

The Christian-Arabic Literature
of the Mozarabs

Studia Classica et Mediaevalia

Band 20

**hrsg. von
Paolo Fedeli und Hans-Christian Günther**

**Accademia di studi italo-tedeschi, Merano
Akademie deutsch-italienischer Studien, Meran**

Heinrich Goussen

The Christian-Arabic Literature
of the Mozarabs

Foreword & English Translation
With a Selected Bibliography and a General Index by

Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala

Verlag Traugott Bautz

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind
im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Cover:

"The angel, the sun and the four winds" (Revelation 7)
Year 962; Monastery of San Miguel de Escalada, Gradefes, Leon (Spain)

Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH
99734 Nordhausen 2018
ISBN 978-3-95948-347-6

CONTENTS

Foreword	7
Goussen's <i>Christian–Arabic Literature of the Mozarabs</i>	11–33
§. 1. Preliminary Remarks	11
§. 2. Bible and Exegesis	13
§. 3. Fathers and Councils.....	27
<i>Sigla</i> and Abbreviations	35
Selected Bibliography	41
1. Primary Sources and Translations	41
1.1. Arabic Sources	41
1.2. Latin Sources	45
1.3. Romance Sources	50
2. Secondary Literature	51
General Index	137

Foreword

Almost twenty years ago, fired with youthful enthusiasm, I ventured upon a Spanish translation of Goussen's *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1909), together with a selected bibliography. Although the initial aim was to introduce Mozarabic studies to a wider audience, both the translation and the bibliographical selection were also meant as a modest contribution to the rekindling of interest in a greatly neglected area of Mozarabic studies: the textual production of Latin-Arabic bilingual authors and translators.

Whether or not this translation served to encourage potential students at the time, it is impossible to say. But what we can assert, albeit tentatively, is that the last few years have seen a growing interest in this specific field. The translation of Goussen's book may thus have been the fruit of that earlier inertia, part of a whole bundle of texts that emerged at the threshold of the new millennium.

The Spanish edition has been out of print for years, and colleagues have repeatedly called for it to be reprinted. In yielding to their insistence, however, we opted for a shift of focus. This time the German text would be translated into English, with a view to expanding its readership by making both the translation and the bibliographical selection available to colleagues who do not read German or Spanish.

In the Spanish edition, we retained the approach to quotations used by Goussen in the original German. For the present edition, however, it was deemed more appropriate to complete quotations and, in certain cases, even correct occasional errors in the titles of articles or in the number of pages.

Similarly, the selected bibliography published in the original Spanish edition has been thoroughly revised and updated. The new bibliography is divided into primary and secondary sources, and has been considerably enlarged to include not only new contributions, but also other publications left out of the Spanish edition; additionally, a number of bibliographical references to Mozarab history and culture have been incorporated. Finally, a general index with ancient and modern personal names, place names and subjects has been added.

After almost twenty years, new horizons can be discerned: several major monographs have been published, together with a whole range of collective studies and editions of considerable specialist interest. All this points, however tentatively, to a certain revitalization of Mozarabic studies, which will undoubtedly contribute to our knowledge both of Andalusian societies and of Mozarabic communities within and outside al-Andalus, in the northern Iberian peninsula and in North Africa, where for a time the Mozarabs continued to produce works in Arabic.

The following pages were not originally intended as yet another narrative regarding Mozarab textual production. Indeed, Goussen never meant to pen an original essay on Mozarabic texts and translations; rather, he sought to provide German readers with a guideline to the literature in Arabic produced by the Mozarabs in the Iberian peninsula during the stormy period between the eighth and twelfth centuries A.D.

The present book is part of the Research Project FFI2014-53556-R: ‘Study and Edition of the Greek, Arabic and Latin Biblical and Patristic Mss’, granted by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness. I would like to express my gratitude to my colleague and friend Prof. Andrea Robligio, who provided me with luminous advices while I was on the road.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of a beloved friend and master who passed away ten years ago, Prof. Mikel de Epalza (1938-2008). He not only encouraged me, from the very beginning, to study Mozarabic texts, but also showed, from the outset, his appreciation of the Spanish version of Goussen’s book. I trust that this new English translation will serve as a well-deserved tribute both to his intellectual standing and to his friendship.

Verus amicus amici nunquam obliviscitur

Late winter, 2018

Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala

§. 1.

Preliminary remarks

A paragraph in *Indiculus luminosus*, by the great mid-9th century Spanish patriot and writer Alvar of Córdoba¹ (*Oh pain! The Christians are ignorant of their own law and the Latins have forgotten their mother tongue, so much so that scarcely one in a thousand men can correctly address a letter to a brother in Latin, and yet many are able to speak perfect Arabic*) might lead us to believe that Spanish Christians abandoned their faith, their national customs and their language in the wake of the Arabic conquest. In fact, quite the opposite occurred: though subjugated and mistreated by the Moors, most Spanish Christians – known as Mozarabs – retained their Christian faith and the Latin (Roman) language. They accounted for the majority of the local population, and maintained close contacts with their free brethren in northern Spain. Later, thousands enlisted in the newly-formed liberating

¹ See Henrique Flórez, *España Sagrada* (Madrid: Oficina Antonio Marín, 1702-73) vol. XI, p. 274. On the author and his work, see also Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los mozárabes de España deducida de sus mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores cristianos y árabes* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de la Viuda e Hijos de M. Tello, 1897-1903), p. 457; note also Paul de Lagarde's complaint (*Die Vier Evangelien Arabisch* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1864), p. XV) that theologians have neglected this major author; that neglect persists today.

armies, and thereafter settled in liberated cities; this, more than anything else, explains how the Christians managed to reconquer the country so swiftly. Numerous surviving writings in Latin by Mozarabic authors (dismissed by the Arabs as ‘non-Arabic literature’) are documented in Simonet’s great *Historia de los mozárabes* (pp. 338², 637³, 693⁴, 711⁵). Among the works which emerged under Arab rule, the writings on biblical, liturgical, patristic and canonical subjects listed therein are of particular interest.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that Alvar of Córdoba – fired by religious and patriotic zeal – exaggerated the decline and impoverishment of the Latin language and its literature amongst his compatriots. What most deeply troubled this excellent thinker – hence his heartfelt warning – was the fact that quite a few learned and scholarly Christians, beguiled by Arab power and might, placed their own faith in jeopardy by devoting themselves to the literature of their masters, outshining even the Muslims themselves in their handling of Arabic poetry and prose (see Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 345). This would to some extent explain why the output of Spanish Christian writers in Arabic was so scanty, and by no means comparable to the work produced by their Christian brethren in the East.

² ‘Estudios literarios y científicos de los mozárabes de Córdoba’.

³ ‘Cultura científica y literaria de los mozárabes durante el siglo X’.

⁴ ‘El oficio hispano-gótico-mozárabe’.

⁵ ‘De los estudios literarios del pueblo mozárabe’.

§. 2.

Bible and Exegesis

Spanish Christians did not produce a translation of the whole Bible into Arabic, simply because the Arab intruders were expelled before this task could be completed. Though Spanish historiographers have speculated that such a translation may have been made by their ancestors, this is in fact no more than wishful thinking, one of those academic protestant notions of the Bible which were of course unknown in the Christian Antiquity.⁶ For many centuries, the translation of Bible texts was aimed at meeting the practical needs of Christian worship, the liturgy and the divine offices.⁷ The Christian 'Holy Books' sought out by the pagans during the persecutions were above all liturgical texts, together with the *Gospels*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, the *Psalms* and at most the *Prophets*.

This would account for the fact that whilst there are Mozarabic translations into Arabic of the *Gospels*, the *Pauline Epistles* and the *Psalms*, no other translated Bible texts are to be found. As far as we are aware, the first translation into Arabic of one of these texts was

⁶ P. de Lagarde, *op. cit.*, p. XII *et seq.*

⁷ See Heinrich Goussen, 'Die georgischen Bibelübersetzungen,' *Oriens Christianus* VI (1906), p. 310.

made⁸ in Córdoba, the centre of Moorish and Christian literature in mid-10th century Spain. The original appears to have been a Latin translation of the Gospels, to judge by the Western division of chapters and use of prologues of the sort widespread in Spain. In the three best-known manuscripts of this translation –the León⁹ manuscript and the two Munich¹⁰ manuscripts, since unfortunately a page is missing from the London manuscript (= *Brit. Mus. cod. add. 9061*)¹¹ – the start of Luke’s *Gospel* is preceded by the following note: “In the year 946 it [i.e. the *Gospel According to Luke*] was translated by Ishāq ibn Balašk al-Qurtubī.” Nothing further is known of this Ishāq ibn Balašk. However, a note at the end of the León manuscript –

⁸ On this point, see F.J. Simonet’s earlier comment (*op. cit.*, p. 770, note 2), on a valuable Codex of *Psalms* at El Escorial, figuring as lost in the handwritten index drawn up by Alonso del Castillo. The index refers literally to: “Iḥafṣ of Córdoba in the verse translation (?) of the 150 Psalms of David, Peace be upon him! The book opens with a moral exhortation (serving as a prologue), and each psalm is prefaced by a short explanatory commentary.”

⁹ Ignazio Guidi, ‘La traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico,’ *ARAL CCLXXX/4* (1888), pp. 28-29; id., ‘Note miscellanea,’ *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 3 (1889), pp. 11-12, and especially F.J. Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. 751-753.

¹⁰ See Joseph Aumer, *Catalogus codicorum manu scriptorium bibliothecae regiae Monacensis, tomus I, pars II: codices arabicos complectens* (Munich: Sumptibus Bibliothecae Regiae, 1866), cod. Arab. christ. 238 and cod. Arab. 234; Georg Graf, *Die christliche-arabische Literatur bis zur fränkischen Zeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1905), p. 225; Karl Römer, *Der Codex Arabicus Monacensis Aumer 238. Eine spanisch-arabische Evangelienhandschrift* (Leipzig: Drugulin, 1905). The Moorish copyist who produced the second Munich manuscript converted the original Christian date into an Islamic date, see G. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹¹ See I. Guidi, ‘La traduzioni degli Evangelii,’ p. 28; G. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 28, Here, Guidi’s observation is mistaken!

dated 1175 (Spanish era), i.e. 1137 AD – indicates that the text was transcribed “from an old copy, written on parchment, that concluded with the words: Here endeth the text of the fourth *Gospel*, the work of John, son of Zebedee. He wrote it in around the year 50 after the Ascension of Christ, and its conclusion marks the completion of the four *Gospels* of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, which are to be found in this book. Praise be to God!” Nothing more is known of the author or the origin of the Spanish Arabic translation of the *Gospels*.

Turning to the manuscripts themselves, we shall look first at the parchment *Codex 4971*¹² at the ‘Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid’, which is unfortunately in a very poor state of repair. This Codex originally contained the four full *Gospels* and the *Pauline Epistles*; the text now preserved comprises Matthew (almost complete), fragments of Mark and Luke, John (complete!¹³), together with Paul’s *Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Laodiceans* and *Timothy* (also incomplete). Finally, there is a fragment from St. Jerome on the “Advent of Christ.” This important quarto manuscript comprises 246 sheets, 39 of which are parchment – restored in around 1542 – and the rest paper. The parchment sheets begin with a fragment of Luke¹⁴ and contain John’s *Gospel*. “The

¹² See Francisco Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1889), n° CCXXXVIII.

¹³ At the end of John’s *Gospel* (on the last sheet of the parchment manuscript) the following illegible words appear: ... يوسف عبد الحكيم ...

¹⁴ See the facsimile of the first parchment sheet of this manuscript and a page from the *Pauline Epistles*, pp. 24 and 25. The ‘Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid’ holds under shelfmark 3484 (Robles n° DC) a new collection (127 paper sheets measuring 22 × 15 cms.) written, from the second passage of the *Pauline Epistles* onwards, in Maghrebi script. This is simply a copy of *Cod. 4971* (Robles CCXXXVIII). There is a complete match both of the text and of the *lacunae*.

manuscript was confiscated from a man named Zacarías Fernández, who kept it in a small kitchen cupboard.”

Attention has focused on a particular aspect of the text as found in two quarto-sized parchment sheets held by the ‘Leipzig University Library’ under the alternative titles *Cod. 1059* and *Tischendorf 31*. The sheets, discovered by Tischendorf¹⁵ at the ‘Monastery of Sinai’, are not wholly without literary value.¹⁶ This *Gospel* fragment contains only some introductions (chapter indicators) for Matthew and Mark (biographical fragment), but nothing of the Gospel text in itself. How these sheets, or perhaps the whole Spanish Arabic translation of the *Gospels*, could have reached Sinai was at the time a mystery.¹⁷ Yet nothing could be simpler! Eastern Christians had always been in contact with those of the West, bound by a shared poverty, particularly since those had lived under Muslim oppression. The ‘Monastery at Sinai’ still preserves the requests of their prefects and

¹⁵ One might properly mention, in this context, that the famous *Codex Sinaiticus* was discovered as such before Tischendorf, and extensively described, by Porphyrius Uspenski.

¹⁶ See Constantin von Tischendorf, *Anekdota sacra et profana ex oriente et occidente allata. Editio repetita. Notitia codicum Graecorum, Arabicorum, Syriacorum, Copticorum, Hebraicorum, Aethiopicorum, Latinorum: cum excerptis multis maximam partem Graecis et 35 scripturarum antiquissimarum specimenibus*, (Leipzig: Sumptibus Hermannii Fries, 1861, 2nd ed.), p. 70. Heinrich L. Fleischer, ‘Beschreibung der von Prof. Dr. Tischendorf i. J. 1853 aus dem Morgenlande zurückgebrachten (!?) christlich-arabischen Hss,’ *ZDMG* 8 (1854), pp. 584 and 586, with facsimile! Karl Völlers and Edmund von Dobschütz, ‘Ein spanisch-arabisches Evangelienfragment,’ *ZDMG* 56 (1902), pp. 633-648. See also Siegmund Fränkel, ‘Zu den spanisch-arabisches Evangelienfragment,’ *ZDMG* 57 (1903), p. 201 and G. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.

¹⁷ See K. Völlers, ‘Ein spanisch-arabisches Evangelienfragment,’ p. 635 and Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

letters of recommendation from popes referring to the extensive and highly-organised requests for alms in Roman lands.¹⁸ According to the records, Spain – which had itself been oppressed by the infidels for so long – had, since the time of Queen Isabella I of Castile, headed the list of donors to the brotherhood at Sinai, whence it often received visitors. In the late 15th century, for example, the Sinaite procurators Leontius and Saba the Syrian visited Spain shortly after one another once Macarius was made Abbot.¹⁹ On these alms-raising trips around Spain, it is conceivable that a Sinai monk received sheets,²⁰ or even a few copies, of Arabic translations of the *Gospels* made in Spain and that he took these back to his monastery library, which boasted a large collection of similar Christian Arabic manuscripts.

After the Madrid parchment Codex, the next most valuable is the manuscript referred to earlier at the Cathedral Archive in León,

¹⁸ See Perikles Gregoriades, *The Sacred Monastery of Sinai* (Jerusalem, 1875), pp. 98 *et seq.* (in Greek). Porphyrius Uspenski, *Second Trip to Sinai Monastery in the year 1850* (Saint Petersburg: Morskago Kadetskago Korpusa, 1856), pp. 296-297 and p. 391 *et seq.* (in Russian).

¹⁹ Not in the index provided by Louis Cheikho, 'Les Évêques du Sinai,' *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* II (1907), pp. 408-421, but present in Uspenski's index, *Second Trip*, pp. 350-367, esp. p. 363.

²⁰ The Leipzig parchment sheets may in any case have belonged to the original Madrid manuscript. The concise, but better-classified Arabic index of the Christian Arabic manuscripts at Sinai, published by P.A. Syrku in *Description of the papers of the Bishop Porphyrius Uspenski* (St. Petersburg: Sanktpeterburg, 1891), pp. 325-349 (in Russian), mentions below the *Gospels* dated on paper, p. 329 (48): "A *Gospel* with explanatory notes, written in the year 1245 of God made man." The Western form of dating suggests, at most, a Spanish Arabic copy in which the 'explanatory note' was later maintained in the index of chapters and the argument of this translation.

which had previously been held at El Escorial²¹ (?). Its 144 sheets (18 x 16 cms), containing the four complete *Gospels*, date – with other similar manuscripts – from the darkest days of Mozarabic Christendom. In the year 1126, a large number of Spanish Christians were deported from the lands of Granada and Córdoba to the North African regions of Fez and Meknes, followed by further deportations. In the eleventh year of the first exile, a bishop named Michael ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz copied the London codex from an early parchment manuscript,²² and sent it to another Mozarab named ‘Alī, perhaps his brother. The melancholy final comment reads:

“Written by the servant of the servants of God, the Word of the Father, the Eternal God, Bishop Michael ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz for ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān the wise, May God grant him fortune and grace! And he completed the copy on Friday 23 July in the year 1175 of the Spanish era (= 1137 AD) in

²¹ *Codex Escorialensis*, H, IV, 10, in the handwritten index drawn up by Alonso del Castillo, see F.J. Simonet, *op. cit.*, pp. 751-752. In 1565, the Spanish orientalist and poet López de Tamarid corrected the description, which at the time belonged to a Morisco physician named Maestro Andreas. This somewhat confused description forms part of the manuscript, and the original reads as follows: “These are the four Gospels translated from the Hebrew and the Chaldean language of Saint Jerome, translated and published in the Arabic language in the city of Córdoba, when under Moorish rule, by the Moor Aben Velasco of Córdoba, as it would appear from the prologue to the *Gospel* of St. Luke, and states that he translated it from Hebrew (!?) And I, Francisco Tamarid, have read the texts and compared them with the Gospels in Latin of the Catholic Church, and find them to be a literal translation, with no disagreement in anything: this was written in the town of Sorbas. 17 May 1565.” (In Spanish).

²² Perhaps from the Madrid *Cod. 4971*.

the Maghrebi city of Fez, over the sea, in the eleventh year of exile of the Andalusí Christians, May God return them to their land!²³ He wrote it at the age of 57. May God have mercy on him who reads it and who begs for compassion for the scribe. Amen. And the translation was made from a Latin original, which was rendered by the wise presbyter and translator, Jerome, May God look kindly upon him!”

Contemporary texts²⁴ included the Christian Arabic *Aumer Codex* 238,²⁵ now in Munich, and two manuscript translations of the Psalter, one now in the British Museum (*Addit.* 9060) and the other in the Vatican (*Codex Vat. Ar. V, olim secundus*). The London *Psalter*,²⁶ which

²³ This wish was granted around 500 years later when, under Philip III, Andalusí Christians were able to return to the land of their fathers following the revenge expulsion of Moriscos and Jews.

²⁴ F.J. Simonet, *op. cit.*, p. 770, draws attention to another *Gospel* manuscript included in Castillo's index, which was destroyed by the fire at El Escorial in 1671. Simonet notes: “A codex produced at this time (i.e. during the exile) was preserved at the ‘Real Biblioteca del Escorial’, according to Castillo's early catalogue; it contained the Holy Gospels translated into Arabic by one *Simeón ben Calil*, known as *Almolabban*, in the year of Jesus Christ 1179.” One of his comments reads: “A note in Arabic states (according to Castillo) that this year (1179) corresponds to 865 Hijra, rather than 595, a strange, incomprehensible oversight that can only be attributed to a printing error or to a misreading of the dates by Castillo.” However, if we read it as year 1170 of the era of the Coptic martyrs, then the two dates match to within a couple of years; and Simeon ibn Kulayl (rather than Kalil) is a well-known figure in Arabic Coptic literature.

²⁵ See also pp. 15-16.

²⁶ See *Catalogus codicum manuscritorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur. Pars secunda codices Arabicos complectens*, ed. F. Madden (London: Impensis curatorum Musei Britannici, 1846). *Codd. Arab. Christiani (Testamentum Vetus)*, n° IV.

contains the *Song of Songs* from the *Old Testament* together with the *New Testament*, is a quarto-sized volume comprising 207 parchment sheets. The first 21 sheets are the work of a certain Muslim, while the remainder were handwritten by ‘Abd Allāh ibn Qaluwarih al-Rūmī, of the city of Sabtah (Ceuta), in the year 1239. The preface reads:

“In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, the One God. Jerome, translator and sage, May God have mercy on him!, states: This is the beginning of the *Book of Psalms*, in which are written the words of the God-fearing David, which he prophesied, etc.”²⁷

The Vatican Psalter must have been produced no later than in the 13th century. Assemani²⁸, and above all Adler,²⁹ made reference to it. Assemani described it as

Codex in 8. bombycinus, constans foliis 130... caractere cufico seu (sic!) arabico africano antiquo descriptus una cum textu hebraico inter lineas, litteris tamen rabbinico-hispanietis... initium (Psalmorum) fol. 10... Init. (praefationes) fol. 1: In nomine Dei misericordis, elementis. Hoc principium est libri psalmorum, quos David propheta edidit etc. Is codex ad duodecimum Christi saeculum videtur haud immerito referendus.

²⁷ See facsimiles of fol. 1^r and 14^v of this manuscript, pp. 26 and 27.

²⁸ See Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum. Nova Collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita IV* (Rome: Typis Collegii Urbani, 1831), p. 5. See facsimiles of fol. 1^r and 5^v of this manuscript, pp. 28 and 29.

²⁹ Jak Georg Adler, *Biblisch-kritisch Reise nach Rom* (Altona: J.D.A. Eckhardt, 1783), pp. 133-134.

Adler notes of this edition:

“It would certainly be odd if it were as Assemani claimed, i.e. Kufic; he labels as Kufic everything that is not Neo-Arabic or *naskhi*, and as *estrangelo* everything that is not Neo-Syriac. Not just the Arabic but also the Rabbinic Hebrew are in Neo-African script. The Hebrew was added between the lines once the manuscript was completed, yet the manuscript appears to have been planned like that, since the lines were well separated. The manuscript opens with an introduction in Arabic dealing with the authors of the Psalms, their division into five books, and the way they were to be sung during mass and in private. This would be criticised by some Eastern Christians, who had condemned the use of certain formulas of prayer and the use of songs, arguing that the heart alone should address God. The Arabic translation is not like the others, being more of a paraphrase. It was probably made by a Christian, or at least passed through Christian hands. There are frequent references to the Church, not only in the introduction³⁰ but also in the headings to the Psalms. The Arabic is by no means perfect, and terms are sometimes misused. But who wrote the interlinear Hebrew text? It must have been a Jew, to judge by the African Jewish script; perhaps a convert. There is a fairly close match with the Masoretic recension. The manuscript would appear to date from the 14th century, and was certainly produced before 1462, the date added by someone else at the end of the text, who assumed that the manuscript was Armenian.”

³⁰ Josephus Assemani: *Laudat enim (auctor) passim divum Paulum apostolum et ss. Patres Augustinum ac Hieronymum.*

The above-mentioned *Gospel* manuscripts in the ‘British Museum’ and the ‘Münchener Königliche Bibliothek’³¹ date from the 15th century. The London manuscript *Addit. 9061*³² is a quarto-sized paper codex comprising 154 sheets; some of the middle sheets are missing, and other more recent sheets have been added at the end. It contains the well-known prologues or Western arguments; Matthew is divided into 28 chapters, Mark into 13, Luke into 21 and John into 14.

The Munich manuscript is the most interesting, since its original dates back to the earliest period of the Christian exile in Morocco.³³ *Cod. Ar. 238* belonged to the famous Syriacist Widmanstad, the first editor of the Syriac New Testament in 1555. The manuscript is a mixed folio volume containing:

1. The four Gospels with the well-documented introductions and headings, folios 1-90 (some sheets were restored at a later date).
2. An extract from Eusebius’ *History of the Church* (I,7,1-8), folios 90-92.
3. An index of pericopes for Sundays and feast-days throughout the ecclesiastical year with corresponding instructions, folios 92-97.

The interesting postscripts on fol. 97 read:

“The jewel was completed with the praise of God and His kind assistance. The scribe has copied them from some books written

³¹ Currently ‘Bayerische Staatsbibliothek’ (translator’s note).

³² F. Madden, *op. cit.* (*Testamentum Novum*), n° XIII. See also the facsimile of fol. 111^v, on p. 30.

³³ See p. 13 above, and the detailed description in K. Römer, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-9 and G. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26. See also the facsimile on p. 31.