An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur’ān

The fragments from Niketas Byzantios’ Refutatio
and the anonymous Abjuratio

[Una traducción griega anónima temprana del Corán. Los fragmentos de la Refutatio de Nicetas de Bizancio y la Abjuratio anónima]

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Abstract: In this article the fragments of the first known complete translation of the Qur’ān are presented with introduction and notes. This translation into Greek, produced sometime before 870 CE, has not previously been recognized in Qur’ānic or Byzantine studies, and its main traits have not been noted. In the article it is argued that the translation attempts to render the Qur’ānic text closely and in a benevolent spirit, and that a possible place of origin would be Umayyad Syria.

Key words: Qur’ān. Niketas Byzantios. Abjuratio. Byzantium.

Introduction

It has long been known that a few early Byzantine texts contain substantial quotations from the Qur’ān in Greek translation. The first editors of Niketas Byzantios’ Refutatio and of the anonymous Abjuratio (i.e. abjuration formula for
converts from Islam) marked the passages in these texts that are direct Quranic quotations, and in 1981 Erich Trapp dedicated an article to the question of a Greek Qur’ān (entitled “‘GAB es eine griechische Koranübersetzung?’”), giving a firm positive answer to its existence.1 In Förstel’s recent edition of Niketas’ Refutatio the Quranic passages are again noted, now also supplied with a German translation.2

But, despite this scholarly attention, the existence and character of this very early Greek translation (dating to before 870 CE) has not received the attention it deserves, and there seems to be three reasons for this. First, the fragments are found in texts that have a clear anti-Islamic aim, and in the very influential studies by Khoury the many translation samples found in the Refutatio are thought to have been produced by the polemicist Niketas himself.3 This view, which – as demonstrated by Trapp – is definitely wrong, has probably (yet undeservedly) reduced many readers’ interest in the Greek Quranic passages. Secondly, the primary interest in the Refutatio and the Abjuratio has been directed either primarily towards the Christian-Islamic polemics or, as in the case of Trapp, the specific Greek language used in the translation, mainly its vernacular features.4 This emphasis on the vernacular traits has possibly also contributed to the failure to recognize the high quality of the Greek translation. Thirdly, the Greek text as such has not been held up against the Arabic original. Trapp only assesses the Greek version by consulting a modern commentary on the Qur’ān.5

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2 See K. Förstel (ed.), Niketas von Byzanz.


discusses the choice of a few central key words. In fact, despite its early date – produced hardly more than two centuries after the redaction of the Qur’ān – the Greek text has received no attention as an early source to the history of the Qur’ān. But, as the present study will try to show, not least though comparison with the Arabic text, the translation is actually of high quality and was made by someone who worked in a positive spirit – maybe a Muslim – insisting on precision and consistency; furthermore, since the translation can with certainty be dated within the two first centuries after the Hidjra, it possibly has an Umayyad origin.

In the pages following on this introduction, appear the 82 fragments of the Greek Qur’ān found in the Refutatio and the Abjuratio. Of these, all but one are attested in the Refutatio of Niketas Byzantios; the remaining fragment (no. LXII) is found in the anonymous Abjuratio, where (parts of) two of the fragments (no. III and LXXX) found in Niketas’ text are also given. No other Greek text has – so far – been found containing independent attestations of the translation. Since Niketas’ text has by its latest editor, Förstel, been dated to 866-870 CE, this date gives an ante quem for the translation. The anonymous Abjuratio has been variously dated, but never to a date prior to this. To every fragment in the list, the corresponding passage from the Arabic text of the Qur’ān has been added in the left column; below each fragment an English rendering of the Greek text has been attempted, inserted only as a tool for the reader. Such translation of a translation is an intricate matter, and the English version has been produced from the – tentative – aim of reproducing how a general contemporary reader with knowledge of Greek and religious matters would have understood the text. Single words in the Greek text that pertain to Niketas’ or the anonymous author’s quotation habits (words like λέγων, φησι, γάρ, i.e. ‘saying’, ‘says’, ‘for’ etc.) are given in italics and are not translated into English. The Arabic parallel text is given in full phrases, so as not to disturb the meaning.

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6 See A.-Th. HOURY, Les théologiens, pp. 120, 122, and 142-156.
7 It is the aim of the present author to present a critical edition of the fragments, but since the major manuscript (Vat.gr. 681) is in the Vatican library, which is temporarily closed, this will have to await the reopening of the library.
9 A.-Th. HOURY, Les théologiens, p. 187 dates it to end of ninth or beginning of tenth century.
10 It has been impossible to make a firm assessment on whether the conjunction/particle δέ ‘and/but’ of the Greek text belongs to the translation or not, since it occasionally seems superfluous (see
1. The translation

The translation that we have is not a complete Greek translation of the Qur’an but the fragments of a complete translation, quoted in the Refutatio of Niketas Byzantios and in the anonymous Abjuratio. Basic features about the Greek translation have been noted by earlier scholars. It is clear from Niketas’ manner of referring to the text that the translator had had before him the Qur’an as we know it today, i.e. the complete text with the same names for the surahs and given in the same order, and that Niketas now had the Greek version of this. After a general introduction, Niketas goes through his Greek Qur’an, giving extensive quotations from surahs 2 to 18 and again from surahs 38 to 114, supplied with many paraphrases; in the course of his exposition, he announces that he will pass over surahs 19 to 37, yet he summarizes some of the content of surahs 19, 21, 27, and 31 (or 35), i.e. enough to show that this part of the text was also available to him. One difference, however, is noticeable between Niketas’ and the common manner of referring to the Qur’an. Niketas numbers the surahs differently, stating that the Qur’an has 113 surahs (as against the common counting reaching the figure of 114). This sum is reached because Niketas takes the first surah (al-Fātiḥah) for an introduction, not included in his numbering, consequently labelling the following surahs one digit lower than what is now normal praxis (ṣūrat al-Baqarah is called the first surah etc.). In the anonymous Abjuratio, the Qur’an is referred to by name (τὸν Κουρᾶν), but no description is given of it. The author of the Abjuratio shares some Quranic quotations with Niketas (notably surah 112, fragment LXXX) and may have taken some of the citations from Niketas, but due to the single quotation not found in Niketas’ text (fragment LXII), he must also have had access to other sources than Niketas, possibly the translation itself.

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12 See PG 105.768 B13, Förstel, 110. Niketas never actually calls the text by name.
13 See PG 105.708 C2, K. FÖRSTEL (ed.), Niketas von Byzanz, p. 44.
14 See the Abjuratio, PG 140.128b.
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Former studies have concentrated on the Greek language of the translation as well as the polemical and theological context that the quotations appear in. But no collation with the Arabic original has ever been made, and therefore important features have gone unnoticed. First of all, we may state that the translation is of the well-known type that goes word by word, and the translator seriously attempted to adhere to this procedure. This is evident in all the fragments (for minor exceptions, see the commentaries to fragments II, IV, and XXXVII), and this strictness facilitates the discernment between actual quotations and the many passages where Niketas (and to some extent the anonymous author of the *Abjuratio*) rephrases or summarizes the content of a Quranic passage. The word-by-word translation results in a specific type of Greek language, comparable to that of many other translations from Semitic languages. One specific trait are the frequent instances of the Greek pronoun ἀὐτός (in various genders and cases) as well as the personal and possessive pronouns, which serve to render the many Arabic pronominal suffixes; these are found even in a few cases where the pronoun is superfluous or even misleading in the Greek text (e.g. ἐξ αὐτῶν ‘from them’ in fragment XXX). The word-by-word technique required of the translator that he evinced a correct – or at least reasonable – meaning out of the given word order, and sometimes he would have to apply an enforced use of the Greek cases (e.g. in fragment LIII, where we find ἐγγίζοντα ‘lying close’ with the genitive). But the strict word-by-word method is no drawback to the translation. It reflected an accepted form of translation, and it made translators – when working properly as in this case – avoid loose paraphrases.

The Greek of the translation, as convincingly demonstrated by Trapp, is not a standard Byzantine Greek (of any stylistic level), but a partly vernacular and certainly un-classical Greek, which sets it apart from the Greek of Niketas (and also from that of the author of the *Abjuratio*). In fact, Niketas will often change these stylistic features into more classicizing expressions when rephrasing passages into his own words. This – together with the errors that can only be explained through Niketas’ misreading of a Greek text – is the most important argument in

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Trapp’s demonstration of why the translator cannot be Niketas but must be someone else.\textsuperscript{18} Still, Trapp’s clear analysis of the linguistic features of the Greek text – and the lack of direct access to the Arabic text on the part of Niketas – does not lead him to any clear view of the method and origin of the translation. In one passage he speaks of a probable Eastern origin.\textsuperscript{19} Trapp is thus thinking of a non-Byzantine origin, but he does not take the point any further.

Whoever produced the translation (and more than one person may well have been involved in the process), it should be stressed that, despite the mentioned linguistic features that may seem to point to a humble origin, it is actually of high quality.\textsuperscript{20} The person (or persons) completing the task knew Arabic and Greek well, and a high degree of precision and consistency was aimed at and normally achieved. As to precision, one may point out the very few instances where the meaning of the Greek rendering diverts substantially from that normally taken to be the meaning of the Arabic text (see e.g. the discussion on ἴσχυϊ in fragment LXIX). Another feature that points to the wish for exactitude is the common recourse to etymologizing renderings. This is found both in contexts where the translator would have many choices and in passages where the safest way to proceed was to give a word with the closest possible connotations. An important instance of an etymologizing practice is found in the translation of ḥalāl and ḥarām (‘allowed’ and ‘forbidden’), which are translated into forms of λύω and κωλύω. These Greek words normally mean ‘loosen’ and ‘hinder’, which are meanings of the roots in the Arabic words. But since the Greek words are found – though seldom – with the same connotations, the translator found it safe to employ them also in passages where they mean what amounts to ‘allow’ and ‘forbid’.\textsuperscript{21} That also consistency was an aim of the translator(s) may be seen e.g. from the way various forms of the root κφρ ‘infidels’ is consistently translated into the Greek

\textsuperscript{20} By this I only imply that the person producing the translation was a linguistically qualified person, doing his utmost to reproduce the meaning of the Arabic text, not that the translation deserves to be put on a par with accredited translations.
\textsuperscript{21} For these meanings of the Greek verbs, see G.W.H. Lampe (ed.), A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), under ‘λύω’.
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ἀρνησάµενοι (‘deniers’, another etymologizing rendering).22 The five passages where this word comes up are from four different surahs (3, 5, 9 and 13), and the Arabic root kfr is never translated otherwise. Another example are the various Arabic words deriving from the radicals hjn. These are consistently translated into Greek words beginning with φανερ- (indicating something ‘clear’ or ‘manifest’).23

The translator has also been blamed for leaving some Arabic words untranslated and instead offering only a transliteration (see fragments LXI, LXVI, LXVII, LXVIII, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXIX).24 But these transliterations are mostly given because the Quranic text explicitly presents a question on the meaning of the given word (possible exceptions to this are fragments LXVI, LXVIII, and LXXIX). The translator is therefore reproducing the question concerning the meaning of a word, which he would have felt to have destroyed had he given a Greek transliteration. To sum up, precision and consistency in a translation that in modern terms runs into several hundred pages is not achieved by chance, but must have been a conscious aim on the part of the translator.

Yet another feature of the Greek translation is the possible aim of retaining rhymes. In some surahs, as in surah 114 (fragment LXXXII), rhyme is produced by the fact that each verse ends with the same word in the same form. Such repetition of a word is likely to reappear in a translation, though the rhyme will only be reproduced if the word is again placed at the end and given (in every instance) in the same grammatical form (ἀνθρώπων ‘men’ in genitive plural, as a rendering of the Arabic al-nāsi ‘the people’ in genitive singular). But in more complex instances, a rhyme structure is further elaborated upon in the Greek version. In surah 91.1-7 (fragment LXX), the rhyme of the Arabic original (seven phrases ending in –āha) is repeated in Greek phrases ending in various forms of the pronoun αὐτός (in the gender and case demanded by the context). But in the three last phrases the rhyme is furthermore enhanced by three Greek verbs coming before the pronoun. These three verbs are all of the –ίζω/-άζω type, producing rhymes in –ισεν/-ασεν αὐτόν/-ήν (see fragment LXX with commentary). This rhyme pattern is hardly the result of hazard, but seems to point to a translator with

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22 See fragments XIV (3 times), XXVI, XXXIII, XXXIV and XLI.

23 See fragments II, IV, XI and LIX. In fragment XIX however ϕανερώς is found as a translation of jahratin.

esthetic ambitions. Together with the precision and consistency attested, this excludes any but a benevolent translator.

2. Possible origin

As is evident from the information given above, Niketas is not the translator: he had no knowledge of Arabic, and he made mistakes that can only be explained from his misreading of a Greek text. There is no reason to suspect that the author (or redactor) of the *Abjuratio* was behind the translation, since so few passages from it found its way into his text. In fact, due to the vernacular traits in the language of the translation, it is hardly conceivable that it was produced by someone at or affiliated to the central institutions in Constantinople, as was Niketas.\(^\text{25}\)

With the observations given above in mind, no definite answer may be given to the question of place and time of origin (except before 870 CE). Trapp argued that the translation could not be from before early ninth century because the copy errors made in Niketas’ quotations show that he read the Greek text from a minuscule manuscript.\(^\text{26}\) But this only gives a date for the copy that Niketas used, and his copy could have been a copy of an older – and possibly majuscule – manuscript. One may, however, make attempts to envisage what kind of milieu could have fostered and carried out such a vast enterprise. To the present writer, only three possible types of origin can be thought of: 1. within a scholarly circle (with a polemical aim), 2. as product of a religious community whether for liturgy, missionary activities, or as a help for the non-Arab believer, or 3. as an administrative tool in a Muslim, but (at least partly) Greek-speaking state.

As to the first possibility, this is what Khoury envisaged and what the observations made above practically have ruled out. We should, however, bear in mind that the first translation of the Qur’ān made into Latin resulted from exactly such an environment. In 1143 Robert of Ketton produced, at the behest of Peter the Venerable, a Qur’ān translation entitled *Lex Mahomet pseudoprohete*, and Peter’s intentions were definitely polemical.

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\(^{25}\) On the scant knowledge we have regarding his person, see K. FORSTEL (ed.), *Niketas von Byzanz*, pp. ix-xi.

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That the translation should have been produced within a Muslim context for religious purposes – the second possibility – cannot be ruled out, especially since the dominance of Arabic was not as firmly set in the first Muslim century as later. This was the aim of the first complete version of the Qurʾān into Persian.

The third suggestion – that the Greek translation should have been appeared as an administrative tool is based on the fact that Umayyad rule was for more than a century fully or partially carried out in Greek. Inheriting Byzantine lands, the new Umayyad rulers deemed it preferable or even necessary to continue administrative dealings in the way that had for centuries been the customary. In such a milieu where Greek would have to express what was often first conceived in Arabic, a need for a precise way of referring to the holy book also in the administrative language would have become a necessity.

An argument against this is that the writings of John of Damascus (c. 676 -750) do not seem to reflect any knowledge of the translation, and John had exactly inherited a high administrative position in the Umayyad administration in Damascus. In his writings, which probably all stem from the later period in his life where he lived in retirement at the monastery of Mount Sabba, he makes numerous references to the Qurʾān. Had he had access to the ‘official’ translation, he would – one could argue – have made use of it. But John was not working in Damascus, and would probably not have access to the translation when in a monastery. In any case, he could read the Arabic text and was clearly not interested in producing or reproducing direct translations. This goes also for some passages in his works that have been deemed close to being translations (see the comments on fragment IX). In the writings of John’s pupil Abu Qurra (750 – 820/5), there is one passage that possibly reflects knowledge of the Greek translation under discussion, even if the word Abu Qurra uses diverts somewhat from the word attested here. Referring to surah 112 (see fragment LXXX), Abu Qura translates السامد with σφυρόπηκτον (‘solidly compounded’), a word which shares one of its constituent parts with the translator’s ὅλοσφυρος (‘completely solid’). Both being very rare words in Greek, a connection is likely, but it may stem from indirect sources; another possibility is that the text is a somewhat later translation of a text that Abu

29 The text of Abu Qurra is found in PG 97.1545C.
Qurra had originally written in Arabic. The translation of ṣamad was in any case much discussed by Byzantine authors. In the introductory part of his *Refutatio*, where Niketas does not depend on the translation as source (but probably on some earlier polemicist), the translation of this Arabic word has been corrupted into ὅλοσφαιρος (‘completely round’), an absurd meaning which Niketas derides without noticing that he has another, more correct, rendering of the word later in his text. Unfortunately, it was the erroneous rendering of the word that was to survive into some later Byzantine polemics. This again points to the prior existence of a discussion of at least surah 112 based on our translation.

Finally, to support an Umayyad origin, a few words may be adduced from the translation to show that the translator was keen on using distinct words when translating passages that could have a legalistic bearing. In surah 3 (fragment XIV), nāṣir (‘protector’) becomes ἐκδίκος (‘legal representative’, ‘public advocate’);30 and in surah 5 (fragment XXV), lā tatthidhu (‘do not adopt/imitate/assume a position’31) is rendered μὴ γίνεσθε ἀντιλήπτορες (‘do not become protectors’).32 Furthermore, if a translation existed in Damascus, one may imagine that a bilingual Qur’an would have been produced for easy reference. If so, that would explain why the line that fell out in the transmission of the Greek text of fragment XXXV (see the commentary to this) is shorter than what would normally fill a line in a column of a Greek manuscript. Trapp suspected a very small manuscript,33 but chances are that the column was short because two columns were needed on every page, one for the Arabic text and one for the Greek translation.

3. The fragments

The text given below has for the *Refutatio* been taken from the edition of Förstel, unless otherwise indicated in the notes; for the *Abjuratio* it is from the *PG* edition.

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I

Qur'an 2:23

وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ فِي رِيْبٍ مَّا رَأَيْتُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ بَعْضًا مِّنْ ظَلْلَةٍ وَأَذِعْنَا شَهْدَاءً مِّنْ ذُوٍّ اللَّهِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ ضَدَقُّينَ

— Förstel 48; PG 105.713a

Ἐὰν ὦτε ἐν σκανδάλῳ περὶ ὧν κατηγάγομεν ἐπὶ τὸν δούλον ἡμῶν, ἀγάγετε ὀφθήν ἕκ τῶν ὡμίων αὐτοῦ, ... καὶ ἀγάγετε τοὺς μάρτυρας ὑµῶν, .... ei πάρεξ Θεοῦ, φησὶ, ἵστε ἀληθῆς. 34

“For if you are offended by what was sent down to your servant, then bring a verse of its like, and bring your witnesses, if without God you are true”.

II

Qur'an 2:87

وَلَعَلَّ عَلَيْنَا مُوسى مُوسَى الْكُتْبَ وَقَفَّيْنَا مِنْ بَعْدَهُ بِالَّذِيَّ الرَّسُولِ وَعَلَيْنَا عِيْسَى ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ بِحُبٍّ وَرَأْسِ ابْنِ الرَّسُولِ

— Förstel 50; PG 105.716a

Ἐπηγάγοµεν τῷ Μωϋσεῖ γραφὴν, καὶ ἀπεστείλαµεν µετ’ αὐτὸν ἀποστόλους· καὶ ἐπηγάγοµεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ υἱῷ Μαρίας τὴν φανέρωσιν, καὶ ἐνεδυναµώσαµεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύµατος. 35

34 Two short insertions by Niketas are left out in the text given (place in text marked by dots). The text left out is τῶν προφητῶν δηλαδή λέγων ('referring to those of the prophets') and τοὺς αὐτοὺς λέγων προφήτας, ἢ καὶ τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐξετάσαι ἀλήθη ἢ ψευδῆ λόγου ('referring to the same prophets or to those who are able to discern a true speech from a false'). ἐστε ἀληθῆς is Trapp’s conjecture; the manuscript has ἔσται ἀληθῆς ('he(?) will be true'), adopted by Förstel.

35 In the last two words we see a (small) deviation from the word by word procedure: in the Arabic the word order is bi-rūḥ al-qudus (lit. “by-the spirit-of the-holy”, which is understood like “by the holy spirit”). This has been changed into the familiar Greek διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύµατος (lit. “through-the-holy-spirit”).
“We sent down the writing to Moses, and we dispatched prophets after him. And we sent down to Jesus, son of Mary, the manifestation, and we strengthened him through the holy spirit”.

III

Qur‘ān 2:150

وَمِنَّى خَذَّلُ فَوْلَةُ وَخَذَّلُ شَطْرُ المسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ وَخَذَّلُ مَا كَانَ فَوْلَا وَخَذَّلُ شَطْرُهُ

— Förstel 56; PG 105.720c

“Wherever you are, raise your faces in the direction of the prayerhouse of observation”.

IV

Qur‘ān 2:168

…”بَيْنَا أَلَآّسُ كُلُّها مَعَنا فِي الأَرْضِ حَلَالًا وَلَا نَذْبَعَ حَرُوفُ السَّمَّيْطِ إِلَّا لَكُمْ عَمَّا مَيْنُ

— Förstel 56; PG 105.721a1

Φάγετε γάρ, φησίν, ἐκ τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ γῇ· καθαρὰ γὰρ καὶ καλὰ· καὶ μὴ ἐξακολουθεῖτε ἐν τοῖς ἱχνεῖσιν τοῦ Σατανᾶ· αὐτὸς ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν ἕστι φανερὸς.

36 The three last words of this fragment are also cited in the Abjuratio (PG 153 15ff.); see E. TRAPP, "Gab es eine byzantinische Koranübersetzung?", Diptycha hetaireias byzantinon kai metabyzantinon meleton 2 (1981), p. 15.

37 It was observed by E. TRAPP, "Gab es eine byzantinische Koranübersetzung?", Diptycha hetaireias byzantinon kai metabyzantinon meleton 2 (1981), p. 11 that a rare use of ἐξακολουθέω with the preposition ἐν + dative is found here, as against the normal classical ἐξακολουθέω + dative. We may note that the presence of the preposition marks a small deviation from the words contained in the Arabic text, for it has no preposition (or anything else) between the word meaning ‘follow’ and ‘footsteps’.
“For eat of the things that are on the earth. For they are pure and good. And do not follow in the footsteps of Satan. He is your manifest enemy”.

V

Qur’an 2:176

— Förstel 56; PG 105.721a8

“And those who doubt about the writings are in far apostasy”.

VI

Qur’an 2:185 + 2:187

— Förstel 58; PG 105.721b

38 Here and in fragment XXVI the Arabic kitāb ‘book’ in the singular is translated into the plural γραφαῖς ‘writings’.
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eis αὐτάς εἰς παράκλησιν καὶ φάγετε ἑσπέρας καὶ πίετε, ἐὰν ἂν τὸ ἁπὸ τοῦ σκότους φαινόμενον ῥάμµα μέλαν διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας φανῇ ἃσπρον καὶ πάλιν πληρώσατε τὴν νηστείαν ἐὰν τῆς ἑσπέρας καὶ μὴ μίθητε αὐτάς ὡ ῃ ς συγκαζόντων ἐν τῷ προσκυνητηρίῳ αὐτῆ ἐστὶ νομοθεσία Θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἐγγίσητε αὐτάς. 39

“The month of Ramaḍān is the one in which the reading was sent down to us …”

“Fast in it! … The night of the fast will be (the time) for you to have intercourse with your wives. For they are a covering for you, and you are a covering for them. For God knows that you risk your souls during the fast, and He becomes gracious towards you. Have intercourse with them according to the command, and eat and drink during the night, till the thread that seems black due to the darkness appears white due to the daylight. And fulfill again the fast until evening. And do not have intercourse with them when you must be gathered in the prayerhouse. This is the command of God, and do not come near them”.

VII
Qur’ān 2:191

وَأَفْطَلُوهُمْ حِيْثُ تُفْطِنوُهُمْ

— Förstel 58; PG 721c5

Φονεύσατε, λέγων, αὐτοὺς ὅπου ἂν συναντήσητε αὐτοῖς·

“Kill them whereever you meet them”.

VIII
Qur’ān 2:194

فَمَن أَعْتَدَى عَلَيكُمْ فَأَعْتَدُوا عَلَيهِ بَيْظًا مَا أَعْتَدَى عَلَيكُمْ

39 A large part of verse 185 (and all of 186) have been left out by Niketas. This is marked by dots. The μη of the last sentence was inserted already by the editor of the PG.
And who bears a grudge against you, hate him you as he hated you”.

IX

Qur’an 2:223

Your wives are your fallow land. Go to your fallow land whenever you wish. And come together with yor souls”.

X

Qur’an 2:230

The second line of this fragment is cited again by Niketas in PG 105.708B with slight variation, probably due to manuscript corruption. According to Sahas, 91, John of Damascus also gives a direct quotation of this passage in Greek, saying: Εἴργασαι τὴν γῆν, ἥν ὁ θεὸς ἐδῶκε σοι, καὶ φιλοκάλησον αὐτήν ('work your land, which God has given you, and bless it'). But this sounds more like a paraphrase.

40
“If someone divorces his wife, it will no longer be possible for him to divorce her again, before she has been married to another man. And if the second husband divorces her, there is no condemnation on them if they turn to each other again. For these are the laws of God”.

XI
Qur’an 2:256

لا إكراه في اللَّهِ فَدوُّبْنَ الرَّحْمَانِ مِن الْخَيْرِ

— Förstel 58; PG 105.724a

Όὐκ ἀναγκάσαι δὲ εἰς πίστιν· ἀφανερώθη γὰρ τὸ εὐπρόσδεκτον ἐκ τοῦ σφαλμένου.

“There is no enforcement in faith. For the well-received has become manifest through the misguided”.

XII
Qur’an 3:42

إن الله أضعفت وطهرك وأضعفت عليه النساء الالَّدِين

— Förstel 62; PG 105.725a4

Σὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἐξελέξατο ὑπὲρ τὰς ἀπ’ αἰώνων γυναῖκας·

“God has elected you above the women of the ages”. 41

XIII
Qur’an 3:44-46

نوجيه إليه وما كنت لدنيم إذ بلغتم أقلمهم أنتم كفِّلتم بما كَتَبَ لهم إذ خُصصون

41 K. Förstel (ed.), Niketas von Byzanz, p. 62 – with no indication in the apparatus criticus – prints ὑπὲρ τὰς ἀπ’ αἰώνων γυναῖκας (‘above the women out of the ages’). This may be the manuscript reading, but this combination of preposition and noun is otherwise unattested.
An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur’an

— Förstel 62; PG 105.725a7

Ὅπερ κατηνέγκαμεν εἰς σέ, σοῦ μὴ δντος έκείσε, ὅταν ἤπλωσαν αὐτόν τάς ἀγκάλας ἄγγελοι, ποῖος ἐξ αὐτῶν προσδέξεται τήν Μαρίαν; καὶ οὐκ ἦς έκείσε: τούς δὲ ἄγγελους πρός αὐτήν φάναι Ὅ Θεός, φησίν, εὐαγγελίζεται σε τὸν Λόγον αὐτοῦ· Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Μαρίας ἑπτηυχάνον ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ὑπάρχων.

ὁν ἐκ τῶν ἐγγίζοντων, καὶ λαλῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ σπαργάνων, φησίν, ὑπάρχων πρεσβύτης καὶ ἐκ τῶν χρησίμων.42

“What We have brought down to you, while you were not present, when the angels spread out their arms, who among them should receive Mary. And you were not there”.

“And the angels said to her: “God makes you the good announcement of his word. Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, who succeeds in this life and will live in the coming life, being one of those that come near, speaking to men from the cradle and being also among the respected when old”.

42 It may be correct as suggested by the editor of the PG, that ἀγκάλας (‘arms’) should be changed into ἀστραγάλους (‘dices’) or καλάμους (‘reeds’), but unable to settle the matter I have left it as given by the manuscript. After καὶ οὐκ ἦς έκείσε (‘and you were not there’), the Greek text has nothing corresponding to the last two words of the Arabic text. The passage τούς δὲ … φάναι Ὅ Θεος, φησίν, ‘And the angels said to her’ has clearly been changed into an acc. with inf. by Niketas; still, it directly renders the Arabic text.
And that God said: “I subject you to death and I will exhalt you to me, and I will purify you of the deniers and I will raise those who follow you against the deniers on the day of the resurrection. I will punish the deniers with a heavy punishment in the coming, and they will have no protector.”

“"This is the true narrative".
An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur'ān

— Förstel 64; PG 105.728a
Ας οἱ οἰκεῖοι τῆς γραφῆς …, δεῦτε εἰς τὸν λόγον τὸν στοιχοῦντα μέσα ἡμῶν καὶ ὑµῶν, τὸν µὴ δουλεύειν εἰ µὴ τὸν Θεόν, καὶ τὸν µὴ θεῖναι αὐτῷ κοινωνὸν τίποτε. 43

“Oh, the adherents of the writing, join together in the word that is in agreement among us and you, that we shall worship none but God and that we shall not make anything like Him”.

XVII
Qur’ān 3:144

οµα µαχθεὶν ἐλα Ῥεσούλ Φ θ Χελθεµεν αφεὶν µατ ου θείναι αὐτῷ κοινωνὸν τίποτε.

— Förstel 66; PG 105.729a
Ὁ δὲ Μωάµετ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ µὴ ἀπόστολος, παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπόστολοι. Ἐὰν ἀποθάνῃ ἢ σφαγῇ, ἀποστρέψετε εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω.

“And Muhammad is only a messenger, and before him came other messengers. If he dies or is killed, would you turn back?”

XVIII
Qur’ān 4:88

அரேடோன் அன்றாவன அச்சும் அல்லாஹ் மேம் பச்சலிக்கும் அல்லாஹ் வள்ள வயபல 捎ைலா

43 The interjection Άς ‘Oh’ (see also fragments XXV, XXVI, and XXVIII) is very rare, and is only given as gloss in the dictionary of Sophocles, with no indication as to its meaning. Here it is clearly meant to represent the Arabic ي. It is most probably a derivation from ἀγε (imperative of ἀγω) and represents the intermediate step into the modern Greek αι (through the same linguistic development that made classical ἄγες into modern αϊς). I owe this acute observation to Dr. Giorgos Livadas. Note the consistent translation of the Arabic οικείος ‘people’ into οἰκεῖοι ‘adherent/members’. A short insertion by Niketas is left out in the text given (place in text marked by dots). The text left out is τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τελοῦντα ἐνταῦθα καλῶν (‘thereby indicating those enlisted under the Gospel’).

44 Niketas does not take the last sentence as a question, but there is nothing to exclude that it was so in the original (as in the Arabic text).
Christian Høgel

— Förstel 68; PG 105.732b

Θέλετε ἄρα ὀδηγῆσαι τὸν ἐπλάνησεν ὁ Θεὸς· καὶ τὸν πλανᾷ ὁ Θεὸς, οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ αὐτῷ ὁ ὁδὸς.

“So do you want to guide someone that God as led as tray? And who God leads astray, for him no road was found”.

XIX

Qurʾān 4:153

— Förstel 70; PG 105.732d – 733a

Αἰτοῦνταί οἱ οἰκεῖοι τῆς γραφῆς, τοῦ κατενέγκαι ἐπάνω αὐτῶν γραφὴν· καὶ γὰρ ᾐτήσαντο τὸν Μωϋσῆν µεγαλώτερα τούτων καὶ εἶπον· ∆εῖξον ἡµῖν τὸν Θεὸν φανερῶς· καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτοὺς τὸ θεῖον διὰ τὰς ἁδικίας αὐτῶν.

“The adherents of the writing ask of you that you send down to them from heaven a writing. For of Moses they asked for things greater than these and said: “Show us God manifestly.” And the divine took hold of them due to their unrighteousness”.

XX

Qurʾān 4:160 + 4:151 + 4:155

— On οἰκεῖοι ‘adherents’ see fragment XVI.
An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur’an

Förstel 72; PG 105.733b

Dia tin adiktin ton Ioudaioantov ekoloussan epanw auton, apére exon autou yasan, kai hteomasaixn ex auton kolasin sefodran kai dia to foneidasi autous tois proftitas aneu dikaiou.

“Due to the transgression of the Jews, We have made forbidden to them what was formerly possible for them”.

“And We prepared them a heavy punishment”

“because they unrightfully killed the prophets”.

XXI

Qur’an 4:157-158

Kai ton legen Ioustaioi, Hmeis foneidasiem twn Christon twn Isioyn wion Mariax apostolon Theou ouk ephoneusan auton oide estrapoiesen auton, alla tpmoiyhe autous, oitines de amfibiapousi diastigmh ex autou, ouk ephousan eis auton eidhiei, ei mhe ekolothean tov nomizean kai ouk ephoneusan auton en altheisen, mailon ephessen auton o Theos pros eaxton.46

“And because the Jews said: “We killed Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, Gods messenger.” They did not kill and they did not crucify him, but it seemed to them (as if). Those who are doubtful due to uncertainty concerning him have no knowledge about him, only acceptance of a belief. And in reality they did not kill him, rather God exalted him to Himself”.

46 In the passage oitines de amfipiballousi diastemh ex autou, Trapp, 9 suspects that some words have fallen, reconstructing the passage in the following way: oitines de amfipiballousi <pent autou/ eisin en> diastemh ex autou (“those who doubt about him are ind uncertainty concerning him”).
Christian Høgel

XXII
Qur’an 4:171

إِنَّمَا الْمُسِحِّبُ عِيْشٍ أَبُو مِزْرَم ِرَسُولٌ اللَّهِ وَكِلَّفَهُ اِلَّهُ إِلَى مِزْرَمٍ وَرَوْحَ مَنَّهُ

— Förstel 72; PG 105.736a

Ο Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς οἱός Μαρίας ἀπόστολος Θεοῦ ἐστι καὶ λόγος αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἔρριψεν πρὸς τὴν Μαρίαν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

“Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, is God’s messenger and His word, which he hurled to Mary, and spirit of Him”.

XXIII
Qur’an 5:19

أن تقولوا ما جأتنا من بشر

— Förstel 74; PG 105.736d

Τοῦ μὴ λέγειν ὑμᾶς, φησιν, “Οὐκ οὔκ ἐλήλυθεν ἡµῖν ὁ εὐαγγελιζόµενος”.

“… so that you will not say: “No bringer of god new s came to us”.

XXIV
Qur’an 5:46-47

وَقَلِيدَنا عَلَىَّ فَلَرُنَّ بَيِّنَى أَبُو مِزْرَمٍ مُّصَدَّقًا لَّا يُنَّ بَيِّنَى مِنَ الْيَوْمِ وَقَلِيدَتَهُ أَلْحَمْبُ مِمْهُ وَرَوْحُ مَنَّهُ وَقُلْ أَلْحَمْبُ مِمْهُ وَرَوْحُ مَنَّهُ وَقُلْ أَلمَّا أَنَزلَ اللَّهُ مَا غَضَبَنَّ يَا أَيُّهَا الْمُؤْمِنُوُلَ تَعَذَّبَنَّ بِهِمْ

— Förstel 76; PG 105.737a-b

Ἀποστείλαµεν δὲ ἀκόλουθον τούτων, … Ἰησοῦν τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς Μαρίας οἰς τὸ ἀληθοποιῆσαι τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὰ τὸ νόµον, καταγαγόντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν ὦ ἐστιν ὀδήγησις, φῶς, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ νόµου,
And We sent Jesus son of Mary to follow after these, to make true the commandments from before him, bringing down to him also the gospel, in which there is guidance, light and justice, in compliance with the law from before him, for guidance and exhortation to the frightened and to judge those belonging to the gospel, because of whom God brought down in this (or according to that which God brought down in this). And whoever does not judge in accordance with what God brought down, they are lawless'.

XXV
Qur’ān 5:51

“Oh, you believers, do not become patrons of Jews or Christians. Whoever of you protects them (litt. with a shield), he will become one of them”.

XXVI
Qur’ān 5:68

47 A short insertion by Niketas is left out in the text given (place in text marked by dots). The text left out is πάντων δηλαδή τῶν προφητῶν (‘i.e. all the prophets’). K. FÖRSTEL (ed.), Niketas von Byzanz, p. 202) takes the relative pronoun ὅστις to refer to Jesus and puts the rest of the sentence in crucis, since he finds fault with the meaning. There is, however, no need for this, as ὅστις here simply introduces – as it often does – an indefinite relative clause (‘whoever …’).

48 On Ἄε (‘Oh’), see notes to fragment XVI. A short insertion by Niketas is left out in the text given (place in text marked by dots). The text left out is πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους φωνῶν (‘speaking to the barbarians’).
Oh, you adherents of the writings, you are nothing before you follow the law and the gospel, and what has been brought down to you by your Lord. For error and denial are increased by what has been brought down to us by the Lord.

XXVII
Qur’ān 6:142

And do not follow the path of Satan.

XXVIII
Qur’ān 7:158

Oh, men! I am God’s messenger to you all.

49 On Ἄε ('Oh') and oἰκεῖοι ('adherents'), see notes to fragment XVI.
50 On Ἄε ('Oh'), see notes to fragment XVI.
XXIX
Qur’ān 7:160

قَأَبَجَسْتُ منْهُ أَلَّا غَيْرَ عَيْتًا

— Förstel 82; PG 105.744b5

Καὶ ἔβρυσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς δώδεκα πηγαί.

“And twelve sources burst forth”.

XXX
Qur’ān 7:166

مقالا عَنْ عَنْ ما بَرَوا عَنْهَا فَلَّا لَّهُمْ كُوْلَا قَرَدةٌ خَسِيبٌ

— Förstel 82; PG 105.744b7

Ὅταν δὲ ἐπέμειναν οἱ Ἰουδαίοι εἰς ἃ ἐκωλύοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν, εἴπομεν αὐτοῖς· Γένεσθε πίθηκοι.

And when the Jews persisted in what they had been forbidden from them, We said to them: “Become monkeys.”

XXXI
Qur’ān 7:178

مَنْ يَأْمَدْ أَلَّا فِي يَوْمِ الْمُحْتَدِيْنَ وَمَنْ يَقَلَّلْ فَأَوَلَنَّ مِنْ الْخَسِيرِنَ

—Förstel 82; PG 105.744b14

Τὸν ἀδικεῖ ὁ θεὸς, ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶν ἀδικημένος καὶ τοὺς πλανᾶ, ἐκεῖνοι εἰσὶν ἐλεημοσυνήσιμοι.

51 The ἐξ αὐτῶν ‘from them’ reflects Arabic idiomatic and is superfluous in the Greek sentence.
“Whoever God guides, he is guided. And those whom he leads astray, these are the deficient”.

XXXII
Qur’an 7:188

لا أنمل انقص في نفسي ولا ضرر إلا ما شاء الله وَلَوْ كَتَبَ أَمْلَ الْقَبْلِ لَأَسْتَكْرِهِمْ من الخير وما مسبَى السوء إن أنا إلا رَضِيَ وَنُبِّئُ الْقُومَ نَظِيمًا

— Förstel 82; PG 105.744c

Οὐ κυριεύω τῆς ψυχῆς μου ὡφέλειαν οὔτε βλάβην, ἀλλ’ ὁ Θεὸς θέλει. ... Καὶ εἰ ἐγίνωσκον τά ἀπόντα, εἶχον πλεονάσας ἑκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ οὐκ εἶχέν μου ἁμαρταία δεινόν. Οὐκ εἴμι ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ ἀναστάλτης καὶ εὐαγγελίστης λαοῦ πιστεύοντος.52

“I am not master of my own soul, neither for gain or for loss, but only for what God wants. And if I knew of what is absent, I would have an excess of the good, and no evil could have touched me. I am only a sender and bringer of good news to a believing people”.

XXXIII
Qur’an 9:30-31

وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ يُّؤْفَكُونَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ وَقَالَ الْمُسْلِمُ الْمُسْتَلَّثُ أَنَّ اللَّهَ ذَلِكَ قَوْلُهُمْ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ أَنِّي أَعْلَمُ Aَنَّ مَزَمَّرًا وَمَا أَذَرْوا إِلا بِجَنَّٰتٍ وَجَدًَا

52 The word ἀναστάλτης conjectured by Förstel (here tentatively translated as ‘originator’), as well as the manuscript’s ἀνατάλτης, are otherwise unattested in Greek.
An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur’an

— Förstel 86; PG 105.745c

Λέγουσιν Ἰουδαῖοι ὅτι Ἰσραήλ ἐστὶν υἱὸς Θεοῦ· καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ὅτι ὁ Χριστός ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ· τοῦτο ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν· ἵσοφωνοι τοῖς λόγοις τῶν ἀρνησάμενον ἐκ πρῴν· φονεύσει αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεός· ἐνεκέν τῶν ἁρνοῦντας· ἐπέλαβον τοὺς ἀποστόλους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς κυρίους πάρεις Θεοῦ· καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν τῆς Μαρίας· καὶ οὐκ ἐκελεύσθησαν δουλεύειν εἰ μὴ Θεοῦ ἐνός.

“The Jews say that Israel is son of God. And the Christians say that Messiah is the son of God. This is their speech through their mouths. They liken their speech to the deniers of old. God will kill them, because of the things they deny. They have taken their messengers and priests to be lords beside God, as well as the Messiah, son of Mary. And they were commanded to serve only one God”.

XXXIV
Qur’an 9:32-33

— Förstel 90; PG 105.749c

Κἂν ἀηδῶς ἔχουσιν οἱ ἁρνησάμενοι, Θεὸς ἐστιν ὁ πέμψας τὸν ἀπόστολον αὐτῶν εἰς ὁδήγησιν καὶ εἰς πίστιν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ δεσπόζειν αὐτὸν ἐπάνω πάσης πίστεως·

"Even if the deniers dislike it, it is God who sent His messenger, for the guidance and true belief, to make it rule over all faith”.

XXV
Qur’an 9:61

53 K. Förstel (ed.), Niketas von Byzanz, p. 90 writes ἔχουσιν without any note, as against the obviously correct ἔχωσιν of the PG edition (and probably also the manuscript).
“Some cause loathing to the prophet and say that he is ear. Oh, he is the ear of the good for you”.

XXXVI

Qur’ân 10:2

“So, is it surprising to men that God has made a revelation to a man among them, in order to attest for men, and give the good news to the believers, that there is a true progress (in awaitance) for them by their Lord?”

54 The text cited by Niketas goes thus: Τινὲς σιαίνουσι τὸν προφήτην, καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι αὐτὸς [οὖς ἐστι. Ἄς, αὐτὸς όμιν οὖς ἐγαθοθεῦ ἐστί. This misrepresentation of the quranic words is made the object of much derision by Niketas. The text given above reflects the ingenious conjecture given by Trapp, 9: Τινὲς σιαίνουσι τὸν προφήτην, καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι αὐτὸς οὖς [ἐστι. Ἄς, αὐτὸς όμιν οὖς ἐγαθοθοῦ ἐστι. According to Trapp both the οὖς and the θεοῦ before and after the suppressed line would have been read incorrectly by Niketas (or someone before him) as nomina sacra. On the basis of the missing line, he deduces an origin from a small manuscript (with narrow columns of text).

55 The first person plural (‘we’) of the Arabic text has here been changed into ὁ θεὸς (‘God’). Part of Niketas’ manner of quotation?
XXXVII
Qur’an 11:49

τὸ αὐτὸ αὖθις τῷ ἄγνωστῳ οἴκους ἰδίκους, οὐκ οἷς γνώσκοις αὐτὰ σὺ ὁ λαός σου πρὸ τοῦτο.

“From the narratives of the absent we disclose these things for you. You were not aware of these things yourself, nor your people before this”.

XXXVIII
Qur’an 12:102

дей σαμάλλον αὖθις τῷ ἄγνωστῳ οἴκους ἰδίκους.

“This is from the narratives on the absent; we reveal these things to you”.

XXXIX
Qur’an 13:30

καθὼς ἀσέλλων σε ἑνὸς ἔθνος ὁ παρῆλθεν πρὸ αὐτῶν ἔθνη, τῷ ἐντυγχάνειν ἐπάνω αὐτῶν τῷ δηλοποιηθέντα πρὸς σέ.

— Förstel 94; PG 105.756a

— Förstel 96; PG 105.756d

— Förstel 98; PG 105.757c

The fragment contains a very minor deviation in word order: αὐτὰ ‘these things’ is in the Greek sentence placed right after the verb, whereas it in the Arabic text comes at the very end.
“We sent you to a people, before which passed other peoples, in order to read aloud for them what has been disclosed to you”.

XL
Qur’ān 13:31 + 13:33


Forstel 98; PG 105.757d

For if God wanted, he could have guided all men. And whoever God leads astray, he has no guidance”.

XLI
Qur’ān 13:43

— Förstel 100; PG 105.760a

“The deniers say: “You are no messenger.” Say: “May God suffice for me as witness between me and you, and whoever has knowledge about the writing”.

57 I have written πρὸ ὀικοῦ instead of Förstel’s (and the manuscript’s) παρ’ ὀικοῦ. The passive participle ἀκοποιηθέντα (‘what has been disclosed’) may be the result of Niketas’ rephrasing, since it does not represent the first person plural in the Arabic relative clause alladhī awhayna.

58 Förstel prints no ἄν after εἶχεν, as given in the PG edition. Whatever is found in the manuscript, it is needed in order to produce the correct irrealis, cf. fragment XLIII.
XLII
Qur’an 14:50

— Förstel 100; PG 105.760d
tὰ καµήσια αὐτῶν ἀπὸ κεδρίας, καὶ καλύπτει τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν τὸ πῦρ.
“… their shirts of cedar oil, and the fire covers their faces”.

XLIII
Qur’an 15:6-7

— Förstel 102; PG 105.761a1
Πάντως ἐροῦσίν σοι ὅτι δαιµονιάρις εἶ λέγων ἐκ θεοῦ δέξασθαι ταῦτα· εἰ γὰρ ἢς ἀληθινὸς, ἀγγέλου ἄν κατήγες.
“In any case they will say to you that you are possessed by a demon, if you say that you have received this from a God. For if you were truthful, you could bring down an angel”.

XLIV
Qur’an 16:116

— Förstel 102; PG 105.761c
Μη εἶπητε ὅτι τοῦτο ἐστὶ λελυµένον, καὶ τοῦτο κεκωλυµένον τοῦ βλασφηµεῖν ἐπάνω τοῦ θεοῦ ψεύσµα.

59 Πάντως (‘in any case’) has no parallel in the Arabic text of the Qur’an, but can hardly be taken to be an addition by Niketas, coming as it does right after Niketas’ ὁτι (see also above on Niketas’ manner of quotation).
“Do not say that “This is allowed and this forbidden,” in order to impart a blasphemous lie on God”.

**XLV**  
Qur’an 17:13-14

وَكُلُّ إِنْ شَاءَ الْحُكْمُ مُطْرَةً فِي عَنْقِهِمْ وَخُذُوهُ لَهُ يُومُ الْقِتْلِ كَنَّا بَلَاءً مَّنْشُورًا

— Förstel 104; PG 105.764a

Kaὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκάστου ἀνθρώπου ἐκολλήσαμεν αὐτῷ τὴν μοῖραν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐκβαίνει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀναστάσεως γραφὴ ὑπαντῶσα αὐτῷ· Ἀνάγνωσον τὴν γραφήν σου.  

“And we have fastened to the neck of each person his destiny. And on the day of resurrection a writing meets him, encountering in such words: “Read your writing”.

**XLVI**  
Qur’an 17:16-17

وَإِذَا أرَدْنَا أَن نَبْلِكَ قَرْبَةً أَمْرًا مَّأْرِقًا فَفَسَّنَّا فِيهَا فَحَلَّ عَلَيْكَ الْقُولُ فَدَفْرَتْهَا تَدُمِرًا

— Förstel 104; PG 105.764b

Ὅταν ἠθέλοµεν ἀπολέσαι χωρίον, ἐκελεύοµεν τοὺς ἑστῶτας ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἠσώτευσαν ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ λόγος· καὶ ἐδαµάσαµεν αὐτοὺς δάµασιν· καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπωλέσαµεν ἐκ τῶν γενεῶν μετὰ τὸν Νόε.

60 The initial ἡµεῖς, which is dispensable, seems to be part of Niketas’ quotation manner, since it has no parallel in the Arabic text.

61 ἐζήτορος, ‘those who lived’, may (as suggested by E. TRAPP, “Gab es eine byzantinsche Koranübersetzung?”, Diptycha hetairiæs byzantinon kai metabyzantinon meleton 2 [1981], p. 10) be a corruption for ἀπόζητος (‘profligate’).
“When We wished to destroy a settlement, we gave a command to those who lived in it and lived in it in a profligate way. And the saying about it is done right. And We tamed them a taming, and We killed many of the generations after Noah”.

XLVII
Qur’ān 17:40

أَفْضَلْكُمْ رَيْمَ بِالْبَيْنِينَ وَأَخْذَ مِنَ الْمَلِكَةِ إِنَّا إِنَّمَا لَقِلْوُونَ قُوَّةً عَلَيْهِا

— Förstel 106; PG 105.764d – 765a

Καὶ ἐπελέξατο ὑµῖν ὁ Κύριος ηµῶν τέκνα, καὶ ἐπελάβετο ἐκ τῶν ἀγγέλων θηλείας· ὑµεῖς δὲ λέγετε λόγους µεγάλους.

“And our Lord chose children for us, and took (for himself) female beings among the angels. But you utter frightful speech”.

XLVIII
Qur’ān 17:111

وَقَلَّ الْحَنُّذَ بِلَّهَ الَّذِى لَمْ يَتَحَدَّ وَالَّذِى

— Förstel 106; PG 105.765 C

Καὶ εἶπε· Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ µὴ ἐπιλαβόντι υἱόν.

“And say: “I thank God who did not take take a son”.

IL
Qur’ān 18:18 + 21-22

وَحَسَبْتُمْ أَنفَاقًا وَهُمْ رَوْقُدٌ وَقَلُبُهُمْ ذَاتَ الْبَيْنِينَ وَذَاتَ النَّشَامَ وَكِيلُهُمْ نَصْطَبُ دَرَاعَهُ بَيْنَا فَقَالُوا أَنَّهُمْ عَلَّمُونَ بُنْيَانًا رَيْمَ أَعْلَمُ بِهِمْ قَالَ اللَّهُ بِأَعْلَمِ مَنْ يَعْلَمُ عَلَى أَمْرِهِ مَلَّبِسُهُ عَلَى مَسْجِدًا سَيَقُولُونَ ثَلَاثَةَ رَأَبَاهُمْ كَلِمُهُمْ رَيْمَ أَعْلَمُ بِعَدْدِهِمْ مَا يَعْلَمُهُمْ إِلَّا قَليْلٌ
“You think that they are awake, and yet they sleep. You turn them right and left, and their dog, folding its legs at the excavated he ap”.

“The Lord knows all about them. Those who overcame their cause say: “We got hold for them of a prayerhouse.” They could say: “Three; the fourth among them was their dog”.

“The Lord knows their number, and only few know about them”.

Qur’an 18:30-31

62 This fragment skips various sentences in the original, but since it is given as a single quotation by Niketas, it has not been subdivided into several fragments. A short insertion by Niketas is left out in the text given (place in text marked by dots). The text left out is δοκοῦντες τὰ ἀπόντα λέγειν· καὶ τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἕως τῶν ἑπτά (‘apparently speaking of the absent, and this, he says, until seven’). The second person singular in ἀναστρέφεις (‘you turn’) is hard to explain in view of the first person plural of νυκτιλίνυ-νυμ. The phrase οἵτινες ἐνίκησαν ἐπάνω τοῦ πράγματος αὐτῶν (here translated as ‘those who overcame their cause’) is hard to extract any clear sense of. Förstel suggests ἐπεβάλομεν instead of ἐπελάβομεν, but the etymologizing tendency in the translation speaks in favour of the manuscript reading, as the root of λαμβάνω seems closer related to ἱδ than βάλλω. In any case, the translator apparently failed to recognize the hortative form and the intensive -anna ending.
"We do not throw away the pay for well accomplished work. For them there is a
garden in Edem (in awaitance); rivers run beneath it. They are adorned in it with
golden bracelets; they wear green clothings of silk and brocade, resting on
couches. Good is the recompense and glorious the enjoyment".

LI
Qur’an 18:86

خِيْنَ إِذَا بَلَغَ مَغْرَبَ النَّمْسَسِ وَجَدَهَا تَعَرَّبَ فِي غَيْبِ حُمَلَةٍ

— Förstel 108; PG 105.768b

“He went away until the setting of the sun and found the sun sinking into hot water”.

LII
Qur’an 37:1-5

وَالْقَلْبِ ضَخًا
فَالْخَلْقُ زَجَا
فَالْمِلْكِ ذُكْرًا
إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَوْحَدً
رَبُّ السَّمُوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَايْتَبَاءَ وَرَبُّ الْمَشْرِقِ
“By the rows of rows, and the request of the requests, by what is read aloud in remembrance. For your God is one, Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, and Lord of the east”.

LIII
Qur’ān 37:6-9

"We adorned the sky, which lies close to the orderly arrangement of the stars, and We protected (it) against any rebellious satan. They do not hear the high assemblies, and they are shot at from all directions, being evicted".

— Förstel 110; PG 105.769a7

Γάν τὰ φολκῆ τῶν φολκῶν, καὶ προκλήματα προκλημάτων, Θεὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν ἔστιν εἷς Κύριος τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ τῶν μέσα αὐτῶν καὶ Κύριος τῶν αἰνωτῶν.

“By the rows of rows, and the request of the requests, by what is read aloud in remembrance. For your God is one, Lord of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, and Lord of the east”.

LIII
Qur’ān 37:6-9

Εἰς ζῆταν τὸν οὐρανὸν ζῆτη αὐτήν θεά, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀστέρων· καὶ ἐτηρήσαμεν εἰς τὰ ὄχλη τὰ ὑψηλά, καὶ ἀκοντίζονται ἐξ ἑκάστου μέρους ὀθόνημοι.

“We adorned the sky, which lies close to the orderly arrangement of the stars, and We protected (it) against any rebellious satan. They do not hear the high assemblies, and they are shot at from all directions, being evicted”.

— Förstel 110; PG 105.769a7

προκλήματα προκλημάτων is a conjecture of K. Förstel (ed.), Niketas von Byzanz, p. 110 (instead of προσθήματα προσθημάτων which the PG edition has). Both are difficult to make sense of. The whole passage from Μὰ until μνήμῃ is placed in cruces by Förstel, but apart from the word discussed above the text seems to reflect the Arabic text well.
LIV
Qur‘ān 51:1-6

وَالْدُّوَّرَ ذَرْوَاء
فَالْحَمَّلَ وَقَرْأٌ
فَالْجَرِيَّةَ فَسَّرَ
فَالْتَشْتَهَتَ أَمَّا
إِنَّا نُوعِدُونَ أَصَادِقٍ
وَإِنَّ الَّذِينَ لُقِّعُ

— Förstel 110; PG 105.769b1

Μά τά λιχμοῦντα λιχμόν, καὶ βασταζούσας γόμους, καὶ τρεχούσας εὐθείας, καὶ τά μερίζοντα πράγματα, ὑπισχνύεσθε γὰρ τὸ ἀληθὲς· καὶ ὅτι ἡ κρίσις φθάσαι ἔχει. 64

“By those that winnow the winnowing-fan, that endure burdens and run straight, and divide the matters. For you promise the truth. And that the judgement will come”.

LV
Qur‘ān 52:1-7

وَالْبَعْرُ
وَكُتِبَ مُسْتَطِورٌ
في رَقْبِ مُشْتُورٍ

64 The participles of the Greek text waver between feminine plural and neuter plural, and a final settlement of the issue on which to choose does not seem attainable. It is possible that the Greek translator wished ὑπισχνύεσθε to mean ‘you are being promised’ (which would render the Arabic text better), but the immediate meaning of the phrase would rather be taken to be the one given above (‘you promise’).
Mã τὸ ὄρος, καὶ γραφὴν στιχιζοµένην ἐν µεµβράνῳ λιτῷ, καὶ τὸ ὀσπίτιν τὸ ᾠκονοµηµένον, καὶ τὸ στέγος τὸ σηκοῦµεν, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν δεδοµένην, ὅτι η κόλασις τοῦ Κυρίου ἐλεύσεται.

“By the mountain and by the writing that is given in lines on simple parchment, and the house taken care of and the raised roof, and the given sea, because the punishment of the Lord will come”.

LVI
Qur’an 53:1-14

65 I here accept the conjecture of E. TRAPP, “Gab es eine byzantinsche Koranübersetzung?”, Diptycha hetaireias byzantinon kai metabyzantin meleton 2 (1981), p. 13 (as did Förstel), printing ᾠκονοµηµένον (‘taken care of’) instead of the manuscript reading ᾠκοδοµηµένον (‘built’).
An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur'ān

— Förstel 112; PG 105.769 b-c

Mά τό ἀστρὸν τὸ δυόμενον· οὐκ ἐπιλανήθη ὃ ἔταρχος ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ ἠνόμησεν· οὐκ ἐφθάσατο ἀλήθείαν ἐκ τελειοματικός· οὐκ ἦσθιν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ ἁπάκαλυψις ὑποκαλυφθείσα· ἠκούσαν αὐτὸς ὁ ἰσχυρός εἰς δύναμιν, ὁ εὐθεώρητος· καὶ ἀπέκαλύψεν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἦσθιν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τῶν ἀνωτέρων· καὶ ἤγγισεν, εἴπερθη, καὶ ἔγενε ἐκ τοῦ μέτρου δύο τόξων ἢ ἐγγύτερον καὶ ἀπεκάλυψεν πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἦπερ ὁ θεός τὸ ἔνσερν· καὶ γὰρ ἔδωκεν τὸν δοῦλον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ζιζύφου ἐνέδωκεν.66

“By the sinking star, your fellow was not lead astray, nor was he unlawful. He did not speak on his own accord. To him there is nothing but a revelation that has been revealed. A strong person, and clearly visible, showed him (the way) to power, and he sat down. And He is in the upper firmament. And he approached, was hanging, and he was in the distance of two arrow-shots or nearer, and He revealed to His servant what He revealed. The inner parts did not lie about what they saw. For he saw it; He imparted him another epiphany at the jujube tree”.

LVII
Qur’ān 53:26

66 I have printed, as suggested by K. FÖRSTEL (ed.), Niketas von Byzanz, p. 112, ζιζύφου (or τζιτζύφου) ‘jujube tree’ for the incomprehensible σιδηρίτου found in the manuscript.
Καὶ πόσοι οἱ ἄγγελοι εἰσίν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, μὴ ὀφελοῦσα η παράκλησις αὐτῶν τίποτε;

“And how many angels are there in the heavens, and yet their intercession does not avail at all”.

LVIII
Qur’an 54:1-3

— Förstel 112; PG 105.769c7

Ηγγικεν ἡ ὥρα καὶ ἐσχίσθη ἡ σελήνη· καὶ ἐὰν θεωρῶσι σηµεῖον, ἀποστρέφονται, καὶ λέγουσι· Φαρµακία ἐστὶ παρεχοµένη, καὶ ἐψευδοποίησαν.

“The hour approached and the moon was split. And if they see a sign, they turn away and say: “This is overt magic,” and they call it lies”.

LIX
Qur’an 61:6-7

— Förstel 112; PG 105.769c12

Καὶ όταν εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Μαρίας· Ἄς υἱὸ Ἰσραήλ, ἐγὼ ἀπόστολος εἰμί Θεοῦ πρὸς ὑµᾶς, ἡλιθοποιῶν τὸ ἐμπροσθεν µου ἐκ τοῦ νόµου, καὶ εὐαγγελιζόµενος εἰς ἀπόστολον ἐρχόμενον µετ’ ἐµέ, δόνοµαι αὐτῷ Μωάµετ· καὶ ἀµα ἤγγικεν αὐτοῖς τὴν
“And when Jesus, son of Mary, said: “Oh, sons of Israel, I am the messenger of God to you, making true what came before me from the law and bringing the good news to the messenger coming after me. His name is Muhammed.” And at the same time He brought them the manifestation. They said: “This is overt magic,” and who is more unrighteous than the person who makes blasphemous lies about God?”

LX
Qur’ān 68:1-4

“By the pen and what they write, you are not by the good of him not a possessed person. And the is a pay for you (in waitance) without reproach; and you are above (or of) a great formation”.

LXI
Qur’ān 69:1-4
Τῷ ἀκκά· τί ἐστι τὸ ἀκκά; καὶ πόθεν οἶδες τί ἐστιν τὸ ἀκκά; καὶ ἀγωνισθήσεν Θαµοὺθ καὶ Αὰδ εἰς τὴν ὡραν. 67

“The akka. What is the akka? And how do you know what the akka is? Thamouth and Aad lied in that moment”.

LXII
Qur’ān 70:4

κατὰ τὴν µέλλουσαν ἡµέραν, ἣν περιορίζει εἰς πεντήκοντα µυριάδας ἑτῶν. 68

“… on the future day, which (He?) sets to fifty thousand years”.

LXIII
Qur’ān 75:1-2

Οὐκ, ὀµνύω εἰς τὴν ἡµέραν τῆς ἀναστάσεως· καὶ οὐκ ὀµνύω εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν µεµφοµένην. 69

67 The last words of this fragment seem problematic, as εἰς τὴν ὡραν does not reflect the words of the original. It is possible that ὡραν is a (damaged) representation of qāri’a.

68 This fragment is the single quotation from the Greek translation only found in the Abjuratio (parts of fragments III and LXXX are found in both). In itself it proves that also the author or redactor of the Abjuratio had the translation (or another indirect source) at his disposal and did not depend (solely) on the text of Niketas. Note the Greek µέλλουσαν (‘future’), which is not paralleled in the Arabic.
“I do not swear by the day of the resurrection, and I do not swear by the censuring soul”.

LXIV
Qur’ān 77:1-7

—I. Förstel 114; PG 105.772c11
Μὰ τὰς ἀπολυμένας ὀρδίνου,
καὶ καταγίδων καταγίς,
καὶ τῶν ἄπλωθέντων ἄπλωμα·
καὶ χωρισάσας χώρημα,
καὶ ριπτούσας μνήμην ἀπολογητικὴν καὶ διαμαρτυρίαν·
ὑπισχνύεσθε γὰρ τὴν ἔλευσιν.70

“By those that are released from their rank, and the storm of storms, and the spread of the spread things; that make room for space, that throw a message of excuse and a plea. You are being promised the final end”.

69 The English translation given of this fragment is what the sentence would mean to an uninitiated reader. Chosing an initial οὐκ (‘not’) for the Arabic la (here ‘no’) was a bad choice made by the translator (yet no ordinary word for ‘no’ existed in non-modern Greek). The result was a sentence with the contrary meaning of that in the Arabic text, in which the negation stands alone and does not negate the sentence.

70 K. Förstel (ed.), Niketas von Byzanz, p. 114 has καὶ καταγίδων καταγίς, καὶ τῶν ἄπλωθέντων ἄπλωμα ‘the storm of storms, and the spread of the spread things’ in cruces for no obvious reason. On the nominative of καταγίς, see commentary to fragment LXIX.
Christian Høgel

LXV
Qurʾān 79:1-7

— Förstel 114; PG 105.772d
Μὰ τὰς ἀνασποµένας βόλισµα,
καὶ ἀφελοµένας ἀφέλωµα,
καὶ καλυµβούσας κάλυµµον,
καὶ προβαλλούσας προβάλωµα,
καὶ διοικούσας πράµµα
τῇ ἡµέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ σείει ὁ σεισµός.

“By those that send out shots and remove by removal, swim by swimming, that
gain advantage and direct a matter on the day in which the tremor trembles”.

LXVI
Qurʾān 85:1-5

وَالْشَّمَاءَ ذَاتِ الْبُروجَ
وَالْيَوْمِ الْمُوَعَدِ
وَشَاهِدٌ وَمُشِهِدٌ
فَيَلَبِّي احْبَبَ الْأَخْنَدُ
اثْنَاءُ كَاتِ الْوَفُودِ
An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur’an

— Förstel; PG 105.772d – 773a

Μὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν πεπυργωμένον, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς συνταγῆς καὶ μάρτυν καὶ μαρτυρούμενον ἔσφάγησαν οἱ ἔταροι τοῦ ἀλαχουθ, τὸ πῦρ ἔχον τὴν καῦσιν.71

“By the heaven with the constellations and the day of covenant, the witness and the witnessed. The fellows of alachouth were killed, the fire that had the heat”.

LXVII
Qur’an 86:1-4

— Förstel 114; PG 105.773a3

Μὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν ἀλταρικόν καὶ τί οἶδες τί τὸ ἀλταρικὸν; ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ τρυπητὴς, ὅτι πάσῃ ψυχῇ τῶν ὀντῶν ἐπάνω αὐτῆς φύλαξ.72

“By the heaven and the altarikon. How do you know what the altarikon is? It is the piercing star, for to every soul of the living beings there is a guardian over it”.

LXVIII
Qur’an 89:1-5

71 Förstel has τὸ πῦρ ἔχον τὴν καῦσιν ‘the fire that had the heat’ in cruces, but the Greek text reflects well the Arabic.

72 πᾶς ζωή (‘to every soul’) is my conjecture; πᾶσα ζωή (‘every soul’) is given by former editors. τῶν ὀντῶν is not paralleled in the Arabic text, but may be seen as an attempt to qualify ‘soul’ or to insert something instead of the intranslatable Arabic lammā.
“By the dawn and the ten nights, and the even and the odd, and the night when its spreads. Is there an oath for the oger in these things?”

LXIX
Qur’ān 90:1-4

“By the dawn and the ten nights, and the even and the odd, and the night when its spreads. Is there an oath for the oger in these things?”

— Förstel 114; PG 105.773a6

Μὰ τὸ αὔγος, καὶ αἱ νύκτες δέκα, καὶ ἡ ἁμάρτημα καὶ ἡ ἀπομάρτημα, καὶ ἡ νύξ ὅταν ἐφάπλωσεν ἁπάντα ἐστὶν ἐν ταύταις ὄρκοις τοῖς ὅμοιοις.

“By the dawn and the ten nights, and the even and the odd, and the night when its spreads. Is there an oath for the oger in these things?”

LXIX
Qur’ān 90:1-4

Οὐκ, ὅμως εἰς ταύτην τὴν χώραν· καὶ σοῦ ἄντως ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ· καὶ γονεύς καὶ τὰ ἔγεννησα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπλάσαµεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἰσχὺι.

“I do not swear by this country, and while you are in the country, and the genitor and what he begets. For we have formed man in (or to) strength”.

— Förstel 114; PG 105.773a9

On the confusing use of οὐκ ‘not’, see the commentary to fragment LXIII. Förstel has γονεύς ‘genitor’ in crases. The word reflects well the Arabic text, and Förstel’s reason for doubting it may be that the word is in nominative (as opposed to accusative required by the μὴ ‘oh’). But there is a constant wavering between nominative and accusative in these constructions, see e.g. fragments LXIV, LXX, and LXXVI, and the text therefore seems sound. The last word, ἰσχύι (‘strength’), is difficult to explain, since it gives almost the opposite meaning of ἱκάβα (‘suffering’); this was noted, but not explained, by A.-Th. KHOURY, Les théologiens, p. 120.
An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur’ân

LXX

Qur’ân 91:1-7

— Förstel 114; PG 105.773a13-b

Μὰ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὰς ἀκτίνας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν σελήνην ὅταν ἀκολουθῇ αὐτῇ· καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ὅταν ἐπιφαίνῃ αὐτῇ· καὶ τὴν νύξ ὅταν ἐπιψαύει αὐτῇ· καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν· καὶ τὴν γῆν· καὶ τὸν ἠδράσεν αὐτήν· καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τὸ ἰσάσεν.  

“By the sun and its rays, and the moon when it follows it; and the day when it shows itself to it; and the night when it touches it; and the heaven and what founded it, and the earth and what established it, and the soul and what put it into balance”.

It is probable that the original had a final αὐτήν (‘it’) at the end of the text (referring to the moon, and reflecting the final –ha of the Arabic text). In that case, we see that the rhyme of the Arabic original (seven phrases ending in –ha) is repeated in seven instances of the Greek pronoun αὐτός (in the gender and case demanded by the context). In the three last phrases the rhyme is furthermore enhanced by three Greek verbs of the –ιζω/-αζω type, producing rhymes in –ισεν/-ασεν αὐτόν/-ήν.

Taking into consideration that ἰδρύω and ἰσάζω are rare words, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the translator did his utmost to convey as much as possible of the rhyme pattern into his Greek version.
LXXI
Qur‘ān 92:1-4

وَأَلْلَّهُ إِذَا يُفَجِّرُ
وَأَلْلَّهُ إِذَا تَعَظَّمُ
وَمَا خَلَقَ الْذُّكَرَ وَالأُنثَى
إِنْ سَعِينَ لَشَيْ

— Förstel 114; PG 105.773b4
Mά τήν νύκτα ὅταν παρίσταται καί τήν ἡμέραν ὅτ’ ἄν ἐκκαθαίρη καὶ τόν ποιήσαντα τόν ἄρρενα καὶ τήν θήλειαν, ὅτι ο βίος ὑμῶν ἐστὶ πολλαχῶς.
“By the night when it is close, and the day when cl ears out, and the one who created male and female, for your life is in many ways”.

LXXII
Qur‘ān 93:1-3

وَالْفَحْنَ
وَأَلْلَّهُ إِذَا تَعَظَّمُ
ما وَدَعَكَ رَبُّكَ وَما فَلَّ

— Förstel 116; PG 105.773b8
Mά τήν πρωίαν καί τήν νύκτα ὅταν ἠρεµῇ· οὐκ εἴασέν σε ὁ Κύριός σου οὐδὲ ἐξεκάκησε.75
“By the morning and the night when it rests; your Lord did not leave you, nor was he angry with you”.

75 Κύριός σου is my conjecture, based on the Arabic pronominal suffix -ka; former editors give the incomprehensible Kύριος ὢν. A more obvious corruption would however be ἡµῶν ‘our’, but this seems ackward in the proximity of σε ‘you’. On a similar issue, however, see fragment XXVI.
LXXIII
Qurʾān 94:7-8

‘ومَّائَّاتُ فَانْصَبْ
وَإِلَى ﱠإِرَٰٓٓتْ

— Förstel 116; PG 105.773b11

‘Όταν δὲ εὐκαιρήσῃς, ἀγώνισαι, πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν δεήθητι.

“When you are at leisure, make an endeavour, pray to God”.

LXXIV
Qurʾān 95:1-5

وَأَلْلَّهِينَ وَالْيَوْمَينَ
وَطُورَ سِبْيَانَ
وَهَذَا الْيَوْمُ الْأَمِينِ
لَقِدْ خَلَقْنَا الْإِنسَانَ فِي أَخْسَنِ عَمُومٍ
ثُمَّ رَدَّنَا أَشْفَقَ سُفْلَينَ

— Förstel 116; PG 105.773b13

Μά τὰς συκὰς καὶ τὰς ἐλαίας· τὸ Σινά καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἀφροβον’ καὶ γάρ
ἐπλάσαμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς καλὸν ἀνάστημα, καὶ ὑπεστρέψαμεν αὐτὸν κάτω τῶν
κατωτάτων.

“By the fig trees and the olive trees, the Sinai and the frightless land. For We formed man into a good uprightness, and We turned him below the lowest things”.

LXXV
Qur’ān 97:1-5 [the whole sura]

إِنَّا أُرْثِّلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةِ الْقِدر
وَمَا أُرْثِّلْنَا مَا لَيْلَةِ الْقِدر
لَيْلَةُ الْقِدرِ خَيْرٌ مِّنْ أَفْلَامٍ شَهِيمٍ
تَأْوَلُ الْمُلْكَةُ وَالْبُطُورُ فِيهَا بِذَٰلِكَ رَيْءٌ مِّنْ كُلِّ أَمْرٍ
سَلَّٰمٞ مِّنۡهُ حُتَّىٰ مَطْلَعٌ الْفَجْرِ

— Förstel 116; PG 105.773c

"We also brought him to the designated night. And how do you know what the designated night is? It is better than thousand months. The angels bring down also the spirit on it at the behest of their Lord regarding each case. It is peace, until dawn breaks”.

LXXVI
Qur’ān 100:1-6

وَأَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِ
فَأَلْقِيْتَ فَذَخًا
فَأَلْقِيْتَ ضَبْخًا
فَأَلْقِيْتَ فَذَخًا
فَوُسِطْتَ بِهِ جَعًا
يَٰإِنَّ الْإِنسِ لَيَّتَةٌ لِّكُلٍّ
An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur’an

— Förstel 116; PG 105.776a5

Μὰ τὰς δραµούσας ἐν ὑλακίσµῳ καὶ τὰς ἐνδεικνύοσας πυροβόλα, καὶ περιπιπτούσας εἰς αὐγός, καὶ ταράζαντες εἰς αὐτὸ ὄδροστάτηµα, καὶ µέσα ὄντες εἰς αὐτὸ πάντες· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Κυρίου ἁχάριστος.76

“By those who run in barking, and those that send out fire-darts and attack at morning, and the men whirling up the pool unto it and being all in the midst of it. For man is not grateful to his Lord”.

LXXVII
Qur’an 101:1-4

كَارِهًا، وَكَأَيْنَىٰ أَنتَ كَارِهٌۛ؛ أَيۡنَىٰ يَوۡمُ يَكُونُ الْأَفۡلَامُ كَعِدَّةٍ الْمُتَّنُوشُ

— Förstel 116; PG 105.776a9

Καρὲ, καὶ τί οἶδες τί ἐστι καρέ; ἢ ἢ ἡµέρα ἐν ἢ γίνονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡς ψώρα διεσπαρµένη.

“Kare, and how do you know what kare is? Or the day in which all men become like dispersed itch”.

K. FORSTEL (ed.), Niketas von Byzanz, p. 116 has the passage ταράζαντες εἰς αὐτὸ ὄδροστάτηµα, καὶ ἐµέσαντες εἰς αὐτὸ πάντες in cruces. I have adopted the conjecture of E. TRAPP, “Gab es eine byzantinsche Koranübersetzung?”, Diptycha hetaireias byzantinon kai metabyzantinon meleton 2 (1981), p. 10, printing µέσα ὄντες ‘being in the midst’ for the manuscript’s ἐµέσαντες ‘throwing up’. On the fact that this participle and the preceding is suddenly in nominative, see the commentary to fragment LXIX.
LXXVIII
Qur’ān 103:1-2

وَالْعَصْرِ
إِنَّ الْإِنسَانَ لَيْنَ حَسَرَ

— Förstel 116; PG 105.776a13
Μὰ τὸν ἀλέξαρ, ὅτι ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ἐν ἐλλείμματι.
“By the alexar, for man is in error”.

LXXIX
Qur’ān 108:1-3 [the whole sura]

إِنْ أَغْطِسَتْكُ الْكُوثَر
فَضْلُ لَيْكَ وَأَخْرِ
إِنْ شَاغِلَكَ هُوَ الْأَبْتَر

— Förstel 116; PG 105.776b4
Ἡμεῖς ἐδώκαµέν σοι τὸν καύθαρον καὶ εὖξαι πρὸς τὸν Κύριόν σου, καὶ σφάξον,
ὅτι ὁ μισῶν σε αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ διχοτοµηµένος.⁷⁷
“We gave you the kautharos and pray to your Lord and make sacrifice, for the one that hates you he is split in two”.

— The Greek διχοτοµηµένος ‘split in two’ reproduces the basic sense of the Arabic btr ‘bar from’, but not its more precise meaning here of ‘barred from offspring’.
An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qurʾān

LXXX
Qurʾān 112:1-4 [the whole sura]

فلَّ هُوَ اللهُ أَحَدٌ
اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ
لَمْ بُدِّلْ وَلَمْ يَوَلَّ
وَلَمْ يَكُنَّ لَهُ كَلَّوْنَ أَحَدٌ

— Förstel 116; PG 105.776b11; PG 140.133a3 (Abjuratio)

Εἴπη, αὐτός ἐστι Θεός εἷς. Θεός ὅλοσφυρος· οὐκ ἐγέννησεν, οὐδὲ ἐγεννήθη· οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ὁμοίος αὐτῷ τις.

“Say: ‘He is God, one, God the solid. He did not procreate or was procreated, nor was there any like Him’.

LXXXI
Qurʾān 113:1-5 [the whole sura]

فلَّ أَعُوذُ بِبَلَّ اللَّهِ
مِن شَرِّ مَا خَلَقَ
وَمِن شَرِّ غَلِبِي إِذَا وَقَبَ
وَمِن شَرِّ اللَّهِ الْقَبِيلَ
وَمِن شَرِّ حَاسِبِي إِذَا حَسَدَ

The word ὅλοσφυρος (litt. ‘solid’, as opposed to hollow e.g. in the case of statues) was to have a vexed history in Byzantine polemics. In an earlier passage in Niketas’ text (K. Förstel [ed.], Niketas von Byzanz, p. 44; PG 708a), a misreading of the word – now taken to be ὅλοσφαιρος (‘completely round’) – leads to absurd conclusions. See the discussion in A.-Th. Khoury, Les théologiens, pp. 122-23. The finas τις (‘any’) is only attested in the Abjuratio.
“Say: “I seek refuge by the Lord of the morning light, from the evil which He
made and from the evil of the stary glow, when it spreads; and from the evil from
the spitting on knots, and from the evil of the jealous, when he is jealous”.

LXXXII
Qur’an 114:1-6 [the whole sura]

As in other cases (see esp. fragment LXIX), the Greek text slips from the accusative case in
βασιλέα ἀνθρώπων (‘King of men’) into the nominative case in ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων (‘God of
men’).
“Say: “I take refuge by the Lord of men, King of men, God of men, from the evil of the whisperings of the demons into the hearts of men, from the demons and men”.

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