

TESTAMENT OF SOLOMON AND OTHER PSEUDEPIGRAPHICAL MATERIAL IN *AḤKĀM SULAYMĀN (JUDGMENTS OF SOLOMON)*

Version 1.0

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Arabic text which is the subject of this paper was first brought to scholarly attention by Georg Graf in his seminal *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*ⁱⁱⁱ. Graf includes *Judgments of Solomon* (JSol) in his overview of legends concerning David and Solomon, doing so on two occasions: first he identifies an Arabic translation of the *Testament of Solomon*^{iv} (TSol) in Vaticano arabo 448, fols. 39r-54r, yet without naming the work it constitutes a part of. A little later, he lists JSol as a separate work (29r-54r) consisting of five distinct parts, including the previously mentioned translation of TSol^v.

Having failed to capture the interest of scholars of pseudepigrapha and apocrypha for some time, the next significant reference to JSol comes with James H. Charlesworth's *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*^{vi}. Charlesworth, however, merely cites Graf's identification of an Arabic translation of TSol^{vii} and with another reference to Graf includes JSol as item no. 10 in his list of twelve Solomonic apocrypha (the "Solomon Cycle")^{viii}. Thanks to the well-deserved authority of *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, all subsequent research on TSol continues to include Vat. ar. 448 as an Arabic recension in their overview of manuscript witnesses^{ix}, yet so far, no attempt has been made to study this work.

It is the purpose of this paper to remedy that and to show that JSol does not in fact contain a translation of any known recension of TSol, although it does draw heavily from it. We will further show that JSol is a compilation of canonical, pseudepigraphical and legendary material relating to King Solomon, some of it known previously, other not, that celebrates Solomon's wisdom and his power over demons. Along with bringing attention to previously unknown manuscript witnesses, we will briefly examine the structure and the content of this work, analyze its substantial connection to the *Testament of Solomon* and see what insights JSol can provide into pseudepigrapha and their place in Eastern and Oriental versions of the Bible.

2. MANUSCRIPT WITNESSES

2.1 KNOWN MANUSCRIPTS

1. VAT. AR. 448 - Vaticano arabo 448. Egypt (?), 17th century^x. Paper, i+212 fols. numbered in Coptic numerals (original scribe) and western numerals (cataloguer), 15 lines per page, careless partially vocalized Egyptian *nashī*.

According to the Arabic *fihrist* written on fol. i, the manuscript contains the following works:

Work	Fihrist	Cat. fols.
1. Ecclesiastes	اوله كتاب قوهلت هو الجامع	1 - 20
2. Song of Songs	ثانيه كتاب نشيد الانشاد في عدد 21	21 - 28r

3.	Judgments of Solomon	كتاب الاحكام للسيد سلمان في عدد 29	29 - 54r
4.	Wisdom	كتاب الحكمه في عدد الورق 59	59 - 88r
5.	Proverbs	كتاب الامثال في عدد 89	89 - 141
6.	Tobit	كتاب طوبي ابن طوبي في عدد 142	142 - 158
7.	Esther	كتاب استير الاسرايليه في عدد 159	159 - 167
8.	A commentary on the Lord's prayer	تفسير ابونا الذي في السموات في عدد 170	170 - 180r
9.	Judith	كتاب يوديد العبرانيه في عدد 181	181 - 212
10.	A letter by Hermes the Wise (?)	كتاب رساله الحكيم هرمس في عدد 215	?

The final work, however, appears to be missing from the volume, as are fols. 55-58 and 169; fol. 168 is vac. This is the manuscript originally studied and cited by Graf.

2. BNF AR 214 - Bibliothèque Nationale de France Fonds Arabe 214 (previous designations: Regius 385, Ancien Fonds 880). Egypt, 1254 AM / 1538 AD. Paper, 262 folios numbered in Coptic numerals, 285 mm x 210 mm, 17 lines per page, fine partially vocalized Egyptian *nashīṭ*^{xi}.

De Slane's and Troupeau's descriptions divide the manuscript into twelve sections which for the most part correspond with individual works:

Section	Folios
1. A refutation of those who claim Mary was not called 'The Mother of God'	1 - 25
2. A dispute between the monk Ibrāhīm and a muslim prince Abd ar-Rahmān concerning the veracity of the Christian faith	26 - 47
3. A letter sent from Cyprus to Taqīy ad-Dīn ibn at-Taymīyya of Damascus	48 - 65r
4. A dispute between the monks Satiricus and Andrew and 'Amrān the Jew	65v - 112r
5. Four books of the Old Testament with an introduction	112v - 185
6. Judgments of Solomon	186 - 203
7. A dispute between a Christian and a Jew	203v - 220r
8. A commentary on the Lord's Prayer by Anbā Andrew	220v - 221r
9. A commentary on the Nicene Creed, a chapter from <i>Kitāb mağmū' uṣūl ad-dīn</i> by Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Assā'ī and Abū Iṣḥāq al-Mu'taman	221v - 227r
10. 19 responses to theological questions by St. Athanasius of Alexandria	227v - 231
11. 23 responses by St. Gregorius of Nysse to his student Ephrem	232-256
12. A privilege granted to all Christians by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Muṭallib	257-261

Section 5, however, contains five distinct works in Arabic - translations of Ecclesiastes (114v-126), Song of Songs (126-131), Wisdom of Solomon (131v-150), Proverbs (150v-185v) and a translator's introduction to Wisdom and Proverbs (112v-114), all written in the same hand as JSol. In the introduction, the translator makes a brief reference to Solomon's lost works:

Solomon left three thousand proverbs and one thousand and five songs, but they perished and were lost during the captivity of the Children of Israel. And of the proverbs, only this book remained and the book of Qohelet, and of the songs, only the Song of Songs.

No mention, however, is made of JSol.

Although Graf was well acquainted with the Arabic mss collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale, he does not mention this manuscript.

3. COPTIC MUSEUM 31

A 17th century manuscript identified by Graf and cited^{xii} with a note “zwischen Sap und Sir” which presumably refers to folios where JSol can be found.

4. COPTIC MUSEUM 67

In addition to the previous manuscript, the Coptic Museum Ms. 67 also contains of an edition of JSol^{xiii}, seemingly unknown to Graf. We haven't had the opportunity to examine either of the Coptic Museum manuscripts.

5. DAYR MĀR MĪNĀ 120

A Christian Arabic manuscript kept at the library of the Cloister of Saint Menas at Cairo. JSol occupies folios 34r - 53v^{xiv}. We haven't had the opportunity to examine this manuscript.

2.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AVAILABLE KNOWN MANUSCRIPTS

It is immediately apparent that the one thing tying Vat. ar. 448 and BnF 214 together is the fact that both contain a collection of Solomonic writings which include the canonical (Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Proverbs and Wisdom of Solomon), as well as the non-canonical (JSol). The relationship of both sets of canonical books will need to be examined closely to determine the textual history of both translations. As for JSol, both recensions are remarkably close in wording, appearance (the general title, the titles of the first three sections) and in their distinct linguistic features. Considering the fact that BnF 214 is the older of the two witnesses, one would be tempted to hypothesize that Vat. ar. 448 is a copy of BnF 214. However, several indicators speak against that. First, BnF 214 is relatively consistently vocalized while Vat. ar. 448 is not and where it is, the vocalization is different. Secondly, there are a number of differences that could not have arisen had the scribe of Vat. ar. 448 copied BnF 214. The most notable of those is the name of the king of the Gentiles who appears in stories V and VIII (see manuscript division below). Where BnF 214 with its clear *nashī* unmistakably reads ناسوب [n'wn], Vat. ar. 448 has ياسوب [y'wn]. Whether both these witnesses ultimately rely on a single older one or whether the textual history of JSol is more complicated than that remains to be seen.

3. ORIGIN AND HISTORY

Judgments of Solomon assembles material of different origin into a relatively coherent narrative, much reminiscent in its style and form of Arabic popular literature, especially

popular romances^{xv}. While it is immediately obvious that JSol has been compiled from various sources, some of it possibly translated from at least two languages, it is also clear that the compiler made a significant effort to tie the stories together both conceptually and in terms of chronology. Beyond that, however, the manuscripts themselves offer very little insight into the origin and the process of compilation of JSol. Indeed the only fact we can be certain of is that this work in its form currently known to us originated in Egypt's Christian milieu some time before 1538. With the exception of the first two parts, the language of JSol clearly betrays its origin through a number of dialectal features typical of Egyptian Arabic (ت and د for ث and ذ consistently throughout, بحري and قبلي for “north” and “south”, respectively, the dialectal cohortative particle خلي and so forth). Even the narrative itself shows signs of adaptation of foreign elements to Egyptian sensibilities, as in Story VIIIa, where in the middle of the narration, the previously nameless and unimportant country of ناوون / ياوون king of the Gentiles suddenly grows in importance and is identified with Egypt.

It is equally difficult to trace the ultimate origin of all constituent parts of JSol. Except for the first two sections, translations of well-known passages from the canonical Old Testament, only one story can be directly traced to older material (story V and the Coptic *Legend of Solomon and Thabor*). We will show below that at least four other stories (IV, VI, VII and VIII) incorporate various motifs from the *Testament of Solomon* and thus must be counted under those relying on older material, albeit indirectly. We also include here story X which shares a basic narrative motif with one of the legends from an Old Russian collection of Solomonic lore known under the name *Sudy Solomona*^{xvi} (“Judgments of Solomon”) preserved in various manuscripts of *Paleyа tolkovaya*^{xvii}.

As for the remaining parts of the narrative, the text itself suggests that at least some of those stories (most notably VI and IX) were translated into Arabic – problems with identification of characters and their names, repetitiveness, some uncharacteristic syntactic structures and curious lexical choices are evidence of translation or at least adaptation from another language. Finally, it is remarkable that very little in JSol, with the possible exception of the structure of stories IX and X and the concept of castles floating in the air in story VI, is similar to or reminiscent of any of the many works of Muslim Arabic Solomonic literature. It is our hope that further research will shed more light on the relationship of JSol to both Christian (Greek and Coptic) and Islamic Solomonic lore.

4. STRUCTURE AND ANALYSIS

4.1 OVERVIEW

When describing the contents of JSol, Graf identifies five separate narratives, the final one being the alleged translation of TSol. Upon closer examination, however, it becomes obvious that the structure of JSol is slightly more complex. The following table provides an overview of our division of JSol into individual stories based on both external clues (titles, rubrics, less formal division marks such as the phrase “و بعد ذلك”), as well as the progression of the narrative:

No.	Brief description	BnF Ar 214 fols.	Vat. ar. 448 fols.
I	Solomon asks God for wisdom – 1 Kings 3:4-15	186r	29r – 29v l. 13

II	Solomon and the two harlots – 1 Kings 3:16-28 (Solomon’s first judgment)	186v : 1 – 187r : 6	29v : 14 – 31r : 1
III	Joachim and his daughters Mary and Martha (Solomon’s second judgment)	187 : 7 – 189v : 8	31r : 1 – 34v
IV	Demons prevent people from worshipping at the Temple, Solomon is given a ring to control them and forces them to work on the Temple	189v : 9 – 191v : 2	35r – 37r : 15
V	ناوون [n’wwn] / ياونون [y’wwn] king of the Gentiles visits	191v : 2 – 192v : 5	37r : 15 – 39r : 2
VI	365 demons rebel against Solomon	192v : 5 – 193v : 13	39r : 2 – 40v : 5
VII	A demon steals food from one of the workers	193v : 13 – 194v : 10	40v : 5 – 41v : 13
VIIIa	ناوون [n’wwn]/ ياونون [y’wwn] king of the Gentiles writes to Solomon asking him to rid him of the demon who plagues his land (Egypt)	194v : 10 – 196r : 7	41v : 13 – 43v
VIIIb	Solomon sends his servant with the ring to capture the demon	196r : 7 – 198r : 12	44r – 47r : 2
IXa	Queen of demons sinks ships, كرام [kr’m] king of دارس [d’rs] writes to Solomon asking to rid him of her; Solomon sends his servant who brings her to him; Solomon interrogates her and learns her name – نادورا [t’dwr’] among the demons, الاردميس [l’rdmys] among the people	198r : 12 – 199r : 17	47r : 2 – 48v : 6
IXb	Solomon asks the queen of demons to recount her sins, she tells the story of how she blinded a man named وروول [’wrwl] and 10/12 servants in the Temple	199r : 17 – 201r : 5	48v : 6 – 51r : 8
X	A man named قستاردس [qst’rds] dies and leaves his three sons a puzzling testament (Solomon’s third judgment)	201r : 5 – 203r	51r : 8 - 54

These stories are arranged in chronological order with the construction of the Temple serving as the main indicator of a story’s place on the timeline. Thus in stories I through III, there is no Temple yet, instead a ‘sanctuary’ (هيكل) is mentioned. Story IV takes place around the time the foundations for the Temple (بيت الله) were laid and its conclusion is tied directly to the beginning of story V. Three years have passed in story VI and the events of the remaining stories seem to follow one another, with the exception of the flashback in IXb, where once again references are made to a sanctuary (هيكل).

While the exact relationship of individual constituent parts of JSol to each other in terms of their history is unclear, it is obvious that a significant effort has been made to shape them into a coherent narrative. Thus for example, story VIIIb references God’s promise from story I to award Solomon riches and power, stories V and VIIIa are tied together by the character of the king of the Gentiles and the final story once again recounts a judgment made by Solomon after a detour into his dealings with demons.

In the following sections, we present a brief summary of the contents of individual stories highlighting where appropriate details significant for our understanding of the work.

4.2 THE CANONICAL INTRODUCTION (STORIES I AND II)

We begin with the retelling of Solomon’s dream at Gibeon (1 Kings 3:4-15) and of his most famous judgment (1 Kings 3:16-28). Both stories are essentially a translation of the canonical version, but not entirely. First, the reaction of the women to Solomon’s test is quite different

from 1 Kings 3:26. In JSol, it is the mother of the dead boy who speaks first. As for the other woman,

وان الامر له الذي لها الولد الحي وقعت علي الارض. وسجدت للملك سليمان وقالت له اسمع يا سيدي الملك ادفع الولد الحي لهده ولا تهلكه. وادا قمت كل يوم نظرتة في شوارع المدينة تسليت به.

And then the mother of the living boy fell to the ground, prostrated herself before Solomon and said: “Oh my Lord the king, give the living boy to this woman and do not kill (lit. destroy) him, so when I rise every day and see him in the streets of the city, I can rejoice in him.”

This addition cannot be found in either the canonical Old Testament or the Septuagint, nor have we been able to find it in any other versions of the Bible.

Secondly, story II is the first time we encounter Solomon’s boy-servant (غلام الذي لسليمان) who will go on to play an important role in Solomon’s dealings with demons. In story II, he is the one who is told to fetch the sword, as opposed to unspecified ‘they’ in 1 Kings 3:24.

4.3 JOACHIM’S DAUGHTERS AND TRIAL BY WATER (STORY III)

We learn of a man named Joachim and his two daughters: Martha the older and righteous one and Mary the younger who is full of deceit and corruption. One day people find a dead baby left at the door to the sanctuary (هيكل). Outraged and wanting to punish the perpetrator as Moses’ law (ناموس موسى) requires, they inquire with the priest as to where this sin originated and he points to the house of Joachim. Immediately suspicious of Martha, the people seek Solomon’s advice who has her undergo a trial by water: the priest prays over water, then sprinkles it over Martha and sends her out to the desert. When she comes back alive proving that she’s innocent, people turn on the priest, but Solomon defends him deciding to administer a trial by water of his own. He prays over the baptismal pool in the sanctuary asking God to reveal the guilt of anyone who enters the pool and cover them with boils. When Martha is submerged into the water seven times, she emerges safe and healthy. Solomon then orders Mary to dive into the water. When she emerges covered with boils, she is punished as God’s law requires and people praise Solomon’s wisdom.

4.4 THE GIFT OF THE RING (STORY IV)

Sometime after laying the foundations of the Temple (بيت الله), Solomon is on his way to bring offerings there, when he finds himself once again confronted with the clergy. This time, the priest refuses to take his offerings and scolds him for the sorry state of things in his kingdom. The priest reminds Solomon that from the day he became king, great demons (شياطين) have been coming to many people and prevented them from worshipping at the Temple. “God made you a king over his people,” says the priest, “so go and pray to him and ask him to give you the power of demons.” Having heard this, Solomon retires to the Temple where he prays to God all night. When God finally appears, He tells Solomon not to worry about the priest

and the demons, because “I will give you a ring^{xviii} (خاتم) to drive them away and to keep them under your control. You will bind them with my name. This I will teach you and also how you can order them to cut stones for the construction of the Temple you are building in my name.” And God gives Solomon the ring and tells him His Magnificent Name (الاسم العظيم) which Solomon can use to control the demons. Solomon brings his offering, exits the Temple and immediately assembles all the demons and orders them to bring and cut stones. Demons gather stones from mountains everywhere and they do so in the night, so that when one evening, there were no stones available for the next day, in the morning there are enough stones for ten thousand men to work with for one whole year. With all this happening, however, the men who worked in the night did not see the demons.

There was a great stone that the workers could not lift, so Solomon stamped it with his ring and the demons lifted it so high that the men tired from carrying it. So Solomon made a copy of the ring and gave it to the workers so they could command the demons. Every time there was a stone too big to move, they would place a stick on it, say “In the name of Solomon’s ring, let this stone move here or there” and point the stick. The demons would then haul the stone as ordered and work with the people who, however, never saw them. King Solomon worked on the Temple for 46 years and for the entire time, no sound of a saw or an axe was heard (1 Kings 6:7), because

“God gave Solomon a precious stone with His Magnificent name on it, of which Solomon made a copy and gave it to the artisans. And so whenever the workers wanted to cut stone or saw wood, they would simply put the precious stone to the wood or the stone and cut them with it.”

4.5 THE VISIT OF THE KING (STORY V)

The focus of the narrative suddenly shifts beyond Israel, to king نورو [nwrw'] of the البابين / الباتين who heard that Solomon was building a Temple to God whereupon he shuttered with fear and decided to wage war on Solomon. And so he, suddenly named ياوون / ناوون and referred to as ملك الشعوب “king of the people”, assembled his army and travelled to Jerusalem with many gifts with the intent to first gauge Solomon’s strength. Having arrived at Solomon’s court, [n’wn] is greeted by Solomon and invited to a feast. Once the feast is over and both kings retire, [n’wn] is once again occupied by belligerent thoughts when suddenly there appear demons carrying stones and dropping them at the building site of the Temple, causing the ground to shake. Afraid, [n’wn] wakes Solomon and asks him “Solomon, my brother, what is this great noise?” But Solomon only laughs and explains that these are demons working on the Temple. Having heard this, [n’wn] is overwhelmed by fear and says to himself “If he can make demons work (for him) and bring stones for the building of his Temple, who am I to wage war on him? He would make them bend me and everyone with me like potter’s clay.” In the morning, [n’wn] returns to his country and never again entertains the thought of waging war on Solomon, being so afraid of the demons under Solomon’s control.

This rather curious story appears to be a faithful translation of a virtually unknown^{xix} 10th century Coptic text *Legend of Solomon and Thabor* from a ms located at the John Rylands Library in Manchester and previously described by Walter E. Crum^{xx}. It can be found in

Crum's ms no. 85, much of it illegible due to the binding with manuscript in such a bad condition that even a digital copy of this section cannot be made. Fortunately, Crum provided a transliteration of the text and though substantial portions of the beginning are missing, it can be conclusively established that Story V is indeed a translation of this legend.

Two important aspects of this story could have significant implications for our understanding of both the *Legend of Solomon and Thabor* and the textual history of JSol: first, at the very beginning of the story, the king of the Gentiles is referred to as *نوروا ملك الباتين / نوروا ملك البابين* [nwrw' king of the ?], it is only later that we learn that he is *ياوون ملك الشعوب / ناوون ملك الشعوب*. This hints at the possibility of a different material being reworked to better fit into the established narrative structure. Secondly, the reference to demons working in the night, tangential to story IV, becomes a major dramatic device in story V. This connection might indicate that the Coptic story of Solomon and Thabor was a part of a longer narrative.

4.6 365 DEMONS REBEL (STORY VI)

The construction of the Temple has now been in progress for three years and some demons have escaped from Solomon's control and gathered in a valley where they debate what to do. Complaining that it has been three years now that they've been slaving away and the Temple isn't even halfway finished, they decide to tear out a great stone castle^{xxi} (قلعة) and drop it over the construction site of the Temple to make it sink to the ground. And so 365 demons gather and tear out a piece of rock big enough to cover the whole of Jerusalem and all who live there. When Solomon hears of it, he summons his servant, gives him the ring and tells him to go and look for a great piece of rock moving carried by invisible demons 1700 cubits above ground and once he finds it, he's to say the following: "Listen, oh assembly of demons: I adjure you in the name of the ring that God gave to my master, king Solomon, to stop right here carrying this rock until the final destruction of Jerusalem." Solomon's servant takes the ring and sets out until he is 12 *baṛd* away from Jerusalem and sees the rock moving in the air like a cloud and casting a dark shadow, yet with no one carrying it. He approaches it and says exactly as Solomon has commanded him. The rock stops moving and remains suspended between heaven and earth, 1700 cubits above ground, held there by 365 demons. Solomon's servant returns to his master and king Solomon continues building the Temple with the help of the rest of the demons.

4.7 THE THEFT OF FOOD (STORY VII)

A man working on the Temple is plagued by a demon who approaches him as a breath of fire every time he sits down to eat and takes his food from him. As a result, the man grows thin and weak. When Solomon sees him, he asks: "What is wrong with you? Of all the men who work here, you are the only one who grows weak. Don't they give you enough food to sustain you?" When the workman explains his predicament, Solomon gives him a copy of his ring and instructs him to show it to the demon and say the following: "Behold, this is Lord Sabaoth, god of my master Solomon, and this is his ring in my hand. You will not take anything from me." When the next day the workman sits down to eat and sees the demon approaching, he screams at him: "Behold, this is the Lord, god of my master Solomon, and this is the ring of

the God of Israel in my hand. For its sake, you will not take my food from me.” Upon hearing this and seeing the ring, the demon departs from the man, never to return.

4.8 THE KINGS CORRESPOND (STORY VIII)

(VIIIa) Having left Solomon’s kingdom, the demon from Story VII moves to the province of **بضر** [ydr]^{xxii} and lays waste on it, appearing with a strong southern wind and plaguing both people and beasts of burden, throwing them off the road. When [n’wn] king of the peoples, the ruler of this land, hears of it, he remembers that God gave Solomon power over demons. And so he assembles treasures of gold and silver and many gifts, gives them to his servant and sends him to Solomon with this letter:

[n’wn] king of the Gentiles writes to king Solomon in Jerusalem. First of all, greetings to you. I wrote you to (ask you to) accept my gifts and not to return them like the first gift at the time I came to you while you were building the Temple when you were prevented from taking them. I have heard that your name is great and the scent of your goodness is spread through all the lands of the earth and that God gave you power over all the demons whom you bound not to plague people. I have also heard that you have a ring with which you control them and bind them and order them to go and do as you command. Therefore I ask you, in regard to a demon who is destroying and laying waste to the whole of the land of Egypt, to rid us of him because he is destroying our land. Greetings.

When [n’wn]’s servant arrives in Jerusalem, Solomon interrogates him asking where he comes from and whether he comes in peace or seeking war. The servant replies that he is from Egypt, sent by king [n’wn] to deliver gifts and a letter. Solomon reads the letter and replies:

I have accepted your gifts brought by your servant and I will not return them. As for your request, I will do what you ask and rid you of the demon who is destroying the land of Egypt, so that he will never return.

[n’wn]’s servant returns home with the letter. When the people of Egypt learn that he’s come back, they gather and ask whether Solomon agreed to rid them of the demon. [n’wn]’s servant reads them the letter, then returns to his master and reads him the letter again. Having heard this, the people of Egypt rejoice and wonder how is it possible that Solomon can control demons.

(VIIIb) Meanwhile back in Jerusalem, Solomon summons his servant and tells him to take the ring, get a camel and load it with food and then go to Egypt, find the demon, bind him and bring him back. The servant is afraid and asks how he should capture him. Solomon tells him: “Go and look for a mighty southern wind, then go straight into the fire, southern wind and smoke. Stop and don’t be afraid, for you have the ring from God with you. Then wait for the demon, stand firm and say ‘This is what my master, king Solomon, says: in the name of the ring given to him by the Lord, god of Israel.’ You will thus bind him and find and capture him.

Then bring him to me.” The boy takes the ring and leaves for Egypt where events unfold exactly as Solomon predicted. When the demon sees the ring, he is bound and Solomon’s servant sets out to take him back to Jerusalem. As they approach the mountain of Egypt (جبل مصر), the demon begs not to be taken to Solomon and to be released. Solomon’s servant is looking for some quid pro quo, so the demon promises to show him where he can find gold, silver and precious stones. The boy agrees and the demon takes him to the gold which the boy seals with the ring. The demon then shows him where he can find silver and precious stones and the boy seals both with the ring. When the demon asks to be released, Solomon’s servant once again wants to know what’s in it for him and this time, the demon promises to reveal the location of more treasure, 8 troves, each full of precious stones of a different kind. The boy seals each of them with Solomon’s ring. When the demon asks to be released, the boy once again recites Solomon’s words and refuses. And so as they approach Jerusalem, the demon causes a great storm with dust covering Jerusalem and cries with a great voice. Everyone in the city trembles, even Solomon is afraid. But he knows that it was the demon and so he pronounces a curse over the demon barring him from every place on earth and sending him to the fires of Hell until the Judgment Day. The boy then leads Solomon to all the treasures the demon has shown him, thus fulfilling God promise made to Solomon at Gibeon “And I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked, both riches, and honour” (1 Kings 3:13, KJV).

4.9 QUEEN OF DEMONS (STORY IX)

(IXa) When the queen of demons learns of Solomon’s power over demons and his ability to command them and bend them to his will, she resolves to escape from him. Solomon pronounces a curse over her barring her from every place on earth, except for the sea, so she takes up residence in the sea and starts turning over ships. She appears over them as a cloud with strong wind and dust and sinks each and every one ship passing through, so that after some time, no one would travel across that sea. كرام [kr’m] king of دارس [d’rs] turns to Solomon for help. Solomon sends his servant with the ring and tells him to stand at the shore and by the power of the ring of God drive her out of the sea. The boy does as told and brings the queen of demons to Solomon. Solomon interrogates her and learns that she is known as تادورا [t’dwr’] among the demons and الاردميس [l’rdmys] among the humans. He also asks her to recount her sins, whereupon she tells him (IXb) that she blinded a man named اورول [’wrwl] and ten (or, in later repetition, twelve) servants in the Temple. Having heard this, Solomon sends the queen of demons to the fires of hell and she obeys, being afraid of him and his power.

4.10 THE FINAL JUDGMENT (STORY X)

A rich man named قستاردس [qst’rds] has three sons and worries that when he dies, the two older ones will cheat the youngest out of his inheritance. Knowing that Solomon has been granted great wisdom by God, he decides to write a testament to prevent that from happening, so after his death, his sons will have to stand before Solomon who will judge between them. When he dies, his sons open the testament and learn that their father placed all his gold, silver and precious stones in a leather sack sealed with a clay seal. The youngest son will inherit the contents of the sack, the second one will inherit the sack and the oldest son will inherit the clay

seal. After some fighting, they decide to go to Jerusalem and submit to Solomon’s judgment. When Solomon reads the testament, his wisdom reveals the true purpose of the testament and so he rules thusly: the youngest will get all the money, because he was given the contents of the sack, the second son will take all the animals his father owned because of the skin the sack is made of and the oldest will inherit all his father’s lands, because of the clay seal. The three sons realize that their father divided his property fairly and praise Solomon’s wisdom. As noted above, this story is essentially a retelling of the first story in an Old Russian collection of Solomonic lore known under the name *Sudy Solomona*, i.e. “Judgments of Solomon”. The Russian version^{xxiii} is much shorter, barrels take place of sacks and the order in which the sons receive their inheritance is reversed (the oldest receives all the gold), but it is obvious that this is indeed the same story.

5. JSOL AND TSOL

A student of the *Testament of Solomon* will immediately recognize a number of narrative elements and motifs from TSol incorporated into JSol. The following table provides a brief overview of these, arranged first by narrative elements and then by motif and their place in TSol:

TSol	JSol
1:1-4 Orniias steals food from a worker	Story VII
1:5-7 God gives Solomon a ring to control demons	Story IV
22:1-19 Letter of Adarkes concerning the wind demon	Story VIIIa
24:25 Solomon adjures demons to hold a castle in the air	Story VI
Solomon makes demons work on the Temple	Story V
Solomon interrogates demons, learns their names and asks what evils they do	Story IXb
Solomon tells his servant to capture the Arabian wind demon	Story VIIIb

The order suggests that whatever the Vorlage, it probably did not resemble any of the recensions of the *Testament of Solomon* known to us^{xxiv}. And even these narrative elements and motifs show a number of differences to TSol, the most significant of which are:

A) Solomon is given the ring not in response to the theft of the food (note that the sucking of a thumb is completely absent), but only when prompted to ask for power over demons by a priest in reaction to demons plaguing people who wish to worship at the Temple. Moreover, it is not archangel Michael who brings him the ring, but rather God himself. Much (if not all) of the duality for which TSol is notable^{xxv} is thus absent. Furthermore, if God speaks to Solomon directly at the beginning (albeit in a dream), it does not make sense to send an angel later in the story. It is also notable that Solomon is not once, but twice (Stories III and V) pitted against a priest. The direct communication between God and Solomon only strengthens his status as God’s favorite and his opposition to the Jewish establishment represented by the priesthood (in Story IV) suggests an attempt to portray Solomon in a different light – not exactly a magician, but rather a forerunner of sorts to Jesus.

B) While TSol proper is known for its elaborate demonology, there is no evidence of any such interest on the part of the compiler of JSol. The demon who steals the food in Story VII (who is also identified with the Arabian wind demon Eppiphas from TSol 22-23) is not named and neither are any of the demons who work on the Temple or the demons who are ordered to lift up the castle. The only demon who is named is the queen of demons and she is given two names, both somewhat Greek-sounding (Arthemis and Theodora perhaps?) – one used among demons, the other one known to the people. The confrontation with her is the only one that partially follows the pattern established in TSol: first Solomon learns her name, then he orders her to tell him of the evil she does (blinding men). Once again in contrast to TSol, no thwarting angel is mentioned. Instead, Solomon uses his power and has her, just like the demon plaguing Egypt in Story VIIIb, sent straight to hell. The absence of angels who thwart the workings of demons underlies our point regarding duality of power in TSol and its absence in JSol – in JSol, Solomon’s power given to him by God is enough to counter any evil the demons are capable of.

C) Solomon’s direct interaction of demons is limited to stories IV (the granting of the ring) and IX (the queen of demons). In all other cases (stories VI, VIIIb and IXa), it is his servant who does the work, as in TSol 29:9-15 (the capture of the Arabian wind demon). In addition, Solomon makes a copy of the ring and gives it to the craftsmen who work on the Temple and to the man whose food is stolen by the demon. While Solomon’s servant and the starving man are instructed to use the ring along with Solomon’s and God’s name (“God Sabaoth” or “God of Israel”) to control demons, the craftsmen only need a copy of the ring and a stick to make demons work. This is very much reminiscent of the later tradition (e.g. *Clavicula Solomonis*) where it’s the form and structure of the ring or seal and not its divine provenance that make it work and where Solomon’s name on its own is powerful enough to achieve the desired effect.

6. CONCLUSION

The inclusion of JSol in what would otherwise be a collection of canonical books in both the Paris and the Vatican manuscripts indicates the status which the author or compiler ascribed or sought to ascribe to JSol, namely that of a book of the Bible once lost and now found again. This assumption could be strengthened by the translator’s remarks regarding the lost works of Solomon in the introduction to the translation of Wisdom and the Proverbs in BnF Ar 214 (fols. 112v-185), as well as the inclusion of the well-known canonical stories at the very beginning of the work. The latter might also suggest that the compiler wished to contrast JSol to other legends around Solomon, such as those included in *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* by al-Kisā’ī^{xxvi}, which must have been known in one form or another to his Arabic speaking audience. The inclusion of works translated from Coptic and the Egyptian milieu JSol originated in offer a fascinating possibility that at least some of the material recognizable to us as a part of TSol was lifted from an unknown Coptic recension of the Testament of Solomon. If so, the compiler of JSol was in a much stronger position to argue the authenticity of his work as originating within the ancient Christian tradition of Egypt. It is our hope that further research will shed more light on this and on various other open questions regarding the ultimate origin of the various

constituent parts of JSol and their relationship with the rest of the rich and varied Solomonic lore.

ⁱ This is an enlarged and corrected version of a paper presented at the 2009 International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Rome, in the session “Bible in Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Traditions”, July 4th, 2009. My thanks go to all the participants in that session for their helpful comments and suggested improvements.

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ⁱⁱⁱ Graf, Georg, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur. Vol. 1* (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), 210-211.

^{iv} McCown, C.C., *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1922), English translation in Duling, D.C. “Testament of Solomon,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Vol. 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (edited by James H. Charlesworth; New York : Doubleday, 1983), 935-987. In the following, we’ll cite Duling’s translation and use his division of TSol into chapters.

^v Graf, *Geschichte*, 210.

^{vi} Charlesworth, James H., *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research (with a Supplement)* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1981), 197-202.

^{vii} Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 197.

^{viii} Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 202. It is interesting to note that among those twelve, Charlesworth also includes “(7) Solomon’s Warning to Rehoboam” (Graf’s “Mahnrede Salomons”, *Geschichte* p. 209). This work can be found in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Syriacque 194 (BnF Syriacque 194), fols. 153r-156v and it is the very same work Charlesworth identifies as “a recension of portions of the Testament of Solomon extant in Karshuni” (*Pseudepigrapha*, p. 201). Having had the opportunity to examine this manuscript, we note that while the title of the work in question begins with the words *Waṣīyyat Sulaymān* (“The testament of Solomon”), it is in fact not a recension of TSol, but a late Christian Arabic composition belonging to the genre of *waṣīyya* – spiritual testaments written by kings and rulers for their successors. For more information on the genre in Islamic milieu, see Gilliot, Claude, “*In consilium tuum deduces me: le genre du «Conseil» naṣīha, waṣīyya dans la littérature arabo-musulmane*,” *Arabica*, 54/4 (2007): 466-499. While this work (which we have come to call “the Pseudotestament of Solomon”) may indeed have been influenced by other pseudepigrapha, especially wisdom literature and stories of Ahiqar and Luqmān, it has absolutely no connection to the *Testament of Solomon*, save for the title.

^{ix} Thus for example Duling, D.C., “Testament of Solomon,” 935-987, Klutz, Todd, *Rewriting the Testament of Solomon: Tradition, Conflict and Identity in a Late Antique Pseudepigraphon* (London: T&T Clark International, 2005) and Schwarz, Sarah L., “Reconsidering the Testament of Solomon,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 16 (2007): 203-237. Referring to *Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, these studies also cite BnF Syriacque 194 as a Syriac (and not Karshuni, i.e. Arabic, as correctly observed by Charlesworth) recension of TSol (which it is not).

^x Graf, *Geschichte*, 210.

^{xi} M. Le Baron de Slane, *Catalogue de manuscrit arabes* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883-1895), 54-55. Also see Troupeau, Gérard, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Première partie. Manuscrits chrétiens. Tome I. N^{os} 1-323*

(Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1972), 185-187. Both catalogues are available in digital format at <http://www.bnf.fr/pages/catalog/mssor-num.htm>.

^{xii} Graf, *Geschichte*, 211.

^{xiii} Sinaika and and ‘Abd al-Masīh, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts of the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the principal churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the monasteries of Egypt. Volume 1* (Cairo: Government Press, 1939), 171.

^{xiv} Khater, Antoine, and Khs-Burmester, O.H.E., *Catalogue of the Coptic and Christian Arabic MSS. preserved in the Cloister of Saint Menas at Cairo* (Le Caire: Société d'archéologie Copte, 1963), 73.

^{xv} *s̄ra ša’ b̄ya*. See for example Gažáková, Zuzana. “Sayf ibn Ǫī Yazan, King of Ḥimyar between History and Popular Epic,” *Graecolatina et Orientalia* 21-22 (2008) for a recent analysis of one such popular epic, its textual history and its relationship to other historical and literary sources.

^{xvi} Orlov, Andrei A., *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism. Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 54-56.

^{xvii} For one edition of this work, see Tikhonravov, Nikolay Savvich, *Pamyatniki otrechennoy russkoy literatury. Tom I* (Sanktpeterburg: Obshchestvennaya pol’za, 1863), 259-272. It should be noted that in this edition, taken from a 16th century *Tolkovaya Paleya*, the title of the work is *Judgments of king Solomon*.

^{xviii} literally “a seal”

^{xix} The only reference to it in connection with Solomonic literature known to us is made by Scott T. Carroll in “The ‘Apocalypse of Adam’ and Pre-Christian Gnosticism,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 44 (1990): 270.

^{xx} Crum, Walter E. *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester: University Press, 1909), 41-42.

^{xxi} also tower, citadel or perhaps pillar

^{xxii} Thus in both BnF Ar 214 and Vat. ar. 448. One feels tempted to consider this a scribal error for مصر, i.e. Egypt.

^{xxiii} Tikhonravov, *Pamyatniki*, 259-260.

^{xxiv} McCown’s recension D, however, appears to be the closest thing to a likely candidate.

^{xxv} Angels working against demons with God on the sidelines, see Alexander, Philip S., “Contextualizing the Demonology of the Testament of Solomon,” in *Die Dämonen. Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* (ed. Armin Lange. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 627.

^{xxvi} Salzberger, Georg, *Die Salomo-Sage in der semitischen Literatur. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sagenkunde* (Berlin-Nikolassee: Kommissionsverlag von Max Harrwitz, 1907).