

## Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations

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# Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations

*Edited by*

Barbara Roggema  
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# Contents

Preface VII  
Abbreviations VIII  
Notes on Contributors x

Introduction 1  
*Alexander Treiger and Barbara Roggema*

- 1 The Integral Arabic Translation of Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria's *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* 15  
*Barbara Roggema*
- 2 Patristique et hagiographie palestino-sinaïtique des monastères melkites (IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles) 53  
*Tamara Pataridze*
- 3 Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521) 89  
*Aaron Michael Butts*
- 4 The Arabic Lives of John of Daylam 129  
*Jonas Karlsson*
- 5 Some Notes on Antonios and His Arabic Translations of John of Damascus 158  
*Habib Ibrahim*
- 6 Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā and the Translation Projects of Byzantine Antioch 180  
*Joshua Mugler*
- 7 A Re-translation of Basil's Hexaemeral Homilies by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl of Antioch 198  
*Alexandre M. Roberts*
- 8 Homiletic Translation in Byzantine Antioch: The Arabic Translation of a Marian Homily of Patriarch Germanos I of Constantinople by Yānī ibn al-Duks, Deacon of Antioch 241  
*Joe Glynias*

- 9 *L'homélie arabe In Nativitatem Domini (CPG 4290) attribuée à Sévérien de Gabala: Édition, traduction française* 276  
*Sergey Kim*
- 10 *The Noetic Paradise (al-Firdaws al-'aqlī): Chapter XXIV* 328  
*Alexander Treiger*
- A Bibliographical Guide to Arabic Patristic Translations and Related Texts 377
- Index of Manuscripts 419
- Index of Names, Texts, and Subjects 425

## Preface

In August 2015, the XVII. International Conference on Patristic Studies in Oxford held its very first workshop on Arabic translations of patristic texts. It was a milestone in the study of a promising but insufficiently researched area in the history of Christianity: the translation and reception of patristic works in Arabophone Christian communities (Melkite, Coptic, Maronite, Syrian Orthodox, and the Church of the East).

In an attempt to enhance the visibility of this branch of Patristic Studies, the editors have taken the initiative to publish the conference papers in this volume, together with several other relevant contributions from a new generation of scholars of Arabic Christianity. The volume presents and analyzes a wealth of hitherto unstudied texts and manuscripts that are the fruit of various phases in the Graeco-Arabic and Syro-Arabic patristic translation movements.

These texts are relevant for several reasons. They are an important component of the intellectual history of the Middle Eastern Churches. Research into the surviving manuscripts and their contents contributes to our understanding of the heritage and identity of these communities and of their intellectual exchanges with others. Studies of these Arabic translations of patristic literature increase awareness of the continuity between early Christianity, of which the Middle East is the ancient heartland, and Arabic Christianity. This, in turn, helps re-conceptualize the history of Arabic-speaking Christianity as an integral part of the history of Christianity, rather than as a distant and marginal outgrowth of it.

The unexplored manuscripts of Arabic translations of patristic works deserve study also because they often contain texts lost in their original languages or preserve them in a more ancient or more complete form. The examples presented in this volume will hopefully encourage further study. The introductory “Bibliographical Guide to Arabic Patristic Translations and Related Texts” at the end of the volume is intended as an overview of the material available and as a tool to understand the steps to be taken next in the study of Arabic patristics.

The editors take this opportunity to offer sincere thanks to the participants of the Oxford workshop, to all our contributors, to the editorial board of Brill’s ACTS book series, and to the editorial staff at Brill, especially Maurits van den Boogert, Franca de Kort, and Cas Van den Hof, for helping to produce this volume.

# Abbreviations

- BHG* François Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3 vols., Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1957.
- CMR1* David Thomas and Barbara Roggema (eds.) (in collaboration with Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, Johannes Pahlitzsch, Mark Swanson, Herman Teule, and John Tolan), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 1 (600–900), Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2009.
- CMR2* David Thomas and Alexander Mallett (eds.) (in collaboration with Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, Johannes Pahlitzsch, Mark Swanson, Herman Teule, and John Tolan), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 2 (900–1050), Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2010.
- CMR3* David Thomas and Alexander Mallett (eds.) (in collaboration with Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, Johannes Pahlitzsch, Mark Swanson, Herman Teule, and John Tolan), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 3 (1050–1200), Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2011.
- CMR4* David Thomas and Alexander Mallett (eds.) (in collaboration with Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, Johannes Pahlitzsch, Mark Swanson, Herman Teule, and John Tolan), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 4 (1200–1350), Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2012.
- CMR5* David Thomas and Alexander Mallett (eds.) (in collaboration with Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, Johannes Pahlitzsch, Mark Swanson, Herman Teule, and John Tolan), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 5 (1350–1500), Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2013.
- CMR10* David Thomas and John Chesworth (eds.) (in collaboration with Lejla Demiri, Emma Gaze Loghin, Claire Norton, Radu Păun, Reza Pourjavady, Umar Ryad, and Carsten Walbiner), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 10: *Ottoman and Safavid Empires (1600–1700)*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2017.
- CPG* Maurice Geerard and Jacques Noret (eds.), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 7 vols., Turnhout, Brepols, 1974–2003.
- CSCO* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
- GEDSH* Sebastian P. Brock, Aaron M. Butts, George A. Kiraz, and Lucas Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, Piscataway, Gorgias Press, 2011.
- Graf, GCAL* Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols., Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–1953.
- LSJ* Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott (revised by Sir Henry Stuart Jones), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996.

- Nasrallah, Joseph Nasrallah (in collaboration with Rachid Haddad), *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du v<sup>e</sup> au xx<sup>e</sup> siècle: contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*, 5 vols., Louvain, Peeters; Beirut, Centre de Recherches et de Publications de l'Orient-Chrétien; Damascus, Institut français de Damas, 1979–2017.
- PG Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*, 161 vols., Paris, Imprimerie Catholique, 1857–1866.
- PL Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, 221 vols., Paris, Imprimerie Catholique, 1844–1891.

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# Introduction

Alexander Treiger and Barbara Roggema

This volume, *Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations*, examines a fascinating, yet insufficiently explored area: Arabic translations of the Church Fathers—and, more generally, of Christian works. The oldest translations of Christian works into Arabic were produced as early as the second half of the eighth century. Hundreds, possibly even thousands of texts, large and small, were translated into Arabic, initially by learned monks in the monasteries of Palestine and Sinai in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries (this took place contemporarily with, but independently from, the famous “Graeco-Arabic translation movement” in Baghdad, which concentrated on philosophical and scientific material);<sup>1</sup> later, translation activity flourished in monasteries surrounding Antioch and in Antioch itself (mostly, in the period of the Byzantine re-conquest of the city, 969–1084 AD); still later in a variety of other localities in Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

The diversity of these translations is breathtaking. There are biblical translations, typically of individual books or groups of books (e.g., the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Epistles). These were done mainly from Greek and Syriac and, to a lesser extent, Coptic and Latin; occasionally, Jewish translations of the Old Testament produced from Hebrew—principally, Saadia Gaon’s *Tafsīr*—were also adapted for Christian use.<sup>3</sup> Some of these translations were

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- 1 On the Baghdad Graeco-Arabic translation movement, see Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsīd Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)*, London and New York, Routledge, 1998.
  - 2 For an overview, see Alexander Treiger, “Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers,” *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), pp. 188–227; Alexander Treiger, “The Fathers in Arabic,” in Ken Parry (ed.), *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Patristics*, Chichester, West Sussex, and Malden, MA, Wiley-Blackwell, 2015, pp. 442–455; Alexander Treiger, “Arabic Translations,” in Stratis Papaioannou (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Literature*, Oxford, Oxford University Press (forthcoming). See also Maria Mavroudi, “Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic during the Middle Ages: Searching for the Classical Tradition,” *Speculum*, 90 (2015), pp. 28–59, esp. pp. 50–51.
  - 3 For an overview, see Sidney H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the “People of the Book” in the Language of Islam*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2013; on the Pentateuch, see Ronny Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources*, Leiden, Brill, 2015; on Daniel, see Miriam Hjälm, *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early MSS and Translation Techniques in MSS Sinai*

meant to be used in church services; others were intended for personal study. It would seem that apart from these Arabic scriptural readings (from the Gospels, the Epistles, the Psalms, and the Prophets), the liturgies of the Oriental Churches were long kept in their traditional languages—Greek, Syriac, and Coptic—and it was not before the start of the second millennium AD that gradual Arabicization of the liturgies themselves began.<sup>4</sup>

Simultaneously with biblical books, a vast corpus of patristic works, as well as other Christian works of diverse content (biblical apocrypha, hagiography, hymnography, history, canon law, etc.), was translated as well. The earliest translation that we can securely date is from 772AD: the Arabic version of Ammonius' *Account of the Martyrdom of the Fathers of Sinai and Raithu* (CPG 6088; BHG 1300); as a philological analysis shows, the translation was done from Syriac, but was also corrected against the Greek.<sup>5</sup> Other dated translations include:

- Leontius of Damascus' *Life of St. Stephen of Mar Saba* (translated from Greek by Yannah ibn Iṣṭifān al-Fāḥūrī at Mar Saba in 903);<sup>6</sup>
- the Dionysian corpus (from Greek by Ibn Saḥqūn in Damascus in 1009);<sup>7</sup>

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*Ar. 1 and 2*, Leiden, Brill, 2016; on Paul's Epistles, see Sara Schulthess, *Les manuscrits arabes des lettres de Paul: État de la question et étude de cas (1 Corinthiens dans le Vat. Ar. 13)*, Leiden, Brill, 2018. See also Ronny Vollandt, "The Status Quaestionis of Research on the Arabic Bible," in Nadia Vidro, Ronny Vollandt, Esther-Miriam Wagner, and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (eds.), *Semitic Linguistics and Manuscripts: A Liber Discipulorum in Honour of Professor Geofrey Khan*, Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet, 2018, pp. 442–467.

- 4 In the Chalcedonian Orthodox Church (historically called "Melkite"), the process of Arabization of the liturgy coincided with Byzantinization of the rite. On Byzantinization, see Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018.
- 5 Alexander Treiger, "The Earliest Dated Christian Arabic Translation (772AD): Ammonius' Report on the Martyrdom of the Monks of Sinai and Raithu," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies*, 16 (2016), pp. 29–38.
- 6 John C. Lamoreaux, *The Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas* (CSCO 578–579, *Scriptores arabici* 50–51), 2 vols., Louvain, Peeters, 1999; cf. John C. Lamoreaux, "Leontius of Damascus," in *CMRI*, pp. 406–410.
- 7 Alexander Treiger, "New Evidence on the Arabic Versions of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*," *Le Muséon*, 118.3–4 (2005), pp. 219–240; Alexander Treiger, "The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's *Mystical Theology*, Chapter 1: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation," *Le Muséon*, 120.3–4 (2007), pp. 365–393; Cécile Bonmariage and Sébastien Moureau, "*Corpus Dionysiacum Arabicum*: Étude, édition critique et traduction des *Noms Divins* IV, §1–9. Partie 1," *Le Muséon*, 124.1–2 (2011), pp. 181–227; Cécile Bonmariage and Sébastien Moureau, "*Corpus Dionysiacum Arabicum*: Étude, édition critique et traduction des *Noms Divins* IV, §1–9. Partie 11," *Le Muséon*, 124.3–4 (2011), pp. 419–459. In these articles, the translator's name is given erroneously as "Ibn Saḥqūq." See also Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 1, pp. 205–212.

- Basil of Caesarea's *Hexaemeron* (from Greek by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl in Antioch in 1051/2);<sup>8</sup>
- The *Didascalia* and the *Testament of Our Lord* (from Sahidic Coptic by priest Abū Ishāq ibn Faḍlallāh in Egypt in 1295);<sup>9</sup>
- the *Sabaite Typikon* (from Greek by Quṣṭantīn ibn Abī l-Ma'ālī in Cairo in 1335);<sup>10</sup>
- the *Life of St. Basil the New* (BHG 264d–f; from Greek by Yuwāṣaf ibn Suwaydān in Jerusalem in 1693);<sup>11</sup>
- Augustine's *Confessions* and other works (from Italian by Melkite Catholic author Leontius Sālīm in Rome in 1755);<sup>12</sup>
- select works by Athanasius of Alexandria (from Greek by Melkite Orthodox translator Mas'ad Nuṣū' in Cairo in 1783–1785);<sup>13</sup>
- John Climacus' *Book of the Ladder* (from Greek by the Athonite archimandrite Ishāq 'Aṭā Allāh [1937–1998] in 1985);<sup>14</sup>
- Theodoret of Cyrrihus' *Historia religiosa* (from Greek by the Lebanese Melkite Catholic archimandrite Adrianos Chaccour [1910–1988] in 1987);<sup>15</sup>
- Athanasius of Alexandria's *Against the Heathen* (from Greek by the Coptic scholar Joseph Maurice Faltas in 2013);<sup>16</sup> and numerous others.

As can be seen from the last examples, this process has continued unabated all the way to the present.

While Arabic biblical translations are being intensely scrutinized, and individual biblical versions are being edited and analyzed,<sup>17</sup> non-biblical transla-

8 See Alexandre M. Roberts' article in this volume.

9 Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 1, p. 565; the translation is extant in Vat. Borg. Ar. 22.

10 Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.2, pp. 148–150; Samir Khalil Samir, "Quṣṭantīn ibn Abī al-Ma'ālī ibn Abī l-Faḥ Abū l-Faḥ," in: *Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7, New York, Macmillan, 1991, pp. 2046–2047; cf. Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 1, pp. 630–631. The translation is preserved in Sinai Ar. 264 (year 1335, the translator's autograph), Saint Petersburg, NLR, Arab. N.S. 109 (14th-century), and another, 16th-century manuscript.

11 Commissioned by the patriarch of Jerusalem Dositheus II (r. 1669–1707), this translation is preserved in the unicum manuscript Damascus, Orthodox Patriarchate 227 [old shelfmark 1639] (year 1790). On the translator see Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 4.1, pp. 210–212.

12 Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 1, p. 218; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 4.2, pp. 185–186; on translations of Latin authors, see Treiger, "The Fathers in Arabic," pp. 451–452.

13 Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 3, p. 142; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 4.2, pp. 222–223.

14 John Climacus, *Sullam al-samā' li-l-qiddīs Yūḥannā al-Sullamī al-Sinā'i*, trans. Ishāq 'Aṭā Allāh al-Āṭūsī, Cairo, Dayr Sānt Kātrīn bi-Sinā', 1985.

15 Theodoret of Cyrrihus, *Tārīḥ asfiyā' Allāh*, trans. Archimandrite Adrianos Chaccour [Šak-kūr], Jounieh, al-Maṭba'a al-Būlusiyya, 1987.

16 Athanasius of Alexandria, *Ḍidd al-waṭaniyyīn li-l-qiddīs al-bābā Aṭanāsīyūs al-rasūlī*, trans. Joseph Maurice Faltas, Cairo, Orthodox Patristic Centre, 2013. See also other volumes in the series "Nuṣūṣ Abā'iyya" published by the Coptic Orthodox Patristic Centre in Cairo ([http://patristiccairo.com/?page\\_id=379](http://patristiccairo.com/?page_id=379), accessed on 1 June 2019).

17 Notably, by the "Biblia Arabica" team in Munich (<http://biblia-arabica.com>), with the

tions remain, for the most part, unpublished and unstudied. The only Church Father the Arabic translations of whose works have appeared in critical editions on a significant scale is Gregory of Nazianzus, owing to the efforts of Jacques Grand'Henry and Laurence Tuerlinckx of the Université catholique de Louvain; yet this remains the exception that proves the rule.<sup>18</sup>

The goal of the present volume is to call attention to this vast and important corpus of texts, to offer tools for studying them, and to set an example for how this can be done. The contributors have tackled the subject from different angles. Their papers are organized chronologically, according to the era of translation, followed by several *editiones principes* of Arabic patristic translations.

*Barbara Roggema* focuses on Pseudo-Athanasius' *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*—an important Late Antique *erotapokriseis* (questions-and-answers) text, which, though ascribed to Athanasius of Alexandria, is from a later date, its real author having remained anonymous. The Arabic translation of the Greek text, likely produced in one of the monasteries of Palestine or Sinai, is attested from as early as the ninth century in two recensions, one of which contains all 137 questions, and its extant manuscripts are older than those surviving in Greek. The fact that the text was used as a source in three well-known early Melkite treatises indicates its popularity among Arabic-speaking Christians.

*Tamara Pataridze's* article surveys patristic and hagiographic works translated into, and composed in, Arabic in the monasteries of Palestine and Sinai in the ninth and tenth centuries. Much of this literature is preserved in manuscripts dating from this period and kept mostly at Sinai. Because many of these Arabic texts were also translated from Arabic into Georgian—by Georgian monks active in Palestine and Sinai in the exact same period—Pataridze's article covers these Georgian translations as well.

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results published in Brill's book series "Biblia Arabica: Texts and Studies" (<http://www.brill.com/products/series/biblia-arabica>). See also references in n. 3 above.

- 18 Jacques Grand'Henry, "La version arabe du Discours 24 de Grégoire de Nazianze: Édition critique, commentaires et traduction," in Bernard Coulie (ed.), *Versiones orientales, repertorium ibericum et studia ad editiones curandas*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1988, pp. 197–291; Jacques Grand'Henry, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: Versio arabica antiqua, I: Oratio XXI (arab. 20)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1996; Laurence Tuerlinckx, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: Versio arabica antiqua, II: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV (arab. 9, 10, 11)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2001; Jacques Grand'Henry, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: Versio arabica antiqua, III: Oratio XI (arab. 4)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005; Jacques Grand'Henry, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera: Versio arabica antiqua, IV: Orationes XI, XLI (arab. 8, 12)*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2013.

*Aaron Michael Butts'* contribution examines the different strands of the Arabic transmission of the famous Syriac author Jacob of Serugh. Butts shows how Syriac Christian tradition is transformed in the various Christian Arabic translations and recensions, preserved in well over a hundred manuscripts, and traces Jacob of Serugh's influence on three Middle Eastern Christian communities: the Melkites, the Copts, and the Syrian Orthodox.

*Jonas Karlsson's* contribution deals with the Arabic versions of the Life of John of Daylam (East Syriac, d. 738). It includes a detailed analysis of these hagiographic narratives' manuscript transmission. In addition to the Arabic versions of the Life of John of Daylam, Karlsson's article also examines the versions in Syriac, Sogdian, and Ethiopic.

Three papers—by *Habib Ibrahim*, *Joshua Mugler*, and *Alexandre M. Roberts*—deal with three principal Graeco-Arabic translators from eleventh-century Antioch: Antonios, the abbot of the Monastery of St. Symeon the Wonderworker, Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā the *protospatharius*, and the deacon 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (the latter also an important philosopher and theologian in his own right).<sup>19</sup> Ibrahim studies Antonios' translations of John of Damascus, Mugler provides a survey of Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā's life and Graeco-Arabic translation activity, while Roberts examines 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's re-translation (based on an earlier Arabic version) of Basil of Caesarea's *Hexaemeron*. These contributions break new ground in examining the three translators' literary output.

The last three papers—by *Joe Glynias*, *Sergey Kim*, and *Alexander Treiger*—present critical *editiones principes* of Arabic patristic translations. Glynias' contribution offers a critical edition of the Arabic version of Germanus of Constantinople's *Homily on the Sash of the Theotokos* (translated from Greek in Antioch by a little-known translator Yānī ibn al-Duks). Kim's article offers an edition and French translation of the Arabic version of Pseudo-Severian of Gabala's *Homily on Nativity* (CPG 4290, translated from a lost Syriac original by Gregory, abbot of the Monastery of Our Lady in Dafnūnā near Antioch).<sup>20</sup> Finally, Treiger's contribution offers an edition and English translation of the

19 On 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's philosophical and theological works, see Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and His *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*," *Le Muséon*, 124.3–4 (2011), pp. 371–417; Samuel Noble, "'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," in Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger (eds.), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World (700–1700): An Anthology of Sources*, DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 2014, pp. 171–187; Alexander Treiger, "'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," in *CMR3*, pp. 89–113; *CMR5*, pp. 748–749. Alexandre M. Roberts' monograph on 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl is forthcoming.

20 The text is *not* identical to Severian's authentic *Homily on Nativity* (CPG 4260), extant in Syriac.

last chapter of the *Noetic Paradise*—an important patristic treatise probably from the eighth or ninth century of which the Greek original is lost. The Arabic translation, likely produced in the region of Antioch ca. the eleventh century, is the only witness to this fascinating text.

“A *Bibliographical Guide to Arabic Patristic Translations and Related Texts*”—which the editors hope will become a useful tool for future researchers—concludes the volume.

What is the significance of these texts? First, some Arabic translations preserve material lost in the original languages; the examples of Pseudo-Severian of Gabala’s *Homily on Nativity* and the *Noetic Paradise* have already been mentioned. Other examples of patristic texts lost in Greek and preserved only in Arabic (or in Arabic together with other “Oriental” versions) include: fourteen unidentified texts preserved in one of the Arabic collections of the *Macarian Homilies*;<sup>21</sup> (Pseudo?-)John of Damascus’ *Expositio et declaratio fidei* (CPG 8078);<sup>22</sup> and Strategius’ (or Eustratius’) account of the Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614AD (CPG 7846), extant also in Georgian.<sup>23</sup> In addition to complete texts, there are also fragments of early Christian texts surviving in Arabic: for example, a section from Theodore of Mopsuestia’s *On the Perfection of Observances* (CPG 3855) survives in an Arabic collection of monastic rules attributed to Antony of Egypt.<sup>24</sup>

Second, the Arabic translations of the Church Fathers—and of Christian works generally—are the main source of information on the diffusion and influence of these Christian texts in the Middle Eastern Christian communities from the eighth century to the present. Without an adequate understanding of how Middle Eastern Christians translated and employed the rich patristic heritage, we will have only a very inadequate picture of their intellectual history.

Third, some Muslim and Jewish philosophers and theologians may have used Arabic patristic translations or have been otherwise influenced by patris-

21 The text is unpublished. German trans.: Werner Strothmann, *Makarios / Symeon: Das arabische Sondergut*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1975; cf. review by Samir Khalil Samir, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 44 (1978), pp. 494–498.

22 The text is unpublished. For a Latin translation from Arabic, see PG 95, col. 417–438.

23 Gérard Garitte, *Expugnatio Hierosolymae A.D. 614 recensione arabicae*, 1 (CSCO 340–341, 347–348, *Scriptores arabici* 26–29), Louvain, Secrétariat du CSCO, 1973–1974; cf. José Martínez Delgado, “Las versiones árabes de *La Destrucción de Jerusalén por los Persas* (614 d.C.),” *Ilu: Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones*, 11 (2006), pp. 179–204. An English translation by Stephen Shoemaker and Sean Anthony is forthcoming.

24 François Graffin, “Une page retrouvée de Théodore de Mopsueste,” in Robert H. Fischer (ed.), *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment, Primarily in the Syrian East*, Chicago, The Lutheran School of Theology, 1977, pp. 29–34.

tic thought. A systematic examination of Arabic patristic translations would allow us to assess their possible impact. Did the early Ṣūfis have access to Evagrius,<sup>25</sup> John Climacus,<sup>26</sup> John of Apamea,<sup>27</sup> and Isaac of Nineveh,<sup>28</sup> whose works were translated into Arabic in Palestine as early as the ninth and tenth centuries?<sup>29</sup> Were Arabic patristic translations available to the “Brethren of Purity” (Iḥwān al-ṣafāʾ), and did they influence their esoteric theological synthesis? Did Muslim and Jewish philosophers and theologians have access to John of Damascus’ works, particularly his *Dialectica* and his theological masterpiece *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, translated into Arabic in Antioch in the early eleventh century? These and similar questions still await their answers.<sup>30</sup>

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- 25 Irénée Hausherr, “Le *De Oratione* d’Évagre le Pontique en syriaque et en arabe,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 5 (1939), pp. 7–71; Samir Khalil Samir, “Évagre le Pontique dans la tradition arabo-copte,” in Marguerite Rassart-Debergh and Julien Ries (eds.), *Actes du 1<sup>er</sup> Congrès Copte*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut Orientaliste de l’Université Catholique de Louvain, 1992, vol. 2, pp. 123–153; Paul Géhin, “Les versions syriaques et arabes des *Chapitres sur la prière* d’Évagre le Pontique: Quelques données nouvelles,” in *Patrimoine syriaque: Actes du Colloque 1x: Les Syriaques transmetteurs de civilisations: L’expérience du Bilād el-Shām à l’époque Omeyyade*, Antélias, Centre d’études et de recherches orientales, 2005, pp. 181–197; Paul Géhin, “La tradition arabe d’Évagre le Pontique,” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia*, 3 (2006), pp. 83–104; Stephen J. Davis, “Evagrius Ponticus at the Monastery of the Syrians: Newly Documented Evidence for an Arabic History of Reception,” in David Bertaina, Sandra Keating, Mark N. Swanson, and Alexander Treiger (eds.), *Heirs of the Apostles: The Story of Arabic Christianity in Honor of Sidney H. Griffith*, Leiden, Brill, 2019, pp. 349–394.
- 26 Treiger, “Christian Graeco-Arabica,” pp. 199, 215–218, and 204–206.
- 27 Alexander Treiger, “Syro-Arabic Translations in Abbasid Palestine: The Case of John of Apamea’s *Letter on Stillness* (*Sinai ar. 549*),” *Parole de l’Orient*, 39 (2014), pp. 79–131.
- 28 Tamara Pataridze, “Les *Discours Ascétiques* d’Isaac de Ninive: Étude de la tradition géorgienne et de ses rapports avec les autres versions,” *Le Muséon*, 124.1–2 (2011), pp. 27–58; Treiger, “Syro-Arabic Translations,” pp. 87, 111, and 113–122.
- 29 On contacts between Ṣūfis and Christian monks, see Suleiman A. Mourad, “Christian Monks in Islamic Literature: A Preliminary Report on Some Arabic *Apophthegmata patrum*,” *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies*, 6.2 (2004), pp. 81–98; Yūḥannā Ṣādir (ed.), *Ruhbān ‘arab fi ba’d siyar al-mutaṣawwifin al-muslimin*, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 2005; Alexander Treiger, “Mutual Influences and Borrowings,” in David Thomas (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Christian-Muslim Relations*, London, Routledge, 2018, pp. 194–206, at pp. 196–198; Jack Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East: Religion, Society, and Simple Believers*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2018, pp. 461–473; on echoes of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, see Sabino Chialà, “Les mystiques musulmans lecteurs des écrits chrétiens: Quelques échos d’Apophthegmes,” *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 60 (2010), pp. 352–367.
- 30 For some preliminary findings, see Alexander Treiger, “From Dionysius to al-Ġazālī: Patristic Influences on Arabic Neoplatonism,” *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 8.1 (2020) (in press).

Especially with regard to this third point, this volume tries to answer the calls of colleagues working on early Islam, especially on the question of how Islam was shaped by its late antique environment. Several scholars have underscored the importance of patristic studies as a potentially significant avenue for finding and studying overlapping ideas, narrative themes and topoi, arguments and debates. Averil Cameron, in particular, has called for combined efforts of Patristic Studies and early Islamic Studies—fields that are usually considered separate not only because of disciplinary boundaries in modern academia but also because of a persistent notion that the patristic era had more or less ended by the early seventh century, when Islam came into being.<sup>31</sup> Cameron has mentioned the strong focus on the issue of monotheism and polemics against polytheism as well as the question of iconoclasm and attitudes to pictorial depictions in both sixth and seventh-century patristic and early Islamic thought as common themes whose convergence deserves to be explored more comprehensively. Garth Fowden has argued even more forcefully that breaking disciplinary boundaries and artificial periodization should help to recognize Arabic Christianity as an integral part of the patristic era. In confluence with Jewish and Islamic culture, by which Middle Eastern Christians were inspired and challenged, the “full maturation of patristics” could arguably be posited in the ninth and tenth century, after Theodore Abū Qurra.<sup>32</sup> Turning back to the seventh century, Robert Hoyland has argued that if the commonality of themes between early Islam and late antique Christianity is due to encounters going back as far as the milieu in which the Qurʾān came into being, then the probability of the Christian religious knowledge and lore being expressed contemporaneously in Arabic needs to be taken seriously. Though in this period Arabophone Christians would have expressed their ideas orally, this would not alter the fact that there was “pre-Islamic theological discourse in Arabic.”<sup>33</sup> Considering our lack of *written* seventh-century Arabic

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31 Averil Cameron, “Patristic Studies and the Emergence of Islam,” in Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, Theodore de Bruyn, and Carol Harrison (eds.), *Patristic Studies in the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of an International Conference to Mark the 50th Anniversary of the International Association of Patristic Studies*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2015, pp. 249–278. For Cameron’s comments on the importance of studying the translations of Greek texts from the Byzantine period and their dissemination, see her “New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature: Seventh-Eighth Centuries,” in Averil Cameron and Lawrence Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. 1: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, Princeton, Darwin Press, 1992, pp. 81–105, at pp. 86–87.

32 Garth Fowden, *Before and After Muḥammad: The First Millennium Refocused*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2014, pp. 181–188, esp. 186–188.

33 Robert Hoyland, “The Jewish and/or Christian Audience of the Qurʾān and the Arabic

patristic discourse, Hoyland's suggestion of "a whole new avenue of research" is perhaps not straightforward. Yet, his point that the early Arabic expression of Christian thought deserves closer study needs to be made, and our mapping and close analysis of Arabic patristic translations is a step in this direction.

How are Arabic patristic translations to be studied? First and foremost, we need to establish a *history* of these translations and of their diffusion, influence (both within their Christian communities of origin and beyond), and interpretation. In many cases, this will require painstaking manuscript work with a view to cataloguing, more precisely than before, the various translations and recensions by their titles and *incipits*, and keying them to their originals in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and other source languages.

Second, a careful philological analysis of the terminology and "translation grammar" of each translation is required, with a view to grouping translations into translation complexes (by milieu: e.g., Palestinian monastic translations, Antiochian translations, etc.) and, if possible, assigning anonymous translations to known translators based on distinct terminological and grammatical features. For example, such idiosyncratic renderings of the Greek *alpha privativum* as 'ādīm an yakūn ..., 'adīm an yakūn ..., yaḥtaḡiz an ..., ḥā'ib min ..., etc. have been shown to be characteristic of Antonios' translation style. This has allowed assigning several translated texts (e.g., one of the Arabic versions of John Climacus' *Ladder*) to this translator.<sup>34</sup>

Third, the Christian translation movement—or rather a centuries-long uninterrupted sequence of such movements—needs to be analyzed from the perspective of social history. We need to understand not only what was translated, where, when, and by whom, but also *why*. Some translations were clearly produced to provide liturgical books for Arabophone Christian communities' worship, following the Arabicization of the liturgy; others were intended to create or complement the monastic reading curriculum for those monks who were not conversant in Greek, Syriac, or Coptic; others were meant to serve the needs of a particular sponsor—'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's introductions to his

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Bible," in Francisco del Río Sánchez (ed.), *Jewish Christianity and the Origins of Islam*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2018, pp. 31–40, esp. p. 40.

34 Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," pp. 209–218; Georg Graf, "Arabische Übersetzungen von Schriften des Johannes von Damaskus (herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Eva Ambros)," *Oriens Christianus*, 97 (2013–2014), pp. 100–136; Habib Ibrahim and Mike Makhoul, "Les débuts du renouveau intellectuel à Antioche au xe s.: Quatre hagiographies inédites traduites au Mont-Admirable," *Pecia: Le livre et l'écrit*, 18 (2015), pp. 39–54; and Habib Ibrahim's article in this volume.

translations, in particular, helpfully identify some such sponsors;<sup>35</sup> others were meant to counteract polemical arguments by Muslims, Jews, or rival Christian groups. While considering the often bewildering abundance of detail supplied by manuscript colophons, readers' notes, and individual translations' philological characteristics, we must not lose sight of the overall picture of the *Sitz im Leben* of each translator and translation milieu.

With regard to the field of Arabic Bible translations, Ronny Vollandt has recently noted how the field of Christian Arabic Studies has been a victim of shifts in academic disciplines.<sup>36</sup> In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Arabic was considered one of the useful Eastern Christian languages for Biblical studies, and it is to this era that we owe Graf's monumental first volume of his *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, which surveys Christian texts in Arabic translations in 662 pages. Gradually, however, Arabic came to be considered more narrowly the language of Islam, and hence its studies moved to Middle Eastern departments which rarely have a focus on Eastern Christianity. Fortunately, the awareness that there is a long-lasting and deeply-rooted Middle Eastern Christianity—now most emphatically put back on the scholarly map by Jack Tannous in his monograph *The Making of the Medieval Middle East*<sup>37</sup>—is again gaining strength in Western academia. Recent and current projects on the Sayings of the Desert Fathers (University of Lund), late antique florilegia (University of Venice), Question-and-Answer literature and disputations (King's College London), *Adversus Iudaeos* literature (Ruhr University Bochum and Central European University, Budapest), to name a few, have included extensive research on Christian Arabic patristic texts. In the meantime, the wealth of unstudied Christian Arabic texts, consisting, to a large degree, of patristic translations and adaptations, is becoming more easily available to scholars thanks to digitization projects, notably those spearheaded by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML) in Collegeville, Minnesota. Even though there still needs to be a further consolidation of the field, these projects are reasons to be optimistic about the future of Christian Arabic Studies, including Arabic patristics. It is the editors' hope that the contributions collected in this volume will help further reinvigorate this important and fascinating field.

35 Treiger, "Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī," p. 90; Noble and Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology," pp. 374–375; Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," pp. 207–208.

36 Vollandt, "The *Status Quaestionis* of Research on the Arabic Bible," p. 3.

37 Tannous, *The Making of the Medieval Middle East*.

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# The Integral Arabic Translation of Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria's *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*

Barbara Roggema

Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria's *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (CPG 2257) is in many respects a hidden treasure of late antique Christian thought and controversy.<sup>1</sup> This collection of questions and answers on a wide variety of issues of faith, daily life, cosmology, and theodicy was originally composed in Greek sometime between the mid-seventh and the early eighth century AD.<sup>2</sup> It falls in the genre of encyclopedic *erotapokriseis*, which had didactic and cate-

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- 1 PG 28, col. 597–699. The research presented in this paper was done within the framework of two ERC-projects: DEBIDEM (King's College London) and JEWSEAST (Ruhr Universität Bochum). I am grateful to the ERC for making this research possible. I also want to express my sincere thanks to the Library of Congress and the National Library of Israel for sending me reproductions and to a number of dear colleagues who have helped me with important aspects of the paper. Ilse De Vos and Peter Hatlie have patiently checked many passages in unedited Greek manuscripts of the *Quaestiones* to find divergences from the edition in PG. Yannis Papadogiannakis has encouraged me to pursue this project and has kindly shared his draft English translation of the Greek text with me. A special word of thanks is due to Alexander Treiger whose generous practical help in acquiring many of the manuscripts, comments, and encouragement at various stages have been crucial. I would also like to thank André Binggeli, Adam McCollum, and Tamara Pataridze for their suggestions in the early stages of this project. It goes without saying that I bear sole responsibility for any shortcomings of this paper, which is very much a work in progress.
  - 2 Its *terminus post quem* is determined by its allusions to Islamic rule (esp. in Question 42, which must refer to Umayyad attempts to introduce coins without crosses), while its *terminus ante quem* is 730 AD, by which time it has been cited twice: in John of Damascus' *Discourse against the Calumniators of Icons* and in the anonymous florilegium *Doctrina Patrum*; Caroline Macé, "Les *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* d'un Pseudo-Athanasie (CPG 2257)," in Marie-Pierre Bussièrès (ed.), *La littérature des questions et réponses dans l'Antiquité profane et chrétienne: de l'enseignement à l'exégèse: actes du séminaire sur le genre des questions et réponses tenu à Ottawa les 27 et 28 septembre 2009*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2013, pp. 121–150, at 128–143. Occasional claims of modern readers (for example, Andreas Külzer, *Disputationes graecae contra Iudaeos. Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen antijüdischen Dialogliteratur und ihrem Judenbild*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, Teubner, 1999, pp. 134–136) that the text must precede Islam are based on very superficial readings. The dating of the text will be discussed in more detail in Barbara Roggema and Ilse De Vos, "Ps. Athanasius of Alexandria's *Quaestiones ad*

chetical purposes and was widely used in the Christian Greek-speaking world from the sixth century onward.<sup>3</sup> The hundreds of surviving manuscripts of the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (henceforth: the *Quaestiones*) are surely an indication that the text became hugely popular reading material in Byzantium, but also beyond, in the wider Eastern Christian world, where we find it in numerous redactions in Arabic, Slavonic, Armenian, Georgian, and Ge'ez.<sup>4</sup> The questions which the fictional interlocutor Antiochus poses are 137 in number

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*Antiochum ducem: A Byzantine Window onto the World from the Umayyad period* (forthcoming).

- 3 Yannis Papadogiannakis, "Didacticism, Exegesis, and Polemics in Pseudo-Kaisarios' *erotapokriseis*," in Bussi eres, *La litt erature des questions et r eponses dans l'Antiquit e profane et chr etienne*, pp. 271–290; Yannis Papadogiannakis, "Instruction by Question and Answer: The Case of Late Antique and Byzantine *Erotapokriseis*," in Scott F. Johnson (ed.), *Greek Literature in Antiquity. Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, Aldershot and Burlington, Ashgate, 2006, pp. 91–105, and Yannis Papadogiannakis, "Defining Orthodoxy in Pseudo-Justin's 'Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos,'" in Eduard Iricinschi and Holger Zellentini (ed.), *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity*, T ubingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2008, pp. 115–127; P eter T oth, "New Questions on Old Answers: Towards a critical edition of *The Answers to the Orthodox* of Pseudo-Justin," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 65 (2014), pp. 550–599; Annelie Volgers and Claudio Zamagni (eds.), *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question and Answer Literature in Context*, Louvain, Peeters, 2004.
- 4 The online survey of manuscripts, "Pinakes," of the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr) currently (2018) lists 271 manuscripts of the *Quaestiones*, but many of these contain only a select number of questions, and some are duplicates and misattributions; see Ilse De Vos, "The manuscript tradition of the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*," in Reinhout Ceulemans and Pieter de Leemans (ed.), *On Good Authority. Tradition, Compilation and the Construction of Authority in Literature from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2015, pp. 43–66, p. 43, n. 3. For the textual heritage in the Christian East (besides the Christian Arabic, which will be discussed in this paper), see the following studies: Armenian: Anahit Avagyan, *Die Armenische Athanasius- uberlieferung: das auf armenisch unter des Athanasius von Alexandrien tradierte Schrifttum*, Berlin and Boston, Walter de Gruyter, 2014, pp. 70–75 and her forthcoming study on the *Quaestiones*; for a partial Ge'ez version see: Paris, Ethiopien d'Abbadie 96 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525002774>), Veronika Six, " athiopische Handschriften der UB T ubingen," Hamburg, 2000 [unpublished], p. 5, and Heinrich von Ewald, " uber die athiopische Handschriften zu T ubingen," *Zeitschrift f ur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 5 (1844), pp. 164–201, at p. 191; from the first, second and last question it is clear that these are the *Quaestiones*, with the final one being the same as the final one in the "Arabic Translation of 45," from which it might derive. For the various Slavonic translations see: Ilse De Vos and Olga Grinchenko, "The *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*: Exploring the Slavonic Tradition," *Byzantion*, 84 (2014), pp. 105–143. Parts of a tenth-century manuscript with a Georgian translation are divided over libraries in Leipzig and Oslo: Julius Assfalg, *Georgische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1963, pp. 45–47, Tafel II (not identified by cataloguer) and Sch oyen 1600. I thank the curators of both collections for sending me images of the Georgian leaves.

in the complete manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> Most Greek manuscripts, the oldest of which are dated to the tenth century, contain only selected questions.

This collection of questions gives us insight into what theological, social, and personal issues Chalcedonian Christian readers were wondering about or expected to be wondering about in the seventh to eighth-century Eastern Mediterranean, how their questions were to be answered authoritatively and where the limits lay of what could be buttressed through argumentation as opposed to what should be accepted in good faith. Although the text has been described by some modern scholars as topically disjointed<sup>6</sup> and although the argumentative approaches in the replies are quite varied, the connecting thread in the collection appears to be its purpose to provide believers with a variegated set of tools to cope with issues that provoke a clash between the letter of scripture, Christian doctrine, belief in Divine justice, and common sense.

Nowadays the text is most frequently regarded as a work of *Adversus Iudaeos*.<sup>7</sup> Several questions indeed contain open and veiled anti-Jewish polemic, while a small number of passages seem to reflect a non-confrontational attitude towards the Jews and other non-Christians.<sup>8</sup> The last question, Question 137, is a testimonia collection which forms the longest answer in the collection.<sup>9</sup> However, characterizing the text as a work of *Adversus Iudaeos* is certainly too restrictive, since the percentage of questions involving Judaism does not even exceed ten percent. Clearly, such a label does not do justice to the rich and varied contents of the work. The text has also received attention in recent years because of its having been composed shortly after the beginning of Islamic rule in Syria-Palestine. The glimpses of the author's awareness of burgeoning Islam are few but fascinating.<sup>10</sup>

5 The invented figure of Antiochus was probably chosen so as to represent the same person as the one to whom two other pseudo-Athanasian works are dedicated: the *Doctrina ad Antiochum* (PG 28, col. 555–589) and the *Sermo ad Antiochum* (PG 28, col. 589–598).

6 See for example Andrew Jacobs, *Christ Circumcised: A Study in Early Christian History and Difference*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012, p. 67.

7 E.g. Külzer, *Disputationes graecae contra Iudaeos*, pp. 134–136; Shaun O'Sullivan, "Anti-Jewish Polemic and Early Islam," in David Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2007, pp. 49–68, p. 49, n. 3. See also the literature cited in n. 10 and n. 12 below.

8 See Questions 39 and 101.

9 For Question 137, see further at pp. 45–46 below.

10 See, for example, Patricia Crone, "Islam, Judeo-Christianity and Byzantine Iconoclasm," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 2 (1980), pp. 59–95, at pp. 68–69, n. 41, and p. 91; Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam As Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings On early Islam*, Princeton, Darwin Press, 1997, pp. 82–83; David Olster, *Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jews*,

Renewed interest in late antique Christian literature in general and *erotapokriseis* in particular has led scholars to explore some of the individual questions and intriguing topics in the *Quaestiones*, such as the question of whether people will recognize each other after the general resurrection, whether the hour of one's death is predetermined regardless of one's virtues and prayers to the saints, and how ancient philosophers foretold the Incarnation.<sup>11</sup> The search for sources of the *Quaestiones* and for texts closely related to it has borne some fruit. There are overlaps with several anti-Jewish works of the same period such as Leontius of Neapolis' *Apology*, the *Trophies of Damascus*, and *the Disputation of the Jews Papiscus and Philo with a Monk*.<sup>12</sup> A connection was also found with the Greek *First Apocryphal Apocalypse of St John*,<sup>13</sup> while the clearest thematic and most extensive textual overlaps are with the better researched *Questions*

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Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994; Roggema and De Vos, "Ps. Athanasius of Alexandria's *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*" (see n. 2 above).

- 11 Dirk Krausmüller, "At the Resurrection We Will Not Recognize One Another': Radical Devaluation of Social Relations in the Lost Model of Anastasius' and Pseudo-Athanasius' Questions and Answers," *Byzantion*, 83 (2013), pp. 1–27; Dirk Krausmüller, "Affirming Divine Providence and Limiting the Powers of Saints: The Byzantine Debate about the Term of Life (6th–11th Centuries)," *Scrinium*, 14 (2018), pp. 392–433; Gilbert Dagron, "L'ombre d'un doute: l'hagiographie en question, VIIe–XIe siècle," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 46 (1992), pp. 59–68, pp. 61–62; Joseph Munitiz, "The Predetermination of Death: The Contribution of Anastasios of Sinai and Nikephoros Blemmydes to a Perennial Byzantine Problem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 55 (2001), pp. 9–20; Caroline Macé and Ilse De Vos, "Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestio ad Antiochum* 136 and the *Theosophia*," *Studia Patristica*, 66 (2013), pp. 319–332.
- 12 Hans Georg Thümmel, *Die Frühgeschichte der Ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit von dem Bilderstreit*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1992, pp. 246–252; Vincent Déroche, "L'Apologie contre les Juifs de Léontius de Néapolis," *Travaux et Mémoires*, 12 (1993), pp. 45–104 [repr. in: Gilbert Dagron and Vincent Déroche, *Juifs et Chrétiens en Orient Byzantin*, Paris, ACHCByz, 2010, pp. 381–443] and Vincent Déroche, "Les Dialogues adversus Iudaeos face aux genres parallèles," in Sébastien Morlet, Olivier Munnich, and Bernard Pouderon (ed.), *Les Dialogues Adversus Iudaeos: Permanences et mutations d'une tradition polémique*, Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2013, pp. 257–266; Gustave Bardy, "Les Trophées de Damas. Controverse judéo-chrétienne du VIIe siècle," *Patrologia Orientalis*, 15 (1927), pp. 169–292, at pp. 185–188; Macé, "Les *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* d'un Pseudo-Athanasie (CPG 2257)," pp. 121–150.
- 13 Laurence Vianès, "Les citations bibliques dans la *Première Apocalypse Apocryphe de saint Jean* et dans les *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*," in Gabriella Aragione and Rémi Gounelle, «Soyez des changeurs avisés»: *Controverses exégétiques dans la littérature apocryphe chrétienne*, Strasbourg, Université de Strasbourg, 2012, pp. 145–161; Péter Tóth, "New Wine in Old Wineskin: Byzantine Reuses of the Apocryphal Revelation Dialogue," in Averil Cameron and Niels Gaul (eds.), *Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Byzantium*, London and New York, Routledge, 2017, pp. 77–93, at p. 82, and n. 34.

and Answers of Anastasius of Sinai (d. ca. 700).<sup>14</sup> How the *Quaestiones* relate to Anastasius' collection of *erotapokriseis* has not yet been properly elucidated, despite some ill-founded claims to the contrary in secondary literature. There is no consensus as to whether the former was a model for the latter or vice versa.<sup>15</sup> An attractive theory is that the two collections used the same unknown source, as Dirk Krausmüller has suggested.<sup>16</sup> Yet, many source-critical issues remain unresolved due to the lack of a critical edition of the *Quaestiones*.<sup>17</sup>

14 Marcel Richard and Joseph Munitiz, *Anastasioi Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2006; Joseph Munitiz, *Anastasios of Sinai, Questions and Answers*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2011. Listings of questions contained in both Anastasius and Pseudo-Athanasius can be found in Gustave Bardy, "La Littérature patristique des '*Quaestiones et Responsiones*' sur l'Écriture Sainte (suite et fin)," *Revue biblique*, 42 (1933), pp. 328–352, at p. 342, and Richard and Munitiz, *Anastasioi Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones*, pp. lii–lv.

15 One of the first scholars to notice the similarities was Gustave Bardy (see previous note). He does not express judgment about the channel of transmission between the two texts and yet he is cited in more recent scholarship as having posited the priority of Anastasius over Pseudo-Athanasius. See for example Marcel Richard, "Les véritables 'Questions et réponses' d'Anastase le Sinaïte," *Bulletin de l'Institut de recherches et d'histoire des textes*, 15 (1967–1968), pp. 39–56, at p. 55, posits the priority of the work of Anastasius without giving arguments (cf. Marcel Richard, "Les fragments du commentaire de S. Hippolyte sur les Proverbes de Salomon," *Le Muséon*, 79 (1966), pp. 61–94, at p. 61, n. 3); Dagron in turn uses Richard as his authority in this matter: Dagron, "L'ombre d'un doute: l'hagiographie en question," pp. 61–62. The opposite is claimed by Vincent Déroche; see for example his "Les Dialogues adversus Iudaeos face aux genres parallèles," p. 261, n. 21. John Haldon, in his "The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief," in Averil Cameron and Lawrence Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. 1: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, Princeton, Darwin Press, 1992, pp. 107–147, seems to hold both positions at once; compare p. 118 and p. 129 (and cf. pp. 121–122). Haldon's chapter was in turn misread by O'Sullivan ("Anti-Jewish Polemic and Early Islam," pp. 49–50), who believed Anastasius of Sinai to be the author of the *Quaestiones*; Munitiz, *Anastasios of Sinai, Questions and Answers*, p. 22, views the matter as hitherto unresolved but gives a powerful argument in favor of an earlier date for the *Quaestiones*, which is that the latter contain considerably fewer references to Arab rule. I will deal with this issue in more detail in "Ps. Athanasius of Alexandria's *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*: A Byzantine Window onto the World from the Umayyad Period" (cf. n. 2 above).

16 Krausmüller, "At the Resurrection We Will Not Recognize One Another."

17 Yannis Papadogiannakis has taken the initiative of a collaborative project entailing a critical edition and English translation.

## 1 The Arabic Translations of the *Quaestiones*

Judging from the geographical focus in the text, it seems most likely that the text originated in Syria-Palestine.<sup>18</sup> That is in all likelihood also the area where it was translated into Arabic, being among the first texts considered worth possessing in the language which more and more Christians in the late antique Near East had as their mother tongue.

There are several prominent reasons why it is interesting to explore the Arabic translations of the *Quaestiones*. First of all, it is worth investigating how the Arabic stands in relation to the original Greek. This is not only interesting per se, insofar as the text provides ample material for the study of patristic Graeco-Arabic translations, but also specifically because the Arabic manuscripts are the oldest surviving textual witnesses. It is also worth considering that (as far as can be determined) the oldest Arabic translation was made in a context, the Chalcedonian monasteries of Palestine, not long after it was, or even when it was still, a living text in Greek, presumably with a readership for whom this text was used for their intellectual training and fed into their spiritual development. If it was indeed still a text that was alive in the minds of the translators, then the transition from the Greek to the Arabic would have been more or less seamless. This has two implications. First of all, the Arabic texts should be taken into consideration as potentially useful witnesses in the analysis of the transmission of the Greek text.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, when there are divergences between the Greek and the Arabic, we may assume that these were wilfully made rather than erroneously, and this is interesting from the point of view of the reception of the text. The remarkably low number of misinterpretations of the Greek in the Arabic translations may strengthen the hypothesis that the text did not get detached from its original historical context.<sup>20</sup>

Of course, the Arabic versions of the *Quaestiones* are also interesting in and of themselves, because they are a fascinating testimony to the burgeoning Melkite world of learning. It is also interesting to observe that the text continued to be copied, read, and excerpted in Christian Arabic texts through the

18 I agree therefore with Patricia Crone (cf. "Islam, Judeo-Christianity and Byzantine Iconoclasm," p. 61, n. 8 and p. 81). However, her claim that the text was originally written in Syriac cannot be supported.

19 See the example of the Arabic readings of Question 1 on pp. 40–43 below.

20 This is why it is infelicitous to refer to the Arabic translation as "medieval," as though it stems from a different epoch than the late antique era in which the Greek original came into being (cf. Macé, "Les *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* d'un Pseudo-Athanase (*CPG* 2257)," p. 121).

centuries and that it appears to have impacted theological discussions between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the centuries after its translation.<sup>21</sup>

None of these topics has, as yet, been explored with regard to the *Quaestiones*, but there are some valuable studies of the vibrant Patristic Graeco-Arabic translation movement in the monasteries of Palestine that allow us to understand the historical setting in which the translation of the *Quaestiones* took place.<sup>22</sup> Although the names of its translators are unknown, the names of the scribes allow us to locate the transmission of the text in the famous monasteries of Palestine and Sinai, where during the eighth through the tenth century many Greek and Syriac works were translated into Arabic, studied, commented upon, and integrated into the Melkite world of learning.

It has long been known that a partial Arabic translation existed in the late ninth century. The certainty we have in this regard is due to the fact that the oldest surviving manuscript of that partial translation, Strasbourg, BNU 4226, is dated to 885/6 AD (the date given is 272 of the Hiġra). Its scribe was Anthony David of Baghdad, a well-known early Christian Arabic scribe.<sup>23</sup> In the same year, he also copied, among others, Vatican Ar. 71, which is another set of Arabic translations of patristic texts.<sup>24</sup> Both manuscripts were copied at the monastery

21 The reception of the *Quaestiones* in Melkite apologetics will be discussed in Section 4 of this chapter.

22 Alexander Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), pp. 188–227; Alexander Treiger, "The Fathers in Arabic," in Ken Parry (ed.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Patristics*, Chichester and Malden, Wiley Blackwell, 2015, pp. 442–455; André Binggeli, "Early Christian Graeco-Arabica: Melkite Manuscripts and Translations in Palestine (8th–10th Centuries AD)," *Intellectual history of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), pp. 228–247; Sidney Griffith, *Arabic Christianity in Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1992; Kate Leeming, "Greek-Arabic Translation in the Christian Communities of the Medieval Arab World," in Harald Kittel, Juliane House, and Brigitte Schultze (eds.), *Übersetzung: Ein internationales Handbuch zur Übersetzungsforschung—Translation: An International Encyclopedia of Translation Studies—Traduction: encyclopédie internationale de la recherche sur la traduction*, 3 vols., Berlin and New York, De Gruyter, 2004–2011, vol. 2, pp. 1217–1220. See also the Introduction to this volume.

23 The extensive literature regarding the date, colophon, and virtual reconstruction of this manuscript (divided over libraries in Strasbourg, Birmingham, and Saint Petersburg) is listed by André Binggeli in his detailed study "Les trois David, copistes arabes de Palestine," in André Binggeli, Anne Boud'hors, and Mattieu Cassin (eds.), *Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia. Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin*, Louvain, Peeters, 2016, pp. 79–117, at pp. 80–81; its contents were described in J. Oestrup, "Über zwei arabische codices sinaïtici der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 51 (1897), pp. 453–471, at pp. 455–458.

24 Sidney Griffith, "Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine," *Church History*, 58 (1989), pp. 7–19; repr. in Griffith, *Arabic Chris-*

of Mar Saba and had been commissioned for Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai. This manuscript of the *Quaestiones* contains 45 questions which had been selected, without a detectable focus on specific themes, from the longer collection and were given a new consecutive numbering.<sup>25</sup>

Graf's entry about the text in volume 1 of his *GCAL* predates the current scholarly interest in late antique *erotapokriseis*.<sup>26</sup> He merely quoted Bardenhewer's description of it as a late compilation of several unknown hands,<sup>27</sup> as well as Abū l-Barakāt, who described it in his book catalogue as a collection of 45 questions on the "Trinity and Divine unity, the faith, and other matters."<sup>28</sup> Graf then lists the manuscripts known to him, but, possibly because he was unaware, he did not specify that besides the selection of 45 questions and a compilation of 68 questions,<sup>29</sup> there exists an integral Arabic translation.<sup>30</sup> This

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*tianity*, Essay XI; André Binggeli, "Early Christian Graeco-Arabica," p. 233, and Binggeli, "Les trois David," pp. 80–100.

25 The Arabic 45 questions (A) are listed here with the corresponding questions in the order of the edition of Migne's *PG* (G): A1–11 = G1–11; A12 = G13; A13–15 = G15–17; A16–18 = G19–21; A19 = G23; A20–21 = G25–26; A22–25 = G34–37; A26–28 = G39–41; A29–31 = G45–47; A32–34 = G49–51; A35 = G55; A36 = G57; A37 = G59; A38–39 = G64–65; A40–41 = G101–102; A42 = G111; A43 = G113; A44 = G115; A45 = G124. The edition in *PG* is based on late manuscripts that diverge considerably from the bulk of manuscripts, yet, for obvious reasons it has become the point of reference for research and will probably remain so until a critical edition has been produced. The numbering in *PG* may not reflect the original numbering (in fact, only about a quarter of the Greek manuscripts are numbered; see De Vos, "The Manuscript Tradition of the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*," p. 48) but this does not hamper our comparisons here.

26 Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, pp. 312–313.

27 Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 5 vols., 1913–1935, vol. 3, p. 68.

28 Wilhelm Riedel, "Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abū l-Barakāt," *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1902), pp. 635–706, at p. 646.

29 Graf mentions (*GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 313) that the library of Charfeh held a 17th-century manuscript with shelfmark 8/10 (karšūnī) with 68 questions that subsequently disappeared. Graf did not know that Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, xv E1 sup. (fols. 14<sup>v</sup>–50<sup>r</sup>), listed by him as "Mailand Ambros. (de Hammer) or. 90,2," also contains 68 questions only (cf. Oscar Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 2 vols., Vicenza, N. Pozza, 1975–1981, vol. 1, p. 13). These 68 questions are not a different translation or recension but simply the second half of the Integral Arabic Translation, the text having been divided into two equal parts (hence the note "*al-tānī*," above the text; the questions are numbered again from 1 onward). Presumably Dayr al-Šīr 431 contains the same 68 questions, although possibly it has the first half (P. Adrien Chacour, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de Dayr al-Šīr (Liban) des moines basilien alépins*, Liban [s.l.], 1976, p. 34).

30 Graf's information on the Mount Sinai manuscripts is notoriously scant. He was depen-

complete translation of the 137 Greek questions and answers survives in some of the oldest Arabic manuscripts from Sinai (9th–10th c.), notably Sinai Ar. 431 (fols. 255<sup>r</sup>–321<sup>r</sup>) and Sinai Ar. 330 (fols. 227<sup>r</sup>–273<sup>v</sup>), as well as a number of manuscripts from later centuries.<sup>31</sup> Some of the Arabic manuscripts even contain additional questions, such as the elegant but hitherto unstudied London, Royal Asiatic Society, Arabic 25, which contains a total of 146 questions.<sup>32</sup>

## 2 “The Arabic Translation of 45” versus “The Integral Arabic Translation”

The first question with regard to the Arabic versions of the *Quaestiones*, is how the texts in the partial translation (henceforth: “The Arabic Translation of 45”), which is found in the oldest *dated* manuscript, and the complete translation

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dent on rudimentary catalogues that gave little detail, because in all likelihood he did not travel to Sinai and therefore lacked good knowledge of what is the most important collection of Christian Arabic patristic translations and “arguably the single most important repository of Christian Arabic manuscripts in the world” (Treiger, “Christian Graeco-Arabica,” pp. 196–197). Despite Graf’s reference to manuscripts of the *Quaestiones* with more questions in it, some scholars have continued to refer to the Arabic translation as existing of only 45 questions, e.g. Macé, “Les *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* d’un Pseudo-Athanase (*CPG* 2257),” p. 121, n. 3.

31 On the additional witnesses from the New Finds, see below, pp. 33–40. Other manuscripts from Sinai are: Sinai Ar. 481, fols. 225<sup>v</sup>–283<sup>r</sup> (1091AD); Sinai Ar. 485, fols. 124<sup>v</sup>–190<sup>r</sup> (ca. 13th c.); Sinai Ar. 585, fols. 2<sup>r</sup>–21<sup>r</sup> (partial: abrupt end at Question 33, followed by a 1.5 blank folios). Sinai Ar. 474 is listed both by Atiya (Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand-list of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*, Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1955, p. 16) and by Kamil (Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970, p. 41) as one of the witnesses, but it only contains Question 1 (on fols. 307<sup>v</sup>–309<sup>r</sup>). Kamil also mentions two manuscripts, not listed by Atiya, to which I have not had access: Sinai Ar. 468 (17th–18th c.) and Sinai Ar. 345 (1386AD) (Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 41, No. 500 and p. 37, No. 472 respectively). There are also several confusing misattributions. Sinai Ar. 346 (1117AD) does not contain the *Quaestiones* but another series of *erotapokriseis* attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria, which can also be found in Sinai Ar. 481 (cf. Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 9); Sinai Ar. 454 is listed erroneously as a witness in Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 32 (repeated in Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 1, p. 124).

32 [https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/work\\_9669](https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/work_9669) (17th c., no folio numbering). The additional questions in the manuscript are not known from any other manuscript of the *Quaestiones*, but are similar in style and content and deserve further study. Another important manuscript, besides the Sinai manuscripts, containing all the *Quaestiones* is Oxford, Bodleian, Greaves 30, fols. 1<sup>v</sup>–59<sup>v</sup>, which contains three additional questions.

(henceforth: “The Integral Arabic Translation”) relate to each other.<sup>33</sup> Was the Greek text translated twice independently or does one version of the Arabic *Quaestiones* depend on the other? Answering this question will be useful for the reconstruction of the translation history and especially for determining when the entire text was first translated into Arabic. I will try to answer this question by comparing the two texts. Along the way, I will comment on some other features of the Arabic manuscripts and the nature of their textual variants.

Reading the opening sections of the Arabic Translation of 45 and the Integral Arabic Translation, the answer to this question *seems* within easy reach, because these sections are virtually identical. The textual closeness of the two Arabic texts is shown here below:

Arabic translation of 45: Strasbourg,  
BNU 4226, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>

Integral Arabic translation: Sinai Ar. 431,  
fol. 255<sup>r</sup>

Preamble

Preamble

المسيح الالهى وقوتى ورجاي ومخلصي

هذه مساييل ملتقطه لانتيوخس ولاينا القديس اثناسيوس  
بطريك الاكسندريه

في ذلك الزمان اتا انسان ريس يقال له انتيوخس من عظما  
العجم الي اثناسيوس فقال له اريد يابونا اساييلك عن ابواب  
شتا هي في الكتب والناس يختلفون فيها فانا احب ان  
تفسرها لي ليكون فيها منفعه لي ولمن بعدي من المسيحيين  
فقال له اثناسيوس سلني يابني عن ما احببت فاخبرك بما  
يوحى الله علي في بروح قدسه فاني له كاهن وان كنت  
ليس اتا لذلك اهلا

بسم الاب والابن وروح القدس: من قول ابونا القديس  
اثناسيوس بطريك الاسكندريه مجاوبه لمساييل انطيوخس  
الريس

في ذلك الزمان اتا انسان ريس يقال له انطيوخس من  
عظما العجم الي اثناسيوس القديس فقال له اريد يا ابونا  
اسلك عن ابواب شتا هي في الكتب والناس يختلفون فيها  
فانا احب ان تفسرها لي ليكون فيها منفعه لي ولمن بعدي  
من المسيحيين فقال له اثناسيوس سل عنما احببت يا ابني  
فاخبرك بما يوحى الله بروح قدسه علي في فاني كاهن له  
وان كنت ليس اتا لذلك اهلا

33 The “Arabic Translation of 45” is also to be found in later manuscripts: e.g., Mingana Chr. Ar. 56, Charfet Ar. 378, and Jerusalem, Monastery of St Mark 21. The select questions found in Vat. Ar. 99 are taken from this translation. The select questions found in Paris Ar. 214 and Vat. Borg. Ar. 135 have very different wording and appear to be independent translations.

*(cont.)*


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Arabic translation of 45: Strasbourg,  
BNU 4226, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>

Integral Arabic translation: Sinai Ar. 431,  
fol. 255<sup>r</sup>

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Christ, my God, my power, my hope and my savior. These are selected questions of Antiochus and our father the Holy Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria.

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. From the words of our holy father Patriarch Athanasius, in answer to the questions of Antiochus the chief.

In that time an important man called Antiochus, from the elite of the Persians [or non-Arabs, *al-ʿaġam*], came to Athanasius and said to him: “My father, I would like to ask you about various topics in the Scriptures that people disagree about, and I would like you to elucidate them to me, to my benefit and that of Christians after me.”

In that time an important man called Antiochus, from the elite of the Persians [or non-Arabs, *al-ʿaġam*], [came] to the holy Athanasius and said to him: “My father, I would like to ask you about various topics in the Scriptures that people disagree about, and I would like you to elucidate them to me, to my benefit and that of Christians after me.”

And Athanasius answered: “Ask me, my son, whatever you like and I will inform you of what God sends down on my tongue through the Holy Spirit, for I am a priest unto Him, even though I am not worthy of that.”

And Athanasius answered: “Ask me, my son, whatever you like and I will inform you of what God sends down through His Spirit on my tongue, for I am a priest unto Him, even though I am not worthy of that.”

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A comparison of the two introductory sections shows that the Arabic texts are virtually the same. The scribe or redactor has changed the heading but after that the texts are very close. Sinai Ar. 431 has a clear error in writing *anā* for *atā*. Other manuscripts of the Integral Arabic Translation do not contain this error. It shows that in any case Sinai Ar. 431 is not the very first manuscript of the Integral Arabic Translation, because the scribe must simply have had an Arabic Vorlage in which he mistook two dots for one, rather than having misread the Greek. There is no divergence in the vocabulary employed, the orthography shows some very slight variation, and the few differences in wording and word order do not change the meaning. On the basis of this brief example, it is tempting to conclude that these texts derive from one and the same translation into Arabic and that hence the short recension has been made simply by selecting questions from the long translation. What is interesting, further-

more, is that this introductory section is not to be found in any of the Greek manuscripts. It may have been added by the Arabic translator or a later redactor, although as long as we do not have a better grasp on the genealogy of the Greek manuscripts, it cannot be entirely excluded that it was included in an earlier stage of the Greek, which no longer survives. However this may be, it is not impossible that a second Arabic translator copied the introduction from the first Arabic translation but proceeded to make his own translation after that. Since there is no shortage of comparative textual material, we can proceed to compare a few of the Questions more closely.

In Question 1, the divergences between the two Arabic recensions are much more prominent. To compare:

### Question 1

PG 28, col. 597: 'Ερώτησις α'. Πιστεύσαντες καὶ βαπτισθέντες εἰς Τριάδα ὁμοούσιον, καὶ λέγοντες Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Πατέρα, ὁμοίως καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι τὸν Υἱόν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι τὸ ἄγιον Πνεῦμα, πῶς οὐ λέγομεν τρεῖς θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἓνα καὶ μόνον Θεόν; Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἓνα προσκυνοῦμεν Θεόν, εὐδὴλον ὅτι, εἰς μοναρχίαν πιστεύοντες, Ἰουδαῖζομεν· εἰ δὲ πάλιν τρεῖς θεοὺς, πρόδηλον ὅτι Ἑλληνίζομεν, πολυθεῖαν εἰσάγοντες, καὶ οὐχ ἓνα μόνον Θεὸν εὐσεβῶς προσκυνοῦντες.

Arabic translation of 45: Strasbourg,  
BNU 4226, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>

Integral Arabic translation: Sinai Ar. 431,  
fols. 255<sup>r-v</sup>

قال انطياخس قبل كل شي لماذا هي امانتنا وغايتنا الطبيعه  
الواحد الثالثه ونقول ان الاب اله تام والابن اله تام  
وروح القدس اله تام ولا نقول ثلثه اله ولكن اله واحد  
فان كنا نسجد ليله<sup>34</sup> واحد فنحن نعبد راس واحد مثل  
اليهود وان كنا ايضا نعبد ثلثه الهه فنحن نعبد الهه كثيره مثل  
الحنفا وليس اله واحد  
واحد

قال انطياخس قبل كل شي لماذا هي امانتنا وغايتنا الطبيعه  
الواحد الثالثه ونقول ان الاب اله تام والابن اله تام  
وروح القدس اله تام ولا نقول ثلثه اله ولكن اله واحد  
فان كنا نسجد ليله<sup>34</sup> واحد فنحن نعبد راس واحد مثل  
اليهود وان كنا ايضا نعبد ثلثه الهه فنحن نعبد الهه كثيره مثل  
الحنفا وليس اله واحد

34 A peculiar spelling of لاله (?).

(cont.)

Arabic translation of 45: Strasbourg,  
BNU 4226, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>

Integral Arabic translation: Sinai Ar. 431,  
fols. 255<sup>r-v</sup>

Antiochus said: “Why do we **believe and baptize** in the one nature, **trinitarian in essence**, and say that the Father is a perfect God and the Son like Him and the Holy Spirit a God likewise; and why is it that we do not say that there are three Gods but rather one? For if we were to worship one God, then **we would reduce ourselves to Judaism** and affiliate with the Jews, and, likewise, if we were to worship three Gods, **we would affiliate with paganism and we would worship many gods** and we would not believe in and worship one God.”

Antiochus said: “Before anything else, why is **our belief and our object of worship the one trinitarian nature** and why do we say that the Father is a perfect God and the Son a perfect God and the Holy Spirit a perfect God but we do not say three Gods but one God? For if we were to worship one God then we would **worship one Principle like the Jews**, and likewise if we were to worship three Gods then we would worship **many Gods like the pagans** and not one God.”

In this first question of the text, the wording is somewhat similar, but much less so than in the opening section. One notices various divergences in the choice of words: such as *المثلثة بالجوه* vs. *الثالوثه*; *الاله واحد* vs. *راس واحد*; *حنفا* vs. *حنيفيه*; *راس واحد* vs. *الاله واحد*; *المثلثة بالجوه* vs. *الثالوثه*. The Arabic Translation of 45 paraphrases the Greek verb “to Judaize” (*Ἰουδαΐζομεν*) as *فقد اقتصرنا على اليهوديه ونسبنا الي يهود*, while the Integral Arabic Translation chooses a simple “like the Jews.”

Another conspicuous difference furthermore can be found in the very beginning where the Arabic Translation of 45 gives “we believe and *baptize*,” while the other text gives “our belief and *object of worship*.” In this case, the Arabic Translation of 45 is closer to the Greek text, which indeed refers to baptism. This particular divergent reading should not force us to conclude that the Arabic Translation of 45 cannot be an extract from the Integral Arabic Translation, because, as it turns out, another early manuscript of the Integral Arabic Translation does include the correct reading “baptism.” Sinai Ar. 330, fol. 227<sup>r</sup>, gives *امنا وصبغنا بالطبيعه*, i.e., an exact agreement with the Arabic Translation of 45 and the Greek.<sup>35</sup> It seems logical to assume that if the two recensions

35 Sinai Ar. 330, fol. 227<sup>r</sup>.

do not derive from two separate translations but rather from one, that *وصيغنا* was misread and the preposition before “nature” was dropped so as to make sense of the phrase.<sup>36</sup>

In another instance the Integral Arabic Translation contains a reading which is closer to the Greek than the Arabic Translation of 45. Rather than using the simple “one God,” it uses “one head” (which I translated as “one Principle”), which must come from the Greek term *μοναρχία*, “monarchy.”

More comparison is needed to understand the textual relation between the two recensions.

#### Question 4

PG 28, col. 601: Ἐρώτ. δ'. Πόθεν δῆλον ὅτι κτιστοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμφέρεται τι τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς Γενέσεως.

Ἀπόκ. Γινώσκων ὁ Θεὸς τὸ φιλείδωλον καὶ πολύθεον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τούτου χάριν ἀπέκρυψεν ἐν τῇ Γενέσει τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων λόγον· ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς θεοποιήσωσιν οἱ τὸν μόσχον καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ θεοποιήσαντες ὡς θεοῦς. “Ὅτι δὲ καὶ κτιστοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι, ἄκουσον τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος διὰ τοῦ Προφήτου λέγοντος· “Aἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ· αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν, πάσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.”

Arabic translation of 45: Strasbourg,  
BNU 4226, fols. 47<sup>r-v</sup>

Integral Arabic translation: Sinai Ar. 431,  
fols. 258<sup>r-v</sup>

من اين يعرف بان الملائكة مخلوقه وليس لذلك تثبيت في  
مصحف الخليقه

من اين نعلم ان الملائكة مخلوقه ولم نجد في مصحف الخليقه  
شي من هذا

جواب: سبق في علم الله ان جنس اليهود يجب عباده  
الاوثان وكثره الاله منجل ذلك لم يوحى الي موسى ان

جواب: سبق في علم الله بان جنس اليهود يجب عباده  
الاوثان وكثره الاله فن اجل ذلك لم يوحى الله الي موسى

36 All other manuscripts of the Integral Arabic Translation give *وغايتنا*; Sinai Ar. 330 retains some other readings that are closer to the Greek, such as the correct answer to Question 7 while in all other manuscripts the answer given is in reality the answer to Question 8 (and see below at the textual comparison of Question 10), but because the manuscript is quite divergent from all others and heavily damaged, it is not useful to choose it here as the base manuscript for comparison of the recensions.

(cont.)

Arabic translation of 45: Strasbourg,  
BNU 4226, fols. 47<sup>r-v</sup>

Integral Arabic translation: Sinai Ar. 431,  
fols. 258<sup>r-v</sup>

يكتب في مصحف الخليقه شي من امر الملائكه لكيما لا يتخذونها اليهود لهم كالاله وبعبدونها كمثل عبادتهم العجل في حوريب واشيا اخر شتي وسجدوهم لها من دون الله. فاما ان اردت ان تعلم ان الملائكه مخلوقين فاسمع روح القدس يقول علي فم داود النبي يسبح الرب جميع ملايكنه سبحانه كل قواته فانه هو الذي قال فكانوا وهو الذي امر بخلقوا فليس نعلم من الكتب الالهيه عن خلقه الملائكه يقين الا من هذا الموضع وهذه الكلمه فقط

ان يكتب في مصحف الخليقه شيا من امر الملائكه لكيما لا يتخذوهم اليهود الهه كما اتخذوا العجل اله واشيا اخر عبدوها ايضا فان اردت ان تعلم ان الملائكه مخلوقين فاسمع روح القدس يقول علي فم داود النبي اذ يقول يسبح للرب كل ملايكنه تسبحه كل اجناده لانه قال فكانوا وهو امر بخلقوا

Whence is it known that the angels are created, as **there is no confirmation** of that in the Book of Genesis?

Whence do we know that the angels are created, as **we do not find anything** about it in the Book of Genesis?

Answer: Preceding in God's knowledge was that the race of the Jews loves idolatry and polytheism. Therefore He did not reveal to Moses that he should write anything about the issue of angels in the Book of Genesis, lest the Jews would adopt them as gods **and worship them** as with their worship of the calf at Horeb and other various things and their worship of these besides God.

Answer: Preceding in God's knowledge was that the race of the Jews loves idolatry and polytheism. Therefore He did not reveal to Moses that he should write anything about the issue of angels in the Book of Genesis, lest the Jews would adopt them as gods, in the way they took the calf as a god and various other things they worshipped.

If you want to know that the angels are created, then listen to the Holy Spirit speaking through the mouth of David the Prophet: "Praise the Lord, all His angels, praise Him, all His **forces**"<sup>37</sup> and He is **the one** who spoke and they were, "He is the one who com-

If you want to know that the angels are created, then listen to the Holy Spirit speaking through the mouth of David the Prophet: "Praise the Lord, all His angels praise Him, all His **hosts**" and He spoke and they were, "He commanded and they were created."

37 Psalms 148:2.

*(cont.)*

Arabic translation of 45: Strasbourg,  
BNU 4226, fols. 47<sup>r-v</sup>

Integral Arabic translation: Sinai Ar. 431,  
fols. 258<sup>r-v</sup>

manded and they were created.”<sup>38</sup> **We do not know anything precisely about the creation of the angels except for this passage and this saying only.**

The comparison of the two textual versions of Question 4 is straightforward. The differences between the two are minimal. The Arabic Translation of 45 is slightly more elaborate and contains a final phrase that is undoubtedly a gloss. The tendency of the redactor of the Arabic Translation of 45 to expand and to clarify also becomes clear in Question 10, which deals with the fall of Satan.

#### Question 10

PG 28, col. 604: 'Ερώτ. ι'. Πότε, και δια τί ἐξέπεσεν ὁ διάβολος, Μυθεύονται γάρ τινες, ὅτι, καταδεξάμενος προσκυνῆσαι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, δια τοῦτο ἐξέπεσεν.

Ἀπόκ. Ἀφρόνων ἀνδρῶν, τὰ τοιαῦτα τυγχάνουσι ῥήματα. Ὁ γὰρ διάβολος, πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, ἐξέπεσε. Πρόδηλον δὲ, ὅτι δια τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν αὐτοῦ, ὡς φησιν Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης, λογισάμενος, ὅτι “Θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν καὶ ἔσομαι ὄμιος τῷ Ὑψίστῳ.”

Arabic translation of 45: Strasbourg,  
BNU 4226, fols. 48<sup>r-v</sup>

Integral Arabic translation: Sinai Ar. 431,  
fol. 259<sup>v</sup>

متي ولماذا سقط الشيطان فان المتكلمين من الناس بالباطل  
يقولون انه سقط عند امتناعه من السجود لادم

متا ولماذا وقع الشيطان (سمعت من يقول انه وقع)<sup>39</sup> لانه  
ابا يسجد لادم

38 Psalms 148:5.

39 Words between brackets supplied by Sinai Ar. 330. For this manuscript see p. 28, n. 36 above and p. 35 below.

(cont.)

Arabic translation of 45: Strasbourg,  
BNU 4226, fols. 48<sup>r-v</sup>

Integral Arabic translation: Sinai Ar. 431,  
fol. 259<sup>v</sup>

جواب: انما يتكلم بهذا الحمقا والجهال من الناس لان  
الشیطان قد سقط من قبل ان یخلق ادم وذلك لافتخاره  
وعظمته وكبرياه كما قال اشعيا عنه انه قال اضع منبري  
فوق الغمام واكون مثل العلي

جواب: هذا قول حمقا الناس قد سقط الشيطان من قبل  
ان یخلق ادم من اجل كبرياه كما قال اشيا النبي ان الشيطان  
قال في فكره اضع لي منبرا علي سحابه واكون كسبه<sup>40</sup> العلي

When and why did Satan fall? For **theologians among the people who speak falsehood** say that it was with his rejection of the worship of Adam.

When and why did Satan fall? [I heard some say that he fell] because he refused to worship Adam.

Answer: Those who say this are **dumb and ignorant** among the people, because Satan fell before Adam was created and that was because of **his pride and arrogance** and haughtiness, as Isaiah said about him: he said: “I will place my throne above the clouds and I will be like the Most High” [cf. Isaiah 14:13–14].

Answer: This is what dumb people say. Satan fell before Adam was created because of his haughtiness, as the Prophet Isaiah said that Satan said in his mind: “I will place a throne for myself on the clouds and I will be like the Most High” [cf. Isaiah 14:13–14].

Again we have an example of minor variations in the vocabulary that do not affect the meaning. We find الغمام vs. سحابه for “clouds” and وقع vs. سقط for “fell.”<sup>41</sup> The Arabic Translation of 45 again amplifies the meaning by means of hendiads. The Greek “foolish” (ἄφρονος) is expressed with the “foolish and ignorant”

40 Read: كسبه as in other manuscripts.

41 With regard to the former variation, one might wonder whether this is due to different Bible translation being used. Because of the great amount of Bible quotations in the *Quaestiones*, it would be worth examining to what extent they echo contemporary Bible translations, which would have belonged to the oldest Arabic Bible translations made. This is beyond the scope of this paper, however. One observation can be made with regard to Question 101. There the Arabic translations contain the same error. In referring to the good deeds of Jews and gentiles, they both miss the word “peace” in the quotation of Rom. 2:10. It indicates that the redactors and scribes did not review and edit the quotes they encountered on the basis of the Bible text.

(الحمق والجهاال). Satan's pride (ὑπερηφάνια) is even rendered with three consecutive terms: "pride and arrogance and haughtiness" (افتخاره وعظمته وكبرياه).

In the Greek text the reference to the people who attribute Satan's fall to his refusal to worship Adam suggests disagreement between them and the interlocutor; these people μυθεύονται, "speak myths." In the Integral Arabic Translation there is no such a term, even though the translator creates distance between himself and the ones who believe this, by saying "I heard some people say." The Arabic Translation of 45 uses the strong words المتكلمين من الناس بالباطل, i.e., "the speakers of falsehood among the people." The first word, *mutakallimīn*, expresses not only "speakers" but also theologians, especially Muslim theologians. There is little doubt that the redactor/translator has wanted to point his finger at Islam, for in the Qur'an (Q 38:71–78) this is the explanation for the fall of Satan. Islam had adopted this view of the Fall from Jewish and Syriac Christian traditions in the Middle East and we cannot be entirely sure whether the original Greek question alluded to this notion as found in nascent Islam or in various heterodox Jewish and/or Christian groups. A century or two later, when an Arabic translator refers to the *mutakallimūn*, it is most likely that he has Muslim theologians as his specific target.<sup>42</sup>

This question is again a good example of the methods employed by the redactor/translator of the Arabic Translation of 45. He expands and adds force to the discourse in this way. I have used the double term "redactor/translator" here, because the person who produced the shorter recension did so on the basis of the Integral Arabic Translation, but probably by checking the existing Arabic against a Greek copy of the text. There are two reasons for assuming this: (a) the frequent employment of hendiadys seems more plausible as a product of translation rather than of redacting; (b) a secondary translation process can explain the inconsistency of textual agreement, i.e., certain turns of phrase and entire phrases which agree, mixed with very divergent sentences in which the divergences are casual, i.e., not new interpretations.

42 For the remarkable permutations of this extra-Biblical tradition about Satan, see Sergey Minov, "Satan's Refusal to Worship Adam: A Jewish Motif and its Reception in Syriac Christian Tradition," in Menahem Kister et al (eds.), *Tradition, Transmission, and Transformation from Second Temple Literature through Judaism and Christianity in Late Antiquity*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2015, pp. 230–271.

### 3 A Glimpse of the Sinai Arabic New Finds

Besides the important Sinai Arabic manuscripts discussed above, it is worth looking at the New Finds, that is to say: the manuscripts which have been found in Saint Catherine's Monastery during the 1970s and which have not yet been fully made available for consultation. The catalogue that was made of these finds by Yannis Meimaris tells us that there are at least two other rather ancient parchments among the New Finds that contain an Arabic version of the *Quaestiones*, MSS Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17 and 25, and one folio of each is reproduced in the catalogue. My observations here are based on the catalogue only, since I have not had access to these texts.

The first manuscript, Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17, is only 10 folios long and the only text in it is the *Quaestiones*.<sup>43</sup> It is unlikely that the whole text was copied here, because it could not fit on a mere 10 folios of this size. The text could be an excerpt or the codex could be partially lost. A third possibility—that it represents the Arabic Translation of 45—can be excluded because the questions that feature on the reproduction in the catalogue are not among those included in that recension.<sup>44</sup> On the image, the right-hand page consists of the last few words of Question 116 through half of the answer to Question 118. Some leaves are missing then (and the image shows that the spine is loose), for on the left-hand part of the image there is part of Question 127 until the beginning of Question 130. An interesting aspect of the manuscript is that the hand is quite similar to that of two well-known Christian Arabic manuscripts from the last quarter of the ninth century: Sinai Ar. 72 and London, BL Or. 4950. Their copyist is Stephen of Ramla, a monk and scholar at the Monastery of Mar Khariton.<sup>45</sup> One peculiar element in the paleography of Sinai NF Parch. 17 distinguishes it from those two manuscripts copied by Stephen of Ramla, however, and that is the fact that the letter *qāf* is written with a diacritical point under the letter, rather than two above. This feature is known from a few other early Christian and Islamic Arabic manuscripts, such as Sinai Ar. 154 of ca. the year 800, as well as several other manuscripts from the ninth and early tenth centuries.<sup>46</sup>

43 Ἰωάννης Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος τῶν νέων ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ* | *Katālog̃ al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muktašafa ḥadīṭan bi-Dayr Sānt Katrīn al-Muqaddas bi-Ṭūr Šīnā*, Athens, Ethnikon Hidryma Ereunōn, 1985, p. 83, image 22; the brief description is on p. 25\* and p. 27.

44 For the list of questions in the "Arabic Translation of 45," see n. 25 above.

45 Sidney Griffith, "Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in Ninth-Century Palestine," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), pp. 23–45, esp. 38–45.

46 Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, "Once Again on the Earliest Christian Arabic Apology: Remarks on a Palaeographic Singularity," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 69 (2010), pp. 195–

If we look at Question 117 (Εἰ ἐξὸν ἄρα τοῖς ἀρχουσι δῶρα δέχεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς πτωχοὺς ἀναλίσκειν;) and compare the wording with Sinai Ar. 431, we notice that there is no divergence in wording at all. Both manuscripts ask: هل يحل للعمال ان يسترشون ويتصدقون بما استرشوا i.e., “Is it permissible for officials to take bribes and to donate as alms what they have received as bribes?”

Close textual agreement can also be noticed in the next question, Question 118, about the possible conflict between one saint’s invocation and that of another. The questions are similar but not identical:

### Question 118

PG 28, col. 672: Ἐρώτ. ριη’. Ἐὰν ἀνὴρ ἅγιος ἀποστείλῃ παιδεῖαν, ἢ τιμωρίαν, ἢ δαίμονα, ἢ θάνατον, ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ παιδεύσιν εἰς οἶκον, ἢ οὐσίαν ἀνθρώπου, ἢ εἰς τέκνα· ἄρα δύναται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος παρακαλέσας ἕτερον ἅγιον ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἀπόφασιν, ἢν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ;

#### Sinai Ar. 431, fol. 302<sup>v</sup>

ان كان انسان قديس دعا علي اخر فثاله بلا او ضرا او  
 شيطان او موت او امثال هذا او ولده او لماله هل ينتفع  
 ذلك الانسان يطلب الي قديس اخر يدفع ذلك البلا بطلبته  
 الي الله كما ناله بدعوه ذلك القديس الاول

When a holy person **invokes** God against someone else and he is struck by misfortune or damage or a devil or death or similar things or his offspring or his property are, is it **beneficial** for that person to ask another saint to dispel that misfortune from him by imploring God in the same way as the misfortune struck him **through the prayer of that first saint?**

#### Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17

ان انسان قديس بعث علي اخر بلا او ضرا او شيطان او  
 موت او امثال هذا او علي ولده له ومال له هل يستطيع  
 ذلك الانسان يطلب الي قديس اخر يدفع ذلك عنه بطلبه  
 من الله كما ائته البليه بطلبه من الله ايضا

When a holy person **inflicts** upon someone else misfortunate or damage or a devil or death or similar things or upon his offspring or upon property of his, is it **possible** for that person to ask another saint to dispel that by imploring God in the same way as the misfortune overcame him through **imploring God as well?**

197; La Spisa presents some more examples and shows that the scribal habit also features in early Islamic Arabic texts: Paolo la Spisa, “Cross Palaeographical Traditions. Some examples from Old Christian Arabic Sources,” in Dmitry Bondarev, Alessandro Gori and Lameen Souag (eds.), *Creating Standards. Interactions with Arabic Script in 12 Manuscript Cultures*, Berlin and Boston, Walter de Gruyter, 2019, pp. 93–109, pp. 98–100. As for Sinai Ar. 154, see also pp. 40–43 below.

A comparison of the two versions of the passage yields some interesting points. First of all, we find again confirmation that the scribes worked with what is ultimately the same translation from Arabic. It is not conceivable that the identical turns of phrase (e.g., *بلا او ضرا او شيطان او موت او امثال هذا*) would be independent.

One can also notice that both versions have tried to make some improvements and clarifications. Sinai Ar. 431 had specified that the question concerns cases where the saintly invocation of misery has not just been uttered but also been realized, by means of the word *فثاله*. There is also a more specific verb used: rather than just asking whether it is *possible* (*هل يستطيع* as in Greek *δύναται*) to ask a second holy man, this manuscript asks whether it is *beneficial* (*هل ينتفع*) to ask another saint. Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17, in its turn, by adding the words *بطلبه (من الله ايضا)* has wanted to underscore that the suggested way of undoing the invoked affliction would be through exactly the same process as the one that brought the affliction about.

Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17 is closer to the Greek with regard to the first verb: to *send* misfortune (*ba'ata*, translated above as “to inflict”) corresponds to the Greek (*ἀποστείλη*, “sends”) while the other translation (*da'ā 'alā*, i.e., “to invoke God against,” “to curse”) is more specific.

Interestingly, we may note too that Sinai Ar. 330, fol. 266<sup>v</sup>, has the same wording as Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17. Whereas in the example of the difference between Sinai Ar. 330 and the other manuscripts of the Integral Arabic translation in the opening section of the text, the divergence was probably due to a misreading of the word “baptism,” here the divergence between Sinai Ar. 330 and Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17, on the one hand, and Sinai Ar. 431 and some other manuscripts of the Integral Arabic Translation, on the other, we get the impression that the latter have undergone a more conscious intervention aimed at clarifying the meaning of the text. The passage allows us to distinguish two different branches in the transmission of the Integral Arabic Translation. Sinai Ar. 481, Sinai Ar. 485, Oxford, Bodleian, Greaves 30, and London, Royal Asiatic Society 25 follow Sinai Ar. 431 while Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, xv E1 sup. follows Sinai Ar. 330.

Now that we have determined that despite the small differences in wording Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17 is part of the Integral Arabic Translation, it is interesting to look at the radically different wording of the answer to Question 117. Whereas the questions were identical, the answers are as follows:

#### Answer to Question 117

PG 28, col. 672: Ἀπόκ. Εἰ μὲν τινες εὐεργετηθέντες ἐν εὐπορίᾳ τυγχάνουσι, καὶ ἔκουσῶς αὐτοῖς ταῦτα προσφέρουσι, λέγω δὴ τοῖς εὐεργετήσασιν· ἴσως οὐ πολὺ κρίμα

ἔχουσιν οἱ δεχόμενοι· δῆλον ὅτι, ἐὰν εἰς πτωχοὺς αὐτὰ διανείμωσιν. Ἐπεὶ ὅσα ἐκ γεωπόνων ἢ χειροτεχνῶν δέξονται δῶρα, καταπονουμένων καὶ ἀντίληψιν ζητούντων, πῦρ καὶ κόλασιν ἑαυτοῖς συνάγουσι, καὶ εἰς μυρίας εὐπορίας αὐτὰ διαδώσουσι, καθὼς φησιν ἡ Γραφή, ὅτι “Πῦρ καταφάγεται οἴκους δωροδεκτῶν.”

Sinai Ar. 431, fol. 302<sup>v</sup>

Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17

كل من استرشا ينبغي حقه من ظالم له فتلكه الرشوه لمن  
ياخذها عذاب شديد ونار لا تطفأ ولو صدقوا بها وعملوا بها  
كل حسنه كمثل ما يقول الكتاب النار تحرق بيوت كل من  
يسترشي

اما ان كانوا ميسرين قد عرفوا ان العمال اصحاب صدقه  
فرشوههم طابعين فليس علي العمال ذنب شديد كل ذلك  
فاما كل رشوه تكون من صاحب ارض او من انسان  
ينبغي حقه من ظالم له فتلك لمن ياخذها عذاب اليم ونار  
لا تطفأ ولو صدقوا بها وعملوا بها كل حسنه كمثل ما يقول  
الكتاب النار تحرق بيوت كل من يسترشي

Anyone who was asked for bribes must get justice from the one who oppresses him. And for the one who took the bribe there will be a grievous punishment and an unquenchable fire, even if he gave alms from it and did all good deeds with it, as the Scripture says: “Fire will burn the houses of anyone who demands bribes” [Job 15:34].

If they are rich, knowing that the officials are people who give alms, and they are giving the bribe willingly, then there is not great blame on the officials [for]<sup>47</sup> all that. As for any bribe from a farmer or from a [crafts]man,<sup>48</sup> he must get justice from the one who oppresses him, and for the one who took the bribe there will be a grievous punishment and an unquenchable fire, even if he gave alms from it and did all good deeds with it, as the Scripture says: “Fire will burn the houses of anyone who demands bribes” [Job 15:34].

A comparison with the Greek shows that Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17 is again closer to it. In the Greek version of *PG* the answer begins also with the description of how and why certain bribes are not all that reprehensible, when the ones paying them are rich and do not do it against their will. The very interesting insight we gain from this brief comparison is the way in which somewhere fur-

47 Missing in the Arabic.

48 Word missing, cf. Greek χειρότεχνος.

ther down the line one of the scribes of the Integral Arabic Translation has decided to remove the beginning of the passage and create a slightly different beginning, thereby altering the tenor of the answer entirely. Apparently, what Athanasius of Alexandria supposedly thought of bribery is made secondary to the redactor's urge to depict bribery as an immense sin *tout court*. The textual intervention must have happened at a different stage than the one described with regard to Question 118, because in this case Sinai Ar. 330 agrees with the other manuscripts of Integral Arabic Translation against Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17.

The second relevant manuscript from among the New Finds is Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 25. Meimaris' catalogue contains one image of this parchment manuscript.<sup>49</sup> The first of four texts included in this undated 64-folio manuscript consists of all or part of the *Quaestiones*. The hand might be estimated as late ninth or early tenth-century. André Binggeli has noticed the similarity between this hand and one single leaf, fol. 116, of Vatican Ar. 71, the rest of which was written almost entirely in 885/6 by Anthony of Baghdad.<sup>50</sup> I agree with Binggeli's hypothesis that this one folio and Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 25 were written by the same scribe, since the writing in the two manuscripts is far too similar and too particular to be of two different scribes.<sup>51</sup> From the digital images on the website of the Vatican Library, the one leaf seems an integral part of the codex and if this is the case, the scribe would have been one of Anthony of Baghdad's contemporaries, and thus also have worked in the late ninth century.<sup>52</sup> The fact that the hand is squarish Kufi-like supports such a dating.

Until the New Finds become accessible, we cannot determine how many of the *Quaestiones* are contained in Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 25, but the fact that the Greek question numbers in the margins are in agreement with the numbering of the full set may indicate that this was originally part of the complete text, not merely a selection. What can be determined, too, is that this is not a witness to the Arabic Translation of 45. This is because the section displayed

49 For the brief descriptions of this manuscript, see Meimaris, *Katalogos*, pp. 26\*–27\* and p. 28; the image on p. 87 is No. 29.

50 Binggeli, "Les trois David," p. 83 and n. 17. For this manuscript copied by David Anthony of Baghdad, see p. 21 above.

51 I have no doubt that also part of Sinai Ar. 508 was written by this scribe. See, for example, the frontispiece in Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, London, C.J. Clay, 1901, depicting fol. 95<sup>r</sup> of the *Book of the Rolls*.

52 No repairs or insertions are visible at that section of the manuscript: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.ar.71](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ar.71).

on the picture consists of the end of Question 83 until the beginning of Question 86, which are not contained in that select translation.<sup>53</sup> We may compare the small excerpt readable from the image in the catalogue with our Integral Arabic Translation.

### Question 85

PG 28, col. 649: 'Ερώτ. πε'. Τινές φασιν, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀνεξέταστον παρέχειν ἐλεημοσύνην, ἀλλ' ἐρωτᾶν μετὰ ἀκριβείας, εἰ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐνδεής ἐστιν ὁ ἡμῖν προσερχόμενος. Λέγει γάρ, φησὶν ὁ Σολομών, ὅτι, "Ἐὰν ποιῆς ἀγαθόν, βλέπε τίνι ποιεῖς."

Ἀπόκρ. Οὕτω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς Γραφὰς οἱ κακῶς νοοῦντες διαστρέφουσιν· οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ πτωχοῦ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὁ Σολομών· ἀλλὰ "βλέπε, τίνι ποιεῖς," τουτέστιν, ὅτι τῷ Θεῷ ποιεῖς. Εἰ γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ ἀνακρίνειν τοὺς αἰτοῦντας τοῦτό φησι, πῶς ὁ Κύριος λέγει· "Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου;"

Sinai Ar. 431, fols. 288<sup>v</sup>-289<sup>r</sup>

Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 25<sup>54</sup>

ان بعض الناس يقول انه ليس ينبغي لاحد ان يتصدق  
او يعطي لكل من ادرك ولاكن يضع صدقته حيث ينبغي  
ويسل ان كان ذلك الانسان محتاجا فان سليمان النبي يقول  
اذا احسنت فانظر الي من تحسن

جواب: هكذا وسائر الكتب يحلون الذين راىهم خبيث. لم  
يقول هذا سليمان النبي في شان الانسان الفقير ولاكنه  
قال انظر الي من تحسن يعني بانك الي الله تحسن فان كنا  
نريد نسل عن كل انسان ان كان محتاجا صدقنا عليه ونحتج  
بان الكتاب امر بذلك فكيف قال الرب في الانجيل اعطي  
كل يسلك ولا تمنع كل من ياخذ منك.

سمعت بعض يقول انه ليس ينبغي لاحد ان يتصدق  
ويعطي كما ادرك ولاكن يضع الذي له حيث ينبغي ويسل  
عن ذلك ان كان الانسان محتاج فان سليمان النبي يقول اذا  
احسنت فانظر الي من تحسن

جواب: هكذا وسائر الكتب يحلون الذين راىهم خبيث. لم  
يقول هذا سليمان النبي في شان الانسان الفقير ولاكنه قال  
انظر الي من تحسن يعني بانك الي الله تحسن. انكا<sup>55</sup> زيد  
نسل عن كل مسكين ان كان مسكين صدقنا عليه. وهذا  
عنا الكتاب فكيف قال الرب في الانجيل اعطي كل من  
يسلك ولا تمنع كل من ياخذ منك.

53 For the list of questions included in the "Arabic Translation of 45," see n. 25 above.

54 See Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. 87, the left-hand page of image 29.

55 *Sic.*

*(cont.)*Sinai Ar. 431, fols. 288<sup>v</sup>–289<sup>r</sup>

**Some people** say that it is not necessary for anyone to give alms and make donations to anyone whom he comes across but that one should put down what[ever] one has, when necessary, and ask whether that is a person in need, for Solomon the Prophet says: “When you do good, look to whom you do good.”<sup>56</sup>

Answer: This is what happens to all the Scriptures: they get twisted by those whose opinion is **despicable**. Solomon the Prophet did not speak with reference to a poor person but said rather: “Look to whom you do good,” meaning that you do good to God. If we meant asking every person if they are in need, would we believe him and would we **claim** that the Scripture commanded that? Then why is it that the Lord said in the Gospel: “Give to anyone who asks you and do not refuse anyone who takes from you” [Luke 6:30]?

Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 25

**I heard some** say that it is not necessary for anyone to give alms and make donations as he comes across (i.e., the person) but that one should put down what one has, when necessary, and ask about that one whether the person is in need, for Solomon the Prophet says: “When you do good, look to whom you do good.”

Answer: This is what happens to all the Scriptures: they get [twisted] by those whose opinion is **vicious**. Solomon the Prophet did not speak with reference to a poor person but said rather: “Look to whom you do good,” meaning that you do good to God. If we meant asking every poor person if they are poor, would we believe him? And that is what the Scripture means? Then why is it that the Lord said in the Gospel: “Give to anyone who asks you and do not refuse anyone who takes from you” [Luke 6:30]?

The texts express the same idea and are quite similar and yet there is a high number of small divergences. It turns out that this applies to all the Arabic manuscripts that contain the passage—which is shorter and simpler in the Greek of Migne. A few readings of Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 25 agree with Sinai Ar. 330 against Sinai Ar. 431, such as *خييث* vs. *خسيس* and *محتاج* vs. *مسكين*.

After these observations on the textual differences between the various ancient textual witnesses, it is worth drawing some preliminary conclusions. The most important finding of the comparison is that the oldest dated and partial translation of the *Quaestiones*, contained in Strasbourg, BNU 4226 (885/6AD)—what I have called “The Arabic Translation of 45”—was certainly not the first

<sup>56</sup> Not a literal citation. An echo of Proverbs 3:27?

translation made. It was written at a time when the text had already been translated in full. We have determined by means of a textual analysis that this integral translation was used by the redactor/translator of the Arabic Translation of 45. The exploration of various ancient manuscripts of the Integral Arabic Translation yields two interesting facts: (a) the number of Arabic manuscripts of the *Quaestiones* produced up to the early tenth century is remarkably high, a fact which underscores the popularity of the text in early Melkite circles; (b) the Integral Arabic Translation must have been made at least several decades before the last quarter of the ninth century, since by that time the textual variation in the manuscripts is already considerable.

In the next section of the article I will touch upon the question of the date of the Integral Arabic Translation again, while discussing the reception of the text among early Melkite authors.

#### 4 The *Quaestiones* in Early Arabic Christian Apologetics

One of the ways in which we can determine the popularity of the *Quaestiones* among Melkite Christians is by looking for quotations and echoes of it in their writings. Since the text was deemed worthy of being translated, we may assume it was appreciated and read in the Melkite monastic circles where its translation was commissioned. As it turns out, three early and well-known Christian-Arabic apologetic texts from the Melkite milieu integrated parts of the *Quaestiones*.

The first example is what is believed to be the oldest Christian Arabic apologetic text, the anonymous and untitled work known in English under the title "On the Triune Nature of God."<sup>57</sup> The text has received considerable attention on the grounds that it creatively expresses the Christian view of salvation history by using Qur'ānic phraseology. The opening part of the text is a prayer with echoes of the *Fātiḥa* of the Qur'ān. After that opening prayer and before the long narration of salvation history, there is a section on the unknowability of the mystery of the Trinity and the Divine majesty.<sup>58</sup> It is introduced by the

57 Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles from an Eighth or Ninth century MS. in the Convent of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, with a Treatise On the Triune Nature of God, with Translation, from the Same Codex*, London, C.J. Clay and Sons, 1899 (to be used with caution; see n. 58 below).

58 Because of errors in the edition and the translation by Gibson (cf. Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 75\*–76\*), the reader is referred to Sinai Ar. 154, fols. 100<sup>r</sup>–101<sup>r</sup>, and Paolo la Spisa, "Excerptum dalla più antica apologia araba cristiana," *Quaderni*

defensive statement: “We do not profess three Gods—God forbid—rather, we profess that God and His Word and His Spirit are one God and one Creator.” The author proceeds to explain how the one God, with his “Word and Spirit,” form the Trinity. What follows is a long list of examples of natural phenomena that can be regarded simultaneously as one and three, and of which one element that manifests itself forms the proof of the existence of the other elements that might be invisible. Several of these are frequently found in Christian-Arabic texts, such as the sun with its rays and its heat, and the mouth with its tongue and its word.<sup>59</sup> In “On the Triune Nature of God” this list of examples is, however, more elaborate than usual:

- the sun (disk, rays, heat);
- the eye (pupil, light);
- soul (body, spirit);
- a tree (trunk, branches, fruit);
- a body of water (source, river, lake);
- human spirit (spirit, intellect, word);
- the mouth (tongue, word).

The only other case of such a long list of which I am aware appears in the answer to Question 1 in the *Quaestiones*, where the issue under discussion is also how to distinguish the belief in the Trinity from polytheism. The list of examples is very similar, albeit even more extensive:

- the sun (disk, rays, heat);
- the eye (light, pupil);
- *the finger (flesh, bone, nail)*;
- soul (mind, ratio);
- a tree (roots, branches, leaves);
- a body of water (spring, river, lake);
- *daybreak (light, sun)*;
- *fire (light, heat)*;
- the mouth (tongue, word).

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*di studi arabi*, n.s. 9 (2014), pp. 33–56, pp. 50–52. For a new and improved translation, see Mark Swanson, “An Apology for the Christian Faith,” in Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger (eds.), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700–1700. An Anthology of Sources*, DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 2014, pp. 40–59, at pp. 44–45, from which I cite here.

59 For the frequent use of such explanations in Christian Arabic apologetics, see: Rashid Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes 750–1050*, Paris, Beauchesne, 1985, pp. 115–127; Michał Sadowski, “The Knowledge of God in the Arab Christian Theology,” *Studia Oecumenica*, 12 (2012), pp. 241–256.

The commentary after both lists shows that we are dealing with the same text in both the *Quaestiones* and “On the Triune Nature of God.” The final example of the mouth is elaborated on in both sources by means of a quotation from Isaiah (20:1 / 40:5), “the mouth of the Lord has spoken.” After this, both texts, somewhat paradoxically, end the relevant section with a resolute dismissal of attempts to delve deeply into the Divine mysteries, by saying that it cannot be grasped by words, arguments, or imagery. Two metaphors are used to underscore this dismissal: whoever attempts to fully comprehend God’s essence is “like someone searching hard for his own shadow” and “like someone trying to weigh the water of the ocean in the palm of his hand.”

Comparing these two passages, several interesting facts emerge. Whereas the textual overlap is unmistakable, there is no verbal agreement in the Arabic of the two texts, as we can see with the two metaphors mentioned:

1. فهو يشبهه in “On the Triune Nature of God” vs. فانه يطلب طله<sup>60</sup> الذي لا يدركه ابدا الذي اشتد في طلب ظله in the Arabic version of the *Quaestiones*;
2. كمثله in “On the Triune Nature of God” vs. الذي حرص ان يكيل مياه البحار براحتة in the Arabic version of the *Quaestiones*.

“On the Triune Nature of God” was written in the middle of the eighth century, and it is probable that the *Quaestiones* had not yet been translated into Arabic at this time.<sup>61</sup> The author of the apologetic text was therefore in all likelihood working with its Greek original. In the Greek of the edition in *PG* the answer to Question 1 is much shorter than in the Arabic manuscripts and contains nothing of this passage under discussion. As it turns out, however, at least eight of the Greek manuscripts have the more elaborate passage with the Trinitarian analogies, which all Arabic manuscripts contain as well.<sup>62</sup> The

60 Diacritical dot missing in the manuscript (Sinai Ar. 154, fol. 101<sup>r</sup>), but the meaning “shadow” (ظل) is clear.

61 The oldest known dated patristic translation into Arabic is from 772 AD and presumably the Graeco-Arabic patristic translation movement began to emerge some decades before that, so it is not to be excluded *a priori* that the translation of the *Quaestiones* had been made when “On the Triune Nature of God” was composed. See Alexander Treiger, “The Earliest Dated Christian Arabic Translation (772 AD): Ammonius’ Report on the Martyrdom of the Monks of Sinai and Raithu,” *Journal of the Canadian Society of Syriac Studies*, 16 (2016), pp. 21–38. For the date of “On the Triune Nature of God,” see Alexander Treiger, “New Works by Theodore Abū Qurra Preserved under the Name of Thaddeus of Edessa,” *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 68 (2016), pp. 1–51, at p. 12.

62 See, for example, Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci 129 (14th c.; the oldest manuscript of this branch).

author of “On the Triune Nature of God” as well as the Arabic translators must have been working from Greek manuscripts that belong to this specific branch.<sup>63</sup>

Another early Christian Arabic text in which the *Quaestiones* are cited is Theodore Abū Qurra’s treatise on icon veneration, which is to be dated the first quarter of the ninth century.<sup>64</sup> In Chapter 8 of this work, Abū Qurra refers explicitly to the *Quaestiones*, when he quotes a passage from Question 39, which is a defense of the veneration of the cross and of icons.<sup>65</sup> Since Theodore Abū Qurra composed his treatise in Arabic, there is a distinct possibility that he cited the passage from an Arabic version of the *Quaestiones*, although it is also possible that he searched patristic texts in their original Greek, the language in which most patristic texts would have been available to him and which he knew well. It is worth comparing Theodore’s Arabic passage with the extant Arabic translation, because a textual agreement between these passages would indicate that already during Theodore’s time of writing (early ninth century), there was an Arabic translation in existence.

#### Question 39

PG 28, col. 621: Ἐρώτ. λθ'. Τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐπιτρέποντος, μὴ προσκυνεῖν χειροποίητα, διὰ τί προσκυνοῦμεν εἰκόνας καὶ σταυρὸν, ἔργα τεκτόνων ὑπάρχοντα, καθὼς καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα τυγχάνουσιν;

Ἀπόκ. Οὐχ ὡς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦμεν τὰς εἰκόνας οἱ πιστοί· μὴ γένοιτο! ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες· ἀλλὰ μόνον τὴν σχέσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς τὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς εἰκόνας ἐμφανίζομεν· ὅθεν πολλάκις τοῦ χαρακτήρος λειανθέντος, ὡς ξύλον ἀργὸν λοιπὸν τὴν ποτε εἰκόνα καίομεν. Καὶ ὡσπερ Ἰακώβ μέλλων τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου, τῷ Ἰωσήφ προσεκύνησεν, οὐ τὴν ῥάβδον τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ταύτην κατέχοντα [...]

63 The connection between the Integral Arabic Translation and this particular branch of the Greek textual genealogy will be discussed in a forthcoming article by Ilse De Vos and myself.

64 Ignace Dick, *Théodore Abuqurrah: Traité du culte des icônes: Introduction et texte critique*, Jounieh, Librairie Saint-Paul, 1986, pp. VIII–IX.

65 I thank Alexander Treiger for drawing my attention to this quotation.

Theodore Abū Qurra, *Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons*

Sinai Ar. 431, fols. 269<sup>v</sup>–270<sup>r</sup>

ما شأننا نسجد للصور والصليب التي هي صنعة النجارين  
كالاوثان والله قد امر في الانبياء الا نسجد لصنعة الايادي

ان الله تبارك وتعالا قد امر الناس في الانبياء ان لا يسجدون  
لشي مخلوق فلماذا نحن نسجد للصليب وللتماثيل والناس  
يصنعونها

فاجابه مر اثناسيوس وقال: ليس سجدنا لله كسجدنا  
للصور نحن المومنين كعبادة الاوثان لا يكون بل انما نبتدي  
بسجدنا للصورة وللصليب بالوجه الذي الصورة له وحبنا  
عشقا اياه منجل هذا اذا درست الصورة كثيرا ما نحرق  
ذلك الذي كان مرة صنما كالعود

جواب: ليس نسجد نحن المومنين للتماثيل ولاكن لله  
وليس غرضنا في ذلك للتماثيل كمثل الخنفا ولاكن لمودتنا  
للشهداء والقديسين الذين ارضوا الله ولحبتنا اياهم اذا ابصرنا  
تماثيلهم اشتقنا الي اعمالهم فلذلك ربما انفسد التمثال او  
انكسر اللوح الذي هو فيه مصور اخذنا واحرقناه بالنار  
كالخطب

وكما ان يعقوب اذ دنا من الموت سجد على طرف عصا  
يوسف ليس ليكرم العصا ولكن للذي كان يمسكها بيده.<sup>66</sup>

وكما سجد يعقوب لاصل عصا يوسف عند موته ولم يريد  
بذلك كرامه العصا بل كرامه ماسكها

What business is it of ours to make prostration to the icons and to the cross? They are the handiwork of **carpenters**, like the idols. In the prophets God gave the command that we should not make prostration to the **work of human hands**.

God, the blessed and exalted, has commanded us in the prophets not to make prostration to any created thing, so why do we make prostration to the **cross and to representations**, while people make them?

In his answer to him St. Athanasius said that for us believers, making prostration to God is not the same as making it to the icons; it is not like **idolatry**. Rather, with our prostration to an icon or to the cross, we undertake only to show love and affection for the **person whose icon it is**. For this reason, whenever the icon is

Answer: We, believers, do not make prostration to representations but to God, and our objective is not in those representations, as with **pagans**. It is, however, because of our affection for the **martyrs and the saints**, who pleased God, and our love for them. When we look at their representations, we yearn for

66 Ioannes Arendzen, *Theodori Abu Qurra de cultu imaginum libellus e codice arabico nunc primum editus latine versus illustratus*, Bonn, Typ. Caroli Drobnig, 1897, p. 11; see also Dick, *Théodore Abuqurra: Traité du culte des icônes*, pp. 115\*–116\*.

(cont.)

Theodore Abū Qurra, *Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons*

Sinai Ar. 431, fols. 269<sup>v</sup>–270<sup>r</sup>

effaced, what was once an image is then most frequently burnt as **wood**.

their deeds. This is why whenever their representation gets spoiled, or the plank on which he is depicted breaks, [then] we take it and burn it in a fire like **firewood**.

And just as Jacob when he came near death, bowed down on the **top** of Joseph's staff, he did not do so to honor the staff, but **the one who was holding** the staff in his hand.<sup>67</sup>

And just like Jacob when he bowed down at the **knob** of Joseph's staff, at his death, he did not intend the honoring of the staff with that but rather the honoring of **its holder**.

A comparison of the versions of the passage reveals that the wording is very different. First of all, the use of (near-)synonyms shows that these do not represent the same translation. Secondly, the semantic divergences, such as “the person whose icon/image it is” as opposed to the “beloved martyrs and saints,” suggest that they may go back to slightly different Greek exemplars. It is also interesting to note that Theodore Abū Qurra designates Antiochus in the introduction to the quotation as *al-arkūn*, i.e., archon. In none of the Arabic manuscripts of the *Quaestiones* is this label to be found. There Antiochus is simply said to be “*min ‘uzamā’ al-‘ağam*,” i.e., an eminent Persian (foreigner, non-Arab), and *raʿīs*, i.e., chief, important man. In all likelihood, Theodore Abū Qurra made his own translation of Question 39.

The third text in which we find quotations from the *Quaestiones* is the *Kitāb al-Burhān*, in the manuscripts often falsely attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria or, following Graf, to Eutychius of Alexandria, but in reality written by the ninth-century Melkite Peter of Bet Ra's.<sup>68</sup> The oldest manuscript of this text is the ninth-century Sinai Ar. 75 (fols. 102<sup>v</sup>–222<sup>r</sup>). Its scribe is undoubtedly identi-

67 Sidney Griffith, *A Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons, Written in Arabic by Theodore Abū Qurrah, Translated into English with Introduction and Notes*, Louvain, Peeters, 1997, pp. 43–44, with minor adaptations of mine; it should be noted that the quote from the *Quaestiones* runs on until p. 45, end of second paragraph, not to n. 86 on p. 44.

68 Mark N. Swanson, “Peter of Bayt Ra's,” in *CMR1*, pp. 902–906. To the manuscripts listed there Sinai Ar. 510 (13th c., acephalous), fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–157<sup>v</sup> should be added (identified by Alexander Treiger).

cal to the one of Sinai Ar. 431, which contains, among other texts, the Integral Arabic Translation of the *Quaestiones*, as we have seen.<sup>69</sup> This extensive Melkite apologetic text finishes with a testimonia list containing passages from the Old Testament adduced as prophecies that are fulfilled in the events of Christ's life and that prove the divine Incarnation.<sup>70</sup> Graf already noted that this list is similar to Question 137 of the *Quaestiones* and must be a reworking of it.<sup>71</sup> Mark Swanson proceeded to compare the two texts and confirmed Graf's suggestion that it is a somewhat altered version of it.<sup>72</sup> Question 137 has sometimes attracted special attention because it is longer than the rest of the *Quaestiones*, is sometimes transmitted separately, and could stand as an individual work within the *Adversus Iudaeos* tradition. Although it cannot be confirmed, it has even been suggested that it was an older independent treatise to begin with, which was later added to the *Quaestiones*.<sup>73</sup> Be this as it may, a look at our Arabic manuscripts of the *Quaestiones* reveals that Peter of Bet Ra's used neither the separate version nor Question 137 in the form in which it appears in the Greek *Quaestiones*, but rather the Integral Arabic Translation. In other words, he did not translate and reword the Greek, but he must have copied the entire Question 137 from the Arabic version of the collection.<sup>74</sup> As we have seen in the discussion of the manuscript tradition, the text began to circulate widely

69 Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 4, gives Sinai Ar. 75 a ninth-century dating, whereas he assigns Sinai Ar. 431, p. 12, a tenth-century dating. The same dates are given by Kamil: Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 14 (No. 68) and p. 39 (No. 488). There is no doubt, however, that these are written by one and the same scribe.

70 Pierre Cachia (ed.) and W. Montgomery Watt (trans.), *Eutychius of Alexandria, The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-Burhān)* (CSCO 192–193 and 209–210, *Scriptores arabici* 20–23), 4 vols., Louvain, Peeters, 1961, vol. 3, pp. 114–132 (Arabic) and vol. 4, pp. 68–78 (trans.).

71 Georg Graf, "Zu dem bisher unbekanntem Werk des Patriarchen Eutychios von Alexandrien," *Oriens Christianus*, n.s. 2 (1912), pp. 136–137.

72 Mark Swanson, "Folly to the *Hunafā'*: The Cross of Christ in Arabic Christian-Muslim Controversy in the Eighth and Ninth centuries A.D.," Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Rome, Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi e d'Islamistica, 1992, pp. 36, 39, and 121 and Mark Swanson, "Beyond Proof-texting (2): The Use of the Bible in Early Arabic Christian Apologies," in David Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2007, pp. 91–112, at pp. 101–104.

73 See, for example, Arthur Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Iudaeos: A Bird's Eye View of Christian apologiae until the Renaissance*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1935, pp. 160–162; Külzer, *Disputationes graecae contra Iudaeos*, p. 136.

74 The texts are identical and hence also share peculiarities, such as the extension of Zechariah 14:4 "On that day his feet shall stand on the Mount of Olives, which lies before Jerusalem on the east" with the words "and He raised him up": compare Sinai Ar. 481, fol. 282<sup>v</sup> and Cachia and Watt, *Eutychius of Alexandria, The Book of the Demonstration (Kitāb al-Burhān)*, vol. 3, p. 130.

in Arabic during the ninth century. Precisely in this period, we also see it being excerpted in Arabic for the first time.

The three examples discussed here show how the *Quaestiones* were used by early Melkite authors. They confirm what has emerged from the discussion above about the manuscripts: they were popular reading material in the Middle East during the eighth and ninth century. In the cases we discussed, the excerpts of the text have been recognized or, as in the case of Theodore Abū Qurra's *Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons*, explicitly labelled as deriving from the *Quaestiones*. How the text impacted other thinkers and shaped opinions in the wider Arabic-speaking world is harder to trace and is a task that needs to be taken up within a larger project of unlocking Arabic patristic *erotapokriseis*.<sup>75</sup> As a start, I hope to have drawn attention to its diverse and intriguing contents, which impacted Melkite literature from its inception and remained a point of reference for the Melkite community during its formative period.

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75 For a recent introduction to a similar collection of questions and answers in Arabic, see Barbara Roggema, “Christian-Muslim-Jewish Relations in Patristic Literature: The Arabic *Questions and Answers of Basil and Gregory*,” in David Bertaina, Sandra T. Keating, Mark N. Swanson, and Alexander Treiger (eds.), *Heirs of the Apostles: Studies on Arabic Christianity in Honor of Sidney H. Griffith*, Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2018, pp. 395–414.

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## Patristique et hagiographie palestino-sinaïtique des monastères melkites (IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles)

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La présente étude est consacrée aux traductions et compositions originales en arabe produites dans les milieux melkites de Palestine et Sinaï.

Sa première partie cernera de près le noyau des manuscrits arabes palestino-sinaïtiques (des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles) issus des milieux melkites et attestant une écriture caractéristique. Ce noyau des manuscrits véhicule la variété de textes que nous allons aborder: d'une part, des vies de saints et des récits monastiques locaux et, d'autre part, des écrits patristiques. Plus précisément, ce sont l'hagiographie et les récits monastiques de la région palestino-sinaïtique qui seront passés en revue dans la seconde partie; la troisième partie sera consacrée aux traductions patristiques arabes des milieux melkites et, plus concrètement, à la réception du Père de l'Église syriaque Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe.

La littérature arabe chrétienne provenant des milieux melkites de la Terre Sainte est composée de textes souvent traduits du grec (ou du syriaque) en arabe et parfois directement écrits en arabe. Il est impossible de les étudier sans tenir compte de leurs traductions géorgiennes systématiquement réalisées à partir de l'arabe à la même époque et dans les mêmes centres, d'autant que ces traductions sont souvent les seules traces qui nous sont parvenues de leurs modèles arabes aujourd'hui perdus<sup>1</sup>. Ensemble avec leurs modèles arabes, les traductions géorgiennes sont indispensables pour reconstruire le caractère et le contenu de la littérature arabe chrétienne en éclosion. C'est bien la raison pour laquelle, tout au long de notre étude, lorsque nous traitons de la littérature

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1 « Georgian manuscripts have played such an important role in discovering the history of the appearance of the Arabic language in the literature of the Holy Land monasteries in the first Abbasid century»: Sidney H. Griffith, «The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic», *The Muslim World*, 78 (1988), p. 2-28, ici, p. 15; « Nous voyons ici avec regret combien de lacunes présente la tradition de la littérature arabe chrétienne; la moitié des ouvrages n'existe plus dans l'original. Si nous pouvons reconstituer partiellement la silhouette de cette littérature, c'est grâce aux traductions géorgiennes»: Robert P. Blake, «La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle», *Le Muséon*, 78 (1965), p. 367-380, ici, p. 376-377.

arabe chrétienne des centres palestino-sinaïtiques, nous prendrons également en compte sa branche inhérente : les traductions géorgiennes.

## 1 Les manuscrits arabes palestino-sinaïtiques

Un type de l'écriture des manuscrits arabes chrétiens palestino-sinaïtiques des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles, caractérisé souvent comme intermédiaire entre le coufique et le nashī, représente un style bien particulier<sup>2</sup> que l'on dit influencé par le syriaque<sup>3</sup>. Les manuscrits qui renferment cette écriture proviennent souvent des monastères melkites de la Terre Sainte, essentiellement de Mar Saba, Mar Chariton ainsi que de St-Catherine du Sinaï. Ces centres formaient alors la terre natale intellectuelle du christianisme arabe naissant<sup>4</sup>. Sans prétendre à l'exhaustivité, sur base de recherches qui ont traité de ce sujet nous présentons ci-dessous le noyau des manuscrits arabes palestino-sinaïtiques des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles, dont l'écriture est bien homogène :

- Palimpseste de *Cambridge, University Library, Oriental 1287*, d'origine sinaïtique<sup>5</sup>, avec l'écriture arabe de la couche supérieure datant du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle ;
- *Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek gr. 2 (Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2 ; voir plus loin dans le chap. 2.2)*, provenant de Mar Saba et copié avant 924 ; le copiste en est David de Homs<sup>6</sup> ;

2 Agnes Smith Lewis & Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts* (Studia Sinaïtica 12), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1907, p. 1x ; Agnes Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca, The Protoevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae* (Studia Sinaïtica 11), London, C.J. Clay and Sons, 1902, p. x.

3 « The writer's hand is decidedly influenced by the habit of writing Syriac » : Lewis & Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles*, p. xiii ; « Christians were making use of the old square, angular forms of the letters, which in the first place remind one of Syriac » : Joannes Arendzen, *Theodori Abu Kurra de Cultu imaginum libellus e codice arabo nunc primum editus, latine versus, illustratus*, Bonn, C. Drobniq, 1897, p. xvi.

4 Sidney H. Griffith, « Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Saba : Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine », dans Sidney H. Griffith, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*, Aldershot, Hampshire, Variorum, 1992, p. 7-19, ici, p. 12.

5 Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, p. 1x-xi. Voir : <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-01287/1> ; Alba Fedeli, « The Digitization Project for the Qur'anic Palimpsest, MS Cambridge University Library Or. 1287, and the Verification of the Mingana-Lewis Edition : Where Is salām ? », *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 2/1 (2011), p. 100-117, 121 ; Alphonse Mingana et Agnes Smith Lewis (éd.), *Leaves From Three Ancient Qur'ans Possibly Pre-'Othmānic with a List of Their Variants*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1914 ; Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium* (CSCO 267-269, Subsidia 27-29), Louvain : Secrétariat du CSCO, 1966-1967, p. 26.

6 André Binggeli, « Les trois David, copistes arabes de Palestine aux 9<sup>e</sup>-10<sup>e</sup> s. », dans André Bing-

- Londres, *British Library, Oriental 1475* (Add. 26116) du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle (un *membrum disiectum* de *Sinai arabe 1*), provenant probablement de Mar Saba<sup>7</sup>;
- Londres, *British Library, Oriental 4950* (de l'an 877)<sup>8</sup>, le copiste est Étienne de Ramlah;
- Londres, *British Library, Oriental 5008* (de 918)<sup>9</sup>, le copiste est Daniel fils d'Arsîn;
- Moscou, *La Bibliothèque d'État de Russie 432*, un psautier du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, trilingue grec-syriaque-arabe<sup>10</sup>, provenant de Mar Saba;
- *Sinai arabe 72* (de 897), le copiste est Étienne de Ramlah<sup>11</sup> de Mar Chariton;
- *Sinai arabe 154* (IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>12</sup>;
- *Sinai arabe 428*<sup>13</sup> (IX<sup>e</sup> siècle), le copiste en peut être Antoine-David<sup>14</sup>.
- *Sinai arabe 460* (X<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>15</sup>;

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geli, Anne Boud'hors et Matthieu Cassin (éd.), *Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia: Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin*, Louvain, Peeters, 2016, p. 79-117, ici, p. 100-106.

- 7 Miriam Hjälml, *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early MSS and Translation Techniques in MSS Sinai Ar. 1 and 2*, Leiden, Brill, 2016, p. 74-77.
- 8 «It was written by the poor contemptible mean Stephen son of Hakm known as the native of Ramleh in the cloister of Mar Haretin»: Lewis & Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles*, p. 4; Griffith, «The Monks of Palestine», p. 24; Sidney H. Griffith, «Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in Ninth-Century Palestine», *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), p. 23-45, ici, p. 39; Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, p. 21.
- 9 Lewis & Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles*, pl. III: «the sinner Daniel son of Arsîn wrote (this)», p. 6; Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, p. 24.
- 10 Нина В. Пигулевская, «Греко-сиро-арабская рукопись XI в.», *Палестинский Сборник*, 1/63 (1954), p. 59-90; Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, p. 33.
- 11 Samir Arbache, *L'Évangile arabe selon saint Luc: texte du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, copié en 897, édition et traduction*, Bruxelles: Éditions de Safran, 2012; Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1970, p. 14; Griffith, «The Monks of Palestine», p. 26; Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, p. 30.
- 12 Voir: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00279384386-ms>; Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 16; Griffith, «The Monks of Palestine», p. 21.
- 13 Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai* (Studia Sinaitica 3), London 1894, p. 80-81; Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 38-39; Gérard Garitte, *Expugnatio Hierosolymae A.D. 614 recensione arabicae, I* (CSCO 340-341; Scriptorum Arabici 26-27), Louvain, Secrétariat du CSCO, 1973 et II (CSCO 347-348; Scriptorum Arabici 28-29), Louvain, Secrétariat du CSCO, 1974, p. v-vi et Binggeli, «Les trois David», p. 85-87.
- 14 Il s'agit du même scribe qui a copié Strasbourg Arabe 4226: Binggeli, «Les trois David», p. 85.
- 15 Николай Я. Маррь, «Крещение армянъ, грузинъ, абхазовъ и алановъ святымъ Григориемъ (арабская версия)», *Записки восточнаго отдѣленія Императорскаго русскаго археологическаго общества*, 16/2-3 (1905), pl. v-viii et p. 63-211, description du manuscrit: p. 183-184; Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 44; Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, p. 27.

- *Sinaï arabe 461* (IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>16</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe 514*<sup>17</sup> (VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles quant à l'écriture arabe de couche supérieure)<sup>18</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe 542*<sup>19</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 1* (IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>20</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 2*<sup>21</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 12*<sup>22</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 14 + 16* (de 873)<sup>23</sup>;

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- 16 Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 43-44; Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, p. 27.
- 17 Voir: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00279390210-ms>; Lewis & Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles*, frontispiece et p. xvii-xviii; Griffith, «The Monks of Palestine», p. 19. Il s'agit du palimpseste avec les couches inférieures en arabe (Évangiles?), en syriaque (Peshitta) et en grec (Lectionnaire) et la couche supérieure en arabe: Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 42. Voir également Laurence Tuerlinckx, «Les palimpsestes à écriture supérieure arabe, témoins d'une culture multiple», dans Véronique Somers (éd.), *Palimpsestes et éditions des textes: les textes littéraires*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut Orientaliste, 2009, p. 187-201, ici, p. 193-194.
- 18 Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand-list of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955, p. 19; Aziz Suryal Atiya, «Codex Arabicus (Sinai Arabic Ms. 514)», dans Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt (éd.), *Homage to a Bookman: Essays on Manuscripts, Books and Printing Written for Hans P. Kraus on His 60th Birthday*, Berlin, Mann, 1967, p. 75-85 et Sebastian P. Brock, «A Palimpsest Folio of Matt. 20:23-31 (Peshitta) in Sinai Ar. 514 (Codex Arabicus)», *Orientalia*, 61 (1992), p. 102-105. Voir sur ce manuscrit plus loin dans la section consacrée à Jacques de Saroug dans le présent article.
- 19 Voir: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00279390386-ms>; Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 50; André Binggeli, «L'hagiographie du Sinaï arabe d'après un recueil du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle (*Sinaï arabe 542*)», *Parole de l'Orient*, 32 (2007), p. 163-180; Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, p. 28.
- 20 Γωάννης Ε. Μείμαρης, *Κατάλογος τών νέων άραβικών χειρογράφων τής Ίερής Μονής άγίας Αϊκατερίνης του όρους Σινά / Katāluǵ al-maḥtūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya al-muktašafa ḥadīṭan bi-Dayr Sānt Kātīrīn al-muqaddas bi-Ṭūr Sīnāʿ*, Athènes, Ethnikon Idryma Ereunōn, 1985, p. 21-22 et 74 / 117-118. Contrairement de l'information donnée par Meimaris, ce manuscrit ne date pas de l'an 868, donc de 255 de l'hégire. Or, la date 255 (en réalité: 155) de l'hégire est la date de la traduction arabe du traité d'Ammonius contenu dans ce manuscrit; le manuscrit lui-même date du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nous remercions A. Treiger pour cette suggestion.
- 21 Μείμαρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 22 et 74 / 118-119.
- 22 Μείμαρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 25 et 79 / 119-120.
- 23 Μείμαρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 27 et 82 / 120-121. Voir: André Binggeli, «Early Christian Graeco-Arabica: Melkite Manuscripts and Translations in Palestine (8th-10th Centuries AD)», *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), p. 228-247, ici, p. 232-233; Дмитрий А. Морозов, «К датировке древнейшей арабской рукописи Евангелия», dans *Канонические чтения: Сборник статей*, т. 6, Moscou, Institute de l'histoire universelle, 2008, p. 19-23.

- *Sinaï arabe NF perg.* 20 + 35<sup>24</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe NF perg.* 21<sup>25</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe NF perg.* 33<sup>26</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe NF perg.* 38<sup>27</sup>
- *Sinaï arabe NF perg.* 47<sup>28</sup>;
- *Sinaï arabe NF perg.* 48<sup>29</sup>.
- *Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire 4225 (arabe 150)* de 901<sup>30</sup> copiée au monastère de St. Catherine par Thomas;
- *Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire 4226 (arabe 151)*<sup>31</sup>, copié à Mar Saba par le scribe Antoine-David en 885-886 en exécution d'une commande du monastère de Sainte-Catherine au Sinaï;

24 Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 28, 30-31, 85, 89 et 149 / ٢٥-٢٦ et ٢٨-٢٩; Binggeli, « Les trois David », p. 84-85.

25 Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 28 et 85 / ٢٦.

26 Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 30 et 88 / ٢٨.

27 Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 31 et 90 / ٣٠.

28 Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 32 et 95 / ٣٢.

29 Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 32 et 95 / ٣٢.

30 Johannes Oestrup, « Über zwei arabische Codices sinaïtici der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek », *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 51 (1897), p. 453-471; Ernest Wickersheimer, *Catalogue des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, t. XLVII, Paris, Librairie Plon, 1923, p. 746-747; Ignace-Abdo Khalifé, « Les traductions arabes de Marc l'Ermitte », *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 28 (1949-1950), p. 117-224; Bernard Outtier, « Les Enseignements des Pères. Un recueil géorgien traduit de l'arabe », *Bedi Kartlisa*, 31 (1973), p. 36-47; Bernard Outtier, « Les recueils géorgiens d'œuvres attribuées à St. Éphrem le Syrien », *Bedi Kartlisa*, 32 (1974), p. 118-125; Alain George, « Le Palimpseste Lewis-Mingana de Cambridge, témoin ancien de l'histoire du Coran », dans *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-lettres, comptes-rendus des séances de l'année 2011*, Paris, 2011, p. 377-429; Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, p. 25.

31 À propos de ce manuscrit, voir: Griffith, « Anthony David of Baghdad »; Binggeli, « Les trois David », p. 80-82; Sebastian P. Brock, « Syriac on Sinai: The Main Connections », dans Vincenzo Ruggieri et Luca Pieralli (éd.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ: Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi s.J.*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2003, p. 103-117, ici, p. 110-111; Michel van Esbroeck, « Un feuillet oublié du codex arabe Or. 4226 à Strasbourg », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 96 (1978), p. 383-384; Oestrup, « Über zwei arabische Codices sinaïtici »; Willi Heffening, « Die griechische Ephraem-Paraenesis gegen das Lachen in arabischer Übersetzung: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der arabischen Ephraemübersetzungen und ihrer Bedeutung für eine kritische Ausgabe des griechischen Ephraem », *Oriens Christianus*, 111.2 [24] (1927), p. 94-119; Игнатий Ю. Крачковский, « Новозавѣтный апокрифъ въ арабской рукописи 885-886 года по Р. Хр. (Un apocryphe du Nouveau Testament d'un manuscrit arabe daté de 885-886) », *Византийскій Временникъ*, 14 (1907), p. 246-275; Gérard Garitte, « Homélie d'Éphrem "sur la mort et le diable": version géorgienne et version arabe », *Le Muséon*, 82 (1969), p. 125-129.

- *Vatican arabe 71*, copié à Mar Saba par le même scribe Antoine-David en 885-886<sup>32</sup>.

Du point de vue paléographique on observe la parenté des écritures utilisées dans ces manuscrits. Il s'agit effectivement d'un style bien particulier et assez homogène, qui a souvent retenu l'attention des chercheurs. Ces observations étant ponctuelles et éparpillées, à ce stade actuel de la recherche il nous semble indispensable de passer à l'analyse paléographique systématique de l'ensemble des manuscrits palestino-sinaïtiques des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles afin de mieux identifier l'attribution des écritures à tel ou autre scribe, centre ou période. Voici quelques éléments soutenant cette nécessité :

1. Ce répertoire des manuscrits comprend, par exemple, deux manuscrits, notamment de *Strasbourg 4226* et *Vatican arabe 71*, écrits, comme mentionné ci-dessus, par le scribe Antoine-David en 885-886. Sur base des colophons, nous savons sûrement que ce scribe écrivait à Mar Saba pour exécuter des commandes provenant du Sinaï. L'étude paléographique comparative menée sur un noyau restreint des manuscrits Palestino-Sinaïtiques des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles a récemment permis de suggérer l'identité de l'écriture du manuscrit *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 35* avec ceux de *Strasbourg arabe 4226* et *Vatican arabe 71*, ce, qui suppose que la paternité de tous les trois est assurée par Antoine-David<sup>33</sup>.
2. Il est également fort possible que *Sinaï arabe 542* et *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 1* soient l'œuvre d'un seul et même scribe. Notons en passant que les deux manuscrits ont en commun le récit de massacre des pères du Sinaï et de Raithou<sup>34</sup>. Or, selon la note qui se trouve dans *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 1*, ce manuscrit fut copié par un scribe Ishāq au Sinaï<sup>35</sup>. Si l'identité des écritures entre ces deux témoins est confirmée, on pourra, par voie de conséquence, connaître l'identité du scribe de *Sinaï arabe 542*. En outre, il suffit de souligner la grande importance de ce témoin pour la littérature arabe chrétienne, importance soulignée par les études approfondies qui lui ont été consacrées<sup>36</sup>.

32 Voir : [http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.ar.71](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ar.71); Binggeli, « Les trois David », p. 82-83.

33 Voir Kate Leeming, « The Adoption of Arabic as a Liturgical Language by the Palestinian Melkites », *ARAM*, 15 (2003), p. 239-246, ici, p. 243 et surtout Binggeli, « Les trois David », p. 84-85.

34 Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 50; Binggeli, « L'hagiographie du Sinaï », p. 169-170; Alexander Treiger, « The Earliest Dated Christian Arabic Translation (772AD): Ammonius' Report on the Martyrdom of the Monks of Sinai and Raithu », *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies*, 16 (2016), p. 29-38.

35 Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 22 / 1Λ.

36 Binggeli, « L'hagiographie du Sinaï ».

3. Comme nous l'avons signalé, notre étude réservera une attention particulière aux traductions exécutées de l'arabe vers le géorgien dans les centres melkites palestino-sinaïtiques des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles. Les manuscrits arabes du répertoire de la présente étude ont souvent été ceux qui ont servi de modèles pour les traducteurs géorgiens. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, il est souvent possible de cerner le cercle des témoins arabes et géorgiens étroitement liés entre eux et qui ont permis le passage des textes d'une communauté à l'autre. Il est également à noter que, souvent, les manuscrits arabes qui portent les signatures des cahiers en géorgien sont également ceux dont les traducteurs géorgiens se sont servis pour les traduire<sup>37</sup>. Tenant compte de ce fait, il convient de préciser que plusieurs témoins arabes repris dans notre répertoire portent les signatures des cahiers en géorgien. Il s'agit notamment des manuscrits *Sinaï arabe 542*, *Sinaï arabe 457*, *Sinaï arabe 428*, *Sinaï arabe 460*, *Strasbourg 4225* et *Leipzig gr. 2 (Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2)*. Cette liste sera sans doute enrichie lorsqu'il sera possible d'étudier à cette fin les manuscrits arabes de la nouvelle collection sinaïtique. De toute manière, le critère de doubles signatures est un indice de plus pour émettre l'hypothèse selon laquelle les versions géorgiennes des textes dont il existe des équivalents en arabe (dans les manuscrits arabes à doubles signatures) peuvent dépendre justement des modèles arabes.
4. À titre d'exemple, on peut indiquer les manuscrits géorgiens qui sont très susceptibles de contenir des traductions palestino-sinaïtiques effectuées sur l'arabe: *Sinaï géo. 35* (de 906), un recueil de textes ascétiques; *Sinaï géo. 32-33-57* connu comme l'Homélaire du Sinaï (de 864); *Sinaï géo. 36* (de 925), un recueil de textes ascétiques, et *Sinaï géo. 97* (IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles), un recueil des homélies. Sur base des colophons, il est manifeste que ces manuscrits ont été copiés à Mar Saba<sup>38</sup>.

## 2 L'hagiographie et des récits monastiques palestino-sinaïtiques

### 2.1 *Mosaïque linguistique et migration des textes*

Le grec était une langue dominante de la culture ecclésiastique de la Terre Sainte entre les IV<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles; cependant, entre 750 et 1050 l'arabe est pro-

37 Tamara Pataridze, « Les signatures des cahiers unilingues et bilingues dans les manuscrits sinaïtiques (géorgiens, arabes et syriaques) », *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 18/1 (2012), p. 15-35.

38 Tamara Pataridze, « La collection des manuscrits géorgiens sinaïtiques », *Semitica et Classica*, 8 (2015), p. 177-187, ici, p. 180-181.

gressivement devenu la langue de la communauté melkite de Palestine et du Sinaï. Il s'agit d'une langue caractérisée par des spécificités morphosyntaxiques et orthographiques, y compris paléographiques<sup>39</sup>. C'est bien la conquête arabe qui fut la cause de ce changement de la situation linguistique. Bien que le grec ne disparût point, dès le VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle la plus grande partie des textes melkites étaient déjà écrits en arabe<sup>40</sup> qui devint ainsi la langue la plus couramment utilisée dans les monastères de Palestine<sup>41</sup>.

Quant au syriaque, plus largement utilisé au sein des Églises syriaques, il demeurera de préférence (mais non exclusivement) la langue des cercles non-chalcédoniens<sup>42</sup>. Cependant son usage est attesté dans les milieux melkites également : preuve en est le cas d'Isaac de Ninive. Ses *Discours* sont connus en deux recensions – orientale (primaire) et occidentale (secondaire). Cependant, la toute première adaptation de l'œuvre d'Isaac en version occidentale a certainement été réalisée à Mar Saba dans les milieux melkites de langue syriaque et ensuite seulement dans les milieux dits syro-jacobites<sup>43</sup>. Cette recension melkite du texte syriaque fut utilisée comme modèle pour d'autres traductions qui

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- 39 Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*; Georg Graf, *Der Sprachgebrauch der ältesten christlich-arabischen Literatur. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vulgär-Arabisch*, Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1905.
- 40 Sidney H. Griffith, « From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 51 (1997), p. 11-31, ici, p. 24. Voir également Alexander Treiger, « The Arabic Tradition », dans Augustine Casiday (éd.), *The Orthodox Christian World*, London, Routledge, 2012, p. 89-104.
- 41 Le fait que les textes géorgiens provenant de ces milieux sont souvent traduits de l'arabe, confirme qu'au début du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle l'arabe est devenu une langue quotidienne parlée par les moines.
- 42 Bernard Flusin, « Palestinian Hagiography (Fourth-Eighth Centuries) », dans Stephanos Efthymiadis (éd.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 1, Farnham, Surrey, Ashgate, 2011, p. 199-225, ici, p. 199. Voir Griffith, « From Aramaic to Arabic ».
- 43 Marcel Pirard, *Ἀββᾶ Ἰσαάκ τοῦ Σύρου Λόγοι ἀσκητικοί. Κριτική ἔκδοσι*, "Ἁγίου Ὄρους: Ἱερά Μονή Ἰβήρων 2012; Grigory Kessel, « Sinai Syr. 24 as an Important Witness to the Reception History of Some Syriac Ascetic Texts », dans Françoise Briquel Chatonnet et Muriel Debié (éd.), *Sur les pas des Araméens chrétiens, Mélanges offerts à Alain Desreumaux*, Paris, Geuthner, 2010, p. 195-207; Григорий М. Кессель, « Рукописное наследие прп. Исаака Сирина: обзор сирийских рукописей », dans *Материалы Первой международной патристической конференции Общецерковной аспирантуры и докторантуры имени святых Кирилла и Мефодия «Преподобный Исаак Сирин и его духовное наследие»*, Moscou, Ss. Cyril and Methodius Theological Institute for Postgraduate Studies, 2014, p. 44-66; Тамара Патаридзе, « История зарождения переводов трудов прп. Исаака Сирина и их распространения в Лавре св. Саввы », dans *Материалы Первой международной патристической конференции Общецерковной аспирантуры и докторантуры имени святых Кирилла и Мефодия «Преподобный Исаак Сирин и его духовное наследие»*, p. 66-80.

en dépendent : grec, arabe et géorgien<sup>44</sup>, toutes réalisées à Mar Saba au sein de la même communauté melkite. Un autre exemple intéressant est celui de Jacques de Saroug qui, dans les milieux melkites arabophones fut traduit du syriaque en arabe, et selon toute vraisemblance, de l'arabe vers le géorgien. Comme on le voit, le passage de textes du syriaque vers le grec ou l'arabe (et, enfin, vers le géorgien) dans les centres monastiques melkites peut revêtir un intérêt particulier : ce passage permet aux rares auteurs syriaques de franchir les frontières du clivage ecclésial et de se voir acceptés par les cercles chalcédoniens.

À l'égard de la littérature arabe transmise en géorgien, la question se pose de savoir quel type de textes a circulé entre ces deux communautés linguistiques, problématique liée à la compréhension du profil général du processus littéraire développé dans ces centres melkites. Pour faciliter notre tâche, nous adoptons ici le classement proposé par S. Griffith qui distingue entre « Church-books » (patristique, homilétique, hagiographie), autrement dit, des textes utilisés pour les besoins internes de la vie religieuse et ceux de « traités apologétiques » orientés, eux, vers l'extérieur afin de se positionner vis-à-vis d'autres confessions. Or, toutes les traductions de la littérature arabe vers le géorgien, faites dans les monastères palestino-sinaïtiques, relèvent exclusivement de la catégorie de « Church-books ». Quant à la littérature apologétique, et on pense ici avant tout aux traités de Théodore Abū-Qurra (750-825), s'ils existent en géorgien, il ne s'agit pas de traductions réalisées dans les milieux palestino-sinaïtiques ; au contraire, les traités apologétiques d'Abū-Qurra sont traduits du grec en géorgien dans l'école grecophile d'Iqalho (Géorgie) postérieurement à la période qui nous intéresse ici, notamment au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>45</sup>. Pour résumer, nous pouvons donc affirmer que la littérature apologétique palestino-sinaïtique n'a pas suscité un intérêt particulier de la part des traducteurs géorgiens<sup>46</sup> et n'a pas été traduite dans son ensemble de l'arabe vers le géorgien dans ces mêmes milieux au cours des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles.

Il en va par contre tout autrement avec les « Church-books » que nous allons traiter plus bas. Ces écrits ont suscité l'attention particulière des traducteurs

44 Tamara Pataridze, « Les *Discours Ascétiques* d'Isaac de Ninive : Étude de la tradition géorgienne et de ses rapports avec les autres versions », *Le Muséon*, 124/1-2 (2011), p. 27-58 ; Патаридзе, « История ».

45 Ces textes furent traduits sur le grec pour être inclus dans un recueil de nature dogmatique (« Dogmatikon ») rédigé au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle par Arsen d'Iqalho.

46 C'est d'ailleurs vrai du côté grec également : « the Greek manuscripts written in Palestine during the ninth and tenth centuries, all seemingly in the "church-book category" must have served the needs only of a Greek readership, which would have been found exclusively in the monastic community » : Griffith, « The Monks of Palestine », p. 17.

géorgiens. Plus spécialement, on constate un grand intérêt pour deux sujets: (1) les vies des saints des milieux palestiniens et sinaïtiques et (2) les récits qui racontent des histoires locales (massacres des pères sinaïtiques, prise de Jérusalem). Ces textes ont été abondamment traduits de l'arabe vers géorgien dans les centres melkites<sup>47</sup> où les communautés arabophones et géorgiennes se côtoyaient. D'une manière générale, on assiste ici au processus du développement de la littérature arabe chrétienne mené dans les monastères palestino-sinaïtiques; cette littérature était structurée sur base d'un intérêt particulier porté à l'histoire du christianisme local (avec la sensibilité particulière manifestée envers la documentation locale). Dans la même ligne, il faut imaginer le transfert systématique et synchronisé de cette documentation vers la littérature géorgienne qui a constitué une branche additionnelle de ce processus littéraire.

Etant donné qu'il s'agit d'histoires et des personnages locaux propres à la Terre Sainte, il est bien sûr naturel que ces textes furent traduits par les traducteurs géorgiens vivant dans ces mêmes milieux géographiques palestino-sinaïtiques. Il convient en outre de préciser que les traducteurs géorgiens ont travaillé principalement dans les monastères melkites multilingues qui regroupaient les moines géorgiens et arabophones. Il s'agit ici principalement de Mar Saba et de St. Catherine de Sinaï<sup>48</sup> et, dans une moindre mesure, de Mar Chariton et Ste-Croix de Jérusalem. Cette activité des traductions arabo-géorgiennes s'étalait de la fin de VIII<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècles; son centre, qui au début était plutôt à Mar Saba, s'est déplacé vers la fin de cette période au Sinaï.

Il reste à dire un mot sur la littérature patristique arabe melkite. Les écrits des Pères de l'Eglise qui sont traduits (du grec) en arabe sont de nature pratique, concrète: ils traitent des modalités de la vie monastique au quotidien. Les traités plus spéculatifs sont rarement traduits en arabe, possiblement parce que leurs lecteurs les lisaient encore en grec<sup>49</sup>. Quant à la branche géorgienne de la littérature patristique de langue arabe, on peut remarquer ce qui suit: quand les écrits patristiques sont traduits de l'arabe vers géorgien, ils le sont

47 «[I]n the first two Abbasid centuries, Melkite Christians in the Holy Land, whose ecclesiastical language had been largely Greek, with a substratum of Syriac, were in fact now making the endeavor to produce a fluent Christian Literature in Arabic»: Griffith, «The Monks of Palestine», p. 10; «Most of the Palestinian texts in question were translated from Greek or Syriac originals», *ibid.*, p. 11.

48 Tamara Pataridze, «Christian Literature Translated from Arabic into Georgian», *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 19 (2013), p. 47-65.

49 Alexander Treiger, «Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers», *Intellectual History of the Islamic World*, 3 (2015), p. 188-227, *ici*, p. 201.

de manière sélective et non systématique. Ce fait est compréhensible : la littérature géorgienne issue du christianisme ancien s'étant constituée au début du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle, possédait déjà aux IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles d'abondantes traductions patristiques et bibliques effectuées principalement sur le grec. Les Pères de l'Église sont souvent traduits du grec en géorgien. D'un autre côté, les traductions du grec constituent la majorité écrasante des traductions existantes dans la littérature géorgienne. Il est dès lors bien clair qu'il n'était guère nécessaire de traduire des Pères de l'Église à partir de l'arabe vers géorgien, sauf pour une raison bien particulière. Cependant ces traductions existent et nous renvoyons notre lecteur à l'excellent article d'A. Treiger qui suggère sur base de l'analyse du manuscrit *Sinaï arabe 549* quels Pères de l'Église ayant fait part de curriculum de monastères palestiniens peuvent être traduits de l'arabe en géorgien<sup>50</sup>. Or, la raison évidente pour traduire des Pères de l'Église de l'arabe vers géorgien existe en réalité dans le cas de Pères appartenant aux Églises syriaques qui furent par suite appropriés par les cercles melkites (de la langue grecque ou l'arabe ou des deux), et qui passent, par suite à cette adoption, dans la littérature géorgienne. C'est le cas des monastères chalcédoniens multilingues lorsque le passage d'un Père de l'Église syriaque vers le géorgien est assuré par l'intermédiaire de ses traductions arabes, selon le schéma *syriaque*<sup>51</sup>-*arabe-géorgien*. Ce fut le cas de certains écrits de St. Éphrem<sup>52</sup> (bien qu'il s'agisse de « l'Éphrem grec », même en arabe) et de Jacques de Saroug, dont nous parlerons plus bas. De manière plus générale, on peut affirmer ici que les traductions arabes, géorgiennes ou grecques des auteurs syriaques que l'on rencontre dans ces centres témoignent de l'assimilation de la littérature syriaque par le Mainstream calcédonien.

Il est également à noter que le principe de compilations monastiques des textes patristiques en arabe de cette époque dépendait beaucoup du besoin de l'élaboration du discours identitaire. Ainsi, des recueils entiers, comme c'est le cas du *Sinaï arabe 542*, peuvent se lire comme l'histoire des centres (dans

50 Alexander Treiger, « Syro-Arabic Translations in Abbasid Palestine: The Case of John of Apamea's *Letter on Stillness* (*Sinaï ar. 549*) », *Parole de l'Orient*, 39 (2014), p. 79-131. Sur ce manuscrit voir Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, p. 21.

51 « Syriac was a language of the Melkite community and not a monopoly of the non-Chalcedonian churches, as is sometimes thought » : Sidney H. Griffith, « Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century: The Example of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica* », *Byzantion*, 56 (1986), p. 117-138, ici, p. 130.

52 Les plus anciennes versions d'Éphrem dans les archives palestiniennes sont traduits du grec et non du syriaque vers l'arabe : Joseph-Marie Sauget, « Le dossier éphrémien du manuscrit arabe Strasbourg 4226 et de ses membra disiecta », *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 42 (1976), p. 426-458.

ce cas du Mont Sinaï) représentés comme des bastions du Christianisme en terre d'Islam et des lieux de la résistance à l'assimilation<sup>53</sup>. D'en autre côté, Dorothee de Gaza (existe en *Sinaï arabe* 549 et *Sinaï géo.* 35), Marc le moine, un anachorète du désert Palestinien (en *Strasbourg arabe* 4225 et *Sinaï géo.* 35)<sup>54</sup> sont des personnages également liés à la région Palestino-Sinaïtique. Ces tendances suggèrent que quand on cherche quelles traductions géorgiennes peuvent être effectuées à partir des écrits ascétiques et patristiques arabes, il faut souvent prêter l'attention aux textes attachés à la région Palestino-Sinaïtique; d'un autre côté, l'étude systématique du contenu des manuscrits Palestino-Sinaïtiques de la période du début de l'époque de l'Islam va permettre à établir le contenu précis du *curriculum* monastique de ces centres: cela facilitera, de son côté, l'identification des traductions géorgiennes qu'on verra sûrement et systématiquement rattachées au modèles arabes structurant ce *curriculum*.

## 2.2 Du grec vers l'arabe

De nombreux textes furent traduits du grec vers l'arabe pour répondre aux besoins des moins arabophones. Le noyau important de l'hagiographie palestinien chalcédonien est constitué de l'œuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis (né 525)<sup>55</sup> qui fut l'auteur des *Vies* d'Euthyme, St. Sabas, St. Cyriaque (Kyriakos), St. Jean l'Hésychaste, St. Théodosius. Ces *Vies*, qui décrivent le quotidien des monastères palestiniens chalcédoniens sont préservées dans certains témoins du répertoire des manuscrits présentés dans la première partie de notre contribution. Il faut notamment citer le palimpseste *Leipzig gr. 2* (*Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2*)<sup>56</sup>, contenant des versions arabes des *Vies* de St. Sabas et St.

53 Binggeli, « L'hagiographie du Sinaï », p. 178.

54 Treiger, « Syro-Arabic Translations ».

55 Richard M. Price, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine by Cyril of Scythopolis*, Kalamazoo, Cistercian Publications, 1991; Eduard Schwartz (éd.), *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig, J.C. Hinrichs, 1939; André Jean Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, t. III, 1-3: *Les moines de Palestine*, Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 1962-1963.

56 Voir: <http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/dmg/periodical/pageview/2616>, reproduction du fol. 7: <http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/dmg/periodical/pageview/2685>; Griffith, « Anthony David of Baghdad », p. 14-15; Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, « Über einen griechisch-arabischen Codex rescriptus der Leipziger Universitäts-Bibliothek », *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1 (1847), p. 148-160 (réimpr. dans: Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1885-1888, t. 3, p. 379-388, n° XXII + pl. 1); Georg Graf, « Atar naṣrānī qaḍīm, aw tarḡamat Mār Abrāmiyūs al-qiddīs bi-l-'arabiyya », *al-Maṣriq*, 8 (1905), p. 258-265; Georg Graf, « Die arabische Vita des hl. Abramios », *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 14 (1905), p. 509-518; Michel van Esbroeck, « Le codex rescriptus Tischendorf 2 à Leipzig et Cyrille de Scythopolis en version arabe », dans

Euthyme. Le *Codex Rescriptus* fait part de l'«old south palestinian Archive» avec une écriture qui partage les particularités paléographiques du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>57</sup>. Le colophon du manuscrit nomme comme son scribe un certain «David»<sup>58</sup>. On a déjà souligné la ressemblance de ce colophon avec deux autres rédigés par le scribe «Antoine-David» surnommé et qui a copié les manuscrits de *Strasbourg arabe 4226* et *Vatican arabe 71* en 885-886<sup>59</sup>. Malgré la ressemblance des écritures, il est actuellement démontré que *Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2* est écrit par un autre David, notamment David de Homs avant entre 903 et 925, donc un peu après qu'Antoine-David aie copié ses deux témoins de Strasbourg et de Vatican<sup>60</sup>. Dans ce cadre, il est intéressant de noter que, de son côté, le *Vatican arabe 71* présente des Vies de St. Euthyme et celle de St. Sabas. Selon un sondage effectué par M. van Esbroeck, les textes de *Codex Rescriptus* et ceux de *Vatican arabe 71* «sont rigoureusement parallèles, présentant les mêmes différences vis-à-vis du grec»<sup>61</sup>; cependant *Codex Rescriptus* semble contenir des rédactions plus anciennes de ces Vies par rapport au codex de Vatican. Notons ensuite que le *Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2*, tant dans ses folios de Leipzig que de ceux de Saint-Petersbourg, porte des signatures des cahiers en géorgien<sup>62</sup>. Il n'est dès lors pas étonnant que les versions géorgiennes des Vies des saints palestiniens, notamment celles de St. Euthyme et de St. Sabas, soient traduites de l'arabe vers géorgien. Plus concrètement: le manuscrit géorgien *Londres, British Library Add. 11281*<sup>63</sup> (1034-1042) est un gros codex presque totalement traduit de l'arabe<sup>64</sup>, nommé «Patérique palestinien». Il a été copié au monastère de Ste-Croix à Jérusalem, mais ce manuscrit, d'après les notes du scribe, est la copie d'un codex géorgien traduit plus tôt à la Laure de Mar Saba<sup>65</sup>. *British Library Add. 11281* préserve les traductions géorgiennes des Vies de St.

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Samir Khalil Samir (éd.), *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes*, Rome, 1986, p. 81-91; Binggeli, «Les trois David», p. 100-106.

57 Griffith, «Anthony David of Baghdad», p. 14.

58 van Esbroeck, «Le codex rescriptus», p. 85.

59 Griffith, «Anthony David of Baghdad», p. 14-15; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, t. 3, pl. 1.

60 Binggeli, «Les trois David», p. 101-105; van Esbroeck, «Le codex rescriptus», p. 87; Griffith, «Anthony David of Baghdad», p. 15.

61 van Esbroeck, «Le codex rescriptus», p. 88.

62 Ibid., p. 86.

63 ი. იმნაიშვილი, *მამათა ცხოვრებანი, ბრიტანეთის მუზეუმის ქართული ხელნაწერი XI საუკუნისა* (I. Imnaishvili, *Les Vies des Pères, un manuscrit du British Museum du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*), Tbilissi, 1975.

64 Description dans le supplément de J. Oliver Wardrop (Appendix on the Georgian mss of the British Library) dans Frederic C. Conybeare, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1913, p. 397-405.

65 Корнилий С. Кекелидзе, «Житие и подвиги Иоанна, католикоса Урхайского», dans

Euthyme<sup>66</sup>, St. Sabas<sup>67</sup>, St. Théodose et St. Cyriaque<sup>68</sup> dont on a suggéré qu'elles provenaient toutes de modèles arabes. Notons rapidement que le *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 47*, dans le répertoire présenté ci-dessus, comprend lui aussi la version arabe de la vie d'Euthyme qu'il faudrait prendre en compte dans l'étude de ce texte.

En effet, pour la *Vie de St. Cyriaque (BHG 463)*<sup>69</sup>, Garitte a découvert la parallèle arabe<sup>70</sup> conservé dans le manuscrit du Monastère de Sainte-Catherine *Sinaï arabe 395* du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. C'est la comparaison avec le texte contenu dans ce manuscrit qui a permis au chercheur de conclure à la provenance de la traduction géorgienne de l'arabe. Cependant, le *Sinaï arabe 395* est un manuscrit tardif par rapport à la période de l'activité la plus intense des Géorgiens au Sinaï. Il est sans doute plus logique de supposer que le modèle immédiat arabe de la traduction géorgienne aurait pu être contenu dans le *Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2* dans sa forme primitive. En effet, la reconstruction qu'en propose Van Esbroeck montre clairement combien ce manuscrit nous est parvenu endommagé<sup>71</sup>. Tenons également compte du fait que le *Codex Rescriptus* est un de premiers témoins du noyau de manuscrits arabes chrétiens contenant, en outre, les numéros des cahiers en géorgien.

Quant à la *Vie de St. Euthyme*, seul un bref sondage de la version géorgienne par rapport au *Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2*<sup>72</sup> fut effectué par M. van Esbroeck. Le *Codex Rescriptus* semble être le modèle de la version géorgienne.

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Корнелий С. Кекелидзе, *Этуды по истории древнегрузинской литературы*, т. 7, Tbilissi, 1961, p. 102-135, ici, p. 109.

66 Imnaišvili, *Les Vies des Pères*, p. 143-233.

67 Kornili Kekelize, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, t. 2, Tbilissi, 1946, p. 139-219; Imnaišvili, *Les Vies des Pères*, p. 56-126.

68 La première édition est due à Imnaišvili: Imnaišvili, *Les Vies des Pères*, p. 244-255. Voir également Gérard Garitte, « La version géorgienne de la Vie de Saint Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scythopolis », *Le Muséon*, 75 (1962), p. 399-441.

69 *Acta Sanctorum*, Septembre, t. VIII, Anvers, Bernardus Alb. vander Plassche, 1762, p. 147-158; Schwartz, *Kyryllos von Skythopolis*, p. 222-235.

70 Garitte a découvert la version arabe de ce texte et a démontré via une étude philologique que le géorgien dérivait de la version arabe: Gérard Garitte, « La Vie géorgienne de Saint Cyriaque et son modèle arabe », *Bedi Kartlisa*, 28 (1971), p. 92-105 (réimpr. dans Gérard Garitte, *Scripta Disiecta 1941-1977*, t. 2, Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut Orientaliste, 1980, p. 662-675).

71 van Esbroeck, « Le codex rescriptus », p. 86-87. Il est d'ailleurs intéressant que les 6 folios nouvellement identifiés de ce manuscrit comportent la *Vie d'Étienne le Sabaitte*, également traduite en géorgien de l'arabe. Nous en parlons en détails plus loin. Voir à ce propos Bingeli, « Les trois David », p. 102.

72 « Pour la vie d'Euthyme il n'est que d'observer les 53 chapitres: avec quelques sondages il est évident que l'arabe en est le modèle »: van Esbroeck, « Le codex rescriptus », p. 90.

Cependant, l'étude comparative et systématique entre les deux versions, ainsi que la publication de la traduction de la version géorgienne en langues européennes attendent encore leur heure.

Dans le cas de la *Vie de St. Sabas*, M. van Esbroeck a brièvement suggéré la dépendance de la version géorgienne du modèle arabe, mais d'une version antérieure à celle qui est préservée par le *Codex Rescriptus* donnant le texte déjà abrégé<sup>73</sup>. De son côté, Kekelize notait la différence entre les versions géorgienne et grecque de ce texte en proposant les VII<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles comme date de la traduction géorgienne. Comme indiqué par M. van Esbroeck, « l'intérêt du codex de Leipzig (c'est-à-dire de *Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2*) c'est de nous montrer les restes d'un très gros volume, qui doit dater du début du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle sans doute, et qui, cependant, présente déjà des raccourcis par rapport aux versions géorgiennes faites sur l'arabe »<sup>74</sup>. Il est de lors clair qu'il faudrait étudier le rapport entre les versions arabe et géorgienne de cette *Vie* plus systématiquement tenant compte du fait que la traduction géorgienne remonte à l'état plus antérieure du texte arabe que celui qui est conservé dans *Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2*.

Il reste un mot à dire sur la *Vie de St Jean l'Hésychaste* (*BHG* 897-898)<sup>75</sup>, évêque de Colonia en Arménie (481-490). Cette *Vie* est conservée en grec<sup>76</sup> ainsi qu'en arabe dans les manuscrits *Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Or. 1063 (I)*<sup>77</sup> et *Sināi arabe 398*. Sa version géorgienne est, une fois de plus, disponible dans *British Library Add. 1281*<sup>78</sup>. Garitte a déjà signalé que « la vie de l'Hésychaste aura sans aucun doute été traduite en même temps que celle de St. Sabas »<sup>79</sup>. Cependant, la comparaison entre les deux versions attend encore son heure.

Une autre *Vie* encore, écrite par Cyrille de Scythopolis, notamment celle de St. Théodosios (*BHG* 1777)<sup>80</sup>, entre dans le cadre de notre intérêt, tenant compte du fait que le parcours de St. Théodosios est décrit par d'autres auteurs

73 van Esbroeck, « Le codex rescriptus », p. 90.

74 Ibid., p. 90.

75 Joseph Patrich, « The Hermitage of St. John the Hesychast in the Great Laura of Sabas », *Liber Annuus*, 44 (1994), p. 315-337.

76 Gérard Garitte, « La mort de S. Jean l'Hésychaste d'après un texte géorgien inédit », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 72 (1954), p. 75-84, ici, p. 75-76.

77 Karl Vollers, *Katalog der islamischen, christlich-orientalischen, jüdischen und samaritanischen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig*, Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1906, p. 375. Voir : [http://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/receive/IslamHSBook\\_islamhs\\_00000430](http://www.islamic-manuscripts.net/receive/IslamHSBook_islamhs_00000430).

78 Texte : Kekelize, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, t. 1, p. 15-27 ; Imnaišvili, *Les Vies des Pères*, p. 273-285 ; Garitte, *La mort de S. Jean l'Hésychaste*.

79 Garitte, « La mort de S. Jean l'Hésychaste », p. 82.

80 Schwartz, *Kyryllos von Skythopolis*, p. 235-241.

encore<sup>81</sup>; une fois de plus le *Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2*, qui présente le texte de Cyrille de Scythopolis<sup>82</sup>, nous est parvenu dans un état très fragmentaire. La version arabe peut être restituée grâce à la traduction géorgienne faite toujours sur l'arabe. En effet, le manuscrit de *British Library Add. 11281* présente un texte identique aux fragments arabes édités par van Esbroeck<sup>83</sup>. Le texte grec n'ayant pas été conservé et l'arabe étant fragmentaire, la version géorgienne reste un témoin important de cette Vie dont la traduction arabe aurait pu apparaître vers 785<sup>84</sup>, si on croit à la suggestion de M. van Esbroeck, et la traduction géorgienne au x<sup>e</sup> siècle au plus tard.

Disons encore quelques mots sur d'autres textes du grand intérêt de l'hagiographie palestinienne, comme de la *Vie d'Étienne le Sabaïte*<sup>85</sup> (*BHG* 1670; mort en 794) écrit par Léonce de Damas<sup>86</sup>: selon les colophons des manuscrits arabes qui concernent cette Vie, ce texte fut traduit du grec vers l'arabe à Mar Saba en 903. En grec, il est seulement partiellement conservé dans un seul manuscrit, *Coislin 303* de Paris (x<sup>e</sup> siècle). La traduction géorgienne a été faite sur la version arabe entre 903 et 983 (la date de manuscrit *Sinaï géo.* 6)<sup>87</sup>. Les manuscrits arabes qui le contiennent sont le *Sinaï arabe 505* et le *Sinaï arabe 496* (de l'an 1238) ainsi que le palimpseste de la nouvelle collection *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 66* qui est une partie à restituer au même *Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2*<sup>88</sup>. Ce texte illustre la vie monastique du viii<sup>e</sup> siècle en Palestine, avec

81 De Théodore de Petra (vi<sup>e</sup> siècle) et de la version métaphrastique.

82 Michel van Esbroeck, « La Vie arabe de Saint Théodose le Cénobiarque », *Parole de l'Orient*, 18 (1993), p. 45-73.

83 van Esbroeck, « La Vie arabe de Saint Théodose », p. 47.

84 Ibid., p. 49.

85 Etienne fut moine à Mar Saba entre 735 et 794: Marie-France Auzépy, « De la Palestine à Constantinople (viii<sup>e</sup>-ix<sup>e</sup> siècles): Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène », *Travaux et Mémoires*, 12 (1994), p. 183-218.

86 Quinze ans après la mort de son maître: Auzépy, « De la Palestine à Constantinople », p. 185; « ca. 810AD »: Alexander Treiger, « Unpublished Texts from the Arab Orthodox Tradition (2): *Miracles of St. Eustratius of Mar Saba* (written ca. 860) », *Chronos*, 33 (2016), p. 7-20, ici, p. 7.

87 La version géorgienne est éditée par Gérard Garitte, « Un extrait de la Vie d'Étienne le Sabaïte », *Le Muséon*, 67 (1954), p. 71-93. Sur la version arabe, voir Gérard Garitte, « Le début de la Vie de S. Étienne le Sabaïte retrouvée en arabe au Sinaï », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 77 (1959), p. 332-369; Bartolomeo Pirone (éd.), *Leonzio di Damasco. Vita di Santo Stefano Sabaïta (725-794): Testo arabo, introduzione, traduzione e note*, Cairo et Jérusalem, Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies, 1991. Voir également John C. Lamoreaux (éd. & trad.), *The Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas* (CSCO 578-579, *Scriptores Arabici* 50-51), Louvain, Peeters, 1999; John C. Lamoreaux, « Leontius of Damascus », dans *CMRI*, p. 406-410.

88 Griffith, « The Monks of Palestine », p. 15 et voir Garitte, « Le début de la vie de S. Étienne », chap. XIX, p. 368-369; Μείμαρνης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 35 / ٣٦. Sur l'identification de ce manuscrit

les épisodes qui portent sur les relations entre moines melkites et les autorités musulmanes. Ce document est du plus haut intérêt car il fournit des données précieuses sur l'Église de Jérusalem<sup>89</sup>.

### 2.3 *Compositions originales en arabe*

À la même époque, des compositions originales commencent à voir le jour dans les monastères melkites, d'abord en arabe, pour être ensuite traduites en grec ou en géorgien. Dans ce cas, un effort est souvent consenti pour écrire une histoire sur la résistance chrétienne face aux autorités musulmanes. Ces textes sont diffusés dans le but évident de renforcer la résistance des populations palestino-syriennes face à l'islamisation. Tel est, par exemple, le cas de la *Passion de Romain le Néomartyr* (mort en 780) attribué à Étienne Manşūr. Ce texte est pour certains chercheurs « vraisemblablement composé en grec »<sup>90</sup> et pour d'autres – directement écrit en arabe : « [s]ince no Greek *Vita* of St. Romanos has come to light, the most reasonable assumption to make is that Arabic was indeed its original language »<sup>91</sup>. Le titre du document géorgien nous apprend que la *Passion* fut rédigée à Mar Saba par un moine de la Laure, Étienne de Damas, probablement peu de temps après la mort du Saint, avant 787<sup>92</sup>. Aujourd'hui seule la version géorgienne traduite du modèle arabe perdu conserve ce texte<sup>93</sup>.

Le même Étienne Manşūr nous a laissé la *Passion des vingt martyrs sabaites* (BHG 1200; massacrés en 797)<sup>94</sup>. Le seul manuscrit grec qui le conserve est *Coislin* 303<sup>95</sup>. Ce précieux manuscrit d'origine hiérosolymitaine du x<sup>e</sup> siècle ren-

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comme une autre partie de *Codex Rescriptus Tischendorf 2* voir Binggeli, « Les trois David », p. 102.

89 Garitte, « Le début de la vie de S. Étienne », p. 332; Flusin, « Palestinian Hagiography », p. 217.

90 Flusin, « Palestinian Hagiography », p. 216.

91 Griffith, « The Monks of Palestine », p. 15.

92 Paul Peeters, « Saint Romain le Néomartyr († 1 mai 780) d'après un document géorgien », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 30 (1911), p. 393-427, ici, p. 401; Griffith, « The Monks of Palestine », p. 15.

93 Peeters, « Saint Romain le Néomartyr »; David H. Vila et Mariam Nanobashvili, « Stephen Manşūr », dans *CMRI*, p. 388-396, ici, p. 390-393.

94 Robert P. Blake, « Deux lacunes comblées dans la *Passio XX monachorum Sabaitarum* », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68 (1950), p. 27-43; Vila et Nanobashvili, « Stephen Manşūr », p. 393-396.

95 Éditée par Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Συλλογή παλαιστίνης και συριακής αγιολογίας / Сборникъ палестинской и сирійской агиологии*, t. 1 (= *Православный Палестинскій Сборникъ*, 57), Saint-Petersbourg, V.F. Kirshbaum, 1907, p. 1-41 et traduction russe par Василий В. Латышевъ, *ibid.*, p. 1-48 : <http://www.krotov.info/acts/08/3/pp57a.htm>.

ferme les vies des saints palestiniens et notamment la *Vie d'Étienne le Sabaïte*. Il en existe également une version géorgienne nous parvenue par quelques manuscrits dont les plus anciens sont *Tbilissi, A-95* (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle) et *Oxford, Bibliothèque Bodléienne, Hibericus 1<sup>96</sup>*, copié à Ste-Croix de Jérusalem (en 1050). D'après le bref sondage effectué par Blake<sup>97</sup>, la version géorgienne, rédigée avant 825, dérive d'un modèle arabe aujourd'hui perdu<sup>98</sup>. Le texte géorgien reste inédit, excepté deux extraits que R. Blake a publiés pour combler les lacunes du texte grec. Il est évident que la publication de la version géorgienne qui reflète la version arabe perdue et qui diffère de la version grecque, sera importante pour la reconstruction du profil du modèle arabe. Cela permettra également d'éclairer le type de rapport textuel entre les versions ainsi que d'étudier l'image historique de Mar Saba du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Enfin, *La Passion de Michel le Sabaïte*<sup>99</sup> existe en géorgien.<sup>100</sup> C'est une traduction réalisée à Mar Saba<sup>101</sup> entre les IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles à partir du modèle arabe perdu<sup>102</sup>. En grec<sup>103</sup> cette *Passion* ne se présente pas indépendamment

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- 96 Description de Paul Peeters, « De codice Hiberico Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 31 (1912), p. 301-318, ici, p. 306, 318.
- 97 « La traduction comparée au texte grec paraît assez libre : sans doute faut-il supposer une version intermédiaire quelconque, très probablement arabe » : Blake, « Deux lacunes », p. 28. Voir également Griffith, « The Monks of Palestine », p. 15.
- 98 Blake, « La littérature grecque », p. 375 ; voir aussi Blake, « Deux lacunes », p. 43.
- 99 On trouvera la bibliographie sur Michel le Sabaïte dans Graf, *GCAL*, t. 2, Vatican : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947, p. 23 ; Barbara Roggema, « *The Martyrdom of Michael of Mār Saba* », dans *CMRI*, p. 911-915.
- 100 Édité : Kekelize, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, t. 1, p. 165-173 sur base de *Athos, Iviron géo. 57* ; Paul Peeters, « La passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 48 (1930), p. 65-98 (traduction latine). Traduction anglaise : Monica J. Blanchard, « The Georgian Version of the Martyrdom of Saint Michael, Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery », *Aram*, 6 (1994), p. 149-163.
- 101 Samir Khalil Samir, « Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens et les versions patristiques arabes », *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 42 (1976), p. 217-231, ici, p. 226 ; Blanchard, « The Georgian Version », p. 159-163. S.H. Griffith rejoint les autres chercheurs en indiquant que « All the authorities who have had the occasion to examine the text so far have agreed that it was translated from Arabic. Here it will be argued that in all probability the original author of the Michael story was an Arabophone monk of the monastery of Mar Saba, who wrote the account of Michael's exploit in Arabic at some point in the ninth century » : Sidney H. Griffith, « Michael the Martyr and Monk of Mar Sabas Monastery », *Aram*, 6 (1994), p. 115-148, ici, p. 121.
- 102 Paul Peeters, *Orient et Byzance : Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine*, Bruxelles : Société des Bollandistes, 1950, p. 21 et 185.
- 103 Publication : Иванъ В. Помяловскій, *Житіе иже во святыхъ отца нашего Θεодора архієпископа Едесскаго*, Saint-Petersbourg, L'Académie impériale des sciences, 1892. Elle est étudiée par Alexandre Vasiliev, « The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa », *Byzantion*, 16

mais elle se trouve incorporée dans la *Vie de Théodore d'Édesse* (BHG 1744). Selon l'information provenant des sources géorgiennes, notamment, selon le témoignage de Georges l'Hagiorite (1009-1065)<sup>104</sup>, Euthyme l'Hagiorite (mort en 1028) a traduit du géorgien vers le grec le « Balahvar » (La sagesse de Balahvar), « Abukura » et d'autres écrits. Il est suggéré d'identifier l'œuvre appelé « Abukura » comme *La Passion de Michel le Sabaïte* : en effet, l'introduction de *La Passion* dit que cette histoire fut racontée aux moines du monastère de Mar Saba par Theodore Abū Qurrah, qui, comme on le sait bien, lui-même était attaché à la Laure par sa vie, ainsi que par son œuvre. Il est de lors logique que la version géorgienne de *La Passion* soit préservée dans le manuscrit athonite, notamment dans celui de *Ivion géo. 57* (x<sup>e</sup> siècle), un témoin qui aurait pu être utilisé par Euthyme l'Hagiorite pour traduire cette œuvre du géorgien vers le grec. C'est bien cette traduction qui fut ultérieurement incorporée dans la version métaphasique de la vie *Vie de Théodore d'Édesse* en grec<sup>105</sup>. Ainsi, on est en face d'un exemple intéressant d'un texte qui aurait passé de l'arabe vers le grec par intermédiaire géorgien. Il est à noter que le précieux témoin *Ivion géo. 57* contient bien d'autres passions de cette époque<sup>106</sup>, toutes provenant d'originaux arabes. Composé par un moine de Mar Saba, la *Passion de Michel le Sabaïte* exalte la gloire de son couvent<sup>107</sup>.

(1942-1943), p. 165-225; voir également Klaus-Peter Todt et Mark N. Swanson, « *Life of Theodore, Bishop of Edessa* », dans *CMR2*, p. 585-593.

- 104 « რამეთუ ბალაჰვარი და აბუკურა და სხუანიცა რაოდენნი-მე წერილნი ქართულითსაგან თარგმნა ბერძნულად », voir : « Vies de Jean et Euthyme Hagiorites » (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/ageo/gh/gh2/gh2.htm?gh2013.htm>); pour la traduction latine voir : Paul Peeters, « Histoires monastiques géorgiennes », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 36-37 (1917-1919), p. 13-68.
- 105 Kekelize, « რომანი “აბუკურა” და მისი ორი რედაქცია ძველ ქართულ მწერლობაში » (Le roman « Abukura » et ses deux rédactions dans la littérature géorgienne), dans *Études*, vol. 3, Tbilissi, 1960, p. 18-40; Leila Datiašvili, « თედორე ედესელის ცხოვრება და “აბუკურა” » (Vie de Théodore d'Édesse et Abukura), dans *Les questions de la littérature ancienne et de Rustvélologie*, vol. 5, Tbilissi, 1973, p. 144-174; Elguja Khintibidze (éd.), *Georgian Literature in European Scholarship*, Amsterdam, Hakkert, 2000, p. 17-18; Robert Volk (éd.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. VI/1, Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph (spuria)*, Berlin et New York, Walter de Gruyter, 2009, p. 81.
- 106 Ce même manuscrit contient bien d'autres *Passions* du début de la période islamique, comme celle de St. Antoine-Rawḥ. Voir : David Vila, « *The Martyrdom of Anthony (Rawḥ al-Qurashī)* », dans *CMR1*, p. 498-501; traduction anglaise : John C. Lamoreaux, « Hagiography », dans Samuel Noble et Alexander Treiger (éd.), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World (700-1700): An Anthology of Sources*, DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 2014, p. 112-135, ici, p. 117-123.
- 107 Peeters, « La passion de S. Michel le Sabaïte », p. 28.

#### 2.4 *Récits des histoires locaux*

Les *Vies des Saints et Bienheureux Pères qui furent massacrés au Sinai et Raïthu par les barbares* (CPG 6088; BHG 1300-1300b) relatent le sort réservé aux Pères sinaïtiques dans les années 373-378<sup>108</sup>. Cette pièce, attribuée à Ammonios semble avoir été écrite initialement en copte, même si l'original n'a jamais été retrouvé. Ce texte est conservé dans presque toutes les langues de la littérature chrétienne : CPA (L'araméen palestinien chrétien)<sup>109</sup>, grecque<sup>110</sup>, syriaque, arabe et géorgien<sup>111</sup>. L'histoire est traduite du grec en syriaque en 767<sup>112</sup>. Le plus ancien manuscrit syriaque qui le conserve est le *Vaticanus syr. 623* de 886 de provenance sinaïtique<sup>113</sup>. De son côté, le traducteur arabe a pris la peine de préciser qu'il a effectué sa traduction à partir du grec en l'an 772<sup>114</sup>. Cela fait de cette œuvre l'un de plus anciens documents de la littérature arabe chrétienne<sup>115</sup>. Les manuscrits arabes qui le conservent sont pour la plupart sinaïtiques. La

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- 108 Daniel F. Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2010 en donne la traduction anglaise de la version grecque basée principalement sur *Sinaiticus graecus 519* (x<sup>e</sup> siècle).
- 109 Éditions : Agnes Smith Lewis, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the Story of Eulogios, from a Palestinian Syriac and Arabic Palimpsest*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1912; Christa Müller-Kessler et Michael Sokoloff, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert, Eulogios, the Stone-Cutter, and Anastasia*, Groningen, Styx Publications, 1996.
- 110 Δημήτριος Γ. Τσάμης (éd.) & Κωνσταντίνος Γ. Κατσάνης (trad.), *Τὸ Μαρτυρολόγιον τοῦ Σινᾶ, περιέχει κείμενα καὶ μεταφράσεις περὶ τῶν ἀγόνων, παλαισμάτων καὶ μαρτυριῶν τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων Ἁγίων Πατέρων ἐν τῷ Θεοβαδίστῳ ὄρει Σινᾶ καὶ τῆ Σιναϊτικῆ ἐρήμῳ*, Thessalonique, Mont Sinai, 1989, p. 183-235.
- 111 რ. გვარამია, ამბროსიოს «სინა-რაითოს წმიდა მამათა მოხრჳის» არაბულ ქართული ვერსიები (R. Gvaramia, *Les versions arabe et géorgienne du «Massacre des Saints Pères de Sinai et Raïthu»*), Tbilissi, 1973.
- 112 Voir *Vaticanus syr. 623* (de 886) : Caner, *History and Hagiography*, p. 143.
- 113 Description de *Vaticanus syr. 623* : Arnold van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques des fonds Vatican (490-631) Barberini oriental et Neofiti*, Vatican : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1965, p. 151-153; Sebastian P. Brock, «Sinai: A Meeting Point of Georgian with Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic», dans კავკასია აღმოსავლეთსა და დასავლეთს შორის. ისტორიულ-ფილოლოგიური ძიებანი, მიძღვნილი ზანა ალექსიძის დაბადების 75 წლისთავისადმი (*Caucase entre l'Orient et Occident, dédié au 75<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de Z. Aleksidze*), Tbilissi, 2012, p. 482-494, ici, p. 486.
- 114 *Sinai arabe 542*, Londres, *BL Or. 5019* : Joshua Blau, «The Importance of Middle Arabic Dialects for the History of Arabic», dans Uriel Heyd (éd.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, Jérusalem, Magnès, 1961, p. 206-228, ici, p. 219; Joshua Blau, «Über einige christlich-arabische Manuskripte aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert», *Le Muséon*, 75 (1962), p. 101-108, ici, p. 103-104; Gvaramia, *Les versions arabe et géorgienne*, p. 022-023; Griffith, «Greek into Arabic», p. 123.
- 115 Daniel, *History and Hagiography*, p. 141-171; Binggeli, «L'hagiographie du Sinai arabe»; Treiger, «Christian Graeco-Arabica», p. 199-200; Treiger, «The Earliest Dated Christian Arabic Translation».

plus ancienne de deux différentes traductions existant en arabe<sup>116</sup> est contenue dans les manuscrits *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 1* (IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)<sup>117</sup>, Londres, *British Library Or. 5019* (x<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles), *Sinaï arabe 542* (IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles), *Sinaï arabe 557* (XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). C'est de cette traduction que dérive la version géorgienne<sup>118</sup>, traduite, elle, au plus tard au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle et rapportée par le *Mravaltavi du Sinaï*, de 864, le manuscrit provenant de Mar Saba. Or, il n'est pas étonnant que, comme on l'a déjà signalé, le *Sinaï arabe 542* porte les signatures des cahiers en géorgien. Dans son édition, D. Caner donne la traduction anglaise de la version grecque avec, dans l'apparat, les notes qui renvoient aux versions CPA, syriaque et arabe. La version géorgienne n'est malheureusement pas prise en considération dans les notes. Le récit reste extrêmement important car il décrit les habitants arabes de Sinaï ainsi que les habitations chrétiennes et les relations entre eux. C'est aussi un des anciens documents relatifs au pèlerinage chrétien<sup>119</sup>.

Il reste enfin un mot à dire sur le récit *Prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, histoire rédigée au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle à Mar Saba par le moine Antiochus Strategos (*CPG* 7846)<sup>120</sup>. L'original du texte d'Antiochus ayant disparu, ne nous sont parvenues que des versions en arabe et en géorgien. N. Marr<sup>121</sup>, qui édita en parallèle les versions arabe et géorgienne, conclut à la dépendance du géorgien de l'arabe<sup>122</sup>. Quant à la version arabe, elle a été étudiée par A. Couret<sup>123</sup> et Peeters<sup>124</sup>. Ce dernier a également découvert une version géorgienne de ce

116 L'étude de Gvaramia nous en donne une édition en deux colonnes parallèles avec un apparat.

117 Μεϊμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 22 / \Λ. Ce manuscrit n'est pris en compte ni par Gvaramia ni par Caner.

118 Paul Peeters, « Bulletin des publications hagiographiques », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53 (1935), p. 404; Gvaramia, *Les versions arabe et géorgienne*. Version géorgienne éditée par Kekelize, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, Keimena*, t. 1, p. 28-44.

119 Caner, *History and Hagiography*, p. 144.

120 C'est N. Marr qui émet l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'auteur est Antiochus Strategus, ce, qui est contesté, voir Paul Peeters, « La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses », *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 9 (1923-1924), p. 3-42.

121 Николай Я. Марр, *Антиохъ Стратигъ, Пльнненіе Іерусалима Персами въ 614 г.*, Saint-Pétersbourg, L'Académie des sciences, 1909.

122 Марр, *Антиохъ Стратигъ*, p. 11.

123 Alphonse Couret, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614. Trois documents nouveaux*, Orléans, H. Herluison, 1896, p. 1-16 (réédition dans *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 2 (1897), p. 123-164, ici, p. 143-164).

124 Peeters, « La prise de Jérusalem ». Les autres manuscrits arabes qui contiennent ce texte sont *Sinaï arabe 428* (x<sup>e</sup> siècle), *Sinaï arabe 520* (x<sup>e</sup> siècle), *Sinaï arabe 531* (l'an 1232) et *Sinaï arabe NF perg. 1* (IX<sup>e</sup> siècle) : voir Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 12, 19-20 et Μεϊμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 22 et 74 / \Λ.

texte dans le codex *Oxford, Bibliothèque Bodléienne, Hibericus 1* (daté de 1050)<sup>125</sup>, édité plus tard par G. Garitte<sup>126</sup> avec la traduction latine<sup>127</sup>. Garitte a en outre édité les quatre recensions arabes de ce texte<sup>128</sup> et préparé une étude sur les questions littéraires et historiques que posent les textes géorgien et arabe. La traduction arabe semble avoir été effectuée aux VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles. Le plus souvent, on présume que la version originale en fut grec, sauf P. Peeters, qui suppose que le syriaque aurait pu être l'intermédiaire entre le grec et l'arabe<sup>129</sup>. Quant à la traduction géorgienne, elle ne devrait pas être postérieure au X<sup>e</sup> siècle; G. Graf fait même remonter son existence aux VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles<sup>130</sup>. Reste à remarquer que la version longue<sup>131</sup> de la *Prise de Jérusalem* en arabe, dont dérive la version géorgienne, se trouve au moins dans deux manuscrits sinaïtiques du X<sup>e</sup> siècle: *Sinaï arabe 428* et *Sinaï arabe 520*, dont le premier porte les signatures des cahiers en géorgien.

### 3 La patristique en arabe: un exemple de Jacques de Saroug

Les recherches de J.-M. Saugey et Kh. Samir ont démontré que les *mēmre* de Jacques de Saroug, qui appartenait à l'Église syriaque dite «jacobite», furent adoptés par la communauté melkite au cours des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles et faisaient part de leurs recueils. On parle notamment des homéliaires composés au Sinaï, au monastère de Ste-Catherine. En effet, les plus anciens manuscrits arabes contenant des œuvres de Jacques de Saroug sont tous des témoins des IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles qui émanent de ce centre chalcédonien, de sorte qu'on ne trouve à cette époque aucun manuscrit arabe de Jacques de Saroug qui ne serait pas de provenance sinaïtique<sup>132</sup>. Évidemment, les premières adaptations en arabe

125 Peeters, «De codice Hiberico».

126 *Georg. Bodl. 1*. Les autres manuscrits qui conservent le texte sont *Jérusalem, Iber. 26* et *Tbilissi A-70*.

127 Gérard Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614* (CSCO 202-203, *Scriptores Iberici* 11-12), Louvain, Secrétariat du CSCO, 1960.

128 Garitte, *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A. D. 614 recensiones arabicae*.

129 Peeters, «La prise de Jérusalem».

130 Graf, *GCAL*, t. 1, p. 411.

131 La version longue se trouve dans les manuscrits *Sinaï arabe 428*, *Sinaï arabe 520* et *Sinaï arabe 531*.

132 Samir Khalil Samir, «Un exemple de contacts culturels entre les églises syriaques et arabes: Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe», dans René Lavenant (éd.), *III<sup>e</sup> Symposium Syriacum, 1980: Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar, 7-11 Septembre 1980)*, Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983, p. 213-245, ici, p. 214.

auraient pu être réalisées, plus largement, dans les monastères melkites palestiniens (comme par exemple, Mar Saba et autres) et non exclusivement à Sinaï qui sert comme dépositaire des manuscrits provenant de tous ces centres. Il s'agit donc du passage de cet auteur du syriaque vers l'arabe, quand les communautés melkites arabophones du Sinaï l'adoptèrent pour en réaliser la traduction. En second lieu, grâce à la collaboration arabo-géorgienne au Sinaï, Jacques de Saroug aurait probablement bénéficié d'une seconde traduction, effectuée cette fois-ci de l'arabe vers le géorgien.

En effet, nous avons déjà étudié une homélie de Jacques de Saroug *Sur la Nativité de Notre Seigneur*<sup>133</sup> dont il existe une traduction géorgienne dans le manuscrit du x<sup>e</sup> siècle *Tbilissi A-19*. L'article, qui en contenait la traduction française et une étude sur la langue de la version géorgienne<sup>134</sup>, constatait l'absence du modèle immédiat direct de la traduction géorgienne. En effet, la possibilité du passage de Jacques de Saroug de l'arabe vers le géorgien n'est qu'une conjecture, vu que le modèle arabe de l'homélie sur la Nativité semble avoir intentionnellement détruit. Voyons cette question de près. À cette fin, nous résumons ci-dessous<sup>135</sup> le répertoire des plus anciens témoins arabes de Jacques de Saroug, liés au monastère de St. Catherine de Sinaï :

*Sinaï arabe 514*, mentionné ci-dessus, date du ix<sup>e</sup> siècle (Aziz Suryal Atiya), du ix<sup>e</sup>-début x<sup>e</sup> siècles (Georg Graf), ou de la seconde moitié de ix<sup>e</sup> siècle (Kh. Samir). Il contient les homélies suivantes :

- Sur l'interdiction de jurer (Assemani, n° 74, éd. Bedjan<sup>136</sup>, t. 3, p. 375-395) ;
- Sur Joseph fils de Jacob (pas de correspondance chez Assemani ; inédit) ;
- Sur Thomas l'Apôtre (Assemani, n° 192c ; Bedjan, t. 3, p. 763-765) ;
- Sur la mort (pas de correspondance chez Assemani ; inédit) ;

133 Intitulé *ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ*, voir Paulus Bedjan, *S. Martyrii, qui et Sahdona, quae supersunt omnia*, Paris et Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1902 (homélie n° 6), p. 720-774. Il s'agit d'une homélie signalée par Guisepppe Simone Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, Rome, Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1719-1728, t. 1, p. 309, n° 11. La traduction italienne de cette pièce est disponible dans Costantino Vona, *Omelle mariologiche di S. Giacomo di Saroug*, Rome, Facultas theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1953, p. 195-235. Pour la traduction anglaise, voir Thomas Kollamparampil, *Jacob of Serugh, Select Festal Homilies*, Rome, Centre for Indian and Inter-Religious Studies, 1997, p. 41-93.

134 Tamara Pataridze, « La version géorgienne de l'homélie de Jacques de Saroug "Sur la Nativité" », *Le Muséon*, 121/3-4 (2008), p. 373-402.

135 Voir principalement Samir, « Un exemple de contacts » ainsi que Joseph-Marie Sauget, « La Collection homilético-hagiographique du manuscrit *Sinaï arabe 457* », *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 22 (1972), p. 129-167.

136 Paulus Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, t. 1-5, Paris et Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1905-1910.

*Sinai arabe 457* (X<sup>e</sup> siècle):

- Sur le baptême du Christ<sup>137</sup> (Assemani, n° 28; Bedjan, t. 1, p. 167-193);
- Sur l'entrée du Christ au temple<sup>138</sup> (Assemani, n° 37; Bedjan, t. 5, p. 447-466);
- Sur l'Annonciation (Assemani, n° 8; Bedjan, *S. Martyrii*<sup>139</sup>, p. 639-661).

Le fragment du *Palimpseste de Beuron* (Monastère bénédictin de Beuron, Allemagne) conserve deux palimpsestes sinaïtiques acquis en 1920. Sur l'un des fragments, qui remonte au IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles, se trouve un index mentionnant trois œuvres de Jacques de Saroug:

- Sur le fils prodigue (Assemani, n° 97; Bedjan, t. 1, p. 267-299);
- Sur Lazare et le riche (Assemani, n° 89; Bedjan, t. 1, p. 364-424);
- Sur Zacchée (Assemani, n° 95; Bedjan, t. 1, p. 344-364).

Les fragments de *Bryn Mawr College Library* sont des fragments sinaïtiques achetés par L. Rosenthal. M. van Esbroeck<sup>140</sup> a reconstitué le manuscrit originel daté de 950:

- Sur Joseph (inédit);
- Sur Joseph (Assemani, n° 154);
- Sur l'annonciation à Notre-Dame Marie (Assemani, n° 8 ou 9?).

*Munich Arabe 1066*, fragments acquis par Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Ils datent de 900 environ:

- Dialogue entre les deux larrons au sujet de Jésus (publié par G. Graf)<sup>141</sup>.

*Hiersemann 14* est un manuscrit mis à la vente par K.W. Hiersemann, détenteur d'une riche collection de manuscrits sinaïtiques. Il fut acquis par l'Université de Louvain mais brûlé dans la guerre:

- Sur Abraham et l'annonce de la naissance d'Isaac (Assemani, n° 140?);
- Sur Abraham et Sara en Egypte (existe en trois différentes versions étant attribuées à St. Éphrem);

137 Existe en trois versions arabes dont celle-ci est la plus ancienne et se trouve également en *Milan, Ambrosienne X. 198 Sup.* de XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La troisième version est celle des Coptes, éditée au Caire: Rūma Miḥā'il Aṭanāsiyūs, *Kitāb mayāmīr, ay mawā'iz al-Sarūḡi*, Le Caire, Maṭba'at Miṣr bi-l-Faḡḡāla, 1905, p. 333-343.

138 On en connaît quatre versions arabes différentes, la quatrième est celle des Coptes, éditée au Caire: Aṭanāsiyūs, *Kitāb mayāmīr*, p. 314-322.

139 Bedjan, *S. Martyrii*.

140 Michel van Esbroeck, «Remembrement d'un manuscrit sinaïtique arabe de 950», dans Samir Khalil Samir (éd.), *Actes du 1<sup>er</sup> Congrès international d'Études arabes chrétiennes*, Rome, Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1982, p. 135-147, ici, p. 137 et 141. On pourrait davantage préciser en disant que les deux premières pièces ne faisaient pas part du manuscrit initial, mais lui ont été ajoutés ultérieurement. Par contre, la troisième pièce apparaît mentionnée dans un index original du manuscrit, bien que disparu à présent.

141 Georg Graf, «Maymar ḡayr ma'rūf li-Mār Ya'qūb al-Sarūḡi», *al-Mašriq*, 48 (1954), p. 46-49.

- Sur le sacrifice d'Isaac (Bedjan, t. 4, p. 61-103);
- Sur la mort de Moïse (Assemani, n° 207).

L'homélaire *Milan, Ambrosiana X. 198 Sup.*<sup>142</sup> est un manuscrit de provenance sinaïtique de XI<sup>e</sup> siècle :

- Sur l'entrée de Notre Seigneur dans le Temple (avec l'autre témoin en *Sinai arabe 457*; Assemani, n° 37; Bedjan, t. 5, p. 447-466);
- Sur le baptême du Christ (disponible en outre en *Sinai arabe 457*; Assemani n° 28, Bedjan, t. 1, 167-193);
- Sur Jonas et la pénitence des Ninivites (l'édition du Caire en a une seconde traduction<sup>143</sup>, Assemani n° 36; Bedjan, t. 4, 368-490);
- Lazare et le riche (l'édition du Caire en a une seconde traduction<sup>144</sup>; Assemani, n° 89, Bedjan, t. 1, p. 364-424);
- Sur l'ange et le larron (cinq recensions différentes existent en arabe; Assemani, n° 168; Bedjan, t. 5, 658-687?);
- Sur l'annonciation ou la Nativité, Jacques? : cinq lignes subsistent<sup>145</sup>.

À ce répertoire il faut en toute vraisemblance ajouter le *Sinai arabe 460* (X<sup>e</sup> siècle) lequel selon M. Kamil contient « [s]ome sayings of ... Jacob the Pious, Bishop of Baṭṭnān Sarūg »<sup>146</sup> et *Sinai arabe NF perg. 2* qui selon le catalogue doit avoir un « Λόγος τοῦ ὁσίου Μάρ Γιακοῦμπ ἐπισκόπου Βάτνων Σουρούγκ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου κατὰ τὸν ὁποῖον ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Σολομών ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Δαυίδ » / *Qawl Mār(y) Yā'qūb al-ṭūbān usqf Baṭṭnān Sarūḡ qālahu 'alā Sulaymān ibn Dā'ūd al-malik 'indamā malika* (Discours de Mar Jacob, évêque de Baṭṭnān de Sarūḡ, sur le temps quand régna Salomon, fils de David)<sup>147</sup>. Le manuscrit d'origine sinaïtique *Cambridge, University Library, Oriental 1287* (IX<sup>e</sup> siècle) analysé ci-dessus contient une sélection de Pères d'Église dont « Mar Jacob », mais le texte n'a pas encore été identifié<sup>148</sup>.

Que peut-on dire sur ce répertoire ? Dans le cas de *Sinai arabe 514* et de *Sinai arabe 457*,<sup>149</sup> il s'agit des manuscrits des archives palestiniennes présentés ci-dessus. Les similitudes de contenu entre *Milan, Ambrosiana X. 198 Sup.* et le

142 Joseph-Marie Sauget, « L'homélaire arabe de la bibliothèque Ambrosienne (X. 198 Sup.) et ses *membra disiecta* », *Analecta Bollandiana*, 88 (1970), p. 391-475; Georg Graf, « Der vom Himmel gefallene Brief Christi », *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, 6 (1928), p. 10-23.

143 Aṭanāsīyūs, *Kitāb mayāmīr*, p. 125-176.

144 Ibid., p. 456-480.

145 Sauget, « L'homélaire arabe », p. 464.

146 Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 43.

147 Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 22 / \Λ.

148 Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, p. xxxiv; George, « Le palimpseste Lewis-Mingana », p. 415.

149 Sauget, « La Collection homilético-hagiographique ».

manuscrit géorgien *Mravaltavi d'Ivion* ont été depuis longtemps relevées<sup>150</sup>. Le *Sinaï arabe 457* mérite davantage d'attention. Outre les *mēmre* de Jacques de Saroug, ce manuscrit contient la version arabe de la *Vie d'Éphrem* (*BHO* 269) traduite de l'arabe en géorgien<sup>151</sup>. Enfin, le *Sinaï arabe 457* est un manuscrit qui possède des signatures des cahiers en arabe et en géorgien<sup>152</sup>.

Comme on l'a mentionné, le *Sinaï arabe 457* contient actuellement des traces de trois fragments des homélies de Jacques, parmi lesquels ne figure pas l'homélie sur la Nativité, dont il existe une traduction géorgienne. Cependant, il va falloir tenir compte du fait que *Sinaï arabe 457* est un manuscrit intentionnellement mutilé, qui ne préserve plus sa physionomie primitive, notamment parce que les folios contenant les *mēmre* de Jacques de Saroug en furent volontairement arrachés. En effet, sur ses 208 feuillets, seuls 127 nous sont parvenus<sup>153</sup>, alors que les lacunes s'expliquent par « avoir voulu faire disparaître la fin et le début d'une homélie »<sup>154</sup> de Jacques. À la suite de l'actuel folio 42 et avant le folio 129, ainsi que dans les 11 feuillets disparus, qui faisaient suite à l'actuel folio 128, se trouvaient initialement les folios comportant d'autres homélies complètes de l'évêque de Batnan<sup>155</sup>.

Nous pensons que l'homélie sur la Nativité traduite en géorgien aurait pu figurer dans les folios perdus du *Sinaï arabe 457*. Il est à supposer que le modèle arabe de la traduction géorgienne de l'homélie sur la Nativité a été perdu avec les folios endommagés de *Sinaï arabe 457*. Quant aux trois fragments de Jacques, qui figurent actuellement dans ce manuscrit, ils ne nous sont préservés que grâce à la volonté de conserver un autre texte figurant au verso du même

150 Samir, « Les plus anciens homéliaires », p. 230, Sauge, « L'homélaire arabe » ; Michel van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens : étude descriptive et historique*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut orientaliste, 1975.

151 Éditée par Garitte et ensuite par Imnaišvili. Garitte avait considéré la version géorgienne de *Vie* comme traduite du syriaque, mais sa conclusion a été contestée par B. Outtier. Ce dernier a remarqué l'existence de la version arabe de cette *Vie* qui nous parvenue par plusieurs manuscrits dont le plus ancien est notamment le *Sinaï arabe 457*. Selon ce chercheur, c'est de cette version du texte que se rapproche la traduction géorgienne. Voir : Gérard Garitte, *Vies géorgiennes de S. Syméon Stylite l'Ancien et de S. Éphrem* (CSCO 172 ; *Scriptores Iberici* 8), Louvain, L. Durbecq, 1957 et Imnaišvili, *Les Vies des Pères*. Les deux éditions se basent sur le manuscrit Londres, *British Library*, *Add. 11281 (géorgien 1)* ; Bernard Outtier, « Le manuscrit Tbilissi A-249 : Un recueil traduit de l'arabe et sa physionomie primitive », *Bedi Kartlisa*, 35 (1977), p. 97-108, ici, p. 103.

152 Sauge, « La Collection homilético-hagiographique » ; Pataridze, « Les signatures des cahiers ».

153 Sauge, « La Collection homilético-hagiographique », p. 134.

154 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

155 Samir, « Un exemple de contacts culturels », p. 221.

folio. Par conséquent, bien que dans son état actuel le manuscrit *Sinai arabe 457* ne contient plus de traces de l'homélie de Nativité de Jacques de Saroug, ce texte aurait pu s'y trouver avant la défiguration du manuscrit. L'homélie aurait pu être ensuite traduite par les moines géorgiens du Sinaï qui, comme on en possède des preuves tangibles, ont connu ce manuscrit.

L'effort systématique vers le durcissement dogmatique, advenu dans les milieux melkites du Sinaï à l'égard de Jacques de Saroug, et qui se manifesta par l'élimination intentionnelle de ses homélies, est démontré également sur base d'autres témoins également, comme par exemple l'homiliaire *Milan, Ambrosiana X. 198 Sup.* qui en fut lui aussi victime<sup>156</sup>. Quant à la destruction des pièces de Jacques de Saroug, J.-M. Sauget<sup>157</sup> estime que c'est probablement aux IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles que Jacques fut accepté dans les milieux melkites et que ce sont les mêmes milieux melkites qui, au moment d'un raidissement des positions ecclésiastiques, l'ont expulsé de leur patrimoine littéraire. Kh. Samir remarque de son côté qu'au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle les Coptes d'Égypte ont utilisé Jacques de Saroug dans leur florilège dogmatique anti-chalcédonien célèbre – *Confessio Patrum (I'tirāf al-ābā'*, rédigé en 1078) : ils ont notamment réalisé leurs propres traductions des *mēmṛē* de Jacques de Saroug en arabe<sup>158</sup>. Face à cet usage anti-chalcédonien de l'évêque de Batnan, les Melkites ont probablement durci leurs positions en expurgeant désormais Jacques de Saroug de leurs livres.

Quant à la version géorgienne de l'homélie sur la Nativité, la confrontation textuelle entre elle et la seconde traduction arabe de la même homélie, émanant des milieux coptes montre que la seconde traduction copto-arabe n'est pas le modèle de la version géorgienne. Il reste alors à supposer que la version géorgienne dépend de la première traduction arabe de cette homélie aujourd'hui perdue, réalisée, en toute vraisemblance, dans les milieux melkites, plutôt aux IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles. On peut émettre la conjecture selon laquelle la

156 Sauget, « L'homélaire arabe », p. 473 et Sauget, « La Collection homilético-hagiographique », p. 140.

157 Sauget, « La Collection homilético-hagiographique », p. 140.

158 Pour l'édition de l'homélie sur la Nativité voir Aṭanāsīyūs, *Kitāb mayāmīr*, p. 247-270. L'homélie en question a pour titre *الميمر العشرون، على ميلاد ربنا بالجسد*. Plus concrètement, *Confessio Patrum*, contenait 4 homélies de Jacques, y compris les extraits de l'homélie sur la Nativité que nous analysons. Sa confrontation textuelle avec la traduction géorgienne exclut la dépendance de cette dernière du modèle copto-arabe. Il faut noter qu'il est de toute manière fréquent d'avoir plusieurs rédactions différentes (traductions) des mêmes homélies de Jacques en arabe. Par exemple, l'homélie *Sur le baptême du Christ* est connue en trois rédactions différentes dont une palestinienne (*Sinai arabe 457*) et l'autre copto-arabe (édition du Caire). De même, l'homélie *Sur l'entrée du Christ au Temple* est connue en quatre rédactions différentes etc. Voir : Samir, « Un exemple de contacts », p. 221-222.

première traduction arabe de ce texte aurait pu figurer dans le *Sinai arabe 457* avant la mutilation du manuscrit, ce, qui aurait permis à Jacques de Saroug de faire un passage vers la littérature géorgienne pendant que la fenêtre pour ce passage était encore ouverte<sup>159</sup>.

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159 Le passage de l'arabe vers le grec et du grec vers le géorgien n'est théoriquement pas à exclure si jamais les traductions grecques des homélies de Jacques de Saroug existaient: cependant, les répertoires de la littérature grecque patristique ne signalent aucune homélie de Jacques de Saroug traduite en grec. D'un autre côté, il est démontré que les traductions arabes des homélies de Jacques ont été réalisées sur le syriaque et non sur le grec: Sauget, « L'homélie arabe », p. 467 et 472.

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## Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521)

Aaron Michael Butts

A large body of Syriac literature made its way into Christian Arabic.<sup>1</sup> This includes Arabic translations of well-known Syriac authors, such as Aphrahat (fl. 336–345), Ephrem (d. 373), Jacob of Serugh (d. 521), the topic of the current paper, and Isaac of Nineveh (seventh century), as well as of scores of anonymous texts, including exegetical homilies, synodical literature, and hagiography, to name only a few genres.<sup>2</sup> In some cases, the Arabic versions of Syriac texts differ markedly from their Syriac *Vorlagen*. This is, for instance, the case with the prose retelling of the Joseph narrative (Gen. 37, 39–47, 50, i.e., omitting Jacob's blessings) called the *History of Joseph*: the Arabic version diverges from the Syriac to such an extent that it could reasonably be called *re-written re-written Bible*.<sup>3</sup> Or, to take another example, the *Paradise of Christianity* (*Fir-*

1 Earlier versions of some of this material were presented at a workshop on Jacob of Serugh, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, January 30–February 1, 2015 and at a symposium on Christian Arabic Literature, Department for the Study of Religion, University of Toronto and the Canadian Society of Syriac Studies (CSSS), Toronto, Canada, November 14, 2015. I am grateful to these audiences for their insightful comments. I would also like to thank a number of people who contributed to this paper in various ways, by sharing their own work, commenting on drafts, making manuscripts available, etc.: Stephen Davis, Ted Erho, Philip Forness, Kristian Heal, Adam McCollum, Barbara Roggema, Alin Suciu, Janet Timbie, Alexander Treiger, Lucas Van Rompay, and Joseph Witztum. Research on this article has been supported by a Grant-in-Aid award from the Catholic University of America.

2 The starting place for this translation literature, as is so often the case for Christian Arabic studies, is Georg Graf's monumental *GCAL*. In addition to Graf's *GCAL*, where these Syriac authors and genres (as well as many more) are discussed, for Aphrahat in Arabic, see Samir Khalil Samir and Pierre Yousif, "La version arabe de la troisième Démonstration d'Aphraate (sur le jeûne)," in Samir Khalil Samir (ed.), *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes. Oosterhesselen, septembre 1984*, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1986, pp. 31–66; Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Entretiens d'Aphraate en arabe sous le nom d'Éphrem," *Le Muséon*, 92 (1979), pp. 61–69; Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Le dossier éphrémien du manuscrit arabe de Strasbourg 4226 et ses membra disiecta," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 42 (1976), pp. 426–458. For Ephrem in Arabic, see Samir Khalil Samir, "L'Ephrem arabe: État des travaux," in François Graffin and Antoine Guillaumont (eds.), *Symposium Syriacum, 1976*, Roma, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1978, pp. 229–240.

3 The Syriac *History of Joseph* is edited in Magnus Weinberg, *Die Geschichte Josefs angeblich*

*daws al-naṣrāniyya*) by Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043) is an adaptation and abridgment in Arabic of two great works of East-Syriac biblical exegesis: the running commentary by Ishoʿdad of Merv (fl. ca. 850) and the *Scholion*, in the genre of question-and-answer, by Theodore Bar Koni (fl. end of eighth century).<sup>4</sup> Whether through adaptations and abridgments or through more straightforward translations, the Syriac literary heritage has left an indelible mark on Christian Arabic literature.<sup>5</sup>

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*verfasst von Basilius dem Grossen aus Cäsarea*, Halle, H. Itzkowski, 1893; Samuel W. Link, *Die Geschichte Josefs angeblich verfasst von Basilius dem Grossen aus Cäsarea*, Berlin, H. Itzkowski, 1895; an English translation is available in Kristian Heal, "The Syriac History of Joseph: A New Translation and Introduction," in R. Bauckham and J.R. Davila (eds.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2013, vol. 1, pp. 85–120. The Arabic version remains unedited. The Arabic *History of Joseph* was translated into both Latin and Ethiopic. A joint project is underway to produce comparative editions and translations of the Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Latin versions of the *History of Joseph*. The Syriac will be edited and translated by Kristian Heal, the Arabic by Joseph Witztum, the Latin by Geoffrey Moseley, and the Ethiopic by the present author. The results will be published with Brepols in their series Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum (CCSA). For preliminary fruits of this project, see Aaron M. Butts, Kristian Heal, Geoffrey Moseley, and Joseph Witztum, "Notes on the *History of Joseph* (CAVT 113, 114) and the *Death of Joseph* (CAVT 116, 117)," *Apocrypha*, 28 (2017), pp. 233–237.

- 4 Only the running commentary part on Genesis of Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *Paradise of Christianity* has been edited; see Joannes C. Sanders, *Ibn al-Ṭayyib. Commentaire sur la Genèse* (CSCO 274–275, *Scriptores arabici* 24–25), Louvain, Peeters, 1967. For Ishoʿdad of Merv as the source of this part, see *idem*, *Inleiding op het Genesiskommentaar van de Nestoriaan Ibn at-Ṭayyib*, Leiden, Brill, 1963; *idem*, *Ibn al-Ṭayyib. Commentaire sur la Genèse*, ii–iii ("la source principale"); Roger W. Cowley, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation. A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 66; Paul Féghali, "Ibn at-Ṭayyib et son commentaire sur la Genèse," *Parole de l'Orient*, 16 (1990–1991), pp. 149–162; Julian Faultless, "Ibn al-Ṭayyib," in *CMR2*, pp. 667–697, at p. 669, p. 681; Sidney H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the "People of the Book" in the Language of Islam*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2013, pp. 150–151; Aaron M. Butts, "Embellished with Gold: The Ethiopic Reception of Syriac Biblical Exegesis," *Oriens Christianus*, 97 (2013–2014), pp. 137–159, at pp. 140–145. For Bar Koni as the source of the question-and-answer part, see Aaron M. Butts, "In Search of Sources for Ibn al-Ṭayyib's *The Paradise of Christianity*: Theodore Bar Koni's *Scholion*," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies*, 14 (2014), pp. 3–29 with further references.
- 5 This is not to mention cases in which texts in other languages passed through Syriac on their way to Christian Arabic. First and foremost here would be the Bible. See the recent, specialist studies of Hikmat Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and their Families*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2012; Ronny Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch. A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources*, Leiden, Brill, 2015; Miriam L. Hjälm, *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early MSS and Translation Techniques in MSS Sinai Ar. 1 and 2*, Leiden, Brill, 2016, as well as the broader Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic*.

In the present paper, I explore one particular instance in the long and varied history of the Christian Arabic reception of Syriac literature: Arabic translations of homilies by Jacob of Serugh (d. 521). Jacob of Serugh, who is known as “the Flute of the Holy Spirit and the Harp of the Believing Church,” is one of the most important Syriac authors of the miaphysite tradition.<sup>6</sup> Jacob is the author of a large *œuvre* that includes letters, hagiographical vitae, prose homilies, and especially metrical homilies (Syriac *mēm̄rē*). The Syriac tradition ascribes some 760 or so metrical homilies to Jacob, and at least 400 of these survive.<sup>7</sup> These metrical homilies proved extremely popular among miaphysites. In Syriac, Jacob’s homilies are found in a large number of manuscripts, a few dating back as early as the sixth century with huge collections—some containing over 200 homilies!—produced in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> Jacob’s poetic homilies were also translated into a number of languages for use among the wider miaphysite commonwealth. A single homily is known in Coptic.<sup>9</sup> More homilies attributed to Jacob are found in Armenian and Georgian.<sup>10</sup>

6 For Jacob and his thought, see Philip M. Forness, *Preaching Christology in the Roman Near East*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018. For previous scholarship, see Brock’s “select bibliographical guide” in G.A. Kiraz, *Jacob of Serugh and His Times: Studies in Sixth-Century Syriac Christianity*, Piscataway, Gorgias Press, 2010, pp. 219–244 as well as the older but more detailed bibliography in Khalil Alwan, “Bibliographie générale raisonnée de Jacques de Saroug († 521),” *Parole de l’Orient*, 13 (1986), pp. 313–384.

7 More than half were edited by Paul Bedjan: *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona, quae supersunt omnia*, Paris and Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1902; *Cantus seu Homiliae Mar-Jacob in Jesum et Mariam*, Paris and Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1902; and especially *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, Paris and Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1905–1910, which was reprinted with an extra volume in 2006 by Gorgias Press. More recently, Akhrass and Syryany have published another 160 *mēm̄rē* (or parts thereof) attributed to Jacob: Roger-Youssef Akhrass and Imad Syryany, *160 Unpublished Homilies of Jacob of Serugh*, Damascus, Department of Syriac Studies—Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate, 2017. It should also be noted that a bilingual series (usually reprints of Bedjan’s Syriac texts with new English translations) of individual homilies, entitled *The Metrical Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug* (2008–), is in the process of publication by Gorgias Press.

8 For the Syriac manuscript attestation, see Arthur Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja’qob von Serug* (CSCO 344–345, 421–422, Subsidia 39–40, 60–61), 4 vols., Louvain, Peeters, 1973–1980.

9 Edited with an English translation in Alin Suciuc, “The Sahidic Version of Jacob of Serugh’s *memrā* on the Ascension of Christ,” *Le Muséon*, 128 (2015), pp. 49–83.

10 For catalogues of texts attributed to Jacob of Serugh in Armenian, see Garegin Zarthanalean, *Մատենադարանի հայկական թարգմանություններից նախնեաց* [Catalogue of Ancient Armenian Translations], Venice, Mekhitarist Press, 1889, 572–575 and Edward G. Mathews, Jr., “Jacob of Serugh, Homily on Good Friday and Other Armenian Treasures: First Glances,” in Kiraz, *Jacob of Serugh and His Times*, pp. 125–153. In addition, Andy Hilken is currently preparing an updated analysis of the Armenian reception of

In addition, well over one hundred homilies attributed to Jacob are found in Arabic, and it is these Arabic translations that I focus on in this paper. In particular, I explore the diversity of the Arabic reception of Jacob's homilies arguing that at least some are witnessed in distinct textual traditions of Coptic, Melkite, and Syriac Orthodox provenance. I begin the paper with previous scholarship on Arabic translations of Jacob, looking at the presentation in Graf's *Geschichte* as well as a couple of more recent studies. I then proceed to the main topic of the paper, the diversity of the Christian Arabic tradition of Jacob, which I investigate primarily through a series of case studies on individual passages.

Before turning to the main body of this paper, I need to say briefly what I do not discuss here. I focus on the pre-modern Christian Arabic reception of Jacob. Thus, I do not deal with modern Arabic translations of Jacob. Over the last decade or so, a number of Jacob's homilies have been translated into Arabic. This includes Behnam Sony's five-volume Arabic translation of Bedjan's edition of the Syriac homilies of Jacob as well as translation volumes of individual homilies by Imil Abī Ḥabīb Anṭūnī, Būlus Faḡālī, and others.<sup>11</sup> I also focus exclusively on Jacob's homilies and do not deal with other genres. It should, however, be noted that some letters attributed to Jacob appear in Arabic translation. Three letters are, for instance, witnessed in Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98] (1871), Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 157 [Graf 462] (18th cent.), Dayr Abū Maqār 335 (1784), and Dayr al-Baramūs 2/38 (1853).<sup>12</sup> In addition, an anaphora attributed to Jacob is attested in some Arabic manuscripts.<sup>13</sup> From Arabic, this anaphora made its way into Ethiopic, where it is found in the Missal

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Jacob. For the Georgian reception of Jacob, see Tamara Pataridze, "La version géorgienne d'une homélie de Jaques de Saroug Sur la Nativité. Étude et traduction," *Le Muséon*, 121 (2008), pp. 373–402.

- 11 Behnam Sony, *Tarjama min al-suryāniyya ilā l-'arabiyya wa-dirāsa 'alā mayāmir al-malfān mār Ya'qūb al-sarūḡī*, 5 vols., Baghdad, [s.n.], 2003. The Syriac *Vorlage* is edited in Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*.
- 12 Compare Philip M. Forness, "New Textual Evidence for Jacob of Serugh's Letters: An Analysis and Collation of Five Monastic Miscellanies," *Hugoye*, 20 (2016), pp. 51–128, at pp. 80–82. The Arabic text of these three letters can be found in Miḥā'il Aṭanāsiyūs, *Kitāb mayāmir, ay mawā'iz al-Sarūḡī*, Cairo, Maṭba'at Miṣr bi-l-Faḡḡāla, 1905, pp. 357–362 (No. 29), 389–392 (33), and 393–394 (34). For more information on this volume, see Samir Khalil Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels entre les églises syriaques et arabes: Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," in René Lavenant (ed.), *III<sup>e</sup> Symposium Syriacum 1980*, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1983, pp. 213–245, at pp. 241–242; Khalil Alwan, *Jacques de Saroug. Quatre homélie métriques sur la création* (CSCO 508–509, Scriptores Syri 214–215), Louvain, Peeters, 1989, p. xii; Aaron M. Butts, "The Christian Arabic Transmission of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521): The *Sammlungen*," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies*, 16 (2016), pp. 39–59, at p. 41.
- 13 See, for instance, Diyarbakir, Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 270, pp. 300–325.

(H 18).<sup>14</sup> The attribution of this anaphora to Jacob is, however, probably spurious.<sup>15</sup> Thus, while other works either by Jacob or attributed to him are found in Arabic, my focus in this paper is exclusively on the homilies. Finally, I do not discuss homilies that are attributed to Jacob in at least some manuscripts, but are known to be spurious, such as a homiletic re-telling of Abraham and Sarah in Egypt and a homily on the annunciation.<sup>16</sup>

## 1 Previous Research

The natural place to begin with the Christian Arabic transmission of Jacob is Graf's *Geschichte*.<sup>17</sup> Graf's presentation has shaped later research so it is worth dwelling on its structure briefly. Graf dedicates almost eight full pages to Jacob. After a brief biographical sketch of Jacob, Graf discusses the oldest witnesses to Jacob in Arabic, all of which come from Sinai (his Section 1). He then spends a page on collections, or *Sammlungen* (= Graf's S), of Jacob in Arabic (his Section 2). In the third and longest section, which runs almost five dense pages, Graf provides a list of Arabic homilies attributed to Jacob grouped by theme. For each homily, he provides the Arabic manuscripts that attest it. This is truly a remarkable achievement! By my count, Graf lists 127 different manuscripts with at least one Arabic homily attributed to Jacob, and ca. 85 different homilies plus a group of unidentified ones. Thus, it is difficult to overestimate Graf's contribution.

14 The Ethiopic is edited with a German translation in Sebastian Euringer, *Die äthiopischen Anaphoren des hl. Evangelisten Johannes des Donnersohnes und des hl. Jacobus von Sarug*, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1934, pp. 79–122.

15 See Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Studies in the Ethiopic Anaphoras*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner Verlag, 1987, pp. 47–48 as well as Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung*, vol. 1, pp. 30–31.

16 For the latter, see Khalil Alwan, "Une homélie de Būlus al-Būšī attribuée à Jacques de Saroug," *Parole de l'Orient*, 16 (1990–1991), pp. 207–226. The Syriac and Arabic texts of the former are edited with an English translation in Sebastian P. Brock and Simon Hopkins, "A verse homily on Abraham and Sarah in Egypt: Syriac original with early Arabic translation," *Le Muséon*, 105 (1992), pp. 87–146. An Ethiopic translation of the Arabic was edited with a French translation in André Caquot, "Une homélie éthiopienne attribuée à Saint Mari Éphrem sur le séjour d'Abraham et Sara en Égypte," in *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont. Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux*, Geneva, P. Cramer, 1988, pp. 173–185. For further details, see also Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," pp. 229–232.

17 Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, pp. 444–452. It is worth pointing out that Graf also edited one of the Arabic homilies attributed to Jacob; see his "Maymar ḡayr ma'rūf al-mār Ya'qūb al-sarūḡī," *al-Mašriq*, 48 (1954), pp. 46–49.

Graf's presentation is not, however, without its difficulties and problems.<sup>18</sup> To begin, Section 3 of Graf's presentation, which lists the individual homilies and their manuscript attestation, does not include comprehensive references to the manuscripts discussed in Sections 1 and 2. This is unfortunate since the presentation in Section 3 does not include the earliest Arabic witnesses from Sinai, which Graf discusses in Section 1. In addition, Section 3 of Graf's presentation does not generally include references to the large Arabic collections of Jacob. There are a dozen and half such collections, each of which contains at least a dozen homilies by Jacob and sometimes many more. The information on the individual homilies in these collections is not specified in Section 2 of Graf, and it is unfortunately also not incorporated systematically into the presentation in Section 3.

An even more serious problem with Graf's presentation is that he does not attempt to identify the Syriac *Vorlage* for any of the Arabic texts that he lists. In addition, he does not provide enough information for the reader to do this either. This is because Graf provides only titles in German translation (i.e., without the Arabic) and sometimes abbreviated ones at that. Graf also never gives an incipit for an Arabic text. Thus, without additional research, it is not in general possible to link an Arabic text in Graf's list definitively with its Syriac *Vorlage*. Graf, for instance, lists a homily on the prodigal son (Verlorener Sohn).<sup>19</sup> Without additional information, such as an incipit, this could be one of the two homilies on the prodigal son found in Syriac.<sup>20</sup> Even in cases where there is only one potential homily on a particular topic preserved in Syriac, it cannot simply be assumed that the Arabic text mentioned in Graf is a translation of this based on title alone.

18 See already Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," p. 214.

19 Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 1, p. 450.

20 These are B<sup>2</sup> 236 = B<sup>1</sup> 353 = A 12 (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, vol. 1, pp. 267–299) and B<sup>2</sup> 306 = B<sup>1</sup> 443 = A 90 (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, vol. 3, pp. 500–529). When referencing individual homilies of Jacob in Syriac, I follow Kristian Heal ("A Note on Jacob of Sarug's Memre on Joseph," *Hugoye*, 14 [2011], pp. 215–223) in using the sigla B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> to refer to the indices of incipits published in Sebastian P. Brock, "The Published Verse Homilies of Isaac of Antioch, Jacob of Serugh, and Narsai: Index of Incipits," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 32 (1987), pp. 279–313 and Sebastian P. Brock, "Index of First Lines," in Paul Bedjan and Sebastian P. Brock, *Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug*, Piscataway, Gorgias Press, 2006, vol. 6, pp. 372–399, respectively. To these, I add references to the more recently published list in Roger-Youssef Akhrass, "A List of Homilies of Mar Jacob of Serugh," *Syriac Orthodox Patriarchal Journal*, 53 (2015), pp. 87–161, marked with the siglum A. It should be noted that none of these numbering systems is the last word on the matter, since additional homilies attributed to Jacob continue to be re-discovered in manuscripts.

On the one hand, Graf has done a great service in assembling such a large body of Arabic manuscripts containing homilies attributed to Jacob. On the other hand, much more work remains to be done. Each homily needs to be identified by title and incipit and ultimately linked to its Syriac *Vorlage*. To do this, it is necessary to go back to the catalogues and in many cases to the manuscripts themselves, when the catalogues do not provide enough information. Before leaving Graf, I should note that these problems are not restricted to Graf's presentation of the Arabic transmission of Jacob, but they re-occur in the *Geschichte* with many other authors and texts translated from Syriac.<sup>21</sup>

The next study of the Christian Arabic transmission of Jacob that should be mentioned is an important article by Samir Khalil Samir.<sup>22</sup> Samir points out many of these same problems in Graf's treatment (p. 214) and adopts a methodology similar to that proposed here: classifying homilies by title and incipit and connecting them back to their Syriac *Vorlagen*. In this, Samir certainly succeeds. This success, however, comes at a cost: Samir restricts his presentation to Sinai manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries. Thus, the scope of Samir's article corresponds more or less to Graf's Section 1. Indeed, these manuscripts are the earliest witnesses to Jacob in Arabic. The Sinai manuscripts, however, represent only a fraction of the surviving witnesses. In fact, Samir deals with only seven manuscripts, which attest a total of eighteen, or so, different homilies. Recall that Graf lists 127 different manuscripts and ca. 85 different homilies plus a group of unidentified ones. Thus, while Samir's study represents a step in the right direction, especially in methodological terms, it is only a step.

What Samir did for the Sinai manuscripts, I have recently done for the Arabic collections, or *Sammlungen*, of Jacob.<sup>23</sup> By *Sammlungen*, I refer to manuscripts that contain a collection of homilies, usually a dozen or more, attributed to Jacob (and no one else).<sup>24</sup> A dozen and a half such manuscripts are known. The oldest is Vat. Ar. 73, which probably dates to the fifteenth century (though a thirteenth century date has also been proposed).<sup>25</sup> The vast majority of the

21 For similar problems with Graf's treatment of Ephrem, see Samir, "L' Ephrem arabe," p. 229.

22 Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels."

23 Butts, "The Christian Arabic Transmission of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521): The *Sammlungen*."

24 For some caveats, see Butts, "The Christian Arabic Transmission of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521): The *Sammlungen*," p. 41.

25 In the earlier publication ("The Christian Arabic Transmission of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521): The *Sammlungen*," 42), I dated this manuscript to the thirteenth century following Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, vol. IV, Rome, Typis Vaticanis, 1831, pp. 146–149 (a date also accepted in Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," p. 240). This date is, however, probably too early. A date in the fifteenth century, as

*Sammlungen* are, however, relatively recent, stemming from the late eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. All of the *Sammlungen* for which there is information come from a Coptic provenance—a point to which I return shortly. The *Sammlungen* attest fifty-eight different homilies, and I have been able to identify fifty-six of these and connect them back to their Syriac *Vorlagen*.

The studies by Samir and by me have, then, identified the Arabic homilies by Jacob in the Sinai manuscripts and the *Sammlungen*, respectively. Together, these two articles cover more or less the same scope as Sections 1 and 2 in Graf's treatment. What remains is to do the same with the third and longest section in which Graf provides a list of Arabic homilies attributed to Jacob. This represents the bulk of the Arabic manuscripts. Graf in fact already knew over 100 such manuscripts when he wrote his *Geschichte*. Graf's list is, however, far from comprehensive. A search of some of the manuscript collections that have been more recently digitized by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML), for instance, uncovers dozens of more manuscripts that contain at least one homily attributed to Jacob. There is no doubt that a full survey of the extant Christian Arabic manuscripts would reveal many more witnesses to Jacob in Arabic.<sup>26</sup> Ultimately, the homilies in all of these manuscripts need to be identified by titles and incipits and connected to their Syriac *Vorlagen*.

My aim in providing this brief history of previous research is, at least partly, to help establish a new methodology for the study of Christian Arabic texts translated from Syriac: Texts need to be identified by title and incipit and then connected to their Syriac *Vorlagen*.<sup>27</sup> This is foundational work that has quite simply not yet been accomplished. In the remainder of this paper, however, I want to change topics and attempt to counteract one of the problems that can arise with this approach: It tends to conceal the diversity of the textual tradition. This is true both with Arabic translations of Syriac texts more broadly and

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proposed by Graf in his unpublished notes (available online in the digital catalogue of the Vatican Library), is more likely. I am grateful to Fr. Adrien de Fouchier, o.p., for bringing this to my attention.

26 Mention should be made in this regard to Khalil Alwan, "Les homélies métriques de Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe: Inventaire des manuscrits arabes," *Dissertation ad Licentiam*, Pontifical Gregorian University, 1983 (non vidi). Fr. Khalil Alwan kindly informs me that he is currently producing a revised version of his thesis, with many additional manuscripts, that will be published with the Centre de documentation et de recherches arabes chrétiennes (CEDRAC) at Saint Joseph University in Beirut.

27 This methodology is not unique or even new with me; see already Samir, "L' Ephrem arabe," p. 229; Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," pp. 214–215.

of Jacob in particular. I focus here on the latter.<sup>28</sup> Already in his *Geschichte*, Graf hinted at this diversity on occasion with phrases such as “anderer Uebersetzung” (p. 448 [twice]), “Davon verschieden ...” (p. 448), “Nach ihrem Verhältnis unbestimmt ...” (p. 448), and “anderer Text” (pp. 449, 450). This diversity was also noted frequently in the study of Samir. The most important discussion to date, however, can be found in several pages at the beginning of Kh. Alwan’s edition of several Syriac homilies by Jacob, in which he establishes that the Arabic version of “Expulsion of Adam from paradise” (B<sup>2</sup> 185 = B<sup>1</sup> 279 = A 229) exists in two different recensions that he calls *version ancienne* and *version tardive*.<sup>29</sup> Both of these recensions are found in the Arabic *Sammlungen* of Jacob, all of which, as I have mentioned, are of Coptic provenance. His *version ancienne* closely follows the Syriac *Vorlage*, whereas his *version tardive* departs in a number of places. In the remainder of this paper, I want to develop further Alwan’s findings, which are limited to the Arabic recensions of a single homily, in two ways: 1. by looking at sample passages from several other homilies; 2. by expanding the manuscript attestation beyond those of Coptic provenance to include both Syriac Orthodox and Melkite manuscripts.

## 2 Manuscript Provenance: Coptic, Melkite, and Syriac Orthodox

Before turning to the more narrow case studies, I want to look briefly at the provenance of Arabic manuscripts that attest homilies attributed to Jacob. The majority of manuscripts come from one of three provenances: Coptic, Melkite, and Syriac Orthodox.<sup>30</sup> The earliest attested tradition is the Melkite. This tradition is known already from the seven manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries that stem ultimately from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai, which were studied by Samir.<sup>31</sup> There are also (slightly) later Arabic manuscripts from Sinai that attest homilies by Jacob, such as Sinai Ar. 406 (1264) as well as Min-

28 See, however, n. 84 below.

29 Alwan, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, vol. 1, pp. ix–xviii.

30 These three are not intended to be exhaustive. Homilies by Jacob are, for instance, also attested in Arabic in the Chaldean tradition: Several manuscripts in the Chaldean Cathedral at Mardin contain homilies attributed to Jacob, including Macomber 51.9 (= CCM 00344), Macomber 51.10 (= CCM 00345), and Macomber 51.20 (= CCM 00354), all Garshuni manuscripts probably dating to the seventeenth century. In addition, an Arabic homily attributed to Jacob is found in a Syriac Catholic manuscript in Aleppo (shelfmark 9/63, probably of the 19th cent.).

31 Samir, “Un exemple des contacts culturels.”

gana Chr. Ar. Add. 171 (ca. 1350) and Mingana Chr. Ar. Add. 172 (ca. 1400).<sup>32</sup> While the Melkite tradition provides the earliest evidence for Jacob in Arabic, it seems that he was not always so warmly received in this tradition. In fact, there is evidence that Jacob suffered *damnatio memoriae* at Sinai, perhaps in the twelfth century.<sup>33</sup> One indication of this comes from the so-called Ambrosian homiliary, which survives primarily in Milan, Ambros. x.198 sup., with additional folios in London, Munich, and Birmingham.<sup>34</sup> Of the ninety-six homilies that this manuscript originally contained, only seventy-four survive today, whether partially or completely. Seven out of these ninety-six homilies were probably at one point attributed to Jacob.<sup>35</sup> None of the homilies attributed to Jacob, however, survives complete. Rather, each has been intentionally removed from the manuscript, and the only traces of them that survive are found on folios that preserve other texts, which apparently the eraser of Jacob—whoever he was—was loathe to destroy.<sup>36</sup> This deletion is perhaps most striking with the list of titles (*fihrist*), where Jacob's name has been systematically erased in each case.<sup>37</sup> The *damnatio memoriae* of Jacob at Sinai is also witnessed in Sinai Ar. 457.<sup>38</sup> This manuscript originally contained three homilies by Jacob.<sup>39</sup> Again, however, most of the text of these homilies has been

32 See Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," p. 214 with n. 6.

33 See already Sauget, "La collection homilético-hagiographique du ms Sinai arabe 457," *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 22 (1972), pp. 129–167, at p. 140 and, with more detail, Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," pp. 243–244.

34 For the reconstitution of this manuscript, see Joseph-Marie Sauget, "L'homélaire arabe de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne (x. 198 Sup.) et ses *membra disiecta*," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 88 (1970), pp. 391–475 along with Samir Khalil Samir, "Nouveaux fragments de l'homélaire arabe de l'Ambrosienne," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 52 (1986), pp. 214–219, who added seven further leaves subsequently discovered at St. Catherine's monastery (NF Ar. Perg. 46).

35 See Sauget, "L'homélaire arabe de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne," pp. 467, 475 as well as Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," pp. 234–239. For additional details with the proposal of a new identification, see Aaron M. Butts and Ted Erho, "Jacob of Serugh in the Ambrosian Homiliary (ms. Ambros. x.198 sup. and its *membra disiecta*)," *Deltio Biblikōn Meletōn*, 33 (2018), pp. 37–54.

36 Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," pp. 243–244, ventures a proposal to the identity of this person: a certain Mark, a Melkite from Egypt, who is known to have added in 1172 Coptic enumeration to the homilies in the Ambrosian homiliary (see the colophon in Sauget, "L'homélaire arabe de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne," pp. 421–422).

37 For the index, see Sauget, "L'homélaire arabe de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne," pp. 407–420.

38 For this manuscript, see the important study in Sauget, "La collection homilético-hagiographique."

39 See Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," pp. 220–224.

deliberately cut out of the manuscript, with the only surviving words of Jacob being those written on folios that contained other authors. Thus, Jacob seems eventually to have fallen out of favor with his Chalcedonian readers at Sinai resulting in the deletion of his texts. Nevertheless, these Melkite manuscripts point to Jacob's reception in the Chalcedonian tradition in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>40</sup>

The Coptic tradition of Jacob is most clearly witnessed, at least in the current state of scholarship, in the *Sammlungen* manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> Jacob is hardly known in literature in the Coptic language. In fact, it is only a very recent discovery that established that any of Jacob's works were translated into Coptic: Jacob's homily on "Ascension" (B<sup>2</sup> 55 = B<sup>1</sup> 81 = A 204) is partially preserved in a Sahidic Coptic translation in two fragmentary codices from the White Monastery.<sup>42</sup> This, however, changes in the later period, when Jacob finds a warmer reception in the Arabic language. The earliest evidence for Jacob in Arabic in the Coptic tradition comes from the *Confession of the Fathers* (*I'tirāf al-ābā'*), an anonymous work compiled, at least for the most part, in 1078, which contains four extracts from two homilies by Jacob.<sup>43</sup> By at least the fifteenth century and possibly earlier, we begin to have Arabic collections of homilies, or *Sammlungen*, by Jacob, as witnessed by Vat. Ar. 73 (15th cent.?), which contains twenty-three such homilies.<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, this manuscript can, according to a note

40 For Jacob's contested place in the Chalcedonian tradition, whether in antiquity or in the more recent secondary scholarship, see the insightful discussion in Philip Forness, "Cultural Exchange and Scholarship on Eastern Christianity: An Early Modern Debate over Jacob of Serugh's Christology," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 70 (2018), pp. 257–284. For other Arabic manuscripts of Chalcedonian provenance that contain homilies attributed to Jacob, see n. 30 above.

41 For these, see Butts, "The Christian Arabic Transmission of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521): The *Sammlungen*." It should be noted that the *Sammlungen* are not the only Arabic manuscripts of Coptic provenance that contain homilies attributed to Jacob; many non-*Sammlungen* also do. The *Sammlungen* are just the best studied to date.

42 Suciū, "The Sahidic Version of Jacob of Serugh's *memrā* on the Ascension of Christ."

43 See Georg Graf, "Zwei dogmatische Florilegien der Kopten, B. Das Bekenntnis der Väter," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 3 (1937), pp. 345–402, at pp. 393–394 and Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," p. 242 with n. 115–116. The homilies are B<sup>2</sup> 366 = A 201 "Nativity" (ed. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona*, pp. 720–774 = Bedjan, *Cantus seu Homiliae Mar-Jacobi in Jesum et Mariam*, pp. 108–162) and B<sup>2</sup> 97 = B<sup>1</sup> 146 = A 53 "Passion of our Lord" (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, vol. 2, pp. 447–610). Note that the incipits—and so also presumably the entire text—of these extracts differ from the other Arabic recension(s). It is via the Arabic *Confession of the Fathers* that these four extracts of Jacob made their way into the Ethiopic *Faith of the Fathers* (*haymanotä abäw*).

44 See the description in Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, vol. 4.2, pp. 146–149.

on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, be provenanced to Dayr Anbā Bišāy in the Wādī Naṭrūn. Dayr Anbā Bišāy had a close relationship with Dayr al-Suryān, which beginning in the ninth century had a large number of Syriac monks and manuscripts, including manuscripts of Jacob, and which witnessed a revival in the first half of the thirteenth century, not too far in time from when Vat. Ar. 73 may have been produced (regardless of whether it is dated to the 13th century following Mai or the 15th following Graf).<sup>45</sup> This just might explain the appearance of this Arabic *Sammlung* of Jacob at this particular time and place.<sup>46</sup> *Sammlungen* of Jacob continued to be copied up until the nineteenth century. A number of these were clearly intended for liturgical use, since they specify the day, according to the Coptic calendar, on which each homily is to be read. Thus, the *Sammlungen* provide clear evidence for the reception of Jacob in Arabic among Coptic Christians.<sup>47</sup>

Finally, a large number of the Christian Arabic manuscripts containing homilies by Jacob are of Syriac Orthodox provenance. This should not be surprising since Jacob himself was a Syriac miaphysite. The earliest Syriac Orthodox manuscripts attesting Arabic homilies attributed to Jacob seem to stem from the sixteenth century, making them later than all of the Melkite manuscripts from Sinai as well as later than the *Sammlung* in Vat. Ar. 73 (15th cent.?)—not to mention the eleventh-century reception in the Arabic *Confession of the Fathers*. What these manuscripts of Syriac Orthodox provenance lack in early date, they

45 For the problems with the dating of Vat. Ar. 73, see n. 25 above. For Dayr al-Suryān, see Lucas Van Rompay, in *GEDSH*, 386–387 and, with more detail, Sebastian P. Brock and Lucas Van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi al-Natrun*, Louvain, Peeters, 2014, pp. xiii–xxi. For Mushe of Nisibis, who was a particularly successful collector of (early) Syriac manuscripts for this monastery, see Monica J. Blanchard, “Moses of Nisibis (fl. 906–943) and the Library of Deir Suriani,” in Leslie S.B. MacCoull (ed.), *Studies in the Christian East in Memory of Mirrit Boutros Ghali*, Washington, DC, Society for Coptic Archaeology, 1995, pp. 13–25; Sebastian P. Brock, “Without Mushē of Nisibis, where would we be? Some reflections on the transmission of Syriac literature,” *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 56 (2004), pp. 15–24.

46 See Samir, “Un exemple des contacts culturels,” pp. 240–241, 244 and Butts, “The Christian Arabic Transmission of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521): The *Sammlungen*,” 55.

47 The Coptic tradition of Jacob in Arabic, though not necessarily that of the *Sammlungen*, will have provided the bridge by which Jacob reached Ethiopic Christianity. For Jacob in Ethiopic, see for now Siegbert Uhlig, “Därsan des Ya’qob von Serug für den vierten Sonntag im Monat Taḥśās,” *Aethiopica*, 2 (1999), pp. 7–52, at pp. 13–16 and Witold Witakowski, “Jacob of Serug,” in Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, 111: *He-N*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2007, pp. 262–263. The present author, in collaboration with Ted Erho, is currently writing an updated inventory of Jacob’s homilies that circulated independently in Ethiopic.

make up for in number. Consider, for instance, the manuscripts in Garshuni, i.e., Arabic language in Syriac script. Garshuni manuscripts containing homilies attributed to Jacob can be found in European collections, including six manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Par. Syr. 13, 30, 193, 197, 200, 233), four manuscripts in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. Syr. 159, 199, 408, 424), and nineteen manuscripts in the Mingana collection in Birmingham (Ming. Syr. 22, 35, 87, 88, 138, 174, 188, 223, 352, 401, 403, 446, 450, 453, 461, 464, 465, 562, 607). In addition to these, all of which were already mentioned by Graf, a number of Garshuni manuscripts can be added from collections in the Middle East. These include one manuscript from the Monastery of Saint Mark in Jerusalem (49), two manuscripts from the Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese of Ḥomṣ (2 and 22), five manuscripts from the Monastery of Dayr al-Zaʿfarān outside of Mardin (52, 211, 215, 220, and 240), eight manuscripts from the Church of Meryem Ana in Diyarbakir (135, 181, 190, 214, 239, 242, 268, and 287), and nine manuscripts from the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin (72, 109, 122, 125, 287, 289, 290, 298, and 300).<sup>48</sup> This list is far from exhaustive, but it does illustrate the sheer number of Garshuni manuscripts that attest homilies attributed to Jacob. These Garshuni manuscripts, in turn, witness Jacob's reception in Arabic among Syriac Orthodox Christians.

### 3 Sounding One: Coptic and Syriac Orthodox Textual Traditions

Having looked in the previous section at the provenance of the Arabic manuscripts that witness homilies attributed to Jacob, I now want to turn to the textual traditions to which these manuscripts bear witness. I begin in this first sounding by exploring distinct Coptic and Syriac Orthodox textual traditions. For this sounding, I have chosen the first dozen lines of the homily “On Godly Love” (B<sup>2</sup> 95/106 = B<sup>1</sup> 155 = A 26). Before looking at the Arabic texts, however, it is first necessary to present the Syriac text with an English translation:<sup>49</sup>

48 Images of all of these manuscripts are available from the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML).

49 The translations throughout this study are deliberately source-oriented—bordering on wooden—in order to help facilitate comparisons between the various texts.

## Syriac "On Godly Love"

(ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, vol. 1 pp. 606–627)

1	Son of God, who came in his love to renew every- thing,	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
2	give to me your love, that I might speak by it to the one who listens to me.	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
3	Exalted one, who descended from his dwelling places to our wretchedness,	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
4	give to me, that I might ascend to the place of your love, and that I might narrate its beauties.	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
5	O one who through his love endured the sufferings of crucifixion,	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
6	may your blood boil up in me to speak about your grace.	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
7	By the heat of your love, may my word be moved con- cerning your tidings,	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
8	so that copiously I might tell your story among the earthly.	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
9	Come, beloved, whom the womb of baptism has birthed,	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
10	let us obtain love, because it is great wealth for the one who obtains it.	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
11	Brothers, who from within the (baptismal) water have come to belong to the only-begotten,	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
12	in the story of love, come, let us rejoice discerningly.	ܩܘܢ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

There are at least two different recensions of this text found in Arabic: one in manuscripts of Coptic provenance in Arabic script and the other in manuscripts of Syriac Orthodox provenance in Syriac script. The Arabic text of Coptic provenance is as follows:

## Arabic "On Godly Love"

(edited according Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98], fols. 80<sup>r</sup>-85<sup>v</sup>; Vat. Ar. 73, fols. 100<sup>r</sup>-108<sup>v</sup>; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, fols. 148<sup>r</sup>-161<sup>r</sup>)<sup>50</sup>

1	Son of God, who came in his love to renew every- thing,	ابن الله الذي اتي بحبه ليجدد الكل
2	give to me your love, that I might speak by it to the one who listens to me.	اعطني حبك لاتكلم به لمن يسمع لي
3	O exalted one, who descended from his dwelling place to our iniquities,	ايها العالي الذي نزل من مسكنه الى شرورنا
4	give to me, that I might ascend to the place of your love, and that I might narrate its beauty.	اعطني لاصعد لمكان حبك واثني حسنه
5	O one who through his love endured the sufferings of crucifixion,	يا الذي بحبه احتمل الام الصليوت
6	may your blood boil up in me to speak about your grace.	دمك يغلي في لاتكلم على نعمتك
7	By the heat of your love, may my word be moved con- cerning your tidings,	بحرارة حبك تتحرك كلمتي على البشارة
8	and may it tell (your) majesty among the earthly copi- ously.	وترتل المجد بين الارضيين غنيا
9	O beloved ones, whom the womb of baptism has birthed,	ايها الاحبا الذين ولدت بطن المعمودية
10	let us obtain love, because it is great wealth for the one who obtains it.	نقتني الحب لانه غنا عظيم لقانيه
11	Ones who became brothers for the only-begotten from within the (baptismal) water,	الذين صاروا للوحيد اخوة من داخل المياه
12	arise, let us rejoice spiritually in the story of love.	تعالوا تنعم روحانيا بنجر الحب

بحرارة [بحرارة 7 | اعطني Cairo Graf 98 | اعطني 4 | اعطني 2 | ابن يا. add. 1  
Cairo Graf 98 | الذين 9 | الذي Cairo Graf 98; Vat. Ar. 73; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59] | ايها. add. 11  
Cairo Graf 98 | الذين ante ايها. add. 11  
Vat. Ar. 73; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59 | الذي [الذين

50 The Arabic text of this recension of the entire homily is edited in Aṭanāsīyūs, *Kitāb mayāmīr ay mawā'iz al-saruḡī*, pp. 497-506 (46).

This edition of the Arabic text is based on three of the *Sammlungen*: Vat. Ar. 73 (15th cent.?), which is the earliest of the *Sammlungen*, its copy in Vat. Borg. Ar. 59 (18th cent.), as well as Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98] (1871). In the case of the Arabic translation of the “Expulsion of Adam from paradise” (B<sup>2</sup> 185 = B<sup>1</sup> 279 = A 229), these three manuscripts witness what Alwan calls the *version ancienne*.<sup>51</sup> With the homily under investigation here, it should be noted that there is very little variation between these three witnesses: Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98] adds vocative markers at the beginnings of lines 1 (*yā*) and 11 (*ayyuhā*), and otherwise the differences are solely orthographic. This is then a stable textual tradition.

This Arabic translation closely follows its Syriac *Vorlage*. To illustrate with just one example, consider line 5. Both the Syriac *Vorlage* and this Arabic translation proceed in exactly the same way: vocative particle, headless relative pronoun, prepositional phrase, verb, and a direct object consisting of two words in a genitive construction (*iḏāfa*). The placement of the prepositional phrase is not typical in either Arabic or Syriac. Also, the Arabic replicates the abstract ending in the word for crucifixion: Arabic *al-ṣalbūt* translates Syriac *zqīpuṭā*. The Arabic, then, closely follows its Syriac *Vorlage*.

If we turn to the differences between this Arabic translation and its Syriac *Vorlage*, these are minor. Line 8 provides a good illustration: The verb in Arabic has been changed from the first common singular “I” to the third feminine singular “she” referring to “word” in the previous line, and the adverb “copiously” is moved in Arabic to the end of the line instead of coming toward the beginning, as in the Syriac. In addition, the word “majesty” in Arabic differs from “your story” in Bedjan’s edition of the Syriac. This difference, however, is to be explained by a different Syriac *Vorlage*: Bedjan records a Syriac variant of “your glory” (*šubḥāk*), which is obviously the source of “majesty” here in Arabic.

In general, then, the Arabic here is a source-oriented translation of the Syriac. The translation technique seen here is similar to what Alwan found for these manuscripts’ witness of the “Expulsion of Adam from paradise” (B<sup>2</sup> 185 = B<sup>1</sup> 279 = A 229).

A different Arabic tradition of this Syriac text comes from Syriac Orthodox provenance and in Garshuni:

<sup>51</sup> Alwan, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, vol. 1, pp. ix–xviii.

## Arabic "On Godly Love"

(edited according to Jerusalem, Monastery of Saint Mark 49 as well as Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs 72, 109, and 122)

1	O, Son of God, who came in his love to renew every-	ܐܘܢ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
2	thing, give to me your love, that I might speak by it to the	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
3	one who listens to it. O exalted one, who descended from his dwelling	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
4	place to the weak, give to me, that I might ascend to the place of your	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
5	love, and that I might reveal its piety. O one who through his love came and endured the	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
6	crucifixion and sufferings, give favor to me to speak about your grace.	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
7-8	... omitted ...	
9	O beloved ones, born from baptism,	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
10	arise, let us obtain love, because it is beneficial for	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
11-12	the one who obtains it. ... omitted ...	ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ

This edition is based on four different manuscripts, and each one presents exactly the same text, with only minor orthographic variants, which have not been recorded here. Thus, this is again a stable textual tradition. This Syriac Orthodox recension of the homily in Garshuni, however, shows significant differences from the one of Coptic provenance in Arabic script discussed above. There are, for instance, many differences in individual lexemes. To take only the first line, the recension in Arabic script has *'atā* for "he came" whereas the Syriac script one has *ġā* (translating Syriac *ʿetā*), and the recension in Arabic script has *ḥubb* for "love" whereas the Syriac script one has *maḥabba* (translating Syriac *ḥubbā*). Basically every line contains such differences in vocabulary. Differences are not, however, limited to vocabulary. A grammatical difference can be illustrated by the participle construction for "the ones who hear it" in

line 2 of the Syriac script recension (*li-sāmi'ihā*) versus the indefinite pronoun plus finite verb in the Arabic script one (*li-man yasma' lī*). Note also that in line 5 the Syriac construction “sufferings of crucifixion” has been changed into the coordinated nouns “crucifixion and sufferings” in the Syriac script recension but retained in the Arabic script one. In addition, the recension in Syriac script has several additions, such as “he came” in line 5 and “arise” in line 10, as well as deletions, such as the deletion of “womb” in line 9 and “great” in line 10. There are also larger changes. Line 6 in the Syriac *Vorlage* and the recension in Arabic script begins “may your blood boil up in me,” whereas the Syriac script recension has “Give favor to me.” The most obvious difference, however, between the Syriac *Vorlage* and the recension in Arabic script, on the one hand, and the Arabic recension in Syriac script, on the other hand, is that the latter is missing lines 7–8 as well as 11–12.

To summarize briefly, in this sounding, the recension of Coptic provenance in Arabic script follows the Syriac *Vorlage* closely, whereas the recension of Syriac Orthodox provenance in Syriac script diverges in a number of ways, from deletions and additions to changes in phraseology. In addition, the vocabulary of the Syriac script recension differs from that of the one in Arabic script. This raises a number of questions, one of the more pressing of which is whether the Syriac Orthodox recension represents an adaptation of a recension similar to that preserved in the *Sammlungen* manuscripts of Coptic provenance or whether it represents a different, independent translation of the Syriac original. Before venturing an answer to this question, I want to look at another passage.

#### 4 Sounding 2: Coptic and Syriac Orthodox Textual Traditions, Once Again

The previous passage illustrated well some of the diversity that can be found in the Arabic tradition of Jacob. This diversity is not, however, limited to script, that is, Arabic versus Syriac. To illustrate this, I want to look at another passage, this time from Jacob's homily on “Jonah” (B<sup>2</sup> 140 = B<sup>1</sup> 209 = A 122). This passage will also allow us to interact with the two recensions established by Alwan, which he calls *version ancienne* and *version tardive*. The first ten lines of the Syriac text of this homily are as follows:



## Arabic Recension 1 "Jonah"

(edited according to Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98], fols. 103<sup>v</sup>-135<sup>r</sup>)<sup>53</sup>

1	Give to me, o our Lord, a word full of every benefit,	اعطيني يا ربنا كلمة ممتلية من كل الارباح
2	so that it might bring out benefits <sup>54</sup> from your treasury daily.	لتخرج المعونات من خزائنيك كل يوم
3	May my tongue be a vehicle for the differentiation of your word,	يكون لساني مركوبا لافراز كلمتك
4	and by it (viz. my tongue) may it (viz. your word) be delivered to the hearers so that they might rejoice in it.	وبه تسلم الى السامعين ليبتهجوا بك
5	O rich one, draw out in me your symbols and give the church to drink,	ايها الغني انشل بي اسرارك واسقي البيعة
6	mix in me your wine for the church, which you have brought back from captors.	امزج بي حمرك للبيعة التي استرددت من السابين
7	I beseech you concerning her crown,	اطلب اليك من اجل اكليها
8	give to me that I may give her sweet drinks to drink from your spring.	اعطيني اسقيها اصناف حلوة من ينبوعك
9	May your word dress in my word when it appears,	تكون كلمتك لابسة كلمتي عندما تشرق
10	so that by the beautiful one (viz. your word) the odious one (viz. my word) might become as resplendent as beryl.	لكي بالحسنة تبتهج المرذولة كالبور

To lay the foundation for the discussion of the next Arabic recension, I would like to provide a brief commentary comparing the Arabic translation in Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98] with its Syriac *Vorlage*. Line 1 of Arabic recension 1 is fairly close to the Syriac *Vorlage*. In line 2, the Arabic has changed the first person verb in the Syriac "I might bring it out" to third feminine singular, referring to "word" from line 1.<sup>55</sup> In addition, "every" in "every benefit" is not rendered, and "daily" is moved to the end of the sentence. Line 3 has only a couple

53 The Arabic text of this recension of the entire homily is edited in Aṭanāsiyūs, *Kitāb mayāmīr ay mawā'iz al-saruḡī*, pp. 125–176 (12).

54 Or, "so that benefits might come out."

55 Alternatively, this could be "so that benefits might come out."

of differences: “discerningly” (*pārošāʿit*) in Syriac probably relates in some way to Arabic “separation, differentiation” (*ifrāz*). Both roots have similar meanings in their respective languages, but their forms and functions here are different. There is only one difference in line 4: The Syriac has a relative clause “who rejoice” whereas the Arabic has the result clause “so that they might rejoice.” In line 5, the word order in the Arabic differs: This is most clear with “o rich one” coming at the beginning of the clause in Arabic instead of at the end of the clause in Syriac, but there are other differences as well. In line 6, the pronominal suffix has been moved from “church” to “wine.” In line 7, Syriac “crowned one,” which, if I am understanding the Syriac correctly, refers to the church, has been changed into the more transparent “her crown,” that is, the crown of the church. Line 8 of the Arabic closely follows the Syriac: Note, for instance, the translation of Syriac *ʿādšā* “kind, species,” but here understood as “type (of drink),” by Arabic *ašnāf* “kinds, sorts.” So, the Arabic translation attested in Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98] diverges in a number of details from its Syriac *Vorlage*, while at the same time retaining the same general structure. The translation technique of this homily in Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98] (= recension 1), thus, more or less conforms with that of the same manuscript for “Expulsion of Adam from paradise” (B<sup>2</sup> 185 = B<sup>1</sup> 279 = A 229), as described by Alwan.<sup>56</sup>

One final word needs to be said about Arabic recension 1 of this homily: In line 9, the Arabic text reads “May your word *dress* in my word” whereas Bedjan’s edition of the Syriac has “May my word *be living* for your word.” Bedjan, however, records a Syriac variant of “May my word *dress* in your word ...” (*tehwē lbišā mellatāk mellat[γ]*). This Syriac variant is obviously much closer to the Arabic recension, and thus the *Vorlage* of Arabic recension 1 will not have been the Syriac manuscript of Bedjan’s base text but rather another Syriac manuscript—I return to this point toward the end of this paper.

A different Arabic recension, to which I will refer here as Arabic recension 2, is found in a number of other manuscripts of Coptic provenance. In the case of the Arabic translation of “Expulsion of Adam from paradise” (B<sup>2</sup> 185 = B<sup>1</sup> 279 = A 229), these manuscripts witness a translation that is less source oriented, which Alwan has labelled the *version tardive*.<sup>57</sup>

56 Alwan, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, vol. 1, pp. ix–xviii.

57 Alwan, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, vol. 1, pp. ix–xviii.

## Arabic Recension 2 “Jonah”

(edited according to Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 57 [Graf 75], fols. 186<sup>r</sup>–197<sup>r</sup>; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7–15, pp. 449–479; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, fols. 274<sup>r</sup>–293<sup>r</sup>; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, fols. 251<sup>v</sup>–267<sup>v</sup>; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, fols. 280<sup>v</sup>–299<sup>v</sup>; Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, fols. 2<sup>r</sup>–27<sup>v</sup>)

1	Give to me, o Lord, a word full of joys,	هب لي يا رب كلمة مملوءة افراح
2	so that I might bring out daily knowledge from your treasury.	لكيما اخرج في كل يوم معرفة من بيت كنزك
3	Make my tongue a vehicle carrying your word in knowledge,	صير لساني مركبا حاملا لكلمتك بمعرفة
4	so that the hearers honor and rejoice in your mention,	ليبجله السامعين ويفرحون بذكرك
5–8	so that I might enter and give from your spring the church of the mysteries of your wealth to drink.	لكي ادخل واستقي من ينبوعك كنيسة سراير غنايك
9	May your word be a refuge for my word whenever it tells <sup>58</sup> about it,	تكون كلمتك ماوى لكهتي اذا ما تحدث فيها
10	so that it comes a hundredfold to those who obtain it.	لتاتي بمائة ضعف للذين يقتنوها

1 هب لي Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897 | يا رب | يا رب Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897] *om.* Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710 | كل يوم 2 | كل يوم 2 Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | 4 السامعين] السامعين Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897 | بذكرك | بذكرك Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897 | 5–8 ينبوع] ينبوع Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710; Coptic Cath. Patr. 7–15 | غنايك] غنايك Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | اذا ما 9 | اذا ما 9 Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710; Coptic Cath. Patr. 7–15; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897 | 9 تحدث] (cf. ܕܡܫܚܐ in Ḥomṣ, Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese 22) تجرت Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Ar. 16, fols. 274<sup>r</sup>–293<sup>r</sup>] التجرت Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710; Coptic Cath. Patr. 7–15; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897 | 10 بمائة] بمائة Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710

Again, it will be useful to provide a brief commentary comparing Arabic recension 2 with the Syriac *Vorlage* as well as, this time, occasionally with Arabic recension 1. In line 1, there are only minor differences: The Arabic of recension 2, for instance, has only “Lord” whereas the Syriac *Vorlage* had “our Lord,” and the Arabic deletes the word “every.” Note that Arabic recension 1 is closer to the Syriac in both regards than it is to Arabic recension 2. In line 2 of Arabic recension 2, the verb “to bring out” is first common singular like the Syriac but different from Arabic recension 1. This is important since it shows that Arabic recension 2 cannot be an adaptation of Arabic recension 1, at least without re-

58 Or, “you tell.”

consulting the Syriac *Vorlage*. Arabic recension 2, however, differs from both the Syriac *Vorlage* and Arabic recension 1 in having “knowledge” (*maʿrifa*) instead of “benefit” (Syriac *yutrānā*, Arabic *maʿūna*). This change is difficult to explain on the semantic level, but it seems to be a graphic error for Arabic *al-maʿūna* (found in recension 1), which is similar in the Arabic script: that is, a confusion between Arabic *waw* and *rāʾ* as well as *nūn* and *fāʾ*. Note that this could only have occurred in the Arabic script (not the Syriac one), which will become important shortly when we look at a Garshuni text of this same homily. In line 3, there are several interesting differences. The Syriac *Vorlage* and Arabic recension 1 both have “May my tongue be a vehicle” whereas Arabic recension 2 has “make my tongue a vehicle.” In addition, Arabic recension 2 adds “carrying,” which is not found in the Syriac or in Arabic recension 1. At the end of line 3, Arabic recension 2 has “in knowledge” which is found in the Syriac *Vorlage*, but not in Arabic recension 1. This is again important since it shows that Arabic recension 2 cannot be an adaptation of Arabic recension 1. In line 4, Arabic recension 2 begins to diverge rather significantly from the Syriac *Vorlage* as well as from Arabic recension 1. There are several words in common, such as “hearers” and “rejoice,” but the differences are more striking than the similarities. Lines 5–8 of Arabic recension 2 represent the biggest change in this passages: What is four lines in the Syriac *Vorlage* and its translation in Arabic recension 1 are reduced to a single line in Arabic recension 2. Arabic recension 2 begins with “draw out” and “give drink” as in line 5 of the Syriac, but it also includes “from your spring,” which is not found until line 8 in Syriac. Moving to line 9, we see that Arabic recension 2 has “refuge” for Syriac “living,” whereas Arabic recension 1 has “dressed in” (following a variant in Syriac). It should be noted that the final verb in line 9 may well be corrupt in Arabic recension 2, and that my reading “it tells” (*tuhaddit*) is an emendation based on the Garshuni text, to which we turn shortly. Finally, line 10 of Arabic recension 2 does not correspond to the present selection but to a line slightly later in the Syriac text (line 12).

I would like to look briefly at one additional Arabic text of this passage, which is in Syriac script:

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#### Arabic “Jonah”

(edited according to Ḥomṣ, Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese 22)

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1	Give to me, o Lord, a word of joys,	ܐܘܨܚܘܢܝ ܕܘܥܒܘܬܝ ܕܡܠܟܝܢ
2	so that I might rejoice every day and become rich from your treasury.	ܕܠܝܘܒܝܢܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ ܕܝܘܡܝܢ

3	Make my tongue a vehicle carrying your word,	ܩܘܼܢܐ ܠܦܘܼܩܘܼܢܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܠܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ
4	so that the hearers keep and rejoice in his mention	ܠܥܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ
5–8	so that I might enter and give from the spring of your church the mysteries of your wealth to drink.	ܠܦܘܼܩܘܼܢܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ
9	May your word be a refuge for my word whenever it tells <sup>59</sup> about it,	ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ
10	so that it comes a hundredfold to those who obtain it.	ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ ܕܩܘܼܠܘܼܬܐ

This Garshuni text is very similar to Arabic recension 2. The major differences are as follows: In line 1, the Garshuni deletes the word “full.” In line 2, the Garshuni has “I might benefit” and “I might become rich” whereas Arabic recension 2 has “I might bring out,” following the Syriac *Vorlage*. In line 3, the Garshuni deletes “in knowledge” aligning it in a way more closely with Arabic recension 1. In line 4, the pronominal suffix “your” has been moved from “spring” to “church.”<sup>60</sup> At the end of line 6, there is the verb “you tell about it,” which, as already mentioned, seems to be corrupt in Arabic recension 2. In general, however, the Garshuni text of Ḥoms, Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese 22 closely aligns with Arabic recension 2, including the major changes found in lines 4–8, against the Arabic text of recension 1 and the Syriac *Vorlage*.

I have presented here three different Arabic texts, two in Arabic script and one in Garshuni. It is clear that Arabic recension 2 and the Garshuni text are related in some way. How do they, however, relate to Arabic recensions 1? It seems fairly certain, at least to me, that they represent different translations of the Syriac *Vorlage*. It is impossible for Arabic recension 1 to be an adaptation of the text witnessed in Arabic recension 2 and the Garshuni. What is more, Arabic recension 2 cannot derive directly from Arabic recensions 1, since it preserves features of the Syriac *Vorlage* that are not found in Arabic recension 1. Thus, I propose that what I have been calling Arabic recension 1, on the one hand, and Arabic recension 2 (as well as the Garshuni text), on the other hand, represent two independent translations of the Syriac.<sup>61</sup> My analysis here of a sample from these two Arabic recensions of “Jonah” (B<sup>2</sup> 140 = B<sup>1</sup> 209 = A 122) corroborates

59 Or, “you tell.”

60 Note that Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710 and Coptic Cath. Patr. 7–15, both of which attest Arabic recension 2, also do not have a pronominal suffix on “spring.”

61 Alternatively, one could be a revision of the other *with* a new consultation of the Syriac *Vorlage*.

Alwan's analysis of the two recensions of "Expulsion of Adam from paradise" (B<sup>2</sup> 185 = B<sup>1</sup> 279 = A 229).<sup>62</sup> The case here, however, add another interesting datum: the Garshuni manuscript, which aligns with my Arabic recension 2 (= Alwan's *version tardive*). How is all of this to be explained? Were two separate translations made in Egypt, one of which eventually made its way to Syria, as is represented by the Garshuni manuscript from Ḥoms? Or, was one translation made in Egypt, represented by Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98], and another in Syria, which is represented there by the Garshuni manuscript from Ḥoms and which travelled down to Egypt and is now found in the majority of Coptic *Sammlungen*? Only further studies of the textual tradition will be able to provide answers to these questions. For now, however, it seems that multiple Arabic translations exist for some homilies of Jacob, and that these can—as in the case of Sounding 1—align with manuscript provenance, though do not necessarily have to—as in the case of Sounding 2 as well as in Alwan's example.

## 5 Sounding Three: A Distinct Early Melkite Textual Tradition

In this final sounding, I aim to establish a distinct Melkite textual tradition of Jacob's homilies in Arabic. To do this, I want to look briefly at some of the final lines of Jacob's homily on "Annunciation" (B<sup>2</sup> 87 = B<sup>1</sup> 138 = A 197). The Syriac text of this passage is as follows:

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### Syriac "Annunciation"

(ed. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona, quae supersunt omnia*, pp. 639–661)

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417	He annulled her word concerning the fact that she called Joseph his father,	ܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ
418	and he showed who his hidden father is, and which is his house.	ܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ
419	He did not want to be a witness to Mary that he has a father,	ܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ
420	but only the one God who is his begetter.	ܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ
421	Then, Mary, for a reason, as we have said,	ܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ ܕܘܥܘܕܐ

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62 Alwan, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, vol. 1, pp. ix–xviii.

422	borrowed the name of the righteous Joseph to be his father.	ܠܘܟܐ ܘܫܘܒܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܘܡܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
423	Lest she exhaust herself making excuses to the Hebrew women,	ܠܘܟܐ ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
424	“husband,” the virgin called the righteous Joseph at that time.	ܠܘܟܐ ܘܫܘܒܐ ܡܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
425	Joseph was made a curtain between her and her son,	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
426	until the son of God wanted to reveal himself.	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
427	On account of the family of Joseph, which is from the house of David,	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
428	it was again necessary that he be betrothed to a daughter of David.	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
429	He would become her head, so that his name would be delivered among the tribes,	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
430	because a woman could not be written in the generation of the kings.	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
431	The tribes descended from Abraham and from David,	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
432	and they arrived at Mary. Joseph entered and stood that he might become head.	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
433	The name of a borrowed man, she took, although he had not approached (her),	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ
444	because into the accounting of men a woman could not enter.	ܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ ܕܝܘܫܘܥ

... (continues for another nine lines) ...

The Arabic recension at which I want to look first is attested in a number of the *Sammlungen* of Coptic provenance. It should be noted that there is only one textual tradition of this homily among the *Sammlungen*: That is, there are not distinct traditions, one witnessing a source-oriented translation (= Alwan's *version ancienne*) and the other witnessing a less source-oriented translation (= Alwan's *version tardive*), as was the case in Sounding 1. What is more, in the case of Sounding 2 above as well as in Alwan's example, the group of manuscripts considered here attest a translation that is less source-oriented (= Alwan's *version tardive*). This is not, however, the case with the homily on “Annunciation” (B<sup>2</sup> 87 = B<sup>1</sup> 138 = A 197), as we will see.

## Arabic "Annunciation"

(edited according to *Bibl. Nat. Ar.* 4760, fols. 5<sup>r</sup>–12<sup>r</sup>; *Brit. Libr. Oriental* 4710, fols. 14<sup>v</sup>–19<sup>v</sup>;  
 Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 57 [Graf 75], fols. 13<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>v</sup>; *Coptic Cath. Patr.* 7–15, pp. 24–33;  
 Florence, *Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA* 685, fols. 14<sup>r</sup>–20<sup>r</sup>)<sup>63</sup>

417	He annulled her word, which called <sup>64</sup> Joseph his father,	وحل كلمتها التي دعت يوسف ابوه
418	and he showed who his hidden father is, and which is his house.	اظهر من هو ابوه الخفي ومن هو بيته
419	He did not want to be a witness to Mary that he has a father	ولم يشا ان يكون شاهدا لمريم ان له اب
420	except the one God who begot him only.	الا الواحد الله الذي ولده فقط
421	Because Mary, on account of scandal,	لان مريم لاجل الفضيحة
422	borrowed the name of the righteous Joseph to be his father.	استعارت اسم يوسف البار ليكون ابوه
423	Lest she exhaust herself making excuses to the Hebrews,	ليلا تنعب بالاعتذار للعبرانيين
424	the virgin called the righteous Joseph, "husband,"	البتول دعت يوسف البار بعلا
425	... omitted ...	
426	until the son of God wanted to reveal his essence. <sup>65</sup>	حتى شا ابن الله ليظهر ذاته
427	Because the family of Joseph was from the house of David,	لان جنس يوسف من بيت داوود
428	it was necessary that he be betrothed to Mary, a daughter of David,	اضطر ليكون خطيبا لمريم ابنة داوود
429	so that he would become her head and his name would be delivered among her tribe,	ليكون راسها ويتسلم اسمه بقبيلتها
430	because he had not written a woman <sup>66</sup> in the generation of the kings.	لان بتسلم الملوك لم يكتب امراة
431	The tribes descended from Abraham and David,	اتنزلوا القبائل من ابراهيم وداوود
432	and they arrived at Mary. Because Joseph stood that he might become head.	وبلغ مريم ولان يوسف قام ليكون راس

63 The Arabic text of this recension of the entire homily is edited in Aṭanāsīyūs, *Kitāb mayāmīr ay mawā'iz al-saruḡī*, pp. 212–220 (No. 15).

64 Or alternatively, "(by) which she called."

65 Perhaps: "himself."

66 Perhaps: "a woman had not been written."

- 433 As a loaned man, she took him, without approach-  
ing, ورجل عارية اخذته بغير تقرب
- 444 because into the accounting of men women had not  
entered. لان بعدد الرجال لم تدخل النساء

... (continues for another nine lines) ...

417 الذي [التي] Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | دعت [دعت] Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | 419 شاهد [شاهدا] Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | الله [الله] om. Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | 422 استعارة [استعارت] Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760; Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | 422-424 البار ... ليكون [ليكون] om. Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15 | 424 دعت [دعت] Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | باعلا [بعلا] Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710 | 426 اشأ [اشأ] Cairo Graf 75; Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15 | اتا [اتا] Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710 | الله [الله] om. Cairo Graf 75; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | 428 اضظر [اضظر] Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760 (ante corr.) | ابنت [ابنت] Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710; Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15 | 429 يتسلم [ويتسلم] Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710 | اسمه [اسمه] om. Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 | 430 الملوك [الملوك] Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760 (ante corr.) | 431 اتنزولوا [اتنزولوا] Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760; Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710; Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15 | ابراهيم [ابراهيم] Cairo Graf 75 | 433 اخذته [اخذته] Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685

The Arabic translation here closely follows its Syriac *Vorlage* with only minor changes. Line 419 serves as a good example of the similarities: Every word, apart from the initial *wāw*, of the Syriac text is rendered precisely in Arabic.<sup>67</sup> This includes the phrase “to be a witness” (*d-nehwē sāhdā*) in Syriac, which is rendered in exactly the same way in the Arabic (*an yakūn šāhidan*), even though a single verb “to witness” would have worked equally well, as we will see shortly with the Melkite tradition. Differences between the Syriac *Vorlage* and this Arabic recension can be illustrated with line 421. Here the Arabic does not render “as we have said” from the Syriac. In addition, the Syriac text has “rea-

67 I note in passing that Arabic has no easy way to capture the Syriac existential particle *ʾūt* in the expression “there is to him a father > he has a father” (*ʾūt lēh ʾabā*), since a similarly functioning existential particle is not found in Arabic. The translation with simply the preposition *l-* (i.e., *lahu ʾab*) is what is often found. This can be illustrated by the Syriac and Arabic renderings of the Greek verb ἔχειν “to have” in a section discussing this idea in Aristotle’s *Categories* (chapter 11). The three Syriac translations regularly, though not exclusively, render ἔχειν by (*d-*)*ʾūt lēh*, whereas the Arabic translation by Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq uses (*an*) *lahu*. The Syriac texts are edited in Daniel King, *The Earliest Syriac Translation of Aristotle’s Categories*, Leiden, Brill, 2010, pp. 166–169 (the earliest anonymous translation); Khalil Georr, *Les Catégories d’Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes*, Beirut, Institut français de Damas, 1948, 304–305 (the translation of Jacob of Edessa); Giuseppe Furlani, *Le Categorie e gli Ermeneutici di Aristotele nella versione siriana di Giorgio delle Nazioni*, Rome, Accademia nazionale dei lincei, 1933, p. 45 (the translation of George bishop of the Arabs); the Arabic is edited in Georr, *Les Catégories d’Aristote*, 357–358.

son" (*pursā*) whereas the Arabic has "scandal, dishonor, humiliation" (*faḍīha*), which is probably a translation of Syriac *pursāyā* "revealing, exposure, humiliation."<sup>68</sup> Another difference is that line 425 of the Syriac text is not included. These differences and others notwithstanding, this Arabic translation is in general source-oriented. This is quite interesting: The translation technique of this recension of the Arabic version of "Annunciation" (B<sup>2</sup> 87 = B<sup>1</sup> 138 = A 197) corresponds to that of Alwan's *version ancienne*, but the manuscripts that attest it are known to witness Alwan's *version tardive* in other cases, such as "Jonah" (B<sup>2</sup> 140 = B<sup>1</sup> 209 = A 122) and "Expulsion of Adam from paradise" (B<sup>2</sup> 185 = B<sup>1</sup> 279 = A 229).

A different Arabic recension of this homily is attested in the early Melkite tradition from Sinai.

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**Arabic "Annunciation"**  
(according to the Sinai Ar. 457)<sup>69</sup>

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417	He annulled her word when she called Joseph his father,	[وا:] بطل كلمتها عندما دعت يوسف ابوه
418	and he made known to her his hidden father,	واعلمها بابيه {بابيه} المخفي
419	because he did not desire to witness to Mary that he has a father	لانه لم يهوا ان يشهد [لمر:] يم ان له اب
420	except God alone.	الا الله وحده
421	Then, Mary, on account of scandal, as we have said,	مريم حينئذ منجل الانكشاف كما قلنا
422	sought the name of the righteous Joseph to be his father.	طلبت اسم يوسف [ال:] بار ليكون ابه
423	Since she did not consider arguing with the people,	فلم تفكر تحاجج الناس
424	"husband," she called the excellent Joseph.	زوج سميت يوسف الفاضل
425	His children (?) became ... for her son,	وصاروا ولاده [...] وه لابنها
426	until the son of God desired to reveal himself.	حتا هوى بن الله يظهر نفسه
427	On account of the family of Joseph, because he was from the house of David,	منجل جنس يوسف لانه من بيت داود
428	thus, he became her betrothed,	ولذلك [ك:] ان خطيبها

68 It should be noted that Syriac *pursāyā* would not fit the meter, regardless of whether or not *ʾa(y)k demarnan* "as we have said" was in the Syriac *Vorlage* of this Arabic translation.

69 This section was previously edited and translated into French in Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels," pp. 222–223. My edition and translation differ in a few minor places from his.

429–430	and the mention of his name came out.	ونخرج ذكر اسمه
431	The chosen came out from Abraham to David	ونخرجت الاختيار <sup>70</sup> من ابراهيم الى داود
432	to Mary, and Joseph became her husband in name. Blessed is the one who became incarnate from the virgin. Praise and honor to him forever. Amen.	الى مريم وصار يوسف رجلها بالاسم مبارك الذي تجسد من العذري له المجد والوقار الى الابد امين

This Arabic recension differs significantly from the one discussed above and witnessed by the *Sammlungen*. The previously analyzed lines provide a good illustration of these differences. Line 419 begins differently in the text from Sinai with “because,” which is not motivated by the Syriac *Vorlage*. The Sinai text also uses a different root (*hwy* vs. *šw*) to translate Syriac “he did not want” (*lā šbā*). And the Sinai text opts for the more synthetic “to witness” (*an yašhad*) instead of the more analytic “to be a witness,” which is found in the Syriac *Vorlage* (*d-nehwē sāhdā*) as well as in the Arabic recension of the *Sammlungen* (*an yakūn šāhidan*). A number of differences are also found in line 421. The Sinai text is closer to the Syriac *Vorlage* in reading “then” and “as we have said,” neither of which is found in the Arabic recension of the *Sammlungen*, but both of which are found in the Syriac *Vorlage*. The Sinai text, however, departs from the Syriac *Vorlage* in having “humiliation, scandal” (*inkišāf*) for Syriac “reason” (*pursā*). Interestingly, the recension found in the *Sammlungen* follows a similar path with its “scandal, dishonor, humiliation” (*faḍiḥa*) but using a different word.<sup>71</sup> If we look at larger differences, a similar pattern emerges. On the one hand, the Arabic text from Sinai seems to have a rendering of line 425 of the Syriac text, even if it is unclear how it exactly relates to the Syriac *Vorlage* (at least partly due to the broken text), whereas the Arabic text witnessed in the *Sammlungen* does not render this line. On the other hand, the Sinai text has a much abridged rendering of lines 429–430 of the Syriac text, which are translated in full in the text of the *Sammlungen*. Even more strikingly, the Sinai text ends abruptly at line 432, whereas the Syriac *Vorlage* and the Arabic text witnessed in the *Sammlungen* continue for eleven more lines. It is quite clear from even this brief treatment that the Arabic texts witnessed by Sinai Ar. 457 and by the *Sammlungen* represent independent translations. That is, one of the Ara-

70 Likely going back to الاخبار as a translation of Syriac *šarbāṭā*, or better, *šarbē* “stories, matters.”

71 I do not consider this an “agreement in error” in text critical terms, but rather what is described as “drift” among linguists, i.e., independent developments.

bic recensions cannot be a revision of the other. Rather, the Syriac text was translated on at least two occasions, and one of these translations is attested in a manuscript of Melkite provenance and the other in manuscripts of Coptic provenance.<sup>72</sup> This sample, then, establishes a distinct Melkite textual tradition vis-à-vis the Coptic one that at least in this case represents an independent translation.

The existence of a distinct Melkite textual tradition of at least some Arabic homilies of Jacob can be further corroborated by looking at a couple of incipits, which is often almost all that we have, given the *damnatio memoriae* of Jacob at Sinai (see above).<sup>73</sup> Consider, for instance, Jacob's homily on "The Baptism of Jesus (Epiphany)" (B<sup>2</sup> 170 = B<sup>1</sup> 253 = A 8; ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, vol. 1, pp. 167–193), the Syriac incipit of which is as follows:

ܫܘܬܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܠܗ ܘܠܗ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܠܗܘܐ ܠܠܗܘܐ ܠܠܗܘܐ

The bridegroom Christ made a wedding for the church of the nations

The incipit of this text in the Arabic *Sammlungen* of Jacob is as follows:<sup>74</sup>

المسيح العريس صنع العرس لبيعة الشعوب

The bridegroom Christ made a wedding for the church of the nations

72 Graf lists a number of Arabic manuscripts with a homily on the annunciation attributed to Jacob of Serugh (Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, pp. 447–448). It is, however, unlikely that any of these is an Arabic version of "Annunciation" (B<sup>2</sup> 87 = B<sup>1</sup> 138 = A 197).

73 At the outset of this discussion of incipits, it should be noted that the beginnings of texts are often not representative of texts as a whole. A narrow application of this principle in textual criticism has been dubbed the *Kaufman Effect*: "the end of a frequently copied text is subject to fewer scribal improvements than its beginning" (the quote comes from Stephen A. Kaufman and Yeshayahu Maori, "The Targumim to Exodus 20: Reconstructing the Palestinian Targum," *Textus*, 16 [1991], pp. 1–78, at pp. 33–34; the moniker derives from Edward Cook, "The 'Kaufman Effect' in the *Pseudo-Jonathan Targum*," *Aramaic Studies*, 4 [2006], pp. 123–132). This principle, however, has an application broader than scribal practice and textual criticism.

74 The relevant manuscripts are as follows: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, fols. 57<sup>r</sup>–61<sup>v</sup>; Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 57 [Graf 75], fols. 48<sup>r</sup>–53<sup>r</sup>; Cairo, Coptic Museum, Varia 5 [Graf 145], fols. 141<sup>v</sup>–147<sup>v</sup>; Cairo, Coptic Catholic Patriarchate 7–15, pp. 107–118; Dayr Abū Maqār 333, No. 11; Dayr Abū Maqār 334, No. 10; Dayr Abū Maqār 336, No. 11; Dayr al-Baramūs 2/38, No. 27; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, fols. 65<sup>r</sup>–72<sup>r</sup>; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, fols. 60<sup>r</sup>–66<sup>r</sup>; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, fols. 58<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>v</sup>; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, fols. 140<sup>r</sup>–150<sup>r</sup>. The Arabic text of this recension of the entire homily is edited in Aṭanāsīyūs, *Kitāb mayāmīr ay mawā'iz al-saruḡī*, pp. 333–343 (27).

A different incipit is found in Sin. Ar. 457 and Milan, Ambros. X.198 sup.:<sup>75</sup>

عمل المسيح المتحنن عرس لكنيسة الامم

Christ the bridegroom made a wedding for the church of the nations

Despite the similarity in my translations, most of the words in these two Arabic incipits differ. The only exceptions are: “Christ” (*al-masih*), which however occurs in a different word order in the two texts, and “wedding” (*ʿurs*), which occurs with the definite article in the *Sammlungen* but without it in the Sinai manuscripts. These differences would again seem to point to independent translations of the Syriac text, one attested among manuscripts of Coptic provenance and the other among Melkite manuscripts. The same situation is found with Jacob’s homily “On Lazarus and the rich man” (B<sup>2</sup> 208 = B<sup>1</sup> 313 = A 16; ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, vol. 1, pp. 364–424). The Syriac incipit of this homily is:

لې مسوڪو س راحط عرسلو، حو سولو، كو

To you, giver, I confide my request, while I worship

The incipit of this text in the Arabic *Sammlungen* of Jacob is as follows:<sup>76</sup>

لك اسجد ايها المعطي واستودع مسالتي<sup>77</sup>

You, I worship, o giver, and I confide my request

Each of the Syriac words is represented in the Arabic translation, but the Arabic changes the circumstantial Syriac clause “while I worship” into a coordinated

75 See Samir, “Un exemple des contacts culturels,” pp. 221 and 236–237.

76 The relevant manuscripts are as follows: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, fols. 160<sup>v</sup>–173<sup>r</sup>; Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 57 [Graf 75], fols. 148<sup>v</sup>–160<sup>r</sup>; Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98], fols. 160<sup>r</sup>–174<sup>v</sup>; Cairo, Coptic Museum, Varia 5 [Graf 145], fols. 115<sup>v</sup>–122<sup>v</sup>; Cairo, Coptic Catholic Patriarchate 7–15, pp. 352–379; Dayr al-Baramūs 2/38, No. 43; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, fols. 215<sup>v</sup>–232 (?; image missing); London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, fols. 196<sup>v</sup>–213<sup>r</sup>; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, fols. 216<sup>r</sup>–234<sup>v</sup>; Vat. Ar. 73, fols. 120<sup>r</sup>–143<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, fols. 177<sup>v</sup>–215<sup>r</sup>. The Arabic text of this recension of the entire homily is edited in Aṭanāsiyūs, *Kitāb mayāmīr ay mawāʿiẓ al-saruḡī*, pp. 456–480 (43).

77 Some manuscripts, e.g., Cairo, Coptic Museum, Lit. 57 [Graf 75], Cairo, Coptic Catholic Patriarchate 7–15, and Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, have لك اسجد instead of اسجد لك.

clause and moves it to the beginning. A different incipit is found in Milan Ambros X.198 sup., which, as was discussed above, stems from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai:<sup>78</sup>

لك يا واهب افوض مسلتى

To you, o giver, I confide my request

The first and last words of this incipit are the same as those found in the *Samm-lungen*, but the similarities end there: The vocabulary differs for the vocative particle (*yā* vs. *ayyuhā*), the word “giver” (*wāhib* vs. *al-mu‘attī*), and the verb “I confide” (*ufawwid* vs. *astawdi*), and the phrase “I worship” is not included in the Sinai manuscript. Again, if this very small sample is representative, we seem to be dealing with two independent translations of the Syriac text, one of Melkite provenance and the other of Coptic. These two incipits, then, corroborate the argument made above based on a larger sample of text from the homily on “Annunciation.” Thus, even though little of Jacob remains in the Arabic manuscripts from Sinai, it is possible to establish that the Arabic translations witnessed in these manuscripts represent a separate textual tradition, and that this textual tradition is an independent translation of the Syriac.

## 6 Excursus: A Cautionary Anecdote

Before concluding this discussion of diversity in the Christian Arabic reception of Jacob, I want to provide a word of caution in the form of an anecdote from the history of scholarship. An Arabic (Garshuni) translation of the Syriac *History of ‘Abdā damšihā* can be found in Vat. Syr. 199 (1545).<sup>79</sup> This text was edited with a Latin translation by Peeters (unfortunately, however, in Arabic script).<sup>80</sup> Several scholars noted that the Arabic text of Vat. Syr. 199 diverges from the

78 See Samir, “Un exemple des contacts culturels,” pp. 237–238. This homily is also mentioned in the index of the Beuroner Palimpsest Fragm. 2 (Samir, “Un exemple des contacts culturels,” p. 224).

79 For this manuscript, see Joseph S. Assemani and Stephanus E. Assemani, *Biblioteca apostolica vaticana: Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus in tres partes distributus; in quarum prima Orientales, in altera Graeci, in tertia Latini Italici aliorumque Europaeorum idiomatum codices*, reprint: Paris, Maisonneuve, 1926, vol. 3, pp. 442–449.

80 Paul Peeters, “La passion arabe de S. ‘Abd al-Masīh,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, 44 (1926), pp. 270–341.

Syriac text of London, Brit. Libr. Add. 12,174, which was edited by Corluy and subsequently republished by Bedjan in his widely consulted *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*.<sup>81</sup> Thus, the Arabic of Vat. Syr. 199 was considered to be a “free” translation of its Syriac *Vorlage*.<sup>82</sup> It was not, however, recognized that a different recension of the Syriac text is partially preserved in another manuscript at the British Library, London, Brit. Libr. Add. 17,267.<sup>83</sup> As it turns out, this other Syriac recension is very similar to the Arabic translation in Vat. Syr. 199. Thus, the Arabic text of Vat. Syr. 199 is a translation of the Syriac recension in the hitherto neglected Syriac manuscript of Brit. Libr. Add. 17,267 and not of the better-known Syriac recension found in Brit. Libr. Add. 12,174 that was published by Corluy and then by Bedjan. This anecdote provides a warning regarding the diversity of the Arabic transmission of Jacob: Without more-thorough studies of the textual transmission of Jacob in Syriac as well as critical editions of these texts, it is always possible that the diversity in the Arabic transmission is simply a reflection of the state of the text in Syriac and is not an innovative feature of the Arabic tradition. In fact, already in two cases discussed above variants in Bedjan’s very minimal apparatus account for seeming differences in the Arabic versions. This is likely only the tip of the proverbial iceberg.

## 7 Conclusion

Much work remains to be done on the Christian Arabic reception of Syriac authors and literature. This is true generally speaking as well as in the particular case of Jacob of Serugh. For Jacob, Graf provides a good start in his *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* by identifying so many Arabic manuscripts that contain homilies attributed to Jacob. Graf’s work, however, has its limita-

81 For this manuscript, see William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838*, London, 1870–1872, vol. 3, pp. 1123–1139. The *editio princeps* of the text is J. Corluy, “Acta sancti Mar Abdu’l Masich, aramaice et latine, edidit nunc primum ex cod. Londinensi (Addit. mss. 12174),” *Analecta Bollandiana*, 5 (1886), pp. 5–52. This was reprinted, apparently without consulting the manuscript, in P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, Paris and Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1890–1897, vol. 1, pp. 173–201.

82 Garitte, for instance, characterized the Arabic as follows: “[I] a souvent le caractère d’une paraphrase assez libre” (Gérard Garitte, “La Passion géorgienne de saint ‘Abd al-Masih,” *Le Muséon*, 79 [1966], pp. 187–237, at p. 188).

83 What survives of this recension of the Syriac *History of Abdā damšihā* is edited for the first time, along with a new critical edition of the other recension, which is witnessed not only by London, British Library Add. 12,174 but also by Damascus, Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate 12/18 (also not previously consulted) in Aaron M. Butts and Simcha Gross, *The History of the “Slave of Christ”: From Jewish Child to Christian Martyr*, Piscataway, Gorgias Press, 2016.

tions: He failed to connect any of these Arabic texts with their Syriac *Vorlagen*, and unfortunately by organizing them by title alone, in German translation, did not provide enough information for later researchers to do this either. Thus, the next step in research on the Christian Arabic transmission of Jacob—as it is with most Syriac authors in Arabic translation—is to identify the individual Arabic texts, both by title and incipit, and connect them to Syriac *Vorlagen* when possible. Samir did this for the early Melkite manuscripts from Sinai that attest homilies attributed to Jacob resulting in the identification of eighteen or so homilies. I have done the same for the larger—but later—collections, or *Sammlungen*, of Jacob, which contain fifty-eight different homilies, fifty-six of which I have been able to identify and connect with their Syriac *Vorlagen*. These two articles, however, deal with only a little over two dozen manuscripts, which is a fraction of those that are extant. Graf, for instance, mentions some 127 manuscripts, and many more are known to contain Arabic homilies attributed to Jacob. Thus, there is still a massive amount of foundational work to be done on the Christian Arabic transmission of Jacob.

The identification of the Arabic homilies by title and incipit and their connection with Syriac *Vorlagen* should not be the end of the story. Multiple recensions—and, as I have proposed here, independent translations—are hiding behind at least some of these homilies. In this paper, I have conducted only three brief soundings, but even so I hope to have illustrated that at least some homilies were translated more than once, and that these independent translations are at times, though certainly not always, reflected in the provenance of the manuscripts (Coptic, Melkite, or Syriac Orthodox). Based on a more preliminary but much broader survey of the manuscript witnesses, I do not think that these three samples are exceptional, but rather they are representative of the diversity found throughout the Christian Arabic reception of Jacob.<sup>84</sup> Ulti-

84 It should be noted that this diversity is not restricted to the Christian Arabic reception of Jacob, but rather it extends to other Christian Arabic texts as well. To take just one example, from a text mentioned in the introduction above, the Arabic *History of Joseph* exists in multiple recensions. This was already noted by Graf (*GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 205), who pointed out the existence of two different recensions of this text in a single manuscript, Vat. Ar. 175. Presumably extrapolating from Graf's statement, both Haelewyck (Jean-Claude Haelewyck, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Turnhout, Brepols, 1998, p. 80 [s.v. 113]) and Denis (Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, vol. 1. *Pseudépigraphe de l'Ancien Testament*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2010, p. 346) claim that the Arabic *History of Joseph* exists in two recensions. Based on preliminary manuscript studies, however, the translation of this text is more complicated than this "two recensions" picture and likely involves numerous recensions, some of which may well represent independent

mately, this diversity will only be captured by editing the Arabic translations, in their various recensions, of the homilies by Jacob of Serugh.<sup>85</sup>

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translations. See Aaron M. Butts, Kristian Heal, Geoffrey Moseley, and Joseph Witztum, "Notes on the *History of Joseph* (CAVT 113, 114) and the *Death of Joseph* (CAVT 116, 117)," pp. 235–236.

85 It should be noted that a couple of such projects are currently underway: Philip Forness is editing the two recensions of the Arabic version, as well as the Syriac and Ethiopic, of Jacob's homily on "New Sunday and Thomas" (B<sup>2</sup> 189 = B<sup>1</sup> 283 = A 57); Alin Suciu is editing the Arabic version, as well as the Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions, of Jacob's homily on "Ascension" (B<sup>2</sup> 55 = B<sup>1</sup> 81 = A 204).

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## The Arabic Lives of John of Daylam

*Jonas Karlsson*

John of Daylam (c. 660–738) is an East-Syriac saint from early Muslim times.<sup>1</sup> Although presently not very well known, his importance in certain circles in earlier times is glimpsed by several mentionings in Syriac literature. In the tenth-century *Life of Joseph Būsnāyā*, the protagonist's spiritual elder is compared with John of Daylam to show his magnificence. In the *Chronicle of Seert*, the trial by fire to which John is subjected is included in a list of the occasions when God resurrected the dead.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, several hymns are addressed and attributed to him in liturgical manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

This article presents an overview of the various versions of the Life of John of Daylam extant in Oriental sources: Syriac, Arabic, Sogdian, and Ethiopic. While the Syriac material was analysed and partly edited by Sebastian Brock and the fragmentary Sogdian material has recently been published and thoroughly discussed by Nicholas Sims-Williams, the Arabic and Ethiopic materials remain poorly studied so far.<sup>4</sup> Since Fiey's article on John of Daylam's monastic foundation, which touches upon part of the Arabic material, the Arabic traditions concerning John of Daylam have repeatedly been dismissed as late developments, even though several of the Arabic manuscripts are of a comparatively

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- 1 This article is mainly based on the first part of my M.A. thesis "The Lives of John of Dailam, with special reference to the Ethiopic life found in the *Gadla Samā'tāt*," defended at Uppsala University on 5 April 2016. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Witold Witakowski, who assisted me in choosing a topic for the thesis, and to my supervisor, Prof. Mats Eskhult, for his valuable comments.
  - 2 Addai Scher, *Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)* (Patrologia Orientalis, tom. 4, fasc. 3, No. 17), Turnhout, Brepols, 1907, p. 257/[145].
  - 3 For references to four manuscripts, the earliest dating to the 12th century, containing hymns attributed to the saint, see Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn, A. Markus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922, p. 211, nn. 10–11. For the prayers for his daily office, see MS Syriac 190 (fols. 1–8<sup>r</sup>) at the Houghton Library, Harvard University.
  - 4 Sebastian Brock, "A Syriac Life of John of Dailam," *Parole de l'Orient*, 10 (1981–1982), pp. 123–189; Nicholas Sims-Williams, "An Early Source for the Life of John of Dailam: Reconstructing the Sogdian Version," *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān*, 12 (1–2), pp. 121–134; Nicholas Sims-Williams, *The Life of St Serapion and Other Christian Sogdian Texts from the Manuscripts E25 and E26*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2015.

early date.<sup>5</sup> I would like to argue for a reevaluation of the Arabic material, based on a more comprehensive reading of the known manuscripts. In this article, an introduction to the Arabic Lives of John of Daylam is given and an attempt is made to relate them to Syriac and other sources.

The Life of John of Daylam may be briefly summarized as follows. Born c. 660AD in Ḥəḏattā, a town located just south of the confluence of Tigris and Upper Zab, he entered the Monastery of Bēt ʿĀbē at a young age and became a disciple of a certain Simon the Beardless (Šemʿōn Sannōtā). During a famine, the monks were forced to disperse and Simon, together with a few disciples, retired to the mountains in northeast Adiabene to lead an ascetic life there. After Simon's death, John was taken captive by Daylamite raiders. The Daylamites, an Iranian people, brought him to their land south of the Caspian Sea, where he subsequently spent numerous years performing miracles, preaching the Gospel and promoting the destruction of pre-Christian idols. After a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, John then arrived in Damascus. There he healed the daughter of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān and was granted the permission to build monasteries in Fars. On his journey there, he met with al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ, the famous seventh-eighth-century Arab governor of Iraq, and, according to some accounts, healed him from his cancer. Then John continued to Fars, to the town of Arraḡān, where he fought with demons and subsequently founded a number of monasteries and built churches. The first monastery accommodated Syriac as well as Persian monks, and a conflict arose regarding which language should be used in the liturgical celebrations. John resolved the problem by establishing another monastery in the vicinity, where the Syriac-speaking monks could live. He died at an old age in the year 738AD and was buried in the monastery of the Syrians.

## 1 The Syriac, Sogdian, and Ethiopic Versions

### 1.1 *Thomas of Marga and ʿĪšōʿdēnaḥ of Basra*

Our earliest sources for the life of John of Daylam are short notices in the works of the ninth-century Syriac writers Thomas of Marga and ʿĪšōʿdēnaḥ of Basra. In the *Book of the Governors* (Book 11, chapters 22–25), Thomas relates about John of Daylam's birth and the story of his life up to the point when he is taken captive by the Daylamites. This text, which has been published several times,

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5 Jean Maurice Fiey, "Jean de Dailam et l'imbroglie de ses fondations," *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 10 (1960), pp. 195–211.

includes material that is not known from any of the free-standing lives.<sup>6</sup> For some years, Thomas was himself a monk in the Monastery of Bēt ʿĀbē,<sup>7</sup> and on several occasions, he explicitly informs us of his use of local oral sources (see, e.g., IV, 25). The *Book of the Governors* gives a fuller account than any of the free-standing lives as to why Simon the Beardless was visiting the house of John's parents, a visit that had as one of its consequences John's birth. Simon had been chosen by the monks of the monastery as their representative to welcome the patriarch George at his return back to the patriarchal see (II, 22). The other texts that provide a motivation for this visit (i.e., ArabB, EthA) say that the monks were on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The richness of details in Thomas's account, as compared to the others, lends it a ring of historicity. Thomas also provides a more detailed picture of John's stay in Bēt ʿĀbē, completely in accordance with the fact that he stayed there himself, for example relating how he (John) tended one of the vineyards of the monastery and how one of the fathers of Thomas's own time tended the same vineyard and then still could see the fingerprints of the saint in the plaster of the hut. The chapter on John ends when he is taken captive by the Daylamites. Thomas motivates this abrupt end by the comment that *saggīātā maktəbān ʿalāw(hy) wə-rəwrəbātā*, "many and great things have [already] been written about him" (II, 25), earlier making explicit reference to writings by Abū Nūḥ (II, 23) and implying that he figured in the Little Paradise by David, bishop of the Kurds (II, 24). Both these sources are now presumably

6 It was first published, together with a Latin translation, in 1725 by J.S. Assemani in his *Biblioteca Orientalis* (Giuseppe Simone Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, 4 vols., Rome, Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1719–1728, vol. 3.1, pp. 182–185; cf. p. 477), and later by Budge, who provided an English translation (Ernest A.W. Budge, *The Book of Governors: The Historica Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Margā A.D. 840*, 2 vols., London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1893). It was included among a number of Syriac texts published by Bedjan in 1901 (Paul Bedjan, *Liber superiorum seu Historia Monastica*, Paris and Leipzig, Dicta de Sèvres and Harrassowitz, 1901). An Arabic translation has been prepared by Abouna (Albert Abouna (trans.), *Kitāb al-ruʿasāʾ wa-yatanāwal aḥbār unās fuḍalāʾ ʿāšū fī muḥtalif al-aḡyāl fī dayr "Bēt ʿĀbē" al-muqaddas / The Book of the Governors, Which Treats the Stories of the Eminent People Who Lived during Various Times in the Holy Monastery of Bēt ʿĀbē*, Mosul, al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿašriyya, 1966, pp. 90–94) and was reprinted by Sony (Behnam Sony, *Baḡdīdē fī nuṣuṣ suryāniyya wa-karšūniyya wa-ʿarabiyya wa-aḡnabiyya min bidāyat al-qarn al-sābiʾ ilā nihāyat al-qarn al-tāsiʾ ʿašar / Bakhdida in Syriac, Garšūnī, Arabic and Persian Sources from the Beginning of the Seventh Century to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, Erbil, Maṭbaʿat wizārat al-ṭaqāfa, 2011, pp. 217–222). The partial German translation by Braun (Oscar Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer mit einem Anhang: Ostsyrisches Mönchsleben*, Kempten & München, Verlag der Jos. Kösel'schen Buchhandlung, 1915) does not include the chapters on John of Daylam.

7 Ernest A.W. Budge, *The Book of Governors: The Historica Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Margā A.D. 840*, 2 vols., London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1893, p. xxvi.

lost. Fiey, on the other hand, interprets the sudden end of Thomas's account as an indication that the monasteries founded by John of Daylam, established towards the end of his life, were not in the immediate vicinity of Bēt ʿĀbē and Mosul, seeing that Thomas "ne parle que de ce qu'il a sous les yeux."<sup>8</sup>

Another early Syriac source is ʾĪšōʿdānaḥ of Basra, who includes short notices on John of Daylam and his fellow monk ʾĪšōʿsaḅran in his *Book of Chastity* (chapters 104 and 116 in Chabot's edition). This text has likewise been published several times.<sup>9</sup> ʾĪšōʿdānaḥ was bishop of Basra in the ninth century and the work is a sort of laconic history of monastic founders in the Persian empire. The information about John of Daylam is of little value. The notice of ʾĪšōʿsaḅran, one of John's fellow monks from Bēt ʿĀbē, is more informative and includes details not present in the free-standing lives of John of Daylam. Noticeably, this text is unique in naming John's elder Abraham the Beardless (ʿAḅrāhām Sannōṯā).

Apart from these old, short notices, two longer text about John of Daylam have been preserved in Syriac: a West-Syriac prose life (Brock's H, which will be called SyrA below) and an East-Syriac verse homily (Brock's C, called SyrB below).

## 1.2 SyrA

SyrA is known from three manuscripts: Harvard Syr. 38, which is dated to 1448–1449 and was published by Sebastian Brock in 1982, and two late manuscripts from the Church of Forty Martyrs in Mardin (CFMM), nos. 267 and 276. The two latter manuscripts have been catalogued and digitized by the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (HMML) in Collegeville, Minnesota. There are noticeable differences between, on the one hand, the Harvard manuscript and, on the other hand, the two Mardin manuscripts, the latter seemingly representing a later tradition.

Harvard Syr. 38 is a West-Syriac paper manuscript, containing 236 folios, each measuring 18×13 cm.<sup>10</sup> It is written in a clear serṯo hand. Apart from the SyrA Life of John of Daylam, it contains the Acts of Thomas, the Lives of Cyriacus,

8 Fiey, "Jean de Dailam," p. 200.

9 There are two editions, one by Chabot (Jean-Baptiste Chabot, *Le livre de la chasteté composé par Jésusdenah, évêque de Baçrah*, Rome, [no publisher], 1896) and one, mentioned in n. 6 above, by Bedjan. In the first, the entry on John of Daylam (No. 116) appears on p. 60 (Syriac text)/p. 50 (French translation), while the entry on ʾĪšōʿsaḅran (No. 104) appears on pp. 55–56 (Syriac text) / pp. 46–47 (French translation). In Bedjan's edition, the entry on John of Daylam (No. 117) appears on p. 504 and the entry on ʾĪšōʿsaḅran (No. 105) on pp. 499–500.

10 Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library: A Catalogue*, Missoula, Montana, Scholars Press, 1979, p. 51; a more detailed description is found in Brock, "A Syriac Life of John of Dailam."

Šallīṭā, Philoxenus, etc., and three Letters from Heaven. The manuscript is made available online in its entirety by the Harvard University Library.<sup>11</sup> The Life of John of Daylam, found on fols. 175<sup>r</sup>–186<sup>v</sup>, is entitled *neṣḥānā dā-mār(y) Yōḥannān Daylamāyā dā-ḍayrēh bā-Pārs lāwāt Re(ʿ)ḡan mādī(n)ttā*, “The Triumph of Mār John the Daylamite, whose monastery is in Pars near the city of Re(ʿ)gan.”

CFMM 267 (*olim* Dayr Al-Zaʿfarān 120) is a paper manuscript dated to 22 March 1916 (fol. 71<sup>r</sup> = p. 138), written in serṭo. It contains eight hagiographical texts, among which are the stories of Mār Behnām, Aḥūdemmeḥ, Philoxenus and an abridged story of Jacob Baradaeus ascribed to John of Asia. According to the online catalogue of the HMML, the outer measures of the manuscript are 23 × 16.5 × 1 cm. It contains 73 folios, written in one column with 19 lines per page. The Life of John of Daylam is found on fols. 66<sup>v</sup>–71<sup>r</sup> (= pp. 129–138) and is entitled *tašʿīṭēh dā-qaddīšā Yōḥannān Daylamāyā dā-ḍayrēh šē(y)ḍ Arrāḡān mādī(n)ttā bā-Fārs*, “The Story of the holy John the Daylamite, whose monastery is near the city of Arraḡān in Fars.” A colophon at the end of the life informs us that it was copied by a *Yōḥannān dayrāyā bar qaššīšā mənāḥā Yōsef Dōlabānī*, “monk Yōḥannān, son of the late priest Yōsef Dōlabānī” (fol. 71<sup>r</sup> = p. 138).

CFMM 276 is a paper manuscript dated to 1961 (fol. 205<sup>r</sup>). It is likewise written in serṭo. Outer dimensions: 22 × 17 × 2.5 cm. The text is written in one column with 17 lines per page and contains 206 folios. Some of the texts contained in the previous manuscript are also found here, but the match is only partial. The Life of John of Daylam is found on fols. 28<sup>r</sup>–34<sup>r</sup> (= pp. 50–62) and is entitled *tašʿīṭēh dā-mār(y) Yōḥannān Daylamāyā dā-ḍayrēh šē(y)ḍ Arrāḡān mādī(n)ttā bā-Fārs*, “The Story of Mār John the Daylamite, whose monastery is near the city of Arraḡān in Fars” (fol. 28<sup>r</sup>).

### 1.3 SyrB

SyrB, Brock’s “East Syrian verse panegyric,” is known from two manuscripts: Cambridge Add. 2020<sup>12</sup> and Vatican Borg. Syr. 39. This text, composed in twelve syllable couplets, is longer than the prose life and presents itself, according to Brock, as a *mēmṛā* to be read on the feast day of John of Daylam.<sup>13</sup> It refers expressly to “our community” and “the two monasteries,” which, as suggested by Brock, could be understood as references to the double monasteries

11 Persistent URL: <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:9464931?n=175> (accessed on 26 July 2016).

12 I am grateful to Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams for generously providing me with his copy of this manuscript.

13 Brock, “A Syriac Life of John of Dailam,” p. 126.

founded by John according to the lives.<sup>14</sup> SyrB was partly published by Brock.<sup>15</sup> Brock used the Cambridge manuscript for his publication and hence calls the text C.

Cambridge Add. 2020 is an East-Syriac paper manuscript dated to 18 Tishri 1, 2009 AG, i.e., 18 October 1697 AD. According to the catalogue, it measures about 12×8 in. and is written in “a good, Nestorian serṭā.”<sup>16</sup> Apart from the Life of John of Daylam, Cambridge Add. 2020 contains a number of martyrdoms, lives, theological treatises, the proverbs of Aḥiqar and a number of fables by Aesop. The Life of John of Daylam, occurring on fols. 109<sup>r</sup>–120<sup>v</sup>, is introduced as *mē(ʿ)mrā dā-qaddīšā mār(y) Yōḥannān Daylōmāyā*, “A Mēmṛā on Mār John the Daylamite.”

Vatican Borg. Syr. 39, dated to c. 1680, is an East-Syriac paper manuscript.<sup>17</sup> Apart from our text, it contains a great number of hagiographical items, stories of miracles, patristics extracts, apocrypha, apophthegmata, and other edificatory literature (in total, some thirty pieces). Its codicological features and content have been thoroughly studied by Sauget, who also expressed his intention to publish the panegyric about John of Daylam based on the two manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> As far as I know, this intention was, however, never realized. The Life of John of Daylam, entitled *mē(ʿ)mrā dā-qaddīšā mār(y) Yōḥannān Daylōmāyā*, exactly as in Cambridge Add. 2020, is found on fols. 34<sup>r</sup>–46<sup>r</sup>.

It is noteworthy that the contents of the two manuscripts match to some extent. Out of the fifteen items in Cambridge Add. 2020, nine find a counterpart in Vatican Borg. Syr. 39. Vatican Borg. Syr. 39, however, consisting of almost 120 fols. more than the first, naturally contains a substantial portion of other materials. Both manuscripts were evidently produced in Alqosh at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>19</sup>

14 Brock, “A Syriac Life of John of Dailam,” p. 124.

15 In his commentary on SyrA (= H), some text portions of SyrB are given in English translation; these are, then, also given in the Syriac original in an appendix (Brock, “A Syriac Life of John of Dailam,” pp. 182–189).

16 William Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1901, vol. 1, pp. 583–586.

17 Addai Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques du Musée Borgia aujourd’hui à la Bibliothèque Vaticane,” *Journal asiatique* x, 13 (1909), pp. 249–287, at pp. 259–260; Joseph-Marie Sauget, *Un cas très curieux de restauration de manuscrit: le Borgia syriaque 39. Étude codicologique et analyse du contenu*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1981.

18 Sauget, *Un cas très curieux*, p. 79, n. 55.

19 Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 587; Sauget, *Un cas très curieux*, p. 59. The colophon of the Cambridge manuscript mentions a priest named Yalda as sponsoring the copy (Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 587). It is possible that this

One characteristic of the SyrB version is that it, just as Thomas of Marga, explicitly names one of its sources. On fol. 118<sup>r</sup> in Cambridge Add. 2020, there is a mentioning of a *kəṭābā də-taš'it šarbēh*, “the book of the history of his story.” As we will see below, this work, lost at least in the Syriac original, has been mentioned as a potential common source for several of the different lives of John of Daylam.

#### 1.4 *SogdA*

Next to the notices of Thomas of Marga and ʾIšōʿdēnaḥ of Basra, our earliest witness about the life of John of Daylam appears to be the Sogdian version (SogdA), which was recently published by Nicholas Sims-Williams.<sup>20</sup> The life, which is only very fragmentarily preserved, was found in the remnants of an East-Syriac monastic library, discovered in the early twentieth century in the vicinity of Turfan (吐鲁番, *Tūlǔfān*), present-day Xinjiang province in China. As the library is believed to stem from the ninth or tenth century, the Sogdian fragments seem to represent the earliest life discovered so far. If it is a translation from Syriac, as has generally been proposed, the Vorlage must have been composed within at most two centuries after John's death.<sup>21</sup> In the catalogue of the Turfan fragments presently preserved in Berlin, Sims-Williams describes nineteen fragments (nos. E26/7–23) that can be attributed to this text.<sup>22</sup> While some of them are extremely small, one includes as many as 29 lines. Due to this poor state of preservation, it is difficult to form an impression of the original length of the text. However, traces of chapter numbers and titles are found, a fact that differentiates SogdA from the other lives and could perhaps indicate that it was of some length.<sup>23</sup> The manuscript context is naturally to a large extent lost, but incidentally, it is clear that a Life of Serapion once formed part of the same manuscript.<sup>24</sup>

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is the same priest Yalda, who copied the Borgia manuscript; see Sauget, *Un cas très curieux*, pp. 49–58.

20 Sims-Williams, *The Life of St Serapion and Other Christian Sogdian Texts*.

21 See, e.g., Erica Hunter, “The Christian Library from Turfan: Syr HT 41-42-43. An Early Example of the Ḥudrā,” *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, 15 (2012), pp. 301–335, at p. 306; Sims-Williams, “An Early Source for the Life of John of Dailam,” p. 123.

22 Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 4: Iranian Manuscripts in Syriac Script in the Berlin Turfan Collection*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012.

23 Sims-Williams, “An Early Source for the Life of John of Dailam,” pp. 126–127.

24 The recto of fragment E26/23 contains the end of the Life of John of Daylam, as well as a colophon, while on the verso of the same fragment, the beginning of that of Serapion is found (Sims-Williams, *Mitteliranische Handschriften, Teil 4*, p. 88).

### 1.5 *EthA*

An Ethiopic version of the life, a Gə‘əz translation of ArabB (on which see below) is preserved in the *Gädlä Säma‘ətat*, an Ethiopic collection of hagiographical material. An introduction to the collection is found in the first part of Alessandro Bausi’s *La versione etiopica degli Acta Phileae nel Gadla Samā‘tāt*.<sup>25</sup> The *Gädlä Säma‘ətat* contains hagiographical material of different types, typically concerning non-Ethiopian saints. From its attestation in the manuscript material, it appears that the *Gädlä Säma‘ətat* peaked in popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, then gradually became obsolete as the revised version of the *Sənkəssar* spread.<sup>26</sup> A *Gädlä Säma‘ətat* manuscript typically contains a varying number of items, ordered according to the ecclesiastical calendar of the Ethiopian Church. In his study, Bausi surveyed thirty-four manuscripts, dating from between the thirteenth and the twentieth century, and of these, eleven were found to contain the Ethiopic version of the Life of John of Daylam.

As mentioned, *EthA* is a translation of ArabB, on which see below. The oldest Ethiopic manuscripts known to contain the text (EMML 6965 and EMML 1766) date from the fourteenth century, which thus constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the translation. The translation language shows many of the characteristics listed by Kropp and Weninger, including the use of the *konä* + imperfect syntagm and different ways of coping with elative forms and inner passives.<sup>27</sup> See further below, in the discussion on ArabB.

There is also an entry on John of Daylam in the Ethiopian *Sənkəssar* (19th of the month of Ṭəqəmt). The entry on John of Daylam, which occurs only in the second recension of the *Sənkəssar*<sup>28</sup> is clearly an abbreviated version of *EthA*, the life found in the *Gädlä Säma‘ətat*. It follows the Vorlage closely, sometimes quoting verbatim from it, and its only real idiosyncrasy can be identified as a Biblical quotation.<sup>29</sup> The beginning of the story is retold in detail, but the

25 Alessandro Bausi, *La versione etiopica degli Acta Phileae nel Gadla Samā‘tāt*, Napoli, Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 2002.

26 Bausi, *La versione etiopica degli Acta Phileae nel Gadla Samā‘tāt*, p. 14.

27 Manfred Kropp, “Arabisch-äthiopische Übersetzungstechnik am Beispiel der Zena Ayhud (Yosippon) und des Tarikā Wäldä-Amid,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 136 (1986), pp. 314–346; Stefan Weninger, “Beobachtungen zur Übersetzungssprache im äthiopischen Secundus Taciturnus,” in Martin Heide, *Secundus Taciturnus. Die arabischen, äthiopischen und syrischen Textzeugen einer didaktischen Novelle aus der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2014, pp. 45–59.

28 Cf. Gérard Colin, “Le synaxaire éthiopien. État actuel de la question,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, 106 (1988), pp. 273–317.

29 Corresponding to *wä-Sara-hi ‘arägawit*, “Sarah is an old woman,” in the *Gädlä Säma‘ətat*

account of John's pilgrimage to Jerusalem and his subsequent dealings with the caliph and monastic foundations in Fars have been omitted. It appears that the abbreviator decided that he had included enough material from the story and therefore left its later parts out.

As both the *Gädlä Säma'atat* and the *Sənkəssar* are widely diffused collections, there is no point in trying to list the manuscripts containing EthA and the *Sənkəssar* entry here. Suffice it to mention that the present study of EthA is based on the three manuscripts kept at the British Library (BL Or. 686, c. 1755–1769, fols. 54<sup>r</sup>–58<sup>r</sup>; BL Or. 687/688, 18th c., fols. 74<sup>v</sup>–79<sup>r</sup>; BL Or. 689, 15th c., fols. 62<sup>r</sup>–70<sup>r</sup>) and that the oldest manuscripts containing the EthA Life of John of Daylam, known to me, are EMLL 6965 (fols. 58<sup>r</sup>–64<sup>r</sup>), dated to the fourteenth century, and EMLL 1766 (fols. 106<sup>v</sup>–117<sup>r</sup>), dated to the fourteenth/fifteenth century. It should be noted that Antonella Brita is currently working on a comprehensive study on *Gädlä Säma'atat*. As for the *Sənkəssar* entry on John of Daylam, it is included in Colin's edition.<sup>30</sup>

## 2 The Arabic Versions

As mentioned above, the Arabic versions of the Life of John of Daylam (together with the Ethiopic version) have so far received little scholarly attention. There are no published critical editions. Stray references to manuscripts and the different versions contained in them are given by Brock and Fiey, but until now no one has attempted to assemble the information at hand into a unified picture. An important source, which will recur in the following description, is the second volume of Behnam Sony's *Bağdidē fī nuṣūṣ suryāniyya wa-karšūniyya wa-'arabiyya wa-ağnabiyya min bidāyat al-qarn al-sābi' ilā nihāyat al-qarn al-tāsi' 'aṣar*, a three-volume history of the village Qaraqosh/Bakhdida/al-Ḥasaniyya.<sup>31</sup> Sony discusses connections made historically (although prob-

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text, the synaxary has *wā-bā'əsītəya-ni ḥalāfā māwā'əlīha*, "the days of my wife have passed," using an expression that appears to have been taken from the Abraham narrative in the Ethiopic Bible (Gen. 18:11; cf. Oscar Boyd, *The Ochtateuch in Ethiopic according to the Text of the Paris Codex, with the Variants of Five Other Manuscripts*, Leiden and Princeton, Brill and The University Library, 1909, p. 45; August Dillmann, *Veteris testamenti aethiopicum tomus primus, sive Ochtateuchus Aethiopicus*, Leipzig, Fr. Cr. [sic] Guil. Vogelii, 1853).

30 Gérard Colin, *Le synaxaire éthiopien: mois de Teqemt. Édition critique du texte éthiopien et traduction* (Patrologia Orientalis, tom. 44, fasc. 1, No. 197), Turnhout, Brepols, 1987, pp. 104–108.

31 Behnam Sony, *Bağdidē fī nuṣūṣ suryāniyya wa-karšūniyya wa-'arabiyya wa-ağnabiyya min bidāyat al-qarn al-sābi' ilā nihāyat al-qarn al-tāsi' 'aṣar / Bakhdida in Syriac, Garšūnī, Ara-*

ably erroneously) between the village and John of Daylam, and as part of this discussion mentions and quotes in full three hitherto unknown manuscripts containing lives of John of Daylam. The description below is based on a survey of all manuscripts known to contain a Life of John of Daylam.

### 2.1 *ArabA*

ArabA is known from four West-Syriac Garshuni manuscripts. Brock mentions one of them, Mingana Syriac 543, which, based on the handwriting, has been dated to around 1780 AD.<sup>32</sup> Since Brock's article, the cataloguing of the microfilm collections at the HMML has made two more manuscripts easily available to the scholarly world. These are kept in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin (CFMM), where they have the catalogue numbers 294 and 299. One is dated to the seventeenth/eighteenth century, the other to the eighteenth/nineteenth. To these, another manuscript can be added, known to me only from Sony, who calls it the Mār Mattā manuscript, based on its location.<sup>33</sup> The same designation is used below. It is possible that a microfilm copy of this last manuscript is also at the HMML, but it does not appear in the online catalogue as yet (as of November 2016).

As for Mingana Syr. 543, the following information can be extracted from the catalogue entry.<sup>34</sup> It measures 212 × 156 mm. and contains 124 leaves, each counting 18 lines. Apart from the Life of John of Daylam, the manuscript contains a number of Christian Garshuni texts: Biblical (Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs), pseudepigraphical (The Conversation of Moses with God, The Vision of St Gregory concerning Heaven and Hell), as well as hagiographical (The Acts of Thomas). It is written in a clear ser̄to hand with headings in red. As can be seen, the codicological context reminds us to some extent of that of SyrA (see above). The Life of John of Daylam, found on fols. 67<sup>r</sup>–76<sup>r</sup>, is entitled *sīrat al-qiddīs al-bārr mār(y) Yūḥannā al-Daylamī alladī dayruhu bi-l-Fars 'inda Arrāḡan al-madīna*, "The Life of the venerable saint Mār John the Daylamite, whose monastery is in Fars near the city of Arrāḡan."

CFMM 294, kept at the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin with a digitized microfilm copy at the HMML, is a paper manuscript, dated to the eigh-

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*bic and Persian Sources from the Beginning of the Seventh Century to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2, Erbil, Maṭba'at wizārat al-ṭaqāfa, 2011.

32 Brock, "A Syriac Life of John of Dailam," pp. 126, 128 (n. 20).

33 See the discussion of this manuscript further below.

34 Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*, vol. 1, Cambridge, W. Heffer and Sons, 1933, pp. 999–1001, No. 543.





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As a result of these words, he was enflamed with the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he stood up and went to the Monastery of DĤLH, but they did not accept him, because he was a child. But one of those holy men, whose name was Sannōtā, knew his parents. He took him into his cell and instructed him thoroughly in the Scriptures. There happened a great famine and his master Sannōtā left together with the brethren to a mountain, and they lived in a cave and nourished themselves with herbs and the fruits of the trees of the mountain.

ArabA and the Mardin SyrA manuscripts sometimes deviate from the Harvard manuscript when it comes to toponyms. In the extract above, one can see that the monastery which John entered as a child is called the *Monastery of DĤLH* in ArabA and in the Mardin SyrA manuscripts, whereas it is *Bēt Āḥē* in the Harvard manuscript. Another example of this concerns the specification of the location of John's birthplace, Ḥəḍattā. Harvard Syr. 38 has *bə-ḡensēh ʿīṭaw(hy) men Ḥəḍattā məḍi(n)ttā də-Bē(y)t Qīrā*, "on account of his family, he came from the town of Ḥəḍattā, in Bēt Qīrā," but the Mardin SyrA manuscripts, as well as all ArabA manuscripts, leave out the mentioning of Bēt Qīrā, simply stating that he was born in Ḥəḍattā.

However, ArabA cannot be directly based on the Mardin SyrA manuscripts, firstly because the manuscripts containing ArabA are older than CFMM 267 and CFMM 276. Furthermore, the ArabA manuscripts at times include details absent in the Mardin SyrA manuscripts. Corresponding to ArabA (Mingana Syr. 543, fol. 69<sup>v</sup>) *wa-lammā ḡalasa fī ḡabal Begaš wa-Salak*<sup>40</sup> *ʿīsrīn sana*, "when he had sat in the mountain of Begaš and Salak for twenty years," Harvard Syr. 38 has *wə-men d-īteb bə-ṭūrā də-Salaq wa-d-Begaš ʿa(y)ḵ ʿesrīn šənīn*, "after he had dwelt in the mountains of Salaq and Begaš around twenty years," while both Mardin SyrA manuscripts have *bāṭar da-ʿmar(w) bə-ṭūrā də-Begaš ʿa(y)ḵ ʿesrīn šənīn*, "after they had lived in the mountain of Begaš around twenty years," leav-

40 CFMM 299 spells the toponym with an *ʿālaf* (ܐܠܦ), while in the Mār Mattā manuscript, the text has been corrupted to *wa-sakana*, "and he stayed."

ing out the mentioning of Salak. Sometimes, the relationship between the texts preserved in the different manuscripts seems to be even more complicated. For example, the two Mardin SyrA manuscripts, as well as two of the ArabA manuscripts—CFMM 299 and the Mār Mattā manuscript—share the omission of the name of one of John's fellow-disciples, but Harvard Syr. 38, CFMM 294, and Mingana Syr. 543 all have it.

ArabA is the only one of the Arabic Lives of John of Daylam, for which a (Syriac) Vorlage is preserved. While this certainly does not preclude the possibility that ArabB and ArabC (on which see below) are also translations, it enables a different kind of discussion concerning ArabA. Where was this translation made, by whom, in what context, and for what reasons? At the current state of research, these are nevertheless difficult questions to answer. As the SyrA/ArabA text is found only in Syriac Orthodox manuscripts, it can be assumed that the translation was carried out within this religious community. The earliest Syriac manuscript dates to the fifteenth century, while the earliest Arabic manuscript is from the seventeenth century. The latter date thus constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the translation. As concluded above, the Arabic translation overall shows close connections to the two later Syriac manuscripts, presently kept in Mardin, dating to the twentieth century. If one presumes that the SyrA manuscripts available to us represent different stages of the same Syriac Orthodox transmission line, it is possible to place the translation of the ArabA version between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century. However, given the scarcity of manuscript material, this remains highly speculative.

When it comes to the geographical location, the following is known. Out of the five manuscripts that are still kept in the Middle East, four are presently kept in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin, while one is located in the Monastery of Mār Mattā in northern Iraq. This further confirms that the text belongs in a Syriac Orthodox context. However, it gives us no clear indications about where or by whom the translation may have been produced.

## 2.2 *ArabB*

ArabB is known from three manuscripts: Vatican Borg. Ar. 219, Mār Behnām 403, and a manuscript from the private collection of Fr. Quryāqūs al-Ṭarāḡī, priest in Barṭella, which will be called the Barṭella manuscript below. All manuscripts are written in Garshuni. As far as I am aware, the last manuscript is presently available only in a transcription to Arabic script printed in Sony's *Baḡ-didē*. It appears that after Sony examined the manuscript, the village of Barṭella fell into the hands of the so-called Islamic State. Notwithstanding reports that it was liberated in October 2016, the fate of the manuscript is presently unknown to me.

Vatican Borg. Ar. 219 is described by Graf as a manuscript written in a clear serṭo Garshuni, probably dating to the sixteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Whether this characterization is based on a colophon or, more probably, on paleography is not stated. Again according to Graf, the Life of John of Daylam is found on fols. 84<sup>r</sup>–97<sup>v</sup>. This seems, however, to be erroneous, as the text continues beyond fol. 97<sup>v</sup>. For the present article, only fols. 84<sup>r</sup>–97<sup>v</sup> have been considered.<sup>42</sup> In the photocopy to which I have had access, the title of the life is illegible.

Mār Behnām 403 is a paper manuscript written in a clear serṭo Garshuni and kept at the Monastery of Mār Behnām, close to the town of Qaraqosh. A digitized copy is made accessible online by the HMML, where it has the project number MBM 386.<sup>43</sup> Descriptions of the manuscript can be found in Sony's catalogue of the manuscript collection of the Mār Behnām monastery, as well as in the online catalogue of the HMML.<sup>44</sup> If not stated otherwise, the following is based on the latter. Mār Behnām 403 contains 173 leaves, measuring 16×10.5×5.5 cm. Each folio has one column with 22 lines. It contains hagiography, including the Life of Mār Behnām and the Life of Zakkay. Sony published the text of the Life of John of Daylam, in Garshuni, followed by an Arabic transcription.<sup>45</sup> While Sony cites pages according to the Syriac numbers at the down left corner of each folio, I follow the numbers written with a pencil at the top. According to a note on fol. 33<sup>r</sup>, the manuscript was copied on 25 Nisan (i.e., April) 1947 AG (= 1636 AD) by the priest Ibrāhīm, son of the priest Mas'ūd, son of priest Barṣawmā, son of priest Ishāq, from Qāṣrat Qālūq in *balad al-Ṣawr*. In his description of the manuscript, Sony leaves out the two names in the middle and gives the date in the scribal note as 1941 AG (= 1630 AD), apparently reading the *zayn* as an *ʿālaf*.<sup>46</sup> In the catalogue, he gives the date as 1947 AG (= 1636 AD).<sup>47</sup> The title of the life, found on fols. 55<sup>r</sup>–68<sup>v</sup>, is *qiṣṣat al-qiddīs al-ṭāhir*

41 Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 527.

42 The remarks on the folio numbers are based on a copy of part of the manuscript, which was ordered from the Vatican Library in January 2015. No folio numbers are discernible on the images, but it is clear that the folios do not match the original order. Working on the supposition that Graf was correct in claiming that the Life of John of Daylam begins on fol. 84<sup>r</sup>, it follows that it stretches beyond fol. 97<sup>v</sup>.

43 Persistent URL: <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/131684> (accessed on 19 January 2017; no longer accessible on 17 August 2019).

44 Behnam Sony, *Fihris maḥtūtāt dayr Mār Bahnām al-ṣahid | Catalogue of Manuscripts Conserved in St. Behnam's Monastery Near Bagdédé-Karakosh*, Baghdad, [no publisher], 2005, pp. 297–299.

45 Sony, *Baḡdīdē*, pp. 165–180 (Garshuni), pp. 180–196 (Arabic).

46 Sony, *Baḡdīdē*, p. 175, n. 516.

47 Sony, *Baḡdīdē*, pp. 297–299.

*al-naḥīs mār Yūḥannā al-Daylamī*, “The Story of the holy, pure, and noble Mār John the Daylamite.”

The Barṭella manuscript is known to me only from Sony. When he examined it, it seems to have been in the private possession of Fr. Quryāqūs al-Ṭarāḡī, one of the Syriac (?) Orthodox priests of Barṭella. Sony states that it is a late manuscript, dating it to the twentieth century. He includes an Arabic transcription of the Garshuni text.<sup>48</sup> There, the title appears as *qiṣṣat mār Yūḥannā al-Daylamī al-qiddīs al-fāḍil*, “The Story of the virtuous saint Mār John the Daylamite.” In the original manuscript, the text occupies fols. 111<sup>r</sup>–123<sup>r</sup>, but when Sony examined the manuscript, fol. 120 was missing.

The provenance of Mār Behnām 403 and the Barṭella manuscript makes one think of a notice by Fiey about traditions placing John of Daylam’s monastic foundations in the vicinity of Nineveh. He writes:

L’un de ces textes se trouve dans un manuscrit du couvent de Mār Behnām, près de Mossoul. Mgr Ephrem Abdal, supérieur du couvent, a bien voulu me le communiquer. C’est un manuscrit garshuni (arabe écrit en caractères syriaques), sans colophon final, mais signé (fol. 135) par le prêtre Ibrahim, fils de Mas’ud, fils de Barsaume, fils de Ishaq, du pays de Al Sawr, du village de Qaluq, et daté 1636. J’ai pu également étudier un manuscrit très semblable, mais sans date ni colophon, qui se trouve dans le famille Sâka de Bartelli.<sup>49</sup>

Fiey then goes on to connect these manuscripts to Paris Ar. 281 (an ArabC manuscript, on which see below). He laments not having had his notes from Mosul with him when examining the Paris manuscript, but nevertheless writes that it “semble être très proche du texte précédent [i.e. the one represented by the Mār Behnām and the Barṭella manuscripts].” Given the identical scribal signature of the Mār Behnām manuscripts, in both cases found on fol. 135, we can safely conclude that the first manuscript Fiey examined was what we know now as Mār Behnām 403. Even though the name of the owner is different, the same most probably holds true for the Barṭella manuscripts. It is not impossible that the manuscript changed owner during the time between Sony’s and Fiey’s visits. As it seems, Fiey was mistaken in identifying these manuscripts as similar to Paris Ar. 281.

48 Sony, *Baḡdidē*, pp. 197–211.

49 Fiey, “Jean de Dailam,” p. 210.

Although all ArabB manuscripts presently known are written in Garshuni, it is clear that there must have been a manuscript written in Arabic characters somewhere in the line of transmission. This is indicated by a number of erroneous transcriptions; for example, the demon known as  $\text{ܒܪܥܝܢ}$ , *Bā(ʿ)bi*, in SyrA, SyrB, and ArabA, appears as  $\text{ܒܪܥܝܢ}$  in ArabB.<sup>50</sup>

The Ethiopic version, EthA, presented above, is a translation of ArabB. The Ethiopic witness is important, insofar as it weakens the arguments used by Fiey to dismiss ArabB (and the other Arabic versions) as late elaborations of the legend of John of Daylam.<sup>51</sup> Fiey points to the geographical confusion that results from the displacement of John's monastic foundations (from Fars proper to Qaraqosh/Bakhdida/al-Ḥasaniyya) and comes to the conclusion that the text is late and devoid of any historical value. However, the Ethiopic translation consistently lacks the attempts to locate John's later activities in northern Mesopotamia. We will now look at the occasions, where ArabB tries to situate Mt. Mām and the land of Fars, where John founded two monasteries at the end of his life, in the vicinity of Mosul. Reference is continuously made to the folio numbers of Vatican Borg. Ar. 219.

- (a) When the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, after John has healed his daughter, asks him how he can reward him, John asks to be granted land in "the land of Fars," which in the Arabic text receives the following explanation *wa-hiya Ātūr wa-Naynawā wa-l-Mawṣil*, "that is Assur and Nineveh and Mosul" (fol. 95<sup>r</sup>). EthA lacks this explaining gloss.
- (b) After visiting al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ, John sails to Mt. Mām, where he subsequently founds his monasteries. In ArabB, the location is explained with the following gloss: *wa-hiya qaryat Bāḥūdīdā wa-Nāqurtā* ( $\text{ܩܪܝܬܐܐܘܠܘܢܐܘܪܩܘܪܬܐ}$ ), "that is the village of Bakhdida and Naqurta" (fol. 96<sup>r</sup>). Bakhdida is the Syriac name for the town also known as Qaraqosh and al-Ḥasaniyya. This gloss does not occur in EthA.
- (c) Arguing with the people of Fars before the judge about whether John should be allowed to build a monastery on Mt. Mām or not, this toponym again receives a gloss: *wa-hiya Nāqurtā*, "that is Naqurta" (fol. 96<sup>v</sup>). Here, the EthA text is corrupt as the result of a misreading, but there is no trace of the gloss.

On account of the syntax and narratological structure, the passages where ArabB tries to connect Mt. Mām and Fars to Bakhdida and Mosul can easily be understood as secondary interpolations. I have the impression that the

50 This is further distorted in the Ethiopic tradition, where one manuscript (BL Or. 686) has both the form *Yāy* and *Nāy*.

51 Fiey, "Jean de Dailam," pp. 201–203.

Ethiopic version preserves a more original text. Admittedly, there are other occasions where the Ethiopic version has lost a toponym, but these cases seem to be without ideological implications, and furthermore explicable on philological grounds. Thus, in an episode unique to ArabB/EthA, ArabB relates how John leaves the school, pursuing the monks, and *fa-ǧa'ala yamši wa-yuṣallī wa-yataḍarra' ilā rabbihi ḥattā balāḡa ilā al-Zāb al-kabīr fa-fazi'a an ya'bur waḥ-dahu*, "he started to walk and pray and implore his Lord, until he came to the Greater Zab river, and he was afraid to cross it alone." Corresponding to this, the Ethiopic text has *wä-`aḥazä yəḥor wä-yəṣelli* (sic) *wä-yəṣ'al wä-yastäbäqq`ə` ḥabä `amlaku `askä bāṣha ḥabä `anqäṣ `abiyy wä-färha bäwī'a baḥätitu*, "[John] started to walk and pray and ask and supplicate his God, until he came to a great door. He did not dare to enter it alone." Somewhere in the transmission chain, the hydronym *al-Zāb al-kabīr* was clearly misread as *\*al-bāb al-kabīr*, which then was translated into Ethiopic. This misreading most probably occurred with an Arabic script manuscript.

All in all, if the repeated absence of references to the Mosul area in EthA is taken as an indication that these are later additions to the Arabic text, this implies that the original ArabB text was not marked by this northern Mesopotamian tendency. The fact that all ArabB manuscripts contain these false explanatory glosses should be understood simply as a result of the manuscripts' provenance from the Mosul area. This means that ArabB (and the same holds true for ArabC, which, as we have seen, Fiey confused with the former) cannot a priori be dismissed as a late elaboration of the legend. On the contrary, as we will see below, both ArabB and ArabC are intrinsically connected to the Syriac lives.

### 2.3 ArabC

ArabC is known from four manuscripts: Sinai Ar. 510, Sinai Ar. 530, Vat. Ar. 697, and Paris Ar. 281,<sup>52</sup> all of which are written in Arabic characters. After the Sogdian fragments, the manuscripts which contain this life are the oldest, both Sinai Ar. 510 and Sinai Ar. 530 dating from the thirteenth century. The use of Arabic script, as opposed to Garshuni, is in accordance with this. ArabC deviates from the other Arabic versions (or rather: from the rest of the versions whatever their language), especially when it comes to its length. While the majority of the lives of John of Daylam occupy no more than twenty folios in the manuscripts, the ArabC version is at least twice as long and in one manuscript,

52 I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Željko Paša, s.j. at CEDRAC for making it possible for me to study a photocopy of this manuscript during a stay in Beirut.

Sinai Ar. 530, takes up almost one hundred and fifteen folios. Its length is the result of frequent passages of dialogue, of verbose prayers etc., rather than the insertion/preservation of unique episodes.

Sinai Ar. 510 is a paper manuscript dating to the thirteenth century.<sup>53</sup> It contains 205 folios, which measure 17.5 × 13.5 cm and are written in an easily legible Arabic script. Apart from the Life of John of Daylam, the manuscript contains a collection of *mēmre*, likewise in Arabic. The end of the manuscript is missing and as the Life of John of Daylam is the last attested text, it is incomplete, covering forty-seven folios. However, it appears that not much of the life is missing, as the passage which occurs on the last preserved page of Sinai Ar. 510 parallels the one that occurs on the third to last folio of Paris Ar. 281 (fol. 86<sup>r-v</sup>). The life, which occurs on fols. 158<sup>r</sup>–205<sup>v</sup> [...],<sup>54</sup> bears the simple title *qiṣṣat Yuhannā al-Daylamī*, “The Story of John the Daylamite” (fol. 158<sup>r</sup>).

As for the Sinai Ar. 530, a note written on 5 June 1950 (presumably when the manuscript was microfilmed) and prefixed to the microfilm available online<sup>55</sup> contains the following information. The manuscript includes 421 paper folios, measuring 17 × 11.5 cm. It is dated to 1233 AD. In her catalogue, Margaret Dunlop Gibson lists the contents of the manuscript, which, apart from our life, includes the apocryphal Acts of John the Evangelist attributed to Prochorus (بروخوريوس / Πρόχορος), the Life of Maximus and Domatius, and a few other martyrdoms.<sup>56</sup> The Life of John of Daylam, which is found on fols. 185<sup>v</sup>–299<sup>v</sup>, has the title *qiṣṣat abūnā* [?] *al-bārr al-muhtaṣṣ min Allāh bi-l-ni‘ma al-ilāhiyya mār(y) Yuhannā al-Daylamī al-mutalmiḍ li-balad al-Daylam wa-ġayrihi wa-mā amkana min ġami‘ aḥbārihi wa-mā aġrāhu Allāh ‘alā yadayhi min ġalīl ātārihi* [?] *wa-āyātihi*, “The story of our venerable father (?), favored with divine grace by God, Mār John the Daylamite, who converted the land of Daylam and other [lands], and [of] what it has been possible [to include] of all his affairs, and [of] the exalted traces (?) and signs that God wrought through him” (fol. 185<sup>v</sup>). In a handwritten table of contents on fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, the life is listed as *qiṣṣat Yūhannā al-Daylamī wa-‘aġā’ibihī*, “The Story of John the Daylamite and his wonders.”

53 Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1970, p. 34.

54 I have had access to this manuscript by means of a copy of the microfilm preserved at the National Library of Israel. In the microfilm, two different folios are numbered 192 and fol. 199 is missing.

55 A digitized reproduction of the microfilm is available online at <https://www.loc.gov/item/0027939026A-ms> (accessed: 17 August 2019).

56 Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic Mss in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, London, C.J. Clay and Sons, 1894, pp. 106–107.

Vat. Ar. 697 is described in Mai's catalogue as a "[c]odex in 8 bombyc. foliorum 146" written in Arabic letters.<sup>57</sup> Mai does not give any information concerning the measurements of the manuscript, but lists the contents. Apart from the ArabC Life of John of Daylam, the manuscript contains the Life of St. Febronia, the Life of St. Xenophon, his spouse Marina and their sons John and Arcadius, Cosmas Patricius's (i.e., Cosmas Vestitor's) Encomium on the Recovery of St. John Chrysostom's Body,<sup>58</sup> and a homily by John Chrysostom. At the end of the Life of St. Febronia, there is a dating to 27 November 6837AM (i.e., 1328AD). The Life of John of Daylam, found on fols. 116<sup>r</sup>–191<sup>v</sup>, is entitled *qiṣṣat al-ab al-fāḍil wa-l-mu'allim al-šahm al-nāsik al-muḥtaṣṣ min Allāh bi-l-na'im al-ilāhīyya* [sic] *Yūḥannā al-Daylamī al-mutalmid balad al-Daylam wa-ğayrahu min al-buldān, wa-šarḥ mā tahayya'a lahu min aḥbār fi [...] wa-ḥusn sīratihī mim mā aḡrā Allāh 'alā yadayhi min al-mu'ğibāt wa-l-āyāt allatī akṭaruhā mutaṭawwima* [?] *ilā waqtinā hādā*, "The story of the eminent father and sagacious teacher, the ascetic favored with divine comfort by God, John the Daylamite, who converted the land of Daylam and other lands, and the exposition of what befell him of [...] and of the beauty of his life, from what God wrought through him of wonderful [things] and signs the majority of which [...] to the present time" (fol. 116<sup>r</sup>).

For Paris Ar. 281, the following information can be retrieved from Troupeau's catalogue.<sup>59</sup> It contains, apart from the ArabC Life of John of Daylam, a rather large number of hagiographical texts, apocrypha and homilies by church fathers (in total, 32). It is written on paper and contains 361 folios, which measure 18.5 × 13.5 cm and have 12–14 lines of writing per page. According to a note on fol. 102<sup>v</sup> (as cited by Troupeau), the part of the manuscript that contains the Life of John of Daylam was copied by Mūsā ibn Yuwākīm, bishop of Yabrūd, in the month of Šubāt in the year 7054AM (i.e., 1546AD; the latter part of the manuscript was finished the following year). In the table of contents found on fol. 3<sup>r</sup> of the manuscript, the Life of John of Daylam is entitled *qiṣṣat Yūḥannā al-Daylamī al-mustašhad fi btidā' tamalluk al-umma al-hāğiriyyīn*, "The Story

57 Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, tom. IV, Rome, Typis Vaticanis, 1831, p. 600.

58 This text (= *Oratio iv de translatione Iohannis Chrysostomi: CPG 8145; BHG 878*) is also preserved in Sinai Ar. 396, fols. 202<sup>v</sup>–208<sup>v</sup> (truncated), Sinai Ar. 423, fols. 23<sup>r</sup>–25<sup>r</sup>, Sinai Ar. 477 (13th c.), fols. 55<sup>v</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>, and Sinai Ar. 528, fols. 309<sup>r</sup>–327<sup>r</sup>. I am thankful to Prof. Alexander Treiger for providing me with this information.

59 Gérard Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Première partie: Manuscrits chrétiens*, 2 vols., Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1972–1974, vol. 1, pp. 247–251; cf. William McGuckin de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1883–1895, pp. 78–79.

of John the Daylamite, who was martyred in the beginning of the reign of the Hagarenes." The title at the beginning of the life itself, which is found on fols. 5<sup>r</sup>–87<sup>v</sup>, is illegible. The text is written in multiple hands and is at times poorly preserved.

As noted above, Fiey, during his stay in the Middle East, had the opportunity to study two manuscripts, which he noted contained late lives attributing to John of Daylam the conversion of some people in the vicinity of Mosul. When later studying the Paris manuscript of ArabC, he remarked that it seemed "très proche" to the Mosul manuscripts, but, as he did not have his notes with him, he was unable to "affirmer la similitude parfaite."<sup>60</sup> As made clear above, I believe that these manuscripts were in fact those transcribed by Sony and that they represent the ArabB text discussed above. There are some similarities between the two texts, especially in the beginning, where the birth of John, in both ArabB and ArabC, is explicitly placed in the vicinity of Mosul. Perhaps this detail could have led Fiey to an erroneous conclusion.

### 3 Relationship between the Various Lives

The lives of John of Daylam form a collection of texts, which all retell the same basic story, while differing in details and in the exact episodes they contain. The situation is in some ways reminiscent of that of the Canonical Gospels. To delineate with exactitude the interrelations of the known texts is an enterprise that will not be embarked upon on the following pages. Rather, I will attempt to give a taste of the complexity of the question by pointing to a few details that unite and separate the various texts. Counting occurrences of the same text type in different languages as one text, we know of a total of five Lives of John of Daylam: (1) SyrA/ArabA, (2) SyrB, (3) SogdA, (4) ArabB/EthA, and (5) ArabC. In this section, SogdA will only seldom be referred to, due to its fragmentary state of preservation.

Concerning the relationship between SyrA/ArabA and SyrB, Brock concludes that none of them could have acted as a Vorlage of the other.<sup>61</sup> It is probable, however, that SyrA and SyrB share a common written source (Brock quotes the detail that after cutting down the sacred trees in a pagan city, John places the axe under his head and falls asleep, as an example of a detail which most likely goes back to a common written source).<sup>62</sup> One possibility is that this

60 Fiey, "Jean de Dailam," p. 210.

61 Brock, "A Syriac Life of John of Dailam," p. 127.

62 Brock, "A Syriac Life of John of Dailam," p. 127, n. 19.

was the *katābā dā-taš'it šarbēh*, “book of the history of his story,” mentioned explicitly in SyrB (Cambridge Add. 2020, fol. 118<sup>v</sup>) as one of its sources. However, as this text is not preserved, the ascription of the shared elements to this source has to remain speculative. SyrA/ArabA and SyrB share a number of common traits against ArabB/EthA and ArabC (for SogdA, nothing can be said with certainty, due to its fragmentary state of preservation). For example, the name of Bēt ʿĀbē occurs in manuscripts of both the Syriac lives, but not in any of the others.<sup>63</sup> Together with ʿĪšōʿdānaḥ, both the SyrA/ArabA and SyrB preserve the tradition that one of John’s fellow disciples as a young monk was called ʿĪšōʿsaḥran. SyrB, additionally, gives the name of the second fellow disciple, Māranzəkā. These names seem not to be known to ArabB/EthA and ArabC.

Apart from ArabA, none of the Arabic lives is directly based on the extant Syriac lives. Both ArabB and ArabC share some episodes with SyrA that SyrB lacks, and others with SyrB that SyrA lacks. Before giving examples of these, a few of the traits shared by ArabB and ArabC against both Syriac texts (again, SogdA is left out of the discussion because of our poor knowledge of it) will be presented.

ArabB and ArabC’s common traits include both some striking similarities and some shared distortions. An example of the latter is that the demon inhabiting the temple at Mt. Mām, who is driven out by John but for some time nevertheless continues to harass the monasteries that he establishes, is called Yāy in both these lives.<sup>64</sup> The form Yāy can easily be explained as a distorted form of Bābī, the form that occurs in both the Syriac texts (Cambridge Add. 2020 vocalizes Bābay, fol. 115<sup>r</sup>). As the underlying misreading is unlikely to have taken place in a Syriac script context, this is a clear indication that ArabB, though presently preserved solely in Garshuni manuscripts, was once also transmitted in Arabic script manuscripts (or that it is genetically related to ArabC).

63 In ArabB, the monastery where John first resides is not named, while in ArabC, Sinai Ar. 510 and Vat. Ar. 697 have different versions of the name Bāʿawī (?; باعوي; fol. 158<sup>v</sup> and fol. 116<sup>v</sup>, respectively), and Paris Ar. 281 calls the monastery *al-dayr al-maʿrūf bi-Madīnat al-Bartemār* [?, البرتمار] *fi l-arḍ al-Ġazīra*, “the monastery known as the City of Bartemār in al-Ġazīra” (fol. 5<sup>r</sup>).

64 Of course, the same holds true for the Ethiopic life, where one fifteenth-century manuscript (London, BL Or. 689) also has a by-form *Nāy* (see, e.g., fol. 69<sup>v</sup>), clearly indicating that the text was translated from Arabic. The later Ethiopic manuscript tradition, as represented by London, BL Or. 686 and London, BL Or. 687/688, spots the inconsistent transcription from the Arabic and regularizes the name in the original form Yāy, thus obliterating an error which must have its origin in the original Arabic-Ethiopic translation process. Note that this error does not tell us whether the antigraph was written in Garshuni or in Arabic script.



وكان في بعض القرى الذي تلهذا البار امرأة من السبي نصرانية اسمها مريم فاضلة فلما بصرت الى يوحنا البار سجدت على قدميه وقالت طوبى لنفسك يا يحنا اذا كنت احد تلاميذ ربنا يسوع المسيح لان على يديك يضيء سراج الايمان بالاهنا وتخلص شعوب كثيرة في هذه البلاد من عبادة الشياطين وانت الذي تطردهم من هذه البلاد ويظهر الله على يديك وبصلاتك ايات كثيرة في مدن الديلم وغيرها من البلاد وتأخذ اكليل العلية [؟] | من سيدنا المسيح عند قبضه لروحك وتم تنبي [؟] هذه المرة على البار بما جا به الله على فيها وخرج يحنا البار من القرية الذي كانت فيها المرة

In one of the villages that the venerable one converted, there was a virtuous Christian woman among the captives, whose name was Maryam. When she saw the venerable John, she fell at his feet and said: "Blessed is your soul, O John! You are one of the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the lamp of the faith in our God will be lit by you, and you will save many peoples in this land from the worship of demons, and it is you who will expel them from this country and through you and your prayers, God will make many signs in the cities of Daylam and in other countries, and you will receive the crown of loftiness (?) from our Lord Christ when He receives your spirit." And this woman's prophecy (?) about the venerable one took place in accordance with what God put in her mouth, and the venerable John left the village where the woman was.

As mentioned, there are also episodes shared between SyrA/ArabA, ArabB/EthA, and ArabC against SyrB. For example, the first three texts all mention a famine, which forces Simon the Beardless, John and his other disciple(s) to leave the monastery where they live.<sup>67</sup> This detail is absent in SyrB, although Simon and his disciples still retire into the mountains at the same point in the story here as well. One of the episodes that takes place in Fars at the end of John's life is shared between SyrA/ArabA, ArabB/EthA, and ArabC, namely the story about the quarrel about whether the liturgical language of the first monastery should be Persian or Syriac.<sup>68</sup> This episode is missing from SyrB.

67 SyrA: Harvard Syr. 38, fol. 176<sup>r</sup>; ArabB: Vatican Borg. Ar. 219, fol. 86<sup>v</sup>; ArabC: Sinai Ar. 510, fol. 161<sup>r</sup> (?).

68 SyrA: Harvard Syr. 38, fol. 185<sup>r-v</sup>; ArabB: Vatican Borg. Ar. 219, fol. 96<sup>v</sup>; ArabC: Paris Ar. 281, fol. 68<sup>v</sup>; Vat. Ar. 697, fol. 175<sup>r</sup> (?). Possibly, this episode is alluded to in SogdA (E26/16; Sims-Williams, *The Life of St Serapion and other Christian Sogdian texts*, pp. 80–81, 100).

On the other hand, SyrB, ArabB/EthA, and ArabC all include the detail that after having been taken captive by the Daylamites, John is made to carry heavy loads,<sup>69</sup> something which SyrA does not mention. These texts also agree against SyrA in naming John's parents Abraham and Sarah, and in recording the personal name of Simon the Beardless (in SyrA, he is known only by his epithet, Sannōtā). An episode shared between these three texts, as opposed to SyrA, is what happens when John first reaches Mt. Mām. In these texts, on entering the city, the saint meets a madman, heals him, and asks him to go and buy bread for him and his companions.<sup>70</sup> A similar episode is recorded in SyrA, but then it takes place early in John's career as a missionary in Daylam.

Sims-Williams noticed a number of similarities between SogdA and SyrB. Most striking is the occurrence of a solitary named Kē(')nay, who accompanies John in Fars.<sup>71</sup> Several other personal names are also shared between these two texts, namely Prsgy,<sup>72</sup> a notable in Fars who according to both SyrB and SogdA helps paying for John's construction projects, a metropolitan Simon, who in SyrB refuses to consecrate John's monastery, and a companion of John's named George, although the role he plays in SogdA is not entirely clear. These texts also share the fact that John experiences economical problems while constructing the monasteries.<sup>73</sup> SogdA has the following title *zprt ptry* (ywhnn)[*dylwmy' xy*](p)ḡ "z(n)[*ty*] *pwsty* (23R14–15), which Sims-Williams translates as "the book of the story of the holy father John [Dailomaya]."<sup>74</sup> This could possibly be put in connection with the textual source mentioned in SyrB, the *kaṭābā da-taš'it šarbēh*, "the book of the history of his story," but again, this remains tentative.

John's visit to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān is recorded in all four completely preserved texts.<sup>75</sup> However, as might be expected, the details differ. In SyrA/ArabA, John meets the caliph in Damascus, heals his daughter, and is granted the permission to build the churches he wants. In SyrB, the meeting

69 SyrB: Cambridge Add. 2020, fol. 110<sup>v</sup>; ArabB: Vatican Borg. Ar. 219, fol. 87<sup>v</sup>; ArabC: Sinai Ar. 510, fol. 162<sup>v</sup>.

70 SyrB: Cambridge Add. 2020, fol. 115<sup>v</sup>; ArabB: Vatican Borg. Ar. 219, fols. 95<sup>v</sup>–96<sup>r</sup>; ArabC: Sinai Ar. 510, fol. 188<sup>r</sup>.

71 SyrB: Cambridge Add. 2020, fols. 115<sup>r</sup>, 116<sup>v</sup>; SogdA: E26/14–15.

72 As pointed out by Sims-Williams (*The Life of St Serapion and Other Christian Sogdian Texts*, p. 93), the form with a final *ālaf* quoted by Brock ("A Syriac Life of John of Dailam," pp. 170, 177) is a mere slip.

73 SyrB: Cambridge Add. 2020, fols. 115<sup>v</sup>–116<sup>v</sup> (cf. Brock, "A Syriac Life of John of Dailam," pp. 169–170); SogdA: E26/9.

74 Sims-Williams, *The Life of St Serapion and Other Christian Sogdian Texts*, p. 58.

75 SyrA: Harvard Syr. 38, fols. 182<sup>r</sup>–183<sup>r</sup>; SyrB: Cambridge Add. 2020, fol. 114<sup>r-v</sup>; ArabB: Vatican Borg. Ar. 219, fols. 94<sup>v</sup>–95<sup>r</sup>; ArabC: Sinai Ar. 510, fols. 178<sup>r</sup> ff.; Vat. Ar. 697, fol. 158<sup>r-v</sup>.

again takes place in Damascus, but it is the son of the caliph who is healed by John, who furthermore receives a substantial amount of money for the construction of his monastery. In ArabB/EthA, the meeting takes place in Kufa. This time it is a daughter of ‘Abd al-Malik who is healed. Now, John does not receive the financial aid directly from the caliph, but he receives a letter instructing the governor al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ, whom John subsequently meets in Wāsiṭ on his way to Fars, to provide him with the money. In ArabC, John again meets the caliph in Damascus. Now, the caliph gets in contact with the saint by means of his Christian scribe and again it is the caliph’s daughter who is healed. No fragment of SogdA records this episode.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the web of interrelations between the different Lives of John of Daylam is a complex matter. Another detail, which I presently do not know how to interpret, is that ArabC and Thomas of Marga both mention that Simon the Beardless was engaged in book production, and that one of his disciples sold his books after his death.<sup>76</sup> This notice seems too specific to be coincidental. Did they derive this information from a common source? Perhaps more interesting, but likewise perplexing, is the fact that both SyrB and ArabC mention that John healed al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ from cancer (*sarṭānā / saraṭān*),<sup>77</sup> something which can perhaps have parallels in historical sources.<sup>78</sup> What connection is there between these texts, that they alone should share this detail? Another episode with a singular distribution is the one about the sacristan who was thrown down from a height by Bābī/Yāy while striking the semantron and about the spoiled dough. It occurs in SyrA, ArabB/EthA, and seemingly also in SogdA,<sup>79</sup> but it is absent from SyrB, and I have not been able to find it in any of the ArabC manuscripts.

It is clear that the present contribution has not managed to present an entirely clear picture of the relations between the different Lives of John of Daylam found in the manuscript material. Rather, it may have shed some new light on the textual and historical complexity that characterizes the hagiographical dossier of John of Daylam. I hope that it has also shown convincingly that there is reason to reevaluate the importance of the Arabic lives, based partly on the information derived from EthA, partly from the intrinsic connections between the ArabB, ArabC, and the Syriac sources.

76 ArabC: Paris Ar. 281, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>; Thomas of Marga, *Book of the Governors*, Book 11, chapter 25 (Budge, *The Book of Governors*, vol. 2, pp. 226–227).

77 SyrB: Cambridge Add. 2020, fol. 110<sup>v</sup>; ArabC: Sinai Ar. 510, fol. 181<sup>r</sup>.

78 Brock, “A Syriac Life of John of Dailam,” p. 168.

79 SyrA: Harvard Syr. 38, fol. 184<sup>r</sup>; ArabB: Vatican Borg. Ar. 219, fols. 96<sup>v</sup>–97<sup>r</sup>; SogdA, fragm. E26/15 (cf. Sims-Williams, *The Life of St Serapion and Other Christian Sogdian Texts*, pp. 78–79, 97–98).

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## Some Notes on Antonios and His Arabic Translations of John of Damascus

*Habib Ibrahim*

The present article is a summary of my new findings about the translator Antonios, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Younger near Antioch, and about his translation of a corpus of John of Damascus' works from Greek into Arabic.

Whereas Georg Graf and Joseph Nasrallah dated Antonios' activity to the tenth century, ca. 989AD,<sup>1</sup> new evidence points to a different dating. The tenth century is uncertain for the following reason: while none of Antonios' translations can be securely dated to the tenth century, at least one of them is doubtlessly from the eleventh century—as will be documented below.

The Arabic corpus of John of Damascus, according to Graf, includes two works from the *Fountain of Knowledge: Philosophical Chapters* (CPG 8041b) and *An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (CPG 8043), along with five shorter treatises: *Exposition and Declaration of Faith* (CPG 8078), *Against Nestorians* (CPG 8053), *Against Jacobites* (CPG 8047), *Against Iconoclasts* (a compilation from CPG 8045), and *On the Stay of Jesus in the Tomb* (according to Graf, a compilation from *De fide orthodoxa*, Book IV, chapters 27–29).<sup>2</sup> I have previously demonstrated that Antonios, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Younger translated a corpus of John of Damascus' works slightly different from the one attributed to him by Graf.<sup>3</sup> I shall summarize these findings below. I shall also discuss several issues concerning these works in the Arabic translation.

1 Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 41; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 273.

2 Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, pp. 43–45. Upon verification, this turned out to be not a compilation from *De Fide orthodoxa*, as stated by Graf, but a short text from the *Homily on the Holy Saturday* (CPG 8059). See Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, Berlin and New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1988, vol. 5, pp. 135–136.

3 This was one of the main topics discussed in my PhD dissertation: Habib Ibrahim, "Jean Damascène arabe: Édition critique des deux traités *Contre les Nestoriens*," Paris, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2016.

## 1 Who is Antonios?

Nasrallah wrote a short account of Antonios' life containing some ambiguous and erroneous information. He believed that Antonios lived in the tenth century; that he was initially a monk at the Lavra of Mar Saba near Jerusalem; that he then became abbot of the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Younger near Antioch.<sup>4</sup> At the end of this account, Nasrallah listed Antonios' translations.<sup>5</sup> Before discussing the date of Antonios' *floruit*, I would like to correct and complement Nasrallah's account of Antonios' life and translations.

Concerning this translator's life, many manuscripts—some of them already identified, others still largely unknown—contain precise, yet insufficiently explored information. One of the known manuscripts is Paris, BnF Ar. 276. In the colophon of this manuscript (fol. 257<sup>r</sup>) we read as follows:

مما عني بنقله من اللغة اليونانية الى العربية الاب القديس والمعلم الفاضل ابا انطوني الشيخ  
الراهب بدير القديس ايننا ماري سمعان العجايبى ... واتفق فراغ نسخه يوم الاربعاء النصف من  
النهار لسبعة وعشرين يوما مضت من شهر اذار وكان ذلك يوم التوبة من الصوم الاقدس من  
التاريخ سنة الف احد وتسعين لاسكندر اليوناني.

Translated from Greek into Arabic by the holy father and virtuous master Abba Antonios the elder, monk of the Monastery of our holy father Symeon the Wonderworker. ... This copy was completed at midday on Wednesday, 27 March, the day of repentance of the Great Lent in the year 1091 of Alexander the Greek (= 780AD).

The year 780AD, unfortunately, seems to be a falsified date written by a second hand.<sup>6</sup> The date of this manuscript is around the eleventh century, because it contains *The Beneficial Tales* of Paul of Monembasia (tenth century).<sup>7</sup> Despite

4 Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 2, p. 41; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 273–274.

5 Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 2, pp. 41–45; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 273–289.

6 Gérard Troupeau has already called attention to this falsification in his *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes: Première partie, manuscrits chrétiens*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1972, vol. 1, p. 244.

7 For the date of Paul of Monembasia's *The Beneficial Tales*, see Joseph-Marie Sauguet, "Le Paterikon du ms arabe 276 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," *Le Muséon*, 82 (1969), pp. 363–404; John Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie, et d'autres auteurs*, Paris, Édition du CNRS, 1987.

that, the colophon of this manuscript contains important information about Antonios that previous scholars did not highlight. When Antonios translated these works, he was still *rāhib*, a monk at the Monastery Saint Symeon, probably advanced in age or in monastic life, and for this reason was called *ṣayh*, “elder.” It seems that Antonios was not yet abbot when he accomplished this translation.

Another manuscript, Sinai Ar. 529 confirms this information.<sup>8</sup> Based on the colophon of this manuscript, I mentioned in a previous article that Antonios is the translator of *The Life of St. John Chrysostom* by (Pseudo-)George patriarch of Alexandria, preserved in two manuscripts Sinai Ar. 528 and Sinai Ar. 529.<sup>9</sup> According to the copyist, Antonios was only a monk at the Monastery of Saint Symeon when he translated this work.

Here is the colophon of Sinai Ar. 529 (fol. 279<sup>v</sup>):

خبر القديس وريديس اساقفة مدينة القسطنطينية يوحنا الذهبي فمه مما نقله من اللغة اليونانية  
الى العربية الاب الفاضل والمعلم النفيس ابا انطوني الراهب القديس المقيم بدير اينا الجليل في  
القديسين ما(ر) سمعان العجايب الصاير عليه فيما بعد قسا وريديسا للاخوه وفيه اكمل حياته في  
رياسته.

The life of Saint John Chrysostom Archbishop of the city of Constantinople, translated from Greek into Arabic by the virtuous father and precious master Abba Antonios the holy monk living in the Monastery of our glorious father among the saints Saint Symeon the Wonderworker, in which he became later priest and abbot of the brethren and where he completed his life as abbot.

In this notice, the copyist transmits to us a particularly interesting detail. He says that, after having been a monk for a while at Saint Symeon, Antonios became priest and abbot of the same monastery. Therefore, he had lived at the Monastery of Saint Symeon even before he became its superior. This calls in question Nasrallah's conviction that Antonios had been, initially, a monk at Mar Saba.

8 For a description of this manuscript, see Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1970, p. 46.

9 Habib Ibrahim and Mike Makhoul, “Les débuts du renouveau intellectuel à Antioche au xe s.: Quatre hagiographies inédites traduites au Mont-Admirable,” *Pecia: Le livre et l'écrit*, 18 (2015), pp. 39–54, at pp. 40–42.

In reality, the belief that Antonios had stayed at Mar Saba is a misunderstanding of the copyist of the manuscript Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 347 (eighteenth century). In this manuscript, we read for the first time that Antonios was a monk at the *Monastery of Mar Saba*<sup>10</sup> (the word “Monastery” is corrected to “Lavra” above the line). This scribal correction apparently reveals the error of the copyist who was unaware of the existence of the Monastery of Saint Symeon and wrote “Mar Saba” instead. Another manuscript, al-Ḥarf (Lebanon), Monastery of Saint George 10 (year 1849) repeats the same error. Here is the incipit (fol. 5<sup>r</sup>):

كتاب الفلسفه ليوحنا الدمشقي ترجمها الاب انطونيوس الذي من سيق القديس سابا من اللغه  
اليونانيه الى العربيه.

John of Damascus’ Book of Philosophy translated by Father Antonios of the Lavra of Saint Saba from Greek into Arabic.

We notice also that these two manuscripts have modified Antonios’ usual expression for his translation work: *مما عني بنقله*. Instead, they write *ترجمها*. It is obvious, especially based on the first argument, that this is a relatively late alteration, which does not reveal any reliable information about the translator.

## 2 Antonios’ Translations

Nasrallah’s notes about Antonios’ monastic life are not the only aspect of his account that intrigues us. He assumes that there are two distinct Arabic translations of John Chrysostom’s *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*. He attributes one of them to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl and the other to Antonios.<sup>11</sup> This thesis is based on two relatively late manuscripts (seventeenth/eighteenth centuries) that attribute the translation of the *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl: Jerusalem, Mār Ya‘qūb Ar. 5 (year 1640) and Sbath 984 (year 1718) (modern call number: Aleppo, Fondation Salem Ar. 185),<sup>12</sup> while

10 For a description of this manuscript, see Louis Cheikho, “Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Orientale,” *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l’Université Saint-Joseph*, 10 (1925), pp. 112–113 [216–217].

11 Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 197.

12 Nasrallah mentions three other anonymous and undated manuscripts from Sbath’s *Fihris* (a catalogue of privately owned manuscripts): Aleppo, Collections of Yūsuf Baḥḥāš and C. Ḥuḍarī. We do not know whether those manuscripts still exist or are lost.

older manuscripts identify the translator as Antonios. For example, at the end of the manuscript Sinai Ar. 285 (year 1053), fol. 334<sup>r</sup>, we read as follows:

مما عني بنقله من اللغة اليونانية الى العربية ابا انطوني ريس دير القديس سمعان العجايبى نوح  
الرب نفسه مع كافة قديسيه.

Translated from Greek into Arabic by Abba Antonios, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Wonderworker, may God give rest to his soul with all His saints.

Furthermore, all three manuscripts feature the same Arabic translation. There is, accordingly, no reason to think that there was a second translation by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl.

Similarly, Nasrallah assumes that there are two Arabic translations of John Chrysostom’s *Commentary on the Gospel of John*. He likewise attributes one of them to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl and the other to Antonios.<sup>13</sup> Once again, Nasrallah’s information is based on a relatively late manuscript, Sbath 778 (year 1633)—modern call number: Aleppo, Fondation Salem Ar. 2—where the copyist Talḡa says that Antonios, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Symeon copied ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s translation in 1134AD.<sup>14</sup> By way of comparison, in the colophon of Sinai Ar. 292 (thirteenth century), fol. 375<sup>v</sup> we read:

تم ... تفسير يوحنا القديس فم الذهب الانجيل المنسوب الى يوحنا الثاولوغس في ثمان وثمانين  
مقاله مما عني بنقله من اللغة اليونانية الى العربية الاب القديس ابا انطوني الريس على دير  
القديس مر سمعان العجايبى ...

Saint John Chrysostom’s *Commentary on the Gospel of John the Theologian* in eighty-eight chapters has been completed. It was translated from Greek into Arabic by the holy father Abba Antonios, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Wonderworker.

Nasrallah also attributes to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl an Arabic translation of John Chrysostom’s *Commentary on Corinthians*. In the manuscript Paris, BnF Ar. 94

13 Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 198–199.

14 Another manuscript in which the translation is attributed to ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl is Damascus, Orthodox Patriarchate 8 (year 1712/3); the translation is identical to Antonios’ translation preserved in Sinai Ar. 291 (thirteenth century).

(year 1236), we find some *Homilies of John Chrysostom on Matthew* and some *Homilies on Corinthians* (9, 22–36, and 40–42).<sup>15</sup> Nasrallah, who believes that the *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* was translated by ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, consequently attributes the translation of the *Homilies on Corinthians*, found in the same manuscript, to the same translator. Now that we know for certain that Antonios is the only Arabic translator of the *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, we can invert Nasrallah’s analysis and propose that he was the translator of the *Homilies on Corinthians* as well.<sup>16</sup> Only a future philological analysis could prove or disprove this hypothesis.

We can see that in all these cases Nasrallah uncritically accepted information found in relatively late manuscripts (seventeenth-nineteenth centuries). Therefore, it is highly unlikely that ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl was the translator of any of these works.

At the end of this section, I would like to mention two works recently identified as Antonios’ translations. The first one is *The Ladder* of John Climacus. Of the two extant Arabic translations of *The Ladder* the more recent one was identified by Alexander Treiger as belonging to Antonios.<sup>17</sup> It is fragmentarily preserved in the manuscript Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, B1217 (year 1178). We find the complete text in Sinai Ar. 343 (year 1612).<sup>18</sup> Neither of these manuscripts transmits Antonios’ name, but we can easily recognize his style—his “fingerprints,” in Treiger’s words.<sup>19</sup> The second text is the life of Saint Symeon the Stylite the Younger (*BHG* 1690) written by the duke of Antioch Nicephorus Uranus ca. 1000. I identified Antonios as the translator through a philological analysis.<sup>20</sup> This *Vita* is preserved in Sinai Ar. 406 (thirteenth century), fols. 2<sup>r</sup>–142<sup>r</sup>. Future studies will, no doubt, shed light on additional texts translated by Antonios.

15 The same homilies are apparently preserved in Sinai Ar. 289 (thirteenth century), fols. 243<sup>r</sup>–316<sup>r</sup>; see Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 27; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 201.

16 Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 201.

17 Alexander Treiger, “Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers,” *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), pp. 188–227, at pp. 215–218.

18 On this manuscript, see Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 37.

19 Treiger, “Christian Graeco-Arabica,” p. 216.

20 Ibrahim and Makhoul, “Les débuts,” pp. 42–47.

### 3 Antonios' Translation Style

The first scholar to have written about Antonios' style was Georg Graf in 1950, though his article was published only in 2014.<sup>21</sup> I also examined Antonios' style in my edition of his translation of John of Damascus' *De Fide contra Nestorianos* (CPG 8054) and *Against Nestorians* (CPG 8053).<sup>22</sup> The most characteristic element of Antonios' translation style is his rendering of the Greek *alpha privativum*.<sup>23</sup> For this purpose, he uses such expressions as *'adīm an*, *'adīm + maṣdar*, and *barī min*. Here is a comparison between how *alpha privativum* is rendered in Antonios' translations and in 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's translation of John of Damascus' *Libellus de recta sententia* (PG 94, 1421–1432):<sup>24</sup>

Antonios	'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl
ἀγέννητος	غير مولود
ἀδιαίρετος	غير منقسم
ἀειπαρθένος	بتول
ἀμήτωρ	بلا ام
ἀνέπαφος	غير ملهوس
ἀνυπόστατος	غير منقسم
ἀόρατος	غير منظور
ἀπαθής	غير منفعل
ἀπάτωρ	بلا اب
ἀπερίγραπτος	غير محصور
ἀσώματος	عاري من احكام الجسم

21 Georg Graf, "Arabische Übersetzungen von Schriften des Johannes von Damaskus, herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Eva Ambros," *Oriens christianus*, 97 (2013–2014), pp. 100–136.

22 Ibrahim, "Jean Damascène arabe," pp. 113–118; see also Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," pp. 209–218, esp. p. 213.

23 Ibrahim, "Jean Damascène arabe," p. 116.

24 This is an unedited work; I refer to two manuscripts: Sinai Ar. 317, fols. 450<sup>r</sup>–459<sup>v</sup> and Vat. Ar. 79, fols. 325<sup>v</sup>–326<sup>r</sup>.

Antonios also has a characteristic vocabulary:<sup>25</sup>

- the root *lhz* is used to render ὀράω / βλέπω / θεάομαι;
- *ǧazil* is used to say “a lot of”;
- πάθος is translated as *dā’ ‘azm*;
- προσέχω is translated as *yataṣaffah*;
- παρανομία is translated as *zāyig ‘an al-šarī’a*;
- εὐσέβεια is translated as *tahdīb dīn*;
- εὐλογία is translated as *iǧāb al-tabrik*.

He translates verb + τις by verb + present participle (*ism fā’il*) derived from the same verb:

- εἴποι ἄν τις is translated as *yaṣif wāsif*;
- προσάγεται τις is translated as *ǧāba ǧāyib*;
- προσήλθέ τις is translated as *warada wārid*.

He also has a specific way of translating particles and conjunctions:

- γάρ is translated by *ذلك الدليل على ذلك* or *وبين ذلك* (instead of the simple لان);
- τὸ μὲν ... τὸ δὲ is translated by *فالصنف الواحد ... والصنف الاخر*;
- διὸ is translated by *فلهذا المعنى* (instead of لهذا);
- καθὼς is translated by *على حدّو ما* (instead of كما).<sup>26</sup>

Adverbs ending in –ως are translated as *‘alā ǧīhat* + adjective or noun.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4 Dating Antonios’ *Floruit*

Graf and Nasrallah dated Antonios’s *floruit* to the tenth century, because they claimed that the manuscript Vat. Ar. 436,<sup>28</sup> copied in 1581 by the priest David from Bṭarān,<sup>29</sup> is a copy of a lost antigraph copied in 379AH, i.e., 989/90AD.<sup>30</sup> However, Graf and Nasrallah seem to misunderstand the colophon of the Vat. Ar. 436. Recently, Alexander Treiger has suggested a new reading for this colophon.<sup>31</sup> Here is the Arabic text of the colophon and its translation:

25 For detailed references, see Ibrahim and Makhoul, “Les débuts.”

26 For a more detailed list, see Ibrahim, “Jean Damascène arabe,” p. 111.

27 Ibrahim, “Jean Damascène arabe,” p. 110.

28 On this manuscript, see also Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, vol. IV, Rome, Typis Vaticanis, 1831, p. 513.

29 Nowadays called Bṭurrām, a village of the Kūra region near Tripoli.

30 Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 2, p. 41; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 273.

31 Personal communication (14 December 2016).

نُقل هذا الكتاب المبارك من نسخة قد تقدّم تاريخها عن تاريخه ثلاثماية وأسعة وسبعين سنة قهرية.

This blessed book was copied from an antegraph whose date is older than the date of this [book] by 379 lunar years.

It is thus clear that the antegraph was *not* copied in 379AH, i.e., 989/90AD. To obtain the date of the antegraph we need to subtract 379 lunar (i.e., *hiḡrī*) years from 1581AD. Because 1581AD corresponds to 989AH, the date of the antegraph is 989 minus 379 = 610AH, i.e., 1213/4AD. Thus, the antegraph was copied ca. 1213/4AD, and not in 989/990AD, as earlier scholars have assumed.

I believe this reading is correct. It also correlates with our new discoveries about Antonios' translations. The manuscript Vat. Ar. 436 does not have the *original* corpus of John of Damascus translated by Antonios (as discussed below, this original corpus is preserved in two manuscripts: Sinai Ar. 319 and Sinai Ar. 599), and consequently its antegraph could not be that old.

A more or less sure *terminus post quem* for Antonios' *floruit* is provided by the translation of the *Vita of Saint Symeon the Stylite the Younger* (BHG 1690). As mentioned above, the duke of Antioch Nicephorus Uranus composed this *Vita* ca. 1000AD, and, consequently, Antonios must have translated it no earlier than the first half of the eleventh century. Thus, the only sure *terminus post quem* for Antonios' *floruit* is 1000, and there is no reason to date Antonios to the tenth century.

As regards the *terminus ante quem*, we read in the manuscript Sinai Ar. 285 (year 1053) an invocation for the repose of Antonios' soul:

مما عني بنقله من اللغة اليونانية الى العربية ابا انطوني ريبس دير القديس سمعان العجايب نوح  
الرب نفسه مع كافة قديسيه.

Translated from Greek into Arabic by Abba Antonios, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Wonderworker, may God give rest to his soul with all His saints.

The invocation "may God give rest to his soul with all His saints" is typically used to commemorate the dead. This means that Antonios must have died before this date. The *terminus ante quem* for this translator is, therefore, 1053.

## 5 Some Notes on Antonios' Translation of John of Damascus

### 5.1 *Two Arabic Corpuses of John of Damascus*

Nasrallah has correctly observed that there are two slightly different corpuses of John of Damascus in Arabic. This observation is based on two passages from Vat. Ar. 177 (thirteenth/fourteenth century).<sup>32</sup> On fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, the copyist claims:

معرفة ما يتضمنه هذا المصحف الشريف من الاقوال النافعة مما افه الاب العظيم يوحنا القس  
الدمشقي المكنى بجري الذهب وترجمه من اللسان اليوناني الى اللغة العربية الراهب انبا انطوني  
رييس دير ماري سمعان وجملتها مايه وثلثه ونحسون فصلا واقوال اخر ذات معان شتا.

Table of contents of this honourable collection of beneficial treatises (*aqwāl*) written by the famous father John, the priest from Damascus, known as Chrysorroas, translated from Greek into Arabic by the monk Anbā Antonios, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Symeon. It includes 153 chapters and other treatises on diverse subjects.

On fol. 2<sup>r</sup>, the copyist adds:

وله اقوال اخر في الامانه وفي معان اخر كثيره وهي سته: والقول الاول تصنيف الامانه  
وايضاحها، الثاني فصل من مقاله التي طعن بها على مفندي الايقونات، الثالث في التكلم  
في اللاهوت ويدل على قيامه المسيح سيدنا بعد ثلثه ايام، الرابع في تجلي يسوع المسيح الالهنا  
المتقدس، الخامس مقاله طعن على النسطوريين، السادس طعن على المذكورين ايضا.

He has other treatises on faith and other diverse subjects, six in number: (1) *Classification and Clarification of the Faith*; (2) a chapter from the treatise written in refutation of the Iconoclasts; (3) *On Theology*, in which he explains about the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ after three days; (4) *On the Holy Transfiguration of our God Jesus Christ*; (5) a treatise written in refutation of the Nestorians; and (6) **Another refutation of the same.**

This means that the thirteenth/fourteenth century copyist of Vat. Ar. 177 was unaware of any translation of *Against Jacobites* and, by contrast, knew *two*

32 On this manuscript, see Mai, *Scriptorum veterum*, pp. 319–324.

treatises against Nestorians. These two treatises are: *De Fide contra Nestorianos* (CPG 8054) and *Against Nestorians* (CPG 8053), in this order. Nasrallah correctly interprets this passage as referring to the original corpus translated by Antonios. In the thirteenth century, however, a new corpus appeared where the first of the two treatises against Nestorians (*De Fide contra Nestorianos*, CPG 8054) was replaced with *Against Jacobites*, and the *Homily on the Transfiguration* was omitted. Nasrallah attributes this new corpus to the copyist Poimen of Damascus (year 1223). Despite this, however, Nasrallah was unable to identify any manuscript witnesses to the original corpus to prove his thesis.

I was fortunate to discover in the Sinai Arabic collection two manuscripts containing the original corpus. These are Sinai Ar. 319 and Sinai Ar. 599 (thirteenth century).<sup>33</sup> The translation preserved in these two manuscripts does not contain the treatise *Against Jacobites*. Instead, we have an additional treatise against Nestorians—the *De Fide contra Nestorianos* (CPG 8054)—and a *Homily on the Transfiguration* (CPG 8057), as described in Vat. Ar. 177. Unfortunately, both manuscripts have missing folios at the beginning and at the end, which results in the loss of the translator's name. Nonetheless, we can prove that Antonios is the translator of these two additional works of John of Damascus and that, conversely, he is *not* the translator of *Against Jacobites*. On the one hand, none of the manuscripts containing the treatise *Against Jacobites* has Antonios' name; conversely, we do find his name in manuscripts with the two treatises against Nestorians and the *Homily on the Transfiguration*, e.g., Baskinta (Lebanon), Monastery of Saint Michael 1. On the other hand, both *Homily on the Transfiguration* and the additional treatise against Nestorians—the *De Fide contra Nestorianos* (CPG 8054)—unquestionably reflect Antonios' style of translation; this, however, is not the case with the treatise *Against Jacobites*. Here is one example demonstrating similarities between the Arabic translations of the two treatises against Nestorians.<sup>34</sup>

33 Graf's and Nasrallah's coverage of Sinai Arabic manuscript is insufficient. They seem to have known them only from catalogues.

34 For a comprehensive analysis and an edition of the two treatises against Nestorians, see Ibrahim, "Jean Damascène arabe."

*De Fide contra Nestorianos* 23 (Arabic trans. ed. Ibrahim, "Jean Damascène arabe," p. 149, lines 112–113)

*Against Nestorians* 43 (Arabic trans. ed. Ibrahim, "Jean Damascène arabe," p. 227, lines 369–371)

ولسنا نقول ان الكلمه حال وتغير وصار لهما لكننا نقول ان  
الكلمه الله نفسه سكن في بطن البتول بمنزله زرع الاهي  
واتخذ من البتول ومن دمايها الطاهر لهما تشخص فيه  
منفسا بنفس ناطقه عاقله

حُبِّلَ به بمسره ابيه في اخر الازمان في حشا البتول القديسه  
الطاهر الفاقد العيب في كافه اوصافه بمنزله زرع الاهي  
وتجسم خلوا من تقلب او تغير وخلوا من انتقال، ومعنى  
ذلك انه قَمَّ في ذاته جسما منفسا بنفس ناطقه عاقله

Thus, we have to make a distinction between Antonios' translation and Poimen's Arabic corpus of John of Damascus—the latter containing the treatise *Against Jacobites*, and compiled prior to 1223 (or probably 1213/4, if the copyist David of Bṭarān gives a correct date of the antigraph of Vat. Ar. 177). Here is a comparison between the works found in each of these corpuses.<sup>35</sup>

**Antonios' original corpus**  
(Sinai Ar. 319 and Sinai Ar. 599)

**Poimen's corpus**  
(Vat. Ar. 436 and Sinai Ar. 317)

1. *Letter to Cosmas*
2. *Philosophical Chapters* (CPG 8041b)
3. *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (CPG 8043)
4. Six Treatises:
  - *Classification and Clarification of the Faith* (CPG 8078)
  - *Against Nestorians* (CPG 8053)

1. *Letter to Cosmas*
2. *Philosophical Chapters* (CPG 8041b)
3. *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (CPG 8043)
4. Five Treatises:
  - *Classification and Clarification of the Faith* (CPG 8078)
  - *Against Nestorians* (CPG 8053)

35 The ordering of the treatises in the table below is my own. The actual order of the treatises differs in the two corpuses. In Antonios' original corpus, the Six Treatises (No. 4 in the above table) are arranged as follows: *Classification and Clarification of the Faith*; *Against Iconoclasts*; *On Theology and Nativity*; *Homily on the Transfiguration*; *De Fide contra Nestorianos*; and *Against Nestorians*. It is possible that the corpus began with the *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* and ended with the *Philosophical chapters* (if we follow Sinai Ar. 319; cf. description of Sinai Ar. 319 and Sinai Ar. 599 in Ibrahim, "Jean Damascène arabe," pp. 74–76). In Poimen's corpus, on the other hand, the sequence is: *Letter to Cosmas*; *Philosophical Chapters*; Five Treatises (in the order given in the table above); and *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*.

(cont.)

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**Antonios' original corpus**  
 (Sinai Ar. 319 and Sinai Ar. 599)

**Poimen's corpus**  
 (Vat. Ar. 436 and Sinai Ar. 317)

- 
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– <i>Against Iconoclasts</i> (CPG 8045)</li> <li>– <i>On Theology and Nativity</i> (cf. CPG 8059)</li> <li>– <i>De Fide contra Nestorianos</i> (CPG 8054)</li> <li>– <i>Homily on the Transfiguration</i> (CPG 8057)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– <i>Against Iconoclasts</i> (CPG 8045)</li> <li>– <i>On Theology and Nativity</i> (cf. CPG 8059)</li> <li>– <i>Against Jacobites</i> (CPG 8047)</li> <li>– Appendix: <i>Life of John of Damascus; Libellus de recta sententia; etc.</i></li> </ul> |
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## 5.2 *The Greek Text behind the Dialectica*

In Greek, there are two recensions of John of Damascus' *Philosophical Chapters*: (1) *recensio brevior* (b, short recension) and (2) *recensio fusior* (f, more extensive recension), divided into sixty-eight chapters. Kotter edited both recensions.<sup>36</sup> I compared the Greek and Arabic texts to determine which group of manuscripts the Arabic translation follows. Here are some characteristics of the Arabic text:<sup>37</sup>

- **Chapter 2:** 88/89 τοῦ ἀπὸ γένους om. (like b2. 435); 150 ἄνθρωπον add. λογικὸν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλογα (like b); 154 ἀλλ' ὑποστάσεις om. (like b); 158 κατὰ μέρος om. (like b); 163 οὔτε γὰρ—συναμφοτέρον] αὐτοῦ οὐδέ τῷ σώματι (like b); 171 Παύλου—καὶ<sup>2</sup> om. (like b); 186 εἰσὶν εἰδικώτατα] μόνον εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ γένη, διὸ εἰδικώτατά εἰσιν (like f2. b).
- **Chapter 3:** 11 τοῦ ἀτόμου om. (like b); ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας om. (like b).
- **Chapter 4:** 12 μὴ—τινᾶ] εὐρεθῆναι δύο τινα μὴ διαφέροντα ἀλλήλων (like b); 18 ὅπερ—ἀπαραλλάκτως om. (like b); 21 τουτέστιν—ἀτόμου om. (like b); 22/23 ὁ μὲν—23 γρυπός om. (like b); μὲν<sup>2</sup>] εἷς ἄνθρωπος (like b); 25 περὶ—ἐροῦμεν om. (like b).
- **Chapter 5:** 6 τοῦτο—11 συμβεβηκότι om. (like b); 12 λεγομένην om. b; 24 τῆς φύσεως om. (like b).
- **Chapter 6:** 13 Εἶ—15 ἀντιστρέφειν om. (like b); 18/19 καὶ τὸ ὀρθοπεριπατητικὸν om. (like b); 7 10 αὐτῶν om. (like b); 31 ἀλλὰ add. μόνον (like b).

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36 Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 1.

37 The chapter numbers follow the *recensio brevior*. Thereafter, I present the line number(s) following Kotter's edition, the reading, the kind of modification (om. = omission; add. = addition; etc.), and the group of manuscripts with which the Arabic version most closely aligns.

- **Chapter 8:** ιζ' Περὶ ὑποκειμένου om. b add. Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι (like f2. b).
- **Chapter 15:** 16 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συνώνυμοι om. (like b<sub>1</sub>).
- **Chapter 16:** 1 συνωνύμου] συνωνύμων (like b).
- **Chapter 17:** 7 κυρίου] πράγματος (like b).
- **Chapter 18:** 2 ἤγουν—ὀρισμῶ om. (like b).
- **Chapter 19:** 10 μουσική] δικαιοσύνη (like b<sub>1</sub>); 11 μουσικός] δίκαιος (like b<sub>1</sub>); ἐκ τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ ὁ] καὶ ὁ γραμματικὸς ὁ γάρ (like b).
- **Chapter 20:** 5–10 numbers α'—ι' om. (like b<sub>1</sub>); 8 πέρυσι add. χθές (like b); 14 καὶ om. (like b<sub>1</sub>).
- **Chapter 22:** 2–12 numbers α'—ια' om. (like b).
- **Chapter 30:** 5 post διαιρεῖται inserit μζ' 6<sup>b</sup> τὸ σῶμα—21<sup>b</sup> πατέρες et ταῦτα—φύσεως (like b<sub>1</sub>).
- **Chapter 31:** 26 ἐπουσιωδῶν] ἐπεὶ οὐσιωδῶν οὐδαμῶς (like b).
- **Chapter 32:** 7–11 numbers α'—ι' om. (like b<sub>1</sub>).
- **Chapter 33:** 37 πέντε om. (like b).
- **Chapter 35:** 12 καὶ λογικοῖς om. b; ἐνυπάρχουσι] υπάρχουσι (like b).
- **Chapter 36:** 32 ἐν—χρόνῳ om. (like b).
- **Chapter 43:** 11 κύων add. καὶ τὰ τοιοῦτα (like b).
- **Chapter 48:** 5 ὄτι<sup>2</sup> om. (like b); 31 ἐστι<sup>2</sup>—32 κατηγορούμενον om. (like b).
- **Chapter 50:** 12 φυσικά om. (like b); 33 ἔργον om. (like b<sub>1</sub>).

It is obvious that in most cases the Arabic follows the short recension (b), especially the subgroup (b<sub>1</sub>). I noticed that in three other major cases the Arabic follows only (b<sub>1</sub>).

First, after chapter 3, entitled Περὶ ἀτόμου, Antonios adds a chapter 4 entitled: *الباب الرابع في ان الجوهر هو جنس اعم الاجناس* (= ὅτι οὐσία γενικώτατον γένος ἐστίν). In Kotter's *recensio brevior* (b), this chapter happens to be part of chapter 30, but not in b<sub>1</sub><sup>38</sup> as he notices in a footnote on p. 81: "12 ὑπόστασιν b<sub>1</sub> add. eundem textum, qui infra μζ' 4–21<sup>b</sup>, et eum qui in app. crit. ad μζ' 21<sup>b</sup> (Ταῦτα—φύσεως) invenitur."

This means that after the word ὑπόστασιν (chapter 3, line 12), the manuscripts of the subgroup b<sub>1</sub> add the text that we find below chapter 47, 4–21<sup>b</sup> (*recensio fusior*) with the section provided in the critical apparatus after 21<sup>b</sup>. If we try to reconstruct the text of b<sub>1</sub> according to Kotter's description, it gives the same text as in Arabic, as we can see in the table below (the underlined sections come from the *recensio fusior* and the critical apparatus).

38 These manuscripts are: Paris, BnF gr. 1105 (eleventh century), Venice, Marc. gr. 11, 196 (eleventh century), and Vat. Barb. gr. 434 (thirteenth century).

b1

Arabic

Ἄλλη. Ἡ οὐσία γενικώτατον γένος ἐστίν· αὕτη διαιρείται εἰς σώμα καὶ ἀσώματον, τὸ σῶμα εἶδος τῆς οὐσίας καὶ γένους τοῦ ἐμψύχου, τὸ σῶμα εἰς ἐμψυχον καὶ ἄψυχον, τὸ ἐμψυχον εἶδος τοῦ σώματος καὶ γένους τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ τὸ ἐμψυχον εἰς αἰσθητικὸν καὶ ἀναίσθητον (ζῶον, ζώοφυτον καὶ φυτόν), τὸ αἰσθητικὸν ζῶον εἶδος τοῦ ἐμψύχου καὶ γένους τοῦ λογικοῦ τὸ ζῶον εἰς λογικὸν καὶ ἄλογον, τὸ λογικὸν εἶδος τοῦ ζώου καὶ γένους τοῦ θνητοῦ τὸ λογικὸν εἰς θνητὸν καὶ ἀθάνατον, τὸ θνητὸν εἶδος τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ γένους τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ θνητὸν εἰς ἀνθρώπων, βούν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁ ἀνθρώπος εἰδικώτατον εἶδος ὁ ἀνθρώπος εἰς Πέτρον, Παῦλον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς κατὰ μέρος ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινές εἰσιν ἄτομα καὶ ὑποστάσεις καὶ πρόσωπα. εἶδος γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ εἶδος Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, ὅπερ ἐστὶ φύσις καὶ μορφή καὶ οὐσία κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας. Ταῦτα μέσα τοῦ γενικωτάτου γένους ἦτοι τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῶν εἰδικωτάτων εἰδῶν ἦτοι ἀνθρώπου, βούου, καὶ γένη εἰσι καὶ εἶδη ὑπάλληλα. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγονται οὐσιῶδεις καὶ φυσικαὶ διαφοραὶ καὶ ποιότητες, διαιρητικαὶ τῶν ἐπάνω καὶ συστατικαὶ τῶν ὑποκάτω, καὶ εἰδοποιοὶ τῶν εἰδικωτάτων εἰδῶν συνιστῶσαι αὐτὰ καὶ διαίρουσαι φύσιν ἀπὸ φύσεως.

الباب الرابع في ان الجوهر هو جنس اعم الاجناس ينقسم الى جسم وخايب من جسم فالجسم نوع للجوهر وجنس لذي النفس والجسم ينقسم الى ذي نفس وخايب من نفس فذو النفس نوع للجسم وجنس للحي الحساس وذو النفس ينقسم الى حي حساس والى عديم ان يكون حساسا هو النبات فالحي الحساس نوع لذي النفس وجنس الناطق والحي ينقسم الى ناطق وعديم ان يكون ناطقا فالناطق نوع للحي وجنس للميت والناطق ينقسم الى ميت وعديم ان يكون ميتا فالميت نوع للناطق وجنس للانسان والميت ينقسم الى انسان وثور وكلب ونظايرها فالانسان والثور والكلب انواع اخص الانواع والانسان ينقسم الى بطرس وبولوس والى باقي الناس الافراد الجزويين الذين هم اشخاص غير متجزيه ووجوه فالانسان هو نوع للميت ونوع لبطرس وبولوس وهو طبيعه وصوره وجوهر على راي الابا القديسين فهذه المتوسطه فيما بين الجوهر الذي هو جنس اعم الاجناس وفيما بين الانسان والثور والكلب التي هي انواع اخص الانواع هي اجناس وانواع احدها تحت الاخر هذه تدعى فصولا جوهرية طبيعیه وكيفيات فهي قاسمه لما فوقها ومكونه ما تحتها ومبدعه الانواع هذه تقسم وتكون طبيعه من طبيعه للانواع التي هي اخص الانواع والطبيعه ترتب لنوع اخص الانواع.

We notice that the only difference is that the Arabic considers this text as chapter (4) while the Greek calls it ἄλλη (“another one”). This explains the difference in chapter numbering between b1 and the Arabic translation.

Arabic	b <sub>1</sub>	Title
1	1	Περὶ τοῦ ὄντος οὐσίας τε καὶ συμβεβηκότος
2	2	Περὶ γένους καὶ εἴδους, τοῦ γενικωτάτου καὶ τοῦ εἰδικωτάτου καὶ τῶν ὑπαλλήλων
3	3a	Περὶ ἀτόμου
4	3b	Ἄλλη
5	4	Περὶ διαφορᾶς
6	5	Περὶ συμβεβηκότος
7	6	Περὶ ἰδίου
8	7	Περὶ τῶν κατηγορουμένων
9	8	Περὶ συνωνύμου καὶ ὁμωνύμου κατηγορίας
10	9	Περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ τί ἐστὶ κατηγορίας καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ὁποῖόν τί ἐστὶ κατηγορίας
11	10	Περὶ ὑποστάσεως καὶ ἐνυποστάτου καὶ ἀνυποστάτου
12	11	Περὶ οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως καὶ μορφῆς ἀτόμου τε καὶ προσώπου καὶ ὑποστάσεως
13	12	Περὶ διαιρέσεως
14	13	Περὶ τοῦ φύσει προτέρου
15	14	Περὶ ὀρισμοῦ
16	15	Περὶ ὁμωνύμων
17	16	Περὶ συνωνύμου
18	17	Περὶ πολυωνύμων
19	18	Περὶ ἐτέρων καὶ ἑτερωνύμων
20	19	Περὶ παρωνύμων
21	20	Περὶ τῶν δέκα γενικωτάτων γενῶν

Second, at the end of the standard text, both b<sub>1</sub> and Arabic have two additional chapters, divided slightly differently in Arabic than in Greek, though they still contain exactly the same information.<sup>39</sup> Here is the incipit.

Ἔτερον κεφάλαιον. Τὸ γένος διαιρεῖται εἰς εἶδη· τὸ γένος ἐπάνω ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ εἶδη ὑποκάτω. Ἀδύνατον τὸ γένος μὴ ἔχειν ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ εἶδη, ἀδύνατον τὰ εἶδη μὴ ἔχειν ἐπάνω αὐτῶν γένος, ὡσπερ ἀδύνατον πατέρα μὴ ἔχειν υἱὸν καὶ ἀδύνατον υἱὸν μὴ ἔχειν πατέρα.

الباب الثاني والخمسون في الجنس الجنس ينقسم الى انواعه فالجنس هو من فوق وانواعه تحته فممتنع ان يكون الجنس ليس له تحته انواعه وممتنع ان تكون انواع ليس لها فوقها جنسها كما ان ممتنع ان يكون اب ليس له ابن وممتنع ان يكون ابن ليس له اب.

39 Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 1, pp. 142–146.

Third, because chapters 30 and 31 in Greek (b) merge into one chapter (chapter 29) in b<sub>1</sub>,<sup>40</sup> they also merge into one chapter (chapter 32) in Arabic.

However, it should be mentioned that the Arabic has a peculiarity shared by none of the b<sub>1</sub> manuscripts used in Kotter's edition. In Arabic, the Greek chapter 21 is divided into two chapters (in Arabic numbered as chapters 22–23), the new one starting after αἱ συνιστώσαι τὰ εἶδη and entitled “On the One” (*fi l-wāhid*, presumably reflecting the Greek Περὶ τοῦ ἑνός). Thus, the numbering is once more disturbed. Here is the concordance.

Arabic	b <sub>1</sub>	Title
22–23	21	Περὶ ὁμογενῶν καὶ ὁμοειδῶν ἑτερογενῶν τε καὶ ἑτεροειδῶν καὶ ἀριθμῶ διαφερόντων
24	22a (Kotter 22)	Περὶ τοῦ ἓν τινι
25	22b (Kotter 23)	Περὶ οὐσίας
26	23 (Kotter 24)	Περὶ φύσεως
27	24 (Kotter 25)	Περὶ μορφῆς
28	25 (Kotter 26)	Περὶ ὑποστάσεως
29	26 (Kotter 27)	Περὶ προσώπου
30	27 (Kotter 28)	Περὶ ἐνυποστάτου
31	28 (Kotter 29)	Περὶ ἀνυποστάτου
32	29 (Kotter 30–31)	Διαιρέσεις τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τῆς οὐσίας + Περὶ τοῦ τί ὑπάρχει ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας
33	30 (Kotter 32)	Ἔτι περὶ ὁμογενῶν καὶ ὁμοειδῶν ἑτερογενῶν τε καὶ ἑτεροειδῶν καὶ ὁμοὑποστάτων καὶ ἀριθμῶ διαφερόντων
34	31 (Kotter 33)	Περὶ ποσοῦ καὶ ποσότητος
35	32 (Kotter 34)	Περὶ τῶν πρὸς τι
36	33 (Kotter 35)	Περὶ ποιοῦ καὶ ποιότητος
37	34 (Kotter 36)	Περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν
38	35 (Kotter 37)	Περὶ τοῦ κείσθαι
39	36 (Kotter 38)	Περὶ τῆς ποῦ
40	37 (Kotter 39)	Περὶ τῆς ποτέ
41	38 (Kotter 40)	Περὶ τοῦ ἔχειν
42	39 (Kotter 41)	Περὶ ἀντικειμένων
43	40 (Kotter 42)	Περὶ ἕξεως καὶ στερήσεως
44	41 (Kotter 43)	Περὶ προτέρου καὶ ὑστέρου

<sup>40</sup> Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 1, pp. 110–112.

(cont.)

Arabic	b <sub>1</sub>	Title
45	42 (Kotter 44)	Περὶ τοῦ ἄμα
46	43 (Kotter 45)	Περὶ κινήσεως
47	44 (Kotter 46)	Περὶ τοῦ ἔχειν
48	45 (Kotter 47)	Περὶ ἀποφάνσεως ἀποφάσεώς τε καὶ καταφάσεως
49	46 (Kotter 48)	Περὶ ὄρου καὶ προτάσεως καὶ συλλογισμοῦ
50	47 (Kotter 49)	Ὅρισμοὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας εἰσὶν ἕξ
51	48 (Kotter 50)	Περὶ τῆς καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνώσεως
52	49	Ἔτερον κεφάλαιον
53	50	No title

In this way, the Arabic translation has almost the same material as b<sub>1</sub> though set in a slightly different configuration having fifty-three chapters in total instead of fifty in Kotter's standard text (48 and 49 in some manuscripts).

How can we know whether Antonios decided on his own configuration of chapters or found this configuration in the manuscript that he was translating, especially as regards the division of chapter 21 into two chapters? While I was thinking about this question, a brief footnote in Kotter's edition kept my attention. Toward the end of his edition of the *Philosophical Chapters*, Kotter indicates that the last chapter of manuscript Paris, BnF gr. 119 (fourteenth century) is entitled γγ' Σύντομος ἐκάστου δῆλωσις.<sup>41</sup> This means that this manuscript has fifty-three chapters like the Arabic. Strangely, this manuscript appears nowhere else in the critical apparatus of the *Philosophical Chapters*. I checked Paris, BnF gr. 119 and found that it has the same configuration as the Arabic translation: (a) after chapter 3, chapter 47, lines 4–21 (*fusior*) are interpolated as chapter 4; (b) chapter 21 is divided into two chapters (22–23) after αὶ συνιστώσαι τὰ εἶδη; (c) chapters 30 and 31 are combined into one; and (d) two additional chapters at the end are added, entitled Ἔτερον κεφάλαιον and Σύντομος ἐκάστου δῆλωσις. This manuscript from the fourteenth century clearly reflects the configuration that Antonios' Greek manuscript must have had.

Moreover, we find this same configuration in an even older manuscript witness than the one just mentioned. In the eleventh century, the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Stylite on the Wondrous Mountain had a rich collection of

<sup>41</sup> Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 1, p. 145.

Greek manuscripts. This pushed many Georgians to stay at this monastery and use its manuscripts for translations from Greek into Georgian. One of these Georgian translators is Ephrem Mtsire (ca. 1027–ca. 1094) who translated into Georgian the Greek translation (by Samuel of Adana) of Michael al-Simʿānī's Arabic life of John of Damascus as well as some of John of Damascus' works.<sup>42</sup> In a recent study of the Georgian translations of the *Dialectica*, Maia Rapava underlines that Ephrem Mtsire's translation (eleventh century) has 50 chapters + 3 additional chapters, which are unnumbered. Regarding the content of the Georgian text, she says that chapters 4, 32, and 33 of Ephrem's translation correspond to chapter 47 of the *recensio fusior* and chapters 30 and 31 of the *recensio brevior*.<sup>43</sup> This is basically the same configuration as in Arabic. In fact, it is possible that Ephrem's Georgian translation and Antonios' Arabic translation were both produced from one and the same Greek manuscript then kept at the Monastery of Saint Symeon, though additional research is needed to confirm this.

We notice that Ephrem Mtsire kept three chapters unnumbered so as to have only fifty chapters. How can we explain this? The original number of the philosophical chapters is still a mystery because neither the number fifty nor the number fifty-three is uniformly respected in the manuscript tradition of the *recensio brevior* (the manuscripts Venice, Marc. gr. 11, 196 and Venice, Marc. gr. 1X, 23 have 48 chapters; the manuscript Vat. Barb. gr. 434 has 49 chapters).<sup>44</sup> Despite this difference in numbering, all these manuscripts have the complete text with the additional two chapters. This is also the case with Arsen of Iqalto's Georgian translation (49 chapters).<sup>45</sup>

The number fifty comes probably from a Byzantine tradition starting in the eleventh century: the *Philosophical Chapters* and the *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith (The Hundred Chapters)* would jointly have the same number of chapters as the Psalms, 150.<sup>46</sup> This could explain why the last two chapters gradually came to be considered as an appendix and were later omitted or lost in most manuscripts of the *recensio brevior*, especially in the subgroup b2.

42 Alexander Treiger, "Michael al-Simʿānī, The Arabic Vita of St. John of Damascus," in: *CMR5*, pp. 655–664, esp. p. 660; Bernard Flusin, "De l'arabe au grec, puis au géorgien: Une Vie de saint Jean Damascène," in Geneviève Contamine (ed.), *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Éditions du CNRS, 1989, pp. 51–61.

43 Maia Rapava (ed.), *John of Damascus, Dialectica: Georgian Translations*, Tbilisi, Mec'nie-reba, 1976, pp. 52–54 (in Georgian).

44 Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 1, pp. 139–146.

45 Rapava, *John of Damascus*, pp. 52–54.

46 On the problems of this numbering, see Vassa Kontouma, "Jean Damascène," *Connaissance des Pères de l'Église*, 118 (2010), pp. 11–20.

At the end of this section, I should mention the Vat. Ar. 178, which has a revised version of Antonios' translation produced prior to 1223AD.<sup>47</sup> A complete comparison between Antonios' translation and its revision in Vat. Ar. 178, which could reveal important information about the Greek text used for the revision, will have to be postponed to a future occasion.

### 5.3 *Some Notes on the Treatise against Iconoclasm*

Graf and Nasrallah believed that Antonios selected a few paragraphs from John of Damascus' three treatises against the Iconoclasts and translated them into what he called *Against Iconoclasts*.<sup>48</sup> In reality Antonios translated a continuous text that matches with *Imag.* 1, 18 (Πῶς οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ εἰκονογραφῆσομεν τὰ σωτήρια Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν πάθη καὶ θαύματα) to *Imag.* 1, 23 (Καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ οὐκοῦν) without interruption.<sup>49</sup> Why did he opt for this particular section and discard the rest?

I believe Antonios did not actively *choose* this section; rather, it is likely that the text before and after this section was already lacking in the manuscript that he was translating. This would explain why Antonios' translation of the first sentence "Πῶς οὖν—θαύματα" is slightly different from the Greek. In Arabic we read: "We must make images for our Lord and God's sufferings and miracles." This indicates that the interrogation "Πῶς οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ" must have been missing in Antonios' manuscript. The translator had to guess what the missing word or expression was and assumed that it was δεῖ. Moreover, Antonios translated the Greek text without interruption until he suddenly stopped in the middle of a citation from the "twenty-seventh chapter of the Epistle of Basil the Great to Amphilochius on the Holy Spirit."<sup>50</sup> The only logical explanation for this is that Antonios' antigraph had missing folios at the end. Antonios must have translated what he had in front of him, presumably because he was unable to complete the missing sections from any other manuscript.

47 Poimen, the copyist of Vat. Ar. 79, copied at the end of the fifty-three philosophical chapters two additional chapters from this revised version, see Vat. Ar. 79, fols. 63<sup>v</sup>–67<sup>r</sup>.

48 Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 44: "4. Gegen die Ikonoklasten, Kompilation aus den Orationes de imaginibus (ebd. [= PG 94] 1232–1420; latein. aus dem Arabischen ebd. [= PG] 95, 435–438)"; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 278: "Contre les Iconoclastes, qui est un arrangement des trois traités contre les briseurs d'icônes" and note 171: "Fragments des trois traités sur les images, équivalent à PG 95, col. 435–438."

49 For the Greek text of *Imag.* 1,18–1,21, see Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 3, pp. 94–96 and 107–112.

50 Cf. Benoit Pruche, *Basile de Césarée, Sur le Saint-Ésprit* (Sources Chrétiennes 17 bis), Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 1968, pp. 478:15–480:9.

## 6 Conclusion

It is in the first half of the eleventh century, a few decades after the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch, that Antonios translated into Arabic some rare texts of John of Damascus. He transmitted to us the *Classification and Clarification of the Faith* lost in Greek,<sup>51</sup> the *De Fide contra Nestorianos*, which survives in only one Greek manuscript,<sup>52</sup> and the “irregular” *Dialectica* divided into fifty-three philosophical chapters whose Greek ancestor I sought to identify in this study.

This exercise of comparing Greek patristic texts, in this case John of Damascus’ works, and their Arabic translations has helped us recognize an old recension of the *Dialectica*, which is possibly older than those recensions with which we have been hitherto familiar. The translator Antonios lived and worked in a particular period and place (Antioch in the eleventh century) where he had access to some rare manuscripts. This is what makes his translations particularly interesting. While Kotter supposed that Antonios worked much like Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, i.e., collected several Greek manuscripts, compared them, and translated the collated text into Arabic,<sup>53</sup> I have shown in this short study that we have to reconsider this hypothesis. It seems more likely that Antonios had only one manuscript at his disposal, which, however, contained a different recension of the text, as compared to the manuscripts used in Kotter’s edition. This is an excellent example of how the study of Arabic Patristic translations in comparison to the Greek can be beneficial for editing Patristic texts; the Arabic versions can often help select the original readings and recover some lost texts.

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51 Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 278, note 170: “L’original grec est perdu. Migne (*P.G.*, 95, 417–436), l’a remplacé par une version faite sur l’arabe par Echellensis.”

52 Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 4, p. 234.

53 Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 1, p. 41, n. 23.

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## Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā and the Translation Projects of Byzantine Antioch

*Joshua Mugler*

When the Byzantines conquered Antioch in 969 amid the chaos that had then engulfed the ruling Ḥamdānid dynasty, a young man named Ibrāhīm, son of Yūḥannā, was somewhere in the crowd. As he tells us in his *Life of Christopher*, he had been deeply affected by the assassination of his mentor, the Chalcedonian Christian patriarch Christopher, two and a half years earlier.<sup>1</sup> The patriarch had worked, among other things, to encourage the education of the Christians of Antioch, founding a school system in which Ibrāhīm was educated before Christopher's undying loyalty to the Ḥamdānid emir made him a target for embittered Antiochian rebels. Despite the patriarch's murder, Ibrāhīm apparently received a thorough enough education that he found success within the imperial bureaucracy after the conquest, eventually attaining the title of *prōtospathários*.

While he may have had a variety of tasks and interests, the only activity of Ibrāhīm's for which we have direct evidence is his involvement in the major translation projects that swept through the Church of Antioch in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. In this article, I will survey the current state of the evidence for his life and literary output, which has improved considerably since the major histories of Georg Graf and Joseph Nasrallah appeared in the twentieth century. Ibrāhīm's work, and the larger imperial context within which it took place, had a dramatic effect on the Church in Antioch and beyond.

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1 This article is excerpted from my forthcoming dissertation, "A Martyr with Too Many Causes: Christopher of Antioch (d. 967) and Local Collective Memory." The dissertation explores the many legacies of Christopher's life and death, including the memories preserved by Ibrāhīm, and discusses his story through the interpretive lenses of collective memory and place. I hope to understand how authors like Ibrāhīm used Christopher's story to shape the present and future of Antioch.

## 1 Information from the *Life of Christopher*

While Ibrāhīm translated a number of Greek works by early Christian authors, the *Life of Christopher* is his only extant original work.<sup>2</sup> The Arabic text is known to exist in only two manuscripts: a 17th-century manuscript that was published with a French translation by Habib Zayat in 1952, the whereabouts of which are now unknown; and Sinai Ar. 405, a menologion of 1334.<sup>3</sup> An Arabic edition using both manuscripts was published by Iḡnāṭiyūs Dīk in 1997 and a Russian translation of Zayat's manuscript was published by Sofia Moiseeva in 2013.<sup>4</sup>

Much of what we know about Ibrāhīm's life comes from the occasional autobiographical references found in the *Life*. Before proceeding to the text of the *Life*, however, I will begin with the title as it is found in the Sinai manuscript, which describes the author as "Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā, the royal *Prōtopathários* there"—that is, in Antioch—and claims that he "composed it in Greek, then translated it also into Arabic."<sup>5</sup>

Ibrāhīm thus bore a highly elevated imperial title, that of *prōtopathários*. This title originally referred to a leader of the imperial bodyguards, the "first swordbearer" in a functional sense, but became an important title of dignity by about 700.<sup>6</sup> By Ibrāhīm's time, the title had lost some of its prestige as it became more and more widely distributed, but it was still a sign of success within the empire. Some scholars claim, without citing any evidence, that his father Yūḥannā held this title as well, while others assert that the title belongs

2 Georg Graf's foundational history of Christian Arabic literature was not aware of the *Life of Christopher* and only attributed translations to Ibrāhīm; see Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, pp. 4, 45–48. For some reason, Graf calls this author Ibrāhīm ibn Qusṭanṭīn on p. 4, but names him correctly on later pages. See now John Lamoreaux's entry on this text in *CMR2*, pp. 611–616.

3 I will cite the *Life of Christopher* according to the section numbers in the 1952 edition and French translation by Habib Zayat, with slight modifications of my own as they will appear in my forthcoming English translation of the text. See Habib Zayat, "Vie du patriarche melkite d'Antioche Christophore († 967) par le protospaithaire Ibrahim b. Yuhanna: Document inédit du x<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Proche-Orient chrétien*, 2 (1952), pp. 11–38, 333–366.

4 Iḡnāṭiyūs Dīk, *Sīrat al-baṭṛīyark Ḥarīstūfūrus al-Anṭākī ṣadiq Sayf al-Dawla*, Aleppo, n.p., 1997; Sofia A. Moiseeva, "Житие антиохийского патриарха Христофора' как памятник арабомелькитской агиографии кон. х-нач. хI в." ["Life of the Patriarch of Antioch Christopher" as a Document of Melkite Arabic Hagiography of the End of the 10th–Beginning of the 11th Century], in N.G. Golovnina (ed.), *Araby-Khristiane v istorii i literature Blizhnego Vostoka*, Moscow, PSTGU, 2013. Moiseeva follows Zayat's section numbers, but Dīk's are somewhat different.

5 Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā, *Life of Christopher*, Title.

6 Rodolphe Guilland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin: Les titres auliques des eunuques: Le protospaithaire," *Byzantion*, 25/27.2 (1955–1957), pp. 649–695, at pp. 649–670.

only to him and not to his father.<sup>7</sup> In any case, the title certainly belonged to Ibrāhīm, showing his high placement within the bureaucracy of the empire. His parents were likely prominent citizens of Antioch as well, and young Ibrāhīm was thus well placed for success, as the episodes described in the *Life* attest.

The heading's reference to Ibrāhīm's self-translation work points to the translation of Greek texts for which he was most widely known. He grew up in Antioch under Muslim rule, so he was fluent in Arabic, but he spent most of his adult life as a prominent member of the Byzantine bureaucracy, where he needed Greek to succeed. His bilingual proficiency made him well qualified to bring newly accessible Greek texts into the Arabic that was more readily understood by most of the people of his home city.<sup>8</sup>

The text of the *Life* occasionally points toward additional information about its author's life, especially when Ibrāhīm shifts into an autobiographical mode of writing. In this way we discover that Ibrāhīm was a young boy in the late 950s when emissaries came from Central Asia to Antioch to seek the appointment of a new catholicos.<sup>9</sup> He must therefore have been born in the early 950s, placing him in an ideal position to observe Christopher's patriarchate from 960 to 967. He was closely involved with Church affairs in Antioch throughout this period, enough that he claims to have seen Christopher come close to collapsing during some of his intense prayer vigils.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, he observed Christopher taking care of a poor priest who had come to ask for supplies.<sup>11</sup> Despite this involvement in Church life, he is never described as a deacon or given any other ecclesiastical title.

7 Joseph Nasrallah, in fact, has espoused both positions in separate works without acknowledging a contradiction. The claim that the title was shared by Ibrāhīm and his father is found in Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 289; the claim that the title was Ibrāhīm's alone is found in Joseph Nasrallah, "Deux auteurs melchites inconnus du x<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Oriens christianus*, 63 (1979), pp. 75–86, at p. 75. See also Zayat, "Vie," p. 15. Nasrallah also notes that Ibrāhīm's father Yūhannā al-Anṭākī should not be confused with an 11th-century theologian by that name, cited by al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assāl; see Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 290.

8 This was a major phenomenon during the period of Byzantine rule in Antioch from 969 to 1084; see Alexander Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), pp. 188–227, at pp. 192, 203–208; A. Asa Eger, "(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch: Urban Transformations from the Early Islamic to the Middle Byzantine Periods," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 67 (2013), pp. 95–134, at p. 103; Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh Ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and His *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*," *Le Muséon*, 124.3–4 (2011), pp. 371–417, at p. 371.

9 Ibrāhīm, *Life*, § 2.

10 Ibrāhīm, *Life*, § 4.

11 Ibrāhīm, *Life*, § 8.

When Ibrāhīm describes Christopher's educational programs, he speaks in general terms about the 12 rich and 150 poor young people for whom Christopher provided teachers and other necessities.<sup>12</sup> Toward the end of the *Life*, however, he addresses Christopher directly: "you did not disdain to run on your own two feet for my sake, until you could hand me over to that excellent divine educator."<sup>13</sup> This implies that one of the students in Christopher's school—and likely one of the rich students—was Ibrāhīm himself. He self-deprecatingly claims that he remained "lacking in the sciences," but notes that his father entrusted him and his brothers to Christopher's care in their youth, showing that this prominent Antiochian was able to ensure a bright future for his sons by means of ecclesiastical institutions. Nothing more is known of Ibrāhīm's brothers or father, but Ibrāhīm certainly found success within the imperial system.

Ibrāhīm mentions that Christopher's relics were moved by Patriarch Nicholas II (bp. 1025–1030), so the time of writing was around 1030 or slightly earlier.<sup>14</sup> Assuming this was not inserted by some later editor, this would make Ibrāhīm nearly 80 years old, and he apologizes to Christopher for delaying so long in committing his biography to writing.<sup>15</sup> He must have died around 1030 or shortly thereafter, having lived a long and accomplished life.

At the very end of the *Life*, Ibrāhīm lists some of the most prominent disciples of Christopher and claims that "I have also devoted to each of them an individual account, as they deserve to be remembered, even though I have been far too brief."<sup>16</sup> None of these biographies have survived, with the exception of Christopher's, but it seems that Ibrāhīm's original work included a number of saints' lives. Several Arabic synaxaria list an Antiochian hermit named St. Timon (?) on March 24 or 25 and claim that his biography can be found "with the stories of the other recent fathers in Antioch," including "Ya'īsh and Jeremiah," both of whom are mentioned in Ibrāhīm's list of Christopher's disciples.<sup>17</sup> This may be the sole independent testimony to the now-lost collection of biographies potentially authored by Ibrāhīm, and suggests that these biographies were circulating as a collection at the time that these synaxaria were compiled.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, it is also possible that when Ibrāhīm speaks of

12 Ibrāhīm, *Life*, § 9.

13 Ibrāhīm, *Life*, § 21.

14 Ibrāhīm, *Life*, § 18.

15 Ibrāhīm, *Life*, § 21.

16 Ibrāhīm, *Life*, § 22.

17 Joseph-Marie Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites (XI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1969, pp. 367–369.

18 The earliest, Sinai Ar. 413, is from 1286.

“individual accounts,” he is simply referring to the preceding sentences, where he has mentioned these saints briefly.

Zayat notes that Ibrāhīm is said to have written the *Life* in Greek first, then translated it into Arabic, and therefore asserts that “he probably descended from a Greek family.”<sup>19</sup> He then claims that Ibrāhīm’s Arabic “does not always lack elegance, but ... in certain places, is charged with Hellenisms or becomes frankly obscure, the author having to render by paraphrases the proper words that are lacking in his Arabic.”<sup>20</sup> Tūmā Bīṭār largely agrees, writing that

his Arabic language is a little unpleasant; he combines classical [*fuṣḥā*] and colloquial [*‘ammīyya*] language and shows some twisting of the formulation, and this arises from his reliance on the foreign expressive forms that he was used to originally. Likewise in his style there are numerous Arabized words. Some foreign wordings that he did not find available to him in Arabic, or that the storehouse of his vocabulary was lacking, he brings over, translating the entire phrase in the likeness of the original.<sup>21</sup>

Marius Canard, on the other hand, notes that “his name does not indicate a Greek origin, and the title of *prōtospatharios* that he bears must have been given to him after the Byzantine reconquest.”<sup>22</sup> Moiseeva discusses some of the skillful Arabic literary techniques that the author uses, and even Zayat admits that “without a doubt the copyists also had a large part in the deformation of the text such as it has reached us.”<sup>23</sup> This is certainly obvious from a comparison of the two extant manuscripts, as they frequently tend to correct each other’s grammatical issues and therefore call into doubt our ability to know much about the original grammatical skill of the author. Ibrāhīm’s “ethnic” origins must therefore remain obscure, and in any case terminology such as Nasrallah’s description of his “Arabized Greek family” is somewhat overprecise in the mixed cultural environment of medieval Antioch.<sup>24</sup> However, it should

19 Zayat, “Vie,” p. 14. See also Tūmā Bīṭār, *Al-Qiddīsūn al-mansiyyūn fī al-turāt al-Anṭākī, Dūmā, ‘Āilat al-Ṭālūt al-Quddūs*, 1995, p. 383.

20 Zayat, “Vie,” pp. 14–15.

21 Bīṭār, *al-Qiddīsūn*, p. 383.

22 Marius Canard, “Une Vie du patriarche melkite d’ Antioche, Christophore († 967),” *Byzantion*, 23 (1953), pp. 561–569, at p. 562.

23 Sofia Moiseeva, “The Early Melkite Arabic Hagiography (IXth–XIth Centuries): Evolution of the Literary Style,” *Parole de l’Orient*, 39 (2014), pp. 33–56, at pp. 50–55; Sofia A. Moiseeva, *Арабская мелькитская агиография IX–XI веков* [Melkite Arabic Hagiography of the 9th–11th Centuries], Moscow, PSTGU, 2015; Zayat, “Vie,” p. 15.

24 Nasrallah, “Auteurs,” p. 75; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 289.

suffice to note that he almost certainly spoke—and was educated in—Arabic as a child in Antioch before spending his adult life within the Greek-focused imperial bureaucracy. This may explain both his skill in each language and his occasional inability to find the appropriate Arabic word, leading to a few occurrences of transliterated Greek (along with Syriac and even Persian).

## 2 Information from Ibrāhīm's Translations

Little more biographical information about Ibrāhīm can be gleaned from the *Life*, but numerous other texts offer hints that can help us understand this author and translator. Based on manuscript quantity, by far Ibrāhīm's most popular translated work seems to have been his contribution to a collection of 52 short works (usually identified as *mayāmir*, from Syriac *mēmre*) attributed to Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373).<sup>25</sup> This collection concludes with a panegyric in Ephrem's honor attributed to Gregory of Nyssa (d. 394).<sup>26</sup> Numerous modern scholars claim that this collection is "dated to 980," but to my knowledge, none

25 With only one exception (sermon No. 5) these works have not been preserved in Syriac, and their authenticity is debated; see K. Samir, "Le recueil ephrémien arabe des 52 homélies," *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 39.1 (1973), pp. 307–332, at pp. 323–324. Graf lists 29 manuscript witnesses to this collection, to which Nasrallah adds eight more, attesting to its popularity. The work is also mentioned in Joseph Simon Assemani's *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, 3 vols. in 4, Rome, 1719–1728, vol. 1, pp. 149–156. Assemani uses Vatican Ar. 67 (which he calls No. 8) as the basis for his analysis. The earliest manuscript is Sinai Ar. 311, from the 11th century, but the beginning is lost; the earliest complete text is Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 505, from 1216; see Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 291–293; Graf, *GAL*, vol. 2, pp. 46–47; Samir, "Recueil," p. 309.

The collection is mentioned (without a translator's name) in the catalog of Arabic Christian literature by Abū al-Barakāt ibn Kabar (d. 1324); see Wilhelm Riedel, "Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abū 'lBarakāt," *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Hist. Klasse*, 5 (1902), pp. 635–706, at p. 647. He indicates that this translation of Ephrem had become a standard devotional text for monks by the 14th century, again showing its importance for the Arabophone Church; see Samir, "Recueil," p. 331. This must also have contributed to the stability of the text.

26 Original Greek text in *PG* 46, pp. 820–849. Nasrallah (*HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 292) argues that this panegyric must have been written around the seventh century. The panegyric occasionally appears separately in manuscripts, as in Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 618 (18th c.). It has been published independently by Louis Cheikho as found in Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 505; see Luwīs Šayḥū, "Madīḥ qadīm li-Mār Afrām waḍa'ahu al-qiddīs Ġarīg-ūriyūs usquf Nīsas," *al-Mašriq*, 19 (1921), pp. 452–459, 506–516. It was also published by Patriarch Ignatius Aphrem I Baršūm (bp. 1933–1957) of the Syriac Orthodox Church in *al-Mağalla al-baṭriyarkiyya*, 7 (1940).

of them cites a source for this information. As long as this claim remains in the passive voice, little can be added to it, except to say that this date would place the work quite early in Ibrāhīm's life, perhaps as one of the ways that he made his mark as a young imperial scholar and scribe.<sup>27</sup>

Some copies of this collection of Greek Ephrem do not name the translator, and those that name Ibrāhīm do so only at the end of Gregory's panegyric. For example, Paris Ar. 135, a thirteenth-century manuscript, says at the end of the panegyric that "the *prōtospathārios*, the royal secretary Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā of Antioch, translated this panegyric, dictating to someone who wrote it in Arabic from a Greek copy."<sup>28</sup> We have already seen the title *prōtospathārios* given to Ibrāhīm, but here we have the additional information that he was a "secretary" or "scribe." This Arabic word, *kātib*, is a standard word for a bureaucrat and fills in a bit of detail regarding Ibrāhīm's professional career. We also have a picture of his translation method here, though not much detail.

Though the manuscripts of this Ephrem collection attribute only the panegyric to Ibrāhīm, scholars have often sought to attribute the entire collection to him. This is due in large part to Graf's misreading of *katabahu* ("wrote it") as *kutubihī* ("his books"), a plural noun that he took to refer to the entire collection of texts.<sup>29</sup> Jacques Grand'Henry corrects Graf's translation, but maintains the claim that the entire collection is Ibrāhīm's work.<sup>30</sup> Only detailed examination of the text can show whether Ibrāhīm translated any works of Greek Ephrem, but even if his only contribution to the collection was the translation of Gregory's panegyric, his name and his work became famous as the text was copied and spread.

27 Jacques Grand'Henry, "La méthode de révision d'une version patristique arabe ancienne chez Ibrāhīm fils de Yūḥannā d'Antioche," *Annales du Département des Lettres Arabes*, 6B (1991–1992), pp. 161–172, at p. 161; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 290; Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 2, p. 45; Hans Bonnet et al., "Der Fünfte Deutsche Orientalistentag," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 82.2 (1928), pp. XLIII–CIV, at p. LXXXVI. Graf implies that the date can be found in Vatican Ar. 463, fol. 184<sup>v</sup>, but the only date on this page is the year in which the manuscript was copied: according to the Coptic calendar, "the 21st of the month of Abīb, in year 1045 of the pure martyrs" (July 15, 1329 CE).

28 Paris Ar. 135, fol. 293<sup>v</sup>. This note was written several centuries after Ibrāhīm's death, so the source of its information is not certain, but its similarity to the other notes discussed here indicates that it had earlier prototypes. See also Vatican Ar. 463 (1329), fol. 184<sup>v</sup>. Vatican Ar. 463 is mentioned, and its colophon quoted, in Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 2, pp. 45–46; Grand'Henry, "Méthode," pp. 161, 165; Assemani, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, vol. 1, pp. 149–150. Grand'Henry inaccurately dates the manuscript to 1581.

29 Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 2, pp. 45–46; Graf is translating Vatican Ar. 463, fol. 184<sup>v</sup>.

30 Grand'Henry, "Méthode," pp. 161, 165.

Another influential translation by Ibrāhīm was his contribution to a collection of 29 short works (again, *mayāmir*) by Gregory of Nazianzus (patriarch of Constantinople 379–381). This includes, as described by Nasrallah, “25 of the saint’s 45 *orationes*, two of his letters, and two of his poems, to which he added the panegyric for Gregory of Nazianzus by Gregory of Cappadocia.”<sup>31</sup> The structure is therefore quite similar to that of the Ephrem collection: a collection of a single author’s works translated from Greek, concluding with a panegyric by another author (named Gregory in both cases) in praise of the primary author. Again, only two of these works explicitly name Ibrāhīm as their translator, but scholars have often seen him as the guiding force behind the entire collection, seemingly on the grounds that no other translator or compiler is named.

The only titles from manuscripts of the Gregory of Nazianzus collection that mention Ibrāhīm are those introducing the two orations on the Son—Oration 29 and 30 according to their traditional Greek numbering, found in this collection in various locations.<sup>32</sup> Sinai Ar. 274, for example, describes its 17th text as an

31 Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 294. Little is known about this “Gregory of Cappadocia”; the *PG* edition simply calls him “Gregory the priest.” See *PG* 35, pp. 243–244.

32 These *orationes* appear as No. 17 and No. 18 in the first recension of the collection, No. 12 and No. 13 in the second recension (as described by Ibn Kabar; see Riedel, “Katalog,” p. 643). See Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 295–296; Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 2, p. 47. Their Greek text is found in *PG* 36, pp. 73–134. This collection of works by Gregory of Nazianzus is preserved in at least three different recensions, and its order is less stable than that of the Ephrem collection. Two recensions include all 30 texts, but in a different order, while the third omits some of the texts and replaces them with others. The earliest manuscript witness to the first recension is Sinai Ar. 274, from the thirteenth century; for the second, it is Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 116 [Graf 617; Simaika 216], from 1231; see Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 294–297. There is a Garshūnī version of this collection (the second recension) preserved in Paris syr. 191; see Jacques Grand’Henry, “Les discours de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze dans le manuscrit arabe du Sinai 274,” *Le Muséon*, 94 (1981), pp. 153–176, at pp. 174–175.

Nevertheless, manuscript data testifies to the popularity and continuing usage of the Gregory collection, including excerpted homilies that appear individually; see Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 297–299. There is also a quotation from Gregory’s panegyric for Basil (Oration 43—No. 6 in the first recension of the collection, No. 28 in the second recension) that appears in *Kitāb al-Burhān fi al-qawānīn*, a legal compendium by the Coptic scholar Abū Šākir ibn al-Rāhib (13th c.). Abū Šākir writes that “Saint Gregory the Theologian said in his 28th homily, his panegyric for Basil: No one who is a physician can be unaware of the nature of diseases”; see Vatican Ar. 104, fol. 23<sup>v</sup>. This passage can be found in the context of the full oration in Sinai Ar. 401, fol. 21<sup>r</sup> (among other places).

Once again, Ibn Kabar mentions this collection, including a full table of contents according to the second recension. He even mentions Ibrāhīm by name in connection with the 12th work in the collection, Gregory’s Oration 29 on the Son, which he says “Ibrāhīm ibn Yuhannā translated.” He also gives some information that helps to under-

“interpretation of the first homily on the Son by Saint Gregory the Theologian, which the *prōtopathários* Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā undertook to translate, by the help of God, in Antioch, God rest his soul.”<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the 18th text bears the title “the second on the Son by Saint Gregory the Theologian, which the *prōtopathários* Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā of Antioch undertook to translate by the help of God, may God reward him.”<sup>34</sup> One title describes Ibrāhīm as “of Antioch,” while the other says that he translated the homily “in Antioch.” We may again ask whether these unique titles suggest that the entire collection is the work of Ibrāhīm, as many scholars have assumed, or whether they should instead be taken to indicate that only these two homilies are connected to him.

Though only these two titles in the Gregory collection mention Ibrāhīm, his name is sometimes explicitly associated with at least two other titles from the collection, Gregory’s homily on baptism and his panegyric for Basil of Caesarea.<sup>35</sup> The panegyric is included in the Antiochian menologion as the entry for Basil’s feast day, January 1, with a title mentioning that “Ibrāhīm, the son of the physician [*al-ṭabīb*], the *prōtopathários*, the royal secretary, translated it.”<sup>36</sup>

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stand the reordering of the works, noting that his table of contents “is found written in the copy in the handwriting of Abba Yūsāb [13th c.], bishop of Fūh, and has been collated and corrected with everything it contains under the heading ‘the Theologian.’ The original text, from which the text current in the land of Egypt was made, is in a different order, and the copyist mentions that he ordered the homilies according to that which people need most quickly, then he copied [*naqala*, incorrectly read as “was sick” (*taqula*) in Riedel’s edition and translation] the rest afterwards.” Thus the second recension of the collection appears to be a pragmatic rearrangement according to the actual usage of the different texts, perhaps carried out by Bishop Yūsāb himself; see Riedel, “Katalog,” pp. 642–644. This passage is also translated in Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 296; Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 47.

- 33 Sinai Ar. 274, fol. 358<sup>v</sup>; a partial translation is provided in Grand’Henry, “Méthode,” p. 165.
- 34 Sinai Ar. 274, fol. 375<sup>v</sup>. Similar, though abbreviated, titles are found in Aleppo, Greek Catholic Archdiocese 105 (1771), fol. 157<sup>r</sup>, 164<sup>r</sup>; see Grand’Henry, “Méthode,” p. 166.
- 35 These are Orations 40 and 43 according to the typical Greek numbering, found as texts No. 4 and No. 6 in the first recension of the Arabic Gregory collection, No. 4 and No. 28 in the second recension; Greek texts in *PG* 36, pp. 360–425, 493–606. See Alexander Treiger, “Greek into Arabic in Byzantine Antioch: ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s ‘Book of the Garden’ (*Kitāb ar-Rawḍa*),” in Zachary Chitwood and Johannes Pahlitzsch (eds.), *Ambassadors, Artists, Theologians: Byzantine Relations with the Near East from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, Mainz, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2019, pp. 227–238, at p. 228.
- 36 Sinai Ar. 400, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>; Sinai Ar. 401, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>. Both manuscripts are from the thirteenth century. The Antiochian menologion, a truly massive hagiographical collection, was compiled near Antioch by the monk Yūḥannā ‘Abd al-Masīḥ in the first half of the thirteenth century. Several texts that were translated by Ibrāhīm are only preserved in this compilation, showing that the memory of Ibrāhīm was alive in the region of Antioch several centuries after his death; see Alexander Treiger, “Sinaitica (1): The Antiochian Menologion, Compiled by Hieromonk Yūḥannā ‘Abd al-Masīḥ (First Half of the 13th Century),” *Khristianskiy*

Though Yūḥannā's name is replaced with the title "the physician," Ibrāhīm's usual titles of "*prōtopathários*" and "royal secretary" are here, so it seems clear that it refers to the same person. This indicates that Ibrāhīm's father was a physician, explaining his prominent place in tenth-century Antioch. The headings that appear with the homily on baptism are similar.<sup>37</sup> There is no explicit statement that any of the other works were translated by someone other than Ibrāhīm, and a thorough comparison of the translation style in the various texts would be necessary to make any further claims. However, the fact that these works are attributed to Ibrāhīm in some manuscripts may indicate that the *prōtopathários* was viewed as the translator of the entire collection and that his name could be applied to any portion of it.

Grand'Henry compares several passages from this Gregory collection to a translation made by Antonios, abbot of the Monastery of St. Symeon on the Black Mountain, near Antioch.<sup>38</sup> He asserts that in most cases, Ibrāhīm—if indeed he was the translator—improves the translation of Antonios, avoiding literal translation and expressing himself in better Arabic, thus showing his fluency in both languages. In fact, Grand'Henry argues that Ibrāhīm probably worked with the translation of Antonios in front of him, trying to improve it as he worked through the Greek text and dictated his translation—or more accurately, revision of Antonios's translation—in Arabic. He therefore questions Zayat's assertions about Ibrāhīm's lack of fluency in Arabic, though it is also possible that the translation of this oration is not actually the work of Ibrāhīm.

Whether or not the entire Ephrem and Gregory collections should be attributed to Ibrāhīm, he is named as the translator of numerous other individual texts. Though Graf knows only Ibrāhīm's two major collections, Nasrallah adds several other translations from the Greek works of John Chrysostom and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. ca. 500). For example, a homily (*mīmar*) attributed to Chrysostom in Sinai Ar. 282 (1278) begins with the title "a homily by Saint John Chrysostom ... that the *prōtopathários*"<sup>39</sup> Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā

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*Vostok*, 8 (2017), pp. 215–252; Habib Ibrahim, "Liste des vies de saints et des homélies conservées dans les ms Sinaï arabe 395–403, 405–407, 409 et 423," *Chronos: Revue d'histoire de l'Université de Balamand*, 38 (2018), pp. 47–114.

37 Sinai Ar. 400, fol. 135<sup>v</sup>; Sinai Ar. 401, fol. 167<sup>v</sup>.

38 The passages are taken from Oration 16—No. 15 in the first recension, No. 25 in the second recension; see Grand'Henry, "Méthode," pp. 162, 166–172. On this Antonios, see Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, pp. 41–45; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 273–289; and Habib Ibrahim's contribution to this volume (re-dated Antonios to the first half of the 11th century).

39 The spelling of this word is a bit garbled and difficult to read. 'Azīz 'Aṭīyya does not know the term and writes the last portion as the separate word "saint" (*mār*). This would be the only reference to Ibrāhīm as a "saint," but it is a misreading and is corrected by

translated from Greek and wrote in Arabic for his brothers.<sup>40</sup> The same homily concludes with another note:

The *prōtopathários* and royal secretary, Ibrāhīm ibn Yuḥannā of Antioch, translated this from the speech of the pure and innocent teacher, the shining<sup>41</sup> lamp of Christianity, Chrysostom [*Fam al-Dahab*], from the Greek language into the Arabic language, desiring to benefit thereby the people of his town—may God the Exalted guard them. He asks anyone who reads, copies, or hears it to mention him in mercy.<sup>42</sup>

This is the first manuscript note to attribute any specific motivation to Ibrāhīm's translation project, and it is noteworthy: to benefit the people of his town (or country). Another thirteenth-century manuscript, Sinai Ar. 505, includes the same Chrysostom homily with almost identical opening and closing notes, but it clarifies that Ibrāhīm's "brothers" are "the Antiochians" (*al-Anṭākīyyīn*).<sup>43</sup> Thus the textual tradition surrounding Ibrāhīm's Chrysostom translation presents it as a gift to the people of Antioch from one of their native sons. It is worth noting in this context that Chrysostom himself was a native of Antioch, unlike Ephrem, any of the Gregorys, or Dionysius.<sup>44</sup>

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Grand'Henry. See 'Azīz 'Aṭīyya, *al-Fahāris al-tahlīliyya li-maḥṭūṭāt Ṭūr Sinā al-'arabiyya*, Alexandria, Munṣa'at al-Ma'ārif, 1970, vol. 1 [all published], p. 518; Grand'Henry, "Méthode," p. 164.

40 Sinai Ar. 282, fol. 180<sup>v</sup>. The homily can be found in its original Greek—classified as "spuria"—in *PG* 60, pp. 723–730. The final word is also very difficult to read. Grand'Henry ("Méthode," p. 164) reads it as "of Antioch" (*al-Anṭākī*), while 'Aṭīyya (*al-Fahāris*, p. 518) gives "for his brothers" (*li-iḥwatīhi*). I agree with the meaning given by 'Aṭīyya, but by comparing this text with Sinai Ar. 505 (13th c.), fol. 258<sup>v</sup>, it seems clear that the word is *li-iḥwānihi*, not *li-iḥwatīhi*. Nasrallah ("Auteurs," p. 76) claims that 'Aṭīyya has made this superscription "unintelligible," though only the word *prōtopathários* has been misread. On the other hand, Nasrallah's complaint that 'Aṭīyya misidentifies Ibrāhīm in his index is valid. 'Aṭīyya (*al-Fahāris*, p. 565) makes this Ibrāhīm the same as a Damascene doctor and copyist of the thirteenth century. He lists a separate "Ibrāhīm the *prōtopathários*" in connection with Sinai Ar. 85 (12th/13th c., see below), but also supposes that this Ibrāhīm lived in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

41 This word is written as *al-maṭī* in Sinai Ar. 282, but Sinai Ar. 505 (fol. 275<sup>r</sup>) gives it as *al-muḍī*. Grand'Henry ("Méthode," p. 164) simply omits it.

42 Sinai Ar. 282, fol. 189<sup>r</sup>.

43 Sinai Ar. 505, fol. 258<sup>r</sup>–258<sup>v</sup>. It also describes the lamentation over the dead as "repulsive" (*ṣanī*). To the closing note, Sinai Ar. 505 simply adds at the end, "may the Lord have mercy on him, Amen"; see fol. 275<sup>r</sup>. The same heading is found on Sinai Ar. 439 (1279), fol. 223<sup>v</sup>. Sinai Ar. 439 omits the closing note entirely.

44 Sinai Ar. 505 and other manuscripts contain Arabic versions of other Chrysostom sermons,

Ibrāhīm's translation of a passage of Pseudo-Dionysius can be found in Sinai Ar. 85, a manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century, where it begins with the title, "a treatise [*mīmar*] composed by Dionysius the holy Areopagite, bishop of Athens, on good and evil, that Ibrāhīm the *prōtospatharios* and royal secretary, the son of Yūḥannā, of Antioch, undertook to translate by the help of God."<sup>45</sup> This "treatise" makes up roughly the second half of chapter IV of Dionysius's *Divine Names*, excerpted and translated independently.<sup>46</sup> Again, the manuscript includes other texts by Dionysius and other authors, and it is unknown whether Ibrāhīm had a hand in translating anything other than this single work.

Alexander Treiger has recently discovered a number of other translations attributed to Ibrāhīm. These include Basil of Caesarea's second homily on Lent, which Treiger also calls *Homily on Cheesefare Sunday*;<sup>47</sup> a panegyric by Chrysostom for the prophet Elijah;<sup>48</sup> and similar panegyrics from the monumental Greek menologion of Symeon Metaphrastēs (10th century), Ibrāhīm's contemporary, which are dedicated to the evangelists Luke<sup>49</sup> and John.<sup>50</sup> The heading on the encomium for Elijah claims that "the royal *prōtospatharios*, Ibrāhīm the physician of Antioch, translated it [*fassarahu*] from the Greek language [*al-luḡa al-rūmīyya*] into the Arabic tongue [*al-lisān al-'arabī*]."<sup>51</sup> This surprisingly identifies Ibrāhīm, not Yūḥannā, as a "physician," though it may be simply the result of the word "son" dropping out in transmission.

The two panegyrics from Symeon's Menologion are the only known examples in which Ibrāhīm translated contemporary texts rather than works from

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which may or may not be translated by Ibrāhīm; see Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 299–300.

- 45 Sinai Ar. 85, fol. 62<sup>r</sup>; translated in Grand'Henry, "Méthode," pp. 163–164. See also Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 300.
- 46 Pseudo-Dionysius, *Divine Names* IV.18–35. See Alexander Treiger, "New Evidence on the Arabic Versions of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*," *Le Muséon*, 118 (2005), pp. 219–240, at p. 238; Treiger, "Graeco-Arabica," p. 207; Treiger, "Greek," p. 224.
- 47 Treiger, "Greek," p. 224; Treiger, "Fathers," 444. Greek text in *PG* 31, pp. 185–197. This translation is explicitly attributed to Ibrāhīm in Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts A509, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>–24<sup>v</sup>. It is also extant in Dayr Sayyidat al-Balamand 125, fol. 159<sup>v</sup>–167<sup>v</sup>.
- 48 Greek text in *PG* 50, pp. 725–736. Found on Elijah's feast day, July 20, in at least two menologia: Sinai Ar. 407 (1334), fol. 156<sup>v</sup>–168<sup>v</sup>; Sinai Ar. 423 (1626), fol. 578<sup>r</sup>–587<sup>v</sup>.
- 49 Greek text in *PG* 115, pp. 1129–1140. Found in Sinai Ar. 482 (possibly 13th c.), fol. 15<sup>r</sup>–22<sup>v</sup>.
- 50 Greek text in *PG* 116, pp. 683–706. Found as an entry for May 8 in a 1334 menologion, Sinai Ar. 405, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>–61<sup>v</sup>. This is also one of the two extant manuscripts containing the *Life of Christopher*. Though Symeon lists John on December 27, Ibrāhīm mentions two other dates on which he was commemorated: September 26 and May 8 (fol. 61<sup>r</sup>).
- 51 Sinai Ar. 407, fol. 156<sup>v</sup>–157<sup>r</sup>.

earlier centuries, though of course Symeon's collected hagiographies were edited from earlier texts.<sup>52</sup> It is noteworthy that the panegyric on Luke begins with a lengthy description of the beautiful and impressive city of Antioch, hometown of Luke as well as Ibrāhīm. Perhaps this is part of the reason this text appealed to Ibrāhīm.

Thus the corpus of Ibrāhīm's translation work is both less extensive than many twentieth-century scholars claimed in some areas (because he may not have translated the entire Ephrem and Gregory collections) and more extensive than they knew in other areas. His known, explicitly attributed translations include:

- Basil of Caesarea: second homily on Lent;
- Gregory of Nazianzus: two orations on the Son, homily on baptism, and panegyric for Basil of Caesarea (Orations 29, 30, 40, 43);
- Gregory of Nyssa: (spurious) panegyric for Ephrem the Syrian;
- John Chrysostom: panegyric for the prophet Elijah, (spurious) first homily on Patience;
- Pseudo-Dionysius: "treatise on Good and Evil" excerpted from *Divine Names*;
- Symeon Metaphrastēs: panegyrics for the evangelists Luke and John.

This list has grown several times over the past century and will likely continue to grow in the future.

### 3 Information from Other Sources

There were almost certainly more Greek texts translated by Ibrāhīm, but these are the only examples currently known. The term that I have translated throughout this chapter as "royal" is the Arabic *malakī*, which could also be translated as "Melkite" in reference to Ibrāhīm's Chalcedonian Christological affiliation. However, I believe this would be an error. All of the manuscripts using the term were written by "Melkites" who would have little reason to distinguish him in this way. Moreover, one Syriac liturgical manuscript, produced on the Black Mountain near Antioch, claims that it was translated from

52 On the encomium for Luke, the heading says that "the *prōtospatharios* translated it [*naqalahu*] in Antioch"; on that for John, the heading says that it is "from the translation [*tafsir*] of Ibrāhīm the *prōtospatharios*, the son of the physician"; see Sinai Ar. 482, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>; Sinai Ar. 405, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>. Though the heading for Luke's panegyric does not mention the name Ibrāhīm, he is clearly the intended *prōtospatharios* of Antioch. Both of these headings identify Symeon as "the Logothete," adding weight to the argument of some scholars that Symeon Logothetēs and Symeon Metaphrastēs are the same person; see Warren Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2013, pp. 203–207.

Greek “in the days of Abrāhām, the secretary of the king [*kātūbā d-malkā*].”<sup>53</sup> Although the manuscript was copied in 1056, Sebastian Brock believes that this might be a reference to Ibrāhīm, in whose time the text (a Triodion) was translated for the first time.<sup>54</sup> In fact, the colophon distinguishes between the translator (Antonios) and the copyist (John, son of Joseph), so the time of translation must have been earlier than 1056, likely during Ibrāhīm’s lifetime.

This manuscript adds to the evidence for Ibrāhīm’s close connection to the emperor and service as a high-ranking secretary in the bureaucracy. It suggests that *kātūbā d-malkā* (“the secretary of the king”) should be read as a Syriac equivalent to *al-kātib al-malakī* (“the royal secretary”) and thus that the Arabic phrase is a reference to Ibrāhīm’s role in the service of the emperor, not a reference to his Christology. If this colophon truly refers to Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā, it is a strong indication that he had some connection to the translation movement that brought the Constantinopolitan liturgical tradition—including the Triodion—into the Syriac language used in Antiochian church settings. Whether he was personally fluent in Syriac or not, he may have been involved in overseeing those who did this translation work, including Antonios.<sup>55</sup> Much of this translation and manuscript production work took place in the monasteries on the Black Mountain.

Ibrāhīm’s name is also potentially mentioned in a decree of Patriarch Alexios of Constantinople (bp. 1025–1043) from 1030.<sup>56</sup> Within the list of signatories, immediately following a long collection of metropolitans, the document names “Abramios, *prōtospatharios* over the God-guarded [imperial] bedchamber and *mystikós*.”<sup>57</sup> There is no way to be sure whether this Abramios is our Ibrāhīm, but the name seems uncommon enough in the Byzantine context that it is not

53 London, BL or. 8607, fol. 28<sup>v</sup>.

54 Sebastian Brock, “Syriac Manuscripts Copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch,” in Regine Schulz and Manfred Görg (eds.), *Lingua restituta orientalis*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1990, pp. 59–67, at pp. 62, 66–67.

55 This Antonios may be identified with a translator (generally working in Arabic), on whom see n. 38 above.

56 Gerhard Ficker, *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites*, Kiel, Kommissionsverlag der Universität Kiel, 1911, pp. 6–21; Guiland, “Protospathaire,” p. 670; Rodoloph Guiland, “Études sur l’histoire administrative de l’empire byzantin: Le mystique,” *Revue des études byzantines*, 26 (1968), pp. 279–289, at p. 284. The decree imposes increased restrictions on the Syriac Orthodox Christians who had been relocated to Melitene around the time of Nikephoros’s conquest of northern Syria in the late 960s. For more on this decree and its context, see Gilbert Dagron, “Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l’Orient byzantin à la fin du x<sup>e</sup> et au xi<sup>e</sup> siècle: L’immigration syrienne,” *Travaux et mémoires*, 6 (1976), pp. 177–216, at pp. 200–204.

57 Ficker, *Erlasse*, p. 20.

out of the question. This would certainly be near the end of Ibrāhīm's life, and if it is our author, it indicates the imperial heights to which he had risen, giving him the additional title of *mystikós*—a private secretary—and connecting him with the imperial bedchamber. Both of these points imply that he was extremely close to the emperor, who at the time was Romanos III (r. 1028–1034). This would also be the only sure indication that he had moved from Antioch to Constantinople in the course of his career.<sup>58</sup>

#### 4 Conclusion

We know little about the life of Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā, but we can make a general sketch. He was born in the early 950s in Antioch, to a prominent family—his father was apparently a physician—with close connections to the Church, and Ibrāhīm was educated there under Patriarch Christopher. He spent his career within the Byzantine bureaucracy and at some point attained the rank of *prōtopathários*, probably moving to Constantinople along the way, at least on a part-time basis. It is possible that he was in a position quite close to the emperor, especially if the decree of Patriarch Alexios actually refers to him. One of his tasks while working in the bureaucracy was to translate into Arabic some of the Greek works that had recently become available as a result of the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch. This included works attributed to many of the greatest fourth and fifth-century writers, Pseudo-Dionysius, and Ibrāhīm's older contemporary Symeon Metaphrastēs. It is very likely that he was also closely involved with the imperial project to translate the Constantinopolitan liturgy into Syriac, even if he was not doing the translations himself. He viewed these translations, especially his translations of fellow Antiochian John Chrysostom, as a gift to the primarily Arabophone residents of his hometown,

58 There is also a *prōtopathários* named Abramios mentioned on a seal of the eleventh century, which gives the title “imperial *prōtopathários* and *eidikós*.” Another—undated and fragmentary—seal names an Abramios as “imperial *prōtopathários* over [the *eidikón*?],” which may or may not be the same Abramios (*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, No. 20029, No. 66). The *eidikón* was the imperial treasury, so this would also connect Ibrāhīm closely to the emperor. Ultimately, there is no way to know whether this is the author of the *Life of Christopher*. Klaus-Peter Todt also suggests that there may be a reference to Ibrāhīm in the form of a seal referring to an Abramios as *sakellários tēs Antiokhéōn ekklesiās*; see Klaus-Peter Todt, “The Greek-Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in the Period of the Renewed Byzantine Rule and in the Time of the First Crusades (969–1204),” in *Tāriḥ kanīsat Anṭākiya li-l-Rūm al-Urtūduks: Ayya ḥuṣūṣiyya?*, Tripoli, Manšūrāt Ġāmi‘at al-Balamand, 1999, pp. 33–53, at p. 40.

although the imperial authorities also had an interest in translating Greek texts as a way to Byzantinize the Church of Antioch. Late in life, Ibrāhīm finally found the time to compose biographies of Christopher in Greek and Arabic, and potentially of his followers as well, which he had long intended to do. He must have died around 1030 or shortly thereafter.

Ibrāhīm's long life stretched from the pinnacle of the Ḥamdānid emirate until well into the development of the Byzantine translation project that reshaped the Church in Antioch and its region. As I argue in the larger study from which this chapter is taken, there is evidence in the *Life of Christopher* that Ibrāhīm eventually came to feel an ambivalent or even critical attitude toward imperial designs in his city, but for most of his life he was a valuable contributor to the Empire's projects and bureaucratic apparatus.<sup>59</sup> Although he is not as famous as some of the other translators from middle Byzantine Antioch, most notably 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (11th century), his life is a window into the transition from Ḥamdānid Muslim rule to Byzantine Christian rule in Antioch, as he describes in the *Life*.

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59 See n. 1 above.

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## A Re-translation of Basil's Hexaemeral Homilies by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl of Antioch

*Alexandre M. Roberts*

The present contribution will examine the eleventh-century Arabic translation of Basil of Caesarea's *Homilies on the Hexaemeron* by the translator and theologian 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl of Antioch.<sup>1</sup> Because there is no edition of Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic translation of these homilies (nor of the *other* medieval Arabic translations of the homilies, to be discussed below), much space will be devoted to a partial examination of its manuscript tradition.

After introducing the translator (section 1 below), I will survey other late antique and medieval translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, from Basil's death until the eleventh century (section 2), since these provide a literary background, cultural context, and potentially a source for Ibn al-Faḍl's work. Of the manuscripts containing an Arabic *Hexaemeron* translation I will briefly describe those which I have been able to consult in person or by means of a reproduction, furthermore listing all manuscripts to my knowledge reported to contain such a translation, working out some of the relationships between Ibn al-Faḍl's and another, anonymous Arabic translation, as they appear in manuscripts (section 3). A third Arabic translation, made from a Coptic original, will be shown to be unrelated to the other two Arabic translations (section 4). Finally, I will examine the opening passage in the two interrelated Arabic translations to better understand Ibn al-Faḍl's method and translation style (section 5).

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1 This is an extract from my larger project examining Ibn al-Faḍl's translation program and its intellectual context. It has benefited from the comments and corrections of Maria Mavroudi, Asad Q. Ahmed, Michael Cooperson, and Alexander Treiger, and from the unpublished research and ideas which Alexander Treiger and Samuel Noble generously shared with me. I am grateful to the libraries and librarians who provided me with manuscript reproductions or permitted me to consult the collections under their care. Here I thank in particular Fr. Makarios Haidamous of the Basilian Salvatorian Order, Joun, Lebanon, and Fr. Polycarpus Avva Mena of the Monastery of Mar Mina, Maryut, Egypt, to whom Hany Takla of the St. Shenouda Coptic Society kindly directed my inquiries.

## 1 The Translator

Manuscripts call him *al-šammās* Abū l-Faṭḥ ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Muṭṭrān al-Anṭākī. Biographical data on Ibn al-Faḍl are limited to what can be gleaned from his name and works. His name reveals that he was a deacon, the grandson of a metropolitan bishop, and an Antiochian (whether by birth or residence). His works make clear that he was a Chalcedonian Christian and a sophisticated theologian, as well as a prolific translator. He flourished ca. 1051 CE, a date given in some manuscripts of his translations. His works name a number of his teachers and patrons, who include prominent individuals in the region such as bishops and, as Noble and Treiger have suggested, perhaps even the famous Arab-Muslim poet Abū al-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī.<sup>2</sup>

For some time now it has been recognized that in the eighth-to-tenth-century Greek-Arabic translation movement of Greek secular learning, translation and re-translation was a key element in an ongoing critical engagement with the ancient and late antique heritage.<sup>3</sup> More recently, the Greek-Arabic translations of late antique Christian texts in and around tenth- and eleventh-century Antioch have begun to be regarded in a similar light.<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Faḍl’s work is a major part of this Antiochian translation movement.

## 2 Translations of Basil’s *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*

The six-day Genesis creation narrative (known as the *hexaemeron*) is the exegetical focus of Basil’s famous *Hexaemeron*.<sup>5</sup> The work, composed of nine

2 For these and further observations, see Alexander Treiger, “‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī,” in *CMR3*, pp. 89–113, supplemented by *CMR5*, pp. 748–749; Alexander Treiger, “Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers,” *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), pp. 188–227, at p. 208; Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, “Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and his *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*,” *Le Muséon*, 124.3–4 (2011), pp. 371–417, at pp. 375–376. The last also offers an example of his theological work and a list of his translations and other works.

3 Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsīd Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries)*, London, Routledge, 1998; George Saliba, “Al-Jāhīz and the Critique of Aristotelian Science,” in Arnim Heinemann et al. (eds.), *Al-Jāhīz: A Muslim Humanist for Our Time*, Würzburg, Ergon Verlag, Beirut, Orient-Institut, 2009, pp. 39–50.

4 See Treiger, “Christian Graeco-Arabica,” pp. 203–208.

5 Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta and Stig Y. Rudberg (eds.), *Basil of Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1997.

homilies, moves line-by-line through Genesis 1:1–26. By confronting previous philosophical opinions on such questions as the eternity of the world and the material composition of the sky, Basil builds a Christian cosmological synthesis upon Scripture and his own Hellenic education.<sup>6</sup> The text as usually transmitted (and as translated by Ibn al-Faḍl) barely reaches God's culminating act of the sixth day, the creation of human beings (Genesis 1:26–31) and leaves the topic mostly unexplored. This gap is filled in manuscripts (both Greek and Arabic) by the inclusion of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*. These two texts, along with Gregory of Nyssa's *Apology on the Hexaemeron* (ostensibly a defense and explication of Basil's *Hexaemeron*), form what the modern editors of Basil's *Hexaemeron* called the (Normal) Hexaemeron Corpus.<sup>7</sup>

Long before Ibn al-Faḍl translated the nine homilies of Basil's *Hexaemeron* into Arabic, it had already been translated into Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian. There had also been an earlier Arabic translation. These translations attest to its popularity throughout late antiquity and the early middle ages.<sup>8</sup> At some point before the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century it would be translated into Old Church Slavonic. A Coptic translation must also have existed. Although the focus here is on translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, it should be mentioned that of the other two Normal Hexaemeron Corpus texts, at least Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* was translated into Latin, Syriac, Georgian, Armenian, and Arabic.<sup>9</sup>

6 Basil's homilies were not the beginning of Greek literary elaborations on the opening chapter of Genesis; the tradition goes back at least to Philo of Alexandria, upon whose *De opificio mundi* Basil draws. After Basil, the *hexaemeron* tradition continued, for example, with George of Pisidia's (6th/7th century) *Hexaemeron* in iambic verse. Basil's homilies also shaped how creation was discussed in the Latin tradition from Ambrose of Milan and Augustine of Hippo onwards. For a partial account, see Frank Egleston Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature: A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on Genesis*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1912.

7 See Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta and Stig Y. Rudberg, *Basile de Césarée: la tradition manuscrite directe des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron: étude philologique*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1980, p. 3, where the Small and Large Hexaemeron Corpora are also discussed.

8 See CPG 2835, which lists Syriac, Latin, Georgian, Armenian and Arabic translations. The following survey of translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron* is based on the CPG and Paul J. Fedwick, "The Translations of the Works of Basil before 1400," in his *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, 2 vols. [continuous pagination], Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 1981, pp. 439–512.

9 CPG Suppl. p. 157, which also lists the Arabic translation. Because Gregory's *Apology on the Hexaemeron* was appended as an extra chapter of his *On Making Man* in the Arabic T-AbF and T-Anon manuscripts which I have seen, the same may have occurred in the case of other translations, so that catalogue entries on manuscripts containing the *Apology on the Hexaemeron* may not mention that text.

### 2.1 *Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic Translation (T-AbF)*

There are at least three distinct medieval translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron* into Arabic. Because I will refer to them repeatedly throughout this chapter, I will call them T-AbF ('Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl), T-Anon (Anonymous), and T-Ḡurayḡ, respectively.<sup>10</sup>

Although I have only seen Ibn al-Faḍl's translation in late manuscripts (the earliest is dated 1623 CE), the attribution of the translation to Ibn al-Faḍl that appears in all of them is unambiguous. It appears before the table of contents (*fihrist*),<sup>11</sup> where the *basmala*, title and attribution read as follows:<sup>12</sup>

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الْوَاحِدِ الْأَبَدِيِّ الْأَزَلِيِّ السَّرْمَدِيِّ، وَبِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ.<sup>1</sup> كِتَابُ تَفْسِيرِ سِتَّةِ أَيَّامِ الْخَلْقِ، وَمَا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ فِيهَا مِنْذَ الْقَدِيمِ، تَأْلِيفُ أَيْبِنَا النَّبِيلِ فِي الْقَدِيدِينَ بِاسْيَلْيُوسِ الْجَلِيلِ الْعَظِيمِ. عِدَّةُ مَقَالَاتِهِ تِسْعَةُ مَقَالَاتٍ مَعْلُومَةٍ، وَجَمَلَةٌ حِسَابِ فُصُولِهِ مِائَةٌ وَأَحَدٌ وَعِشْرُونَ فَصَلٌ<sup>2</sup> مَفْهُومَةٌ. وَنَقَلَهُ<sup>3</sup> مِنَ اللُّغَةِ الْيُونَانِيَّةِ وَالرُّومِيَّةِ<sup>4</sup> إِلَى لُغَةِ الْأَعْرَابِ<sup>5</sup> عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ<sup>6</sup> الْفَضْلِ الْأَنْطَاكِيِّ لَطَبِ الْأَجْرِ وَالثَوَابِ. وَذَلِكَ فِي التَّارِيخِ الرَّابِعِ مِنْ جَمَلَةِ السَّنِينَ فِي عَامِ سِتَّةِ آلَافٍ وَخَمْسَمِائَةٍ وَسِتِّينَ.<sup>7</sup>

1 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الْوَاحِدِ الْأَبَدِيِّ الْأَزَلِيِّ السَّرْمَدِيِّ، وَبِهِ نَسْتَعِينُ: ب د ق؛ ذ | 2 فَصَلٌ: ب د ق؛ فَصَلًا: ذ | 3 وَنَقَلَهُ: ب د ق؛ نَقَلَهُ: ذ | 4 وَالرُّومِيَّةِ: ب د ق؛ ذ | 5 لُغَةِ الْأَعْرَابِ: ب د ذ؛ اللُّغَةُ الْأَعْرَابِ: ق | 6 بِنَ: ق؛ ابْنِ: ب د ذ | 7 وَذَلِكَ فِي التَّارِيخِ الرَّابِعِ مِنْ جَمَلَةِ السَّنِينَ فِي عَامِ سِتَّةِ آلَافٍ وَخَمْسَمِائَةٍ وَسِتِّينَ: ب د ق؛ ذ

In the name of God, the one, the eternal (*abadī*), the pre-eternal (*azalī*), the pre- and post-eternal (*sarmadī*); from him do we seek aid. The Book of the Explication of the Six Days of Creation and what God created in them since the beginning of time (*munḍu l-qadīm*),<sup>13</sup> by Our Father, exalted (*nabīl*) among the saints, Basil the Sublime (*ḡalīl*), the Great (*ʿazīm*). The number of its homilies (*maqālāt*) is nine known homilies (*maʿlūma*), and the total count of its sections (*fuṣūl*) is one hundred and twenty-one

10 Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger alerted me to the existence of more than one translation, and in the course of our correspondence Samuel Noble shared his view that T-AbF is a revision of T-Anon.

11 In E, it appears on the title page, with no *basmala* or date.

12 B 2, D unnumbered, E title page, Q title page. For the sigla used in the apparatus, see Table 7.1 below.

13 *qadīm* is the technical term for "pre-eternal"; here it seems best to construe it in this related sense.

conventional sections (*maḥḥūma*).<sup>14</sup> ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī translated it from the Greek and Roman language into the language of the Arabs (*aʿrāb*) in order to seek recompense and reward. That was in the fourth indiction (*taʿrīḥ*) of the group of years,<sup>15</sup> in the year six thousand five hundred sixty.

The two dates given are off by a year. Anno Mundi 6560 corresponds to 1 September 1051–31 August 1052 CE, but the fourth year of this indiction cycle corresponds to 1 September 1050–31 August 1051 CE.<sup>16</sup> The indiction year was the standard dating system that would have been familiar to those living under Byzantine rule, while the Anno Mundi date was rather bookish, so it is likely that Ibn al-Faḍl got the indiction year right.<sup>17</sup> This would make the date of translation 1050–1051 CE (not 1052, as usually reported based on the Anno Mundi figure).<sup>18</sup>

Manuscripts also assign the exact same date (6560 AM and the fourth indiction) to Ibn al-Faḍl’s *Joy of the Believer* and his Arabic translation of Pseudo-Kaisarios’s *Questions and Answers* (incorporated into the *Joy of the Believer*).<sup>19</sup> One way to read this evidence would be that 1050–1051 CE was a year of intensive productivity for Ibn al-Faḍl. But it could also be that this date originally appeared in only one of Ibn al-Faḍl’s works but was then added to others by early-modern scribes wishing to assign dates to undated works.<sup>20</sup>

14 The phrases ending in *maʿlūma* and *maḥḥūma* together form a bit of *saḡʿ* (rhymed prose). Ibn al-Faḍl was capable of producing excellent *saḡʿ*, as we know from his other works, for example, his preface to his translation of Andrew of Crete’s *Encomium to Saint Nicholas* (Samuel Noble kindly sent me a copy of his unpublished edition of this text).

15 This formula refers to the Roman-Byzantine indiction year and is not part of the Anno Mundi date as suggested in Rachid Haddad, *Manuscripts du couvent Saint-Sauveur (Saida)*, Beirut, Dār al-Kalima, 1972, p. 96.

16 I thank Alexander Treiger for bringing this discrepancy to my attention.

17 See Venance Grumel, *La chronologie*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1958, pp. 193–203; Nicolas Oikonomides, “Indiction,” in Alexander Kazhdan et al., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 99. For the consideration that where indiction and Anno Mundi reckoning disagree the indiction is to be trusted, see also Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997, pp. lxiv–lxv.

18 For example, Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 56; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, pp. 193, 204.

19 Vat. Ar. 164, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Sbath 45, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: *في التاريخ الرابع من جملة السنين في عام ستة آلاف وخمسمائة وستين*.

20 I am grateful to Alexander Treiger for raising this possibility (in connection with my observation about *Joy of the Believer*, question 53, below) and for pointing out that known extant manuscripts of the *Joy of the Believer* (see Treiger, “‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl,” pp. 105–106) and

The assertion that the text was translated *from the original Greek* is as unambiguous as the attribution. This statement appears on other translations by Ibn al-Faḍl too.<sup>21</sup> It seems to have been an important selling point of his translations. The phrasing in this particular case may be intended to stress a continuity between the ancient Greek and contemporary Byzantine language: the text's original language is called "the Greek (*yūnāniyya*) and Roman (*rūmiyya*) language,"<sup>22</sup> or, in modern parlance, "the ancient Greek and Byzantine language."<sup>23</sup> This usage contrasts with the Muslim philhellenic, anti-Byzantine propaganda that stressed the terminological and conceptual rift between ancient Greek and contemporary Byzantine culture.<sup>24</sup> Nor is this usage unique to Ibn al-Faḍl; an Arabic manuscript copied no later than the tenth century and an Arabic translation dated to 772 CE (and preserved in manuscripts copied as early as the ninth century) refer to the Greek language with the adjective *rūmī*.<sup>25</sup>

## 2.2 *The Anonymous Translation upon Which Ibn al-Faḍl's Was Based (T-Anon)*

What this attribution does not mention is that Ibn al-Faḍl's translation is highly dependent on another Arabic translation attested in manuscripts, which I call

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of Ibn al-Faḍl's translation of the *Hexaemeron* (see Table 7.1 below) all date to the seventeenth century or later.

- 21 E.g., his Arabic Psalter (Vat. Ar. 4 [1711 CE], fol. 1<sup>v</sup>) and his translations of John Chrysostom's Commentary on Hebrews (Paris Ar. 96, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>), Isaac the Syrian (Vat. Sbath 649, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>), and an adaptation (as I discuss further in my larger project on Ibn al-Faḍl) of Sophronios's *Synodal Letter* (Vat. Sbath 44, fol. 81<sup>v</sup>). In both cases the phrasing omits *al-rūmiyya*: من اللغة العربية اليونانية إلى اللغة العربية. These examples also share other aspects of this attribution, such as the phrase *الطلب الأجر والثواب*.
- 22 Except in E, which omits "and Roman"—perhaps because the scribe (or a predecessor) found it outdated or unnecessary.
- 23 One of the three manuscripts (E) calls it more simply "the Greek (*yūnānī*) language," which may represent a later emendation. *Yūnān* (~ Ἰωνία, Ionia) in medieval Arabic tends to refer to ancient Greece, while the term *Rūm* (~ Ῥωμαῖοι) was used to describe those who are now called the Byzantines (see, for example, Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, trans. Emile Marmorstein and Jenny Marmorstein, New York, Routledge, 1975, pp. 39, 195).
- 24 Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture*, pp. 83–95; Maria Mavroudi, "Translations from Greek into Latin and Arabic during the Middle Ages: Searching for the Classical Tradition," *Speculum*, 90.1 (2015), pp. 28–59, at pp. 38–39.
- 25 André Binggeli, "Early Christian Graeco-Arabica: Melkite Manuscripts and Translations in Palestine (8th–10th Centuries AD)," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), pp. 228–247, at p. 237; Alexander Treiger, "The Earliest Dated Christian Arabic Translation (772 AD): Ammonius' Report on the Martyrdom of the Monks of Sinai and Raithu," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies*, 16 (2016), pp. 29–38, at p. 31 and notes 5 and 13, with further references.

the Anonymous Translation (T-Anon). This dependence was first discovered by Samuel Noble,<sup>26</sup> and my own comparison of the two translations alongside the Greek (section 5 below) confirms this dependence and further reveals that Ibn al-Faḍl's translation was produced in consultation with the Greek text as well. That is, Ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic translation, T-AbF, was most likely based on both an earlier Arabic translation, T-Anon, and the original Greek. The Anonymous Translation is undated and makes no reference to the translator in the manuscripts I have consulted (see Table 7.1 below).

A further piece of evidence that the Anonymous Translation pre-dates Ibn al-Faḍl's translation is found in Ibn al-Faḍl's *Joy of the Believer*. In question 53 of that work, Ibn al-Faḍl quotes a passage from Basil's *Hexaemeron*—not from his own translation, but rather from T-Anon.<sup>27</sup> This suggests that when he wrote question 53, he had not yet composed his own Arabic version of the *Hexaemeron*. It would also seem to make it particularly unlikely that Ibn al-Faḍl produced both T-AbF and the *Joy of the Believer* in the same year.

It should also be noted that all the T-AbF and T-Anon manuscripts I have consulted also contain the same Arabic version of the other two Normal Corpus texts, Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* and *Apology on the Hexaemeron*, or at least the former.<sup>28</sup>

### 2.3 *A Third, Independent Translation from Coptic (T-Ġurayġ)*

A Coptic monk named Ġurayġ ibn Yuḥannis al-Rarāwī also produced an Arabic translation, at the famous monastery of Saint Makarios (Dayr Abū Maqār)<sup>29</sup> at

26 See n. 10 above.

27 *Bahġat al-mu'min*, Recension A (see Treiger, "Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl," pp. 103–107), Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 112 = Graf 638 = Simaika 238, p. 45 (fol. 23<sup>v</sup>)<sub>4–16</sub>. Cf. Anonymous Translation, homily 9, *faṣl* 10 (= Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, *Basil of Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, 9.4, pp. 153<sub>21</sub>–154<sub>3</sub>), P fol. 98<sup>r</sup>, S fols. 131<sup>v</sup>–132<sup>r</sup>.

28 Sinai Ar. 270 (which contains *Hexaemeron* translation T-Anon) does not contain Gregory's *Apology on the Hexaemeron*; in that manuscript, *bāb* 31 (the last chapter of *On Making Man* in the Arabic translation) ends on fol. 243<sup>v</sup>, matching the text of the end of *bāb* 31 in the T-AbF manuscript D 11.109. Then, after some blank pages and a doodle (a drawing of a human figure), a text of *nuskiyyāt* by Basil begins on fol. 248<sup>r</sup>.

In all the manuscripts I have seen which contain the Arabic translations of these two works by Gregory, they are not explicitly ascribed to a translator. The translation style used for the Arabic versions of Gregory's works appears similar to the style of *Hexaemeron* translation T-AbF. It is also plausible that Ibn al-Faḍl would have translated the entire Normal *Hexaemeron* Corpus at once, since that is how the work circulated in Greek manuscripts. On the other hand, the presence of the same Arabic translations of Gregory's works in T-Anon manuscripts might suggest that they pre-date Ibn al-Faḍl.

29 It is conventional to refer to this monastery using an uninflected Arabic form ("Abū," not "Abī") foreign to Classical Arabic. It is also called "Dayr Anbā Maqār."

Sketis (Greek Σκήτις, Coptic *Shiet*), in Wādī Naṭrūn (in the Nile delta), in the thirteenth century.<sup>30</sup> Ğurayġ translated all nine homilies, although the single manuscript containing this translation is missing many folios; this manuscript will be discussed further below (section 4). As I show there on the basis of the colophon, Ğurayġ's translation is distinct from T-AbF and T-Anon and was almost certainly translated *from a Coptic exemplar*. (Ğurayġ also seems to have translated Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*, contained in the same manuscript, and this translation is distinct from the version of the same text which accompanies the other two *Hexaemeron* translations.)

#### 2.4 *Translations into Other Languages before 1050*

The earliest translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* into any language was probably the Latin translation, produced ca. 400 or the mid-fifth century—certainly by the mid-sixth—by one Eustathius, perhaps an Italian or North African.<sup>31</sup> This

30 Dayr Abū Maqār was founded by Saint Makarios the Egyptian/the Great (b. Upper Egypt ca. 300, d. Sketis ca. 390): Kazhdan, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Makarios the Great," p. 1271. "The present four monasteries in Wādī Naṭrūn represent a development after the 9th C., when for security reasons monks settled within an area surrounded by a high wall": *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Wādī Naṭrūn," p. 2189. It has continually been an important monastic center, closely associated with the (Coptic) patriarch of Alexandria, who resided there in times of persecution or instability; see Ugo Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abū Maqār*, Geneva, Patrick Cramer, 1986, p. 5, who notes further that it is at the monastery that the Coptic patriarch, "according to ancient tradition (partially modified in the thirteenth century)," consecrates the Myron (oil for anointing) "during the celebration of the Holy Week."

31 Critical edition: Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta and Stig Y. Rudberg, *Eustathius, Ancienne version latine des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron de Basile de Césarée*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1958. For date and geography, see Berthold Altaner, *Kleine patristische Schriften*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1967, pp. 437–447 (I refer to the reprinted version; the original article was published in 1940); cited by Fedwick, "Translations of the Works of Basil," p. 459 n. 101. Altaner argues—against the old dating of the translation to ca. 440 and identification of Eustathius as a North African—that a passage in which Augustine refers to a "Syrian's" explication of the Biblical statement that God's spirit "superferebatur super aquas" as meaning that God "fovebat," on the basis of the Aramaic text, derives directly from Eustathius's translation of the relevant passages (even though it is not a verbatim quote), since Augustine's wording is closer to Eustathius than to a parallel passage by Ambrose of Milan; he rules out that Augustine was using the Greek text directly by way of circumstantial evidence (Augustine tended to use the Latin translation of Greek patristics when available) and by Augustine's tendency to render Greek words very literally when he translated them himself, so that he would have translated συνέβαλεν as *confovebat*, whereas he actually used *fovebat*, paralleling Eustathius's *fovebant* (and Ambrose's *fovebat*). The date of Augustine's work means that "Eustathius's work must already have been completed around 400" (p. 444: "deshalb muß die Arbeit des Eustathius bereits um 400

translation, a highly literal one, proved very popular in the west, even after new Latin translations were made in the thirteenth century and later.<sup>32</sup>

A Syriac *Hexaemeron* translation was made almost as early.<sup>33</sup> One of the fragments of the only known extant Syriac translation survives in a manuscript probably dating to the fifth century.<sup>34</sup> Baršawm (d. 1957) says that Athanasius II of Balad made a translation in 666–667 CE,<sup>35</sup> but the modern editor of the Syriac *Hexaemeron* considers all known manuscripts and fragments to be part of the same translation.<sup>36</sup> If so, and if Baršawm is correct, then it would seem that Athanasius's translation is lost. The only surviving complete version of the text is contained in Sinai Syr. 9 (before 734 CE).<sup>37</sup>

vollendet gewesen sein"). Perhaps. What is certain is that Eustathius's work was completed by 550–560, when Cassiodorus refers to it explicitly (p. 439). Eustathius's editors follow Altaner's dating: Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, *Eustathius, Ancienne version latine*, p. XI, n. 1.

- 32 Fedwick, "Translations of the Works of Basil," pp. 449–450, who reaches this conclusion from the manuscript tradition. Of the three texts in the (Normal) *Hexaemeron* Corpus, Eustathius seems only to have translated Basil's homilies; some manuscripts, however, follow these with a Latin translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* (= PL 67:345B–408B) by Dionysius Exiguus (b. ca. 470, d. before 556): Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, *Eustathius, Ancienne version latine*, pp. XIX–LIV. These manuscripts include the following: Paris Lat. 12134 [= A, 8th c., p. XIX]; Copenhagen, Royal Library, Gammel kongelige Samling 20, 2° [= C, 11th c. (1st half), p. XXIV]; Vendôme, Bibliothèque de la ville, 122 [= B, 11th c. (beginning), p. XXXVII]. Other manuscripts of Eustathius do not contain Dionysius Exiguus, e.g., Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Car. C. 146 [= Z, 9th c., p. XXXII]. For Dionysius himself, see Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart, Metzler, s.v. "Dionysios [55]."
- 33 Critical edition and translation: Robert Thomson, *Basil of Caesarea, The Syriac Version of the Hexaemeron by Basil of Caesarea* (CSCO, 550–551, *Scriptores Syri* 222–223), 2 vols., Louvain, Peeters, 1995.
- 34 London, British Library Add. 17143 (= Thomson's A), in which folios 1–12 contain Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 8 and 9; see Thomson, *Basil of Caesarea*, vol. 1, pp. v–VII.
- 35 Sebastian Brock, "Basil's Homily on Deut. xv 9: Some Remarks on the Syriac Manuscript Tradition," in Jürgen Dummer and Johannes Irmischer (eds.), *Texte und Textkritik: eine Aufsatzsammlung*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1987, pp. 57–66, at p. 59 (Fedwick, "Translations of the Works of Basil," p. 449), citing Baršawm's *Ktobo d-berulle d-'al mardut yulfone suryoye hdire*, Qamishli, 1967, p. 229, p. 373. I was able to consult the Arabic version of this book, where it is stated (Iḡnāṭīyūs Baršawm, *al-Lu'lu' al-mantūr fi tāriḥ al-'ulūm wa-l-ādāb al-suryāniyya*, Glane-Losser, Bar Hebraeus Verlag, 1987, p. 290) that Athanasius of Balad's translation was made in 666–667: وترجم باقتراح المطرانين الموما اليهما والقسيس ساويرا الكاتب، وكتب الايام الستة للقديس باسيلوس القيصري تسع مقالات سنة ٦٦٦-٦٦٧ على ما ورد في ضوابط الخزانة الزعفرانية الفاظ الكتاب العزيز ومصنفات الملافة في الخزانة الزعفرانية ٢٤١.
- 36 See Thomson, *Basil of Caesarea*, vol. 1, p. v, n. 1.
- 37 Thomson, *Basil of Caesarea*, vol. 1, p. v: "The translation is not dated, but a colophon indicates that the manuscript was bought by the scribe Thomas from the priest Simeon in 1045

Was Basil's *Hexaemeron* translated into Coptic? Fedwick asserts that it never was.<sup>38</sup> Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg seem to suggest that a Coptic translation was carried out, but also mention that they know of no Coptic manuscript containing all nine homilies or even a single homily.<sup>39</sup> However, as I will demonstrate below (§ 4), there can be little doubt that a Coptic translation once existed and that it formed the basis for Ġurayġ's Arabic version of Basil's *Hexaemeron*.

The Armenian version of Basil's *Hexaemeron* is a translation of the Syriac translation, with elaboration, a feature unusual for "early Armenian translators."<sup>40</sup> Before the tenth century, some form of the *Hexaemeron* was apparently

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- of the Seleucid era, i.e. 734 AD." See also Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*, Bonn, Marcus & Webers Verlag, 1922, p. 78.—A Syriac translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* is contained in Vat. Syr. 106, which has been dated anywhere from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the eighth century: Francesco Pericoli Ridolfini, "Dedica e sommario del *De opificio hominis* di Gregorio di Nissa nel Vat. Sir. 106," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 66.2 (2000), pp. 295–316, p. 295. See also Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 79, n. 6. For the Syriac translation of Gregory's *Apology on the Hexaemeron*, Baumstark lists only one manuscript containing fragments of it, London, British Museum 787 = Add. 17,196 (9th century): Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 79, n. 7; cited by *CPG* 3153.
- 38 Fedwick, "Translations of the Works of Basil," 485. But cf. the question he poses on the following page: "from what language did Ġarīh [sic, i.e., the translator of T-Ġurayġ] translate Basil's work—Greek, Syriac, or Coptic?"
- 39 They speak of "les anciennes versions de l'Hexaéméron basilien en syriaque, en arménien, en copte, en arabe et en géorgien," but then the footnote to the word "copte" reads, "Je ne connais aucun manuscrit copte ancien qui présenterait une version de l'ensemble des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron, ou même d'une seule homélie entière" (Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, *Basile de Césarée*, pp. 4–5, p. 5, n. 2).
- 40 Robert W. Thomson, *Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology: A Study of the Armenian Version of Saint Basil's Hexaemeron and Its Influence on Medieval Armenian Views about the Cosmos* (CSCO 646, Subsidia 130), Louvain, Peeters, 2012, pp. VII, 23. In 1981, Fedwick ("Translations of the Works of Basil," p. 476) followed Muradyan, the editor of the Armenian *Hexaemeron*, in seeing it as a translation from Greek, not Syriac. Thomson (*Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology*, p. VII) rejected this position, holding that the Armenian excerpt(s) of the *Hexaemeron* appearing in the work of a fifth-century author are derived directly from the Greek and not from a complete Armenian translation of the work. Thomson's conclusion (*Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology*, pp. 22–25) that the Armenian version was translated from Syriac derives from his own edition and translation of the Syriac text and a comparison of that text with Muradyan's critical edition of the Armenian version. Thomson's examples are convincing, especially readings in the Armenian which are easily explicable as misreadings of Syriac words for similar-looking Syriac words. Thomson's translation with commentary of the Armenian text (Thomson, *Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology*, pp. 55–246) uses the

used as an Armenian school text.<sup>41</sup> The oldest manuscript containing the Armenian translation is dated 1187.<sup>42</sup>

George of the Holy Mountain (d. 1065), a Georgian translator active at Mount Athos, Antioch, and elsewhere, based himself on previous Georgian translations, no longer extant, and presumably the Greek as well, to prepare his own Georgian recension.<sup>43</sup> George also translated Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* into Georgian; again, earlier Georgian translations of this work had already existed.<sup>44</sup>

A Slavonic translation (in "the Serbian recension") of the *Hexaemeron* is preserved in Athos, Chilandari, 405 (late 14th or early 15th century), along with Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*.<sup>45</sup> In the second half of the tenth century, John the Exarch had based his own Old Church Slavonic *Hexaemeron* composition (a catena of excerpts from patristic hexaemeral works) largely on Basil's, but there does not seem to have been a full translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* into Old Church Slavonic until later.<sup>46</sup>

All this gives us a fairly clear, if partial picture of *Hexaemeron* translations which preceded Ibn al-Faḍl's. After early Latin (ca. 5th century) and Syriac (5th century) translations, another Syriac version (possibly based on the first) may have been produced (mid-7th century). An Armenian version (not extant) existed sometime before the tenth century, while the extant Armenian trans-

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Syriac to correct many of Muradyan's choices among variant readings in the Armenian manuscripts.

41 Fedwick, "Translations of the Works of Basil," p. 477.

42 Matenadaran 1801; Thomson, *Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology*, p. 21. The Armenian manuscripts are listed by Gabriella Uluhogian, "Repertorio dei manoscritti della versione armena di S. Basilio di Cesarea," in Fedwick, *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, p. 585, cited by Thomson, who also provides a list (Thomson, *Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology*, pp. 20–22). Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* was translated into Armenian in Constantinople by Step'anos of Siwnik' "between 711 and 718" (Thomson, *Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology*, p. 29). For the edition of this translation, see Thomson, *Saint Basil of Caesarea and Armenian Cosmology*, p. 5, n. 22.

43 Michael Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955, p. 164; cited by Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, *Basile de Césarée*, p. 5 n. 4.

44 Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, p. 164. Tarchnišvili does not mention Gregory of Nyssa's *Apology on the Hexaemeron*.

45 Fedwick, "Translations of the Works of Basil," p. 509. There may also be a 15th-century manuscript of the Russian recension, for Fedwick writes: "T.B. Ukhova mentions a fifteenth-century ms of the *Hexaemeron* apparently of the Russian recension on which I was unable to gather more information" (Fedwick, "Translations of the Works of Basil," p. 509, n. 326).

46 Fedwick, "Translations of the Works of Basil," p. 509.

lation, made from the Syriac, was made sometime before 1187 (so that it is possible that it predates Ibn al-Faḍl's translation). There had thus been sustained interest in the Hexaemeron Corpus, including Basil's *Hexaemeron*, throughout the Mediterranean, among speakers of many languages, and not only among Chalcedonian Christians. Then in the eleventh century, probably very close to the time Ibn al-Faḍl carried out his translation, a Georgian translation (based on previous translations) was produced; perhaps this contemporary desire to prepare a more satisfactory version of Basil's *Hexaemeron* is not entirely unconnected to Ibn al-Faḍl's translation activities.

### 3 The Manuscripts of T-AbF and T-Anon

The manuscripts known to me to contain an Arabic translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* are summarized in Table 7.1 below.<sup>47</sup> There are probably others. Previous published surveys of manuscripts containing "Ibn al-Faḍl's" Arabic translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*—Cheikho, Graf, and Nasrallah—do not distinguish between T-AbF and T-Anon.<sup>48</sup> They sometimes note when a manuscript contains Ibn al-Faḍl's scholia, but while this and other indications help us guess which translation it contains, each manuscript (or a transcribed excerpt from

47 Based on previous surveys: Louis Cheikho, *Kitāb al-maḥḥūṭāt al-'arabiyya li-katabat al-naṣrāniyya / Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens*, Beirut, Maṭba'at al-Ābā' al-Yasū'īyīn, 1924, pp. 52–53; Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 56; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 205; Joseph Nasrallah, "Dossier arabe des œuvres de Saint Basile dans la littérature melchite," *Proche-Orient chrétien*, 29 (1979), pp. 17–43, here p. 28; Paul J. Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis: A Study of the Manuscript Tradition, Translations and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea*, 5 vols., Turnhout, Brepols, 1993–2004, vol. 2.1, pp. 169–171, where each manuscript is assigned a unique identifier ("h" followed by a number).

Notes: Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 2171 contains [pseudo-]Epiphanius of Cyprus's *Hexaemeron*, perhaps *CPG* 3783, in addition to Basil's *Hexaemeron*.—Dayr Abū Maqār Theology 22 is listed as No. 293 by Zanetti, *Manuscripts*, p. 42. One manuscript not included in Table 7.1, Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 678, is listed by Nasrallah, as "A(ncienne) C(ote) 31," but this appears to be an error. Nasrallah says this manuscript contains an Arabic version of Basil's *Hexaemeron* (Nasrallah, "Dossier," p. 28, n. 45; cited by Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis*, vol. 2.1, p. 171, where it is called "h528"), but the monastery's handlist of manuscripts does not list this as one of the manuscript's texts, although it does mention a commentary on Leviticus (*Tafsīr Sifr al-Lāwīyyīn*) by "Saint Basil" (Basilian Salvatorian Order, "Handlist manuscrits ordre basilien salvatorien" [[http://obslb.com/img/handlist\\_manuscrits\\_ordre\\_basilien\\_salvatorien.pdf](http://obslb.com/img/handlist_manuscrits_ordre_basilien_salvatorien.pdf)], p. 22). There is also a discrepancy between the manuscript date given (Nasrallah: 1627, hand list: 1727). The name of the scribe given, however, is the same.

48 Graf, in his entry on Arabic translations of Basil's works (Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 321), simply refers to his entry on Ibn al-Faḍl (Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 56).

TABLE 7.1 Manuscripts containing an Arabic translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*. For each, I note its date, whether I have seen it (and in what form, manuscript or reproduction), and whether its *Hexaemeron* translation is T-AbF, T-Anon, or T-Ġurayġ. Three columns indicate the H(ixaemeron) C(orpus) texts contained in the manuscript ("+" presence; "-" absence): HC1 = Basil of Caesarea, *Homilies on the Hexaemeron*; HC2 = Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*; HC3 = Gregory of Nyssa, *Apology on the Hexaemeron*. The rightmost column gives the unique identifier assigned to the manuscripts by Fedwick's *Bibliotheca B(asiliana) V(niversalis)*. The leftmost column contains an asterisk (\*) for manuscripts which are not listed by Graf or Nasrallah. The six Damascus shelf numbers probably represent only two manuscripts as currently bound (see n. 57 below); I have placed round brackets around the four Damascus manuscripts listed by Nasrallah that may be equivalent to the two Damascus manuscripts marked by an asterisk.

Manuscript	Siglum	Date	Seen	Hex. trans.	HC1	HC2	HC3	BBV
Aleppo Bib. Maronite 15		?		?	+	?	+	h523
Aleppo Ġirġis Šulhot		?		?	+	?	?	h524
Balamand 115		1831		?	+	?	?	h514
Beirut BO 479	B/ب	18th	repr.	T-AbF	+	+	+	h512
Beirut BO 480		19th		?	+	+	+	h513
Beirut Bib. Nationale?		17th/18th		?	+	?	?	h509
Cairo COP Theology 165 = Graf 351		13th		?T-Anon	+	+	?	h520
Cairo COP Theology 139 = Graf 380	W/و	1798	repr.	T-Anon	+	+	+	h521
* Cairo COP Theology 313 = Simaika 535		1890		?T-Anon	+	+	?	h522
* Damascus OP Ar. 142	D/د	18th	repr.	T-AbF	+	+	+	
* Damascus OP Ar. 149	E/ذ	1839	repr.	T-AbF	+	+	+	
(Damascus OP Ar. 1546)		?		?	+	?	+	h516
(Damascus OP Ar. 1551)		1839		?	+	?	+	h517
(Damascus OP Ar. 1553)		1839		?	?	?	+	-
(Damascus OP Ar. 1557)		1879		?	+	+	?	-
* Dayr Abū Maqār Theology 22		?15th		?	+	+	?	h533
* Dayr al-Baramūs?		?		T-Anon	+	?	?	-
Dayr al-Muḥalliš 114	Q/ق	1623	repr.	T-AbF	+	+	+	h529
Dayr al-Muḥalliš 218	R/ر	1833	repr.	T-AbF	+	+	+	h530
* Dayr al-Muḥalliš 584		19th		?	+	+	?	-
* Dayr al-Muḥalliš 1731		1833		?	+	-	-	-
* Dayr al-Muḥalliš 2171		1896		?	+	-	-	-
Dayr al-Nā'ima		?		?	+	?	?	-
Dayr al-Šir 324 N.C.		?		?	+	+	?	-
Dayr al-Šuwayr 121		pre-1756		?	+	?	?	h505
Dayr al-Šuwayr 122		18th		?	+	?	+	h506
Paris Ar. 134	P/پ	15th	ms.	T-Anon	+	+	+	h527
Sinai Ar. 270	S/س	1625	repr.	T-Anon	+	+	-	h531
Vat. Borg. Ar. 153	G/ع	14th	ms.	T-Anon	+	+	+	h515
* Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 1381		15th	repr.	T-Ġurayġ	+	+	?	h534

it) must ultimately be consulted again to be sure. Whether medieval Arabic translations other than T-AbF, T-Anon, and T-Ġurayġ (discussed in § 4) exist is also an open question.<sup>49</sup> Here I will provide a partial account of the manuscript tradition based on my research so far.

### 3.1 *Manuscripts of Ibn al-Faḍl's Translation (T-AbF)*

Five manuscripts certainly containing Ibn al-Faḍl's translation, one in Beirut at the Bibliothèque Orientale of the Université Saint-Joseph, two in Damascus at the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East,<sup>50</sup> and two at Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ, of the Basilian Salvatorian Order, in Joun, Lebanon (referred to by Nasrallah as Saint-Sauveur, Saïda):

1. B/ب = Beirut BO 479 (18th c.).
2. D/د = Damascus OP Ar. 142 (18th c.; "black leather binding" of low quality).<sup>51</sup>
3. E/ذ = Damascus OP Ar. 149 (1839 CE; 123 + 127 folios, "engraved leather binding").<sup>52</sup> There are two colophons, one for the first portion (to the end of Basil's *Hexaameron*), with the date 17 August 1839 (I.123), and another for the second portion (Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* and *Apology on the Hexaameron*: 17 November 1839 [colophon at II.127]). Margins were wider at one point but have since been clipped.<sup>53</sup>

49 I have encountered a fragment of an Arabic translation which is neither T-AbF nor T-Anon in Vat. Borg. Ar. 153 fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>, that is, on the two most recently-added folios at the beginning, written in a modern hand. This modern hand may have been copying yet another medieval translation (although it cannot yet be excluded that it is T-Ġurayġ, since that translation is missing its beginning in the one known manuscript). It is equally likely that the scribe was recording a more recent, possibly even his or her own translation. In this translation, the beginning of Homily 1 reads: *يحق لنا ان نضع مبدا انشا العالم ان نقص مبدا ما نشرحه الذي به نوضح الاشيا المنظورة ذات الزينة*.

50 In accordance with standard convention, I will refer to this library as "Damascus O(rthodox) P(atriarchate)"; this is not meant to imply that Damascus is a patriarchal see, only that it is the location of the library. The library's manuscripts are described in *al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī maktabat Baṭriyarkīyyat Anṭākīya wa-sā'ir al-maṣriq li-l-Rūm al-Urṭūduks*, Beirut, Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Urṭūduksī al-Anṭākī, 1988. I am grateful to Samuel Noble for placing his reproductions of Damascus OP Ar. 142 and 149 at my disposal. It was thanks to my correspondence with him that I became aware in the first place that these manuscripts might contain the same translation as Beirut BO 479, a reproduction of which was in my possession.

51 *Al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī maktabat Baṭriyarkīyyat Anṭākīya*, p. 24: "ġilāf ġild aswad (sayyi)."

52 *Al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī maktabat Baṭriyarkīyyat Anṭākīya*, p. 25: "ġilāf ġildī manqūš."

53 See, e.g., the marginalium clipped at I.34.

4. Q/ق = Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 114 (1623 CE; 476 pages).<sup>54</sup> Date, scribe, and patron supplied by the colophons after Basil's *Hexaemeron* (Q 233, brief) and at the end of the manuscript (Q 477, longer).
5. R/ر = Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 218 (1833 CE; 446 pages).<sup>55</sup> Date from colophon (R 446). Although the manuscript appears intact, it is missing the title and the ascription of the translation to Ibn al-Faḍl. After a table of contents on the first recto, followed by a blank verso, the text opens on R 1 (a recto page) with the opening line of Basil's first homily (... قال القديس باسيليوس: إن العازم). This suggests that its exemplar (or another ancestor) had lost its title page.

All of these manuscripts are *paginated* (rather than foliated), so I cite them by page number. The pagination of D and E begins anew with Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*. When there is a possible ambiguity, I refer to the first set of pages as "part I," and the second as "part II" (for example, D 11.1 is the first page of the second portion of D). Recto pages are odd in B and D 11, even in D I, E 1–11, and Q (up to p. 442; there is no p. 444, so beginning with p. 445 rectos are odd).

B is mentioned by both Graf and Nasrallah, as well as Cheikho (the last without a shelf number).<sup>56</sup> Graf mentions neither of the Damascus manuscripts. As for Nasrallah, he refers to four different manuscripts at the "Patr. Orth. Damas" (Orthodox Patriarchate in Damascus) containing parts of the *Hexaemeron* Corpus: numbers 1546, 1551, 1553, and 1557 (of which only No. 1553, according to him, does not contain a copy of Basil's *Hexaemeron*). These "four" manuscripts probably correspond to the two manuscripts D and E.<sup>57</sup>

54 Haddad, *Manuscrits du couvent Saint-Sauveur*, pp. 96–97. The pagination skips p. 444, so the last page with writing is labeled p. 477.

55 Haddad, *Manuscrits du couvent Saint-Sauveur*, p. 191.

56 Graf, *GICAL*, vol. 2, p. 56; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 205. Cheikho, *Kitāb al-maḥṭūṭāt*, p. 52, refers to "two copies in our oriental library" in one of which there are "scholia (*ṣurūḥ*) by the aforementioned 'Abdallāh [ibn al-Faḍl]"; these must be Beirut BO 479 (with scholia) and 480 (without).

57 Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 205. It is plausible that Nasrallah here refers to the two parts of E by two separate shelf numbers, 1551 (referring to E I, containing Basil's *Hexaemeron*) and 1553 (referring to E 11, containing the two works by Gregory of Nyssa, of which Nasrallah would then have had to overlook *On Making Man*, since he does not list No. 1553 under that title). It is otherwise difficult to explain why his No. 1551 and No. 1553 have the exact same date, 1839 CE, which they also share with E. Even if E's two parts were bound separately when Nasrallah consulted them, each part has a colophon with the date, so that he could reasonably assign the date to each of the two. We can thus with some confidence propose the identification E I = No. 1551, E 11 = No. 1553. The other two, Nasrallah's No. 1546 and No. 1557, are more difficult to sort out. It would be natural to consider them to be

These manuscripts contain essentially the same texts:<sup>58</sup>

1. Basil's *Hexaemeron*, with *basmala*, title and attribution, table of contents, followed by the nine homilies;
2. Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*, with *basmala*, title and attribution, proem, table of contents, followed by the text itself in 31 sections, each called a *bāb*; and
3. Gregory of Nyssa's *Apology on the Hexaemeron*, presented in the manuscripts as *bāb* 32 of *On Making Man*.

D has running headers, much like a modern printed book. These indicate an awareness that Gregory of Nyssa's *Apology on the Hexaemeron* is a text separate from his *On Making Man*: on pages containing Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, 1–31, the headers read “A Book on the Creation of Man / by Saint Gregory bishop of Nyssa,”<sup>59</sup> while on pages containing what is presented as section 32 of *On Making Man* (but is actually Gregory of Nyssa's *Apology on the Hexaemeron*),

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the two parts of D, except that he assigns No. 1557 the date 1879 CE (a suspect date since it is typographically similar to “1839”) and says that both No. 1546 and No. 1557 contain Basil's *Hexaemeron* (while No. 1546 also contains Gregory's *Apology on the Hexaemeron* and No. 1557 also contains Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*). This raises the possibility that if D was in two parts when Nasrallah saw it, the more recent title page in D I (on the flyleaf, before the original title page, which latter is the only one I include in the list of contents below) might have led Nasrallah to believe that D I (which, in this scenario, he would have called No. 1557) contained both Basil's *Hexaemeron* and Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*: *يشتمل هذا الكتاب المبارك على مجلدين الآتي ذكرها الاول: كتاب تفسير ستة ايام الخليقة لأينا النبيل في القديسين باسيلوس الجليل العظيم. الثاني: كتاب لأينا القديس غريغور يوس اسقف نيصص اخي القديس الكبير باسيلوس في خلقه الانسان وشرف معانيه*. Then, seeing D II, which ends in Gregory's *Apology*, clearly labeled as such with running headers, Nasrallah might have called it No. 1546, mistakenly noting that its other text was Basil's *Hexaemeron* (rather than Gregory's *On Making Man*). Nasrallah assigned no date to his No. 1546, so if we ignore Nasrallah's date for No. 1557 and consider that a simple error might have led to the incorrect description of No. 1546's contents, the identification D I = No. 1557, D II = No. 1546 at least seems possible.

- 58 Basil, *Hexaemeron*: title page (D and E, not in B) || *basmala*, title and attribution (B 2 and D unnumbered, in E these appear on the title page) || table of contents (B 2, D unnumbered, not in E, which places tables of contents before each homily) || § 1 (B 9, D I.1, E I.1): in E, the corner of the page where the page number would have been is damaged) || § 2 (B 23, D I.18, E I.15) || § 3 (B 35, D I.33, E I.28) || § 4 (B 48, D I.49, E I.40) || § 5 (B 58, D I.61, E I.50) || § 6 (B 73, D I.79, E I.64) || § 7 (B 93, D I.103, E I.82) || § 8 (B 105, D I.117, E I.93) || § 9 (B 123, D I.138, E I.108). Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*: title page (D and E, not in B) || *basmala*, title, attribution and proem (B 142, D unnumbered, E II.1) || table of contents [including mention of “*bāb* 32,” which is in fact Gregory of Nyssa's *Apology on the Hexaemeron*] (B 144, D unnumbered, E II.3) || § 1–31 (B 147, D II.1, E II.5).

- 59 E.g., D II.108–109: *كتاب في خلقه الانسان / للقديس غريغور يوس اسقف نيصص*.

the headers read “Gregory’s Apology (*iḥtiğāğ*) [addressed] to His Brother Peter / about the Creation in the Six Days.”<sup>60</sup>

I have not systematically collated the manuscripts. The passages I have collated (including the opening passage discussed in section 5 below) yield the following observations:

1. B is an apograph of D;
2. D and E are probably mutually independent.

The difficulty with E is that its text reflects a scribe’s strong tendency to make emendations (whether E’s scribe or the scribe of an ancestor).

Preliminary study of Q<sup>61</sup> suggests that:

3. D and Q are probably mutually independent;
4. E and Q have some mutual affinity.

In what follows I will focus on the first two claims (about B, D, and E). Most of the evidence for the more tentative third and fourth claims can be found in the apparatus below.<sup>62</sup>

The evidence for the first claim is as follows. To begin with, textual variants suggest that B is a direct descendant of D: I have encountered no instance in which B is correct while D is in error, except for trivial orthographical “errors” which B’s scribe might easily have corrected; otherwise, B always follows D’s errors.<sup>63</sup> At the same time, B includes additional errors which are independent of D.<sup>64</sup> At one point, B’s error is best explained by the layout of D’s text, in which the hanging tail of a *mīm* (م) on the line above intrudes precisely where B’s text has an additional *alif* (ا).<sup>65</sup>

This does not on its own prove that B is an *apograph* of D (rather than merely a descendant), but there are also a number of scribal errors in B which are best explained by supposing that B’s scribe was copying directly out of D. These

60 E.g., D II.110–111: (كذا) احتجاج غريغوريوس لآخيه بطرس / عن الخليقة في الستة أيام (كذا).

61 I obtained reproductions of Q and R after the bulk of this chapter was complete. At present I omit R from the stemmatic considerations.

62 D and Q’s mutual independence is suggested by errors found exclusively in one or the other; e.g., ascription: اللغة الأعراب Q versus لغة الأعراب D; Homily 5, *faṣl* 8 (see below): أشجارا BD (error) versus أشجار EQ. The latter also exemplifies affinity between E and Q; elsewhere too these two manuscripts correctly supply a final *alif* where a *tanwīn faṭḥ* is required but BD omit it. See also opening of Homily 1: القديس باسيلوس EQ, omitted by BD. Both E and Q put lists of *fuṣūl* at the beginning of each homily, rather than at the head of the whole book as BD do. Their affinity is only loose; see, e.g., n. 74 below.

63 Such orthographical errors include D’s خطأ for خطأ and ذاء for ذا. The former type of “error” is so widespread as to be considered an alternative orthographical convention. B and D’s shared errors include: ذو for ذا (B 817–19); وكان for وإن in one of Ibn al-Faḍl’s scholia.

64 E.g., الكواكب for كوكب, B 8413; تصوره for تصوره.

65 B reads وافي instead of the correct وفي in the passage on the stars (Basil, *Hexaameron*, 1.4).

errors all result from B's accidental skipping or repeating of lines, permitting a reconstruction of the line breaks in the scribe's exemplar. I present here several of these errors, printing the Arabic text common to both manuscripts, along with words in B which have been crossed out (marking such erasures with double brackets, [[...]]), but then with line breaks corresponding to D's line breaks (not B's).

At Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 9, faṣl 11 (B 132<sub>26</sub>–133<sub>1</sub>, D 148<sub>19</sub>),<sup>66</sup> the scribe of B skipped a line in his exemplar before realizing the mistake and crossing out the prematurely copied words:

فأما البهايم المفسدة فقليلة الولد، ومن هاهنا صارت اللبوة /  
 [[حياتها إلا بعد ان يخزقه]] بالكاد ان تاتي بشبل واحد، لانه حسبما يزعمون ولا ينزل من /  
 حياتها إلا بعد ان يخزقه بخاليه ...

The erased text in B begins precisely where D has a new line and corresponds to the beginning of the line which follows it in D. A similar phenomenon appears at Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, 9 (B 164<sub>23-24</sub>, D 11.19<sub>22-24</sub>) and Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, 12 (B 172<sub>12-14</sub>, D 11.30<sub>15-17</sub>): in both cases the beginning of erased text in B again corresponds to the beginning of a line which is two lines (rather than one) below in D; i.e., here too B's scribe skipped a line in an exemplar whose line breaks correspond to those of D.

At Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man*, 26 (B 212<sub>24-26</sub>, D 11.78<sub>3</sub>), on the other hand, the scribe of B accidentally began to repeat the line he had just copied, then crossed it out:

كذلك فعل الرب لموضع صغر نفس البشرية، لم يزل يغدوها ويربها /  
 [[كذلك فعل الرب لموضع صغر نفس البشرية]] فجأ إلى ...

Here, we can reconstruct a whole line of B's exemplar precisely, for it must begin with *كذلك* (since that is where the crossed-out portion begins) and run until *ويربها* (right before the beginning of the crossed-out portion); therefore, the exemplar's full line must read: *كذلك فعل الرب لموضع صغر نفس البشرية، لم يزل يغدوها ويربها*. And indeed, this corresponds precisely to one line in D.

Other examples of such errors, even where they do not constitute independent proof of this relationship, are nevertheless consistent with the claim that

66 = Greek § 9.5, ed. Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, *Basil of Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, p. 154<sub>16-18</sub>.

**B** is an apograph of **D**. At Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6, *faṣl* 11 (**B** 8<sub>19-21</sub>, **D** 8<sub>9-10</sub>), for example, is this error:

وقسموا كل واحد من هذه [[الدرج الى ستين دقيقة]] الاثني عشر قسمًا، يعني كل برج،  
الى /  
ثلثين درجة، وجزوا كل واحد من هذه الدرج الى ستين دقيقة

It may seem a stretch to claim that the scribe's eye skipped mid-line to the line below, but in this particular case it is plausible because the phrase كل واحد من هذه appears on both lines in **D**, and كل in the second line is lined up with هذه in the first. Likewise, in a scholion to Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1, *faṣl* 1 (**B** 14<sub>15-16</sub>, **D** 7<sub>14-16</sub>), **B** commits this error:

شكل معوج، وذكروا ان هذه الاسما قديمة لanas قدماء، أما زحل /  
فكان [[الشمس]] ملك على المصريين، وأما المشتري فعلى الاسيريون، وأما /  
الشمس ...

Could **B**'s scribe have jumped to the next line in his exemplar after copying only one word from the line he was on? Again it might seem unlikely, but it is explicable from the fact that he had just mistakenly copied that first word of the line (فكان) as وكان, after which he corrected the mistake by connecting the *wāw*'s tail to the following letter (to approximate the *fā*' letter shape) and adding a dot above the *wāw*. Since this issue would have distracted him for a moment, making him pause in his work, it is plausible that when he resumed copying, he accidentally began at the beginning of the wrong line.

In short, the line-skipping evidence overall strongly supports the hypothesis that **B** is an apograph of **D**.

The second claim, that **D** and **E** are probably mutually independent witnesses, is a more tentative one. While **D** and **E** each contain non-trivial errors which the other does not contain, implying that they are mutually independent, **E**'s tendency to emend the text (especially to improve its grammar) makes it difficult to find clear instances where **D** has a rejected reading and **E** has a preferred reading *which could not have been produced by a correction on the part of E's scribe*.<sup>67</sup>

67 E's errors independent of **D** include: omitting لها بالقوة in لها وليس هو لها بالقوة for ولا; ليس هو لها بالقوة in لها وليس هو لها بالقوة for لا. For examples of **D**'s errors independent of **E**, see **B** and **D**'s shared errors in n. 63 above.

There is other, though equally tentative, evidence that D and E are independent: a marginal note (actually in the margin, unlike the “marginalia,” *ḥawāšī*, ascribed to Ibn al-Faḍl), probably quite late, at E 34 on Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 3, *faṣl* 5 (partly clipped):

ليس هو بحر او كستس بل بحر او كيانوس الذي [...] الصقالبة هم الروس. ونهر  
الدانوبيا [س] هـ [...] المشهور<sup>1</sup>. يعني مناير هر كل ب [...] بحر البنطس هو بحر الاسود.  
وم [...] بالرومية اى لان حافته جم [...] وساحله مجوف كالبحر [...] .  
<sup>1</sup> المشهور: وقد يُقرأ: المشهور

It's not the *wksts* [read: *Ifksinus*]<sup>68</sup> but rather the sea of Ocean (*Ūkiyānūs*), which [...]. The Slavs<sup>69</sup> are the Rūs. The Danube (*Dānūbīs*) is [...?] the well-known<sup>70</sup> [...]. He means the lighthouses of Hercules (*Hirkal*) in [...]. The Sea of Pontus is the Black Sea (*baḥr al-aswad*). And [...] in Rome [or: the Roman language, i.e., Greek], i.e., because its edges (*ḥāffāt/ḥāfāt*) are [...] and its shore is hollowed out, like the Sea [...].

This is clearly a list of separate glosses; each of them is labeled with a different mark which also appears at the appropriate place in the text, a bit like modern footnotes. B 41 and D 40 have an anonymous inline scholion (labeled a “marginalium,” *ḥāšiya*) at a nearby spot, just a few lines down: يعني مناير هر قل<sup>71</sup> بيلد الاندلس. This is one of the glosses in E's list of glosses, on the Pillars of

68 In the main text, it is spelled افكستس, an error for *Ifksinus* (افكسنس, not attested), i.e., Εὐξεινος. B 41<sub>5</sub>: او كسييس. D 40<sub>12</sub>: او كسينس. The shift from *fā* to *wāw* probably reflects an attraction to the name “Ocean,” as this gloss itself would seem to confirm (although it also has the effect, probably coincidental, of producing a pronunciation closer to the Erasmian system of Greek pronunciation).

69 *Ṣaqāliba*. For the use of Greek ethnic terms in Arabic (sometimes following the ancient Greek and Byzantine practice of referring to contemporary peoples by the ancient names of peoples occupying the same territory, sometimes using contemporary names to refer to ancient peoples, the latter especially in translations of ancient Greek texts into Arabic), see Gotthard Strohmaier, “Völker- und Ländernamen in der griechisch-arabischen Übersetzungsliteratur,” *Philologus: Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption*, 118.1 (1974), pp. 266–271, where the case of “Slavs” in particular is discussed; cited by Dols, in ‘Ali Ibn Riḍwān, *Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Riḍwān's Treatise “On the Prevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt,”* ed. Adil S. Gamal, trans. and introduction Michael W. Dols, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984, p. 102, n. 15.

70 Reading *al-mašhūr*, not *al-mašhūd*.

71 Q also has this in-line marginalium.

Hercules, here called the “lighthouses” (*manā’ir*) of Hercules, since Ibn al-Faḍl translates Basil’s “ἕξω Στηλῶν” (*Hexaemeron*, 3.6, ed. Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, 48<sub>8</sub>) here as “*ḥārīḡ al-manā’ir*.” Hercules’ name is spelled in two different ways: هرقل (BD)<sup>72</sup> versus هركل (E). This and the fact that neither B nor D<sup>73</sup> contains any of the other glosses in E at this point further suggests the independence of D and E (and is consistent with B’s dependence on D)—although again, only tentatively.<sup>74</sup>

At the point in the text corresponding to Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 9.5 (ed. Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, 155<sub>8</sub>), D 1.149<sub>8-9</sub> has Greek characters written over Arabic transcriptions of those words: ἕχῖνοι (recte ἐχῖνοι) above والاشيني, καικρήφ[α]νοι (recte κεκρούφαλοι) above الكا كريفاني, and κ(αι) ενυστρα (recte ἔνυστρα) above والانيسترا. These Greek glosses to the Arabic text were apparently made without recourse to the Greek original, but on the basis of the Arabic, as indicated by “καικρήφανοι” for κεκρούφαλοι, in which the change from λ to ν is explicable by the Arabic *kākrifānī*.<sup>75</sup> At this point, E 1.118<sub>6</sub> has the correct transcription, *kākrifālī*, but no Greek characters. (Q shares D’s reading الكا كريفاني.)<sup>76</sup> This is no proof of independence, since as already mentioned, E’s scribe frequently emended the text, especially to bring it closer to Classical Arabic grammar. Such a scribe (working in the nineteenth century) may well have found the Greek word in a lexicon and corrected the text accordingly. The simplest explanation, however, would be that E’s exemplar had the correct transcription.

All five manuscripts are late. Nevertheless, the clear attribution and translation style lead me to consider T-AbF the work of Ibn al-Faḍl. The scholia carefully labeled in all manuscripts with Ibn al-Faḍl’s name (and so distinguished from other scholia, labeled simply “*ḥāšiya*”) seem even more likely to

72 Q shares this spelling.

73 Nor Q.

74 In one case, E has a *ḥāšiya* in the margin, and DQ has the same *ḥāšiya* as an in-line “marginalium”: in Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 6.1 (*faṣl* 2; D 81, E 67, Q 125), at عظمها ملائم الكل, this anonymous “marginalium” (*ḥāšiya*) reads: “In the saint’s [Basil’s] opinion, its [the sun’s] magnitude is equal to that of the world all together” (على رأي القديس إن عظمها يعادل العالم) (أجمع).

75 This Arabic form could have arisen as a copying error in the Arabic tradition, but it is *prima facie* also possible that the translator himself committed this error, since in Greek uncials and semi-uncials, the letters Λ and Ν look quite similar.

76 Q 222<sub>17-19</sub>: ἕχῖνοι والاشيني καιικρήφανοι (sic) الكا كريفاني; κ(αι) ενυστρα والانيسترا. Perhaps the first part of κεκρούφαλοι became και by attraction to the *wa-* before the word in the Arabic.

be authentic, distorted only by the process of textual transmission and not by a redactor's pen, since the tradition has taken unusual care to set these scholia apart from the text and label them with Ibn al-Faḍl's name.<sup>77</sup>

### 3.2 *Manuscripts of the Anonymous Translation (T-Anon)*

There are five manuscripts which I know to contain T-Anon, at the Vatican, Mount Sinai, Paris, the Monastery of Baramūs, and the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate in Cairo:<sup>78</sup>

1. G/غ = Vat. Borg. Ar. 153 (14th century);
2. P/پ = Paris Ar. 134 (15th century);
3. S/س = Sinai Ar. 270 (1625 CE);<sup>79</sup>
4. W/و = Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theology 139 = Graf 380 = Simaika 431 (1798 CE; 260 folios).<sup>80</sup> Contains all three works of the Hexaameron Corpus, labeling the third (Gregory of Nyssa, *Apology on the*

<sup>77</sup> Some of these scholia explain the process of translation, as if they were penned by the translator. Furthermore, other translations by (or at least attributed to) Ibn al-Faḍl have similar scholia, suggesting that it was Ibn al-Faḍl's habit to make relatively long notes in the margins of his translations—and that at least some of these copies with autograph notes (or notes by a student studying the text with the translator himself) were preserved by the tradition. In other words, the evidence is all consistent with the authenticity of these scholia (we need only posit that an early transmitter who knew that he was working with a copy containing Ibn al-Faḍl's autograph notes took the trouble to copy the notes and label them neatly—and that subsequent scribes saw no reason to suppress the name).

<sup>78</sup> Manuscripts belonging to the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate in Cairo are currently being kept at the Monastery of Mar Mina. Three different call numbers are given for each of these manuscripts: first, the shelf number, then the number assigned to it by Graf (Georg Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1934), and finally the number assigned by Simaika (Marcus Simaika and Yassā 'Abd al-Masīh, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, 3 vols. [only vols. 1 and 2.1 published], Cairo, Govt. Press, 1939–1942). See Samir Khalil Samir, *Tables de concordance des manuscrits arabes chrétiens du Caire et du Sinai* (CSCO 482, Subsidia 75), Louvain, Peeters, 1986.

<sup>79</sup> Samuel Noble pointed me to an online reproduction of this manuscript (<https://www.loc.gov/item/00279384660-ms>), which, as he informed me, often has better readings than Paris Ar. 134.

<sup>80</sup> Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, p. 144; Simaika and 'Abd al-Masīh, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum*, vol. 2, p. 191. Date given in the longer colophon (fol. 260r) according to Coptic (Friday, 18 Amshir 1514 Anno Martyrum =? 25 February 1798) and Hiḡri (7 Ramaḍān 1212AH = 23 February 1798) reckoning. The Hiḡri date corresponds to a Friday, so it seems the Coptic date is off by two days.

*Hexaemeron*) as a separate text (fol. 214<sup>r</sup>, after a colophon on the previous verso)—rather than as *bāb* 32 of Gregory’s *On Making Man*.

5. a manuscript (or perhaps two) at Dayr al-Baramūs.

The last of these I have not inspected, but I infer its existence from the transcription published in 1998 by Augustine al-Baramūsī, a Coptic monk at the Monastery of Baramūs in Wādī al-Naṭrūn,<sup>81</sup> who has gone on to publish further texts from the monastery’s manuscripts: John Chrysostom’s homilies on Genesis (1999), Matthew (2000), and John (2001).<sup>82</sup> Baramūsī drew the text for his publication of Basil’s *Hexaemeron* and Gregory of Nyssa’s *On Making Man* in Arabic from a manuscript at Dayr al-Baramūs, making his own corrections to the text in order to standardize the Arabic.<sup>83</sup> Baramūsī’s text of the Arabic *Hexaemeron* is taken from a single Baramūs manuscript (or possibly two), which he calls simply “al-Iksaymārūs” (presumably taken from the title page).<sup>84</sup> The

81 For the monastery, see Uğuşṭīnūs al-Baramūsī, *Dayr al-Baramūs bayn al-māḏī wa-l-ḥāḏīr*, Cairo, Dār Nūbār, 1993.

82 Uğuşṭīnūs al-Baramūsī, *Šarḥ ayyām al-ḥalīqa al-sitta li-l-qiddīs Bāsilyūs al-kabīr, wa-Ḥilqat al-insān li-l-qiddīs Ġrīgūrīyūs usquf Nişus*, Cairo, Dār Nūbār, 1998 (I owe this reference to Gregor Schwarb). Whereas in earlier publications he was a priest (*qiss*), by 2001 he had become a *qummuš*, from Greek ἱεροῦµενος, also used in the Coptic Orthodox Church in the sense of “archpriest”: Georg Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini* (CSCO 147, Subsidia 8), 2nd ed., Louvain, Durbecq, 1954, p. 93. An online biographical entry notes that he is a monk at Dayr al-Baramūs and responsible for the monastery’s library: <http://st-takla.org/characters/monk-father/alif/oghostenos-elbaramosy.html> (accessed 17 April 2015).

83 Uğuşṭīnūs al-Baramūsī, *Šarḥ ayyām al-ḥalīqa al-sitta*, p. 11. Speaking generally about the Baramūs manuscripts which, as he announces, he will be publishing in a new series, Baramūsī writes: “Perhaps you may hope to see or possess a manuscript, and now your wish has been realized, that is, by our publishing some of the manuscripts of Dayr al-Baramūs after carefully reading over them and presenting them in sound language” (لعلك تمنى أن ترى مخطوطة أو أن تمتلكها، والآن قد تحققت أمنيتك، وذلك بنشرنا بعض مخطوطات دير البرموس بعد تنقيحها وعرضها بلغة سليمة).

84 Uğuşṭīnūs al-Baramūsī, *Šarḥ ayyām al-ḥalīqa al-sitta*, p. 11: “The book before you now consists of [which I take to mean ‘is a transcription from’] a manuscript by the name ‘al-Iksaymārūs’ by Saint Basil the Great which I undertook to read over carefully and present, as you will see” (الكتاب الذي بين يديك الآن هو عبارة عن مخطوطة بإسم (كذا) “الإكسيماروس”) (للقدیس باسیلیوس الکبیر، قمت بتنقيحها وعرضها كما سترى). The vocalization “Iksaymārūs” would be closer to the Greek than “Iksīmārūs,” but Baramūsī’s gloss of the word in a footnote suggests he assumed the latter pronunciation (= اکسى = ستة، ماروس = اکسى یونانية (يوم، أى أن اکسى ماروس = ستة أيام، وهي كلمة يونانية). He seems to equate اکسى (*iksī*) with the modern Greek form of the word “six,” ἕξι. The possibility that Baramūsī is drawing on more than one manuscript appears in Uğuşṭīnūs al-Baramūsī, *Šarḥ ayyām al-ḥalīqa al-sitta*, p. 18, n. 5, a footnote to the first heading of the text: “Manuscript number 46,

Baramūs manuscript contains T-Anon of Basil's *Hexaemeron* and the same version of Gregory's *On Making Man* as the one contained in T-AbF and T-Anon manuscripts.<sup>85</sup>

Beyond these manuscripts, it is likely that another Cairo manuscript contains T-Anon:

6. Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theology 165 = Graf 351 = Simaika 316 (13th century, 233 folios).<sup>86</sup>

I base my guess that it contains T-Anon upon the preface mentioned in Graf's catalogue entry, since its description matches the preface that P contains, on how Basil died before completing the work, which Gregory of Nyssa then completed and sent to their brother Peter.

Another Cairo manuscript, this one not catalogued by Graf, also contains an Arabic version of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, possibly T-Anon:

7. Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theology 313 = Simaika 535 (1890 CE, 154 folios).<sup>87</sup>

In Simaika's catalog, the title of this entry, is: "The Hexaemeron [*sic*] ... by St. Basil in 11 chapters; 31 chapter on the same Subject by his brother St. Gregory, with an Index" (الأكسيماروس شرح الستة أيام التي برأ الله فيها الخليقة، لأننا باسيليوس 11 فصلا) (ولأخيه اغريغوريوس 31 فصلا، بفهرس (1) Basil, *Hexaemeron* (nine homilies); (2) the two further homilies on the Hexaemeron, in particular on the creation of man, often attributed to Basil<sup>88</sup> and transmitted with the first nine homilies in the Greek manuscript tradition

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manuscript number 47. *Maymars* and sayings of the fathers[.] 'the Hexaemeron' by Saint Basil the Great" (المخطوطة رقم 46، المخطوطة رقم 47. ميامر وأقوال الآباء "الإكسيماروس" للقديس (باسيليوس الكبير).

85 As shown by a comparison of the opening lines of each text in Uğustīnūs al-Baramūsī's edition with P and D. Basil T-Anon: P 7<sup>v</sup> ~ Uğustīnūs al-Baramūsī, *Šarḥ ayyām al-ḥaliqa al-sitta*, p. 18. Gregory T-AbF/T-Anon: D 11, verso of the unnumbered title page ~ Uğustīnūs al-Baramūsī, *Šarḥ ayyām al-ḥaliqa al-sitta*, p. 68.

86 Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, p. 132; Simaika and 'Abd al-Masīḥ, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum*, vol. 2, p. 132.

87 Simaika and 'Abd al-Masīḥ, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum*, vol. 2, p. 237. Not in Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*.

88 Alexis Smets and Michel van Esbroeck, *Basil of Caesarea, Sur l'origine de l'homme. Hom. x et xi de l'Hexaéméron* (Sources chrétiennes 160), Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1970; Hadwiga Hörner, *Gregorii Nysseni opera. Supplementum. Auctorum incertorum vulgo Basilii vel Gregorii Nysseni Sermones de creatione hominis. Sermo de paradiso*, Leiden, Brill, 1972, first text (*de creatione hominis*).

as part of the *Small and Large Hexaameron Corpora*;<sup>89</sup> and (3) Gregory of Nyssa, *On Making Man* (which has 31 chapters, *abwāb*, in the Arabic version known to me). If this is correct, then it would correspond to the Large Hexaameron Corpus, omitting only the two optional texts, the *On Paradise* and Gregory of Nyssa's *Apology on the Hexaameron*.

The title as presented in Simaika and Yassā's catalogue also suggests that the Arabic translation of Basil's *Hexaameron* (the nine homilies) contained in this manuscript may be T-Anon, since manuscripts containing T-Anon use similar wording to refer to the text (كتاب الاكسيمارس أعني الستة الأيام التي برى الله تعالى فيها) الخليفة), in contrast to T-AbF (كتاب تفسير ستة أيام الخليفة، وما خلق الله فيها منذ القديم).<sup>90</sup> Still, the close correspondence of the manuscript's apparent contents to the Large Hexaameron Corpus of the Greek manuscript tradition raises the possibility that its texts are independent of the versions (T-Anon and T-AbF) found in manuscripts containing only the three texts of the Normal Hexaameron Corpus.<sup>91</sup>

Concerning the rest of the manuscripts, I cannot yet determine which translation they contain.

### 3.3 Section Divisions in T-AbF and T-Anon

While the translations T-AbF and T-Anon are different, their section divisions and headings are mostly the same, offering further evidence of how they relate. T-AbF and T-Anon divide each homily into the sections. These section divisions are the same in the two translations but do not correspond to the divisions in modern editions of the Greek text.<sup>92</sup> In all versions (including the modern edition), the text is divided into nine homilies. The Greek calls each a "homily" (ὁμιλία); T-AbF, a *maqāla*; and T-Anon, a *qawl* or *maqāla*, depending on the manuscript.<sup>93</sup> Within each homily, the Greek tradition contains no consistent divisions, although many manuscripts include marginal lemmata, executed at the same time as the main text and often numbered, to provide for easy ref-

89 Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, *Basile de Césarée: la tradition manuscrite directe des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron*, p. 3.

90 T-Anon: P 7<sup>v</sup><sub>2-4</sub>, W 8<sup>r</sup><sub>3-4</sub> (W adds [أ] شرح after أعني; for برى read برأ). T-AbF: quoted in section 2 above.

91 On the other hand, a scribe seeking to produce an Arabic manuscript corresponding to a Greek manuscript of the Large Hexaameron Corpus might nevertheless have drawn on Arabic translations already available in Arabic manuscripts of the Normal Hexaameron Corpus.

92 That T-AbF shares T-Anon's section divisions was pointed out to me by Samuel Noble.

93 G and S use *maqāla*, while P and W use *qawl*.

erence to particular passages of the work, effectively dividing it up. As for the Arabic tradition, all manuscripts I have consulted, whether they contain T-AbF or T-Anon, have the same, consistent system of section division within each homily. They are labeled as “sections” (*fusūl*), often with a brief description of the contents of that section.

T-AbF manuscripts and some T-Anon manuscripts provide a heading for each homily and section. The T-Anon manuscript S lacks the section headings. Instead, it merely labels each section *al-faṣl al-awwal* (and so on) in the margin.

T-AbF's section headings derive from T-Anon's. The following two examples from Homily 5 may serve to illustrate this. As is often the case for short section headings, that of Homily 5, *faṣl* 10, is identical for T-AbF and T-Anon (other than T-Anon's additional reference to the homily number, which it contains while T-AbF consistently lacks it): T-Anon (P 54<sup>r</sup>) reads الفصل العاشر من القول الخامس في اختلاف النبات, while T-AbF (D 72) reads الفصل العاشر في اختلاف النبات. *Faṣl* 8 of the same homily has a longer heading; in this case the texts of T-AbF and T-Anon are related but not identical. T-Anon (P 52<sup>r-v</sup>) reads:

الفصل الثامن من القول الخامس في أن الورد كان في الأول بغير شوك ورد (كذا) على من  
قال إنه كان بغير أمر البارئ شجر لا ثمراً لها وليست لها حبوب تُزرع  
1 ثم: صحته؛ تمر: پ

while T-AbF (B 65, D 69, E 58, Q 108) reads:

الفصل الثامن في أن الورد كان أولاً بلا شوك، وَرَدَّ<sup>2</sup> على من قال إنه قد<sup>3</sup> كان بغير أمر  
البارئ أشجاراً غير مثمرة وما لها بزُرُّ يُزرع  
1 بلا: ب د ق؛ بغير: ذ (مثل الترجمة الأخرى) | 2 وَرَدَّ: ورداً: ب ق؛ ورداً: د؛ فأثبتته من “ذ” (ورد) ومن  
فهارس المخطوطات الأربع | 3 قد: ب د ق؛ -ذ | 4 أشجار: ذ ق؛ أشجاراً: ب د

The tables of contents in T-AbF (B 4, D unnumbered, E 51, Q 95) have a slightly different text:

الفصل الثامن في أن الورد كان في الأول بغير شوك، ورد على من قال إنه قد كان بغير أمر  
البارئ أشجاراً غير مثمرة وما لها بزُرُّ يُزرع  
1 إنه: ب د ق؛ ان: ذ

Note the following differences between T-AbF, T-Anon, and the T-AbF table of contents:

1. T-Anon + من القول الخامس;
2. T-Anon and T-AbF table of contents في الأول, versus T-AbF <sup>أولاً</sup>;
3. T-Anon, T-AbF table of contents, and the T-AbF manuscript E have <sup>بغير</sup>, whereas the other T-AbF manuscripts (BDQ) have بلا;
4. T-AbF and T-AbF table of contents + قد;
5. T-Anon أشجار غير مثمرة, versus T-AbF and T-AbF table of contents أشجار لا تُثمر لها;
6. T-Anon وما لزوعها حبوب تزرع، وليست لها حبوب تزرع لها. <sup>لها بزر يُزرع</sup>.

The T-AbF table of contents agrees with T-AbF's text in all but two cases (Nos. 2 and 3).

Clearly either T-AbF's title here is derived from T-Anon's or the other way around, since the differences are fairly minor. The last two differences suggest that T-AbF's section label is derived from T-Anon's. In No. 5, T-AbF replaces the collective noun *šağar* with the plural *ašğār* and replaces the simple expression "which have no fruit" (*lā tamara lahā*) with the more sophisticated-sounding "fruitless" (*ğayr muṭmira*). In No. 6, more tellingly, T-AbF replaces the somewhat inelegant *wa-laysat lahā* with *wa-mā lahā* and the term *ḥubūb* (grain, seed) with the word *bizr* (seed), with a stronger connotation of cultivation,<sup>94</sup> according well with the following word, "which is sown" (*yuzraʿ, tuzraʿ*). But the resulting phrase in T-AbF is actually more awkward than T-Anon: where T-Anon reads "against the one who says that without the Creator's command there was a tree which has no fruit and has no grains/seeds to be sown," T-AbF has: "against the one who says that without the Creator's command there were trees fruitless and having no seed to be sown." In other words, T-AbF has retained the connector *wa-* (and) in T-Anon, but by changing the first relative clause *lā tamara lahā* to the attributive adjective *muṭmira*, T-AbF has obviated the need for that connector to lead to the second relative clause.

Of course, the section headings might well have been added later in either translation. For example, we might imagine that the recension of T-AbF represented by the manuscripts I have been consulting contains section divisions inserted by a scribe who was consulting a copy of T-Anon. On the other hand, the simplest explanation is that the section headings and divisions are due to T-Anon (in which case they must have been dropped by the tradition represented by S), and Ibn al-Faḍl simply adopted them for his own translation, T-AbF.

94 *bazara* means "to sow."

Could the Arabic headings derive from a Greek manuscript? The particular section heading I have just presented confirms that T-AbF and T-Anon are too similar to have derived, independently, from Greek lemmata. Nevertheless, a complete understanding of the section divisions will require a close study of the Greek tradition as well. I have not consulted enough of the Greek manuscripts to know whether there are manuscripts whose section divisions correspond precisely to those used in T-AbF and T-Anon (some of those which I have seen seem to correspond roughly and occasionally to these divisions).<sup>95</sup>

Whatever the source of the section headings, its habit (shared by T-Anon and T-AbF manuscripts) of quoting the verse being discussed at the beginning of each homily puts it in affinity with A-group Greek manuscripts. For example, at Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 2 (ed. Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, p. 21), the words *περὶ τοῦ ἀόρατος ἦν ἡ γῆ καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος* were added to the title in A<sub>1</sub> A<sub>3</sub>. Corresponding to that is T-Anon's *القول الثاني: في أنّ الأرض كانت غير مبصرة ولا* (P 17<sup>v</sup>). T-AbF has a similar text: *المقالة الثانية: في قول الكتاب الالهي فأما الأرض فكانت غير مبصرة ولا مهندمة* (D 18). I have shown elsewhere<sup>96</sup> that T-AbF has affinity to G- and E-group Greek manuscripts, while T-Anon has affinity to A-group manuscripts. These observations taken together allow us to hypothesize that T-Anon and the source of the section headings were drawn from the same family of Greek manuscripts. This would be consistent with T-Anon itself being the source of the Arabic section headings.

#### 4 Excursus on a Third Translation by Ğurayğ ibn Yuḥannis al-Rarāwī

One manuscript,

1. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 1381 (= Vienna, ÖNB, Ar. 2137; ?15th century, according to Loebenstein), of unknown provenance, acquired in 1932 by the Austrian National Library<sup>97</sup>

95 For example, I have briefly consulted Vat. Gr. 408 (C<sub>1</sub> in Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, *Basil of Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*), which contains numbered lemmata, but whose lemmata do not quite match up: Homily 8, for instance, contains 30 lemmata, whereas T-AbF and T-Anon divide the same homily into 25 *fuṣūl*.

96 As part of my larger project on Ibn al-Faḍl.

97 Helene Loebenstein, *Katalog der arabischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Neuerwerbungen 1868–1968. Teil 1: Codices mixti ab Nr. 744*, Vienna, Brüder Hollinek, 1970, pp. 60–61, provenance at p. 61. Graf and Nasrallah do not mention the manuscript.

preserves the *Hexaemeron* translation made by a Coptic monk of Dayr Abū Maqār. Already in 1981, Fedwick raised the possibility that a third Arabic translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* was extant,<sup>98</sup> pointing to Loebenstein's 1970 catalogue entry for this manuscript. A digital reproduction of the manuscript has allowed me to confirm that this is indeed a third, distinct translation. It has also become clear that Loebenstein's catalogue entry contains several errors which obscure the significance of this translation. After listing both Basil's *Hexaemeron* and Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*, Loebenstein reports, "The Coptic monk Ġarīḥ [*sic*] ibn Yuhannes al-Rarāwī translated the work"—presumably both Basil's and Gregory's—"in the year 964 in the monastery 'Dayr Abū Maqār,' into Arabic."<sup>99</sup>

Loebenstein derived this information from the colophon on fol. 76<sup>r</sup> (see Figure 7.1 below), which reads as follows:

كل الميمر التاسع بسلام الرب آمين، وبكلامه تمّ الاكسايمارس الذي للمعلم العظيم القديس  
باسيليوس الكبير، أسقف قيسارية قبادوقية، وهو تسعة ميامر، بأمان من الله آمين.  
غفر الله لمن فسره جريج بن يحنس الراوي من صا من القبطي إلى العربي في دير القديس  
بومقار في سنة أربع وستين وتسع (؟) مائة للشهداء الأطهار.

The ninth homily (*maymar*) is complete, by the Lord's peace, Amen. By its completion, finished too is the *Hexaemeros* (*Iksā'imārus*) which is by the eminent teacher Saint Basil the Great, bishop of Cappadocian Caesarea, and which contains nine homilies, by God's mercy, Amen.

May God forgive the one who translated/interpreted (*fassara*) it, Ġurayġ ibn Yuhannis al-Rarāwī, from Ṣā, from Coptic into Arabic, in the monastery of Saint Būmaqār [Makarios], in the year four and sixty and nine (?) hundred of the *Holy Martyrs*.

In the second paragraph, I highlight three crucial points (italicized in the translation above). First, there can be no doubt that the monk's name is Ġurayġ (*جرج*) and not Ġarīḥ (*جریح*). George is a more plausible name, and furthermore the colophon unambiguously reads Ġurayġ (the only difference between the two words being a single dot—which is clearly present in the manuscript). The translator was George, son of John.

98 Fedwick, "Translations of the Works of Basil," p. 486.

99 Loebenstein, *Katalog der arabischen Handschriften*, p. 60: "Der koptische Mönch Ġarīḥ ibn Yuhannes ar-Rarāwī übersetzte das Werk im Jahr 964 in dem Kloster 'Dayr Abū Maqār' in das Arabische."



FIGURE 7.1 Colophon of Ġurayġ's translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* (T-Ġurayġ), Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Mixt. 1381, fol. 76<sup>r</sup>, appearing between Basil's *Hexaemeron* and Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*  
COURTESY OF THE ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK

Second, the colophon states that the translation was made “from Coptic into Arabic,” but Loebenstein only reports the latter part, “into Arabic.” The reason becomes clear when one considers that she calls him “the Coptic monk Ġarīḥ,” presumably interpreting the word “Coptic” (*al-qibṭī*, masculine form) as an adjective describing the translator. This is an easy mistake to make because in Classical Arabic the word when describing the Coptic language would be feminine (*al-qibṭiyya*). However, in the vernacular, the masculine form was (and is) the ordinary way to refer to a language; indeed, the word for “Arabic” (*al-‘arabī*) is a parallel masculine form. Another factor is the phrase which appears immediately before the phrase “from Coptic”: *min ṣā*. Loebenstein appears to have read the following word *min* as part of the same phrase, as if it were “*min Ṣāmin*,” thus freeing up *al-qibṭī* to describe the translator. But the most plau-

sible reading of this phrase is as a reference to the translator's origins in the town of Sais (Greek Σάϊς, Arabic Ṣā), in the Nile Delta not far from Dayr Abū Maqār.<sup>100</sup>

Finally the date. The only difficult reading is the word I have rendered (in agreement with Loebenstein) as “nine.” It carries the consonantal skeleton corresponding to **ع** (no diacritics). This is not a number. (Nor do I see how it could be an *abjad* numeral.) It seems most likely that this skeleton resulted from the scribe writing “nine” (تسع) with a “toothless” *sīn* written as a simple line (such as appears to be used in the previous word ستين). All that needed to happen was for the scribe to shorten the line so much that it came to look like there was no letter there at all (as happened in the word للشهدا directly below); for which a possible motive is the fact that the left margin was coming up fast, and the scribe still wanted room to write “hundred” (مائة).<sup>101</sup> This would make the year 964. According to what calendar? As the colophon tells us, it is the Era of the Martyrs (Anno Martyrum), which counts from the beginning of Diocletian's reign (284 CE) and is a standard Coptic era.<sup>102</sup> This makes the date Anno Martyrum 964, or 1248 CE.<sup>103</sup> During the Coptic Renaissance of the thirteenth century, Coptic scholars like Ibn al-ʿAssāl held *Coptic*-language versions of texts originally written in Greek to be more authoritative than contemporary Greek versions in circulation.<sup>104</sup> Ğurayġ's translation, with its emphasis on a Coptic, rather than Greek, original, would certainly fit this context.<sup>105</sup> I would add that

100 See Hubert Cancik und Helmuth Schneider (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly*, s.v. “Sais,” where it is noted that it was a bishopric already in the fourth century and “remained important for the Coptic church until the end of the 11th century.” See also Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Muġam al-buldān*, 5 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1977, vol. 3, p. 387.

101 Much less likely is that the scribe meant to write one of two other numbers containing this skeleton: “four” (اربع), “seven” (سبع); these would require the scribe to have actually omitted one or two entire consonants.

102 Loebenstein seems to have ignored the phrase *li-l-šuhadā' al-aṭhār* (which appears in the same hand in the space between this line and the next): by placing the translation “in the year 964” without specifying an era, she implies that the year is according to the Common Era/Anno Domini (or, in the context of an Arabic manuscript catalogue, possibly the Hiġrī era).

103 The other two possibilities (reading “four” or “seven” instead of “nine”), which are much less likely based on the consonant skeleton, would be Anno Martyrum 464 (= 748 CE) and 764 (= 1048 CE).

104 Duncan B. MacDonald, “Ibn al-ʿAssāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels,” in *Estudios de erudición oriental: Homenaje á D. Francisco Codera*, Zaragoza, M. Escar, 1904, pp. 375–392, at pp. 375–376.

105 The scribe of the manuscript knew Coptic (see, e.g., fols. 159<sup>r</sup>–160<sup>r</sup>, where words written in Coptic script are incorporated into the text).

the colophon is phrased as if it was written by Ğurayġ himself, not about him by someone else. This suggests that the manuscript itself might have been copied closer in time to Ğurayġ's translation than the fifteenth century.<sup>106</sup>

The translation includes all nine homilies, although the manuscript is missing many folios. Its title began with the words *Tis'at mayāmir*, and the word Ἑξαήμερον was transcribed as الأقسامار. This form, equivalent to the Greek Ἑξαήμερος with a *sigma*, may imply that Ğurayġ's translation has an affinity with the G-manuscripts of the Greek tradition, since the title in one of those is given as “Ἑξαήμερος τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου ...”<sup>107</sup>

Ğurayġ's translation refers to each homily as a *maymar* (a loanword from Syriac *memro*), rather than a *maqāla* or a *qawl*.<sup>108</sup> But it does not have much affinity with the extant Syriac version. For example, the Syriac title for the work—at least the version edited by Thomson—does not use a title which transcribes the word Ἑξαήμερον or Ἑξαήμερος; instead, it reads (referring to the first homily): “Homily of Saint Basil the bishop on the Six Days, which he delivered in the great week of unleavened bread [Holy Week].”<sup>109</sup>

As for Ğurayġ's translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man*, it also appears to be distinct from the one which both T-AbF and T-Anon manuscripts contain, based on a comparison of the incipits. Ğurayġ's translation begins: لو يمكن ان يكرم اولوا الفضيلة الزائدون , كان الموضوع لمن اعتلا في العبادة فهذه الهدية هي كلام نستخناه مثل كسوة من قبل Ğurayġ's فيها.<sup>110</sup> A bit further along is Ğurayġ's “This gift is speech that we wove [reading *nasaġ-nāhu*], like a set of clothes, from the poverty of our hearts, and not without toil”), as contrasted with the rhyming, rhythmic translation in T-AbF and T-Anon manuscripts: والهدية فهي قول فقير منسوخ من فكرنا المسكين الحقيق بالتعب والنصب والهدية فهي قول فقير منسوخ من فكرنا المسكين الحقيق بالتعب والنصب (again, reading *mansūġ*, “woven,” for *mansūh*, “copied”).<sup>111</sup> At this point

106 The colophon might even lead one to suspect that this is an autograph manuscript, but a scribal error in the manuscript's text of Gregory of Nyssa's *On Making Man* (see below) would seem to speak against it.

107 The manuscript with this title is G1: Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.

108 See n. 93 above.

109 Thomson, *Basil of Caesarea, The Syriac Version of the Hexaemeron*, vol. 1, p. 1: *memro d-mor(i) Basiylus efişofo 'al eštot yawme, d-malleleh b-šabto rabto d-fatire*. For the last phrase, see Robert Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1879, p. 3094; I thank Alexander Treiger for the reference.

110 T-Ğurayġ: fol. 76<sup>v</sup>, quoted by Loebenstein, *Katalog der arabischen Handschriften*, p. 60. T-AbF: D 11, reverse of title page (unnumbered), line 10.

111 T-Ğurayġ: fol. 77<sup>r</sup>, quoted by Loebenstein, *Katalog der arabischen Handschriften*, p. 60. T-AbF and T-Anon: D 11, reverse of title page (unnumbered), lines 17–18; Q 235–236. The corresponding Greek reads: “Τὸ δὲ δῶρον λόγος ἐστὶν οἷον ἱμάτιόν τι πενιχρὸν ἐκ τῆς πτωχῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας οὐκ ἀπόνως ἐξυφασμένον” (Gregory of Nyssa, *Sancti Patris Nostri Gregorii*

the two translations contain analogous scribal errors, each replacing a word derived from the root *nsġ* with one derived from *nsḥ*.<sup>112</sup> This apparently independent error is perhaps explicable by this, that copying (*nsḥ*) is a more commonly occurring concept than weaving (*nsġ*), especially in a scribal context, and that by coincidence “copying” is eminently applicable to words (*kalām*, *qawl*).

## 5 Comparing the Two Translations T-Anon and T-AbF

We can finally turn to a brief comparison of the Anonymous Translation and Ibn al-Faḍl’s translation. This allows us to infer their relationship (namely that Ibn al-Faḍl based his translation on the Anonymous Translation) and consider Ibn al-Faḍl’s approach to his re-translation.

The two translations have considerable overlap in words and phrases, often verbatim. The shared phrases can be quite long. On the other hand, the two translations are significantly different overall. The Anonymous Translation is literal and strives for close agreement with the Greek word order. This often makes for awkward Arabic. Ibn al-Faḍl’s translation is less literal; it displays an even, elegant Arabic style. Translators (and readers) sometimes preferred highly literal translations, especially in the case of authoritative texts, because of the closer access to the original text that they might provide.<sup>113</sup> There is no reason on the face of it that someone starting with a translation like Ibn al-Faḍl’s might not have wished to arrive at a *more* literal translation. We should therefore consider the possibility that the relationship might be the reverse, namely that T-AbF was produced first and then T-Anon was produced on the basis of T-AbF along with the original Greek.<sup>114</sup>

Nevertheless, this becomes less plausible when T-AbF and T-Anon are closely compared: T-Anon often misconstrues a Greek word by translating it based on one sense of the word, whereas another, equally literal, sense of the Greek is the one intended. In many of these cases, T-AbF carries the alternative, bet-

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*Nysseni Basilii Magni fratris quae supersunt omnia*, ed. George H. Forbes, 2 vols., Burntisland, Typographeo de Pitsligo, 1855–1861, vol. 1, p. 102 = *PG* 44:125B).

112 I thank Alexander Treiger for pointing out these two scribal errors.

113 For such different approaches to translation, see Sebastian Brock, “Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 20.1 (2011), pp. 69–87.

114 It would have been impossible to begin with T-AbF and produce T-Anon without recourse to the original Greek, since T-Anon’s literal translations of individual words often reproduce a sense of the Greek word where T-AbF has a less literal word or phrase.

ter translation; in such cases it is difficult to see why T-Anon would not have adopted the perfectly literal but more suitable translation of T-AbF.

The reverse scenario—that Ibn al-Faḍl's translation is based on the Anonymous Translation—does not encounter these difficulties. Ibn al-Faḍl clearly had the Greek in front of him; otherwise it would be difficult to explain the points where the Anonymous Translation translates the Greek literally but in a way that obscures the meaning but Ibn al-Faḍl's rendering, literal or not, captures that original meaning. I have so far encountered no point where the Anonymous Translation has an accurate translation but Ibn al-Faḍl's translation is inaccurate; Ibn al-Faḍl is often less literal, sometimes to the point of being quite loose, but always in a controlled way that suggests someone who had a good understanding of the original text's meaning.

In short, we can be fairly confident that Ibn al-Faḍl produced his Arabic translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* (T-AbF) as a *revision* of an earlier Arabic translation (T-Anon) based on constant consultation of at least one manuscript containing the Greek original.

I now illustrate this with the opening passage of the first homily, in the two translations and the Greek original. To facilitate the comparison, phrases shared by the two translations are printed in boldface.<sup>115</sup> In simple but elegant style, Basil builds expectation in his audience about the sublime subject they are about to hear expounded:

Ὅμιλία Α. “Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν”.

Πρέπουσα ἀρχὴ τῷ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως μέλλοντι διηγεῖσθαι, ἀρχὴν τῆς τῶν ὀρωμένων διακοσμήσεως προθεῖναι τοῦ λόγου. Οὐρανοῦ γὰρ καὶ γῆς ποιήσεις παραδίδοσθαι μέλλει, οὐκ αὐτομάτως συνενεχθεῖσα, ὡς τινες ἐφαντάσθησαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν λαβοῦσα. Ποία ἀκοῆ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν λεγομένων ἀξία; πῶς παρεσκευασμένην ψυχὴν πρὸς τὴν τῶν τηλικούτων ἀκρόασιν προσήκεν ἀπαντᾶν, καθαρεύουσιν<sup>116</sup> τῶν παθῶν τῆς σαρκός, ἀνεπισκότητον μερίμναις βιωτικαῖς, φιλόπονον, ἐξεταστικὴν, πάντοθεν περισκοποῦσαν εἶποθεν λάβροι ἀξίαν ἔννοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Homily 1: *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.*

It is a fitting beginning, for the one about to tell of the formation of the world, to put at the start of the discourse the beginning of the orderly arrangement of the visible things. For the making of the heaven and

115 When the texts use words from the same root to translate the same passage (e.g., **ابتداء** and **ابدأ**), this is not indicated with boldface.

116 My punctuation; Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg: “... ἀπαντᾶν; Καθαρεύουσιν ...”

earth is about to be imparted, which did not happen spontaneously, as some have imagined, but takes its cause from God. What ear is worthy to hear the greatness of what is said? How thoroughly prepared the soul should be to receive such high lessons, pure from the passions of the flesh, unclouded by the cares of life, industrious, exacting, looking every which way in case somewhere it might find a notion of God worthy [of Him]!<sup>117</sup>

The Anonymous Translation (T-Anon) cleaves to the literal sense of Greek words and phrases, with rather uneven results:<sup>118</sup>

القول الأول:<sup>1</sup> في قول موسى<sup>2</sup> "في الابتداء صنع الله السماء والأرض"<sup>3</sup> إنه قد يليق أولاً<sup>4</sup> بالعتيد أن يخبر بشيء في خليقة<sup>5</sup> العالم، أن يقدم قولاً في زينة المبصرات. وذلك<sup>6</sup> أنه يريد<sup>7</sup> يسلم ذكراً<sup>8</sup> في ابتداء السماء والأرض، وذلك ما لم يتركب من ذاته، كما تخيله قومٌ، بل كان العلة فيه من الله تعالى ذكره. فأبي سمع يكون مستحقاً بجسامته ما يقال، وكيف يتمكن من إصلاح نفس لاستماع ما هذا<sup>9</sup> سبيله، أن تكون طاهرة من آلام الجسم، لا يشملها<sup>10</sup> ظلام<sup>11</sup> من هموم العالم، بل تكون<sup>12</sup> صابرة على التعب، فاحصة<sup>13</sup> متسكعة {أي مجتهدة} حريصة<sup>14</sup> في أن يتجه لها اتخاذ فكر<sup>15</sup> يكون لله مستحقاً.

1 القول الأول: پ؛ المقالة الاولى: س | 2 في قول موسى: پ-س | 3 + وعدة فصوله أربعة، فاتحة القول: پ | 4 أولاً: س-پ | 5 خليقة: س؛ خلقه: پ | 6 وذلك: س، ودال(د): پ | 7 يريد: هكذا في المخطوطات بدون كلمة "أن" | 8 يسلم ذكراً: س؛ يتكلم: پ | 9 هذا: س؛ هذه: پ | 10 يشملها: پ؛ يشملها: س | 11 ظلام: پ؛ ظلال: س | 12 تكون: س؛ تكون: پ | 13 فاحصة: س؛ قاحصة: پ | 14 متسكعة {أي مجتهدة} حريصة: متسكعة أي مجتهدة حريصة: پ؛ حريصة مجتهدة متسكعة: س | 15 فكر: س؛ فكراً: پ

First Speech: on the words of Moses *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.*

It may be fitting firstly for the one who is about to report about something on the creation of the world to put at the beginning (*yuqaddim* ~ προθεῖναι) speech on the adornment (*zīna*) of the visible things. That is, he wants to hand over a mention (*yusallim dikran*— παραδίδοσθαι) concern-

117 Basil, *Hexaemeron*, 1.1, Amand de Mendieta and Rudberg, *Basil of Caesarea, Homilien zum Hexaemeron*, pp. 1–2. Trans. based on Blomfield Jackson, *Basil of Caesarea, Letters and Select Works*, Oxford and New York, James Parker and Christian Literature Co., 1895, p. 52.

118 P 7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>, S 8<sup>v</sup>–v.

ing the creation (*ibtidā'*) of **the heaven and the earth**, being that which was not composed spontaneously [lit., from itself], as **one group imagined** it; rather the **cause** in it was from **God, Exalted** be His name. **What ear** (*sam'* ~ ἀκοή) is deserving (*mustahiqqan*) of the immensity of what is said? **And how is it possible to make a soul righteous enough to listen to such things**, [or for it] to be pure from the pains of the body, that darkness from the cares of the world not overcome it, but rather that it be enduring of toil, searching, groping about (*mutasakki'a*) {that is, struggling},<sup>119</sup> desirous that the grasping of an idea might occur to it which is worthy of God (*li-llāhi mustahiqqan*).

Ibn al-Fadl's translation (T-AbF), on the other hand, manages to capture some of the elegance of the original Greek in his Arabic:<sup>120</sup>

المقالة الأولى: في قول موسى النبي في التوراة: "في البدء<sup>1</sup> خلق الله السماء والأرض".<sup>2</sup>  
قال القديس باسيليوس<sup>3</sup>: إن الواجب على العازم على شرح تقويم العالم، أن يبدأ<sup>4</sup> بالكلام<sup>5</sup> في تألف<sup>6</sup> المبصرات. وها الكتاب الإلهي يفيدنا إبداع السماء والأرض، ليس من ذاتهما، كما قد تخيل قومٌ، بل علة ذلك الله تعالى. فأى سمع<sup>7</sup> يستوجب سماع جسامه هذه المقولات، وكيف يتمكن من إصلاح نفسه لاستماع ما هذا سبيله، من غير تطهيرها<sup>8</sup> من آلام الجسم، وإعفاءها من ظلام المهوم العالمية، وبعثها على الفحص الثاقب، والحرص الراتب، عساها أن تحظى بنظرٍ بالله تعالى لا تقي

1 البدء: البدء؛ ق؛ البدئ؛ ب د ذ | 2 هنا في "ذ" و"ق" إعداد فصول المقالة | 3 قال القديس باسيليوس: ذ ق؛ -ب د | 4 يبدأ: ق؛ يبدئ: ب د؛ يبتدئ ذ | 5 بالكلام: د ذ ق؛ الكلام: ب | 6 تألف: ب د ق؛ تأليف: ذ | 7 سمع: ذ ق؛ سمع: ب د | 8 تطهيرها: ب د ق؛ تطهرها: ذ

First Homily: on the words of Moses the Prophet in the Pentateuch *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*

Saint Basil said: It is incumbent upon him who invites [others] to an explanation of the constitution of **the world** to begin by speaking about the composition of **the visible things**. And behold! the Divine Book acquaints us with the creation (*ibdā'*) of the heaven and the earth, not sponta-

119 *ay muḡtahida*: a gloss—probably interpolated later—on the less common word *mutasakki'a*, which is a quite literal translation of περισκοποῦσαν.

120 B 9, D 1, E [1], Q 1–2.

neously [lit., from themselves], as **one group** has **imagined**; rather its cause is **God, Exalted. What ear** deserves (*yastawǧib*) to hear the **immensity** of these words (*maqūlāt* ~ λεγομένων)? **And how is it possible to make a soul righteous enough to listen to such things**, without its purification **from the pains of the body**, its release from the **darkness** of worldly cares, its incitement to penetrating searching and steadfast desire (*al-fahṣ al-tāqib wa-l-ḥirṣ al-rātib*), [that] perhaps it might obtain a conception (*nazar*) fitting for God.

Let us compare these two translations. The Greek word κόσμησις can mean “adornment,” such that διακόσμησις could be construed to have a similar sense.<sup>121</sup> But in the phrase “τῆς τῶν ὀρωμένων διακοσμήσεως,” Basil is clearly speaking not of the adornment of the visible things but their orderly arrangement, a sense used by Pythagoreans—and Gregory of Nyssa—in connection with the universe.<sup>122</sup> T-Anon translates this term as *zīna*, “adornment,” which Ibn al-Faḍl replaces with *taʿalluf* (or, in one manuscript, *taʿlif*), “composition,” a word which also connotes harmony. In the same phrase, T-Anon’s *yūqaddim qawlan* (“put at the beginning speech ...”) matches Basil’s προθεῖναι τοῦ λόγου,<sup>123</sup> but Ibn al-Faḍl’s *yabtadiʾ bi-l-kalām* (“begin by speaking ...”) is a more elegant way to express the idea that this speech will come first, and *kalām*, “talking (about)” is more appropriate in this context, with its connotation of discussion, than *qawl*, “saying” / “something said.” T-Anon’s *yusallim dīkran* “hand over / surrender a mention” clings to the literal sense of παραδίδοσθαι (which can mean to “surrender / hand over” as well as to “hand down / transmit”) but seems to have construed it as a middle, rather than passive, verb. The expression was odd enough that a later scribe replaced it with “talk” (*yatakallam*), as attested by one manuscript. Ibn al-Faḍl rewords the entire phrase by introducing the “Divine Book” as its subject and abandoning the sense of “transmit” in favor of an expression which works much better in Arabic: *al-kitāb al-ilāhī yufīdunā*, “the Divine book acquaints us with ...” This also has the effect of elevating the linguistic register, since it does away with T-Anon’s apparent colloquialism “*yurīd yusallim*” (Classical Arabic: *yurīd an yusallim*).

Finally, at the very end, T-Anon describes the soul’s goal with the very awkward phrase *fī an yattaǧiha lahā ittiḥādu fikrin yakūnu li-llāhi mustaḥiqqan*. This translation seeks to preserve the directional connotations of πάντοθεν

121 LSJ s.v. κόσμησις; and s.v. διακοσμέω II: “adorn variously.”

122 LSJ s.v. διακόσμησις A.2; Lampe s.v. διακόσμησις 1.

123 Albeit roughly, since τοῦ λόγου refers not to the speech being put first but to the whole discourse.

("from all sides") and εἴ ποθεν ("if from somewhere") with the expression *yattağih lahā*, "occur to it," but literally "face in its direction." At the same time, by literally translating the Greek λάβοι ... ἔννοιαν, it produces *ittiğhād fikr*, "grasping/getting an idea," and the relative clause *yakūn* etc. uses the verb "to be" (*yakūn*) in a way that is not particularly elegant. The Greek word order and literal translations of Greek words have been privileged. Ibn al-Faḍl, by contrast, aimed for elegance. The phrase *ʿasāhā an* captures the sense of the optative (λάβοι) in a way that is natural in Arabic. The rest avoids T-Anon's oddities, using the straightforward *tağzā bi-* to describe the soul's "obtaining" a notion of God, losing the Greek's directional connotations but producing much better Arabic in the process; and instead of T-Anon's awkward relative clause, Ibn al-Faḍl uses a simple participial phrase. The overall effect is clearer and more elegant: *ʿasāhā an tağzā bi-nazarin bi-llāhi taʿālā lāʾiqin*.

Ibn al-Faḍl takes over plenty of material straight from the Anonymous Translation, including the entire phrase "And how is it possible to make a soul righteous enough to listen to such things ..." (*wa-kayfa yatamakkanu min iğlahi nağsin li-stimāʾi mā hādā sabīluhu*). He maintains many shorter expressions as well. "Visible things" are still *mubşarāt*; "as one group imagined" is still *kamā tağayyala qawmun*, although Ibn al-Faḍl has added the particle *qad* and dropped the direct object *-hu*; "pains / passions of the body" and "the darkness of worldly cares" are still *ālām al-ğism* and *zalām al-humūm al-ʿalamīyya*. These expressions mostly correspond well to the Greek and are consistent with good Arabic style. A possible exception is *ālām* for πάθη, instead of *infiʿālāt* as one might expect (at least from the perspective of Graeco-Arabic philosophy).<sup>124</sup> But this corresponds to a Christian usage of the term *ālām* to refer more generally to suffering, and so to passions.<sup>125</sup>

When a felicitous expression occurs to him, Ibn al-Faḍl does not hesitate to replace an entirely satisfactory one in T-Anon. T-Anon's rendering of the traits the soul must have in order to listen to the sublime words of scripture is unobjectionable: the soul must be "enduring of toil, searching, groping about, desirous ..." (*şābira ʿalā l-taʿb, fāğhişa, mutasakkiʿa, ħarişa ...*). Ibn al-Faḍl's translation is much finer, incorporating the jaunty rhythm of the rhymed prose

124 I thank Asad Ahmed for pointing out the oddity of this translation. In his adapted translation of Sophronios's Synodical Letter, Ibn al-Faḍl translates πάθη as *infiʿālāt*.

125 See J.G. Hava, *Al-Farāʾid al-durrīya: ʿarabi ingltzi / al-Farāʾid Arabic-English Dictionary*, Beirut, Dār al-Maşriq, 1970 (4th repr. 1977), p. 12, s.v. *ʾlm*. This seems to be reflected in Ibn al-Faḍl's encomium for Saint Nicholas (pre-pended to his translation of Andrew of Crete's encomium for the same saint); at one point Ibn al-Faḍl refers to "base pains/passions" (الألام الرديئة); ed. Samuel Noble (see n. 14 above).

(*sağ'*) fashionable in high Arabic literary circles: the soul cannot listen without being incited “to penetrating searching and steadfast desire” (*al-faḥṣ al-tāqib wa-l-ḥirṣ al-rātib*). The words not only rhyme, but they also capture the spirit of Basil’s text perfectly, perhaps even improving on it. While he inherits the “searching” and “desire” (*faḥṣ* and *ḥirṣ*) from the Greek and T-Anon, the words *tāqib* and *rātib* are his own. *Tāqib* has the sense of “penetrating” but also “luminous,” like a star: the soul must cast about like a light which penetrates the darkness separating it, like a veil, from God. The soul’s desire for God must be *rātib*, which has the sense of “fixed, at rest,” and can also have a pious resonance, as in the case of the Muslim worshipper who is so intent on prayer that he ignores the catapult-stones crashing around him, “as if he were a die at rest (*ka’b rātib*)”—he is steadfast and unshakable.<sup>126</sup> Such is the steadiness of purpose the soul must have. This desire for God, absent in the Greek—or at most implied in the desperation of the soul which is “looking around every which way” (περισκοποῦσαν)—was introduced by T-Anon, but only in Ibn al-Faḍl’s translation is it so artfully heightened. Ibn al-Faḍl has departed from the phrasing of the Greek, resulting in beautiful, resonant Arabic.

The patristic text that Ibn al-Faḍl re-translated in the mid-eleventh century was, in Byzantium, a classic. It was popular, and not only in the capital; in the 1050s, the private library of the Cappadocian Eustathios Boilas, in or near Edessa, had a copy.<sup>127</sup> Drawing on the old translation, Ibn al-Faḍl had constant recourse to one such Byzantine copy. With both on hand, he produced an

126 Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab* (www.baheth.info), s.v. *rtb*: “Something [is said to] *rataba* [...] [when] it is at rest and does not move. One says, ‘he *rataba*’ed like a die,’ meaning ‘he sat up straight’ [...]. In the ḥadīth of Luqmān ibn ‘Ād: ‘He *rataba*’ed like a die,’ meaning ‘he sat as a die sits when you cast it,’ he credits him with vigor and keenness of the soul. And there is also the ḥadīth of [i.e., about] Ibn al-Zubayr, may God be pleased with both of them: ‘He used to pray in the Holy Mosque [of Mecca] while catapult-stones passed right by his ear, and he wouldn’t [even] turn his face, as if he were a die at rest’” (رَتَبَ الشَّيْءُ يَرْتَبُ رُتُوبًا،) وَرَتَبَ: ثَبَتَ فَلَمْ يَتَحَرَّكَ. يُقَالُ: رَتَبَ رُتُوبَ الْكَعْبِ أَيِ انْتَصَبَ انْتِصَابَهُ، وَرَتَبَهُ تَرْتِيبًا: أَثَبَتَهُ. وَفِي حَدِيثِ لُقْمَانَ بْنِ عَادٍ: رَتَبَ رُتُوبَ الْكَعْبِ أَيِ انْتَصَبَ كَمَا يَنْتَصِبُ الْكَعْبُ إِذَا رَمَيْتَهُ، وَصَفَهُ بِالشَّهَامَةِ وَحَدَّةِ النَّفْسِ؛ وَمِنْهُ حَدِيثُ ابْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ، رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا: كَانَ يُصَلِّي فِي الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ، وَأَحْجَارُ الْمَنْجَنِيْقِ تَمُرٌ عَلَى (أُذُنِهِ، وَمَا يَلْتَفْتُ، كَأَنَّهُ كَعْبٌ رَاتِبٌ). From this I infer that the die at rest is associated with this sort of perseverance and iron will because a die that is still in motion is fickle and could turn to any side, while the die which has come to rest is unmoving, unchangeable: it has made its decision.

127 Paul Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle byzantine*, Paris, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1977, p. 25, line 157: “Ἐξαήμερος τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλίου.” Cited by Fedwick, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis*, vol. 4.1, p. 220.

elegant, authoritative new version in Arabic, suitable for the Arabic-speaking Chalcedonian community thriving, with imperial sponsorship, in and around Byzantine Antioch.

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## Homiletic Translation in Byzantine Antioch: The Arabic Translation of a Marian Homily of Patriarch Germanos I of Constantinople by Yānī ibn al-Duks, Deacon of Antioch

*Joe Glynias*

On March 6, 1258 CE, the scribe Ġawān ibn Dimitrī ibn Yūḥannā ibn Ḥamza completed a manuscript now known as Sinai Ar. 408, after having the hieromonk Tūmā ibn Hilāl collate it against its model. As Alexander Treiger has recently demonstrated, this manuscript was the ninth volume of the set of the Antioch Menologion commissioned by Simeon ibn al-Buṭayṭa, the *oikonomos* of Mount Sinai, for his monastery; its exemplar was the original collation of the Arabic Menologion of Antioch completed by Yūḥannā ‘Abd al-Masiḥ only some decades previously.<sup>1</sup> In the entry for August 31, on folios 159<sup>r</sup>–163<sup>v</sup> of this manuscript, there is a homily, whose introduction reads:

اليوم الواحد والثلاثون من هذا الشهر تذكّار وضع زَنار القديسة والدة الالهنا الكريم في الصندوق  
المقدّس في هيكلها الموقر الذي في خلقويراتيا المنقول من اسقفّة مدينة زيلاس في ايام  
يوسطينيانوس الملك الحسن العبادة.<sup>2</sup>  
بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الالاه الواحد. ميمر لاينا المكرّم في القديسين جرمانوس  
رئيس اساقفة مدينة القسطنطينية قاله في تجديد هيكل الست المقدّسة والدة الالاه المعروف

1 Alexander Treiger, “Sinaitica (1): The Antiochian Menologion, Compiled by Hieromonk Yūḥannā ‘Abd al-Masiḥ (First Half of the 13th Century),” *Khristianskiy Vostok*, 8/14 (2017), pp. 215–252.

2 This notice seems to be a direct translation of the text found in the Synaxarion of Constantinople, including even the transliteration of the little-known town of Zela in the genitive as in the Greek (زِيلَاَس). The notice from the Synaxarion reads as follows: Ἡ ἀνάμνησις τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ σορῶ καταθέσεως τῆς τιμίας ζώνης τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν τῷ σεβασμίῳ αὐτῆς οἴκῳ, τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς Χαλκοπρατείοις, ἀνακομισθείσης ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ζήλας ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ (Hippolyte Delehaye, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, Brussels, Bollandist Society, 1902, pp. 935–936).

بالخلقويراتياً<sup>3</sup> وفي وضع زناها الكريم المقدس ولباس المجد والمسجود له ربنا يسوع المسيح  
ونقل ذلك من اللسان اليوناني الى اللسان العربي الحقيق في الشمامسة التامة في الكنيسة  
العظمى بأنطاكية ياني ابن الدكس الله يثيبه<sup>4</sup> على تعبته.

On the 31st day of this month [i.e., August], is the remembrance of the placing of the precious belt (*zunnār*) of the holy Mother of our God, in the sanctified box in her venerable church which is in Chalkoprateia. [It was] moved from the bishopric of the city of Zelas<sup>5</sup> in the days of the rightly worshipping Emperor Justinian.

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. A *mīmar* by our honorable father among the saints, Germanos, archbishop of the city of Constantinople. He delivered it on [the occasion of] the renovation of the church of the sanctified Lady, the Mother of God, known as Chalkoprateia, on the placing of her precious and holy belt, and the clothing of the glorified and venerated One, our Lord, Jesus Christ. And the lowly one among the perfect deacons in the great church in Antioch, Yānī ibn al-Duks, translated it from the Greek language into the Arabic language. May God reward him for his effort!

This homily, given by Patriarch Germanos I (r. 715–730) on the belt (ζώνη) of the Theotokos and the swaddling clothes (σπάργανα) of Christ, is known to modern scholars from the seventeenth-century edition of François Combefis published in the *Patrologia Graeca*.<sup>6</sup> It has been translated into English twice in the last ten years,<sup>7</sup> as scholars have given more attention to eighth century homiletics,

3 Note the Arabic transliteration of the Greek Χαλκοπρατεία, where Germanos delivered this sermon.

4 Sinai Ar. 409 has يثيبته instead of يثيبه.

5 This is the town Zela (Ζήλα) in Asia Minor, from which the relic was said to have been brought during the reign of Justinian; see Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham, "Byzantine Veneration of the 'Theotokos': Icons, Relics, and Eight-Century Homilies," in Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny (eds.), *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in honour of Averil Cameron*, Leuven, Peeters, 2007, pp. 235–250, at p. 244; for an account of the translation of this relic, see CPG 8027, edited and translated in Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham, *The Virgin Mary in the Byzantine World* (forthcoming).

6 CPG 8013; PG 98, col. 372–384.

7 Gregory E. Roth, *Paradox beyond Nature: An Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Dialogue on the Marian Homilies of Germanos I, Patriarch of Constantinople (715–730)*, Bloomington, IN, Authorhouse, 2012, pp. 273–282; Mary B. Cunningham, *Wider than Heaven: Eighth-Century Homilies on the Mother of God*, Crestwood, NY, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2008, pp. 247–255.

and has found itself addressed in numerous scholarly discussions regarding the history of Marian cult in Constantinople.<sup>8</sup> My aim here, however, is not to investigate questions regarding Marian relics or eighth-century Greek homiletics, but to focus on the act of translation. In this article, I will explore the purpose behind the translation of a homily such as this, the process of translation, and the changes wrought upon the text. For what reasons, beyond antiquarianism, should modern scholars continue to investigate the process of homiletic translation? I will furthermore provide the first edition, translation, and commentary on this Arabic homily, which provides valuable insight into Antiochene translation practices and the Melkite intellectual heritage.

## 1 The Translator and His Context

All we know of Yānī ibn al-Duks comes from his translation of this text, and the very brief introduction given to it. His name is worth noting: Yānī is clearly an Arabic transliteration of the Greek Γιάωνη(ς), which is a shortened form of Ἰωάννης (John). While such a common name helps us very little in identifying this particular individual, it should be noted that he is known even in Arabic by a Greek form of the name John, not by one of the two Arabic forms (Yaḥyā or Yūḥannā). Even more notable is his patronymic, which could be taken to mean either “son of the duke” or “son of Doukas.” While both are entirely possible, the former seems more likely in context, since there is no reason to believe that any member of the Doukas family knew Arabic or served as a deacon in the patriarchate of Antioch. On the other hand, it is quite plausible that one of the sons of the long list of Byzantine *doukes* of Antioch, at least some of whom are known to have been Christian Arabs,<sup>9</sup> would have served as a deacon in the patriar-

8 Most recently, see Stephen J. Shoemaker, “The Cult of Fashion: The Earliest *Life of the Virgin* and Constantinople’s Marian Relics,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 62 (2008), pp. 53–74; Dirk Krausmüller, “Making the Most of Mary: The Cult of the Virgin in the Chalkoprateia from Late Antiquity to the Tenth Century,” in Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (eds.), *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, Burlington, VT, Ashgate, 2011, pp. 219–246; Brubaker and Cunningham, “Byzantine Veneration.”

9 “Arab” in the sense of (native) Arabic speaker/user. E.g., the tenth-century Kulayb and ‘Ubaydallāh (although they were properly *basilikoi*), and Peter Libellisios in the late 1060s; for Kulayb and ‘Ubaydallāh, see Catherine Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 377–381; for Peter Libellisios, see Klaus-Peter Todt, “Antioch in the Middle Byzantine Period (969–1084): The Reconstruction of the City as an Administrative, Military, Economic, and Ecclesiastical Center,” *Topoi*, Suppl. 5 (2005), pp. 171–190. More generally, see Eric McGeer, John Nesbitt, and Nicolas Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine*

chate of Antioch and been well educated in both Greek and Arabic, like the famous Graeco-Arabic translator and deacon of the Antiochene patriarchate in the 1050s, ‘Abdāllah ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī.<sup>10</sup> While we do not know Yānī’s dates, he must have served the patriarchate during the Byzantine reconquest period (969–1084), when the duchy existed.<sup>11</sup> It was during this period that a remarkable number of other Greek patristic texts were translated into Arabic, in what Alexander Treiger has described as a translation movement comparable to that of ‘Abbāsīd Baghdad.<sup>12</sup> As a deacon in the Byzantine patriarchate of Antioch bearing a Greek name and claiming a Byzantine *doux* as his father, Yānī ought to be analyzed for who he was: a bilingual Byzantine official who worked in both Greek and Arabic contexts.

## 2 Translation Technique

Generally speaking, Yānī translates the homily of Germanos as literally as possible, in most cases with word-to-word correspondence. But as the commentary below will show, there are also numerous instances of innovation, where certain words or phrases are added in the Arabic, ignored from the Greek, or

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*Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Volume 5: *The East (continued)*, *Constantinople and Environs, Unknown Locations, Addenda, Uncertain Readings*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005, pp. 20–23; Jean-Claude Cheynet, “The Duchy of Antioch during the Second Period of Byzantine Rule,” in Krijnie N. Ciggaar and David M. Metcalf (eds.), *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean 1: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality*, Leuven, Peeters, 2006, pp. 1–16. Regarding the Doukas family, see Demetrios Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London, Athlone Press, 1968.

10 See Alexander Treiger, “‘Abdāllah ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī,” in *CMR3*, pp. 89–113.

11 As Cheynet shows in his documentation of every known Byzantine ruler of Antioch, not all carried the title *doux* (Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos (Bibliothèque nationale de France) se rapportant aux provinces orientales de l’Empire byzantin*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 2001, pp. 22–23). Regardless, it is only attested as a title of Byzantine officials from the first attested *doux*, Leo Melissenos, in 985 until the last, Philaretos Brachamios (d. 1084), and thus places us firmly within the Byzantine reconquest period. The only possible exception to this would be if Yānī comes from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and was the son of a former official. However, this seems less likely, as the Byzantine reconquest period was such an important locus of Greek-to-Arabic patristic translation, in addition to the fact that Yānī’s patronymic “son of the duke” implies that his father was at least in recent memory.

12 Alexander Treiger, “Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers,” *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), pp. 188–227.

changed to have a slightly different meaning. Such exceptions notwithstanding, the predominant mode of translation remains word-for-word. To borrow categories from *ḥadīṭ* criticism, Yānī aimed to transmit his text *bi-l-lafz*, not *bi-l-ma'nā*.

Some examples of Yānī's literalisms will illustrate these observations. In the middle of section 10, Yānī mimics the Greek, maintaining the original word order to the point that the Arabic becomes irregular.

Ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐκ Θεοῦ δεδιωγμένοι, ἐζητήσαμεν διὰ σοῦ τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ εὐρομεν· καὶ εὐρόντες ἐσώθημεν. Δυνατὴ τοιγαροῦν πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἢ βοήθειά σου, Θεοτόκε, καὶ μὴ χρῆζουσά τινος ἑτέρου πρὸς Θεὸν μεσίτου.

نحن المرفوضون من الرب لكثرة آثامنا، طلبنا بك الرب فوجدناه. وعند وجودنا له، عزّت قدرته، خلّصنا. فقادرة إذاً هي معونتك، يا والدة الإلاه، على الخلاص إذ لا تحتاجي شفيحاً غيرك إلى الرب.

The first sentence of this passage is translated literally and cleanly into Arabic, with the only changes in the translation being the replacement of “God” (τὸν Θεὸν) with “Lord” (الرب), a common occurrence in Yānī's translation, and the addition of a pronominal suffix in فوجدناه, which is necessary in Arabic and makes it syntactically even clearer than the Greek; in two cases (آثامنا and وجودنا), Yānī adds possessive pronouns implied by the Greek. In the second sentence, we have the addition of عزّت قدرته in the Arabic, an epithet qualifying God, and the translation of the participle εὐρόντες as وعند وجودنا, which fits the semantics but not the morphology of the Greek, unlike the explicit rendering of the Greek participle δεδιωγμένοι by the Arabic participle المرفوضون in the first sentence quoted herein. The literal translation becomes more of a problem in the next sentence, where Yānī starts his translation with فقادرة إذاً هي, matching the Greek Δυνατὴ τοιγαροῦν, but making for strange Arabic syntax. While this is a fitting literal translation of the Greek, it is not typical or smooth Arabic phrasing.

In section 11, there is a similar situation wherein Greek word order (and rhetoric) is preserved at the expense of a more idiomatic and flowing Arabic style:

Ὅθεν ὁ θλιβόμενος πρὸς σέ καταφεύγει· ὁ ἀδικούμενος ἐπὶ σέ προστρέχει· ὁ τοῖς δεινοῖς συνεχόμενος, τὴν σὴν ἐπικαλεῖται βοήθειαν. Ὅλα τὰ σά, Θεοτόκε, παράδοξα, ὅλα ὑπὲρ φύσιν, ὅλα ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ δύναμιν.

فمن هاهنا إليك يسرع الكئيب، وإليك يلتجئ المظلوم والمأسور بالنوائب يدعي بمعونتك. وكل أمورك معجبة، الكل تعلوا على الطبيعة، الكل فوق كل صفة وقوة.

With the exception of the swapping of the placement of *καταφεύγει* and *προστρέχει* (يسرع and يلتجئ)—which may be a product of varying manuscript traditions—the Arabic closely follows the Greek. Yānī even goes so far as to maintain the Greek rhetoric in the second half of the thought, beginning each phrase with *كل* to match the Greek *ὅλα*. In attempting to follow the Greek syntax (“Ὅλα τὰ σὰ ... ὅλα”), Yānī switches from *كل أمورك* to *الكل*. Unlike in the Greek, the second person pronoun is not clearly carried into the subsequent two instances of *الكل*, and the Arabic is thus not entirely clear.

A passage from section 4 again illustrates how the Greek rhetorical style was maintained in Arabic, this time in Yānī’s translation of Germanos’ usage of anaphora, in repeating the phrase *Ζώνης ἐκείνης, ἦ*, rendered as *ذلك الزنار الذي*.

*Ζώνης ἐκείνης, ἦ τὸν πανάγιον ἐκεῖνο περιέσφιγγε σῶμα, καὶ τὸν ἐν κοιλίᾳ κρυπτόμενον Θεὸν περιέβαλλε. Ζώνης ἐκείνης, ἦ τις τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κιβωτὸν ὠραίως κατεκόσμη, καὶ σεμνοτάτως. Ζώνης ἐκείνης, ἦ πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν ἀχράντων τῆς παναχράντου τοῦ γάλακτος κατεπιαίνετο σταλαγμῶν.*

وذلك الزنار الذي شدّ ذلك الجسد المقدس، وجمع الإلاه الخفي في الأحشاء الطاهرة. ذلك الزنار الذي حمل تابوت الرب حسناً وجمالاً. ذلك الزنار أنبل مراراً عدّة بنقط لبن الطاهرة النقية.

Beyond the anaphora in this passage, Yānī almost exactly maintains the structure of the Greek, including apparently coining the verb *أنبل* (form VII from the root *نبل*) to match the Greek *κατεπιαίνετο*,<sup>13</sup> and breaking the Greek *πολλάκις* into its constituent parts, *مراراً عدّة*. In sections 3, 6, 8, 9, and 12, Yānī has recourse to similar devices in translating Germanos’ repeated apostrophes, using *أبها* to translate the Greek vocative *ὦ*.

In many other instances throughout this text, Yānī produces an Arabic translation that, while closely mirroring the Greek, is not in idiomatic Arabic and does not adhere to the traditional canons of classical Arabic grammar. While this can partly be explained by the differing Arabic norms of what scholars now deem “Middle Arabic,” as a rule, Yānī attempts to represent Greek sen-

13 For an alternative explanation, see n. 77 below.

tence structure literally and does not force it to conform it to Arabic rhetorical norms. This is not to say that Yānī never deviates from the Greek—he does so in certain instances, particularly in shifting the order of phrases for clarity. While precision—if not exactitude—is clearly important to Yānī, Arabic style does not seem an equally high priority. Faithfulness to the Greek trumps any concerns about producing idiomatic, easily intelligible Arabic. The examples that we have seen as well as those discussed in the commentary below point to the premium that Yānī placed on literal translation and on preserving the Greek word order, with the result that the translation closely follows the rhetoric of Germanos' sermon.

With this being said, it should be noted that although Yānī aims for literal translation, he does not aim for an exact correspondence between Greek and Arabic words throughout his translation. Three examples of this phenomenon are notable. Firstly, Yānī makes no systemized attempt to render Greek participles, which are extremely common in Germanos' sermon, by Arabic participles, but instead translates each according to its function. This can be seen in section 5, in which of the eight Greek participles only one is translated into Arabic by a participle, while the seven others are treated as verbs in relative clauses.<sup>14</sup> While Yānī is not so wary of Arabic participles throughout, he is not focused on exactly replicating the Greek syntactic value of each word, but instead tries to maintain the meanings of specific words within their clauses, which makes the Arabic less wooden than it would otherwise be.

Secondly, Yānī is not at all consistent in his rendering of Germanos' many adulatory adjectives. In a number of cases, he leaves their translation out or simplifies Germanos' encomiastic speech. In translations of the Greek adjective *σεπτός* ("reverenced") the five times it occurs in the text, Yānī translates it as *الكريم* twice, *المكرم* twice, and ignores it altogether once.<sup>15</sup> This looks remarkably consistent in comparison to the adjective (sometimes used as a substantive epithet) *πανάμωμος*, which is translated differently throughout.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, Yānī uses the adjective *طاهر* a total of twelve times throughout his translation,

14 These are: *ἐνειλήσαντα*, *διαλύσαντα*, *περισφίγγαντα*, *ἀναρρώσαντα*, *φρουροῦντά*, *περιφυλάττοντα*, *δεσμούντα*, and *καταβάλλοντα*. Only *ἐνειλήσαντα* is translated as a participle (*المخلص*).

15 These are in section 3 (modifying *ἀκροατήριον*—untranslated), three times in section 8 (modifying *ζώνη*—*الكريم*, *ναφ*—*الكريم*, and again *ζώνη*—*المكرم*), and in section 11 (modifying *ναφ*—*المكرم*).

16 This adjective appears three times as a substantive, once rendered as *الطاهرة البتول* (section 3), once as *أيتها المكرمة* (section 10), and the third time not translated (section 11). In section 2, a phrase containing it and two other adjectives is simplified to *الطاهرة البتول*. In section 5, a varying adjectival form of this word, *παναμώμητον*, is translated as *التقي*.

rendering with it a variety of Greek adjectives with meanings related to purity.<sup>17</sup> In other cases, particularly when confronted with one of the many compound adjectives that Germanos had at his disposal, Yānī uses the Arabic construction *idāfa ġayr haqīqīyya*<sup>18</sup> to create his own compound adjectives.<sup>19</sup> In order to translate alpha privatives, he uses the Arabic privative غير.<sup>20</sup> Alpha privatives are also rendered with other comparable negative expressions or simply translated based on meaning.<sup>21</sup>

Finally, let us look at Yānī's rendering of Greek particles, which require ingenious solutions to be rendered in a Semitic language.<sup>22</sup> Three particles, and their vastly differing fates in Yānī's translation, illustrate how Yānī does not bind himself to specific translations for specific words. The Greek γάρ occurs 14 times within the text: in ten of those occasions, he renders it as لَأَنْ,<sup>23</sup> in two as إِذْ,<sup>24</sup> and in two the particle is left untranslated.<sup>25</sup> While the translation of γάρ by لَأَنْ predominates, it is nevertheless not translated as such in each occasion. In the translations of ἀλλά, we see more variance: four times, it is rendered as لكن,<sup>26</sup> three times as بل,<sup>27</sup> and twice, left untranslated.<sup>28</sup> The Greek οὐν is never translated into Arabic the four times it occurs within Germanos' text.<sup>29</sup>

17 These thirteen times are in section 1 (ὑπέραγνον), 2 (in compound as الطاهرة البتول figuring the Greek τῆς παναχράντου και παναμώμου, as mentioned above), 3 (πανάμωμος), 3 again (two instances with the noun form طهارة to translate Germanos' triple usage of ἀγρός), 4 (added in to modify الأحناء), 4 again (παναχράντου), 5 (καθαρώτατον), 6 (πανάγνου), 6 again (ἀγναίς), 9 (πανάχραντε), and 10 (πανάμωμε).

18 I.e. "the improper annexation," see William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1898, pp. 198–199.

19 E.g. εὐσεβεῖ (Section 3, الحسنة الاعتقاد), πολυεὐσπλαγχνος as الكثير التحنن (section 6), three Greek compounds as three varying *idāfāt* (section 10, πάναγνε, και πανάγαθε, και πολυεὐσπλαγχνε as جزيرة الطهارة، جزيرة الخير، كثيرة الخير، غزيرة الرحمة، فيلانθρώπου (section 12, العزيز الرحمة).

20 E.g. ἄψυχον (section 5, الغير ناطق، ἀφθάρτου (section 8, الغير فاسد)، πανάχραντε (section 9, الغير مدنس).

21 E.g. ἀπρεπές (Section 3: ما لا يليق؛ ἀψευδῶς (section 6: يقينا).

22 Sebastian Brock, "Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek," in Bruce Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977, pp. 83–98. See also Leonardo Tarán and Dimitri Gutas, *Aristotle, Poetics: Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*, Leiden, Boston, 2012, p. 454 (on οὐν) and pp. 463–464 (γάρ).

23 Sections 2, 4, 5, 6 (twice), 10 (three times), 11 (twice).

24 Sections 2, 10.

25 Sections 6, 11.

26 Sections 2, 3, 10, 12.

27 Sections 1, 5, 10.

28 Sections 2, 10.

29 Sections 2, 3, 10, 12.

In all of these cases, Yānī seeks specific solutions to render certain phrases, often using the same morphological and syntactic tools, but without a systematic translational correspondence. While Yānī in each instance does seem to seek word-by-word and phrase-by-phrase accuracy, he does not keep his word choice consistent throughout, illustrating how he aimed more to translate the Greek as literally as possible phrase-by-phrase, rather than creating an Arabic imprint of the Greek text, from which the original could be reconstructed.

### 3 The Translation and Transformation of Homilies: A Shift in Genre?

In viewing this act of translation in its context, we arrive at two important and connected questions: For what purpose was this text translated? And, how was the text altered through the process of translation? As mentioned above, all specific information regarding this translation comes from the heading and text itself in the Arabic Menologia manuscripts of Sinai. At present, we know of no instance of the preservation of the translation of this homily outside of the context of the Menologion.<sup>30</sup> However, as this translation was apparently produced about two centuries before the compilation of this Menologion, we must return to Yānī, his cultural context, and his particular goals as a translator.

As we know of no patron of this translation, we must ask: why would Yānī translate a homily about the swaddling clothes of Christ and the belt of the Virgin? In Yānī's context in the eleventh century—as in that of Germanos in the eighth century—these were relics preserved and venerated in Constantinople, in the Chalkoprateia church.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, Dirk Krausmüller has argued that from the eighth to tenth centuries, the Virgin's belt and its cult were conspicuously promoted as part of a larger effort to promote the Chalkoprateia as a Marian shrine under direct control of the patriarchate.<sup>32</sup> This homily—and other

30 It should be noted that my assumption that this homily is uniquely attested in the Menologion is made here with a grain of salt because there is such a large mass of Arabic liturgical material that still must be properly worked through. See Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 377; Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," p. 207.

31 The continued presence in the Chalkoprateia of these relics becomes somewhat unclear over time. However, it is certain that they were major venerated objects there in the tenth century, and perhaps may be among the relics pillaged by the Latins in the thirteenth century. See Krausmüller, "Making the Most"; Shoemaker, "The Cult of Fashion"; Brubaker and Cunningham, "Byzantine Veneration"; Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, Première partie: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*, Tome III: Les églises et les monastères, Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1953, pp. 246–251.

32 Krausmüller, "Making the Most."

Marian homilies of Germanos—formed an important aspect of that effort. Yet perhaps more important than Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical politics is the later sanctity of Patriarch Germanos, as is evident in the heading for the Arabic translation. In eleventh-century Antioch, the large-scale transmission of the Greek Christian heritage into Arabic was promoted in earnest. And as the patristic heritage was being transferred into Arabic,<sup>33</sup> a large quantity of liturgical texts was also translated, as part of the Byzantinization and Arabicization of the Antiochene liturgy.<sup>34</sup>

Yet, what purpose was this homily to serve, once translated into Arabic? Here we must return to the style of the translation. In wooden language, often reading more as Greek “translationese” than as idiomatic Arabic, it would be difficult to perform this homily for an audience and expect it to be intelligible, much less edifying.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, Germanos’ rhetoric is generally literally handled into Arabic, as are his rhetorical usages of anaphora, hendiadys, and apostrophe. While this is in no way atypical of Greek homiletic style of the period, which indeed both rhythmically and rhetorically often converged on hymnography,<sup>36</sup> in Arabic it is irregular except as a translation of Greek. Such a translation would have been most useful for clerics who themselves knew Greek and were accustomed to Greek style, or who were at least accustomed to Arabic written—or translated—in the style of Greek. In Yānī’s Antioch, this undoubtedly would not have been a problem. It is not difficult to postulate “translationese” as taking a pride of place within the well-educated Antiochene Arabic intellectual community, comparable to the audiences for intentionally precise, sixth-century Syriac translations from Greek.<sup>37</sup> The extremely stilted

33 Treiger, “Christian Graeco-Arabica.”

34 For the process of Byzantinization, see Daniel Galadza, “Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem (638–1187 CE),” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 67 (2013), pp. 75–94; Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018; Joseph Nasrallah, “La liturgie des Patriarcats melchites de 969 à 1300,” *Oriens Christianus*, 71 (1987), pp. 156–181.

35 Much more research must be done on middle Byzantine “homiliary” compilations, particularly in trying to figure out for what purpose so many earlier and patristic homilies were copied. Were they fundamentally aimed at would-be preachers to base their own sermons, or as objects of study, patristic works to understand and cite?

36 Brubaker and Cunningham, “Byzantine Veneration,” p. 246.

37 On Syriac translations, see the work of Sebastian Brock, e.g. “Toward a History of Syriac Translation Technique,” in Sebastian Brock, *Studies in Syriac Christianity: History, Literature and Theology*, Aldershot, Variorum, 2001, Essay x (pp. 1–14); “Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 20.1 (1979), pp. 69–87; “From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning,” in Nina Garsoïan, Thomas F. Mathews and Robert W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1982, pp. 17–34.

seventh-century Syriac Syro-Hexaplar translation of the Septuagint found itself in Lectionaries—and thus for liturgical use—centuries after its cultural context of translation.<sup>38</sup> While medieval Muslim intellectuals like al-Ġāḥiẓ would have scorned the “translationese” style of this homily’s Arabic,<sup>39</sup> there is no reason to assume that Yānī’s audience would have felt the same way; indeed, it is much more likely that in eleventh-century Antioch where Greek had linguistic prestige, the preservation of Greek rhetoric in Arabic translation was a goal worth being pursued. The Arabic literary style of al-Ġāḥiẓ was not the only benchmark against which Arabic was judged in the medieval world. Nonetheless, significantly more analysis of Antiochene translations is required before we can speak further about the common distinctive features of translations from this locale.

Even once removed from such a bilingual environment, and separated from its potential use as a piece of Arabic rhetoric, this text would still have been of use as an object of study upon which more fluent Arabic homilies and hymns could be based. In its translation, this text fundamentally changed. In Greek, this text was both a rhetorical exemplar and a patristic text, the homily of a saint useful for a particular feast day and the veneration of particular relics. In Arabic, however, this text eventually lacked appeal as a piece of rhetoric to be adapted for performance. It is preserved in the large, later compilation of the Menologion, as a homily written by a saint, the only text relating to the feast day of August 31.

We can see how potentially problematic the “translationese” style of Arabic could become, in the copy made from Sinai Ar. 408: Sinai Ar. 409. Even though the text in Sinai Ar. 408 is nearly pristine and containing all its diacritics, in instances where dots are unclearly placed or difficult to discern, the scribe of Sinai Ar. 409 often made errors, likely because the text was in such unwieldy and difficult to understand Arabic. While these errors are typically quite small—such as طاهر instead of ظاهر in section 1, ينقط instead of بنقط in section 4, and نحفظ instead of يحفظ in section 5—they illustrate the difficulty that the scribe of Sinai Ar. 409 had in understanding the syntax of the text. If we were to work only from Sinai Ar. 409 and thus lack most diacritics and the Greek text, the Arabic homily would be very difficult to understand.

38 Willem Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts, Edited, Commented upon and Compared with the Septuagint*, Leiden, Brill, 1968, p. 2. I thank Jack Tannous for this reference.

39 Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbāsīd Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries)*, London and New York, Routledge, 1998, pp. 137–138.

Translation is a complex, historically contingent process, and we have only begun to scratch the surface of what was occurring in and around the Byzantine patriarch in eleventh-century Antioch. We must study many more liturgical and patristic texts translated in Syria before we can understand the goals and achievements of the translation movement therein. However here, we can see how Yānī's particular bilingual context enabled a particular style of translation that would not necessarily fit the interests of future readers.

#### 4 Notes on the Manuscripts and the Edition

There are two known Arabic manuscripts of this homily, Sinai Ar. 408 and Sinai Ar. 409, both copies of the aforementioned Antioch Menologion. While Sinai Ar. 408 was copied in 1258, and is a very good manuscript, clearly written, with its diacritics generally properly placed, and even vowels, *šaddas*, and *hamzas* written in certain places, Sinai Ar. 409, which descends from it, having been written between 1328 and 1334 on Mount Sinai for the Church of the Syrians therein,<sup>40</sup> lacks many diacritics and is more prone to minor scribal errors. Thus, the readings from the earlier Sinai Ar. 408 are generally preferred, particularly as in instances of their disagreement, the translation in Sinai Ar. 408 more closely matches the Greek text. The Greek text given here is not a critical edition, as it stems from the *Patrologia Graeca*, edited by François Combefis (d. 1679). It should be noted that the Greek and Arabic do seem to match nearly throughout, with the exception of some phrases or sentences present in only one or the other. In the commentary, the likely possibility that the Greek text(s) to which Yānī had access differed from that published in the *PG* is noted when appropriate, as in some cases it may explain what would otherwise appear translational innovations. While it would be ideal to have a critical edition of the Greek before editing and commenting upon the Arabic translation, this is, unfortunately, outside the scope of this article. Although the earliest Greek witnesses of this text are from the tenth century, and are thus older than the Arabic translation, the alternative readings provided by this translation should nevertheless be taken into account for the production of any critical edition of the Greek homily.<sup>41</sup>

40 Treiger, "The Antiochian Menologion," p. 223.

41 A search in *Pinakes* reveals 28 manuscript witnesses of this homily; the two tenth-century witnesses are Paris, BNF gr. 1194 and Vat. gr. 1671. Undoubtedly, it is imperfect to assess the translation of a text of which we do not have a critical edition. However, little more can be done if we want to study the Arabic translations of this period. Yānī is known only from this text, so studying this translation is the only avenue we have to access his thought.

The paragraph breaks in the edition below mirror those in the *PG*, but the section numbering is my own. *Hamzas* have been restored throughout. Punctuation is based on that in Sinai Ar. 408, though edited to conform to the edition of the Greek text; for example, many periods—the typical punctuation in Sinai Ar. 408—have been replaced by commas. The edition is primarily based upon the prior and preferable Sinai Ar. 408, but disagreements with Sinai Ar. 409 are noted in the commentary. Column numbers of the *PG* edition and folio numbers of Sinai Ar. 408 are indicated in square brackets. Folio numbers of Sinai Ar. 409 are provided in parentheses.

**Greek Text**  
(*PG* 98)

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

[372] Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γερμανοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, λόγος εἰς τὰ Ἐγκαίνια τοῦ σεβασμίου ναοῦ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἅγια σπάργανα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[159ب] [195أ] بِسْمِ الْأَبِّ وَالابْنِ وَالرُّوحِ الْقُدُسِ الْإِلَهِ الْوَاحِد<sup>42</sup>

ميمر لأبينا المكرّم في القديسين جرمانوس رئيس أساقفة مدينة القسطنطينية قاله في تجديد هيكل الست المقدسة والدة الإلاه المعروف بالخلقوراتيا<sup>43</sup> وفي وضع زناها الكريم المقدس ولباس المجد والمسجود له ربنا يسوع المسيح، ونقل ذلك من اللسان اليوناني إلى اللسان العربي الحقيق في الشمامسة التامة في الكنيسة العظمى بأنطاكية ياني ابن الدكس الله يثيبه<sup>44</sup> على تعبته.

(1) Δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη περὶ σοῦ, ἡ πόλις τοῦ [373] Θεοῦ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐν Πνεύματι ὑπέψαλλε Δαβίδ· Πάλιν ὄντως ἀριθιλότατα, περὶ ἧς

(1) لقد ترنم داوود الإلاهي بالروح القدس قائلاً  
المجدات قيلت عنك، يا مدينة الرب،<sup>45</sup> مدينة<sup>46</sup> يقيناً

42 This typical Christian Arabic incipit is not present in the Greek edition.

43 Note the Arabic transliteration of the Greek *Χαλκοπρατεία*, where Germanos delivered this sermon.

44 See n. 4 above.

45 Note the replacement of “God” (τοῦ Θεοῦ) with “Lord” (الرب).

46 Instead of the Greek’s Πάλιν ὄντως to return to the description of the “city,” Yānī gives مدينة ظاهرة .... Clearly, his Greek manuscript must have read: πόλις ὄντως.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

δεδοξασμένα λελάληται, καλῶν τοῦ Βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου πόλιν δὴ ταύτην οἶμαι σαφέστατα καὶ ἀναντιρρήτικώτατα, τὴν ὄντως ἐκλελεγμένην, καὶ πασῶν ὑπερέχουσαν φάναι; οὐκ ὑπεροχῇ δομημάτων, καὶ ὕψει γεωλόφων ἐπαρμάτων· ἀλλὰ τὴν τῇ μεγαλοφυῖα τῶν ἐνθέων ὑπερηρμένην ἀρετῶν, καὶ τῇ καθαρότητι ὑπερέχουσαν Μαρίαν τὴν ὑπερραγνον, καὶ ὑπεράμωμον Θεοτόκον. Ἐν ᾧ ὁ ὄντως ὢν Βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων, καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων κατεσκήνωσε· μάλλον δὲ, ἐν ᾗ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος κατώκησε σωματικῶς.

(2) Αὕτη ὄντως δεδοξασμένη πόλις· αὕτη νοητὴ Σιών. Ταύτην, οἶμαι καὶ Δαβίδ θεόθεν προανεφώνησεν. Εἰ δέ τις καὶ τὸν ταύτης οἶκον δεδοξασμένην πόλιν καλέσειε, οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τοῦ

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

ظاهرة<sup>47</sup> التي من أجلها قيلت المجيدات. سماء<sup>48</sup> الملك العظيم، وما هي هذه المدينة،<sup>49</sup> لا شك دل<sup>50</sup> عن المدينة المختارة التي هي عالية عن سائر المدن وأرفع من الكل ليس بارتفاع العمارات وتراقى العلو بل هي عالية بأنواع الفضائل الإلاهية، وسامية عن كلهن بالطهارة، مريم الطاهرة النقية والدة الإلاه. التي سكن فيها الملك الحقيقي ملك الملوك ورب الأرباب،<sup>51</sup> ولا سيما وقطن جسدياً كل تمام اللاهوت.

(٢) هذه هي صهيون المعقولة، عن هذه ذكر داوود النبي لا شك، فإن دعا أحد هيكلها [1160] مدينة مجدة، فليس هو قوله إلا في غاية التحقيق والصدق.<sup>53</sup> لأنه إن كانت

47 Sinai Ar. 408 has ظاهرة while Sinai Ar. 409 has طاهرة. Sinai Ar. 408's readings are typically preferred, as the earlier manuscript which matches more with the Greek, and ظاهرة is a better translation of the Greek ἀριδηλότατα.

48 Both manuscripts have سماء, which may indicate a corruption from سمى, which would mirror the Greek καλῶν, particularly if الملك were then also emended to للملك. The word for "heaven" here, سماء, would be an understandable scribal insertion, particularly because *alif maqṣūra* is often written as a simple *alif*. Moreover, corrupted transmission would not be surprising, as this language mirroring the Greek would be very strange Arabic.

49 Perhaps because of the confusion with سمى / سماء, the Arabic here diverges further from the meaning of the Greek, using the same words but in a different grammatical arrangement.  
50 Sinai Ar. 408 has لا شك دل, but لا شك دل, present in Sinai Ar. 409, seems a better reading. لا شك here translates οἶμαι (as in section 2 below).

51 Sinai Ar. 408 has an extra dot under the final ب of الأرباب.

52 The phrase Αὕτη ὄντως δεδοξασμένη πόλις does not seem to be explicitly echoed in the Arabic translation.

53 In both Arabic manuscripts the reading is فالصدق, and there is a period placed before it—this seems to be because it should read والصدق, and as the و was distorted into a ف, the punctuation was changed to explain the grammar.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

καλοῦ φήσειεν. Εἰ γὰρ οἷς τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τῶν  
γαίων ἐπικέκληνται, εἰς μακρὸν τὴν μνήμην τῆς  
κλήσεως διασώζουσιν· ἄλλων δὲ ὧν οὐδὲ διὰ  
χειλέων δίκαιον τὰ ὀνόματα φέρειν, στήλαι καὶ  
τεμένη, καὶ εἶδωλα μέχρι καὶ τῆς σήμερον, εἰ καὶ  
τῇ φήμῃ μόνῃ· ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπερεκτέτανται, καὶ ὡς  
αὐτοὶ περιόντες, τοῖς τῶν ἀφελεστέρων ὡς διεκω-  
δωνίσθησαν, τί ἂν τις εἴποι περὶ τῆς θεοδοξάστου  
καὶ πανυμνήτου κόρης τῆς παναχράντου καὶ παν-  
αμώμου; Εἰ γὰρ αὕτη πόλις ἔμψυχος τοῦ βασιλέως  
ἐχρημάτισε Χριστοῦ, δικαίως ἄρα καὶ ὁ ταύτης  
πανάγιος ναὸς, οὗ καὶ τὰ Ἐγκαίνια σήμερον ἐορτά-  
ζομεν, πόλις δεδοξασμένη ἔστι τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται.  
Πόλις οὐκ ἐπιγείω καὶ θνητῷ βασιλεῖ πολιτογρα-  
φοῦσα τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα· ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ, τῷ εἰς  
ζῶν αἰώνιον παραπέμποντι, καὶ βασιλείαν τὴν  
ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς αὐτῷ ἐπομένοις παρέχοντι.

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

الأسامي المتخصصة بالأرضيات ثابتة، ولا سيما وإلى يومنا  
هذا يخبر عن تماثيل وهياكل وأوثان<sup>54</sup> وقد طن في مسامع  
السُّدَّاج عنهم كأنهم باقين فماذا يقال عن الصبية المجددة  
من الرب الطاهرة البتول<sup>55</sup>؟ وإذ<sup>56</sup> كانت هذه مدينة  
حية للملك المسيح فن الواجب (195ب) أن يدعى هيكلها  
الذي الآن نعيد تجديده مدينة مجددة،<sup>57</sup> مدينة ليست ثبت  
جمعها ملك فاني<sup>58</sup> لكن سماوي مانح لتابعيه الحياة الدائمة  
وملكوته الثابتة.<sup>59</sup>

54 There seems to be an extraneous extra dot in both manuscripts (thus *أوثان* not *أوثات*).

55 In the translation of this passage (*Εἰ γὰρ οἷς ... καὶ παναμώμου*), *Yāni* reshuffled and skipped large portions of the Greek. The Greek *εἰς μακρὸν ... ὀνόματα φέρειν* is completely missing in the Arabic, as is *εἰ καὶ τῇ ... ὑπερεκτέτανται*. Moreover, the translation of *καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ περιόντες* (*عنهم كأنهم باقين*) is shifted with the translation of *τοῖς τῶν ἀφελεστέρων ὡς διεκωδωνίσθησαν* (*وقد طن في مسامع السُّدَّاج*).

56 *إذ* should perhaps be emended to *إذًا*, matching the Greek (*εἰ*) and making better sense of the Arabic that follows. It is also possible that the *إذ* actually translates *γάρ*.

57 The *τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται* is represented in the Arabic earlier in the sentence (*يدعى هيكلها*).

58 The word *فاني* renders *θνητῷ*, but the *ἐπιγείω* and the idea of the citizenry (*τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα*) beyond the king is not present in the Arabic—the vague *جمعها* inserted in the Arabic must be intended to render these ideas.

59 The Arabic translation of this sentence is more concise than the Greek, but quite literal, except for using only one participle for God's "offering" as opposed to the parallel two in the Greek.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

(3) Ἐγκαινίων δὲ, ὦ τίμιον καὶ σεπτὸν, ἀκηκόοτες, ἀκροατήριον, μὴ νεοκτίστοις οἰκοδομαῖς καὶ ἀρτι-παγέσι κατασκευαῖς τὸ τῶν Ἐγκαινίων ὑπολάβητε ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν πνεύματι καινισμόν, καθ' ὃν ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος, τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ διεῖργ-γὸς τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀποθέμενος ἔνδυμα, καὶ τὸ νέον τῆς εὐσεβείας περιβαλλόμενος, ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς πολιτεύεται. Τοῦτοις καὶ ἡ πανάμωμος εὐφραίνεται· οἷς ἂν ἀρεταῖς, καὶ τῇ κατὰ Θεὸν εὐσεβεῖ καινιζόμενοι πολιτεία, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἀγνῶν τῆς ἀγνῆς ἀγνῶς Ἐγκαινίων κατατρυφήσωμεν· καὶ ὡς αὐτῇ παροῦση [376] μέλλοντες προσιέναι, οὕτω τῷ ταύτης σεβασμίῳ ναῶ προσερχόμενοι, πάντα ῥυθμίσωμεν, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβαλ-λώμεθα· πράξιν τε καὶ λόγον, καὶ θεωρίαν. Μηδὲν ἔστω ἡμῶν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνάξιον· μὴ βῆμα ποδός,

(3) فعند استماعكم، أيها السامعون<sup>60</sup> الفضلاء، عن هذا التجديد فلا تظنوا أن اسم التجديد هو عن عمارات متجددة<sup>61</sup> وصنائع حديثة، لكن عن التجديد الذي بالروح القدس من حيث أن الإنسان الباطن لنا عن رفضه للباس الخطيئة العتيق البالي ولبسه تجديد حُسن الاعتقاد تسيّر<sup>62</sup> بتجديد الحياة. فبذلك تسر الطاهرة البتول التي ونحن عند تجددنا بالفضائل وبالسيرة الحسنة الاعتقاد<sup>63</sup> بالرب سنلذذ بطهارة بالتجديد للطاهر الذي للطاهرة. ونقوم الأشياء ونقلها إلى الأفضل، عند تقدمنا إلى هيكلها الشريف، واعتقادنا كأنها حاضرة وناظرة إلى الكل.<sup>64</sup> وما هو الذي نقوم؟ نقوم<sup>65</sup> الفعل والقول والنظر، من

60 The Arabic translation of the duplicated Greek ἀκηκόοτες and ἀκροατήριον is handled cleanly in Arabic, as فعند استماعكم أيها السامعون. The description of the audience (ἀκροατήριον) as τίμιον καὶ σεπτὸν, is simplified to الفضلاء.

61 There is wordplay in the Arabic not present in the Greek, in the use of متجددة to render νεοκτίστοις.

62 Sinai Ar. 409 has تسيّر, while 408 has تسير; the latter is preferable, as the form V verb better renders the middle Greek verb, πολιτεύεται.

63 Yānī uses a compound *idāfa gayr haqīqīyya* to translate εὐσεβεῖ, الحسنة الاعتقاد (cf. the previous sentence where τῆς εὐσεβείας is translated as حسن الاعتقاد).

64 The word order of the translation of this sentence is switched around. Yānī starts with the two Greek main clauses (πάντα ... μεταβαλλώμεθα, as الأفضل ... نقوم), then returns to the two participles (καὶ ὡς ... προσερχόμενοι, as واعتقادنا ... الكل); however, this last clause in the Arabic translation essentially differs from the Greek, changed from “and [us] wanting to approach her, present” to “and our belief, as if she were present and flourishing to all.” The cause of this change is unclear, whether it indicates Yānī’s lack of understanding, his desire to innovate from the text to what he may have thought was its implicit meaning, or a corruption in the Greek and/or Arabic traditions.

65 The manuscripts disagree here; Sinai Ar. 408 has نقوم. نقوم, while Sinai Ar. 409 has simply يقوم. Sinai Ar. 408 is here preferred, as Yānī likely added this rhetorical question, because he shifted the word order, putting الأفضل إلى ونقلها إلى الأفضل at the front of the sen-

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

μη γέλως ὀδόντων, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον· μη στολισμὸς ἐσθήτος πρὸς τὸ ἀπρεπὲς ἐκτρεπέσθωσαν. Τί οὖν φημι; Καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἐνθυμήσεις ρυθμίσωμεν. Τοῦτων δὲ πάντων προπορευέσθω καὶ ἔλεος, ᾧ Θεὸς θεραπεύεται, ὡς ἂν καινοὶ ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι, τὴν τῶν Ἐγκαινίων τῆς παναχράντου τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ σάρκα Μητρὸς ἡμέραν, καινῶς ἐορτάσωμεν.

حيث<sup>66</sup> لا يوجد شيء لا يليق بيومنا هذا، لا نقل أقدامنا ولا الضحك والابتسام<sup>67</sup> حسبما يُقال، ولا التباهي باللباس لئلا يؤدينا إلى<sup>68</sup> ما لا يليق. وماذا أقول؟ لنقوم الأفكار [160ب] نفسها ولتقدمها كمستوجبات لله وللمنبر الرهيب،<sup>69</sup> ويجب أن نقوم<sup>70</sup> على ذلك جميعه الرحمة إذ بها يسرّ الرب تعالا، لكن نعيد يوم تجديد هيكل والدة الرب بالجسد كمثل متجددين بالروح والجسد.

(4) Συνεκλάμπει γὰρ ταύτη καὶ ἡ τιμίας καὶ σεβασμίας αὐτῆς ζώνης κατάθεσις καὶ προσκύνησις· καὶ τῶν παναχράντων τοῦ ταύτης Υἱοῦ σπαργάνων τῶν τιμιωτάτων. Ζώνης ἐκείνης, ἣ τὸν πανάγιον

(4) لأن قد يشرق معها، ووضع وسجود لزارها الكريم،<sup>71</sup> واللباس النقي الذي لولدها يسوع المسيح الحقيقي.<sup>72</sup> الزنار الكريم واللباس الفاضل.<sup>73</sup> وذلك الزنار الذي شدّ

tence, as opposed to its placement in the Greek at the end (πάντα ρυθμίσωμεν, καὶ πάντα πρὸς τὸ κρείττον μεταβαλλόμεθα), where it leads into the next thought.

66 The grammar here is changed in the Arabic, in that the previous clause (παρᾶξιν τε καὶ λόγον, καὶ θεωρίαν) connects to what follows it rather than what is before it, through the addition of the Arabic من حيث.

67 Instead of literally translating γέλως ὀδόντων, the Arabic translator breaks it up into الضحك والابتسام. Otherwise, the sentence is quite literal.

68 Yānī expanded on the Greek here, transforming the simple στολισμὸς ἐσθήτος πρὸς, into a full and more complex idea, referring not only to clothing, but the “pride” therein: التباهي باللباس لئلا يؤدينا إلى.

69 The words ولتقدمها كمستوجبات لله وللمنبر الرهيب have no correspondence in the published Greek version, though may have been present in Yānī’s Greek manuscript. وللمنبر in Sinai Ar. 408 has been emended to وللمنبر (المنبر الرهيب) and Sinai Ar. 409, in fact, reads وللمنبر βῆμα, “dread judgment seat,” and Sinai Ar. 409, in fact, reads وللمنبر (βῆμα).

70 While both manuscripts have نقوم, perhaps the correct reading would actually be نقدم, which would thus translate the prefix προ- in προπορευέσθω.

71 The Arabic الكريم stands in for the Greek synonyms τιμίας καὶ σεβασμίας.

72 This Arabic adds يسوع المسيح الحقيقي, which has no parallel in the Greek. In this homily, the spelling of the name of Jesus is according to the Greek, with the *alif* at the front.

73 This phrase, واللباس الفاضل الزنار الكريم, is not present in the Greek, and may either represent a rhetorical elaboration of Yānī, or an alternative manuscript tradition of the Greek from that represented in the PG.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

ἐκεῖνο περιέσφιγγε σῶμα, καὶ τὸν ἐν κοιλίᾳ κρυπτόμενον Θεὸν περιέβαλλε. Ζώνης ἐκείνης, ἥτις τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κιβωτὸν ὠραίως κατεκόσμη, καὶ σεμνοτάτως. Ζώνης ἐκείνης, ἢ πολλαῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀχράντων τῆς παναχράντου τοῦ γάλακτος κατεπαιάνετο σταλαγμῶν. Καὶ μήτις ἀπεικὸς εἶναι ἡγήσαιο τοῦτο τῶν μεμψιμοίρων, ὡς ἐμψύχοις διαλεξόμεθα, καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν προσοίσομεν.

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

ذلك الجسد المقدس، وجمع الإلاه الخفي في الأحشاء الطاهرة.<sup>74</sup> ذلك الزنار الذي جمّل<sup>75</sup> تابوت الرب حسناً وجمالاً. ذلك الزنار<sup>76</sup> ابتل<sup>77</sup> (أ196) مراراً عدة بنقط<sup>78</sup> لبن الطاهرة النقية. فلا يظن أحد أنه غير واجب ومن الأشياء المستوجبة اللوم<sup>79</sup> إن هو وخاطبناهما كاطقين<sup>80</sup> وقدّما لهما المديح.

- 74 The الطاهرة is an elaboration in the Arabic from the Greek, as is the واللباس الفاضل at the beginning of the sentence.
- 75 While both manuscripts have جمّل, the original translation must have been جمّل, “beautified,” which translates the Greek κατεκόσμη and thus gives a literal translation of the whole phrase. The loss of the dot on جمّل is understandable, as it provides a semantically viable alternative. The Arabic وجمالاً below inexactly translates the Greek σεμνοτάτως.
- 76 Surprisingly here the الذي after الزنار is dropped.
- 77 This would be form VII (انفعل) of the root نبل, seemingly a coined word to evoke the passive meaning of the Greek κατεπαιάνετο, meaning “to enrich,” unless it is improperly dotted in the manuscripts and should be read as ابتل (“be moistened”).
- 78 Sinai Ar. 408 has بنقط, although with the diacritical point under the ب displaced under the و and difficult to distinguish. Perhaps as a result, Sinai Ar. 409 has corrected it to ينقط. The reading of Sinai Ar. 408 is preferred as mirroring the Greek quite literally, and also explaining النقية, placed at the end of the sentence, which modifies نطق.
- 79 The Arabic nearly literally translates the Greek, but changes the meaning from “none of the censurers would think this is unreasonable” to “no one would think this is unreasonable and among things worthy of censure,” by the addition of the و before الأشياء, maintaining the Greek word order that puts the censurers (in Arabic: censure) at the end of the thought.
- 80 The concise Greek ὡς ἐμψύχοις διαλεξόμεθα, literally meaning “that we converse with what is ensouled” is translated into Arabic as إن هو وخاطبناهما كاطقين. Yānī’s use of the dual in this clause indicates that he takes the Greek ἐμψύχοις to refer to the belt and the clothes.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

(5) Εἰ γὰρ ἀγγεῖον μύρω προσομιλήσαν κἂν πρὸς βραχὺ, καὶ τούτου κενωθέντος οἶδε μέχρι πολλοῦ τὴν εὐωδίαν διαφυλάττειν, τί ἂν τις εἴποι περὶ τῆς, τὸ ὄντως ἀκένωτον ἐκεῖνο καὶ θεῖον μύρον, τὸ καθαρῶτατον λέγω τῆς Θεοτόκου σῶμα καὶ παναμώμητον, περιειλησάσης ζώνης, καὶ συμπλακείσης μέχρι πολλοῦ; Οὐκ εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν εὐωδίαν τὴν ἱαμάτων παραφυλάξειε, καὶ τοῖς πίστει καὶ πόθῳ προσιοῦσιν ἐμπλήσειεν; Εὐωδίαν, οὐχὶ θηλυτικὴν τινα καὶ ἀπόβλητον, ἀλλὰ θεῖαν καὶ πανσεβάζουσαν παθῶν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος θερμοτάτην ἐλάτεια. Καὶ εἰ τὸ ἄψυχον ἀγγεῖον, ὥσπερ ἔφημεν, τῷ ἀψύχῳ μύρῳ προσομιλήσαν, οἶδε τῆς τούτου μεταλαμβάνειν ποιότητος, τί καὶ φῶμεν περὶ τῆς τὸ ἔμψυχον τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου προσεγγισάσης

(5) لأن الوعاء<sup>81</sup> عند ما يوضع فيه الطيب يسيراً ويفرغ ذلك منه يحفظ ريح ذلك الطيب إلى وقت ما، فماذا يقول قائل عن الزنار الذي استدار بالطيب<sup>82</sup> الحقيقي الإلهي الذي لا ينفذ، أعني جسد والدة الإلاه الطاهر النقي؟ أما يحفظ<sup>83</sup> طيب الثياب المقدسة إلى الدهر؟ أما<sup>84</sup> يفعم طيباً للذين يتقدموا إليه بشوق وأمانة؟ طيباً ليس مؤثماً ولا مرفوضاً، بل إلهياً ومكرماً، ودافع آلام الروح والجسد.<sup>85</sup> وكتل ما تقدمنا بالقول إن كان الإناء الغير ناطق<sup>86</sup> عند احتوائه<sup>87</sup> على الطيب الغير ناطق قد يكتسب من كفيته فيكم الأحرأ أن تكون كمية النعمة.<sup>88</sup> وماذا يقول قائل عن

- 81 Though both manuscripts have the reading الوعي, the word الوعاء (= ἀγγεῖον, “receptacle”) is restored here. This specific orthography could reflect a particular pronunciation or *hamza* usage, which may be original to Yānī’s text or to the scribes thereafter.
- 82 The Greek divides the prepositional phrase τῆς ... περιειλησάσης ζώνης, καὶ συμπλακείσης, while the Arabic translator shifts the word order for clarity to keep it together and uses one word (استدار) to render the two Greek synonyms (περιειλησάσης and συμπλακείσης).
- 83 Sinai Ar. 409 has تحفظ, seemingly as an elaboration because the diacritics for the ي are displaced under the ف of يحفظ. Once again, the Greek helps us see the correct reading of the Arabic, present in Sinai Ar. 408.
- 84 Sinai Ar. 409 has يفعم (dropping the implied ما), though this is corrected in the margin. The forms يفعم (Sinai Ar. 408 and Sinai Ar. 409 *post corr.*) and يفعم (Sinai Ar. 409 *ante corr.*) are synonymous, but the former is more explicit. Neither is an exact translation of the Greek, which has only one negative at the beginning of the sentence but connects the two clauses with καὶ.
- 85 The Arabic here literally translates the Greek with the exception of no translation given for θερμοτάτην.
- 86 الغير ناطق, used here and again a few words later to render the Greek ἄψυχον, is a common Middle Arabic formation of the *iḏāfa ġayr haqiqiyya*, with an indefinite *al-muḏāf ilayhi*.
- 87 προσομιλήσαν is translated by the composite عند احتوائه here, a phrase that differs but has a similar meaning (implying “inclusion”) to how the word was rendered above, where it was translated as عند ما يوضع فيه.
- 88 This clause in the Arabic (فيكم الأحرأ أن تكون كمية النعمة) is not represented by the Greek,

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

κατοικητήριον. Οὐ προσδραμούμεθα; Οὐ προσ-  
πεσούμεθα; οὐχὶ κάθαρσιν ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος  
παρ' αὐτῆς λαβεῖν αἰτησόμεθα ἐκ παντός; Τί δέ;  
οὐχὶ καὶ ὡς ζώση διαλεξόμεθα, καὶ εὐφήμες ᾠδὰς  
προσαγάγωμεν; Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ ποιήσωμεν.

(6) Ὡ ζώνη, ἢ τὴν τῆς ζωῆς πηγὴν περιζώσασα,  
καὶ ζῶν παρέχουσα τοῖς σέ τιμῶσιν αἰώνιον!  
Ὡ ζώνη, ἢ τὰς τῶν σοὶ προστρεχόντων ὀσφύας,  
νέκρωσιν μὲν κατὰ παθῶν δωρουμένη, ἀνδρίαν δὲ  
πρὸς πράξιν ἀρετῶν καὶ ἐνέργειαν! Ὡ ζώνη, ἢ τὸ  
ἀσθενές τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως ἀναστέλλουσά τε  
καὶ περισφίγγουσα· καὶ τοὺς ἀοράτους τε καὶ

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

[1161] الذي دنا إلى مسكن كلمة الرب الحي؟ أفأ نسرع،  
أفأ نتراما، أفأ نرغب أن نأخذ تنقية الروح والجسد منها  
لضرورة؟<sup>89</sup> وماذا؟ أما نخطبها كمثّل حاضرة وحيّة<sup>90</sup>  
وتقدّم لها اللجون<sup>91</sup> الممجّدة؟ فلنفعلن ذلك.

(٦) أيها الزنار الذي زترّ ينبوع الحياة<sup>92</sup> ومنح للذين يكّمونه  
الحياة الأبدية، أيها الزنار الذي منح<sup>93</sup> لأوساط<sup>94</sup> المسرعين  
إليه موت الآلام وشجاعة ونهضة في فعل الفضائل.<sup>95</sup> أيها  
الزنار الذي قد شدّ<sup>96</sup> ضعف طبيعتنا وعرقل أعداءنا  
المنظورين وغير المنظورين، لكنه ماذا عرض لي عند ما

but seems like a logical extension of the thought. It is quite possible that the PG edition is missing this line of Greek text, though unfortunately it is outside the scope of this article to study Greek manuscripts of this text.

- 89 The Arabic inventively translates ἐκ παντός as لضرورة, a departure from the literalism of the rest of the sentence's translation (with the additional exception of the shortening of the compound λαβεῖν αἰτησόμεθα to simply نأخذ).
- 90 The Greek adjective ζώση is turned into two Arabic adjectives: حاضرة وحيّة.
- 91 Both manuscripts have اللجون, but the reading of this word must be اللجون, mirroring the Greek ᾠδὰς.
- 92 The literal translation even goes so far as to keep the wordplay in the Greek (ζώνη ... περιζώσασα = الزنار ... زتر).
- 93 Note the repetition of منح in figuring two synonyms (παρέχουσα and δωρουμένη).
- 94 This noun is voweled in two different incorrect ways in the two manuscripts: in Sinai Ar. 408 the wāw has a *ḍamma*, while in 409 it has a *fatha*; normatively, it should have a *sukūn*.
- 95 This sentence is translated nearly literally, with only two changes worth noting: the reference to the زنار in the third person (because of the vocative أيها) instead of the Greek second person, and the movement up in the sentence of نهضة (translating ἐνέργειαν), which puts the ensuing prepositional clause with it instead of with شجاعة (ἀνδρίαν).
- 96 The Arabic translates the two Greek participles (ἀναστέλλουσά τε καὶ περισφίγγουσα) with a single verb (قد شد).

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

όρατοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν συμποδίζουσα! Ἄλλ' οἶα γάρ μοι συμβέβηκε, τῷ πάθῳ τῆς πανάγνου νυττόμενον, καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου ῥύμη κατεπαγόμενον, τῶν σπαργάνων ἐπιλαθέσθαι. Καὶ οὐ θαυμαστόν· Μητρὸς γὰρ δοξαζομένης, ὅδε φιλομήτωρ Υἱὸς εὐφραίνεται. Ἄλλὰ καὶ νόμῳ ὑπείκοντες φύσεως, εἰ καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν τὰ [377] πράγματα, τῇ Μητρὶ πρῶτον τὸ γέρας ἀφοσιώσομεν. Καὶ οὐκ ἀπώσεται

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

جُرحت<sup>97</sup> بشوق الطاهرة وجذبت<sup>98</sup> بهدير القول إذ أدركني السهو<sup>99</sup> عن اللباس. وليس ذلك بعجب لأن الولد المحب للوالدة الممجدة قد رأى أن يسر ويفرح بالوالدة،<sup>100</sup> فإذا كان الأمر كذلك<sup>101</sup> ونحن (196ب) عند<sup>102</sup> طاعتنا للناموس إذا وجبنا<sup>103</sup> قديماً الكرامة للوالدة التي سيرتضيا

- 97 The scribe of Sinai Ar. 409 seems to have been, at a loss at the literal translation of the Greek νυττόμενον as جرحت, giving instead خربت. Again, the reading in Sinai Ar. 408 is a preferred witness to the translation.
- 98 The displaced dot of the 3 again threw off the scribe of Sinai Ar. 409, who gives جذبت.
- 99 An Arabic phrase (إذ أدركني السهو) here replaces a single Greek word (ἐπιλαθέσθαι), in notable contrast to the preceding clauses, which are literal to the point of being nonsensical Arabic.
- 100 The Arabic translation here diverges from the Greek, in dropping “nature” entirely. The Arabic marks “us” as obedient merely to “law” (ناموس), not to the law of nature as in Germanos (νόμῳ ... φύσεως). Moreover, the Greek phrase εἰ καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν τὰ πράγματα is essentially not translated at all (except for the “if”). Five options seem plausible: either (1) there is textual corruption in our Arabic manuscripts, (2) in our Greek edition, (3) in the Greek manuscript(s) that Yānī had access to, (4) Yānī drastically misunderstood the Greek and did the best he could, or (5) he intentionally innovated in his translation. Based on the literalism he displays elsewhere in his translation, it seems that some combination of the first three options is most plausible, as it seems especially likely that at least in this case there is a significant divergence between the two Greek texts edited in the PG and translated by Yānī.
- 101 In a rare move, Yānī has translated this sentence non-literally, and elongated the concise Greek text; the single εὐφραίνεται in Germanos' text is elaborated into قد رأى أن يسر ويفرح. Even more striking is the addition of فإذا كان الأمر كذلك to the end of the thought, seeming to indicate that Yānī was at a loss as to how to literally render the Greek.
- 102 In Sinai Ar. 409 there is an extraneous wāw added to the beginning of عند, perhaps because it is the first word of a new page (fol. 196<sup>v</sup>) and the scribe forgot that he had already written ونحن on the bottom of the previous page.
- 103 Sinai Ar. 409 gives اوجبنا, which is synonymous with وجبنا, written in Sinai Ar. 408 without the šadda.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

Κύριος πάντως, ὁ ὑπεράγαθος. Ὡς γὰρ ἀψευδῶς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ αὐτῆς προελθεῖν εὐδόκησε, καὶ Υἱὸς αὐτῆς κληθῆναι ἠξίωσεν, ἀποδέξεται τὴν τόλμαν ὡς κατὰ ἄνθρωπον γενοῦσαν ὁ πολυεὐσπλαγχνος. Πλὴν σπαργάνων μνησθεῖς, πάλιν πρὸς τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἀνάγομαι. Αὕτη γὰρ ταῦτα ταῖς ἀγναῖς αὐτῆς χερσὶ κατεσκευάσεν. Αὕτη βρεφοπρεπῶς τὸν μέγαν Κύριον χερσὶ μητρῶαίς ἐν τούτοις ἐνείλιπτεν. Αὕτη σὺν τούτοις τοῦτον ἐγκόλπιον φέρουσα, ἐγαλοῦχει, τὸν πάσῃ φύσει πνοὴν καὶ τροφήν παρεχόμενον.

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

الرَّبُّ العَلِيِّ الكَلِيِّ الصَّلَاحِ 104 لِأَنَّهُ كَأَنَّهُ ارْتَضَا 105 أَنْ يَتَجَسَّدَ مِنْهَا يَقِينًا وَاخْتَارَ أَنْ يُدْعَا وَلِدَهَا كَذَلِكَ وَيَقْبَلُ تَجَسُّدًا 106 الْكَثِيرُ التَّحَنُّنِ 107 الصَّائِرَ عَنْ مَقْدَرَةٍ بَشَرِيَّةٍ. بَلْ وَإِنْ كُنْتُ قَدْ ذَكَرْتُ اللَّبَاسَ لَكِنْ وَإِلَى 108 الْوَالِدَةِ أَشِيرُ بِالْقَوْلِ. هِيَ الَّذِي بِأَيْدِيهَا الطَّاهِرَةِ عَزَلْتَهَا. 109 هِيَ الَّتِي 110 بِأَيْدِيهَا الْوَالِدِيَّةَ لَقَّتْ بِهَا الرَّبُّ الْكَبِيرَ كَمَا يَلِيقُ بِطِفْلِ صَغِيرٍ. 112 هِيَ الَّتِي بِهَا حَمَلَتْ فِي الْأَحْشَاءِ 113 الرَّبُّ وَأَرْضَعَتْ لِلَّذِي أُعْطِيَ لِكُلِّ طَبِيعَةِ الرُّوحِ وَالْعِذَاءِ.

- 104 Continuing from the last clauses, the Arabic does not literally match the Greek—though it does not semantically diverge as starkly as the immediately preceding material. The playful litotes of Germanos (οὐκ ἀπώσεται) is replaced simply with سِيرَتْصِيهَا (as happens in the following phrase with يَقِينًا for ἀψευδῶς). Following that, the Greek πάντως, ὁ ὑπεράγαθος is translated by two Arabic adjectives—the first العَلِيِّ non-literally figuring the Greek adverb πάντως, while الكَلِيِّ الصَّلَاحِ figures the compound adjective as an *idāfa ḡayr haqiqiyya*.
- 105 Note the presence of an *alif* instead of an *alif maqṣūra* in both manuscripts, as also occurs immediately after (يُدْعَا).
- 106 Though both manuscripts have تَحَسَّرْنَا, it is clear that the correct reading is تَجَسَّرْنَا, reflecting the Greek τόλμαν. This reading is restored here.
- 107 Somewhat ingeniously, Yānī uses an *idāfa ḡayr haqiqiyya* here to literally translate the Greek compound adjective πολυεὐσπλαγχνος as الكَثِيرُ التَّحَنُّنِ.
- 108 In an attempt to mirror the Greek, Yānī seems to have sacrificed some intelligibility here, as لَكِنْ does not evoke the sense of the Greek πάλιν (contrasted with بَلْ وَإِنْ / Πλὴν), while the placement of the والِدَةِ before the verb أَشِيرُ, mirroring the Greek πρὸς τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἀνάγομαι, is very strange Arabic syntax.
- 109 This word is uncertain; translating the Greek κατεσκευάσεν, it appears as عَزَلْتَهَا in Sinai Ar. 408 and عَزَلْتَهَا in Sinai Ar. 409; neither seems appropriate, though عَزَلْتُ is preferred.
- 110 It is interesting to note the switch from الَّذِي in the previous sentence to الَّتِي in this one as a pronoun representing the Virgin.
- 111 Sinai Ar. 409 has an extraneous الرَّبُّ الْكَبِيرُ بِهَا الرَّبُّ الْكَبِيرُ).
- 112 This phrase (كَمَا يَلِيقُ الطِّفْلِ الصَّغِيرِ) periphrastically and literally represents the Greek adverb βρεφοπρεπῶς.
- 113 The Arabic here diverges importantly from the Greek in a single word: the Greek ἐγκόλπιον, meaning “breast,” is translated into Arabic as أَحْشَاءُ, meaning “womb”; while of course

(cont.)

## Greek Text

(PG 98)

(7) Ἄλλ' ὦ σπάργανα, τὸν ἐλευθερωτὴν Κύριον ἐνειλήσαντα, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων παραπτωμάτων σειρὰς διαλύσαντα! ὦ σπάργανα, τὰ τὸν κραταῖον Κύριον περισφίγγαντα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀσθένειαν ἀναρρώσαντα! ὦ σπάργανα, πιστοὺς μὲν φρουροῦντά τε καὶ περιφυλάττοντά· τοὺς ἐναντίους δὲ δεσμοῦντα, καὶ καταβάλλοντά!

(8) Ἄλλ' ὦ σπάργανα καὶ ζώνη σεπτὴ! νέμοιτέ μοι τὸν ἁγιασμόν, τὴν ῥώσιν, τὸν ἰλασμόν, τὴν ὑγίειαν· ἐμοὶ τε, καὶ τοῖς πόθῳ τῷδε προσιοῦσι καὶ προσκυνοῦσι σεπτῶ σου ναῶ. ὦ ζώνη σεπτὴ, ἢ τὴν σὴν πόλιν περικυκλοῦσα καὶ περιέπουσα, καὶ

## Arabic Edition

(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

(V) فيا لباس الذي لفّ الرب المخلص وحلّ سلاسل آثامنا، يا أيها اللباس الذي عصّب الربّ القويّ، وآيد [161ب] ضعف جنسنا، يا أيها اللباس الذي يحرس ويحفظ المؤمنين ويربط ويدق المضادين.<sup>114</sup>

(A)<sup>115</sup> يا أيها اللباس الشريف والزناز الكريم، امنحنا التقديس، الشفاء، المغفرة<sup>116</sup> للذين يتقدمون إليك ويسجدون ويكرومون بشوق الهيكل الكريم.<sup>117</sup> يا أيها الزناز المكرّم الذي يحوط<sup>118</sup> ويحفظ مدينته بعيدة عن قدوم

both Germanos and Yānī agree that the Virgin bore Christ in her womb, breastfeeding is the topic at issue in Germanos' text because of his discussion of the swaddling clothes (signaled by σὺν τούτοις, translated by بها), which were assuredly not present in the womb.

114 The whole series of apostrophes beginning with الذي فيا لباس is translated literally.

115 In Sinai Ar. 409, the scribe here mistakenly recopies a previous apostrophe (يا أيها اللباس) (الذي يحرس ويحفظ المؤمنين).

116 Both الشفاء and المغفرة have to be restored, as in both manuscripts we have الشفي المعقرة. It is clear that the literal translation of the Greek asyndeton confused the copyists.

117 In two ways in this sentence, Yānī moves away from literalism to a slight but significant degree. First of all, he changes Germanos' two first person singular references, making both plural and thus more communal. Secondly, he removes the Greek differentiation between the objects (ὦ σπάργανα καὶ ζώνη), place (τῷδε), and Virgin (σου ναῶ), simplifying and addressing the whole sentence to the two objects (إليك). On the other hand, he literally copies (two of the three) Greek nouns following and parallel to τὸν ἁγιασμόν including the connection by asyndeton (τὴν ῥώσιν, τὸν ἰλασμόν, τὴν ὑγίειαν) as الشفاء المغفرة, producing confusing Arabic phrasing.

118 حوط in the Arabic replaces the two Greek participles with similar meanings, περικυκλοῦσα καὶ περιέπουσα.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

Βαρβαρικής ἐπιδρομῆς ἀνεπιβούλευτον διασώ-  
ζουσα! ὦ ζώνη τιμία, ἢ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἐγγά-  
στριον ὄντα περιειλήσασα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἰάσεων  
εὐλογίαν ἐκεῖθεν πλουτήσασα, καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντι-  
πέμπουσα! ὦ ζώνη φαιδρά, ἢ τῆς τοῦ ἀφθάρτου  
Θεοῦ Μητρὸς τὸ ὑπέρσεμον σώμα σεμνοπρεπῶς  
προσεγγίσασα, κάκειθεν τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἀμφια-  
σαμένη, ἀπαρασάλευτος καὶ ἄφθαρτος μένουσα,  
ὡς εἰς ἡμᾶς τις λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας κατατέλλου-  
σεν!

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

مشورة<sup>119</sup> البربر. يا أيها الزنار المكرّم الذي استدار بكلمة  
الرب لما كان في البطن، وأعطى من هناك بركة الشفاء.<sup>120</sup>  
يا أيها الزنار النّهبي<sup>121</sup> الذي اقترب بجسد والدة الإلاه الغير  
فاسد<sup>122</sup> وتوتّخ من هناك بالسلامة<sup>123</sup> وثبتت غير مزعزعة  
ولا فاسدة حسبما وصل إلينا من الكلام الحقيقي.

- 119 Yānī resourcefully translated ἀνεπιβούλευτον meaning here “unassailable” and modifying πόλιν as مشورة, meaning “deliberation,” thus illuminating the root of the Greek word (βουλεύω), but modifying the meaning of the Greek, particularly because he places it in *idāfa* (قدوم مشورة البربر), adding in عن بعيدة to tie it together, giving the sentence the meaning “preserves the city far from the attacks of the deliberation of the Barbarians” instead of the Greek “preserving [the city] unassailable to Barbarian attack.”
- 120 The Greek in this sentence is translated literally to this point: the translator’s لما كان في البطن renders the Greek participial ἐγγάστριον ὄντα, his من هناك, the Greek ἐκεῖθεν, and his بركة الشفاء, the Greek genitive construction, τὴν τῶν ἰάσεων εὐλογίαν. However, the ensuing Greek phrase, πλουτήσασα, καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντιπέμπουσα, is not translated, perhaps indicating different versions of the Greek text as accessed by Yānī and edited in the PG.
- 121 In Sinai Ar. 408, there seems to be a period placed after this adjective, which Sinai Ar. 409 takes as the dot over the last letter, rendering البرهن; Sinai Ar. 408’s reading is once again preferred as a translation of the Greek.
- 122 Yānī here does not translate the two Greek modifiers from the root σέμνος (ὑπέρσεμον σεμνοπρεπῶς), and again employs an *idāfa ġayr haqiqiyya* with an indefinite *al-mudāf ilayhi* (الغير فاسد).
- 123 Perhaps because Germanos is so insistently repetitive about incorruptibility in this sentence, Yānī translates this iteration of τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν as إسلامة, instead of a negated form of the root فسد as he does twice elsewhere in the sentence.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

(9) Ἀλλὰ τί καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐπιχειροῦμεν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδᾶν ἐπειγόμεθα· τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων τιμῆς ταῦτα τιμᾶν κατ' ἄξιαν πειρώμενοι, ὅπερ καὶ ἀγγέλοις ἀδύνατον. Πλὴν, ὦ τιμία τῆς ὑπερτίμου τοῦ Θεοῦ Μητρὸς ζῶνῃ, περιζῶσον τὰς ὀσφύς ἡμῶν ἀλήθειαν, δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ πραότητα. Τῆς αἰδίου καὶ μακαρίας ζωῆς ποιήσον κληρονόμους, καὶ τὴν ἐπίκληρον ἡμῶν ταύτην ζωὴν, ἐχθρῶν ἀοράτων τε καὶ ὁρατῶν, ἀνεπιβούλευτον διατήρησον. Τὴν πίστιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀσάλευτον διαφύλαξον. Τὴν σὴν κληρονομίαν, τὸν σὸν λαὸν, ὦ πανάχραντε τῆς παναχράντου ζῶνῃ, ὀρθοὺς τῆ πίστει, σώους τῷ κατὰ Θεὸν βίῳ, ἀβλαβεῖς τῆς οἰασοῦν ἐπηρείας διάσωζε. Ἐχοιμέν σε ἰσχύον καὶ

(9) فلماذا إذا نروم أن نلمس ما لا يمكن لمسه<sup>124</sup> ونجتهد (197) أن نتجاوز المحدود لنا<sup>125</sup> عند تجربتنا أن نكرم ذلك الأمر العالوي<sup>126</sup> بكرامات القول الذي ولا الملائكة قادرون عليه. فلأجل ذلك فلنقدّم الكلام في الطلبة والتضرع،<sup>127</sup> يا أيها الزنار الكريم الذي لوالدة الإلاه العالوية فوق كل كرامة.<sup>128</sup> شدّ أوساطنا<sup>129</sup> بالحق، بالعدل، بالوداعة. اجعلنا وارثين الحياة الدائمة المغبوبة. واحفظ حياتنا هذه الفانية. شتت رأي<sup>130</sup> كل الأعداء المنظورين وغير المنظورين احفظ الأمانة ثابتة بالسلامة ولشعبك أيضا ولميراثك. يا أيها الزنار الغير مدنس الذي للظاهرة،<sup>131</sup> احفظنا مستقيمين.

- 124 Yānī translates the literal meaning of ἐπιχειροῦμεν with نلمس, instead of the figurative meaning more likely meant by Germanos here, “to attempt,” and thus must add لمسه, changing the meaning slightly (from “try the impossible,” to “to touch what one cannot touch”).
- 125 Yānī here translates the idiomatic to “jump” ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα (meaning “too far,” LSJ, s.v. σκάπτω) non-literally but effectively, saying “we endeavor to overcome what is determined for us” (ونجتهد أن نتجاوز المحدود لنا).
- 126 This adjective is an insertion of Yānī, perhaps meant to replace the Greek κατ' ἄξιαν, which is unnecessary being implied in the doubled discussion of τιμή.
- 127 The conjunction ἵνα used by Yānī contradicts the concessive Πλὴν. Moreover the ensuing clause (في الطلبة والتضرع فلنقدم الكلام), translating to “so let us offer up speech in prayer and supplication,” is an addition in the Arabic.
- 128 The word العالوية is an addition of the Arabic, while كرامة فوق كل quite literally translates the Greek compound adjective ὑπερτίμου.
- 129 Again, أوساط is voweled strangely in Sinai Ar. 408; in this case the wāw carries a *fatha* instead of a *sukūn*.
- 130 Although for clarity, Yānī rightly shifts the Greek imperative (διαφύλαξον) to the front of his Arabic clause (واحفظ), but then as we saw above, he creatively translates ἀνεπιβούλευτον, focusing on the root βουλεύω (rendered as رأي). The resultant Arabic does not make much sense, let alone communicate the Greek.
- 131 Yānī continues his discomfort with Germanos' repetition of adjectives, translating the πανάχραντε modifying the belt as الغير مدنس, but transforming the παναχράντου modifying the virgin into الظاهرة.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

βοήθειαν, τείχος και προπύργιον λιμένα και καταφυγήν σωτήριον.

(10) Σὺ δέ μοι, ὦ πάναγνε, και πανάγαθε, και πολυεὐσπλαγχνε Δέσποινα, τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν παραμύθιον, τὸ τῶν θλιβομένων θερμότατον παρηγόρημα, τὸ τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων ἐτοιμότατον καταφύγιον, μὴ ἐγκαταλίπης ἡμᾶς ὀρφανούς τῆς σῆς ἀντιλήψεως. Εἰ γὰρ ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐγκαταλειφθεῖμεν, ποῦ ἄρα και προσδραμούμεθα. Τί δέ ἄρα και γενησόμεθα, ὦ παναγία Θεοτόκε; ἡ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πνοή και ζωή. [380] Ὡς γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ζωτικῆς ἐνεργείας τὸ ἀναπνεῖν τεκμήριον κέκτηται, οὕτω και τὸ σὸν πανάγιον ὄνομα ἀδιαλείπτως ἐν τοῖς τῶν σῶν δούλων στόμασι προφερόμενον ἐν παντί καιρῷ και τόπῳ και τρόπῳ, ζωῆς και θυμηδίας και βοηθείας οὐχὶ τεκμήριον, ἀλλὰ πρόξενον γίνεται. Σκέποις ἡμᾶς πτέρυξι τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος. Φρουρήσης ἡμᾶς ταῖς μεσιτείαις

**Arabic Edition**

(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

بالأمانة، متعافيين بالسيرة الإلاهية، سالمين من كل أذية. فلتكن لنا إذا قوّة ومعونة، سور وحما،<sup>132</sup> ميناء وملجأ للخلاص.

(10) [162] وَأَنْتِ أَيَّتَا السَّتْ غَزِيرَةُ الرَّحْمَةِ، كَثِيرَةُ الْخَيْرِ، جَزِيلَةُ الطَّهَارَةِ، عَزَّ النَّصَارَى، عَزَاءً عَاجِلًا لِلْحَزِينِينَ وَمَلْجَأً مُسْتَعَدًّا لِلْحَاطِئِينَ،<sup>133</sup> لَا تَتْرَكِينَا أَيْتَامًا مِنْ رِعَايَتِكَ. لِأَنَّا إِنْ أَهْمَلْنَا فِإِلَى أَيْنَ نَمْضِي وَمَاذَا لَعَلَّنَا نَصِيرِ، يَا وَالِدَةَ الْإِلَهِ الْمُقَدَّسَةِ؟ رُوحَ وَحْيَاةِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ،<sup>134</sup> لِأَنَّهُ كَمَا أَنَّ جَسَدَنَا لَهُ التَّنَفُّسَ عِلَامَةً لِلْحَيَاةِ وَالْحَرَكَةِ، كَذَلِكَ وَاسْمُكَ الْمُقَدَّسَ عِنْدَنَا يَدُورُ فِي أَفْوَاهِ عِبِيدِكَ دَائِمًا فِي كُلِّ وَقْتٍ وَمَوْضِعٍ<sup>135</sup> لَيْسَ إِنَّهُ يَكُونُ عِلَامَةً لِلْحَيَاةِ وَالسَّرُورِ وَالْمَعُونَةِ فَقَطُّ بَلْ سَبَبٌ ظَاهِرٌ. فَظَلَمْنَا إِذَا بِأَجْنَحَةِ نِعْمَتِكَ. وَاحْفَظِينَا بِشَفَاعَاتِكَ إِلَى وَلَدِكَ وَالْإِلَهِ،<sup>136</sup> أَنْعِمِي عَلَيْنَا بِالْحَيَاةِ الدَّائِمَةِ، يَا رَجَاءَ النَّصَارَى<sup>137</sup> الْبِهِيِّ.<sup>138</sup> لِأَنَّنَا نَحْنُ الْفُقَرَاءُ مِنَ الْأَفْعَالِ

132 Note the presence of an *alif* instead of an *alif maqṣūra* in rendering حَمِي, present in both manuscripts.

133 Note the two sound plurals used here in place of broken plurals, حَزِينِينَ (حزناء) and الحَاطِئِينَ (خطاة). These forms may thus indicate groups of discrete individuals, as opposed to collective entities (Wright, *Grammar*, vol. 1, p. 233).

134 Yānī notably here translates Χριστιανῶν (Christians) as مُؤْمِنِينَ (believers).

135 The effective literal translation of this sentence is only missing a corresponding Arabic word for the Greek τρόπῳ.

136 Yānī adds some explication of intercessions (شفاعات) here, as directed “to your Son and your God” (إِلَى وَلَدِكَ وَالْإِلَهِ), not present in the Greek edition.

137 Sinai Ar. 409 spells النَّصَارَى as النَّصَارَا, while Sinai Ar. 408 spells النَّصَارِي.

138 As above, the period placed after الْبِهِيِّ in Sinai Ar. 408 is taken in Sinai Ar. 409 as the dot over the last letter, rendering الْبِهِن; Sinai Ar. 408's is preferred, though it is not a direct translation of ἀκαταίσχυντε, but seems to rather be a general epithet of the Theotokos used by Yānī in place of an obscure adjective.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

σου. Παράσχοις ἡμῖν τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν, Χριστιανῶν ἐλπίς ἀκαταίσχυντε. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πτωχοὶ θεῶν ἔργων καὶ τρόπων, τὸν διὰ σοῦ παρασχεθέντα ἡμῖν τῆς χρηστότητος πλοῦτον θεασάμενοι, εἶπωμεν· “Τοῦ ἐλέους Κυρίου πλήρης ἡ γῆ”. Ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἐκ Θεοῦ δεδιωγμένοι, ἐζητήσαμεν διὰ σοῦ τὸν Θεόν, καὶ εὔρομεν· καὶ εὐρόντες ἐσώθημεν. Δυνατὴ τοιγαροῦν πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἢ βοήθειά σου, Θεοτόκε, καὶ μὴ χριζουσαί τινος ἐτέρου πρὸς Θεὸν μεσίτου. Τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιστάμενοι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πείρα μαθόντες ἐξ ὧν πολλὰκις αἰτοῦντές σε τὴν θερμοτάτην ἡμῶν ἀντιληψιν, ἀφθόνως τὰς τῶν αἰτήσεων παροχὰς λαμβάνομεν, καὶ τανῦν σοὶ προσφεύγομεν, ὁ σὸς λαὸς, ἡ σὴ κληρονομία, τὸ σὸν ποίμνιον, τὸ τῆ τοῦ σοῦ Υἱοῦ κλήσει κατακαλλυνόμενον. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντως τῆς σῆς μεγαλειότητος πέρας· οὐκ ἔστι τῆς

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

الإلهية عند تأملنا بثروة الخير الموهوب لنا بك نقول:  
“الأرض مملوءة من رحمة الرب.”<sup>139</sup> نحن المرفوضون  
من الرب لكثرة آثامنا، طلبنا بك الرب فوجدناه. وعند  
(197ب) وجودنا له، عزّت قدرته،<sup>140</sup> خلّصنا. فقادرة  
إذاً هي معونتك، يا والدة الإلاه، على الخلاص.<sup>141</sup> إذ  
لا تحتاجي شقيقاً غيرك إلى الرب. وهذا<sup>142</sup> فقد عرفناه،  
إذ بالتجربة حقّقناه من حيث أن عندما نرغب إليك، يا  
عضدنا<sup>143</sup> السريع، ننال العطايا<sup>144</sup> من غير حسد،<sup>145</sup>  
فالآن فيلتجئ إليكي شعبك وميراثك ومرعتك المتجمل  
والمتكرم باسم ولدك.<sup>146</sup> ليس لعظمتك انتهاء.<sup>147</sup> ليس  
لمعاضدتك غاية. ليس لإحسانك إحصاء. إذ ليس لأحد  
الخلاص إلاّ بك.<sup>148</sup> ليس ينعق أحد<sup>149</sup> من الرداء إلاّ

139 Psalm 32 (33): 5.

140 This Arabic phrase, عزّت قدرته, is not present in the Greek.

141 The Arabic word order in this sentence is strange, as it attempts to mimic the Greek, beginning with فقادرة إذا (Δυνατὴ τοιγαροῦν).

142 Sinai Ar. 409 has هذه, but هذا is preferred because of the pronoun attached to عرفناه.

143 It is also possible to read this as اعضدنا based on the lack of clear diacritics in the manuscripts; however, an added address to the Virgin as “our support” is more likely, particularly because the grammar would otherwise be unclear.

144 Yānī simplifies the Greek τὰς τῶν αἰτήσεων παροχὰς to merely العطايا, an insignificant change semantically.

145 Sinai Ar. 409 has جسد, but we must read with Sinai Ar. 408 (من غير حسد), which accurately represents the Greek adverb ἀφθόνως.

146 The Arabic here turns the single Greek participle (κατακαλλυνόμενον) into two (المتجمل والمتكرم).

147 The Greek adverb ὄντως is ignored in the translation.

148 The vocative παναγία is not present here in the Arabic.

149 Sinai Ar. 409 has أحدا, but the reading is again preferred in Sinai Ar. 408.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

σῆς ἀντιλήψεως κόρος. Οὐκ ἔστι τῶν σῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀριθμός. Οὐδεις γὰρ ὁ σωζόμενος εἰ μὴ διὰ σοῦ, παναγία. Οὐδεις ὁ τῶν δεινῶν λυτρούμενος, εἰ μὴ διὰ σοῦ, πανάμωμε. Οὐδεις ὁ συγχωρούμενος δῶρον εἰ μὴ διὰ σοῦ, πάναγνε. Οὐδεις ὁ ἐλεούμενος χάριτι, εἰ μὴ διὰ σοῦ, πάνσεμνε. Ἄνθ' ὧν, τίς σε μὴ μακαρίσει; τίς μὴ μεγαλυνεῖ; εἰ καὶ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν προθυμότατα· σὲ τὴν δεδοξασμένην· σὲ τὴν μεμακαρισμένην· σὲ τὴν μεγαλεῖα σχοῦσαν παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ὡς μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά· ὅθεν σε καὶ γενεαὶ πάσαι γεραίρουσιν.

(11) Τίς οὕτω τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους μετὰ τὸν σὸν Υἱὸν ὡς σὺ προνοεῖται; Τίς οὕτως ἀντιληπτικῶς τῶν ἡμετέρων προῖσταται θλίψεων; Τίς οὕτως ὀξέως προφθάνων ῥύεται τῶν ὑπερχομένων ἡμῖν

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

بك، أيتها الطاهرة. ليس يُرَحَمَ بالنعمة إلا بك، [162ب] أيتها المكرمة.<sup>150</sup> فلأجل ذلك مَنْ هو الذي لا يُجِدُّكَ؟ مَنْ الذي لا يمدحك؟ وَإِنْ لم يُكُنْ ذلك بحسب ما تَسْتَحَقُّه، لكن بشهوة وحرارة،<sup>151</sup> أَنْتِ الممجّدة، أَنْتِ المطوّبة، أَنْتِ الذي لك الكبرياء<sup>152</sup> والمعجزات من ولدك والاهك. فلأجل ذلك تُجِدُّكَ<sup>153</sup> جميع الأجناس.

(11) لأن مَنْ الذي من بعد ولدك يهتم بجنس<sup>154</sup> البشر.<sup>155</sup> مَنْ الذي يسرع عاجلاً ويخلصنا من التجاريب القاصدة إلينا. مَنْ الذي يحارب عنّا الذنوب بكثرة الطلبات.<sup>156</sup> مَنْ

150 The Arabic translation is missing a sentence present in the Greek (Οὐδεις ὁ συγχωρούμενος δῶρον εἰ μὴ διὰ σοῦ, πάναγνε)—likely because it was in the long line of somewhat synonymous statements addressed to the Virgin, easy for a scribe to miss whether in a Greek or Arabic manuscript.

151 Yānī translates the adverb προθυμότατα with hendiadys, as بشهوة وحرارة.

152 Yānī gives no equivalent for μεγαλεῖα, perhaps because it is implied by his translation of μεγάλα, الكبرياء.

153 Sinai Ar. 408 has a hole in the page here, but the word is clear in Sinai Ar. 409.

154 Ibid.

155 The Arabic here incompletely translates the Greek text, as edited in the PG. The phrase ὡς σὺ is missing in the translation, changing the rhetoric in the Arabic, because this phrase is what turns this series of clauses into praise of the greatness of the Virgin (made clearer after this series of Τίς / الذي / مَنْ clauses), as opposed to the inadequacy of subsequent generations in comparison to Christ. Additionally, the whole sentence Τίς οὕτως ἀντιληπτικῶς τῶν ἡμετέρων προῖσταται θλίψεων is missing from the translation.

156 Yānī does not here translate the Greek word by word, perhaps because the Greek is so concise because of the particular meaning of ὑπερμαχεῖ, translating to “who fights on behalf of the requests of the sinners?” Nevertheless, he communicates the idea of fighting in

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
**(PG 98)**
**Arabic Edition**  
**(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)**

πειρασμών. Τίς τοσοῦτον, τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν ἰκεσίαις ὑπερμαχεῖ; Τίς τῶν ἀδιορθώτων κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἀντιφωνητικῶς ὑπεραπολογεῖται; Σὺ γὰρ μη-[381]τρῶαν ἔχουσα πρὸς τὸν σὸν Υἱὸν τὴν παρῶρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν, ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις κατακεκριμένους, καὶ μὴ τολμώντας μηδὲ τὸ ὕψος ἐμβλέψαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, σαῖς ἐντεύξεσι καὶ σαῖς μεσιτείαις καὶ σώξεις, καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου λυτροῦσαι κολάσεως. "Θθεν ὁ θλιβόμενος πρὸς σέ καταφεύγει· ὁ ἀδικούμενος ἐπὶ σέ προστρέχει· ὁ τοῖς δεινοῖς συνεχόμενος, τὴν σὴν ἐπικαλεῖται βοήθειαν. "Ὅλα τὰ σά, Θεοτόκε, παράδοξα, ὅλα ὑπὲρ φύσιν, ὅλα ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ δύνανται. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ προστα-

الذي يجاوب عن المنحرفين جواباً عاجلاً.<sup>157</sup> أنت مالكة الدلالة والقوة عند ولدك<sup>158</sup> وتجعلينا خصيصين به،<sup>159</sup> وتخلصينا نحن المسخوطين بالخطايا. وليس يتجاسرون على أن يرفعوا عيونهم إلى السماء إلا بشفاعاتك وطلباتك،<sup>160</sup> وتعتقينا من العقوبة الدهرية. فمن هاهنا إليك يسرع الكتيب، وإليك يلتجئ<sup>161</sup> المظلوم، والمأسور بالنوائب يدعي بمعونتك. وكل أمورك معجبة، الكل تعلقوا على الطبيعة، الكل فوق كل صفة وقوة.<sup>162</sup> ولأجل ذلك مدحك<sup>163</sup> فوق كل عقل وفهم.<sup>164</sup> لأن يولدتك (أ198)

response to requests, transforming the meaning somewhat to "who fights sins away from us in response to the multitude of requests."

- 157 In a repeated tactic, Yānī takes complex Greek modifiers in Germanos' rhetoric and transforms them into words he has already used that are not exactly translations, in this case figuring κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἀντιφωνητικῶς as عاجلاً.
- 158 The translation of this Greek clause is effective and nearly literal, lacking only a translation of the Greek word μητρῶαν, which does not very much change the meaning.
- 159 This Arabic clause, وتجعلينا خصيصين به ("and you make us confidants to him"), is not reflected in the Greek but develops naturally out of the statement relating to παρῶρησία in the sentence before. Perhaps it reflects a differing underlying Greek text used by Yānī or an elaboration in his translation.
- 160 Yānī has shifted the Greek grammar around here, which consists of two participles (κατακεκριμένους ... τολμώντας) referring to (ἡμᾶς), as direct objects of the verb (σώξεις). Yānī puts the verb before the first participle (وتخلصينا نحن المسخوطين) and makes the second participial phrase a separate main clause (يتجاسرون على أن يرفعوا عيونهم إلى السماء إلا بشفاعاتك (وطلباتك).
- 161 Yānī shifted the two Greek verbs (καταφεύγει ... προστρέχει) in order (يسرع ... يلتجئ).
- 162 This sentence is translated extremely literally into Arabic, except for dropping the Vocative Θεοτόκε, even preserving the word order, as each Arabic clause begins with الكل mirroring the Greek ὅλα.
- 163 Yānī translates the word προστασία with مدحك, shifting the focus from the action of the Virgin to the praise of her.
- 164 The Greek ἐνοιαν is elaborated into two Arabic words, عقل وفهم.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

σία σου, ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν. Τοὺς γὰρ ἀπωσμένους, τοὺς ἐκδεδιωγμένους, τοὺς ἐκπεπολεμωμένους, τῷ σῶ τῷ τῷ κατῆλλαξας καὶ ὠκείωσας· καὶ υἱούς καὶ κληρονόμους πεποίηκας. Σὺ τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις καταποντιζομένους, χεῖρας βοηθείας ἐκτείνουσα, ἐξέλεικας τοῦ κλύδωνος. Σὺ τὰς τοῦ πονηροῦ κατὰ τῶν σῶν δούλων ἐπαναστάσεις, τῇ κλήσει σου μόνη τῇ παναγία ἀποδιώκουσα διασώζεις. Σὺ τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους σε ἐκ πάσης ἀνάγκης, ἐκ παντοίων πειρασμῶν προφθάνουσα ἐκλυτροῦσαι, πανάμωμε. "Ὅθεν καὶ τῷ σῶ ναῶ σπουδαίως προστρέχου· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστῶτες, ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστάναι νομίζομεν. Ἐν τούτῳ δοξολογοῦντές σε, ἀγγέλοις συγχορεύειν ἠγοούμεθα. Ποῖον γὰρ γένος ἀνθρώπων πάρεξ Χριστιανῶν τοιαύτης εὐπόρησε δόξης, τοιαύτης ἐπέτυχεν ἀντιλήψεως, τοιαύτης προστασίας πεπλούτηκε; Τίς πιστῶς τῇ

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

صَالِحِي<sup>165</sup> وَجَمَعِي المرفوضين المطرودين المقاتلين وجعلتيم  
أولاداً وورثاً. أنت تمدّين يداً معينة للغارقين في الخطايا  
وتجذبيهم من<sup>166</sup> غرقهم. أنت التي تطردين باسمك المقدّس  
فقط مناصبة العدوّ لعبيدك وتنجيم منه. أنتي التي تنادي  
المدعين إليك وتخلصيم من كل شدة، من كل تجارب،  
يا<sup>167</sup> بريئة من كل دنس. <sup>168</sup> فلاجل ذلك نسرع عاجلاً  
إلى هيكلك المقدّس وعند مثلنا [163] به نعتقد أنّنا  
ماثلون في السماء. وعند تجيّدنا فيه لك أنّنا حاضر<sup>169</sup>  
مع الملائكة. لأنّ أيّ جنس غير المؤمنين نال ذلك المجد،  
نال تلك المعاضدة واكتسب ذلك الترفرف.<sup>170</sup> من الذي  
نظر بأمانة إلى زنارك الكريم ولم يخلص من كل شرور<sup>171</sup>

165 Note the spelling of this and the following word for the 2nd person feminine singular past indicative.

166 Sinai Ar. 409 repeats من at the end of the previous line and beginning of the first line.

167 Though both manuscripts have ما, it seems that the original reading is يا, reflecting the Greek vocative πανάμωμε. This reading is restored here.

168 Yānī has reorganized this passage (Σὺ τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους ... πανάμωμε), clarifying the first two clauses by putting verbs in front of each (تنادي ... تخلصيم), the first of which is not present in the Greek.

169 Yānī simplifies Germanos' complex image, ἀγγέλοις συγχορεύειν ἠγοούμεθα ("we think we are dancing with angels"), to أننا حاضر<sup>ون</sup> مع الملائكة ("we think we are present with angels").

170 While Germanos uses three verbs in this sentence with slightly differing meanings (εὐπόρησε ... ἐπέτυχεν ... πεπλούτηκε), Yānī uses two synonyms, one of them twice (نال ... نال ...). He also strangely translates προστασία as الترفرف; as it is the second time he translated this word so non-literally, it seems likely he does not know its meaning.

171 Yānī's translation diverges from the Greek (Θεοτόκε, οὐκ εὐθὺς θυμηδίας ἐμπίπλαται). Yānī drops the vocative, and reverses the meaning of the clause, from "is not immediately filled with joy" to "is not saved from every evil" (ولم يخلص من كل شرور).

(cont.)

## Greek Text

(PG 98)

τιμίᾳ σου ζώνῃ προσατενίσας, Θεοτόκε, οὐκ  
εὐθὺς θυμηδίας ἐμπίπλῃται; Τίς θερμῶς ταύτη  
προσπεσῶν, κενὸς τῆς συμπερούσης αἰτήσεως  
ἐξελήλυθε; Τίς τὸν σὸν χαρακτήρα ἐνοπτρίζομε-  
νος, οὐκ αὐτίκα πάσης θλίψεως ἐπιλέλησται; Οἱ  
δὲ καὶ τῷ σεπτῷ σου ναῷ προσερχόμενοι, ἐν ᾧ τὴν  
σὴν τιμίαν ἀποτεθῆναι ζώνῃν εὐδόκησας, καὶ τὰ  
τοῦ σοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν σπάργανα, ὧν καὶ  
τὴν κατάρθεισιν σήμερον ἐορτάζομεν, ποίας χαρᾶς,  
ποίας εὐφροσύνης, ποίας τέρψεως ἐν ἀπολαύσει  
καθεστήκασιν, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν.

(12) Ἄλλ' ὦ στάμνε, ἐξ ἧς τὸ μάννα τῆς ἀναψύ-  
ξεως, οἱ τοῖς δεινοῖς καυσωθέντες πεπώκαμεν!  
ᾧ τράπεζα δι' ἧς οἱ λιμώττοντες τὸν τῆς ζωῆς  
ἄρτον ὑπερεπλήσθημεν! ᾧ λυχνία ὑφ' ἧς οἱ  
ἐν τῷ σκότει καθήμενοι, τὸ μέγα φῶς κατην-  
γάσθημεν! Ἔχεις ἐκ Θεοῦ τὸν ἐπάξιόν σοι καὶ  
πρέποντα ἔπαινον· μὴ ἀπώσῃ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον

## Arabic Edition

(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

مَنْ الذي تَراما إليه بحِجْرَة ومضاً<sup>172</sup> مصفراً من مسألته<sup>173</sup>  
الواجبة عليه؟ مَنْ الذي نظر إلى صورتك ولا نسبي للحين  
كل حزن؟ وأما الذين يتقدّمون إلى هيكلك المكرّم الذي  
آثرتني أن يُوضَعَ فيه زنارك الكريم ولباس ولدك وإلهنا  
التي في يومنا هذا نعيّد وضعهما، فياله من سرور يناله ذلك  
الإنسان، أيّ فرح، أيّ غبطة<sup>174</sup> فإنّ وصفه يتعذّر.<sup>175</sup>

(12) يا أيها الوعاء<sup>176</sup> الذي شربنا منه الحياة،<sup>177</sup> نحن  
المحترقين بالشدائد. يا أيها التي بها تغذّي<sup>178</sup>نا خبز الحياة، نحن  
الجوع. يا أيها السراج الذي به استنرتنا الضوء<sup>179</sup> العظيم،  
نحن الجالسون في الظلمة. لك المجد المستحق المستوجب من  
الله. فلا ترفضني إذا مدّحتنا وإن كان مقصراً عن

172 Note تَراما for تَرامى, and مضاً for مضى, present in both manuscripts.

173 Note the spelling of مسألته as مسلته, which is present in both manuscripts.

174 Sinai Ar. 408 reads عنطة and Sinai Ar. 409, عبطة. However, from the Arabic skeleton and Greek text, its restoration is clear.

175 Yānī broke this long Greek sentence (Οἱ δὲ ... ἔστιν εἰπεῖν) into two Arabic sentences, changing the subject in the second from the 3rd person plural to the singular. He also adds a clear verbal action in the second sentence (ينال, "he would obtain") from the impersonal construction in the Greek (from ἐν ἀπολαύσει καθεστήκασιν).

176 See n. 81 above.

177 Yānī here does not translate the Greek τὸ μάννα τῆς ἀναψύξεως, literally ("the manna of relief"), but simply as الحياة, "life."

178 Yānī simplifies the Greek here, removing the vocative calling the Virgin "table" (τράπεζα), and toning down the verb ὑπερεπλήσθημεν ("we were overfilled") to تغذّي ("we were nourished").

179 In Sinai Ar. 408 this is spelled الضوّ while in Sinai Ar. 409, الضو; the hamza has here been restored.

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
(PG 98)

ἀνάξιον, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκ πόθου σοι προσαγόμενον. Μὴ ἀπόση ῥυπαρῶν χειλέων αἴνον, πανύμνητε, ἐξ εὐνοίας σοι προσφερόμενον. Μὴ βδελύξη ἀνάξιας γλώσσης λόγον ἰκέσιον. Ἄλλὰ τὸν πόθον ἀντιμετρήσασα, θεοδόξαστε, παράσχου ἡμῖν τὴν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων συγχώρησιν, τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ πάσης βλάβης τὴν λύτρωσιν. "Ἐπιδε ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου τούτου τὸ περιστώς σοι πιστότατον ἄθροισμα, τὸ σὲ Κυρίαν καὶ [384] προστάτιν καὶ Δέσποιναν ἔχειν καταπλουτήσαν, τὸ σὲ ἐκ ψυχῆς ὑμνήσαι συνελθυθὸς, Θεοτόκε, καὶ ἐπισκοπῆ σου θεῖα ἐπισκεψαμένη, πάσης ἐξέλου τούτους συμφορὰς τε καὶ θλίψεως· παντοίας νόσου, παντοίας βλάβης, παντοίας ἐξάρπασον ἐπηρείας· πάσης χαρᾶς, πάσης ἰάσεως, πάσης χάριτος ἔμπλησον· καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐλεύσει τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ὅτε

**Arabic Edition**  
(from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

استحقاقك،<sup>180</sup> لكّا قد قدّمناه بأشدّ شوق.<sup>181</sup> فلا ترفضني، يا ممجّدة، مدح شفاه دنسة مقدّمًا<sup>182</sup> إليك عن خالص نية. لا تزدلي ألفاظ<sup>183</sup> لسان (198ب) غير مستحق، بل بقدر الشوق، يا ممجّدة من الرب، هيبي لنا مغفرة الخطايا والتلذذ بالحياة الدهرية والاعتاق من كل أذية. انظري من هيكلك المقدّس إلى هذا الجمع المؤمن الواقف، الذي قد اتخذك سيدة وست معاضدة،<sup>184</sup> الحاضر لتجديدك، يا والدة الإلاه، من كل قلبه. فنّجيه من كل شدّة وحزن، [163ب] من كل حال،<sup>185</sup> من كل أذية، انشليه من كل النوائب. وأفعميه من<sup>186</sup> كل سرور، كل شفاء، كل نعمة. وعند قدوم ولدك العزيز الرحمة<sup>187</sup> إلهنا، عند وقوف جماعتنا للدينونة خلّصينا بيدك القويّة من النار الأبدية

<sup>180</sup> This whole phrase استحقاقك عن مقتصرًا وإن كان مقصراً عن استحقاقك، translates the single Greek adjective ἀνάξιον; Yānī is making Christian humility quite explicit.

<sup>181</sup> Yānī emphasizes the idea of "desire" from simply πόθου in the Greek to بأشدّ شوق in his translation.

<sup>182</sup> Yānī renders the Greek participial verb προσφερόμενον literally in Arabic (مقدّمًا), a surprisingly rare occurrence.

<sup>183</sup> Sinai Ar. 409 here reads القاض, but again, the reading in Sinai Ar. 408 is definitively preferred.

<sup>184</sup> Yānī translates προστάτις non-literally (following his similar translations of προστασία).

<sup>185</sup> The Arabic حال has a somewhat different meaning than the word it translates, νόσος; this may indicate textual corruption in the Greek or Arabic traditions, or a conscious choice of Yānī.

<sup>186</sup> This من is present in Sinai Ar. 409 but not in Sinai Ar. 408. Either is possible, although a simple ب would perhaps be more expected.

<sup>187</sup> Note how Yānī renders the Greek compound adjective, φιλανθρώπου with a definite *idāfa* *ḡayr haqīqīyya* (العزیز الرحمة).

(cont.)

**Greek Text**  
 (PG 98)

κριθῆναι πάντες παραστησόμεθα, τῇ κραταιᾷ σου  
 χειρὶ, ὡς μητρῶαν ἔχουσα παρῥησίαν τε καὶ ἰσχὺν,  
 τοῦ αἰωνίου ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγούσα πυρὸς, τῶν αἰώνιων  
 ἐπιτυχεῖν ἀξιῶσον ἀγαθῶν· χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρω-  
 πία τοῦ ἐκ σοῦ τεχθέντος Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς  
 αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμην.

**Arabic Edition**  
 (from Sinai Ar. 408 and 409)

حسبما<sup>188</sup> قد ملكتي الدالة الوالدية.<sup>189</sup> اجعلينا مستحقين  
 الخيرات التي لا تفاد لها. بنعمة ورحمة المولود منك ربنا  
 يسوع المسيح الذي له المجد والقوة مع الأب الذي ليس  
 له ابتداء والروح القدس الحي<sup>190</sup> الآن ودائماً وإلى دهر  
 الدهرين. آمين.

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188 In Sinai Ar. 408, this is حسبما, but without the diacritic under the ب. As a result, the scribe of Sinai Ar. 409 writes this as حسن ما, but with the ن blotted to look also like a ي.

189 Yāni shifts the Greek word order in his translation of this passage (ὅτε κριθῆναι ... πυρὸς) for clarity. However, he translates almost every word exactly, with the exception of τε καὶ ἰσχὺν.

190 This part of the final prayer that moves beyond Christ to the Trinity (مع الأب الذي ليس له) (ابتداء والروح القدس الحي), is not present in the PG edition of the Greek text.

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## L'homélie arabe *In Nativitatem Domini* (CPG 4290) attribuée à Sévérien de Gabala : Édition, traduction française

*Sergey Kim*

L'homélie arabe *In Nativitatem Domini* classée sous le numéro 4290 dans la *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, que nous présentons ici, est attribuée à Sévérien de Gabala dans une partie de la tradition manuscrite (cf. plus bas).<sup>1</sup> Une comparaison avec les œuvres authentiques de cet auteur, conservées en grec, arménien, géorgien et syriaque, ne nous permet pas de donner raison à cette attribution. L'absence de traits stylistiques et de parallèles littéraires avec le corpus authentique de Sévérien<sup>2</sup> nous induit à un verdict négatif : le texte est étranger à l'héritage littéraire de Sévérien de Gabala, tel un *spurium* exotique. Notons aussi que l'homélie arabe diffère du sermon authentique de Sévérien sur le même sujet conservé en syriaque<sup>3</sup>.

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- 1 Je tiens à remercier M. Marcel Pirard (Belgique) qui a eu la gentillesse de relire le texte arabe et ma traduction française; je remercie également le prof. Jacques-Noël Pérès pour avoir accueilli les lectures de ce texte lors de ses séminaires à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Je suis redevable au M. Paul Géhin (CNRS, France), au M. Andrea Mele (München) et au père Alexander Treiger (Dalhousie) pour plusieurs indications précieuses. Une présentation provisoire de l'homélie et de son contenu a été faite par le auteur à l'occasion de la *IX Conference of Christian Arabic Studies*, tenue à Valetta, Malta, le 19-21 juillet 2012; cf. aussi le chapitre consacré à ce texte de ps.-Sévérien dans: Sergey Kim, «Sévérien de Gabala dans les littératures arménienne et géorgienne», Thèse de Doctorat, Université Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, 2014, p. 409-443.
  - 2 Sur l'importance de l'analyse stylistique pour l'étude de l'héritage littéraire de Sévérien de Gabala on verra par exemple: Sever Voicu, «Nuove restituzioni a Severiano di Gabala», *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 20-21 (1983-1984), p. 3-24.
  - 3 *De Natiuitate*, CPG 4260, pour le texte syriaque et la traduction anglaise cf. Cyril Moss, «Homily on the Nativity of Our Lord by Severian of Gabala», *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 12 (1947-1948), p. 555-566.

## 1 Contenu de l'homélie

L'homélie se présente comme un discours prononcé pour la fête de la Nativité du Christ, peu de jours après une fête en l'honneur des martyrs<sup>4</sup>. Le *Prologue* de l'homélie (§ 1) développe l'idée que la continuité des fêtes pendant l'année liturgique reflète une continuité temporelle mystique en fonction de laquelle la grâce divine parvient jusqu'à nous en passant par les martyrs dont nous vénérons les fêtes.

Peu de lignes après, une section polémique s'ouvre portant à la fois contre Marcion et les Juifs qui reprochent aux chrétiens le fait de célébrer la naissance du Christ; ces deux parties, si différentes qu'elles soient, se mettent de concert l'une avec l'autre pour attaquer la doctrine chrétienne (§ 6). La doctrine de Marcion vis-à-vis de la naissance du Christ est pour notre auteur purement docétique: le fait de dire, que le Christ est apparu comme ombre ou fantôme, correspond parfaitement aux témoignages sur Marcion, fournies, par exemple, par Tertullien<sup>5</sup> ou Épiphanes de Salamine<sup>6</sup>.

L'attention de l'orateur se tourne ensuite envers les Juifs, tandis qu'il essaie de formuler les arguments en faveur de l'enfantement virginal de la Mère de Dieu (§ 7-22). Plusieurs images bibliques sont citées pour illustrer la véracité de ce dogme chrétien; le polémiste s'efforce à mettre en difficulté son adversaire sur le terrain vétérotestamentaire sur lequel le dernier se base.

Le reste de l'homélie (§ 23-43) est formé par une série d'invectives impietables contre le peuple d'Israël et d'observations amères sur son sort historique: le prédicateur prend goût à énumérer les calamités que les Israélites ont connues depuis les temps bibliques jusqu'à la destruction de Jérusalem. Pour lui, ces malheurs traduisent le signe historique que Dieu les a abandonnés, une perspective qui sert d'un procédé rhétorique pour discréditer l'adversaire et ses arguments.

4 Il reste difficile à décider à quelle fête des martyrs le prédicateur fait allusion, en absence d'indications sûres sur l'origine et la datation de l'homélie (cf. plus bas, pour nos observations sur une probable *Vorlage* syriaque). On notera d'ailleurs que le titre de l'homélie identifie la fête de l'Épiphanie avec celle de la Nativité (sur le lien historique des deux fêtes cf. Bernard Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie*, Louvain, 1932; Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*. New York, 1986, p. 79-155).

5 Cf. par exemple: « Caro ..., cuius Christus etsi non induit veritatem, ut tuae haeresi visum est, imaginem tamen eius subire dignatus est », Tertullien, *Adversus Marcionem*, I, 24.

6 Cf. par exemple, la question qu'Épiphanes pose à Marcion: « Πῶς οὖν συλληφθεὶς σταυροῦται ὁ μὴ ὑπὸ ἀφῆν ὑποπίπτων κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον, ὦ Μαρκίων; δοκῆσιν γὰρ εἶναι λέγεις », Épiphanes de Salamine, *Panarion*, haer. 42, 11, 17, refut. 4 (éd. Karl Holl, *Epiphanius, Ancoratus und Panarion*, vol. 2, Leipzig, J.C. Hinrichs, 1922, p. 126).

Une exégèse polémique agrège les passages Is. 5, 1-6 et Mt. 21, 34-37 (§ 35-42); ils sont réunis par l'image de la vigne qui représente l'ancien Israël. Les émissaires du propriétaire de la vigne et son fils sont persécutés et mis à mort par les vigneron (cf. Mt. 21, 34-36) – ce sont respectivement les prophètes et le Christ.

Une courte exhortation se transforme en doxologie (§ 44-45) et clôt le sermon.

## 2 Grégoire, traducteur du syriaque

Le nom du traducteur du texte arabe de *CPG* 4290 apparaît dans cinq manuscrits qui contiennent notre homélie (S N Y X B). Quatre témoins sinaïtiques (S N Y X), dont le plus ancien remonte au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (S), livrent le titre suivant :

ميمر من قول ابينا القديس سوريانوس في ظهور الاله الذي هو ميلاد ربنا يسوع المسيح فسرته  
اغريغوريوس من السرياني.

L'homélie prononcée par notre saint père Sévérin (Sawiryānūs) sur l'Apparition de Dieu, c'est-à-dire la Nativité de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ que Grégoire traduisit du syriaque.

Un titre plus développé nous est fourni par le manuscrit tardif B (XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.):

ميمر في الميلاد البتولي لابينا القديس سافيريانوس على ظهور الاله مخلصنا واتلاده من البتول  
قد نقله من اللغة السريانيه الي اللغة العربيه الطوبان غريغوريوس رئيس دير السيده دافنونا  
بجبل الاكام

L'homélie sur la naissance virgine (prononcée) par notre saint père Sévérin (Sāfiryanūs) sur l'Apparition de Dieu notre Sauveur et sa naissance de la Vierge, traduite de la langue syriaque en la langue arabe par le bienheureux Grégoire, higoumène du monastère de Notre Dame *Dafnūnā* sur la Montagne Noire.

Les détails fournis par ce manuscrit tardif correspondent bien aux rares notices historiques concernant la figure de Grégoire, higoumène du monastère de Notre Dame de *Dafnūnā* sur la Montagne Noire; un personnage connu pour

ses traductions du syriaque en arabe<sup>7</sup>. Les données sur Grégoire ont été réunies par J. Nasrallah dans son étude sur les disciples du patriarche Christophore<sup>8</sup> († 23 mai 967). Les témoignages anciens sur Grégoire peuvent être représentés dans un tableau suivant :

Source	Témoins manuscrits	Traduction française
<i>Explicit</i> de la lettre de Philoxène sous le nom de Siméon Stylite	<i>Sin. ar. 444</i> (1218 A.D.), <i>Par. ar. 253</i> (XIV s.), <i>Vat. ar. 362, Sin. ar. 328</i> (1816 A.D.), <i>Damas, ar. 162</i> [olim 1606] (1827 A.D.)	« Cela a été traduit de la langue syriaque en arabe par l'illustre docteur notre père Grégoire, couronné par le diadème de prêtrise et élevé dans les degrés de la vie monastique, (+ vainqueur dans les œuvres de bienfaisance qui font approcher de Dieu et portant une grande utilité pour ceux qui le lisent et écoutent <i>Damas, ar. 162</i> ) »
Liste des disciples de Christophore patriarche d'Antioche, dressée par Abraham le Protospathaire	<i>Sin. ar. 405</i> (1335 A.D.)	« Et parmi eux il y eut aba anba Grégoire le Grand, l'illustre higoumène du monastère de Notre Dame Mère de Dieu connu comme <i>Dafnūnā</i> »
Titre de <i>CPG</i> 4290	<i>Sin. ar. 455</i> (XII s.), <i>Sin. ar. NF pap. 8</i> (XII s.), <i>Sin. ar. 398</i> (1258 A.D.), <i>Sin. ar. 423</i> (1622 A.D.), <i>Beirut, ar. 510</i> (XVIII s.)	– « ... que Grégoire traduit du syriaque » ( <i>Sin. ar. 455, Sin. ar. NF pap. 8</i> ) – « ... que Grégoire traduit du syriaque en arabe » ( <i>Sin. ar. 423, Sin. ar. 398</i> ) – « ... traduite de la langue syriaque en la langue arabe par le bienheureux Grégoire, higoumène du monastère de Notre Dame <i>Dafnūna</i> sur la Montagne Noire »

7 À part de notre homélie, il a traduit également la lettre à Patrikios de Philoxène de Mabboug, transmise sous le nom de Syméon Stylite (pour l'identification du texte arabe cf. Alexander Treiger, « Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers », *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 3 (2015), p. 188-227, ici, p. 206). Pour les manuscrits de la version arabe de cette œuvre de Philoxène cf. Joseph Nasrallah, « Deux auteurs melchites inconnus du xe siècle », *Oriens Christianus*, 63 (1979), p. 75-86, ici, p. 83-84 [= Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 306-307].

8 Nasrallah, « Deux auteurs melchites » [= Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 301-308].

Que savons-nous du monastère de la Mère de Dieu de *Dafnūnā*, auquel le nom du traducteur Grégoire est associé dans deux sources citées plus haut ? Il est connu dans la littérature liturgique syriaque, particulièrement dans les Ménées melkites<sup>9</sup> ; en effet, une fête du 21 septembre commémore un miracle de la Vierge qui s'était jadis produit dans ce monastère : « Mémoire du miracle de la Notre Dame, Mère de Dieu, qu'elle opéra en tuant un dragon, dans le monastère appelé *Dafnūnā* sur la Montagne Noire, dans la région (χωῖρα) de la ville d'Antioche »<sup>10</sup>. Le colophon d'un manuscrit arabe perdu intégré dans le mémorial d'un codex plus récent conservé aujourd'hui à Saint-Petersbourg (*Institut des manuscrits orientaux*, B 1217) contient aussi la mention de ce monastère de *Dafnūnā*<sup>11</sup>.

Sauget<sup>12</sup> et Nasrallah<sup>13</sup> placent le monastère *Dafnūnā* à l'intérieur de la localité *Dafnē*, près d'Antioche : cette localité, connue des temps anciens et mentionnée déjà par saint Jean Chrysostome dans ses homélies sur le martyr Babylas (en grec Δάφνη<sup>14</sup>), figure parfois dans les colophons des manuscrits syriaques<sup>15</sup>. L'argument principal de Sauget repose sur le fait que la traduction arabe du syntaxaire rend le mot syriaque *Dafnē* comme *Dafnūnā*<sup>16</sup> (دفتونا).

Ainsi, le texte arabe du sermon *In Nativitatem* doit remonter à la fin du x<sup>e</sup>-début du xi<sup>e</sup> siècle, traduit du syriaque par Grégoire, higoumène du monastère de la Mère de Dieu de *Dafnē*/*Dafnūnā* sur la Montagne Noire près d'Antioche et disciple du patriarche antiochien Christophore († 967) ; apparu initialement dans les cercles melkites, le sermon a ensuite connu une certaine diffusion chez les coptes et les maronites (cf. plus bas).

9 Cf. Joseph-Marie Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des syntaxaires melkites (XI<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Bruxelles, 1969, p. 406-407.

10 Sauget, *Premières recherches*, p. 406-407.

11 Cf. Treiger, *Christian Graeco-Arabica*, p. 204-206. Si le manuscrit de Saint-Petersbourg est daté de l'an 1178, son colophon composite conserve une date plus ancienne (20-31 juillet 931), à laquelle le modèle du manuscrit actuel a été achevé.

12 Sauget, *Premières recherches*, p. 406-407.

13 Nasrallah, « Deux auteurs melchites » [= Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 3.1, p. 306].

14 Sauget, *Premières recherches*, p. 404.

15 Cf., par exemple, le manuscrit dispersé, dont les parties se conservent actuellement dans *British Library*, *Oriental 8607(IIA)* et *Sinai syr. 71*, copié au monastère de St. Georges, à Dafnē en 1056 A.D. (Paul Géhin, « Manuscrits sinaïtiques dispersés III : les fragments syriaques de Londres et de Birmingham », *Oriens Christianus*, 94 (2010), p. 14-57, ici, p. 21-23). Cf. aussi Sebastian Brock, « Syriac Manuscripts Copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch », dans Regine Schulz et Manfred Görg (éd.), *Lingua Restituta Orientalis. Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 59-67.

16 Sauget, *Premières recherches*, p. 406-407.

### 3 Auteur de l'homélie

#### 3.1 Sévérien de Gabala ?

Une partie de la tradition manuscrite assigne le sermon *In Nativitatem* à Sévérien de Gabala (témoins S N Y X B P, voir *sigla* plus bas), dont un seulement (P) précise qu'il s'agit de l'évêque de Gabala.

Une comparaison de cette homélie avec les œuvres authentiques de Sévérien de Gabala nous force à constater que le texte arabe ne présente aucune affinité lexicale ou stylistique avec elles. En ce qui concerne les parallèles littéraires avec les textes de Sévérien, nous n'en avons relevé qu'un seul plus ou moins direct avec le sermon authentique *De cruce*<sup>17</sup>, CPG 4213. Pourtant, ce parallèle n'est pas représentatif et constitue plutôt un acquis commun de la théologie mariale, attesté aussi dans d'autres homélies anciennes; on comparera, par exemple, les phrases très proches que nous trouvons dans le sermon pseudo-chrysostomien *In illud: Memor fui Dei*<sup>18</sup>, CPG 4636, étranger lui-aussi au corpus homilétique de Sévérien :

<i>In Nativitatem</i> , CPG 4290	<i>De cruce</i> , CPG 4213 (Combefis <sup>19</sup> )	<i>In illud: Memor fui Dei</i> , CPG 4636 (PG 61, 691)
(§10) Et le feu que vit Moïse, brûlant sur Sinaï, était-ce naturel ou habituel? <i>Qui jamais vit un</i>	(p. 224) Μὴ οὖν ἀπαίτει ἐπὶ τῆς παρθένου τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεὶ ἀπαίτηθῆσθαι καὶ σὺ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ τὴν γυναικῆα. Ἐάν γὰρ λέγῃς·	Ἐάν σοι εἴπῃ Ἰουδαίος· «εἰπέ, πῶς ἐγέννησεν ἡ παρθένος δίχα ἀνδρός», εἰπέ αὐτῷ καὶ σὺ· «Πῶς ἔτεκε τὴν Εὐὰν ὁ Ἀδάμ δίχα γυναικός;»

17 François Combefis, *Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi de educandis liberis liber aureus*, Paris, Bertier, 1656, p. 224-226; Henry Savile, *Τὸ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὐρισχομένων*, Eton, 1611, vol. 5, p. 898.

18 Ce long texte d'inspiration à la fois apologétique et ascétique a été attribué à Proclus, patriarche de Constantinople, par Benedikt Marx (*Procliana. Untersuchung über den homiletischen Nachlass des Patriarchen Proklos von Konstantinopel*, Münster, 1940, p. 20-22 [no. 7]), mais cette attribution n'a pas été retenue, cf. François Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1967, p. 257-272. On verra aussi un réarrangement du matériel polémique tiré de cette homélie *In illud: Memor fui Dei* dans le centon slavon *De adventu Domini* (cf. l'édition: Sergey Kim, «Славянска златоустова эклога "Слово за пришествие Христово" по ръкописи и т.сл. Издание, идентификация на източниците», *Proglas. The Journal of the Philological Faculty of the Veliko Tarnovo University*, xxii/2 (2013), p. 29-47 [en bulgare]).

19 Combefis, *Sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi*, p. 224-225.

(suite)

<i>In Nativitatem</i> , CPG 4290	<i>De cruce</i> , CPG 4213 (Combefis)	<i>In illud: Memor fui Dei</i> , CPG 4636 (PG 61, 691)
<i>feu brûler tout en conservant en soi sa nature?</i>	« πῶς ἐγέννησεν ἡ παρθένος ἀνεὺ ἀνδρός; » Ἐρῶ σοι καὶ γὰρ· « πῶς ἡ Εὐὰ προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἀνεὺ γυναικός; »	πῶς ἐξήνηθησεν ἡ γῆ δίχρα σπέρματος; εἶπέ, πῶς ἐκαίετο ἡ βάτος καὶ οὐ κατεκαίετο;
(§ 15) Dis-moi, maintenant, ô Juif: tous les miracles qui se sont opérés en ce temps-là, eurent-ils lieu de façon habituelle? (...) <b>le rocher sec qui fit jaillir l'eau.</b>	(p. 225) Ἀμφιβάλλεις, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, πῶς ἔτεκεν ἡ παρθένος; Ἐρμήνευσον σύ, πῶς ἔτεκεν ἡ πέτρα τὸ ὕδωρ, οὐκ ἔχουσα ὑποκειμένην φλέβα, οὐ ποταμὸν ὑπεφορεσμένον, οὐ ρίζαν ὑδάτων;	εἶπέ, πῶς οὐ κατεφλέχθη Ἡλίας ἐν τῷ ἄρματι τῷ πυρίνῳ; εἶπέ, πῶς ἐγέννησεν ἡ νύξ τὴν ἡμέραν;

Notons aussi qu'un passage (§ 17) sur le miracle accompli par Élisée avec une pièce de bois (cf. IV Rois, 6, 1) entre en parallèle quelque peu éloigné avec un fragment géorgien nouvellement découvert, appartenant à la deuxième homélie de Sévérien de son cycle *De mundi creatione*<sup>20</sup>, où Sévérien s'interroge aussi sur la conduite du bois et du fer dans l'eau.

Nous ne citons ces parallèles que pour montrer qu'ils ne suffisent pas pour revendiquer le texte arabe à Sévérien de Gabala; de plus, aucune tournure stylistique caractéristique aux textes authentiques de Sévérien n'est détectable dans ce sermon.

### 3.2 *Isaac (le Syrien)?*

Encore moins sûre est l'attribution du sermon à un Isaac attestée par la famille manuscrite γ (A M). La présence du nom d'Isaac et l'absence de la mention du traducteur dans les témoins de cette famille, nous semblent deux phénomènes liés l'un à l'autre et portant une valeur idéologique. En effet, il est bien logique de supposer une nécessité d'adapter *a posteriori* une traduction de provenance melkite à l'usage des autres dénominations chrétiennes de la langue

20 Cf. Sergey Kim, «Un passage inédit du *De mundi creatione* (CPG 4194) de Sévérien de Gabala conservé dans sa version géorgienne», dans Johan Leemans, Geert Roskam, Josien Segers (éd.), *John Chrysostom and Severian of Gabala: Homilists, Exegetes & Theologians*, Leuven, Peeters, 2019 (à paraître).

arabe, notamment celle copte (témoins V<sub>1</sub> et A) et maronite (M). Même si les formules القديس ماري اسحق (V<sub>1</sub>A) et القديس الفاضل مار اسحاق (M) sont trop évasives, elles semblent renvoyer à saint Isaac le Syrien, une figure universelle, acceptable pour toutes les dénominations chrétiennes arabes. La mention d'Isaac d'Antioche dans le catalogue de Mingana<sup>21</sup> ne repose sur aucun argument et doit être jugée une hypothèse peu heureuse du catalogueur.

### 3.3 Un auteur syriaque ?

En même temps que nous arrivons à des forts doutes concernant la paternité de Sévérien de Gabala (et encore plus d'un Isaac) vis-à-vis de notre homélie arabe *In Nativitatem*, quelques indices nous invitent à chercher l'origine du texte dans les milieux littéraires syriaques.

Ainsi, un passage au § 9 semble trahir la connaissance de l'orateur du commentaire d'Éphrem le Syrien sur la Genèse, une œuvre qui n'a jamais été traduite en grec. L'élan polémique amène le prédicateur à se rappeler de l'épisode du sacrifice d'Abraham relaté dans le chapitre 22 de la Genèse : selon notre auteur, au moment du sacrifice un arbre incréé a poussé instantanément et a produit (littéralement, ولدت « enfanté ») un agneau en remplacement d'Isaac. Ce détail, à savoir l'image du bûcher donnant naissance à l'agneau, n'est connu que chez les auteurs de la langue syriaque et est en soi tributaire de l'exégèse d'Éphrem le Syrien<sup>22</sup> ; dans un article de 1994<sup>23</sup> Sebastian Brock donna une liste de prédicateurs et poètes syriaques ayant repris cette image d'Éphrem dans leurs compositions. On comparera le passage arabe avec la phrase syriaque d'Éphrem :

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*In Nativitatem*, CPG 4290

Éphrem, *In Genesim*, ch. 22

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(§ 9) Dis-moi, était-il naturel et ordinaire que l'arbre enfanta un agneau sur la montagne ? C'était un miracle qu'en un instant un arbre incréé crût et

La question que fait Isaac sur l'agneau atteste qu'il n'y avait pas d'agneau ; de même le fait qu'Isaac portait du bois

21 Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection, Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*, vol. 1, Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1933, col. 805.

22 Raymond Tonneau, *Ephraem Commentarii in Genesim et in Exodum* (CSCO 152, Scriptores Syri 71), Louvain, L. Durbecq, 1955, p. 84 (§ 20, 3).

23 Sebastian Brock, « Syriac Poetry on Biblical Themes, 2. A Dialogue Poem on the Sacrifice of Isaac », *The Harp*, 7 (1994), p. 55-72, ici, p. 56.

(suite)

*In Nativitatem*, CPG 4290Éphrem, *In Genesim*, ch. 22

donna un fruit qui ne lui était pas conforme et ne lui ressemblait pas par la nature. Qui jamais vit un arbre enfanter un agneau ? Et cela tu le crois et l'acceptes, mais que la Vierge enfanta, tu ne le crois pas. Comme l'agneau naquit de l'arbre de manière inhabituelle, de même le Fils de Dieu naquit de la très-sainte Marie de manière inhabituelle. Et comme l'agneau délivra Isaac de la mort, de même le Fils de Dieu sauva de la mort le monde entier par Sa croix vivifiante.

sur ses épaules confirme l'absence de l'arbre. La montagne a produit un bûcher et le bûcher a produit un agneau ; ainsi – à travers l'agneau suspendu sur l'arbre et à travers le sacrifice qu'Abraham a offert au lieu de son fils – était préfiguré le jour de Celui qui était suspendu sur le bois comme cet agneau et qui devait goûter la mort au lieu du monde entier.

Un autre détail intéressant échappe à notre orateur (§18) lorsqu'il parle du miracle de trois jeunes gens de Babylonie (cf. le livre de Daniel, ch. 3). Les Persans sont appelés par lui des « fils du feu », tandis que le feu est leur « mère ». L'auteur s'étonne au paradoxe : le feu – telle une mère de Persans – tue ses propres enfants, mais épargne les fils d'autrui, c'est-à-dire les trois jeunes gens Juifs, enfants du vrai Dieu. Notre auteur se montre ainsi un connaisseur du culte de feu des Persans<sup>24</sup> et utilise une terminologie avisée. Ce détail, pourrait-il nous aider à localiser ce texte dans les territoires syriaques limitrophes de la Perse ?

Enfin, loin d'être l'argument décisif, le titre de l'homélie transmis par les manuscrits de la famille sinaïtique  $\alpha$  (témoins S N Y X) sauvegarde l'indication que le texte a été traduit du syriaque.

#### 4 Les manuscrits utilisés

Voici la liste des manuscrits de l'homélie *In Nativitatem* que nous avons utilisés (en ordre chronologique) :

24 Sur le culte du feu des Persans cf. par exemple : Charlotte Lerouge, *L'image des Parthes dans le monde gréco-romain. Du début du Ier siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'à la fin du Haut-Empire romain*. Stuttgart, 2007, p. 323 ; Mary Boyce, « *Ātaš* », dans *Encyclopædia Iranica*, 111/1, London, 1989, p. 1-5 (cf. édition en ligne <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/atas-fire>).

- N** Sinai, monastère Sainte-Catherine, nouveau fonds, arab. pap. 8<sup>25</sup>, XI<sup>e</sup> s., fol. ρλβ<sup>v</sup>-ρλγ<sup>r</sup>;
- S** Sinai, monastère Sainte-Catherine, arab. 455<sup>26</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup> / XIII<sup>e</sup> s., fol. 54<sup>v</sup>-64<sup>r</sup>; le texte est mutilé au début (il manque un folio entre fol. 53 et 54);
- Y** Sinai, monastère Sainte-Catherine, arab. 398<sup>27</sup>, de l'an 1258, fol. 268<sup>v</sup>-273<sup>v</sup>;
- X** Sinai, monastère Sainte-Catherine, arab. 423<sup>28</sup>, de l'an 1622, fol. 353<sup>v</sup>-357<sup>v</sup>;
- P** Saint-Pétersbourg, Institut des manuscrits orientaux, A993<sup>29</sup>, XVII<sup>e</sup> s., fol. 150<sup>r</sup>-160<sup>v</sup>;
- A** Beirut, Bibliothèque orientale, 509<sup>30</sup>, de l'an 1739, fol. 43<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>;
- B** Beirut, Bibliothèque orientale, 510<sup>31</sup>, XVIII<sup>e</sup> s., fol. 259<sup>v</sup>-264<sup>r</sup>;
- M** Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, collection Mingana, syr. 450<sup>32</sup>, de l'an 1865, fol. 41<sup>v</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>; écrit en *karchouni*.

Nous avons collationné sept témoins de l'homélie *In Nativitatem* (S Y X P B A M) et partiellement le témoin N dont je n'ai consulté que les deux pages reproduites dans le catalogue du nouveau fonds arabe de Sinai<sup>33</sup>; je n'ai pas vu les témoins V<sub>1</sub> et V<sub>2</sub>, cf. ci-dessous :

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- 25 Ἰωάννης Ε. Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος τῶν νέων ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱ.Μ. Ἀγ. Αἰκατερίνης τοῦ Ὁρους Σινᾶ*. Ἀθήναι, 1985, p. 39, 111 (ill. 78).
- 26 Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic Mss. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, London, C.J. Clay and Sons, 1894, p. 88; Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand-list of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins Press, 1955, p. 15; Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1970, p. 41 (no. 499 [453]) (à corriger en [455], - s.κ.).
- 27 Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic Mss. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, p. 66-68; Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, p. 11; Kamil, *Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, p. 18 (no. 158 [398]).
- 28 Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic Mss. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, p. 79-80; Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 356; Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, p. 12; Kamil, *Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, p. 20 (no. 182 [423]).
- 29 Une description détaillée du codex est en train d'être préparée par M. Sergei Frantsouzoff pour un nouveau catalogue de la collection arabe de l'Institut.
- 30 Joseph-Marie Sauget, *Une collection arabe d'homélie pour les Fêtes du Seigneur. Étude comparée des mss. Vat. ar. 81-82 et Beyrouth 509*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1974, p. 437-438.
- 31 Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 356; Joseph-Marie Sauget, « Homélieaire melkite bipartite : le manuscrit Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Orientale 510 », *Le Muséon*, 101 (1988), p. 231-290, ici, p. 286-287.
- 32 Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, vol. 1, col. 804-806.
- 33 Μειμάρης, *Κατάλογος*, p. 111 (ill. 78).





## 5 Texte arabe et traduction française

ميمر من قول ابينا القديس سوريانوس في ظهور الاله الذي هو ميلاد ربنا يسوع المسيح فسرہ اغريغوريوس من السرياني.

(1) نعمة الله الحلة على الكل الضابطة للكل اتت بنا يا احبائي من عيد الي عيد. من عيد الشهدا الي عيد سيد الشهدا. وعيد الشهدا ايضا مع عيد المسيح يحصا ويعد لانه سبب جميع الخيرات. ولو لم يمت من اجلنا اذن لما قدروا ولا طاقوا الشهدا ان يقاوموا الموت. وموت الشهدا هو ايضا يحقق قيامة ربنا ومخلصنا لانهم من اجل حي يموتون وليس من اجل ميت لانه "دفعه واحده مات وايضا لا يموت". فاما موت الشهدا فانما هو مجازاة لسيدهم لانه من اجلهم مات. وتحيص الخطايا باهراق

1 a فسرہ des. S SNYXMABP

1 ميمر: بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد. *Ypraem.* 1-2 ميمر - السرياني: S ميمر من قول ابينا القديس سوريانوس في ظهور الاله الذي هو ميلاد ربنا يسوع المسيح فسرہ اغريغوريوس من السرياني الي العربي XY وهذا ايضا ميمر قاله القديس الفاضل مار اسحاق قاله على ميلاد ربنا ومخلصنا يسوع المسيح له المجد الي الابد امين M ميمر قاله القديس مار اسحق على ميلاد ربنا يسوع المسيح في بيت لحم A ميمر في الميلاد البتولي لابيننا القديس سافيريانوس علي ظهور الاله مخلصنا واتلاده من البتول قد نقله من اللغة السريانيه الي اللغة العربية الطوبان اغريغوريوس رئيس دير السيده دافتونا بجبل الاكام B ميمر لابيننا الجليل سوريانوس اسقف مدينة جبلة في ميلاد ربنا يسوع المسيح بالجسد يقرا خامس وعشرين كانون الاول P 2 اغريغوريوس - السرياني *Sex indice:* 2 السرياني + يا رب بارك N + بارك يا سيد PX 3 اتت بنا: اتينا M اتت A 3 احبائي: احبائي PBAMXY 3 عيد + اي B 4 يحصا ويعد: يحصي ويعد A يعد ويحصي B 4 ولو: لانه B من - اذن: من اجلنا اذا BMXY اذا من اجلنا P 5 قدروا: قدرنا B 5 وموت: فوت M 6 ومخلصنا P > 6-7 وايضا - يموت: ولا يموت ايض P 7 يموت: + من غير ان يشب عليه الموت اسلم نفسه للهوت B 7 فانما هو: فهو B فانه P 7-1.20 و 7 - للهوت B > 7 وتحيص: ويقبلون تحيص A 7 باهراق: من اجل P

**Discours prononcé par notre saint père Sévérilien sur l'Apparition de Dieu, c'est-à-dire la Nativité de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, que Grégoire traduit du syriaque.**

(1) La grâce de Dieu, qui recouvre et domine tout, nous conduit, mes bien-aimés, d'une fête à l'autre, de la fête des martyrs à celle du Maître des martyrs. Toutefois, la fête des martyrs est comptée et rangée avec la fête du Christ, puisqu'Il est la cause de tous les bienfaits<sup>36</sup>. Si, en effet, Il n'était pas mort pour nous, les martyrs n'auraient pas la force et ne seraient pas capables d'affronter la mort. De plus, la mort des martyrs atteste la résurrection de notre Seigneur et notre Sauveur, puisque c'est pour le Vivant qu'ils meurent et non pas pour un défunt, car *Il est mort une fois et ne meurt plus*<sup>37</sup>. La mort des martyrs est une rétribution pour leur Maître, puisqu'Il mourut pour eux. Par l'effusion de leur

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36 Cf. Jac. 1, 17.

37 Rom. 6, 9-10.

دماهم يقبلون لان المسيح من غير ان يجب عليه الموت اسلم نفسه للموت لانه لم يصنع خطية ولا وُجد في فمه غش. بار من اجل عبيد. خالق من اجل مخلوقين. طاهر من اجل انجاس.

(2) ولان اليهود الجهلة يستهزون بنا كأننا نسجد ونكرم لانسان دني وكأنه مجمع اعيادنا بلا افراز يجتمع. فقد اشتقت حسب قوتي بان اوبخ ضلاتهم. وليس اني اقاوم لليهود لاقتعهم بكلامي لانهم لم يقبلوا من الانبيا ولا من سيد الانبيا. ولكن اذا ما نحن اظهرنا ظلمهم نعرف صدق وحق المومنين واذا ما نحن ثبتنا عقوبه ما نالها اوليك الذين رجعوا عن الحق. يكثر تحفظ الذين قاموا بالامانه ليلا يسقطون.

(3) يقولون الان اليهود ان الذي ولد من مريم انسان دني هو ومطغي. فاما نحن فاننا نقول ان المولود منها اله من اله من قبل مولده من مريم ذات كل قدس. وليس كان انسان فقط بل والاه ايضا ومن بعد مولده من مريم الطاهرة. وليس كان ابتدا مولد لاهوته من مريم ذات كل قدس وطهارة ولكن

20 a اقدس denuo inc. S 5 اصدق textum non habui N NYXMABP

1 دماهم : دماهم A دمهم P 1 يقبلون : يقتلون A > M 1 من - الموت > AM 1 اسلم : سلم A 1 لانه لم : ولم A من لم B 2 في فمه : فيه PAM 2 غش : عيب B 2 بار - عبيد : بار من اجل خطيه. سيد من اجل عبيد AM البار من اجل العبيد B بار من اجل خطاه P 2 خالق : الخالق B 2 مخلوقين : المخلوقين B 2 طاهر : الطاهر B 2 انجاس : الانجاس B 3 ولان : ولكن AM 3 يستهزون : يستهزون A 3 لانسان : انسان P 3 وكأنه : او كأنه AM وكان PB 3 مجمع : مجمع P 3 بلا افراز : بافراز > M P 3 يجتمع + علي الاطلاق وكيف اتفق > P AM 4 قوتي : قولي A 4 بان : ان > PB AM 4 ليس : ليس B 4 اني : احي M 4 اقاوم : اقاومهم B 4 لليهود : اليهود > PAMXY B 4 يقبلوا : يقبلون BM 5 ولا - الانبيا > X 5 نعرف : يُعرف PX 5 صدق - المومنين : حق المومنين وصدقهم B 5 ما : > Y 6 ثبتنا : بيننا A بيننا PBXY 6 نالها : نالوا PBAXY 6 يسقطون : يسقطوا PBAX 7 يقولون : يقولوا P 7 ان > X 7 مريم + فهو B 7 دني - ومطغي : دني وهو مطغي X دني ومطغي A وهو دني ومطغي B دني وهو مطغ P 7 فاننا : فاننا PBAXY 8 منها : من مريم B 8 اله - اله : اله من الاله PXY فهو الاله من الاله B 8 مولده : اتلاده B 8 من - قدس : منها PB 8 قدس : طهر P 8-9 وليس - الطاهرة > AM 8 انسان : انسانا B 8 فقط > Y 8 والاه : الاله PX والاهها B 8-9 ومن - الطاهرة > B 9 وليس : ليس AM 9 ابتدا : ابدي A 9 مولد > PB 9 وطهارة > P

sang, ils reçoivent la purification de leurs péchés, puisque le Christ se livra à la mort, même s'Il n'en avait point besoin, car *Il ne commit pas de péché et il ne se trouva pas de mensonge dans sa bouche*<sup>38</sup> : l'Innocent pour les serviteurs, le Créateur pour les créatures, le Pur pour les impurs.

(2) Mais puisque les Juifs, ces ignorants, se moquent de nous, comme si nous vénérions et adorions un simple homme, et comme si la multitude de nos fêtes se multipliait sans discernement, j'ai voulu réfuter leur erreur, tant que je le pourrai. Je n'affronte pas les Juifs afin de les convaincre par mes paroles, puisqu'ils ne sont persuadés ni par les prophètes, ni par le Maître des prophètes ; cependant, si nous manifestons leur tort, nous connaissons le bon droit et la véridicité des fidèles ; et si nous montrons le châtement qu'ont reçu ceux qui se sont éloignés de la vérité, alors s'accroîtra la prudence de ceux qui persistent dans la foi, pour qu'ils ne tombent pas.

(3) Les Juifs disent à présent que Celui qui est né de Marie, est un simple homme et un blasphémateur. Quant à nous, nous disons que Celui qui est né d'elle, est Dieu de Dieu avant sa naissance de la très sainte Marie. Il n'est pas seulement homme, mais également Dieu après sa naissance de la très pure Marie. La naissance de sa divinité n'a point du tout eu son commencement

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38 Is. 53, 9 ; I P 2, 22.

مولده من قبل الدهور بازليته. مع ابيه الازلي. وفي اخر الازمان انا بمشية ابيه الى مولد الجسد ظاهراً نخلق له هيكل جسد من العذرى وولد منها بمشيته بلا انفصال من ابوته ولا ابتدا. واظهر لاهوته في جسد ناسوته بالعجايب المجيدة التي كانت تصنع وحقق ناسوته بالبشريات الضعيفة التي قبل. وهذه هي الامانة التي نكرز.

5 (4) فلناتي الان بشهود لكلامنا من اشعيا المجيد في الانبيا الذي رذلوه بحياته ومن بعد موته يفتخرون به. وماذا قال؟ "ستحبل العذرا وتلد ابنا ويدعا اسمه عمانويل الذي ترجمته الالهنا معنا". وفي هذه التصويبة كفوا لتويخ حقة اليهود. لان اسم عمانويل ليس هو في بعض الالسن غير العبراني فقط. ولو كان فسر من كتاب اخر الى العبراني لعل كان لهم ان يقولوا "من لسان اخر تادا الينا". ولكن هذا الاسم باللسان العبراني اقبل على يد نبهم. وموضح الاسم النبي في قوله "الالهنا معنا" واوضح لاهوته. وفي

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SYXMABP

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1 من - الدهور: من قبل كل الدهور P 1 مع: ومن BM من A 1 انا: اتي PAMY 1 ظاهراً: ظاهر B 2 نخلق: فاخذ A 2 له: لذاتي B 2 هيكل: هيكللاً BAM 2 جسد - العذرى: من العذري A من جسد العذري B 2 بمشيته: كمشيته PBAM 2 بلا - ابوته: بلا انفصال من ابوه X بلا انقطاع AM من غير انفصال عن ابيه B بلا انفصال. من ابيه P 2 ولا ابتدا: ولا ابدي A ولا ابتداء BX > P 3 بالعجايب: في العجايب M 3 كانت تصنع: كان يصنع PBAM 3-4 التي - نكرز > B 4 نكرز: تركز A بها نكرز P 5 فلناتي - من: والشاهد لقولنا B 5 فلناتي: فلنات PA 5 من > AM 5 اشعيا + النبي B 5 الذي + هو معهم وعليه تنبا الذين هم ضابطون صحفه وليس يصدقوه الذي M + هو منهم وعليه تنبي. الذين هم ضابطون صحفه وليس يصدقوه الذي A + منهم وعليه تنبي الذين هم ضابطين صحنه وليس يصدقونه الذي B + منهم وعليه تنبي الذين هم ضابطين صحينته وليس يصدقونه الذي P 5 رذلوه بحياته: رذلوه في حياته M رذلوه في حياته A P في حياته رذلوه B 5 ومن بعد: وبعد M 6 قال + زعم P 6 العذرا: العذري PAMXY 6 ويدعا: ويدعي PBAXY 6 عمانويل: عمانويل BX 6-7 وفي - التصويبة: S non legitur 6-7 هذه التصويبة: هذه التصويبه PMX هذا القول A 7 كفوا: كفوا A كفايه B 7 حقة > BAM 7 عمانويل: عمانويل M عمانويل BX 7 في > M 8 فسر: ترجم B 8 كتاب: لسان PBAM 8 الى: الو S 8 لعل > AM 8 يقولوا: يقولون انه M يقولوا انه PBA 8 تادا: نادا M نادي BA صار P 9 باللسان: من اللسان P 9 اقبل: اقبل PX قيل AM 9 يد نبهم: لسان نبهم PA دينوتهم B 9 وموضح - النبي: وموضح الاسم النبي هو M واوضح النبي الاسم A والنبي موضه B 9 الالهنا: الهنا A 9 واوضح لاهوته: ودل > B AM 9-1.294 وفي - مخلصنا: بهذا علي لاهوت في ناسوت B

par la très sainte et très pure Marie, mais sa naissance est d'avant les siècles dans l'éternité auprès de son Père éternel. Dans les derniers temps, il vint manifestement à la naissance de chair selon la volonté de son Père, en se créant un temple, le corps de la Vierge. Il naquit d'elle selon sa volonté, sans qu'il fût séparé de sa Patrie et sans qu'il eût un commencement. Il manifesta sa divinité dans la chair de son humanité par les glorieux miracles qu'elle (*sc.* sa divinité) accomplit, et il attesta son humanité par les infirmités humaines qu'il assumait. Voici la foi que nous prêchons.

(4) Amenons maintenant en témoin de notre parole Isaïe, glorieux parmi les prophètes, qu'ils déshonoraient durant sa vie et dont ils se glorifient après sa mort. Que dit-il ? « *La vierge deviendra enceinte et enfantera un fils, et on lui donnera le nom d'Emmanuel, ce qui se traduit comme "notre Dieu est avec nous"*<sup>39</sup> ». Cette indication suffit pour démasquer l'insolence des Juifs, puisque le nom Emmanuel n'existe pas dans d'autres langues, mais seulement en hébreu. S'il avait été traduit en hébreu à partir d'un autre livre, ils auraient pu dire : « Cela nous est venu d'une autre langue ». Mais ce nom vint par leur propre prophète en langue hébraïque. Et en expliquant ce nom par les mots : « *Notre Dieu est avec nous*<sup>40</sup> », le prophète affirma sa divinité. Par ce nom, il a montré la divi-

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39 Is. 7, 14; Mt. 1, 23.

40 Is. 7, 14.

هذا الاسم كان يوضح لاهوت وناسوت مخلصنا لانه بقوله "ستجبل العذرى وتلد" حقق ناسوته. وفي قوله "الاهنا معنا" اوضح لاهوته. لان مولد لاهوت مخلصنا ليس ابتداوه من مريم الصفية الطاهرة (كما تقدم القول) ولكنه من قبل الدهور.

(5) ان كان النبي تقدم فقال من دهر كبير وزمان طويل ان العذرى الذي يولد منها الاله وانسان. ويهود لماذا يظهرون لاهوت الابن؟

(6) ولا هم ايضا يوافقون الطغاة بعضهم بعض. لان اليهود يقولون ان المولود انسان دني ومرقيان يقول انه لم يولد من مرة ولكنه ظهر زعم بشبة ظل او خيال. وكلاهما خرجا عن الحق. الواحد يظلم لاهوته والاخر يظلم ناسوته وقد كان يجب عليهم الطغاة ان يقنعوا بعضهم من بعض. فنقول لليهودي "اما ان تقنع من مرقيان المعترف باللاهوت. واما ان يقبل منك هو باعتراك بناسوته؟"

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#### SYXMABP

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1 بقوله: بقول P العذرى: العذرا PB 1-2 وفي قوله: وبقوله A 2 الالهنا: الالهنا A 2 اوضح: حقق B 2 ابتداوه: ابتداءه PXY هو B 2 الصفية: المصطفاه P 4 ان: وان B 4 النبي + قد B 4 كبير - طويل: طويل وزمان كثير B 4 العذرى > PBM 4 الذي يولد > PBM 4 منها: من العذرى AM من العذرا PB 4 الاله وانسان: اله متانس M اله وانسان A *non legitur* 5 ويهود: فاليهود PBAMXY 5 لاهوت الابن: لاهوته لكن ومع هذا B 5 الابن: *non legitur* S 6 ولا - ايضا: ايضا ولا هم B 6 يوافقون الطغاة: يوافقون M الطغاه يوافقون BA 6 بعضهم: لبعض B 6 بعض: بعضا AX 6 اليهود: اليهودي B 6 يقولون ان: يقول ان B + من M 6 ومرقيان: ومرقيان Y مرقيان X 7 يولد: يلد YS 7 مرة: امره PBMX امره A + زعم M<sup>can</sup> 7 او خيال: ام خيال M وخيال PA وخيال والحال B 7 وكلاهما: انها كلا B 7-8 الواحد - الطغاة: لان الواحد ... P احدهما يظلم لاهوته والاخر بناسوته وقد كان يجب عليهم الطغاه AM > B 8 يقنعوا: يقنعون M 8 من بعض: لبعض B بعضهم بعض P 8 فنقول لليهودي > B 9 ان + يهودي B 9 تقنع: يقنع B 9 مرقيان: مرقيان XY 9 باللاهوت: بلاهوته PBAX 9 يقبل - باعتراك: يقبل هو منك باعتراك PX يقنع مرقيان من يهودي المعترف B

nité et l'humanité de notre Sauveur, puisqu'en disant: « *Une vierge deviendra enceinte et enfantera*<sup>41</sup> », il attesta son humanité; et quand il dit: « *Notre Dieu est avec nous*<sup>42</sup> », il déclara sa divinité. Parce que la naissance de la divinité de notre Sauveur n'eut pas son commencement par la glorieuse et pure Marie (comme il a été dit plus haut), mais avant les siècles.

(5) Si donc le prophète prédisait et déclarait depuis très longtemps que c'était d'une vierge que Dieu et homme naîtrait, pourquoi les Juifs luttent-ils contre la divinité du Fils?

(6) Cependant, les adversaires ne sont pas non plus d'accord entre eux, parce que les Juifs disent que le Nouveau-né est un simple homme et Marcion dit qu'il ne naquit point d'une femme, mais apparut, croit-il, dans un semblant d'ombre ou de fantôme. Ils sont loin de la vérité tous les deux: l'un renie sa divinité, l'autre rejette son humanité, alors que les adversaires auraient dû se persuader l'un l'autre. Disons au Juif: « Marcion, qui professe sa divinité, ne te persuade-t-il pas? Et lui, ne devrait-il se mettre d'accord avec ta déclaration de son humanité? »

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41 Is. 7, 14.

42 Is. 7, 14.

(7) ولكنه يقول اليهودي انه "يصعب علي جدا ان او من انها تلد عذرى بلا تزويج". وهذا زعم خارج العادة وفوق الطبع. ولكن ماذا اصنع بالنبي الصارخ ان "العذرى ستحبل وتلد ابنا"؟ لك اصدق ام للنبي؟ انت لانك لم تصدقه رذلت. فانا كيف لا اصدقه واومن بنبوته؟

(8) وان كنت تجحد لمريم ترذل جميع الناموس. ولقد راينا اسباب كثيرة صنعها الله خارج الطبع والعادة. وجميعها امنت وصدقت وان العذرى ولدت ليس تومن.

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(9) قل لي في الطبع والعادة ولدت الشجرة خروف في الجبل؟ وهذه هي العجيبة انها نبتت للوقت شجرة غير مصنوعة وابدت ثمرة غير مجانسة للطبع ولا مشاكلة. فمن راى منذ قط شجرة تولد كبش؟ وبهذا تومن وتصدق وان العذرى ولدت ليس تومن. وكما ان الكبش ولد من الشجرة بغير عادة

## SYXMABP

1 ولكنه - اليهودي : ولكن اليهودي يقول BA ولكنه يقول اعني اليهودي P 1 علي جدا : علي جدا PXY عليه زعم M عليه جدا زعم A 1 انها : ان A بان B 1 عذرى > B 1 زعم > X 2 العادة : عن عاده PB 2 فوق الطبع : والطبع وانا ايضا اقول مثلك واعترف ان هذا خارج العادة وفوق الطبع AM ويعلوا علي الطبيعه P 2 ولكن + انا B 2 بالنبي > M 2 العذرى : عذرا B 2 ابنا > BAM 2 لك اصدق : لك اصدق A اصدق لك B لك يا يهودي اصدق P 3 للنبي : النبي PM 3 انت لانك : انت رذلت لانك M انتك انت لاجل انك A انت لانك B انت بانك P 3 لانك : + ان SY 3 رذلت > AM 3 فانا : وانا BA 3 كيف : S non legitur 4 وان : ولين B 4 لمريم ترذل : وترذل M امرا خارج الواه فقد يجب عليك ان تجحد A امر فانل ترل B لمريم فانت ترذل P 4 جميع : لجميع P 4 اسباب : اسبابا M اشيا A 4 الطبع : الصبع M 5 وجميعها : وجميعها M 5 امنت وصدقت : + يا يهودي P 5 وان - تومن > B 5 العذرى : العذرا P 5 ولدت : تلد M 6 قل - والعادة > B 6 قل : قول M 6 ولدت الشجرة : الشجره ولدت B 6 خروف : خروفا A الخروف B 6 الجبل + افي الطبع والعادة هي B + في السفر الاول mP 6 وهذه هي : ولعظم B 6 انها > AM 6 نبتت للوقت : للوقت نبتت AM للوقت ولدت B نبتت في الوقت P 7 شجرة - وابدت > B 7 شجرة : الشجرة A 7 غير > AM 7 مصنوعة : منصوبه AM 7 وابدت : وابدات M 7 غير : ليس > Y 7 مشاكلة : مشاكلته PA 7 تولد : تلد A ولدت PB 7 كبش : كبشا A خروفا ليس احدا B 8 وبهذا - تومن > B 8 وبهذا : وانت بهذا A 8 وتصدق + يا يهودي P 8 وان : وبان M 8 العذرى : العذرا P 8 ليس : وليس PBS 8 تومن : تصدق P

(7) Mais le Juif dit: « Il m' est dur de croire que la vierge enfanta sans mariage ». Cela, dit-il, est inaccoutumé et contre-nature. Mais que ferai-je du prophète qui crie: « *La vierge deviendra enceinte et enfantera un fils*<sup>43</sup> »? Croirai-je à toi ou bien au prophète? Toi, puisque tu ne lui as pas cru, tu as été rejeté (par Dieu), mais moi, comment puis-je ne pas lui croire si je l' accepte comme prophète?

(8) De même, si tu rejettes Marie, tu déshonores toute la Loi. Nous savons bien que Dieu fit beaucoup de choses contre ce qui est naturel et habituel. En tout cela tu y crois et tu l' acceptes, mais que la Vierge enfanta, tu n' y crois pas.

(9) Dis-moi, était-il naturel et ordinaire que l' arbre enfanta un agneau sur la montagne<sup>44</sup>? C' était un miracle qu' en un instant un arbre incréé crût et donna un fruit qui ne lui était pas conforme et ne lui ressemblait pas par la nature. Qui jamais vit un arbre enfanter un agneau? Et cela tu le crois et l' acceptes, mais que la Vierge enfanta, tu ne le crois pas. Comme l' agneau naquit de l' arbre de

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43 Is. 7, 14.

44 Cf. Gen. 22, 13.

كذلك ولد ابن الله من مريم ذات كل قدس بغير عادة. وكما ان الكبش خلص اسحق من الموت كذلك ابن الله خلص جميع المسكونة بصليبه المحيي من الموت.

(10) والنار التي راى موسى وهي تشتعل في السينا هذا في الطبع والعادة هو؟ من راى نار تشتعل وهي تحفظ طبعها في داخلها؟ وهذا هو سر لاهوت الابن الذي لبس طبع ناسوتنا ولم يرزاه. وبهذا تومن وتصدق وان مريم ولدت ابن الله يصعب عليك.

(11) والبرد الذي نزل على اهل مصر والنار مشتعلة فيه هذا في الطبع هو؟ وهم عنصرين متضادين مختلفين بعضهما في بعض نار وما. فلا الما يطفى النار؟ ولا النار تحل البرد؟ ولكن هما كلا كانا بمشية الله يكملان على يد عبده موسى. وبهذا يومنون اليهود وان العذرى ولدت ليس يومنون.

(12) وعصا موسى التي ابتلعت عصي السحرة هذا في العادة كان؟ والعجب انها لم تطل ولا غلظت ودخلت العصي في جوفها وما بان. وان العصا ابتلعت العصي تومن وتصدق وان العذرى ولدت

SYXMABP

1 كذلك: هكذا PBAM 1 مريم - قدس: مرمرم P 1 اسحق: اسحاق X 2 كذلك: *S non legitur* 2 بصليبه: بالصليب S<sup>a.c.</sup> 3 والنار: النار A 3 راى: رآها B راء P 3 وهي > B 3 تشتعل: تشتعل BA 3 في السينا: في سينا A العليقه PB 3 السينا: طور سيناء Y والسفر الثاني mP 3 هذا: اهذا A اهذه B 3 هو > B 3 نار: نار BX 3 تشتعل: تشتعل A 4 وهي تحفظ: وتحفظ BAM 4 يرزاه: يرزاه BM 4 وبهذا: فبهذه B 5 مريم: العذرا B 5 يصعب عليك: ما تصدق ذلك B 6 فيه + سفر ايدا mP 6 هذا: اهذا A 6 في - هو: هو في الطبع A في الطبع P 6 وهم: وهما > P BAM 6-7 عنصرين - مختلفين: عنصران متضادان مختلفان A 7 وما: وما P 7 فلا: ولا M 7 يطفى: يطفى B 7 تحل: حلت B 7 ولكن: لكن B 7 هما كلا: ~ Y كل منهما P 7-8 كانا - يكملان: مشيه الله كانا يكملان M بمشية الله كانا يكملان A حفظا طبعهما وكانا يكملان بمشيته الله B كانا لمشيته الله يكملان P 8 عبده موسى: موسى عبده BM 8 وبهذا - اليهود: وبهذا يومنوا اليهود X فبهذه تومن وتصدق B 8 وان العذرى: وبان العذري B 8 ليس: فليس M 8 يومنون: تومن B 9 وعصا: وعصاة MXY وعصي P 9 السحرة + سفر ايضاً mP 9 هذا: اهذا A 9 لم: ما + A ابتلعت العصي ولم B 9 تطل: تطول PBMXY طالت A 9 غلظت: غلظت S غلظت PAMX 10 ودخلت - العصي > B 10 في: الي AM 10 وما بان: ولم يظهرن P 10 العصا: العصاة PAMXY 10 تومن وتصدق: تصدق وتومن XY 10 وان: وبان B 10 العذرى:

العذرا P

manière inhabituelle, de même le Fils de Dieu naquit de la très-sainte Marie de manière inhabituelle. Et comme l' agneau délivra Isaac de la mort, de même le Fils de Dieu sauva de la mort le monde entier par Sa croix vivifiante.

(10) Et le feu brûlant que vit Moïse sur Sinai<sup>45</sup>, était-ce naturel ou habituel? Qui jamais vit un feu brûler tout en conservant en soi sa nature? C' est cela le mystère<sup>46</sup> de la divinité du Fils qui revêtit la nature de notre humanité sans la diminuer. Et cela tu le crois et l' acceptes, mais que Marie engendre le Fils de Dieu, cela t' est insupportable.

(11) Et la grêle qui tomba sur le peuple d' Égypte alors que le feu brûlait en elle<sup>47</sup>, était-ce selon la nature? Ces deux éléments incompatibles s' unirent l' un à l' autre, l' eau avec le feu. L' eau n' éteint-elle pas le feu? Et le feu ne fait-il pas fondre la grêle? Toutefois, ces deux choses s' accomplirent selon la volonté de Dieu par la main de Moïse son serviteur. Les Juifs croient bien en cela, mais que la Vierge enfante, ils ne l' acceptent pas.

(12) Et le bâton de Moïse qui avala les bâtons des magiciens<sup>48</sup>, était-ce selon l' habituel? Le miracle, c' est que les bâtons ont cessé d' être allongés et épais, qu' ils entrèrent en lui et n' en sortirent plus. Qu' un bâton avale des bâtons, tu le crois et l' acceptes, mais que la Vierge enfante, tu ne l' acceptes pas. Je dirai

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45 Cf. Ex. 3, 2.

46 Sc. la préfiguration vétérotestamentaire d' une réalité qui s' accomplit dans le Nouveau Testament.

47 Cf. Ex. 9, 22.

48 Cf. Ex. 7, 12.

ليس تومن. فاما انا فاقول وفي عصاة موسى ايضا دليل صليب ربنا. انظر. كما ان عصا موسى اهلكت عصي المصريين هكذا صليب مخلصنا سحق واهلك جميع الهة الشعوب. ويشهد النبي القايل ان "في يوم ظهور الرب تهلك الاوثان عن بسيط الارض ويدخلون في مغاير الصفاة وفي مجاحر التراب من امام خوف الرب ومن قدام بها قوته".

5 (13) وملاك الموت ايضا الذي كان يهرب من منظر الدم في مصر ويقتل اباكار المصريين ويحفظ اولاد العبرانيين. هذا في العادة كان؟ من راى موت يهرب من دم؟ وبهذا تومن وان العذرى ولدت يصعب عليك. وهذا كان سر دم ربنا الذي نضح على اباكار الشعوب فبطل الموت واعطيت حياة غير زايلة للامم.

10 (14) من راى بحر يهرب من عصاة كهريه من عصاة موسى الذي شق البحر بالعصاة وجعل فيه طريق يابس واجاز الشعب وعلى اقدامهم الغبار بين الامواج الرطبة. هذا في العادة كان؟ الا انه كما ان بشق البحر صار دخول الشعب الى ارض الميعاد وتبطل الموت اعطينا الدخول الى الملك السماوي.

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SYXMABP

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1 تومن: تتحدق B 1 فاما: اما B 1 فاقول: فاني انظر A فاني ارى B فومن بالجميع P 1 وفي: ان في M في  
 BA 1 عصاة: عصا A 1 ايضا >BAM 1 دليل صليب: سر اخر وهو صليب B 1 ربنا: مخلصنا وربنا  
 A 1-2 انظر - مخلصنا: B<sup>m</sup> 1 انظر + الان M لان PBA 1 عصا: عصاة PBMXY 2 عصي: عصا B  
 2 المصريين: السحرة المصريين P 2 هكذا: هكذا BMY 2 مخلصنا: ربنا B 2 الهة الشعوب: التنانين  
 B 2 ويشهد + بذلك B + بهذا 2 ان >B 3 الصفاة: الصفاة BA 3 مجاحر: مجاحر BM 3-4 امام -  
 ومن >B 3 امام: قدام M 4 خوف: P<sup>m</sup> 4 قدام: امام M 4 بها: بهي M بها P 5 الموت  
 + السفر الثاني P<sup>m</sup> 5 ايضا - كان: الذي كان ايضا A 5 يهرب: + من دم وبهذا تمن X<sup>can.</sup> 6 هذا:  
 اهذا A 6 موت: موتا BA 6 العذرى: العذرا B 7 سر دم: سر الدم BA 7 نضح - الشعوب >B  
 7 اباكار: افكار MXY 7 فبطل: فيبطل M ابطل B 7 واعطيت: وبه اعطيت B واعطا P 8 غير: الغير  
 B 8 زايلة: ذايله B 8 للامم >BAM 9 بحر: بحرا A 9 عصاة: عصا A 9 كهريه: كما هرب البحر  
 B 9 عصاة: عصا A 9 شق: سحق B 9 بالعصاة: بها A + سفر ايضا P<sup>m</sup> 9 فيه: في AM 10 طريق:  
 طريقا PBA 10 يابس: يابسا PA يابسه B 10-11 وعلى - الشعب: >XYS 10 وعلى: والى M 10 هذا -  
 ان: >XYS 11 بشق: فبشق P 11 السماوي: السماوي BA

aussi que le bâton de Moïse était une préfiguration de la croix de notre Seigneur. Regarde: comme le bâton de Moïse extermina les bâtons des Égyptiens, de même la croix de notre Sauveur chassa et anéantit tous les dieux des Gentils. Le prophète l'atteste en disant: « *Au jour de la manifestation du Seigneur, les idoles disparaîtront de la surface de la terre et entreront dans les cavernes des rochers et dans les crevasses de la terre à cause de la peur devant le Seigneur et devant l'éclat de sa puissance*<sup>49</sup> ».

(13) Et également l'ange de la mort qui fuyait en Égypte devant le signe du sang, tuant les premiers-nés des Égyptiens mais épargnant les enfants des Hébreux<sup>50</sup>, était-ce habituel? Qui vit jamais la mort fuir devant le sang? Tu crois en cela, mais que la Vierge enfantât, cela t'est insupportable. C'était le mystère du sang de notre Sauveur par lequel il aspergea les premiers-nés des nations, détruisit la mort, et une vie sans fin fut donnée aux peuples.

(14) Qui vit jamais la mer s'enfuir devant un bâton, comme elle s'enfuit devant le bâton de Moïse qui divisa la mer par son bâton, y fraya une voie sèche et conduisit le peuple qui avait de la poussière sous les pieds, entre les vagues humides. Était-ce habituel? Mais comme par la division de la mer se fit l'entrée du peuple dans la terre promise<sup>51</sup>, de même par l'anéantissement de la mort il nous a été donné d'entrer dans le Royaume des cieux.

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49 Is. 2, 18-19.

50 Ex. 12, 21-29.

51 Cf. Ex. 14, 21.

(15) قل لي الان يا يهودي جميع الايات الكاينة في ذلك العصر حسب العادة كانت؟ عمود النار الذي كان يضي. الحجر اليباس الذي كان يسيل الما. السما وهي تحدر المن. البحر وهو يصعد السلوى. قضيب هرون المفرع الورق وعاقد الفرق. الشمس الذي انقطع سعيه وصار اليوم يومين. السما الذي صارت عاقر ثلاث سنين وستة اشهر.

5 (16) هذا يا يهود باجمعه حسب العادة صار؟ والاتانة الناطقة حسب عاداتها نطقت؟ ايما اسهل تلد العذرى او يتكلم الحمار؟ يا حمار. السبع الحافظ الجثه والحمار عن جانبه حسب عادة كان؟ هذا هو العجب السبع جاثي والحمار عن جانبه فلا الجثه رزا ولا الاتانة قرب. وبهذا تومن يا يهودي وتعرف وان العذرى ولدت ليس تومن.

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SYXMABP

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1 قل : فقل B 1 لي X 1 حسب : احسب B 1 عمود : عامود BM 2 يضي + سفر ايضا mP  
 2 اليباس - كان : الذي كان يابسا A 2 يسيل : وكان يسيل A 2 الما : الامياه M منها ما اجحرا + A سفر  
 ايضا mP 2 المن + سفر ايضا mP 2 السلوى + سفر ايضا mP 3 هرون : هارون PBMX 3 الورق :  
 المورق + A سفر ايضا mP 3 وعاقد الفرق > B + سفر ايضا mP 3 الفرق : الثمره AM 3 الذي انقطع  
 : القاطع AM التي انقطع B 3 سعيه : شعيبا A سعيها B 3 يوشوع بن نون mP 3 الذي : التي  
 PBAMX 4 صارت عاقر : S non legitur 4 عاقر > AM 4 ثلاث : ثلاثه PAMXY ثلث B 4 اشهر  
 + ايلياس النبي mP 5 يا - باجمعه : باجمعه يا يهود M باجمعه يا يهودي A يا يهودي باجمعه PBY 5 حسب :  
 بحسب PAM 5 والاتانة : والاتانة B 5 الناطقة > A 5 نطقت + سفر القضاة mP 5 ايما : انما MS قل  
 لي ايما P 5 اسهل + ان B 6 العذرى : العذرا PB 6 يتكلم : نتكلم PBAM 6 الحمار - حمار : الحماره  
 M الحماره يا حمار PBA 6 الجثه - جانبه : الجثه PAM 6 جانبه + سفر ايضا mP 6 عادة : العداة PBX  
 6 هذا : وهذا PBA 7 والحمار : والحماره PBAM 7 عن : علي AM الي P 7 الجثه : للجثه A 7 رزا : دنا  
 M 7 الاتانة : للاتانة X للاتاني M الاتان A 7 قرب : فرت P 7 يا - وتعرف : وتعرف يا يهودي BAM  
 8 العذرى : العذرا B

(15) Dis-moi, maintenant, ô Juif: tous les miracles qui se sont opérés en ce temps-là, eurent-ils lieu de façon habituelle? La colonne du feu qui donnait la lumière<sup>52</sup>, le rocher sec qui fit jaillir l'eau<sup>53</sup>, le ciel qui faisait descendre la manne<sup>54</sup>, la mer qui produisit les cailles<sup>55</sup>, la verge d'Aaron qui fit pousser des feuilles et produisit des fruits<sup>56</sup>, le soleil qui interrompit son cours de sorte que le jour dura deux jours<sup>57</sup>, et le ciel qui devint sec pendant trois ans et six mois<sup>58</sup>?

(16) Tout cela, ô Juifs, se produisit-il de manière ordinaire? L'ânesse qui parla<sup>59</sup> le fit-elle de manière naturelle? Qu'est-ce qui est plus facile: que la Vierge enfantât ou qu'un âne parlât? Ô âne! Le lion qui protège un corps mort et l'ânesse qui se tient près de lui<sup>60</sup>, était-ce habituel? C'était un miracle que le lion s'accroupit et que l'ânesse se tint près de lui, qu'il ne toucha pas la dépouille et ne s'approcha point de l'ânesse<sup>61</sup>. Cela tu le crois, ô Juif, et tu le reconnais, mais que la Vierge enfanta, tu n'y crois pas.

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52 Cf. Ex. 13, 21.

53 Cf. Num. 20, 11.

54 Cf. Ex. 16, 12-35.

55 Cf. Num. 11, 31.

56 Cf. Num. 17, 8-10.

57 Cf. Jos. 10, 12-14.

58 Cf. III. Reg. 18, 1, Lc. 4, 25, Jac. 5, 17.

59 Cf. Num. 22, 28.

60 Cf. III Reg. 13, 24.

61 Cf. III Reg. 13, 28.

(17) العود الخفيف الذي نزل في طلب الحديد الثقيل في الما فنزل العود وسيح الحديد وطاف. هذا حسب العادة والطبع كان؟ وهذا هو سر لاهوت الابن الذي نزل في طلب جسد الادم الذي كان غرق في الخطايا كفي عمق البحر. فانتشله واصعده الى العلا واجلسه في السماوات فوق كل مكون.

(18) والنار الموقدة الحافظة للفتية داخلها حسب العادة كان؟ وهذا هو العجب انها اكلت الحديد وحفظت الشعر واهلكت البرانيين وحفظت الجوانين. من راي والده تقتل اولادها وتتراف على اولاد الغربا؟ النار تجول وتحرق اهل بابل الذين كانوا يكرمونها وتنضح النداء على بني العبرانيين الذين كانوا يشتمونها وكانوا يسعوا فيها كالساعي في البلاط. يطوا امواج النار كصبوب الورد. وكان الاتون الذمهم من الخلد. وروايح النار اطيب من رويح لبنان. وكانوا يجدون تماجيد الروح بين السنة النار.

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SYXMABP

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1 في: <XY> 1 الما+: اليشع النبي P<sup>m</sup> 1 وطاف: وطف PA 1 هذا: اهذا PA 2 لاهوت: الاهوت  
 2 MYS 2 في: <XY> 2 ال ادم: ادم AM 2 كان+ قد B 3 في+ بحر A 3 كفي- البحر: لعمق البحر  
 M كبحمق البحر >A 3 العلا: العلو B 3 في: علي B 3 مكون: ملكوت AM 4 والنار: النار  
 4 الحافظة للفتية: *S non legitur* 4 للفتية: الثلاثه فتية في M الفتية في PAY 4 داخلها+ خبر اليلس فتية  
 P<sup>m</sup> 4 كان: كانت BM 5 الجوانين: الجوانين Y 5 وتتراف: تتراف BX 6 اولاد+ غيرها من A  
 6 كانوا >P 6 بني: اولاد B 7 يسعوا: اشتمون وكانوا يسلون M 7 كالساعي في: كفي M كايسعوا في  
 A 7 امواج: انخار M اكرار A 7 كصبوب: كنبوب P 8 الخلد: الجدار XY الخلد B 8 وروايح:  
 A 8 اطيب: اطيب S 8 لبنان: اللبان BAM 8 وكانوا: كانوا P 8 يجدون: يجديوا  
 X 8 السنة >B

(17) Et le bois bien léger qui s'immergea dans l'eau pour chercher en tirer le fer lourd? Que le bois descendit et que le fer émergea et flotta<sup>62</sup>, cela était-il habituel et naturel? Ici encore, c'est le mystère de la divinité du Fils qui descendit chercher la chair de la lignée d'Adam plongé dans les péchés comme dans les profondeurs de la mer. Il l'en tira, l'éleva aux hauteurs et le fit s'asseoir sur les cieux au-dessus de tout ce qui a été créé.

(18) Et le feu ardent qui ne toucha pas aux jeunes gens à son intérieur, était-ce habituel? C'était un miracle qu'il *fit fondre le fer tout en conservant les cheveux*<sup>63</sup>, qu'il fit périr ceux qui étaient dehors, mais épargna ceux qui étaient dedans<sup>64</sup>. Qui vit jamais une génitrice tuer ses enfants et prendre pitié les enfants d'autrui? Alors, le feu s'empara des gens de Babylone qui le vénéraient et les brûla, mais aspergea avec de la rosée les fils des Hébreux qui le dénigraient. Ceux-ci s'y comportaient comme des domestiques dans un palais; ils marchaient sur les flammes du feu comme sur des effusions<sup>65</sup> de roses; et la fournaise était pour eux plus désirée que la chambre nuptiale, et la fumée du feu plus agréable que le parfum de l'encens, car ils chantaient des louanges spirituelles au milieu des langues de feu.

62 Cf. IV Reg. 6, 5.

63 Dan. 3, 94.

64 Dan. 3, 48-50.

65 Un endroit difficile; le ms. P donne la variante *نصوب* «les statues» qui n'est pas moins obscure.

(19) فان قال قايل لليهودي ان هذا ليس هو حق فانه يماحك ويشهد بصدقه. فان قال قايل ان العذرى ولدت فانه يماحك ويقاوم ويقول هذا ليس هو حق ويقول ان الذي قال اشعيا النبي ان "العذرى تحبل وتلد" ليس زعم للعذرى يدعوا ولكن لجارية التي هي امرأة رجل.

(20) ولقد راينا ان في كل موضع الكتاب يسمي الجوارى عذاري. لانه لما مضى العازر عبد ابراهيم ليخطب رفته قال وهو قايم على بير لها فخرجت جارية لتستقي ما "عذرى لم يعرفها رجل".

(21) وداوود النبي ايضا "بين الجوارى السافقات بالدفوف في الجامع" ويسمي للعذاري جوارى لان العادة لهم في دق الدفوف.

(22) وايضا في موضع اخر ان روسا الشعب قالوا لاسراييل "هذا عيد الرب يكون في شيلو من عام الى عام وبنات شيلو يخرجن يسفنن بالدفوف. امضوا الى هناك واختطفوا لكم جوارى حسنات". وهذا معروف انه يسمي العذاري جوارى لانه لم يكن جرت لهم عادة ان يختطف احد نسا الرجال.

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SYXMABP

3-1 فان - ولكن: فان قال قايل لليهودي ان اشعيا النبي قال ان عذرا تحبل وتلد ابنا فانه ينكر هذا ويقول. ليس العذرا يقول اشعيا ولكن P 1 قال: قيل A 1 قايل لليهودي: اليهودي M لليهودي A 1 ان هذا: اهذا A 1 هو حق A ~ 1 فانه + ما A 1 ويشهد: بل يشهد A ويقاوم ويشهد B 1 فان - قايل: واذا سمع A 1 العذرى: العذرا B 2 حق: حقا A 2 الذي: التي B 2 اشعيا النبي: النبي اشعيا M اشعيا A عنها اشعيا B 2 العذرى: العذرا B 3 وتلد + ابن A 3 للعذرى: للعذرا B 3 يدعوا: يدعي A > M 3 ولكن: لكن A 3 التي > X 3 امرأة: مرت M امره A 4 ولقد - ان: والحال انه B ولقد راينا P 4 موضع + من B 4 الجوارى عذاري: العذري الجوارى AM الجوارى عذاري PB 4 العازر: اليعازر B 4 عبد: عند Y 4 ابراهيم BMS 5 رفته: رفقا PM 5 قال + انه B 5 للما: الما PB 5 فخرجت: خرجت B 5 عذرى: عذرا P 6 وداوود - ايضا: وقال داوود النبي ايضا AM وقال داوود النبي B وداوود ايضا P 6 بين > AM 6 السافقات: الصافقات P 6 للعذاري: العذاري BXY 7 لهم: لهم PBAY 8 روسا: رروسا A 8 هذا + هو ان B 8 شيلو: شيلوم X شيلوا A 8 من > X 9 شيلوا: شيلوم X شيلو B 9 يسفنن: ليسفنن M يسفنن A ويصفقن P 9 الى > B 9 حسنات: حسان B 10 انه: لانه AM 10 العذاري: العذرا > P B 10 جوارى: جوارى Y 10 جرت: جرى B 10 لهم: لهم A 10 يختطف: يختطفوا B 10 احد: > B + احد X 10 الرجال: الرجال M

(19) Et si on dit au Juif que ce n'est pas vrai, il se querellera et affirmera qu' il a raison. Mais si on dit que la Vierge enfanta, il cherchera querelle et fera front. Il dira que ce n'est pas vrai, il dira que là où le prophète Isaïe dit que *la vierge deviendra enceinte et enfantera*<sup>66</sup>, il entendait, croit-il, non pas une vierge, mais une jeune femme, c'est-à-dire une femme mariée.

(20) Mais nous savons bien que l'Écriture appelle partout jeunes femmes comme «vierges». Ainsi, quand Éléazar, serviteur d'Abraham, alla chercher Rebecca en mariage et se tenait près du puits pour avoir de l'eau, et qu'une jeune femme vint puiser de l'eau, alors il dit: «*Une vierge qu'aucun homme ne l'avait connue*<sup>67</sup>».

(21) De même le prophète David dit: «*Au milieu de jeunes filles battant du tambourin dans les assemblées*<sup>68</sup>», désignant les vierges comme des «jeunes femmes», parce que ce sont bien celles-là qui ont l'habitude de battre du tambourin.

(22) Dans un autre endroit les princes du peuple disent à Israël: «*Voici la fête du Seigneur qui se déroule à Siloé d'une année à l'autre, et les filles de Siloé sortiront et battront du tambourin. Allez-y et enlevez pour vous de belles jeunes femmes*<sup>69</sup>». Ici il est évident que ce sont les vierges qui sont appelées «jeunes femmes», puisque personne n'a la coutume d'enlever des femmes mariées.

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66 Is. 7, 14.

67 Gen. 24, 16.

68 Ps. 67, 26-27.

69 Iud. 21, 19-21.

(23) ولكن اذا ما هم انقطعوا وكلوا عن هذا الجواب يلتجون الى اخر قايلين "انه كان رجل مطغي مبطل الناموس ومن اجل هذا قتلناه". وهو كان يقول "لم اتي ان احل الناموس والانبيا ولكن لاكل. وما اتيت الا الى الخراف التي ضلت من اسراييل". والذين كانوا يؤمنون به الى الاله اسراييل كان يرسلهم.

5 (24) ولم يعلم شي ضاد لتعليم موسى. لان موسى قال "حب ربك والاهك وحب قريبك كنفسك" وربنا ايضا لما ساله بعض معلمهم "ماذا اصنع حتى ارث حياة الابد؟" قال له "اسمع يا اسراييل الرب الالهك واحد هو. حب ربك والاهك من كل قلبك وحب قريبك كنفسك". وربنا ايضا قال "انه لا يجوز للانسان ان يعبد ربين".

10 (25) ولكنهم يقولون انه جدف اذ دعا نفسه الاله. ولك انت ماذا رزا هذا؟ هل موسى ما دعي اله ما قال له الله "اني قد جعلتك اله لفرعون؟" والصديقين في الناموس اليس قد دعوا الهة حيث قال "انا

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SYXMABP

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1 ولكن: ولكهم B+ اعني اليهود P ما > A 1 هم > B 1 انقطعوا: اقطعوا M+ اليهود B 1 الجواب  
+ الجواب S 1 يلتجون: يلتجوا P 1 الى اخر: الي اعتداد آخر P 1-2 رجل - مبطل: رجلا مطغيا مبطلا  
A رجل مطغ مبطل P 2 الناموس: للنموس Y 2 وهو: والحال انه B 2 كان: فكان A 2 يقول: واني  
BAM + اني P 2 اتي: ات PAX 2 ان احل: احل PM لاجل BAX 2 لاكل: لاكلهم B 3 التي  
ضلت: الضاله A 3 اسراييل: اسراييل AM 5 ولم يعلم: وليس عمل M وليس علم A 5 شي: شيا PBA  
5 ضاد: مضاد Y 5 لان موسى: لانه M لان A 5 والاهك: والاهك BM 6 معلمهم: معلمهم M  
معلمهم A 6 حياة الابد: Y non legitur 6 حياة: الحياه BAM 6 الابد: الابدية BAM 7 الالهك  
الهك: X الهك الرب M الالهك رب B 7 حب: تحب BX 7 ربك - من: Y non legitur 7 ربك  
والاهك: الهك وربك XY الهك M الرب الالهك B 7 كنفسك: مثل نفسك AM 7-8 وربنا -  
ربين > PBAM 7 وربنا ايضا: + وربنا ايضا Y<sup>anc</sup> 9 ولكنهم: غير انهم P S non legitur 9 يقولون:  
يقولوا X+ ايضا B 9 اذ: اذا A 9 دعا: دعي BAM جعل P 9 الاله: الالهها BA 9 ولك: ولكن  
B نقول ولك P 9 ماذا رزا: ماذا ارزا AM ماذا رزاك B ما الذي ارزي P 9 هل: لعل B 9 اله: الها  
A الاله PBXY 9 ما: اما PA اذ B 10 له: > AM 10 قد: > PBAM 10 الاله: الالهها PXY الالهها B  
10 اليس: ليس X الدين mB P 10-1.310 انا - اوليك > B 10-1.310 انا قلت X >

(23) Mais s'ils s'arrêteront fatigués à cause de ces questions, ils aborderont un autre argument en disant: «Cet homme était un blasphémateur<sup>70</sup>, qui détruisait et abolissait la Loi; c'est pourquoi nous l'avons tué». Lui, cependant, il disait: «*Je suis venu non pour abolir la Loi et les prophètes, mais pour accomplir*<sup>71</sup>; *Je ne suis venu que pour les brebis perdues d'Israël*<sup>72</sup>»; et ceux qui crurent en lui, Il les conduisit vers le Dieu d'Israël.

(24) Et Il n'enseignait rien qui eût été contraire à l'enseignement de Moïse. En effet, Moïse dit: «*Tu aimeras ton Seigneur et ton Dieu*<sup>73</sup>», et: «*Tu aimeras ton prochain comme toi-même*<sup>74</sup>»; et notre Seigneur, Lui-aussi, quand un de ses disciples lui demanda: «*Que dois-je faire pour hériter la vie éternelle?*<sup>75</sup>», Il lui répondit: «*Écoute, ô Israël! Le Seigneur est ton Dieu unique; tu aimeras ton Seigneur et ton Dieu de tout ton cœur, et tu aimeras ton prochain comme toi-même*<sup>76</sup>», et notre Seigneur dit encore que *personne ne peut servir deux maîtres*<sup>77</sup>.

(25) Cependant, ils diront qu'Il blasphémait quand Il s'appela Lui-même «Dieu»<sup>78</sup>. Mais pourquoi cela te dérange-t-il? Moïse ne fut-il pas appelé «dieu»? Dieu, n'a-t-Il pas dit: «*Je t'ai fait dieu pour Pharaon*<sup>79</sup>»? Et les justes de la Loi, ne sont-ils pas appelés «dieux» là où il dit: «*J'avais dit: "Vous êtes des*

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70 Cf. Mt. 26, 65; Io. 10, 33.

71 Mt. 5, 17.

72 Mt. 15, 24.

73 Deut. 6, 5.

74 Lev. 19, 18.

75 Lc. 10, 27.

76 Lc. 10, 27.

77 Mt. 6, 24.

78 Cf. Io. 10, 33.

79 Ex. 7, 1.

قلت انكم الهة وبني العلي كلكم؟“ وان كانوا اوليك من اجل برهم دعيو الهة. هذا الذي هو بالحقيقة الاله تقولون انه جدف حيث دعا نفسه الاله.

(26) ان كان ما صنع اعمال الله فلا تومنوا. وان كان قال ان ”ابي حتى الان يعمل وانا ايضا اعمل“ وقال بالكلام واكمل بالفعال. اقام الموتى. نقا البرص. فتح عيون العمي. اشبع الجياع. طرد الشياطين. 5

(27) وان كانوا بهذا ما يومنون فليقولوا لنا ماذا هو الذي قبلوه من جزا غيرتهم ونحن نقتنع منهم. لان جميع الابرار الذين غاروا في التاموس شهادة غيرتهم معلنة في الكتب بالجزا الذي اخذوا. لان فحساس عند ما غار بالغيرة ”حسبت له غلبه في الاجيال“ كما قال داوود. والياس لما غار قتل انبيا البعل مركبة من نار نزلت في طلبه وشالته الى العلا. ويهوذا المنقبي الذي غار في التاموس قلادة ذهب وضعت

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SYXMABP

1 قلت > Y 1 وبني: بنوا M وبنو A 1 كلكم: + في مز مور' Pm 1 وان: فان PAX 1 كانوا: كان P  
 1 من - برهم: انهم من اجل ابراهيم B 1 هذا: فهذا PB 2 الاله: اله M 2 انه + قد P 2 دعا: دعي  
 PBA 2 الاله: اله M الها A الاله B 3 ان: فان B 3 فلا: ولا AM 3 تومنوا: تومنون AM تومنون به  
 B تومنوا به P 3 ان > PBM 3 ايضا > P 4 بالفعال: بالافعال M بالفعال B 4 نقا: نقى سس PBAXY  
 4 عيون: عين BAM 4 العمي: العميان BAM 6 كانوا: كنتم B 6 ما: لا PA 6 يومنون: تومنون  
 B 6 فليقولوا لنا: فليقولون M فيقولون A فقولوا لنا B 6 ماذا - قبلوه: ماذا هو قتله الذي M ماذا هو  
 الذي قتلتموه B ماذا الذي قبلوه P 6 من - غيرتهم: من جزى غيرتهم XY واي جزا صار لكم B 6 ونحن  
 نقنع: S non legitur 6 نقنع: فقتع M 6 منهم: معهم M منكم B 7 غاروا: جاره او M non legitur  
 S 7 بالجزا: بالجزى PMX 8 غار: نهض B 8 بالغيرة + سفر الفضاة P 8 حسبت: حسب PA  
 8 الاجيال: جيل الاجيال P + طباً B + في مز مور' Pm 8 داوود: داود M 8 والياس: وايلاس PXY  
 واليا M وايلا BA 8 قتل: قتل X 8 انبيا + في اسفار الملوك P 8-9 البعل - طلبه: باعل نزل في طلبه  
 مركبه نار في فعتة A 8 البعل: الباعل PB 9 من > M 9 وشالته: ورفعتة مرتقيا P > A 9 العلا:  
 العلو B العلي PY 9 المنقبي: مغبي M مغبي A المقابي B المكاباي P 9 التاموس + من يوسف ابن كريون P  
 9 قلادة ذهب: قليلا ذهب M قلادة ذهب A > B

*dieux et tous des fils du Très-Haut*<sup>80</sup> ? Alors, à cause de leur justice ils furent appelés « dieux », mais quand Celui qui est vraiment Dieu s'appelle Lui-même « Dieu », vous dites qu'Il blasphème.

(26) S'Il n'accomplissait pas les œuvres de Dieu, vous auriez pu ne pas croire, mais Il dit : « *Mon Père agit jusqu' à présent ; Moi-aussi, J' agis*<sup>81</sup> », et ce qu'Il dit en parole Il l'accomplit en acte : Il ressuscita les morts, purifia les lépreux, ouvrit les yeux des aveugles, rassasia les affamés et chassa les démons.

(27) Et s'ils n'y croient pas, qu'ils nous disent quelle récompense ils reçurent pour leur zèle, et nous serons persuadés par eux. En effet, à propos de tous les justes qui montrèrent la ferveur dans la Loi et dont le zèle fut attesté, l'Écriture témoigne de la récompense qu'ils reçurent. Ainsi, le fait que Phinées s'enflamma de zèle, « *cela lui fut imputé à victoire pour les générations*<sup>82</sup> », comme dit David. Et lorsqu'Élie agit avec zèle et tua les prophètes de Baal, un char de feu descendit et l'emporta aux cieux<sup>83</sup>. Une couronne d'or fut posée sur la tête de Judas Maccabée et il a été daigné d' (être élevé à) la hauteur de la

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80 Ps. 81, 6.

81 Io. 5, 17.

82 Ps. 105, 31.

83 Cf. 1 Mach. 2, 66.

على راسه واكرم بعظمة الكهنوت. وانتم الذين غرتم وقتلتم رجل مطغي كما تقولون ايما جزا نلتم وقد صنعتم مثل هذا الذكر.

(28) ولكن من اجل انهم يخزون ان يقولوا ماذا نالوا نقول نحن عنهم. ملكهم بطل. مدينتهم خربت. هيكلمهم طرح. كهنة ومعلمين ليس. الشعب كله اضمحل وافترق في السبي بين الامم.

5 (29) قل لي يا يهودي اين هي مدينتك؟ قال "الروم اخذوها". فان كان الروم اخذوا المدينة هل ترى اخذوا الروم الكهنوت؟ اين هي جميع محامد الناموس؟ اين هي تابوت العهد وقضيب هرون وقسط المن والالواح المكتوبة باصبع الرب؟ اين هي الذبايح والقرايين والكهنة والمعلمين؟

(30) عند ما كنتم تقتلون الانبيا كانوا الانبيا يكثررون بينكم. والان لما غرتم غيرة الناموس ليس ولا نبي واحد. عند ما كنتم تعبدون الاوثان كما يشهد النبي القايل ان "بعدد قراك صارت الهتك يا يهوذا" 10 كان الله يهتم بكم. والان وانتم تسجدوا لاله ابراهيم قد اغتاض عليكم. في الزمان الذي كنتم تبكمون افواه

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SYXMABP

1 راسه: + قنديل ذهب A 1 الكهنوت: الناموس B 1 وانتم: فانتم BAM 1 وقتلتم: فقتلتم PBAM  
 1 رجل مطغي: رجلا مطغيا A رجل مطغ P 1 ايما: انما M 1 جزا: جزى X 3 ولكن: لكن B  
 3 يخزون: يستجرون P 3 يقولوا: يقولون BM 3 ماذا: ما AM 3 نقول: ونقول M 4 طرح: سخب  
 M صخف A 4 ومعلمين: معلمون A 4 ليس: + لهم BAM 4 وافترق: وتفرق B 4 في السبي: بالسبي  
 B > A 4 الامم: الشعوب والامم X الشعوب PBAM 5 قل: قال M 5 قال: زعم P 5-6 ترى -  
 الكهنوت: ترى الروم اخذوا الكهنوت X ترى الكهنوت اخذوه الروم M ترى الكهنوت الروم اخذوه A  
 ترى اخذوا الكهنوت ايضا B الروم اخذوا الكهنوت P 6 محامد: مجايد BAM S<sup>a.c.</sup> 6 هي: هو P > M  
 6 هرون: هارون BMY 6 وقسط: شربه M وجره P 7 الرب: الله PBAM 7 هي الذبايح: هي A الذبايح  
 P 7 والمعلمين: والمعلمون A وللمعلمين B 8 تقتلون: تقبلون M تقتلوا B 8 كانوا الانبيا: S<sup>m</sup> 8 كانوا  
 : وكانوا P 8 الانبيا > AM 8 يكثررون: يكثرزون AM 8 ليس: ليس AM 9 واحد: بقية لكم P  
 9 بعدد: تعدد B 9 قراك: قواك M 10 بكم والان > B 10 بكم: بك AM 10 تسجدوا: تسجدون  
 PBAMX 10 لاله: الاله Y لاله P 10 ابراهيم: ابراهيم B 10 اغتاض: اغتاض BM 10 تبكمون:

نثلمون M تلبون BX

prêtrise<sup>84</sup>. Mais vous, qui avez montré du zèle et avez tué, comme vous dites, un homme blasphémateur, quelle récompense avez-vous reçue en faisant ce que vous avez fait ?

(28) Mais comme ils ont honte de dire ce qu'ils ont reçu, nous allons le dire à leur place : leur royaume est parti en fumée, leur ville a été dévastée, leur temple a été détruit, il n'y a plus de prêtres et de docteurs, le peuple entier s'est épuisé et délité dans la captivité des Gentils.

(29) Dis-moi, ô Juif, où est ta ville ? Il dit : « Les Romains l'ont prise ». Si les Romains ont pris la ville, alors penses-tu que les Romains ont aussi pris le sacerdoce ? Où sont tous les trésors de la Loi ? Où est l'arche de l'Alliance et le bâton d'Aaron, le vase contenant la manne et les tables écrites par le doigt du Seigneur ? Où sont les sacrifices et les offrandes, les prêtres et les docteurs ?

(30) Quand vous exterminiez les prophètes, vous en aviez plusieurs, et maintenant que vous vous enflamez de ferveur pour la Loi, il n'y a aucun prophète. Quand vous serviez les idoles, comme en témoigne le prophète en disant : « *Autant tu as de villes, autant tu as de dieux, ô Juda !*<sup>85</sup> », alors, Dieu prenait soin de vous ; et maintenant vous adorez le Dieu d'Abraham, mais il s'est fâché contre vous. Alors que vous faisiez taire les prophètes pour qu'ils ne prophétisassent pas, comme vous l'aviez dit à propos de Jérémie : « *Venez, coupons-*

84 Cf. 1 Mach. 10, 20 (à propos de Jonathan, frère de Judas).

85 Jer. 11, 13.

الانبياء الا يتنبوا كما قلتم عن ارميا "هلموا نقطع لسانه ولا ننصت ايضا الفاظه" كانت تنفياض النبوة لديكم. والان اتم تزعمون انكم تكرمون الانبياء قد نزحت النبوة عنكم.

(31) نشروا اشعيا فتكلم هوشع. رجموا هوشع فصاح اوريا. قطعوا راس اوريا فصرخ ارميا. طرحوا ارميا في الجب فركز حزقيال.

5 (32) فعند ما كانوا مثل القضاة هذا الانبياء كانت الخبيرات كثيرة لديهم. واليوم الذي يقرون الانبياء ويهدون الناموس قد كثرت شرورهم. ولكنهم يقولون لحال انهم في السبي زعم ليس لنا انبياء ومعلمين. في مصر اليس عبودية كنتم تتخمدون؟ ومع هذا فقد كان لكم موسى وهرون ومريم.

(33) ولا في بابل ايضا عدم الانبياء. حزقيال النبي معكم. يوشع ابن ايوذاذاق لديكم. عزريا المعلم عندكم. زوربابل كبير يهوذا معكم. دانيال وحنانيا وعزريا وميضايل بينكم. فاذا هو السبب الذي في السبي القديم كانت انبياءكم كثيرة والان ولا واحد؟ 10

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SYXMABP

1 الا: لكي لا B 1 ارميا+ النبي M 1 هلموا: هلم B 1 نصت: تنصت M ينصب B 1 الفاظه: لالفاظه A اقواله B الي اقواله P 1 تنفياض النبوة: ~ A 1 تنفياض: تنفاطر P 1 النبوة > B 2 لديكم: اليكم P 2 اتم: فانتم M 2 قد: وقد B 2 نزحت: نزلت M تزعت A non legitur S 2 عنكم: معكم B 3 نشروا: نشرتم P 3 اشعيا: شعيا P 3 رجموا هوشع: رجتموه P 3 فصاح: وصارا M وصارا A 3 اوريا: اوزيا A 3 قطعوا- اوريا: قطعوا راس اوزيا A قطعوا راسه P 3 ارميا: فصاح P 3-4 طرحوا ارميا: طرحته B > P 4 فركز: صرخ B 5 القضاة: القضاة B 5 حذا: جزا AM جدا > P 5 الانبياء: للانبياء P 5 الذي: الذين X اذ PB 5 يقرون: يقرأوا AM يقرأون B اتم تقرون P 6 ويهدون: ويهدون A ويهدوا B تدرسون P 6 الناموس: وتلونه M > P 6 كثرت شرورهم: كثرة شرورهم A + لديكم المصائب وتزايدت عليكم الشرور P 6 ولكنهم: غير انهم العميان القلوب P 6 لحال انهم: بسبب اننا A 6 زعم - لنا: ليس لنا زعم AM زعموا ليس لنا PB 7 ومعلمين: ومعلمون A ومعلمين وانا اقول لهم حيثما كنتم B 7 ليس: في PM 7 وهرون: وهارون M 8 معكم: معلم M كان معكم B 8 يوشع: يوسع AM 8 ابن: بن BXY 8 ايوذاذاق: يوزداق M يوزداق PB 8-9 عزريا- دانيال > AM 8 عزريا: عزرا X عزرا الكاتب P 9 زوربابل - يهوذا: زوربابل ويهوذا B زوربابل كبير يهوذا P 9 وحنانيا: وحنانيا Y حنانيا A 9 وعزريا: وعزريا Y 9 بينكم: معكم P 9 الذي: ان B 10 انبياءكم: انبياءكم B

*lui la langue pour ne plus entendre ses discours!*<sup>86</sup>», les prophéties étaient abondantes chez vous; et maintenant vous vous croyez rendre honneur aux prophètes, mais la prophétie s'est éloignée de vous.

(31) Ils scièrent Isaïe<sup>87</sup> et Osée se mit à parler; ils lapidèrent Osée et Urie clama; ils décapitèrent Urie<sup>88</sup> et Jérémie cria; ils jetèrent Jérémie dans le puits<sup>89</sup> et Ézéchiël se mit à prêcher.

(32) Quand ils se conduisaient envers les prophètes en bouchers, il leur advenait beaucoup de bienfaits. Aujourd'hui, cependant, quand ils lisent les prophètes et récitent la Loi, leurs maux accroissent. Alors, ils disent que c'est parce qu'ils sont en captivité que, d'après eux, « nous n'avons pas de prophètes ni docteurs ». Toutefois, en Égypte, ne serviez-vous pas en esclavage? Et nonobstant, vous aviez Moïse, Aaron et Mariam auprès de vous.

(33) De même, à Babylone, vous n'étiez pas privés de prophètes. Vous aviez le prophète Ézéchiël; vous aviez Josué, fils de Josédec<sup>90</sup>; vous aviez Azaria le docteur; vous aviez Zorobabel le gouverneur de Judée<sup>91</sup> avec vous; vous aviez Daniel, Hanania, Azaria et Misaël parmi vous. Pour quelle raison vos prophètes étaient naguère nombreux en captivité et maintenant vous n'en avez-vous pas un seul?

86 Ier. 18, 18.

87 Hebr. 11, 37; Ascension d'Isaïe, v, 1-16; Talmud de Babylone, Jévamoth, 49b; Targum sur II Reg. 21, 16.

88 Ier. 26, 20-23.

89 Ier. 38, 6.

90 Cf. I Esdr. 3, 2.

91 Cf. I Esdr., Ag. 1, 1.14, 2, 2.21.

(34) ولكنهم يقولون ايضا اذا ما رجعنا زعم وصعدنا كمن مصر عند ذلك تكثر لنا جميع الخيرات. اوريني الوعد الموضوع المحدود لصعودك وانا اصدقك. لان في السبي القديم كانت المدة محدودة عن مقامكم ومتى تصعدون. في مصر احد لكم اربع مائة وثلثين سنة وفي بابل سبعين سنة كما يشهد ارميا حيث يقول "ابنوا بيوت واجلسوا وانصبوا البساتين وكلوا اثمارها. لانه اذا ما كل لبابل سبعين سنة يخلصهم". ففي هذا السبي الاخير من اجل ماذا لم يُحد لكم مدة صعودكم. ما كتب فاما انكم ما تصعدون فقد كتب.

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(35) وان دانيال يقنعكم وهو يقول عن مدينتكم انها الى كمال القطع ثبت على الجبال. وان كنتم ليس تقبلون دانيال فان اشعيا يوبخكم. وهو يقول "كرم كان لحبيب في زاوية البلد السمين" في بلد فلسطين لان في بير البلد الجواني كانوا في ذلك الزمان. "فقلحه واحاط به سياج ونصب فيه اغصان

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 SYXMABP
 

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1 ولكنهم + الاشقيا P 1 يقولون - رجعنا: *S non legitur* 1 ايضا > PY 1 وصعدنا كمن: وصعدانا كم من M وصعدنا كما وصعدنا من A 1 تكثر: *S non legitur* 1 جميع الخيرات: الخيرات جميعا A 2 اوريني اريني M 2 الموضوع + والوقت P 2 لصعودك: لصعودكم Y 3 احد: احد M حد BA 3 اربع مائة: اربعمائة BA 3 وثلثين: وثلثون M وثلثون BA 3 بابل + احد لكم X 3 سبعين: سبعون BA 4 بيوت: بيوتا PBA 4 واجلسوا: واسكنوها B 4 البساتين: بساتين A بساتينا P 4 اثمارها: ثمارها PBA 4 سبعين: سبعون BA 4 سنة + ارميا حيث يقول ابنوا بيوت واجلسوا وانصبوا البساتين وكلوا اثمارها. لانه اذا ما كل لبابل سبعين سنة Y 5 يخلصهم: يخلصكم الرب AM 5 الاخير: الاخر M 5 ماذا: اي شي B 5 لم يُحد: اخذت M > A 5 لم: *S non legitur* 5 لكم مدة: ما كانت A + اما P 5 صعودكم + فن اجل انجم تصعدون X 5 ما كتب > A 5 ما: لما BM 6 كتب + عن ذلك شيئا اصلا قطعاً فاما انكم ما تصعدون فقد كتب B 7 وان دانيال: وذلك ان دانيال X ودانيال A وها دانيال B 7 وهو يقول: اذ يقول B ويقول P 7 كمال: تمام AM 7 ثبت: يثبت M 8 ليس: لم M ما A لا B 8 اشعيا: شعيا P 8 يوبخكم: يوتبكم P 8 لحبيب: لحبيبي M 8 زاوية: زاوية M زاوته B 8 السمين: B > 8-9 في - الزمان: فلسطين لان من البلد الجواني كانوا في ذلك الزمان MX يعني في بلد فلسطين لان في نير البلد الجواني كانوا في ذلك الزمان BA > P 9 بير > Y 9 كانوا: ذلك: *S non legitur* 9 واحاط به: واحاطه A 9 سياج: سياجا BAM 9 ونصب - اغصان > P 9 ونصب: *S non legitur* 9 اغصان: اغصانا BA

(34) Mais ils disent encore: «Si nous retournions et faisons l'exode, comme depuis l'Égypte, toute sorte de bienfaits augmenterait alors en nous». Dans ce cas-là, montre-moi la promesse que tu as avais reçue, qui mettrait terme à ton retour, et je te croirai. Dans la captivité d'avant, en effet, un terme vous a été fixé à partir de votre installation jusqu'à votre retour. En Égypte quatre cent trente ans vous furent fixés<sup>92</sup> et à Babylone soixante-dix ans, comme l'atteste Jérémie en disant: «*Bâtiessez des maisons, et habitez-les; plantez des jardins, et mangez-en les fruits*<sup>93</sup>», puisque «*dès que soixante-dix ans seront écoulés à Babylone, il les délivrera*<sup>94</sup>». Pourquoi, alors, un terme de votre retour ne vous a pas été fixé dans cette dernière captivité? Il n'est rien écrit à propos de cela, mais il est écrit que vous ne retournerez pas<sup>95</sup>!

(35) Si Daniel vous persuade, en disant de votre ville qu'au terme de la désolation elle s'établira dans les montagnes<sup>96</sup>, et si vous n'acceptez pas Daniel, alors Isaïe vous réprimandera. Il dit: «*Mon bien-aimé avait une vigne, sur un coteau dans la terre fertile*<sup>97</sup>», (c'est-à-dire) dans le pays de la Palestine, car c'est au puits dans l'intérieur des terres qu'ils se trouvaient en ce temps-là. «*Il se mit à la cultiver, l'entoura d'une enceinte, y plaça des ceps; il bâtit une tour au*

92 Cf. Gen. 15, 13.

93 Ier. 29, 5.

94 Ier. 29, 10.

95 Nous n'avons pas identifié l'allusion biblique.

96 Cf. Dan. 11, 45.

97 Is. 5, 1.

وبنا فيه برجا ايضا وصنع فيه معصره". فدعا فلحان للكرازة والسياج الناموس والاغصان الملك والبرج والكهنوت والمعصرة المعمودية.

(36) وبعد هذا قال "رجوت ان يصنع عنب فصنع خرنوب. الان يا رجاله يهوذا وسكان اورشلام احكموا فيما بيني وبين كرمي. ماذا كان يجب ان اصنع بكرمي فلم اصنعه الذي عوض العنب قد صنع خرنوب". اذن عقوبة الكرم عدمان الخيرات يكون. "اهدم برجه فيكون للنهب. واثغر سياجه ويكون للدوس. واصنعه ان يخرب ولا يكسح ولا يفلح. وينبت فيه الشوك والعوسج. وامر السحب الا تقطر عليه الامطار". رايت كيف قطع النبي فقال عن خراب الكرم.

(37) الانبيا تركز انك ليس ترجع وانت تقول انك لراجع حسب الاقناع. خاطبكم القديس استافنس "انكم في كل وقت تقاومون روح القدس". الانبيا يركزون بالجد وهم يفسرون مقلوب. الانبيا يقولون ان المسيح قد اتا وهم يقولون لا. الانبيا يقولون ان المدينة تخرب من قبل الابن وهم يقولون ليس هذا حق.

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SYXMABP

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1 وبنا: وبني BA 1 ايضا > PB 1 فدعا: فدعي PX 1 فلحان: الفلحان PB 1 للكرازة: الكرازه PB  
 2 والكهنوت: الكهنوت PBAMX 3 عنب: عنبا PBAX 3 خرنوب: شوكا A خرنوبا PB 3 الان:  
 فالان P 3 رجالة: رجال PAM 3 وسكان: ويا سكان AM 3 اورشلام: اورشليم PBAMX 4 فيما  
 فيكلا M 4 فلم: ولم A 5 خرنوب: شوكا A 5 اذن: اذا BAMXY فاذا P 5 عدمان: عدم  
 A 5 يكون: تكون PBAM 5 فيكون: فليكون M 5 واثغر: وادثر M واقلع A 5 ويكون: فليكون M  
 فيكون P 6 للدوس: للموطا M للموطي A 6 واصنعه: واجعله B 6 ان: يكون M 6 ولا- يفلح: ولا  
 يفلح ولا يكسح B 6 ولا يفلح > M 6 وينبت: وانبت M 6 والعوسج: والشبرق BAM 6 السحب:  
 السحاب B 6 الا: ان لا PA لا B 7 الامطار: لا تقطر B<sup>m</sup> 7 رايت: ارايت BA 8 الانبيا: والانبيا  
 B 8 انك - حسب: S non legitur 8 خاطبكم: خاطبهم AM 8 استافنس: ستافنوس PX استيفانوس  
 BM اسطافانوس A 9 روح: الروح PBAX 9 القدس: فرجعتموه P 9 وهم: واليهود القساه الجفاه  
 P 9 مقلوب: بالمعلون B 9 يقولون: تقول BAM يكرزون P 10 ان > PA 10 اتا: اتى PBAXY  
 10-11 الانبيا - حق > AM 10 المدينة: اورشليم P 10 من قبل: في قبل B في قتل P

*milieu d'elle, et il y creusa aussi une cuve*<sup>98</sup>». Par les vigneron, il entendait des prêcheurs, par l'enceinte la Loi, par les ceps le royaume, par la tour les prêtres, par le pressoir le baptême.

(36) Et après cela il dit : « *J'espérais qu'elle produirait des grappes de raisin, mais elle a produit des caroubes. Maintenant donc, hommes de Juda et habitants de Jérusalem, soyez juges entre moi et ma vigne ! Qu'y avait-il encore à faire à ma vigne, que je n'aie pas fait pour elle et qu'elle ait produit des caroubes au lieu de raisin ?*<sup>99</sup> » Alors, la punition de la vigne sera la privation des bienfaits. « *J'en arracherai la tour, pour qu'elle soit broutée ; j'en abattrai la clôture, pour qu'elle soit foulée aux pieds ; je la réduirai en ruine ; elle ne sera plus taillée, ni cultivée ; les ronces et les épines y croîtront ; et je ordonnerai aux nuées qu'elles ne laissent plus tomber la pluie sur elle*<sup>100</sup> ». Vois-tu comment le prophète a affirmé et a parlé de la dévastation de la vigne ?

(37) Les prophètes annoncent que tu ne retourneras point, et tu dis que tu y retourneras par conviction. Saint Étienne vous dit : « *Vous vous opposez toujours au Saint Esprit*<sup>101</sup> ». Les prophètes prêchent diligemment, et eux, ils interprètent à contresens. Les prophètes disent que le Christ est déjà venu, et eux, ils disent que non. Les prophètes disent que la ville sera détruite par le Fils, et eux, ils disent que ce n'est pas vrai.

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98 Is. 5, 2.

99 Is. 5, 2-4.

100 Is. 5, 5-6.

101 Act. 7, 51.

(38) وائي لمشتاق ان افسر كلام اشعيا النبي عن الكرم لكلام ربنا في الانجيل وتنظر كيف يتفق الكلام بعضه مع بعض الحديثه مع العتيقة.

(39) قال ربنا وهو يخاطب اليهود "رجل واحد نصب كرما واحاط به سياجا وحفر فيه معصرة وبنا فيه برجا واسلمه الى الفلاحين وانصرف". ليس ان الله انصرف عنه قال ولكنه امهل مدة للكرم حتى ياتي باثمار. 5

(40) "وفي زمان الاثمار ارسل بعض عبيده ليعطوه الاثمار في اوقاتها فضربوه وارسلوه فارغاً. ثم انه زاد وارسل اخرين وايضا ولهاولا ضربوا وقتلوا". وهذا يدل على ما كانوا يصنعون بالانبيا.

(41) ففي الاخر قال صاحب الكرم "ارسل ابني الحبيب لعلهم يبصرون فيستحون". يا سيدي وما تعلم انهم ليس يسمعون من الابن. قال "انا اعلم انهم ليس يقبلوه ولكن حتى اوربهم شرهم واعرفهم ايضا صلاحي الذي لم ادخره عنهم ولدي الحبيب". 10

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SYXMABP

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1 لمشتاق : لموشر B 1 ان افسر : واشبه PAM ان اشبيه B 1 كلام : قال B 1 النبي > B 1 وتنظر :  
 وتنظر PBMX 3 اليهود : ليهود M 3 رجل واحد : رجلا واحدا B 3 واحاط به : واحاطه A 3 وبنا :  
 وبني BA 4 واسلمه : وسلمه A 4 ولكنه : ولكنه AM لكنه B 4 امهل : امهله A 5 باثمار : باثماره  
 B 6 ليعطوه : ليقطعوا M ليقطفوا A 6 اوقاتها : اوانها BAM 6-7 انه - وارسل : انه ارسل M ارسل  
 A انه اراد وارسل B 7 اخرين : اخير الانبيا P 7 وايضا > B 7 ولهاولا : لهولاي X هولولا BAM ولا  
 هولاء قبلوا بل P 7 ضربوا : ظربوا M 7 يصنعون : يصنعوه B 8 ابني : البني A 8 لعلهم : فلعلهم B  
 8 يبصرون فيستحون : اذا ابصروه سيستحوا منه B يبصروه فيستحون P 8 يا سيدي : يا سيد P 8 وما :  
 او ما PBA 9 من : لا P 9 من : ولا من P 9 يقبلوه : يقبلونه A 9 اوربهم : اروبهم M 10 الذي :  
 اني B 10 ادخره : اوخره XY ادكره M ادخر B انحل P 10 ولدي : بولدي P

(38) Je désire expliquer les paroles d'Isaïe à propos de la vigne à travers les paroles de notre Seigneur dans l'Évangile; tu verras comment une parole concorde avec l'autre, (celle de) la Nouvelle (Alliance) avec (celle de) l'Ancienne.

(39) Notre Seigneur dit en s'adressant aux Juifs: « *Un homme planta une vigne, et l'entoura d'une haie, y creusa un pressoir, bâtit une tour et il la donna à des vigneronns et s'en alla*<sup>102</sup> ». Il ne dit pas que Dieu s'éloigna d'elle, mais qu'Il fixa un terme à la vigne pour qu'elle porte le fruit.

(40) « *Au temps de la récolte, il envoya un de ses serviteurs, pour qu'ils lui donnent les fruits en leurs temps, mais ils le battirent et renvoyèrent les mains vides. Alors, il s'affligea et en envoya d'autres, mais ils les battirent et tuèrent*<sup>103</sup> ». Cela montre bien ce qu'ils faisaient aux prophètes.

(41) Enfin, le maître de la vigne dit: « *J'enverrai vers eux mon fils bien-aimé, peut-être qu'ils le verront et auront honte*<sup>104</sup> ». Ô mon Seigneur! Ne sais-tu pas qu'ils n'obéiront pas au Fils non plus? Il dit: « Je sais qu'ils ne le recevront pas, mais c'est pour montrer leur méchanceté et aussi pour faire voire ma miséricorde, puisque je n'ai pas caché d'eux mon Fils bien-aimé<sup>105</sup> ».

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102 Mt. 21, 33.

103 Mt. 21, 34-36.

104 Mt. 21, 37.

105 Cf. Rom. 8, 32.

(42) فلما راووا الابن قالوا "هذا هو الوارث. هلموا بنا نقتله وتكون ورثته لنا". فاخذوه واخرجوه خارج الكرم فقتلوه. سألهم ربنا كم مثل اشعيا النبي حتى يحكموا على نفوسهم ماذا يجب ان يصنع باوليك الفلاحين. فاجابوه قائلين "باشر الشر يهلكهم ويعطي الكرم لفلاحين اخرين الذين يعطون الاثمار في اوقاتها". فاجابهم ربنا قايلاً "من اجل هذا توخذ منكم ملكوة الله وتعطا للشعب اخر يصنع اثمار".

5

(43) اذن يا احباي اليهود ليس يومنون انها اخذت منهم ملكوت الله لانهم لم يصدقوا قول الانبيا. فاما نحن المومنين بالانبيا ويرب الانبيا فلنومن ونتحقق ان ملكوة الله قد اعطينا الذي منها طرحوا اليهود.

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 SYXMABP
 

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1 فلما: ولما P 1 راووا: رآوا X راوا BMY راوا A ابصروا P 1 وتكون - لنا: وتكون وراثته لنا M ويصير لنا ميراثه A ويكون ورثه لنا P 1 فاخذوه > B 1 واخرجوه: فاخرجوه B 2 فقتلوه: وقتلوه B 2 سألهم: فسألهم B 2 كم مثل: مثل B 2 النبي > AM 2 يحكموا: يحكمون هم M 2 نفوسهم: انفسهم BM 3 باوليك: باولايك P 3 فاجابوه: فاجابوا A 3 ويعطي: ويدفع M 3 الذين يعطون: يعطون A الذين يعطوه B > M 4 اوقاتها: اوانها BAM 4 قايلاً: قايلاً M 4 ملكوة: ملكوت BY 4 وتعطا: وتعطي PBAM 4 اخر > PBAM 5 اثمار: اثمار B الاثمار P 6 اذن: اذا PMXY فاذن A فاذا B 6 اليهود - يومنون: ليس يومنون اليهود B 6 انها: ان قد P + قد AM 6 منهم + الاشقياء P 6 ملكوت: ملكوه A 6 يصدقوا - الانبيا: يصدقون الانبيا BMX يصدقوا بالانبيا A يصدقوا الانبيا PY 6 قول > Y 7 فاما: واما M 7 المومنين - ويرب: المصدقين الانبيا والمومنين يرب B المومنون بالانبيا ويرب P 7 فلنومن: فلنمين B 7 ونحقق: ونحقق M ولنتحقق B 7 ملكوة - اعطينا: قد اعطينا ملكوت الله X ملكوت السما اعطينا M ملكوه الله قد اعطيناها A ملكوت الله قد اعطيناها B 7 ملكوة: ملكوت Y 7 الذي: التي PBAM 7 منها > B 8 اليهود + الكفار الغير المحافظني B

(42) *Mais, quand les vigneronns virent le fils, ils dirent: «Voici l'héritier; venez, tuons-le et son héritage sera à nous». Et ils se saisirent de lui, le conduisirent hors de la vigne et le tuèrent<sup>106</sup>. Le Seigneur les demanda, tout comme le prophète Isaïe, de juger entre eux ce qu'il convient faire à ces vigneronns? Alors ils répondirent ainsi: «Qu'il châtie leur méchanceté avec le mal et qu'il donne la vigne à d'autres vigneronns, qui lui en donneront le fruit à son temps<sup>107</sup>». Et le Seigneur leur répondit: «C'est pourquoi le Royaume de Dieu vous sera enlevé et il sera donné à une autre nation qui en rendra les fruits<sup>108</sup>».*

(43) Alors, mes bien-aimés, les Juifs ne croient pas que le Royaume de Dieu leur a été enlevé, parce qu'ils ne croient point aux paroles des prophètes. Mais nous, nous croyons aux prophètes et au Maître des prophètes et, pour cela, soyons assurés et convaincus que le Royaume de Dieu, duquel les Juifs ont été chassés, nous a été donné.

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106 Cf. Mt. 21, 38-39.

107 Mt. 21, 41.

108 Mt. 21, 43.

(44) فلتتحفظ اذن ليلا نسقط بشبة اوليك الذين لم يؤمنوا لانه ان كان على الاغصان التي في الطبع لم يشفق لما جهلت واست لكنه ربما بها عن الشجرة. فنحن الذين طعمنا في موضعها ماذا ترى ينالنا الا ان نكل مشية الله الذي احبنا.

(45) ولنسل ربنا ان يصنع مذاقة محبته ثابتة فينا وتظهر رواج معرفته فينا في كل حين الى دهر الداهرين امين. 5

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SYXMABP

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1 فلتتحفظ: فلتحفظ B 1 اذن: اذا XY اذا نحن > PA 1 يؤمنوا: يؤمنون BM 1 التي: الذي M 1 في M > 1 الطبع + والخاصين P 2 يشفق + الله P 2 لما: حين B 2 لكنه: ولكنها BAM 2 ربما: اومي M رمي BA بل رمي P 2 الشجرة: القرمه B 2 موضعها: موضعها M 2 ترى: ترا M تراه B 3 الا ان: اذ لم BA 3 نكل + م M 3 مشية: مشيته ونودى حق ما يجب له علينا حسب محبته ايانا الذي اختارنا له امته مقدسه وشعب نختيار من ساير اكمام وصرنا بنينا ووارثين بعد ان كآ اعداه ومبغضين B 3 الله > PBAM 3 الذي احبنا > B 4 ولنسل: فلنسل Y ولنسال B 4 ربنا + والا هنا ومخلصنا يسوع المسيح ابن الله وابن مريم البتول B 4 يصنع: يحمل B 4 مذاقة > B 4 ثابتة: ابنه > P AM 4 فينا: في قلوبنا B 4-5 وتظهر - امين: ويظهر قلوبنا الذي له ينبغي المجد والكرامه والسجود الان وكل اوان والي دهر الداهرين اين وامين M ويظهر رواج معرفتنا في كل حين الي دهر امين A ويظهر تسميه معرفته في حواسنا كل حين فان له التسبحة والعظمه الجلال وعلينا رحمته الى جميع الادهار امين B وتظهر رواج معرفته فينا. كل حين الي دهر الداهار امين. والسبح لله دائما ابدا P

(44) Prenons garde de n'en être pas retranchés à l'instar de ceux qui ne crurent pas, parce qu'Il *n'a pas épargné les branches naturelles*<sup>109</sup> quand elles devinrent sauvages et desséchées, et Il les a retranchées de l'arbre. Et nous, qui *avons été enté à leur place*<sup>110</sup>, pour quelle raison, penses-tu, nous accepte-t-Il, si ce n'est pour que nous accomplissions la volonté de Dieu qui nous a aimés ?

(45) Demandons donc à notre Seigneur qu'Il redouble en nous la saveur de son amour et que le parfum<sup>111</sup> de sa connaissance nous soit manifesté, en tout temps, dans les siècles des siècles. Amen.

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109 Rom. 11, 21.

110 Rom. 11, 17.

111 Cf. Apoc. 5, 8; 8, 4.

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## *The Noetic Paradise (al-Firdaws al-‘aqlī):* Chapter XXIV

*Alexander Treiger*

*The Noetic Paradise* is an anonymous Greek mystical and ascetic treatise, written between the eighth and the eleventh centuries, probably in Palestine or Sinai (though Byzantine provenance cannot be excluded). The Greek original appears to be lost, and the treatise is preserved only in an Arabic translation (entitled *al-Firdaws al-‘aqlī*), produced, most likely, in Antioch or its environs in the eleventh or twelfth century (the earliest manuscript—Sinai Ar. 483—dates to 1178). The treatise discusses the primordial fall of the human mind (νοῦς) from the “noetic paradise,” i.e., the angelic realm of contemplation, and the ascetic practices required to gain re-admittance into it.<sup>1</sup>

While almost forgotten among Arabophone Christians today, *The Noetic Paradise* seems to have been extraordinarily popular from the late twelfth to the early twentieth century both among the Arabic Chalcedonian Christians (the so-called Melkites)—who were responsible for translating it from Greek into Arabic in the first place—and among the Copts. The thirteenth-century Copto-Arabic scholar al-Ṣafī ibn al-‘Assāl produced an abridgment of it.<sup>2</sup> Moreover,

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- 1 For a general discussion of *The Noetic Paradise* and four excerpts in translation, see Alexander Treiger, “*The Noetic Paradise*,” in Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger (eds.) *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World (700–1700): An Anthology of Sources*, DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 2014, pp. 188–200. The text’s Greek provenance is provable on philological grounds, as will be evident from the discussion below. It is, moreover, demonstrated by its close affinities with, as well as citations from and allusions to, Greek Patristic texts, particularly Evagrius, the Macarian Homilies, Dorotheus of Gaza, and John Climacus. Some preliminary observations have been offered by David Günzburg, “Manuscripts Arabes, Coptes etc.,” in David Günzburg et al., *Les Manuscrits arabes (non compris dans le n° 1), Karchounis, Grecs, Coptes, Éthiopiens, Arméniens, Géorgiens et Bâbys de l’Institut des Langues Orientales*, St. Petersburg, 1891 [repr. Amsterdam, Celibus, 1971], pp. XIV and 58–77, esp. p. 69; cf. Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, pp. 301 and 413–414; vol. 2, pp. 370–371; Nasrallah, *HMLÉM*, vol. 2.1, pp. 98–99.
  - 2 Al-Ṣafī ibn al-‘Assāl, *Kitāb al-Firdaws al-‘aqlī, muḥtaṣar al-‘ālim al-ṣayḥ al-Ṣafī ibn al-‘Assāl*, ed. Andrā’ūs al-Anṭūnī, Cairo, Maṭba‘at ‘Ayn Ṣams, 1912 (apparently based on manuscript Monastery of St. Antony, Theol. 320, copied by the same Andrā’ūs al-Anṭūnī in 1906)—I am grateful to Barbara Roggema for a photocopy of this edition. Cf. Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 397; Georg

two copies of *The Noetic Paradise* have survived in manuscripts of Syrian Orthodox (“Jacobite”) provenance, written in Syriac script (Garšūnī). One manuscript (in Arabic script) is extant also at an Armenian Catholic institution, Our Lady of Bzommar in Lebanon.<sup>3</sup> An inventory of the manuscripts of *The Noetic Paradise* and of al-Šafī ibn al-‘Assāl’s abridgment—66 manuscripts and manuscript fragments in total—is presented in Appendix A below.

In what follows, I shall offer an English translation of the final section of the treatise: Chapter XXIV.<sup>4</sup> The translation is based on a sample critical edition, presented in Appendix B below. As the edition shows, the manuscripts are not uniform in how they conclude the treatise, some of them cutting it short, while others adding embellishments not original to the treatise.<sup>5</sup> For the concluding section, the translation will therefore follow the thirteenth-century manuscript Sinai Ar. 439 (siglum: E), the most reliable of all of the manuscripts examined, which also preserves the original ending. Following the translation, I shall offer a brief commentary with general remarks about *The Noetic Paradise* and an analysis of biblical quotations contained in Chapter XXIV.

## 1 Translation of Chapter XXIV

(1) [St. Paul] also says: “God, whom I worship in my spirit” (Rom. 1:9). This conforms to the Lord’s utterance: “God is Spirit, and it is necessary to worship Him in spirit and truth” (Jn. 4:24).

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- Graf, “Die koptische Gelehrtenfamilie der Aulād al-‘Assāl und ihr Schrifttum,” *Orientalia*, n.s. 1 (1932), pp. 34–56, 129–148, 193–204, at pp. 140–141. It should also be mentioned that the *Firdaws* is cited in Ibn al-Rāhib’s *Kitāb al-Burhān* (Vat. Ar. 104, fol. 88<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Ar. 116, fol. 130<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Ar. 117, fol. 97<sup>r</sup>).
- 3 My sincere gratitude to Nikolai Seleznyov (National Research University Higher School of Economics, Institute for Oriental and Classical Studies, Moscow) for drawing my attention to these and several other manuscripts.
  - 4 Several manuscripts divide the treatise into twenty-four chapters. While it is quite certain that the chapter division is not original to the treatise (it is absent in the majority of manuscripts, including the most ancient ones), it is maintained here for convenience’s sake.
  - 5 Most other manuscripts contain an appendix with citations from Basil of Caesarea, and in one case three additional citations (one from an unspecified “philosopher,” *ba’d al-ḥukamā*, and two others from Baṭlimūs, i.e., Ptolemy). These citations have no connection to the treatise. One late manuscript (Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 483; siglum: Z) has omitted the original ending (probably due to physical damage in its antigraph) and substituted its own ending written in a flowery Arabic style.

(2) Here is an explanation of this, by God's power. Worship is of the following kinds: faith, prayer, supplication, prostration, glorification, reading, fasting, and the like.

(3) Faith must not proceed only in a sensory [manner], i.e., by the mouth, as though we satisfy a sensory god simply by expressing our faith in him. Rather, [it must be conducted] by the spirit: it is by the mind in us (*bi-l-'aql alladī fīnā*) that we must confess God, who has no body, have faith in Him, and believe in Him. If [on the contrary] the sensory [organ] confesses faith, while the mind doubts, this is not faith according to the spirit, but according to the flesh.

(4) Prayer, too, must not proceed only in a sensory [manner], as though through it we are conversing with a sensory man. By "sense" I mean here the sensory organ—i.e., the tongue—and the instrument of speech. Rather, because God is a spirit and has no body, one must worship Him by the spirit in us, i.e., by the spiritual mind, which has no body. If [on the contrary] the sensory [organ] is praying, while the mind dwells on other things, this is not worship according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, i.e., [conducted] by the tongue of flesh.

(5) Similarly, reading: if one reads in a sensory [manner], while the mind reads other things, this is not reading according to the spirit, but according to the flesh.

(6) Similarly, prostration: if one's body does the prostration, while the mind fails to participate in it, this is not prostration according to the spirit, but according to the flesh.

(7) Similarly, silence: if one is silent in a sensory [manner], i.e., by the tongue of flesh, while the mind keeps conversing about other things, this is [merely] a sensory silence, not a spiritual [silence].

(8) Similarly, asceticism and abstinence: if one abstains in a sensory [manner] from sensory things, while the spirit contemplates them, craves them, and takes possession over these desires, this is asceticism according to the flesh, not according to the spirit.

(9) Similarly, if a merciful person is merciful towards his neighbour and serves him in a sensory [manner], while his mind does not participate in mercy, but seeks other things instead, this is mercy according to the flesh, not according to the spirit.

(10) Similarly, if someone loves his neighbour in a sensory [manner], i.e., by the tongue, while his mind detests him and hates him, this is love according to the flesh, not according to the spirit.

(11) Similarly, if someone is gentle [with his neighbour] in a sensory [manner], while his mind is triumphant over him and resents him, this is sensory gentleness, not spiritual [gentleness].

(12) Similarly, if someone is chaste in a sensory [manner], while his mind contemplates fornication, this is bodily chastity, not spiritual [chastity].

(13) Similarly, if someone forgives his neighbour in a sensory [manner], i.e., by his tongue, while his spirit does not forgive him, this is forgiveness according to the flesh, not according to the spirit. The Lord says: “If you do not forgive your brothers, from the bottom of the heart, their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses” (cf. Mat. 6:15). (14) [The Lord] has commanded that one should worship Him with all one’s mind and reason, because, as He<sup>6</sup> says, the body “profits nothing, but the spirit gives life” (cf. Jn. 6:63). This means that actions done only according to the flesh and in a sensory [manner] are of no benefit, because the spirit does not participate in them. Only actions done by the spirit give life to the soul.

(15) Another explanation: When one understands the flesh of the divine sayings (*bašarat al-aqwāl al-ilāhiyya*) as [literally] written, it kills; but when one examines the spirit of their meanings, invisible in the writing, then through it the invisible spirit [in us], i.e., our mind, becomes alive (cf. 2 Cor. 3:6).

(16) Another explanation: Religious observances conjoined with contemplations of fleshly vices are of no benefit. Only acts of worship [conducted] in accordance with spiritual and noetic virtues give life to those performing them.  
†...†<sup>7</sup>

(17) An explanation of the authority that the mind has been given over using its faculties and its senses (*isti‘māl quwāhu wa-ḥawāssihī*): God endowed the mind with a property (*ḥāṣṣiyya*): the faculty of reason (*quwwat al-nuṭq*). He gave [the mind] the authority—in virtue of its [free] power over itself<sup>8</sup> and

6 I am omitting in translation *‘azza qawluhu* (as here) and similar honorifics.

7 One sentence is hopelessly corrupt and defies translation.

8 The underlying Greek term is obviously: αὐτεξούσιος.

its unrestricted ability to govern itself and its servants—to apply [the faculty of reason in one of two ways]. If it so wishes, it can apply it to practicing glorification [of God]; then it shall live by its choice. Or, if it so wishes, it can apply it to practicing acts of defamation and foul contemplations; then it shall die by its preference.

(18) [God] endowed [the mind] with the [internal] sense of reflection (*ḥāssat al-fīkr*).<sup>9</sup> He gave [the mind] the authority to apply [reflection] towards what it wishes. If it so wishes, it can use it to have reflections about the good. Or, if it so wishes, it can use it to reflect on evil.

(19) [God] endowed [the mind] with the [internal] sense of conceptualization (*ḥāssat al-taṣawwur*). He gave [the mind] the authority to apply [conceptualization in one of two ways]. If it so wishes, it can use it to conceptualize beneficial imaginations. Or, if it so wishes, it can use it to imagine concepts of destructive pleasures.

(20) [God] endowed [the mind] with the [internal] sense of memory (*ḥāssat al-dīkr*). He gave [the mind] the authority to apply [memory in one of two ways]. If it so wishes, it can use it to remember the good. Or, if it so wishes, it can use it to remember evil, thus bringing death upon itself.

(21) [God] endowed [the mind] with sense-perception (*al-ḥiss*). He gave [the mind] the authority to apply [sense-perception in one of two ways]. If it so wishes, it can use it to perceive virtue. Or, if it so wishes, it can use it to perceive vice.

(22) [God] endowed [the mind] with craving (*al-ṣahwa*). He gave [the mind] the authority to apply [craving in one of two ways]. If it so wishes, it can use it to crave the good and good actions. Or, if it so wishes, it can use it to crave evil and evil contemplations.

(23) [God] endowed [the mind] with the faculty of anger (*quwwat al-ḡaḍab*). He gave [the mind] the authority to apply [anger in one of two ways]. If it so wishes, it can use it to be angry at the vices and at those enticing towards them.

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9 According to *The Noetic Paradise*, reflection (*fīkr*) is one of the so-called “internal senses.” Several other internal senses (*taṣawwur*, *dīkr*, and *ḥiss*) are mentioned below. Normally, the list of “internal senses” in *The Noetic Paradise* includes also *dīhn*.

Or, if it so wishes, it can use it to be angry at the virtues and those commanding to practice them.

(24) [God] endowed [the mind] with choice (*al-‘azm*).<sup>10</sup> He gave [the mind] the authority to apply [choice in one of two ways]. If it so wishes, it can use it to choose to perform virtuous deeds. Or, if it so wishes, it can apply it to evil deeds.

(25) [God] endowed [the mind] with understanding (*al-ra‘y*).<sup>11</sup> He gave [the mind] the authority to apply [understanding in one of two ways]. If it so wishes, it can use it to pursue understandings that are beneficial both to the person and to his neighbour. Or, if it so wishes, it can use it to pursue harmful understandings.

(26) [God] endowed [the mind] with will and desire (*al-maš‘a wa-l-hawā*). He gave [the mind] the authority to apply [will and desire in one of two ways]. If it so wishes, it can use them to will and desire to perform the commandments. Or, if it so wishes, it can use them to pursue and wish vices.

(27) Similar is the case with the rational virtues (*al-faḍā’il al-nuṭqīyya*). If [the mind] so wishes, it loves the good. Or, if it so wishes, it loves evil. If it so wishes, it has faith. Or, if it so wishes, it rejects faith. If it so wishes, it has fear [of God]. Or, if it so wishes, it becomes rebellious. It is the same with the rest of the rational virtues.

(28) [Similar is the case with] the animal properties (*al-hāṣṣīyyāt al-ḥayawānīyya*)—there is no need to enumerate them. God gave the mind, which is endowed with [free] power over itself,<sup>12</sup> the authority to apply them to whatever it wills and chooses. Therefore, it rightly earns paradise and life when it performs, by its choice and will, those [actions] that render it worthy of them. Similarly, it is condemned to a punishment when it performs, by its will and choice, those [actions] that render it worthy of it. (29) [The mind] is neither compelled nor restricted [in its action]. Rather, it has the ability to govern both

10 The term *‘azm*, as used in *The Noetic Paradise*, seems to reflect the Greek προαίρεσις. It is translated accordingly.

11 The term *ra‘y*, as used in *The Noetic Paradise*, seems to reflect the Greek φρόνησις. It is translated accordingly.

12 Here again, the underlying Greek term is: αὐτεξούσιος.

itself and its senses. Therefore, it lives when it chooses life; and it dies when it chooses death. This means that if it chooses to apply its faculties and its senses to virtuous deeds and good actions, specific to each of these [faculties and senses], then it shall live. If [on the other hand] it chooses to apply them to vices, transgressing the boundaries appointed for each of them, then it shall die.

(30) It has been said: “Life and death have been set before man; whichever of the two he chooses and likes, that one he shall be given” (Sir. 15:17). This clarifies that man operates under no restriction or constraint. He has the power to govern himself. If he chooses the good and applies his senses and his properties to it, he shall live by it. If [on the other hand] he chooses evil and applies his senses and his properties to it, he shall die and perish.

(31) Adam’s example makes this clear. He sinned in the way he applied his properties and his senses. This is why he died and brought death upon his senses along with him. This is because he craved to become like a god (*īštahā al-taʿalluh*),<sup>13</sup> thus transgressing the boundary appointed for craving. He liked the pleasure of food, thus transgressing the boundary appointed for will. He chose to consume [this food], thus committing a mistake in the use of choice. He applied his understanding to it, thus transgressing the boundary appointed for understanding. He conceptualized vainglorious imaginings, thus transgressing the boundary appointed for conceptualization. He applied his reflection and reason to disobeying the commandment, thus transgressing the boundary appointed for these two. After that, he brought this to completion by means of his external senses. (32) This is how every virtue and vice is constituted:

13 In *The Noetic Paradise*, the term *taʿalluh* is always used in the negative sense of “becoming like gods” (Gn. 3:5), not in the positive sense of “deification.” The expression “craving to become like gods” (ἐπιθυμία θεώσεως) is also found in John of Damascus’ *Treatises on the Divine Images*, II.2 and III.1—see Bonifatius Kötter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 3, Berlin and New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1975, p. 69 (Εὐθύς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐλπὶδα καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν θεώσεως αὐτῷ ἔσπειρε καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ἀλόγων κατήγαγε θάνατον); English trans.: Andrew Louth, *St John of Damascus, Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, Crestwood, NY, St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003, pp. 60 and 81. John Climacus’ *Book of the Ladder* (one of the sources of *The Noetic Paradise*) also avoids the term “deification” in the positive sense—see Kallistos Ware, “Introduction,” in Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell (trans.), *John Climacus, The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1982, pp. 1–70, at p. 54; Angelo di Berardino, *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus (†750)*, trans. Adrian Walford, Cambridge, James Clarke & Co, 2006, p. 312.

the mind, along with its faculties, senses, and properties, performs [virtue or vice] with its invisible actions. After that, the flesh performs [virtue or vice] with its visible actions.

(33) This pattern applies to all virtues and vices, with the exception of the actions of ostentation, fraud, malice, and deception. The mind and its servants practice them and do certain things, while the flesh, under the mind’s orders, does their opposite.<sup>14</sup>

(34) The holy apostle Paul says in his second epistle to the Corinthians: “For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war according to the flesh. For the weapons of our warfare are not fleshly but mighty in God for pulling down strongholds, casting down thoughts and every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, bringing every intelligible [concept] to the obedience of Christ” (2 Cor. 10:3–5).

(35) Here is an explanation of the meaning of this. The weapons of the Christian warfare are not fleshly like an army’s weapons made of iron and [designed] to repel sensory [dangers]. They are spiritual. [St. Paul] mentioned them in his epistle to the Ephesians, when he says (Eph. 6:14–17): “Put upon your souls” and upon their senses “the breastplate of righteousness,” i.e., righteousness in the use of natural faculties, internal and external senses, and the properties of both rational and animal virtues, each of these performing that for the sake of which it was created. “Gird your waist with truth”—by “waist” he means understanding (*ra’y*), so that man’s understanding in everything that he understands would be tied to the truth of God’s commandments. (36) “Put” on the head of your mind “the helmet of salvation,” the head of the mind being discernment (*tamyīz*) which needs to be [protected] by the helmet of abstinence from all sensory and intelligible possessions and liberated from all the matters in which sense-perception takes pleasure. (37) “Shoe your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace,” the mind’s feet being choice and activity (*al-‘azm wa-l-našāṭ*), both of which need to be protected by dispassion (*adam al-ālām*), which is the peace and tranquility of sense-perception from the agitation and turmoil of the passions. (38) “Along with all this, take the shield of faith with which you will quench the fiery darts of the evil one”—the meaning of this is

14 The idea is that, e.g., in the case of ostentation, it is practiced by the mind, while the body is directed by the mind to feign piety.

that the shield of perfect faith (with its six kinds)<sup>15</sup> should protect man's reflection (*fikr*) from all the thoughts coming from the enemy, for reflection is one of the mind's hands, the left hand. (39) With your right hand, which is reason (*nutq*), draw "the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God"—this means that reason should always engage in prayer and in [performing] God's commandments, like the sword in a soldier's hand.

(40) These are the weapons: the "breastplate of righteousness" surrounding the soul and its senses, the "girdle" of the truth of God's commandments, which bind [man's] understanding from breaking out to deceptive vices, the "helmet" of abstinence from all things, which protects discernment, the "shoes" of dispassion, which protect choice and activity from the turmoil of the passions, the "shield of faith," which protects man's reflection, and the "sword of the spirit," which is united with reason. These weapons are "mighty in God for pulling down strongholds" (2 Cor. 10:4), the strongholds being the obstacles that prevent the mind from embracing the virtues [as illustrated by the following examples].

(41) Lack of faith and doubting concerning it erect a wall that prevents the mind from embracing faith.

(42) Lack of hope erects a stronghold that prevents the mind from embracing hope.

(43) Hatred prevents [the mind] from embracing love.

(44) Mercilessness and love of money prevent the mind from embracing mercy and charity.

(45) Love of the things that bring pleasure to the senses prevents the mind from embracing gentleness, meekness, and chastity.

(46) Love of honour and authority prevents [the mind] from embracing humility.

(47) Love of food and gluttony prevent [the mind] from embracing fasting.

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15 On the division of faith into six kinds, see Chapter v of *The Noetic Paradise* (partial translation: Treiger, "Noetic Paradise," pp. 195–197).

(48) Love of sleep and comfort prevents [the mind] from embracing vigilance, watchfulness, and service.

(49) Predilection for teaching and excessive speech prevents [the mind] from embracing silence.

(50) Predilection for luxury and being accustomed to it prevent [the mind] from embracing hardship.

(51) Buffoonery and laughter prevent [the mind] from embracing lamentation and weeping.

(52) Slander prevents [the mind] from praise.

(53) Other [attitudes] which prevent the mind from embracing the virtues follow a similar pattern: they stand in its way as an unassailable stronghold. It is for this reason that the Lord said: “Strive to enter through the narrow gate”—narrow for the senses accustomed to fulfilment of their desires—“for I say to you, many will seek to enter it and will not be able” (Lk. 13:24), for this custom has taken root in them so much that it may have become natural [for them].

(54) Using the aforementioned weapons, [we can] “pull down these strongholds” and “cast down evil thoughts” whose shapes are presented to the mind, if it used to perform them [in the past] in a sensory [manner]. [We can] also destroy “every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God” (2 Cor. 10:4–5). (55) Knowledge of God is the true humility, because whoever has recognized his weakness and failure to perform God’s commandments and has been blaming himself constantly for having fallen short of fulfilling God’s will, this person will have known the ocean of God’s forbearance, the sea of God’s longsuffering towards him, and the greatness of God’s love and goodness poured out upon all His creatures. By means of [this knowledge] he will destroy every consideration of the self, pride, and vainglory which exalts itself over true humility.

(56) [St. Paul also] mentioned that by means of the aforementioned weapons, “all intelligible [concept] and contemplation is brought to the obedience of Christ” (2 Cor. 10:3–5). This is because the person who has put on these weapons brings every thought occurring to him, every sound he hears, every aroma he smells, every object he sees, and everything he eats, drinks, or touches, to the

obedience of Christ, not to disobedience to Him. In other words, he puts all this to the service of that which pleases Christ, with an intention at which [Christ] rejoices and which He accepts, not to the service of that which angers Christ, with an intention contrary to His commandments. (57) The issue boils down to applying each of the internal and external senses to that for the sake of which the Creator created it in the first place (this being obedience to Him) and refraining from applying it to the contrary of that for the sake of which it was created. Acting in this way, one will bring them to the obedience of Christ, not to disobedience to Him.

[The treatise] is completed, with God's help and good guidance.

## 2 Commentary

### 2.1 General Remarks on Chapter XXIV

In reading Chapter XXIV, one is struck by the author's emphasis on the various faculties of the mind. We learn that the mind has a special property (*hāṣ-ṣiyya*, presumably reflecting Greek ἰδιότης or ἰδίωμα), i.e., the faculty of reason (*quwwat al-nuṭq*, reflecting Greek λόγος or λογιστικόν) (§17). In addition to this faculty, the mind has an array of "internal senses" (*hawāss bāṭina*). *The Noetic Paradise* typically (e.g., in Chapters XVI, XVII, and XIX) lists five internal senses: *fikr* (reflection / διάνοια or διανοητικόν), *dikr* (memory / μνήμη or μνημονευτικόν), *taṣawwur* (conceptualization / φαντασία or φανταστικόν), *dihn* (opinion / δόξα), and *hiss* (sense-perception / αἴσθησις); however, here in Chapter XXIV *dihn* is omitted (§§18–21).<sup>16</sup> To these, two further faculties (*quwā*) are added: *ṣahwa*

16 For a similar list of the five internal senses (νοῦς, διάνοια, δόξα, φαντασία, and αἴσθησις), see John of Damascus, *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, chapter 36 [11.22]—Kotter, *Schriften*, vol. 2, Berlin and New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1973, p. 89; English trans.: Frederic H. Chase, Jr., *Saint John of Damascus, Writings*, New York, Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1958, p. 247. See also Pseudo-John of Damascus' *On Virtues and Vices* (CPG 811), PG 95, col. 85B–C; English trans.: Gerald E.H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard, and Kallistos Ware, *The Philokalia: The Complete Text, Compiled by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth*, vol. II, London and Boston, Faber & Faber, 1981, p. 334; on this work, also preserved under the name of Ephrem (CPG 4055) and related to Pseudo-Athanasius' (Stephen of Nicomedia's) *Syntagma*, cf. Dirk Krausmüller, "Religious Instruction for Laypeople in Byzantium: Stephen of Nicomedia, Nicephorus Ouranos, and the Pseudo-Athanasian *Syntagma ad quendam politicum*," *Byzantion*, 77 (2007), pp. 239–250, at p. 242, n. 19; a related text containing brief definitions of the five internal senses, and possibly also authored by Stephen of Nicomedia, has been published in: Marie Chalendar, *Nicéas Stéthatos, Le paradis*

(craving) and *ḡadab* (anger), corresponding to the Greek ἐπιθυμία / ἐπιθυμητικόν and θυμός / θυμοειδές / θυμικόν respectively (§§ 22–23). Next, the text speaks of ‘*azm* (probably: choice / προαίρεσις), *ra’y* (probably: understanding / φρόνησις), and *maš’ā wa-hawā* (will and desire / βούλησις and ὄρεξις) (§§ 24–26). As evidenced by these and other passages, the author of *The Noetic Paradise* was very much abreast of Late Antique medical and psychological terminology, as codified by Galen and—on the Christian side—Nemesius of Emesa.

Another striking feature of Chapter XXIV is the author’s deployment of allegorical interpretation, particularly of Ephesians 6:14–17 (which I here cite in NKJV):

Stand therefore, having girded your waist with truth, having put on the breastplate of righteousness, and having shod your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith with which you will be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

In the author’s interpretation, the armour mentioned in Ephesians is *the mind’s* armour. Accordingly, the bodily limbs mentioned in the passage are the mind’s faculties and internal senses. The “waist,” for instance, is equated with understanding (*ra’y* / φρόνησις); the “head” (not, strictly speaking, mentioned in the passage, but assumed), with discernment (*tamyīz* / διάκρισις); the “feet,” with choice and activity (*al-‘azm wa-l-našāṭ*, ‘*azm* probably reflecting προαίρεσις); the “left hand,” with reflection (*fikr* / διάνοια or διανοητικόν); and the “right hand” with reason (*nuṭq* / λόγος or λογιστικόν). Similarly, the “girdle of truth” is interpreted as God’s commandments; the “helmet of salvation,” as abstinence; the “shoes,” as dispassion (‘*adam al-ālām* = the Evagrian ἀπάθεια); the “shield,” as faith; the enemy’s “darts” as demonic thoughts (*hawāṭir* = the Evagrian λογισμοί); and the “sword,” as prayer and performing God’s commandments.

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*spirituel et autres textes annexes*, Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 1945, pp. 70–73 (mis-ascribed to Nicetas Stethatos; cf. Jean Darrouzès, *Nicetas Stéthatos, Opusculs et lettres* [Sources chrétiennes 81], Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 1961, p. 48, n. 1).

## 2.2 A Note on Biblical Citations

Chapter xxiv includes eight biblical quotations: seven from the New Testament (one from Matthew, one from Luke, two from John, one from Romans, one from 2 Corinthians, and one from Ephesians) and one from the Old Testament (Sirach). It may be worth looking at them more carefully. In the following table, these biblical quotations are matched against the Greek text. In addition, the quotations from the Epistles are compared with the Epistle Lectionary Sinai Ar. 164 (copied by the Sinaitic copyist Nilus al-Dimašqī in 1238).<sup>17</sup>

§§	Reference	Greek	Noetic Paradise	Sinai Ar. 164
1	Rom. 1:9	ὁ θεός, ᾧ λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου	الاله الذي اعبدُهُ بروحي	الله (1104) ... الذي اعبده بروحي
1	Jn. 4:24	πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνούντας αὐτὸν ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν	انّ الله روح ويحب ان يسجد له بروح وحق	n/a
13	Mt. 6:15	ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀφήτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἀφήσει τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν	ان لم تغفروا لاختوتكم من صميم قلوبكم جرايرهم فما يغفر لكم ابوكم السماوي زلاتكم	n/a
14	Jn. 6:63	τὸ πνευμά ἐστιν τὸ ζωοποιούν, ἡ σὰρξ οὐκ ὠφελεῖ οὐδέν	... ما ينفع شيئاً بل الروح يحيي	n/a
30	Sir. 15:17	ἔναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὁ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ	قد قَدِّم امام الانسان الحياة والموت وايهما اختار وارضى يعطى ذلك	n/a

<sup>17</sup> A virtually identical text in Sinai Ar. 158 (year 1232), fols. 41<sup>v</sup> (Romans), 74<sup>v</sup> (2 Corinthians), 87<sup>r</sup> (Ephesians); Sinai Ar. 168 (year 1238), fols. 89<sup>r</sup> (Romans), 168<sup>v</sup>–169<sup>r</sup> (2 Corinthians), 199<sup>r-v</sup> (Ephesians). Both these manuscripts were copied by priest (*al-qiss*) Bū Šākir. This Epistle Lectionary was incorporated into the London Polyglot Bible, *Biblia sacra polyglotta, complectentia textus originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Graecum, versionum antiquarum Samaritanae, Graecae LXXII interp., Chaldaicae, Syriacae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae, Persicae, Vulg. Lat. quicquid comparari poterat*, ed. Brian Walton, 6 vols., London, Thomas Roycroft, 1654–1658; see vol. 5, pp. 637 (Romans), 745 (2 Corinthians), and 785 (Ephesians).

(cont.)

§§	Reference	Greek	Noetic Paradise	Sinai Ar. 164
34, 40, 54, 56	2 Cor. 10:3–5	<sup>3</sup> ἐν σαρκί γὰρ περιπα- τούντες οὐ κατὰ σάρκα στρατευόμεθα— <sup>4</sup> τὰ γὰρ ὄπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν οὐ σαρκικά ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς καθαίρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων—λογισμοὺς καθαίρουντες <sup>5</sup> καὶ πᾶν ὑψίωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ	ولئن كُنَّا نمشي بالبشرة فلم تجنّد بما يختصّ بالبشرة لأنّ أسلحة جنديتنا ليست بشرية بل مقتدرة بالله على هدم الحصون وتنقض الأفكار وكلّ علوّ يتعالى على معرفة الله وساية كلّ معقول (§ 56): تستبي كلّ معقول وروية) الى طاعة المسيح	(146ب) فأننا وان كُنَّا سالكين بالبشرة فما تجنّدنا تجنّدًا مخصوصًا بالبشرة لأنّ أسلحة جنديتنا ليست بشرية لكنّها مقتدرة بالله على هدم الحصون هادمين الأفكار وكلّ علوّ يستعلي على معرفة الله وسابين كلّ فطنة وروية الى طاعة المسيح
35–40	Eph. 6:14–17	<sup>14</sup> στήτε οὖν περιζωσά- μενοι τὴν ὄσφυν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύ- νης, <sup>15</sup> καὶ ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἐτοιμα- σίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης, <sup>16</sup> ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνα- λαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονη- ροῦ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι· <sup>17</sup> καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύμα- τος, ἧ ἔστιν ῥῆμα θεοῦ	[Cited piecemeal; here assembled together] ... مَنْطِقُوا حَقَّوْكُمْ بِالْحَقِّ (و)البسوا انفسكم درع العدل واخذوا ارجلكم باستعداد بشارة السلامة ومع هذه كلها فتناولوا ترس الامانة الذي به تطفوا ساير نبيل الخبيث المحمي والبسوا خوذة الخلاص (و)سيف الروح الذي هو كلام الله	(163أ) قفوا اذا متمنطقين حقوقكم بالحق لايسين درع العدل وحاذين ارجلكم باستعداد بشارة السلامة وقبل هذه كلها تناولوا ترس الامانة الذي به تستطيعون ان تطفئوا كافة نشاب (نبيل) 18 الخبيث المحمي واقبلوا خوذة المخلص (الخلاص) وسيف الروح الذي هو ذكر (قول / كلام / كلمة) الله
53	Lk. 13:24	Ἄγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητή- σουσιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύσουσιν	اجتهدوا ان تدخلوا في الباب الضيق فاني اقول لكم ان كثيرين يرومون الدخول فيه فلا يقدرון	n/a

18 Here and below, the words in parentheses are glosses written above the line. The parallel passage in Sinai Ar. 158 and Sinai Ar. 168 has نبل, الخلاص, and قول as the main text (نشاب, المخلص, and ذكر do not appear at all). In the London Polyglot (*Biblia sacra polyglotta*, vol. 5, p. 785), the readings are: نشاب, المخلص, and قول.

Overall, *The Noetic Paradise* is quite precise in rendering biblical quotations, albeit it does so with occasional abridgment (e.g., in Jn. 4:24 the words τὸς προσκυνούντας αὐτὸν are omitted), modification and amplification (e.g., in the Arabic translation of Mt. 6:15 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις is translated as لا خوتكم, and the words من صميم قلوبكم are added),<sup>19</sup> or transposition (e.g., in Jn. 6:63 the two parts of the verse τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ ζῶον ποιοῦν, ἢ σὰρξ οὐκ ὠφελεῖ οὐδὲν are inverted in translation, presumably because they were already inverted in the translator's Greek *Vorlage*). Two cases of a hendiadys have been detected: in Sir. 15:17 εὐδοκίῃ is rendered as واختار وارضى; in 2 Cor. 10:5 νόημα is rendered (on the second of the two occasions) as معقول وروية.

What is truly remarkable is how closely the quotations from the Epistles (Romans, 2 Corinthians, and Ephesians) correlate with the corresponding passages in the Epistle Lectionary.<sup>20</sup> This correlation (down to such a relatively

19 Interestingly, this is done, with small variations, every time this verse is cited. In addition to Chapter XXIV, it is cited in Chapter II (Sinai Ar. 439, fol. 16<sup>r</sup>: ان لم تغفروا لا خوتكم هفواتهم) and Chapter VIII (Sinai Ar. 439, fol. 70<sup>r</sup>: ان لم تغفروا لا خوتكم من صميم قلوبكم فما يغفر لكم ايومكم السماوي زلاتكم); cf. paraphrase in Chapter XXI (Sinai Ar. 439, fol. 132<sup>r</sup>: هكذا يفعل بكم ابي السماوي ان لم تصفحوا من صميم قلوبكم لا خوتكم (هفواتهم)).

20 There is no such correlation with other Arabic translations of the Epistles. For comparison, here are three other Arabic translations of 2 Cor. 10:3–5 (all of them from the ninth century): (1) Sinai Ar. 155, fol. 83<sup>v</sup>: وفي الجسد يسلكون، لستنا (!) مجاهد نحو الجسد لان سلاح قتالنا: ليس هو جسداني ولاكن اقويا لله لخواب الحصون اذ نهدم الموم وكل ارتفاع يرتفع على معرفة الله (من صميم قلوبكم هفواتهم) ونسي كل فكر لخصوع المسيح في الجسد (cf. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, with Part of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, London, C.J. Clay and Sons, 1894, Arabic section, p. 90); (2) Vat. Ar. 13, fol. 127<sup>r</sup>: بذوات الجسد نسلك ولاكن ليس بذوات الجسد نعمل، من اجل ان سلاح اجتهدنا ليس هو من ذوات الجسد ولاكن اقويا لله كليلهاك (!) الحصون اذ نهدم الموم وكل ارتفاع يرتفع مقابل علم الله ونسي كل الفكر لسمع المسيح (on this manuscript, see now Sara Schulthess, *Les manuscrits arabes des lettres de Paul: État de la question et étude de cas (1 Corinthiens dans le Vat. Ar. 13)*, Leiden, Brill, 2018); (3) Sinai Ar. 151, fol. 83<sup>v</sup>–84<sup>r</sup>: لاننا وان كنا نسير بالجسد ولكننا لسنا نعمل عمل الجسد وذلك: ان سلاح عمالتنا ليس ذا جسد بل ذو قوة الله، وبه نكبس الحصون المنيعه ونهدم الفكر وكل علو يرتفع بازاء معرفة الله ونسي جميع الرديات لطاعة المسيح (cf. Harvey Staal, *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151: I. Pauline Epistles* [CSCO 452–453, *Scriptores Arabici* 40–41], 2 vols., Louvain, Peeters, 1983, vol. 1, pp. 104–105; the translation was done from Syriac by Bišr ibn al-Sirri in Damascus in 867; the manuscript dates to the first half of the tenth century—see Alexander Treiger, “From Theodore Abū Qurra to Abed Azrié: The Arabic Bible in Context,” in Miriam L. Hjälml [ed.], *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, Leiden, Brill, 2018, pp. 11–57, at p. 40, note c). Berlin, Staatsbiblio-

rare, idiosyncratic feature as the translation of *σάρξ* as *bašara*, under the influence of the Syriac (ܫܪܫܐ) cannot be accidental. As far as I can see, there are only two explanations for this correlation.

- (1) It is possible that the translator of *The Noetic Paradise* consulted the Epistle Lectionary and lifted the biblical quotations from there—much as today, in translating a theological text with embedded biblical quotations, we might have recourse to a standard biblical translation in the target language.
- (2) It is possible that both the *The Noetic Paradise* and the Epistle Lectionary were produced by the same translator.

The first explanation, certainly, seems attractive. However, in my view, it does not adequately explain the evidence at hand. To begin with, assuming, for the sake of the argument, that the translator of the *The Noetic Paradise* consulted the Epistle Lectionary, he does not cite it verbatim. He has certainly modified the text. Some of the discrepancies seem to be stylistic: compare, for instance, *فاننا وان كآ سالكين بالبشرة فما تجندنا تجندا مخصوصا بالبشرة* in the Epistle Lectionary versus *ولئن كآ نمشي بالبشرة فلم نتجد بما يختص بالبشرة* in *The Noetic Paradise* in 2 Cor. 10:3—there would be little sense to change, e.g., *وان فاننا* into *ولئن* or *سالكين* into *نمشي*, except for stylistic reasons (though in that case, too, it is not immediately clear what these stylistic reasons might have been).

Other discrepancies seem to reflect a different underlying Greek *Vorlage*: compare, for instance, *هادمين* and *سايين* in the Epistle Lectionary versus *تنفض* and *سايبة / تسني* in *The Noetic Paradise* in 2 Cor. 10:4–5. Here, the Epistle Lectionary correctly renders the masculine plural Greek participles *καθαιρουντες* and *αιχμαλωτιζοντες* by masculine plural Arabic participles. *The Noetic Paradise*, by contrast, uses feminine singular verbal and participial forms. It is tempting to assume that the underlying Greek text had neuter plural participles *καθαιρουντα* and *αιχμαλωτιζοντα*, referring to *δπλα*, “weapons,” hence the feminine singular (i.e., inanimate plural) forms in the Arabic translation.<sup>21</sup> It is somewhat difficult to envision the translator of *The Noetic Paradise* consulting the Epistle Lectionary in order to lift the biblical quotations from there, as we have

theek, Diez A oct. 162 [Ahlwardt 10175; online: [http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook\\_islamhs\\_00003421](http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook_islamhs_00003421)] (year 1265), fol. 205<sup>v</sup> has a text virtually identical to Sinai Ar. 151.

21 2 Cor. 10:4 is paraphrased with *καθαιρουντα* instead of *καθαιρουντες*, e.g., in John Chrysostom's *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God, Homily 1*—see PG 48, col. 797; Anne-Marie Malingrey (ed.) and Robert Flacelière (trans.), *Jean Chrysostome, Sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu, Tome 1 (Homélie 1–v)* (Sources chrétiennes 28<sup>bis</sup>), Paris, Éditions du Cerf, 1970, p. 130.

assumed, but then carefully editing these same quotations for both style and correspondence with a discordant Greek *Vorlage*.

I therefore tentatively suggest to adopt the second explanation: that both the *The Noetic Paradise* and the Epistle Lectionary were produced by the same translator. This explanation, in my view, better accounts for both similarities and differences in the rendering of passages in the two works: the similarities would have resulted from the same translator producing both; the differences, from different stylistic choices made in separate translation instances (and, occasionally, by discrepancies in the underlying Greek *Vorlagen*). It is also noteworthy that the Epistle Lectionary's idiosyncratic rendering of  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\xi}$  as *bašara* (and  $\sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$  as *bašarī*), under the influence of the Syriac  $\ܒܫܪܐ$ , is extremely common in *The Noetic Paradise* (e.g., Chapter XXIV, §§ 3–10, 13, 15–16, 32–33, 35). This, too, strongly points to the possibility that the same translator was at work in producing both the Epistle Lectionary and *The Noetic Paradise*.

Unfortunately, we do not know who translated the Epistle Lectionary and when and where it was translated. Vevian Zaki has kindly informed me that the earliest manuscript of this particular Epistle Lectionary is Sinai Ar. 169 (year 1192). This is very close to the earliest manuscript of *The Noetic Paradise*: Sinai Ar. 483 (year 1178). Both works, therefore, must have been translated around mid-twelfth century at the latest (or earlier). If the hypothesis presented here is correct, the two texts' histories are bound together. It is to be hoped that future research will shed further light on their provenance.

### Appendix A: An Inventory of the Manuscripts of *The Noetic Paradise*

Here is an inventory of all the manuscripts of *The Noetic Paradise* presently known, in chronological order.<sup>22</sup> The "Attribution" column specifies whether the manuscript in question ascribes the treatise to Gregory of Nyssa (G), John of Damascus (J), both Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus (G+J), or Mōšē bar Kēfā (M) (all these attributions being false), lacks attribution because of being acephalous (n/a), or leaves the treatise anonymous (Anon.). Manuscripts of al-Šafi'ī ibn al-ʿAssāl's abridgment are indicated as (S) and italicized.

<sup>22</sup> The dates after 1582 are provided according to the Julian calendar.

No.	Date	Copied by / at	Location & call number	Folios	Attribution
1.	16 May 1178	Priest Yūsuf ibn Barakāt / village Qalhāt <sup>23</sup> [commissioned by priest Yūḥannā ibn Abī l-Ḥasan]	A = Sinai Ar. 483 <sup>24</sup>	149 <sup>v</sup> –257 <sup>r</sup> [mis-numbered as 357 <sup>r</sup> ]	Anon.
2.	1 May 1188	Monk Sābā (and Monk Ilyās) <sup>25</sup> / Sinai	B = Sinai Ar. 360 <sup>26</sup>	1 <sup>r</sup> –94 <sup>v</sup> , acephalous <sup>27</sup>	n/a

<sup>23</sup> In northern Lebanon, close to the present-day Monastery and University of Balamand.

<sup>24</sup> Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand-list of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins Press, 1955, p. 17; Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1970, p. 33 (No. 418); Полихроній А. Сырку, *Описание бумагъ епископа Порфирія Успенскаго, пожертвованныхъ имъ въ Императорскую Академію Наукъ по завѣщанію*, Saint Petersburg, Тип. Имп. академіи наукъ, 1891, p. 343 (No. 207). This manuscript also includes the *Summa theologiae arabica* (cf. Mark N. Swanson, “Al-Jāmi‘ wujūh al-īmān,” in *СМРІ*, pp. 791–798) and Agathon of Homs’ *Apology* (cf. Alexander Treiger, “Agathon of Homs,” in Noble and Treiger, *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World (700–1700): An Anthology of Sources*, DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 2014, pp. 201–215; Treiger, “From Theodore Abū Qurra to Abed Azrié,” pp. 28–32). This and many other Sinaitic manuscripts are now viewable online: <https://www.loc.gov/collections/manuscripts-in-st-catherines-monastery-mount-sinai>.

<sup>25</sup> Thus according to the colophon (fol. 94<sup>v</sup>). The handwriting seems fairly uniform throughout, so presumably, one of the monks dictated the text, while the other wrote it down. It is noteworthy that the manuscripts Vat. Borg. Ar. 71 (Gospel; viewable online: [http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Borg.ar.71](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Borg.ar.71)), Sinai Ar. 160 (Epistle lectionary), Sinai Ar. 356 (fols. 179<sup>r</sup>–216<sup>v</sup> only; *Life of St. Anthony* by Athanasius of Alexandria and *Life of St. Pachomius*), and Sinai Ar. 359 (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–205<sup>v</sup> only; manuscript C of *The Noetic Paradise*) have the same handwriting (my sincere thanks to Vevian Zaki, who generously shared with me some photographs of Sinai Ar. 160). Furthermore, it may be deduced that, in all likelihood, the handwriting is by Monk Sābā (rather than Monk Ilyās), because the first part of Sinai Ar. 356 (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–178<sup>r</sup>) was commissioned by him (it was copied in 1185 at his request by Meletius the reader [Malātī al-aḡnustus] at the Monastery of the Theotokos Aršāyā near Antioch).

<sup>26</sup> Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 10; Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 30 (No. 375). The manuscript also includes writings of Dorotheus of Gaza.

<sup>27</sup> Begins: *لا يعرف له منها موضعاً يسكنه فيخلى منه غير ذلك المكان* (corresponds to Sinai Ar. 439, fol. 38<sup>r</sup>).

(cont.)

No.	Date	Copied by / at	Location & call number	Folios	Attribution
3.	ca. 1188	The scribe of B (i.e., presumably, Monk Sābā) / Sinai <sup>28</sup>	C = Sinai Ar. 359 <sup>29</sup>	1 <sup>r</sup> –123 <sup>v</sup> , acephalous <sup>30</sup>	n/a
4.	Sept. 1189	The scribe of C <sub>2</sub> / Sinai	D = Sinai Ar. 480 <sup>31</sup>	142 <sup>r</sup> , 1 <sup>r</sup> –120 <sup>v</sup> , acephalous <sup>32</sup>	n/a
5.	1235	Ġubriyāl, the future Coptic Pope Gabriel III	Dayr al-Suryān 215 (formerly Theol. 48) <sup>33</sup>		Anon.
6.	12 Jan. 1243	‘Abd al-Masiḥ ibn Ishāq ibn ‘Abd al-Masiḥ, known as Ibn al-Muḥabrak / the Mu‘allaqa church in Cairo [from a <i>Vorlage</i> copied in 1234 by his uncle Yūsāb ibn al-Muḥabrak, Coptic bishop of Fuwwa] <sup>34</sup>	V = Vat. Ar. 671 <sup>35</sup>	1 <sup>v</sup> –140 <sup>r</sup>	Anon. (attributed to J in the colophon) <sup>36</sup>
7.	1254–1255	Copied for the library of an archdeacon of Tyre by deacon Aradalbas (?)	Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 449 (v.5.19) <sup>37</sup>		G

28 The manuscript is in two different hands: C<sub>1</sub> = 1<sup>r</sup>–205<sup>v</sup>, including *The Noetic Paradise*, is in the same hand as B; C<sub>2</sub> = 206<sup>r</sup>–245<sup>v</sup> is in the same hand as D.

29 *Rašimat seqer šel kitbê ha-yyaḏ bə-sifriyat minzar St. Qāterīnāh, Sīnay* [A Checklist of the Manuscripts at the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai], Jerusalem, National and University Library, 1968, p. 62; Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 30 (No. 374). The manuscript also includes writings of Dorotheus of Gaza.

30 Begins: *والذي يقتلعه من شجرة الصفيح ويجرده من جوهرته* (corresponds to Sinai Ar. 439, fol. 16<sup>r</sup>).

31 Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 16; Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 33 (No. 415). The manuscript also includes writings of Isaac the Syrian.

32 Fol. 142<sup>r</sup> begins: *يعمل فردوس قلبه ويحفظه* (corresponds to Sinai Ar. 439, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>); fol. 1<sup>r</sup> begins: *من تواضع ذاته يرتفع شأنه والوصية التي تزيله: من تواضع ذاته يرتفع شأنه* (corresponds to Sinai Ar. 439, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>). Presumably, fol. 142<sup>v</sup> (not photographed by the Library of Congress, glued to the cover?) contains the beginning of the treatise.

33 I thank Stephen Davis (private communication, 9 August 2015) for information about the current call number and the copyist. See also Leslie S.B. MacCoull, "A Note on the Career of Gabriel III, Scribe and Patriarch of Alexandria," *Arabica*, 43.2 (1996), pp. 357–360.

34 On Yūsāb of Fuwwa, see Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, pp. 369–371; Samuel Moawad, "Yūsāb of Fuwwa," in *CMR4*, pp. 486–490; cf. Sebastian Euringer, *Die Überlieferung der arabischen Übersetzung des Diatessarons*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1912, pp. 51–58.

35 Viewable online: [http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.ar.671](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ar.671).

36 Euringer, *Überlieferung*, p. 58.

37 John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of*

(cont.)

No.	Date	Copied by / at	Location & call number	Folios	Attribution
8.	22 June 1262	Mūsā ibn Yūsuf al-Karī (al-Karakī?) / Sinai [copied for deacon Anbā Arsānī] <sup>38</sup>	Sinai Ar. NF Paper 1 <sup>39</sup>		
9.	14 Nov. 1278	Monk Yuḥannā [commissioned by Anbā Buṭrus al-iskāf al-Sināī / Sinai]	E = Sinai Ar. 439 <sup>40</sup>	2 <sup>r</sup> –15 <sup>v</sup>	Anon.
10.	13th cent. (?)		Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 164 (= Graf 386; Simaika 315) <sup>41</sup>	3 <sup>r</sup> –141 <sup>r</sup> , acephalous	n/a
11.	1302–1303		The manuscript formerly designated as Sinai Porph. 209 <sup>42</sup>		

the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, J. Maclehose and Sons, 1908, pp. 508–509 (cf. online catalogue: [http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail\\_c.cfm?ID=36386](http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=36386)).

- 38 Apparently the same deacon Arsānī (Arsenius) left a colophon in both Greek and Arabic in Sinai gr. 817 (Octoechos) of the year 1258—see Victor Gardthausen, *Catalogus codicum graecorum sinaiticorum*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886, pp. 176–177; Samir Khalil Samir, *Tables de concordance des manuscrits arabes chrétiens du Caire et du Sināī*, Louvain, Peeters, 1986, p. 33. To judge from the handwriting, he is *not* identical with the abbot of Mount Sinai Arsānī (abbot from 1284 or earlier to 1295 or later).
- 39 Ἰωάννης Ε. Μεϊμάρης, *Katálogos τῶν νέων ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης τοῦ ὄρους Σινᾶ* / *Katālūg al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya al-muktašafa ḥadīṭan bi-Dayr Sānt Kātīrīn al-muqaddas bi-Ṭūr Sīnā’*, Athens, Ethnikon Idryma Ereunōn, 1985, Greek section, pp. 37 and 107 (illustration 70); Arabic section, p. ٣٨ (reproduces the copyist’s note).
- 40 Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 13; Kamil, *Catalogue*, p. 31 (No. 405); Сырку, *Onucanie*, p. 343 (No. 208). The manuscript also includes writings of John Climacus, John Chrysostom, and others.
- 41 Georg Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1934, p. 145; Marcus Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, vol. 2.1, Cairo, Government Press, 1942, p. 132; Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 1, p. 414 (gives the date as “17. Jh.?”). The manuscript also includes works of Barsanuphius; it was not microfilmed by BYU. The entry on al-Ṣafī ibn al-‘Assāl in Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 2, p. 397 also mentions this manuscript; however, the large number of folios seems to indicate that this is the original work, not al-Ṣafī ibn al-‘Assāl’s abridgment.
- 42 Сырку, *Onucanie*, p. 343 (No. 209): أيضًا شرحه كتب سنة ٦٨١١ للعالم. This manuscript cannot be identified at present.

(cont.)

No.	Date	Copied by / at	Location & call number	Folios	Attribution
12.	1325		Dayr Abū Maqār, Lit. 207 (catalogue 251) <sup>43</sup>	No. 2, acephalous, a dozen folios missing	n/a
13.	1371		<i>Damascus, al-Asad National Library 59846</i> [م ش / م / 78] <sup>44</sup>		§
14.	14th cent.	Syrian provenance	P = Paris, BNF Ar. 163 <sup>45</sup>	112 <sup>r</sup> –305 <sup>r</sup>	Anon.
15.	14th cent.		Oxford, Bodleian Chr. Ar. 43 <sup>46</sup>	Incomplete	
16.	14th cent.		Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 220 (= Graf 524; Simaika 387) <sup>47</sup>	Excerpts	
17.	ca. 15th cent.		<i>Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 154 (= Graf 372; Simaika 312)</i> <sup>48</sup>	1 <sup>r</sup> –55 <sup>r</sup>	§
18.	End of Jan. 1570	Mūsā ibn al-qiss Sa'āda from Marmīṭā in the region of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, copied in Damascus, donated in 1577 to the Monastery of Mār Sābā	Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre Ar. 66 <sup>49</sup>	149 <sup>v</sup> –322 <sup>v</sup>	

43 Ugo Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abū Maqār*, Geneva, Patrick Cramer, 1986, p. 36.

44 I owe this information to the following web page: <http://k-tb.com/manuscrit/19334-العقلی-الفردوس-مختصر> (the manuscript does not appear in the electronic catalogue of the āl-Asad National Library: [http://www.alassad-library.gov.sy/Search\\_makhtotat2013.php](http://www.alassad-library.gov.sy/Search_makhtotat2013.php)).

45 Gérard Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes; Première partie: Manuscrits chrétiens*, 2 vols., Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1972–1974, vol. 1, pp. 137–138. *The Noetic Paradise* does not end at 291<sup>r</sup>, as indicated by Troupeau; in fact, the following text, which he presents as a separate work, is also a part of *The Noetic Paradise*. The manuscript was copied in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, but the part containing *The Noetic Paradise* is fourteenth century (the first part, with which it is bound together, contains an Arabic translation of Maximus the Confessor's *Chapters on Love*).

46 Alexander Nicoll, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium catalogi partis secundae volumen primum*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1821, pp. 44–46 (No. XLIII).

47 Graf, *Catalogue*, p. 197; Simaika, *Catalogue*, vol. 2.1, pp. 169–170.

48 Graf, *Catalogue*, p. 140; Simaika, *Catalogue*, vol. 2.1, p. 131.

49 Κλεοπάς Μ. Κοικυλίδης, *Κατάλογος αραβικών χειρογράφων τῆς ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης*, Jerusalem: Holy Sepulchre, 1901, pp. 67–69. The manuscript is viewable online: <https://www.loc.gov/item/00271071164-j0/?q=arabic+66>.

(cont.)

No.	Date	Copied by / at	Location & call number	Folios	Attribution
19.	4 Nov. 1570 (?)		Monastery of St. Antony, Theol. 153		
20.	ca. 16th cent.		Balamand Monastery 130 <sup>50</sup>	4 <sup>r</sup> -176 <sup>v</sup>	J
21.	ca. 1600		Birmingham, Mingana Collection, Chr. Ar. Add. 191 (catalogue 224) <sup>51</sup>	2 leaves, not sequential	n/a
22.	17 Feb. 1604	Ṭalġa al-Ḥamawī <sup>52</sup> / Jerusalem	Vat. Ar. 401	Includes three fragments by Basil at the end	G
23.	1617		Vat. Sbath 207 <sup>53</sup>		G
24.	3 Sept. 1625		Balamand Monastery 129 <sup>54</sup>	4 <sup>v</sup> -154 <sup>v</sup>	Anon.
25.	1696		Rome, Sant’Antonio Abate dei Maroniti, SP 002 <sup>55</sup>		G
26.	17th cent.		Beirut, Bibliothèque Ori- entale 484 <sup>56</sup>		Anon.

50 Su‘ād Slim, *Al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fī al-adyira al-urṭūduksiyya al-Anṭākiyya fī Lubnān: 11. Dayr al-Sayyida al-Balamand*, Beirut, Qism al-tawṭīq wa-l-dirāsāt al-Anṭākiyya, 1994, pp. 111–112. The text contains the following attribution: كتاب الفردوس العقلي مما شرحه الاب القديس الراهب الدمشقي . Digitized by HMML: BALA 00125; sample pages: <http://cdm.csbsju.edu/digital/collection/HMMLMicrofi/search/searchterm/BALA%2000125>.

51 Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*, 4 vols., Cambridge: W. Heffer and Birmingham: Selly Oak Colleges Library, 1933–1963, vol. 3, p. 42.

52 Ṭalġa al-Ḥamawī (d. 1647) is a brother of Meletius Karmā (Patriarch Euthymius II of Antioch, 1634–1635) and a friend of the future Patriarch of Antioch Macarius III Ibn al-Za‘īm. Graf, *GCAL*, vol. 3, p. 93, n. 1 offers some details on other manuscripts copied by Ṭalġa; see also Habib Ibrahim, “Ṭalġat an-Nāsiḥ fils du prêtre Ḥūrān al-Ḥamawī,” *Chronos*, 39 (2019), pp. 125–170 (on p. 126, n. 4 identifies the copyist of Vat. Ar. 401 as Ṭalġa’s brother Meletius).

53 Paul Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath, prêtre syrien d’Alep: Catalogue*, 3 vols., Cairo, H. Friedrich & Co., 1928–1934, vol. 1, p. 103.

54 Slim, *Al-maḥṭūṭāt*, p. 111. Digitized by HMML: BALA 00124; sample pages: <http://cdm.csbsju.edu/digital/collection/HMMLMicrofi/search/searchterm/BALA%2000124>.

55 I owe this information to the web page: [http://www.ndu.edu.lb/research/cdp/collections/rome\\_man.html](http://www.ndu.edu.lb/research/cdp/collections/rome_man.html).

56 Louis Cheikho and Ignace-Abdo Khalifé, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Orientale de l’Université Saint-Joseph*, Beirut [collected from *Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph*], 1964, p. 202 [296].

(cont.)

No.	Date	Copied by / at	Location & call number	Folios	Attribution
27.	17th cent.		Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ OBS1225 <sup>57</sup>		G
28.	17th cent.	Copied for Coptic monks at the Monastery of St. Stephen near St. Peter at the Vatican	Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts C740 (formerly 235) <sup>58</sup>	2 <sup>r</sup> -108 <sup>r</sup> ; includes chapter divisions	G (M) <sup>59</sup>
29.	17th cent.		Vat. Sbath 22 <sup>60</sup>		G
30.	17th cent.	<i>Girgis Miḥā'il</i>	Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 233 (= Graf 345; Simaika 440) <sup>61</sup>		§
31.	1708		Ḥarīṣā-Dar'awn, Charfet Ar. 8/13 <sup>62</sup>		G
32.	1708		Private collection of E. Karam 3 <sup>63</sup>		Anon.
33.	1709		Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs 83 <sup>64</sup>	pp. 1-171; acephalous, in Garṣūnī	G
34.	1711		Zouk Mosbeh, Notre Dame University Louaize, SP 018 <sup>65</sup>		G

57 I owe this information to the online checklist: [http://www.obslib.com/img/handlist\\_manuscripts\\_ordre\\_basilien\\_salvatorien.pdf](http://www.obslib.com/img/handlist_manuscripts_ordre_basilien_salvatorien.pdf).

58 Günzburg, "Manuscripts Arabes, Coptes etc.," pp. xiv and 58-77.

59 A note at the beginning of the manuscript states that Cardinal Bellarmine (1542-1621) thought that the work was not by Gregory of Nyssa but by Mūsā ibn Kifā al-Kaldānī, i.e. Mōšē bar Kēfā. This is obviously a confusion with Mōšē bar Kēfā's Syriac work on Paradise (translated into Latin by Andreas Masius as early as 1569 and mentioned by Bellarmine in his *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Leiden, Sumptibus Horatii Boissat & Georgii Remevs, 1663, p. 260), on which see Yonatan Moss, "Scholasticism, Exegesis, and the Historicization of Mosaic Authorship in Moses Bar Kēpha's *On Paradise*," *Harvard Theological Review*, 104.3 (2011), pp. 325-348.

60 Sbath, *Bibliothèque*, vol. 1, p. 18.

61 Graf, *Catalogue*, p. 130; Simaika, *Catalogue*, vol. 2.1, p. 195.

62 Iṣḥāq Armala, *Al-Ṭarfā fi Maḥṭūṭāt Dayr al-Šarfā*, Ğūniya, Maṭba'at al-ābā' al-mursalin al-lubnāniyyīn, 1936, p. 402.

63 Joseph Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban*, 4 vols., Harissa and Beirut, Imprimerie St. Paul, 1958-1970, vol. 3, p. 304.

64 Digitized by HMML: CFMM 00083; sample pages: <http://cdm.csbsju.edu/digital/collection/HMMLMicrofi/search/searchterm/CFMM%2000083>.

65 I owe this information to the web page: [http://www.ndu.edu.lb/research/cdp/collections/ndl\\_mon\\_mc.html](http://www.ndu.edu.lb/research/cdp/collections/ndl_mon_mc.html).

(cont.)

No.	Date	Copied by / at	Location & call number	Folios	Attribution
35.	1713		Ḥinšāra, Dayr al-Šuwayr 299 (formerly 119) <sup>66</sup>	No. 2; includes chapter divisions	G
36.	15 Jan. 1714	A late copy of Vat. Ar. 671, copied by Clemens Caraccioli in Rome <sup>67</sup>	Vat. Ar. 78	2 <sup>v</sup> -149 <sup>v</sup>	J <sup>68</sup>
37.	1719	A late copy of Vat. Ar. 671 <sup>69</sup>	Vat. Ar. 672		
38.	21 Nov. 1737		Balamand Monastery 128 <sup>70</sup>	3 <sup>v</sup> -119 <sup>r</sup>	G+J
39.	1760		Aleppo, Rūm Orthodox Archdiocese 90 <sup>71</sup>		
40.	1764		Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Graf 374 <sup>72</sup>	1 <sup>r</sup> -47 <sup>r</sup>	§
41.	1767	Grigorios Nebot	Bzommar, Our Lady of Bzommar 77 <sup>73</sup>	8 <sup>r</sup> -104 <sup>v</sup>	G
42.	4 Mar. 1768	al-qummuṣ Yūsuf Ġirġīs Barāyū	Monastery of St. Antony, Theol. 154		§
43.	1773		Damascus, Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate 70 (formerly 2332) <sup>74</sup>	1 <sup>r</sup> -82 <sup>r</sup>	G+J

66 Nasrallah, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 217; copied together with the *Book of the Ladder*; digitized by HMML: OBC 00299; sample pages: <http://cdm.csbsju.edu/digital/collection/HMMLMicrofi/search/searchterm/OBC%2000299>.

67 Graf, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 370.

68 Fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: كُتِبَ الْفَرْدُوسُ الْعَقْلِيَّ اسْنَادَهُ إِلَى مَارِيُوْحَنَا الدَّمِشْقِيَّ نَفْعَنَا اللَّهُ بِبِرْكَةِ صَلَاتِهِ آمِينَ; fol. 110<sup>r</sup> in the margin: الْكُتَابُ تَصْنِيفُ مَارِيُوْحَنَا الدَّمِشْقِيَّ لِأَمْحَالَةِ.

69 Graf, *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 370 (though Graf mistakenly gives the call number as Vat. Ar. 632).

70 Slīm, *Al-maḥṭūṭāt*, p. 111. The catalogue says: مَنْسُوبٌ إِلَى الْقَدِيسِ غَرِيغُورِيُوسِ نِيصِصْ مَا شَرَحَهُ (the same description appears in manuscript Damascus, Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate 70). Digitized by HMML: BALA 00123; sample pages: <http://cdm.csbsju.edu/digital/collection/HMMLMicrofi/search/searchterm/BALA%2000123>.

71 Ġassān Ward, *Al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fī maktabat muṭrāniyyat Ḥalab li-l-Rūm al-urtūduks*, Beirut, Markaz al-dirāsāt al-urtūduksi al-Anṭākī, 1989, p. 35.

72 Graf, *Catalogue*, p. 142 (does not appear in Simaika's catalogue).

73 Digitized by HMML: BzAr 00077; sample pages: <http://cdm.csbsju.edu/digital/collection/HMMLMicrofi/search/searchterm/BzAr%2000077>.

74 Ilyās Jabbāra, *Al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fī maktabat baṭriyarkīyyat Anṭākiya wa-sā‘ir al-mašriq li-l-Rūm al-urtūduks*, Beirut, Markaz al-dirāsāt al-urtūduksi al-Anṭākī, 1988, p. 13.

(cont.)

No.	Date	Copied by / at	Location & call number	Folios	Attribution
44.	1793		London, British Library, Or. 11286 <sup>75</sup>		G
45.	18th cent.		Mosul, Syrian Orthodox Archdiocese of Mosul 118 <sup>76</sup>	1 <sup>v</sup> –129 <sup>r</sup> ; in Gar-šūnī	G
46.	18th cent.		Z = Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale 483 <sup>77</sup>	8 <sup>v</sup> –85 <sup>v</sup> ; includes chapter divisions	G
47.	ca. 18th cent.		Tripoli, Balamand University 16 <sup>78</sup>		G
48.	23 Dec. 1834	<i>Naḥla 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Gazzāwī</i>	<i>Birmingham, Mingana Collection, Chr. Ar. 21 (catalogue 77)</i> <sup>79</sup>	1–48	§
49.	19th cent.		Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 2367 <sup>80</sup>		G
50.	19th cent.		London, British Library, Or. 8095 <sup>81</sup>		G
51.	late 19th cent.		Baalbek, Rūm Catholic Archdiocese 5 <sup>82</sup>		
52.	20 June 1906	<i>al-qummuṣ Andrā'us al-Anṭūnī</i>	<i>Monastery of St. Antony, Theol. 320</i>	148–217 (?)	§
53.	22 Mar. 1908	<i>al-qummuṣ Miḥā'il al-anbā Būlā</i>	<i>Monastery of St. Antony, Theol. 152</i>		
54.	Unknown		Aleppo, Maronite Archdiocese 1096		G

75 I owe this information to the web checklist: <http://www.islamicareastudies.jp/joint/docs/P.%20Christian%20Literature.pdf>.

76 Digitized by HMML: ASOM 00018; sample pages: <http://cdm.csbsju.edu/cdm/search/collection/HMMLMicrofi/searchterm/ASOM%200018>.

77 Cheikho and Khalifé, *Catalogue*, p. 202 [296].

78 Digitized by HMML: IHAN 00016; sample pages: <http://cdm.csbsju.edu/cdm/search/collection/HMMLMicrofi/searchterm/IHAN%200016>.

79 Mingana, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 106 (the Coptic year is given erroneously as “1851”; it should be corrected to 1551 AMart). The manuscript also includes Isaac of Nineveh in ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl’s translation, al-Ṣafī ibn al-‘Assāl’s abridgment of John Climacus’ *Book of the Ladder*, and works of John of Dalyatha.

80 I owe this information to the web checklist: [http://www.obslib.com/img/handlist\\_manuscripts\\_ordre\\_basilien\\_salvatorien.pdf](http://www.obslib.com/img/handlist_manuscripts_ordre_basilien_salvatorien.pdf).

81 I owe this information to the web checklist: <http://www.islamicareastudies.jp/joint/docs/P.%20Christian%20Literature.pdf>.

82 Nasrallah, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, pp. 4–5.

(cont.)

No.	Date	Copied by / at	Location & call number	Folios	Attribution
55.	Unknown		Aleppo, Maronite Archdiocese 1153		G
56.	Unknown		Aleppo, Private collection of N. Bassāl and Rabbāt <sup>83</sup>		G
57.	Unknown		Dayr al-Kreim 27 <sup>84</sup>		
58.	Unknown		Dayr al-Šīr N.C. 328		Anon.
59.	Unknown		Dayr al-Suryān 216 <sup>85</sup>		
60.	Unknown		Ḥarišā-Dar‘awn, Charfet 435 <sup>86</sup>		G (M)
61.	Unknown		Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 22 <sup>87</sup>		§
62.	Unknown		Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 23		§
63.	Unknown		Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 24		§
64.	Unknown		Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 29		§
65.	Unknown		Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 36		§
66.	Unknown		Monastery of St. Antony, Theol. 75	129–166	§

## Appendix B: A Sample Critical Edition

A sample critical edition, based on eight manuscripts (those that have been assigned sigla in the inventory above), is provided below. For this purpose, I have chosen the very end of the treatise (designated “Chapter XXIV” in the Beirut manuscript Z and in the Saint Petersburg manuscript), where the manu-

83 Paul Sbath, *Al-Fihris: Catalogue de manuscrits arabes*, 3 vols., Cairo, Imprimerie Al-Chark, 1938–1940, vol. 1, p. 56 (No. 434).

84 Nasrallah, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 29–30.

85 I thank Stephen Davis (private communication, 9 August 2015) for information about the manuscript.

86 Bahnām Sūnī, *Mḥawwīyānā da-ktibātā d-patriyarkūtā d-sūryāyē da-b-Šarfa, Lebnān / Fihris al-maḥṭūṭāt al-batriyarkīyya fī Dayr al-Šarfa, Lubnān*, Beirut, Šarikat al-ṭab‘ wa-l-našr al-lubnāniyya, 1993, p. 168; has a note at the beginning ascribing it to Mōšē bar Kēfā (Mūsā ibn al-Ḥaḡar).

87 This and the following manuscripts are indicated in Bartolomeo Pirone, “I manoscritti di Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ,” *Studia Orientalia Christiana, Collectanea*, 21 (1988), pp. 295–321, at p. 309. The description is slightly ambiguous. It is possible that only Manuscript 36 contains al-Šafī ibn al-Assāl’s abridgment, while the other manuscripts contain *The Noetic Paradise* in its original form.

scripts display several different endings.<sup>88</sup> It is clear that manuscript E (Sinai Ar. 439) is, by far, the most reliable of the eight; in several cases it is the only one to preserve what is demonstrably the correct reading.<sup>89</sup>

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88 The edition begins at: A 355<sup>r</sup>:5; B 87<sup>v</sup>:11; C 119<sup>r</sup>:5; D 115<sup>r</sup>:15; E 144<sup>v</sup>:7; P 301<sup>r</sup>:13; V 133<sup>v</sup>:7; Z 82<sup>v</sup>:13.

89 See pp. 359 (apparatus notes 3 and 9), 363 (apparatus notes 5 and 9), 366 (apparatus notes 19 and 26), and 367 (apparatus note 9).

## (XXIV)

(1) ويقول<sup>1</sup> ايضاً: "الاله الذي عبده بروحي"<sup>a</sup>،<sup>2</sup> مطابقاً قول الرب: "ان الله روح ويجب<sup>3</sup> ان يُسجد له بروح وحق"<sup>4</sup> b.

(2) شرح ذلك بقوة الله<sup>5</sup>

العبادة انواعها:<sup>6</sup> الامانة، الصلاة،<sup>7</sup> التضرع،<sup>8</sup> السجود،<sup>9</sup> التسبيح، القراءة،<sup>10</sup> الصوم ونظايرها.<sup>11</sup>

(3) فالامانة:<sup>12</sup> ما<sup>13</sup> يجب ان تكون بالحس فقط، اي بالفهم،<sup>14</sup> كأننا<sup>15</sup> إنما نُنفع الاله<sup>16</sup> حسياً باعتقاد امنائنا<sup>17</sup> به،<sup>18</sup> بل بالروح، اي بالعقل<sup>19</sup> الذي فينا نعترف بالاله الذي لا جسم له ونومن به ونصدقّه، فان كان الحس يعترف بالامانة والعقل يشك<sup>20</sup> فتلك ليست امانة بالروح بل بالبشرة.

(4) الصلاة:<sup>22</sup> سبيلها<sup>23</sup> ان تكون<sup>24</sup> لا<sup>25</sup> بالحس فقط كأننا<sup>26</sup> نتاجي<sup>27</sup> بها انساناً<sup>28</sup> حسياً،<sup>29</sup> وعنيت بالحس حساسة<sup>30</sup> اللسان<sup>31</sup> وآلة الصوت، بل<sup>32</sup> لأن الله روح<sup>33</sup> لا جسم له يجب<sup>34</sup> ان تكون عبادته

a Romans 1:9: ὁ θεός, ὃ λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου.

b John 4:24: πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν.

بالروح ABCDEP || بروح وحق<sup>4</sup> DV. || يجب<sup>3</sup> ABCPEZ || ويجب<sup>3</sup> add. V. || موافقاً<sup>2</sup> add. VZ. || الرسول<sup>1</sup> Z الصلوة || الصلاة<sup>7</sup> Z. || وانواعها هي || انواعها<sup>6</sup> ABCDEPV || om. بقوة الله<sup>5</sup> VZ. || والحق التسبيح القراءة<sup>10</sup> B. || الشجود || ACDEPVZ || التسجود<sup>9</sup> P. || والتضرع || ABCDEVZ || التسبحة<sup>8</sup> P. || الصلاة || والامانة || ABCPEVZ || فالامانة<sup>12</sup> BD. || ونظايرها || ACEPVZ || ونظايرها<sup>11</sup> Z. || القراءة التسبيح || ABCDEPV || الاله<sup>16</sup> V. || كأننا<sup>15</sup> ABCDEPZ || كأننا<sup>14</sup> Z. || بالفهم || ABCDEPV || بالفهم<sup>14</sup> om. ما<sup>13</sup> D. || باعتقادنا بامانته || (بامانته AV (V corr. باعتقادنا بامنتنا || BCDEP || باعتقاد امانتنا<sup>17</sup> E. || الاله || Z || الالهنا || om. Z. || بل<sup>32</sup> V. || يشكك || ABCDEPZ || يشك<sup>20</sup> BCE. || بالفعل || ADPVZ || بالعقل<sup>19</sup> om. به<sup>18</sup> Z. || يكون || ABCDEPZ || تكون<sup>24</sup> AV<sup>var</sup>. || سبب لها || BCDEPVZ || سبيلها<sup>23</sup> Z. || الصلوة || ABCDEPV || الصلاة<sup>22</sup> BCD. || تناجي || A || تناجي || P<sup>2</sup>V || يناجي || EZ || تناجي<sup>27</sup> ABCDPV. || كأننا<sup>26</sup> EZ || om. A. || لا<sup>25</sup> V. || حاسة || E || حساسة<sup>30</sup> ABCDPVZ. || حسياً<sup>29</sup> E || Codices. || انسان || scripsi انساناً<sup>28</sup> || يجب<sup>34</sup> P. || الروح || ABCDEVZ || الله روح<sup>33</sup> om. بل<sup>32</sup> A. || باللسان || BCDEPVZ || اللسان<sup>31</sup> ABCPEZ || يجب<sup>3</sup> DV.

بالروح الذي فينا، اي بالعقل الروحاني الذي لا جسم له، فان كان الحس يصلي والعقل ينطق<sup>1</sup> باشيا  
اخر<sup>2</sup> فتلك ليست عبادة<sup>3</sup> بالروح بل بالبشرة، اي بلسان البشرة.

(5) وكذلك<sup>4</sup> القراءة: ان كان بالحس<sup>5</sup> يقرأ والعقل يقرأ اشيا<sup>6</sup> اخر<sup>7</sup> فتلك ليست قراءة بالروح بل  
بالبشرة.

5 (6) وكذلك<sup>8</sup> السجود: ان كان الجسد<sup>9</sup> يسجد والعقل ليس هو متفق معه فذلك<sup>10</sup> ليس هو<sup>11</sup> سجود<sup>12</sup>  
بالروح بل بالبشرة.

(7) وكذلك<sup>13</sup> السكوت: ان كان الحس يسكت، اي لسان البشرة، والعقل يتكلم باشيا<sup>15</sup> اخر<sup>16</sup>  
فذلك<sup>17</sup> سكوت بالحس لا<sup>18</sup> بالروح.

(8) وكذلك<sup>19</sup> الزهد والمسك: ان كان قد زهد بحسه في الاشيا الحسية وروحه تخيلها وتشتبهها  
وتقتني<sup>21</sup> مشياتها<sup>22</sup> فذلك<sup>23</sup> زهد بالبشرة<sup>24</sup> لا بالروح. 10

(9) وكذلك<sup>25</sup> الرحوم: ان كان يرحم قريبه ويخدمه بحسه وعقله ليس يوافقه في الرحمة بل قاصد  
اشيا<sup>27</sup> اخر<sup>28</sup> فتلك رحمة<sup>29</sup> بالبشرة لا بالروح.

1 BCDEPV ينطق | 2 اخرى | Z اوخر | ABCDEV اخر<sup>2</sup>. Vvar. ناظرًا | A ناظر | Z يفكر | BCDEPV ينطق<sup>1</sup>  
A. باشيا | BCDEPVZ اشيا<sup>6</sup>. ACDPVZ. الحس | BE بالحس<sup>5</sup>. om. AZ. وكذلك<sup>4</sup>. E. عبادته | PVZ  
ABCDEPV | الحس | ABCDEPV الجسد<sup>9</sup>. om. AZ. وكذلك<sup>8</sup>. Z. اوخر | ABCDEPV اخر<sup>7</sup>  
om. AZ. وكذلك<sup>13</sup>. V. سجودًا | ABCDEPZ سجود<sup>12</sup>. om. Z. هو<sup>11</sup>. E. فذلك | PVZ  
Z. اوخر | ABCDEPV اخر<sup>16</sup>. A. اشيا | BCDEPVZ باشيا<sup>15</sup>. Z. الصمت | ABCDEPV  
om. AZ. P | كذلك | BCDEV | كذلك<sup>19</sup>. add. P. سكوت<sup>18</sup>. V. فذاك | ABCDEPZ  
P | يتخيلها ويشتهبها ويقتني | C يتخيلها وتشتبهها وتقتني | ABDEZ يتخيلها وتشتبهها وتقتني<sup>21</sup>. Z.  
ABCDEPV<sup>var</sup>Z | بالبشرة<sup>24</sup>. V. فذاك | ABCDEPZ فذلك<sup>23</sup>. P. اسبابها | ABCDEVZ مشياتها<sup>22</sup>  
Z. الرحمة | ABCDEPV الرحوم<sup>26</sup>. om. Z. A | كذلك | BCDEPV وكذلك<sup>25</sup>. V.  
Z. الرحمة | ABCDEPV رحمة<sup>29</sup>. Z. اوخر | ABCDEPV اخر<sup>28</sup>. E. اشيا

(10) وكذلك<sup>1</sup> من يحبّ قريبه بالحسّ، اي باللسان، وعقله ينفر منه<sup>2</sup> ويمتته فتلك محبة بالبشرة لا بالروح.<sup>3</sup>

(11) وكذلك<sup>4</sup> من يحلم<sup>5</sup> بالحسّ<sup>6</sup> والعقل يظفر<sup>7</sup> عليه<sup>8</sup> ساخطاً فذلك<sup>9</sup> حلم<sup>10</sup> بالحسّ لا بالروح.<sup>11</sup>

(12) وكذلك<sup>12</sup> من يعفّ بالحسّ وعقله يتصوّر الزنا<sup>13</sup> فتلك عفة بالجسد<sup>14</sup> لا بالروح. (\*)

(13) وكذلك<sup>15</sup> من يصفح عن قريبه<sup>16</sup> بحسّه<sup>17</sup> اي بلسانه، وروحه ما يصفح<sup>18</sup> عنه فذلك اغتفار<sup>19</sup> بالبشرة لا بالروح، اذ<sup>20</sup> الربّ يقول: "ان لم تغفروا لاختكم من صميم قلوبكم جرايرهم<sup>21</sup> فما يغفر لكم ابوكم<sup>22</sup> السماوي<sup>23</sup> زلاتكم"<sup>a</sup>، (14) فامر ان تكون العبادة له<sup>24</sup> من صميم العقل<sup>25</sup> ونطقه، لانّ الجسد، كما قال عزّ قوله<sup>26</sup>، "ما ينفع<sup>27</sup> شيئاً بل الروح يحيي"<sup>b</sup> اي الافعال المفعولة<sup>28</sup> بالبشرة وحسبها فقط ما تنفع<sup>29</sup> شيئاً اذ<sup>30</sup> الروح ما يطابقها<sup>31</sup>، فاما الافعال المعمولة<sup>32</sup> بالروح فتلك تحيي النفس.

a Matthew 6:15: ἐάν δὲ μὴ ἀφήτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ἀφήσει τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.

b John 6:63: τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ ζῶον ποιοῦν, ἡ σὰρξ οὐκ ὠφελεῖ οὐδέν.

وكذلك<sup>4</sup> Z. transpos. ad (\*) Z. وكذلك من يحب ... بالروح<sup>3</sup> om. Z. منه<sup>2</sup> AZ. المحبة || BCDPV وكذلك<sup>1</sup> بالروح || ABCDPV بالحس<sup>6</sup> AV<sup>var</sup> يحكم || BCDPVZ يحلم<sup>5</sup> Z. الحلم || A الحكم كذلك || BCDPV حلم<sup>10</sup> Z. فذلك || ABCDPV فذلك<sup>9</sup> Z. على القريب || ABCDPV عليه<sup>8</sup> A. يظهر || BCDPVZ يظفر<sup>7</sup> BCDEPV وكذلك<sup>12</sup> om. E. وكذلك من يحب قريبه ... فذلك حلم بالحس لا بالروح<sup>11</sup> A. حكم || BCDPVZ العفة || BCDEPV وكذلك<sup>15</sup> BC. بالحسد || ADEPVZ بالجسد<sup>14</sup> add. Z. والفجور والفحشا<sup>13</sup> AZ. العفة || اغتفار<sup>19</sup> C. نصفح || DPZ تصفح || ABEV يصفح<sup>18</sup> om. AZ. بحسّه<sup>17</sup> add. BCD. اي<sup>16</sup> AZ. الصفح || ABCDEPV جرايرهم<sup>21</sup> Z. لان || ABCDEPV اذ<sup>20</sup> CZ. صفح || AV<sup>var</sup> صفحا || D اعتقاد || BEPV || ABCDEPV له<sup>24</sup> V. السماي || ABCDEPZ السماوي<sup>23</sup> P. ايكم || ABCDEVZ ابوكم<sup>22</sup> Z. جرايرهم كما قال عزّ قوله || BCDEPV لان الجسد كما قال عزّ قوله<sup>26</sup> Z. القلب || A<sup>25</sup>BCDEPV العقل<sup>25</sup> Z. سبحانه || ABCDEP تنفع<sup>29</sup> V. المعمولة || ABCDEPZ المفعولة<sup>28</sup> Z. يعني || ABCDEPV ينفع<sup>27</sup> AZ. ان الجسد Z. تطابقه || V يوافقها || DEP تطابقها || ABCV<sup>var</sup> يطابقها<sup>31</sup> Z. ان || ABCDEPV اذ<sup>30</sup> Z. يعني || V ينفع || A. المفعولة || BCDEPVZ المعمولة<sup>32</sup>.

(15) شرح اخر<sup>2,1</sup>

ان<sup>3</sup> بشرة الاقوال الالهية اذا فُهِمَتْ كما هي مسطورة تقتل، فاما اذا حُصِّن عن روح معانيها التي لا تُرى<sup>4</sup> في الكتابة عاش به<sup>5</sup> الروح الذي لا يرى، اي عقلنا.<sup>6</sup>

(16) شرح اخر<sup>7</sup>

5 اي افعال الديانة المعقولة<sup>8</sup> برويات الرذائل البشرية ما تنفع شيئاً بل افعال العبادة بازاء الفضائل الروحانية العقلية<sup>9</sup> تحيي فاعلها. † جعل بالفصل<sup>10</sup> المكتوب عند اخره<sup>11</sup> هذا<sup>12</sup> بهذا الفصل. †<sup>13</sup>

(17) شرح ما قد فُوِّضَ الى العقل من استعمال<sup>14</sup> قواه وحواسه<sup>15</sup>

الله جلّ ذكره خلق للعقل<sup>16</sup> خاصية<sup>17</sup> قوة<sup>18</sup> النطق وفوض اليه—بسلطانه<sup>19</sup> على ذاته وتحويله ان يدبر ذاته وغلمانه بلا<sup>20</sup> حجر<sup>21</sup>—ان يستعمله: ان شاء في دراسة التسبيح فيعيش باختياره وان شاء في دراسة الوقيعات<sup>22</sup> والرويات الخبيثة فيموت بايثاره. 10

الذي || AV التي لا ترى<sup>4</sup> VZ. اما || ABCDEP ان<sup>3</sup> add. BCDP. ايضا<sup>2</sup> DZ. ذلك || ABCEPV اخر<sup>1</sup> ايضا<sup>7</sup> BCPVZ. عقليا || ADEV<sup>var</sup> عقلنا<sup>6</sup> P. بها || ABCDEVZ به<sup>5</sup> CDP. الذي لا ترى || BEZ لا يرى add. BCP. ABCDEPV الروحانية العقلية<sup>9</sup> Vp.corr. || المفعولة Va.corr. || ABCDEPZ المعقولة<sup>8</sup> add. BCP. هذا<sup>12</sup> om. P. عند اخره<sup>11</sup> A. بالفضائل || BCD بالفضل || EP بالفصل<sup>10</sup> Z. العقلية الروحانية ABCDEPV استعمال<sup>14</sup> || om. Z. V والمجد لله || ABCD جعل ... الفضل || EP جعل ... الفصل<sup>13</sup> A. قوة<sup>18</sup> A. خاصته || BCDEPVZ خاصية<sup>17</sup> ADEP. العقل || BCVZ للعقل<sup>16</sup> add. Z. ان<sup>15</sup> Z. استعماله ABCDEVZ حجر<sup>21</sup> A. بلي || BCDEPVZ بلا<sup>20</sup> Z. سلطانه || ABCDEPV بسلطانه<sup>19</sup> Z. قوى || ABCDEPV || DP. حجج<sup>22</sup> Z. المعقولات || ABCDEPV الوقيعات

(18) خلق<sup>1</sup> له حاسة<sup>2</sup> الفكر وفوض اليه ان يستعمله<sup>3</sup> فيما شاء: 4 ان شاء<sup>5</sup> يفكر به افكار<sup>6</sup> الخير وان شاء<sup>7</sup> يفكر<sup>8</sup> به<sup>9</sup> في الشر<sup>10</sup>.

(19) جعل<sup>11,12</sup> له حاسة<sup>13</sup> التصور وفوض اليه ان يستعمله: 14 ان شاء<sup>15</sup> يتصور به<sup>16</sup> التخيلات<sup>17</sup> النافعة وان شاء يتخيل<sup>18</sup> به صور اللذات المهلكة.

(20) جعل<sup>19</sup> له حاسة<sup>20</sup> الذكر وفوض اليه ان يستعمله: ان شاء<sup>21</sup> يذكر به الخير فيعيش<sup>22</sup> وان شاء<sup>23</sup> يتذكر<sup>24</sup> به الشر فيموت.

(21) جعل له الحس وفوض اليه ان يستعمله: 25 ان شاء يحس بالفضيلة<sup>26</sup> وان شاء يحس<sup>27</sup> بالرديلة<sup>28</sup>.

(22) جعل له الشهوة وفوض اليه استعمالها: ان شاء يشتهي بها<sup>29</sup> الخير وافعله وان شاء يشتهي بها<sup>30</sup> الشر وروياته<sup>31</sup>.

(23) خلق<sup>32</sup> له قوة الغضب وفوض اليه استعماله: 33 ان شاء يغضب به<sup>34</sup> على الرذائل ومن يحض عليها وان شاء يغضب به على الفضائل ومن يامر<sup>35</sup> بها<sup>36</sup>.

1 add. V. الله. 2 ABCDEPZ حاسة || V. حاسية || E يستعمله 3. (That the reading ABCDPVZ. يستعملها || E يستعمله 3. H. حاسية || ABCDEPZ حاسة 2. add. V. الله 1. يشا || ABCDEPV شا 5. DEVZ. يشا || ABCP شا 4. (below) به is demonstrated by is correct يستعمله Z. يفكر || V. افتكر || ABCDEP يفكر 8. Z. يشا || ABCDEPV شا 7. V. افتكار || ABCDEPZ افكار 6. Z. add. الله 12. Z. وجعل || ABCDEPV جعل 11. V. بالشر || ABCDEPZ في الشر 10. om. ABCDPVZ. به 9. V. add. الله 11. AD || om. شا || BCEPV ان شا 15. P. om. ان يستعمله 14. VZ. حاسية || ABCDEP حاسة 13. V. به يتخيل || ABCDEVZ يتخيل به 18. EV. التخيلات || ABCDEPZ التخيلات 17. om. BCDV. AEZ || om. به 16. ويعيش || ABCDEPZ فيعيش 22. add. D. ان 21. VZ. حاسية || ABCDEP حاسة 20. add. V. الله 19. P. V. استعماله || ABCDEPZ ان يستعمله 25. A. يذكر || Z. ايتذكر || BCDEPV يتذكر 24. add. Z. ان 23. V. om. P. بها 29. P. الرذيلة || ABCDEVZ بالرديلة 28. om. A. يحس 27. P. الفضيلة || ABCDEVZ بالفضيلة 26. خلق له قوة النطق وفوض اليه—بسلطانه على ذاته وتحويله ان يدبر ذاته وغلماه بلا حجر—ان 31. om. V. بها 30. استعماله 33. V. جعل || ABCDEPZ خلق 32. add. P. يستعمله: ان شا في دراسة التسبيح فيعيش باختياره ABCDEPZ فيها || BCDEPV بها 36. E. يامر || ABCDPVZ يامر 35. om. B. به 34. Z. ان يستعمله || ABCDEPV

(24) خلق<sup>21</sup> له العزم وفوض اليه استعماله: ان شاء يعتزم به على الافعال<sup>3</sup> الصالحة وان شاء<sup>4</sup> على<sup>5</sup> الطالحة.

(25) خلق<sup>6</sup> له الراي وفوض اليه استعماله: ان شاء يرتاي<sup>7</sup> به الارا<sup>8</sup> النافعة له ولقربيه<sup>9</sup> وان شاء<sup>10</sup> يرتاي<sup>11</sup> به الرويات الضارة.

(26) خلق<sup>12</sup> له المشية والهوى<sup>13</sup> وفوض اليه استعمالهما: ان شاء يشاء بهما افتعال<sup>14</sup> الوصايا<sup>15</sup> ويهواها<sup>16</sup> وان شاء يختار الرذائل ويريدها<sup>17</sup>.

(27) وكذلك الفضائل<sup>18</sup> النطقية: ان شاء يحب الخير وان شاء يحب الشر، ان شاء<sup>19</sup> يومن وان شاء يكفر، ان شاء يخاف وان شاء يتبرد<sup>21</sup>، وكذلك<sup>22</sup> باقي الفضائل النطقية.

(28) والخصائص الحيوانية<sup>24</sup> لثلاثا تعددها: قد فوض<sup>25</sup> الله الى العقل المالك سلطان ذاته ان يستعملها فيما شاء واختار، ولهذا يستوجب النعم والحياة اذا عمل باختياره ومشيته ما يستحقهما<sup>26</sup> به، وكذلك يحكم عليه بالتعذيب اذا فعل بهواه وايتاره ما يستوجب به<sup>27</sup> (29) وليس<sup>28</sup> هو مجبراً<sup>29</sup>

1 add. BCDV. يعتزم به<sup>4</sup> DV. الاعمال || ABCEPZ الافعال<sup>3</sup> add. P. الله<sup>2</sup> CD. وخلق || ABEPVZ خلق<sup>1</sup>  
 5 EP || الارا<sup>8</sup> Z. يرى || ABCDEPV يرتاي<sup>7</sup> add. P. الله<sup>6</sup> add. V. الاعمال || BCD الافعال<sup>5</sup>  
 ABCDEPV يرتاي<sup>11</sup> add. CDE. ان<sup>10</sup> om. A. له ولقربيه<sup>9</sup> om. BCD. A || الافعال || VZ الرويات  
 DP. والهوا || ABCEVZ والهوى<sup>13</sup> P. وخلق || ABCDEVZ خلق<sup>12</sup> Z. يرى ||  
 ABCDEPV الرذائل ويريدها<sup>17</sup> Z. وهواها || ABCDEPV ويهواها<sup>16</sup> add. V. النطقية<sup>15</sup> AZ. استعمال  
 CVZ. وان || ABDEP ان<sup>20</sup> VZ. وان || ABCDEP ان<sup>19</sup> add. V. كلها<sup>18</sup> Z. ضوف (؟) الخطايا ويوترها  
 ABCD- الحيوانية<sup>24</sup> add. Z. كل<sup>23</sup> E. فكذلك || ABCDPVZ وكذلك<sup>22</sup> Z. فيتمرد || ABCDEPV يترد<sup>21</sup>  
 om. B. به<sup>27</sup> Z. يستحقها || ABCDEPV يستحقهما<sup>26</sup> Z. وقد || ABCDEPV قد<sup>25</sup> E. الروحانية || PVZ  
 Z. مجبوراً || V مخبراً || E مجبر || ABCDP مجبراً<sup>29</sup> EP. فليس || ABCDVZ وليس<sup>28</sup>

ولا مَحْجُورًا<sup>1</sup> عليه<sup>2</sup> بل مالكٌ<sup>3</sup> تديرَ نفسه<sup>4</sup> وحواسه<sup>5</sup> يعيش بايثاره الحياة ويموت باختياره<sup>6</sup> الموت، أي ان شاء<sup>7</sup> يستعمل قواه<sup>8</sup> وحواسه في الافعال الصالحة والاعمال الحسنة<sup>9</sup> المخصوص بها كل واحد منها<sup>10</sup> فيعيش، وان شاء<sup>11</sup> يستعملها<sup>12</sup> في الرذائل ويجنح بها<sup>13</sup> عن الحدود المرتبة<sup>14</sup> لكل واحد منها<sup>15</sup> فيموت.<sup>16</sup>

5 (30) كما قيل: "قد قَدِمَ<sup>17</sup> امام الانسان الحياة<sup>19</sup> والموت وايهما<sup>20</sup> اختار وارتضى<sup>21</sup> يعطى<sup>22</sup> ذلك"،<sup>a</sup> يوضح ان الانسان لا<sup>23</sup> حجّر<sup>24</sup> عليه ولا منع<sup>25</sup> بل ذو سلطان على تدير ذاته، ان آثر الخير واستعمل حواسه وخواصه فيه عاش به، وان آثر الشر واستعمل حواسه وخاصياته<sup>26</sup> فيه مات وهلك.<sup>27</sup>

10 (31) وبيان ذلك امر آدم: انه<sup>28</sup> اخطا في استعمال خاصياته وحواسه<sup>29</sup> فمات وامات حواسه<sup>30</sup> معه لانه اشتى<sup>31</sup> التاله فجنح بالشهوة عن حدّها، واختار لذّة الاكل<sup>32</sup> فجنح<sup>33</sup> بالارادة<sup>34</sup> عن حدّها،<sup>35</sup> واعتزم<sup>36</sup> على الاكل فغلط في استعمال<sup>37</sup> عزمه، واعمل<sup>38</sup> رايه فيه<sup>39</sup> فجنح بالرأي عن حدّه، وتصور

a Sirach 15:17: ἔναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ὁ ἐὰν εὐδοκῆσῃ, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ.

1<sup>1</sup> محجورًا CPVp.corr.Z || محجورًا Va.corr. || ABDE محجورًا. 2<sup>2</sup> عليه Ca.corr.EPVa.corr.Z || عنه ABCp.corr.DVP.corr. BCD. واحواسه || AEPVZ وحواسه 5<sup>5</sup> E. تديره ABCDPVZ || تدير نفسه 4<sup>4</sup> BCDEPV. مالكا || AZ مالك 3<sup>3</sup> الحسية || ABCVEZ الحسنة 9<sup>9</sup> Z. add. كل 8<sup>8</sup> ABCDE. add. ان 7<sup>7</sup> Z. بايثاره || ABCDEPV باختياره 6<sup>6</sup> استعمالها || BCDEPV يستعملها 12<sup>12</sup> ADPZ. om. شا 11<sup>11</sup> A. منهم || BCDEPVZ منها 10<sup>10</sup> sine punctis D. منها || EPVZ منها 15<sup>15</sup> AD. المريبة || BCEPVZ المرتبة 14<sup>14</sup> A. بهما || BCDEPVZ بها 13<sup>13</sup> Z. استعمالها || A ABCD. 16<sup>16</sup> AZ فيموت || BCDEPV ويموت || AZ فيموت 16<sup>16</sup> ABCD. وارتضى 21<sup>21</sup> VZ. ايهما || ABCDEP وايهما 20<sup>20</sup> Z. الحيوة || ABCDEPV الحياة 19<sup>19</sup> Z. وضع || Va.corr. قام || ABCDEPZ حجر 24<sup>24</sup> Z. ولا || ABCDEPV لا 23<sup>23</sup> APZ. يعطا || BCDEPV يعطى 22<sup>22</sup> V. رضي || ABCDEPV به 27<sup>27</sup> AVZ. وخواصه || BCDEP وخاصياته 26<sup>26</sup> Va.corr. مانع || ABCDPVp.corr.Z منع 25<sup>25</sup> ABCDP. حجّر add. VZ. 30<sup>30</sup> A. حواسه وخواصه || BCDEPVZ خاصياته وحواسه 29<sup>29</sup> VZ. اذ || ABCDEP انه 28<sup>28</sup> add. VZ. المالك || ABCDEPV الاكل 32<sup>32</sup> BCDEV. اشتها || APZ اشتى 31<sup>31</sup> Z. خواصه وحواسه || ABCDEPV BCDE-حقها || A حدها 35<sup>35</sup> BCDV. بارادته || AEPZ بالارادة 34<sup>34</sup> V. فعدل || ABCDEPV فجنح 33<sup>33</sup> Z. ABCDEPV واعمل 38<sup>38</sup> Z. استعماله || ABCDEPV استعمال 37<sup>37</sup> EV. وعزم || ABCDPZ واعتزم 36<sup>36</sup> PVZ. استعمال || Va.corr. فيها || ABCDEPVa.corr.Z فيها 39<sup>39</sup> Z. واستعمل

خيالات<sup>1</sup> الصلف بفتح بالتصوّر عن حدّه، ودرس بفكره ونطقه<sup>2</sup> في مخالفة الوصية بفتح<sup>3</sup> بهما عن حدّهما، ثم اخرج ذلك الى الفعل بجواسه الظاهرة، (32) وكذلك الامر في<sup>4</sup> تقويم كلّ فضيلة ورذيلة: العقل<sup>5</sup> وقواه وحواسه وخواصه يفعلونها بافعالهم التي لا تُرى، ثمّ فعلها البشرية<sup>6</sup> بافعالها المريبة.

(33) فهذا<sup>7</sup> القياس يجري في كلّ الفضائل والرذائل سوى<sup>8</sup> افعال المراياة والغشّ والخبث والمكر، فإنّ العقل وخدامه يدرس<sup>9</sup> ويعملون<sup>10</sup> اشيا والبشرة بامر<sup>11</sup> العقل ايضاً تعمل<sup>12</sup> اشيا<sup>13</sup> ضدّ تلك. 15,14

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(Manuscripts AP end here)

(34) الرسول القديس بولص يقول<sup>16</sup> في رسالته<sup>17</sup> الى اهل قورنثية<sup>18</sup> الثانية: 19: "ولئن<sup>20</sup> كما نمشي بالبشرة<sup>21</sup> فلم نتجد بما يختصّ بالبشرة<sup>22</sup> لأنّ اسلحة جنديتنا ليست بشرية بل مقتدرة بالله على هدم<sup>23</sup> الحصون وتنقض<sup>24</sup> الافكار وكلّ علوّ يتعالى<sup>25</sup> على معرفة الله وسايبة<sup>26</sup> كلّ معقول الى طاعة المسيح<sup>a</sup>."

a 2 Corinthians 10:3-5: 3 ἐν σαρκί γὰρ περιπατοῦντες οὐ κατὰ σάρκα στρατευόμεθα—4 τὰ γὰρ ὄπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν οὐ σαρκικά ἀλλὰ δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ πρὸς καθάρσειν ὀχυρωμάτων—λογισμοὺς καθαίρουντες 5 καὶ πᾶν ὑψίωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

|| ABCDEPZ 3 بفتح ونطقه وفكره EP. || ABCDVZ بفكره ونطقه 2. A. حالات || BCDEPVZ خيالات 1  
 فهذا 7. Z. البشرية || ABCDEPV البشرية 6. A. للعقل || BCDEPVZ العقل 5. om. Z. في 4. V. فعدل  
 BV<sup>a.corr.</sup>Z. يدرسون || ACDEPV<sup>p.corr.</sup> يدرس 9. B. سوا || ACDEPVZ سوى 8. V. وهذا || ABCDEPZ  
 ان || BCDEPV تعمل 12. AVZ. تامر || BCDEP? بامر 11. V<sup>p.corr.</sup> ويعمل || ABCDEPV<sup>a.corr.</sup> ويعملون 10  
 تم الكتاب وكل يعون الله ومنه وكرمه وحسن 15. DVZ. ذلك || ABCEP تلك 14. om. Z. اشيا 13. AZ. يعمل  
 تم والله السبح دائماً. C. add. تم والله السبح دائماً وعلينا رحمته، آمين || add. B. تم والله السبح دائماً || add. A. توفيقه  
 والسبح والمجد لله ولي العدل وواهب العقل شكراً دائماً || add. D. بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله واحد  
 والرسول القديس بولص || BCD الرسول القديس بولص يقول 16. add. V. كما هو له اهل وعلينا رحمته، آمين  
 EZ. قرنثية || BCDV قورنثية 18. add. Z. الثانية 17. Z. الرسول بولص يقول || V فضل مما قاله بولص || E يقول  
 يختصّ بالبشرة 22. Z. بالبشرة نمشي || BCDEV نمشي بالبشرة 21. V. فان || BCDEZ ولين 20. om. Z. الثانية 19  
 Z. ونقض || BCDEV وتنقض 24. V. هد || BCDEZ هدم 23. Z. يخضّ البشرية || V يخضّ البشرية || BCDE  
 V. واجتذاب || BCDEZ وسايبة 26. E. يتعالا || BCDVZ يتعالى 25

(35) شرح معنى ذلك<sup>1</sup>

انّ اسلحة جنديّة المسيحيين<sup>2</sup> ليست بشرية كاسلحة الجند المعمولة من الحديد لدحض الامور الحسيّة بل روحانية قد<sup>3</sup> ذكرها في رسالته الى اهل افسس،<sup>4</sup> اذ قال: "ألبسوا انفسكم" وحواسها "درع العدل"،<sup>5</sup> يعني العدل في استعمال القوى الطبيعية والحواس الباطنة والظاهرة وخاصيّات الفضائل النطقية والحيوانية، كلّ واحدة<sup>6</sup> منها فيما خلقت لافعاله، و<sup>7</sup>"مَنْطِقُوا حَقَّوْكُمْ<sup>8</sup> بالحقّ"، يعني بالحقّ<sup>9</sup> الراي، ان يكون راي الانسان في كلّ ما يرتأيه<sup>10</sup> مشدوداً<sup>11</sup> بحقّ وصايا الله، (36) "وَأَلْبَسُوا" على راس<sup>12</sup> عقلكم<sup>13</sup> "خوذة الخلاص"، فراس العقل هو التمييز الذي يجب ان يكون عليه خوذة الزهد في القنيات الحسيّة والعقلية كلّها والتخلّص من ساير الامور التي<sup>14</sup> يستلذها<sup>15</sup> الحسّ، (37) "واخذوا<sup>16</sup> ارجلكم باستعداد بشارة السلامة"، فرجلًا<sup>17</sup> العقل هما العزم والنشاط الذي يجب<sup>18</sup> ان يكونا<sup>20</sup> مستورين<sup>21</sup> بعدم الآلام الذي هو سلامة الحواسّ وسكونها من هييج الآلام وشغبا، (38) "ومع هذه كلّها فتناولوا ترس الامانة الذي به تطفوا ساير<sup>22</sup> نبل الخبيث المحمّي"،<sup>23</sup> يريد<sup>24</sup> ان يكون<sup>25</sup> ترس الامانة الكاملة في انواعها الستّة سائرًا<sup>26</sup> فكر الانسان من ساير<sup>27</sup> خواطر العدو لأنّ الفكر يد العقل الواحدة اليسرى،

معنى ذلك بعون السيد المسيح وتأييده || B معنى ذلك بعون السيد يسوع المسيح وتأييده E شرح معنى ذلك<sup>1</sup>  
 BCDEV جنديّة المسيحيين<sup>2</sup> Z. ونحن نبرهن ذلك بعون الله تعالى وتأييده || V يعني بذلك || D معنى ذلك || C  
 اذ قال ... العدل<sup>5</sup> V. افسوس || BCDEZ افسس<sup>4</sup> Z. وقد || BCDEV قد<sup>3</sup> Z. جند يتنا نحن المسيحيون ||  
 حقويكم || BCDE حقوكم<sup>8</sup> Z. وقال || BCDEV و<sup>7</sup> EV. واحد || BCDZ واحدة<sup>6</sup> E || om. BCDVZ.  
 BDVZ. مشدود || CE مشدوداً<sup>11</sup> Z. يرتأيه || V يرثيه || BCDE يرتأيه<sup>10</sup> BCDVZ. بالحقّ || E بالحقّ<sup>9</sup> VZ.  
 يستلذها<sup>15</sup> E. الذي || BCDVZ التي<sup>14</sup> Z. عقولكم || BCDEV عقلكم<sup>13</sup> B. راي || CDEVZ راس<sup>12</sup>  
 BCDZ يجب<sup>18</sup> Z. فرجلان || BCDEV فرجلا<sup>17</sup> BCD. وحدوا || EVZ واحدوا<sup>16</sup> Z. يستلذ بها || BCDEV  
 || BCDEV ساير<sup>22</sup> add. Z. كلاهما<sup>21</sup> D. يكون || BCEVZ يكونا<sup>20</sup> om. E. ان<sup>19</sup> om. E. || V يجب ||  
 DV. sine punctis B || تكون || CEZ يكون<sup>25</sup> add. V. بذلك<sup>24</sup> Z. المحمية || BCDEV المحمّي<sup>23</sup> Z. كافة  
 Z. || BCDEV ساير<sup>27</sup> E. ساير || V ساترة || BCDZ سائرًا<sup>26</sup>

(39) واستلوا<sup>11</sup> بيدكم اليمنى، التي هي النطق، "سيف الروح الذي هو كلام الله"، يعني ان يكون النطق يدرس الصلاة ووصايا الله<sup>2</sup> دائماً، كالسيف بيد<sup>3</sup> الجندى.<sup>a</sup>

(40) فهذه الاسلحة، اعني "درع العدل" المشتغل النفس وحواسها<sup>4</sup> و"منطقة" حتى<sup>5</sup> وصايا الله الرابطة الراي عن الانحلال الى الرذائل الكاذبة و"خوذة" الزهد في ساير الاشيا الساترة التمييز و"احذية" عدم الآلام<sup>6</sup> الحافظة العزم والنشاط من شغب الآلام و"ترس الامانة" الساتر<sup>7</sup> فكر الانسان و"سيف الروح" الموحد<sup>8</sup> بالنطق، هذه<sup>9</sup> الاسلحة<sup>10</sup> "مقتدرة بالله على هدم الحصون"، والحصون هي الموانع العقل<sup>11</sup> عن الدخول الى الفضائل:

(41) فعدم الامانة و<sup>12</sup>الشك فيها يحصل سوراً<sup>13</sup> يمنع العقل من الدخول الى الامانة.

(42) وسو الرجا<sup>14</sup> يحصل حصناً يمجز العقل<sup>15</sup> من<sup>16</sup> الدخول الى الرجا.

(43) والبغض يمنع<sup>17</sup> من الدخول الى المحبة. 10

(44) والقساوة<sup>18</sup> ومحبة الفضة تمنع العقل من<sup>19</sup> الدخول الى الرحمة والصدقة.

(45) ومحبة الاشيا التي تستلذها<sup>20</sup> الحواس تمنع العقل من الدخول الى الحلم والدعة والعفة.

a Ephesians 6:14-17: στήτε οὖν περιζωσάμενοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης,<sup>15</sup> καὶ ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας ἐν ἐτοιμασίᾳ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι.<sup>17</sup> καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαιάν τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἧ ἐστὶν ῥῆμα θεοῦ.

add. V. معاً<sup>4</sup> BCD. بيدي || V في يد || EZ بيد<sup>3</sup> add. BZ. تعالى<sup>2</sup> Z. واستلوا || BCDEV واستلوا<sup>11</sup>

Z. المتحد || BCDEV المتحد<sup>8</sup> Z. الساترة || BCDEV الساتر<sup>7</sup> om. V. في ساير ... الآلام<sup>6</sup> om. Z. حتى<sup>5</sup>

|| DEVZ<sup>12</sup> VZ. للعقل || BCDE العقل<sup>11</sup> V. اسلحة || BCDEZ الاسلحة<sup>10</sup> Z. فهذه || BCDEV هذه<sup>9</sup>

|| BCDEV من<sup>16</sup> om. V. من الدخول ... العقل<sup>15</sup> add. Z. ايضاً<sup>14</sup> VZ. صور || BCDE سوراً<sup>13</sup> BC. او

|| BCDEV من<sup>19</sup> om. V. من<sup>19</sup> om. V. D والقساوة || BCEZ والقساوة<sup>18</sup> add. V. العقل<sup>17</sup> Z. عن

|| CDE sine punctis V. يستلذها

(46) ومحبة الاكرام<sup>1</sup> والرياسة<sup>2</sup> تمنع<sup>3</sup> العقل من الدخول الى التواضع.

(47) ومحبة الاغذية<sup>4</sup> والشهه<sup>5</sup> فيها<sup>6</sup> يمنع<sup>8,7</sup> من<sup>9</sup> الدخول في<sup>10</sup> الصوم.

(48) ومحبة النوم والراحة تمنع<sup>12,11</sup> من<sup>13</sup> الدخول في<sup>14</sup> السهر والتيقظ<sup>15</sup> والخدمة.

(49) وايتار التعليم واكثار<sup>16</sup> الكلام<sup>17</sup> يمنع<sup>19,18</sup> من<sup>20</sup> الدخول في السكوت.

(50) وايتار<sup>21</sup> التنعم<sup>22</sup> واعتياده<sup>23</sup> يمنع<sup>24</sup> من الدخول في الشقا. 5

(51) والمزاح والضحك بمنعان من الدخول في النوح والبكا.

(52) والوقية تمنع<sup>25</sup> من حسن الثنا.

(53) وكذلك باقي الاشيا التي تمنع العقل من<sup>26</sup> الدخول في<sup>27</sup> الفضائل صايرة قدّامه حصناً منيعاً،<sup>28</sup>

ولذلك<sup>29</sup> قال الرب: "اجتهدوا<sup>30</sup> ان تدخلوا في الباب<sup>31</sup> الضيق<sup>32</sup> على الحوائس المعتادة<sup>33</sup> سعة

يمنعان || BCDEV تمنع<sup>3</sup> Z. وطلب الرياسة || BCDEV والرياسة<sup>2</sup> E. والاكرام<sup>1</sup> BCDVZ ومحبة الاكرام<sup>1</sup>  
 om. فيها<sup>6</sup> V. والاشربة || CDZ والشرب || B والسرف || E والشهه<sup>5</sup> Z. الاكل || BCDEV الاغذية<sup>4</sup> Z.  
 تمنع<sup>11</sup> Z. الى || BCDEV في<sup>10</sup> om. CDEV. من<sup>9</sup> add. V. العقل<sup>8</sup> BDEV. تمنع || CZ يمنع<sup>7</sup> VZ.  
 || BCEVZ والتيقظ<sup>15</sup> Z. الى || BCDEV في<sup>14</sup> om. E. العقل<sup>12</sup> add. V. C. يمنع || BDEVZ  
 || BCDEV يمنع<sup>18</sup> C. الالام || B الالام || DEVZ الكلام<sup>17</sup> V. ومحبة || BCDEZ واكثار<sup>16</sup> D. التيقظ  
 النعيم || BCDE التنعم<sup>22</sup> V. ومحبة ايتار || BCDEZ وايتار<sup>21</sup> om. V. من<sup>20</sup> add. V. العقل<sup>19</sup> Z. يمنعان  
 العقل<sup>25</sup> Z. يمنعان || V تمنع || BCDE يمنع<sup>24</sup> Z. وتعودهما || BCDEV واعتياده<sup>23</sup> Z. الرفاهية والتنعم || V  
 V. حصن منيع || BCDEZ حصناً منيعاً<sup>28</sup> E. الى || BCDVZ في<sup>27</sup> Z. عن || BCDEV من<sup>26</sup> add. V.  
 باب || BCDEZ الباب<sup>31</sup> Z. اجتهدوا في || C اجتهدوا || BDEV اجتهدوا<sup>30</sup> E. وكذلك || BCDVZ ولذلك<sup>29</sup>  
 Z. المتادة || BCDEV المعتادة<sup>33</sup> add. V. اي<sup>32</sup> V.

مشياتها، "فاني<sup>1</sup> اقول لكم ان كثيرين<sup>2</sup> يرومون<sup>3</sup> الدخول فيه<sup>4</sup> فلا يقدر<sup>5</sup>ون"،<sup>6</sup> a 5 لتتمكن العادة وانها ربما صارت طبيعية.<sup>7</sup>

(54) فاستعمال<sup>8</sup> هذه الاسلحة المقدم ذكرها يهدم<sup>9</sup> هذه الحصون<sup>10</sup> وينقض<sup>11</sup> مدن<sup>12</sup> الافكار الرديئة التي تتصور اشكالها في العقل ان كان عملها بحسبه ويهدم<sup>13</sup> ايضاً "كل علو<sup>14</sup> يتعالى<sup>15</sup> على معرفة الله"،<sup>16</sup> b (55) فعرفة الله هي التواضع الحقيقي، لان من عرف ضعفه<sup>17</sup> ووثيقته في وصايا الله ولام نفسه دائماً على تقصيره في اكمال مشيئة<sup>18</sup> الله فقد عرف لجة<sup>19</sup> امهال الله وبحر طول اناته عليه وجسامته محبته وخيريته المسكوبة على ساير براياه، وبها يهدم كل ظن بالذات<sup>20</sup> او تكبر او صلف يستعلي<sup>21</sup> على<sup>22</sup> التواضع الحقيقي.

(56) وذكر ان<sup>23</sup> هذه الاسلحة المقدم ذكرها "تستبي<sup>24</sup> كل معقول وروية<sup>25</sup> الى طاعة المسيح"،<sup>c</sup> لان من يتدرع بهذه الاسلحة فكل فكر يخطر له او كل نعمة يسمعها وكل نسيم يستنشقه وكل شي<sup>27</sup> يبصره وكل ما ياكله ويشربه وكل ما يلمسه يقتادها كلها<sup>28</sup> الى طاعة<sup>29</sup> المسيح،<sup>30</sup> لا الى معصيته،

a Luke 13:24: Ἀγωνίζεσθε εἰσελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενῆς πύλης, ὅτι πολλοί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ζητήσουσιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν.

b 2 Corinthians 10:5: πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ.

c 2 Corinthians 10:5: αἰχμαλωτίζοντες πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοήν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

فيه<sup>4</sup> Z. يومون || D يروموا || BCEV يرومون<sup>3</sup> CZ. كثيرون || BDEV كثيرين<sup>2</sup> BCDV. فاني<sup>1</sup> EZ || BCDEV صارت طبيعية<sup>7</sup> add. Z. وذلك<sup>6</sup> V. يقتردون || BCDEZ يقدر<sup>5</sup>ون Z. || بهدم<sup>9</sup> BCE || يستعمل<sup>8</sup> D. فاستعمال<sup>8</sup> BCEVZ || جرت في مجرى الطبع || V<sup>a</sup>. صارت طبيعة<sup>8</sup> D || sine punctis || وينقض<sup>11</sup> BE || add. Z. بها<sup>10</sup> V. || يتعالا<sup>15</sup> BCDZ || يتعالى<sup>15</sup> E. علوا<sup>14</sup> BCDVZ || علوا<sup>14</sup> E. || BCDEV ويهدم<sup>13</sup> om. V. مدن<sup>12</sup> V. BCDV وجه<sup>19</sup> E لجة<sup>19</sup> Z. وصية<sup>18</sup> BCDEV مشيئة<sup>18</sup> Z. طعنه<sup>17</sup> BCDEV ضعفه<sup>17</sup> add. V. تعالي<sup>16</sup> EV. add. علو<sup>22</sup> Z. ويستعلي<sup>21</sup> BCDEV يستعلي<sup>21</sup> Z. وكل محبة اللذات || BCDEV بالذات<sup>20</sup> Z. وجدة || نعمة<sup>26</sup> BCDV. ورويته<sup>25</sup> EZ || روية<sup>25</sup> Z. تستبي<sup>24</sup> BCDEV || تستبي<sup>24</sup> om. D. BCEVZ || ان<sup>23</sup> VZ. يقتادهم جميعاً || BCDEV يقتادها كلها<sup>28</sup> V. او كل<sup>27</sup> BCDEZ || كل<sup>27</sup> E يسمعها وكل<sup>27</sup> add. BD. السيد<sup>30</sup> add. C.

اي ما يستعمل شيئاً منها<sup>2</sup> إلا فيما<sup>3</sup> يرضي المسيح<sup>4</sup> بقصد<sup>5</sup> يسرُّ به ويقبله، لا فيما يغضبه<sup>6</sup> بقصد<sup>7</sup> يكون<sup>8</sup> مضاداً<sup>9</sup> وصاياها،<sup>10</sup> فهذا<sup>11</sup> المعنى عايد الى استعمال الحواس

*(Manuscript Z)*

فالى هاهنا انتهى كلامنا فيما اردنا ان  
نبرهنه في مصحفنا هذا عن جواهر  
الفضائل الروحانية التي هي شجر  
الفردوس العقلي وعن ضد الرذائل  
الالمية التي هي الشوك والقناد المشتمل  
على كل فضيلة، فالواجب على الانسان  
ان يبحث عن رموز هذا الكتاب الروحاني  
بجدّه ويتفهّم غوامض معانيه بجهده  
ليقطف منه ازهار المعرفة الالهية واثمار  
الفضائل المحيية التي لا تضمحلّ ولا  
تبيد بل تتضاعف ثمرتها وتزيد ويُصرف  
ايضاً همته في زيادة التفتيش على كنوز

*(Manuscripts BCDEV)*

الباطنة والظاهرة،<sup>11</sup> كلّ واحدة<sup>12</sup> فيما خلقها البارئ  
له،<sup>13</sup> وهذه طاعته، ويحذر<sup>14</sup> ان<sup>15</sup> يستعملها بضدّ ما  
بريت له، فيكون قد اقتادها<sup>16</sup> الى معصية المسيح، لا الى  
طاعته.<sup>17</sup>  
تمّ بمعونة الله وحسن توفيقه.<sup>18</sup>

*(Manuscript E ends here)*

فصل للقديس<sup>19</sup> باسيليوس<sup>20</sup> في الصوم:<sup>21</sup> انّ الصوم  
الحقاني<sup>22</sup> هو سجن عن كلّ<sup>23</sup> قبيح، اعني ضبط  
اللسان وامسك الغضب<sup>24</sup> واجتناب<sup>25</sup> الشهوات والنميمة  
والكذب، والعفة عن<sup>26</sup> كلّ دنس.

بقصد<sup>5</sup> Z. الله || BCDEV المسيح<sup>4</sup> Z. بما || BCDEV فيما<sup>3</sup> om. V. منها<sup>2</sup> Z. شي || BCDEV شيئاً<sup>1</sup>  
D بقصد ان يكون || BCEV بقصد يكون<sup>7</sup> Z. يعصيه ويغضبه || BCDEV يغضبه<sup>6</sup> B. بقصداً || CDEVZ  
|| BCDEZ فهذا<sup>10</sup> BCDVZ. لوصاياها || E وصاياها<sup>9</sup> BCDZ. مضاد || EV مضاددا<sup>8</sup> Z. ولا فيما هو ||  
له البارئ || BCDE البارئ له<sup>13</sup> om. BCDVZ. واحدة<sup>12</sup> D. والظاهرة || BCEV والظاهرة<sup>11</sup> V. وهذا  
فنكون قد اقتادناها || BCDEV<sup>p.corr.</sup> فيكون قد اقتادها<sup>16</sup> add. V. لا<sup>15</sup> V. فيحذر || BCDE ويحذر<sup>14</sup> V.  
|| CD تم بعون الله وحسن توفيقه || B تم بمعونة الله وحسن توفيقه<sup>18</sup> V. الطاعة || BCDE طاعته<sup>17</sup> Va.corr.  
V. القديس || BCD فصل للقديس<sup>19</sup> om. V. E تم بعون الله "الفردوس العقلي" والمجد لله دائماً ابداً سرمداً  
|| om. BC || BCV كلّ<sup>23</sup> V. الحقيقي || BCD الحقاني<sup>22</sup> add. V. المقدس<sup>21</sup> D. باسيليوس || BCV باسيليوس<sup>20</sup>  
من || BCD عن<sup>26</sup> C. واجتناب || BDEV واجتناب<sup>25</sup> V. امسال العصب || BCD امسك الغضب<sup>24</sup> D.  
V.

معادنه الخفية في عمق بواطنه لكي  
 يقتني بذلك جواهر الفضائل الشريفة  
 التي بها تستضي الاوهام والعقول اللطيفة  
 ويتشبه بالسباحين الذين يلقون ذواتهم  
 في اعماق البحار ويغوصون فيها الى  
 اسفل القرار ويذيون اكبدهم بجمرة  
 التعب ويصعدون قلوبهم بمرارة النصب  
 ليظفروا بالجواهر الشريفة والوالي العالية  
 المنيفة، فاذا بلغ الانسان بالاجتهاد  
 كاوليك الطالبون نال ما لا ينالوه  
 اوليك الخليون لان اوليك ينجح احدهم  
 في بعض الاحيان والبقية عاطلون على  
 ممر الازمان واما الملمس لاقوال الله  
 ووصاياه المفترضة سينال جواهر افضل  
 من الوف ذهباً وفضة، اعني كلام  
 الله الجليل الكريم الذي يحق له التمجيد  
 والتعظيم من الآن والى كل اوان والى  
 دهر الدهارين، آمين.

وله ايضاً: انما يسقط بالاحزان<sup>1</sup> كل نفس ذليلة قليلة  
 الثقة بالاله،<sup>2</sup> مثلها ان السوس لا<sup>3</sup> يكون<sup>4</sup> اكثره<sup>5</sup> الا<sup>6</sup>  
 في اللين من الخشب، كذلك الاحزان لا تقوى<sup>7</sup> الا على  
 المسترخيين من الناس.  
 5 وله ايضاً:<sup>8</sup> كل من كان الى خيرات الآخرة مسرعاً  
 فالاقامة في هذا الجسد اثقل عليه<sup>9</sup> من كل عذاب.

(The indented section below in B only)

من نسكيات القديس مري باسيلوس الكبير:<sup>10</sup> العمل  
 الكامل الذي للعبادة هذا هو: الابتعاد من الاشيا القبيحة  
 والاهتمام بوصايا الرب، فاما تقليدات الناس فتصنع  
 10 ثانياً، بعد وصايا الرب، فالآن الكثير من الناس يتهاونون  
 بوصايا المخلص ظاهراً ومكشوفاً، واما تقليدات الناس  
 فيصنعوها بحرص جزيل لان السكني في الجبال والبراري  
 والتفرد والتوحد والاكل دفعة واحدة بالنهار واستعمال  
 الخبز والماء فقط ولبوس المسح ورباط الجسم بثقل  
 15 الحديد والمشئي بغير حذاء والهرب من خلطة الناس ومن  
 الحديث الكثير معهم فهذه هي تقليدات اناس قديسين  
 وعملها جيد هو، ولكن يجب على الذين يصنعونها ان  
 يحفظوا اولاً وصايا الرب ويعملونها، اعني طول الروح  
 والصبر على الاحزان ومحبة الصدق والحق وفكر متضع  
 20 ومسك وعدم الحقد وذكر الشر والتحنن على القريب

يكون<sup>4</sup> om. V. || D ما || BC لا<sup>3</sup> V. بالله || C بالاله || BD بالاله<sup>2</sup> V. في الاحزان || BCD بالاحزان<sup>1</sup>  
 BV ايضاً<sup>8</sup> V. sine punctis || D يقوى || BC تقوى<sup>7</sup> om. V. || D اكثر || BCV اكثره<sup>5</sup> om. V.  
 V. عليه اثقل || BCD اثقل عليه<sup>9</sup> || om. CD. The same text by Basil appears in Sinai Ar. 444,  
 fol. 178r; Sinai Ar. 438, fol. 246r.

والشفقة عليه والرحمة له وامانة وصبر ومحبة بلا مراياة  
لأنّ خلواً من هذه ما يستطيع احد ان يرضي الله، فيجب  
ان تحفظ هذه وتهمّ بعد ذلك بتلك ويتبعّد الانسان من  
كلّ فعل<sup>1</sup> خبيث كما وصّا الربّ ونهى عن الرذائل،  
5 اي الغضب والحقد والشرّ والحلف والمحل وشهوة النسا  
والصلف والعظمة ومحبة السبح الباطل وكلّ الشرور.  
أمّا انا فما اقبل من لا يحفظ وصايا الربّ ويتبعّد عن  
هذه الرذائل المذكورة وغيرها، مثل الحلف والكذب  
ومكافاة الشرّ والدينونة للقريب والبغضة له، فن يعمل  
10 هذه ويتوانا في وصايا الربّ فليس هو مقبول، ولو أنّه  
لا يتناول جملة كافة طعام لانه الاوفق للانسان ان يدبّر  
حاجة جسمه على قدر قوّته ويتناول الطعام المحدود  
لحاجته بشكر ولا يتشاغل في تقليدات الناس ويتوانا في  
وصايا الربّ، لانيّ انا قد رايت كثيرين يتدبّرون بغاية  
15 النسك وقد ماتوا (ا)جسادهم من كثرة التعب وجهاد  
النسك فقبلتهم جداً لانيّ رايت الصوم والحمية قد طردت  
الشياطين، اذ كان فاعلها قد جعل له وصايا الربّ اساس  
وابتعد من كلّ فعل قبيح. فلما رايتهم بعد هذا النسك  
يلحفون ويكذبون ويحلون فسالتهم قايلاً: ايها الاخوة،  
20 اذ كنتم لتقليدات الناس ضابطين ولو صاياهم صانعين  
وتهاونون بوصايا الربّ وتحبّون الاشيا المنهيّ عنها، مثل  
الحلف والتجديف والكذب وذكر الشرّ، فايّ منفعة لكم  
بذلك؟ فلما لم يقبلوا المشورة علمت وظهر لي من ذلك ان  
تلك الاشيا التي يصنعوها من امور النسك لاجل الناس

B. فعلا || scripsi فعل<sup>1</sup>

يصنعونها يطلبون منهم السبح الباطل والمديح الفارغ، لا  
 غير، لأنّ النسك فيه تعب الجسم ووجع، فأما الابتعاد  
 من الكذب والحلف والبغضة والمحل فتحتاج الى تيقظ،  
 لا غير، لأنّ هذه قد اشترعها المسيح ربنا وسنّها وتهدّد  
 5 الذين يخالفونها بنار جهنم، فأما الصوم والسهر وغير ذلك  
 من التقشّف والنسك الذي هو بمعزل عن ناموس السيّد  
 ووصاياه المفترضة واللازم عملها لكلّ احد فالمسيح جلّ  
 اسمه يقتبله لاجل انه تقليد اناس قديسين وما يعذب  
 الذين يتوانوا بعمله وحفظه لاجل ضعف قوتهم، اذ  
 هو خارج عن وصاياه المفترضة الضروري عملها، فأما  
 10 الذين يخالفون وصاياه ويتوانون في عملها فهو في غاية  
 الاستقصا يدينهم ويعذبهم. فانا اشاء ان يبتعدون النساك  
 من المحل والوقية والبغضة وزينة الثياب والضحك الذي  
 بغير ترتيب والفضول والكلام الباطل والكذب والحلف  
 والغشّ ومحبة الرياسة والسكر والخنجرة وعدم الطاعة  
 15 وما اشبه هذه الاشيا من القبائح، وان يكونوا اذا اشتروا  
 او باعوا شيئاً من الاشيا لا يخلفون ويماسكون ويكذبون  
 لاجله، واذا انجحوا في خدمة او عمل من الاعمال لا  
 يتعظّمون ويعجبون لاجل السبح الباطل وان يطبعون  
 العظما فيهم والكار الروحانيين ويحبون الصغار ويشفقون  
 20 عليهم ولا يمزقوا لاجل نجاح غيرهم، فهذا حسد هو، ولا  
 يفرحوا بمصايب غيرهم، فهذا بغضة هو، وان لا يقبلوا في  
 حديثهم اقوال قبيحة وهو مزاح واقوال جهالة وغريبة  
 من سيرتهم، وان لا يطلبون لاحد شرّ ولا يعبوا غشّ  
 وحقّد على احد، ولا يستحقرون باحد ويزدرون به كأنه  
 25 متواني وكسلان، ولا يقابلون بشرّ للذين قد احزنهم لأنّ

الله عزَّ اسمُه لمثل هولاي النَّسَاكِ يَحَبُّ وَيَقْبَلُ: وديعين  
وصالحين وممتحنين الذين ما يتخرَّج من افواههم غش.  
ولربنا السبح دائماً وعلينا رحمته.

(The indented section below in V only)

5 لبعض الحكما: اعلم ان هذه اللذة من اولى اللذات واحقها  
بالاطراح، وذلك انها ليست اضطرارية في بقا العيش  
كالمطعم والمشرب، وليس في تركها المظهر كالم الجوع  
والعطش، والافراط فيها والاكثار منها هدم البدن،  
وليس الانقياد الداعي اليها والمرور معه سوى غلبة الهوى  
10 وطموسه العقل الذي يحق على العاقل ان يانف منه ويرفع  
نفسه عنه ولا يتشبه فيه بالفحولة من التيوس والثيران  
وساير البهايم التي ليس معها روية ولا نظر في عاقبة.  
وقال بطليموس: افكروا في ان اللذة ممزوجة بالقبح، ثم  
افكروا في انقطاع اللذة وابقا القبح.  
15 وقال: العقل وان كان اشرف الاشيا وهو مقرر  
المعلومات فله آفات معارضة لا تحصى عددها، فن تلك  
الآفات الهوى المايل نحو شي ما والعجب المفرط من  
المدى (؟) براى نفسه والكبريا المانع من قبول الحق  
والحسد الشديد للاقران وابنا الجنس والحرص الشديد  
20 على الشهوات واللذات وحب الرياسة من غير استحقاق  
لها وما شاكل ذلك.

تمّ هذا الكتاب المعروف بـ<sup>2</sup> "الفردوس العقلي" بمعونة  
الله وحسن توفيقه.<sup>3</sup>

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بمعونة<sup>3</sup> V. كتاب || C المصحف المبارك المعروف بـ || BD الكتاب المعروف بـ<sup>2</sup> V. ككل || D تم || BC تم هذا<sup>1</sup>  
والسبح لله دائماً وعلينا رحمته، آمين || C بمعونة الله وحسن توفيقه فله السبح دائماً، آمين || B الله وحسن توفيقه  
V. والله الشكر والسبح والمنة دائماً ابداً || D

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# A Bibliographical Guide to Arabic Patristic Translations and Related Texts

This Bibliographical Guide is meant as a *supplement* to the major reference works listed in section 1.1 below. To navigate the field, scholars are advised to check, as a first step, Georg Graf's *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (*GCAL*, especially volume 1, wholly devoted to translations) and Joseph Nasrallah's *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite* (*HMLÉM*), both of which have detailed indexes (an index to Nasrallah's *HMLÉM* was published as its volume 5 in 2017). *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (*CoptE*) has multiple entries on the Church Fathers (e.g., Andrew of Crete, Evagrius, Maximus the Confessor, Origen, etc.) with a wealth of information on their Coptic and Copto-Arabic reception. Some relevant information is available also in Paul Peeters' *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis* as well as in the fundamental *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History* (*CMR*), edited by David Thomas. The latter, however, focuses on original compositions, both Christian (post-600AD) and Muslim, rather than translations of Patristic works. The *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (*CPG*)—including the “Supplementum” and the “Volumen IIIA” published in 1998 and 2003 respectively—contains important updates on the Arabic versions of the Greek Church Fathers.

While certainly not exhaustive (as information found in these reference works is often not duplicated), the Bibliographical Guide below will offer some additional help in locating resources on many of the Church Fathers and some other related authors and texts (exclusive of the Bible, Apocrypha, and hagiography) in pre-modern and early modern Arabic translations.<sup>1</sup> The articles referenced in sections 1.2 (“General Studies”) and 1.3 (“Studies of Manuscripts with Patristic Content”) contain a wealth of information which remains to be systematized. Not only Greek, but also Syriac (section 3), Armenian, Coptic, Latin, and Romanian authors and works (sections 4.1–4.4) are covered. Special sections are devoted to Ethiopic and Georgian translations of Christian Arabic works (sections 5.1–5.2) and to the insufficiently explored but promising field of Muslim and Jewish reception of Arabic Patristic translations (section 6 below).

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1 On Arabic translations of the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and some related texts, see John Reeves' forthcoming chapter on Christian Arabic in Alexander Kulik et al. (eds.), *A Guide to Early Jewish Texts and Traditions in Christian Transmission*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 195–210 (in press) and the following web pages: <http://syri.ac/OTPseudepigrapha>; <http://syri.ac/ntapocrypha>.

## 1 General

### 1.1 Reference Works

*BHO* = Peeters, Paul. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1910.

*CMR* = Thomas, David, et al., eds. *Christian Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. 11 vols. to-date. Leiden: Brill, 2009-in progress.

*CoptE* = Atiya, Aziz S., ed. *The Coptic Encyclopedia*. 8 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1991.

*CPG* = Geerard, Maurice, and Jacques Noret. *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. 7 vols. Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–2003.

*GCAL* = Graf, Georg. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. 5 vols. Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–1953 [volume 1 is wholly devoted to translations; volume 5 has a detailed index].

*HMLÉM* = Nasrallah, Joseph. *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du v<sup>e</sup> au xx<sup>e</sup> siècle*. 5 vols. in 8. Louvain: Peeters, 1979–2017 [several of the volumes were edited by Rachid Haddad; volume 5 has a detailed index].

### 1.2 General Studies

Binggeli, André. "Early Christian Graeco-Arabica: Melkite Manuscripts and Translations in Palestine (8th–10th Centuries AD)." *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3 (2015): 228–247.

Griffith, Sidney H. "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century: The Example of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*." *Byzantion* 56 (1986): 117–138.

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# Index of Manuscripts

## Aleppo

- Fondation Salem 2 [Sbath 778] 162  
Fondation Salem 185 [Sbath 984] 161  
Fondation Salem 361 [Sbath 1184] 119n74  
Maronite Archdiocese 15 210  
Maronite Archdiocese 1096 352  
Maronite Archdiocese 1153 353  
Private collection of C. Ḥuḍarī s.n. 161n12  
Private collection of Ġirġis Šulḥot s.n. 210  
Private collection of N. Bassāl and Rabbāt s.n. 353  
Private collection of Yūsuf Baḥḥāš s.n. 161n12  
Rūm Catholic Archdiocese 105 188n34  
Rūm Orthodox Archdiocese 90 351  
Syriac Catholic Archdiocese 9/63 97n30

## Athos

- Iviron, Georgian 57 70n100, 71  
Chilandari 405 208

## Baalbek

- Rūm Catholic Archdiocese 5 352

## Balamand

- Balamand Monastery 115 210  
Balamand Monastery 125 191n47  
Balamand Monastery 128 351  
Balamand Monastery 129 349  
Balamand Monastery 130 349  
Balamand University 16 352

## Bartella

- Private collection of Fr. Quryāqūs al-Ṭarāġī 142, 144, 151

## Beirut

- Bibliothèque Orientale 347 161  
Bibliothèque Orientale 479 210–219  
Bibliothèque Orientale 480 210  
Bibliothèque Orientale 483 329, 352, 355–372  
Bibliothèque Orientale 484 349  
Bibliothèque Orientale 505 185n25–26  
Bibliothèque Orientale 509 285–325  
Bibliothèque Orientale 510 285–325

- Bibliothèque Orientale 618 185n26  
Private collection of E. Karam 3 350

## Berlin

- Staatsbibliothek, Diez A oct. 162 [Ahlwardt 10175] 342–343n20

## Beuron

- Benediktiner-Erzabtei Sankt Martin, Sinai Palimpsest fragments s.n. 76

## Birmingham

- Mingana Chr. Ar. 21 352  
Mingana Chr. Ar. 56 24n33  
Mingana Chr. Ar. Add. 171 98  
Mingana Chr. Ar. Add. 172 98  
Mingana Chr. Ar. Add. 191 349  
Mingana Syr. 22 101  
Mingana Syr. 35 101  
Mingana Syr. 87 101  
Mingana Syr. 88 101  
Mingana Syr. 138 101  
Mingana Syr. 174 101  
Mingana Syr. 188 101  
Mingana Syr. 223 101  
Mingana Syr. 352 101  
Mingana Syr. 401 101  
Mingana Syr. 403 101  
Mingana Syr. 446 101  
Mingana Syr. 450 285–325  
Mingana Syr. 453 101  
Mingana Syr. 461 101  
Mingana Syr. 464 101  
Mingana Syr. 465 101  
Mingana Syr. 543 138–142  
Mingana Syr. 562 101  
Mingana Syr. 607 101

## Bryn Mawr

- Bryn Mawr College Library, Sinai fragments s.n. 76

## Bzommar

- Our Lady of Bzommar 77 329, 351

**Cairo**

- Coptic Catholic Patriarchate 7–15 110–112,  
115, 119–120
- Coptic Museum, Lit. 57 [Graf 75] 110, 115,  
119, 120
- Coptic Museum, Lit. 113 [Graf 98] 92, 103–  
104, 107–109, 113, 120
- Coptic Museum, Theol. 157 [Graf 462] 92
- Coptic Museum, Varia 4 [Graf 145] 119–120
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Graf 374  
351
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 112  
[Graf 638, Simaika 238] 204
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 116  
[Graf 617] 187n32
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 139  
[Graf 380] 210, 219
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 154  
[Graf 372; Simaika 312] 348
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 164  
[Graf 386] 347
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 165  
[Graf 351] 210
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 220  
[Graf 524; Simaika 387] 348
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 233  
[Graf 345; Simaika 440] 350
- Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Theol. 313  
[Simaika 535] 210

**Cambridge**

- University Library, Add. 2020 133–134,  
150–153
- University Library, Or. 1287 54, 77

**Cambridge, MA**

- Harvard Syr. 38 132, 139, 141–142, 152n67–  
68, 153n75, 154n79
- Harvard Syr. 190 129n3

**Copenhagen**

- Royal Library, Gamle kongelige Samling 20  
206n32

**Damascus**

- al-Asad National Library 59846 [78/م ش/م] 348
- Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate ar. 70 [olim 2332]  
351

- Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate ar. 142 210–  
219
- Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate ar. 149 210–  
219
- Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate ar. 162 [olim  
1606] 279
- Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate ar. 1546 210
- Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate ar. 1551 210
- Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate ar. 1553 210
- Rūm Orthodox Patriarchate ar. 1557 210
- Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate 12/18 122n83

**Dayr Abū Maqār**

- Dayr Abū Maqār 333 119n74
- Dayr Abū Maqār 334 119n74
- Dayr Abū Maqār 335 92
- Dayr Abū Maqār 336 119n74
- Dayr Abū Maqār, Lit. 207 [cat. 251] 348
- Dayr Abū Maqār, Theol. 22 210

**Dayr al-Anbā Anṭūniyūs**

- Theol. 75 353
- Theol. 152 352
- Theol. 153 349
- Theol. 154 351
- Theol. 320 352

**Dayr al-Baramūs**

- Dayr al-Baramūs 2/38 92, 120n76

**Dayr al-Ḥarf**

- Dayr al-Ḥarf 10 161

**Dayr al-Kreim**

- Dayr al-Kreim 27 353

**Dayr Mār Behnām**

- Dayr Mār Behnām 403 142–144, 151

**Dayr Mār Mattā**

- Dayr Mār Mattā s.n. 138–140, 142

**Dayr Mār Miḥā'il (Baskintā)**

- Dayr Mār Miḥā'il 1 168

**Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ**

- Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 22 353
- Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 23 353
- Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 24 353

Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 29 353  
Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ 36 353

**Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ**

Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 114 210, 212–219  
Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 218 210, 212–219  
Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 584 210  
Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 678 209n47  
Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 1731 210  
Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 2171 209n47, 210  
Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ 2367 352  
Dayr al-Muḥalliṣ OBS1225 350

**Dayr al-Šarfa**

Charfet 435 353  
Charfet Ar. 8/13 350  
Charfet Ar. 378 24n33

**Dayr al-Šir**

Dayr al-Šir 431 22n29  
Dayr al-Šir N.C. 324 210  
Dayr al-Šir N.C. 328 353

**Dayr al-Suryān**

Dayr al-Suryān 215 [Theol. 48] 346  
Dayr al-Suryān 216 353

**Dayr al-Šuwayr**

Dayr al-Šuwayr 121 210  
Dayr al-Šuwayr 122 210  
Dayr al-Šuwayr 299 [*olim* 119] 351

**Dayr al-Za'farān**

Dayr al-Za'farān 52 110  
Dayr al-Za'farān 120 133  
Dayr al-Za'farān 211 101  
Dayr al-Za'farān 215 101  
Dayr al-Za'farān 220 101  
Dayr al-Za'farān 240 101

**Diyarbakır**

Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 135  
101  
Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 181  
101  
Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 190  
101  
Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 214  
101

Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 239  
101

Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 242  
101

Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 268  
101

Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 270  
92n13

Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church 287  
101

**Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library**

EMML 1766 136–137

EMML 6965 136–137

**Florence**

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, NA 685 110,  
115–116, 119

**Glasgow**

University Library, Hunter 449 [v.5.19]  
346

**Hiersemann Catalogue**

Hiersemann 14 76

**Ḥomṣ**

Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese 2 101  
Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese 22 101, 110–  
112

**Jerusalem**

Holy Sepulchre Ar. 66 348  
Mār Ya'qūb Ar. 5 161  
St. Mark's Monastery 21 24n33  
St. Mark's Monastery 49 101

**Leipzig**

Universitätsbibliothek Gr. 2 [Codex Rescrip-  
tus Tischendorf 2] 54, 59, 65–69  
Universitätsbibliothek Or. 1063 67

**London**

BL Add. 11,281 65, 67–68, 78n151  
BL Add. 12,174 122  
BL Add. 17,143 206n34  
BL Add. 17,196 207n37  
BL Add. 17,267 122  
BL Or. 686 137, 145n50, 150n64

**London** (*cont.*)

- BL Or. 687/688 137, 150n64  
 BL Or. 689 137, 150n64  
 BL Or. 1475 [Add. 26,116] 55  
 BL Or. 4710 110, 115–116, 119–120  
 BL Or. 4950 33, 55  
 BL Or. 5008 55  
 BL Or. 5019 72n114, 73  
 BL Or. 8095 352  
 BL Or. 8607 193n53, 280m15  
 BL Or. 11,286 352  
 Royal Asiatic Society, Ar. 25 23

**Mardin**

- Chaldean Cathedral 00344 [Macomber 51.9]  
 97  
 Chaldean Cathedral 00345 [Macomber 51.10]  
 97  
 Chaldean Cathedral 00354 [Macomber 51.20]  
 97  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 72 101, 105  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 83 350  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 109 101, 105  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 122 101, 105  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 125 101  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 267 132  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 276 132  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 287 101  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 289 101  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 290 101  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 294 138–142  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 298 101  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 299 138–142  
 Church of the Forty Martyrs 300 101

**Milan**

- Biblioteca Ambrosiana, xv E1 sup. 35  
 Biblioteca Ambrosiana, X 198 sup. 76–77,  
 79, 98, 121

**Moscow**

- Russian State Library 432 55

**Mosul**

- Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese 118 352

**Munich**

- Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ar. 1066 76

**Oslo**

- Schøyen Collection 1600 16n4

**Oxford**

- Bodleian, Barocci 129 42n62  
 Bodleian, Chr. Ar. 43 348  
 Bodleian, Greaves 30 23n32, 35  
 Bodleian, Hibericus 1 70, 74

**Paris**

- BNF Ar. 94 162  
 BNF Ar. 96 203n21  
 BNF Ar. 134 210, 219  
 BNF Ar. 135 186  
 BNF Ar. 163 348, 355–372  
 BNF Ar. 214 24n33  
 BNF Ar. 253 279  
 BNF Ar. 276 159  
 BNF Ar. 281 144, 146–148, 150n63, 152,  
 154n76  
 BNF Ar. 4760 110, 115–116, 119n74, 120  
 BNF Ar. 4897 10, 119n74  
 BNF Coislin 303 68–69  
 BNF Ethiopien d'Abbadie 96 16n4  
 BNF Gr. 1105 171  
 BNF Gr. 1119 175  
 BNF Gr. 1194 252n41  
 BNF Lat. 12134 206  
 BNF Syr. 13 101  
 BNF Syr. 30 101  
 BNF Syr. 191 187n32  
 BNF Syr. 193 101  
 BNF Syr. 197 101  
 BNF Syr. 200 101  
 BNF Syr. 233 11

**Rome**

- Sant'Antonio Abate dei Maroniti, SP 002  
 349

**Saint Petersburg**

- Institute of Oriental Manuscripts A509  
 191n47  
 Institute of Oriental Manuscripts A993  
 285–325  
 Institute of Oriental Manuscripts B1217  
 163, 280  
 Institute of Oriental Manuscripts C740 [*olim*  
 235] 350

National Library of Russia, Arab. N.S. 109  
3n10

### Sinai

Sinai Ar. 1 55  
 Sinai Ar. 72 33, 55  
 Sinai Ar. 75 45, 46n69  
 Sinai Ar. 85 190n40, 191  
 Sinai Ar. 151 342n20, 343  
 Sinai Ar. 154 33, 34n46, 40, 42, 55  
 Sinai Ar. 155 342n20  
 Sinai Ar. 158 340n17  
 Sinai Ar. 160 345  
 Sinai Ar. 164 340-341  
 Sinai Ar. 168 340n17, 341n18  
 Sinai Ar. 169 344  
 Sinai Ar. 270 204n28, 210, 219  
 Sinai Ar. 274 187, 188n33-34  
 Sinai Ar. 282 189, 190n40  
 Sinai Ar. 285 162, 166  
 Sinai Ar. 292 162  
 Sinai Ar. 311 185n25  
 Sinai Ar. 317 164n24, 169-170  
 Sinai Ar. 319 166, 168-170  
 Sinai Ar. 328 279  
 Sinai Ar. 330 23, 27-28, 30, 35, 37  
 Sinai Ar. 343 163  
 Sinai Ar. 345 23n31  
 Sinai Ar. 356 345n25  
 Sinai Ar. 359 345n25, 346, 355-372  
 Sinai Ar. 360 345, 355-372  
 Sinai Ar. 395 66  
 Sinai Ar. 398 67, 279, 285-325  
 Sinai Ar. 400 188n37  
 Sinai Ar. 401 187n32, 188n35, 189n37  
 Sinai Ar. 405 181, 191n50, 192n52, 279  
 Sinai Ar. 406 97, 163  
 Sinai Ar. 407 191n48, 191n51  
 Sinai Ar. 408 241, 251-273  
 Sinai Ar. 409 242, 251-273  
 Sinai Ar. 423 148n58, 191n48, 279, 285-325  
 Sinai Ar. 428 55, 59  
 Sinai Ar. 431 23, 44-47  
 Sinai Ar. 439 190n43, 329, 347, 355-372  
 Sinai Ar. 444 279, 368n10  
 Sinai Ar. 454 23n31  
 Sinai Ar. 455 279, 285-325  
 Sinai Ar. 457 98, 117-120  
 Sinai Ar. 460 55, 59, 77

Sinai Ar. 461 56  
 Sinai Ar. 468 23n31  
 Sinai Ar. 480 346, 355-372  
 Sinai Ar. 481 23n31, 35, 46n74  
 Sinai Ar. 482 191n49, 192n52  
 Sinai Ar. 483 328, 344-345, 352, 355-372  
 Sinai Ar. 485 23n31, 35  
 Sinai Ar. 496 68  
 Sinai Ar. 505 68, 190  
 Sinai Ar. 508 37n51  
 Sinai Ar. 510 45n68, 146-147, 151-154  
 Sinai Ar. 514 56, 75-77  
 Sinai Ar. 520 73n124, 74  
 Sinai Ar. 528 148n58, 160  
 Sinai Ar. 529 160  
 Sinai Ar. 530 146-147  
 Sinai Ar. 542 55, 58-59, 72-73  
 Sinai Ar. 549 63-64  
 Sinai Ar. 557 59, 73  
 Sinai Ar. 585 23n31  
 Sinai Ar. 599 166, 168-170  
 Sinai Ar. NF Paper 1 347  
 Sinai Ar. NF Paper 8 279, 285-325  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 1 56, 58, 73  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 2 56, 77  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 12 56  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 14 + 16 56  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 17 33-37  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 20 + 35 57  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 21 57  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 25 33, 38-39  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 33 57  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 35 58  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 38 57  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 46 98  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 47 57, 66  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 48 57  
 Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 66 68  
 Sinai Geo. 6 68  
 Sinai Geo. 35 59, 64  
 Sinai Geo. 32-33-57 59  
 Sinai Geo. 36 59  
 Sinai Geo. 97 59  
 Sinai Gr. 817 347  
 Sinai Porph. 209 347  
 Sinai Syr. 9 206

**Strasbourg**

- Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire 4225  
57, 59, 64  
Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire 4226  
21, 24–31, 39, 57–58, 63n52, 65

**Tbilisi**

- A–19 75  
A–95 70

**Vatican**

- Vat. Ar. 4 203n21  
Vat. Ar. 67 185n25  
Vat. Ar. 71 58, 65  
Vat. Ar. 73 95, 99–100, 103–104, 120  
Vat. Ar. 78 351  
Vat. Ar. 79 164n79  
Vat. Ar. 99 24n33  
Vat. Ar. 104 329n2  
Vat. Ar. 116 329n2  
Vat. Ar. 117 329n2  
Vat. Ar. 164 202n19  
Vat. Ar. 175 123n84  
Vat. Ar. 177 167–169  
Vat. Ar. 178 177  
Vat. Ar. 401 349  
Vat. Ar. 436 165–166, 169–170  
Vat. Ar. 463 186n27–29  
Vat. Ar. 671 346, 351, 355–372  
Vat. Ar. 672 351  
Vat. Ar. 697 146, 148, 150n63, 151–153  
Vat. Barb. Gr. 434 171n38, 176  
Vat. Borg. Ar. 59 103–104, 120n76, 142–143  
Vat. Borg. Ar. 71 345  
Vat. Borg. Ar. 135 24n33

- Vat. Borg. Ar. 153 210, 211n49, 219  
Vat. Borg. Ar. 200 286  
Vat. Borg. Ar. 219 142–145, 151–154  
Vat. Borg. Syr. 39 133–134  
Vat. Gr. 408 225n95  
Vat. Gr. 1671 252n41  
Vat. Sbath 22 350  
Vat. Sbath 44 203n21  
Vat. Sbath 45 202n19  
Vat. Sbath 207 349  
Vat. Sbath 649 203n21  
Vat. Syr. 106 207  
Vat. Syr. 159 101  
Vat. Syr. 199 101  
Vat. Syr. 408 101  
Vat. Syr. 424 101  
Vat. Syr. 623 72

**Vendôme**

- Bibliothèque de la ville 122 206n32

**Venice**

- Biblioteca Marciana, Gr. II, 196 171, 176  
Biblioteca Marciana, Gr. IX, 23 176

**Vienna**

- Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod.  
Mixt. 1381 210, 225, 227

**Zouk Mosbeh**

- Notre Dame University Louaize SP 018  
350

**Zurich**

- Zentralbibliothek, Car. C. 146 206n32

# Index of Names, Texts, and Subjects

- ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, Umayyad caliph 130, 145, 153–154
- ‘Abd al-Masiḥ ibn Ishāq ibn ‘Abd al-Masiḥ, see Ibn al-Muḥabarak
- ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, Melkite author, translator 3, 5, 9, 10n35, 161–164, 195, 198–240, 349, 352n79, 383  
*Joy of the Believer* 202, 204, 349n52
- Abdā da-Mšihā*, see *History of ‘Abdā da-Mšihā*
- Abraham bar Dašandad 404
- Abrāhām Sannōtā (“Abraham the Beardless”) 132
- Abramios, *prōtopatharios* 193, 279
- Abū Ishāq ibn Faḍlallāh, Copto-Arab translator 3
- Abū Nūh, East-Syriac author 131
- Adversus Iudaeos* literature 17–18, 276–327
- Agapios Landos 384
- Aḥiqar* 134, 404
- Akathistos* 384
- Alexander of Cyprus 384
- Alexander Romance* 385
- Alexios, patriarch of Constantinople 193–194
- Alpha privativum*, Arabic translation of 9, 164, 248
- Ambrose of Milan 200n6
- Ammonius, *Account of the Martyrdom of the Fathers of Sinai and Raithu* 2, 42n61, 72–73, 385
- Anastasius of Sinai 385–386  
*Questions and Answers* 18–19
- Andrā’us al-Anṭūnī, Copto-Arab scribe 328, 352
- Andrew of Crete 386  
*Encomium to Saint Nicholas* 202n14, 235n125
- Anthony David of Baghdad, scribe 21, 37, 55, 57–58, 65
- Antioch, Byzantine reconquest of 178, 184, 194, 244
- Antiochian Menologion* 188, 252, 384
- Antiochian translation movement 158–275
- Antiochus Strategius, see Strategius
- Antonios, translator at the Monastery of Saint Symeon the Younger 158–179
- Aphrahat 89, 404–405
- Apocrypha of the Bible 18, 37n51, 89–90n3, 134, 147–148, 377
- Apologetics, Christian Arabic 40–47
- Apophthegmata Patrum* 134, 386
- Arabic Bible translations 1–2, 8–9, 340–344
- Arabic translations of lost original texts 6, 178, 328–376
- Aradalbas, scribe 346
- Armenian patristic translations 16, 91, 124n85, 200, 207–208, 276, 410–411
- Arsānī, deacon, scribe 347
- Arsen of Iqalto 45, 61n45, 176
- Athanasius of Alexandria, *Against the Heathen* 3  
*Life of St. Anthony* 345n25  
*Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* [spurious] 15–53
- Athanasius of Balad 206
- Augustine of Hippo 200n6, 205n31  
*Confessions* 3
- Babylas, martyr 280
- Balahvar, Wisdom of* 71
- Bar Hebraeus 405
- Basil of Caesarea, *History of Joseph* [spurious] 89–90  
*Homilies on the Hexaemeron* 198–240  
*Second Homily on Lent (Homily on Cheese-fare Sunday)* 191
- Bible, translations into Arabic, see Arabic Bible translations
- Book of the Rolls* 37n51
- Būlus Faḡālī, translator 92
- Cave of Treasures* 405
- Chaccour, Adriane, Melkite Catholic Archimandrite, translator 3
- Chariton of the Monastery of the Theotokos Aršāyā 345, 383
- Christopher, patriarch of Antioch 181–187, 279–280

- Chronicle of Seert* 129  
 Clemens Caraccioli, scribe 351  
 Clement of Alexandria 387  
 Clement of Rome 387  
*Confessio Patrum*, see *I'tirāf al-ābā'*  
 Coptic patristic texts and translations 1–  
 3, 72, 76n137, 79, 91–92, 96–100, 198, 200,  
 204–205, 207, 220, 226–227, 280, 283, 328,  
 411–413  
 Copyists, see under individual names  
 Cyril of Alexandria 388  
 Cyril of Scythopolis 64–68, 388  
*Life of Cyriacus* 64, 66  
*Life of Euthymius* 64–66  
*Life of John the Hesychast* 64, 67  
*Life of Saba* 64–65, 67  
*Life of Theodosius* 64, 67–68
- Dādīšō' Qaṭrāyā 405  
 Daniel ibn Arsīn, scribe 55  
 Dating systems 166, 202, 219n80, 228  
 David, bishop of the Kurds 131  
 David of Bṭarān, scribe 165, 169  
 David of Ḥoms, scribe 54, 65, 204–205,  
 226, 228  
 Dayr Abū Maqār 204–205, 226, 228  
 Dayr Anbā Bišāy 99–100  
 Dayr al-Suryān 100, 130  
 Diadochus of Photike 388–389  
*Didascalía* 3  
 Dionysius bar Šalībī 405  
 Dionysius the Areopagite [Pseudo-] 2,  
 189–194  
 Dionysius Exiguus 206n32  
*Disputation of the Jews Papisus and Philo  
 with a Monk* 18  
*Doctrina Patrum* 15  
 Dorotheus of Gaza 64, 328, 345n26,  
 346n29  
 Dositheus II, patriarch of Jerusalem 311
- ʿEnānišō' 405–406  
 Ephrem 63, 76, 78, 185–187, 189–192, 283–  
 284, 355n16  
 Ephrem Mtsire, Georgian translator 176  
 Epiphanius of Salamis 209, 277, 390  
*Erotapokriseis* see Question-and-Answer lit-  
 erature  
 Ethiopic patristic texts and translations  
 16n4, 90n3, 92–93, 99n43, 100n47, 124n85,  
 129–130, 136–137, 145–146, 150n64, 414–415  
 Eusebius of Caesarea 390  
 Eustathios Boīlas 236  
 Eustathius, Latin translator 205–206  
 Eustratius, see Strategius  
 Euthymius the Hagiorite 71  
 Euthymius II, patriarch of Antioch 349n52  
 Euty chius of Alexandria 45  
 Evagrius Ponticus 7, 328, 390–391
- Faltas, Joseph Maurice, translator 3  
*First Apocryphal Apocalypse of St. John* 18
- Gabriel III, Coptic pope 346  
 Gabriel of Bašra 407  
*Gādla Šāma'atat* 136–137  
 Ğarīḥ, see Ğurayġ ibn Yuhannis al-Rarāwī  
 Garšūnī 22n29, 137, 329, 350, 352  
 Ğawān ibn Dimitrī ibn Yūḥannā ibn Ḥamza,  
 scribe 241  
 Gə'əz, see Ethiopic  
 George, patriarch of Alexandria [Pseudo-?],  
*Life of St. John Chrysostom* 160  
 George of Pisidia 200  
 George the Hagiorite 71, 208  
 Georgian patristic translations 6, 16, 53–  
 54, 59–80, 91, 176, 200, 208–209, 276, 282,  
 415–416  
 Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople  
 391  
*Homily on the Sash of the Theotokos* 241–  
 275  
 Girgis Miḥā'il, scribe 350  
 Graeco-Arabic translation movement 1,  
 199  
 Gregory, abbot of the Monastery of Our Lady  
 in Dafnūnā 5, 278–280, 383  
 Gregory of Cappadocia, *Panegyric for Gregory  
 of Nazianzus* 187  
 Gregory of Nazianzus 4, 187, 391  
*Oration 29 (On the Son)* 187–188, 192  
*Oration 30 (On the Son)* 187–188, 192  
*Oration 40 (On Baptism)* 188, 192  
*Oration 43 (Panegyric for Basil of Cae-  
 sarea)* 188, 192  
 Gregory of Nyssa 393  
*Apology on the Hexaemeron* 200, 204,  
 207n37, 208n44, 210–211, 213, 220, 222

- On Making Man* 200, 204–215, 222, 226–227, 229  
*Panegyric for Ephrem the Syrian* [spurious] 185, 192  
 Grigorios Nebot, scribe 351  
 Ġubriyāl, see Gabriel  
 Ġurayġ ibn Yuhannis al-Rarāwī, translator 204, 225–230, 383  
  
 al-Ḥaġġāġ, Umayyad governor 130, 145, 154  
 Hagiographies, Arabic translations of 53–80, 142–154, 241–275  
 Ḥamdānids 180, 195  
 Hebrew, translations into Arabic from 1  
 Hexaemeron literature 198–240  
*History of ‘Abdā da-Mšihā* 121–122  
*Homily on Abraham and Sarah* 93, 407  
 Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq 116n67, 178  
  
 Ibn al-Faḍl, see ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl  
 Ibn al-Muḥabarak, scribe 346  
 Ibn al-Rāhib, Abū Šakir, Copto-Arabic author 187n32  
 Ibn Saḥqūn, translator 2  
 Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Paradise of Christianity* 89–90  
 Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā 180–197  
     *Life of Christopher* 180–197, 383  
 Iḥwān al-ṣafā’ (“Brethren of Purity”) 7  
 Imīl Abī Ḥabīb Anṭūnī, translator 92  
 Isaac of Nineveh 7, 60–61, 203n21, 282–283, 346n31, 352n79, 407–408  
 Ishāq, scribe at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai 58  
 Ishāq ‘Aṭā Allāh, Athonite archimandrite, translator 3  
 Īsō’dād of Merv 90  
 Īsō’dnaḥ of Baṣra, *Book of Chastity* 130, 132, 135  
*I’tirāf al-ābā’ (Confessio Patrum)* 79, 99, 384  
  
 Jacob of Serugh 74–80, 89–124, 408  
     *Dialogue between the Two Thieves on the Subject of Jesus* 76, 93n17  
     *On Abraham and Sarah in Egypt* 76  
     *On Abraham and the Annunciation of Isaac’s Birth* 76  
  
*On the Angel and the Thief* 77  
*On the Annunciation to Our Lady Mary* 76–77, 113–121  
*On the Apostle Thomas* 75  
*On the Baptism of Christ* 77  
*On Christ’s Entry into the Temple* 77  
*On Death* 75  
*On Godly Love* 101–106  
*On Jonah and the Penitence of Nineveh* 77, 106–113  
*On Joseph, Son of Jacob* 75  
*On Lazarus and the Rich Man* 77  
*On the Death of Moses* 77  
*On the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ* 75, 78–79  
*On the Prodigal Son* 76  
*On the Prohibition of Swearing* 75  
*On the Sacrifice of Isaac* 77  
*On Zacchaeus* 76  
 Jewish reception of Arabic patristic translations 7, 416–417  
 John Chrysostom 148, 160, 189–192, 194, 280, 347n40, 394–395  
     *Commentary on Corinthians* 162–163  
     *Commentary on Genesis* 220  
     *Commentary on the Gospel of John* 162, 220  
     *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* 161–163  
     *Commentary on Hebrews* 203n21  
     *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God* 343n21  
     *Panegyric for the Prophet Elijah* 191–192  
     *First Homily on Patience* [spurious] 192  
     *In illud: Memor fui Dei* [spurious] 281–282  
 John Climacus, *Book of the Ladder* 3, 7, 9, 163, 328n1, 334n13, 352n79  
 John Moschos 396  
 John of Apamea 7, 409  
 John of Dalyatha 409  
 John of Damascus 6–7, 158–179  
     *Against Iconoclasts* 15n2, 158, 177  
     *Against Jacobites* 158, 167–170  
     *Against Nestorians* 158, 164, 168–169  
     *De Fide contra Nestorianos* 164, 168–170, 178  
     *Dialectica / Philosophical Chapters* 7, 158, 169, 176, 178

- Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 7, 158, 169, 176, 338n16  
*Expositio et declaratio fidei* [spurious?] 6, 168–169, 178  
*Homily on Holy Saturday* 158  
*Homily on Transfiguration* 167–170  
*Letter to Cosmas* 169  
*Libellus de recta sententia* 164, 170  
*On the Stay of Jesus in the Tomb* 158  
*On Theology* 167  
*On Theology and Nativity* 169n35, 170  
*On Virtues and Vices* [spurious] 338n16
- John of Daylam 129–157  
 John Philoponus 397  
 John the exarch 208  
 Josephus 397  
*Julian Romance* 409
- Kaisarios [Pseudo-], *Questions and Answers* 202  
 Karšūnī, see Garšūnī  
 Kaufmann effect 199n73  
 Kulayb, duke of Antioch 243n9
- Latin, translations into Arabic from 3, 413  
*Legend of Sergius Bahīrā* 409  
 Leo VI, Byzantine emperor 397  
 Leontius of Byzantium 398  
 Leontius of Damascus, *Life of Stephen of Mar Saba* 2, 398  
 Leontius of Neapolis, *Apology* 18  
 Leontius Sālim, translator 3  
*Life of Basil the New* 3  
*Life of Ephrem* 78  
*Life of John of Edessa* 398  
*Life of Joseph Busnāyā* 129  
*Life of Pachomius* 345n25  
*Life of Theodore of Edessa* 71
- Liturgical texts, translations into Arabic 2, 9, 100, 249–252
- al-Ma'arrī, Abū al-'Alā', poet 199  
*Macarian Homilies* 6, 328n1, 398  
 Macarius III Ibn al-Za'im, patriarch of Antioch 349n52  
 Marcion, polemic against 277, 295  
 Mark the Monk 64, 399  
*Martyrdom of Michael of Mar Saba* 70–71
- Meletius Karmā, see Euthymius II  
 Methodius of Constantinople 399  
 Michael al-Sim'ānī, *Life of John of Damascus* 176  
 Michael the Syrian 409–410  
 Miḥā'il al-anbā Būlā, scribe 352  
 Monastery of Bēt 'Ābē 130–131, 140  
 Monastery of the Cross, Jerusalem 62, 65, 70  
 Monastery of Mār Behnām 143, 144  
 Monastery of Mar Chariton 54, 62  
 Monastery of Mār Mattā 139  
 Monastery of Mar Saba 21–22, 54, 59–62, 65, 68–75  
 Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai 22, 33, 54, 62, 74  
 Monastery of Saint Macarius, see Dayr Abū Maqār  
 Monastery of Saint Symeon the Younger near Antioch 158–161, 175–176, 189, 204  
 Monastery of the Syrians, see Dayr al-Suryān  
 Monastery of the Theotokos in Dafnūnā near Antioch 280  
 Moses bar Kēfā 344, 350n59, 353n86, 410  
 Moses of Nisibis 100n45  
 Mūsā ibn al-Ḥaḡar, see Moses bar Kēfā  
 Mūsā ibn al-qiss Sa'āda, scribe 348  
 Mūsā ibn Yūsuf al-Karī (al-Karakī?), scribe 347  
 Mūsā ibn Yuwākim, bishop of Yabrūd, scribe 148  
 Muslim reception of Arabic patristic translations 7–10, 416–417
- Naḥla 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Ġazzāwī, scribe 352  
 Nemesius of Emesa 339, 399–400  
 Nicephoros Uranos, *Life of Saint Symeon the Stylite the Younger* 163, 166  
 Nicholas II, patriarch of Antioch 183  
 Nikon of the Black Mountain 400  
 Nilus al-Dimašqī, scribe 340  
 Nilus of Ancyra 400  
*Noetic Paradise* 328–376, 400–401
- On the Triune Nature of God* 40–43  
 Old Church Slavonic, patristic translations 16, 200, 208, 281

- Paleography, early Christian Arabic 33, 37, 54, 58, 60, 65
- Palestinian Paterikon* 65
- Palestinian-Sinaitic translation movement 15–88
- Peter of Bet Ra's, *Book of Demonstration* 45–46
- Peter Libellios, duke of Antioch 243n9
- Philo of Alexandria 200n6, 401
- Philokalia* 401
- Philoxenus of Mabbug 410  
*Letter to Patrikios* 279
- Physiologos* 401
- Procheiros Nomos* 401
- Proclus of Constantinople 281n18
- Question-and-Answer literature 15–52, 90n4, 202
- Questions and Answers of Basil and Gregory* 401
- Quryāqūs al-Ṭarāḡī, priest 142
- Qusṭanṭīn ibn Abī l-Ma'ālī, translator 3, 181n2, 383
- Romanian, translations into Arabic from 413–414
- Romanos III, Byzantine emperor 194
- Sa'adya Gaon 1
- al-Ṣafī ibn al-'Assāl 228  
abridgment of the *Noetic Paradise* 328–329, 347n41, 353n87  
abridgment of John Climacus' *Book of the Ladder* 352n79
- saǧ' 202n14, 236
- Sannōṭā, see Abraham Sannōṭā and Šem'ōn Sannōṭā
- Sayings of the Desert Fathers, see *Apophthegmata Patrum*
- Scribes, see under individual names
- Šem'ōn Sannōṭā ("Simon the Beardless") 130–132, 152–154
- Sənkəssar*, Ethiopic Synaxarion 136–137
- Severian of Gabala [Pseudo-], *Homily on Nativity* 6, 276–327
- Severus of Antioch 402
- Sibylline Oracles* 402
- Sim'an ibn Kalil 349n52
- Simeon d-Ṭaybūṭēh 410
- Simeon ibn al-Buṭayṭa 241
- Slavonic, see Old Church Slavonic
- Sogdian, translations from Syriac 129, 135
- Sony, Behnam, historian, cataloguer 92, 137
- Sophronius of Jerusalem 402  
*Synodal Letter* 203n21, 235n124
- Stephen Maṣṣūr 69  
*Passion of the Twenty Sabaite Martyrs* 69–70  
*Martyrdom of Saint Romanos the Neomartyr* 70
- Stephen of Nicomedia, *Syntagma* 338n16
- Stephen of Ramla 33, 55
- Strategius ("Eustratius"), *Account of the Persian conquest of Jerusalem* 6, 73–74, 403
- Ṣūfism, interaction with Christian asceticism 7
- Simeon the Stylite (the Older) 279
- Step'anos of Siwnik, Armenian translator 208n42
- Stephen of Nicomedia 338n16
- Stephen of Thebes 402
- Symeon Metaphrastes 191–192  
*Panegyric for the Evangelist John* 191  
*Panegyric for the Evangelist Luke* 191
- Synaxarion of Constantinople* 241n2
- Syriac, translation into Arabic
- Ṭalḡa al-Ḥamawī, scribe 349
- Tertullian 277
- Testament of Our Lord* 3
- Testimonia lists 17, 46
- Theodore Abū Qurra 8, 61, 71  
*Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons* 43–45
- Theodore bar Koni, *Scholion* 90
- Theodore of Mopsuestia 403  
*On the Perfection of Observances* 6
- Theodore of Petra 68n81
- Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Religious History* 3
- Theophilus of Alexandria 403
- Thomas, scribe at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai 57
- Thomas of Marga, *The Book of the Governors* 130, 135, 154
- Timon, Saint 183
- Timothy I, catholicos 410

- Translation movement, see Antiochian translation movement, Graeco-Arabic translation movement, Palestinian-Sinaitic translation movement
- Translations of patristic texts, see under individual authors and languages
- Translation style and technique 23–35, 101–121, 164–165, 189, 205n, 230–237, 244–252, 342–344
- Translators, see under individual names
- Triodion* 193
- Trophies of Damascus* 18
- Typikon of Mar Saba* 3, 404
- ʿUbaydallāh, duke of Antioch 243n9
- Umayyads 15n2
- Yalda, scribe, sponsor 134–135n19
- Yānī ibn al-Duks, translator 241–275
- Yannah ibn Iṣṭifān al-Fāḥūrī, translator 2
- Yūḥannā ʿAbd al-Masiḥ 188n36, 241, 383
- Yūḥannā ibn al-Ġurayr, translator 384
- Yūsuf Ġirġis Barāyū, scribe 351
- Yūsuf ibn Barakāt, scribe 345
- Yuwāṣaf ibn Suwaydān, translator 3