

From the Holy City to the Holy Mountain: The Movement of Monks and Manuscripts to the Sinai

The Holy City Jerusalem and the Holy Mountain in the Southern Sinai are both evocative concepts as well as geographical realities. Although ca. 500km apart, they were similar *Sehnsuchtsorte* – places where one longs to be – for Christian pilgrims, the former associated with the New Covenant in Christ, the latter with the Old Covenant of Moses¹. This close nexus between Jerusalem and the Sinai is the focus of the following investigation that aims to establish a plausible context for the movement of manuscripts from Jerusalem and its surrounding monasteries, including Mar Saba, to the Monastery in the Sinai, by suggesting that it was particularly the travel of monks – and more particularly, book-carrying monks – that connected the two sites. This would go a long way to explain how the library in the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine came to be one of the largest depositories of manuscripts from the medieval Christian world, the vast majority of them liturgical.

Pathways of Travel

The travel from Jerusalem to the Mt. Sinai followed the routes of communication that had been established since Roman times. The first Holy Land pilgrim who came from Bordeaux in 333 only visited Jerusalem. In 383-384, Egeria was the first pious traveller to the Holy Land who also included the Sinai in her itinerary for a combined visit to the sites associated with Moses and the Exodus and the ascetics who were beginning to settle there. Egeria took the route along the Mediterranean coast (*via maris*) and then along the western side of the peninsula, the same route as that outlined in the Peutinger Table: Jerusalem, Pelusion, Clysmā, Pharan (and then on to Mount Sinai) and from there back to Jerusalem². Along the road, she

stopped at 22 stations that were placed, on average, 20 miles apart. A second option was the route taken by the Piacenza Pilgrim who travelled in the 550s. Taking the southeastern inland route via Elusa, and then via Aila to the eastern side of the peninsula, he made the journey from Jerusalem to Mt. Sinai in 18 days³. Traders, monks and pilgrims that set out from Jerusalem could also use yet another option to reach Aila, via the Negev, also with 18 stations, from where they continued along the eastern side of the peninsula.

The people who travelled the eastern route on the Sinai peninsula that leads from Aila through the Wadi Haggag to the site that was fortified and adorned with a large basilica by the Emperor Justinian sometimes inscribed their names and perhaps added an invocation. These graffiti in Syriac, Ethiopic, Georgian and Armenian, as well as in Greek, are located on the rock surfaces that face the north-east, i. e. the shaded areas where the travellers would have found rest during the day. They attest to the popularity of this route, but they are difficult to date⁴. An Armenian inscription in Wadi Leja, probably of the 12th century or later, can be read as »I saw Jer(usalem)«⁵ – confirmation that pilgrimage to Jerusalem could include a visit to the Sinai.

The continued use of the north-south routes in the late sixth or early seventh century is documented in a Nessana Papyrus (P. Ness. 3.89) and others in that collection. It chronicles the financial transactions in the course of a caravan journey from the Negev desert to Sinai and back. In addition to the purchase of camels and slave boys and girls, it also mentions that a donation from the community (*koinotês*) of the town in the amount of 10 *solidi* was given to the monastery and a further donation of 7 *solidi* by an individual. The local guide, who was paid 3.5 *solidi*, was not a monk, but is described as »Saracen«. As the papyrus demonstrates, it was possible to

1 I would like to extend my gratitude to the conference participants for their comments and suggestions when I first presented this research. In the preparation of the written version, I have further benefited from the input of several colleagues: I am grateful to Tinatin Chronz for valuable information, Daniel Galadza for his feedback, Georgi Parpulov for his insights, Giulia Rossetto for her comments, and Paraskevi Sykopetritou for her editorial assistance. – Hunt, *Holy Land*; Sivan, *Pilgrimage* 54-65. See also Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred* 159-160.
2 The surviving part of her account begins with her description of the »mons sanctus Dei Syna«, Egeria, *Itinerarium* 1.1 (120 Maraval). See also Finkelstein, *Byzantine Monastic Remains* 39-75; Ovadiah, *Greek Inscriptions* 77-79; Solzbacher, *Mönche* 122-143.

3 Dahari et al., *Monastic Settlements* 10. On the Piacenza pilgrim's account of his visit to Sinai, see also Solzbacher, *Mönche* 142-153.

4 Jacoby, *Armenian Pilgrimage* 80-83. For Armenian inscriptions of the seventh to 15th centuries on the summit of Jebel Musa, see Kalopissi-Verti/Panayotidi, *Excavations* 103; Dahari et al., *Monastic Settlements* 10. For the road system in Greek and Roman times, see Graf, *Les circulations*; for the roads linking Jerusalem with Mount Sinai the Negev, see Sodini, *Les routes*; Stone, *Armenian Inscriptions* 49-51.

5 Stone, *Armenian Inscriptions* 92-93. Mayerson, *Pilgrim Routes* 44 n. 1 mentions that, in addition to the 64 Armenian graffiti published by Michael Stone, a further 23 have been identified later. For the Armenian presence in the Holy Land, see also the contribution by Emilio Bonfiglio and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller in this volume.

convey pious donations and conduct financial transactions in the course of the same journey. The business of caravans was transport, regardless of its purpose and intent. The Nessana papyrus is a reminder that, in practical terms, pilgrimage is indistinguishable from travel for business⁶.

With the increase of monastic settlements at the foot of the Holy Mountain since the late fourth century, a visit to the Sinai promised to the pious traveller not just the experience of the Biblical site of Moses' encounter with God, but also a personal encounter with the hermits who harnessed and increased their spiritual power by living in the harsh desert conditions⁷. Egeria derived great spiritual joy from her encounter with the Sinai hermits, who also made it their business to act as local guides to the Biblical sites of the Exodus around the Holy Mountain.

Justinian's construction of the fortification walls and the large basilica at the foot of the Mountain of Moses in the middle of the sixth century was probably a reflection of an increase in pilgrim traffic to the Sinai. In later centuries, pilgrimage to the Holy Land often included an option to extend the journey to the Sinai, insofar as local and political circumstances permitted. This is suggested by the Byzantine and post-Byzantine texts composed for the use of Holy Land pilgrims studied by Andreas Külzer⁸. Formally, they can be divided into two categories, travel accounts and pilgrim guides. Four of the ten travel accounts studied by Külzer include the Sinai in their narration, the earliest from the ninth century, the remaining three from the 15th or 16th century. In the pilgrim guides, the pattern of coverage is similar. These range in date from the 13th to the 17th century. The Sinai is included in 13 of the 25 pilgrim guides either in the text itself, or under a separate title in the same manuscript. Even if we cannot always be sure that travel accounts and pilgrim guides were based on actual journeys conducted by their authors, they indicate a certain awareness of the Sinai and its Holy Mountain as a potential destination for Jerusalem pilgrims.

David Jacoby's overview of pilgrims who came to the Sinai from different points of origin and across the centuries confirms that such travel remained possible during different periods of Fatimid, Mamluk and Crusader rule, even if this entailed greater logistical or administrative challenges⁹.

Monks Travelling from Jerusalem to the Sinai

The edifying literature that was generated in the context of the rise of monasticism in the fourth to seventh centuries testifies to great mobility among the monks, with Jerusalem

and Mount Sinai among the major destinations¹⁰. This is illustrated in a story recorded in the Syriac version of the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*. The text was compiled in the sixth century, but may well relate to earlier events: »There was a certain holy man who used to see visions, and he told the following story, saying: »Once when I was standing up in prayer, I heard a devil complaining in the presence of his companion, saying, 'I am [suffering] great labour and trouble'.« And when the other devil asked him so that he might learn from him the cause of his trouble, he said to him, »This is the work which hath been handed over to me. When I have carried these monks, who are in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, to Mount Sinai I have to bring those who are in Mount Sinai to Jerusalem, and I have no rest whatsoever«¹¹.

Desert-dwelling ascetics who lived in the desert areas around Jerusalem preferred the Holy Mountain to the Holy City as a destination of their pious travel. This is the impression given by four stories in the *Spiritual Meadow*, composed in the early seventh century. The author, John Moschus, originally perhaps from Antioch, had been himself been a monk in Jerusalem and at Mar Saba, before traveling to Egypt, including the Sinai.

In his first chapter, John Moschus explains how the Archbishop of Jerusalem had plans to appoint a pious monk as abbot of the Monastery of Abba Eustorgios (located in Jerusalem, but not otherwise known). The monk, however, refused, because »I prefer prayer on Mount Sinai«. But then a violent fever seized him after he crossed the river Jordan, accompanied by a vision of John the Baptist, who commanded him to remain in the cave where he had found shelter because this is where he, John, had lived and where Jesus had come to see him: »For this little cave is greater than Mount Sinai«. The elder then converted the cave into a church and gathered a community around him. This tale of a monk seeking tranquility is a hagiographical topos, of course. Still, it is interesting to see what the desirable places were for a monk who lived the region of Jerusalem: first and foremost the Sinai, although the functional equivalent could be found in the immediate vicinity, across the Jordan¹². The attraction is the desert landscape and the journey there, as a pathway to an encounter with God.

A second story in the *Spiritual Meadow* tells of Peter, originally from the Pontus region, who lived in Palestine but felt a desire to go on pilgrimage to Sinai. On their return journey, Peter and his travel companions also passed through Abu Mena near Alexandria, an important healing sanctuary with long roots in the pagan past¹³. The point of this story is to extol the remarkable asceticism of Peter, who managed to go without food between the individual stops of his journey.

6 Kraemer, *Excavations* 251-260.

7 Solzbacher, *Mönche* 75-121.

8 Külzer, *Peregrinatio*.

9 Jacoby, *Christian Pilgrimage*.

10 For the movement of anchorites between the Sinai and other locations in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, see also Flusin, *Ermitages et monastère* 134-135; Malamut, *Sur la route*. See also *Mobilités monastiques*.

11 Wallis Budge, *Paradise* 239 no. 420. Cf. Caner et al. (eds), *History and Hagiography* 31.

12 John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale* c. 1 (PG 2852C-2853B; trans. Wortley 4-5).

13 John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale* c. 100 (PG 2957D-2960B; trans. Wortley 80-81).

The third story emphasizes the paradisiacal remoteness of the desert where life and death, male and female, are elided to the point of irrelevance. Again the protagonists are local: two monks from the monastery of Sampson, about 20 miles from Jerusalem, who made a pilgrimage to the Sinai. On their way back through the desert, they lost their way. Noticing a cave with a little garden around it, they entered just as the cave dweller passed away. As they prepared the body for burial, they discovered that she was a woman¹⁴. Again, it is during the approach, not at the site of Sinai itself, that such marvels occur that make one see the world with different eyes.

The fourth story mentions the Sinai in connection with the miracle of a lamp that continued to burn in front of an icon of the Mother of God. The flame never went out, no matter how long Abba John, the owner of the cave that was located about 20 miles from Jerusalem, was away. His absences could last from one to six months. »Sometimes this elder would decide to go somewhere on a journey; maybe a great distance into the wilderness, or to Jerusalem to reverence the Holy Cross and the Holy Places, or to pray at Mount Sinai, or to visit martyrs shrines many a long day's travel from Jerusalem. He was greatly devoted to the martyrs, this elder. Now he would visit Saint John at Ephesos; another time, Saint Theodore at Euchaita or Saint Thecla the Isaurian at Seleucia or Saint Sergios at Saphas«¹⁵. Jerusalem and Mount Sinai are among the destinations of choice of Abba John, but equally as important are the martyrs' shrines. For Abba John, *peregrinatio* had become a way of life, and the Sinai was one destination among many.

These stories in the *Spiritual Meadow* of monastics from the area around Jerusalem all emphasise the desert location along with the approach through the desert as the main distinctive feature of monastic pilgrimage to the Sinai. The monks who were attracted to this destination were themselves hardened in the desert way of life and had found spiritual solace in its tranquility. In all these stories, there is a subtle, but important distinction in the function of geographical settings. While monastics go to the Holy City »to worship« and commemorate Christ's passion and resurrection, they go to the Sinai »to pray« and to seek a personal encounter with God, as Moses had done. What matters in the pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain is getting there, while visits to the Holy City are all about being there.

In subsequent centuries, there is a constant trickle of evidence for pious and monastic travel that includes both Jerusalem and the Sinai. This is confirmed by several stories set in the eighth and ninth centuries: *The Life of Stephen the Sabaite* (d. 794), composed by Leontius of Damascus shortly

after 807, reports that his aunt and her female companion often made the pilgrimage from Damascus to Jerusalem and on to Mt. Sinai by themselves¹⁶.

A hagiographical tale of the early ninth century recounts how the nephew of the caliph of Syria converted to Christianity after experiencing a vision in the church of St. George in Diospolis. According to one version of the tale, he was sent to the patriarch of Jerusalem for baptism, who then recommended that he enter the monastic life at Mount Sinai. According to the only other version, he went to Sinai directly¹⁷. Another story of the ninth century features »one of the greatest travellers of the period« Elias the Younger¹⁸. A native of Sicily, he was captured by Arabs and sold as a slave in North Africa. Once he had secured his freedom, he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, probably in 878. After Jerusalem and the Jordan valley, his itinerary included a visit to the Sinai where he remained for three years. His purpose, according to his hagiographer, was to experience the landscape of Moses and the Exodus and to grow in virtue under the guidance of the local monastic fathers. Later in his life, Elias returned to Sicily and continued to make several journeys in Italy and Greece, in the course of which he founded several monasteries¹⁹.

The Arabic account of the martyrdom of Abd al-Masih, who died in the 860s was composed in the following decade. Originally from Najran, he spent his early years as a Muslim raider, then made a sudden conversion to Christianity in Baalbek. After a visit to Jerusalem, Abd al-Masih joined the Monastery of Mar Saba for five years, and then retreated to Mount Sinai, where he became *oikonomos* and, eventually, abbot. His desire for martyrdom was fulfilled when he was denounced by his former companions to the governor of Ramla, where he had gone to attend to some fiscal business on behalf of the Monastery²⁰.

These hagiographical narratives suggest that, for pious and monastic travellers of the late eighth and ninth century, there was a close connection between Jerusalem and its surrounding regions, on the one hand, and the Sinai, on the other. This is also the period when there is the first evidence for the movement of manuscripts from the Holy City to the Holy Mountain.

In later centuries, the Sinai continued to be a destination for Orthodox monks²¹. In the first half of the fourteenth century, Neilos Hierychiotes and Sabas Tzikos each spent an extended period of time in the Sinai in conjunction with their visits to Jerusalem²². In the tenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Western pilgrims to Jerusalem travelled the same paths and sometimes included the Sinai in their itinerary²³.

14 John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale* c. 170 (PG 3036D-3037B; trans. Wortley 139).

15 John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale* c. 180 (PG 3052A-C; trans. Wortley 149-150).

16 Leontios of St Sabas, *Life of Stephen the Sabaite* col. 586-587. See also Mango, *Greek Culture* 151.

17 Hoyland, *Seeing Islam* 383-384.

18 Malamut, *Sur la route* 256-258, quote at 258.

19 *Vita di sant'Elia il Giovane* 17-20 (24-31 Taibbi).

20 Hoyland, *Seeing Islam* 382-383.

21 In the political circumstances of the 11th and 12th century, travel by Byzantine monks to the Holy Land regained new attraction, but was fraught with danger and did not include a visit to the Sinai: Pahlitzsch, *Byzantine Monasticism*, see Pahlitzsch, *Networks* 136.

22 See Pahlitzsch, *Networks* 136.

23 Morris, *Sepulchre* 107. 138. 304-305. 321.

Monastic Travel to Jerusalem and its Environs Originating at the Holy Mountain

There is little information about the reverse direction of travel. The monks of Sinai apparently did not to visit the Holy City. A well-known exception is Anastasius of Sinai, who originally hailed from Cyprus. After some years at Mount Sinai, he went to Alexandria, Clysma, Damascus and Jerusalem, before returning to the Sinai in ca. 680 and devoting the remaining two decades of his life to the composition of instructional and edifying works²⁴.

A spectacular and exceptional case are Symeon and Cosmas whose story is recorded in Latin. They left the Sinai in 1025, travelled to Belgrade and Rome and eventually arrived in Rouen, where they were received with great honors. While Cosmas returned to the East, Symeon remained in Gaul for several years, enjoying the support of the nobleman Goscelinus. As a sign of gratitude, Symeon gave him relics of Saint Catherine. He subsequently spent time in Verdun and Trier, then accompanied Bishop Poppo of Trier on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and returned to Trier where he lived for the last two years of his life until his death in 1034 or 1035 as a hermit in the old Roman city gate known as Porta Nigra²⁵.

These references about monastic travel that joins the Holy Land and the Holy Mountain prove the possibility of travel between Palestine and the Sinai. They are too scattered across time, however, to offer any indication of the frequency or intensity of such movement. Still, they provide helpful historical background to lend plausibility to the idea that it was largely in the context of this kind of movement of pious travellers, whether pilgrims or monks (or both), that manuscripts came to the Sinai.

Objects that Travel: Manuscripts

Egeria wanted to experience her pilgrimage to the Sinai within the framework of the Old Testament, and this involved actual books. After visiting Mount Horeb, where the Prophet Elijah conversed with God, she explains: »We celebrated the Eucharist (literally: we made an oblation) and a very intense prayer, and the very passage from the Book of Kings was read. For this is what I always wanted for us, that wherever we went, every time the passage from the book should be read«²⁶. Whether these books belonged to the local monk-guides or to Egeria, we cannot know. Still, we may safely assume that Egeria was not the only pilgrim for whom books

of Scripture were essential during their journey. Some of the monks and other pious travellers of later centuries who travelled the roads from the Holy Land to Mount Sinai would have carried with them objects that were both valuable and useful: manuscripts that were of relevance to their spiritual life and liturgical practice.

The exceptional riches of the manuscript collection of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine have given rise to research into the provenance of the manuscripts in its library. At issue is the question whether these were locally produced, on the one hand, or brought there by purchase or left as a gift, on the other. First, it must be established to what degree copying occurred at the Sinai. This will form the necessary backdrop to the presentation that follows next of the 27 manuscripts in the Sinai collection, from the ninth to the fourteenth century that were produced in the Holy Land in Arabic, Georgian and Greek, i. e. by the most active manuscript-producing communities of the time.

Arabic: While some copying activity in Arabic occurred at Mount Sinai in the tenth century, the largest source of Arabic manuscripts in the ninth and tenth centuries that are now at Saint Catherine's seems to have been the lauras of Saint Sabas and of Saint Chariton in Palestine²⁷.

Georgian: Georgian scribes tended to leave colophons, subscriptions recording their name and the place and date of their activity – a habit that offers a mine of information to historians²⁸. We are thus informed that of the 19 Georgian manuscripts in the Old Collection and New Finds that carry a date and location of their production within a 100-year time span, from 974 to 1074, 13 were copied in the Sinai and six in or near Jerusalem. Those that were copied in the Holy Land date from the period 864 to 1031²⁹. Georgian manuscripts now in the monastery's possession were produced in the Holy Land, either at monasteries in Jerusalem or at the Monastery of Saint Sabas. In the tenth century, the Georgian scribe Iovane Zosime was particularly active, as is known from the large number of colophons from his pen. He is a fine example of the movement not only of manuscripts, but also of the people involved in their production. Iovane Zosime first worked at Mar Saba, and then moved to Sinai some time before 973. He was involved in the entire process of manuscript production, not only as a scribe, but also in the (re-) binding of manuscripts³⁰. His lifetime fits into the timeframe of the migration of large numbers of monks of different language groups, who during the ninth and tenth century moved from the Holy Land to the Sinai.

24 Hoyland, *Seeing Islam* 92-103.

25 Poncelet, *Sanctae Catharinae* 423-438. See also Hofmann, *Sinai* 225.

26 Egeria, *Itinerarium* 4.3 (138 Maraval), my translation. For the history of the manuscripts at Saint Catherine's Monastery, see now Rossetto, *Three Euchologia*.

27 According to Géhin, *La bibliothèque* 159, the copyist Antoun al-Baghdadi Daoud ibn Suleyman at Mar Saba produced in 885/886 for Sinai monks two manuscripts that are no longer in the Sinai: ms. Strasbourg 4226 for Anba

Ishaq, and ms. Vat. ar. 71 for the monk Isaac. At the Laura of Saint Chariton, Stephen of Ramlah copied ms. Sin. ar. 72.

28 See now also Tchekhanovets, *Caucasian Archaeology* 201-211.

29 Husmann, *Sinai-Handschriften* 143-144; Géhin, *La bibliothèque* 159; Thomson, *Manuscripts* 55.

30 Thomson, *Manuscripts*; Brock, *Sinai* 484. For the different locations of Iovane Zosime's activity, see also Van Esbroeck, *Les manuscrits*.

Greek: There are a total of 189 Greek manuscripts from the ninth to the sixteenth century that carry a date. 34 of these (18 %) were copied in the Sinai and its dependencies in Raithou and Crete, while 38 (20 %) were copied elsewhere. There is no information about the place of copying for the remaining 117 (62 %) ³¹.

The same observation has been made with regard to illuminated manuscripts now in the Library at St. Catherine's. When Kurt Weitzmann, with the assistance of George Galavaris, studied the 69 illuminated manuscripts from the ninth to the twelfth century now at the monastery, he was hoping for evidence of a Sinai *scriptorium* as a place of production, which – by extension – might also suggest the possibility of a Sinai *atelier* for the creation of its rich (and still barely explored) holding of icons. But as it turns out, the 69 illuminated manuscripts included in Weitzmann's study have a very diverse provenance, including Constantinople, Patmos, Crete, as well as Palestine. Only in some instances do they hail from the Sinai itself. All of this points to a uni-directional travel of goods: the vast majority of manuscripts and icons must have reached the Holy Mountain as donations, bequests and gifts. The benefits that the donors expected to receive in return were of an intangible, spiritual nature.

Monks Travelling with Manuscripts

The oldest dated manuscript in Greek at Saint Catherine's is a Gospel Lectionary that was copied in majuscule in 861/862 by someone who was a deacon at a church of the Holy Apostles. The end of his subscription »This was copied in the monastery of our Holy Father...«, indicates that he was probably active at the Laura of Saint Sabas ³². The Sinai and Jerusalem formed one liturgical *koine*, especially in the period before the influence of Constantinopolitan practices, the process of so-called »Byzantinization« of the liturgy in the tenth century, recently studied by Daniel Galadza. This is especially true for the private recital of the Psalms, their sequence and frequency, by hermits who lived in their cells, as Georgi Parpulov has demonstrated ³³. Each hermit would have his own manuscript of the Psalter for this purpose, although sometimes it is noted that he would be joined in the recital by a disciple or a spiritual brother. Based on this observation of the shared monastic practice of Psalmody between the Holy City and the Holy Mountain, it seems plausible that it was through the movement of monks that the manuscripts that were produced in Palestine reached the Sinai. This is supported by the large number of Psalters among the ninth and tenth century manuscripts of Palestinian origin now at the Sinai. Could it be that monks who travelled with their own Psalters left them at Mount Sinai as a pious donation? Or

was it simply the case that some of the monks that came to Mount Sinai remained there until their death, at which time their belongings – including manuscripts – would pass into the possession of the Monastery?

Overall, the content of the Sinai manuscripts that originated from the Holy Land is largely liturgical or monastic, and the manuscripts were made for use, not for display. This adds to the impression that it was monks and perhaps other pious pilgrims who were responsible for this traffic in books. Only one luxury object of Holy Land origin in the Sinai library can be associated with costly elite production, a gospel lectionary copied by Basil the *notarios* at the Monastery of the Cells in Bethlehem in 1167 (Sin. gr. 220) ³⁴.

Manuscripts that Travelled from Jerusalem to the Sinai

Thus far, we have established connectivity between Jerusalem and the Sinai with regard to the pathways of travel, the existence of monastic travel and the role that manuscripts may have played in this context. It is now time to offer concrete examples.

Manuscripts have been associated with Palestine on the basis of three criteria.

- (1) Colophons and other scribal notes that mention Palestine as the place of copying or the place of use offer incontrovertible evidence.
- (2) More difficult is the establishment of a geographical place of origin based on palaeographical or codicological characteristics. It is possible to identify script styles and binding practices that are shared by manuscripts that once were (and occasionally still are) present in the geographical region of Palestine, the Sinai and Cyprus. But given the close connection between Jerusalem and the Sinai especially in the eighth and ninth centuries, including the travel of monks who, like Iovane Zosime, may also have acted as scribes, it is often impossible to pin down the exact place of copying of an individual manuscript.
- (3) The same applies to the content of liturgical manuscripts that reflect the Jerusalem traditions that were also used in the Sinai. Daniel Galadza has recently shown the prevalence of the hagiopolite liturgical tradition in the entire region that was under the administrative sway of the Jerusalem Patriarchate. This included the Sinai peninsula until it gained autonomy in 1575. For his study of the impact of the Constantinopolitan tradition on the Jerusalem liturgy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Galadza considered 36 original manuscript units. Nowadays they are sometimes divided up into more than one piece and preserved in more than one location. The vast majority of

31 Husmann, *Sinai-Handschriften* 166; Géhin/Froyshov, *Nouvelles découvertes*.

32 Sin. gr. 210, plus four folios now in St. Petersburg: Géhin, *La bibliothèque* 159.

33 Galadza, *Liturgy*; Parpulov, *Psalms* 78-85.

34 Gardthausen, *Catalogus* 44; Weitzmann/Galavaris, *Monastery* 9. 174-175.

these, 29 to be exact, copied in Greek Arabic, Georgian and Syriac, are now preserved in the Sinai. Although their actual provenance remains unknown in most cases, the fate of these manuscripts confirms the close liturgical ties between the Holy City and the Holy Mountain³⁵.

Arabic: A recent study by André Binggeli has drawn attention to two generations of Christian Arabic copyists that were active between 885 and 925. Anthony David copied five manuscripts at Mar Saba in second half of the ninth century. They contain Christian texts in Arabic, or in Greek and Arabic. Four of them went to Sinai, although not all of them remained there. Three of these manuscripts were apparently commissioned by the monk Anba Ishaq, who wished to obtain for the Sinai a representative collection, in multiple volumes, of ascetical texts, based on the Arabic translations that were produced at that time in Mar Saba³⁶.

The colophon of the manuscript Vat. ar. 71 copied by Anthony David in August-September 885 reads in translation: »The poor sinner, Anthony David the son of Sulayman of Baghdad, copied this volume in the *laura* of the holy Mar Saba. The monk Abba Isaac asked him to copy it for the monastery of the hallowed Mt. Sinai. I, the weak sinner who has copied it, ask and beseech everyone who reads of the holy fathers and others in it to beseech and ask Jesus Christ, our god and saviour, to forgive my many sins and offenses. By the intercession of the honorable Lady Mary, and of our father Saba and all his pious holy ones, may God have mercy on the ones who have produced, copied, asked for a copy, read, heard or said ›Amen‹ to [this work]. It was copied in the month Rabi' al-Awwal, of the year 272«³⁷.

Part of this copying activity in Christian Arabic is Sinaiticus arabicus NF 66. It was copied probably shortly after 903 by David of Homs »the carpenter« at Mar Saba. It contains hagiographical texts of particular interest to Mar Saba, including the Arabic version of the hagiographical oeuvre by Cyril of Scythopolis, plus the *Life of Saint Stephen the Sabaite*. Part of it is copied on palimpsest, with the erased layer containing fragments of a previously unknown classical Greek text in hexameters, copied in the fifth or sixth century. Giulia Rossetto has identified the mythological content of the surviving passages as relating to the childhood of Dionysos, suggesting that the original text may have its origin in an Orphic epic, possibly of the Homeric period³⁸. The origin of the palimpsested writing material for this manuscript must have been a very learned environment indeed. The manuscript later reached the Sinai under unknown circumstances, further attesting to the close connection between the two monasteries³⁹.

Georgian: As has been noted above, Georgian scribes were the most locally active producers among all the language groups that are represented in the Library of Saint Catherine's. Five Georgian manuscripts of the Old Collection total of 86 originate in the Holy Land. Among the Georgian New Finds, which amount to 99 items in total, there is one manuscript that was copied in Mar Saba in 864 and then explicitly given to Saint Catherine's as a gift, by the Hieromonk Makari Leteteli. Those items in the New Finds that have colophons which reveal their place of copying mention predominantly the Sinai itself, although a few manuscripts were copied in Cyprus or at the Black Mountain near Antioch⁴⁰. Sebastian Brock has drawn attention to the Georgian manuscript production at Mar Saba, in Jerusalem and at the Sinai that shows strong links with Syriac (and to a lesser degree, Christian Palestinian Aramaic) manuscripts, their use and their re-use in palimpsested form or as binding material. This leads him to suggest that »Georgian- and Syriac-speaking monks lived together in the same monastery, both at St Sabas (and perhaps also at St Chariton) in the Judean Desert and on Sinai for a considerable period«⁴¹.

Greek: In Greek palaeographical studies, it has become common to speak of a distinctive writing style dubbed »sinaitico-palestinense«, shared by manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries that can be attributed to the same region based on their provenance⁴². What this means for their precise place of production, whether in Palestine or in the Sinai, remains an open question. Our current state of knowledge affirms only that books travel with people from north to south, from the Holy Land to the Sinai, but not in the reverse. Whatever codices can be securely assigned a place of production in the Sinai (and that number, as has been noted above, is surprisingly small for the Greek manuscripts)⁴³ either remained there or, over time, made their way to other collections, but they were not brought from the Sinai to Jerusalem or Mar Saba.

The **appendix**, based on a consultation of a wide range of publications, lists 27 manuscripts from the ninth to the fourteenth century which are (or at one point were) in the Monastery of Saint Catherine and which carry a firm written indication of their origin in Palestine, including Jerusalem or Mar Saba. To establish an expanded list of manuscripts that can be assigned Palestinian origin based on palaeographical or codicological features or on the liturgical material they contain, would be a further and future *desideratum* of scholarship. Especially the transmission of Melkite Syriac manuscripts, which could not be addressed within the limitations of the present study, would merit further investigation.

35 Galadza, Liturgy.

36 Binggeli, Les trois David 96. 113.

37 Griffith, Monks 8. At least one other scribe contributed to the manuscript, which has been in the Vatican Library since at least the 18th century.

38 Rossetto, Greek Under Arabic.

39 See Binggeli, Les trois David 101-104.

40 Aleksidze et al., Catalogue.

41 Brock, Sinai 493.

42 See now Crisci/Degni, La scrittura 148-151, with further references, especially to the seminal work of Lidia Perria.

43 Ševčenko, Manuscript Production.

Century	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
ms no.	Arabic: 4, 5, 6, Georgian: 11, 12, Greek: 15, 16, 17, 27	Arabic: 1, 2, 3, 7, Georgian: 8, 9, 10, 13, 14	Greek: 22, 26	Greek: 18, 19	Greek: 20, 21, 23	Greek: 24, 25
total mss	9	9	2	2	3	2

Table 1 Distribution of Manuscripts by Century of Copying.

Text	Hagiographica, Ascetica	Gospel Lectionary	Psalter	Trio-dion	Stiche-rarion	Exapos-teilarion	Tetraevan-gelion	Apos-tolos	Horo-logion	Liturgical unspecified
ms no.	Arabic: 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, Georgian: 10, 11, 12, 14, Greek: 21	Arabic: 7, Greek: 17, 18, 19, 20	Greek: 15, 16, 27	Greek: 22, 23	Greek: 26	Greek: 24	Georgian: 8	Arabic: 2	Greek: 25	Georgian: 9
total mss ¹	10	5	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1

Table 2 Distribution of Texts. – ¹ The total number of manuscripts listed here is 26, since no. 13 is a colophon only.

Place	Mar Saba	Jerusalem	Lavra of Chariton	Bethlehem	Prodromos Monastery (near Jericho)
ms no.	Arabic: 1, 4?, 5, 6, Georgian: 9, 10, 11, 12, Greek: 15, 16, 17?, 22	Arabic: 2, 3, Georgian: 8, Greek: 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27	Arabic: 7, Georgian: 13, 14	Greek: 18, 19	26
total mss	12	9	3	2	1

Table 3 Places of Copying.

The chronological distribution of the manuscripts shows a noticeable spike in the ninth and tenth century, with a steep drop in the eleventh century (**table 1**).

The eighth and ninth centuries were a period of a great flourishing of learning and manuscript production in Palestine, a phenomenon in which monasteries such as Mar Saba played a large role⁴⁴. That this should occur under Muslim rule, and at least a century before the so-called »Macedonian Renaissance« in Constantinople, is particularly remarkable. Did the large number of Sinai manuscripts that were produced in ninth-century Palestine also indicate an increase in traffic to the Sinai? The hagiographical narratives of monastic travel from the Holy Land to the Holy Mountain presented above would at least not contradict this impression.

Further support for the idea that these manuscripts may have been copied specifically with a monastic context in mind comes from the distribution of texts contained in these manuscripts (**table 2**).

The largest number of manuscripts contain hagiographical, ascetical or other edifying works that would be suitable for monastic reading, whether in groups or in private. Next after that in frequency are the Gospel Lectionary and the Psalter. This could be augmented by other liturgical and hymnographical material which is present in smaller numbers. These kinds of texts amount to the basic toolkit of individual monks and monastic communities.

The place of copying is indicated in most cases, as listed in **table 3**.

44 Mango, *Greek Culture*; Griffith, *Monks*.

The multi-lingual monastery Mar Saba, famed for its *scriptorium* and long considered a stronghold of learning, generated the majority of the manuscripts in all three languages. If we consider only the Greek production, however, it is Jerusalem (six manuscripts) rather than Mar Saba (four manuscripts) where most the manuscripts of Holy Land provenance now at the Sinai were produced. Is this simply due to the chances of textual transmission? Or are these findings sufficiently significant to encourage greater scholarly attention to Jerusalem as a center for scribal activity? At the very least, they point to the importance of placing future studies of manuscript production at Mar Saba in a larger geographical context.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this study: The Sinai retained its close connection to Palestine throughout the centuries. This is not only reflected in the established pathways that connect the two regions, but in the constant trickle of pious travellers, monks and pilgrims who are reported as moving from north to south. Among the things they must have brought as their personal possessions and as gifts and

donations for the Monastery in the Sinai were manuscripts: not precious objects as status symbols for display, but utilitarian codices that could be used daily by the monks. If one counted on spiritual recompense for such a pious gift, this was surely the wiser option, as the frequent use of a manuscript would each time elicit a prayer from the lips of the monastic fathers who had received it and those who later used it. The manuscripts that we can now identify as gifts began to be produced in large quantities in the second half of the ninth century, the time when the iconoclastic debate was receding and when the media change from majuscule to minuscule script known as *metacharaktêrismos* went hand in hand with an increased volume of manuscript production. If the statistics presented here can be taken as a reliable guide, they suggest that the Monastery in the Sinai stood in close connection not only with Mar Saba, but also with Jerusalem and the surrounding monasteries. In this way, the Holy Land and the Holy City provided the cultural hinterland for the Holy Mountain.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Von der Heiligen Stadt auf den heiligen Berg: Die

Bewegung von Mönchen und Handschriften zum Sinai

Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Bewegung von Mönchen und anderen frommen Pilgern vom Heiligen Land zum Heiligen Berg Sinai. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass diese Reisenden häufig auch dafür verantwortlich sind, dass Manuskripte, die im Heiligen Land (sowohl in Jerusalem und Umgebung als auch im Sabas-Kloster) hergestellt wurden, ihren Weg in die Bibliothek des Katharinen-Klosters gefunden haben. Vier Tabellen verdeutlichen dies anhand von 27 arabischen, georgischen und griechischen Manuskripten des 9.-14. Jahrhunderts.

From the Holy City to the Holy Mountain:

The Movement of Monks and Manuscripts to the Sinai

This contribution aims to establish a plausible context for the movement of manuscripts from Jerusalem and its surrounding monasteries, including Mar Saba, to the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai, by suggesting that it was particularly the travel of monks – and more particularly, book-carrying monks – that connected the two sites. This would go a long way to explain how the library in the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine came to be one of the largest depositories of manuscripts from the medieval Christian world, the vast majority of them liturgical. Four tables illustrate this, based on 27 manuscripts of the ninth to fourteenth centuries of Holy Land provenance in Arabic, Georgian and Greek that are now in the Sinai.

De la Ville sainte à la montagne sainte: le déplacement de moines et de manuscrits vers le Sinai

Cet article examine le déplacement de moines et d'autres pèlerins pieux de la Terre sainte vers la montagne sainte du Sinai. Il est probable que des manuscrits réalisés en Terre sainte (à Jérusalem et environs, comme au monastère de Sabas) sont souvent arrivés à la bibliothèque du monastère de Sainte-Catherine par l'entremise de voyageurs. Quatre tableaux le démontrent à l'aide de 27 manuscrits arabes, géorgiens et grecs datant du 9^e au 14^e siècle.

Traduction: Y. Gautier

	Signature	Date	Writing support	Scribe	Place of Copying
ARABIC					
1	Leipzig, UB gr. 2 + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia gr. 26 + Sin. ar. NF 66	shortly after 903	parchment, palimpsest ¹	David of Homs	Mar Saba
2	Sin. ar. 73 + Paris, BNF ar. 6725. III and V	918-919	parchment	David of Ascalon	Jerusalem, Church of the Anastasis
3	Sin. ar. 309	924-925	oriental paper	David of Ascalon	Jerusalem, Church of the Anastasis
4	Sin. ar. 428 + Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Arab. Chr. 132 + Munich, BSB ar. 1069	late IX	parchment	Anthony David, based on script	Mar Saba?
5	Strasbourg, BNU 42 + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia ar. N. S. 263 + Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Chr. Ar. 93 and 136	885/886	parchment	Anthony David	Mar Saba
6	Vatican, BAV ar. 71	885	parchment	Anthony David	Mar Saba
7	Sin. NF Ar. M 7	901	parchment		Lavra of Chariton
GEORGIAN					
8	Sin. geo. 16	992	parchment	Daniel	Jerusalem, Monastery of the Holy Cross
9	Sin. geo. 34 + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia Syr. 16 + Sin. geo. 67	965/969	parchment	Iovane Zosime	Mar Saba
	Sin. geo. 35	907	parchment		Mar Saba
10	Sin. geo. 36	925	parchment		Mar Saba
11	Sin. geo. 97	IX-X	parchment	Georgius	Mar Saba
12	Sin. geo. N. 89 + Sin. geo. O. 32-57-33 («Sinai Homiliary»)	864	parchment	Makari Leteteli, hieromonk	Mar Saba
13	Sin. geo. N. 93	X	parchment		Lavra of Chariton
14	Tblisi H 2124	968	parchment		Lavra of Chariton
GREEK					
	<i>Sin. gr. 28</i>	<i>IX</i>	<i>parchment</i>		<i>Jerusalem, Anastasis</i>
	<i>Sin. gr. 30 [D58405]</i>	<i>IX</i>	<i>parchment</i>		<i>Jerusalem or Sinai?</i>
	<i>Sin. gr. 32 [D58407]</i>	<i>IX</i>	<i>parchment</i>		<i>Jerusalem or Sinai?</i>
15	Sin. gr. 34	IX	parchment		Mar Saba
16	Sin. gr. 35 [D58410] + Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana L 120 sup.	second half IX	parchment, partially palimpsest ⁴	Anthony David	Mar Saba
	Sin. gr. 180 [D58555]	1186	parchment	George, anagnostes, commissioned by Priest Michael, during reign of Emperor Isaac Angelos	Jerusalem?

Appendix Sinai Manuscripts of Holy Land Origin. – The table is minimalist and positivistic, rather than speculative. I have counted only those manuscripts for which the place of copying in the Holy Land is without doubt. Manuscripts where the place of copying may be either the Holy Land or the Sinai are included in a smaller font. Manuscripts which contain the liturgy as it was celebrated in Jerusalem, but whose location of copying is uncertain, are included in a smaller font and in italics, for the sake of reference and completeness. – Diktyon numbers for Greek manuscripts, if available, are indicated in square brackets, where additional bibliographical information can be found. – The bibliographical references are arranged to reflect the development in scholarship, hence in chronological order of publication, rather than in alphabetical order. In order to keep the references manageable, only the most recent or the most relevant publications are listed, where further bibliographical information can be found.

Content	Location history	References
hagiographical texts related to Mar Saba, by Cyril of Scythopolis and others		Binggeli, Les trois David 100-106 ² .
Apostolos (lectionary of the Pauline Epistles)		Binggeli, Les trois David 106-108.
Cyril of Jerusalem, Baptismal Catecheseis; John II of Jerusalem, Mystagogic Catecheseis	if not written for Sinai, it reached there quickly: Bücherfluch of last quarter of the 10 th c. by Salomon, bishop of Sinai	Binggeli, Les trois David 108-109.
hagiographical and ascetic texts	date of arrival at Sinai unknown	Binggeli, Les trois David 85-87.
hagiographic, ascetic and homiletic texts	copied for Sinai at request of monk Isaac; still at Sinai in XIV, sold in Cairo 1895	Brock, Sinai 486; Binggeli, Les trois David 80-82.
hagiographic and ascetic texts	copied for Sinai; in Vatican since early XVIII	Binggeli, Les trois David 82-83.
Gospel Lectionary		Brock, Sinai 486.
Tetraevangelion		Garitte, Catalogue 49-53; Brock, Sinai 487.
»encyclopédie liturgique«		Brock, Sinai 487.
Paterikon		Brock, Sinai 486, probably based on Aleksidze, Catalogue 433. But according to Garitte, Catalogue 97-122: no notes of copyist, no colophon.
John Chrysostom	scribal colophon (name missing)	Garitte, Catalogue 122-144; Brock, Sinai 486.
edifying texts for monastic use	date of reaching Sinai unknown	Garitte, Catalogue 282-292.
Homilies of Cyril of Jerusalem and Hesychius of Jerusalem	copied at Mar Saba by the Georgian monks Pimen Kakhi and Amon, under the supervision of Macarius Leteteli, and donated by him »to the holiest of holies, the mountain of Sinai«	Garitte, Catalogue 72-97; Aleksidze, Catalogue 432-433; Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology 206.
Colophon only		Aleksidze, Catalogue 435.
Life of John Chrysostom		Brock, Sinai 487.
<i>Psalter</i>	<i>f. 117v: »as we chant in the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God«</i>	<i>Gardthausen, Catalogus 8; Parpulov, Psalters 81 n. 91.</i>
<i>Psalter</i>	<i>fol. 368r: »as we chant in the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God«</i>	<i>Gardthausen, Catalogus 9; Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery no. 1; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 48.</i>
<i>Psalter</i>	<i>note by scribe, fol. 374v: »as we chant at the Holy Mount Sinai«³; made at St. Catherine (Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts); made for St. Catherine (Perria, Scrittura)</i>	<i>Gardthausen, Catalogus 9; Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts 119; Perria, Scrittura 70.</i>
<i>Psalter</i>		Gardthausen, Catalogus 10; Parpulov, Psalters 79.
bilingual Greek-Arabic Psalter		Gardthausen, Catalogus 10; Binggeli, Les trois David 88-89.
Gospel Lectionary	script characteristic of Palestine-Cyprus (Specimina, Stefec ⁵)	Gardthausen, Catalogus 35; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 34; Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery no. 69; Perria, Repertorio no. 48; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 19.

1 The *scriptio inferior* contains passages from the Old Testament, copied in two columns, copied in a Greek hand of the seventh or eighth c.
2 On this manuscript and its *scriptio inferior*, see Rossetto, Greek Under Arabic.
3 Harlfinger, Beispiele 461-478, especially 469.

4 The text copied by Anthony David is found in the *scriptio inferior* of fol. 125/132 and fol. 139/134, which were palimpsested in the 11th c.
5 Stefec, Anmerkungen 109-137, especially 114.

	Signature	Date	Writing support	Scribe	Place of Copying
17	Sin. gr. 210 (188 ff) [D58585] + Sin. gr. NF MG 12 (31 ff) + St. Petersburg, Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (BAN) 194 (4 ff) + Sin. gr. Harris Appendix 16.22 (3 ff.)	861/ 862	parchment	colophon in Sin. gr. NF MG 12 mentions scribe: monk and deacon »of the Church of the Holy Apostles in the Monastery of our Holy Father ...«	Mar Saba? (Politis, Nouveaux manuscrits)
	Sin. gr. 213 [D58588] + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia Φ 906 (gr.) 283	967	parchment	priest Eustathios	Sinai or Palestine/Jerusalem? (Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery); Southern Italy? (Harlfinger, Specimina) ⁷
18	Sin. gr. 220 [D58595]	1167	parchment, illuminated	Basil Skenouris, notarios	Bethlehem, Monastery of the Cells
19	Sin. gr. 232 [D58607]	1174 or 1175	parchment	Basil Skenouris, notarios	Bethlehem, Monastery of the Cells
20	Sin. gr. 254 [D58629]	before 1235	parchment	Athanasios, Patriarch	Jerusalem
	Sin. gr. 274 [D58649] + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia gr. 439	1235/ 1236	parchment	subscription of Neophytos, hieromonachos at Monastery <i>tôn Kellibarôn</i> at Mt. Latros, at the time of Athanasios, Patriarch of Jerusalem ⁹	Jerusalem?
	Sin. gr. 595 + Sin. gr. 624	1048/ 1049	parchment	Photios/Philotheos Manoelites of Jerusalem, hieromonachos, with the assistance of Nikolaos, »tou Askepastou«, monk and presbyter »of Sinai and Calabria«	Jerusalem (Perria, Repertorio; Perria, Scrittura); Sinai (Harlfinger, Specimina)
21	Sin. gr. 660 (254)	before 1231	parchment	Athanasios, archimandrite (later Patriarch of Jerusalem)	Jerusalem
22	Sin. gr. 741+742	1099	parchment	Gerasimos of Antioch	Mar Saba
23	Sin. gr. 756 [D59131]	1204/ 1205	parchment	Michael of Jerusalem »ek tou genous Syropôlôn«	Jerusalem, Taphos?
24	Sin. gr. 837	1382/ 1383	parchment	Dorotheos I, Patriarch	Jerusalem, Taphos
25	Sin. gr. 883	1392	paper	Jacob Hagiosabaites	Jerusalem (suggested by scribe's name)
26	Sin. gr. 1214 (272)	XI-XII	parchment	Stephanos domestikos? (Pahlitzsch, Graeci)	Prodromos Monastery (near Jericho)?
27	St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia gr. 216 (»Uspenskij Psalter«)	878 ¹¹	parchment	Theodore, deacon at the Anastasis Church, Jerusalem	Jerusalem, Anastasis
	Sin. gr. NF M 153	X-XI	parchment		Palestine or Sinai

Appendix (continued)

Content	Location history	References
Gospel Lectionary	made for Sinai (Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts)	Gardthausen, Catalogus 41-42; Politis, Nouveaux manuscrits 10-11; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 1; Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts 121; Nicolopoulos, New Finds 144; Perria, Repertorio no. 5 ⁶ ; Perria, Scrittura 70; Brock, Sinai 484; Galadza, Sources 79; Binggeli, Les trois David 91; Galadza, Liturgy 361-363.
Gospel Lectionary	fol. 240v (later hand than colophon, probably early XIII): »the present holy gospel of the most Holy Theotokos of the Holy Mount Horeb was dedicated by the hand of Macarios ⁸ the most holy archbishop of the Holy Mount Sinai«	Gardthausen, Catalogus 42; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 2; Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts 122-123; Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery no. 14; Perria, Scrittura 72; Galadza, Liturgy 71.
Gospel Lectionary	given to the monastery by Masud on 18 January 1290 (according to an Arabic entry on fol. 354v)	Gardthausen, Catalogus 44; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 28; Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery no. 62; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 16; Perria, Repertorio no. 44.
Gospel Lectionary	commissioned by Paul, hieromonachos, <i>ktêtor</i> of a church or a monastery of Saint George	Gardthausen, Catalogus 48; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 29; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 18; Perria, Scrittura 78.
Gospel Lectionary		Gardthausen, Catalogus 52; Perria, Scrittura 79.
Sticherarion		Prato, La produzione 39; Perria, Scrittura 79.
Menaion	patron: Nikolaos Askepastos, hieromonachos at Sinai (originally from Calabria) ¹⁰	Gardthausen, Catalogus 140, 145; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 11; Perria, Repertorio no. 36; Perria, Scrittura 77.
Akolouthiai of Saints Anastasios, Gregorios		Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 23.
Triodion	copied for the Church of St. George in Askalon, locally known as »Chadra«; commissioned by monk John, second priest of that church; at the time of bishop Antonios	Harlfinger, Specimina 37-39 no. 18; Perria, Repertorio no. 39; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 10; Galadza, Liturgy 374-375.
Triodion, Pentekostarion		Prato, Produzione 35; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 22.
Exaposteilarion		Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 29.
Horologion		Gardthausen, Catalogus 190; Husmann, Sinai-Handschriften 167; Anderson/Parenti, Office 336.
Sticherarion	XII-XII: donated by Stephanos domestikos to Prodromos Monastery, place of copying unknown (Harlfinger, Specimina)	Harlfinger, Specimina 61 no. 40; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 92.
Psalter ¹²	patron: Noah, bishop of Tiberias; fol. 308r, fol. 348r: »as we chant in the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God«	Perria, Repertorio no. 6; Pahlitzsch, Graeci, no. 1; Perria, Scrittura 70; Parpulov, Psalters 81 n. 91 ¹³ .
Ecloga aucta, Procheiros nomos, Appendix Eclogae	donor note and Bücherfluch by Sa'id ibn Daniel ibn Bishr for Sinai Monastery	Perria, Repertorio no. 32.

6 See also most recently Galadza, Liturgy 361-362.

7 The place of copying in Southern Italy or Epiros was re-affirmed by Harlfinger, Beispiele 461-478, especially 465.

8 Galadza, Liturgy 71 with n. 265 identifies this Makarios as the Bishop of Pharan and Sinai who died in 1224.

9 Ten years later, in 1241/1242, the same copyist was at work in the diocese of Damascus, copying the Sticherarion Athos, Vatop. 1492, cf. Stefec, Anmerkungen 126.

10 Other manuscripts that belong to this collection of Menaia for the whole year: Sin. gr. 579, 563, 570, 578, 595, 610, 614, 624, 631.

11 I follow Morozov, Alexandrian Era, who has shown the traditional dating of the colophon (861/862 or 862/863) to be incorrect.

12 The Sinai preserves quires 1, 2 and 16 of the Uspenskij Psalter.

13 According to Georgi Parpulov, the Uspenskij Psalter is complete, *pace* Harlfinger, Beispiele 469.