CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ARABIC TRADITION

Alexander Treiger

Speakers of Arabic were among the first peoples to hear the gospel preached.[1] They witnessed the first Pentecost (Acts 2:11) and heard the Apostle Paul, who visited Arabia (present-day Jordan) immediately after his conversion (Gal. 1:17). Although several Arab tribes had converted to Christianity prior to the rise of Islam and undoubtedly used Arabic in their religious practice, the use of Arabic as a Christian literary language began with the Islamic conquest of the Middle East.[2] For over thirteen hundred years, from the seventh century until today, the constant struggle to articulate and proclaim the Christian faith in a language largely defined by Islam gave the Christian communities of the Arab lands much of their unique character.

ARAB CHRISTIANITY: A SHORT HISTORY

Arab Christianity before Islam and in the Qur'an

Christians of the Arab lands are descendants of two types of population: Arabs, both nomad and sedentary, who accepted Christianity before the rise of Islam; and - to a much greater extent - local Middle Eastern, originally Aramaic (Syriac), Greek, or Coptic-speaking Christian communities, which gradually became Arabized in the wake of the Islamic conquests.

Christianization of the Arab tribes on the fringes of the Arabian Peninsula began well before Islam. The Ghassanid Arab tribe in the north and the Lakhmid tribe in the north-east of Arabia became, respectively, Miaphysite and "Nestorian" by the fifth century and functioned as "buffer states" to the Byzantine and the Sasanian empires, protecting them from Arab invasions (Hainthaler 2007). Nestorian Christianity was present in the coastal area of Beth Qatraye, along the shores of the Persian Gulf (the famous seventh-century East-Syriac ascetic writer Isaac the Syrian hails from that region) (Brock 1999-2000). The oasis of Najran in south-western Arabia had a thriving Miaphysite Christian community, affiliated with the Ethiopian kingdom of Axum. The Christians of Najran suffered from persecution by the Judaizing king Yusuf Dhu Nuwas in 523, when several hundred Christians, including

their leader Arethas (al-Harith), were martyred (Shahid 1971; Beaucamp *et al.* 1999-2000). After subsequent military interference from Ethiopia, Christianity was restored in Najran, and the community survived until its ultimate expulsion from Arabia by the second Muslim caliph Umar (r. 634-44).

By the early seventh century there was also some Christian presence in the heart of Arabia, in the Hijaz and the Najd, and it was significant enough to attract converts. Thus, the Muslim tradition tells us, for instance, that Muhammad's first wife's cousin Waraqa ibn Nawfal became a Christian before Islam and was well versed in Christian scriptures (Robinson 2000-2002; Osman 2005). Though his image is used for the apologetic purpose of having a Christian confirm Muhammad's prophethood, it is still significant that Muslim historians considered it plausible that a relative of the prophet of Islam had converted to Christianity.

The Qur'an frequently refers to, addresses, and polemicizes against the Christians (called "al-Nasara," Nazarenes, or, in one verse, "Ahl al-Injil," People of the Gospel), who were Christian Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula. Although in the past there were suggestions that these Christian Arabs espoused a heretical version of Christianity, where Mary, for instance, was considered part of the Holy Trinity, it is now generally agreed that these Christian Arabs belonged to the same divisions of Middle Eastern Christianity that we know today - with the obvious exception of the groups that emerged later than the early seventh century (Griffith 2007b).

Though the Qur'an counts the Christians, together with the Jews and some other religious groups, among the "People of the Book," and even intimates that Christians tend to be kinder to Muslims than Jews and polytheists are, "because they have priests and monks among them and they are not arrogant" (Q. 5:82), it is nevertheless highly critical of core Christian beliefs. The Qur'an rejects the Christian notions of the Trinity (Q. 5:73) and the Incarnation. While considering Jesus to be "the Christ," a "messenger of God," and even "God's word, which He cast upon Mary," and a "spirit from God," it nevertheless emphatically denies that He is the Son of God and that He is divine; the Christian belief in Christ's divinity is treated as an unwarranted "exaggeration" (Q. 4:171). The Qur'an affirms that Jesus was born of a virgin (Q. 19:1922), performed miracles, and was "supported" by the "holy spirit" (Q. 2:87, 2:253, 5:110, often equated with the angel Gabriel), but denies that He died on the cross and rose from the dead. A famous Qur'anic verse argues - in a docetic manner - that it only *appeared* to people that Jesus was crucified; in reality, however, God raised Him up to Himself (Q. 4:157). This point would be repeated ad nauseam in Muslim-Christian polemic throughout centuries.

Islamic conquests and their effects on Middle Eastern Christianity

Following the Islamic conquest of the Middle East, Christians of the three so-called "Oriental" patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, as well as Christians of the Sasanian Empire, North Africa, and Spain - an estimated 50 percent of the world's Christian population - found themselves under Islamic rule (Griffith 2008a: 11).

This created a new reality in several ways. First, Christians, as well as Jews and other religious communities, became "client minorities" *(ahl al-dhimma,* or "dhimmis") in the emerging Islamic empire (Fattal 1995). Though granted religious autonomy and exempt from military service in exchange for paying a poll tax *(jizya),*

they were nevertheless placed under a number of severe restrictions. These restrictions included prohibition on building new and repairing old churches and monasteries, proselytizing among the Muslims, and dissuading anyone, even next of kin, from conversion to Islam. Christians were also prohibited from riding horses and girding swords and, more generally, from imitating the Muslims' clothing, speech, and behavior. Instead, they were expected to wear distinctive clothes, including a characteristic belt *(zunnar,* from the Greek word *zonarion),* and to differentiate themselves from the Muslims. Though not uniformly enforced, these stipulations were nevertheless always on the books and could be implemented any time at the discretion of the Muslim rulers, as was done, for instance, with great brutality by the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847-61) and the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim (r. 996-1021).

Second, the ties between the Christian communities in the former eastern Byzantine provinces and the rest of Byzantium were severed, or at least became difficult to maintain, and these communities found themselves for the first time integrated in a single polity with Christians dwelling further east, in the former Sasanian territories. Unlike the Byzantines, who favored the Chalcedonians and persecuted the Miaphysites, and the Sasanians, who favored the Church of the East, the Muslim rulers did not care about ecclesiastical divisions and refused to discriminate between various Christian groups (Morony 2005: 346). This created a new situation where Christians of different persuasions had to vie for political power and recognition, to defend their doctrine against attacks by rival Christian groups, as well as by Muslims, and to polemicize against these groups in return. Thus, intra-Christian and Christian-Muslim polemic became a prominent feature of Christian religious literature in the Islamic period.

Third, after the Muslim conquests, the process of Arabization of the Christian populations throughout the Muslim Empire was set under way. Reactions to this phenomenon were mixed. Paulus Alvarus (d. 860) in Muslim Spain complained that Christians were forgetting Latin and adopting Arabic instead (Griffith 2008a: 152), and similar complaints were voiced, with regard to Coptic, in the Egyptian *Apocalypse of Samuel of Qalamun* - a text originally written in Coptic, but preserved today, ironically, only in Arabic (see Zaborowski 2008; Papaconstantinou 2007; Rubenson 1996). On the other hand, already in the eighth century, the Chalcedonians in Palestinian monasteries eagerly adopted Arabic as a literary language and an important means of theological expression that was to gradually replace Greek and Aramaic (Griffith 1992, 2002a, 2008: 45-74; Levy-Rubin 1998; Leeming 2003; Wasserstein 2003). Other Christian groups in the Islamic east followed suit, and by the ninth century we already have thriving and diverse Christian theological literature in Arabic.

Fourth, Arabization was accompanied by a much slower, yet persistent process of Islamization. Social and economic factors induced Christians, especially from the beginning of the Abbasid period (750) on, to convert to the new religion: conversion to Islam made them exempt from the poll tax and improved their social mobility (Griffith 2008a: 34-35, citing the chronicle of Zuqnin; Griffith 1995: 6). Apostasy from Islam was punishable by death under Muslim law, and so we hear of a number of Christians who converted to Islam, reverted to Christianity, and were martyred at the hands of the Muslim authorities (Griffith 2008a: 147-53; Hoyland 1997: 336-86). Such martyrdom stories served as an important tool in the hands of

the Christian authorities to dissuade their flock from converting to Islam in the first place.

It is not surprising therefore that in the early Islamic period Christians initially responded to the Muslim conquests by writing apocalypses, regarding the conquests as a sign of an imminent end of the world and a divine punishment for their sins (Griffith 2008a: 23-35; Hoyland 1997). As it became clear, however, that the world was not drawing to an end and the Muslim rule was there to stay, Christians adapted to the new reality with considerable ingenuity. It would be fair to say that Christians, Muslims, Jews, and other religious groups continued to exist together for centuries in a kind of "pluralist equilibrium" - the term is William Dalrymple's - (sometimes called *convivencia*) where Christians were able to hold fast as a religious community despite considerable social pressure. The inter-religious status quo was generally maintained, but there were also severe disruptions, which inflicted considerable and lasting damage on Middle Eastern Christian communities and resulted in their gradual decline.

Christian Arabs until the nineteenth century

During the Umayyad period, the caliphs were making their first attempts to claim the public space in the newly conquered territories for Islam. This is evident in the construction of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem during the time of Abd al-Malik (r. 685-705) and of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus during the reign of his son al-Walid (r. 705-15). The former was constructed on the Temple Mount, to rival the Christian churches of the city, and was adorned with Qur'anic and Qur'an-style verses that criticized the Christian beliefs in the Trinity and the Incarnation (Grabar 2006; Kaplony 2002). The latter was built on the site of the Church of St John the Baptist, taken over from the Chalcedonian community. In 721, the caliph Yazid II (r. 720-24) issued a (short-lived) edict prohibiting public display of crosses and icons and ordering their destruction, an event which affected the Christian populations of the caliphate and may have been influential also in triggering the iconoclasm in Byzantium (Griffith 2007a). Nevertheless, Christians maintained their privileged position in society and were indispensable as public officials and administrators.

Under the Abbasids, the seat of the caliphate moved from Damascus to the newly founded capital Baghdad. This shift was beneficial to the Church of the East, traditionally centered in Iraq, but came at the expense of other Christian groups, particularly the Chalcedonians, whose services as administrators had been eagerly sought after by the Umayyads. The catholicos of the Church of the East Timothy I (r. 780-823) transferred the patriarchal see from Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the former Sasanian capital, to Baghdad, to be closer to the Abbasid court. During this period, Christians made important contributions to the emerging Islamic society as public officials, physicians, and most significantly, translators of philosophical, scientific, and medical works from Greek and Syriac into Arabic (Gutas 1998; Griffith 2008a: 106-28).

The Byzantine reconquest of Antioch and its environs in 969 inaugurated a period of momentous significance for the Arab Orthodox community in that region (Ciggaar and Metcalf 2006; Kennedy 2006; Todt 1995, 2001, 2006; Krivov 1996). For clarity, it should be noted that by "Arab Orthodox," Arabic-speaking Byzantine-rite Orthodox Christians are meant here (in Arabic, "Rum" [=Byzantine] Orthodox), traditionally called Melkites (Griffith 2006). Today, however, the term Melkites is reserved for the

Byzantine-rite *Eastern Catholic* church. In English, the Arab Orthodox are inaccurately called either "Greek" Orthodox - though they are neither ethnic Greeks nor necessarily Greek-educated - or "Antiochian" Orthodox, in reference to the patriarchate of Antioch, to which many - though by no means all - of them belong. To return, reunited with Byzantium, the Arab Orthodox launched a massive attempt to translate their patristic heritage into Arabic. These translations were later used by Christians from all communities, especially the Copts, and some of them were even subsequently translated into Ethiopic.

The Byzantine reconquest of Antioch coincided with the Fatimid conquest of Palestine. The Fatimid rule in Egypt and Syria was tolerant towards the Christians and minorities in general, with the exception of the caliph al-Hakim, already mentioned above. After coming to power, this mentally unstable ruler launched severe persecution against Egyptian Christians (both Copts and Arab Orthodox) and against the Jews. His policies affected also the Christians of Palestine, where he ordered the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem in 1009 (subsequently rebuilt with Byzantine assistance). A number of other churches were also destroyed or converted into mosques. During this period numerous Egyptian and Palestinian Christians - including the famous historian Yahya al-Antaki, whose chronicle is a major source of information about these events - fled to Byzantine Antioch.

During the Crusades, local Christians - still probably a majority in much of Syria and Palestine – were treated with suspicion and misunderstanding, because these local Christians' Arab and Syriac culture made them virtually indistinguishable from the Muslims. Moreover, the fact that, from the perspective of the Latin Church, they were heretics made them subordinate to the Franks, though a variety of modes of co-existence between the Franks and the locals also emerged (Prawer 1985; MacEvitt 2007). In the early period, indigenous Christians did not fare any better than the Muslim population, and during the siege of Antioch in 1098, for instance, the Crusaders massacred both Muslims and Christians indiscriminately (Ciggaar and Metcalf 2006: 247). Later on, the Crusaders tended to treat the Syrian Orthodox and the Armenians better than the Greek and Arab Orthodox, suspected of having sympathies with Byzantium; thus, the Syrian Orthodox even got their own chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem for the first time in history (Prawer 1985: 76; MacEvitt 2007: 169). It was also under the Crusaders' rule that the Maronites of Mount Lebanon formally entered into union with Rome in 1182.

Christians were relatively safe under the Seljuqs and the Ayyubids and enjoyed a brief renaissance under the Mongols (Fiey 1975). The Mongols devastated Baghdad and toppled the Abbasid caliphate in 1258, massacring tens of thousands of inhabitants, but sparing the Christians thanks to the intercession of the Mongol conqueror Hulegu's Christian wife. The Mongol rulers were initially favorably disposed towards the Christians, abolished the *jizya*, allowed the repair of churches, and were considering conversion to Christianity. (Some Mongol tribes - the Uighurs, Naimans, and Keraits - already *were* Nestorian Christians.) When this failed to happen and they converted to Islam instead, Christians in Iraq, considered by the Muslim majority as the Mongols' proteges and allies, faced a bloody reprisal.

The Mamluks, who had earned a decisive victory over the Mongols in Ayn Jalut, Palestine in 1260, besieged and conquered Antioch from the Franks eight years later, massacring and enslaving the Christian population and destroying the churches and

the neighboring monasteries (including the famous Monastery of St Simeon the Wonder-worker) (Nasrallah 1983-89: vol. III.1, 63-65; 1972: 127-59; Djobadze 1986: 57-115; Morray 1994). Devastated by this destruction, the patriarchate of Antioch had no permanent residence for another hundred years; it is only in 1365 that it re-established itself permanently in Damascus, its seat up to the present day (Todt 2006: 85-87; Korobeinikov 2003 and 2005).

The fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries were a period of sharp decline of Christianity in the Middle East and the peak of Muslim intolerance towards the Christians, emblematized by the anti-Christian works of the Muslim theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d.1328) (Michel 1984). Christian communities in the Middle East were further devastated by the Black Death, which reached the Islamic world *c.* 1347 and carried away the lives of an estimated one quarter to one third of the entire population of Syria and Egypt (Shoshan 2000-2002). The savage military campaigns of Tamerlane (Timur Lenk, d.1405) decimated the Christian population of Iraq and dealt the Church of the East a blow from which it never recovered.

In the Ottoman period, beginning in the sixteenth century, Christian Arab communities in the Levant began a slow recovery and experienced a revival (Polosin et al. 2005; Panchenko 2012). This is evidenced, among other things, by the number of Christian Arabic manuscripts dating from the seventeenth century, following a hiatus of some three centuries when very few manuscripts were copied. It also corresponds to a steady rise in the Christian population of the Levant (Courbage and Fargues 1997: 57-90, with important statistics).

In the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the efforts of Western missionaries succeeded in bringing some Middle Eastern Christians into communion with Rome and established a number of so-called "Eastern Catholic" churches, with the undesirable effect of splitting most Middle Eastern Christian communities into two: those who united themselves with Rome and those who refrained from doing so. Eastern Catholics typically see themselves as a bridge between Eastern and Western Christianities and tend to be active in the ecumenical movement; they are often criticized by their Orthodox brethren for abandoning their tradition and called upon to return to the "mother church."

The fact that during the Ottoman period, all the Chalcedonian Christians of the empire were reorganized as one religious community *(millet),* subordinate to the patriarch of Constantinople, affected the other patriarchates: their liturgical practices were brought in line with those of Constantinople, and they were headed by Greek clergy. The patriarchates of Jerusalem and Alexandria are to this day controlled by ethnically Greek hierarchy, whereas the patriarchate of Antioch was taken over by the Arab Orthodox in 1899, with intense diplomatic support from the Russian Empire (Yakushev 2006).

Christian Arabs in the twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries

Areas populated by Christian Arabs were not significantly affected by the systematic decimation and expulsion of the Christians of Anatolia and Eastern Thrace during, and in the wake of, the First World War - known as the Armenian genocide, the "Assyrian" *sayfo* (genocide or massacre), and the Greek "Catastrophe of Asia Minor." In the late

nineteenth and twentieth century, Christian Arabs, especially Lebanese and Palestinians, were prominent in the Arab literary, national, and political revival. Notable literary figures include the founder of Arabic historical novel Jurji Zaydan (1861-1914, Arab Orthodox), the translator of the *Iliad* into Arabic Sulayman al-Bustani (1856-1925, Maronite), the Lebanese-American writer Jibran Khalil Jibran (1883-1931, Maronite), the Lebanese writer Mikhail Naimy (1889-1988, Arab Orthodox), the Jerusalemite educator and writer Khalil al-Sakakini (18781953, Arab Orthodox), the Palestinian novelist Emile Habibi (1922-96, Protestant), and the modern Lebanese author Elias Khoury (b.1948, Arab Orthodox). The famous Lebanese singer Fairouz (Nouhad Haddad, b.1935) is also an Arab Christian; she was born to a Syriac Catholic family, but converted to Arab Orthodoxy. Among politicians, mention can be made of the founder of the Baath Party Michel Aflaq (1910-89), the founder of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine George Habash (1926-2008), and the Arab nationalist thinker Constantine Zureiq (1909-2000), all of whom belonged to the Arab Orthodox community, though ideologically were Marxists. There was a significant number of Christians among Palestinian intellectuals and politicians, including Edward Said, Hanan Ashrawi, Afif Safieh, and Azmi Bishara. Like their Muslim compatriots, Palestinian Christians were severely affected by the Palestinian catastrophe (the Nakba) of 1948 and subsequent events, and many were forced into exile.

Other conflicts – notably the anti-Christian massacres of 1860, the Lebanese civil war (1975-90), the American invasion of Iraq (2003), and the civil war raging in Syria – have also taken a heavy toll on Arab Christian populations. Victims of these conflicts are often venerated as martyrs (e.g. St Joseph of Damascus, martyred in 1860, and the Orthodox priests Basilios Nassar and Fadi Haddad, murdered in Syria in January and October 2012 respectively).

The Orthodox patriarchate of Antioch underwent a spiritual renewal in the mid-twentieth century with the founding of the Orthodox youth movement in 1942 by George Khodr (now metropolitan of Mount Lebanon) and others (Nahas 1993). As part of this renewal, the Monastery of Saint George (Deir el-Harf) was reopened (Kassatly 1996), the Orthodox University of Balamand in Lebanon was founded, numerous works of the Greek church fathers were retranslated into Arabic, and several original works on Arab Orthodoxy and the history of the patriarchate of Antioch appeared in Arabic, including, notably, the important monograph of Archimandrite Tuma Bitar (1995) *Forgotten Saints in the Antiochian Tradition*. Simultaneously, Matta el-Meskeen, or Matthew the Poor (1919-2006), a monk at the Monastery of Saint Macarius in Scetis, led a similar spiritual revival in the Coptic Church (Matthew the Poor 1983 and 1984; Zanetti 1996; O'Mahony 2006). Signs of eremitic revival have also been felt among the Maronites (Hourani and Habachi 2004).

In the twentieth and early twenty-first century the percentage of Christian Arabs within Middle Eastern population has drastically declined, primarily through emigration and the considerably higher birth rate among the Muslims (this disparity being a relatively recent phenomenon), though in absolute numbers their population may have increased. Christian Arab émigré communities of all persuasions exist today throughout North and South America, Europe, and Australia. These communities maintain close ties with their countries of origin.

CHRISTIAN ARABIC LITERATURE: AN OVERVIEW

Translations from Greek and other languages

In addition to the better known Graeco-Arabic translation movement of Greek philosophical, scientific, and medical works already mentioned, from the eighth century on, much of earlier Christian literature - the Old and the New Testaments, biblical apocrypha, lives of saints, homilies, liturgical texts, and patristic works - was translated into Arabic, mainly from Greek, Syriac, and Coptic.

Translations of Christian literature into Arabic took place, first, in the Chalcedonian Palestinian monasteries, particularly at Mar Saba, where a multilingual community of monks in the ninth century rendered a number of works from and into Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Georgian. It is in this community that some works of Isaac the Syrian were nearly simultaneously translated from the original Syriac into Greek, Georgian, and Arabic (Brock 1999-2000a). Later on, translations were being made in the region of Antioch after the Byzantine reconquest of the city (Nasrallah 1983-89: vol. III.1, 196-220, 273-310, 387-91). The Arab Orthodox deacon Abdallah ibn al-Fadl *(fl. c.* 1050) is perhaps the most prolific translator of patristic works. He translated into Arabic works of John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus, Pseudo-Caesarius, John of Damascus, Andrew of Crete, and Isaac the Syrian. In addition, his Arabic translation of the Psalms became by far the most influential in the Christian Arab world (Polosin et al. 2005). In the eleventh century, translation activity spread also to neighboring Damascus. There, the Arab Orthodox translator Ibn Sahquq is credited with a complete Arabic version of the Dionysian corpus (Treiger 2005, 2007).

Among the masterpieces of patristic literature lost in Greek but recovered in Arabic is the fascinating - unfortunately, still unpublished - text the *Noetic Paradise* (Noble and Treiger forthcoming, ch. 8). Originally written in Greek in the seventh or eighth century, the *Noetic Paradise* is based on the story of the fall. The "paradise," referenced in the title of the treatise, is the angelic realm out of which the human mind *(nous)* was expelled after the fall. The text embarks on an analysis of virtues and vices, delineating the ways in which one ought to "till" the earth of one's heart, cultivating the virtues and combating the vices, in order to have one's mind purified and readmitted to the noetic paradise.[3]

Theology and religious polemic

As explained above, Arabic-speaking monks at the Chalcedonian monasteries of Palestine in the eighth century were the first to use Arabic as a vehicle of Christian theological expression. By the tenth century, Arabic was used by Christians of all denominations. The earliest dated works are typically anonymous, and the three earliest (ninth-century) Arabic-writing theologians whose names we know are Theodore Abu Qurra (Arab Orthodox) (Lamoreaux 2005), Abu Ra'ita al-Takriti (Syrian Orthodox) (Keating 2006), and Ammar al-Basri (Nestorian) (Griffith 1983; Beaumont 2003). Following in the footsteps of John of Damascus, Theodore Abu Qurra wrote an Arabic treatise in defense of the icons, in response to the social situation in Edessa where local Christians felt reluctant, under Muslim pressure, to venerate the miraculous image of Christ, the *Mandylion* - according to a church tradition at least as old as Eusebius, an image not made by hands *(acheiropoieton)* that had been sent by Christ to King of Edessa Abgar, who was cured by it (Griffith 1997).

In articulating their Trinitarian theology, Arab Christians often presented the hypostases of the Trinity as "attributes" of the single divine essence. Though arguably modalist, this theology nevertheless proved popular in Arab Christian circles, as it was more immune than traditional Trinitarian theology to Muslim criticisms of the Trinity as tritheism: once the hypostases had been redefined as attributes, Christian Arab theologians could always appeal to the fact that Muslims themselves acknowledged the attributes of God (Haddad 1985; Swanson 2005).

A special genre is represented by Christian theological encyclopedias, which became especially popular among Copto-Arabic theologians of the thirteenth century, the "Golden Age" of Copto-Arabic literature. Al-Mu'taman Ibn al-Assal's encyclopedia in seventy chapters, entitled *Summa of the Principles of Religion* (c.1263) is the most famous example of this genre (al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assal and Pirone 1998-2002; Abullif 1997, 1990-91; Samir 1984). Ibn al-Assal draws on a variety of Greek (both philosophical and patristic) sources, available to him in Arabic translations, Christian Arab authors, and even Muslim and Jewish theologians (e.g. Fakhr al-Din al-Razi and Maimonides).

Theology was inseparable from polemic: while articulating their views, Arab Christian theologians inevitably polemicized against Islam, rival Christian groups, and other religions. Yet, there was also a great number of works specifically devoted to Christian-Muslim polemic (Thomas, Roggema, and Mallett 2009-in progress). In the Abbasid period, inter-religious debates often took place in special gatherings, called "sessions" *(majalis)* and conducted in front of audience. We have transcripts of several such debates where a Muslim ruler granted a Christian theologian the permission to present his views and to argue against a Muslim interlocutor or even against the ruler himself (Griffith 2008a: 77-81; Szilágyi in Noble and Treiger forthcoming, ch. 3).

Paul of Antioch, the twelfth-century Arab Orthodox bishop of Sidon, wrote an influential polemical treatise entitled *Letter to a Muslim Friend*. In this treatise, he attempts to prove the truth of Christianity to Muslims based on the Qur'an itself. (This work is now available in an English translation by Sidney Griffith in Noble and Treiger forthcoming, ch. 10). An adaptation of Paul of Antioch's treatise by an anonymous Christian author from Cyprus provoked several refutations from Muslim theologians, including al-Dimashqi (d.1327) and Ibn Taymiyya (Griffith 2008a: 166-69; Ebied and Thomas 2005).

Philosophy and philosophical theology

Since Christians were involved in the translation of Greek philosophical works into Arabic, they were also among the first to write original philosophical works in that language. Thus, the famous Nestorian translator Hunayn ibn Ishaq (d.873) is credited with a compilation of sayings by and about ancient philosophers (Griffith 2008a: 119-22; 2008b). His younger contemporary, the Arab Orthodox translator Qusta ibn Luqa (d.912) authored a number of philosophical works, including the influential treatise *On the Difference between Spirit and Soul*.

Perhaps the best known Christian Arab philosopher is the Miaphysite Yahya ibn Adi (d.974), a disciple of the famous Muslim philosopher al-Farabi (d.950) (Endress 1977; Griffith 2002b and 2008a: 122-25; Wisnovsky 2012). One of his more original theological ideas was to define the hypostases of the Trinity as "intellect," "that which intellects," and "that which is intellected," which in Aristotelian philosophy are understood to be "identical to each other in actuality" - an ingenious, though hardly

successful, attempt to render the doctrine of the Trinity palatable to Muslim philosophers (Périer 1920: 24-27).

Mention should also be made of the Nestorian Ibn al-Tayyib, the author of commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categories*, indebted to the Alexandrian Neoplatonic tradition (Gyekye 1979; Ferrari 2006), and of the Arab Orthodox deacon Abdallah ibn al-Fadl, mentioned above as translator of patristic works into Arabic. Abdallah ibn al-Fadl was also an original philosophical theologian, engaged with the thought of contemporary Syrian Orthodox and Nestorian theologians as well as with Islamic philosophy (Graf 1944-53: vol. 2, pp. 52-64; Nasrallah 1983-89: vol. III.1, 191-229; Noble and Treiger 2011; Noble and Treiger forthcoming, ch. 7).

Other genres: biblical commentaries, lives of saints, history, poetry, and travel narratives

Ibn al-Tayyib, just mentioned as commentator of Porphyry and Aristotle, also authored a commentary on the entire Bible. This monumental work, entitled *The Paradise of Christianity* and called by Georg Graf (1944-53: vol. 2, p. 162) "the most extensive exegetical collection in Christian Arab literature," is still unpublished, with the single exception of the portion on Genesis (Sanders 1967). Biblical commentaries were especially popular among the Copts. Thus, Marqus ibn Qanbar (d.1208) authored a commentary on the Pentateuch, Sim'an ibn Kalil (d. after 1206), on the Gospel of Matthew and the Psalms, and Bulus al-Bushi and Ibn Katib Qaysar (both mid-thirteenth century), on Revelation - the only two Arabic commentaries on that work (Graf 1944-53: vol. 2, pp. 329-32, 337-38, 358-59, 380-84, respectively; Davis 2008).

Among saints' lives written in Arabic, mention should be made of the vita of St John of Damascus, written by Michael al-Sim'ani, a monk at the Chalcedonian monastery of St Simeon the Wonder-worker near Antioch (c. 1090) (Portillo 1996; Griffith 2001: 20n42, with references). We are also fortunate to have in Arabic a number of vitas of several Christian saints (including martyrs) from the early Islamic period (Pirone 1991; Lamoreaux and Cairala 2001; Griffith 2008a: 15on66, with further references; Lamoreaux in Noble and Treiger forthcoming, ch. 4).

Arab Christians excelled in writing historical works (Teule 2000-2002: 807-9, with an extensive bibliography on the works discussed below; El Cheikh 1999). The Arab Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria Eutychius (Sa'id ibn al-Bitriq, d.940) wrote a world history until the year 938. His history was continued by Yahya al-Antaki, already mentioned above. The tenth-century Arab Orthodox bishop of Manbij in northern Syria Agapius (Mahbub) also authored a world history from the creation of the world to his own days (Pearse 2008; Lamoreaux in Noble and Treiger forthcoming, ch. 5). Though he wrote primarily in Syriac, the Syrian Orthodox polymath Bar-Hebraeus (Ibn al-'Ibri, d.1286) compiled an Arabic chronicle, entitled A *Short History of the Dynasties.* Among the Copts we have Severus ibn al-Muqaffa's (tenth-century) *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* and al-Makin's (d.1273) world history. Of the later authors, mention should be made of the Maronite Patriarch Istifan al-Duwayhi (d.1704), the author of a general history of Syria and a separate history of the Maronites (Graf 1944-53: vol. 3, pp. 306-7, 361-77), and the Arab Orthodox historian Mikhail Breik (d. after 1782) (Bualuan 1996; Tamari 2007).

Christian Arab poets before Islam and in the Umayyad times (e.g. Adi ibn Zayd and al-Akhtal, respectively) are well known to students of Arabic literature (Cheikho 2008). Less widely known is the eleventh-century Arab Orthodox poet and theologian Sulayman, bishop of Gaza, who wrote during the period of persecution by the Fatimid ruler al-Hakim. Sulayman's poems express his joy in the mystery of the incarnation and celebrate the Christian holy sites of Palestine while also lamenting the loss of his son (Noble and Treiger forthcoming, ch. 6). The travels of the Arab Orthodox patriarch of Antioch Macarios (r. 1647-72) were masterfully described by his son and attendant archdeacon Paul of Aleppo (Belfour 1835-37, for 1836; Kilpatrick 1997; Feodorov in Noble and Treiger forthcoming, ch. 12). A major figure in the Arab Orthodox cultural renaissance in Syria in the seventeenth century, Macarios traveled twice overland to Russia via Constantinople, Wallachia, and Moldavia in order to solicit funds from the Orthodox rulers of these lands. Paul of Aleppo's account provides invaluable information on the history of the Orthodox Church and on the relationship between the different Orthodox communities at the time. Mention can also be made of another travel account from the seventeenth century, relating the journey to South America of the Chaldean priest Ilyas al-Mawsili (Matar 2002: 45-111; Kilpatrick 1997: 174-76).

Extraordinarily diverse and rich in material of first-rate importance, Christian Arabic literature - an estimated 90 percent of which still remains unpublished in any language! - awaits its readers and promises major discoveries, which will change, perhaps even revolutionize, the way we think about the history of the church and about the Middle East.

NOTES

1 I am indebted to Samuel Noble (Yale University) for his invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this article, important references, and gracious help with the wording of several paragraphs.

2 Though not entirely up to date, Georg Graf's monumental *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (1944-53) remains the standard account of Christian Arabic literature. For the literature of the Arab Orthodox community Graf's *Geschichte* is to be used in conjunction with Nasrallah 1983-89 and 1996 (other volumes remain unpublished); Noble and Treiger forthcoming; and Panchenko 2012. For texts dealing with Christian-Muslim relations, Thomas, Roggema and Mallett 2009-in progress is indispensable. The following short surveys of Christian Arabic literature are helpful: Coquin 2000; Samir 1991; Thomas 2007b; Troupeau 1971. See also Teule and Schepens 2005, 2006, 2010.

3 Samuel Noble and the present writer are jointly editing an anthology of twelve Orthodox texts, translated from Arabic: *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World (700-1700)*. It includes a first English translation of excerpts from the *Noetic Paradise*.

REFERENCES AND FURTHER READING

Abullif, W. (1990-91) Les sources du *Mağmu' usul al-din* d'al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assal. *Parole de l'Orient* 16: 227-38.

(1997) *Dirasa 'an al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assal wa-kitabihi "Majmu' usul al-din" wa-tahqiqihi*. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press.

Albert, M., et al. (1993) (eds) *Christianismes orientaux: Introduction a l'étude des langues et des littératures.* Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.

Al-Mu'taman ibn al-'Assal, Abullif, W. (ed.) and Pirone, B. (trans.) (1998-2002) *Majmu' usul al-din [Summa dei principi della Religione],* 6 vols. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press.

Beaucamp, J., Briquel-Chatonnet, F. and Robin, C. J. (1999-2000) La persecution des chretiens de Nagran et la chronologie himyarite. *ARAM* 11-12: 15-83.

Beaumont, M. (2003) Ammar al-Basri on the Incarnation. In D. Thomas (ed.) *Christians at the Heart of Islamic Rule: Church Life and Scholarship in 'Abbasid Iraq.* Leiden: Brill, pp. 55-63.

Belfour, F. C. (trans.) (1835-37) *Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch.* London: Oriental Translation Fund.

Bitar, T. (1995) *Al-Qiddisun al-mansiyyun fi al-turath al-Antaki.* Duma, Lebanon: Manshurat al-Nur.

Brock, S. (1999-2000a) From Qatar to Tokyo, by Way of Mar Saba: The Translations of Isaac of Beth Qatraye (Isaac the Syrian). *ARAM* 11-12: 475-84.

(1999-2000b) Syriac Authors from Beth Qatraye. *ARAM* 11-12: 85-96.

Bualuan, H. (1996) Mikha'il Breik, a Chronicler and Historian in 18th Century Bilad al-Šam. *Parole de l'Orient* 21: 257-70.

Cheikho, L. (2008) *Arabic Christian Poets before and after Islam* [in Arabic], 2 vols. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.

Ciggaar, K. and Metcalf, M. (eds) (2006) *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean,* vol. I: *Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality*. Leuven: Peeters.

Coquin, R.-G. (2000) Arabic Christian Literature. In Andre Vauchez (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages.* Cambridge: J. Clarke & Co., vol. I, pp. 91-93.

Courbage, Y. and Fargues, P. (1997) *Christians and Jews under Islam.* London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Davis, S. J. (2008) Introducing an Arabic Commentary on the Apocalypse: Ibn Katib Qaysar on Revelation. *Harvard Theological Review* 101: 77-96.

Dick, I. (2004) *Melkites: Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics of the Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem*. Boston: Sophia Press.

Djobadze, W. (1986) *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Ebied, R. Y. and Teule, H. G. B. (eds) (2004) *Studies on the Christian Arabic Heritage in Honour of Father Prof. Dr Samir Khalil Samir S.I. at the Occasion of his Sixty- Fifth Birthday.* Leuven: Peeters.

Ebied, R. Y. and Thomas, D. (eds) (2005) *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades: The* Letter from the People of Cyprus *and Ibn Abi Talib al-Dimashqi's Response*. Leiden: Brill.

El Cheikh, N. M. (1999) The Contribution of Christian Arab Historians to Muslim Historiography on Byzantium. *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies* 1: 45-60.

Endress, G. (1977) *The Works of Yahya ibn 'Adi: An Analytical Inventory.* Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Fattal, A. (1995) *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam,* 2nd ed. Beirut: Imprimerie catholique.

Ferrari, C. (ed. and trans.) (2006) *Der Kategorienkommentar von Abu l-Faraǧ 'Abdallah ibn at-Tayyib: Text und Untersuchungen.* Leiden: Brill.

Fiey, J.-M. (1975) *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Mongols (Il-Khanat de Perse, XIIIe- XIVe s.).* Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO.

Grabar, O. (2006) *The Dome of the Rock.* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
Graf, G. (1944-53) *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur,* 5 vols. Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
(2005) *Christlicher Orient und schwäbische Heimat: Kleine Schriften, anlässlich des 50. Todestags des Verfassers,* 2 vols., ed. H. Kaufhold. Beirut and Wurzburg: Ergon-Verlag in Kommission.
Griffith, S. (1983) Ammar al-Basri's *Kitab al-burhan:* Christian *Kalam* in the First Abbasid Century. *Le Museon* 96: 145-81.
(1992) *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine.* Aldershot: Ashgate.
(1995) *Syriac Writers on Muslims and the Religious Challenge of Islam.* Kottayam: SEERI.
(trans.) (1997) A *Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons . . . by Theodore Abu Qurrah.* Leuven: Peeters.
(2001) "Melkites," "Jacobites" and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in Third/Ninth-Century Syria. In D. Thomas (ed.) *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years.* Leiden: Brill, pp. 9-55.
(2002a) *The Beginnings of Christian Theology in Arabic: Muslim-Christian Encounters in the Early Islamic Period.* Aldershot: Ashgate.
(2002b) (trans.) *Yahya ibn 'Adi: The Reformation of Morals.* Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press.
(2006) The Church of Jerusalem and the "Melkites": The Making of an "Arab Orthodox" Christian Identity in the World of Islam, 750-1050CE. In O. Limor and G. G. Stroumsa (eds) *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land.* Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 173-202.
(2007a) Christians, Muslims and the Image of the One God: Iconophilia and Iconophobia in the World of Islam in Umayyad and Early Abbasid Times. In B. Groneberg and H. Spieckermann (eds) *Die Welt der Gotterbilder.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 347-80.
(2007b) Syriacisms in the "Arabic Qur'an": Who Were Those Who Said "Allah Is Third of Three" according to *al-Ma'ida* 73? In M.M. Bar-Asher, S. Hopkins, S. Stroumsa, and B. Chiesa (eds) A *Word Fitly Spoken.* Jerusalem: Mekhon Ben-Tsevi le-heker kehilot Yisra'el ba-Mizrah, pp. 83 *-110*.
(2008a) *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
(2008b) Hunayn ibn Ishaq and the *Kitab adab al-Falasifah:* The Pursuit of Wisdom and a Humane Polity in Early Abbasid Baghdad. In G. Kiraz (ed.) *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock.* Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, pp. 135-60.
Gutas, D. (1998) *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbasid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries).* London: Routledge.
Gyekye, K. (trans.) (1979) *Arabic Logic: Ibn al-Tayyib's Commentary on Porphyry's "Eisagoge."* Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
Haddad, R. (1985) *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes, 750-1050.* Paris: Beauchesne.
Hage, W. (2007) *Das orientalische Christentum.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Hainthaler, T. (2007) *Christliche Araber vor dem Islam: Verbreitung und konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit.* Leuven: Peeters.
Hourani, G. G. and Habachi, A. B. (2004) The Maronite Eremitical Tradition: A Contemporary Revival. *Heythrop Journal* 45: 451-65.
Hoyland, R. (1997) *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It:* A *Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam.* Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press.
Kaplony, A. (2002) *The Haram of Jerusalem, 324-1099.* Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
Kassatly, H. (1996) *La communauté monastique de Deir el Harf.* Balamand, Lebanon: Universite de Balamand.
Keating, S. T. (2006) *Defending the "People of Truth" in the Early Islamic Period: The Christian Apologies of Abu Ra'itah.* Leiden: Brill.
Kennedy, H. (2006) Antioch: From Byzantium to Islam and Back Again, In *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East.* Aldershot: Ashgate, Essay VII.
Kilpatrick, H. (1997) Journeying towards Modernity: The *Safrat al-Batrak Makariyus* of Bulus ibn al-Za'im al-Halabi. *Die Welt des Islams,* n.s., 37, no. 2: 156-77.
Korobeinikov, D. (2003) Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, pt I. *Al-Masdq* 15, no. 2: 197-214.
(2005) Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, pt II. *Al-Masāq* 17, no. 1: 1-29.
Krivov, V. V. (1996) Arab-Christians in Antioch in the Tenth-Eleventh Centuries [in Russian]. In D. E. Afinogenov and A. M. Muraviev (eds) *Traditions and Heritage of the Christian East*. Moscow: Indrik, pp. 247-55.
Lamoreaux, J. C. (trans.) (2005) *Theodore Abu Qurrah.* Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press.
Lamoreaux, J. C. and Cairala, C. (eds. and trans.) (2001) *The Life of Timothy of Kakhushta*, Patrologia Orientalis 48(4). Turnhout: Brepols.
Leeming, K. (2003) The Adoption of Arabic as a Liturgical Language by the Palestinian Melkites. *ARAM* 15: 239-46.
Levy-Rubin, M. (1998) Arabization and Islamization in the Palestinian Melkite Community during the Early Muslim Period. In A. Kofsky and G. G. Stroumsa (eds) *Sharing the Sacred.* Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, pp. 149-62.
MacEvitt, C. (2007) *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Matar, N. I. (trans.) (2002) *In the Lands of the Christians: Arab Travel Writing in the 17th Century.* New York: Routledge.
Matthew the Poor (1983) *Orthodox Prayer Life: The Interior Way.* Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.
(1984) *Communion of Love.* Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.
Michel, T. F. (trans.) (1984) *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya's al-Jawab al-Sahih.* Delmar, NY: Caravan Books.
Morony, M. (2005) *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest.* Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press.
Morray, D. W. (1994) The Defences of the Monastery of St Simeon the Younger on Samandag. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 60: 619-23.
Nahas, G. N. (1993) Le mouvement de la jeunesse Orthodoxe. *Proche-Orient Chretien* 43: 69-81.
Nasrallah, J. (1972) Couvents de la Syrie du Nord portant le nom de Siméon. *Syria* 49: 127-59.
(1983-89) *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle,* vols II.2, III. 1, III.2, IV. 1, IV.2. Leuven: Peeters.

(1996) *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle,* vol. II. 1, ed. R. Haddad. Damascus: Institut français de Damas.

Noble, S. and A. Treiger (2011) Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallah ibn al-Fadl al-Antaki and His *Discourse on the Holy Trinity*, *Le Muséon* 124: 371-417.

(forthcoming) *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World (700-1700): An Anthology of Sources*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.

O'Mahony, A. (2006) Coptic Christianity in Modern Egypt, In M. Angold (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* vol. 5: *Eastern Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 488-510.

Osman, Gh. (2005) Pre-Islamic Arab Converts to Christianity in Mecca and Medina. *Muslim World* 95, no. 1: 67-80.

Pacini, A. (ed.) (1998). *Christian Communities in the Arab Middle East: The Challenge of the Future.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Panchenko, K. A. (2012). *Blizhnevostochnoe Pravoslavie pod osmanskim vladychestvom: Pervye tri stoletija (1516-1831)*. Moscow: Indrik.

Papaconstantinou, A. (2007) They Shall Speak the Arabic Language and Take Pride in It: Reconsidering the Fate of Coptic after the Arab Conquest, *Le Museon* 120, nos. 3-4: 273-99.

Pearse, R. (trans.) (2008) *Agapius of Hierapolis: Universal History.* Tertullian Project website. http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/index.htm#Agapius_Universal_History.

Perier, A. (ed. and trans.) (1920) *Petits traités apologétiques de Yahya Ben 'Adi.* Paris: J. Gabalda and P. Geuthner.

Pirone, B. (ed. and trans.) (1991) *Leonzio di Damasco: Vita di Santo Stefano Sabaita (725-794).* Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press.

Polosin, V. V. et al. (eds) (2005) *The Arabic Psalter:* A *Supplement to the Facsimile Edition of Manuscript A187 "The Petersburg Arabic Illuminated Psalter."* St Petersburg: Kvarta.

Portillo, R. D. (1996) The Arabic Life of St. John of Damascus, *Parole de l'Orient* 21: 157-88.

Prawer, J. (1985) Social Classes in the Crusader States: The "Minorities." In N. P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard (eds) A *History of the Crusades,* vol. 5: *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East.* Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 59-115.

Robinson, C. F. (2000-2002) Waraka b. Nawfal. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., vol. 11. Leiden: Brill, pp. 142-43.

Rubenson, S. (1996) Translating the Tradition: Some Remarks on the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Egypt. *Medieval Encounters* 2: 4-14.

Samir, S. Kh. (1984) Date de la composition de la "Somme theologique" d'al-Mu'taman b. al- Assal. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 50: 94-106.

(1991) Christian Arabic Literature in the 'Abbasid Period. In M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant (eds) *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*. The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 446-60.

(2003) *Rôle culturel des chrétiens dans le monde arabe.* Beirut: CEDRAC.

Samir, S. Kh. and Nielsen, J. S. (eds) (1994) *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750-1258).* Leiden: Brill.

Sanders, J. C. J. (ed. and trans.) (1967) *Ibn al-Tayyib: Commentaire sur la Génèse,* Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 274-75, Scriptores Arabici 24-25. Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO.

Shahid, I. (1971) *The Martyrs of Najran: New Documents.* Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.

Shoshan, B. (2000-2002) Waba' [Plague], *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., vol. 11. Leiden: Brill, pp. 2-3.
Swanson, M. N. (2005) The Trinity in Christian-Muslim Conversation, *Dialog* 44, no. 3: 256-63.
Tamari, S. (2007) Miha'il Burayk. Historians of the Ottoman Empire database. http://www.ottomanhistorians.com/database/html/burayk_en.html.
Teule, H. G. B. (2000-2002) Ta'rikh: Christian Arabic Historiography. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., vol. 12 (Supplement). Leiden: Brill, pp. 807-9.
Teule, H. G. B. and Schepens, V. (2005) Christian Arabic Bibliography 1990-95. *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 57: 129-74.
------ (2006) Christian Arabic Bibliography 1996-2000. *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58: 265-99.
------ (2010) Christian Arabic Bibliography 2001-2005. *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 62: 271-302.
Thomas, D. (ed.) (2007a) *The Bible in Arab Christianity.* Leiden: Brill.
(2007b) Arab Christianity. In K. Parry (ed.) *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity.* Malden, MA: Blackwell, pp. 1-22.
Thomas, D., B. Roggema, and A. Mallett (2009-in progress). *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 4 vols. to-date.
Todt, K.-P. (1995) Notitia und Diozesen des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchates von Antiocheia im 10. und 11. Jh. *Orthodoxes Forum* 9: 173-85.
(2001) Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittel-byzantinischer Zeit. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 94: 239-67.
(2006) Griechisch-Orthodoxe (Melkitische) Christen im zentralen und südlichen Syrien . . . (635-1365). *Le Muséon* 119, nos. 1-2: 33-88.
Treiger, A. (2005) New Evidence on the Arabic Versions of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. *Le Museon* 118: 219-40.
(2007) The Arabic Version of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's *Mystical Theology,* Chapter 1. *Le Museon* 120: 365-93.
Troupeau, G. (1971) La littérature arabe chrétienne du Xe au XIIe siècle. *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 14: 1-19.
(1995) *Études sur le christianisme arabe au Moyen Âge.* Aldershot: Ashgate.
Wasserstein, D. J. (2003) Why Did Arabic Succeed Where Greek Failed? Language Change in the Near East after Muhammad. *Scripta Classica Israelica* 22: 257-72.
Wisnovsky, R. (2012) New Philosophical Texts of Yahya ibn 'Adi: A Supplement to Endress' *Analytical Inventory*. In F. Opwis and D. Reisman, *Islamic Philosophy, Science, Culture, and Religion: Studies in Honor of Dimitri Gutas*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 307-26.
Yakushev, M. I. (2006) On the Restoration of the Rule of Arab Patriarchs in the Patriarchate of Antioch [in Russian]. In *Lomonosovskie Chtenija. Vostokovedenie*. Moscow: Akademija Gumanitarnykh Issledovanij, pp. 374-9.
Zaborowski, J. R. (2008) From Coptic to Arabic in Medieval Egypt. *Medieval Encounters* 14, no. 1: 15-40.
Zanetti, U. (1996) Tradition et modernité dans l'Église copte. In D. E. Afinogenov and A. M. Muraviev (eds) *Traditions and Heritage of the Christian East*. Moscow: Indrik, pp. 221-38.