured out.[892] Therefore, let all the House of Israel know for certain that God made this Jesus, whom you crucified, Lord and Messiah."[893] And he quoted from the olden prophets so effectively that they asked Peter and the other Apostles, "Brothers, what should we do?" Peter said, "Repent, and be baptized, each of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins, and the Holy Spirit will come, as has been promised, for you, your sons, and those who are distant—all whom our Lord summons to himself."[894] On that day, nearly three thousand persons believed. Two or three days later, five thousand persons became

883. Acts 2:7–8.

884. The text has دیار پک, which is taken to be a scribal error, possibly for دیاربکر (Diyarbakır).

885. The geographical locations mentioned in Acts 2:9–11 ("Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea, and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, Egypt, and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews also, and proselytes, Cretes, and Arabians…") likely had little meaning for a Persian reader. Father Jerome substituted regions with which the Mughals would be more familiar.

886. Acts 2:11.

887. Joel 2:28, 32.

888. Acts 2:12–17.

889. Acts 2:21.

890. Acts 2:22–24.

891. Variation on Acts 2:25.

892. Variation on Acts 2:32–33.

893. Acts 2:36.

894. Acts 2:37–39.

Christians at his hand in the temple, and their teaching progressed every day in Jerusalem. The other Apostles scattered to the ends of the earth and preached the Gospel of Jesus. They brought many people to their religion with God's assistance and the power of the miracles they performed. God willing, all these things will be detailed in another book.[895] **[L144b]**

Thanks be to God that the story of the life of Blessed Jesus, our Lord, has come to an end, and the precious book, which may be a guide for the souls of the righteous, is concluded. Now it seemed appropriate that two letters to Tiberius Caesar and the Senate of Rome, one written by Pilate, the governor of Jerusalem, and the other by the other governor of that land, should form the conclusion to this precious book and bestow eternal acceptance, because it contains a description of his blessed features.

It was customary for every event that took place throughout the entire kingdom to be written to Caesar and the Senate, so that they might be aware of everything that happened in the world. Therefore, Pilate wrote to Caesar as follows: "At this time in this land there was a man whom his disciples called God, and he performed many miracles seen by many people. He rose alive into heaven, and his disciples do great things in his name, bear witness that he was God, and teach the path to true salvation."[896] Tiberius was highly pleased by this news and told the Senate, that is, the assembly of elders and rulers of the city. His intent was that they should consider him divine too, but it was not customary for them to worship any person as a god unless the Senate confirmed it. Because this news had not reached them before it reached Caesar, the senators became spiteful and did not approve Caesar's wish. **[L145a]** God willed that this not happen, lest he be worshiped by human power. Then Caesar ordered that no one should bother anyone who followed Christ. The other, Lentulus by name,[897] who held the governorship of the city before Pilate, wrote to the Senate: "At this time a person has appeared and is still alive. He is a man of great power. His name is Jesus Christ. The people call him a prophet possessed of might. His disciples call him the Son of God. He raises the dead and heals the suffering from every sort of affliction and illness. He is a man of tall stature, well proportioned, and of good aspect. His countenance is so splendid and full of gravity that those who see him must both love and fear him. His hair is reddish brown[898] and straight to his earlobes, but below his ears it curls in shiny ringlets and hangs below his shoulders. His hair is parted in the middle of his head, in the manner of the Nazarenes. His forehead is broad and flat. His face is without flaw and adorned with a harmonious redness. His gaze is sincere and mature. His nose and mouth cannot be faulted in any way. His beard is full and the color of his hair, and it is parted in two. His eyes are blue and extremely bright. In rebuking or chastising he instills wonder; in teaching and exhorting he is soft of speech and a lover of peace. His face is open, **[L145b]** and he is grave. Never has anyone seen him laugh, but he has been seen to weep. He is tall, and his hands are rightly formed and whole. His arms are beautiful. In speech he is measured and grave. He is a man of few words but beautiful among men."[899]

* * *

This precious book and guide to felicity was compiled by Father Jerome Xavier, the European, of the Society of Jesus, by order of the Emperor of the Era, the Lord of Brilliant Soul, Master of the Age, Jalalu'd-din wa'd-

895. Father Jerome did write a book on the lives of the Apostles. According to Camps, *Jerome Xavier*, 22–23, this was entitled *Dāstān-i aḥwāl-i ḥawāriyān-i ḥaẓrat-i 'Īsa wa ẕikr-i manāqib-i īshān* (History of the Vicissitudes of the Apostles of the Lord Jesus and Commemoration of their Virtues). Apparently it was still incomplete at the time of Akbar's death, but was presented to Jahangir in 1609. See chapter 1.1.

896. This seems to be based on the so-called *Testimonium Flavianum* found in Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* 18:3,63, the genuineness of which is disputed. The passage in Josephus is slightly longer than that reproduced by Father Jerome, yet their contents are closely related.

897. Pontius Pilate was prefect of Judea from A.D. 26 to 36. His predecessor was Valerius Gratus, who ruled from 15 to 26. Publius Lentulus is an apocryphal character who was supposed to have been governor of Judea and to have written a letter to the Roman Senate when Jesus began his ministry.

898. The Persian word used, *maygūn,* means wine-colored.

899. This closely follows Jesus's description in the letter mentioned, which became part of the apocryphal epistles. Various closely related versions of the letter were reproduced by a number of medieval and later authors, including Ludolphus of Saxony in his *Vita Christi* (Bodenstedt, *Vita Christi*, 28). For an English version, see Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 543.

dunya,[900] greatest of monarchs[901] (may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule), from the Holy Gospel and other books of the prophets in the Seat of the Caliphate of Agra, and Mawlana ʿAbdul-Sattar b. Qasim of Lahore translated it together with this servant in the same Seat of the Caliphate. It was completed in the year 1602 [**L146a**] since the birth of Jesus and in the forty-seventh divine year since the blessed imperial accession.

900. This may be translated as Magnificence of Religion and the State.

901. This epithet, *akbar-i pādishāhān,* contains a reference to Emperor Akbar's name.

CHAPTER SIX

AN ANNOTATED TRANSCRIPTION OF THE *MIR'ĀT AL-QUDS*

BY W. M. THACKSTON

مرآة القدس

الحمد لله ربّ العالمین والعاقبة للمتّقین والصلوة والسلام علی رسوله محمد وآله واصحابه اجمعین. بعده آنکه این کتابیست عجایب و غرایب در مناقب حضرت عیسی روح الله (علیه السلام) ابن بی‌بی مریم (رضی الله عنها) و نامیده شد این کتاب‌را بمرآة القدس[1] و بنا نهاده شد این‌را بر چهار باب و از مطالعهٔ این نسخهٔ کمال جمیع احوال حضرت عیسی (علیه السلام) معلوم خواهد شد انشاء الله تعالی.[2] [۳]

چون آوازهٔ عجایبات مسیح بلند گردید و در روی زمین پراکنده شد ابگر پادشاه ایدیسه‌را[3] از بخت‌مندی آرزو جوشید که دیدار مبارک او دریابد. پس ایلچی دانا فرستاد و پیغام داد که «اگر در ملک من آید نیمهٔ پادشاهی در خدمت او باشد» و نیز مصور نادره‌کار همراه ساخت که اگر آن قدسی جناب‌را سر آمدن نباشد و میل بدین زمین نفرماید هرآینه این یکتای بی‌همتا صورت او کشیده برای من آرد تا اورا که بدیگر طور دیدن نمی‌توانست باشد که بدین روش به‌بیند و آرزوی خودرا فرو نشاند. ایلچی سعادت ملازمت دریافت و پیام خداوند خود گذرانید. چون دانسته شد که رفتن آن بزرگوار بدان سرزمین دشوار است آن یگانه استاد خودرا جمع ساخت و همگی دانش خودرا کار فرموده از آنچه یارای او بود بهتر و خوبتر کشید و شادی نمود. چون روز دیگر مقابل ساخت از کار خود خجل شد و [۳ب] چاره تقصیرهای خویش کرده از شرمساری برآمد و خدایرا آفرین کرد. باز چون روز دوم و سیوم نیک نگریست شرمسارتر شد و کار از سر گرفت. حاصل که سه بار اینچنین کرد و هرچه امروز کامل و تمام دید فردا ناقص و ناتمام یافت. و چون از هنر خود مایوس گردید و سراپای اورا اندوه و شرمساری

1. In MS C (Cleveland Museum of Art № 2005.145) مـــــرءة القـــدوس, but the و has clearly been added by a later hand. Other versions of the work, including MS L (London, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, MS 12171), have the title مرآة القدس. Annotations on the flyleaf of the Cleveland manuscript have both versions of the title.

2. The beginning of the London manuscript is as follows: الله اکبر. بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس اله واحد ایشوع مسیح. مراة القدس که دران گذارش می‌یابد داستان احوال عجیب حضرت ایشوع کریستس و بیان پارهٔ تعلیم آسمانی و معجزهای بزرگ‌قدر او.

3. ابکر بادشاه ایدسیه‌را L; ابکر بادشاه ادیشه‌را C. King Abhgar Ukhama (ܐܒܓܪ ܚܟܡܐ "Abhgar the Black") is the historical Abgarus V, who ruled the kingdom of Osroene with his capital at Edessa from 4 B.C. to A.D. 7 and A.D. 13–50. The legend of the portrait of Jesus is retold below at ASI.193/L98.

گرفت حضرة ایشوع[1] را بر حال او مهر آمد و هنگام وداع جامه ازو درخواست و بر روی مبارک گذرانیده بوی سپرد. او صورت گرامی دران جامه درست و بی‌تفاوت یافت و کامیاب گردید و پیش خداوند خود برد. او بتمام عزت و بغایت نیازمندی و شادی برگرفت و بحرمت نگاه داشت و بوسیله او در مهمات خود ظفر یافتی.

اکنون این قصه از جمهٔ آن آوردم که چون پادشاه جهان‌پناه داستان[2] کمالات حضرة ایشوع و سربزرگی او باختلاف روایات شنوده آرزو فرمودند که پارهٔ از خجسته احوال او چنانچه هست بگوش همایون رسد و از حق‌جویی و دانش‌دوستی [ASI.275] باین کمترین دعاگویان پادری ژیرونیمو شویر[3] که بآستان‌بوسی روشن‌پیشانی است اشارت شد که هر آنچه از گفتار و کردار آنحضرت در کتب خود داریم بفارسی گذارش دهیم. بگمان آنکه شاید همچون کسی که چهل سال درین شغل بسر برده [ل۳] هفت یا هشت سال در آموختن فارسی صرف کرده این خدمت‌را بجا آورم و سعادت اندوزم، سراپا دل شدم و کمر همت بر میان بستم. روزها بسر بردم و دل از آسایش زندگی و سامان ضروریات برگرفتم تا فرمایش ظل الهی بجا آرم که احکام مقدس‌را کم ازین ارجمند نتوان داشت، خاصه در چیزها که نهفتن آن بر آدمی‌زادگان ستمست و پیدا کردن آن عبادت خدا چنانچه رفئیل فرشته بطوبیا پیغمبر گفت «راز[4] پادشاهان پوشیده داشتن نیک است اما اسرار الهی بیان و آشکارا ساختن چیزیست ستوده و پسندیدهٔ همگنان.» و اگر در آوردن این کتاب و شبیه آن دیر کردم، براستی ازین بود که چند دفعه ترتیب دادم و بطور خود تمام ساختم[5]، لیکن هر بار که [ASI.276] تمام کرده از مسوده بپاکیزگی آوردم چون فارسی‌را بکتابهای لطین مقابله کردم دل‌را تسلی نشد و آنچه کامل بود ناقص نمود تا آنکه خودرا از کار خود خجل یافتم و از کمایگی و نارسائی ناامید شدم. پس از دعای فراوان و نیاز بسیار عنایت الهی و اقبال حضرت ظل الهی یاور شد و درین مرتبهٔ پسین تسلی شدم و دل قرار گرفت. بنابرین دلیری کردم و بدین آستان راستان آوردم. خواست حضرت ایشوع باشد که حضرت‌را و دیگر سامعان‌را خوش‌وقت سازد.

می‌توانم که بگویم ازین [ل۳ب] همه چیزها که در زمان حضرت بفارسی ترجمه شده‌اند اینست سزاوار آنکه بدان نازش فرمایند چون معلوم نیست که در دیگر زمان آمده باشد یا از آنکه فارسی‌دان از زبان لطین بیخبر بود یا آنکه لطین میدانست فارسی‌را نمی‌فهمید یا صاحب‌اقبالی همچون حضرت که آرزومند[6] دانش باشد و این چنین توجه فرماید مادر گیتی نزاد. امید که این‌را عزت قبول ارزانی فرمایند و همچون چیزی که پس از محنت بسیار و [ASI.277] شوق فراوان و اخلاص تمام این بنده آورده است برگیرند بل مانند

1. Jesus < Ἰησοῦς, a Grecized version of the Hebrew יְהוֹשֻׁעַ *Yəhōšua‘* (variously rendered as Jehoshua, Joshua, and Jeshua) ‘Jah saves.’ In the manuscript texts of this work, Jesus’s name is often written as الیشوع. This is a copyist’s error: the name should be ایشوع *Īshū‘*, which is taken from Syriac, ܝܫܘܥ *Išō‘* (Eastern Syriac) or *Išū‘* (Western Syriac) and is well attested in Persian (the same type of mistake is also made with the name ایشعیا *Īsha‘yā* Isaiah, which is often written as الیشعیا). The Christian Arabic rendering of the name Jesus—never used in this text—is یسوع *Yasū‘*, and the Islamic version is عیسی *‘Īsā*, which is used indiscriminately in the text along with ایشوع *Īshū‘*. Once (ASI.272/L10b) Father Jerome transcribes the Portuguese pronunciation of Jesus as ژیسوس *Zhēsūs.*

2. C وآستان.

3. Father Jerome transcribes his name in Portuguese, Padre Jerónimo Xavier. Read *Pādrē Zhērōnīmō Shaviyer.*

4. L از.

5. C کردم.

6. L ارزمند.

چیزی که همان می‌نماید که خجسته ایشوع بود که چنین چیزها می‌آموخت و میکرد.

پوشیده نماند که این کتاب بر چهار باب ترتیب یافت. در باب نخستین از گاه ولادت حضرت ایشوع تا آغاز تعلیم حال او بیان شد. و در باب دوم معجزها و عجایبات او که نمود و پارهٔ از آنچه آموخت. و در باب سیوم مرگ او و جفاها و محنتها که بجهت سلامتی مردم و محبت ایشان کشید. و در باب چهارم کیفیت برخاستن او از قبر و رفتن او بر آسمان. ننوشتم آنچه می‌توانستم که نویسم اما برای شناختن و معلوم فرمودن حضرت که آن قدسی جناب که بوده است. این قدر مرا بس نمود چنانچه فیل‌را از نشان پای او بشناسند و شیررا از پنجهٔ او.

اکنون التماس این فقیر آنست که ازین محنت اندازه آرزوی خدمت[ل۴] گذاری من برگیرند، دیگر آنکه فرمان شود که در محفل مقدس مکرر خوانده شود چون اینست مایهٔ تعلیم هر نیکوکاری و آرامش دل و علاج روح که اگر آن دیگری [ASI.278] میگفت که کتابها داروی جانند، این برای جان گرامی آنحضرة از همه بیشتر خواهد بود که خود همان حضرت ایشوع میفرمود که «گفتار من داروی جان است و زندگی جاوید.» بجهت افزونی اعتقاد این چیزها واجب شد که آگاه سازم که بیشتری ازین چیزها از انجیل مقدس نوشتم و از نوشتهٔ دیگران چشم بستم. و تا نیک معلوم شود مأخذ هر سخن در حاشیهٔ این کتاب نوشتم و تا بآسانی یافته شود خلاصهٔ متن نیز در حاشیه مرقوم گردید. و بعضی ازین سخنان مسیح بدان پایه هستند که عقل بشری در ادراک آن عاجز و مدهوش میشود لیکن این و امثال این چیزها که در کتاب آینهٔ حق‌نما[1] که اکثر آن شده و نزدیک است که انشاء الله تمام شود بیان روشن یافته‌اند. ایشوع خداوند حضرت‌را در حفظ خود دارد و شناسائی خود که برای سلامتی جان واجب و لازم است بطوری که آرزوی این بندهاست کرامت فرماید.

در دار الخلافه آگره بتاریخ پانزدهم اردی‌بهشت سنهٔ[2] هزار و ششصد [ASI.279] و دو از ولادت حضرت ایشوع خداوند ما اختتام یافت.[3] [ل۴ب]

1. C آینه‌نما؛ L حق‌نما.
2. C & L سن.
3. 15 Urdibihisht 1602 = May 5, 1602.

باب اول در طفولیت مسیح

ولادت مریم و پرورش یافتن او

چون مسیح بیواسطهٔ مرد از مریم مقدس زاده شد نخستین پارهٔ از چگونگی احوال آن دوشیزهٔ متبرکه نوشته میشود.

مریم از مردم شریف بود از نسل داؤد پیغمبر. پدر او شوکین[1] نام زادهٔ شهر ناصره از توابع ولایت جلیل. مادر اورا آنه میخواندند [زادهٔ] شهر بیت‌لحم جهودا که زاد و بوم داؤد پیغمبر است. باخلاص تمام در شهر ناصره بسر می‌بردند به نیکوکاری و بندگی خدا موافق دینی که بواسطهٔ موسی پیغمبر به بنی اسرائیل رسیده بود. دولتمند بودند و مال خودرا دانایانه خرج میکردند و دادهٔ خدارا سه حصه نموده یک حصه ازان بفقرا و بیوه‌زنان و مسافران بیت المقدس میدادند و یک بخش برای پرستش‌خانه و خادمان [ASI.280] آن نگاه می‌داشتند و دیگر برای خود خرج میکردند. باین روش بیست سال گذرانیدند و با آنکه اسباب تنعم و سامانی بود اما چون فرزند نداشتند دایم غمناک می‌زیستند و در طلب آن ثمرهٔ برکت صدقها میدادند[2] و عجز و زاری مینمودند و عهد [ل۵] بخدا داده بودند که «اگر بما فرزند میدهی اورا به نذرها[ی] دیگر بعبادتخانه پاک میبریم و به بندگی تو می‌سپاریم» و چون هر سال سه مرتبه در روزهای عید موافق دین خود بعبادت‌خانهٔ بیت المقدس نذرها میبردند روز عید پرستشخانه در بیت المقدس آمده بودند. شوکین تحفهای خود چنانچه میعاد بود بعبادتخانه برد همچون دیگر کدخدایان. ایسه‌کار بزرگ کاهنان بهم برآمد و بازگردانید و گفت «خدا که در چندین سال بشما میوه برکت نداده است البته یک آلودگی باطن داشته باشید که خدا بسبب آن از شما نارضامند است.» این گفت و از پیشگاه خود به بیحرمتی تمام دور کرد. شوکین ازین شرمساری و خجالت رو بصحرا نهاد و بخانه نرفت. همانجا در شبانان خود می‌بود و تنها شده بتمام عجز و شکستگی خدارا بندگی کردی و آنه از دیدن بیعزتی که بر شوکین رفت و از مفارقت او درد و چندان غم افتاد. این در بیت المقدس و او در صحرا اندوهناک بسر میبردند اما در عبادت خدا کمی نکردند بلک افزودند همچون آنانکه محتاج‌تر اند. و خدا که علاج درماندگانست نالش ایشان بشنید و فرشتهٔ نورانی پیش شوکین فرستاد که بدو مژده دهد که خدا عاجزی ترا قبول کرد و نظر رحمت بر گریهٔ تو و صدقهای تو انداخت و آن صبری که کردی [ل۵ب] پسندیده افتاد و مرا فرستاده است تا ترا تسلی کنم و بشارت دهم که خدا ترا یک دختر از آنه خواهد بخشید و اورا مریم نام خواهی کرد. آن دختر از گاه پیدائی در شکم پر روح القدس خواهد بود. وعدهٔ

1. For شوکین read *Shuwakīn* for Joaquim, the Portuguese for Joachim (< the Hebrew name יהויקים *Yəhōyāqīm* Jehoiakim, as in 2 Kings 23:34), who is named as Mary's father in the Protoevangelium of James.

2. C میداند.

خودرا بجا خواهید آورد تا در عبادتخانه از مردم جدا بزید و در بندگی خدا پرورش یابد. بزرگ خواهد بود و یاد دار که مردم بزرگ پیشتر در حالت [پیری] متولد شده‌اند مثل اسحاق و یعقوب و یوسف و سَمْساو[1] [و] سمویل. باین واسطه خدا خواست که این دختر در پیری شما تولد یابد وقتی که امد شما کمتر شد. و تا شک نداشته باشی در آنچه ترا میگویم بجانب شهر راهی شو که در دروازه اوریا یعنی زراندوده کوچ خودرا خواهی یافت که در جست‌وجوی تو می‌آید و چون ترا می‌بیند شاد و شکفته میشود.[2] این گفت و از چشم وی غایب شد و پیش آنه رفت و اورا بهمان خبر خوش نیز امیدوار ساخت و هم گفت «از آن دختر تو مسیح چاره‌ساز عالم پیدا خواهد شد» و پیش شوهر فرستاده خود ناپدید شد. آنه از خوشحالی در جستن شوهر برآمد. در همان دروازه بتمام خوشی یکدیگررا دریافتند و بخانهٔ خود آمدند. و بعد از چند روز بشهر ناصره که وطن ایشان بود [ل۶] رفتند. همانجا روز پنجشنبه تاریخ هشتم ماه دِزِنبر موافق شانزدهم دی‌ماه [folio from a private collection in England, side a] آنه بار گرفت و پس از نه ماه، روز جمعه هشتم ماه سپتنبر پانزدهم شهریورماه، دختر آورد. مردمان‌را تعجب و خوشی روی داد. نام آن دختر مریم کردند و این لفظ [priv. coll., England, side b] چند معنی دارد، بلند دریای تلخی، استاد صاحب دریا. درین روز که مریم مقدس زاده شد نصرانیان عید میکنند. اول نمیکردند ازانکه رضای خدا درین باب معلوم ایشان نبود اما خدا ظاهر ساخت بطوریکه گفته میشود. مردی از خداپرستان در صحرا می‌بود و پیوسته در عبادت الهی میگذرانید. این مرد هر سال در هشتم روز از ماه سپتنبر یک نغمهٔ شادی عجیب در آسمانها می‌شنید. روزی فرشته‌را پرسید که سبب این شادی و نغمه‌سرائی چیست. او جواب داد که درین روز مریم مادر مسیح زاده شده است. آن مرد ازین قصه خبر داد و بعد از تفحص کتابها یافتند که براستی در همین روز متولد شده است و از آن وقت برخصت پاپه در بعضی جاها شادی میکردند اما در تمام نصارا رواج نگرفته بود تا آنکه پاپه اینوسنسیو چهارم[3] در سال هزار و دوصد و پنجاه از ولادت مسیح [ASI.270] عید کردن عام فرمود و سبب آن بود که بعد از مردن [ل۶ب] پاپه[4] سلستین چهارم[5] همه کَردِنالِس[6] جمع شدند که پاپهٔ دیگر بجای او نصب کنند. بهیچ طریق رایها موافق نمی‌آمد و کارگر[7] نمی‌شد. یکسال و هشت ماه درین فکر گذشت. کردنالس[8] و دیگر نصرانیان بسیار دلگیر و غمناک می‌بودند. یکی گفت «عهد کنیم که آنکه پاپه شود بفرماید که در روز تولد دوشیزهٔ مقدس همه نصرانیان عید کنند و هشت روز[9] بشادی گذرانند تا درین کار مددکاری کند.» اینچنین قرار یافت و همین که این پیمان بسته شد بر اینوسینسیو چهارم رایها اتفاق گرفت و اورا پاپه کردند و او این عیدرا رواج داد.

خجسته مریم چون سه‌ساله شد در روز جمعه تاریخ بیست و یکم ماه نونبر موافق بیست و نهم آبان [ASI.269] اورا بدیگر نذرها بپرستشخانه برده بخدا سپردند تا در جای خاص در

1. Father Jerome transcribes the Portuguese Sansão for Samsun (normally سمسون *Samsūn* in Perso-Arabic).

2. This section of text lacking in C.

3. C پاپه اینوه‌سنیو چهارم for the Portuguese Papa Inocêncio IV= Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54).

4. C پایه.

5. Pope Celestine IV (r. 1241).

6. C & L کَردیایِس.

7. C کار.

8. C & L کردیایس.

9. C – روز.

همان عبادتخانه با دیگر دختران اصیل تربیت یابد و از نیک زنان که بدین کار مقرر بودند تعلیم گیرد تا زمانی که بالغ شود. چون بدر عبادت‌خانه رسیدند ایسه‌کار[1] با دیگر کاهنان برسم خویش بالای در برآمد. آن در[2] بلند پانزده پایه داشت و قاعده آن بود که چون طفل‌را می‌آوردند بر هر پایه که قدم ماندی کاهنان یک باب از زبور میخواندند اما این طفل همین که قدم‌را بر پایه اول نهاد دست از کسی که اورا گرفته بود کشید و بی‌آنکه [ل۷] نگاهی بهیچ جانب کند یکمرتبه بالا برآمد و هیچ جا نه‌ایستاد و همه حیران شدند. [2005.145.24b] مادر و پدر تحفها موافق روش گذرانیدند و اورا بردند بخانهٔ که دختران‌را بجهت وفای عهد بدان خانه می‌سپردند تا خدارا بندگی کنند.

خجسته مریم هرچند که خوردسال بود اما چون پخته‌سالان خودرا همگی بعبادت خدا مشغول ساخت و نیت درست با خود کرد که بجای مادر و پدر و همه چیز خدارا داشته باشد و در خشنودی خدا زیاده بر آنچه مقدور او بود کوشش میکرد. از خدا بزاری بسیار توفیق این می‌خواست که اورا بر[3] همه چیز دوست داشته باشد و دل‌را از چیزهای دنیا پاک دارد. پیوسته بعجز و زاری از خدا سلامتی مردم خواستی و آرزوی آمدن مسیح کردی. بخدا همیشه در بندگی بود و با خلق در فروتنی چشم بر زمین داشتی، بسیار خاموش و بسیار متحمل، بی‌تقریب نه‌پسندیده سخن نمی‌گفت. همصحبتان‌را[4] [unidentified folio, side a] بذوق خذمت کردی. خودرا از همه حقیر دیدی، جمال دختریرا دوست میداشت، محبوب و عزیز همه بود، و همه حیران می‌بودند از دیدن چندان نکوئی درو که در خوردسالی چندان کارها در پیراستن خویش میکرد که اگر کسی در پیرانه‌سری کند مردم‌را بحیرت برد. وقت‌را همچنین قسمت کرده بود که پاس [ل۷ب] اول در پرستش خدا و تصور چیزهای الهی بسر رود. دو پاس دیگر بگذراند بکارهائی که بدست تعلق دارند همچون دوختن و شستن چیزهای پرستشخانه و خوردنی نیز درین دو پاس میخورد بتمام پرهیزگاری. و بیشتر اوقات فرشته از آسمان برای او روزی آوردی و دیگر وقت در خواندن کتابهای مقدس بسر بردی. چون آیات آمدن مسیح و آموختن او راه سلامتی بمردم در نظر او می‌آمد بسیار خوشحالی می‌شد و مکرر میخواند و میگفت «ای کاش من داه آن زن باشم که مسیح فرزند او خواهد بود.» [unidentified folio, side b]

اکثر شب بیدار می‌بود و در فکر اسرار خدای میگذرانید و اندک غنودی. چندان دوستدار عصمت بود که بی‌آنکه پیشوائی کار داشته باشد بخدا وعده کرد که اورا بجمال دختری و عصمت پیوسته بندگی کند. این عهد و طور زیستن که او قرار داد چیزی که تا این زمان بوقوع نیامده بود. اول زنیست که بخدا عهد کرد که جمال دختری نگاه دارد. و هرگاه کسی اورا می‌ستود[5] او آن ستایش‌را بخدا راجع کردی و همیشه بر زبان او «دِیو گراسیَس»[6] را میرفت یعنی شکر بخدا و بهمین لفظ سلام میکرد. ازان باز این روش سلام در تارکان و عابدان عیسوی[7] مانده است.

در همین عبادتخانه مقدس [ل۸] می‌بود تا آنکه سیزده‌ساله

1. ایسه‌کار *Īsakār* = Issachar (יִשָּׂשכָר *Yiśśākhār*), a name known from the Old Testament (Gen. 30:18 e.g.) but not mentioned in the canonical Gospels.

2. C – در.
3. C – بر.
4. C همصتانرا؛ L همصحبتان‌را.
5. C + و.
6. Deo gratias.
7. C عیسویان.

شد. خواستند که اورا بیکی از خویشان خود نسبت کنند. راضی نشد. [2005.145.1a] و بحکم ضرورت عهد خودرا ظاهر کرد. زکریا[1] نام و دیگر کاهنان از دیدن این طور عصمت و عهد نو که هرگز ندیده بودند در تعجب شدند و در اندیشهٔ دراز افتادند و چون دانسته بودند که تولد مسیح از دوشیزه خواهد بود با خود[2] می‌اندیشیدند شاید که این دختر برگزیده شده باشد بمادری آنکه چندان انتظار او داریم. بزرگ کاهنان همه دانایان‌را جمع کرد و پرسید که «درین کار مصلحت چیست و چه باید کرد؟» و چون بهیچ چیز قرار داده نشد بخدای خود متوجه شدند که هرچه از جانب خدا پدید آید برو عمل نموده شود. بر یکی الهام شد که «اگرچه دوشیزه بخدا این عهد دارد اما رضای خداوند درین است که اورا کدخدا کنید.» باز در فکر افتادند که با که باید کرد. خدا فرمود که «همه مردان از ذات داؤد که کدخدا نشده باشند در پرستشخانه فراهم شوند و هرکدام عصای در دست بیاورد و آنکه عصای او بشکفد و گل کند اورا بمریم کدخدا کنید.» اینچنین شد. در میان ایشان [2005.145.1b] یکی بود یوسف نام، پسر یعقوب بن متان. او هم آمد و عصای خویش مثل دیگران آورد و چون از نماز فارغ شدند ناگاه عصای یوسف گل کرد. [ASI.01] پس دانستند که خواست خدا اینست که دختر باین شخص پیوند[3] گیرد، نه بدیگر.

خوی یوسف

یوسف از همان ذات بود که [ل۸ب] دختر یعنی از نسل داؤد پیغمبر چنانچه گفته شد. تهی‌دست بود. نجاری کردی و همان قدر که اورا بسند کند بدست آوردی. در چهل‌سالگی کدخدا گردید و درین مدت خودرا بصحبت زنان نیالوده بود. اگرچه کداخدا شد بمریم مقدس اما او بیاوری خدا آنچنان دل‌نشین او گردانید که او نیز بخدا عهد داد که تا زنده است خودرا همچو مریم نگاه دارد و برادرانه زندگانی کردند. زناشوهری[4] در میان نیامد. ازین روی اورا مصوران بصورت پیر می‌نگارند، نه از کهنه‌سالی و پیری او. و از کرامتی که دران عصا ظاهر شد، اورا بیشتر بعصای شکفته تصویر میکنند. مردی بود پاکیزه‌باطن، بزرگ [ASI.02] پیش خدا چنانکه از برزگی برگزیده شد برای همراهی آن چنان دختر مقدس و برای آنکه مسیح رستگاری‌دهندهٔ عالم و چشمهٔ عصمت در خانهٔ او تولد یابد.

[سبب عروسی مریم]

حکمت درین کدخدائی دختر که معلوم توان کرد آنست که چون خواست خدا بود پسر از مریم متولد شود اگر شوهر نمیداشت مردم برو بهتان میکردند. خدا نخواست که تا هنگام روشن شدن حقیقت و راستی عصمت او تهمت آلوده باشد. دیگر آنکه چون مسیح فرزند او خواهد بود و باین سبب محنتها خواهد کشید و یکجا قرار نخواهد گرفت بلکه بیشتر اوقات در گردش و پریشانی خواهد [ل۹] گذرانید اورا بصحبت مرد احتیاج خواهد شد و همراهی دختر بمرد بیگانه مردم‌را خوب نمی‌نمود. دیگر آنکه خدا خواست که باین کدخدائی سر مسیح از شیطان پوشیده ماند چه از کتب پیشین دانسته بود که تولد او از دختر است و ازین جهة بعد

1. زکریا *Zakariyā* = Zacharias < Ζαχαρίας < זְכַרְיָה *Zəkharyāh* 'Jah is renowned.' The name is variously spelled throughout the work as ذکریا.

2. C – با خود.

3. C – پیوند.

4. C زنان شوهری.

از کدخدائی رخصت نیافت که بخانهٔ مریم درآید. حاصل که برای این و دیگر مصلحتها خواست الهی بر [ASI.03] کدخدائی رفت و چون خجسته مریم نیز از خدا دانسته بود که آنچه مقصود تست بکدخدائی از دست نمیرود بلکه همان شوی تابع و رضاجوی تو خواهد بود راضی شد و بخانهٔ یوسف رفت.

روزی چند در بیت المقدس همخانه بودند. بعد ازان در شهر ناصره[1] که وطنگاه یوسف بود رفتند و هرچند فراخی دنیوی چندان نداشتند اما از روی پاکیزگی و موافقت و محبت بهمدیگر زندگانی میکردند.

حلیهٔ مریم

مریم دختری میانه‌بالا، گندم‌گون، کشیده‌رو، چشمهاش کلان و مایل بکبودی و مویش طلارنگ. دست و انگشتان دراز خوش‌صورت. در همه چیز متناسب، گفتارش بغایت ملایم، نگاهش از روی شرم و آزرم، لباسش فقیرانه و پاکیزه، چندان برزگی و شکوه در چهرهٔ او پیدا بود که هر بدکار پریشان‌دل‌را که بر روی او [ASI.04] نگاه می‌افتاد و خودرا جمع کردی و کشیدی و کس دیگری [ل۹ب] شدی از خوبی. و خوشخوئی و تواضع اورا همه دوست میداشتند و می‌ستودند و بزرگ می‌اندیشیدند. آخر سخن در ظاهر و باطن آن بود که از خوبی و سزاواری بمادری مسیح گزیده شد.

پیدایش مسیح در شکم مریم

چون خانه ساخته شد خدای خواست که خداوند خانه بیاید. و چون دختر بسرحد مادری رسید یعنی که سیزده‌ساله و شش‌ماهه شد که خدای تعالی دیگر نخواست که آمدن مسیح بدیر کشد و تا اورا از آمدن خبر دهد و خشنود سازد بدین که مسیح پسر او خواهد بود.

آمدن فرشته پیش مریم

فرشته‌را از آسمان بدین خبر پیش او فرستاد و درین[2] همگام که دختر مقدس در خلوتخانهٔ خود می‌بود در شهر ناصره در ولایت جلیل[3] فرشته جبرئیل نام پیش او آمد که چون مسیح بی‌پدر شدنی بود خدا خواست که فرشته از آمدن او آگهی بخشد [ASI.271] نه آدمی. و چون کار اینهمه بزرگ بود از فرشتهای بزرگ آسمانی یکی‌را باین مژده فرستاد چنانکه از نام او یافته میشود: جبرئیل یعنی قدرت خدا.

و بودن دوشیزه در شهر ناصره بی‌حکمت نبود که ناصره بمعنی گلیست[4] و ازان دوشیزه همچون از عصا مسیح گل تمام خوبی برآمد چنانچه ایشعیا پیغمبر ازین [ل۱۰] خبر داده بود و ترجمه سخن او اینست «شاخ راست از بیخ شیسی سر برزند و ازان شاخ گلی پیدا شود که دران روح خداوند قرار گیرد.»[5] این شهر ناصره در ولایت جلیل بود که بمعنی گردش

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1. ناصره *Nāṣira* is the correct Perso-Arabic for Nazareth (Ναζαρέθ).

2. C – و درین.

3. جلیل *Jalīl* is the correct Perso-Arabic for Galilee (Galilæa < Γαλιλαία < הַגָּלִיל *hag-Gālīl*).

4. I.e., the name of Nazareth is taken to be in fulfillment of the prophecy of the messiah as a "sprout" (נֵצֶר *nēṣer*) of Jesse in Isaiah 11:1.

5. Isaiah 11:1–2: וְיָצָא חֹטֶר מִגֵּזַע יִשַׁי וְנֵצֶר מִשָּׁרָשָׁיו יִפְרֶה: וְנָחָה עָלָיו רוּחַ יהוה *Et egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet. Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini:* And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots: And the spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him.

The Perso-Arabic for Jesse is ایشا *Īshā* (for יִשַׁי *Yišēy*), but Father Jerome has reproduced the Portuguese pronunciation *(Shēsē)*.

است. درین اشارتست باین که آمدن مسیح عالم بجانب خدا باز میگردد و گنهکاران بیشمار بخالق خود رجوع میکنند.

وقتی که جبرئیل از آسمان[1] فرود آمد تنها نیامد بلکه با فرشتهای بسیار اما جائی که دوشیزه بود خود یکتنه ظاهر شد. دوشیزه در خلوتخانه خود بود، بسته در، مشغول [ASI.272] پرستش خدا فرو رفته در فکر بلند. آن سخن الیشعیا که مضمون او این است «هرآینه دوشیزه بار گیرد و زاید پسر.» و حال آنکه آن دوشیزه بکر است «و نام آن پسر عمانویل خواهد بود»[2] که ترجمهٔ آن باشد خدای مایان با ما. و بسیار از روی دیدن آن دوشیزه سعادتمند میگردد میگفت «کاشکی پرستار زبون او باشم» و بدل خود آن مادررا هزار ستایش میکرد و فایدها که ازان پسر بدنیا خواهد رسید در تصور داشت. دوشیزه درین فکر بود که یکایک جبرئیل فرشته از در درآمد بصورت مرد جوان خوش‌روی و پاکیزه پروقار پرنور و بر سر زانو ایستاد و چشم بر زمین نهاده شکفته‌روی نیازمندانه سلام داد و گفت «سلام ترا، ای پر از نعمت. خداوند [ل ۱۰ب] با تو. خجسته تو در زنان.»[3] دوشیزه ازین دیدن و شنیدن برهم خورد. [2005.145.2b] فکر میکرد که «چه چیزست این سلام؟» این برهم خوردن نه از دیدن و شنیدن فرشته بود که پیش ازین بسیار بار فرشتگان‌را دیده بود بلکه از دیدن تواضع و فروتنی که بآن سخن میکرد و از شنیدن سخنان که بچندان حرمت باو می‌گفت. آنقدر خودرا در نظر خود حقیر دیده بود که همچنانکه متکبر از شنیدن مذمت و نکوهش خود درهم میشود او همچنان از شنیدن ستایش خویش برهم میخورد. جبرئیل بوی گفت «مترس، ای مریم. بدان که من فرستادهٔ خدا ام. پیش پروردگار خویش مقبول شدی. آگاه باش که بار خواهی گرفت و پسر خواهی زاد و اورا ژیسوس[4] نام خواهی نهاد.» در نام گفتن آگهی بود برین که دریابد که چه مایه قبول پیش صاحب خود یافته است چنانکه خدای خواست که سلامتی‌دهنده از وی زاده شود که معنی ژیسوس اینست و تا بهتر شناخته گردد که بحقیقت مسیح است[5]. گفت «او بزرگ باشد و خوانده شود اعلی علیین‌را پسر واورا خدا صاحب کرسی داؤد پدر او دهد.»[6] [ASI.05]

و درین که میگوید بر تخت داؤد می‌نشیند پادشاهی ظاهر نمیخواهد که بر تنهای مردم بود بلکه مراد پادشاهیت معنویست که بر جانها خواهد داشت و نیز همون معنی دارد آنچه بعد ازین میگوید که [ل ۱۱] «در خانهٔ یعقوب پادشاهی خواهد کرد» چراکه بر همه گزیدگان پادشاهیت[7] و خداوندی میکند که از خانهٔ یعقوب گزیدگان خدا مراد میدارد. و هم گفت «این پادشاهیت او هرگز آخر نمیشود» که پیوسته بر گزیدهاء او در دنیا خواهند ماند و او سرور ایشان خواهد

1. C – از آسمان.

2. Isaiah 7:14: הִנֵּה הָעַלְמָה הָרָה וְיֹלֶדֶת בֵּן וְקָרְאת שְׁמוֹ עִמָּנוּ אֵל: *ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel:* Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.

3. Luke 1:28: *Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum: Benedicta tu in mulieribus.*

4. Here, and only here, Father Jerome uses the transcribed name "Jesus" as pronounced in Portuguese, ژیسوس *Zhēsūs*.

5. L – است.

6. Luke 1:30–32: *Et ait angelus ei: Ne timeas, Maria: invenisti enim gratiam apud Deum. * Ecce concipies in utero, et paries filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Jesum: * hic erit magnus, et Filius Altissimi vocabitur, et dabit illi Dominus Deus sedem David patris ejus.* And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David.

7. C پادشاهت.

بود.

این گفت‌وگوی فرشته دختررا بیشتر در فکر انداخت. چون اورا گفت «پسر خواهی آورد» چراکه این خبر چندان بزرگ بود که هرگز بگمان او نیامده بود. فرشته‌را گفت «این کار چطور خواهد شد که من مردرا ندانم؟» از بس که دوستدار جمال دختری بود بمجرد شنیدن نام پسر در پاسبانی عصمت خود شد و آن وعده که با خدا کرده بود زود در نظر آورد.

پیدایش مسیح بے پدر

اگرچه در آنچه فرشته [ASI.06] باو رسانید در شدن آن هیچ شك نداشت لیکن از روی آن کرد که بداند که این کار عجیب بچه روش خواهد بود زیراکه خود خوب میدانست که خدا بقدرت و دانش بیحد خویش یك چیزی خواهد کرد که بی آنکه عهد عصمت او شکسته شود حکم خدا بجا خواهد آمد. جبرئیل گفت باو «روح القدس خواهد آمد بر تو، و قدرت اعلی علیین ترا سایه خواهد کرد؛ باین سبب آن پاك که از تو خواهد برآمد پسر خدا خوانده خواهد شد.» گویا که وانمود که طور بودن این کار از دریافت آدمی بلندتر است. او که می‌تواند کردن تنها میداند که چطور خواهد بود. و هم گفت «اینك خویشاوند [ل ۱۱ ب] تو الیصابات باردار شده است به پسری درین وقت پیری خود. این ماه ششم است اورا که نازاد خوانده میشود از برای آنکه بر خدا هیچ چیز محال نیست.» درین هنگام راه سخن نماند و بفکرها برگشت از چیز چندان عجیب مثل این که به پسری داشته باشد [ASI.07] مسیح‌را.

و درین اندیشه تا نیم‌شب بود و چون دانست که قضای الهی این است و این کار بزرگ شدنی است، پس از تأمل بسیار راضی شد. درین تأمل کردن مارا آموخت که در کارهای بزرگ بسیار بملاحظه باشیم و جرأت نکنیم، خاصه در کاهای عزت که آن قدر خطرناك اند که بسیار مردم‌را پیش از داشتن عزت و بزرگی خدارا بقرار دل بندگی میکردند زیان‌کار شدند و از راه بردند. پس از گذشتن چند ساعت در نقطه نیم‌شب دوشیزه مقدس بر سر زانو ایستاده و سر خودرا نزدیك زمین رسانیده و هر دو دست پیش سینهٔ خود بهم پیوسته چشمها پر از اشك بتمام فروتنی و بندگی گفت «اینك کنیز خداوند. باشد مرا موافق گفتار تو.» همان زمان که آری کرد جبرئیل بشادی تمام از پیش وی ناپدید گشت و در حال خدا صاحب ما آن بزرگ‌را در گوشت گرفتن و آدم شدن آورد چراکه آن خدا که بقدرت [ASI.08] مطلق خویش آدم‌را از پارهٔ گل ساخت و حوارا از استخوان او برآورد و بعد ازان جان‌را که [از] هیچ پیدا کرده بود دانها درآورد و همان خدا از خون پاك دخترین خاص‌را پیدا کرد و همان زمان جان‌را آفریده درو نهاد و از جان و تن آدمیت کامل ساخته شد.

درین هنگام شش ماه گذشته بود الیصابات در زمان پیری خود بار داشت پسر چنانچه فرشته آگهی داد و این پسر یوحنا بوده است. و پیدایش او عجیب بود چراکه همان جبرئیل بزکریا پدر او شوهر الیصابات از ولادت او بشارت داد. زکریا کاهن بود از نسل آبیه و کوچ او الیصابات از فرزندان هارون. هر دو نیکوکار بودند و در پیروی احکام و ادای حقهای پروردگار بی نقصان اما ازین که پسر نداشتند ناخوش می‌زیستند و پیوسته در عبادتها و در وقتهاء خوش از خدا فرزند می‌طلبیدند و درین آرزو عمر بگذشت تا آنکه پیر شدند و امید پسر کمتر شد. و چون زکریارا نوبت رسید که بخور بسوزاند بخانهٔ پروردگار درآمد و همه امت بیرون، در نماز شد که آنجا او میتوانست که بوقت خدمت درآید ناگاه

فرشته در درون آن دید و حیران شد و ترسید. فرشته اورا گفت «مترس، ای زکریا، این دعای ترا خدا بشنید. الیصابات زن تو پسر زاید. اورا یوحنا نام کنی. [ASI.09] ترا و دیگر مردم‌را در تولد او بسیار شادی روی دهد چراکه پیش خدا کلان باشد. شراب انگور و هرچه مستی کند نخورد و از روح القدس پر شود. دران حالت [ل۱۲ب] که هنوز در شکم مادر خود بود بسیاری از بنی اسرائیل‌را بسوی خدا صاحب ایشان گرداند و پیش او بروح و قوت الیاس[1] روانه شود (یعنی بتمام ریاضت و محنت زندگانی کند) تا دلهای پدران بجانب فرزندان باز گرداند باین معنی که ابراهیم و اسحاق و یعقوب ایشان‌را بجای پسران خود داشته باشند و ازیشان راضی گردند.» و هم گفت «بی‌ایمانان و بی‌فرمانان‌را بسوی دانش نیکوکاران بیارد و ساخته گرداند خداوندرا امت او بکمال.» این همه اشارتست بکاری که پیش مسیح خواهد داشت تا مردم‌را مستعد تعلیم خود یافته باشد.

شک زکریا

زکریا از آنچه شنید در شك افتاد و گفت «از کجا راست بدانم آنچه میگوئی؟ من پیرم و زن من ازان وقت گذشته است که حامله شود.» فرشته [ASI.10] گفت «منم جبرئیل که در پیش خدا می‌ایستم و فرستادهٔ اویم تا ترا این خبر خوش بدهم و جزای این شك که آوردی و اعتقاد بر سخن من نکردی اینست که گنگ خواهی ماند و یارای گفتن نخواهی داشت تا آن زمان که همه آنچه گفتم بوقوع بیاید چراکه اعتقاد نکردی بر سخنان من که بوقت خود بجائی خواهند آمد.» این گفت و غایب شد. مردم حیران بودند و انتظار می‌بردند که زکریارا چه پیش آمد و چندین دیر چرا میکند. زکریا بعد از گفت‌وگوی فرشته قربان گذرانیده برآمد. بهیچگونه سخن گفتن [ل۱۳] نمیتوانست و باشارت میگفت آنچه که میخواست. مردم دریافتند که چیزی عجیب دیده است و بعد از فراغ کار خویش بخانه خود رفت و الیصابات زن او حامله شد. پس الیصابات درین حال بود که جبرئیل این خبر بمریم داد.

میرود مریم بملاقات الیصابات

الیصابات خاله‌زادهٔ مریم بود، پیر و در نیکوکاری کامل. [ASI.15] خجسته مریم تا مراسم خویشی بجای آرد خواست که بدیدن او برود که از یافتن آن مرتبه که مادر مسیح شد خودرا کلان نگرفت و خواست که موافق روش ولایت خود پیش او برود و اورا خدمت کند همچو خورد بکلان. و بعضی میگویند که همان فرشته از رضای خدا بدو گفت که «بخانهٔ الیصابات برو» تا بوسیلهٔ او بتقدیم رساند آنچه مقصود داشت در پسری که از الیصابات خواهد شد. چون فرشته ناپیدا شد مریم از یوسف دستوری خواست که بخانهٔ الیصابات خویش خود رود بی‌آنکه یوسف‌را از سرگذشت فرشته آگهی بخشد. و چون آنقدر جهت خویشی در میان بود که هر دو خانه آمدورفت بی‌حجابانه باهم داشتند، یوسف راضی شد و آمادهٔ رفتن شدند. الیصابات در کوهستان ولایت یهودا[2] میبود نزدیک اوریشلیم که تخمیناً از شهر ناصره بیست و هفت فرسنگ باشد. دوشیزه آن راه‌را بشتابی رفت تا مسافت‌را زود [ASI.16] قطع کند و زمان بیرون بودن از خانه کوتاه سازد. پس بمطلب رسید. چون بخانهٔ [ل۱۳ب] زکریا درآمد الیصابات‌را سلام داد همچون خورد بکلان و جوان

1. C الناس.

2. C - ولایت یهودا.

بپیر ، و چگونگی سلام معلوم ما نیست. بروش خود همان کلمه گفت «دیو گراسیس» یا سلام خدا بر شما که روش عام مردم بود و فرشته نیز بهمان روش اورا سلام گفت، لیکن معلوم است که آن سخنان او چندان کارگر بود که در همان زمان کاری غریب واقع شد که چون الیصابات سلام مخجسته مریم شنید طفلی که در شکم او بود زود حرکت کرد و شادی نمود. الیصابات از روح القدس پر گردید و بانگ زد بآواز بلند و گفت «مخجسته تو در میان زنان و مبارک میوهٔ شکم تو و از کجا مرا آنکه مادر صاحب من پیش من آید ؟ چرا که همین که آواز سلام تو بگوش من رسید بچه به شادی بزرگ در شکم من حرکت نمود.» و این نشاط بچه و جنبش او ادائی بود برای خواهش پرستیدن آنکه اورا از عنایت خدا دانست که آمد در شکم آنکه سخن اورا شنیدم، [ASI.17[1]] یعنی مریم. و درین بجا آمد آنچه بزکریا[2] پدر او فرشته رسانیده بود که در شکم مادر پر خواهد بود بروح القدس و آن معرفت که پسررا از خدا رسید در مادر نیز سرایت کرد که آنچه فرشته‌را بمریم گذشته بود بالهام خدا او دریافت و هم دانست که مسیح که اورا خداوند خود میخواند در شکم مریم است. وهم گفت «نیکبخت تو که اعتقاد کردی چرا که بجا خواهند آمد آن چیزها که از خداوند ترا گفته شدند.» فروتن و مخجسته مریم حیران شد از ظاهر کردن خدا آن سری که او چندان پوشیده [ل۱۴] میداشت و از تعقل کردن ستایشها که عالمیان باو خواهند کرد وقتی که ازان سرّ بزرگ خبر یافته باشند. اکنون الیصابات باوجود بزرگی خود از فهمیدن آن میکند و زود سخن‌را بسوی خدا گردانید بوانمودن این که «ستودگیها که مرا میکنند مرا نشاید بلکه خدا دهندهٔ همه خوبیهارا.» بنابرین تسبیح خدا ترتیب داد که چون در خلوت[3] میبودند و مثل الیصابات مصاحب داشت در سپاس خدا دزاری [ASI.18] نمود و گفت[4] «بزرگ گردانید جان من خداوندرا * و شاد شد روح من بخدای خلاصی‌دهندهٔ من * زیرا که نظر کرد بسوی فروتنی کنیز خود. هرآیینه از اکنون خنکی دهند مرا همه قبیلها * چرا که چیزهای کلان بمن کرد آنکه نیرومند است[5] و نام پاک او * و مهربانی او کرسی بکرسی برای ترسندگان او * کرد قوت در بازوی خویش پراکنده ساخت نازش کنانرا باندیشهٔ دلهای ایشان * فرود آورد نیرومندانرا از کرسی و برداشت فروتنان‌را * سیر[6] گردانید گرسنگان‌را از خوبیها ، و گسیل کرد[7] توانگران‌را تهی‌دست * برگرفت اسرائیل بندهٔ خودرا یادکنان از رحمت خود * چنانکه گفته بود به پدران ما ابراهیم و اولاد او تا جاوید.» (تا اینجا سخن مریم بود.)

1. ASI.17 is numbered “23,” but it should be folio 20.

2. C بذکریا.

3. C خلق.

4. Here begins the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55): *Magnificat anima mea Dominum: * et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo. * Quia respexit humilitatem ancillæ suæ: ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent omnes generationes, * quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est: et sanctum nomen ejus, * et misericordia ejus a progenie in progenies timentibus eum. * Fecit potentiam in brachio suo: dispersit superbos mente cordis sui. * Deposuit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles. * Esurientes implevit bonis: et divites dimisit inanes. * Suscepit Israël puerum suum, recordatus misericordiæ suæ: * sicut locutus est ad patres nostros, Abraham, et semini ejus in sæcula.* My soul doth magnify the Lord. And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour. For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden: for, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. For he that is mighty hath done to me great things; and holy is his name. And his mercy is on them that fear him, from generation to generation. He hath shewed strength with his arm: he hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away. He hath holpen his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy. As he spake to our father, to Abraham, and to his seed for ever.

5. C نیرمندست.

6. C اسیر.

7. C – کرد.

درین سلام و ملاقات مریم مقدس بالیصابات معلوم می‌شود که چطور قادرست خجسته دوشیزه بانعام کردن و چه قدر عنایت دارد خدا بر کسانی که او ایشانرا [ل۱۴ب] ملاقات میکند و دعای خیر بر ایشان مینماید و در حمایت خود بشفاعت میگیرد ازین[1] اروی نصارا چندین امید بشفاعت او میدارند و کوشش بسیار میکنند که بعجز و زاری اورا حامی داشته باشند.

خجسته مریم مدت سه ماه در خانهٔ ذکریا بالیصابات هم‌منزل بود و چون الیصابات در روزهای زادن بوده بیشتری برینند که در وقت ولادت یوحنا مریم حاضر بود.

ولادت یوحنا

پس الیصابات بعد از نه ماه روز جمعه پسر بزاد. خویشاوندان و همسایگان او از شنیدن عنایتی که خدا بایشان کرد شاد شدند و بسیاری بجهت مبارکباد آمدند. روز هشتم موافق دین موسی اورا ختنه کردند. در زمان ختنه سور که پیش ایشان وقت نام نهادنست میخواستند که اورا بنام پدر خود ذکریا خوانند. الیصابات باین نام هیچ گونه راضی نمیشد بلک میگفت که او یوحنا خوانده خواهد شد و خویشان باو میگفتند کس بدین نام در قبیلهٔ تو خوانده نشده است. پس اشارت بسوی پدر او کردند: «چه میخواهی که نام او نهیم؟» او درخواست تخته و نوشت که نام او یوحناست.] [ASI.19] همگنان تعجب نمودند و در حال زبان او گشاده شد و روان سخن کرد و تسبیح گفت خدارا. جمله همسایگان ترسیدند و عجایبات [ل۱۵] او در کوهستان یهودا میگفتند و ایشان همه که می‌شنیدند در دلهای خود اندیشه میکردند و میگفتند «چه می‌پنداری تو این پسررا که ازین چه پدید آید؟» چراکه قوت خداوند با او بود. پدر او زکریا از روح القدس پر گردید و نبوت آغاز کرد و گفت «مبارک خداوند خدای اسرائیل چرا که ملاقات کرد و خلاصی داد برای امت خود * و ایستاده کرد برای ما شاخ خلاص در خانهٔ داؤد بندهٔ خود * همچنانکه گویا شد بدهان پیغمبران پاک خویش که در قدیم بودند * خلاصی از دشمنان ما و از دست بدخواهان ما * برای مهربانی کردن [بپدران ما و یاد آوردن پیمان پاک خویش * سوگند که یاد کرده بود بپدر ما ابراهیم که خودرا بما خواهد داد * تا از دست دشمنان خود خلاص شده اورا بے ترس و بیم خدمت کنیم * بنیکوکاری و دادگری در پیش او همه روزهای حیات * و تو ای کودک پیغمبر عالی خوانده شوی چراکه خواهی رفت پیش روی خداوند که راست کنی راههای او * تا ببخشد امت خودرا دانش سلامتی بآمرزش گناهان ایشان * بمهربانی رحمت خدای ما که بدان ملاقات کرد مارا برآمده از بلندی * تا روشنائی دهد آنان‌را که در تاریکی و در سایهٔ مرگ می‌نشینند تا درست سازد پایهای ما در راه سلامت[2] *

1. One folio missing here from the Cleveland manuscript.

2. The Persian is a literal rendering of the Latin canticle (Luke 1:68–79): *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israël, quia visitavit, et fecit redemptionem plebis suæ: * et erexit cornu salutis nobis: in domo David pueri sui, * sicut locutus est per os sanctorum, qui a sæculo sunt, prophetarum ejus: * salutem ex inimicis nostris, et de manu omnium, qui oderunt nos: * ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris: et memorari testamenti sui sancti. * jusjurandum, quod iuravit ad Abraham patrem nostum, daturum se nobis: * ut sine timore, de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberati, serviamus illi * in sanctitate, et justitia coram ipso, omnibus diebus nostris. * Et tu puer, propheta Altissimi vocaberis: præibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias ejus, * ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus: in remissionem peccatorum eorum * per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri: in quibus visitavit nos, oriens ex alto: * illuminare his, qui in tenebris, et in umbra mortis sedent: ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis.* Blessed be the Lord god of Israel: for he hath visited and redeemed his people. And hath raised up an horn of salvation for us, in the house of his servant David; As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began: that we should be saved from our en-

تا اینجا سخن ذکریا بود و این همه [ل۱۵ب] آنچه گفته شد در خانه او گذشت روز هشتم که یوحنارا ختنه میکردند.]

شک یوسف در پاکی مریم

درین هنگام خجسته مریم و یوسف بسوی خانهٔ خود باز گردیدند و درین زمان کودک در شکم مریم سه‌ماهه بود تا آنکه بگذشتن روزها بار او نمودار شد و یوسف در ملاحظه افتاد. و چون نشان بار روشن[1] دید حیران گردید [ASI.20] و در فکر افتاد که این چه چیزست. تا آنکه بار دوشیزه نمودارتر شد و فکر یوسف بیشتر گشت. پس در عجیب میشد و اندیشه میکرد که این چه تواند بود و چندانکه میدانست که بچه از من نیست و عصمت دوشیزه یقین او بود همان قدر اورا اضطراب بیشتر میشد. و چون در بار او هیچ شک نماند بطور عجیب در حیرت فرو شد و حکم خدا که میفرمود که زانیهٔ شوهرداررا پیش حاکم برند [اندوه اورا زیاده‌تر میکرد اما چون مرد عاقل بود و عصمت دوشیزه مقدس یقین او بود دلیری نمیکرد که پیش حاکم شکایت برد[2]] تا دعوی کند. چندان غمناک و سراسیمه گشت که در روی او و سایر اوضاع او نشانهای غم پیدا شد. چون خجسته مریم این آشفتگی و اندوهناکی یوسف که اورا برادرانه دوست داشتی دریافت و میدانست که بیقراری او از بی‌انصافی نیست دست دعا بخدا برداشتی و چارهٔ این آزردگی خواستی و بصبر بسر بردی و امید بخدا کردی که او در وقت خود علاج این خواهد کرد و از حقیری و ناچیزی خویش [ل۱۶] نمیخواست که اورا ازان سری که در میان بود خبر دهد. باوجود [ASI.21] آنکه میتوانست که الیصابات‌را بر حقیقت سخن خویش گواه سازد که بر سخن او یوسف‌را اعتماد بود اندوه یوسف پیوسته پیش پیش میرفت و هر زمان افزون می‌شد، لیکن چندان اعتقاد داشت بر عصمت مریم که با آنکه یقین او بود که من اورا دست نرسانیده‌ام اما نتوانست که ازو پیش حاکم شکایت برد. و بودن خود دران شهر دشوار دیده نیت کرد که مریم‌را بخدا گذارد و خود پنهانی بدر رود تا به‌بیند آنچه روی دهد.

برآمد[ن] یوسف از شک او

خدا غمناکی او دید و بر دل خوب او نظر کرد و دعای مریم که اندوهناک می‌بود شنید و فرشته فرستاد که در خواب یوسف‌را بیان کرد آنچه واقع شد و گفت «ای یوسف پسر داؤد مترس از مصاحبت مریم منکوحهٔ خویش که آنکه درو پیدا شد بمیانگی آدم نیست بلکه از قوت روح القدس خواهد زائید پسر و اورا الیشوع خواهی نام نهاد چراکه او خواهد سلامتی داد گروه خودرا از [ASI.22] گناهان خویش.» یوسف بسیار خوشحال گردید و در تعجب ماند زیرا که نه تنها عصمت و پاکیزگی محبوب خود دانست بلکه آنچه اورا بیشتر خوشحال گردانید و متعجب کرد آن بود که دریافت که ازو در دست من زاده خواهد شد مسیح سلامتی‌دهندهٔ دنیا که او و تمام گروه بنی اسرائیل چندان انتظار او می‌بردند. پس از شک

emies, and from the hand of all that hate us; To perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember his holy covenant; The oath which he sware to our father Abraham. that he would grant unto us, that we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve him without fear. In holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life. And thou, child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord, to prepare his ways: To give knowledge of salvation unto his people, by the remission of their sins. Through the tender mercy of our God; whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us. To give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace.

1. C روش.
2. ناقص در C.

[ل۱۶ب] خود مطلق بیرون آمد. و اینک خواست که همان جفت مریم درین شک افتد برای این بود تا بیرون کند از دلهای مردم بدگمانی که در کار عصمت او ممکن بود. پس پیش مریم رفت. اورا حرمت کرد نه چندانکه معصوم و پاك‌را بلکه آنقدر که مادر حضرت الیشوع‌را و از روی محبت و فروتنی اورا از آنچه گذشته بود آگاه گردانید و خودرا بخدمت او سپرد تا باتفاق او بندگی کند خدای صاحب‌را که ایشان‌را و تمام دنیارا چندان عنایت کرد. دوشیزه سپاس خدا گفت که کار او درین اندیشه ساخته شد بی‌آنکه اورا لازم شود که [2005.145.3a] چیزی چندان غریب از خود ظاهر گرداند. تا رسیدن هنگام ولادت اینچنین میگذرانیدند و تمتع میگرفتند بتمام پوشیدگی و تغافل از سری که میدانستند و انتظار او میبردند.

ولادت مسیح

میرود مریم به بت لحیم[1]

درین ولا اُکتَاویوْ اَوگُوستُ[2] جانشین خسر خود شُوْلِیُو قیصر[3] شد و آنچه شولیو قیصر بمحنت و مشقت گرفته بود او بصلح و آشتی بتصرف آورد و سلطنت چند ملک دیگر که از وی ناتمام مانده بود بپایان رسانید. و اینست اول کسی که در رومه و اکثر عالم بصلح پادشاهی کرد. چون خودرا صاحب عالم بامن و آشتی دید خواست که ساکنان ملک او نوشته شوند و فرمان داد که در هر شهر کارکنان بوده [ل۱۷] باشند که همه کدخدایانرا بنویسند و هم قرار یافت که مردم از هر جا بشهر خود بیایند و نام خود بنویسانند و هر کس بپادشاه خود چیزی دهد. درین زمان حاکم شام کُرِنِیُس[4] بود. او در زمین اسرائیل منادی کرد که هرکس فلان وقت در شهر خود حاضر شود و نام خود بنویساند. بنابرین لازم شد یوسف پاک و نجسته دوشیزه‌را سفر کردن و رفتن بشهر بت لحیم که شهر ایشان بود همچون که دیگر فرزندان داؤدرا که [2005.145.3b] شهر مذکور مولد اوست. در راه محنتها کشیدند از باد و باران و سرما که زمستان بود و از درازی راه و بی‌سامانی و انبوهی مردم که بدین واسطه میرفتند خاصه مریم از جهة آنکه وقت زادن پسر بر امروز و فردا داشت و باین سبب استرسوار[5] میرفت و گاوی نیز همراه میداشتند تا بنقد اسباب برد [2005.145.4a] و هم فروخته آن خواسته معین‌را ادا کند و خرج سفر بهم رسد. اگرچه در راه جفا بسیار بود اما در شهر بیشتر کشیدند که چون شهر خورد بود و مردم از هر طرف چندان هجوم آورده بودند که هیچگونه جای پناه نیافتند.

جای زادن مسیح

بجست‌وجوی تمام بیرون شهر یک خانهٔ تنگ و پست و از سو افتاده و ریخته بدست آوردند که در باد و باران جایگه چارپایه بود. این خانه تعلق داشت بیک رباطی که منزلگاه مردم بود و پیوسته بشهر، و چون آن سرای [ل۱۷ب] از هجوم مردم پر شده بود ایشان‌را ضرورت شد که دران خانهٔ حیوانات فرود آیند. نجسته دوشیزه خرابی و تنگی آنخانه‌را

1. بت لحیم *Bat Laḥēm* is an attempt to transcribe, with some knowledge of the underlying Hebrew, the Latin Bethlehem (< Βηθλέεμ < בֵּית לֶחֶם *Bēth Leḥem* 'house of food,' as in Gen. 35:19). The normal Perso-Arabic for Bethlehem is بیت لحم *Bayt Laḥm*.

2. اکتاویو اوگوست *Uktāviyō Awgūstu* from the Portuguese Octavio Augusto (Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, Augustus, ruled 27 B.C.–A.D.14).

3. شولیو *Shūliyō* for the Portuguese pronunciation of Júlio (Julius). قیصر *Qayṣar* is the normal Perso-Arabic for Caesar.

4. کرنیس *Kuriniyus* = Cyrenius < Κυρήνιος, governor of Syria (Luke 2:2).

5. C اشترسوار؛ L استرسوار.

ملاحظه کرده خدارا سپاس گفت. و چون دریافت که وقت زادن نزدیک است و دانست که اینجا زاده میشود مسیح پسر خداوند اعلا و قادر مطلق، متعجب شده در کارهای الهی اندیشه‌مند شد. جاروب میکنند و پاک میسازند و ترتیب میدهند حجرهٔ خودرا و بجد[1] مشغول میشوند[2] و قرار باقامت میدهند بتمام خوشی و اتفاق و رضا از خدا. از دیر پیغمبران خبر داده بودند که در شهر بت لحیم مسیح متولد خواهد شد چنانکه میکی‌اس پیغمبر گفت «ای بت لحیم خورد هستی در شهرهای یهودا: در تو متولد خواهد شد آنکه حکومت خواهد کرد در اسرائیل و طلوع او از اول از روزهای قدم است.»[3] و حکمت درین که اینجا زاده شد نه تنها این بود که مولد داؤد بندهٔ اوست بلکه هم بجهت آنکه جای حقیر بود و خواست که زاده شود در جائی که بحیوانات شایان‌تر بود از مردم تا آغاز کند که جهانیان‌را بنماید که هرچند قانع شوند و کمتر بگیرند بهتر است و بیاموزد بنمونه اختیار کردن فقر و فروتنی و زیردستی چنانکه بعد از تولد ببانگ بلند عالمیان‌را خواهد آموخت.

چون شب شد فرخنده دختر دمی از محنت برآسود و دریافت که وقت زادنست اما نه دریافت این‌را [ل۱۸] همچون دیگر زنان بحضور دردها که جزادهندهٔ لذت مباشرت و جماعست که چون این نبود در دوشیزه آن دردها هم نبود بلک بالهام خاص خدا و حرکت کردن بچه دانست که وقت زادن شد. پس در نماز شده زانو بر زمین نهاده چشمها بسوی آسمان کرده و دستها پیش سینه برداشته بخدا می‌سپرد کودک‌را که ازو زاده خواهد شد و هزار شکر میکرد از خواستن خدا این که بروشنائی برآید کجی که پوشیده میداشت بجهت خلاصی دنیا و از اختیار کردن او جای فقیرانه و بی‌پناه بچندان مفلسی و بی‌استعدادی و فرورفته در فکر بلند از نیکوکاری و مهربانی خدا منتظر بود بولادت خداوند که در خود داشت .

پس شب یکشنبه در سال پنجهزار و یکصد و نود و نه از خلقت عالم و دوهزار و نهصد و پنجاه و هفت سال از طوفان نوح و دوهزار و پانزده از ولادت ابراهیم و هزار و پانصد و ده از برآمدن موسی و بنی اسرائیل از ملک مصر و هزار و سی و دو از مالیده شدن داؤد و پادشاهی یافتن او بر بنی اسرائیل و در شصت و پنجم هفته که دانیال پیغمبر خبر داده بود و بعد از بنای شهر رومه هفت صد و پنجاه و دو سال در سال چهل و دو از سلطنت قیصر اوگوست، هنگامی که اکثر دنیا در صلح بود در نقطه نیم شب وقتی که همه چیز در نهایت خاموشی [ل۱۸ب] بودند دوشیزه مقدس در عبادت فکری بود یک خوشی عجیب در دل خود یافت. چشمهای خود در زمین فرو نهاد و حضرت ایشوع‌را در پیش خود زاده دید و شنید اول آوازی که همچون دیگر کودکان گریه‌کنان کرد. پیش او خودرا بر زمین دراز انداخت و همچون معبود خویش پرستید. چشمها پر از آب و دل پر از خوشی ازین که اورا در لباسی ناسوتی دید و خودرا بمادری او مقبول. برخاست و نشست و بتمام محبت همچون مادر اورا در کنار گرفت و بوسها میداد و حرمت مینمود همچون کسی که اورا چندان می‌شناخته است و در جامها که باندازه افلاس خود آورده

1. L بخدا.

2. Two folios missing here from the Cleveland manuscript.

3. Micah 5:2: וְאַתָּה בֵּית־לֶחֶם אֶפְרָתָה צָעִיר לִהְיוֹת בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה מִמְּךָ לִי יֵצֵא לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וּמוֹצָאֹתָיו מִקֶּדֶם מִימֵי עוֹלָם *Et tu, Bethlehem Ephrata, parvulus es in millibus Juda; ex te mihi egredietur qui sit dominator in Israël, et egressus ejus ab initio, a diebus æternitatis:* But thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting.

بود اورا پیچید و در آخور چهارپایه نهاد چون جای دیگر نبود و از خواستن خدا آنچنان جای زبون و پست برای آنچنان پسر تعجب مینمود.

یوسف برینهمه چیزها که مذکور شد حاضر بود و آن قدر که میتوانست در چیزهای ضروری مدد میرسانید و اورا که سزاوار چندان چیزها بوده درین طور جای خراب و مفلس دیده افسوس میخورد. در همان زمان فرشتگان از آسمان فرود آمدند و نغمه‌سرایان خدارا تسبیح میکردند و میگفتند بزرگواری خداوندرا در بلندیها و سلامتی و آشتی بر زمین مردم خیراندیش‌را و بغیر این هزار ثناخوانی داشتند. [ل۱۹] خجسته مریم میشنید و بدل در ثناخوانی همرهی داشت. جبرئیل از پیش ایشان رفت تا مردم نواحی‌را خبر دهد. بر جمعی از شبانان که بر گوسفندان خویش بیداری میکردند رسید و یکایک نوری عظیم بر ایشان ظاهر شد. شبانان ترسیدند. جبرئیل گفت «نترسید. مژده میدهم شمارا از خوشی کلان که همه جنس مردم‌را خواهد بود چراکه امروز خلاصی‌دهنده برای شما زاده شده است، یعنی مسیح خداوند، در شهر داؤد. بروید و نشان اینست خواهید یافت کودکی پیچیده در جامها و نهاده در آخور. درین هنگام یک خیل دیگر از فرشتگان پدید آمدند تسبیح‌گویان خداوندرا و همان میگفتند بزرگواری خدارا در بلندیها و آشتی و سلامتی بر زمین بمردم خیراندیش. بعد ازان سرودگویان بسوی آسمان برآمدند و شبانان عجب‌کنان بهمدیگر میگفتند «برویم بشهر بت لحیم و به‌بینیم آنچه واقع شد و خدا مارا نمود.» پس بسرعت آمدند و مریم و یوسف‌را دیدند و کودک‌را در آخور یافتند و دیده شناختند که مسیح است و فهمیدند که اینست آنکه ازو فرشته گفته بود. مریم در همه چیز ملاحظه میکرد و در دل میداشت آنچه میدید و می‌شنید. شبانان باز بجای خود رفتند و از آنچه دیده و شنیده بودند [ل۱۹ب] خداوندرا هزار شکر میگفتند. و ازین خبر دیگر چوبانان از همان گروه آمدند تا مسیح نوزاده‌رارا به‌بینند.

اینهمه آنچه گفته شد در بت لحیم دران شب گذشت. پیش ازانکه پیشتر برویم اندکی از بسیار بطور مجمل بگویم از آنچه درین ولادت ظاهر شد و نصرانیان آن‌را بترازوی فکر و نرمی دل می‌سنجند. همچنانک این کودک مانند دیگر بچگان بمیانگی مرد در شکم مادر [ASI.11] نیامد بلکه بمحض عنایت خداوند بی‌آنکه نقصانی در بکارت دختر شود، اینچنین اورا هنگام زادن بچندین عنایت دیگر ممتاز ساخت. اول آنکه مادررا درد زه نداد که حوارا همه فرزندان اورا بشومی گناه او داده شد. دوشیزه هیچگونه دردی درین ولادت درنیافت بلکه بسیار خوشی و راحت روحانی. دوم آنکه همچنانکه در شکم مادر بی‌نقصان دختری او درآمد اینچنین بتمام درستی او بی‌آنکه راهی گشوده شود برآمد چنانچه شعاع آفتاب از تابدان میگذرد بی‌آنکه اورا بشکند و اگرچه این پسر خواست که در همه چیز همچون آدمی باشد و جفاها کشد اما درین کار خواست که خداوندانه زاده شود. مادرش پاک و درست ماند همچنانکه بود، و این شادی و مرتبه دهد بمادر خود که بسبب او خواهد کشید چندان [ل۲۰] جفاها و اورا ممتاز کند از همه زنان درین که آن طور دوشیزه بوده باشد که مادر نیز نباشد[1] و آنچنان مادر بوده باشد که دوشیزه نیز بماند. و همچنانکه در پسر جمع شدند [۲۰ب] دو چیز بسیار مخالف که خدائیت و آدمیت باشد اینچنین در مادر او جمع شده باشد: مادریت [و] دوشیزگی که هرگز در دیگر آفریده جمع نشده است. بنابرین خجسته مریم دوشیزه ماند.

1. L بباشد.

پیدا شد چشمه زیتون در رومه

وقت زادن و پیش از زادن و پس از زادن درین شب تولد دو چیز عجیب واقع شدند. یکی آنکه همان زمان که حضرت الیشوع در بت‌لحیم زاده شد در شهر رومه چشمه از روغن زیتون پدید آمد و روان شد و جوی شده بدریا پیوست و چند روز بوده است و این نشانست که زاده شد در دنیا مسیح چشمهٔ رحمت و چاره‌ساز احتیاجها و بیماریها[ی] محتاجان.

می‌بیند سبیله ایشوع نوزاده

دوم آنکه چون اکتاویو قیصر فیروزجنگ بود و بر عالم حکومت و صاحبی بتمام آشتی و امن میکرد، و بنشان این بسته میداشتند درهای عبادتخانه معبود خود که نام او شان[1] بود یعنی خداوند[2] بستن و گشادن کارها خصوصاً در معامله جنگ که این درها از اول گشاده می‌بودند [ASI.13] بنشان این که صلح نیست و چون آشتی عام شد و معاملهٔ جنگ نماند[3] بنشان این بتمام شادی درهارا بستند و بسیار بآرام [ل ۲۰ب] و خوشی میگذرانیدند و مردم این دولت و خوبی‌را بسعادتمندی و نیکوکاری پادشاهان وقت نسبت میکردند. بنابرین اعتقاد آوردند که این قیصر سزاوار آنست که اورا پرستش کنیم و قرار برین اندیشه داده پیش او رفتند که خودرا به بندگی او بسپارند، اما او که مردی بود دادگر میانه‌رو و دانندهٔ این که آدمی هرآینه مردنی است هرگز راضی نشد که اورا پرستش و عزت خدای نامردنی[4] کنند. چندانکه او ازین انکار و تنفر مینمود ایشان بیشتر غلو میکردند. چون بسیار بجد شدند قیصر یک سبیله طلبید و سبیله زنی‌را گویند[5] که از چیزهای پوشیده[6] و آینده آگاه سازد و پرسید که «تو درین کار چه می‌بینی؟ نیک متوجه باش. آیا در دنیا از من کلان‌تر شدنی هست؟» او گفت «فلان[7] روز جواب خواهم داد» [ASI.14] و رفت و بخدا مشغول شد و روز موعود که روز نهم باشد قیصر برزگان رومه‌را در خانهٔ خود جمع کرد تا آنچه او بگوید بشنود. سبیله آمد و قیصررا در گوشه برد و بنمود آنچه خود دیده بود: در نیم‌روز گرد آفتاب یک دایرهٔ طلا دید و در میان آن دختری صاحب جمال و پرنور که در پیش سینهٔ خویش بر هر دو دست خود کودکی داشت. قیصررا بنمود و گفت «این کودک از تو کلان‌تر خواهد شد. پس اورا پرستش کن.» آنگاه همه مردان که دران [ل ۲۱] خانه جمع شده بودند آوازی شنیدند بدین مضمون «اینست مذبح آسمان.» او از [2005.145.6b] آنچه نمایان شد و بشنید تعجب نمود و آنمردم‌را ازان خواهش باز داشت و از محبتی که باو نمودند ایشان‌را شکر کرد. آن زمان نفهمیدند[8] آنچه مقصود ازین اشارت بود اما اندکی بعد ازین دانسته شد که از ملاحظهٔ اوقات یافتند که همان روز عیسی مسیح از خجسته دختر زاده شد. و در همان خانه این قیصر که در آنجا نمایان گردید آنچه مذکور شد بعد از گردش زمانه کلیسیا ساخته شد و اکنون در آن خانه پادریان طایفه سان فرَن‌سیسکُ[9] می‌باشند و آن کلیسیا[10] را الحال

1. شان *Shān*, probably intended to be شانُ for the Portuguese Jano = Janus.
2. C خداواند.
3. C – نماند.
4. C تامردنی.
5. C کویند.
6. C بوشید.
7. C دران؛ L فلان.
8. C بفهمیدند؛ L نفهمیدند.
9. L سَانُ فَرْن سَیسْیکُ.
10. C کلیسیان؛ L کلیسیا.

سانتَ مَریَه آرَه‌سیلیَ میخوانند که ترجمه آن باشد پارسا مریم مذبح آسمان. و اینک مذبح خوانده میشود ازینست که همچنانک در مذبح گذرانیده میشوند قربانیها برای خدا اینچنین بوسیله مریم عبادتهای خویش میگذرانیم تا خدا بهتر قبول کند.[1] همان روز نیم شب در همان شهر رومه چیزی دیگر عجیب واقع شد که چون درین شهر یک عبادتخانه کلان بغایت مکلف عمارت کردند که خاصه برای خدای صلح باشد و اورا خانه صلح نام نهادند و از معبودی که نام او اپول بود و بواسطه آن شیطان جوابها میداد پرسیدند که این خانه تا کی باقی خواهد ماند؟ او جواب داد که بقا خواهد داشت تا زمانی [ل ۲۱ب] که دختر باوجود دختری بزاید. و چون دانستند که این محال است پس اعتقاد کردند که این خانه همیشه خواهد بود و در یک تخته سنگین در روی آن هیکل کندند این سخن: «خانه صلح ابدی.» و چنان واقع شد که همان شب که عیسی صاحب ما زاده شد بتمام افتاده و درین نموده شد که وقوع گرفت بولادت خجسته مریم آنچه چندان محال می‌نمود.

و همان روز در ملک اسپانیه سه آفتاب ظاهر شدند بغایت نورانی که بعد از زمانی بهم پیوستند و آن هر سه یک گردید. دانایان میگویند این علامت آن بود که زائیده شد کسی که عالمرا بتمام روشنائی خواهد آموخت که خدای قادر مطلق سه شخص است و یک ذات تنها.

و در همان شب که حضرت عیسی متولد شد در جانب دیگر اسپانیه نمودار گردید یک ابری بغایت روشن که آنشب‌را چون روز روشن گردانید. این بود آنچه در ولادت مسیح شاهد شد.

1. Probably two folios missing here from the Cleveland manuscript.

وقتی که مسیح در شهر بت لحیم زاده شد، چنانک گفتم، بادشاه اکثر دنیا و ملک بنی اسرائیل اوگوست قیصر بود و بخصوصیت بر ملک یهودان بعنایت قیصر مذکور ملک هرودس بود. درین بجا آمد آنچه یعقوب پیغمبر در زمان مردن خود یهودا پسر خودرا گفت «نرود از قبیلهٔ یهودا و نسل او سلطنت بنی اسرائیل تا زمانی که بیاید [ل ۲۲] آنکه او آمدنی است و اوست انتظار امتها»[2] و این عبارت از مسیح بود و اگرچه سالها گذشت که یهودان از ذات خود ملک نداشتند و مدتی دراز بدست بخت‌نصر پادشاه بابل اسیر بودند و بعد از آن بدست رمانیان گرفتار شدند لیکن هم در زمان بخت‌نصر و هم در سرداری رمانیان برخصت پاداشاهان فرزندان یهودا بر بنی اسرائیل حکومت میکردند تا آنکه هرودس بر ایشان پادشاهی یافت. هرودس درین ملک غریب بود. پدر او از ملک ایدومیه بوده است و مادر او از عرب. از وقایع گوناگون و خدمتهای خوب از جانب قیصر خطاب پادشاهی یافت و ولایت یهودا برو مقرر شد و کدخدا گردید بمریانس نواسه هرکان که پادشاه یهودان بوده است و تا این دختر اصیل‌را بدست آرد خودرا ختنه کرد و دین یهودان گرفت و مدتی برین گذشت تا آنکه آن زن‌را بتهمت کشت و سلطنت بدو ماند که بیگانه ملک بود و درین زمان زاده شد مسیح چنانچه یعقوب پیغمبر خبر داده بود.

ختنه کردن مسیح

روز هشتم از ولادت مسیح خواستند که بجا آید حکمی که

2. Gen. 49:10: לֹא־יָסוּר שֵׁבֶט מִיהוּדָה וּמְחֹקֵק מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו עַד כִּי־יָבֹא שִׁילֹה וְלוֹ יִקְהַת עַמִּים *Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore ejus, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium:* The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.

خدا بوسیلهٔ ممتر موسی بنی اسرائیل‌را فرموده بود و پیش ازان ممتر ابراهیم‌را و سایر فرزندان [ل۲۲ب] اورا و چون حکم بود که خوردان‌را روز هشتم از ولادة ختنه کنند او نیز کرده شد و در زمان ختنه اورا ایشوع نام نهادند و این نامیست که پیش ازانکه در شکم مادر بیاید فرشته گفته بود. اگرچه خواست خدا این بود که مسیح ختنه‌را براندازد اما هم خواست که مسیح‌را ختنه کرده شود تا حقیت این رسم قدیم وانماید و ظاهر شود که مسیح آن‌را از بطلان آن نخواهد انداخت بلک از جمت آنکه مدت این حکم بسر آمد و تمام شد و تا آنکه یهودان اورا بیگانه ندانند و بی‌دین نه‌انگارند چه درین گروه قرار یافته بود که هرکه نشان ختنه ندارد مرد خدا نیست. بنابرین تا وقتی که مسیح دین خویش بتمام آموزد همیشه موافق دین توریت زندگانی میکرد و درین کار خودرا همچو دیگران وا می‌نمود تا دلهای بنی اسرائیل بدست آرد.

آمدن سه پادشاه بپرستش مسیح

روز پنجم بعد از ختنه سه پادشاه در طلب این کودک رسیدند [ASI.83] که از جانب مشرق بسرعت تمام روانه شده بودند برهنمونی ستاره که در روز تولد طالع شد و اینچنین بود که همان لحظه که حضرت ایشوع زاده شد در آسمان یك ستارهٔ نو بغایت روشن نمودار گشت که از بسیاری روشنائی و تازگی [ل۲۳] بسیار مردم‌را در فکر انداخت در زمین عرب که از بیت المقدس مشرق‌رویه است. از زمان موسی خبر بود که مسیح در زمین یهودا زاده میشود و نشان اینست که همان زمان ظاهر میشود ستاره که تعلق بزمین بنی اسرائیل داشته باشد و بلعام این خبر داده بود که اورا مردم پیغمبر خود دانسته بودند، بواسطه او بسیار چیزها خدا برایشان ظاهر میگردد و ترجمه سخن او اینست «گفت بلعام بن باعور[1] گفت مردی که روشنی از چشم او ربوده شد گفت شنونده سخنان خدا و دانندهٔ تعلیم بلند و بینندهٔ سرهای قادر مطلق آنکه او افتاده است و چشمان گشاده دارد اورا خواهم دید اما نه اکنون. اورا خواهم نگریست اما نه بزودی. خواهد برآمد یک[2] ستاره از یعقوب و برداشته خواهد شد سلطنت [ASI.84] بنی اسرائیل و خراب خواهد کرد سرداران مواب‌را و خواهد انداخت پسران شیث‌را.»[3] درین بیان کرد که وقتی که زاده میشود پادشاه اسرائیل خواهد خراب کرد قوتهای شیطان و دنیا و تن که ازانها تعبیر کرد بمواب و شیث و ظاهر خواهد شد یك ستاره نو در آسمان. بنابرین در ایشان دایم بر زبانها بود خبر آمدن مسیح پادشاه بنی اسرائیل و درین انتظار می‌بودند ملاحظه میکردند بشب بیداریها که آن ستارهٔ عجیب کی نمایان شود اکنون [ل۲۳ب] چنانچه خبر بود بوقوع آمد و همان لحظه که مسیح متولد شد آن ستاره نمودار گشت و ازان آگهی که میداشتند. و بالهام خاص خدا سه پادشاه دانا در عربستان دانستند که زاده شد مسیح که مردم چندان انتظار او داشتند. اگرچه این سه کس پادشاه بودند اما

1. C عور.
2. C – یک.
3. Numbers 24:15–17: נְאֻם בִּלְעָם בְּנוֹ בְעֹר וּנְאֻם הַגֶּבֶר שְׁתֻם הָעָיִן: נְאֻם שֹׁמֵעַ אִמְרֵי־אֵל וְיֹדֵעַ דֵּעַת עֶלְיוֹן מַחֱזֵה שַׁדַּי יֶחֱזֶה נֹפֵל וּגְלוּי עֵינָיִם: אֶרְאֶנּוּ וְלֹא עַתָּה אֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ וְלֹא קָרוֹב דָּרַךְ כּוֹכָב מִיַּעֲקֹב וְקָם שֵׁבֶט מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל וּמָחַץ פַּאֲתֵי מוֹאָב וְקָרְקַר כָּל־בְּנֵי־שֵׁת: *Dixit Balaam filius Beor: dixit homo, cujus obturatus est oculus: dixit auditor sermonum Dei, qui novit doctrinam Altissimi, et visiones Omnipotentis videt, qui cadens apertos habet oculos: Videbo eum, sed non modo: intuebor illum, sed non prope. Orietur stella ex Jacob, et consurget virga de Israël: et percutiet duces Moab, vastabitque omnes filios Seth:* Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said: He hath said, which heard the words of God, and knew the knowledge of the most High, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open: I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Scepter shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Seth.

اکثر اوقات دانا خوانده می‌شوند که چون دران زمان بمرتبهٔ پادشاهی بوسیلهٔ دانائی میرسیدند بیشتر دوست میداشتند که دانا خوانده شوند ازین که ایشان‌را پادشاه بخوانند و همان زمان که [2005.145.5a] آن ستاره پیدا گردید هرکدام ازینها روانه شد. ناگاه پیوستند و یکدیگررا از مطلب خود خبر دادند و بر شتران بادپای بهم روانه شدند و رهنمای ایشان همان ستاره بود که دیده بودند. شب و روز [2005.145.5b] پیش ایشان میرفت و روشنائی او آنقدر بود که باوجود آفتاب اورا میدیدند. چون نزدیک بیت المقدس که بگمان[1] ایشان مولد پادشاه نو بود رسیدند آن ستاره غایب شد و حکمت غایب شدن ستاره آن بود که سبب پرسیدن ازو پیدا شود و یهودان از آنچه میگذشت خبردار شوند. بنابرین دران شهر بتمام حشم خود درآمدند و پرسیدند که «کجاست پادشاه یهودان که زاده شد که ستاره در مشرق دیدیم و آمدیم بتحفها تا اورا پرستش کنیم.» چون اینها پادشاه و [ل۲۴] بیگانه بودند و از چیزی چندان نو می‌پرسیدند ملک هرودس‌را این خبر رسید و ایشان‌را بخانهٔ خود طلبید و سبب آمدن ایشان شنیده برهم خورد. و چون مردم قدم بر قدم پادشاه میروند تمام شهر نیز برهم خورد همچنانکه او برهم خورد. و بگمان آنکه آن بچه مسیح باشد هرودس دانایان دین‌را جمع کرد [۳۴] و از ایشان پرسید که «مسیح کجا زاید؟» اینها همه باتفاق گفتند که «در بت لحیم یهودا. اینچنین کتاب پیغمبران نوشته شده است: ای بت‌لحیم یهودا، تو خورد نیستی در پادشاهان یهودا چراکه از تو بیرون آید پادشاهی که مدبری کند امت من بنی اسرائیل‌را». پس هرودس آن سه پادشاه‌را به پنهانی طلبید و از ایشان بکوشش بازجست که ستاره‌را چه وقت دیدید. آنگاه رخصت بت‌لحیم داده بایشان گفت «بروید بجوئید بتمام کوشش و به‌پرسید [از کودک و چون اورا بیابید در زمان گردیدن خود[2]] مرا هم خبر دهید تا من نیز بروم و اورا پرستش کنم.» ایشان بسوی بت‌لحیم برآمدند، و چون از شهر بیرون شدند آن ستارهٔ غایب‌شده‌را که در مشرق دیده بودند باز دیدند و پیش ایشان میرفت.

یافتن مسیح‌را ببت لحیم[3]

برهمونی آن بشهر[4] بت‌لحیم رسیدند که از بیت المقدس سه فرسنگست و چون ستاره رسید بخانهٔ که کودک در آن بود همانجا استاد و ایشان نیز [ل۲۴ب] استادند و شاد شدند بشادی بسیار بزرگ [۳۴ب] باعتقاد آنکه اینجاست آنکه اورا می‌جستیم چه ایستادن ستاره اشارت باین میکرد، اما تعجب مینمودند که چطور تواند بودن که پادشاه این قدر بزرگ که تا ستارگان در خدمت اویند در چنین جای فقیرانه بوده باشد. و منتظر بودند که ستاره چه کار کند. بهیچ وجه نمی‌جنبید و حرکت نمی‌نمود. پس بر زمین فرود آمدند تا بخانه درآیند. اگرچه در بیرون حیرت داشتند اما حیران‌تر شدند وقتی که درون درآمدند چون یکجای خراب فقیرانه و بی‌سایه و بی‌پناه یافتند. درین هنگام روی بروی ایشان یوسف برآمد و پرسیده جواب داد که اینجاست. ایشان رسیدند بجائی که مریم مقدس بود. پسررا در آخور یافتند و در حیرت شدند که همه چیز که[5] میدیدند ایشان‌را تعجب می‌آورد: تنگی جای، خرابی او، تنها[6] یکی خذمتکار، آرایش خانه تنیدهای عنکبوت، محمد پادشاهی آخور [2005.145.7a] چهارپایه و

1. C بکمال.

2. C –.
3. C یافتن مسیح رایت حلم؛ L یافتند مسیح‌را در بت لحیم.
4. C – بشهر.
5. C – که.
6. L تنهائی.

دیگر چیزها مثل این. می‌بینند دختری تا پانزده‌ساله اما همین که اورا دیدند دریافتند. آنچه امکان داشت و فروتنی نموده از آمدن خویش و از مقصود خود اورا خبر دادند و الحاح کردند که «آن پسر مبارك‌را بنما که برهبری ستاره از راه دراز آمده‌ایم برای دیدن و پرستیدن او.» مریم همچنین کرد و همین نظر ایشان [ل۲۵] بر روی مبارک آن پسر افتاد بالهام خاص خدا شناختند که اینست آنکه در جست‌وجوی او بوده‌ایم. بر روی افتادند و اورا سجده کردند همچنانکه خداوند خودرا [2005.145.7b] و بتمام عاجزی می‌پرستیدند [ASI.69] و قربانیها که آورده بودند پیش او نهادند که هرکدام سه چیز آورده بود: طلا و لبان و مر. هر یکی این چیزها گذرانید و همچون دانایان درین وانمودند آنچه ازو[1] دریافته بودند. در لبان اقرار بخدائی او کردند که لبان جز در قربانیهای خدا نمیگذرانیدند و در مر این که آدمی است مردنی و در طلا به پادشاه و بخداوند خود. بعد ازان دوشیزه‌را از چنان پسر مبارک یاد گفتند و از آنچه بالهام خدا ازو یافته بودند بیان کردند و از خجسته مریم و یوسف پاک اسرار آمدن مسیح شنیدند بتمام خوشی و راحت جان. و اینجا اندک مدة ماندند چراکه فرشته ایشان‌را در خواب گفته بود که بگردید و سوی هرودس نروید. پس مریم مقدس‌را التماس رخصت کرده و دعای برکت از جانب پسر خواسته و عهد کرده بخدمتکاری خود و دادن خبر همگنان ازانچه دیده بودند بآرامش دل ازو جدا شدند و بملکهای خود رفتند [ASI.70] بی‌آنکه بسوی بیت المقدس روند چنانچه فرشته بایشان حکم کرده بود. این هر سه پادشاه بسیار دانا بودند، خاصه در علم ریاضی. نامهای ایشان [ل۲۵ب] اینست: میل‌چِیُور[2]، کسپار و بلتسار.

1. C – ازو.
2. Miscopied in C as مسیل‌چیور: from the Portuguese pronunciation of Melchior, it should be میل‌چیور, as in L. The names of the other two kings, Caspar and Balthasar, are correctly rendered in Persian.

بعد ازانکه حضرت ایشوع صاحب ما بآسمان برآمد و رسولان او هر سوی دنیا رفتند دوازدهم[3] رسول تُمی نام در ملک ایشان رفت و از انجیل مسیح خبر داد و آن هر سه‌را عمادا کرد، یعنی بآب پاک شست‌وشو داد چنانچه در انجیل حکم است. و چون مردم بسیار در ولایت ایشان بدین حضرت عیسی آمدند و کرستیان شدند این هر سه‌را پیسپُس کرد، یعنی سردار در کار دین، چراکه ایشان ملکهای خودرا گذاشته بفقرا دادند[4] تا در حالت فقیری بهتر بندگی کنند. پادشاه پادشاهانرا که اورا در چندین فقیری دیده بودند که بواسطهٔ مردم و تعلیم ایشان اختیار کرده بود. بعد از مردن تنهای ایشان باستنبول برده شدند و از آنجا بشهر [میلان و از آنجا بشهر[5]] کلونیه [ASI.71] و تا این زمان در آنجا هستند و مردم قبرهای ایشان‌را بتمام حرمت پاسبانی میکنند.

این پادشاهان روز سیزدهم از ولادت مسیح رسیدند و ازین آمدن ایشان پیغمبران خدا خبر داده بودند. داؤد در هفتاد و یکم فصل زبور از مسیح سخن‌کنان میگوید «پادشاهان عرب و سبا پیشکشها آرند و پادشاهان زمین اورا پرستند»[6] و ایشعیا پیغمبر در باب شصتم اینچنین گفت «برخیز و روشن شو، ای اوریشلیم، که روشنائی تو [ل۲۶] رسید و بزرگواری خداوند بر تو تابید که هرآینه ظلمتها زمین‌را فرو گیرند و تیرگی سخت کردارهارا اما بر تو خداوند

3. C دوازده.
4. C بدند.
5. – C.
6. Psalm 72:10–11: מַלְכֵי שְׁבָא וּסְבָא אֶשְׁכָּר יַקְרִיבוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲווּ־לוֹ כָּל־מְלָכִים (Vulgate, Psalm 71:10–11) *reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent et adorabunt eum omnes reges terræ:* The kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts. Yea, all kings shall fall down before him.

طالع شود و بزرگواری او در تو هویدا گردد. و امتها بروشنائی تو روان شوند و پادشاهان در نور ولادت تو. بلند کن چشمان خودرا در نواحی و ببین این همه مردم جمع شدند و آمدند برای تو. پسران تو از دور آیند و دختران از پهلو برخیزند. آن زمان بینی و سیر شوی و دل تو گشاده گردد هنگامی که کثرة[1] دریا بسوی تو برگردد و نیروی [ASI.72] امتها بتو بیاید. موج موج شتران ترا فرو گیرند و جمازهای مدین و ایفا[2]؛ همگنان از سبا بیایند: و طلا و لبان ببارند و خداوندرا بستایند.»[3] آنچنان شد چنانکه گذارش یافت.

بردن مسیح بعبادتخانه

چنانچه حکم دین بود که خوردان‌را روز هشتم ختنه کنند همچنین حکم بود که هر مادر که پسر زاید از خانهٔ خود تا چهل روز بیرون نرود و هرکه دختر زاید هشتاد روز بیرون نیاید و چون مدت تمام شود خودرا پاک ساخته بعبادتخانه رود و از جانب خود قربانی بخدا گذراند و هم حکم بود که هر نر گشاینده شکم مادر خودرا برده شود بعبادتخانه و سپرده آید بخدا همچون خاصهٔ او و عوض او [ل۲۶ب] پنج مثقال داده از خدا باز خریده شود. حکمت خداوندی درین حکم آن بود که بپا دارند ازان وقت که خدا در زمین مصر همه نرینها گشاینده شکم مادران کشت تا باین عقوبت فرعون بنی اسرائیل‌را رخصت دهد که بروند بزمینی که موسی بحکم خدا همی‌خواست ببرد. پس مخجسته مریم تا این دو حکم بجا آرد بعبادتخانه رفت [ASI.73] و پسررا همراه خود برد و آنچه بایستی کرد و قربان گذرانید موافق حکم توریت دو کبوتر یا دو جفت قمری.

دران زمان پیری بود از کاهنان شمعون نام، دادگر و نیکوکار خداترس و منتظر بیغمی بنی اسرائیل و روح القدس باو بود و چون دریافت که آن وقت که پیغمبران پیشین برای آمدن مسیح نشان داده بودند رسیده پیوسته انتظار می‌برد که اورا بچشم خود به‌بیند و خدا دعا و زاری او قبول کرده بدو فرموده بود که «تا مسیح‌را بچشم خود نه‌بینی مرگ‌را نخواهی دید.» طور این الهام آن بود که این شمعون دانا و استاد یهودان بوده و در مدرسهٔ بیت المقدس کتابهای خدا درس میگفت. چون باین سخن ایشعیا رسید: «اینک عالمه آبستن

1. C کسرة.

2. ایفا *Īfā* transcribed from the Latin, Epha; it should be عیفه (< עֵיפָה *ʿEphāh*).

3. Isaiah 60:1–6: קוּמִי אוֹרִי כִּי בָא אוֹרֵךְ וּכְבוֹד יהוה עָלַיִךְ זָרָח: כִּי־הִנֵּה הַחֹשֶׁךְ יְכַסֶּה־אֶרֶץ וַעֲרָפֶל לְאֻמִּים וְעָלַיִךְ יִזְרַח יהוה וּכְבוֹדוֹ עָלַיִךְ יֵרָאֶה: וְהָלְכוּ גוֹיִם לְאוֹרֵךְ וּמְלָכִים לְנֹגַהּ זַרְחֵךְ: שְׂאִי־סָבִיב עֵינַיִךְ וּרְאִי כֻּלָּם נִקְבְּצוּ בָאוּ־לָךְ בָּנַיִךְ מֵרָחוֹק יָבֹאוּ וּבְנֹתַיִךְ עַל־צַד תֵּאָמַנָה: אָז תִּרְאִי וְנָהַרְתְּ וּפָחַד וְרָחַב לְבָבֵךְ כִּי־יֵהָפֵךְ עָלַיִךְ הֲמוֹן יָם חֵיל גּוֹיִם יָבֹאוּ לָךְ: שִׁפְעַת גְּמַלִּים תְּכַסֵּךְ בִּכְרֵי מִדְיָן וְעֵיפָה כֻּלָּם מִשְּׁבָא יָבֹאוּ זָהָב וּלְבוֹנָה יִשָּׂאוּ וּתְהִלֹּת יהוה יְבַשֵּׂרוּ: *Surge, inluminare, Jerusalem, quia venit lumen tuum, et gloria Domini super te orta est. Quia ecce tenebræ operient terram, et caligo populos; super te autem orietur Dominus, et gloria ejus in te videbitur. Et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo, et reges in splendore ortus tui. Leva in circuitu oculos tuos, et vide: omnes isti congregati sunt, venerunt tibi; filii tui de longe venient et filiæ tuæ in latere sugent. Tunc videbis, et afflues; mirabitur et dilatabitur cor tuum; quando conversa fuerit ad te multitudo maris; fortitudo gentium venerit tibi. Inundatio camelorum operiet te, dromedariæ Madian et Epha; omnes de Saba venient, aurum et thus deferentes, et laudem Domino annuntiantes:* Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee. And the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see: all they gather themselves together, they come to thee: thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side. Then thou shalt see, and flow together, and thine heart shall fear, and be enlarged; because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee. The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense; and they shall show forth the praises of the Lord.

میشود و می‌زاید.»[1] چون ازین کلمهٔ عالمه بعد از ملاحظه رسم خط عبری دانست که دوشیزه در حالت دوشیزگی زاید در وسوسه افتاد و در فکر شد که چگونه تواند بود که بکر با وجود بکری زاید. [ل۲۷] همانا که سهو کاتب باشد و تا [ASI.74] شاگردان‌را منشأ غلط نشود اورا اصلاح داد تا ایشان‌را ازین حروف لازم نشود اعتقاد کردن برین که دوشیزه باوجود دوشیزگی می‌زاید. روز دیگر چون بمدرسه آمد آن حرف تراشیده‌را همچنانکه بود یافت و باز تراشید. روز دیگر همچنان یافت. سه مرتبه اینچنین شد و چون خداترس و نیکوکار بود بزاری بسیار از خدا درخواست که آن سر پوشیده‌را بر وی ظاهر کند. بعد از زمانی فرشته برو ظاهر شد و اورا ملامت کرد که «چرا اصلاح در نوشتهای خدا کردی؟ اما چون به نیت نیک کرده بودی بر تو عذاب نازل نکرد[2] بلکه او ترا خبر میدهد که هرآینه براستی دوشیزه میزاید در حالت دوشیزگی.» و هم گفت که «خواهی دید بچشم خود دوشیزه و مسیح‌را پیش ازانکه بمیری.» از آنچه دید و شنید شاد گردید و از کرده پشیمان شد و منتظر بود اورا که آرزوی او برده میشد برای علاج بنی اسرائیل.

پس درین روز پسررا بعبادتخانه می‌بردند او نیز بکشش خدا بهیکل [2005.145.8a] رفت و درآمده منتظر بود که کجا خواهم دید اورا که چندان مطلوبست؟ مادر و پسررا دید و هرچند که فقیرانه درآمدند ایشان‌را شناخت و پیش مریم رفته بتمام ادب و بآب چشم[3] از چنان پسر مبارکباد گفت و تسبیح آغاز کرد [2005.145.8b] بشکر اینک آرزوی [ل۲۷ب] او بجا آمد. و از خجسته دختر رخصت گرفته آن پسر گرامی[4] را بهر دو دست گرفت بتمام فروتنی و نرمی دل و تسبیح‌گویان بخدا گفت «اکنون ای خداوند من، روانه میکنی بندهٔ خودرا بسلامتی همچنانکه گفتی چراکه چشمان من دیدند خلاصی ترا آنکه وعده دادی که در روی همه امتها، آنکه نورست برای روشن کردن امتها و بزرگواریست برای گروه اسرائیل[5].» و بغیر این خدارا و مسیح و مادررا ستایشها گفت و بر مادر و پسر دعای برکت خواند بروش کاهنان و بمادر خبر داد از آنچه برود و بر پسر او خواهد گذشت و گفت «این بچه موضوعیست برای افتادن و برخاستن بسیاری از اسرائیل و نشانهٔ مخالفت» بیان معنی که مغروران‌را خواهد انداخت و متواضعان‌را خواهد برداشت و آنکه بدکاران و اکثر دنیا باو و دین او مخالفت خواهند کرد، خاصه یهودان که در کمین او خواهند بود تا اورا بکشند و هم گفت «و ازجان تو [ASI.77] خواهد گذشت نیزه» باشارت آنکه جفاها که بسر او خواهد کشید و بکاهش تمام و دلسوزی خواهد دید.

1. Isaiah 7:14: הִנֵּה הָעַלְמָה הָרָה וְיֹלֶדֶת בֵּן *ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium:* Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son. In the Persian translation the Hebrew word עַלְמָה *'almāh* 'damsel, virgin' has been retained as عالمه *'ālima*, which could only mean 'learned woman' in Persian. The Arabic غلام *ghulām* 'young boy' is cognate with the Hebrew עֶלֶם *'elem* 'lad' and עַלְמָה *'almāh* 'damsel,' but the Arabic عالم/عالمة *'ālim/'ālima* has nothing to do with lads and lasses. Previously (ASI.272/L10), *'almāh/virgo* was translated correctly as دوشیزه *doshīza* 'maiden.' The mistranslation shows that Father Jerome had the underlying Hebrew in mind.

2. L کرد.

3. C وابجشم.

4. C گدامی.

5. Luke 2:29–32: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine secundum verbum tuum in pace: Quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, Quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum. Lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam plebis tuæ Israel.* Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

می‌شناسد آنه مسیح‌را

در همین زمان پارسا زنی آنه نام که مردم اورا پیغمبر میگفتند رسید. این آنه دختر فنویل بوده از قبیله اسیر. در این زمان پیر هشتاد وچهار[1] ساله بود. هفت سال بشوهر خود در جوانی گذرانید. بعد ازان بیوه شد و از هیکل بیرون نرفت. دایم در نماز و روزه بود و در بندگی [ل۲۸] خدا شب و روز. و اعتقاد مردم آنست که تعلیم میکرد دختران‌را که در هیکل پرورش میگرفتند و در میان اینها خجسته مریم‌را نیز تربیت کرد و باو همزبانی بسیار داشت. چون از عنایت خدا یافته بود که مسیح ازین خواهد برآمد پس این پارسا نیز درین زمان رسید و مسیح‌را شناخت و سپاس بسیار خدارا گفت و خبر داد بآنانکه انتظار او می‌بردند که اینست مسیح. و بیاد این سر بزرگ عید کرده شد بتمام شادی در شهر استنبول در زمان ستینیانه[2] کلان قیصر [ASI.78] که قریب پانصد و هفتاد سال از ولادت عیسی بود و سبب آن شد که دران شهر بیشمار مردم میمردند و علاج نمی‌یافتند. از چارهٔ آن عاجز آمده خجسته مریم‌را شفیع گرفتند و عهد کردند که اگر ازین مرگی خلاص می‌یابیم این روزرا عید میکنیم و در حال این وبا برطرف شد. عید کردند و در بعضی شهرهای دیگر هم رواج گرفت. بعد ازان در سال هشتصد و هشتاد و هشت بحکم پاپه[3] سیرشیو[4] نام در تمام نصاری رواج گرفت و روش این عید آنست که نصرانیان جمع می‌شوند و هرکس یک شمع افروخته بدست میدارد که پادری[5] کلان دعای برکت بران خوانده بدست او داده است و بترتیب تمام از کلیسیا بکلیسیای دیگر میروند یا گرد کلیسیای میگردند بیاد آن حرکت که [ل۲۸ب] دوشیزه و یوسف و آنه و شمعون و دیگران کرده بودند هنگامی که مسیح‌را در عبادتخانه می‌بردند تا در جای خاص موافق دین خود بخدا سپارند و شمعهای افروخته که در دست میدارند اشارتست [ASI.79] بایمان زنده که بر عیسی دارند.

رفتن مسیح بمصر

چون این حکم بجای آمد دوشیزه و یوسف بکودک خود سوی[6] ناصره که شهر ایشان بود روان شدند و در بیت المقدس بر زبانها ماند که مسیح زاده شد. اندک زمانی در خانه خود بقرار بودند چراکه فرشته از آسمان آمده یوسف‌را در خواب گفت «برخیز و کودک و مادر اورا بگیر و بمصر بگریز و در آنجا باش تا زمانی که ترا بگویم که هرودس بسیار خواهد کوشید تا کودک‌را بیابد و بکشد.» یوسف آنچنان کرد و بتمام تاکید و پوشیدگی پسر و مادررا بمصر برد و آنجا هفت سال بود. ازین گریختن ارمیا[7] پیغمبر بمسیح خطاب کنان گفته بود «ای خداوند، چرا مسافر میشوی در زمینهای بیگانه؟»[8] و ایشعیا گفت «ناگاه خداوند برآمد بر ابر سبک و درآید بمصر و بتها پیش روی او افتند»[9] و آنچنان شد اگرچه آن

1. C – وچهار.
2. C ستینیانه; L ستنیایه. Probably intended to be شستینیانو *Shustīniyānō* for Justiniano = Justinian I (r. 525–65).
3. C بایه.
4. سیرشیو *Sērshiyō* for the Portuguese pronunciation of Sergio (Sergius II, r. 844–47; Sergius III, r. 904–11).
5. C یادری.
6. L – سوی.
7. C ازمیان.
8. Jeremiah 14:8: לָמָּה תִּהְיֶה כְּגֵר בָּאָרֶץ *quare quasi colonus futurus es in terra:* why shouldest thou be as a stranger in the land?
9. Isaiah 19:1: הִנֵּה יהוה רֹכֵב עַל־עָב קַל וּבָא מִצְרַיִם וְנָעוּ אֱלִילֵי מִצְרַיִם מִפָּנָיו *Ecce Dominus ascendet super nubem levem, et ingredietur Ægyptum, et commovebuntur simulacra Ægypti a facie*

مردم بچه‌را نشناختند چنانچه او بود اما یوسف و مریم آشنائی چنانچه باید میکردند و از عفت [۴۱ب] و نیکوکاری ایشان حیران می‌بودند و اگرچه بیگانه میزیستند اما [ل۲۹] بعضی مردم ایشان‌را بسیار دوست میداشتند و اختلاط میکردند. نزدیک شهر منفیس که اکنون اورا مصر کلان میخوانند چشمهٔ آب است که آنجا خجسته دختر پرچهای بچه می‌شست و ازان چشمه سیراب میشود زمینی که ازان می‌برآید بلسان که آن‌را تمام عالم ارجمند میدارد و نوشته شده است که چون ساکنان آن زمین خواستند که آن باغ‌را کلان سازند و درختهای بلسان بسیار نشاندند اما آن درختها میوه نمیداد تا آنکه خیال کردند که اگر آبی که دران حضرت عیسی و پرچهای او شسته شده باین درختها میرسد میوه میدهد. بنابرین جوی آب آن باغ‌را رسانیدند بجوئی که می‌برآید از چشمهٔ مسیح و ازین هر دو یک جوی گردید و چنان شد که هر زمینی که بدین آب سیراب شد بلسان بار بارد.

قتل معصومان

[ASI.59] هرودس منتظر بود و رسیدن پادشاهان شرق در نظر داشت و چون پیش او نیامدند اندیشه کرد که اورا که می‌جستند نیافته باشند و از شرمندگی راه دیگر گرفته رفته‌اند. درینولا اورا به پسران خود خصومت شد. بطلب قیصر برومه رفت و صلح کرده برگشت. در راه خبر یافت که آن سه پادشاه خبردهان از آنچه دیده بودند کشتی سوار بسوی ملکهای خود رفتند. ازین خبر بسیار غمناک شد و خشمین شده فرمود تا آن کشتیهارا سوختند و به بیت المقدس رسیده در جستن آن بچه [ل۲۹ب] شد. چون خبر یافت که اورا بعبادتخانه آورده بودند و بعضی مردم گواهی دادند که مسیح است و ستایشها گفتند بر خود واجب دید که بلاتوقف علاج کند و نگذارد که کلان شود. پس قرار داد که در بیت لحیم و نواحی او هر خوردی که کمتر از دو سال باشد بکشند. اینچنین شد بتمام سنگین‌دلی او و بغایت شورش و گریهٔ مادران و خویشان و همگنان و این بجائی رسید که تا پسر او که نزدیک بت لحیم پرورش می‌یافت درین میان کشته شد بی‌آنکه دانسته [ASI.60] شود که پسر اوست. ازین بود که اکتاویان قیصر در رومه که وقتی که ازین کشتن خبر یافت بطریق مطایبه گفت «در خانه هرودس خوک محفوظ‌ترست از پسر» یعنی چون یهود شده است حکم نخواهد کرد که خوک‌را بکشند و پسر خودرا کشت. دانسته نشد که چه مقدار خوردان کشته شدند اما این دانسته آمد که بسیار کشته شدند چون هرکه از دو سال نگذشته بود دران زمین کشته شد و از احتیاط کار خویش راضی نشد که یکساله‌را نکشند. این بچگان‌را که بواسطهٔ حضرت عیسی کشته شدند در حساب شهیدان میشماریم و نصارا اینهارا بسیار حرمت میدهند. پیش ازین ارمیا پیغمبر گفته بود که «در زمان مسیح در زمین رکیل (یعنی در زمین بت لحیم که گور رکیل آنجاست) بسیار گریه و نالش باشد در مادران بواسطهٔ مرگ پسران بی‌آنکه ایشان‌را تسلی شود.»[1] [ل۳۰] این ظلم هرودس بیجزای خدا نماند زیرا که بعد از اندک زمانی دران ملک رنجها دید و زخمهای کلان و دردهای عجیب

ejus: the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt: and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence.

1. A rather free rendering of Jeremiah 31:15: קוֹל בְּרָמָה נִשְׁמָע נְהִי בְּכִי תַמְרוּרִים רָחֵל מְבַכָּה עַל־בָּנֶיהָ מֵאֲנָה לְהִנָּחֵם עַל־בָּנֶיהָ כִּי אֵינֶנּוּ, *vox in excelso audita est lamentationis: luctus, et fletus Rachel plorantis filios suos, et nolentis consolari super eis, quia non sunt,* A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping: Rachel weeping for her children refused to be comforted for her children, because they were not.

کشید. باوجود چندان طبیبان علاج نیافت و [ASI.61] کار بحدی رسید که از درد دل‌گزیدگی خودرا بکارد کشت و مردم‌را آسایش شد. ارکلاو[1] نام پسر او جانشین او گردید و خطاب پادشاهی یافت و بر وی پادشاهی بیت المقدس ختم شد چراکه رمانیان بعد ازان اسم پادشاهی در بیت المقدس بر هیچکس روا نداشتند.

برگشتن مسیح از مصر

درین هنگام یوسف و دوشیزه و بچه در مصر می‌بودند چنانچه گفته شد. شبی یوسف‌را در خواب فرشته گفت که «باز گرد بزمین خویش که هرودس که طفل‌را برای کشتن میجست مرده است.» باین بشارت از مصر برآمده‌اند و خوبی و پاکیزگی اختلاط بسیار مردم‌را دوستدار و مشتاق خود گذاشتند. درین سخن بجا آمد آنچه خدا بزبان اوسیا[2] پیغمبر گفته بود «و اینست از مصر طلبیدم پسر خودرا.»[3] چون یوسف با مریم و بچه در ملک خود درآمد و دید که ارکلاو پسر هرودس در بیت المقدس پادشاه است ترسید که مبادا که بپادشاهی ظلم پدررا نیز بمیراث گرفته باشد. بسخن فرشته بشهر ناصره رفت که از توابع جلیل است چنانچه گفته شد و همین جا پسر پرورش یافت تا آنکه پسر کلان شد [ASI.62] و هر روز خودرا بزرگتر مینمود و تعجب مردم بیشتر میکرد و محبت بخود می‌افزود. [ل ۳۰ب]

مناظره کردن مسیح بعلماء یهود در هیکل

درین هنگام یوسف و دوشیزه درین ناصره می‌بودند و خودرا از رفتن به بیت المقدس در روزهای عید معاف نمیداشتند که چون چندان نیکوکار و خداپرست بودند احکام دین بتمام و کمال در عمل می‌آوردند. ازانجمله این بود که از هر طرف ملک بنی اسرائیل مردم سه مرتبه در هر سال به بیت المقدس روند، یعنی در هر سه عید بزرگ در عبادتخانه پاک بندگی کنند و آن عیدها اینست: اول عید فسی[4] که در ماه فروردین می‌باشد بیاد آن زمان که بنی اسرائیل بچندین معجزها از ملک مصر برآمدند. دوم عید پنت‌کوستیس[5] که پنجاه روز بعد از عید مذکور میشود بیاد آنکه در آن روز خدا در کوه سینا موسی‌را توریت بچندان مهابت داد. سیوم عید اِنسینیَه[6] یعنی تازگی، این در ماه آذر بود که بعد ازینکه بنی اسرائیل از بابل برآمده عبادتخانه‌را بحکم سیرو[7] پادشاه [ASI.63] بابل از سر نو عمارت کردند و برسم خود خاصهٔ خدا ساختند. مدت بسیار این خانه در امن بوده تا آنکه بعد از مرگ سکندر بزرگ انتیُک نام که ای‌پی‌فانس[8] نیز خوانده می‌شود سلطنت یافت. این مرد چیره‌دست بود و ستمکار. او حکم کرد که دران خانه پاک بتها نگاه دارند و قربانها بگذرانند و هم فرمود

1. ارکلاو *Arklāw* = Herod Archelaus, one of Herod the Great's sons.

2. C ارمیا؛ L اوسیا.

3. An inexact translation of Hosea 11:1: כִּי נַעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל וָאֹהֲבֵהוּ וּמִמִּצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לִבְנִי *Quia puer Israël, et dilexi eum; et ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum:* When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.

4. This is Passover. The Hebrew פסח *pesaḥ* is normally rendered in Perso-Arabic as فصح *fiṣḥ* (for Passover and Easter), not فسی, and it is correctly spelled on page ASI.215. Since 'Passover' is πάσχα in Greek and *pascha* in Latin, where فسی comes from is a mystery. It may be just a scribal error.

5. C بینت‌کوستَیَس; L پنت کوستیس for the Latin or Portuguese *Pentecostes.*

6. Incorrectly copied in C as اِسینَه and in L as اِنسَیْنه. It is to be read as انسینیه *ensayniya*, a transcription of the Latin name for Hanukkah, *encaenia* (< Greek ἐγκαίνια).

7. C هنیر.

8. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Seleucid ruler 175–164 B.C.

که در یک جانب عبادتخانه پسران ساده‌رو بوده باشند تا هرکس [ل ۳۱] که خواهد فساد کند و بسیار مردم بجهة بدکاری دران خانه میرفتند. یهودان ازین کار بسیار غمگین بودند تا آنکه ژُودَس مکه‌بیو[1] نام بتعصب دین برخاست و مردم بسیار گرد آورده جنگها کرد و فتح یافت و چرکتها ازان خانه برانداخت و برای پاکیزگی او بسیار چیز بجا آورد و مذبح‌را خراب ساخته از سر نو عمارت کرد و قرار یافت که درین وقت عید کنند. درین هر سه عید از هر طرف بنی اسرائیل به بیت المقدس میرفتند و یوسف هر سال بمعتاد خود میرفت.

و چون بچه دوازده‌ساله گردید چنان شد [ASI.64] که اورا نیز همراه خود بردند. بعد ازانکه از عبادت خود فارغ شده سوی خانه برگشتند بچه بیخبر ایشان در بیت المقدس ماند و سبب بیخبری آن بود که یهودان چون بعیدها میرفتند وقتی که بجای مقرر عبادتخانه میرسیدند زنان از مردان جدا می‌شدند و هر گروه بیک راهی میرفت و خوردان تا چهارده‌ساله مختار بودند که همراه مادران روند یا همراه پدران. پس چون یوسف و مریم از یکدیگر جدا میرفتند هرکدام میدانست که کودک همراه آن دیگر میرفته است. همچنین تمام روز رفتند تا آنکه شب شد و یکدیگررا دریافتند و دانستند که پسر از اول روز جدا افتاده است. پریشان شدند و تمام شب بدردمندی و جست‌وجوی گذرانیدند در میان خویشان و آشنایان جستند اما نیافتند. ناچار بسوی بیت المقدس [ل ۳۱ب] برگشتند. آن جا روز سیوم یافتند. درین دو سه روز که پسر از مادر جدا بود برای خانه و روزی احتیاج داشت اما این و [ASI.65] آن‌را فقیرانه گذرانید. شب در خانهٔ فقرا بسر برد و در روز گدائی کرده آنقدر که ضرورتش بود بدست آورد. روز سیوم مریم بعبادتخانه رفت و پسررا یافت که در میان دانایان نشسته سؤال و جواب دارد و چنان واقع شد که دران روز آنجا بسیاری از مردم دانا جمع شده بودند و در باب آمدن مسیح سخن میکردند که آوازهٔ آمدن او هر روز بلندتر میشد و آن علامات که پیغمبران گذشته نوشته بودند واقع میشدند. خجسته پسر بتمام ادب و تواضع بایشان رسید و زمانی گوش بر سخنان گوناگون ایشان نهاد و بغایت فروتنی در پرسیدن چیزها آغاز کرد و موافق مدعای خویش از پیغمبران نقلها می‌آورد بطوری که اینهارا در فکری انداخت و بدادن جوابهای دانایانه که عقلهای ایشان‌را اسیر میگردانیده تعجب می‌افزود. درین گفت‌وگو بود که مادر اورا دید و دلش قرار شد. خدارا شکر بسیار گفت و تاخیر کرد تا زمانی که مجلس تمام شد و علما تحسین‌کنان کودک‌را بخانهای خود بازگشتند و بسیاری از شنیدن نقلها و [ASI.66] نکتها که او می‌آورد برآمدن مسیح تصدیق کردند و اورا می‌ستودند. او نیز بجائی که مادرش انتظار می‌برد رفت. مادر بتمام شادی اورا برگرفت و گفت [ل ۳۲] «ای پسر، چرا اینچنین بما کردی؟ من و پدر تو بشورش سخت ترا میجستیم.» یوسف‌را پدر میخواند که دران زمان اورا بجای پدر میدانستند. خجسته پسر جواب داد «برای چه مرا می‌جستید؟ نمیدانستید که مرا باید که در جیزهای پدر خویش مشغول باشم؟» اینست اول سخن که منقول است از حضرت عیسی در انجیل و درین وانموده است که همه چیز خواهد گذاشت تا آنکه حظ آنچنان مادر برای رضاجوئی پدر خود که خداست و همراه ایشان بناصره آمد و همانجا در اطاعت مادر و یوسف می‌بود و هرچند کلان میشد خودرا بهتر مینمود و مردم بیشتر مایل او میشدند. و

1. C ژودس مکه‌بیو for Judas Macabeu, the Portuguese for Judas Maccabæus. Read ژودش بیو L ;ژُوْدَشْ مکه بیو

چون در ناصره پرورش گرفت اورا ناصری میخوانند چنانچه پیغمبران ازو گفته بودند که ناصری خوانده خواهد شد. ازینست که تابعان اورا نصرانی میخوانند چنانچه از عیسی عیسویان خوانده میشود [ASI.67] و از نام کریست کریستیان[1]. در زمان خوردسالی و جوانی به بندگی و عبادت و پرهیزگاری میگذرانید و مادر خودرا و یوسف‌را که ظاهر پدر او بود فرمان می‌برد. درین هنگام که ایشوع پانزده‌ساله بود اوگوست قیصر بمرد و طیباریوس قیصر جانشین او شد. و تا زمانی که سال مسیح قریب بسی رسید هرگز تعلیم نداد و مردم‌را بسوی دین نخواند.

1. C کریسان.

باب دویم

در معجزها و تعلیم مسیح

برآمدن یوحنا از بیابان و خبر دادن او از مسیح

چون وقت رسید که خودرا ظاهر کند خدا خواست که نخست یوحنا از بیابان بیرون آید که از پنج‌سالگی تنها دران میگذرانید و ریاضت میکرد تا مردم‌را بیاموزد و مسیح‌را بشناسند. پس در سال پانزدهم سلطنت طیباریوس قیصر دران هنگام که حاکم ملک یهودا فونسیو پلاتس بود در جلیل هرودس و در ایتوریه و ولایت تراخونا فلیپ برادر او در ابیلان لوسانیاس[1] و در بیت المقدس سردار کاهنان حنان و قیافا بودند.[2] حکم خدا بیوحنا پسر زکریا در بیابان رسید که «بیرون [ASI.68] آی و مردم‌را بیاموز که توبه کنند و بخدا باز گردند» چنانچه ایشعیا ازو نوشته بود. پس یوحنا برآمد بلباس پشم شتران، درازریش، مو سر کلان و افتاده بر بدن، بسیار ضعیف و باریک، هر دو رخساره فرو رفته، زنار چرم بر میان، سر و پا برهنه. چنانکه دیدن او حیرت میآورد. خوردنی او ملخ و انگبین بیابان بوده. اگرچه سی‌ساله بود اما از باریکی و نزاری کهن‌سال مینمود. بر کنار دریای اوردن[3] رسید و شروع در تعلیم مردم کرد و میگفت «توبه کنید که ملکوت آسمان نزدیک رسیده است.» سخنان میگفت بچندان صلابت و شکوه و خود بطوری بود و چنان مینمود که آواز بلند شد و هر جنس مردم گروه گروه پیش او می‌آمدند از لشکریان و سوداگران و دهقانیان و دانایان و کاهنان و مالکان ملک و هرکدام‌را موافق حال او پند میداد و گفتار و کردارش چنان بود که در دلهای مردم تاثیر میکرد و هرکه بخدا بازگشت و اقرار [ل۳۳] بگناهان خود میکرد اورا بآب آن دریا عمادا میداد و بنشان این که خدا جانرا میشوید [folio in a private collection in England, side b] و آمرزش میکند. فریسین[4] را که پیش او برای عمادا گرفتن می‌آمدند میگفت «ای بچگان مار افعی که بیان کرد بشما گریختن از خشم آینده؟ اکنون میوهای شایسته‌تر بیارید و نگوئید باندرون خود پدر داریم ابراهیم. [بدرستی میگویم بشما که خدای توانائی دارد که ازین سنگها برای ابراهیم] پسران پیدا کند. هرآینه تبر بر بیخ درختان نهاده شد. هر درخت که میوهٔ خوب ندهد بریده

1. C لوسانیان؛ L لوسانیا.

2. Luke 3:1–2: *Anno autem quintodecimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris, procurante Pontio Pilato Judæam, tetrarcha autem Galiæ Herode, Philippo autem fratre ejus tetrarcha Iturææ, et Trachonitidis regionis, et Lysania Abilinæ tetrarcha, sub principibus sacerdotum Anna et Caipha...*: Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituraea and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests....

3. Father Jerome usually spells the Jordan River as اوردن *Ūrdun*. Only once (ASI.95) does he write it as it is normally spelled in Persian, اردن *Urdunn* (< הַיַּרְדֵּן *hay-Yardēn*).

4. فریسین *farīsīn*: Father Jerome uses this form as both singular and plural of Pharisees (< φαρισαῖοι < Aramaic פרישין *prīšīn* ‘separate ones.’

گردد و در آتش انداخته شود.» جمعی از وی پرسیدند که «ما چکار کنیم؟» جواب داد و گفت «هرکرا دو جامه باشد یکتا بآن کس بدهد که ندارد و هرکرا طعامها باشد همچنین کند.»

سودخواران آمدند تا عمادا گیرند و گفتند که «ای آموزگار، ما چه کنیم؟» بایشان گفت «نگیرید زیاده از آنچه بتاکید شمارا فرموده شد.» سرهنگان پرسیدند که «ما چه کنیم؟» جواب داد که «هیچکس‌را ستم نکنید و کس‌را نزنید و ببخش خود قانع شوید.» چون امت‌را برو گمان میشد و همه در خود می‌اندیشیدند که او شاید که مسیح باشد یوحنا جواب داد [ASI.75] و گفت «منم که شمارا عماداب می‌کنم بنشان توبه، و زود باشد که بیاید بعد از من آنکه از من قوی‌تر و گرامی‌تر است. من شایستهٔ آن نیستم که دوال موزهٔ او بگشایم. او شمارا بروح القدس و بآتش عمادا کند آنکه چهارشافه در دست اوست و خرمنهای خودرا [ل۳۳ب] پاک خواهد کرد و گندم‌را در خورزینهای خود جمع خواهد ساخت و کاه‌را خواهد سوخت بآتشی که نمیرد.» این طور چیزها امت‌را می‌آموخت. آوازه بلند شد، هرکس ازو سخن میگفت. دانایان و کاهنان بیت المقدس که چندان چیزها ازو شنیدند و دیدند چون در انتظار مسیح بودند از آوازهٔ او که در مردم افتاده بود و از کمال گرفتن آن چیزها که پیغمبران پیشین ازو گفته بودند اندیشه میکردند که مسیح باشد که گفتار و کردار او و چندان عجیب است. و از آنجا که از قبیلهٔ یهودا نبود که از جمله شرایط مسیح است و هیچ معجز نمی‌نمود، باز در شک می‌شدند. آخر قرار دادند که همان یوحنارا درین کار حاکم گیرند و هرچه او بگوید اعتقاد کنند[1]. [ASI.76] پس چندی از پیران و کاتبان و کاهنان فرستادند که یوحنارا از جانب بزرگ کاهنان و دیگر ساکنان بیت المقدس پرسند. فرستادگان بتمام فروتنی از وی پرسیدند که «تو کیستی؟» او که مقصود ایشان فهمیده بود جواب داد که «من مسیح نیستم.» گفتند «کیستی؟ الیائی؟» گفت «نیستم.» باز گفتند که «یکی از پیغمبران بزرگ هستی؟» گفت «نه.» پس گفتند «تو کیستی؟ بگو تا بآنانکه مارا فرستاده‌اند جواب گوئیم. تو از خود چه میگوئی؟» جواب داد که «منم فریادکننده در بیابان چنانچه ایشعیا پیغمبر گفت: هموار کنید راههای برای خداوند.»

اگرچه بجهت ادای مقصود بسنده بود آنچه یوحنا گفته است اما برای شادابی سخن [ل۳۴] لایق نمود که آنچه ایشعیا درین باب در کتاب خود آورده مذکور کرده شود و ترجمهٔ گفتار او اینست: «تسلی شوید، ای گروه من، میفرماید خدای شمایان. بگوئید سخنان فرح‌بخش به اوریشلیم و آن‌را سوی خود بخوانید زیراکه انجام گرفت [بدی و بخشنده شد گناه او. دو تا نعمت گرفت[2] از دست خداوند بسبب گناهان خویش. آواز بانگ کننده [2005.145.9a] در بیابان گفت ساخته کنید راههای خداوند. هموار سازید در بیابان هنجار خدای ما. همه پستها بلند شوند که کوهها و کوچها پست گردد و راه کج راست شود و دشوار بآسانی گراید چراکه بزرگواری خدا پیدائی گیرد و هر گوشتمند[3] سلامت خدا بیند.»[4]

1. C کند.

2. C –.

3. C کوشمند.

4. Isaiah 40:1–5: נַחֲמוּ נַחֲמוּ עַמִּי יֹאמַר אֱלֹהֵיכֶם: דַּבְּרוּ עַל־לֵב יְרוּשָׁלַם וְקִרְאוּ אֵלֶיהָ כִּי מָלְאָה צְבָאָהּ כִּי נִרְצָה עֲוֹנָהּ כִּי לָקְחָה מִיַּד יהוה כִּפְלַיִם בְּכָל־חַטֹּאתֶיהָ: קוֹל קוֹרֵא בַּמִּדְבָּר פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יהוה יַשְּׁרוּ בָּעֲרָבָה מְסִלָּה לֵאלֹהֵינוּ: כָּל־גֶּיא יִנָּשֵׂא וְכָל־הַר וְגִבְעָה יִשְׁפָּלוּ וְהָיָה הֶעָקֹב לְמִישׁוֹר וְהָרְכָסִים לְבִקְעָה: וְנִגְלָה כְּבוֹד יהוה וְרָאוּ כָל־בָּשָׂר יַחְדָּו *Consolamini, consolamini, populе meus, dicit Deus vester. Loquimini ad cor Jerusalem, et advocate eam, quoniam completa est malitia ejus, dimissa est iniquitas illius: suscepit de manu Domini duplicia*

ایشان سراسیمه شدند و گفتند «اگر تو نه مسیحی و نه ایلیا و نه دیگر پیغمبر، پس چرا عمادا میکنی؟» او جواب داد و گفت «من عمادا بآب میکنم اما در میان شمایان هست آنکه شما اورا نمی‌شناسید. اوست آنکه می‌آید پس از من و بیش از من است و من سزاوار آن نیستم که دوال موزهٔ او بگشایم.» باین جواب برگشتند و مردم حیرت می‌نمودند ازین که میگفت مسیح در میان شما میگردد و نمی‌شناسید. این در بتانیا بود آن روی دریای اوردن.

روزی تعلیم میداد و مردم بسیار گرد او بودند و ناگاه مسیح خداوند ما آمد. یوحنا اورا نمی‌شناخت چون هرگز ندیده بود چراکه در صحرا کلان شده بود، اما از جانب خدا الهام داشت [2005.145.9b] که کبوتری آید و سر او نشیند. [ل۳۴ب] چون نزدیک رسید کبوتر آمد و بالای سر او نشست. یوحنا باین نشان اورا شناخته و گفت «اینست برهٔ خدا، اینست آنکه برمیدارد گناه عالم.» [۵۱ = ASI.97] در گفتن بره اشارت بعصمت او بود و درین که گناه عالم برمیدارد اشارت کرد بیک عملی که در عبادتخانه بحکم خدا کرده می‌شد که چون گنهکار توبه میکرد و خشنودی خدا میخواست بره یکرنگ و بی‌عیب قربان میکرد و خون او بر خود می‌مالید و بخشیده میشد. و چون حضرت ایشوع‌را قربان شدن و مصلوب گشتن برای علاج گنهکاران در کار بود بنابرین یوحنا میگوید «برهٔ خدا، آنکه برمیدارد گناهان دنیا.» و هم گفت «آنکه ازو گفته بودم پس از من آید مردی که بیش از من است چراکه از من قدیم‌تر بوده است و من اورا نمی‌شناختم اما تا بنی اسرائیل‌را ظاهر شود بنابرین من آمده‌ام و بآب عمادا میکنم.» یوحنا گواهی داد و گفت «براستی من دیده‌ام روح‌را که در آسمان فرود آمد بسان کبوتر و برو قرار گرفت و من اورا نمی‌شناختم اما آنکه مرا فرستاد تا عمادا بآب کنم او مرا گفت آنکه بالای او دیده باشی روح‌را که فرو می‌آید برو قرار می‌گیرد [ASI.98] اوست که بروح پاک عمادا میکند. من دیده‌ام، گواهی دادم که اینست پسر خدا.»

عماداء مسیح از یوحنا

خجسته ایشوع به یوحنا رسید و ازو درخواست کرد که اورا همچون دیگران عمادا کند. یوحنا نمیخواست و میگفت که «مرا باید که از تو عمادا گیرم و تو پیش من می‌آیی.» حضرت ایشوع [ل۳۵] جواب داد و گفت «اکنون بگذار چراکه اینچنین می‌باید تا ما همه دادگری بجا آریم.» حکمت درین عمادا گرفتن این بود که آن عمادا که یوحنا میکرد معتبر گردد و عمادا کردن که همچون در است برای سلامتی بنا نهد و آبها از رسیدن بدو برای آن تاثیر عجیب که در عماداست قوت گیرد. پس حضرت ایشوع بدریا درآمد و یوحنا بتمام تواضع بدست خود اورا عمادا کرد و غسل داد بانداختن آب بسر او. چون حضرة ایشوع از دریا برآمد دست بدعا برداشت و درین وانمود که نخستین کار و بزرگ‌تر که عیسوی‌را بعد از عمادا گرفتن باید کرد دعا کردنست. ناگاه آسمانها گشاده شدند و دران زمان آوازی از آسمان شنیده شد [۵۲ = ASI.99] که

pro omnibus peccatis suis. Vox clamantis in deserto: Parate viam Domini, rectas facite in solitudine semitas Dei nostri. Omnis vallis exaltabitur, et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur, et erunt prava in directa, et aspera in vias planas: et revelabitur gloria Domini, et videbit omnis caro pariter: Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that the iniquity is pardoned: for she hath received of the LORD's hand double for all her sins. The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain: And the glory of the LORD shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

میگفت «اینست پسر محبوب من که برو خشنودم.» و تا فهمیده شود که آن سخن برای کیست روح خدا دیده شد که همچون کبوتر برو می‌آمد. درین نموده شد که هرکه عمادا میگیرد آسمانها برای او گشاده میشوند و پسر محبوب خدا میشود و از گناهان که پیش ازین کرده بود پاک میگردد. درین هنگامه مسیح سی‌ساله بود.

روزه گرفتن مسیح و آمدن شیطان پیش او

چنانچه مارا از عمادا که برای سلامتی خویش خواهیم گرفت نمونه داد همچنین خواست تعلیم کند که در زمان وسوسه شیطان که در بندگی خدا صاحب خواهد آورد [ل۳۵ب] مارا چگونه باید گذرانید تا بدانیم که چگونه از دنیا کناره باید گرفت و ریاضت کشیده و خودرا ساخته کرد وقتی که خواهیم که در کاری بزرگ شروع میکنیم. بنابرین چون عمادا گرفت و خواست که بکار تعلیم آغاز کند خودرا بصحرا کشید و از مردم کناره گرفت و همانجا چهل شبانه‌روز در عبادت [ASI.100] و ریاضت بسر برد و باوجود شدت سرما و بارش غیر آسمان پناه نداشت و بجز زمین خواب‌خانه و درین مدت روزه داشت و هیچ چیز نخورد و نیاشامید. پس ازان بسیار گرسنه شد. شیطان در کمینش می‌بود و پیوسته تفحص احوال او میکرد و سراسیمگی و وهم داشت که مبادا این کس پسر خدا مسیح موعود پیغمبران باشد. بسیار چیزها اورا برین می‌آورد که اعتقاد کند که مسیح موعودست. بعضی چیزهای دیگر اورا ازین باز میداشت. یکی ازانجمله گواهی خدا بود که از آسمان آمد. دوم این که چند روز بی‌خوردن و آشامیدن گذرانید. سیوم آنکه میدید که نشانها که پیغمبران بمسیح داده بودند بجا می‌آمدند اما باوجود این چون میدید که بسان دیگر آدمیان از یوحنا عمادا گرفت و هم بسیار گرسنگی میکشید، در شک می‌افتاد و از آنجا که خودرا بهیچکس باوجود قدرت محتاج نمیدارد انگاشت که درین حالت سختی و گرسنگی حقیقت [ASI.101] [ل۳۶] او ظاهر میشود. پس بصورت مرد مرتاض و عابد پیش مسیح آمد و بعد از سلام مشتاقانه و دوستانه بریاضت کردن و سخت زیستن او ستایشها کرد و باز نمود اورا فایدها که بدیگران می‌تواند رسانید اگر در ایشان میرود و خودرا از ریاضت کردن باز میدارد. پیش او بیان کرد و گفت «اگر توئی پسر خدا چنانچه مینماید معقول نیست که خودرا از مفلسی هلاک سازی. همه در قدرت تست. چه قدر کارست که نفس خودرا به پرچه نان تسکین دهی و این قدر ازو دریغ بداری؟ من نان ندارم و نمیدانم که کدام کس داشته باشد. پس اگر پسر خدائی بفرمای تا این سنگها نان شوند.» مسیح مبارک که دران سخنان نرم خرابی مقصود او فهمیده بود اورا جواب داد و گفت «نوشته شده است که آدمی نه همین بنان میزید لیکن بهر سخنی که از دهان خدا بیرون می‌آید.» این جوابیست خاص برای آنانکه خودرا در تنگی احتیاج می‌یابند و امیدوار باشند که خدا اعلاج ایشان از غیب خواهد داد اگر سخنان شیطان [ASI.102] نمی‌شنود.

آزمایش دوم

شیطان ازین جواب بیشتر حیران شد و مایل‌تر بدین که از شک خود برآید. پس مسیح‌را به بیت المقدس برد و بر کنار برج هیکل استاده کرد. این برج بسیار بلند بوده است و زیر او دایم هجوم مردم می‌بود و گفت «نیک نمیکنی که خودرا [ل۳۶ب] پوشیده میداری. بسیار درکار است که مردم ترا بشناسند تا از تعلیم تو و از اخلاق تو فایده گیرند. پس اگر پسر خدائی خودرا فرو انداز که مکتوب است که خدا

فرشتگان خودرا از تو سفارش کرده که ترا بر دستهای خود بگیرند تا پای تو بر سنگ نیاید.» مسیح هنوز نخواست که بر مراد او کار شود بلکه جواب داد «هم نوشته شده است که صاحب خود خدارا نیازمائی» یعنی خوبست امید داشتن که خدا در خطرها و در محنتها مددکار ما خواهد بود اما نمیخواهد که بآن امید خودرا بی‌سبب در مهلکه اندازیم. آنچه مردم از خدا میخواهند این است که هر آنچه در امکان ایشان باشد بکنند و آنچه نمیتوانند خدا توفیق خود خواهد داد. بنابرین چون [ASI.103] برای فرود آمدن زینه بامست، لازم نیست که خودرا فرود اندازیم. هنوز نخواست که خودرا به شیطان وانماید و ظاهر کند که من کیستم. شیطان متکبرانه بحیرت فرو شد و شرمسارتر گشت و تشنه‌تر بدین که مقصود خودرا بانجام رساند. و همراهش گرفته بهمان بیابان برد که از آنجا آورده بود و بالای بلندی بر آورد و ملکهای دنیا بیان کرده از هر ملک و ولایت بدو نشان داد که کجاست و کدام طرف است و گفت «این همه ملکها از منند و این همه ترا میدهم اگر بر زمین افتاده مرا [ل۳۷] می‌پرستی» یعنی تو نمیخواهی گفتن مرا که کیستی. من ترا میگویم که کیم. من لوسیفر ام، یعنی آرندهٔ نور خداوند. تمام عالم و همه در زیر حکم منند. انگاشته بودم که پسر خدا بوده باشی اما دریافتم که نهٔ چه اگر می‌بودی گفتن و قبول کردن آن چه قدر کار بود؟ لیکن بهر نوع مرا مرد کلان و سزاوار تمام عزت مینمایی و من آنچه دارم برای امثال این مردم میخواهم که همه چیز ترا بدهم و بالفعل میدهم اما بشرط آنکه مرا سجده کنی و صاحب خود [ASI.104] بگیری. شیطان انگاشت که باین نیزه طمع که از هر جیبه آزموده و هر دل سخت میگذرد اورا برباید اما حضرت ایشوع جواب داد گفت «برو، ای شیطان، چراکه نوشته است که خداوند خود خدارا پرستش کنی و اورا تنها بندگی نمائی.» شیطان در حال غایب شد تیره و شرمسار.

آزمایش شیطان

شیطان درین سه آزمایش همه فریبهای خود بجا آورد، لذت تن در آزمایش اول، کاواکی حرمتهای دنیا در دوم، بزرگی و مال‌داری در سیوم. و فکر کردنی است که بازی اول در میل بخوردنی بود چراکه شیطان ازین راه بهر طور بدی می‌درآید و هم در بازی اول به بهانه نیکی درآمد که بیشتر اوقات باین روش بازی میدهد اما حضرت ایشوع در همه بازیها خودرا نگاه داشت تا بر مراد او هیچ از کم و بیش نشود و دران وقت آزمایش دست بکتاب خدا زد تا مارا بیاموزد که هنگام [ل۳۷ب] وسوسه و دشواری کار بآموختهای خدا کنیم.

شیطان سرنگون رفت و هیچ در همان [۵۵ = 2005.145.15a] بیابان ماند. درین زمان فرشتها از آسمان فرود آمدند و خوردنی برای او آوردند و خورد. [2005.145.15b] درین مارا نموده شد که اگر در حاجتمندیهای خویش محتاج بچارهٔ شیطان نمیشویم خدا علاج ما بوسیله فرشتها میکند. مسیح نانی از سنگ نخواست. خدا اورا نان از آسمان فرستاد.

برآمدن مسیح از بیابان

چون روزه تمام شد مسیح در مردم درآمد تا ایشان‌را تعلیم کند. گذر کرد بجائی که یوحنا در پند مردم بود و سخنان بلند از بیم و امید می‌گفت. مسیح‌را از دور دیده ببانگ بلند گفت «این است آنکه شمارا میگفتم که در میان شما میگردد و از من بزرگ‌تر است و آنکه هرچند پس از من می‌آید پیش از من است و من لایق نیستم که دوال موزهٔ او بگشایم» و هم گفت «این است آنکه ما همه از پری او گرفتیم نعمتی عوض

نعمتی زیرا که توریت داده شد بواسطهٔ موسی و راستی و نعمت بدست ایشوع مسیح شد. خدارا هیچکس ندید اما پسر یگانهٔ او که در کنار پدرست او خبر دهد.»

روز دیگر یوحنا با دو کس [ASI.105] از شاگردان خود استاده بود و حضرت ایشوعرا روان دید و گفت «اینک برهٔ خدا.» یکی از آن دو شاگردان اندراوس نام برادر کلان [ل۳۸] شمعون بوده چون این گواهی یوحنا شنیدند هر دو تن در پس مسیح شدند. حضرت ایشوع رو بسوی ایشان کرد و گفت «چه میجوئید؟» گفتند «ای پروردگار، کجا می‌باشی؟» مسیح فرمود «بیائید به‌بینید.» همراه او رفتند و خانهٔ حقیر دیدند. آنروز بصحبت او گذرانیدند و از سخنان او بسیاری از اسرار خدا یافتند و دانستند که راستست آنچه یوحنا گفت که این مسیح است.

روز دیگر بسوی خانهٔ خود برگشتند و از دیدن و شناختن او چندان شاد می‌آمدند که چون اندراوس برادر خود شمعون‌را دید ببانگ بلند گفت «یافتیم مسیح‌را» و اورا همراه خود پیش مسیح برد. چون مسیح شمعون‌را دید اورا گفت «توئی شمعون بن یونا. تو خوانده شوی صفا یعنی پیدرو.»

خواندن مسیح فلیب‌را

روز دیگر چون جانب جلیل روان شد [ASI.106] فلیب نام شخصی در راه پیش آمد اورا گفت «پی من بیا.» این فلیب زادهٔ بت‌سایده از شهر اندراوس بود. عقب حضرة ایشوع میرفت. و نتنیال مردی نام اورا در راه پیش آمد. فلیب اورا گفت «آنکه ازو موسی در توریت نوشت و دیگر پیغمبران خبر دادند اورا یافتیم که ایشوع بن یوسف خوانده میشود، آنکه از ناصره است.» نتنیال گفت «از ناصره چیزی خوب می‌تواند برآمد؟» فلیب گفت «بیا و ببین.» چون حضرت ایشوع نتنیال‌را دید که بسوی او می‌آید ازو خبر داد و گفت «این براستی اسرائیلی بیغش است.» [ل۳۸ب] نتنیال گفت «مرا از کجا شناختی؟» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد «پیش ازآنکه فلیب ترا بخواند وقتی که هنوز زیر درخت انجیر بودی من ترا شناختم.» پس از گفت‌وگوی بسیار نتنیال گفت «ای پروردگار، توئی پسر خدا، توئی ملک اسرائیل.» مسیح گفت «بهمین قدر که گفتم که ترا در زیر درخت انجیر دیدم بر من ایمان آوردی، هنوز[1] عظیمتر ازین خواهی دید.» و گفت «راست راست میگویم بشما که خواهید دید آسمانها گشاده و ملایکه خدارا که بالا روند و نشیب آیند بر سر آدم.»

رفتن مسیح بسوی جلیل و شروع کردن او در تعلیم مردم

چون بجلیل رسید بتعلیم مردم آغاز کرد و گفت «توبه کنید که ملکوت آسمان نزدیک شد. وقت موعود پیغمبران آمد. توبه کنید و بر انجیل ایمان بیارید.» بسیار مردم بشنیدن او هجوم کردند. آوازهٔ او و تعلیم او و معجزها که میکرد بلند شد و جمعی همچو شاگردان باو پیوستند و پیمان بستند که هرچه داریم برای خدمت تو بگذاریم. ازانجمله پیدرو بود و اندراوس برادر او که مسیح اورا پیشتر شناخته بود و او بدو پیوسته در پی او میرفتند اما بطوری که گاه گاه بکار ماهی‌گیری که حرفهٔ ایشان بود هم می‌پرداختند.

درین زمان در شهر قنا از توابع جلیل [ل۳۹] در خویشاوندان مخجسته مریم عروسی بود. مردم اورا بزاری بسیار بخانهٔ خود بردند و بواسطهٔ او مسیح‌را نیز تکلیف کردند همچون کسی که میدانست که ازو چه قدر برکت میرسد

1. One folio missing here from the Cleveland manuscript.

و چندان الحاح نمودند که او با چندی از شاگردان خود آنجا رفت. چون صاحب‌خانه کم‌مایه بود و مردم بسیار جمع شده بودند شرابی که برای مجلس آورده بود کمی کرد. مریم‌را بر صاحب‌خانه رحم آمد و از کم شدن شراب و شرمساری او غمگین شد. پنهانی پیش پسر خود آمد و اورا گفت «شراب ندارند.» و بمادر خود جواب داد «چیست مرا و ترا، ای زن؟ هنوز وقت من نرسیده است.» این بیگانگی نمودن برای این بود که وانماید که در کار خدا روی خویشان و دوستان نباید دید. بخجسته مریم همچون کسی که از دل او خبر دارد باوجود این بخدمتکاران گفت «هرچه او گوید بکنید.» رسم یهودان بود که در زمان خوردنی خوردن آب بسیار بکار میبردند و هر بار طعام بر سفره می‌آمد دست می‌شستند. بنابرین آب [۵۸ = 2005.145.13a] بسیار حاضر میداشتند و درین مجلس شش خم آب بود. حضرة ایشوع چون وقت یافت بخدمتکاران خمها فرمود لبالب کردند. پس ازان فرمود اکنون بکشید و پیش سردار ساقیان ببرید. او چون از احوال شراب و از کم شدن آن واقف بود و ندانست که این شراب [ل۳۹ب] نو از کجاست چشید و چون دریافت که بسیار خوبست صاحب‌خانه‌را طلبید و گفت «درین کار نگاه نداشتی. هرکس شراب صاف و خوب اول میدهد و چون مجلسیان خوش میشوند درد و زبون می‌آرد. تو عکس آن کردی که شراب خوب برای آخر مجلس نگاه داشتی و زبون اول آوردی.» بعد ازان معلوم شد که آب بقدرت معجزه شراب شده است. همه در تعجب شدند و شاگردان و پیروان‌را اعتقاد افزود و نتیجه این شد [2005.145.13b (no text)] [ASI.85] که یوحنا که عروسی او بوده است عروس خودرا همان طور دختر گذاشته و راضی کرده شاگرد مسیح گردید و همچنان مجرد ماند و یکی از دوازده رسول شد و عزیز او بود.

بعد ازان مسیح پیدرو و اندراوس برادر اورا که در دریا ماهی میگرفتند طلبید و گفت «پیروی من کنید. من شمارا صیاد آدمیان سازم.» ایشان دامهای خود گذاشتند و در پی او رفتند. و چون ازان جا گذشت یعقوب بن زبدی و یوحنا برادرش‌را دید که با پدر خود اصلاح دام خویش میکردند. ایشانرا بخواند. این هر دو برادر دام و پدر خود گذاشته در پای او رفتند.

از آنجا بشهر کفرنحوم[1] رفت و روزهای شنبه بعبادت‌خانه آمد و سخنان بلند و آنچنان کارگر میگفت که همه‌را بحیرة می‌آورد، خاصه آنانرا که می‌شناختند و میدانستند که از کجا آموخت. و چون وعظ بآخر میرسید [ل۴۰] معجزها نمود. بیمارانرا [ASI.86] صحت میداد و شیطان‌گرفتگان‌را خلاص میکرد. و ازین چیزها آوازهٔ او بلند شد و شهرت کرد و مردم پس او همه جا میرفتند در شهر و در صحرا. روزی بر کنار دریای جاناسر استاده بود و مردم برای شنیدن کلام خدا جمع شده بودند. دو کشتی بر کنار دریا دید، صیادان برینها برآمده بودند و دامهای خود می‌شستند. ازانجمله شمعون بود و در آن کشتی که شمعون بود درآمد و نشست. اورا گفت «اندکی از کناره کشتی‌را باز گردان» و همان جا مردم‌را تعلیم داد. چون سخن تمام کرد بشمعون فرمود که «کشتی‌را بآب عمیق بیار و دامهای خودرا برای شکار بیندازید.» شمعون جواب داد و گفت «ای آموزاننده، همه شب رنج بردیم. هیچ نگرفتیم اما بسخن تو هرآینه دام خود اندازیم.» و چون فرمان او بردند چندان ماهی گرفتند که نزدیک بود که دامهای ایشان شکافته

1. Capernaum < Καπερναούμ < כפר נחום *Kphar Naḥūm* ‘Nahum’s village,’ a fishing village on the northwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee that ceased to be inhabited in the eleventh century. It is consistently written in the text as كفرنجوم, which is the correct Arabic transcription except for the third dot.

شود. بیاران خویش که در کشتی دیگر بودند اشارت [۶۰ = ASI.87] کردند تا بیایند و ایشان‌را یاری کنند. چون آمدند هر دو سفینه‌را پر کردند چنانکه نزدیک بود که کشتیها فرو شوند. چون شمعون این‌را دید پیش قدمهای حضرت ایشوع افتاد و گفت «دور شو از من، ای خداوند من، چراکه مردی ام گنهکار.» این‌را ازان گفت که حیرت و ترس اورا [و] دیگر صیادان‌را که با او بودند فرو گرفت و حضرت ایشوع بشمعون فرمود «مترس [ل ۴۰ب] که از اکنون صیاد مردم خواهی بود.» پس سفینهارا بکنار آوردند و همه چیز گذاشته اورا پیروی کردند بطوری که دیگر ازو جدا نشدند. همچنان یوحنا و یعقوب پدر خودرا و هرچه داشتند ترک داده بالفعل گذشته عقب او رفتند و قرار دادند که هرگز ازو جدا نشدند. همچنین دیگر بسیار مردم باو پیوستند و هر جا که میرفت خیل خیل عقب او میرفتند.

رفتن مسیح به بیت المقدس

چون عید فسی که در ماه فروردین در چهاردهم ماه قمری میکردند [ASI.88] نزدیک بود به بیت المقدس رفت و آن جا آوازهٔ اخلاق و تعلیم و معجزهای او بر زبانها پیچیده بود بعبادتخانه درآمد. آنجا بسیار مردم بودند و گاو و گوسفند و کبوتر و دیگر چیزهائی که در قربانی بکار میرود میفروختند و صرافان زرها بسود میدادند و کاهنان آن خریدوفروخت روا میداشتند تا آنانکه روز عید بعبادتخانه می آیند اسباب قربانی یافته باشند. مسیح‌را این عمل بسیار بد نمود و چیزی تازیانه مانند از ریسمان ساخته گاو و گوسفندرا با فروشندگان آن زده بیرون کرد و تختها که برو زر نهاده بودند واژگون زد و کبوترفروشانرا و دیگر مردم‌را گفت که «این چیزها ازینجا برآرید و خانهٔ پدر من جای بازرگانی نسازید.» مردم ازین کار در [ل ۴۱] تعجب شدند اما آنقدر روی مبارک او تابان بود که همه‌را ترس فرو گرفت و کسی‌را یارای آن نشد که اورا ازین کار باز دارد و یاد کردند [ASI.89] تلامیذ او آنچه در زبور نوشته شد و آنست «هرآینه رشک خانهٔ تو مرا خورد.» چون این چنین کرد سرداران پیش او آمدند و گفتند «بکدام حجت این‌را منع میکنی؟ اگر به فرمودهٔ خداست نشانه بنما.» او چون از خرابی دل ایشان خبر داشت نخواست که ایشان‌را نشان دیگر دران زمان نماید لیکن فایده که از پند او خواهند گرفت وانمود، یعنی در کمین او خواهند بود تا اورا بکشند اما باوجود این بمقصود خود نخواهند رسید چراکه باز خواهد برخاست. بنابرین گفت «بشکافید این هیکل‌را که من آنرا دو سه روز استاده خواهم کرد.» ایشان درنیافتند بلکه خیال کردند که از عمارت ظاهری هیکل میگوید و گفته‌اند «چهل و شش سال درین عمارت صرف کرده شد و تو در سه روز باز عمارت خواهی کرد؟» اما او از هیکل تن خود مراد داشت و چون از میان مردگان برخاست شاگردان او بیاد آوردند که این آنچه گفته بود و بر نوشتها و کلمها که حضرة ایشوع فرموده بود تصدیق کردند.

روزی چند در پرستش [ASI.90] خانه بود و مردم‌را پند میداد. بسیار بیماران صحت [ل ۴۱ب] یافتند و کرامتها نمود چنانچه همگنان تعجب میکردند و سخنان او شنیده عقب او میرفتند و تایب می‌شدند. اما فریسین‌را حسد افزود و بسیار غمگین شدند و شروع در مخالفت او کردند و مردم‌را از همراهی او باز میداشتند و میگفتند «این مسیح نیست و تعلیم نو میکند» و معجزهای او طعن میکردند ولیکن باوجود این مردم بسیار در پی او میرفتند.

آمدن نیکادیموس پیش مسیح

درین زمان نیکادیموس نام از فریسین که سردار یهودان بود و دانا[1] پنهانی پیش مسیح آمد تا مردم اورا نبینند و گفت «استاد، میدانم که از خدا آمدهٔ زیرا که آن کارهای عجیب که تو میکنی هیچکس کردن نمی‌تواند تا خدا باو نباشد.» ایشوع بعد از چیزها اورا جواب داد «راست راست میگویم ترا اگر کسی از سر نو زاده نشود نتواند که در ملک خدا درآید.» نیکادیموس گفت «چطور تواند متولد شد آدمی که پیر است؟ مگر ممکن هست که بشکم مادر باز درآید تا باز [ASI.91] زاده شود؟» مراد مسیح درنیافت و آن اینست که همچنانکه تا آدمی از دنیا بهره‌ور شود لازم است که از شکم مادر بالفعل برآید و زاده شود که اگر بچه همیشه در آن خلوة بوده باشد از خوبیهای این جهان بهره نگیرد. همچنان برای دیدن و دریافتن برای چیزهای خدا و آسمان واجبست که آدمی از خود و از محبتی که با خود و بچیزهای خود دارد برآید و دیگر گردد و اینست ولادت دوم یعنی برآمدن [ل۴۲] از خود و از دوستی خویش. اما مسیح معنی این سخن هنوز بلندتر گفت چنانکه در همان زمان خود بیان کرد و گفت «راست راست میگویم ترا اگر کسی از آب و از روح نزاید ممکن نیست که در ملک خدا درآید.» پس نو زاده شدن برای درآمدن در ملک خدا عمادا گرفتن است که او فرمود که بسبب آن خدا گناهها می‌بخشد و نعمتها میدهد و دران اقرار کرده می‌شود بزندگی نو و دین نو و حیات روحانی که حیات نخستین جسمانی بوده است و آن [ASI.92] دوم روحانی خواهد بود. این چیزها بعمادا یافته میشود. بنابرین عمادارا ولادت دوم میخوانند. دیگر فرمود «آنچه از تن پیداست تن است و آنچه از روح برآمده است روح است. عجب مدار ازین که ترا گفتم که می‌باید مر شمارا که از نو زاده شوید. روح هر جا که میخواهد می‌وزد و آواز او شنیده می‌شود ولیکن تو نبودهٔ که بدانی از کجا می‌آید و کجا میرود. این چنین است هر آنکه از روح زاده شده است.» نیکادیموس گفت که «این چیزها چگونه تواند بودن؟» مسیح فرمود «توئی استاد در اسرائیل و این چیزها نمیدانی؟ راست راست میگویم ترا آنچه میدانیم شمارا میگوئیم و آنچه دیده‌ایم ترا گواهی میدهیم و شما گواهی مارا قبول نمیکنید. هرگاه بر چیزهای زمینی شمارا گفتیم اعتقاد نمیکنید. اگر از سماویات[2] شمارا گفته باشم چگونه تصدیق [ل۴۲ب] میکنید؟ و هم گفت[3] همچنانکه موسی مار جنگل بالا برداشت اینچنین می‌باید که آدمی‌زاده برداشته شود تا هرکه برو ایمان بیارد هلاک نشود بلکه زندگی [2005.145.14a] جاوید یابد برای او باشد.» چون سخن بدانا و اهل کتاب بود اشارت بحکایت ماربند دانست اما تا همه بدانند و مقصود این سخن دریابند مجملی از داستان مار که حضرت الیشوع بدان اشارت [کرد] خواهم گفت. در کتاب چهارم توریت در فصل بیست و یکم[4] نوشته که دران حالت بنی اسرائیل شکایت کردند از خدا و از موسی. ایشانرا دران بیابان بچندان محنت از مصر بجانب بیت المقدس رهبری میکرد. خدا بر ایشان غضب کرد و مارهای بیشمار که از دهنهای [خود] آتش می‌انداختند بر ایشان

1. C داناشی.

2. C شماویات.
3. C – گفت.
4. Numbers 21:6: וַיְשַׁלַּח יהוה בָּעָם אֵת הַנְּחָשִׁים הַשְּׂרָפִים וַיְנַשְּׁכוּ אֶת־הָעָם וַיָּמָת עַם־רָב מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל *quam ob rem misit Dominus in populum ignitos serpentes, ad quorum plagas et mortes plurimorum:* And the LORD sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died.

گماست و بسیار مردم‌را میگزیدند و بیشتری بدردهای جان‌کاه میمردند. آخر بر گناه خود آگاهی یافته پیش موسی آمدند و گفتند گناه[1] کردیم که مخالف تو و خدا گفتیم. دعا بکن که مارها از ما دور کند. موسی که از همه مردم حلیم بود در حال از جانب خود بخشید بدعا مشغول شد و زاری کرد که خدا بر ایشان رحمت کند و ازین عذاب خلاصی دهد. [2005.145.14b] [۶۴ = ASI.93] خدا اورا فرمود تا [ما]ر مسین بکن و بر چوبش داشته نشانه ساز. هر گزیده که اورا می‌بیند صحت خواهد یافت. موسی اینچنین کرد و ماران[2] ناپدید گشتند و گزیدها بدیدن آن صورت مار خلاصی یافتند. [ل۴۳] پس غرض حضرت عیسی آن بود که چنانچه موسی برداشت ماری که بحقیقة از مس بود هرچند نازک می‌نمود، اما هرکه اورا میدید از کزندگی صحت می‌یافت، اینچنین او باوجود معصومی خود همچون گناهکار بدار کشیده خواهد شد تا هر بدکاری که باعتقاد و دوستی درو چشم اندازد گناه او بخشیده شوند و عمر ابد یابد و تا بیان کند که علاج مردم در اعتقاد او چسانست گفت «خدا عالم‌را چندان محبت داشت که پسر یگانهٔ خود داد تا هرکه برو اعتقاد کند هلاک نشود بلکه زندگانی جاوید یابد زیرا که خدا پسر خودرا بدنیا نفرستاد تا عالم‌را مدبری کند لیکن تا عالمیان بسبب او خلاص یابند. هرکه ایمان برو بیارد داوری نشاید و هرکه ایمان برو نیارد بر وی داوری [ASI.94] کرده شده است زیرا که بنام پسر یگانهٔ خدا ایمان نیاورد. هرآینه حکم اینست که در جهان نور آمد و مردم تاریکی‌را بیش از نور دوست داشتند چرا که کارهای ایشان بد بود و هرکه بدی میکند نوررا دشمن میدارد و اقبال بسوی روشنائی نمیکند تا عملهای او روشن نشوند اما هرکه راستی میکند بسوی نور می‌آید تا ظاهر شود که عملهای او از خداست.» این چیزها و دیگر عیسی صاحب ما به نیکادیموس گفت و او ایمان آورد لیکن پنهان میداشت و منتظر بوقت می‌بود تا ظاهر کند.

روزی چند در بیت المقدس تعلیم داد. بعد از آن بشاگردان خویش [ل۴۳ب] در ملک یهودا رفت آنجا می‌بود.

عماداء مسیح بمؤمنان

مردم از هر طرف در جست‌وجوی می‌آمدند و هرکه ایمان می‌آورد اورا عمادا میداد. عمادا نمیکرد او تنها: پیدرورا عمادا کرد و پیدرو دیگر رسولان‌را و ایشان همه دیگران‌را که بمسیح ایمان می‌آوردند. یوحنا نزدیک میبود و آنانکه پیش او می‌آمدند ایشانرا [ASI.95] پند میداد و عمادا میکرد. شاگردان او از دیدن اینک مردم یوحنارا گذاشته پیش حضرت ایشوع میروند حسد بردند. یوحنارا گفتند «استاد، آنکه آن طرف دریاء اردن با تو بود و تو اورا ستودی و گواهی ازو دادی او نیز هرآینه عمادا می‌کند و همه پیش او میروند.» یوحنا جواب داد و گفت «آدمی بر گرفتن چیزی قدرت ندارد تا اورا از آسمان داده نشود. شما گواهی میدهید بر من که من گفته‌ام که من مسیح نیستم بلکه از پیش او رسولم. هرکرا عروس است او داماد است و دوست او می‌ایستد و می‌شنود و از شنیدن آواز او بشادی بزرگ شاد می‌شود. پس اکنون این خرمی من بآخر رسید. اورا واجب است که ببالد و بزرگ شود. مرا باید که کاسته شوم. آنکه از بلند آمد او از همه چیز بلند است و هرکه زمینی است از زمین میگوید و گواهی او هیچکس نمی‌شنود و هرکه بر گواهی او ایمان آورد او براست‌گوئی [ل۴۴] خدا مهر کرد. آنکه [ASI.96] اورا خدا فرستاد او سخنان خدا میگوید چرا که خدا اورا روح به پیمانه

1. C کنا.
2. C ماررا.

نمیدهد. پدر دوست میدارد پسررا و همه چیز بدست او سپرد و هرکه ایمان به پسر آدمی آرد زندگانی جاوید می‌یابد اما آنکه به پسر ایمان نمی‌آرد حیات نخواهد دید بل غضب خدا برو می‌آید.» یوحنا درین سخن وانمود که مسیح ازو چه قدر کلان است که اورا داماد و صاحب میخواند و خودرا دوست او که پیش او می‌ایستد اورا آسمانی میخواند و پسر خدا که همه چیز در دست اوست و هم میگوید آنکه درو اعتقاد نمیکند هلاک خواهد شد.

رفتن مسیح بشهر سمر

چون فریسین می‌شنیدند که ایشوع عمادا میکند و از هر سو مردم پیش او میروند ازو چیزهای بد میگفتند و سعی بسیار میکردند تا مردم‌را ازو باز دارند. پس حضرت ایشوع آن ملک‌را گذاشته سوی جلیل رفت و بر سامره گذر کرد. این شهر بزرگ دار السلطنت ده قبیله [Paris, Fondation Cus-todia, 1991-T.11] بنی اسرائیل بود و در کلانی و ناموس به بیت المقدس برابری می‌نمود و این شهررا در قدیم سوخار میگفتند و نزدیک بوده بزمینی که یعقوب بیوسف پسر خود بخشیده بود زیاده بر آنچه اورا از میراث پدر میرسید. باین سبب بسیار عزیز گشت و دران زمین چاهی [ل۴۴ب] بود از یعقوب که او و کسان او ازان آب میخوردند. پس مسیح در نیم روز بران چاه رسید و از ماندگی راه و بیطاقتی آنجا نشست و شاگردان فرستاد که از شهر چیزی برای خوردن بدست آرند. درین هنگام زنی بطلب آب بران چاه آمد. حضرت ایشوع بدو گفت «ای زن، مرا آب ده که بیاشامم.» آن زن اورا از لباس و گفتار یهودا دانسته جواب داد «تو که یهودی چگونه از من که سامری ام آب میخواهی؟» [ASI.273] و حال آنکه یهودان‌را با سامریان آمیزش نیست که چون این دو شهر در روش عبادت باهم مخالفت داشتند هرکدام آن دیگررا گمراه میدانست و هیچگونه یکجا خوردنی نمیخوردند و از یک کوزه آب نمی‌آشامیدند و همچو بیگانگان در دین میزیستند. مسیح جواب داد و گفت «اگر عطیهٔ خدارا می‌شناختی و میدانستی که کیست آنکه ترا میگوید که بده تا بیاشامم تو از وی میخواستی و او ترا آب حیات میداد.» آن زن گفت «صاحب، تو چیزی نداری که بران آب کشی و چاه عمیق است. پس از کجا ترا آب زندگانی؟ آیا تو بزرگ‌تری از پدر ما یعقوب که مارا این چاه داد و او پسران او و جانوران او ازین آب خورده‌اند؟» و حضرة ایشوع جواب داد و گفت «هرکه ازین آب میخورد باز تشنه می‌شود و آنکه میخورد از آبی که منش میدهم تا ابد تشنه نمیشود بلکه آبی که من میدهم [ل۴۵] درو چشمه میشود که جوش حیات [ASI.274 = ۶۷ب] دایمی میزند.» و این اشارتست به تسلی و سیری دل که پیروان او خواهند داشت و آنانکه از وی می‌شنوند پیوسته آرزوی زندگانی ابدی میدارند. زن گفت «خداوندا، مرا ازین آب بده تا تشنه نشوم و دیگر محتاج نباشم که ازینجا بچندین محنت آب برم.» حضرت ایشوع فرمود که «برو شوی خودرا بخواه و همراه او بیا.» او جواب داد «شوهر ندارم.» حضرت ایشوع گفت «خوب گفتی که شوهر ندارم. پنج شوهر داشتی و این که اکنون داری شوی تو نیست. درین خوب گفتی.» زن گفت «ای صاحب، می‌یابم که تو پیغمبری. پدران ما درین کوه خدارا پرستیده‌اند و شمایان می‌گوئید که خدارا در اورشلیم باید پرستید. نمیدانم که درین کار پیرو که باید بود.» حضرت ایشوع گفت «ای زن، بمن ایمان بیار. آن وقت رسیده است که نه درین کوه و نه بیت المقدس خدارا پرستش کنند. شمایان می‌پرستید آن‌را که نمی‌شناسید. ما می‌پرستیم آنرا که

می‌شناسیم چراکه سلامتی [ASI.113] از یهودان بر می‌آید، یعنی تعلیم حق از قدس جلیل خواهد برآمد چنانچه پیغمبران خبر داده‌اند، خاصه ایشعیا اما وقت رسید و اکنون است که سجده کنندگان شایسته پدررا بروح و براستی سجده کنند زیراکه پدر این چنین سجده کنندگان میخواهد چراکه خدا روح است و آنانکه اورا می‌پرستند باید که بروح و راستی پرستششش کنند.» [ل۴۵ب] و شاگردان این سخنان[1] مسیح‌را تفسیر کرده‌اند بطوری که او خود بعد ازین بیان کرده است که خدا اکنون چندان سعی درین ندارد که سوی بیت المقدس نماز کنند چنانچه پیش ازین لیکن میخواهد که اورا بسراپای دل بروح پرستش کنند. این است پرستیدن خدا براستی چون روح است و همه جا حاضر. زن بدو گفت «هرآینه میدانم که مسیح که او کریستس خوانده میشود می‌آید و چون او بیاید همه چیز بما می‌آموزد.» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد و گفت «آن مسیح منم که بتو سخن میگویم.» خجسته ایشوع درین گفتار بود که شاگردان از [ASI.114] شهر باز آمدند و از سخن کردن او بزن تعجب نمودند چون رسم نبود که بزن سخن کنند، خاصه در تنهائی و هیچکس نگفت که چه میگوئی و چرا بزن سخن میکنی. زن چون ازو می‌شنید که من مسیحم کوزهٔ خود گذاشته سوی شهر شتاب آورده بانگ‌زنان بمردم گفت «بیائید و نظر کنید مردی‌را که مرا از هرچه کرده بودم آگاه ساخت. شاید که این همان مسیح است.» مردم بسیار از شهر برآمدند و سوی او شدند و درین میان تلامذه گفتند «ای بزرگ ما، بخور.» بایشان گفت «مرا طعامی است دیگر که شمایان نمی‌شناسید.» ایشان بهمدیگر میگفتند «مگر کسی‌را برای او طعام آورده است؟»

حضرت ایشوع بایشان فرمود «طعام من آنست که خواستهٔ پدر خود که مرا فرستاده است بجا آرم و کار او تمام کنم که چارهٔ [ل۴۶] عصیان است. نه شما میگوئید که پس از چهار ماه زمان درو کردن می‌آید؟ هرآینه بشما میگویم که فراز کنید چشمان خود [ASI.115] و نظر کنید سوی زمین. هرآینه سفید شده است و بدرو رسیده. هرکه درو میکند مزد خود می‌ستاند و و میوهٔ حیات جاوید فراهم می‌آرد و کارنده و درونده بهم خرم میشوند زیراکه درین یافته می‌شود کلمه حق که یکی کشت می‌کند و دیگری میدرود و من شمارا فرستاده‌ام تا بدروید چیزی که دران رنج نبرده‌اید. دیگران رنج بردند. شما برنج ایشان درآمده‌اید.» بسیاری از شهریان ایمان آوردند بسخن آن زن که گواهی داد که او مرا از هرچه کرده بودم آگاه ساخت و چون سامریان بسوی او رفتند از وی خواستند که با ایشان اقامت کند. همراه ایشان رفت و در شهر دو روز بود. پندهای عجیب داد و مردم بسیار باو ایمان آوردند و بزن گفتند «ما بسخن تو برو ایمان نیاوردم بلکه ما خود شنیدیم و دانستیم که اینست بحقیقت آن مسیح خلاصی‌دهندهٔ عالم.»

رفتن مسیح بجلیل

بعد ازان بجلیل رفت. جلیلیان اورا استقبال کردند زیراکه هرچه [ASI.116] در اوریشلیم روز عید کرده بود دیده بودند که ایشان به عیدگاه بودند. پس ازان بقاناء جلیل که آنجا آب‌را شراب کرده بود آمده در کفرنحوم پسر یک بندهٔ ملک رنجور بود و [ل۴۶ب] چون شنید که مسیح بجلیل آمده است سوی او روان شد و یافته باو زاری و بسیار عجز نمود که همراه آورد و پسر اورا صحت دهد زیراکه بمرگ نزدیک بوده است. مسیح جواب داد و گفت «اگر نشانهائی معاینه

1. C سخن؛ L سخنان.

نمی کنید معجزها نمی بینید، ایمان نمی آرید.» پدر چون نشانیهای مرگ پسر دیده بود نخواست که بسخن کردن دیر شود. گفت اورا «صاحب، فرود بیا پیش ازانکه پسر من بمیرد[1]» و مسیح گفت «برو، پسر تو زنده است.» پدر بگفتهٔ او اعتقاد آورد و بتمام خوشحالی سوی خانه خود باز گشت و میرفت. ناگاه جمعی از خدمتکاران پیش آمدند و بشارت دادند گفتند «هرآینه پسر تو زنده شد و صحت یافت.» او ازین که مشقت او سودمند آمد و مقصودش بانصرام رسید بسیار خوش شد و پرسید «در چه وقت شفا یافت؟» گفتند «دیروز [2005.145.17a] در ساعت هفتم تب از وی جدا شد.» پس پدر دانست که در همان ساعت که حضرت ایشوع باو گفت که برو پسر تو زنده است او و تمام [2005.145.17b] خیلخانه[2] او ایمان آوردند.

بعد ازان بناصره آمد که آنجا در خوردسالی پرورش یافت. روز شنبه چنانچه روش او بود سوی مجمع آمد و بر پا ایستاد تا بخواند. کتاب ایشعیا پیغمبر [ل۴۷] باو داده شد و چون آنرا برگشاد و نوشته باین مضمون برآمد «روح خداوند بر منست. ازین جهة مالید مرا و فرستاد مرا تا بشارت دهم مسکینان‌را و شفا دهم دل‌شکستگان‌را و مژده دهم بندیان‌را از خلاصی و نابینان‌را از بینش و پیغام دهم ناتوانان‌را از آمرزش و بشارت و هم از سال مقبول خداوند و از روز پاداش.» آنگاه کتاب پیچید و بخدمتکار سپرد و نشست و همه چشم بسوی او بود و بعد ازان بگفتار آغاز کرد و بایشان گفت که «امروز در گوشهای شما این نوشته کمال گرفت» و درین وانمود که منم که برای این کار آمده‌ام و درین باب سخنها گفت که از کتب مقدس نقلها آورد و ثابت کرد بطوری که همه‌را [ASI.117] حیران ساخت و از سخنان پرنعمت که از دهان او بیرون می آمدند تعجب میکردند.

چون در میان اینها پرورش یافته بود اورا دیده بودند که پدرش میخواند و پسر نجار می‌پنداشتند، بایکدیگر میگفتند «این پسر یوسف نیست؟ این علم از کجا آموخت؟ و این علم چه چیزست و چه معجزهاست؟ این پسر مریم نیست؟ قوم و قبیلهٔ او در میان ما نیست؟» بنابرین اورا حقیر میدیدند و برو کمتر اعتقاد میکردند. ازان بود که درین شهر معجزه ننمود و ایشان‌را آرزو بود که ازو معجزها به‌بینند اما نه بجهت فایده گرفتن بلکه برای تماشا کردن. [ل۴۷ب] پس بایشان گفت «شاید که شما این مثل‌را برای من بگوئید ای طبیب، تندرست کن خودرا، تو که چندین چیزهای عجیب در کفرنحوم کردی اینجا که مولد تست هم چیزی بکن.» و گفت «راست میگویم بشما بدرستی هیچ نبی در شهر خود و قبیلهٔ خود مکرم نشد. راست میگویم بشما بدرستی که در زمان ایلیا بیوه زنان [ASI.118] در اسرائیل بسیار بودند وقتی که آسمان سه سال و شش ماه بر ایشان بسته شد که درین مدت هرگز بارش بر ایشان ننمود و گرسنگی همه ولایت‌را فرو گرفت. ایلیا فرستاده نشد سوی یکی ازینها مگر بسوی بیوه زنی که در شهر صارفهٔ[3] صیدان بود. و بسیاری از بنی اسرائیل در زمان الیشیع پیغمبر پیس بودند و بجز نعمان شامی پاک نشد.» اگرچه برای ادا کردن مقصود و آنچه نوشته آمد بس بود اما بجهت شادابی سخن این دو حکایت‌را از کتاب یکی از پیغمبران اسرائیل بطور اجمال می‌نویسم. چون اکاب ملک اسرائیل بتها کرد و خدارا به نسبت گذشتگان بیشتر رنجانید

1. C نمیرد.
2. C خلخانه.

3. صارفه *Ṣārifa* = Zarephath (Heb. צָרְפַּת *Ṣārəphath*), "which belongeth to Zidon" (2 Kings 17:9) > Aramaic צרפתא *Ṣārephthā* = Sarepta (Σάρεπτα, Luke 4:26).

خدا ایلیارا پیش اکاب فرستاد و ایلیا باکاب گفت زنده است خداوند خدای اسرائیل که درو نظر او می ایستم آب نخواهد بارید و نه شبنم مگر موافق سخن من و خدا ایلیارا فرمود از اینجا سوی مشرق برو در کنار فلان جوی نزدیک دریای اوردن پنهان باش و ازان [2005.145.18a] جوی خواهی آشامید. زاغانرا فرمودهام که ترا روزی رسانند. [ل۴۸] ایلیا رفت و همانجا نشست و هر صبح و شام زاغی یگان کرده نان و لخت گوشت باو میرسانید. [2005.145.18b] این میخورد و ازان جوی آب می‌آشامید و چون بسیار مدت بارش نشد آن جوی نیز خشک گردید. پس ایلیارا حکم شد «برخیز و بصارفه صیدان برو و همان جا خواهی باشید. من آنجا بیوه زنی‌را فرمودهام که ترا روزی رساند.» ایلیا برخاست و آنجا رفت و چون بدر شهر رسید بیوه زنی دید هیزم میچید. اورا طلبید و گفت «مرا آب ده تا بیاشامم.» و چون او روان شد که آب بیارد از عقب فریاد کرد و گفت «یک پارچه نان هم بدست خود بیار.» او جواب داد «زنده است خداوند خدای تو که نان ندارم مگر مقدار یک کف دست آرد در کوزه و اندک تیل در پیاله. هرآینه دو سه چوب برمیچینم تا بخانه خود رفته ازان آرد نانی به‌پزم که من و پسر من هر دو بخورم و نمیرم[1].» ایلیا بدو گفت «مترس لیکن برو و چنانچه گفتی بکن اما نخستین یک نان تنک برای من پخته بیار.» بعد ازان برای خود و پسر خود [۷۳ = ASI.119] خواهی کرد که این میگوید خداوند خدای اسرائیل سبوی آرد کمی نکند و ظرف تیل خالی نشود تا روزی که خدا بروی زمین باران فرستد.» بیوه زن رفت و موافق سخن ایلیا کرد و ایلیا و آن بیوه با عیال خود خوردند و از آن روز هرگز آن آرد و تیل کمی نکرد [ل۴۸ب]

چنانچه خدا بایلیا فرموده بود.

نعمان شامی سپهسالار ملک شام بود بزرگ‌زاده و کلان و پیش صاحب خود عزیز چراکه بواسطهٔ او خدا ملک ایشان‌را از دشمنان رهائی داد. مردی بود خوبکار و دولتمند اما پیس. چندی از لشکر شام برآمدند و دختر مُلک اسرائیل بدزدی بردند و بخدمت کوچ نعمان سپردند. روزی آن دختر به بی‌بی خود گفت «کاشکی صاحب ما میرفت پیش پیغمبری که در سامریه است. هرآینه اورا ازین زحمت پاک میساخت.» نعمان ازین آگهی پیش ملک خود رفت، آنچه کنیز گفته بود بیان کرد. ملک شام گفت «برو. من بملک اسرائیل خواهم [ASI.120] نوشت.» پس رفت و زر و سیم فراوان و دیگر تحفها با خود برد و نامهٔ صاحب خود بسوی اسرائیل بدین مضمون گرفت «چون نامه بتو رسد بدان نعمان بندهٔ خودرا پیش تو فرستادهام تا اورا از پیسی پاک سازی.» چون ملک اسرائیل نامه‌را خواند جامهٔ خود چاک کرد و گفت «مگر من خدا ام که توانم کشت و زنده ساخت که او پیش من فرستاده است؟ ما این کس‌را از پیسی صحت دهم؟ خوب فکر کنید و بدانید که این مرد برای دشمنی من بهانها میجوید.» چون الیشع شنید که ملک جامهٔ خود چاک زده است باو گفته فرستاد «چرا جامهای خود پاره کردی؟ اورا پیش من بیار و بداند که نبی در بنی اسرائیل هست.» پس نعمان بخانهٔ [ل۴۹] الیشع آمد و بتمام حشم خود بر در او ایستاد. الیشع بدو گفته فرستاد «برو و هفت بار خودرا در اوردن بشوی و تن تو پاک خواهد شد و از بیماری خلاص خواهی یافت.» نعمان خشمگین برگشت و میگفت «من می‌دانستم که مرا استقبال میکند و ایستاده نام خداوند [ASI.121] خویش میخوانده و دست خود به تن من می‌مالد و صحت میدهد. مگر دریاهای شام ابانا و فرفر از همه آبهای اسرائیل بهتر

1. C و بمیرم.

نیستند که خودرا بدان بشویم و پاک شوم؟» درین ولا خدمتکاران او پیش او رسیدند و گفتند «ای پدر، اگر این پیغمبر ترا چیزی دشوار می‌گفت هرآینه بحکم ضرورت میکردی. پس چرا نمی‌کنی این چیز آسان که ترا گفت خودرا بشوی و پاک خواهی شد.» پس نعمان بدریا اوردن رفت و چنانچه مرد خدا فرموده بود خودرا هفت بار شست و در حال پاکیزه گشت. بعد ازان بخانه الیشع آمد و پیش او بر پا ایستاد و گفت «راستی اینست که بغیر اسرائیل دیگر خدا نیست و التماس من آن است که ازین بنده خویش چیزی بستان.» او نخواست. نعمان چون مبالغه کرد و الحاح نمود او گفت «خدای اسرائیل زنده است، هرگز نمیگیرم.» نعمان گفت «اینچنین باشد. دستوری ده که دوازده گاومیش از خاک این زمین بار کرده ببرم که بعد ازین هرگز پیش [ASI.122] بت سجده نخواهم کرد» و رخصت گرفته روان شد. یکی از شاگردان الیشع شی‌یزی[1] نام دران اسباب طمع کرد و عقب او رفت و گفت که «صاحب من [ل۴۹ب] دعا رسانیده و جزوی نقد و جنس خواسته که همین زمان چندی از پسران پیغمبران پیش او آمده‌اند و درکار دارد که بایشان دهد.» او بسیار شادی نمود و هرچه داشت پیش او نهاد. او هرچه خواست برداشت و بخانهٔ خود برد و همانجا گذاشته پیش الیشع آمد. الیشع گفت «از کجا می‌آئی؟» جواب داد که «بنده تو هیچ جا نرفته است.» الیشع گفت «وقتی که پیش نعمان رفتی مگر دل من نگران نبود وقتی که آن مرد از ارابهٔ خود فرود آمد و ترا استقبال کرد و تو مبلغی از زر و اسباب گرفتی که باغ زیتون و انگور و گاو و گوسفند و غلام و کنیز برای خود بخری؟ پس پیسی نعمان بتو خواهد چسپید و از نسل تو تا ابد نخواهد رفت.» پس آن مرد از خانهٔ او برآمد سفید همچون برف. این بود [ASI.123 = ۷۵] حکایت الیشع

که حضرت ایشوع بسوی او اشارت کرد و چون شهریان دریافتند خشمگین شدند و اورا از شهر بیرون کردند بسوی بلندی که بنای شهر ایشان بر آن بود بردند تا اورا از آن بلندی به نشیب افکنند اما او که هنوز نخواسته بود که تعلیم او بآخر شود قدرت خودرا کار فرمود و بی‌آنکه هیچکس یارای آن بازداشتن باشد از میان ایشان برآمد.

رفتن مسیح بکفرنحوم

[ل۵۰] ازینجا بسوی کفرنحوم رفت و روزهای شنبه در انجمن تعلیم میداد و همگنانرا حیران می‌ساخت زیرا که کلام او بغلبه بود. یکی‌را شیطان پلید گرفته بود و اورا جفاها میرسانید و کارهای پلید و ناشایسته از وی سر میزد و مسیح‌را در انجمن دیده بانگ زد و گفت «مرا رها کن. چیست مارا و ترا، ای ایشوع ناصری، آمدهٔ تا مارا هلاک سازی؟ هرآینه ترا می‌شناسم که کیستی، ای پاک خدای.» حضرت ایشوع که ستودن شیطان نمیخواست اورا سرزنش [ASI.124] کرد و گفت «گنگ باش و ازین بیرون رو!» شیطان اورا چندان جنبشها داد مردم انگاشتند که اورا هلاک ساخت و در مجلس انداخته فریادکنان از بدن او رفت و هیچ نرسیده بود. همگنان در عجب ماندند و بهمدیگر میگفتند «این چه چیز است و تعلیم چطورست که بروحهای پلید خداوندانه حکم میکند و اینها فرمان‌برداری میکنند؟» پس آوازه او بلند شد و تمام جلیل گرفت شهرت.

بعد ازان از مجلس برخاست و بخانهٔ شمعون درآمد و مادر[زن] او تب کرده بود و حرارت سخت داشت. از برای او درخواست گردید که مسیح نزد او استاد و تب سرزنش کرد.

1. شی‌یزی *Shē-yazī*, probably miscopied from شی‌هزی *Shē-hazī* = Gehazi < גֵּחֲזִי *(Gēḥăzī)*, 2 Kings 4–5.

همان زمان تب از وی جدا شد و او برخاسته بایشان خذمت کرد. چون وقت غروب شد گرفتاران رنجها[ی] گوناگون پیش او آمدند و بر هرکدام دست می‌نهاد و او صحت یافت.

بامدادان بالای کوه برآمد و آنجا نماز میکرد. [ل ۵۰ب] شمعون و [ASI.125 = ۷۶] دیگر شاگردان باو رسیدند و گفتند که «بسیار مردم در جست‌وجوی تو اند.» بایشان گفت «برویم و به شهرها درآئیم و همگنانرا راه سلامتی بیاموزیم که بجهة این بدنیا آمده‌ام.» پس برآمد و جمعی که در طلب او بودند سوی او آمد و بخواهش درآویختند تا از میان ایشان نرود. بایشان فرمود «مرا باید که بدیگر شهرها از ملکوت خدا بشارت دهم زیرا که برای این فرستاده شده‌ام.» چون از کوه فرود آمد مردی که اورا بجهت پیسی از معموری بیرون کرده بودند و در صحرا میگشت از وی خبر یافت و چون حضرت ایشوع‌را دید بر رو افتاد. بعد ازان بر سر زانو استاد و گفت «خداوند، اگر میخواسته باشی می‌توانی که مرا پاک گردانی.» او که بحال فقیر مهربان بود دست مبارک خود دراز کرد و باو رسانید و گفت «میخواهم. پاک باش.» و همان زمان صحت یافت لیکن باو فرمود که «پیش کاهنان برو از پاک شدن خود قربان ده چنانچه وصیت موسی است.» و این‌را بجهت [ASI.126] این کرد که کاهنان از وی شکایت نکنند و نگویند که صدقهای ما میگیرد.

جاها میگشت تعلیم‌کنان و صحت‌دهان معجزها نما[یا]ن همه‌را. چندان مردم در پی او بودند که انبوهی نمی‌توانست که بشهر درآید. در صحرا و بیابان اورا می‌یافتند و همانجا ایشانرا تعلیم میداد و همه‌را تسلی میکرد. [ل ۵۱]

حضرت ایشوع خواست که بسوی شهر جناصر[1] که آن طرف جلیل است برود. جمعی از شاگردان اورا پیروی کردند. پس بکشتی برآمد که از دریای جلیل بگذرد و اینها نیز درآمدند. و چون خودرا از مردم خلاص دید خواست که ساعتی بیاساید و دراز کشد. ناگاه در دریا شورش عظیم شد و نزدیک بود که موجها کشتی‌را فرو برند و او در خواب بود. شاگردان پیش آمدند و بیدارش کردند و گفتند« ای خداوند مـــا، مـــارا خـــلاصی ده [2005.145.19a (no text) 2005.145.19b] که هلاک می‌شویم.» بایشان گفت «چه می‌ترسید، ای کم‌ایمانان؟» برخاست و دریارا و بادهارا سرزنش کرد. دریا آرام گرفت و بادها سکونت یافت. همگنان تعجب کردند و گفتند «چگونه است که بادها و دریاها ازو می‌شنوند و فرمان او برمیدارند؟» چون کشتی بکنار رسید مسیح و شاگردان از کشتی [فرود آمدند] و راه آبادانی گرفت.

و در راه دو دیوانه پیش آمدند که در گورستان میگذرانیدند و چندان مهیب و قوی بودند که زنجیرها می‌گسستند و بندها می‌شکستند و دنبال مردم میدویدند و آزارها میرسانیدند و کسی‌را یارای آن نبود که از آن راه تواند گذشت و در آن صحرا تواند بود. چون مسیح آنجا رسید دیوانگان برآمدند و سوی او شدند و فریاد کردند و گفتند «مارا و ترا چه، ای مسیح، ای ایشوع پسر خدای بلندترین؟ آمدۀ تا مارا پیش از وقت جفا کنی؟ التماس ما این است که مرا آزار مکن.» حضرت ایشوع بایشان فرمود «خاموش باشید!» و از یکی پرسید که «نام [ل ۵۱ب] تو چیست؟» او گفت [لاکیون زیرا که درو شیاطین بسیار درآمده بودند و لاکیون در حساب شش هزار و ششصد و شصت و شش‌را گویند. مسیح فرمود «ای روحهای پلید، ازین مردم بیرون روید!» شیاطین زاری میکردند و میگفتند «مارا ازین ملک

1. Gennesaret < Γεννησαρέτ = the Sea of Galilee and the Sea of Tiberias.

بیرون مفرست خاصه بدوزخ و اگر ازین مردم بیرونی میکنی دستوری ده که درین خوکها درآئیم» چه دران کوه رمهٔ کلان از خوکها میچریدند. مسیح رخصت داد. در ساعت ازان مردم بیرون شدند و بخوکها درآمدند و آن خوکها از بالای کوه بدریا انداختند و قریب دو هزار خوک هلاک شد. چرانندگان بسوی شهر گریختند [ASI.107] و از آنچه واقع شد فریادکنان بمردم شهر گفتند. مردم بجستن مسیح برآمدند و آن دو دیوانه‌را دیدند که نزد مسیح نشسته‌اند آرمیده و جامه پوشیده و بسان مردم دانا و هوشیار جوابهاء پسندیده میدهند و از سرگذشت خویش گفتند. مردم‌را حیرت گرفت و هم ترس که چون خوکها برای سرداران آن سرزمین بودند از چنان نقصان بسیار ترسیدند و باری تسلی صاحبان بحضرت ایشوع درخواست کردند که ازین ولایت باز گردد و در میان ایشان نباشد. او قبول کرد و باز گردید.

چون حضرت ایشوع خواست که بکشتی درآید یکی ازان دو دیوانه درخواست کرد که در خدمت باشد اما حضرت ایشوع فرمود که «بخانهٔ خود باز [ل۵۲] گرد و از عنایتی که خدا با تو کرده است مردم‌را خبر ده.» او رفت و از آنچه حضرت ایشوع بدو کرده بود در شهر منادی میکردند.

رفتن مسیح بکفرنحوم

مسیح بشهر کفرنحوم آمد و بطوری که هیچکس‌را خبر نشد و بخانهٔ خود رفت. [ASI.108] مردم آگاهی یافته پیش او رفتند و بتعلیم ایشان مشغول شد و مردم چندان غلو کردند که راهها و دریچهاء خانه پر گردید و درین میان بسیاری از دانایان و فریسین و دیگر بزرگان از یهودان بودند که از جلیل و یهودا و بیت المقدس و از دیگر جایها آمده بودند تا تعلیم او بشنوند. دران شهر مردی بود شل که تمام تن او از حرکت مانده بود و آرزو داشت که خودرا یکی بمسیح رساند تا تندرست گردد. بدوستان خود گفت «برای خدا مرا پیش مسیح برید.» چهار کس اورا برداشته بردند لیکن از هجوم هیچگونه درآمدن نتوانستند. چون اعتقاد افزون بود و محبت و احتیاج یابنده و دلیرست این علاج یافتند که از پس خانه ببالا برآمدند و سقف‌را شکافتند و خواب‌جای بیماررا بریسمان بسته فرو گذاشتند. مردم‌را ازین کار شورش شد لیکن مسیح‌را بد نیامد بلک همه‌را بدلآسا خاموش گردانید و نظر بر اعتقاد و محبت آرندگان کرده به بیمار [ل۵۲ب] فرمود «ای پسر، امیدوار باش. گناهان تو بخشیده شدند.» [ASI.109] چون بخشیدن گناه خاصهٔ خداست کاهنان و دیگر بزرگان که در آن میان بودند از سخن او رمیدند و در دلها اندیشه میکردند و میگفتند «این کیست که این چنین میگوید و کفر میکند؟ بغیر خدا که میتواند که گناهها ببخشد؟» حضرت ایشوع فکر ایشان دانست و گفت «برای چه بدگمان میشوید و بد می‌اندیشید؟ کدام چیز آسان‌ترست آنکه شل‌را گفته شود گناهان بخشیده شدند؟ اینک بگویم برخیز» و خواب‌جای خودرا برداشت و برآمد. همگنان شگفت نمودند و خدارا ستایش کردند و میگفتند که «چنین ندیده بودیم.»

خواندن مسیح متی‌را به پیروی خویش

روزی دیگر بسوی دریا میرفت و همه عقب او میرفتند تا ایشان‌را تعلیم دهد. متی نام بزرگ سودخواران که بنام دیگر لَوِی خوانده میشود و یهودان اورا گناه‌کار کلان میدانستند در راه نشسته بود و کار خود میکرد. مسیح‌را چشم برو افتاد و فرمود «مرا پیروی کن.» متی باین سخن زخمی شد و شکوه و [ل۵۳] بزرگی اورا دیده زود برخاست [ASI.110] و همه چیز گذاشته دنبال او شد و بشادی بزرگ اورا مهمانی کرد و یاران

خودرا نیز طلبید و حضرت ایشوع تا بنماید که چگونه سوی بدکاران تایب میرود راضی شد و بخانه او رفت و در میان همه مردم با شاگردان خود خوردنی خورد. فریسین‌را اختلاط مسیح با مردم سودخوار بد نمود و بشاگردان او گفتند «چرا استاد شما بسودخواران و بدعملان یکجا میخورد ؟» چون حضرت ایشوع شنید جواب داد و گفت «تندرستان محتاج طبیب نیستند لیکن بیماران. برو بیاموزید چه چیز است آن سخن خدا. رحمت میخواهم نه قربانی چراکه نیامده‌ام تا بخوانم نیکوکاران‌را لیکن گناه‌کاران‌را.»

درین زمان شاگردان یوحنا پیش او آمدند و گفتند «چگونه است که ما و فریسین روزه میگیریم و شاگردان تو روزه نمیگیرند ؟» حضرت ایشوع از روزه ناگرفتن شاگردان عذر آورد و گفت «آیا تواند بود که پسران عروس نوحه کنند مادامی که عروس با ایشان باشد ؟ روزها بیایند که عروس با ایشان باشد، روزها بیایند [ASI.111] که عروس از ایشان گرفته شود و آن زمان روزه بگیرند. کسی نیست که پرگاله نو در جامهٔ کهنه پیوند کند زیراکه قوهٔ آن بستاند و پاریدگی بیشتر شود. و شراب نو در خیگهای کهن ننهند تا دریده نگردد و شراب نریزد بلکه شراب نو در خیگهای نو می‌نهند تا هر دو [ل۵۳ب] بسلامت مانند.» ایشان شرمنده شدند و مَتَّی از هرچه داشت دل برکند و قرض‌های مردم ادا کرده هرچه ماند بفقرا داد و خود بمسیح پیوست و همیشه پیرو او بود.

زنده کردن دختر

مسیح درین گفت‌وگو بود که جایروس نام از بزرگان کنشت بغایت اندوهناک آمد. همین که حضرت ایشوع‌را دید بر پای او سجده کرد و گفت «ای خداوند، یکدختر دارم و در مردنست. همراه من بیا و دست مبارک خود بر سر او بنه. امید دارم که صحت یابد و زنده ماند.» مسیح که بهیچکس نی نمیگفت با شاگران خویش همراه او روان شد. باین خبر مردم بیشمار دنبال او شدند. زنی اصیل که مدام ازو خون میرفت و مدت دوازده سال این بیماری داشت از طبیبان علاج نیافته بود خبر یافت [ASI.112] که مسیح می‌آید بخود اندیشه میکرد که «همین که دست من بکنار دامن او میرسد هرآینه صحت می‌یابم.» بصدق تمام در آن انبوهی مردم درآمد. بمحنت بسیار باو رسید و پنهانی دست بکنار دامن او رسانیده و همان دم دریافت که خون استاد و بشادی برگشت. مسیح پرسید «این کیست که دست بمن رسانید ؟» همه منکر شدند. شمعون و دیگر شاگردان گفتند «ای خداوند، مردم ترا از هر سو تنگ میدارند و راه رفتن نمیدهند و پرسی که کدام کس [ل۵۴] دست بدامن من رسانید.» جواب داد «من میدانم که قوتی از من صادر شد.» آنگاه نظر کرد بر جائی که آن زن بود. او چون دانست که پنهان نماند ترسان و لرزان پیش ایشوع آمد و در پای او افتاد و از سختی زحمت و درازی او خبر داد و اعتقاد خویش و چگونگی صحت یافتن بیان کرد. حضرت ایشوع فرمود که «ای دختر، دل قوی دار. صدق ایمان تو ترا سلامتی داد. بایمنی برو.» زمانی درین مشغول بود. و درین هنگام چندی از خذمتکاران [2005.145.16a] جایرس رسیدند و گریه‌کنان گفتند «ای صاحب، دختر تو گذشت. استادرا رنج مده.» او مسیح‌را از رنجی که بخاطر او میکشید شکر کرد و بغایت اضطراب و اندوه خود رخصت خواست تا برود که مرده خودرا بگور سپارد و حضرت ایشوع گفت «مترس. همین است باور کن که دختر تو زنده می‌شود» و همراه او رفت و چون بخانه او رسید اهل خانه‌را در ماتم یافت. همه در نالش و گریه بودند. نخواست که هیچکس بغیر شمعون و یعقوب و یوحنا با او در

آن خانه درآیند و چون درآمد مردم خانه‌را که نوحه و شیون میکردند گفت «چرا میگریید و نوحه میکنید؟ گریه مکنید که دختر نمرده است بلکه در خوابست.» درین سخن وانمود که بر من زنده ساختن مرده و بیدار کردن خفته یکسانست و آن مردم هذل میکردند و میخندیدند. حضرت [ل۵۴ب] ایشوع همگنانرا بیرون کرد و خود با شاگردان خویش و با پدر و مادر او که بجائی که آن مرده بود درآمد. دست دختر گرفت و گفت «ای دختر، بتو میگویم برخیز.» در ساعت دختر زنده و تندرست برخاست. [2005.145.16b] [ASI.137] شروع در رفتن کرده حضرت ایشوع فرمود که اورا خوردنی بدهند و این دختر دوازده‌ساله بود. پدر و مادر و آنانکه در خانه بودند از آنچه بچشم خود مشاهده کردند حیران شدند و پنج هزار ستایش کردند. از آنجا برآمد و مبالغه نمود که «این معجزه‌را ظاهر نسازید» اما ایشان بر همگنان روشن کردند بطوری که این خبر در روی زمین پراکنده شد.

مسیح سوی خانه خود برگردید و عقب او دو تن از کوران برآمد. فریاد میکردند و میگفتند «ای پسر داود، بر ما رحمت کن.» چون بخانه خود رسید کوران بدو پیوستند. حضرت ایشوع بایشان گفت «ایمان برین دارید که این کار می‌توانم کرد؟» هر دو گفتند «بلی، ای خداوند ما.» آنگاه دست بچشمان رسانید و گفت «باشد بشما موافق اعتقاد شما.» همان زمان چشمان ایشان بینا شد و منع کرد که «ازین بهیچکس نگوئید» اما ایشان برعکس میگفتند.

حضرت ایشوع در عید دیگر که نام او پنت‌کوستیس[1] است بسوی اوریشلیم برآمد [ل۵۵] تا مردم‌را تعلیم دهد که درآن زمان یهودان از هر طرف [ASI.138] آنجا می‌آمدند. در اوریشلیم جائی بود که آنرا بزبان عبری پسینه[2] میخوانند و در آن جا برکهٔ بود که چهارپایهارا که برای قربانی ساخته میکردند آنجا می‌شستند و گرد این برکه پنج رواق بود که آنجا بیماران گوناگون از کوران و کران و لنگان و تب‌زدگان می‌بودند و انتظار جنبانیدن آب میبردند زیراکه هر سال فرشته از آسمان فرو می‌آمد و آن آب‌را میجنبانید و هرکه پس از جنبیدن آب اول در آن برکه می‌درآمد از هر گونه بیماری که باو بود صحت می‌یافت و منقول است که این قوت صحت دادن درین آب از صلیب مسیح بوده که آنرا ساخته بودند از چوبی که مهتر سلیمان درین برکه پنهان کرده بود. در زمان مسیح بر روی آب آمد و اورا کشیدند و از آن کرده شد صلیبی که در آن حضرت مسیح مصلوب شد. آنگاه آن قوت صحت دادن در آن آب نماند. درین هنگام در اوریشلیم می‌بود. در آن خانه درآمد و سیر میکرد. بیماری دید که سی و هشت سال آنجا افتاده بود و چون دانست که از دیر باز اینجاست باو گفت «دوست میداری که تندرست شوی؟» او گفت «بلی، ای خداوند، اما کسی ندارم که چون آب در جنبش [ASI.139] می‌آید مرا در آن بیفکند و تا رسیدن من دیگری پیش‌دستی میکند [ل۵۵ب] و فرو میرود.» حضرت ایشوع گفت «برخیز و بستر خود بستان و برو.» آن مرد در حال صحت یافت و برخاست و بستر خود برگرفت و شادان و خرم رفت. حاضران تعجب شدند. این در روز شنبه بود. چون یهودان در آن روز هیچگونه کار نمیکردند و محنت نمی‌کشیدند اورا سرزنش کردند و گفتند «روا نیست که در

1. C پنت کوسیس؛ L پنت کوستس.

2. پسینه < *piscina* (John 5:2: *Est autem Ierosolymis Probatica piscina, quai cognominatur Hebraice Bethsaida, quinque porticus habens*). This is the pool called Bethesda, probably derived from בית אשדא *Bēth Ešdā* 'place of the flowing of water.' Eusebius calls it Βηζαθά, and the Greek New Testament has Βηθζαθά.

روز شنبه بار برداری.» او جواب داد «من هیچ نمیدانم. آنکه مرا صحت داد او فرمود که بستر خود بردار و برو.» اورا پرسیدند که «کیست آنکه ترا گفت بستر خود بستان و برو؟» آن شفایافته نمیدانست که او کیست زیرا که حضرت ایشوع در میان آن مردم که در آن جا بودند پنهان شد. بعد از زمانی حضرت ایشوع اورا در هیکل دید و گفت «هرآینه تندرست شدی. دیگر گناه نکنی تا حال تو از نخست بدتر نشود» و درین سخن وانمود که آن زحمت او از سوی[1] گناه خود بود و آنکه مارا اکثر جفاها و زحمتها از گناهان ما میرسد. آن مرد [ASI.140] رخصت گرفته روان شد و یهودان را گفت که «حضرت ایشوع است آنکه مرا شفا داد.» ایشان که خودرا در دین متعصب نمودند حضرت ایشوع‌را بدین سبب راندند و در کمین کشتن او شدند و در کردهٔ خود میگفتند که «این مرد خدا نیست که در روز شنبه چنین کارها میکند.»

حضرت ایشوع چون این سخن شنید گفت «پدر من تا اکنون کار میکند و [ل۵۶] من نیز میکنم. راست راست میگویم بشما چیزها که پدر میکند همانست که پسر میکند. پدر پسررا دوست میدارد و هرچه میکند باو مینماید و بهتر ازین عملها اورا خواهد نمود تا شمایان تعجب کنید که همچنانکه پدر مردگانرا بر می‌انگیزد و زنده میکند و همچنین پسر نیز زنده میکند کسی‌را که دوست میدارد. پدر بر کسی حکم نمیکند لیکن همه حکم بدست پسر داد تا همگنان پسررا گرامی داشته باشند همچنانکه پدررا گرامی دارند. هرکه گرامی ندارد پسررا گرامی ندارد پدررا. راست راست میگویم بشما هرآینه آید ساعتی و اکنون است آن وقت که مردگان آواز پسر خدا بشنوند و آنانکه بشنوند زنده شوند زیرا که همچنانکه پدررا [ASI.141] در ذات خود زندگی است همچنان پسررا داد که اورا در ذات خود زندگی باشد و دادش قوت آنکه داوری کند زیرا که آدمی‌زاده است. پس شگفت نشوید ازین چرا که بیاید وقتی که همه آنانکه در گورستانند آواز او بشنوند و نیکوکاران بیرون آیند بسوی قیامت حیات و بدکاران بسوی قیامت داوری. کسان فرستادید پیش یوحنا و او بر من براستی گواهی داد. من از آدمی گواهی نمیخواهم لیکن این میگویم تا شما خلاصی یابید. او چراغی است افروخته و نوربخش و شما خواستید که زمانی بنور او نازش کنید و مرا گواهی است دیگر بزرگ‌تر از گواهی یوحنا [ل۵۶ب] زیرا که کردارها که پدر بمن داد تا آن‌را بکمال رسانم همان کردارها بر ما گواهی میدهند که فرستادهٔ پدر خودم. آنکه مرا فرستاد او بر من گواهی داد. هیچ آواز او نشنیدید و اورا نشناختید و دیدار او ندیدید. سخن او در شما ثابت نمی‌بود چرا که فرستادهٔ او ایمان ندارید. باز جوئید کتابهارا که می‌پندارید که ازانست شمارا حیات جاویدان. برمن گواهی میدهند و نمیخواهید که سوی من اقبال کنید [ASI.142] تا زندگانی جاوید شمارا قبول کند. من از آدمیان بزرگواری نمیخواهم لیکن من شمارا شناختم که هرآینه در شما محبت خدا نیست. من بنام پدر خود آمدم و مرا قبول نکردید و اگر دیگری بنام خود آید اورا قبول میکنید. چگونه توانید ایمان آوردن شمایان که از یکدیگر بزرگ‌داشت میخواهید و بزرگی‌را از خدا تنها طلب نمیکنید. گمان میبرید که من شمارا پیش پدر شکوه کنم. آنکه شمارا شکوه کند موسی است که برو امید میدارید که اگر بموسی میگروید بمن نیز میگرویدید زیرا که او از من نوشت و اگر شما بر نوشتهای او ایمان ندارید چگونه بر گفتار من ایمان می‌آرید؟» باین گفت‌وگو بزرگان یهود ملزم شدند و شرمنده ماندند. کینه‌را افزایش دادند و در کشتن او بجدتر

1. اورا ز شوی.

شدند، نه از جهت همین که شنبه‌را می‌شکند بلک برای آنکه خدای پدر خود می‌گفت و خودرا باو برابر می‌ساخت. [ل۵۷]

مناظره در تعظیم شنبه

بعد از چند روز از اوریشلیم بزمین دیگر روان شد تا مردم‌را تعلیم [ASI.143] دهد. بسیاری باو پیروی کردند. در کشت‌زاری میگذشت و شاگردان از بسیاری افلاس و گرسنگی خوشها می‌شکستند و بدستهای خود پاک کرده میخورند. بعضی از فریسین که آنجا بودند چون ایشان‌را بنظر حسد مینگریستند ایشان‌را همه بد می‌نمود. پیش ایشوع شکوه بردند و گفتند «هرآینه شاگردان تو در شنبه چیزی میکنند که روا نیست. اشارت بدین بود که تو در محافظت تعظیم شنبه تغفل داری.» او حاجتمندی ایشان‌را عذر ساخت و عمل داودرا حجت آورد و گفت «این‌را نخوانده‌اید که چه کرد هنگامی که او و اصحاب او بخانه خدا درآمدند و نان مایده هم خود خورد و هم با اصحاب خود داد و خوردن این نان بهمین کاهنان روا بود. و پس آیا در ناموس نخواده‌اید که هرآینه کاهنان شنبه‌را در هیکل آلوده می‌سازند و بر ایشان گناه نیست؟ میگویم بشما هرآینه اینجا هست از هیکل بزرگ‌تر. اگر میدانستید چه چیزست که رحمت می‌خواهم نه قربانی، ملامت نمیکردید بر کسی که اورا [ASI.144] گناه نیست. براستی که فرزند آدم هم خداوند شنبه است.» و باین سخنان اوخاموش ماندند.

ازین مجلس برآمد و در شنبهٔ دیگر [ل۵۷ب] در جمع درآمده مردم‌را تعلیم میداد. آنجا مردی بود خشک‌دست. پیش حضرت ایشوع آمد و چشم داشتند که اورا در شنبه صحت دهد تا عیبش کنند چون کار کردن در شنبه ضد دین میدانستند. او که دانندهٔ فکر ایشان بود آن مردرا گفت «در میان ایستاده شو» و از حضرت ایشوع پرسیدند «رواست در شنبه علاج کردن؟» بایشان گفت «از شما می‌پرسم نیک کردن در شنبه رواست؟ باید کردن نفس‌را خلاص کردن یا هلاک ساختن» و هم گفت «کیست از شمایان که اورا گوسفندی در شنبه بچاه افتد و آنرا محکم نگیرد و برنیارد؟ نه آدمی بهتر از گوسفندست؟ پس خوب کردن در شنبه خوبست.» آنگاه سوی ایشان بخشم دید از جهت کوری دلهای ایشان و آن مردرا گفت «دست خودرا دراز کن.» او دراز کرد و دست او همچو دست دیگران دراز شد. اینها بدحال‌تر [2005.145.12a] شدند و باعتقاد میگفتند که ایشوع مرد خدا نیست که شنبه‌را تعظیم نمیکند. فریسین همان زمان بیرون رفتند و بیاران هردوس مصلحت میکردند که اورا چطور هلاک سازند. اما ایشوع و شاگردان او بسوی جلیل روان شدند. و درین مایان‌را تعلیم داد که جدل کردن از میان براندازیم و از همه برداریم و حلیم باشیم، اگرچه مارا نقصان کند. این تعلیم بجهت آن داد تا سخنان ایشعیارا تمامی دهد و سخنان او اینست «اینک جوان من [ل۵۸] که اورا برگزیدم و دوست من که باوست مسرت جان من. روح خودرا برو می‌نهم. آگاه سازد امتهارا از داوری. بانگ نزند و مجادله نکند و هیچ یک آواز اورا در شاهراهها نشنود. نی کوفته نشکند و چراغ میرنده نمیراند تا وقتی که فرمان فیروزی برآید و بنام او امتها امیدوار باشند.»[1]

1. Isaiah 42:1–3: הֵן עַבְדִּי אֶתְמָךְ־בּוֹ בְּחִירִי רָצְתָה נַפְשִׁי נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו מִשְׁפָּט לַגּוֹיִם יוֹצִיא: לֹא יִצְעַק וְלֹא יִשָּׂא וְלֹא־יַשְׁמִיעַ בַּחוּץ קוֹלוֹ: קָנֶה רָצוּץ לֹא יִשְׁבּוֹר וּפִשְׁתָּה כֵהָה לֹא יְכַבֶּנָּה לֶאֱמֶת יוֹצִיא מִשְׁפָּט: *Ecce servus meus, suscipiam eum; electus meus, complacuit sibi in illo anima mea: dedi spiritum meum super eum: judicium gentibus proferet. Non clamabit, neque accipiet personam, nec audietur vox ejus foris. Calamum quassatum non conteret, et linum fumigans non extinguet: in veritate educet judicium:* Behold my servant,

پس ایشانرا گذاشته سوی جلیل رفت و مردم بسیار عقب او بودند. بیمارانرا صحت میداد و آنانکه روحهای پلید بایشان بودند چون اورا میدیدند پیش او می‌افتادند و میگفتند «توئی پسر خدا.» ایشانرا سرزنش کردی تا اورا ظاهر نسازند. [2005.145.12b]

برگزیدن اپوستلس یعنی رسولان

پس از گشتن جاهای مختلف با انبوه مردم بکوه بطور رسید. بطور کوهیست نزدیک ناصره گرد و بلند و بالای آن میدانی است فراخ پردرخت . آخر روز برین کوه برآمد و مردمرا در دامن کوه گذاشت و تمام شب در نماز گذرانید. [ASI.23] بامدادان شاگردانرا طلبید و از همگنان دوازده برگزیده و ایشانرا ابوستلس نامید یعنی رسول و قوت داد که روحهای پلید برانند و هرگونه بیماری و ناتوانی‌را صحت دهند و نامهای این دوازده اینست: شمعان که اورا پیدرو نیز نام کرد و اندراوس برادر او ، یعقوب و یوحنا و فنیلیس و [ل۵۸ب] بَرتُولُوما و متی و توما یعقوب ابن حلفا و شمعان که بنام دیگری غیور خوانده میشد، یهودا بن یعقوب و یهودا اسخریوطی که مسیح‌را بدشمنان سپرد. و تا بیان کند که عالمیان بتعلیم ایشان محتاج اند بایشان فرمود «شمائید نمک زمین و چون نمک تباه شود بچه چیز نمکین گردد ؟ هیچ‌را نشاید مگر آنکه بیرون انداخته شود و پایمال مردم گردد. شمائید نور عالم. نتواند بود که شهری بر کوه ساخته شود پنهان ماند. هم چراغ افروخته زیر پیمانه نمی‌نهند بلکه بر چراغپا تا بآنانکه در خانه باشند روشنائی دهد.» و تا ایشانرا بیاموزد که چگونه باید که بگفتار و کردار آموزند فرمود «همچنین نور شما مردم‌را روشنائی دهد که کردارهای نیک شما ببینند [ASI.26] و به پدر شما که در آسمان‌هاست ستایش کنند.»

بیان کمال نیکوکاری

بعد ازان از بلندی کوه فرود آمد و مردم هجوم آوردند که از جاهای مختلف فراهم آمده بودند تا گفتار او بشنوند و از بیماریهای خویش صحت یابند. آنانکه بایشان روحهای پلید بود و عذابها میکشیدند راحت و شفا یافتند و همگنان‌را آرزو بود که دست بدو رسانند زیراکه ازو قوة معجزه بر می‌آمد و همه‌را صحت میداد. پس برنشست و چشم مبارک بر تلامیذ خود و بر مردم دیگر انداخته دهن [ل۵۹] برگشاد و آغاز بتعلیم ایشان کرد و گفت «خوشا مسکینان‌را بروح چراکه ایشانراست ملکوت آسمان. خوشا آرمیدگان‌را زیراکه ایشان بمیراث گیرند زمین‌را. خوشا اندوهناکانرا چراکه ایشان بیغمی یابند. خوشا ایشان‌را که گرسنه و تشنه اند بجهة نیکوکاری چراکه ایشان سیر شوند. خوشا مهربان‌دلان‌را چراکه بایشان مهربانی کرده شود. خوشا پاک [ASI.27] دلانرا چراکه ایشان بینند خدارا. خوشا آشتی‌دهانرا چراکه ایشان پسران خدا خوانده شوند. خوشا ایشانرا که رانده شوند بدادگری چراکه ایشان‌راست ملکوت آسمان.» درین هشت سخن وانموده است غایت خداپرستی و بزرگی پاداش که در آسمان داده خواهد شد چراکه تا کمال نیکوکاری حاصل شود واجبست که نخستین دل‌را از چیزهای جهان که موانع هستند برکنیم و آنگاه قدم در راه نیکی زنیم. اول‌را در سه سخن نخستین وانمود، دوم‌را در پنج دیگر. پس میگوید «خنک ایشانرا که از جان مسکین اند یعنی دل خودرا بچیزهای این جهان پیوند

whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him: he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, not lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth.

ندهند و این سه پایه دارد: اول، آنکه بدانچه دارد دل‌را متعلق نسازد. دوم، آنکه بدانچه دارد خورسند باشد و در طلب دیگر پریشان نشود. سیوم، آنکه هرچه دارد بفقرا دهد خودرا تهی سازد تا کمال توجه سوی نیکی تواند کرد. و اینست مرتبه اعلی و اینکه از جان گفت اشارت بدان نمود که فقرا اضطراری [ل۵۹ب] هیچ نمی‌ارزد. و از آنجا که رسمست که هرکه از همه میگذرد و فقیر میشود عالمیان ازو پروا ندارند [ASI.28] بلکه اورا رنجها میرسانند. خنک آرمیدگانرا که اینها در محنتها و رنجها به تحمل و بردباری بسر بردند چه فقیر بودن و خشمگین و متکبر شدن نه خدایرا خوش می‌آید و نه مردم‌را.

و از آنجا که بحکم ضرورت و بی‌اختیار خود آزار میکشند، میگوید خنک ایشانرا که میگریند[1] چراکه فقیر و حلیم‌را هیچ مناسبت بشادی نمی‌باشد. اورا باید که بر گناهان خویش و بهر عاقبت آنکه اورا رنجانیده است پیوسته گریه کند. آن زمان برداشت او کامل میشود. باین سه چیز دل از خواستها کنده شد و از موانع نیکی خلاص کردند.

دوم‌را که عبارتست از کوشیدن در خیر بدیگر سخنان بیان میکند. پس میگوید خنک اورا که گرسنه و تشنهٔ دادگریست. درین وانمود که پسند نیست که خودرا کسی از لذت چیزهای دنیا بیرون کشد بلکه واجب است که در پیروی خیر کوشش نماید. همچون کسی که گرسنه و تشنه است زیرا که گرسنه‌را از خوردن تلخ و شیرینی چه پروا؟ و تشنه‌را بآب سرد و خوش چه کار؟ همه میخورد آنکه گرسنه است و می‌آشامد آنکه نشسته است و بر وقت دیگر نمی‌اندازد. همچنین باید که طالب نیکی نیکی‌را بگرسنگی [ASI.29] و تشنگی بجوید و هر بی‌لذتی و بهانه اورا مانع نشود. و آنچه الحال باید کرد آنرا بر وقت دیگر نه‌اندازد. این گرسنگی‌را عقب فقر و حلم و گریه آورد [ل۶۰] چراکه تا لذتهای دنیا باین سه چیز از دل خود بیرون نکند اشتهای او بر کمال خیر صاف نتواند بود.

و از آنجا که آرایش نیکی آنست که بر فقرا رحمت کند، میگوید خنک آنانرا که رحیم اند از دل چراکه نیکی بی‌رحمت گلیست بی‌بوی، روی بی‌رنگ، تن بیجان. هرکه خواهد نیکی کند باید که بر دیگران رحیم باشد در همه حاجتمندیهای جسمانی و روحانی تا خدای رحمت خودرا برای او بدین سبب بفعل آرد و آنچه باو درکارست کرامت کند.

و از آنجا که برای سودمندی رحمت لازم است که آنرا بریا نکنیم که مردم مارا بستایند، میگوید خنک پاکدلانرا که جز خشنودی خدا غرض ندارند و بخاطر او علاج محتاجان میکنند. و پاکیزگی‌را بعد از رحمت آورد چراکه پاکی دل و مغفرت گناهان موقوف بر مهربانی فقراست.

و از آنجا که برای کمال نیکی بسند نیست [ASI.30] که آدمی برای خود نیک باشد و خودرا از نفع دیگران باز دارد. و هم در نیکوئی کردن بخلق بهترین چیز آنست که خلق‌را بهم پیوند دهد، فرمود خنک آشتی‌دهانرا یعنی آنانرا که میکوشند که گناهکاران بسوی خدا برند و برین بیارند که نکوکار شوند و دشمنانرا بهم صلح دهند. این‌را پس از رحمت و پاکی فرمود چراکه آنزمان کسی می‌تواند پیوند داد که مردم دانند که اورا از محض رحمت و بی‌غرض میخواهد که این‌را بجا آرد.

و از آنجا که استقامت در خیر شرطست و صاحب خیر البته محنتها [ل۶۰ب] میکشد، میگوید که خنک ایشانرا که بخاطر دادگری دردها میکشند که تحمل جامه‌ایست که

1. C میکویند.

نیکهارا بدان باید پوشید و در باران محنتها محفوظ داشت و بی آن هیچ نیکی نمی‌توان کرد. برداشتن سه درجه دارد: برداشتن است پس از گناه، و برداشتن است بی‌گناه و این بهتر است، و برداشتن است برای نیکوکاری [ASI.145] و این احسن است چراکه اگر آدمی بردارد و تاب آرد بدانچه مستحق شده است چندان عجب نیست. ستوده آنست که صبر کند و رضا دهد بدانچه بیگناه میکشد و هرگاه بصبر برمیدارد جفاهارا که بخاطر نیکی برو می‌آیند این نهایت برداشت و کمال بردباریست که هرگاه لایق بود که در برابر نیکی نیکی بیند و او بدی میکشد و شکفته‌پیشانی است زیاده بران تحمل نتوان یافت و هرکه بدین هشت صفت موصوف شد در نیکوکاری کامل گردید و مرتبه نیکوکاری بهشت که نیکان‌را میرسد درین سخنان مذکور محسوس میشود در قسم دوم ازین هشت سخن. نخستین میگوید از ایشانست پادشاهی آسمان که بزرگترین مرتبها آنست که پادشاه باشد کسی و ازین کلان‌تر آنکه در آسمان پادشاهی کند و از همه چیز فراخی داشته باشد. و چون هیچ چیز دارندهٔ خودرا خوشی نمیکند تا از خود و پایدار نباشد، در دوم فرمود بمیراث گیرند زمین‌را. میراث اشارت بملکیست و زمین اشارت به پایداری. [ASI.146] و از آنجا که داشتن [ل ۶۱] و پایداری تا راحت و خوشی نمی‌آرد بچیزی ارزد، گفت راحت و تسلی خواهند داشت که آنجاست تمام تسلی و راحت جان و تن. تا وانماید که این مرتبه هرگز کمی نخواهد کرد و نقصان نمیگیرد، گفت سیر[1] شوند که آنجا که سیریست هیچگونه آرزو نیست، تمام آرام شد و هرگاه بیش از لیاقت ما بما خواهد رسید. ازین چیزها که گفته شد فرمود رحمت خواهند یافت چراکه اینجا نسبت بدیگر جاها خدا به نیکوکاران رحمت و کرم خود بیشتر خواهد نمود. تا بنماید که این همه خوبیها نه مانند خوبیهای این جهان خواهد بود فرمود آنجا خدارا خواهند دید که اوست چشمهٔ همه خوبیها که در بهشتند و این خوبیهای بهشت در چیزهای جسمانی و زمینی نبیند مگر در دیدار خدا. و تا بیان کند که دیدن خدا پسرانه و پدرانه خواهد بود، فرمود که پسران خدا خوانده شوند، یعنی خدا بایشان بتمام مهربانی و رحمت و لطف و حرمت کار کند. این است کمال پادشاهی آسمان. بنابرین مکرر گفت ایشان‌راست ملکوت آسمان.

بعد ازینکه کمال نیکوکاری و پاداش آن درین هشت سخن وانمود فرمود «خوشا شمارا چون سرزنش کنند و در کمین شما شوند و گویند [ASI.147] بر شما هر سخن بد بدروغ از جهت من. فرحت گیرید و شاد شوید چراکه مزد شما بزرگ است در آسمان‌ها که همچنین رانده شدند پیغمبران که پیش از شما بوده‌اند. وای مر شمارا ای توانگران چراکه شما راحت خود گرفتید. وای شمارا که اکنون میخندید زیراکه [ل ۶۱ب] زودست که بگریید و اندوهناک شوید. وای مر شمارا چون مردم بر شما نیک گویند زیراکه همچنین میکرده‌اند پدران ایشان به پیغمبران باطل.»

مسیح آمد برای کمال توریت

مپندارید که من آمده‌ام که دین‌را یا پیغمبران‌را براندازم. نیامده‌ام که آنرا منسوخ کنم لیکن تا کامل گردانم. راست میگویم بشما هرآینه آسمان و زمین زوال گیرند اما یک حرف و یک خط توریت کم نشود تا وقتی که همه بجای آید. پس هرکه یک فرمان ازین فرمانهای خورد مهمل گذارد و همچنان آموزد او در ملک آسمان کوچک خوانده شود و هرکه عمل

1. C شیر.

کند و اینچنین آموزد او در ملک آسمان بزرگ خوانده شود.» و بجهت تایید و تمامت این سخن که نیامده‌ام تا براندازم [ASI.148] توریت‌را بلکه تا کامل کنم، فرمود «اگر نیکوکاری شما بر کاتبان [و] فریسین افزون نیاید هرآینه در ملک آسمان درآمدن نتوانید. شنیدید بدانچه گفته شد پیشینیان‌را مکش و هرکه بکشد بر وی حکم واجب شود، اما من میگویم بشما هرکه برادر خودرا بی‌سبب خشم گیرد برو حکم واجب گردد و هرکه برادر خودرا سبک‌سر گوید سرزنش جماعت‌را سزاوار باشد و هرکه برادر خودرا نادان گوید آتش دوزخ‌را شایسته گردد. اگر قربان خودرا بر مذبح نهاده باشی و آنجا بیادت آید که برادرت‌را بر تو رنجشی هست قربان خودرا همانجا بگذار و برو، نخستین برادررا خشنود کن. بعد ازان بیا و قربان خودرا پیش آر. با خصم خود سازگاری [ل۶۲] کن مادامی که با او در راه باشی تا خصم ترا بحاکم نسپارد و حاکم بسرهنگان نسپرد و بزندان نیندازند. راست میگویم که از آنجا بیرون نیائی تا پسین پولی که بر تو باشد ادا نکنی. شنیدید که چه گفته شد چشم‌را چشم، دندانرا دندان، اما من میگویم بشما مقاومت بشریر نکنید ولیکن هرکه برخسارهٔ راست تو زند [ASI.149] رخسار دیگر باو حواله کن. و هرکه خواهد عداوت تو و بستاند جامه تو، چادر خود نیز برای او بگذار. و هرکه ترا یک کروه بکرا[هت] برد دو کروه با او برو. و هرکه از تو بخواهد بده و هرکه وام خواهد محرومش مکن. و همچنانکه میخواهید مردم با شما کنند شما هم اینچنین کنید. شنیدید که چه گفته شد به پیشینیان دوست دارید نزدیکان خودرا و دشمن دارید دشمنان خودرا اما من میگویم بشما دوست دارید دشمنان خودرا و آفرین گوئید بر آنکه شمارا نفرین کند و نیکی کنید آنرا که بشما کینه دارد و دعای خیر کنید بر آنکه شمارا براند و بد گوید و غمگین سازد تا باشید پسران پدر خود که در آسمانهاست، آنکه آفتاب خودرا بر نیکان و بدان می‌تاباند و می‌باراند باران خودرا بر دادگران و ظالمان و گناه‌کاران. اگر دوست دارید آنرا که شما دوست دارد چه مزد باشد شمارا؟ آیا نه بت‌پرستان چنین میکنند؟ و اگر سلام گوئید دوستان خودرا پس چه افزونی کرده باشید؟ آیا نه بت‌پرستان چنین میکنند؟ و اگر نیکی کنید آنرا که بشما نیکی [ASI.150، ل۶۲ب] کند چه زیادتی باشد برای شما زیرا که بدکاران نیز چنین میکنند؟ و اگر وام دهید آنرا که امید دارید که از وی عوض گیرید چه افزونی باشد شمارا چراکه بدکاران نیز به بدکاران چنین وام دهند[1] تا عوض بستانند لیکن دوست دارید دشمنانرا و نیکی کند ایشان‌را. قرض دهید بی آنکه از ایشان امید داشته باشید و مزد شما بسیار خواهد بود و پسران خدای بلند خوانده خواهید شد چراکه او مهربان است بر شاکران و بدان بخشنده باشید همچنانکه پدر شما بخشنده است و کامل باشید همچنانکه پدر آسمانی شما کامل است. شنیدید آنچه گفته شد به پیشینیان زنا نکنید اما من میگویم بشما هرگه نظر کنید بسوی زنی و میلش نماید هرآینه در دل خود زنا کرد. اگر بلنگاند ترا چشم راست تو آنرا برکن و از خودش دور انداز زیراکه به باشد ترا که یک عضو تو هلاک گردد و تمام تن تو بدوزخ انداخته نشود. و اگر بلنگاند ترا دست راست تو بُر آنرا و از خودش دور انداز که بهترست مر ترا که یک اندام [ASI.151] تو هلاک شود ازین که تمام تن تو بدوزخ رود. شنیدید چه گفته شد پیشینیان‌را بدروغ سوگند مخورید و در سوگند خود بخدای خویش وفا کنید و من میگویم بشما سوگند مخورید مطلق نه بآسمان که کرسی خداست و نه بزمین که جای سپردن قدمهای اوست و

1. C دهید؛ L دهند.

نه باوریشلیم که شهر پادشاه بزرگ است و سوگند مخور بسر خویش زیرا که نتوانی که یکتار موی سفید یا سیاه کنی. باید که باشد سخن شما آری آری و نی نی. [ل۶۳] هرچه برین زیادت بود از بدیست.»

چون جان نیکوکاری مقصود نیکست سعی فراوان درین نمود که هرچه کنیم بمقصود نیک کنیم و خدارا در نظر داشته باشیم. بدین سبب فرمود «فکر کنید که نیکی خودرا پیش مردم نکنید تا شمارا ببینند که مزد نخواهد بود شمارا پیش پدر شما که در آسمانست. چون صدقه دهی به بوق بانگ مکن همچنان که منافقان در هنگامها و بازارها میکنند تا ستودهٔ مردم شوند. راست میگویم بشما هرآینه مزد خود گرفتند. و تو چون صدقه دهی چپ تو نداند که راست [ASI.152] تو چه میکند تا صدقهٔ تو پوشیده باشد و پدر تو که می‌بیند نهانرا جزایت میدهد آشکارا.»

در باب نماز فرمود «چون نماز میکنید مثل منافقان نباشید زیرا که ایشان دوست میدارند که بجهت نماز در انجمنها و گوشهای بازار ایستند تا مردمرا بنمایند. راست میگویم بشما هرآینه ایشان اجر خود گرفتند. و تو چون نماز کنی درآی بحجرهٔ خویش و در خودرا بر خود بربند و بپدر خود پنهانی نماز کن و پدر تو که می‌بیند نهانرا ترا میدهد آشکارا. و چون نماز میکنید کلام خودرا همچون بت‌پرستان بسیار نکنید که ایشان می‌پندارند که به بسیاری گفتار خویش ستوده شوند. بایشان مانند نشوید زیرا که پدر شما داناست بهمه دربایست شما پیش ازانکه ازو خواهش کنید.»

در باب روزه فرمود «چون روزه گیرید پژمرده بسان ریاکاران [ل۶۳ب] نباشید که ایشان روی خودرا دگرگون میسازند تا روزهٔ خود بر مردم آشکارا کنند. راست میگویم بشما مزد خود گرفتند و تو چون روزه گیری سر خود چرب کن و روی خود [ASI.153] بشوی تا روزهٔ تو پدید نیاید و پدر تو که میبیند نهانرا ترا دهد آشکارا.»

و تا قطع تعلق از چیزهای دنیا کرده همگی سوی حق رویم، فرمود «ذخیره نسازید برای خود در زمین، جائی که کرم بزیان برد و جائی که دزدان بکاوند و بدزدی برند. ذخیره کنید برای خود در آسمان، جائی که خزنده و کرم بزیان نبرد و نه دزدان بشکافند و نه دزدند زیرا که آنجا ذخیرهٔ تست همان جا دل تست. چراغ تن چشمست. خالص باشد، همگی تن تو روشن بود. اگر چشمت بد باشد، تمام تن تو تیره باشد. پس اگر نوری که در تست تیرگی گردد ظلمت چون چند باشد.» از چشم مقصود میخواهد اگر مقصود فاسد شد کار هم فاسد شد.

و تا خدارا بتمام نیروی خدمت کنیم فرمود «نتواند بودن که هیچ آدمی دو خداوندرا بندگی کند مگر یکی‌را دشمن دارد و یکی‌را دوست یا بزرگ دارد یکی‌را و خوار دیگریرا. نتوانید که خدارا و خواستهارا پرستش کنید. برای این میگویم بشما اندیشه نکنید برای جان خود که چه خورید و چه چیز آشامید و نه برای تن خود [ASI.154] که چه چیز پوشید. نه جان فاضلتر است از خورش و تن از پوشش؟ نظر کنید بسوی پرندگان آسمان که نمی‌کارند و نمی[ل۶۴] درونند و نه انبار میکنند و پدر آسمانی شما ایشانرا روزی میدهد. نه شما افزون‌ترید از اینها؟ که تواند از شمایان هرچند کوشش کند بر بالای خود یک گز افزودن؟ بهرچه اندیشهٔ پوشش میکنید، اعتبار گیرید بسوسن صحرا، چگونه می‌بالد بی رنج بردن و بی کار کردن. میگویم بشما سلیمان با همه بزرگی خود همچون یکی ازینها نپوشید. پس اگر برگ و گیاهرا که امروز هست و فردا در تنور انداخته شود خدا اینچنین می‌پوشاند، نه شما بسی از ایشان بهتر هستید، ای کم‌ایمانان؟ اندیشه‌مند نشوید و نگوئید

که چه خوریم و چه نوشیم و چه پوشیم. این همه‌را امتها میخواهند. پدر شما میداند که شما باین همه محتاجید. پس نخستین ملک خدارا و دادگری اورا طلب کنید و این همه شمارا افزوده شود. اندیشه نکنید برای فردا که فردا غم خود دارد. هر روزرا بدی خود بسند است.»

و تا عیب‌بینی نکنیم فرمود [ASI.155] «داوری نکنید تا داوری کرده نشوید. حکم بر کسی واجب نکنید تا بر شما حکم به بدی کرده نشود چراکه همچنانکه داوری میکنید داوری کرده شوید. ببخشید و بخشیده شوید. بدهید و شمارا داده شود و پیمانه نیک و لب‌ریز بکنار شما ریخته شود زیراکه به پیمانه که پیمائید پیموده شود برای شما. چه می‌بینی خاشاک‌را در چشم برادر خود و اندیشه نمیکنی از چوبی که در چشم تست؟ و چنان برادر خودرا میگوئی ای برادر دستوری ده تا خاشاک از چشم تو بیرون کنم و در چشم تو چوب است. [ل۶۴ب] ای منافق، نخست از چشم خود چوب‌را بیرون کن و آنگاه خواهی دید تا خاشاک‌را از چشم برادرت بیرون کنی.»

آخر برای نیک زیستن کلمه فرمود «هرآنچه میخواهید که مردم با شما کنند شما بایشان چنان کنید. اینست ناموس پیغمبران.» و تا بازی نخوریم و هر مدعی‌را به پیغمبری نگرویم فرمود «پرهیز کنید از پیغمبران دروغ که بشما در لباس بزها بیایند و بدرون گرگان درنده اند. ایشانرا از میوهٔ ایشان شناسید. آیا توان گرد آورد انگورها از خارها یا از [ASI.156] خسک انجیرها؟ همچنین درخت صالح میوهٔ صالح دهد و درخت بد میوهٔ بد دهد. نتواند بود که درخت صالح میوهٔ بد دهد و نه درخت بد میوهٔ خوب دهد. هر درخت که میوهٔ خوب نیارد بریده گردد و در آتش انداخته شود و پس ایشان‌را از میوهای ایشان خواهید شناخت. مرد نیک از اندوختهای نیک که در دل دارد خوبیها بیرون میدهد و مرد بد از اندوختهای بد که در دل اوست بد می‌آرد زیراکه دهن از پری دل میگوید.»

و از آنجاست که ستایش خدا بی‌کردار برای سلامتی کارگر نمیشود، فرمود «نه هرکه مرا گوید «خداوند، خداوند» بملکوت آسمان درآید لیکن هرآنکه خواست پدر آسمانی من کند اوست که در ملک آسمان درآید. چه میگوئید مرا «خداوند، خداوند»؟ کار بسخن من نمیکنید. بسیاری بمن دران روز گویند «خداوند، خداوند، نه بنام تو پیغمبری کردیم و نه دیوان بنام تو راندیم و نه بسیار معجزها بنام تو کردیم؟» [ل۶۵] آن زمان بایشان گویم «من شمارا هرگز نشناختم. دور شوید از من، ای بدکاران.» هرکه بشنود[1] سخنان مرا و بدان کار کند مانند شوند بدانائی که خانهٔ خودرا بر سنگ سخت عمارت کرد. پس ابر فرو آمد و جوها روان شدند و بادها وزیدند و آن خانه‌را حمله کردند و نیفتاد زیراکه اساس او بر سنگ بود. و هرکه شنود سخنان من و بدان کار نکند مانند باشد بنادانی که خانهٔ خودرا بر ریگ عمارت کرد. باران بارید و رودخانها روان شد و بادها وزیدند و آن خانه‌را حمله کردند و افتاد و افتادن او بزرگ بود.»

چون این گفتاررا تمام ساخت همگنان از تعلیم او مدهوش گشتند زیراکه همچون حاکمانه می‌آموخت مانند کاتبان و فریسین ایشان.

ازین فارغ شده سوی شهر نحوم رفت. آنجا رومی بود میر صد، نیک مرد و حلیم. دوست جهودان که بایشان نیکوئیها میکرد. اورا خدمتکاری بود محبوب اما بسیار بیمار. بطلب حضرت ایشوع برآمد و گفت «ای خداوند، کودک من در

1. Probably two folios missing here from the Cleveland manuscript.

خانه بیمار افتاده و در کاهش سختست.» جمعی از یهودان که دران انجمن بودند گفتند «سزاوار است که باو نیکی کنی چراکه دوست یهودان است و مجمعی از مال خود برای ما ساخته.» باو جواب داد «من آیم و اورا تندرست سازم.» آن رومی گفت «ای خداوند من، لایق نیستم که بخانهٔ من درآئی لیکن سخن بگوی و پس کودک من تندرست شود زیراکه [ل۶۵ب] من نیز مردی بقدرت هستم و مرا لشکریست. این‌را میگویم برو و میرود، آن‌را میگویم بیا و می‌آید و بندهٔ خودرا میگویم این بکن و میکند.» حضرت ایشوع چون این سخن شنید در شگفت شد و پیروان خودرا گفت «راست میگویم بشما من چنین ایمان در اسرائیل نیافتم. میگویم بشما که بسیاری از مشرق و مغرب بیایند و بابراهیم و اسحاق و یعقوب در ملک آسمان نشینند و پسران ملک در ظلمت بیرونی انداخته شوند و آنجا گریه و سائیدن دندان باشد.» آنگاه برومی گفت «برو، باشد ترا آنچنانکه صدق آوردی.» در ساعت کودک او صحت یافت.

زنده کردن جوان مرده‌را

درین هنگام که در سیر شهرها بود با جماعت انبوه از شاگردان و دیگر کلانان بشهر نعیم گذر کرد. چون بدر شهر رسید ناگاه از پیش آمد نعش مرده که اورا بگورستان میبردند. جوان بود و یک پسر در خانهٔ مادر و مادر او بیوه. آن بیوه زن نیز همراه مردم آن شهر گریه کنان میرفت. چون خداوند اورا دید برو رحمت آورد و گفت «گریه مکن» و پیش آمد و دست بنعش کرد. آنانکه برداشته بودند ایستادند. ناگاه گفت «ای جوان، بتو میگویم برخیز.» هماندم آن مرده نشست و بسخن درآمد و بمادرش سپرد. ایشان‌را ترس گرفت. [ل۶۶] و خدارا می‌ستودند و میگفتند «پیغمبر بزرگ برای ما پیدا شد. خدا بر گروه خود نظر انداخت.» این خبر در همه یهودان و در ولایتها که حوالی ایشان بودند پراکنده شد و ازین واقعه شاگردان یوحنا بدو خبر بردند و او در زندان بود.

مقید شدن یوحنا

سبب بند کردن یوحنا آن بود که هرودس بزن برادر خویش فلیپ نام مایل شد. نام آن زن هرودیاس بود و اورا بنکاح خود درآورد و این بهیچ وجه حلال نبود زیراکه شوهر او زنده بود و ملک هرودس اگرچه درین گناه بود لیکن بارها برای شنیدن وعظ یوحنا میرفت و اورا ارجمند میداشت و بسخن او بسیار نیکوئیها میکرد. روزی یوحنا تقریب یافته پی برد و باو گفت «حلال نیست که زن برادرت بگیری» و این سخن درو کارگر شد و هرودیاس ازین اندوهناک گشت چراکه میترسید که شاید باین سخن اورا جدا کند و کوشش کرد که ملک هرودس‌را بر یوحنا بی‌اعتقاد [ASI.53] سازد و اورا بکشتن دهد و چندان سعی کرد که بند کردن یوحنا بر دل هردوس نشست تا باری در سخن کردن بملاحظه باشد. و درین زمان که در زندان بود از معجزهای مسیح اورا خبر دادند. او که میدانست که زود کشته می‌شود جهد میکرد که شاگردانش پیش حضرت ایشوع [ل۶۶ب] روند و میگفت که «اوست براستی مسیح آمدنی» لیکن ایشان چندان عاشق یوحنا بودند که بهیچ وجه ازو جدائی نمیدادند و نمیخواستند که اعتقاد کنند کسی ازو بهتر بیاید. و تا ایشانرا به پیروی مسیح پیشتر کشد و برو مایل‌تر سازد اندیشه کرد که چندی از ایشان پیش آوردند و اورا و کارهای عجیب اورا مشاهده کنند. بنابرین دو کس‌را ازینها برگزید و گفت «بروید و ایشوع‌را از جانب من پرسید توئی آن آمدنی یا چشم

بدیگری داریم؟» ایشان رفتند و حضرت ایشوع‌را در میدان کلان یافتند که انبوه مردم‌را تعلیم میدهد و نزدیک شده پیغام یوحنا بدو رسانیدند که «توئی آن آمدنی یا چشم بدیگری داریم؟» حضرت ایشوع بکار خود مشغول بود و تا دعوی خودرا بثبوت [ASI.54] رساند عجیب چیزها کرد. بیماران گوناگون‌را صحت داد از بیماری و از کوری و مردگانرا زنده ساخت که تا آمده‌هارا تسلی کند نخواست که ایشان‌را بگفتار جواب دهد بلکه بکردارها که اینها هستند گواهیهای قوی که از خود کسی تواند داد و نیز بکردن این عجایبات وانمود که بجا آمد آنچه ایشعیا پیغمبر ازو گفته بود در فصل سی و پنجم و اینست «دستهای ضعیف‌را قوی کنید و زانوهای ناتوان‌را نیرومند * هرآینه همان خدا آید شمارا سلامتی دهد. آن زمان چشمهای کوران گشاده شوند و گوشهای کران گشایش [ل۶۷] یابند. دران هنگام لنگ همچون آهو بجهد و زبان گنگان گشاده گردد چراکه در بیابان کافته شوند آبها و در جنگل جویها،»[1] یعنی رحمت و لطف خدا در زمین یهودا آشکارا شود. آنگاه بایشان رخصت داد و گفت «بروید و آنچه دیدید و شنیدید بیوحنا بیان کنید. کوران بینا میشوند و کران می‌شنوند و لنگان براه میروند و پیسان پاک میشوند و مردگان برمیخیزند. مسکینانرا بشارت داده میشود. خنک اورا که در من شک نیارد.» ایشان رفتند و تا مردم [ASI.55] نه‌پندارند که یوحنا از گواهی خود گشته است اورا بستود و فرمود «بدیدن چه بیرون آمدید سوی صحرا؟ آیا بدیدن نی که بادش میجنباند؟ برای دیدن چه آمدید؟ آیا برای دیدن مردی که جامهای نازک می‌پوشد؟ آنانکه جامهای نازک می‌پوشند هرآینه در خانهٔ پادشاهانند. برای چه بیرون آمدید که بینید؟ آیا بدیدن پیغمبری؟ میگویم بشما هرآینه او از پیغمبران بزرگترست آنکه ازو نوشته شده است «اینک فرشتهٔ خودرا پیش روی تو فرستم تا راه ترا پیش تو هموار سازد.» راست میگویم بشما هرآینه در زادگان زنان بزرگوار از یوحنا معتمد برنخاست. آنکه کوچک‌ترست در ملکوت آسمان ازو بزرگترست. همه پیغامبران و دین تا روزگار یوحنا پیغمبری کردند. اگر خواهید که قبول کنید او ایلیاست که خواهد آمد. هرکه گوش شنوا دارد بشنود.» [ل۶۷ب] معنی این سخن این است چنانچه خود بعد ازین بیان کرد که همچنانکه نوشته شده است که پیش ازین که مسیح برای داوری عالم بیاید ایلیا می‌آید و تعلیم مخالف دجال میدهد. [ASI.56] اینچنین یوحنا بهمان قدرت ریاضت و سختی آمد پیش از مسیح که اکنون با شماست و نیز همچنان که ایلیا مردی مرتاض بود و چندان متعصب در دین همچنین یوحناست و همچنانکه شیزه‌بیل[2] زن اکاب ملک اسرائیل در کمین ایلیا بود اینچنین هردویاس زن فلیب یوحنارا چندان کمین کرد که ملک هردوس اورا بخاطر او در زندان کرد. همه مردم که یوحنارا دوست میداشتند و ازو عمادا گرفته بودند.» از شنیدن این ستایش که اورا مسیح کرد شاد شدند اما

1. Isaiah 35:3–6: חַזְּקוּ יָדַיִם רָפוֹת וּבִרְכַּיִם כֹּשְׁלוֹת אַמְּצוּ: אִמְרוּ לִנִמְהֲרֵי־לֵב חִזְקוּ אַל־תִּירָאוּ הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם נָקָם יָבוֹא גְּמוּל אֱלֹהִים הוּא יָבוֹא וְיֹשִׁעֲכֶם:אָז תִּפָּקַחְנָה עֵינֵי עִוְרִים וְאָזְנֵי חֵרְשִׁים תִּפָּתַחְנָה: אָז יְדַלֵּג כָּאַיָּל פִּסֵּחַ וְתָרֹן לְשׁוֹן אִלֵּם כִּי־נִבְקְעוּ בַמִּדְבָּר מַיִם וּנְחָלִים בָּעֲרָבָה: *Confortate manus dissolutas, et genua debilia roborate. ...ecce Deus...ipse veniet, et salvabit vos. Tunc aperientur oculi cæcorum, et aures surdorum patebunt; tunc saliet sicut cervus claudus, et aperta erit lingua mutorum: quia scissæ sunt in deserto aquæ, et torrentes in solitudine:* Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. ...behold, your God...will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing: for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert.

2. شیزه‌بیل *Shēzabēl* reproduces a Portuguese dialect pronunciation of Jezebel (< אִיזֶבֶל *Īzābēl*), normally ازبیل *Izbīl* in Perso-Arabic.

دانایان و فریسین‌را خوش نیامد چون اورا بی‌اعتبار میداشتند و عمادا اورا در حساب نمی‌آوردند. مسیح ایشان‌را ملامت کرد و فرمود «بکه مانند کرده شود مردان این قبیله‌را؟ مانند کم بکودکانی که در بازار نشسته باشند و دیگر کودکان‌را بانگ زنند و گویند سرود کردیم برای شما و شما رقص نکردید. نوحه کردیم برای شما و گریه نکردید. آمد یوحنا که نمیخورد و نمی‌آشامید و گفتند شیطان با خود دارد. [ASI.57] آمد آدمی‌زاده که میخورد و می‌آشامد و همچون دیگران بایشان سلوک میکند و گفتند این مردیست شراب خورد، دوستدار سودخواران که بایشان صحبت میدارد. [ل۶۸] خدا خواست که این گروه‌را باین یا بآن سوی نیکی بیارد. اگر ایشان ازو نصیبه نگرفتند گناه ایشانست» و گفتار دراز ساخته بایشان سخنی نمود که چون بدیدن چندان عجایبات از وی سود نبردند و چون بیشتری از ولایت جلیل بوده‌اند که آنجا بنسبت جایهای دیگر بیشتر تعلیم داده بود و معجزها بسیار کرده بخصوص بعضی آن شهرهارا خطاب کرد و گفت «وای بتو، ای کرزین، وای بتو، ای بت‌صیادا، اگر این عجایبات که در شما شد در صور و صیدان کرده شدی از دیر بپلاس و خاکستر توبه میکردند، اما میگویم بشما هرآینه صور و صیدان‌را در روز قیامت از شما راحت بیشتر باشد. و تو، ای کفرنحوم، آیا بآسمان خواهی برآمد؟ زودست که بدوزخ فرو آئی زیراکه این معجزها که در تو بوده است اگر در صدوم میشد شاید که تا امروز بر پای می‌ماند، اما بتو میگویم هرآینه زمین صدوم‌را در روز قیامت [ASI.58] از تو راحت بیشتر باشد.»

رفتن[1] مسیح به بیت المقدس

ازین جا حضرت ایشوع سیرکنان بشهرها و قریها باوریشلیم رفت. درین شهر زنی بود اصیل از شهر بتانیه، مریم مجدلانیه[2] نام، همشیره مرته. هر دو توانگر بودند. پدر ایشان سیرو نام داشت و مادرشان اوکاریه و ایشانرا برادری بود لعازر نام. این مریم مجدلانیه جوان بوده توانگر و خوش‌شکل و چون بی‌پدر پرورش گرفته بود پریشان می‌زیست و بطوری که میخواست میگشت. دوست میداشت که منظور و محبوب باشد [ل۶۸ب] و برین سبب چیزها میکرد. جامهای فاخر پوشیدی و خودرا آراستی و شوخیها کردی. حاصل که در شهر اوریشلیم به بدکاری نامور بود. خواهرش مرته نام ازان باز که از رفتن خون دائمی که هفت سال داشته است صحت یافته بحضرت ایشوع معتقد بوده و پیوسته کوشش داشت که مریم‌را سوی نیکوکاری بیارد، اما چون درو شوخی بیخ گرفته بود فایده نمیکرد. آخر اندیشه کرد که طوری کند که یکبار تعلیم مسیح بشنود، تواند بود که در دلش تعلیم [2005.145.10a] آسمانی او کار کند و تا اورا برباید از مسیح خبر داد و گفت که «تمام عالم پیش او میرود تا ازو بشنود. بغایت خوش‌روست و در گفتار تمکین.» و او هم ازانکه اورا بیند و هم خودرا بهجوم مردم نماید پیش مسیح رفت. چون اورا دید بخواهش آنکه اورا از کشاکش دنیا برآرد گفتار خودرا بحال او موافق ساخت و از ناپایداری دنیا و از زشتی گناهان و از عقوبتهای دوزخ سخن کرد و تا همه‌را بتوبه بیاورد

1. C روفتن؛ L رفتن.

2. مجدلانیه *Majdalāniyya* is the correct Arabic for Magdalene (< Μαγδαληνή < מִגדָּל *migdol* 'tower'). Later in the text (ASI.304/L136b), مژدلانیه with the Portuguese soft 'g' pronunciation [ʒ] is used.

در بزرگی رحمت خدا که گنهکاران‌را میکند سخن‌را دراز گردانید و چندان سخنان مؤثر گفت که او بجمیع وجوه دیگر گشت و چنان واقع شد آن روز یکی از فریسین مسیح‌را درخواست کرد که مهمان او شود. او که میدانست که این جایگه بخانهٔ آن عاصی نزدیک است راضی شد و رفت و بخوردن مشغول شدند. مریم بدکار که زخمی بود و بدل دیگرگون پرسیده یافت که مسیح بخانهٔ این [ل۶۹] فریسین رفته است و بی‌آنکه دیر کند قرابه بلورین پر بخوشبوئی گران‌بها گرفت و گریه‌کنان پریشان‌موی همانجا رفت و در هجوم مردم خودرا در پای [2005.145.10b] مسیح انداخت [ASI.35] بی آنکه حرف گوید. یکی در گریه بود و این بجائی رسید که پای مبارک او بأشک چشمان خود تر ساخت و بموی خشک میکرد و بوسه میداد و عطررا به پا میالید و آن چیزهارا که سبب گناهان او بودند همه‌را بخدمت باز گردانید و این همه چیزها میکرد بی آنکه سخن کند چراکه گریستن اورا فرصت سخن کردن نمیداد. مسیح مبارک خاموش بود و عاصی‌را در گریستن و نمودن نشانهای توبه گذاشت. این همه مردم که آنجا بودند از دیدن چیزی چندان عجیب و تازه حیرت می‌نمودند و بد می‌بردند چون آن زن‌را و سبک‌کاری اورا خوب میدانستند و بیشتر ازین که مسیح اورا چطور گذاشته است که دست باو رساند، خاصه آن فریسین که اورا مهمانی خود ساخته بود و خود اندیشه میکرد و میگفت «اگر این پیغمبر بودی هرآینه دانستی که کیست و چه‌سانست این زن که دست باو میرساند چراکه عاصی است.» مسیح که از اندیشهٔ دلش آگاه بود فرمود «ای شمعون، مرا با تو سخنیست.» او گفت «ای بزرگوار، بگو.» آنگاه فرمود [ASI.36] «یکی‌را بر دو کس وام بود. بر یکی پانصد دینار و بر دیگری پنجاه. و چون تهی‌دست بودند و چیزی نداشتند که قرض اورا ادا سازند او هر دورا بخشید. کدام کس ازین هر دو اورا بیشتر [ل۶۹ب] دوست میدارد؟» شمعون جواب داد «گمان من این است که آنکه اورا بیشتر بخشید.» مسیح فرمود «حق گفتی.» آنگاه رو بسوی زن کرد، بشمعون گفت «می‌بینی این زن‌را؟ بخانهٔ تو درآمدم، آب بر پای من نریختی و این زن همین که درآمد باشک هر دو پای من تر گردانید و بموی سر خشک ساخت. تو مرا بوسه ندادی و این ازان گاه که درآمده از بوسیدن پای من بس نکرد. تو سر من بروغن زیتون چرب نکردی و این بعطر گران‌بها پای من چرب ساخت. بنابرین ترا میگویم که گناهان او بخشیده شد زیراکه دوست بسیار داشت. هرکرا اندک بخشیده شود اندک دوست دارد و هرکه اندک دوست دارد آمرزش اندک یابد.» آنگاه زن‌را گفت «گناهان تو بخشیده شدند.» آنانکه در آنجا نشسته بودند در دلهای خود اندیشه میکردند «این کیست [ASI.37] که گناهان می‌بخشد؟» مسیح مبارک ازینها پروا نداشت و آن زن‌را گفت «بسلامتی برو. ایمان تو ترا خلاصی داد» و رفت و ازان روز مطلق دیگرگون گشت و آنکه پیش ازین نشانهٔ بدکاری بود اکنون نمونهٔ نیک‌کرداری شد و همیشه در ریاضت و عزلت و فکر اسرار خدا بود. و بعد ازانکه ایشوع مسیح بر آسمان رفت یهودان اورا از ملک خود بیرون کردند و بکشتی نشانده سر دادند و او در همان کشتی به بندر مرسیله نام که ملک فرانسه است رسید و در آن زمین از مسیح و انجیل او خبر داد و [ل۷۰] بسیاریرا بدین او آورد. آنگاه کوهی اختیار کرد و همان جا سی سال بغایت پرهیزگاری و عبادت فکری در غاری بسر برد و هر روز هفت بار اورا ملایکه بآسمان می‌بردند. درین حالت مرد.

درین شهر اورشلیم دیوگرفته‌را پیش مسیح آوردند که کور

و کر و گنگ بود. مسیح اورا حاکمانه فرمود که «ازین مرد بیرون رو» و او هماندم جدا شد و آن مرد گویا و بینا و شنوا گردید. مردم‌را شگفت شد و میگفتند «نه پسر داودست این ؟ هرگز در ملک [ASI.38] خود چنین ندیدیم.» فریسین‌را که نیکنامی او زیان ایشان بود از شنیدن این بد آمده و تا اورا بی‌اعتبار سازند میگفتند که «دیوان‌را بقوت بلذبوب سردار دیوان میراند.» مسیح چون از اندیشه دل ایشان خبر داشت فرمود «هر پادشاهی که مخالفت در خود دارد ویران شود و هر شهر و خانه که خود بضر خود شد بر پای نماند. اگر شیطان شیطان‌را بدر میکند ملک ایشان منقسم شد. پس ملکش چگونه بر پا ماند که شمایان میگوئید که من دیوان‌را بقوت بلذبوب میرانم و اگر من دیوان‌را بقوت بلذبوب بدر میکنم پسران شمایان بقوت که بدر میکنند ؟ بنابرین ایشان بر شما حکم کنند. پس اگر من دیوان‌را بانگشت خدا بدر میکنم هرآینه ملکوت خدا بشما رسید. هرگاه مردانهٔ مسلح خانهٔ خود پاسبانی میکند هرچه در آن خانه است در امن است و اگر ازو تواناتری [ل ۷۰ب] بیاید و بر وی غالب شود همگی سلاح او که بران اعتمادش بود میگیرد و هرچه در آن خانه است می‌ستاند. آنکه با من نیست ضد منست و آنکه با من [ASI.39] گرد نمیکند پراکنده میسازد. هرگاه روح پلید از آدمی بیرون میرود در زمینهای بی‌آب و خشک میگردد تا آسایش گیرد و چون نمی‌یابد میگوید باز بخانهٔ خود روم که از آن جا برآمده‌ام و چون می‌آید و آنرا پاک روفته و آراسته می‌یابد آن هنگام میرود و هفت تن دیگر پلیدتر همراه خود می‌آرد و در آن خانه مقیم میشوند و انجام آن مرد بدتر از آغازش باشد.»

درین هنگام که این سخن میگفت زنی بانگ زد و گفت «خنک آن شکم که ترا آورد و پستان که آن‌را مکیدی» لیکن حضرت ایشوع گفت «خنک اند آنانکه گفتار آدمی شنوند و بران عمل می‌کنند.»

درین بود که مادرش و چندین از خویشان آمدند لیکن از هجوم مردم باو رسیدن نتوانستند. یکی بدو رسید و گفت «مادر تو و برادرانت بیرون هستند و آرزوی دیدار تو دارند.» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد و گفت «کیست مادر من ؟ و کیستند برادران من ؟» و نظر بر رسولان خود کرده فرمود «اینک مادر من و برادران من زیرا که هرکه میکند [ASI.40] رضای پدر من که در آسمانست اوست برادر من و خواهر من و مادر من.»

هرچند سخن خودرا درازتر کرد مردم از آوازهٔ معجزهای او بیشتر هجوم آوردند. آن فریسین و نویسندگان [ل ۷۱] گفتند «مارا نشانه در آسمان بنما.» بایشان جواب داد و گفت «قبیلهٔ بد و فاسق نشانه میخواهد و نشانه داده نشود اورا مگر نشانهٔ یونس پیغمبر زیرا که همچنانکه یونس نشانه بود برای نینویان همچنین آدمی‌زاده برای این قبیله باشد که همچنانکه یونس پیغمبر سه شبانه‌روز در شکم ماهی بود همچنان آدمی‌زاده سه شبانه‌روز در دل زمین باشد. مردم نینوی در روز قیامت برخیزند و برین قبیله محاکمه کنند چراکه ایشان بسخنان یونس[1] توبه کردند و اینک اینجا از یونس بزرگتر است. ملکهٔ جنوب بروز داوری بضد این قبیله برخیزد و محاکمه کند زیرا که او از اقصای زمین آمد تا حکمت‌را از سلیمان بشنود و اینک اینجا از سلیمان بزرگتر است.»

درین گفتار بود که یکی از فریسین از وی درخواست که مهمان او شود و با او طعام خورد و بخانه او درآمد و نشست و درین مجلس بسیاری از نویسندگان [ASI.41] و فریسین

1. C یونان.

فراهم بودند. چون آن فریسین دید که دست ناشسته طعام میخورد در شگفت شد. حضرت ایشوع باو گفت «اکنون شمایان، ای گروه فریسین، بیرون جام و طبق می‌شوئید ولیکن درون شما به بدکاری و ستم پرست. ای نادان، آنکه بیرون‌را کرده است او درون‌را نیز ساخته است. ای فریسی کور، نخستین درون کاسه‌را پاک کن. آنگاه بیرون ایشان پاک باشد. وای بشما نویسندگان‌را و فریسین که [ل ۷۱ب] ریاکارانید زیرا که شما می‌مانید بگورهای سفید که از بیرون مزین و آراسته می‌نمایند و درون اینها پر از استخوان مردگان و هرگونه پلید است. همچنین شمایان از بیرون مردم‌را نیکوکار و دادگر مینمائید، اما درون بریا و دوروئی و بدی آموده‌اید. وای بشما، ای فریسین، زیرا که دوست میدارید بالانشینی‌را در انجمنها و سلام‌را در بازارها.» یکی از نادایان دین گفت «ای خداوند، مارا بدین سخن اهانت میکنی ؟» جوابش داد و گفت «هم شمارا وای، ای استادان دین، چراکه [ASI.42] بر مردم بارهای گران می‌نهید که بردن نمی‌توانند و خود شمایان سر انگشت ببارها نمی‌رسانید.» فریسین و نویسندگانرا این سخن گران آمد و افترا کردن گرفتند و در سخنان او پیچیدند.

رفتن مسیح از اوریشلیم

از اوریشلیم بیرون رفت و در قریها و دیها سیر میکرد و تعلیم میداد. دوازده رسول در ملازمت او بودند و هنگام که بر کنار دریا رسید هجوم مردم بیشتر شد. چون از هر سو خیل خیل و جماعه جماعه می‌آمدند بکشتی درآمد و در تعلیم ایشان آغاز کرد و مثلها آورد و تا مراتب اثررا که تعلیم خدا در مردم میکند بیان سازد این مثل آورد: برزگر بیرون شد تا کشت کند. در زمان تخم افشاندن [ل ۷۲] پارهٔ سر راه افتاد و پایمال گردید و پرندگان آسمان خوردند. لختی در سنگلاخ افتاد در جائی که خاکش بسیار نبود. در ساعت برآمد زیرا که ته نداشت و چون آفتاب تابید سوخته گشت و چون بیخ نداشت خشک گردید. [ASI.43] برخی در خار جا افتاد. پس خارها بالید و آن‌را خفه کرد و از میوه دادن باز داشت. و پاره در زمین صالح افتاد. رست و بالید و بزرگ شد و بار داد. یکی شصت، یکی سی.» آنگاه بانگ زد و گفت «هرکرا دو گوش شنوا باشد بشنود.»

وقتی که بخلوت شد شاگردان بدو رسیدند و گفتند «چراست که بایشان بمثالها سخن میکنی ؟» بایشان جواب داد و گفت «بشما معرفت اسرار ملکوت آسمان داده شد و بایشان داده نشد مگر در مثلها که هرکه دارد اورا داده و افزوده شود و آنکه ندارد آنچه دارد ازو گرفته شود، یعنی آنکه بمقتضای دانش خود کارگر میکند دانش برو افزوده میشود و هرکه موافق زندگانی نمیکند از وی گرفته میشود. ازین جهت مثلها بایشان می‌آرم چراکه ایشان می‌بینند و نمی‌بینند، می‌شنوند و نمی‌شنوند و در نمی‌یابند و در ایشان پیغمبری ایشعیا بجا می‌آید که گفت «شنوند شنیدنی و درنیابند و بینند دیدنی و نبینند. هرآینه سخت شد دلهای ایشان و گران گردید گوشهای ایشان و پوشیده گشت چشمهای ایشان [ASI.44] تا مبادا بچشمهای خود بینند و بگوشهای خود [ل ۷۲ب] شنوند و بدلهای خود یابند.»[1] و

1. Isaiah 6:9–10: וַיֹּאמֶר לֵךְ וְאָמַרְתָּ לָעָם הַזֶּה שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמוֹעַ וְאַל־תָּבִינוּ וּרְאוּ רָאוֹ וְאַל־תֵּדָעוּ: הַשְׁמֵן לֵב־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְאָזְנָיו הַכְבֵּד וְעֵינָיו הָשַׁע פֶּן־יִרְאֶה בְעֵינָיו וּבְאָזְנָיו יִשְׁמָע וּלְבָבוֹ יָבִין *Et dixit: Vade, et dices populo huic: Audite audientes, et nolite intelligere; et videte visionem, et nolite cognoscere. Excæca cor populi hujus, et aures ejus aggrava, et oculos ejus claude: ne forte videat oculis suis, et auribus suis audiat, et corde suo intelligat...:* And he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart....

سوی من آیند و ایشان‌را شفا دهم اما خنکی باشد بچشمان شما چراکه می‌بینند و بگوشهای شما چراکه می‌شنوند. راست میگویم بشما بسیاری از اولیا و انبیا آرزو کردند که آنچه شما می‌بینید ببینند و ندیدند و آنچه می‌شنوید بشنوند و نشنیدند. این مثال نمی‌فهمید و دیگر مثالها چگونه خواهید فهمید؟ مثل بزرگر بشنوید. بیانش این است: تخم سخن خداست و سر راه مردی که کلام خدا می‌شنود و نمی‌فهمد و بدان توجه نمیکند و مرغ رباینده شیطان است که آنچه در دلش کاشته شد می‌رباید تا ایمان نیارد و سلامت نیابد. آنچه بر سنگ‌لاخ افتاد آنست که آنرا شنونده می‌شنود و هماندم بعبرت[1] بر میگیرد ولیکن زمانی بیش در دلش پایداری نباشد و چون سختی و دشواری بجهت کلام حق پیدا شود هماندم شک می‌آرد و می‌لغزد. آنچه خارها کاشته شد کلام است از حق که آنرا شنونده میشنوند و اندیشهای [ASI.45] زمانه و فریبهای دولت و آرزوهای نفس آن کلام‌را در وی خفه میکند وآنکس بی‌ثمره[2] و بی‌سود مینماید. آنچه در زمین صالح کاشته شد آن است که آن‌را شنونده گفتار خدا بدل خوب و پاک می‌شنود و می‌فهمد و بعمل می‌آرد و بر میدهد یکی صد، یکی سی، یعنی هرکس‌را باندازه استعداد.

آوردن مثلهای دیگر

[ل۷۳] مثل دیگر آورد و گفت «ملکوت آسمان میماند بمردی که تخم نیک در مزرعه خود کشت و چون شب درآمد و مردم غنودند دشمن او آمد و تلخ دانه در میان گندم او کشت و رفت. هرگاه گندم روئید و بار داد وآن تلخدانه پدید آمد خذمتکاران آن کدخدا آمدند و باو گفتند ایخداوند، نه تخم نیک در کشت خود کاشتی؟ از کجا این تلخ دانه آورد؟ او گفت همانا این کار دشمن است. غلامانش گفتند میخواهی که رویم و آنرا جمع سازیم؟ او گفت مبادا بگرد کردن تلخدانه گندم نیز برکنده شود. بگزارید که هر دو ببالند تا زمان که درو رسد آن زمان [ASI.46] درودگان‌را بگویم نخست تلخ دانه گرد آرید و بارها برای سوختن بربندید اما گندم‌را در خورزینهای منجمع سازید.» چون بخانه رسید تلامیذ بیان این مثل خواستند. بایشان فرمود «آن برزگر آدمی‌زاده است و زمین صالح دنیا و تخم پسران ملکوت. تلخ دانه فرزندان بدکار و آن دشمن کارنده شیطان است. هنگام درو پایان جهان درودگان فرشتگانند. پس همچنانکه تلخ‌دانه چیده و در آتش سوخته شود همچنان آدمی‌زاده در پایان دنیا فرشتگان خودرا فرستد و ایشان همه ستمکاران و بدکرداران‌را در ملکوت او گرد آوردند و در تنور آتش اندازند. آنجا باشد گریه و سائیدن دندان. آن زمان نیکوکاران در ملکوت پدر خود مانند آفتاب [ل۷۳ب] روشن شوند. هرکرا دو گوش شنوا باشد بشنود.»

مثل دیگر آورد: «ملکوت آسمان میماند بذخیرهٔ که در بیابان باشد. آن‌را چون کسی یابد پنهان کند و بشادی رود و هرآنچه دارد فروخته آن زمین‌را خرد.»

نیز فرمود «ملکوت آسمان میماند ببازرگانی که گوهر بیش‌بها میجوید. چون گوهر [ASI.47] بیش‌بها یافت رفت و هرآنچه داشت فروخته آن‌را بدست آورد.»

و تا بیان کند که نیکان و بدان درین دنیا چگونه آمیزش دارند مثل آورد و گفت «ملکوت آسمان میماند بدامی که بدریا افتاد و از هرگونه ماهی گرد آورد و چون پر شد بیرون کشیدند و بکنار نشسته ماهی‌های خوب در آغارها بنهادند و زشت انداختند. همچنین در پایان این جهان ملایک برون آیند و بدان‌را از نیکان جدا کنند و در تنور آتش اندازند. آنجا

1. C & L بعشرت.
2. C بی‌شمره؛ L بی ثمره.

باشد گریه و سائیدن دندان.»

آنگاه بایشان گفت «این همه فهمیدید؟» گفتند «بلی.» فرمود «هر کاتب دانا در ملک آسمان میماند بمردی کدخدا که از اندوختهای خود کهنه و نو برون آرد.»

بسیار مثلها در هنگام تعلیم می‌آورد. اینچنین در زبور ازو نوشته که «بمثلها دهان خود خواهم گشاد. ظاهر خواهم ساخت آن چیزها که در آغاز جهان پوشیده ماندهاند.»[1]

فرستادن مسیح رسولان خود [ل۷۴]

درین هنگام دوگان دوگان‌را از دوازده رسول بدعوت نامزد [ASI.48] کرد و ایشان‌را بر جانهای عالمیان قدرت داد و رخصت فرمود و گفت «پیش امتان نروید و بشهرهای سامریان نه درآئید بل روانه شوید بسوی گوسفندمادها که از خانهٔ اسرائیل گم شدهاند. چون رسیده باشید ندا کنید و بگوئید که هرآینه ملکوت آسمان نزدیک رسیده است. شفا دهید بیمارانرا، برانگیزانید مردگانرا، پاک سازید پیسانرا، بیرون کنید دیوانرا. رایگان گرفتید، رایگان بدهید. ذخیره نسازید زر و نه سیم‌را و نه مس‌را بکیسهای خود در سفر و هم نگاه ندارید دو جامه و نه موزه‌ها و نه عصا چراکه کارکن سزاوارست طعام خویش‌را. بهر شهر و دیه که درآئید از کسی که شایان باشد تفحص کنید و همانجا باشید تا وقتی که بیرون روید و چون بخانه درآئید سلام گوئید آنرا باین سخن سلام این خانه و اگر آن خانه سزاوار است سلام شما بر آن میرسد اما اگر سزاوار نیست سلام شما بسوی شما باز میگردد. و هرکه شمارا نگرود و سخن شما نشنود چون از آن خانه یا از آن شهر بیرون آئید گرد از قدمهای خود بیفشانید. راست [ASI.49] میگویم بشما بزمین سدوم و غامور در روز قیامت از آن شهر راحت بیشترست. هرآینه من میفرستم شمارا همچون گوسفندمادها میان گرگان. پس حکیمان باشید بسان [ل۷۴ب] مار و ساده‌دل همچون کبوتر. از مردم بملاحظه باشید که شمارا در محفلها بسپارند و در محکمها شکنجه کنند. و پیش حاکمان و پادشاهان برده شوید از جهة من بگواهی ایشان و امتان. چون سپرده شوید اندیشه نکنید که چگونه و چه چیز گوئید. بدرستی که در آن ساعت داده شود شمارا آنچه خواهید گفت چراکه آن گویندگان نه شمائید بلکه روح پدر شما که در شما گوینده باشد. و زمانی آید که برادر برادررا بمرگ سپارد و پدر پسررا و پسران بر پدران خویش برخیزند و ایشان‌را بکشند و دشمن دارند شمارا همه مردم از جهة نام من. و آنکه تا آخر بشکیبد او سلامتی یابد. چون شمارا آواره کنند و ازین شهر برانند بدیگری شهر بگریزید. راست میگویم بشما هرآینه تمام شهرهای اسرائیل‌را هنوز تمام نساخته باشید که آدمی‌زاده رسیده باشد. نه شاگرد افزون‌ترست از آموزگار خود. بنده فاضلتر از خداوند خود. [ASI.50] بس باشد شاگردرا که همچون آموزانندهٔ خود بود و بنده‌را که مانند صاحب خود. هرگاه خداوند خانه‌را ممتر دیوان نام کنند بمردم خانه او چه رسد؟ پس از ایشان مترسید. هیچ پوشیده نیست که ظاهر نشود و هیچ نهفته نیست که آشکارا نگردد. آنچه میگویم بشما در تاریکی شما آن‌را در روشنائی بگوئید و هرآنچه بگوش بشنوید بر بامهای منادی کنید. میگویم بشما، ای دوستان من، مترسید از ایشان که تن‌را [ل۷۵] بکشند و جان‌را هلاک کردن نیارند. بنمایم شمارا که از که ترسید. بترسید از کسی که بتواند جان‌را و تن‌را بدوزخ هلاک کردن. اینچنین میگویم بشما ازو بترسید. نه دو گنجشک بیک پیل

1. Psalm 78:2: אֶפְתְּחָה בְמָשָׁל פִּי אַבִּיעָה חִידוֹת מִנִּי־קֶדֶם: *Aperiam in parabolis os meum; loquar propositiones ab initio:* I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old.

فروخته می‌شود؟ و یکی ازینها بی‌فرمان پدر شما بر زمین نیفتد اما از شمایان تا تارهای موی سر شما همه شمرده شده است. پس مترسید که شما بسی بهتر هستید از گنجشکان. هرکه بمن پیش مردم بگرود و اقرار کند من ازو پیش پدر خود که در آسمانهاست اقرار کنم. و هرکه پیش مردم از من منکر شود من پیش پدر خود که در آسمانهاست ازو منکر شوم. مپندارید [ASI.51] که آمده‌ام تا آشتی بر زمین اندازم. نیامده‌ام برای انداختن آشتی لیکن شمشیر. آمده‌ام تا جدا بکنم[1] پسررا از پدر خود و دخترزا از مادر خود و عروس‌را از خشوعهٔ خود چراکه از دشمنان آدمی خانگیان اویند. هرکه پدررا یا مادررا بیش از من دوست دارد مارا نشاید و هرکه پسررا یا دخترزا بیشتر از من محبت دارد او لایق من نیست. و هرکه صلیب خود بر ندارد و پیروی من کند سزاوار من نیست. هرکه خودرا یافت هلاکش ساخت و هرکه بجهت من ترک خود کند خودرا یافته بود. آنکه شمارا قبول کند قبول کرده باشد اورا که مرا فرستاده است. هرکه پیغمبررا بنام پیغمبر قبول کند مزد پیغمبر گیرد و هرکه نیکوکاررا بنام نیکوکاری قبول کند مزد نیکوکار ستاند. و هرکه [ل۷۵ب] کاسه آب سرد بیکی از کودکان من محض بنام شاگرد داد، راست میگویم بشما هرآینه مزد او گم نشود.»

رسولان خودرا باین و دیگر سخنان تعلیم داد که از انجیل او چگونه باید که آگاهی دهند و چسان در عالم بگردند و چطور بردارند و در جفاهای خود چسان استقامت نمایند و نیکی کنند [ASI.52] بآنانکه ایشان‌را بدی کنند. و خبر داد از محنتها که ایشان و دیگر مومنان خواهند کشید و از پاداشی که خدا بایشان و دیگر پیروان خواهد داد اگر بندگی کنند و در اقرار او استقامت نمایند. پس در شهرها و دیهها میگشتند و میگفتند که توبه کنید و از مسیح خبر دادند و دیوان و شیاطین‌را بدر میکردند و بیماران‌را روغن میمالیدند و صحت میدادند.

قتل یوحنا

گذارده شد که یوحنارا هردوس در زندان کرد و زنش هردویاس نام بسیار آرزو داشت و کوشش میکرد که یوحنا کشته شود اما بکام نمیرسید چراکه هردوس از یوحنا ملاحظه میکرد و میدانست که هرآینه مردیست پاک‌سیرت و برو اعتقاد داشت [و] در سخنان او عمل میکرد. روزی جشن ولادت هردوس بود. مهمانی کرد و بزرگان و سران جلیل‌را طلبید و درین هنگام دخترش درآمد و رقص کرد. هردوس و دیگر اهل مجلس‌را خوش افتاد و آنگاه بدخترک [2005.145.11a] گفت «از من بخواه هرچه [ل۷۶] میخواهی ترا میدهم» و قسم خورد و گفت که «هرچه خواهی بدهم اگرچه نیمهٔ ملک من باشد.» دختر بیرون شد. مادر خودرا پرسید که «چه چیز درخواست کنم؟» مادرش گفت «سر یوحنا.» آن دختر سوی ملک شتاب آورد و گفت «می‌خواهم که سر یوحنا بر طبق نهاده بمن دهی.» ملک از سوگند خود پشیمان شد اما بواسطه قسم مجلسیان نخواست که اورا این باز دارد و آزرده کند. جلادرا طلبید و گفت «برو و سرش در طبق کرده بیار.» او رفت و سرش بریده و در طبق آورده بدختر سپرد. [ASI.31] او گرفت و بمادر خود داد. شاگردان یوحنا شنید[ند] و تنش برداشته بخاک سپردند و حضرت ایشوع‌را ازین خبر دادند. درین هنگام آوازهٔ مسیح بملک هردوس رسید و کارهای عجیب اورا شنید. بعضی گفتند یوحناست که از مردگان برخاست و دیگران میگفتند که ایلیا

1. C نکنم؛ L بکنم.

پیدا شد و جمعی میگفتند پیغمبریست همچون دیگران پیغمبران. چون هردوس شنید و گفت «من سر یوحنا بریده‌ام. شاید که او از مردگان برخاسته است، کرامتها نماید.»

درین زمان چندی از فریسین پیش مسیح آمدند و گفتند «ازینجا بیرون رو که هردوس در طلب کشتن تست.» جواب داد و فرمود «بروید بآن روباه بگوئید امروز و فردا دیوان میرانم و بیمارانرا صحت میدهم. روز سیوم تمام میشوم و مرا باید که امروز و فردا مقیم باشم و روز آینده بروم زیرا که هیچ نبی بیرون شهر خود هلاک [ل۷۶ب] کرده نشد.» رسولان که فرستاده شده بودند باز آمدند و از آنچه کرده و آموخته بودند یکیک پیش او بیان کردند. بایشان [ASI.32] فرمود که «شمایان بخلوت آئید تا آسایش گیرید.» این گفت چراکه آیندگان و روندگان چندان بودند که فرصت طعام خوردن نداشتند.

رفتن مسیح بصحرا

پس بکشتی درآمده سوی بیابان رفتند و آنجا رسیده بخلوت شدند. مردم ازین آگاهی که ایشوع فلان جاست از هر سو شتاب آوردند و هجوم کردند. چون حضرت ایشوع برآمد انبوه مردم دید و بر ایشان رحمت کرد زیراکه همچون گوسفندان بی‌شبان بودند. آنگاه در تعلیم ایشان آغاز کرد و بیماران‌را صحت داد. چون دیر شد شاگردان گفتند «این بیابانست و روز بآخر رسید. مردم‌را دستوری ده که بشهرها و قریها حوالی درآیند تا خورش بدست آرند که چیزی ندارند که خورند.» بایشان فرمود که «احتیاج برفتن ندارند. شما بایشان خورش دهید.» ایشان گفتند که «ما بیش از پنج نان و دو ماهی نداریم.» حضرت ایشوع فلیبس فرمود «از کجا نان خریم تا اینها بخورند؟» و این سخن بجهت [ASI.33] آن فرمود که اورا امتحان کند چراکه فلیبس میدانست آنچه او خواهد کرد. فلیبس جواب داد و گفت «نان دویست [ل۷۷] دینار باین مردم وفا نکند اگر هرکدام ازینها پرچهٔ داده شود.» یکی از شاگردانش اندراوس نام برادر شمعان گفت «اینجا کودکیست که پنج نان جوین و دو ماهی دارد اما این قدر بچندان مردم چه بس کند؟» حضرت ایشوع بایشان فرمود ««مردم‌را بنشانید» و آنجا علف‌زار بود. حضرت ایشوع نان گرفت و دعای برکت خواند و بر ایشان که نشسته بود بخش کرد و همچنان از آن ماهی آن قدر که خواستند بایشان داد. چون سیر شدند بشاگردان فرمود ریزها که باقی ماندند گرد کنند تا گم نشود. ایشان گرد آوردند و دوازده سبد پر کردند. و این مردم که ازان پنج نان و دو ماهی سیر شدند پنج هزار کس بشمار آمدند بغیر زنان و بچگان. ایشان که معجزهای اورا مشاهده کردند گفتند «این براستی همان پیغمبریست که بعالم آمدنیست یعنی مسیح.» مسیح چون دانست که ایشان‌را خیال آنست که اورا بدست آرند و پادشاه خود سازند تنها [ASI.34] بسوی کوه گریخت.

رفتن مسیح بجناسر

چون شب‌هنگام شد بشاگردان فرمود «بکشتی درآئید و پیش از من بزمین بت‌سایده روید. من زمانی هستم تا مردم‌را رخصت کنم.» چون مردم‌را وداع کرد خود ببیابان درآمد که نماز کند. شاگردان بکشتی درآمدند و روان شدند. تاریکی [ل۷۷ب] درگرفت و دریا از طوفان باد بجنبش درآمد. مقدار دو فرسنگ رفتند. درین حال بودند که در پاس چهارم شب حضرت ایشوع بسوی ایشان برآمد و بر روی آب میرفت و خواست که از ایشان بگذرد و چون ایشان دیدند که بر روی آب میرود ترسیدند و گمان کردند که خیالیست. بانگ زدند و اضطراب نمودند. دران زمان حضرت ایشوع

گفت «امیدوار باشید. منم و نه‌ترسید.» پیدرو گفت «ای خداوند، اگر توئی بفرمای که من بر روی آب پیش تو آیم.» او فرمود «بیا.» پیدرو هماندم از کشتی فرود آمد و بر آب روان شد تا پیش ایشوع رود و از تندی آب و باد ترسید و نزدیک بود که فرو رود. آن زمان فریاد کرد[1] و گفت «خداوند، مارا خلاص کن.» حضرت ایشوع دست خود دراز کرد و اورا گرفت و فرمود «ای کم‌ایمان، چرا شک آوردی؟» آنگاه بکشتی رسیدند و همینکه سوار شدند باد آرامش گرفت و آنانک دران کشتی بودند اورا سجده کردند و گفتند «براستی پسر خدائی.» و روانه شدند و بزمین جاناسر رسیدند. و چون مردم آن ولایت اورا شناختند در شهرها و دیهها حوالی این خبر فرستادند و همه بیماران‌را پیش او آوردند و ازو درخواستند که نزدیک او شوند و دست بکنارهٔ جامهٔ او برسانند. هرکه بدو رسید تندرست شد.

یافتن مسیح بکفرنحوم

[ل۷۸] و روز دیگر چند کشتی از طبریه رسیدند بجائی که نان و ماهی قسمت کرده بود و از گروهی که بر کنار دریا بودند دانستند که درین گذر بغیر یک کشتی نیست و ایشوع دران کشتی با شاگردان خویش سوار نشده است و اورا نمی‌یابیم. این مردم کشتیهای خود سوی کفرنحوم گردانیدند تا اورا از شاگردانش طلب کنند. چون بکفرنحوم رسیدند حضرت ایشوع‌را با شاگردان یافتند و از روی تعجب پرسیدند «ای آموزگار، اینجا چسان آمدی؟» حضرت ایشوع گفت «راست راست گویم بشما مرا از جهت معجزها نمیجوئید لیکن ازینکه نانها خوردید و سیر شدید. عمل مکنید از جهت خورش که ناپایدارست لیکن بجهت خورش که تا جاوید پاینده است و آنست که شمارا آدمی‌زاده دهد.» اورا گفتند «چه چیزها کنیم تا کارهای خدا کرده باشیم؟» بایشان فرمود «کار خدا اینست که بر فرستادهٔ او ایمان بیارید.» ایشان گفتند «چه نشانه داری و کدام معجزه مینمائی تا آنرا بینیم و بتو بگرویم؟ پدران ما در بیابان نان آسمانی‌را خوردند.» حضرت ایشوع فرمود «راست راست گویم نه موسی بشما نان از آسمان داد؟ لیکن پدر من بشمایان نان حق از آسمان میدهد زیرا که نان خدا آنست که از آسمان فرود آید و عالم‌را زندگانی میدهد.» ایشان گفتند «ای صاحب، پیوسته این نان بمایان ده.» حضرت ایشوع فرمود «منم آن نان حیات. هرکه [ASI.157] سوی من آید هرگز گرسنه [ل۷۸ب] نشود و هرکه مرا بگرود تشنه نگردد لیکن گفتم بشما که مرا دیدید و ایمان نمی‌آرید و هرکرا پدر من بخشد سوی من آید و هرکه سوی من آید اورا بدر نکنم چراکه از آسمان فرود نیامده‌ام تا بکام خود کار کنم بل بکام آنکه مرا فرستاد و اینست خواست پدر که مرا فرستاد که هرکه‌را بمن داد اورا تلف نکنم لیکن اورا در روز قیامت برانگیزانم. این است خوشی پدر من که آنکه بیند پسررا و بدو بگرود اورا بود جاوید زندگانی و من اورا در روز آخر برانگیزانم.» یهودان ازین سخن در شکایت شدند چون گفت «منم آن نان که از آسمان فرود آمد» و میگفتند «نه این ایشوع است پسر یوسف که پدر و مادرش‌را می‌شناسیم. پس چگونه میگوید که من از آسمان فرود آمده‌ام؟» حضرت ایشوع بایشان فرمود «بهمدیگر نگوئید. هیچ یک نتواند که سوی من آید مگر آنکه اورا بسوی من کشد پدر من که مرا فرستاده است و من اورا در روز آخر برانگیزانم. هرآینه نوشته شده است از پیغمبران که ایشان همه آموختهٔ خدا باشند.

1. One folio missing here from the Cleveland manuscript.

[ASI.158] راست راست میگویم بشما هرکه بمن گرود اورا جاوید زندگانی است. من آن نان حیاتم. پدران شمایان [و] من در بیابان خوردند و مردند. این است آن نان که از آسمان فرود آمد. آنکه از وی خورد نمیرد. منم نان زنده که از آسمان فرود آمدم. هرکه ازین نان خورد تا جوید زنده ماند و نانی که من دهم تن من است که بجهت زندگانی [ل۷۹] جهان خواهم داد.» این در انجمنها در کفرنحوم گفت و بسیاری از شاگردانش ازین سخن گفتند «این سخن سخت است. این‌را که تواند شنیدن؟» حضرت ایشوع بایشان فرمود «شمارا در شک می‌آندازد و چگونه وقتی که می‌بینید آدمی‌زاده‌را که برآید بجائی که نخستین بوده است؟ روح است آنکه حیات میدهد. تن از هیچ چیز بی‌نیاز نمیکند. سخنان که بشما میگویم روحست و زندگانی» و ازین گفتار بسیاری از شاگردان او برگشتند و باو همراهی نکردند. حضرت ایشوع بدوازده رسول گفت «شما میخواهید که روید؟» شمعان جواب داد و گفت [ASI.159] «ای خداوند ما، بسوی که رویم؟ سخنان حیات دایمی تراست و هرآینه ما ایمان آوردیم و یقین کردیم که توئی مسیح خدا زنده.» حضرت ایشوع بایشان گفت «نه منم آنکه برگزیدم شمارا دوازده و یکی از شمایان شیطان است.» او یهودا اسخریوطی بود که او بعد ازان بدشمنانش سپرد.

شستن دست

بعد ازان فریسین و چندی از کاتبان که از اوریشلیم آمده بودند برو هجوم آوردند و چون دیدند که شاگردان او ناشسته دست میخورند ملامت کردند چراکه فریسین و دیگر یهودان ناشسته دست نمیخورند و قاعدهای پیران خویش‌را پیروی میکنند و هرآنچه از بازار میخرند تا آنرا نشویند نمیخورند و دیگر بسیار [ل۷۹ب] چیزها بر خود قرار داده‌اند، شستن کاسه‌ها و ظرفها و خواب‌جاها. فریسین و کاتبان اورا پرسیدند که «چرا شاگردان تو بر قاعدهای پیران نمیروند؟ بلکه دست ناشسته میخورند؟» او جواب داد «نیک گفت ایشعیا از شما، ای دورویان[1]، چنانچه نوشته شده است هرآینه این گروه مرا بزرگی میدهد بلبها اما [ASI.160] دل ایشان از من دورست. هرزه خدمت من میکنند. باین قاعدهای مردم می‌آموزند. احکام خدا گذاشتند و قاعدهای آدمیان نگاه میدارند مثل شستن کاسها و آوندها و دیگر چیزها مانند این میکنند.» و بایشان میگفت «حکمهای خدا خوب گذاشتید تا سنتهای خودرا پاسبانی کنید. خدا فرمود گرامی دارید پدر و مادر خودرا، و هرکه پدر و مادر خودرا بد گفت او بمیرد مردنی و شمایان میگوئید اگر آدمی پدر خودرا یا مادر خودرا گوید که هرچه قربان از منست ترا سود میکند و نمیگذارید اورا که برای پدر خود و مادر خود هدیه کند. پس کلام خدا که بشما داده است باطل کردید و مثل این بسیار میکنید.»

آنگاه جماعت بزرگ‌را خواند و بایشان فرمود «همگنان از من شنوید و دریابید: آنچه در دهن می‌درآید آدمی‌را پلید نمیگرداند لیکن آنچه از دهن بیرون می‌آید آنست که آدمی‌را پلید میکند. هرکرا گوش شنوا باشد بشنود.»

چون از [ل۸۰] میان مردم بخانه درآمد شاگردانش گفتند «دانی که فریسین چون این سخن‌را شنیدند[2] بر ایشان دشوار آمد.» جواب داد و فرمود ««هر نهالی که پدر آسمانی ننشاند کنده شود. ایشان‌را بگذارید که کورند و رهنمای کوران اگر کور رهبری کور کند هر دو بچاه افتند.» پیدرو گفت «این مثل‌را برای ما بیان کن.» فرمود «شما نیز نادانید و نمی‌فهمید که هرچه از برون بدهن آدمی درآید نتواند که اورا پلید سازد چراکه

1. C دوزیان.
2. One folio missing here from the Cleveland manuscript.

بدل نمیرسد بل بشکم و بیرون همیرود اما چیزها که از دهن آدمی بر می‌آیند از دل بر می‌آیند. این چیزهایند که آدمی‌را پلید میکنند چراکه از درون دل بیرون می‌دآیند. فکرهای بد، زنا، کشتن، دزدی، حرص، بدی قلبی، فسق، چشم بد، کفر، غرور دل، جهل، اینهمه بدی از درون می‌آید و آدمی‌را پلید می‌سازد اما ناشسته دست خوردن آدمی‌را پلید نمیکند.

توجه مسیح بصور و صیدان

چون حضرت ایشوع از آنجا بنواحی صور و صیدان آمد ناگاه زن کنعانی ازان حدود بیرون شد و بآواز بلند گفت «بر من رحمت کن، ای خداوند پسر داود. در دختر من شیطانیست و اورا رنجها میدهد.» جواب نداد و هیچ نگفت. شاگردانش آمدند و درخواست کردند و گفتند «این زن‌را که [ل ۸۰ب] پس ما فریادکنان می‌آید روان کن.» [unidentified folio, side a] این زن از بت‌پرستان بود و حضرت ایشوع جواب داد که «من فرستاده نشده‌ام مگر بسوی گوسفندان که از خانهٔ اسرائیل گم شده‌اند.» آن زن باو پیوست و سجده کرد و گفت «ای خداوند، مدد کن مرا.» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد و گفت «بگذار که اول پسران شیر شوند. نه نیکست نان پسران گرفتن و بسگان دادن.» آن زن گفت «بلی، ای خداوند، اما سگان هم از ریزهائی که از خوان صاحبان می‌افتد میخورند.» آن هنگام حضرت ایشوع جواب داد «ای زن، بزرگست ایمان تو. باشد ترا موافق صدق تو» و دخترش در زمان خلاصی یافت.

توجه مسیح بجلیل

و نیز از حدود صور بیرون شد و از راه صیدان بسوی دریای جلیل رفت و در میان حدود ده‌شهر گذشت. درین هنگام مردی گنگ و کررا پیش او آوردند و خواستند که دست خود برو نهد. اورا از هجوم بیرون برد و انگشتان در هر دو گوش او گذاشت. لعاب خود بر زبانش مالید و بسوی آسمان دید و نفس سرد درآورد و گفت «ای‌فتی» یعنی گشاده [unidentified folio, side b] شو. در هماندم گویا و شنوا گردید و روان سخن گفت و بایشان فرمود [ل ۸۱] بهیچکس نگوئید اما ایشان منادی میکردند و بتعجب میگفتند همه چیز نیک میکند: کرانرا شنوا میگرداند و گنگان‌را گویا.

درین هنگام بکوهی برآمد و آن جا نشست. مردم هجوم کردند و بسیاری از کوران و گنگان و کران و دیگر بیماران با خود آوردند. بر پای مبارک او می‌انداختند و خدای اسرائیل‌را می‌ستودند. درین کار زمانی بگذشت. آنگاه شاگردان‌را بخواند و گفت «مرا برین مردم رحم می‌آید که روزست که بخاطر من از خانه بیرونند و چیزی ندارند که بخورند. اگر ایشان‌را سوی خانهای خود بدین حال گسیل کنم در راه ضعف کنند چراکه بعضی از ایشان از دور آمده‌اند.» شاگردان گفتند که «از کجا کسی تواند که باینها درین بیابان نان دهد و سیر کند؟» آنگاه بایشان گفت «شمایان چند نان دارید؟» گفتند «هفت.» مردم‌را گفت نشستند. آنگاه هفت نان گرفت و شکر کرد و بشکست و بشاگردان داد [ASI.127] تا پیش مردم گذارند و اندکی از ماهی نیز بایشان بود و بران نیز برکت گفت و فرمود که پیش مردم بنهند. ایشان پیش آوردند و مردم خوردند و سیر شدند و از بقیتها هفت سبد برداشتند و آنانکه خوردند نزدیک چهار هزار کس بودند بی زنان بچگان.

همان زمان [ل ۸۱ب] بکشتی با شاگردان خود در شد و در نواحی ماجدان آمد و فریسین و چندی از زنادقه آمدند تا اورا بیازمایند و گفتند که «نشانه بنما از آسمان.» دم سرد

برآورد و فرمود «این گونه مردم نشان می‌طلبند.» و بایشان گفت «چون شب هنگام است میگوئید که آسمان پاک است چراکه سرخی دارد و در بامداد میگوئید امروز بارش میشود چراکه آسمان ترش‌روست و چون باد جنوب میوزد میگوئید حرارت میشود. ای دورویان، تمیز کردن دوروئی آسمان و زمین می‌دانید و نشانهٔ این زمان نمی‌فهمید. چرا شمایان خود بر آنچه حق است حکم نمیکنید؟ قبیله سریر بدکار نشانه میجوید. نشانه بغیر از نشان یونس[1] [ASI.128] پیغمبر داده نشود.»

آنگاه ایشان‌را گذاشت و بکشتی درآمده از دریا گذشت. بعد ازان شاگردان بکنار آمدند و از فراموشی نان نه‌برداشتند و بغیر یک نان در کشتی بایشان نبود. بایشان فرمود «بملاحظه باشید و از خمیرمایهٔ فریسین و زنادقه پرهیز کنید.» ایشان ازین سخن فهمیدند که میخواهد که نان فریسین نخورید و ازین بدلهای ایشان رسید که مایان فراموشی کردیم. اندیشه‌مند شدند. حضرت ایشوع دریافت و فرمود «چرا اندیشه‌مند میشوید، ای کم‌ایمانان، [ل۸۲] که نان با شما نیست؟ هنوز نمی‌شناسید و نمی‌فهمید. هنوز دل خود کور دارید. چشم دارید، نمی‌بینید و گوش دارید، نمی‌شنوید. در نمی‌یابید و یاد نمی‌کنید از پنج نان که بر پنج هزار کس بخش کرده شدند، و چند سبد برداشتند؟ و هفت نان برای چهار هزار نفر داده شد، و چند سبد برداشتند؟ چرا نمی‌فهمید که من بشما از جهت نان نگفتم که از خمیرمایه فریسین و زنادقه پرهیز کنید لیکن از تعلیم ایشان.»

بدیه بت‌سایده[2] آمد. نابینائی‌را [ASI.129] پیش او آوردند و درخواست کردند که دست خودرا برو نهد. دست آن کور گرفت و اورا بیرون برد و لعاب خودرا بر چشمانش مالید و دست بر دیدهٔ او نهاد و ازو پرسید که «هیچ چیز می‌بینی؟» او گفت «مردم بسان درختان می‌بینم.» دیگر بار دست بر چشمان او نهاد. آن زمان بینش کمال یافت بطوری که همه چیزرا خوب میدید. اورا گفت «بخانهٔ خود رو و هیچ کس‌را مگو.»

برداشتن پیدرو

در نواحی قیصریه آمد و از راه یک سو شده در نماز شد. شاگردان با او بودند. ایشان‌را پرسید «مردم در حق من چه میگویند؟» ایشان گفتند «گروهی یوحنا عماداکننده میگویند، بعضی ایلیا، جمعی ارمیا، لختی یکی [ل۸۲ب] از پیغمبران.» آنگاه بایشان فرمود که «شمایان چه میگوئید که من کیستم؟» پیدرو گفت «توئی مسیح پسر خدای زنده.» حضرت ایشوع فرمود «خنک ترا، ای شمعان پسر یونان. این بتو گوشت و خون آشکارا نکرد لیکن پدر من که در آسمانهاست، و من میگویم ترا هرآینه [ASI.130] توئی پیدرو، یعنی سنگ، و برین سنگ عمارت کنم کلیسای خودرا و درهای دوزخ بران قادر نباشند. ترا می‌دهم کلیدهای ملکوت آسمان. هرچه بسته کی بر زمین بسته شود بر آسمان و هرچه گشاده کی بر زمین گشوده شود در آسمان.» آنگاه بشاگردان خود فرمود که بکسی نگویند که اوست ایشوع مسیح.

درین زمان آغاز کرد درین که شاگردان خودرا آگاه سازد که اورا لازمست که باوریشلیم رود و از پیران و کاهنان و کاتبان رنجها کشد و اورا بکشند و پس از سه روز برخیزد. پیدرو پیش آمد و منعش کرد و گفت «هرگز نخواهد بود، ای خداوند، که این ترا رسد.» روی بسوی او کرد و گفت «دور

1. یونان.

2. Bethsaida < Βηθσαϊδά < בית צידא *Bēth Ṣaydā* ‘house of fishing,’ a place in northern Palestine, all trace of which has vanished.

شو از من، ای شیطان. هرآینه پالغز من شدی چراکه در چیزهای الهی نمیرسی مگر در چیزهای مردم.» آنگاه مردم‌را نزدیک خود خواند و ایشان‌را و شاگردان‌را گفت «هرکه خواهد مرا پیروی کند از خود برآید و صلیب خود هر روز بردارد و مرا پیروی [ل۸۳] کند، و هرکه خواهد که [ASI.131] نفس خودرا سلامتی دهد هلاکش گرداند زیراکه هرکه نفس خودرا برای من و بجهت انجیل هلاک ساخت اورا بدست آورد. چه سود کند آدمی‌را اگر جمله جهان‌را بدست آرد و جان خودرا هلاک کند؟ چه خیر داده شود آدمی‌را در عوض جان او؟ هرکه از من و از گفتار من شرم کند هرآینه آدمی‌زاده ازو شرم کند وقتی که بزرگواری خود و پدر خود با ملایکهٔ پاک بیاید که آدمی‌زاده به بزرگواری پدر خود با ملایکه خود خواهد آمد و آن زمان هر یکی‌را موافق عمل خود جزا خواهد داد. راست گویم بشما هرآینه گروهی از ایستادگان اینجا هستید که مرگ‌را نچشند تا آدمی‌زاده‌را در پادشاهی خود نبینند.»

بزرگ نمودن مسیح

پس از شش روز حضرت ایشوع پیدرو و یعقوب و یوحنا برادرش‌را گرفت و ایشانرا بسوی کوه بلند تنها برد و در آنجا بدعا مشغول شد و درین هنگام که در دعا بود شکل او دیگر گردید و روی او چون آفتاب تابان گشت و جامهای او چون برف سپید شد. ناگاه موسی و ایلیا به بزرگواری تمام ظاهر شدند و از برآمدن او [ASI.132] از جهان و افزونی محنتها که در اوریشلیم [ل۸۳ب] خواهد کشید سخن میکردند و شاگردان‌را که با او بودند گرانی خواب گرفته بود. بیدار شده بزرگی اورا و این دو کس‌را مشاهده کردند. آن زمان پیدرو بحضرت ایشوع گفت «ای خداوند، بهترست که ما همیشه اینجا باشیم. میخواهی که سه خانه آماده کنیم، یکی برای تو و یکی برای موسی و یکی برای ایلیا.» درین سخن بود که ابر روشن پیدا شد و بر ایشان سایه کرد و آوازی از آن ابر گفت «اینست پسر دوست‌داشتهٔ من که از وی راضیم. ازو بشنوید.» شاگردان شنیدند و بر رو افتادند و بسیار ترسیدند. حضرت ایشوع رسید و دست خود بایشان رسانید و فرمود «برخیزید و نترسید.» ایشان چشمهای خودرا بلند کردند و بجز حضرت ایشوع کس ندیدند.

فرو آمدن مسیح از کوه

آنگاه حضرت ایشوع و اینان از کوه فرود آمدند و بایشان فرمود «آنچه دیدید بهیچکس نگوئید تا وقتی که آدمی‌زاده از مردگان برخیزد.» ایشان [ASI.133] همچنان کردند و بهیچکس نگفتند اما بهمدیگر گفت‌وگو داشتند که «چه معنی دارد آنکه کاهنان میگویند که واجب است که نخستین ایلیا بیاید؟» ایشان‌را جواب داد «هرآینه ایلیا نخستین خواهد [ل۸۴] آمد و همه چیزرا باز بحال خود خواهد آورد اما بشمایان میگویم که ایلیا آمد و اورا نشناختند بلکه هرچه خواستند یاد کردند و این چنین آدمی‌زاده از ایشان محنتها کشد و حقیر داشته شود چنانچه نوشته شده است.» آن هنگام شاگردان فهمیدند که از یوحنا مراد است.

و چون حضرت ایشوع بدیگر شاگردان رسید انبوه مردم با ایشان یافت و بعضی از کاتبان بشگردانش گفت‌وگو داشتند. چون مردم حضرت ایشوع‌را دیدند حیران شدند و پیش او رفتند و تواضع کردند. او پرسید که باهم چه گفت‌وگو داشتند. درین هنگام مردی بر سر زانو شده فریاد کرد و گفت «ای آموزگار، بفرزند من نظر کن که یگانه است و روح پلید [ASI.134] اورا گرفته. یکایک در فریاد میشود و خودرا بر

زمین میزند و کف[1] بدهن می‌آرد و دندان بدندان میزند و خشک میشود و بارها بر آتش می‌افتد و بسیار بار خودرا بر آب میزند. پیش شاگردان تو آورده و زاری کردم که اورا بدر کنند، نتوانستند. تو برو رحمت کن.» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد و گفت «ای ذات بی‌ایمان و بدکار، تا کجا با شما خواهم بود و شمارا خواهم برداشت؟ پسر خودرا پیش من بیار.» چون بنزدیک رسید شیطان اورا جفاها رسانید و در زمین غلطانید [ل۸۴ب] و کف[2] از دهان او میرفت. حضرت ایشوع از پدرش پرسید که «چند گاهست که این تشویش دارد؟» او گفت «از کودکی و بارها اورا بر آتش و آب زده است تا هلاک کند اما اگر می‌توانی رحمت کن و مددکار من باش.» حضرت ایشوع باو گفت «اگر میتوانی ایمان داشتن، بر آنکه ایمان دارد همه چیز آسانست.» پدر بانگ زد و گریه‌کنان گفت «خداوندا، ایمان دارم. به بی‌ایمانی من مدد کن.» چون حضرت ایشوع دید که [ASI.135] بی‌نهایت مردم هجوم دارند روح پلیدرا سرزنش کرد و فرمود «ای روح کر و گنگ، من میفرمایم ترا ازین بیرون رود. دیگر درین نه‌درآی.» او فریادکنان و جفادهان بیرون رفت و بحالتی گذاشت که بسیاری اورا مرده انگاشتند. حضرت ایشوع دست او گرفت و اورا برداشت و بپدرش سپرد. ازین همگنان حیران شدند و چون بخانه رسید شاگردان به پنهانی پرسیدند «چرا ما اورا بدر کردن نتوانستیم؟» بایشان گفت «از کمی اعتقاد خویش. راست گویم بشما اگر در شما ایمان مانند دانهٔ خردل بوده باشد هرآینه این کوه‌را گوئید ازینجا بآنجا انتقال کن، او انتقال کند و هیچ چیز شمارا دشوار نباشد و این ذات شیاطین جز بنماز و روزه بیرون نرود.»

1. C کهت.
2. C کهت.

سیر مسیح بقریهای جلیل [ل۸۵]

در قریهای جلیل تعلیم‌دهان میگشت و کارهای عجیب میکرد و چون شاگردانرا از بزرگی و غرایب کارهای خود در حیرت دید بایشان گفت [ASI.136] «شمایان این سخنها در دل خود نگاهدارید. زود باشد که آدمی‌زاده بدست مردم سپرده شود که اورا بکشند و مرده روز سیوم برخیزد.» سخت دلگیر شدند و این سخن نفهمیدند و بر ایشان پوشیده ماند و از ترس نمی‌پرسیدند.

چون بکفرنحوم رسیدند جزیه‌ستانان پیش شمعان آمدند و گفتند «استاد شما جزیه نمیدهد.» شمعان گفت «بلی.» چون بخانه درآمد پیش ازآنکه شمعان سخن کند حضرت ایشوع گفت «چه میگوئی، ای شمعان؟ پادشاهان زمین خراج از که ستانند؟ از فرزندان یا از بیگانگان؟» او گفت «از بیگانگان.» حضرت ایشوع گفت «پس پسران آزاد اند لیکن تا ایشان‌را در شک نه‌اندازیم سوی دریا رو و دام انداز و نخستین ماهی که برآید بگیر و دهان او بگشای. یک دینار می‌یابی. اورا ستان و از من و از خود ادا کن.» ازین سخن شک ایشان که بود افزود و آرزوی ایشان بیشتر شد که دانند که کدام کس در میان ما بزرگست. و بی‌آنکه مسیح‌را آگاه سازند درین معنی در راه گفت‌وگو داشتند. درین زمان که در خانه بودند ایشان‌را پرسید «در راه [ل۸۵ب] چه گفت‌وگو داشتید؟» نخستین از ظاهر کردن این شرم داشتند اما آخر بیان کردند و پرسیدند «کرا در ملکوت آسمان بزرگ می‌بینی؟» بایشان گفت «هرکه خواهد که پیشوا باشد پسین همه شود و همه‌را خدمت کند.» آنگاه کودکی‌را طلبید و اورا در میان ایشان ایستاده کرد و در کنار خود گرفت و گفت «راست گویم اگر باز نگردید و مانند کودکان نشوید هرگز در

ملکوت آسمان نه‌درآئید و آنکه خودرا مانند این کودک فروتن سازد اوست آنکه در ملکوت آسمان بزرگ است و هرکه مانند این کودک‌را بنام من قبول کند او مرا قبول کند و آنکه مرا قبول کند نه مرا قبول کند بلک آنرا که مرا فرستاد و هرکه در شمایان کوچکتر است او کلانتر است و هرکه شک آرد بیکی ازین کودکان که بمن گرویده‌اند و رنج رساند اورا بهتر باشد که آسیاسنگ در گردن او بسته آید و بدریا غرق کرده شود. وای جهان‌را از آمدن فتنها! ناچار است که فتنها بیایند لیکن وای بدان آدمی که ازو فتنه آید. اگر ترا دست تو یا پای تو فتنه شود اورا ببُر و از خود دور انداز. بهتر باشد ترا که کنگ و ناتوان در بهشت درآئی ازینکه ترا هر دو دست و هر دو پا باشند و در آتش جاوید انداخته شوی، و اگر چشم تو ترا فتنه شود آن‌را برکن. به باشد ترا که بیک چشم در بهشت [ل۸۶] درآئی ازانکه بهر دو چشم در آتش انداخته شوی،» یعنی اگر بعضی چیزها ترا ضروری باشند همچون دست ویا پا، محبوب همچون چشم و ترا سبب بدی شوند آن‌را برانداز.

و هم فرمود «نیز نظر کنید و هیچ یکی ازین کودکان‌را حقیر نبینید. میگویم بشما هرآینه روی پدر من که در آسمانهاست فرشتگان پیوسته می‌بینند.» یوحنا که یکی از دوازده رسلست بمسیح رسید و گفت «آموزگار، مردی دیدم که دیوان‌را بنام تو میراند و پیروی ما نمیکند و ما اورا منع کردیم.» حضرة ایشوع فرمود «مانع نشوید. هرکه ضد شما نیست از مددکاران شماست.» [ASI.161]

رفتن مسیح سوی اوریشلیم

عزیمت اوریشلیم کرد و پا در راه نهاد و چندی‌را پیش از خود فرستاد که ازو خبر دهند. رفتند و بشهری از سامریان درآمدند تا جای بودن بدست آرند و سامریان چون دانستند که حضرت ایشوع عزیمت بیت المقدس دارد جای ندادند. یعقوب و یوحنا گفتند «خداوند، رخصت ده که گویم که آتش از آسمان فرود آید و ایشانرا بسوزد همچنانکه ایلیا کرد.» او روی بسوی ایشان گردانید و سرزنش کرد و گفت «نمیدانید که از کدام روح آید آدمی‌زاده. نیامده است که مردم‌را هلاک سازد لیکن زنده کند.» و بقریه دیگر رفت. [ل۸۶ب] درین ولا که در راه بودند یکی گفت «خداوند، ترا پیروی کنم هرجا که روی.» حضرت ایشوع فرمود «روباهانرا سنگلاخها و مرغان آسمانرا آشیانه و آدمی‌زاده جائی ندارد که سر خود فرو نهد» و بدیگر گفت که «مرا پیروی کن.» او گفت «ای خداوند، نخست دستوری ده [ASI.162] که پدر خودرا گور کنم.» فرمود «بگذار که مردگان مرده‌را گور کند و تو روانه شو و از ملکوت خدا بشارت ده.» دیگری گفت «ای خداوند، ترا متابعت کنم اما رخصت ده که اول اهل خانه‌ررا وداع کنم.» حضرت ایشوع باو فرمود «هیچ یکی نیست که دست خود در قلبه نهد و عقب نظر کند و لایق ملکوت آسمان شود.»

نامزد کردن شاگردان

بعد ازان خداوند هفتاد و دو دیگر جدا کرد و دو دو نفر از ایشان پیش از خود فرستاد بهر شهر و بهر جا که آنجا خود خواهد آمد و با ایشان گفت «درو بسیارست و فعله کم. از خداوند درو خواست کنید تا فعله‌را برای درو پیدا کند. بروید. اینک منم که شمارا فرستم همچون گوسفندان میان گرگان.» و آنچه بدوازده رسول وصیت کرده بود بدیشان نیز سپرد و گفت «هرکه از شما شنود از من شنود و هرکه شمارا براند مرا براند و هرکه مرا راند و قبول نکند پدر مرا [ل۸۷] براند که مرا

فرستاده است.» پس آن هفتاد و دو کس بشادی باز گردیدند و گفتند تا «دیوان [ASI.163] بنام تو مارا فرمان‌برداری میکنند.» بایشان گفت «هرآینه میدیدم شیطان‌را که همچون برق از آسمان می‌افتاد و هرآینه بشما قدرت دادم تا مارها و کژدمها پایمال سازید و بر همه قوت دشمنان و هیچ چیز شمارا نقصان نتواند کرد لیکن شاد نباشید از اینک روحها شمارا فرمان برند. شادی کنید ازینکه نامهای شما در آسمانها نوشته شده است.» و دران زمان حضرت ایشوع در جان خود شادی نمود و گفت «شکر کنیم بتو، ای پدر خداوند آسمان و زمین، که این چیزها پنهان داشتی از حکیمان و از دریابندگان و پیدا کردی بر طفلان. بلی اینچنین است، ای پدر، زیرا که این است خواست تو. همه چیز از پدر من بمن سپرده شد و هیچکس پسررا نمی‌شناسد مگر پدر و هیچکس پدررا نمی‌شناسد مگر پسر و هرکرا پسر خواهد که برو آشکارا کند.» و هم گفت «بیائید سوی من همه آنانکه رنج می‌برید و آنانکه بار گران دارید و من شمارا آسایش دهم. [ASI.164] بردارید لبادهٔ من و بیاموزید از من که من آرمیده‌ام و فروتن از دل و بیابید آسایش جانهای خویش که لبادهٔ من خوشست و بار من سبک.» و بسوی شاگردان نگریست و گفت «خنک بچشمان که بینند. [ل۸۷ب] میگویم بشما که بسیاری از پیغمبران و پادشاهان آرزو کردند که بینند آنچه شما می‌بینید و ندیدند و شنوند آنچه شما می‌شنوید و نشنیدند.»

احکام خدا

درین بود که مردی از دانایان دین آمد تا اورا بیازماید و گفت «ای آموزاننده، چه کردار کم تا زندگانی جاوید بمیراث گیرم؟» باو گفت «چه چیز در توریت نوشته شده است و چگونه میخوانی؟» او جواب داد و گفت «دوست دار خداوند خودرا از همه دل خود از همه جان خود از همه توانائی خود و از همه نیت خود و قریب خودرا همچون خودرا.» حضرت ایشوع گفت «راست گفتی. این بکن و خواهی زیست.» او خواست که خودرا نیکوکار وانماید و گفت «قریب من کیست؟» [ASI.165] ایشوع فرمود «مردی از اوریشلیم بسوی هریخو فرود آمد و دزدان برو ریختند و جامهای [اورا] ربودند و مجروحش ساختند و اورا گذاشتند و اورا نیم‌مرده گذاشتند. کاهنی بران گذر کرد و اورا دید و گذشت. همچنین لاوی بر آنجا گذشت و دید. گذر کرد. و بعد ازان یک سامری برو گذار افکند. قریب او رسید و چون اورا خسته دید دلش نرم شد. روغن زیتون و شراب بر جراحتهای او ریخت و بربست و بر مرکب خود سوار کرده بسرا برد و تیمار او خورد. بامداد دو دینار[ل۸۸] برآورد و بصاحب‌سرا داد و بدو گفت تیمار او بخور و اگر بیش ازین برو خرج کنی گاه برگشتن ترا دهم. پس ازین سه تن کدام یکی‌را قریب می‌انگاری بدانکس که بدست دزدان افتاد؟» گفت «آنکه باو مهربانی کرد.» حضرت ایشوع باو گفت «برو و تو هم اینچنین کن.» درین وانمود که همه مردم‌را خویش خود دانیم و در حاجتمندیها بایشان نکوئی کنیم از هر دین و مذهب که باشند.

درین هنگام که در سیر بودند [ASI.166] بقریهٔ بتانیه[1] درآمد. مرته نام زنی اورا استقبال کرد و بخانه خویش برد. او و خواهر او مریم نام نزد قدمهای مسیح نشستند تا گفتار او بشنوند ولیکن مرته برای خدمت و مهمان‌داری برخاست و

1. بتانیه *Betāniya* = Bethany < Βηθανία < בֵּית הִינֵי *Bēth Hīnē* ‘house of dates’ or בֵּית עֲנִיָּה *Bēth ʿĂniyyāh* ‘house of sorrow,’ a village at the Mount of Olives traditionally identified with the modern city of al-Eizariya (العيزريه).

اهتمام و کوشش میکرد و چون دید که خواهرش مریم از سخنان مسیح بهره‌ور و محظوظ است گفت «خداوند، تیمار من نمیخوری که خواهر من مرا تنها بخدمت گذاشته است؟ بفرمای که مرا مدد کند.» قصدش این بود که از خدمت زود فارغ شود و از سخنان مسیح او نیز نصیبه برد و خداوند جواب داد و گفت «مرته، مرته، هرآینه در کوشش هستی و در چیزهای فراوان درماندهٔ. هرآینه یک است آنچه درکار است لیکن مریم بهترین بخش گزیده است که ازو ربوده نمیشود.»

درآمدن مسیح باوریشلیم

[ل۸۸ب] بعد ازان در شهرهای جلیل میگشت و نمیخواست که در زمین یهودان رود چراکه در پی کشتن او بودند و چون عید سینوفشی[1] یعنی عید سایبان [ASI.167] قریب شد و این عیدرا یهودان میکنند بیاد آن سایه‌بانها که در راه بیت المقدس استاده میکردند هنگامی که از مصر برآمده بودند و خویشاوندان باو گفتند «ازین جا سوی یهودان برگرد تا کارهای عجیب ترا شاگردان تو ببینند که یکی نیست که چیزی پنهانی کند بلکه میخواهد که آشکارا گردد. اگر تو این کارها میکنی خودرا بر جهان ظاهر کن» و این برادران‌را بر وی ایمان نبود. حضرت ایشوع بایشان فرمود «هنوز وقت نرسیده است و وقت شما هر زمان آماده است. جهان نمیتواند که شمارا دشمن دارد و مرا دشمن میدارد چراکه من گواهی میدهم که عملهای او بد اند. شمایان باین عید بروید که وقت من هنوز نرسیده است.» این گفت و در جلیل ایستاد و چون برادرانش بعید رفتند بعد از زمانی او نیز رفت اما نه آشکارا بلکه به پنهانی ولیکن یهودان اورا میجستند و میگفتند که «او کجاست؟» جمعی اورا مرد نیک میخواندند و بعضی میگفتند «اینچنین نیست بلکه مردم‌را [ASI.168] گمراه میکند.»

در میان این عید که هشت روزست باوریشلیم رسید و بعبادتخانه رفت و بتعلیم آغاز کرد و یهودان در شگفت بودند و میگفتند که «چگونه اینچنین خوب [ل۸۹] میداند و اورا کسی نیاموخته است؟» و جمعی میگفتند «نه این است آنکه قتل او میخواهند؟ اینک بایشان صریح میگویند و هیچکس باو چیزی نمیگوید.» بسیاری برو ایمان آوردند و میگفتند «آیا مسیح وقتی که می‌آید نشانها ازین بیشتر خواهد نمود؟» فریسین این‌را شنیدند و کسان فرستادند که اورا بگیرند اما آنانکه آمده بودند از شنیدن گفتار او آنچنان از جای شدند هیچکس‌را یارای گرفتن او نبود. ناکرده کار باز گشتند. فریسین بایشان گفتند «چرا اورا نیاوردید؟» گفتند «هرگز آدمی‌زاده حرف نزد بطوری که او حرف میزند.» فریسین گفتند «شاید که شما هم گمراه شدید. کرا دیدید از سرداران یا از فریسین که برو ایمان آورد؟ مگر این ملعونان که از دین خبر ندارند.» نیکادیموس که یکی از ایشان بود شبی پیش [2005.145.20a] مسیح رفته بود و گفت «آیا دین ما حکم میکند بعقوبت کسی بی‌آنکه ازو شنود و داند که او چه کرده است؟» اورا جواب دادند «همانا تو نیز جلیلی هستی. ملاحظه کن و ببین که از جلیل پیغمبر نخیزد» و هرکدام بجای خود رفت. حضرت ایشوع بسوی کوه زیتون گذشت و تمام شب در آنجا بنماز بگذرانید. بامدادان بهیکل آمد و نشست و بتعلیم مشغول شد.

درین هنگام کاتبان و فریسین زنی‌را بزنا گرفته آوردند و اورا در میان استاده کردند و بحضرت ایشوع گفتند «ای

1. C سینوفسی; L سینوقشی. Read سینوفشیَ as *sēnōfeshiya* for the Latin *scenopegia* (from the Greek σκηνοπηγία), for the Feast of Tabernacles. See John 7:2.

آموزگار، این زن بزنا گرفته شده است و موسی در ناموس [ل۸۹ب] بما وصیت کرده که چنین کس‌را سنگسار کنیم. تو چه میگوئی؟» غرض ایشان درین سخن این بود که اورا بیازمایند و منشای دعوای برو پیدا کنند که چون خودرا چندان رحیم مینماید اگر حکم بسیاست او میکند مردم‌را در رحمت او اعتقاد نماند و اگر میگوید ببخشد مخالف ناموس میکند، اما حضرت ایشوع سر فرو انداخت و بر زمین بانگشت مینوشت. و چون بر پرسیدن لجاجت داشتند سر خودرا برداشت و گفت «از شمایان هرکه بی‌گناه است نخستین او [2005.145.20b] سنگ زند.» آنگاه باز سر خودرا فرو انداخت و بر زمین می‌نوشت. [ASI.169] و چنان منقول است که دران زمان که او می‌نوشت هرکس از استادگان گناههای خودرا دران خطوط می‌دید و چون این‌را شنیدند و دیدند یگان یگان بیرون رفتند، اول آنانکه پیرتر بودند. و حضرة ایشوع تنها ماند و آن زن که در میان ایستاده بود. آنگاه حضرت ایشوع سر خود برداشت و بآن زن گفت «ای زن، مدعیان تو کجا شدند؟ هیچکس بر تو حکم کرد؟» او گفت «کسی نه، ای خداوند.» حضرت ایشوع بدو گفت «من نیز حکم نکنم. برو، دیگر گناه نکنی.»

روز دیگر در همان عبادتخانه تعلیم میداد و میگفت «منم نور عالم و هرکه مرا پیروی کند بتاریکی نرود بل نور زندگی یابد.» پس از گفت‌وگوی بسیار بفریسین گفت «من بشما حق میگویم و ایمان نمی‌آرید. کدام یک از شمایان مرا بگناهی خجل کند؟ اگر حق میگویم چرا [ل۹۰] بمن نمیگروید؟ آنکه از خداست سخنان خدا می‌شنود و شمایان از من نمی‌شنوید چراکه از خدا نیستید.» فریسین گفتند «نیکت میگوئیم ما که تو سامری هستی و شیطان داری؟» جواب داد «من شیطان ندارم [ASI.170] لیکن پدر خودرا گرامی میکنم و شمایان مرا خوار میکنید. من بزرگی خود نمیخواهم. هست آنکه بزرگ‌داشت من میخواهد و حکم کند. ابراهیم پدر شما بسیار آرزو کرد که روی من بیند و دید و شاد شد.» یهودان گفتند «تو هنوز پنجاه‌ساله نهٔ و ابراهیم‌را دیدی؟» جواب داد گفت «راست راست گویم بشما پیش ازانکه ابراهیم پیدا شود منم.» و ازین سخن فهمیدند که خودرا خدا میگوید. سنگها برداشتند که سنگسارش کنند. از ایشان نهان شد و بدر رفت که بیرون هیکل یک مردی دید کور مادرزاد. شاگردانش پرسیدند «ای استاد، کدام یکی گناه کرد؟ این یا پدر و مادر او که چنین زاده شد؟» جواب داد «نه این و نه پدران این گناه کردند لیکن اینچنین زاده شد که قدرت خدا درو ظاهر شود. مرا باید که تا روزست کارهای آنکه مرا فرستاد بکنم. شب درآید که هیچکس کار نتواند کرد. چندانکه در عالم هستم نور عالمم.» این گفت، بر زمین لعاب انداخت و گل ساخت و بر چشمان نابینا مالید و باو فرمود «برو، روی خودرا در چشمهٔ [ASI.171] شیلوحا[1] بشوی.» او رفت و شست و بینا آمد. همسایگان و آنانکه اورا نخستین در گدائی دیده بودند میگفتند [ل۹۰ب] [این نه آنست که نشسته گدائی میکرد. بعضی میگفتند[2]] «بلی»، جمعی میگفتند «نه لیکن باو میماند» و او میگفت «من همانم.» اورا پرسیدند که «چشمان تو چگونه گشاده شدند؟» او گفت «آنکه اورا ایشوع میخوانند گل کرد و بر چشمان من نهاد و مرا فرمود برو بچشمهٔ شیلوحا بشوی و رفتم و شستم، دیدم.» باو گفتند «او کجاست؟» او گفت «ندانم. اورا پیش فریسین بردند.» و دران

1. The Pool of Siloam (OT הַשִּׁלֹחַ *haš-Šilaḥ* and הַשִּׁלֻחַ *haš-Šiloaḥ*, Greek Σιλωάμ, modern Arabic سلوان *Silwān*) is one of the few undisputed New Testament localities remaining in modern times.

2. در C ناقص.

هنگام که گل کرد و اورا بینا ساخت شنبه بود. فریسین اورا پرسیدند که «چسان بینا گشتی ؟» او گفت «گل بر چشم من نهاد و شستم، دیدم.» چندی از فریسین میگفتند «این مرد از خدا نیست که شنبه‌را محافظت نمی کند.» دیگران میگفتند «چگونه می‌توان بود که مردی گناهکار چنین معجزها کند ؟» در میان ایشان خلاف افتاد. دیگر بار بآن کور گفتند «آنکه چشمان ترا گشاد تو ازو چه میگوئی ؟» او گفت «پیغمبر است.» ایشان اعتقاد نکردند که این کور بوده بینش یافته است. پدر و مادر اورا طلبیدند و پرسیدند [ASI.172] «این است آن پسر شما که میگوئید نابینا زاده شد ؟ اکنون چسان بینا گشت ؟» ایشان جواب دادند «میدانیم که این پسر ماست و آنکه نابینا زاده شد اما نمیدانیم که چگونه بینائی یافت و که چشمان اورا گشاد. اورا پرسید که کلانست. او جواب دهد.» این سخن بجهت آن گفتند که از یهودان می‌ترسیدند چراکه مقرر ساخته بودند که هرکه اورا مسیح گوید از جماعت بیرون شود. بنابر این گفتند که ازو بپرسید. [ل ۹۱] بار دیگر اورا طلبیدند و گفتند «خدارا بزرگی ده. ما میدانیم که این مرد گناهکار است.» او گفت که «من نمیدانم که یک چیز دانم که کور بودم، بینا شدم.» اورا گفتند «بتو چه کرد و چگونه چشمان ترا گشاد ؟» جواب داد «گفتم بشما و شنیدید. برای چه مکرر پرسید ؟ مگر شما نیز میخواهید که شاگرد او شوید ؟» برو نفرین کردند و گفتند «تو شاگرد او باش که ما شاگرد موسی ایم. این‌را نمیدانیم که از کجاست.» او گفت «این چیزیست عجیب که شمایان نمیدانید که از کجاست و چشمان مرا گشاده کرد و من میدانم که خدا از گناهکاران [ASI.173] نمیشنود ولیکن از کسی که براستی مطیع خداست و رضای او میکند از وی می‌شنود. از دیر باز هرگز شنیده نشد که کسی چشمان نابینائی مادرزاد برگشاد. اگر این از خدا نمی‌بود هیچ چیز نمی‌توانست کرد.» جواب دادند و گفتند «تو بتمام گناه زاده شدهٔ و مارا تعلیم میدهی ؟» و از جماعه بیرون کردند. حضرت ایشوع ازین آگاه شد و اورا یافته گفت «ایمان داری به پسر خدا ؟» او جواب داد «ای خداوند، او کدام است تا برو ایمان بیارم ؟» حضرت ایشوع گفت «هم اورا دیدهٔ و آنکه بتو سخن میگند همانست.» او گفت «ایمان دارم، ای خداوند.» افتاده اورا پرستش کرد. حضرت ایشوع باو گفت «من درین جهان آمده‌ام که داروی کم تا آنانکه نمی‌بینند ببینند و آنانکه می‌بینند نابینا گردند.» چندی از فریسین که [ل ۹۱ب] درین معرکه حاضر بودند این سخن حضرت ایشوع‌را شنیده گفتند «مگر ما کوریم ؟» بایشان گفت «اگر کور می‌بودید گناه شما نمی‌بود، اما اکنون که میگوئید می‌بینم گناه شمایان مقرر و ثابت شد. راست [ASI.174] راست گویم بشما آنکه برمهٔ گوسفندان از در نیاید بلکه از جانب دیگر بالا رود او دزدست و حرامی لیکن آنکه از در درآید اوست شبان گوسفندان، و دربان اورا در گشاید و گوسفندان آواز او بشنوند و گوسفندان خودرا بنام هرکدام میخواند و بیرون می‌آرد و چون بیرون می‌آرد پیش گوسفندان روانه می‌شود و گوسفندان در پای او میروند چراکه آواز اورا می‌شناسند و به بیگانه پیروی نمی کنند بلکه از وی میگریزند چون آواز اورا نمی‌شناسند.» این مثال‌را یهودان نفهمیدند. بایشان فرمود «راست راست گویم بشما منم در گوسفندان. اگر کسی از من درآید سلامتی یابد و درآید و برآید و چراگاه یابد. دزد نمی‌آید مگر تا دزدی کند و بکشد و خراب سازد. من آمدم تا زندگانی داشته باشند و بیشتر داشته باشند. منم شبان نیک. شبان نیک جان خودرا برای گوسفندان خود دهد. و مزدور که گوسفندان از وی نیستند. گرگ‌را می‌بیند که می‌آید و گوسفندانرا [ASI.177] گذاشته میگریزد و گرگ

می‌رباید و گوسفندان‌را پراکنده می‌سازد و او میگریزد و چراکه مزدورست پروا ندارد. منم شبان نیک و گوسفندان خودرا [ل۹۲] می‌شناسم و گوسفندان من مرا می‌شناسند چون پدر مرا می‌شناسد من هم پدررا می‌شناسم و جان خودرا بخاطر گوسفندان خود میدهم. و دارم گوسفندان دیگر که ازین گله نیستند باید که آنها بیارم و آواز من شنوند و همه گوسفندان یک گله شوند و یک شبان. هیچکس از من جان من نستاند لیکن بمراد خود من جان خود میدهم. می‌توانم که جان خود بدهم و می‌توانم که بار دیگر بخود بیارم.» بسیاری از فریسین میگفتند «این سخنها بکسی میانند که شیطان دارد.»

روزی فریسین در عبادتخانه آمدند و اورا گرد کردند و گفتند «تا کی جان مارا آویخته میداری؟ اگر مسیح توئی، روشن بگو.» بایشان جواب داد «بشما میگویم و ایمان نمی‌آرید کارها که بنام پدر خود میکنم. اینها از من گواهی میدهند، اما شمایان ایمان نمی‌آرید چراکه از [ASI.178] گوسفندان من نیستید. چنانچه گفته‌ام گوسفندان من آواز من شنوند و من اینهارا شناسم و اینها در پای من آیند و من اینهارا زندگانی جاوید دهم و تا ابد هلاک نشوند و از دست من هیچکس اینهارا نرباید. آنچه پدر من داده است از همه چیز کلانتر است و هیچکس از دست من نتواند ربود و من و پدر یکیم.» یهودان از شنیدن این سنگها گرفتند تا سنگسارش کنند. حضرة ایشوع بایشان گفت «بسیار کارهای خوب از پدر خود بشما نموده‌ام. سبب کدام کار مرا سنگسار میکنید؟» یهودان گفتند «ما از جهة [ل۹۲ب] کارهای خوب ترا سنگسار نمیکنیم بلکه از جهة کفر تو ازآنکه چون آدم هستی خودرا خدا میکنی.» او جواب داد «شمایان میگوئید که کفر کردم چراکه خودرا پسر خدا گفتم. اگر کارهای پدر خود نمیکنم بمن ایمان نیارید، اما اگر میکنم، هرچند که نمیخواهید که بسخن من ایمان آرید بکارهای من ایمان آرید تا بشناسید و ایمان بیارید که پدر من در من است و من در پدرم.» خواستند که اورا بگیرند اما [ASI.179] از میان بیرون رفت و بایشان گفت «پدران شما پیغمبران کشتند. شما نیز پیمانهٔ پدران خود پر کنید، ای ماران. مار افعی چگونه از دورخ گریزد؟ باین سبب میگویم بشما هرآینه من میفرستم بشما پیغمبران و دانایان و کاتبان و رسولان. اینهارا مصلوب خواهید ساخت و کشت و در انجمنهای شلاق خواهید زد و از شهر بشهر ایشان دنبال خواهید کرد تا بر شمایان بیاید همگی خون اهل حق که بر زمین ریخته شده است از خون هابیل نیک تا خون زکریا پسر برکیا که اورا در میان هیکل و مذبح کشتند. راست گویم بشما این چیزها بربیایند. اوریشلیم که پیغمبران‌را میکشی و فرستادگان‌را سنگسار میکنی، چند بار خواستم که گرد آرم فرزندان ترا بسان ماکیان که بچهای خودرا زیر بالها میگیرد و نخواستی. هرآینه خانهٔ شمایان ویران گذاشته شود. بدرستی میگویم بشما که از اکنون مرا نخواهید دید تا گوئید مبارک است [ل۹۳] آنکه می‌آید بنام خداوند.» و از میان بیرون رفت. [ASI.180]

برآمدن مسیح از اوریشلیم

از اوریشلیم برآمد و بزمین دیگر رفت تا[1] مردمرا تعلیم دهد و انبوه مردم اورا پیروی کردند. یکی از ایشان باو گفت «استاد ما، به برادر من بگو که بخش من از میراث پدر بمن دهد.» حضرة ایشوع جواب داد «ای مرد آدمی، مرا کدام کس در میان شما عادل و قسمت‌کننده ساخت؟» و بهمه گفت

1. C و.

«ملاحظه کنید و خودرا از هرگونه حرص نگاه دارید چراکه زندگانی آدمی نه در فراخی و افزونی چیزست.» و این مثل آورد: مردی توانگر بود. زمینش بار بسیار داد. اندیشه میکرد و گفت چکنم؟ این قدر جا ندارم که غلها جمع کنم. و بعد از آن گفت دانم که چکنم. انبارخانه باز شکافم و عمارت بزرگتر سازم و آنجا تمام غلهای خود انبار کنم و بجان خود بگویم ای جان، نعمتهای فراوان داری و خورش برای سالها. بسیار بیاسای و بخور و بیاشام و فراغت کن، اما خدا باو گفت ای کمخرد، امشب جان از تو سستده شود و آن نعمتها که اندوختهٔ از آنِ که باشد؟ [ASI.181] این چنین شود عاقبت آنکه برای خود انبار کند و بخدا دولتمند نباشد.»

و بشاگردان خود فرمود «بدین سبب میگویم بشما نه تیمار خورش جان خورید و نه غم پوشش تن برای آنکه جان افزون‌تر است از قوت و تن فاضلترست [ل۹۳ب] از پوشش. نیک نظر کنید کلاغانرا که نمیکارند و نمی‌دروند و خزینه ندارند و در انبار نمی‌نهند و خدا باینها روزی میرساند. نه شما افزون‌تر هستید از مرغان؟» بعد از چند سخن فرمود «شمایان در غم خورش و پوشش مباشید و نخواهید که بلندپروازی کنید زیراکه این همه چیزهارا امتها میخواهند و پدر شما میداند که باین چیزها محتاجید لیکن نخستین ملکوت خدا و دادگری اورا بجوئید و این همه چیزها بر شما افزوده شوند. مترسید، ای گلهٔ کوچک، خواست پدر شما آنست که شمارا ملکوت آسمان دهد. پس آنچه دارید فروشید و صدقه دهید و سازید کیسها که کهنه نشوند و گنج کنید در آسمان که کم نشود جائی که دزد نرسد و خزندگان تباه نکنند که هرجا اندوختهٔ شماست همانجا دل [ASI.182] شماست.»

و تا بیان کند و بنماید که مارا چطور باید که در کارهای عظیم خدا هشیار باشیم و از بازپرس ملاحظه کنیم فرمود «ببینید و بیدار باشید و دعا کنید چراکه از وقت خبر ندارید. پس میان‌بسته باشید و شمعها روشن در دست گیرید و مانند شوید بکسانی که خداوند خودرا چشم دارند که از عروسی کی باز گردد تا چون بیاید و در کوبد در حال بگشایند. خنک آن خدمتکارانرا که چون صاحب بیاید ایشانرا بیدار [ل۹۴] یابد. راست گویم بشما ایشانرا بنشاند و میان خود بربندد و خدمت کند بایشان و اگر در پاس دوم و سیوم آید و ایشانرا چنین یابد خنک آن بندگانرا. این قدر دانید که اگر خداوند خانه دانستی که چه وقت دزد می‌آید هرآینه بیدار بودی و نگذاشتی که خانه اورا بشکافد. و شمایان آماده باشید که هنگامی که در فکر شمایان نباشد که آدمی‌زاده آید.» پیدرو باو گفت «خداوند، این مثلرا تنها بما میگوئی یا بهمگنان؟» حضرت ایشوع باو جواب داد «آنچه بشما میگویم و بهمه میگویم [ASI.183] بیدار باشید. کرا می‌انگاری وکیل خانه معتبر و دانا که خداوند خانه اورا بر عیال خود نگاشته است تا ایشانرا بوقت خود خورش دهد؟ خنک آن بنده که چون صاحب آید اورا بر همه چیز که دارد بگمارد. اگر آن خدمتکار در دل خود گوید که خداوند ما دیر آید و شروع در زدن دیگر خدمتکاران کند و بخورد و بیاشامد و مست شود و خداوند آید در روزی که گمان نه داشت و در ساعت که نمیدانست اورا معزول سازد و حصهٔ اورا بایشان دهد که ایمان ندارند. آن خدمتکار که ارادهٔ خداوند خود میداند و موافق ارادهٔ او نکرد او تازیانه خورد اما آنکه ندانست و چیزهای لایق تازیانه کرد اورا [ل۹۴ب] کمتر زده شود. بهرکدام که بیشتر داده از وی بسیار جسته شود، و هرکرا بسیار سپرده شد از وی بیشتر طلب کرده شود.

چندی از مردم جلیل که بحضرة ایشوع بودند باو خبر دادند که پیلاتس خون چندی از جلیلیان در قربانی خود

ریخته است. ایشان‌را جواب داد «آیا میدانید که این جلیلیان [ASI.184] که این خبررا یافتند از دیگر جلیلیان عاصی‌تر بودند؟ میگویم که نه، اما اگر نه توبه بکنید[1] همگنان همچنین هلاک شوید. اینچنین آن هژده کسی‌را که بر ایشان منار افتاد و کشت از دیگر ساکنان اوریشلیم گناهکارتر می‌پندارید؟ میگویم که نه، اما اگر توبه نکنید همه هلاک شوید.»

و تا بنماید که خدا از گنهکاران چسان برمیدارد تا تایب شوند و اگر باز نگردند ایشانرا جفا کند گفت: مردی در باغ خود درخت انجیر داشت و دانست که میوه نمیدهد. باغبان‌را گفت «هرآینه سه سالست که انتظار میوه این درخت دارم، هیچ نمی‌یابم. پس این‌را ببر. چرا زمین‌را معطل داشته است؟» او جواب داد «خداوند، هنوز یکسال دیگر بگذار تا گرد او بکاوم و انبار دهم و اگر میوه آرد بهتر و اگر نه اورا ببریم.»

صحت زن جائی مانده

در روزهای شنبه و انجمنهای آموخت زنی دید بدست شیطان گرفتار و هژده سال بدین کسی جفا گذرانیده بود و خم شده بود بطوری که نمی‌توانست که بهیچگونه بالا بیند. چون حضرة [ASI.185] ایشوع اورا دید پیش خود خواند [ل۹۵] و باو گفت «ای زن، از زحمت خود خلاص شدی» و دست خود نهاد و در ساعت راست شد و خدارا ستایش گفت. سردار جماعت برآشفت چراکه در روز شنبه صحت داد و بمردم گفت «در شش روز دیگر می‌توانید که کار کنید. در آن روزها بیائید و شفا جوئید، نه در روز شنبه.» خداوند جواب داد «ای دوروی، کدام کس از شمایان در روز شنبه گاو خودرا یا خر خودرا از آخر وا نمیکنید که اورا بیرون برد تا آبش دهد؟ این دختر ابراهیم هژده سال است که بدست شیطان گرفتاد بوده. خوب نبود که در روز شنبه از بند خلاص یابد؟» ازین گفتار دشمنان شرمنده شدند و از کارها که میکرد مردم‌را خوشحالی روی میداد.

و چنان شد که یکی از سران فریسین اورا در شنبه بخانه خود برد که با او طعام خورد و منتظر بودند که چکند. مردی مستسقی پیش او حاضر شد. اورا صحت داد و شورش ایشان بطوری فرو نشاند که یارای جواب [ASI.186] نداشتند. دران مهمانی مردم بسیار جمع شده بودند و هرکس در صدرنشین تلاش داشت. این‌را ملاحظه کرده و گفت «چون در ضیافت روی بالا منشین. باشد که بزرگ‌تری از تو بمهانی آید، آنکه ترا و اورا طلبیده است بتو بگوید این مردرا جای ده و آنگاه بشرمندگی در شیب‌تر [ل۹۵ب] نشینی بلکه چون مهمان شوی زیرتر نشینی تا کسی که ترا طلبیده است بتو بگوید ای دوست، بالاتر نشین. آنزمان ترا پیش حاضران عزت باشد چراکه هرکه خودرا بلند بیند پست شود و هرکه خودرا پست بیند بلند گردد.»

و نیز اورا که بمهانی خوانده بود گفت «چون چاشنی سازی یا شامی کنی یاران و برادران خودرا مخوان و نه خویشان و همسایگان و توانگران‌را. نشاید که ایشان ترا نیز طلبند و ترا پاداش باشد لیکن چون مهمانی کنی گدایان و ناتوانان و لنگان و کوران و رنجوران کسانی که ندارند که ترا عوض گذارند و ترا خنک باشد و در جایگاه نیکوکاری جزا شود.» یکی از مجلسیان این گفتار شنید و گفت «خنک آنرا که نان از [ASI.187] ملکوت خدا خورد.» حضرت ایشوع تا اورا بفهماند که خدا همه‌را بمهانی میخواند و مردم از تقصیر خویش بآن نمیرسند فرمود «مردی منعمی بود. پسر خودرا

1. C نکنید.

کدخدا ساخت. خورشهای گوناگون و خوردنیهای رنگارنگ آماده کرد و بسیار مردم طلبید. چون وقت رسید بندهای خود فرستاد که مردمرا بخوانید و گوئید که همه چیز موجودست. از چرنده و پرنده بسیار کشته شده است. بیائید که وقتست. همگنان عذر آوردند. یکی گفت دیه خریده‌ام و ناگزیرست که آنجا روم و آنرا بینم. مرا معذور داری. دیگری گفت پنج جفت گاو خریده‌ام و میروم که اینهارا بیازمایم. [ل۹۶] میخواهم که مارا معاف داری. دیگری گفت نوعروسم، نمی‌توانم که از خانه بیرون روم. چون این خدمتکاران بجدتر شدند ایشان‌را زدند و کشتند و چندی آمدند و سرگذشت باز نمودند. خداوند برآشفت. مردمرا بر ایشان فرستاد و ایشانرا کشتند. آنگاه بخدمتکاران خود گفت مهمانی مستعد است لیکن مهمانان لایق نبوده‌اند. همان بازارهای شهر [ASI.188] درروید و فقیران و کوران و جای‌ماندگان و هرکدام که بیابید بیارید. ایشان رفتند و آمدند و بصاحب خود گفتند چنانچه فرمودی کرده شد و هنوز جای بسیارست. خداوند گفت بشاهراهها درآئید و مردم بیارید که مجلس پر شود و گفت میگویم بشما هیچکس از آنها اول خوانده شدند ازین مهمانی بهره نگرفت لیکن این دیگران چراکه آنانکه خوانده شدند بسیارند و گزیدگان کم.»

جمعی بزرگ با او روان بود. روی بایشان کرد و گفت «هرکه سوی من آید و پدر و مادر و پسر و خواهر و خویشان خودرا تا نفس خودرا دشمن ندارد او نتواند که از من باشد و آنکه صلیب خودرا برندارد و مرا پیروی کند نتواند که شاگرد من باشد. کیست از شمایان که خواهد که کوشکی بنا کند و نخست ننشیند و خرج او نشمارد و اندیشه نکند که آن مایه دارد کوشک‌را بانجام رساند؟ چون بنیاد نهاد و نتوانست بپایان رسانید [ل۹۶ب] بینندگان اورا مسخره بسازند[1] و بگویند که این مرد کوشکی بنیاد نهاد و نتوانست بآخر رساند. تا کدام پادشاهی بجنگ پادشاه دیگر [ASI.189] رود و نخست ننشیند که فکر کند که می‌تواند که بده هزار نفر ایستد در برابر آنکه به بیست هزار نفر آمده است؟ و گرنه چندانکه او دور است رسولان میفرستد و صلح میخواهد. همچنین هر یکی از شمایان تا ترک ندهد از آنچه دارد از خواستها و اسباب نتواند که مرا شاگرد باشد، یعنی طالب خدارا باید که نخست از هرچه دارد دل برکند، آنگاه قدم در راه او نهد. ورنه در راه میماند و بمقصود نمیرسد.» هم فرمود «خوبست نمک. اگر نمک تباه شود بچه چیز اصلاح یابد؟ نه زمین‌را شاید و نه مزبله‌را لیکن بیرون انداخته شود و هرکرا گوش شنوا باشد بشنود.

رحمت خدا بر تایبان

سودخواران و بت‌پرستان نزدیک حضرت ایشوع می‌آمدند و کاتبان و فریسین میگفتند «این مرد بدانرا بخود راه میدهد» و با ایشان این مثل آورد: «کدام کس است از شما که اورا صد گوسفند باشد و یکی از آن‌ها گم شود و او نود و نه‌را در صحرا نگذارد در طلب آن گم‌شده نرود تا آنرا بیابد؟ و چون یافته باشد بر دوش خود بردارد و بشادی [ASI.190] سوی خانهٔ [ل۹۷] خود بیاید و دوستان و همسایگان‌را بخواند و بگوید که با من شاد شوید که گم‌کردهٔ خودرا یافتم. میگویم بشما همچنین از توبه کردن یک عاصی شادی در آسمان بیشتر باشد از نود و نه نیکوکار که[2] محتاج بتوبه نیستند. و کدام زنست که اورا ده دینار باشد و یکی از آن گم کند روشن

1. C نسازید.
2. C یک.

نکند چراغرا و جاروب نکشد خانه‌را و طلب نکند آنرا تا زمانی که بکوشش یابد، و چون یافته باشد دوستان و همسایگان خودرا بخواند و گوید که با من شاد شوید که گم‌کردهٔ خودرا یافتم. میگویم بشما هرآینه همچنین باشد شادی ملایک خدا بتوبه کردن یک گناهکار.»

تا بنماید که گناهکاران‌را بکدام نرمی دل و توبه باید که بخدا رسند و چطور خدا بر تایبان رحمت می‌نماید گفت «مردی‌را دو پسر بوده. آنکه کوچکتر بود بپدر گفت ای پدر، بخش من از مال خود بده. او مال خودرا میان ایشان قسمت کرد و بعد از روزها این پسر کوچک هرچه داشت گرد آورد و بسرحد دوردست رفت و مال خودرا تلف کرد چراکه بذریست و درینولا تهی‌دست بود. [ASI.191] دران زمین قحط عظیم افتاد. پس بی‌نوا شد و بیک مردی ازان ولایت احتیاج برد. آن مرد اورا سوی ده فرستاد تا خوکانرا بچراند و آرزو میکرد که شکم خودرا بدان میوه که خوکان میخوردند پر کند و باو داده نشدی. اندیشه [ل۹۷ب] میکرد و میگفت «چند مزدور پدر من هستند که نان بر ایشان افزونی میکند و من اینجا بگرسنگی هلاک میشوم. برخیزم سوی پدر خود روم و بگویم ای پدر گناه در آسمان کردم و در نظر تو و اکنون لایق آن نیستم که مرا پسر تو خوانند. مرا همچون یکی از مزدوران خود ساز.» پس برخاست و بخانهٔ پدر خود آمد. هنوز دور بود پدرش دید و برو مهر آورد و بشتافت و بر سینهٔ او افتاد و بوسه داد. پسر گفت «ای پدر، در آسمان گناه کردم و در نظر تو. شایستهٔ آن نیستم که پسر تو خوانده شوم.» آن زمان پدر بخذمتکاران خود میگفت «جامهٔ ریشمین اورا بیارید و بپوشانید و انگشتری در دستش نهید و موزه در پایش کنید و گاوی پرواری بیارید و بکشید. بخوریم [ASI.192] و شادی کنیم که این پسر من مرده بود و زنده گشت. گم شده بود، یافته شد.» خوردنی‌را بشادی بنا نهادند و پسر بزرگ او در دیه و چون نزدیک بخانه آمد و آواز نغمهٔ شادی شنید. کودکی‌را طلبید و پرسید که «این چه چیزست؟» او گفت «برادر تو آمده است و پدر تو گاو پرواری کشته که بسلامت رسیده است.» او خشمگین شده نخواست که درآید. پدر برآمده و اورا درخواست کرد که درآید. او به پدر گفت «چندین سال است که ترا خدمت میکنم و هرگز حکم ترا مخالف [ل۹۸] نکردم و دیگرگونی ننمودم و مرا بزغاله ندادی تا روزی بدوستان خود شاد شوم و چون این پسر تو آمد که مال خودرا بزنا خورد برای او گاو پرواری کشتی.» پدر باو گفت «ای تو، دایم با من می‌باشی و هرچه از آن من است از آن تست. درکار بود که شادی کنیم و عشرت نمائیم که این برادر تو مرده بود و زنده شد، گم شده بود و یافته شد.» خواست حضرة ایشوع آن بود که درین مثل وانماید شقاوت آنکه اختیار خودرا در جدائی خدا [ASI.193] صرف کند و در لذتهای نفس مشغول شود و آنکه اگر آخر کار بسوی حق میگردد چسان اورا خدا برحمت خود قبول میکند و باز بحالت اصلی خویش می‌آرد تا همه‌را امیدوار سازد و بتوبه کشد.

شبیه حضرت ایشوع

درین زمان آوازهٔ او در تمام ولایت بلند شده بود و ابگر پادشاه ایدیسه[1] که اکنون بعرفه[2] شهرت دارد از اوریشلیم بیست‌روزه راه است عجایبات اورا شنید[3]. این ابگر پیس[4]

1. ایدیسه *Ēdēsa* = Edessa.
2. عرفه *ʿUrfa* = Urfa, the modern name of Edessa (actually a corruption of the Syriac name of the city, ܐܘܪܗܝ *Ūrhāy*).
3. C عجایبات اورسید.
4. C پیش.

بود. خبر یافت که ازین بیماری صحت میدهد. مردم‌را فرستاد و نامه نوشت بدین مضمون: شنیده‌ام از زندگانی پاک تو و از عجایبات که میکنی و آنکه یهودان در کمین تو اند و میخواهند که ترا بکشند. سعادت خودرا دانم اگر اراده آمدن بدین زمین کنی و عهد کردم که نصف [ل۹۸ب] ملک خود ترا دهم و سلوک لایق بتو کم اگر باین دیار تشریف فرمائی و نیز مصور نادره‌کار اِتینه[1] نام همراه فرستاد که شبیه او کشیده بیارد تا اگر نیاید صورت اورا دیده باشد. حضرت ایشوع باین مردم شکفته پیش آمد. ایشان از دیدن او بیشتر حیران شدند [ASI.194] که از شنیدن آوازهٔ او و الحاح بسیار کردند که بایشان رود. او نخواست و در جواب نوشت: ترا شکر میکنم ازین آرزو که بدیدن من کردی. لایق نیست که آنجا روم. من آمده‌ام برای گوسفندان که از اسرائیل گم شده‌اند. مرا باید که با ایشان باشم و ایشانرا بیاموزم و بجا آرم آنچه پیغمبران از من نوشته‌اند. و چون من بر آسمان رفته باشم یکی از شاگردان خود خواهم فرستاد که ترا راه سلامتی بیاموزد و ترا بنام من از بیماری که داری صحت دهد. خدا حافظ تو باشد.

درین هنگام آن مصور بتوجه تمام و کوشش در صورت‌کشی مشغول بود [2005.145.21b] و چند مرتبه کشید و هرگاه می‌انگاشت که کار تمام شده اورا از شباهت دور می‌یافت. چند بار چنین کرد و بسیار غمگین شد. پس حضرت ایشوع جامه ازو طلبید و بر روی مبارک خود گذرانیده بوی داد. او بعینه صورتش دران یافت و فرمود که «پادشاه خودرا بنام من این شبیه خواهی داد.»

القصه، آن پادشاه بشادی گرفت و بتمام عزت نگاهداشت. بعد ازان یکی از رسولان بزمین او [ل۹۹] آمد و اورا نصرانی ساخت و اکثر ملک او باین دین درآمد، و آن صورت‌را بالای دروازهٔ شهر نهاده بود و هرگاه خودرا از دست دشمنان در تنگی میدید و ایشان میخواستند که بشهر او درآیند آن صورت‌را ظاهر میکرد و دشمنان از هیبت برمیگشتند و نمی‌توانستند که درآیند. سالها اینچنین بود. پس از روزگار دراز آن صورت باستنبول آورده شد و ازانجا بشهر شینوه[2] در ولایت ایتالیه و هنوز آن صورت موجود است.[3]

درین هنگام حضرت ایشوع آنطرف دریای اوردن می‌بود که آنجا یوحنا عمادا میکرد و بسیاری پیش [ASI.195] او می‌آمدند و می‌گفتند «هر آنچه یوحنا ازین گفت راست بود» و ایمان باو می‌آوردند.

زنده کردن مسیح لاعاذررا

لاعاذر[4] نام مردی در قریه بت‌عنیا بیمار بود و این لاعاذر برادر مریم [و] مرته است و این آن مریم است که خداوندرا بعطر چرب ساخت و هر دو قدم او بموی سر پاک کرد. و هر دو خواهر کسی‌را بملازمت حضرت ایشوع فرستادند و گفتند «ای خداوند، آنکه اورا دوست میداری بیمار است.» حضرت ایشوع فرمود «این زحمت بیماری مرگ نیست ولیکن از جهت بزرگواری خداست و تا پسر خدا بزرگوار شود.» حضرت ایشوع مرته و مریم و لاعاذررا دوست داشتی. چون شنید که بیمارست در جائی که [ل۹۹ب] بود دو روز مقام کرد، آنگاه بشاگردان فرمود «باز برویم بسوی یهودا.» شاگردان گفتند «ای استاد، اکنون یهودان میخواستند که ترا

1. L اینه.

2. شینوه *Shēnōva*, reproducing the Portuguese pronunciation of Genoa.

3. For an exhaustive survey of texts on the Abgar legend, see Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig, 1899), 158–249.

4. C لاغاذر؛ L لاعاذر.

سنگسار کنند و تو باز میخواهی که آنجا روی ؟» حضرة ایشوع بایشان گفت «نه در روز دوازده ساعتست ؟ اگر آدمی در روز رود برو درنیاید چراکه نور عالم می‌بیند و اگر بشب رود [ASI.196] برو درآید که درو روشنائی نیست.» این سخن بایشان کرد. آنگاه گفت «هرآینه لاعاذر دوست ما خواب کرده است. میروم تا اورا بیدار کنم.» شاگردان باو گفتند «ای خداوند، اگر در خوابست تندرست شود.» او از خواب مرگ خواسته بود و ایشان معنی خواب گمان بردند. آنگاه آشکارا گفت که «لاعاذر مرده است و من شاد شدم که آنجا نبودم از جهت شما تا ایمان بیارید. پس پیش او برویم.» توما که دیدیمو نیز خوانده می‌شود بهم‌سبقان دیگر گفت «ما هم برویم تا با او بمیریم.» حضرت ایشوع به بیت‌عینا آمد و این روز چهارم بود که لاعاذررا در گور کرده بودند و بسیاری از یهودان آمده بودند که مریم و مرته‌را بپرسند و مرته ازین آگاهی یافت که ایشوع رسید. از خانه بیرون آمد، اورا دریافت و مریم در خانه خود بیخبر بود. مرته بحضرت ایشوع گفت «ای خداوند، اگر تو اینجا بودی برادر من نمی‌مرد. اکنون میدانم که هرچه از خدا میطلبی ترا میدهد.» حضرت ایشوع بدو گفت «زودست که برادر تو برخیزد.» مرته گفت [ASI.197] «دانم که در [ل ۱۰۰] روز قیامت و روز پسین برخیزد.» حضرت ایشوع فرمود «منم قیامت و زندگانی و هرکه بمن بگرود هرچند مرده باشد هرآینه زنده گردد و هرکه زنده شد و بمن بگرود تا جاوید نمیرد. تو برین ایمان داری ؟» او گفت «بلی، ای خداوند، ایمان دارم که توئی مسیح پسر خدا که باین جهان آمدهٔ.» این گفت و بخانه رفت و مریم خواهر خودرا به نهانی خواند و گفت «آموزگار ما آمده است و ترا میخواند.» او بشتاب برخاست و بسوی او روان شد. حضرت ایشوع‌را همانجا یافت که مرته ملاقات کرده بود. یهودان که باو دران خانه تعزیت میداشتند چون دیدند که مریم برخاست و بسرعت تمام روان شد ایشان نیز در پای او رفتند و گمان بردند که در قبر مرده خود میرود تا گریه کند. چون مریم مسیح‌را دید بر هر دو پای او افتاده سجده کرده و گفت «ای خداوند، اگر اینجا بودی برادر من نمی‌مرد.» حضرت ایشوع چون اورا در گریه دید و یهودان که با او آمده بودند میگریستند در خود دشوار شد [ASI.198] و بهم زد و گفت «کجا نهاده‌اند اورا ؟» گفتند «خداوند، بیا و ببین.» حضرة ایشوع گریه کرد. یهودان میگفتند «نظر کنید که چگونه اورا دوست میدارد» و چندین از ایشان میگفتند «آنکه چشمان کور مادرزاد گشاده است قدرت نداشت که اورا بمردن نگذارد» که حضرت ایشوع در دل رنج زده شد. سوی گور آمد [ل ۱۰۰ ب] و قبر او در غار بود و برو سنگ گران نهاده بودند. حضرت ایشوع گفت «سنگ بردارید.» مرته خواهر آن مرده گفت «خداوند، گنده شده است چراکه چهار روزست که مرده است.» حضرت ایشوع باو گفت «نگفتم ترا اگر ایمان آری بزرگواری خدا بینی.» پس آن سنگ‌را برداشتند. حضرت ایشوع چشمان خودرا بالا کرد و گفت «ای پدر، شکر تو میکنم چراکه از من شنوی و من میدانم که بدرستی دایم از من میشنوی لیکن این میگویم تا ایستادگان بگروند که فرستادهٔ تو ام.» آنگاه بانگ زد بآواز عظیم و گفت «لاعاذر، بیرون آی.» در حال [ASI.199] بیرون شد همانطور در کفن پیچیده و دستها و پایهای او بسته. حضرة ایشوع بایشان فرمود «اورا بگشائید و بگذارید که برود.» پس بندهای او گشادند. تندرست برخاست و با حضرت ایشوع بخانه رفت. بسیاری از یهودان که درین ماتم آمده بودند باو گرویدند. گروهی از ایشان سوی فریسین رفتند و از آنچه حضرت ایشوع کرده بود خبر دادند. ایشان از

سرداران کاهنان و فریسین انجمن ساختند و گفتند «ما چکنیم وچه سازیم که این مرد نشانها بسیار می نماید و معجزها فراوان میکند. اگر اورا اینچنین گذاریم همه مردم باو گروند و رومیان بیایند و ملک ما بگیرند.» از ایشان قیافا نام در آن سال سردار آن کاهنان بود. گفت «شما هیچ نمیدانید و درین اندیشه نمیکنید [ل ۱۰۱] بهترست برای ما که یک کس از امت بمیرد از آنکه همه مردم هلاک شوند؟» و این سخن از هوای خود نگفت بلکه از آنکه در آن سال کاهنان بزرگ او بود. نبوة[1] کرد زیراکه حضرت ایشوع عزیمت داشت که برای امت بمیرد و ازان روز [ASI.200] باز در قتل او فکر داشتند.

رفتن مسیح بافریم

حضرت ایشوع در یهودان آشکارا نمیگشت بلکه روان شد بسوی بیابان که نزدیک بشهر افریم بود و همانجا با شاگردان خویش میگذرانید. مردم بسیار باو بگرد آمدند و تا ایشان‌را بر صدقه دادن ترغیب کند فرمود: توانگری وکیل خانه داشت. مردم از وی شکایت کردند و گفتند «مال ترا تلف کرده است.» اورا خواند و گفت «این چه احوالیست که از تو می‌شنوم؟ ازانچه در تصرف خود داشتی حساب ده و دیگر وکالت‌را نشایی.» آن وکیل اندیشه‌مند شد و گفت «چکنم؟ خداوند وکالت‌را از من می‌ستاند. کافتن نتوانم و از گدائی شرم دارم اما دانستم که چکنم تا چون از وکالت بیرون روم مرا در خانهای خود راه دهند.» پس یگان یگان‌را از قرض‌داران او خواند و نخستین‌را گفت «بر تو چند است خداوند مرا؟» او گفت «صد پیمانه زیتون.» آنگاه گفت «نوشتهٔ خود بگیر و بنشین و پنجاه پیمانه [ASI.201] بنویس.» بعد از آن بدیگر گفت «بر تو چند است؟» او گفت «صد پیمانه گندم.» اورا گفت «مکتوب خود بستان و [ل ۱۰۱ ب] شتاب بنشین، هشتاد نویس.» خداوند وکیل ستمکاررا بستود از اینک دانایانه کرد چراکه پسران این جهان از فرزندان نور درین کار داناتر اند و من میگویم بشما بسازید برای خود دوستان ازین خواستها که بظلم اندوخته‌اند تا چون از دست شما رود شمارا در سایه‌بانهای خود جای دهند تا جاوید. هرکه در اندک امین است در بسیار نیز امین باشد و هرکه در اندک ستمکارست در بسیار نیز ستمکار باشد. پس اگر شما در اندوختهای خود که از گناه است امین نباشید که دهد شمارا آنچه خاصهٔ شماست؟»

و درین باب حرف بسیار گفت و فریسین که همه دوست‌دار سیم و زر بودند چون این شنیدند باو مسخره‌گی کردند. بایشان گفت «شمایان نفس خودرا [ASI.202] پیش مردم نیکوکار و پاک می‌سازید. خدا دلهای شمارا میداند و هرچه پیش مردم عزیز است پیش خدا خوارست. دین و پیغمبران تا زمان یوحنا بآخر رسیدند و ازان گاه از ملکوت آسمان بشارت داده میشود. هرکدام برای درآمدن کوشش کند و بر خود ظالم شود.»

و تا ایشان‌را خبر دهد و بیان کند عذابی که از ممر بی‌رحمی فقرا بایشان خواهد آمد گفت: مردی منعمی بود و دبیقی و ارغوانی پوشیدی و بناز زندگانی کردی و تمتع میگرفتی و مسکینی بود لاعاذر نام بر در سرای او افتاده و خستگیها گرفتار و آرزومند که شکم خودرا از خوردهای مایدهٔ آن توانگر پر کند و هیچکس [ل ۱۰۲] باو نمیداد بلکه سگان می‌آمدند و ریشهای اورا می‌لیسیدند. و چون مسکین بمرد ملایکه برداشتند و بجایگاه ابراهیم و دیگر نیکان رسانیدند و نیز آن توانگر مرد، بدوزخ نهاده شد. و در آن میان که در

1. L نیوت.

عذاب بود لاعاذررا در کنار ابراهیم دیده [ASI.203] بانگ زد بآواز بلند گفت «ای پدر ابراهیم، بر من رحمت کن و لاعاذررا بفرست تا سر انگشت خودرا بآب تر کند و زبان مرا سرد سازد که من درین تاب آتش گرفتار عذابم.» ابراهیم بدو گفت «ای پسر، یاد آر که تو آسایشهای خودرا در دنیا گرفتی و لاعاذر بلای بی‌نوائی و عاجزی گذرانید و اکنون او در آسایش است و تو در عذاب. و با این در میان ما و شما مغاکی بزرگیست کسی نتواند که ازینجا سوی شما عبور کند و نه ازان جایگاه سوی ما.» او گفت «ای پدر، زاری من آن است که اورا دستوری دهی تا بخانهٔ پدر من رود که مرا پنج برادر است و ایشان‌را از حال من بگوید تا ایشان نیز درین جایگاه عذاب نیابند.» ابراهیم بدو گفت «ایشان کتاب موسی و دیگر پیغمبران دارند. از ایشان بشنوند؟» او گفت «نه، ای پدر، لیکن اگر کسی از مردگان پیش ایشان برود، توبه کنند.» او باو گفت ««اگر از موسی و دیگر پیغمبران نشنوند، هرچند کسی از مردگان برخیزد باور نکنند.»

تا بیان کند که چطور مارا بمردم [ASI.204] سلوک باید کرد در تقصیرها که از ایشان بوجود آمد گفت «ملاحظه کنید، اگر برادر تو گناه کند برو ملامت کن دران حال که [ل۱۰۲ب] هر دو تنها باشید. اگر پند تو جایگیر شد هرآینه برادر خودرا سود کردی، و اگر نمی‌شنود یک دو تن دیگر با خود بگیر تا هر گفتار از دهن دو یا سه گواه ثابت شود. و اگر هنوز نشنود بسردار جماعت گوی و اگر ازو نیز نشنود او ترا همچون سودخوار و بت‌پرست باشد.» درین هنگام پیدرو آمد و گفت «ای خداوند، تا کی گناه برادر بخشم؟ تا هفت بار؟» حضرت ایشوع گفت «اگر در روزی هفت بار گناه بکند و هفت بار روزی پیش تو آید و ترا گوید برگشته‌ام، اورا ببخش. پس نمیگویم تا هفت بار بل هفتاد بار هفت بار.» و این مثل آورد: «ملکوت آسمان مانند کرده شود بپادشاهی که از بندهای خود حساب خواست و در آغاز محاسبه یکی‌را آوردند که برو چند لک روپیه وام بود و آن مایه نداشت که این مبلغ زررا ادا کند. خداوند فرمود که اورا با عیال او بفروشند و هرانچه [ASI.205] دارد بستانند تا ادای آن واجب شود. آن بنده برو افتاد و سجده کرد و میگفت «ای خداوند، مرا مهلت ده تا واجب ادا کنم.» خداوند مهر آورد و این بنده خودرا آزاد ساخت و بخشید. او بیرون آمد و در راه یکی از دوستان خود یافت که برو صد دینار وام داشت. اورا بخانه آورد و شکنجه کرد و حق خود باز خواست. او بر هر دو پای افتاد و مهلت جست. این گوش ننهاد و در زندان کرد تا واجب ادا کند. چندی [ل۱۰۳] از بندگان که با او دم دوستی داشتند ازین آگاهی پیش خداوند رفتند و از سخت‌گیری او خبر دادند. خداوند اورا طلب کرد و گفت «ای غلام بدکار، هرچه بر ذمهٔ تو بود ترا گذاشتم چراکه الحاح کردی. ترا لازم نبود که بر یار خود رحمت کنی همچنانکه ترا رحمت کردم؟» برآشفت و اورا بسرهنگان سپرد تا واجب ادا کند. همچنین پدر آسمانی با شما کند اگر برادران خودرا بتمام دلهای خود نبخشید.»

تا بیان کند که هرچند خدارا خدمت کنیم باید که خودرا خوار داریم و [ASI.206] بر خدمت خود اعتقاد نکنیم گفت: کیست از شمایان که اورا بنده باشد که قلبه میراند یا رنج میبرد که چون آن بنده از صحرا آید باو گوید بیا و بنشین بلکه نگوید[1] خورش برای من آماده کن. آیا آن بنده‌را ازین خدمت بر صاحب خود منتی هست؟ می‌انگارم که نه. همچنین شمایان هرگاه بدانچه نامور هستید کرده باشید، بگوئید که ما

1. In L and C کوید. Luke 17:8: *et non dicat ei*.

بندگانیم بیکار چراکه بدانچه نامور هستیم میکنیم.

رفتن مسیح بسوی بیت المقدس

درین هنگام حضرت ایشوع عزیمت کرد که بیت المقدس رود تا جان خودرا بخاطر مردم دهد و چون بحدود یهودان رسید بسیاری مردم باو رجوع کردند و جمله بیمارانرا که بپیش او آورده بودند صحت داد. و درین اثنا که میانهٔ حدود سامر و جلیل میرفت بدیهی درآمد. ده نفر از پیسان نمایان شدند و از دور ایستاده [ل۱۰۳ب] بانگ زدند و گفتند «ای ایشوع آموزگار، بر ما رحمت کن.» چون ایشانرا دید فرمود «روانه شوید و خودرا بکاهنان نمائید.» دران میان که میرفتند پاک شدند. یکی ازینها چون خودرا پاک دید [ASI.207] بازگردید و به آواز بلند خدارا می‌ستود و پیش قدمهای مسیح بر روی افتاد و شکر میکرد. و این مرد سامری بود. حضرت ایشوع فرمود «نه ده نفر بودند ایشان که پاک شدند؟ نه دیگر کجا اند؟ کسی ازان یافته نشد که باز گردد و خدارا ستایش دهد بغیر این مرد که از امت بیگانه است؟» و باو فرمود «برخیز و برو که ایمان تو ترا سلامتی داد.»

تا مردمرا بیاموزد که چگونه باید که نمازرا بعجز و زاری کنند فرمود: دو تن بعبادتخانه بالا رفتند تا نماز کنند. یکی از فریسین و دیگر از سودخواران. فریسین استاده دعا میکرد و میگفت ای خداوند، ترا شکر کنم که نیستم همچون دیگر مردم ستمکار و باطل و فاسق و هم نه مثل این سودخوار. دو روز در هفته روزه میگیرم و از آنچه دارم از ده یک زکوة میدهم.» آن سودخوار دور استاده بود، نمیخواست که چشمان خود بالا کند و بر سینه خود میزد و میگفت «ای خدا، مهربان باش بر من گنهکار.» میگویم بشما هرآینه این سودخوار بی‌گناه‌تر بخانه خود رفت که آن فریسین که هرکه خودرا بلند کند پست شود و هرکه خودرا فروتن کند [ASI.208] بلند شود.»

درین هنگام چندی از کودکان[1] پیش او آوردند [ل۱۰۴] که دست بر ایشان نهد. رسولان بایشان ملامت کردند و مانع آمدند. حضرت ایشوع‌را بد آمد فرمود «کودکان‌را بگذارید که سوی من آیند. مانع نشوید که ملکوت آسمان از ایشانست. راست گویم بشما هرکه ملکوت خدارا بسان کودک قبول نکند در وی نه‌درآید» و ایشانرا بکنار گرفت و دست بر سر نهاده برکت گفت.

ازین ده برآمد و میرفت. درین زمان مردی توانگر باو رسیده بسر زانو ایستاد و گفت «ای استاد نیک، چکنم تا جاوید زندگانی یابم؟» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد «مرا چه نیک میگوئی؟ بجز خدای نیک نیست. اگر حیات میخواهی احکام‌را محافظت کن.» او پرسید «کدام احکام؟» گفت «احکام‌را میدانی: مکش، زنا مکن، گواهی باطل مده، دزدی مکن، پدر و مادر خودرا حرمت ده، قریبان خودرا دوست دار همچنانکه خودرا.» او جواب داد «ای آموزگار، این همه‌را از گاه جوانی حفظ کرده‌ام.» حضرت ایشوع سوی او برحمت نگریست و گفت [ASI.209] «یک چیز ترا باید کرد اگر میخواهی که کامل شوی. برو و هرچه داری بفروش و بمحتاجان ده و ذخیره در آسمان کن و بیا و مرا پیروی کن.» او چون این‌را شنید اندوهناک و دلگیر برگشت که بسیار دولتمند بود. آنگاه حضرت ایشوع بشاگردان خود گفت «چه قدر دشوارترست درین رفتن بپادشاهی آسمان اورا که تواگر است.» شاگردان ازین سخن حیران شدند. بایشان گفت «ای پسرکان من، چه قدر دشوارست [ل۱۰۴ب] دررفتن بملک

1. c کون و مکان.

خدا آنرا که بر دولت خود اعتماد دارد و شتررا آسان‌ترست که بسوراخ سوزن درود ازینک یک توانگر در ملکوت خدا راه یابد.» ازین سخن بیشتر حیران شدند و همدیگر میگفتند «که تواند سلامتی یافت؟» نظر بایشان کرد و گفت «پیش مردم محال است نه پیش خدا که اورا همه چیز ممکن است.» پیدرو بمسیح گفت «اینک همه چیز گذاشتیم و در پای تو رفتیم. اکنون مرا چه شود؟» حضرت ایشوع گفت «راست گویم که شمایان که پیروان من اید چون آدمی‌زاده بر کرسی بزرگواری [ASI.210] خویش در قیامت بنشیند شمایان نیز بر دوازده کرسی نشینید و بر دوازده قبیلهٔ اسرائیل داوری کنید که هرکه خانهٔ خودرا یا برادر یا خواهر یا مادر یا زن یا پسر برای من و انجیل گذارد صد چندان درین جهان یابد و حیات ابدی در جهان آینده. بسیاری از پیشینان هستند که پسین شوند و پسینان پیشین.»

برای بیان این سخن این مثلها آورد: «ملکوت آسمان مانند است بمردی کدخدا که بامداد برآمد و برای باغ خود چند مزدور آورد و بهرکدام یک دینار مزد گفت. در پاس اول چندی از بیکاران در بازار یافت و بایشان گفت «شمایان بباغ من روید [و مزد خود بستانید.» رفتند و بار دیگر در پاس دوم و سیوم از روز برآمد همچنان کرد و هنگام غروب باز آمد و [ل۱۰۵] و جمعی‌را استاده یافت و بایشان گفت چرا تمام روز اینجا بیکار می‌ایستید؟ ایشان گفتند ماراکسی بمزدوری نگرفت. بایشان گفت شما نیز بباغ من روید] و چون شب هنگام شد بوکیل خانه گفت «مزدوران‌را طلب و مزد ایشان بده و آغاز از پسینان کن.» او ایشان‌را طلب کرد و یک یک دینار بهرکدام داد. چون نوبت به پیشینان رسید ایشان انگاشتند که بیش خواهند یافت اما زیاده از یک بهیچکدام داده نشد. گرفتند و شکایت کردند و گفتند [ASI.211] «این پسینان یکساعت محنت کشیدند و ایشان‌را بما که بار روز و گرمی برداشتیم برابر کردی.» او تا جواب دهد خطاب بیک کس کرده گفت «ای دوست، بر تو ستم نکرده‌ام. نه قول تو یکدینار بود؟ حق خود بستان و برو. میخواهم که این پسین‌را هم برابر تو دهم. مگر بر مال خود حاکم نیستم و تصرف ندارم؟ چشم تو بد است از اینکه من نیکم. اینچنین پسینان پیشینان میشوند و پیشینان پسینان.

خبر مسیح از مرگ خود

سوی اوریشلیم برآمد و دوازده شاگردرا بخلوت برد و از آنچه واقع خواهد شد بایشان خبر داد و گفت «اینک بسوی اوریشلیم برآمدیم و نوشتهٔ پیغمبران کمال گیرد و آدمی‌زاده بسرداران کاهنان و کاتبان سپرده شود و حکم بمرگ او کنند و اورا بامتها سپارند تا خوارش کنند و درها زنند و مصلوب سازند و [ل۱۰۵ب] روز سیوم برخیزد.» هنوز این سخن ایشان نفهمیدند و بر ایشان [ASI.212] پوشیده اما چون از برخاستن خود گفت فهمیدند که بزرگواری کلان خواهد یافت و دو تن از دوازده که یوحنا و یعقوب باشند و آرزو کردند بر دیگران سر بزرگی یابند لیکن از شرم نگفتند و مادر خودرا وسیله کردند. او آمد و پرستش کرد. حضرت ایشوع باو فرمود «چه میخواهی؟» او گفت «بفرمای که این هر دو پسر من در ملکوت تو نشینند، یکی از دست راست تو و یکی از دست چپ تو.» او که میدانست که این فرستادهٔ ایشانست بایشان گفت «نمیدانم که چه طلب میکنید. توانید آشامیدن جامی که من میخواهم نوشید؟» گفتند «توانیم.» آنگاه فرمود «هرآینه جام من نوشید اما آنکه هر دو از چپ و راست من نشینید ازان من نیست که شمارا دهم مگر آن کسان‌را که از پیش پدر من ساخته شده است.» چون آن ده دیگر شنیدند

خشم گرفتند. حضرت ایشوع ایشان‌را بخواند و گفت «میدانید که سرداران مردم مهتر ایشان باشند و بزرگان ایشان بر ایشان قدرت‌را کار فرمایند و در شمایان اینچنین نباید [ASI.213] لیکن هرکه خواهد که بزرگ باشد او شمارا خدمت کند و هرکه خواهد از شمایان که پیشوا باشد او خودرا بنده شما سازد. همچنان که آدمی‌زاده نیامده است که اورا خدمت کنند بلکه تا او خدمت و جان خودرا بخاطر بسیاران دهد.»

چون حضرت ایشوع بشهر اریخو رسید دو نفر نابینارا [ل۱۰۶] بینا ساخت. هنگامی که درآمد مردم با او بسیار درآمدند و آنجا مردی بود زکی نام سردار سودخواران و توانگر و آرزو داشت که اورا بیند و داند که کیست و از انبوه مردم نمی‌توانست چراکه پست‌بالا بود. دویده سر راه گرفت و بر درخت انجیر برآمد تا اورا نظر کند زیرا حضرت ایشوع‌را بدانسو بایستی آمد. چون بدان جایگاه رسید بسوی او نگریست و به او گفت «ای زکی، بشتاب و بشیب آی. مرا باید که امروز در خانهٔ تو باشم.» او شتاب فرود آمد و شاد شده بشتافت و بخانه رفت. و چون حضرت ایشوع بخانهٔ او رفت جماعت‌را گران آمد، گفتند «هرآینه بخانهٔ سودخوار درآمد.» زکی استقبال کرد و گفت «خداوندا، [ASI.214] ای خداوندا، نیمهٔ مال خود بمسکینان دهم و از هرکه بستم گرفته‌ام عوض هر یک چهار دهم.» حضرت ایشوع گفت «امروز سلامتی این خانه ثابت شد که او نیز پسر ابراهیم است که آدمی‌زاده آمده است تا گمراهانرا بخواند و رستگاری دهد.»

و چون از شهر اریخو با شاگردان خود برآمد انبوه مردم باو رفتند. مردی نابینا برتی‌می نام بر سر راه نشسته می‌بود گدائی میکرد. او چون غوغای مردم شنید پرسید که «این چه شورست؟» گفتند که «ایشوع ناصری میگذرد.» بفریاد آمد گفت «ایشوع پسر داود، بر من رحمت کن.» مردم که پیش [ل۱۰۶ب] میرفتند اورا ملامت کردند گفتند «خاموش باش» اما او بیشتر بفریاد شد و میگفت «فرزند داود، بر من رحمت کن.» حضرت ایشوع ایستاد و فرمود که اورا بطلبند. رفتند طلبیدند و دل‌دهی کردند و گفتند «امیدوار باش، برخیز که ترا میطلبند.» او جامهٔ خود برانداخت. افتان و خیزان جست‌زنان پیش حضرت ایشوع آمد. او پرسید [ASI.215] «چه میخواهی که با تو کنم؟» گفت «خداوند، میخواهم که ببینم.» حضرت ایشوع گفت «ببین و برو که ایمان تو ترا سلامتی داد.» او در ساعت بینا شد و ستایش‌کنان در پای او میرفت و آنانکه این‌را دیدند خدارا ستودند.

در این هنگام عید فصح نزدیک بود که عید بزرگ یهودان است و بسیاری از هر شهر باوریشلیم رفتند تا ریاضت کنند و خودرا پیش از عید پاکیزه سازند. حضرت ایشوع‌را میجستند و بهمدیگر در هیکل میگفتند «چه گمان دارید؟ چرا بعید نیامده است؟» و بزرگان کاهنان و فریسین حکم کرده بودند هرکه ازو خبر داشته باشد نشان دهد تا اورا بگیرند. حضرت ایشوع شش روز پیش از عید فسی در بیت‌عینا آمده جائی که لاعاذررا از مردگان برخیزانده بود. بخانهٔ مرته و مریم منزل کرد. دران نواحی شمعون نام مردی پیس بود. او ایشوع‌را بخانهٔ خود برد و مهمانی کرد. مرته بخدمت مشغول بود و لاعاذر یکی [ل۱۰۷] از مجلسیان، و مریم قرابه عطر گران‌بها گرفته سر و هر دو قدم حضرة [ASI.216] ایشوع‌را چرب کرد و بموی سر خود خشک ساخت. درین زمان یهودا اسخریوطی یکی [از] دوازده رسول که اورا بدشمنان بسپرد گفت «برای چه این روغن ضایع شد؟ گنجایش داشت که این روغن به سیصد دینار فروخته شود و بمسکینان داده آید.

چرا اینچنین کردند ؟» یهودا این سخن نه ازان گفت که اورا عنایت بمسکینان بود لیکن از جهت دزدی که صندوق خرج پیش او می‌بود و هرچه درو می‌افتاد او بر میداشت. حضرت ایشوع گفت «چرا این زن‌را میرنجانی ؟ او بمن نیکی کرده است. فقرا دایم با شما خواهند بود و هرگاه خواهید خواست که بایشان نیکوئی کنید می‌توانید اما مرا همیشه نخواهید داشت. آنچه این داشت کرد مرا پیش از روز دفن من مالید. راست گویم بشما هرجا که از انجیل ما خبر خواهد بود عالم خواهد گفت که بخاطر گور من کرده است.» مریم این کرد چراکه دانسته بود که مرگ او نزدیکست.

[ASI.217] درآمدن مسیح در اوریشلیم

یهودان دانستند که حضرت ایشوع در بیت‌عیناست و بسیاری پیش او آمدند تا اورا و لاعاذررا که از مردگان برخیزانده بود ببینند. سرداران [ل۱۰۷ب] کاهنان مصلحت کردند که لاعاذررا بکشند که او چون مرد بزرگ بود بسیاری از یهودان از جهت او پیش حضرة ایشوع میرفتند و برو ایمان می‌آوردند.

و چون حضرت ایشوع به بیت فشی[1] رسیده بکوه زیتون برآمد. دو تن از شاگردان خود فرستاد و بایشان گفت «بروید و در آن قریه که مقابل شماست درآئید. آنجا درازگوشی با خرکرّه خود بسته خواهید یافت. بگشائید و پیش من آرید و اگر کسی بشما سخن کند باو جواب دهید که خداوندرا باین احتیاج است. او در حال بشما خواهد داد.»

1. Beth Phage is mentioned thrice in the Gospels (Matt. 21:1, Mark 11:1, and Luke 19:29). The Greek Βηθφαγή probably reflects the Aramaic בית פגא *Bēth paggē*, 'house of unripe figs.' It would have been on the Mount of Olives and near Bethany. Father Jerome transcribes the Portuguese pronunciation of Beth Phage.

این هر دو درازگوش‌را صاحبش وقف کرده بود که ناتوانان و فقیران برینها سوار شده بر اوریشلیم می‌برآمدند و باز میرسانیدند. و این برای این کرد که نبوة زکریا و ایشعیا بجا آید. ترجمه گفتار زکریا اینست: «شاد باش و فراوان شاد باش، ای [ASI.218] دختر سیون، و خرمی نمای، دختر اوریشلیم، اینک پادشاه تو می‌آید برای تو دادگر و رهائی‌ده و فقیر نشسته بر ماده خر و بر خرکرهٔ او.»[2] و مضمون سخنان ایشعیا این است: «بگذرید بگذرید از درها. آماده سازید راه‌را برای گروه. هموار کنید راه و برچینید سنگها و بردارید علم برای گروه‌ها. اینک خداوند خبر داد در اقصای زمین. بگوئید بدختر سیون اینک سلامتی‌دهنده تو آمد، اینک مزد خدمت او با او و کار او در نظر او و ایشان خوانده شوند[3] [ل۱۰۸] [کرده پاک نجات دادهٔ خداوند و تو خوانده شوی] شهر مطلوب غیر مردود.»[4]

2. Zechariah 9:9: גִּילִי מְאֹד בַּת־צִיּוֹן הָרִיעִי בַּת יְרוּשָׁלִָם הִנֵּה מַלְכֵּךְ יָבוֹא לָךְ צַדִּיק וְנוֹשָׁע הוּא עָנִי וְרֹכֵב עַל־חֲמוֹר וְעַל־עַיִר בֶּן־אֲתֹנוֹת *Exsulta satis, filia Sion; jubila, filia Jerusalem: ecce rex tuus veniet tibi justus, et salvator: ipse pauper, et ascendens super asinam et super pullum filium asinæ:* Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.

3. C شوی؛ L شوند.

4. Isaiah 62:10–12: עִבְרוּ עִבְרוּ בַּשְּׁעָרִים פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ הָעָם סֹלּוּ סֹלּוּ הַמְסִלָּה סַקְלוּ מֵאֶבֶן הָרִימוּ נֵס עַל־הָעַמִּים: הִנֵּה יהוה הִשְׁמִיעַ אֶל־קְצֵה הָאָרֶץ אִמְרוּ לְבַת־צִיּוֹן הִנֵּה יִשְׁעֵךְ בָּא הִנֵּה שְׂכָרוֹ אִתּוֹ וּפְעֻלָּתוֹ לְפָנָיו: וְקָרְאוּ לָהֶם עַם־הַקֹּדֶשׁ גְּאוּלֵי יהוה וְלָךְ יִקָּרֵא דְרוּשָׁה עִיר לֹא נֶעֱזָבָה *Transite, transite per portas, præparate viam populo: planum facite iter, eligite lapides, et elevate signum ad populos. Ecce dominus auditum fecit in extremis terræ: Dicite filiæ Sion: Ecce Salvator tuus venit; ecce merces ejus cum eo, et opus ejus coram illo. Et vocabunt eos, Populus sanctus, redempti a Domino; tu autem vocaberis Quæsita civitas, et non Derelicta:* Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highway; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people. Behold, the LORD hath proclaimed unto the end of the world, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh; behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him. And they shall call them, The holy people,

القصه پس شاگردان رفتند و اینچنین کردند و ماده خر و خرکره و توشک خودرا بران انداختند و ازو درخواستند که بران سوار شود. اول بر ماده خر سوار شد. آنگاه بران خرکره که برو سوار نشده بود سوار شد. و چون یهودان شنیده بودند که مسیح نزدیک است و امروز بشهر می‌درآید همگنان [2005.145.22a] استقبال کردند [2005.145.22b] و مردم بیشمار برآمدند و چون دران نزدیکی لاعاذررا زنده کرده بود ازین خبر دلهای ایشان مشتاق بودند. بنابرین چندان اورا عزت کردند که جامهای خود بر می‌آوردند و پای‌انداز مرکب او میکردند و جمعی شاخهای درختان می‌بریدند و در راه می‌انداختند و آنانکه پس و پیش میرفتند فریاد میکردند و خدارا می‌ستودند و چیزهای عجیب که از حضرت ایشوع دیده بودند بیان میکردند و میگفتند «مبارکباد شاهی که بنام خدا می‌آید و صلح در آسمان و بزرگی در بلندیها.» چندی از فریسین که درین زمان حاضر بودند باو گفتند «استاد، شاگردان خودرا ملامت کن.» حضرت ایشوع بایشان جواب داد «میگویم بشما اگر ایشان خاموش باشند سنگها فریاد کنند.» و چون بقلهٔ کوه زیتون برآمد و نزدیک شهر رسید شهررا دیده بر وی گریست و می‌گفت «اگر میدانستی تو درین روز [ل۱۰۸ب] خود چیزی که برای تست از سلامتی لیکن اکنون هرآینه چشمان تو پوشیده‌اند چراکه روزها بر تو بیایند[1] که دشمنان تو ترا باره کشند و گرد کنند و از [ASI.219] هر سو ترا تنگ سازند، ترا و پسران ترا که در تو اند بغلطانند و در تو سنگ بر سنگ نگذارند چراکه زمان صحت خود ندانستی.»

این همه چیزها پس از چهل سال کمال گرفتند. اگرچه شیوهٔ این کتاب مدارج‌گذاری تعلیم آسمانی حضرة ایشوع و مراتب بزرگی اوست اما بجهت شادابی سخن آن سانحهٔ عبرت‌انگیز و پارهٔ از غریب چیزها که پیش از خرابی اوریشلیم پیدائی گرفتند بطریق اجمال می‌نویسم تا اهل اعتباررا توتیای بینائی و بینارا مایهٔ آگاهی بدست افتد. پوشیده نماند که یک سال پیش از خرابی اوریشلیم ستاره در هوا بصورت شمشیر نمودار گردید و تا یکسال پیوسته طلوع داشت. نیز در عید ارتمیسیوس[2] که عید بزرگ یهودان است شبی بعد از گذشتن سه پاس ناگاه نوری عظیم پدید آمد و تمام عبادتخانه‌را روشن ساخت بطوری که همگنان روز پنداشتند و ناپدید گشت. نیز در همین عید ارتمیسیوس[3] گاوی بجهت قربانی آورده بودند. آن گوسفندماده زائید. نیز تا چهل روز پیوسته [ASI.220] هنگام غروب در هوا میدیدند که از هر طرف گردونها پر از آتش و فوج فوج مردم اوبچی می‌آیند و جنگ می‌پیوندند [ل۱۰۹] و شهرها در محاصره دارند. نیز در عید دیگر که روز نزول توریت است دانایان یهود بعبادتخانه بروش خود جمع شده بودند. ناگاه صدائی شنیدند مضمون «ازین جاها بگذریم.» نیز پیش ازین چهار سال در عید تبرناکلس[4] ژیسوس نام پسر اَنینَه[5] ناگاه بفریاد آمد میگفت «فریاد از مغرب، فریاد از چهار باد، فریاد از اوریشلیم و عبادتخانهٔ آن. فریاد از نوعروسان، فریاد از تمام مردم.» و هرچند سبب

The redeemed of the LORD: and thou shalt be called, Sought out, A city not forsaken.

1. C نیایند.

2. C and L have ازیموس, but Josephus says in *The Jewish War* (Book VI, Chapter V, Section 3) that the appearance of troops in the sky occurred on the twenty-first of the month of Artemisius, the Latin equivalent of the Jewish month of Iyar. Read ارتمیسیوس for ازیموس.

3. C & L ازیموس.

4. C & L تبرناکلس for *tabernacles*, i.e., the Festival of Tabernacles (Succoth).

5. L انتینه.

نالش و این فریاد ازو می‌پرسیدند وشلاق می‌زدند هیچ چیز دیگر نمیگفت و چندان که بیشتر زدند بلندتر میگفت. پیش حاکم بردند و جفاها کردند چنانکه همی استخوانهای او ظاهر شدند و پوست بر تن نماند. او گریه نمیکرد و همان میگفت «وای وای بر اوریشلیم»

تا آنکه وسپسیان[1] قیصر با پسر خود تیت[2] نام از رومه بعزیمت اوریشلیم آمد و هنگامی که او لشکر کشید نصارا [ASI.221] بالهام خدا ازینجا بیرون رفتند و در عید ارتمیسیوس[3] که یهودان از اطراف عالم درین شهر جمع آمده بودند اوریشلیم‌را محاصره شد. هیچکدام ازین مردم بیرون نرفت. در کمتر زمانی در حصاریان دشمنیها روی داد و در کمین یکدیگر نشستند بر همدیگر میریختند و کشته می‌شدند. هیچ جان و مال ایمن نبود. روزی در پرستش‌خانه چندان جنگ درپیوست و آن قدر خون ریخته شد که تمام خانه بخون پر گشت [ل۱۰۹ب] و سوی دشمنان سیلان نمود. چندان میمردند و کشته می‌شدند که جای گور کردن نبود. مردگانرا از سر دیوارهای قلعه می‌پرتافتند، خندق پر شد. از یک دروازه پانزده هزار مرده بشمار آمدند. بعضی درونیان جواهر بشکمها فرو می‌بردند و بیرون می‌آمدند و با آنکه از جانب سپهسالار امان بود اما بیرونیان هر جا که ایشانرا می‌یافتند میکشتند و شکمهای ایشانرا پاره میکردند. در یک روز دو هزار کس‌را شکم پاره شد. کار بجائی رسید که تیت دست برداشت و گفت [ASI.222] «بار خدایا، تو میدانی که من بدین کار راضی نیستم. جز اطاعت و فرمان‌برداری نمیخواهم. ایشان خود بهلاک خود میکوشیدند.» اول از قحط غله میمردند و چون بطوری غله بقلعه درآمد از افراط خوردن هلاک می‌شدند و همان علاج زیستن سبب مردن می‌شد. هرجا طعام بود همانجا جنگ بود. کشته می‌شدند تا دوستان و عزیزان مردگان‌را شکم پاره میکردند و بر تن ایشان جامه نمی‌ماندند و چون دیگر چاره نماند پوست مردگان میجوشانیدند و میخوردند. چرم کفش میخائیدند و شرم نبود بدهن گرفتن و بزبان لیسیدن آنچه در پا می‌بود. کاه فرسوده که از خانها بیرون انداخته بودند بمبلغها میخریدند. بلا آن شهررا بطوری گرد کرد که امید زیستن نماند و چاره هیچ نبود. آثار غضب الهی که تواند نوشت [ل۱۱۰] و کرا یارای آنکه تواند شمرد؟ ناگزیر قلم‌را از تفصیل آن داستان باز داشته سرگذشت مریم نام زنی باختصار می‌نویسم و حال دیگران وا نمی‌نمایم. مریم از بزرگ‌نژادان آن دیار و دولتمند بود. [ASI.223] از ترس غنیم بقلعه درآمد. دزدان و دیگر اوباشان آنچه مایهٔ زندگانی او بود بردند و هرچه از آزوقه داشت تاراج ستمکاران و گرسنگان شد. آنکه بخورش لطیف و پوشش خوب خو کرده بود بکاه خوردن و چرم کفش خائیدن آمد. گرسنگی سنگدل در درون او جای کرد و اخلاق‌را بدرشتی آورد. روح خود گذاشت. کودکی داشت. از گریستن او هر زمان پریشان و بیزار شد و چون خودرا و پسررا در دهنهٔ بلا و هلاکت دید مهر ذاتی گذاشت، رو به پسر کرد و میگفت «ای پسر، چکنم؟ ترا سخت چیزهائی گرد گرفته‌اند: جنگ، گرسنگی، آتشها، دزدان، افتادن[4] خانها. من که میمیرم ترا بکدام کس می‌سپارم و کجا توانم خیال کرد که آنجا نفسی خواهی زیست؟ امیدوار بودم که چون بزرگ شوی مادر

1. C وپسیسیان L دسپسیان for وسپسیان *Vespasiyān* Vespatian, Roman emperor A.D. 69–79.

2. تیت is probably meant to be read as تیتُ for Tito = Titus, Roman emperor A.D. 79–81.

3. C & L ازیموس.

4. + و.

خود طعام دهی و اگر میرم بخاک سپاری، اما من بدبخت چکنم؟ مرا و ترا زندگانی بایستی و چاره نمی‌یابم. پس ترا کدام کس بسپارم؟ و در کدام گور پنهان کنم تا غارت درندگان و سگان و دیگر جانوران نشوی؟ [ASI.224] ای جگر شیرین من و اعضای خوش من، زان پیشتر که شمارا گرسنگی نابود کند آنچه از مادر خود گرفته‌اید واپس [ل ۱۱۰ب] دهید و بازآئید. بآن گوشهٔ ذاتی که آنجا روح یافتید خوابگاه تو آنجا آماده میشود. پس بوسه میدهم ترا، ای پسر، آنچه فراخنای مهربانی ندارد تنگنای ضرورت داشته باشد تا اعضای خود خود خورم. کردم آنچه مقتضای مهربانی بود؛ اکنون بکنم آنچه گرسنگی میخواهد. اما کار تو بهتر و یک نوع رحمت چرا که بهتر آن بود که مادر بتو غذا دهد، و تو درین وقت غذای او می‌شوی.» این گفت و روی خود گردانیده سر آن جگرگوشه خود برید و اورا لخت لخت ساخت. پارهٔ در آتش نهاد و دیگر از ترس مردم پنهان کرد که مبادا جمعی از گرسنگان بستم بربایند، اما بوی آن غمازی کرد و بمشام آن جماعه رسید. چندی پی بو کرده بخانهٔ او درآمدند و چشمها سرخ ساختند و تهدید میکردند و می‌گفتند «ای بدبخت، ما گرسنه میگردیم و تو بفراغت میخوری [ASI.225] و مارا محروم کردی از خورش که یافتی.» مریم گفت «خشمگین نشوید. بخش شما جدا کردم و از جگر خود برای طعام نمکین نگاه داشته‌ام. تحمل کنید که برای شما می‌آرم» و طبقی سربسته پیش نهاد. آنگاه برگشاد و گفت «این است خورش من و این است یکدست کودک و اینک پای و اینک نیمهٔ تن او. تا اورا بیگانه نه‌انگارید یقین دانید که پسر منست.» گفت «وای پسر من، هرگز بمن از امروز شیرین‌تر نبودهٔ. ممنون تو ام که یک روز بتو زنده‌ام. حلاوت تو جان مرا بر پای داشت و روز مرگ بر مادر شوم‌بخت تو دراز گردانید. بجهت کشتن درآمدند و مهمان شدند. ایشان نیز ممنون [ل ۱۱۱] تو شوند چون طعام من خورند.» این جماعه‌را حیرت و مدهوشی گرفت. او بایشان گفت «چه حیران میشوید و چرا نمی‌خورید از آنچه من مادر پیدا کرده‌ام؟ لذت بگیرید و دانید که پسر من شیرینست. از مادر مهربان‌تر نباشید و نه از زن ناتوان‌تر. هرآینه من خورش مهیا کرده‌ام. مادررا شمایان برین آوردید. مرا نیز مهربانی دل میگرفت اما احتیاج غالب شد.»

این قصهٔ [ASI.226] عجیب در شهر فاش گردید و هرکس می‌ترسید که مبادا بدین ناسزاکاری مبتلا گردد و شورش نفس‌را بضیافت ساختن پسر چاره‌گر آید. تیت ازین آگاهی لرزید و دستها برداشت و میگفت «ما بجهة جنگ آمدیم لیکن بمردم نمیکنم بلکه با حیوانها که همچون سگ دیوانه می‌گردند. درندگان بچهای خودرا دوست میدارند و در گرسنگی پرورش میکنند و طعمهٔ خود از تن دیگران می‌سازند و ازین طور گوشتها می‌رهند و این از سنگین‌دلی افزون‌ترست که مادر زائیدهٔ خویش خود خورد. پاکم ازین آلودگی و خودرا در حضرت تو ازین پاک میکنم. ای هر قدرتی که در آسمانی، هرآینه میدانی که بارها از دل طلبکار آشتی شده‌ام و باوجود تسلط و غلبهٔ خویش شرم از الحاح و زاری نکرده‌ام زیراکه میخواستم که ایشان‌را ببخشم، لیکن به یهودان چکنم که بخود در جنگ اند؟ چند بار از بالای دیوارها فریاد کردم که بجنگ برآیند تا از دست خود بدتر و سخت‌تر کشته نشوند.» این گفت [ASI.227] و مردم‌را رخصت داد که هجوم آورند و در شهر آتش زنند. سرداران [ل ۱۱۱ب] بهیکل پناه بردند. آنجا آب نبود. تشنگی از گرمی آتش بیشتر شد. کاهنان زینهاری شدند و امان خواستند. تیت جواب داد «دونی و فرومایگیست که هیکل نماند و شما آرزوی زندگانی کنید.» همه برگشته شدند. یوحنا و شمعون و

دیگر سرداران امان خواستند. بایشان گفت «هنگام مهربانی آخر شد چون چیزی نماند که باقی ماند. امان میدادم؛ قبول نکردید. خواستم که ببخشم؛ نگذاشتید. در جنگ توقف میکردم و شمایان حمله می‌آوردید. اکنون مردم همه کشته شدند و هیکل میسوزد. برای چه مسلح می‌ایتسید؟ سلاح فرود آرید همچون خستگان و شکسته‌دلان. اگرچه لایق نیستید اما جان‌بخشی کردم.» و با آنکه غضب پادشاهی در جوش بود، اما هرکه بسوی او میگریخت اورا از بزرگی ذاتی در امان خود میگرفت و می‌بخشید، و لشکریان نیز چون از کشتن سیرآمده بودند و چشم بر بند کردن داشتند ترغیب بخشودن میکردند. فروختنی بسیار شد و مشتری [ASI.228] کم چراکه رومیان آنقدر ایشان‌را حقیر داشتند که شایستهٔ پرستاری و غلامی نمیدانستند و از بنی اسرائیل کسی‌را آنمایه نبود که ایشان‌را باز خرد. در ماه امرداد شهررا آتش زدند و صد هزار کشته بشمار آمدند و نود و هفت هزار کس اسیر شدند. و از غرایب آنکه بخت‌نصر نیز در همین ماه پیش ازین شش صد سال شهر گرفته و خراب کرده بود. و کار بجائی رسید که از افزونی برده و خواری ایشان سی نفر بیکدینار فروخته شدند و شهر آنچنان خراب شد که تا امروز بحالت اصلی [ل۱۱۲] خود باز نگردید و عبادتخانه ویران شد. هرگز دیگر عمارت کردن نتوانستند. این بود آنچه حضرت ایشوع هنگام درآمدن به بیت المقدس در نظر آورده بر احوال ایشان میگریست.

چون بشهر رسید در تمام شهر غوغا شد و بهمدیگر میگفتند «این کیست؟» مردم جواب میدادند «اینست ایشوع پیغمبر از ناصرهٔ جلیل.» طفلان سرود میکردند و اورا می‌ستودند. فریسین‌را [ASI.229] دل بسوخت و خشمگین شدند و بهمدیگر میگفتند «می‌بینید که هرچند سعی میکنیم هیچ سود نمیکند. هرآینه تمام عالم عقب او میرود.» بنابرین پیش حضرة ایشوع رفتند و گفتند «می‌شنوی آنچه اینها میگویند؟» حضرة ایشوع جواب داد «بلی. نخواندید بدرستی از دهان طفلان و شیرخوارگان تسبیح کمال گرفت.»

درین هنگام که حضرة ایشوع در هیکل با یهودان بود چندی از یونانیان که دران عید برای نماز آمده بودند نزد فلیپس آمدند و اورا درخواست کردند و گفتند «ای صاحب، میخواهم که حضرت ایشوع بینم.» فلیپس باندراوس خبر داد و هر دو بهم برآمده بحضرة ایشوع گفتند «جمعی غیر کتابی میخواهند که ترا ملازمت کنند.» حضرة ایشوع جواب داد و گفت «آن هنگام شد که آدمی‌زاده بزرگوار گردد.» و تا بنماید فایدهٔ که از مرگ او بامتها خواهد رسید بایشان گفت «راست راست گویم بشما اگر دانه گندم در زمین نیفتد و نمیرد هرآینه تنها ماند و اگر میرد بار بسیار دهد. آنکه جان خودرا دوست دارد هلاکش [ASI.230] کند و آنکه جان [ل۱۱۲ب] خودرا درین جهان دشمن دارد اورا برای زندگانی جاوید نگاه دارد. اگر یکی مرا خدمت کند او مرا پیروی کند و آنجا که منم خدمتکار من همانجا خواهد بود. اگر کسی مرا خدمت کند اورا پدر من گرامی دارد. اکنون جان من در شورش است. و چه گویم؟ ای پدر، مرا ازین ساعت خلاصی ده اما ازین جهت رسیده‌ام باین حالت. ای پدر، نام خودرا بزرگ گردان.» درین هنگام آواز از آسمان آمد برین مضمون «بدرستی بزرگوار ساختم و نیز بزرگوار کنم.» جمعی که استاده بودند شنیدند و گفتند «هرآینه غرش شد» و دیگران گفتند «بلکه فرشته اورا خطاب کرد.» حضرة ایشوع گفت «این آواز بسبب من نبود لیکن از جهت شما. هرآینه حالیا داوری این جهان پیدا شد. اکنون سردار این جهان بیرون انداخته شود و من چون از زمین بالا شوم همه چیزرا

بسوی خود کشم.» این گفت تا بنماید که بچه مرگ می‌میرد. جماعت جواب داد «ما از دین[1] دانسته‌ایم که مسیح تا جاوید ماند. چگونه میگوئی تو که آدمی‌زاده برداشته شود؟ کیست این آدمی‌زاده؟» حضرت ایشوع فرمود «کمتر زمانی نور با شماست. روانه شوید مادامی که نور با شماست تا تاریکیها شمارا درنگیرند که هرکه در تاریکی روانه میشود نمیداند که کجا میرود. مادامی که نور با شماست بنور بگروید تا پسران نور باشید.» بسیاری از خواص برو ایمان آوردند اما ظاهر نمیکردند تا ایشان‌را جماعت بیرون کنند چراکه بزرگ‌داشت مردم بیشتر [ل۱۱۳] دوست میداشتند از بزرگ‌داشت خدا.

آخر روز از شهر بیرون رفت و شب در کوه زیتون بنماز گذرانید. بامدادان که روز دوشنبه باشد برگردید و بهیکل درآمد و مردم‌را که در هیکل خرید و فروخت میکردند بیرون کردن گرفت و گفت «نوشته شده است که خانهٔ من خانهٔ نماز است و شمایان آن‌را غار دزدان ساختید.» فریسین آنجا رفتند و گفتند [ASI.232] «این کارها بقدرت که میکنی؟ ترا برای این کار که قدرت داده است؟» حضرة ایشوع جواب داد و گفت «من شمارا از کلمه می‌پرسم. عماداء یوحنا از که بود؟ از مردم یا از آسمان؟» ایشان همه در فکر شدند «اگر گوئیم از آسمانست گوید پس چرا باو نگرویدید؟ و اگر گوئیم از مردمست می‌ترسیم که مردم غلو کنند چراکه یوحنارا همه پیغمبر خدا دانسته بودند.» جواب دادند «نمیدانیم.» او بایشان گفت «من هم با شما نمیگویم که بقدرت که این چیزها میکنم. چه می‌بینید شمایان؟ مردی دو پسر داشت و به پسر بزرگ گفت «ای پسر، برو، امروز در باغ انگور من کار کن.» او گفت «نمیخواهم.» بعد ازان پشیمان شد و رفت. پدر بدیگر پسر گفت «ای پسر، برو، در باغ انگور من کار کن.» او جواب داد «ای خداوند، میروم» و نرفت. ازین دو کدام کس رضای پدر بجا آورد؟» ایشان گفتند «نخستین.» حضرة ایشوع گفت «راست گویم بشما سودخواران و قحبها پیشتر از شما در ملک آسمان [ASI.233] روند. در شمایان یوحنا آمد بعدالت. اورا قبول نکردید و سودخواران و قحبها برو ایمان آوردند. و شمایان این‌را دیده توبه نکردید تا برو ایمان آرید.»

و تا وانماید که خود کیست و ایشان باو چکار خواهند کرد و جزای آن چه خواهند یافت گفت «مثل دیگر بشنوید. مردی کدخدا باغ انگور نشاند و گرد آن دیوار کشید و خندق کند و برج عمارت کرد و آن‌را بباغبانان سپرد و خود مسافر شد و چون زمان میوه رسید بندگان خودرا بسوی باغبانان فرستاد تا باغبانان محصول آن دهند. باغبانان چندی‌را زدند و گروهی کشتند و جمعی سنگسار کردند. خداوند دیگر مردم بیش از اول تعین کرد. بایشان نیز چنان کردند و بمرتبه سیوم پسر خود فرستاد و گفت «شاید که از روی پسر من شرم کنند.» چون باغبانان پسررا دیدند در دلهای خود گفتند «همین است وارث. بیائید اورا بکشیم و میراث‌را ما ستانیم.» پس اورا گرفتند و بیرون باغ بردند و کشتند. و چون [ASI.234] صاحب باغ آید باین مردم چه کند؟» ایشان گفتند «بدانرا به بدی هلاک سازد و باغ بمردم سپارد تا حاصل اورا هنگام خود ادا کنند.» آنگاه بایشان فرمود «آیا شما هرگز در کتابها نخوانده‌اید هرآینه سنگی که اورا معماران خوار داشتند این سرگوشه شد؟ این از جانب خدا بود و در چشمهای ما عجیب است. ازین جهت میگویم بشما که هرآینه ملکوت از دست شما ستده شود و بمردم دیگر سپرده آید که حاصل او ادا کنند و هرکه برین سنگ

1. L and C: درین. John 12:34: *Nos audivimus ex lege*. Read از دین for درین.

برافتد خورد شکسته شود و بر هرکه بیفتد ناچیزش کند.» و چون سرداران کاهنان و فریسین مثلهای او شنیدند دانستند که بایشان چه میگوید. خواستند که اورا بند کنند لیکن از مردم ترسیدند که نزد ایشان همچون نبی بوده است.

درین مثال خداوند خدارا میخواند، باغ توریت‌را، دیوار تفسیر آنرا و دیگر پیغمبرانرا، خندق عبادتخانه‌را، برج کهانت‌را، باغبان یهودان‌را، میوه عمل صالح‌را، سفر کردن گذاشتن باختیار آنانکه [ASI.235] برای حاصل فرستاد و پیغمبران و نیکوکاران اند. از بعضی نشنیدند همچون موسی و هارون و بعضی‌را کشتند مانند ایشعیا و زکریا و ارمیا و دیگران. آخر پسر خودرا فرستاد که حضرة ایشوع است. از وی شرم نکردند و کشتند تا حکومت و صاحبی از خانهٔ ایشان نرود لیکن آخر از ایشان ستده شد و کتاب و دیگر همه چیز بدست دیگران رفت که کتابی نبودند و بهمین طریق خاص که هرکه از دین خود و معرفت خدا میوهٔ صالح نیارد[1] ازو گرفته بدیگری خواهد داد.

آن روز معجزها نمود و بسیار کارهای عجیب کرد و چون شب هنگام شد بکوه زیتون رفت و تمام شب بنماز گذرانید و هنگامی که میرفت بشاگردان فرمود «همیشه در نماز باشید و درین کار تقصیر نکنید. میگویم بشما هرچه در نماز خواسته باشید ایمان دارید که خواهید یافت و بشما خواهد رسید. و چون در نماز ایستید اگر آزاری از کسی دارید اورا ببخشید تا پدر شما که در [ل۱۱۳ب] آسمانست گناهان شما [ASI.236] [ببخشد و اگر نبخشید پدر شما که در آسمانست گناهان شما] نمی‌بخشد.»

روز سه‌شنبه بامداد باز باوریشلیم آمد و بهیکل رفت و آنجا مردم‌را تعلیم داد. فریسین از ماجرای دیروز رنج زده بودند و خود یارای آن نداشتند که اورا بگیرند. مصلحت کردند که اورا بسخن او مؤاخذه کنند و بحاکم بسپارند. شاگردان خودرا باتفاق مردم هردوس پیش او فرستادند و گفتند «ای آموزگار، هرآینه میدانیم که بر حقی و راه خدارا بحق تعلیم میدهی و از کسی باک نداری و روی کسی نمی‌بینی. بما بگو بر ما رواست که جزیه بقیصر دهیم یا نه.» حضرة ایشوع که از بددلی ایشان آگاه بود جواب داد «ای دورویان، مرا چه می‌آزمائید؟ دینار جزیه پیش من آرید.» ایشان یکدینار جزیه آوردند. آنگاه فرمود «این صورت و نبشته از کیست؟» ایشان گفتند «از قیصر.» دران زمان بایشان گفت «آنچه از قیصرست بقیصر دهید و آنچه از خداست بخدا.» چون شنیدند تعجب کردند و گذاشتند و گذشتند.

نیز درین روز جمعی از زندیقان که منکر قیامت بودند [ASI.237] سوی او آمدند و گفتند «ای آموزگار، موسی گفته اگر مردی میرد و اورا پسر نباشد زن اورا برادر او بگیرد و برای برادر خود تخم زنده کند. در ما هفت برادر بودند. بزرگ ایشان زن گرفت و مرد و چون اورا اولاد نبود زن‌را به برادر گذاشت و همچنین دوم و سیوم تا هفتم و پس [ل۱۱۴] از همه آن زن مرد. آن زن در قیامت ازین هفت برادر کرا باشد که هرکدام اورا نکاح کرد؟» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد و گفت «گمراه شده‌اید. نه کتابهارا میدانید و نه از قوت خدا خبر دارید زیراکه نه زنان مردان لیکن همچون فرشتگان خدا باشند در آسمان. یاد ندارید آنچه خدا بشما در بعث مردگان گفته: منم خدای ابراهیم و خدای اسحاق و خدای یعقوب. خدا خدای مردگان نیست لیکن از زندگان.» و درین باب سخنها گفت بطوری [که] همگنان حیران شدند. فریسین چون دانستند که زندیقان ملزم شدند جمع شده پیش او آمدند و

1. C بیارد.

یکی ازینها که داناتر بود از روی امتحان پرسید «ای استاد، کدام حکم در دین بزرگ است؟» جواب [داد که] «دوستدار [ASI.238] خداوند خدای خود از همه جان خود و از همه نیت خود. اینست حکم بزرگ و نخستین و حکم دوم مانند این است یعنی دوست دار[1] قریب خودرا همچنانکه خودرا و تمام دین و پیغمبران باین دو حکم باز میگردند.»

و چون فریسین همه جمع شده بودند حضرت ایشوع پرسید «شما از مسیح چه خبر دارید؟ او پسر کیست؟» گفتند «او پسر داود است.» او گفت «پس چگونه داود اورا بالهام خدا خداوند میخواند و میگوید گفت خداوند بخداوند من نشین بدست راست من تا دشمنان شما زیر هر دو پای تو نهم.[2] پس هرگاه داود اورا خداوند خود میخواند چگونه پسر او باشد؟» هیچکدام نتوانست [ل۱۱۴ب] که اورا جواب گوید و ازان روز هیچ یک نتوانست که هیچ چیز از وی سؤال کند.

آنزمان حضرت ایشوع رو بجماعت و بشاگردان کرد و گفت «کاتبان و فریسین بر کرسی موسی نشستند. پس هرچه بشما گویند نگاه دارید و بکنید و کردارهای ایشان نکنید که ایشان میگویند و نمیکنند چراکه بارهای گران و دشوار می‌بندند [ASI.239] و بر دوش مردم می‌نهند و میخواهند که سرانگشت خود بدان رسانند. همه کارهای خود میکنند تا نمودار شوند: تعویذ پهناور میکنند و ریسمانها و طیلسانها دراز میگذارند. دوست میدارند صدارت‌را در انجمنها و مهمانیها و سلام‌را در بازارها و آنکه آموزگار خوانده شوند اما شمایان نخواهید که بر زمین معلم خوانده شوید. آموزگار شما همان یک مسیح است و شمایان برادران همدیگرید، و کس‌را بر زمین پدر نخوانید که پدر شما یک است که در آسمانهاست. و مدبر خوانده نشوید. هرآینه مدبر شما یک است که مسیح است. هرکه بزرگ است در شمایان او خادم باشد برای شما، و هرکه خودرا برداشت انداخته شود، و هرکه خودرا اندازد برداشته شود. وای بشما، کاتبان و فریسین دورویان، که ملکوت آسمان‌را بر روی مردم می‌بندید: نه خود می‌درآئید و نه دیگرانرا میگذارید که درآیند. وای بشما، ای کاتبان و فریسین دورویان، که از خانهای بیوه‌زنان و یتیمان میخورید. بخواندن [ASI.239] دعای دراز ازینجهت بر شما داوری بزرگ باشد. وای بر شما، ای کاتبان و فریسین، که دورویانید [ل۱۱۶] چراکه بر و بحررا طی میکنید تا یک بیگانه‌را صید کنید و چون بدام آوردید اورا برای دوزخ دو چندان از خود ساخته میکنید. وای بشما، ای کشندگان نابینا، آنکه میگوئید هرکه سوگند بهیکل خورد اورا باکی نیست، اما هرکه سوگند کند بزر که[3] در هیکلست او بزه‌کار گردد. وای، نادانان و کوران، کدام بزرگ‌ترست؟ زر یا هیکل که آنرا پاک میسازد؟ و هرکه مذبح سوگند میخورد اورا باک نیست و آنکه بقربان که بالای او باشد سوگند میخورد بزه‌کار است. ای کوران، کدام بزرگ‌تر است، قربان یا مذبح که قربان‌را پاک میسازد؟ پس هرکه سوگند میخورد بمذبح سوگند میخورد بدو آنچه بالای اوست. هرکه بهیکل سوگند میخورد سوگند میکند بدو و بدانچه درو ساکن است و هرکه سوگند بآسمان او سوگند بکرسی خدا میکند و بکسی برو نشسته است.» آنگاه بشاگردان فرمود [ASI.241] که «شما از چنین

1. C از؛ L دار.

2. Psalm 110:1: נְאֻם יהוה לַאדֹנִי שֵׁב לִימִינִי עַד־אָשִׁית אוֹיְבֶיךָ הֲדֹם לְרַגְלֶיךָ (Vulgate, Psalm 109:1) *Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum:* The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. Quoted verbatim in Matthew 22:44.

3. C & L بزرک. Matthew 23:18: *quicumque autem iuraverit in dono, quod est super illud, debet*. Read که بزر for بزرک.

مردم پرهیز کنید.»

درین مجلس مشاهده میکرد که مردم درخورد توانگری خویش زرهای صدقه در صندوق می‌اندازند. بیوه‌زنی نیز آمد و یک دو پول درخورد فقیری خویش درین صندوق انداخت. شاگردان‌را طلبید و گفت «راست گویم بشما بیوه‌زن بیش از همه صدقه داد چراکه این همه از آنچه بر ایشان فراخ بود دادند اما این از آنچه باو وفا نمیکند هرآنچه داشت انداخت.

از عبادتخانه بیرون شد و بسوی کوه زیتون مذکور با شاگردان خود میرفت و چون رسید بجائی که مشرف بود و عمارات [ل۱۱۶ب] شهر از آنجا خوب دیده میشد شاگردان عمارتهای هیکل و شهررا می‌ستودند و باو می‌نمودند. او جواب داد «می‌بینید این همه چیزهارا؟ راست میگویم بشما سنگ بر سنگ نماند که خراب نشود.» ایشان پرسیدند «این کی شود؟» او جواب داد «چون بینید که اوریشلیم‌را محاصره میکنند دانید که خرابی او نزدیک است و چون پلیدی‌را که دانیال پیغمبر [ASI.242] ازان خبر داده بود در جایگاه مقدس منصوب بینید، آنکه میخواند دریابد. آنزمان خرابی اوریشلیم است.» (و پلیدی عبارت از صورت اَودَریان قیصر بوده که شکل خودرا بهیکل فرستاد تا آن‌را یهودان پرستش کنند.) و آنزمان آنانکه در زمین یهودا هستند بکوهها گریزند و آنانکه در شهرند بیرون نروند و آنانکه در شهر پشت بام باشند نشیب نیایند که از متاع خود خبر گیرند و آنانکه در صحرا باشند باز نگردند که جامهٔ خود ستانند و آنانکه در حوالی باشند درون شهر نه‌درآیند چراکه آن روزهای غضب اند تا آنچه مکتوبست همه بجا آید. وای بر حامله و شیرآور دران روز زیراکه بر زمین تنگی کلان باشد و غضب خدا برین گروه در دهان شمشیر افتند و بهر سوی عالم اسیر برده شوند و اوریشلیم پایمال امتها باشد تا وقتی که زمانه سیری گردد. ازان پیشتر غضب خدا نازل شود. دستها بشما خواهند رسانید و در پی شمایان خواهند بود. شمارا امیر خواهند ساخت و پیش [ASI.243] پادشاهان و حاکمان خواهند برد و این خواهد شد تا از من گواهی دهید. پس در دل نگاه دارید. پیش از [ل۱۱۷] وقت اندیشه نکنید که جواب دهیم بلکه آنچه بشما دران ساعت القاکرده شود همان گوئید که من شمارا دهن و دانش دهم که بآن هیچ دشمن بشما نتواند که مقاومت کند. پدران و برادران و خویشان و دوستان شمایان‌را بسپارند و چندی از شمایان کشته شوند و بجهة من شمارا همه مردم دشمن دارند اما تار موی شما تباه نشود و بصبر برداشت خود مالک جانهای خویشتن شوید.» ایشان پرسیدند[1] «آخر عالم کی باشد و نشان آمدن تو چیست؟» فرمود «آگاه باشید و بیدار شوید و دعا کنید که نمیدانید که ساعت کی شود. از آن روز و ساعت هیچکس نمیداند تا فرشتگان. و همچنانکه خرابی عالم در ایام نوح بود اینچنین آمدن من خواهد بود که همچنانکه دران روزها پیش از طوفان میخوردند و می‌آشامیدند و شادیها داشتند تا آنروز که نوح بکشتی درآمد [ASI.244] و نفهمیدند تا آنزمان که طوفان شد و همه‌را برد. اینچنین خواهد بود آمدن آدمی‌زاده. بیدار شوید که نمیدانید که خداوند شما کی دررسد. این‌را بدانید که اگر خداوند خانه دانستی که چه وقت دزد می‌آید هرآینه او بیدار بودی و نگذاشتی که خانهٔ او شکافته شود.[2] بنابرین شما نیز آماده باشید چراکه هنگامی که در فکر شما نباشد آدمی‌زاده خواهد آمد.» (و حکمت درین که از ساعت آگاهی نداد آن بود که تا هرگز از بندگی خدا غافل نشویم و

1. C برسیدن؛ L پرسیدند.
2. C – شود.

دایم ترسان باشیم.)

و آنگاه علامات آخرت بیان کرد و فرمود «هشیار باشید کسی شمارا [ل۱۱۷ب] بازی ندهد. بسیاری بنام من آیند و گویند منم و اکثر مردم‌را بازی دهند. بسیاری از پیغمبران باطل برخیزند و بسیار مردم‌را گمراه سازند. هرکه تا آخر استقامت نماید سلامت یابد و این انجیل ملکوت بتمامی عالم منادی کرده شود برای گواهی همه امتها و آنگاه پایان عالم باشد. اگر کسی گوید اینجاست [ASI.245] مسیح یا آنجا، ایمان نیارید که بسیاری از مدعیان باطل برخیزید و گویند منم مسیح. بسیاری پیغمبران باطل نشانهای کلان نمایند و چیزها عجیب کنند چنانکه اگر تواند بود برگزیدگان خدا بازی خورند.»

و هم فرمود «در عالم جنگها بسیار باشند و بسیاری دعوی کنند که مسیح منم.» و درین باب سخن بسیار کرد. این همه نشانهای زمینی بوده است. آنگاه از علامات آسمانی خبر داد و گفت «در آفتاب و ماهتاب و دیگر ستارها نشانها پدید آیند. آفتاب نور ندهد و ماهتاب در تاریکی شود. چنان نمودار گردد که ستارها می‌افتد. در زمین تنگی عظیم پیدا آید. مردم پریشان شوند و دریا شورش کند. مردم از ترس و فکر اینک آخر این چه باشد خشک شوند. آتش عالم‌را بسوزد. درین زمان ابن البشر برای زنده کردن مردگان فرشتگان خودرا بفرستد به نفیر و آواز بلند و همه آنانکه در قبر اند سخن ابن الله بشنوند و برآیند و نیکوکاران بجهت زندگانی جاوید برخیزند و بدکاران برای عقوبت و همگنان در یکجا [ASI.246] فراهم آیند. آن زمان نشان ابن البشر [ل۱۱۸] در آسمان ظاهر شود، یعنی صلیب مقدس و تمام قبیله مردم که اورا بیند بر خود گریه کند. آنگاه ابن البشر در ابرهای آسمان به بزرگواری خود آید و همه فرشتگان در ملازمت او باشند و بر تخت بزرگواری خود نشیند و همه مردم پیش او جمع شوند و همچنانکه شبان گوسفندان‌را از بزها جدا میکند چنین نیکانرا از بدان جدا کند و نیکوکاران‌را براست خود جا دهد و بدان‌را در دست چپ. آنگاه عمل هر کس بر همه آشکارا شود و هرکسی جزای کردهٔ خود یابد. و تا وانماید که صفت رحمت اورا محبوب و عزیزتر است بآنانکه در جانب راست او باشند گوید بیائید، ای خجستگان پدر من، بگیرید آن پادشاهی که از گاه پیدایش عالم برای شما آماده کرده شده است زیرا که گرسنه بودم و مرا طعام دادید، تشنه بودم و مرا آب دادید و غریب بودم و جایگاه دادید، برهنه بودم و مرا پوشانیدید، بیمار بودم و مرا عیادت کردید، در زندان بودم و بسوی من [ASI.247] آمدید. آن زمان دادگران جواب دهند و گویند «خدا زنده، کی ترا گرسنه دیدیم و خورش دادیم، تشنه و آب دادیم؟ کی ترا غریب یافتیم و جای دادیم یا برهنه پوشانیدیم؟ یا ترا کی بیمار و در زندان دیدیم که پیش تو آمدیم؟» بایشان جواب دهد و گوید «راست گویم بشما که هرچه بیکی ازین برادران کوچک من کردید بمن کردید.» و با آنانکه در جانب چپ اند بگوید «ای ملعونان، از من دور شوید و سوی آتش جاوید روید که برای ابلیس و لشکر او آماده کرده شده است. گرسنه بودم و مرا طعام ندادید، تشنه بودم و مرا آب ندادید، غریب بودم [ل۱۱۸ب] و مرا جای ندادید، برهنه بودم و مرا نپوشانیدید، بیمار و محبوس بودم و مرا عیادت نکردید.» ایشان جواب دهند «خداوند کی ترا گرسنه یا تشنه یا غریب یا برهنه یا بیمار یا محبوس دیدیم و خدمت نکردیم؟» آنزمان ایشان‌را جواب دهد «راست گویم بشما آنچه بیکی ازین کوچکان من نکردید بمن نکردید.» پس ایشان در عذاب جاوید باشند و نیکان در حیات دایمی.» آنگاه [ASI.248] فرمود «آسمان و زمین از جای روند اما

سخنان من ضایع نشوند.» این همه گفت‌وگو در سه‌شنبه در
قریهٔ بیتانیه بوده است.

باب سیوم
در جفاها و محنتها و مرگ مسیح

از گفتها مشخص دانسته شد که حضرت عیسی چند بار از مردن خود سخن کرد و از سپردن اورا بحاکمان بیگانه تا کشته شود و از میوه و فایدهٔ که از مرگ او پیدا آید که سلامتی مردم است. و هم معلوم شد که این همه بارادهٔ او برو خواهد آمد بی‌آنکه کسی‌را یارای آن باشد که اورا رنجی تواند رسانید اگر خود راضی نباشد. این است که هرگاه خواستند که اورا بکشند یا سنگسار سازند یا بند کنند هرگز نتوانستند که هنوز ارادهٔ او نبود، اما چون وقت رسید و خواست که جان خود بواسطهٔ مردم دهد بلکه بواسطهٔ گناهکاران بل بخاطر دشمنان و درین کار بزرگی برحمت خویش وانماید خود بشهر اوریشلیم آمد، آنجا که میدانست که در پی کشتن او هستند. هرچند ایشان بغایت دشمنی خواستند [ASI.249] که [ل۱۱۹] اورا بکشند او بتمام محبت و مهربانی خواست که خودرا بکشتن دهد بواسطهٔ علاج ایشان. پس سبب این مرگ از جانب آنانکه سعی در کشتن او کردند غایت بدی ایشان بود چه بغیر این که عالم در پای او میرفت و ازین بیروئی دوکان ایشان ویران می‌شد دیگر سبب نبوده اما از جانب او که خود خواست که بعالمیان روشن سازد که ایشانرا چه مقدار دوست میدارد که در عوض گناهان ایشان تا جان خود میدهد و آن تحمل و محبت و دیگر چیزها که در سه سال بگفتار آموخت اکنون بکردار خود وا می‌نماید غایت نیکی بود. ازاینجاست که اگر مرگ مسیح از همه گناهها گناه کلان بوده چون یهودان بمحض کینه و ناحق بچندان عقوبتها و بیحرمتیها کشتند بهترین کسی‌را که در عالم بوده است و چندان نیکوئیها بایشان کرده بود، اما همان مرگ بهترین خدمت بوده که خدارا در عالم کرده شد چون قربان خدا ساخت بهترین چیزی که می‌تواند بود و خودرا باختیار خود سپرد بجهت کفارت [ASI.250] و خلاصی مردم. درین نمونه داد از هر کمال و نیکی و ازین واقعهٔ مسیح همه پیغمبران سابق خبر بما داده بودند و آنچه درین باب پیغمبران گفته‌اند پیش ازانکه حضرت ایشوع بعالم بیامد. اگر نقل میکردم هرگز تمامی نگرفتی لیکن انصاف نمود که آنچه پیش ازین هشتصد و چند سال ایشعیا[1] پیغمبر از آمدن مسیح نوشته است نقل کنم. پس در فصل پنجاه و سیوم سخن‌کنان از مسیح میگوید: (۱) خداوند، که اعتقاد میکنند باین چیزها که از من خواهد شنید؟ [ل۱۱۹ب] و قدرت خدا کرا ظاهر شده است؟ (۲) و برخیزد همچنانکه شاخ درخت و بیخ از زمین خشک؛ صورت در وی نیست و نه خوبی. و دیدیم اورا و شکل نداشت و آرزو داشتیم ازو. (۳) دیدیم اورا حقیر و پسین‌ترین

1. C الیشعیا؛ L ایشعیا.

مردم؛ مرد دردها وامانده[1] و رنجها، و روی او گویا که نهفته شد و حقیر و باین سبب اورا در حساب نداشتم. (۴) هرآینه زحمتهای ما او برداشت و دردهای ما او برد، و ما دانستیم که او گویا پیس است و مغضوب خدا و حقیرکردهٔ او. (۵) اما او زخمین بود بواسطهٔ گناهان ما و کوفته بخاطر بدیهای ما. تعلیم صلح ما بر دست [او] و بزخم او [ASI.251] صحت یافتیم. (۶) ما همگنان همچون گوسفندان گمشده‌ایم. هرکدام براه خود رفت، و خداوند بدی همهٔ ما درو نهاده گذرانیده شد (۷) چراکه او خود خواست و نگشاد دهان خود همچنانکه گوسفند بمسلخ برده شود و همچون بره در نظر آنکه او بر میدارد گنگ شود و دهان خود نگشاید. (۸) از اندوه و داوری برآمد. اولاد اورا که تواند بیان کردن؟ چراکه بریده شد از زمین زندگان: بواسطهٔ گناه‌کردهٔ خود اورا زدم (۹) و بدان‌را بقبر دهد و توانگران‌را بمرگ چراکه بدی نکرد و در دهان او دغا نبود (۱۰) و صاحب خواست کوفتن او بناتوانی. اگر جان خود بواسطهٔ گناه نهد نسل خود تا روزگار دراز بیند و رضای خداوند بدست او بهنجار خواهد بود (۱۱) ازینجا که روح او محنت کشید بیند و سیر شود، بدانش خود نیک سازد همان نیک بندهٔ من بسیار مردم‌را و همان بردارد بدیهای ایشان. (۱۲) بدین سبب اورا بسیار خواهم [ل ۱۲۰] بخشید و بخشش خواهد کرد غنیمت قوی‌دستان چراکه او بمرگ سپرد جان خودرا [ASI.252] و در حساب گناهکاران داشته شد و برداشت گناه بسیاران و شفاعت کرد برای آنکه از حد گذشتند.[2] تا اینجا سخن ایشعیا بود.

1. C وامانیده.

2. Isaiah 53:1–12: מִי הֶאֱמִין לִשְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ וּזְרוֹעַ יהוה עַל־מִי נִגְלָתָה: וַיַּעַל כַּיּוֹנֵק לְפָנָיו וְכַשֹּׁרֶשׁ מֵאֶרֶץ צִיָּה לֹא־תֹאַר לוֹ וְלֹא הָדָר וְנִרְאֵהוּ וְלֹא־מַרְאֶה וְנֶחְמְדֵהוּ: נִבְזֶה וַחֲדַל אִישִׁים אִישׁ מַכְאֹבוֹת וִידוּעַ חֹלִי וּכְמַסְתֵּר פָּנִים מִמֶּנּוּ נִבְזֶה וְלֹא חֲשַׁבְנֵהוּ: אָכֵן חֳלָיֵנוּ הוּא נָשָׂא וּמַכְאֹבֵינוּ סְבָלָם וַאֲנַחְנוּ חֲשַׁבְנֵהוּ נָגוּעַ מֻכֵּה אֱלֹהִים וּמְעֻנֶּה: וְהוּא מְחֹלָל מִפְּשָׁעֵנוּ

מְדֻכָּא מֵעֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ מוּסַר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ עָלָיו וּבַחֲבֻרָתוֹ נִרְפָּא־לָנוּ: כֻּלָּנוּ כַּצֹּאן תָּעִינוּ אִישׁ לְדַרְכּוֹ פָּנִינוּ וַיהוָה הִפְגִּיעַ בּוֹ אֶת עֲוֹן כֻּלָּנוּ: נִגַּשׂ וְהוּא נַעֲנֶה וְלֹא יִפְתַּח־פִּיו כַּשֶּׂה לַטֶּבַח יוּבָל וּכְרָחֵל לִפְנֵי גֹזְזֶיהָ נֶאֱלָמָה וְלֹא יִפְתַּח פִּיו: מֵעֹצֶר וּמִמִּשְׁפָּט לֻקָּח וְאֶת־דּוֹרוֹ מִי יְשׂוֹחֵחַ כִּי נִגְזַר מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי נֶגַע לָמוֹ: וַיִּתֵּן אֶת־רְשָׁעִים קִבְרוֹ וְאֶת־עָשִׁיר בְּמֹתָיו עַל לֹא־חָמָס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מִרְמָה בְּפִיו: וַיהוָה חָפֵץ דַּכְּאוֹ הֶחֱלִי אִם־תָּשִׂים אָשָׁם נַפְשׁוֹ יִרְאֶה זֶרַע יַאֲרִיךְ יָמִים וְחֵפֶץ יהוה בְּיָדוֹ יִצְלָח: מֵעֲמַל נַפְשׁוֹ יִרְאֶה יִשְׂבָּע בְּדַעְתּוֹ יַצְדִּיק צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי לָרַבִּים וַעֲוֹנֹתָם הוּא יִסְבֹּל: לָכֵן אֲחַלֶּק־לוֹ בָרַבִּים וְאֶת־עֲצוּמִים יְחַלֵּק שָׁלָל תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱרָה לַמָּוֶת נַפְשׁוֹ וְאֶת־פֹּשְׁעִים נִמְנָה וְהוּא חֵטְא־רַבִּים נָשָׂא וְלַפֹּשְׁעִים יַפְגִּיעַ:

[1]*Quis credidit auditui nostro?* (LXX: κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν) *et brachium Domini cui revelatum est?* [2]*Et ascendet sicut virgultum coram eo, et sicut radix de terra sitienti. Non est species ei, neque decor, et vidimus eum, et non erat aspectus, et desideravimus eum:* [3]*despectum, et novissimum virorum, virum dolorum, et scientem infirmitatem, et quasi absconditus vultus ejus et despectus, unde nec reputavimus eum.* [4]*Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros ipse portavit; et nos putavimus eum quasi leprosum, et percussum a Deo, et humiliatum.* [5]*Ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras; attritus est propter scelera nostra: disciplina pacis nostræ super eum, et livore ejus sanati sumus.* [6]*Omnes nos quasi oves erravimus, unusquisque in viam suam declinavit: et posuit Dominus in eo iniquitatem omnium nostrum.* [7]*Oblatus est quia ipse voluit, et non aperuit os suum; sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur, et quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperiet os suum.* [8]*De angustia, et de judicio sublatus est. Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? quia abscissus est de terra viventium: propter scelus populi mei percussi eum.* [9]*Et dabit impios pro sepultura, et divitem pro morte sua, eo quod iniquitatem non fecerit, neque dolus fuerit in ore ejus.* [10]*Et Dominus voluit conterere eum in infirmitate. Si posuerit pro peccato animam suam, videbit semen longævum, et voluntas Domini in manu ejus dirigetur.* [11]*Pro eo quod laboravit anima ejus, videbit et saturabitur. In scientia sua justificabit ipse justus servus meus multos, et iniquitates eorum ipse portabit.* [12]*Idio dispertiam ei plurimos, et fortium dividet spolia, pro eo quod tradidit in mortem animam suam, et cum sceleratis reputatus est, et ipse peccata multorum tulit, et pro transgressoribus rogavit:* [1]Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the LORD revealed? [2]For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. [3]He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not. [4]Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. [5]But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed. [6]All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. [7]He was oppressed, and he was

درین سخنها طریق اجمال سبب مرگ و روش کشته شدن او و فایدهٔ مرگ او بیان شد. اکنون بطریق تفصیل انشاء الله گفته رویم.

دو روز پیش از عید فصح بشاگردان فرمود «خبر دارید که پس از دو ر[وز] عید فصح می آید و ابن البشر سپرده میشود که مصلوب گردد.» درین هنگام کاهنان بزرگ و پیران یهودان در خانهٔ بزرگ کاهنان جمع شدند و رای زدند که حضرة ایشوع‌را چطور بدست آرند و بکشند. نمیخواستند که اورا در روز عید گرفت‌وگیر کنند که چون عام‌را باو عقیده شده بود ترس داشتند که از گرفتن او فتنه و شورش شود. یهودا اسخریوطی که یکی از دوازده بود و مسیح‌را او سپرد از آن روز که دران مهمانی بتقریب روغن ملامت زده شد شیطان بدلش جای کرده بود. [ASI. 253] درین زمان قابو یافته پیش بزرگان کاهنان رفت و بایشان گفت «مرا چه میدهید؟ من اورا بشما می‌سپارم.» ایشان شاد [شد]ند و باو سی عدد دینار وعده کردند. او پیمان بست که خداوندرا بسپارد و فرصت می‌جست تا وعدهٔ خود بجا آورده باشد بطوری که شورش نشود. درین هنگام عید فصح نزدیک رسید و زمانی که بنی اسرائیل از مصر برآمدند. بحکم توریت بر ایشان واجب شده بود [ل ۱۲۰ب] که درین عید بره بخورند. حضرت ایشوع پیدرو و یوحنارا طلبید و فرمود «بروید فصح‌را آماده سازید تا بخوریم.» ایشان گفتند «کجا میخواهی که مستعد سازیم؟» فرمود «بشهر درروید و دران رفتن بمردی ملاقات خواهید کرد که سبوی آب می‌برد. دنبال او روید و بخانه که او درآید بخداوندان خانه گوئید آموزگار بتو میگوید جا کجاست تا من بشاگردان خود فصح خورم؟ او بشما کوشکی بزرگ فرش گسترده و بساط انداخته خواهد نمود. همانجا آماده کنید.» [ASI.254] ایشان رفتند و بشهر درآمدند و آن مردرا یافته جایگاه ساخته کردند. روز پنجشنبه که فردای آن عید بود آخر روز حضرت ایشوع باوریشلیم آمد و در آن خانه منزل گرفت. و چون وقت رسید و سفره کشیدند بدوازده اپوستلس[1] فرمود «سخت آرزو داشتم که این فصح‌را با شما بخورم پیش ازانکه محنتها کشم.» در اثنای خوردن فرمود «راست گویم بشما که یکی از شما که هم‌طبق منست و با من میخورد مرا خواهد سپرد و نوشتهٔ زبور کمال خواهد گرفت که اینست آنکه با من میخورد پاشنهٔ خودرا بضد من خواهد برداشت.[2] پیش ازانکه این بجا آید بشما میگویم تا وقتی که این واقع شود ایمان بیارید که منم.» ایشان بسیار[3] دلگیر شدند و بهمدیگر نگریستند که نمیدانستند که مراد او کیست و هرکدام پرسیدن گرفت که «مگر منم، ای خداوند؟» او

afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. [8]He was taken from prison and from judgment: and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living: for the transgression of my people was he stricken. [9]And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; because he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth. [10]Yet it pleased the LORD to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the LORD shall prosper in his hand. [11]He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear their iniquities. [12]Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he hath poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.

1. C اپوستش.

2. Psalm 41:9: גַּם־אִישׁ שְׁלוֹמִי אֲשֶׁר־בָּטַחְתִּי בוֹ אוֹכֵל לַחְמִי הִגְדִּיל עָלַי עָקֵב (Vulgate Psalm 40:10) *sed et homo pacificus meus in quo habui fiduciam qui manducabat panem meum levavit contra me plantam:* Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me.

3. C بسپارید.

جواب داد «آنکه دست او در طبق منست او مرا خواهد سپرد. هرآینه آدمی‌زاده میرود همچنانکه ازو نوشته شده است اما [ASI.255] وای بر آن مرد که او در سپردن آدمی‌زاده [ل ۱۲۱] واسطه شود. به بودی اورا زاده نمیشد.» یهودا تا خودرا بپوشد نیز پرسید «مگر منم، ای استاد؟» فرمود «اینچنین است که گفتی.»

درین هنگام یوحنا از غم و بالهام خاص خدا بر سینهٔ حضرة ایشوع سر نهاده بود. پیدرو باو گفت «از که سخن میکند؟» یوحنا بحضرة ایشوع گفت «خداوند، کیست آنکه ترا خواهد سپرد؟» جواب داد «آنست که من نان تر کرده باو میدهم» و نان در شوربا کرده بیهودا اسخریوطی داد. در حال شیطان بجان او درآمد و در سپردن مسیح بجدتر شد. حضرة ایشوع بر اندیشهٔ او مطلع شده باو فرمود «هرچه میکنی زودتر کن.» هیچکدام ازینها که نشسته بودند فهمیدند که بچه تقریب این سخن باو میگوید که او چون صاحب خرج بود انگاشتند که اورا بکاری میفرستد و می‌فرماید که برو و بخر آنچه برای عید درکارست یا چیزی بفقرا زود ده.

آنگاه بهمه خطاب کرد و گفت «بدانید که تن من بواسطهٔ شما برده شود [ASI.256] و خون من ریخته آید بجهة آمرزیدن شما و بسیاری از دیگران.» درین زمان چون دانستند که خواهد مرد باز شروع کردند درین که «کدام کس از مایان کلان باشد؟» حضرت ایشوع بایشان ملامت کرد و فرمود «آنکه در شما کلانست خورد شود. آنکه پیشوا شود او همچون خادم باشد. کدام است بزرگ؟ آنکه می‌نشیند یا آنکه بخدمت می‌استد؟ نه آنست که می‌نشیند. منم در میان شما همچون کسی که خادم باشد.» درینولا از سر سفره برخاست و جامهای خود بیرون کرد و بر زمین نهاد و چادر در میان [ل ۱۲۱ب] بست. آنگاه آب در مشربه کرد و پیش اپستلس[1] آمد و خواست که پای ایشان بشوید و بدان چادر خشک سازد. آغاز از پیدرو باو گفت «ای خداوند، ای خداوند، تو بمن پای می‌شوئی؟» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد «آنچه من میکنم تو اکنون نمی‌فهمی. بعد ازان خواهی دانست.» پیدرو گفت «هرگز پای مرا نخواهی شست.» حضرت ایشوع چون که راضی نمیشود باو فرمود «اگر ترا نشویم نصیبه از من نیابی.» آنزمان پیدرو [ASI.257] گفت «خداوند من، نه تنها پای من بشوئی بلکه دست و سر هم.» حضرت ایشوع باو فرمود «آنکه شسته شده است ضرور ندارد که بجز پا چیزی دیگر بشوید و تو تمام پاکی و شمایان پاکید، اما نه همه.» این گفت چراکه میدانست که اورا که خواهد سپرد. پس پای پیدرو شست بتمام فروتنی و نرمی دل و گریان و بتمام محبت و دوستی و همچنین پای همگنان شست. و چون از شستن فارغ شد جامهای خود گرفت و پوشید و نشست و گفت «شمایان مرا خداوند و استاد میخوانید و خوب میگوئید چراکه هستم. پس هرگاه من که خداوند آموزگار پای شما شستم شمایان نیز باید که پای یکدیگر بشوئید. شمارا نمونه دادم تا همچنانکه من کردم همچنین کنید. راست راست میگویم بشما نه خدمتکار کلانست از خداوند خویش و نه فرستاده از[2] فرستندهٔ خود. اگر این‌را میدانید خنک هستید اگر این چیزهارا میکنید.»

یهودا اسخریوطی بعد ازین سخن از مجلس بیرون رفت. چون او [ASI.258] برآمد مسیح گفت «اکنون آدمی‌زاده بزرگوار میشود [ل ۱۲۲] و خدا در وی بزرگوار شد. پسرکان، کمتر زمانی با شما باشم. بشما حکمی نو میدهم که شمایان همدیگررا دوست میدارید همچنانکه من شمارا دوست

1. C پیش از اَیثلُس.
2. C + و.

میدارم. درین شناخته شوید که شاگردان منید اگر دوستدار یکدیگر باشید. منم راه و راستی و حیات. هیچکس بی‌وسیلهٔ من بپدر نمیرسد. اگر مرا دوستدارید و آنکه مرا دوست میدارد محبوب پدر من خواهد شد و من اورا دوست خواهم داشت و خودرا برو ظاهر خواهم کرد و آنکه مرا دوست میدارد و محافظت سخنان من میکند پدر من اورا دوست میدارد. پیش بیائیم و درو قرار میگیریم. اینست حکم من که یکدیگررا دوست دارید همچنانکه من شمارا دوست داشتم. بزرگتر محبت ازین نمی‌باشد که یکی جان خودرا بجهت دوستان خود دهد. شما دوستان منید اگر بعمل می آرید آنچه بشما میگویم.» در[این] باب بیش از یکساعت گفت‌وگو [ASI.259] داشت و سخنان غریب گفت.

آنگاه فرمود «گفتار خودرا بشما دراز نمیکنم. همهٔ شمایان امشب در من شک خواهید آورد چنانچه نوشته شده است: زنم شبانرا و پراکنده شوند گوسفندهای رمه،[1] اما بعد از آنکه برخیزم در جلیل نزد شما آیم.» و بشمعان گفت «شمعان، شیطان خواست که ترا بغربال کند بسان گندم. من بجهت تو نماز کردم که ایمان تو بزیان نشود و تو باز گشته برادران خودرا محکم کن.» [ل۱۲۲ب] خود این سخن‌را بیان داد و گفت هرگز ایمان پیدرو که خلیفهٔ اویست نقصان نکند و کار او استوار کردن دیگران باشد و اینچنین شد که تا امروز هیچ پاپه‌را که عبارت از جانشین پیدروست در ایمان نقصان نشد. پیدرو باو جواب داد «هرچند که همگنان در شک افتد اما من هرگز شک نیارم، ای خداوند. من آماده‌ام که بزندان و بمرگ روم و جان خودرا فدای تو سازم.» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد «تو جان خودرا فدای من میکنی. راست راست گویم [ASI.260] بتو که امشب پیش ازانکه خروس دو بار بانگ کند تو سه بار از من منکر شوی.» او گفت «اگر بتو بمرگ رسم منکر نشوم.»

پس از شهر برآمد و یازده اپوستلس با او بودند و سوی گذارهٔ دریای کدرون رفت و در دامن کوه زیتون نزدیک دیه شت‌سیمانی[2] نام بباغی درآمد که بیشتر شبهای در نماز آنجا میگذرانید. همراهانرا فرمود «شما اینجا بنشینید و نماز کنید تا شمارا شیطان بازی ندهد. من آنجا میروم تا نماز کنم.» و از جملهٔ رسولان پیدرو و یوحنا و یعقوب‌را با خود برد و مقدار یک سنگ‌انداز از دیگران جدائی گرفت. درین زمان گناهان عالم و جفاها که برو خواهد آمد در نظر آورده اندیشه‌مند شد و بر دل او رنج گران بار آورد و بهمراهان گفت «جان من از غمناکی بسرحد مرگ رسیده است. اینجا قرار گیرید و با من بیدار باشید.» قدری از ایشان فاصله گرفته بغاری درآمد و بر رو افتاد. آنگاه بر سر زانو شد و گفت [ASI.261] «پدر من، همه می‌توانی. اگر تواند بود که این جام از من بگردد [ل۱۲۳] لیکن نشود آنچه خواست من است مگر آنچه خواست تست.» مدة دراز درین بود. آنگاه پیش شاگردان آمد و ایشان خفته یافت. به پیدرو گفت «پیدرو، جواب میکنی؟ نتوانستید که یکساعت بیخواب باشید؟ بیدار

1. Matthew 26:31 *Tunc dicit illis Jesus: Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in me in ista nocte. Scriptum est enim: Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves gregis*: Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad. The reference is to Jeremiah 13:7: הַךְ אֶת־הָרֹעֶה וּתְפוּצֶיןָ הַצֹּאן *percute pastorem, et dispergentur oves:* smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.

2. C ست سیمانی; L استِ بیتمانی. Read شت سیمانی *Shet-sēmānī* for Getsêmani, Portuguese for Gethsemane (< Γεθσημανί), the name of which may reflect something of the גֵּיא־שְׁמָנִים *gē'-šəmānīm* "the fat valley" of Isaiah 28:1 & 4. "Gethsemane" is rendered as ܓܕܣܡܢ *Gadhsemān* in the Syriac Pshitta. The first part of the name is traditionally taken to represent the Aramaic גת *gath* 'oil press.'

شوید و نماز کنید تا در آزمایش نیفتید. جان ساختهٔ کارست لیکن تن ناتوانست.» باز بنماز رفت و همان سخن میگفت «پدر من، اگر تواند بود که این جام از من گذرد که اورا بیاشامم. خواست تو باشد.» باز پیش ایشان آمد. ایشان‌را خفته یافت و برگشته بنماز مشغول شد. درین وانمود که هرگاه کار صعب پیش آمد بنماز مشغول شویم و از خدا مدد خواهیم و هم نمود که چه قدر باید کوشید که در حال رضای خدا بدست آریم و بقضای او راضی شویم و علاج خودرا حواله برضای او کنیم. و هم نمود که عجب نیست که روح هرچند قوی باشد اما تن ضعیف نماید و هرچند تن از [ASI.262] ضعف خود گریزد اما باید که جان در کار خود استوار باشد. سیوم بار بنماز آمد و همان سخن میگفت. فرشتهٔ خدا پیش آمد و خشنودی خدا و از فایده که از محنتهای او بعالم خواهد رسید خبر داد و اورا دل قوی ساخت. و چندان غم و اندوه اورا فرو گرفت که از مسامها بجای عرق خون بیرون آمد چندانکه بر زمین روان شد و او بنماز فرو رفته بود. چون از نماز فارغ شد پیش ایشان آمد و اینانرا در خواب یافت که ایشان‌را از غم و اندوه خواب ربوده بود و فرمود «خواب کنید و آسایش گیرید. بس است. وقت رسید اینک ابن البشر [ل۱۲۳ب] بدست بدکاران سپرده شود. برخیزید، برویم! رسیده است آنکه مرا می‌سپارد.» درین گفتار بود ناگاه انبوه مردم یهودان که بزرگان فریسین و کاهنان فرستاده بودند رسیدند مشعلها و شمعها افروخته و سلاحها علم کرده و پیشوای ایشان یهودا اسخریوطی بود که یکی از دوازده است تا اورا بایشان بنماید که چون بجهت [ASI.263] نماز بسیار بار همراه او آمده بود جای اورا میدانست. و ازانجا که یعقوب پسر اَلفی بدو بسیار مشابه بود تا درگرفتن او غلط نکنند یهودا گفت «هرکرا من بوسه دهد اوست ایشوع. اورا بگیرید و بهوشیاری برید.» حضرة ایشوع این مردم‌را استقبال کرد و پرسید که «کرا میخواهید؟» ایشان گفتند «ایشوع ناصری‌را.» گفت «منم.» چون این سخن گفت که منم همه پیشتر رفتند و سرنگون افتادند. حضرة ایشوع مرتبهٔ دوم پرسید که «کرا میخواهید؟» ایشان گفتند «ایشوع ناصری‌را.» فرمود «گفتم بشما که منم. اگر مرا میخواهید اینانرا بگذرانید.» و چون شب بود و شاگردان اورا در میان گرفته بود و یعقوب پسر الفی مانند بود، یهودا پیش آمد و نزدیک شده گفت «سلام ترا، ای آموزگار» و بر روی او بوسه داد. حضرة ایشوع بدو گفت «ای دوست، بچه تقریب آمدی؟» او هیچ جواب نداد. آنگاه فرمود «ای یهودا، ابن البشررا به بوسه می‌سپاری؟» درین هنگام دشمنان رسیدند و دست بدو انداختند و گرفتند. یکی از اپوستلس، [ASI.264] یعنی پیدرو، حربه داشت. بر مالک نام انداخت و گوش راست او جدا ساخت. حضرت [ل۱۲۴] ایشوع‌را این خوب ننمود و فرمود «حربهٔ خود در میان کن. هرکه شمشیر اندازد بشمشیر هلاک شود. مگر نمیدانی که می‌توانم که از پدر خود مدد جویم و او بیش از دوازده لاکیون ملایکه دهد اما چطور بجا آیند نوشتها که اینچنین باید که شود جامی که پدر من بمن داده است؟ تو نمیخواهی که من آنرا بنوشم؟» این گفت و دست بدو رسانیده اورا صحت داد. و بسرداران کاهنان و بزرگان هیکل و به پیران که آمده بودند گفت «آمدید بشمشیرها و نیزها که مرا همچون دزد بگیرید. هر روز با شما در هیکل می‌بودم و نشسته می‌آموختم و دست بمن دراز نکردید و مرا نگرفتید. اینچنین واقع شد تا نوشتهاء پیغمبران بجا آید. اینست ساعت شما و قوت ظلمتها.» پس گرفتند و سخت بربستند و مشتها زدند و به چوب و لگد کشیدند. شاگردان از ترس گریختند و اورا همان طور بسته بخانهٔ حنان،

خسر[1] قیافا، [ASI.265] بردند که دران سال بزرگ کاهنان او بود و از دوازده شاگردان یوحنا پس او میرفت که از احوال او خبر باشد و عقب او شمعان پیدرو. و چون یوحنا بسردار کاهنان معرفت داشت اورا درون گذاشتند و پیدرو بیرون بود. یوحنا بیرون آمد بآن زن که دربان خانه بود گفته «شمعانرا نیز درون خانه بر» و این زن به پیدرو گفت «تو از شاگردان او نیستی؟» او گفت «نیستم» و درآمد. اندرون خانه آتش افروخته بودند و مردم گرد او نشسته چون سرما بود. پیدرو نیز در میان ایشان نشسته زنی اورا [ل۱۲۴ب] دیده گفت «این مرد دایم با او می‌بود.» پیدرو منکر شد و گفت «ای زن، هرگز اورا ندیدم.»

درینولا حنان پرسید که «تعلیم تو چیست و شاگردان تو کیستند؟» او فرمود «من بعالم آشکارا میگفتم و دایم در انجمن و هیکل می‌آموختم که آنجا همهٔ یهودان جمع می‌شوند و به پنهانی هیچ نگفتم. از من چه می‌پرسی؟ از آنها پرس که از من شنیده‌اند که چه آموختم که هر آنچه میگفتم ایشان میدانند.» نخواست که از تعلیم خود گوید [ASI.266] تا خودرا بستاید و از شاگردان نگفت چراکه از وی گریخته بودند. یکی از پیادگان چنانکه آنجا ایستاده بودند سیلی سخت بر روی مبارک زد چنانکه خون از بینی او روان شد و گفت «به بزرگ کاهنان چنین جواب میدهی؟» حضرت ایشوع بدو گفت «اگر بد گفتم بر بدی گواهی ده، و اگر نیک چرا میزنی؟» بعد از آن چنان اورا نزد قیافا بزرگ کاهنان بسته فرستاد. یکی از خویشان آنکه گوش او جدا شده درین خانهٔ قیافا بوده است. او به پیدرو گفت «هرآینه این شخص با او بود چراکه او هم جلیلیست.» پیدرو در حضور همگنان منکر شد و گفت «مرد آدمی، من نمیدانم آنچه تو میگوئی.» او گفت «مگر من ترا در باغ با او ندیدم؟» پیدرو لعنت بر خود کرد و سوگندها خورد و گفت «نمیدانم این مردرا که تو میگوئی.» درین هنگام خروس آواز کرد و حضرت ایشوع بسوی او دید. پیدرو ازین نگریستن او یاد کرد آنچه بوی گفته شده بود که پیش ازانکه خروس سه نوبت بانگ کند سه بار از من انکار کنی و از گناه خود آگاه شد و بدرد گریست [ASI.267] و از آنجا بیرون رفت در جایگاهی که از [ل۱۲۵] مردم خالی بود آنجا میگریست. و ازین هنگام تا زمان مردن پیوسته در گریه بود و نوحه میکرد و از اشکهای گرم که همواره از چشم او میرفت روی او سوخته نمود.

همه بزرگان کاهنان در خانهٔ قیافا جمع شده بودند. قیافا خواست که گناه او پیش ایشان ثابت کند. چندی دعوی میکردند و جمعی گواهی میدادند اما گواهی‌های ایشان موافق نیامد و دعوی بصحت[2] نمیرسید. چندی برخاستند و گفتند «شنیدم که میگفت من ویران سازم این هیکل‌را که ساختهٔ مردم است و در سه روز دیگر عمارت کنم که دست بدو نرسیده باشد.» هنوز در گواهی موافقت نداشتند. چون مسیح مشخص نشد بزرگ کاهنان از میان برخاست و گفت «چرا جواب نمیدهی و جرح نمی‌آری؟» او خاموش بود و هیچ جواب نداد. دیگر بار سردار کاهنان گفت «ترا سوگند میدهم بخدای زنده بگو که توئی پسر خدای مبارک.» حضرة ایشوع باو جواب داد و گفت «منم چنانچه [ASI.268] تو گفتی. هرآینه بشما میگویم خواهید دید آدمی‌زاده‌را بدست راست

1. C جناجسر; L خسان خسر. This is the Annas (Ἄννας) of Luke 3:2, John 18:13 and 18:24, and Acts 4:6, who is also mentioned as high priest by Josephus. Father Jerome may have tried to restore his Hebrew name, Hananiah (חנניה), as حنان or حنانیا, or he may have partially restored it as حناس.

2. نصیحت.

خدا نشسته که در ابرهای آسمان فرو می‌آید.» بزرگ کاهنان چون این سخن شنید جامهٔ خود چاک زد و گفت «کفر کرد. چه حاجت مرا بگواهیها؟ اینک شنیدید کفر او. اکنون چه میگوئید؟» ایشان گفتند «کشتنی است.» آن زمان در روی مبارک او تف کردند و سیلیها و مشتها زدند و رفتند که خواب کنند. مسیح‌را [ل۱۲۵ب] همانجا بسته گذاشتند. درین هنگام خذمتکاران ایشان اورا میزدند و تف میکردند و چشمان اورا بسته بودند و میگفتند «پیغمبری کن و بگو که [کیست آنکه ترا میزند» و هرکه هرچه میخواست با او میگفت. او بهیچکس جواب ندادی. بقیهٔ شب درین بگذشت. ایشعیا ازین حال او خبر داده بود و ترجمهٔ گفتار او اینست: «سپردم تن خود بزنندگان و رخسار خود بکنندگان. نگردانیدم روی خودرا از آنانکه فحش میگفتند و تف می‌انداختند.»[1]

چون روز شد اورا حاضر ساختند و بدو گفتند «اگر توئی مسیح، بما بگو.» بایشان گفت «اگر این‌را بشما میگویم ایمان نمی‌آرید، و اگر از شما چیزی میپرسم مرا جواب نخواهید داد و خلاص نخواهید کرد. زمانی بیاید که آدمی‌زاده بدست راست پدر خود نشیند.» ایشان همه گفتند «پس توئی پسر خدا؟» او گفت «شمایان میگوئید که منم.» ایشان گفتند «ما دیگر کدام گواهی میخواهیم؟ خود از دهان او شنیدیم. اکنون چه حاجت بگواهیست؟» و قرار دادند که اورا بحاکم سپارند. حاکم شهر فیلاتس بود. حضرت ایشوع‌را بسته پیش او بردند. یهودا چون دانست که فریسین حکم بکشتن او کردند و بفیلاتس مذکور سپردند از آنچه کرده بود پشیمان شد و سبب آن بود که او میدانست که حضرت ایشوع خودرا ازینها خلاص خواهد کرد که قدرت دارد و من این پول‌را رایگان خواهم برد. درین زمان چون دانست که مرگ برو مقرر گردید [ل۱۲۶] از کردهٔ خویش غمگین شد و پشیمانی خورده آن سی عدد دینار برداشت و بایشان واپس برد و گفت «گناه کردم درین که خون پاک سپردم.» ایشان گفتند ««مارا درین چه؟ تو دانی» و نخواستند که ازو دینارها واپس گیرند و آن دینارها در هیکل انداخت و رفت بر بالای درخت برآمد و خودرا آویخته و خفه کرد. شکم او ترقید و رودهاش بیرون افتاد. کاهنان دینارها گرفته گفتند «این خون‌بهاست. روا نیست که در صندوق هیکل اندازیم.» آخر یک قطعه زمین برای گورستان غریبان از گل‌کاری خریدند و ازینست که تا امروز آن زمین‌را گل دما میخوانند، یعنی میدان خون. درین بجای آمد آنچه ارمیا پیغمبر گفت: «گرفتند سی دینار که بنی اسرائیل بها نهاده بودند و ایشان دادند تا زمین گلکار خرند چنانچه خداوند بمن نمود.»[2] و همین سخن ذکریا گفته بود. پس حضرت ایشوع‌را پیش فیلاتس بردند. پیلاتس در محکمه آمد و فریسین اورا بدو سپردند. بسیار چیزها بضد او گفتند. او از فریسین پرسید «باین مرد چه دعوی دارید؟» ایشان گفتند

1. Isaiah 50:6: גֵּוִי נָתַתִּי לְמַכִּים וּלְחָיַי לְמֹרְטִים פָּנַי לֹא הִסְתַּרְתִּי מִכְּלִמּוֹת וְרֹק: *Corpus meum dedi percutientibus, et genas meas vellentibus; faciem meam non averti ab increpantibus et conspuentibus in me:* I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting.

2. Mark 27:9–10: *Tunc impletum est quod dictum est per Jeremiam prophetam, decentem: Et acceperunt triginta argenteos pretium appretiati, quem appretiaverunt a filiis Israël: et dederunt eos in agrum figuli, sicut constituit mihi Dominus:* Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; And gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me. The reference is not to Jeremiah but to Zechariah 11:13: וְאֶקְחָה שְׁלֹשִׁים הַכֶּסֶף וְאַשְׁלִיךְ אֹתוֹ בֵּית יהוה אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר: *Et tuli triginta argenteos, et projeci illos in domum Domini, ad statuarium*: And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the LORD.

«اگر این مرد گناهنکار نمی‌بود اورا بتو نمی‌سپردیم. مردم‌را گمراه میکند و میگوید که جزیه بقیصر ندهید و دعوی میکند که من مسیح پادشاهم.» او گفت «شما اورا بگیرید و موافق دین خود حکم کنید.» ایشان گفتند «مارا کشتن هیچکس روا نیست.» درین بجا آمد آنچه حضرت ایشوع گفته بود که «مرا [ل۱۲۶ب] بمردم بیگانه خواهند سپرد.» فیلاتس اورا بدرون برد و گفت «توئی پادشاه یهودان ؟» او جواب داد «این‌را از خود میگوئی یا دیگران از من بتو رسانیده‌اند ؟» فیلاتس جواب داد «مگر من یهودم ؟ ترا قبیلهٔ تو و بزرگان کاهنان بمن سپرده‌اند. چه کردهٔ ؟» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد «پادشاهی من ازینجهان نیست که اگر پادشاهی من درین عالم بودی هرآینه منسوبان من جنگ میکردند تا بدست یهودان نیفتم. اما اکنون پادشاهی من ازین عالم نیست.» فیلاتس بوی گفت «پس تو پادشاه هستی ؟» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد «پادشاهم چنانچه تو میگوئی. من بجهت این زاده شدم و بجهت این بدنیا آمدم که گواهی بر حق دهم. هرکه از حق است سخن من می‌شنود.» فیلاتس گفت «حق چه چیز است ؟» این گفت و بیرون آمد و یهودان‌را گفت «من درو هیچ وجه کشتن نمی‌یابم.» یهودان بوی گفتند «او گروه‌را گمراه میکند و می‌آموزد تمام زمین یهودان‌را از جلیل گرفته تا اینجا.» چون نام جلیل بردند او پرسید که «این از جلیلست ؟» و چون فهمید که از جلیلست و تعلق بهردوس دارد که حاکم آنجاست بهانه یافت و پیش او فرستاد و خوش‌وقت شد که هردوس درین روزها بواسطهٔ عید باوریشلم آمده بود. پس بتمام بیحرمتی از میان شهر بسته بردند. هرودس بسیار خوش شد چراکه از دیر بدیدن او آرزو داشت چون بسیار چیزها ازو شنیده بود و چشم داشت که [ل۱۲۷] پیش او معجزهٔ کند. چیزها از وی پرسید اما او از هیچ جواب نداد. بزرگان کاهنان و کاتبان مقید بودند و هر زمان برو چیزی میگفتند او هیچ جواب نمیداد. هرودس و دیگر مردم اورا بی‌اعتبار و هیچکاره اعتقاد کردند و لباس سفید پوشانیده اورا سخره کرد و باز نزد فیلاتس فرستاد و باین سبب در همان روز فیلاتس و هرودس بهم دوست شدند که تا آن هنگام دشمن بودند. پس اورا بسان دیوانگان سفید پوشانیدند و از میان بازار شهر پیش فیلاتس بردند. او ببزرگان یهودان گفت «شما این مردرا پیش من آوردید ؟ و گفتند که مردم‌را گمراه میکند، و در نظر شما پرسیدم و هیچ گناه نیافتم و بهرودس فرستادم و او نیز هیچ سبب کشتن درو نیافت. پس اورا شلاق کرده خلاص سازم.» بزرگان کاهنان بهانها می‌کردند و او بهیچکس جواب نمیداد. فیلاتس باو گفت «نمی‌شنوی چه‌قدر چیز بضد تو میگویند ؟» او هیچ سخن جواب نداد و کار بجائی رسید که حاکم بسیار در تعجب شد. فیلاتس با یهودان درین گفت‌وگو بود که پیغام همخوابهٔ او بدو رسید بدین مضمون: ترا بآن دادگر چکار است ؟ که من بسیار چیزها بخاطر او امشب کشیده‌ام. فیلاتس که خلاصی او میخواست بدین سخن بجدتر شد و چون میدانست که سبب عداوت ندارند و اورا محض از حسد گرفته آورده‌اند فکر کرد و حکمت انگیخت تا بطوری خلاص [ل۱۲۷ب] کند. از قدیم رسم بود که حاکم یهودان هر سال یکی از بندیان ذات یهودرا هر طور گناهکار و مجرم که باشد بخاطر ایشان از بند خلاص کند. درین روزها بند کرده بود پیلاتس برابس نام‌را که سرفتنهٔ بدیها بوده و بتازگی یکی‌را کشته بود. پس فیلاتس بایشان گفت «هر سال مرا واجبست که یک کسی‌را بخاطر شما از بند خلاص کنم و ببخشم. اکنون کرا میخواهید که بخاطر شما بگذارم ؟ برابس‌را یا ایشوع‌را ؟» سرداران کاهنان بگروه خود آموختند که برابس‌را طلبند. فیلاتس گفت «میخواهید که شمارا پادشاه

شما بخشم ؟» ایشان بانگ زنان گفتند «این‌را مکن لیکن برابس‌را بخاطر ما ببخش.» او گفت «پس بایشوع که مسیح خوانده میشود چکنم ؟» ایشان فریادکنان گفتند «مصلوب کن!» پیلاتس گفت «چه بدی کرده است ؟ من سبب کشتن او نمی‌یابم. عذابش میکنم و میگذارم.» ایشان فریاد بیشتر کردند که «مصلوب کن! مصلوب کن!» شور و غوغا بلندتر ساختنند. او مغلوب فریاد ایشان شد. برابس‌را خلاص کرد. حکمت دیگر انگیخت تا ایشان‌را بر خلاصی او بیارد و مهربان سازد. بنابرین زدن فرمود اورا بطوری که یهودان‌را بر حال او مهر آید. پس حضرت ایشوع‌را گرفتند و بجای خاص بردند و برهنه کردند و بستون بربستند و شش تن بر شلاق او نامزد شدند ، دو نفر نوبت بنوبت میزدند بدرهاء چرم و تازیانها بطوری که خون ازو بر زمین روان بود و] [2005.145.23a] گوشت از تن او لخت لخت جدا [ل۱۲۸] می‌افتاد، استخوانها سفید می‌نمودند، سراپای یک جراحت و یک زخم شده بود و دانسته شد که پنجهزار و هفصد هشتاد و چند تازیانه زدند. [2005.145.23b] درین همه یک سخن نگفت. ازین حادثه او در زبور خبر بود بدین مضمون: «من آماده‌ام برای شلاقها و درد من پیوسته در نظر منست.» و ایشعیا گفت: «او بواسطهٔ بدیهای ما زخمی شد و بجهت گناهان بزرگ ما خسته است و بواسطهٔ کردهٔ خود اورا زدم.»[1] آنگاه اورا گشادند. زمانی آسایش گرفت و جامهٔ خود پوشید. ایشان با این قناعت نکردند و خذمتکاران و لشکریان‌را جمع ساختند و آن جامهٔ اورا باز برون آوردند چون بواسطهٔ روانی خون بتن او چسپیده بود و درد بسیار کشیده. و جامهٔ قرمزی پوشانیدند که لباس پادشاهان بوده تاج از خارها بر سر او نهادند. و دانسته شد که هفتاد و دو خار در سر مبارک او فرو رفته بودند و نی شکسته در دست او دادند. این چیزها که نشانهای پادشاهیت[2] است بجهت آن کردند که اورا مسخره گیرند که چون خودرا مسیح پادشاه یهودان میگوید این نشانها داشته باشد. پس پیش او آمدند و بر سر زانو می‌شدند و اورا می‌پرستیدند [ASI.281] و میگفتند «سلام ترا، ای پادشاه یهودان» و سیلی بر روی مبارک او میزدند. آب دهن بر روی می‌انداختند و نی از دست گرفته بر آن تاج پرخار میزدند تا خارها بر سرش فرو روند و یک چندی این طور کرده بهمین [ل۱۲۸ب] روش اورا نزد فیلاتس بردند. تمام روی آماسیده از سیلیها و آلوده تفها و خون که از هر سر مو روان بود و تاج بر سر. چون فیلاتس دید حیران شد و بدست گرفته بجائی بلند باو برآمد. در آنجا که همهٔ یهودان اورا توانند دید و بایشان گفت «اورا پیش شما می‌آریم اما بدانید که هیچ سبب کشتن در وی نمی‌یابم.» پس پیش ایشان برد گفت «اینک آدمی» یعنی این‌را که بدین حال می‌بینید، بدانید که آدمی است و از دیدن این رحم کنید» اما هیچ سود نکرد. کاهنان و بزرگان یهودان فریاد میکردند و میگفتند «مصلوب کن! مصلوب کن!» فیلاتس بایشان گفت «شما اورا بگیرید و مصلوب کنید که من درو گناه نمی‌یابم.» یهودان گفتند «ما دینی داریم و بحکم دین کشتنی است چراکه خودرا پسر خدا کرده است.» [ASI.282]

چون فیلاتس این سخن شنید بسیار ترسید و بدرون درآورده بحضرت ایشوع گفت «تو از کجائی ؟» او هیچ

1. Isaiah 53:5, 8: וְהוּא מְחֹלָל מִפְּשָׁעֵנוּ מְדֻכָּא מֵעֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ...מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי נֶגַע לָמוֹ *Ipse autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras; attritus est propter scelera nostra...propter scelus populi mei percussi eum:* But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities...for the transgression of my people was he stricken.

2. C پادشاهت؛ L بادشاهت.

جواب نداد. فیلاتس باو گفت «بمن نگوئی ؟ نمیدانی که قدرت دارم که ترا مصلوب سازم و قدرت دارم که ترا خلاص سازم ؟» حضرت ایشوع جواب داد «بر من هیچ قدرت نمیداشتی اگر ترا از بالا داده نمی‌شد. آنکه مرا بتو سپرد[1] گناه کلان دارد.» فیلاتس بسیار آرزو کرد که اورا خلاص سازد. پس حضرت ایشوع‌را بیرون آورد در جائی که بزبان عبری گابته[2] خوانده میشود و بیهودان گفت «این است پادشاه شمایان.» ایشان فریادکنان گفتند «بگیرش! بگیرش! مصلوب کن! [ل۱۲۹] مصلوب کن!» فیلاتس گفت «پادشاه شمارا مصلوب کنم ؟» ایشان گفتند «ما بجز قیصر پادشاه نداریم.» و چون دانستند که میل دارد که اورا خلاص کند باز فریاد کردند و گفتند که «اگر این‌را خلاص میکنی دوست قیصر نهٔ چراکه هرکه خودرا پادشاه میکند دشمن قیصر است.» فیلاتس چون دید که فایده نمیکند بلکه غوغا و فتنه بلند [ASI.283] میشود، آب طلبید و دستهای خود شست و گفت «من از خون این مرد معصوم. شما دانید.» همهٔ مردم جواب دادند «خونش بر ما و فرزندان ما» و ازانست که هر جا که یهودان هستند خوار و زیردست اند و در پاداش این گناه خود اند.

پس حضرت ایشوع‌را بایشان سپرد که اورا هرچه دانید کنید. یهودان گرفتند و جامهٔ قرمزی که اورا بسخره پوشانیده بودند از تن وی بیرون کردند و لباس خودش پوشانیدند تا شناخته شود. صلیب ساخته داشتند. در ساعت آوردند و از سر نو دست و گردن بسته و صلیب‌را بر دوش او نهادند که خود برداشته برد. او بتمام شوق گرفت همچون کسی که بخاطر گناهکاران جان خود خواهد داد. این طور از خانهٔ فیلاتس برآمد و مردم پادشاهی پیش پیش میرفتند و نزدیک او چاوش منادی میکردند و میگفت «اینست حکم فیلاتس از جانب قیصر طیباریوس [ASI.284] که این مرد ایشوع ناصری کشته شود که مردم‌را گمراه میکرد و خودرا پادشاه و پسر خدا میخواند. حکمست که مصلوب کرده شود.» اینچنین در راه منادی میکردند و میگذشتند. [ل۱۲۹ب] پس حضرت ایشوع میرفت پا و سر برهنه بلک سر پوشیده بتاج پرخار و پر از خون که از سر روان بود آماسیده‌روی و پر از تف که در رویش کرده بودند. تمام تن خسته از شلاقها که زده بودند. صلیب بر دوش و ریسمان در گردن آهسته آهسته میرفت. درین ولا که باین روش میگذشت اورا زنی اصیل ویرونکه نام از دریچه دید و چون بشناخت از بالا بشیب آمد و بدل‌سوختگی و بمهربانی بحضرت ایشوع پیوست و دامنی سرراستو کرد و از حضرت رخصت گرفته روی مبارک‌را پاک ساخت و چون دامنی خود بازگشاد در هر ته آن صورت او درست یافت. بذوق تمام بخانهٔ خود برد و بحرمت نگاه داشت. یکی ازین سه صورت در اسپانیه در شهر شاهن که داخل [ASI.285] مملکت پادشاه برتگال است بالفعل موجودست و در هر سال دو بار اورا مینمایند و مردم بسیار جمع میشوند و از دور و نزدیک یکسان می‌بینند. دیگر در شهر میلانست در ملک ایتالیه و دیگر در شهر رومه.

عقب حضرت ایشوع بسیار زنان و مردان گریه‌کنان میرفتند. او رو بسوی ایشان کرد و فرمود «دختران اوریشلیم، مگریید بر من بلک بر خود گریید و بر فرزندان خود که روزها بیایند که هرآینه بگویند نیکبخت زنیکه بار ندارد و شکمها که نزائید و سینها که شیر نیاورد. و آن هنگام بکوهها در سخن آئید و ببگوئید بیفتید بر ما، ای کوهها. مارا بپوشید که هرگاه

1. C آنکه ترا بتو سپردم؛ L آنکه مرا بتو سپرد.

2. John 19:13: *in loco, qui dicitur Lithóstrotos, Hebraice autem Gabbatha:* a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha.

که بر چوب تر [ل ۱۳۰] این رود بر خشک چه آید؟»

همراه او دو گناهکار دیگر می‌بردند که مصلوب سازند. درین زمان یوحنا رفته بود که بحضرت مریم ماجرای پسر او بگوید. او با چندین زنان آمد و استاد در جائی که ازان خواهد گذشت. چون هجوم مردم و درفشیدن سلاحهای مردم پادشاهی دید و آواز آن چاوش شنید گذشت و منتظر بود که کی رسد و اورا بیند. [ASI.286] چون پسر خودرا بدان حال دید و نگاه پسر بر او افتاد دلش خون گشت و نزدیک او شد بی‌آنکه سخن گوید اما روانی اشکها حال دل او بیان میکرد. اورا در آغوش گرفت و اندک جدا شد. بیخود افتاد و چندان اثر کرد که از افتادن او پسر نیز بدان بار خود افتاد. یهودان اورا لت کردند تا برخیزد اما چون میدانستند که صلیب گرانست و چون بسیار ازو رفته ترسیدند که مبادا در راه میرد یا صلیب‌را بدان جایگاه نرساند. بنابرین شمعون نام مردی‌را که از دیه می‌آمد کرایه کردند که مسیح‌را در برداشتن صلیب معاونت کند. این چنین بکوهِ کَلواریو رسیدند، آنجا که مسلخ مردم بود. و بزبان عبری اورا گلگتّه[1] گویند که ترجمه آن کاسه سرست و میگویند که کاسه سر مهتر آدم آنجا مدفون است. چون آنجا رسیدند صلیب بر زمین نهادند و اورا برهنه ساختند و جامه از تن بیرون کردند. سرهنگان جامهٔ بیرون‌را چهار حصه کردند و هرکدام یک حصه برد [ل ۱۳۰ب] و پیراهن درونرا که نادوخته بود [ASI.287] بلک نیمه بافته، قسمت نکردند و بهمدیگر قرار دادند که پاره نسازیم لیکن قرعه اندازیم تا از که باشد. و درین بجا آمد آنچه در زبور نوشته است: «حصه کردند برای خود جامهٔ مرا و بر جامهٔ تن قرعه انداختند.»[2] پس دست راست بر یک چوب صلیب نهاده میخ آهنی در کف زدند و در صلیب باندازهٔ هر دست و پای او سوراخها کرده بودند تا میخها زنند. چون که دست راست‌را میخ‌دوز کردند رگها از برآمدن خون خشک گردیدند و کوتاه شدند و چون خواستند که در دست دیگر زنند این دست‌کوتاهی کرد و بدان سوراخ نمیرسد. پس بزور تمام اورا کشیده بدان سوراخ رسانیدند و میخ زدند. همچنین پای بر پای نهاده میخ‌دوز کررند. و درین نیز بجای آمد آنچه داؤد پیغمبر نوشته بود: «کافتند دستهای مرا و پایهای مرا و همه استخوانهای مرا شمردند.»[3] و تا سبب قتل او بر همگنان ظاهر شود فیلاتس حکم کرد که در صلیب این سخن بنویسند: «ایشوع ناصری ملک یهودان.» و این‌را بحروف عبری و یونانی و لطین نوشته بودند تا همه بخوانند. بزرگان یهودان گفتند «ملک یهودان منویس مگر این که او گفت [ASI.288] که من ملک یهودان هستم.» فیلاتس نخواست که تغییر دهد و جواب داد «هرچه نوشتم نوشتم.» آنگاه صلیب‌را بالا برداشته از دست رها کردند که بجای خود محکم نشیند. صلیب تمام جنبید و درین جنبیدن دردهای [ل ۱۳۱] سخت کشید و زخمها کلان‌تر شد. و دو دزد دیگر باو مصلوب کردند، یکی در چپ و دیگر در راست او. درین نوشتهٔ ایشعیا کمال گرفت که گفت: «با بدکاران شمرده شد.»[4]

1. C کلکتّه; L כלכתה for Golgotha, from the Aramaic גולגלתא *gulgalthā* ‘skull.’

2. Psalm 22:18: יְחַלְּקוּ בְגָדַי לָהֶם וְעַל־לְבוּשִׁי יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל (Vulgate Psalm 21:19) *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem:* They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.

3. Psalm 22:16–17: כָּאֲרִי יָדַי וְרַגְלָי: אֲסַפֵּר כָּל־עַצְמוֹתָי (Vulgate Psalm 21:17–18) *Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos; dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea:* They pierced my hands and my feet. I may tell all my bones. (The Persian translates the Latin of the last sentence).

4. Isaiah 53:12: וְאֶת־פֹּשְׁעִים נִמְנָה *et cum sceleratis reputatus est:* And he was numbered with the transgressors.

درین هنگام که بر دار بوده هفت کلمه فرمود:

کلمهٔ اول

نخستین اینست «ای پدر، بیامرز ایشان‌را زیرا که نمیدانند آنچه میکنند.» درین بکردار وانمود آنچه پیش ازین بگفتار می‌آموخت که دشمنهانرا دوست داریم و بدکنندگان خودرا دعای نیک کنیم. او در صلیب بود و مردم طعنها میکردند و سرهای خود می‌جنبانیدند و میگفتند که «تو هیکل خدارا باز می‌شکافتی و آنرا در سه روز از سر نو عمارت میکردی و خودرا سلامتی ده اگر پسر خدائی. از صلیب فرو آی.» بزرگان کاهنان و دانایان سخر میکردند و میگفتند «دیگران‌را سلامتی داد و خودرا خلاص کردن نمی‌تواند. اگر پادشاه اسرائیل است [ASI.289] اکنون از بالای صلیب بشیب آید و ما در او ایمان آریم. اعتماد بر خدا دارد. اگر خدا میخواهد اورا خلاص کند چرا که خود گفت که بدرستی من پسر خدا هستم.»

[کلمهٔ دوم]

ازان دو دزد که با او مصلوب بودند یکی ژیستس[1] نام نیز بحضرت ایشوع سخره میکرد و میگفت «اگر توئی مسیح، خودرا و مارا خلاصی ده.» اما دزد دیگر دیسمس نام که در جانب راست بود در برداشت مسیح و در دعا کردن او برای دشمنان و خاموشی او تأمل کرد و حقیقت اورا دریافت و یار خودرا ملامت کرده گفت [ل ۱۳۱ب] «تو هم از خدا نمی‌ترسی که در همین بلا هستی؟ ما این پاداش‌را بحق میکشیم چرا که کردارهای سزای خود می‌یابیم، اما این هیچ گناه ندارد.» آنگاه بحضرت ایشوع گفت «خداوند، از من یاد کن وقتی که بملکوت خود آمده باشی.» حضرت ایشوع باو جواب داد «راست میگویم ترا امروز بما در بهشت خواهی بود.» اینست کلمه دوم.

درین زمان نیم روز بود. آفتاب تیره گردید و عالم‌را ظلمت گرفت و تا سیوم [ASI.290] پاس روز بوده است و این تیرگی آفتاب بجمیع وجوه خارق عادة بود چرا که معلوم است وقتی که کسوف می‌شود ماهتاب زیر آفتاب می‌آید و در نور او حایل میشود و درین زمان چهاردهم ماه بود و ماهتاب مقابل آفتاب بوده. و دیگر آنکه این تاریکی سه ساعت کامل بوده است و این در کسوف نتواند بود.

و درین هنگام در شهر اتینیه حکیمی بود دِیُونیسیو نام. او و دیگر دانایان چون دانستند که این ظلمت خلاف طبیعت است حیران شدند و او گفت «یا خداوند، طبیعت جفا میکشد یا عمارت عالم روی در خرابی نهاده؟» آن زمان سبب این تاریکی بر ایشان پوشیده ماند و چون او دانست ایمان آورد و عیسوی شد. و بعد ازان در معلمان انجیل بزرگ گشت.

چون پاس سیوم رسید ظلمت از پیش آفتاب برخاست و روشنی پدید آمد.

کلمهٔ سیوم

حضرت ایشوع درین همه چیزها که کشید خجسته مریم پیش او ایستاده بود. [ASI.291] و مشاهده میکرد و صبر داشت و هیچ [ل ۱۳۲] نمیگفت، اما دلش داند که برو چه میگذشت و از دوازده رسول یوحنا حاضر و قریب بوده. پس حضرت عیسی بمادر نگریست و فرمود «ای زن، این است

1. C ژشش; L ژیشَمُس for ژیستس: according to the *Acts of Pilate*, a book of Greek pseudepigrapha, the names of the two thieves were Gestas and Dismas.

فرزند تو.» مادر نگفت تا دلش خون نشود. بعد ازان بیوحنا نگاه کرده فرمود «اینک مادر تو.» و اینست سیوم سخن که در صلیب فرمود و مراد ازین دو سخن آن بود که حضرت بی‌بی همهٔ پیروان مسیح‌را بجای پسر بیند و ایشان همه اورا مادر خود دانند چنانچه خود حضرت ایشوع بعد ازان بیان کرد. یوحنا ازان باز بی‌بی‌را مایهٔ سعادت و خوبی خود گرفت و همه عیسویان اورا در همه کارهای خود مادر میگیرند.

[کلمهٔ چهارم]

و برای وانمودن سختی دردها که کشید گفت «اَلوی الوی لامه سَبَختانی ؟» یعنی خدای من، خدای من، چرا مرا گذاشتی ؟ و این بود [کلمه چهارم].

چون مردم پادشاهی این زبان‌را نمیدانستند ازین کلمه «الوی» فهمیدند که ایلیارا میخواهد. بهمدیگر میگفتند «ایلیارا [ASI.292] میطلبد. باری صبر کنیم به‌بینیم مگر ایلیا بیاید اورا خلاص کند.»

[کلمهٔ پنجم]

درین ولا فرمود «تشنه‌ام» و اینست کلمه پنجم. آنجا آغاری بود پر از سرکه. آنرا بر سر نی نهاده نزدیک دهن او بردند و درین تمام شد آنچه در زبور نوشته شد: «مرا برای خوردن تلخه دادند و در تشنگی من مرا سرکه خورانیدند.»[1] حضرت ایشوع آن سرکه گرفت اما وقتی که از قبر برخاست این کلمه‌را خود بیان کرد و گفت که «مراد از تشنگی دردها بود که چون آن دردهارا بواسطهٔ حرمت خدا [ل۱۳۲ب] و سلامتی مردم میکشیدم هرچند سختیها می‌نمودند اما هنوز سیر نشده بودم.»

[کلمهٔ ششم]

[کلمه ششم] که فرمود اینست «تمام شد» و این‌را باین معنی گفت که آنجا پیغمبران از حال من نوشته بودند همه بجای آمد و هرچه مرا بایستی کرد و کشید کردم و کشیدم و عمل توریت و ناموس پیغمبران تمام شد.

[کلمهٔ هفتم]

درین حالت بود که بانگ بلند زد و گفت «ای پدر، جان خود [ASI.293] در دست تو می‌سپارم» و اینست کلمه هفتم که در صلیب گفت. این گفت و سر پیش انداخته جان گرامی سپرد.

درین زمان زمین لرزید و کوهها و سنگها بر یکدیگر میخوردند و پرده که بر صندوق توریت بحکم دین فرو هشته بودند درین هنگام دو بخش شد و مردم ازین حرکت زمین و چیزهای مذکور دانسته‌اند که این ستم بود. مردی میر صد[2] که درین کارها اهتمام داشت چون این نشانها دید خدارا سپاس گفت و ایمان آورد که این مرد دادگر بود و براستی ابن الله است و دیگر مردم که این چیزهارا دیدند سینه‌زنان میگشتند و ترسان و لرزان میگفتند که «هرآینه این مرد ابن الله بوده.»

این در آخر روز جمعه بود و چون روز شنبه می‌درآمد و این شنبه نسبت بدیگر شنبها عزیزتر بود چون در وقت فصح واقع شد پس تا این تنها در روز شنبه بر دار[3] نباشد یهودان پیش فیلاتس رفتند و الحاح کردند که «بفرمای تا ساقهای این

1. Psalm 69:21: וַיִּתְּנוּ בְּבָרוּתִי רֹאשׁ וְלִצְמָאִי יַשְׁקוּנִי חֹמֶץ (Vulgate Psalm 68:22) *Et dederunt in escam meam fel, et in siti mea potaverunt me aceto:* They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.

2. C & L میر صدا.

3. C & L در.

سه کس‌را بشکنند و از صلیب فرو اندازند.» [ASI.294] او راضی شد و چند کس فرستاد. ایشان [ل۱۳۳] آمدند و ساقهای آن هر دو دزد که با حضرت ایشوع مصلوب بودند شکستند. آنگاه خواستند که بحضرت ایشوع نیز همان کنند لیکن چون مرده بود ساقهای او نشکستند و این چنین در توریت نوشته است «استخوان او نخواهید شکست.»[1] یکی از آن لشکریان لُنجِنُس نام بجهت امتحان نیزه برداشت و در پهلوی راست حضرت ایشوع زد و از پهلوی مبارک او آب و خون روان شد و بواسطهٔ نیزه بدست او رسید. حاصل که آن خون پاک از دست او یا بی‌واسطهٔ دست بچشم او رسیده او که از کم‌بینی همچون کور بود هماندم بینا گردید. در ساعت از اسب بزیر آمد و بدولت ایمان مشرف شد و اورا بخدائی پرستش کرد و از بزرگان دین شد.

پس ازین پنج زخم مشهور که حضرت عیسی داشته زکریا خبر داده و این است ترجمهٔ سخن او: «چه چیز اند این زخمها در میان دستهای تو و جواب [ASI.295] خواهد داد که باینها زخمین شدم در خانهٔ آنانکه مرا دوست میداشتند.»[2]

درین زمان مردی بود یوسف نام که شاگرد حضرت ایشوع بود اما به پنهانی از ترس یهودان. او پیش فیلاتس آمد و باو الحاح کرد و بآشکارا که تن مبارک‌را باو بسپارد. پیلاتس از شنیدن آنکه او مرد حیران شد و آن میر صدرا[3] طلبیده پرسید که «براستی مرد؟» او گفت «بلی.» پس تن‌را بوی داد . او [و] نیکادیموس رفتند و نخستین از حضرت مریم رخصت خواستند و بتمام ادب و ملاحظه از صلیب فرود آوردند. آنگاه [ل۱۳۳ب] تمام تن‌را بخوشبوی چرب ساختند، کفن پوشانیدند. این یوسف مقبره برای خود ساخته بود از سنگ مرمر بتکلف تمام در باغی که بآنجا نزدیک بوده و دران مقبره هیچکس‌را هنوز ننهاده بودند. این‌را بحضرت مریم پیشکش کرد و همانجا حضرت ایشوع نهاده شد.

یهودان پیش فیلاتس رفتند و گفتند «ای خداوند، یاد آمد که آن بازی‌دهنده در حیات خود میگفت که روز سیوم [ASI.296] برمیخیزم. پس حکم شود که تا سه روز قبر اورا نگاهبانی کنند. مبادا شاگردانش بیایند و تن اورا بدزدند و بمردم گویند که از مردگان برخاست و این فساد بدتر از اول شود.» فیلاتس بایشان گفت «پاسبانان دارید. نگاهبانی کنید بطوری که میدانید.» ایشان رفتند و احتیاط کردند و قبررا محکم ساختند و بر سنگ مهر کردند و پاسبانان نشاندند. و چون روز عید بود حضرت مریم و مریم مجدلانیه[4] و یوحنا و دیگران سوی شهر رفتند و در خلوة مشغول شدند.

پوشیده نماند پیش ازین هفصد و چند سال هنگامی بنای شهر رومه[5] سبیله بود اِیریتریه نام. بعد ازان که از حضرت ایشوع مسیح خبر داد و گفت که اوست پسر خدا و سلامتی‌دهنده، گفت «بدست کافران سپرده شود و بدستهای آلودهٔ بدکاری اورا سیلیها زنند. آنگاه کاهنان عبریان بمخالفت مسیح جمع شوند چراکه معجزهای کلان خواهد کرد. اورا مقید سازند و بدستهای آلوده [ASI.297] و بدکاری خود بر روی زنند [ل۱۳۴] و بدهان پلید تف کنند. پشت مقدس خودرا بتازیانها بسپرد و سیلی خوران هرگز سخنی نگوید تا

1. Exodus 12:46: וְעֶצֶם לֹא תִשְׁבְּרוּ־בוֹ *nec os illius confringetis:* neither shall ye break a bone thereof.

2. Zechariah 13:6: וְאָמַר אֵלָיו מָה הַמַּכּוֹת הָאֵלֶּה בֵּין יָדֶיךָ וְאָמַר אֲשֶׁר הֻכֵּיתִי בֵּית מְאַהֲבָי *Et dicetur ei: Quid sunt plagæ istæ in medio manuum tuarum? Et dicet: His plagatus sum in domo eorum qui diligebant me:* And one shall say unto him, What are these wounds in thine hands? Then he shall answer, Those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.

3. C & L میر صدارا.

4. C مردلانیه؛ L مجدلانیه.

5. C رورمه؛ L رومه.

هیچکس نشناسد سخن او از کجا می‌آید و بکجا میرود و بتاج پر خار تاجدار شود و بجهت گرسنگی اورا تلخه دهند و در تشنگی سرکه و آویخته کنند اورا در چوب بکشند اما تو، ای جنس نادان، خدای خودرا نشناختی که بجسم مردنی آمد و در نیم‌روز سه ساعت شب خواهد شد و نصیبه خواب مرگ سه روز خواهد گرفت. آن هنگام از جاهای شیب برگشته بروشنی‌گاه آید. او نخستین نماید آغاز بعث مردگان چراکه روز سیوم برخیزد و خودرا بشاگردان بنماید و در نظر ایشان بر آسمان رود و پادشاهی او پایان نگیرد.» تا اینجا سخن سبیله بود.

باب چهارم
برخاستن او از قبر و رفتن او بر آسمان

نگاشته آمد که روز جمعه در پهر سیوم مرد، یعنی جان گرامی از تن پاک او جدا شد. تن او در همان روز بقبر او نهاده شد و جانش [ASI.298] رفت در جایگاهی که جانهای پدران گرامی و دیگر پیغمبران و نیکوکاران که ازین دنیا رفته‌اند انتظار او می‌بردند. پوشیده نماند که انفیرن[1] که ترجمهٔ آن جای پست باشد چهارپایه دارد و مرتبه‌ایست فروترین که جایگاه عذاب شیاطین و گناهکارانست که بی‌توبه مردند. و این جارا اَنفیرنُ گویند، یعنی جای غضب خدا. دوم بالاتر ازانست که آنرا پُورَگَتُورِیو خوانند، یعنی جای پاک شدن. [ل۱۳۴ب] این جایگاه مردم نیک است که تایب شده مردند اما هرآنچه بایستی کرد هنوز تمام بجا نیاورده بودند یا آلودگی گناهان صغیره داشتند و اینجا پاداش این چیزها کشیده شایان بهشت میشود. سیوم جائی است که آنرا لِیمبُ میخوانند که جای تیره و این جایگاه اطفال است که پیش از نشان اسلام[2] مردند که پس از حضرت عیسی آن نشانهٔ اسلام عماداست. اینجا هیچگونه عقوبت نیست بغیر از محرومی دیدار خدا. چهارم [ASI.299] جائی است که آنرا سِینهٔ ابراهیم خوانند، یعنی مقام ابراهیم که آنجا می‌بودند همه نیکان که پاک مردند یا از پورگه‌توریو پاک شده بیرون آمده بودند. و چون خدا حضرت ابراهیم‌را پدر مؤمنان خطاب کرد این جای‌را باو منسوب میکنند. حاصل که همهٔ پیغمبران که از مسیح و از آمدن او و خلاصی یافتن عالمیان بوسیلهٔ او خبر داشتند بغایت شوق انتظار او می‌بردند. پس چون جان گرامی از تن مقدس جدا شد بغایت قدرت و بزرگی و نهایت خسارت شیاطین و دلآسای و خوشی نیکوکاران درین جایگاه آمد تا آرام و تسلی ایشان شود و همانجا تا زمان برخاستن او از مردگان قرار گرفت. و چون سیوم روز شد که موعود او بود از قبر بتمام بزرگی زنده برآمد.

زنده شدن مسیح

اینچنین بود روز یکشنبه پیش از طلوع آفتاب مریم مزدلانیه و دو زن دیگر که همنام او بودند و هر دو خواهران[3] خجسته مریم، یکی از آن دو زن [ASI.300] مادر یعقوب خورد بود و دیگر مادر یعقوب کلان، عزیمت کردند که بر سر قبر روند و عطرها [ل۱۳۵] خود برداشتند تا تن مقدس‌را بروش خود بمالند که آن روز چون شنبه درآمد و هم عید نو

1. ‘Inferno’ is used both as the generic for Hell and as one of the four sections of Hell (Inferno, Purgatory, Limbo, and the Bosom of Abraham).

2. C راسلام.

3. C خواران.

شد اورا عزیزتر داشتند و مالیدن نتوانستند و بهمدیگر میگفتند «که تواند که آن سنگ گران‌را از در قبر بردارد ؟» و چون گاه طلوع شد جان گرامی حضرت ایشوع باز بتن درآمد و تن‌را از آن زخمها و داغها و نشانها بی‌نشان ساخت و بهرگونه بزرگی و نور و قدرت اورا آموده گردانید و از قبر زنده برآمد و در قبر همچنان بسته بود. او بسان دیگران برنخاست که باز میرد، یعنی نه برخاست بطوری که دیگران برخاستند که باز میرند بلکه بآن بزرگی که مردم در روز قیامت خواهند داشت که دیگر نخواهند مرد و از دردها خلاص گردید بطوری که هرگز مور و مرگ و محنت نباشد. باین معنی است آنچه ازو نوشته شد [ASI.301] نخستین زنده‌شوندگانست.

پس هنگام برآمدن او از گور زمین سخت لرزید و فرشته از آسمان آمد تا آن سنگ‌را برداشت و پاسبانان قبر چون لرزهٔ زمین و افتادن سنگ و نور آن فرشته‌را که مشاهده کردند بیخودانه افتادند. و چون بهوش آمدند بر سر قبر رفتند که بینند و چون این‌را نیافتند بشهر آمدند و از آنچه گذشته بود به بزرگان کاهنان و کاتبان خبر دادند. ایشان الحاح کردند که این رازرا بپوشند و مبلغی از زر دادند تا بعام مردم بگویند که «ما خفته بودیم و شاگردان او آمده اورا [ل۱۳۵ب] بردند.» و بایشان وعده کردند که «اگر فیلاتس شمارا پرسش کند ما از جانب شما جواب گوئیم.» ایشان اینچنین کردند و بمردم گفتند که «ما خفته بودیم و شاگردان او اورا بردند» که این سخن بجائی نمیرسد که اگر در خواب بودند از برندگان او چگونه خبر یافتند و اگر بیدار بودند چرا مانع نیامدند. [ASI.302]

همان زمان که حضرت ایشوع از مردگان برخاست بسیاری از اولیا و انبیا برخاستند بقوم و قبیله خود ظاهر شده از برخاستن او خبر دادند و طور ظاهر شدن او آن بود که چون آن زمان مذکور نزدیک شدند سنگ‌را افتاده یافتند. و چون بدرون مقبره درآمدند فرشته دیدند که روی او همچون آفتاب تابان بوده و لباس اوهمچون سفید برف. ایشان اورا دیده ترسیدند و از ترس روی خود بر زمین نهادند. فرشته گفت «میدانم که عیسی مصلوب میخواهید. زنده‌را در مردگان چه میجوئید ؟ اینجا نیست. برخاست. یاد کنید آنچه بشما در جلیل گفته بود که باید که آدمی‌زاده بدست گنهکاران سپرده شود و مصلوب گردد و سیوم روز برخیزد. بیائید و ببینید جائی که نهاده شده بود. زودتر بروید و بشاگردان او و به پیدرو خبر دهید که برخاسته است. اورا در جلیل خواهید دید [ASI.303] همچنانکه شمارا گفته بود.» نام [ل۱۳۶] پیدرورا بجهت آن خاص کرد تا از گناهها که کرده بود ناامید نشود، بداند که توبه و گریهٔ او پیش خدا مقبول شده است. ایشان ترسان و حیران بی‌آنکه بکس سخن کنند خودرا رسانیدند در جائی که رسولان بودند و از آنچه دیده و شنیده بودند بایشان خبر دادند. رسولان حمل بر جنون ایشان کردند. باری پیدرو و یوحنا از بسیاری خواهش بسرعت سوی قبر شتابان رفتند و هر دو دیده رفتند.[1] یوحنا پیش رسید اما بقبر نه‌درآمد. پیدرو رسید و بمقبره درآمد و کتانرا و عمامه‌را که بر سر او بوده دید که جدا پیچیده افتاده است. آنگاه یوحنا درآمد و آن نشان‌را معترف شد و اعتقاد براستی کرد که از مردگان برخاست. پس بخانهٔ خود باز گردیدند که مردم‌را خبر دهند.

هنگامی که از قبر برخاست نخستین کسی که اورا دید مریم مقدس بود. تفصیل آنکه خجسته مریم در عبادت خدا بود منتظر آنکه پسر خودرا [ASI.304] کی از مردگان برخاسته

1. L – و هر دو دیده رفتند.

بیند چنانچه او وعده کرده است. پیش از بامداد نوری عظیم یکایک در حجره پدید آمد و مقارن این حضرة ایشوع ظاهر شد بتمام بزرگواری اما نه تنها بلکه پیغمبران بزرگ با خود آورده و خجسته مریم همه‌را دید. چون مادر پسر خودرا بچنان بزرگواری دریافت پای او گرفت و همچون خدای خود اورا پرستید که حضرت عیسی از جانب آدمیت به او پسرانه سلوک کرد و حرمت داشت و برکت برو خواند. نتوان بیان کرد آنچه در دل مادر و پسر [ل۱۳۶ب] در آن وقت از خوشحالی روی داد و کمتر توان گفت سخنانی که با یکدیگر گفتند. وقت فراخ و فکر دراز میخواهد تا دانسته آید که در دل خجسته مریم چه گذشت از دیدن چندان پیغمبران که بتمام بزرگواری اورا گرامی داشتند. آنگاه از نظر غایب شد.

پس چون پیدرو و یوحنا بخانهٔ خود باز گردیدند تا بیاران خود خبر دهند مریم مژدلانیه همانجا در مقبره نشست که از گور او جدا شدن نتوانست و هر سو می‌نگریست و گریه میکرد. [درین هنگام دو فرشته دید بغایت نورانی و عجب شکل نشسته درجائی که مسیح‌را نهاده بودند، یکی بجانب سر و یکی بسوی پا، و مریم مژدلانیه نام گفتند «ای زن، گریهٔ تو از چیست؟» گفت «از اینک خداورند مرا گرفتند و نمیدانم که اورا کجا نهادند.»] [ASI.305] درین گفت‌وگو بود که واقف شد که یکی از آن دو فرشته انحراف کرد و ملاحظه نمود. از دیدن کسی که ایشان دیدند که حضرت ایشوع بود آن زن رو بسوی او گردانید و شخصی‌را در آن باغ نزد آن مزار دید و نشناخت که حضرة ایشوع است. او از مریم پرسید «ای زن، برای چه گریه میکنی؟ کرا میخواهید؟» اورا باغبان پنداشته گفت «ای خداوند، اگر تو اورا گرفتهٔ بمن بگو که اورا کجا بردی و من اورا بگیرم» و چون جواب نیافت رو بسوی دیگر کرد. درین ولا که روی خود گردانید حضرت ایشوع باو فرمود «ای مریم.» همانندم شناخت و در حال گفت «ای آموزگار من.» این گفت و بر هر دو قدم او افتاد. حضرت ایشوع مانع شد و سر انگشت [ل۱۳۷] بر پیشانی او نهاده گفت «باش! نزد من میا که هنوز بالا نرفته‌ام.» و این از آن گفت تا اورا از کم‌اعتقادی او آگاه سازد و هم فرمود «سوی برادران من برو و بایشان بگو بالا میروم سوی پدر خود و پدر شما خدای خود [ASI.306] و خدای شما.» و مریم بغایت خوشدلی رفت تا این خبر برسولان دهد و بایشان گفت «دیدم خداوند خودرا و بمن این سخنها گفت.»

و آن دو زن که با او از شهر آمده در جست‌وجوی مسیح نزدیک مزار مقدس بودند. حضرت ایشوع بر ایشان ظاهر شد و شناسی خویش داد و گفت «سلام بر شما.» ایشان بوی رسیدند و پای مبارک او گرفتند و اورا پرستیدند. او بایشان فرمود «مترسید. سوی برادران من روید و بگوئید که بجلیل روند. آنجا مرا خواهند دید.»

درین زمان پیدرو متأمل و متفکر بود بواسطه بزرگی گناه خود. از دیدن او ناامید شد. ناگاه حضرت عیسی ببزرگواری محفوف رحمت بر وی آشکارا شد. پیدرو خودرا گریه‌کنان در پای او انداخت و از شرم و شادی سخن نتوانست گفت اما آنحضرت بتمام مهربانی اورا دلآسا فرمود و دلدهی کرد و بشارت داد که «توبهٔ تو مقبول شده است و آمرزیده شدی.» [ASI.317]

در همین ولا یعقوب خورد اورا نیز دید. او وقتی که دشمنان آنحضرت‌را دستگیر کردند سوگند خورده بود که «یک لقمه نخورم و یک قطره ننوشم تا اورا زنده نبینم.» او گفته است و از هنگام گرفتن مسیح تا نیم‌روز [ل۱۳۷ب] یکشنبه بی‌آب و طعام ماند. حضرت ایشوع بر وی پیدا شد و از روی لطف و مهربانی او فرمود که «بخور و بنوش و درین سری که بر تو

ظاهر گردیده است شک میار.»

درین هنگام دو تن از شاگردان که از اوریشلیم بقریهٔ ایمایوس میرفتند که از اوریشلیم تخمیناً یک فرسنگ زمین باشد در ماجرای مسیح گفت‌وگو داشتند. مسیح مسافرآسا بایشان پیوست اما اورا نشناختند. همراه ایشان میرفت و از ایشان پرسید «باهم چه گفت‌وگو دارید؟ و چرا غمگین مینمائید؟» یکی از ایشان که نام او کلیوفا بود باو جواب داد «آیا تو تنها در اوریشلیم مسافر و یگانهٔ و ترا خبر نشد که درین روزها درین شهر چه رو داده است؟» او فرمود «چه واقع شد؟» ایشان گفتند [ASI.318] ایشوع ناصری‌را که مردی بود پیغمبر و قوی در کردار و گفتار پیش خدا و پیش مردم اورا بزرگان کاهنان و سرداران یهودان بمرگ سپردند و بر دار کرده شد. مارا امید بود که اسرائیل‌را خلاص کند و اکنون سه روزست که این حادثه جان‌فرسا گذشته است اما چندی از زنان مردم مارا حیران ساخته باین سخن که بامداد بمقبره او رفتیم و تن اورا نیافتیم و فرشتگانرا دیدیم که گفتند که زنده است و چندی از مایان نیز بمقبره رفتند و همچنان یافتند که ایشان می‌گفتند اما اورا ندیدند.» حضرت عیسی بایشان فرمود «ای کم‌خردان و سنگدلان، [ل۱۳۸] برای ایمان آوردن آن چیزها که پیغمبران گفته بودند نه چنین می‌باید که مسیح محنتها کشد و این چنین در بزرگواری خود آید؟» و شروع از حضرت موسی و دیگر پیغمبران کرده از همه کتابها نقل آورد. و چون نزدیک شدند بجائی که مطلب ایشان بود او خودرا نمود بطوری که ازین [ASI.307] منزل پیشتر میگذرد. ایشان زور آوردند و با او گفتند که «با ما باش چراکه روز بآخر رسیده و مایل بتاریکیست.» پس درآمدند وچون بر سر طعام بایشان نشست نان برداشت و برکت گفت و شکست و بایشان داد. هماندم چشم ایشان گشاده شده اورا شناختند و او در حال ناپدید گشت. ایشان بهمدیگر میگفتند «نه دل میطپید وقتی که او با ما بود و در راه بما سخن میکرد و نوشتهارا بیان میداد؟» سوی اوریشلیم آمدند و اپوستلس‌را یکجا یافتند و بهمدیگر مردم هجوم داشتند و دانستند که با یکدیگر سخن دارند که «خداوند براستی برخاست و بشمعون ظاهر شد» و ایشان نیز ماجرای خود بیان کردند.

همان روز یکشنبه آخر روز یازده رسول جمع شده از ترس یهودان دربسته بودند و درین گفت‌وگو داشتند. ناگاه حضرت عیسی درآمد و در میان ایشان ایستاد و فرمود «سلام بر شما. منم. مترسید.» ایشانرا ترس فرو گرفت و مدهوش شدند [ASI.308] و پنداشتند که روح خیالیست. و ایشان‌را حیران دیده گفت «چه چیز شمارا درهم می‌سازد و فکرها [ل۱۳۸ب] بر دل شما می‌آرد؟ نظر کنید دستهای مرا و پایهای مرا که من همانم. بساوید و دریابید زیراکه روح تن و استخوان ندارد چنانچه می‌بینید که من دارم.» این گفت و زخمهای دست و پا بایشان نمود. اگرچه در بالا گفته شد که وقتی که جان مسیح سوی تن باز گردید و زنده برخاست تن او مطلق تندرست شد و نشانه ازان زخمها با وی نماند اما این پنج زخم که در هر دو کف دست و پا و سینهٔ او بود نخواست که دور شود و بی‌نشان ماند. همچنان ماندند بی‌آنکه درد کنند و زشت نمایند بلکه بتمام زینت و نور و خواست که این نشان نرود تا گواهی باشد برین که همانست که در صلیب مرد و هم تا وانماید که از جفائی که در صلیب کشید پشیمان نیست و نیز تا جهت شفاعت گناهکاران آن زخمها پیش خدا نماید و برای دیگر [ASI.315] چیزها. پس این زخمها بایشان نمود تا بدانند که او همانست. خوب باور نکردند. هنوز ایشان از غایت خوشی در حیرت بودند. او تا ایشانرا تسلی کند گفت

«چیزی دارید که بخورم؟» ایشان آوردند از ماهی کباب کرده و از انگبین گفرت و در نظر ایشان خورد و بقیه‌را بایشان قسمت کرد و فرمود «اینست گفتارها که بشما گفتم وقتی که با شما بودم که واجبست که بجا آید همه آنچه از من نوشته شده است و در دین موسی و در کتب پیغمبران و در زبور.» آن زمان خرد ایشان‌را گشاده کرد [ل۱۳۹] تا نوشتها بفهمند و گفت «اینچنین نوشته شد و چنین درکار بود که مسیح جفاها کشد و روز سیوم از مرگ برخیزد و منادی کرده شود بنام او توبه و آمرزش گناهان برای همه مردم و شروع از اوریشلیم شود و شمایان همه گواهید و من بشما میفرستم موعود پدر خود و شمایان در شهر مقام گیرید تا آمدن او.» باز بایشان گفت «سلام بشما همچنانکه پدر من مرا فرستاد من شمارا میفرستم. بگیرید روح القدس‌را. [ASI.316] بآنانکه که ببخشید بخشیده شود، و آنانرا که باز دارید باز داشته شود.» درین بایشان تمام قدرت داد و حکومت جانها و غایب شد. و ایشان بسیار خوشحال گشتند.

درین زمان یکی از دوازده که نام او تُمی بود و بنام دیگر دیدمُو خوانده می‌شد حاضر نبود. هنگامی که آمد اصحاب بوی گفتند «خداوندرا دیدیم» و نشانها و زخمهای او و دیگر چیزها بوی بیان کردند اما او نخواست که اعتقاد کند. هرچند باو میگفتند اصلا قبول نمیکرد و میگفت «تا خود نبینم دستهای اورا و جایگاه میخهارا و انگشتان خودرا در نیارم و دست بر پهلوی او ننهم هرگز باور نکنم.» تا هشت روز در انکار بود. پس روز هشتم با دیگر شاگردان بود و در خانه بربسته بودند. حضرت ایشوع درآمد و در میان ایشان ایستاد و گفت «سلام بشما.» آنگاه بتمی فرمود «بیا، انگشت خود اینجا بنه و دستهای مرا به‌بین. بیار دست خود و درآر در پهلوی من و بی‌ایمان مباش [ل۱۳۹ب] بلکه مؤمن.» او بتمام [ASI.309] ملاحظه و ادب نزدیک شد و زخمهارا بدست خود ساوید. دران هنگام دلش از نور پر گردید و در زمین افتاده اورا پرستید و گفت «خداوند من و خدای من.» حضرت عیسی فرمود «تُمی، از آنکه مرا دیدی باور کردی. خنک آنانکه مرا ندیدند و گرویدند.» بایشان فرمود که «بجلیل روید چرا که بیشتری از شاگردان او آنجا بودند و آنجا خواست که خودرا بهمه ایشان ظاهر کند. شاگردان رفتند. روزی پیدرو و تُمی و ناتانائیل و چند دیگر بر کنار دریای تباریوس جمع شده بودند. پیدرو گفت «میروم تا شکار ماهی کنم.» دیگران باو گفتند «ما نیز در پای تو میرویم.» بدریا درآمدند و تمام شب گردیدند اما یک ماهی صید نشد. چون روز روشن شد برآمد. ناگاه حضرت عیسی بر کنار دریا پیدا شد. ایشان ندانستند که کیست. او بایشان گفت «ای جوانان، هیچ خوردنی دارید؟» ایشان گفتند «نداریم.» فرمود «دام خودرا بجانب راست کشتی فرو اندازید و خواهید یافت.» ایشان اینچنین کردند [ASI.310] و چندان ماهی گرفتند که از فراوانی و گرانی آن دام کشیدن دشوار شد. یوحنا که محبوب عیسی بود به پیدرو گفت «خداوند ماست.» پیدرو چون این سخن از وی شنید که خداوند ماست پیراهن خود بر میان بست که برهنه بود، و خودرا بدریا انداخت و دیگر شاگردان همچنان دام‌کشان بکشتی آمدند که دور [ل۱۴۰] از کنار نبودند. چون بساحل برآمدند آتش اخگر دیدند و بران ماهی نهاده و نان. حضرت عیسی بایشان فرمود «ازین ماهیان که اکنون شکار کرده‌اید بیارید.» پیدرو دررفت و دام خودرا سوی خشکی کشید. صد و پنجاه و سه ماهی بزرگ درین دام بوده‌اند و باوجود چندان ماهی دام شکسته نشد. همه حیران و مضطرب بر زمین آوردند. حضرت ایشوع فرمود «بیائید و بخورید.» همگنان مدهوش و هیچکس‌را زهره

نبود که ازو بپرسد که «تو کیستی ؟» هرکدام میدانست که این خداوندست. پس حضرت ایشوع نان برداشت و در همه بخش کرد—همچنین ماهی. آن هنگام بایشان تمام معرفت داد. بعد ازان [ASI.311] که خوردند حضرت عیسی به پیدرو فرمود «شمعون پسر یوحنا، مرا از همهٔ اینها بیشتر دوست میداری ؟» او جواب داد «بلی، خداوند. تو خود میدانی که ترا دوست میدارم.» باو فرمود «بچران برّگان مرا.» بار دیگر بوی فرمود «شمعون پسر یوحنا، دوست میداری مرا ؟» او گفت «بلی، ای خداوند من، تو خود میدانی که ترا دوست میدارم.» باز فرمود «بچرا برگان مرا.» سیوم بار باو فرمود «شمعون پسر یوحنا، دوست میداری مرا ؟» این بار بر پیدرو دشوار آمد چون سیوم نوبت ازو پرسید که مرا دوست میداری. او گفت «ای خداوند من، [ل ۱۴۰ب] ترا همه روشن است. خود میدانی که ترا دوست میدارم.» باو فرمود «بچران گوسفندان مرا.» سه مرتبه اورا از دوستی پرسید بیاد آن سه مرتبه که در هنگام جفای مرگ برو انکار آورده بود و تا اورا آگاه سازد که درین چراندن گوسفندان که با او فرمود باو محنتها خواهند رسید و بیان کند که زندگی خود خواهد داد. باو گفت «راست راست میگویم ترا وقتی که جوان بودی [ASI.312] خودرا می‌بستی و هرجا که میخواستی میرفتی اما زمانی که پیر شده باشی هر دو دست خود بگستّرانی و دیگری میان تو بندد و ببرد ترا در جائی که نخواهی.» این گفت تا وانماید که خدارا بچه مرگ تسبیح خواهد کرد. و تا روش چرانیدن گوسفندان باو تعلیم کرده باشد فرمود «پیروی من کن» یعنی آنچه من کردم بکن. پیدرو در پای او میرفت روی خود گردانیده نگریست. آن شاگردرا که دوست داشتهٔ حضرت ایشوع بود و آن بود که بر سینهٔ حضرت سر نهاد هنگام فصح خوردن و بخاطر پیدرو از حضرت پرسید که «کدام است آنکه ترا خواهد سپرد ؟» و چون پیدرو اورا دید بحضرت ایشوع گفت «ای خداوند، این چه باشد ؟» حضرت ایشوع باو فرمود «اگر خواست من این است که تا زمان آمدن من اینچنین نماند ترا درین چه ؟ تو در پای من بیا.» ازین سخن بر زبان شاگران افتاد که یوحنا نمی‌میرد و حضرت [ل ۱۴۱] ایشوع نفرمود که نمیرد لیکن اینک «اگر من خواهم [ASI.313] که چنین بماند تا باز آیم ترا چه ؟»

در زمین جلیل بسیار بار از تابعان خویش بطور روشن بخصوصیات دیدند و در ایشان عجایبات بسیار کرد تا یقین شود که اوست. روزی فرمود که «در کوه تبور همه جمع شوند» و بیش از پانصد نفر با این یازده رسول جمع شدند و بر ایشان ظاهر شد همچنانکه گفته بود که «در جلیل بروید که آنجا مرا خواهید دید.» بعضی در آغاز شک آوردند لیکن آخر همه اورا شناختند و اعتقاد کردند و بخدائی پرستیدند و همگنان‌را فرمود خاصه باپستلس یعنی برسولان و بدیگر شاگردان بزرگ «اکنون معلوم کرده شد که بمن داده است همگی قدرت در آسمان و در زمین. پس بروید و همه مردم‌را بیاموزید و ایشان‌را عمادا کنید بنام پدر و پسر و روح القدس و آموزید که محافظت کنند آن همه چیزهارا که بشما فرمودم. اینک من با شما هستم همه روزها تا سپری شدن عالم.» منقولست که تا بیست روز در جلیل با شاگردان خود بوده آنگاه رسولان بحکم او [ASI.314] به بیت المقدس رفتند. روزی در بیت المقدس اینان که بر سر طعام بودند ناگاه حضرت ایشوع بر ایشان ظاهر شد در میان نصف اول روز. با ایشان خوردنی خورد تا ایشان‌را اطمینان بیشتر شود. [ل ۱۴۱ب] آنگاه بسخنان سخت ترس‌انگیز بایشان ملامت کرد بواسطهٔ شک که در برخاستن او آورده بودند و از سنگین‌دلی که نخواستند

که اعتقاد کنند بر آنانکه اورا زنده از مردگان دیده بودند. بعد ازان بلطف آمده بنرمی فرمود «از اورشلیم دور نشوید بلکه همینجا نشینید و منتظر باشید بوعدهٔ پدر من که از دهان من شنیده‌اید چراکه یوحنا عمادا میکرد بآب اما شما عمادا کرده خواهید شد بروح القدس نه بسیار مدت بعد از این روزها.» و نیز فرمود «بکوه زیتون روید نزدیک بیت‌عنیا.» ایشان رفتند و حضرت بی‌بی مریم و دیگر زنان و بسیاری از شاگردان در آنجا جمع شدند. ناگاه پیدا شد و ظاهر ساخت که اکنون وقت آن شد که بآسمان[1] روم. باین تقریب آنانک حاضر بودند ازو پرسیدند «خداوند، درین هنگام ملک اسرائیل‌را باز بحال خواهی آورد؟» بایشان فرمود «نه از شماست دانستن زمانها و نکتها که پدر در قدرت خود نهاد لیکن خواهید گرفت قوت روح القدس که بر شما خواهد آمد و گواهان من خواهید بود در اورشلیم و در تمام ملک یهودا و سمریه و تا آخر زمین.» و فرمود «بروید سوی عالمیان و دعوت کنید بانجیل من بتمام مخلوقات. آنکه ایمان آرد و عمادا گیرد سلامتی یابد، اما آنکه ایمان [ل۱۴۲] نیارد در عذاب ابدی باشد و علامات آنانکه ایمان آورده باشند این خواهد بود دیوان‌را بنام من بیرون کنند، بزبانهاء نو بگویند، ماران‌را بگیرند، و اگر زهر قاتل بیاشامند ایشان‌را زیان نکند، و برنجوران دست نهند شفا یابند.»

پس از سخن بسیار بایشان فرمود «من میروم. بر شما فرض ساختم که زندگانی کنید بطوری که بشما گفتم و بیاموزید آنچه از من آموخته شدید.» و چندی از بزرگان‌را ببعضی چیزها مخصوص گردانید و لطفها نمود و بیش از همه خجسته مادررا و بعد ازان دستها برداشت و بر ایشان دعاء برکت خواند و در نظر ایشان آغاز کرد ببالا برآمدن و آهسته آهسته صعود مینمود تا آنکه از نظر غایب شدن گرفت. آن هنگام ابری روشن حجاب شد و مسیح بر آسمان رفت تا نهایت بلندی. نه او تنها رفت بلک همه جانهای نیکانرا که از زمان ابو البشر تا آن زمان مرده بودند با خود برد. ملایکه اورا استقبال کردند بتمام شادمانی و در آمده بآسمان و بدست راست پدر نشست، یعنی در بزرگترین منازل جای یافت که نشستن‌را بدو چیز تعبیر میکنند، یک بعزت که نشستن از ایستادن عزیزتر است. دوم بقرار و آرام دران بزرگی. درین هنگام که شاگردان چشمها بر آسمان دوخته بودند دو فرشته [ل۱۴۲ب] بلباس سفید آمدند و بایشان گفتند «ای مردم جلیل، چه می‌ایستید نظرکنان بر آسمان؟ این ایشوع که از شمایان بآسمان رفته است اینچنین آید چنانچه اورا دیدید[2] که بالا برآمد.» این‌را باین معنی گفته‌اند که همچنانک مقصود خویش بجا آورده بقدرت خود بآسمان باز گردیده اینچنین در آخرت بتوانائی خود مراجعت خواهد فرمود تا داوری کند چنانچه خود ازین خبر داده بود. ایشان حیران و دلگیر و خورم [کذا] باورشلیم رفتند و همانجا گوشه گرفتند در خانه که با خداوند فصح خورده بودند.

چون حضرت ایشوع بایشان فرموده بود که از اورشلیم بیرون نروید تا موعود پدر من که از من شنیده‌اید بشما نیاید یازده رسول و مریم مقدس و چندی از شاگردان که همگی صد و بیست نفر باشند ده روز درین خانه بنماز و روزه گذرانیدند. روز یکشنبه عید یهودان بود. این‌را پنتکوستس میگویند و آن روز است که خدا درین روز بمهتر موسی توریت داده است و این عید از جملهٔ آن سه عید است که

1. The Cleveland manuscript in its present condition ends here.

2. L دیدند. Acts 1:11: *quæmadmodum vidistis eum euntem in cælum*.

یهودان‌را واجبست که از هر جانب به بیت المقدس بیایند. پس شاگردان مسیح درین روز در پرستش خدا بودند و نزدیک یک پهر روز شده بود. ناگاه آوازی مهیب در آسمان شد و باد تند حمله آورد چنانک درهای خانه گشاده شدند و تمام خانه‌را آموده [ل۱۴۳] ساخت خاصه آن جارا که بایشان بودند و آتشی از آسمان نزول کرد و زبانها بسان زبانهای آتش پدید آمدند و بر سر هرکدام یک زبان آتشین نشست و همگنان بروح القدس پر شدند و شروع در ستایش خدا بزبانهاء مختلف کردند باندازهٔ آنچه از روح القدس بایشان میرسید. اینست آن موعود پدر که روح القدس بصورت باد و آتش بر ایشان نزول کرد و در باطن ایشان قدرت نهاد که فرمودهای مسیح‌را بجا آرند.

درین دم بهرکدام عنایتها شد. اول آنکه هرگونه دانش چه از کتب الهی و چه از دیگر کتابها ایشانرا بر کمال داد و عقلهای ایشان‌را گشایش بخشید تا چیزهارا که از حضرت ایشوع دیده و شنیده بودند دریابند. دوم آنکه بایشان قدرت داد که هر قسم معجزه نمایند و خارق عادت کنند. سیوم آنکه در باطن ایشان شعلهای محبت الهی و آرزوی سلامتی مردم افروخت. چهارم آنکه قدرت داد برای برداشتن جفاها که بواسطهٔ تعلیم خواهند کشید. چون مردم این آتش دیدند و آن آواز مهیب شنیدند پنداشتند که برین خانه صاعقه افتاد و مردم‌را کشت. بنابرین هجوم آوردند که درین زمان در اورشلیم گویا از اکثر عالم یهودان بوده‌اند و از دیدن چیزی چندان عجیب حیران شدند زیرا که [ل۱۴۳ب] هرکدام میفهمید که ایشان بزبان او سخن میکنند و بغایت مدهوشی میگفتند «اینها که بزبانهای مختلف سخن میگویند مگر از جلیل نیستند؟ سبب چیست که هر یک از ما می‌شنود که ایشان بزبانی میگویند که ما دران زاده شده‌ایم؟ عراقیان و شروانیان و تورانیان و مصریان و ساکنان دیاربکر[1] و افریکیان و رومیان و تازیان همه می‌فهمیم که خدای‌را بزبان ما می‌ستایند.» و حیرت زده میگفتند «این چه باشد؟» و جمعی میخندیدند و میگفتند «اینها مستند.» پیدرو و ده نفر از رسولان برخاستند. آنگاه پیدرو آواز خود بلند کرد و گفت «ای یهودان و دیگر ساکنان اورشلیم، بدانید و گوش برین سخنان من نهید. ایشان مست نیستند چنانچه شما می‌پندارید که هنوز یک پهر روز نگذشته بلک اینست آنچه ژوئیل پیغمبر گفته که اینست «و باشد در روزهای آخرت بریزم از روح خویش بالای هر گوشت و پسران شما درخواب نیستند. هرآینه بر غلامان خود و بر کنیزان خود بریزم از روح خویش و پیغمبری کنند و چنان باشد که هرکه نام خداوند گیرد سلامتی یابد.»[2] ای بنی اسرائیل، بشنوید این سخنها. ایشوع

1. L has دیاربکر Diyarbekir, a scribal error for دیار پبک (correctly so in the Leiden printed version). For the peoples mentioned in Acts 2:9–11 (Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, Libya, and Cyrene), almost none of whom would have meant anything to a Persian reader, Father Jerome has substituted peoples with whom the Mughals would have been familiar and who vaguely reflect the ones mentioned in Acts: Iraqis, Shirvanis, Turanians, Egyptians, inhabitants of Diyarbekir, Africans, Anatolians, and Arabs. In Louis de Dieu's Latin translation of Father Jerome's work, these peoples are rendered as "Assyrii, & Medi, & Turcæ, & Ægyptii, & habitatores Mesopotamiæ, & Africani, & Romani, & Arabes."

2. Joel 2:28–29, 32: (Hebrew, Joel 3:1–2, 5) וְהָיָה אַחֲרֵי־כֵן אֶשְׁפּוֹךְ אֶת־רוּחִי עַל־כָּל־בָּשָׂר וְנִבְּאוּ בְּנֵיכֶם וּבְנוֹתֵיכֶם זִקְנֵיכֶם חֲלֹמוֹת יַחֲלֹמוּן בַּחוּרֵיכֶם חֶזְיֹנוֹת יֵרָאוּ: וְגַם עַל־הָעֲבָדִים וְעַל־הַשְּׁפָחוֹת בַּיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה אֶשְׁפּוֹךְ אֶת־רוּחִי: ...וְהָיָה כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יהוה יִמָּלֵט *Et erit post hæc: effundam spiritum meum super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii vestri et filiæ vestræ: senes vestri somnia somniabunt, et juvenes vestri visiones videbunt. Sed et super servos meos et ancillas in diebus illis effundam spiritum meum.... Et erit: omnis qui invocaverit nomen Domini, salvus erit:* And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in

ناصری آمد از پیش خدا و بر شما ظاهر شد. آموده چیزها و معجزها و نشانها که در میان شمایان کرد چنانچه شما خود میدانید و شما بمصلحت مقرر خویش و حکمت بالغهٔ خدا که اورا بدست بدان [ل۱۴۴] سپرده بودید و مصلوب کرده کشتید. خدا از دردهای مرگ اورا خلاص داده زنده گردانید چنانچه داؤد و دیگر پیغمبران ازو گفته بودند و ازین واقع همهٔ ما گواهیم و بقدرت خدای بزرگوار شده و از پدر وعدهٔ روح القدس گرفته این عنایت که می‌بینید و می‌شنوید ریخته است. پس تمام خانهٔ اسرائیل بیقین بداند که خدا ساخته است. خداوند و مسیح این ایشوعرا که شما مصلوب کردید.» و برین از پیغمبران قدیم نقلها آورد چندان مآثر و کارگر که از پیدرو و دیگر رسولان پرسیدند که «ای برادران چکنیم؟» پیدرو گفت «توبه کنید و هرکدام از شما بنام ایشوع کریستس عمادا گیرد برای آمرزش گناهان خویش و عنایت روح القدس بیاید که وعده کرده شده برای شمایان و پسران شمایان و بآنانک دورند هرکه اورا خداوند ما سوی خود طلبید.» و دران روز نزدیک سه هزار نفر ایمان آوردند و بعد از دو سه روز دیگر در عبادتخانه پنج هزار کس بدست او کریستان شدند و هر روز در اورشلیم تعلیم ایشان در ترقی بود و دیگر رسولان باطراف عالم پراکنده شدند و از انجیل مسیح خبر دادند و مردم بسیار بدین خود آوردند بتأیید خدا و قوت معجزها که نمودند. انشاء الله اینهمه در کتاب دیگر بتفصیل بیان کرده خواهد شد.

[ل۱۴۴ب] المنة[1] لله که داستان احوال مقدس حضرت ایشوع خداوند ما تمام شد و کتاب[2] گرامی که بدرقهٔ جانهاء راستان تواند بود اختتام یافت. اکنون شایسته و لایق نمود که دو نامه که پیلاتس حاکم بیت المقدس و دیگر حاکم آن سرزمین مشتمل بر حلیهٔ مبارک آنحضرت بجانب قیصر طیباریوس و سیناد و رومه نوشته بودند خاتمهٔ این کتاب گرامی شود و قبول جاوید بخشد.

رسم بود که هرچه در تمام مملکت سانح شود بقیصر و سیناد نویسند تا هرچه در عالم رو دهد ایشان ازان آگاه باشند. بنابرین فیلاتس بقیصر نوشت و آن اینست: «درین هنگام درین سرزمین مردی بوده که اورا شاگردانش خدا میخواندند و عجایبات فراوان میکرد که اورا بسیار مردم دیدند و بر آسمان زنده برآمد و شاگردان او اکنون بزرگ چیزها میکنند بنام او و گواهی می‌آرند برین که او خدا بوده است و معلم راه سلامتی بحقیقت.» طیباریوس بدین خبر بغایت خوش شد و این خبر بسیناد گفت یعنی بجماعت پیران و حاکمان شهر، و مقصد این بود که اورا نیز در حساب اله گیرند. چون رسم بود که هیچکس‌را بخدائی پرستش نکنند تا سیناد تصدیق نکنند. سینادوس ازین که این خبر بایشان پیش از قیصر نرسید کینه گرفتند و خواهش قیصررا [ل۱۴۵] روائی ندادند. و خدا خواست که این چیز واقع نشود تا اورا بقوت مردم پرستش نکرده باشند. باری قیصر حکم کرد که هرکه پیروی مسیح کند اورا کسی مزاحم نشود.

و آن دیگر لنتل نام که پیش از فیلاتس ایالت آن شهر داشته بسیناد نوشت:[3] «درین زمان کسی ظاهر شد و هنوز

those days will I pour out my spirit.... And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the LORD shall be delivered.

1. L المنت.

2. L کتام.

3. The Latin text of the letter of Publius Lentulus, a fictitious person said to have been governor of Judea before Pontius Pilate, exists in several recensions. The version that most closely reflects Father Jerome's Persian translation is as follows (taken from von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 319):

زنده است مردی خداوند قدرت بزرگ نامش مسیح ایشوع. مردم اورا پیغمبر صاحب قدرت میگویند. شاگردانش پسر خدا میخوانند. مردگان‌را زنده میکند و رنجوران‌را از هرگونه رنج و بیماری تندرست میسازد. مردیست بلندبالا باندازه و دیدنی، رویش بشکوه و پر تمکین که بینندگان توانند که اورا دوست دارند و هم هراس گیرند. موی سرش میگون تا بناگوش بی‌تاب و درست و از بناگوش تا گوش مسلسل و روشن و از دوش فرو گذشته، فرق تارک نهاده بروش ناصریان، پیشانی هموار و صاف، رویش بی‌عیب که آن‌را سرخی باعتدال مزین میدارد، نظرش خالص و پخته، بینی و دهان او بهیچ وجه مذموم نه، ریشش انبوه و برنگ موی سر و دوشاخه، چشمان او کبود و بغایت روشن، در ملامت کردن و سرزنش نمودن حیرت‌انگیز، در تعلیم و ترغیب نرم‌زبان و دوستدار آشتی، شکفته‌روی، [ل۱۴۵ب] بوقار. باری هیچکس اورا خندان ندید اما گریان بلی. کشیده‌قد، دستهای او راست و درست. بازوش خوش‌نما. در گفتن سنجیده و گران و کم‌گوی خوش‌روی در آدمی‌زادگان.»

تم تم

تم

این نامهٔ گرامی و دیباچهٔ سعادت بنده پادری ژیرونیمو شویر فرنگی از طایفهٔ صحبت حضرت عیسی بحکم شاهنشاه دوران خدیو روشن‌جان دارای روزگار جلال الدین والدنیا اکبر بادشاهان (خلد الله ملکه وسلطانه) از انجیل مقدّس و دیگر کتب پیغمبران در دار الخلافت آگره فراهم آورده و مولانا عبد الستار بن قاسم لاهوری باتفاق این بنده در همان دار الخلافت آگره ترجمه کرد و در سنهٔ هزار و ششصد و دو [ل۱۴۶] از ولادت حضرت ایشوع و چهل و هفت الهی از جلوس مقدّس شاهنشاهی[1] انجام یافت

تم

Lentulus in Judea preses S. P. Q. R. S. Apparuit temporibus istis et adhuc est homo magnae virtutis nominatus Jhesus Christus, qui dicitur a gentibus propheta veritatis, quem ejus discipuli vocant filium dei, suscitans mortuos et sanans [omnes] languores, homo quidem statura procerus mediocris et spectabilis, vultum habens venerabilem, quem possent intuentes diligere et formidare, capillos habens coloris nucis avellane premature [et] planos fere usque ad aures, ab auribus [vero] circinos crispos aliquantulum ceruliores et fulgentiores, ab humeris ventilantes, discrimen habens in medio capitis iuxta morem Nazareorum, frontem planam et serenissimam cum facie sine ruga et macula [aliqua], quam rubor [moderatus] venustat; nasi et oris nulla prorsus [est] reprehensio; barbam habens copiosam [et impuberem] capillis concolorem, non langam sed in mentio [parum] bifurcatam; aspectum habens simplicem et maturum, oculis glaucis variis et claris existentibus; in increpatione terribilis, in admonitione blandus et amabilis, hilaris servata gravitate; aliquando flevit, sed nunquam risit; in statura corporis propagatus et rectus, manus habens et brachia visu delectabilia, in colloquio gravis rarus et modestus, speciosus inter filios hominum.

1. The forty-seventh year of Akbar's reign began on March 20, 1602.

APPENDIX I

Some Technical Aspects of the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds*

During the early 1990s, and thus prior to its acquisition in 2005 by the Cleveland Museum of Art's John L. Severance Fund, the manuscript's former owner or owners, identified only as "an English family,"[1] put four miniatures from it up for sale. Three of them remained unsold and were kept with the rest of the manuscript, being thus also acquired by the CMA.[2] The fourth miniature, identified here as *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman at the Well* (cat. no. XVI), was acquired at auction by the Fondation Custodia in Paris in April 1991.[3] In the summer of 2009, Oliver Forge and Brendan Lynch Ltd, the London-based firm that had earlier negotiated the sale of the manuscript to the CMA, was again charged with finding a buyer for two other miniatures belonging to the Cleveland copy: *The Birth of Mary* (cat. no. I) and *The Preaching of John the Baptist* (cat. no. XI). These are now in a private collection in Europe.[4] As discussed in chapter 3.2, an uncertain number of miniatures and text folios are missing.

In its present condition, the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* consists, in total, of 159 folios.[5] Of these, 134 folios have text on both sides, while twenty-four folios have illustrations on one side and text on the other (fig. App I.1). Another folio, the frontispiece, is illuminated on one side (fig. 3.13), with text on the other. Overall, the text folios and the miniatures are well preserved. The original dark cream polished paper is in reasonably good condition, presenting only occasional tearing. The gouache and gold (often punched) employed on the miniatures have flaked in certain areas.

At some point, the manuscript was remargined. Five sewing holes along the edge of the folios indicate that it was once sewn (see cat. no. XIII). The manuscript was subsequently unbound and on most of the folios, numbers appear in the upper-left margin that are not original but were added at an undetermined point, perhaps

Fig. App I.1. Text. Opaque watercolor, gold and ink on paper, 27 x 16 cm (approximately). From the *Mir'āt al-quds*, Mughal school, 1602–4. Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund, 2005.145.5b. (Photo: courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

during rebinding. The same seems to apply to the catchwords, at least one of which is incorrect.[6] A number of folios were also erroneously ordered,[7] while at least one was reversed.[8] The manuscript has a black binding of poor-quality morocco leather, which is almost certainly of Indian origin. This shows signs of age but does not seem to be earlier than the beginning of the twentieth century. The twenty-four miniatures as well as the frontispiece in the CMA are now individually matted.

The existing folio size is overall approximately 27 by 16 centimeters, but the original folio size is, on average, 1.5 centimeters shorter. The added strips are, in general, discolored and very brittle; many are flaking and have sections missing on the perimeters of the folios. The text is written in high-quality *nastaʿlīq* script in black ink, fourteen lines to a page. The size of the miniatures varies (20 x 10.5 cm on average), but does not differ substantially from that of the text panels. Both text and miniatures are delimited by fine-ruled borders of blue, orange, gold, and black. The frontispiece is the only extant illuminated page (fig. 3.13). Within borders decorated with gold scrollwork, the central panel is divided into two parts, roughly square and of similar size. Stylized flowers in white and various shades of pink on a blue or gold ground decorate the upper half of the page. Although at first sight these seem to have been painted at random, upon close examination it is apparent that they follow concentric scroll lines lightly drawn in gold or black (depending on the color of the ground, blue or gold). The lower half is filled with a panel of text containing seven lines of high-quality *nastaʿlīq* calligraphy. Each line of text is outlined in black and the spaces between these are painted in gold, suggesting clouds. Both the calligrapher(s) and the illuminator(s) remain anonymous.

NOTES

1. According to documentation in the CMA records.
2. These are cat. no. XXV, misidentified then as *Jesus Teaching St. Peter and the Other Disciples in the Temple* (Sotheby's, London, *Arts of the Islamic World Including 20th Century Middle Eastern Paintings*, October 18, 2001, 59, lot 63); cat. no. IX, identified as *The Adoration of the Magi* (Sotheby's, London, *Arts of the Islamic World Including 20th Century Middle Eastern Paintings,* May 3, 2001, 76–77, lot 74); and cat. no. X, identified as *Simeon Kneeling before Christ and Mary after the Presentation in the Temple* (Sotheby's, London, *Arts of the Islamic World Including 20th Century Middle Eastern Paintings,* May 3, 2001, 77, lot 75).
3. Fondation Custodia, Paris, inv. no. 1991-T-11. This was correctly identified in the respective sale catalogue as *Jesus and the Woman of Samaria at the Well*, and as part of a *Mirʿāt al-quds* (Sotheby's, London, April 26, 1991, 18–19, lot 27). More recently, Gahlin, *Courts of India*, 20, cat. no. 19A, suggested that it was possibly part of a copy in the Lahore Museum. In the course of this study, however, it has been confirmed that this folio belongs to the Cleveland manuscript (see cat. no. XVI).
4. According to information provided by Brendan Lynch.
5. According to the acquisition report on the manuscript (dated September 10, 2007) by Moyna Stanton, conservator at the CMA, the museum acquired 160 folios, but in a personal communication Wheeler M. Thackston noted that one of the two illuminated folios does not belong to the manuscript.
6. Including ASI.13–14. For more on the catchwords, see the "Translator's Preface" in chapter 5.
7. Including ASI.127–28, 129–30, 131–32, 133–34, and 135–36. See Appendix II.
8. ASI.270–269.

APPENDIX II

Order of Folios in the Cleveland *Mir'āt al-quds* by W. M. Thackston

CORRECTED ORDER OF FOLIOS	CLEVELAND PAGE NUMBERS	AS NUMBERED IN MS.[1]
1	frontispiece	
2	unidentified illuminated folio,[2]	
	B side	
3	unidentified folio, begins:	
	chun āvāza	
4	ASI.275–76	
5	ASI.277–78	
6	ASI.279–80	
7	Private collection, England	
8	ASI.270–269[3]	
9	2005.145.24a-b	
10	unidentified folio, begins:	
	ba-zauq-i khizmat	
11	2005.145.1a-b	
12	ASI.1–2	12
13	ASI.3–4	13
14	ASI.271–72	14
15	2005.145.2a-b	15
16	ASI.5–6	16
17	ASI.7–8	17
18	ASI.9–10	18
19	ASI.15–16	22
20	ASI.17–18	23
21	missing, begins: *rūy-i naṣārā*	
22	ASI.19–20	24
23	ASI.21–22	25
24	2005.145.3a-b	26
25	2005.145.4a-b	27
26	missing, begins: *va qarār bi-iqāmat*	
27	missing	
28	ASI.11–12	30
29	ASI.13–14[4]	21
30	2005.145.6a-b	
31	missing, begins: *hamān rōz*	
32	missing[5]	
33	ASI.83–84	32
34	2005.145.5a-b	
35	unidentified folio, begins:	
	ān sitāra	
36	2005.145.7a-b	
37	ASI.69–70	36
38	ASI.71–72	37
39	ASI.73–74	38
40	2005.145.8a-b	
41	ASI.77–78	40
42	ASI.79–80	41

[1] These folio numbers, beginning with 12 and ending with 101 (as far as the photographs available allow one to see), were added to the manuscript at some point after its completion, probably during rebinding or remounting. There are a few folios that were put in incorrect order before the numbers were added. Since a few of the catchwords are also incorrect, some, if not all, of them must have been added during rebinding.

[2] Of the folios labeled "unidentified" there are photographs that lack identifying numbers. Photographs of the manuscript from Cleveland do not include these pages.

[3] This folio has been reversed: ASI.270 precedes ASI.269.

[4] Based on the text of the London manuscript, this folio has an incorrect catchword, *khujasta*. It should be *ānchi numāyān shud*.

[5] This may be folio ASI.81–82, which is unaccounted for. ASI.175–76 is similarly unaccounted for.

CORRECTED ORDER OF FOLIOS	CLEVELAND PAGE NUMBERS	AS NUMBERED IN MS.
43	ASI.59–60	42
44	ASI.61–62	43
45	ASI.63–64	45
46	ASI.65–66	46
47	ASI.67–68	47
48	Private collection, England	
49	ASI.75–76	49
50	2005.145.9a-b	
51	ASI.97–98	51
52	ASI.99–100	52
53	ASI.101–2	53
54	ASI.103–4	54
55	2005.145.15a-b	
56	ASI.105–6	56
57	missing, begins: *ʿaẓīmtar azīn*	
58	2005.145.13a-b	
59	ASI.85–86	59
60	ASI.87–88	60
61	ASI.89–90	61
62	ASI.91–92	62
63	2005.145.14a-b	
64	ASI.93–94	64
65	ASI.95–96	65
66	Paris, Fondation Custodia 1991-T.11	66
67	ASI.273–74	67
68	ASI.113–14	68
69	ASI.115–16	69
70	2005.145.17a-b	70
71	ASI.117–18	71
72	2005.145.18a-b	
73	ASI.119–20	73
74	ASI.121–22	74
75	ASI.123–24	75
76	ASI.125–26	76
77	2005.145.19a-b	77
78	missing, begins: *lākiyūn zērā ki*	
79	ASI.107–8	84
80	ASI.109–10	85
81	ASI.111–12	86
82	2005.145.16a-b	
83	ASI.137–38	88
84	ASI.139–40	89
85	ASI.141–42	90
86	ASI.143–44	91
87	2005.145.12a-b	
88	ASI.23–26	93
89	ASI.27–28	94
90	ASI.29–30	95
91	ASI.145–46	96
92	ASI.147–48	97
93	ASI.149–50	98
94	ASI.151–52	99
95	ASI.153–54	100
96	ASI.155–56	101
97	missing, begins: *va mādar*	
98	missing	
99	ASI.53–54	
100	ASI.55–56	
101	ASI.57–58	
102	2005.145.10a-b	
103	ASI.35–36	
104	ASI.37–38	
105	ASI.39–40	
106	ASI.41–42	
107	ASI.43–44	
108	ASI.45–46	
109	ASI.47–48	
110	ASI.49–50	
111	ASI.51–52	
112	2005.145.11a-b	
113	ASI.31–32	
114	ASI.33–34	
115	missing, begins: *va guft khudāvandā*	

CORRECTED ORDER OF FOLIOS	CLEVELAND PAGE NUMBERS	AS NUMBERED IN MS.
116	ASI.157–58	
117	ASI.159–60	
118	missing, begins: *bar īshān dushvār āmad*	
119	unidentified folio	
120	ASI.127–28	79
121	ASI.129–30	80
122	ASI.131–32	81
123	ASI.133–34	82
124	ASI.135–36	83
125	missing, begins: *gū dāshtand*	
126	ASI.161–62	
127	ASI.163–64	
128	ASI.165–66	
129	ASI.167–68	
130	2005.145.20a-b	
131	ASI.169–70	
132	ASI.171–72	
133	ASI.173–74	
134	ASI.177–78	
135	ASI.179–80	
136	ASI.181–82	
137	ASI.183–84	
138	ASI.185–86	
139	ASI.187–88	
140	ASI.189–90	
141	ASI.191–92	
142	ASI.193–94	
143	2005.145.21a-b	
144	ASI.195–96	
145	ASI.197–98	
146	ASI.199–200	
147	ASI.201–2	
148	ASI.203–4	
149	ASI.205–6	
150	ASI.207–8	
151	ASI.209–10	
152	ASI.211–12	
153	ASI.213–14	
154	ASI.215–16	
155	ASI.217–18	
156	2005.145.22a-b	
157	ASI.219–20	
158	ASI.221–22	
159	ASI.223–24	
160	ASI.225–26	
161	ASI.227–28	
162	ASI.229–30	
163	ASI.231–32	
164	ASI.233–34	
165	ASI.235–36	
166	ASI.237–38	
167	ASI.239–40	
168	ASI.241–42	
169	ASI.243–44	
170	ASI.245–46	
171	ASI.247–48	
172	ASI.249–50	
173	ASI.251–52	
174	ASI.253–54	
175	ASI.255–56	
176	ASI.257–58	
177	ASI.259–60	
178	ASI.261–62	
179	ASI.263–64	
180	ASI.265–66	
181	ASI.267–68	
182	2005.145.23a-b	
183	ASI.281–82	
184	ASI.283–84	
185	ASI.285–86	
186	ASI.287–88	
187	ASI.289–90	
188	ASI.291–92	
189	ASI.293–94	
190	ASI.295–96	

CORRECTED ORDER OF FOLIOS	CLEVELAND PAGE NUMBERS	AS NUMBERED IN MS.
191	ASI.297–98	
192	ASI.299–300	
193	ASI.301–2	
194	ASI.303–4	
195	ASI.305–6	
196	ASI.317–18	
197	ASI.307–8	
198	ASI.315–16	
199	ASI.309–10	
200	ASI.311–12	
201	ASI.313–14	
202–206	approximately 10 pages, or 5 folios, missing from the end	

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