

The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

Extant versions, canonical constellations, and relation to the liturgical practice, with an Appendix of 'The Song of the Three Young Men'

[El libro árabe cristiano de Daniel: versiones existentes, constelaciones canónicas y relación con la práctica litúrgica, con un apéndice de 'El Cantar de los tres jóvenes']

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Resumen: El objetivo de este artículo es demostrar la naturaleza dinámica del Libro árabe cristiano de Daniel. Para ello presentaré las versiones existentes, discutir sus abigarradas constelaciones canónicas, mostraré la fluidez de las unidades textuales en las diferentes versiones y describiré la forma en que han llegado, incluso, a absorber la práctica litúrgica. Se prestará especial atención a las narraciones deuterocanónicas de Daniel que han escapado casi por completo al escrutinio académico. El fluctuante y carácter vívido de las traducciones de la Biblia en árabe es particularmente evidente en la interpretación de Daniel, aunque en muchos aspectos estos hallazgos son característicos de la Biblia árabe en general. Las traducciones árabes parecen haber funcionado junto con otros textos en las lenguas litúrgicas establecidas, que continuaron sirviendo como el estándar de la narración bíblica. Así, el valor de las interpretaciones de la Biblia en árabe se encuentra sobre todo en su capacidad de capturar una práctica menos formalizada, espontánea y desinhibida al tiempo que la comprensión de la herencia religiosa.

Abstract: The aim of this article is to demonstrate the dynamic nature of the Christian Arabic Book of Daniel. I will present extant versions, discuss their variegated canonical constellations, show the fluidity of text units in the various versions and describe how they have even come to absorb liturgical practice.

Special attention will be paid to the deuterocanonical narratives related to the Book of Daniel that have almost completely escaped scholarly scrutiny. The fluctuating and vivid character of Arabic Bible translations is particularly evident in the rendition of Daniel, yet in many aspects these findings are characteristic of the Arabic Bible enterprise at large. Arabic translations appear to have functioned alongside texts in the established liturgical languages which continued to serve as the measuring standard of the biblical narrative. Thus, the value of the Arabic Bible renditions lies foremost in their ability to capture a less formalized, spontaneous, and uninhibited practice and understanding of the religious heritage.

Palabras clave: Árabe cristiano. Biblia. Daniel. Textos deuterocanónicos.

Key words: Christian Arabic. Bible. Daniel. Deuterocanonical texts.



Introduction

In the Orthodox and Oriental Christian traditions, biblical books may for ease of reference be divided into two categories of equal status: protocanonical books and deuterocanonical books (or *anagignōskomena* “those which are to be read”), depending on the time of their composition.¹ In principle, inclusion in the Septuagint defines a book as canonical. However, the lists of Old Testament books presented before the councils of

¹ This terminology was established by the Roman Catholic Church at the council of Trent 1546 AD as a reaction against the narrow canon advocated by the Reformists. No such distinction was officially made by the Orthodox and Oriental churches and there is an ongoing scholarly discussion whether or not the biblical canon should be regarded as closed, see Vahan S. HOVHANESSIAN, “Introduction”, in V. S. Hovhanessian (ed.), *The Canon of the Bible and the Apocrypha in the Churches of the East*, col. «Bible in the Christian Orthodox Tradition» 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012), pp. 1-4. In the Orthodox traditions, it is more meaningful to discuss hierarchical distinctions based on the liturgical use of certain biblical passages or books.

the early Church are at variance with each other and each list lacks a few books which are normally regarded as belonging to the Septuagint.² The lack of a definite canon is connected to the cumbersome venture of transmitting large numbers of hand written books but also to regional developments among the various Byzantine and Oriental communities. Some Church Fathers, such as Theodore of Mopsuestia, aimed at establishing a strict canon. In practice, however, the opposite tendency, namely, the lack of a well-defined canon was prevalent among many Christian communities also after the era of the Ecumenical Councils.³

Besides biblical books, the Church produced and used a multitude of liturgical, polemic, theological, and hagiographical works. Although the Bible enjoyed unequalled status among Christian worshippers, other genres played a significant role as well. In fact, the various genres are not necessarily kept clearly demarcated from one another. Ordinary people encountered the portions of the Bible that were selected as lectionaries or incorporated into the liturgical language – a language replete with biblical references. When used as lectionaries, the biblical passage is customary interpolated with short hymns or psalm verses. Parts of a biblical book may be extracted and transmitted in liturgical books. For instance, biblical Odes,

² *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church: Their Canons and Dogmatic Decrees, Together with the Canons of all the Local Synods which have Received Ecumenical Acceptance* (ed. Henry R. PERCIVAL; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, [1900] 1991), pp. (159); 453-54; 599-60; 612. See also Eugen J. PENTIUC, *The Old Testament in Eastern Orthodox Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 101-135; and Petros VASSILIADIS, “Canon and Authority of Scripture: An Orthodox Hermeneutical Perspective”, in Ivan Z. DIMITROV et al. (ed.), *Das Alte Testament als christlichen Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Sicht*, col. «Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament» 174 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), pp. 259-276, espec. 259-263.

³ For an introduction to the biblical canon in different Christian and Jewish communities including relevant bibliography, see Loren T. STUCKENBRUCK, “Apocrypha and the Septuagint: Exploring the Christian Canon”, in Thomas S. CAULLEY & Hermann LICHTENBERGER (ed.), *Die Septuaginta und das frühe Christentum*, col. «Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament» 277 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 177-201.

i.e. prayers or songs from the Old and New Testaments, are also transmitted in hymn books, often in conjunction with Psalms.⁴ In like manner, lectionaries read in connection to holidays are collected in *Prophetologia* where each passage is introduced by a stanza or two from a Psalm (*prokimena*).⁵ In such collections, the biblical book is not read as a continuous sequence but parts of it are extracted and compiled according to a reading order governed by different principles, such as the church year. Thus, a biblical passage is taken out of its original context, and placed in a new one, typically so that one passage sheds light on another or relates it to the same topic. As a result, the integrity of the biblical book is to some extent loosened up.

In the Arabic traditions, this practice apparently contributed to a certain dynamic of the biblical text itself, to the way it is composed, and to the exact location of its various constituents. In the Arabic manuscripts there are examples where a biblical book is transmitted as part of a hagiographical collection and not with other biblical books and where the liturgical practice influences the biblical composition. Moreover, in a beautifully ornamented bilingual Coptic-Arabic manuscript, a non-canonical story is juxtaposed onto the canonical material and in a widespread version of Daniel one biblical narrative is inserted into another as a means of enhancing the historicity of the biblical texts.

⁴ As this is already the case in the fifth century Greek Bible manuscript Codex Alexandrinus, we may assume that this usage is ancient, perhaps with roots in the second or third century, see Jennifer KNUST & Tommy WASSERMAN, “The Biblical Odes and the Text of the Christian Bible: A Reconsideration of the Impact of Liturgical Singing on the Transmission of the Gospel of Luke”, *Journal for Biblical Literature* 133/2 (2014), pp. 341-365, espec. 342-345.

⁵ For the development of the Byzantine Prophetologion and other liturgical books containing Old Testament lectionaries, see for instance Anatoly A. ALEXEEV, “The Old Testament Lections in Orthodox Worship”, in Ivan Z. DIMITROV et al. (ed.), *Das Alte Testament als christlichen Bibel*, pp. 91-117. A critical edition of an Arabic Prophetologion is being prepared by the present author. The earliest manuscript is dated to the tenth or eleventh century, i.e. after the liturgical reforms in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Before we turn to the Arabic sources, it may be helpful to recapitulate the transmission of Daniel in some of the most important ancient Bible versions.

The Book of Daniel in Ancient Bible Versions

The development of the Book of Daniel constitutes an excellent example of the dynamic nature of the biblical canon. The protocanonical Book of Daniel, itself a juxtaposition of rather independent narratives, was expanded with four deuterocanonical narratives in the Septuagint, or rather, the Old Greek: *The Prayer of Azariah*, *The Song of the Three Young Men*, *Bel and the Dragon*, and *Susanna*. The original Old Greek version of Daniel was at variance with the proto-Masoretic text in other aspects as well and it was abandoned by most Christians at an early stage and supplanted by the so-called Theodotion version that was more faithful to the Hebrew and Aramaic text.⁶ Nevertheless, the canonical integrity of the expanded Greek version was defended by the Church and, as a result, Daniel includes both protocanonical and deuterocanonical material in

⁶ The Old Greek version of Daniel began to lose ground to Theodotion's Greek translation as early as the third century. The Old Greek text appears to be translated from a different Hebrew and Aramaic *Vorlage*, see Kenneth STEVENSON & Michael GLERUP (ed.), *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament XIII*. General editor Thomas C. ODEN with introduction to Daniel by C. Thomas MCCOLLOUGH (Downers Grove, Ill: Inter-Varsity, 2008), p. 150; and Carey A. MOORE, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*. Edited, translated and supplied with a commentary by C. A. Moore, col. «The Anchor Bible» 44 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 30-34. Origen reproduced both these versions in his Hexapla but regarded Theodotion as the superior text since it was widely diffused among Christians, see Sidney JELICOE, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 84-87. The Old Greek version of Daniel is extant in three manuscripts: the Kölner Papyrus 967, Codex Chisianus 88 (87), and in the Syriac translation preserved in the Ambrosian manuscript, the Syrohexapla, see Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah*, p. 33.

traditional Christian traditions while only the protocanonical parts are transmitted in the Jewish version.

Although the deuterocanonical narratives are included in what became Christian versions of the Bible, their exact locations differ depending on language and recension. This is particularly the case with Susanna. Originally, the wise man in Susanna was anonymous or associated with the wise Daniel in Ezekiel. At one point, this man came to be identified as the wise man in the Book of Daniel and as a result, Susanna was transmitted as an adjunct to the biblical Daniel narratives. For example, in the Syrohexaplaric version, i.e. the Syriac translation of Origen's revised Septuagint column, Daniel is followed by Susanna and then by Bel and the Dragon. In another witness to the Old Greek version, the Kölner Papyrus 967, Susanna is rendered after Bel and the Dragon.⁷

In Theodotion, Susanna is placed before the Book of Daniel, since in Susanna, the man called Daniel is portrayed as a young man not yet active in the king's court. In order to connect Susanna with Daniel the following words are added in Theodotion: "And Daniel became great before the people from that day on".⁸ Bel and the Dragon is placed after Daniel. In the Syriac standard version of the Bible, the Peshitta, Susanna is either transmitted among the women's books or in connection to Daniel. In the famous Ambrosian manuscript (7a1) Susanna is transmitted among the Women's books while Bel and the Dragon is found as an adjunct to Daniel.⁹

⁷ John J. COLLINS, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Edited by Frank M. CROSS, col. «Hermeneia» (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), p. 5.

⁸ Michael A. KNIBB, "The Book of Daniel in its Context", in John J. COLLINS & Peter W. FLINT (ed.), *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* vol. 1, col. «Supplements to Vetus Testamentum »83 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 16-36, espec. 26-28.

⁹ For some additional manuscripts, see Sebastian BROCK, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, col. «Gorgias handbooks» 7 (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), p. 116.

It is well known that the Bible was translated into Arabic from a multitude of source texts and languages and it is no surprise that the manuscripts reflect the variegated canonical constellations in ancient Bible versions. However, it is interesting to note that this richness of traditions was not only reflected but even enhanced among the Arabic speaking Christian communities.

The Arabic Book of Daniel

The Book of Daniel, the Prayer of Azariah, the Song of the Three Young Men, and Bel and the Dragon were rendered by Christians from Syriac into Arabic around the ninth century, as evidenced by extant manuscript sources. The Story of Susanna is not attested in Arabic until the tenth century when it was translated from Greek.¹⁰ The Arabic translations are located in collections of biblical books, especially of the Prophets, but they may also be transmitted in hagiographical and liturgical books, such as the *Menaion* (*Menologion*), an Orthodox service book of the annual fixed cycle of services. The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men are further transmitted in collections of Psalters and Odes and selected passages from Daniel appear in *Prophetologia*.¹¹

Continuous Christian Arabic versions of Daniel, including all or some deuterocanonical works, are attested in around 60 manuscripts dating from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries. The Arabic translations (Ar) of the protocanonical part of Daniel (Dn) in these manuscripts may be sorted into seven groups depending on their main *Vorlage* and subdivision within this

¹⁰ The earliest extant version of Susanna has not been studied (see below) but it is likely translated from Greek as this is the case with all the other translations. This indicates that Susanna was normally not associated with Daniel in the Syriac traditions although some Syriac manuscripts do transmit it as an adjunct to Daniel, for example Ms Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Syr. 341.

¹¹ Cf. Miriam L. HJÄLM, "Arabic, Additions to Daniel" in Matthias HENZE (ed.), *The Textual History of the Bible* vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

group. The *Vorlage* is indicated below in superscript letters (^{Syr}=Syriac; ^{Gr}=Greek; ^{Hebr}=Hebrew), and the subdivision is marked by a number (1 = the earliest translation; 2 = the second earliest translation, etc). The asterisk indicates that the manuscripts in this group are not as homogeneous as manuscripts in other groups:

Dn.Ar ^{Syr} 1*	=	Four rather independent manuscripts dated between the 9th-11th centuries.
Dn.Ar ^{Hebr} 1	=	One manuscript dated 939/40 AD.
Dn.Ar ^{Syr} 2	=	Seven manuscripts dated between the 11th-18th centuries.
Dn.Ar ^{Syr} 3	=	More than a dozen manuscripts dated between the 12th-17th centuries.
Dn.Ar ^{Gr} 1	=	Approximately a dozen manuscripts dated between the 14th-19th centuries.
Dn.Ar ^{Syr} 4	=	One manuscript dated to the fourteenth century.
Dn.Ar. ^{BSA}	=	Approximately a dozen reproductions of the printed <i>Biblia Sacra Arabica</i> dated between the 18th-19th centuries.

Most of the translations produced between the ninth and twelfth centuries are only loosely related (Dn.Ar^{Syr}1*) or even *unica* translations (Dn.Ar^{Hebr}1). Yet, the manuscripts in Dn.Ar^{Syr}1* have many renderings in common which are not extant in other groups and they share a set of translation techniques. These translations, as well as Dn.Ar^{Hebr}1, exhibit numerous explanative additions, omissions of repeated, and what is considered pleonastic, information, adaptations and substitutions. The Arabic language is clear and direct. They appear to have been produced in order to make the biblical narratives understandable and relevant for the Arabic-speaking audience while the Greek or Syriac Bible texts remained a measuring-standard and source of authority.¹²

¹² Miriam L. HJÄLM, *Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early Manuscripts (9th–13th centuries) with a Focus on Translation Techniques in MS Sinai Ar. 1 and MS Sinai Ar. 2* (PhD dissertation submitted at Uppsala University, 2015), pp. 1-13. A reworked version of the thesis will shortly appear as *Christian Arabic*

Between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, three distinct versions of Daniel and associated works were frequently reproduced in homogenous copies: Dn.Ar^{Syr2}; Dn.Ar^{Syr3}; and Dn.Ar^{Gr1}. While the translation character of Dn.Ar^{Syr3} in many aspects is reminiscent of those in Dn.Ar^{Syr1*}, albeit with fewer omissions, Dn.Ar^{Syr2} exhibits an extensive number of stylistic additions and is written in more elevated language.¹³ Dn.Ar^{Gr1} is the only clearly Greek-based version of Daniel. It is commonly attributed to a certain priest named al-^cAlam al-^rIskandarī and gained fame as it was incorporated into the Paris Polyglot (1629-1645) and reprinted in the London Polyglot (1652-1657).¹⁴ This version came to serve as the most important Arabic Bible among scholars in the West for centuries.¹⁵ However, the deuterocanonical books were separated from Daniel in the

Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early Manuscripts (9th–13th centuries) with a Focus on Translation Techniques in MS Sinai Ar. 1 and MS Sinai Ar. 2, col. «Biblia Arabica: Texts and Studies» (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

- ¹³ Most notable among the additions is perhaps the extensive use of *alternate renderings*, i.e. a technique where one unit in the source text is rendered by two or more units in the target text. For this common technique in Arabic Bible translations, see for instance Meira POLLIACK, *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation: A Linguistic and Exegetical Study of Karaite Translations of the Pentateuch from the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries C.E.*, col. «Etudes sur le judaïsme médiéval» 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 181-199; Meira POLLIACK & Sasson SOMEKH, “Two Hebrew-Arabic Bible Glossaries from the Cairo Geniza” (Hebrew), *Pe’amim* 83 (2001), pp. 15-47; Per Å. BENGTESSON, *Translation Techniques in Two Syro-Arabic Versions of Ruth*, col. «Studia orientalia Lundensia» N.S. 3 (Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), pp. 43-45; and Ronny VOLLANDT, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources*, col. «Biblia Arabica: Texts and Studies» 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 190-192.
- ¹⁴ Ronny VOLLANDT, “The Arabic Pentateuch of the Paris Polyglot: Saadiah Gaon’s advent to the republic of letters,” in Sara BINAY & Stefan LEDER (ed.), *Translating the Bible into Arabic: Historical, Text-critical and Literary Aspects*, col. «Beiruter Texte und Studien» 131 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2012), pp. 19-35.
- ¹⁵ Alberto VACCARI, “Le versioni arabe dei profeti”, *Biblica* 2 (1921), pp. 401-423; and VOLLANDT, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, pp. 27-35.

London Polyglot and therefore not extant in copies of it.¹⁶ According to Henry Gehman who surveyed the Polyglot version of Daniel, al-^cAlam's translation is literal, yet not literalistic.¹⁷

Dn. Arab^{Syr4} consists of one manuscript alone, Ms. Vatican, Bibl. apostolica Vaticana, Ar. 503, dated to the fourteenth century. This translation is simply described by Oscar Löfgren as a faithful translation of the Syriac Peshiṭta.¹⁸ It has not been available to me and has therefore been excluded in the present article.

Subsequent to the seventeenth century, the most frequently replicated Arabic version of Daniel and associated works is the text printed in the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* (BSA) of the Propaganda Fide commission (1671-73): a Roman Catholic missionary enterprise intended for Christians in the Near East. The biblical books printed in *Biblia Sacra Arabica* were based on existing Arabic manuscripts but these were more or less revised according to the Latin Vulgate. In the case of Daniel, there are but few traces of an earlier Arabic tradition.¹⁹

¹⁶ In the London Polyglot, the Additions to Daniel are rendered in volume 4 with other deuterocanonical works. See for instance Ms. Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 78 which dispenses with the deuterocanonical sections.

¹⁷ Henry S. GXEHMAN, "The 'Polyglot' Arabic Text of Daniel and Its Affinities", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 44/3 (1925), pp. 327-352.

¹⁸ Oscar LÖGFREN, *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der christlichen Texte nebst einem Beitrag zur Kritik des Peschitatextes*, col. «Uppsala universitets årsskrift» 1936/4 (Uppsala: Lundequitska bokhandeln, 1936), p. 51.

¹⁹ LÖGFREN, *Studien*, pp. 70-71. The BSA appears to have been used among some Eastern Catholic communities for around two centuries, but was then revised or substituted for new translations in Classical Arabic that were likewise often connected to Western missionary activities, see for instance, Alberto VACCARI, "Una Bibbia Araba", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 10/4 (1925), pp. 79-104; Paul FXÉGHALI, "The Holy Books in Arabic", in Sara BINAY & Stefan LEDER (ed.), *Translating the Bible into Arabic: Historical, Text-critical and Literary Aspects*, col. «Beiruter Texte und Studien» 131 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2012), pp. 37-51; Sara BINAY, "Revision of the Manuscripts of the 'So-Called Smith-Van Dyck Bible'", in S. BINAY & S. LEDER (ed.), *Translating the Bible into Arabic*, pp. 75-84; and R. Vollandt, "Che portono al ritorno quì una Bibbia

The manuscript evidence indicates that no thorough attempt was made to standardize a certain Arabic version of Daniel until the thirteenth century. In the following centuries, three versions, homogenous in character, were reproduced in a number of copies which suggests that a partial standardization of Arabic Bible texts was now underway.²⁰ There are indications that Dn.Ar^{Syr3} and Dn.Ar^{Gr1} originated among the *Rūm* Orthodox (Melkite) communities in Muslim Egypt while Dn.Ar^{Syr2} sprung from East Syriac circles.²¹ Many later copies are associated with the Copts in Egypt since the Arabic text is compared or corrected according to the Coptic standard text or even rendered in parallel to it. The Copts, who embraced Arabic as a literary language at a comparatively late stage, are known to have borrowed Arabic Bible texts from other communities.²² The most striking example is their adoption of the Jewish Gaon, Saadiah al-Fayyūmī's Arabic version of the Pentateuch.²³

Arabica integra: A history of the Biblia Sacra Arabica (1671–73),” in Juan Pedro MONFERRER-SALA & Samir K. SAMIR (ed.), *Græco-latina et orientalia: Studia in honorem Angeli Urbani Heptagenarii*, col. «Syro-Arabica» 2 (Beirut: CNERU-CEDRAC, 2013), pp. 401-418.

²⁰ Cf. Bruce M. METZGER, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 264-265; and Hikmat KASHOUH, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and Their Families*, col. «Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung» 42 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), p. 78.

²¹ LÖGFREN, *Studien*, pp. 37-38; 52-32. According to Löfgren, Dn.Ar^{Gr1} was probably the official Arabic text in use among the *Rūm* Orthodox communities. The ecclesial origin of Arabic Bible translations does not easily lend itself to identification. The rendition of Syriac proper names into Arabic as well as certain choice of words may be helpful in this regard as is the identification of specific translation techniques, such as alternate renderings which are often associated with East Syriac translations, see VOLLANDT, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, pp. 60-67. As will be demonstrated in the present paper, influence from liturgical practice constitutes another source of information.

²² For the adoption of Arabic among the Copts, see Samuel RUBENSON, “The Transition from Coptic to Arabic”, *Égypte/Monde Arabe* 27-28 (1996), pp. 77-91; and S. RUBENSON, “Translating the Tradition. Aspects on the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Medieval Egypt”, *Medieval Encounters. Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 2/1 (1996), pp. 4-14.

²³ VOLLANDT, “The Arabic Pentateuch of the Paris Polyglot,” pp. 19-35.

An important source of information regarding inter-confessional adoptions is provided by the Coptic scholar Abū al-Barakāt ibn Kabar (d. 1324 AD) in his famous work the *Light of the Darkness*. In Chapter Seven of this work he lists authors and titles of Christian literature in use among the Copts and includes works from various confessions that served “an edifying purpose”:²⁴

Also included are those later writers that follow them, who composed anything on religion, whether from those sects [*tawā'if*] that are joined with us in confession [*millah*], or those that are separated from us in creed [*nihlah*]. But we have not listed the compositions of this latter group, unless we have received thorough knowledge of them and grown in understanding from them, even though something differing from the views of the orthodox and inconsistent with the aims of the Jacobites might be mixed in among them, for eminent men do not gather gems, without being interested in pearls: they pick out what is suitable without harping on the differences.

Ibn Kabar also shows that works that originated from other creeds were adapted to suit the theological understanding of the Copts (or ‘Jacobites’). For instance, he mentions in connection to Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Ṭayyib, the scribe of Catholicos Timothy, who produced a commentary on the Gospels, that:

Some Jacobites revised it and removed the phrases consistent with a Nestorian view. Afterward, a number of copies were made from it with an eye to the virtues and thoughts in it that take in the whole of it.

²⁴ The passage was first edited by Wilhelm RIEDEL, “Der Katalog der christlichen Schriften in arabischer Sprache von Abū 'l-Barakāt,” in *Nachrichten der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-hist. Klasse 5* (1902), pp. 635-706. The English translation is taken from Adam MCCOLLUM’s online version “Abū al-Barakāt, *Catalog of Christian Literature in Arabic*” (2009): http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/abu_l_barakat_catalogue.htm. 7 August 2015.

In these passages ibn Kabar highlights an important aspect - not only of the Coptic acquisition of Christian literature - but of the Arabic Bible enterprise at large: Arabic Bible translations knew no confessional borders, and therefore they show little preference for a specific *Vorlage*.²⁵ Furthermore, the established liturgical language(s) in the community continued to be used to various degrees and as a result, the Arabic translations are characterized by different sets of translation techniques, largely depending on the purpose of the translation, i.e. whether they were used as didactic tools, liturgical texts or reference works etc. As a consequence of all this, several Arabic versions existed side by side and one is tempted to say that the Arabic Bible is fluid in its essence.

In sum, the Book of Daniel was disseminated among Christian Arabic-speaking communities in several different versions. The earliest manuscripts are only loosely related to one another and exhibit many non-literal translation techniques. Around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, two versions, Dn.Ar^{Syr}2 and Dn.Ar^{Syr}3, began to be reproduced in a number of homogeneous copies. In the fourteenth century, a third version appears: Dn.Ar^{Gr}1. These three versions continued to be copied for several centuries though by the eighteenth century, copies of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica* text outnumbered all of them. Thus, a popular translation reached, at its best, a semi-standardized status. It appears that once “a better” version appeared, such as a more literal translation, a text written in more elevated literary language, or the opposite, one composed in clear and direct target language that people understood, it readily replaced the older version or coexisted with it.²⁶ Moreover, as will be shown, textual units are highly fluid within the codices: parts of Daniel in a specific version may be substituted for a

²⁵ It should also be remembered that some of these communities used both Greek and Syriac, or Greek and Coptic. Juan Pedro MONFERRER-SALA uses the term “linguistic ecumenism” to capture this important aspect of Christian Arabic Bible translations, see “Plumbing the Depths: Sidelights and Strategies of the medieval Christian Arab Translators,” *Journal for Semitics* 19/2 (2010), pp. 661-697, espec. p. 663.

²⁶ The standardization process of biblical works is being elaborated upon in HJÄLM, *Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel*, pp. 294-295.

more suitable text unit from another tradition. This is especially true of the deuterocanonical parts of Daniel. The Arabic versions of these narratives have not yet received any scholarly attention. A rough classification of extant material and some preliminary remarks will be offered below. In short, the Arabic manuscript sources suggest that there was no clear-cut idea among Arabic-speaking Christians which deuterocanonical narratives should be appended to the protocanonical version of Daniel, or at least not where they are to be placed or according to what version they should be rendered. The various groups of Christian Arabic Daniel manuscripts discussed above exhibit different canonical constellations or place the deuterocanonical texts in a different order.²⁷ Moreover, a specific version of Daniel does not necessarily include the same version of Susanna or the Song of the Three Young Men. Each narrative will therefore be designated by a siglum of its own. For example, the protocanonical version of Daniel in MS Sinai Ar. 539 belongs to Dn.Ar^{Syr3} and Susanna (Sus) to Sus.Ar^{Gr2} like the rest of the manuscripts in this version. However, Bel and the Dragon (Bl.) belongs to Bl.Ar^{Syr2} and not to Bl.Ar^{Syr1a} which is normally the case in this group. The narratives of Daniel in MS Sinai Ar. 539 are thus correctly described as: Dn.Ar^{Syr3} + Sus.Ar^{Gr2} + Bl.Ar^{Syr2} (cf. the list in Conclusions).

The Story of Susanna

The earliest evidence of an Arabic version of Susanna is attested in Ms. Sinai Ar. NF. Parchment 18 dated to the tenth century.²⁸ However, the folios are glued together and the manuscript cannot be properly examined.

²⁷ For a more thorough account of the various Christian Arabic versions of Daniel, see LÖGFREN, *Studien*; and HJÄLM, *Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel*, especially chapters 1.5 and 2.

²⁸ Only versions of Susanna transmitted in connection to Daniel translations have been taken into account.

The earliest attainable version is found in the eleventh century Ms. Sinai Ar. NF Paper 9 (=Sus.Ar^{Gr1}) and a later copy in Ms. COP, Bibl. 82 dated to the fourteenth century. This version of Susanna is based on the Greek (Theodotion) text and is located before the Book of Daniel in the two manuscripts whose protocanonical parts belong to Dn.Ar^{Syr2}. Sus.Ar^{Gr1} was not very popular and in the rest of the manuscripts in Dn.Ar^{Syr2} it is substituted for a more widespread Greek-based translation: Sus.Ar^{Gr2}, which is the standard version in Dn.Ar^{Syr3}. An early copy of this text is attested to in the twelfth century Ms. Sinai Ar. 539. The location of Susanna is noteworthy. As mentioned above, Susanna is placed before the Book of Daniel in Theodotion, since it portrays a young Daniel who is yet to enter the king's court, and a few words are added in order to connect the Daniel in Susanna with the main character in the Book of Daniel. However, the story of Susanna is already set in Babylon while Daniel chapter 1 begins in Palestine. To solve this chronological dilemma, in this and many other manuscripts belonging to Dn.Ar^{Syr3} and Dn.Ar^{Syr2} Susanna is inserted in Daniel chapter 1 between verse 2 and 3.²⁹ When the story of Susanna ends, the words “in the second year after the destruction of the holy temple” are customary added as a rubric after which Daniel 1:3 continues (Ms. Sinai Ar. 539, no fols):³⁰

²⁹ In the thirteenth century Ms. Sinai Ar. 9, an early representative of Dn.Ar^{Syr2}, Susanna is appended to the end of Bel by a later scribe who notes that “I transmitted this prophecy from another book and [there] this is the first [story] that Daniel the prophet tells (fol. 343b). After Daniel 1:1-2, Susanna is rendered according to Sus.Ar^{Gr2}.”

³⁰ The translation in Ms. Sinai Ar. 539 is fairly faithful to the rendition in its Syriac *Vorlage* but slightly adjusts its style. For instance, the attribute “[king of] Judah” is on its second occurrence substituted with a pronoun: “its [king]” and the verb *'akada* “he took” is added as a means to smoothing out the syntax (Syr. *wa-men mānē dā-bayteh dā-maryā 'awbel 'ennōn*). If semantically sound, the translator selected words whose roots are similar in both languages, such as the Arabic *'atā* “he came” for the Syriac *'etā* and the Arabic *'aslama* “he delivered” for the Syriac *'ašlem*.

[١] في السنة الثالثة من ملك يواقيم ملك يهوذا اتا بجت ناصر ملك بابل الى اورشليم فاحاط بها [٢] واسلمها الرب في يده وليواقيم ملكها ولانية بيت الله واخذ انية بيت الرب وانطلق بها الى ارض سنغار الى بيت صنمه وادخل انية بيت الرب الى بيت مال صنمه [Sus] وكان رجل من بني اسرائيل يسكن ببابل اسمه يواقيم [...] وصار دانييل عظيم قدام شعب اسرائيل من ذلك اليوم وفي السنة الثانية من خراب بيت المقدس قال بجت ناصر ملك بابل لاميناصار رئيس الامنا

[1] In the third year of the reign of Joachim, king of Judah, came Buḳta Nāṣṣar, king of Babylon, to Jerusalem and besieged it [2] and the Lord delivered it into his hand and Joachim its king and the vessels of the house of God, and he took the vessels of the house of the Lord and went with them to the land of Singār, to the house of his idol/statue, and he brought the vessels of the house of the Lord to the treasure house of his idol/statue [Sus] And there was a man from the sons of Israel living in Babylon. His name was Joachim [...] and Daniel became great before the people of Israel from that day. And in the second year of the destruction of the Holy Temple said Buḳta Nāṣṣar, the king of Babylon, to 'Amīnāṣār, the head of the guard.

In these passages the dynamic view of the Bible in the Arabic traditions becomes particularly clear. However, whether they were aware of it or not, the translators and copyists adhere to an ancient praxis in this regard: The insertion of Susanna between Daniel 1:2 and 1:3 in this wide-spread Arabic version is reminiscent of how the independent narratives of the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men were once incorporated into the protocanonical Daniel chapter 3 and became an integral part of it.³¹

³¹ See also Mss. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Arch. Seld, A.67; Sinai Ar. 9; Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 89; 77; Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 624 (karš.) and the manuscripts listed by Löfgren as containing the same version: Mss. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 58 inf.; St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental MSS, D226; Florence, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana, Or. 59; London, British Libr., Or. 5918; Vatican, Bibl. apostolica

The practice of integrating Susanna into Daniel chapter 1 was upheld for many centuries and spread from one Near Eastern Christian denomination to another.³² Around the thirteenth century, the Copts began to collect various extant Arabic Bible translations and reproduced them with text critical notations. Of special interest is the Coptic-Arabic bilingual Ms. London, British Libr., Or. 1314 dated 1373/4 AD. Here Daniel is first rendered according to Dn.Ar^{Syr3}, slightly revised, and Susanna is accordingly incorporated between chapter 1:2 and 1:3. However, the version of Susanna is not the one normally exhibited in Dn.Ar^{Syr3} and Dn.Ar^{Syr2} but a third version, the one transmitted together with the translation attributed to al-^cAlam: Sus.Ar^{Gr3}. When Susanna ends, Daniel chapter 1 starts anew according to Dn.Ar^{Gr1}.³³ Thus, the principle was copied but not the text. Compare the following text from the London manuscript (fols.164a-172a):

[١] في السنة الثالثة من ملك يواقيم ملك يهوذا اتى بختنصر ملك بابل الى اورشليم واحاط بها [٢] والرب اسلمها في يديه ويواقيم ملكها ولانية بيت الرب وانطلق بها الى ارض سنغار الى بيت مال اصنامهم وادخل انية بيت الرب الى مال اصنامهم [Sus] وكان رجل ساكنا في بابل اسمه يواقيم [...] وصار دانيال عظيما امام الشعب من ذلك اليوم وما بعد الوحي الثاني في السنة الثالثة من مملكة يواقيم ملك يهوذا اتا بختنصر ملك بابل الى اورشليم وحاصرها ودفع الرب في يده يواقيم ملك يهوذا [...]

Vaticana, Ar. 468; Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, 169 (karš.), see LÖFGREN, *Studien*, pp. 49-59. Perhaps also Ms. Sinai Ar. 398. In Ms Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 87 this version of Susanna is placed after Daniel 12 and rendered without the extra verses from Daniel 1:1-2 and in Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 81 it is rendered before Daniel, likewise without the interpolated verses.

³² According to LÖFGREN, this tradition was initiated in the Arabic-speaking Byzantine communities, *Studien*, pp. 37-38. The interpolation of the Song according to the Byzantine rite in these manuscripts, strengthens this assumption (see below).

³³ Mss. Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 13 and Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, Copt. 2 belong to the same recension as Ms. London, British Libr., Or. 1314 but the fourteenth vision is omitted (see below).

[1] In the third year of the reign of Joachim, king of Judah, came Buḳtanaṣṣar, king of Babylon, to Jerusalem and besieged it [2] and the Lord delivered it into his hands and Joachim its king, and the vessels of the house of the Lord and he went with them to the land of Singār, to the treasure house of his idols/statues, and he brought the vessels of the house of the Lord to the treasure house of his idol/statues [Sus] And there was a man who was living in Babylon. His name was Joachim [...] and Daniel became great before the people from that day on. The second vision. In the third year of the rule of Joachim, king of Judah, came Buḳtanaṣṣar, king of Babylon, to Jerusalem and surrounded it and the Lord handed over Joachim, king of Judah, into his hand.

In the bottom margin of the manuscript (fol. 164a), a scribe notes that the Arabic text commences with Daniel while the Coptic begins with Susanna and thus notifies the reader that:

هذا ما وجد في نسخة عربي (!) وهو غير موجودا (!) في القبطي وقد اخرجناه من العربي
قبطيا كما هو

This is what is found in the Arabic copy and it is not present in the Coptic and we have extracted it from the Arabic to Coptic as it is

We read in the manuscript (fol. 252) that the Arabic text is a replication of a copy produced by a certain Patriarch Yūnus³⁴ that in turn is based on al-^cAlam's translation. The Coptic section was translated from a text from the Monastery of St Anthony in the Eastern Desert of Egypt or the Monastery of St Macarios in Wadi el-Natrun.³⁵ Thus, the copyists worked carefully

³⁴ Perhaps the almost contemporary Patriarch Johannes X. Damascenus (1363-69 AD) or someone older, see VACCARI, "Le versioni", p. 407, fn. 2; cf. LÖGFREN, *Studien*, pp. 42-43.

³⁵ VACCARI, "Le versioni", pp. 407-408; and LÖGFREN, *Studien*, pp. 41-46. This trend conforms well to other findings from the "Golden Age of Coptic-Arabic" characterized by openness and devotion to textual criticism, see VACCARI, "Le versioni", pp. 410-411.

with both the Coptic and the Arabic texts, compared them and made text critical remarks in Arabic. They were apparently proficient in both languages as they translated the additional Arabic passages into Coptic.

The majority of manuscripts containing al-^cAlam's version do not reflect the interpolated verses from Dn.Ar^{Syr3} but begins directly with Susanna. See for instance Ms. London, British Libr., Or. 1326 dated 1585-7 AD.³⁶ As mentioned above, al-^cAlam's version was printed in the Paris Polyglot but the deuterocanonical parts were not rendered in connection to Daniel when the text was reproduced in the more widespread London Polyglot.

The last version of Susanna transmitted in connection to Daniel which was vastly reproduced in later manuscripts, represents copies of the BSA.³⁷ Nevertheless, Sus.Ar^{Gr2} and Sus.Ar^{Gr3} were copied up to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In sum, Susanna is not included in the earliest extant Arabic Daniel translations. We must thereby conclude that this was the case also in the Syriac *Vorlage(n)* which the Arabic texts were dependant on. Around the tenth and eleventh centuries this practice changed and Susanna began to be transmitted in connection to the Daniel corpus. It circulated among the Near Eastern Christian communities in four different versions: Sus.Ar^{Gr1}; Sus.Ar^{Gr2}; Sus.Ar^{Gr3}; and Sus.Ar^{BSA}. Apart, perhaps, from the BSA version, Susanna is based on a Greek text (Theodotion) regardless of the *Vorlage* used for the rest of the Daniel corpus. The exact location of Susanna was not yet determined. It was sometimes transmitted before Daniel chapter 1, after Daniel chapter 12, after Bel and the Dragon, or incorporated into Daniel chapter 1. The latter case is particularly

For instance, the copyist marked text-critical observations with *r* for *al-Rūmi* and *q* for *al-Qopti*, see LÖFGREN, *Studien*, p. 45.

³⁶ See also Mss Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 79 and 80 and, most likely, the other manuscripts listed by Löfgren as containing al-^cAlam's version, i.e.: Mss. Vatican, Bibl. apostolica Vaticana, Ar. 445; Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, Ar. 1 and 25; Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, 2108 (karš); Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, Copt. 2 and 96; Manchester, John Rylands Libr., Copt. 419 [10] and 420 [11].

³⁷ Mss. Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 88; 84; 74; 73; 55; and 45.

interesting. As a means of enhancing the chronology of the biblical narratives, the story of Susanna, wherein Daniel is described as a young man, commences immediately after the fall of Jerusalem in chapter 1:1-2. That is, before Daniel and his friends are summoned to the king's court in 1:3-6.

Bel and the Dragon

In Christian Arabic manuscripts, the narratives of Bel and the Dragon (henceforth Bel) are normally transmitted as natural continuations of the protocanonical Daniel corpus. The most ancient witness of the first version is attested in the Peshiṭta-based Ms. Sinai Ar. 1 dated to the ninth century.³⁸ The rest of the manuscripts in Dn.Ar^{Syr}1*, which all predate the twelfth century, exhibit a similar text, here referred to as Bl.Ar^{Syr}1*.³⁹ A second version which is also based on the Peshiṭta is contained in Ms. Sinai Ar. 2 dated 939/40 AD: Bl.Ar^{Syr}2. It is, with minor textual variation, attested to in the twelfth century Ms. Sinai Ar. 539 as well.⁴⁰ A revision of Bl.Ar^{Syr}1* is transmitted in most manuscripts belonging to Dn.Ar^{Syr}3, i.e. the more standardized translation in use among some Byzantine and Coptic communities in Muslim Egypt from the thirteenth century onwards: Bl.Ar^{Syr}1a.⁴¹ Typically, text units that are not included in the earlier version

³⁸ Only versions of Bel and the Dragon transmitted in conjunction with Daniel translations have been taken into account.

³⁹ Mss. Sinai Ar. 1 and 513 as well as Ms. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Fraser (Or.) 257 exhibit the same text though the latter two deviate from the first in many instances. Ms. Sinai Ar. 597 has plenty of independent renderings, as is the case also with the protocanonical Daniel narratives in this manuscript.

⁴⁰ Both these versions exhibit many non-literal features of the kind described in connection to the second version of Susanna above.

⁴¹ See also Mss. Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 81 and the manuscripts listed by Löfgren as containing the same version of Daniel: Mss. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C 58 inf.; Florence, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana, Or. 59; London, British Libr., Or. 5918; and Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, 169 (karš.), LÖFGREN, *Studien*, p. 44.

are added from Ms. Sinai Ar. 539, or they are mixed. Independent renderings also occur. Compare the relation between Ms. Sinai Ar. 1 from Bl.Ar^{Syr1*} and Ms. Sinai Ar. 539 from Bl.Ar^{Syr2} with the renderings in the widespread version Bl.Ar^{Syr1a} represented by Ms. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Arch Seld. A. 67:

S1 ولكنني اتقي الحي الذي خلق السما والارض وهو رب الناس كلهم فله اسجد
 AS ولكنني انا اخشي الله الحي الذي خلق السماء والارض وهو رب الناس كلهم فله
 اسجد وله وحده اعبد
 S539 ولكنني انا اخشي الله الحي الذي خلق السما والارض وهو الرب العالى على كل البشر
 فله اسجد وله اعبد

AS But I fear the living God who created heaven and earth. He is the lord of all the people: Him I worship and Him alone I serve

While the protocanonical part in Dn.Ar^{Syr3} is normally highly standardized, the text of Bel is more dynamic in these manuscripts. Ms. Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 89 dated to the seventeenth century, for instance, contains the popular Dn.Ar^{Syr3} whereas Bel represents almost exactly the same version exhibited in Ms. Sinai Ar. 1 slightly influenced by Bl.Ar^{Syr2}.

Yet another Peshiṭta-based version of Bel (Bl.Ar^{Syr3}) is transmitted in a number of manuscripts. The earliest representative is Ms. Sinai Ar. 9 dated to the thirteenth century. Another representative is extant in Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Diez A fol. 41 dated 1325 AD, both belonging to Dn.Ar^{Syr2}.⁴²

By the fourteenth century, a fourth Arabic version of Bel circulated in Egypt, this time based on a Greek *Vorlage* (=Bl.Ar^{Gr1}). This text is

⁴² The same version is contained in Mss. Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 82; 87; 77; 82; 86. Ms. Sinai Ar. NF. Paper 9 dated to the eleventh century may also belong to this group but the manuscript is mutilated and contains only Susanna and Daniel 1:6-13.

transmitted together with the translation of Daniel attributed to al-^cAlam al-Iskandarī. Based on translation techniques, Daniel, Bel, and Susanna appear to have been produced by the same translator. Its earliest representative is Ms. London, British Libr., Or. 1314 mentioned above. The same version is extant in a number of manuscripts.⁴³

In principal, remaining manuscripts contain reproductions of the BSA.

Finally, a few words regarding the spelling of the name “Bel” in the Arabic translations. In Bl.Ar^{Syr1} and Bl.Ar^{Syr1a}, “Bel” is normally spelled *bīl* (بيل), a transliteration of the Syriac letters (ܒܠ) into Arabic which further reflects the koine pronunciation of the Greek /eta/ as *ī* and of the vowel resting on Syriac /yod/ as /ī/. The Greek-based manuscripts in Bl.Ar^{Gr1} as well as reproductions of the BSA exhibit the same form. Manuscripts belonging to Bl.Ar^{Syr2} and Bl.Ar^{Syr3}, on the other hand, spell the name as *Bāl* i.e. with an Arabic /’alīf/ instead of /yā’/. In the latter case, the Syriac /yod/ was understood as carrying the vowel /ē/, which in Arabic is rendered as /ā/.⁴⁴

To conclude, as opposed to Susanna, Bel is transmitted as a natural continuation of the protocanonical Daniel corpus already in the earliest manuscripts. Five different versions have been identified: Bl.Ar^{Syr1*}; Bl.Ar^{Syr2}; Bl.Ar^{Syr3}; Bl.Ar^{Gr1}; and Bl.Ar^{BSA}. As was the case with Susanna, one and the same version of Daniel may contain different versions of Bel and the Dragon. Thus, it appears that although these deuterocanonical narratives constitute a natural component of the biblical Daniel corpus, their interchangeability indicates a certain independence from it.

⁴³ Cf. fn. 32 and 35 above.

⁴⁴ In some specific words, a Syriac /yod/ is pronounced as /ē/ in East Syriac and as /ī/ in West Syriac, see Theodore NÖLDEKE, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977 [1898]), § 46. The rendition of Syriac *bīl* as *bāl* may be a vague indication of an Eastern provenance. This is also indicated by the rendition of certain words, such as the dry measure *mikyāl* exclusively used in Iraq, and certain translation techniques, such as alternate renderings which are commonly associated with the East, cf. VOLLANDT, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, pp. 67; 186.

We will now turn to the text unit in the Arabic manuscripts which is most prone to change: the second addition in Daniel chapter 3.

The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men

In the Christian Arabic manuscripts, the Prayer of Azariah (henceforth the Prayer) and the Song of the Three Young Men (henceforth the Song) are transmitted as integral parts of Daniel chapter 3, save for a few exceptions. Since this is the general practice in ancient Christian traditions, such findings are of little surprise. However, the structure of the second addition deserves more attention. In many manuscripts, the Song appears in an abbreviated form vis-à-vis the versions transmitted in continuous biblical *Vorlagen*. Typically, the subject(s) of each stanza are joined together so that what constitutes two (or three) stanzas in the *Vorlage* is condensed to one in the Arabic translations. Compare for instance verses 62 and 63 in the Peshitta, which are similarly phrased in the Greek Bible versions,⁴⁵ with that in the tenth century Ms. Sinai Ar. 513:

ܠܠܗ ܘܡܫܘܚܝܢܐ ܘܡܘܨܝܢܐ ܠܝܘܠܐ ܕܝܡܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ
ܠܠܗ ܘܡܫܘܚܝܢܐ ܘܡܘܨܝܢܐ ܠܝܘܠܐ ܕܝܡܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ

⁴⁵ In Rahlfs' edition, both the continuous versions of Theodotion and the Septuagint as well as the Ode read:

εὐλογεῖτε ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη τὸν κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

εὐλογεῖτε ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

See Alfred RAHLFS, *Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Privileg. Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935). In some verses, the Greek versions differ and in such cases, the Peshitta usually adheres to Theodotion though it exhibits many independent renderings as well. Cf. Heinrich SCHNEIDER, "Die Biblischen Oden im Christlichen Altertum", *Biblica* 30/1 (1949), pp. 28-65, espec. pp. 55-56.

P Bless the Lord, *sun and moon*, sing praise to him and highly exalt him forever

P Bless the Lord, *stars of heaven*, sing praise to him and highly exalt him forever

S513 باركو الرب الشمس والقمر ونجوم السما سبحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

S513 Bless the Lord, *the sun and the moon and the stars of heaven*, sing praise to him and highly exalt him forever

The omission of repetitive information is common in early Arabic translations of Daniel.⁴⁶ However, the brevity exhibited in these manuscripts is highly systematic and appears also in translations that on the whole are not characterized by an extensive use of omission techniques. Instead, the major source of influence appears to be liturgical practice.⁴⁷ The Prayer and the Song in Daniel chapter 3 were remarkably popular in both Oriental and Byzantine traditions. The three young men were early on depicted in icons to exemplify the victory of faith over death and to motivate Christians to endure martyrdom. The three young men also served as a *typos* of the holy Trinity.⁴⁸ More importantly for this study, the Prayer and the Song were transmitted separately from the continuous Book of Daniel, as the Seventh and Eighth biblical Odes. In collections of Odes, i.e. songs or prayers extracted from the Old and New Testaments, the Song

⁴⁶ See chapter 5 in HJÄLM, *Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel*.

⁴⁷ The Odes are important for textual criticism as they may preserve older renderings. For a study on the impact of the Magnificat (the Song of Mary, i.e. a New Testament Ode) on the transmission of Luke, see KNUST and WASSERMAN, "The Biblical Odes". Here the authors highlight the relational complexity between oral and written forms in the transmission process of the Bible and suggest that while some renderings in the Odes may be the result of liturgical adaptation, other may reflect the original composition since public performance also had a preservative effect on the original text.

⁴⁸ Take for instance the 3th or 4th century painting in the Catacombs of Priscilla in Rome. In the early Church, in fact already in the New Testament, Old Testament texts were understood as containing *typoi* or reflections of an important doctrine, or an event in the New Testament or in the life of the Church.

often appears in a contracted form vis-à-vis continuous biblical versions.⁴⁹ The Arabic collections of Odes apparently belong to the Byzantine tradition since they lack the Ode of Isaiah, which is common in the Syriac Orthodox tradition.⁵⁰ Compare the rendition in Ms. Sinai Ar. 513 previously discussed with an early version of the Song transmitted in an Arabic collection of Psalms and Odes, Ms. Sinai Ar. 22 dated to the tenth century:⁵¹

S22 باركوا الشمس والقمر والكواكب الذي في السما الرب سبحوه وعلوا علوه الى الدهر
S513 باركو الرب الشمس والقمر ونجوم السما سبحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

S22 Bless the Lord, *the sun and the moon and the stars that are in heaven*, sing praise to him and highly exalt him for eternity

S513 Bless the Lord, *the sun and the moon and the stars of heaven*, sing praise to him and highly exalt him forever

The exact phrasing differs slightly but the structure is the same, that is, two stanzas have been condensed into one. It is noteworthy that out of six available Daniel manuscripts dated prior to the thirteenth century, four

⁴⁹ See H. SCHNEIDER (ed.), *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version*, col. «Peshitta. The Old Testament in Syriac» 4.6 (Leiden: Brill, 1972); and Matthew BLACK (ed.), *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion (Berlin MS.Or.Oct.1019)*, col. «Text and Studies. Contribution to Biblical and Patristic literature» N.S. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954). This is not the case in the Greek manuscripts used by Rahlfs. See A. RAHLFS, *Psalmi cum Odis, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum graecum* 10. Edited by A. Rahlfs (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1935) where the Ode represents the fuller biblical text.

⁵⁰ Compare Jeremiah COOGAN, “The Biblical Odes in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition”, paper presented in Oxford on January 31st 2015 at the conference “Syriac Intellectual Culture in Late Antiquity: Translation, Transmission, and Influence”. Slightly revised.

⁵¹ This version is also attested for instance in Ms. Sinai Ar. 30 dated 977 CE and in the eleventh century Ms. Sinai Ar. 21, both Arabic collections of Psalms and Odes.

contain the abbreviated version.⁵² Moreover, the liturgical version exhibited above became so popular that it supplanted the longer biblical text in Dn.Ar^{Syr3}, i.e. the widespread translation copied between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries. However, the earliest and most independent manuscript in this group, the twelfth century Ms. Sinai Ar. 539, generally reflects the longer text. Continuous biblical versions are also attested in the ninth century Ms. Sinai Arabic 1 and in Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Diez A fol. 41 dated 1325 AD,⁵³ both based on the Peshitta. A continuous Greek (Theodotion)-based version is transmitted in Dn.Ar^{Gr1}. Copies of BSA also render the full version.

A considerable number of manuscripts however, contain the abbreviated version. The renditions of the Song in manuscripts predating the thirteenth century generally demonstrate a high degree of independence, complicated inter-textual relations and *Vorlagen* dependence. The verse order in the Arabic manuscripts is unstable and does not necessarily correspond to a specific *Vorlage*. It is highly probable that an Ode served as the main source text of some of these translations or revisions. As an example of the complicated inter-textual relations of the Arabic translations, take for instance the standard text in Dn.Ar^{Syr3}, which generally appears to be a revision of a text similar to that in Ms. Sinai Ar. 539. In verses 52-56 in the Song, however, the author, or rather, compiler reuses a text reminiscent of that transmitted in the Odes. Then again, in verses 57-88 a text almost identical to that in Ms. Sinai Ar. 513 is used. Verses 89-93 are quite

⁵² Mss. Sinai Ar. 597 dated 1002 AD; 513 dated to the tenth century; NF Paper 9 dated to the eleventh century; and Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Fraser (Or.) 257 dated to the eleventh or twelfth century. The version exhibited in Ms. Sinai Ar. 513 is transmitted in slightly altered form also in Ms. Sinai Ar. NF. Paper 9. Due to the condition of Ms Sinai Ar. NF Parch. 18, I have not been able to examine it. Ms. Sinai Ar. 2 is translated from a Hebrew *Vorlage* and thus it dispenses with the Additions, see HJÄLM, *Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel*, pp. 71-77.

⁵³ The same version is attested in other manuscripts belonging to Dn.Ar^{Syr2}, such as Mss. Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 77; 86; and 87. There is a lacuna in the relevant part of Ms. Sinai Ar. 9.

independent but in the final sections of chapter 3, the text in Ms. Sinai Ar. 539 is again reproduced with minor alterations. The reason for the change in verse 57 is most likely connected to the public use of the Song. In a Prophetologion dated to the thirteenth century, Ms. Sinai Ar. 595, directions indicating how to perform the Song are included: the chanter [*murratil*] starts chanting this Hymn in the fifth tone from verse 57 and the people join in the chorus and sing “sing praise to him and highly exalt him for eternities”. With some alteration, the Song in this Prophetologion represents the same version transmitted in Dn.Ar^{Syr3} and in the collections of Psalms and Odes.⁵⁴

Due to the complicated inter-textual relations of the manuscripts dated before the thirteenth century, I refrain from classifying the Song. Instead, I provide the reader with text samples from a range of available Arabic versions at the end of the present article. In general, the following remarks may guide a proximate classification. In the first part of the Song, verses 51-56, Mss. Sinai Ar. 1; 597 and Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Fraser (Or.) 257, all belonging to Dn.Ar^{Syr1*}, are loosely related whereas the text in the tenth century Ms. Sinai Ar. 513 from the same group is almost identical to Ms. Sinai Ar. 539 which belongs to Dn.Ar^{Syr3}, and to the eleventh century Ms. Sinai Ar. NF. 9 belonging to Dn.Ar^{Syr2}. The later dated and more homogenous manuscripts in Dn.Ar^{Syr3} display almost exactly the same version as that transmitted in the Odes. This version exhibits a text reminiscent to that in Sinai Ar. 539 and Sinai Ar. 513 but the doxology is phrased differently. By verse 57, which in many Greek and Syriac Ode collections marks the beginning of the Eighth Ode, the textual relations in the manuscripts change. Here Mss. Sinai Ar. 1; 597 and 539 are related whereas Mss. Sinai Ar. 513, Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Fraser (Or.) 257, the manuscripts belonging to Dn.Ar^{Syr3} as well as the Odes exhibit the same text with only minor variations. Thus, it appears that a standardization of

⁵⁴ The Song is normally not included in Prophetologia. In contrast, the Prayer, or part of it, is rendered. It is likely that at this time, the chanter replaced the Prophetologion with a book containing Psalms and Odes.

P/T Blessed are you Lord [...] since you are righteous in all your doings to us and all your works are truth

S1	تباركت اللهم ربنا [...] من اجل انك صادق بالذي فعلت بنا واعمالك كلها بالقسط
S597	مبارك انت ايها الرب [...] لانك صادق في فعلك بنا واعمالك كلها بالقسط
S513	مبارك انت الله ربنا [...] انك با وحق الذي فعلت بنا واعمالك كلها بالقسط
O1	مبارك انت الله ربنا [...] انك بار وحق بالذي فعلت واعمالك كلها بالقسط
S22	مبارك انت يا رب [...] لانك صادق في كل ما صنعت بنا وكل اعمالك صادقة
S539	مبارك انت يا رب [...] انك بار بكل فيما فعلته بنا وكل افعالك بحق
Dn.Ar ^{Syr3} ⁵⁶	مبارك الله [...] لانك بار بكل ما فعلته بنا وكل ما فعلت بنا بحق
S9NF	مبارك انت [...] لانك عدل في جميع ما صنعت بنا وجميع اعمالك بالقسط
Dn.Ar ^{Syr2} ⁵⁷	تباركت يا [...] لانك بر بجميع ما صنعت بنا وجميع اعمالك بالقسط
Dn. Ar ^{Gr1} ⁵⁸	مبارك انت ايها الرب [...] لانك انت عدل في كل ما صنعته بنا وكل اعمالك محقة
Dn.Ar ^{BSA} ⁵⁹	مبارك انت يا رب [...] من اجل انك انت عادل في جميع ما فعلته لنا وجميع اعمالك صادقة

In some manuscripts rubrics are added to introduce the Prayer and sometimes also the Song. As is generally the case with paratextual features in these texts, rubrics are not standardized. For instance, *tasbiḥat ḥanāniyā wa-’aṣḥābihi* “The Hymn of Ḥanāniyā and his friends” is used to introduce the Prayer in Ms. Sinai Ar. 513; *ḥaḍīhi al-tasbiḥu ṣalāt ‘azāriyā* “this is the Hymn: The Prayer of ‘Azāriyā” in Ms. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Seld Arch. A. 67; (*wa-yaqūlūna*) *ḥaḍīhi al-tasbiḥa* “(and they said) this Hymn” in Ms.

⁵⁶ Ms. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Arch Seld. A. 67.

⁵⁷ Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Diez A. fol. 41.

⁵⁸ Ms. London, British Libr., Or. 1314

⁵⁹ Ms. Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 74.

Sinai Ar. 539; and *tasibḥat ‘azāriyā* “The Magnification of ‘Azāriyā” in Ms. London, British Libr., Or.1314. The rubrics may differ in other Bible versions as well. In the Leiden edition of the Syriac Peshiṭta four different rubrics are at display: *šlōṭā dā-ḥananiyā w-ad-ḥabraw* “The Prayer of Ḥananiyā and his friends”; *šlōṭā dā-ḥayt ḥananiyā* “The Prayer of the house of Ḥananiyā”; *šlōṭā dā-‘azariyā w-ad-ḥabraw* “The Prayer of ‘Azāriyā and his friends”; *šlōṭā dā-‘azariyā* “The Prayer of ‘Azāriyā”.

In sum, the rendition of the Song into Arabic demonstrates the complex interaction between otherwise independent versions. Moreover, it links the biblical corpus with liturgical material. In several versions of the Song phrasings from various continuous translations are combined and the final product exhibits striking similarities with an Arabic rendition of the Eighth Ode connected to the Byzantine liturgy. As such, it suggests that at least three different versions of Daniel at some point were used by the *Rūm* Orthodox communities. As the liturgical Ode and the continuous biblical version differ in some regards, the Arabic renditions also show that the liturgical form in practice may override the original biblical composition.

Before we conclude this study, it is worthwhile to give some notes on the relation between Daniel and hagiographical works in the Arabic sources.

The Fourteenth Vision of Daniel

The biblical Daniel narratives gave rise to a genre of Danielic literature, often apocalyptic in nature. Such material is found already in the Qumran and continues to flourish in many regions and languages.⁶⁰ Inspired by this popular motif, the apocalyptic *Fourteenth Vision of Daniel* has been added to the end of Bel and the Dragon in the bilingual Coptic-Arabic manuscripts Ms. London British Libr., Or. 1314 dated 1373/4 AD and in a

⁶⁰ See Lorenzo DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature*, col. «Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha» 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

few related manuscripts.⁶¹ In this composition, which is modelled on Daniel chapter 7, the Islamic Empire is described as the fourth kingdom and the 19 horns (instead of ten) as 19 Muslim rulers.

The date and origin of the composition is obscure. It appears to have been originally written in Coptic although a Greek source cannot be ruled out.⁶² It may have been composed in the Umayyad period or slightly after but it was later revised.⁶³

Daniel and Hagiographical Works

The narratives of Daniel and his friends resemble many later hagiographical stories wherein the heroes and heroines are supernaturally rescued from the hands of evil rulers. It appears that this genre-resemblance motivated some early Arabic translators and copyists to place the biblical Daniel narratives together with collections of hagiographical works. Such is

⁶¹ According to van Lent, a similar text in Coptic or both Coptic and Arabic is extant in Mss. Bibl. nationale de France, Copt. 58; 2; and 96 and in Ms. Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Copt. 419, see JOS VAN LENT, "The Proto-Fourteenth Vision of Daniel", in David THOMAS (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History 1, 600-900*, col. «The History of Christian-Muslim Relations» 11 (Brill Online, 2009), pp. 309-313, here p. 311. Cf. LÖGFREN, *Studien*, p. 8.

⁶² VAN LENT, "The Proto-Fourteenth Vision of Daniel", p. 310.

⁶³ Harald SUERMANN, "The Use of Biblical Quotations in Christian apocalyptic writings of the Umayyad period", in D. THOMAS (ed.), *The Bible in Arab Christianity*, col. «The History of Christian-Muslim Relations» 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 69-90. Van Lent opts for a slightly later date of composition and places it after 760 AD, see VAN LENT, "The Proto-Fourteenth Vision of Daniel", p. 310. A Coptic version of this text dated to the twelfth century is extant in Ms. Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, Copte. 58 and has been published by Carolo G. WOIDE, *Appendix ad editionem N. T. graeci e codici Alexandrino* (Oxford, 1799). Several other editions and translations have been published, see VAN LENT, "The Proto-Fourteenth Vision of Daniel", pp. 311-313, and JOS VAN LENT, "The Copto-Arabic Sibylline Prophecy + The Prophecy of Daniel to Athanasius + The Fourteenth Vision of Daniel", in D. THOMAS (ed.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History 3, 1050-1200*, col. «The History of Christian-Muslim Relations» 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 270-273; 290-296; 697-703.

the case with MSS Sinai Ar. 513; NF Paper 9; and 539. From the thirteenth century onwards, continuous versions of Daniel are exclusively transmitted among the Prophets or, in rare cases, in Menologia.

Concluding Remarks

This article has focused on a few aspects relating to the Christian Arabic transmission of the biblical book of Daniel. Although the field of Arabic Bible translations still suffers from many lacunas, especially with regard to the Bible as a liturgical text, the diversity of these translations is well documented.⁶⁴ It is therefore plausible to assume that trends uncovered in the present article are not confined to Daniel alone but traceable in other Arabic Bible translations as well.

It is worthwhile to recapitulate a few observations from the material at hand. Most importantly, it has been demonstrated how the integrity of the biblical book of Daniel in the Arabic traditions is relaxed on three different levels: a non-biblical story may be added to the biblical corpus; extant narratives may be arranged in a new order; and biblical material may be adapted in line with liturgical practice. Furthermore, in the older manuscripts the biblical book of Daniel is sometimes transmitted together with non-biblical hagiographical works.

⁶⁴ See for instance Georg GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* vol. 1, col. «Studi e testi» 118 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1944); A. VACCARI, «Le versioni arabe dei profeti», *Biblica* 3 (1922), pp. 401-423; Kamil W. S SAAMAN, *Sept traductions arabes de Ben Sira*, col. «Publications universitaires européennes Séries XXIII Théologie» 492 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1994); BENGTSSON, *Translation Techniques*; Adriana DRINT, *The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of IV Ezra* 2 vols., col. «Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Arabici» (Leuven: Peeters, 1997); KASHOUH, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels*; and VOLLANDT, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*. For Judaeo-Arabic Bible translations, see for instance POLLIACK, *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation*.

The attachment of the *Fourteenth Vision of Daniel* to the canonical text is interesting as it serves as a witness to the absence of a closed canon. However, it must be pointed out that this composition was frequently excluded in other manuscripts containing the same version (Dn.Ar^{Gr}1a). Thus, we may in fact argue for the opposite trend, i.e. that the Septuagint canon was often defended among the Copts or at least that a tension existed between the idea of a closed canon and the ancient “Alexandrian” preference for a more open canon.

For the most part, the dynamic nature of the biblical text is discernible on a more subtle level. For instance, the way Susanna, a previously independent story, was integrated into the midst of Daniel chapter 1 and became a natural part of it in a popular Arabic version (Dn.Ar^{Syr}3), echoes the process of how the Song and the Prayer were once incorporated into Daniel chapter 3 in many ancient Bible versions. Thus, the Arabic translators and copyists continued a tradition of juxtaposing biblical narratives according to principles that was established centuries before. That is, a biblical passage is extracted from its original context, and placed into a new one so that the various passages relate to one another. Whether they were conscious of this practice or not, such a treatment demonstrates the dynamic nature of the biblical text, or at least of its structure, long after the Church had initiated the process of establishing a canon.

Of particular interest is the rendition of the Song into Arabic. In the Syriac and Byzantine traditions, the Song is also transmitted in collections of biblical Odes, often in an abridged manner. As has been demonstrated, this kind of compressed text replaces the longer biblical version of the Song in many early Syriac-based Arabic translations of Daniel. Moreover, one of the most widespread versions, Dn.Ar^{Syr}3, contains a translation of the Song, which is very similar to that transmitted in liturgical collections of Odes. The fact that the liturgical practice supplanted the original biblical composition demonstrates how dynamic the genre of Arabic Bible translations really was. This is to a certain extent connected to the function of Arabic translations as complements to texts in the traditional liturgical languages. As such, the value of the Arabic translations lies foremost in

their ability to reflect a less formalized, daily use of the Bible in Near Eastern communities. However, as we have seen in the Coptic-Arabic bilingual manuscript above, at least some copyists transferred Arabic text units into the Coptic text although these are not part of the original biblical narratives. It is plausible to assume that the Arabic renditions reached a higher status in the Coptic Church than in other communities.

It is noteworthy that hardly any of the versions of Daniel studied in this article exhibit the exact same canonical constellation. In short, Dn.Arab^{Syr}1* includes Daniel, the Song and the Prayer, and Bel; Dn.Arab^{Heb}1 includes Daniel and Bel; Dn.Arab^{Syr}2 includes Daniel, the Song and the Prayer, Bel and sometimes Susanna; Dn.Arab^{Syr}3 includes Daniel, Susanna incorporated into Daniel chapter 1, the Song and the Prayer, and Bel; Dn.Arab^{Greek}1 is found in three different constellations: 1) Susanna is included in Daniel 1 according to Dn.Arab^{Syr}3, then Daniel 1-12, including the Song and the Prayer, starts anew and is followed by Bel. In a few manuscripts, the Fourteenth Vision of Daniel is added to the end of Bel; 2) Susanna, Daniel including the Song and the Prayer, and Bel; and 3) Copies of the London Polyglot exclude the deuterocanonical sections. Reproductions of the BSA, include Daniel, the Prayer and Song, Susanna, and Bel.

As has been shown, codicological units do not always correspond to textual units in the Arabic manuscripts. To exemplify this, the proto- and deuterocanonical narratives of Daniel in a number of manuscripts will be presented in a table below. In the last column the inclusion of the deuterocanonical texts and their order within the manuscript is described. The Prayer and the Song are basically included in Daniel chapter 3 in all manuscripts except for Mss. Sinai Ar. 2, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 78 and 82 and will therefore not be included in the last column. The classification of various versions of the Prayer normally concurs with those identified in the twelve protocanonical chapters. The Song is more difficult to categorize but some remarks are given in the table (see also Appendix). The fluidity of text units in the manuscripts strengthens the notion that specific Arabic Bible versions did not reach the same degree of

authorization that for example Syriac Bible versions did.⁶⁵ Instead, several translations coexisted and new versions were readily accepted.

Mss	Daniel 1-12 (+the Prayer)	Susanna	Bel & Dragon	The Song	Order of narratives
Sinai Ar. 1	Dn.Ar ^{Syr1*}	-	Bl.Ar ^{Syr1*}	Full version (Pesh)	Dn, Bl
Sinai Ar. 2	Dn.Ar ^{Heb2}	-	Bl.Ar ^{Syr2}	-	Dn, Bl
Sinai Ar. 513	Dn.Ar ^{Syr1*}	-	Bl.Ar ^{Syr1*}	Abbreviated version	Dn, Bl
Sinai Ar. 597	Dn.Ar ^{Syr1*}	-	Bl.Ar ^{Syr1*}	Abbreviated version	Dn, Bl
Oxford, Bodl. Fr.273	Dn.Ar ^{Syr1*}	-	Bl.Ar ^{Syr1*}	Abbreviated version	Dn, Bl
Sinai Ar. 539	Dn.Ar ^{Syr3*}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr2}	Bl.Ar ^{Syr2}	Full version (Pesh)	Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl
Sinai Ar. NF. Pap. 9	Dn.Ar ^{Syr2*} (1-6:13?)	Sus.Ar ^{Gr1}	(lacuna)	Abbreviated version	
Sinai Ar. 9	Dn.Ar ^{Syr2} ; Dn.Ar ^{Syr3} ch.1:1-2;	Sus.Ar ^{Gr2}	Bl.Ar ^{Syr3}	(lacuna)	Dn, Bl, Dn 1:1-2, Sus
Oxford, Bodl. Arch.Seld. A67	Dn.Ar ^{Syr3}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr2}	Bl.Ar ^{Syr1a}	v.52-56 = Odes v.57- 88=SinAr.513 89- 93=independent 93- Sin.Ar.539	Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl
Milan, Bibl.	Dn.Ar ^{Syr3}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr2}	Bl.Ar ^{Syr1a}	v.52-56 = Odes v.57-	Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl

⁶⁵ For the homogeneous transmission of the *textus receptus* of the Peshitta, see George A. KIRAZ, "Textual Sources and Editorial Policies of the Antioch Bible", in J. P. MONFERRER-SALA & Samir K. SAMIR (ed.), *Græco-latina et orientalia*, pp. 183-190.

Ambros, C. 58 Inf.				88=SinAr.513 89- 93=independent 93- Sin.Ar.539	
Berlin, SB, Diez A fol. 41	Dn.Ar ^{Syr2}		Bl.Ar ^{Syr3}	Full version (Pesh)	
London, BL, Or. 1314	Dn.Ar ^{Syr3} ch.1:1-2; Dn.Ar ^{Gr1}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr3}	Bl.Ar ^{Gr1}	Full version (Theo)	Dn, Sus in Dn.1:2, Dn, Bl, 14 th Vision
London, BL, Or. 1326	Dn.Ar ^{Gr1}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr3}	Bl.Ar ^{Gr1}	Full version (Theo)	Sus, Dn, Bl
COP, Bibl. 81	Dn.Ar ^{Syr3}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr2}	Bl.Ar ^{Syr1a}		Sus, Dn, Bl
COP, Bibl. 89	Dn.Ar ^{Syr3}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr2}	Bl.Ar ^{Syr1*}		Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl
COP, Bibl. 82	Dn.Ar ^{Syr2}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr1}	Bl.Ar ^{Syr3}		Sus, Dn, Bl
COP, Bibl. 77	Dn.Ar ^{Syr2}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr2}	Bl.Ar ^{Syr3}		Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl
COP, Bibl. 87	Dn.Ar ^{Syr2}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr2}	Bl.Ar ^{Syr3}		Dn, Bl, Sus
COP, Bibl. 13	Dn.Ar ^{Syr3} ch.1:1-2; Dn.Ar ^{Gr1}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr3}	Bl.Ar ^{Gr1}		Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Dn, Bl
COP, Bibl. 79	Dn.Ar ^{Gr1}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr3}	Bl.Ar ^{Gr1}		Sus, Dn, Bl
COP, Bibl. 80	Dn.Ar ^{Gr1}	Sus.Ar ^{Gr3}	Bl.Ar ^{Gr1}		Sus, Dn, Bl

Appendix

The Song of the Three Young Men in eleven Arabic manuscripts dated between the ninth and the seventeenth centuries

A list of selected manuscripts containing the Ode in different Arabic versions is provided below. The aim of including these text passages is to highlight the variety of Arabic versions. All manuscripts in Ar^{Syr}1* are included whereas the other groups are represented by their earliest text witness. If the earliest text witness exhibits many independent renderings, which is often the case with manuscripts dated prior to the thirteenth century, this manuscript is marked with an asterisk in the list below and immediately followed by the second oldest manuscript in the group.

Diacritical marks are to some extent standardised in the Arabic transcriptions. /Tā' marbūṭah/ has been added to the Arabic transcriptions even if missing in the manuscripts and consonant diacritics (*'iḵām*) have been brought in line with common spelling norms of Classical Arabic. In many early manuscripts neither /hamzah/, /maddah/, /waṣlah/, nor /tašdīd/ appears. In other manuscripts these signs occur sporadically and inconsistently while in the later ones they are rather systematically marked. Due to the quality of the reproductions, their occurrence is not always clear and this should be taken into account when considering the transcriptions below.

The sequence of verses follows the continuous biblical version as printed in the Leiden edition of the Syriac Peshiṭta. The verse order of the original Septuagint is given in square brackets when it differs from the Leiden edition. The actual sequence of verses in each Arabic version is given in the margin. For a closer analysis of the abbreviated versions, the Syriac and Greek Ode recensions ought to be taken into account but this is beyond the scope of the present article.

In general, the translations, particularly the early ones, exhibit many non-literal renditions. The syntax normally adheres to the rules of Classical Arabic and the word choice is adapted to suit the target text audience although there is frequent usage of sound-similar roots. Moreover, words

are often added or omitted vis-à-vis the *Vorlage*. Due to the frequency of non-literal traits and Middle Arabic features, such features are not commented on in the footnotes.

Text critical signs:

˘	Later addition by the same or a different scribe
{ }	Dittography
[]	Missing element added by the present author or paratextual feature included in the manuscript

Folio numbers are indicated in square brackets in the running text. If the folios have not been numbered or are illegible on the reproduction, this is marked x in the first verse.

S1	=	(Ar ^{Syr1*}) Sinai Ar. 1, ninth century. Peshiṭta-based.
S597	=	(Ar ^{Syr1*}) Sinai Ar. 597, dated 1002 AD. Peshiṭta-based.
S513	=	(Ar ^{Syr1*}) Sinai Ar. 513, tenth century. Peshiṭta-based.
O1	= O1	(Ar ^{Syr1*}) Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Fraser (Or.) 257, eleventh century (or later). Peshiṭta-based.
SNF9*	=	(Ar ^{Syr2}) Sinai Ar. NF Paper 9, tenth century. Peshiṭta-based.
Ar ^{Syr2}	=	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Diez. A. 41, dated 1325 AD. Peshiṭta-based.
S539*	=	Sinai Ar. 539, twelfth century. Peshiṭta-based.
Ar ^{Syr3}	=	Milan, Bibl. Ambros. C 58 inf. dated 1226 AD. Peshiṭta-based with a Greek influence.
S22 ^{Odes}	=	Sinai Ar. 22, tenth century. Collection of Odes.
Ar ^{Gr1}	=	London, British Libr., Or. 1314, dated 1373/4 AD. Greek-based.
BSA	= BSA	Copt. Orthodox Patr., Bibl. 73, dated 1756 AD. Apparently based on the Latin Vulgate.

S513	مبارك انت يا رب اله ابائنا وتعالا تسبختك وتعالا علوك الى الادهار	52a
O1	انت مبارك انت ربنا ورب ابائنا مسيح انت ومنتعالى الى الدهر	52a
SNF9	مبارك الرب اله ابائنا وتعالا تسبختك وتعالا علوك الى الادهار	52a
Ar ^{Syr} 2	تباركت يا اله ابائنا وربهم مسيح ومعظم الى الابد	52a
S539	مبارك انت يا رب اله ابائنا وتعالا تسبختك وتعالا علوك للادهار	52
Ar ^{Syr} 3	مبارك انت يا رب اله ابائنا وفوق المسيح وفوق المتعالى الى الادهار	52a
S22	مبارك انت يا رب اله ابائنا وفوق المسيح وفوق المتعالى الى الدهر	52a
Ar ^{Gr} 1	مبارك انت ايها الرب اله ابائنا وفوق المسيح وفوق المتعالى الى الدهور	52a
BSA	مبارك انت يا رب اله ابائنا وممدوحا ومجدا وفوق رفيع الى الدهور	52a
	ܡܒܪܟܝܢܐܢܬܝܐܘܪܒܗܘܐܒܝܘܢܐܘܬܥܠܐܘܬܫܒܚܬܟܘܬܥܠܐܘܠܘܟܝܠܐܠܗܘܠܐܕܗܐܪ	52b
S1	تباركت ربنا رب ⁶⁶ ومحمود اسمك القدوس سبحانك وتعاليت ⁶⁷ .	52b
S597	تباركت ربنا ومسيح اسمك القدوس تباركت وتعاليت الى الدهر	52b
S513	مبارك اسم مجدك القدوس وتعالا تسبختك {المج} ⁶⁸ وتعالا علوك الى الادهار	52b
O1	تباركت ربنا ونسبح اسمك القدوس	52b
SNF9	مبارك اسم مجده القدوس وتعالا تسبخته وتعالا علوه الى الدهر	52b
Ar ^{Syr} 2	معظم اسم تسيحك باطهارك وانت مسيح ومعظم الى الابد	52b
S539	-	-
Ar ^{Syr} 3	مبارك اسم مجدك القدوس وفوق المسيح وفوق المتعالى الى الادهار	52b

⁶⁶ This addition [تباركت ربنا رب] appears to be the result of dittography. When the scribe noted this, he immediately stopped and did not finish the sentence and thereby omitting the last word [ابائنا]. When the manuscript was copied the last written word [رب] was omitted in order to avoid an anacoluthic structure, cf. Mss. Sinai Ar. 597 and Oxford, Bodl. Libr., (Or.) Fraser 257.

⁶⁷ The non-literal rendition [وتعاليت > ܘܬܥܠܝܬܝܢܐܘܬܥܠܐܘܬܫܒܚܬܟܘܬܥܠܐܘܠܘܟܝܠܐܠܗܘܠܐܕܗܐܪ] likely results from an inadvertent omission of the latter part of the source text. Compare the rendition in the previous sentence [ومتعالى الى الدهر > ܘܡܬܥܠܝܢܐܘܬܥܠܐܘܠܘܟܝܠܐܠܗܘܠܐܕܗܐܪ] and note that the translator avoided repetitive language, cf. Hjälml, *Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel*, pp. 130-131.

⁶⁸ Word crossed over by the scribe.

O1	تعاليت وتباركت انت تصبر العميق وانت جالس على الكرويين سبحان وتعاليت الى الدهر	54
SNF9	مبارك انت الذي تبصر الايام (!) وانت جالس على الكاروين وفاق تسبحتك وفاق علوك الى الدهر	54
Ar ^{Syr2}	انت مسيح ايها الجالس على الكرويين الناظر الى ما [241a] في لجة البحر وغمره وانت مسيح ومعظم الى الابد	54
S539	مبارك انت الذي تبصر الاعماق ⁷¹ وانت جالس على الكاروين وفوق تسبحتك وفوق علوك للادهار	54
Ar ^{Syr3}	مبارك انت الذي تبصر البحج وانت على الكرويين وفوق المسيح وفوق المتعالي الى الادهار	54
S22	مبارك انت الذي تنظر العمق وانت (?) على الكاروين ومسيح ومتعالي الى الدهر	54
Ar ^{Gr1}	مبارك انت الناظر الاعماق ⁷² المجالس على الشارويم وفوق المسيح وفوق المتعالي الى الدهر	54
BSA	مبارك انت في عرش مملكتك وفوق الممدوح وفوق الرفيع الى الدهور	54
	محبتي كرسى ملك سبجانك وتعاليت الى الدهر	55
S1		73
S597	تباركت على كرسى ملك سبجانك وتعاليت الى الدهر	55
S513	مبارك انت على عرش مجد ملكك وفاق تسبحتك وفاق علوك الى الادهار	55
O1	تباركت على كرسى ملكك سبجانك وتعاليت وتباركت الى الدهر	55
SNF9	مبارك انت على عرش ملكك وفاق تسبحتك وفاق علوك الى الدهر	55
Ar ^{Syr2}	-	-
S539	-	-

⁷¹ In ms: الاغواق

⁷² In ms: الاغواق

⁷³ It is unclear whether this verse was omitted by mistake or due to its similarity with the latter part of the previous verse, cf. HJÄLM, *Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel*, pp. 143-145. See also Ar^{Syr2}.

The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

157

Ar ^{Syr3}	مبارك انت على كرسي مجد ملكك وفوق المسيح وفوق المتعالي الى الابد	55
S22	مبارك انت على كرسي مجد ملكك ومسيح و متعالي الى الدهر	55
Ar ^{Gr1}	مبارك انت على كرسي ملكك وفوق المسيح وفوق المتعالي الى الدهور	55
BSA	مبارك انت المتراي (?) القعر والجالس على الكارويم ومدوح وفوق الرفيع الى الدهور	55
	ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ	56
S1	لك الحمد في سما السماء سبحانك تباركت وتعاليت الى الدهر	55
S597	تباركت في سما السماء سبحانك وتعاليت الى الدهر	56
S513	مبارك [320a] انت في فلك السماوات ولك التسبح والمجيد الى الابد	56
O1	مبارك انت في السما	56
SNF9	{مبارك} مبارك انت في فلك السماوات ولك التسبح و ولك التمجيد الى الدهر	56
Ar ^{Syr2}	تباركت في جلد السماء مسيح معظم الى الابد	55
S539	مبارك انت في فلك السما ولك التسبح وللمجيد للابد	55
Ar ^{Syr3}	مبارك انت في فلك السماء ومسيح ومجد الى الابد	56
S22	مبارك في فلك السما ومسيح ومجد الى الدهر	56
Ar ^{Gr1}	[190a] مبارك انت في جلد السماء و فرق المسيح وفوق المتعالي الى الدهور	56
BSA	مبارك انت في جلد السماء ومدوح ومجيد الى الدهور	56
	ܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ ܘܢܝܢܘܠܐ	57
S1	لك الحمد من خلقك سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	56
S597	يبارك كل عمل الرب للرب سبحانك وتعاليت الى الدهر	57
S513	باركوا الرب جميع اعمال الرب سبحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد	57
O1	[مسيحات (?)] باركوا الرب جميع اعمال الرب سبحوا وعظموا عظيمته الى الدهر	57
SNF9	[ثم سبحوا ايضا الثلاثة فتية بقم واحد وصوت واحد وقالوا] باركوا الرب جميع اعمال الرب سبحوه وعلوه الى الابد	57
Ar ^{Syr2}	[تسبح حننيا وعزريا واصحابه وتبريكهم] تبرك جميع اعمال الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	56

Ar ^{Syr3}	(see previous verse)	
S22	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركوا الرب يا ملايكة الرب جميعا سبّحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	59
BSA	باركوا يا السموات للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	59
	سبحه عظمه به لهه, دهنه لهه. عصبه, دهنه, لهه, لهه	60
		[61]
S1	يسبّحه كل جنوده سبّحوه وعظموه ابدا {يسبّحه كل جنوده سبّحوه وعظموه ابدا}	59
S597	يبارك الماء الذي فوق كل السما [9(10)b] وجميع قوة الرب للرب سبحانك وتعاليت الدهر	59
S513	باركوا الرب كل الامم التي فوق السماوات وجميع قوات الرب سبّحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد	59
O1	[169a] باركوا الرب الملايكة ⁷⁴ التي فوق السماوات وجميع قوات الرب سبّحوه وعلوا علوه الى الدهر	59
SNF9	سبحوا وباركوا الرب كل الامم التي في السماوات وجميع قوات الرب باركوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد	59
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبرك جميع اجناد الرب الرب سبّحوه وعظموه الى الابد	59
S539	-	
Ar ^{Syr3}	باركوا الرب الاحياء ⁷⁵ التي فوق السموات وجميع قوات الرب سبّحوه وعظموه للادهار	59
S22	باركوا المياه التي فوق السموات وكل قوات الرب الرب [253b] سبّحوه وعلوا علوه الى الدهر	59
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركوا الرب يا جميع المياه التي فوق السماء سبّحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	60
BSA	باركوا يا جميع المياه التي فوق السموات للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	60

⁷⁴ Copying mistake: الامم.

⁷⁵ Misreading: الامم.

	سبحه من اجل من سبحه لحنه. عسسه, ioحنه, لحنه	61a [60]
S1	يسبحه الما الذي [16b] فوق السما سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	60a
S597	(see previous verse)	
S513	(see previous verse)	
O1	(see previous verse)	
SNF9	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr} 2	تبرك الما اللّتي فوق السماء الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	60
S539	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr} 3	(see previous verse)	
S22	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Gr} 1	باركي الرب يا جميع قوات الرب سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	61
BSA	باركوا يا جميع قواة الرب للرب فامدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	61
	سبحه حملسه. دلسه, لحنه لحنه عسسه, ioحنه, لحنه	61b
	حله	
S1	يسبحوه اتقياه سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	60b
S597	-	
S513	-	
O1	-	
SNF9	-	
Ar ^{Syr} 2	تبرك جميع اتقيا الرب الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	61
S539	-	
Ar ^{Syr} 3	-	
S22	-	
Ar ^{Gr} 1	-	
BSA	-	
	سبحه من اجل من سبحه لحنه. عسسه, ioحنه, لحنه	62
S1	يسبحه الشمس والقمر سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	61

O1	باركوا الرب الامطار والاننا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الابد	61
SNF9	باركوا الرب كل مطر وندا والرياح جميعا سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الدهر	61
Ar ^{Syr} 2	تبرك جميع المطر والظل التبر سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	64
S539	باركوا المطر والندا للرب سبحوه وعظموه للادهار	62
Ar ^{Syr} 3	باركوا الرب المطر والندا وجميع الارواح سبحوه وعلوا علوه الى الادهار	61
S22	باركوا كل مطر وندا وكل الارواح للرب سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الدهر	61
Ar ^{Gr} 1	باركي التبر يا كل المطر والندا سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	64
BSA	باركوا يا جميع الامطار والندا للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	64
	ነኛኛ ነገሥተ ነገሥተ ለክርክር ለክርክር ለክርክር ለክርክር	65
S1	يسبحه الما والرياح سبحوه ويعظموه ابدا	64
S597	(see previous verse)	
S513	(see previous verse)	
O1	(see previous verse)	
SNF9	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr} 2	تبرك الما والرياح التبر سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	65
S539	باركوا الاممياة باركوا الاممياة والرياح للرب سبحوه وعظموه للادهار	63
Ar ^{Syr} 3	(see previous verse)	
S22	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Gr} 1	سبحوا التبر السحب والاهوية سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	65
	باركي التبر يا جميع الارواح سبحوه وارفعوه الى الابد	66
BSA	باركوا يا جميع ارواح الله للرب فامدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	65
	ነኛኛ ነገሥተ ነገሥተ ለክርክር ለክርክር ለክርክር ለክርክር	66a
S1	(يسبحه ⁷⁶) النار والحز سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	65a
S597	تبارك النار والحز والليل والنهار للرب سبحانك وتعاليت الى الدهر	61

⁷⁶ Missing word as a result of a copying mistake.

The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

163

S513	باركوا الرب النار والحر والليالي والايام سبحوه [320b] وعلوا علوه الى الابد	62
O1	باركوا الرب النار والحر والليل والنهار سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الابد	62
SNF9	باركوا الرب النار والحر والليل والنهار والايام سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الدهر	62
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبرك التار والحزّ التّرب سبحوه وعظّموه الى الابد	66
S539	باركوا الحر والنار للرب سبحوه وعظّموه للادهار	64
Ar ^{Syr3}	باركوا الرب النور 'والحر' والليل والنهار سبحوه وعلوا علوه للادهار	62
S22	باركوا النار والحر 'و' الليل والنهار الرب سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الدهر	62
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركوا التّرب لنار والحجارة سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	67
	سبحوا التّرب البرد والحزّ سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	68
BSA	باركوا [141b] {باركوا} يا ايها النار والحر للرب وامدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	66
	سبحم حلمم سبحوه الى الابد. سبحوه, سبحوه, سبحوه, سبحوه	66b
S1	يسبحه ارواح الابرار سبحوه وعظّموه ابدا	65b
S597	-	-
S513	-	-
O1	-	-
SNF9	-	-
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبرك جميع انفس الابرار التّرب سبحوه وعظّموه الى الابد	67
S539	باركوا كل انفس الابرار [231a] للرب سبحوه وعظّموه للادهار	65
Ar ^{Syr3}	-	-
S22	-	-
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركوا التّرب الاتديّة والانايفس سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	69
BSA	-	-
	سبحه ليله سبحوه الى الابد. سبحوه, سبحوه, سبحوه, سبحوه	67
S1	يسبحه الليل والنهار سبحوه وعظّموه ابدا	[71] 66
S597	(see previous verse, i.e. 61)	

S513	(see previous verse)	63
O1	(see previous verse)	63
SNF9	(see previous verse)	63
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبرك النهار والليلي الرب سبّحوه وعظّموه الى الابد	68
S539	باركوا الليالي والنهار للرب سبّحوه وعظّموه للادهار	66
Ar ^{Syr3}	(see previous verse)	
S22	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Gr1}	سبّحوا الرب الليالي [191a] والايام سبّحوه وارفعوه الى التهور	70
BSA	باركوا ايها الليل والنهار للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	71
	ܘܒܪܟܘܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܘܢܗܪܝܢ ܠܪܒܝܢ ܫܒܚܘܗ ܘܥܘܙܡܘܗ ܠܝܘܡܝܢ ܠܘܠܐܘܕܝܢ	68
	[72]	
S1	«يسبّحه» البرد والحر والنور والظلمة سبّحوه و يعظّموه «ابدا»	67
S597	يبارك الضو والظلمة والقر والحر للرب سبحانك وتعاليت الى الدهر	62
S513	باركوا الرب النور والظلمة والحر والبرد سبّحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد	63
O1	باركوا الرب الضو والظلمة والمبرد والحرّ سبّحوه وعلوا علوه الى الأبد	63
SNF9	باركوا الرب النور والظلمة والبرد والحر سبّحوه وعلوا علوه الى الدهر	63
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبرك التور والظلمة الرب سبّحوه وعظّموه الى الابد	69
S539	(see following two verses)	-
Ar ^{Syr3}	باركوا الرب الضو والظلمة والبرد والحر سبّحوه وعلوا علوه للادهار	63
S22	باركوا النور والظلمة البرد والحر للرب سبّحوه وعلوا علوه الى الدهر	63
Ar ^{Gr1}	سبّحوا الرب التور والظلمة سبّحوه وارفعوه الى التهور	71
BSA	باركوا ايها النور والظلمة للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	72
	ܘܒܪܟܘܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܘܢܗܪܝܢ ܠܪܒܝܢ ܫܒܚܘܗ ܘܥܘܙܡܘܗ ܠܝܘܡܝܢ ܠܘܠܐܘܕܝܢ	69a
S1	(see previous verse)	
S597	(see previous verse)	
S513	(see previous verse)	

⁷⁷ Missing word as a result of a copying mistake.

S539	باركوا الثلج والجليد والغمام والبرق للرب سبحوه وعظموه للادهار	68
Ar ^{Syr3}	باركوا الرب الجليد والثلج والبرق والسحاب سبحوه وعلوا علوه للادهار	64
S22	باركوا الثلج [254a] والجليد والبرق والسحاب الرب سبحوه وعلوا علوه الدهر	64
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركوا الرب ايها الصقيع والثلج سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	73
BSA	باركوا يا ايها الندى والجليد للرب فامدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	68
	باركوا يا ايها الجمد والبرد للرب فامدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	69
	باركوا يا ايها والجليد والثلج للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور ⁷⁸	70
	سبحه سبحه البروق والغمام سبحوه وعظموه ابدا {سبحوه ابدا} لالحل	71
		[73]
S1	تسبحه البروق والغمام سبحوه وعظموه ابدا {سبحوه ابدا}	70
S597	(see previous verse)	
S513	(see previous verse)	
O1	(see previous verse)	
SNF9	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr2}	تترك البرق والسحاب الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	72
S539	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr3}	(see previous verse)	
S22	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركوا الرب البروق والسحاب سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	74
BSA	باركوا ايها الغيوم والبروق للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	73
	سبحه / حلقة / حلقة / حلقة / حلقة . سبحوه وعظموه ابدا لالحل	72
		[74]
S1	تسبحه الارض كلها سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	71
S597	باركت الارض والجبال والاكمام وسائر زخرف الارض {للرب} للرب سبحانك وتعال	64

⁷⁸ It appears that these extra verses result from the collation of different texts. This manuscript then omits two verses that are usually included in the BSA version, cf. fn. 80 and 81.

S513	(see previous verse)	
O1	-	
SNF9	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبرك كل نبات الأرض الرب سبّحوه وعظّموه الى الابد	75
S539	تبارك كل شعب الارض وكل شعاع الارض للرب سبّحوه وعظّموه للادهار ⁷⁹	70
Ar ^{Syr3}	(see previous verse)	
S22	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركي الرب يا جميع النباتات وجه في الارض [191b] سبّحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	77
BSA	- ⁸⁰	
	صحه حل .ܡܚܘܕܐ ܠܚܝܢܐ .ܥܒܕܘܗܐ ܡܚܘܕܐ ܠܚܠܝܢܐ	74b
S1	يسبّحه زخرف الارض سبّحوه وعظّموه ابدا	73b
S597	-	
S513	-	
O1	-	
SNF9	-	
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبرك كل ما يضيء على الارض الرب سبّحوه وعظّموه الى الابد	76
S539	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr3}	-	
S22	-	
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركوا الرب ايها الينابيع سبّحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	78
BSA	-	
	صحه ܡܚܘܕܐ ܠܚܝܢܐ ܡܚܘܕܐ ܠܚܝܢܐ .ܥܒܕܘܗܐ ܡܚܘܕܐ ܠܚܠܝܢܐ	75 [78]

⁷⁹ This rendering differs from the *Vorlage*.

⁸⁰ The verse is missing in this ms. In London, British. Libr. (Or.) 8745 this verse is included: باركوا يا جميع نبات الارض للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور

S1	تسبحه البحور والانهار سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	74
S597	يبارك البحور والانهار والينابيع والنون وكل متحرك في الماء للرب سبحانك وتعاليت الدهر	65
S513	باركو الرب البحار والانهار وما يتحرك في الامياه ودواب البحار وما يضطرب في العيون للرب سبحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد	66
O1	باركوا الرب البحار والانهار والعيون وجميع ما يتحرك في المياه سبحوه وعلوه الى الابد	65
SNF9	باركو الرب البحار والعيون والانهار ودواب البحار وكل ما تحرك في الامياه سبحوه الى الدهر	65
Ar ^{Syr2}	ترك البحور والانهار الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	77
S539	باركوا البحار والانهار والمنابع والعيون للرب سبحوه وعظموه للادهار	71
Ar ^{Syr3}	باركوا الرب البحار والانهار والعيون وجميع ما تحرك في المياه سبحوه وعلوا علوه للادهار	66
S22	باركوا البحار والانهار والعيون وعفاريت الحيتان وكل شي يدب في المياه للرب سبحوه وعلوا علوه الدهر	66
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركوا الرب ايها البحار والانهار سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	79
BSA	باركوا ايها البحور والانهار للرب امدهوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	76
	سبحه سبحه هلمه حبهه لهزه . عسحه, سسحه, لسحه	76
		[77?]
S1	تسبحه ينابيع الامياه سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	75
S597	(see previous verse)	
S513	(see previous verse)	
O1	(see previous verse)	
SNF9	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr2}	ترك الينابيع وجميع العيون الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	78
S539	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr3}	(see previous verse)	

S22	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Gr} 1		-
BSA		- ⁸¹
	سبحه لله هل ينز صخره لحنه . عسوه , سبوحه , سبحه , لحنه	77
		[79]
S1	تسبحه الحيتان وحيثان الما سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	76
S597	(see previous verse)	
S513	(see previous verse)	
O1	(see previous verse)	
SNF9	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr} 2	تبرك السمك وكلما يدب في الما الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	79
S539	يباركوا الحيتان وكلما يدب في المياه للرب سبحوه وعظموه للادهار	72
Ar ^{Syr} 3	(see previous verse)	
S22	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Gr} 1	باركوا الرب ايها الحيتان وجميع المتحركات في المياه سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	80
BSA	باركوا يا ايها الحيتان وجميع ما يتحرك في المياه للرب امدهوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	77
	سبحه لله طائر السما يسبحوه ويعظموه ابدا	78
		[80]
S1	يسبحه كل طائر السما يسبحوه ويعظموه ابدا	77
S597	يبارك كل طير السما وجميع سباع الارض والبهائم للرب سبحانك وتعاليت الى الدهر	66
S513	باركوا الرب جميع طير السما والسباع والحيوان سبحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد	67
O1	باركوا الرب جميع طيور السما وجميع السباع والوحوش سبحوه وعلوا علوه الى الأدهار	66
SNF9	باركوا الرب جميع طيور السما كلها والحيوان سبحوه و الى الدهر	66
Ar ^{Syr} 2	تبرك جميع الطيور التي في السما للرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	80

⁸¹ The verse is missing in this ms. In London, British. Libr. (Or.) 8745 this verse is included: الدهور الى وارفعوه امدهوه للرب المعينات ايها يا باركوا

	The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel	171
S539	يباركوا كل طيور السما والدواب والعداير للرب سبحوه وجلوه للادهار	73
Ar ^{Syr3}	باركوا الرب جميع طير السماء وجميع السباع والوحوش سبحوه وعلوا علوه للادهار	67
S22	باركوا كل طير السما وكل السباع وكل البهائم للرب سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الدهر	67
Ar ^{Gr1}	[باركوا الرب جم]يع طيور السماء [سبحوا]ه وارفعوه الى [الده]ور	81
BSA	باركوا يا جميع طيور السماء للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	78
	ܘܒܪܟܘܘ ܟܠ ܥܘܘܦܝܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܕܘܒܐܝܢ ܘܥܕܝܐܝܪ ܠܪܒܐܝܢ ܘܗܠܘܘ ܠܐܕܗܐܪ	79a
		[81]
S1	تسبحه الحيوان والانعام يسبحوه ويعظموه ابدا	78a
S597	(see previous verse)	
S513	(see previous verse)	
O1	(see previous verse)	
SNF9	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبرك جميع السباع والبهائم للرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	81
S539	باركوه كل الدبابات الذي علي وجه الارض وكل البشر للرب سبحوه وعظموه للادهار	74
Ar ^{Syr3}	(see previous verse)	
S22	(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركي الرب ايها الوحوش وجميع البهائم سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	82
BSA	باركوا يا جميع الوحوش والمواشي للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	79
	ܘܒܪܟܘܘ ܟܠ ܕܒܘܒܐܝܢ ܘܕܘܒܐܝܢ ܘܥܕܝܐܝܪ ܠܪܒܐܝܢ ܘܗܠܘܘ ܠܐܕܗܐܪ	79b
		[81]
S1	يسبحه كل حشرة الارض سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	78b
S597	-	
S513	-	
O1	-	
SNF9	-	
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبرك كل هوام الأرض الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	82

S539	-		
Ar ^{Syr3}	-		
S22	-		
Ar ^{Gr1}	-		
BSA	-		
		חנה חלמה חסיה לחנה חסיה, חנה לחנה	80
			[82]
S1	79	يسبحة جميع البشر سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	
S597	67	ببارك كل بني الناس وبارك اسرائيل للرب سبحانك [10(11)a] وتعاليت الى الدهر	
S513	68	[321a] باركوا الرب بنو البشر وباركه اسرائيل ويعلي علوه الى الابد	
O1	67	باركوا الرب بنو البشر سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الدهر	
SNF9	67	باركوا الرب بني الناس وباركه اسرائيل وتعالا علوه الى الدهر	
Ar ^{Syr2}	83	تبرك جميع الناس الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	
S539	-		
Ar ^{Syr3}	68	باركوا الرب ابنا البشر ببارك اسرائيل الرب سبحوه وعلوا علوه للادهار	
S22	68	[254b] باركوا باني البشر وبارك اسرائيل للرب سبحوه وعلو علو الى الدهر	
Ar ^{Gr1}	83	باركوا الرب يا بني البشر سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	
BSA	80	باركوا يا بني الناس للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور	
		חנה חלמה חסיה לחנה חסיה, חנה לחנה	81
			[83]
S1	80	يسبحة ال اسرائيل	
S597		(see previous verse)	
S513		(see previous verse)	
O1	69	ببارك اسرائيل الرب سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الدهر	
SNF9		(see previous verse)	
Ar ^{Syr2}	84	تبرك جميع بني اسرائيل الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	

Ar ^{Syr2}	لآته نجانا من الموت وأحيانا من الهاوية واقذنا من لهب النار ومن وسط النار اخرجنا	89b
S539	منجل انه نجانا من الموت ومن الجحيم احينا فخلصنا من الهيب الموقد ' و ' من وسط النار اخرجنا	77b
Ar ^{Syr3}	من اجل انه نجانا من الموت ومن الجحيم خالصنا واحيانا من لهب النار الموقدة واخرجنا	71b
S22	-	-
Ar ^{Gr1}	لانه اتقذنا من الجحيم وخلصنا من الموت ونجانا من وسط الاتون من وسط النار ملتم	89b
	[192b] ونجانا من وسط النار اعترفوا للرب لانه صالح وان رحمته الي الدهر	
BSA	من اجل انه نجانا من الجحيم وخلصنا من يد الموت واتقذنا من جوف الهيب المحترق و وسط النار نجانا	86b
	αγαθα ληθησεν ο ανθρωπος εν τη λαλησει τω βασιλει . εβουληθη ο βασιλης .	87
	اشكروا الرب فانه صالح ونعمته الى الدهر سبحوه وعظموه ابدا	[89] 85
S1		
S597	فاشكروا الرب لانه هو المنعم ونعمته الى الدهر سبحانك وتعاليت الى الدهر	70
S513	اشكر الرب الطيب والى الابد رحمته سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	72
O1	اشكرو الله الطيب والى الدهر نعمته يا ايها الذين يمجسبون الله سبحوه وعظموه الى الدهر	70
SNF9	اشكروا الرب انه منعم ونعمته عظيمة سبحوه وعلوا علوه وعظموه الى الدهر	70
Ar ^{Syr2}	اشكروا للرب انه منعم ونعمه عظيمة سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	90
S539	اشكروه منجل نعمته الدائمة سبحوه وعظموه الى الادهار	78
Ar ^{Syr3}	اشكروا الرب انه والى الابد نعمته سبحانه وتعالا الى الدهر	72
S22	-	-
Ar ^{Gr1}	باركوا الرب يا جميع الاتقيا الرب اله ابائنا سبحوه	90
BSA	اشكروا الرب لانه صالح من اجل ان الى الدهور رحمته	87
	ετις εβουληθη ο βασιλης . εβουληθη ο βασιλης .	88
	لحلل . αγαθα ληθησεν ο ανθρωπος εν τη λαλησει τω βασιλει .	[90]

S1	اشكروا الرب الى الدهر {و} ارحمته	86
S597	واشكروا ايها الذين يخشون الله الاله الكمل وسبحوه وعظموه الى الدهر	71
S513	[321b] يسبح كل اتقيا الله لله سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد اشكر الرب الطيب والى الابد نعمته	73
O1	-	-
SNF9	يبارك جميع اتقيا الله اله الالهة وعلوا علوه الى الدهر اشكروا الرب المنعم فان نعمته عظيمة سبحوه دائمة الى الابد	71
Ar ^{Syr2}	تبارك جميع اتقيا الله الاله الالهة سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد اشكروا الرب المنعم فان نعمته دائمة الى الأبد	91
S539	باركوا كل خاشين لله لاله الالهة سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد	79
Ar ^{Syr3}	يا ايها الذين يخشون الرب سبحوه اشكروا اله الالهة سبحوه وعظموه الى الدهر	73
S22	-	-
Ar ^{Gr1}	واشكروه فان رحمته كائنة الى الابد	91
BSA	باركوا يا جميع المتقين للرب اله الالهة امدحوا واعترفوا له من اجل ان الى جميع الدهور رحمة	88

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