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Front cover:

St. John the Evangelist and his disciple Prochorus, “The Four Gospels”, manuscript B 45
in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Shosh (Isfahan), 1623,
scribe Steppanos, artist Mesrop Hizantsi, paper, fol. 210b, 11.0×15.0 cm.

Back cover:

St. Matthew the Evangelist, the same manuscript, fol. 19b, 12.0×17.0 cm.

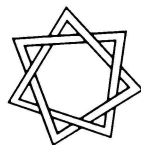
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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Val. V. Polosin

THE ARABIC BIBLE: TURNING AGAIN TO AN OLD CONTROVERSY

Once, on one of the “folios” of his memoirs which were first published in Russian in 1945, Academician I. Krachkovsky (1883—1951), not without a note of humor,

wrote about what a problem the progress of national schools of Arabic studies creates:

“The young Arabist who wishes to penetrate deeply into his subject has to tread a difficult and sometimes devious path. To begin with he must master various instruments de travail, and perhaps in the first place the languages of Western Europe. As science progresses the number of necessary foreign languages steadily increases. Already the seventeenth century saw the end of the period when a scholar could carry on with Latin alone. To-day he realises from the outset that in order to utilise the fundamental and indispensable hand-books he must be familiar not only with English, French and German but also with Italian, because since the second half of the nineteenth century works in this language on Arabic subjects have taken their place in the forefront of learned literature. The connection of Spain with the Arab world becomes clear to the Arabist from any handbook on mediaeval history, but now he learns that an important school has been created since the end of the nineteenth century by an energetic pleiad of Spanish Arabists whose work in many cases cannot be ignored. If he wishes to devote himself to a special branch of Islamic studies he will soon learn that the best course on Muslim law, as well as a series of fundamental works on the internal history of Islam, have been published in Dutch. The important and original schools of Danish and Swedish Arabists will compel him to acquaint himself with the Scandinavian languages, and he should regard it as a happy accident that the greatest authority on Islam of the past generation, who was a Hungarian, published his works in German, and that Finnish scholars often write in Swedish and other more accessible languages. But this is not all. It would be sinful for a Russian Arabist to ignore works on his subject written in the Slavonic languages: he must in the first place study the centuries old Czech tradition and the new Polish school which has energetically developed its Oriental studies since the first World War in a whole series of editions and periodicals. He should know that in Serbian, besides an important literature on the development of Arab letters in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there have appeared within the last decades many works on general Arab subjects. In some cases he will find Bulgarian useful. In Ukrainian the Arabist will find lively sketches of the contemporary Muslim world and perhaps the best works of fiction on Syria by a distinguished scholar [1]. The list of necessary languages grows longer and longer. Were one to face this phalanx all at once, it might seem overwhelming, but in the steady course of a lifetime one often masters it without noticing.

An Arabist can understand the simulated horror of the famous Dutch Orientalist Snouck Hurgronje who once visited Mecca incognito, as expressed in his letter to Rosen written from Batavia in Sumatra in the eighteen-nineties. In this letter he thanked Rosen with a slight touch of irony for sending him the latest number of the Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologicheskago Obshchestva which were published only in Russian, adding that soon a young Orientalist might find himself obliged, before he could devote himself to his particular subject, to learn thirty—two languages in which various works connected with his speciality were published, including besides Russian and Dutch even Tamil and Malayan... Fortunately in practice this is not as terrifying as it sounds, for the importance of different languages in the field of Arabic studies varies and not all of them are equally necessary for particular subjects” [2].

Despite the length of this quote, I very much wanted to cite it in its entirety. For a departure from the injunction it contains was at one time the cause of a notable scholarly event; the work I present below is a distant echo of that event.

In 1925, A. Vaccari published an article on a Vatican manuscript with the text of an Arabic Bible (Ms. ar. 468 and 467) [3]. In the article, he reconstructs (with the aid of unpublished documents) the history of the manuscript's appearance in Rome [4], linking it with the preparation of the well-known Rome edition of 1671 which for the first time *presented in printed form* the entire Bible in the Arabic language [5]. The Vatican manuscript itself is, in its own right, no less remarkable: in A. Vaccari's estimation, it was the first manuscript to bring together in a single redact

the disjointed parts of the Arabic Bible on the basis of various manuscripts [6].

Also in 1925 [7], the anniversary edition of *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph* with A. Vaccari's article made its way to the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad (today St. Petersburg), where I. Krachkovsky familiarized himself with the text. On November 18 of the same year he articulated his reaction to A. Vaccari's main ideas at a meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences [8].

Krachkovsky was the beneficiary of a unique confluence of circumstances. In 1924, he had published a catalogue of a small collection of Arab Christian manuscripts acquired by the Asiatic Museum in 1919 [9]; the first three entries are descriptions of a three-volume manuscript which

also contains a full translation of the Bible into the Arabic language [10]. The publication displays no indication that Krachkovsky intended to devote special study to this important manuscript [11]. But in 1925, he acquainted himself with Vaccari's article, which gave him cause for a brief, yet noteworthy, remark that entirely negates the most outstanding characteristics imputed to the Vatican manuscript. Krachkovsky brushes aside Vaccari's thesis about the alleged first (numerically speaking) codification of the Arabic Bible, noting that the entire Bible had been translated into Arabic already in the ninth century. Krachkovsky refers those interested in greater detail to his own article on the topic [12]. Additionally, he rejects the possibility that the Vatican manuscript, if not the first codification, may still be considered the oldest full copy, noting that "the original itself of the Vatican manuscript, written in 1238 ... has survived and is held today in the Asiatic Museum" [13]. He based this statement on the following: (i) the undoubted interdependence of the colophons of both manuscripts, which he demonstrated; (ii) the results of comparing two pages of the Vatican manuscript [14] with the corresponding passages in the St. Petersburg manuscript; (iii) the fact, established by Krachkovsky, that in the sixteenth century, the St. Petersburg manuscript had been in the exact place (Tripoli) where the Vatican manuscript was copied.

Krachkovsky's critical response did not touch that part of Vaccari's article which dealt with the question of protograph, but it pulled the rug out from under the article's basic premise in the realm of cultural history. Krachkovsky's written remarks were positively assessed by S. Euringer [15], and evoked a response from Vaccari as well [16]. He reiterates in detail the content of Krachkovsky's article [17], pronounces some of the minor points justified, and formulates his response to the article's principle claims. In general, Vaccari presents an objective, yet passive, recognition of the obvious: an exact correlation between the St. Petersburg and Vatican manuscripts is not established by Krachkovsky's brief description; the disparate order of the text in the two manuscripts (in particular, the arrangement of the book of

Tobit) is left unexplained; the variant readings discovered by Krachkovsky on the two pages he treats testify to nothing concrete and prove nothing. Vaccari also notes the lack of an answer to the question of whether the dating of the Antioch archetype (1021—22) at the end of Maccabees applies to the entire Old Testament or only to Maccabees? [18]

For reasons which are not entirely clear, further research on the two manuscripts came to a halt. Neither Vaccari nor Krachkovsky, to the best of my knowledge, ever returned to the questions they had raised [19]. The results of their discussions were summarized by G. Graf in his reference work [20]. He grants the primacy of the St. Petersburg manuscript and formulates the following conclusions on the basis of the comparative material [21] from the Petersburg manuscript available to him: (i) as concerns the New Testament, there is no possibility that one manuscript was copied from the other; (ii) as concerns the Old Testament, one can assert that the Vatican manuscript, if not in full, than to a large degree, was copied from its St. Petersburg counterpart (although there is a possibility that both manuscripts were based to a significant extent on a single original).

Hence, the question of the relationship between the two manuscripts of the Bible raised by Krachkovsky in response to Vaccari's incidental error remains, in essence, open to this day. And the question of the St. Petersburg manuscript's relation to the Antioch archetype of 1022, raised in the course of the discussion by Vaccari, has not even been discussed. Clearly, both questions should be resolved together, which presumes equal access to both manuscripts. This condition did not exist in the past.

Today, it appears that it is time to renew research on the matter. A significant step forward could be the facsimile publication of the entire St. Petersburg manuscript on CD-ROM. The remarks which follow are intended to accompany the release of this material. They contain some new conclusions based on the direct study of this little-known St. Petersburg manuscript in relation to the questions first raised some 75 years ago.

1

The St. Petersburg manuscript was dated; it also contains information on the place of where the copy was made and the name of the copyist. In the years of the Bible's discovery by scholarship, Arab copyists only rarely evoked the interest of scholars. Their attention was focused entirely on the texts and their authors. But in the case at hand, the polemical nature of the situation and the general cultural significance of the copies under discussion made the question of the copyist be investigated with due attention. As the initiative in the dispute belonged to Krachkovsky, it was he who first provided information on the copyist, primarily in order to underscore the veracity of the colophons in the manuscript and the completeness of the latter. He discovered [22] that, in addition to the Bible, the copyist Pimen, or Sabba of Laura, executed other manuscripts which have reached us [23]. Another work written in his hand was seen at one time by the archdeacon Paul of Aleppo (d. 1669) [24], whose account was later repeated by Mikhail Bureyk [25]. It appears that information about Pimen was borrowed from either Peter of Aleppo or Bureyk by 'Isā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf [26], who, later, in 1924, became the source for Louis Cheikho's tiny passage on the monk Pimen [27].

We can add to this a few more manuscripts also copied by Pimen. In the nineteenth century, they were still held in the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, where they were seen by Porphyry Uspensky [28]. Taking them into account, the number of known manuscripts in Pimen's hand rises to six. Luckily enough, they are all dated, and at least some of them are localized:

1. Manuscript of a work entitled *Kitāb al-hāwī*, seen by the archdeacon Paul of Aleppo in the village of Qāra, located on the caravan road from Damascus to Homs [29]. According to the archdeacon, the monk Pimen copied it in Damascus on 18 Nīsān 6714 or 6724 from the Creation of the World, which corresponds to 1206 or 1216 A.D. [30].

2. Seven years later, also in Damascus, the monk Pimen copied a manuscript today held in the Vatican. This manuscript became known thanks to an early work by A. A. Vasilyev (1867—1953), a specialist on Byzantium. He cites the manuscript's colophon, which includes details of some importance to our topic [31]: "This book was written by Abularam ibn Ghana'im ibn Abrakham, the monk Bimin Lauriot, in the Damascus church of the blessed

Our Lady the Virgin Mary, in the days of the abba John, archbishop of that city, and the abba Simeon, son of Abu Saibekh, patriarch of Antioch. The book was completed in the last decade of the month of Adar, the year 6731 from the Creation of the World, which corresponds to the last decade of the month of Šafar in the year 620 after the Hijra” [32].

3. The following year, 6732 from the Creation of the World or 1224 A.D., also in Damascus and in the same church of the Holy Virgin Mary (*kanīsat al-sayyida Maryam*), the monk Pimen copied a manuscript which, as was noted above (see n. 28 above), was seen in the nineteenth century at Sinai in the monastery of St. Catherine.

4. 13 years later, in 6745 from the Creation of the World or 1237 A.D., in Damascus and also in the same church (*kanīsat al-sayyida*), Pimen copied a *sinacsarius*. It also was seen in the nineteenth century at Sinai in the monastery of St. Catherine (see n. 28 above). This *sinacsarius* is possibly one of two copies held there and described in the 1955 catalogue [33].

5. Also in the year 6745 from the Creation of the World (1237 A.D.), Pimen copied a manuscript which was to make its way centuries later to the British Museum (it is held today in the British Library). The old catalogue (see n. 23 above), which provides a description of this manuscript, does not, unfortunately, contain more detailed information.

The information given above provides the context for evaluating the sixth, and last, of the manuscripts copied by the monk Pimen, his three-volume Bible. Clearly, he was an experienced copyist. The above-enumerated copies executed by Pimen allow one, should the need arise, to gain a better understanding of the monk's professional manner of copying manuscripts.

6. The St. Petersburg manuscript of the Bible (D 226). The colophons show that Pimen copied it over a three-year period. At the end of the Book of Genesis (vol. 1, fol. 35a), he notes:

وكتب الفقير إلى رحمة الله سابا السيقني المسمى يومئذ بيمين
الدمشقي وذلك السابع عشر كانون الأول سنة ستة ألف
وسبعمائة أربعة أربعين للعالم

which gives a date of 17 December 6744 from the Creation of the World, or 1236 A.D. Analogous notes by Pimen appear in the text several times: (i) at the end of the book of Leviticus (vol. 1, fol. 76a); 4 January 6744 (1236); (ii) at the end of the entire Torah (vol. 1, fol. 119a); middle of January 6744 (1236); (iii) at the end of Prophets (vol. 2, fol. 144a); 24 January 6745 (1237); (iv) at the end of the book of Job (vol. 2, fol. 158a); middle of February 6744 [34] (1236); (v) at the end of Maccabees II (vol. 3, fol. 16b); February 6746 (1238).

The error in the penultimate date (at the end of the book of Job), noticed by Krachkovsky (see n. 34), and re-

flections on its cause made the colophons and dates the object of our special attention for a time. Using the table “Quire-by-quire composition ...” (see Appendix 2) to check the copyist's progress by folio and time, we noted certain regularities. For example, 17 days passed between Pimen's first and second notes, and in that time he copied 40 folios. Between the second and third notes only 11 days passed (and 43 folios were copied). An entire year elapsed between the third and fourth notes with no shorter subdivisions; in that time, Pimen copied 276 folios. The next note, however, was made 20 days later (if we accept Krachkovsky's correction of the date), and only 14 folios had been copied. Then, when the next (and final) dated colophon appears a year later, it marks the addition of 90 folios.

Failing to extract from this data any essential information [35], we leave aside the issue of colophons and the number of folios, turning our attention to the dates alone. As it turns out, they are all grouped symmetrically in the winters of three successive years. This suggests that in 1236—1238 Pimen was in Damascus only for a time (once a year). For example, he may have travelled there on monastery business timed to coincide, perhaps, with religious holidays. Upon leaving Damascus, he would each time bring with him a part of the Damascus original for copying. Beginning with his second trip, he could have exchanged the part of the original he had already copied for an as yet uncopied section of the large manuscript. Spending several days or weeks in the city, he may have begun copying directly in Damascus, recording this fact in his copy with the six colophons [36].

If this assumption is correct, one can then form a very general sense of the Damascus manuscript which he copied, and which could, I remind readers, be the “Antioch archetype of 1022” — the archetype was mentioned above: (i) it could not have been bound (or else Pimen would not have been able to take it away in parts); (ii) it could have belonged (although it may not) to the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Damascus, where Pimen wrote the colophons analysed above; (iii) the Damascus original (the protograph of the St. Petersburg Bible) contained the *complete* text of the Old Testament, and not scattered sections of the Bible, for it would have been more difficult for Pimen to gather scattered sections of the Bible for copying during his short trips to Damascus [37].

The results of this analysis suggest the following conclusions: first, the monk Pimen was an actual person who for two or three decades copied Arabic manuscripts. We know his lay name as well as two names he received as a monk; second, there is no doubt that he copied the Old Testament in Damascus between the end of 1236 — beginning of 1238; third, in 1237, before completing the Old Testament, he began to copy two other books; and, finally, in 1238, after copying Maccabees, he writes down in his manuscript the final colophon (see fig. 2) [38]. Why? It is possible that he had *completely exhausted* his manuscript original, the Antioch copy of 6530/1022 [39].

2

G. Graf, who, because of the reference nature of his work, was compelled to provide various types of classifications, defined the place of the St. Petersburg Bible among other similar copies. His conclusion was as follows: “The first attempt by Christians to establish the full text of the Bible by bringing all

of the books of the Old and New Testament into a *single codex* (my italics — *V. P.*) belongs to a relatively late time, namely, the sixteenth century. The initiative came from the Malkites in Syria. The oldest manuscript of this type is held today in Leningrad (As. Mus., D 226)” [40].

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الْقَدِيمِ الْأَزَلِيِّ

يا يسون والذين معه من ارض مملكة القدس لهم
 المداخل واخر فواد ماركيا وطلبنا من الرب
 فسمعنا قهرنا ذبايح وسيميد واوقنا السرخ
 ووضعنا خبز الوجوه ومن لان يكونون يصعدون
 عند المظالم سهر كانوا في سنة ثمانية
 وممن لنا اورشليم ويهودا وشيوخ يهودا
 كتبوا الى ارسطوبوس كاتب فطوماش الملك
 عشرين الكهنة الممسوحين لليهود الذين
 السليم والرباله حيث تخلصنا من صعوبات
 كان بالاهنا مثل الاغنيا عند الملك جلنا لذلك
 كثر نحن نعرف في لايه هو ايضا حتى القديس
 الذين اسعدوا على مدينة القدس وحيث
 ذهب الملك وعسقلان المنيع الذي كان معه
 وكان يقفزان ليس يقوم من مقامه فخرنا
 في هيكل الرب بالمؤمن التي ناموا بها عليهم
 كهنة التي لان مثل اظلام الامراه هلا اذ
 التي تلك الملك يطبخوس هو ومحبته حسب اخذ
 متاع كثير على سبيل الجزية لان كهنة
 التي اطلقوا له ان ياخذ فلما دخل اظلام سود
 الهيكل في سرعه اعلفوا الابواب في وجهه
 فلما دخل يطبخوس واقلفوا الابواب المستوي
 التي هي مفضضة وانهم طرحو احمقان وسجوا
 الملك وقطعوا مفاصل اصحابه واخذوا
 رؤسهم فمنوا انما الذين كانوا قياما برا ومع
 هذا مبارك هو الاهنا الذي اسلم المناقبات
 وحيث نحي نعمل تجريد بيت الاهنا وحسنه

كتاب السفر الثاني
 وهو يسمى السفر الثاني

من الاخوة اليهود الذين في اورشليم وارض
 يهوذا الى اليهود الذين نصر اخوتنا
 السلام والسلام الصالح يكون لكم
 والله يصلحكم ويذرعهم مع ابراهيم
 ومع اسحق ومع يعقوب عبدة المؤمنين
 وليعطى لكلهم قلبا لتعبادون وتعملوا مسنة
 بقلب عظيم ومسنة النفس ويفتح قلوبهم لسنته
 ووصاياهم ولعمل السلامة وتسمع صوت
 طلبةهم ويرزقهم ولا يجلبهم في ازمته الشدايد
 ومن الان نحن هو ناضل عنكم في مملكة الملك
 ومطر نوس سنة مائة وتسعة وستين
 نحن اليهود وكنتنا اليكم عن الارمته الصعبة
 التي اتت علينا في هذه السنين وامن حيث غاب

Fig. 1

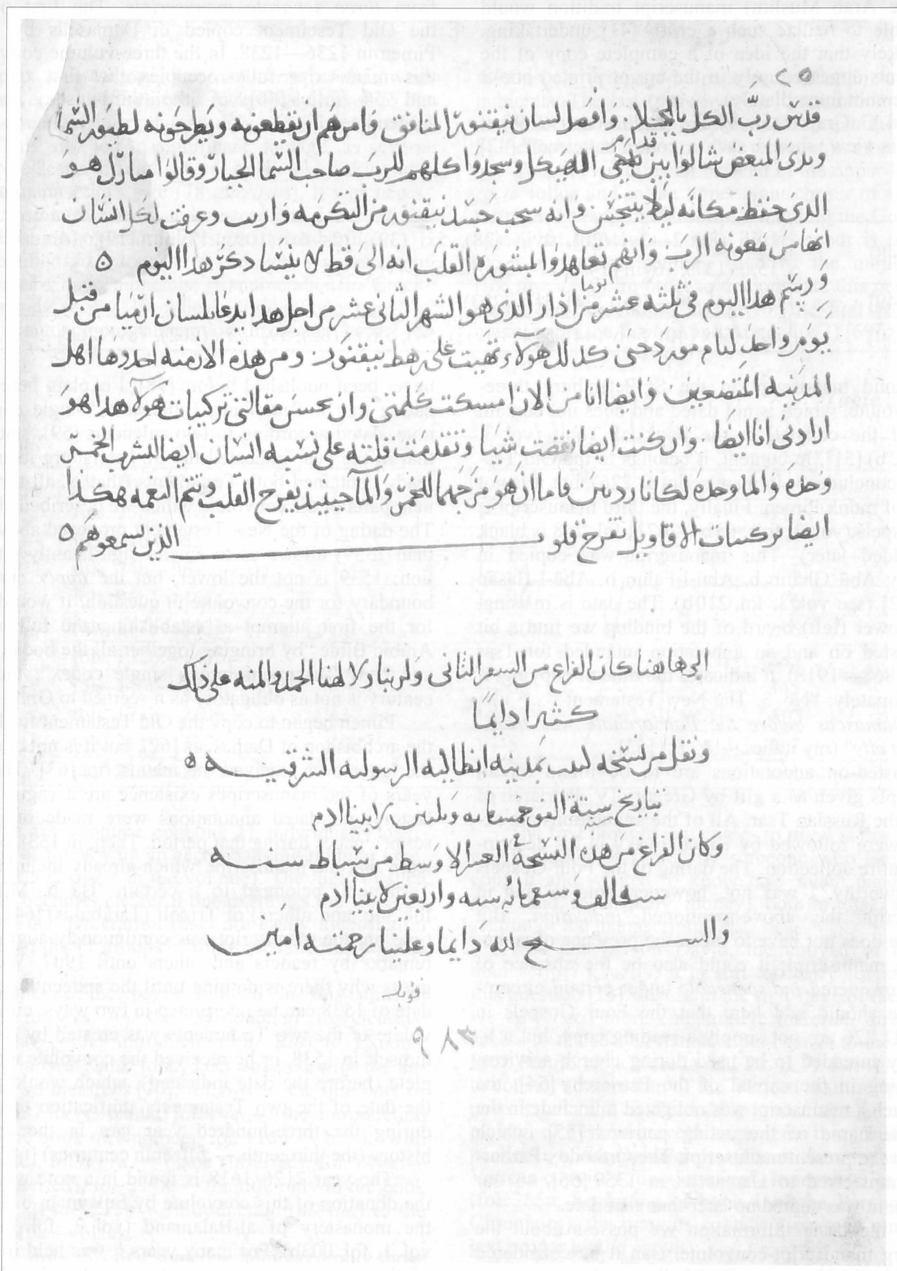


Fig. 2

But the question seems to be not quite so simple. Did the idea of a "single Biblical codex" take shape among Arab Christians *before the advent of book-printing*? In reviewing the selection of Biblical texts in extant manuscripts, it is difficult to imagine that even in the fifteenth century the relatively weak Arab Christian (in comparison, say, with the Arab Muslim) manuscript tradition would have been able to realize such a costly [41] undertaking. It is more likely that the idea of a complete copy of the two Testaments appeared only in the era of printed books (and even then not immediately).

What did G. Graf mean by a "single codex"? What criteria, in his view, should such a codex have met? [42]

By modern scholarly standards (codicological), *only* the Vatican manuscript of the Bible can be considered a single codex for the sixteenth century [43]. Graf assigns it second place (after the St. Petersburg manuscript) [44]. As concerns the St. Petersburg manuscript, it is, unlike its Vatican counterpart, *a convolute* compiled by someone from *three separate manuscripts*. The first of them is the Old Testament copied in Damascus by the monk Pimen in 1236—1238. In the three-volume convolute [45], this manuscript fully occupies the first two volumes and 54 folios [46] of the third (see *Table 1* and Appendices 1—2).

Table 1 [47]

Volume 1 [48]	lviii (8), 2—3vi (20), 4viii (28), 5xi (39), 12—6x (109), 13viii (117), 14ix (iv/v) (126), 15xi (137), 16viii (145), 17—26x (245), 27vi (251)
Volume 2 [49]	28iv (4), 29—50x (224), 51ix (233)
Volume 3 [50]	52—55x (40), 56iv (44), 57x (v/iv+i) (54); 58viii (62); 59—77x (262), 78vi (268)

The second manuscript in the St. Petersburg three-volume convolute, which is not dated and does not contain the name of the copyist, is the book of Tobit (vol. 3, fols. 55a—62b) [51]. In content, it belongs to the Old Testament (and concludes it in manuscript D 226), but it is not in the hand of monk Pimen. Finally, the third manuscript is the Four Gospels (vol. 3, fols. 63b—267b; fol. 268 is blank and was added later). This manuscript was copied in Damascus by Abū Ghālib b. Abū-l-Fahm b. Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Masīhī [52] (see vol. 3, fol. 210b). The date is missing, but on the lower (left) board of the binding we find a bit of paper pasted on and an annotation intended for Tsar Nikolas II (1868—1918). It indicates the time of copying, if only approximately: "No. 3. The New Testament <...> was copied in Damascus before the Patriarchate was transferred to that city" (my italics — *V. P.*) [53].

Such pasted-on annotations are to be found on all 42 manuscripts given as a gift by Gregory IV, Patriarch of Antioch, to the Russian Tsar. All of the annotations are accurate, and were followed by Krachkovsky in his description of the entire collection. The dating of the Four Gospels is also trustworthy. I was not, however, able to find in the manuscript the above-mentioned *indication*. But an *indication* does not have to mean the presence of something in the manuscript; it could also be the absence of something considered *indispensable* under certain circumstances. One should add here that the Four Gospels in manuscript D 226 are not simply a reading copy, but a liturgical copy intended to be used during church services. Perhaps, living in the capital of the Patriarchy [54], the copyist of such a manuscript was obligated to include in the colophon the name of the acting patriarch [55], which is missing in the present manuscript. The Orthodox Patriarchate was transferred to Damascus in 1359 [56], so our New Testament was copied no later than that date.

Such is the basic information we possess about the St. Petersburg manuscript-convolute. Can it be considered a "single codex"? If yes, as Graf believes, then questions arise about his dating of this codex. Graf explains the origin of his dating as follows: "The *lower* chronological boundary is given by the oldest owner's note from 1539; the *13th century* should be entirely excluded" (my italics — *V. P.*) [57]. As the above mentioned "owner's note" has

never been published before [58], I explain here its role in dating the St. Petersburg Bible as a "single codex". This note, dated according to two calendars [59], states directly that in the year indicated the St. Petersburg manuscript already contained both Testaments (that is, all three component parts of the convolute which we described above) [60]. The dating of the New Testament proposed above (no later than 1359) allows us to amend significantly Graf's assertion: 1539 is not the lower, but the *upper* chronological boundary for the convolute in question. It would seem that for the first attempt at establishing the full text of the Arabic Bible "by bringing together all the books of the Old and New Testament into a single codex", the sixteenth century is not as obligatory as it seemed to Graf [61].

Pimen began to copy the Old Testament for Laurentius, the archbishop of Damascus [62], but it is not clear whether the latter ever received the manuscript [63]. The first 300 years of the manuscript's existence are a vague time in its history; no dated annotations were made on the manuscript's pages during that period. Then, in 1538 or 1539, we learn that the manuscript, which already included the New Testament, belonged to a certain 'Isā b. Mūsā (vol. 1, fol. 56b, and others) of Tripoli (Ṭarābulus) [64]. From that time on, the manuscript was continuously augmented with remarks by readers and others until 1907. We can only guess why there is nothing until the sixteenth century. The date of 1538 can be interpreted in two ways: either the convolute of the two Testaments was created by 'Isā b. Mūsā himself in 1538, or he received the convolute already complete (before the date indicated), which would move back the date of the two Testaments' unification to some point during the three-hundred year gap in the manuscript's history (the thirteenth — fifteenth centuries) [65].

The year 7126/1618 is found in a note which records the donation of this convolute by Sulaymān b. Jurjī [66] to the monastery of al-Balamand (vol. 2, fol. 1a; see also vol. 1, fol. 003b). For many years it was held in the library of this monastery, whence it was taken by the Antioch patriarch Gregory IV, most likely around 1907, when he had presumably begun to compile the manuscript collection he intended to present to the Russian Tsar Nikolas II. In 1913, Russia celebrated the 300-year anniversary of the ruling Romanov dynasty. Gregory IV took part in the cere-

mony and presented an Arabic Bible (as part of a small collection of Arab Christian manuscripts) to Tsar Nicolas [67]. After the 1917 Revolution, the entire collection of Gregory IV was transferred to the Academy of Sciences, and in the winter of 1919 I. Krachkovsky transferred it by sledge

from the Winter Palace (the former royal residence) to the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences [68] (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, in the collection of which the manuscript is preserved now).

3

During its long history, the manuscript's folios were numbered several times, which is most likely linked to the fact that the manuscript remained unbound for most of its existence. This also led to significant damage, as several *qurrāsas* were destroyed and several folios lost. Taking into account the manuscript's size (78 *qurrāsas*), it was necessary on occasion to check and restore the order of the folios, establishing some sort of system of numbering.

We identified six varieties: (i) complete numeration of folios in Greek-Coptic numerals; (ii) numeration in Greek-Coptic numerals (every 10 folios); (iii–iv) two types of signature; (v) autonomous numeration (in Arabic words) for

the Gospels; (vi) page-by-page numeration in Arabic (Indian) numerals. The last (page-by-page) numeration is interesting in connection with the relationship between the Vatican and St. Petersburg manuscripts. We turn to it in more detail.

This numeration can be seen in the upper left corner of *recto* folios and in the upper right corner of *verso*. It runs through the entire manuscript, including the Gospels, and is somewhat mysterious: it is discrete, but is accompanied by a scrupulous running total of the numbered pages (see *figs. 1–2*). In order to demonstrate this peculiarity, we depict the numeration in full for the first volume of the manuscript (see *Table 2* and Appendix 3) [69]:

Table 2

1	2	3
fol. 1b—32a	1—62	—
fol. 33b—56a	1—48	110
fol. 57b—73a	1—32	142
fol. 74b—96a	1—44	186
fol. 96b—116a	1—40	226
fol. 117b—132a	1—30	256
fol. 132b—145b	1—27	283
fol. 146b—177a	1—62	345
fol. 177b—210b	1—67	412
fol. 211b—213b	1—5	417
fol. 216b—251b	1—71	488

Thus, the first volume contains 11 individually paginated groups of folios with an accompanying running total: 488 pages (of 502 pages in the volume). The logic of such a numeration becomes clearer if one examines the 15 pages omitted from the numeration (they are easily identified at the junctures of the 11 groups of folios (see the first column of *Table 2*).

We enumerate the pages omitted in this unusual numeration: fol. 1a — the introduction to Genesis; fol. 32b—33a — the introduction (*al-'illa*) to Exodus; fol. 56b—initially a blank folio, later covered with the annotations of two hierarchs [70]; fol. 57a — the title only of Leviticus; fol. 73b — blank; fol. 74a — the introduction (*al-'illa*) to the book of Numbers; fol. 116b — blank (with a reader's note), fol. 117a — blank (inserted); fol. 146a — blank (also inserted); fol. 211a — the title only to the book of Ruth; fol. 214a—215b — introduction (*al-'illa*) to the Psalter, fol. 216a — blank.

It is clear from this that someone numbered only those pages that contain the actual Biblical text [71], omitting introductions to individual Biblical books, several title-pages and blank folios left by the copyist at various structural junctures of the manuscript (today they are almost entirely covered by notes made by readers at various times). Why was this done and by whom?

The first thought that comes to mind is that we see here an evaluation of D 226 by someone who had decided to copy it and wanted to know how much paper he would need (and, most likely, money), both in total, and for each section of the manuscript [72].

Was this person David, the copyist of the Vatican manuscript? Clearly, it is still too early for an answer to this question [73]. Just as in the first stage of the discussion, we now need more comparative material, direct and free access to the second manuscript. Thanks to the kindness of Prof. Sergio Noja Noseda and Dr. E. A. Rezvan, I was able to consult a microfilm of the Vatican manuscript and juxtapose it with the St. Petersburg one. Even a cursory comparison of the texts reveals arguments that testify to the dependence of the manuscripts. One of them is the case of the Vatican copyist's "line-jumping". In manuscript Ms. ar. 468 (fol. 285a, beginning of book I of the Paralipomenon or Chronicles), the margins contain a passage omitted in the text proper by the copyist:

واولاد اسمعيل يكره نابوت وقيدار وادابيل ومنسام / ومشمع
 ودوما ومسا وخذاد وثيما يطور نافيش وقيدما / هولاي
 اولاد اسماعيل.

Every copyist's omission has two characteristics: length and cause. If we juxtapose the text cited above from

Ms. ar. 468 (fol. 285a) with the corresponding passage in D 226 (vol. 2, fol. 175b. 7–10 left), we find that three lines were omitted (see Table 3) of which the first and fourth begin with the same word. The copyist began to copy the first line, but was distracted and resumed work from the fourth line, which seems to have caught his eye. This sort of error is known as “line-jumping” [74]. The identification of a protograph by such mistake is completely safe as if it

were the identification of a man by his fingerprints. Hence, despite the trivial nature of the incident, this jump is a serious argument in Krachkovsky's favour. Yet Graf was still right when he claimed that it is too early to render judgment in the polemic between Krachkovsky and Vaccari, leaving open the question of the relationship between the Vatican and St. Petersburg manuscripts.

Table 3

Ms. ar. 468, fol. 285a. 18–22 left	D 226, vol. 2, fol. 175b. 7–10 left
هولاي اولاد يقطان سابع شيم ارفحشاد قينان شالح عيبر فالغ راعو سيروع ناخور تارخ * ابرهيم * اولاد ابرهيم : اسحق واسماعيل [واولاد اسمعيل بكره نباتوت وقيدار وادبايل ومنسام / ومشمع ويوما ومسا وحداد وثيما بطور ناقيش و قديما / هولاي اولاد اسماعيل] ¹ ثامن اولاد قطور سرية ابرهيم	ويوياب كل هولاً اولاد يقطان * فصل شيم ارفحشاد قينان شالح عيبر فالغ رعو سيروع ناخور تارخ * ابرهيم اولاد ابرهيم اسحق واسماعيل * واولاد اسمعيل بكره نبايوت وقيدار وادبايل ومنسام مسماع ويوما مسا حداد وثيما يقطور ناقيش واقديما هاول اولاد اسماعيل * فصل اولاد قطورا سرية ابرهيم <...>

Appendix 1

Table of contents of the three-volume edition

	Volume 1	Folios	المجلد الأول	
1	Genesis	fols. 1b—32a	سفر الخليقة	١
2	Exodus	fols. 33a—56a	سفر خروج بني اسرائيل من مصر	٢
3	Leviticus	fols. 57a—73a	سفر الأحبار	٣
4	Numbers	fols. 74a—95b	سفر العدد	٤
5	Deuteronomy	fols. 96a—116a	تثنية الإشرع	٥
6	Joshua	fols. 117—132a	سفر يشوع بن نون وبالعبراني يهوع	٦
7	Judges	fols. 132b—145b	سفر القضاة وبالعبراني شفتهج	٧
8	1. & 2. Samuel	fols. 146b—177a	صمويل الأول والثاني	٨
9	1. & 2. Kings	fols. 177b—210b	سفر الملوك الثالث وللعبرانيين أول الملوك	٩
10	Ruth	fols. 211a—213b	تسعيه رعوث المابية التي كانت في أيام الديانث	١٠
11	—	fols. 214a—215b	صلة كتاب مصحف المزامير المشتمل على تنبيه عدتها وأسماء قاتليها من الأنبياء	١١
12	Psalms	fols. 216b—251b	مصحف القديس داود النابي [المزامير]	١٢
	Volume 2	Folios	المجلد الثاني	
13	Wisdom of Solomon	fols. 1b—13a	كتاب حكمة سليمان بن داود	١٣
14	Proverbs, 1—24	fols. 13b—21b	أمثال سليمان الحكيم أي مواظله	١٤
15	Proverbs, 25—31	fols. 21b—24a	اداب سليمان المستعجم تلخيصها التي استكتبها اصدقاء حزقيا ملك يهودا	١٥
16	Ecclesiastes	fols. 24b—29a	كتاب الجامعة أقوال الجامع بن داود ملك اسرائيل	١٦
17	Song of Solomon	fols. 29b—31b	كتاب نشيد الإنشاد وهو تسبحة التسابيح لسليمان الحكيم	١٧

¹ In square brackets, the text omitted by the copyist of the Vatican manuscript but later re-created by him on the margins is placed.

18	Isaiah	fols. 32b—61a	نبوة شعيا بن عاموص	١٨
19	Jeremiah	fols. 61b—90a	نبوة ارميا	١٩
20	Ezekiel	fols. 90b—113b	نبوة حزقيال النبي	٢٠
21	Daniel	fols. 114b—124b	نبوة دانيال النبي	٢١
22	Hosea	fols. 125b—128b	نبوة هوشع بن باري	٢٢
23	Amos	fols. 128b—131a	نبوة أموص النبي	٢٣
24	Micah	fols. 131b—133b	نبوة ميخا النبي	٢٤
25	Joel	fols. 133b—134b	نبوة يوييل النبي	٢٥
26	Obadiah	fols. 134b—135a	نبوة عبوديا النبي	٢٦
27	Jonah	fols. 135a—136a	نبوة يونان النبي	٢٧
28	Nahum	fols. 136a—136b	نبوة ناحوم النبي	٢٨
29	Habakkuk	fols. 137a—137b	نبوة حبقوق النبي	٢٩
30	Zephaniah	fols. 137b—138b	نبوة صفينا النبي	٣٠
31	Haggai	fols. 138b—139b	نبوة حجي النبي	٣١
32	Zachariah	fols. 139b—143a	نبوة زخريا النبي	٣٢
33	Malachy	fols. 143a—144a	نبوة ملاخيا النبي	٣٣
34	Job	fols. 145b—158a	كتاب أيوب الصديق	٣٤
35	1. Ezra	fols. 159b—168a	السفر الأول لعزر الكاهن	٣٥
36	2. Ezra	fols. 168b—174b	السفر الثاني لعزر الكاهن	٣٦
37	1. & 2. Chronicles	fols. 175b—203a	كتاب سفر [تاريخ] الأيام المدعو دبري هيميم	٣٧
38	The Book of the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach	fols. 203b—221b	كتاب يشوع بن سيراخ	٣٨
39	Esther	fols. 222b—226b	كتاب استر من بنات اسرائيل	٣٩
40	Nehemiah	fols. 227b—232b	خطاب نعميا بن خلقيا الكاهن الكبير	٤٠

	Volume 3	Folios	المجلد الثالث	
41	2. Book of the Maccabees	fols. 1b—13b	كتاب المنقباين و هويسمي السفر الثاني	٤١
42	“Arabic Book of the Maccabees”	fols. 14b—43b	كتاب المنقباين	٤٢
43	Judith	fols. 44a—53a	يهوديث	٤٣
44	Tobit	fols. 55a—62b	كتاب طوبيا	٤٤

	New Testament	Folios	العهد الجديد	
1	Matthew	fols. 63b—86a	انجيل متى	١
2	Mark	fols. 86b—100a	انجيل مرقس	٢
3	Luke	fols. 100b—124a	انجيل لوقا	٣
4	John	fols. 124b—141b	انجيل يوحنا	٤
5	Apostolikon	fols. 144b—211a	الأربعة عشر رسالة للقدس فولوس الرسول	٥
6	Acts	fols. 212a—242a	الابركسس وهو أعمال الرسل	٦
7	Catholikon	fols. 242a—255a	كاتوليكون	٧
8	Revelation	fols. 256a—267b	ايوكالبيسس المعروف بالجليان	٨

Appendix 2

Quire-by-quire composition of the entire manuscript and the folio composition of its *qurrāsas* [75]

Volume 1

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
01*	1	9	15	21	29	40	50	60	70	80	90
02	2	10	16	22	30	41	51	61	71	81	91
03	3	11	17	23	31	42	52	62	72	82	92
04	4	12	18	24	32	43	53	63	73	83	93
	5	13	19	25	33	44	54	64	74	84	94
	6	14	20	26	34	45	55	65	75	85	95
	7			27	35	46	56	66	76	86	96
	8			28	36	47	57	67	77	87	97
					37	48	58	68	78	88	98
					38	49	59	69	79	89	99
					39						

12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
100	110	118	127	138	146	156	166	176	186	196	206
101	111	119	128	139	147	157	167	177	187	197	207
102	112	120	129	140	148	158	168	178	188	198	208
103	113	121	130	141	149	159	169	179	189	199	209
104	114	122	131	142	150	160	170	180	190	200	210
105	115	123	132	143	151	161	171	181	191	201	211
106	116	124	133	144	152	162	172	182	192	202	212
107	117	125	134	145	153	163	173	183	193	203	213
108		126	135		154	164	174	184	194	204	214
109			136		155	165	175	185	195	205	215
			137								

24	25	26	27	00
216	226	236	246	001
217	227	237	247	002
218	228	238	248	003
219	229	239	249	004*
220	230	240	250	
221	231	241	251	
222	232	242		
223	233	243		
224	234	244		
225	235	245		

Volume 2

28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
1	5	15	25	35	45	55	65	75	85	95	105
2	6	16	26	36	46	56	66	76	86	96	106
3	7	17	27	37	47	57	67	77	87	97	107
4	8	18	28	38	48	58	68	78	88	98	108
	9	19	29	39	49	59	69	79	89	99	109
	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110
	11	21	31	41	51	61	71	81	91	101	111
	12	22	32	42	52	62	72	82	92	102	112
	13	23	33	43	53	63	73	83	93	103	113
	14	24	34	44	54	64	74	84	94	104	114

40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
115	125	135	145	155	165	175	185	195	205	215	225
116	126	136	146	156	166	176	186	196	206	216	226
117	127	137	147	157	167	177	187	197	207	217	227
118	128	138	148	158	168	178	188	198	208	218	228
119	129	139	149	159	169	179	189	199	209	219	229
120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230
121	131	141	151	161	171	181	191	201	211	221	231
122	132	142	152	162	172	182	192	202	212	222	232
123	133	143	153	163	173	183	193	203	213	223	233
124	134	144	154	164	174	184	194	204	214	224	??

Volume 3

0	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62
01*	1	11	21	31	41	45	55	63	73	83	93
02	2	12	22	32	42	46	56	64	74	84	94
03	3	13	23	33	43	47	57	65	75	85	95
04	4	14	24	34	44	48	58	66	76	86	96
	5	15	25	35		49	59	67	77	87	97
	6	16	26	36		50	60	68	78	88	98
	7	17	27	37		51	61	69	79	89	99
	8	18	28	38		52	62	70	80	90	100
	9	19	29	39		53		71	81	91	101
	10	20	30	40		54		72	82	92	102

63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	70	71	72	73
103	113	123	133	143	153	163	173	183	193	203	213
104	114	124	134	144	154	164	174	184	194	204	214
105	115	125	135	145	155	165	175	185	195	205	215
106	116	126	136	146	156	166	176	186	196	206	216
107	117	127	137	147	157	167	177	187	197	207	217
108	118	128	138	148	158	168	178	188	198	208	218
109	119	129	139	149	159	169	179	189	199	209	219
110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220
111	121	131	141	151	161	171	181	191	201	211	221
112	122	132	142	152	162	172	182	192	202	212	222

74	75	76	77	78	00
223	233	243	253	263	001
224	234	244	254	264?	002
225	235	245	255	265	003
226	236	246	256	266	004*
227	237	247	257	267	
228	238	248	258	268	
229	239	249	259		
230	240	250	260		
231	241	251	261		
232	242	252	262		

Appendix 3

Page-by-page numeration in manuscript D 226

Volume 1			
fols. 1b—32a	1—62	—	Genesis
fols. 33b—56a	1—48	110	Exodus
fols. 57b—73a	1—32	142	Leviticus
fols. 74b—96a	1—44	186	Numbers
fols. 96b—116a	1—40	226	Deuteronomy
fols. 117b—132a	1—30	256	Joshua
fols. 132b—145b	1—27	283	Judges
fols. 146b—177a	1—62	345	1. & 2. Samuel
fols. 177b—210b	1—67	412	1. & 2. Kings
fols. 211b—213b	1—5	417	Ruth
fols. 216b—251b	1—71	488	Psalms

Volume 2			
fols. 1b—13a	1—24	512	Wisdom of Solomon
fols. 13b—24a	1—22	551 (sic!)	Proverbs
fols. 24b—29a	1—10	561	Ecclesiastes
fols. 29b—31b	1—5	566	Song of Solomon
fols. 32b—61a	1—58	624	Isaiah
fols. 61b—90a	1—58	682	Jeremiah
fols. 90b—113b	1—47	729	Ezekiel
fols. 114b—124b	1—21	750	Daniel
fols. 125b—128b	1—7	757	Hosea
fols. 129a—131a	1—5	762	Amos
fols. 131b—133b	1—5	767	Micah
fols. 134a—144a	1—21	788	Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachy
fols. 144b—145a	1—2	—	Two full-page additions erroneously taken for the Bible text
fols. 145b—158a	1—26	814	Job
fols. 159b—168a	1—18	832	1. Ezra
fols. 168b—174b	1—13	845	2. Ezra
fols. 175b—203a	1—56	901	1. & 2. Chronicles
fols. 203b—221b	1—37	938	Book of the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach
fols. 222b—226b	1—9	947	Esther
fols. 227b—232b	1—11	958	Nehemiah

Volume 3			
fols. 1b—13b	1—25	983	Book of the Maccabees
fols. 14b—43b	1—60 ¹	1043	Book of the Maccabees
fols. 44a—53a	1—19	1062	Book of the Maccabees
fols. 55a—62b	1—16	1078 ²	Tobit

New Testament			
fols. 63b—86a	1—46	1124	Matthew
fols. 86b—99b	47—73 (27)	1151	Mark
fols. 100a—124a	74—122 (49)	1200	Luke
fols. 124b—141b	123—157 (35)	1235	John
fols. 144b—255a	1—222	1457	Apostolikon, Acts, Catholikon
fols. 256b—267b	1—23	1480	Revelation

¹ During the numeration of this group of folios, the number 23 was omitted (24 is recorded instead); as a result, the total number of folios is given as 60 (instead of 59).

² The method of counting changed after this; the number of the final folio in each part of the New Testament was added to 1078: 1078 + 46 = 1124; 1078 + 73 = 1151; 1078 + 122 = 1200; 1078 + 157 = 1235.

Notes

1. Krachkovsky bears in mind here Professor A. E. Krymsky (1871—1942), Fellow of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, author of the "Beirut Tales" and "Songs of the Lebanon".

2. See *Among Arabic Manuscripts. Memories of Libraries and Men*. By I. Y. Kratschkovsky. Trans. from the Russian by T. Minorsky (Leiden, 1953), pp. 123—5. The book is available also in German, French, Polish, Czech, Arabic (and perhaps other) translations. The Russian edition contains the subheading "Leaves of Reminiscence of Books and People".

3. A. Vaccari, "Una Bibbia araba per il primo Gesuita venuto al Libano", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, X, fasc. 4 (1925), pp. 79—104 and plates IV—V. The catalogue description of this manuscript appeared 94 years previously, see *Catalogus codicum Bibliothecae Vaticanae arabicorum, persicorum, turcorum, aethiopicorum, copticorum, armeniacorum, ibericorum, slavlicorum, indicorum, siniensium, item eius partis hebraicorum et syriacorum quam Assemani in editione praetermiserunt*, edente Angelo Maio, 2. parte (Romae, 1831), No. LXXIX. — Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita ab Angelo Maio, IV.

4. The manuscript was copied in Tripoli (Ṭarābulus) in year 7087 from the Creation of the World (1578—1579) at the behest of the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Eliano, dispatched to Syria by Pope Gregory XIII specially for this purpose.

5. A. Vaccari successfully timed his article to coincide with two anniversaries: the 50-year anniversary of Beirut's Saint-Joseph University, where the author studied on the Oriental faculty, and the 255-year anniversary of the above-mentioned Rome edition of 1671. For more information on the history of this edition and its reception among the Arabs. See A. E. Krymskiĭ, *Istoriia novoĭ arabskoĭ literatury. XIX — nachalo XX veka* (The History of Modern Arab Literature. 19th — Early 20th Century) (Moscow, 1971), pp. 400—4 (with references).

6. Vaccari, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94 ff.

7. This is worth noting when comparing that time with the present capabilities of the Academy. In a country ravaged by two destructive wars (World War I and the Civil War), the efficient delivery of scholarly literature from abroad was not a problem in 1925.

8. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Original vaticanskoi rukopisi arabskogo perevoda Biblii" ("The original of a Vatican manuscript of an Arabic translation of the Bible"), *Doklady Akademii nauk*, series B (1925), pp. 84—7; the work is also published in I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Selected Works) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960), vi, pp. 472—7, ill.

9. *Idem*, *Arabskie rukopisi iz sobraniia Grigorii IV, patriarkha antiokhiiskogo (kratkaia opis')*. *Les manuscrits arabes de la collection de Grégoire IV, patriarche d'Antioche* (Leningrad, 1924). These manuscripts were given as a gift by the Patriarch to the Russian Tsar Nicholas II (see below).

10. Its current call number is D 226; see *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR. Kratkii katalog* (Arabic Manuscripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. A Brief Catalogue), ed. A. B. Khalidov, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1986), No. 10367.

11. One should note, however, that Krachkovsky twice (on separate occasions) mentioned a more detailed catalogue of this collection which he had prepared but not yet published: "My joy was clouded only by the fact that the original list with all the quotations remained in Holland, from whence it returned to me only after the loss of several years when other work prevented me from continuing the planned *catalogue raisonné*, so that I published only a brief list" (*Among Arabic Manuscripts. Memories of Libraries and Men*, p. 38); also "By mid-July [1914], during my stay in Leiden, the catalogue was completed in full, but wartime conditions compelled me to leave it, together with all of luggage and other works, in Holland, where, I hope, it remains at present" (*Izbrannye sochineniia*, vi, p. 428; written in May, 1919, printed in 1924). No traces of this catalogue have yet been found in Krachkovsky's archive. But the 1924 publication indicates that in this catalogue the question of redacts of the Biblical translations was more or less elucidated (see *ibid.*). In the catalogue printed in 1924 the question of redacts is lacking.

12. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "O perevode Biblii na arabskii iazyk pri khalife al-Ma'mune" ("On the translation of the Bible into Arabic under the caliph al-Ma'mun"), *Khristianskii Vostok*, VI/2 (1922), pp. 189—96. Vaccari was not familiar with this article published in Russian.

13. *Idem*, "Original vaticanskoi rukopisi", p. 85. This original is nearly 350 years older than the Vatican copy.

14. On the basis of photocopies present in Vaccari's article.

15. S. Euringer, "Zum Stammbaum der arabischen Bibelhandschriften Vat. ar. 468 und 467. Referat über zwei einschlägige Arbeiten", *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, 7 (1929), pp. 259—73.

16. A. Vaccari, "La storia d'una Bibbia araba", *Biblica*, XI, Jul.—Sept., 1930, pp. 350—5.

17. This is of no little importance, as Krachkovsky's article was published in Russian and for this reason was not accessible to all.

18. We find the following unfortunate phrase in Krachkovsky: "The date at the end of Maccabees II refers to the entire manuscript ..." (in his "Original vaticanskoi rukopisi", p. 86). In fact, there is not one, but two dates. One (6746 from the Creation of the World = 1238 A. D.) holds, for all practical purposes, for the entire Old Testament: this is the date Krachkovsky had in mind. The other (6530 = 1022 A. D.) dates the Antioch archetype from which the St. Petersburg manuscript was possibly copied. It was fundamentally important for Vaccari to know how the date for the St. Petersburg manuscript was treated: as dating only one of the books of Maccabees or as dating the entire Old Testament which preceded it? On the basis of the Vatican manuscript, he chose in favour of the former option.

19. Both A. Vaccari and G. Graf mention a certain written communication from Krachkovsky (Graf specifies that it was the only one). Its content is unknown; it most likely contained only examples of text from the St. Petersburg manuscript and information on the order of texts in it. See Vaccari, "La storia d'una Bibbia araba", p. 355; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Citta del Vaticano, 1944), i, p. 92.

20. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 88—92.

21. Including the written communication from Krachkovsky discussed in an earlier note.

22. كراتشكوفسكي، اغناطيوس. المخطوطات العربية لكتبة النصرانية في المكتبات البطريركية. — م. الشرق، ٢٣، ١٩٢٥، ص ٧٧٨، رقم ٢٥٩. (Krachkovsky, Arabic Manuscripts by Christian Authors in Petersburg Libraries).

23. One is in the Vatican, see *Catalogus codicum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, pp. 172—8, No. LXXIX. The other is in the British Museum, see *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*. Pars secunda: codices arabicos completens (Londoni, 1846—1871), No. 25.

24. G. Murkos, *Puteshestvie antiokhiiskogo patriarkha Makarii v Rossiiu v XVII v.* ("The Journey of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, to Russia in the 17th century"), fasc. V (Moscow, 1900), p. 184; there is the French translation of the work, see *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d'Antioche*, ed. Basile Radu, fasc. 1 (Paris, 1930), p. 28. — *Patrologia Orientalis*, XXII.

25. See, for example, manuscript B 1229 (ARKK, No. 10544), fol. 87.4—7.

26. مجلة النعمة، ١، ص ١٤٣ — ١٤٤.

27. L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'islam* (Beyruth, 1924), pp. 72—3, No. 259, where one should read *kitāb al-hāwī* in place of *kitāb al-muḥīṭ*.

28. *Catalogus librorum mancriptorum et impressorum Monasterii S.Catherinae in Monte Sinai...* (Petropoli, 1891), Nos. 156 and 298.

29. An old travel guide to Syria describes travel times from Damascus as follows: from Damascus through Saydnaya to an-Nabka, 13 hours (through Kutayfa, 6.5 hours); from an-Nabka to Qāra, another 2:45. See *Palestine et Syrie. Manuel du voyageur*, par K. Baedeker, deuxième édition (Leipzig, 1893), p. 396.

30. The original source (see n. 24 above) gives the date in two forms: from the Creation of the World and from the Hijra. They do not match, so the modern equivalent is necessarily hypothetical. Murkos, p. 184: 6724 from the C.W. = 604 A.H. = 1216 A.D.; Radu, p. 28: 6724 (in words!) = 604 A.H.; M. Bureik, fol. 87: 6724 from the C.W. = 604 A.H.; 'Īsā al-Ma'lūf and Cheikho: 6714 from the C.W. = 604 A.H. = 1216 A.D. The year 604 A.H. indicated by all authors corresponds not to 1216, but to 1208 A.D. (that is, 6716 from the C.W.). Hence, the dates do not match.

31. A. A. Vasil'ev, *Arabskaia versia zhitia sv. Ioanna Damaskina* (An Arabic Version of the Life of St. John of Damascus) (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 3—4.

32. The end of March, 1223 A.D.

33. A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*. A hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai (Baltimore, 1955), p. 12, Nos. 418 and 421.

34. "Probably erroneously instead of 6745", as Krachkovsky remarks in his "Original vatikanskoī rukopisi" (p. 86, n. 2); the article was republished in *Izbrannye sochineniia*, vi, (see p. 476, n. 1).

35. Or even any satisfactory sense of the copyist's productivity.

36. The parts of the Bible copied by Pimen in the course of each year appear, we note, better balanced in size.

37. When more facts have been gathered about the work of medieval Arab copyists, there will be occasion to return to this question. Yet, the manuscript was copied for the archbishop of Damascus, Laurentius (see below), so that he could commission copying books as well.

38. From this year on we lose all traces of the monk and his activities.

39. The reference to the Antioch manuscript in this colophon can, however, be understood as it was by Vaccari. The absence of a summarising colophon in the manuscript of Pimen, which is hard to explain since there remained enough place for it at the end of the manuscript, does not permit us to make choice between the positions indicated above.

40. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—90.

41. As concerns the Bible, it is doubly expensive — because of the large number of folios in the Holy Scripture (which renders the production of a manuscript book extremely costly) and because of the difficulty of choosing between various translations and redacts of some parts of the Scripture, which requires a certain level of expertise.

42. As concerns textology and codicology, various answers are possible. At the time of Vaccari, Krachkovsky, and Graf, a clear understanding of this was lacking in the field of Arabic studies.

43. It was copied by a single person, and we know for certain that his goal was, in fact, the entire Bible (see the article by Vaccari).

44. The reason (though indirectly expressed) is that Graf deems the St. Petersburg manuscript a "single codex" on the basis of the oldest *owner's note* (1539), and the Vatican manuscript, on the basis of the *date of its copying* (1578—1579). The difference of 40 years favours the St. Petersburg manuscript. Strictly speaking, the Vatican manuscript should not be a part of Graf's classificatory system at all, as it is not really in the Arab Christian manuscript tradition. Its appearance was conditioned by an external — European — order; upon completion, it was immediately removed to Europe.

45. The Petersburg Bible was divided into three volumes and bound in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. All three bindings are covered in light-black leather with identical blind tooling in Christian style. The lower left covers of the binding have pasted-on labels with annotations in Russian: "No. 1. OLD TESTAMENT, p[art] I. Date: 6744 from the Creation of the World (1235 A. D.); "No. 2. OLD TESTAMENT, p[art] II. Date: 6745 from the Creation of the World (1237 A. D.); "No. 3. NEW TESTAMENT and part of the OLD TESTAMENT. Undated, but with an indication that the book was copied in Damascus before the Patriarchate was transferred to that city". We can assume that these pasted-on annotations were made by church authorities (in Damascus or Jerusalem) before the manuscript was dispatched to Russia.

46. Pimen himself is responsible only for the first 53 folios. Folio 54 is blank; moreover, it is inserted. It was added when the manuscript was bound.

47. Print Arabic numerals (at the beginning of the group of numbers) indicate the numbers of the *qurrāsas* (quires) which make up the volume. Roman numerals designate the number of folios in each *qurrāsa* in the number group. Cursive Arabic numerals in brackets (at the end of each number group) indicate the order number of the final folio in the final *qurrāsa* of each number group.

48. 03 + 251 + 003 fols., Oriental paper, thick (fols. 117, 132, and 146 are added during binding. They have watermarks). Folio dimensions: 31.0Ç24.0 cm, text dimensions 26.0Ç18.3 cm and 26.4Ç17.5 cm (fol. 95b); 26 lines per page.

49. 233 + 001 fols., same paper as in vol. I. Folio dimensions: 31.3-31.5Ç23.4-23.7 cm, the same text dimensions as in vol. I, 26 lines per page.

50. 03 + 268 + 003 fols., Oriental paper of at least three types. Folio dimensions: 30.5-30.7Ç22.6-23.0 cm; text dimensions vary.

51. The book of Tobit displays a number of features which set it apart from the basic material of D 226. It was copied in ordinary, entirely unprofessional handwriting. The text dimensions vary throughout the book (16 pages of the *qurrāsa*) from 24.3Ç14.7 cm to 25.3Ç15.5 cm. This is partly because the number of lines per page is not constant (17, 21, 22, 23 and 26 with a preponderance of 21- and 22-line pages). Moreover, the copyist maintained a shaky left margin. The latter is perhaps because the folios in this section of the manuscript were not lined with a *mīstara*, traces of which are indeed not evident in this *qurrāsa*. In general, the book of Tobit contrasts in appearance quite sharply with the remainder of the three-volume Bible. The non-standard size of the paper contributes to this general impression. The book of Tobit is the only place in the three-volume manuscript where we find paper of another format. The folios in this

part of the manuscript are significantly smaller than elsewhere. This is not immediately noticeable, as *all of the folios* in the book of Tobit were overfitted with strips of paper to bring them into line with the dominant format of the manuscript. In addition to the above-noted features, the separate nature of the book of Tobit is underscored by the fact that it occupies a full (separate) *qurrāsa* within the third volume. Tobit fits in full in the 16 pages of a single *qurrāsa* (59 in order). This *qurrāsa* contains neither text that precedes the book of Tobit nor text that follows it. In this sense, Tobit has all the earmarks of an entirely autonomous manuscript text which made its way into the manuscript “from elsewhere”. Hence, the dating and localization of this *qurrāsa* require further study. One more circumstance suggests this. The book of Tobit ends with a copyist’s colophon; part of its text has been scraped away. Nonetheless, the remaining traces of ink allow us to determine that it is a date of some kind. It may have contrasted with the antiquity of the preceding part of the manuscript and for that reason been removed. This is, of course, only speculation.

52. I was also unable to discover any information about the copyist.

53. See note 45.

54. One must bear in mind that the dating by clerics designates with the upper figure the transfer of the Patriarchate (from Antioch to Damascus).

55. As was done (if for different reasons) by Pimen in the Old Testament (see his colophon with the name of Patriarch Simeon in vol. 1, fol. 116a) and in another of his manuscripts, the colophon of which was cited above (see No. 2 in the list of manuscripts copied by Pimen). In general, dated colophons have on more than one occasion been an important (and sometimes the only) source for determining the chronology of the Antioch patriarchs. This source was used by many, from Paul of Aleppo to contemporary historians; see J. Nasrallah, “Chronologie des patriarches melchites d’Antioche de 1500 à 1635”, extrait de *Proche-Orient Chrétien 1956–1957*, pp. 1–7.

56. See *Lakhza jalīyya fī mukhtasar ta’rīkh al-kanīsat al-mashīhiyya*. Jama’aha al-kāhin Basīliyyus Mīkhāilūfskī. ‘Arrabahā ... al-arshimandrit Rafā’īl (Kazan, 1894), p. 258, n. 1.

57. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

58. A photographic reproduction appeared only in 1997 in Val. V. Polosin, E. A. Rezvan, “To the CD-ROM edition of the St. Petersburg Arabic Bible”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (1997), p. 43, fig. 3.

59. 7047 from the Creation of the World and 945 A. H. (1538 or 1539 A. D.).

60. The note, of course, mentions only the Old and New Testament. We remind readers that the Vatican original was copied from its original in Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) in 1579, that is, 40 years after this note was made in the St. Petersburg copy of the Bible.

61. If, to be more specific, we recognize as such attempts at simply gathering separate parts of the Bible of varied origin into a convolute.

62. See vol. 1, fol. 32a. At that time, the Patriarch of the Antioch Orthodox church was Simeon.

63. The name of this archbishop appears for the second (and last) time only on fol. 116a of the same volume.

64. There are other notes which indicate that the Bible was in Ṭarābulus: in 957/1550 (vol. 1, fol. 216a); in 7069/1561 (vol. 1, fol. 56b).

65. If we recognize the convolute as a complete Bible (“a single codex”), then the thirteenth century is entirely acceptable, as the Damascus archbishop who ordered the Old Testament from Pimen surely possessed the New Testament as well. If the two Testaments came together in this fashion, then this would be a complete Bible (in the thirteenth century). It seems to me that the question of the first full Arabic Bible has lost some of its actuality. Its place should be taken by the question of the Old Testament’s codification and, in particular, the relation of the St. Petersburg manuscript to the so-called “Antioch archetype of 1022”.

66. The secretary (*kātib*) of Yūsuf Pāshā Sifā (d. 1624 A. D.) and founder of the well-known literary family, al-Yāzījī.

67. The inner sides of the lower covers of all three volumes bear the *ex libris* “His Majesty’s Library in the Winter Palace”, and call numbers which indicate the cabinets where the volumes were held. Folios at the beginning of the tomes bear annotations in pencil that record the acquisition of the volumes by the library from the Chambers of His Imperial Majesty. The “Book of Acquisitions” contains a corresponding entry for March 13, 1913 under the numbers 265–267.

68. *Among Arabic Manuscripts. Memories of Libraries and Men*, pp. 37–8.

69. Column one of this table indicates the folios of the manuscript in accordance with their contemporary archeographic numeration; the second column gives their page-by-page numeration as we determined it; the third column reproduces the page-by-page running total on fols. 56a, 73a, 96a, 116a, 132a, 145b, 177a, 210b, 213b, 251b.

70. A photographic reproduction of this page see in Polosin and Rezvan, *op. cit.*, p. 43, fig. 3. Five illustrations (figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) in this article, on the contrary, demonstrate the examples of this page-by-page numeration.

71. Cf. the table of contents (Appendix 1) and table of page-by-page numeration (Appendix 3): 958 such pages by the end of vol. 2 — see the total on the final folio with Biblical text, fol. 232b; or 1480 such pages by the end of vol. 3, their total is displayed on fol. 267b.

72. I see no other explanation for this strange method of numbering the pages. But if I am correct, we have a rare glimpse here into the “workshop” of a medieval copyist. The mere existence of this method in the St. Petersburg manuscript would be enough to eliminate A. Vaccari’s surprise at the differing order of certain parts of the Bible in the St. Petersburg and Vatican manuscripts. In terms of archeographics or codicology, it is a great boon that this manuscript will be issued on CD-ROM, where the specimen of this numbering the pages will be available to all for scrutiny. For more on copyists’ techniques of calculating paper needs, see Val. V. Polosin, “Arabskie rukopisi: plotnost’ teksta i eĕ konvertiruemost’ v kopiiakh sochineniia” (“Arabic manuscripts: text density and its convertibility in copies of works”), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, 5 (1994), pp. 202–20; the English version of this article was published in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/2 (1997), pp. 3–17.

73. Yet it is still necessary to highlight two important circumstances. First, the numeration of this presumed copyist covers the entire Bible. And second, this numeration appeared after 1539 (as it extends to all parts of the convolute dated to that year). What manuscript, other than the Vatican copy of 1578–1579, comes to mind? If we consider the numeration more ancient (by the same token opening the door to speculation about other copies of the St. Petersburg Bible that may not have reached us), that would mean rejecting the sixteenth century as the time of the complete Bible’s appearance in the Arabic language.

74. For more detailed information, see D. S. Likhachĕv, *Tekstologĭia* (Textology), 2nd edn. (Leningrad, 1983), ¶. 71.

75. The tables reflect the composition and structure of the three volumes as they were established (or retained) when the manuscripts were bound. During preparations for the CD-ROM, it was discovered that the first folio of the first *qurrāsa* in vol. 1 consists of not one, but two folios pasted together. In practical terms, this shifts the entire folio count by one and changes the total from 251 (as recorded in the table) to 252. This discovery is taken into account in the introductory article of the CD-ROM, but the tables reflect data on the physical condition of the volume before the discovery. The bold Arabic numerals at the column heads indicate the numeration of *qurrāsas*, which run through the entire manuscript (from 1 to 78). The "zero" columns (0 and 00) were introduced into the tables so that the endpaper folios added by the binder could be removed from the general folio count and put into an auxiliary (additional) count. However, the count of endpaper folios was conducted in the standard fashion — from right to left, but separately for each volume; within each volume, separately for the front (01—04) and back (001—004) endpapers. Endpapers pasted onto the inner sides of the covers are numbered in boldface and marked with an asterisk (*). In "non-zero" columns, ordinary non-boldface numerals indicate the number of folios which make up each *qurrāsa* (numeration runs straight through within each of the three volumes). Boldface italics are used for the numbers of folios added during restoration and binding to replace lost, original folios. A horizontal line (—) in the column indicates the middle of *qurrāsas* stitched through during binding.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. The Arabic Bible, manuscript D 226 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, vol. 3, the beginning of Maccabees 2, fol. 1a, 30.5ç22.6 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, vol. 3, the end of Maccabees 2, fol. 13b, 30.5ç22.6 cm.
