

Luca De Curtis

## *The Greek liturgical rubrics of Sin. ar. 151 and their paleographic relevance*

### **Abstract**

The paleographical analysis of the Greek liturgical notes in Sin. ar. 151, closely related the so-called ‘Hagiopolitan minuscule’, indicates a dating to the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, just a few decades after the translation of the Pauline Epistles in its first codicological unit, completed by Bišr ibn al-Sirrī in Damascus in September 867. This finding provides further support for the view that the colophon refers not only to the translation but also to the codicological unit itself. More importantly, since the Greek notes can be localized and dated with a high degree of plausibility, they contribute to the broader contextualization of the 9<sup>th</sup>-century Greek minuscule script in the Sinaitic-Palestinian region.

### **Keywords**

Greek Paleography; Hagiopolitan Minuscule; Ancient Sinaitic-Palestinian Minuscule

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At the beginning of his seminal study on the *Graeca* of the non-Greek manuscript collections held in the Vatican Library, innovative both for its systematic inquiry and for its methodological approach, Francesco D'Aiuto complained, on the one hand, how much these witnesses were neglected or superficially analysed by the orientalist, and, on the other hand, how scholars of Greek manuscripts typically ignored codices in languages other than the familiar Latin and Greek<sup>1</sup>.

Even so, D'Aiuto continues, these witnesses represent fundamental tools for understanding the socio-cultural contexts that produced them and, consequently, for better interpreting the interactions between Greek and local, alloglot elements in the Eastern Mediterranean. In addition, they provide a rich source of accurate information for the dating and localisation of the scripts (and sometimes of individual hands) and for the transmission of Greek texts, thanks to the recurring presence of colophons usually richer in details than their Greek equivalents<sup>2</sup>.

ΣΙΝΑ΄, Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, Ar. 151 belongs to this category. It is a New Testament Arabic manuscript whose long and dynamic history has resulted in the accumulation of many jottings in its margins and blank spaces. Vevian F. Zaki<sup>3</sup>, whose research greatly informs the present paper, identifies at least eight different hands, dating from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, on the pages of the codex. Some of these annotations are in Greek. To explore these Greek annotations further, we will proceed systematically.

<sup>1</sup> See D'AIUTO 2003, pp. 232-233. The topic of *Graeca* in non-Greek contexts was systematically explored for the first time by CRISCI 1996. For interactions between Greek and Arabic hands see D'OTTONE 2023, which includes an extensive discussion on the previous bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion on colophons in Oriental manuscript traditions, see the proceedings of the international colloquium held in Bologna in 2012, published by SIRINIAN - BUZI - SHURGAIA 2016, and the thematic section of the COMSt Bulletin 8/1 (2022), arising from the round table *I colofoni cristiani orientali: per un'analisi strutturale* held at Sapienza University of Rome on 14 February 2020 (in particular, SOLDATI 2022, SIRINIAN 2022 and BAUSI 2022).

<sup>3</sup> ZAKI 2020 reconstructs the life of this significant manuscript across centuries, from its creation to the microfilming project of the Library of Congress. This paper was incorporated into her broader study on the Arabic versions of the Pauline Epistles (ZAKI 2022, especially pp. 81-84 and 91-95). As we shall see, her conclusions about the early stages of Sin. ar. 151 can be partially revised.

### Description of Sin. ar. 151

The Sinaitic manuscript preserves the Arabic translation<sup>4</sup> of the Pauline Epistles, of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Catholic Epistles. These works, copied by the same scribe – as we shall see – are treated as two distinct corpora, with one comprising the Pauline Epistles and the other the Acts of the Apostles followed by James, 1Peter, 1John, 2Peter, 2John, 3John and Jude (in this order). Each section has its own chapter division: 55 chapters for the Pauline Epistle<sup>5</sup>, 32 chapters for the Acts and the Catholic Epistles combined<sup>6</sup>.

In the Pauline section (ff. 11r-187v), each letter begins with a brief presentation detailing the circumstances of its composition, with the Epistle to the Hebrews receiving a more extensive introduction defending the Pauline authorship. The page layout is unusual for Arabic manuscripts, featuring the biblical passage in the upper half, with slightly shorter lines, and a series of related annotations and glosses in the lower half. Biblical Arabic manuscripts either generally present a continuous text or divide it into passages for liturgical or exegetical purposes<sup>7</sup>. Typically, the number of lines dedicated to annotations exceeds those for the biblical passage. The commentary section is written in smaller, denser script compared to the main text itself.

Occasionally, the annotations extend beyond the page, constraining the copyist to continue them at the beginning of the following page, with the subsequent Pauline pericope appearing below. This suggests that the copyist worked passage by passage, integrating the commentary immediately after transcribing the biblical text, rather than completing the entire Pauline corpus on the upper half of each page and then adding annotations afterwards. Due to the considerable number of notes, which do not form a continuous commentary, a complex system of symbols and sigla was devised in order to link annotations to their corresponding passages.

As regards the section containing the Acts and the Catholic Epistles (ff. 188r-269v), its layout differs significantly from the previous Pauline section.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript has been edited and fully translated into English by STAAL 1983 (Pauline Epistles) and 1984 (Acts, Catholic Epistles). On these Arabic translations, see the remarks of BROCK 2004, p. 206 and ZAKI 2020 pp. 215-216.

<sup>5</sup> This is a well-known chapter division in the Syriac tradition; see BROCK 2021, pp. 113-114.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter 31 ends with 1John 3:21 while the following chapter includes the remaining Catholic Epistles; see ZAKI 2020, p. 208 note 31. Initially, the Peshitta exclusively included James, 1Peter and 1John, immediately following the Acts. The other Catholic Epistles were translated only in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. See BROCK 2021, pp. 99, 104 and 113.

<sup>7</sup> For an introduction to the Arabic Bible, see GRIFFITH 2013 (especially pp. 132-137).

Codicological and paleographic differences between the biblical passages and the annotations are greatly reduced, if not eliminated: Acts and Catholic Epistles feature lines of regular length, written in smaller characters comparable to those of the annotations. The annotations themselves are typically shorter and less numerous; indeed, whole passages or even entire letters sometimes lack glosses.

### History of *Sin. ar. 151* according to Zaki's reconstruction

According to Zaki, these two sections, written by the same hand, must be considered two distinct codicological units – referred to respectively as *S151a* and *S151b* by the scholar – that existed separately for at least a couple of centuries<sup>8</sup>.

Strong evidence for this includes the *colophon* at the end of the Pauline section (ff. 186v-187r<sup>9</sup>), which merits a few remarks. According to the *colophon*<sup>10</sup>, the fourteen letters (including the Epistle to the Hebrews) – and these alone – were translated from Syriac to Arabic by Bišr ibn al-Sirrī<sup>11</sup> for «his spiritual

<sup>8</sup> In addition to the differences in layout already noted, this hypothesis is also supported by the complete absence of original quire signatures in *S151b*. See ZAKI 2020, p. 242. I was unable to directly examine the manuscript. Therefore, I rely on Zaki's account and on the digital reproduction (available at <https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1vx1kxk> [accessed July 2024]) for codicological information. Important details such as the quality of the parchment or the ruling system, which could support the hypothesis of two independent codicological units, are not mentioned by Zaki. On the other hand, from the digital images, I could not identify any ruling pattern other than the four lines of the writing frame, made by dry pen on the flesh side of both *S151a* and *S151b*.

<sup>9</sup> The remainder of the *recto* and the entire *verso*, apart from one later addition, are blank.

<sup>10</sup> The *colophon* reads: «The one who translated these epistles, which are fourteen, from Syriac to Arabic and explained their interpretation as briefly as he could is the weak sinner, poor Bišr ibn al-Sirrī to his spiritual brother Sulaymān. And he completed this in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 253 [AH] in the city of Damascus. Praise be to God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen. May God have mercy upon the one who prays for the translator, and the author and the owner, with mercy and forgiveness» (translation by ZAKI 2020, p. 215).

<sup>11</sup> In addition to this translation, Bišr ibn al-Sirrī is known to have authored two homilies (on Theophany and on Ascension) and an introduction with commentary to Daniel. Recently, TREIGER 2023, pp. 390-397 has proposed identifying the author of the anonymous homilies of *SĪNĀʾ*, *Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης*, Ar. 431 as Bišr ibn al-Sirrī himself. His denominational affiliation is debated. TREIGER 2023, pp. 397-411, following the interpretation of BROCK 2004, argues for his association with the East-Syriac Church, whereas NASRALLAH 1980, pp. 202-206 and GRIFFITH 2013, p. 134 maintain a Melkite affiliation (see also ZAKI 2020, pp. 215-218). Even though the theology expressed in his writing is strongly influenced by the East-Syriac tradition, Bišr ibn al-Sirrī had undeniable connections with Michael, the Melkite metropolitan of Damascus (d. 880), who

brother» Sulaymān. The translation was completed in the month of Ramadan of the 253<sup>rd</sup> year of the hijra [September 867], in the city of Damascus.

Notably, the *colophon* refers to Bišr ibn al-Sirrī as a translator (*mutarǧim*), not a copyist. This has led some scholars, such as Joshua Blau<sup>12</sup> and, more recently, Alexander Treiger<sup>13</sup>, to attribute the date expressed in the *colophon* to the translation by Bišr ibn al-Sirrī and to propose a later date – the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century – for the manuscript Sin. ar. 151 itself. However, their arguments have been shown to be inconclusive by Zaki, who argued that the copyist is likely the translator himself, Bišr ibn al-Sirrī<sup>14</sup>.

In any case, the *colophon* pertains to the codicological unit containing the Pauline Epistles (S151a). The second unit (S151b), comprising the Acts and the Catholic Epistles, is written by the same hand – Bišr ibn al-Sirrī's, according to Zaki – but on a different occasion. Unfortunately, no *colophon* survives for this second unit. It is possible that the original *colophon* was lost along with the last folio.

The two units had separate existences for quite a long time. In the *agrapha* and margins of S151a, Zaki noticed three collation notes by Yūḥannā ibn Sahl al-Yabrūdī<sup>15</sup>, a Syriac physician, indicating that he owned this codicological unit at least between 1021 and 1025. Since no similar notes are found in S151b, it is highly plausible that al-Yabrūdī only possessed the Pauline section.

When and where did the two units come together and get bound into a single volume? Zaki observed that only two sets of marginal notes are found in both parts. These are two different series of liturgical rubrics, one in Arabic (that Zaki dates to the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century) and one in Greek. The notes, none of which reflects any known Greek or Syriac lectionary cycle, indicate a new

commissioned him to deliver the homily on Theophany, as pointed out by SAMIR 1987. It is worth noting that the homilies newly attributed to Bišr ibn al-Sirrī by Alexander Treiger, despite their East-Syriac theological nuances, are included in a manuscript mostly containing Melkite texts; see TREIGER 2023, pp. 395-396.

<sup>12</sup> See BLAU 1962, p. 107.

<sup>13</sup> See TREIGER 2017, pp. 40-41 and note c.

<sup>14</sup> See the discussion in ZAKI 2020, pp. 219-220. As suggested in the following pages, the analysis of the Greek notes offers further evidence supporting the authenticity of the *colophon*.

<sup>15</sup> This eclectic scholar, born in Yabrūd, a small village 80km north of Damascus, and educated in Baghdad, commissioned an Arabic translation of the Greek *Corpus Dionysiacum*, as documented by the *colophon* of S1NĀ', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, Ar. 268, f. 314v. This translation is preserved in Sin. ar. 268 itself and S1NĀ', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, Ar. 314. For a biographical profile, see CMR s.v. «Al-Yabrūdī» (J. P. Monferrer Sala), III, pp. 127-129. For further details on the translation, see TREIGER 2005, pp. 229-237 (with a discussion on the interpretation of the *colophon* in Sin. ar. 268), and TREIGER 2007 (with a sample of the critical edition, English translation and comments).

function that the manuscripts acquired, according to Zaki, when they reached the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai. At the same monastery, the missing folios were also reinstated and the two units finally bound together in one volume<sup>16</sup>.

## The Greek liturgical notes

Zaki's compelling reconstruction can be disputed through the application of a careful examination of the Greek liturgical rubrics found in the margins of both codicological units of Sin. ar. 151. The scholar wonders whether these Greek rubrics were added at the Monastery of St Catherine after the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century, as Zaki suggested the Arabic rubrics were, or instead at a different time. This issue can now be better contextualised.

The surviving 28 Greek rubrics can readily be organized into two series:

1. the 14 ἀναγνώσεις ἀναστάσιμοι<sup>17</sup>;
2. the readings for the 6 Sundays of the Lent<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Zaki attributes the restoration process to a team of copyists and at least one book binder, rather than to a single individual. It appears that the restorers did not have access to the original corresponding folios, as evidenced by collations with SĪNĀ', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, NE gr. ΜΓ 2 [*diktyon* 61040], BERLIN, Staatsbibliothek, Diez A Oct. 162 and FIRENZE, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 532, which preserve the form of Sin. ar. 151 text before these folios were lost. They likely used an Arabic model closer to the Greek text, at least in the case of the Pauline Epistles; see ZAKI 2020, pp. 236-248. The manuscript remained untouched until 1870, when Wahbat Allāh Ṣarrūf, an assistant of the archimandrite Antonin Kapustin, head of the Russian Orthodox Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem, wrote the reading note on f. 1r. As the reading note specifies, they visited the monastery to rearrange the library and prepare a catalogue of its manuscripts, which was later extensively exploited by Victor Gardthausen for his *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum* (Oxonii 1886). The relationship between the two works is briefly discussed by VERKHOLANTSEV 2016, pp. 224-226.

<sup>17</sup> The rubrics ([1], [2], [3], [5], [6], [13], [15], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], [23]) are numbered [α]-ιδ, with the first rubric [α] lost along with the original folios containing Rom 1:1-2:6. Rubric [23] is unnumbered; further details are provided below. To my knowledge, ἀναστάσιμος does not denote any ἀνάγνωσις or ἀνάγνωσμα elsewhere. In liturgical contexts, the adjective may refer to ἡμέρα, meaning «the day of the Resurrection» (Easter; also ἀναστάσιμος ἑορτή) or more generally «Sunday». It may also refer to τροπάριον, κώνων, κάθισμα, ἀκολουθία etc., denoting chanted prayers mentioning the Resurrection or prescribed for Easter feasts (as in modern usage: see, for example, LNEG s.v. «ἀναστάσιμος» or LKN s.v. «ἀναστάσιμος»). See DU CANGE 1688 s.v. «ἀναστάσιμος», SUICERUS 1728, I, coll. 303-394, s.v. «ἀναστάσιμος & ἀναστάσιμον» and LAMPE 1961 s.v. «ἀναστάσιμος». With εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα, or simply τὰ ἑωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα, sources indicate a cycle of eleven morning lections from the Gospels regarding the Resurrection, read from Easter to Pentecost; see SUICERUS 1728, I, col. 1223 s.v. «εὐαγγέλιον» and LAMPE 1961 again s.v. «ἀναστάσιμος».

<sup>18</sup> The rubrics ([7], [8], [9], [10]) are numbered β-ε, with the first being lost along with Rom 1:1-2:6.

Three other rubrics, which are not strictly part of either series, pertain to Easter<sup>19</sup>. The remaining rubrics – with the exception of the one<sup>20</sup> containing just a few words from 2Cor 11:18 – prescribe readings for several feasts and occasions<sup>21</sup>.

Almost all the rubrics follow a similar structure: the mention of the liturgical event is followed, after a more or less prominent *vacat*, by the first Greek words of the recommended biblical passage. Within the Arabic text, the beginning and the conclusion of the corresponding reading are typically marked by the Greek words ἀρχ(ή) and τέλος, respectively.

As mentioned earlier, neither of these two series corresponds to any known ancient lectionary. Nevertheless, specific parallels can sometimes be identified<sup>22</sup>. Here are two examples:

- Rom 10:1-10, referred to as ε' ἀνάγνωσις ἀναστάσιμος, «5<sup>th</sup> lecture of Resurrection» (f. 22r, upper margin), is listed in the *typicon* of Hagia Sophia among the readings prescribed for the 5<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Pentecost<sup>23</sup>;
- the passage 1Cor 11:23-32, noted as ἀνάγνωσις τῆς Μεγάλης Πέμπτης (f. 57r, upper margin), «lecture of Holy Thursday», is indicated for the same day in the aforementioned *typikon* of Hagia Sophia<sup>24</sup> and in the old Armenian lectionary of Jerusalem<sup>25</sup>.

The Greek rubrics are written in a small and predominantly upright minuscule, featuring hooked vertical strokes and the frequent use of ligatures. Given the scarcity of ancient Greek minuscule attestations and the unique context of Greek annotations in an Arabic manuscript, it is worthwhile to provide a meticulous description of the most significant letters and ligatures<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> These rubrics pertain to the Holy Thursday ([11]), the Epiphany [25], the sixth day of Easter ([27]) and the fifth Sunday of Pentecost [28].

<sup>20</sup> It seems that the copyist omitted to specify the liturgical occasion for the reading indicated by rubric [14].

<sup>21</sup> For the martyrs ([4] and [26]), for the apostles ([12]), for all the Marian feasts ([16]), for John the Baptist [17], for the dead ([24]).

<sup>22</sup> This research has been made possible thanks to the *Thesaurus Antiquorum Lectionariorum Ecclesiae Synagogaëque* (ThALES), an online database of ancient lectionaries coordinated by Daniel Stoekl Ben Ezra.

<sup>23</sup> The *typikon*, contained in JERUSALEM, Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Τιμίου Σταυρού, 40 [diktyon 35936], is edited by MATEOS 1962-1963 (reference in vol. II, pp. 148-149).

<sup>24</sup> See MATEOS 1962-1963, II, pp. 74-75.

<sup>25</sup> The Armenian *typikon* is edited by RENOUX 1971, based on JERUSALEM, Armenian Patriarchate of Saint James, ms. 121, PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arm. 44 and EREVAN, Matenadaran, Arm. 985. In addition to the Holy Thursday (RENOUX 1971, pp. 128-129), the same passage is prescribed for the Monday after the Octave of Easter (*ibid.* pp. 190-191).

<sup>26</sup> The number in brackets refers to the corresponding rubric in the appendix.



*Alpha* [Fig. 1a, ii], typically minuscule, assumes a substantially majuscule shape when followed by *gamma*: in this case, the first and the second strokes are written with a single loop, while the third, oblique, descending stroke is ligated with the first stroke of *gamma* (for example, *αγαπη* in [13]); similarly, in ligature with *rho*, *alpha* also exhibits a majuscule shape, written in a single stroke, with an anti-clockwise loop from above to form the head of the following letter (*χαριν* in [18]; see also the sequences *alpha-iota* in *δικαιοθεντ(ε)* [1] and *alpha-xi* in *συναξει* [7]).

*Delta* [Fig. 1b] has a small, rounded body, with its final stroke sloping slightly to the left and ascending well above the letter before turning clockwise and descending up to the baseline, resulting in a doubling of the final stroke (for example, *δ'* in [3] and [9]);

*Epsilon* often appears in ligature with both preceding and succeeding letters, exhibiting various shapes, as one would expect: generally, with preceding letters (*gamma*, *delta*, *theta*, *lambda*, *my*, *tau*) *epsilon*'s lower part is involved [Fig. 1c] (for example, *γενεθλιων* and *Θεοτοκου* in [16]), while the succeeding letter is traced starting from the middle horizontal stroke (*epsilon-gamma* in *εγω* [1] and [19], *epsilon-sigma* in *εστε* [12], *epsilon-hypsilon* in *ευδοκια* [5]) or from the ascending crest (*epsilon-iota* in *νηστειων* and *συναξει* [9], *epsilon-rho* [Fig. 1h] for example in *ημερα* [7], once *epsilon-gamma* in *μεγαλης* [11]); in isolation, *epsilon* displays the characteristic 'overlapping crests' form (the numeral *ε'* in [5] or [10]).

*Theta* has a cursive shape [Fig. 1d], suitable for ligatures with the following (and, sometimes, with the preceding) letter (for example, *Θ(ε)ν* in [13] and *εβαπτισθημεν* in [2]).

*Iota* extends above and below the baseline if it follows a letter with a horizontal stroke [Fig. 1e], such as *gamma*, *pi*, *sigma*, *tau* (for example, *τι επι* in [26]); it often exhibits a (partially) doubled stroke (particularly evident in *αναγνωσις* [3]; the same phenomenon can be observed in the vertical stroke of *eta* [Fig. 1g], for example *νηστειων* in [7], and of *kappa*, for example *κυριακη* in [6]); in ligature with *alpha* and *epsilon*, it hangs from the letter (*δικαιοθεντ(ε)* in [1]).

In *my*, when followed by *epsilon* [Fig. 1h], a single continuous stroke extends to form the lower part of the letter, without lifting the pen from the page (for example, *εβαπτισθημεν* in [2] or *μελη* in [12]).

Sometimes, *ny*, in ligature with a preceding *hypsilon* or *omicron*, is written as a descending, clockwise stroke [Fig. 1c, 1f] (*αποκρεον* in [7]; *συναξει* in [28]).

In *pi* [Fig. 1g, 1i] the following letter usually touches both the last horizontal stroke and the second curved stroke, effectively closing the second loop (see *πεμπτης* in [11] or *υποπαντης* in [16]).

*Rho*, with *epsilon*, appears in the characteristic «en as de pique» ligature [Fig. 1h] (for example, *ημερα* in [7], [25] ecc.).

If *sigma* is followed by *theta* [Fig. 1d] or *hypsilon*, the last stroke bends to form the succeeding letter (as in *συναξει* in [28]); in ligature with a preceding *alpha* [Fig. 1i], it is traced in one stroke (for example, *υμας* in [19]).

*Tau* [Fig. 1j] often written in one, anticlockwise stroke (for example, the article *τη* in [9] and [10]); in ligature with a preceding *pi*, the vertical stroke descends below the baseline (*καπτω* in [18]).

The calyx of *hypsilon*, in ligature with *my* [Fig. 1k], is closed by the first vertical stroke of the following letter (*υμας* in [19]).

*Phi*, in the usual treble cleft shape, is not larger than the other letters (*θεοφανειων* in [25]).

In *omega* the rounded strokes remain open (for example, the two instances of the article *των* in [7]).

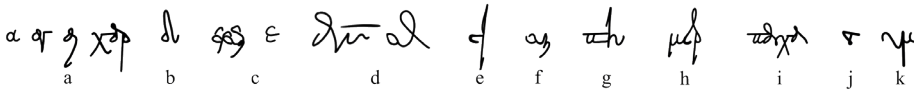


Fig. 1.

In two instances (rubrics [23] and [26]), the axis inclines noticeably to the right, the *ductus* appears more cursive and the script more ligatured. Such differences may suggest a different hand<sup>27</sup>. It is possible that these two rubrics were added at a different time. Rubric [23], the last rubric of the *ἀναστάσιμος*-series, differs from the others in that it does not bear a number. This may be due to an error in the progressive numbering of the series: right after number  $\eta$  (= 8) [15], the following rubric of the series [18] is numbered  $\iota$  (= 10) instead of  $\theta$  (= 9), as one would expect; no folio has been lost between [15] and [18]. The copyist might have noticed the discrepancy and the missing rubric and attempted to restore the series. Rubric [26], on the other hand, appears to be an alternative to rubric [4], as they both prescribe readings *εἰς μάρτυρας*.

In two other instances, rubrics [11] and [12], the writing, though still very ligatured and cursive, becomes smaller. However, the axis remains upright or inclines only slightly. Since the set of shapes and ligatures in [11] and [12] is not unfamiliar, one would be tempted to recognize in these instances a more cursive version of the first Greek hand. Still, certain ligatures – such as *alpha-gamma*, with *alpha* executed in a single stroke and *epsilon-gamma*, with *gamma* traced from the ascending crest – are not attested elsewhere. The descending vertical strokes are notably shorter and, overall, the letters appear more closely bundled together. Additionally, the word *ἀνάγνωσις* is abbreviated in the same way as in [26].

Tentatively, I would attribute rubrics [11], [12] and [26] to a single hand. As for rubric [23], it appears to be written in a darker, almost black ink, very similar to that used for rubric [16], the longest in the manuscript. Despite to the differences in axis orientation (with [16] being upright), I propose a third scribe as responsible for both [16] and [23].

After all, the phenomenon of a swinging hand is not rare in Greek minuscule scripts. For example, on the margins of ff. 18r-19v of the WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog-August Bibliothek, Helmst. 75a [*diktyon* 72145], a 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century manuscript in biblical majuscule containing John Chrysostom's homilies on

<sup>27</sup> BROCK 2004, p. 206 already mentioned «two separate minuscule hands», without further details.

Matthew, a scribe added part of the canon *In mulieres unguiferentes* by Andrew of Crete in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>28</sup>. This copyist alternated, without any obvious reason, between an upright and a sloping axis, the latter being associated with a more cursive *ductus* and more ligatured writing<sup>29</sup>. Similarly, an anonymous hand<sup>30</sup>, dated from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, added some marginal titles and at least one liturgical note to the bilingual *Codex Bezae*, CAMBRIDGE, University Library, MS Nn. 2.41 (2603) [*diktyon* 12240]<sup>31</sup>. The minuscule script of this hand is usually upright or slightly sloping to the right, but sometimes the angle of slope increases (for example, f. 205v, upper margin). Hence, the traditional distinction between a sloping and an upright Byzantine cursive writing<sup>32</sup> must be newly reconsidered and their boundaries blurred<sup>33</sup>. As Edoardo Crisci pointed out, these two variants have their root in the same documentary experience of the Graeco-Roman graphic *koinè*<sup>34</sup>. Far from being two different scripts, they share a common graphic system in which some solutions and options are favoured by one or the other, but in an alternative and never strictly exclusive way.

Do these characteristics make it possible for us to date the Greek liturgical rubrics of Sin. ar. 151, then? The shapes (such as the tall *iota*, the ‘open’ *theta* and *pi*, the *tau* in one stroke, the ‘clockwise’ *ny*) and features (including the polymorphism of *epsilon*, the reduplicated vertical strokes) listed above are found in several Sinaitic-Palestinian witnesses. In the thorough study that Lidia Perria devoted to the famous CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 2200<sup>35</sup> [*diktyon* 68831], written in the so-called ‘Hagiopolitan minuscule’, we

<sup>28</sup> This dating is suggested by DE GREGORIO 2000, pp. 110-111. ORSINI 2019, p. 80 offers a slightly different opinion, proposing the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>29</sup> See HARLFINGER 2000, pp. 153-154.

<sup>30</sup> The hand is indicated as M<sup>2</sup> in the bibliography. According to DE GREGORIO 2000, pp. 104-107 and note 142, the same scribe may be responsible for the notes of M<sup>1</sup> and, possibly, of M<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> For an introduction to the so-called *Codex Bezae* (Cantabr. Nn. II. 41) – on which an extensive bibliography is available – see PARKER 1992 (especially pp. 43-44 for the minuscule secondary hand) and *Codex Bezae* 1994. The marginal titles have been studied by KNUST - WASSERMAN 2021.

<sup>32</sup> See at least MESSERI - PINTAUDI 2000, pp. 73-76 and DE GREGORIO 2000, pp. 85-104.

<sup>33</sup> On this subject, see the contributions of PERRIA 2002 and CRISCI 2018, pp. 51-55.

<sup>34</sup> See CRISCI 2012, especially pp. 54-57. The phenomenon of a swinging writing axis, well attested in 7<sup>th</sup>-century documents such as PSI XII 1266, can already be observed in 6<sup>th</sup>-century documentary hands, as noted by DEL CORSO 2008, pp. 98-102 for Dioscorus of Aphroditou.

<sup>35</sup> On this paper manuscript, which preserves a dogmatic anthology on the Incarnation of the Word (*Doctrina patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*) compiled between the sixth and the seventh Ecu-  
menical Councils (at least, according to REDIGER 1996), see PERRIA 1983-1984, DE GREGORIO 2000, pp. 103-104, and LUZZATTO 2002-2003, pp. 18 (and note 45), 45-47.

recognise, in isolation, single letters and ligatures of Sin. ar. 151. However, on balance, the two writings show many differences. Apart from the considerably more inclined angle of slope, the variety of forms and solutions in the ligatures of Vat. gr. 2200 is much greater than what is seen in the margins of Sin. ar. 151.

In these respects, the liturgical notes resemble the adventitious texts in verses found on f. 349v of the Uspensky Psalter<sup>36</sup> [*diktyon* 57288], which is the second page of an added bifolium<sup>37</sup>. The cursive, upright hand<sup>38</sup> of these poetic additions can confidently be identified as originating in Jerusalem. Among them, the copyist also transcribed the inscription on the *ὑελουργία*<sup>39</sup> crafted by the monk and painter Thomas for the Church of the Anastasis. According to Enrica Follieri, the epigram should be dated to before the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, on the basis of paleographic evidence, and after at least the 8<sup>th</sup> century, for metric reasons<sup>40</sup>.

This habitual, cursive script, used for liturgical rubrics or adventitious texts in margins or blank spaces, can sometimes be used for entire manuscripts. This is demonstrated by a group of codices kept in the Monastery of St Catherine on Sinai, such as the *scriptio inferior* of SĪNĀ', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, Gr. 468 [*diktyon* 58843], ff. 33-70 and the liturgical rolls SĪNĀ', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, Gr. 591 [*diktyon* 58966] and SĪNĀ', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, NE gr. E 26 [*diktyon* 60773]. In the latter two examples, the ligatures become more regular and less exuberant compared to those found in Vat. gr. 2200, and the writing exhibits greater consistency and firmness<sup>41</sup>. All these examples are

<sup>36</sup> The psalter, now housed in the Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka in Saint Petersburg with call number Gr. 216 (Granstrom 72), was commissioned by Noah, bishop of Tiberias, to Theodore, deacon of the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem, who completed his task in the year 862/863. FOLLIERI 1974, pp. 145-148 provides a thorough examination of its *colophon*. NIKOPOULOS 1999, pp. 119-122 suggested that some folios of Sin. NE gr. MΓ 33 [*diktyon* 61071] belonged to the same manuscript, although not all scholars agree. The debate is summarised in OLIVIER 2011, pp. 59-60 note 2. See also ORSINI 2019, p. 144 and note 333.

<sup>37</sup> For a detailed description of the bifolium, see FOLLIERI 1974, pp. 148-159.

<sup>38</sup> FOLLIERI 1974, pp. 154-155 cautiously distinguishes the upright hands of the two groups of verses from a previous sloping hand, while also acknowledging their similarity. Following the debate on the validity of the angle of slope for distinguishing between different hands, one might be tempted to identify all three instances as the work of a single writer.

<sup>39</sup> This term possibly refers to a mosaic. See FROLOW 1945-1946 and LAUXTERMANN 2003-2019, I, p. 159 and note 28.

<sup>40</sup> Its verses conform to the rules of Byzantine dodecasyllables without resolution, suggesting it was composed after George of Pisidia (7<sup>th</sup> century), who was the last poet to compose iambic verses in classical metrics. See LAUXTERMANN 2003-2019, II, pp. 287-290.

<sup>41</sup> This is the persuasive view of CRISCI 2012, pp. 60-62.

generally dated to the period stretching between the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>42</sup>.

Beyond this range, as Edoardo Crisci has demonstrated, the regularisation process that integrated the cursive, minuscule writing of the Sinaitic-Palestinian context into book production had already eliminated the most distorting ligatures, with only the most common and distinct ones being retained, and reduced the polymorphism of the letters. The resulting consistent, normalised script would have merged with the so-called Studite minuscule or similar Constantinian experiences, leading to the disappearance of the graphic autonomy of Sinaitic-Palestinian manuscript production<sup>43</sup>. Consequently, the Greek liturgical notes of Sin. ar. 151 are unlikely to date later than the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. This provides new evidence supporting the authenticity of the colophon, as defended with other arguments by Zaki, indicating that the manuscript already existed in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when the liturgical notes were added. In fact, the *colophon* allows us to narrow down the time span during which the Greek hands were active. Given that the translation was completed in September 867, the Greek liturgical notes of Sin. ar. 151 must have been added in the last third of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

The fact that the manuscript was still in Damascus between 1021 and 1025, as indicated by al-Yabrūdī's notes, suggests that these rubrics were written in that city<sup>44</sup>.

The dating of the Greek liturgical notes has a significant impact on the history of Sin. ar. 151 as reconstructed by Zaki. These notes are scattered throughout the margins of the entire manuscript, from the Epistle to Romans to the Acts of the Apostles. This indicates that, despite being produced at different times and bound separately, the two codicological units had a close relationship from the outset. They were stored together, in a place where at least two – possibly three – nearly contemporary Greek hands added rubrics to their margins, adapting Bišr ibn al-Sirrī's Arabic translation for liturgical use.

At this point, the presence of al-Yabrūdī's hand only in the margins of S151a does not definitively exclude its closeness to S151b. Al-Yabrūdī's notes doc-

<sup>42</sup> See CRISCI 2012, pp. 53-64.

<sup>43</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>44</sup> The multilingual and multigraphic landscape of Abbasid Damascus has yet to undergo a thorough and systematic investigation. Nevertheless, scholars have access to a vast number of written testimonies thanks to the discovery in 1898 of tens of thousands of written fragments stored in the octagonal structure, known as the Qubbat al-Khazna (or simply the Qubba), located in the courtyard of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. For more information on this collection, which remains largely unexplored, see *The Damascus Fragments* 2020.

ument his collation activity. In 1021 he used S151a to improve and restore another copy of the Pauline Epistles that was missing many folios. In 1025 he used a third copy (or possibly more) to systematically add variant readings and fill small lacunae in Romans and 1-2 Corinthians (and occasionally in some other Pauline letters). Based solely on these collation notes, one cannot rule out the possibility that al-Yabrūdī also had access to S151b. These notes merely attest that the Syrian physician had only further copies of the Pauline Epistles at his disposal, or that he was not philologically interested in the Catholic Epistles or in the Acts.

More interestingly, as Zaki pointed out, al-Yabrūdī was aware of Greek variants. In at least two glosses<sup>45</sup>, he refers to the Greek text (*al-yūnāniyy*) that he compares with the Arabic translation he is studying. This suggests that al-Yabrūdī was in contact with a Christian milieu where Greek manuscripts of the New Testament were still circulating at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Since al-Sirrī also refers several times to the Greek text of the Pauline Epistles in his commentary, sometimes comparing it with the Syriac text from which he is likely translating<sup>46</sup>, one might reasonably assume that the two codicological units (possibly already bound in one volume?) never left the place in Damascus where they were copied. It was there that both the translator and, a century and a half later, a scholar could compare different versions of the Pauline Epistles. Although the milieu was likely not entirely bilingual, it is not surprising that someone could add Greek liturgical rubrics to an Arabic manuscript in a cultural context where Greek biblical books were circulating and being read.

Was it indeed a Melkite milieu? Some clues suggest that it was. Although Bišr ibn al-Sirrī was likely an East-Syriac Christian, he maintained close ties with the Melkite ecclesiastical hierarchy of Damascus<sup>47</sup>. The language of the

<sup>45</sup> 1Cor 7:34 (STAAL 1983, p. 60 note 3; tr. p. 63 note 3) and 1Cor 10:8 (STAAL 1983, p. 66 note g; tr. p. 70 note g).

<sup>46</sup> These comments – painstakingly listed by STAAL 1984, p. 263 – are particularly intriguing and should be thoroughly investigated by both scholars of Christian Arabic literature and experts in New Testament translations into oriental languages. For instance, in Rom 14:23 (STAAL 1983, p. 40 note 24) al-Sirrī observes that «in Greek there is a section after these words beginning “To God who is able to establish you”. In Syriac, this is delayed to the end of the epistle, and also “we have established him”» (translation by STAAL 1983, p. 44 note 24). This refers to the final doxology in Rom 16:25-27, which in some Greek witnesses follows Rom 14. In fact, at Rom 16:25 (STAAL 1983, pp. 45-46 note 14), al-Sirrī, before providing his interpretation, remarks: «This is the section that we stated was arranged in a different place from this in the Greek. However, in the Syrian copy it is arranged here» (translation by STAAL 1983, p. 49 note 14). BROCK 2004, pp. 207-209, with other examples.

<sup>47</sup> See above, note 11.

rubrics strongly implies a Melkite liturgy, pointing to a Melkite background<sup>48</sup>. Al-Yabrūdī, a West-Syriac Christian, also had connections with the Melkite community. In fact, it seems that Ibn Saḥqūn, whom he commissioned to translate the *Corpus Dionysiacum* from Greek to Arabic in 1009, was indeed a member of that Church<sup>49</sup>. Collectively, these elements do not conclusively prove the existence of a Melkite environment surrounding Sin. ar. 151. However, this hypothesis warrants a more detailed and thorough analysis.

## Conclusions

The two parts of Sin. ar. 151 (S151a [ff. 1-187] and S151b [ff. 188-269]), both penned by Bišr ibn al-Sirrī, exhibit notable differences not only in layout and other codicological features but also in content, an aspect that deserves more attention from scholars of Christian Arabic literature. The Acts and the Catholic Epistles, unlike the Pauline Epistles, lack introductions, have less extensive commentary, omit references to versions in other languages, and display fewer glosses, suggesting they were read less frequently. Nonetheless, they share a common history likely centred in Damascus, where S151a was completed in 867, as attested by the *colophon*. In that city, between 1021 and 1025, Yūḥannā ibn Sahl al-Yabrūdī collated the text of the Pauline Epistles (S151a) with other versions and used it to restore a damaged third copy. Subsequently, probably in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (the exact date remains unknown), the two codicological units were transferred to Mount Sinai and bound together – possibly not for the first time – forming what is now known as Sin. ar. 151.

It is likely that, while still in Damascus, two (possibly three) anonymous Greek hands added approximately thirty liturgical rubrics in the margins of both codicological units. These rubrics are distinct from any other known liturgical tradition. They not only illustrate the continuous association of S151a and S151b since their creation but also hold extraordinary significance for the history of Greek minuscule writing. In fact, they represent a notable case among a very limited number of examples of Hagiopolitan minuscule securely dated within a specific timeframe. These rubrics were evidently added between

<sup>48</sup> See BROCK 2004, p. 206.

<sup>49</sup> See TREIGER 2007, p. 365 (where he mistakenly calls him «Saḥqūq»). It is noteworthy that Ibn Saḥqūn translated directly from Greek, as attested not only by the *colophon* of the Arabic version of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* in Sin. ar. 268, but also by the *colophon* of his translation of the Greek *kathismatarion* of the great feasts in Sīnā', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, Ar. 252. In the latter case, the *colophon* also testifies that he worked in Damascus. For further details, see TREIGER 2007, pp. 234-235.



867, when S151a was copied, and the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. By the beginning of the following century, Greek minuscule script of that region had already undergone an almost complete regularisation of its letters and ligatures.

Before the discovery of the Greek notes of Sin. ar. 151, the only roughly datable example in Hagiopolitan minuscule was the epigram in Byzantine dodecasyllable on f. 349v of the Uspensky Psalter, which, as previously discussed, was likely transcribed between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the first half of 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Thanks to the evidence found in Sin. ar. 151, we can now confidently date those Sinaitic-Palestinian upright hands that share many features with the Greek rubrics discussed to the middle or second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. These include examples such as the liturgical rolls Sin. gr. 591 and Sin. NE gr. E 26 as well as the *scriptio inferior* of Sin. gr. 468, ff. 33-70, and the previously mentioned f. 349v of the Uspensky Psalter. Similarly, more regularised manifestations – such as the bifolium SĪNĀ', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, NE gr. M 96 [*diktyon* 60923], the menaion of January SĪNĀ', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, NE gr. M 167 [*diktyon* 60994], and the binion at the end of SĪNĀ', Μονή της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, Gr. 794 [*diktyon* 59169] (ff. 215-218) – should be dated to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast, the polymorphism and the variety of ligatures observed in Vat. gr. 2200 and in the sloping hand of f. 349r-v of the Uspensky Psalter are more indicative of a dating between the end of 8<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>50</sup>.

The liturgical notes present an intriguing parallel to some annotations found in PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Gr. 2179 [*diktyon* 51808], a significant illuminated witness of Dioscorides' *De materia medica*. This codex is generally dated to the late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> century and associated with the Sinaitic-Palestinian region<sup>51</sup>. It stands out in the manuscript tradition of the treatise due to its numerous Arabic and Greek *marginalia*. Surprisingly, some of the Arabic notes are written using an adaptation of the Greek alphabet, incorporating diacritics that modify certain letters to represent sounds not found in Greek<sup>52</sup>. The anonymous hand, evidently educated in Greek but proficient in Arabic<sup>53</sup>, used a sloping and highly ligatured minuscule script that

<sup>50</sup> For the dating, see the bibliography already mentioned in notes 34 and 36.

<sup>51</sup> CAVALLIO 1977, pp. 102-103 previously proposed an oriental – rather than southern Italian – origin for Par. gr. 2179. CRISCI 1996, p. 95 and PERRIA 1999, pp. 25-26 (= PERRIA 2003, pp. 71-72) argue for a (Sinaitic-)Palestinian origin.

<sup>52</sup> This transcription system has been thoroughly examined by CRONIER 2016, pp. 251-254.

<sup>53</sup> CRONIER 2016, pp. 257-559 suggested that the Arabic-Greek notes could be related to the illustrations and, therefore, intended for the miniaturist, who had to be bilingual to some extent.



shares many features with the other Sinaitic-Palestinian witnesses previously mentioned<sup>54</sup>. The similarity to the liturgical notes of Sin. ar. 151 now could confirm the Syrian-Palestinian origin of these ‘Arabic in Greek’ annotations and could help to establish their dating around the half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, or a few decades later. According to Marie Cronier, both the main text and the illustrations are coeval with the ‘Arabic in Greek’ annotations<sup>55</sup>, demanding that they be dated to the same period.

A Syrian localisation is further suggested by subsequent events. It is highly likely that, in the first half of 12<sup>th</sup> century, Stephen of Pisa (or of Antioch) came across Par. gr. 2179 in Antioch and used it as a source for his *Breviarium medicaminum omnium*, as recently proposed by Cronier<sup>56</sup>. The question arises as to whether or not the codex was copied and illustrated in Antioch itself, where Stephen would have had access to it. While this hypothesis cannot be proven at present, the paleographic features of the Arabic-Greek notes do not contradict a Syrian origin.

Some years ago, Crisci observed that nearly all the examples of Hagiopolitan minuscule come from Sinai, which is believed to be their place of origin. The only possible exception is found in ff. 346 and 349 of the Uspensky Psalter, which may come from another context (likely Jerusalem, to which the adjective ‘Hagiopolitan’ refers)<sup>57</sup>. We can now include another non-Sinaitic witness, namely Sin. ar. 151, copied in Damascus, where two, or maybe three anonymous Greek hands added liturgical notes in an upright script similar to the Hagiopolitan minuscule along its margins. This provides further evidence that this script was more widespread than its name suggests, extending beyond Jerusalem, possibly to Antioch. Hence, Crisci’s proposal to denominate it ‘minuscule antica sinaitico-palestinese’ (ancient Sinaitic-Palestinian minuscule) should now be fully accepted.

<sup>54</sup> See HARLFINGER 2000, pp. 155-156.

<sup>55</sup> «Si l’on veut admettre que les images et le texte remontent bien, globalement, à la même période – et personnellement cela me semble plus probable [note 33: en particulier parce que certaines images, déplacées par rapport au chapitre qu’elles illustrent, sont bien accompagnées d’un titre en majuscule ogivale inclinée, de la main du copiste principal] –, on devrait en conclure que les annotations grecques sont contemporaines et que dans un laps de temps très restreint, on a copié le texte originel, ajouté les transcriptions grecques de noms arabes, puis effectué les illustrations. Notre fourchette chronologique se trouve donc resserrée de manière considérable» (CRONIER 2016, p. 257).

<sup>56</sup> The persuasive thesis is thoroughly defended in CRONIER 2023.

<sup>57</sup> See CRISCI 2012, pp. 53-54.

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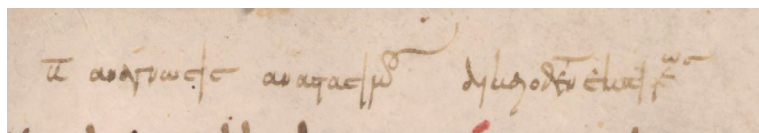
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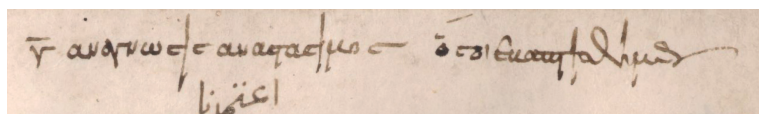
## Appendix

### The edition of the Greek liturgical notes

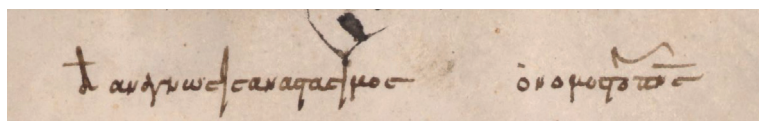
In the following pages, the first complete edition of the Greek liturgical notes from Sin. ar. 151 is presented. Each rubric is identified by a number in square brackets and listed in the order it appears in the manuscript, along with the corresponding page number. An almost diplomatic transcription has been chosen over orthographic standardisation (always given in the footnotes) to facilitate comparison between the transcription and the manuscript image. Consequently, only the diacritics present in the manuscript are transcribed. Additionally, the beginning and, when indicated, the conclusion of each reading are provided.



- [1] f. 10v      β' ἀναγνώσις ἀναστασιμο(ς)      δικαιοθεντ(ες)<sup>58</sup> ἐκ πιστεως (Rom 5:1)  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 5:1  
 [τέλος      *desideratur*<sup>59</sup>]



- [2] f. 13r      γ' ἀναγνώσις ἀναστασιμος      ὅσοι ἐβαπτισθημεν (Rom 6:3)  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 6:3  
 τέλος      Rom 6:11



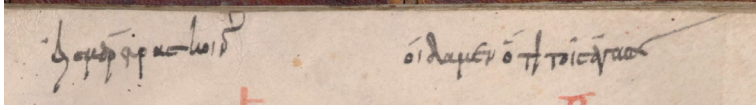
- [3] f. 16v      δ' ἀναγνώσις ἀναστασιμος      ὁ νομος τοῦ Πν(ευματο)ς (Rom 8:2)  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 8:2  
 [τέλος      *desideratur*<sup>60</sup>]

<sup>58</sup> Read -ω-.

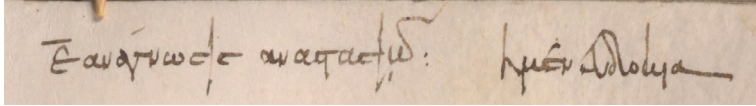
<sup>59</sup> Ch. 3 of the Syriac division ends with Rom 5:11.

<sup>60</sup> Ch. 5 of the Syriac division ends with Rom 8:21.

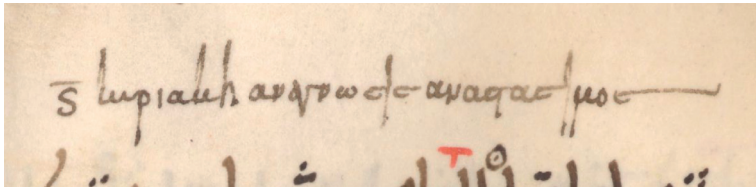




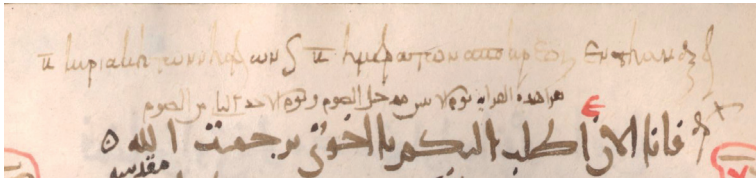
- [4] f. 18v      εἰς μάρτυρας κοιν(η)<sup>61</sup>      οἶδαμεν ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπ(ώ)σιν (Rom 8:28)  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 8:28  
 [τέλος      *desideratur*]



- [5] f. 22v      ε' ἀνάγνωσις ἀναστασιμ(ος):      ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία (Rom 10:1)  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 10:1  
 τέλος      Rom 10:10



- [6] f. 26r      ζ' κυριακή ἀνάγνωσις ἀναστασιμος  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 11:13  
 τέλος      Rom 11:24

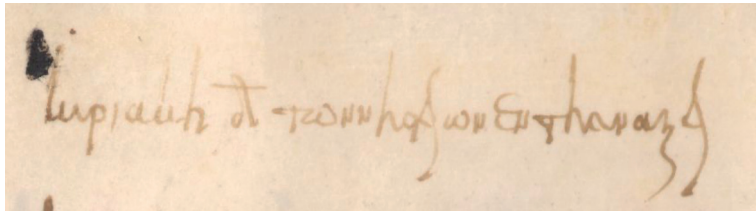
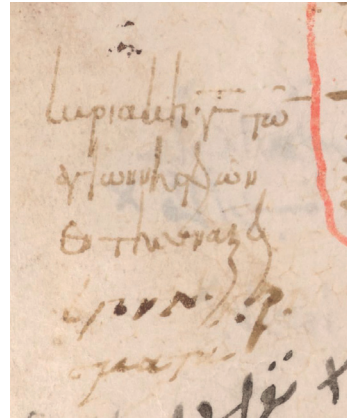


- [7] f. 29r      β' κυριακή των νηστειων (και) β' ἡμερα των αποκρεων<sup>62</sup> ἐν τῇ συναξει  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 12:1  
 τέλος      Rom 12:5

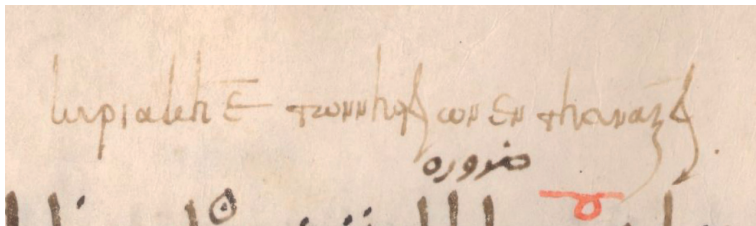
<sup>61</sup> One could understand κοινή ἀνάγνωσις. I own this suggestion to Stefano Parenti.

<sup>62</sup> Read ἀπόκρεων. This period of the liturgical calendar, corresponding to the western Carnival, is more commonly referred to as ἀπόκρεως, in the singular. However, the 9<sup>th</sup>-century tropologion Sin. NE gr. MG 56-5 contains τροπάρια ψαλλόμενα τῇ Κυριακῇ τῶν Ἀποκρεῶν καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἐβδομάδος. See NIKIFOROVA 2013, p. 160. Also DU CANGE 1688, col. 103 «ἀπόκρεων vero Latini carniprivium vocant» (s.v. «ἀπόκρεως»), even though it could be a typo).

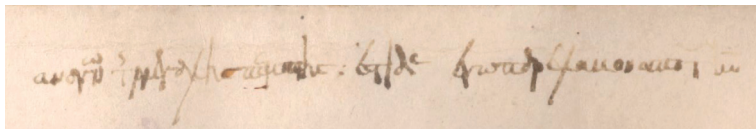
- [8] f. 29r      κυριακή γ' τῶ(ν) | ἁγίων νηστειῶν | ἐν τῇ  
 συνάξει | m<sup>2</sup> εχοντε{ς} χαρι|σματα (Rom  
 12:6)  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 12:6  
 [τέλος      *desideratur*]<sup>63</sup>



- [9] f. 30r      κυριακή δ' των νηστειων ἐν τῇ συναξει  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 12:16b  
 τέλος      Rom 13:6



- [10] f. 31r      κυριακή ε' των νηστειων ἐν τῇ συναξει  
 αρχ(ή)      Rom 13:7  
 [τέλος      *desideratur*]

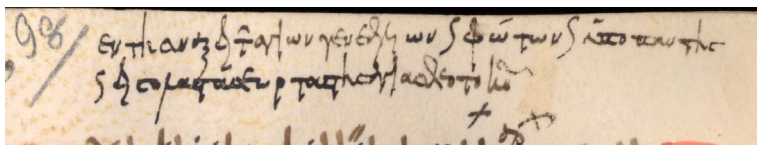


- [11] f. 57r      ἀναγνω(σις) τ(ῇ)ς μεγάλης πεμπτης:      ἐστι δὲ ἐγὼ παρέλαβον ἀπο τ(ο)υ Κ(υρίο)  
 υ (1Cor 11:23)  
 αρχ(ή)      1Cor 11:23  
 τέλος      1Cor 11:32

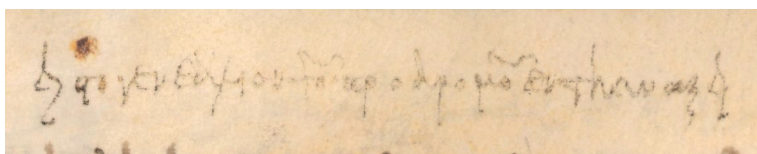
<sup>63</sup> It could end with Rom 12:16a since the following reading begins with Rom 12:16b.



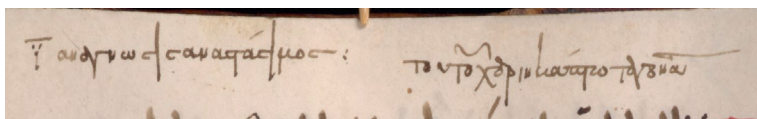




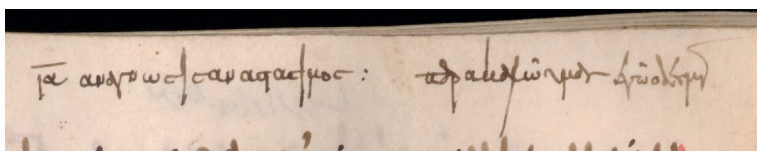
- [16] f. 98r      εν τη συναξει τ(ών) αγίων γενεθλιων<sup>66</sup> (και) φώτων<sup>67</sup> (και) ὑποπαντης<sup>68</sup> | (και) εις  
 ολας τας εωρτας<sup>69</sup> της αγιας Θεοτοκου  
 αρχ(ή)      Gal 3:24  
 [τέλος      *desideratur*]<sup>70</sup>



- [17] f. 100r      εις το γενεθλιον του Προδρομου εν τη συναξει  
 αρχ(ή)      Gal 4:26  
 [τέλος      *desideratur*]<sup>71</sup>



- [18] f. 108v      ἱ' αναγνωσις αναστασιμος:      τουτου χαριν κάπτω τα γονατ(α) (Eph 3:14)  
 αρχ(ή)      Eph 3:14  
 [τέλος      *desideratur*]<sup>72</sup>



- [19] f. 109r      ια' αναγνωσις αναστασιμος:      παρακαλώ υμας εγώ ο δεσμι(ος) (Eph 4:1)  
 αρχ(ή)      Eph 4:1  
 τέλος      Eph 4:6

<sup>66</sup> That is the Nativity.

<sup>67</sup> In the Orthodox tradition, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Φώτων corresponds to the Epiphany.

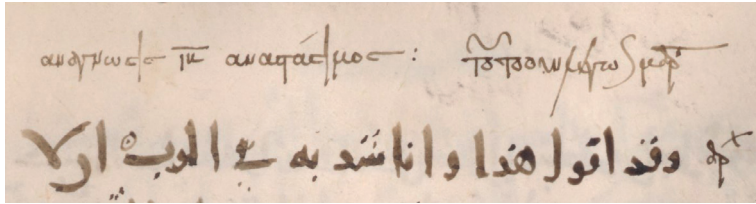
<sup>68</sup> Read ὑπαπαντῆς. It refers to the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple.

<sup>69</sup> Read ἐορτὰς.

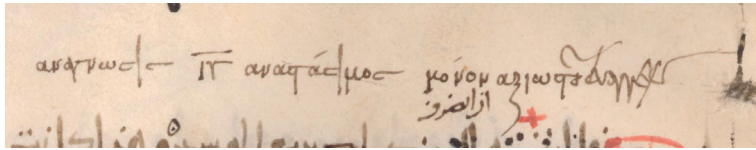
<sup>70</sup> The indication τέλος is absent, but in at Gal 3:28 a later hand added a black mark and a liturgical marginal note in Arabic (STAAL 1983, p. 123 note n; tr. p. 130 note n).

<sup>71</sup> Ch. 5 of the Syriac division ends with Gal 5:1.

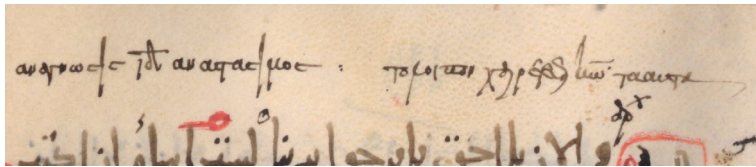
<sup>72</sup> The following reading begins with Eph 4:1; the page ends with Eph 3:19.



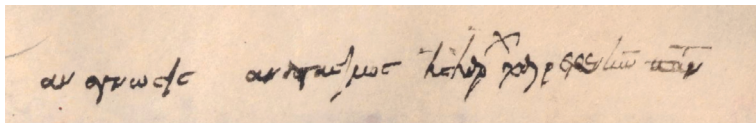
- [20] f. 110v      αναγνωσις ιβ' αναστάσιμος:      τουτο ουν λεγω (και) μαρτ(ύρομαι) (Eph 4:17)  
 αρχ(ή)      Eph 4:17  
 τελος      Eph 4:24



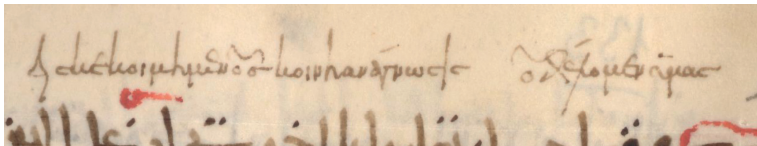
- [21] f. 117r      αναγνωσις ιγ' αναστάσιμος      μόνον αξίως του ευαγγελ(ι)ου (Phil 1:27)  
 αρχ(ή)      Phil 1:27  
 τελος      Phil 2:4



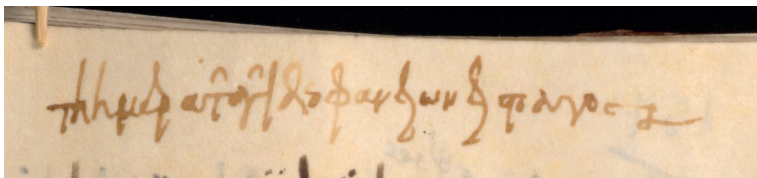
- [22] f. 119v      αναγνωσις ιδ' αναστάσιμος:      τό λοιπον χαιρετε εν Κ(υρί)ω· τα αυτα (Phil 3:1)  
 αρχ(ή)      Phil 3:1  
 τελος      Phil 3:21



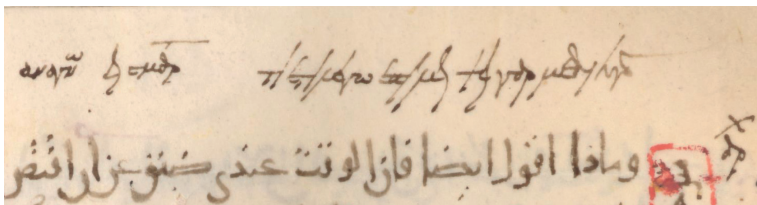
- [23] f. 121r      αναγνωσις αναστασιμος ης η αρχ(ή) χαιρετε εν Κ(υρί)ω παντ(οτε) (Phil 4:4)  
 αρχ(ή)      Phil 4:4  
 τελος      Phil 4:9



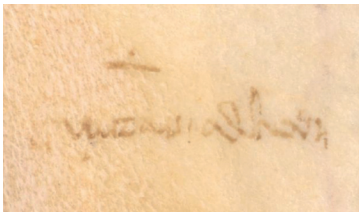
- [24] f. 133v      εις κεκοιμημένους κοινή ἀνάγνωσις      οὐ θέλομεν ὑμᾶς (IThess 4:13)  
rThess 4:13<sup>73</sup>  
[τέλος *desideratur*]<sup>74</sup>



- [25] f. 157v     τη ημερα των αγιων θεοφανειων εις το αυτος  
αρχ(η) Titus 2:11  
τελος Titus 2:15



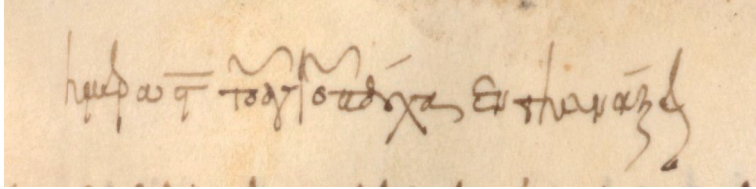
- [26] f. 182r      αναγνω(σ)ς εις μαρτυρασ      τι ετι λεγω επιλειπει γαρ με διηγου(μενον) (Heb  
 II:32)  
 αρχ(η)      Heb II:32  
 τελος      Heb II:40



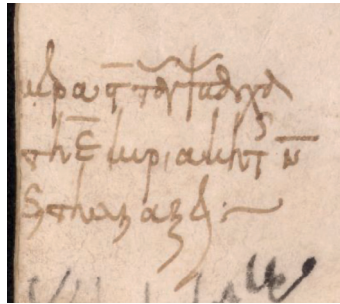
- [26a] f. 182v *ετυμπατισθησαν* (Heb 11:35)  
marginal gloss to ماتوا بصنوف العذاب

**73** The indication  $\alpha\rho\chi(\eta)$  is absent from the text.

**74** The page ends with 1Thess 4:18.



- [27] f. 203r    ημερας' του αγιου πάσχα εν τη συναξει  
 αρχ(ή)        Acts 8:26  
 [τελος        desideratur]<sup>75</sup>



- [28] f. 254r    [η]μερας' τ(ο)υ αγι(ο)υ πάσχα | τη ε' κυριακη τ(η)ς ν' | εν τη συναξει :-  
 αρχ(ή)        1Pet 2:21  
 τελος        1Pet 2:25

<sup>75</sup> The chapter ends with Acts 8:34.

