●Sidney Griffith - Catholic University of America

●Alexander Treiger - Dalhousie University

●Aaron M. Butts - Catholic University of America

● Jeannie Miller - University of Toronto

●Gagik G. Sargsyan - Institute of Archaeology (Yerevan) and Vincent van Vossel - Babylon College (Erbil)

The Canadian Society for Syriac Studies
La Société Canadienne des Etudes Syriaques

The aim of the CSSS is to promote the study of the Syriac culture which is rooted in the same soil from which the ancient Mesopotamian and biblical literatures sprung. The CSSS is purely academic, and its activities include a series of public lectures, one yearly symposium, and the publication of its Journal. The Journal is distributed free of charge to the members of the CSSS who have paid their dues, but it can be ordered by other individuals and institutions through Gorgias Press (www.gorgiaspress.com).

Cover
Relics of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia in the Armenian Church of our Lady, Baghdad
Photo Vincent van Vossel

Table of Contents

FROM THE EDITOR

JCSSS 16 contains four papers presented at the CSSS Symposium XV, held at the University of Toronto on the 14th of November 2015, and one paper on Armenian inscriptions from the oldest church of Baghdad.

Sidney Griffith's contribution, "Syriac into Arabic: A New Chapter in the History of Syriac Christianity," surveys strategies taken up by Syriac-speaking Christians to express themselves in Arabic in their own fields of theology and exegesis. While Coptic, Greek, and some Syriac speakers ended up adopting Arabic at the expense of their native languages, other Syriac communities used Arabic in different ways while in direct contact with Islam. Qur'ānic diction and Islamic phraseology can be seen in some writing, Arabic is used despite its inadequacy to express Christian tenets, and, in the case of certain apologists, while the Qur'ān is used as witness to the truthfulness of Christianity, Qur'ānic vocabulary, overtones, and thought-patterns permeate their writings. Despite these and other manifestations of Arabic influence, Syriac continued to be the predominant language of literary production in every single field of study.

Alexander Treiger's article, "The Earliest Dated Christian Arabic Translation (772 AD): Ammonius' *Report on the Martyrdom of the Monks of Sinai and Raithu*," exploits this earliest Christian Arabic text to prove that translations of Christian material into Arabic began possibly as early as ca. 750 AD, at Mount Sinai. While Greek was the language of prestige, Syriac was the language of choice. Moreover, the versions of Ammonius' *Report* highlight the multi-lingual nature of Palestinian and Sinaitic translation efforts: The *Report* was purportedly composed in Coptic, then translated into Greek, then into Syriac (767 AD), then from Syriac (and Greek) into Arabic (772 AD), and finally from Arabic into Georgian (between 772-864)!

Strangely, few, if any, of the hymns of the famous theologian-poet Jacob of Serugh were translated into Coptic, despite the heavy presence of Syriac monks at the monastery of the Syrians in Egypt as early as the 7th century! Nonetheless, Aaron Butts' article, "The Christian Arabic Transmission of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521): The *Sammlungen*," sheds light on the reception of Jacob among Copts in Arabic, beginning in the 13th century. The earliest manuscripts might derive from Dayr Anbā Bišāy in the Wādī Naṭrūn, which had a close relationship with Dayr al-Suryān. Eventually, Jacob's beautiful pastoral homilies were integrated into the Coptic liturgy.

Jeannie Miller's paper, "What it Means to be a Son: Adam, Language, and Theodicy in a Ninth Century Dispute," examines an early 9th century theological debate narrated in a Muslim source about what exactly it means to call the Messiah the "Son" of God. Here an unnamed Muslim Muʿtazili theologian argues in favour of calling the Messiah the Son of God "by adoption," thus appropriating some debatable Christian ideas. By contrast,

his opponents, who were leaders of Muslim theological disputation at the time, display a more realistic awareness of arguments that Christians actually made in their theological discourses about the "Son" of God.

The last paper, "The Armenian Inscriptions of the Old Armenian Church of Our Lady in Baghdad," written by Vincent van Vossel of Baghdad and Gagik Sargsyan of Yerevan, aims at preserving Christian inscriptions in restive Iraq. The Armenian church of Our Lady was the first to be built in Baghdad after Tamerlane totally destroyed Christianity in southern and central Iraq, as well as in China and the whole of Central Asia, in the course of the 14th century. After the building of the church, Christians returned to Baghdad little by little. In recent years, however, they have dispersed once again after the disastrous invasion of Iraq by the Americans and their allies.

We are very thankful to all authors and to the Editorial Committee for making this issue possible.

ഇര

A.H.
5 November 2016

SYRIAC INTO ARABIC:
A NEW CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF SYRIAC CHRISTIANITY

SIDNEY H. GRIFFITH

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

I

The study of the Christian heritage in Arabic has never been more important than it is today, when in many places in the Near and Middle East, Arabic-speaking Christians are becoming fewer and fewer in the populations of their homelands. Many communities, especially among those whose patristic and liturgical patrimony is Syriac, are in danger of disappearing altogether from now predominantly Muslim Palestine, Syria and Iraq, where their forebears made substantial intellectual and religious contributions to what has been called 'Islamicate' culture. It is an awkward term that is meant by those who use it to refer to the multicultural and multi-religious factors inherent in the formation of what we customarily think of as the classical culture of the World of Islam.[1] Typically scholars have used it in reference to such historical phenomena as the role Christians played in the so-called Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement of early Abbasid times, the Christian and Jewish contributions to the history of philosophy in Arabic,[2] or the influence wielded by wealthy Christians or Christian physicians over the Muslim elite in the milieus of Baghdad or Cairo in their heydays.[3] Scholars have also highlighted in this connection what they have perceived to be the indebtedness of the evolving Islamic religious and political doctrine and practice in its formative period to concurrent Jewish and Christian thought and life.[4] But all of this refers to Christian contributions to Islam consequent upon the adoption of the Arabic language by the originally Greek and Syriac-speaking Christian communities who after the mid-seventh century came under Arab, Muslim rule, and who by the mid-to-late eighth century had adopted the Arabic language as their own. What one misses in this scenario is some account of what the adjective 'Islamicate' might mean or imply when it is predicated of Arabophone, Christian thought and practice itself. Put another way, the question arises, how do we discern and adequately describe the shaping effect on Christian life and culture itself in the Islamic milieu as a result of the transition from Greek and Syriac modes of expression into an Arabic idiom, in many ways already bound over to Islam? Is there, or has there ever been a social or cultural construction that one might call Islamo-Christian? Or, is there a distinctive Arab or

Arabophone Christianity? The purpose of the present communication is to share some thoughts on this topic.

II

After the Arab conquest and occupation of almost all of the territories of the Oriental Patriarchates of the Christians (Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem) in the course of the seventh Christian century, large communities of hitherto Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian-speaking Christians joined the already Arabic-speaking Christians of the original milieu of Muḥammad and the Qur'ān as 'People of the Book', living in the midst of the Muslim 'Community of Believers', with a guaranteed legal status of their own, albeit one that required them to pay a special poll tax and to adopt a low social profile as subaltern citizens in the World of Islam.[5] For in due course, and within about two centuries after the death of Muḥammad, the territories under Arab rule had grown into what a modern scholar has called the Islamic Commonwealth,[6] which nevertheless thought of itself as the World of Islam (*dār al-Islām*). As Albert Hourani memorably wrote:

> By the third and fourth Islamic centuries (the ninth or tenth century AD) something which was recognizably an "Islamic World" had emerged. … Men and women in the Near East and the Maghrib lived in a universe which was defined in terms of Islam. … Time was marked by the five daily prayers, the weekly sermon in the Mosque, the annual fast in the month of Ramadan and the pilgrimage to Mecca and the Muslim calendar.[7]

The process of integrating the several communities of Christians into this new social reality, among many other adjustments on their part, most notably involved the adoption of the Arabic language, not only as the idiom of public life in the caliphate, but as an ecclesiastical, even liturgical, theological, and every-day language. It began as a project to translate the scriptures and many other Christian texts originally written in Greek and Syriac into Arabic,[8] an ecclesiastical translation movement that pre-dates and in some ways may even be said to have eventually encompassed the more well-known Abbasid project to translate Greek scientific, logical, and philosophical texts into Arabic. Simultaneously, and as an integral part of the process of social integration, Christians also began to write original theological and apologetic texts in the Arabic idiom of the contemporary Islamic religious discourse.[9]

The adoption of Arabic on the part of the hitherto Greek, Coptic and Syriac-speaking, Christian communities indigenous to the Levant culminated eventually in a large Christian presence in the intellectual and cultural life of the formative period of the history of the Islamicate world, extending from ninth century Iraq well into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Egypt.[10] During this half millennium and more of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim *convivencia* in the heartlands of the Arabic-speaking peoples after the Islamic conquest,[11] relations between Muslims and Christians were constant, often intellectually and culturally complimentary, mutually comprehensible, but both confrontational and cooperative at the same time. In the end, from the thirteenth century onward, due to numerous disabling factors,[12] including developments in Islamic religious thinking,[13] the numbers of Christians living in the Islamic world gradually declined to demographic insignificance in some areas, reaching crisis proportions in certain places by the dawn of the twenty-first century.[14]

Over the course of the long, early history of Arab Christian relations with Islam, extending roughly from the mid-ninth century to the mid-thirteenth century, in the

environs first of Baghdad and then of Cairo, several areas of Christian intellectual and cultural accomplishment stand out. These areas of Arab Christian accomplishment may the most usefully be identified under three headings: translation and cultural assimilation; inter-religious colloquy; and the Islamochristian cultivation of philosophy, especially in Baghdad and its environs from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.

Although the study of Christianity in its Arabic expression is in its infancy, especially in western academic circles, several undertakings in the twentieth century served to awaken greater interest in the field. In the first place, one must mention the work of Louis Cheikho SJ (1859-1927) and his associates at the review, *al-Mashriq*, which he founded already in 1898 in Beirut. They assiduously brought out diplomatic editions of numerous texts from Christian Arabic manuscripts in the first third of the century. In Russia, the noted Arabist and translator of the Qur'ān, Ignaty Kratchkovsky (1883-1957) had already early in the 20th century called attention to the riches to be discovered among Christian Arabic manuscripts.[15] But it was the landmark publication of Georg Graf's *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, completed by the middle of the twentieth century,[16] and the numerous publications and projects of Samir Khalil Samir SJ from the 1970's until now that have provided the strongest impetus for the more recent surge of international scholarly interest in Christian Arabic that has already reached a point that allows the researcher to discern and discuss the main areas of Arab Christian intellectual and cultural history in the early Islamic period. And now, in the twenty-first century, thanks to our colleagues Alexander Treiger and John Lamoreaux, there is NASCAS, the North American Society of Christian Arabic Studies, with its sponsorship of a dedicated

list-serve and regular sessions at the annual meetings of the American Oriental Society to sustain an ever growing scholarship in Christian Arabic.

While there is much yet to be done in the areas of text-editing, translation, and historical interpretation, especially as it concerns the study of the Bible in Arabic,[17] and of the numerous translations of patristic,[18] canonical, historical, and liturgical texts, just enough has been achieved so far, especially in the study of the original compositions in Arabic, to provide the first glimpses of a panoramic view of Christian/Muslim cultural and intellectual relations in the early Islamic period.[19] For in recent times most scholarly attention has been focused on the historical, philosophical, and theological texts written by Arabic-speaking Christians whose mother tongue was Syriac, who flourished within the wide reach of Abbasid Baghdad's cultural influence in the days of the first flourishing of Islamicate culture.

III

One very noticeable feature of the Christian Arabic compositions in the ensemble is what one modern scholar has called the 'Muslim cast' of their language. Richard M. Frank called attention to this phenomenon in his study of the translations of portions of the Bible from Syriac into Arabic by the 'Nestorian' scholar, Pethion ibn Ayyūb as-Sahhār, who flourished in Baghdad in the mid-ninth century, of whom Ibn an-Nadīm (d.905) remarked that he "was the most accurate of the translators from the point of view of translation, and also the best of them for style and diction."[20] In speaking of the 'Muslim cast' of Pethion's Arabic, Frank meant the recurrence of Qur'ānic diction and obviously Islamic phraseology in his Arabic translations of the biblical books of the Prophet Jeremiah and of the Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach,

both of which he edited and translated into English.[21] Frank called attention to what must have been Pethion's dilemma:

> To render the Peshitta literally into Arabic or simply to Arabize the Syriac (. . .) would be to produce a rather barbarous Arabic in which the religious tone of the text would be altogether lacking, since the words would have no associations and overtones within themselves but only as seen through another language (Hebrew or Syriac). The book would thus be colorless and devoid of the solemnity which belongs to it.[22]

Pethion solved this dilemma by consistently using Arabic vocabulary and turns of phrase in his translations that in Frank's judgment displayed a noticeable 'Muslim cast' of language. That is to say, Pethion the translator consistently deployed an Arabic idiom, the words and phrases of which were often, while not necessarily exclusively, Islamic or Qur'ānic in their denotations, were nevertheless resonantly Islamic in their connotations due to the fact of their being stock phrases or oft-repeated wording from the Qur'ān in particular that because of the Arabic scripture's literary and cultural authority had soon become part of the common parlance wherever Arabic was spoken and thus lent Pethion's translations a discernible scriptural luster of expression in the Islamic milieu.

This same phenomenon of a 'Muslim cast' of language and expression can even more readily be observed in the original Christian compositions in Arabic penned in early Islamic times and particularly in the Christian *kalām* texts of the Abbasid era, in which not only the typically Islamic diction and the phraseology of the concurrent Islamic *'ilm al-kalām* is evident, but so also is the topical outline of the texts and the manner and mode of their discussion in Arabic. In this context, Christian writers sought to defend the reasonableness of their distinctive doctrines in terms of the same Arabic religious idiom as that employed by their Muslim counterparts, who, in accord with the teachings of the Qur'ān, rejected the central Christian doctrines. In contrast with the previously standard modes of Christian discourse in Greek or Syriac, the Arabic-speaking Christian writers often built their arguments on ways of thinking that contemporary Muslims had elaborated in view of commending their own views. As a result, the discourse of the Christian apologists who wrote in Arabic presents a distinctive conceptual profile that cannot easily be mistaken for the style of Christian theology in any other, earlier community of Christian discourse. Most notably, their approach to the reasoned articulation in Arabic of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation involved the effort to express the former in terms of the contemporary Islamic discussion of the ontological status of the divine attributes, the Qur'ān's 'beautiful names of God', and the latter in terms of the Islamic discussion of the signs of authentic prophecy and true religion.[23] The vocabulary and modes of expression in this development in theological reasoning then became traditional in Christian religious parlance in Arabic in the Islamic world; it was improved over the centuries by many writers in different times and places, but it was scarcely ever challenged or abandoned until the modern era.[24] The development had come at a price; Christian discourse in Arabic inevitably evoked an Islamic cast of thought instinct in the Islamic cast of language in which it was expressed, a phenomenon that also imparted a hitherto unaccustomed resonance to the Christian voice.

IV

Mar Elias of Nisibis (975-1046), the scholarly 'Nestorian' metropolitan bishop of Nisibis during the time of the Buyid emirs in Iraq was one of the few bilingual Syriac

and Arabic-speaking writers of his day who spoke of the price of translation and of the tensions involved in the interface between the two languages, Syriac and Arabic.[25] He was one of the most astute of the Christian *mutakallimūn* of the Abbasid era and it is significant that his remarks about the difficulties of Arabic as an idiom for the expression of Syriac Christian thought appear in a chapter of his famous account of his conversations in Nisibis with the Muslim official, Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī al-Maghribī (981-1027), the *wazīr* of the then emir of Mosul, which circulated in a popular text entitled simply, *Kitāb al-majālis*, a work which survives to this day in some two dozen manuscripts.[26]

In chapter VI of this work, in the account of his sixth session with the *wazīr*, after having discussed in previous chapters the oneness of God, the Incarnation, the Qur'ān's view of Christians, the role of reason and miracles in proving the true religion, and Mar Elias' own profession of faith in the one God, the conversation turns to the differences between the Syriac and Arabic languages.[27] They discuss the grammar, the syntax, the vocabulary, and the script of the two languages, coming finally to the topic of the *ʿilm al-kalām*. Mar Elias argues consistently throughout the discussion that in each instance of comparison, Syriac is superior to Arabic due to the ambiguity inherent in Arabic usages, both in speech and in writing. When it comes to the discussion of the modes of religious discourse in Arabic, in which both Muslims and Christians were currently engaged, Mar Elias highlights the difficulties he sees. He quickly points out that whereas "the Muslims' discourse (*kalām*) is built upon the demands of [revealed] law (*ash-sharʿ*) and the authority of their scripture, … the discourse of the Christians is the science of logic and it is built on the demands of the intellect (*al-ʿaql*) and the principles of formal reasoning

(*al-qiyās*)."[28] He then reports the *wazīr*'s rejoinder to the effect that "The Muslims consider the study of logic and the other sciences of the philosophers to be unbelief (*kufr*) and apostasy (*ilḥād*), to the point that they are convinced that anyone who is well informed about them is a freethinker (*zindīq*)."[29]

One readily recognizes in this exchange the echo of the celebrated controversy between the philosophers, the logicians, and the *mutakallimūn* of an earlier generation in which the champions of Aristotelian logic were Christians such as Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus (d.940) and Yaḥyā ibn ʿAdī (d. 974), while the Muslim jurist, grammarian, and *mutakallim*, Abū Saʿīd as-Sīrāfī (893/4-979), famously argued against them in behalf of the claims of those Muslims who were opposed to the use of what they came to call the 'foreign sciences' in Islamic religious discourse,[30] albeit that in fact these very sciences did in fact find their way into the highest levels of Muslim scholarship, even into the work of such an important thinker as Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (1058-111), who in his *al-Munqidh min aḍ-ḍalāl*, and especially in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifah*, had strenuously polemicized against the dangers of several basic premises of the philosophy inherited from the Greeks.[31]

As it happened, already in the ninth century it seems that Christian intellectuals involved in the so-called Abbasid Translation Movement, the project to translate Greek philosophical and logical texts from Greek into Arabic, sometimes via Syriac, had cherished the hope that logic and philosophy would become a medium of Christian/Muslim understanding. For example, the Christian translator and philosopher, Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (808-873), seems to have envisioned this inter-communal role for philosophy and logic already in his time, according to passages in a work attributed to him, the *Kitāb ādāb al-falāsifah*. The

bulk of the work is a collection of sayings of Greek and Persian sages and philosophers, transmitted from both ancient and seemingly contemporary, gnomological sources.[32] But the opening narrative is an interesting, if idiosyncratic, sketch of the history of philosophy, which assimilates religious thinking and ritual behavior to the philosophical way of life. Ḥunayn's remarks in this work about the intellectual practice of Jews, Christians and Muslims highlight his view of their joint participation in philosophy as providing them with a common religious idiom.[33] To this end, he said of philosophy in his time that "God, mighty and exalted be He, conferred a blessing on us and taught us Arabic, so that we might bring it (i.e., philosophy) out of Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek into the clear, Arabic language."[34] An anonymous Syriac chronicler of the thirteenth century echoed Ḥunayn's enthusiasm when much later he wrote in reference to the importance of Aristotle's logic for his now Arabic-speaking community. He spoke of Aristotle's role in tutoring Christian thought in the following terms:

> Without the reading of the book of logic (*mlîlûthâ*) that he made it is not possible to understand the knowledge of books, the meaning of doctrines, and the sense of the Holy Scriptures, on which depends the hope of the Christians, unless one is a man to whom, because of the excellence of his [religious] practice, the grace of the Holy Spirit is given, the One who makes all wise.[35]

But as Elias of Nisibis himself was well aware, it was one thing for Christian thinkers enthusiastically to embrace Greek logic and the rule of reason in their religious discourse in Arabic; it was another thing altogether to find the right Arabic vocabulary for what he viewed as originally well expressed technical terms in Syriac, even in Syriac translations of originally Greek

texts. Mar Elias reflected on this problem in a letter addressed to one whom he calls his brother, Abū Saʿīd ʿĪsā ibn Manṣūr.[36] He discusses two Arabic words in particular, both of them crucial for the right understanding of Christian doctrine and both of them liable to misunderstanding without an informed awareness of the conceptual background of Christian theological parlance behind them; the two terms are *kiyān* and *ilāh*.

For Syriac-speaking 'Melkites', 'Jacobites', and 'Nestorians' alike, the confessional formulae in which they customarily expressed their creedal agreements and disagreements were originally formulated in Greek and translated into Syriac, a process that required finding apt Syriac equivalents for crucial Greek technical terms such as *ousia*, *physis*, *hypostasis*, and *prosopon*. For the most part, in Syriac the theological writers often simply transcribed *ousia* into Syriac script; but the Syriac terms *kyānâ*, *qnômâ*, and *parṣôpâ*, not without difficulty and some ambiguity, commonly did duty for the Greek terms *physis*, *hypostasis*, and *prosopon* respectively. *Parṣôpâ* is of course a Syriacized calque on the Greek term, *prosopon*. *Kyānâ* and *qnômâ* are Syriac words chosen by the translators to do duty for the concepts expressed in the Greek terms, *physis* and *hypostasis*. A certain ambiguity came to be associated with the understanding of the exact sense of the terms *kyānâ* and *physis*, but this was not so much due to the differing connotations of the terms in the two languages as it was concerned with differing understandings and presumptions already in Greek usage about the assumed conceptual understandings of *ousia*, *hypostasis*, and *physis* in their mutual references, especially in Christology. In Arabic, philosophers and *mutakallimūn* alike, and without much problem, generally employed the translation term *ṭabīʿah* to render the sense of *physis* / *kyānâ*, which then

simply transferred the same conceptual difficulties into a new idiom. As for the terms *hypostasis / qnômâ*, Syriac speakers chose to use a term that in common Syriac usage generally meant 'self'; it introduced unsatisfactory connotations and some ambiguity from a theoretical point of view that complicated the current Christological controversies in both Syriac and Arabic. And it is interesting that in Arabic, Christian writers simply adopted the Syriac translation term into Arabic as the calque, *uqnūm* (pl. *aqānīm*). As it happened, for all their difficulties, the transitions of the terms *physis* and *hypostasis* from Greek to Syriac and thence to Arabic presented few lexical problems albeit that they continued to be beset by numerous conceptual misunderstandings. It was not to be the case with choosing Arabic equivalents for *ousia* and *prosopon / parṣôpâ*. As it happened, difficulties presented themselves almost immediately in rendering each of these terms into Arabic in the theological context because the usual equivalent terms inevitably evoked unacceptable lexical connotations and nuances that were inapplicable when God was the subject of the discourse. In the case of *prosopon / parṣôpâ*, Christian writers in Arabic used a number of terms; as often as not they chose the term *ash-shakhṣ* (*al-ashkhāṣ*) because of its connotation of individuality,[37] but in Arabic it implied physical individuality, a physical person, and it lacked the more functional sense associated with the Greek term *prosopon* as Christian thinkers used it in Trinitarian theology to indicate the presentation of a particular *hypostasis / qnômâ* of the one divine *ousia*,[38] thereby prompting and enabling the Muslim adversary's charge that Christians profess tritheism and not monotheism.

In his letter to Abū Saʿīd ʿĪsā ibn Manṣūr, Mar Elias addressed himself particularly to the problem involved in the use of the customary Arabic term that philoso-phers and *mutakallimūn* before his time had chosen to do duty for the Greek term *ousia*, i.e., the term *al-jawhar*, which he himself sometimes used.[39] Here is what he said:

> As for your query, "Is it appropriate to say that the Creator, exalted be He, is a *jawhar* or not, you must know that the term *al-jawhar* is an Arabic term about which one should refer to the Arab lexicographers. If they say that the meaning (*maʿnā*) of *al-jawhar* for them is the meaning 'some thing subsisting in itself' (*al-qāʾim binafsihi*), in accord with what the scholars who translated the philosophical and dialectical books into the language of the Arabs have said, affirmed, and recorded, then one must say that the Creator is a *jawhar*, since He subsists in himself. But if they say the meaning of *al-jawhar* for them is something having to do with space and is receptive to accidents, as the Muslim *mutakallimūn* maintain, God guard them, then one must not say that God is a *jawhar*. Anyone who says that God is a *jawhar* in this way has become an infidel. If the purpose of speech (*al-kalām*) is to convey the meaning that is in the soul (*nafs*) of the speaker to the heart of the hearer, and one is speaking in the language of the hearer, one must address him only [in terms of] what his language requires. And if the noun *al-jawhar* in the language of the Arabs applies only to something having to do with space and is receptive to accidents, and there is in the lexicon of the Arabs no term that can be interpreted to mean something subsisting in itself, as is the case among the Syrians,[40] we must then say that God is a single *kiyān*, meaning something subsisting in itself.[41]

Mar Elias was certainly aware that on the face of it, the term *kiyān* in Arabic is grammatically a *maṣdar*, or verbal noun, of the root *k w n*, which in its several forms

bespeaks 'being' and 'becoming'. He would also have been well aware that also on the face of it the term can be seen to be an Arabic calque on the Syriac term *kyānâ*, which many Syriac writers used to render not only the Greek term *physis*, but *ousia* as well, reflecting a conceptual ambiguity that lay at the heart of the Christological controversies that embroiled the churches in the fifth and sixth centuries and carried over well into Mar Elias' day. The point here is to highlight, the difficulties inherent in the process of translating Christian thought from Greek into Syriac, and then from Syriac into Arabic where, on Mar Elias' own testimony, the new problem lay in the unwonted connotations of the Arabic terminology, already co-opted in Islamic religious discourse, thereby seemingly inevitably investing the Christian *kalām* not only in a Muslim cast of language but also in an Islamic way of thinking rooted in the Arabic Qur'ān that lay immediately behind and inspired all religious discourse in Arabic, be it Jewish, Christian, or Muslim.

V

As Christians adopted Arabic as a vehicle of Christian thought within the World of Islam, and even translated their scriptures into Arabic, the Qur'ān itself also found its way into Christian discourse. While there is some evidence that Greek-speaking Christians in Palestine around the year 700 CE were already familiar with verses from the Qur'ān,[42] the Arabic scripture is first mentioned by name in a Christian text in a Syriac apologetic work that was in all probability originally composed not long after the year 720.[43] In it a monk apologist for Christianity speaks to his Muslim interlocutor of the "Qur'ān, which Muḥammad taught you."[44] It would have been in this same era that St. John of Damascus (d.c.749) brought up the Qur'ān in the *De Haeresibus* section of his summary presen-

tation of Christian faith, the *Fount of Knowledge*, composed in Greek. There, as the last of the heresies he was to discuss (no. 100), St. John spoke very disparagingly of the heresy that he described as "the still-prevailing deceptive superstition of the Ishmaelites, the fore-runner of the Antichrist," and he went on to say that Muḥammad "spread rumors that a scripture (γρφην) was brought down to him from heaven."[45] Throughout the discussion, and in the course of his polemics against Islam, John of Damascus alludes to or quotes passages from the Qur'ān; recognizably but usually not literally. Of the text itself he says, "This Muḥammad, as it has been mentioned, composed many idle tales, on each one of which he prefixed a title,"[46] and John goes on to mention some of the names of the *sūrah*s, again not accurately, but recognizably: the Woman, God's Camel, the Table, the Heifer. As Robert Hoyland has remarked, "This composition exerted great influence upon the language, tone and content of subsequent Byzantine polemic against Islam."[47] And it was a negative, even hostile tone. But even though he was himself in all probability an Arabic-speaking Aramean, writing in Greek within the World of Islam, the attitude displayed in John of Damascus' Greek text was not typical of the approach to Muḥammad, the Qur'ān and Islam of the Arabic-speaking Christians writing in Arabic in the same milieu some years later,[48] albeit that a similar attitude is displayed in at least one, anonymous Arabic text written by a Christian in the ninth century.[49]

In Arab Christian apologetic texts generally one finds some ambivalence about the Qur'ān. On the one hand, some authors argue that it cannot possibly be a book of divine revelation, citing in evidence its composite, and, as they saw the matter, its all too human origins.[50] But on the other hand, its literary and religious power proved impossible to resist. Given the pro-

gressive enculturation of Christianity into the Arabic-speaking World of Islam from the eighth century onward, most Arab Christian writers themselves commonly quoted words and phrases from the Qur'ān in their works.[51] Inevitably its language suffused their religious consciousness. Some of them even built their apologetic arguments in behalf of the truthfulness of Christianity on a certain interpretation of particular verses from the Islamic scripture. In short, while Christian apologists argued that the Qur'ān is not a canonical scripture on the level of the Bible, they nevertheless also, and not infrequently, quoted from it as a testimony to the truth of Christian teachings. Alternatively, some Syriac and Arab Christian writers of the ninth century were also very much alive to what they perceived to be the Christian inspiration of much of the Qur'ān and from this perspective they laid claim to it by arguing that the Qur'ān's original, Christian inspiration was obscured by the distortion and alteration of its text and the misappropriation of its meanings at the hands of those who would thwart this expression of a burgeoning Arab Christianity. We may briefly consider an example of each of these approaches to the Arabic Qur'ān on the part of Arabic-speaking Christians living in the World of Islam in the early Islamic period.

A) The Qur'ān as a Font of Scriptural Proof-Texts

In the context of its own inter-religious controversies, the Islamic scripture in several instances demands that its adversaries produce proof (*al-burhān*) for the position they are espousing in contrast to what the Qur'ān proclaims. For example, in the controversy with Jews and Christians, the Qur'ān says, "They say, 'No one will enter the Garden except those who are Jews or Nazarenes/Christians (*an-naṣārā*).' Those are their wishes. Say, 'Produce your proof (*burhānakum*) if you are telling the truth'."

(II *al-Baqarah* 111) It seems that the proof envisioned in this verse is scriptural proof, for in other passages where the term 'proof' (*al-burhān*) is mentioned in the inter-religious context it is clear that the 'proof' is the Qur'ān itself. For example, in the context of its critique of Christian doctrine, the Qur'ān says in regard to itself, "O People, proof (*burhān*) has come to you from your Lord; He has sent down a clear light [i.e., the Qur'ān] to you." (IV *an-Nisā'* 174) Similarly, in the context of the rejection of polytheism, the Qur'ān speaks in reference to itself and to earlier scriptures when it advises Muḥammad, "Say, 'Produce your proof (*burhānakum*). This is the 'scriptural recollection' (*dhikr*) of those with me, and the 'scriptural recollection' (*dhikr*) of those before me." (XXI *al-Anbiyā'* 24)[52] Given this Qur'ānic call for scriptural proof for the positions espoused by those whose teachings it criticizes; it is perhaps not surprising that some Arab Christians sought their proof texts in the Qur'ān itself.[53]

One of the most interesting Arab Christian texts to cite the Qur'ān in testimony to the truth of Christian doctrines is actually one of the earliest Christian Arabic texts we know.[54] It is anonymous and its first modern editor gave it the name it still carries in English, *On the Triune Nature of God*; it was composed in all likelihood in the third quarter of the eighth century.[55] The author, whose mother-tongue seems to the present writer for many reasons to have been Syriac, quotes liberally from the Qur'ān explicitly and in his work he uses both the vocabulary and the thought patterns of the Qur'ān. In an important way the Islamic idiom of the Qur'ān had become his religious lexicon. This feature of the work is readily evident in the poetical introduction to the text, which by allusion and the choice of words and phrases echoes the diction and style of the Qur'ān.[56] As Mark Swanson has rightly remarked, "The

text simply *is* profoundly Qur'ānic."[57] One can see it even in English translation, as in this brief passage from the opening prayer:

> We ask you, O God, by Your mercy and your power, to put us among those who know your truth, follow Your will, and avoid your wrath, [who] praise Your beautiful names, (Q 7:180) and speak of Your exalted similes. (cf. Q 30:27) You are the compassionate One, the merciful, the most compassionate; You are seated on the throne, (Q 7:54) You are higher than creatures, You fill up all things.[58]

Shortly after this prayer, the author makes a statement that may well serve as an expression of his purpose in composing his work. Again, the attentive reader can hear the Qur'ānic overtones clearly. The author says,

> We praise you, O God, and we adore you and we glorify you in your creative Word and your holy, life-giving Spirit, one God, and one Lord, and one Creator. We do not separate God from his Word and his Spirit. God showed his power and his light in the Law and the Prophets, and the Psalms and the Gospel, that God and his Word and his Spirit are one God and one Lord. We will show this, if God will, in those revealed scriptures, to anyone who wants insight, understands things, recognizes the truth, and opens his breast to believe in God and his scriptures.[59]

One notices straightaway the author's intention to make his case for Christian teaching from the scriptures; he names the Law (*at-Tawrah*), the Prophets (*al-Anbiyā'*), the Psalms (*az-Zubūr*), and the Gospel (*al-Injīl*), scriptures that are named as they are named in the Qur'ān. Moreover, in emphasizing God, his Word, and his Spirit, the author recalls the Qur'ān's own mention of these three names in the often

quoted phrase, "The Messiah, Jesus, Son of Mary, was nothing more than a messenger of God, His word that He imparted to Mary, and a spirit from Him." (IV *an-Nisā'* 171) What is more, the author is willing to include explicit citations from the Qur'ān among the scripture passages he quotes in testimony to the credibility of the Christian doctrine. On the one hand, addressing the Arabic-speaking, Christian readers who were his primary audience, the author speaks of what "we find in the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms and the Gospel," in support of the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. On the other hand, several times he rhetorically addresses Muslims; he speaks of what "you will find . . . in the Qur'ān," and he goes on to cite a passage or a pastiche of quotations from several *sūrah*s, in support of the doctrines, in behalf of the veracity of which he has been quoting or alluding to scriptural evidence from passages and narratives from the Old or New Testaments.[60] For example, at one point in the argument, in search of testimonies to a certain plurality in the Godhead, the author turns to the scriptures for citations of passages in which God speaks in the first person plural. Having quoted a number of such passages, he goes on to say:

> You will find it also in the Qur'ān that "We created man in misery [Q XC:4], and We have opened the gates of heaven with water pouring down [Q LIV:11], and have said, "And now you come unto us alone, as we created you at first." [Q VI: 94] It also says, "Believe in God, and in his Word; and also in the Holy Spirit." [cf. Q IV; 171] The Holy Spirit is even the one who brings it down (i.e., the Qur'ān) as "a mercy and a guidance from thy Lord." [Q XVI: 64, 102] But why should I prove it from this (i.e., the Qur'ān) and bring enlightenment, when we

find in the Torah, the Prophets, the Psalms, and the Gospel, and you find it in the Qur'ān, that God and His Word and His Spirit are one God and one Lord? You have said that you believe in God and His Word and the Holy Spirit, so do not reproach us, O men, that we believe in God and His Word and His Spirit: we worship God in His Word and His Spirit, one God and one Lord and one Creator. God has made it clear in all of the scriptures that this is the way it is in right guidance (*hudan*) and true religion (*dīn al-ḥaqq*).[61]

Evidently in this passage the Christian author is addressing himself directly, at least in part, to readers of the Qur'ān as well as to the devotees of the Christian Bible. He speaks of what "we find in the Torah, the Prophets, the Psalms, and the Gospel," and of what "you find . . . in the Qur'ān." One also notices in this passage the prominence of the author's references to God, His Word, and His Spirit, and how they provide a continual evocation of *sūrat an-Nisā'* 171. Like almost every Arab Christian apologetic writer after him, and contrary to every Islamic interpretation of the verse, the author of *On the Triune Nature of God* interprets this verse as Qur'ānic testimony to the reality that the one God is in fact possessed of Word and Spirit and that they are He, the Son of God and the Holy Spirit, as the Christians speak of them.

In a further passage, the author of *On the Triune Nature of God* takes advantage of another verse in the Qur'ān to explain how it came about that by the action of the Holy Spirit, God's Word, the Son of God, became incarnate and was clothed, even veiled (*iḥtajaba*),[62] in Mary's human nature. "Thus," he says, "God was veiled (*iḥtajaba*) in a man without sin."[63] The 'veiling' language here once again evokes a particular passage in the Qur'ān: "God

speaks with man only by way of revelation, or from behind a veil (*ḥijāb*), or He sends a messenger and he reveals by His permission what He wishes." (XLII *ash-Shūrā* 51) The author of our treatise alludes to this verse as a proof-text from the Arabic Scripture, arguing in behalf of the doctrine of the Incarnation that Jesus' humanity may be likened to the veil, from behind which the Qur'ān says God might speak to man.[64]

On the Triune Nature of God is somewhat unique among Christian Arabic texts by reason of the manner of its obvious accommodation to the Qur'ān and its citation of the Islamic scripture alongside biblical texts in testimony to the veracity of Christian doctrines. Yet the author obviously also maintains the distinction between the Bible and the Qur'ān; when he cites the latter, one finds the introductory phrase, "You will also find (it) in the Qur'ān …,"or, "It is also written in the Qur'ān …,"[65] phrases that effectively distinguish the scriptures. It does not appear that the author accepts the Qur'ān as a canonical scripture; throughout the treatise he adduces arguments from the Bible and Christian tradition expressly to refute the Qur'ān's critique of Christian doctrine and practice.[66] Nevertheless it is also clear that for him the Arabic Qur'ān does possess evidentiary potential and probative value for Christian apologetic purposes. The text certainly presumes that its Christian readers are familiar with the Qur'ān and it may even suggest that they positively esteem its language.

It is true that the treatise *On the Triune Nature of God* is unique among Christian Arabic texts in its forthright emulation of Qur'ānic style and its obvious willingness to align testimonies from the Arabic Qur'ān with those from the Jewish and Christian scriptures, albeit in a subsidiary position. Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that there were also Christian Arabic texts that disparaged the Qur'ān, as we

mentioned above, it remained the case in the early Islamic period that other Christian Arabic writers also frequently quoted from the Qur'ān, sometimes inexactly, as if from memory, and echoed its words and phrases in their ordinary discourse.[67] The point is that by contrast with the attitudes of Christians living outside of the World of Islam, who worked with Greek or Latin translations of the Arabic text,[68] and who despised the Islamic scripture and demeaned it at every opportunity for almost a millennium,[69] Arabic-speaking Christians were for the most part willing, positively, and with respect, to engage the Qur'ān religiously, albeit that their purpose was primarily the more clearly to express their traditional Christian faith in Arabic, within the hermeneutical circle of the Qur'ān. For unquestionably the Qur'ān set the parameters in the Arabic-speaking world for the discussion of important religious doctrines, even Christian ones. Christian theologians spoke in the same religious idiom in Arabic as did their Muslim counterparts, and Qur'ānic terms became common in Christian discourse. In early Islamic times, and well up into the thirteenth century, Arabophone Christian writers regularly cited passages from the Qur'ān in defense of the veracity of the religious ideas they commended, and they quarreled with Muslim exegetes who interpreted the pertinent verses differently.[70]

A notable instance of an important Christian writer's engagement with Muslim interpreters of verses of the Qur'ān occurs in the third chapter of Mar Elias of Nisibis' *Kitāb al-majāis*, in the account of his efforts in the *majlis* of the *wazīr* Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn al-Magribī to argue from passages in the Qur'ān that Christians are to be considered true Monotheists. He cites and comments on ten verses from the Qur'ān to that effect, he argues on the basis of Qur'ānic exegetical principles against those Muslims who allege that passages

favorable to Christian *tawḥīd* are to be considered abrogated, and he cites the opinions of Muslim *mufassirīn* such as Abū Ja'far Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabarī (839-923), and even Mujāhid ibn Jabr (642-722), in support of his view of the matter.[71] Mar Elias was not only will informed about the Qur'ān and its Muslim interpreters, he was also willing to use its testimony in support of the truth of Christian teaching.

Perhaps the high point of the Christian Arabic engagement with the Arabic Qur'ān for apologetic purposes came in the twelfth century. The 'Melkite' bishop of Sidon, Paul of Antioch (*fl. c.* 1180-1200),[72] who was the author of a number of theological treatises in Arabic,[73] wrote a 'Letter to a Muslim Friend' in Sidon, in which he skillfully deploys selected passages from the Qur'ān to build a defense of Christianity as the true religion and one which the Qur'ān itself enjoins Muslims to respect. Paul's contention is that the Qur'ān enfranchises Christianity and proves that its doctrines are not such as to be compared with the unbelief (*al-kufr*) of polytheists (*al-mushrikūn*).[74]

Using the literary form of a public letter, Paul presents a scenario according to which he has just returned from an extended visit to the cities of Constantinople, Rome and the land of the Franks, where, due to his status as a bishop, he says he had gained entrée to the company of both civil leaders and scholars. Paul reports that these people asked him about Muḥammad and about the scripture he claimed God had sent down to him. Referring no doubt to the Greek translations of the Qur'ān, Paul says that these Christian, non-Muslims whom he had met on his journey, told him that they had arranged to gain access to the Muslim scripture. So Paul reports that in response to his questions, almost as if he were a spokesman for the Muslims, these foreign Christians quoted passages from the Qur'ān to prove that Islam itself was

only for those who speak Arabic and that their scripture actually enjoins respect for Christians and commends the veracity of their doctrines and the rectitude of their religious practices. Paul, of course, cites the passages from the Arabic Qur'ān, some sixty of them in all. He very artfully weaves the quotations, allusions and echoes of the Qur'ān's text, often cited inexactly and bundled into catenae of quotations of phrases and half phrases, into a coherent defense of Christianity. At the end of the letter, Paul tells his Muslim friend that if the foreign readers of the Qur'ān have gotten it right, as he has reported their scripture-based reasoning, then God will have "reconciled opinions and put a stop to the quarrelling between His servants, the Christians (an-naṣārā) and the Muslims."[75] If, however, there are problems, Paul says that his Muslim friend will explain the matter to him and that he, Paul, will transmit the objections to his foreign interlocutors, who had made him an intermediary (safīran).

The ingenuity of the letter as an apologetic tract is evident, including the ploy that Paul is but the intermediary for foreign readers of the Qur'ān. And while the reading of the Islamic scripture is on the face of it a respectful one, it is also quite obviously a selective, not to say a 'Christianizing' reading.[76] In the end, Paul intended his reading to undercut the Qur'ān's obvious critique of Christian faith and religious practice and contrariwise, positively to commend Christianity. It is no wonder that on the one hand, the text quickly gained popularity among Arabic-speaking Christians and on the other hand prompted Muslim scholars to write refutations of it. Already in the thirteenth century, the text was known in Cairo and the prominent Muslim, legal scholar Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Qarāfī (1228-1285) included a point by point refutation of the letter in his book *Proud An-swers to Impudent Questions*.[77] Then in Cyprus, sometime in the thirteenth century, now unknown Christian hands expanded Paul of Antioch's letter to a length some "three or even four times as long"[78] as the original. This Cypriot letter, as we may call the expanded recension of Paul's original letter to his Muslim friend in Sidon, eventually came to the attention of two prominent Muslim scholars in Damascus in the early years of the fourteenth century, and they both wrote refutations of it, quoting long portions of the text in their refutations. They were Muḥammad ibn Abī Ṭālib ad-Dimashqī (*fl. c.* 1320)[79] and Taqī d-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328).[80] Their works were to mark a turning-point in the history of Christian/Muslim relations; thereafter few original works of Christian theology were composed in Arabic.

Toward the beginning of his subsequently very influential book in refutation of the Cypriot letter, *The Sound Response to Those Who Have Changed the Religion of the Messiah*,[81] Ibn Taymiyyah commented on the letter's widespread influence among the Christians of his time, a circumstance that doubles inspired his own work, at least in part. He wrote:

> A letter arrived from Cyprus in which there is an argument for the religion of Christians. In it the scholars of their religion as well as the eminent persons of their church, ancient and modern, plead their case with religious and intellectual arguments. . . . That which they state in this book is the basic support on which their scholars depend, both in our time and in previous ages, although some of them may elaborate further than others depending on the situations. We have found them making use of this treatise before now. Their scholars hand it down among themselves, and old copies of it still exist.[82]

While in earlier Islamic times there were some Muslim responses to the apologetic tracts written by Arabic-speaking Christians, the rebuttals by major Muslim scholars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to Paul of Antioch's Qur'ān based reasoning in support of the veracity of Christian faith and practice were unprecedented. They came at a time when the center of gravity of Muslim intellectual life had shifted from Baghdad to Cairo and Damascus, when the crusades were underway, and when the Christian populations in the World of Islam were beginning their long slide into demographic insignificance. In regard to the strength of the unusual Islamic response to an apology for Christianity, it was perhaps not irrelevant that Paul of Antioch's letter to his Muslim friend in Sidon, and its expansion into the Cypriot letter, was almost entirely based on a Christian reading of the Arabic Qur'ān. With all the selectivity and sleight of hand in quotation that one can point out in the text, it nevertheless appealed to what seemed to be obvious interpretations, from a non-Muslim perspective, of the passages of the Qur'ān that it quoted. Thereby, one might opine, the text gained an unprecedented purchase on the attention of Muslims and solicited the rebuttals that would long remain some of the most authoritative Islamic challenges to Christianity in the Arabic-speaking world, extending from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries even into the twenty-first century.

B) The Qur'ān as a Crypto-Christian Scripture

One of the most intriguing accounts from early Islamic times, claiming Christian origins for the Arabic Qur'ān, comes in an apologetic/polemical text that was composed in all probability in the ninth century and originally in Syriac. In due course it has been transmitted over the centuries in Syriac in both 'Jacobite' and 'Nestorian'

recensions, and in both a short and a long Arabic recension. Modern scholars typically refer to this work as the legend of Sergius Baḥīrā and the story has long remained popular in eastern Christian circles.[83] In its origins, the legend builds on the account in the early Islamic biography of Muḥammad according to which in his youth, while on a journey to Syria with his uncle Abū Ṭālib, the future prophet and his entourage encountered a Christian monk named Baḥīrā who, as the story goes, with the help of Christian texts in his possession, was able to recognize the sign of future prophet-hood on Muḥammad's body.[84]

Utilizing this Islamic reminiscence of an event in Muḥammad's early life as a frame-narrative for the legend, the now unknown Syriac author composed a narrative in which a fellow monk introduces the main character of the story as a monk of doubtful orthodoxy called Sergius Baḥīrā. The narrator then recounts Sergius Baḥīrā's story as he unfolds it. The text includes both an apocalypse of Baḥīrā,[85] in which the monk recapitulates themes from Syriac apocalyptic narratives written by Syriac-speaking Christians in earlier Islamic times,[86] and a section that the modern editor calls Baḥīrā's teachings, in which the monk catechizes Muḥammad in Christian doctrine and practice in a manner he deemed suitable for the communication of Christianity to Bedouin Arabs.[87] It is in the section of the text recounting Baḥīrā's teachings, as they are presented in the Arabic recensions of the legend, that one finds the development of the idea that the Qur'ān was originally a Christian composition, composed by Baḥīrā, and designed to suit the requirements for Muḥammad to evangelize the Arabs.[88] All the recensions insist that Baḥīrā's tutelage of Muḥammad in Christianity was in the end corrupted by others, most notably initially by the famous early Jewish convert to Islam, Ka'b al-Aḥbār, thereby accenting an anti-Jewish

dimension already prominent in the text. The legend of Sergius Baḥīrā or various parts of it or allusions to it circulated widely in Syriac and Arab Christian, apologetic and polemical works in the Middle East from the ninth century onwards.[89] And perhaps the idea that found the widest circulation is that the Qur'ān was originally a Christian composition and that the monk Sergius Baḥīrā, was its original author.

In the longer Arabic recension of the legend, the redactor of the story has ingeniously woven some forty verses from the Qur'ān into the narrative in such a way as to show first "that the Qur'ān is authored by a Christian, and secondly, that Muslim polemic against Christian doctrine is not justified."[90] In the telling, Sergius Baḥīrā speaks in the first person, and having described his meeting with Muḥammad more or less according to the Islamic story in the *Sīrah*, the monk tells him to leave with his companions but to return later for personal instruction. Muḥammad comes back alone three days later and his catechesis begins. The monk teaches him the basic doctrines of Christianity about God's Word and His Spirit and extracts a promise that when Muḥammad and his people come to power they will protect the Christians and not extract taxes from them, neither *jizyah* nor *kharāj*. The monk instructs Muḥammad to claim he is a prophet in order the gain a hearing among his people and when he says, "How will they believe me, while I do not possess a book?" Sergius Baḥīrā says, "I will take it upon me to write for you what you need and to tell you about any given matter that they ask you about, be it reasonable or not." And the monk begins at the beginning, with I *al-Fātiḥah* 1, the opening phrase of every *sūrah* but one; he says:

> And I wrote for him: '*In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate*'. With this I mean the Holy Uni-

fied Trinity: 'God' is the Father and the Eternal Light, and 'the Merciful' is the Son, who is merciful to the peoples and has purchased them with his holy blood, and 'the Compassionate' is the Holy Spirit whose compassion is bestowed amply on all and who dwells in all believers. And I taught him things that brought him close to the true faith.[91]

From here on, through his account of the rest of the forty some verses of the Qur'ān that he quotes or paraphrases as he teaches Muḥammad, Sergius Baḥīrā fairly consistently employs the formula, "I wrote for him . . . , with this I mean . . . ," first reciting the verse, then either mentioning the Christian truth he meant to commend with the Qur'ān's words, or countering an Islamic, anti-Christian interpretation of the Qur'ān passage that was common in early Islamic times. Here, due to considerations of time and space, one must resist the temptation to recount what the monk says about the many verses he says he wrote for Muḥammad. Suffice it to mention one or two of the more interesting instances, sufficient to show how in this composition the author not only promotes the idea that in its origins the Qur'ān was a Christian book, but also how he proposes to correct what he takes to be mistaken Muslim readings of the Arabic scripture, by supplying the original meaning. In the ensemble, the exercise becomes an apology for Christianity, based on proof-texts from the Qur'ān interpreted from a Christian perspective.

In reference to the verse of the Qur'ān that Muslims were already taking to mean that Jesus did not die on the cross, Sergius Baḥīrā says, "I also wrote for him: 'They did not kill him and they did not crucify him, but it was made to appear so to them.' (IV *an-Nisā'* 157) With this I mean that Christ did not die in the substance of his divine nature but rather in the substance of his human nature."[92]

In another instance, the monk says, "I also wrote for him, 'If you are in doubt about what has been revealed to you, then ask those to whom the scripture was given before you.' (X *Yūnus* 94) With this I intended to prove that the Holy Gospel is truer than any of the scriptures, and cannot be impaired by those who want to discredit it, nor can any change (*taghyīr*) or corruption (*taḥrīf*) be correlated with it."[93]

In a passage in which he conflates several verses from the Qur'ān, Sergius Baḥīrā takes responsibility for specifying Muḥammad's role in the history of salvation, He says, "And I wrote for him too: 'Muḥammad is the messenger of God (*rasūl Allāh*). (XLVIII *al-Fatḥ* 29) He sent him with guidance and the true religion, that He may make it prevail over all religion, though the polytheists be averse.' (IX *at-Tawbah* 33 & LXI *aṣ-ṣaff* 9) And I wrote for him: 'Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. Messengers have passed away before him.' (III *Āl 'Imrān* 144)… And: 'God and His angels bless the prophet. O you who believe, bless him and salute him'. (XXXIII *al-Aḥzāb* 56)"[94]

Along the way, the monk offers some explanation of his project to tutor Muḥammad. He says, "Innumerable things I wrote for him with which to try to make him incline toward the faith of truth and the confession of the coming of Christ to the world and also to make him denounce the Jews regarding what they allege against our Lord, the true Messiah."[95] But the monk knows that much of what he wrote for Muḥammad "will be changed and subtracted from and added to many times, because after him people will follow him who will become inimical and hateful to us."[96] In the end, Sergius Baḥīrā confesses that he overreached himself and that he had sinned in what he had done with Muḥammad. He said,

> I wanted his prophet-hood to be in the name of the Trinity, confessed to be one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. . . . I wanted to confirm the kingdom of the Sons of Ishmael, in order that the promise of God to Abraham about Ishmael would be fulfilled.[97] That was all I intended, so I devised prophet-hood for him and I produced a scripture for him and I presented it as having come down to him as a revelation, so that the words of our Lord Christ in his Gospel, 'After me false prophets will come to you. Woe to the one who follows them' (Mt. 24:11) would be fulfilled.[98]

Even from the few quotations given here, one clearly sees how the author of the legend made use of selected quotations from the Arabic Qur'ān. It is important to recognize that these relatively few quotations did not make up the entirety of the catechesis of Muḥammad in the narrative. Rather, they are woven into the whole fabric of the story, telling how, the author claims, the monk of questionable ecclesiastical standing, Sergius Baḥīrā, invented both the Qur'ān and Islam and tutored Muḥammad as part of what the author portrays as a misguided strategy for evangelizing the Bedouin Arabs, a strategy that, as the monk concedes, was ill-conceived and ultimately failed. Obviously, the whole work is an attempt apologetically and polemically both to discount Islam's religious claims in Arabophone Christian eyes and at the same time it provides a narrative of suspicion that seems to be designed precisely to forestall Christian conversions to Islam.

VI

In connection with its journey from Greek and Syriac into Arabic, the question arises, did Christian theology acquire in the process something that might reasonably be called an Islamicate profile or an Islamo-Christian expression that one might further

characterize as a Christian theology for Islam? It is clear that the transition to Arabic, with its inevitable Islamic nuance was a necessary but unsatisfactory undertaking; Mar Elias of Nisibis went so far as we have seen to speak of the ambiguity and inexactitude the use of Arabic brought to the expression of Christian thought and doctrine. And while it is clear that Christian writers in Arabic strove to convey and to explain the traditional teaching of their churches in the new idiom, the exigencies of a religious vocabulary indebted to the Qur'ān and to developments in Islamic thought and expression inevitably gave a new shape to Christian discourse that one might liken to a development in theology. This development enabled Christian thinkers to compose responses to the comprehensive challenge to Christian faith and practice posed by Muslims. But the price for the development of a new mode of Christian discourse was indeed high; it required the adoption of a new and unaccustomed theoretical background for its articulation, a background that had its roots in the Qur'ān, a rival scripture that in fact critiqued and challenged the central articles of Christian faith. As Kenneth Cragg so aptly put it, when Christians in the caliphate outside of the Arabian Peninsula began speaking Arabic, they found themselves eventually "bound over to a language that is bound over to Islam."[99]

In contrast with the previously standard modes of Christian discourse in Greek or Syriac, the Arabic-speaking Christian writers often built their arguments on ways of thinking that the Muslims had initially elaborated in view of commending their own faith in the Qur'ān and in the traditions of the prophet Muḥammad. As a result, the discourse of the Christian apologists in Arabic from early Islamic times up to the fifteenth century presents a conceptual profile that cannot easily be mistaken for Christian theology in any other community of Christian discourse. For example, their approach to the principal articles of the Christian creed involved the reasoned articulation in Arabic of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. In the case of the doctrine of the Trinity the effort, as we have seen involved approaching the topic in terms of the contemporary Islamic discussion of the ontological status of the Qur'ān's divine attributes. In the case of the Incarnation, also already mentioned, the effort involved discussing the matter in terms of the Qur'ān's presentation of the signs of authentic prophecy and the true religion. But it was not just a matter of Islamicizing Christian theology; the Islamic cachet of the Arabic language, or the Muslim cast to the Arabic language as used by Christians living in the World of Islam is also perceptible in the Arabic translations of the Bible, in the translations of patristic texts, saints' lives, legal texts, and even in the language of the Divine Liturgy. It inevitably conditioned every aspect of Christian life and thought, lived and articulated within the purview of Islam and as such we may say that Christianity in Arabic has been an integral component of the evolution of Islamicate society at large. A recent scholar has written that "The Greeks and Romans came to the Near East with a learned high culture, and native elites contested it, adopted it, or did something in between. But the conquering Arabs had no comparable learned culture; consequently, the conquerors and conquered argued over the next three centuries about the content of not only 'Islamic' but also 'Arab' identity and scholarship."[100] Unfortunately, the author seems to have largely overlooked the importance of interconfessional arguing between Jews, Christians, and Muslims as providing the wide arena in which not only many of the traditional Muslim religious formulae first came into clear expression, but interreligious controversy was also the crucible in which

Arabic-speaking Christians found a new idiom in which to articulate for themselves and for others the principal articles of their creed. However, as these articles of faith were originally formulated in Greek and Syriac, in words that remained the measure of their meaning even in the very different world of discourse in Arabic, the scriptural, liturgical, and canonical languages nevertheless retained their authority; they were not abandoned in the transition to Arabic.

VII

A notable fact about the adoption of Arabic on the part of the Syriac-speaking communities living in the World of Islam is that while it opened a new chapter in the history of Syriac Christianity it did not close the book on Syriac itself as a living, both ecclesiastical and everyday language. Rather, by way of contrast to the experiences of some of the other Christian communities living among Muslims, where the adoption of Arabic seems eventually to have forced some of the patristic and canonical languages of the Christian Orient such as Greek or Coptic, or even Christian Palestinian Aramaic out of everyday life and into the specialized realms of scholars, monks, and hierarchs, Syriac remained the common language of everyday people and continued to flourish also as the language of liturgy and scholarship across the wide range of its eastern and western idiom, culminating for a moment in the so-called 'Syriac Renaissance' from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries,[101] but then continuing into modern times in numerous phases of Neo-Aramaic, most notably Sureth and Ṭuroyo, and even into a renewal of the classical language in more recent times. And it is important to emphasize the fact that along the whole span of their co-existence with Arabic-speaking Muslims, Syriac-speaking Christian authors have written at length about their interactions with Muslims, some of whose works we have mentioned above.[102]

Notable Syriac scholars and writers who flourished in Islamic times include some of the most well-known names in what had become an actively bilingual, Syriac and Arabic Christian tradition. In the period of the Graeco-Syro-Arabic translation movement, one might mention not only the active translators, such as Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (808-873) and Abū Bishr Mattā ibn Yūnus (d.940), but also scholars such as Nonnos of Nisibis (d. after 861), Moshe bar Kēphā (d.903), Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (893-974), and the masterful Mar Elias of Nisibis (975-1046), who, as we have seen, addressed the very issue of the interface between Syriac and Arabic and the inadequacy of Arabic as a language in which the life of the church and her teaching could be satisfactorily transmitted. All the while, of course, as we have seen, Mar Elias was deeply familiar with the Arabic works of the major Muslim writers of his time, especially in literature, history, and *kalām*; he not only referred to them but in a number of instances he quoted liberally from them. This was even more the case with the Syriac scholars and writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as Dionysius bar Ṣalībī (d.1171), the patriarch, Michael I Rabo (d.1199), the hymnographer, Gewargis Warda (13th century), and of course the incomparable Abū l-Faraj Gregory Bar Hebraeus (1225-1286), and many who followed them.

During Islamic times there were also not a few instances in which a number of Syriac-speaking Christian scholars made translations of largely Islamic religious and literary texts from Arabic to Syriac, not to mention philosophical, scientific, and medical texts.[103] And in this connection perhaps the most notable case is that of the translation of large parts of the Qur'ān itself from its original Arabic into Syriac. While there is some controversy about when, where, and under whose auspices the translations

of the Qur'ān into Syriac were first produced, they were already available to Dionysius bar Ṣalībī who included substantial portions of the Arabic scripture in Syriac translation into his polemical treatise against the Arabs.[104] Bar Hebraeus interpreted the Arabic works of a number of major Muslim scholars for Syriac readers, including most notably, works of two of the most famous of them, Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sīnā (980-1037) and Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (1058-1111).[105] Finally we should mention popular literature translated from Arabic into Syriac, such as the widely read tales of *Kalila wa Dimna*, and the stories of Sinbad.[106]

In the end we come back to the beginning. While in the wake of the Arab occupation of the Levant and beyond from the second third of the seventh century AD onward and the eventual creation of a World of Islam in which Arabic quickly became the daily language of all the peoples living under Islamic rule, Syriac-speaking Christians along with many others were quick to adopt Arabic as we have seen, but unlike others they did not abandon their own language. Rather Syriac not only continued; it even flourished at certain moments under Muslim rule as we have also seen. Nevertheless in the end the new

chapter in the history of Syriac Christianity that the adoption of Arabic ushered into the daily life of the church was a long and formative one. Accordingly, some have thought that the adoption of Arabic paved the way for a shared Arab Christian identity among the separated churches of the Middle East, which in their judgment should ultimately provide the means for an ecumenical rapprochement among them at the same time that it should enable a fruitful interreligious dialogue between Muslims and Christians within the World of Islam, in no small part precisely because of the perceived openness to Muslim understanding that the adoption of Arabic has infused into Middle Eastern Christian discourse.[107] Whatever one might think of such suggestions, looking back from the perspective of the early twenty-first century, it appears from a consideration of the historical record that the adoption of Arabic language and Islamic culture has not in fact overshadowed the identity of the Syriac-speaking churches. Rather, that identity, having absorbed its Arabic heritage as an important part of its patrimony, has now emerged into a new phase of life even beyond the borders of the churches' historic homeland, into a space in which the possibility of a new Syriac Renaissance beckons.

NOTES

[1] The adjective 'Islamicate' was invented by Marshal Hodgson, who said that it "would refer not directly to the religion, Islam, itself, but to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims." Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (3 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), vol. I, 59.

[2] Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsid Society (2nd-4th /8th-10th Centuries)* (London & New York: Routledge, 1998).

[3] See, e.g., Raymond Le Coz, *Les médecins nestoriens au moyen âge: Les maîtres des Arabes* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004); Kurt J. Werthmuller, *Coptic Identity and Ayyubid Politics in Egypt 1218-1250* (Cairo & New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010).

[4] See, e.g., John Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam; Six Centuries of Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

[5] See Youssef Courbage & Philippe Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam* (trans. Judy Mabro; London & New York: I.B. Tauris, 1997); Yohanan Friedman, *Tolerance and Coercion is Islam: Interfaith Relations in Muslim Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Milka Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims in the Early Islamic Empire: From Surrender to Coexistence* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[6] See Garth Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[7] Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab People* (New York: Warner Books, 1992), 54-57.

[8] In this connection, see Alexander Treiger, "Syro-Arabic Translations in Abbasid Palestine: The Case of John of Apamea's 'Letter on Stillness' (Sinai ar. 549)," *Parole de l'Orient* 39 (2014) 79-131; *idem*, "The Fathers in Arabic," in Ken Parry (ed.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Patristics* (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 442-455; *idem*, "Christian Graeco-Arabica: Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3 (2015) 188-227; *idem*, "Unpublished Texts from the Arab Orthodox Tradition (1): 'On the Origins of the Term 'Melkite' and 'On the Destruction of the Maryamiyya Cathedral in Damascus,'\'," *Chronos: Revue d' Histoire de l'Université de Balamand* 29 (2014) 7-37; *idem,* "Unpublished Texts from the Arab Orthodox Tradition (2): Miracles of St. Eustratius of Mar Saba (Written ca. 860)," *Chronos: Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand* 33 (2016) 7-20.

[9] See Sidney H. Griffith, "The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic," *The Muslim World* 78 (1988) 1-28; "From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1997) 11-31.

[10] See Samir Khalil Samir, *Foi et culture en Irak au XIe siècle: Élie de Nisibe et l'Islam* (Collected Studies Series, 544; Aldershot, UK: Variorum/Ashgate, 1966); Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); *idem*, "Syrian Christian Intellectuals in the World of Islam: Faith, the Philosophical Life, and the Quest for an Interreligious Convivencia in Abbasid Times," *Journal of the CSSS* 7 (2007) 55-73; Samuel Noble & Alexander Treiger (eds.), *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World 700-1700: An Anthology of Sources* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014); Diego R. Sarrió Cucarella, *Muslim-Christian Polemics across the Mediterranean: The Splendid Replies of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d.684/1285)* (History of Christian-Muslim Relations, vol. 23; Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[11] The Spanish term '*convivencia*' is normally used to describe the living situation of Jews, Christians and Muslims in al-Andalus in the medieval period. Some writers view the period somewhat romantically, envisioning a

time of tolerance and enlightenment. See, e.g., María Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002). The present writer views this account of affairs in Spain to be more legendary than real; see Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, 154-155. Nevertheless, *convivencia* is an apt term to suggest the modes of mutual accommodation of Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the wider World of Islam and particularly in reference to Baghdad and its environs from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. See Griffith, "Syrian Christian Intellectuals," cited in the previous note.

[12] See the accounts of difficulties, disabilities, and persecutions in Bat Ye'or, *The Decline of Eastern Christianity under Islam: From Jihad to Dhimmitude; Seventh-Twentieth Century* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996). One must be aware of the extreme anti-Islamic prejudice of this and other recent publications by Bat Ye'or. Nevertheless, it is to this author's credit to have highlighted the need for systematic study of the cumulative effects over time of the Islamic legislation regarding the People of the Book on the factual diminution of Jewish and Christian communities in the world of Islam.

[13] These developments are discussed with characteristic insight in Fazlur Rahman, *Revival and Reform in Islam: A Study of Islamic Fundamentalism* (ed. Ebrahim Moosa; Oxford: One World, 2000/2003).

[14] See Jean-Pierre Valognes, *Vie et mort des chrétiens d'Orient: Des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Fayard, 1994); Andrea Pacini (ed.), *Christian Communities in the Arab Middle East: The Challenge of the Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[15] See the pertinent articles included among a selection of the author's accounts of his search for Arabic manuscripts in I.Y. Kratchkovsky, *Among Arabic Manuscripts: Memories of Libraries and Men* (trans. Tatiana Minorsky; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953).

[16] See Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (5 vols.; Studi e Testi, 118, 133, 146, 147, 142; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944-1953). For subsequent general accounts of

Muslim/Christian relations in Arabic see Bénédicte Landron, *Chréttiens et musulmans en Irak: Attitudes Nestoriennes vis-à-vis de l'Islam* (Paris: Cariscript, 1994); Jean-Marie Gaudeul, *Encounters and Clashes: Islam and Christianity in History* (2 vols.; rev. ed.; Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi e Islamici, 2000); David Thomas *et al.* (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History* (8 vols.; Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2009-2016).

[17] See Sidney H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the 'People of the Book' in the Language of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013); Ronny Volandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[18] See Treiger, "The Fathers in Arabic," and the other studies mentioned in n. 8 above.

[19] An excellent survey is provided in the multi-volume reference work by David Thomas *et al.* (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*.

[20] Bayard Dodge (ed. & trans.), *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A Tenth Century Survey of Muslim Culture* (2 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), Vol. I, 46.

[21] See Richard M. Frank, "The Jeremias of Pethion ibn Ayyūb al-Sahhār," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 21 (1959) 136-170; *idem*, (ed. & trans.), *The Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach (Sinai ar. 155, IXth/Xth cent.)*; (CSCO, vols. 357 & 358; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1974).

[22] Frank, "The Jeremias of Pethion," 139-140.

[23] For further discussion, see Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), esp. chap. IV, 75-105.

[24] See, e.g., the discussion of some new developments in Coptic Orthodoxy theology in recent times in Mark N. Swanson, "Are Hypostases Attributes? An Investigation into the Modern Egyptian Christian Appropriation of the Medieval Arabic Apologetic Heritage," *Parole de l'Orient* 16 (1990-1991) 239-250.

[25] See Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, "Elias of Nisibis," in David Thomas, Alex Mallett *et al.* (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Biblio-*

graphical History (vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 727-741; Samir Khalil Samir, *Foi et culture en Irak au XIe siècle: Élie de Nisibe et l'Islam* (Aldershot, Hampshire, UK: Variorum / Ashgate, 1996).

26 Unfortunately, this important work has never been fully published or translated into a western language. See Samir, *Foi et culture en Irak* for details.

27 This chapter of Elias' *Kitāb al-majālis* has been edited, published, translated into French, and studied by Samir, *Foi et culture en Irak*, no. XI. See n. 28 for the original publication.

28 Samir Khalil Samir, "Langue arabe, logique, et théologie chez Élie de Nisibe," *Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph* 52 (1991-1992) 229-366; 349 (Arabic), 348 (French).

29 Samir, "Langue arabe," 355 (Arabic), 354 (French).

30 See Gerhard Endress, "Grammatik und Logik: Arabische Philologie und griechische Philosophie im Widerstreit," in Burkhard Mosjsisch (ed.), *Sprachphilosophie in Antike und Mittelalter* (BSPh 3; Amsterdam: Gruner, 1986), 163-299; Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival during the Buyid Age* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), esp. 110-116.

31 See, e.g., Richard M. Frank, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ash'arite School* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994); Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Alexander Treiger, *Inspired Knowledge in Islamic Thought: al-Ghazālī's Theory of Mystical Cognition and its Avicennian Foundation* (London & New York: Routledge, 2012).

32 See Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation: A Studyof the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia* (American Oriental Series, vol. 60; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1975) and Mohsen Zakeri, "Ādāb al-falāsifa: The Persian Content of an Arabic Collection of Aphorisms," in Emma Gannagé *et a.* (eds.), *The Greek Strand in Islamic Political Thought* (Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, vol. 57; Beirut: Université Saint-Joseph, 2004) 173-190.

33 See the fuller discussion in Sidney H. Griffith, "Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq and the *Kitāb ādāb al-falāsifah*: The Pursuit of Wisdom and a Humane Polity in Early Abbasid Baghdad," in George A. Kiraz (ed.), *Malphono w-Rabo-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 135-160.

34 Badawi, *Ḥunain ibn Isḥâq, Âdâb al-falâsifah*, 43.

35 I.-B Chabot, *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens* (CSCO, vols. 82 & 109; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1920 & Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1952), vol. 82, p. 104-105 (Syriac), 109, p. 82 (Latin).

36 Samir Khalil Samir, "Un traité nouveau d'Élie de Nisibe sur le sens des mots *kiyān* et *ilāh*," *Parole de l'Orient* 14 (1987) 109-153; reprinted as no. IX in Samir, *Foi et culture en Iraq*.

37 For the numerous equivalents one finds in Christian Arabic texts for *prosopon*, and a discussion of the problems involved in finding an apt term in Arabic for the theological context, see Rachid Haddad, *La trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes (750-1050)* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1985), esp. 151-185, and the chart on 182-183.

38 See the extensive discussion of *prosopon* in G.W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Dictionary* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), 1186-1189.

39 See for example, Mar Elias use of the term *al-jawhar* in stating his Trinitarian faith in the text of his personal creed in L. Cheikho, *Trois traités anciens de polémique et de théologie chrétiennes* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1923), 51.

40 In another place, Mar Elias made the same point: "The Syrians name every being that is subsistent in itself by the Syriac term, *kyānâ / kiyān*, be that being eternal or originated, since for them the definition of *kyānâ / al-kiyān* is something that subsists in itself." *Risālah fī waḥdāniyyat al-khāliq wat tathlīth aqānīmihi*, in L. Cheikho (ed.), *Seize traités théologiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens* (Beirut: 1906), 104-109.

41 Samir, "Un traité nouveau d'Élie de Nisibe," 138-141 (Arabic & French).

42 See Sidney H. Griffith, "Anastasios of Sinai, the *Hodegos* and the Muslims," *Greek*

Orthodox Theological Review 32 (1987) 341-358.

⁴³ See Sidney H. Griffith, "Disputing with Muslims in Syriac: The Case of the Monk of Bêt Ḥālê with a Muslim Emir," *Hugoye* 3, no. 1 (2000), http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol3No1/HV3N1/Griffith.html. See also Robert G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 13; Princeton, NJ: The Darwin Press, 1997), 465-472. See now the full text published and translated into English by David C.K. Taylor, "The Disputation between a Muslim and a Monk of Bēt Ḥālē: Syriac Text and Annotated English Translation," in Sidney H. Griffith & Sven Grebenstein (eds.), *Christsein in der islamischen Welt: Grstschrift für Martin Tamcke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), 187-242.

⁴⁴ Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, 471.

⁴⁵ Daniel J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: "The Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 133. See Raymond Le Coz (ed.), *Jean Damascène: Écrits sur Islam* (Sources Chrétiens, 383; Paris: Cerf, 1992). See also Sidney H. Griffith, "John of Damascus and the Church in Syria in the Umayyad Era: The Intellectual and Cultural Milieu of Orthodox Christians in the World of Islam," *Hugoye* 11, no. 2 (2008), http:// syrcom. cua. edu/Hugoye/Vol11No2/HV11N2/Griffith.html; *idem*, "The Manṣūr Family and Saint John of Damascus: Christians and Muslims in Umayyad Times," in Antoine Borrut & Fred M. Donner, *Christians and Others in the Umayyad State* (Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Near East, I; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2016), 29-51; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, 480-489.

⁴⁶ Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam*, 137.

⁴⁷ Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, 488.

⁴⁸ See Mark N. Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting: Approaches to the Qur'ān in Some Early Arabic Christian Apologies," *The Muslim World* 88 (1998) 297-319; Sidney H. Griffith, "The Qur'ān in Arab Christian Texts: The Development of an Apologetic Argument: Abū Qurrah in the *Maǧlis* of al-Ma'mūn," *Parole de l'Orient* 24 (1999) 203-233.

⁴⁹ This is the fictional correspondence, composed in Arabic by a now unknown Christian, between a Muslim character, significantly named 'Abd Allāh ibn Ismā'īl al-Hāshimī and a Christian character named 'Abd al-Masīḥ ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī, in which the latter polemically disposes of the claims advanced in behalf of Islam, Muḥammad, and the Qur'ān by the former. The text was translated into Latin under the auspices of Peter the Venerable in the twelfth century. See Jose Muñoz Sendino, "Al-Kindi, Apologia del Christianismo," *Miscelanea Comillas* 11 & 12 (1949) 339-460. An English translation is available in N. A. Newman, *Early Christian-Muslim Dialogue: A Collection of Documents from the First Three Islamic Centuries (632-900A.D.; Translations with Commentary* (Hatfield, PA: Interdisciplinary Biblical Research Institute, 1993), 355-545. For a discussion of the text see Bénédicte Landron, *Chrétiens et Musulmans en Irak: Attitudes Nestoriennes vis-à-vis de l'islam* (Études Chrétiennes Arabes; Paris: Cariscript, 1994), 78-89.

⁵⁰ See in particular the al-Hāshimī/al-Kindī correspondence mentioned just above, n.49.

⁵¹ See Sidney H. Griffith, "The Qur'ān in Arab Christian Texts: The Development of an Apologetical Argument: Abū Qurah in the *Maǧlis* of al-Ma'mūn," *Parole de l'Orient* 24 (1999) 203-233.

⁵² It is clear that the term *dhikr* in this passage refers to the recollection of scripture passages, perhaps liturgical pericopes recounting events in salvation history that are thought of as being recorded in the heavenly *kitāb*. See Angelika Neuwirth, "Vom Rezitationstext über die Liturgie zum Kanon," in Stefan Wild (ed.), *The Qur'ān as Text* (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science, Texts and Studies, vol. 27; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 90-91. One translator actually renders the term in this verse with the word 'scripture'. See M. A. S. Abdel Haleem (trans.), *The Qur'an: A New Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Q 21:24, p. 204. In two other passages the Qur'ān uses the phrase, *ahl adh-dhikr* as a virtual synonym for *ahl al-kitāb*; see XVI *an-*

Naḥl 43 and XXI *an-Anbiyā'* 7. It is interesting to note in this connection that aṭ-Ṭabarī listed *dhikr* as one of the names of the Qur'ān, alongside the names: *qur'ān, furqān,* and *kitāb*. See Daniel A. Madigan, *The Qur'ān's Self-Image: Writing and Authority in Islam's Scripture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 130.

[53] It is interesting to note in passing that some Arab Christian apologists named their treatises, *Kitāb al-burhān*. The ninth century, 'Nestorian' writer, 'Ammār al-Baṣrī is a case in point and the editor of his text knew of seven other instances of texts with this same name. See Michel Hayek, *'Ammār al-Baṣrī: apologies et controversies* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1977), 32-33.

[54] There is another early Arab Christian text from the late eighth century or the very early ninth century, a fragmentary papyrus, in which the author quotes the Qur'ān and names the *sūrahs* from which he quotes. But the text is too fragmentary to allow one to say much about the author's overall purposes. See Georg Graf, "Christliche-arabische Texte. Zwei Disputationen zwischen Muslimen und Christen," in Friedrich Bilabel & Adolf Grohmann (eds.), *Griechische, koptische und arabische Texte zur Religion und religiösen Literatur in Ägyptens Spätzeit* (Heidelberg: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1934), 8-23.

[55] See Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles, with a Treatise on the Triune Nature of God* (Studia Sinaitica, VIII; London: C.J. Clay & Sons, 1899), 74-107 (Arabic); 2-36 (English); Maria Gallo (trans.), *Palestinese anonimo: omelia arabo-cristiana dell'VIII secolo* (Roma: Città Nuova Editrice, 1994). See also Samir Khalil Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity (c.750)," in Samir Khalil Samir & Jørgen Nielsen (eds.), *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750-1258)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 57-114.

[56] See Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology," p. 69-70; Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting," 305-308.

[57] Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting," 308.

[58] Adapted from the text and translation in Samir, "The Earliest Arab Apology," 67-68.

[59] Gibson, *An Arabic Version*, 3 (English), 75 (Arabic). Here the English translation has been adapted from Gibson's version

[60] See, e.g., Gibson, *An Arabic Version*, p. 5-6 (English); 77-78 (Arabic). See the passage quoted and discussed in Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, 55.

[61] Adapted translation from Gibson, *An Arabic Version*, p. 5-6 (English), 77-78 (Arabic).

[62] See Gibson, *An Arabic Version*, 11 (English), 83 (Arabic).

[63] Gibson, *An Arabic Version*, 13 (English), 85 (Arabic).

[64] This theme of Jesus humanity as a 'veil', echoing the Qur'ānic text, became quite popular in later 'Melkite' Arabic works of religious apology; see Swanson, "Beyond Prooftexting," esp. 301-302.

[65] See Gibson, *An Arabic Version*, 5, 12, 33 (English), 77, 84, 104 (Arabic).

[66] See the remarks in Gallo, *Palestinese anonimo omelia*, 61, esp. n. 50.

[67] For more on this topic, see Griffith, "The Qur'ān in Arab Christian Texts," esp. p. 214-223; Sidney H. Griffith, "Answers for the Shaykh: A 'Melkite' Arabic Text from Sinai and the Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation in 'Arab Orthodox' Apologetics," in David Thomas *et al.* (eds.), *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 277-309, esp. 288-301.

[68] Thomas Burman has shown that scholarly, western translators of the Qur'ān often did their work philologically correctly, and very carefully strove to present the text in the light of the current modes of Islamic interpretation, albeit that they may have disdained the Islam that produced it. See Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom*, esp. 36-59.

[69] See Hartmut Bobzin, "'A Treasury of Heresies': Christian Polemics against the Koran," in Wild, *The Qur'ān as Text*, 157-175.

[70] See Ute Pietruschka, "Die Verwendung und Funktion von Koranzitaten in christlichen Apologien der frühen Aggasidenzeit (Mitte 8. Jahrhundert–Anfang 10. Jahrhundert)," in Walter Beltz & Jürgen Tubach (eds.), *Religiöser Text und soziale Struktur* (Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft, 31; Halle: Martin-Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 2001), 271-288.

[71] See Elias of Nisibis, *Kitāb al-majālis*, in Cheikho, *Trois traités anciens*, p. 42-47. So far there has been no modern scholarly study of this chapter in Mar Elias' work.

[72] On the problem of dates, see S.K. Samir, "Notes sur la 'lettre à un musulman de Sidon' de Paul d'Antioche," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 24 (1993) 179-195.

[73] See Paul Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon (XIIe.s.)* (Recherches de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, vol. 24; Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1964).

[74] See Sidney H. Griffith, "Paul of Antioch," in Noble & Treiger, *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World*, 216-235, 327-331. The article includes an introduction, an English translation of Paul's Letter, and an up-to-date bibliography.

[75] Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche*, 83 (Arabic), 187 (French).

[76] See the comments of David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and *The Letter from Cyprus*," in David Thomas, *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 203-221, esp. 208-213.

[77] Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Qarāfī, *Al-ajwibat al-fākhirah 'an al-as'ilat al-fājirah* (ed. Bakr Zakī 'Awaḍ; Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, 1407/1987). On Shihāb ad-Dīn, see Sherman A. Jackson, *Islamic Law and the State: The Constitutional Jurisprudence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī* (Studies in Islamic Law and Society, vol. 1; Leiden: Brill, 1966).

[78] Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter*," 215.

[79] See the publication and discussion of both the Cypriot Letter and ad-Dimashqī's refutation of it in Rifaat Y. Ebied & David Thomas (ed. & trans.), *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades: The Letter of the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqīs Response* (The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, 2; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[80] See Thomas F. Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya's al-Jawab al-Sahih* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1984).

[81] A recent edition is Taqī d-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyyah, *Al-jawāb aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ liman baddala dīn al-masīḥ* (ed. Muḥammad Ismā'īl, 2 vols.; Cairo: al-Maktabah al-'Ilmiyyah, 1423/2003).

[82] Quoted in the translation of T.F. Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response*, 93. See the full passage in Ibn Taymiyyah, *Al-jawāb aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. I, 22-23. In the part left out by Michel, Ibn Taymiyyah says, "This makes it necessary for us to quote in response what each section of the text proposes, to explain the mistakes according to what is correct, so that intelligent people might profit from it and so that the measured speech and scripture that God sent with His messengers might become clear. I will quote what they mention in their own words, section by section, and I will follow up each section with the corresponding answer basically systematically, fittingly conclusively." *Ibidem*, 23.

[83] The currently definitive edition, translation and discussion of the Syriac and Arabic recensions of the legend, surpassing all previous studies, is Barbara Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Baḥīrā: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam* (History of Christian-Muslim Relations, vol. 9; Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[84] See 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf Sa'd (ed.), *As-Sīrat an-nabawwiyyah l'ibn Hishām* (4 vols.; Beirut: Dār al-Habīl, 1975), vol. I, 165-166; A. Guillaume (trans.), *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasul Allah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1978), 79-81.

[85] See Roggema, *The Legend*, 61-93.

[86] Most notably the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, and other apocalyptic texts of the seventh and eighth centuries. See Francisco Javier Martinez, "La Literatura Apocalíptica y las Primeras Reacciones Cristianas a la conquista islámica en Oriente," in G. Anes & Á. de Castrillón (eds.), *Europa y el Islam* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2003), 143-222.

[87] See Roggema, *The Legend*, 95-128.

[88] See Roggema, *The Legend*, 129-149. See also Barbara Roggema, "A Christian Reading of the Qur'ān: The Legend of Sergius-Baḥīrā and Its Use of Qur'ān and Sīrā," in David Thomas (ed.), *Syrian Christians under Islam; the First Thousand Years* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 57-73.

[89] See Roggema, *The Legend*, 151-208.

[90] Roggema, *The Legend*, 148.

[91] Roggema, *The Legend*, 459.

[92] Roggema, *The Legend*, 463.

[93] Roggema, *The Legend*, 469, slightly altered.

[94] Roggema, *The Legend*, 487-489.

[95] Roggema, *The Legend*, 471.

[96] Roggema, *The Legend*, 489.

[97] See Genesis 21:15-21 & 25:12-18.

[98] Roggema, *The Legend*, 511.

[99] Kenneth Cragg, *The Arab Christian: A History in the Middle East* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 31.

[100] William F. McCants, *Founding Gods, Inventing Nations: Conquest and Culture Myths from Antiquity to Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 2.

[101] See H. G. B. Teule, "Renaissance, Syriac," in Brock, *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 350-351.

[102] See now the important work of Michael Philip Penn, *Envisioning Islam: Syriac Christians and the Early Muslim World* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 20015); *idem*, *When Christians First Met Muslims: A Source Book of the Earliest Syriac Writings on Islam* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015).

[103] See H.G.B. Teule, "Arabic, Syriac Translations from," in Brock, *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 27-28.

[104] See Alphonse Mingana, "An Ancient Syriac Translation of the Kur'ān Exhibiting New Verses and Variants," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 9 (1925) 188-235. Mingana somewhat implausibly argued for a translation already in the seventh century. For more information on the text discussed by Mingana, see now Joseph P. Amar (ed. & trans.), *Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī: A Response to the Arabs* (CSCO, vols. 614 & 615; Lovanii: In Aedibus Peeters, 2005), third tract, chaps. 24-30.

[105] See Hidemi Takahashi, *Barhebraeus: A Bio-Bibliography* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005), 96-99.

[106] See Teule, "Arabic, Syriac Translations from."

[107] See, e.g., Kenneth Cragg, *The Arab Christian: A History in the Middle East* (London: Mowbray, 1992); Jean Corbon, *L'église des Arabes* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1977 & 2007).

THE EARLIEST DATED CHRISTIAN ARABIC TRANSLATION (772 AD): AMMONIUS' *REPORT ON THE MARTYRDOM OF THE MONKS OF SINAI AND RAITHU*

ALEXANDER TREIGER
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

In the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries AD, the Chalcedonian monasteries of Palestine and Sinai—particularly the Great Lavra of Mār Sābā, 15 km east of Bethlehem, the Old Lavra of Mār Chariton, 3 km northeast of Tekoa, and the Monastery of the God-Trodden Mount Sinai (later named after the great martyr St. Catherine of Alexandria)—became cutting-edge centres of translation activity, with translations carried out between four languages: Greek, Aramaic (both Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac), Georgian, and Arabic.[1] At Mār Sābā, for instance, the so-called "first collection" of the great East-Syriac spiritual writer Isaac of Nineveh was translated from the original Syriac virtually simultaneously into Greek (ca. 800 AD by the monks Patrikios and Abramios), Arabic, and Georgian.[2] Despite this fact, there is as yet no comprehensive study of the translations produced in the monasteries of Palestine and Sinai. This formidable task, worthy of a monograph, will have to wait for a future researcher (or a team of researchers) competent in all four languages.

The present contribution will focus on one such translation—the Arabic version of Ammonius' *Report on the Martyrdom of the Monks of Sinai and Raithu* (*CPG* 6088; *BHG* 1300-1300b). As summarized by Daniel F. Caner in his recent volume *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*:

> [Ammonius'] *Relatio*, or *Report*, describes two different "barbarian" attacks that befell two different monastic groups on the same day on the Sinai peninsula: one, an attack by "Saracens" on monks at Mount Sinai, the other an attack by "Blemmyes" on monks at Rhaithou. It claims that the same number of monks—forty—were killed in each attack. Its purported author, Ammonius, identifies himself as a monk from Egypt who had been visiting Mount Sinai on pilgrimage when the attacks occurred. After recounting what he himself saw below Mount Sinai, he records, apparently *verbatim*, what another survivor reported had happened at Rhaithou. Its coda informs the reader that Ammonius wrote everything down upon returning to Egypt, and that another monk had later given

his writings to a priest named John, who had translated them from Coptic into Greek.[3]

The Arabic translation of Ammonius' *Report* is particularly significant, because it is ***the earliest securely dated Arabic translation of any Christian text***. It was produced as early as 772 AD, just five years after a Syriac translation of the same text (dated 767 AD).[4] Given the near-simultaneity of the two translations, a comparison between them is in order.

1. THE ARABIC VERSION OF AMMONIUS' *REPORT* IN RELATION TO THE SYRIAC VERSION

At the end of both the Syriac and the Arabic translation, we find an intriguing tripartite note which (1) assigns the martyrdom (mistakenly) to the reign of Diocletian, (2) provides the "age" of the story at the time of translation, and (3) dates the translation according to the Hiǧrī era, as follows:[5]

Syriac	Arabic
(1) ܟܘܡܘܕܝܣ ܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܬܢܨܚܘ ܒܝܘܡܠܝܘܢܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ، ܚܢܦܐ ܡܢ ܚܢܦܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ.	(١) شهدوا هاولى القدّيسين في زمان دقليطانوس الملك الرومي الكافر.
(2) ܟܘܒܐ ܠܗ̇ ܕܝܢ ܠܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܢܝܚ̈ܐ ܕܐܬܦܫܩܬ ܡܢ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܐܪܒܥܡܐܐ ܘܫܒܥܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ ܫܢܝ̈ܢ.	(٢) ولدقليطانوس مذ مات[6] الى (ان) فُسّر هذا الكتاب (من الرومية) بالعربية اربع ماية واربعة وسبعين سنة.
(3) ܐܬܦܫܩܬ	ܕܝܢ ܒܟܢܘܢ ܩܕܝܡ ܒܡܐܐ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܛܝܝ̈ܐ ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܘܒܡܘܫ̈ܚܬܐ ܣܟ̈ܠܬܐ.	(٣) فُسّر هذا الكتاب بالعربية من الرومية في شهر ربيع اول سنة خمسة وخمسين وماية من سني العرب.
(1) These holy men were martyred in the time of Diocletian, the emperor of the Greeks, who was an unbeliever, one of the godless pagans.	(1) These holy men were martyred in the time of Diocletian, the Roman emperor, the unbeliever.
(2) This story of these resplendent men which has been translated from Greek "has" 474 years [=is 474 years old].	(2) Diocletian, from [the time] he died to [the time] this book was translated into Arabic from Greek, "has" 474 years.
(3) It was translated | in the month of Tešrīn I, in the year 150 according to the numbering of the Arabs [=October 767 AD], that is, according to their years and foolish reckoning.	(3) This book was translated into Arabic from Greek in the month of Rabīʿ I, in the year 155 of the years of Arabs [=February-March 772 AD].

Let us discuss the Syriac text first, paragraph by paragraph.

(1) Though modern scholars argue that the barbarian raids of Sinai and Raithu described in Ammonius' *Report* took place at the time of the pro-Nicene bishop Peter II of Alexandria (r. 373-380), persecuted under the Arian emperor Valens (r. 364-378), ancient sources typically assign them to the reign of Diocletian (r. 284-305).[7]

(2) The Syriac translator's observation that the "story of these resplendent men" was 474 years old is evidently an attempt *to date his own translation according to the era of Diocletian*; however, he is exactly ten years off, apparently due to a miscalculation. The era of Diocletian, also called "the era of the Martyrs" (Anno Martyrum), is calculated from the first day of the Egyptian year in which Diocletian's reign began, i.e., 29 August 284 AD; October 767 AD would therefore convert to the year 484 (not 474) AMart. It is much less likely, in my view, that the Syriac translator thought the events described by Ammonius had taken place exactly 474 years prior to his own time, i.e., in 293 AD (=474 years before 767 AD), both because it is unlikely that the translator had (or thought he had) an exact knowledge of the date of the event in question and because Diocletian's persecution of the Christians did not start until 303 AD. Simply put, the beginning of Diocletian's era was the only point of reference available to the translator.

(3) It is quite remarkable that the Syriac translator also decided to date his work according to the Hiǧrī era, even though he considered it to be "foolish" (*pakkīhā*). This use of the Hiǧrī era is, however, not uncommon. There are quite a few Syriac manuscripts from this early period dated according to the Hiǧrī era—seven manuscripts prior to the year 800 AD, according to Sebastian Brock's count.[8] Out of these seven, four indicate the place where they were copied: all of them in northern Mesopotamia—Bēṯ Sāhdā near Nisibis, Bēṯ Nūhaḏrā (the area

around present-day Dohuk in northern Iraq), the monastery of Qarṭmīn (the present-day Mār Gabriel in Ṭūr ʿAḇdīn), and finally Edessa. It is quite possible that the Syriac translator of Ammonius' *Report* hailed from this region.[9]

Where was the Syriac translation made? André Binggeli has suggested that it was produced on Mount Sinai, because of the local significance of Ammonius' narrative. Furthermore, he has argued that the Syriac translation also included Anastasius of Sinai's *Narrations about Sinai*, which precedes Ammonius' *Report* both in a number of Greek manuscripts and in the Syriac translation.[10] This seems to be a very reasonable conclusion.

Moving now to the Arabic text, it is evident that, given the very short time between the Syriac and the Arabic versions and the similarity between the Syriac and the Arabic tripartite notes, the Arabic translation must have been produced in the very same locality as the Syriac, i.e., most likely also on Mount Sinai. Moreover, it is easy to ascertain that the Arabic translator was reproducing *the very same Syriac note that we have in front of us*, while occasionally misunderstanding it (and of course updating the Hiǧrī date of translation at the end). Thus, the Arabic text of §2 is evidently a garbled translation from Syriac. At the beginning of §2, the Arabic translator probably misread (or misheard)[11] *īṯ lāh* as *īṯ lēh* and consequently misconstrued the pronominal suffix as referring to *Diocletian* instead of the "story of these resplendent men." He then added *muḏ māta* ("from the time he died"), presumably to set a more precise date than just Diocletian's reign.[12] The Syriac *l-tašʿīṯā hāḏē ... d-etpaššqaṯ* becomes in Arabic *ilā an fussira hāḏā l-kitāb* (*l-* is rendered by *ilā*, *d-etpaššqaṯ* is rendered by *an fussira*, then transposed, *tašʿīṯā hāḏē* is rendered by *hāḏā l-kitāb*). *Men yawnāyā* ("from Greek") becomes *min al-rūmiyya*—as is common in the Arabic of that period, the Arabic translator calls contemporary Greek language "Roman."[13] *Bi-l-ʿarabiyya* ("into

Arabic") is added for obvious reasons—after all, the text is now *in* Arabic. Curiously, however, the Arabic translator does not take care to update the "age" of the story at the time of translation: it remains 474 years. This is the clearest sign that the Arabic translator was working from Syriac: as we have seen above, "474 years" is the Syriac translator's attempt to date his own Graeco-Syriac translation of the text according to the era of Diocletian; *the fact that the Arabic translator thoughtlessly reproduced it proves that he was translating into Arabic the very text of the Syriac translator's note*.

In light of this conclusion, it can be hypothesized that *the entire Arabic version is translated from Syriac rather than Greek*. André Binggeli has tentatively raised this possibility, but rejected it, because the Arabic translator's note says explicitly that the translation was made from Greek.[14] There is, however, a simple solution that would reconcile the Arabic translator's testimony with the philological evidence at hand: if we assume that the text was **translated from Syriac**, but was also **corrected, in a few places, against the Greek**, it will explain how the translator was able to claim that the Arabic translation was done from Greek. There is, in fact, considerable evidence to show that the Arabic translator was indeed following this double procedure: translation from Syriac and correction against the Greek. One characteristic illustration will be sufficient to prove this. Let us consider the following passage:[15]

Τούτῳ τις ἐμαθήτευσεν Ψόης ὀνόματι ἐκ τῶν μερῶν Θηβαΐδος ὑπάρχων, ὃς καὶ ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ, μηδὲν τὸ σύνολον παραλλάξας ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος τοῦ γέροντος·	ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܚܕ ܣܕ ܗܝ ܟܢܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܟܢܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܩܝ ܐܢ ܐ̇ܝ ܟܢܝܪ̈ܬܐ 16 ---- ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܣܗܕܐ ܣܡܩ̈ܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ̇ ܚܝܪ̈ܐ ܐܚܝ ܚܝ̈ܬܐ ܚܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܚܝܪ̈ܬܐ	و17كان له تلميذ18 منذ19 ستة واربعين20 سنة * من اهل مريس اسمه ابسوييس21 يسكن22 بالقرب منه23 فوقه24 قليلا25 وكان26 على27 ما كان معلمه عليه28 من الصلاح والعبادة29
ἀλλὰ σφραγὶς καὶ ἐκτύπωμα γενόμενος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὧν τε ἑώρακεν καὶ ὧν ἐδιδάχθη· παρ' ᾧ τινι τὰς ἀρχὰς συνέμεινα, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄφατον αὐτοῦ σκληραγωγίαν διεχωρίσθην ἐξ αὐτοῦ, μὴ δυνάμενος ὑπενεγκεῖν αὐτοῦ τῆς πολιτείας τοὺς τόνους, καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὴν κακουχίαν·	*This section of the Greek text has no equivalent in the Syriac and Arabic versions, but is reflected in the seventh-century Christian Palestinian Aramaic translation.*	
ὅστις μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν σφαγέντων ἐτελειώθη ὕστερον.	ܘܗܘ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܚܕ ܣܕ ,ܗܘܬ ܘ ܗܘ ܣܠܡ ܕܐܬܩܛܠܠܗ.	وهو احد30 القتلا.31
He had a disciple by the name of Psoēs who was from the regions of the Thebaid. He had dwelled above him for forty-six years. He did not make a single change to the old man's regimen [*omitted section here*]. Later he too died in the Lord together with the rest of those who were slain.	He had a certain disciple for forty-six years from the land of Egypt, whose name was ---. He dwelled near him, and his conduct was like that of his teacher in repentance and sanctity. And he is one of those killed.	He had a disciple for forty-six years from the people of Marīs, whose name was Ibsūyīs. He dwelled near him, a little above him, and was in the same [state] as his teacher in goodness and worship. And he is one of the killed.

A few observations are in order. First, a long section in the middle of the Greek text (in small print above) is absent in both the Syriac and the Arabic version. Because it is impossible that both translators would have omitted it independently from one another, we have two possible explanations: (1) either the Greek manuscript(s) that both translators had in front of them was (were) lacking this section or (2) the Arabic translation was produced from the Syriac (which, in turn, abbreviated the Greek). The first explanation is certainly not impossible, considering that the Greek text published by Combefis represents a somewhat later and at times more elaborate recension of Ammonius' *Report*; one might therefore attempt to argue that the omitted section is a later elaboration. However, the fact that the omitted section *is* reflected in a very early source— the seventh-century Christian Palestinian Aramaic translation—makes this explanation unlikely.[32] We are, therefore, left with the second explanation: that the Arabic translation was produced from the Syriac.

Second, it is obvious that the Arabic translation mirrors the Syriac text quite closely: we recognize an almost one-to-one correspondence between the two transla-tions, even where neither of them offers a literal rendering of the Greek.[33] For exam-ple, the two Syriac words *tyāḇūṯā w-qaddīšūṯā* ("repentance and sanctity") have no exact equivalent in Greek, which has a single word "regimen" (or "rule," κανών).[34] The hendiadys is therefore due to the Syriac translator. We notice that the Arabic transla-tion, too, has two words *al-ṣalāḥ wa-l-ʿibāda* ("goodness and worship"; variant reading: *al-ʿibāda wa-l-ṣalāḥ*). The fact that the Arabic translator employs a hendiadys at the exact same spot as the Syriac shows that the Arabic version was likely produced from the Syriac. Moreover, the translation *al-ṣalāḥ* may be due to a misreading (or, more likely, mishearing) of the Syriac *tyāḇūṯā* ("repentance") as *ṭaybūṯā* ("good-ness, grace").[35]

Similarly, it can be shown that the trans-lator had recourse to the Greek original. A particularly remarkable case is the way the Arabic translation renders the monk Psoēs' place of origin. The Greek text has: ἐκ τῶν μερῶν Θηβαΐδος ("from the regions of the Thebaid"); the Syriac translation has: *men arʿā d-Meṣrēn* ("from the land of Egypt")— an accurate rendering overall, though it fails to indicate that Θηβαΐς refers specifically to *Upper* Egypt; the Arabic translation has: *min ahl Marīs* ("from the people of Marīs"), Marīs (or al-Marīs) being the Arabic name of the northernmost Nubian kingdom of No-batia.[36] What happened here? It is evident that the Arabic rendering is *not* based on Syriac: the Syriac expression *men arʿā d-Meṣrēn* ("from the land of Egypt") would have been translated into Arabic, quite liter-ally, as *min arḍ Miṣr. The Arabic here harkens back to the Greek: the translator must have known that Θηβαΐς refers to Up-per Egypt (commonly called in Arabic al-Ṣaʿīd), yet perhaps mistook the words τῶν μερῶν as an ethnonym ("the people of Marīs") or was simply reminded of the simi-larly sounding region further south, al-Marīs (Nobatia), hence the translation "from the people of Marīs." If—as argued above—the Arabic translation was done from the Syriac, then we have to deduce that upon comparing his initial Syro-Arabic translation to the Greek, the translator felt the Greek text was more accurate than the Syriac and therefore decided to correct the translation.

There is also one interesting case where, it would seem, both the Greek and the Syri-ac influenced the resulting Arabic text. The Greek ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ ("above him") is ren-dered into Syriac somewhat inaccurately as *b-qurḇā d-mennēh* ("near him"). In Arabic, most manuscripts reflect a reading derived from the Greek (*fawqahu*, "above him"; am-plified in some manuscripts as *fawqa qal-lāyatihi*, "above his cell," or *fawqa maġāratihi*, "above his cave"); one old man-uscript has, however, *in addition* to *fawqa maġāratihi*, a reading evidently dependent

on the Syriac (*bi-l-qurb minhu*, "near him").[37] The easiest explanation is that while the translation was initially done from Syriac, the translator also made some marginal or supralinear corrections based on the Greek text. Most manuscripts subsequently adopted the corrected reading, while one manuscript preserved both readings alongside one another.

It would thus seem proven that in preparing the Arabic version of Ammonius' *Report*, the Arabic translator used both the Greek original and the Syriac translation: specifically, that he produced a draft translation from the Syriac and then occasionally corrected it against the Greek. The diversity of manuscript readings reflects this complex situation; the translator's autograph must have had marginal or supralinear corrections based on the Greek text, which sometimes replaced the main Syro-Arabic version in later manuscripts and sometimes were introduced alongside it.

2. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the above investigation, one can draw the following conclusions. First, we see that the Arabic translation of Ammonius' *Report* is a rather sophisticated piece of work: its production involved working with texts in two languages; it is moreover remarkably precise (especially in relation to the Syriac version). Considering that dated Christian Arabic translations are extremely rare, it would be very unlikely for the first dated Christian Arabic translation, and a very sophisticated one at that, to be also the very first Christian Arabic translation ever made. In other words, if the first *dated* Christian Arabic translation goes back to 772 AD, it is reasonable to assume that there are other *undated* Christian Arabic translations made prior to that date. We can therefore reasonably infer that by 772 AD translation of Christian material into Arabic was already in full swing. The initial stages of

this Christian translation activity can therefore be tentatively assigned to ca. 750 AD, perhaps even earlier. Mount Sinai must have been one of its early centres.

Second, we see that though for the Arabic translator of Ammonius' *Report* Greek is the language of prestige (this is why he took pains to compare his Syro-Arabic translation to the Greek text and claimed that the translation was made from Greek), *Syriac is clearly the source language of choice*. Indeed, in the early period under discussion (ca. 750-950 AD), in the Chalcedonian monastic milieu of Palestine and Sinai, *the vast majority of Christian translations into Arabic were done from Syriac rather than Greek*, and Greek Christian works were often translated *from Syriac intermediaries*.[38] The amount of translated material is massive: Arabic versions of Patristic, hagiographic, and popular literature from Late Antiquity (not to mention Biblical translations) fill the Christian Arabic manuscripts from that period (obviously, many of them continue to be copied also in later times); we are speaking of, literally, hundreds of texts. A comprehensive study of these translations is long overdue.

Third, the textual history of the "oriental" versions of Ammonius' *Report* illustrates a key feature of Palestinian and Sinaitic translation activity: *its multilingual nature*. We have a text allegedly written in Coptic (though the Coptic version may be part of the *Report*'s fictional framework), then translated into Greek, then into Syriac (767 AD), then from Syriac (and Greek) into Arabic (772 AD), then from Arabic into Georgian (between 772-864 AD).[39] A Christian Palestinian Aramaic version (ca. seventh century) and a second Arabic version (made from Greek in the thirteenth century) also exist.[40] This correlates well with the textual history of other theological and hagiographic works which underwent multiple translations in the Melkite milieu—notably the "first collection" of Isaac of Nineveh, mentioned above.

Fourth, I hope to have demonstrated the usefulness of standard philological methods in analysing Arabic translations of Christian texts. A careful comparison of the Arabic translations to their Greek and/or Syriac *Vorlage(n)* helps uncover important information not visible to the "naked eye"—in the case of Ammonius' *Report*, it has helped uncover the previously insufficiently appreciated relationship between the Syriac and the Arabic versions; it has also brought to light certain features of the Arabic version—for example, that it was likely translated from Syriac, so to speak, *à quatre mains*: with one monk reading the Syriac out loud and the other translating it into Arabic and writing the translation down.[41] Putting the Arabic translations under the "microscope" of philological investigation is our best hope for identifying the unique features of various translation centres and milieus and the styles of individual translators. Given that in the vast majority of the Arabic translations from this early period the locality and the name of the translator are left unmentioned in the manuscripts,[42] such philological investigations are indispensable: they help describe the characteristics of individual translations and "tie" them to a specific time and place, thus contributing to a gradual recovery of the *history* of the Palestinian and Sinaitic translations of Christian works into Arabic.[43]

NOTES

[1] For an orientation, see Alexander Treiger, "Syro-Arabic Translations in Abbasid Palestine: The Case of John of Apamea's *Letter on Stillness* (*Sinai ar. 549*)," *Parole de l'Orient* 39 (2014) 79-131; Alexander Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers," *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3 (2015) 188-227.

[2] Marcel Pirard (ed.), *Abba Isaak tou Syrou Logoi Askētikoi, kritikē ekdosi* (Mount Athos: Iviron Monastery, 2012) (critical edition of the Greek translation); Sebastian Brock, "From Qatar to Tokyo, by Way of Mar Saba: The Translations of Isaac of Beth Qatraye (Isaac the Syrian)," *ARAM* 11-12 (1999-2000) 475-484; Sebastian Brock, "Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba: The Translation of St. Isaac the Syrian," in: Joseph Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 201-208; Sabino Chialà, *Dall'ascesi eremitica alla misericordia infinita: Ricerche su Isacco di Ninive e la sua fortuna* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2002), 325-341; Tamara Pataridze, "Les *Discours Ascétiques* d'Isaac de Ninive: Étude de la tradition géorgienne et de ses rapports avec les autres versions," *Le Muséon* 124.1-2 (2011) 27-58; Tamara Pataridze, "Une version géorgienne des *Discours Ascétiques* d'Isaac de Ninive (VIIe s.) et son substrat sémitique: introduction, édition et étude philologique" (Ph.D. dissertation, Université Catholique de Louvain, 2012);Tamara Pataridze, "Isaac from the Monastery of Mar Saba: The History of the Origin of Multiple Translations of St Isaac the Syrian's Work and Their Distribution in the Holy Lavra," in: Hilarion Alfeyev (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Patristic Conference "Saint Isaac the Syrian and His Spiritual Legacy"* (Yonkers, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2015), 39-50.

[3] Daniel F. Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 141.

[4] Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," 199-200.

[5] The Syriac text (unpublished) is from Vat. syr. 623 (year 886, copied on Mount Sinai by scribe Theodosius), fols. 169r-v; I reproduce (with minor modifications) Sebastian Brock's English translation from Caner, *History and Hagiography*, 171, note 164. On the Syriac translation, which exists in two versions, see also Marie-Joseph Pierre, "Christianismes orientaux: Étude du texte syriaque d'Ammonios, 'Les Quarante martyrs du Sinaï et de Raïthou', d'après les mss. Vat. Syr. 623 et BL 14645," *Annuaire de l'EPHE, Section des sciences religieuses* 110 (2001-2002) 341-344. Even before Syriac, in the seventh century, Ammonius' *Report* had been translated into Christian Palestinian Aramaic—see Agnes Smith Lewis (ed. and trans.), *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the Story of Eulogios, from a Palestinian Syriac and Arabic Palimpsest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912); Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff (eds. and trans.), *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert, Eulogios, the Stone-Cutter, and Anastasia* (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1996).

The Arabic text appears in six manuscripts: **A** = London, British Library Or. 5019 (11th century), fol. 58v; **B** = Sinai ar. 542 (9th century), fol. 15r (the note is abbreviated: وكانت شهادة هولا القدّيسين على عهد ديقليطيانوس الملك الكافر، وفسّر هذا الكتاب من الرومية الى العربية في شهر ربيع الاول سنة خمسة وخمسين ومايـة); **C** = Sinai ar. 557 (13th century), fols. 143v-144r; **N** = Sinai ar. NF Perg. 1 (9th c.; copied on Mount Sinai by scribe Isḥāq, probably the same as the *commissioner* of Strasbourg Or. 4226, Vat. ar. 71, and Sinai ar. NF Perg. 35, copied by Anthony David at Mār Sābā) (the note is abbreviated: شهدوا هولاى القدّيسين الثمانين شاهد بطور سينا وراية في ملك ذيقليطيانوس الكافر، وفسّرت قصّتهم من اليونانية الى العربية في شهر ربيع الاخر (!) من سنة خمسة وخمسين ومايتين (!) من سنين العرب; obviously the date 255 AH is a mistake for 155 AH!); Balamand 158 (17th-18th centuries), No. 5; Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre 146 (years 1426-1432, copied at Mār Sābā), fol. 157v; a seventh manuscript—Sinai ar. NF Perg. 3 (copied in 858-9 [?] at Mār Chariton)—perhaps also contains this note but is too fragile to be photographed; cf. diplomatic edition of **A** with critical apparatus based on **B** and **C**: Rusudan Gvaramia (ed.), *Amoniosis "Sina-Raitʿis cmida mamatʿa mosrvis" arabul-kʿartʿuli versiebi: IX-XI, XIII da XVII ss. xelnacerebis mixedvitʿ* (Tbilisi: Mecʿniereba, 1973), ٤٧, left column. A hitherto unnoticed recension of the old Arabic translation is attested in Sinai ar. 308 (year 1267), fols. 353r-366r.

It should be noted that though **A** is relatively late, it faithfully transmits a very early text, because—according to Gvaramia (p. 074)—*it*

stands closest to the Georgian translation produced from the Arabic between 772-864. Given that the text in **B** and **N** is deficient (with the crucial §2 missing altogether), I reproduce the text of **A** (=the main text of Gvaramia's edition), with two small additions, based on **C** (in parentheses). The translation from Arabic is my own.

[6] Joshua Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965; 2nd edn.: Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1981), 5-6, note 7 suggests emending مات ("died") to ملك ("became emperor"); cf. Sidney H. Griffith, "The Arabic Account of ʿAbd al-Masīḥ an-Naǧrānī al-Ghassānī," *Le Muséon* 98 (1985) 331-374, at 337-342; Gvaramia, *Amoniosis*, 065-066. This certainly makes more sense, assuming the Arabic translator knew that the era of Diocletian begins with the year of Diocletian's accession to the throne.

[7] Caner, *History and Historiography*, 148, note 27.

[8] Sebastian Brock, "The Use of Hijra Dating in Syriac Manuscripts: A Preliminary Investigation," in: Jan J. van Ginkel, Hendrika L. Murre-van den Berg, and Theo M. van Lint (eds.), *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 275-290, at 283.

[9] On the connections between Sinai and this region, particularly Edessa, see Sebastian Brock, "Syriac on Sinai: The Main Connections," in: Vincenzo Ruggieri and Luca Pieralli (eds.), *ΕΥΚΟΣΜΙΑ: Studi miscellanei per il 75° di Vincenzo Poggi S.J.* (Soveria Mannelli [Catanzaro]: Rubbettino, 2003), 103-117; André Binggeli, "La version syriaque des *Récits* d'Anastase le Sinaïte et l'activité des moines syriaques au Mont Sinaï aux VIIIe-IXe siècles," in: *Les syriaques transmetteurs de civilisations: L'expérience du Bilâd El-Shâm à l'époque omeyyade / al-Suryān naqalat ḥaḍārāt: ḥibrat Bilād al-Šām fī l-ʿaṣr al-umawī*, 2 vols. (Antélias: Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-l-abḥāṯ al-mašriqiyya, 2005), vol. 1, 165-177, at 173-175.

[10] Binggeli, "La version syriaque," 171; cf. Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," 199-200.

[11] Assuming the original text was being read to the translator by another monk. For this practice, see Treiger, "Syro-Arabic Translations," 98.

[12] Or possibly *muḏ malaka* ("from the time he became emperor")—see note 6 above.

[13] Samir Khalil Samir, "Quelques notes sur les termes *rūm* et *rūmī* dans la tradition arabe: Étude de sémantique historique," in: *La nozione di "Romano" tra cittadinanza e universalità: Atti del II Seminario internazionale di studi storici "Da Roma alla Terza Roma", 21-23 aprile 1982* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1984), 461-478; Nikolaj Serikoff, "Rūmī and Yūnānī: Towards the Understanding of the Greek Language in the Medieval Muslim World," in: Krijnie Ciggaar, Adelbert Davids, and Herman Teule (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States: Context—Contacts—Confrontations* (Leuven: Peeters, 1996), 169-194.

[14] Binggeli, "La version syriaque," 175: "La coïncidence [between the text of the appended note in Syriac and in Arabic] est troublante, et l'on aurait volontiers imaginé que la version syriaque a seulement servi d'intermédiaire pour la traduction du grec en arabe, si le traducteur arabe n'avait pas expressément signalé que sa traduction avait été faite à partir du grec."

[15] The Greek text is from François Combefis (ed.), *Illustrium Christi martyrum lecti triumphi vetustis graecorum monumentis consignati* (Paris: Sumptibus Antonii Bertier, 1660), 102; cf. Dēmētrios G. Tsamēs and Kōnstantinos A. Katsanēs (eds.), *To martyrologion tou Sina* (Thessaloniki: Hiera monē tou theobadistou orous Sina, 1989; 2nd edn.: Thessaloniki: P. Pournara, 2003), 208, §15 (with only minor variant readings; I am grateful to André Binggeli for a photocopy of this text); the Syriac text is taken from Vat. syr. 623, fol. 150v (the underlined words are barely legible in the copy at my disposal, but the reading is fairly secure); the Arabic is my own critical edition, based on four manuscripts of the text: **A**, **B**, **C**, and **N** (see manuscript sigla in note 5 above; cf. Gvaramia, *Amoniosis*, ١٦-١٧. The English translation of the Greek text is taken from Caner, *History and Hagiography*, 157 (with minor modifications). English translations from Syriac and Arabic are my own.

For convenience's sake (and to allow the readers to check the edition), here is the text exactly as it appears in the four manuscripts: **A** (=Gvaramia's main text): وكان له تلميذ منذ ستة واربعين سنة يسكن فوقه قليلا من اهل مريس اسمه ايسوبيس وكان على ما كان معلمه عليه من العبادة والصلاح وهو احد كان له تلميذ | مذ ستة واربعين سنة :(fols. 10r-v) **B** ;القتلا من اهل مريس يسكن فوق من قلايته قليلا وكان التلميذ على ما **C** ; كان معلمه عليه من الصلاح والعبادة الحسنة وهو احد القتلا

وكان له تلميذا منذ ستة واربعون سنة يسكن (fols. 121r-v):
بعيدا | منه قليلا من اهل مريس اسمه ايسوع (!)، وكان ما كان
وذلك :N ؛ عليه معلمه من العبادة والصلاح، وهو احد المقتولين
انه كان له تلميذ منذ ستة واربعين سنة وكان يسكن بالقرب منه
فوق من مغارته قليلا من اهل مريس، وكان على ما كان عليه
.معلمه من العبادة والصلاح وهو اجدى (!) القتلا

[16] Illegible in the copy at my disposal.

[17] انه ذلك add. **N**.

[18] تلميذ **ABN** | تلميذا **C**.

[19] منذ **ACN** | مذ **B**.

[20] واربعين **ABN** | واربعون **C**.

[21] اسمه ابسوييس *scripsi* (=Ψόης ὀνόματι, e copt. Πιψωι [*Pišōi*]) اسمه ايسوييس **A** (et vers. georg.: ევსებიოს ტ [*Evsebios*]) اسمه ايسوع **C** | om. **BN**.

[22] وكان يسكن **ABC** | يسكن **N**.

[23] بالقرب منه **N** | بعيدا منه **C** | om. **AB**.

[24] om. **N** | فوق من مغارته **B** | فوق من قلايته **B** | فوقه **A** **C**.

[25] يسكن ... قليلا **B** | transpos. ad * **ACN**.

[26] التلميذ add. **B**.

[27] على om. **C**.

[28] عليه معلمه **CN** | معلمه عليه **AB**.

[29] الصلاح *scripsi* (الصلاح والعبادة e var. lect. العبادة والصلاح **B** | الصلاح والعبادة الحسنة | ܨܠܘܬܐ؟) **ACN**.

[30] احد **ABC** | اجدى **N**.

[31] القتلا **ABN** | المقتولين **C**.

[32] Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff, *The Forty Martyrs*, 29.

[33] Admittedly, in producing the critical edition above I have chosen, among the Arabic variant readings, those that come closest to the Syriac text. Even so, in virtually every such case it can be demonstrated that the readings that come closest to the Syriac text are also the original ones (i.e., belong to the translator), while others emerged later as a result of the text's transmission in Arabic.

[34] The antiquity of the Greek text is confirmed by the seventh-century Christian Palestinian Aramaic translation from Greek, which renders the term literally as *qānōnā*.

[35] See note 11 above.

[36] The reading *min ahl Marīs* appears in all the Arabic manuscripts without exception. It is also confirmed by the Georgian translation, made from Arabic, which reads: ევსებიოს მერისელი [*Evsebios Meriseli*], "Eusebius of Meris." On Nobatia/(al-)Marīs see Stuart C. Munro-Hay, art. "al-Marīs," in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., vol. 6, 574-575.

[37] See notes 23 and 24 above.

[38] Sergey Kim, "The Syriac Version of the 'Caput 13' of Diadochus of Photice, Studied alongside the Arabic and Georgian Versions," *Parole de l'Orient* 40 (2015) 261-273; cf. his forthcoming "Vostochnye perevody 'Sotnits' blazh. Diadokha Fotikijskogo" [Oriental Translations of the *Centuries* of St. Diadochus of Photike], to appear in *Bogoslovskij Vestnik* (I am deeply grateful to Sergey Kim for generously sharing both articles with me prior to publication). I deal with the subject briefly in Treiger, "Syro-Arabic Translations," 103-104 and 108 (on p. 108 "Sinai ar. 239" should be corrected to "Sinai ar. 329").

[39] The *terminus ante quem* is the date of the earliest Georgian manuscript: Sinai geo. 32-57-33—cf. Gérard Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinaï* (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1956), 91-92, No. 50. The Georgian translation is edited in Gvaramia, *Amoniosis*. Daniel Caner is mistaken when he indicates that the Georgian translation is made from the *second* Arabic version (Caner, *History and Historiography*, 143). In reality, it derives from the *first* Arabic version, which is the subject of the present study.

[40] The second Arabic version is part of the Menologion for January, apparently translated from Greek into Arabic in Antioch in the thirteenth-century (Sinai ar. 400; Sinai ar. 401; Sinai ar. 423—under January 14); this second Arabic version is also edited in Gvaramia, *Amoniosis*.

[41] See notes 11 and 35 above.

[42] The only notable exception: Anbā Yanna ibn Iṣṭifan al-Fāḫūrī's translations, from Greek into Arabic, of works of Barsanuphius of Gaza and of Leontius of Damascus' *Life of St. Stephen of Mār Sābā*. Anbā Yanna ibn Iṣṭifan al-Fāḫūrī was active at Mār Sābā in the early tenth century—see Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," 197-198 and notes 40-41. We know considerably more about the Melkite translators active in Antioch in the tenth and eleventh centuries—see Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," 192 and 203-208; Alexander Treiger, "Greek into Arabic in Byzantine Antioch: ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's *Book of the Garden* (*Kitāb ar-Rawḍa*)," in: Johannes Pahlitzsch (ed.), *Monks, Merchants and Artists* (Mainz: Veröffentlichungen des Wissenschafts Campus Mainz; forthcoming).

[43] For an example of how this can be done, see Treiger, "Christian Graeco-Arabica," 209-218.

THE CHRISTIAN ARABIC TRANSMISSION OF
JACOB OF SERUGH (D. 521): THE *SAMMLUNGEN**

AARON MICHAEL BUTTS

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

The field of Christian Arabic studies is still in many ways in its infancy. The vast majority of texts exist only in manuscripts waiting to be edited critically.[1] This is not even to mention translated.[2] What's even more, many important manuscript collections remain uncatalogued—and so unknown, at least practically speaking.[3] One final example: the fact that Graf's *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* remains not only a standard reference work—like similar works for other fields, such as Baumstark's *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* or Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*—but for far too many topics it is the *sole* reference speaks volumes as to the state of the field.[4] In some respects, the current state of Christian Arabic studies resembles that of Shenoute studies before Emmel's reconstruction of Shenoute's literary corpus.[5] Prior to Emmel's work, texts by Shenoute were certainly edited and translated, and articles and even monographs were written on Shenoute, but in many ways this proved to be preliminary since the foundational work of establishing the literary corpus of

Shenoute had not yet been accomplished. One of the differences between the works of Shenoute and Christian Arabic literature, however, is the size of the corpora. What Emmel could cover in two volumes, hefty as they are, pales in comparison to what would be required for even a cursory treatment of the vast repertoire of Christian Arabic manuscripts.

It is with this background in mind that I approach the current paper. In this paper, I aim to lay part of the foundation for studying Jacob of Serugh in Christian Arabic by investigating the dozen and a half Arabic manuscripts that contain so-called collections, or *Sammlungen*, of Jacob. My contribution consists primarily in identifying some fifty-six homilies that occur in these manuscripts and in connecting them with their Syriac *Vorlagen*. In addition, I reflect on previous research on Jacob in Arabic, especially Graf's presentation, with the hope of providing a new way forward in the study of Christian Arabic texts translated from Syriac. Finally, in lieu of a conclusion, I step back from the specifics of the manuscripts to offer a few reflections on the broader implications of the *Sammlungen* for the reception of Jacob in Arabic among Coptic Christians.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Before coming to the *Sammlungen*, we first need to look at Graf's presentation of the Christian Arabic transmission of Jacob.[6] Graf dedicates almost eight full pages to Jacob. After a brief biographical sketch of Jacob, Graf discusses the oldest witnesses to Jacob in Arabic, all of which come from Sinai (his Section 1). He then spends a page on collections, or *Sammlungen* (= Graf's *S*), of Jacob in Arabic (his Section 2). Graf does not, however, discuss the individual homilies that are found in such collections. In the third and longest section, which runs almost five dense pages, Graf provides a list of Arabic homilies attributed to Jacob grouped by theme. For each homily, he provides the Arabic manuscripts that attest it. This is truly a remarkable achievement! By my count, Graf lists 127 different manuscripts with at least one Arabic homily attributed to Jacob, and ca. 85 different homilies plus a group of unidentified ones. Thus, it is difficult to overestimate Graf's contribution.

Graf's presentation is not, however, without its difficulties and problems.[7] To begin, Section 3 of Graf's presentation, which lists the individual homilies and their manuscript attestation, does not include comprehensive references to the manuscripts discussed in Sections 1 and 2. This is unfortunate since the presentation in Section 3 does not include the earliest Arabic witnesses from Sinai, which Graf discusses in Section 1. In addition, Section 3 of Graf's presentation does not generally include references to the *Sammlungen* of Jacob in Arabic. There are a dozen and a half such collections, each of which contains at least a dozen homilies by Jacob and sometimes many more. The information on the individual homilies in these collection is not specified in Section 2 of Graf, and it is unfortunately also not incorporated systematically into the presentation in Section 3.

An even more serious problem with Graf's presentation is that he does not attempt to identify the Syriac *Vorlage* for any of the Arabic texts that he lists. In addition, he does not provide enough information for the reader to do this either. This is because Graf provides only titles in German translation (i.e., without the Arabic) and sometimes abbreviated ones at that. In addition, Graf never gives an incipit for an Arabic text. Thus, without additional research, it is in general not possible to link an Arabic text in Graf's list definitively with its Syriac *Vorlage*. Graf, for instance, lists a homily on the Prodigal Son (Verlorener Sohn).[8] Without additional information, such as an incipit, this could be one of the two homilies on the Prodigal Son found in Syriac attributed to Jacob.[9] Even in cases where there is only one potential homily on a particular topic preserved in Syriac, it cannot be simply assumed that the Arabic text mentioned in Graf is a translation of this based solely on a German translation of the title.

The lack of incipits leads to an additional problem as well: multiple homilies as well as different recensions of the same homily may well be hiding under individual entries in Graf. On several occasions, Graf mentions this possibility: 'anderer Uebersetzung' (p. 448 [2x]); 'Davon verschieden…' (p. 448), 'Nach ihrem Verhältnis unbestimmt…' (p. 448); 'anderer Text' (p. 449, 450). Without additional information, it cannot be assumed that all of the manuscripts listed under a given entry represent the same recension of a single translation, or belong to a single translation, or for that matter even go back to the same Syriac *Vorlage*. Thus, in his attempt to present order, Graf's presentation undoubtedly conceals a significant amount of diversity in the Christian Arabic tradition of Jacob.[10]

On the one hand, Graf has done a great service in assembling such a large body of

Arabic manuscripts containing homilies attributed to Jacob. On the other hand, much more work remains to be done. Each homily needs to be identified and ultimately linked to its Syriac *Vorlage*. To do this, it is necessary to go back to the catalogues and in many cases to the manuscripts themselves, when the catalogues do not provide enough information. Before leaving Graf, I should note that these problems are not restricted to Graf's presentation of the Arabic transmission of Jacob, but they re-occur in the *Geschichte* with many other authors and texts translated from Syriac.[11]

Another study of the Christian Arabic transmission of Jacob that should be mentioned here is an important article by Khalil Samir.[12] Khalil Samir points out many of these same problems with Graf's treatment (p. 214) and adopts a methodology similar to that proposed here: classifying homilies by title and incipit and connecting them back to their Syriac *Vorlagen*. In this, Khalil Samir certainly succeeds. This success, however, comes at a cost: Khalil Samir restricts his presentation to Sinai manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries. The scope of Khalil Samir's article corresponds, then, more or less to Graf's Section 1. Indeed, these manuscripts represent the earliest witnesses to Jacob in Arabic. The Sinai manuscripts, however, represent only a fraction of the extant witnesses. In fact, Khalil Samir deals with only seven manuscripts, which attest a total of eighteen, or so, different texts. Recall that Graf lists 127 different manuscripts and ca. 85 different homilies plus a group of unidentified ones. Thus, while Khalil Samir's study represents a step in the right direction, especially in methodological terms, it is only a step. What Khalil Samir has done for the Sinai manuscripts, I aim to do here for the *Sammlungen*, to which we now turn.

INVENTORY OF THE ARABIC *SAMMLUNGEN*

Before looking at the contents of the *Sammlungen*, I first need to specify what exactly I mean by this designation: a *Sammlung* is defined here as a collection of homilies, usually a dozen or more, attributed to Jacob (and no one else). Thus, I exclude from this category homiletic collections that witness homilies by Jacob alongside other authors, such as ms. Vat. Borg. Ar. 200 (19th cent.), which contains a dozen or so homilies by Jacob as well as scores of homilies by other authors, such as Basil of Caesarea, Cyril, Ephrem, and John Chrysostom.[13] I do, however, make an exception for mss. Cairo 462, Dayr Abu Maqar 333, 334, and 335, and Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, each of which contains a homily or two attributed to Ephrem, alongside numerous homilies by Jacob.[14] I need to mention several other exceptions as well: I include mss. Cairo 98 (1871), Cairo 462 (18th century), Dayr Abu Maqar 335 (1784), and Dayr al-Baramus 2/38 (1953) even though they include three letters attributed to Jacob in addition to homilies.[15] I also include ms. Cairo 145 (19th cent.), which contains a couple of items that may well be spurious (these are discussed below). Finally, I include ms. Par. Ar. 4897 (19th cent.) despite the fact that it contains only eight homilies by Jacob, far less than most of the other *Sammlungen*. In addition, I also include Cairo 625 (1777), even though it is only fragments of what must have originally been a larger collection of Jacob.

The Arabic *Sammlungen* of Jacob, as defined here, include the following eighteen manuscripts:

Aleppo, Sbath 1184 = Aleppo, La Fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem Ar. 361 (1782): 30 homilies[16]

Cairo 75 (= CMA 18-11) (1770): 30 homilies[17]

Cairo 98 (= CMA 20-2) (1871): 30 homilies plus 3 letters[18]

Cairo 145 (= CMA 20-10) (19th cent.): 22 homilies (fragmentary)[19]

Cairo 462 (18th cent.): 18 homilies plus 3 letters as well as 2 homilies attributed to Ephrem[20]

Cairo 625 (1777): 5(?) homilies (fragmentary)[21]

Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15 (1791): 30 homilies[22]

Dayr Abu Maqar 333 (1870): 23 homilies plus 1 homily attributed to Ephrem[23]

Dayr Abu Maqar 334 (1773): 25 homilies plus 1 homily attributed to Ephrem[24]

Dayr Abu Maqar 335 (1784): 18 homilies plus 3 letters as well as 2 homilies attributed to Ephrem[25]

Dayr Abu Maqar 336 (18th–19th cent.): 15 homilies[26]

Dayr al-Baramus 2/38 (1853): 55 homilies plus 3 letters as well as 1 homily attributed to Ephrem

Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 (1817): 30 homilies[27]

London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710 = Ar. Suppl. 1259 (1859): 30 homilies[28]

Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760 (17th cent.): 30 homilies[29]

Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897 (19th cent.): 8 homilies[30]

Vatican, Ar. 73 (13th cent.): 23 homilies[31]

Vatican, Borg. Ar. 59 (18th cent.): 23 homilies[32]

Several of these *Sammlungen* are likely related in some way. To take the most obvious example, ms. Vat. Borg. Ar. 59 (18th cent.) is clearly a copy of ms. Vat. Ar. 73 (13th cent.): they contain the same homilies in the same order and even conclude abruptly before the end of the final homily in the same place. Similarly, mss. Cairo 462 (18th cent.) and Dayr Abu Maqar 335

(1784) have the exact same contents with 18 homilies and 3 letters attributed to Jacob as well as 2 homilies attributed to Ephrem. In addition, several manuscripts contain the same thirty homilies in the same order: Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760 (17th cent.), Cairo 75 (1770), Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15 (1791), Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685 (1817), and Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710 (1859) (in chronological order). Some of these manuscripts may well be dependent, whether directly or indirectly, on one another.[33] In addition, all five of these manuscripts provide instructions for which day, according to the Coptic calendar, a homily is supposed to be read. Similar instructions, but with only a subset of the homilies, are found in ms. Cairo 145 (19th cent.). Thus, these manuscripts were clearly intended for liturgical use.

Most of the Arabic *Sammlungen* of Jacob are relatively late. The oldest is ms. Vat. Ar. 73, likely from the thirteenth century. The vast majority of the *Sammlungen* are, however, relatively recent stemming from the late eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Thus, the *Sammlungen* attest to a different period in the reception of Jacob in Arabic compared to the Sinai manuscripts studied by Khalil Samir, which date from the ninth and tenth centuries.[34]

All of the Arabic *Sammlungen* of Jacob for which there is evidence come from a Coptic provenance. Ms. Vat. Ar. 73, for instance, which is the oldest of the *Sammlungen*, was, according to a note on f. 1a, given to Dayr Anbā Bišāy in the Wādī Naṭrūn—a point to which I return in the conclusion below. Among the other *Sammlungen*, Cairo 75 (1770) was, according to a note on f. 4b, copied for a certain deacon John living in Asyūṭ. All of the dated *Sammlungen* employ Coptic dating formulae, especially month names. Finally, a number of the manuscripts are still to be found in Egypt, including at monasteries,

such as the four from Dayr Abu Maqar, as well as at the Coptic Museum in Cairo.

Finally, I need to mention one further item, which I call here simply 'Athanasius'. This refers to a book published in Cairo in 1905 by Rūmah Mīkhāʾīl Athanāsiyūs. This volume contains 59 items.[35] Out of these, 55 are homilies and 3 are letters attributed to Jacob. There is also one homily that is attributed to Jacob, but it is actually an Arabic translation of a homily by Ephrem (d. 373).[36] The homilies in this volume are exactly the same, including in the same order, as those of ms. Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, and so this manuscript—or one in its family—will have served as the source for the Athanasius volume.[37] It should be noted that the Athanasius volume updated the language of its source text(s), as was a common practice at the time.[38] Thus, the texts in this volume do not accurately represent Christian Middle Arabic; for this, one must return to the manuscripts.

HOMILIES IN THE *SAMMLUNGEN*

The *Sammlungen* attest fifty-eight different homilies attributed to Jacob. I have been able to identify fifty-six of these. The following list presents each of these identified homilies, first by the numbers of Brock's indices of incipits (B^2 and B^1) as well as Akhrass' homily list (A),[39] which are followed by an English title along with references to the edition(s) of the Syriac text as well as the Syriac incipit. There then follows a comprehensive list of the manuscripts of the *Sammlungen* that attest the homily, the Arabic incipit (retaining the Middle Arabic language), as well as comments in a few cases.[40] The information for the Arabic manuscripts has in most cases been obtained from examination of images of the manuscripts. I, however, had to rely on the published catalogue for mss. Dayr

Abu Maqar 333 (1870), Dayr Abu Maqar 334 (1773), Dayr Abu Maqar 335 (1784), and Dayr Abu Maqar 336 (18th–19th cent.)—the catalogue identifies the homilies with references to Athanasius—as well as for Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 55—the contents are the same as Athanasius. In the following list, I have included references to mss. Cairo 462 (18th cent.) and Cairo 625 (1777); the identifications of the homilies in these two manuscripts are, however, less certain because I was entirely dependent on Graf's *Catalogue*, which does not include incipits. My references to these two manuscripts also do not include folio or page numbers, since Graf does not consistently do so.

B^2 34 (which includes 150, 30, 146, 223, 187, 152) = B^1 55 = A 71 'Seven homilies on creation' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 3.1–151): ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܒܟ ܪܫܝܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܟܘܠ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 173a–192a; Athanasius, pp. 7–46 (1); Cairo 75, ff. 160a–177a; Cairo 98, ff. 3a–28b; Cairo 145, ff. 82a–93b, 81ab, 94a–100a; Cairo 462; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 380–423; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 1; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 1; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 232 (?; image missing)–259b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 213a–238a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 235a–264a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, ff. 27b–66b

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها الخالق اعطني لاقول على الخليقة

COMMENTS: Behnam Sony discusses the Arabic version in his Italian translation and study of the Syriac original (*Giacomo di Sarug: Esamerone, i sei giorni della creazione* [Rome: Guaraldi, 2011]).

B^2 55 = B^1 81 = A 204 'Ascension' (ed. P. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona, quae supersunt omnia* [Paris-Leipzig, 1902], 808–832 = P. Bedjan, *Cantus seu Homiliae*

Mar-Jacob in Jesum et Mariam [Paris-Leipzig, 1902], 196–220): ܟ̈ܐܠܬܐ ܚܢܐ, ܚܠ ܐܥܣܘܕܐܘܗ ܕܣܝ̈ܕܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 124b–129a; Athanasius, pp. 635–645 (55); Cairo 75, ff. 115b–120a; Cairo 145, ff. 126a–131a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 269–280; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 22; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 24; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 55; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 165a–171b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 149b–155b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 169a–175a

ARABIC INCIPIT: استيقظ يا كيناري على تمجيد الوحيد

B² 68 = B¹ 108 = 89 'Poor widow with two pennies' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 3.483–500): ܚܘܦܠܝܡ ܗܕ, ܐܝܕܘܗ ܗܝܬܪ ܠܚܥܬܣܗ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 430–437 (39); Cairo 98, ff. 201a–205b; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 15; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 39; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 197a–203b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 307a–319a

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا سيدي بتعليمك اضي عقلي لامجد

B² 69 = B¹ 109 = A 54 'Resurrection' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.611–623): ܚܘܬܗܝܡ ܪܬܟ ܕܗܝ ܬܣܒ ܗܕ ܚܠ ܚܬܝ̈ܐܠܗ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 118a–120b; Athanasius, pp. 622–627 (53); Cairo 75, ff. 110a–112a; Cairo 145, ff. 123a–126a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 254–259; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 20; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 22; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 53; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 156a–159b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 140b–144a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 151b–155a

ARABIC INCIPIT: كل الخليقة ابتهجوا في يومك العظيم

COMMENTS: For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.448.

B² 71 = A 228 'Whether Adam was created mortal or immortal' (ed. Alwan, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, no. II): ܟܝ ܚܒܝܬܐ ܠܗܘܬ̈ܐ ܚܠܗ, ܕܚ̈ܝܕܐܠܗ ܗܡ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 89–95 (7); Cairo 98, ff. 52b–56b; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 16; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 7; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 66a–72a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 97a–106b

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها الحكيم بك تنسل كلمتي العادمة التولد

COMMENTS: Alwan references the Arabic version in his work on the Syriac original (*Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*).

B² 73 = B¹114 = A 198 'Visitation of Mary with Elizabeth' (ed. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona*, 661–685 = Bedjan, *Cantus seu Homiliae Mar-Jacob in Jesum et Mariam*, 49–73): ܟܝ ܗܬܐܟ ܚܠ ܒܠ̈ܐܬܝܗܒ ܚܢܐ, ܚܠ ܐܥܣܘܕܐ ܝ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 16b–22b; Athanasius, pp. 221–231 (16); Cairo 75, ff. 17b–22b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 34–45; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 2; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 2; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 4; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 16; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 20a–27a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 19b–26b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 12a–19a

ARABIC INCIPIT: بك يا سيد الكل يتحرك كيناري على تمجيدك

B² 86 = B¹ 130 = A 133 'Parable of the vineyard' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 4.740–766): ܚܘܪܐܡܗ ܕܚܠܡܗ ܝ ܐܬܪ ܐܝܟ ܠܗܠ ܕܗ ܐܠܩܐ ܐ̈ܬܪܐܘ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 516–527 (48); Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no.

16; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 17; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 58

ARABIC INCIPIT: بنور كلمتك اتي اليك يا ابن الله واثني خبرك لما ادهش

B² 87 = B¹ 138 = A 197 'Annunciation' (ed. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona*, 639–661): ܒܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ, ܡܠܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܡܠܠܘܬܗ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 11a–16b; Athanasius, pp. 212–220 (15); Cairo 75, ff. 13b–17b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 24–33; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 1; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 1; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 3; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 15; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Ar. 16 14a–20a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 14b–19b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 5a–12a

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا ابن الله الكلمة الغير منطوق به

COMMENTS: This homily is also pre-served in ms. Sin. Ar. 457, but without the incipit (Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 222–224). The title of the homily is also preserved in the Bryn Mawr Fragments of the Sinai manu-scripts (Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 226–227). The text of the Sinai version, at least as it is fragmentarily preserved in ms. Sin. Ar. 457, differs significantly from that of the later *Sammlungen*, suggesting two inde-pendent translations of the same Syriac homily (see Butts, "Diversity in the Chris-tian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Se-rugh"). For other possible Arabic manu-scripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.447.

B² 89 = B¹ 140 = A 37 'Annunciation to Zechariah' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.137–158): ܒܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܘܗܝ, ܡܠܬܐ ܡܬܒܠܠܢܝܬܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 9a–12b; Athanasius, pp. 204–212

(14); Cairo 75, ff. 9b–13b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 14–23; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 2; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 14; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 8a–14a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 9a–14b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 1a–5a (incipit lost)

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا ابن الله الذي هو كلمة الناطقين

B² 92 = B¹ 142 = A 65 'Pride' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.806–816): ܒܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܚܘܗܝ, ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܡܠܠ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 59–63 (4); Cairo 98, ff. 36b–39a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 20; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 4; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 96a–99b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 141b–148a

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا ابن الله الحسن الغير منطوق به

B² 95/106 = B¹ 155 = A 26 'Godly Love' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.606–627): ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܚܒܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܠ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 497–506 (46); Cairo 98, ff. 80a–85a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 13; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 46; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 100a–108b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 148a–161a

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا ابن الله الذي اتي بحبه ليجدد

COMMENTS: For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arab-ischen Literatur*, 1.451–452. For additional comments on the Christian Arabic manu-script tradition of this homily and its diver-sity, see Butts, "Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh."

B² 97 = B¹ 146 = A 53 'Passion of our Lord' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.447–610): ܒܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܒ ܚܫܐ ܡܠܟ ܟܠ ܢܦܫܟ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 86a–118a; Athanasius, pp. 554–

621 (52); Cairo 75, ff. 78b–109b; Cairo 145, ff. 179a–209a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 178–253; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 21; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 52; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 108b–155b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 96b–140b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 104a–151b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, ff. 67a–105b

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا ابن اللـه الذي صار ذبيحا عوض الخطاة

B² 100 = B¹ 149= A 10 'Lord's prayer' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.212–248): ܕܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܕܒ ܚܐܢܝ ܕܠ ܕܠܠܟ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 153a–160b; Athanasius, pp. 394–408 (35); Cairo 75, ff. 142a–148b; Cairo 98, ff. 151b–160a; Cairo 145, ff. 164a–171a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 335–351; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 35; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 205a–215b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 187b–196b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 205a–216a; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 175b–189a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 270b–294a

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا ابن اللـه الذي يقتنوا منه كل الناطقين (variants are found for يقتنوا)

COMMENTS: For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.450.

B² 101 = B¹ 150 = A 81 'Christ's 30 years' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 3.321–334): ܕܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܣ ܕܗ ܚܠܟܟ ܐܪܒ ܐܣܚܟܟ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 65a–67b; Athanasius, pp. 328–333 (26); Cairo 75, ff. 56b–59a; Cairo 145, ff. 151b–154a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 128–133; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 13; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 12; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 26; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 77a–81a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 70a–73a; Paris,

Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 70b–74a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, ff. 158a–162a

ARABIC INCIPIT: ابن اللـه اشرق في العالم كالضو

B² 115 = B¹ 164= A 9 'Baptism' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.193–211): ܐܠܐ ܕܚܕ ܠܡ ܒܝ ܚܗ ܗܬܟ ܚܬܟ ܠܟܚܕܗܗ,

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 61b–65a; Athanasius, pp. 344–351 (28); Cairo 75, ff. 53a–56b; Cairo 145, ff. 147b–151a; Cairo 625 (?; or B² 170 = B¹ 253 = A 8 'Baptism of Jesus [Epiphany]'); Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 119–127; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 12; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 11; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 12; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 28; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 72a–77a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 66a–70a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 65b–70b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, ff. 150a–157b

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها الابن الذي جعلنا من داخل المياه بنينا لابوه

B² 122 = B¹ 179 = A 21 'Denial of Peter' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.506–531): ܟܚܠܐ ܕܕܟܟ ܟܝ ܐ ܐܚܕܪ ܕܢ ܐܠܟܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 535–546 (50); Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 18; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 19; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 50

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا ابن اللـه ثبت ضميري في ساعة حكمك

B² 135 = B¹ 203 = A 6 'Star of the magi' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.84–152): ܕܕܟ ܐܬܟ ܕܚܠܟ ܚܠܚܟ ܒܝ ܐܠܩܬܗܗ,

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 43b–56b; Athanasius, pp. 285–314 (23); Cairo 75, ff. 34a–48a; Cairo 625; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 74–106; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 8; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 9; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 10; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 23;

Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 44a–65a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 41b–60a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 36b–58a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, ff. 112a–140a

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها الاشراق العظيم الذي امتلا العالم من اشراقه

B² 140 = B¹ 209 = A 122 'Jonah' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 4.368–490): ܗܘ ܠܪ ܡܢܝ ܚܠܐܠܐ ܕܚܠܐܠܐ ܚܠ ܡܐܠܐܬܡ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 203a–216a; Athanasius, pp. 125–176 (12); Cairo 75, ff. 186a–197a; Cairo 98, ff. 103b–135a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 449–479; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 12; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 274a–293a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 251b–267b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 280b–299b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, ff. 2a–27b

ARABIC INCIPIT: هب لي يا رب كلمة مملوة افراح (most *Sammlungen*, though with some variation); اعطيني يا رب كلمة ممتلية من كل الارباح (Cairo 98)

COMMENTS: This homily is also found in ms. Milan, Ambros. X.198 sup. (Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 237). For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.449. For additional comments on the Christian Arabic manuscript tradition of this homily and its diversity, see Butts, "Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh."

B² 154 = B¹ 227 = A 49 'Transfiguration' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.347–375): ܗܘܟܐ ܕܟܚܬܝܙܐ ܗܐ ܡܚܠܐܠܐ ܠܪ ܕܙ ܟܠܐܠܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 133a–139a; Athanasius, pp. 662–673 (58); Cairo 75, ff. 124a–129a; Cairo 145, ff. 135b–141b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 290–302; Dayr Abu Maqar

333, no. 24; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 26; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 58; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 177b–185a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 160a–167b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 175a–183b

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا ابن اللـه ها يبهلني قولك المرعب

COMMENTS: For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.449.

B² 160 = B¹ 238 = A 40 'Emmanuel' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.184–196): ܗܡܐ ܕܪ ܟܐܬܝܟܐ ܕܙ ܟܐܗܠܐ ܗܘܡܐ ܠܟܕܘܡܗ,

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 26b–28b; Athanasius, pp. 242–247 (19); Cairo 75, ff. 28a–30b; Cairo 625; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 59–64; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 5; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 7; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 19; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 35a–38b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 33b–36b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 26b–30b

ARABIC INCIPIT: انظر في بالمراحم يا ابن اللـه المتشبه لابوه (أو: بابوه)

B² 168 = B¹ 252 = A 50 'Ten virgins' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.375–401): ܗܘܡܐ ܕܢܘܟܝ ܟܐܠܟ ܕܚܠܐܗܝ ܚܠܬܟ ܡܢܐ ܠܒܠܐܠܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 506–516 (47); Cairo 98, ff. 70b–77a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 2 and 23; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 47; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 144a–153a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 216a–233a

ARABIC INCIPIT: العريس العلوي الذي دعا بالكتب مصور (Vat. Ar. 73); جميع العوالم لعرسه استعلان ابن اللـه (alternative incipit, which is ln. 27 of the Syriac text).

COMMENTS: Only Vat. Ar. 73 (the earliest of the *Sammlungen*) has the same incipit as the Syriac text; all of the other

Sammlungen begin with ln. 27 of the Syriac text.[41]

B² 170 = B¹ 253 = A 8 'Baptism of Jesus (Epiphany)' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.167–193): ܣܘܠܘܟ ܡܥܡܘܕܝ ܥܠ ܡܝܐ ܚܕ ܠܝ ܠܟܝ ܢܒܨܬܟ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 57a–61b; Athanasius, pp. 333–343 (27); Cairo 75, ff. 48a–53a; Cairo 145, ff. 141b–147b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 107–118; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 11; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 10; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 11; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 27; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 65a–72a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 60a–66a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 58a–65b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, ff. 140a–150a

ARABIC INCIPIT: المسيح العريس صنع العرس لبيعة الشعوب

COMMENTS: This homily is also preserved in ms. Sin. Ar. 457 and ms. Milan, Ambros. X.198 sup. (Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 221 and 236–237). The wording of the incipit in these two early Melkite manuscripts differs from that of the later *Sammlungen*, suggesting two independent translations of the same Syriac homily (see Butts, "Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh"). For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.448.

B² 176 = B¹ 268 = A 38 'In the beginning was the word' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.158–169): ܡܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟ ܡܚܕܬܠܠ ܡܢ ܡܥܡܕܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 21b–23b; Athanasius, pp. 231–235 (17); Cairo 75, ff. 22b–25a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 46–50; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 4; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 3; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 5; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 17; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 27a–30a; Lon-don, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 26b–29b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 19a–22a

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها الكلمة المولود الغير منطوف من مايتين

B² 178 = B¹ 272 = A 52 'Good thief' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.428–446): ܡܟܝ ܕܢܝܫܡ ܕܐ ܝܡܢ ܥܗܕܬܝ, ܚܠ ܝܡܝܟ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 546–554 (51); Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 19; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 20; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 51

ARABIC INCIPIT: بحر المراحم الذي طفح بفيضه على اللص

B² 185 = B¹ 279 = A 229 'Expulsion of Adam from paradise' (ed. Alwan, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, no. III): ܟܐܠܟ ܕܐܘܦܡ ܠܟܘܕܝ ܟܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܦܐܪܝܣܟ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS OF RECENSION A: Athanasius, pp. 68–89 (6); Cairo 98, ff. 39a–52b; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 15; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 6; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 45a–66a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 65b–96b

ARABIC INCIPIT OF RECENSION A: ايها العادل الذي اخرج لبيت ادم من الفردوس

SAMMLUNGEN MSS OF RECENSION B: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 192a–198b; Cairo 75, ff. 177a–181b; Cairo 145, ff. 100a–103b; Cairo 625; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 424–435; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 259b–266b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 238a–244b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 264b–272a

ARABIC INCIPIT OF RECENSION B: كلمتك يا رب هي ضو للذي يحبها فمنها اضي لي يا رب لكيما في العالم اخبر بامورك

COMMENTS: Alwan (*Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, 1.ix–xviii) has argued that the Arabic translation of this homily exists in two different recensions, here called Recension A (= his *version ancienne*) and Recension B (= his *version tardive*). The former closely follows the Syriac *Vorlage* whereas the latter does not.

B² 186 = B¹ 280 = A 108 'Flood' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 4.1–61): ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܦܩ ܓܘܙܐ ܕܢܘܚ ܠܕܪܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܛܘܦܢܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 72b–95a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 106b–141b

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها العادل الذي قطع بحكمه لجيل نوح

B² 189 = B¹ 283 = A 57 'New Sunday and Thomas' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.649–669): ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܚܝܕܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܚܢܝܐ ܬܡܝܗܐ ܐܝܟ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 120b–124a; Athanasius, pp. 627–635 (54); Cairo 75, 112a–115b; Cairo 145, ff. 209b–213b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 260–268; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 21; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 23; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 54; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 159b–164b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 144a–149b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 155a–161a

ARABIC INCIPIT: لما قام الراعي من بين الاموات بالقوة العظيمة

COMMENTS: For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.449.

B² 196 = B¹ 296 = A 39 'Only-begotten Son' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.169–184): ܠܟ ܡܬܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐܐ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܬܠܠܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 23b–26b; Athanasius, pp. 235–241 (18); Cairo 75, ff. 25a–28a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 51–58; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 4; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 6; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 18; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 31a–35a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 29b–33b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 22a–26b

ARABIC INCIPIT: لم تنطق كلمة ربنا من الناطقين

B² 197 = B¹ 299 = A 109 'Abraham and the offering of Isaac' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 4.61–103): ܠܟܘܪܐ ܕܐܟܐ ܕܡܗܘܡܢ ܐܚܙܐ ܕܢ ܟܐܠܟܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 198b–203a; Cairo 75, ff. 181b–186a; Cairo 145, ff. 216b–217b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 436–448; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 266b–274a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 244b–251b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 272a–280b

ARABIC INCIPIT: لسرايرك العظيمة يا ابن اللـه فكري يشتاق

COMMENTS: This homily was also once found among the early Melkite manuscripts at Sinai, as witnessed by Hiersemann, Katalog. 500 nr. 14 (Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 232–234). For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.449.

B² 198 = B¹ 301 = A 42 'Reception of mysteries' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.209–227): ܠܟ ܕܚܟܐ ܒܢ, ܕܢ ܗܢ ܐ ܟܝܡ ܝ ܚܠܝ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 528–535 (49); Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 17; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 18; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 49; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 210b–218a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 329b–341a

ARABIC INCIPIT: اخلق في يا ربنا قلب طاهر كحسب ارادتك

B² 203 = B¹ 307 = A 23 'Fast' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.551–570): ܠܟܕܐ ܕܥܘܕܒܝܢ ܗܐܢܝܠ ܚܠܐ, ܕܢ ܟܐܠܟܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 74a–77b; Athanasius, pp. 381–389 (32); Cairo 75, ff. 65b–69b; Cairo 98, ff. 146b–151b; Cairo 145, ff. 171a–174b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 149–158; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 32; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 90b–96a;

London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 80b–85b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 83b–90a; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 218a–226b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 341a–354b

ARABIC INCIPIT: لميعاد تمجيدك تسرع كلمتي يا ابن اللـه

COMMENTS: For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.451.

B² 208 = B¹ 313 = A 16 'Lazarus and the rich man' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.364–424): ܠܡ ܗܘܘ̈ ܐ ܠܚܠ ܥܠܬܐ ܗܝ ܗܝ ܗܕ ܐ ܗܕ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 160b–173a; Athanasius, pp. 456–480 (43); Cairo 75, ff. 148b–160a; Cairo 98, ff. 160a–174b; Cairo 145, ff. 115b–122b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 352–379; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 43; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 215b–232(?; image missing); London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 196b–213a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 216a–234b; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 120a–143a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 177b–215a

ARABIC INCIPIT: لك اسجد ايها المعطي واستودع مسالتي (some mss., e.g., Cairo 75, Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, and Florence, Bibl. Naz. Ar. 16, have اسجد لك instead of لك اسجد).

COMMENTS: This homily is also found in ms. Milan, Ambros. X.198 sup. as well as probably the Beuroner Palimpsest Fragm. 2 (Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 237–238 and 224, respectively). The wording of the incipit of this early Melkite version, at least as it is attested in ms. Milan, Ambros. X.198 sup., the only place where it is preserved, differs from that of the later *Sammlungen*, suggesting two independent translations of the same Syriac homily (see Butts, "Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh"). For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not

Sammlungen, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.450.

B² 213 = A 344 'Parable of the lost sheep and coins' (unedited): ܠܥܘܗܐ ܗ ܗܘ ܗܘܘ ܕܝ ܗ ܠܥ ܠܚܠܠܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 409–414 (36); Cairo 98, ff. 214b–219a; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 36; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 169a–175b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 260a–270a

ARABIC INCIPIT: من هو الكافي لينطق بحسن قولك يا ابن اللـه

B² 216 = B¹ 323 = A 25 'Fast of the Lord' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.588–606): ܠܥܘܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܝ ܗܘܟ ܗܘܕ ܗܝܕ ܐ ܠܚܠ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 362–370 (30); Cairo 98, ff. 135a–139b; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 14; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 30

ARABIC INCIPIT: اتثبت ايضا لاقول خبر الصوم

B² 229 = B¹ 342 = A 92 'Widow's son brought back to life' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 3.546–563): ܚܠܟܐ ܗܝ̈ܬܟ ܗܝ̈ܣܠ ܥܝ ܐ̈ܢܟܐ ܗ̈ܚܢܠ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 449–456 (42); Cairo 98, ff. 210b–214b; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 42; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 204a–210a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 319a–329b

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها الملك الذي اشرق بالسلامة في ارض الاموات

B² 234 = B¹ 350 = A 13 'Pharisee and publican' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.299–319): ܚܠܦܝܘ̈ܐ ܗ̈ܘܬ ܗܕ ܐ ܗ̈ܠܐ ܥ ܥܬܟ ܚܠܟ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 117–125 (11); Cairo 98, ff. 205b–210a; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 11; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 189a–197a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 294a–306b

ARABIC INCIPIT: تعليم ابن اللـه ممتلي حياة

B² 235 = B¹ 351 = A 128 'Camel and needle's eye' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selec-*

tae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis, 4.649–666): ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 437–444 (40); Cairo 98, ff. 194a–198a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 8; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 40; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 109a–115a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 161b–171a

ARABIC INCIPIT: تعليم ابن اللـه ممتلي نورا

B² 236 = B¹ 353 = A 12 'Prodigal son' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.267–299): ܟܘܡܪܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ, ܡܠܟܐ ܠܦܪܘܫܐ ܠܦܢ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 414–426 (37); Cairo 98, ff. 187a–194a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 6; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 37

ARABIC INCIPIT: كلمتك يا ربنا جميعها نور لمحبيها

COMMENTS: This homily was probably once found among the early Melkite manuscripts at Sinai, since it is listed in the index of the Beuroner Palimpsest Fragm. 2 (Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 222–224).

B² 240 = B¹ 362 = A 72 'Resurrection of the dead / Return of Adam' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 3.152–175; ed. Alwan, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, no. 4): ܒܝ ܥܘܢܟ ܡܓ ܐܟܬ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܪܙ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 95–104 (8); Cairo 98, ff. 56b–62b; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 10; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 8; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 29b–39a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 44b–58a

ARABIC INCIPIT: من البد خلقة ادم عظيمة كثيرا

COMMENTS: Alwan references the Arabic version in his work on the Syriac original (*Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*).

B² 256 = B¹ 379 = A 227 'Let us make man in our image and likeness' (ed. Alwan, *Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, no. I): ܗܢܟ ܡܢ ܡܟܬܒܝܢ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܡܓ ܟܬܒܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 47–52 (2); Cairo 98, ff. 28b–32a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 14; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 2; Vat. Ar. 73 ff. 39a–44b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 58a–65b

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها الرب ربنا قولك اعظم من القايلين

COMMENTS: Alwan references the Arabic version in his work on the Syriac original (*Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*).

B² 260 = B¹ 385 = A 18 'Palm Sunday' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.445–459): ܢܚܐ ܕܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܩܛܠܗ ܡܘܕ ܡܟܠܐ ܗܘܕ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 83a–86a; Athanasius, pp. 491–497 (45); Cairo 75, ff. 75a–78b; Cairo 145, f. 123a (only the end is preserved); Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 171–177; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 15; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 16; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 45; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 104a–108b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 92b–96b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 98b–104a

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها النبع المحيي الذي شربوا منه الاموات

B² 264 = B¹ 391 = A 182 'Admonition' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 5.771–780): ܗܘܡ ܐܟ ܠܥܘܒܣܝ ܟܒܩܬܐ ܕܗܩܬܐ, ܕܐ ܗܬܟ ܟܠ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 63–67 (5); Cairo 98, ff. 180b–183a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 4; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 5; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 159a–162b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 242a–249b

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا سيد الكل يكون لي مجدك (أو: تمجيدك) قول شفتاي

B² 272 = B¹ 401 = A 30 'Matthew 16:26' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.683–698): ܟܫܥܗ ܕܐܟܢܐ ܝ ܠܟܬ ܗ, ܐܬܟ ܕܐܟܠܬܘܡܬܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 53–59 (3); Cairo 98, ff. 32a–36a; Cairo

462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 3; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 3; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 153a–158b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 233b–242a

ARABIC INCIPIT: نفس الانسان هي الصورة العظيمة التي للاهوت

B² 275 = B¹ 403 = A 166 'Luke 2:34' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 5.467–480): ܩܠ ܕ ܚܠܠܐܡܗ ܐܠܡܐ ܕܐ ܣܚܒܥ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 71b–74a; Athanasius, pp. 322–328 (25); Cairo 75, ff. 63a–65b; Cairo 145, ff. 158a–160b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 143–148; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 10; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 14; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 25; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 86b–90a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 77b–80b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 79b–83b

ARABIC INCIPIT: يتكلموا في اصوت تمجيدك يا ابن الله

B² 287 = B¹ 417 = A 205 'Virginity' (ed. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona*, 832–842 = J. J. Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri Rabulae episcopi Edesseni Balaei aliorumque opera selecta* [Oxford, 1865], 384–391): ܟܐܢܟܐ ܕܢ ܚܠܐ ܚܠܡܟܐ ܕܚܠܡܗ ܟܢܗ ܐܣܝ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 426–430 (38); Cairo 98, ff. 77a–89b; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 7; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 38

ARABIC INCIPIT: اتم العالم بخر في الارض كمثل الدخان

B² 288 = B¹ 418 = A 168 'Treasure in the field' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 5.494–506): ܠܝܐ ܠܝܬܚܐ ܘܡܣܢܚܐ ܐܠܐ, ܝܢܬ ܕܐܠܟܐ ܐܝܘܗܠܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 444–449 (41); Cairo 98, ff. 198a–201a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 9; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 41; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 115b–119b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 171a–177b

ARABIC INCIPIT: انت غني يا ربي وخزانة وكنز لقانيك

B² 294 = B¹ 426 = A 203 'Nativity' (ed. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona*, 790–808 = Bedjan, *Cantus seu Homiliae Mar-Jacob in Jesum et Mariam*, 178–196): ܠܚ ܠܡܚܠܠܗ, ܚܠܡ ܗܐܘܗ ܡܚܠܡܗ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 39b–43b; Athanasius, pp. 271–278 (21); Cairo 75, ff. 30b–34a; Cairo 625; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 65–73; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 6; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 7; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 9; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 21; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 38b–44a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 36b–41b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 30b–36b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4897, ff. 104b–112a

ARABIC INCIPIT: على ميلادك تتحرك كلمتي لتتكلم

COMMENTS: For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.448.

B² 299 = B¹ 430 = A 68 'End of the world and judgment' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.858–872): ܠܕ ܕܢܥܠܝܐ ܡܬܚ ܡܚܠܒܝ ܕܪ ܩܚܕ ܟܠܟܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 105–111 (9); Cairo 98, ff. 63a–67a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 11; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 9; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 227a–229b (end missing); Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 355a–359a (end missing)

ARABIC INCIPIT: النقي بي العالم وهو حامل ويلا ليقسم لي

COMMENTS: For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.451.

B² 307 = B¹ 444 = A 58 'Pentecost' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.670–689): ܡܚܚܐܗ ܝܢܬ ܕܪ ܟܠܐܗ ܕܝܬܟܚܒܚ ܝܠܐܕ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 129b–133a; Athanasius, pp. 645–653 (56); Cairo 75, ff. 120a–124a; Cairo

145, ff. 131a–135b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 281–289; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 23; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 25; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 56; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 171b–177a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 155b–160a;

ARABIC INCIPIT: افتح لي يا رب باب خزانتك بالحب

B^2 310 = B^1 447 = A 82 'Temptation of Jesus by Satan' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 3.335–363): ܦܬܚ ܠܝ ܬܪܥܟ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܕܡܐ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ,

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 78a–83a; Athanasius, pp. 370–380 (31); Cairo 75, ff. 69b–75a; Cairo 98, ff. 139b–146a; Cairo 145, ff. 174b–179a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 159–170; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 31; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 96a–104a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 85b–92a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 90a–98b

ARABIC INCIPIT: افتح لي بابك يا ابن الله المتشبه لابوه

COMMENTS: For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.450.

B^2 326 = B^1 475 = A 165 'Entrance of Jesus in the temple' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 5.447–466): ܡܥܡ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܘܡܐ ܘܡܟܐ ܕܝܠܕܬܐܠܗܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 67b–71a; Athanasius, pp. 314–322 (24); Cairo 75, ff. 59a–63a; Cairo 145, ff. 154a–158a; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 134–142; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 9; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 13; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 24; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 81a–86b; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 73a–77b; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 74a–79b

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها الكبير من الكل الذي صار طفلا بالطوبانية

COMMENTS: This homily is also preserved in ms. Sin. Ar. 457 and ms. Milan, Ambros. X.198 sup. (see Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 222 and 236, respectively). The incipit in these two early Melkite manuscripts differs from that of the later *Sammlungen*, suggesting two independent translations of the same Syriac homily (see Butts, "Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh"). For other possible Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.448.

B^2 331 = B^1 481 = A 31 'End' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 1.698–713): ܐܘܢܐ ܕܣܝܟܐ ܠܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܗܢ ܡܢ ܚܠܡܝ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 111–117 (10); Cairo 98, ff. 67a–70b; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 12; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 10

ARABIC INCIPIT: من استعلانك يا سيدي تهب لي روح الحياة

B^2 337 = B^1 490 = A 125 'Chariot that Ezekiel saw' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 4.543–610): ܐܘܢܐ ܕܢܘܗܬ ܚܠ ܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܕܠܟ ܡܚܕܝ ܟܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 139a–153a; Athanasius, pp. 176–204 (13); Cairo 75, ff. 129a–142a; Cairo 98, ff. 85a–103b; Cairo 145, ff. 103b–115b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 303–334; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 13; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, ff. 185b–2015a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 167b–187a; Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, ff. 183b–205a; Vat. Ar. 73, ff. 1b–29a; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 1a–44a

ARABIC INCIPIT: ايها العالي الغير مفحوص الجالس على المركبة

COMMENTS: The Arabic text, along with the Syriac, was edited in P. Zingerle, *Monumenta syriaca* (Paris: Maisonneuve; London: Williams & Norgate, 1869), 2.76–167.

B² 349 = B¹ 502 = A 135 'Renewal of the temple' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 4.789–803): ܥܠ ܚܘܕܬܐ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 5a–9a; Athanasius, pp. 653–661 (57); Cairo 75, ff. 5a–9b; Cairo, Coptic Cath. Patr. 7-15, pp. 3–13; Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 3; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 1; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 57; Florence, Bibl. Naz. Ar. 16 1b–8a; London, Brit. Libr. Oriental 4710, ff. 3a–9a; [Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ar. 4760, lost]

INCIPIT: ليكون سلامك يا ربنا حظيرة للرعاة

B² 366 = A 201 'Nativity' (ed. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona*, 720–774 = Bedjan, *Cantus seu Homiliae Mar-Jacob in Jesum et Mariam*, 108–62): ܡܪܝܡ ܗܝ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܗܝ ܕܘܡܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܠܕܬ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Aleppo, Sbath 1184, ff. 28b–39b; Athanasius, pp. 246–270 (20); Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 5; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 6; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 8; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 20

ARABIC INCIPIT: ميلادك مدهش يا ابن الله وفي صغير لتكلم خبرك العظيم

B² 367 = A 202 'Nativity' (ed. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona*, 775–790 = Bedjan, *Cantus seu Homiliae Mar-Jacob in Jesum et Mariam*, 163–78): ܡܪܝܡ ܒܟܬ ܚܕܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܡ ܩܒܠܬ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 279–285 (22); Dayr Abu Maqar 333, no. 7; Dayr Abu Maqar 334, no. 8; Dayr Abu Maqar 336, no. 13; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 22

ARABIC INCIPIT: فعل الله دهشا عظيما بميلاد ابنه

B² 380 = A 251 'Repentance' (unedited): ܗܐܢܐ ܐܟܠ ܩܪܨܐ ܠܝ ܕܡܘܡܐ ܕܐ ܕܐܝܠܐ

SAMMLUNGEN MSS: Athanasius, pp. 351–357 (28[bis]); Cairo 98, ff. 183a–187a; Cairo 462; Dayr Abu Maqar 335, no. 5; Dayr al-Baramus 2/38, no. 28[bis]; Vat.

Ar. 73, ff. 163a–175b; Vat. Borg. Ar. 59, ff. 249b–259b

ARABIC INCIPIT: يا ابن الله افتح لي بحبك الباب العظيم

Two of the fifty-eight homilies attributed to Jacob in the *Sammlungen* remain unidentified. Both are found in ms. Cairo 145. On ff. 160b–164a of this manuscript, there is a homily 'On Jonah and Nineveh' (على يو[نان] وعلى نينوى) with the incipit 'Glory to God, one in his essence, known in the trinity of his attributes' (المجد لله الواحد بذاته المعلوم بثالوث صفاته). This incipit does not match that of the homily 'On Jonah' discussed above (B² 140 = B¹ 209; Syriac text edited in Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 4.368–490) and a likely match is not found in Brock's indices of Syriac incipits. The incipit, which diverges significantly from other known incipits by Jacob, casts doubt on whether the attribution of this homily to Jacob is spurious, as suggested already by Macomber.[42] On ff. 214a–216a of this same manuscript, there is a homily that is to be read on Easter Sunday (يوم احد القيامة) with the incipit 'Shine in his resurrection on the third day in the name of the father and (in) the mystery of the Son, be saved people of Gehenna' (اشرق بالقيامة في اليوم الثالث باسم الاب وسر الابن خلص اهل الجحيم). Unlike the homily previously discussed, this homily is not directly attributed to Jacob in the manuscript. A match for the incipit of the homily is not found in Brock's list of Syriac incipits, and Macomber has again voiced doubt about its authenticity.[43]

EPILOGUE:
THE RECEPTION OF JACOB OF SERUGH IN COPTIC CHRISTIANITY

There is a long history of interaction and exchange between Coptic and Syriac Christianity.[44] The Christological debates of the fifth century were especially influential in bolstering connections between mi-

aphysite Coptic and Syriac Christians, who held strongly to the 'one nature' doctrine of Christ as articulated, in their view, by Cyril of Alexandria.[45] Perhaps the clearest example of interaction between Syriac and Coptic Christianity at this time comes with Severus, patriarch of Antioch (512–538).[46] After the ascension of Justin I in 518, Severus fled to Egypt where he lived for his remaining twenty years as leader of the Syriac miaphysites and as an occasional collaborator with the Coptic miaphysites. Severus would become one of the primary theological authorities—if not the primary, alongside Cyril of course—for Syriac as well as Coptic miaphysites. It thus comes as no surprise that works by Severus are found in Coptic translations, even if often only in fragments.[47] A different situation is, however, found with Severus's miaphysite contemporary, Jacob of Serugh, who is almost entirely unknown in Coptic. In fact, it is only a very recent discovery that established that any of Jacob's works had been translated into Coptic: Jacob's homily on 'Ascension' (B^2 55 = B^1 81 = A 204) is partially preserved in Sahidic translation in two fragmentary codices from the White Monastery.[48] Setting aside this single homily, the reception of Jacob in Coptic Christianity stems from a later period and in the Arabic language. Four extracts from two homilies by Jacob are, for instance, found in the Arabic *Confession of the Fathers* (اعتراف الأباء), an anonymous work that was compiled/translated from Coptic sources, at least for the most part, in 1078.[49]

The *Sammlungen* discussed in this article provide a further witness to the reception of Jacob of Serugh among Coptic Christians. As noted above, all of the *Sammlungen* for which we have information stem from Egypt. What's more, the earliest of them, ms. Vat. Ar. 73 (13th cent.), can be provenanced to Dayr Anbā Bišāy in the Wādī Naṭrūn. This is especially interesting in the context of Jacob, since Dayr Anbā Bišāy had a close relationship with Dayr al-Suryān, which beginning in the ninth century housed a number of Syriac monks along with their Syriac manuscripts.[50] In addition, Dayr al-Suryān saw a revival during the first half of the thirteenth century—right around the same time that ms. Vat. Ar. 73 was likely produced. Among the Syriac manuscripts produced at this time at Dayr al-Suryān is ms. Vat. Syr. 117 (ca. 1220), which contains an extensive collection of homilies by Jacob as well as a smaller number by Ephrem.[51] This Syriac homiliary in fact contains almost three-quarters of the homilies attested in the Arabic *Sammlungen* of Jacob (42 out of 58). In addition, Syriac *Sammlungen* are well attested, including manuscripts that come from Dayr al-Suryān.[52] These Syriac *Sammlungen* could have served as a model, whether conceptual or actual, for the Arabic *Sammlungen*. This raises a number of intriguing questions: Could the presence of Syriac monks in the Wādī Naṭrūn, and especially at Dayr al-Suryān, have played a role in the production of ms. Vat. Ar. 73 and/or other Arabic *Sammlungen* of Jacob? Could these Syriac monks even have been responsible for the translation of Syriac homilies by Jacob into Arabic?[53] Regardless of the answers to these questions,[54] the *Sammlungen* clearly attest to the importance of Jacob for Coptic Christians, beginning in the thirteenth century, with ms. Vat. Ar. 73, and continuing through the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Homilies by Jacob were not only copied in these large Arabic collections, but were also read throughout the year in the liturgy. Thus, though he does not hold a prominent place in the earlier literature written in the Coptic language, Jacob of Serugh seems to have been more warmly received in the later literature of Coptic Christians written in the Arabic language.[55]

NOTES

When referencing Syriac homilies by Jacob, I follow Kristian Heal ("A Note on Jacob of Sarug's Memre on Joseph," *Hugoye* 14 [2011], 215–223) in using the sigla B^1 and B^2 to refer to the indices of incipits published in S. P. Brock, "The Published Verse Homilies of Isaac of Antioch, Jacob of Serugh, and Narsai: Index of Incipits," *JSS* 32 (1987), 279–313 and S. P. Brock, "Index of First Lines," in P. Bedjan and S. P. Brock, *Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), 6.372–399, respectively. To these, I add references to the more recently published list in R.-Y. Akhrass, "A List of Homilies of Mar Jacob of Serugh," *Syriac Orthodox Patriarchal Journal* 53 (2015), 87-161, marked with the siglum A. It should be mentioned that none of these numbering systems is the last word on the matter, since additional homilies attributed to Jacob continue to be re-discovered in manuscripts. Finally, note the following abbreviation: *GEDSH* = S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2011).

[1] In addition, some texts that have been edited need to be re-edited. To give but one example, the Genesis section of the running commentary in *The Paradise of Christianity* (*firdaws al-naṣrāniyya*) by Ibn al-Ṭayyib (d. 1043) was previously edited by Sanders (J. C. J. Sanders,

Commentaire sur la Genèse [CSCO 274–275; Louvain: Peeters, 1967]). Sanders' edition, however, not only contains numerous errors (for just a small sample, see fn. 33–40 in A. M. Butts, "Embellished with Gold: The Ethiopic Reception of Syriac Biblical Exegesis," *Oriens Christianus* 97 [2013/2014], 137–159), but more importantly Sanders chose the wrong manuscript for the base text of his edition: ms. Vat. Ar. 37 (dated to either 1291 or 1379), on which Sanders based his edition, omits the Syriac lemmata that are found in some other witnesses making the text at times unintelligible; ms. Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral 474 (= olim ms. Diyarbakir 128), dated to 1332, provides a superior text in this regard (for this manuscript, see J. C. J. Sanders, "Le Manuscrit arabe 128 de Diarbékir retrouvé," *Le Muséon* 88 [1975], 31–57).

[2] Thus, the recent anthology of English translations of Christian Arabic texts from the Melkite tradition is a welcome development (see S. Noble and A. Treiger, *The Orthodox church in the Arab world, 700–1700* [DeKalb: NIU Press, 2014]). It can only be hoped that (a) companion volume(s) dedicated to other Arabic-speaking Christian traditions will appear. In addition, mention should be made of a recently inaugurated series dedicated to English translations of Christian Arabic texts: Christian Arabic Texts in Translation (CATT), edited by Stephen Davis and published by Fordham University Press.

[3] There is, however, movement on this front: a project headed by Stephen Davis, for instance, is currently underway to catalogue the more than eight-hundred Christian Arabic, or bilingual Christian Arabic-Coptic, manuscripts at Dayr al-Suryān (for a preliminary report, see S. J. Davis, "Cataloguing the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Monastery of the Syrians: A Preliminary Report," in *Studia Patristica: Papers Presented at the Seventeenth International Conference on Patristic Studies [Oxford 2015]* [Louvain: Peeters, forthcoming]).

[4] This is not to minimize the numerous studies of Christian Arabic literature that have been published since Graf's *Geschichte*. Special mention should be made in this regard to the studies of Fr. Sidney Griffith (for a bibliography of his work up through 2009, see R. D.

Young and M. J. Blanchard, *To Train his Soul in Books. Syriac Asceticism in Early Christianity* [Washington, DC: CUA Press, 2011], 205–215) and Fr. Samir Khalil Samir (for a bibliography of his work up through 2003, see R. Ebied and H. Teule [eds.], *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage in honour of Father Prof. Dr. Samir Khalil Samir S.J. at the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday* [Eastern Christian Studies 5; Louvain: Peeters, 2004], 315–344).

[5] S. Emmel, *Shenoute's literary corpus* (CSCO 599–600; Louvain: Peeters, 2004). This book is based on his earlier Yale dissertation, directed by Bentley Layton and defended in 1993.

[6] G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Studi e testi 118, 133, 146, 147, 172; Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1944–1952), 1.444–452. It is worth pointing out that Graf also edited one of the Arabic homilies attributed to Jacob; see his "Maymar ġayr maʿrūf al-mār yaʿqūb al-sarūǧī," *al-Mašriq* 48 (1954), 46–49.

[7] See already S. Khalil Samir, "Un exemple des contacts culturels entre les églises syriaques et arabes: Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," in R. Lavenant (ed.), *IIIᵒ Symposium Syriacum 1980* (OCA 221; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1983), 213–245, at 214.

[8] Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.450.

[9] These are B² 236 = B¹ 353 = A 12 (ed. P. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis* [Paris-Leipzig, 1905–1910], 1.267–299) and B² 306 = B¹ 443 = A 90 (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 3.500–529).

[10] On this topic, see Khalil Alwan, *Jacques de Saroug. Quatre homélies métriques sur la création* (CSCO 508–509; Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 1.ix–xviii and, with more detail, A. M. Butts, "Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh (d. 521)," in B. Roggema, G, Schwarb, A. Treiger (eds.), *Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations*. Forthcoming.

[11] For similar problems with Graf's treatment of Ephrem, see S. Khalil Samir, "L'Ephrem arabe: État des travaux," in *Symposium Syriacum 1976* (OCA 205; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1978), 229–240.

[12] Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe."

[13] For the briefest of descriptions of this manuscript, see *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle: Scritti di storia e paleografia*, Vol. 5. *Biblioteca ed archivio vaticano. Biblioteche diverse* (Studi e Testi 41; Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1924), 20. For a more detailed study, see E. Platti, "Mgr Sauget et le manuscrit Borgia arabe 200," *Parole de l'Orient* 18 (1993), 89–99.

[14] For Ephrem in Arabic, see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.421–433; 2.45–47 and Khalil Samir, "L'Ephrem arabe." For the identification of one of these homilies, see fn. 36 below.

[15] Editions of these three letters can be found in Rūmah Mīkhāʾīl Athanāsiyūs, *Kitāb mayāmir ay mawāʿiz al-sarūǧī* (Cairo, 1905), 357–362 (no. 29), 389–392 (33), and 393–394 (34). For more information about this edition, see below.

[16] See the descriptions in P. Sbath (vol. 3 edited by Naoum Georges Thamaz), *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath* (Cairo: H. Friedrich, 1928–1934), 3.50–53; F. del Río Sánchez, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la fondation Georges et Mathilde Salem (Alep, Syrie)* (Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients 16; Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008), 202.

[17] See the descriptions in G. Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire* (Studi e testi 63; Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1934), 28–29; M. Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the principal churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the monasteries of Egypt* (Cairo: Government Press, 1939–1942), 1.110–111 (no. 238); W. F. Macomber, *Final Inventory of the Microfilmed Manuscripts of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, Egypt. Rolls A1-20* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1995), no page numbers (see under CMA 18-11).

[18] See the descriptions in Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, 37; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts*, 1.127 (no. 283); Macomber, *Final Inventory of the Microfilmed Manuscripts of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo,*

Egypt. Rolls A1-20, no page numbers (see under CMA 20-2).

[19] See the descriptions in Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, 58–59; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts*, 135 (no. 304); Macomber, *Final Inventory of the Microfilmed Manuscripts of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, Egypt. Rolls A1-20*, no page numbers (see under CMA 20-10).

[20] See the descriptions in Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes Chrétiens conservés au Caire*, 174; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts*, 1.1.132 (no. 314).

[21] See the descriptions in Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire*, 227; Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic manuscripts*, 1.1.172–173 (no. 392).

[22] See the description in W. F. Macomber, *Final inventory of the microfilmed manuscripts of the Coptic Catholic Patriarchate, Cairo, Egypt* (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1995), 151–158.

[23] See the description in U. Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr* (Cahiers d'orientalisme 11; Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1986), 47–48.

[24] See the description in Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 48.

[25] See the description in Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 48–49.

[26] See the description in Zanetti, *Les manuscrits de Dair Abû Maqâr*, 49.

[27] See the brief descriptions in O. Pinto, *Manoscritti arabi delle biblioteche governative di Firenze non ancora catalogati* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1935), 6; eadem, "Manoscritti arabi delle biblioteche governative di Firenze non ancora catalogati," *La Bibliofilia* 37 (1935), 234–246 at 238.

[28] See the description in C. Rieu, *Supplement of the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Longmans, 1894), 817–818.

[29] See the descriptions in E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions (1884–1924)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1925), 13 (Blochet dates the manuscript to the end of the sixteenth century); G. Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Part 1. *Ma-*

nuscrits chrétiens (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1972–1974), 2.17–18.

[30] See the descriptions in Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions (1884–1924)*, 35; Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Part 1. *Manuscrits chrétiens*, 2.70–71.

[31] See the description in Ang. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, Vol. 4.2 (Rome, 1831), 146–149.

[32] See the brief description in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle: Scritti di storia e paleografia*, Vol. 5. *Biblioteca ed archivio vaticano. Biblioteche diverse*, 13.

[33] It should be noted that certain manuscripts show clear textual affiliation. Cairo 75 and Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cen. NA 685, for instance, share several errors in common, though in an admittedly small sample (see Butts, "Diversity in the Christian Arabic Reception of Jacob of Serugh").

[34] Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe."

[35] There are only numbers for 58, but 28 occurs twice for a total of 59.

[36] This is 'On the Riding of the Donkey' (pp. 480–481 [44]). The Syriac *Vorlage* is edited in E. Beck, *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones*, vol. 2 (CSCO 311–312; Louvain, 1970), 55–58 (Sermon 3). Note that the same homily seems to occur in Dayr Abu Maqar 333 (no. 14) and 334 (no 15).

[37] I am dependent on Alwan for this information (*Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, 1.xi–xii).

[38] See Athanasius, pp. 4–5 as well as Alwan, *Jacques de Saroug. Quatre homélies métriques sur la création*, 1.xii fn. 20.

[39] For these abbreviations, see the introductory note to this article.

[40] It should be stressed that I aim to provide a comprehensive list only for the *Sammlungen* that are known to me. Many of these homilies are attested in other Arabic manuscripts that are not *Sammlungen*, some of which I have indicated in the comments; these indications are, however, far from comprehensive.

[41] Graf (*Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1.450) already noted the difference between ms. Vat. Ar. 73 and the other

manuscripts but incorrectly assumed that they represented different texts.

[42] See Macomber, *Final Inventory of the Microfilmed Manuscripts of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, Egypt. Rolls A1-20*, no page numbers (see under CMA 20-10).

[43] See Macomber, *Final Inventory of the Microfilmed Manuscripts of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, Egypt. Rolls A1-20*, no page numbers (see under CMA 20-10).

[44] See L. Van Rompay, "Coptic Christianity, Syriac contacts with," in *GEDSH*, 103–106.

[45] For an insightful overview, see L. Van Rompay, "Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (518–538), in the Greek, Syriac and Coptic traditions," *JCSSS* 8 (2008), 3–22, at 13–15.

[46] On Severus more broadly, see the important new study, Y. Moss, *Incorruptible Bodies: Christology, Society, and Authority in Late Antiquity* (Christianity in Late Antiquity 1; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).

[47] For Severus in Coptic, see Van Rompay, "Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (518–538), in the Greek, Syriac and Coptic traditions," 11–13.

[48] See A. Suciu, "The Sahidic Version of Jacob of Serugh's *memrā* on the Ascension of Christ," *Le Muséon* 128 (2015), 49–83.

[49] See G. Graf, "Zwei dogmatische Florilegien der Kopten, B. Das Bekenntnis der Väter," *OCP* 3 (1937), 345–402, at 393–394 and Khalil Samir, "Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 242 with fn. 115–116. The homilies are B[2] 366 = A 201 'Nativity' (ed. Bedjan, *S. Martyrii qui et Sahdona*, 720–774 = Bedjan, *Cantus seu Homiliae Mar-Jacob in Jesum et Mariam*, 108–62) and B[2] 97 = B[1] 146 = A 53 'Passion of our Lord' (ed. Bedjan, *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 2.447–610). Note that the incipits—and so also presumably the entire text—of these extracts differ from the other Arabic recension(s). It is via the Arabic *Confession of the Fathers* that these four extracts of Jacob made their way into the Ethiopic *Faith of the Fathers* (*haymanotä abäw*).

[50] For Dayr al-Suryān, see L. Van Rompay, in *GEDSH*, 386–387 and, with more detail, S. P. Brock and L. Van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi al-Natrun*

(Egypt) (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 227; Louvain: Peeters, 2014), xiii–xxi. For Mushe of Nisibis, who was a particularly successful collector of (early) Syriac manuscripts for this monastery, see M. J. Blanchard, "Moses of Nisibis (fl. 906–943) and the Library of Deir Suriani," in L. S. B. MacCoull (ed.), *Studies in the Christian East in Memory of Mirrit Boutros Ghali* (Washington, DC: Society for Coptic Archaeology, 1995), 13–25; S. P. Brock, "Without Mushē of Nisibis, where would we be? Some reflections on the transmission of Syriac literature," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 56 (2004), 15–24.

[51] For this manuscript, see J. S. Assemani and S. E. Assemani, *Biblioteca apostolica vaticana: Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus in tres partes distributus; in quarum prima Orientales, in altera Graeci, in tertia Latini Italici aliorumque Europaeorum idiomatum codices* (Reprint Paris, 1926), 1.87–107.

[52] For Syriac *Sammlungen* of Jacob, see A. Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmrē-Dichtung des Jaʿqōb von Serūg* (CSCO 344–345; 421–422; Louvain: Peeters, 1973, 1980).

[53] It should be noted that Syriac monks at Dayr al-Suryān are known to have translated Syriac texts into Arabic a couple of centuries later (see Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 4.23).

[54] I will point out that Khalil Samir ("Jacques de Saroug dans la tradition arabe," 240–241, see also 244) seems to suggest a positive response to them.

[55] It is this Arabic tradition among Coptic Christians, though not necessarily that witnessed in the *Sammlungen*, that will have provided the bridge by which Jacob of Serugh reached Ethiopic Christianity. For Jacob in Ethiopic, see for now S. Uhlig, "Dərsan des Yaʿqob von Sərug für den vierten Sonntag im Monat Taḫśaś," *Aethiopica* 2 (1999), 7–52 at 13–16 and W. Witakowski, "Jacob of Serug," in S. Uhlig, ed., *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, III: *He–N* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 262–263. The current author, in collaboration with Ted Erho, is currently writing an updated inventory of Jacob of Serugh's homilies that circulated independently in Ethiopic.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A SON: ADAM, LANGUAGE, AND THEODICY IN A NINTH-CENTURY DISPUTE[1]

JEANNIE MILLER

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

The origins of language, the character of the link between expression and sense (*lafẓ* and *maʿnā*), and associated questions about language change, were standard topics of investigation in Arabic grammar from the early 11th century, and in Islamic legal theory from the 12th century, under the heading of *waḍʿ al-lugha*, "the conventionality of language" or *mabdaʾ al-lugha,* "the origin of language."[2] The legal theory texts typically start their back-history of this topic with the Muʿtazilī thinkers al-ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān (fl. ninth century) and Abū Hāshim (d. 933) who each proposed theories of the origins of language.[3] Despite several important modern studies of the underlying intellectual questions involved, however, the variety of ninth-century opinions is still somewhat mysterious.[4] Early exegesis of Qurʾān 2:31 "God taught Adam all the names…" makes no mention of what happened to language after this, concentrating instead on a dispute about whether the names God taught Adam were the names of "all things," mainly including names of species, or whether they were the proper names of the angels and Adam's future descendants.[5] Although the prophetic his-

tories indicate that from an early period the idea circulated that Adam spoke all the languages of the earth (perhaps Aramaic with Eve and Arabic with God), these sources do not discuss language change.[6]

Al-Jāḥiẓ's epistle entitled *Refutation of the Christians* (*al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā*) contains an account of a dispute that took place between his teacher al-Naẓẓām (d. 835-845), al-Jāḥiẓ himself, and a third unnamed *mutakallim*, tentatively identified by David Thomas as Aḥmad b. Ḥāʾiṭ (or Ḥābiṭ or Khāʾiṭ) a Muʿtazilī theologian who studied under al-Jāḥiẓ's teacher, al-Naẓẓām.[7] I find this identification very tempting, but throughout this article I will persist in referring to him as "the unnamed *mutakallim*." In this dispute, key issues arise about *waḍʿ al-lugha,* the assigning of words to their referents, and how to understand language change.[8] Because the topic of the dispute is what it means to call the Christ a "son" of God, and because the unnamed *mutakallim* held doctrines clearly influenced by Christianity, the debate contributes to our growing knowledge about the intertwined way in which Islamic and Christian thought developed under the ʿAbbāsids.[9] Thomas points out that although Ibn Ḥāʾiṭ's ideas were clearly influ-

enced by Christian doctrine, he held them "for typically Islamic reasons," and indeed often for typically Muʿtazilī reasons.[10] The same holds true of the unnamed *mutakallim*'s language theory – it uses concepts and intellectual tools that are fundamental to al-Jāḥiẓ's intellectual world, and in many cases to the shared intellectual world of contemporary Muʿtazilīs: theodicy (*maṣlaḥa*),[11] laws imposed without a specified rationale (*taʿabbud*),[12] God's power and freedom, idiomatic speech (lit. "broadening of language," *ittisāʿ al-lugha*),[13] the unique characters of various nations (*umam*),[14] and the concept of proportionate degrees (*aqdār*, *maqādīr*), namely that a range of degrees of certain qualities exists, proportionate to some determinant.[15]

THE DEBATE QUESTION

Refutation of the Christians played a significant role for al-Jāḥiẓ in securing the patronage of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847-861) at a time when al-Jāḥiẓ faced the threat of complete abandonment.[16] Yāqūt (d. 1229) transmits an epistle from the caliph al-Mutawakkil's associate al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān (d. 861) to al-Jāḥiẓ, conveying al-Mutawakkil's promise to reward *Refutation of the Christians*, once it was finished, with both a stipend and forgiveness for "what has taken place in the past."[17] James Montgomery suggests that the "past" to which he referred may have been al-Jāḥiẓ's association with the former chief judge Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād (paralyzed and retired in 848), his son Muḥammad (imprisoned and dispossessed in 851) and the former vizier Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Mālik ibn al-Zayyāt (executed 847), all disgraced at the behest of al-Mutawakkil. Montgomery's hypothesis then places the composition between 847 and 861, but most likely after 237/851, when the Ibn Abī Duʾād family was finally disgraced, and al-Mutawakkil prohibited "debate about the Qurʾān and

other matters" (*al-jidāl bi-l-Qurʾān wa-ghayrihi*).[18]

In any case, the text was composed after the execution of Ibn Ḥāʾiṭ. Aḥmad b. Ḥāʾiṭ was tried by Aḥmad b. Abī Duʾād and then put to death under al-Wāthiq (r. 227/842-232/847), after being denounced as a heretic by the court Muʿtazilīs, and al-Jāḥiẓ rebuts him on several occasions in his other works.[19] Al-Baghdādī summarizes his doctrine on the divinity of the Christ as follows:

> [He and his colleague, Faḍl al-Ḥadathī,] claimed that Creation has two lords and two creators. They claimed that the Christ is the son of God in a sense other than by birth. They claimed also that the Christ is the one who will judge creatures in the afterlife, and he is the one to whom God referred in the verses [Qurʾān 89:23 and 2:210]. He is the one who created Adam in his own image and this is the explanation of the [Prophetic] narrative "God Almighty created Adam in His image." They claimed that the Prophet was referring to him in his statement, "You will see your Lord as you see the full moon," and "God Almighty created reason and said to it, 'Come here' so it approached. He said to it 'Go away,' and it retreated. He said, 'I created the most noble creation in you, and through you I will give and take.'" They said, "the Christ clothed himself in a body (*tadarraʿa jasadan*) and before clothing himself he was an intellect."[20]

This terminology for the Incarnation reflects Nestorian terminology and is distinct from Aḥmad b. Ḥāʾiṭ's description of the intellectual fall and subsequent cycles of metempsychosis, during which he says God "clothed [souls] in certain bodies, which are coarse molds (*albasahum baʿḍ hādhihi al-ajsām allatī hiya al-qawālib al-kathīfa*)," then reincarnating these souls in the forms

of various animals according to their merit.[21] Al-Baghdādī's description of Ibn Ḥāʾiṭ doctrine on the Christ does not explicitly use the term adoption, and it is impossible to know exactly in what sense Ibn Ḥāʾiṭ meant to call the Christ God's son.

The Addressees of this epistle are introduced as a group of people charged with defending official Islamic doctrine:

> I have read your (pl.) epistle and understood it. You mentioned the dialectical questions the Christians put to you (*masāʾil al-naṣārā qibalakum*), the confusion of your youths and your weak-minded people, and your fear that they may respond with an acknowledgement of defeat (*al-ʿajz*).[22]

While it has been suggested that some of al-Jahiz's epistles use a fictional addressee as a literary device, I take this particular addressee at face value.[23] This is the unique epistle by al-Jāḥiẓ in which the Addressee is plural; it is possible that this indicates he is addressing the caliph directly or that he is addressing a group of polemicists charged with theological disputation.[24] In either case, he has a specific person or group in mind. At one point he leaves off citing examples of Jewish scriptural anthropomorphism with the words "There are many examples of this, but I leave them aside because you (pl.) already know them."[25] I doubt whether al-Jāḥiẓ would expect this level of familiarity with Jewish scripture among a general readership. He also distinguishes quite sharply between a second-person singular and a second-person plural, using the singular specifically to address some reader who was well aware of Ibn Ḥāʾiṭ's doctrines: "You (s.) yourself have seen one of the *kalām* practitioners argue that this [viz. that God might "take" a son] is possible."[26]

Al-Jāḥiẓ's epistle is structured by summaries of his Addressees' questions about

Christian arguments, continuing the exposition of the request for the treatise from the introduction. The fifth surviving excerpt introduces the question (*masʾala*) of a metaphoric sonship as follows:

> You (pl.) asked about this argument of theirs [viz. the Christians]:

> Given that God the exalted has taken one of his servants as a friend (*ittakhadha ʿabdan min ʿibādihi khalīlan*),[27] is it not possible for him to take one of his servants as a son (*an yattakhidha ʿabdan min ʿibādihi waladan*), by which term He intends to reveal His mercy, love, and careful upbringing of this person, as well as His honouring and glorifying him, and indicating that he has a special status in relation to Him.[28]

It may be surprising to see this apparently adoptionist argument ascribed to Christian dialecticians arguing at the Abbasid court. Adoptionism refers to the notion that Jesus was once an ordinary human and was at a moment in time adopted as God's son. This is certainly the sense ascribed to "took a son" (*ittakhadha waladan*) by al-Jāḥiẓ and al-Naẓẓām in the ensuing refutations of this question. However, it is possible that the Qurʾānic phrase "took a son" (*ittakhadha waladan*) may have been used by Nestorians as part of their general strategy of presenting Nestorianism to Muslims as more compatible with Islam than other Christian sects.[29] In that case, they would not have intended for it to be interpreted as adoptionist, but rather as an expression of their interpretation of the Incarnation as a moment at Jesus's birth when Christ's pre-existing divinity "united with" (*ittaḥada bi-*) a humanity "taken from" (*maʾkhūdh min*) Mary, namely Jesus.[30]

Shlomo Pines shows that the Muʿtazilī heresiographer ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1024) treats sonship by adoption as a standard polemical *topos*, perhaps deriving indirect-

ly from the wording of the Qurʾān, which ascribes to Christians the doctrine that God "took a son" (*ittakhadha waladan*).[31] In the ninth century, however, the Qurʾānic phrase was not necessarily taken to imply adoptionism. Al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 860) in his *Refutation of the Christians* uses this Qurʾānic wording to describe the doctrine that the Christ is God's son, but he does not seem to be referring to metaphoric sonship, nor does he mention the notion of adoption; his refutation relies entirely on the premise that sons are "like" their fathers, and idea that seems to presuppose a biological link.[32] The early ninth-century "Jacobite" apologist Abū Rāʾiṭa, however, includes the question of sonship by adoption (*tabannī*) as a standard question put forth by his hypothetical Muslim interlocutors.[33]

> If they say: Tell us about the Christ, [is he] the son of God by adoption (*tabanniyan*)[34] -- meaning that He "took" him (*ittakhadhahu*), without him being a true son -- or [is he] a son that He begot from His essence (*aw waladun waladahu min jawharihi*)?[35]

Shlomo Pines has pointed out an intriguing passage by the Jewish theologian Saʿadiya Gaʾon (d. 942), describing four sects of Christians, the last of which arose "recently" and used the phrase *khalīl Allāh* to defend the phrase *ibn Allāh*:

> …three of them more ancient, whereas the fourth came out only recently. The fourth gives [the Christ] only the rank of a prophet and interprets the Sonship – which according to them is attributed to him just as we interpret the verse "My son my first born Israel (Exodus 4:22) – as only an indication of his being honoured and preferred and just as others [the Muslims] interpret the expression, "Abraham the friend of God" (*khalīl Allāh*).[36]

This reference is somewhat mysterious as Nestorians are presumably one of the three "ancient" sects, distinguished from this "recent group." Nestorians were, however, making explicit statements about the "creatureliness" of Jesus and even citing Qurʾān 3:59 to argue that "the human individual Jesus is no different from the humanity of Adam." (They used the name Jesus to signify the humanity of Christ as opposed to his divinity.) This comparison between Jesus and the prophet Adam suggests it is not outlandish to think they may also have compared Jesus to the prophet Abraham, and the emphasis on Jesus's ordinary humanity could have given the impression that they did not see Christ as divine. Still, Nestorianism was not a recent sect.

Pines suggests Saʿadiya may have considered Aḥmad b. Ḥāʾiṭ and his followers to be Christians and included them as the fourth sect. In that case he would have apparently been unaware that they considered the Christ to be not a prophet but divine. Alternatively he may have heard of the adoptionist Christian movement in the Islamic west, though (to my knowledge) we have no evidence of that group debating Muslims, much less using in their defense the Qurʾānic phrases *khalīl Allāh* or *ittakhadha*.[37] Finally, I can tentatively suggest a third scenario, namely that this "recent" sect corresponds to the followers of John of Dalyatha, an ascetic Nestorian writer anathemized by Timothy I in 786-7 for claiming that Jesus the human individual saw God in the mirror of his soul.[38] He and his followers were significant enough to be assigned a group name by Timothy I, namely the *mṣallyānē*, and John of Dalyatha's writings were accepted in the mid-820s by Timothy's successor as the Nestorian Catholicos. Alexander Treiger suggests that this is an important origin for Muslim mystical ideas about the soul as a mirror for God, according to which the In-

carnation is merely "Jesus's vision of God – available, in principle to every human being."[39] If this Muslim adaptation of his doctrine was ascribed to his followers already in the tenth century, then they could be the sect Saʿadiya references.

As for the pre-845 debate between al-Naẓẓām, al-Jāḥiẓ, and an unnamed *mutakallim* who may be Ibn Ḥāʾiṭ, it is clear that al-Jāḥiẓ treats this as a real-life event, and I accept this claim. If the unnamed *mutakallim* was in fact Ibn Ḥāʾiṭ, al-Jāḥiẓ had good reason to include his arguments while omitting his name. This provided a more precise articulation of the doctrine to rebut, and by omitting his name, al-Jāḥiẓ avoided the political risk of citing this recently executed heretic. While al-Jāḥiẓ may at other times have welcomed such risks, this text was likely meant to prove his ability to promote unity among Muslims by polemicizing against other groups, thus securing his precarious position under a new and hostile caliph.

LANGUAGE THEORY IN THE DEBATE

The opening of al-Jāḥiẓ's response to his Addressees' question validates the question and makes it more specific in order to properly rebut it, by directly citing the doctrine and arguments of the unnamed *mutakallim*.

> You (s.) yourself have seen one of the *kalām* practitioners argue that this [viz. that God might "take" a son] is possible and cannot be ruled out, as long as it is in the sense of adoption (*tabannī*), upbringing (*tarbiya*), expressing his high status, and singling him out with mercy and affection, and not in the sense of procreation (*wilāda*) or "taking" a female companion (*ittikhādh ṣāḥiba*).
>
> He claimed that God the exalted decrees what He wishes about words

just as He can decree what He wishes about the meanings (*yaḥkumu fī al-asmāʾ bi-mā aḥabba kama anna lahu an yaḥkuma fī al-maʿānī bi-mā aḥabba*).[40]

This argument makes no mention of any of the reported doctrines of Aḥmad b. Ḥāʾiṭ about the Christ, other than that he is called "Son of God" in a sense other than by procreation. The emphasis here on God's freedom to change the status of words and things at will was not particularly unusual. It was well known that God introduced new terms into the Arabic language with the advent of Islam. Some interpreted this as a "perfection" of the Arabic language, or assumed that these new Islamic terms were part of the original Arabic that God taught to Adam. Others treated Islamic revelation as just one of the many mechanisms of language change in a new direction, albeit one approved by God.

Al-Jāḥiẓ and the discipline of philology were well aware of the phenomenon of linguistic change.[41] As they saw it, while human language change happens through a process of agreement (*iṣṭilāḥ* or *tawāḍuʿ*), God's changes to language are promulgated through revelation. In all cases, it is a change made known to the entire community, not a capricious change on the part of a single speaker. We see later on that the unnamed *mutakallim* in fact is not arguing for a capricious use of "son" but rather that "son" may have had various idiomatic usages among the pre-Islamic Arabs. God's ability to name and rename people and objects was then an integral part of the philological study of derivation (*ishtiqāq*).[42] *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* for example reports a discussion of language change in Arabic through the derivation (*ishtiqāq*) of new words, particularly in the case of naming children. One of the unnamed participants in this discussion proposes dividing all words (*asmāʾ*) into those that are original (*aṣlī*); those derived from the original names, particularly cases

of children whose name shares the same root letters as the father's name; those determined by God's act of naming; and those that developed from new historic developments, as in the renaming of Friday *yawm al-jumʿa* (day of congregation) when it had prior been called *yawm al-ʿarūba*.[43] This is one among several terminologies for dividing original from derived words.[44] In practice, the study of derivation focused primarily on revealing the patterns behind new coinages, most of which were proper names. In this way, it operated to secure the stability of reference while preserving the possibility of change. It was taken for granted, however, that God changed words through the same processes humans did – through derivation usually based on root, and through dissemination of the change in a process that later came to be called "agreement" (*iṣṭilāḥ*). ʿAbd al-Jabbār, for example, includes in his definition of speech (*kalām*) the stipulation that the "arranged letters" be possible to comprehend (*yaṣiḥḥu an yufīda*) thus excluding birdsong.[45] ʿAbd al-Jabbār also includes in his definition of figurative language (*majāz*) the stipulation that it be "agreed upon" (*muṣṭalaḥ ʿalayhi*).[46] Even poets cannot simply use words willy-nilly for unpredictable meanings; they use figurative language in such a way that the meaning is understood.

Neither al-Jāḥiẓ nor al-Naẓẓām engages directly with the unnamed *mutakallim*'s statement on God's freedom to change linguistic reference. Instead, they engage with his comparison of the phrase "son of God" to Ibrāhīm's appellation "friend of God" (*khalīl Allāh*). They must explain why they deny an adopted or idiomatic sonship but allow a friendship. Al-Jāḥiẓ's response is at its core logical rather than linguistic. He argues that it is logically impossible for God to engage in familial relations with humans, even through adoption. He accepts the comparison to friendship, but argues

that a human could be neither a friend nor son to God.[47] I will examine their arguments in more detail in the final section of this article, but first I would like to use the unnamed *mutakallim*'s unique doctrine on language change to flesh out in more detail the approach to language stability and language change evidenced in al-Jāḥiẓ's other writings.

This description of God's linguistic freedom is in fact very similar to al-Jāḥiẓ's own doctrine. The conclusion to al-Jāḥiẓ's disquisition on language change in *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* reads as follows:[48]

> Given that the Arabs derived speech from their speech, and terms from their terms; given that language passed into their hands from Him who had created them, enabled them, inspired them, and taught them; and given that this activity of theirs was right in the eyes of all the people: it follows that He who loaned them this blessing is more deserving of the right to make derivations, and obeying Him is more obligatory. <u>Just as it was up to Him to invent names, likewise it is up to Him to invent them from whatever He likes</u> (*kamā anna lahu an yabtadiʾa al-asmāʾ fa-kadhālika lahu an yabtadiʾahā mimmā aḥabba*). He named His revealed book the Qurʾān, and this name did not exist until it was. He made bowing to the sun into blasphemy, so that avoiding this exact bowing is necessarily faith (and avoiding a deed must be through the same organs that would perform the deed, and at the same span of time, instead of it and in its place). It is the same thing to call bowing blasphemy, for if it is blasphemy then it is denial of faith, and it if is denial of faith then it is association with God – but bowing is not denial, and denial is not association, unless you turn it in the direction by which it becomes association.[49]

Al-Jāḥiẓ here uses the same phrasing ("as He wishes") to emphasize God's freedom as originator of human language and inventor of new terms through revelation, most notably the revelation of the Qurʾān. Al-Jāḥiẓ takes it for granted that God does this through derivation that produces new words from old words, but he does not explicitly make this a rule. He also exhibits the same slippage employed by the unnamed *mutakallim* between God's determining a word's referent and describing that referent by assigning a status (*ḥukm*) to an act. Al-Jāḥiẓ here uses the ambiguous term *jaʿala* (to make something be, or to call something by a name, or to refer to something idiomatically) to make a link between assigning a referent to a name, and positing something of that referent. He here explains that some bowing is blasphemy, but that this only came to be true after the advent of Islam. In making new laws about worship then, God in fact changed the meaning of the terms. Either He changed the meaning of the term blasphemy, so that now it encompassed some bowing, or he changed the meaning of bowing so that in some cases it came to be blasphemy. (The first option makes more sense, but the wording seems to point more toward the second.) This redefinition of terms is inseparable from God's legislation, and this is why we find the link between God's freedom to coin terms, and the obligation to obey Him. By accepting His terminology, one accepts that bowing to the sun is blasphemy.

When the unnamed *mutakallim*'s argument is described in more detail, it is revealed to be similarly based on a merging of the act of legislation with the act of naming:

> He used to say: Words were only assigned according to the degrees of providential benefit (*innamā wuḍiʿat al-asmāʾ ʿalā aqdār al-maṣlaḥa*) and

at a degree corresponding to the characters of different nations. So perhaps the most beneficial way and the most secure was for God to adopt him (*yatabannāhu*) or to "take him as a friend (*yattakhidhahu khalīlan*)." Perhaps it was most beneficial to address him without an intermediary or to create him without a male parent or to make him come from a barren woman and a sterile man. Perhaps providential benefit was something else, other than any of these things. Similarly, God instructed us without giving a reason (*taʿabbadanā*) to call Him *jawād* (generous) and forbade us from calling Him *sakhī* (generous) or *sarī* (generous). He commanded us to call Him "believer" (*muʾmin*) but forbade us from calling him "submitter" (*muslim*) and commanded us to call him "merciful" (*raḥīm*) but forbade us from calling him "compassionate" (*rafīq*). The logic (*qiyās*) in all of these cases is the same, for [language] becomes flexible and smooth (*yattasiʿu wa-yashulu*) [through idiom] according to the degree and commonness of habitual use (*ʿalā qadr al-ʿāda wa-kathratihā*). Perhaps all this was widespread in the religion of Hūd and Ṣāliḥ and Ismāʿīl, so that they were widespread in the speech of the Arabs in asserting and denying this.[50]

This description of God's freedom to legislate language uses concepts familiar from Muʿtazilī discourse as reflected in al-Jāḥiẓ's writings and elsewhere: the difference in character of various "nations," the principle that creation is arranged for maximal "benefit" (*maṣlaḥa*) to humanity, the concept of proportion and degree (*ʿalā aqdār*), the idea that some of God's commands have no rational purpose other than to test mankind's obedience (*al-taʿabbud*), and the principle that the idiomatic dimension of language ("flexibility," *al-ittisāʿ*) is of key importance in the practice of exege-

sis.[51] The unnamed *mutakallim* uses the concept of an obsolete term in claiming that the idiomatic usage of "son" for a beloved dependant may be an expression that was once widespread among the people Hūd and Ṣāliḥ and Ismāʿīl. Al-Jāḥiẓ confirms the reality of such obsolete terms in *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān¸* and cites Abū ʿUbayda's point that terms become obsolete with the obsolescence of their meanings,[52] adding that other terms become obsolete without the obsolescence of the referent, when a new word replaces the old word.[53]

The unnamed *mutakallim* starts out with the principle of theodicy (*maṣlaḥa*) and the useful intellectual tool of "proportional degrees," both of which pepper al-Jāḥiẓ's texts. Al-Jāḥiẓ explains at length in *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, for example that communication (*bayān*), mainly consisting of language, is a key requirement for the fulfilment of humanity's purpose on earth and is therefore a necessary component of providential benefit (*maṣlaḥa*).[54] In various passages of *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, al-Jāḥiẓ makes it clear that there is a spectrum of communicative complexity based on the number of phonemes/letters (*ḥurūf*) and expressions (*ṣuwar*) in a language, ranging from the language of Khuzistan which he finds phonetically complex, to animal speech which he finds simple. Linguistic complexity is "proportionate to" (ʿalā qadr) each nation's "needs" (*ḥājāt*), as defined by its unique political requirements. Without language, trade and mutual aid cannot take place, so human and many animal societies require communicative tools of varying complexity depending on group's organizational needs.[55] Providence (*maṣlaḥa*) requires this. The link to national character is not explicitly stated, but is very much in keeping with the spirit of al-Jāḥiẓ's points about the differences of degree between languages. The only way the unnamed *mutakkalim*'s discourse here differs is in the way he links specific words and specific instances of language change to a providential benefit (*maṣlaḥa*) that is localized in time. This flags the importance of considering whether providence for al-Jāḥiẓ is a single totality or something that shifts over time.

In a subsequent excerpt from *Refutation of the Christians*, al-Jāḥiẓ argues that God honoured Adam "more," presumably meaning more than He honoured the Christ. To support this point, he cites the Qurʾānic claim that God "taught Adam all the names," and in the process mentions briefly his own theory about God's relation to human language.[56] The passage does not operate argumentatively as a refutation of the unnamed *mutakallim*, but in practice it demonstrates the way in which this unnamed *mutakallim*'s language theory uses and distorts terms and concepts integral to al-Jāḥiẓ's language theory:

> God used to speak to Adam as He had spoken to the angels. Then He taught him all of the names, and He could not teach him all the names without including with them all of the meanings. Given that, He taught him everything he needed for his providential benefits (*jamīʿ maṣāliḥihi*) and those of his progeny. This is the limit of the natures of people, and the sum of the faculties of created beings.[57]

This passages provides the crucial missing piece of information to allow us to interpret al-Jāḥiẓ's discussion of the original assignation of terms in the *Epistle on Jest and Earnest*:

> It would be impossible for Him to teach him a name and leave aside the meaning, or to teach him a sign and not establish for him what it signifies (*lā yaḍaʿu lahu al-madlūl ʿalayhi*). For a name without a meaning is nonsense (*laghw*) like an empty vessel. Names have the status

of bodies, and meanings have the status of souls. The expression (*lafẓ*) is a body for the meaning (*maʿnā*), and the meaning is a soul to the expression. If He had given him names without meanings, then this would be like someone who gave something inanimate and motionless to him, with no sensation or utility [i.e. a corpse]. No expression (*lafẓ*) can be considered a name unless it contains a meaning. A meaning can exist without having a name, but there is no name without a meaning. In His speech, may His mention be glorified, [the phrase] "He taught Adam all the names" informs that He taught him all the meanings.

We do not mean here the *maʿānī* of the combinations (*tarākīb*) of colours, tastes, smells, and the multiplication of finite and infinite numbers. That which exceeds the degree of benefit (*maṣlaḥa*) and the goal of periphrastic definition (*rasm*) has no name, except if you introduce it into the realm of knowledge by saying "a thing and something." [i.e. by using two words to express a meaning not originally covered by the assigned names.] The names that circulate among the people were only established (*wuḍiʿat*) as signposts for specific conditions (*khaṣāʾiṣ al-ḥālāt*), not for the results of combination (*natāʾij al-tarākīb*). Likewise, the specific of the specific (*khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ,* i.e. individuals) has no name except that you make the demonstrative (*ishāra*) that accompanies a word expression (*lafẓ*) into a name.[58]

Names only apply to limited known things, and, by my life, they do indeed encircle and encompass them. As for basic knowledge (*al-ʿulūm al-mabsūṭa*), it reaches the limits of [our species's] needs, and then stops. If you claim that God (blessed and exalted) taught Adam all the names with their meanings, then this

means up to the limit of human benefit (*maṣlaḥa*), nothing else.[59]

There is a slippage here between *maʿnā* as the meaning of an expression (*al-madlūl ʿalayhi*) and the theological meaning of *maʿnā* as "entitative accident."[60] The chief aim of this passage is to assert that when God taught Adam the "names," this included the referents of those names, and then to sort out the intellectual problems implicit in this doctrine. There are infinite "meanings" in reality, but not all of them have been assigned names; God taught Adam all the names he needed, along with the "meanings" that are the referents of those names.

It is unclear what person or group might have claimed that God taught Adam "names" without "meanings," since nobody seems to have denied that sounds needed to be meaningful (*mufīd*) to be considered language. The passage suggests that the objection was not to the idea of words having meaning, but rather to the notion that "all the meanings" were included in that teaching moment, because of the infinite number of entitative accidents in the world over the course of history; this would be impossible to convey to a mere human. Tilman Nagel has suggested that the proposals by Ibn Kullāb (d. 241/855) and Muʿammar (d. 830) to define speech (*kalām*) independently of sound may have implied a weakened link between word and sense (*lafẓ* and *maʿnā*), in the sense that speech may consist of a noetic object prior to being articulated with actual words.[61] (This makes more sense in regard to Ibn Kullāb than Muʿammar, since Muʿammar defined speech as "arranged letters" suggesting that he included unpronounced linguistic text in his conception of speech.) But these proposals to weaken the link between expression and idea were all designed to allow "meaning" to exist as speech independently of sound, not to sug-

gest that sound may constitute words (*as-mā*) independently of their meanings. In fact, the argument in favor of a determining link between word and meaning was an argument for the necessity of language. Al-Jāḥiẓ cites a statement on what a wordless thought might be in the famous *bāb al-bayān* from his *Kitāb al-Bayān wal-Tabyīn*:

> One of the assessors of terms (*alfāẓ*) and testers of meanings (*maʿānī*) said: The meanings that are present in people's breasts, conceptualized in their minds, trembling in their souls, linked to their impulses (*khawāṭir*) and arising from their thoughts are veiled, hidden, distant, and wild. They are present in an absent sense for no person knows the mind of his companion or the needs of his brother and friend or the meaning of his partner and the ally in his affairs and in all that which he cannot achieve on his own, except by resorting to something else [i.e. communication]. Mentioning these meanings brings them to life.[62]

The key point here is that while wordless ideas may exist, they are useless and have no impact until expressed. This bears some resemblance to one of the arguments ʿAbd al-Jabbār uses to refute the Ashʿarī position that speech is an "entitative accident existing in the soul" (*maʿnā qāʾim bil-nafs*). He argues that this hypothetical entity has no perceptible effects distinguishable from the effects of thought, and so cannot be posited because there is no way to learn of its existence. He points out that this argument is the same argument previously used to refute Muʿammar's argument that there are infinite *maʿānī* forming a causative chain resulting in perceptibles; what we perceive is evidence that there is a *maʿnā* causing the perception, but beyond that additional causes would be indistinguishable from the immediate cause.[63]

Meanings may be irrelevant without words, but words without meanings are impossible. Al-Jāḥiẓ elsewhere expresses outrage at those who attempt to speak without considering the sense of what they are saying. This is one of his standard complaints against opponents. He suggests, for example, that when the group he calls the *mushabbiha* claim to believe in divine unicity while still allowing literal interpretation of anthropomorphic passages, they act like a man who says he has the square root of one hundred but he does not have ten, or that he rode a donkey but not an ass, or who says he drank vintage but not wine. He concludes this rant as follows:

> Meanings have indicators and names (*lil-maʿānī dalālāt wa-asmā*) … Nobody pays any attention to [a person's] denial of something if he also accepts that thing [under a different name].[64]

Words have defined meanings, and to interact with words divorced from their meanings is to undercut the very basis of communication and theological argumentation.

The purpose of the term *maṣlaḥa* in this long passage is to limit the complexity and extent of the language that God has provided to humans (and indeed to all species). Language's finite terms are sufficient for humanity's ideal fulfillment, but they do not encompass the infinity of human experience. Instead, humans often express further ideas using new combinations of words. Language change, subsequent linguistic diversity, and derivation (*ishtiqāq*) are not really explained in this passage, so it is not immediately obvious how to reconcile al-Jāḥiẓ's comments about God's primordial assignation (*waḍʿ*) of conventional language with his extraordinarily detailed investigation of language change in *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*. It is the brief passage from *Refutation of the Christians* that ges-

tures toward a reconciliation. "He taught him all of his best interests (*maṣāliḥ*), and those of his progeny." For al-Jāḥiẓ, *maṣlaḥa* is not about the particular historical needs of a specific time and place, as the unnamed *mutakallim* seems to think when he suggests that God may honour prophets in any way He sees fit, according to what is most needed at that time (*maṣlaḥa*). Rather, for al-Jāḥiẓ, the specific needs of each nation may differ, but providence (*maṣlaḥa*) is a single "best" situation for humanity, in all places and times, rather than the satisfaction of the contingent needs of the moment. Each nation's language fits its particular needs, and this is what is beneficial for humanity.

The phrase, "He taught him everything he needed for his providential interests (*jamīʿ maṣāliḥihi*), and those of his progeny" suggests that in some numinous and unexplained way, the totality of all of humanity's *maṣlaḥa* and all the language needed to convey it was communicated to Adam in this primordial moment. This is very much in keeping with ideas found in the prophetic histories, that Adam spoke every earthly language, or that God uttered certain obviously Islamic-era phrases to Adam in this primordial moment, suggesting that Islam's new coinages were merely restoring what was lost of this primordial plenitude. How the initial linguistic plenum separated itself into specific languages and specific moments in the development of languages is not made clear. But this numinous sense of a preset linguistic plenum does theoretically prevent the sense of willy-nilly linguistic change made thinkable by the more instrumental *maṣlaḥa* of convenience that we might understand from the reported statement of the unnamed *mutakallim*. While al-Jāḥiẓ too believes that each nation's language fits the "needs" and *maṣlaḥa* specific to that nation, his examples are all general statements on linguistic

and especially phonetic complexity, and have nothing to do with the specific expediency of using certain idioms to express theology.

Although al-Jāḥiẓ does not mount a critique of his opponent's language theory, he does include both logical and linguistic grounds in his rejection of his Jewish scriptural citations, writing that the citations prove only:[65]

> their ignorance of the possibilities in speech (*majāzāt al-kalām*),[66] the behaviors of languages (*taṣārīf al-lughāt*), the translation of one language into another, and what is logically possible and impossible for God.[67]

Without claiming to identify precisely the linguistic objections to which al-Jāḥiẓ may refer here, I would nonetheless like to return to his summary of his opponent's language theory, and to compare it with al-Jāḥiẓ's approach to language and divinely ordained language change.

The unnamed *mutakallim* compares God's decision to call the Christ his "son" to two other divine acts: 1) His determination of the divine names, including and excluding synonyms like *rafīq* and *raḥīm* in an unpredictable manner and 2) His selection of different mechanisms for honouring the different prophets. Without citing their names, he mentions Isḥāq (Isaac) who was born from infertile parents, ʿĪsā (Jesus) who was born without a father, and Mūsā (Moses) whom He addressed without intermediary. Calling the Christ "son" and adopting him is another mode of honouring a prophet. (This argument does seem to contradict Ibn Ḥāʾiṭ's doctrine that the Christ was divine.) The comparison to God's legislation of His names is more mysterious, and needs to be broken down. I know of no other example of this legislative language of *taʿabbud* being used with reference to the names people should use to

refer to God. Later heresiologies make a basic division between theologians who taught that we can only refer to God using the names He used in revelation to describe Himself, and those who believed that reason could discern which names were possible as names for God, or predicates of Him.[68] Since Abū Hudhayl (d. 227/841) listed the terms God used to refer to Himself in the Qurʾān, the textualist position dates back at least to him, and would have been familiar to the debate partners in the disputation we are analyzing here.[69] Hishām al-Fuwaṭī (d. before 833) and his student ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān (fl. Baṣra in the ninth century) both mounted rational arguments against referring to God as *wakīl* despite Qurʾān 3:137. They argued that the term could easily be misinterpreted blasphemously.[70]

In using the term *taʿabbud*, the unnamed *mutakallim* draws on a principle used by the jurist al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820) in *Kitāb al-Umm*, that laws can be designated as either "because of a rationale" (*li-maʿnā*), and thus rationally comprehensible (*maʿqūl*) and susceptible to analogical argument (*qiyās*), or they can lack a rationale and thus be "for demanding obedience" (*lil-taʿabbud*).[71] At another point al-Shāfiʿī identifies the purpose of "demanding obedience" (*taʿabbud*) as the rationale (*maʿnā*) for certain ritual purity laws.[72] Al-Jāḥiẓ reports extensive discussion of the concept of *taʿabbud* among early ninth-century *kalām* practitioners, who usually refer to the second category with the pair of terms *al-taʿabbud wal-imtiḥān* (demanding obedience and putting to a test).[73] It is unusual, however, for language norms to be susceptible to *taʿabbud*; indeed it seems that if we do not know the reason for using certain words, this may undercut the communicative function of language. The argument is that certain terms for God are allowed while synonyms are prohibited. The differ-

ence is not rational, but rather God's command and prohibition for the purpose of *taʿabbud*. This doctrine certainly distances the speaker from any rational (*ʿaqlī*) method for determining the "deserved" names of God, but only Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī is reported by the heresiographers to have rejected *sakhī* and *rafīq* as names of God, and that was on rational (*ʿaqlī*) grounds.[74] Both terms appear in the *ḥadīth*. I can only speculate that this person believed God deserved to be called only the names He uses for Himself in the Qurʾān, to the exclusion of the *ḥadīth*. This very textual approach to what it is possible to say about God may carry some flavor of the pious caution or scrupulousness (*waraʿ*) advocated by proto-Sunnīs, as in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's famous refusal to make any statements about the Qurʾān other than to cite what the Qurʾān says about itself; but this was a widespread impulse, as indicated also by Abū Hudhayl's practice of only employing attributes attested in the Qurʾān.[75]

Finally, the unnamed *mutakallim*'s claim that God "forbade" (*nahā*) using certain names for Him is unique as far as I know, as the heresiographers prefer to say that "it is not possible" to call God by certain names, or that God "does not deserve" to be so called. And it is especially odd to find this assertion of a prohibition linked to the concept of *taʿabbud*, since al-Shāfiʿī methodologically prohibits extrapolation from laws based in *taʿabbud* as their rationale cannot be determined. If there is a legal prohibition against using these terms, then surely it cannot be by *taʿabbud* since there is no direct textual support. What was al-Jāḥiẓ's position in all of this? All of his arguments against calling God by a particular name (such as "father") are based in reason, not scripture. Indeed, here is how he summarizes his public argument in the narrated dis-

pute, in which he rejects calling Ibrāhīm *khalīl Allāh*:

> According to this analysis (*qiyās*) of ours, it is not possible that God be the *khalīl* of Ibrāhīm, in the same way that it is said that Ibrāhīm is a *khalīl* of God.[76]

It is acceptable for Ibrāhīm to be God's *khalīl*, but not for God to be Ibrāhīm's *khalīl*. Since he has already established that friendship is necessarily a reciprocal relationship, this excludes "friend" as the correct interpretation of *khalīl* in this context. But if *khalīl* instead means that Ibrāhīm was sorely tested in the path of God, then we can call Ibrāhīm *khalīl Allāh* without necessitating the conclusion that God is also the *khalīl* of Ibrāhīm. If this represents al-Jāḥiẓ's whole opinion, then there is no unpredictable legislation about the names of God in his view, but he does not take the time to rebut the unnamed *mutakallim*'s assertions about how legislation and language work, probably because it takes him too far afield from refuting Christianity.

THE RESPONSES BY AL-NAẒẒĀM AND AL-JĀḤIẒ

Refutation of the Christians includes no response to the unusual language theory put forward by the unnamed *mutakallim*. Instead, the Muʿtazilī representatives treat as their main challenge the analogy to Ibrāhīm's appellation as *khalīl Allāh*. The responses they do give are where we find traces of the Muslim-Christian debates evidenced in other texts. The text progresses as follows: Al-Jāḥiẓ as author responds to the original question by stating that in fact it is always wrong to call a creature the "son" of God, whether you mean son by birth or son by adoption. His arguments are based in logic and authority, not on the attested usages of the term "son." The

Qurʾān vociferously scolds the pre-Islamic Arabs for calling their goddesses "daughters" of Allāh, even though they did not mean to say they were His daughters by birth. God is too "great" (*aʿẓam*) to have fatherhood among His characteristics, and man too vile to have sonship to God among his.[77] Al-Jāḥiẓ here seems to be responding to an uncited Christian argument like the one made by Abū Rāʾiṭa that God should be praised for humbling Himself (*al-tawāḍuʿ*) through the Incarnation.[78] Al-Jāḥiẓ argues that if God could not honour His servant without diminishing Himself (*al-hawān*), then He is incapable, and if He chose to degrade Himself (*al-ibtidhāl*) in honouring His servant, then He is ignorant; neither is the case. He argues that if God were to be called a father to someone, then by the transitive nature of familial relationships, He would be uncle to someone else. Jewish scripture includes some examples of God's anger at being called a father to humans, but the many cases in which it approvingly cites such an idiom are not probative sources since Jewish scripture is also full of logically unacceptable anthropomorphisms.[79]

Having fully demonstrated the logical impossibility of God having a son, al-Jāḥiẓ goes on to rebut the counterargument comparing this phrase to *khalīl Allāh*. At this point, he provides a summary of arguments made by al-Naẓẓām and himself in the pre-845 debate.

> Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām responded with a rebuttal that we will mention here, God-willing. The scholars among the Muʿtazila followed this opinion, but I do not find it convincing or clear.
>
> That is: He [the unnamed *mutakallim*] interpreted the term friend (*khalīl*) as being like beloved (*ḥabīb*), and like client (*walī*). He said, "The friend of God is like God's beloved, his client, and his al-

ly." So friendship (*khulla*), clientage, and love are all the same.

They [al-Naẓẓām, with the support of all the Muʿtazila] said: Since all of these things are the same to him, then any servant of God could be called His friend by rearing (*tarbiya*) unlike the rearing of a very small child (*ḥaḍāna*) and by mercy (*raḥma*) that is not derived from the womb (*raḥim*). [Because we are all clients dependent on God, so we should all be "friends" of God.]

If a person were to take pity on a puppy and rear it, it would be impossible to call it his son, and for him to call himself its father. But if he found a boy and raised him, it *would* be possible to call him his son and to call himself his father. For like is born to like and there is no blood tie between dogs and humans. Since humans' resemblance of God is more distant than dogs' resemblance to humans, it is even less reasonable to call him His son and to claim Him as an ancestor.[80]

Al-Naẓẓām's argument here is rooted in the principle that "father" and "son" are biological terms denoting a familial link, and while they can be used loosely in cases of adoption, they cannot be stretched beyond the bounds of species. While this is a linguistic argument, based in linguistic intuition and attested usages of the term "son" for beings other than biological children, still the biological focus develops an argument that likely predates the debate al-Jāḥiẓ is narrating, namely *Refutation of the Christians* (prior to 826),[81] composed by the Zaydī theologian al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm whose thought was deeply influenced by Christian theology.[82]

They said: God "took" a son (*ittakhadha waladan*).

The one who "takes" is in all cases the one who originates and produces, and what originates and produces is certainly originated and created. The father, as we have already clarified at the start of this treatise, is like the child, in their essence (*dhāt*), nature (*ṭabīʿa*), unique features (*khāṣṣiyya*) and definitions (*ḥudūd*). So [by calling Him a father] they make God the Creator like the created, and the Producer of things like the produced. Yet they all claim that God the Producer is not produced, and the Creator of all things is not created.[83]

Clearly al-Qāsim does not treat *ittakhadha* as an indication of adoption (*al-tabannī*), the premise of the issue disputed by al-Naẓẓām and the unnamed *mutakallim*. In fact, he does not seem to object to calling all of God's creatures his "sons" as long as this is not taken to mean a similarity in essence.

A son must be like sons, and a father must be like fathers, for otherwise they would cease to be a father or a son. This is impossible to imagine, for if there were a father and son that did not participate as father and son in fatherhood and sonship, then fatherhood and sonship and all the names would be stripped from him [sic], even if the son were like a son in a jumbled way (*kāna mathaluhu khalqan mukhtabalan*). If they make the Christ a son in this way, then he is like the other sons of God in being a servant, created, and serving.[84]

Al-Qāsim seems then to be familiar with this idiomatic use of the term son, but he does not find it important enough to bother refuting it; for him, a metaphoric son is not really a son, and there is nothing really wrong with this metaphor other than the possibility it might be misinterpreted. In fact, he does not reject John 1:12 in which believers are given the appellation "children of God," but rather demands that this

be interpreted as "love, clienthood, and service" rather than birth or a family tie.[85] Al-Qāsim's argument marks a development through the science of biology over the argument present in the Qurʾān and the Prophetic ḥadīth that God's incomparability makes it impossible for him to have a son. An example of this can be found in a Prophetic ḥadīth cited by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr (d. 200/815) in one of our earliest surviving examples of theological discourse:

> [The Prophet] recited, {Say: He is God the One, God the eternal. He begot no one,} lest His son resemble Him (*fa-yashbihahu waladuhu*) for the son is similar to (*shabīh*) the father. {Nor was He begotten} lest His begetter resemble Him. {No one is comparable (*kufuwan*) to Him} [that is,] no one is a peer. For He is exalted over the one who is exalted, and He rises above the attributes of others, because others are His Act and He is the Agent of whom [it is said] {there is nothing like Him}.[86]

Already in this juxtaposition of Qurʾānic citations is an argument that the reason that "it does not befit the Lord of Mercy [to have] offspring" (Q19:92) is because of the similarity (*shabah*) between fathers and sons. Al-Qāsim marshals natural science in support of the argument, citing a series of biological examples including trees.[87] Al-Naẓẓām then follows this existing analogy between animal, human, and possibly divine family ties to consider the case of adoption, looking for a biological basis explaining the practical usage of Arabic terms in the authoritative language. He concludes that adoption (*tabannī* or *ittikhādh*) linguistically describes only relationships within a species, since it implies a level of similarity only one step removed from the similarity found in biological family ties. He cites the same phrase used by al-Qāsim, "like is born to like" (*yūladu li-mithlihi mithluhu*).[88] He is only con-

cerned with the degree of "similarity" (*shabah*) between the dog and the human, or between the human and God, leaving aside any discussion of the other consequences and implication of adoption that are not possible in the case of a dog (such as inheritance or al-Jāḥiẓ's point about the transitive and reciprocal nature of family relationships). He is simply taking al-Qāsim's logic and applying it to the case of adoption.

Al-Jāḥiẓ claims to have responded in the moment by refuting al-Naẓẓām's argument, not to defend the unnamed *mutakallim* but rather to advocate a different, more effective, refutation.

> We said to Ibrāhīm al-Naẓẓām upon this refutation he put forward and this argument that he advanced against him, so as to set the arguments side by side and weigh between our argument and his argument[89]:

> Have you ever seen the way a dog adores its trainer, and protects him? Is it possible for him because of this to take him as a friend despite the very distant similarity and family relation between them?

> When he said, "no," we said: The righteous servant is even more distant in resembling God than this generous dog is from its trainer. According to your argument then, how can God be a "friend" to one who does not resemble Him, because of [that person's] generosity, when it is not even possible for the trainer to call his dog a friend or a son because of the way he reared it and trained it and the dog's good deeds, and the income it provides him and the way it fills the role of a son who provides, and a brother, and a devoted son (*bārr*).[90]

Since al-Naẓẓām's argument is based on extrapolating from Arabic linguistic usage biological limits to the application of the

concept of adoption, al-Jāḥiẓ performs the same operation on the term *khalīl*, for a close friend, and finds that it too applies only within the same species. Having thus invalidated his opponent's refutation, he provides his own, namely to reject the possibility of God calling any of His servants a son, adopted son, *or* close friend. Instead, he derives the appellation *khalīl* from *khalla* or *ikhtilāl* (mental distress), since Ibrahim was tried more severely by God than any other person. He is not a "friend of God" but rather "distressed by God," a term of honour in this case, since he came through these trials faithfully. He imagines a possible objection that in this case, Ibrāhīm is not sufficiently honoured, and responds by explaining how each Prophet is honoured by God in a unique way based on his unique contributions and character. He then concludes with the following statement on words and their meanings:

> When language moves, it proliferates. While its root is stable, its branches multiply and its pathways broaden. If not for the reader's boredom, and the [need to] humour the listener, the most complete argument and the most comprehensive for this treatise would be to lay out a discourse on everything that occurs. But we started this treatise with the intention of limiting ourselves specifically to breaking the Christians, and nothing else.[91]

Al-Jāḥiẓ here describes in figurative terms a theory reconciling language stability with language change, and indicates that this theory forms its own science and ought to be part of the complete rebuttal of the unnamed *mutakallim*, if this were relevant to his anti-Christian polemic. I have suggested here that this absent science is most likely the philological science of derivation (*ishtiqāq*), discussed theoretically by al-Jāḥiẓ at *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, volume 1, 324-348. How derivation relates to the story of God teaching Adam the names is a key element in mediating the balance between linguistic stability and change, and this relationship is clarified only here, in *Refutation of the Christians*. At the same time, al-Jāḥiẓ clearly does not feel that a full theoretical solution to this problem will help in polemical intercourse with Christians. Ninth-century Muslims like al-Jāḥiẓ often referenced philology and translation skill in order to malign their Christian interlocutors, even as Christians like Abū Rāʾiṭa were increasingly incorporating Arabic philological argument into their disputation practice. Nonetheless, discussions of language theory were apparently not a major component of inter-religious dispute; instead, they played a very important role in disputes between Muʿtazilī *kalām* practitioners. This is one explanation for why, in an anti-Christian polemic, al-Jāḥiẓ explains his unnamed Muslim opponent's language theory, but includes only brief gestures towards his own.

NOTES

[1] I am grateful to Alexander Treiger for his illuminating comments on a draft of this paper, and also for the responses I received to the oral presentation of this paper at the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies Symposium XV, Toronto November 15, 2015.

[2] Weiss, B., "Medieval Muslim discussions of the origin of language," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124.1 (1974) 33-41.

[3] H. Loucel: "L'origine du langage d'après les grammariens arabes," *Arabica* 10 (1963) 188-208, 253-281, and *Arabica* 11 (1964) 57-72, 157-87. Bernard Weiss, *Language in orthodox Muslim thought: A study of waḍʿ al-lugha and its development* (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 1966). Bernard Weiss, "A Theory of the parts of speech in Arabic (noun, verb and particle): A Study in ʿilm al-waḍʿ," *Arabica* 23.1 (1976) 23-36. Bernard Weiss, *The Search for God's Law: Islamic Jurisprudence in the Writings of Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1992), 117-120. Michael Carter, "Adam and the technical terms of medieval Islam," in: *Words, texts and concepts cruising the mediterranean sea: studies on the sources, contents and influences of Islamic civilization and Arabic philosophy and science dedicated to Gerhard Endress on his sixty-fifth birthday*, ed. G. Endress, R. Arnzen and J. Thielemann (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 439-454.

[4] Wolfhart Heinrichs, "On the Genesis of the Ḥaqîqa-Majâz Dichotomy," *Studia Islamica* 59 (1984) 111–40. Ramzi Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2014) 234-239 (chapter on *ishtiqāq*). Mustafa Shah "The Philological Endeavors of the Early Arabic Linguists: Theological Implication of the Tawqīf-Iṣṭilāḥ Antithesis and the Majāz Controversy," *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 1.1 (1999) 27–46 and 2.1 (2000) 43–66. Kees Versteegh, "Freedom of the speaker? The term *ittisāʿ* and related notions in Arabic grammar," in: *Studies in the History of Arabic Grammar II, Proceedings of the second symposium on the history of arabic grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April - 1 May, 1987*, ed. Michael Carter and Kees Versteegh, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990), 281-293.

[5] Cornelia Schöck, *Adam im Islam: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Sunna*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 168 (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1993), 79-80.

[6] Schöck, *Adam im Islam*, 87-88. Carter, "Adam and the Technical Terms," 444. These ideas no doubt build on late antique precursors as discussed in van Reeth, Jan M.F., "L'araméen: la langue du Paradis," in: *La langue dans tous ses états: Michel Malaise in honorem*, ed. Christian Cannuyer (Brussels: Société Belge d'études orientales, 2005), 137–44. Moss, Yonatan, "The Language of Paradise: Hebrew or Syriac? Linguistic Speculations and Linguistic Realities in Late Antiquity," in: *Paradise in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Views*, eds. Markus Bockmuehl and Guy G. Stroumsa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 120–37.

[7] David Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic in Early Islam: Abū ʿĪsá Al-Warrāq's "Against the Trinity"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 5-8. For an overview of the ideas about Jesus represented in this epistle, see Charles Pellat, "Christologie Ğāḥiẓienne," *Studia Islamica* 31 (1970) 219-232.

[8] An excellent overview with references is Kees Versteegh, "The Arabic Tradition," in: *The Emergence of Semantics in Four Linguistic Traditions: Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic*, ed. Wout van Bekkum et al. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 227-284.

[9] From another angle, Teule shows that many Christian authors of this period were responding to Islamic language theory, particularly the doctrine of a linguistic basis for the Qurʾān's inimitability (*iʿjāz al-qurʾān*). Herman Teule, "The Theme of Language in Christian-Muslim Discussions in the ʿAbbāsid Period: Some Christian Views," in: *The Character of Christian-Muslim Encounter: Essays in Honour of David Thomas*, ed. Douglas Pratt et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 85-94.

[10] Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic*, 5.

[11] Cf. Eric Ormsby, *Theodicy in Islamic Thought: The Dispute Over al-Ghazālī's "Best of All Possible Worlds"* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1984).

[12] Jeannie Miller, *More Than the Sum of Its Parts: Accretive Logic in Volume I of al-Jāḥiẓ's*

Kitāb al-Ḥayawān, (Ph.D. Dissertation: New York University, 2013), 320-323.

[13] Kees Versteegh, "Freedom of the speaker? The term *ittisāʿ* and related notions in Arabic grammar," in: *Studies in the History of Arabic Grammar II, Proceedings of the second symposium on the history of arabic grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April - 1 May, 1987*, eds. Michael Carter and Kees Versteegh (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1990).

[14] Said Mansur, *The World-View of al-Jāḥiẓ in Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (Alexandria: Dar al-Maaref, 1977), 296-298.

[15] Jeannie Miller, "Man is Not the Only Speaking Animal: Thresholds and Idiom in al-Jāḥiẓ," in: *Arabic Humanities, Islamic Thought*, eds. Joseph Lowry and Shawkat Toorawa (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming 2017).

[16] This context was suggested first by Pellat, and is even more convincingly argued by Montgomery. Charles Pellat, "Ǧāḥiẓ à Bagdād et à Sāmarrā" *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 27 (1952) 47–67. James Montgomery, *Al-Jāḥiẓ: In Praise of Books* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP 2013), 234-237.

[17] Yāqūt, *Muʾjam al-Udabāʾ*, vol. 16, 99.15-100.10, cited and translated by Montgomery, *In Praise of Books*, 234-235 and also Charles Pellat, *Life and Works of al-Jāḥiẓ*, tr. D.M. Hawke (London: Routledge, 1969), 7-8.

[18] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wal-mulūk*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 2010), vol. 12, 1412-1413 (year 237). For a detailed review of analyses of the text's date of composition, see Nathan Gibson, *Closest in Friendship? Al-Jāḥiẓ' Profile of Christians in Abbasid Society in "The Refutation of Christians" (Al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā)* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Catholic University of America, 2015), 35-49.

[19] For a full outline of what is known about Aḥmad b. Ḥāʾiṭ's unusual belief system, see: Charles Pellat, "Deux curieux muʿtazilites : Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ et Faḍl al-Ḥadaṯī," *Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph* 31 (1984) 483-494. Charles Pellat, "Aḥmad b. Ḥāʾiṭ," *EI2*. Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), vol. 3, 430-437. For al-Jāḥiẓ's various comments disapproving and rebutting Aḥmad b. Ḥāʾiṭ, see Patricia Crone,

"Al-Jāḥiẓ on *Aṣḥāb al-Jahālāt* and the Jahmiyya," in: *Medieval Arabic Thought: Essays in Honour of Fritz Zimmerman*, eds. Rotraud Hansberger, M. Afifi al-Akiti, and Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 2012), 27-39.

[20] Al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-Firaq*, ed. Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Khisht, (Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Sīnā, [1988]), 241. All translations from Arabic are my own, unless otherwise noted.

[21] Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bayna al-Firaq*, 238.

[22] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil al-Jāḥiẓ* ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1964-1979), vol. 3, 303:7-10.

[23] Notably Thomas H. Hefter, *The Reader in Al-Jāḥiẓ: The Epistolary Rhetoric of an Arabic Prose Master* (Ediburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2014).

[24] Montgomery, *In Praise of Books,* 498-99 n. 129. Gully cites a clear distinction between a respectful plural second-person address and a more casual singular second-person only for much later Maghribī epistles. Adrian Gully, *The Culture of Letter-Writing in Pre-Modern Islamic Society*, (Edinburgh, Edinburgh UP, 2008), 175.

[25] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 336:8.

[26] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 329:11.

[27] The reference is to Ibrāhīm's appellation in the Qurʾān as *khalīl allāh* Sūrat al-Nisāʾ 4:125.

[28] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 329:6-10.

[29] Alexander Treiger cites clear examples of this argument from the ninth century and before in "The Christology of the *Letter from the People of Cyprus*," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 65 (2013), 21-48, at 32-24.

[30] For Nestorian use of these terms from the time of Timothy I (r. 780-823), see Alexander Treiger, "Could Christ's Humanity See His Divinity? An Eighth-Century Controversy Between John of Dalyatha and Timothy I, Catholicos of the Church of the East," *Journal for the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 9 (2009) 3-21, at 6, 7, and 9. For *ittiḥād* specifically, see Alexander Treiger, "Al-Ghazālī's 'Mirror Christology' and Its Possible East-Syriac Sources," *The Muslim World* 101.4 (2011) 698-713 at 703-4.

[31] Sūrat Maryam, Qurʾān 19:88-92.

وقالوا اتّخذ الرحمٰن ولداً
لقد جئتم شيئاً إدّاً
تكاد السمٰوات يتفطرن منه وتنشقّ الأرض وتخرّ الجبال هدّاً
أن دعوا للرحمٰن ولداً
وما ينبغي للرحمٰن أن يتّخذ ولداً

"They said: The Merciful has taken a son. How terrible is this thing you assert: it almost causes the heavens to be torn apart, the earth to split asunder, the mountains to crumble to pieces, that they attribute offspring to the Lord of Mercy. It does not befit the Merciful Lord [to have] offspring."All translations of the Qurʾān are from M.A.S. Abdel Halleem, tr., *The Qurʾān* (New York: Oxford UP, 2008). Here, the Qurʾān may be referring to a particular Christian group.

[32] I. di Mateo, "Confutazione contro i cristiani dello zaydita al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 9 (1920-21) 310-311.

[33] Sandra Toenies Keating, *Defending the "People of Truth" in the Early Islamic Period: The Christian Apologies of Abū Rāʾiṭah* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 263-277, paragraphs 47-62, from Abū Rāʾiṭa, "al-Risāla al-thāniya li-Abī Rāʾiṭa al-Takrītī fī al-tajassud."

[34] I have amended the original text, which reads *tabannā* or *tabannan*, a form not attested in Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic* (Louvain: Secretariat du Corpus SCO, 1966-67). Blau attests to the conversion of *–iyan* to *–ī* but not to *–ā* (I§100.1). It is possible that the final *yāʾ* of *tabannī* was dropped (I§100.2) and then the adverbial *tanwīn* added (II§221.1.1), but the simpler solution is to suppose the scribe accidentally left out one of the four teeth in the word.

[35] Keating, *Defending the "People of Truth"* 262, paragraph 47.

[36] Shlomo Pines, "Israel My First-Born and the Sonship of Jesus: A Theme of Moslem Anti-Christian Polemics," in: *Studies in Mysticism and Religion*, eds. Efraim Elimelech Urbach, R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, and Chaim Wirszubski (Jerusalem: Magnes Press Hebrew University, 1967), 177–90.

[37] On this movement, see Cyrille Aillet, "Pope Hadrian's Epistles to Bishop Egila" and Jessica Coope, "Speraindeo" in: *Christian Mus-*

lim Relations: A Bibliographic History, eds. David Thomas and Barbara Roggema (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 338-342 and 633-635. J. C. Cavadini, *The last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul (785-820)* (Philadelphia PA, 1993).

[38] See Treiger, "Could Christ's Humanity See His Divinity?" and "Al-Ghazālī's 'Mirror Christology.'"

[39] Treiger, "Al-Ghazālī's 'Mirror Christology,'" 710.

[40] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 330:11-17.

[41] See Carter, "Adam and the Technical Terms," 443.

[42] Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 234-239.

[43] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1939), vol. 1, 326:15-327:5.

[44] Carter, "Adam and the Technical Terms," 443.

[45] ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wal-ʿadl*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī (Cairo 1380/1961), vol. 7, 6:13-14.

[46] Carter, "Adam and the Technical Terms," 440.

[47] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 331:7-8.

[48] This section starts as a debate at *Ḥayawān* vol. 1, 324:9-327:5 between unnamed people. Al-Jāḥiẓ intervenes in his own voice at 327:7-I:348:12. The importance to early Muʿtazilism of (linguistic) exegetical activity, even of passages that did not directly impinge on major theological controversies is hinted at in Kulinich's article demonstrating the existence of a distinct exegetical tradition among Muʿtazilīs of the following generation. Alena Kulinich, "Beyond Theology: Muʿtazilite Scholars and Their Authority in al-Rummānī's Tafsīr," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Asian Studies* 78.1 (2015) 135–48.

[49] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, vol. 1, 348:2-12; emphasis is mine.

[50] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 330:10-331:6.

[51] Versteegh, "Freedom of the speaker?"

[52] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, vol. 1, 330:1-7.

[53] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, vol. 1, 347:7-8.

[54] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, vol. 1, 42:17-49:13, commented by Montgomery, *In Praise of Books*, 161-162.

[55] See Miller, "Man is Not the Only Speaking Animal."

[56] Qurʾān, 2:31.

[57] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 343:1-4.

[58] For the theoretical and terminological overlap between proper names and demonstratives, see Carter, "Adam and the Technical Terms," 441.

[59] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 1, 262:5-263:6. The immediate context is an attempt to convince the patron to admit his error, by pointing out that even Adam erred, who was so greatly honored through God's gift of language. For the political context and an overview of this epistle, see Montgomery, "Al-Jāḥiẓ on jest and earnest," in Georges Tamer, *Humor in der arabischen Kultur* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 209-239.

[60] Richard Frank, *Beings and Their Attributes: The Teaching of the Basrian School of the Muʿtazila in the Classical Period* (Albany: SUNY, 1978), 111 n. 3.

[61] Tilman Nagel, "Bemerkungen zur Sprache im Lichte der islamischen Theologie," in: *Gedenkschrift Wolfgang Reuschel: Akten des III Arabistischen Kolloquiums, Leipzig, 21-22. November 1991*, ed. Dieter Bellman, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994), 214.

[62] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wal-Tabyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1968), vol. 1, 75:2-7. I am grateful to James Montgomery for introducing me to this passage and its interpretations.

[63] ʿAbd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī*, vol.. 7, 14-17.

[64] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 4, 6:6-8.

[65] Pines, "Israel's First-Born" links the selection of scriptural citations here with other Islamic polemics.

[66] At this time, this phrase did not refer exclusively to figurative language; for an explanation see Heinrichs, "Ḥaqīqa-Majâz Dichotomy."

[67] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 330:7-9.

[68] Daniel Gimaret, *Les noms divins en Islam: exégèse lexicographique et théologique* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 37-50.

[69] Claude Gilliot, "Attributes of God," *EI3*.

[70] Gimaret, *Les noms divins*, 41.

[71] al-Shāfiʿī, *Mawsūʿat al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī al-Kitāb al-Umm*, ed. Aḥmad Badr al-Dīn Ḥassūn, Silsilat Muṣannafāt Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-

Shāfiʿī (Beirut: Dār Qutaybah, 1996), vol. 1, 21, 124. See also Joseph Lowry, *Early Islamic Legal Theory: The Risāla of Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 143.

[72] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, I:122.

[73] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Ḥayawān*, I:234:7, I:307:3.

[74] Gimaret, *Les noms divins*, 406, 384-5.

[75] Richard Frank, "The Divine Attributes According to the Teaching of Abū l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf," *Le Muséon* 82 (1969) 451-506, 473.

[76] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 340:18-19.

[77] This wording is reminiscent of the intra-Christian disputes Abū Rāʾiṭa references, regarding how to reconcile the single essence shared by Father and Son with Jesus's statement, "My father is greater (aʿẓam) than I." His solution is a linguistic analysis of the various contextual meanings of the term "greater," and a specification of what it means in this case. Keating, *Defending the "People of Truth,"* 272-4, paragraphs 59-61.

[78] Keating, *Defending the "People of Truth,"* 272, paragraph 58.

[79] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 331:7-337:13.

[80] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 338:1-12.

[81] Wilferd Madelung, "al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm," in *Christian-Muslim Relations*.

[82] Madelung, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology" *Aram* 3.1 and 3.2 (1991) 35-44.

[83] Matteo, 311:8-13.

[84] Matteo, 312:26-313:5. My interpretation of the last phrase is uncertain. Mateo reads, "But if the son were similar to other sons, then he would be like their imperfect creation," which I cannot understand. Mateo, 342.

[85] Matteo, 322:3-10. Pines, "Israel's First-Born" has already pointed out that Qāsim cites many of the same scriptural passages that the unnamed *mutakallim* does in al-Jāḥiẓ's treatise.

[86] Ḍirār b. ʿAmr, *Kitāb al-Taḥrīsh*, ed. Ḥusayn Khānṣū and Muḥammad Kaskīn (Istanbul, Dār al-Irshād, 1435/2014), 137:10, citing Q112:1-4 and Q42:11.

[87] Matteo, 305:5-11.

[88] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 338:10.

[89] For further discussion of these terms, see Montgomery, *In Praise of Books*, 250-254.

[90] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 338:13-339:3.

[91] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, 341:19-22.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE OLD ARMENIAN CHURCH OF OUR LADY IN BAGHDAD

GAGIK G. SARGSYAN
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY (YEREVAN)
VINCENT VAN VOSSEL
BABYLON THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE (ERBIL)

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the last century, Baghdad was a rather small city in whose centre Christians lived together in a quarter called 'Aqd-an-Naṣārā "the quarter of the Christians." Nearly all the Christian denominations had churches there, most of which were built around the beginning of the century. The Roman Catholic Carmelites had a central domed church, the Chaldeans had a church dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows, and the Syrians dedicated their church to Our Lady. The Armenians too had their own church and even the Greek Melkites used a house for celebrating the liturgies. 'Aqd-an-Naṣārā was a place where Christians felt somewhat safe and could walk around freely, even sometimes processing through its streets. Sources are nearly mute about the situation of the Christians in general, and the Armenians in particular, between the onslaught of Tamerlane in the fourteenth century and the nineteenth century when they appear settled together in this totally Christian quarter.

Some five hundred meters to the North East of 'Aqd-an-Naṣārā, a small church is located, and it seems to date to the seventeenth century. The ownership of this church, whether Chaldean or Armenian, is debatable. It seems likely that there was more than one church on the site, and that the one that has survived belonged to the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church.

The current name of the quarter in which the seventeenth-century church is located is Maidan ('square' or 'field' in Arabic), but it was known earlier as Kuk Nazar. Maidan, a very busy marketplace, lies in the centre of old Baghdad. Oral tradition claims that the plot of land where the church was built was given to the Armenians by Sultan Murad IV, around the year 1638. After the sultan had besieged Baghdad for some time, he gathered his generals to discuss how to finally take the city. The officer in charge of artillery, an Armenian named Kevork Nazarian (Kuk Nazar), presented a proposition, asking the Sultan to allow him to use a cannon with an extraordinary capacity in the attack. Thanks to this new weapon, the sol-

diers of Sultan Murad entered the city victoriously on December 25, 1638. The sultan granted the Armenian officer the opportunity to ask for a favour, and the man, knowing the need of the local Armenian community, asked for a plot of land to build a church and another plot in the neighborhood of Bāb-al-Muʿaḍḍam, to use as cemetery. The sultan issued a *firman* granting the two plots to the Armenians. At the same time, the Armenians were officially allowed to have their residence in Baghdad.

With reference to the name of the officer, Kevork Nazarian, the place came to be known as Kuk Nazar, and it was still in use until recently. The Armenians built their church on the plot and dedicated it to Our Mother Maryam. This happened in the year 1640.

THE CHURCH
OF OUR MOTHER MARYAM

The actual church (Plan 1) is rectangular and is of a rather small size, 6.77 m by 18.15 m. Its main entrance (located on the north side) is abandoned and now out of use, while the actual entrance, at the end of the south side, opens to a kind of narthex, 3.57 m in length. A fence separates the narthex from the single nave which contains three series of niches. The sanctuary, on an elevated place with the altar, is also separated from the nave by a fence and a curtain. On both sides of the sanctuary are two 4 meter long corridors or passes, the one on the right side containing an old baptismal font. The church has three small towers, two on the entrances and one above the sanctuary.

Towards the end of the south wall of the church a niche contains the relics of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia (Turkish: Siwaz), relics that also prove the considerable age of the church. It is quite possible

that the same Kevork brought these relics with him from his home town of Sebasteia. At any rate, they were placed inside a niche protected by a metal grid, to which a chain ended with a collar was attached. Incidentally, this chain has been a special attraction for many visitors who put its collar around the neck to obtain blessings or healing. It might also be that this church was one of the few churches erected after the utter destruction brought out by the Mongols. Most of the Christian groups did not have their own church, and therefore this Armenian church was used by all of them. Eventually, the Armenian Catholicos in Constantinople was able to obtain an official document, *marsūm*, from the sultan Mehmed Khan Mustafa on February 16, 1648, addressed to the Qadi of Baghdad, stating that the church belonged to the Armenians. Another official document was issued around the year 1800 in which it is also stated that the church belongs to the Armenians.

In the years 1967–1970, during the Pontificate of His Holiness Vazken I and the Primacy of the Archbishop Asoghic Chazarian, the whole church was completely rebuilt on the same site, and according to the original dimensions, at the expense of a benefactor, Mr. Aram Garibian. During this work, the relics of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia were uncovered inside an octagonal marble box on which an inscription engraved in Armenian letters indicated that it was deposited there in the year 1663. This box was deposited in its original location.

The church of Our Mother Maryam is still very popular for Baghdadi Christians of all denominations, as well as for Muslims. It is constantly visited, but particularly on August 15, the feast of the Assumption. On that day, people come there in great numbers, sleep several nights on the spot, and bring sheep to be offered in honour of Our Lady, Our Mother.

OLD STONES

In the new church building, some of the old engraved marble stones of the old church have been inserted into the side walls.

Upon entering the church, the principal marble stones are kept on the right (south) side, starting with a small cross (fig. 1), followed by the niche with the relics accompanied by an inscription beneath it and a similar inscription beside it. In each of the second and third niches are two crosses. Turning back to the left side (north) of the church, there too an inscription is kept, with crosses in the two next niches. Some small pieces of black marble stones are also kept in the walls in the narthex. In the following, all the engraved stones, inscribed or not, are described.

On the right side of the church (South)

Stone 1 (fig. 1a): The stone, 18 by 23 cm, shows a stylized cross, seated on a stylized Golgotha, and whose arms end with lilies reminiscent of the three blobs that end the arms of the cross in Armenian and Syriac crosses.

Fig. 1b: The relics of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia placed inside a niche. The reliquary is octagonal and made of marble. The outside measurements of the niche are 35 by 65 cm, but with the frame are 78 by 84 cm. Inscription 2 (below) is placed below the wooden frame.

Stone 2 (fig. 2): Inscribed black stone broken into three pieces; measures 39 by 73 cm. The depiction on the top of the slab shows two kneeling angels, one on each side of a diamond-shaped pearl inside of which a crucifix is placed. With one of its two wings each angel touches a stylized cross on the top of the diamond-shaped pearl, as if in protection. The top part is covered with linear clouds and on both corners unclear shapes are carved. A vertical staff extending from the bottom divides the Armenian in-

scription and is topped with intertwined snakes on which the diamond-shaped pearl sits. The depiction is slightly effaced. The inscribed slab is placed below the niche (fig. 1a) which contains the reliquary of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia. The Armenian inscription reads as follows:
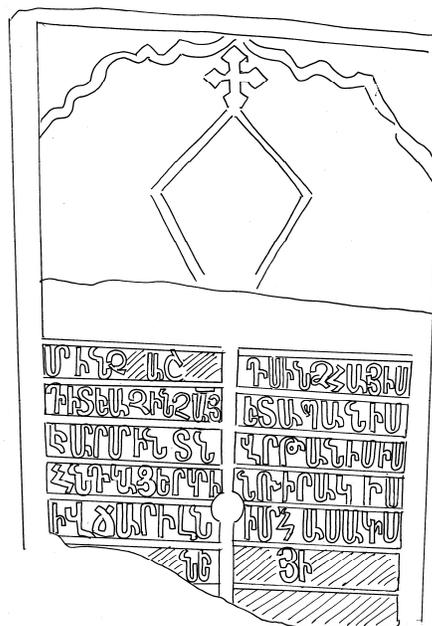
ՄԻՆՉ …ԱՇ …ԴՍԻՆՋ ՀԱՅԻՍ
ԴԻՏԵԱ ՋԻՆՋԱՅ ԵՏԱՊԱՆԻՍ
Է ՄԱՐՄԻՆ ՏՆ ՎՐԹԱՆԻՍԻՍ
ՀՆԴԿԱՑ ԵՐԿՐԻ ՆՈՒԻՐԱԿԻՍ
ԻՎՃԱՐԻԼՆ ԻՄ ՀԱՍԱԿԻՍ
… ՆԵ … ՅԻ…

MINČ AŠ DSINJ HAYIS
DITEA ZINČAY ETAPANIS
Ē MARMIN TN VRT'ANISIS
HNDKAC'ERKRI NWIRAKIS
IVČARILN IM HASAKIS
…NE … C'I…

Many fragments and letters are distorted, so parts of our interpretation are approximate. One thing is clear: the tomb inscription relates to Vrtanes Vardapet (archimandrite-theologian), who was sent as a

legate (*nwirak*) from the Holy See of Echmiadzin to India and Iraq; he was active in the beginning of the 19th century.

In the Armenian sources the *nwiraks* are first mentioned by a renowned historian, Metropolitan of Syunik, Stepanos Orbelian (1250-1305). According to him, the Catholicos Gregory VII of Cilicia (1293-1307) sent Constantine Vardapet as a legate to Armenia. This institute became firmly established in the 17th-18th centuries. A *nwirak*, usually a bishop or a vardapet, was sent by the Catholicos to Armenian expatriate communities, in order to collect the donations for the Armenian Church, and to provide spiritual and other services on behalf of the Catholicos.

Vrtanes Vardapet is mentioned by one of greatest authorities on the history of the Armenian Church, Malachia Ormanian (1841-1918). Speaking on the activities of Catholicos Ephrem I (1809-1830), he mentions one Serovbe Araratian-Karnetsi, a Catholic, who had applied to the Catholicos, asking to be admitted into the Armenian Church. The Catholicos approved his conversion, and instructed him to "take care of the property and archive of the legate to the Indians, Vrtanes Vardapet, who died in Baghdad" (Malachia Ormanian, *Azgapatum,* vol. III [Echmiadzin, 2001], 4153). The inscription does not contain the date, but we believe that Vrtanes Vardapet died between 1810 and 1815. His predecessor, legate Hakob Vardapet, mentioned in the inscription below, died in 1809.

Stone 3 (fig. 3): An inscribed stone slab placed on the left of the reliquary, and measures 57 by 89 cm. The top part contains the scene depicted on Stone 2, including the staff dividing the Armenian inscription. On one top corner, a hand seems to be depicted, perhaps pointing to the diamond. The lengthy Armenian inscription covers most of the stone in two equal columns, although some of the words have disappeared:
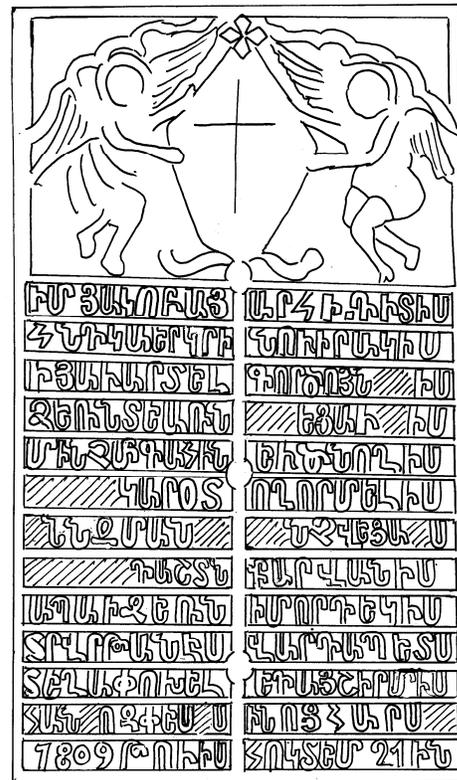
ԻՄ ՅԱԿՈԲԱՅ ԱՐՀԻ. ԴԻՏԻՍ
ՀՆԴԿԱ ԵՐԿՐԻ ՆՈՒԻՐԱԿԻՍ
Ի ՅԱԽԱՐՏԵԼ ԳՈՐԾՈՅՆ …ԻՍ
ՋԵՌՆ ՏԵԱՌՆ …ԵՅԱԻ …ԻՍ
ՄԻՆՉ ՍԲ ԳԱՀԻՆ ԵԻ ԾՆՈՂԻՍ
… ԿԱՐՕՏ ՈՂՈՐՄԵԼԻՍ
…ՆՆՋՄԱՆ…ՆՉՎԵՅԱ…Ս
…ԴԱՇՏՆ ՓԱՐՎԱՆԻՍ
ԱՊԱ Ի ՋԵՌՆ ԻՄ ՈՐԴԻԵԿԻՍ
ՏՐ ՎՐԹԱՆԷՍ ՎԱՐԴԱՊԵՏՍ
ՏԵՂԱՓՈԽԵԼ ԵԴԱՅ ՇԻՐՄԻՍ
ՀԱՆ…ՈՉՓԵՍ…ՍԻՆՈՅ ՀԱՐՍ…
1809 ԹՈՒԻՍ ՀՈԿՏԵՄ 21ԻՆ

IM YAKOBAY ARHI. DITIS
HNDKA ERKRI NWIRAKIS
I YAWARTEL GORÇOYN … IS
JEŔN TEAŔN…EC'AW…IS
MINČ SB GAHIN EW ÇNOĠIS
… KAROT VOĠORMELIS
… NNMAN…NČVEC'A…S

…DAŠTN K'ARVANIS
APA I JEṘN IM VORDEKIS
TR VRT'ANĒS VARDAPETS
TEĠAP'OXEL EDAY ŠIRMIS
HAN…VOZP'ES…SINOC'HARS…
1809 T'WIS HOKTEM 21IN

This is obviously the tomb inscription of legate Hakob, predecessor of Vrtanes. Because of the current state of the artifact, and poor quality of the photograph, we have difficulties interpreting correctly all deciphered letters and word combinations. We will therefore try to comment on those parts, which make sense. The word *arhi* in Grabar (Old Armenian) was used as "chief", "archbishop", and *det* or *ditapet* as "keeper," "observer," "chief," or "archbishop." Thus, we may assume that these words refer to Hakob's ecclesiastical rank, which is archbishop. Hakob Vardapet, as a legate of Catholicos Luke I (1780-1799) to India and Iraq (Baghdad), was mentioned in 1796. Extant are three letters of Catholicos David V (1801-1807) addressed to him. In a letter dated to 1805 he is mentioned as "Bishop Hakob legate to the Indians." As in 1804 Hakob was still a vardapet, we may assume that he was ordained bishop or archbishop in the same year 1805.

Vrtanes Vardapet mentioned in the inscription was in all probability Hakob's disciple and assistant, his *vordeak*, "sonny," who had probably transferred the remains of his master from some other place to Baghdad, and interred them there. We can only guess if October 21, 1809 is the year of death, or reinternment.

Stone 4 (fig. 4): The stone, 27 by 39 cm, is located in the second niche on its right side, and shows a stylized cross, crudely carved. The blobs seem to be lily-shaped and the cross appears to be sitting on a Golgotha. The cross is situated inside a zigzag frame. The stone bears Christ's name at the top:

ՅՄ ՔՄ
JESUS CHRIST

Stone 5 (fig. 5): An inscribed stone slab located in the second niche on its left side. It measures 41 by 50 cm, and shows a cross carved in relief whose arms end with blobs. No other decoration is found on the cross, which is positioned inside a linear and simple frame. The Armenian inscription is placed below it, and reads as follows:
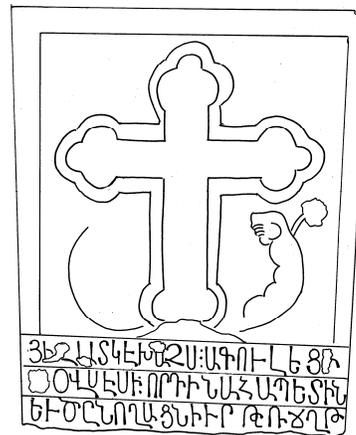

ՅԻՇԱՏ[Ա]Կ Է ԽԱՉՍ ԱԳՈՒԼԵՑԻ
[Մ]ՕՎՍԵՍԻ ՈՐԴԻ ՆԱՀԱՊԵՏԻՆ
ԵԻ ԾՆՈՂԱՑՆ ԻՒՐ ԹՎ[ԻՆ] ՌՃՂԹ

HIŠAT[A]K Ē XAČS AGULEC'I
[M]OVSĒSI VORDI NAHAPETIN
YEW ÇËNOĠAC'N IWR T'V[IN]
ṘČĠT'

THIS CROSS IS IN MEMORY OF MOVSES OF AGULIS SON OF NAHAPET AND HIS PARENTS IN THE YEAR 1750

Stone 6 (fig. 6): This inscribed stone slab whose top is missing is located in the third niche on its right side. It measures 27 by 34 cm, and its cross looks similar to the one in Stone 4, including the zigzag frame. Its Armenian inscription reads as follows:

ՅՍ ՔՍ

Յ[Ի]Շ[ԱՏԱ]Կ Է ԽԱ

ՁՍ Պ

ՕՂՈՍԻ ՈՐԴԻ
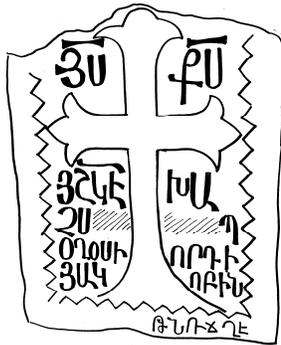
ՅԱԿՈԲԻՆ

ԹՎԻՆ ՌՃՂԷ

Y[ISU]S K'[RISTO]S
Y[I]Š[ATA]K Ē XA
ČS P
OĠOSI VORDI
YAKOBIN
T'VIN ṘČGĒ

JESUS CHRIST
THIS CROSS IS IN MEMORY OF
POGHOS SON OF HAKOB IN THE
YEAR 1748

Stone 7 (fig. 7): A rectangular slab, 47 by 53.5 cm, showing a simple frame and a cross schematically carved in relief and whose slightly angular ends show small blobs. It seems that an Armenian inscription was placed below the cross, but the surface of the stone is slightly effaced and the inscription must have faded away.

On the left side of the church (North)

Stone 8 (fig. 8): A rectangular inscribed slab, 39 by 55 cm, located on the right of the third niche. It contains more developed iconography, including a large central cross and two smaller crosses, one on each side. The central cross with the blobs ending its arms as usual sits between two triangles or perhaps mountains. The two small crosses share the same shape of the central one except that they each sit on a circle (or sphere), which in turn sits on a half circle. The three crosses are placed inside an arcade resting on two pillars. The whole is represented schematically above the Armenian inscription which reads as follows:

ԹՎԻՆ ՌՃՂՐ
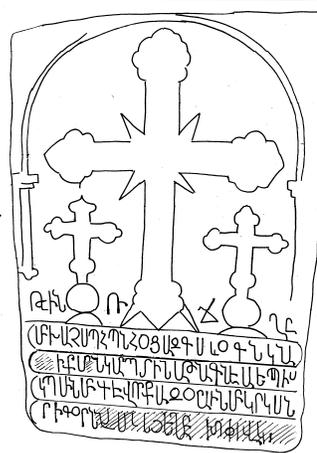
ՍԲ ԽԱՁՍ Պ[Ա]Հ[Ա]Պ[Ա]Ն Հ[ԱՅ]ՕՑ ԱՁԳ[Ի]Ս

ԵԻ ՕԳՆ[Ա]ԿԱՆ

…ԻՔ Ս[Ր]Բ[ՈՅ]Ն ԿԱՐԱՊ[Ե]ՏԻՆ

ԱԹ[Ա]ՆԱԳ[Ի]ՆԷՍ ԵՊԻՍ

Կ[Ո]Պ[Ո]ՍԻՆ ՍԲ ԳԵՎՈՐՔԱ ՁՕՐԱՎ[ԱՐԻ]Ն ՍԲ

Կ[Ի]Ր[Ա]Կ[Ո]Ս[Ի]Ն

[Գ]ՐԻԳՕՐ[Ի]Ն (the rest is illegible)

T'VIN ṘČGĒ
SURB XAČS P[A]H[A]P[A]N H[AY]OC'
AZG[I]S YEW OGN[A]KAN
…IK' S[R]B[OY]N KARAP[E]TIN
AT'AN[A]G[I]NĒS EPIS
K[O]P[O]SIN SURB GĒVORK'A
ZORAW[ARI]N SURB
K[I]R[A]K[O]S[I]N
[G]RIGOR[I]N

THIS HOLY CROSS GUARDIAN OF THE ARMENIAN NATION AND HELPER … *IK*(?) (OF) SAINT KARAPET BISHOP ATANAGINES SAINT GEVORK THE COMMANDER SAINT KIRAKOS GRIGOR

This is a rare case of a khachkar being dedicated to the whole Armenian nation. The inscription mentions saints widely worshiped in Armenia, such as John the Baptist (Karapet), George the Commander (St. George of Lydda), St. Kirakos the Child, and, probably, Gregory the Illuminator. Atanagines was a contemporary of Emperor Diocletian. He lived in Sebasteia, and was ordained by the local Metropolitan as the bishop of the city of Pitacton in Armenia Minor. He was believed to be the brother of the wife of Gregory the Illuminator. He was martyred for his faith, and Gregory the Illuminator brought his relics to Greater Armenia, and put them to rest in Ashtishat and Bagaran.

Stone 9 (fig. 9): A stone, 25 by 31.5 cm, located in the third niche on its left side. Two crosses are incised on the upper part of the stone besides each other, whose ends are made of half circles, reminiscent of the blobs that usually end the arms of the Armenian cross. An Armenian inscription occupies the lower part of the cross as follows:

Ⱪ‹Ս Ⳋⱃ

Ⳋ[Ի�bt‹ՍՍ]Ⳑ Է ՍⱩ Ⱪⱖⱁ[Ս] ⰾⱖⱓⱅⱃⱌⱘ ՍՈⱔ

ⱃⰰՏⱘ Ոⱃⰴⱘ ՍⰰⱃⰳⱘՍⱘⱓ ⱅⱔ

Տⱘⱃⰰⱑⱕⱔ ⰰⱔⱔⰱⱔ‹ⰰⱓⰴⱃⱘⱓ ⱅⱔ

ⰶⰰⱃⰴⰰⱓⱘⱓ ⱒⱔⱘⱓ ⱔⱑⱒⱘⱃ

K'S YR

H[IŠATA]K Ē S[UR]B XAČ[S] VANEC'I MOW

RATI VORDI SARGISIN YEW

TIRAC'U AĠEK'SANDRIN YEW

VARDANIN T'VIN ṘČĠË
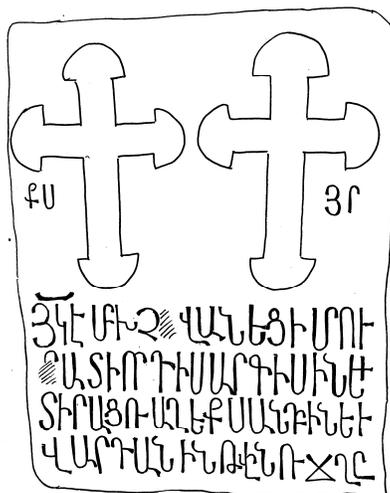
THIS HOLY CROSS IS IN MEMORY OF MURAT SON OF SARGIS FROM VAN, AND VERGER ALEXANDER AND VARDAN THE YEAR 1749

The khachkar was probably erected on the occasion of the visit (and possibly donation) of the mentioned persons.

Stone 10 (Fig. 10): A stone of a slightly irregular shape, 37 by 54 cm, located in the second niche on its right side. The stone is broken into two pieces just below the horizontal arms of the cross. The cross, schematically carved in relief, ends with irregularly carved blobs, while two branches emanate from its lower arm. An Armenia inscription might have been placed at the bottom of the cross but then effaced.

Stone 11 (Fig. 11): A broken stone, missing one piece on the left top side and another on the lower right side. It measures 36 by 40 cm and is located in the second niche on its left side. The depiction of the cross and the frame is similar to stones four and six: a stylized cross whose blobs seem to be lily-shaped and the cross appears to be sitting on a Golgotha. The cross is situated inside a zigzag frame. There are traces of a few Armenian letters:
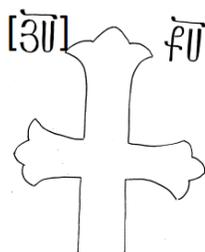
[ՅՍ] ՔՍ
[JESUS] CHRIST

Fig. 12 (fig. 12): A stone, 55 by 88 cm, missing two corners and broken at the bottom. It is located on the left wall, between the first and the second niche, at the right side of the door. The top is decorated with a floral design, below which a lengthy inscription is carved in relief and placed between registers. Because of the low quality of the photograph only a few words can be read in this inscription, like 'grave', 'great city of Babylon', 'noble Petros', 'eternal'. It is probably of the 18th-19th century:
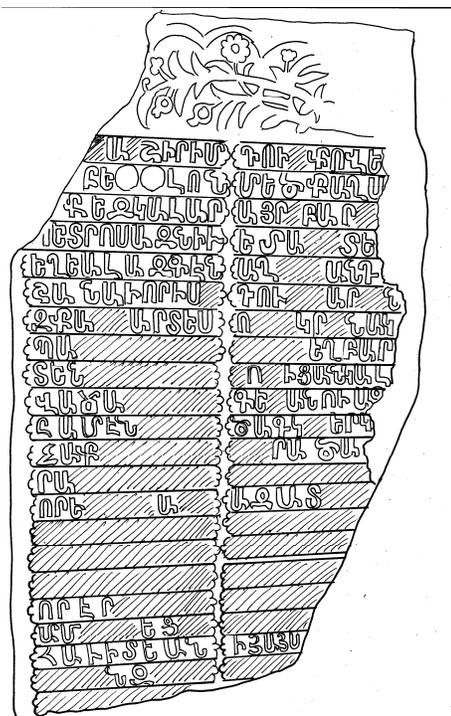
Stone 13 (Fig. 13): A stone, 18 by 23 cm, quite similar in size and depiction to stone 1 (see above). It is located on the left side of the door in the narthex.

Fig. 14: On the west wall of the church in the narthex there are three small pieces of black stone, all depicted and one inscribed:

a)   The stone looks like a small stele, measuring 13 by 14 cm, and bears a fancy cross whose arms end with lily-type blobs and which stands on a Golgotha. Two branches emanate not from the bottom of the cross but from both sides of Golgotha. The corners where the two arms of the cross meet are decorated with what would be the Greek letter X.

b)   The stone (missing a fragment) measures 24 by 29 cm. It shows a cross in relief whose ends are each decorated with three blobs crudely carved.

c)   The stone is rectangular, 28 by 50 cm, but is missing the top and the lower corners on the right side. It is also partially chipped, damaging the inscription that it bears. [no translation of the inscription?]

CONCLUSION

Most of the funerary inscriptions discussed in this article date to the 18th century, while close to nothing has come from the old Armenian church. In several old churches in Iraq some people used to be buried inside churches, beside some famous saints or martyrs, and the fact that the Armenian church contains the relics of the Forty Martyrs, some of the dead commemorated in the inscriptions must have been members of this church. Since very few Christian vestiges survived in Baghdad after the destructive persecution of the Christians by the Mongols, the stones discussed above are precious testimonies of people who remained faithful to their religion during turbulent times.

ADDENDUM

Two hitherto unpublished Armenian graffiti from the Monastery of Mār Behnam near Mosul are now made available, and their publication below would be a useful addition to the other graffiti from the same monastery that were published in Gagik Sargsyan and Amir Harrak's "Armenian Inscriptions and Graffiti at the Monastery of Mar Behnam and in Qaraqosh," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 15 (2015), pp. 17-32.
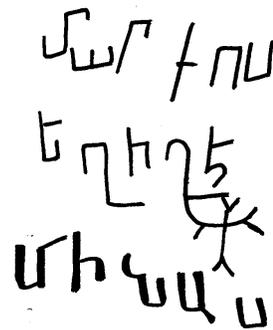
Toros' Inscription

This short inscription along with a stylized cross is incised on the outside wall of the church with no date added to it:

ՍԲ

ԾԱՌԱՅ ԱՅ

ԹՈՐՈՍ

S[UR]B
ÇARAY AY
T'OROS

HOLY
SERVANT OF GOD
TOROS

Inscription with List of Names

The inscription is incised on the frame of one of the outside gates of the church, and includes a list of three Armenian names. It is not known if the depiction of the crosses below the inscription was done by one of the Armenian visitors.

ՄԱՐՔՈՍ

ԵՂԻՇԷ

ՄԻՆԱՍ

MARK'OS
YEĠIŠE
MINAS
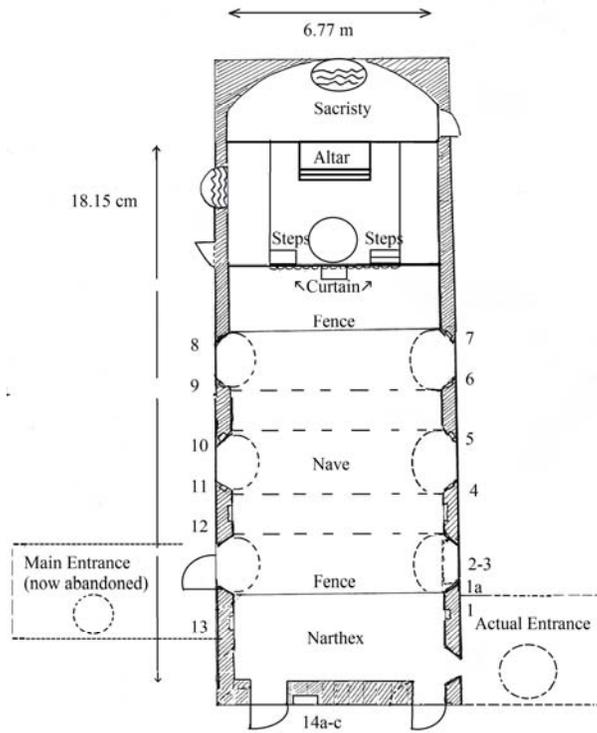
Plan 1

Figure 1a

Figure 1b: The relics of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7
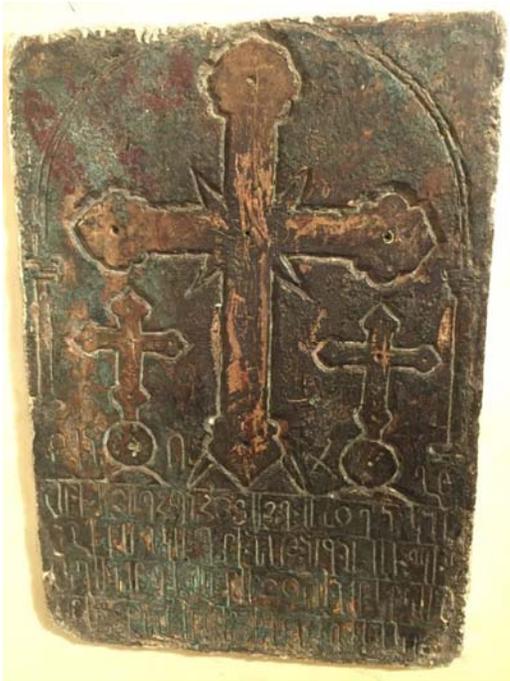
Figure 8

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14a

Figure 14b

Figure 14c