An Arabic-to-English Translation of the Religious Debate between the Nestorian
Patriarch Timothy I and the ‘Abbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī

Thesis

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Abstract

This thesis offers, for the first time, a complete Arabic-to-English translation of the debate between Nestorian Patriarch, Timothy I (a. 779-823), and Muslim ʿAbbāsid Caliph, al-Mahdī (r. 775-785). An analysis of the various editions of the Arabic and Syriac versions of the debate is included. The primary editions of the debate consulted for this thesis were Samir K. Samir’s critical edition of the Arabic text named MS 662 of the Bibliothèque Orientale à Beyrouth, and Alphonse Mingana’s edition of the Syriac text named Mingana 17 taken from the Convent of Alqosh in northern Iraq. In analyzing the various editions of the debate, the goal is to establish the primacy of the Syriac text in its relationship to the Arabic text. This analysis is largely based upon the existing work of Hans Putman. In the translation and analysis of the debate, significant differences between the Syriac and Arabic versions of the debate are noted. In addition to the translation and analysis of the debate, a general introduction to Timothy I and his accomplishments as Nestorian Patriarch as well as an outline of the proposed purpose of Timothy’s text during late antiquity and the medieval period are offered.
Dedication

This thesis would not have been possible without the enthusiastic support of my professor, advisor, and friend, Dr. Georges Tamer
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Preface

Origins of the Thesis

This work is the result of the various intersections of my graduate coursework here at The Ohio State University. During my time at Ohio State, I have studied Arabic and Islamic Studies under Dr. Georges Tamer, Syriac and Aramaic under Dr. Sam Meier, and Near Eastern Culture, specifically late antique Persia, under Dr. Parvenah Pourshariati. Somewhat unexpectedly, these courses and topics were constantly intersecting and overlapping one another. Therefore, when deciding upon a thesis topic, I did not want to concentrate my studies in one area, while completely abandoning the others; hence, I decided to work on a topic that dealt with a variety of aspects from all three of the aforementioned fields. I concentrated my work on the medieval debate between the Nestorian Patriarch, Timothy I (d. 823), and the `Abbāsid Muslim Caliph, al-Mahdī (d. 785). The exploration of this text allowed me the unique opportunity to study both Syriac and Arabic. This topic also afforded me the opportunity to explore the field of pre-modern Christian-Muslim relations.

I would specifically like to extend my gratitude to Professors Tamer, Meier, and Pourshariati for not only guiding me to this topic, but through it as well. I would also like to thank the faculty of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures at The Ohio State University for allowing me to present
my research at their quarterly graduate student colloquium, and receive their immensely beneficial criticisms and suggestions.

Text and Translation

As stated, I have used the edited Arabic text produced by Samir K. Samir as it appeared in *L'église et l'islam sous Timothée I (780-823): étude sur l'église nestorienne au temps des premiers 'Abbâsides avec nouvelle édition et traduction du dialogue entre Timothée et al-Mahdi* published in Beirut by Dar el-Machreq Éditeurs in 1975. In regards to the Arabic text, I have created virtually a facsimile of Samir’s version, although in several locations minor corrections have been made. These corrections have been bracketed and justified in the footnotes accompanying the corrections. I maintained his numerical breakdown of the text, as well as nearly all aspects of his punctuation and grammatical markings. I have mimicked his style and organization in my English parallel translation. In addition to simply translating the Arabic text, I have compared the Arabic version of the debate to the Syriac version of the debate as well. In my translation of the Arabic text, I have added footnotes pertaining to significant and noteworthy differences between the two versions of the debate.

There are many methods in translating a medieval text into modern languages, and I follow a very particular one. First, I prefer to stay as literal as possible, within the bounds of creating comprehensible English. I prefer to limit idiomatic phrases. In my opinion, this allows the reader to understand how I specifically understood the text. Second, if at all possible, I try to maintain the
original word order of the text. I do not rearrange various phrases in an attempt to create a more flowing English translation. Third, I try to represent every Arabic word in the text with an English equivalent. For instance, if the Arabic text has a phrase with three Arabic words, I try to create an English sentence with three words. Although this style may seem rigid, there will be no confusion for the reader as to how I understood the Arabic text. Additionally, Timothy quotes the Bible extensively, and for these, I translate his quotations simply as I did other parts of the text.
Part 1: Introduction
The Debate and Its Interlocutors

The Nestorian Church and Timothy I

The 8th century saw the rise of the ‘Abbāsid dynasty (750-1258), which essentially shifted the powerbase of the Islamic Empire into the direct heartland of the Nestorian Church, Mesopotamia.¹ Now, the newly founded capital of the ‘Abbāsid Empire, Baghdad, became home to both the ‘Abbāsid Caliph and the Patriarch of the Nestorian Church. It was Patriarch Timothy I (779-823) who opted to move the Nestorian patriarchal residence from Ctesiphon to the newly established ‘Abbāsid capital in Baghdad.² During the early years of the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate, the caliphs largely assumed the role the Sassanians³ had previously held in Mesopotamia, and in many ways they treated the Nestorians as the preferred Christians of the empire. In effect, the Patriarch of the Nestorian Church became the official representative of all Christians living under ‘Abbāsid rule.⁴ This is not surprising considering the fact that the Nestorian Church had, by the

¹ The Nestorian Church is known under several names, including: The Church of the East, The East Syriac Church, The Holy Apostolic Church of the East. From henceforth, the church will strictly be referred to as the Nestorian Church. For more information on the Nestorian Church, see Christoph Baumer, The Church of the East: An Illustrated History of Assyrian Christianity (New York: I.B. Tauris. 2006).
³ The Sassanian Empire was centered in Ctesiphon and existed from approximately 224-651. They were the imperial rivals of the Roman and Byzantine Empires.
⁴ Baum and Winkler, 60.
time of Timothy, expanded to various regions of the Far East. Timothy was instrumental in establishing various Nestorian metropolitans in Turkestan, China, and Tibet.\(^5\) By the end of Timothy’s near 50 year-long reign as patriarch, the Nestorian Church had 230 dioceses and 27 metropolitans.\(^6\)

In addition to the sheer demographic and geographic size of the Nestorian Church, Nestorian Christians were also a very useful subject people of the ‘Abbāsid Empire. The Nestorians were not only one of the largest contributors in the ‘Abbāsid translation movement,\(^7\) making them an intellectually beneficial community, but they were also one of the largest ethno-religious mercantile groups in the world,\(^8\) so, they were commercially beneficial to the ‘Abbāsid Empire as well. ‘Abbāsid Baghdad was home to two of the most important men in the world, the Muslim ‘Abbāsid Caliph and the Christian Nestorian Patriarch. The ‘Abbāsid caliphs controlled an empire from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, while Timothy and other Nestorian Patriarchs controlled a religious community, which was multiethnic, multilingual, and controlled trading networks from western Turkey to central China.\(^9\)

During the 8th and 9th centuries, no figure effectively directed the affairs of the Nestorian Church more so than Patriarch Timothy I. Timothy was born in the

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\(^5\) Ibid.
\(^6\) Ibid., 61.
\(^9\) Ibid., 297-307.
village of Ḥazza near Adiabene in 727. Timothy was educated at the monastic school in Bašoš, a small village in northern Mesopotamia in the region of Ṣafṣafa, where he studied Greek and Arabic. In addition to studying Greek and Arabic, he studied Biblical exegesis and Aristotelian philosophy as well. Not only was he possibly trilingual, speaking Syriac, Arabic, and Greek, but he was involved in multiple significant translations of Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic as well as effectively maintaining cordial Nestorian-Muslim relations during his nearly half decade tenure as head of the Nestorian Church. Al-Mahdí is believed to have commissioned Timothy to translate the *Topics of Aristotle* from Syriac into Arabic. Timothy is also believed to have written hundreds of works on a multitude of topics, some of which include: science, philosophy, liturgy, theology, and law. Timothy served as Patriarch of the Nestorian Church from 779-823.

As Wilhelm Baum states in *The Church of the East: A Concise History*,

Timotheos I (780-823) came to office through simony but developed into one of the most important ecclesiastical writers and most capable organizers of the Apostolic Church of the East,

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11 Putman, 14.


13 Putman, 15.

14 Hunter, 291.

15 Putman, 20-23.

16 Hunter, 289.
which by then had extended into India and China.\textsuperscript{17}

Amidst his wide array of writings survives one of the most famous Christian-Muslim debates of the medieval period. Timothy theologically disputed the Caliph al-Mahdī over a two-day period, in 780 or 781, amidst the caliphal court.\textsuperscript{18} The debate has survived in both Syriac and Arabic versions; however, the Syriac version of the debate is believed to have been penned by Timothy himself, while the Arabic is generally considered to be a later translation of the Syriac by an anonymous author. Erica C.D. Hunter states,

Royal scribes may have taken the ‘minutes’ of the discussion in Arabic but their records have not survived. Instead an ‘Apology of Christianity’ was preserved in a Syriac letter, written by Timothy to an anonymous correspondent, who is believed to have been Sergius, metropolitan of Elam.\textsuperscript{19}

Regarding the Syriac text, Alphonse Mingana stated,

It is not necessary to suppose that every word in it was uttered verbatim, but there are strong reasons for believing that it contains as faithful an analysis as could possibly be made under the circumstances of the questions and answers of the Caliph and Patriarch.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{17} Baum and Winkler, 60. For more information on the simoniacal election of Timothy as Nestorian Patriarch, see above n 10, 16-19.

\textsuperscript{18} For an essential introduction to the text, see Alphonse Mingana, \textit{“Timothy’s Apology for Christianity,”} Woodbrooke Studies 2, (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd, 1928), 1-162, 11-15.

\textsuperscript{19} Hunter, 292. For comprehensive work on Timothy’s letters to Sergius, see Raphaël J. Bidawid, \textit{Les lettres du patriarche nestorien Timothée I: étude critique avec en appendice: La lettre de Timothée I aux moines du Couvent de Mār Mārōn (trad. latine et texte chaldéen)} (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1956); Thomas Hurst, \textit{“The Syriac Letters of Timothy I (727-823): A Study in Christian-Muslim Controversy”} (Ph.D. Diss., Catholic University of America, 1986).

\textsuperscript{20} Mingana, 11.
During the first centuries of the Arab-Islamic conquests, Christians clearly held an advantage, in regards to polemical and apologetical skill, over the nascent Islamic community. Christians had been in dialogue with various religions from the time of Christ and the Early Church. With the advent of Islam, many Christian apologists and polemicists, specifically while in dialogue with Muslims, simply recycled many of the skills prior Christians had developed to religiously engage Jews.\textsuperscript{21} Due to his background and education, Timothy was fluent in Syriac, Arabic, and Greek; consequently, he would have been able to utilize nearly the full arsenal of pre-Islamic Christian authors, which J.W. Sweetman, in his \textit{Islam and Christian Theology}, insinuated he did.\textsuperscript{22} Sweetman claims that many Syriac and Arabic apologists, during the early Islamic period (650-850), used the works of numerous earlier Christian writers, including: Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258), Aphraates of Edessa (4\textsuperscript{th} century), Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403), John Chrysostom (347-407), Gregentius Bishop of Zafār in South Arabia (6\textsuperscript{th} century), and John of Damascus (d. 749).\textsuperscript{23}

Precisely at the time of Timothy, Arabic was not simply coexisting with Syriac, but rather it was in the process of supplanting it. Within the span of approximately 100 years, roughly 650-750, Aramaic went from a \textit{lingua franca} to a dying and nearly dead language.\textsuperscript{24} The various versions of the debate held


\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 65-83.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 66,75.

\textsuperscript{24} See Mark N. Swanson, “Arabic as a Christian Language?” available at http://www.luthersem.edu/faculty/fac_home.asp?contact_id_mswanson. At the same website see also the author’s companion piece, “Early Christian-Muslim Theological Conversation among Arabic-
between Timothy and al-Mahdī are very indicative of this process. For example, even though Timothy recorded his debate in Syriac, the debate was believed to have been held in Arabic and shortly after Timothy’s Syriac text began circulating throughout the Christian communities of the Near East, an Arabic rendition of the debate began circulating as well.\(^{25}\) Alphonse Mingana, in his preface to his Syriac-to-English translation, stated, “This colloquy was naturally conducted in Arabic…”\(^{26}\) What makes the Arabic rendition of the debate so interesting, is that it is written in an extremely accessible form of Arabic. The Arabic used to record the debate represents an intermediary form of Christian Arabic, which is not as simplified as the earliest forms of Christian Arabic, nor as advanced as the Arabic of writers like Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (d. 873) or Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī (d. 974).\(^{27}\) While the text employs numerous analogies and Aristotelian logic, it still maintained a simplified form of Arabic, which avoids any highly elaborate and unnecessarily ornate language, quite contrary to the triple negatives used in the Syriac version of the text. The writer of the Arabic version of the debate kept in mind the language abilities of the Christian Arabic speaking communities who would be reading the text.

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\(^{25}\) Mingana, 11.

\(^{26}\) Ibid.

The Purpose of Timothy’s Text in Late Antiquity and the Medieval Period

Timothy’s text is so unique in that it covers, within a relatively short space (approximately 30 pages), virtually every topic of contention between Christians and Muslims. The text of the debate, in both its Syriac and Arabic form, seemingly served a three-tiered purpose in society: 1) The text functioned as a form of theological instruction and introduction. It exposed Christians to biblical and Qur’ānic verses fundamental to Christian-Muslim dialogue; 2) The text served as an important source of Christian ecumenical literature in a time of intense Christian sectarian struggle for power under new dominion. Timothy largely disregarded Christian rivalry and spoke for a theoretically universal church; 3) The text comprehensively engaged common Muslim objections and criticisms of Christianity. Timothy was one of the first Christians of power to confront and respond to the challenges of Islam and by recording his account, he allowed Christians to utilize and build upon his dialectical skills for further encounters with Islam. Timothy’s debate with al-Mahdī is unique among the dialogical works, not only due to the fact that it is easily the most well-known, but also because it served as a prototype of sorts for nearly all later dialogical works.28

The theological discussion covers a wide-variety of issues, some of which include: Jesus’ birth and resurrection, Mary’s virginity both before and after the birth of Jesus, the Trinity, the integrity of the Old and New Testaments, biblical prophhecies, Muhammad’s status as a prophet, the divine nature of the Qur’ān, and

28 See David Bertaina, An Arabic account of Theodore Abu Qurra in Debate at the Court of Caliph al-Ma’mun: Study in Early Christian and Muslim Literary Dialogues, (Thesis PhD Semitics, Catholic University of America, 2007), 139.
religious customs, such as direction of prayer and circumcision. When discussing all of the aforementioned topics, Timothy uses various philosophical and logical arguments to defend his stances all the while addressing these crucial and highly sensitive issues with the utmost probity and polemical intellect.

In his debate with al-Mahdī, Timothy instructs Christians how to answer highly sensitive and even dangerous questions, with practical, honest, and non-religiously compromising answers. For example, when al-Mahdī asks, “What do you think of Muhammad,” Timothy answered by stating all the positive things, which Muhammad enacted upon his people, such as belief in one God and abandoning the worshipping of idols; however, he never stated that Muhammad was a prophet. Timothy stated, “Muhammad followed in the path of the prophets.” Is this a conciliatory or passive acceptance of the prophethood of Muhammad on the part of the Patriarch? More likely, it was a simple rhetorical devise to be used by Christians when debating Muslims, which enabled them to maintain a non-compromising answer, which at the same time did not offend their Muslim overlords. In many ways, Timothy’s text became a template for later debates. Not only did the questions of other dialogical texts not sway far from Timothy’s and al-Mahdī’s, but the analogies and style used did not drastically change either.

29 For more information on the contents of the debate, see Putman, 189-200; also, see the section titled “Contents of the Debate” in this thesis.
30 See sections 158-162 of the Arabic-to-English translation in this thesis.
31 In later Christian Arabic texts, such as the debate between Theodore Abū Qurrah and Caliph al-Ma’mūn as well as the apology of al-Kindi, the influence of Timothy’s text is quite evident. For the English and Arabic text of Abū Qurrah’s debate, see above n 28. For the English and Arabic text of al-Kindi’s apology, see William Muir, The Apology of Al Kindy: Written at the Court of Al Māmūn (Circa A.H. 215, A.D. 830), in Defence of Christianity against Islam (London: S.P.C.K., 1911).
In the end, how did this text and others like it benefit the Christian community? Timothy’s debate gave a Syriac and Arabic version of a highly educated Christian leader’s answers to Muslim objections to Christianity. Essentially, for Nestorian Christians, this was the best their community had to offer in response to the challenges of Islam. Was the purpose for composing these dialogical texts to show a Christian leader outwitting a Muslim of significant status? It is more probable that the true purpose of these dialogical texts was not to crown a Christian victor over a Muslim one, but rather to establish an A-Z religious guidebook for Christian-Muslim relations. This guidebook of sorts intended to prevent future Christian conversion to Islam, which beginning in the 8th century, seems to have been a noticeably growing problem in the Christian communities throughout the entire Near East. Timothy’s debate functioned as a medieval guidebook for tactfully criticizing Islam and Muhammad, while defending and encouraging the doctrines of Christianity.
The Versions of the Text

Dating the Debate

The debate between Timothy I and Caliph al-Mahdī is a very important text, both in its Syriac and Arabic forms. Before reading the actual text of the debate, several important issues must be addressed in order to properly contextualize and understand the significance of the debate. First, determining when the debate occurred is both very important and somewhat problematic. Alphonse Mingana suggested in his preface to his translation of the Syriac text that he believed the debate took place around the year 781 or 782. This suggestion is largely based upon a passage found in the Syriac text, which references al-Mahdī’s son Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786-809) and his campaigns against the Byzantines, which occurred in 779 or 780. In speaking about Hārūn, Timothy stated,

He is now called by everybody ‘Heir Presumptive,’ but after your long reign, he will be proclaimed King and Sovereign by all. He served his military service through the mission entrusted to him by your Majesty to repair Constantinople against the rebellious and tyrannical Byzantines.

However, this passage does not unequivocally answer the question as to when the debate occurred. According to Hans Putman’s brief description of the various

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32 Mingana, 11.
33 Putman, 184; Mingana, 83-84.
34 Mingana, 84.
versions of the debate, François Nau noted that if the debate had truly taken place in 781 or 782, then Timothy would never have called Hārūn al-Rashīd “Heir Presumptive,” because at that time al-Mahdī’s eldest son Mūsā al-Hādī (r 785-786) was the heir to the ‘Abbāsid throne. As a result of this discrepancy, Nau believed the Syriac version of the debate was written in 799; however, Putman claims this date to be arbitrary and difficult to justify. Putman, in his analysis of the debate, believes that the discussion between Timothy and al-Mahdī was written between the years 786, which represent the year when Hārūn came to power, and 794, which represents the year Sergius, Metropolitan of Elam, was consecrated.

The Syriac and Arabic Editions of the Debate

Both the contents and the various versions of the debate are very crucial when analyzing the relationship between Christians and Muslims during the first ‘Abbāsid century (a. 750-850). It is not only one of the fullest surviving Near Eastern Christian apologies, but it is also one of the earliest. In regards to the Nestorian apologetical engagement of Islam, it might possibly be the first. As previously stated, the debate exists in both Syriac and Arabic, which makes the debate doubly useful; however, because the debate exists in two languages and in multiple manuscripts, it also presents even more problems, which have to be

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35 Mingana, 84; Putman, 185.
36 Putman, 185.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 172.
addressed, when critically examining the various versions of the debate. Establishing the primacy of either the Syriac or Arabic text is quite important and depending on one’s conclusions can carry significant cultural implications for the Christian communities of the 8th and 9th centuries.

The Syriac text of the debate is known to have been contained amongst the 50 plus Syriac letters written by Timothy to Segius, Metropolitan of Elam. It was published in 1928 by Alphonse Mingana accompanied with an English translation under the title *The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdi*. Mingana’s translation was based on a 13th century manuscript taken from the Convent of Alqosh named *Mingana 17*. Several later recensions were done on this text after Mingana.

The Arabic text had first been published by Louis Cheikho in *al-Machriq* XIX (1921), 359-374 and 408-418 under the title, المحاورة الدينية بين الخليفة المهدي وطيماثاوس الجانيق, which can be translated as “The Religious Debate between the Caliph al-Mahdī and Timothy the Catholicos.” For his edition of the text, Cheikho used a 19th century manuscript from Mosul known as MS 662 of the Bibliothèque Orientale à

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39 Putman, 173.
40 Mingana, above n 19.
41 Mingana, 14; Putman, 174.
43 Putman, 174.
Beyrouth.\textsuperscript{44} Like Cheikho, Samir’s edition of text is based on the MS 662, although with several changes.\textsuperscript{45} However, this 19\textsuperscript{th} century Arabic manuscript does not contain the earliest version of the debate in Arabic. In the same library, the Bibliothèque Orientale, there exists an Arabic manuscript known as MS 548, which dates to the 16\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{46} In the Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris, two earlier manuscripts dating to the 14\textsuperscript{th} century are also in existence.\textsuperscript{47} Hans Putman implies that these earlier versions of the Arabic text are condensed versions of the Syriac text, which represent the essential aspects of the Syriac debate between Timothy and al-Mahdī.\textsuperscript{48}

\textit{Establishing the Syriac Primacy of the Debate}

When attempting to determine the primacy of either the Syriac or the Arabic version of the debate, there exists argumentation in favor of both. In 1931, Laurence Browne proposed that the much longer Syriac text was derived from an earlier Arabic \textit{Vorlage}, now lost.\textsuperscript{49} He opined that the Syriac text had been embellished to show a “stronger Nestorian bias” and highlighted several passages to support his argument.\textsuperscript{50} Contrary to Browne, Hans Putman argues for the

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 185-187.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 175.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 174-178.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 42.
primacy of the Syriac text and he compares and contrasts literary and dogmatic aspects of both the Syriac and the Arabic text to support his conclusions.\(^5\)

First, the most striking difference between the Syriac and Arabic versions of the debate is the length. The Syriac version of the debate takes place over a two day period, while the Arabic version of the debate is limited to one day. Therefore, the Syriac text is approximately twice as long as the Arabic text. However, the length of the Syriac and Arabic texts, in and of itself, does not sway the argument in favor of the primacy of either the Syriac or the Arabic. Although it stands out as the most noticeable difference between the two texts, its evaluative worth is much less significant than other disparities found between the two texts. However, Putman does mention that, generally, the shorter reading of a text is often older than the longer reading; therefore, based on length alone, the length of the texts could favor the primacy of the Arabic text.\(^5\) Irrespective of the length, the Arabic version of the debate, although much shorter than the Syriac version, is much more stylistically coherent and logically flowing.\(^5\) The reader of the two versions of the texts will almost immediately begin to notice significant textual incongruities between the Syriac and Arabic texts. The differences between the two versions of the debate are very calculated and very enlightening when attempting to determine the primacy of either the Syriac or Arabic text. Once the two versions of the text are compared and analyzed the reader will be able to confidently realize that the redactions, omissions, and additions made by the

\(^5\) Putman, 172-188.
\(^5\) Ibid., 175.
\(^5\) Ibid., 175-180.
Arabic translator and editor of the Syriac text are not haphazard, but represent a calculated rarefaction of the Syriac text. Hans Putman states that,

> It is not difficult, in fact, to demonstrate and to prove that A. [the Arabic text] is based on S. [the Syriac text], and that variations compared with S. come from the hand of the Arabic translator who wanted to eliminate certain repetitions, soften overtly Nestorian tendencies, and complement (the text with) scriptural and biblical references.54

In his work on the two versions of the text, Putman compares and contrasts the literary differences between the the Syriac and Arabic text.55 He notes several locations in the debate where the Arabic text has removed certain illustrations and explanations. For example, when comparing Arabic (230) with Syriac (50) the two versions of the debate are quite different.56 In the Syriac rendition of the section, the fact that the Edomites descend from Abraham’s children from Keturah is present,57 however, in the Arabic edition, this section has been removed. By removing this section, the Arabic translator is refining Timothy’s line of argumentation. In the biblical tradition, both Hagar and Keturah are considered concubines of Abraham; therefore, the Arabic translator of the text

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54 Putman, 176. The original French reads, “Il n’est pas difficile, en effet, de le démontrer et de constater que A. s’appuie sur S., et que les variantes par rapport à S. proviennent de la main du traducteur arabe qui a voulu supprimer certaines répétitions, adoucir des déclarations de tendance trop nestorienne compléter des références scripturaires et bibliques. Additions in [ ] have been added to the section for clarifications.

55 Ibid., 175-183.

56 When comparing and contrasting various sections of the Syriac and Arabic texts, the Arabic number in parenthesis corresponds to the paragraph number in the Arabic-to-English translation in this thesis. The Syriac number corresponds to the page number of Alphonse Mingana’s English translation.

57 See Gen. 25.
wanted to maintain a certain distance from the topic of concubinage.\textsuperscript{58} In another example, after a discussion of the culpability of the Jews regarding the crucifixion of Jesus, Putman draws attention to an important divergence between the two versions of the debate. Arabic (216) ends the discussion of the culpability of the Jews and an entirely new section of the debate begins; however, Syriac (47-48), follows the discussion of the culpability of the Jews with a significant section discussing the authorship of the Gospel, which is completely absent from the Arabic text. Putman rightfully claims that this additional section dealing with the authorship of the Gospel, which can be found in the Syriac text only, does not coalesce logically in the sequence of Timothy’s argument. When comparing Arabic (228-237) and Syriac (52-54) the additional material found in the Syriac text actually obfuscates the logical procession of the debate rather than elucidating it. Both versions of the text are discussing the implications of Deuteronomy 18:15. Timothy and al-Mahdī debate if Muhammad was the prophet predicted in the aforementioned Biblical passage. The Arabic version has removed two long sections from the Syriac text. First, following this discussion of Deuteronomy, the Syriac has a fairly long section discussing the role of Jesus in the death of his mother. In the Syriac text, the Caliph initiates the discussion by asking, “What is the punishment of the man who kills his mother?”\textsuperscript{59} After the discussion on this topic, the Syriac text has an additional section, which has been removed from the Arabic text. The Caliph initiates this discussion by asking, “Is

\textsuperscript{58} Putman, 177.

\textsuperscript{59} Mingana, 52.
Jesus Christ good or not?” In regards to both additional questions found in the Syriac text, Timothy offers sufficient and acceptable answers; however, Putman is absolutely correct when he claims that these additional sections found in the Syriac text, which are absent in the Arabic text, do not logically fit into Timothy’s line of argumentation. Putman claims that the omissions by the Arabic translator have made the Arabic text more logical. In the section following the discussion of Deuteronomy, the Arabic texts states, “And our king said to me: ‘Surely, your speech would be agreeable and your announcement good, if you would accept Muhammad amongst the prophets;’” likewise, the Syriac text states, “And our King said to me: ‘If you accepted Muhammad as a prophet your words would be beautiful and your meanings fine.’” Following the additional discussions found in the Syriac text, this statement does not logically flow. Examples of this nature are very important in attempting to determine the primacy of the Syriac or Arabic text, because they represent a refinement of the Arabic text in comparison to the Syriac text.

There are also several examples where the Arabic text contextualizes and clarifies certain sections of the Syriac text. Again, when comparing Syriac (37) with Arabic (134-135) significant differences between the two versions become quite apparent. The Syriac text reads, “And our King asked: ‘Who is then the rider on an ass, and the rider on the donkey?’” – And I replied: ‘The rider on an ass is

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60 Ibid., 53.
61 Putman, 178.
62 Mingana, 54.
63 For several more examples on the literary differences between the two version of the text, see Putman, 176-178.
Darius the Mede, son of Assuerus, and the rider on the camel is Cyrus the Persian, who was from Elam.”

In the Arabic text, the section reads,

And our victorious King said to me: “Who is the one who is said to have been seen riding a camel?” We answered him saying: “That this verse was given by the Prophet Isaiah when he said: ‘I saw a pair of cavalrymen, one riding a donkey, and one riding a camel.’” And our King asked me: “Who is the rider of the donkey and the rider of the camel?” So, I answered him: “That the rider of the donkey is Darius, son of Artaxerxes the Mede; and the rider of the camel is Cyrus, the Persian who is from Elam.”

The Arabic text adds the reference to Isaiah, which helps to contextualize the discussion.

The Arabic text simply corrects the Syriac text on several occasions as well. In the Syriac (41), Timothy confuses a biblical passage from Isaiah with another passage from Jeremiah. The Syriac text reads, “And the prophet Jeremiah said, ‘Wood will eat into His flesh and will destroy Him from the land of the living. I gave my body to wounds and my cheeks to blows, and I did not turn my face from shame and spittle.’” In reality, the Prophet Jeremiah stated the first sentence of the quotation, while the Prophet Isaiah stated the second sentence of the quotation. The Arabic (194-195), accurately identifies the second sentence as a prophecy found in Isaiah. In another scriptural reference, this time referring to the Qur’ān, the Arabic text clarifies and corrects the Syriac text. The Syriac (41),

64 Mingana, 37.
65 See Arabic sections 134-137 in this thesis.
66 For other examples where the Arabic text elucidates the Syriac text by adding Biblical context, see Putman, 179.
67 Mingana, 41
states, “It is written in Sūrat ʿĪsa, ‘Peace be upon me the day I was born and the
day I die, and the day I shall be sent again alive.’”68 However, considering the fact
that Sūrat ʿĪsa does not exist in the Qurʾān, Arabic (187) clarifies this statement
by saying, “Surely, it is written in Sūrat ʿĪsa; however, we saw these verses in
Sūrat Maryam, namely: ‘Peace be upon me, the day I was born, the day I will die,
and the day when I will resurrect.’” Comparing these several passages allows
Putman, in his analysis, to conclude that it seems apparent that the Syriac text is
older and that the Arabic translator omitted several passages he deemed
repetitious and uninteresting as well as adding several passages to either clarify or
correct mistakes made in the Syriac text.69

The previous section of analysis primarily focused on literary aspects that
helped refine the Arabic rendition of the debate. However, an analysis of the two
versions of the text brings forth several dogmatic and theological differences as
well. There are several clear examples of where the Arabic translator overtly
changes or omits several theologically Nestorian passages. For example, when
comparing Arabic (28) with Syriac (19), both of which deal with the Incarnation,
dogmatic differences are quite apparent. The Arabic text omits the following,
which is found in the Syriac text only, “In the same way, the Word of God,
together with the clothings of humanity which He put on from Mary,70 is one and
the same Christ, and not two, although there is in Him the natural difference

68 Ibid.
69 Putman, 179.
70 In Mingana’s translation of the Syriac text, he notes that the expression “clothings of humanity”
is a “semi-Nestorian” phrase. See Mingana, 19.
between the Word-God and His humanity.” The Syriac text continues with several passages explicating the nuances of Dyophysitism. In another example, Nestorian elements have been removed from Arabic (87), which exist in the Syriac (29). The Arabic text omits the following passage,

There is also another reason for our conduct: Jesus Christ walked in the flesh thirty-three years on the earth, O King. In the thirtieth year he repaid to God all the debt that human kind and angels owed to Him. It was a debt that no man and no angel was able to pay, because there has never been a created being that was free from sin, except the Man with whom God clothed Himself and became one with Him in a wonderful unity.

In his footnote on this passage, Mingana states, “This teaching is that of Theodore of Mopsuestia.”

In addition to literary and dogmatic differences between the two versions of the debate, there also exist significant terminological differences as well, specifically in regards to the Trinity. Take for instance, the divergent Syriac and Arabic responses to the question, “Do you believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit?” The Syriac (22) answers the question, by stating, “The belief in the above three names, consists in belief in three Persons, and the belief in these three Persons consists in the belief in one God.” In contrast to the Syriac text, Arabic (41) states, “Oh King, surely confessing in these three names is confessing in

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71 Ibid., 19.
72 Ibid., 19-20.
73 Ibid., 29.
74 Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) was an Antiochian theologian whose teachings were fundamental to the Nestorian Church.
75 Mingana, 22.
three hypostases. I mean the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: these are one
God, one nature, and one essence.” The Syriac text represents a somewhat
generic and underdeveloped response to the question, while the Arabic text uses a
more sophisticated Trinitarian terminology.

Overall, a literary, dogmatic, and terminological comparison of the Syriac
and Arabic texts strongly supports the primacy of the Syriac over the Arabic. The
literary omissions often times were done in order to help the logical flow of the
argument by eliminating sometimes superfluous and obfuscating passages. The
literary additions, likewise, often helped contextualize and clarify certain passages
that were lacking a proper frame of reference in the Syriac text. The
terminological differences clearly indicate that the Syriac was the more general
while the Arabic text used a more technical Trinitarian vocabulary. Therefore,
Browne’s claim that the Syriac text was a later embellishment of an older Arabic
text is highly unlikely. Considering the literary and terminological differences
between the two texts, it would seem highly improbable that a Syriac translator
would effectively add Nestorian theological elements to the text, but would on
occasion disrupt the logical flow of the argument with long disconnected and
uncontextualized passages, confuse biblical and Qur’anic passages, and use a
terminologically simplified Trinitarian vocabulary.

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76 See Arabic section 41 in this thesis.
77 For further terminological differences compare and contrast Arabic (60) and (69) with Syriac
(22) and (25); Putman, 183.
Samir’s critical edition of the Arabic text is justified considering the fact that on several occasions Louis Cheikho’s edition of the Arabic text is insufficient and inaccurate. For instance, Louis Cheikho, in the incipit of his Arabic edition of the text, does not include the final section. In its totality, the incipit states,

المحاوراة الدينية التي جرت بين المهدي أمير المؤمنين وطيماثوس البطريرك النسطوري في القرن الثامن بعد المسيح قد ترجمت حديثاً من اللغة السريانية إلى العربية،

which translates as, “The Religious Debate, Which Took Place between al-Mahdī, the Emir of the Believers, and Catholicos Timothy, the Nestorian Patriarch, in the 8th Century after Christ: Recently Translated from Syriac to Arabic.” However, in Cheikho’s version of the Arabic text the line of text, which reads, “Recently Translated from Syriac to Arabic” is not included. On several occasions, Cheikho seemingly deliberately omitted sections of the text where Timothy honors and respects Muhammad. For example in Arabic (164), which reads,

And as the Prophet Moses did with the sons of Israel, who had made a calf of gold and worshipped it, that is to say he killed (them) with the sword and destroyed all those who worshipped the calf; likewise, Muhammad did as well when he exhibited his zeal on behalf of the Creator (May the Most High be praised), whom he loved and honored more than himself, his tribe, and the sons of his nation.

78 Ibid., 175-176.

79 The Arabic literally says “the zeal,” but it is referring back to the phrase, “غيرة محمد تشبه غيرة موسى وآباهيم” therefore it has been translated as, “his zeal.”

80 See Arabic section 164 in this thesis.
Cheikho omitted the phrase “whom he loved and honored more than himself, his tribe, and the sons of his nation.”\textsuperscript{81} Samir also made several stylistic and grammatical corrections and alterations to Cheikho’s edition as well.\textsuperscript{82}

However, Samir’s critical edition of the Arabic text, as it appears in Hans Putman’s \textit{L’Église et l’islam sous Timothée I (780-823)}, is in certain ways lacking and difficult to properly utilize. Samir’s edition lacks detailed descriptions of the manuscripts he consulted in creating his critical edition. In his edition, Samir makes several changes, corrections, and comparisons to the previous version of the text; however, his critical edition does not equip the reader of the text with the proper information to accurately navigate his additions to the text. Regardless, this relative shortcoming does not hinder a proper understanding of the Arabic text.

\textsuperscript{81} For more information on Cheikho’s omissions, see Putman, 185-186.
\textsuperscript{82} For more detail on the stylistic and grammatical corrections of Samir, see Putman, 186-187.
The Contents of the Debate

The Sequence of the Discussion

The debate between Timothy and al-Mahdī covers a wide-variety of topics. The dialogue begins with a substantial discussion on the character of Jesus Christ as seen from both a Christian and Muslim perspective. Al-Mahdī initiated the debate by stating, “Oh Catholicos, it is not befitting for a man like you, knowledgeable and possessing experience, to say about God Most High that he took a woman and begat from her a son.”83 Timothy responds by attempting to differentiate between the eternal and temporal births of Jesus, by using several analogies taken from nature. Next, the debate logically progresses to a discussion of the Virgin Mary. The major disagreement between the two interlocutors is not the possibility of the virgin birth, but the perpetual virginity of Mary, which Timothy supports and al-Mahdī rejects. Like the previous topic, Timothy uses several analogies to support his argument. In addition to several biblical examples, which support the possibility of birth devoid of damage to the bearer, Timothy uses parallels taken from nature, such as the production of fruits from trees and scents from flowers.84

Quite early in the debate, the philosophical education of Timothy becomes evident. Timothy uses both philosophical and theological arguments throughout

83 See Arabic section 3 in this thesis.
84 Ibid., 19.
his debate with al-Mahdī. The discussion continues regarding Jesus’ simultaneous existence as both a man and God. For al-Mahdī, the dual nature of Jesus was unacceptable and the fact that he frequently returns to this issue represents his continued skepticism of Timothy’s arguments regarding this topic.

After Timothy and al-Mahdī had felt one another out, al-Mahdī then defended the Islamic view of Jesus using biblical references. Timothy and al-Mahdī discuss John 20:17, which states, “Surely I will go to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.”85 For al-Mahdī, this verse represents a sort of schizophrenia regarding Jesus. Al-Mahdī then asks, “How is it possible that the spirit begets, since it does not possess organs of procreation?”86 This question is in reference to the Trinity. The initial discussion sequentially and segmentally built up to a comprehensive argument regarding the Trinity. The discussion parallels the various church councils, which only over an extended period of time, comprehensively defined the Trinity. Timothy continually emphasizes that al-Mahdī, which implies all Muslims, did not properly understand the hypostatic nature of Jesus.

The previous sections of the debate coalesced when al-Mahdī asks Timothy, “Do you believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit?”87 Timothy labored quite extensively to show that he believed in the demonstrable possibility of the hypostatic nature of Jesus. He used multiple analogies taken from the Bible.

85 Ibid., 31.
86 Ibid., 35.
87 Ibid., 38.
He quotes several passages from Psalms, Isaiah, John, and Matthew. Again, Timothy does not limit himself to a theological justification of the Trinity; he also used several philosophical illustrations as well. However, al-Mahdī shows a continual disapproval of the Trinity. Following Timothy’s analogies regarding the Trinity, al-Mahdī asks, “And how is the Son not the Spirit and the Spirit not the Son?” The discussion of the Trinity ends with neither interlocutor being adequately persuaded by the other.

After discussing the Trinity, Timothy and al-Mahdī shift the topic of conversation to more practical issues, namely: circumcision, baptism, and prayer. Al-Mahdī seems perplexed as to why Christians do not follow certain aspects of Jewish Law, particularly circumcision. For example, al-Mahdī stated, “Why then, are you not circumcised? If your leader and guide, Jesus Christ, had been circumcised, then it obliges you by necessity to be circumcised as well.” Timothy answers this question by explaining how Christ abolished certain Jewish practices, such as circumcision, through his abrogation of the Torah. In Timothy’s mind, Jesus was the realization and embodiment of Jewish Law; consequently, the physical act of circumcision found in the Old Testament prefigured the spiritual circumcision, i.e. baptism, found in the New Testament. Al-Mahdī then asked Timothy whether or not Jesus prayed and in what direction had he prayed? Timothy confirms that Jesus had prayed and that he prayed in the direction of the east. The section revolving around circumcision, baptism, and prayer is very

88 Ibid., 47-56.
89 Ibid., 59.
90 Ibid., 76.
91 Ibid., 84-88.
important when distinguishing how Timothy and al-Mahdī perceived God. Al-Mahdī’s line of questing represents an overt admonishment of the Christian belief in the Incarnation and Christian anthropomorphism of God. The crux of the issue was not whether circumcision or baptism was required or whether Jesus prayed in the direction of the east rather than the west, but that Jesus engaged in the human and earthly acts of circumcision, baptism, and prayer. In al-Mahdī’s eyes, God does not need to be circumcised or baptized or pray in the direction of the east. In essence, al-Mahdī insinuated that Christians not only improperly worshiped God, but that they were not true followers of Jesus either.

After that, al-Mahdī segued into the topic of Muhammad’s prophethood. Al-Mahdī states, “What is the reason that you accept Christ and the Gospel from the testimony of the Torah and of the (Books) of the Prophets and you do not accept the testimony of Christ and the Gospel regarding Muhammad (Peace be upon him)?” In response to this question, Timothy defended his belief in Christ’s birth, death, resurrection, and second coming, largely based upon prophecies found in Isaiah, Psalms, and Daniel. Then al-Mahdī suggested that the Paraclete, which is referenced in the New Testament, was Muhammad. After determining that the Paraclete is the Spirit of God, which created the heavens and the earth and dwelt with the Apostles after the death of Jesus, Timothy concluded

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92 Ibid., 92.
93 Ibid., 93-101.
94 The Paraclete is an epithet given to the Holy Spirit throughout the New Testament. The word Paraclete comes from the Greek word παράκλητος often translated as, “Comforter.” For passages concerning the Paraclete, see Jn. 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7.
that it is impossible that Muhammad was the Paraclete.\textsuperscript{95} After a short discussion on the possible corruption of the Bible, al-Mahdī returned to another biblical passage, which he believed foresaw the coming of Muhammad. Al-Mahdī asked, “Who is the one who is said to have been seen riding a camel?”\textsuperscript{96} Timothy recognized that al-Mahdī was referring to a prophecy found in Isaiah, which reads, “I saw a pair of cavalrymen, one riding a donkey, and one riding a camel.”\textsuperscript{97} Al-Mahdī believed the rider on the donkey to be Jesus and the rider on the camel to be Muhammad. Timothy believed the rider on the donkey to be Darius the Mede and the rider on the camel to be Cyrus the Persian.\textsuperscript{98} Al-Mahdī’s line of questing illustrated that, by the time this debate took place, Muslims had begun to use biblical passages and references when justifying their belief in the prophethood of Muhammad.

As a result of his renunciations of the prophethood of Muhammad, next Timothy demonstrates his diplomatic skills. Al-Mahdī asked, “What do you say about Muhammad?”\textsuperscript{99} Timothy responds by chronicling the good deeds of Muhammad regarding his enthusiasm for monotheism. Timothy claimed that Muhammad not only deserved the praise of all mankind, but that Muhammad displayed a religious zeal like that of Moses and Abraham; Timothy even stated, “Muhammad had followed in the path of the prophets.” He concluded that

\textsuperscript{95} See Arabic sections 102-121 in this thesis.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., 134.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., 135.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., 134-137.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., 158.
Muhammad was honored by God.\textsuperscript{100}

The debate then transitions to the topic of the death of Jesus on the cross. Al-Mahdī initiated the discussion by asking, “Why do you worship the cross?”\textsuperscript{101} Again, this section revolves around the divergent Christian and Islamic perceptions of Jesus and God. In al-Mahdī’s view of God, not only is God not a man, but surely he did not die on the cross. Al-Mahdī is criticizing what he saw as a Christian paradox. If Jesus was God, as Christians believe, then he cannot die because God is eternal. He emphasized the fact that the Jews overpowered him and facilitated his crucifixion. Al-Mahdī emphasized throughout the debate that Jesus prayed, was baptized, and was able to be crucified, although he was not actually crucified in the Islamic tradition, because he wanted to emphasize that Jesus Christ was absolutely man and absolutely not an incarnation of God. In response to this, Timothy uses both biblical and Qur’ānic passages to defend his belief in the death and resurrection of Christ. He quotes numerous passages from both the Old and New Testaments as well as passages from Sūrat an-Nisā’, Sūrat Maryam, and Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān.\textsuperscript{102} Overall, the interlocutors did not see eye to eye. Timothy argued from the perspective that Jesus was both man and God, while al-Mahdī argued from the perspective that Jesus was a man, who belonged in the line of the biblical prophets. The concepts of God and Jesus held by both Timothy and al-Mahdī were so divergent that neither of their arguments realistically affected the others.

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 158-171.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 175.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., 175-216.
Timothy and al-Mahdī quickly discuss the abrogation of the Old Testament by the New Testament and then shift the discussion back to the topic of the prophethood of Muhammad. Al-Mahdī again uses biblical passages to support his belief in Muhammad’s prophethood. He stated,

Did Moses (Peace be upon him) not say publicly to the children of Israel, in Deuteronomy: ‘Surely the Lord will raise for you a prophet like me from amongst your brothers.’103 And who are the brothers of the children of Israel other than the Ishmaelites and who had been a prophet like Moses other than Muhammad?104

Al-Mahdī clearly believed this biblical passage referred to Muhammad. However, Timothy gave an interesting ethnological rebuttal to al-Mahdī’s suggested interpretation of the biblical passage.105 Al-Mahdī’s return to this issue marks the importance of biblical interpretation in establishing the prophethood of Muhammad. Timothy also corroborated his ethnological rebuttal with several other biblical passages, notably sections revolving around the character of John the Baptist as seen in Luke 1:13-18 and 3:16, Jn. 1:129, and Matt 3:11.

Timothy and al-Mahdī end their debate with a discussion on the integrity of the Old and New Testaments, specifically regarding the issue of whether or not the Bible foresaw the coming of Muhammad. Al-Mahdī initiated this discussion by stating, “If you had not changed the Torah and the Gospel, you would have seen Muhammad along with the other prophets.”106 Timothy quoted multiple

103 Deut. 28:18
104 See Arabic section 228 in this thesis.
105 Ibid., 229-237.
106 Ibid., 248.
biblical passages in an attempt to show a logical congruity between the teachings of the Old and New Testaments. In his conclusion, in regards to the prophethood of Muhammad, Timothy stated, “If the name of Muhammad was found in our books, we would have awaited with impatience his coming, as we desired to receive the ones of whom the prophets had written.”

The somewhat chaotic organization and sequence in the topics of the debate, seemingly support the possibility that this debate actually occurred and was written from memory by Timothy himself. The debate shifts back and forth between topics in a rather unorganized manner. The chaotic style and organization can be found in both the Syriac and the Arabic versions of the debate. The organization of this debate reflects a recollection of a discussion not an artificial recreation of an apologetical work.

The Use of Islamic and Qur’anic Terminology in the Debate

A striking feature of the Arabic version of the debate is the repeated use of Islamic and Qur’anic terminology. This feature is important in determining the degree to which the language of the Qur’an had affected the Arabic speaking Christian communities. The Arabic version of the debate indicates that, by the first half of the 9th century, there existed a normative use of the vocabulary of Qur’an in the writings of Arabic speaking Christians. Take for instance Arabic (56), which discusses the Apostles of Jesus. The Arabic word used in this section is حواريين, which means “Apostles.” This word is used in the Qur’an when

107 Ibid., 251-257.
108 Ibid., 268.
describing the Apostles of Jesus.\textsuperscript{109} In the same section, Arabic (56), the Arabic text uses the verb عَرَّجْ, when referring to Jesus’ ascension to heaven. Muhammad’s midnight journey (الإسراء) to Jerusalem, which is indicated in Sūrat Baṇī Isrā’īl 17:1 is related in Islamic sources to a journey he made to heaven known as المَعْرَاج meaning “the ascension.” Both words share a common root and meaning. The Arabic translator used an Islamic specific word to denote Jesus’ ascension to heaven. In another example, the Arabic name for Jesus used throughout the text is عِيسَى, which is the Qur’ānic name for Jesus. This term can be found over 20 times throughout the Qur’ān. Typically, Arabic speaking Christians refer to Jesus by the name يسوع, which reflects the Syriac يُصُوَّص. Similar to the Arabic term used for Apostles, the Arabic translator used another Qur’ānic word when referring to Christians. In Arabic (122), the term النصارى is used. This is the specific word used in the Qur’ān when referring to the Christians.\textsuperscript{110} Finally, the Arabic text uses the root نَزَّل when referring to the revelation of the Bible. This can be seen in Arabic (220). This usage is important due to the fact that the same root is used self-referentially throughout the Qur’ān when describing its revealed nature.\textsuperscript{111} These are clear examples indicating that Qur’ānic and Islamic terminology, specifically regarding Christians and Christian concepts, were being used by Arabic speaking Christians at that time.

\textsuperscript{109} For more information on the term حواريين, see Qur’ānic verses: 3: 52; 5:111; 5:112; and 61:14.


\textsuperscript{111} For more information on this topic, see Stefan Wild, Self-Referentiality in the Qur'ān. Diskurse der Arabistik, Bd. 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).
Part 2: An Arabic-to-English Translation of the Debate
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b) If the name of Muhammad was found in our books, we would have awaited him more than we awaited the Jewish Messiah.

Conclusion
The Religious Dialogue, Which Took Place between al-Mahdī, the Emir of the Believers, and Catholicos Timothy, the Nestorian Patriarch, in the 8th Century after Christ: Recently Translated from Syriac to Arabic

المحارسة الدينية التي جرت بين المهدي أمير المؤمنين وطيماثاوس الجاثليق الباطيرك النسطوري في القرن الثامن بعد المسيح:

قد ترجمت حديثاً من اللغة السريانية إلى العربية112

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112 In Louis Cheikho’s edition of the text, which can be found in *al-Machriq* XIX (1921), 359-374 and 408-418 has been omitted.
Introduction

المقدمة

1. The abovementioned Timothy wrote to his friend a letter; he informs him in it about the dialogue, which took place between him and the Emir of the Believers, and at the end of this letter, he stated this:

١ - طيماثاوس المذكور كتب إلى صديقه رسالة يخبره بها عن المحاورة التي جرت بينه وبين أمير المؤمنين. وفي نهاية هذه الرسالة يقول هكذا:

2. We had entered before these days into the presence of our victorious King and when we spoke about the divine nature and its eternality, the King said to us what we had never heard from him before, which is:

٢ - إننا قد دخلنا قبل هؤلاء الأيام إلى حضرة ملكنا المظفر. وعندما تكلمنا عن الطبيعة الإلهية وأزليتها، قال لنا الملك ما لم نسمعه منه قط، وهو:
The First Section: Christ, the Word of God, the Incarnated for Our Salvation

الباب الأول: المسيح كلمة الله المتجسد لخلاصنا

Introduction

المقدمة

3. “Oh Catholicos, it is not befitting for a man like you, knowledgeable and possessing experience, to say about God Most High ‘that he took a woman and begat from her a son.’”

4. Then we answered saying: “Oh King, lover of God, who is that who offered such a blasphemy about God (May he be exalted and majestified)?”

5. Then, at the moment, the victorious King said to me: “So what do you, therefore, say about Christ? Who is he?”

6. Then we answered the King saying: “Indeed, Christ is the Word of God, which appeared in the flesh for the salvation of the world.”

113 The Qur’ānic rejection of God siring a son can be seen in Q 6:101.
1. Christ, the Son of God

7. Then our victorious King asked me: “Do you not believe that Christ is the Son of God?”

8. Then I said: “Indeed, we believe that without doubt. Because, accordingly, we learned from Christ himself, since it is written about him in the Gospel, the Torah, and the (Books) of the Prophets that he is the Son of God. But his birth is not like the bodily birth, rather it is a miraculous birth, beyond the comprehension of the mind and description of the tongue, as is befitting for the divine birth.”

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114 The Arabic term إنجيل is derived from the Greek term Ευαγγέλιον, meaning “Gospel.”

115 The Arabic term أنبياء literally carries the meaning of “prophets”, but contextually it implies the Books of the Prophets, referring to the later books of the Old Testament.

116 The Syriac rendering of this clause, which reads، $\text{ܡܢܐ \text{ܐܟܚܕܐ \Usu.F \text{ܗܘܢܐ \text{ܘܡܢ \text{ܘܡܥܠܝ}}}$، can be translated as, “that is higher and more sublime than intellect as well as reason.” The original Syriac word طلاسة carries a similar meaning to the Greek λογος, rather than the Arabic translation “description of the tongue.”
9. Then our victorious King said: “How is that?”

9 - فقال ملكنا المظفر: كيف ذلك؟

10. Then we said: “If Christ is the Son born before the ages\textsuperscript{117} then we are not able to examine this birth nor to comprehend it, because God is incomprehensible in all his attributes;

10 - فقلنا: إن المسيح هو ابن ومولود قبل الدهور. فلا نستطيع أن نفحص أن نفحص عن هذه الولادة، ولا أن ندُرّكها. لأن الله غير مُدرك في جميع صفاته.

11. However, we may offer a parallel taken from nature: So, as rays are born of the sun and the word of the soul, thus Christ, in that he is the Word of God, was born of the Father before all ages.\textsuperscript{118}

11 - ولكن نأتي ماولكن، بيئاً من الطبيعة: فكما تُلد الأشعة من الشمس، والكلمة من النفس؛ هكذا المسيح، بما أنه كلمة الله، ولد من الأب قبل الدهور.

2. Christ, Son of the Virgin Mary

\textsuperscript{117} It is interesting to compare the Syriac and Arabic articulations of the eternality of the birth of Christ. In the original Syriac version, the phrase reads اخليص مختصرة translated as, “beyond the times” while in the Arabic قبل الدهور can be translated as, “before the ages.” Both versions maintain a plural usage of time when referring to the eternality of the birth of Christ. The conception of time in both the original Syriac and the Arabic translation reflect a Greek influence. Both the Syriac and Arabic phrases “beyond the times” and “before the ages” are attempting to mimic the meaning of the Greek word αἰών, which can be translated into English as “age” or “epoch.” However, English usually renders the phrase as, “before all time,” which represents time singularly.

\textsuperscript{118} After the phrase “before all time,” the Syriac text includes the phrase كلاه حضرت translated as, “as well as before all worlds.” Again the Syriac term حلع or “worlds” is attempting to assert a meaning similar to the Greek αἰών.
12. Then our victorious King said to me: “Do you not say that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary?”

13. We answered saying: “Indeed, we say and confess that Christ was born of the Father, in that he is his Word, and he was born of the Virgin Mary, in that he is a human being; and his birth from the Father is eternal, before all ages, and his birth from Mary is temporal, without a father or marriage, and without the virginity of his mother being defiled.”

a) How had Mary remained a virgin after the birth?

14. Then our King, lover of God, said to me: “Surely the birth of Christ from Mary, without marriage, is written and confirmed, but how was this birth able to occur without the virginity of the bearer being defiled?”

119 In this passage, the Arabic word انثلام can be translated as “defilement.” This Arabic term is used to represent the Syriac passive participle شرّاء, which can be translated as “broken” or “loosened.”
15. Then we answered the King and we said: “Surely this matter, regarding nature, is impossible and inconceivable to occur without the virginity being defiled; moreover, neither is it possible that a man be born, nor conceived naturally without the union\textsuperscript{120} of a man with a woman.

16. However, regarding the omnipotence of the Creator of nature, this is possible. That is to say, that a virgin begets without her virginity being defiled, because God (May he be praised) is Master of everything, and for him nothing is difficult.\textsuperscript{121}

b) Proof of such a possibility from the Book\textsuperscript{122} and from nature

17. We have proof for such in the Book and in nature. These clarify for us that the birth of a man is possible without defiling the virginity of the bearer:

\textsuperscript{120} Often times throughout the Syriac text, when speaking of the Virgin Mary and sexually related terminology, Timothy uses euphemistic terms. For example, he uses the Syriac term \textit{ܙܘܘܓܐ}, which means “marriage” or “wedlock” to imply sexual relations and coitus, rather than using more sexually explicit terminology.

\textsuperscript{121} Between paragraphs 16 and 17, there is a small statement from al-Mahdī, which has been omitted from the Arabic text. Mingana translates the Syriac as, “Then the King said: That a man can be born without marital intercourse is borne out of the example of Adam, who was fashioned by God from earth without any marital intercourse, but that a man can be born without breaking his mother’s virginal seals we have no proof, either from Book nor from nature.”

\textsuperscript{122} The word الكتاب here is used to denote the entire Bible, both the Old and New Testament.
18. First, from the book: It had been written that Eve had been produced from the side of Adam without breaking that rib and Christ (Peace be upon him) had ascended to heaven without the firmament being divided; so, in such a way, the Virgin Mary begat her Son without her virginity being defiled and without being harmed.

19. Second, from nature: So, surely fruits are produced by the trees, vision by the eye, and scents by the flowers, without being divided and being separated from each other. Likewise, rays are born from the sun.

20. For in this manner, Christ had been born of Mary without her virginity being defiled. And just as his eternal birth exceeds rationality, likewise, his temporal birth is miraculous.”

123 Gen. 2:21-22.

124 Here, the translator of the Arabic text follows the Islamic practice of stating the Arabic phrase عليه السلام, which means “Peace be upon him” after uttering the name of a messenger of God.
3. Christ is One in Two Natures

3 - المسيح واحد من طبيعتين

21. Then our King said to me: “How is that? Was the Eternal born temporally?”

٢١ - فقال لي ملكنا: كيف ذلك، أزلي وقال زمنيا؟

22. Then we answered saying: “Indeed, Christ, not in that he is eternal was he born of Mary, rather in that he is temporal and human.”

٢٢ - فجاوينا قائلين: إن المسيح، ليس بما أنه أزلي مولودًا من مريم، بل بما أنه زمني وبشري.

a) Is Christ eternal or temporal?

أ - هل المسيح أزلي أم زمني؟

23. So, at that moment, our victorious King said to me: “Then Christ, therefore, is two. The one is temporal and the other is eternal. So, the eternal is God from God, according to your saying, and the temporal is a man from Mary?”

٢٣ - فحينئذ قال لي ملكنا المظفر: فالمسيح إذا، هو أثنان: الواحد زمنيًا والآخر أزليًا. فالأزلي هو إله من إله حسب قولك، والزمني هو إنسان من مريم.
24. Then we answered saying: “Oh King, surely there is neither two Christs nor two sons, rather Christ is one and the Son one, possessing two natures, divine and human, because the Word of God took on a human body and became a man.”

25. With this, the King said: “Indeed, Christ is two, the one created and fashioned and the other is not so.”

26. So, I said to him: “Surely, we affirm that Christ possesses two natures distinct from one another, but we also confess and affirm that he, being of those two natures, is to be known as one Christ, and one Son.”

b) Is Christ created or uncreated?

ب - هل المسيح مخلوق أم غير مخلوق؟

125 Hans Putman’s French rendering of this clause is quite clarifying. Putman states, “O Souverain, il n’y a pas deux Christ, ni deux Fils, mais un seul Christ et un seul Fils,” which can be translated into English as, “Oh King, there are not two Christs, nor two Sons, but one sole Christ, and one sole Son.”

126 Appeared as ذى in MS 662.

127 Appeared as عندما in MS 662.
c) Is Christ one or two?

ت - هل المسيح واحد أم اثنان؟

27. And our King answered us saying: “So, if Christ was one, he was not two; and if he was two, he was not one.”

27 - وملكنا جاوبنا قائلًا: فإن كان المسيح واحدًا، ليس باثنين. وإن كان اثنين، ليس بواحد.

28. However, we answered him, regarding that, with this proof: “Namely, just as a man is one, regarding composition and unity, he is also two, regarding the soul and the body (those are two distinct natures: one of the two is composed and perceptible, while the other is simple and imperceptible). Likewise, the Word of God, by its incarnation, became a possessor of two distinct natures, one of the two divine and the other human, as we said;128

28 - أمّا نحن، جاوبنا عليه ذلك بهذا البرهان، وهو: كما أن الإنسان هو واحد من جهة التركيب والإتحاد، وهو اثنان129 أيضاً من جهة النفس والجسد (الذين هما طبيعتان مميّزتان، احدهما مركبة ومنظورة، والأخرى بسيطة غير منظورة)، هكذا كلمة الله بتجسده صار ذا طبيعتين مميّزتين، إحداهما إلهيّة والأخرى إنسانيّة، كما قلنا.

29. However, he continues to be one Messiah and one Son, on account of the oneness of his persona.”130

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128 Sections 28 and 29 of the Arabic text represent a redacted form of the original Syriac. The Syriac text has been condensed and certain illustrations have been removed.

129 Appeared as اثنان in MS 662.

130 The Arabic term شخص is used to represent the orginal Syriac term ناشد، which in turn is a Syriac rendering of the Greek term πρωσωπον. For this reason the Arabic has been translated as “persona” rather than simply as “person.”
4. Christ is the Son of God, Not His Slave

a) The first objection and its response

30. Then our victorious King said to me: “Did Jesus (Peace be upon him) not say, ‘Surely I will return to my God and your God?’”

31. And we answered saying: “Verily, our Savior truly brought this verse, but you find another verse written before it, which deserves mentioning, namely: ‘Surely I will go to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God?’”

b) The second objection and its response

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131 Jn. 20:17.
32. Then our King said: “Surely, one finds a contradiction here. How can that be? So, if he is his Father, he is not his God, and if he is his God, he is not his Son.”

33. And we answered him saying: “Oh King, lover of God, one does not find contradiction here at all. Because, in that he is his Father by nature, he is not his God by nature, and in that he is his God by nature, he is not his Father by nature, rather he is his Father by divine nature insofar as he begat him eternally, like the birth of rays by the sun and the word by the soul. And he is also his God, in view of his human nature, insofar as he was born of Mary temporally.

34. Therefore, Christ is one, and he possesses two bearers; one of the two is eternal, and the other is temporal.”

Conclusion: Christ Was Born of the Holy Spirit

132 Sections 33 and 34 represent a significant reduction of the original Syriac text. Various illustrative examples and analogies have been removed.
35. Then our victorious King said to me: "How is it possible that the Spirit begets, since it does not possess organs of procreation?"

36. We answered him: "How is it possible that the Spirit creates, since it does not possess organs of effectuation? So, as he fashioned creation,\textsuperscript{133} without these organs, in the same way he begat the Word without organs of procreation.

37. And just as the sun begets rays of light without organs of effectuation, in such a way - God (May he be exalted and majestified) is able to beget and create, although he is a simple, pure, and non-composed spirit; thus, he begets the Son, and the Spirit emanates from his essence, just as heat is emanated from the sun."

\textsuperscript{133} The Arabic phrase, خلق البرايا, is translated above as, “fashioned creation;” however, the phrase literally means “created creation.”
The Second Section: The Holy Trinity

الثاني

Introduction

المقدّمة

38. Then our King said to me: “Do you believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit?”

٨٣ - ثمّ قال لي ملكنا: أتؤمن بالآب والابن والروح القدس؟


٩٣ - فجاوبته: نعم!

1. Three Hypostases, and Not Three Gods

١ - ثلاثة اقانيم ولا ثلاثة آلهة

Introduction

المقدّمة

40. Then he said to me: “So, surely you, therefore, believe and confess in three gods.”

٤٠ - فقال لي: فإنّك أدا تؤمن وتعتقد بثلاثة آلهة.
41. Then we answered him saying: “Oh King, surely confessing in these three names is confessing in three hypostases.\(^{134}\) I mean the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: these are one God, one nature, and one essence. This we believe and confess, according to what Jesus\(^{135}\) (Peace be upon him) clearly taught us, and we learned that also from the prophets.

\(^{134}\) The Arabic term أقانيم is a rendering of the original Syriac<Persons>, which was very misleadingly translated by Alphonse Mingana as “Persons.” This translation of أقانيم throughout the medieval period was often wrongfully translated by Muslim scholars as أشخاص.

\(^{135}\) Here the translator of the Arabic text uses the Islamic and Qur’anic name عيسى for Jesus, instead of using the Arabic name يسوع, which is a direct reflection of the Syriac name يسوع. 

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42. We have proof of this in the creations. Just as our King, lover of God, is one with his word and with his spirit without being three kings and it is not possible that his word and his spirit be separated from him, nor that he be called a king without his word and his spirit; in such a way, God Most High is one with his Word and his Spirit, without being three gods, insofar, as it is not possible that the Word and the Spirit be separated from him.
43. Likewise, the sun, with its rays and its heat, is one and is not three suns.”

٣٤ - كذا الشمس، مع أشعّتھا وحرارتها، هي واحدة وليس بثلاثة شموس.

44. At that moment, the King said to me: “Can the Word and the Spirit be separated from God?”

٤٤ - حينئذ قال لي الملك: هل يفصل الكلمة والروح من الله؟

45. Then we answered him: “God forbid, never! Just as the rays and the heat are not separated from the sun, ever, in such a way, the Word of God and his Spirit are not separated from him, ever. And, just as if the rays of the sun and its heat were separated from it, its light and heat will cease, and it is not possible to be called a sun. Likewise, God (May he be praised), if the Word and Spirit were separated from him, would be non-speaking and non-living.

٥٤ - فجاوبناه: وكلا حاشاً وكلا، فكما أنّ الأشعة والحرارة لا تنفصلان من الشمس قطعاً، هكذا كلمة الله وروحه لا يفصلان منه ابداً. وكما أنه، إذا ا芬صلت أشعّة الشمس وحرارتها منها، يزول نورها وحرارتها، ولا يمكن أن تدعي شمساً؛ هكذا الله سبحانه، إذا انفصل منه الكلمة والروح، يكون لا ناطقاً ولا حياً.

46. As for the speaker of such, surely one may not say that he is deprived of life and spirit, for if one would dare to say such about God, that he existed at a certain time without the Word and the Spirit, therefore, he would have blasphemed. Because the Word was with God (May he be praised), from time

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136 After section 43, in the Syriac, Timothy and al-Mahdī further discuss the status of the Word and Spirit.

137 Here, Timothy is using the figurative speech of Epiphanius. For more information, see Sweetman, above n 21, 75.
immemorial, was born as a source of speech. And, in the same way, the Spirit emanates from him eternally as a source of life.”

b) Proof from the Book

47. And our King said to me: “Do you have scriptural evidences that the Word and the Spirit were with God from time immemorial?”

48. Then we answered him saying: “We have, regarding that, various evidences.

a. From the Books of the Prophets:

49. First, from the Books of the Prophets:

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138 This idiomatic phrase, “from time immemorial,” has been used to represent the Arabic phrase “مدة الأزل,” which literally means “from the eternity,” to avoid awkwardness.
50. The Prophet David said: ‘By the Word of the Lord the heavens were made, and by the breath\(^{139}\) of his mouth all its soldiers.’\(^{140}\) He also said: ‘I praise the Word of God.’\(^{141}\) Subsequently, when teaching of the resurrection of the dead, he says: ‘You send your spirit, therefore, you create, and you will renew the face of the earth.’\(^{142}\) Here the Prophet David would not glorify nor praise creation, nor would he call the created and the fashioned, creator and fashioner. In another place, he speaks about the Word of God that it has no beginning and no end, when he says: ‘Forever, Oh Lord, your immutable Word is in heaven.’\(^{143}\)

51. And likewise, the Prophet Isaiah also, like David, speaks about the Word of God, since he says: ‘Grass dries, flowers wilt, but the Word of our God persists forever.’\(^ {144}\)

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\(^{139}\) Timothy used the Arabic term روح meaning “breath” in this particular Biblical verse; however, in many modern translations, the Arabic word نسمة is used to denote breath.

\(^{140}\) Ps. 33:6.

\(^{141}\) Ps. 56:5.

\(^{142}\) Ps. 104:30.

\(^{143}\) Ps. 119:89; In Samir’s edition of the text, the verse is listed as Ps. 118:89.

\(^{144}\) Isa. 40:8.
b. From the Holy Gospel:

52. Second, from the Holy Gospel: ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.’ Next, it speaks about the Spirit in such a way: ‘In him was the life and the life was the light of mankind.’ I mean, in God was the Word and the life; that is to say, the spirit.

53. However, its expression ‘the Word was,’ does not indicate that it (the Word) has a beginning, but means that it (the Word) was before all ages. Then, by the expression “the Word” one does not indicate its creation, but rather its eternality, because it is not created.

54. And since the Spirit is the life and the life exists in God, from time immemorial, then the Spirit exists, therefore, in God eternally and the Spirit of God, subsequently, is the life and the light for mankind.

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145 Jn. 1:1.
146 Jn. 1:4.
55. Then, Jesus (Peace be upon him), when he used to speak to his Father, said: ‘Now glorify me, Oh Father, with that glory, which I had with you before the creation of the world.’

56. And when he ascended to heaven, he ordered the apostles saying: ‘Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.’

Summary

147 Jn. 17:5.

148 The Arabic term خلق can literally be translated as, “created things” or “creations” it has been singularized to follow the normative English convention.

149 The Arabic term used for ascension is عرج; interestingly, Muhammad’s midnight journey discussed in Sūrat Banī Isrā’īl 17:1 is described in Islamic sources as المعراج meaning “the ascension.” Both words share a common root and meaning.

150 The Arabic term used for Apostles is حواريين, which is the common Qur’ānic term for Apostles.

151 Mt. 28:19.

152 The Arabic term مخلوقات is plural for “created things” as before its has been singularized.
57. Just as logicians do not count things of a different nature with each other, (like the sun, stone, horse, pearl, copper, etc.), but they count, for example, three pearls with each other, or three stars, which are equal with each other in nature and resemble each other in everything; in such a way, Christ would not have been able to count the Word and the Spirit with God, if he had not known that the two were equal in nature [to him].

58. Otherwise, how could he have been able to render equal to God, in honor and royal power, that which is not God by nature? And how would he associate, in essence, that which is temporal with the eternal? Because, it is not slaves that participate in royal honor, but sons.”

2. Three Distinct Hypostases without Separation
59. Then our King said: “What type of distinction does one find between the Son and the Spirit? And how is the Son not the Spirit and the Spirit not the Son given that one does not find a difference with God whether he be a generator or emanator? Because you said: ‘That he is simple and not composed.’”

60. Then we answered him saying: “Oh King, surely, regarding the essence of the hypostases, one does not find between them any distinction. However, regarding their relationship to each other, one finds this distinction. That is to say that one possesses a quality that is not born, and the other that is born, and the other that is emanated.
61. So, the Father is the source of both the Son and Holy Spirit. From time immemorial, he begets the former and emanates the later and that is not through corporeal separation or disjunction, nor through means of birthing or emanative organs.

62. Nevertheless, God is neither composed nor corporeal. The separation and the members spoken of are attributed to bodies, and every body is constructed. So, therefore the separation and members are also specific to constructed and bodily things, whereas God is not so. So, therefore, it is not possible that the Most High be afflicted by some form of separation and division mentioned above.

b) An explanation of the idea through parallels from nature

63. And we have another comparison from nature: Which is that the soul bears the word and produces love without separation and without the means of organs. The love is distinct from the word, and the word is not the love.

\[156\] Appeared as فيلد in MS 662.
Likewise, the sun emanates light and heat without separation or appropriate organs; so, the light is born entirely of the whole sun and the heat emanates from the sphere of the sun in its entirety.

So, the word and the love are, in their entirety, present with the soul, while the light and the heat are, likewise, with the sun, and the light is not mixed with the heat, and the heat is not mixed with the light.

Likewise, this applies to the Word and the Spirit: the one is begotten, and the other is emanated from God the Father, not through separation and not through means of appropriate organs, but rather, in an incomprehensible and indefinable manner. Therefore, regarding their properties, the Son is not the Spirit, and the Spirit is not the Son.

Likewise, the scent and the flavor emanate from the apple, therefore, the scent does not emanate from a certain part of it and the flavor from another, rather both of the two emanate from the entire apple; so, therefore, the flavor is
not the scent, nor the scent the flavor. In such a way, the Son is begotten by the Father and the Spirit emanates from him, in an indefinable manner. I mean, the eternal produced from the eternal\textsuperscript{157} and the unproduced emanates from the unproduced.

\textsuperscript{157} The Arabic phrase من يخرج الأولي الأولي, is a rendering of the Syriac phrase م毛泽\textsubscript{أ} م毛泽\textsubscript{أ}, which simply means, “the eternal from the eternal.”

Conclusion

68. Therefore, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are not separated from each other, nor confused, nor mixed; they are differentiated in the hypostases and are equal in the nature, because God Most High is unique in essence and nature, while threefold in hypostases.”

3. Are the Three Hypostases, Therefore, Incarnated?
69. Then our King said to me: “If the hypostases were neither separated
nor divided one from the other, then, therefore, the Father and the Holy Spirit are
incarnated with the Word.”

أ - الرد الأول: مثال الكلمة المكتوبة

70. So, we answered saying: “Just as the word of the King when unified
(that is to say when written on the papyrus)\textsuperscript{159} is not to be said that his soul and
his intelligence are unified (that is to say are drawn on the papyrus); although, his
soul and his intelligence are not separated from the word. Likewise, the Word of
God took on a body, without separation or differentiation from the Father and the
Holy Spirit and it may not be said about the Father and the Holy Spirit that they
took on a body.

ب) The second response: the example of the pronounced word

\textsuperscript{158} In Samir’s edition of the text, the word appears as بقترحون which has been edited to its proper
form.

\textsuperscript{159} The Arabic word قرطاس is directly borrowed from Syriac. In George Kiraz’s \textit{A New Syriac
Primer}, he states, “The word ‘card’ shares a common ancestry with the English word
card. Both come from the Greek chartēs.” The word found its way into French, Italian, and
English by way its Latinized form charta meaning ‘leaf of papyrus’
71. And just like the word, which is born of the soul, is clothed with the voice by means of the vibrations of the air without separating from the soul and the intellect and it may not be said about the soul and the intellect that the voice clothes them. (For no one will ever say that: ‘I have heard the soul of so and so or the intellect of so and so,’ rather one will say: ‘I have heard the word of so and so,’ which is not far from the soul and from the intellect and which is not separated nor differentiated from them.) Likewise, the Word of God took on our flesh and he was not separated nor distanced from the Father and the Spirit, and it may not be said – ever – about the Father and the Spirit that they clothed themselves with a body together with the Word.”

71 - وكما أيضاً أنّ الكلمة التي تُتُلد من النفس تلبس الصوت بواسطة مفعولات الهواء، من دون أن يَنفصل من النفس والذهن. ولا يُقال عن النفس وعن الذهن إنّهما ليسا الصوت (إذ لا واحد يقول قطّ {إنني سمعتُ نفس فلان أو ذهن فلان}، بل يقول {إِمْسَعْتُ كلمة فلان}؛ التي ليست بعيدة عن النفس والذهن ولا تُنفصل وتتفرق منهما); كذا كلمة الله أَتَّخِذ جسدنا، ولا انفصل ولا ابتعد عن الأب والروح، ولا يقال قطّ عن الأب والروح إنّهما ليسا جسّاً مع الكلمة.
The Third Section: Christ, Our Leader and Our Guide

الباب الثالث: المسيح رئيسنا ومرشدنا

Introduction

المقدمة

72. And after we explained that, our King said to us: “Who is your leader and your guide?”

73. I answered him: “Verily, it is Jesus Christ (Peace be upon him).”

1. Why Are You Not Circumcised Like Your Guide?

1 - لماذا لا تختتنون مثل مرشدكم؟

74. Then the king asked me: “Had Christ been circumcised or not?”

75. So, I answered him: “Yes.”

160 Appeared as مختتننا in MS 662.
Then the king said to me: “Why then, are you not circumcised? If your leader and guide, Jesus Christ, had been circumcised, then it obliges you by necessity to be circumcised as well.”

The king said to me: “Why then, are you not circumcised? If your leader and guide, Jesus Christ, had been circumcised, then it obliges you by necessity to be circumcised as well.”

76. Then the king said to me: “Why then, are you not circumcised? If your leader and guide, Jesus Christ, had been circumcised, then it obliges you by necessity to be circumcised as well.”

a) Christ abolished circumcision through his baptism

٧٦ ـ فقال لي الملك: لماذا أنت لا تختن؟ إذا كان رئيتك ومرشتك يسوع المسيح قد اختن، فلزمك من الضرورة أن تختن أنت أيضاً.

77. I answered him saying: “Oh King, surely Jesus Christ had been circumcised and baptized as well. His circumcision occurred after eight days, according to the injunction161 of the law, and his baptism occurred nearly 30 years later. He abolished the circumcision through his baptism.162

٧٧ ـ فجاوبتُ قلناً: يا الملك، إن يسوع المسيح قد اختن واعتمد أيضاً، وخانته كانت بعد ثمانية أيام، حسب أمر الناموس، وعماده صار بعد ثلاثين سنة تقريباً، وأبطل الختانة بعماده.

78. Therefore, Christ observed the law, in its entirety, to attract the Jews toward salvation. However, I am not obliged to observe any law, but the Gospel. On account of that, even if Christ had been circumcised, I am not circumcised, rather I am baptized by the water and the Spirit163 like him and I believe in him. If Christ was baptized, therefore, it is a necessity that I adhere to baptism. And

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161 The Arabic phrase دناموسً فارغناً is a translation of the Syriac phrase دناموسً فارغناً, which was rightly translated by Mingana as, “the injunction of the law.”

162 Rom. 2:25-29; 4:9-12.

163 Mt. 5:17; Jn. 3:5.
through this I leave the shadow and the sign, and I follow the source and the truth.”

Falāmīshī ḥifṭūn al-nāmuṣ kullī ḍarjū bi-yiḥud ilā al-huwa. Wāna lāṣṭū māltzūma ṣan’
āḥifṭūn al-nāmuṣ, allā’ l-ʾinjīl. Lāʾil ʿallā fi ʾl-mishīh qad ʾaḫṭṭīn, ḍana la ʾaḫṭṭīn, bl ʿaḫṭṭīn
billa ṭeram wa rūḥu ṣālīḥu. Ṭaʿṣṣūd bihi. Wān al-mishīh ʿaḫṭṭīn, faḍl ṭarābīrā ṭalzmīnī bil-ʿamād; ṭabdīl,
ṭarābīr al-ḥamal wa ṭaʿṣṣūd al-ʾāṣil wa ṭaʿṣṣūd al-ḥaqqī̇ha.

b) Because circumcision is a sign for his baptism

b - ṭarābīr al-ḥamal ʿra ṭalzmānī

79. Then the King asked me: “How did Jesus (Peace be upon him) abolish circumcision? And what is the sign of which you speak about?”

79 - ṭam lāsīnī al-malik: kiffā bāṭlu bīswū (al-ʾilām al-salām) al-ḥamal? Wān ʾrāmū ṣan’?

80. We answered him: “Oh King, the Torah, in its entirety, was a symbol for the Gospel164 and the sacrifices, which were written in the law, were a symbol of the sacrifice for Christ.165 Furthermore, the priesthood and the high-priesthood166 of the law were a symbol of the priesthood of Christ and his high-priesthood, and the bodily circumcision was a symbol for his spiritual circumcision.

164 Rom. 10:4; Gal. 3:19; Heb. 8:5 and 13.
165 Heb. 9:15; 10:11.
166 The Arabic translator, by using the Arabic حبريّة, is attempting to reflect the orginal Syriac word ـحبريّةـ, which according to J. Payne Smith’s Compendious Syriac Dictionary means “priesthood.” The Arabic text, by juxtaposing the terms حبريّة al-nāmuṣ and حبريّة al-ʿamād, is attempting to reflect the Syriac text, which uses the terms حبريّة al-ʿamād and حبريّة al-ʿamād, which again have been justifiably translated by Mingana as “priesthood” and “high-priesthood.”
81. And as he abrogated the Torah by his Gospel, and the sacrifices by his sacrifice, and the high-priesthood of the law by his high-priesthood, in such a way, he had abolished circumcision which was fulfilled by the action of the hands of mankind by his circumcision (that is to say his baptism) which did not occur by the actions of the hands of mankind but by the power of the Holy Spirit. It (his baptism) is the mystery of the Kingdom of Heaven and of the resurrection of the deceased.”

c) The abolition of circumcision is not contrary to the law

82. So, our King said to me: “If Jesus (Peace be upon him) had abolished the law and all of its prescriptions, then, therefore, he was its enemy and antagonist, because antagonism is said of things which destroy each other.”
83. We answered him saying: “Just as the light of the stars is nullified by the light of the sun, and the childish acts by the acts of maturity, and the entire earthly kingdom by the heavenly kingdom, for that reason, it may not be said that the sun is opposed to the stars, or man to himself, or the Kingdom of God to the Kingdom of Man. Likewise, Jesus (Peace be upon him), when he abrogated the Mosaic Law with his Gospel was neither its antagonist nor its enemy.”

2. Why Do You Not Pray Toward Jerusalem Like Your Guide?

84. So, our King said to me: “From the birth of Jesus (Peace be upon him) to his ascension to heaven, where did he used to pray and worship? Was it not in the Holy House and toward Jerusalem?”

85. We responded to him: “Yes.”

86. So, the King said to me: “So why do you worship and pray to God in the direction of the east?”

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167 A similar sentiment can be found in 1 Cor. 13:11.
87. We answered him: “Oh King, surely true worship is that which is performed by mankind for God in the Kingdom of Heaven. And if the earthly paradise was a symbol of the heavenly garden, and the location of the garden was in the east, then, therefore, it is proper that we worship and pray toward the east, where the earthly paradise was, which was a symbol of the garden, as we said.”

3. How is Christ Your God, When He Prays and Worships?

88. At that moment, our King said to me: “What do you say about Jesus (Peace be upon him)? Did he pray as well as worship?

89. So, we answered him: “Yes, he prayed and also worshiped.”

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168 The Arabic text more correctly should be written 

169 Gen 2:8.
90. Then our King said to me: “In saying this, you deny the divinity of Messiah. If he prays and worships, he is not God; and if he was God, then he would not pray nor worship.”

91. So, we answered him: “In that he is God, he did not worship and he did not pray, rather to him one worships and prays. In that he is a man, he worshiped and prayed and we have clarified previously that he is God and man together.”

170 This is referring back to section 13.
The Fourth Section: Why Do You Not Accept the Testimony of the Scriptures Regarding Muhammad?

الباب الرابع: لماذا لا تقبل شهادة الكتب عن محمد؟

Introduction

المقدمة

92. After that, our King transitioned from this subject to another topic, and he said to me: “What is the reason that you accept Christ and the Gospel from the testimony of the Torah and of the (Books) of the Prophets and you do not accept the testimony of Christ and the Gospel regarding Muhammad (Peace be upon him)?”

92 - بعد ذلك انتقلت من هذا البحث إلى موضوع آخر، وقال لي: ما هو السبب أنك تقبل المسيح والإنجيل من شهادة التوراة والأنبياء، ولست تقبل شهادة المسيح والإنجيل عن محمد (عليه السلام)؟

1. We Accept Christ Because One Finds Many Testimonies Regarding Him.

1 - نقبل المسيح لوجود شهادات كثيرة عنه.

93. So, I answered saying: “Oh King, surely we received regarding Christ numerous testimonies from the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets, all of which testify unanimously about that.

93 - فجاوبت قائلًا: أيها الملك، إننا اقتبلاً عن المسيح شهادات كثيرة من التوراة والأنبياء. جميعهم يشهدون اتفاقاً على ذلك.
a) Testimonies about his birth and about his miracles.

أ - شهادات عن ولادته ومعجزاته

94. At times, they testify, regarding his mother, saying: ‘Behold, the virgin conceives and begets a son.’ And from this we know that he had been conceived and that he had been born without the union of a man with a woman. Such was befitting for the Word of God, which was born of the Father without a mother, to be born of a mother without a father. Therefore, his second birth will be a testimony of the first birth.

95. Sometimes they announce for us his name, since it is said about him that: ‘He will be called Immanuel, Marvelous Councilor, Omnipotent God, Leader of the World.’

96. At other times, they speak of his miracles and marvels thusly: ‘Behold, surely your God brings vindication; a part of God himself will come and he will redeem you. At that moment, the eyes of the blind will be opened and ears of the deaf will be opened; at that time, the lame will jump like a gazelle and the tongue of the mute will sing.’

171 Isa. 7:14.
172 Isa. 7:14; 9:5.
173 Isa. 35: 4-6.
b) Testimonies of his passion, his resurrection, and his second coming

ب - شهادات عن آلامه وقیامته ومجینه الثانی.

97. At other times, they teach us of his passion saying: ‘He is pierced for our sins and abased for our crimes.’ \(^{174}\)

98. Then, concerning his resurrection, they say: ‘Because you would not abandon my soul in hell nor allow your friend to be cast into perdition,’ \(^{175}\) and ‘The Lord said to me: “You are my Son, today I have begotten you.”’ \(^{176}\)

99. Then, regarding his ascension to heaven, it is said: ‘You ascended on high, you led captivity captive, and received gifts from mankind,’ \(^{177}\) and also ‘God ascended with glory, and the Lord with a burst of the trumpet.’ \(^{178}\)

\(^{174}\) Is. 53:5.

\(^{175}\) Ps. 16:10.

\(^{176}\) Ps. 2:7.

\(^{177}\) Ps. 68:18.

\(^{178}\) Ps. 47:6.
100. And in another place, it is said of his second coming from heaven: ‘I was contemplating in the visions of the night, and, behold, coming on the clouds of heaven, like the Son of Man, he came and arrived upon the Ancient of Days, and they presented him before him. And he was given dominion, honor, and a kingdom, in order that all the people, nations, and languages may serve him. Surely, his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which will never vanish, and his kingdom will never cease.’

101. Therefore, these verses and a number of others revealingly bear-witness to Jesus Christ; however, I have never seen absolutely one solitary verse in the Gospel, in the (Books) of the Prophets or in others, bearing witness to Muhammad, his works, or his name.”

Summary

الخلاصة

101. هذه الآيات وغيرها كثيرة تشهد جلياً عن يسوع المسيح. ولكن لم أر البيئة أيةً واحدة، في الإنجيل أو في الأنبياء وغيرهم، تشهد عن محمد وعن أعماله واسمه.

179 Dan. 7:13-14.
2. Is Not the Paraclete\textsuperscript{180} a Testimony to Muhammad?

2 - أليس الفارقليط شهادة عن محمد؟

102. At that moment, our gentle and humble King signaled me to no longer speak of this. Then he asked me again: “Do you not see a testimony to Muhammad (Peace be upon him).”

۱۰۲ - حينئذٍ أقولاً ملكنا الحليم الوديع أشار إلى أن لا أقول أكثر من هذا. ثم سأنتي: تكرارًا: آلم تر شهادة عن محمد (عليه السلام)؟

103. And I answered him: “No, Oh King, lover of mankind.”

۱٠۳ - فجاوبته: كلا، أيها الملك محب البشر.

a) Who is the Paraclete?

أ - من هو الفارقليط؟

104. Then he asked of me: “Who is the Paraclete?”

۱٠۴ - فسأنتي: ومن هو الفارقليط؟


۱٠۵ - فجاوبته: الفارقليط هو روح الله.

\textsuperscript{180} Paraclete = παράκλητος = الفارقليط.
106. Then the King asked me: “And what is the Spirit of God?”

107. So, I answered him: “Verily the Spirit of God is God; it possesses the divine nature and it has the quality of emanation, as Jesus Christ taught us about it.”

108. And our victorious King said to me: “And who is the one which Jesus (Peace be upon him) spoke of.”

109. I answered him: “Surely, Christ said to his disciples: ‘When I ascend to heaven, I will send to you the Paraclete Spirit, who emanates from the Father, who the world is not able to receive, and he will be with you and amongst you, he who knows everything and examines everything, even the profundities of God. And he will remind you of the truth, which I spoke to you. He will glorify me, because he will take from what is mine and declare it to you.’”\(^{181}\)

\(^{181}\) Jn. 14:16-17; Acts. 1:8; Col. 2:10.
110. Then our King said to me: “All this designates the coming of Muhammad (Peace be upon him).”

111. I answered him: “If Muhammad was the Paraclete, and the Paraclete is the Spirit of God, then, therefore, Muhammad was the Spirit of God.

112. And the Spirit of God is undefined\textsuperscript{182} like God, so, therefore, Muhammad is not defined; and that which is not defined is invisible,\textsuperscript{183} so, therefore, Muhammad is invisible; and that which is invisible is not embodied, so, therefore, Muhammad is not embodied; and that which is not embodied is not constructed, so, therefore, Muhammad is not constructed;

\textsuperscript{182}The Arabic phrase لَا محدود is a rendering of the Syriac phrase محدود, which is translated by Mingana as “uncircumscribed.” In J. Payne Smith’s \textit{Compendious Syriac Dictionary} the phrase is translated as either “uncircumscribed” or “undefined.”

\textsuperscript{183}The Arabic phrase لَا يدرّك بالنظر “la y'dar'k b'L-nazir” carries a literal meaning of “is not comprehended through vision.”
113. And if Muhammad was constructed, embodied, visible, and defined, he is not the Spirit of God; and that which is not the Spirit of God is not the Paraclete, so, therefore, Muhammad is not the Paraclete.

114. Subsequently, the Paraclete is from heaven and from the Father, whereas Muhammad is from earth and from the nature of Adam; so, therefore, Muhammad is not the Paraclete.

115. And the Paraclete also knows the depths of God, but Muhammad acknowledged that he was ignorant of the things, which will happen to him as well as to those who believe in him; so, therefore, he is not the Paraclete.

116. Surely, the Paraclete was with the Apostles and amongst them when Christ was speaking to them, whereas Muhammad was not with the Apostles nor amongst them; so, therefore, he is not the Paraclete.

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184 1 Col. 2:10.
185 Timothy here is referencing multiple passages in the Qur’ān where Muhammad claims to be ignorant of things to come. Mingana notes the Qur’ān 6:50, 7:188.
186 Appeared as تصنع in Cheikho’s edition of the text. See Samir’s notes on this section in his critical edition
117. Moreover, surely the Paraclete manifested to the Apostles ten days after the ascension of Jesus (Peace be upon him) to heaven, whereas Muhammad appeared more than six hundred years later; so, therefore, Muhammad is not the Paraclete.

118. Furthermore, surely the Paraclete taught the Apostles that God has three hypostases, whereas Muhammad did not believe that; so, therefore, he is not the Paraclete.

119. Then the Paraclete performed many miracles and a number of signs by the hands of the Apostles, whereas Muhammad did not produce one sign by the hands of his companions or his followers; so, therefore, he is not the Paraclete.

120. Additionally, the Paraclete is equal to the Father and to the Son in nature. From that, one knows that he is also the creator of the celestial forces.

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187 In the original Syriac, Paraclete is replaced here by Jesus.
As the Prophet David said regarding the Spirit of God: ‘By his Spirit all the celestial and earthly forces were created.’ And the fact is that Muhammad was not a creator; so, therefore, he is not the Paraclete.

Conclusion: There is No Mention of Muhammad in the Gospel

121. If Muhammad had been mentioned in the Gospel, it would have been necessary to declare, in the books, his coming and his name, and to mention his mother, and his people, as one finds concerning the coming of Jesus (Peace be upon him) in the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets with clarity. But none of that is mentioned about him (Muhammad) at all. And there is no mention of him in the Gospel ever.”

3. Did You Not Falsify Your Books Suppressing the Testimonies of Muhammad?

188 The Arabic phrase مساوي بالطبعة literally meaning “equal in nature” is a representation of the Syriac ܡܒܥܬܘܬܐ ܫܘܐ meaning “equal in essence or being,” which is a representation of the Greek ομοουσιος meaning “equal in essence,” which is often translated into English as “consubstantial.”

189 Ps. 33:6.
122. Then our King, lover of God, said to me: “As the Jews did to Jesus (Peace be upon him), and did not accept him, likewise, the Christians also did to Muhammad (Peace be upon him), and did not accept him.”

123. I answered him saying: “The Jews, since they did not receive Christ, deserved punishment and chastisement, because the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets are full of proofs and testimonies about him (Christ). But, we did not accept Muhammad because we did not have one proof of him in our books; therefore, we are not guilty in this.”

a) The accusations: You falsified the books

124. Then the King said to me: “There were in your books many proofs and testimonies about Muhammad (Peace be upon him), but you have corrupted the books and falsified them.”

b) The first objection: Where is the book devoid of falsification?

ب - الردّ الأول: اين الكتاب الخالي من التحريف؟

125. I answered him saying: “Oh King, from where do you have information that we have falsified the books? And where do you find such a book devoid of falsification, which taught you that we have falsified our books? Bring it, so that we may see it and adhere to it and renounce the falsified book. So from where, therefore, do you know that the Gospel is falsified?

c) The second objection: What advantage would we have from (its) falsification?

t - الردّ الثاني: أيّة فائدة لنا من التحريف؟

126. And what advantage would we have in its falsification? For if one found a mentioning of Muhammad in the Gospel, we would not have suppressed his name, but rather we would have said, ‘He has not yet come, and this is not the one of whom you speak, but he will come.’
127. Just as the Jews were not able to omit the name of Jesus (Peace be upon him) in the Torah and in the (Books) of the Prophets, but rather they still dispute us saying: ‘Surely Christ has not yet come to the world, but he will come.’ And with this they resemble the blind who do not have eyes and deny the appearance of the sun at midday.

128. Likewise, we also would not have been able to remove the name of Muhammad from the Book, but we would have opposed you regarding the time and regarding the person, like the Jews.

Conclusion

129. But I speak the truth, if I saw a single prophecy in the Gospel regarding the coming of Muhammad, I would abandon the Gospel and follow the Qur‘ān, and I would pass from one to the other, as I passed from the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets to the Gospel.”
4. Supplementary: The Qurʾān was not confirmed by signs

4- ملحق: القرآن لم يثبت بآيات

130. Then our King said to me: “What do you say about our book, was it revealed by God?”

131. I answered him saying: “If it was revealed by God, I am not able to judge that, but I say that the Word of God, written in the Torah, the (Books) of the Prophets, the Gospel, and (Books) of the Apostles, had been entirely confirmed by signs and miracles, which is known by your Majesty as well; however, I say this book (the Qurʾān) was not confirmed by one solitary sign.

132. It would be necessary that other signs and miracles appear for its verification. In the same way, when God (May he be exalted and majestified) wanted to abrogate the Old Testament, which had been confirmed by many signs and miracles, he made the Gospel its substitute by producing other signs and marvels by the hand of Jesus (Peace be upon him) and the Apostles. Therefore, he confirmed the Gospel and abrogated the Old Testament.

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191 The Arabic phrase "كما لا يُخفى أيضاً دولتكم" translates literally as, “as is not hidden to your Majesty as well.”
133. Likewise, it would be required that one produce new miracles and signs in support of the confirmation the Qur’an and abrogation the Gospel. This is because the signs and the marvels are a decisive proof of the will of the Most High; from that, your Majesty knows the conclusion. “

5. Did Isaiah Not Prophesy About Muhammad?

Introduction: He Prophesied About Darius and Cyrus

134. And our victorious King said to me: “Who is the one who is said to have been seen riding a camel?”

192 The final sentence in the Syriac text reads, “Since signs and miracles are proofs of the will of God, the conclusion drawn from their absence in your Book is well known to your Majesty.” The implications of Timothy’s words are much clearer in the Syriac.
135. We answered him saying: “That this verse was given by the Prophet Isaiah when he said: ‘I saw a pair of cavalrymen, one riding a donkey, and one riding a camel.’”

And our King asked me: “Who is the rider of the donkey and the rider of the camel?”

So, I answered him: “That the rider of the donkey is Darius, son of Artaxerxes the Mede; and the rider of the camel is Cyrus, the Persian who is from Elam. And he (Cyrus) seized the Kingdom of the Medes and annexed it to the Kingdom of the Persians, while Darius the Mede seized the Kingdom of the Babylonians and annexed it to the Kingdom of the Medes.”

a) The first indication: From the context of the speech

And our King asked me: “How can you confirm that?”

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193 Isa. 21:7.
139. So, I answered him: “I confirm this from context, because the Prophet Isaiah had previously said, in the same mentioned scripture: ‘Arise, Oh Elam, siege Media!’ Therefore, Elam designated Cyrus the Persian, the rider of a camel, and Media designates Darius, the rider of a donkey.

140. Then the aforementioned Prophet said: ‘And with a cavalry of men, pairs of horses came. So, I answered and said: “It was the fall, it was the fall, of Babylon.” This verse clearly designates Darius and Cyrus, because the two of them destroyed the Kingdom of the Babylonians.”

b) The second indication: From geography

141. Then our King asked me saying: “Why were these kingdoms compared with a rider of a camel and a rider of a donkey?”

194 Isa. 21:2.
195 Isa. 21:9.
142. I answered him saying: “Because in the region of the Medes you find the most donkeys, and in the region of Persis and Elam you find camels. So, by the mounts of donkeys and camels, the Prophet (Isaiah) designates through metaphor the regions, and by the regions the kingdoms, which were going to produce from them the two aforementioned kings.”

143. Then the Kingdom of the Medes was on the verge to become slow and weak, whereas the Kingdom of Persia and Elam was going to become strong and energetic. So, therefore, God compared the Kingdom of Medes to a docile donkey and the (Kingdom) of Persia and Elam to a strong and vigorous camel.

c) The third indication: From the Book of Daniel.

144. Likewise, the Prophet Daniel compared the Kingdom of Medes to a weak bear, and the Kingdom of Elamites and Persians to a rapidly moving tiger

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196 In Samir’s edition of the text, the final word in the section appeared as مكان. It has been corrected to its appropriate form, which is ملكان.
when he said: ‘Behold the second beast resembled a bear, raised on one side, and in its mouth between its teeth were three ribs. Then I looked, and behold the other (beast) like a tiger, which had four wings like a bird on its back.’

145. Then in Daniel, God Most High compared the Kingdom of the Medes to silver, because it is pliant, and the Persians and the Elamites to bronze because it is hardened; so, therefore, the Prophet, by the donkey designated the Kingdom of Medes and by the camel the Kingdom of the Persians and the Elamites.”

146. And our King said to me: “Surely, the rider of the donkey was Jesus (Peace be upon him), and the rider of the camel was Muhammad (Peace be upon him).”

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197 Dan. 7:5-6.
147. So, I answered him saying: “The arrangement of the times and events negates such a connection to Jesus and Muhammad. In this situation, the truth is learned by observing the times and prophecies of the prophets. Surely, the expression ‘donkey’ indicates the Medes, while the expression ‘camel’ indicates the Elamites and not another people.

148. So, perhaps people have necessarily assigned the expression ‘donkey’ to Jesus, since one finds in another place written of him, in (the Book of) Zachariah: ‘Look here, your King is coming; he is just, victorious, and humble and he rides a donkey, and a foal the son of a she-donkey.’

149. And as for the expression ‘camel,’ it is not possible to be assigned to Muhammad ever.”

199 Appeared as حقيقة in Cheikho’s edition. See Samir’s notes on this section in his critical edition.

200 Zach. 9:9.
e) The fifth indication: From the Holy Scriptures

ج - الدليل الخامس: من الكتاب المقدس

150. Our King said to me: “For what reason?”

151. I answered him: “Because the Prophet Jacob said in the Book of Genesis: ‘The scepter will not depart from Judah, (that is to say the scepter of power), nor the leader\textsuperscript{201} from his loins (that is to say the possessor of prophecy), until he comes, he who possesses (that is to say Jesus Christ, the King and the Judge), and to him the people will obey.’\textsuperscript{202} By mentioning this, Jacob clarified that after the coming of Jesus the prophets and prophecies would cease.

152. Likewise, the Prophet Daniel said: ‘Know and understand that from the going forth of the Word to rebuild Jerusalem until the (coming of the) Messiah, the Leader, (will be) seven weeks, and two and threescore weeks: and he will rebuild the street and the moat in troubled times.’\textsuperscript{203} And likewise: ‘after the two and threescore weeks, Christ will be killed and he will not have a successor,

\textsuperscript{201} The Arabic word مدر is a somewhat difficult to translate. Its Arabic meaning carries a general meaning of someone who leads or directs.

\textsuperscript{202} Gen. 49:10.

\textsuperscript{203} Dan. 9:25.
and the people of the Prince will come to destroy the city and the sanctuary.\textsuperscript{204} Therefore, the prophecy of Daniel clarified that, through Christ, the prophecies and the visions were accomplished.

153. And Jesus himself, likewise, said: ‘All the (Books) of the Prophets and the Torah, prophesied until John the Baptist.’\textsuperscript{205} So, therefore, all the prophecies, which had taken place, finished with Messiah; and after Messiah there will be neither prophecy nor prophets; so, all the prophets prophesied about Jesus Christ.

154. Christ taught us about the Kingdom of Heaven. Therefore, it does not benefit us any longer to obtain other knowledge, concerning mortal and earthly

\textsuperscript{204} Dan. 9:26.
\textsuperscript{205} Mt. 11:13.
things, after we had obtained knowledge about the mystery of the divinity and of the Kingdom of Heaven;

١٥٤ - والmessiah علمنا عن ملكوت السماء، فلم يُعَد يفيدنا ان نكتسب معرفة أخرى

155. Because the prophets prophesied, at times, about the things of this world and of its kingdoms, and sometimes about the appearance of the Word of God in the flesh; however, Christ did not teach about human things, but of the divine things and of the Kingdom of Heaven, as we have said.

١٥٥ - لأن الأنبياء تنبأوا: تارة عن أمور هذا العالم وعن ممالكه، وتارة عن ظهور كلمة الله بالجسد. وأما المسيح، لم يعلمنا عن الأمور البشرية، بل عن الأموراللهية وعن ملكوت السماء، كما قلنا.

156. So, therefore, if the prophecies were accomplished by Christ, as we have seen, and after the age of Christ, the Kingdom of God is to be announced as the power of Jesus then it is vain and, therefore, futile to believe in another prophecy, after the incarnation of the Word of God, to which one prostrates himself.

١٥٦ - فإذا، إن كانت النبوءات قد انتهت بالمسيح كما رأينا، ومن عهد المسيح فيما بعد يُبَيَّن ملكوت الله كقوة يسوع، فباطلاً إذا وعيناً يكون اعتقادنا في نبوءة أخرى بعد تجسُّد كلمة الله المسجود له.

157. The good and just order is that which elevates us from bottom to top, from the human things to the divine things, and from earthly (things) to heavenly (things), whereas the declension from the top to the bottom, and from the divine things to the human things, and from the heavenly (things) to the earthly (things), therefore, is an inversed and disapproved arrangement.”
157 - لأن الترتيب الحسن والجيد هو ذاك الذي يُصعدنا من أسفل إلى فوق، من الأمور البشرية إلى الأمور الإلهية، ومن الأرضاًء إلى السماويَّات. وأما النزول من فوق إلى أسفل، ومن الأمور الإلهية إلى الأمور البشرية، ومن السماويَّات إلى الأرضيَّات، فهو ترتيب معاكس ومرزول.
The Fifth Section: What Do You Say about Muhammad?

الباب الخامس: ماذا تقول عن محمد؟

Introduction

المقدمة

158. And our patient King, full of wisdom, said to me: “What do you say about Muhammad?”

١٥٨ - وملكنا الحليم الممدوح حكمةً قال لي: ماذا تقول عن محمد؟

1. Muhammad Followed in the Path of the Prophets

١ - سلك محمد في طريق الأنبياء

159. I answered him saying: “Surely, Muhammad deserves the praise of all speakers, which is due to the fact that he followed in the path of the prophets and of the friends of God, because all of the prophets had taught about the unity of God and Muhammad taught about that; so, therefore, he followed in path of the prophets as well.

١٥٩ - فجاوبته قائلًا: إن محمدًا يستحقّ المدح من جميع الناطقين، وذلك لأجل سلوكه في طريق الأنبياء ومحبتي الله. لأن سائر الأنبياء قد علّموا عن وحدانيّة الله، ومحمد علم عن ذلك. فذاك، هو أيضاً سلك بِطريق الأنبياء.

160. Then, just as all the prophets distanced the people from evil and wicked things and attracted them toward goodness and virtue, in such a way, Muhammad distanced the children of his nation from evil and attracted them
toward goodness and virtues; so, therefore, he followed in the path of the prophets.

161. Next, all the prophets prohibited the children of mankind from worshipping devils and serving idols and they encouraged them toward serving God (May he be exalted and majestified) and toward worshipping his majesty. Likewise, Muhammad prohibited the children of his nation from serving the devils and worshipping idols and he exhorted them toward the knowledge of God and worshipping of the Most High, who is one God and there is no other god equal to him. It is, therefore, clear that Muhammad followed in path of the prophets.

162. So, if Muhammad had taught regarding God, his Word, and his Spirit, as all the prophets had prophesied regarding this, then, therefore, Muhammad had followed in the path of the prophets.

2. The Zeal of Muhammad Was Like the Zeal of Moses and Abraham.
163. So, who would not praise, nor venerate, nor honor the one that struggles for God, not with speech only, but with the sword as well he demonstrated zealotry on behalf of the Most High Creator?

363 - فمن لا يمدح ويكرّم ويبيّج ذاك الذي يحارب من أجل إله؟ ليس بالكلام فقط، بل وبالسيف أيضاً أظهر الغيرة لأجل الباري تعالى؟

164. And as the Prophet Moses did with the sons of Israel, who had made a calf of gold and worshipped it, that is to say he killed (them) with the sword and destroyed all those who worshipped the calf;\textsuperscript{206} likewise, Muhammad did as well when he exhibited his zeal\textsuperscript{207} on behalf of the Creator (May the Most High be praised), whom he loved and honored more than himself, his tribe, and the sons of his nation.

165. Those who followed him in the honoring of God and his fear (of God), he praised them and he honored them, and he glorified them, and he promised them paradise as well as honor and respect on behalf of God, in this world and in the hereafter, in paradise. While those who served the idols and worshipped them, he fought them and warned them of the painful chastisement in

\textsuperscript{206} Ex. 32:25-28.

\textsuperscript{207} The Arabic literally says “the zeal,” but it is referring back to the phrase, “غيرة موسى وإبراهيم” therefore it has been translated as, “his zeal.”

\textsuperscript{208} The phrase سباحانه تعالى is omitted from Cheikho’s edition of the text. See Samir’s notes on this section in his critical edition.
the fire of hell, which in it the hypocrites will be burned, and in it they will remain forever.

165 - والذين كانوا يتبعونه في إكرام الله ومخافته، كان يمجدهم ويكرّمهم ومدحهم، وبوعد لهم أيضاً الجنة والمجد والإكرام من لدن الله في هذا العالم وفي الآخرة بالجنة. والذين كانوا يعبدون الأصنام ويسجدون لها، كان يحاربهم وينذرهم بعذاب أليم في نار الجحيم، التي بها يحترق المنافقون وهم فيها خالدون.

166. And as Abraham did, the friend of God, who abandoned the idols and his people and followed God and worshipped him; therefore, he began to teach the oneness of God to the nations. Likewise, Muhammad did as well, when he abandoned worshipping the idols and those who worshipped them from amongst the sons of his people and others from amongst the foreigners; so, he solely honored that which is the one the True God and he worshipped him.

166 - وكما فعل إبراهيم خليل الله، الذي ترك الأوثان وأبناء جنسه، وتبع الله وسجد له، فصار يتلّك عن وحدانية الله للأمم؛ هكذا صنع أيضاً محمد، لما ترك سجدة الأوثان والذين كانوا يسجدون لها من بني جنسه وغيرهم من غرباء، فأكرم فقط ذلك الذي هو وحده إله الحق وسجد له.

3. Thus, God Glorified Him and Caused Him to Reign over the Nations.

3 - لذلك كرّمته الله وسلّطه على الأمم

167. On account of that, God Most High greatly honored him and put under the footstool of his feet two powerful nations that roared like a lion, whose voice could be heard in the world like thunder; I mean the nation of the Persians and the nation of the Byzantines. The first worshipped created beings in place of

209 The Arabic phrase, "خليل الله" is a common epithet of Abraham.
their Creator and the other attributed passion and death in the flesh to that who absolutely does not suffer nor die.\textsuperscript{210}

167 - لأجل ذلك كرّمه الله تعالى جدً، وأخضع تحت مواطى قدميه الدولتين القويتين اللتين كانتا تزأران كالأسد، وكالرعد كان يسمع في العالم صوت كليهما، أعني دولة الفرس ودولة الرومان. فالأولى كانت تسجد للمخلوقات عوض خلقها، والأخرى كانت تنسب آلاماً وموتى بالجسد لذاك الذي لا يتألم ولا يموت مطلاً.

168. So, God Most High expanded the authority of his kingdom by the hand of the Emir of the Believers and his descendent from the east to the west, and from the north to the south. So, who would not praise, Oh victorious King, the one whom God praises? Who would not weave the laurel of praise and honor for he who is praised and honored by God? So, therefore, I and all those who love God, for this and that (reason), speak (in such a way) about Muhammad, Oh victorious King.”

4. Thus, Profess the Unity of God

\textsuperscript{210} The translator of the of the Arabic text is critiquing Byzantine Dyophysite Orthodoxy. From the Greek, meaning “two natures,” Dyophysitism is the Christological belief that Jesus Christ possessed two natures, one divine and one human. Dyophysitism can be further broken down into Orthodox and Nestorian Dyophysitism. Orthodox Dyophysitism determines that the two natures of Jesus Christ are mysteriously and perfectly unified, while Nestorian Dyophysitism determines that the two natures of Jesus Christ are completely and absolutely separated from one another. Consequently, in Nestorian Christology, the divine nature of God is in no way connected to the suffering of Jesus Christ.

\textsuperscript{211} The word مدحه is omitted from Cheikho’s edition of the text. See Samir’s notes on this section in his critical edition
169. And our king said to me: “So, therefore, you should accept the word of the Prophet.”

170. I answered him: “Of which word do you speak our King?”

171. So, the king said to me: “The word that he said about God, that he is one and there is not another apart from him.”

Conclusion: Unity in Tri-unity

172. I answered him saying: “The belief in one God I have learned, Oh King, from the Torah, the (Books) of the Prophets, and the Gospel and for it (belief in one God) I am devoted and, on account of it, I am willing to die.”

173. And our victorious king said to me: “You believe and confess in one God as you said, but you say that this God is triune and one.”
174. And I answered him: “I do not deny that, Oh King, but I confess that God is one and he is triune. However, he is not triune in the divinity, but in the hypostases of his Word and his Spirit. Again, he is triune and one. However, he is not one in the hypostases, but in the divinity, as we confirmed above.”

212 Interestingly, throughout the Arabic version of the text, small sections of redundant examples and explications have been redacted. However, sections 157-174 of the Arabic version of the text have been appended to the original Syriac.
The Sixth Section: The Death of Christ on the Cross

الباب السادس: موت المسيح على الصليب

1. Why Do You Worship the Cross?

١ - لماذا تبدون للصلب؟

175. So, our victorious king said to me: “Why do you worship the cross?”

٦٧٥ - فملكنا المظفر قال لي: لماذا انتم تسجدون للصليب؟

176. I answered him saying: “Surely, we worship the cross, because it is the cause of life.”

٦٧٦ - فجاوبته قائلًا: إننا نسجد للصلب لأنّه علّة الحياة.

177. Then our victorious king said to me repeatedly: “The cross is not the cause of life, but of death.”

٦٧٧ - فملكنا قال لي تكرارًا: إن الصليب ليس علّة الحياة بل علّة الموت.

178. I answered him: “Oh King, surely the cross is a cause of death, as you said, but the death is the cause of the resurrection, and the resurrection is the cause of life and immortality; so, therefore, the cross, Oh King, is the cause of life and immortality; so, therefore, through it, we worship God Most High, who opened for us the wellspring of life and immortality.
178. فجاوابته: أيها الملك، إن الصليب هو عَلَّة الموت، كما قلت. ولكن الموت هو عَلَّة القيامة، وهي عَلَّة الحياة وعدم الموت. فإذا الصليب، أيها الملك، هو عَلَّة الحياة وعدم الموت. فلذلك نقصَم بوسائله السجدة لل تعالى، الذي فتح لنا به ينبوع الحياة وعدم الموت.

179. He who said in the beginning: ‘Light shines from the darkness,’ made, through bitter wood, sweet the bitter water, and by way of the murderous serpent gave life to the children of Israel; he has produced for us from the wood of the cross the fruit of life, and also illuminated for us from between the arms of the cross rays of life and immortality.

180. As we take pains in honoring the trees and serving it, out of love for their fruits, likewise we honor the cross and venerate it, out of respect for the fruit of life, which is drawn from it.

181. Furthermore, surely the luminous rays of the love of God were to shine upon all created things visible and invisible; however, when he forsook his

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213 2 Cor. 4:6.
214 Ex. 15:23-25.
216 The Arabic phrase *الصليب* carries a literal meaning of “branches of the cross.”
son to death on the wooden cross,\textsuperscript{217} out of love for the salvation of all, their life and resurrection, the rays of this life shone even brighter for mankind.

181 - ثم، ولئِن أشعة محبّة الله الساطعة تتلالاَّ نحو الكلّ في المخلوقات المنظورة والغير المنظورة. ولكن لما أسلم ابنه إلى الموت على خشبة الصليب، حيّاً بخلاص الكلّ وحياتهم وانبعاثهم أكثر، ازدادت أشعة هذه الحياة تلالاَّ نحو الناطقين.

182. So, with appropriateness, Oh victorious King, all are supposed to display their love for God by means of the cross, by which the Most High manifested his love for all.”

182 - فبالصواب، أيها الملك المظفر، يُفترَض على الكلّ أن يُظهروا محبّتهم الله بواسطة الصليب، الذي أظهر به تعالى محبّته نحو الجميع.

2. Did Christ Die on the Cross?

2 - هل مات المسيح على الصليب؟

a) It is not possible that God can die

أ - لا يمكن أن يموت الله

183. And our king said to me: “Is it possible that God can die, being what he is?”

183 - وملكنا قال لي: أمِكن أن يموت الله كأنّ ما كان؟

\textsuperscript{217} The Arabic phrase خشبة الصليب literally means, “the wood of the cross;” however, the phrase is usually rendered in English as “wooden cross.”
184. Then I answered him saying: “Surely, Jesus, in that he is God, did not die; however, he died, in human nature, in that he is a man.

185. Just as, humiliation is attributed to the King himself, when his purple cloak is torn in half in dishonor or (when) his royal garments are torn in derision, in a similar fashion, the death of Jesus (Peace be upon him), which happened to the body, is attributed to his divine hypostasis.”

b) They did not kill him, nor crucify him, but it seemed as though to them.

186. So, our King said to me: “God forbid! Surely, (regarding) Jesus (Peace be upon him): ‘They did not kill him, nor crucify him, but it seemed as though to them.’”\(^{218}\)

187. I answered him saying: “Surely, it is written in Sūrat ‘Īsā; [however, we saw these verses in Sūrat Maryam, namely]:\(^{219}\) ‘Peace be upon me, the day I

\(^{218}\) Sūrat an-Nisā’ 4:156.
was born, the day I will die, and the day when I will resurrect.\textsuperscript{19} So, it is obviously clarified by these verses that Jesus died and resurrected.

188. And in Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān: “God said to Jesus, ‘Surely I will take you and raise you up to me.’”\textsuperscript{21}

189. So, our King said to me: “Surely, Jesus did not die yet; he will die.”

190. I answered him saying: “If Jesus had not died until now, then he would not have risen to heaven, nor been resurrected, rather he will rise and then he will be resurrected. But, if the ascension of Jesus to heaven and his resurrection were, Oh King, known and confirmed by all long ago, as was testified in your book as well, then rightly we say that Jesus had died on the wooden cross, as the prophets prophesied before his coming.”

\textsuperscript{19} This bracketed section is an addition to the Syriac text. The added section clarifies the passage and redirects the reader to the proper Sūrah.

\textsuperscript{20} Sūrat Maryam 19:33.

\textsuperscript{21} Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān 3:55.
فجاويته قال: "إن كان عيسى لم يمت حتى الآن فلم يصعد بعد إلى السماء، ولم يبعث حيّا، بل سوف يصعد حيّا. ولكن إن كان، إما الملك، معلوماً ومقررًا لدى الجميع صعود يسوع إلى السماء منذ أمد مديد، وإنبعاثه حيّا، كما يشهد عن ذلك كتالك أيضًا؛ ففي صواب نقول إن عيسى قد مات على خشبة الصليب، كما تنبأ عنه الأنبياء قبل مجيئه.

d) The prophets did not prophesy about the death of Christ

\[\text{فلا يُثنى الأنبياء عن موت المسيح} \]

191. Then our King said to me: “Which of the prophets prophesied about Jesus that he would die on the wooden cross?”

191 - فملكنا قال لي: وأيّ من الأنبياء تنبأ عن عيسى أنه يموت على خشبة الصليب.

192. I answered him: “Surely, many of them prophesied that.

192 - فجاويته: إن كثيرين من هؤلاء تنبأوا عن ذلك.

193. So, first the Prophet David said: ‘They pierced my hands and feet. They counted all my bones, and they looked and gazed at me; they divided my garments between them, and they cast lots for my clothes.’ And it was said in the Gospel that all this had already taken place.

193 - فأولًا قال داود النبي: إنّهم ثقبوا يديّ ورجليّ، وأحصي كلّ عظامي. وهم نظروا واقترعوا فيها، وقسموا ثيابي بينهم، وعلى لباسي اقترنتوا. وقيل في الإنجيل أنّ هذا جميعها قد جرت بالفعل.

\[\text{Ps. 22:17-19.} \]
194. Then the Prophet Isaiah says of Messiah that: ‘He will be wounded for our sins, and crushed for our iniquities.’ And the aforementioned prophet said regarding the person of Jesus: ‘I gave my back to those who would strike me, and my cheeks to those who would pull out my hair, and I did not cover my face from those who would blame me and spit at me.’

195. Then the Prophet Jeremiah thusly says: ‘I was like a tame lamb one sends forth to the slaughter and they trampled me, saying: “Let us discard the branch and its sustenance, and let us eradicate him from the land of the living.”’

196. Likewise, the Prophet Daniel said: ‘Surely, Christ will be killed, and he will not have a successor.’

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223 Is. 53:5.
224 Is. 50:6 – The syntax of this sentence has been slightly changed to avoid awkward English constructions. The Arabic words ضاربين, نائفين, معينين, وناصفين literally mean beaters, hairpluckers, blamers, and spitters.
225 Jer. 11:19.
197. Likewise, the Prophet Zachariah speaks: ‘What are these wounds in your hands? So, he said: “Those which I was wounded by in the house of my beloveds. Oh Sword, awaken against my shepherd.”’

198. Therefore, the prophets said this and much more about the death of Christ and his murder and crucifixion.”

e) And when they prophesied, these were the allegories.

199. Then our King said to me: “Surely, the prophets described Christ allegorically in such a way.”

200. Then I answered him: “From whom did they receive this allegory, Oh King, from God or from Satan? So, if this is from God (May he be praised), how would he inspire the prophets (to do something) that does not truly exist? Since it is absolutely unbefitting of the Most High that he inspire something by which mankind be deceived.

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201. And if God (May his eminence be exalted) had offered this allegory, devoid of truth, and if the Apostles had written what was revealed to them, then he is the cause of this deception for everyone; however, this condition is impossible.

202. So, who offered such an allegory and revealed it to the Apostles? Was it Satan? But, what commonality does Satan (May God humiliate him) have with the Apostles in things specified for divine providence? And who would be so bold in saying that the cursed Devil was able to deceive the Apostles, who through divine strength suppressed and expelled him, and he fled from before them running away and wailing? So, therefore, it must be said that this was revealed by God.”

3. How Could Christ Die If He is an Omnipotent God?
Introduction

203. Then our King said to me: “Surely, Jesus Christ was honored next to God. Therefore, it is not possible that he (God) would have delivered him into the hands of the Jews so that they could kill him.”

204. So, I answered him saying: “Surely, the prophets who suffered death by the Jews were not despised for such by God; so, therefore, not all those killed by the Jews are rejected and despised. This is in regards to the prophets.

a) The death of Messiah took place according to his own will.

205. As for Jesus, we say: ‘Surely, the Jews truly crucified him, not because he was feeble and not because he lacked power over them, but because he endured that of his own free will, as he said in the Gospel of John: “Verily, I lay down my life in order that I may take it up again. No one takes it from me, but I lay it down myself. I have the power to lay it down, and I have the power to take
it up again.”228 So, therefore, Christ showed, by this, that he will suffer of his own will and not due to the fact that he was weak and the Jews strong.

206. For he who was on the wooden cross, caused the heavens to shake, the earth to quake, the light of the sun to darken, and signs of blood in the moon to appear. On account of this, rocks split, the tombs opened, and the dead were resurrected. Truly, he was neither feeble nor unable to save himself from the hands of the Jews. So, therefore, his passion on the wooden cross was of his own will and freedom.”

b) But that does not mean that the Jews are innocent.

207. So, our King then said to me: “So, therefore, the Jews are not guilty for the crucifixion of Christ and his death, because they accomplished his will.”

228 Jn. 10:17-18.
٧٠٢ - فملكنا قال لي: فاذًا، اليهود ليس لهم ذنب في صلب المسيح وموته، لأنهم كملوا إرادته.

208. I answered him in such a way: “If the Jews had crucified Christ, for this purpose, that he may radiantly resurrect from amongst the dead and that he may gloriously ascend to heaven, then they are not only not guilty, but they deserve praise and commendation.

٨٠٢ - فجاوبته هكذا: إن كان اليهود صلبو المسيح لأجل هذه الغاية، وهي أن يقوم من بين الأموات منثورًا ويصعد إلى السماء ممّدعاً، فليس لهم ذنب، لا بل يستحقون المدح والتبجيل.

209. But, since the purpose of the Jews, in crucifying Christ, was oriented towards his death and his demise, on account of this, they deserve chastisement and death, because they crucified Christ in order that he might descend into hell; however, God glorified him, since he resurrected him from amongst the dead and caused him to ascend to heaven.”

٩٠٢ - ولكن غاية اليهود في صلب المسيح، إذ كانت موجّهة إلى قتله وإهلاكه من الأرض، لأجل ذلك يستحقون العذاب والموت، لأنّهم صلبو المسيح، لكي يهبط إلى الجحيم. فالمسيح ممّدداً، إذ أقامه من بين الأموات، وأصعده إلى السماء.

c) The death of Messiah took place according to his own volition and because the hatred of the Jews.

١٠٠٢ - قتل المسيح تمّ بإرادته وبسبب حقد اليهود.

210. Our King, lover of God, said to me: “Which of these two things do you say? Did Christ want to be crucified or not? If he wanted (to be crucified) then the Jews are not guilty, because they have done his will; so, therefore, why
would they be cursed and rejected? And if he had been crucified against his will, the Jews were stronger than him; so, how is it possible that he be called God, he who was not able to save himself from the hands of his crucifiers, for their will was much stronger than his will?”

١١٠ ـ ولكنا محب الله قال لي: أيًا من هذين الأمرين تقول: {هل كان يريد المسيح أن يصلي، أم لا؟} فإن كان يريد، فاليهود ليس لهم ذنب، لأنهم عملوا إرادته; فلمما إذا كانوا ملمونين ومرذولين؟ وإن كان صُلِب دون إرادته، فاليهود صاروا أقوى منه. فكيف يمكن أن يكون ويدعى إلَيّاً من لم يستطع أن ينجِي نفسه من يد صالبيه؟ فإن إرادتهم صارت أقوى من إرادته جدًا.

١١١ ـ فقلت: وكما فجلوبته وانا أيضاً معترضاً عليه، هكذا.

١١٢ ـ "What does our plentifully intelligent and abundantly sagacious King think? Which of these two things does he say? Did God (May he be praised) want the angel become Satan or not? If you responded positively then it is not possible to blame Satan, since he had done the divine will and accomplished it in such a way. If you respond negatively then the will of Satan would therefore conquer the will of God and it would have been superior. Then how is it possible and how can he be called God he whose will is conquered by the will of the Devil”

١١٢ ـ ماذا يفكر ملکنا الغني الذهن والغزير الحكمة، أيًا من هذين الأمرين يقول؟ هل كان يريد الله {سبحانه} أنَّ الملائكة يصير شيطانًا، أم لا؟ فإن قلت إجابيًا، فلم بيق عتاب على الشيطان، إذ صار هكذا، لأنه صنع الإرادة الإلهيَّة وكملها. وإن جاويته سلبًا، فإن إرادته الشيطان إذا تغلبت على إرادة الله وقويت. فكيف يمكن أن يكون ويدعى إلَيّاً ذاك الذي غلبت إرادته من إرادة إبليس؟
213. I also say: “Did the Creator (May he be praised) want to expel Adam from the garden (that is to say paradise) or not? If you respond positively then Satan is rescued from blame, because he aided the will of God (May his essence be exalted) in the expulsion of Adam from the garden and his casting him out. And if you respond negatively then do you not say that the will of God was conquered and became feeble, since apart from his will something happened?

214. Likewise, the Most High Creator persists to be an Omnipotent God, although the Devil and Adam sinned against his divine will. Furthermore, Adam and the Devil are not devoid of guilt, even if God was contented with each of them (that is to say that the Devil fell from heaven and Adam was caste out of paradise); this is because the two of them were not sinners for following the will of the Most High, but due to the fact that the two of them completed their will through sin. In this way, Jesus Christ continues to be and should be called God the Possessor of Power.
الخاتمة

215. If we said that the Jews affronted and crucified him without his will, then surely they do not have the power to save themselves from hell and malediction, even though Christ had agreed to suffer on the wooden cross out of his love for the salvation of mankind.

216. Because the Jews did not crucify Jesus following his will, but rather on account of hatred and resentment toward him and he who sent him; so, therefore, this is the reason why they crucified him, in order that he die and perish from the earth. But Christ wanted to be crucified, in order that, by his death, he will give life to all, as we said.”

229 Appeared as صلبوه بالهم فلأ قدرون in Cheikho’s edition. See Samir’s notes on this section in his critical edition.

230 After section 216 of the Arabic edition, a large section of the original Syriac is omitted. In this omitted section, Timothy and al-Mahdī discuss various issues concerning the Gospel, specifically its origins and possible contradictions. In the omitted section, Timothy also criticizes the Muslim conception of martyrdom.
The Seventh Section: Why We Do Not Believe That Muhammad is a Prophet

الباب السابع: لماذا لا نؤمن أن محمدًا نبي

Introduction

المقدمة

217. And our victorious King said to me: “Oh Catholicos, it is necessary to know that God (May he be exalted and majestified) first gave the law (that is to say the Sharī’a) by the hand of Moses, and after that, the Gospel by the hand of Jesus; likewise, he produced salvation by the hand of Muhammad (Peace be upon him).”

1. God Announced That the Gospel Abrogated the Old Testament

1 - أعلن الله أن الإنجيل ينسخ العهد القديم

Introduction

217 - ولمكننا المظفر قال لي: أيها الجاثليق، ينبغي أن تعلم أنه، كما أن الله (عزّ وجلّ) أعطى أولًا الناموس (أي الشريعة) على يد موسى، وبعده الإنجيل على يد عيسى؛ هكذا أيضاً جعل الخلاص على يد محمد (عليه السلام).

Interestingly, the Arabic text uses the word خلاص, which generally means “salvation” to represent the word فرقان that is used in the Syriac text. However, the word فرقان exists, which is an Arabicized form of the Syriac فرقان. So, it is interesting to note that the translator of the text used a completely different word to denote salvation, when a common word existed in both Syriac and Arabic. The word فرقان is used in seven verses in the Qur’ān, including: Q 2:53, 2:185, 3:4, 8:29, 8:41, 21:48, and 25:1.
218. I answered him saying: “Oh King, regarding the Mosaic Law, which was on the verge to be abrogated, God previously announced and openly proclaimed this publicly by the mouth of the prophets.

219. So, God Most High spoke through the Prophet Jeremiah thusly: ‘Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the people of Israel and Judah: Not like the covenant that I promised their fathers the day when I took them by their hand in order to bring them forth from the land of Egypt; because they broke my covenant, I grew weary of them, the Lord says: But this is the covenant that I will conclude with the people of Israel; after these days, the Lord says, I will place my law to be their foundation and I will write it on their heart, then I will be their God and they will be my people. Man will no longer teach his lord or his brother saying, “Know the Lord,” for they will all know me, all of them, from their young to their old.’

أ - أعلن ذلك على فم أرميا النبي

219. ففيقول الله تعالى في أرميا النبي هكذا: {ها أيام تأتي، يقول الرب، وأعاهد آل إسرائيل وآل يهوذا عهدًا جديداً، ليس مثل العهد الذي عاهدت به أبناءهم، يوم أمسكت بأيديهم لأخرجهم من ارض مصر، حيث هم نقضوا عهدي، وأنا سنتهم، يقول الرب. بل هذا يكون العهد الذي به أعاهد آل إسرائيل، بعد تلك الأيام، يقول الرب: أجعل شريعتي في أفشائهم،}

232 Jer. 31:31-34.
220. So, these verses clearly annouc the abrogation of the Old Testament (this is to say the Mosaic Law) and the revelation of a New Testament,\(^{233}\) (that is to say the Gospel and its establishment).

ب -علن ذلك على فم يونيل النبي

221. Likewise, through the Prophet Joel, God (May he be exalted and majestified) clearly speaks regarding the imminent signs that were to occur at the time of the abrogation of the Mosaic Law and of the establishment of the Gospel, as well as of the Paraclete Spirit, which was to be received by the Apostles, so he says:

222. ‘It will be after this that I will pour my spirit upon all mankind; then, your sons and your daughters will prophesy, your elders will dream dreams, your young people will see visions: Even upon the slaves and upon the servants I will

\(^{233}\) The Arabic word used for revelation is انزال
spread my Spirit these days.’ 234 So, he designates by the Paraclete Spirit who, after the ascension of Jesus to heaven, was sent to the Apostles, as Jesus previously promised them;

223. Then the aforementioned prophet says: ‘I will produce signs in heaven and on earth, blood and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun will change to darkness, and the moon to blood.’ 235 And all this occurred, in front of everyone, when Jesus Christ suffered on the wooden cross.

224. So, when the Prophet Joel warned with these signs, he added saying: ‘That the great and feared day of the Lord will come,’ 236 that day on which the Word of God, the incarnated in our nature, will appear in heaven like lightning, with force and great glory, that day on which all the forces of the heavens will be shaken and when stars will fall from heaven, 237 as Jesus himself said in the Gospel.

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234 Joel 2:28-29.
235 Joel 2:30-31.
236 Joel 2:31.
237 Mk. 13:25.
225. Then this prophet said: ‘All those who will invoke the name of the Lord will be saved.’ This is to say, all those who read the Gospel of God, and does that which he orders in it, will obtain eternal life.

226. So, therefore, God, by these verses, far removed from every corruption and falsification, clearly declared the abrogation of the Old Testament (that is to say the Mosaic Law) and the passage from it to the New Testament (that is to say the Gospel). But, such an abrogation of the Gospel and a passage from it to something else (that is to say the Qur’ān), the Most High (May he be praised) did not teach anywhere.

238 In Arabic, the word آية carries a meaning of both “verse” and “sign.”
Therefore, the Old Testament was a symbol of the Gospel and the Gospel was the symbol of the Kingdom of Heaven, which nothing is more preferred than it.”

٧٢٧ - ثمّ العهد القديم كان رمزاً عن الإنجيل والإنجيل هو رمزٌ عن ملكوت السماء، الذي لا شيء أفضل منه.

2. God Did Not Signify Muhammad by Saying: “Surely, the Lord Will Raise for You a Prophet Like Me from amongst Your Brothers.”

٢ - لم يقصد الله محمدًا في قوله: {أنّ الرب يقيم لكم نبيًا مثلي من بين إخوكم}.

Introduction

المقدمة

٢٢٨. And our victorious King said to me: “Did Moses (Peace be upon him) not say publicly to the children of Israel, in Deuteronomy: ‘Surely the Lord will raise for you a prophet like me from amongst your brothers.’ And who are the brothers of the children of Israel other than the Ishmaelites and who had been a prophet like Moses other than Muhammad?”

٢٢٨ - وملكنا المظفر قال لي: أليس موسى (عليه السلام)، قال علانيّةً لبني إسرائيل، في تنزية الاعتراف: {إِنَّ الرب سوف يقيم لكم نبيًا مثلي من بين اخوكم}؟ فمن هم إخوة بني إسرائيل، سوى الإسماعيليين؟ ومن صار نبيًا مثل موسى، سوى محمد؟

a) Explanation: “From amongst your brothers”

٢٣٩ Deut. 28:18.
229. Then I answered him saying: “Oh King, one finds many brothers of the children of Israel, apart from the Ishmaelites, designated by this expression.

230. First, surely the Edomites are closer to the sons of Israel than the children of Ishmael, because the Israelites were born of Jacob and the Edomites were linked to Esau. As for Jacob and Esau, they were the sons of Isaac, father of the Jews and brother of Ishmael, whom, from him, the Muslims descend; so, therefore, the Edomites are closer to the children of Israel than the children of Ishmael.

231. So, therefore, if the words, which Moses said, regarding the brothers of the children of Israel are not to be applied to the 12 tribes, but rather to their other relatives, we say that it is necessary that they be applied more appropriately to the Edomites, because they are closer to the children of Israel than are the children of Ishmael, as we have seen.

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240 The Arabic term تسلسلوا is used here to denote a genealogical link or connection.

241 Esau is the eldest son of Isaac and older brother of Jabob, who is the father of the 12 tribes of Israel. The story of Isaac, Jacob, and Esau can be read in Gen. 25.
232. Second, surely the brothers of the Israelites are not solely the Ishmaelites, but also the Ammonites and the Moabites.

233. Third, in addition to this, Moses did not say anything to the Ishmaelites, but rather to the children of Israel: ‘That the Lord will raise from amongst your brothers (and not from amongst strangers) a prophet like me (not different from me in teaching).’

234. This verse is similar to that which the Most High Creator addressed to his people regarding a king saying: ‘From amongst your brothers, I will raise for you a king.’ And surely raising this king from the brothers of the children of Israel does not designate the children of Ishmael; likewise, in raising (a prophet) from amongst their brothers does not indicate the sons of Ishmael.

242 Deut. 28:18.
243 Cf. 1 Kings 14:14; Jer. 30:10.
b) Explanation: “A prophet like me”

235. And likewise it is necessary that we recognize the comparison in this verse, when Moses said to the people of Israel: ‘Surely the Lord will raise for you a prophet like me.’

236. If Muhammad was a prophet like Moses, it is required that he produce many signs and miracles, as Moses did; however, Muhammad did not offer any miracles; so, therefore, he is not like Moses.

237. And then, if Muhammad had been a prophet like Moses, he would have been required to observe the Torah and teach the law that was given on Mount Sinai, including the circumcision, the Sabbath, and the festivals, as Moses used to do, but Muhammad did not do that; so, therefore, he is not like Moses.”

3. Muhammad is Not a Prophet, Because We Do Not Await Any Prophet Except Elijah
**Introduction**

238. And our king said to me: “Surely, your speech would be agreeable and your announcement good, if you would accept Muhammad amongst the prophets.”

239. I answered him thusly: “Surely, it is mentioned for us that one prophet will come to the world after the ascension of Christ to heaven and before his descent244 from there, as we learned from the Prophet Malachi and from the angel Gabriel, who announced to Zachariah the conception of his son John.”

240. And our king said to me: “And who is this prophet of whom you speak?”

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244 The Arabic word نزول literally means “descent;” however, contextually the word implies Jesus’ second coming or his return from heaven.
a) The prophecy of Malachi

241. So, I answered him thusly: “Surely, it is Elijah.

242. Because God Most High, through the Prophet Malachi (who brought the last prophecy of the Old Testament), spoke of him in such a way: ‘Remember the Law of Moses my servant, which I prescribed to him on (Mount) Horeb for all of Israel, the orders and the judgments. Behold, I am going to send you the Prophet Elijah, before the great and redoubtable day of the Lord arrives; then he will return the hearts of the fathers to their sons and the hearts of the sons to their fathers, lest I come and strike the land with a curse.’

b) Prophecy of John son of Zachariah

243. And the angel Gabriel, when he announced to Zachariah the conception of John, came with these very words, ‘The angel said to him: “Do not
worry Zachariah: because your prayer has been heard; and your wife Elizabeth will beget a son, and you will name him John. And you will have joy and cheerfulness; and many will rejoice of his birth. For he will be great before the Lord, and in the womb of his mother he will be filled with the Holy Spirit; he will restore many of the sons of Israel to the Lord their God. He will proceed before him with the spirit and power of Elijah, to restore the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the rebels to the thoughts of righteousness, in order to prepare for the Lord a people of good disposition."

244. Behold, Oh victorious King, how is it that the angel calls Jesus Christ, ‘Lord and God?’ So, surely the preceding verses teach us the following: That is to say, just as John, the son of Zachariah, preceded the coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh, and announced him to all, saying, ‘Here is the Lamb of God who removes the sin of the world,’ and ‘This is he who baptizes with the Holy Spirit and the fire.’ ‘This is he, the Son of God, of which I am not worthy to untie the strap of his sandal.'

246 Lk. 1: 13-18.

247 The Arabic phrase أرى أيته carries a literal meaning of “he showed him;” however, in English, John the Baptist is usually said to have announced the coming of Jesus.

248 Jn 1:29.

249 Mt. 3:11.

250 Lk. 3:16.
245. Thus, the Prophet Elijah will come, before the appearance of Jesus Christ from heaven, and he will precede him to warn all mankind and to urge them to be ready to meet him at (the time of) his glorious second coming and Christ’s rebuking of the Anti-Christ.

246. So, there is not a difference between John the Baptist and the Prophet Elijah, regarding the force of the spirit, which speaks through them; for it is one.

247. But John the Baptist had come and Elijah will come before Jesus, who will appear from heaven with power and great glory to resurrect men from amongst the dead, because he is the Word of God and he created, in the
beginning, all the creation; so, in the end, he will renew everything. He is the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords, and his reign will not end."\(^{251}\)

\(^{251}\) Luke 1:33.
The Eighth Section: The Absence of Falsification in the Torah, the (Books) of the Prophets, and the Gospel

الباب الثامن: عدم تحريف لالتوراة والأنبياء، ولا الإنجيل

Introduction

المقدمة

248. Then our abundantly wise King, said to me: “If you had not changed the Torah and the Gospel, you would have seen Muhammad along with the other prophets.”

٨٤٨ - ثمّ ملكنا الغزيرة حكمته قال لي: لو لم تغيّروا التوراة والإنجيل، لتشاهدون محمّداً أيضاً مع الأنبياء الآخر.

249. So, I answered him saying: “Oh great King, surely God Most High bestowed the crown, the thrown, and the royal scepter (upon you); and with all this, he has also given you an abundant intellect and a vast and willing heart to direct the affairs of the community and of the individuals as your nation deserves. Therefore, it is befitting in your great dignity to examine all these things of which you speak.

٩٤٩ - فجاوبته قائلًا: أيها الملك العظيم، إنّ الله تعالى منحكم التاج والعرش والصولجان الملكي؛ ومع هذه كلها، أعطاكم أيضاً ذهناً غزيراً، وقلبًا وسبيعاً ومستعدًا لتدير أمور الجماعة والأفراد، كما تستحقّ دولكم ذلك. فيليق بشأنكم العزيز أن تفحصوا عن جميع هذه الأمور التي تقولون عنها.

250. So, which things caused us to change the books?
1. The Absence of Falsification in the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets.

a) The Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets testify to all the Christian teachings

251. Indeed, the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets collectively proclaim, like the sound of thunder, and teach about the divinity of Christ, his humanity, and his divine birth that took place from the Father before all ages, which nobody is able to describe at all, as the Prophet Isaiah said: ‘And who will describe his generation?’  

252. So, this has been said of him and of his origin: ‘Since the beginning, before the creation of the world;’  


254 Ps. 110: 3.

255 Ps. 2:7; 72:17.
253. And then of his temporal birth from the mother, the Prophet Isaiah said: ‘Behold, the virgin is pregnant and will give birth to a son and he will be called Immanuel.’

254. And surely King David, Isaiah, and all the prophets have taught openly and clearly of the miracles and marvels that he was to do at the moment of his appearance in the flesh, and of the true knowledge of God, which the world will be filled with at the moment of his coming into the world.

255. And they informed us of his passion, his crucifixion, and his death in the flesh, as we have previously said. They also spoke of his resurrection from amongst the dead, and of his ascension to heaven, and of his second coming to the world, and of the resurrection of the dead, and of the Last Judgment by which all will be judged, because he is God and the Word of the Father.

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256 Isa. 7:14.
256. And because all of the Christian teaching was contained in the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets, for what reason would we change it?

ب) كيف أتفق النصارى واليهود على نفس التحرير؟

257. Then, if we suppose that we changed and falsified the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets, which we possessed amongst us, how were we able to change and falsify those which were in the hands of the Hebrews?

258. Then, if anyone objects, saying: ‘Surely, the Christians have changed and falsified the books that were in their hands, and the Jews have done likewise with theirs,’ then we would say:

259. ‘For what reason have the Jews not changed and omitted the existing verses in their books, of which the Christian religion is proud and of which it (the Christian religion) is based upon, because you do not find an enmity in the world - previously or currently - like that between the Christians and Jews.’
260. And if we said that the Jews definitively changed and falsified their books, then how would we keep silent regarding these falsified verses of theirs, for it is upon them that the object of our religion rests?

261. But, neither Christians nor Jews changed or falsified the books, as is testified by the existing enmity between them, which because of it, it is not possible that they would agree with each other on such an important matter.

Conclusion

262. So, therefore, it appears that it is impossible that the Christians and the Jews would agree with one another regarding the falsification of the books. We do not deny that the Jews have disputed us on the interpretation of some words and names, and on times. But, regarding the existence of expressions and words and their truthfulness, there is no antagonism between us at all, because the expressions and the words exist with the two parties one and the same.
263. Oh King, we did not change or falsify the Torah and the (Books) of Prophets. And it is necessary that we say the same regarding the Gospel, because what the first prophets said of Christ is written in the Gospel about him. So, therefore, one is the ray of light that shines upon us from the Torah, from the (Books) of the Prophets, and the Gospel; however, with this difference, that is to say, that in the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets there had been words and symbols, while in the Gospel they appeared as facts and reality.

٢٦٢ - فاتضح إذا أنت لم يكن ممكنًا أن يتقّق مع بعضهم التبصّر واليهود في تحرّف الكتب. ولا تّنكر أنّ الاليهود يخاصمونا في شرح بعض الكلمات والأسماء، وعن الأزمنة. ولكن، نظرًا إلى وجود الألفاظ والكلمات وحقّقتها، ليس مخصّصة بين بعضنا قطع لأنّ الألفاظ والكلمات هي موجودة عند الطرفين على حدّ سواء.

2. The Absence of Falsification in the Gospel

٢ - عدم تحرّف الإنجيل

Introduction

المقدّمة

في اِيها الملك، نحن لم نغيّرٌ أو نحرف التوراة والأنبياء. وكذلك ينبغي أن نقول عن الإنجيل؛ لأنّ ما قال الأنبياء الأولون عن المسيح، هو مكتوب في الإنجيل عنه. فإذا، واحد هو شعاع النور الذي يضيء لنا من التوراة والأنبياء والإنجيل. ولكن مع هذا الفرق، وهو: أنّ في التوراة والأنبياء قد سبق الكلام والرموز، وفي الإنجيل ظهرت الأفعال والحقيقة.
264. The Gospel warns us of that which the prophets taught regarding the divinity of Christ and his humanity, without the slightest change, because one is the Giver of the Torah and the (Books) of the Prophets, and he is God.

265. Even if we had changed and falsified the books, we would have tried to change and falsify the things considered vile, contemptible, and contrary to our religion, like: the fear, the beatings, the passion, the crucifixion, the death, and similar things.

266. But, not only have we never changed these things, but we are proud of and honor them, as we are proud of and honor the things which are sublime and great in our religion. Because we believe, just as well, that Jesus is God without beginning and without end, equal in nature to the Father; in the same way, we believe that he is truly man and equal to us through the human nature.
267. We have not, therefore, changed or falsified one solitary line in the 
book of God.

b) If the name of Muhammad was found in our books, we would have awaited 
him more than we awaited the Jewish Messiah.

268. If the name of Muhammad was found in our books, we would have 
awaited with impatience his coming, as we desired to receive the ones of whom 
the prophets had written.

269. Then, what relationship do we have with the Jews more so than we 
have with the Ishmaelites? Why would we have received Christ who was of the 
Jewish race and would have refused Muhammad, who originally descended from 
the offspring of the Ishmaelites, because our natural relationship with the 
Ishmaelites as well as the Jews is one.

270. And the truth obliges me to say that, before the appearance of Christ, 
the Jews possessed respect from every nation and from God as well, but after the 
appearance of the Word of God in the flesh from amongst them, they have 
become rejected and despised by God and by mankind, because they closed their
eyes so as not to see and not to enjoy the light which came to the world to shine upon mankind; thus, the Jews have become horrible and detested by all.

٢٧٠ َوَالْحَقَّ يَضْطَرَّنِي أَنْ أَقُوَّلُ إِنَّ، قَبْلُ ظَهْوَرِ المِسْرِيحِ، كَانَ الْيَهُودُ ذَوِي اعْتِبارٍ عِنْدَ جَمِيعِ الأَمْمِ، وَعِنْدَ اللَّهِ اِيْسَارًا. وَبَعْدُ ظَهْوَرِ كَلْمَةِ اللَّهِ فِي الْجَسْدِ مِنْهُمْ، صَارُوا مِرْدَوْلِينَ وَمَحْقُورِينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَالْإِنْسَانِ، لَكَيْنَ غَيْضِوا عِيْنَهِمْ لَثَلَّةٍ يُبَصِّرُوا وَيَتَمَثَّلُوا بِالْنُّورِ الَّذِي أَتَى إِلَى الْعَالَمِ لِينِيرَ الْإِنسَانِ. فَفَاضِحُ أَنْ، الْيَهُودُ مَبْغُوظُينَ وَمُكْرَهُينَ مِنْ كُلِّ احْدِثٍ.

٢٧١. The Ishmaelites, on the contrary, are honored and respected by God and by mankind for they have abandoned worshipping idols and Satan, and they adore and honor God alone. Therefore, they merit that all love them and honor them.

٢٧٢. So, if one found in the books a prophesy in their favor, not only would we not change it and falsify it, but we would have regarded it with a great joy, as we await the one who will come in the end, as we have said above, for we do not correct the commandments of God, but to the contrary, we observe them.”
Conclusion

الخاتمة

273. Then our King said to me smiling: “Let us abandon the discussion and we will speak of these things at a later time, when an opportunity befalls us in order that we may engage it further.”

274. And we praised God, who is the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords, who gives wisdom and comprehension to kings in order that they administer their kingdoms with justice and mercy. Then we prayed for the King and for his nation, beseeching God to strengthen it and protect it in the world always, and to establish his throne with justice and equity forever. Amen.

275. And thus, we parted from him.
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