

Arabic Gospel Lectionaries at Sinai

[Leccionarios de los Evangelios árabes en el Sináí]

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Abstract: Recent studies grouping Arabic Gospel manuscripts into families by Valentin (2003) and Kashouh (2012) have excluded lectionaries. This restriction in scope is understandable but it means that the use of these translations in Arabic Christian worship remains to be explored. A full study of all the surviving Arabic Gospel lectionaries is clearly desirable. This study seeks to provide a small step in that direction by grouping the Arabic Gospel lectionaries currently held at St. Catherine's monastery at Sinai into their own families according to their types and textual affinities. Twelve distinct families are distinguished and in many instances their sources from families of continuous-text Arabic Gospel manuscripts are identified.

Keywords: Arabic Bible; Bible translations; Christian Arabic; Textual Criticism; Christian liturgy; St. Catherine's Monastery.

Abstract: Estudios recientes de Valentin (2003) y Kashouh (2012) han agrupado los manuscritos árabes de los Evangelios por familias pero han excluido los leccionarios. Esta restricción en contexto puede entenderse pero significa que el uso de estas traducciones en el culto árabe cristiano deben ser exploradas. Resulta necesario un estudio completo de todos los leccionarios árabe de los Evangelios. Este estudio pretende ser un pequeño paso en esa dirección para agrupar los leccionarios árabes de los Evangelios conservados en el monasterio de Santa Catalina del Sináí en sus propias familias de acuerdo a su tipología textual y afinidad. Se han determinado doce familias diferentes y, en muchos casos, sus fuentes son familias de textos manuscritos continuos de los Evangelios en árabe que han sido identificadas.

Keywords: Biblia árabe; Traducciones de la Biblia; Árabe cristiano; Crítica textual; Liturgia cristiana; Monasterio de Santa Catalina.



If we are interested in how biblical manuscripts provide a window on the communities that created, transmitted and used them, then we must value the witness of the lectionary tradition which provides many rich details together with the biblical text.¹ Besides the rubrics and para-textual features, the text itself can be rich with historical information. Lectionaries had the tendency to include more and more lessons over time, such that Saturday lessons could be added to an existing Sunday lesson lectionary and then weekdays at a later stage. In this way, the lectionaries are like an archeological dig with various strata giving evidence to the different moments in time. Yet, as interesting as lectionaries are, the tradition remains poorly understood.² Versions of the lectionaries in languages other than Greek can greatly assist in the study of the tradition as a whole as was seen in the insightful work of Yvonne Burns springing from her study of the Slavonic lectionaries.³ Furthermore, the Arabic tradition is of notable significance since some early Arabic Gospel manuscripts are one of the handful of sources in the study of the ancient liturgical system of Jerusalem and we can expect that the Arabic lectionary

¹ I thank Camilla Adang, Meria Polliack, and Ronny Vollandt for allowing me to present an earlier version of this article at the Biblia Arabica conference in November, 2017. I also thank Alexander Treiger for his feedback. All errors are my own.

² Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux said of the Greek lectionary tradition that: 'nine tenths of the work is still to be done and the results will have to be patiently awaited.' Cited in: Carroll Osburn, "The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament", in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*. Second Edition, ed. by Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 93-113, esp. 109.

³ For example: Yvonne Burns, "A Comparative Study of the Weekday Lection Systems found in some Greek and Early Slavonic Gospel Lectionaries" (University of London, 1975).

tradition can give us more insight into this early system and the subsequent process of Byzantinization.⁴ Furthermore, some significant families of the Arabic Gospels are only preserved in a few manuscripts and in some cases only one codex.⁵ There may be many more witnesses to these significant texts awaiting discovery in the lectionary tradition and potentially altogether new translations. Therefore, a full study of all the surviving Arabic Gospel lectionaries is clearly desirable. This study seeks to provide a small step in that direction by grouping the Arabic Gospel lectionaries presently kept at St. Catherine's in Sinai into families and exploring how these groups relate to the families of continuous-text Arabic Gospel manuscripts.

Methodology

There are four steps in the method of this study.

- a. The manuscripts were selected.
- b. These manuscripts were grouped according to type.
- c. Families of lectionaries within these types were identified according to their texts.
- d. Finally, these families were compared with the continuous-text Gospel manuscripts.

These steps are explained in further detail below.

⁴ Daniel Galadza, "Sources for the Study of Liturgy in Post-Byzantine Jerusalem (638–1187 CE)", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 67 (2013), pp. 75-94, esp. 85-86. On the process of Byzantinization, see Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 4-11.

⁵ For example, *Codex Sinaiticus Arabicus* (Sinai ar. NF Parch. 8 and 28) is the only representative of 'Family B' in Luke's Gospel: Hikmat Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and Their Families* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), pp. 96-112. See also: Hikmat Kachouh, "Sinai Ar. N.F. Parchment 8 and 28: Its Contribution to Textual Criticism of the Gospel of Luke", *Novum Testamentum*, 50.1 (2008), pp. 28-57.

a) Selection

Lectionaries included are those which recorded passages of the four canonical Gospels for reading aloud according to the date.⁶ Specifically, I have included only lectionaries with a *synaxarion* which here refers to the collection of readings for days in the movable cycle in the ecclesiastical year.⁷ Excluded were lectionaries with only the Eleven Resurrection Gospel passages for reading on Sundays.⁸ Also excluded were lectionaries which merely had *incipit-desinit* phrases to be used as guides for reading passages from continuous-text manuscripts of the Gospels.⁹ Using these criteria, I have included 27 manuscripts from St. Catherine's monastery in this study. Some other lectionaries from Sinai were not accessible to me at the time of writing this paper and await later analysis.¹⁰

⁶ Sinai ar. 96 and 148 were classed as a Gospel lectionaries in Kenneth Willis Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai: Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1952), p. 33. They actually contain the continuous-text of the Four Gospels and are members of Kashouh's Family J^b. Sinai ar. 96 also includes *incipit-desinit* phrases for lectionary readings at the beginning of the manuscript.

⁷ Ernest C. Colwell and D.W. Riddle, *Prolegomena to the study of the lectionary text of the Gospels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 5. The term 'synaxarion' is somewhat of a misnomer since *συναξάριον* normally refers to a calendar of fixed feasts and was not used as a title in lectionary manuscripts. See C.R.D. Jordan, "The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th-11th Century)" (Birmingham, 2009), pp. 66-78. However, in studies of the lectionary tradition, this usage has become standard and is therefore followed here.

⁸ These were Sinai ar. 140, 141, 153, 242, 266, 450, and 484. Sinai ar. 450 also includes selections of other readings.

⁹ These were Sinai ar. 96, 131, and 143.

¹⁰ One is Sinai ar. 124 which is a Greek-Arabic manuscript yet the Library of Congress expedition only photographed the Greek portions. Clark, *Checklist (Sinai)*, p. 37. The other potential manuscript regrettably not available in this study was Sinai ar. NF Paper 82 which Meimaris calls a 'Εὐαγγέλιον'. I. E. Meimaris, *كنالوج المخطوطات العربية المكتشفة حديثا بدير سانت كاترين المقدس بطور سيناء* (Athens: Hellenic National Research Foundation, 1985), p. 55 (Arabic).

b) *Grouping by Type*

Each lectionary was grouped according to type according to the five categories commonly used for the Greek lectionaries:¹¹

- *sel* – which are a selection of passages. This also includes lectionaries which are Jerusalemite rather than Byzantine.
- *k* (*κυριακαί*) – Sunday lessons.
- *sk* (*σαββατοκυριακαί*) – Saturday and Sunday lessons.
- *esk* (*ἐβδομάδες + σαββατοκυριακαί*) – Daily lessons from Easter to Pentecost and thereafter Saturday and Sunday lessons.
- *e* (*ἐβδομάδες*) – Daily lessons throughout the year, except for weekdays in Lent.

c) *Division of Types into Families*

To compare the texts of these manuscripts within these types, short test passages were chosen from nine lections from the movable cycle in the synaxarion. Passages from the menologion which has readings from the fixed cycle were excluded since this section of lectionaries is frequently subject to greater regional variation and development over time.¹² These passages were chosen to correspond with the test passages used by Kashouh and Valentin to facilitate the comparison later with the continuous-text Gospel manuscripts.¹³ Here are the test passages, listed with the day on which the lection commonly is read in the Byzantine calendar:

¹¹ Kurt Aland and others, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), p. xv.

¹² Osburn, “Greek Lectionaries”, p. 96.

¹³ Valentin used Matthew 28: Jean Valentin, “Les évangéliques arabes de la Bibliothèque du Monastère Ste-Catherine (Mont Sinai): Essai de classification d’après l’étude d’un chapitre (Matt 28). Traducteurs, réviseurs, types textuels”, *Le Muséon*, 116 (2003), pp. 415-477. Kashouh’s main test passages were Matthew 7:15–20; 16:1–4; Mark 6:14–20; 13:5–11; Luke 8:9–15; 15:11–20; John 6:30–35; 18:19–27: Kashouh, *Arabic Versions*. Kashouh also used John 1:1 and 1:18 as test verses in an earlier study: Hikmat Kashouh, “The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: A Case Study of John 1.1 and 1.18”, in *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, ed. by David Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 9–36.

- John 1:1-10 (Easter Sunday)
- John 6:30-33 (3rd Tuesday after Easter)
- Matthew 7:15-18 (2nd Tuesday after Pentecost in *e* lectionaries or occasionally the 1st Thursday after Pentecost in some *esk* lectionaries)¹⁴
- Matthew 16:1-4 (8th Monday after Pentecost)
- Luke 8:9-15 (4th Sunday after the Feast of the Cross)
- Luke 15:12-20 (17th Sunday after the Feast of the Cross)
- Mark 13:5-8 (Friday of the 16th week after the Feast of the Cross)
- John 18:19-27 (2nd Passion Gospel Reading)
- Matthew 28:16-20 (Great Saturday)

Transcriptions were made for all the selected manuscripts across each of these test passages where present. These transcriptions were entered verse-by-verse into a database using a manuscript analysis program called *D-Codex* which is currently in development.¹⁵ These verses were compared with one another using the Damerau-Levenshtein algorithm, giving the similarity between the verses as a percentage.¹⁶ Similarity values were averaged over sections of at least four consecutive verses. I have shown elsewhere that when using this algorithm, texts of unrelated families are highly unlikely to have a similarity greater than a threshold value (T) of 76.4%. For each test section, Student's *t*-test is performed to determine how well the similarity shown between the manuscripts can be explained assuming that the manuscripts are not related. This leads to the following scheme for interpretation:

¹⁴ Burns, "Comparative", pp. 43–44.

¹⁵ A discussion of software and the method with its statistical basis will be published in a forthcoming study entitled 'Verse Metrics: Analyzing manuscript families using string comparison techniques with a test case in the Arabic Gospels.' Minor orthographic differences such as punctuation, short vowels and the representation of a final 'alif/yā' are disregarded.

¹⁶ This algorithm counts number of edits (i.e. character additions, deletions, substitutions or transpositions) to transform one string into another and this value is normalized to accommodate variation in the string-length and expressed as a similarity percentage.

- Texts with similarity values below the threshold show no clear relationship. They are therefore possibly unrelated or there is such a significant difference between the texts due to editorial technique or textual corruption that no genealogical relationship can be established using this method.
- Texts with similarities above the threshold yet with the *p*-value resulting from the *t*-test being greater than 0.05 represent a potential genealogical relationship but this cannot be confidently ascertained on the basis of the *t*-test alone.
- Texts with similarities above the threshold with a *p*-value below 0.05 are highly unlikely to have a such a high similarity without being genetically related. Therefore, if two manuscripts show a consistent pattern of similarity over a number of test passages, then we have sufficient evidence to conclude that they are of the same textual family.

Families of lectionaries are named according to their type (i.e. *k*, *sk*, *esk*, or *e*) and followed by a numeral to distinguish families of the same type (e.g. *esk1*, *esk2*, etc).¹⁷ Sub-families are indicated by a capital Latin letter after the numeral (e.g. *esk2A*, *esk2B*, etc.).¹⁸

d) Comparison with Continuous-Text Arabic Gospel Manuscripts

A representative lectionary from each family was chosen. In the lists of manuscripts below, the representative of each family is underlined. These representative lectionaries were then compared with the text of the continuous-text Gospel manuscripts from published transcriptions of all known families which have also been entered

¹⁷ Families of lectionaries are distinguished from Kashouh's families of continuous-text Arabic Gospel manuscripts by beginning with a lowercase letter.

¹⁸ I anticipate being able to produce collations of the test passages for each of these families together with others from the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem in a follow-up study entitled "Arabic Gospel Lectionaries at Jerusalem".

into the *D-Codex* database.¹⁹ To adequately compare the text of the lectionary family with the continuous-text families, many more passages of the various family representatives were necessary to probe the relationships between them.

A Jerusalemite Lectionary (sel Jerus.)

Sinai ar. 116 (995/6 AD)²⁰ is a Greek-Arabic lectionary that is one of the important sources for reconstructing the ancient Hagiopolite lectionary system of Jerusalem.²¹ It is also one of the few lectionaries cited in the apparatus of the Nestle-Aland 28 Greek New Testament (under the Gregory-Aland number ℓ 2211). Garitte published a helpful analysis of this manuscript with an outline of its content.²² Valentin identified that it has the same text as the family of continuous text manuscripts represented by Sinai ar. 74, later designated by Kashouh as Family A.²³ This connection with Family A was borne out in the analysis of twelve test passages which demonstrated an average similarity of 95% between Sinai ar. 116 and Sinai ar. 74 (fig. 1).

¹⁹ See especially: Kashouh, *Arabic Versions*, pp. 352–464. For families A, B, C, D, J^A, J^B, J^C, P, Q, and T, transcriptions were made directly from manuscript images. For Family K (i.e. the Alexandrian Vulgate), I used Paul de Lagarde's edition of Vienna Or. 1544: *Die vier Evangelien arabisch aus der Wiener Handschrift herausgegeben*, ed. by Paul de Lagarde (Leipzig: F A Brockhaus, 1864).

²⁰ 385 AH. See Aziz Suryal Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Mount Sinai Arabic Manuscripts*, trans. by J. N. Youssef (Alexandria: Galal Hazzi & Co., 1970), pp. 227–228.

²¹ Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization*, pp. 368–369 inter alia.

²² Gérard Garitte, “Un évangélique grec-arabe du Xe siècle (cod. Sin. ar. 116)”, in *Studia Codicologica*, ed. by Kurt Treu (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977), pp. 207–225.

²³ Valentin, “Évangéliques”, pp. 117–118, 120. See also: Kashouh, *Arabic Versions*, p. 86 note 7; 175–176.

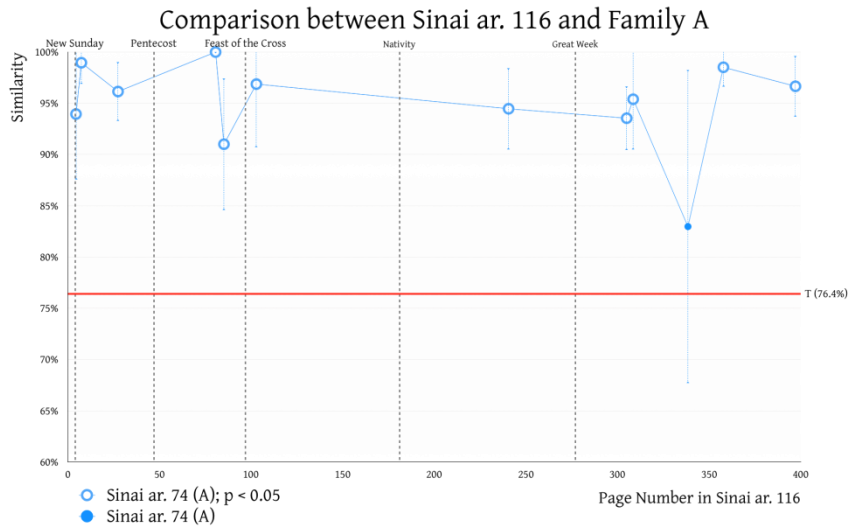


Fig. 1. The similarity between Sinai ar. 116 and Sinai ar. 74 (Family A) at 12 test passages.²⁴

The liturgical calendar of Sinai ar. 116 differs occasionally from the calendar found in the continuous-text manuscripts of Family A which also follows a version of the old Jerusalemite liturgy. A study of how Sinai ar. 116 fits into the textual and liturgical history of Family A will be presented in the future.

²⁴ John 1:1–10, 14–17; 6:30–33; Matt 14:15–18, 31–34; Mark 1:36–39; Luke 15:12–20; Matt 28:2–9, 16–20; Luke 24:41–53; Matt 14:9–12; 10:38–41.

*Sunday Lectionaries (k)**Family k1 – Derived from Family J^A with Commentaries*

Family *k1* has only one representative which is *Sinai ar. 144* (1053 AD).²⁵ It begins with the three weeks leading up to Meat-fare Sunday unlike most Byzantine Lectionaries which typically begin at Easter.²⁶ It includes lections from the fixed cycle and the movable cycle together rather than dividing them.²⁷ At the end of the annual cycle (subsequent to the 14th Sunday in the Lukan section) is the addition of the passage of the Canaanite woman (Matthew 15:21-28) for the occasional years when a 17th Sunday was needed between Pentecost and the Feast of the Cross.²⁸ These lessons are then followed by the Eleven Resurrection Gospel readings. The text is close to that of Family J^A (fig. 2).

²⁵ September 7, 6562 AM^{byz} = 1053 AD. The incorrect date of 1054 AD is given in Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 274.

²⁶ The first week was probably Lk 19:1-10 but this is missing. However, part the commentary for this lesson is preserved on the first surviving folio. It seems like was the first lesson because the Luke cycle finishes at the end of the synaxarion with Lk 18:35 which is from previous Sunday.

²⁷ Burns lists seven Greek lectionaries which also mix the lessons for the movable and fixed calendars. However, unlike *Sinai ar. 144*, they begin at Easter. See: Yvonne Burns, "The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionaries", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32 (1982), pp. 119-127, esp. 123.

²⁸ Yvonne Burns, "'The Canaanitess' and Other Additional Lections in Early Slavonic Lectionaries," *Revue Des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 13.4 (1975), pp. 525-528, esp. 526.

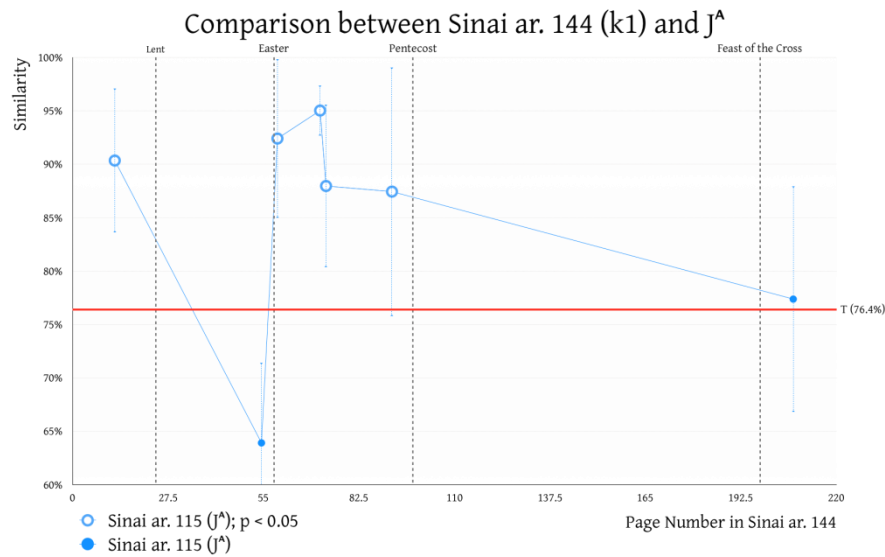


Fig. 2. The similarity between Sinai ar. 144 and Sinai ar. 115 (Family J^A) in 7 test passages.²⁹

Family k2 - Derived from Family J^B with Commentaries

Family k2 survives in three manuscripts:

- Sinai ar. 123 (1279 AD).³⁰
- Sinai ar. 150 (1231 AD).³¹
- Sinai ar. 164 (1238 AD)³² – lacunose up to the commentary for the fourth Sunday in Lent.

²⁹ Luke 15:12–20; Mat. 28:2–20; John 1:1–10; Mark 16:5–8; John 5:2–7; Luke 24:44–53; 8:9–15.

³⁰ May 1, 6787 AM^{byz}. Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 240. The incorrect date of 1249 AD is given in Clark, *Checklist (Sinai)*, p. 33.

³¹ September 14, 6740 AM^{byz}. The incorrect date of 1232 AD is given in Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 283. The manuscript was written by the Deacon John (يحيى) and Archbishop Mark of Sinai (late 14th-early 15th century) made it a protected endowment (وقف) at Mt. Sinai.

³² July 31, 6746 AM^{byz}. Colophon fol. 233v. Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 325.

All three manuscripts in this family include commentaries for nearly all lessons. Sinai ar. 150 and Sinai ar. 123 include a lesson with commentary for Ascension Thursday (Sinai ar. 164 is lacunose at this point). Sinai ar. 150 and Sinai ar. 123 also include a lesson for Lazarus Saturday just before Great Week with no commentary but Sinai ar. 164 skips this day. Sinai ar. 123 does not include the Great Saturday reading as part of the synaxarion but instead has the reading as the first part of the Eleven Resurrection Gospel readings between the synaxarion and the menologion. The text is very similar to Family J^B.³³ The text of Sinai ar. 164 seems to be closest to that of the continuous text of Family J^B with it agreeing with the representative of Family J^B with around 95% similarity. However, since little of this manuscript has survived, Sinai ar. 150 was used as the representative of this family (fig. 3).

³³ This version is sometimes known as the 'Melkite' version but this term was rejected by Kashouh since 'this version was possibly dependent on another Arabic source which was in circulation before it was used by the Melkite church in the Orient'. Kashouh, *Arabic Versions*, p. 204. It is also the case that the Melkite community at different stages used several other versions of the Gospels.

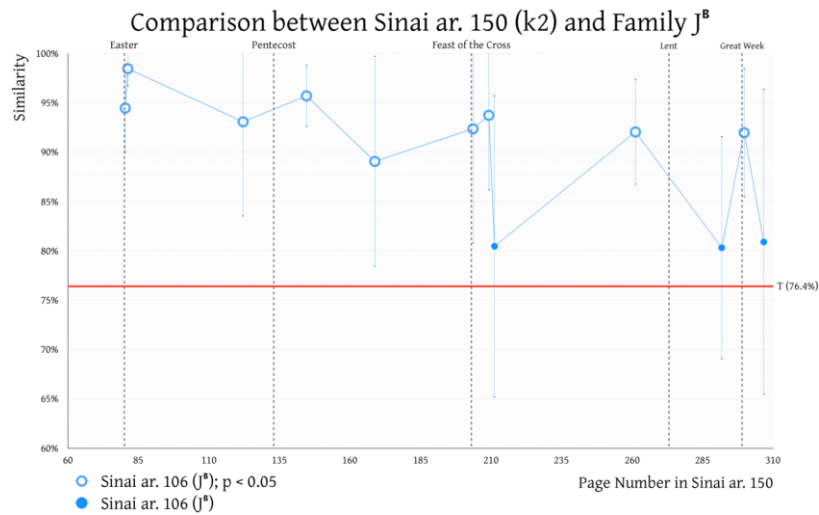


Fig. 3. The similarity between Sinai ar. 150 and Sinai ar. 106 (Family J^B) at 12 test passages.³⁴

Saturday-Sunday Lectionaries (sk)

Family sk1 – Derived from Family J^B without Commentaries

The only example of the sk1 family is Sinai ar. 117 (1212 AD)³⁵ which includes many scribal errors. It does not include commentaries. Like k2, this family appears to be derived from the continuous-text family known as J^B (fig. 4). This is the case for the Saturday and Sunday lessons until shortly after the Feast of the Cross in the Lukan section. At this point the text diverges significantly from the representative of J^B that was used and there is no other source amongst the continuous-text manuscripts that have affinities with this section.

³⁴ John 1:1–10, 14–17; Luke 24:50–53; Matt 6:27–30; Luke 5:1–4; 8:9–15; 15:12–20; Mark 10:42–45; Matt 28:16–20.

³⁵ Saturday, December 31, 6721 AM^{byz}. Atiya reads the colophon as saying 6711 AM^{byz} which he calculates to be 1203 AD. Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 229–230. Written by the priest and monk Arsānī (Arsenius).

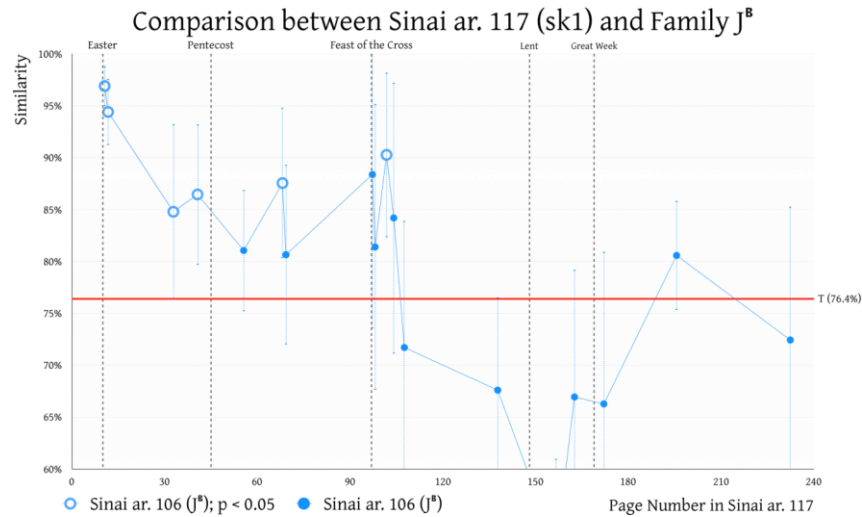


Fig. 4. The similarity between Sinai ar. 117 and Sinai ar. 106 (Family J^B) at 18 test passages.³⁶

Family sk2 - Source Unknown

As well as Saturday and Sunday lessons, Family sk2 also includes weekday lessons in the week following Easter. It is only represented by *Sinai ar. 126* (13th century).³⁷ The text bears little resemblance to any of the continuous-text Arabic Gospel manuscripts. There is some similarity to Family J^B but not enough to require direct dependence (fig. 5). It is possible that this represents a revision of one of those families or is a translation distinct from all known families studied by Kashouh.

³⁶ John 1:1-10, 14-17; 10:28-35; Luke 24:47-53; Matt 6:27-30; 15:33-37; 14:23-34; Luke 4:32-36; 5:1-7; 6:32-36; 7:12-16; 8:9-15; 15:12-20; Mark 7:32-37; 10:42-45; John 12:2-5; 18:19-27; Matt 28:16-20.

³⁷ Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 243.

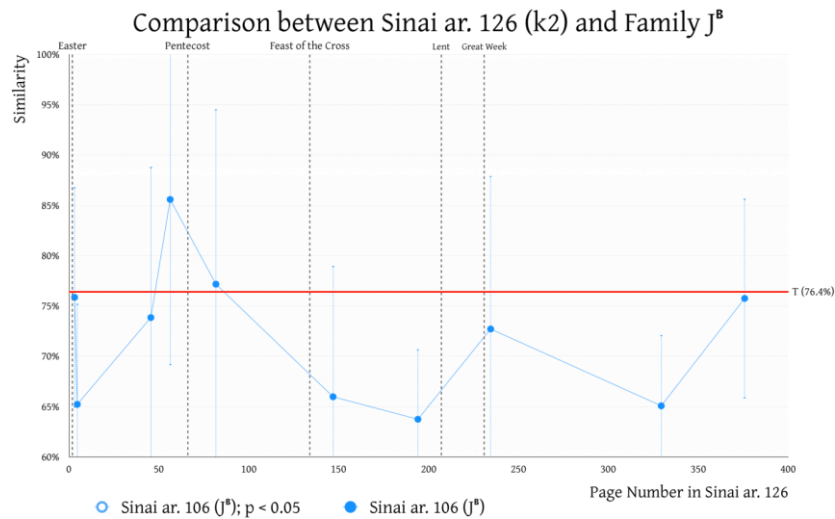


Fig. 5. The similarity between Sinai ar. 126 and Sinai ar. 106 (J^B) at 10 test passages.³⁸

Saturday-Sunday Lectionaries with Weekdays from Easter to Pentecost (*esk*)

Family *esk1* – Derived from a Variety of Continuous-text Gospel Families

Family *esk1* is represented by Sinai ar. 133 which is an intriguing manuscript (probably) from 1102 AD.³⁹ It appears to be in transition from the Jerusalemite to the Byzantine system since it begins with John 1:1-17 as the reading for New Sunday as was the case in the old Jerusalemite calendar instead of on Easter Sunday as in the Byzantine tradition.⁴⁰ It has several peculiarities including the absence of the *alif*

³⁸ John 1:1-10, 14-17; 10:28-32; Luke 24:50-53; Matt 6:27-30; Luke 8:9-15; 15:12-20; John 12:2-5; 18:19-27; Matt 28:16-20.

³⁹ The colophon is difficult but should probably be read December 29, 6611 AM^{byz}.

⁴⁰ Joseph Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle: Vol. III Tome 1 (969-1250)* (Louvain: Peeters, 1983), p. 377. Also: Joseph Nasrallah, "La liturgie des Patriarcats melchites de 969 à 1300" *Oriens Christianus*, 71 (1987), pp. 156-181, esp. 180.

otiosom (*ʿalif al-wiqāyah*)⁴¹ from plural verbs. The scribe also wrote all references to the demonic upside down.

Sinai ar. 133 includes also the five weekdays after Pentecost.⁴² Yvonne Burns categorized 15 Greek *esk* lectionaries which included the five weekdays after Pentecost according to their pericope boundaries and the incipit for the Thursday and Sinai ar. 133 is slightly different from them all.⁴³

Valentin suspected that Sinai ar. 133 was related to the continuous-text Gospel manuscript Sinai ar. 71 which I have elsewhere demonstrated combines Families A and B.⁴⁴ His suspicion was borne out in the comparison of the test passages where it showed affinities to Families A, B, and also J^A. I compared Sinai ar. 133 with these families at 36 test passages to understand the connections (fig. 6).

⁴¹ Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography - Supplement* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 84.

⁴² In Jordan's study of 76 *esk* lectionaries, 13 (17%) included lections for all these five days (ℓ4, ℓ32, ℓ130, ℓ181, ℓ212, ℓ851, ℓ864, ℓ875, ℓ996, ℓ1003, ℓ1023, ℓ1024 and ℓ1075). Jordan, "Textual", pp. 210–211.

⁴³ Burns, "Comparative", pp. 43–44. Sinai ar. 133 has Matthew 4:23-5:12a for the Tuesday after Pentecost which means that it is a combination of Classes I (Matt 4:25-5:12a) and III (Matt 4:23-5:13). The Wednesday to Friday lections (Matt 5:20-30; Matt 5:31-41; Matt 7:7-19 respectively) align closely with Group II with the exception of the Friday reading which is normally should have just Matt 7:9-18. The incipit for Thursday (قال الرب قد قيل من طلق) does not agree with that of Group IIa (δς ἀν ἀπολύση) or IIb (Ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις δς ἀν ἀπολύση).

⁴⁴ Robert Turnbull, "Codex Sinaiticus Arabicus and its Family" (forthcoming).

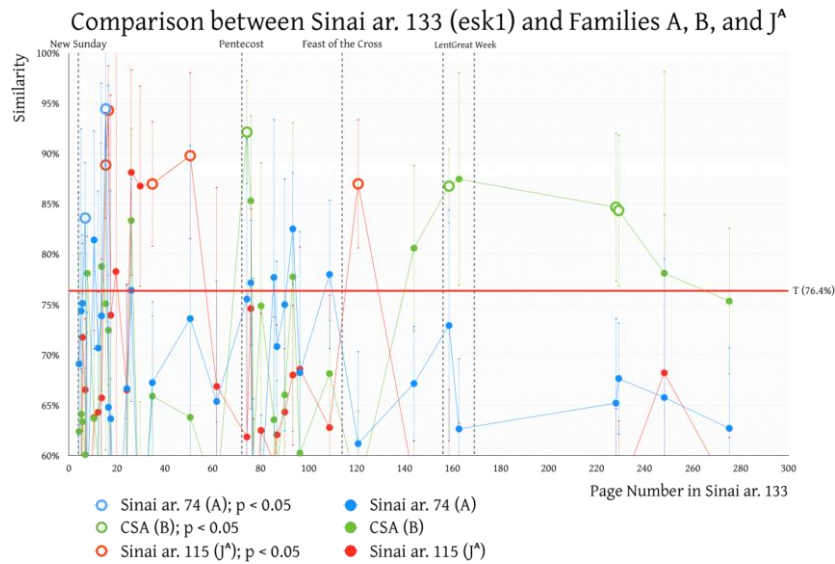


Fig. 6. The similarity between Sinai ar. 133 and representatives of Families A, B, and J^A at 36 test passages.⁴⁵

Sinai ar. 133 includes what seems to be many scribal errors and in some places shows a relatively unstable textual tradition so it is difficult to recognize the connections with the continuous-text families. However, several possible patterns emerged:

1. The week following Easter aligns mostly with Family A.
2. The rest of the Johannine lessons until Pentecost align with Family J^A.
3. The exceptions to the first two points are lessons from the Eleven Resurrection Gospels which are sometimes very close to Family B (Luke 24:13–16, John 20:19–22) but sometimes not (Mark 16:5–8).

⁴⁵ John 1:1–10, 14–17, 19–25, 29–32; Luke 24:13–16; John 1:36–39; 3:23–26; 20:20–23; 2:2–5; 3:17–21; 5:19–22, 35–38; Mark 16:5–8; John 6:30–33; 5:2–5; 7:18–30; 10:28–34; Luke 24:50–53; Matt 18:12–15; 5:1–5, 21–24; 7:16–19; 8:1–4; 6:27–30; 9:10–13; 10:38–41; 14:15–18; 23:4–9; Luke 8:9–15; 15:12–20; Mark 1:36–39; 7:32–35; John 18:2–27; Matt 28:16–20; Mark 6:14–20.

4. The 5 weekday lessons after Pentecost align with Family B except for the Wednesday.
5. Subsequent lessons from Matthew were close to Family A.
6. Luke was partly like Family J^A (Luke 8:9-15) and B (Luke 15:11-20).
7. The Lenten and Great Week readings aligned with Family B.

This is only from the sampled passages. The picture may be complicated further if more test passages are examined. For now, it seems that Sinai ar. 133 is made up of a patchwork of traditions and does not fall into neat categories. It adds in many places to the witness of the important Family B which preserves a pre-Byzantine text-type and, at many points in the Gospels, only had one codex preserving the text.

Family esk2 - Derived from Families A and B

Sub-Family *esk2A*

Sinai ar. 120 is an *esk* lectionary from the 13th century.⁴⁶ Its archetype appears to have been produced from Families A and B (fig. 7). In the section with daily readings from Easter to Pentecost, the manuscript has passages which alternate between Family A and B sources. These source changes often occur between passages which are far from each other in the continuous text of the four Gospels. For example, the lesson for the third Sunday of Easter from Mark 14:43-16:8 is from Family A while the lessons for the days before and after from the first half of the Gospel of John align with Family B. The lessons then solely follow Family A until Great Week which includes passages from Family B amongst the 12 Passion readings on Good Friday. It also has a lesson for the Monday following Pentecost (as is common for *esk*

⁴⁶ Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 235. Commissioned by a monk Moses who was called Makarios (موسى المسي مقاريوس) at St. George's Monastery. Colophon fol. 241r.

lectionaries)⁴⁷ and this is from Family A. This mix of sources perhaps results from the compiler of the lectionary's archetype using two continuous-text codices (one from Family A and one from Family B) to help in the complicated process of compilation. No commentary is present.

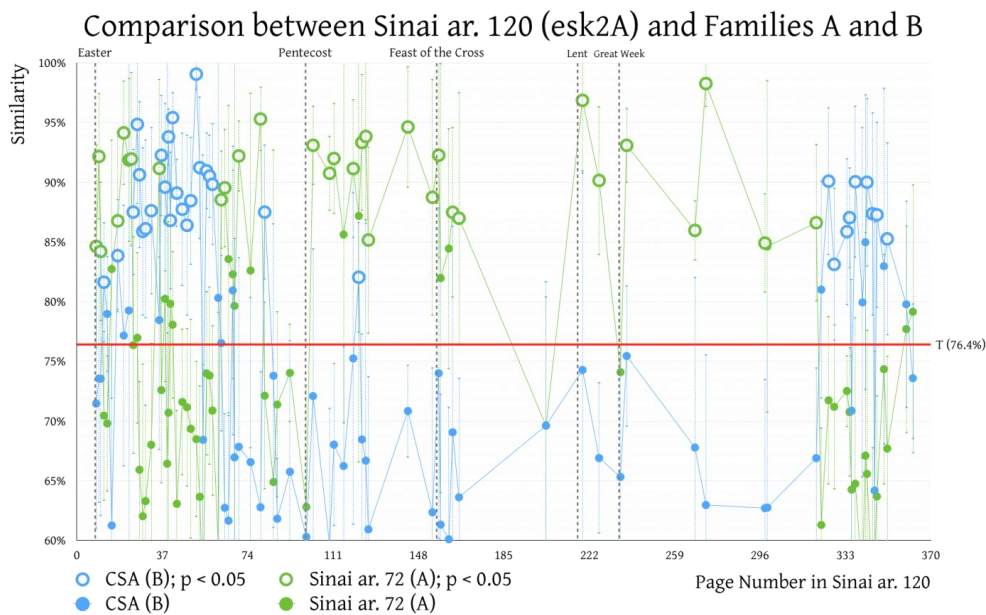


Fig. 7. The similarity between Sinai ar. 120 and a representative of Family A (Sinai ar. 72) at 90 test passages.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ 56 out of 76 *esk* lectionaries (73.7%) of lectionaries studied by Jordan had one Matthean pericope in the week following Pentecost. Jordan, “Textual”, pp. 210–211.

⁴⁸ John 1:1–10, 14–17, 19–28; Luke 24:13–35; John 1:36–40; 3:2–7; 2:14–19; 20:20–23, 28–31; 2:2–11; 3:17–21; 5:18–23, 25–29, 31–42; 6:15–26; Mark 16:5–8; John 4:47–54; 6:28–33, 36–39, 41–44, 49–54; 15:18–27; 5:2–15; 6:57–69; 7:2–13, 15–30; 8:13–20, 22–30, 32–41; 4:6–42; 8:43–50, 53–59; 6:6–13; 10:1–9, 22–26, 28–33; 9:2–7; 11:48–52; 12:37–42; Luke 24:37–53; John 14:11–16; 17:2–13; 16:16–22; 7:38–42; Matt 18:12–15; 8:1–4; 6:27–30; 9:10–13; 10:38–42; 12:31–34; 14:15–20; 15:33–36; 14:23–28; 23:4–9; 25:7–13; Luke 4:32–36; 5:1–6; 6:32–36; 7:12–16; 8:9–15; 15:12–20; Mark 1:36–39; 10:39–45; John 12:2–12; Matt 21:19–22; John 12:20–24; Matt 26:7–10; John 13:32–38;

Though Sinai ar. 120 is the only example of this particular family, there are two derivative sub-families.

Sub-Family *esk2B*

Sinai ar. 139 was written in 1185 AD.⁴⁹ It is of a type derived from *esk2A* but with the readings from Thursday to Friday after Pentecost added. These four days seem to derive from an *esk1* type lectionary since these lessons agree with Sinai ar. 133 with an average similarity of about 94.3% (fig. 8).⁵⁰ Like *esk2A*, it contains no commentaries.

14:2-7; 18:19-27; Matt 26:58-63; John 18:29-19:16; Matt 27:26-32; Mark 15:17-21, 23-32; Matt 27:34-38; Luke 23:33-38, 40-43, 45-49; John 19:34-37; Mark 15:44-47; John 19:39-42; Matt 27:63-66, 4-24, 56-61; 28:13-20.

⁴⁹ Thursday, January 17, 1496 AG and 6693 AM^{byz}. See Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 266. The beginning folio and the colophon on fol. 172r speaks of the translator : the deacon the Yuḥannā the son of Abū Naṣr the physician (يحننا بن أبو نصر المتطبيب) at the Church of the Lady (كنيسة السيدة). The scribe Mubārak al-mu'allim copied it by the commissioning of Dimitrī son of priest Buṭrus (القس مدترى ابن القس بطرس) from Anfeh (انفه).

⁵⁰ The Friday lesson is shortened to Matt 7:7-17 which is now shorter than Burns' Group II. See Burns, "Comparative", pp. 43-44.

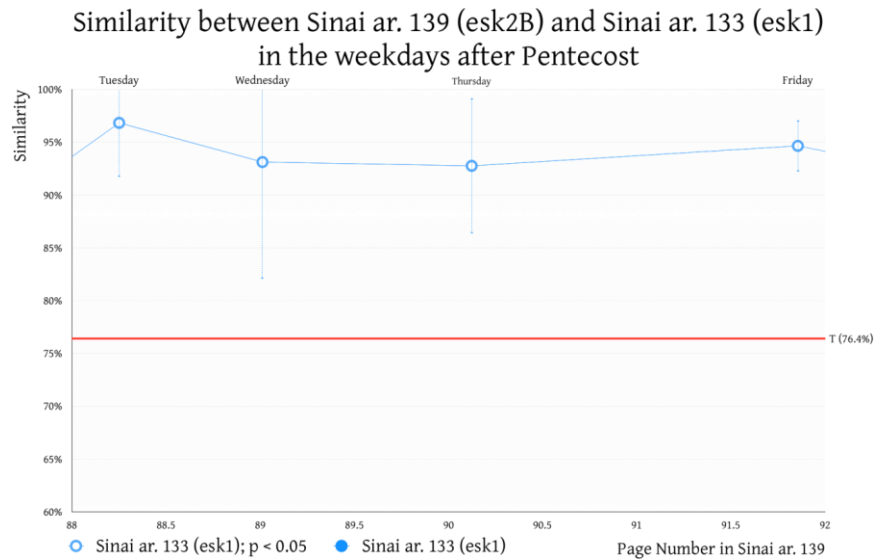


Fig. 8. The similarity between Sinai ar. 139 and Sinai ar. 133 (Family esk1) at test passages for weekdays following Pentecost.⁵¹

Sub-Family esk2C

Family esk2C is another attempt to include the remaining four weekdays after Pentecost into an esk2A lectionary. In this sub-family the four weekdays were added from Family B (fig. 9). According to Yvonne Burns' schema for classifying esk lectionaries that include these days, this group aligns with Class III (i.e. Mt. 4:23–5:13 on the Tuesday) and Group IIb (i.e. Mt. 5:20–30; 5:31–41; 7:9–18 on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday respectively).⁵² This pattern is also

⁵¹ Mt. 18:12–15; 5:1–5, 20–24, 31–34; 7:14–17.

⁵² Burns, "Comparative", pp. 43–44. Only two Greek esk manuscripts in Burns' study show this combination: ℓ 628 and ℓ 1003a.

the same as the Christian Palestinian Aramaic lectionaries.⁵³ This family included commentaries on Sundays and other significant days.

The following manuscripts are in this sub-family:

- Sinai ar. 122 (1227 AD).⁵⁴
- Sinai ar. 128 (13th century).⁵⁵
- Sinai ar. 137 (1215 AD).⁵⁶
- Sinai ar. 138 (probably 1117 AD).⁵⁷

⁵³ Yvonne Burns, “The Greek Manuscripts Connected By Their Lection Systems With The Palestinian Syriac Gospel Lectionaries”, in *Studia Biblica 1978, Vol. 2: Papers on the Gospels* (Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press, 1980), pp. 13–27, esp. 14.

⁵⁴ October, 6736 AM^{byz}. The incorrect date of 1228 AD is given in Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 238–239. The incorrect date of 1288 is given in Clark, *Checklist (Sinai)*, p. 33. The manuscript was written by a scribe named Andrāyā ibn Bazqūb (اندرایا) (ابن بزقوب) from Lattakia (اللاذقية).

⁵⁵ Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 246. There is a note by Germanus (جرمانوس), Bishop of Mt. Sinai (died 1336 AD), stating that the manuscript must stay at St Catherine’s as a restricted endowment. See Alexander Treiger, “Sinaitica (1): The Antiochian Menologion, Compiled by Hieromonk Yūḥannā ‘Abd al-Masīḥ (First Half of the 13th Century)”, *Христианский Восток* 8.14 (2017), pp. 215–252, esp. 226–227.

⁵⁶ July 4, 1526 AG. The incorrect date of 1214 AD is given in Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 262–263. It was written by the monk Matthew (متی).

⁵⁷ The colophon is lacunose and does not record the century, but it probably reads August 30/31, 6625 AM^{byz}. See Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 265–264. The manuscript appears to have been written by a monk named Gerasimo[s] (جراسيمو[s]) at the cave of Kafr Qāhel (كفرقاهل) from the Al-Koura district of Lebanon. A certain Priest named John (يوحنا) from Kafr ‘Aqqā (كفرعقا) in the same district is mentioned, most likely as the commissioner.

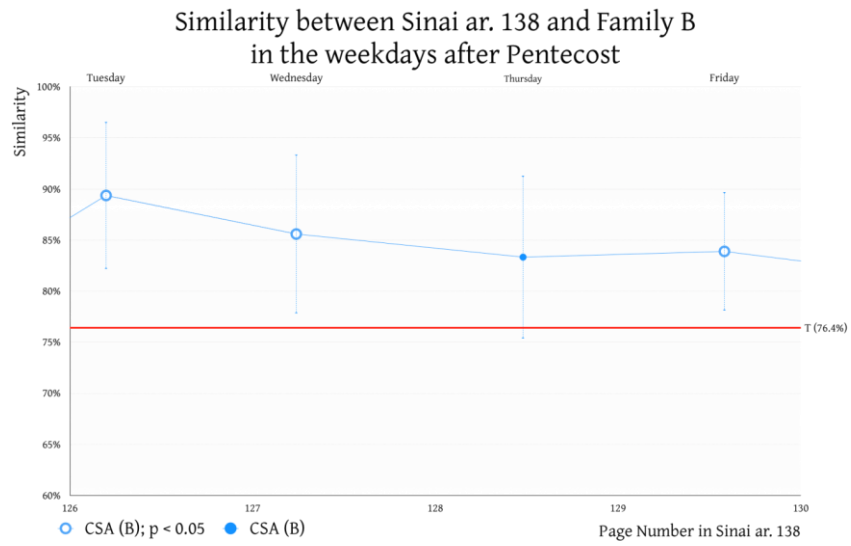


Fig. 9. The similarity between Sinai ar. 138 and a representative of Family B (Codex Sinaiticus Arabicus i.e. Sinai ar. NF Parch. 8 and 28) at test passages for weekdays following Pentecost.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Matt 5:1–5, 20–24, 31–40; 7:11–18.

The following (fig. 10) is a diagrammatic summary for how the various sources relate to the subtypes of *esk2*.

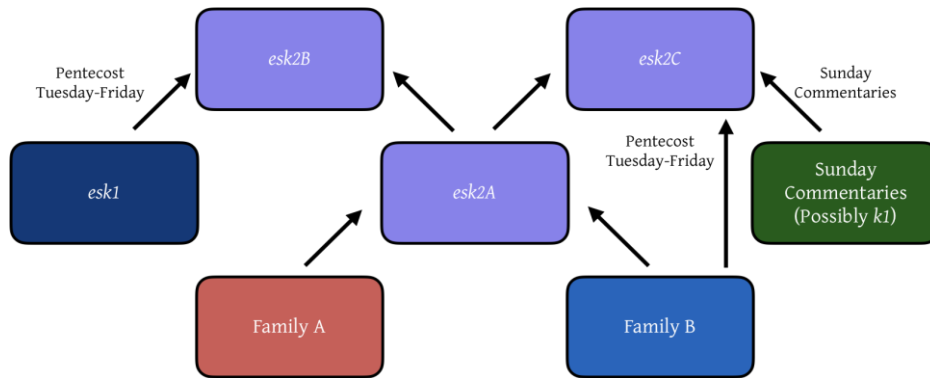


Fig. 10. The sources of Family *esk2*.

Family esk3 – Derived from Family J^B

Family *esk3* is represented by the unique manuscript *Sinai. ar. 152* from the 13th century.⁵⁹ It includes the five weekdays after Pentecost according to Burns' Class III (i.e. Matt 4:23–5:13 on the Tuesday) and Group I (i.e. Matt 5:20–26; 5:27–32; 5:33–41 on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday respectively).⁶⁰ After the Friday in the week following Pentecost, there are the Eleven Resurrection Gospels and thereafter the synaxarion resumes with the Saturday after Pentecost. There are no commentaries. The text in all passages transcribed is close to that of Family J^B with an average similarity above 96% (fig. 11).

⁵⁹ Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 288–289.

⁶⁰ Burns, "Comparative", pp. 43–44. This is the case for five of the Greek *esk* lectionaries in Burns' study: *ℓ*29, *ℓ*77, *ℓ*90, *ℓ*91, *ℓ*767, *ℓ*1608.

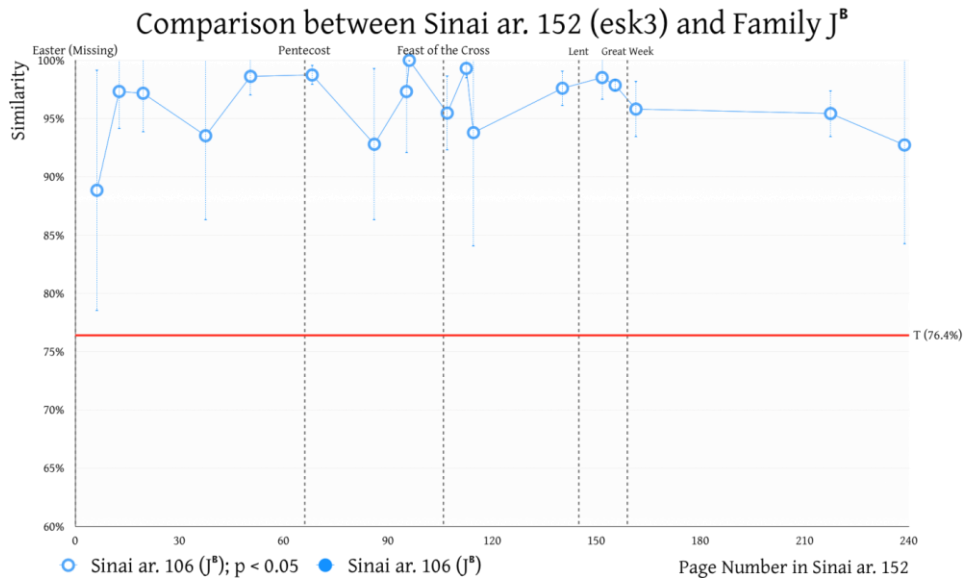


Fig. 11. The similarity between Sinai ar. 152 and Sinai ar. 106 (Family J^B) in 18 test passages.⁶¹

Weekday Lectionaries (e)

Family e1 – Derived Primarily from Family J^B

This family is the most common type of lectionary at Sinai with nine instances:

- Sinai ar. 119 (1236 AD).⁶²

⁶¹ John 5:35–40; 6:30–33; 7:18–23; 10:28–32; Luke 24:50–53; Matt 18:12–15; 6:27–30; 15:33–36; 14:23–26; Luke 5:3–7; 7:12–15; 8:9–15; 15:12–20; Mark 7:32–35; 10:42–45; John 12:2–5; 18:19–27; Matt 28:16–20.

⁶² December 25, 1245 AInc. The incorrect date of 1245 AD is given in Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 233–234. For dating manuscripts with the AInc convention see: Samir Khalil Samir, “L’ère de l’Incarnation dans les manuscrits arabes melkites du 11e au 14e siècle”, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 53, pp. 193–201. Sinai ar. 119 was written by George the son of Majid who also wrote the lectionary Sinai ar. 129 in the same year and included the same poem at the end.

- Sinai ar. 125 (1241 AD).⁶³
- Sinai ar. 127 (1293 AD).⁶⁴
- Sinai ar. 129 (1236 AD).⁶⁵
- Sinai ar. 130 (13th century).⁶⁶
- Sinai ar. 132 (1281 AD).⁶⁷
- Sinai ar. 134 (original codex: 13th century).⁶⁸
- Sinai ar. 135 (1324/5 AD).⁶⁹
- Sinai ar. 680 (1325 AD).⁷⁰

The text is similar to Family J^b (fig. 12) but there are many places where the texts differ, such as in Matthew 16:1–4 where the text is quite unlike any of the continuous-text families. All of the lectionaries in this family follow what Burns named the S-system since the pericope boundaries for the week following Pentecost agree with Class III (i.e. Matt 4:23–5:13 on the Tuesday) and Group I (i.e. Matt

⁶³ December 11, 1250 Alnc. The incorrect date of 1250 AD is given in Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 242. The manuscript is incomplete and starts partway through the lection for the 12th Saturday after the Feast of the Cross.

⁶⁴ November 14, 6802 AM^{byz} / 1302 Alnc / 692 AH. The incorrect date of 1294 AD is given in Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 244–245.

⁶⁵ The note above for the dating of Sinai ar. 119 also applies to Sinai ar. 129 which was completed in September 1236 AD.

⁶⁶ Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 250.

⁶⁷ September 11, 6790 AM^{byz} / 1290 Alnc / 680 AH. The incorrect date of 1282 AD is given in Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 253. The manuscript is incomplete and begins partway through the Thursday reading in the second week after Easter.

⁶⁸ Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 256–257. Sinai ar. 134 was originally part of this family but supplementary sections were added in the 17th century using an *e2* source (see below).

⁶⁹ [6]833 AM^{byz}. Graf says that the text of Jerus. Holy Sepulchre ar. 11 is the same as Sinai ar. 135: Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur: Bd. 1. Die Übersetzungen* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), pp. 188–189. Jerus. Holy Sepulchre ar. 11 is an *esk* type lectionary which indeed has a similar text to Family *e1*. I will discuss it further in a follow-up study “Arabic Gospel Lectionaries at Jerusalem”.

⁷⁰ May 5, 1333 Alnc. The incorrect date of 1333 AD of given in Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand-list of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1955), p. 25.

5:20–26; 5:27–32; 5:33–41 on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday respectively).⁷¹ Regarding the numbering of the Johannine Sundays, Easter is considered the 1st Sunday of the season and the Sunday before Pentecost the 7th which was the original numbering convention of the S-system lectionaries.⁷² All the above examples of this family (except for Sinai ar. 127) have commentaries for Sunday lessons.

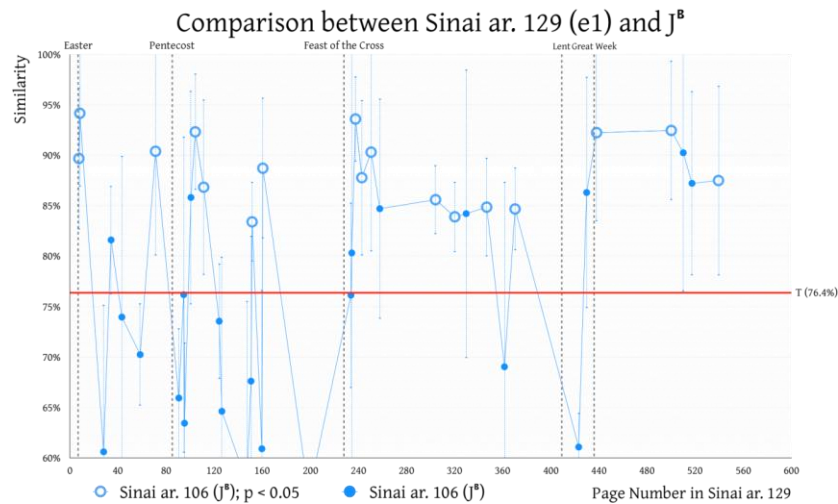


Fig. 12. The similarity between Sinai ar. 129 and representatives of Families J^B at 40 test passages.⁷³

⁷¹ Burns, “Comparative”, pp. 5, 43–44, 52–54, 59, 68–69, 160–197. Burns sees the S-system as derived from what she calls the $\alpha\beta$ -system. The S-system is so named because that is what was used in the Slavonic lectionary tradition.

⁷² Burns, “Comparative”, pp. 164–165.

⁷³ John 1:1–10, 14–17; 5:35–38; 6:30–33; 7:18–22; 10:23–26; Luke 24:50–53; Matt 18:12–15; 5:34–37, 43–46; 7:10–14; 4:19–22; 6:27–30; 12:42–45; 9:10–13; 16:2–5; 12:31–34; 14:15–18; 15:33–37; 14:23–28; 23:4–9; Luke 4:32–35; 5:1–4; 4:41–44; 6:32–36; 7:12–15; 8:9–15; 12:17–20; 14:20–23; 17:16–19; 18:40–43; Mark 13:5–8; Luke 15:12–20; Mark 7:32–35; 10:42–45; John 12:2–5; 18:19–22; Matt 27:29–32; John 19:34–37; Matt 28:16–20.

Family *e2*–Based on the Alexandrian Vulgate

Another lectionary with lessons for every day of the year is *Sinai ar. 136* (1685 AD).⁷⁴ The text follows Family K, commonly known as the Alexandrian Vulgate (fig. 13).⁷⁵ However, it does seem to be influenced by an *esk2* source (e.g. the Sunday after Easter - Jn 20:19–31) and by an *e1* source (e.g. Great Saturday - Matt 28:16–20). The title for the work is written on folio 2r in a triangular shape: “كتاب الانجيل الطاهر والمصباح المنير الزاهر”. It contains commentaries on Sundays as well as other significant days (such as the Monday-Wednesday after Easter). Like Family *e1*, it also follows the S-system. However, unlike most S-system lectionaries, the lection for Easter Sunday vespers is written in full.⁷⁶ The 17th century supplements to *Sinai ar. 134* had an *e2* source (e.g. Jn. 1:1–10; Lk 24:13–17), although some of the supplementary sections (e.g. Matt 19:17–23) may be influenced by *e1*. A version of this lectionary with a slightly revised text was printed in the early 18th century.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 260–261. Written by the monk and priest Elias.

⁷⁵ Kashouh, *Arabic Versions*, p. 205ff. There are some places where the similarity with Family *S^A* is slightly higher than the similarity with the representative of Family K but Family *S^A* is of a mixed type and at these points Family *S^A* also aligns with the text of Family K (i.e. the Alexandrian Vulgate). See Kashouh, *Arabic Versions*, p. 298.

⁷⁶ Burns, “Comparative”, pp. 164, 205.

⁷⁷ In regards to this print see: Giuseppe Simone Assemani, *Bibliothecæ Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (Rome: Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1719), I, p. 631 (No. LXXXVI); Christian Friedrich Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica* (Halle: I.C. Hendelii, 1811), p. 374 (No. 341); Graf, *GCAL 1*, p. 189. Elie Dannaoui is currently preparing an edition of this printed lectionary with an introductory study. Nb. The title which Schnurrer gives for this work probably refers instead to No. 340.

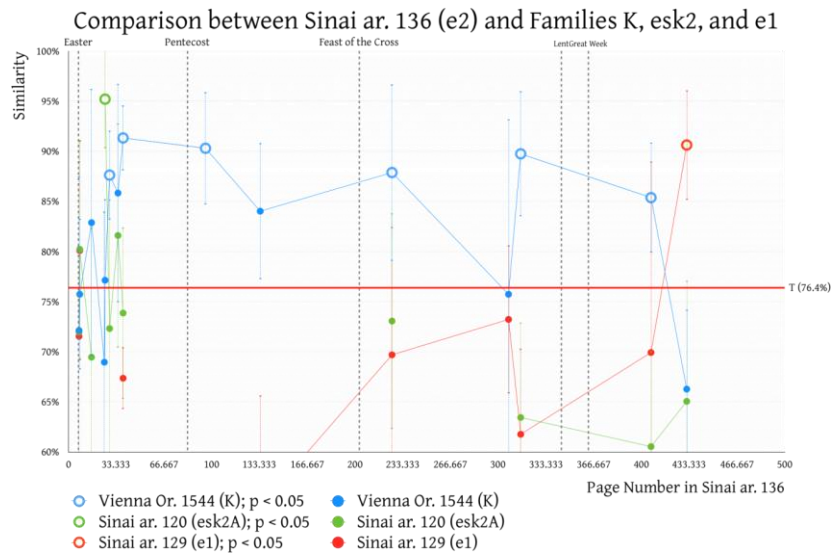


Fig. 13. The similarity between Sinai ar. 136 and representatives of Families K, esk2 and e1 at 10 test passages.⁷⁸

Family e3 – A Composite of Families esk2C and e1 with Commentaries

Sinai ar. 118 (1254 AD)⁷⁹ is also a weekday lectionary with commentaries for Sundays and special days and is the only manuscript of its kind at Sinai. It appears to have derived from different sources:

- Up until the Sunday following Pentecost, it follows the esk2C type (fig. 14). In the Wednesday-Friday lessons following Pentecost, the pericope boundaries are rearranged from Matt 5:20–30, 5:31–41, and 7:9–18 (i.e. Burns' Group II) to Matt 5:20–26, 5:27–32, and 5:33–41 (i.e. Burns' Group I) to conform it to the S-system of weekday lections (like the other weekday lectionaries above).⁸⁰

⁷⁸ John 1:1–4, 14–18; 6:30–33; Matt 7:15–21; 16:1–4; Luke 8:9–12; Mark 13:5–8; Luke 15:12–15; John 18:19–22; Matt 28:16–20.

⁷⁹ January 28, 6762 AM^{byz}. See Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 231–232.

⁸⁰ Burns, "Comparative", pp. 43–44.

- From the second week after Pentecost, weekday lessons agree with Family *e1* (fig. 15).
- From the second week after Pentecost, Saturday and Sunday lessons sometimes agree with Family *esk2* and sometimes with Family *e1* and other times it disagrees with both which is potentially a third unknown source (fig. 16).

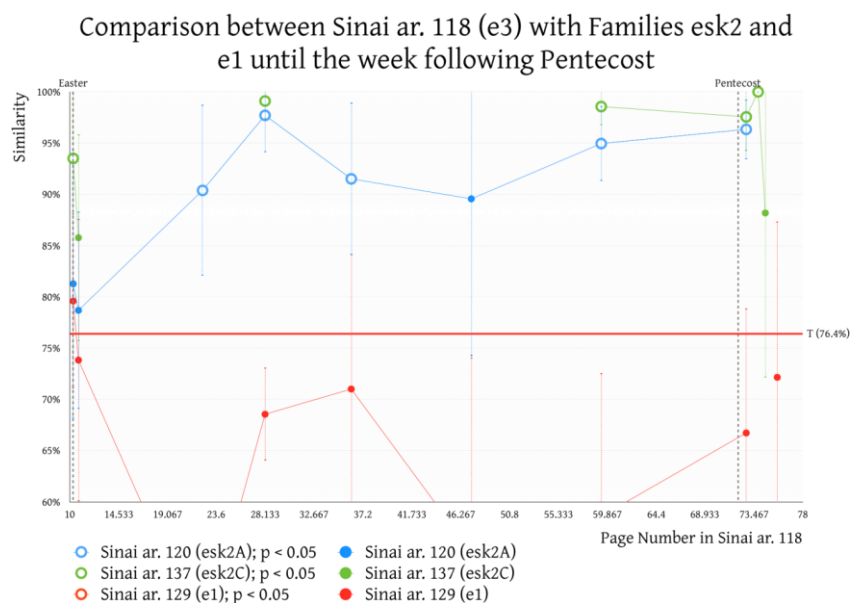


Fig. 14. The similarity between Sinai ar. 118 and representatives of Families *esk2* and *e1* at 12 test passages.⁸¹

⁸¹ John 1:1–10, 14–18; 5:35–38; 6:30–33; 7:18–23; 10:25–28; Luke 24:50–53; Matt 18:12–15; 5:1–5, 20–24, 34–37; 19:27–30.

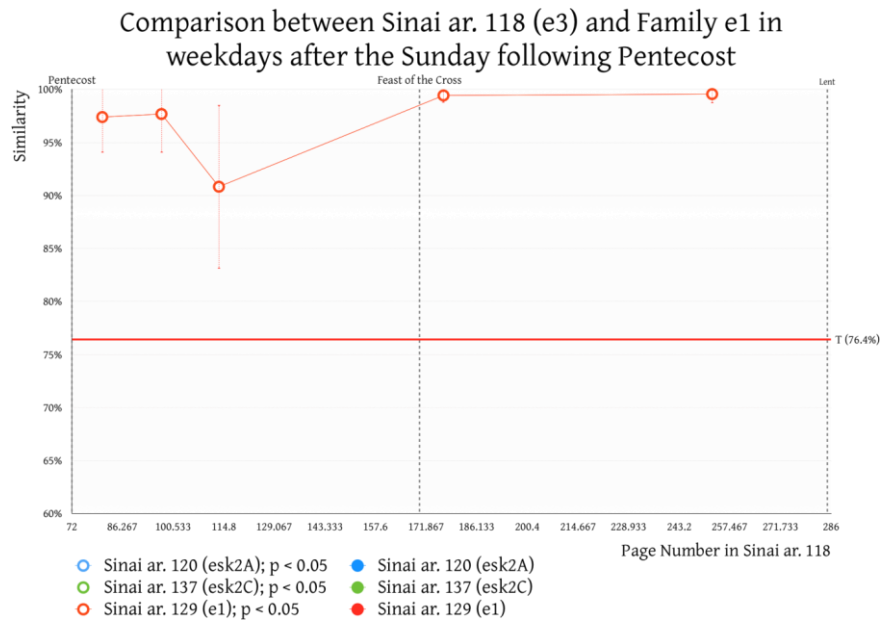


Fig. 15. The similarity between Sinai ar. 118 and a representative of Family e1 at five weekday test passages⁸²

⁸² Matt 7:15-21; 12:42-45; 16:1-4; Luke 4:41-44; Mark 13:5-11.

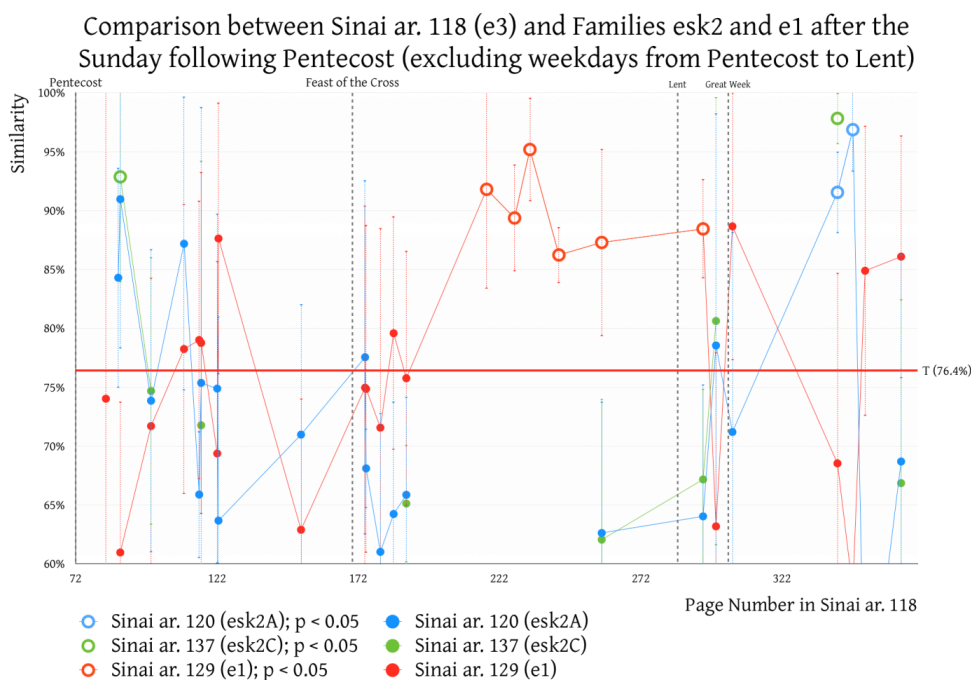


Fig. 16. The similarity between Sinai ar. 118 and representatives of Families esk2 and e1 at 27 test passages.⁸³

Family e4 – A Composite of an Unknown esk Lectionary and Family e1

Another example of a manuscript which is derived of an esk lectionary and Family e1 is Sinai ar. 121 (1243 AD).⁸⁴ In this instance, it appears that there was an unknown esk lectionary source used until the Sunday after Pentecost. Thereafter, since the esk source did not

⁸³ Matt 4:19–22; 8:1–4; 6:27–30; 9:9–13; 10:37–40; 12:31–34; 14:15–18; 15:32–35; 14:22–25; 23:4–9; Luke 4:31–34; 5:1–4; 6:31–34; 7:11–14; 8:9–15; 12:17–20; 14:20–23; 17:16–19; 18:40–43; 15:11–20; Mark 7:31–34; 10:42–45; John 12:1–4; 18:19–27; Matt 27:29–32; John 19:34–37; Matt 28:16–20.

⁸⁴ October 3, 6752 AM^{byz}. Atiya, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 236–237.

contain weekday lessons from that point, Sinai ar. 121 shifts to following Family *e1* (see fig. 17). Like Family *e1*, it also follows the S-system.

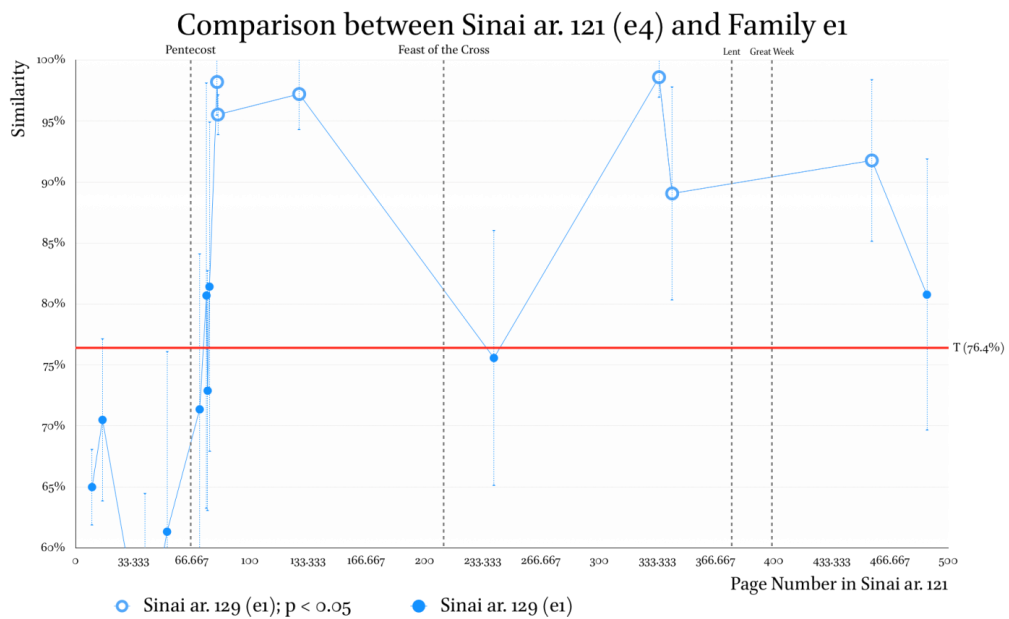


Fig. 17. The similarity between Sinai ar. 121 and a representative of Family *e1* at 16 test passages.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ John 5:35–38; 6:30–33; 10:25–28; Luke 24:50–53; Matt 18:12–15; 5:34–37, 43–46; 19:27–30; 7:10–13, 15–21; 16:1–4; Luke 8:9–15; Mark 13:5–11; Luke 15:11–20; John 18:19–27; Matt 28:16–20.

List

The following list summarizes the basic details of each manuscript.

Catalogue Number	Family	Date (AD)	Commentaries	Material	Folios	Length (cm)	Width (cm)
Sinai ar. 116	Jerusalemite	995/6	None	Paper	208	20.5	14.5
Sinai ar. 117	<i>sk1</i>	1203	None	Paper	139	23	15
Sinai ar. 118	<i>e3</i>	1254	Yes	Paper	238	25	16
Sinai ar. 119	<i>e1</i>	1236	Yes	Paper	436	24.5	17
Sinai ar. 120	<i>esk2A</i>	13 th C.	None	Paper	241	21	14.5
Sinai ar. 121	<i>e4</i>	1243	Yes	Paper	360	29.5	20.5
Sinai ar. 122	<i>esk2C</i>	1227	Yes	Paper	321	26	17
Sinai ar. 123	<i>k2</i>	1279	Yes	Paper	196	22	14
Sinai ar. 125	<i>e1</i>	1241	Yes	Paper	248	25	15
Sinai ar. 126	<i>sk2</i>	13 th C.	None	Paper	300	13	12.5
Sinai ar. 127	<i>e1</i>	1293	None	Paper	241	28.5	21.5
Sinai ar. 128	<i>esk2C</i>	13 th C.	Yes	Paper	272	24.5	19
Sinai ar. 129	<i>e1</i>	1236	Yes	Paper	395	26.2	16
Sinai ar. 130	<i>e1</i>	13 th C.	Yes	Paper	137	26	17.5
Sinai ar. 132	<i>e1</i>	1281	Yes	Paper	520	21.5	14.5

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Sinai ar. 133	<i>esk1</i>	1102	None	Paper	137	18.5	13.5
Sinai ar. 134	Original: <i>e1</i> Supplements: <i>e2</i> (in part)	Original: 13 th C. Supplements: 17 th C.	Yes	Paper	383	25	13.5
Sinai ar. 135	<i>e1</i>	1324/5	Yes	Paper	238	29	20
Sinai ar. 136	<i>e2</i>	1685	Yes	Paper	288	21	13.5
Sinai ar. 137	<i>esk2C</i>	1215	Yes	Paper	390	20	13.5
Sinai ar. 138	<i>esk2C</i>	1117 (probable)	Yes	Paper	350	25.5	17
Sinai ar. 139	<i>esk2B</i>	1185	None	Paper	172	21.5	13.5
Sinai ar. 144	<i>k1</i>	1053	Yes	Paper	204	17.5	13.5
Sinai ar. 150	<i>k2</i>	1231	Yes	Paper	314	24	16.5
Sinai ar. 152	<i>esk3</i>	13 th C.	None	Paper	303	19	13
Sinai ar. 164	<i>k2</i>	1238	Yes	Paper	356	26.6	17
Sinai ar. 680	<i>e1</i>	1325	Yes	Paper	376	24	16

Conclusion

This study has grouped the Arabic Gospel lectionaries at St Catherine's into twelve families according to their types and textual affinities. In many instances, the sources for these families from the continuous-text Gospel manuscript families as well as in other lectionaries were identified. These lectionaries can now be used to study the history of the text of these families. Of particular interest is

the way that a number of the lectionary families (such as *esk1*, *esk2*, *e2*, *e3*, and *e4*) appear to be composites of other sources. This can be explained in part due to the laborious nature of constructing a new lectionary.⁸⁶ This means that when developments occurred in the lectionary calendar, it would have been easier to copy from an existing lectionary and supplement new lessons from a new source rather than to create an entirely new lectionary from scratch. This aspect also helps to explain how certain translations persisted in the lectionary tradition even after they ceased being copied in continuous-text manuscripts. For example, continuous-text families A and B were mainly copied in the 9th and 10th centuries⁸⁷ yet these texts survived in the lectionary tradition in family *esk2* which, in the manuscripts of the present study, were copied in the 12th and 13th centuries. This feature of preserving of earlier texts is especially important in the case of family B which is of particular significance for the wider history of the transmission of the Gospels because it was translated from a Greek *Vorlage* with a high proportion of non-Majority Text variant readings.⁸⁸ In many parts of the Gospels this family was previously only known from just one continuous-text codex and now these lectionaries can substantially help in reconstructing this important text. Though readings from the fixed cycle were excluded from the scope of this study, a study of the menologion sections for these families will potentially offer further insight to their transmission history and the development of the lectionary calendar. It is hoped that the other surviving Arabic Gospel lectionaries will be studied and these families can be added to and known in greater depth.

⁸⁶ See Burns' table outlining the various methods to produce lectionary manuscripts: Burns, "Comparative", p. 16.

⁸⁷ See Kashouh's "Abridged List of the Arabic Gospel Manuscripts" in Kashouh, *Arabic Versions*, pp. 46–77.

⁸⁸ Kashouh, "Sinai", pp. 34–39. Also: Robert Turnbull, "The Textual Character of Codex Sinaiticus Arabicus and its Family" (forthcoming).