

EARLY CHRISTIAN ARABIC COLOPHONS FROM THE PALESTINIAN MONASTERIES: EDITION WITH TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

MIRIAM L. HJÄLM

STOCKHOLM SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY, SANKT IGNATIOS COLLEGE

PETER TARRAS

JMU WÜRZBURG, LMU MUNICH

GENERAL REMARKS ON TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS, AND COMMENTARIES¹

In this chapter, we offer the Arabic text of 20 colophons of early, i.e. pre-1000 CE, Christian Arabic manuscripts together with English translations and short commentaries. All these colophons are in some way or another connected with one (or more) of the three most important monastic centers of early Christian Arabic manuscript production: the monasteries of Saint Chariton and Saint Sabas in the Judean Desert and the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the south of the Sinai Peninsula.² The names of these places are either mentioned explicitly in the colophons or can be connected to them through the names of scribes, which we know were active there.

In the following, the place of the colophon in the manuscript is indicated by means of the folio number. In one case (see section 1.5 below), no such information

¹ This paper is a companion to “Early Christian Arabic Colophons from the Palestinian Monasteries: A Comparative Analysis,” in *Literary Snippets: Colophons Across Space and Time*, eds. George A. Kiraz and Sabine Schmidtko. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2023, pp. 119–168. We are grateful to Alexander Treiger, Vevian Zaki, and Father Justin, as well as to Vasiliki Chamourgiotaki, Grigory Kessel, Maarten Kossman, Ramez Mikhail, Barbara Roggema, Philip W. Stokes, and Lev Weitz, for assisting us with reproductions, notes, and insightful thoughts on the material. This paper was partly composed with the support of the Swedish Research Council (2017-01630).

² The Sinai region was known as “Palaestina Tertia” or “Palaestina Salutaris” in late antiquity, which is why we refer to Saint Catherine’s Monastery as a “Palestinian” monastery as well. The material presented here amply evinces the strong ties between the Sinai monastery and the Judean Desert monasteries.

was obtainable. We refer to the manuscripts themselves (and other manuscripts where necessary) by means of abbreviations. A key to these abbreviations is provided in the Appendix at the end. Text, translation, and commentary are preceded in each case by introductory sections in which we seek to give basic information on the material features of the respective manuscripts, their contents, provenance, and general historical significance. There, we also refer the reader to pertinent scholarship, though we have focused mostly on research that is directly related to the colophons rather than aimed at providing comprehensive bibliographic references.

In only a few cases, the editions we offer here are *editiones principes*. Still, in all cases except for one (section 1.5 below), we were able to double check existing editions against the texts in the manuscripts either *de visu* or by means of digital reproductions. Disagreement with earlier editions is documented in the annotations. Where translations into English or other languages already exist, we took note of them, but we almost always had to modify the text in order to observe as closely as possible the line division of the Arabic texts and achieve a certain degree of consistency across our corpus. This was also the reason why we in many places decided to translate active verbs like *kataba* (“he wrote”) in the passive voice (“it was written by”), when the grammatical subject appeared only in the next line.

The Arabic texts edited below have not been standardized. We have aimed to reproduce as closely as possible the conventions of orthography, spelling, and punctuation followed by the scribes and, accordingly, the historical state of the language in which they wrote the colophons (note that *i‘gām*, i.e. the use of diacritical points to distinguish between homographic letters, is not used consistently and we only observed scribal conventions with respect to *tā’ marbūṭa*, which is un-pointed throughout). This affects mostly the writing of *hamza*, which in Classical Arabic would be found on the seat-letters *alif*, *waw*, and *yā’*. Seat-letters are commonly left out in the middle of a word (e.g. أسل instead of اسْل), final *hamza* is dropped throughout (e.g. لا instead of لاَبَاء). Final *yā’* is seldom pointed, whereas *alif maqṣūra* is pointed (e.g. الـي for *ilā*). *Alif* is sometimes found in the place of *alif maqṣūra*. In a few instances, we come across defective writing of long vowels (especially ثـ instead of ثـلـاثـ). Sometimes, we find contractions (especially يـاـخـي instead of يـاـخـيـ). Punctuation marks are only inserted if they are found in the texts where they are used frugally.

For the sake of clarity, we sometimes had to interfere with the text. Our own interferences are highlighted by means of the following sigla: arrow brackets < > indicate restored text; <...> arrow brackets with dots indicate missing text; [] square brackets indicate corrections and in the translated text, also clarifications and larger conjectures as a means to convey what we assume was the original wording; in those instances where the text of the colophon is found on more than one page or in more than one column, square brackets are also used to indicate page/column breaks; line numbers are provided in round brackets; crosses + + + indicate erasure. In two places (section 1.3.2 and 2.6.2) the scribes have used Greek numbers for datation, which we reproduce in our edition of the source texts as well as the translations.

1 MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT CHARITON

1.1 BL Or. 4950, f. 197v

1.1.1 *Introduction*

BL Or. 4950 is a parchment codex (237 ff., 200 × 159 mm, black-brown ink, rubrications and decorations in red, 21 lines/page). The manuscript was apparently bought from a Rev. C. March (or Marsh or Masch) by the British Museum on October 14, 1895. It contains two important early Christian Arabic theological texts. At the end of the manuscript (f. 237v), the scribe also appended a short apothegm by (Pseudo?-)Basil the Great. The first text in the manuscript is called *The Compilation of the Aspects of the Faith in the Tri-Unity of God and the Incarnation of God the Word from the Pure One, the Virgin Mary* (*Al-Kitāb al-Ğāmi‘ al-wuğūh al-īmān bi-taṭlit waḥdāniyyat Allāh wa-ta’annus Allāh al-kalima min al-tāhira al-‘adrā’ Maryam*, ff. 1r-197v). The second text is one of the major works of the Ḥarrānian Melkite bishop Theodore Abū Qurra (d. ca. 830 CE), namely his *Treatise on Icon Veneration* (*Mīmar fi Ikrām al-aykūnāt*, ff. 198r-237v). Scholarship was long divided over the question of authorship of the first text, which remains undisclosed in all text witnesses. Both Theodore Abū Qurra as well as the copyist of the manuscript, the Charitonian monk Stephen of Ramla (Iṣṭāfanā b. Ḥakam al-Ramli), were suggested as candidates. However, the work is now treated as the product of an anonymous compiler. Colophons are appended to both the first and second work (see also 1.2 below). Stephen of Ramla also left a colophon in SA 72 (section 1.3), making him a well-attested scribe in our corpus.

The colophons of BL Or. 4950 were first published by Johannes Peter Arendzen in 1897.³ Arendzen’s edition also contains a facsimile of the first colophon page.⁴ The same page was later reproduced again as a facsimile in Agnes Smith Lewis’ and Margaret Dunlop Gibson’s *Forty-One Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts*.⁵ This still valuable reference book also offers a transcription and English translation, which we have adopted and slightly altered.⁶ In 1985, Sidney H. Griffith devoted an article to Stephen of Ramla, which mainly contextualises the scribe’s work in the third-/ninth-century Palestinian monastic context.⁷ Griffith highlighted the fact that Stephen stood in a relation of discipleship to a certain Abba Basil (*ambā Basil*) who is also the manuscript’s commissioner.⁸ Spiritual discipleship is attested in the colophon of another Charitonian scribe, viz. in SANF Parch. 7 (see section 1.7), copied by Michael the Deacon (*Miḥā'il al-ṣammās*) who explicitly calls himself “disciple” (*tilmīd*). Stephen does not use this sort of self-designation, but refers to Abba Basil as his “teacher” (*mu‘allim*).

³ Arendzen, *Theodori Abu Kurra*, p. xv.

⁴ Arendzen, *Theodori Abu Kurra*, plate 1.

⁵ Smith Lewis and Dunlop Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles*, plate 2.

⁶ Lewis and Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles*, pp. 3-4.

⁷ Griffith, “Stephen of Ramlah.”

⁸ Griffith, “Stephen of Ramlah,” pp. 43, 45.

1.1.2 Text

(٦) تم المصحف بعون الله وقوته ونعمته
 (٧) وكان كمال كتابه^٩ في اول يوم من ذقبيرس
 (٨) يكون من حساب سنى الدنيا على ما يُقبل في
 (٩) كنيسه القيامه بيت المقدس سنه ست الاف
 (١٠) وثلثمايه وتسعه وستين ومن سنى الاكسندرس سنه
 (١١) الف ومايه وثمانيه وثنتين. ويكون من سنى العرب
 (١٢) في شهر ربيع الاول من سنه اربع وستين ومائتين.
 (١٣) كتبه الخاطى المسكين الحقير اصطافى
 (١٤) بن حكم يُعرف بالرملى في سيق مارى حريطن
 (١٥) لمعلبه الاب الفاضل الطهر الروحانى ابنا بسيل
 (١٦) عمره الله . اذا انت قرات فاذكرني لا
 (١٧) تنسا^{١٠} لا نسيك الله واقامك عن يمينه واسمعك
 (١٨) ذلك الصوت اليه^{١١} المحبوب المفرح اذ يقول
 (١٩) تعالوا يا مباركى ابى رثوا الملك المُعد لكم من قبل
 (٢٠) انشا العالم يكون لنا ذلك بشفاعة من تريم الظاهره
 (٢١) ومارى بحنا وصلوات جميع الابا البرار امين وامين.

1.1.3 Translation

(6) The volume was finished with the help, power and grace of God. (7) The writing of [this volume] was completed on the first day of December (8) – according to the reckoning of the years of the world that is accepted in (9) the Church of the Anastasis [in] Jerusalem – in the year (10) 6369; and – according to the Alexandrian [reckoning of] years (11) – 1188. In the years of the Arabs, this [work was completed] (12) in the month *Rabi'* al-Awwal in the year 264 [i.e. November–December 877]. (13) It was written by the poor and miserable sinner Stephen (14) son of *Hakam*, known as

⁹ Lewis and Gibson emend: كاتبته.

¹⁰ Arendzen reads: تنس.

¹¹ We adopt this reading from Lewis and Gibson. The same expression appears also in SA 72, see below section 1.3.2, at line 14. Arendzen reads: الذي. Palaeographically, Arendzen's reading, however, is not convincing, since Stephen of Ramla normally writes with final *yā'* not descending below the baseline, while the expression in question has final *yā'* descending below the baseline.

the one from Ramla, in the Lavra of Saint Chariton, (15) for his teacher, the esteemed, pure, and spiritual father Abba Basil, (16) may God grant him a long life! When you read, remember me, do not (17) forget [me] so that God will not forget you and place you at his right [side] and make you hear (18) that beautiful, beloved and gladdening voice, when he says, (19) “Come, you who are blessed by my father, and you shall inherit the kingdom prepared for you from before (20) the world was founded.”¹² May this be [so] for us by the intercession of the pure Saint Mary (21) and Saint John and [by] the prayers of all the righteous fathers, amen and amen.

1.1.4 Commentary

Line 7: كتبه (kitābihī), “the writing of [this volume].” The term *kitāb* here refers to the process of copying and is synonymous with *kathb*, and *nash̄*.

9: كنيسة القيامه بيت المقدس (kanīsat al-qiyāma bayt al-maqdis), “the church of the Anastasis [in] Jerusalem.” One would expect the preposition *bi-* or *fī* before *bayt*. The genitive construction is probably a Middle Arabic feature here.

7–12: Three different dating systems are used. The first is listed as a world era and refers either to the Alexandrian world era of Annianos, where 1 December 6369 equals 877 CE, or to the Alexandrian world era of Panodoros, which equals 876 CE. The next era referred to as the year 1188 of the Alexandrian era seems to intend the Seleucid Era, which is 876 CE and thus agrees with Panodoros’ calendar. However, the Hijra calendar used last, i.e. Rabi’ al-Awwal 264 according to “the years of the Arabs,” takes us to December 877, which instead agrees with Annianos’ era.

19–20: The quotation from Matthew 25:34 is a common feature of the colophons produced at Saint Chariton (cf. Hjälm and Tarras, “Early Christian Arabic Colophons”). It corresponds to the version transmitted in one of the manuscripts copied by Stephen of Ramla, viz. SA 72, where it is found in the text of Matthew on folio 31v:8–9. The translation is based on a Greek *Vorlage* classified as Family A by Hikmat Kashouh. The same quotation can be found in the second colophon of BL Or. 4950 (section 1.2) as well as in the colophons of SA 72 (section 1.3), and SA 75 (section 1.4); the latter differs from the other colophons only in that it uses the singular instead of plural. Here it is preceded by the blessing formula “may [God] make you hear this voice” (*asma’aka dālika al-ṣawt*), which is also used in similar variations in the second colophon of BL Or. 4950 (section 1.2), as well as in the colophons of SA 72 (section 1.3), and SA 75 (section 1.4), and in abbreviated form in SANF Parch. 7 (section 1.6) and BMCL BV 69b (section 3.1).

¹² Matthew 25:34.

1.2 BL Or. 4950, f. 237r–v

1.2.1 Introduction

The second colophon of BL Or. 4950 is found at the end of Theodore Abū Qurra's *Tract on Icon Veneration* (see section 1.1.1 above). The text was edited on the basis of this manuscript and published with a Latin translation by Arendzen. Arendzen's edition also reproduces the text of the colophon, which is found on the heavily damaged *recto* and *verso* of the last folio (237). The colophon is not reproduced in the German and English translations of Abū Qurra's text by Graf and Griffith respectively, but Griffith used the information gleaned from Stephen of Ramla's colophons in his article on the scribe. Arendzen's text was an important aid for our reconstruction of the text. However, he also corrected and sometimes hypercorrected the text, especially by introducing jussive forms, and not always marked his conjectures. For this reason, we had to reject some of his readings, as documented in the footnotes. The text of this colophon shares some of the traits of Stephen of Ramla's other colophons (see sections 1.1 and 1.3).

1.2.2 Text

(١٥) كتب الخطاطي الذ^{هـ}ابن
 (١٦) الحقير اصطافني المسكين و^{هـ}ويسـلـ
 (١٧) من قـرـاـ فـيـ هـذـاـ المـصـحـفـ اـنـ يـدـعـواـ لـيـ (ـ؟ـ)
 (١٨) ^{وـاـنـ} يـهـبـ اللـهـ لـيـ رـحـمـهـ وـمـغـفـرـهـ وـخـ
 (١٩) ^{الـثـقـيـلـ} بـالـذـنـوـبـ، لـاـ يـنـسـاـ يـاخـيـ لـاـ نـسـيـحـكـ اللـهـ وـاقـامـكـ
 (٢٠) عـنـ يـيـنهـ وـاسـعـكـ الصـوتـ الـحـلـواـ (ـاـذـ يـقـولـ تـعـالـاـ)
 (٢١) يـاـ مـبـارـكـ اـبـيـ رـثـوـاـ^{هـ} الـمـلـكـ الـمـعـدـ [٢٣٧ـ بـ]
 (١) لـكـ مـنـ قـلـ اـنـشـاـ الـعـالـمـ مـعـمـاـ يـتـبعـ مـنـ قـوـلـهـ
 (٢) الـحـبـوبـ الـذـيـ لـاـ يـمـلـ وـالـيـهـ يـشـتـاقـ جـمـيعـ الـمـوـمـنـيـنـ
 (٣) بـهـ يـكـونـ ذـلـكـ جـمـيعـ بـنـيـ كـنـيـسـهـ اللـهـ
 (٤) الـجـمـاعـهـ الـاـرـثـكـسـيـهـ الـمـوـمـنـهـ عـلـىـ اـمـانـهـ
 (٥) ^{الـحـقـ} بـيـسـوـعـ الـمـسـيـحـ الـذـيـ لـهـ الـمـجـدـ مـعـ اـبـيـهـ
 (٦) وـعـ رـوـحـهـ الـمـقـدـسـ الـىـ الـاـبـدـ اـمـيـنـ وـامـيـنـ.

1.2.3 Translation

(15) It was written by the <wrongdoer> (16), the miserable, poor sinner Stephen. <He asks of> (17) the one who reads in this volume to [invoke God in my (?) favor and] that God may give me mercy, forgiveness and <...> (19) burdened with trespasses. Do not forget [me], my brother, so that <God will not> forget <you and place you> (20) at his right [side] and make you hear the sweet voice <when he

says “Come, (21) you who are blessed by my father, and you shall inherit> the kingdom prepared [237v] (1) for you from before the world was founded,” along with that which follows of the beloved saying of him who (2) never tires and for whom long all those faithful (3) in him. May this be [so] for all the children of the <universal> orthodox church of God (4), who, according to <true> faith, believe (5) in Jesus Christ to whom belongs glory with his Father (6) and his Holy <Spirit>, for ever, amen and amen.

1.2.4 *Commentary*

Lines 20–1: The biblical reference to Matthew 25:34 is partly illegible, but it is the same passage used in the first colophon in this manuscript.

Folio 237v

Lines 3–4: بني كنيسة الله الـجـامـعـهـ اـلـرـنـدـكـسـيهـ (bani kanisat Allāh al-ğāmi‘a al-urṭuduksiyya), “the children of the <universal> orthodox church of God.”

A similar expression is found in another Charitonian colophon, viz. SA 75, f. 222r:16, see section 1.4.2 below.

1.3 SA 72, f. 118v

1.3.1 *Introduction*

SA 72 is a parchment Tetraevangelion (119 ff., 204 × 141 mm, black-brown ink, rubrications and decorations in red ink, 25 lines/page).¹³ It transmits an early, widespread version of the Gospels in Arabic, translated from Greek (family A in Hikmat Kashouh’s classification).¹⁴ The Gospel of John is followed by a short and well-known apologetic text on the question of whether Christ was crucified voluntarily (ff. 117r), which is known also in Greek and Syriac, transmitted here under the name of Theodore Abū Qurra.¹⁵ Just as BL Or. 4950, it also transmits another apothegm by (Pseudo?)-Basil (ff. 117v–118v).¹⁶ This text is followed by the colophon from which we learn that the codex was copied by Stephen of Ramla. Apart from the Gospels, his textual choices exhibit some affinity with those included in BL Or. 4950. We do not know who the commissioner of the manuscript was or when it became part of the Sinai Monastery’s collection. A reader note at the end of the manuscript (f. 119r) penned by a person named Michael (*al-ḥaqīr Mihār al-mudnib*) specifies that it “be-

¹³ The manuscript is digitized and accessible online:

<<https://www.loc.gov/item/00279385986-ms/>> and

<<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu>> (last accessed 1 September 2022).

¹⁴ Kashouh, *Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, pp. 86–96.

¹⁵ The same text with slight variants can also be found in Chapter 18 of the anonymous *Compilation* mentioned above. For an edition and English translation of the version ascribed to Theodore Abū Qurra, see Griffith, “Some Unpublished Sayings”; English translation also in Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 205–206; see also Griffith, “Stephen of Ramlah,” p. 35; Samir, “Kitāb ḡāmi‘ wuğūh.”

¹⁶ See above section 1.1.1. Cf. also Griffith, “Stephen of Ramlah,” p. 42.

longs to the blessed monastery" (*li-dayr al-mubārak*), which could refer to any monastery. It seems likely, however, that the note was written at Saint Catherine's Monastery. Palaeographically it may date to after 1000 CE. A facsimile of the colophon was published by Constance Padwick in 1939.¹⁷ Another facsimile of the colophon page was published in Aziz Atiya's catalogue of Saint Catherine's Arabic manuscripts.¹⁸ In his article on Stephen of Ramla, Griffith gave only a partial translation and discusses the information contained in this colophon together with what can be gleaned from the colophons of BL Or. 4950.¹⁹

1.3.2 Text

(١٢) وكتب انخاطي المسكين الضعيف الاثم اصطافنا
 (١٣) يُعرف بالرملي . اذا انت قرات ياني ذكرني ذكرك
 (١٤) الله واقمك عن يمينه واسمعك الصوت البهي
 (١٥) الشجي المحبوب القايل تعالوا يا مباركي ابي رثوا
 (١٦) الملك المُعد لكم من قبل انشا العالم مع ما يتبع
 (١٧) من قوله الذي لا يخلف موعده الحق . لا تنساني
 (١٨) ياني لا تنسا لا نسيك الله . وكتب المسكين
 (١٩) في اشهر العجم في اول شهر اذار ويكون من
 (٢٠) حساب سنى العالم على ما تحسبه كنيسه بيت
 (٢١) المقدس القيامه المجيده من سنه ست الاف
 (٢٢) وثلثمايه وتسعه وثمانين سنه ΣΠΠ^٥ ,
 (٢٣) ومن سنى العرب في شهر المحرم من سنه اربع
 (٢٤) وثمانين ومايدين سنه . رحم الله من قرا
 (٢٥) وكتب ووهب المقتني الفهم والحفظ للوصايا امين .

1.3.3 Translation

(12) It was written by the poor, weak, wretched sinner Stephen (13) known as the one from Ramla. When you read [this], my brother, remember me so that (14) God may remember you and place you at his right [side] and make you hear the beautiful, (15) heart-gripping, [and] beloved voice, which says: "Come, you who are blessed by my father, and you shall inherit (16) the kingdom prepared for you from before

¹⁷ Padwick, "Al-Ghazali," plate 1 (between pp. 134 and 135).

¹⁸ Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, plate 4; idem, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. ١٤٤.

¹⁹ Griffith, "Stephen of Ramla," pp. 39–42.

the world was founded,”²⁰ along with that which follows (17) of the saying of him who will not alter his true promises. Do not forget me (18), my brother, do not forget so that God may not forget you. And the poor one wrote [it] (19) in the months of the non-Arabs on the first of Adār and [this] was (20) – according to the reckoning of the world era, which the church (21) in Jerusalem uses, the glorious Anastasis – in the year (22) 6389, the year ,ΣΤΠΘ [i.e. 6389], (23) and in the years of the Arabs, in the month of Muḥarram of the year (24) 284 [i.e. February–March 897]. May God have mercy on the one who read (25) and [the one who] wrote and may he give understanding and [ability to] keep the commandments to the one who acquires [it], amen.

1.3.4 Commentary

Lines 15–17: The same reference to Matthew 25:34 also appears in the two colophons of Or. 4950, composed by Stephen of Ramla (see section 1.1.4 above).

19–24: Two datations are used. The first one, 1 Adār 6389 according to the world era, corresponds either to 896 CE (Panodoros), 897 CE (Annianos), or 880 CE (Byzantine world era). The second datation, Muḥarram 284 according to “the years of the Arabs” agrees with Annianos’ word era and it is thus likely that it was composed 897 CE.

1.4 SA 75, f. 222r

1.4.1 Introduction

SA 75 is another parchment Tetraevangelion manuscript (222 ff., 228 × 175 mm, black-brown ink, rubrications in red, 24 lines/page).²¹ The translation of the Gospels is primarily based on a Greek *Vorlage* (family C in Kashouh’s classification).²² The manuscript also contains a copy of a Christian Arabic apologetic work, Peter of Bayt Ra’s’ *Kitāb al-Burhān* (*The Book of Proof*) (ff. 102v–222r).²³ It was copied at the Monastery of Saint Chariton, yet the scribe did not disclose his name in the colophon. Based on paleographical considerations, it seems to have been copied in the late third/ninth or early fourth/tenth century (group B in Hjälm’s category of Semi-angular Scripts).²⁴ The same or a very similar hand copied a manuscript fragmentarily preserved in the binding of SG 34 (see section 2.6.1).²⁵ Apart from the place of production, the colophon provides the commissioner’s name who is a certain monk, Sisinnius from Homs (*ambā Sissina al-rāhib al-Himṣī*; see the commentary in section

²⁰ Matthew 25:34.

²¹ The manuscript is digitized and accessible online:

<https://www.loc.gov/item/00279386048-ms/> and <https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu> (last accessed 1 September 2022).

²² Kashouh, *Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, pp. 112–122.

²³ Cf. Swanson, “Peter of Bayt Ra’s.”

²⁴ Hjälm, “Paleographical Study,” 56–61, esp. at pp. 59–60.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

1.4.4). Padwick already drew attention to the *waqf* statement at the end of the manuscript (f. 222v), which says that it was given as a bequest to Saint Catherine's Monastery by Solomon the bishop of Mount Sinai in Ḏū l-Qaḍā 392/September–October 1002.²⁶ In fact, Solomon had inherited the manuscript from his father and grandfather. The latter possibly may have gotten it from the commissioner mentioned in the colophon. Bishop Solomon specifies that the manuscript has to be kept in a place within the main church building, which he calls *muwāsata*. This was one of several keeping places for books within the monastery in pre-modern times and corresponds to the Greek term μέση/mesē mentioned in the monastery's Greek manuscripts.²⁷ The manuscript's paratextual features, thus, provide rich information regarding its early life.

1.4.2 Text

(١٣) وكان كتابه في سيق ابونا ماري خريطن
 (١٤) القديس الشهيد اب الابا وقدم الاسياق
 (١٥) المعروف بسيق العتيق يحفظنا رب بصلواته
 (١٦) وشفاعته وجميع بنى الكنيسه الجامعه المنيره
 (١٧) الارتدكسيه الطاهره المقدسه. استكتبه ابنا
 (١٨) سسننه الراهب الحصي. يهلك الله لما كتب واقامك
 (١٩) عن يمينه واسمعك الصوت الحلو البهي البهيج
 (٢٠) اذ يقول تعال يا مبارك ابى رث الملك المعد لك
 (٢١) من قبل انشا العالم يكون لك ذلك ولي انا المسكين
 (٢٢) بصلوات مرثيم وماري يخنا وجميع القديسين امين.

1.4.3 Translation

(13) The writing of [this book] was completed in the Lavra of our holy father Saint Chariton, (14) the martyr, the father of fathers and the most ancient of lavras, (15) which is known as the Old Lavra. May the Lord keep us in his prayers (16) and his intercession and [so also] all the children of the universal, luminous, (17) orthodox, pure and holy church. [This book] was commissioned by Abba (18) Sisinnius, the

²⁶ Padwick, “Al-Ghazali,” p. 135. The information was provided by a Yassa Efendi ‘Abd al-Masih who read the name Solomon (صلون) as Tumur. The same difficulty was faced by other interpreters. See Swanson, “Solomon,” p. 97n35. For the Arabic text and English translation of Solomon's note, see *ibid.* pp. 97–98.

²⁷ Cf. Rossetto, *Three Euchologia*, p. 25. On the identification of this keeping place with the sacristy of the basilica, see Swanson, “Solomon,” p. 101, n48; 104; see also Weitzmann and Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine*, p. 3; the same reference in Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, p. 150; Hjälm, *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel*, p. 79.

monk of Homs. May God praise you with what has been written and place you (19) at his right [side] and make you hear the sweet, beautiful, and delightful voice (20) when he says “Come, you who are blessed by my father, and you shall inherit the kingdom prepared for you (21) from before the world was founded.”²⁸ May this be [so] for you and me – I am the poor one – (22) by the prayers of Saint Mary and Saint John and all the saints, amen.

1.4.4 Commentary

Line 13: وَكَانَ كَالْكَابِهُ (wa-kāna kamāl kitābihi), “And the writing of [this book] was completed.” The same phrase is used by Stephen of Ramla in his first colophon in BL Or. 4950. Cf. above sections 1.1.2 and 1.1.4.

19–21: The biblical reference to Matthew 25:34 is the same as the four previous ones (see section 1.1.4 above), yet with the verbs in singular, not in plural as in the other colophons. Note that the difference is not influenced by the version transmitted in SA 75. The text (family C instead of A) is found on f. 26r:24–25 and reads as follows (variants marked in bold): *ta‘ālū yā mu-bāraki abī fa-riṭū l-mulk alladī u’idda lakum min bad’ al-dunyā*.

22: The same saints, Mary and John, are invoked in Stephen of Ramla’s first colophon in BL Or. 4950.

17–18: الْكَنِيسَةِ الْجَامِعَةِ ... الْأَرْثُدُوكْسِيَّةِ (al-kanīsa al-ğāmi‘a al-urtuduksiyya), “the universal ... orthodox church.” A similar phrase is used in Stephen of Ramla’s second colophon in Or. 4950.

18: سَنَنَهُ الرَّاهِبِ (Ssnh al-rāhib), “Sisinnius the monk.” The sobriquet *al-rāhib* is quite common also among Christian Arabic scribes and suggests that the personal name Sisinnius was in fact this person’s monastic name. The Arabic spelling سَنَنَهُ of this name appears frequently in papyri from Egypt and, according to Adolf Grohmann, reproduces its Coptic spelling as CICINNA, CICINI, or CICNE.²⁹

1.5 SANF Parch. 3

1.5.1 Introduction

SANF Parch. 3 is one of the Sinaitic manuscripts that came to light only in May 1975 when a small chamber filled with manuscripts was discovered underneath Saint George’s chapel during construction work on the monastery’s northern wall. The stashed manuscripts were to form Saint Catherine’s New Finds collection.³⁰ SANF Parch. 3 is a fragmentary parchment manuscript, comprising different codicological units, such as parts of an Arabic Paterikon as well as a Greek majuscule manuscript. It consists of a total of 35 folios of rather small size (92–95 × 110–112 mm, black-

²⁸ Cf. Matthew 25:34.

²⁹ Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri*, p. 179. Cf. also Crum, *Coptic Manuscripts*, p. 55.

³⁰ For the Arabic New Finds, see Meimaris, *Katalogos*.

brown and red ink).³¹ The manuscript's fragile state of preservation affects possibilities of reproduction. We were not able to access reproductions of the colophon page itself and instead had to rely on Yiannis Meimaris' transcription in his catalogue of the Arabic New Finds in 1985.³² Additionally, Alexander Treiger, who first brought the colophon to our attention, discussed the transcription and his own translation with us. SANF Parch. 3 also preserves an acquisition note, which was transcribed by Meimaris.³³ Palaeographically, its author's hand might be assigned to the fourth/tenth century. According to this note, the manuscript was purchased by two Sinaitic monks, Elias (Ilyās) and Christopher (Ihristufūr), from someone in Jerusalem called Abraham the son of the priest Isaac (Ibr[ā]him ibn *al-qissīs* Ish[ā]q). Interestingly, Elias calls himself by the *nasab* "son of Thomas the Monk" (Ibn [T]ūmā *al-rāhib*). We know of a Sinaitic scribe by that name who is very likely identical to Thomas of Fustat (Tūmā al-Fustāṭī), the author of two Sinaitic colophons (see sections 3.1, 3.2, and 3.5 and Hjälm and Tarras, "Early Christian Arabic Colophons"). If Elias should in fact be a relative of Thomas of Fustat, which we unfortunately have no way of knowing, this note would offer an extraordinary glimpse into the social structure of early Arabic-speaking monasticism and Christian Arabic book culture.

The colophon itself states that it was copied at the Monastery of Saint Chariton. It has a date in which, however, one digit is illegible. Treiger suggested that the missing digit in the year 6[.]50 might be 6[3]50, according to the Alexandrian Era of Annonios, that is 858 CE (if also the last digit is missing, then the number amounts to any year between 858–867 CE). This would make this manuscript the oldest dated Christian Arabic manuscript. He also highlighted the many similarities between the script of SANF Parch. 3 and the hand of Stephen of Ramla. Like Stephen, the scribe of SANF Parch. 3 uses the calendar of the world era. Paleographically, the hand falls into the same category as Stephen of Ramla's, i.e. Semi-angular Scripts, group B.³⁴ SANF Parch. 3 shares many features with Stephen's hand but as opposed to him, it often lacks a head serif on the *tā'*-grapheme and the particularly angular final *kāf* in Stephen's hand exhibits fewer sharp angles in the new find. SANF Parch. 3 also shows similarities with the anonymous hand which copied SA 75 (cf. section 1.4 above) at Saint Chariton and its scribe was apparently active at the same workshop as the

³¹ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. 19.

³² Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. 19. Meimaris does not indicate the place of the colophon page within the remaining number of folios, which is why we had to refrain from assigning folio number and line numbers.

³³ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. 19n.v. We have checked his transcription against the reproduction of the respective page and Treiger's transcription. We adopt and slightly modify Treiger's translation: "(1–2) This blessed Paterikon was bought by Elias who is called a monk, the son of (3) Thomas the monk, and by Christopher, (4) brethren at Mount Sinai, in Jerusalem (5) from Abraham the son of the priest Isaac. (6) May God forgive everyone: (7) [the one who writes and the one who] reads in it and the who listens to it. (8) [...] amen" ([1] [*iṣtarā hā*] *dā l-bātirikūn* [2] [*al-mubāra*] *k Ilyās al-musammā rāhib ibn* [3] [T]ūmā *al-rāhib wa-Ihristufūr* [4] *al-iḥwa bi-Tūr Sīnā* *min madīnat al-quds* [5] *min Ibr[ā]him ibn al-qissīs* [6] *Ish[ā]q ḡafara Allāh al-ğamī'* [7] [*li-man katabahu wa-li-man*] *qara'a fīhi wa-li-man sami'ahu* [8] [...] *āmīn*).

³⁴ Hjälm, "Paleographical Study," 56–60.

former two copyists (cf. Hjälm and Tarras, “Early Christian Arabic Colophons.”). In any event, it can be noticed that the script of the new find is less curvy and exhibits less round features than later (early fourth/tenth century) witnesses of this group,³⁵ and appears to be older than them. Thus, a reconstruction of the date as 6[4]50, i.e. 958–9 CE, does not seem likely. At the same time, it would be somewhat surprising if the hand was about twenty years older than Stephen of Ramla’s earliest dated manuscript (876/7 CE). A mistake in dating, or its transcription, should not be ruled out. The transcription below is that of Meimaris, the translation is by Treiger, here somewhat modified in line with the rest of our corpus.

1.5.2 Text

وكتب المذنب المسكين الضعيف <...> في سيق العتيق دير مار خريطون وذلك من سنين الدنيا على
<ما تحسبه كنيسة القيام>³⁶ القدسية سنة ستة الاف <...> وخمسين من سنين الع[الم].

1.5.3 Translation

The culpable, poor, weak <...> wrote [it] in the Old Lavra of the monastery of Saint Chariton. This [took place], according to the years of the world in agreement with <what is calculated in the> holy <Church of the Anastasis>, in the year 6<.> 50 in the years of the world era.

1.5.4 Commentary

Words 6–7: The term *siq al-‘atīq*, “the Old Lavra,” referring to the Monastery of Mar Chariton, is used also in SA 75 (see section 1.4).

12–14; 21–23: The scribe of SANF Parch. 3 uses both *sinīn al-dunyā* and *sinīn al-‘ālam* to refer to the world era calendar, which shows that these were synonymous expressions. Stephen uses *sinī al-dunyā* in Or. 4950 (1.1) and *sinī al-‘ālam* in SA 72 (1.3) for the same calendar. However, whereas Stephen used the Classical Arabic construction *sinī al-dunyā* and *sinī al-‘ālam*, the scribe of SANF Parch. 3 used a construction common in Middle Arabic where final *nūn* is retained.

Second lacuna: Just like Stephen of Ramla, the scribe of SANF Parch. 3 uses the world era calendar and it appears likely that the lacuna following ‘alā contained information about the use of this calendar in the Anastasis Church of Jerusalem, just like in Stephen’s two colophons (cf. sections 1.1 and 1.3). Thus, this passage, including the lacuna, may read “in agreement with what is calculated in the holy Church of the Anastasis” or a similar phrasing.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Our conjecture, based on the text of SA 72, f. 118v:2 (see section 1.3.2 above).

1.6 SANF Parch. 7, f. 127v

1.6.1 *Introduction*

SANF Parch. 7 is another fragmentary parchment manuscript (127 ff., 130–138 × 196–198, black-brown and red ink, ca. 23–28 lines/page) from Saint Cathrine's New Finds.³⁷ It contains the same Arabic translation of the Gospels as that in SA 72 (i.e. family A in Kashouh's classification).³⁸ In the colophon we read that it was copied by Michael of Saint Charition, who was a student of a certain al-Tabarānī. Either Michael or al-Tabarānī was also the brother of a *basilikarios*, i.e. the person in charge of the basilica.³⁹ Alexander Treiger suggests that the same Michael copied the Greek Psalter in SG 32 (cf. sections 3.7 and 3.8 below and Hjälm and Tarras, "Early Christian Arabic Colophons"). In fact, Michael of Saint Chariton who, following the date mentioned in the colophon here, flourished around 900 CE, is also known as an Arabic homilist.⁴⁰ The handwriting in SANF Parch. 7 is similar to that of Stephen of Ramla and the two probably belonged to the same scribal workshop at Saint Chariton at the turn of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries.⁴¹ A hand similar to that of Michael the Deacon and Stephen of Ramla, copied St. Andrews 14 (and its *membrum disiectum* CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 140), which is another witness to the text of the *Compilation* attested in BL Or. 4950 and which thus supports the notion that the two scribes worked closely together (cf. Hjälm and Tarras, "Early Christian Arabic Colophons").⁴² SANF Parch. 7 is dated to 289/901–2 and is somewhat younger than the dated copies of Stephen of Ramla. The colophon was partly transcribed by Meimaris who also included a photographic reproduction of the colophon page.⁴³ Below his transcription is extended and somewhat modified.

1.6.2 *Text*

(١٧) كُتب هذا الانجيل المقدس في سيق ماري خريطن
 (١٨) القديس، كتبه الخاطي ميخائيل الشamas المعروف
 (١٩) بتلميذ الطبراني اخ الباسليقار وهو يطلب الي كل
 (٢٠) من قرأ فيه يتبهل الى الله ان يغفر له خططياه
 (٢١) وذنبه الكثيره. سمع الله من قرأ ومن قال امين

³⁷ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. ٢٠. The manuscript is digitized and accessible online: <<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu>> (last accessed 13 September 2022).

³⁸ Kashouh, *Arabic Versions of the Gospels*, esp. p. 87.

³⁹ Cf. Treiger, "Palestinian Origenism," p. 64, n71.

⁴⁰ Treiger, "Palestinian Origenism," pp. 63–65.

⁴¹ Hjälm, "Paleographical Study," 56–57.

⁴² Cf. Hjälm, "Paleographical Study," p. 57 and a more thorough discussion on its various parts in Hjälm, "Lost and Found," forthcoming. On the *Compilation* in the St. Andrews manuscript, see Hoyland, "St. Andrews MS 14."

⁴³ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, pp. ٢٠ and 77.

(٢٢) وذلك في سنة تسعة وثمانين وما يليها
 (٢٣) من سنين العرب. لا تنساً تُرحم على الكاتب رحمك الله
 (٢٤) واقامك عن يمينه بلا فزع ولا رعب بشفاعته
 (٢٥) السيده ام النور مترحيم وجميع القديسين امين.

1.6.3 Translation

(17) This holy gospel was written in the Lavra of Saint Chariton, (18) the holy man. The sinner Michael the deacon wrote it [who is] known as (19) the disciple of al-Tabarāni, the brother of the *basilikarios*. He requests of everyone (20) who reads in it that he implores God on his behalf to forgive his many sins and (21) trespasses. May God hear everyone who reads and says “amen.” (22) And this [i.e. the completion of the book took place] in the year 289 (23) according to the years of the Arabs [= 901/2]. Do not forget to say [of the scribe]: “may God have mercy on you (24) and place you at his right [side], without fear and without alarm, by the intercession of (25) the Lady, Mother of Light, Saint Mary and all the holy ones,” amen.

1.6.4 Commentary

Line 19: الْبَاسِلِيقَار (*al-bāsilīqār*), “*basilikarios*”, i.e. the person in charge of a basilica; from Greek *βασιλικάριος*. Other attested forms are *balsiqār*.⁴⁴

Line 23: The scribe only uses the Hijra calendar.

Line 24: The biblical reference to Matthew 25:34, used in Stephen’s three colophons and in SA 75, is arguably hinted at with a few words here: “place you at his right [side]” (*aqāmaka ‘an yamīnihi*)

2 MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF SAINT SABA

2.1 BAV Ar. 71, f. 236r

2.1.1 Introduction

This parchment manuscript (II + 71 ff., 230 × 170 mm, black and red ink, 16–18 lines/page),⁴⁵ dated 272/885, contains a collection of homilies and ascetic literature.⁴⁶ It was copied by a prolific scribe-monk of the Monastery of Saint Sabas, named Anthony David of Baghdad (Anṭūna Dāwud b. Sulaymān al-Baġdādī), and commissioned by a certain Abba Isaac (*ambā Ishāq*) for use in Saint Catherine’s Monastery

⁴⁴ See Treiger, “Palestinian Origenism,” p. 64, n71; Lamoreaux, *Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas*, vol. 1, p. 41:18. The term is not found in Graf, *Verzeichnis*.

⁴⁵ The writing support of the first two folios with the restored table of contents is paper. Digital images are available online: <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ar.71> (last accessed 13 September 2022).

⁴⁶ For the contents of the manuscript, see Mai, *Veterum scriptorum*, pp. 143–145; Graf, *Christlich-arabische Literatur*, pp. 16–17; Binggeli, “Les trois David,” pp. 82–83.

on Mount Sinai.⁴⁷ The manuscript was given to the Vatican Library in 1721 by the Cypriot Maronite priest Andrea Scandar (Indrāwūs Iskandar, d. 1748).⁴⁸ Its original Sinaitic provenance is attested not only by the colophon, but also by the Greek cataloguing signature (f. 1r), the endowment note *cum* book curse in the upper margin of ff. 3v–4r⁴⁹ and the restoration of the table of contents (ff. 1v–2r = Iv–IIR), which was executed at Saint Catherine's as well.⁵⁰ The same Abba Isaac is again mentioned as the manuscript's commissioner in Anthony David of Baghdad's colophon in RNL Ar. N.S. 263 (cf. section 2.2). It is not unlikely that he is identical to Isaac the Monk (Ishāq *al-rāhib*), the author of the second colophon of SANF Parch. 1.⁵¹ Anthony David of Baghdad wrote with a beautiful New Style script, which has been used to compare and date other manuscripts.⁵² On palaeographical grounds, the colophon of BNU Or. 4226a, f. 1r can also be assigned to this scribe, though Willi Heffening ventured the hypothesis that it is a modern forgery.⁵³ The colophon of BAV Ar. 71 was first published by Eugène Tisserant and later reproduced by Gérard Garitte who also offered a Latin translation and compared the text with the colophon of RNL Ar. N.S. 263.⁵⁴ Sidney Griffith published an English translation of the colophon in his study on Anthony David.⁵⁵ We have adopted Griffith's translation and made some modifications of our own.

⁴⁷ For some reason, Graf, *Christlich-arabische Literatur*, p. 16 thought that Isaac was the copyist of BAV Ar. 71 and used a manuscript copied by Anthony David as his model. Cf. also Heffening, “Die griechische Ephraem-Paranesis,” p. 100n3. Interestingly, Graf points out that BAV Ar. 695 is a younger copy of BAV Ar. 71. In fact, the former even reproduces Anthony David's colophon on f. 196v.

⁴⁸ Tisserant, *Specimina*, p. XXXVIII. Cf. also Binggeli, “Les trois David,” p. 83 and *ibid.* n18, n19.

⁴⁹ This note reads: “This book was given as a bequest for the benefit of the monks of Mount Sinai to read in it in the church about the fathers. No one has authority to take it from the church and whoever takes it from the church will be under eternal ban” (*hādā l-kitāb ḥubbisa ‘alā ruhbān Tūr Sinā’ yaqra’u fīhi ‘alā l-abbahāt fi l-kanīsa mā li-ahad sultān yuhriğuhu min al-kanīsa wa-man ahrağahu yakūnu tahta al-kalima al-azaliyya*); cf. also Graf, *Codices Vaticani*. The same note, written by the same person, can be found in BMCL BV 69b, f. 2v; SA 155, f. 1; SANF Parch. 1, ff. 1v–2r; SA 436, fol. 3.

⁵⁰ The same person restored the table of contents of SA 436 as well as CUL Or. 1287, which is now preserved in CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 171.

⁵¹ Cf. George, “Le palimpsest Lewis-Mingana,” p. 410; Hjälm, “Paleographical Study,” pp. 69–70.

⁵² Cf. Hjälm, “Paleographical Study,” pp. 65–67. Georg Graf and Anton Baumstark, for instance, both compared the hand of BMCL BV 69 to Anthony's in BAV Ar. 71; see Graf, “Alte christlich-arabische Fragmente,” p. 339; Hiersemann, *Katalog 500*, p. 12.

⁵³ Heffening, “Die griechische Ephraem-Paranesis,” pp. 95–97.

⁵⁴ Tisserant, *Specimina*, p. XXXVIII–XXXIX and plate 54; see also Mai, *Scriptorum veterum*, p. 145; Graf, *Codices Vaticani*; Garitte, “Homélie d’Éphrem,” p. 135.

⁵⁵ Griffith, “Anthony David of Baghdad,” p. 8.

2.1.2 Text

(٥) كتب هذا المصحف ابنا انطونه داود بن سليمان
 (٦) البغدادي الخاطي المسكون في سيق القديس مار سبا.
 (٧) استكتبه ابنا اسحق الراهب ايه لدير طور سينا
 (٨) المقدس. وانا الخاطي الضعيف الذي كتبته اسل
 (٩) واطلب الى كل من قرأ فيه من الابهات القديسين
 (١٠) وغيرهم ان يطلبوا ويسلوا يسوع المسيح الاهنا
 (١١) وخلصنا ان يغفر خططيائي وذنبي^{٥٦} الكثيرو.
 (١٢) رحم الله من فعل ومن كتب ومن استكتب ومن فرا
 (١٣) ومن سمع ومن قال امين، بشفاعه السيده من تبريم
 (١٤) وابونا مار سبا وجميع ابراره وقديسيه، امين.
 (١٥) وكتب في شهر ربيع الاول سنه اثنين وسبعين
 (١٦) ومايتين.

2.1.3 Translation

(5) This volume was written by Abba Anthony David the son of Solomon (6) of Bagh-dad, the poor sinner, in the Lavra of the holy Saint Saba. (7) It was commissioned by Abba Isaac the monk for the monastery of the holy Mount Sinai. (8) And I, the weak sinner who wrote it, ask (9) and request of everyone who reads in it among the holy fathers (10) and others to request of and ask Jesus Christ, our God (11) and saviour, to forgive my many sins and trespasses. (12) May God have mercy on the one who made [the book?] and the one who wrote and the one who commissioned and the one who read (13) and the one who heard and said “amen,” by the intercession of the Lady, Saint Mary, (14) and our father Saint Saba and all his righteous saints, amen. (15) And he wrote it in the month Rabī‘ al-Awwal in the year (16) 272 [= August/September 885].

2.1.4 Commentary

Line 12: من فعل (*man fa‘ala*), “who made [the book?].” The verb *fa‘ala* also appears in the prayer invocation of the colophon of LUB Cod. Gr. 2 (authored by David of Homs, cf. section 2.3.2). Here, however, the scribe explicitly invokes prayer for himself by writing *man kataba*, which follows right after *man fa‘ala*. One may compare this to the prayer left on f. 187v of SA 151, which reads: “Lord, forgive the one who made this book, amen” (*yā rabb*

⁵⁶ Tisserant, *Specimina*, p. XXXIX writes: ذنبي (sic pro ذنبي). However, *bā’* and *ya’* are written in ligature, so the correction is unnecessary.

īgfir li-man sana'a hādā l-kitāb āmīn). The verbs *fa'ala* and *sana'a* are synonymous and can be used interchangeably in many contexts. Vevian Zaki has suggested that *sana'a* in SA 151 does not refer to the process of copying, but rather to the binding of the book.⁵⁷ Thus, one way to interpret *fa'ala* here would be to understand it as including the book binder in the *tarḥīm* formula. Another way would be to read it as referring generically to the authors of the texts collected in the manuscript.⁵⁸

12–13: من فعل ... ومن قال أمين (*man fa'ala ... wa-man qāla āmīn*), “who made ... and said ‘amen.’” The long list of agents involved in producing the manuscript is typical of early Sabaitic colophons, see Hjälm and Tarras, “Early Christian Arabic Colophons.”

2.2 RNL Ar. N.S. 263, fol. 5v

2.2.1 Introduction

RNL Ar. N.S. 263 consists of a few parchment folios in good condition (6 ff., ca 220 × 170 mm, black-brown and red ink, 18–20 lines/page).⁵⁹ The last of the fragments, which are written in an elegant script, includes another colophon by Anthony of Baghdad (cf. section 2.1.1) in red ink with diacritics in black-brown ink and framed by a simple, wave-looking pattern. The manuscript fragment originally hails from Saint Catherine’s Monastery and was brought to Saint Petersburg by Constantin Tischendorf (1815–1874).⁶⁰ RNL Ar. N.S. 263 is a *membrum disiectum* of BNU Or. 4226, which contains typically monastic literature such as hagiographies and homilies.⁶¹ Two other parts of the codex are extant in CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. 93 and CRL Ming. Ch. Ar. Add. 136.⁶² Heinrich Fleischer gave a brief description of RNL Ar. N.S. 263 in 1854.⁶³ In 1907, Ignace Kratchkovsky published the colophon.⁶⁴ Sidney Griffith offers an English translation in his study devoted to Anthony David of Baghdad.⁶⁵ We have again adopted and modified Griffith’s translation.

⁵⁷ Zaki, “A Dynamic History,” p. 247.

⁵⁸ We are grateful to Vevian Zaki for discussing this passage with us.

⁵⁹ The measurement is taken from its *membrum disiectum* BNU Or. 4226. The latter is accessible online:

<<https://www.numistral.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b102352175/f6.item.r=arabe.zoom>> (last accessed 31 August 2022).

⁶⁰ Tischendorf, “Rechenschaft.”

⁶¹ Oestrup, “Über zwei arabische Codices”; Garitte, “Homélie d’Éphrem.” Sauget, “Le dossier”; Heffening, “Ephraem-Paranesis;” Chamourgiotaki/Zimbardi, “Preliminary Survey.”

⁶² Heffening, “Die griechische Ephraem-Paraenesis”; van Esbroeck, “Un feuillet”; Fleischer, “Beschreibung.” A summary of the process of finding the various pieces is found in Griffith, “Anthony David of Baghdad,” 8–9; Mingana, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 57–59; idem, *Catalogue*, vol. 3, p. 45.

⁶³ Fleischer, “Beschreibungen,” esp. p. 587 and plate 4. See also Binggeli, “Les trois David,” pp. 80–82.

⁶⁴ Kratchkovsky, “Novozavetniy,” p. 261. See also Garitte, “Homélie d’Éphrem,” pp. 128–129 who reproduces Kratchkovsky’s transcription and supplies it with a French translation.

⁶⁵ Griffith, “Anthony David of Baghdad,” p. 9.

2.2.2 Text

(١) وَكَتَبَ هَذَا الْمَسْحُفَ أَبْنَا انْطُونِيهِ الْبَغْدَادِيِّ

(٢) دَاؤِدُ بْنُ سَلِيمَنٍ^{٦٦} فِي سَيْقِ مَارْ سَابَا الْقَدِيسِ. اسْتَكْتَبَهُ

(٣) أَبْنَا اسْحَقَ لَطُورِ سِينَا. فَنْسُلُ الْمَسِيحِ الْأَهْنَا

(٤) وَخَلَصْنَا بِشَفَاعَةِ السَّيِّدِ أَمِ النُّورِ مِنْ قَرْيَمِ الْطَّاهِرِهِ

(٥) الْمَبَارِكَهُ وَصَلَوَاتُ جَمِيعِ رَسُلِهِ وَتَلَامِيذهِ وَأَنْبِيَاهِ

(٦) وَشَهَدَاهُ وَصَلَوَاتُ أَبُونَا الْقَدِيسِ مَارْ سَابَا وَجَمِيعِ

(٧) قَدِيسِيهِ وَاصْفِيَاهِ أَنْ يَرْحُمْ وَيَغْفِرْ خَاطِيَاهُ مِنْ كُتُبِ

(٨) وَاسْتَكْتَبَ أَمِينُ. وَأَنَا الْخَاطِيُّ الْمُسْكِنُ الَّذِي

(٩) كَتَبَ هَذَا الْمَسْحُفَ أَسْلُلُ لَكُلِّ مَنْ قَرَأَ فِيهِ وَاطَّلَبَ إِلَيْهِ

(١٠) أَنْ يَصْلِيَ عَلَيَّ وَيُسْلِيَ الْمَسِيحَ فِي غَفَرَانِ خَطَابِيِّ أَسْلِ الْمَسِيحِ

(١١) الْأَهْنَا بِفَضْلِهِ وَرَحْمَهِ أَنْ يَرْحُمَهُ مِنْ كُتُبِ وَاسْتَكْتَبَ وَمَنْ قَرَأَ

(١٢) وَقَالَ أَمِينُ

(١٣) كَتَبَ فِي سَنَهِ اثْنَيْنِ وَسَعْيَنِ وَمَا يَتَيَّنُ مِنْ سَنِيِّ الْعَرَبِ.

2.2.3 Translation

(1) This volume was written by Abba Anthony of Baghdad, (2) David son of Solomon in the Lavra of Saint Saba, the holy man. It was commissioned by (3) Abba Isaac for Mount Sinai. So, we ask Christ our God (4) and our saviour, by the intercession of the Lady, Mother of Light, the pure Saint Mary (5) the blessed one, and [by] the prayers of all his apostles, disciples, prophets, (6) and martyrs, and [by] the prayers of our father the holy man Saint Saba and all (7) his holy men, and those close to [God] to be merciful and forgive the sins of the one who wrote (8) and the one who commissioned [it], amen. And I, the poor sinner who (9) wrote this volume, ask of all who read in it and request of them (10) that they pray for me and ask Christ for forgiveness of my sins. I ask Christ, (11) our God, for his favour and his mercy to have mercy on the one who wrote, [the one who] commissioned, and the one who read [it] (12) and said “amen.” (13) He wrote it in the year 272 according to the years of the Arabs [= 885/6 CE].

^{٦٦} Following Kratchkovsky, Griffith reads *Sīnā*; cf. also Heffening, “Ephraem-Paranesis,” p. 100 who took the supposed difference in name as proof that there were two monks by the name Anthony David simultaneously active at Saint Sabas. Griffith, “Anthony David of Baghdad,” p. 10, however, points out the apparent misreading, referring to van Esbroeck, “Le Codex.” The manuscript clearly reads: سليمان.

2.2.4 Commentary

Lines 1,9: المصحف (al-*mushaf*) “volume.” This term is often used for collective works, as in this case.

6: مار سبا (Mār Sābā), “Saint Sabas.” The patron of the monastery is invoked and included in a long list of saints.

11–12: For the long list of agents, see comment on 2.1.4 Lines 12–13.

13: The scribe only uses the Hijra calendar.

2.3 LUB Cod. Gr. 2, f. 17r

2.3.1 Introduction

LUB Cod. Gr. 2, also known in literature as Codex Tischendorf Rescriptus II, is a palimpsested Greek-Arabic parchment fragment (22 ff., 300 × 230 mm, black-brown and red ink, 20–24 lines/page).⁶⁷ The fragment is one of the pieces von Tischendorf brought to Leipzig, and has been described by Fleischer, who also transcribed the colophon.⁶⁸ The Greek undertext contains passages from the Old Testament.⁶⁹ The Arabic upper layer contains *Lives* by Cyril of Scythopolis, copied by David of Homs (Dāwīd al-Himṣī) in the early tenth century CE, and, as noted by André Binggeli, the text continues that of SANF Parch. 66 (see section 2.5).⁷⁰ Other *membra disiecta* of the same original codex are RNL Gr. 26 (6 ff.) and the small fragment CUL Add. 1879.5.⁷¹ French translations were published by Michel van Esbroeck and André Binggeli.⁷² David of Homs’ handwriting and other codicological features of the original codex are also discussed by Binggeli.⁷³

2.3.2 Text

(١٩) وَكَتَبَ انْخَاطِي الْمُسْكِينِ ذَاوِيْدَ وَهُوَ يُسَبِّحُ اللَّهَ الَّذِي أَعْنَانَ وَاحْسَنَ[ن]

(٢٠) وَيُسَلِّمُ كُلُّ مَنْ قَرَا هَذَا الْمَصْحَفَ إِنْ يَدْعُوا لَهُ بِالرَّحْمَةِ وَالْمَغْفِرَةِ مِنْ أَجْلِ[ل]

(٢١) حُبُّ الْمَسِيحِ الْأَهْنَا وَسِيدُنَا. رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْ مَنْ فَعَلَ ذَلِكَ امِينٌ.

2.3.3 Translation

(19) The poor sinner David wrote [this book]. He praises God who helps and is charitable. (20) He asks everyone who reads in this volume to pray for him for mercy

⁶⁷ Digital images are accessible online via the University Library of Leipzig: <<https://www.ub.uni-leipzig.de/forschungsbibliothek/digitale-sammlungen/mittelalterliche-handschriften/griechische-handschriften/>> (last retrieved 13 September 2022).

⁶⁸ Fleischer, “Über einen griechischarabischen Codex,” esp. 151.

⁶⁹ Fleischer, “Über einen griechischarabischen Codex,” p. 149. Binggeli, “Les trois David,” p. 101.

⁷⁰ Binggeli, “Les trois David,” p. 102.

⁷¹ Binggeli, “Les trois David,” pp. 101–106; Tschernetska, “Add. 1879.5 and Its Provenance.”

⁷² van Esbroeck, “Le Codex,” pp. 84–85; Binggeli, “Les trois David,” p. 102.

⁷³ Binggeli, “Les trois David,” pp. 101–106.

and forgiveness [on his behalf] for the sake of (21) Christ's love, our God and our Lord. May God be content with the one who made this [book], amen.

2.3.4 Commentary

Line 19: داود. The name of the scribe, David, is transcribed *Dāwīd*, as opposed to David Anthony's Arabized form of the name (داود; cf. 2.1.2 and 2.2.2).

21: من فعل (*man fa'ala*), "who made," probably refers to the scribe who made the book. See comment in 2.1.4 line 12.

2.4 SANF Parch. 40, f. 26r

2.4.1 Introduction

In November 2019, Vevian Zaki brought to our attention a hitherto unknown colophon in SANF Parch. 40, which she had discovered in 2017. SANF Parch. 40 is a heavily deteriorated Arabic-Greek palimpsest, consisting of 50 folios, plus ten folios of smaller size, which Meimaris describes as worn and illegible (all together 60–85 × 50–80 mm).⁷⁴ According to Meimaris, the manuscript contains Pauline Epistles, yet Zaki showed that it transmits an early version of Acts.⁷⁵ Zaki also provided us with a provisional transcription, which we, thanks to Father Justin, have been able to confirm. Placing this colophon within our corpus allowed us to make a few additional conjectures. Below the last line, there are remnants of a simple decoration in the same red ink in which the text of the colophon is written. Beneath the decoration there is some empty space, suggesting that the fragment has preserved the bottom of the folio page. We can only guess how much text is missing on the left side, but the syntax of the preserved text suggests that it cannot be more than two to three words on each line. The fragment approximately preserves less than ¼ of the original text on the folios. The colophon is found on one of these smaller folios. It reveals that the manuscript was copied by a Sabaitic monk. The script is similar to the second hand in SANF Parch. 1, yet contains ligatures (*mīm* is written below a preceding *lām*) and exhibits vertical extension (e.g. in *tā'*). Based on the handwriting, the manuscript appears thus to have been produced in the first half of the fourth/tenth century.

2.4.2 Text

- (١) رحم الله من كتب <...> *(ومن كتب)*
- (٢) يقول امين رب العالمين وهو م- <...> *(يقول امين رب العالمين وهو م)*
- (٣) الحقير الخاطي المسكين المتشبه بالرهبا-ن <...> *(الحقير الخاطي المسكين المتشبه بالرهبا-ن)*
- (٤) كتبه في بريه مار سaba القديس <...> *(في مار سaba القديس)*
- (٥) السيق المبارك، وهو يسل المسيح الرحمة والمغفرة <...> *(السيق المبارك، وهو يسل المسيح الرحمة والمغفرة)*

⁷⁴ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. 30.

⁷⁵ Vevian, *Pauline Epistles*, p. 402.

2.4.3 Translation

(1) May God have mercy on the one who wrote <...> <and the one who> (2) says amen, Lord of the Worlds. He is M<...>‘<...> (3) the miserable sinner, one who imitates the monks <...>. (4) He wrote it in the wilderness of [the Lavra of] Saint Saba, <the holy man> <...> <in> (5) the blessed Lavra. He asks Christ for mercy and forgiveness <...>.

2.4.4 Commentary

Line 2: يقول امن رب العالمين (yaqūlu āmīn rabb al-‘ālamīn), “[the one who] says ‘amen, Lord of the Worlds.’” A similar phrase “the one who says amen” (*man qāla āmīn*) appears in many colophons and refers to the supplicant. The scribes, however, usually use the perfect of the verb and not the imperfect as here, which makes the syntax somewhat awkward. The Qur’ānic phrase “Lord of the Worlds” (*rabb al-‘ālamīn*) is used here to rhyme with *āmīn*; it is not attested elsewhere in our corpus.

3: المتشبه بالرهبان (al-mutašabbih bi-l-ruhbān), “one who imitates the monks.” Probably an expression of self-depreciation (i.e. “the one who is not even a real monk”).

4: بريه (barriyya), “wilderness,” a term commonly used to signify the desert. The term is still used as the name for the region and might have served as a proper name already at that time.

2.5 SANF Parch. 66, f. 4v

2.5.1 Introduction

SANF Parch. 66 is a fragment of a large parchment codex (6 ff. + 3 fragments, 283 × 230 mm, black-brown and red ink, foliation in Coptic and Arabic, 24–26 lines/page).⁷⁶ The rest of the manuscript was brought from Sinai by Tischendorf and is now kept in different institutions, viz. LUB Cod. Gr. 2 (22 ff., cf. 2.3 above), RNL Gr. 26 (6 ff.), and CUL Add. 1879.5 (a small fragment).⁷⁷ Only about 10% of the original codex, which, as can be judged from the surviving Coptic and Arabic folio numbering, must have consisted of more than 250 folios, have survived.⁷⁸ The manuscript is a palimpsest with Greek and Christian Palestinian Aramaic underwriting.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. ۲۶; Binggeli, “Les trois David,” p. 102; Rossetto, “Fragments,” pp. 34–36.

⁷⁷ Binggeli, “Les trois David,” pp. 101–106; Tschernetska, “Add. 1879.5 and Its Provenance.” See also Wright, “Arabic Hagiographic Palimpsest.”

⁷⁸ Rossetto, “Fragments,” pp. 35–36.

⁷⁹ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. ۳۶; Binggeli, “Les trois David,” p. 102; Lamoreaux, *The Life of Stephen of Mar Saba*, vol. 1, p. X. The Christian Palestinian Aramaic undertexts were studied by Christa Müller-Kessler, see Müller-Kessler, “Christlich-palästinisch-aramäische Palimpseste;” eadem, “Martyrdom of Arianos;” eadem, “Unknown Martyrdom.”

It was digitized by the Sinai Palimpsests Project and digital images are available online.⁸⁰ Recently, Giulia Rossetto discovered that one of the Greek undertexts in SANF Parch. 66 is a fifth- or sixth-century CE copy of a hitherto unknown poetical text from the Hellenistic period, possibly the Orphic *Hieroï Logoi in 24 Rhapsodies*.⁸¹ The Arabic upper writing of SANF Parch. 66 contains Leontius of Damascus' *Life of Stephen the Sabaite* and Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria's *Life of the Fathers Stephen and Nicon*.⁸² The manuscript was copied by David of Homs (Dāwīd al-Himṣī) on behalf of Abba Yannah of Raqqa (*ambā Yannah al-Raqqī*), a monk at the Monastery of Saint Sabas. The scribe mentions that he is known as "the Carpenter" (*al-nağğār*), which tells us about his (earlier) occupation. Before the text of the colophon, important information regarding the translation from Greek into Arabic of the two hagiographical texts is contained. Binggeli has argued that, since here we read that the texts were translated on 29 March 290/903 by Abba Yannah the son of Stephen al-Fāhūrī, who is referred to without title, the commissioning of the manuscript must have been executed between this date and before Yannah became hegumen of the monastery in 312/924–5.⁸³ The Arabic text of the translation note and the colophon were partly transcribed by Meimaris who also included a photographic reproduction of the colophon page.⁸⁴ Binggeli offers a transcription and French translation.⁸⁵ We have added line numbers, but apart from that differences between his and our text are minimal.

2.5.2 Text

(١٢) كتبه الخاطي البايس المسكين الضعيف ذاوىذ الحصي المعروف بالنجار

(١٣) وهو يصنع ميطانيه ويقبل ارجل كل من قرأ في هذا المصحف الممتلى نور وحياة

(١٤) ويسله من اجل <حـكـبـ سـيـدـنـاـ يـسـوـعـ المـسـيـحـ انـ يـدـعـواـ لـهـ بـالـرـحـمـهـ وـالـمـغـفـرـهـ

(١٥) وـالـمـعـونـهـ عـلـىـ مـاـ يـبـحـ اللـهـ عـلـيـهـ فـاـنـهـ غـرـبـ مـنـ كـلـ خـيـرـ وـمـتـبـاعـدـ مـنـ كـلـ صـلـاحـ

(١٦) وـمـنـ سـيـرـهـ الـاـبـاـ الـمـبـارـكـينـ فـنـ اـجـلـ حـبـ المـسـيـحـ الـاـهـنـاـ لـاـ تـنـسـوـنـيـ يـاـ اـبـهـاتـيـ وـلـاـ

(١٧) تـدـعـواـ تـذـكـرـوـنـيـ فـيـ صـلـوـاتـكـ وـخـلـوـاتـكـ الـمـقـبـولـهـ فـاـنـيـ إـلـىـ ذـلـكـ مـُضـطـرـ

(١٨) رـضـيـ المـسـيـحـ عـنـ مـنـ كـتـبـ وـمـنـ اـسـتـكـتـبـ وـمـنـ قـرـأـ وـمـنـ سـعـ وـقـالـ اـمـينـ اـمـينـ

(١٩) كـتـبـ لـاـنـبـاـ يـنـهـ الـفـاضـلـ الـرـاهـبـ فـيـ سـيـقـ مـارـيـ سـابـاـ الـمـعـرـفـ بـالـرـقـيـ

(٢٠) اـسـلـ المـسـيـحـ بـنـ اللـهـ الـاـزـلـيـ اـنـ يـعـطـيـهـ اـمـلـهـ وـيـسـاـوـيـهـ اـنـ يـقـرـأـ وـيـثـرـ وـيـكـلـ مـاـ يـطـلـبـ

⁸⁰ <<https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/viewer/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1dv21gp>> (last accessed 30 August 2022).

⁸¹ Rossetto, "Fragments."

⁸² Binggeli, "Le Trois David," 102.

⁸³ Binggeli, "Le Trois David," 103–104; cf Lamoreaux, *Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas*, vol. 578/50, pp. 147–148 (ed.), vol. 579/51, pp. 132–133 (trad.), here vol. 578/50, p. Xn14. See also Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," pp. 197–198, n41.

⁸⁴ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. ٣٦; photographic reproduction on p. 104 (image 64 of ff. 1v–2r).

⁸⁵ Binggeli, "Les trois David," p. 103.

(٢١) ليستahlen القيام عن يمينه في يوم المجازاه بشفاعه سيدنا مرتريم البول الطاهره
 (٢٢) وبصلوات هذا القديس ماري استافنس وجميع الابا المذكورين في هذا المصحف امين.

2.5.3 Translation

(12) The miserable, poor, and weak sinner David of Homs, who is known as the Carpenter, wrote it. (13) He makes *metanoia* and kisses the feet of the one who reads this volume, full of light and life, (14) and asks him for the sake of the <love> of our Lord Jesus Christ to pray on his behalf for mercy and forgiveness (15) and help with that which is required of him by God, for he is a stranger to all what is good and far from all virtue (16) and the way of the blessed fathers. Thus, for the love of Christ, our God, do not forget me, my fathers, and do not (17) cease remembering me in your prayers and your pleasing hermitages – I am in urgent need of that! (18) May Christ be pleased with the one who wrote and the one who commissioned and the one who read and the one who heard and said “amen, amen, amen.” (19) He wrote it for Abba Yannah the esteemed monk at the Lavra of Saint Saba who is known as the one from Raqqa. (20) I ask Christ, the Eternal Son of God, to provide him with his hope and make him worthy to read and be fruitful and fulfill what he requests (21) so that he is worthy of standing at his right [side] at the day of judgment by the intercession of our Lady Saint Mary, the pure virgin, (22) and by the prayers of this holy Saint Stephen and all the fathers mentioned in this volume, amen.

2.5.4 Commentary

Line 12: ذاوىذ, see the comment in section 2.3.4, line 19.
 12: النجار (*al-naḡğār*), “the carpenter.” A rare case in which the scribe speaks about his mundane profession.
 13: ميطنية (*mīṭāniyya*), Gr. *metanoia*, the act of prostration to signal will to repent; some sort of spiritual reformation.
 18: For the long list of agents active in producing the codex, see section 2.1.4, lines 12–13 above.

2.6 SG 34b, f. 218r

2.6.1 Introduction

This parchment codex (232 ff., 190 × 185 mm, black-brown and red ink, Greek column 23–26 lines/page, Arabic column 13–16 lines/page) contains a bilingual Greek-Arabic Psalter, dated 317/929–30.⁸⁶ The first folio is damaged. The 150 Psalms are preceded by the Nicene(-Constantinopolitan) Creed and the Lord’s Prayer and followed by the Biblical Odes of which Odes 1–8 have survived. The manuscript is incomplete at the end (last quire/quires missing). At some point, perhaps after its arrival at Sinai, the codex was rebound with disparaged parchments as support. One

⁸⁶ The manuscript is digitized and available online:
 <<https://www.loc.gov/item/00271077397-ms>> (last accessed 31 August 2022).

of these leaves (SG 34a) we can trace to the Monastery of Saint Chariton (cf. section 1.4.1). Even though the scribe does not disclose his name, the colophon reports that it was copied at the Monastery of Saint Sabas. Hence, the manuscript testifies to the exchange of books that took place between the various monasteries and the central position of Saint Catherine's library in collecting, preserving, and perhaps restoring books.

At least two scribes were involved in the production of the Arabic column. The handwritings of these scribes represent late witnesses of semi-angular scripts (group B in Hjälm's categorization).⁸⁷ The first hand in particular bears great similarity to the well-known Gospel manuscript SA 74, usually (and thus seemingly incorrectly) dated to the ninth century. Though SG 34b is well-known, it is only sporadically referenced in scholarship. Most notably, Dmitry Morozov has discussed the colophon's contents, especially the date.⁸⁸ A brief codicological description has been offered by Ronny Vollandt.⁸⁹

2.6.2 Text

[right column]

(١٠) تم بمعونه الله كتاب الزبور.

(١١) يكون مجالس عشرين تسباح

(١٢) ستين افصال اربه الاف

(١٣) وسبعين مائة واثنين وثمانين

(١٤) كتب في بريه بيت المقدس

(١٥) في سيق سببا رحم الله من

(١٦) قرا وسمع ودعا للكاتب

(١٧) تم كتاب هذا يوم عيد القديس

[left column]

ماري سببا سنه ستة الاف واربع مائة واثنين وعشرين من سنه ادم

(١٨) TIZ من سنه العرب.

2.6.3 Translation

[right column] (10) The book of Psalms was completed with the help of God. (11) It is in twenty *kathismata*, sixty (12) *doxai*, and 4782 (13) verses (14). It was written in

⁸⁷ Hjälm, “Paleographical Study,” pp. 56–61.

⁸⁸ Morozov, “Alexandrian Era.”

⁸⁹ Vollandt “Beyond Arabic,” p. 100. Cf. also Gardthausen, *Catalogus Codicorum Graecorum*, p. 10. Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 115.

the wilderness of Jerusalem, (15) in the Lavra of Saba. May God have mercy on the one who (16) read and heard and prayed for the scribe (17). The book was completed this day, i.e. on the feast of the holy Saint [left column] Sabas, in the year 6422 of the years of Adam, (18) [and] in the years of the Arabs TIZ [i.e. 317].

2.6.4 Commentary

Line 10: زبور (zabūr), “Psalms.” The Arabic word is used to indicate “The Book of Psalms” or “Psalter” in the Qur’ān and in some Christian Arabic texts, although (*kitāb*) *al-mazāmīr* is seemingly more common in the latter. In our corpus, we also find the calque بسنتير (bsnyr), see section 3.7 below.

11: مجالس (mağalîs), “kathismata.” The word *majālis* is a literal translation of the Greek term *kathisma*, “sittings,” which indicates when the praying person may sit down in connection to psalm readings. It became the standard division of the Psalter into twenty units. Normally, the word *kathisma* is transliterated into Arabic, not translated as it is here.

11–12: ستين تسبيح (tasābih sittin), “sixty doxai.” In the hagiopolite tradition, each *kathisma* is divided into three *doxai* (hence the number sixty above) referring to the phrase “Glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit...” which was read whenever the word appeared.⁹⁰ This term is normally transliterated into Arabic, but here it is translated as *tasābih* (sg. *tasbihā*), “glorifications.”

12–13: The division of the Psalter into 4782 *afsāl* corresponds to the division of several other Psalters from the Palestinian monasteries. The Arabic term *afsāl* (“divisions” or “verses”) refers to *stichometry*, i.e. the calculation of the number of text units that the Psalter is divided into. A number of verses around 4700–4800 is common in psalters produced in Palestine and Sinai, whereas psalters could also have a far lower number, around 2500.⁹¹

17–18: As opposed to other colophons which have survived from the Monastery of Saint Sabas, but in line with many colophons produced at the Monastery of Saint Chariton, the date is provided not only according to the Hijra calendar, but also according to the World Era (6422 = 929 CE according to Panodoros’ World Era and 930 CE according to Annianos’ World Era).

⁹⁰ For different divisions of the Psalter, see for instance Parpulov, *Byzantine Psalters*, pp. 54–55; 95–96.

⁹¹ See Parpulov, *Byzantine Psalters*, esp. pp. 80–81, 94–95.

3 MANUSCRIPTS FROM SAINT CATHERINE'S MONASTERY

3.1 BMCL BV 69b, f. 2r

3.1.1 *Introduction*

BMCL BV 69b is a late third-/ninth- or early fourth-/tenth-century parchment codex (52 ff., 212 × 170 mm, black-brown and red ink, 15–17 lines/page).⁹² A set of five *membra disiecta* was identified by van Esbroeck.⁹³ Four of these are found in the Mingana Collection in Birmingham: CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. 94 (11 ff.), CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 130 (1 f.), CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 148 (1 f.), CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 149 (4 ff.); one is found in the Leiden University Libraries: LUL Or. 14.238 (117 fols). One fragment from another codex is also preserved under the same shelf mark (BMCL BV 69a is copied in the same hand as the main part of BMCL BV 69b). BMCL BV 69b was recently digitized by Penn University.⁹⁴ In its original form, the codex assembled hagiographic texts, biblical books or excerpts thereof as well as apocrypha. The manuscript originally hails from Sinai and, in fact, was produced there, as the colophon tells us. Anton Baumstark described the manuscript for Hiersemann's *Katalog 500* (nos 15 and 16) in 1922.⁹⁵ Before that it was shortly discussed by Georg Graf in 1915 who had access to it through the Munich antiquities dealer Ludwig Rosenthal (1840–1928).⁹⁶ Graf also gave a partial German translation of the colophon.⁹⁷ Importantly, he documented the erasure in line 10, which was already then illegible.⁹⁸ This erase is marked in our text below with crosses. A transcription and French translation of the colophon were published by van Esbroeck.⁹⁹ We have checked van Esbroeck's transcription against digital images and only disagreed with him in three places. However, we did not accept his conjecture for the erased spot, which he argued contained a date, reading 338 /950–1.¹⁰⁰ Marianne Hansen, Bryn Mawr College Library's Curator for Rare Books and Manuscripts, provided the information that “the top layers of parchment are abraded; the surface is now rough. [...] I am uncertain of why [Michel van Esbroeck] cites that date, unless he saw the manuscript before

⁹² This information is based on the description given by OPenn: <https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0003/html/bv_069.html> (last accessed 22 February 2022). On this site, there are also digital images of the manuscript available.

⁹³ van Esbroeck, “Remembrement.” More recently, BMCL BV 69b and its *membra disiecta* were discussed in Burke, “Reconstructing.”

⁹⁴ See n92.

⁹⁵ Hiersemann, *Katalog 500*, p. 12.

⁹⁶ Graf, G. (1915) “Alte christlich-arabische Fragmente,” *Oriens Christianus* N.S. 4: 338–341.

⁹⁷ Graf, “Fragmente,” p. 340. Apparently Graf had some difficulty identifying the phrase *al-ğāfil ‘an nafsihi* (“the one who is self-negligent”) in lines 9–10, understanding the first part instead as the scribe’s *nisba* and, hence, translating: “Tūmā (Thomas), der Mönch, al-Ğāfā.”

⁹⁸ Graf, “Fragmente,” p. 340: “Die folgende zweite Hälfte der Zeile ist ausradiert.”

⁹⁹ van Esbroeck, “Remembrement.”

¹⁰⁰ Esbroeck, “Remembrement,” p. 141. Note that only مائة سة في and ئلات are marked as conjectures in van Esbroeck’s transcription.

the erasure,”¹⁰¹ which is not the case. The date can only be estimated on palaeographical grounds. The scribe’s name and place of production are mentioned by Pollock.¹⁰² He also drew attention to the fact that a number of paratextual notes provide information about its circulation. On fol. 4v, the following *waqf* statement *cum* book curse is found: “This book was bequeathed to the monks of Mount Sinai in order to read in it about the Fathers in the church. No one has authority to remove it from the church and whoever removes it shall be under eternal verdict” (*hādā l-kitāb ḥub-bisa ‘alā ruhbān Ṭūr Sīnā’ yaqra’u fīhi ‘alā l-abbahāt fī l-kanīsa mā li-ahād sultān yuḥrīguhu min al-kanīsa wa-man ahrağahu yakūnu tahta al-kalima al-azaliyya*).¹⁰³ On the same folio, we also find the Greek note βιβλίον δέκατον, “tenth book,” which must correspond to a library numbering system. Another note says: “This volume will be sent to Mount Sinai” (*hādā l-muṣḥaf yursalu ilā Ṭūr Sīnā*), showing that it must have circulated also outside Saint Catherine’s Monastery. More recently, Peter Tarras discussed the colophon of BMCL BV 69b in connection with the activity of the Sinaitic scribe Thomas of Fustat (see sections 3.2 and 3.5 below).¹⁰⁴

The colophon is found at the end of a table of contents, which lists 22 titles. A number of features gives the impression that the two folios (1r–2v) containing the table of contents were restored at some later point. First of all, the handwriting differs from that of the scribe of the main codex. Second, the two folios make a haphazard impression: the scribe made a mistake right at the beginning of the Greek numbering of the titles; through the text on folio 2r run vertical red strokes and there is the erasure in the colophon. This suggests that Thomas the Monk (*Tūmā al-rāhib*) in whose name the colophon is authored, is probably not the copyist of its text as we have it now. Still, Thomas the Monk is probably responsible for the rest of the codex, just not for the table of contents and the colophon. His handwriting shares the features of another monk named “Thomas” active at Saint Catherine’s Monastery, viz. Thomas of Fustat (cf. sections 3.2 and 3.5; see also section 1.5 above). There is good reason to assume that Thomas the Monk and Thomas of Fustat are, in fact, the same person. The version of Job, preserved in LUL Or. 14.238 (Olim *Katalog* 500, no. 16), ff. 66r–98v, is, however, not identical to the one copied by Thomas of Fustat in SA 514. This might be taken as an indication that either Thomas the Monk and Thomas of Fustat were two different scribes active at Mount Sinai or that one and the same Thomas copied two different versions of the same text (see more in Hjälm and Tarras, “Early Christian Arabic Colophons.”)

3.1.2 Text

(٨) كُتب هذا المصحف الشريف في طور سينا

(٩) الجبل المقدس كتبه ثوما الراهب الغافل

¹⁰¹ Quoted from Tarras, “Thomas of Fustat: Translator or Scribe?”

¹⁰² Pollock, “Christian Arabic Manuscripts,” p. 331.

¹⁰³ Cf. note 49 above.

¹⁰⁴ Tarras, “Thomas of Fustat”; idem, “Building a Christian Arabic Library” (forthcoming).

(١٠) عن نفسه كتبه + + + +

(١١) المسكين الضعيف الكثير الذنب

(١٢) وانا اسل سيدنا المسيح ان يغفر خطايا

(١٣) من كتب ومن قرا ومن اقتنا واستكتب

(١٤) ويعطيه ما اعطى القديسين الابرار

(١٥) ويقيمه عن يمينه ويسمعه الصوت الملو

(١٦) فرج ^{١٠٥} وللكاتب امين بشفاعة ^{١٠٦} السيده ^{١٠٧}

(١٨) ام النور مرثريم وجميع القديسين امين.

3.1.3 Translation

(8) This precious volume was written on Mount Sinai, (9) the Holy Mountain. It was written by Thomas the monk, (10) the self-negligent. It was written by + + + + (11) who is poor, weak and full of trespasses. (12) I ask our lord Christ to forgive the sins (13) of the one who wrote and the one who read and the one who acquired and commissioned [this book] (14) and to give him [the commissioner] what he has given the righteous holy ones (15) and place him at his right [side] and make him hear the sound filled (16) with joy. And [so also] for the scribe, amen, through the intercession of [our] Lady, (17) the Mother of Light, Saint Mary and all the holy ones, amen.

3.1.4 Commentary

Line 10: According to van Esbroeck's reconstruction, the line reads: [عن نفسه في سنة] ^{١٠٤} [an nafsihi katabahu [fi sana] tamānin wa-talātīna [wa-talāt mi'a]]. He remarks: "Nous avons examiné le passage lavé près de deux heures sur place à Philadelphie."¹⁰⁸

13: من اقتنا واستكتب (man iqtanā wa-istaktaba), "who acquired and commissioned." The use of two different verbs in this place could mean that commissioning and acquiring party were not identical, e.g. if the commissioner was an individual, but the manuscript was acquired by an institution. The use of *iqtanā*, moreover, suggests a financial transaction.

15–16: The passage "make him hear the sound filled with joy" is commonly used in colophons produced at the Monastery of Saint Chariton to introduce the quotation from Matthew 25:34 (see section 1 above). It is not found in other

¹⁰⁵ van Esbroeck reads: فرج, though *ğim* is clearly dotted. Either way, there is no difference in meaning.

¹⁰⁶ van Esbroeck reads: بشفاعات.

¹⁰⁷ van Esbroeck omits السيده.

¹⁰⁸ van Esbroeck, "Remembrement," p. 141n23.

colophons from Saint Catherine's monastery, except another arguable allusion in BNU Or. 4225a, which may indicate that the scribe Thomas the Monk/Thomas of Fustat had close ties to the scriptorium of Saint Chariton.

3.2 BNU Or. 4225a, f. 226v

3.2.1 *Introduction*

BNU Or. 4225a is a parchment manuscript (247 ff., 205 × 135 mm, black-brown and red ink, 15–20 lines/page).¹⁰⁹ More than one scribe participated in its production: ff. 1–226 are written by the Sinaitic scribe Thomas of Fustat (Tūmā al-Fuṣṭāṭī); ff. 227r–243v seem to have been added later, but exhibit the same handwriting; ff. 244r–247v are written in a different hand (4th/10th c.); ff. 248r–249v include another three parchment fragments from three different manuscripts, one of which bears a not fully legible date and makes reference to Mount Sinai (see section 3.3 below). Digital reproductions are available online.¹¹⁰ The main codex (BNU Or. 4225a) hails from Saint Catherine's Monastery and was produced there in the fourth/tenth century. Together with the fragments that are now found under the same shelfmark, it was acquired by Carl August Reinhard (1856–1903), a manuscript collector and broker,¹¹¹ between 1893 and 1896 in Cairo and sold to the University Library of Strasbourg in 1896.¹¹² How the manuscript escaped Sinai can not be reconstructed with certainty today, but its acquisition falls in a time frame in which other manuscripts and fragments left the monastery.¹¹³ The colophon of BNU Or. 4225a was first published by the Danish Orientalist Johannes Oestrup together with a description of the contents of this codex.¹¹⁴ Ernest Wickersheimer dealt with it in the Strasbourg tome of the *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* in 1923.¹¹⁵ In 1972, Jean Mansour devoted a doctoral dissertation to the manuscript, offering an edition of its texts as well as a palaeographical discussion of Thomas of Fustat's handwriting together with a French translation and analysis of the colophon.¹¹⁶ Tarras discussed the colophon in connection with the activity of the scribe Thomas of Fustat.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ Oestrup, “Über zwei arabische Codices,” p. 454; Mansour, *Homélies*, pp. XVII–XVIII.

¹¹⁰ <<https://www.numistral.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10224668j/f6.item.r=Manuscrits%20arabes.zoom>> (last accessed 31 August 2022).

¹¹¹ On Reinhard, see Köpstein, “Carl August Reinhardt.”

¹¹² See Oestrup, “Über zwei arabische Codices,” p. 453, n4.

¹¹³ On Sinai's diaspora manuscripts, see e.g. Kessel and Smelova, “Sinai Syriac Manuscripts in Exile.”

¹¹⁴ Oestrup, “Über zwei arabische Codices.”

¹¹⁵ Cf. Wickersheimer, *Catalogue général*, pp. 746–747, at p. 747: “Suivant une note du fol. 226 v°, ce manuscrit a été écrit l'an 288 de l'hégire: 901, par Thomas l'Égyptine, moine du couvent du Sinaï, pour le P. Mousa ibn Hakim el-Adrahi.” This note is also quoted by Khalifé, “Les traductions,” p. 218. Khalifé also reproduces a facsimile of MS BNU Or. 4225, fols 143v–144r; see *ibid.* Plate XVIII.

¹¹⁶ Mansour, *Homélies*. For the translation of the colophon, see *ibid.* p. 214.

¹¹⁷ Tarras, “Thomas of Fustat.”

In fact, the colophon of BNU Or. 4225a is the most yielding documentary source we have on this Sinaitic scribe. Thomas of Fustat also discloses his name in the colophon of SA 514 (see section 3.5) and he is likely identical to Thomas the Monk who authored the colophon of BMCL BV 69b (section 3.1 above). We may also surmise that the same Thomas the Monk appears in the patronym of the Sinaitic monk Elias in the acquisition note of SANF Parch. 3 (see section 1.3). In contrast to BMCL BV 69b and SA 514, however, the colophon of BNU Or. 4225a contains a date and therefore allows us to assign approximate dates also to the first two manuscripts as well as to others, which were produced by Thomas or possibly a workshop of Christian Arabic scribes around him.¹¹⁸

3.2.2 Text

(٨) كل هذا المصحف الشريف بعون ربنا
 (٩) المسيح في سنه ثمانية وثمانين ومائتين
 (١٠) كتبه توما الخاطى الحقير الفلسطينى فى طور
 (١١) <سينا>^{١١٩} جبل الله المقدس. كتبه للاب الوديع
 (١٢) <الكريم> الشريف بالإيمان بكلمه الله الحق
 (١٣) ابنا موسى بن حكيم القسيس الاذرحي.
 (١٤) لما انت قرات كتابي هذا يانحى فافهمه
 (١٥) واذكرني في كل ساعه تقرأ فيه ذكرك
 (١٦) المسيح في ملكه واقامك عن ^{١٢٠} يمينه ولمن قرأ
 (١٧) ولمن كتب ولمن ^{١٢١} [استكتب] بشفاعه ^{١٢٢} مارتيريم ^{١٢٣} وجميع القديسين
 (١٨) امين امين امين.

3.2.3 Translation

(8) This precious volume was completed with the help of our Lord (9) Christ in the year 288 [= 900/1]. (10) It was written by Thomas of Fustat, the miserable sinner, on Mount (11) <Sinai>, God's holy mountain. He wrote it for the gentle-hearted

¹¹⁸ On Thomas' manuscripts, see Tarras, "Building a Christian Arabic Library."

¹¹⁹ Oestrup reads: سنا.

¹²⁰ Mansour reads: على.

¹²¹ For some reason, Oestrup put the clearly legible ولمن in square brackets. He probably thought the phrase should be omitted due to the missing verb. Mansour indicates the missing word without conjecture. We conjecture the loss of استكتب on the basis of other similar formulas in our corpus (cf. sections 2.1.2, 2.2.2, 2.5.2, 3.1.2, 3.6.2) and the fact that the commissioner of the manuscript is explicitly named in the colophon.

¹²² Oestrup reads: شفاعة.

¹²³ Oestrup reads: مارت مريم.

(12) and <generous> father, distinguished in the faith in God's true word, (13) Abba Moses son of Ḥakim, the priest of Adrah. (14) When you read in this my book, my brother, understand it (15) and remember me in every hour you read in it. May (16) Christ remember you in his kingdom and place you at his right [side] and [invoke] for him who read (17) and him who wrote and him who [commissioned it] by the intercession of Saint Mary and all the saints, (18) amen, amen, amen.

3.2.4 Commentary

Line 12: كَلِمَةُ اللهِ (*kalimat Allāh*), “God's word.” A reference to Christ.

13: الْأَذْرَحِي (*al-Adrahī*), “of Adrah.” Adrah is the ancient name of the city Darā in the south-west of modern-day Syria. It is already mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (אַדְרָה), cf. e.g. Numbers 21:33.

16: For the phrase “[May Christ remember you...] and place you at his right side,” see comment on Lines 15–16 in section 3.1.4.

3.3 BNU Or. 4225e, reverse

3.3.1 Introduction

BNU Or. 4225e is one of five units contained under the shelf mark BNU Or. 4225 (cf. section 3.2 above). Oestrup only mentions the first three (BNU Or. 4225a–c).¹²⁴ Of the last two (BNU Or. 4225d–e) each constitutes a fragment of a parchment folio. BNU Or. 4225e is torn and presently consists of two pieces of approximately 80 × 100 mm. The scribe used black-brown ink and apparently did not adorn his colophon with any sort of decoration. The fragment preserves approximately 17 lines of text with ca. 1/3 of text missing towards the inner margin. Since we only had access to digital reproductions and due to the fragile state of preservation of the fragment, no further information concerning its material features can be provided. Jean Mansour attempted to make a transcription of it in his 1972 Strasbourg dissertation.¹²⁵ He also reports that the manuscript was restored in March 1971 by the holding institution.¹²⁶ As part of the restoration process, BNU Or. 4225e was enveloped in transparent cloth, which also affected our attempts to decipher the colophon. We had to rely almost entirely on Mansour's transcription, which was done before the restoration, and were able to read only a few words with certainty. In the following, Mansour's text, therefore, remains mostly unchanged. We only substituted round brackets with arrow brackets, added elisions and line numbers. A few conjectures are documented in the notes.

Mansour did not offer a translation, but highlighted the importance of the factoids contained in the colophon.¹²⁷ It was written by a Sinaitic monk in the month Dū l-Ḥiġġa of the year 29[.], corresponding to October 904–August 912 CE, which means that it dates between three to eleven years after the completion of BNU Or.

¹²⁴ Oestrup, “Über zwei arabische Codices,” p. 460.

¹²⁵ Mansour, *Homélies*, p. 342.

¹²⁶ Mansour, *Homélies*, p. XXIIIn2.

¹²⁷ Mansour, *Homélies*, p. XXII.

4225a (section 3.2). This makes this colophon another testimony of scribal activity at Saint Catherine's Monastery at the turn of the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth century. Still, we were unable to connect the handwriting to early Sinaitic hands. It is a plain script without any apparent similarity to other hands in our corpus.

3.3.2 Text

(١) بسم **الا**ب والابن ور**وح**
 (٢) القدس **رب**¹²⁸ **الاهي** يسوع المسيح <...>
 (٣) <...>
 (٤) في العلا المطلع على جميع <...> خطاي (?)
 (٥) رحمتك تناли وعزتك تحظني ووعظات <موسى (?)>
 (٦) وهرون ابياك خلاص ورحمة ومغفرة <...>
 (٧) ورافة <ب>¹²⁹ عبدك انخاطي المذنب الذي
 (٨) <...> الضعيف <...> سكان طور سينا <...>
 (٩) <...>
 (١٠) مكتوب في شهر الروم <...>
 (١١) <...> من سنين العالم سنه <...>¹³⁰
 (١٢) <من سنين> ¹³¹ العرب <...> وهو (?) شهر ذو الحجة <...>
 (١٣) <...> وتسعين ومائين وكتب انخاطي <...>
 (١٤) <...> تلاميذه <...>
 (١٥) <...>
 (١٦) <...>
 (١٧) .<...>

3.3.3 Translation

(1) In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, (2) <my> Lord and my God, Jesus Christ <...> (3) <...> (4) in the heights, he who is cognizant of every <...> my sin (?) <...> (5) your mercy shall reach me and your strength shall protect me. The admonitions of <Moses (?)> (6) and Aaron, your prophets, [offer

¹²⁸ Our conjecture. Mansour reads: رب.

¹²⁹ Our conjecture. Mansour omits: ب.

¹³⁰ Our conjecture. Mansour reads: الشهر العلا [يام] حجة البيت.

¹³¹ Our conjecture.

(?)] redemption, mercy, and forgiveness <...> (7) and grace on your servant, the culpable sinner who (8) <...>, the weak <...> resident at Mount <Sinai> (9) <...> (10) it was written in the month <...> of the Byzantines (11) <...> <of the years of the World Era in the year> <...> (12) <...> <in the years of> the Arabs <...> <and that is (?)> the month of Dū l-Higga <...> (13) <...> 29 <.>. And the sinner <...> wrote it (14) <...> his disciples <...> (15) <...> (16) <...> (17) <...>.

3.3.4 Commentary

Ll. 1–2: The *basmala* is not a typical element of early Christian Arabic colophons. In our corpus, we have only one other instance in which the text of the colophon begins with a Christian *basmala* (see section 3.8).

10–14: It is interesting that the scribe may have referenced three different calendars, a practice otherwise only detected in the Monastery of Saint Chariton. One should note, however, that the date-related elements above to a large extent are reconstructed.

3.4 SA 116, f. 205v

3.4.1 Introduction

SA 116 is a fourth/tenth-century paper manuscript (207 ff., 208 × 150 mm, black-brown, red, and green ink, Arabic column ca. 16–20 lines/page), which contains a bilingual Greek-Arabic Gospel lectionary.¹³² Both the Greek and Arabic columns were copied by the same scribe John the Priest (Yuhannis al-Qissis) who also left a Greek colophon in the manuscript next to the Arabic one. According to Daniel Galadza, the “peculiarities of the uncial script in presbyter John’s Greek hand suggest that he was more familiar with Arabic.”¹³³ The Arabic script is rather peculiar too, providing an overall angular impression reminiscent of early third/ninth-century manuscripts, but mixed with softer features, typical of traditional Naskh.¹³⁴ John the Priests’ Greek colophon is considerably shorter than the Arabic one edited here and only corresponds to the assertive and directive part of the Arabic colophon, in which the scribe discloses his name and urges his readers to remember him.¹³⁵ The Arabic form of the scribe’s name exhibits some peculiarities (see section 3.4.4, comment on line 11). Below we have kept the consonantal skeleton as it is found in the manuscript. The *nisba* shows that John the Priest hailed from the Egyptian seaport of Damietta, which

¹³² Garitte, *Évangéliaire grec-arabe*, 208f. The manuscript is digitized and accessible online: <<https://www.loc.gov/item/00279386760-ms>> and <<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu>> (last accessed 31 August 2022).

¹³³ Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization*, p. 368; see also Garitte, “Un évangéliaire grec-arabe,” p. 208.

¹³⁴ It also exhibits certain similarities with other Greek-Arabic texts and is difficult to classify, see Hjälm, “Paleographical Study,” pp. 50–51, n.27.

¹³⁵ For a transcription and English translation of the Greek colophon, see Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization*, p. 328.

means that this Sinaitic scribe was probably a native of Egypt just like Thomas of Fustat (sections 3.2 and 3.5). Gérard Garitte translated the colophon into Latin.¹³⁶ Galadza published an English translation of Garitte's Latin translation.¹³⁷ Our translation only slightly departs from the latter.

3.4.2 Text

[left column]

(٩) اذْكُرْ يَا رَبْ عَبْدَكْ
 (١٠) الْخَاطِئُ بِخَسْنَ الْقَسِيسِ
 (١١) بَطْرُورُ سِينَا بْنُ بَطْرُورِ الْمَلِكِ
 (١٢) الدَّمِيَاطِيُّ كَتَبَ لِنَفْسِهِ
 (١٣) وَلَمْ يَقْرَأْ فِيهِ مَنْ بَعْدَهُ وَ
 (١٤) هُوَ يَسِيلُ كُلَّ مَنْ قَرَا فِيهِ اَنَّ
 (١٥) يَتَرَحَّمُ عَلَيْهِ وَكَتَبَ فِي سَنَةِ
 (١٦) خَمْسِ وَثَانَيْنِ وَثَلَثَةِ مَائَةٍ
 (١٧) مِنْ سَنَينِ الْعَرَبِ

[right column]

(١٥) وَتَرَاهُبُ فِي هَذَا الْمَوْضِعِ
 (١٦) فِي سَنَةِ أَرْبَعِ وَسِعِينَ وَ
 (١٧) ثَلَثَةِ مِائَةٍ مِّنْ سَنَينِ الْعَرَبِ.

3.4.3 Translation

(9) Remember, Lord, your servant, (10) the sinner John the Priest (11) of Mount Sinai, son of Victor [...] (12) of Damietta. He wrote it for himself (13) and for the one who reads in [this book] after him. (14) He asks everyone who reads in it to (15) invoke [God's] mercy on his behalf. And he wrote [it] in the year (16) 385 of (17) the years of the Arabs [= 995/5 CE]. [right column] (15) And he became a monk in this place (16) in the year 374 (17) of the years of the Arabs [= 984/5 CE].

3.4.4 Commentary

Line 11: بَطْرُورُ (*Btqr*), “Victor.” Transcription of the Latin-Greek name “Victor” (*Bίκτωρ*), which is part of the scribe's patronym. There is a further element

¹³⁶ Garitte, “Un évangéliaire grec-arabe,” pp. 208–209.

¹³⁷ Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization*, p. 328.

added, which is not present in the Greek form of the name and which thus far defied interpretation (بل).¹³⁸

17: For the so-called Middle Arabic form *sinīn al-‘arab*, see comment on Words 12–14; 21–23 in 1.5.4.

3.5 SA 514, f. 160r

3.5.1 Introduction

SA 514 is a palimpsested parchment manuscript (175 ff., 190 × 125 and 230 × 150 mm, black and red ink, varying numbers of lines). The upper Arabic layer contains homilies and hagiographies. The manuscript is incomplete at the beginning and at the end. To date, two *membra disiecta* are known: BSB Cod.arab. 1066 and SC 579.¹³⁹ It was recently digitized by the Sinai Palimpsests Project and digital images are available online.¹⁴⁰ While the Arabic upper writing dates to the late third/ninth–early fourth/tenth century, the undertexts in Arabic, Greek, and Syriac date from the fifth to the ninth centuries CE. Grigory Kessel has recently conducted an extensive study of the Syriac undertexts.¹⁴¹ He was able to show that material from up to thirty manuscripts was recycled in the production of this palimpsest, some of which also served as raw material for another famous palimpsest, the so-called “Lewis-Mingana Palimpsest” (CUL Or. 1287).¹⁴²

SA 514 is also known as “Codex Arabicus,” the name Aziz S. Atiya gave it after inspecting it at the end of the Library of Congress Sinai Expedition in 1950.¹⁴³ Atiya published a number of short studies of the manuscript and was also the first to publish its colophon.¹⁴⁴ By then, the manuscript had already been described by Margaret Dunlop Gibson who rediscovered it in 1902, after having thought it lost when compiling her *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Convent of S. Catherine on Mount Sinai*.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ Garitte suggests *blmla*; Galadza: *tlmla*, *tlmla*, *nlmla*, *ylmla* - a proper name. Cf. also Lilie et al., “Ioannes.”

¹³⁹ BSB Cod.arab. 1066 was recently identified as a *membrum disiectum* of SA 514 by Grigory Kessel, see Kessel, “Catacomb.” For a description of the fragment, see Graf, “Christlich-arabischen Fragmente in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek,” pp. 125–127; Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften*, pp. 11–13. Digital images are available online: <<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00130949?page=1>> (last accessed 25 April 2022). On SC 579, see Assfalg, *Syrische Handschriften*, pp. 215–220; Klueting, “Sinai Manuscripts.” A folio of the fragment can be viewed online: <<https://www.schoyencollection.com/apocryphal-literature/codex-arabicus-ms-579>> (last accessed 25 April 2022).

¹⁴⁰ <<https://sinai.library.ucla.edu/viewer/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1bc4wfw>> (last accessed 30 August 2022). Digital images of the microfilms made during the Library of Congress Sinai Expedition are also available online: <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279390210-ms/?st=gallery>> (last accessed 30 August 2022).

¹⁴¹ See Kessel, “Catacomb.”

¹⁴² George, “Le palimpseste.”

¹⁴³ See Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, p. 19.

¹⁴⁴ Atiya, “Arabic Treasures;” idem “Codex Arabicus;” idem, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 19; idem, “Arabic Palimpsests;” idem, “Ms. No. 514.”

¹⁴⁵ Dunlop Gibson, *Catalogue*, p 102.

The colophon is found at the end of the Arabic version of the book of Job (f. 160r). This version ends with the Septuagintal additions to verse 42:17, which in Arabic read as follows: “This is a volume which was translated from the Syriac, since [Job] used to dwell in the land of Uz on the borders of Damascus and Hawran and his name of old was Jobab” (*hādā muṣḥaf fūsira min al-suryānī li-annahu kāna sākin fī ard Ūd fī ḥudūd Dīmašq wa-ḥawrān wa-kāna ismuḥu qadīmān Abwāb*).¹⁴⁶ Thereafter follow eight lines on Job’s genealogy. Unaware of the expansion in the Septuagint (reproduced also in the Syro-Hexapla), Atiya did not consider the phrase “This is a volume translated from the Syriac” as part of the translation, but rather as the beginning of the scribe’s colophon. This led him to assume that the scribe, who announces himself as Thomas of Fustat, the same scribe who authored the colophons of BNU Or. 4225a (section 3.2) and (possibly) BMCL BV 69b (section 3.1) and who might also be mentioned in the acquisition note of SANF Parch. 3 (section 1.5), was in fact the translator of the book of Job who translated from a Syriac *Vorlage*. The colophon proper, however, says nothing to that effect. On palaeographical grounds, Atiya made Thomas “a contemporary of the age of Charlemagne.”¹⁴⁷ The colophon of BNU Or. 4225a, however, shows that Thomas was active at the turn of the third/ninth and the fourth/tenth centuries. Atiya reiterated the importance of the biblical text in basically all his publications on SA 514. On his initiative, Būlus ‘Ayyād edited the text in 1975. He gave Thomas pride of place in the title of this publication.¹⁴⁸ ‘Ayyād followed Atiya regarding the third/ninth-century dating, the identification of the translator with Thomas and the Syriac base-text. In 1998, Steven Blackburn subjected the Arabic Job version to further scrutiny. He was able to narrow down the possible base-texts as the Peshitta with some influence of the Septuagint, probably mediated by the Syro-Hexapla.¹⁴⁹ More recently, Arik Sadan questioned the influence of the Peshitta and pointed to features that more strongly link the version to the Septuagint tradition.¹⁵⁰ Sadan also published the colophon together with the Septuagintal additions. Peter Tarras has argued that Sadan’s findings offer good reasons for dismissing Atiya’s suggestion, which seems to have been based on a misreading of the Septuagintal additions in the first place.¹⁵¹ From the viewpoint of paleography, Thomas of Fustat cannot have been the only copyist involved in the production of SA 514. This seems to corroborate what is suggested by other evidence as well, e.g. colophons of other contemporary Sinaitic scribes, namely that there existed some sort of workshop of Christian Arabic scribes at Sinai within which Thomas of Fustat must have operated (see further Hjälm and Tarras, “Early Christian Arabic Colophons”).

¹⁴⁶ On the non-literal translations “Damascus” and “Hawran,” see Hjälm, “Qur’anic Subtext.”

¹⁴⁷ Atiya, “Codex Arabicus,” p. 78.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Ayyād, *Sifr Ayyūb*.

¹⁴⁹ Blackburn, “Early Arabic Versions of Job,” p. 12.

¹⁵⁰ Sadan, “Differences and Similarities.”; On the same passage in a related manuscript (Sin. ar. 1), see Monferrer-Sala, “Liber Job detractus apud Sin. Ar. 1.”

¹⁵¹ Tarras, “Thomas of Fustat.”

3.5.2 Text

(٢٦) تمت بعون الله قصة^{١٥٢} ايوب الصديق. رحم الله العبد الخاطي
 (٢٧) الذي كتبها لطور سينا جبل الله المقدس وهو توما الفسطاطي
 (٢٨) الخاطي.

3.5.3 Translation

(26) The story of Job the righteous was completed with the help of God. May God have mercy on the servant, the sinner (27) who wrote it for Mount Sinai, God's holy mountain. He is Thomas of Fustat, (28) the sinner.

3.5.4 Commentary

Line 27: (*li-Tūr Sīnā'*), “for Mount Sinai.” The preposition *li-* indicates the commissioning party. This means that the manuscript was produced *for* Saint Catherine’s Monastery, possibly by commission of a monk or bishop and not necessarily at this monastery. Given the connection between Thomas and Mount Sinai in other colophons, it is nevertheless still likely that SA 514 was produced at Saint Catherine’s. At all events, it is an early instance documenting the explicit effort of building a collection of Christian Arabic manuscripts on Mount Sinai, whose beginning can be traced in the fourth/ninth century and which continued for centuries to follow.

3.6 SANF Parch. 1, f. 1r

3.6.1 Introduction

SANF Parch. 1 is a parchment manuscript (110 ff., 132 × 195 mm, black-brown and red ink, rubrications in red, decorations, Georgian quire numbering, 16–19 lines/page).¹⁵³ Some of its pages survive only in fragmentary form and there are traces of re-inking, sewing, but also erasure. The codex contains hymns, hagiographies, and homilies. On ff. 2v–3r, we find the typical Sinaitic bequest statement and book curse, also present in other manuscripts in our corpus (cf. sections 2.1, 3.1: “This book was bequeathed to the monks of Mount Sinai in order to read in it about the fathers in the church. No one has authority to remove it from the church and whoever removes it, shall be under eternal verdict” (*hādā l-kitāb ḥubbisa ‘alā ruhān Tūr Sīnā’ yaqra’u fihi ‘alā l-abbahāt fī l-kanīsa mā li-ahād sultān yuhriğuhu min al-kanīsa wa-man aḥraqāhu yakūnu tahta al-kalima al-azaliyya*). Not only the manuscript’s paratexts clearly link it to Sinai. Some of the texts are directly connected to this monastic site, e.g. the *Panegyric of God’s Holy Mountain, Mount Sinai* (*Madḥa Ḡabal Allāh al-*

¹⁵² Sadan puts question marks behind الله, بعون, تمت and قصة. All four words are clearly legible in the manuscript.

¹⁵³ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, pp. 21–22, and ١٧–١٨; p. 74, Plate 3.

muqaddas Tūr Sīnā'),¹⁵⁴ apparently the same text (in a different version?) as transmitted in SA 542, which, as Binggeli argued, constitutes a sort of monastic history of the Sinai monastery.¹⁵⁵

SANF Parch. 1 is written by at least two hands, one of which belongs to a certain Ishāq (Isaac). He started to work from folio 43r onwards, and apparently sought to mimic the hand of the preceding scribe, rapidly changing the ductus of his calamus and suddenly lapsing into a completely different, less elegant script. Isaac's name appears at the end of the *Martyrdom of the Fathers of Mount Sinai and Raithu* (f. 62v:6–9), also one of the texts transmitted in SA 542. The date of the translator's colophon of this Arabic version is consistently transmitted as Rabi' al-Awwal 155/February–March 772.¹⁵⁶ However, in SANF Parch. 1, Isaac gives the date Rabi' al-Āhar 255/March–April 869. What may have happened here is that Isaac unintentionally provided the date of copying. Due to these uncertainties, we did not include this colophon here. Paleographically Isaac's hand does not appear to exhibit a third/ninth-century script (instead exhibiting features of Naskh) and bears some resemblance to the hand of the scribe of SANF Parch. 40, undated, but active at Saint Sabas (section 2.4). If Isaac was in fact active in the third/ninth century, which, given that he continued the work of an early fourth/tenth-century hand, is possible but not very likely, the Sinaitic monk Isaac (*ambā Ishāq*) who is mentioned as commissioner in the colophons of BAV Ar. 71 (section 2.1) and RNL Ar. N.S. 263 (section 2.2) could be identical to this Isaac who worked on SANF Parch. 1, as Alain George suggested.¹⁵⁷ In any event, he is not the scribe responsible for the colophon edited below, which is found at the end of a table of contents. The handwriting of this anonymous scribe shares many features with the hand of Thomas of Fustat and may tentatively be assigned to the same workshop. The outer margin of the folio on which the colophon is found is partly damaged, but no information seems to have been lost that cannot be restored. Importantly, the colophon places the production of the manuscript on Mount Sinai.

3.6.2 Text

(١٦) كتب كل ك

(١٧) في طور سينا موضع الله المصحف بمعونه ع

(١٨) من استكتب > ومن > الله > مقدس رحم الله من كتب ك

(١٩) امين. وقال سمع ومن قرأ ع

¹⁵⁴ Meimaris, *Katalogos*, p. 17n1 (text no. 5).

¹⁵⁵ Binggeli, "L'hagiographie du Sinaï," p. 178.

¹⁵⁶ Binggeli "Early Christian Graeco-Arabica," p. 237; Griffith, "Arabic account of 'Abd al-Masih," pp. 337–347; Treiger, "The Earliest Dated Christian Arabic Translation."

¹⁵⁷ George, "Le palimpseste Lewis-Mingana," p. 410.

3.6.3 Translation

(16) The writing of this (17) volume was completed with the help of God on Mount Sinai, God's (18) holy place. May God have mercy on the one who wrote, the one who commissioned, <the one who> (19) read, and the one who listened and said "amen."

3.6.4 Commentary

Ll. 17–18: The exact same phrase "Mount Sinai, God's holy place" occurs in one other manuscript, cf. section 3.8.2.

3.7 SG 32, f. 408v

3.7.1 Introduction

SG 32 is a parchment codex (410 ff., 190 × 128 mm, black-brown and red ink, decorations, Greek uncial script, 21–22 lines/page), containing a Greek Psalter, apparently copied in the fourth/ninth century. Georgi Parpulov categorizes it as a "Psalter for Hermits."¹⁵⁸ Digital images of the black-and-white microfilm are available online via the Library of Congress.¹⁵⁹ Interestingly, its scribe left two colophons in Arabic, though it is not uncommon to find Arabic colophons at least in bilingual Greek-Arabic Psalters (cf. sections 2.6 and 3.4 above). The first colophon, edited and translated in this section, consists of only four lines and is placed at the end of the Greek text. The handwriting appears to be somewhat older than the second, longer one (see section 3.8). The second colophon repeats the information provided in the first colophon and then stipulates rules on how to use the manuscript. In contrast to the first colophon, it also mentions the commissioner. In both colophons, the name of the scribe appears as Michael, the disciple of Abba Philotheus (Mīhā'il *al-qissīs tilmīd ambā Filūta*).¹⁶⁰ Alexander Treiger has suggested that this Michael may be the same Michael (the Deacon, Mīhā'il *al-šammās*) whose epithet is "the disciple of al-Tabarānī" and who copied SANF Parch. 7 at Saint Chariton (see section 1.6).¹⁶¹ In fact, the handwritings of the first colophon of SG 32 and of Michael the Deacon's hand in SANF Parch. 7 are very similar and both use similar phrasings. There are some differences in script as well (cf. final *kāf*) and since the colophon is short it is difficult to fully confirm their identities. In contrast to the colophon of SANF Parch. 7, neither colophon in SG 32 is dated. If the two Michaels are in fact the same person, SG 32 would certainly have been copied after SANF Parch. 7, i.e. after 289 /901–2, since Michael must have moved from Saint Chariton to Saint Catherine's and sometime in between must have become priest. Uncertainty remains as to the identity of Michael's teacher or teachers, since we do not know who al-Tabarānī or Abba Philotheus were or whether they are, again, the same person or not (see further Hjälm

¹⁵⁸ See Parpulov, *Byzantine Psalters*, pp. 78–80 and further references there.

¹⁵⁹ <<https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271077373-ms/?st=gallery>> (last accessed 30 August 2022).

¹⁶⁰ The second colophon also provides the *laqab* "the Priest" (*al-qissīs*), see section 3.8 below.

¹⁶¹ Treiger, "Palestinian Origenism," p. 64, n71.

and Tarras, “Early Christian Arabic Colophons”).¹⁶² Treiger generously shared his unpublished transcription and English translation of the first colophon with us. We have added line numbers and present the text without punctuation and other reading signs, which are not present in the manuscript. Treiger’s translation was only slightly modified.

3.7.2 Text

- (١) مَالَكَ اللَّهُ يَاخِي وَفَهْمَكَ
- (٢) اذْكُرْنِي يَاخِي مِنْجُلَ اللَّهِ
- (٣) كَتَبَ هَذَا الْبَسْنَطِيرِ فِي مَوْضِعِ اللَّهِ طُورِ
- (٤) سِينَا كَتَبَهُ الْخَاطِي مِيْخَائِيلَ تَلِيْدَ ابْنَاهُ فَلُوْتَهُ.

3.7.3 Translation

- (1) May God help you, my brother, and grant understanding!
- (2) Remember me, my brother, for God’s sake!
- (3) This Psalter was written in God’s dwelling place, Mount
- (4) Sinai. It was written by the sinner Michael, the disciple of Abba Philotheus.

3.7.4 Commentary

Line 3: بَسْنَطِير (*bsntyrr*), “Psalter.” This is a (phonetic) transcription of the Greek word “ψαλτήρ(ιον).” The change from /τ/ to /t/ is a well-documented phenomenon of Graeco-Arabic transliteration.¹⁶³ The change from /λ/ to /n/ might be explained as a dialectal phenomenon.¹⁶⁴ More common expressions to refer to the Psalms or the Psalter in Arabic are (*kitāb*) *al-zabūr/al-mazāmīr*; see section 2.6.4, Line 10 above.

4: The word *tilmid* establishes a disciple-mastership and may perhaps also secure Michael’s position in the succession of learned men at the Palestinian monasteries. The word is not used in any other colophon, except for SANF Parch. 7, which was perhaps written by the same scribe, as noted above.

3.8 SG 32, f. 409r

3.8.1 Introduction

For general information on SG 32, its scribe, and its first colophon, see section 3.7 above. The second colophon is longer than the first one and seems to be written by

¹⁶² In personal communication Alexander Treiger suggested that Philotheus might be identified with the ascetic writer Philotheus of Sinai (f. ca. 9th century CE), though there is not enough evidence to prove this. According to Parpulov, *Byzantine Psalters*, pp. 79–80 the manuscript’s commissioner, Abba Zechariah the Cobbler, practiced asceticism on Mount Sinai.

¹⁶³ See al-Jallad, “Graeco-Arabic I,” pp. 114–117. Cf. also Graf, *Verzeichnis*, p. 24, which has سَلَطْرَ for ψαλτής.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Behnstedt, “Von an-‘Āṣer (al-Qaṣr) nach Īgni (Īgli).”

a later hand (Hjälm and Tarras, “Early Christian Arabic Colophons”). It appears that the second scribe copied the information in the first colophon or a now lost second colophon and expanded it primarily by adding regulations on how to use the codex.¹⁶⁵ The second colophon is richer also in factual information, adding information about Michael, noting that he was a priest (*qissīs*) and that he wrote the copy for a certain Abba Zechariah the Cobbler (*ambā Zahāryā al-iskāf*). According to Parpulov, Zechariah was a colleague of Abba Nilus who together with two disciples practiced asceticism on the summit of Mount Sinai.¹⁶⁶ The manuscript would have been used by this small group for recitation.¹⁶⁷ As we have argued in our comparative analysis, the text edited here expands on what is normally found in early Christian Arabic colophons, especially by introducing declarative features, which is why we think that it is not a colophon in the proper sense. The paleographical evidence also points in the direction of a re-written paratext. Still, it builds on information that could have been obtained from an additional colophon, which would have provided Michael’s *laqab* (“the Priest”) as well as the name of the commissioner. Another possible scenario is that the text was written by someone who knew the scribe well enough to add information on his status as a priest and on the commissioner (perhaps by someone in the small group of ascetics). There is no reason to exclude the notion that both the first and the second colophon were composed during the first half of the fourth/tenth century. The second colophon (or colophon-like text) of SG 32 has been translated by Dimitrii A. Morozov on behalf of Parpulov in his work on Byzantine Psalters.¹⁶⁸ The translation below is modified to some extent.

3.8.2 Text

- (١) باسم الاب والابن وروح القدس الله واحد
- (٢) كتب هذا المصحف الشريف في طور سينا
- (٣) موضع الله المقدس. كتبه الخاطي ميخائيل القسيس
- (٤) تلبيذ انبأ فلوته كتبه لأنبا زخريا الاسكاف
- (٥) وصار للموضع المقدس من بعده يقرأ فيه
- (٦) من طلع الجبل المقدس من يحسن يقرأ ولا
- (٧) ينزله احد من الجبل ويكون عند القسيس
- (٨) الذي يكون في الجبل يعطيه للذى يقرأ فيه
- (٩) يأخذه منه ولا يتخذه احد لنفسه

¹⁶⁵ Treiger however holds that the same scribe wrote both colophons, Treiger, “Palestinian Origenism,” 64n71.

¹⁶⁶ Parpulov, *Byzantine Psalters*, pp. 79–80.

¹⁶⁷ Parpulov, *Byzantine Psalters*, p. 80.

¹⁶⁸ Parpulov, *Byzantine Psalters*, p. 79.

(١٠) فن خالق هنا او يغيره فليس له غفران قدام
 (١١) المسيح ولا يكون له نصيب مع مار تريريم
 (١٢) والده الخلاص ومن اجل الله كل من قرأ فيه
 (١٣) يدعوا للخاطي الذي كتب ومن قربه للموضع
 (١٤) استجواب الله منه ومن قال امين.

3.8.3 Translation

(1) In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. (2) This precious volume was written on Mount Sinai, (3) God's holy place. The sinner Michael, the priest, wrote it, (4) the disciple of Abba Philotheos. He wrote it for Abba Zechariah the Shoemaker (5). And let the one who comes to the Holy Place after him [i.e. in the future], read in it, (6), [i.e.] the one who climbs the holy mountain and knows to read well.¹⁶⁹ Let no one (7) bring it down from the mountain, but it should be with the priest, (8) who is on the mountain, and gives it to the one who reads in it (9); he [the visitor] will take it from him and not pass it on to someone else (10). And whoever violates this or lends it, will not have forgiveness before (11) Christ and will not have a share with Saint Mary (12), the Mother of Salvation. For the sake of God,¹⁷⁰ let everyone who reads in it (13) pray for me, the sinner who wrote it. And whoever comes close to the place, (14) may God respond to him and to whoever said "amen."¹⁷¹

3.8.4 Commentary

Line 6: يحسن يقرأ (*yuhsinu yaqra'u*), "knows to read well." This is an interesting formulation, if taken in a literal sense. Since the psalter is in Greek, it might imply that monks often learned Greek in order to recite the psalter together with others but that not all did it well.

8–11: Curses are rather common in endowment (*waqf*) notes, which are normally later scribal additions in manuscripts. We have not found any curses in the early colophons, which strengthens the assumption that the second colophon is not a colophon proper but rather belongs to another scribe and partly to another genre of scribal notations.

¹⁶⁹ Morozov reshuffles the two lines in his translation into "And in the future, let those who climb the sacred mountain and who can read well, read from it for the sacred place." See Parpulov, *Byzantine Psalters*, p. 79.

¹⁷⁰ Or "in God's name" as rendered by Morozov, *ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Or as rendered by Morozov "let the man who is going to read from this book pray for me the sinner who copied it, keep it close to the said place, and say 'Amen,'" *ibid.*

APPENDIX

Note that in the following, the use of lowercase letters (a, b, c ...) after call numbers signifies that more than one codicological unit is preserved under one shelfmark and refers to its place in the present manuscript, e.g. BNU Or. 4225e refers to the fifth codicological unit preserved under the shelfmark BNU Or. 4225.

BAV 18 = Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vaticanus Arabicus 18

BAV 71 = Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vaticanus Arabicus 71

BAV 695 = Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vaticanus Arabicus 695

BL Or. 4950 = London, British Library, Ms. Or. 4950

BMCL BV 69b = Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College Library, Ms. Special Collections BV 69(b)

BNU Or. 4225 = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Ms. Oriental 4225

BNU Or. 4225a = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Ms. Oriental 4225(a)

BNU Or. 4225b = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Ms. Oriental 4225(b)

BNU Or. 4225c = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Ms. Oriental 4225(c)

BNU Or. 4225d = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Ms. Oriental 4225(d)

BNU Or. 4225e = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Ms. Oriental 4225(e)

BNU Or. 4226 = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Ms. Oriental 4226

BNU Or. 4226a = Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Ms. Oriental 4226(a)

BSB Cod.arab. 1066 = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Codex arabicus 1066

CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. 93 = Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Ms. Mingana Collection Christian Arabic Additional 93

CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. 94 = Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Ms. Mingana Collection Christian Arabic Additional 94

CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 130 = Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Ms. Mingana Collection Christian Arabic Additional 130

CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 136 = Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Ms. Mingana Collection Christian Arabic Additional 136

CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 140 = Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Ms. Mingana Collection Christian Arabic Additional 140

CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 148 = Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Ms. Mingana Collection Christian Arabic Additional 148

CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 149 = Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Ms. Mingana Collection Christian Arabic Additional 149

CRL Ming. Chr. Ar. Add. 171 = Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Ms. Mingana Collection Christian Arabic Additional 171

CUL Or. 1287 = Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Ms. Oriental 1287

CUL Add. 1879.5 = Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Ms. Additional 1879.5

LUB Cod. Gr. 2 = Leipzig, University Library, Ms. Codex Graecus 2

LUL Or. 14238 = Leiden, University Libraries, Ms. Oriental 14238

RNL Ar. N.S. 263 = Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, Ms. Arabic New Series 263

RNL Gr. 26 = Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, Ms. Greek 26

SA 72 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic 72

SA 75 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic 75

SA 116 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic 116

SA 151 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic 151

SA 155 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic 155

SA 436 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic 436

SA 514 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic 514

SA 542 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic 542

SANF Parch. 1 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic New Finds Parchment 1

SANF Parch. 3 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic New Finds Parchment 3

SANF Parch. 7 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic New Finds Parchment 7

SANF Parch. 40 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic New Finds Parchment 40

SANF Parch. 66 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Arabic New Finds Parchment 66

SC 579 = Oslo/London, Martin Schøyen Collection, Ms. 579

SG 32 = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Greek 32

SG 34a = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Greek 34(a)

SG 34b = Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Ms. Greek 34(b)

St. Andrews 14 = St. Andrews, St. Andrews University Library, Ms. 14

BIBLIOGRAPHY

al-Jallad, Ahmad, "Graeco-Arabica I: The Southern Levant," *Arabic in Context: Celebrating 400 Years of Arabic at Leiden University*, ed. Ahmad al-Jallad, Leiden: Brill, 2017, pp. 89–185

Arendzen, Yiannis, Theodori Abu Ḳurra de Cultu imaginum libellus e codice arabico nuns primum editus latine versus illustratus, Bonn: Carl Drobnig, 1897.

Assfalg, Julius, *Syrische Handschriften: Syrische, karšunische, christlich-palästino-syrische, neusyrische und mandäische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963.

Atiya, Aziz S., "The Arabic Treasures of the Convent of Mount Sinai," *Proceedings of the Egyptian Society of Historical Studies* 2 (1953), pp. 22–24.

Atiya, Aziz S., "The Codex Arabicus of Mount Sinai," *The Indian Archives* 7, no. 1 (1953), pp. 1–2 (+ 4 plates).

Atiya, Aziz S., *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.

Atiya, Aziz S., "The Arabic Palimpsests of Mount Sinai," *The World of Islam: Studies in Honour of Philip K. Hitti*, ed. J. Kritzneck and R.B. Winder, New York: Macmillan, 1959, pp. 109–120.

Atiya, Aziz S., "Codex Arabicus (Sinai Arabic Ms. No. 514)," *Homage to a Bookman: Essays on Manuscripts, Books and Printing Written for Hans P. Kraus on His 60th Birthday Oct. 12, 1967*, ed. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1967, pp. 75–85.

‘Ayyād, Būlūs ‘Ayyād, *Sifr Ayyūb: Qāma bi-tarğamatihī min al-suryāniyya ilā l-‘arabiyya Tūmā al-Fustāṭī fī l-qarn al-tāsi‘ al-milādī*, Cairo: Ma‘had al-Dirāsāt al-Qibtiyya, 1975.

Binggeli, André, "Les trois David, copistes arabes de Palestine aux 9^e–10^e s.," *Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia: Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin*, eds André Binggeli, Anne Boud'hors, and Matthieu Cassin, Louvain: Peeters, 2016, pp. 79–117.

Behnstedt, Peter, "Von an-‘Āṣor (al-Qaṣr) nach Īgni (Īgli): Ein Vorbericht zu einigen arabischen Dialekten der Provinz ər-Rašīdiya (Marokko)," *Approaches to Arabic Dialectics: A Collection of Articles presented to Manfred Woidich on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Martine Haak, Rudolf de Jong, and Kees Versteegh, Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 47–65.

Blackburn, Stephen, "The Early Arabic Versions of Job (First Millennium C.E.)," University of St Andrews, 1998.

Burke, Tony, "Reconstructing a Ninth-Century Apocrypha Manuscript from Mount Sinai," *Apocryphicity: A Blog Devoted to the Study of Christian Apocrypha* (17 August 2020), URL = <<http://www.apocryphicity.ca/2019/06/12/reconstructing-a-ninth-century-arabic-apocrypha-manuscript-from-mount-sinai/>> (last accessed 29 August 2022).

Chamourgiotaki, Vasiliki and Emanuele Zimbardi, "A Preliminary Survey on Isaac of Nineveh's Arabic Collection in the MS Strasbourg 4226 (Ar. 151)," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 25/2 (2022), 365–416.

Crum, Walter E., *Coptic Manuscripts Brought from the Fayyum by W.M. Flinders Petrie Esq., D.C.L. together with a Papyrus in the Bodleian Library*, London: David Nutt, 1893.

Dick, Igance, *Théodore Abuqurra: Traité du culte des icônes*, Rome: Pontificio Instituto Orientale, 1986.

Ellis, A.G. and Edward Edwards, *A Descriptive List of the Arabic Manuscripts Acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum since 1894*, London: British Museum, 1912.

van Esbroeck, Michel, "Un feuillet oublié du codex arabe or. 4226, à Strasbourg," *Analecta Bollandiana* 96 (1978), pp. 383–384.

van Esbroeck, Michel, "Remembrement d'un manuscrit sinaïtique arabe de 950," *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Goslar, septembre 1980)*, ed Samir Khalil Samir, Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1982, pp. 135–147.

van Esbroeck, Michel, “Le Codex rescriptus Tischendorf 2 à Leipzig et Cyrille de Scythopolis en version arabe,” *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes*, ed Samir Khalil Samir, Rome, Pontificium Institutum Studiorum, 1986, pp. 81–91.

Fleischer, Heinrich L., “Über einen griechischarabischen Codex rescriptus der Leipziger Universitäts-Bibliothek,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1 (1847), pp. 148–160.

Fleischer, Heinrich L., “Beschreibungen der von Prof. Dr. Tischendorf im J. 1853 aus dem Morgenlande zurückgebrachten christlich-arabischen Handschriften,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 8 (1854), pp. 584–587.

Galadza, Daniel, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Gardthausen, Victor, *Catalogus Codicorum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1886.

Garitte, Gérard, “Homélie d’Éphrem ‘Sur la mort et le diable’: Version géorgienne et version arabe,” *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), pp. 123–163.

Garitte, Gérard, “Évangéliaire grec-arabe du X^e siècle (cod. Sin. ar. 116),” *Studia codicologica*, ed. Kurt Treu, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977, pp. 207–225.

George, Alain, “Le palimpseste Lewi-Mingana de Cambridge, témoin ancien de l’histoire de Coran,” *Comptes-Rendus des Séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1 (2011), pp. 377–429.

Graf, Georg. Die christlich-arabische Literatur bis zur fränkischen Zeit (Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts): Eine literarhistorische Skizze, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905.

Graf, Georg, “Alte christlich-arabische Fragmente,” *Oriens Christianus* N.S. 4 (1915), pp. 338–341.

Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols, Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–1953.

Graf, Georg, “Christlich-arabische Fragmente in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek,” *Oriens Christianus* 38 (1954), pp. 125–132.

Graf, Georg, *Codices Vaticani arabici* [unpublished catalog].

Griffith, Sidney H., “Some Unpublished Sayings Attributed to Theodore Abū Qurrah,” *Le Muséon* 92 (1979), pp. 29–35.

Griffith, Sidney H., “Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in Ninth-Century Palestine,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36, no. 1 (1985), pp. 23–45. Reprinted in idem, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, no. VII.

Griffith, Sidney H., “The Arabic account of ‘Abd al-Masīḥ an-Naqrānī al-Ghassānī,” *Le Muséon* 98 (1985), pp. 331–374. Reprinted in idem, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, no. X.

Griffith, Sidney H., “Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine,” *Church History* 58, no. 1 (1989): 7–19. Reprinted in idem, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, no. XI.

Griffith, Sidney H., *A Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons written in Arabic by Theodore Abū Qurrah, Bishop of Harrān (c. 755–c. 830 AD)*, Louvain: Peeters, 1997.

Grohmann, Adolf, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, vol. 1: *Protocols and Legal Texts*, Cairo: Egyptian Library Press, 1934.

Heffening, Willis, “Die griechische Ephraem-Paraenesis gegen das Lachen in arabischer Übersetzung,” *Oriens Christianus* 23 (1927), 94–119.

Hiersemann, Karl, *Katalog 500: Orientalische Manuskripte: Arabische, syrische, griechische, armenische, persische Handschriften des 7.–18. Jahrhunderts, meist theologischen, vorzüglich kirchen- u. liturgiegeschichtlichen Inhalts von hoher Bedeutung, z. gr. Tl. Inedita und Unica*, Leipzig: Antiquariat Karl Hiersemann, 1922.

Hjälm, Miriam L., *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early MSS and Translation Techniques in MSS Sinai Ar. 1 and 2*, Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Hjälm, Miriam L., “The Qur’anic Subtext of Early Arabic Bible Translations,” published in July 2019 at the *Biblia Arabica* blog: <https://biblia-arabica.com/the-quranic-subtext-of-early-arabic-bible-translations/>. Accessed 27 April 2022.

Hjälm, Miriam L., “A Paleographical Study of Early Christian Arabic Manuscripts,” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 17 (2020), pp. 37–77.

Hjälm, Miriam L., “Lost and Found: Christian Arabic *Membra Disjecta* in the Mingana Collection,” *Lost and Bound: Reconstruction Techniques in Fragmentary Manuscripts of the Jewish and Christian Tradition*, eds Israel Muñoz Gallarte and Małgorzata Zawadowska, Madrid: Editorial Sindéresis, forthcoming.

Hoyland, Robert G., “St. Andrews MS 14 and the Earliest Arabic *Summa Theologiae*,” *Syriac Polemics: Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink*, eds Wout Jac van Bekkum, Jan W. Drijvers, and Alexander C. Klugkist, Leuven: Peeters, 2007, pp. 159–172.

Kashouh, Hikmat, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and Their Families*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012.

Kessel, Grigory, “A Catacomb of Syriac Texts: *Codex Arabicus* (Sin. ar. 514) Revisited,” *New Light on Old Manuscripts: Recent Advances in Palimpsest Studies at Saint Catherine’s Monastery and Beyond*, eds Claudia Rapp, Jana Grusková, Grigory Kessel and Giulia Rossetto, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2023, pp. 101–129.

Kessel, Grigory and Natalia Smelova, “Sinai Syriac Manuscripts in Exile,” *Sinaiticus: The Bulletin of the Saint Catherine Foundation* s.n. (2018), pp. 13–15.

Khalifé, Ignace A., “Les traductions arabes de Marc l’Ermite,” *Mélanges de l’Université Saint Joseph* 28, no. 5 (1949–1950), pp. 119–224.

Kluetzing, Harm, “Sinai Manuscripts in a West-German Private Collection,” *The Israel Oriental Studies* 6 (1976), pp. 155–157.

Köpstein, Silvia, “Carl August Reinhardt – Kaufmann, Philologe, Sammler, Konsul,” *Mitteilungen aus der Arbeit am Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* 5 (1996), pp. 13–58.

Kračkovsky, Ignatij J., “Новозавѣтный апокрифъ въ арабской рукописи 885–886 года по Р. Хр. [A New Testament Apocryphon in an Arabic Manuscript of the Year 885–886 A.D.],” *Византийский Временник* 4 (1907), pp. 246–275.

Lamoreaux, John C., *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2005.

Lamoreaux, John C., *The Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas*, 2 vols (CSCO 578–579, Scr. Ar. 50–51), Leuven: Peeters, 1999.

Lilie, Ralph-Johannes, Claudia Ludwig, Beate Zielke and Thomas Pratsch, “Ioannes: Ἰωάννης,” *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantischen Zeit Online*, URL = <<https://www.degruyter.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ25311/html>> (last accessed 12 September 2022).

Mai, Angelo, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, Rome: Typ. Vaticanis, 1838.

Mansour, Jean, Homélies et légendes religieuses: Un florilège arabe chrétien du X^e s. (Ms. Strasbourg 4225), PhD dissertation, Université Marc Bloch (Strasbourg), 1972.

Meimaris, Yiannis E., *Katalogos tōn neōn arabikōn cheirographōn tēs ieras monēs agias Aikaterinēs tou orous Sina*, Athens: Ethnikon hidryma ereunōn, 1985.

Mingana, Alphonse, Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts: Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham. Vol. 2: Christian Arabic Manuscripts and Additional Syriac Manuscripts, Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1936.

Mingana, Alphonse, Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts: Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham. Vol. 3: Additional Christian Arabic and Syriac Manuscripts, Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1939.

Monferrer-Sala, Juan Pedro, “Liber Iob detractus apud Sin. Ar. 1 Notas en torno a la Vorlage siriaca de un manuscrito árabe cristiano (s. IX),” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 1 (2003), 119–142.

Morozov, Dmitry “Александрийская зра в лавре св. Саввы Освященного [The Alexandrian Era in the Monastery of St. Sabas],” *Kapterevskie Chtenija* 11 (2013), pp. 69–71.

Müller-Kessler, Christa, “Christlich-palästinisch-aramäische Palimpseste im St. Katharinenkloster, Sinai mit dem Martyrium des Mamas von Kaisereia in Kapadokien (Arabic NF 66),” *Oriens Christianus* 99 (2016), pp. 115–125.

Müller-Kessler, Christa, “Martyrdom of Arianos and the Four Protectores in an Unpublished Christian Palestinian Aramaic Palimpsest from St Catherine’s Monastery (Sinai, Arabic NF 66),” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 14 (2017), pp. 115–125.

Müller-Kessler, Christa, “The Unknown Martyrdom of Patriklos of Caesarea in Christian Palestinian Aramaic from St Catherine’s Monastery (Sinai, Arabic NF 66),” *Analecta Bollandiana* 137 (2019), pp. 63–71.

Oestrup, Johannes, “Über zwei arabische Codices sinaitici der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 51 (1897), 453–471.

Padwick, Constance E., “Al-Ghazali and the Arabic Versions of the Gospels: An Unsolved Problem,” *The Moslem World* 29, no. 2 (1939), pp. 130–140.

Parpulov, Georgi R., *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters ca. 850–1350 AD*, Plovdiv, 2014.

Pollock, James W., "Two Christian Arabic Manuscripts in the Bryn Mawr Library," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110, no. 2 (1990), pp. 330–331.

Rossetto, Giulia, Three Euchologia Written on Reused Parchment (Sin. gr. 960, Sin. gr. 962, Sin. gr. 966 and Their *Membra Disiecta*): A Contribution to the History of the Library of Saint Catherine's Monastery, PhD Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2019.

Rossetto, Giulia, "Fragments from the *Orphic Rhapsodies*? Hitherto Unknown Hexameters in the Palimpsest Sin. ar. NF 66," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 219 (2021), pp. 34–60.

Sadan, Arik, "Differences and Similarities Between Early Christian and Judaeo-Arabic (Rabbinical and Karaite) Translations of the Bible into Arabic: The Case of the Book of Job," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 70/1–2 (2018), pp. 7–33.

Samir, Samir K., "Kitāb ḡāmī‘ wuġūh al-īmān wa-muġādalat Abī Qurra ‘an ḥalb al-Masīh," *al-Masarra* 79 (1984), pp. 411–427.

Sauget, Joseph-Marie, "Le dossier Éphémien du manuscrit arabe Strasbourg 4226 et de ses *membra disiecta*," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 42 (1976), pp. 426–458.

Smith Lewis, Agnes and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Forty-One Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907.

Sobiero, Florian, *Arabische Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften*, vol. 1 (= *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, vol. 17, B, 8) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2007).

Swanson, Mark N., "Some Considerations for the Dating of *Fī Tatlīt Allāh al-Wāhid* (Sinai Ar. 154) and *Al-Ǧāmi‘ Wuġūh al-Īmān* (London, British Library or. 4950)," *Parole de l'Orient* 18 (1993), pp. 115–141.

Swanson, Mark N., "Solomon, Bishop of Mount Sinai (Late Tenth Century AD)," *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage in Honour of Father Prof. Dr. Samir Khalil Samir at the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds Rifaat Ebied and Herman Teule, Leuven: Peeters, 2004, pp. 91–111.

Swanson, Mark N., "Al-Ǧāmi‘ wuġūh al-īmān," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 1: 600–900, eds David Thomas and Barbara Roggema, Leiden: Brill, 2009, pp. 791–798.

Swanson, Mark N., "Peter of Bayt Ra's," *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 1: 600–900, eds David Thomas and Barbara Roggema, Leiden: Brill, 2009, pp. 902–906.

Tarras, Peter, "Thomas of Fustat: Translator or Scribe?", *Biblia Arabica Blog* (26 November 2019), URL = <<https://biblia-arabica.com/thomas-of-fustat-translator-or-scribe/>> (last accessed: 29 August 2022).

Tarras, Peter, "From Sinai to Munich: Tracing the History of a Fragment from the Grote Collection," *COMSt Bulletin* 6, no. 1 (2020), pp. 73–90.

Tarras, Peter, "Building a Christian Arabic Library," in process.

Tisserant, Eugène, *Specimina Codicum Orientalium*, Bonn: Marcus et Weber, 1914.

Treiger, Alexander, "Palestinian Origenism and the Early History of the Maronites: In Search of the Origins of the Arabic Theology of Aristotle," *Ideas in Motion in*

Baghdad and Beyond: Philosophical and Theological Exchanges between Christians and Muslims in the Third/Ninth and Fourth/Tenth Centuries, ed Damien Janos, Leiden: Brill, 2015, pp. 44–80.

Tischendorf, Constantin, “Rechenschaft über meine handschriftlichen Studien auf meiner wissenschaftlichen Reise von 1840 bis 1844,” *Jahrbücher der Literatur: Anzeigenblatt für Wissenschaft und Kunst* 110 (1845), pp. 1–19; 112 (1845), pp. 25–43.

Troupneau, Gérard, “Les colophons des manuscrits arabes chrétiens, *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, eds François Deroche and Francis Richard, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997, pp. 223–31.

Tschernetska, Natalie, “Cambridge University Library Add. 1879.5 and its provenance,” *Homer, Tragedy and Beyond: Essays in honour of P.E. Easterling*, eds Felix Budelmann and Pantelis Michelakis, London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 2001.

Vollandt, Ronny, Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources, Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Vollandt, Ronny, “Beyond Arabic in Greek Letters: The Scribal and Translational Context of the Violet Fragment,” *The Damascus Psalm Fragment: Middle Arabic and the Legacy of Old Ḥigāzī*, ed Ahmad al-Jallad, Chicago: University of Chicago, 2020, pp. 93–110.

Weitzmann, Kurt and George Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Wright, Christopher, “Arabic hagiographic palimpsest with Greek Old Testament undertext (MS Add. 1879.5),” blogpost: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01879-00005/1> (last accessed 31 August 2022).

Wickersheimer, Ernest, Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Departements, vol. XLVII: Strasbourg, Paris: Librairie Plon, 1923.

Zaki, Vevian, “A Dynamic History: Manuscript Sinai Arabic 151 in the Hands of Scribes, Readers, and Restorers,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 11 (2020), pp. 200–259.

Zaki, Vevian, The Pauline Epistles in Arabic: Manuscripts, Versions, and Transmission, Leiden: Brill, 2021.

