



Miracles and Visions at the Monastery of St. Symeon the Younger near Antioch

Milagros y visiones en el Monasterio de San Simeón el Joven cerca de Antioquía

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Abstract: This article will consider and translate into English two 11th-century texts written and preserved in manuscripts originally from St. Symeon the Younger's Monastery west of Antioch: a previously unknown Arabic miracle text, which is also edited here for the first time, and a Greek apocalyptic text that was recently edited and translated into French.¹ In so doing, it will also seek to contextualize the production of these texts and manuscripts at the rich scholarly center and monastic library at St. Symeon, demonstrating the remarkable wealth of extant evidence, largely preserved at St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, from this long-since defunct Syrian monastery.

Keywords: Antioch; The Monastery of St. Symeon the Wonderworker; Hagiography; Byzantium; Christian Arabic.

Resumen: Este artículo analiza y traduce al inglés dos textos del siglo XI, escritos y conservados en manuscritos del monasterio de San Simeón el Joven, al oeste de Antioquía: un texto árabe sobre milagros, hasta ahora desconocido y que se edita aquí por primera vez; y un texto griego apocalíptico, recientemente editado y traducido al francés. Asimismo, se buscará contextualizar la producción de estos textos y manuscritos en el rico centro académico y biblioteca monástica de San Simeón, demostrando la notable riqueza de testimonios existentes, en gran parte conservados en el monasterio de Santa Catalina en el Sinaí, procedentes de este monasterio sirio ya desaparecido.

Palabras clave: Antioquía; Monasterio de San Simeón el Taumaturgo; Hagiografía; Bizancio; Árabe cristiano.

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¹ For the latter, see Beatrice Caseau and Charis Messis, "Saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune et son héritage au XIe – XIIe siècle", *Byzantina Symmeikta* 31 (2021), pp. 241-280.

The Monastery of St. Symeon the Wonderworker

The Monastery of St. Symeon the Wonderworker was founded in the sixth century around the pillar of St. Symeon the Younger Stylite on a mountain that would become known as the “Wondrous Mountain”, due to Symeon’s epithet as “the Wonderworker”. The monastery became a major late antique cult site and a leading regional monastery in the western mountainous hinterland of Antioch.² The 7th-century Islamic conquests portended a period of fate for the monastery—and of some obscurity in our extant source material. In two letters written in the late 11th century, Nikon of the Black Mountain describes the monastery’s fall during the Islamic period. Quoting an unnamed book, he says that the monastery was burned and destroyed by Arab invaders, who slaughtered all the monks—a number he gives as forty—leaving the monastery uninhabited.³ In one instance in which he quotes this narrative, he blames the monastery’s sacking on the “Nestorians” and “Jacobites who were present in it”.⁴ Nikon then describes how, during the patriarchate of Agapios in Antioch (sed. 978–996), a divine revelation moved a famous elder to reside at St. Symeon’s. In words that this unnamed elder would later use to instruct his brethren at the monastery, he was told by a divine voice that “he who wants to reside on the holy Wondrous Mountain ought to have an angelic and apostolic life”.⁵

² See Lucy Anne Rosamund Parker, *Symeon Stylites the Younger and Late Antique Antioch: From Hagiography to History*, «Oxford Studies in Byzantium» (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022); Dina Boero and Charles Kuper, “Steps toward a Study of Symeon the Stylite the Younger and His Saint’s Cult”, *Studies in Late Antiquity* 4, no. 4 (2020), pp. 370–407; Ayse Henry, “The Pilgrimage Center of St. Symeon the Younger: Designed by Angels, Supervised by a Saint, Constructed by Pilgrims” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2015).

³ Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Das Taktikon des Nikon vom Schwarzen Berge: griechischer Text und kirchenslavische Übersetzung des 14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Christian Hannick, Monumenta linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris «Fontes et dissertationes» 62 (Freiburg: Weiher, 2014), no. 19 §26; 38 §22.

⁴ Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Taktikon*, no. 38 §22. On this *Logos* of Nikon, see William J. Aerts, “A Review of Logos 38 of Nikon of the Black Mountain,” in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean II: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality. Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle (the Netherlands) in May 2006*, ed. Krijna Nelly Ciggaar and V. Van Aalst, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 199 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2013), pp. 277–321.

⁵ Joe Glynias, “Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain West of Antioch in the 10th–11th Centuries,” *Studies in Late Antiquity* 4, no. 4 (2020), p. 414; Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Taktikon*, no. 19 §26.

Patriarch Agapios then transferred monks to the monastery from Mount Baracheos.⁶ Nikon told this refoundation narrative to explain the monastery's renewed prominence in the 10th–11th centuries, when it would be inhabited by hundreds of monks.

Nikon's narrative that the monastery was destroyed and abandoned after the Islamic conquests does not entirely align with other evidence from the Islamic period. Michael the Syrian describes a raid on the monastery in the early Islamic period but, as Caseau and Messis point out, by no means indicates that the monastery was abandoned.⁷ There is furthermore no archaeological evidence that the monastery was destroyed and subsequently rebuilt; rather, during the period of increased habitation in the Byzantine reconquest period (969–1084), the fundamental architecture and layout of the late antique space was expanded but not replaced.⁸ The *Life of Theodore of Edessa*, in describing this purportedly late 8th/early 9th-century saint in a heavily fictionalized account written in the early eleventh century, says that Theodore distributed money from a converted Muslim emir to St. Symeon the Younger's Monastery.⁹ More convincingly, the New Finds

⁶ Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Taktikon*, no. 38 §22. On Mt. Baracheos/Mykale (modern Samsun dağ overlooking ancient Priene), a major 10th-century Byzantine monastic center, see Rosemary Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 39–40; Raymond Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins: Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique*, «Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine» 2 (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1975), pp. 116–117.

⁷ B. Caseau and C. Messis, "Saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune et son héritage au XIe – XIIe siècle", p. 258; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien: patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, ed. and trans. Jean Baptiste Chabot, vol. 2 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), p. 422.

⁸ Wachtang Z. Djobadze, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch On-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 57–115, esp. 97–98; A. Henry, "The Pilgrimage Center of St. Symeon the Younger", pp. 138–154.

⁹ A. Henry, "The Pilgrimage Center of St. Symeon the Younger", pp. 96–97. On the life of Theodore of Edessa, see Klaus-Peter Todt and Mark Swanson, "Life of Theodore, Bishop of Edessa", in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 585–593, the forthcoming studies from the *Retracing Connections* project, and Béatrice Caseau and Charis Messis, "Stylites in the Middle Byzantine Period: The Case of the Novelistic Life of Theodore of Edessa", in *Syrian Stylites: Rereadings and Recastings of Late Ancient Super-Heroes*, ed. Barbara Crostini and Christian Høgel (Istanbul: The Swedish Research Institute, 2024), pp. 161–180. As Caseau and Messis demonstrate, however, the *Life of Theodore* has a number of connections to the contemporary cult of St. Symeon, a fact which lends less credence to this anecdote about the monastery two centuries prior. On the authorship of the life of Theodore of Edessa, see Robert Volk, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos VI/1: Historia animae utilis de Barlaam et Ioasaph (spuria)*, „Einführung”, «Patristische Texte

at the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai revealed a partially preserved Syriac translation of the Greek *Life of St. Symeon the Wonderworker*, written on the Black Mountain in 932/3 by a scribe named Abrāmī (Abraham).¹⁰ This manuscript mentions the context in which the text was translated: in 827/8, at the Monastery of St. Symeon the Younger on the Black Mountain, by a monk named Theodosios of Sarmīn under the patronage of the abbot of that time, Niketas, in the era of Patriarch Job of Antioch (sed. c. 799–c. 838). From a passage in the Arabic *Miracles of St. Eustratios*, we know that this Niketas was appointed by Patriarch Job to be Bishop of Aleppo in the 830s, holding the position for two years before his death.¹¹ That an abbot of St. Symeon the Younger’s monastery in the early ninth century would be so prominent as to be appointed bishop of Aleppo, indicates that the monastery was still active in this period.

Translations at St. Symeon

The Syriac translation of the Greek *Life of St. Symeon the Wonderworker* would be the first of a number of translations into Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian made in the region of Antioch—marking a Christian translation movement in which the Monastery of St. Symeon played a major role. A key figure in this narrative is the last Patriarch of Antioch before the Byzantine reconquest, Christopher (d. 967), four of whose students became the first generation of translators under Byzantine rule.¹² Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā’s *Life of Christopher* names among the students of Christopher a late-10th or early-11th century abbot of St. Symeon named Chariton, who likely played a role in encouraging the monastery’s vibrant 11th-century intellectual culture. Ibrāhīm says that he wrote brief accounts of Chariton and the other disciples of Christopher that he mentioned, making the composition of the *Life of Christopher*, likely written in the 1020s, a *terminus ante quem* for Chariton’s death.¹³ A fractional mosaic inscription that mentions the restoration of the main

und Studien» Bd. 61 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 81-86 (ascribes it to Euthymios of Mount Athos).

¹⁰ Alexander Treiger, “The Beginnings of the Graeco-Syro-Arabic Melkite Translation Movement in Antioch”, *Scrinium* 16 (2020), pp. 307-312; Alexander Treiger, *The Church Fathers in Arabic Translations* (Leiden: Brill, 2025), pp. 150-155. The manuscript consists of both MSS Sinai syr. M15N and M76N; Philothée of Sinai, *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sinai* (Athens: Fondation du Mont Sinai, 2008), pp. 320-322 and 592-593.

¹¹ A. Treiger, “Beginnings”, pp. 308-311; A. Treiger, *Church Fathers*, pp. 151-153.

¹² A. Treiger, “Beginnings”, pp. 306-332; A. Treiger, *Church Fathers*, pp. 149-176.

¹³ Joshua Mugler, “The Life of Christopher”, *Al-‘Usur al-Wusta* 29, no. 1 (2021), pp. 112-114 and 176-177; A. Treiger, “Beginnings”, pp. 323-326; A. Treiger, *Church Fathers*, pp. 166-168.

Church of the Holy Trinity, dated by Cyril Mango to the 11th century, mentions the name Chariton, perhaps in reference to this abbot.¹⁴

Through his activity as a translator, Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā can also be connected to another abbot of St. Symeon, the prolific translator Antonios. Both Antonios and Ibrāhīm contributed texts to the Antioch Menologion compiled by Yūḥannā ‘Abd al-Masīḥ, a key early compilation in the history of Antiochene translation.¹⁵ Moreover, Sinai syr. 71, a manuscript containing the Greco-Syriac translation of the Byzantine Triodion preserved at Sinai (with some *membra disiecta* now in Europe) tells us that this text “was translated from the Greek language into Syriac in the days of Abrāhām, the secretary of the king, at the hands of Abba Antonios, the excellent hieromonk”.¹⁶ We should see in this colophon, written by an Antiochene monk in 1056, in recent memory of both Antonios and Ibrāhīm, the connection between Ibrāhīm’s patronage of translation and Antonios’ translation activities at St. Symeon.¹⁷ Antonios is known for his distinctive fingerprint as a translator, a

¹⁴ W. Z. Djbadze, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch On-the-Orontes*, p. 204. Mango reconstructs the reference to Chariton as a possible reference of the rededication of the sanctuary to St. Chariton; while this is possible, given the fragmentary nature of the inscription and the lack of any other evidence of the sanctuary’s rededication, its connection to the abbot Chariton appears plausible.

¹⁵ See Habib Ibrahim, “Un moine métaphraste à Antioche: Yūḥannā ‘Abd al-Masīḥ († 11e siècle)”, in *Foreign Monks in Byzantium: Migration Trends and Integration Policies in Religious Context*, ed. Daniel Oltean and Reinhart Ceulemans, «Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta» (Leuven: Bibliothèque de Byzantion, forthcoming); Alexander Treiger, “Sinaitica (1): The Antiochian Menologion, Compiled by Hieromonk Yūḥannā ‘Abd al-Masīḥ (First Half of the 13th Century)”, *Christian Orient / Христианский Восток* 8, no. 14 (2017), pp. 215-252; A. Treiger, *Church Fathers*, pp. 170-176; Joe Glynias, *The Arabic Life of Christian Empire: The Greco-Arabic Translation Movement of Roman Antioch* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

¹⁶ A. Treiger, *Church Fathers*, pp. 159-161; Sebastian P. Brock, “Syriac Manuscripts Copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch”, in *Lingua Restituta Orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Assfalg* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990), p. 62; Joshua Mugler, “Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūḥannā and the Translation Projects of Byzantine Antioch”, in *Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations*, ed. Alexander Treiger and Barbara Roggema (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 192-193. The colophon is found in a *membrum disiectum* of Sinai syr. 71 (London, BL Or. 8607, f. 28v), reconstituted by Paul Géhin: Paul Géhin, *Les manuscrits syriaques de parchemin du Sināi et leurs “Membra disiecta”* (Louvain: Peeters, 2017), pp. 118-123.

¹⁷ J. Glynias, “Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain,” no. 18; S. Brock, “Black Mountain”, pp. 66-67; J. Mugler, “Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūḥannā and the Translation Projects of Byzantine Antioch”, pp. 192-194; Samuel Noble, “A Byzantine Bureaucrat and Arabic Philosopher: Ibrāhīm Ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī and His Translation of *On the Divine Names* 4.18–35,” in *Caught in Translation: Studies on Versions of Late-Antique Christian Literature*, ed. Madalina Toca and Dan Batovici (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 268-270; J. Glynias, *The Arabic Life of Christian Empire*. The fact that the colophon calls Antonios

fingerprint which allows scholars to continue to attribute translations to him today.¹⁸ Indeed, it is tempting to suppose, given the glut of translations that continue to be attributed to him in Arabic and the additional attribution of translations to him in Syriac, that Antonios was not merely a translator acting alone, but a figure who worked in collaboration with other scholarly Melkites of St. Symeon in producing translations. The fact that he ascended to the rank of abbot in the monastery would have aided these collaborative efforts.

By the mid-11th century, the Monastery of St. Symeon's was in its heyday as the major monastic center of the region. The monastery's success is best exemplified by a description written in 1049 by the traveling Baghdadi physician and scholar Ibn Buṭlān (d. 1066), in a letter to a friend in Baghdad, the bureaucrat Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (d. 1056):

Outside the city [of Antioch] is the Monastery of Sim'ān. It is about half the [size of] the palace of the Caliph in Baghdad. Those that pass by stay there as guests. Its income every year is a large number of *qanāṭīr*¹⁹ of gold and silver—and it is said that its revenue for the year is 400,000 *dīnārs*. And from it, one can go up to the Black Mountain. On the mountain, there are monasteries, monastic cells, gardens, running streams, flowing rivers, ascetics, and pilgrims. When the *semantra* are struck at dawn, the melodies of prayers make one imagine they are in paradise.²⁰

a “hieromonk” means that he was not yet abbot when Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā was alive and when the Syriac translation of the Triodion was made.

¹⁸ A. Treiger, *Church Fathers*, pp. 80-81 and p. 277; Habib Ibrahim, “Some Notes on Antonios and His Arabic Translations of John of Damascus”, in *Patristic Literature in Arabic Translations*, ed. Alexander Treiger and Barbara Roggema (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 164-165; Habib Ibrahim and Mike Makhoul, “Les débuts du renouveau intellectuel à Antioche au X^e siècle. Quatre hagiographies inédites traduites au Mont-Admirable”, *Pecia* 18 (2015), pp. 39-54; Alexander Treiger, “Michael of Damascus' Greek Homily on the Beginning of Lent in Antonios of Antioch's Arabic Translation,” *Christian Orient / Христианский Восток* 9, no. 15 (2021), pp. 177-190.

¹⁹ *Qanāṭīr* are hundredweights, equaling 100 *riṭls* (approximately 100 lbs; the term can also mean an inordinately heavy weight). See Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte; Umgerechnet ins metrische System*, «Handbuch der Orientalistik» 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1955), pp. 24-27.

²⁰ Joseph Schacht and Max Meyerhof, *The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo: A Contribution to the History of Greek Learning among the Arabs*, «Egyptian University. Faculty of Arts» 13 (Cairo, 1937), pp. 19-20 (Arabic). Arabic text: وخارج البلد دير سمعان وهو مثل نصف دار الخلافة ببغداد يضاف فيها المجتازون وله من الارتفاع كل سنة عدة قناطير من الذهب والفضة وقيل أن دخله في السنة أربعمئة ألف دينار ومنه يصعد إلى جبل اللكام وفي هذا الجبل من الديارات والصوامع والبساتين والمياه المنفجرة والانهار الجارية والزهاد والسياح وضرب النواقيس في الاسحار وألحان الصلوات ما يتصور معه الانسان انه في الجنة.

Ibn Buṭlān was so impressed by his visit to the monasteries of Antioch that he returned a decade later to become a monk—perhaps, as Daniel Oltean has suggested, at St. Symeon’s.²¹

The Great Library of St. Symeon

A key factor that enabled scholarship and translation to occur at the Monastery of St. Symeon was its famous and well-stocked library of Greek manuscripts. The Greek-speaking monk and scholar Nikon of the Black Mountain repeatedly referenced finding and depositing manuscripts in the library of St. Symeon’s.²² The prolific Greek-to-Georgian translator Ephrem Mcire (d. 1103) who lived for decades in St. Symeon reports that Patriarch Theodore III of Antioch (sed. 1034–1042) donated 420 Greek manuscripts to the monastery, consisting of texts on both Christian and “outside” (i.e., non-Christian) subjects.²³ Nikon also makes specific references to the materials of Patriarch Theodore that he used at St. Symeon’s.²⁴ Ephrem also describes situations in which he went to St. Symeon to consult and compare Greek manuscript witnesses of a given text as he was preparing his translations. One of Ephrem’s immediate predecessors as a Greco-Georgian translator, the monk George the Recluse (d. 1068), had lived in a hermitage right outside St. Symeon for much of the 11th century. There, he trained his famous student George the Athonite (d. 1065) and copied and translated a number of books.²⁵

Only scattered remains of the famous library of St. Symeon’s remain today, consisting of manuscripts that were taken out of the monastery before its abandonment after the Mamlūk sack in 1268. Several Greek manuscripts from the monastery are extant. One of them, Jerusalem, Mar Saba gr. 108, an 11th-century copy of the original late antique *vitae* of St. Symeon and his mother Martha,

²¹ Daniel Oltean, “From Baghdad to Antioch and Constantinople: Ibn Buṭlān and the Byzantines”, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 114, no. 1 (2021), pp. 372–376. Oltean has little concrete evidence for this supposition; see Joe Glynias, “‘On the Move’ between the Medieval Byzantine and Islamic Worlds: The Arabic-Speaking Christian Physician Ibn Buṭlān”, *Medieval Worlds* 23 (2025), pp. 115–138.

²² See Chapter 4 of J. Glynias, *The Arabic Life of Christian Empire*.

²³ Nino Doborjginize, *Die georgische Sprache im Mittelalter*, «Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients» 17 (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2009), pp. 174–179; J. Glynias, “Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain”, pp. 423, 449.

²⁴ J. Glynias, “Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain”, pp. 439–440, n. 101.

²⁵ J. Glynias, “Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain”, pp. 431–132; B. Caseau and C. Mesis, “Saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune et son héritage au XIe – XIIe siècle”, pp. 246–248.

contained, among other titles, the report of a revelation that occurred at the monastery in 1032/3, which we discuss below. While no note remains to indicate that Mount Athos, Megisti Lavra B 71 was written and/or present at the Monastery of St. Symeon, it contains what Paul van den Ven called “un véritable corpus ‘syméonien’,” consisting of the *vitae* of St. Symeon and Martha followed by Symeon’s *Sermons* and unpublished liturgical texts related to Symeon and Martha.²⁶ Based on notes within the Gospel manuscript London, BL Harley 5647, we know that it was held at the Monastery of St. Symeon the Younger c. 1100, “in the days of Hosios Petros, *kathegoumenos* and archimandrite,” before entering the possession of Metropolitan Michael of Bostra, purchased by the nun Eirene for the Monastery of St. Theodore in the 14th century, and then finding its way to Britain by the early 18th century.²⁷ This manuscript is further notable for its rich illuminations of the four evangelists, with their names labeled in Arabic, in addition to the unique Gospel commentary it contains in the margins of Matthew and into the beginning of Mark, which includes an explicit reference to Tatian’s *Diatessaron*, an ancient gospel harmony which was still in circulation among Arabic-speaking Christians.²⁸ Sinai gr. 441, the unicum of Nikon of the Black Mountain’s *Taktikon* and *Little Book* which does not alter Nikon’s somewhat colloquial Greek style, was written by his student Gerasimos either at St. Symeon’s or from a Symeonite copy in Jerusalem.²⁹

As it was the main language used by the monks of St. Symeon and of most local Melkites in the region, it is no surprise that we can connect three 11th-century Arabic manuscripts to St. Symeon, in addition to two 13th-century manuscripts and several later manuscripts that claim to be based on medieval Symeonite apographs. Sinai ar. 473, a manuscript we will discuss in detail, contains no colophon, but its material, including the dated miracle story that we edit below and several translations that can be attributed to Antonios of St. Symeon, indicates that it was written at St. Symeon during the reign of Michael IV the Paphlagonian (r. 1034–1041). We provide a detailed description of this manuscript in the Appendix below.³⁰ Paris ar. 276 likewise is replete with translations made by Antonios of St. Symeon, and in this case, contains a colophon that calls Antonios the translator of the included texts.³¹

²⁶ Paul Van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le jeune (521–592)*, «Subsidia hagiographica» 32 (Brussels: Société des bollandistes, 1962), pp. 13*–14*.

²⁷ T. S. Pattie, *Summary Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts*, ed. Scot McKendrick (London: British Library, 1999), pp. 154–155.

²⁸ J. Glynias, “Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain”, pp. 423–424.

²⁹ J. Glynias, “Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain”, pp. 424–425. The likely 12th-century manuscript Vat. ar. 76 represents translations made at St. Symeon perhaps of either this very manuscript or one very much like it; see J. Glynias, *The Arabic Life of Christian Empire*.

³⁰ The manuscript is accessible online:

<https://sinaimanuscripts.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:%2F21198%2Fz1640t2z>.

³¹ The note also claims that the manuscript was copied in 1091 in the Seleucid era (780 CE) —an impossible date fabricated by a later hand, given the inclusion of the Arabic

Sinai ar. 453 contains the only complete version of Antonios' translation of the *Physiologos* in addition to, in Habib Ibrahim's estimation, a series of other translations by Antonios.³² As late as 1272, four years after the fall of Antioch to the Mamlūks, a monk of St. Symeon's held captive in Cairo copied an Epistolary now in the Vatican.³³ Three other Arabic manuscripts claim to have been copied from

translation of the 10th-century Greek work of Paul of Monemvasia: see H. Ibrahim, "Some Notes", p. 159; on this colophon, see also Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Le paterikon du manuscrit arabe 276 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris", *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), pp. 363-404. It seems possible to date Paris ar. 276 with precision. If we look at the colophon closely, it becomes obvious that only the words "and ninety to Alexander the Greek" are fabricated by a later hand; the words "one thousand and one" seem to belong to the original copyist. This means that the copyist employed the so-called Melkite era of the incarnation (abbreviated: AInc). The date must have been 10X1 AInc, with the tens erased (here marked by an "X"). The colophon also claims that it was copied on Wednesday, March 27, "the day of repentance of the Most Holy Fast." As pointed out by Sauget, this must refer to one of the Wednesdays of the Great Lent proper, not the Wednesday of Holy Week. This means that Easter in that year must have fallen on April 7, April 14, or April 21. Furthermore, Antonios is called in the colophon "the holy father and virtuous teacher" but is not yet recognized as abbot of St. Symeon. Since Antonios died before 1053 and must have been abbot for some time before his death, dates later than ca. 1045 are unlikely. If we consider the dates of Easter in the first half of the 11th century, we will see that Easter fell on April 7 only in 1045, on April 14 in 1023, 1028, and 1034, and on April 21 in 1006 and 1017. Given the eight-year difference between the AD date and the Melkite era of the incarnation, it would seem that only one of these years would work: 1023 AD (corresponding to 1031 AInc). This date has the additional benefit of explaining the enigmatic term "the day of repentance" (*yawm al-tawba*) in the colophon. If Easter fell on April 14, then March 27 was the Wednesday of the fifth week of Lent, i.e., the eve of the day when the Great Penitential Canon of St. Andrew the Crete is read in its entirety in the Byzantine tradition. Thus, the most likely date when Paris ar. 276 was copied is March 27, 1023.

³² Adrian Pirtea, "The Arabic Tradition – Second Part: Phys. Arab. α," in *The Multilingual Physiologos: Studies in the Oldest Greek Recension and Its Translations*, ed. Caroline Macé and Jost Gippert, «Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia» 84 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), pp. 263-280. Habib Ibrahim has contended that all the texts in Sinai ar. 453 were translated by Antonios. He further suggests that a flyleaf in Sinai ar. 481 which claims to replace a colophon that had fallen out of the manuscript—a manuscript that contains a *Physiologos* recension that mixes Antonios' translation found in Sinai ar. 453 with the other major Arabic translation—actually should have been attached to Sinai ar. 453. Ibrahim made these comments as part of his paper "Translations by Antonios abbot of Saint Symeon Related to the Church Councils" at the conference "Between Athos and Antioch: Urban and Monastic Translator Teams & Shared Translation Practices in the Eastern Mediterranean (10th–11th centuries)" (Oct. 2024).

³³ This is Vat. ar. 22. Nasrallah discusses this and another manuscript that he claims was copied in the 13th century at St. Symeon, Vat. ar. 41 (1251), which contains Antonios'

apographs whose colophons said that they had been written in St. Symeon: Aleppo, Fondation Salem 2 [=Sbath 778], Jerusalem, Saint James ar. 6, and Vat. ar. 436.³⁴

Although this may seem surprising given the Black Mountain's distance from Georgia, there was a long history of Georgian presence at the Monastery of St. Symeon the Younger, including some prominent monks active there during the lifetime of the saint and described in his *vita*, in addition to historical connections between the Georgian Church and the Patriarchate of Antioch, under which it had traditionally been relegated.³⁵ Wachtang Djobadze and Alexander Saminsky have identified at least twenty 11th–12th-century Georgian manuscripts written at St. Symeon or in its vicinity on the Black Mountain.³⁶ Colophons tell us that three of these were written by George the Recluse in his hermitage on the Wondrous

translation of Chrysostom's *Homilies on John*: Joseph Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle: Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*. Vol. 3, t. 1 (969–1250) (Louvain: Peeters, 1983), p. 65. We have not been able to study this manuscript, but see no reason why Nasrallah considered this translation of Antonios' text to have necessarily been copied at the Monastery of St. Symeon, since its colophon does not appear to specify its place of copying.

³⁴ H. Ibrahim, "Some Notes", pp. 165–166; Joseph Nasrallah, "Couvents de la Syrie du Nord portant le nom de Siméon", *Syria* 49, no. 1 (1972), p. 147.

³⁵ See Carsten-Michael Walbiner and Mariam Nanobashvili, "Nicon's Treatise on the Conversion of the Georgians in Christian Arabic Literature and Its Possible Georgian Source", *Le Muséon* 121 (2008), pp. 437–461; Wachtang Z. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, «Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium» 372, subsidia t. 48 (Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1976); W. Z. Djobadze, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch On-the-Orontes*.

³⁶ See J. Glynias, "Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain"; W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*; Alexander Saminsky, "Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch", in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean I: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality. Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in May 2003*, ed. Krijna Nelly Ciggaar and David M. Metcalf, «Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta» 147 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2006), pp. 17–78; Alexander Saminsky, "Assimilation and Creation of Greek Art in Antioch-on-the-Orontes in Syriac during the Second Period of Byzantine Domination (969–1084)", in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean II: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality. Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle (the Netherlands) in May 2006*, ed. Krijna Nelly Ciggaar and V. Van Aalst, «Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta» 199 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2013), pp. 219–276; Alexander Saminsky, "The Illuminated Manuscripts from Kalipos in the Perspective of Byzantine Art", *Mravaltavi: Philological and Historical Researches* 25 (2017), pp. 261–278.

Mountain.³⁷ Other colophons in these 11th-century Georgian Black Mountain manuscripts often invoke St. Symeon, either to indicate the proximity of another monastery to St. Symeon, or to identify a scribe or patron as a monk of St. Symeon, or to invoke the prayers of St. Symeon and his mother St. Martha.³⁸ Georgian monks, including George the Athonite and Ephrem Mcire, often moved between St. Symeon and primarily Georgian monasteries like Kalipos and Kastana.³⁹ Alexander Saminsky has shown that the art found in these Georgian manuscripts was comparable to some of the finest illuminations made in Byzantium at the time and was likely based on Constantinopolitan exemplars.⁴⁰

Two Vision Texts from St. Symeon in the 1030s

In the remainder of this paper, we will turn to two of these Symeonite manuscripts, one in Arabic and the other in Greek, which contain two texts describing two distinct miraculous visions of St. Symeon occurring in the 1030s: an Arabic miracle text that we present here for the first time, preserved in a manuscript from St. Symeon that contains a set of unique materials, Sinai ar. 473, and a Greek apocalypse that has been a subject of a recent study by Beatrice Caseau and Charis Messis and of which we provide an English translation below.⁴¹

The Arabic Miracle Text (Sinai ar. 473)

The Arabic text describes two miracles: the first concerns a Georgian monk named Antonios who shared a cell with the monastery's abbot, Sophronios, outside the Eastern gate of the monastery. This Georgian Antonios was likely a distinct figure from the famous Greco-Arabic translator and monk named Antonios who lived at St. Symeon at the same time. The translator Antonios, as we discuss below, was likely the abbot who succeeded Sophronios. The narrative describes how the Georgian Antonios, while doing work in the garden, killed a giant snake and subsequently suffered an injury that caused him to lose feeling in his hand, an injury

³⁷ These are Jerusalem georg. 156 (1040), Iviron georg. 84 (1042–1044), and Iviron georg. 45 (1050); J. Glynias, "Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain", nos. 8, 11, 14; W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 25–37.

³⁸ W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 38–40 and pp. 43–49.

³⁹ W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 97–103.

⁴⁰ A. Saminsky, "Mravalt'avi", pp. 268–269.

⁴¹ J. Glynias, "Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain", pp. 440–441; B. Caseau and C. Messis, "Saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune et son héritage au XIe – XIIe siècle", pp. 261–266 and pp. 271–79.

alleviated but not cured by the saint's *ḥanān*—i.e., a holy paste made from dust from the saint's sanctuary combined with holy water and oil.⁴² Depressed after ten months without use of his hand, the Georgian Antonios begged for intervention from St. Symeon and asked advice from a wise hieromonk of the monastery also named Symeon, who told him to donate all the wealth he owned to the monastery. After giving his inheritance of ten dinars to Abbot Sophronios, matters quickly escalated. Antonios had a vision in which a mysterious figure—apparently the brother of the snake in human form—asked him, “why have you killed my brother,” before throwing him to the ground, with the result that Antonios lost the ability to speak, and his hand became hot and swollen. Abbot Sophronios's application of St. Symeon's holy oil relieved the pain in his hand, causing Antonios to beg (through hand motions since he still could not speak) to be given the great schema. The abbot acquiesced, bringing in a Georgian priest to interpret the relevant prayers.

Antonios then had another vision—the main event, so to speak, of this set of events—in which he saw Abbot Sophronios, the priest Symeon, and an unidentified monk standing atop Symeon's pillar in the main church of the monastery, the Church of the Holy Trinity. The abbot, which the narrative explains was actually St. Symeon appearing in the abbot's image, told the priest Symeon to “take a little dust near the beggars' house and some ashes from the censer, which is the most beneficial medication of all. Mix them both with oil from the middle lamp of the church of St. Martha and anoint his hand with this. The pain [in the hand] will stop, and its motion will come back to it.” The following day, Antonios explained his dream to the abbot, causing the abbot to order the priest Symeon to assemble this recipe for a novel sort of *ḥanān*, which immediately restored the use of Antonios' hand.

Following this, the text describes a second miracle which had happened a few days earlier: namely, a peasant with a gaping, infected wound in his foot came to the monastery. A candle-bearer of the monastery applied the saint's holy oil and some of his *ḥanān*, which caused three burning hot worms to emerge from his foot—the source of his pain thus removed by saintly intervention.

We will comment briefly on three aspects of these miracle stories: the role that *ḥanān* played at the sanctuary, the role of Georgian monks at the monastery, and the identification of the figures within the stories.

In both of these stories, the *ḥanān* of St. Symeon plays a prominent role. This holy healing paste, derived from the Syriac word *ḥnānā* meaning “mercy” or “grace,” had a long history in Syriac monasticism. It was a prominent feature of the elder Symeon the Stylite's cult in late antiquity.⁴³ Because a key component of it was

⁴² See the discussion of *ḥanān* below.

⁴³ Daniel Caner, “Towards a Miraculous Economy: Christian Gifts and Material ‘Blessings’ in Late Antiquity,” *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 14, no. 3 (Fall 2006), pp. 329–377; Christelle Jullien and Florence Jullien, “Du ḥnana ou la bénédiction contestée,” in *Sur les pas des Araméens chrétiens: mélanges offerts à Alain Desreumaux*, ed. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Muriel Debié, «Cahiers d'études syriaques» 1 (Paris: Geuthner, 2010), pp. 333–348; Dina Boero, “Between Gift and Commodity: The Distribution of

dust associated with a saint, it was inherently an object that could only be produced at a saint's cult site, and thus was often given to visiting pilgrims.⁴⁴ In St. Symeon the Younger's cult, we should consider this *ḥanān* as one of the "blessings" (*eulogiai*) associated with the cult, which also included other relics associated with the saint and tokens, made out of both ceramic and lead. Such tokens were discussed in the original *Life of Symeon*, and were produced both in late antiquity and the medieval period, many of which are inscribed in Greek with the word *eulogia*, "blessing".⁴⁵ In addition to *ḥanān*, the Arabic term *baraka*—a literal translation of the Greek *eulogia*—appears in Sinai ar. 473 as a category which includes *ḥanān* and other relic-like materials. These stories sought to demonstrate the authenticity and holy origins of *ḥanān*, an important fact, given that some clerics criticized the popular usage of *ḥanān* as a sort of amulet that was more superstitious than holy.⁴⁶ In St. Symeon's explanation to the Georgian Antonios of exactly how to make *ḥanān* with complete healing power, we can see how the contemporary monks of St. Symeon were presenting themselves as having the ability to perform miracles on the saint's behalf—an ability that extended to their treatment of pilgrims, such as the peasant with a foot infection.

This demonstration of the utility of pilgrimage to St. Symeon's cult site ought to be viewed in light of the massive popularity that the cult of St. Symeon gained in 11th-century Byzantium. St. Symeon's life was rewritten and paraphrased multiple times in the Middle Byzantine period, beginning with Nikephoros Ouranos' *metaphrasis* composed while he was *doux* of Antioch c. 1000, and continuing thereafter by scholars in Constantinople, far from the monastery's Syrian context.⁴⁷

Tokens and Material Substances at the Pilgrimage Sites of Stylites", in *Syriac Hagiography: Texts and Beyond*, ed. Sergey Minov and Flavia Ruani, «Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity» 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 281–339.

⁴⁴ C. Jullien and F. Jullien, "Du ḥnana ou la bénédiction contestée".

⁴⁵ D. Caner, "Towards a Miraculous Economy: Christian Gifts and Material 'Blessings' in Late Antiquity"; D. Boero, "Between Gift and Commodity: The Distribution of Tokens and Material Substances at the Pilgrimage Sites of Stylites". Lead seals from the monastery from the 11th century also bear the legend "St. Symeon, bless!" (Ἅγιε Συμεών, εὐλόγει): John W. Nesbitt, Nicolas Oikonomidès, and Eric McGeer, eds., *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art. Volume 5: The East (Continued), Constantinople and Environs, Unknown Locations, Addenda, Uncertain Readings* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005), pp. 33–34.

⁴⁶ E.g., the East-Syriac Theodore bar Koni: C. Jullien and F. Jullien, "Du ḥnana ou la bénédiction contestée", pp. 343–345.

⁴⁷ Béatrice Caseau and Marie-Christine Fayant, "Le Renouveau du culte des Stylites syriens aux Xe et XIe siècles? La Vie abrégée de Syméon Stylite le Jeune (BHG 1691C)", in *Autour du premier humanisme byzantin et des cinq études sur le XIe siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, ed. Bernard Flusin and Jean-Claude Cheynet, «Travaux et mémoires» 21.2 (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de

St. Symeon became a popular figure in seals and art of the period, and the saint may have even replaced the elder Symeon the Stylite as the model stylite among Middle Byzantines, in a period when stylitism was becoming in vogue across the empire.⁴⁸ St. Symeon became particularly popular among Georgians, likely in conjunction with their long and intensive connections to the monastery, a fact which can be seen in art, literature, and the popularity of stylitism among the Georgians.⁴⁹

This leads to our second point: this Arabic story gives insight into how Georgian monks were interacting at the largely Greek and Arabic-speaking Monastery of St. Symeon. As we have already seen, three major Greco-Georgian translators lived and worked in St. Symeon for large parts of their careers: George the Recluse (d. 1068), George the Athonite (d. 1065), and Ephrem Mcire (d. 1103).⁵⁰ Yet these scholars were only the most famous of a large Georgian minority present at St. Symeon, which erupted into conflict with the Greek and Arabic-speaking monks of the monastery in the mid-11th century. The *Life of George the Athonite*, written not long after his death by George Mcire, describes how certain monks from St. Symeon, apparently Greek-speakers, approached Patriarch Theodosios of Antioch (sed. 1057–1059) in an effort to displace the approximately sixty Georgian monks from St. Symeon, claiming that “we do not know as to what their intentions are or what their religion is. And thus they confiscated some land of the monastery”.⁵¹ Their complaint may have been in reference to a Georgian church which is first attested at the monastery in the 11th century, and which was still in use as late as 1222.⁵² The *Life of George the Athonite* goes on to explain that by long custom into the 1050s, Georgian priests were not allowed to officiate liturgies in St. Symeon, that is, until George convinced Patriarch Theodosios of Antioch of the Georgians’ orthodoxy

Byzance, 2017); B. Caseau and C. Messis, “Saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune et son héritage au XI^e – XII^e siècle”.

⁴⁸ B. Caseau and C. Messis, “Stylites in the Middle Byzantine Period”, pp. 164–166.

⁴⁹ W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 69–70.

⁵⁰ J. Glynias, “Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain”, pp. 431–432; W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*.

⁵¹ W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, p. 53. In her recent French translation of the *Life*, Martin-Hisard translates it similarly, as “nous ne savons pas ce qu’ils pensent, ni quelle est leur foi et ils se sont emparés sans payer de la moitié de notre monastère !”: see Bernadette Martin-Hisard, “La Vie de Georges l’Hagiorite (1009/1010–29 juin 1065). Introduction, traduction du texte géorgien, notes et éclaircissements,” *Revue des Études Byzantines* 64–65 (2006), pp. 72–73. Paul Peeters, on the other hand, translates this phrase differently in his older Latin translation, implying rather a fear that the Georgians might take control of the monastery (“neque (ullus) novit quid illi sentiant aut quae sit fides eorum. Sic aliquando fiet ut monasterio potiantur”)—see Paul Peeters, “Histoires monastiques géorgiennes”, *Analecta Bollandiana* 36–37 (1922), p. 113.

⁵² W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 87–89.

while also seeking to make peace with the Greek-speaking monks of the monastery.⁵³ As the *Life* indicates, this dispute over the orthodoxy of the Georgians led to a broader discussion over the authority of the Antiochene church over the Georgian church and the apostolic foundation of the Georgian church.⁵⁴ The issue would remain relevant to St. Symeon throughout the 11th century, with Ephrem Mcire seeking to provide a historical basis for Georgian autocephaly using arguments and sources that Nikon of the Black Mountain would later take up in his Greek treatise on the subject.⁵⁵

Nikon declared that he was writing his treatise on the orthodoxy of the Georgians as a follow-up to his similar efforts to prove the orthodoxy of Armenian Chalcedonians at St. Symeon, a group he refers to as Tzatoi.⁵⁶ If it were not for this dispute over their Chalcedonian orthodoxy, we would not know that Armenian was being employed liturgically at St. Symeon's in the late 11th century—especially since Armenian Chalcedonians are all but ignored in Miaphysite Armenian sources.⁵⁷ Both this dispute and the fight over the Georgian presence and liturgical practices at St. Symeon's point to the multilingual liturgy being practiced at the monastery. In addition to Armenian, Georgian, Greek, and Arabic, we should also assume that Syriac was being used liturgically at St. Symeon's, given the aforementioned connection of abbot Antonios to Greco-Syriac translation, the importance of Syriac as a liturgical language to 11th-century Melkites, and the connections of the Melkites of St. Symeon's with those at St. Elias Monastery. The latter, a nearby institution on the Black Mountain, is of particular importance, since plentiful evidence from it has been preserved at Sinai of Byzantinized Greco-Syriac translations, copying of said Syriac texts in manuscripts, and of Arabic being employed in conjunction with Syriac as an intellectual and spoken language.⁵⁸

⁵³ B. Martin-Hisard, "La Vie de Georges l'Hagiorite (1009/1010–29 juin 1065). Introduction, traduction du texte géorgien, notes et éclaircissements", pp. 73–74; W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 54–55.

⁵⁴ B. Martin-Hisard, "La Vie de Georges l'Hagiorite (1009/1010–29 juin 1065). Introduction, traduction du texte géorgien, notes et éclaircissements", pp. 74–77; W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 55–57.

⁵⁵ C.-M. Walbiner and M. Nanobashvili, "Nikon's Treatise on the Conversion of the Georgians in Christian Arabic Literature and Its Possible Georgian Source".

⁵⁶ Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Taktikon*, no. 37 §1–2.

⁵⁷ J. Glynias, "Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain", pp. 442–443; Nina G. Garsoïan, "The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire", in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection; distributed by Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 53–124; Viada Arturovna Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "The Ethno-Confessional Self-Awareness of Armenian Chalcedonians", *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 21 (1989), pp. 345–363.

⁵⁸ J. Glynias, "Byzantine Monasticism on the Black Mountain", pp. 425–426; S. Brock, "Black Mountain".

Finally, what can we say about the three named figures who appear in this miracle narrative: the Georgian monk Antonios, the abbot Sophronios, and the priest Symeon? Antonios, it seems, is a contemporary and a namesake of the aforementioned translator Antonios—a figure who was abbot of the monastery in the first half of the 11th century (after the abbot Sophronios named in our text) and who was, based on his vast intellectual output, a Melkite with well-developed skill in translating from Greek into Arabic. The presence of multiple monks named Antonios should not be surprising, both given its popularity as a monastic name in honor of the Egyptian desert father, and because of its particular historical importance for Georgians at St. Symeon. The *vita* of St. Martha gives a long narrative of how a Georgian monk named Antonios, a priest and abbot from Jerusalem, brought a relic of the True Cross to St. Symeon's monastery sent by Thomas, *staurophylax* of Jerusalem, and then resided at St. Symeon's for years until being appointed bishop of nearby Seleukeia; reportedly, from this role Antonios of Seleukeia would then assume an early role in promoting Martha's cult.⁵⁹ Perhaps for one or another of these reasons, we know of multiple Georgian monks named Anton (i.e., Antonios) connected to St. Symeon in the 11th century. One Antonios is called the spiritual father of a priest named Symeon at Kalipos⁶⁰—which likely does not refer to the two homonymous figures we find here, given that in the narrative of Sinai ar. 473, Symeon seems to be senior to Antonios. Ephrem Mcire also mentions a certain Antoni Tbeli as a patron of several of his scholarly projects.⁶¹

The abbot Sophronios is unknown outside of this Arabic story. His appearance provides an opportunity to summarize what is currently known about the medieval abbots of St. Symeon and their chronology. We know of the following abbots:

- Niketas (827/8), who subsequently became metropolitan of Aleppo—see discussion above;
- Chariton (early 11th century), mentioned by Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā as one of the disciples of Patriarch Christopher—see discussion above;
- Sophronios (1036/7), mentioned in the Arabic miracle story discussed herein;
- Antonios (d. before 1053)—the famous translator from Greek into Arabic, involved also in sponsoring liturgical translations from Greek into Syriac; he was probably a direct successor to Sophronios;⁶²

⁵⁹ W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 65-66; P. Van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le jeune (521-592)*, vol. 1, p. 69*-71*; vol. 2, pp. 296-312.

⁶⁰ W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 12-20.

⁶¹ W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, pp. 22-23 and 38-40; N. Doborjginize, *Die georgische Sprache im Mittelalter*, pp. 180-189.

⁶² Antonios became abbot after Paris ar. 276 was copied. If our dating of Paris ar. 276 is correct (see n. 31 above), this must have taken place after 1023. On the other hand, he is already remembered as deceased in the colophon of Sinai ar. 285, dating to July 1053. Given that Sophronios is attested as abbot in 1036/7, and that the wording of the colophon of Sinai ar. 285 seems to imply that Antonios passed away in recent memory

- Gerasimos, abbot of St. Symeon (date uncertain) is the author of the Arabic Christian theological treatise *The Complete Book of Curative Meaning* (*Kitāb al-Kāfī fī al-ma'na al-šāfi*); though scholars usually place him in the 12th–13th centuries, there is no compelling reason for this, and nothing prevents us from dating him to the 11th century, the heyday of Arabic Christian literature in Antioch and a period within which the *Kitāb al-Kāfī* would fit extremely well.⁶³ If so, he could be identical to the copyist Gerasimos of Vat. ar. 84 (a manuscript of Collection IV of the *Macarian Homilies*, copied in 1055 in the region of Antioch)⁶⁴ and other manuscripts (notably the Ephrem manuscript Sinai ar. 312);⁶⁵ if abbot Gerasimos and copyist Gerasimos are the same person, this would place abbot Gerasimos neatly right between the abbots Antonios and Peter and would help contextualize his *Kitāb al-Kāfī*,⁶⁶

(*nayyaha al-rabb nafsahu ma'a kaffat qiddisihi*, “may the Lord give rest to his soul with all the saints” is functionally equivalent to the modern “the late” before the name of a recently deceased person), it would make sense to place the abbacy of Antonios after (rather than before) that of Sophronios.

⁶³ On Gerasimos' *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, see Abjar Bahkou and John C. Lamoreaux, “Gerasimos”, in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 666–671 (tentatively date the Gerasimos to the 12th–13th centuries and hypothesize that he may be identical to the 13th Greek scribe Gerasimos who copied Jerusalem, Mar Saba gr. 108—a manuscript discussed above; this is also the manuscript from which the Greek apocalypse is translated below); René R. Khawam, *Gérassime, Dialogues œcuméniques de guérison suivi de Traité sur la Sainte Trinité* (Paris: L'Esprit des péninsules, 1996); Abjar Bahkou, “*Kitāb al-Kāfī fī al-ma'na al-šāfi* / *The Complete Book of the Proper Meaning: The Christian Apology of Gerasimos*”, *Parole de l'Orient* 34 (2009), pp. 309–343; Abjar Bahkou, *Defending Christian Faith: The Fifth Part of the Christian Apology of Gerasimos* (Warsaw: De Gruyter, 2014).

⁶⁴ On Vat. ar. 84, see Vincent Desprez, “Prélude à un lexique grec-arabe: quelques termes théologiques-anthropologiques de la Grande Lettre du Pseudo-Macaire, selon le Vat. Ar. 84,” in *Makarios/Symeon in östlicher Überlieferung / Macarius/Symeon in Eastern Tradition: Beiträge des VIII. Makarios-Symposiums, Bergvik 2014*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), pp. 73–84.

⁶⁵ A. Treiger, *Church Fathers*, pp. 177–230.

⁶⁶ There is another argument in favor of this identification: Gerasimos the copyist of Vat. ar. 84 does not mention his name within the colophon, as copyists often do, but adds it as a kind of signature right after it. The signature reads (fol. 317r): *Ġarāsīmus al-adnā wa-aḥqar ahl zamānihi* (“Gerasimos, the lowliest and most wretched of the people of his time”). We should remember that the construction “superlative + *ahl zamānihi*” is used in Arabic Christian texts, especially those coming from Antioch, to render Greek superlative designations of ecclesiastical titles. Thus, *aqdas ahl zamānihi* renders the Greek ἁγιώτατος, “most holy”; for example, Antonios uses it at the beginning of his translation of John of Damascus' *Dialectica*, in the title of the letter to Cosmas: τῷ

- Peter (c. 1090) is the recipient of two letters preserved in Nikon of the Black Mountain's *Taktikon* (*Logoi* 40–41) and is the author of *Logos* 35β (a note sent by Peter to patriarch Euthymios of Jerusalem in defense of the Armenian Chalcedonians, the Tzatoi);⁶⁷
- John the *depotatos* (c. 1100) is mentioned as an abbot of St. Symeon's in Nikon's *Taktikon*, where he is twice referenced for his role as a sort of custodian of the patriarchal archive; the ecclesiastical correspondence of the patriarchs Theodore of Antioch (sed. 1034–1042) and Peter of Antioch (sed. 1052–1056) is said to have been in his care;⁶⁸
- (?) George (shortly before 1217)—an elderly former abbot of St. Symeon named George was said to be part of a delegation of Symeonite monks to the Ayyūbid governor of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Zāhir, in 1216/7. George's debate with the Muslims (*Muğādalat Ġirġī al-rāhib*) is a famous Arabic Christian disputation belonging to the genre of “a monk in the emir's

ὁσιωτάτῳ καὶ θεοτιμῆτῳ Κοσμῶ, ἀγιωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦ Μαιουμᾶ ~ الى قزما اسقف مدينة ميومة رفيقه المكرم عند الله الجزيل بره اقدس اهل زمانه (Vat. ar. 436, fol. 55r). Many similar examples from a wide variety of texts can be given; see, e.g., Sinai ar. 403, fol. 139r (the title of Gregory the Great's life of St. Benedict): القديس غريغوريوس اقدس اهل زمانه بابا رومية; Sinai ar. 568, fol. 1r (also part of the title of Gregory the Great): ايينا غريغوريوس اقدس اهل زمانه; Sinai ar. 453, fol. 1r (the incipit of a text on the seven ecumenical councils likely translated by Antonios): يا اعجب اهل زمانه; Sinai ar. 473, fol. 29r (another text on church councils): مينااص; Sinai ar. 334, fol. 179r (colophon, the expression is in reference to archbishop Germanos of Sinai): اقدس اهل عصره. The upshot of all this is that Gerasimos' signature in Vat. ar. 84 reads very much like an ecclesiastical signature of a high-ranking church official, in the same way that a Greek bishop or abbot might sign something like ὁ ταπεινώτατος Γεράσιμος. This strengthens the impression that Vat. ar. 84 may have been copied by an abbot, which, if true, would confirm that Gerasimos the copyist and Gerasimos the abbot is the same person.

⁶⁷ Adrian Pirtea, “Manuscripts, Monastic Libraries, and the Arabic Patristic Legacy in Seljuk Antioch: The Activity of Peter, Abbot of St. Symeon (fl. ca. 1090)”, in *Monastic Manuscripts from the Eastern Mediterranean (Sinai, Jerusalem, Antioch)*, ed. Giulia Rossetto (Vienna: Vienna University Press / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2026), pp. 67–89. We are grateful to Adrian Pirtea for sharing his study with us before publication.

⁶⁸ Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Taktikon*, no. 31 §19 and no. 37 §8. See Willem J. Aerts, “Nikon of the Black Mountain, Witness to the First Crusade? Some Remarks on His Person, His Use of Language and His Work, Named *Taktikon*, esp. *Logos* 31”, in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean I: Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality. Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in May 2003*, ed. Krijna Nelly Ciggaar and David M. Metcalf, «Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta» 147 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2006), pp. 125–169, at 166; C.-M. Walbinder and M. Nanobashvili, “Nikon's Treatise on the Conversion of the Georgians in Christian Arabic Literature and Its Possible Georgian Source”, p. 460.

maġlis”; we tentatively mention him among St. Symeon’s abbots, assuming he is a historical personality, though this is uncertain.⁶⁹

The Greek Apocalypse (Jerusalem, Mar Saba gr. 108)

The priest Symeon (spelled سميان), a prominent character in the Arabic miracle story, provides a link to the other text from St. Symeon in the 1030s that we discuss here. This text is an apocalypse, attributed to a “head priest” (*protopapas* or *protos ton ieron*) named Symeon, which is preserved in two places: in the aforementioned manuscript from St. Symeon of Symeonite material, Jerusalem, Mar Saba gr. 108, and in block quotations perhaps taken from that exact manuscript given by Nikon of the Black Mountain. The manuscript Jerusalem, Mar Saba gr. 108 dates the text to 1033, while Nikon dates it to 1071/2; we prefer the former date, both because we find the arguments that Caseau and Messis offered in favor of 1033 to be more compelling,⁷⁰ and because it is likely that the priest Symeon in this story is the same one who appears in the Arabic miracle story in Sinai ar. 473, in a narrative dated 1036/7.⁷¹ We translate this revelation below into English.

The rebuking rhetoric of this revelation fits with the aims of the Byzantine monastic reform project of the 11th century, and, for this purpose, was particularly notable to a figure like Nikon who was invested in pushing this project in Antioch.⁷² Moreover, as in the Arabic miracle stories we present here, it invoked the continued literal presence of St. Symeon the Younger at his cult center and put contemporary 11th-century monks in the role of recognizing and interpreting the saint, who, in our Arabic miracle story, literally took on the guise of the contemporary 11th-century

⁶⁹ Mark N. Swanson, “The Disputation of Jirjī the Monk”, in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett, vol. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 167-168; Sidney H. Griffith, “The Monk in the Emir’s Majlis: Reflections on a Popular Genre of Christian Literary Apologetics in Arabic in the Early Islamic Period”, in *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, ed. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), pp. 13-65, esp. 53-60; Ayman Ibrahim and Clint Hackenburg, *In Search of the True Religion: Monk Jurjī and Muslim Jurists Debating Faith and Practice* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2022).

⁷⁰ E.g., that Nikon does not indicate that he knew Symeon the head priest personally. See B. Caseau and C. Messis, “Saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune et son héritage au XIe – XIIe siècle”, pp. 265-266.

⁷¹ Is this Symeon also the same as the priest Symeon (spelled Šim‘ūn) who copied Paris ar. 276 at St. Symeon in the first half of the 11th century (possibly, in 1023, as we have argued in n. 31 above)? It is impossible to say.

⁷² On Nikon’s relationship to the monastic reform movement, see Nikon of the Black Mountain, “*Black Mountain: Regulations of Nikon of the Black Mountain*”, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders’ Typika and Testaments*, trans. Robert Allison (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), pp. 377-424.

abbot when appearing in a dream. The Greek *Apocalypse* makes clear that St. Symeon's charismatic presence at his monastery was vital to its protection and the monks' spiritual success. As Nikon argues throughout his letters, St. Symeon was not a long-deceased model only accessible as a historical figure.⁷³ He continued to lead his monastery long after his death. His presence was represented by the column placed in the center of his sanctuary—a column from which, at least according to a report in the *Life of George the Athonite*,⁷⁴ priests might ascend in order to officiate the liturgy.

Finally, the transmission of Symeon the head priest's revelation tells us more about the interplay of Greek, Georgian, and Arabic at St. Symeon. This Symeon, if he is indeed identical to the Symeon of the Arabic story, may have been a Georgian, though it seems more likely that he was a Melkite. That his revelation was preserved in Greek, however, was not a result of his actions alone. Nikon tells us that a local who was not a member of the monastery sought to copy and transmit this revelation, both in Greek and in Arabic, after having translated it from Arabic to Greek:

A certain person there, who in body was foreign but in spirit had much belief and religious conviction, when he heard [the *Apocalypse*] read out in public, he did as much as he could to not neglect it. Rather, since he had much belief in the saint, even if he was an unworthy disciple not from the monastery, he nevertheless judged it to be of the saint—which it was. So he did not neglect it when he heard it, but diligently investigated in the region of Antioch, found every detail and fact about this *Apocalypse*, and translated this into our language [i.e., Greek], while also leaving it behind for the locals in the locals' language [i.e., Arabic]. For both versions were found after the death of the head priest in his iconostasis, with a note that explained how the *Apocalypse* was written in two languages, and the names of those who possessed [these two versions]. And thus it was revealed and was copied in one *vita* of the saint at the end. And again in both languages, certain ones copied this out of belief.⁷⁵

⁷³ E.g., Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Taktikon*, no. 19.

⁷⁴ B. Martin-Hisard, "La Vie de Georges l'Hagiorite (1009/1010–29 juin 1065). Introduction, traduction du texte géorgien, notes et éclaircissements", p. 73; W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials*, p. 54. This story is given as the reason that Georgians were not allowed to officiate liturgies at St. Symeon, but seemingly, not because the priest had gone on the column, but because he was not garbed in proper priestly vestments.

⁷⁵ Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Taktikon*, 12 §7. Greek text: Τίς δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖ, ὁ ξενικὸς μὲν τῷ σώματι, τῷ δὲ πνεύματι πολλὴν πίστιν καὶ πληροφορίαν ἔχων, ὅταν καὶ ἤκουσεν τοῦτο ἐπιμέσεως ἀναγινωσκόμενον, τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἔχων εἰς τὸν ἅγιον πολλὴν πίστιν, εἰ μὲν καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριον, ἀλλὰ ἀνάξιος μαθητὴς ἔκρινεν εἶναι τοῦ ἁγίου, ὅπου ἔστιν· καὶ ὡς ἤκουσεν τοῦτο οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξερεύνησεν φιλοπόνως εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας χώραν, καὶ εὔρεν πᾶσαν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶσσαν μετέγραψεν, καταλιπὼν τοὺς ἐντοπίους τοῦτο εἰς τῶν ἐντοπίων τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἅπερ ἀμφοτέρω μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ εἰκονοστασίῳ (καὶ) μικρὸν χαρτίον φανερώων περὶ τῶν δύο γλωσσῶν τὴν γεγραμμένην ἀποκάλυψιν, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα

The Greek manuscript from St. Symeon that preserves this *Apocalypse*, Jerusalem, Mar Saba gr. 108, displays the *Apocalypse* appended to the *vita* just as Nikon describes and may very well be the very same manuscript that Nikon had in mind.

*Edition and Translation of the Arabic Miracle Story
from St. Symeon (1036/7) (Sinai ar. 473)*

{65v} بِسْمِ الْأَبِ وَالابْنِ وَالرُّوحِ الْقُدُسِ

<1> هذه صفة العجيبة الباهرة التي اجترحها قدسنا الشريف في القديسين مر سمعان العجائبي، شفاعته تحوطنا، في سنة ستة ألف وخمسمائة وخمس وأربعين لآدم في أبا أنطوني الراهب الجرزاني، وهي أن هذا الراهب أبا أنطوني الساكن في قلالية أبا صفروني رئيس الدير حينئذ التي موقعها خارج باب الدير الشرقي كان يعمل في بستان هذه القلالية فإذا كان يعملها بالمرّ قطع المرّ في نزوله في الأرض رأس حية كبيرة وخرج مع التراب الذي استخرجه المرّ، فإذا أبصر الرأس فرح بقتله إياها {66r} وزوال اهتمامه بها، وأخرج باقي جثتها أيضاً.

<2> وبعد عشرة أيام أبصر عند حائط هذا البستان حية كبيرة داخلية في ثقبها لم يبصر رأسها بل أبصر باقي جسمها داخلًا في الثقب وهو يضمّ حجارة ليبتني منها حائط البستان، فاشتمله حينئذ فزعاً جزيلاً (!) وورمت يده اليسرى كثيراً واسودّت وأوجعته وجعاً شديداً، فجاء إلى الدير المقدّس وسقى ترياقاً فلم ينفعه شيئاً ولطخوا يده بخنان القديس فزال اسوداد لونها وعاد إلى لون جسمه وسكن وجعها، إلا أنها بطلت حركتها وانطبقت أصابعها ولبث كفّها مضموماً مدى عشرة أشهر لا يقدر أن يعمل بها عملاً ولا يحركها وهي باردة في لمسها عاطلة كالميتة عن فعلها، وقيل: إن نساءها القديس بعشرة أيام عرضت له بغتة {66v} جبانة شديدة وروعهُ أضرّ عنه كثيراً وأوجعه قلبه وجعاً شديداً وفزع فزعاً متصلاً وتوهم أن موته قد دنا وأن ذلك الفزع قد يؤذيه سابغاً.

<3> وإذا كان في هذا الوجع أبصر في نومه قساً من قسوس الدير اسمه أبا سميان يقول له: هل معك شيء من ذهب أو فضة؟ فأجابه: معي تركة يسيرة، فقال له: أعطها لرئيس الدير، فعمل ما أمره به القس في نومه وحمل ما كان يملكه ومبلغه عشرة دنائير ودفعها إلى رئيس الدير وشكا إليه وجع قلبه وشدة جزعه وجبانته، فشجّعه الرئيس قائلاً: اطمأن وثق فإنك بشفاعة القديس ما تخشى شيئاً.

<4> ثم مضى إلى القلالية المقدّم ذكرها، وإذا كان متكئاً من شدة وجع قلبه سمع صوتاً يدعو باسمه فبادر ليفتح الباب لأنه توهمه تلهيد الرئيس {67r} فأبصر في ظلام الليل شخصاً لم يبين له وجهه قائلاً له: لم قتلت أخي؟ ثم مدّ ذلك الشخص يده إليه ليضبط يده اليمنى الصحيحة، فضمّها الراهب إليه وقال: انصرف عني، أيها الكلب الوقاح،

οἵτινες ταῦτα κατέχουν. Καὶ οὕτως ἐφανερώθη καὶ ἐγράφη εἰς ἓνα τοῦ ἁγίου βίον εἰς τὸ τέλος.
Καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς γλώσσαις τινὲς ἐκ πίστεως ἔγραψαν τοῦτο.

فتناول ذلك الشخص كتفه⁷⁶ اليسرى وحذفه بعيداً ولبث الراهب مغشياً عليه قد بطل كلامه وقد سخنت يده وورمت، وأفاق من غشوته وهو لا يستطيع تكلماً، ثم جاء في الليل قليلاً قليلاً إلى الراهب الذي كان معه في سفلي القلاية ففرغ بابه وخرج الراهب وسأله عن حاله، فلم يمكنه يجاوبه بل أوماً إليه أن يقتاده إلى الدير فاقتاده، ودخلاً الدير وجاء به إلى جرن⁷⁷ القديس، شفاعته تحوطنا، ولبث عنده طريحاً من شدة وجع قلبه ويده.

<5> وجاء الرئيس إليه يستخبره {67v} عن حاله فما قدر يجاوبه، فأخذ الرئيس زيتاً مقدساً من قنديل القديس ودهن به يده وصلى عليه وفي الحين سكن وجع يده، ثم أوماً إلى الرئيس يسأله أن يلبسه الإسكيم الكبير فأحضر قساً يتكلم بلغته ليفهم ألفاظ صلاته وألبسه الإسكيم.

<6> وفي تلك الليلة سمع عند اتكائه في هيكل الثالوث المقدس من هذا الدير ونومه هاتفاً يهتف به باسمه فخشي ألا يكون الهاتف به هو ذاك الأول واستيقظ من نومه ولم يبصر أحداً وسمع ذلك الهاتف يهتف به دفعة ثانية، فأيقن أنه هو أبا سميان القسّ المقدم ذكره ونهض ومضى ووقف لدى القنطرة العظمى من هيكل الثالوث المقدس ناظراً إلى العمود يجلله نور عظيم وأبصر رئيس الدير أبا صفروني وأبا سميان القسّ وراهباً آخر لم يعرفه {68r} فوق العمود، فقال له الرئيس بل القديس المتمثل بصورة الرئيس من أعلى عموده: كيف حالك؟ فأجابه: في الحين حالي أحسن حال بصلواتك، يا أبانا، قد زال عني وجع قلبي، فقال له: وستبرأ يدك أيضاً، وسمع الرئيس يقول لأبا سميان القسّ: إذا كان غداً خُذ من التربة التي عند بيت المساكين قليلاً ومن رماد الثومياطن⁷⁸ الذي هو أنفع الأدوية جزءاً وأعجنهما بزيت من القنديل الوسطاني في كنيسة مرثة القديسة والطخ بذلك يده فيزول وجعها وتعود إليها حركتها. وقال للراهب: اذهب استرخ، فضى الراهب وجلس في الموضع الذي كان جالساً فيه قبل هذه المناجاة شاكراً لله الذي أطلق عقاد لسانه.

<7> وبعد ذلك جاء إليه ذلك القسّ أبا سميان يسأله عن حاله، فحدثه بما أبصره {68v} على العمود حديثاً فصيحاً، وقال له: اعمل الآن ما وصاك به الرئيس، فقال القسّ: ما وصاني الرئيس بشيء، ولا صعدت أنا في هذه الليلة إلى عمود القديس، فاستعجباً كلاهما مجيء القديس ووصفاً للرئيس في صلاة السحر جميع ما جرى، فسبح الله كثيراً، ثم أوعز الرئيس في ذلك اليوم إذ شكاً⁷⁹ إليه الراهب وجع يده إلى أبا سميان القسّ أن يمضي مع للراهب ويجمع الأصناف التي أمر القديس المتمثل بصورة الرئيس ويلطخ بها يده، فعملاً لطخها بتلك البركة الموصوفة زال وجعها في تلك الليلة وعادت إليها حركتها وصار الراهب يستعملها صحيحة كما كانت سالفاً.

<8> فهذه العجبية اجترحها القديس مر سمعان في هذه الأيام التي ذكرنا تاريخها وأبصرتها أعين رهبان دير الموجودين فيه بأجمعهم {69r} حينئذ ولمسها أيديهم وفرحوا فرحاً شديداً أزال حزنهم على الراهب الذي كان بزوال حس يده قد عمهم، شاكرين لربنا يسوع المسيح بن الله الذي شرف قديسهم هذا التشریف الجزيل تقديره

⁷⁶ Here اليمين is written and then crossed out.

⁷⁷ The “ark” (reliquary) containing the saint’s body. The same term appears on fol. 69r:11.

⁷⁸ Censer.

⁷⁹ MS: سكي.

مؤمنين أن يفضل شفاعته فيهم ويخلصهم ويكتب أسماءهم على ما وعد به قديسيه في مصحف الحياة بشفاعات والدة إلهنا القديسة مريم وجميع القديسين، آمين.

<9> وقد تقدمت له قبل هذه العجبية بأيام يسيرة عجيبة أخرى وهي أن فلاحاً كانت في رجله فرجة توجعه وجعاً شديداً تنبعث منها رائحة منتنة جداً جاء إلى دير المقدس ودهن رجله قندلفط⁸⁰ الكنيسة بالبركة من زيت القنديل الذي يوقد على جرن القديس وناوله من حنانه الشافي فذر عليها منه، وذهب إلى ضيعته، وفي تلك الليلة استخرج منها ثلث دودات، واحدة بعد الأخرى شعر بها إذ جعلها {69v} في كفه حارة كحرارة النار، ثم قتلها وبرأت تلك الفرجة وزال وجعها وتنت رائحتها، ولبث الرجل يشكر الله ويحمد⁸¹ اقتدار قديسيه كثيراً، والله السبح والمجد الآن ودائماً وإلى دهور الدهرين، آمين.

{65v} In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

<1> This is a description of an astounding miracle wrought by our saint, who is glorious among the saints, Mar Symeon the Wonderworker, may his intercession protect us, in the year 6545 from Adam [=1036/7 AD] for the Georgian⁸² monk Abba Antonios. This is [what happened]: This monk Abba Antonios used to live at the time in the cell of Abba Sophronios, the abbot of the monastery, whose location was outside the monastery's eastern gate. He was working in this cell's garden, and as he was digging with a spade, the spade, when going into the ground, severed the head of a giant snake, such that [this head] came out together with the soil that the spade brought out. When he saw the head, he rejoiced that he had killed [the snake] {66r} and that he did not need to worry about it any longer, and so he took the remainder of the [snake's] body out as well.

<2> Ten days later, while he was gathering stones to build the wall of the garden, he saw a giant snake entering its burrow by the wall of that garden. He did not see its head but saw the rest of the body going into the burrow. He was struck by a tremendous terror, and his left hand became greatly swollen, blackened, and caused him a lot of pain. He came to the holy monastery, and was given theriac to drink, but this did not help him at all. Then they anointed his hand with the saint's *ḥanān*⁸³ and [the hand's] black color disappeared, it returned to the color of his body, and its

⁸⁰ MS: مطلق. We tentatively read it as *qandalaf*, candle-bearer (Modern Greek: *καντηλανάφτης*).

⁸¹ MS: يد (?). The reading is tentative.

⁸² On *Ġurzān* as a medieval Arabic name for Georgia, see Donald Rayfield, *Edge of Empires: A History of Georgia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), pp. 55 and 59; for an Arabic Christian example, see A. Treiger, *Church Fathers*, p. 144.

⁸³ See the discussion of *ḥanān* above and C. Jullien and F. Jullien, "Du ḥnana ou la bénédiction contestée"; D. Caner, "Towards a Miraculous Economy: Christian Gifts and Material 'Blessings' in Late Antiquity", p. 334.

pain subsided. Nonetheless, [the hand] remained motionless, its fingers closed, and the fist clutched together. For ten months he was unable to do any work with it, nor move it. It was cold to the touch and incapable of action as if dead. And it was said: if the saint delays [his intervention] for ten more days, he will be suddenly struck by {66v} a tremendous depression, his mind will be damaged greatly, his heart will cause him a lot of pain, and he will be in continuous terror imagining that his death has drawn near. This terror will cause him lasting damage.

<3> As he was suffering from this, he saw in a dream a certain priest from the monastery's clergy whose name was Abba Symeon. [This priest] asked him: "Do you have any gold or silver?" [The monk] replied to him: "Yes, I have a small inheritance." [The priest] told him: "Give it to the abbot of the monastery." And so he did as the priest had bidden him in a dream: he took what he owned, in the amount of ten dinars, and gave it over to the abbot of the monastery. He also complained to him about the pain in his heart, his strong anxiety, and his depression. The abbot cheered him up and said: "Stay calm and have trust, for by the saint's intercession you have nothing to fear."

<4> After that, [Abba Antonios] went to the aforementioned cell [of Abba Sophronios]. While resting because of an intense pain in his heart, he heard a voice calling him by name. He rushed to open the door, because he thought this was the abbot's disciple. {67r} Instead, in the darkness of the night, he saw a person whose face was not visible to him. [This person] said: "Why have you killed my brother?" Then that person stretched his hand to grab [the monk's] right hand, the healthy one, but the monk pulled it toward himself and said: "Leave me alone, you insolent dog!" Then that person grabbed [the monk's] left shoulder and flung him away. The monk fainted and lost his speech. His hand became hot and swollen. He rose up from his swoon unable to speak. Then, during the night, he slowly made his way to that monk who was with him in the lower cell. He knocked on his door. That monk came out and asked what the matter with him was. [Abba Antonios] was unable to answer him but gestured to him to take him to the monastery, so he took him [there]. They both entered the monastery. He brought [Abba Antonios] to the reliquary of the saint, may his intercession protect us, and [Abba Antonios] remained there prostrate on account of the intense pain in his heart and his hand.

<5> The abbot came to [Abba Antonios] to inquire about {67v} his condition, and he was unable to answer him. Then the abbot took holy oil from the lamp of the saint, anointed [Abba Antonios'] hand with it, and prayed for him. Immediately, the pain in his hand stopped. Then [Abba Antonios] gestured to the abbot asking him to bestow upon him the great *schema*. [The abbot] brought a priest who spoke his language [i.e., Georgian], so that he would understand the words of his prayer and bestowed upon him the *schema*.

<6> That same night, when [Abba Antonios] was lying down in the Church of the Holy Trinity⁸⁴ in that monastery and was sleeping,⁸⁵ he heard a voice calling out to him by name. He was afraid that this voice could be the same [man as] before. He woke up from his sleep, but did not see anyone. Then he heard this voice calling out to him a second time. He was now confident that this was Abba Symeon, the aforementioned priest. So he got up and stood by the great arch of the Church of the Holy Trinity and looked at the column [of St. Symeon the Wonderworker], which was enveloped in a great light. He saw the abbot of the monastery Abba Sophronios, the priest Abba Symeon, and another monk whom he did not recognize {68r} atop the column. The abbot—or rather the saint [i.e., St. Symeon the Wonderworker], who took the form of the abbot—asked him from the top of his column: “How are you?” [Abba Antonios] answered him: “I am now better than ever, by your prayers, O father of ours. The pain of my heart has left me.” [The saint] said to him: “Your hand, too, will recover.” [Abba Antonios] then heard the abbot [i.e., the saint in disguise] address the priest Abba Symeon: “Tomorrow, take a little dust near the poorhouse and some ashes from the censer, which is the most beneficial medication of all. Mix them both with oil from the middle lamp of the Church of St. Martha,⁸⁶ and anoint his hand with this. The pain [in the hand] will stop, and its motion will come back to it.” Then he said to the monk [Abba Antonios]: “Go and rest!” The monk went away and sat down in the place where he had been sitting before this conversation, thanking God, who had loosened the knot of his tongue.

<7> After that, that same priest Abba Symeon came to [Abba Antonios] to ask him about his condition. [Abba Antonios] eloquently recounted to him what he had seen {68v} atop the column and told [Abba Symeon]: “Now do what the abbot has ordered you to do.” The priest answered: “The abbot has not ordered me to do anything; nor did I climb up the saint’s column last night.” Both of them were left in wonder⁸⁷ at the saint’s appearance, and, during Matins, described to the abbot all that had happened. [The abbot] praised God greatly. Then—since the monk [Antonios] had complained to him about the pain in his hand—[the abbot] instructed the priest Abba Symeon to go with the monk [Antonios] that same day, assemble the materials that the saint who took the abbot’s form had bidden, and anoint [Antonios’] hand with them. After they anointed it with this blessing⁸⁸ just

⁸⁴ This Church is the middle of the three basilicas in the monastery, directly east of the central octagonal space, at the center of which stood the column of St. Symeon. See A. Henry, “The Pilgrimage Center of St. Symeon the Younger”, pp. 31-34.

⁸⁵ It is common practice to stay in the church for several days after monastic tonsure—including, as here, tonsure to the great schema.

⁸⁶ i.e., St. Symeon’s mother.

⁸⁷ The root used here (عج) is the same as that used to describe the saint’s epithet as “Wonderworker” (عجائي), a word derived from the plural form of the word also used here for “miracle” (عجوبة).

⁸⁸ The word *baraka* is a technical term, used to translate the Greek *eulogia*, as a synonym for *ḥanān*.

described, the pain stopped that same night. [The hand's] motion returned to it, and the monk was able to use it, healthy as it was before.

<8> The saint Mar Symeon performed this miracle in those days, the date of which we specified above. The eyes of all the monks dwelling in his monastery saw it {69r} at that time. Their hands touched it, and they rejoiced greatly at the loss of their sorrow that had gripped them for the monk who had lost feeling in his hand. They gave thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who gave their saint such an exalted status. They expressed hope that [the saint] will intercede for them, save them, and write their names in the book of life, as [Christ] had promised His saints, through the intercessions of the Mother of our God, Lady Mary, and of all the saints, Amen.

<9> A few days prior to that miracle, another miracle by [the saint] had taken place. A peasant had a wound in his foot, which caused him a lot of pain, and an extremely foul stench emanated out of it. He came to [the saint's] holy monastery, and the candle-bearer of the church anointed his foot with a blessing from the oil of the lamp burning over the saint's reliquary. He also gave him some of [the saint's] healing *ḥanān* [to drink]⁸⁹ and spread some of it over [his foot]. [The peasant] went back to his village, and on that night three worms came out of [his foot], one after another. When he placed them {69v} on his palm, he felt that they were as hot as fire. Then he killed them, and the wound was healed, and the pain and the foul stench disappeared. The man gave thanks to God and greatly praised the power of His saints. Praise and glory be to God now and ever and unto the ages of ages, Amen.

*Translation of the Greek Apocalypse of Symeon, head of the priests of St. Symeon*⁹⁰

An apocalypse, [which] Symeon the monk and head of the priests of the monastery of St. Symeon the Wonderworker saw in that monastery in the year 6541 [=1032/3 CE].

Though I am your least brother in Christ and student in spiritual love, Symeon the monk and unworthy priest, I was deemed worthy of a divine apocalypse by our holy father, Symeon the Wonderworker, not due to my virtue or my good way of life, but for the benefit and correction of those brothers residing in the holy monastery, and according to the divine saying that, “wherever sin has increased,

⁸⁹ The use of the verb *شرب*, also used for communion, may be implying that he gave some of the *ḥanān* to drink.

⁹⁰ This translation is based on the edition of the Greek text in Beatrice Caseau and Charis Messis, “Saint Syméon Stylite le Jeune et son héritage au XIe – XIIe siècle”, *Byzantina Symmeikta* 31 (2021), pp. 274–277.

there the grace of God has increased all the more” (Romans 5:20). For as dawn was happening on Sunday, the vigil was being finished according to the rule (*typos*) of the monastery, and the morning hymn was beginning, as I was standing in the holy sheepfold (*mandra*) [of the Church], a light flashed brighter than the sun. And I saw, behold, our father Symeon stood on his sacred column and ordered me to draw near to him, to the highest step of the holy ladder of his column. Then, he uttered these things to me.

“Behold, I see that all those monks of my monastery are grieving my soul exceedingly and persuading me to deprive them of my pastoral hand and to surrender them to those who want to harm them and drag them from their residences and from this monastery, because they became completely inclined to evils, to jealousies, and to wars against each other. For these reasons, they delayed in dedicating themselves to Master Lord Jesus Christ and to the authority of my direction and governance. Instead, they dedicated their hopes to men and neglected the divine and salvific commandments of Master Christ, which ordered thus: “through this, all will know that you are My disciples, when you have love for each other” (John 13:35). For whoever does not love his neighbor, does not keep the commandments of his Lord. And whoever does not keep the commandments of the Lord, cannot say that he loves the Lord. For they provoked hatred for each other that cannot be done out of love of Christ. Even still, schisms persist and do not stop between them. Don’t they know that, if they persist in such things, I will not dwell among them, nor will I drive evils that are about to afflict them away from them? But rather, I will in fact do what most of them say, that ‘the saint thence withdrew from his place, for if he were present, he would correct what is happening here.’ And whoever says and thinks such things is making a great mistake and is sinning through blasphemy. In contrast, there are only a few of them who are pleasing to me, both in their care for strangers and in feeding the poor. Yet, in order that the Orthodox faith should not be eliminated from my house, I remain patient and endure, like a father to his children, awaiting them to correct themselves through repentance. But if they should persist in the things which grieve me, and which our merciful God endures on my behalf in accordance with His unerring promise, I will surrender them to enemies and adversaries on both land and sea for their destruction and dissolution, since they provoked my soul exceedingly.

Behold, I see that many of them have become like Angoulas⁹¹ and do not notice the miracles being achieved continuously every day, every hour, and every moment. Instead, they have become divided, just like barbarians arranged for battle, both the believers and even the monks. In ignorance, they do not understand that they are one flock of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, in one Orthodox faith, [and that] He gathered all of them as a single wall of my house and tabernacle, which I built in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ with the help of His holy and live-giving

⁹¹ A reference to a villainous monastic member of St. Symeon’s community in the *Life of Symeon*, who Symeon prophesied would be a Judas-like figure; see L. A. R. Parker, *Symeon Stylites the Younger*, pp. 141-143.

Spirit and the aid of His holy angels, just as His unerring and true Word promised me. [I did this] not to drive away from His face all those residing in it, but rather so that He may protect them from every evil matter in this present life, and in the life to come, [so that] He would bestow forgiveness of their sins and a blessed fate,⁹² if they should heed my commandments”.

Having said these things to me, in a vision and not in a dream, our holy Father Symeon withdrew from my eyes. May his welcome intercession be bestowed upon us until our breath’s end, Amen.

Appendix: A Description of Sinai ar. 473

Sinai ar. 473 is an 11th-century paper manuscript, which is acephalous and 90 folios-long in its current form (an additional folio is glued upside down to the back of the front cover).⁹³ It is evident that the extant folios are the final section of a much larger codex. We know this because several folios have (barely legible) quire numbers written in Greek letters in the top right corner of the first page of the quire: e.g., 28r: ιθ; 36r: κ; 44r: κα; 52r: κβ; 60r: κγ. As the quires are quaternions, we can calculate that almost 120 folios are missing at the beginning. Some folios may be missing in the middle as well. From fol. 78 on, the pages have suffered significant damage, resulting in a partial loss of the text. The handwriting is casual, with missing diacritical marks, often quite difficult to read. The manuscript was most likely produced for personal use.

Sinai ar. 473 contains the following textual units.

1. 1r–11v (acephalous): Timothy of Alexandria’s *Miracles of St. Menas* (*Mar Mīnā*) (CPG 2527; BHG 1256–1269)⁹⁴

The translation could be by Antonios (see, e.g., 10r: على هذه الجهة; 11v: يا عديماً لكلّ فهم), but this remains to be verified.

It is noteworthy that this is one of the three Arabic translations of this text. A second translation is embedded in the Arabic Antiochene Menologion (Sinai ar. 396, fol. 52v–69r). A third Arabic translation, different from the other two, is found in Sinai

⁹² Literally, “the good part” (cf. Luke 10:42).

⁹³ This additional folio provides the names of the “three kings” mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew.

⁹⁴ Cf. Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–1953), vol. 1, pp. 510–511.

ar. 537, fol. 113r–145v. Here is a brief sample of the three translations for comparison.

Sinai ar. 473, fol. 2r–v

Sinai ar. 396, fol. 64r–v

Sinai ar. 537, fol. 136r

العجوبة الثامنة عن الغني والارملة العجبية الثامنة عن الغني والارملة ح: عن الغني والارملة

كان رجل من مدينة يقال لها قسطنطينايس من حدود مامريكا غنياً جداً وكان مذهبه المجوسية وزوجته مومنة بالله، وكان عنده في داره بيت ارضي وكان في البيت ارملة ساكنة فقيرة ولها شاة واحدة ومنها كانت تصنع كسوتها، وان الغني حسدها، فلما انضر [=انظر] جميع الناس يمشوا الى هيكل القديس قال لزوجته...

كان انساناً من بلدة يقال لها قسطنطيناس من حدود بلد مرماريكس غنياً جداً وفي معتقده حنيفياً، وكان تحت منزله امرأة عجوز ارملة فقيرة لم يكن لها سوا نعجة واحدة من الضان، ومن صوفها كانت تعمل لها كسوتها، وان ذلك الرجل الغني تداخله الحسد على نعجة الارملة، وكان قد قرب عيد القديس مينا فرأى الناس كلهم سائرين الى هيكله فقال لامراته...

كان انسان من بلدة تدعى قسطنطيناس من تحوم مرماريكس مؤسساً جداً ومثرياً وكان مذهبه حنيفياً، | وكان بالقرب من منزله امرأة عجوز مسكينة ساكنة ولم يكن لها يومئذ غير نعجة واحدة من صوفها كان لبوسها ومن لبنها كان غذاها، فتداخل الغني حسداً للارملة على نعجتها، فلما قرب عيد القديس مينا ابصر جماعة من الناس ذاهبين الى هيكله فقال لامراته...

2. 12r–18v: Tome of Union of the Council of Constantinople of 920, publicly read in church on the “Sunday of the Union” (κυριακή τῆς ἐνώσεως), i.e., the Sunday closest to July 9; title: ⁹⁵ حد هذا الجمع يقرأ يوم احد الاتحاد. This item and items no. 4–8 below were translated—apparently, by Antonios of St. Symeon—from the Greek Synodicon of Antioch, of the type preserved in MS Oxford, Bodleian, Holkham gr. 6.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ For an edition and translation of the Tome of Union, see Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. and trans. L. G. Westerink (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1981), pp. xiv–xix and pp. 56–85. On the annual celebration of the event with a public proclamation of the Tome of Union, see N. Попов, *Императоръ Левъ VI и его царствование в церковно-историческомъ отношеніи* [Emperor Leo VI and His Reign from the Church-Historical Perspective] (Moscow: Tipografiia A.I. Snegirevoi, 1892), p. 186; Patrick Demetrius Viscuso, *Sexuality, Marriage, and Celibacy in Byzantine Law. Selections from a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia of Canon Law and Theology: The Alphabetical Collection of Matthew Blastares* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2008), p. 98. The spelling *al-īṭihād* (instead of *al-ittihād*) is characteristic of Antiochene Christian Arabic texts.

⁹⁶ Romilly J.H. Jenkins and Cyril Mango, “A Synodicon of Antioch and Lacedaemonia”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961), pp. 225–242; Gudrun Engberg, “Les credos du Synodicon”, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 23.1–2 (1962), pp. 293–301; on this manuscript, see: https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6185.

Fol. 17r includes a highly significant section where prayers are offered for the living and deceased members of the Byzantine imperial house (“many years” and “memory eternal”, respectively): جعل الله سنين ملوكنا كثيرة: ميخائيل وزوئيس الملكين المتهذب رايمها فليكن “may the Lord grant many years to our emperors: Michael and Zoe, the two pious⁹⁷ emperors, may their years be numerous.” Here, Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian (r. 1034–1041) and his wife Zoe are mentioned as living, which proves that the manuscript was copied during their reign.

Among the deceased are mentioned previous emperors of the Macedonian dynasty: بسيل وقسطنطين ولاون والاسكندر وخرسطفورس ورمانوس وقسطنطين ورمانوس ونقفور ويحنا وبسيل Basil [I (867–886)], Constantine [VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959)], Leo [VI (886–912)], Alexander [912–913], Christopher [921–935], Romanos [I (920–944)], Constantine [Lekapenos (924–945)], Romanos [II (959–964)], Nikephoros [II Phokas (963–969)], John [I Tzimiskes (969–976)], Basil [II the Bulgar-Slayer (976–1025)], Constantine [VIII (1025–1028)], and Romanos [III Argyros (1028–1034)], who have exchanged the earthly realm for the heavenly realm, may their memory be eternal”.

Deceased empresses are mentioned as well: اودكيا وتاووفانو وثاودودورة وهلانة وتاووفانو الملكات Eudokia [wife of Basil I], Theophano [first wife of Leo VI], Theodora [wife of John I Tzimiskes], Helena [wife of Constantine VIII], and Theophano [wife of Romanos II and Nikephoros II Phokas] the pious empresses, may their memory be eternal”.

Following this, we have a list of deceased patriarchs of Antioch: خرسطفورس وثاودرس Christopher [960–967], Theodore [II, 970–976], Agapius [II, 978–996], John [III, 996–1021], Nicholas [II the Studite, 1025–1030], and Elias [II, 1032–1033] the holy patriarchs, may their memory be eternal.” It is thus clear that the manuscript was copied during the patriarchate of Theodore III (1034–1042).

A list of saintly patriarchs of Constantinople follows: جرمانوس وطراسيوس ونقفور Germanos [I, 715–730], Tarasios [784–806], Nikephoros [I, 806–815], and Methodios [I, 843–847] the excellent patriarchs of blessed memory, may their memory be eternal.” More recent names are added (fol. 17r–v): اغناتايوس وفوتيوس واصطفان وانطونيوس ونقولوس | واوثيوس واصطفان وترفن وثاوفيلقسطس وبوليقطس وانطونيوس ونقولوس وسينس وسرجي واسطاث البطاركة المتقوم رايمهم لمدينة Ignatius [847–858, 867–877], Photius [858–867, 877–886], Stephanus [I, 886–893], Antony [II Kauleas, 893–901], Nicholas [I Mysticus, 901–907, 912–925], Euthymius [I Syncellus, 907–912], Stephanus [II of Amasea, 925–

⁹⁷ The expression *al-mutahaddib ra'yuhu* is one of the many circumlocutions that can render the Greek εὐσεβής, “pious”. Cf. H. Ibrahim, “Some Notes”, p. 165, who refers to Antonios’ translation of εὐσέβεια as *tahdīb dīn*.

928], Tryphon [928–931], Theophylactus [933–956], Polyeuctus [956–970], Antony [III Studites, 974–980], Nicholas [II Chrysoberges, 984–996], Sisinnius [II, 996–998], Sergius [II, 999–1019], and Eustathius [1019–1025] the Orthodox patriarchs of the city of Constantinople, may their memory be eternal.” The text then imposes anathemas on everything that has been written or said against the aforementioned patriarchs and on any heretical deviation from the Orthodox Christian faith.

3. 19r: St. Dionysius on the arrangement and names of the angels; title: قول القديس ديونيسيوس في ترتيب الملائكة وتسميتهم

The text has been edited and translated—see A. Treiger, *Church Fathers*, pp. 277–278.

(Pages 19v–20r are empty)

4. 20v–28v: An account of the “Fourth Council” (Chalcedon, 451), publicly read in church on the Sunday closest to July 16, called in Greek *κυριακή τῶν προαλλακτῶν*; title: هذا المجمع الرابع يقرأ في الاحد الذي قبل ابدال القراءة وهو بلغة اليونانية معروف بالابرالقطا⁹⁸

On fol. 20v, the term *οἰκουμενικός* (“ecumenical”) is translated, rather idiosyncratically, as *al-ḥāwī ruʿasāʾ asāqifat al-dunyā* (“including the chief bishops of the world”); this pleonastic translation style is characteristic of Antonios. The same translation appears elsewhere in the manuscript (fol. 35v, 36r, 44r, etc.).

On fol. 28r, “many years” to Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian (r. 1034–1041) and his wife Zoe. During the reign of Emperor Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059–1067), either the original scribe or a later reader added in the margin the names of the reigning emperor Constantine, his wife Eudokia, and their children Michael (the future Michael VII Doukas, r. 1071–1078), Konstantios, described as *porphyrogenetos* (*al-mawlūd ʿalā al-qazz al-burfīrī*, co-emperor in 1060–1078), and Zoe.

⁹⁸ The words *al-aḥad alladī qabla ibdāl al-qirāʾa* (“Sunday before the change of reading”) are an attempt to render the Greek expression *κυριακή τῶν προαλλακτῶν* (called so because it is the Sunday right before the *κυριακή τῶν ἀλλακτῶν*—see item no. 5 below). The copyist initially wrote *بالقطا* in red, then, right before it, added in black: *بالابر*, effectively inserting the Greek prefix *προ-*). On the terms *προαλλακτῶν* and *ἀλλακτῶν*, cf. Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Bd. 1 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1900), pp. 381–382; on these Sundays, see also the homiliary of John Xiphilinos in MS Oxford, Bodleian, Holkham Gr. 66 (https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6192).

On fol. 28v, “many years” to Patriarch Theodore of Antioch (sed. 1034–1042); then his name was crossed out and the name of a subsequent patriarch Peter (sed. 1052–1056) was written instead; in the margin the name of the subsequent patriarch Theodosius (sed. 1057–1059) is written. In the top margin: “many years” to Yūḥannā Qayṣar, i.e. the powerful *kaisar* John Doukas (d. 1088), the brother of Constantine X.

5. 28v–35r: An account of the “Fifth Council” (this is not the Fifth Ecumenical Council, as one might assume, but the Council of Constantinople of 536 that condemned Severus of Antioch, Peter of Apamea, and Z’ōrā),⁹⁹ publicly read in church on the Sunday closest to July 23, called in Greek κυριακή τῶν ἀλλακτῶν; title: هذا المجمع الخامس يقرأ يوم احد ابدال ترتيب القراءة المعروف بلغة اليونانية بالقطا

On fol. 35r, “many years” to Emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian and his wife Zoe and to patriarch Theodore of Antioch (whose name was then corrected to Peter and ultimately to Theodosius). In the margin, the Emperor Isaac I Komnenos (r. 1057–1059) and his wife Catherine are added.

6. 35v–45v: An account of the “Sixth Council” (Constantinople III, 680–681), publicly read in church on the Sunday after the feast of the Elevation of the Cross (September 14); title: هذا المجمع السادس يقرأ يوم الاحد الذي بعد رفع الصليب المكرم المجيد

On fol. 45r, a list of emperors, empresses, and patriarchs with marginal corrections including Emperor Constantine Doukas’s family is given, similar to that on 28r.

7. 45v–54v: An account of the “Seventh Council” (Nicaea II, 787), publicly read in church on October 11; title: هذا المجمع السابع المقدس يقرأ في الحادي عشر من تشرين الاول¹⁰⁰

On fols. 53v–54v, a similar list of emperors, empresses, and patriarchs with similar marginal corrections is given, as on 28r and 45r.

⁹⁹ On the Council of Constantinople of 536 designated as the “Fifth Council”, see Sévérien Salaville, “La fête du concile de Nicée et les fêtes de conciles dans le rit byzantine”, *Échos d’Orient* 24 (1925), pp. 445–470, esp. pp. 461–463; Vasilii Lur’e [Basile Lourié], “Максим Исповедник и его китайская логика: Мысли по поводу новых публикаций Г.И. Беневи́ча и соавторов” [Maximus the Confessor and His Chinese Logic: Thoughts on the Recent Publications by G.I. Benevich and Co-Authors], *Volshebnaïā Gora* 17 (2016), pp. 468–478, esp. p. 475.

¹⁰⁰ The Sunday that falls within the range October 11–17 is still the day of commemoration of the Fathers of the Seventh Ecumenical Council in the Orthodox Church.

8. 55r–64v: Synodic of the Sunday of Orthodoxy; title: يقرأ هذا المجمع في يوم احد
الراي المتقوم

This text¹⁰¹ is definitely translated by Antonios (see, e.g., his characteristic rendering of the Greek *alpha privativum* in fol. 58r: ويوقنون ان له فصل المخلوق وفصل العديم ان يكون مخلوقا وفصل الملحوظ وفصل الفاقد ان يكون ملحوظا وفصل المالموم وفصل العديم ان يكون مالوما وفصل المحصور (والعديم ان يكون محصورا).

On fols. 63v–64v, a similar list of emperors, empresses, and patriarchs with similar marginal corrections is given.

(Page 65r is empty)

9. 65v–69v: The Arabic miracle story from St. Symeon (edited and translated above)

(Pages 70r–71r are empty)

10. 71v–74v: Letter by Pope Celestine to Nestorius (not identical to CPG 8639);¹⁰² title: رسالة كلستينس بابا رومية الى نسطوريوس; incipit: لا ادري من اين تصور لك ما يصل الى مسامعنا من اعتقاد مستحدث ذابح عنك، مخالف الايمان الصحيح وخارج عن القول الثابت الرصين، وان كنا لم نتحقق ذلك ولا وقع التصديق به

11. 75r–87v: Cyril of Alexandria's Twelve Anathemas against Nestorius, with a commentary (CPG 5223);¹⁰³ title: بطريرك مدينة الاسكندرية مفسرة

12. 87v: Short anonymous text entitled “Ten Virtues of John the Baptist” (فضائل يوحنا المعمدان العشر)

¹⁰¹ Habib Ibrahim kindly informed us (personal correspondence, January 25, 2024) that the same text is preserved acephalously in Sinai ar. 455 (Sinai ar. 473, fol. 55v:6 = Sinai ar. 455, fol. 43r:1). We are grateful to him for this information.

¹⁰² The same text is transmitted under the name of Cyril of Alexandria in at least four manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Nicoll Arab. Christ. 12 (year 1635), pp. 482–485; Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts C870, fols. 61v–63r; Vat. Sbath 411 (year 1654), pp. 298–303; and Aleppo, Salem Ar. 363 [Sbath 1186]. The Greek original has not been identified. Cf. Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 361 and 365.

¹⁰³ For other manuscripts, see Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 359–360 (the Leningrad manuscript referenced there is Saint Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts C870, fols. 63v–70v).

13. 87v: Short anonymous text on the calculation (of Easter?); title: حساب ال[فصح؟] المقدّس بضرب (؟) حد عشر في كفلس القمر
14. 88r–90r: Gregory the Theologian, *Oration 33*, §15:23 to the end of the oration; incipit: ان غنمي من شأنها [...] انا من الاقاول الالهية (=PG, vol. 36, col. 233B: Τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἐμὰ τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούει)

The translation is likely to be by Antonios. For example, ἡδέως in §16:5 is translated as باوفر التذاذ. A similar expression appears in Antonios' translation of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Gospel of John* (misattributed to Ibn al-Faḍl in the printed edition).¹⁰⁴

15. 90v: A brief summary of the ecumenical councils.

To conclude our brief description of this manuscript, Sinai ar. 473 is a precious codex penned at St. Symeon during the reign of Michael IV the Paphlagonian (r. 1034–1041). The Arabic miracle story contained therein and dating to 1036/7 was obviously penned right after the event. Since many of the texts included in the codex are translations from Greek and several of these translations are attributable to Antonios, it is surprising that Antonios is not mentioned in the manuscript as the translator responsible for them. One potential explanation for this curious omission is that the codex could be Antonios' autograph. This could have been his personal notebook into which he wrote his own translations of select Greek texts as well as other items of interest. This explanation, though attractive, is, however, probably incorrect, because the manuscript contains names of Byzantine royals and patriarchs from the second half of the 11th century added in the margin, which seem to have been penned by the original scribe (as opposed to a later reader); Antonios would have been deceased when these additions were made. Even so, the “Antoniosian” translations in Sinai ar. 473 were likely copied during Antonios' lifetime directly from Antonios' autograph.

¹⁰⁴ [John Chrysostom], *Tafsīr Inḡīl al-qiddīs Yūḥannā al-bašīr al-tāwulūḡūs li-l-qiddīs Yūḥannā al-Dahabī al-Fam aḥraḡahu min al-luḡa al-yūnāniyya ilā al-luḡa al-ʿarabiyya ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī, wa-huwa tamāniya wa-tamānūna maqāla wa-yatlū kull maqāla ʿiḡa* (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿumūmiyya, 1863), maqāla 11, p. 68:15. On the attribution of the Arabic translation of this commentary to Antonios, see H. Ibrahim, “Some Notes”, p. 162.