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## THE "POLYGLOT" ARABIC TEXT OF DANIEL AND ITS APFINITIES ${ }^{1}$

HENRY S. GEHMAN<br>UAIVHIRITI OF PENEMSANIA

BOTH the Paris Polyglot (1645) and the London Polyglot (1657) contain an Arabic tranalation of the entire Bible. The fact that both Le Jay and Walton included this language

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in their two monumental works ahows that in the judgment of both editors the Arabic versions were of considerable importance and had to be reckoned with in any comparative study of texts and translations. In this connexion we note in the Instituti Operis Ratio of the Paris Polyglot this extravagant and uncritical statement: Arabicus contextus septina et postrema divini aedificii Columna est. Eum omnes Orientales Ecclesiae magnopere venerantur: vel hinc maximam mutuatur commendationem, quod S. Hieronymi saectlo, quidam e sacris libris hac lingua scripti reperirentur, quorum auxilio librum Iob in septingentis ferme aut octingentis versibus, ut ex praefixa huic libro praefatione manifestum est, restituit. Indeed the mere fact that Arabic for many years has been the lingua franca of the East should have caused scholars to devote more attention to the Arabic translations of the Bible out of linguistic interest alone.

Walton in his Prolegomena XIV, 18, on the testimony of Augustinus Justinianus Episcopus Nebiensis, states that there were two Arabic versions of the Old Testament in vogue among the Christians. He had nsed both of them and calls the one recension the Syriac and the other the Egyptian from the two regions in which they were respectively read. Cornelius a Lapide

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names the one the Antiochean and the other the Alexandrian. This view is quoted by Döderlein, Eichhorn's Repertoriom, IV, 60-61. He adds, however, Vermuthlich gab es noch mehrere, and cites Franz Nazari who refers to an Alezandrian, Antiochean, Babylonian, and Syrian recension. Cornill, opere citato, p. 49, aloo makes reference to the Egyptian and the Syriac recensions in the Arabic.

Walton notes besides (loc. cit.) that there was a third Arabic version of the Scriptures prepared by Johannes Episcopas Seviliensis in 719 (sic). According to the Spanish Chronicle ${ }^{2}$ this translation was made in the reign of Don Pelayo, the first year of whose reign was 719 A . D. and 99 (sic) according to the Mohammedan reckoning. ${ }^{3}$ It appears that this rendering was made between the end of the fourth and the end of the sixth year of his reign. The chronicler, after mentioning the close of four years of this reign, says that he has nothing important to record for the fifth year ${ }^{4}$, and in the course of his narrative be comes to tho translation of the Bible into Arabic. Shortly after this he mentions the conclusion of six years of the reign of Don Pelayo. It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that this Arabic recension ${ }^{6}$ of the Bible was made in 724 A. D.

[^0]Padre Juan de Mariana (1537-1624), Historia General de Espana, VII, 3, also aays' that John, Bishop of Sevilla, translated the Bible into Arubic with the intention of helping the Christians and the Moors, since Arabic was widely and commonly used by all. Juan de Mariana adds that copies of this translation were preserved until his day and seen in some parts of Spain.

It is a marvel with what rapidity Arabic was adopted in the conquered territories; in fact it seems to have spread like wildfire. Now if there was need for an Arabic recension in Spain thirteen years after the conquest, we should think that the Christians of the Orient used one before this date. It seems clear from our Spanish references that this Arabic version produced in Spain was not a mere academic exercise. Graf (op. cit.) makes no reference to this work by the Bishop of Sevila, but p. 27 he records an Arabic translation of the four Gospels. In this collection, Luke (and presumably the others also) was translated by Isaak Velasquez of Cordoba in A. D. 946. There is no doubt that the Christians in the East required an Arabic recension long before this edition of the Gospels appeared in Spain.

It is not improbable that there were Arabic versions of the Scriptures or at least of certain books of the Bible, during the seventh ${ }^{7}$ and eighth centuries. When the Mohammedans became masters of Egypt in the seventh century, the connexions between the Melchite Church and Constantinople were disturbed and finally severed. Dr. Rhode very aptly suggests that the Melchite Church had no vernacular language to form a barrier, as it were, against the encroachments of the Arabic language which,

[^1]with the beginning of the eighth centory, was forced upon the conquered people. Under these conditions the Melchites at an early date would have adopted the language of everyday life, the Arabic, even in their liturgy. On the other hand, the native Ebyptians were at first favoured by the Arabs and also, as is natural, clung more tenaciously to their Coptic vernacular. It was easier for the Greek settlers to adopt the language of the new rulers than for the native Egyptians to give up their national tongue. This explains why the Monophysites did not until a later date require an Arabic version of the Bible. If the Spanish Chronicler is correct in placing the Arabic translation of Sevilla at 724, there is no doubt that the Christians in the East who spoke the language of the Koran and who were in a thorouglly Arabic environment needed an Arabic Bible at just as early a date. In fact we should think that the Alexandrian and Antiochean Arabic recensions were made before that time.

The London Polyglot appeared in 1657, and in its Praefatio, p. 4, we note that the Arabic text of the Paris Heptaglotts is based on a manuscript which had been written three hundred years previously and bronght to light by Gabriel Sionita who edited it for publication in Le Jay's Polyglot. On the following page, § 15, we are informed that in various places Sionita's manuscript had been defective and that consequently the editor used different manuscripts to correct and supplement the Arabic text for the London Edition. One of these manuscripts is now in the Bodleian Iibrary.

Since the hook of Daniel is our theme, we may in this connerion refer to an Arabic edition of this book that is not generally known. Eichhorn, Einleitung II, 262-263, makes mention of what he calls an unimportant translation of Genesis, Psalms, and Daniel directly from the Hebrew into Arabic by R. Saadias Ben Levi Asnekoth, a learned Jew of Morocco, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century. Needless to say, this tranalation has no textual value, although it is interesting to know that such a piece of work was done; it is found in manuscript number $\overline{503}$ in the British Museum.

Without disparaging the work performed by scholars in this field, the Arabic versions still offer an unerplored region for
biblical students. Wald (op. cit.), in his comparison of the Polyglot tert with the readinga of the Sixtine edition, noticed that Daniel is a translation of the Alezandrian recension of Theodotion. He also found some passages where the Alezandrian text was not followed. Although he does not give us a detailed analysis and accurate study of the book, he started on a path which few scholars have followed. He saw the possibilities of the Arabic version, for he concludes (op. cit., p. 211): Aus diesen Anzeigen und der Diöces der alexandrinischen Recension lajpt sich mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit mutmaßen daf diese arabische Ubersetzung . . .zur kritischen Geschichte der Übersetzung des Theodotio viel beitragen werde. Hyvernat, Arabes (Versions), op. cit. also sees the value of the Arabic translations: Les versions arabes u'ont donc pas beaucoup d'autorite, cependant la critique $y$ trouve parfois des variantes qui jettent une lumière inespérée sur la version syriaque et surtout sur la version alexandrine. En tout cas elles occupent une place importante dans l'histoire de la Bible. We may also in this connexion note the observation of Vaccari, Biblica, II, 402: Spero che il dotto lettore, se avrd la pazienza di seguirmi, crederd non inutile la mia fatica, e penserà con me, che le antiche versioni arabe della Bibbia, anche le fatte di seconda mano su altre versioni, non meritano poi quel disprezzo in cui generalmente le tengono gli eruditi.

About a year ago my preceptor, Professor James A. Montgomery, suggested the adrisability of making a study of the "Polyglot" Arabic version of Daniel. For the first seven chapters I compared the Paris and London Polyglots word for word with each other as I collated them with the Greek tert as published by Swete. In every instance the two versions were
 aiveots. Chapters 8-12 were collated from the London Polyglot, but all difficult or suapected passages were compared with the readings of the Paris edition. In all cases they were the same except in the case of one diacritical mark which will be noted belor. Walton concludes with Chapter 12, while directly after this chapter Le Jay adds 14, هبر بيل الصلم. It is noteworthy that the London Polyglot makes such a faithful copy
of the book of Daniel from the Paris edition. This is in marked contrast to what Cornill observes on the Arabic terts of Ezekiel (op. cit., pp. 49-56); in that case the Paris Polyglot represents the Egyptian recension, while the London edition reproduces the Syriac tradition.

All the collations have been compared with the variants listed in Holmes-Parsons, and in this labour Professor Montgomery generously aided me and also gave me access to his unpublished studies on the Book of Daniel. The results of his investigations ${ }^{8}$ which have a bearing on the Arabic version may be summed up in this diagram:

$$
\text { Hexaplar = Or P(alestinian) V, 62, } 147
$$


$22,36,48,51,231$, c
A, Q, 106, 35, 230, 42
The Arabic recension as pablished in the two Polyglot Bibles is a representative of the Origenian Constantinopolitan text. The evidence of the collations is so overwhelming that there is no doubt about this matter. In many cases it corrects $A$ and also 106, but it consistently follows the group ${ }^{6}$. In fact it is one of the best representatives of the $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathrm{C}}$ group that we have; in maling any study of the Constantinopolitan text the Arabic stands on a par with the Greek and cannot be left out of account. It is rather remarkable that the Arabic-speaking Melchite Church had such a pure representative of the group.

The misprints in the Arabic text are very few. In 4 (23) 20, both have يقضان. for wrongly reads |erer which the Paris edition has correctly. In 10 s , both versions read متهنطى for متلطو ; in


 Walton reprinted Le Jay's text.

[^2]It is rather noteworthy how readily the Greek language lends itself to be turned into Arabic. We have in Daniel not only a faithful translation, but also an excellent and fluent rendering; it is literal without being literalistic. This is partly due to the genius of the Arabic tongue to express the spirit of the Greak, bat also to the ability of the translator, who apparently was well acquainted with both languages. In this study I shall attempt not only to produce an array of facts and proofs, but also to visualize the translator at his task and present the psychology of his work.

It is hardly necessary to quote any verses to show how worthy the translation is. The excellency of a rendering can sometimes be felt, rather than be expressed by words or proved by haphazard excerpts; an estimate of its quality is gained rather by reading the work as a whole than by mechanically quoting extracts. The translator's method, however, can by appreciated by a few observations.

He is literal, but good. Among many examples take 7 20,
 тé入ous; وينقلون الرياسة ليفسلهوا ويهلكوا إلي النهايغا. It is interesting to note how the Arabic lends itself to be literal and yet idiomatic. Thus 7 la , épxómevos inv is rendered by اتيا. The translator does not always feel himself bound to interpret the cases literally; thus a preposition may be employed, as in 248 ; tbere ắ $\rho$ X $^{\prime}$ عظهآء الجيو ش. Sometimes conjunctions are not rendered literally; in those cases the meaning remains apparent from the general context. Thus 4 (8)5, cocs $\bar{j} \lambda \theta_{e \nu} \Delta a v i \eta \lambda$ is translated aimply by فله فل טانيل. On the other hand the failure to translate a conjunction literally may present a more graphic picture
 aíris, the effect is heightened: ونظرت وإذا جناحاها تهقطا Occasionally in passages where Theodotion is atiff and lifeless, the translator infuses a spirit into his work. As an example of


 ابايُنا الْذيـن باير وشليم وصار شعبك للعار عند الذنير حولنا Sometimes the Arabic is more emphatic than the Greek: 4 (33) 30, auंтn̂ Tŷ̀ ápá, Simple sentences of the Greek are rendered into Arabic expressions that are just as simple, but with the Arabic touch perhaps a little more attrac-
 just as plain in the Arabic.

We meet also passages where the translator, in interpreting the meaning of the sentence, amplifies the expression. Thus in
 . Jikewise in 2 34, кai èéxtovey aùtois eis tétos the translation is made very clear by a slight addition: .ودتّها ناعنَا إلي العايغ have been clear without any supplementary phrase, but in spite of this it has been added. Thas 1140 бovxepatıotiocran is rendered by يتناططم بقرنه. This may be due to dittography of covxepatt.

It is continually apparent that although the translator is literal, he is interpreting, not words, but ideas. Although the group in 12 a reads cinov, he does not forget that two persons are spesking, and consequently be employs the dual, $\mathbf{y}$. Likewise in 74 , he has recourse to the dual: ex "oura arepá, جناحاس; बтерá aútīn, جناحاها. On the other hand, in 11 27,
 ,والهلوك معا. This again reveals our translator as a man who allowed himself some flexibility in his renderings.

The translator does not feel obliged to use a standard form

 There is a possibility that his manuscript did not have $\mathbf{~} \dot{\text { o }}$ Mérov, since verses 11 and 15 both road, with a passive verb, eis tiv

кámuov, ;ict the same phrase is used in verse 20 with the active. On the other hand, he may have been influenced by his translation of verses 11,15 and 20 , and since the sense was the same, not have taken the pains to translate tò $\mu \dot{\prime} \sigma o v$. We should note, however, that in verses 29 and 24 where we find eis mécov rîs capivou and èv $\mu \dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \varphi$ respectively, the Arabic correspondingly has في وسط and في وسط أتوى . We are hardly justified in asserting that the absence of in verse 21 proves that tò méroy was not in the Greek original which was in the hands of the author of our recension. On the whole, he impresses us as being a man of originality and with some independence of judgment. Now in 3 өз we read: tóte $\pi \rho o \sigma \neq \lambda$ Aev Nafouxodo-
 the Arabic Tìv Oúpav is not translated: مينيٌن تقلّم بَتصصّ اللي اتَون النَار الیتوتَّ. The meaning, of course, is practically the same, and accordingly the translator may have chosen not to be painfully literal.

To avoid a literal translation, the seventh conjugation with the nominative may be employed to render a direct object. Thus in
 has تنكَفَ الهذابِ ,النباعِ. The ultimate sense is the same.

We should also note the device that Arabic has for rendering Greek compounds literally: 3 52, кaì úтepuчoúmevor, ولُوت



Although the author of the Arabic version was a good translator, he is not entirely free from literalism. In 11 22, cai $\beta$ pa-
 230 of the groap insert kai after the participle, the Arabic liter-
 is so faithful to his manuscript that in Ti'rpis 'EdSéred he translates the former and trangliterates the latter, الذَجلع اذذاكل.

Apparently he did not recognize in this doublet the gloss which had crept into his text; T'ippss undoubtedly was originally a scholium on 'Ed\&ére入.

In the case of official terme, a compound word may be translated literally. Thus rorápxas $32-3$ is rendered oxactly by
 by المبل 1 , just as we may refer to the army, not as a body of men, but as a department. We meet бarpáтcu 'satraps' in 2 48; 3 94; and 6 1. Now this is an Old Persian word, xsäara-pävan, 'the lord or protector of a region, kingdom, or imperium'. In finding an equivalent for this word, the translator made a combination that emphasizes only one of the functions of a satrap, عظهآد الجليوش i. e., the commander-in-chief of the army in his own district or satrapy.

In the case of the words 'kings' and 'kingdom', the trans-

 does not imply that the translator had before him a different text. In his renderings he frequently displays some originality and by using the word for 'kingdom', he did not materially alter the sense.

Semitisms in the Greek bave been correctly nnderstood. Thus
 turned literally into الّذين تكلِّهت معهم. Of course the translator could not have done otherwise with this pasage. In 10 18, we have another and more difficult Semitism; кai трос́́Өето aci *世aró $\mu$ ou which is aptly represented by does not imply that the translator bad at his elbow the Hebrew or the Syriac versions and solved un-Greek idioms by referring to the readings in either of these languages. We may rather assume that the expression seemed so natural to him that he found no difficulty in accurately rendering it into Arabic. In
 кaì oi бофо̀ àmentévyovto. This the translator very neatly renders, وشرع أمره بتمل المكهآ.

Among Semitisms we may also classify $\mu$ aviá, 2 4e, which represents Aramaic מתחת; this is rendered by odايا, a plaral. It appears, accordingly, that uavá was understood as a plural now. Now it is possible that the translator recognized this word as Semitic, and by comparing it with $\mathbf{j}$ derived the correct meaning. On the other band, he may have had a gloss in his manuscript; 36 has dopov in the margin in another hand.

Similarly, a Semitism is discernible in 'Eфadavó, 11 45, which in $A$ and 106 appears as èv фadinẃ. To one knowing Arabic, this suggested it by a synonym في مكان سهل

When we come to the three Aramaic words, Mani, Bece入, Фapés, in 525 , we notice that they are not transliterated, but rendered into Arabic by passive participles, مغيس eوزون م. Now it is quite probable tbat our translator arrived at this interpretation from the explanation of these words in verses 28, 27, and 28. We may wonder whether he knew Aramaic or Syriac and recognized in Manf the Qal passive participle of Tas; then by analogy he may have translated the other two by the passive. On the other hand it is just as likely that becanse the second and third are defined in Greek by the passive, the first by analogy was also rendered into the same voice. We hardly have a right to expect our translator to recognize the double entente that is latent in these three Aramaic words. What be has given us is a fluent and approximately correct translation of the passage.

It seems, indeed, rather conclusive that the translator had no Hebrew or Syriac manuscript by means of which he could discover the original meaning of a passage which is ambiguous
 there is a difficulty, since the Greek verb has no gender. The translator here probably took $\dot{\eta}$ io $\chi$ ús to be the subject, as the
 had consulted either the Hebrew or the Syriac, he would not have fallen into this error.

Personal names are not simply transliterated but turned

 ation is the rendering of 'A $\mu$ e $\lambda \sigma$ ád 1 11. Professor Montgomery
 probably Pael ppl; it is not a name but an official title. The reading of the Syriac according to the Uirmia and Ceriani editions, \$مناصر and the Arabic agree in having the correct tradition of the root 7sj. The word, therefore, means 'protector, keeper'. This is due rather to a tradition than to Syriac influence.

In the case of geographical names we find that they are not slavishly transliterated, but rendered accurately into their Arabic equivalents. Thus 12 , Eevaáp is العرأ (Irak); 3 97, év tị̂ Xćpq $\beta$ 保 is ${ }^{\text {i }}$ (Ahwaz). Another instance that our anthor of the Arabic version knew his geography is found in 948 ; here
 ally he experienced no difficulty in 11 41: 'Edìn rai Meà $\beta$ кai
 he correctly writes the $\varepsilon$ in 'A $\mu \mu$ 自 (

Once, however, we note an error in his interpretation of a geographical name. In 11 16, for èv $\tau \hat{̣}$ A and 106 have $\sigma a \beta \beta$ eip, it seems that his manuscript read $\sigma a \beta a e i ́, ~ \sigma a \beta a e i$, or $\sigma a \beta_{e} \dot{\prime}$, as in 11 41. At any rate the Arabic translation is غي 'اض صـابينّن 'in the land of the Sabaeans.' In 1141 , for $\sigma a \beta_{a c i v}$, the margin of 36 has Eapaei $^{\prime}$ and $\bar{V}$, oaßeiv. In this verse he likewise translates, أر عابئن Apparently the strange word offered him no serious difficulty, since his rendering, 'Sabaeans', takes advantage of a name which sounded approximately like $\sigma a \beta_{\text {aeir. }}{ }^{9}$ The Sabaeans, of course, were a well-known people, and so he naturally lighted upon this interpretation. Now it is possible that in 1118 his text read oaßeip; in that case he came to his rendering by a comparison with verse 41.

[^3]On the whole the Arabic version is a faithful and accurate translation. Still we come across passages where the rendition is influenced by the translator's individual interpretation. In
 it appears that he explained the verse by a reminiscence of
 which the Hebrew has tiva

In 1124 , we have another instance where the translator's interpretation shows that his work was based only upon the Greek and that he did not refer to the Hebrew or the Syriac;


 . According to this reading we see that the translator understood mpovouiv rai $\sigma x \hat{\ddot{\partial} \lambda a}$ as in apposition with the preceding, i. e. doùx éxoinaav. If he had known Hebrew or Syriac, he would have construed the three nouns as the direct objects of يفرّت. The syntax of the Greek, however, allowed him to solve the apparent difficulty in this manner.
 Savind, the meaning was not clear to the translator, or the literal significance of $\dot{a} \lambda \lambda o u c \theta \bar{\eta}$ made nonsense to him. So he evades the difficulty and does not commit himself to a definite meaning: كيلا يِلا امر بدانيَال.

There are, however, instances which are not merely coloured by individual interpretation, but eitors due either to misreading the text or to actual mistakes in the Greek original. We cannot, of course, in every case determine who made the error, the scribe of the Greek manuscript or the translator. In 247, occurs a mistake in the Arabic of the third person for the second;

 our translator from the error, since manuscript 130 also has


Evidently this interpretation is based on taling ésy $\lambda$ ovv for istipon, a reading also found in manuscripts 148 and 238. Another misreading is found in 7 25, where يضل represents rianjiges, a reading occurring also in $33,36,89,90,91$, and 238. This is an error for malacioce. An error not fonnd in any manuscript according to Holmes-Parsons is met in 9 23, where for iv $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ $\dot{\rho} \eta \mu a t ؛$ the Arabic has بتوَ 3 ; evidently this is fonnded on mis-


It is rather noteworthy how many of these errors accumulate in Chapter 11. In 1114 for ixapotirovtau we find ينتزعون which represents imaptirortau. Was it carelessuess on the part of the translator or an error in his manascript? In 1115 the meaning has been lost by wrongly dividing rpóm $\chi$ cua into
 . Holmes-Parsons notes that the same mistake is found in the Aldine edition. This, however, does not imply that this reading was represented in any maunscript; our translator may have made a similar wrong division independently. For the error in 1118 , we cannot hold our translator responsible;
 to кaraxaívet, a reading found in $\mathbf{A}, \mathrm{Q}$, and 35 as well as $\mathbf{V}$. Furthermore in 11 23, àvaßiбetau is interpreted by a plaral verb, .2. This may be due either to misreading áva $\beta$ ívovra or to having a manuscript with this reading. The addition by
 implies that oüs was taken for öncos or ios. Of course we cannot determine who is responsible for the error.

In 1120 , we have a passage which savours of an individual interpretation or we may have a text which is not represented




 $\pi \rho a \dot{\sigma} \sigma o r t a$, or in trying to make sense out of the passage, did
he arbitrarily make a change? In view of his faithfulness and honesty in other instances, we shall not lay this solecism to his account.

Although the Arabic frequently corrects $A$, it does not always do so. In 811 , A rightly reads érapá $\chi \boldsymbol{\eta} \boldsymbol{\eta}$ instead of é $\rho \tilde{a}^{\chi} \chi \boldsymbol{\eta}$. In this instance the Arabic bas رتّبت, which represents a false reading eं ${ }^{\prime} \chi \chi^{0} \eta$ that is actually found in manuscripts 22 and 231. Likewise in 11 14, A correctly has $\lambda o u \mu i \hat{\nu}$ instead of $\lambda o r \pi \hat{c} \nu$; here the Arabic reads بتايا. This was hardly the fault of our translator, since one manuscript of the group, 230, is represented by $\lambda_{\text {otr }} \boldsymbol{\omega}$, an ancient error also found in $\mathbf{B}$.

An error may creep into the text through the influence of an adjacent passage or one still freshly in the mind of the translator. In 234 , we have an increment in التَحاس . The name of this metal probably found its way into this verse through the proximity of verses 32 and 35, where it occurs. In 33 we have another instance of the influence of one verse upon another.

 which is probably due to the influence of verse 2: والیتملَكون . Likewise in 3 22, і́ттатлабicos éк тepirбoû was added from the nineteenth verse; accordingly
 of 4 (23) 20 , is somehow carried into verse (28) 23, and the Arabic adds ألأ

In 5 11, there is no Arabic equivalent for $\mu$ áruv; perhaps this is not an inexplicable omission, since in a series of four nouns which are practically synonyms, it was easy for one to fall out either in the Greek original or in the translation. On the other hand verse 15 , which has only three nouns, may have aided in reducing the four of verse 11 to the same number. In this connexion we may note that while in $515, Q$ adds $\chi$ a $\lambda \delta a i o t$, the Arabic does not in this instance follow $Q$, which here departs from the group.


our group has the three verbs, but it occurs in a number of manuscripts, among which are 130 and one of the Lucianic group, 48. In both verses the Arabic goes, أُهطانا أثها طلهـا It is easier to suppose an influence from verse 5 than dependence on a manuacript outside our group.

Another difficulty may be solved by supposing the influence of an adjacent passage. In 9 20, кaì $\mu$ cтà tàs éßfonádas tàs Éyinovra dúo, it appears that the translator had the Greek of
 коvтa dúo. This probably explains the Arabic: وبعd الستبعغ * اسابيع والإلثنين وستَيْ اسبُوعًا

The use of glosses in the task of translating into Arabic is also significant. One scholinm ran an interesting conrse; 4 (18) 10,
 nai äytos. In the margin of 36 eip is defined by éppiryopos. This annotation eventually found its way into the tert, and in A, 106, and 35 is inserted after $\mu$ ov. The Arabic, however, represents a better text and translates eip naì dyos by يتطار . ${ }^{30}$,

In 8 19, it appears that a marginal note or a rariant reading

 contains both: وسهعت واحفًا مي الهلايكع الاطهار متكلّها Evidently the source of our version had both áypelou and íyiov.

In 10 o, ク̈ $\mu \eta \nu$ кatavevvyuevos, the Arabic has an easy rendering صرتس متخشةًا. One may wonder whether this is a direct translation of katavevoynévos or whether it was influenced or aided by a gloss, кatraфepómevas, as is found in the margin of 36.

In 11 sa , we meet what, at first thought, may appear to be
 livi.. It is just as reasonable, however, to helieve that Arabic


10 C. $4(20) 90$, where we heve the accusative of the mame words.
to note in this connexion that the Arabic employs the same root as the Hebrew.
 the Septuagint fitly interprets the Hebrew an $^{\square}$ èmuértiov. Theodotion's transliteration of this word, however, utterly diaguised its meaning, and if our translator had no gloss in his manuscript on this word, we need not be surprised that he missed the point. Again it is evident that he did not have recourse either to the Hebrew or to the Syriac. If the latter, he might have translated it 'Parthians'. Is it going too far afield to suppose that our translator made out of it or tried to read into
 'diggers', 'farmers.'

As stated before, the Polyglot "Arabic" text belongs to the $\mathrm{Or}{ }^{\mathrm{C}}$ group; the evidence is so consistent and conclusive that it is not necessary to publish all the points of agreement between our text and the group. It is more important to note the exceptions and the solecisms which have no counterpart in the original. I have also deemed it advisable to note certain apparent exceptions which in themselves do not necessarily imply that they go back to a different text or were represented in any manuscript. In a subsequent list of these words and pronominal suffixes, we shall observe that they are due to the translator's ability to make a smooth and fluent rendering. It is not probable that the author of the Arabic version had before him a number of manuscripts with various readings representing different groups. Nor do I believe that he selected what in his mind was the more likely reading from several manuscripts and thereby left us a conflate text. I should rather think that he had one manuscript and that on the whole it was a good one; on this he exerted himself to his utmost ability to produce an accurate and fluent rendering. In this he has succeeded admirably.

As has been observed before in this essay, we do not have a literalistic veraion. Consequently we may allow our translator freedom of various kinds in minor details. We are not justified in expecting that every Arabic word should have its exact counterpart in the Greek. We find, accordingly, a number of
expressions which cannot be nsed as representing a definite reading in the Greek original. Thus in 211 , merà $\pi$ árop $\sigma$ apxós hardly has any textnal value. Nor does the demonstrative for the definite article mean anything; e. g., 244 ,
 The use of the conjunction 'and' proves nothing; the translator may insert it occasionally for a smoother reading; e. g., 31 ,

 the Arabic uses the conjunction, الامم والشعوب والتبايل * Examples of the addition or insertion of ‘and' conld be multiplied, but there is no profit in quoting more specimens. In 1120 , where $A$ and $Q^{m g}$ and 106 read nal oúr éctau ios in

 no new idea; no doubt he made this addition independently for the sake of clearness.

In 9 3, tòv $\theta c o ́ v$ is rendered by lإلهي; in 9 4, tòv $\theta e o ́ v \mu o v$ is likewise translated by الهي. This hardly means that the writer of the Arabic had a text in which both verses contained rò Acóv $\mu \mathrm{N}$, ; he may have been influenced by verse 4 , or he may have added the pronoun becanse to him it made a amoother reading. In fact the presence of a pronominal suffix does not per se connect a passage with a certain group of manuscripts nor justify us in assuming a colouring from an extraneous group.
 by 231, but this does not necessarily imply a Lncianic connexion or influence. In the same verse $\phi_{0} \beta_{\text {oujuefa }}$ takes as a direct object $\sigma \epsilon$; the Arabic has the same pronoun as the object of the first verb ésaco ${ }^{\prime}$ ou 0 oûmey as well; a faithful translator may make this slight addition, even though the original does not have it.

A preposition with a pronominal suffix as with in 4 (19) 16 where the Greek simply has eltev, has no teatual significance; it may have been added to make a more polished reading.
In 11 28, duvapess is modified by aùtoû in 22, 36, 48, 51, 231 of the Lacianic group and by 34 and c ; here the Arabic has جيشع. Again, I believe that this does not prove any Lucianic influence, but that our interpreter was a man of good judgment and with the addition of the possessive improved his style. For some other cases of the addition of pronominal suffixes which cannot be regarded as solecisms, we may note the following examples: 2 13, тò סö $\gamma \mu a$,

 cases we are probably dealing, not with different readings in the Greek, but rather with idiomatic renderings. It is evident that our interpreter, while faithful in his work, could add little touches and thereby embellish his product.

Now in 3 12, we find certainly is not a literal translation. At first I took it as indicating a different text, but probably the word جبيع should not be taken too seriously. Perhaps the translator only gave an emphatic touch to his rendering. Conversely in 6 (4) $\boldsymbol{3}$, ' $\dot{\phi}$ '
 noticed before, our translator is not bound by stereotyped forms in reproducing the thought in Arabic. Did he allow himself a slight liberty? It is possible that he did, since the general sense has not been altered.
 liarities of the arrangement of the verses. In the Arabic, 3 os is left out by parablepsy. Who is responsible, the Greek scribe or the author of the Arabic version? 3 89- Arabic 71; $370-$ Arabic 72; 3 71- Arabic 80; 372- Arabic 70. A transposes verses 93 and 74, but the Arabic does not.

Among the solecisms, there is one case of the transposition
 *

We have simplification in 39 ; A, кai íso入aßórres droy $N$.
 تالوا للملهَ. In omitting Naßovxodonoróp it has a simplified reading which is also found in 33 and 149.
 graphy the Arabic omits the dative; 3ال sانيًال ايَها الهلكه.

There are also a few additions which are unique to the Arabic text and which deserve our consideration: 1120 has been considered ahove; 18 s, وما هنها المثمالة.

There is also a list of omissions which are unique to the Arabic text:

$211, \beta$ apús
3 et , omission of the whole verse by parablepsy;
5 11; máyou has been treated above;
7 27, кal íxaroúgoитаt


124 , каì бфрáyıбоу тò $\beta_{九} \beta \lambda i o \nu$.
Although the Arabic recension is a good representative of the $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathrm{C}}$ text, there are some readings that must be explained
 Faridécos, the Lucianic group as represented by 22, 36, 48, 51 ,
 the $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathrm{P}}$ group as is indicated by 23,62 , and 147 reads: sai oi ${ }^{2}$ Operrot ${ }^{0} \chi^{0}$ \#rav. The following is the Arabic rendering: .واُوليّه الزَجال كنَموا امام الهله 1 I cannot stress the demonatrative in the Arabic, as we have previously noted, but here we have either an $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathrm{P}}$ reading or Lucianic infuence.

In two cases we meet distinct traces of the $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathrm{P}}$ group. Thus in 85 , the addition is represented by iv Eoúrous, an ancient dittograph for the following ovviav, in 62 and 147; also in 130 with which $\boldsymbol{A}$ frequently agrees. In 104 , there is
a plus في الستغ التَامنغ عشر , which is also found in 68 and
 *Etour óктскаидerćтov. In this connexion compare the Vetus Latina, ${ }^{11}$ in XVI anno, which doubtless is a corruption of the above.

In 4 (9) B , we have a Lucianic addition: rai тìv oúyrporu aủtoû єíтóv $\mu \mathrm{o}$ + raì ai ó ó á ومناظر ,أسي. This plus is found Q1 (oubt. lineas) and the following members of the Lucianic group: 22, 36,48 , and 231. Holmes-Parsons cites no other manuscripts as having this reading.

The Septuagint, as we should expect, has not been without its influences on our text. Let us note the following instances:


 not assume in these passages any influence of $\boldsymbol{B}$; $\boldsymbol{6}$ translates
 this rendering of the Septuagint, which probably appeared as a gloss in our translator's manuscript, we have in the three verses, الخّهليز, 'a hall, passage, antechamber.'

 يساعل معي من أجل هزل
 whether the author of $\boldsymbol{A}$ could have made such a lucid rendering without $\dot{\delta} \beta_{0}{ }^{\boldsymbol{\theta}} \boldsymbol{\omega} \nu$ of the Septuagint which, if not in the tert of the translator's manuscript, existed at least in a marginal note.

 S, the translator was influenced by $\mathbf{6}$, кará.

There may also be some 6 influence which is represented in Q. No doubt it had found its way into the group and so has

[^4]left its traces in $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$. In this category, let os tarn to 514 of reeîua $\theta$ eoú iv roí. $Q$ and the Lacianic manuscripte, 29, 36, 48, 51, 231 insert Eyion after $\theta e o v i$. No new idea, in fact, is added here; the meaning of тreüna $\theta$ eoû necessarily implies difoy as a matter of course. The supplementary word may have found its way into the text from a gloss which was a self-evident definition or possibly a reminiscence of 6,512 , кai meüua dyov
 .آلّه القلوس كيكى


 нov. This is represented in the Arabic, علي ركبتي" وأمشاط رجلي. Three passages, however, cannot be satisfactorily explained without Peshitta influence; 10 5, , évdedupévos $\beta$ addeiv; 6, èvé-


 also 12 7. There is no doubt that we are confronted by a literal translation from the Peshitta. Fúrave of the Septaagint in itself alone could hardly be the basis of the Arabic rendering.

In this case I believe that the translator did not refer to the Peshitta. Several observations preriously stated in this essay have confirmed me in this opinion. We may wonder whether the Syrian Arabic recension to which reference has been made in this article, existed before this time and whether he was acquainted with that version. Doubtless he had access to an Arabic edition which originated in Syria. The Arabic translations of the Scriptures certainly did not have only a local influence. For example, the translation of the Gospels by Isaak Velasquez of Cordoba had found its way to the East. ${ }^{15}$ The literary intercourse between the various portions of the Arabicspealing world is remarkable.

While $\mathbf{A}$ is a member of the $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathbf{C}}$ group, it is far from being

[^5]its best representative; 106 usually agrees with $\mathbf{A}$. This study has conclusively revealed the fact that $\boldsymbol{X}$ has fewer errors than A and is a better representative of the group. In many instances 2 corrects serious errors in A. In two instances, however, 8 11, and 11 14, as we have seen above, where $A$ is correct, the Arabic errs in departing from it. A list of the cases where $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ does not agree with $\mathbf{A}$ will be given below: in all these examples $\boldsymbol{A}$ follows the group. This enumeration of important readings where $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ and the group coincide, but differ from $A$, shows at a glance the unique importance of $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ in making any textual study of OrC : $110 ; 2$ 94, 35; $31,9,15,17,28 ; 4$ (9) 6, (14) 11, (93) 30 , (94) 31; 5 3, $8,9,16,21,23 ; 74,7,10,13,17 ; 810,20 ; 93,12,21 ; 1012$, 16, $19,38,37,40,45 ; 124 ; 1210$, omission of érरevaravëatu by A.

The position of $Q$ in the $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathrm{C}}$ group has also been reenforced by this study of the Arabic version. Although $Q$ shows some independence of readings, it is a member of the $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathrm{C}}$ group.
 in 5 15 , its insertion of $\mathbf{X} \boldsymbol{a} \boldsymbol{\lambda} \delta a i o k$ is not translated in $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$; in 53 , $Q^{m g}$ agrees with $\mathbf{A}$ in omitting toü $\theta e a \tilde{u}$, which $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ translates. These, however, are only a few instances in comparison with the overwhelming number of agreements between $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$ and $\mathbf{Q}$. Thus, for example, in 3 a, and 4 (8) $\mathrm{B}, \boldsymbol{\lambda}$ agrees with $Q^{1}$ (subt. lineas);
 In 89 , the change of $\delta \dot{v} \boldsymbol{j}^{2} \mu \nu$ to $\delta \dot{\sigma} \sigma \boldsymbol{w}$ was easy enough on account of the other two directions, nótos and avato $\lambda r$, found in this verse according to the reading of the group. Here $Q$ and 230 both have roós $\tau \dot{y} \boldsymbol{y}$ düru, which is also found in $\boldsymbol{\lambda}$.
 av่тá, which $\lambda$ renders by $\mathbf{A}$. Cf. $\mathbf{e}$ conculcavit. ${ }^{15}$ Thus the correct reading has been perpetuated in a few widely separated texts. In 9 s , the word order of Q agrees with $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathrm{P}}$ in 23,62 , and 147 and with the Lucianic group in $22,36,48$, and 231. In this case, however, $\boldsymbol{X}$ and $\mathbf{Q}$ also agree. The figures before the verbs show how literal the Arabic is, even in the word order: Q , (1) їца́ртомеу, (2) ìо

[^6]


This stady of the "Polyglot" Arabic text of Daniel proves that the Arabic recension is a member of the $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathrm{C}}$ groap. It is vastly superior to $A$ and beyond a donbt is the best representative of the group that we now possess. In the past the value of the Arabic Bible was not appreciated becanse it is a version of a version. It is evident, however, that such a prejudice has no foundation and that not mach bas been lost in this translation. The Arabic language is in its spirit so well adapted for making an exact rendering of the Greek that we have in this book a faithful model of the $\mathrm{Or}^{\mathbf{C}}$ group. It is an excellent translation, and while it is literal, it is not literalistic. For this reason the text of the Melchite Church has a onique value in Old Testament textual criticism.

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[^0]:    ${ }^{2}$ Primera Crónica General, Estoria de Épaña que mandó compomes. Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289. Publicada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1006. Tomo L, swb Ed Rey Don Peleyo.
    ${ }^{3}$ El primero anoo del su regado fae en la era de 757 quando andana el enno de la Encarnacion en 719, e el dell imperio do Leon en 6, o del papa Gregorio en 9, e ei de Carlos rey de Francia on 2, e el de Vlit rey de los alarauas en 11, e el de los alaraues on 99 . He makea an arror of ebout a year in the Mohammedan reckoning.

    4 Del quinto anno del regnedo del rey don Pelayo non fallamos ningana cosa que de contar sea que a la estoria pertenesce si non tanto que mario Omar rey de los alaranes e finco an hermano Yzid por rey et sennor del regno ...
    s Op. cit. Tomo I, 326: En aquel tiempo otrossi fue en Seuille el eancto obiepo Johen, omne de moi grand aentided et de baena nide et senta, goe ora llemado de los alarsuen por su arauigo Çaeyt almatran; et ers mui sabio en la lengua arsuige e fizo Dios por el muchos miraglos; et trasledo las santas escriptaras en arsaigo, at fizo las eaposiciones delles segand la sente escriptura, et essi les dexo deapues a an muerte pors los qui niniessen despues del.

[^1]:    - Contemporánco dellos fué Juan, prelado de Sevilla, que tradujo la Biblia en lengus arébiga con intento de ayudar a los cristianos y a los moros, a causa que la lengua arábiga se usaba mucho y comonmente entre todoa; la latina ordinariamente ni se usaba ni se calia. Hey algunos traslados desta traducción. que ee han conservado hesta nuestra edad, 3 se ven en algunos lugares de Eapaña,

    7 Tabarl (Ed. De Goeje, II, 399) noten, A. H. 61, that 'Abd Allab, non of the conqueror of Egypt, read the book of Daniel, while he was with his father in that country. Although he does not state what version it was, it may have been an Arabic tranalation.

[^2]:    - See the preceding eseay by Professor Montgomery, pp. 280 fi.

[^3]:    - Cf. also 11 ss, es tress oaplacto éper.

[^4]:    " Rnnke, Par Palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium, Vieuna, 1871.

[^5]:    12 Graf, op. cit, so-so.

[^6]:    12 Ranke, op, cil.

