

# Theodore Abū Qurra

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DATE OF BIRTH Mid-8<sup>th</sup> c.  
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Edessa  
DATE OF DEATH Probably after 816  
PLACE OF DEATH Perhaps Ḥarrān

## BIOGRAPHY

Beyond the few items listed below, little is known about the events of Theodore Abū Qurra's life. He seems to have been a native of Edessa, and was born toward the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. A Melkite, he was one of the earliest Christians known to have written in Arabic. While it has been suggested that as a young man he was a monk at the Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba, the evidence for this is both slight and dubious (Lamoreaux, 'The biography'). At an unknown date, he was ordained as the bishop of Ḥarrān, an important see just to the south of Edessa. Around 811, Thomas the Patriarch of Jerusalem had one of his Arabic Christological works translated into Greek and sent to the Monophysites of Armenia. According to a late Monophysite source, in about 813 he was deposed from his see by Theodoret, the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch, because of his heretical Christology, though this is hardly likely to have been the case (Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. xiii-xv). Sometime between 813 and 817, he went to Armenia to debate with the Monophysites at the court of the Bagratid Prince Ashot Msakeri. Perhaps in 816, he translated into Arabic Pseudo-Aristotle's *De virtutibus animae*. A late text has him meeting the Caliph al-Ma'mūn in Ḥarrān in 829 and participating in a theological debate in his presence, though there are few reasons to trust this source (Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. xvii-xviii), much less the later text that claims to be a record of this debate (see the entry below on 'The Debate of Abū Qurra'). The date of his death is unknown. Later authorities remembered him for his polemic against the Manicheans and Jews, his defense of icons, his defense of Melkite Christology against Monophysites and Nestorians, and his polemics against Islam.

Theodore's originally large corpus of writings in Arabic, Greek, and Syriac has been preserved only in part. The history of their transmission is still not well understood, nor in particular the relation between his Arabic works and the Greek fragments ascribed to him. Very nearly all his works also unfortunately still lack critical editions.

Among Theodore's works, a full 30 deal with the challenges of Islam in one manner or another. Sixteen of these are in Arabic and the remainder in Greek. A handful of these works are substantial treatises, but most are quite short, even fragmentary.

Among Theodore's Arabic works that treat Islam, a large number seek to defend Christianity through a comparison of the manner of its propagation with the way in which Islam was propagated. Key for Theodore is that those who first preached Christianity were unable to offer potential converts promises of wealth, power, or pleasures; on the contrary, they could promise only hardship and humility. And yet a great many accepted Christianity. How could this be? Theodore reasons that it could only have happened if its earliest preachers had confirmed their message through the performance of miracles. All this stands in contrast to the other religions of the early medieval Near East, particularly Islam. As Theodore viewed the matter, these other religions were accepted because they offered an ethic that catered to human desire. Converts, for example, might receive political power or wealth, be allowed multiple wives or divorce at will, and so on. And of equal importance, none of these religions, Islam included, could demonstrate that its founder had been attested by miracles.

Another prominent theme in Theodore's writings on Islam is the defense of the reasonableness of Christian doctrine and practice. Not surprisingly, the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are of paramount concern. On a great many occasions, Theodore seeks to show that neither doctrine contravenes the dictates of reason or the commonly accepted notions about God's attributes. Of near equal importance for Theodore are the defense of free will and of the related topic of the Christian understanding of salvation – that human beings can be saved only through the death of Christ, the eternal Son of God made human. On the subject of Christian practice, subjects of concern include: baptism, the eucharist, and most especially the veneration of icons and the cross.

Theodore's Arabic works seldom mention Islam by name. He speaks instead, obliquely, of 'those who lay claim to faith' or 'those who claim to have a book sent down by God'. However, that Islam is frequently

the subject of his concern in his defense of Christianity is confirmed by his subtle use of qur'ānic language and his frequent use of the technical terminology of Muslim theology. The situation is quite different in his Greek works. Here his opponents are almost always explicitly identified as Saracens, Hagarenes, or Arabs. Moreover, the tenor of his arguments is far from subtle, even to the point of accusing the prophet of Islam of moral turpitude, insanity, and willful distortion of the truth or, perhaps most strikingly, of having been possessed by a demon. The remarkably different approaches to Islam evinced by his works in Arabic and Greek might best be explained by reference to the audiences for whom he was writing, and perhaps also by a measure of circumspection and fear.

Taken as a whole, Theodore's works on Islam represent one of the earliest and most detailed defenses of Christianity against the claims of the other faith. Judging from the number of extant manuscripts, his Arabic works seem not to have been widely read or copied in the Middle Ages – perhaps because of the difficulty of their language, or perhaps because they did not have the same appeal as later, more systematic treatises. The situation was far different with his Greek works, which were widely circulated in manuscript form. Most of these Greek works also exist in Georgian translation, and in this form enjoyed an immense popularity. (For the Georgian tradition of Theodore's works, see Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, pp. 129, 206, 208-9, 366, 370-71, 375, 380, 385.)

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- L. Cheikho, *Eutychiei patriarchae alexandrini annales*, 2 vols, Beirut, 1906-9 (CSCO 50-51), ii, p. 64 (that Theodore wrote in defense of icons)
- ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Al-mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*, vol. 5, ed. M.M. al-Khuḍayrī, Cairo, 1958, pp. 144-45 (brief mention of a theological argument of Theodore)

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#### WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Maymar fī wujūd al-Khāliq wa-l-dīn al-qawīm*,  
‘Treatise on the existence of the Creator and the  
true religion’

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

Since Cheikho’s edition of 1912, this work is generally referred to under the title given above. In the al-Shīr MS from which that edition was made, however, the work is untitled. In the Shuwayr MS, the work is entitled, *Fī ḥaqīqat wujūd Allāh wa-annahū muthallath al-aqānīm wa-ḥaqīqat al-dīn al-masīhī wa-anna lā dīn fī l-‘ālam ghay-rahū qaṭṭ*, ‘On the truth of the existence of God and that he a Trinity of hypostases and on the truth of the Christian religion and that there is absolutely no religion in the world other than it’.

This work consists of three (seemingly) independent treatises that have been joined together in the course of transmission. The first (ed. Dick, pp. 173-98) is an attempt to show what the human mind can and cannot discover about God and his attributes on the basis of natural reason alone. The second (ed. Dick, pp. 199-258) seeks to determine which of the religions of the early medieval Near East has the greatest claim to truth. The author begins by imagining that he grew up on a mountain alone and that he then descends to the world of civilization. After meeting adherents of the various religions, including Islam, the author tries to find a methodology to help him discover which of these religions are false, and for what reasons, and which one is true, and for what reasons. The third (ed. Dick, pp. 259-70) examines the various reasons that lead people to accept a religion, and argues that Christianity is true in that it alone was correctly propagated and attested by miracles.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This work is one of Theodore’s most systematic investigations of theological epistemology and one of his few works in Arabic to deal explicitly with the challenges of Islam.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Shuwayr, Dayr al-Shuwayr – 215 (formerly 43), 6th work (1532)  
(cf. J. Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban*, 4 vols, Beirut, 1958-70, iii, 223-26, no. 334 [134])

MS al-Shīr, Dayr al-Shīr – 373, pp. 2-59 (late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 1-25, 41-47, 165-74 (English trans. with numerous conjectural emendations to Dick's edition)

J. Monferrer Sala, "Apologética racionalista" de Abū Qurrah en el *Maymar fī wujūd al-Hāliq wa-l-dīn al-qawīm* II/2,12-14', *Anales del seminario de historia de la filosofía* 22 (2005) 41-56 (Spanish trans. of pp. 240-53 of Dick's edition)

G. Monnot, 'Abū Qurrah et la pluralité des religions', *RHR* 208 (1991) 49-71 (trans. of pp. 200-18 in Dick's edition, with important conjectural emendations)

G. Khoury, *Theodore Abu Qurrah (c. 750-820). Translation and critical analysis of his 'Treatise on the existence of the Creator and on the true religion'*, Berkeley CA, 1990 (Diss. Graduate Theological Union)

I. Dick, *Théodore Abuqurra. Traité de l'existence du Créateur et de la vraie religion / Maymar fī wujūd al-Khāliq wa-l-dīn al-qawīm li-Thāwudhūrus Abī Qurra*, Jounieh, 1982 (edition based on the Dayr al-Shīr MS)

I. Dick, *Théodore Abuqurra, évêque melkite de Harran (750?-825?). Introduction générale, texte et analyse du traité De l'existence du Créateur et de la vraie religion*, Louvain, 1960 (Diss. Université Catholique de Louvain) (edition based on the Dayr al-Shīr MS, with a French trans.)

G. Graf, *Des Theodor Abū Qurra Traktat über den Schöpfer und die wahre Religion*, Münster, 1913 (German trans. of Cheikho's edition)

L. Cheikho, *Traité inédit de Théodore Abou-Qurra (Abucara), évêque melchite de Harran (ca. 740-820), sur l'existence de Dieu et la vraie religion*, Beirut, 1912 (repr. of the edition published in *Al-Mashriq*)

L. Cheikho, 'Maymar li-Tādurus Abī Qurra fī wujūd al-khāliq wa-l-dīn al-qawīm', *Al-mashriq* 15 (1912) 757-74, 825-42 (edited from the Dayr al-Shīr MS)

## STUDIES

- M. Beaumont, 'Ammār al-Baṣrī on the alleged corruption of the Gospels', in D. Thomas (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, Leiden, 2007, 241-55 (for parallels to Theodore's arguments in defense of the true religion)
- M. Swanson, 'The Trinity in Christian-Muslim conversation', *Dialog. A Journal of Theology* 44 (2005) 256-63, pp. 258-59
- B. Roggema, 'Ḥikāyāt amthāl wa asmār ... King parables in Melkite apologetic literature', in R. Ebied and H. Teule (eds), *Studies on the Christian Arabic heritage*, Louvain, 2004, 113-31
- G. Reinink, 'Communal identity and the systematisation of knowledge in the Syriac "Cause of all causes"', in P. Binkley (ed.), *Pre-modern encyclopaedic texts*, Leiden, 1997, 275-88, pp. 280-81 (on the similarity between Theodore's work and a work composed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century by a Jacobite bishop of Edessa)
- S.H. Griffith, 'Faith and reason in Christian *kalām*. Theodore Abū Qurrah on discerning the true religion', in S.K. Samir and J. Nielsen (eds), *Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period (750-1258)*, Leiden, 1994, 1-43
- J. Nasrallah, 'Regard critique sur I. Dick, Th. Abū Qurra, De l'existence du Créateur et de la vraie religion', *POC* 36 (1986) 46-62; 37 (1987) 63-70
- I. Dick, 'Le traité de Théodore Abū Qurra de l'existence du Créateur et de la vraie religion', in S.K. Samir (ed.), *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (1980)*, 149-68, Rome, 1982
- S.H. Griffith, 'Comparative religion in the apologetics of the first Christian Arabic theologians', *Proceedings of the patristic, medieval, and renaissance conference* 4 (1979) 63-87, pp. 65-66
- H. Davidson, 'John Philoponus as a source of medieval Islamic and Jewish proofs of creation', *JAOS* 89 (1969) 357-91, p. 374
- G. Klinge, 'Die Bedeutung der syrischen Theologen als Vermittler der griechischen Philosophie an den Islam', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 58 (1939) 346-86, pp. 376-84
- P. de Menasce, 'Autour d'un texte syriaque inédit sur la religion des Mages', *BSOAS* 9 (1938) 587-601, pp. 600-1

*Maymar yuḥaqqiqu li-l-insān ḥurriyya thābita min Allāh fī khaliqatihi wa-anna ḥurriyyat al-insān lā yadkhulu ‘alayhā l-qahr min wajh min al-wujūh battatan*, ‘Treatise confirming that human beings have an innate freedom from God in his creation (of them) and that absolutely no compulsion in any manner constrains the freedom of human beings’

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

This treatise investigates the nature of human free will. Theodore seeks to show the error both of those who deny that human beings were created with free will (Muslims) and of those who claim that they have lost their ability to choose freely (Manicheans). He then turns to the problem of God’s foreknowledge and argues that such foreknowledge both exists and does not entail compulsion.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

While Theodore never mentions the Muslims by name in this treatise, they are clearly one of his two major opponents. This is evidenced, in particular, by the Qur’ānic allusions he employs in describing their theological position.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – Ar. 581 (12th c.). This MS, which is lacking at its beginning and end, is said to contain nine treatises by Theodore, probably including this one. No copy was made during the Sinai expedition of the early 1950s. It very likely contains the same works as MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 392.

MS Tyr, Library of the Greek-Catholic Archbishop – 45, 2<sup>nd</sup> work, incomplete (1730). Cf. Nasrallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban*, iii, pp. 120-21. The MSS of this library are believed to have been transferred to Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ during the Lebanese civil war.

MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 392 (Haddad), 1<sup>st</sup> work (1735). It was copied from a MS dated 1051, which was in turn copied from a MS from the monastery of Mar Sabas. This is the MS from which Bacha edited this and the following works. It is not clear whether it is still to be found at Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ. Many MSS were taken when the monastery was pillaged by the Druze in April of 1985, though some, but not all, were apparently returned. It is believed that while they were out of the monastery many of the MSS were also microfilmed by the Asad National Library in Damascus.

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 195-206 (English trans.)
- P. Pizzi and S.K. Samir, *Teodoro Abū Qurra. La libertà / Thāwudūrus Abū Qurra. Maymar fī al-ḥurriyya*, Turin, 2001 (detailed study of the text, with Italian trans. and re-edition of Bacha's edition [no MSS could be consulted])
- G. Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abū Qurra, Bischofs von Ḥarrān (ca. 740-820)*, Paderborn, 1910, pp. 223-38 (German trans.)
- C. Bacha, *Mayāmir Thāwudūrus Abī Qurra usqf Ḥarrān*, Beirut, (1904), pp. 9-22 (edited from the Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ MS)

## STUDIES

- S. Stroumsa and G. Stroumsa, 'Aspects of anti-Manichaeism in late antiquity and under early Islam', *Harvard Theological Review* 81 (1988) 37-58, p. 55 (argues that this treatise is not directed against the Muslims)
- S.H. Griffith, 'Free will in Christian *kalām*. The doctrine of Theodore Abū Qurrah', *Pd'O* 14 (1987) 79-107
- A. Abel, 'Les sources arabes sur le manichéisme', *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* 16 (1961-62) 31-73, pp. 32-33

*Maymar yuḥaqqiqu annahu lā yulzamu l-Naṣārā an yaqūlū thalātha āliha idh yaqūlūna l-Āb ilāh wa-l-Ibn ilāh wa-Rūḥ al-Qudus (ilāh) wa-anna l-Āb wa-l-Ibn wa-Rūḥ al-Qudus ilāh wa-law kāna kull wāḥid minhum tāmm ‘alā ḥidatihi, ‘Treatise confirming that Christians do not necessarily speak of three gods when they say that the Father is God and the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one God, even though each of them is fully God by himself’*

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

#### DESCRIPTION

This treatise begins with a series of reflections on the motives that lead people to accept or reject a religion and argues against those who would accept a religion that caters to their desires or is characterized by tribal zeal. Theodore then turns to a defense of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, against those who would either deny that each of the persons is God or claim that Christians worship three gods. His arguments are based on both scripture and reason.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

This treatise is one of Theodore’s most detailed defenses of the doctrine of the Trinity. His opponents are both Jews and Muslims, though the latter are never explicitly named.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – New Finds, paper, Ar. 4, 5<sup>th</sup> work (1191). Cf. Y. Meimaris, *Katālūj al-makhtūṭāt al-‘arabiyya al-muktashaḥa ḥadīthan bi-Dayr Sānt Kātarīn al-muqaddas bi-Ṭūr Sīnā*, Athens, 1985, p. 39. The identification should be considered provisional. The catalogue describes this treatise by Theodore Abū Qurra, Bishop of Ḥarrān, as a defense of the confession of the oneness of God and a refutation of the enemies of Christianity who would disparage this confession.)

MS Sinai – Ar. 581 (12<sup>th</sup> c.) (see comments at 2.2.7)

MS Shuwayr, Dayr al-Shuwayr – 215 (formerly 43), 2<sup>nd</sup> work (1532)  
(see comments at 2.2.7)

MS al-Shīr, Dayr al-Shīr – 373, pp. 99-128 (late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Tyr, Library of the Greek-Catholic Archbishop – 45, 3<sup>rd</sup> work  
(1730) (see comments at 2.2.7)

MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 392 (Haddad), 2<sup>nd</sup> work (1735) (see  
comments at 2.2.7)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 175-93 (English trans.)

Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften*, pp. 133-60 (German trans.)

Bacha, *Mayāmir*, pp. 23-47 (ed. from the Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ MS)

## STUDIES —

*Maymar fī mawt al-Masīḥ wa-annā idhā qulnā  
inna l-Masīḥ māta ‘annā innamā naqūlu inna  
l-Ibn al-azalī l-mawlūd min al-Āb qabla l-duhūr  
huwa lladhī māta ‘annā lā fī ṭabī‘atihi l-ilāhiyya  
bal fī ṭabī‘atihi l-insāniyya wa-kayfa yu‘qalu  
hādhā l-mawt wa-annahū yaḥsunu an yuqālu  
‘alā l-Ibn al-azalī fī l-jiha llatī taqūluhu ‘alayhi  
al-urthūdhuksiyya, ‘Treatise on the death of  
Christ, and that when we say that Christ died for  
us we say that the eternal Son begotten of the  
Father before the ages died for us, not in his  
divine nature, but in his human nature, and how  
this death is to be understood, and that it is right  
that it be said of the eternal Son in the manner  
that Orthodoxy says it of him’*

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This treatise concerns the manner of Christ’s death. It argues against the Nestorians that it was not a mere man that died for us. It argues against the Monophysites that it was not God in his divine nature that



died for us. It then expounds at some length the Orthodox understanding of how the eternal Son became human and died, that is, in his human nature and not in his divine nature.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Judging by the number of extant MSS, this is the most popular of Theodore's Arabic works. While it is primarily a work of inter-Christian polemic, there are occasional asides about Islam: first, with regard to the nature of free will (ed. Bacha, p. 50: on those who say that God 'coerces and compels' human beings to do good and evil and that he created some to be blessed and some to be wretched); secondly, with regard to the nature of God's throne (ed. Bacha, p. 66: 'all those who lay claim to faith'). Theodore's presentation of soteriology is also relevant to Christian-Muslim dialogue, especially his argument that it is only through the death of Christ that human beings can be saved.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – Ar. 581 (12<sup>th</sup> c.) (see comments at 2.2.7)

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Roe 26 (Nicholl Chr. Ar. 36), ch. 56 and 57 (late 14<sup>th</sup> c.) (anonymous fragments in appendix to Yūsuf al-Miṣrī's *Synodicon*)

MS Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – (15<sup>th</sup> c.) (Bacha, p. 6, notes that there was at this monastery a second MS containing part of this treatise. He does not, however, provide its shelf-mark.)

MS Shuwayr, Dayr al-Shuwayr – 215 (formerly 43), 3<sup>rd</sup> work (1532) (see comments at 2.2.7)

MS Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – Holy Sepulcher Ar. 12, fols 244v-248v (1637) (anonymous fragments in appendix to Yūsuf al-Miṣrī's *Synodicon*)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque orientale – 549, fols 115v-122r (1654) (end of the treatise [ed. Bacha, p. 61], anonymous and without title)

MS al-Shīr, Dayr al-Shīr – 373, pp. 128-55 (17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Latakia, Library of the Greek-Orthodox Archbishop – 3, fols 108r-112v (1715) (first part of treatise [ed. Bacha, pp. 49-50, 52-58] transmitted anonymously, under the title, *A discourse on the death of the eternal Son and a refutation of the heretics, from the words of the holy fathers and spiritual teachers*; cf. *al-Makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī abrashiyyāt Ḥims wa-Ḥamāh wa-l-Lādhiqiyya li-l-Rūm al-Urthūdhuks*, Beirut, 1994, pp. 92-93, no. 3, and also V. Mistrīh, 'Notes sur une collection privée de manuscrits arabes-chrétiens en Syrie', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 23 (1990) 93-137, pp. 115-19, no. 36

- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque orientale – Ar. 516, fols 383-397 (1722)  
 (anonymous fragments, in appendix to Yūsuf al-Miṣrī's *Synodicon*)
- MS Tyr, Library of the Greek-Catholic Archbishop – 45, 4<sup>th</sup> work  
 (1730) (see comments at 2.2.7)
- MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 392 (Haddad), 3<sup>rd</sup> work (1735) (see  
 comments at 2.2.7)
- MS Denver, Denver Public Library – Lansing Collection 3, pp. 70-  
 80 (1741) (end of the treatise, corresponding to ed. Bacha, p. 61,  
 anonymous and without title; cf. C. Matthews, 'Manuscripts and  
 a Mamlūk inscription in the Lansing Collection in the Denver  
 Public Library', *JAOS* 60 (1940) 370-82, pp. 373-76)
- MS Latakia, Library of the Greek-Orthodox Archbishop – 34,  
 fols 31r-44v (18<sup>th</sup> c.) (nearly the whole of the treatise (ed. Bacha,  
 pp. 49-59, 61-70), transmitted anonymously, under the title,  
*A discourse on the death of the eternal Son and a refutation of the  
 heretics, from the words of the holy fathers of the sixth holy coun-  
 cil*; cf. *al-Makḥṭūtāt al-'arabiyya*, pp. 105-6, no. 34, and Mistrih,  
 'Notes sur une collection privée', pp. 125-27, no. 41)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 109-28 (English trans.)
- Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften*, pp. 198-223 (German trans.)
- Bacha, *Mayāmir*, pp. 48-70 (ed. from the Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ MS)

## STUDIES —

*Maymar fī taḥqīq al-Injīl wa-anna kullamā lā  
 yuḥaqqiquhu l-Injīl fa-huwa bāṭil*, 'Treatise on the  
 confirmation of the Gospel and that everything  
 that the Gospel does not confirm is false'

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

The work opens with a discussion of the reasons that lead people to accept religions that are false. It next argues that Christianity was not accepted for any of these reasons, but because of miracles.

## SIGNIFICANCE

That Theodore's primary opponents in this treatise are Muslims is suggested by the rather playful qur'ānic allusions (ed. Bacha, p. 74)

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – New Finds, parchment, Ar. 12, 5<sup>th</sup> work (undated, but quite early)

MS Sinai – Ar. 581 (12<sup>th</sup> c.) (see comments at 2.2.7)

MS Nasrallah – 52, 59v-62v (1568) (current location unknown; it is believed that many of Nasrallah's MSS were sold by his heirs)

MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 392 (Haddad), 4<sup>th</sup> work (1735) (see comments at 2.2.7)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque orientale – Ar. 549, fols 113r-115v (1654)

MS Denver, Denver Public Library – Lansing Collection 3, pp. 65-70 (1741) (see comments at 2.4.7)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 49-53 (English trans.)

Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften*, pp. 128-33 (German trans.)

Bacha, *Mayāmir*, pp. 71-75 (ed. from the Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ MS)

## STUDIES —

*Maymar 'alā sabīl ma'rifat Allāh wa-taḥqīq al-Ibn al-azalī*, 'Treatise on the way of knowing God and the confirmation of the eternal Son'

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This treatise begins with a discussion of the various methods whereby God can be known by the human mind, with special attention being given to the knowledge of God through his effects and through what resembles or does not resemble him. Theodore then seeks to show that human reason can discover that God has a Son, one of his own essence and equal to him in every regard.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This is a rather generic defense of the Christian doctrine of God. Theodore's opponents, who are never mentioned by name, might equally be Jews or Muslims.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – Ar. 581 (12<sup>th</sup> c.) (see comments in 2.2.7)

MS Nasrallah – 52, 43r-46v (1568) (see comments at 2.5.7)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque orientale – Ar. 549, fols 98r-102r (1654)  
 (Contrary to L. Cheikho, 'Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque orientale (5)', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 11 (1926) 193-306, p. 239, and Nasrallah, *HMLEM* ii, pt. ii, p. 119, this work is not followed by an unedited appendix. It is, rather, a question of selections from another treatise by Theodore, his work Against the Armenians. See J.C. Lamoreaux, 'An unedited tract against the Armenians by Theodore Abū Qurrah', *Le Muséon* 105 (1992) 327-41, and Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, 97-101)

MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 392 (Haddad), 5<sup>th</sup> work (1735) (see comments at 2.2.7)

MS Denver, Denver Public Library – Lansing Collection 3, pp. 45-52 (1741) (see comments at 2.4.7)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 157-64 (English trans. with numerous corrections to the Arabic on the basis of the Beirut and Denver MSS)

Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften*, pp. 160-68 (German trans.)

Bacha, *Mayāmir*, pp. 75-82 (ed. from the Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ MS)

## STUDIES —

## Unknown, Questions on the Son of God

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

The original title of this work has been lost. Its three extant selections are entitled: (i) *Maymar fī annahu lā yughfaru (sic) li-aḥad khaṭī'atuhu illā bi-awjā' al-Masīḥ allatī ḥallat bihi fī sha'n al-nās wa-anna man lā yu'minu bi-hādhihi l-awjā' wa-yuqarrubuhā li-l-Āb 'an dhunūbihi fa-lā maghfirata li-dhunūbihi abadan*, 'Treatise on the fact that no one's sins are forgiven except through the pains that Christ experienced for the sake of human beings and that one who does not believe in these pains and offers them to the Father for the sake of his misdeeds will never have forgiveness for his misdeeds'; (ii) *Maymar fī l-radd 'alā man yunkiru li-llāh al-tajassud wa-l-ḥulūl fīmā aḥabbu an yaḥulla fīhi (...)* *wa-annahu fī ḥulūlihi fī l-jasad al-ma'khūdh min Maryam (...)*,

‘Treatise in refutation of one who denies that God became a body and dwelt in what he wished to dwell (...) and that in his dwelling in the body taken from Mary (...)’ (damage to the MS has rendered parts of the title illegible); (iii) *Maymar yuḥaqqiqu anna li-llāh Ibnān huwa ‘idlahu fī l-jawhar wa-lam yazul ma’ahu*, ‘Treatise confirming that God has a Son equal to him in essence and eternally present with him.’

The first excerpt argues that human beings are unable to provide recompense for the sins that they have committed. At the same time, God is unable to forgive their sins except through the pains experienced by his Son. The second argues that it is not inappropriate for the eternal Son to dwell in a body. (The text of this second selection has suffered extensively in the course of transmission.) The third seeks to prove that God has a Son, who is eternal and equal to him in all things. This section is accompanied by a lengthy collection of biblical testimonies affirming that God has a Son.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

No opponents are mentioned by name in the preserved portions of this treatise. Swanson, ‘The cross of Christ’, pp. 121-25, has established that it is written with a view to answering Muslim objections to the Christian doctrine of salvation.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – Ar. 581 (12<sup>th</sup> c.) (see comments in 2.2.7)

MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 392 (Haddad), 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 8<sup>th</sup> works (1735) (see comments in 2.2.7)

#### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 129-49 (English trans.)

Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften*, pp. 169-98 (German trans.)

Bacha, *Mayāmir*, pp. 83-91, 180-86, 91-104 (ed. from the Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ MS)

#### STUDIES

M. Swanson, ‘Apologetics, catechesis, and the question of audience in “On the Triune Nature of God” (Sinai Arabic 154) and three treatises of Theodore Abū Qurrah’, in M. Tamcke (ed.), *Christians and Muslims in dialogue in the Islamic Orient of the Middle Ages*, Beirut, 2007, 113-34 (addresses Abū Qurrah’s use of the Qur’ān and of Old Testament *testimonia*)

M. Swanson, ‘A frivolous God? (*a-fa-ḥasibtum annamā khalaqnākum ‘abathan*)’, in D. Thomas and C. Amos (eds), *A faithful presence. Essays for Kenneth Cragg*, London, 2003, 166-83, pp. 168-74 (includes an English trans. of passages from the first excerpt)

- M. Swanson, 'Beyond proof-texting. Approaches to the Qur'an in some early Arabic Christian apologies', *Muslim World* 88 (1998) 297-319, pp. 312-14
- M. Swanson, 'The cross of Christ in the earliest Arabic Melkite apologies', in S.K. Samir and J. Nielsen (eds), *Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period (750-1258)*, Leiden, 1994, 115-45
- J. Rivière, 'Un précurseur de saint Anselme. La théologie rédemptrice de Théodore Abū Qurra', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 8 (1914) 337-60

*Maymar fī taḥqīq nāmūs Mūsā l-muqaddas wa-l-anbiyā' alladhīna tanabba'ū 'alā al-Masīḥ wa-l-Injil al-tāhir alladhī naqalahu ilā l-umam talāmīdh al-Masīḥ al-mawlūd min Maryam al-'adhrā' wa-taḥqīq al-urthūdhukiyya llatī yansubuhā l-nās ilā l-Khalkīdūniyya wa-ibṭāl kull milla tattakhidhu l-Naṣrāniyya siwā hādhī l-milla*, 'Treatise on the confirmation of the holy law of Moses and the prophets who prophesied about Christ and the holy Gospel which was transmitted to the nations by the disciples of Christ, born of the pure Mary, and on the confirmation of the orthodoxy that people attribute to Chalcedonianism and the refutation of every religious community that lays claim to Christianity other than this community'

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work consists of two independent treatises. The first is a refutation of the Jews. In it Theodore argues that miracles are the primary means of verifying the truth of a religion and that it is because of verifiable miracles that Christianity alone can be established to be true. Theodore further argues that rational arguments are unable to

establish the truth of Judaism and that it is only because of Christ that Christians accept Moses and the Torah. The second treatise seeks to establish which of the various Christian sects can rightly lay claim to orthodoxy. He argues that Chalcedonians alone are orthodox, in that they alone adhere to the six ecumenical councils summoned by the Bishop of Rome, which councils alone are thus established to be authoritative.

## SIGNIFICANCE

While the first part of this treatise is ostensibly directed against the Jews, many of its arguments are elsewhere applied to the Muslims. Theodore states explicitly (ed. Bacha, p. 150) that the very reasons that led the Jews to accept Moses are being recapitulated at present by that other religion which appeals to the ignorant, offering them an earthly kingdom, political power, polygamy, and divorce.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – Ar. 581 (12<sup>th</sup> c.) (see comments at 2.2.7)

MS Sinai – Ar. 441, fols 233r-255v (1240) (a leaf has been lost between fols 235 and 236, corresponding to ed. Bacha, pp. 145-47)

MS Shuwayr, Dayr al-Shuwayr – 215 (formerly 43), pp. 281-324, (1532) (the treatise is incomplete at its end; see comments at 2.2.7)

MS al-Shīr, Dayr al-Shīr – 372, pp. 166-205 (1719)

MS Joun, Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ – 392 (Haddad), 10<sup>th</sup> work (1735) (see comments at 2.2.7)

MS al-Shīr, Dayr al-Shīr – 373, pp. 60-99 (late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Beirut, American University – 230 A96 aA (formerly Ma'lūf 1162), 1<sup>st</sup> work (s.d.). Cf. Y. Khūrī, *Al-makḥṭūtāt al-ʿarabiyya l-mawjūda fī Maktabat al-Jāmiʿa l-Amrīkiyya fī Bayrūt*, Beirut, 1985, p. 36. The identification is provisional. The catalogue describes this fragment as *Fī l-ʿaqīdat al-Masīḥiyya fī l-majāmiʿ min awrāq Abī Qurra*, 'On the Christian confession concerning the councils, from the pages of Abū Qurra'.

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 27-39, 61-81 (English trans. of Bacha's edition, with numerous emendations based on a collation of MS Sinai – Ar. 441)

B. Nassif, *On the confirmation of the law of Moses, the Gospel and Orthodoxy. A treatise written in Arabic by Theodore Abū Qurrah, Bishop of Harran (c. 755-c. 829)*, Brookline MA, 1996 (Diss. Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology) (English trans.)

- L. Cheikho, *Vingt traités théologiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens (IXe-XIIIe siècles)*, Beirut, 1920, pp. 75-107 (repr. of Bacha's edition)  
 Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften*, pp. 88-128 (German trans.)
- L. Cheikho, *Seize traités théologiques d'auteurs arabes chrétiens (IXe-XIIIe siècles)*, Beirut, 1906, pp. 56-87 (repr. of Bacha's edition)
- C. Bacha, *Un traité des oeuvres arabes de Théodore Abou-Kurra, évêque de Haran*, Tripoli, Syria, 1905 (repr. of his edition, with French trans.)
- Bacha, *Mayāmīr*, pp. 140-79 (repr. of his edition)
- C. Bacha, 'Maymar fī ṣiḥḥat al-dīn al-masiḥī', *Al-mashriq* 6 (1903) 633-43, 693-702, 800-09 (ed. from the Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ MS)

## STUDIES

- B. Nassif, 'Religious dialogue in the eighth century. Example from Theodore Abū Qurrah treatise', *Pd'O* 30 (2005) 333-40
- B. Nassif, 'The life of Bishop Theodore Abu Qurrah', *Again* 24 (2002) 20-24 (intro. to the work and English trans. of excerpts)
- S.H. Griffith, 'Muslims and church councils. The apology of Theodore Abū Qurrah', *Studia Patristica* 25 (1993) 270-99
- S.K. Samir, 'Abū Qurrah (755?-?)', *Encyclopédie Maronite* 1 (1992) 215-17 (on Theodore and the Maronites)
- S.K. Samir, 'Abū Qurrah et les Maronites', *POC* 41 (1991) 25-33
- H.-J. Sieben, 'Dtn 17,8-13 als Beitrag des Alten Testaments zur Theologie des Konzils', *Annuarium historiae conciliorum* 18 (1986) 1-8
- H.-J. Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee der alten Kirche*, Paderborn, 1979, pp. 171-91
- J. Gouillard, 'L'église d'Orient et la primauté romaine au temps de l'iconoclasme', *Istina* 21 (1976) 25-54, pp. 51-53
- H.-J. Sieben, 'Zur Entwicklung der Konzilsidee (VIII). Theodor Abū Qurra über "unfehlbare" Konzilien', *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 (1974) 489-509
- J. Gribomont, 'Documents sur les origines de l'église Maronite', *Pd'O* 5 (1974) 95-132, p. 113
- C. Kneller, 'Theodor Abucara über Papsttum und Konzilien', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 34 (1910) 419-27
- C. David, *Recueil de documents et de preuves contre la prétendue orthodoxie perpétuelle des Maronites*, Cairo, (1908), pp. 504-6
- S. Vailhé, 'L'église Maronite du Ve au IXe siècle', *Échos d'Orient* 9 (1906) 257-68 and 344-51, pp. 349-51
- E. Ajam, 'Le monothélisme des Maronites, d'après les auteurs Melchites', *Échos d'Orient* 9 (1906) 91-95, pp. 92-93



*Maymar qālahu Anbā Thāwudhūrūs usquf Ḥarrān  
al-muqaddas wa-huwa Abū Qurra yuthbitu fihi  
anna l-sujūd li-ṣūrat al-Masiḥ ilāhinā lladhī  
tajassada min Rūḥ al-Qudus wa-min Maryam  
al-adhrā' al-muṭahhara wa-ṣuwar qiddīsīhi wājib  
'alā kull Naṣrānī wa-anna kull man 'aṭṭala min  
al-Naṣārā l-sujūd li-hādhihi l-ṣuwar innamā  
ta'ṭīluhu jahl bi-mā fī yadayhi min sharaf  
al-Naṣrāniyya wa-annahū yalzamuhu in waqafa  
'alā dhālika ta'ṭīl akthar sarā'ir al-Naṣrāniyya  
allatī bi-l-īmān al-muhadhdhab kāna qubūl  
al-Naṣārā iyyāhā min al-sillīhiyyīn al-muqaddasīn,  
'A treatise imparted by the holy Abba Theodore,  
Bishop of Ḥarrān, that is, Abū Qurra, in which he  
establishes that prostration to the image of Christ  
our God (who took flesh from the Holy Spirit and  
from the pure virgin Mary) and to the images of  
the saints is incumbent on every Christian; and  
that every Christian who neglects the veneration  
of these images does so solely because of  
ignorance of the nobility of the Christianity that  
he has received; and that, if he takes this stand, he  
must (also) neglect the majority of the mysteries  
of Christianity, which through the faith purified  
(of all errors) Christians received from the holy  
apostles'*

DATE Sometime after 799

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The title given above is that found in the British Library MS. The Sinai MS offers more or less the same text for the first part, but without the second part from 'and that every Christian...'

This treatise is a defense of the Christian practice of prostration before icons. It was composed by Theodore at the request of a certain Abba Yannah (John) from Edessa, who had informed Theodore that many Christians were abandoning prostration before icons of Christ and the saints because of the criticism of certain non-Christians 'claiming to have in hand a scripture sent down from God' (ed. Dick, p. 88). That it is a question, at least in part, of Muslim criticisms is manifestly clear from the body of the treatise, not least its use of Qur'anic citations and Prophetic ḥadīth (see the notes to Griffith's translation).

## SIGNIFICANCE

This treatise provides important literary evidence for the native iconoclast movement that arose among Christians living under Islam in response to Muslim criticisms. This iconoclast movement is also well attested in the material remains (see R. Schick, *The Christian communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic rule. A historical and archaeological study*, Princeton NJ, 1995).

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS BL – Or. 4950, fols 198r-237v (877)

MS Sinai – Ar. 330, fols 315r-356r (10<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

S.H. Griffith, *A treatise on the veneration of the holy icons written in Arabic by Theodore Abū Qurrah, Bishop of Harrān (c. 755-c. 830 A.D.)*, Louvain, 1997 (English trans. from Dick's edition)

P. Pizzo, *Teodoro Abū Qurrah. La difesa delle icone. Trattato sulla venerazione delle immagini*, Milan, 1995 (Italian trans. from Dick's edition)

I. Dick, *Théodore Abuqurra. Traité du culte des icônes / Maymar fī ikrām al-ayqūnāt li-Thāwudhūrus Abī Qurra*, Jounieh, 1986 (edition based on both MSS)

G. Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften*, 278-333 (German trans. from Arendzen's edition)

I. Arendzen, *Theodori Abu Qurra de cultu imaginum libellus*, Bonn, 1897 (edition of the British Library MS, with Latin trans.)

## STUDIES

I. Pochoshajew, 'Abū Qurra über die Verehrung christlicher Bilder', *BZ* 101 (2008) (in press)

K. Parry, 'Byzantine and Melkite iconophiles under iconoclasm', in C. Dendrinos et al. (eds), *Porphyrogenita*, Aldershot UK, 2003, 137-51, pp. 137-39, 142-43

- M.-F. Auzépy, 'Les sabaïtes et l'iconoclasme', in J. Patrich (ed.), *The Sabaïte heritage in the Orthodox Church from the fifth century to the present*, Louvain, 2001, 305-14
- J. Lamoreaux and H. Khairallah, 'The Arabic version of the Life of John of Edessa', *Le Muséon* 113 (2000) 439-60 (on a John of Edessa who has been suggested as the recipient of Theodore's treatise)
- S.H. Griffith, 'The Qur'ān in Arab Christian texts. The development of an apologetical argument. Abū Qurrah in the *mağlis* of al-Ma'mūn', *Pd'O* 24 (1999) 203-33, pp. 219-20 (on the Qur'ānic citations in the present work)
- P. Pizzo, 'L'Islam e i musulmani nella difesa delle icone di Teodoro Abū Qurrah', *Pd'O* 22 (1997) 667-76
- D. Righi, 'Liturgia cristiana e preghiera musulmana in Teodoro Abū Qurrah', in E. Manicardi and F. Ruggiero (eds), *Liturgia ed evangelizzazione nell'epoca dei padri e nella chiesa del Vaticano II*, Bologna, 1996, 291-304 (on the Muslim context for the composition of the treatise)
- M. Swanson, 'The cross of Christ in the earliest Arabic Melkite apologies', in S.K. Samir and J. Nielsen (eds), *Christian Arabic apologetics during the Abbasid period (750-1258)*, Leiden, 1994, 115-45, pp. 138-39
- S.H. Griffith, 'Theodore Abu Qurrah's On the veneration of the holy icons. Orthodoxy in the world of Islam', *Sacred Art Journal* 13 (1992) 3-19
- S.K. Samir, 'Le traité sur les icônes d'Abū Qurrah mentionné par Eutychius', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 58 (1992) 461-74
- S.H. Griffith, 'Images, Islam and Christian icons. A moment in the Christian/Muslim encounter in early Islamic times', in P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (eds), *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VIIe-VIIIe siècles*, Damascus, 1992, 121-38
- J. Hatem, review of Dick's edition, *Pd'O* 13 (1986) 387-88 (argues that the treatise is directed primarily against Jews)
- S.H. Griffith, 'Theodore Abū Qurrah's Arabic tract on the Christian practice of venerating images', *JAOS* 105 (1985) 53-73
- S.H. Griffith, 'Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian kerygma in Arabic in ninth-century Palestine', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985) 23-45 (on the scribe of the British Library MS, with extensive discussion of Theodore and the present treatise)

- I. Dick, 'Thāwudhūrūs Abū Qurra usqf Ḥarrān. Shafā'at al-qiddīsīn wa-wisāṭatuhum', *Nashrat Abrashiyyat Ḥalab li-l-Rūm al-Kāthūlik* 1-2 (1984) 54-56
- S.H. Griffith, 'Eutychius of Alexandria on the Emperor Theophilus and iconoclasm in Byzantium. A tenth century moment in Christian apologetics in Arabic', *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 154-90, pp. 178-83
- R. Thomson, 'An eighth-century Melkite colophon from Edessa', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 13 (1962) 249-58, p. 253 (possible mention of the John to whom Theodore addressed this treatise)
- J. Blau, 'Über einige christlich-arabische Manuskripte aus dem 9. und 10. Jahrhundert', *Le Muséon* 75 (1962) 101-8, pp. 101-2
- J. Blau, 'The importance of middle Arabic dialects for the history of Arabic', in U. Heyd (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, Jerusalem, 1961, 206-28, p. 208
- I. Dick, 'La passion arabe de S. Antoine Ruwaḥ, néo-martyr de Damas († 25 déc. 799)', *Le Muséon* 74 (1961) 109-33, pp. 117-18 (on the mention of the martyrdom of Anthony in this text – key to its dating)
- Z. Hassan, 'The attitude of Islam towards painting', *Majallat kulliyat al-ādāb / Bulletin of the faculty of arts* (Cairo) 7 (1944) 1-15, pp. 9-10 (that the treatise was occasioned by Muslim iconoclasm)
- K. Creswell, 'Note on the attitude of Islam towards painting', *Majallat kulliyat al-ādāb / Bulletin of the faculty of arts* (Cairo) 7 (1944) 16-17 (on the historical context of the treatise)
- H. Hirschfeld, review of Arendzen's edition, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1898) 653-54 (suggesting that Theodore's biblical citations in this text evince a knowledge of Hebrew)

*Maymar yuḥaqqiqu anna dīn Allāh alladhī  
ya'kḥudhu Allāh bihi l-'ibād yawm al-qiyāma  
wa-lā yaqbalu minhum dīnan ghayrahu wa-huwa  
al-dīn alladhī kharajat bihi l-ḥawāriyyūn ilā aqṭār  
al-arḍ wa-jamī' umam al-dunyā wa-huwa rusul  
al-Masīḥ rabbīnā, 'Treatise confirming that the  
religion of God, whereby God judges [His]  
servants on the day of the resurrection, without  
accepting from them a religion other than it, is the  
religion that the apostles (that is, the messengers  
of Christ our Lord) brought to [all] the regions of  
the earth and to all the nations of the world'*

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This short treatise, which is lacking at its end, summarizes Theodore's views on the characteristics of the true religion. He argues that one can consider that religion alone to be true that has been propagated among all the nations of the world, that was attested by signs and wonders, and that has messengers that instruct the nations in their native tongues.

SIGNIFICANCE

This little treatise never mentions its opponents by name. Parallels with other of Theodore's works make it clear that he is thinking primarily of Jews and Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – Ar. 447, fols 128v-131r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – Ar. 181 (formerly 1616), 10<sup>th</sup> work (18<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Sbath – 1324, 15<sup>th</sup> work (1773) (This MS seems to be lost. It is not in the Vatican Library with most of Sbath's other MSS, nor is it to be found in the Fondation George et Mathilde Salem in Aleppo.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 55-57 (English trans. of Dick's edition, with variants from the Damascus MS)

I. Dick, 'Deux écrits inédits de Théodore Abuqurra', *Le Muséon* 72 (1959) 53-67, pp. 62-67 (edition of the text from the Sinai MS, with French trans.)

## STUDIES —

*Su'ila Abū Qurra Anbā Thādhurus usquf Ḥarrān*  
 'an al-Masīḥ bi-hawāhi ṣuliba am bi-ghayr hawāhi,  
 'Abba Theodore Abū Qurra, the Bishop of Ḥarrān,  
 was asked about Christ, whether he was crucified  
 willingly or not'

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Seemingly Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This short text is an answer to a Muslim who questions Theodore as to whether Christ willed to be crucified, suggesting that had he so willed, then the Jews are to be praised for having crucified him. Theodore argues against this person via an analogy, citing as his example the Muslims who are killed while waging *jihād* against the Christians of Byzantium.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This fragment is of unknown provenance. Perhaps it represents a selection from a larger treatise. An identical text has been preserved in Theodore's *Against the outsiders* (see below at 2.13), as well as in Greek *Opusculum* 9 (see below at 2.22). Other versions of this fragment can be found in the *Al-jāmi' wujūh al-īmān* (see discussions in Samir and Arbache, cited below) and in Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī (J. Amar, *Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī. A response to the Arabs*, Louvain, 2005 [CSCO 614-615], i, pp. 56-59 [edition], ii, pp. 52-54 [trans.]).

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – Ar. 72, fol. 117r (897)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 207-8 (English trans.)

S.K. Samir, 'Kitāb "Jāmi' wujūh al-īmān" wa-mujādalat Abī Qurra 'an ṣalḥ al-Masiḥ', *Al-masarra* 70 (1984) 411-27 (includes at pp. 418-19 a re-edition of the fragment and comparison with the parallel text found in *Al-jāmi' wujūh al-īmān*)

S.H. Griffith, 'Some unpublished Arabic sayings attributed to Theodore Abū Qurrah', *Le Muséon* 92 (1979) 29-35 (edition and English trans.)

## STUDIES

S. Arbache, 'Sentences arabes de Saint Basile', *Le Muséon* 98 (1985) 315-29, p. 315 n. 2 (independently of Samir, discovery that the present fragment is also to be found in *Al-jāmi' wujūh al-īmān*)

### Untitled, Prayer for al-Ma'mūn

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This rather curious piece is a short prayer, in rhymed prose, for the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, asking God to grant him wisdom and protection.

## SIGNIFICANCE

If this work is actually by Theodore, one wonders if it might not originally have been the preface or conclusion to a larger work, now lost.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Sinai – Ar. 447, fols 181v-182v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

M. Swanson, 'The Christian al-Ma'mūn tradition', in D. Thomas (ed.), *Christians at the heart of Islamic rule. Church life and scholarship in 'Abbasid Iraq*, Leiden, 2003, 63-92, pp. 66-69, 87-90 (edition and English trans., expressing some doubts about the work's authenticity)

## STUDIES

R. Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes, 750-1050*, Paris, 1985, p. 55 n. 211 (disputes authenticity)

I. Dick, 'Deux écrits inédits de Théodore Abuqurra', *Le Muséon* 72 (1959) 53-67, p. 54 (disputes authenticity)

*Min qawl Thāwudūrus usquf Ḥarrān al-mukannā  
bi-Abī Qurra ṭa'ana 'alā l-barrāniyyīn, 'Some  
statements of Theodore the Bishop of Ḥarrān,  
known as Abū Qurra, against the outsiders'*

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This work consists of eight small texts against Islam. The first is a dialogue. It takes place while Theodore and some other Christians were visiting the Holy Sepulcher. Theodore is approached by some Muslims who ask him whether Christ willed to be crucified. What follows is very nearly identical to the work described at 2.11.

The second records a dialogue that is said to have taken place while Theodore and a friend were traveling through the countryside of Syria and attended a wedding festival, at which some Muslims were also present. One of the Muslims asks Theodore what the Christians think about a man who kills his mother and suggests that Christ as God killed Mary by allowing her to die. Theodore responds by arguing that it would have been unjust for Christ not to have allowed her to suffer the fate of all other human beings.

The third text responds to the question how God can be both unseen and seen in the person of the incarnate Christ. Theodore responds that God the Son wrapped himself in a human body through which humans heard his words and saw his deeds.

The fourth text seeks to answer the question: Who came first, Christ or his mother? Theodore explains, in response, how something begotten can still be prior to the one who begot it.

The fifth text is a response to the rather humorous question: If you prostrate yourself to the cross because Christ was crucified on it, why do you not prostrate yourself to the ass because Christ rode on it? Theodore's response centers on the various things that were accomplished through Christ's death on the cross.

The sixth text is an answer to the question of how Christ as God could be contained in his mother's womb.

The seventh seeks to explain in what sense death can be predicated of Christ but not of God. It continues with an extensive discussion of the manner of Christ's death.

The eighth and last text explores how human salvation was accomplished through the death of Christ.



## SIGNIFICANCE

This collection would seem to consist of fragments of a number of treatises now lost. It is not known who compiled them or when. A number of these texts are paralleled in *Al-jāmi' wujūh al-īmān*. Many of the themes here expounded are also paralleled in others of Theodore's works. The language and theology is unmistakably Theodore's. Much research is required before the relationship between this work, Theodore's other works, and *Al-jāmi' wujūh al-īmān* will become clear.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 181 (formerly 1616), 7<sup>th</sup> work (1561)

MS Sbath 1324, 12<sup>th</sup> work (1773) (see comments at 2.10.7)

MS Nagm (P. Sbath, *Al-fihris. Catalogue de manuscrits arabes*, 3 vols, Cairo, 1938, i, p. 25, records that a copy of this treatise was to be found in a MS owned by a certain Paul Nagm, a Greek Catholic priest then living in Aleppo. The present location of this MS is unknown.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

An edition and English trans. are currently being prepared by John C. Lamoreaux

## STUDIES —

*Al-radd 'alā lladhīna yaqūlūna inna l-Naṣārā  
yu'minū bi-ilāh ḍa'if idh yaqūlūna inna al-Masiḥ  
ilāh wa-innahu luṭīma wa-ḍuriba wa-ṣulība wa-  
māta wa-qāma*, 'A refutation of those who say that  
Christians believe in a weak God, in that they say  
that Christ is God and that he was slapped, struck,  
crucified, died and rose (again)'

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

This treatise seeks to answer the objection described in its title. Theodore argues that God is possessed of four attributes, justice, goodness, might, and wisdom; that it is because of these four attributes that he

allowed his Son to suffer death on the cross; and that only thus could human beings be freed from slavery to the devil.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This beautiful little treatise provides one of Theodore's most systematic statements on the necessity of Christ's death and on how that death results in the salvation of humankind. It is directed against unnamed opponents ('the people of ignorance and confusion'), probably both Jews and Muslims.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 181 (formerly 1616),  
8<sup>th</sup> work (1561)

MS Sbath – 1324, 13<sup>th</sup> work (1773) (see comments at 2.10.7)

MS Nagm – (see comments at 2.13.7)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

An edition and English trans. are currently being prepared by John C. Lamoreaux

## STUDIES —

*Al-radd 'alā lladhīna yaqūlūna inna kalimat Allāh  
makhlūqa, 'A refutation of those who say that the  
Word of God is created'*

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

## DESCRIPTION

Taking as its starting point the qur'ānic acknowledgment of Christ as the Word of God, this text seeks to explain how this Word was begotten without the physical accouterments of birth and why it is necessary that this Word be eternal like God himself.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Theodore's opponents in this text are unnamed. In that they acknowledge Christ to be the Word of God, however, it is clear that they are Muslims. The text also contains unattributed qur'ānic citations.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 181 (formerly 1616),  
9<sup>th</sup> work (1561)

MS Sbath – 1324, 14<sup>th</sup> work (1773) (see comments at 2.10.7)

MS Nagm – (see comments at 2.13.7)

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

An edition and English trans. are currently being prepared by John C. Lamoreaux

STUDIES —

*Kitāb al-radd*, ‘The refutation’

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise consists of a collection of biblical texts designed to refute (i) those who say that Christ is the Word of God, but that he is created and something other than the creator, (ii) those who say that the Spirit is created, (iii) those who say that Christ cannot be God in that he experienced suffering and death, and (iv) those who say that Christ did not ascend into heaven and take his seat on the throne. Most of the citations are taken from the book of Psalms and from the minor prophets.

SIGNIFICANCE

Theodore never names his opponents. Once again, it is probably a question of both Jews and Muslims.

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 181 (formerly 1616),  
11<sup>th</sup> work (1561)

MS Sbath – 1324, 16<sup>th</sup> work (1773) (see comments at 2.10.7)

MS Nagm – (see comments at 2.13.7)

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

An edition and English trans. are currently being prepared by John C. Lamoreaux

STUDIES —

*Ek tōn pros tous Sarakēnous antirrhēseōn tou episkopou Theodōrou Charran, to epiklen Aboukara, dia phonēs Ioannou Diakonou, 'Refutations of the Saracens by Bishop Theodore of Ḥarrān, called Abū Qurra, as reported by John the Deacon'*

DATE 9<sup>th</sup> c.? (compiled possibly during the lifetime of Abū Qurra)  
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

This work opens with a short preface from the hand of a certain John the Deacon, who records that in his writings Abū Qurra 'worthily held up to public scorn the impious religion of the Agarenes' and further claims himself often to have been present when Abū Qurra debated with Muslims. He states that assaults on the Church by heretics demand that he record some of what he remembers. There follow nine short treatises (mostly dialogues) recording Abū Qurra's refutations of Muslims. These dialogues correspond respectively to opuscula 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 32, 20, 25 in Migne's *PG*. Their topics are as follows: that it is because of his lack of miracles that Christians do not accept the prophethood of Muḥammad; that Muḥammad was attested neither by miracles nor by an earlier prophet; that the humble manner of Christianity's first propagation is a confirmation of its truth; that Christian belief in the transformation of the eucharist is not absurd; that Christ remained God even when becoming human; that monogamy is more natural than polygamy; that Christ's sufferings did not touch his divinity; that Muḥammad's manner of receiving prophecy is much the same as that of a demoniac; that God has a Son who shares his essence and is eternal.

## SIGNIFICANCE

There are many strong parallels between these works and Abū Qurra's Arabic treatises, so much so that one can very confidently conclude that John the Deacon in part drew directly on Abū Qurra's written works (Lamoreaux, 'Theodore Abū Qurrah and John the Deacon', pp. 375-85).

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Moscow, National Historical Museum – Sinodal. 394 (Vladimir 231), fols 62r-71r (932) (18-25, 32)

MS BNF – Gr. 1111, starting at fol. 19v (11<sup>th</sup> c.) (preface, 18-20, 22, 23 partially, 24 partially, 25, 32)

- MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 104.2, fols 216v-217r (12<sup>th</sup> c.) (32)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Batopediou – 236, fols 108r-113r (12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c.) (preface and 18-24)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1301, between fols 332r and 347v (13<sup>th</sup> c.) (22, 23, 32)
- MS Vat – Gr. 2220, fols 293v-295r (1304) (22, 23, 32)
- MS Vat – Gr. 1700, fols 38v-39v (1332) (32)
- MS Vat – Gr. 402, fols 137v-139v (1383) (22, 23, 32)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1258, between fols 389r and 407r (14<sup>th</sup> c.) (seemingly 22, 23, 32)
- MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gr. 102, fols 27r-32r (14<sup>th</sup> c.) (18-24)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – G 43, fols 146r-end of MS (14<sup>th</sup> c.) (18, 21, 22, 20, 25, and perhaps others)
- MS Meteora, Mone Metamorphoseos – 578, starting at fol. 14r (14<sup>th</sup> c.) (18 and perhaps others)
- MS Vat – Gr. 840, fols 241v-242r (14<sup>th</sup> c.) (25 incomplete at end, 32)
- MS Vat – Gr. 790, fols 172v-174v (14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> c.) (22, 32)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1372, starting at fol. 56r (15<sup>th</sup> c.) (22 and perhaps others)
- MS Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana – plut. 55.10, fols 89v-91r (15<sup>th</sup> c.) (25, 32)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – L 135, fols 701v-705v (15<sup>th</sup> c.) (18-25, 32)
- MS BNF – Suppl. Gr. 249, between fols 196r and 213r (1568) (23, 32, and perhaps others)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1258, between fols 389r and 407r (16<sup>th</sup> c.) (22, 23, 32)
- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fols 55r-59v (16<sup>th</sup> c.) (19-24)
- MS Athens, Historike kai Ethnologike Hetaireia tes Hellados – 71, starting at fol. 139v (17<sup>th</sup> c.) (21)
- MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 78r-86v (17<sup>th</sup> c.) (19-20, 22-24)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – K 128, starting at fol. 270r (18<sup>th</sup> c.) (22 and perhaps others)
- MS BNF – Suppl. Gr. 124, starting at fol. 13r (18<sup>th</sup> c.) (25)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 211-27 (English trans.)
- R. Gleib and A. Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra. Schriften zum Islam*, Würzburg, 1995 (*Corpus Islamo-Christianum. Series Graeca* 3), pp. 86-127 (edition and German trans.)

- L. Datiašvili, *Teodore Abuk'ura. T'rakt'at'ebi da dialogebi targm-nili berdznulidan Arsen Iq'altoelis mier*, Tbilisi, 1980, pp. 94-112 (Georgian trans.)
- J. Voorhis, 'The discussion of a Christian and a Saracen', *Moslem World* 25 (1935) 266-73, pp. 272-73 (English trans. of opusculum 18) (G. Sablukov), 'Protivomusul'manskiia sochineniia episkopa Feodora Abukary', *Missioner* 6 (1879) 148-51, 157-59, 172-75, 181-85, 190-93, pp. 158-59 (opusculum 25), 172-75 (opuscula 23, 32, 21), 181-85 (opuscula 22, 18-20, 24) (Russian trans.)
- PG 94, cols 1595-98 (opusculum 18), PG 97, cols 1543-62 (opuscula 19-25), 1583-84 (opusculum 32, Latin only)

## STUDIES

- John C. Lamoreaux, 'Theodore Abū Qurrah and John the Deacon', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 42 (2001) 361-86
- I. Dick, 'Samonas de Gaza ou Sulāiman al-Gazzi. Évêque melkite de Gaza, XIe siècle', *POC* 29 (1980) 175-78, p. 176 (on opusculum 22)
- M. Jugie, 'Une nouvelle invention au compte de Constantin Palaeocappa. Samonas de Gaza et son dialogue sur l'eucharistie', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, 6 vols, Rome, 1946, iii, 342-59, pp. 353-54 (on opusculum 22)

*Theodōrou epiklen Aboukara tōn Karōn episkopou gegonotos, hoti pente echthrous echomen ex hōn hēmas ho Sotēr elytrosato. Kata peusin kai apokrisin*, 'By Theodore called Abū Qurrah, Bishop of the Ḥarrānians, That we have five enemies from whom the Savior freed us. By way of question and answer' (opusculum 1)

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

This treatise sets out in some detail Abū Qurrah's views on soteriology. He explains, first, how human beings fell into various types of slavery and how they are unable to free themselves through repentance. He then recounts how the death of Christ effected their salvation, by 'assuming the curse and condemnation that was owed by us'.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Abū Qurra's opponent in this dialogue is specified simply as an 'unbeliever'. It is probably directed at both Jews and Muslims, especially the latter, as is suggested by the numerous strong parallels to the work described above at 2.7.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Phil. Gr. 314, fols 128r-132v (925)

MS Moscow, National Historical Museum – Sinodal. 394 (Vladimir 231), fols 58r-61v (932)

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – sup. Q 74 (Gr. 681), starting at fol. 227r (10<sup>th</sup> c.) (fragment only, 1469A5-1469B6)

MS Sinai – Gr. 383 (Beneš. 513), fols 151v-153v (10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Mount Athos, Mone Batopediou – 236, fols 99v-101v (12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Gr. 1838, fols 245v-249r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS BNF – Gr. 1301, between fols 332r and 347v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana – B.53 (Gr. 12), after fol. 93r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Ochrid, Nacionalen Muzej – 84 (inv. 86), pp. 65-71 (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Gr. 2220, fols 298v-301r (1304)

MS Vat – Gr. 402, fols 144r-148r (1383)

MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – G 43, starting at fol. 142r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – L 135, fols 712r-713v (15<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS BNF – Suppl. Gr. 1090, fol. 252rv (15<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fols 13r-16r (16<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 233v-239r (17<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 249-54 (English trans.)

PG 97, cols 1461-70

## STUDIES —

*Dialogos Theodōrou tou gegonotos episkopou Karōn, to epiklen Aboukara, genomenos pros ton tou dromou Emeses aitesamenon apodexin apodothēnai auto apo logismou hoti esti Theos, 'A dialogue between Theodore, Bishop of Ḥarrān, called Abū Qurra, and the master of the post of Emesa, who asked him to prove through reason alone that God exists' (opusculum 3)*

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

#### DESCRIPTION

A number of topics are treated in this dialogue between Abū Qurra and an unbeliever. It opens with arguments designed to prove that there is a God. These arguments mostly turn on the impossibility of an infinite regress. It next argues that this God must have a co-eternal Son, in that he would not otherwise be capable of knowing himself. The treatise next examines the nature of divine predication and especially the predicate of begetting, which does not entail passions. It then argues that it is improper for God to have begotten more than one Son. Further topics treated include: the reality of free will and why God must have a Spirit.

#### SIGNIFICANCE

Abū Qurra's primary aim in this treatise is to establish the Christian doctrine of the Trinity in the face of Muslim objections. There are strong parallels between most of the arguments here and Abū Qurra's Arabic works. For details, see the notes to the translation by Lamoreaux.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Phil. Gr. 314, fols 113r-118r (925)

MS Moscow, National Historical Museum – Sinodal. 394 (Vladimir 231), fols 45v-50r (932)

MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – sup. Q 74 (Gr. 681), starting at fols 139v and 222r (10<sup>th</sup> c.) (containing two copies of the work)

MS BNF – Gr. 1111, starting at fol. 12r (11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS BNF – Gr. 1301, starting at fol. 332r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)



- MS Vat – Gr. 1838, fols 223v-231r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana – B.53 (Gr. 12), starting at fol. 93r  
 (13<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Ochrid, Nacionalen Muzej – 84 (inv. 86), pp. 41-50 (13<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Theol. Gr. 173,  
 fols 222v-227r (ca. 1300)  
 MS Vat – Gr. 2220, fols 288r-291v (1304)  
 MS Vat – Gr. 402, fols 129v-135r (1383)  
 MS Vat – Gr. 492, fols 192v-198r (13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – G 43, starting at fol. 131r  
 (14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fol. 34rv  
 (14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – L 135, fols 698r-700r  
 (15<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS BNF – Suppl. Gr. 1090, fols 237r-241r (15<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fols 1r-5r, 62rv  
 (16<sup>th</sup> c.) (found twice in the MS; the first is incomplete at its end,  
 des. 1493D10)  
 MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 91r-92r, 211r-218v (17<sup>th</sup> c.) (found twice  
 in the MS; the first is incomplete at its end, des. 1493D10)  
 MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – K 128, starting at  
 fol. 131r (18<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 229-36 (English trans.)  
 Glei and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*,  
 pp. 128-45 (edition and German trans.)  
 PG 97, cols 1491-1504

## STUDIES —

*Tou autou Theodōrou episkopou Karōn, peri tēs  
 palēs tou Christou meta diabolon, 'By the same  
 Theodore, the Bishop of the Ḥarrānians, On the  
 contending of Christ with the devil' (opusculum 7)*

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

This treatise is concerned with three topics. Abū Qurra argues, first, that human salvation could not have been accomplished if either God himself had died on the cross or a man alone had died on the cross. Rather, God in the flesh had to die. Second, he argues that God the Word governs and moves his own mind, senses, and faculties. Third, he seeks to answer the question of how Adam fell. He argues that it was the blandishments of pleasures that charmed Adam and led to his fall into unbelief.

## SIGNIFICANCE

While this text is directed primarily against the Jacobites and Nestorians, it is important in this context because it contains an aside about Islam. In its third section, Abū Qurra likens the factors that led to Adam's fall to the manner in which Islam was propagated by its false prophet. No one would ever have believed in Muḥammad, had not he first offered the blandishments of physical pleasures: booty and spoils, and a law that catered to the desires.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Phil. Gr. 314, fols 119v-121r (925)
- MS Moscow, National Historical Museum – Sinodal. 394 (Vladimir 231), fols 50v-52r (932)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1111, starting at fol. 225r (11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Batopediou – 236, fols 101v-102r (12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1301, between fols 332r and 347v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vat – Gr. 1838, fols 232r-235r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana – B.53 (Gr. 12), after fol. 93r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Ochrid, Nacionalen Muzej – 84 (inv. 86), pp. 51-54 (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Theol. Gr. 173, fols 227v-229r (ca. 1300)
- MS Vat – Gr. 2220, fols 292r-293v (1304)
- MS Vat – Gr. 402, fols 135v-137v (1383)
- MS Vat – Gr. 492, fols 199r-200r (13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fols 1r-3r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – G 43, between fols 135r and 137r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – *L* 135, fols 700v-701r  
(15<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS BNF – Suppl. Gr. 1090, fols 241v-243r (15<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fols 5v-7r (16<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 220r-223r (17<sup>th</sup> c.)

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 237-39 (English trans.)

*PG* 97, cols 1523-28

STUDIES —

*Erōtēsis Arabōn pros Christianon*, 'A question of  
the Arabs to a Christian' (opusculum 8)

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

In this short dialogue, Abū Qurra endeavors to explain how Christ and the Holy Spirit can be God without there being more than one God. In arguing that there is a distinction between hypostases and nature, he draws an analogy with the Qur'ān, which exists in multiple copies without there being more than one Qur'ān.

SIGNIFICANCE

The arguments here are also found in Abū Qurra's Arabic works. In particular, one may compare the treatise described at 2.3 (ed. Bacha, pp. 42-43).

MANUSCRIPTS

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Phil. Gr. 314, fol.  
121r (925)

MS Moscow, National Historical Museum – Sinodal. 394 (Vladimir  
231), fol. 52rv (932)

MS BNF – Gr. 1111, between fols 225r and 230v (11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Mount Athos, Mone Batopediou – 236, fols 95v-96r (12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Gr. 1838, fol. 235r-v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS BNF – Gr. 1301, between fols 332r and 347v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana – B.53 (Gr. 12), after fol. 93r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Ochrid, Nacionalen Muzej – 84 (inv. 86), p. 54 (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Gr. 2220, fol. 292r (1304)

MS Vat – Gr. 402, fol. 135v (1383)

- MS Vat – Gr. 492, fol. 200r (13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – G 43, starting at fol. 137r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fol. 26r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – L 135, fol. 701r (15<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS BNF – Suppl. Gr. 1090, fol. 243rv (15<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – sup. I 24 (Gr. 457), fol. 295v (15<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fol. 71-v (16<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fol. 223r (17<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – K 128, starting at fol. 268r (18<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, p. 239 (English trans.)  
 Gleis and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, pp. 146-47 (edition and German trans.)  
 Datiašvili, *Teodore Abuk'ura*, p. 113 (Georgian trans.)  
 (G. Sablukov), 'Protivomusul'manskiia sochineniia episkopa Feodora Abukary', p. 172 (Russian trans.)  
 PG 97, cols 1527-28

## STUDIES —

*Erōtēsis Agarēnou pros ton auton*, 'A Hagarene's question to the same' (opusculum 9)

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

This short text answers a Muslim who asks Abū Qurra whether Christ willed to be crucified, suggesting that had he willed it the Jews are to be praised for having crucified him. Abū Qurra argues against this person via an analogy, citing as his example the Muslims who are killed while waging *jihād* against the Christians of Byzantium.

## SIGNIFICANCE

See the comments at 2.11.6.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Phil. Gr. 314, fols 121v-122v (925)

- MS Moscow, National Historical Museum – Sinodal. 394 (Vladimir 231), fol. 53r-v (932)
- MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – sup. Q 74 (Gr. 681), between fols 223v and 225r (10<sup>th</sup> c.) (fragment only)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1111, between fols 225r and 230v (11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Batopediou – 236, fol. 96rv (12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vat – Gr. 1838, fols 236r-237v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1301, between fols 332r and 347v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana – B.53 (Gr. 12), after fol. 93r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Ochrid, Nacionalen Muzej – 84 (inv. 86), pp. 54bis-55 (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vat – Gr. 492, fols 200v-201v (13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vat – Gr. 2220, fol. 295r-v (1304)
- MS Vat – Gr. 402, fols 139v-140v (1383)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – G 43, between fols 137r and 138r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fols 26v-27r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – L 135, fol. 701v (15<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – sup. I 24 (Gr. 457), fol. 295v (15<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS BNF – Suppl. Gr. 1090, fol. 244rv (15<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fol. 8rv (16<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 224r-225r (17<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 240-41 (English trans.)
- Glei and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, pp. 150-53 (edition and German trans.)
- Datiašvili, *Teodore Abuk'ura*, pp. 114-15 (Georgian trans.)
- (G. Sablukov), 'Protivomusul'manskiĭ sochineniĭ episkopa Feodora Abukary', pp. 172-73 (Russian trans.)
- PG 97, cols 1529-30

## STUDIES —

*Erōtēsis apistou pros ton auton genomenē*, 'An unbeliever's question to the same' (opusculum 16)

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Abū Qurra argues in this short treatise that Christ was able both to be hypostatically united to his flesh and to be present in all things, providentially providing for them and governing them.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Abū Qurra's opponent is never specified. However, it is very likely a question of a Muslim, as a similar argument can be found in part six of Abū Qurra's *Against the outsiders* (see above at 2.13).

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Phil. Gr. 314, fol. 121r-v (925)
- MS Moscow, National Historical Museum – Sinodal. 394 (Vladimir 231), fols 52v-53r (932)
- MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – Sup. Q 74 (Gr. 681), starting at fol. 223v (10th c.)
- MS Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek – Palat. Gr. 281, starting at fol. 172r (1040)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1111, between fols 225r and 230v (11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo – R I 15 (Gr. 15), fols 165v-166r (12<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Batopediou – 236, fol. 96r (12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vat – Gr. 1838, fols 235v-236r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS BNF – Gr. 1301, between fols 332r and 347v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana – B.53 (Gr. 12), after fol. 93r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Ochrid, Nacionalen Muzej – 84 (inv. 86), pp. 54-54bis (13<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vat – Gr. 492, fol. 200v (13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vat – Gr. 2220, fols 291v-292r (1304)
- MS Vat – Gr. 402, fol. 135r-v (1383)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – G 43, between fols 137r and 138r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Phil. Gr. 174, fol. 132r (14<sup>th</sup> c.) (incomplete at end, des. 1541a10)
- MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fol. 26rv (14<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Vat – Gr. 790, fol. 176r (14th or 15th c.) (end lacking, des. 1541A10)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – G 135, fol. 701r-v (15<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – sup. I 24 (Gr. 457), fol. 295v (15<sup>th</sup> c.)
- MS BNF – Suppl. Gr. 1090, fols 243v-244r (15<sup>th</sup> c.)

- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fol. 7v (16<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Vat – Reg. Gr. 108, fol. 32r (16<sup>th</sup> c.) (end lacking, des. 1541A10)  
 MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 104, fol. 288rv (16<sup>th</sup> c.) (end lacking, des. 1541A10)  
 MS Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo – Y I 13 (Gr. 252), fol. 169v (16<sup>th</sup> c.) (end lacking, des. 1541A10)  
 MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 223v-224r (17<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, pp. 239-40 (English trans.)  
 Gleis and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, pp. 148-49 (edition, with German trans.)  
*PG* 97, cols 1539-42

## STUDIES —

*Ērōtēthē Aboukaras par' apistou*, 'Abū Qurra was questioned by an unbeliever' (opusculum 17)

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

This short but fascinating dialogue seeks to explain how those who died before Christ can be saved. In particular, it tries to understand how they were able to receive their requisite baptism. Abū Qurra argues that the water that issued from Christ's side at the time of the crucifixion was dissolved into the elements and thus functioned as a baptism for the dead, who had also been dissolved into the elements. This is not to say, however, that all who died before Christ were saved. Rather, only those who had faith in Christ when he descended into hell were able to benefit from the dissolution of the water into the elements.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The identity of Theodore's opponents is never specified. In that Abū Qurra is very often concerned to defend Christian soteriology to Muslims, it is possible that here too he is responding to their questions.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Phil. Gr. 314, fols 132v-133r (925)

- MS Moscow, National Historical Museum – Sinodal. 394 (Vladimir 231), fols 61v-62r (932)  
 MS Sinai – Gr. 383 (Beneš. 513), fols 153v-154r (10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Mount Athos, Mone Batopediou – 236, fols 101v-102r (12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Vat – Gr. 1838, fol. 249r-v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS BNF – Gr. 1301, between fols 332r and 347v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana – B.53 (Gr. 12), after fol. 93r (13<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Ochrid, Nacionalen Muzej – 84 (inv. 86), p. 71 (13<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Vat – Gr. 402, fol. 148rv (1383) (incomplete at end, des. 1544A2)  
 MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – G 43, between fols 142r and 146r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fol. 3v (14<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Mount Athos, Monê Megistês Lauras – G 135, fol. 713v (15<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS BNF – Suppl. Gr. 1090, fol. 252r-v (15<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fols 16r-v, 32v (16<sup>th</sup> c.) (found twice in MS)  
 MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 36r-36v, 239v-240r (17<sup>th</sup> c.) (found twice in MS)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah*, p. 254 (English trans.)  
 PG 97, cols 1541-44

## STUDIES

- T. Ittig, *Commentatio theologica ad Theodori Abucarae opusculum de baptismo fidelium ante Christi adventum defunctorum per aquam, quae ex eius latere profluxit*, Frankfurt, 1743

*Tou autou dialexis apodeiknyousa hoti ho Patēr  
 aei gennai ho de Hyios aei gennatai*, 'By the same,  
 A dialogue demonstrating that the Father begets  
 eternally, while the Son is begotten eternally'  
 (opusculum 26)

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek



## DESCRIPTION

This dialogue defends the thesis that the Son was begotten by the Father and that this act of begetting is not to be understood as having taken place within the realm of time. The method of argumentation is entirely philosophical.

## SIGNIFICANCE

The participants in this dialogue are a representative of Orthodoxy and an anonymous heretic, whose identity is not specified. While he might be an Arian of sorts or perhaps a Jew, he might equally well be a Muslim. As can be seen from the list of MSS, it is not at all certain that this treatise was written by Abū Qurra. Important MSS, both early and late, also ascribe it to a certain Theodore the Monk or to Theodore of Raithou.

## MANUSCRIPTS

- MS Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana – sup. Q 74 (Gr. 681), starting at fol. 220v (10th c.) (anonymous; incomplete at end, des. 1565A6)
- MS Sinai – Gr. 383 (Beneš. 513), fols 155r-156r (10th or 11th c.) (ascribed to Theodore Abū Qurra; incomplete at end, des. 1565A6)
- MS Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek – Palat. Gr. 281, starting at fol. 162r (1040) (anonymous)
- MS Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana – Mission urbaine, Gr. 27, fol. 293rv (11th c.) (ascribed to Theodore the Monk)
- MS Mount Athos, Mone Batopediou – 236, fol. 2r (12th or 13th c.) (ascribed to a certain Theodore the Monk)
- MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Gr. 521 (316), fols 196v-197r (13th c.) (ascribed to Theodore the Monk)
- MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fols 10v-11r (14th c.) (ascribed to Theodore the Presbyter of Raithou)
- MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – Phil. Gr. 174, fol. 126r-127r (14th c.) (anonymous)
- MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Gr. 154 (398), fols 163r-165r (14th c.) (ascribed to Theodore the Monk)
- MS Vat – Gr. 790, fols 169v-171r (14th or 15th c.)
- MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fol. 38rv (16th c.) (ascribed to Theodore the Presbyter of Raithou)
- MS Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo – Y I 13 (Gr. 252), fols 164r-165r (16th c.) (ascribed to Theodore Abū Qurra)
- MS Vat – Reg. Gr. 108, fol. 27v (16th c.) (ascribed to Theodore Abū Qurra)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 104, fols 284r-285r (16<sup>th</sup> c.) (ascribed to Theodore Abū Qurra)

MS Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria – Gr. 316 (C.II.18), starting at fol. 11r (16<sup>th</sup> c.) (ascribed to Theodore the Philosopher and Bishop of Ḥarrān, called Abū Qurra; this MS was destroyed by fire in 1904)

MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fol. 36rv (17<sup>th</sup> c.) (ascribed to Theodore the Presbyter of Raithou)

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 80 (Phillipps 1484), starting at fol. 110r (17<sup>th</sup> c.) (ascribed to Theodore the Monk)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

PG 97, cols 1561-66

STUDIES —

*Hetera erōtēsis tou autou*, ‘Another question, by the same’ (opusculum 35)

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

This work, a dialogue between a Christian and a Muslim, is concerned first with the origins of evil and the defense of human free will. The author seeks to show the error of the Muslims when they claim that God is the source of both good and evil. The author then turns to the Muslim claim that Jesus is the Word and Spirit of God, and seeks to show that as such the Son is eternal.

## SIGNIFICANCE

This work has traditionally been assigned to Abū Qurra, though none of the known MSS actually ascribes it to him. The four extant copies of this work transmit it anonymously, but together with other, authentic works by Abū Qurra. Rather than being a work by Abū Qurra, this seems to be a slightly abbreviated selection from the so-called *Dialexis Sarakenou kai Christianou* (q.v. ‘Dialogue between a Saracen and a Christian’), which has traditionally been ascribed to John of Damascus (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum* 8075).

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Gr. 521 (316), between fols 168r and 170v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fols 32r-33r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fols 59v-61r (16<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 86v-89v (17<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Glei and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, pp. 154-59 (edition and German trans.)

(G. Sablukov), ‘Protivomusul’anskiĭ sochineniĭ episkopa Feodora Abukary’, pp. 190-92 (Russian trans.)

PG 97, cols 1587-92

## STUDIES —

### *Hetera erōtēsis*, ‘Another question’ (opusculum 36)

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

This short work is a dialogue between a Christian and a Muslim. It seeks to establish that God has a Word and that this Word is eternal.

## SIGNIFICANCE

See the comments at 2.26.6.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Gr. 521 (316), between fols 168r and 170v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fol. 33r-v (14<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fol. 61r-v (16<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 89v-90r (17<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Glei and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, pp. 160-61 (edition and German trans.)

(G. Sablukov), ‘Protivomusul’anskiĭ sochineniĭ episkopa Feodora Abukary’, p. 192 (Russian trans.)

PG 97, cols 1592-94

## STUDIES —

*Hetera erōtēsis*, 'Another question' (opusculum 37)

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Again, a short dialogue between a Christian and a Muslim. Two questions are treated: that Mary did not die, and that God did not create anything after the first seven days of creation.

## SIGNIFICANCE

See the comments at 2.26.6.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – Gr. 521 (316), between fols 168r and 170v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102, fols 33v-34r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fols 61v-62r (16<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fol. 90r-v (17<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Glei and Houry, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*, pp. 162-63 (edition and German trans.)

(G. Sablukov), 'Protivomusul'manskiiā sochineniā episkopa Feodora Abukary', p. 192 (Russian trans.)

PG 97, cols 1593-94

STUDIES —

*Hetera erōtēsis*, 'Another question' (opusculum 38)

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

Again, a short dialogue between a Christian and a Muslim. The author argues that the fact that John the Baptist baptized Christ does not mean that John is greater than Christ.

## SIGNIFICANCE

See the comments at 2.26.6.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. 521 (316), between fols 168r and 170v (13<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek – Gud. Gr. 102,  
fol. 34r (14<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Gr. 66, fol. 62r (16<sup>th</sup> c.)

MS Vat – Ottob. Gr. 382, fols 90v-91r (17<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Glei and Khoury, *Johannes Damaskenos und Theodor Abū Qurra*,  
pp. 164-65 (edition and German trans.)

(G. Sablukov), 'Protivomusul'manskiĭ sochineniĭa episkopa Feodora  
Abukary', pp. 192-93 (Russian trans.)

PG 97, cols 1593-96

## STUDIES —

### Untitled, Truth of the orthodox faith

DATE Late 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

## DESCRIPTION

This work seeks to defend the truth of the Orthodox faith against the impiety of the Muslims. The argument is largely philosophical. The main topics treated include: that God has a Son; that God is a Trinity of persons; that God's nature cannot be comprehended; the philosophical and scriptural understandings of the name 'Son'; the Muslim claim that Jesus is the Word and Spirit of God; that God is known both from reason and revelation.

## SIGNIFICANCE

Only a single copy of this work would appear to have been preserved. The MS ascribes it explicitly to the 'Blessed Theodore Abū Qurra, the Bishop of Ḥarrān'. The text does not seem to be identical with any other known Greek refutation of Islam, whether by Abū Qurra or anyone else. Further research is needed in order to determine the work's provenance and authenticity.

## MANUSCRIPTS

MS Mount Athos, Mone Megistes Lauras – L 135, fols 695r-698r  
(15<sup>th</sup> c.)

## EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS —

## STUDIES —

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