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THE "POLYGLOT" ABABIC TEXT OF DANIEL AND ITS AFFINITIES'

HENRY 8. GEHMAN UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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

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in their two monumental works shows 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 septima et postrema divini aedificii Columna est. Eum omnes Orientales Ecclesiae magnopere venerantur: vel hinc maximam mutuatur commendationem, quod S. Hieronymi saeculo, 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 used 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

Rhode, Joseph Francis, The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt, a Catholic University of America dissertation, 1921; this is an excellent monograph on the subject.

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Wald, Samuel Gottlieb, Über die arabische Übersetzung des Daniel in den Polyglotten, Eichhorn's Repertorium, (1784), XIV, 204-211

Walton, Brianus, De Lingua Arabica et Scripturae Versionibus Arabicis, Proleg. XIV, Biblia Polyglotta, Vol. I, 93—97, London, 1657 names the one the Antiochean and the other the Alexandrian. This view is quoted by Döderlein, Eichhorn's Repertorium, IV, 60—61. He adds, however, Vermuthlich gab es noch mehrere, and cites Franz Nazari who refers to an Alexandrian, Antiochean, Babylonian, and Syrian recension. Cornill, opere citato, p. 49, also 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 Episcopus Seviliensis in 719 (sic). According to the Spanish Chronicle² 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 year⁴, and in the course of his narrative he comes to the 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 recension⁵ of the Bible was made in 724 A. D.

² Primera Crónica General, Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289. Publicada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906. Tomo I, sub El Rey Don Pelayo.

³ El primero anno del su regnado fue en la era de 757 quando andaua el anno de la Encarnacion en 719, e el dell imperio de Leon en 6, e del papa Gregorio en 9, e el de Carlos rey de Francia en 2, e el de Vlit rey de los alaraues en 11, e el de los alaraues en 99. He makes an error of about a year in the Mohammedan reckoning.

⁴ Del quinto anno del regnado del rey don Pelayo non fallamos ninguna cosa que de contar sea que a la estoria pertenesca si non tanto que murio Omar rey de los alaraues e finco su hermano Yzid por rey et sennor del regno...

s Op. cit., Tomo I, 326: En aquel tiempo otrossi fue en Seuilla el sancto obispo Johan, omne de mi grand santidad et de buena uida et santa, que era llamado de los alaraues por su arauigo Çaeyt almatron; et era mui sabio en la lengua arauiga e fizo Dios por el muchos miragos; et traslado las santas escripturas en arauigo, at fizo las esposiciones dellas segund la santa escriptura, et assi las dexo despues a su muerte pora los qui niniessen despues del.

Padre Juan de Mariana (1537—1624), Historia General de España, VII, 3, also says that John, Bishop of Sevilla, translated the Bible into Arabic 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 wild-fire. 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 Sevilla, 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 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,

Contemporánco dellos fué Juan, prelado de Sevilla, que tradujo la Biblia en lengua arábiga con intento de ayudar a los cristianos y a los moros, a causa que la lengua arábiga se usaba mucho y comunmente entre todos; la latina ordinariamente ni se usaba ni se sabía. Hay algunos traslados desta traducción, que se han conservado hasta nuestra edad, y se ven en algunos lugares de España.

⁷ Tabari (Ed. De Goeje, II, 399) notes, A. H. 61, that Abd Allab, son 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 translation.

with the beginning of the eighth century, 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 Egyptians 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 thoroughly 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 Heptaglotta is based on a manuscript which had been written three hundred years previously and brought 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 Library.

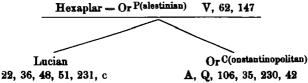
Since the hook of Daniel is our theme, we may in this connexion refer to an Arabic edition of this book that is not generally known. Eichhorn, Einleitung II, 262 - 263, makes mention of what he calls an unimportant translation of Genesis. Psalms. and Daniel directly from the Hebrew into Arabic by R. Saadias Ben Levi Asnekoth, a learned Jew of Morocco, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century. Needless to say, this translation has no textual value, although it is interesting to know that such a piece of work was done; it is found in manuscript number 5503 in the British Museum.

Without disparaging the work performed by scholars in this field, the Arabic versions still offer an unexplored region for biblical students. Wald (op. cit.), in his comparison of the Polyglot text with the readings of the Sixtine edition, noticed that Daniel is a translation of the Alexandrian recension of Theodotion. He also found some passages where the Alexandrian 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 läßt sich mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit mutmaßen daß diese grabische Übersetzung ... zur kritischen Geschichte der Übersetzung des Theodotio viel beitragen werde, Hyvernat, Arabes (Versions). ov. cit. also sees the value of the Arabic translations: Les versions arabes n'ont donc pas beaucoup d'autorité, 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 avrà la pazienza di sequirmi, crederà 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 ali eruditi.

About a year ago my preceptor, Professor James A. Montgomery, suggested the advisability 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 text as published by Swete. In every instance the two versions were the same, except that Walton omits 3 24-90, τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν αῶνσις. Chapters 8-12 were collated from the London Polyglot, but all difficult or suspected 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 below. Walton concludes with Chapter 12, while directly after this chapter Le Jay adds 14, 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 texts 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 which have a bearing on the Arabic version may be summed up in this diagram:



The Arabic recension as published 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. In fact it is one of the best representatives of the Or C group that we have; in making 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 يقطان. In 9 19, the London Polyglot wrongly reads إغفر for اعفر which the Paris edition has correctly. In 10 5, both versions read متبنطق for متبنطق; in 11 30, both texts have نيفتاه for يتفظن also يتفظن. In 12 10, both Bibles have ومن زوام which doubtless is a misprint for ومن رمان والمالية. These errors reveal how closely Walton reprinted Le Jay's text.

[•] See the preceding essay by Professor Montgomery, pp. 289 ff.

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 Greek, but 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 26, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μεταστήσουσιν τοῦ ἀφανίσαι καὶ τοῦ ἀπολέσαι εως τέλοις; وينقلون الرياسة ليفسدوا ويهلكوا إلى النهاية Τέλοις. It is interesting to note how the Arabic lends itself to be literal and Thus 7 13, ἐρχόμενος ἦν is rendered by yet idiomatic. The translator does not always feel himself bound to interpret the cases literally; thus a preposition may be employed, as in 2 48; there ἄρχοντα σατραπῶν is turned into ربيّسا على مطبآء الجيوش. Sometimes conjunctions are not rendered literally; in those cases the meaning remains apparent from the general context. Thus 4 (8)5, τως ηλθεν Δανιήλ is translated simply by فدخل دانما. On the other hand the failure to translate a conjunction literally may present a more graphic picture of the situation. Thus in 7 4, εθεώρουν εως οδ εξετίλη τα πτερά مِنْتَرَت وإذا جناحاها تبقطا :avrns, the effect is heightened Occasionally in passages where Theodotion is stiff and lifeless, the translator infuses a spirit into his work. As an example of this take 9 16, δτι ημάρτομεν καὶ έν ταῖς αδικίαις ημών καὶ τών

تعتفون بابيث المنافل المنافل

We meet also passages where the translator, in interpreting the meaning of the sentence, amplifies the expression. Thus in 2 31, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτῆς ὑπερφερής reads in Arabic, وطلعتي البهاء جدّاً. Likewise in 2 34, καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος the translation is made very clear by a slight addition:

In one instance the translation would have been clear without any supplementary phrase, but in spite of this it has been added. Thus 11 40 συνκερατισθήσεται is rendered by يتناطم بقرند والمعادد المعادد ا

It is continually apparent that although the translator is literal, he is interpreting, not words, but ideas. Although the group in 12 ε reads εἶπον, he does not forget that two persons are speaking, and consequently he employs the dual,) is. Likewise in 7 4, he has recourse to the dual: ἔχουσα πτερά, labering; πτερά αὐτῆς, con the other hand, in 11 27, for ἀμφότεροι οἱ βασιλεῖς, he feels free not to use a dual, 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 or expression for the same idea. In 3 21, καὶ ἐβλήθησαν εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου, the τὸ μέσον is not translated, والقوا في اقرون. There is a possibility that his manuscript did not have τὸ μέσον, since verses 11 and 15 both read, with a passive verb, εἰς τὴν

rame 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 τὸ μέσον. We should note, however, that in verses 23 and 24 where we find eig métror τῆς καμίνου and ἐν μέσφ respectively, the Arabic correspondingly has في وسط اتّون. We are hardly justified in in verse 21 proves that the absence of في رسط τὸ μέσον 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 93 we read: τότε προσήλθεν Ναβουγοδονοσόρ πρός την θύραν της καμίνου τοῦ πυρός της καιομένης. Ιη the Arabic την θύραν is not translated: حينيَّذ تقدّم بحتنصّ The meaning, of course, is practically إلى اتّرن النّار المتوقد 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 9 27 where A reads καταπαύσει θυσιαστήριον καὶ θυσίαν, the Arabic has تنكَفّ البذابح والذبايع. The ultimate sense is the same.

We should also note the device that Arabic has for rendering Greek compounds literally: 3 52, καὶ ὑπερουψούμενος, وفوق المسبّم ; καὶ ὑπερουνοτόν, وفوق المسبّم ; καὶ ὑπερουνοτός, وفوق المتعالي.

Although the author of the Arabic version was a good translator, he is not entirely free from literalism. In 11 22, καὶ βρα-χίονες τοῦ κατακλύζοντος κατακλυσθήσονται, where A, 106, and 230 of the group insert καὶ after the participle, the Arabic literally follows its original, وذراعا المغرق فيفرقان. In 10 4, he is so faithful to his manuscript that in Τίγρις Εδδέκελ he translates the former and transliterates the latter, الدَجِلة اذذاكل

Apparently he did not recognize in this doublet the gloss which had crept into his text; Tippis undoubtedly was originally a scholium on Eddica.

In the case of official terms, a compound word may be translated literally. Thus τοπάρχαι 3 2-3 is rendered exactly by (رئسآء المواضع); in the same passages στρατηγοί is translated by الجند 1, just as we may refer to the army, not as a body of men, but as a department. We meet σατράπαι 'satraps' in 2 48; 3 94; and 6 1. Now this is an Old Persian word, xšaθτα-ρᾶναη, '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, leading 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 translation of καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν βασιλέων ἐκείνων (2 44) by رفيي and τρεῖς βασιλεῖς (11 2) by للذن عملكات (11 2 by المملكات (11 2 by land by using the word for 'kingdom', he did not materially alter the sense.

Semitisms in the Greek have been correctly understood. Thus in 3 36, the reading of the group of ελάλησας πρὸς αὐτούς, is turned literally into μερο Είνους Τρος αὐτούς, is turned literally into μερο Είνους Τρος αὐτούς, is lator could not have done otherwise with this passage. In 10 18, we have another and more difficult Semitism; καὶ προσέθετο καὶ τὴνατό μου which is aptly represented by του This does not imply that the translator had 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 2 13, we apparently have another Semitism: καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἔξῆλθεν καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἀπεκτέννοντο. This the translator very neatly ren-

. وخرج أمرة بقتل الحكمآء, ders

Among Semitisms we may also classify $\mu a \nu \nu a'$, 2 46, which represents Aramaic 77720; this is rendered by Lia, a plural. It appears, accordingly, that $\mu a \nu \nu a'$ was understood as a plural noun. Now it is possible that the translator recognized this word as Semitic, and by comparing it with Lia derived the correct meaning. On the other band, he may have had a gloss in his manuscript; 36 has $\delta \hat{a} \rho \rho \nu$ in the margin in another hand.

Similarly, a Semitism is discernible in 'Eφαδανώ, 11 45, which in A and 106 appears as ἐν φαδανώ. To one knowing Arabic, this suggested بَدُان, and accordingly our translator rendered it by a synonym نعي مكان سهل.

When we come to the three Aramaic words, Mani, Θεκέλ, Φαρές, in 5 25, we notice that they are not transliterated, but rendered into Arabic by passive participles, σερές. Now it is quite probable that our translator arrived at this interpretation from the explanation of these words in verses 26, 27, and 28. We may wonder whether he knew Aramaic or Syriac and recognized in Mani the Qal passive participle of 7120; then by analogy he may have translated the other two by the passive. On the other hand it is just as likely that because 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 he 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 in Greek. In 11 19, καὶ ἀσθενήσει καὶ πεσείται καὶ οὐχ εὐρεθήσεται, there is a difficulty, since the Greek verb has no gender. The translator here probably took ἡ ἀσχύς to be the subject, as the form of the verb indicates: ئتضعف وتسقط ولا ترجد. If he had consulted either the Hebrew or the Syriac, he would not have fallen into this error.

Personal names are not simply transliterated but turned

into the native idiom; e. g. Ναβουχοδονοσόρ, عُتِنَاءُ; Μωνσῆς, Γαβροῦλ, جَبِرِيَّلُ . The only name that requires explanation is the rendering of Αμελσάδ 1 11. Professor Montgomery appears to have solved this name; کات is for original کات probably Pael ppl.; it is not a name but an official title. The reading of the Syriac according to the Urmia and Ceriani editions, agree in having the correct tradi-

tion of the root "". 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 1 2, Σενναάρ is العراق (Irak); 3 97, ἐν τῆ χώρα βαβυλῶνος is أفي كورة بابل (β , ἐν χώρα Αλλάμ is نعي كورة الاهواز is (Ahwāz). Another instance that our author of the Arabic version knew his geography is found in 9 48; here καὶ Λιβύων καὶ Αλθιόπων is represented by رائربة والحبش المعنى . Naturally he experienced no difficulty in 11 41: Ἑδωμ καὶ Μωὰβ καὶ ἀρχὴ νίῶν 'Αμμών; الدوم ومواًب وبدار بنا وبدار وسواًب وبدار بنا عمون الهواز المعنى المعن

P Cf. also 11 48, ch spor suffacts symm.

It appears that in 6 (18) 17, ὅπως μὴ ἀλλοιωθῆ πρᾶγμα ἐν τῷ Δανιήλ, the meaning was not clear to the translator, or the literal significance of ἀλλοιωθῆ made nonsense to him. So he evades the difficulty and does not commit himself to a definite meaning: كيلا يحدث أمر بدائياً.

There are, however, instances which are not merely coloured by individual interpretation, but errors 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; στι ιδυνήθης ἀποκαλύψαι τὸ μνοτήριον τοῦτο is rendered by Γεν Ιως. Το Εντίριον τοῦτο is rendered by Γεν Ιως. Το Εντίριον τοῦτο is rendered by τους τοῦτο is rendered by Γεν Ιως. Το Εντίριον τοῦτο το εντίριον τοῦτο is rendered by Γεν Ιως. Το Εντίριον τοῦτο is rendered by Γεν Ιως.

Evidently this interpretation is based on taking ἐξήλθεν for ἐξήρθη, a reading also found in manuscripts 148 and 232. Another misreading is found in 7 25, where τρικόν του τερικόντει, a reading occurring also in 33, 36, 89, 90, 91, and 238. This is an error for παλαιώσει. An error not found in any manuscript according to Holmes-Parsons is met in 9 23, where for ἐν τῷ ρήματι the Arabic has ٤૩; evidently this is founded on misreading ρώματι for ρήματι.

It is rather noteworthy how many of these errors accumulate in Chapter 11. In 11 14 for ἐπαρθήσονται we find ينتزعون which represents ἀπαρθήσονται. Was it carelessuess on the part of the translator or an error in his manuscript? In 11 15 the meaning has been lost by wrongly dividing πρόσχωμα into πρὸς χῶμα; καὶ ἐκχεεί πρόσχωμα is rendered by التراب. 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 manuscript; our translator may have made a similar wrong division independently. For the error in 11 18, we cannot hold our translator responsible; καταπαύσει is rendered in the Arabic by يجرق. This goes back to rararaíoei, a reading found in A, Q, and 35 as well as V. Furthermore in 11 23, avaβήσεται is interpreted by a plural verb, يصعدون. This may be due either to misreading araβήσονται or to having a manuscript with this reading. The addition by Q in 11 39 of oûs dv فتربه is turned into لِكُيْ يعرف, which implies that our was taken for ones or is. Of course we cannot determine who is responsible for the error.

In 11 20, we have a passage which savours of an individual interpretation or we may have a text which is not represented in our present Greek manuscripts; καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἐκ τῆς ρίζης αὐτοῦ φυτὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτοιμασίαν αὐτοῦ παραβιβάζων πράσσων δόξαν βασιλείας; ἔτὰν ἀνοιμασίαν αὐτοῦ παραβιβάζων πράσσων δόξαν βασιλείας; εξιξικά του καραβιβάζων τὸν καραβιβάζων τὸν πράσσοντα, 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 8 11, A rightly reads ἐταράχθη instead of ἐράχθη. In this instance the Arabic has και which represents a false reading ἐτάχθη that is actually found in manuscripts 22 and 231. Likewise in 11 14, A correctly has λοιμῶν instead of λοιπῶν; here the Arabic reads και Τhis was hardly the fault of our translator, since one manuscript of the group, 230, is represented by λοιπῶν, an ancient error also found in 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 2 34, we have an increment in التحالى. The name of this metal probably found its way into this verse through the proximity of verses 32 and 35, where it occurs. In 3 3 we have another instance of the influence of one verse upon another. Verse 2 has τυράννους καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν, while 3 rends τύραννοι μεγάλοι οἰ ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν. The Arabic in 3 has a solecism which is probably due to the influence of verse 2: والعظمات النابين لهم السلطان للمنابعة النابين لهم السلطان. Likewise in 3 22, ἐπταπλασίως ἐκ περισσοῦ was added from the nineteenth verse; accordingly the Arabic has, العظمة الصعاف Similarly ἐν τῆ γῆ of 4 (23) 20, is somehow carried into verse (26) 23, and the Arabic adds

In 5 11, there is no Arabic equivalent for $\mu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\omega\nu$; 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 5 15, Q adds $\chi\alpha\lambda\delta\alpha\hat{io}\iota$, the Arabic does not in this instance follow Q, which here departs from the group.

At this point we may turn to 9 15, ἡμάρτομεν, ἡνομήσαμεν; in verse 5 occur ἡμάρτομεν, ἡδικήσαμεν, ἡνομήσαμεν. None of

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, أخطانا النبنا ظلبنا.

It is easier to suppose an influence from verse 5 than dependence on a manuscript outside our group.

In 8 13, it appears that a marginal note or a variant reading came to be incorporated into the text: καὶ ἤκουσα ἐνὸς ἀγίου λαλοῦντος. Manuscript 103 has ἀγγέλου for ἀγίου. The Arabic contains both:

contains both: وسبعت واحدًا من الملايكة الاطهار متكلَّمًا. Evidently the source of our version had both هُمِهِهُمُهُم and هُعِهُون.

In 10 9, ήμην κατανενυγμένος, the Arabic has an easy rendering του Οπο may wonder whether this is a direct translation of κατανενυγμένος or whether it was influenced or aided by a gloss, καταφερόμενος, as is found in the margin of 36.

In 11 ss, we meet what, at first thought, may appear to be influence from the Peshitta: καὶ θεὸν μαωζείν (Α, μαωζεί); \$\frac{1}{2}\$. It is just as reasonable, however, to believe that Arabic is derived from a gloss based on fi 1979. It is interesting

¹⁰ Cf. 4 (23) 20, where we have the accusative of the same words.

to note in this connexion that the Arabic employs the same root as the Hebrew.

In 1 s, we have ἀπὸ τῶν φορθομμείν (Α, πορθομμείν), where the Septuagint fitly interprets the Hebrew ΤΩΠΩΠΩ by ἐκ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων. Theodotion's transliteration of this word, however, utterly disguised 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 it ἀπορυττομένων? At any rate, he rendered it ἀπορυττομένων? At any rate, he rendered it 'diggers', 'farmers.'

As stated before, the Polyglot "Arabic" text belongs to the Or^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 version. 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 used as representing a definite reading in the Greek original. Thus in 2 11, مم كلّ ذي للم for μετά πάσης σαρκός hardly has any textual value. Nor does the demonstrative for the definite article mean anything; e. g., 244, مند الكلبات به ταϊς ἡμέραις; 12 هند الكلبات κ، οἰ λόγοι. The use of the conjunction 'and' proves nothing; the translator may insert it occasionally for a smoother reading; e. g., 3 1, for erous oktwkaidekatov. In 3 4, instead of the asyndeton υμίν λέγεται έθνη, λαοί, φυλαί, γλώσσαι, the Arabic uses the conjunction, الامم والشعوب والقبايل * والالسن, Examples of the addition or insertion of 'and' could be multiplied, but there is no profit in quoting more specimens. In 11 29, where A and Qmg and 106 read and our corrai os in πρώτη καὶ ὡς ἡ ἐσχάτη, the Arabic has, وليس يكون مثل الاولى ولا مثل الاخيرة. When the translator adds Y, he introduces no new idea; no doubt he made this addition independently for the sake of clearness.

In 9 3, τον θεόν is rendered by [[15]; in 9 4, τον θεόν μου is likewise translated by [[15]]. This hardly means that the writer of the Arabic had a text in which both verses contained τον θεόν μου; he may have been influenced by verse 4, or he may have added the pronoun because to him it made a smoother 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. When 3 41, καὶ νῦν ἐξακολουθοῦμεν ἐν ὅλη καρδία is represented by (Ντ.) we have a reading found in 51 and 231, but this does not necessarily imply a Lucianic connexion or influence. In the same verse φοβούμεθα takes as a direct object σε; the Arabic has the same pronoun as the object of the first verb ἐξακολουθοῦμεν 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 ω with ω in 4 (10) 16 where the Greek simply has $e^2\pi e\nu$, has no textual significance; it may have been added to make a more polished reading.

In 11 20, δυνάμεις is modified by αὐτοῦ in 22, 36, 48, 51, 231 of the Lucianic group and by 34 and c; here the Arabic has example. 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, τὸ δόγμα, κοί; 2 38, ἔδωκεν μού; 5 20, ἡ τιμή.

5 23, both τοὺς θεούς ἐκλέξασθαι, μού θεόν, ἐκλέξασθαι, μού; 7 8, στομα, κοί; 11 35, καὶ τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι, μού 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 312, we find المنافقة for ἐπι τὰ ἔργα; this certainly is not a literal translation. At first I took it as indicating a different text, but probably the word جييع should not be taken too seriously. Perhaps the translator only gave an emphatic touch to his rendering. Conversely in 6 (4) 3, ἐφ΄ ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ is turned into عَلَي مَعْلَيْهِ . As we 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.

In the τῶν παιδῶν ἀγιῶν αίνεσις, we note the following peculiarities of the arrangement of the verses. In the Arabic, 3 e4 is left out by parablepsy. Who is responsible, the Greek scribe or the author of the Arabic version? 3 e9 — Arabic 71; 3 70 — Arabic 72; 3 71 — Arabic e9; 3 72 — Arabic 70. A transposes verses 73 and 74, but the Arabic does not.

Among the solecisms, there is one case of the transposition

of a word; 11 35, قنن به تعبير من من الإنتهان * بالرحمان * بالرحمان * للن الإنتهاء النصا إلى زمان *

We have simplification in 3 9; A, καὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπον Ν. τῷ βασ.; Q, 130, τῷ βασ. Ν. καὶ εἶπαν. Here the Arabic reads

In omitting Ναβουχοδονοσόρ it has a simplified reading which is also found in 33 and 149.

In 6 (22) 21, καὶ εἶπεν Δανήλ τῷ βασιλεῖ βασιλεῦ, by haplography the Arabic omits the dative; نقال دانيال انها البلك.

There are also a few additions which are unique to the Arabic text and which deserve our consideration: 11 20 has been considered above; 12 8, اهذه الامتال.

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

1 12, καὶ ὕδωρ πιόμεθα;

2 11, βαρύς

3 64, omission of the whole verse by parablepsy;

5 11; μάγων has been treated above;

7 27, καὶ ὑπακούσονται

11 35, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συνιέντων

12 4, καὶ σφράγισον τὸ βιβλίον.

Although the Arabic recension is a good representative of the Or^C text, there are some readings that must be explained from another source. For Θ 3 13, καὶ ἤχθησαν ἐνόπιον τοῦ βασιλέως, the Lucianic group as represented by 22, 36, 48, 51, and 231 reads: καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι ἤχθησαν. On the other hand, the Or^P group as is indicated by 23, 62, and 147 reads: καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἤχθησαν. The following is the Arabic rendering:

ανθρωποι ἤχθησαν. The following is the Arabic rendering:

ανθρωποι ἤχθησαν. It cannot stress the demonstrative in the Arabic, as we have previously noted, but here we have either an Or^P reading or Lucianic influence.

In two cases we meet distinct traces of the Or P group. Thus in 8 5, the addition is represented by in Evicous, an ancient dittograph for the following ourier, in 62 and 147; also in 130 with which A frequently agrees. In 10 4, there is

a plus غير السّنة الثّامنة عشر, which is also found in 62 and 147, ἐν τῷ ὅκτω καὶ δεκάτφ ἔτει; this probably came in from 31, Έτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου. In this connexion compare the Vetus Latina, 11 in XVI anno, which doubtless is a corruption of the above.

In 4 (9) 6, we have a Lucianic addition: καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ εἰπόν μοι + καὶ αἱ ὁράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς μοῦ: وقال لي قاريلة. This plus is found Q¹ (subt. lineas) and the following members of the Lucianic group: 22, 36, 48, and 231. Holmes-Parsons cites no other manuscripts as having this reading.

Next in order comes 10 21, Θ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εἶς ἀντεχόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ; Ϭ, καὶ οὐθεὶς ἢν ὁ βοηθῶν μετ' ἐμοῦ; λ رليس أحل هذه . Now while Theodotion's ἀντεχόμενος is a translation of ℌ ΤΟΥ ΡΠΠΩ, it is extremely doubtful whether the author of λ could have made such a lucid rendering without ὁ βοηθῶν of the Septuagint which, if not in the text of the translator's manuscript, existed at least in a marginal note.

Let us now consider 11 4, Θ καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα αὐτοῦ; δ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀλκὴν αὐτοῦ. No doubt in turning εἰς into Arabic U, the translator was influenced by δ, κατά.

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

¹¹ Ronke, Par Palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium, Vienna, 1871.

left its traces in A. In this category, let us turn to 5 14, δτε πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐν σοί. Q and the Lucianic manuscripts, 22, 36, 48, 51, 231 insert ἀγιον after θεοῦ. No new idea, in fact, is added here; the meaning of πνεῦμα θεοῦ necessarily implies ἀγιον 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, 5 12, καὶ πνεῦμα ἀγιον ἐν αὐτῷ ἐστι. At any rate Arabic renders it as follows:

In this case I believe that the translator did not refer to the Peshitta. Several observations previously 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. The literary intercourse between the various portions of the Arabic-speaking world is remarkable.

While A is a member of the Or C group, it is far from being

¹² Graf, op. cit., 28-80.

its best representative; 106 usually agrees with A. This study has conclusively revealed the fact that A has fewer errors than A and is a better representative of the group. In many instances A 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 A does not agree with A will be given below; in all these examples A follows the group. This enumeration of important readings where A and the group coincide, but differ from A, shows at a glance the unique importance of A in making any textual study of OrC: 1 10; 2 34, 35; 3 1, 9, 15, 17, 28; 4 (9) 6, (14) 11. (33) 80, (34) 31; 5 3, 8, 9, 16, 21, 23; 7 4, 7, 10, 13, 17; 8 10, 20; 9 3, 12, 21; 10 12, 16, 19, 38, 37, 40, 45; 12 4; 12 10, omission of exceuted acres by A.

The position of Q in the Or 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 OrC group. In 2 5, its addition of ἀπαγγείλητέ μοι is not represented in λ; in 5 15, its insertion of Xaddaiox is not translated in A; in 5 3, Qmg agrees with A in omitting Tov Ocov. which A translates. These, however, are only a few instances in comparison with the overwhelming number of agreements between A and Q. Thus, for example, in 3 9, and 4 (9) 8, A agrees with Q 1 (subt. lineas); Qmg, 12 10, adds εκλευκανθώσιν, which A omits, but A translates. In 8 e, the change of δύναμιν to δῦστιν was easy enough on account of the other two directions, votos and gratoli, found in this verse according to the reading of the group. Here Q and 230 both have πρὸς τήν δῦσιν, which is also found in λ. الغرب. In 8 10, Q, 42, and 230 correctly have καὶ συνεπάτησεν avrá, which A renders by ellips. Cf. & conculcavit.13 Thus the correct reading has been perpetuated in a few widely separated texts. In 95, the word order of Q agrees with OrP in 23, 62, and 147 and with the Lucianic group in 22, 36, 48, and 231. In this case, however, A and Q also agree. The figures before the verbs show how literal the Arabic is, even in the word order: Q, (1) ημάρτομεν, (2) ηνομήσαμεν, (3) ηδικήσαμεν,

¹³ Ranke, op. cit.

(4) ήσεβήσαμεν, (5) καὶ ἀπέστημεν, (6) καὶ ἐξεκλίναμεν; آخطان (1) (2) اثبنا (3) طلبنا (4) نافقنا (5) وتباعدنا (6) وحدنا

This study of the "Polyglot" Arabic text of Daniel proves that the Arabic recension is a member of the OrC group. It is vastly superior to A and beyond a doubt is the best representative of the group that we now possess. In the past the value of the Arabic Bible was not appreciated because it is a version of a version. It is evident, however, that such a prejudice has no foundation and that not much has 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 OrC 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 unique value in Old Testament textual criticism.

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