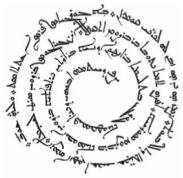
Hexateuch from the Syro-Hexapla



Biblical and Apocryphal Christian Arabic Texts

1

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The Biblical and Apocryphal Christian Arabic Texts (BACA) brings to the scholarly world reliable editions of unpublished texts based on a single manuscript. In particular, the series produces edited volumes on Biblical and Apocryphal literature of the various Christian-Arabic ecclesiastical traditions, preceded by substantial introductory studies covering the socio-historical, theological, literary and linguistic aspects connected to the texts. The primary objective of the series is to present a varied and comprehensive map of texts that represent the rich and vast field of biblical and apocryphal literature in one of the Christian languages, Arabic.

Hexateuch from the Syro-Hexapla

Edited by

Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala

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Foreword

When bilingual and trilingual Christian Arab translators launched the so-called 'Translation Movement', which was to eventually give rise to the well-known *Bayt al-Ḥikmah* or 'House of Wisdom',[1] they were also paving the way for a long and highly-productive process of translation, scholarship and textual transmission, whose development involved a number of different spheres, both external – e.g. ecclesiastical, geographical and chronological – and internal, shaping diatopic trends in linguistics as well as textually-specific aspects of transmission and exegesis.

This heralded a new dawn for the Christian communities of the Near East. Whilst the rise of the Arab-Islamic state in the 7th century certainly signified a radical change to the established order, prompting difficulties and disquiet – particularly in social and religious terms – for local Christian communities, it also opened up new cultural horizons and posed new challenges for those Christian intellectuals who, alert to the broader scope afforded by the use of the Arabic language, became fully involved in the Arabisation process.[2]

Melkite translators, for example, quickly realised not only that they were faced with a new social and religious dispensation, but also that the changed historical and political circumstances implied a whole new linguistic and cultural situation.[3] The fledging Islamic state gradually imposed Arabic – the new *lingua franca* of the Near East – as the official language, and Christians soon felt the pressing need to translate into Arabic a whole corpus of Christian texts, with the twofold aim of ensuring their

[1] Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsid Society (2nd–4th/8th–19th Centuries)* (London–New York: Routledge, 1998).

[2] On the Arabisation process under Muslim rule, see the recent books by Joshua Mabra, *Princely Authority in the Early Marwānid State: The Life of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān (d. 86/705)* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), and Jelle Bruning, *The Rise of a Capital: Al-Fusṭāṭ and Its Hinterland, 18/639–132/750* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018).

[3] Joshua Blau, 'A Melkite Arabic literary lingua franca from the second half of the first millennium,' *Bulletin of the Schoolf of Oriental and African Studies* (2009), pp. 14–16.

preservation and guaranteeing their future transmission within their own communities.

The translation into Arabic of a vast textual heritage, which had been preserved and transmitted at secular level by the various Christian communities,[4] entailed far more than the perfunctory rendering of original texts composed and preserved in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, and other languages. It also meant more than simply replacing one language by another within an Eastern communicative framework in which Arabic had superseded the earlier *lingua franca*, Aramaic, with all its dialectal diversity.

The new situation called for cultural measures befitting the circumstances in which Christian communities now found themselves; Arabic, still an emerging language, was gradually displacing Greek and Syriac, languages once powerful amongst Christian intellectuals in the Near East, but which by the 8th century lacked the vigour required to withstand the challenge from the language of the new state and the new religion: Islam.

This Herculean undertaking on the part of the Christian translators was rendered more complex by the fact that the translation policy underpinning their endeavours was shaped by a wise, and indeed crucial, decision adopted from the outset in Christian intellectual circles. Aware that the process of Arabisation instituted by the Islamic authorities signified a parallel process of acculturation and Islamisation, Christian intellectuals – many of them translators – resolved to embark on a translation programme aimed at providing Arabic versions of the largest possible number of texts from their vast heritage, so that they could be read by upcoming generations of Christians who – once Arabised – would no longer have the linguistic skills required to enjoy those texts in the original Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian or Georgian.

As a result, and although the Abbasid caliphs had already commissioned a vast number of translations from Christian translators, the Christian intellectuals opted for their own translation programme, which involved producing Arabic versions of a whole range of Christian texts: patristic works, hagiographical treatises, canonical writings, exegesis, apologetics, polemics, and so on. Whilst the Caliphs had shown a passing interest in biblical texts – largely for polemicist reasons – these, together with apocryphal writings, were also added to the sum of work to be rendered into Arabic.

The biblical material translated into Arabic during the Middle Ages included texts from the Hexateuch contained in *Codex Sinai Arabic 3*, the first in the *Christian Arabic Texts* series now being published. This set of six texts (Pentateuch + Joshua) is of enormous interest, for what it tells us not only about translating into Arabic, and about the techniques and strategies adopted by the translators, but also about the revisions and reworkings to which the original translations were subjected, and in

[4] For Coptic, see Samuel Rubenson, 'Translating the Tradition: Some Remarks on the Arabization of the Patristic Heritage in Egypt,' *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996), pp. 4–14.

general about the transmission process undergone by biblical texts in the hands of successive copyists.

This volume marks the launch of a new series from *Gorgias Press*, aimed at providing diplomatic editions of Christian Arabic biblical and apocryphal texts, accompanied by critical introductions. The *Christian Arabic Texts* series seeks to fulfil a twofold purpose: to foster the edition of previously-unpublished Christian Arabic biblical and apocryphal manuscripts – a field in which there is much work to be done – and at the same time to provide specialists with reliable diplomatic editions that can be used in subsequent critical editions, thus facilitating the editing process.

I should like to express my sincere gratitude to my friend George Kiraz, and to the wonderful team at *Gorgias Press*, led by Adam Walker. I am also grateful to my colleagues on the advisory board: Elie Dannaoui, George Kiraz, Wageeh Mikhail, Sabine Schmidtke and Jack Tannous. Their ideas, their enthusiasm and their untiring support were crucial to this whole undertaking; without their help, the series would not have been possible. They all deserve to share in its success.

Finally, I hope that the *desideratum* underpinning *Christian Arabic Texts* will be fulfilled, and that the series will be welcomed by our colleagues and by interested readers in general. A positive response from the readership will amply justify our ideas and our aims, thus confirming that our efforts have helped to bring Christian Arabic biblical and apocryphal texts to a wider audience, and at the same time have facilitated the work of editors and scholars of Christian Arabic literature in general, and more specifically of specialists in biblical and apocryphal writings.

Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala
Late Autumn, 2018

AUTHOR, DATE, PLACE OF COMPOSITION AND ORIGINAL LANGUAGE

When the Persians invaded Syria in the 7th century, the Syrian Orthodox bishop Paul of Tellā fled to Alexandria, finding refuge in one of the most famous Egyptian monasteries, *Dayr al-Zajāj*, later known as *Dayr al-Hanaṭūn*.[1] There, between 613 and 617 CE, Paul of Tellā translated into Syriac the Greek text of the *Hexapla*, i.e. the 'fifth' column of Origen's *Hexapla*, together with the Aristarchian signs.[2] Although Paul of Tellā's translation, known in Syriac as *shabʿīn* ("seventy"), has not survived in its entirety,[3] this Syro-Hexaplar version is known to have enjoyed considerable acclaim within the Syrian Orthodox community, playing a major role both in the liturgy and

[1] Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries*. Edited and translated by B.T.A. Evetts, with added notes by Alfred J. Butler (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895, reprinted Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2001), pp. 101 (fol. 80a, Arabic), 229 (English) and n. 1. Cf. Otto F.A. Meinardus, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity* (Cairo – New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002), pp. 148–149.

[2] Timothy M. Law, 'La version syro-hexaplaire et la transmission textuelle de la Bible grecque', in *L'Ancien Testament en syriaque*, édité par F. Briquel Chatonnet et Ph. Le Moigne (Paris: Geuthner, 2008), pp. 101–120. Cf. Arthur Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla* (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1975), pp. 3–43. Cf. Peter J. Gentry, 'Hexaplaric Materials in Ecclesiastes and the Rôle of the Syro-Hexapla', *Aramaic Studies* 1 (2003), p. 7.

[3] Among the new materials in Dayr al-Suryān are versions of the Books of Ezekiel (1:1–47,23) and Tobit (complete), together with fragments n. 38 and 140 corresponding respectively to Psalm 58:15–60,5 (with *marginalia*) and Isaiah 58:7–8, cf. S.P. Brock & Lucas van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Suryan, Wadi al-Natrun (Egypt)*. "Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta" 227 (Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2014), pp. 23, 45–46, 347 and 348 respectively.

in exegesis,[4] although it never replaced the *Peshīṭtā*, which had achieved the status of authorised text for Syriac-speaking Christians.[5]

While never earning the same renown as the *Peshīṭtā*, the importance of Paul's Syro-Hexaplar version is attested by the interlinear inclusion of variants proposed by his translation in some manuscripts of the *Peshīṭtā*. A good example is MS 12t3[2], which contains the text of the Psalms as given by the *Peshīṭtā*, accompanied by the interlinear addition of variants drawn from the Syro-Hexaplar version.[6] Indeed, the fame of Paul of Tellā's translation extended beyond Syriac Orthodox circles into the Coptic Church, where reworked versions gained considerable popularity.[7]

The first and, as far as we know, only Arabic translation of the *Pentateuch* made from Paul of Tellā's Syro-Hexaplar version appears to have been produced in the 10th century. Like its Syriac original, the Arabic text was known as *sab'īn* ("seventy", fol. 2[v]). This translation, together with Arabic renderings of other *Old Testament* books (*Proverbs*, along with its prologue, *Ecclesiastes*, *Wisdom* and the *Song of Songs*), was attributed to al-Hārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ (*fl.* 9th–10th c. CE).[8]

In that sense, the hypothesis put forward by the Syrian historian and scholar Nasrallah, to the effect that this translation was made from a Greek version of the LXX, though also drawing on other versions (*fait sur le texte grec des Septanta, mais*

4 Willem Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*. Edited, commented upon and compared with the Septuagint (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), p. 2; S.P. Brock, 'Les versions syriaques de l'Acien Testament. Quelques approaches récentes,' in *L'Ancien Testament en syriaque*, pp. 26–27. Cf. R.B. ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis*. «Tradition Exegetica Graeca» 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), pp. 121–122; Richard J. Saley, 'The textual Vorlagen for Jacob of Edessa's Revision of the Books of Samuel', in *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day*, ed. R.B. ter Haar Romeny. "Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leide"» 18 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 113–125.

5 Bas ter Haar Romeny, 'The Syriac Versions of the Old Testament', in *Sources syriaques 1. Nos sources: arts et littérature syriaques*, ed. Maroun Atalah et al. (Antélias, Lebanon: CERO), pp. 102–103.

6 Harry F. van Rooy, 'The Syro-Hexaplaric Headings of the Psalms in Manuscript 12t3', *Aramaic Studies* 3:1 (2005), p. 109; cf. H.F. van Rooy, 'The "Hebrew" Psalm Headings in the Syriac manuscript 12t4', *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 25:1 (1999), pp. 225–237.

7 Cf. Joseph Francis Rhode, *The Arabic versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt. A study from eighteen Arabic and Copto-Arabic MSS. (IX–XVII century) in the National Library at Paris, the Vatican and Bodleian Libraries and the British Museum* (Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1921), pp. 11, 65, 73–74.

8 Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'Una traducción árabe del Pentateuco realizada sobre la versión syro-hexaplar de Pablo de Tellā,' in *Τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί; Lo que hay entre tú y nosotros. Estudios en honor de María Victoria Spottorno* (Córdoba: UCOPress, 2016), pp. 167–176.

confronté à d'autres versions),[9] would appear to be wholly groundless.[10] The translation attributed to al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ was made neither from a Greek text of the Septuagint nor from Origen's *Hexapla*, but rather from a Syriac rendering of the Greek text of the *Hexapla*,[11] i.e. from the Syro-Hexaplar version produced by Paul of Tellā in the early 7th century.[12]

Little is known about the translator and Bible commentator al-Hārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ, except for what information survives regarding the translations of biblical writings attributed to him.[13] He appears to have hailed from the well-known Mesopotamian city of Ḥarrān, to judge by the *nisbah* (*al-Ḥarrānī*) assigned to him by the

[9] Joseph Nasrallah, 'Deux versions Melchites partielles de la Bible du IXe et du Xe siècles', *Oriens Christianus* 64 (1980), pp. 206–210; J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne. Vol. II. Tome 2 (750–Xe s.)* (Leuven: Peeters, 1988), pp. 187–188.

[10] Cf. Sidney H. Griffith, 'Les premieres versions arabes de la Bible et leurs liens avec le syriaque,' in *L'Ancien Testament en syriaque*, pp. 226–227; S.H. Griffith, *The Bible in Arabic: The Scriptures of the 'People of the Book' in the Language of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 106–107; J.P. Monferrer-Sala, 'Una versión árabe cristiana del texto syro-hexaplar de Pablo de Tellā. Estudio filológico de la embajada al monarca de los amorreos (Nm 21,21–35),' *Cauriensia* 12 (2017), pp. 535–556; J.P. Monferrer-Sala, 'Nine Post-Hexaplaric Readings in the Arabic Translation of the Book of Numbers by al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ (10th c. CE),' *Zeitschrift für die altestamentlichte Wissenschaft* 130/4 (2018), pp. 602–615.

[11] Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*. Mit ausschluß der christlichen-palästinensischen Texte (Bonn: A. Marcus y E. Wevers, 1922, reprinted in Walter de Gruyter, 1968), pp. 186–187. See also Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen-arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–47), I, pp. 107–108 (henceforth GCAL).

[12] Giuseppe Simone Assemani (= Yūsuf b. Sam'ān al-Sam'ānī), *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1719–1728), II, p. 48. Cf. Robert Holmes, *Origenis Hexaplorum Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1798), vol. I, pp. 50–55 (chap. IV) of the digital version; Fridericus Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta.* Tomus I. *Prolegomena: Genesis - Esther* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875), pp. lii-lx.

[13] Cf. G. Graf, GCAL I, p. 107 y II, p. 251. Cf. also Ignatios Aphrem I. Barṣaum, *Geschichte der syrischen Wissenschaften und Literatur*. Translated from the Arabic by Georg Toro and Amill Gorgis. "Eichstätter Beiträge zum Christlichen Orient" 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), pp. 43 and 284; cf. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, pp. 187–188.

Arab-Copt polygraph Shams al-Ri'āsah, Abū l-Barakāt ibn Kabar († 1324).[14] In his *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulmah* ('Lamp of Darkness'), Ibn Kabar ascribes to al-Ḥārith the Arabic translations of four *Old Testament* books (*Proverbs*, along with its prologue, *Ecclesiastes*, *Wisdom* and the *Song of Songs*), based – like his *Pentateuch* – on Paul of Tellā's Syro-Hexaplar version:[15]

ترجم كتب سليمان الحرث بن سنان بن سنباط الحرّانيّ

"Al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ al-Ḥarrānī translated the books of Solomon"

A passing reference to al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ is also to be found in the writings of the celebrated Muslim intellectual Abū l-Ḥasan al-Masʿūdī (d. 956), who noted that al-Ḥārith was from Ḥarrān (*min ahl Ḥarrān*), and was a Melkite (*min malkiyyat al-naṣārā*).[16] In a section of his *Murūj al-dhahab* ('Meadows of Gold') dealing with the holy buildings of the Sabaeans (*ṣābi'ah*)[17] in the city of Ḥarrān, al-Masʿūdī reports that:[18]

وقد حكى رجل من ملكيّة النصارى من أهل حرّان يعرف بالحارث بن سنباط للصابئة الحرّانيّين أشياء ذكرها من قرابين يقربونها من الحيوان ودخن للكواكب يبخرون بها وغير ذلك ممّا امتنعنا عن ذكره مخافة الطويل

"A Melkite Christian of the people of Ḥarrān, known as al-Ḥārith b. Sunbāṭ, has told us about the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān, mentioning their sacrifice of animals, the incense

[14] On Ibn Kabar, cf. Eugéne Tisserant, Louis Villecourt and Gaston Wiet, '*Recherches sur la personnalité et la vie d'Abul Barakat Ibn Kubr*', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* XXII (1921–22), pp. 373–394 and Samir Khalil Samir, 'L'Encyclopédie liturgique d'Ibn Kabar († 1324) et son apologie d'usages coptes', in *Crossroad of Cultures. Studies in liturgy and patristics in honor of Gabriele Winkler*, ed. H.-J. Feulner, E. Velkovska et R. F. Taft. "Orientalia Christiana Analecta" 260 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000), pp. 620–626. Cf. the bio-bibliographical information compiled by Samir Khalil Samir in his *Ibn Kabar, Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulmah fī īḍāḥ al-ḫuzmah*, ed. Samir Khalil (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kārūz, 1971), pp. j-ḥ.

[15] Ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-ẓulmah*, p. 236.

[16] Cf. Ignatios Aphrem I. Barṣaum, *Geschichte*, p. 284; J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite*, II/2, p. 188.

[17] For Ṣābi'ah/Ṣābi'ūn, see Kevin T. van Bladel, *From Sasanian Mandaeans to Ṣābians of the Marshes* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2017).

[18] Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab fī maʿādin al-jawhar*, ed. Qāsim al-Šamāʿī al-Rufāʿī, 4 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1408/1989), II, p. 253.

which they burn to the stars, and other [practices] which we shall omit for fear of being long-winded".

The information provided by al-Masʿūdī is not without doctrinal interest, since to date it has widely been accepted that al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ was a Miaphysite, i.e. Syrian Orthodox, writer.[19] This is the view recently canvassed by Vollandt, adducing internal arguments based on al-Ḥārith's translations.[20] The link between al-Ḥārith and the Syrian Orthodox Church derives largely from Graf, who – ignoring the information provided by al-Masʿūdī[21] – simply followed the ecclesiastical classification of writers made earlier by Baumstark.[22] By contrast, Nasrallah, on the basis of al-Masʿūdī's report, identifies al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ as a Melkite author.[23]

Though it counters the internal arguments recently adduced by Vollandt, Nasarallah's hypothesis has a number of strengths which are not to be lightly dismissed; one is that al-Ḥārith's translation of the Pentateuch circulated primarily in Melkite rather than Syrian Orthodox circles,[24] as indeed did the Syro-Hexaplar version.[25]

Admittedly, Ḥarrān had for centuries been home to a sizeable Syrian Orthodox community; but it was also a major Melkite centre,[26] boasting its own Melkite bishopric whose best-known occupant was undoubtedly Theodore Abū Qurrah of Edessa. This celebrated apologist and polemicist, one of the great Christian Arab *mutakka-*

[19] S. Brock, 'Miaphysite, not Monophysite!', *Cristianesimo nella storia* 37 (2016), pp. 45–54.

[20] Ronny Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian and Muslim Sources*. "Biblia Arabica" 2 (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 60–62; R. Vollandt, 'Die Bible in der Sprache des Korans: Die arabischen Bibelübersetzungen', in *Orientalische Bibelhandschriften aus der Sttatsbibliothek zu Berlin – PK. Eine illustrierte Geschichte*, ed. Meliné Pehlivanian, Christoph Rauch and R. Vollandt (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2016), p. 130; R. Vollandt, 'The Conundrum of Scriptural Plurality: The Arabic Bible, Polyglots, and Medieval Predecessors of Biblical Criticism', in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero et al. (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2017), p. 68.

[21] Cf. G. Graf, GCAL I, p. 107; II, p. 251.

[22] Cf. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, pp. 187–188.

[23] Cf. J. Nasrallah, 'Deux versions Melchites partielles de la Bible du IXe et du Xe siècles', *Oriens Christianus* 64 (1980), pp. 206–210; J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite*, II/2, pp. 187–188.

[24] Cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, p. 62

[25] Cf. W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, p. 2, n. 2.

[26] Hugh Kennedy, 'The Melkite Church from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades: Continuity and Adaptation in the Byzantine Legacy', in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas, 1986), p. 337.

limūn, held the post of Bishop of Ḥarrān in the mid-9th century CE.[27] Even so, further research and new data are required in order to finally determine whether al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ belonged to the Melkite or the Syrian Orthodox Church.

Nor, given the paucity of biographical information, can we be sure exactly where al-Ḥārith produced his Arabic rendering of Paul of Tellā's Greek-to-Syriac translation of the *Pentateuch*, various reworkings of which later entered circulation. If the reference supplied by al-Masʿūdī is reliable, it would be reasonable to assume that the translation was made in the city of Ḥarrān, in Upper Mesopotamia.

The diplomatic edition presented here is that of *Sinai Arabic 3*, a codex on Oriental paper measuring 25x17.5 cm., comprising 373 fols., with 5 bifolia per quire.[28] The text block comprises 17 lines per page in *naskhī* script with sporadic vocalisation and rubricated chapter headings. The MS is made up of 305 quires, quire order being indicated by ordinal numbering in the top left margin of the *recto*. The second quire is in fol. 32r. Foliation is indicated in cursive Coptic numerals.[29]

The manuscript was written by a deacon (*shammās*) named Yūsūf ibn Subāt al-Āmadī al-Suryānī and bears a date equivalent to 1348 CE. This is confirmed in the colophon to the books of the *Pentateuch* (fols. 330v–331r), which additionally state that the text was translated into Arabic from Syriac and Hebrew:

في يوم الاربعا تاسع شهر كانون الثاني سنة الف وستماية وسبعين للاسكندر اليوناني الموافق لبني
ادم سنة الف وثمان ماية وثمانية وستين الموافق لسنة الف وثلثماية وثمانية وخمسين للمسيح

"On Wednesday 9 *Kānūn al-Thānī*, year 1670 of the Seleucid Era,[30] corresponding to the year 6868 of the Creation (Era),[31] corresponding to the year 1358 of the Common Era."[32]

[27] For the biography of Abū Qurrah and the famous incident of his dismissal from the bishopric and subsequent restoration, see S.H. Griffith, *Theodore Abū Qurrah: The Intellectual Profile of an Arab Writer of the First Abbasid Century* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1992), pp. 15–35.

[28] Cf. Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand-list of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), p. 3.

[29] On this system, cf. Serge Frantsouzoff, 'Les chiffres coptes dans les manuscrits árabes, chrétiens et musulmans', *Parole de l'Orient* 39 (2014), pp. 259–273, and J.P. Monferrer-Sala, "Dos tablas inéditas con alfabeto copto y cifras coptas cursivas insertas en un códice del s. XIII del Monasterio de Santa Catalina, Monte Sinaí", *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 12 (2015), pp. 279–286.

[30] Lit. 'of the Alexander the Ionian'.

[31] Lit. 'of the sons of Adam'.

[32] Lit. 'of Christ'.

The text transmitted by *Sinai Arabic 3* is part of a textual *corpus* produced from the 13th century onwards. The version of the *Pentateuch*, as we shall see, is the fruit of a revision of al-Ḥārith's translation, if not of a later version of it. The revised text has been preserved in a group of manuscripts of predominantly Melkite provenance.[33]

Sinai Arabic 3 includes two different types of text: the *Pentateuch*, which is a revision of the translation made by al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ; and the sixth book in the *Hexateuch*, a version of the Book of Joshua whose *Vorlage* – unlike the other five books in the Codex – is not a Syro-Hexaplar text, but probably another Syriac text which was checked or revised against other versions. As we shall see later, if the Peshīṭtā was not the basic text used in this translation, it may well have been used for verification purposes.

As noted earlier, it is not known where al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ made his original translation of the *Pentateuch;* by contrast, *Sinai Arabic 3* provides key information regarding the transmission of the *Codex*. The copyist indicates on fol. 2r that the *Codex* belonged to one 'Īsā b. Sa'īd al-Ṭabīb, a person described as living 'in a city of Syria' (*bi-madīnat Shām*), for which no name is given.[34]

A note on fol. 331r, where the owner is referred to as Shaykh Abū l-Faḍā'il Sharaf al-Dawlah 'Īsā ibn Sa'īd al-Mutaṭabbib, states that the manuscript was an Arabic translation from Syriac and Hebrew, adding:

ونقلت هذه النسخه السعيده من السرياني والعبراني الى لسان العربي () كتبتُ هذه التوراه في مدينه الماغوصة

"This lucky copy was translated from Syriac and Hebrew into Arabic tongue (…) I copied this Pentateuch in the city of Famagusta"

Still on fol. 331r, the copyist Yūsūf ibn Subāt al-Āmadī al-Suryānī notes not only that he made the copy in the city of Famagusta, but also that it was commissioned by Shaykh Abū l-Faḍā'il Sharaf al-Dawlah 'Īsā ibn Sa'īd al-Mutaṭabbib, a native of Baghdad (*min ahl Baghdād*), who was living on the Island of Cyprus (*Jazīrat Qubruṣ*), which at the time provided a natural channel for books destined for the library at St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai.[35]

[33] Cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, pp. 260–264.

[34] Cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, p. 260.

[35] Cf. J.P. Monferrer-Sala, 'An Arabic gospel of Cypriot origin: *Codex arabicus sinaiticus 110*,' *Graeco-Arabica* (= *Festschrift in Honour of V. Christides*), IX-X (2004), pp. 281–289.

PHILOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

The versions of biblical texts contained in *Codex Sinai Arabic 3* belong to a translation tradition involving the revision-reworking of the translation made by al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ, which Vollandt terms Arab$^{\text{Syr_Hex}}$ıb. As far as we know, this translation tradition comprises at least eight manuscript witnesses:[1]

1) *Sinai*, *St. Catherine Monastery*, *Codex Sinai Arabic 3* (1358 CE), which we describe below.
2) *St. Petersburg*, *Institute of Oriental Manuscripts*, *Codex D 226* (16th c.), with the exception of fols. 2^{v}–26^{r}, which contain al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ's version. The three-volumes codex was produced by three different scribes and includes the following books in vol. 1 (255 fols.): Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, Ruth, Psalms. According to a note in fol. 56^{v} (vol. 1), the owner of this three-volumes codex in 1538/9 was ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā of Tripoli. In 1618 the codex was donated by Sulaymān ibn Jurjī to Balamand Monastery, from where finally it was given to Czar Nicholas II by Gregory IV.[2]
3) *Vatican*, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, *Codex Vat. Ar. 468* (16th c.).[3] The text, based in part on St. Petersburg *Codex D 226*, was copied by Dāwūd ibn Tādrus ibn Wahbah on behalf of Giovanni Battista Eliano, commissioned by the Melkite bishop of Tripoli Dorotheus.[4]

[1] Cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, pp. 260–264.

[2] Cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, pp. 261–262.

[3] Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collection e vaticani codicibus* (Rome: Collegio Urbano, 1825–38), vol. 4, p. 523–525.

[4] R. Vollandt, "Che portono al ritorno qui una Bibbia Arabica integra: A History of the Biblia Sacra Arabica (1671–73)," in *Græco-Latina et Orientalia. Studia in honorem Angeli Urbani heptagenarii*, eds. Samir Khalil Samir and J.P. Monferrer-Sala (Córdoba: UCO-Press, 2013), pp. 401–418.

4) *Berlin*, *Staatsbibliothek*, *Cod. Diez quart. 106* (1280 CE), only for the book of Deuteronomy.[5]
5) *Paris*, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, *Codex Par. Ar. 13* (15th c.),[6] only for the book of Deuteronomy.[7]
6) *Paris*, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, *Codex Par. Ar. 14* (14th c.),[8] only for the books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy.[9]
7) *Paris*, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, *Codex Par. Ar. 15* (12th–13th c.),[10] only for the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy.[11]
8) *Vatican*, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, *Codex Vat. Ar. 465* (17th c.), which in fact is an *Hexateuch* that only includes the first verses of Joshua's book.[12]

Even so, it should be stressed that the *Pentateuch* versions given by these eight codices vary in terms of provenance, and in some cases include folios added at a later date, containing a different type of text. All this means that each text should, in principle, be first examined alone; only then can any overall hypothesis be formulated, in the light of the provenance and translation tradition to which each belongs.

With regard to *Sinai Arabic 3*, we should first note that the codex comprises not only a version of the *Pentateuch*, as Atiya and Kamil indicate in their respective catalogues,[13] but also a complete Book of Joshua. Thus it is not, properly speaking, a *Pentateuch*, but rather a *Hexateuch* (*Pentateuch* + Joshua). The six books making up the codex, and the annexes, are arranged as follows:

Guard sheet	dated in 1850 CE	fol. 1r
Subscription	by ʿĪsā b. Saʿīd al-Ṭabīb	fol. 2r

[5] Cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, pp. 246–247.

[6] Gérard Troupeau, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Première partie: manuscrits chrétiens. Tome I: nos. 1–323* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1972), pp. 206–208.

[7] Cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, p. 247.

[8] G. Troupeau, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 18–19.

[9] Cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, p. 257.

[10] G. Troupeau, *Catalogue*, I, p. 19.

[11] Cf. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, p. 248.

[12] A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum*, vol. 4, p. 523.

[13] Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*. Foreword by Wendell Phillips (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), p. 3, n. 3: "Old Testament. 1348 A.D. 373 f. 25 x 17.5 cm. Paper. Pentateuch;" Murad Kamil, Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), p. 11: "Pentareuch, 373 f., Paper, 25 x 17.5 cm, 1358 A.D."

General prologue	to the *Hexateuch*	fols. 2v–23v
Genesis	*Kitāb al-Tawrāt Takwīn al-Khalā'iq*	fols. 24v–104r
Exodus	*Kitāb Khurūj banī Isrā'īl min Miṣr*	fols. 104v–165r
Note	*by Yūsuf ibn Subāṭ al-Amidī*	fol. 165r
Leviticus	*Sifr al-Aḥbār*	fols. 165v–207v
Independent text	by a second hand	fol. 208r
Numbers	*Sifr al-A'dād*	fol. 208v–272r
Deuteronomy	*Sifr al-Istithnā'*	fol. 272v–330v
Colophon[14]	to the Pentateuch	fols. 330v–331r
Joshua	*Sifr Yashū' ibn Nūn tilmīdh Mūsā al-nabī*	fols. 331v–372r
Note	in Syriac and Arabic	fol. 372v
Bilingual note[15]	in Greek and Arabic, dated in 7141 AM	fol. 373r

This revision of al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ's translation is written in the Eastern *naskhī* script, and – like the orthographical approach adopted by the copyist – is typical of the strategies and techniques espoused by Christian Arab scribes in general; it also shares a number of the features found in manuscripts from the monasteries of South Palestine,[16] where scribes and copyists developed a number of handwriting styles in the course of the Middle Ages.[17]

[14] On the colophons in Arabic manuscripts, see Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche, "The Colophon in Arabic Manuscripts. A Phenomenon without a Name", *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 4:1 (2013), pp. 49–81. For the Christian-Arabic manuscripts, see Gérard Troupeau, "Les colophons des manuscrits arabes chrétiens", in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, ed. François Déroche and Francis Richard (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), pp. 224–231.

[15] For the use of bilingualism, see L. Wei, "Dimensions of Bilingualism", in *The Bilingualism Reader*, ed. L. Wei (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 11–16. See also Alex Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily: Arabic speakers in and the end of Islam* (London–New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 180–187, and for the present case Miriam Lindgren Hjälm, *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early MSS and Translation Techniques in MSS Sinai Ar. 1 and 2* (Boston–Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 18–19.

[16] Cf. Sidney H. Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton–Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 50–51.

[17] *Cfr.* Agnes Smith Lewis & Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Forty-one Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts*. With an Introductory Observation on Arabic Calligraphy by the Rev. David S. Margoliouth. "Studia Sinaitica" xii (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), No. iii: "Apostolic Constitutions, Canons and Councils" (Or. 5008, British Library [fol. 53a] dated 917 CE); Evgenivs Tisserant, *Specimina codicvm orientalivm*. "Tabvlae in vsvm scholarvm" 8 (Bonn: A. Marcvs et E. Weber, 1914), No. 54 (Vat. Ar. 71, from Mār Sābā, dated to 885 CE) and No. 55: "Gospels" (Borg. ar. 95, dated 9th c. CE). Cf. Yiannis E.

In orthographical terms, the Arabic text displays certain features characteristic of the medieval Arabic manuscript tradition, and more specifically of Christian textual production in Arabic. From these features it can be inferred that the author – or perhaps a later translator-copyist – sought to use the classical register, although there is also evident interference from the so-called 'Middle Arabic' register.[18]

Even so, it should be noted that certain phonetic peculiarities and grammatical errors in *Sinai Arabic 3* are typical not of 'Middle Arabic' but of Neoarabic,[19] in other words dialectal Arabic, a language used by Christians, Jews and Muslims,[20] to which each of these groups made its own particular sociolectal and ethnolinguistic contribution.[21]

Diacritical marks are often missing,[22] vocalisation is at times artificial and suprasegmentals are misused:[23] e.g. الرحم < الرحيم (2v) فى < في (5r), ابيرهيم < ابراهيم (7v), دمشق < دمشقٍ (7v) المدّينه < المدينة (8r), التيّمن < التيمن (8r), الوصايا < الوصاما (20r), بيّده < بيده (28r), شيْث (29v), الخطيّه < الخطيئة (31r), ثلس < ثلثين (37v). In most cases, however, these errors appear to be due not to an oversight in executing the phoneme in question but rather to a procedure common among Christian Arab copyists, which involved replacing diacritical marks with a stroke from the following or preceding word. A good example is the sequence *wa-'āsha Sārūgh* ("And Serugh lived", fol. 37v), where the *shīn* does not bear the three dots because the following *sīn* has been written above it in their place.

Meimaris, *Katalogos tōn neon aravikōn cheirographon tēs hieras monēs hagias Aikaterinēs tou orous Sina* (Athens: Ethnikōn Idruma Ereunōn, 1985), pp. 74–100 (n. 3–8, 23–28, 32, 35–37, 41, 45–46, 56).

18 On the "Middle Arabic" register, see the information provided by Ignacio Ferrando, *Introducción a la historia de la lengua árabe. Nuevas perspectivas* (Zaragoza, 2001), pp. 147–158.

19 For the differences between Classical Arabic and Neoarabic, see J. Blau, "The Beginnings of the Arabic Diglossia: A Study of the Origin of Neo-Arabic", *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 4 (1977), pp. 1–28.

20 Kees Versteegh, *Pidginization and Creolization: The Case of Arabic* (Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1984), pp. 8–9.

21 Cf. Yasir Suleiman, *Arabic, Self and Identity: A Study in Conflict and Displacement* (Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 32–43.

22 Cf. J. Blau, GCA, pp. 122–125 §§ 25–26.3.2. See also J.P. Monferrer-Sala, "The *Anaphora Pilati* according to the Sinaitic Arabic 445. A New Edition, with Translation and a First Analysis", *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 61:3–4 (2009), pp. 167–198.

23 For a description of typical scribal errors, see Adam Gacek, "Taxonomy and Scribal Errors and Corrections in Arabic Manuscripts", in *Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental manuscripts: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Istanbul, March 20–30, 2001*, ed. J. Pfeiffer and M. Kropp (Beirut–Wurzburg, 2007), pp. 217–235.

As in other Christian Arabic documents by the 8th century,[24] the copyist of *Sinai Arabic 3* makes use of the Islamic *basmallāh* in the chapter headings (*bismi Allāh al-raḥman al-raḥīm*, 2^{v}), but replaces them by a Christian *basmallāh* at the start of each of book of the *Pentateuch*:[25]

Gn	*bismi l-Allāh al-khāliq al-azadī al-qadīm al-azalī al-malik al-'azīm*	fol. 24^{v}
Ex	*bismi l-Allāh al-ḥayy al-khāliq al-qadīm al-azalī al-abadī al-sarmadī*	fol. 104^{v}
Lev	*bismi l-Allāh al-khāliq al-ḥayy al-nātiq*	fol. 165^{v}
Nm	*bismi l-Allāh al-khāliq al-ḥayy al-nātiq*	fol. 208^{v}
Dt	*bismi l-Allāh al-khāliq al-ḥayy al-nātiq*	fol. 272^{v}

However, this Christianisation of the *basmallāh* is not repeated in the opening of the Book of Joshua, where the copyist reverts to the formula used in the chapter headings, although inserting the epithet *al-qadīm* with a clear view to Christianisation: *bismi Allāh al-qadīm al-raḥman al-raḥīm* (fol. 331^{v}).

The author of *Sinai Arabic 3* thus makes use of two types of *basmallāh*: a short version at the start of Lev, Nm, Dt (where the text is the same) and Josh, which is a king of Islamic-Christian hybrid; and a more fully-developed *basmallāh* for Gen and Ex, with variants in the theophoric names comprising the six-name formula.

In orthographical terms, *Sinai Arabic 3* displays a number of features characteristic of the medieval Christian manuscript tradition. For example, where the scribe – through oversight – omits a term, he adds it above the line of writing, just where the missing word should have been, as for example with the missing *shaddah* in *Allāh* (2^{v}). Similarly, when writing the medial *kāf* (e.g. *fa-hakadà* < *fa-hakadā* , fol. 5^{r}) he adds a tiny superscript *kāf*, a graphological feature occurring quite frequently in *Codex Sinai Arabic 3*.

The copyist places remarks or comments on the lower left of the recto. He also uses *marginalia* for various purposes: e.g. in fols. 5^{r}, 34^{v}, 39^{v}, 40^{r}, 66^{r} *et passim*. Signs and symbols appear often,[26] consisting in a round black dot (•), a black pear-shaped

[24] Walter Diem, *Arabische Briefe auf Papier aus der Heidelberger papyrus-Sammlung* (Heidelberg, 2013), pp. 6, 44.

[25] Cf. Karin Almbladh, "The "Basmala" in Medieval Letters in Arabic Written by Jews and Christians", *Orientalia Suecana* 59 (2010), pp. 45–60. See also Oren Tal, Itamar Taxel & Annette Zeischka-Kenzler, 'A *Basmala*-Inscribed Jug from Arsur's Mamluk Destruction of AD 1265: The Religious Manifestation of a Christian-Used Table Vessel?', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 77/1 (2018), pp. 91–98, here p. 95, n. 8.

[26] For a discussion of several marks, signs and symbols, see Juan P. Monferrer Sala, "Notas de crítica textual al "Vaticano Arabo XIV". Más datos para la reconstrucción de la *Vorlage* siriaca perdida del *Diatessaron*", in *Grapheîon. Códices, manuscritos e imágenes. Estudios fi-*

mark (♦), four dots in the form of a cross (∴), each similar in shape to the single round dot, and two strokes forming a cross (+); these signs and symbols are used to separate words, sentences and lines, or to indicate the end of a verse or section of narrative.

With regard to vocalisation,[27] there is a general preference for *scriptio plena*[28] when writing personal names and place names: *Ibrāhīm*, *Sārah*, *Ya'qūb*, *Isḥāq*, *Lābān*, *Yūsuf*, *Qanṭūrā*, *'Īsū* (cf. *al-'Īs*), *Yashū'*, *Qaynān*, *Anūsh*, *Akhnūkh*, *Rafaqā*, *Bayt Īl*, *Ḥarrān*, *Ḥāṣūr*, and occasionally in other contexts, such as *ṣalāh* < *ṣalāt* (29v).

Scriptio defectiva[29] is also found in a wider variety of nouns: *al-raḥman* < *al-raḥmān* (2v), *Isḥaq* < *'Isḥāq* (8v), *Isma'īl* < *'Ismā'īl* (8v), *al-ilah* < *al-'ilāh* (27v), *thalathīn* < *thalāthīn* (37v), *thalathah* < *thalāthat* (40r).

Short vowels[30] are used sporadically throughout the *Codex*, which also includes *tanwīn* vowels in the indeterminate accusative (*ayḍān* < *'ayḍan*) and *i'rāb* for the determinate genitive (*al-samā'i*); vowel markings are often used for ornamental purposes, and sometimes even misused, for example where the *i'rāb* vowel does not represent the case function of the term within the sentence: e.g. *fa-kharaja minhu al-mā'i* < *fa-kharaja minhu al-mā'a* (246v). Occasional use of the *alif maqṣūrah* with two dots may perhaps be attributable to a deliberate orthographical practice rather than to effective cases of *imālah* due to dialectal interference (e.g. *ḥattē* < *ḥattà* or *ilē* < *ilā*).

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lológicos e históricos, ed. J.P. Monfererr-Sala & Manuel Marcos Aldón. "Studia Semitica" 2 (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba, 2003), pp. 158–159 § 2.3.

27 Joshua Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic based mainly on South-Palestinian texts from the First Millennium*, 3 fascs. (Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1966–67), pp. 61–83 §§ 3–10 (henceforth GCA); Jean Cantineau, *Études de linguistic arabe.* Mémorial Jean Cantineau (Paris: C. Klincsieck, 1960), pp. 89–116; Simon Hopkins, *Studies in the grammar of early Arabic: based on papyri datable to before A.H. 200 A.D. 912* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 1–18 §§ 1–16; Bengt Knutsson, *Studies in the text and language of three Syriac-Arabic versions of the Book of Judicum with special reference to the Middle Arabic elements*. Introduction, linguistic notes, texts (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 52–59; Federico Corriente, *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1977), pp. 22–31 § 1.1.1–1.4.6; Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1908), pp. 44–116 §§ 36–43.

28 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 68–77 §§ 8–8.9.5; S. Hopkins, *Studies*, p. 14 § 11; Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions of the Book of Ruth*. Text edition and language (Lund: Lund University Press, 1995), pp. 100–102 § 3.2.1; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 52–55.

29 Examples of *scriptio defectiva* in J. Blau, GCA, pp. 77–81 §§ 9–9.3; S. Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 10–14 § 10; J. Blau, *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 2002), p. 32, § 14; P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 102–104 § 3.2.2; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicum*, p. 55–57.

30 J. Blau, GCA, pp. 61–65 §§ 3–5; S. Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 2–8 §§ 2–6.

The interchangeable use of *alif maqṣūrah bi-ṣūrat al-yā'* and *alif maqṣūrah bi-ṣūrat al-alif* throughout the text is a result of dialectal interference,[31] as are the changes *alif mamdūdah* < *alif maqṣūrah*: *fa-hakadà* < *fa-hakadā* (5r) and *alif maqṣūrah* < *yā'*: *banā* < *banī* (3r).

The use of *yā'* in place of *alif maqṣūrah* can be seen in the personal name *Musē* (< *Mūsì*) < *Musā* (3r, 3v) and in the prepositions *ilē* (< *ilì*) < *ilā* (3r, 4r, cf. *ilā* in 3r), *'alē* (< *'alì*) < *'alā* (2v, 4r, 22v, cf. *'alā* in 4v), and may be ascribed to the orthographic practice of the copyist rather than to dialectal interference.

Omission of the suprasegmental *shaddah* or *tashdīd*[32] is common throughout the *Codex*: *Alāh* < *Allāh* (3r), *al-sayid* < *al-sayyid* (3r), *awal* < *awwal* (3r), *ḥatā* < *ḥattā* (3r), *ayuhā* < *ayyuhā* (3v, 4r, cf. *ayyuhā* in 3r), *sitah* < *sittat* (4r), *muqadas* < *muqaddas* (5r), *kul* < *kull* (25v), *al-rab* < *al-rabb* (27v), *samāh* < *sammāhu* (29v). In some cases, however, the suprasegmental is used correctly: *al-'ibrāniyyah* < *al-'ibrāniyyat* (3r), or in the form of a semicircle, as found in *Allāh* (2v, 3r) and *barriyyah* (3r). Misuse of *shaddah* can be seen in *anbiyyā'ihi* < *'anbiyā'ihi* (3r). In general, the *alif maddah*[33] is omitted, though it appears in *hawulā'i* and *wa-mubtadā'i* (6r).

With regard to consonant usage,[34] the switches noted below – with the exception of the *hamzah* –can be attributed to oversights or errors on the part of the scribe (e.g. /t/ < /th/, /j/ < /ḥ/, /ḥ/ < /kh/, /d/ < /dh/, /ṭ/ < /ẓ/) rather than to mispronunciation.

While in Classical Arabic *hamzah*[35] is stable in all positions and in early Islamic inscriptions a so-called 'proto-hamzah' seems to be attested,[36] in Neoarabic it is pronounced only in the initial position, although even the initial *hamzah* lost its independent phonemic function at an early stage[37], as is evident in the representation of

[31] J. Blau, GCA, pp. 81–83 §§ 10.1–10.3; S. Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 4–16 § 12; B. Knutsson, *Studies*, pp. 58–59, P.Å Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 104

[32] J. Blau, GCA, pp. 122–125 §§ 26.1–26.3.2; S. Hopkins, *Studies*, p. 49 § 48; F. Corriente, *Sketch*, pp. 66–67 § 3.2.1–3.2.2.

[33] S. Hopkins, *Studies*, p. 49 § 49i.

[34] J. Blau, GCA, pp. 83–121 §§ 11–24.4; J. Cantineau, *Études de linguistique arabe*, pp. 13–88; P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 108–128 §§ 3.2.5–3.2.16; B. Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 59–112; F. Corriente, *Sketch*, pp. 31–60 §§ 2.1.1–2.28.7.

[35] J. Blau, GCA, pp. 83–89 §§ 11–11.3.6.1; S.Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 19–33 §§ 19–28; P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 1108–114 §§ 3.2.5–3.2.5.3; B. Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 59–78; F. Corriente, *Sketch*, p. 58–60 §§ 2.28.1–2.28.7.

[36] Mehdy Shaddel, 'Traces of the *hamza* in the Early Arabic Script: The Inscriptions of Zuhayr, Qays the Scribe, and 'Yazīd the King'", *Arabic Epigraphic Notes* 4 (2018), pp. 35–52.

[37] J. Blau, 'Das frühe Neuarabisch in mittelarabischen Texten,' in *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie. I: Sprachwissenschaft*, ed. Wolfdietrich Fischer (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1982), pp. 100–101; J. Blau, GCA, pp. 83–84 §§ 11–11.1.

/'/ by *alif* in the initial, medial and final positions, by /w/ or /y/ in the medial position, or indeed its omission in any position. In *Sinai Arabic 3*, *hamzah* is omitted in any position: initial *hamzah* followed by *sukūn*, intervocalic and final, suggesting that the articulatory pause provided by /'/ was not perceptible in the register used by the scribe, thus reflecting his vernacular pronunciation.

The codex contains no examples of written *hamzah* in the initial position, representing either *hamzat al-waṣl* or *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, with the usual exceptions in which *alif* is used in place of /'/: *asmā* < *'asmā'* (3r), *arḍ* < *'arḍ* (5r), *imrātihi* < *'imra'tihi* (7v), etc.

The medial *hamzah* is also not realised: *rās* < *ra's* (3r), *bi-amri* < *bi-'amri* (3r), *al-akh* < *al-'akh* (3r), *al-arḍ* < *al-'arḍ* (5r), *li-Ibrāhīm* < *li-'Ibrāhīm* (7v), *imrātihi* < *'imra'tihi* (7v), *qāyilan* < *qā'ilan* (25v), *ṭāyir* < *ṭā'ir* (25v), *al-marāh* < *al-mar'at* (27v), *miyah* < *mi'at* (30r). Following an *alif* of prolongation, or in the middle of a word, /'/ becomes /y/:[38] *farāyiḍahā* < *farā'iḍahā* (3r) while after a *fatḥah* sound, the /'/ is omitted: *imrātihi* < *'imra'tihi* (7v).

Although the final *hamzah* is generally omitted, as in *asmā* < *'asmā'* (3r), it is realised in a number of cases: *al-samā'* (4v), *hawulā'i* < *ha'ulā'i* (4v, 6r), *al-samā'i* (9r), *mā'i* (26r), etc.

Changes in phonemic realisation include: /ḥ/ for /j/: *ḥamī'* < *jamī'* (5r), /ḥ/ for /kh/: *ḥamsīn* < *khamsīn* (4r), /d/ for /dh/[39]: *tilmīd* < *tilmīdh* (4r), *alladī* < *alladhī* (247r), /ṭ/ for /ẓ/: *'aṭīm* < *'aẓīm* (3r), and /'/ for /gh/[40]: *'āmūr* < *ghāmūr* (7v).

The somewhat arbitrary approach to the use of diacritics with the *tā' marbūṭah*[41] is a distinctive feature of the Arabic manuscript tradition. The use or omission of diacritics is unrelated to the position of the word in the phrase or sentence,[42] although the diacritic is marked in cases of *iḍāfah*: *ibnat 'ammihi* (112r). Compared to those contexts in which the diacritics are marked – *al-khamsat* (2v), *al-'ibrāniyyah* < *al-'ibrāniyyat* (3r), *al-tawrāt* (4v), *shajarat* (25v) – their omission with the *tā' marbūṭah* would appear to reflect the loss both its pronunciation and of its syntactic value, perhaps dictated by the loss of unstressed vowels: *barriyah* < *barriyyat* (3v), *sanah* < *sanat* (3r),

[38] J. Blau, GCA, p. 86 § 11.3.3.; B. Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 61–62; P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 110 § 3.2.5.1.

[39] J. Blau, GCA, p. 108 § 16.2; B. Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 98–100 (cf., pp. 82–94, *cfr*. p. 122; P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 116 § 3.2.6; B. Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung Vat. Borg. Ar. 95 und Ber. orient. oct. 1108* (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells, 1938), p. 19; F. Corriente, *Sketch*, p. 45 § 2.13.2; Joshua Blau, *Judaeo-Arabic*, pp. 76, 227 y 231.

[40] J. Blau, GCA, p. 115 § 22; P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 123 §.3.2.11; F. Corriente, *Sketch*, pp. 55–56 § 2.24.2; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, I, p. 121 y 123 § 45.

[41] J. Blau, GCA, pp. 115–121 §§ 24.1–24.4; S. Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 44–48 § 47; B. Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 109–112; P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 124–127 § 3.2.13.

[42] As in the MSS of the Book of Ruth, cf. P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 124 y n. 4.

al-tawrāh < *al-tawrāt* (2v, 3r), *al-sharīfah* < *al-sharīfat* (3r, cf. *sharīfat* in 3r), *al-madīnah* < *al-madīnat* (4r), *al-madīnah* < *al-madīnat* (5r), *sanah* < *sanat* (30r).

In morphological terms,[43] attention is drawn to the use of hypercorrections such as *ibnat* < *bint* (112r). The vocative is indicated by *yā* and *ayyuhā*.[44] *Yā* is always joined to the following proper noun. The emphatic vocative *ya ayyuhā* (3r) is also used on several occasions.

The usage of verbs[45] – whether perfective or imperfective, regular or irregular – displays no major departures from the rules of Classical Arabic, except, in phonological terms, for the widespread loss of short end-vowels and the resulting failure to distinguish gender and person; in some cases, moreover, addition of a pronominal affix to the ending gives rise to haplology.

The most striking feature in terms of syntax[46] is that the translator – who is revising a version made *ad pedem litteræ* – occasionally reproduces the word order of the Syriac text, tending to simplify the rules governing syntax in Classical Arabic;[47] syntactic calques on the original Syriac structures as translated by al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ give rise to ungrammatical Arabic.

With regard to vocabulary, the author of *Sinai Arabic 3* – like most other Christian Arab translators turning Aramaic-Syriac texts into Arabic – makes use of terms current among Muslim authors (e.g. *ʿazza wa-jalla* and *Allāh taʿālā*, 2v), as well as cognate forms such as those shown below:[48] كاهن, حمل < بيت, سعد < خمس, خمس < فرعون
اخت, سعا < النحاس, اسا < اخ, اخا < اب, مج < ولد, معدا < اسم, كلاما < الله, بدوا < النار, صدا
< سنة, سنا < يقرب, يقدمها/يقدمها < المديح, مديحا < السميد, مديحا < اللبان, لحمانا
ريح < فطير, فسا < يا كلوا, كلهم < الخطيّه, الخطيه < ذكورة, سلهما < اسم, وسما < ايدي, معدا
خطيئ < يقتل, سلهما < ترجم, يقدمه < ماء, ماء < أسقى, مما < كلّ, اكمد < تقدّس, قدس
وهب, مدحب < بني, مدحب < ملك, ملكا < ملك, ملكانا < ابتنا, ابنا < ابن, اجب < أبادوا, حمد
غير, امتقدما < تخوم, مدمنا < تبارك, تبارك < يدان, ايدينا < أربعين, اربعين < سنة, سنة
سأل < شهادة, شهادة < آيات, آيات < أبائن, ابائن < قدّام, قدام < يوم.

[43] J. Blau, GCA, pp. 133–255 §§ 30–169; S. Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 63–131 §§ 59–136; B. Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 116–145; P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 128–139 § 3.3.1–3.3.18; F. Corriente, *Sketch*, pp. 74–120 §§ 5.1.0–6.6.6; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, I, pp. 285–642 §§ 101–273.

[44] J. Blau, GCA, p. 130 § 29.8.

[45] J. Blau, GCA, pp. 144–201 §§ 35–102.2; B. Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 119–136; F. Corriente, *Sketch*, p. 100–120 §§ 6.1.0–6.6.6; C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, I, pp. 504–642 §§ 256–273.

[46] S. Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 133–266 §§ 137–341; B. Knutsson, *Judicum*, p. 145–184; P.Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 140–160 §§ 3.4.1–3.4.18; F. Corriente, *Sketch*, pp. 121–150 §§ 7.0.0–9.6.0; and vol. II of C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß*.

[47] An overview of the translation technique used in Christian Arabic texts from Greek and Syriac *Vorlagen* is to be found in Bernhard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische*, pp. 25–39, cf. also the equivalences on pp. 43–67.

[48] Cf. M.L. Hjälm, *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel*, pp. 239–242.

But the most fascinating aspect of *Sinai Arabic 3* is undoubtedly the translation itself. A comparative analysis of *Sinai Arabic 3* and the Syro-Hexaplar version by Paul of Tellā confirms that the Arabic text has undergone an often-considerable evolution, as a result of the revision of the earlier Arabic version attributed to al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ.

Though by no means intended to be exhaustive, the following paragraphs focus on certain features indicative of the strategies and techniques used by the author in revising/reworking the text, with a view to charting its evolution from al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ's original – which usually, though not always, opts for a verbatim rendering – through to the version contained in *Codex Sinai Arabic 3*.[49]

The examples provided include Paul of Tellā's Syro-Hexaplar text, in order to show that *Sinai Arabic 3,* though clearly based on the Arabic translation by al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ, occasionally reverts to the Syro-Hexaplar text with a view to restoring the original at points where al-Ḥārith departed from his Syriac *Vorlage*. In these selected examples, we offer a preliminary synoptic comparison, followed by a synoptic analysis of equivalence in the same sequences from the two Arabic texts; an analysis is also provided of the strategies adopted by the author of *Sinai Arabic 3* in revising the translation made by al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ.

Gn 4:19–22[50]

Syro-Hexaplar text	*Laud. Or. 258*	*Sinai Arabic 3*
ܘܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܠܡܟ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܚܕܐ ܘܫܡܗ ܕܬܪܝܢܝܬܐ ܚܘܐ ܘܐܘܠܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܟ ܚܘܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܝܬܒܐ ܘܩܢܝܐ ܘܫܡܗ ܕܐܚܘܗܝ ܝܘܒܠ ܗܘ ܐܒܐ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܩܝܢܐ ܘܫܡܗ ܕܐܚܘܗ ܝܘܒܠ ܗܘ ܐܒܐ ܠܟܠ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܩܝܢܐ ܘܐܘܠܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܟ ܬܘܒܠ ܗܘ ܐܒܐ ܠܟܠ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܡܢ ܩܝܢܐ	وأخذ لامك امراتين اسم احداهما عدّا والاخرى صلا فولدت عدّا بابل وهُو كان ابًا لمن سكن المضارب والخيم واعلف الماشيه واسم اخته نوفيل وهو كان ابًا لمن اظهر داه اللّهو وصلا ولدت ايضًا	فأخذ لامك امراتين اسم احدهما عدّا واسم الاخرى صلا فوُلدت عدّا يابل وهُو كان اب لمن سكن المضارب والخيم واقتنا الماشيه الغلف واسم اخيه يوبيل وهو كان اب لمن اظهر عدة الة اللّهو وصلا وُلدت ايضًا ثوبيل

[49] On verbatim translation, see James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in ancient biblical translations*. "Mitteilungen des Septuaginta Unternehmens" XV (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979). Cf. B.S. Child, "Critical Reflections on James Barr's Understanding of the Literal and the Allegorical", *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 46 (1990), pp. 3–9.

[50] *Sinai Arabic 3*, fols. 29^{r}–29^{v}; *Laud. Or. 258*, fols. 36^{r}–36^{v}; Paul de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae collectae quae ad philologiam sacram pertinent* (Göttingen: Dietrich, 1892), p. 33.

وهذا كان ضارًا بالمطرقه وصانع بالنحاس والحديد واخت ثوبيل نعماءِ	ثو[فيل] وكان ضارًا بالمطرقه صانعًا للنحاس والحديد واُخت بوفل نعما	ܠܬܘܒܠ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܥܡܠ ܒܐܪܙܩܬܐ ܩܝܢܝܐ ܕܢܚܫܐ ܘܕܩܪܙܠܐ ܚܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܬܘܒܠ ܢܥܡܐ

The changes apparent in these four verses clearly show that *Sinai Arabic 3* is a revision of the Arabic translation by al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ, although with occasional references to Paul of Tellā's Syro-Hexaplar version: morphological changes (يوبيل < ثو[فيل] < ثوبيل / بوفيل) with a view to restoring, in phonological terms, the corresponding Syriac forms (ܝܘܒܠ and ܬܘܒܠ); grammatical changes (اخيه / ابًا < اب / احداهما < احدهما < اخته); modulations (واعلف الماشيه < واقتنا الماشيه الغلف / والاخرى < واسم الاخرى), lexical modifications (داه اللَّهو < عدة الة اللَّهو) also aimed at restoring the Syro-Hexaplar original (ܩܢܝܐ ܘܩܒܪܐ); the addition of deixis for purposes of reference (وكان < وهذا كان) in accordance with the Syro-Hexaplar version (ܗܘܐ); and syntactical correction (صانعًا < وصانع بالنحاس للنحاس)

Gn 47:23–27[51]

Syro-Hexaplar text	*Laud. Or. 258*	*Sinai Arabic 3*
ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܝܘܣܦ ܠܥܡܐ ܗܐܢܘܢ ܕܢܩܢܝܢ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܗܫܐ ܘܠܟܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܙܪܥܐ ܘܙܪܥܘ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܚܡܫܐ ܡܢ ܬܠܬܐ ܢܗܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܙܪܥܐ ܘܠܡܐܟܠܬܟܘܢ ܘܠܒܢܝܟܘܢ ܘܠܡܐܟܠܬܗܘܢ ܠܛܦܠܝܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ ܚܝܐܬܢ ܒܥܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܢܫܟܚ ܚܢܢ ܠܡܐܪܝ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܕܡܐ ܗܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܚܡܫܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܠܥܒܕܐ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܙܪܥܐ ܘܠܡܐܟܠܬܟܘܢ ܘܠܒܢܝܟܘܢ ܘܠܡܐܟܠܬܗܘܢ ܠܛܦܠܝܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܚܝܐ ܚܝܐܬܢ ܒܥܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܢܫܟܚ ܚܢܢ ܠܡܐܪܝ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ	فقال يوسف للجميع اهل مصر قد ملككم اليوم وملكت اراضيكم لفرعون فأقضوا بزرًا وازرعوا الارض وما كان من عله دفعتم إلي فرعون جزًا واحدًا من خمسه وَاَرْبَعَة اجزا تكون لكم انتُم وبزرًا لأرضكمُ وَطعَامًا لَكُم ولمن في بيوتكم طعَامًا لاولَادكم الاطفَال فَقَالُوا لَقَدْ نعشنا بما وجدناه عند ربنا من النعمه ونحن نكون عَبيدًا لفرعون ودون يوسف هذه السنين في ارض مصر الَي يَوْمنَا هذا ان يَكُون الخُمس لفرعون سوى أَرْض الأَحْبَار فَانَّها لم تكُن لفَرعُون وسكن اسرائيل في ارْض جاسان واسْتَفْضَلُوا فيها وَنَمُوا وَكثرُوا جِدّا	وقال يوسف للشعب هاند قد اشتريكم انتم واراضيكم اليوم لفرعون فهذا نذار فابذروا في الارض فاذا غلت الارض واثمرت فيكون لفرعون منها الخمس ويكون لكم الاربع اخماس الزرع وطعامكم وطعام اهاليكم واثقالكم فقالوا له احييتنا فليسحن ذلك ونجد رحمه في نظر سيد ونكون عبيد لفرعون وجعلها يوسف سنةٍ في ارض مصر حتى اليوم لفرعون الخمس غير ارض الصافيّه التى كانت للمناصف للكهنه فلم تكن لفرعون وسكن اسرايل في ارض جاشر فاشتدوا بنى اسرايل وكثروا فيها ونموا وكثروا جدًّا

These four verses are of crucial importance in order to understand the nature of the revision carried out by the translator-copyist of *Sinai Arabic 3*. In addition to routine minor changes such as those involving conjunctions (وقال < فقال), regressive modulations (للشعب < للجميع اهل مصر < ܠܥܡܐ ܗܐܢܘܢ ܕܢܩܢܝܢ), word order (قد اشتريكم انتم واراضيكم اليوم لفرعون < ܗܐ ܩܢܝܬܟܘܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܘܐܪܥܟܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܗܫܐ ܘܠܟܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܙܪܥܐ) or the addition of a term found in the Syro-Hexaplar text but not in al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sun-

[51] *Sinai Arabic 3*, fol. 99v; *Laud. Or. 258*, fols. 110v; A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla*, fol. 16r.

bāṭ's version (ܗܳܢܕ < ܗܳܕ), certain passages actually contain different texts, as shown in the examples below, where the version offered by *Sinai Arabic 3* is the result of considerable reworking:

Syro-Hexaplar text	*Laud. Or. 258*	*Sinai Arabic 3*
ܗܢܘܢ ܡܙܪܥܘ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܢܬܠܘܢ ܦܐܪܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܦܪܥܘܢ ܡܢܗ ܚܡܫܐ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܡܫܐ	فأقضوا بزرًا وازرعوا الارض وما كان من عله دفعتم إلي فرعون جزًا واحدًا من خمسه	فهذا نذار فابذروا في الارض فاذا غلت الارض واثمرت فيكون لفرعون منها الخمس
ويكون لكم الاربع اخماس الزرع وطعامكم وطعام اهاليكم واثقالكم	وَارْبَعَة اجزا تكون لكم انتُم وبزرًا لأرضكمُ وَطعَامًا لَكُم ولمن في بيوتكم طعَامًا لاولَادكم الاطفَال	
فقالوا له احييتنا فليسحن ذلك ونجد رحمه في نظر سيد ونكون عبيد لفرعون وجعلها يوسف سنةٍ في ارض مصر حتى اليوم لفرعون الخمس غير ارض الصافيّه التى كانت للمناصف للكهنه	فَقَالُوا لَقَدْ نعشنا بما وجدناه عند ربنا من النعمه ونحن نكون عَبيدًا لفرعون ودون يوسف هذه السنين في ارض مصر الَي يَوْمنَا هذا ان يَكُون الخُمس لفرعون سوى أرْض الأَحْبَار	فقالوا له احييتنا فليسحن ذلك ونجد رحمه في نظر سيد ونكون عبيد لفرعون وجعلها يوسف سنةٍ في ارض مصر حتى اليوم لفرعون الخمس غير ارض الصافيّه التى كانت للمناصف للكهنه
فلم تكن لفرعون وسكن اسرايل في ارض جاشر فاشتدوا بنى اسرايل وكثروا فيها ونموا وكثروا جدًّا	فَانَّها لم تكُن لفَرعُون وسكن اسرائيل في ارْض جاسان واسْتَفْضَلُوا فيها وَنَمُوا وَكثرُوا جِدّا	فلم تكن لفرعون وسكن اسرايل في ارض جاشر فاشتدوا بنى اسرايل وكثروا فيها ونموا وكثروا جدًّا

The revision undertaken by the translator-copyist of *Sinai Arabic 3* is by no means limited to lexical, grammatical or syntactic changes, or to specific modulations; it also involves longer passages, giving rise to a version substantially different – in both lexical and syntactic terms – from that found in *Laud. Or. 258*. By this means, the reviser of *Sinai Arabic 3* has reworked the texts to render them more suitable for liturgical use, giving rise to a new version, e.g. in فقالوا له احييتنا فليسحن ذلك ونجد رحمه في نظر سيد < فَقَالُوا لَقَدْ نعشنا بما وجدناه عند ربنا من النعمه (ܗܳܕܢܗ ܢܥܫܢܐ ܒܡܐ ܕܡܛܝܢܢ ܒܪܡ ܡܢ ܪܒܢ<).

Ex 1:1[52]

Syro-Hexaplar text	*Laud. Or. 258*	*Sinai Arabic 3*
ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܕܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܒܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܟܠܚܕ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܥܠܘ	هذه اسمآ بنى اسرائيل الذين دَخَلُوا مصرًا مع يَعْقُوب أبيهم كُلّ رجُل مع اهل بيته	هولي اسماءِ بني اسرايل الذين دخلوا مصر مع يعقُوب كل رجُل واهل بيته

As in earlier cases, the Arab version in *Sinai Arabic 3* clearly draws on al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ's text, as transmitted by *Laud. Or. 258*, which is a literal translation of the Syro-Hexaplar text, though with some reworking evident in the three sections into which we have divided the verse:

Syro-Hexaplar text	*Laud. Or. 258*	*Sinai Arabic 3*
ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ ܕܝܣܪܐܝܠ	هذه اسمآ بنى اسرائيل	هولي اسماءِ بني اسرايل
ܕܗܢܘܢ ܕܥܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܨܪܝܢ ܥܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܒܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ	الذين دَخَلُوا مصرًا	الذين دخلوا مصر
ܟܠܚܕ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܥܠܘ	مع يَعْقُوب أبيهم كُلّ رجُل مع اهل بيته	مع يعقُوب كل رجُل واهل بيته

With respect to the text contained in *Laud. Or. 258*, the version in *Sinai Arabic 3* features a change in deixis (هولي for هذه) in the first segment and the replacement of مصر by the ungrammatical مصرًا in the second segment; in the third, it contains an adaptation: the prepositional extension مع يَعْقُوب أبيهم كُلّ رجُل مع اهل بيته ('With Jacob their father; each man with their household' < ܥܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܒܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܟܠܚܕ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ ܒܝܬܐ 'With Jacob their father; each one with their whole house' < ἅμα Ἰακὼβ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν, ἕκαστος πανοικὶ αὐτῶν) is given as مع يعقُوب كل رجُل واهل بيته ('With Jacob, every man with his household'), omitting the apposition أبيهم ('his father') and replacing مع ('with') by و ('and'). These changes, and the adaptation, indicate that this was a direct revision of al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ's translation, so that possible interference from the *Peshīṭtā* can be ruled out: ܥܡ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܓܒܪ ܘܒܝܬܗ ܥܠܘ 'With Jacob; (every) man came with his household' (< אֵת יַעֲקֹב אִישׁ וּבֵיתוֹ בָּאוּ).

[52] *Sinai Arabic 3*, fol. 104v; *Laud. Or. 258*, fol. 124v; A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla*, fol. 19r; cf. P. de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae*, p. 50.

Ex 3:1–2[53]

Syro-Hexaplar text	*Laud. Or. 258*	*Sinai Arabic 3*
ܘܗܘܐ ܡܪܥܝܗ ܕܝܬܪܘ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢ ܘܡܩܪܒ ܠܥܢܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܥܠ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܚܪܒܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܛܘܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܪܒܐ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܠܗܒܬܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܓܘܐ ܕܣܢܐ ܘܚܙܐ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܡܬܩܛܪܐ ܒܢܘܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܐܟܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܣܢܐ	وَكان مُوسى يَرْعي غَنَم يثرُون حَموه كاهنُ مدين وَكان يأتي بالغنم البرّيه حَتَى وصل إِلَى حُوْريب فتَرايَا لَهُ ملك الربّ بلهيبٍ من نار وسَط العَوْسَجه وراى العَوْسَجه تشعل نارًا ولا تحترق العَوْسَجَه	فامّا موسي كان يَرعي غنم يثرُون حموه كاهن مدين فساق الغنم الى البرّيه وجا الى جَبل الله بحُوريب وترايا الله لهُ في شهاب النار وهي لا تخترق فقال من وسَط العوسجه فنظر الى العوسجه تتوقد فيها النار وهي لا تحترق

Here, the revision affects a larger number of elements, since the translator-copyist has reworked virtually the whole section, as shown in the synoptic table below:

Sinai Arabic 3	*Laud. Or. 258*	Syro-Hexaplar text
فامّا موسي كان يَرعي	وَكان مُوسى يَرْعي	ܘܗܘܐ ܡܪܥܝܗ ܕܝܬܪܘ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢ
فساق الغنم الى البرّيه	وَكان يأتي بالغنم البرّيه	ܘܡܩܪܒ ܠܥܢܐ ܕܥܡܗ ܥܠ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܚܪܒܐ
وجا الى جَبل الله بحُوريب	حَتَى وصل إِلَى حُوْريب	ܘܐܬܐ ܠܛܘܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܪܒܐ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ
وترايا الله لهُ في شهاب النار من وسَط العوسجه	فتَرايَا لَهُ ملك الربّ بلهيبٍ من نار وسَط العَوْسَجه	ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܠܗܒܬܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܓܘܐ ܕܣܢܐ
فنظر الى العوسجه تتوقد فيها النار وهي لا تحترق	وراى العَوْسَجه تشعل نارًا ولا تحترق العَوْسَجَه	ܘܚܙܐ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܡܬܩܛܪܐ ܒܢܘܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܐܟܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܣܢܐ

Here too, *Sinai Arabic 3* is not a translation of the Syro-Hexaplar text but rather a revision of *Laud. Or. 258*. The changes consist in the modification of word order (فامّا موسي كان يَرعي > فتَرايَا لَهُ ملك الربّ / وترايا الله لهُ فامّا موسي كان يَرعي), the elimination of constructions involving a modal *kāna* (وَكان يأتي بالغنم البرّيه > فساق الغنم الى البرّيه), change to the latter proposition and phrasal modulation aimed at restoring the Syro-Hexaplar text

[53] *Sinai Arabic 3*, fol. 107r; *Laud. Or. 258*, fol. 127r; A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla*, fol. 20v–21r; cf. P. de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae*, p. 52.

(وجا الى جَبل الله بحُوريب > ܘܐܬܐ ܠܛܘܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܚܘܪܝܒ > حَتَّى وصل إِلَى حُوْرِيب), change to the copulative conjunction probably due to *contaminatio* from the previous sentence (وترايا > فَتَرايَا), omission of a phrase (الله > ملك الربّ > ܡܠܐܟܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ > ἄγγελος Κυρίου), lexical changes (شهاب > بلهيبٍ / فنظر الى > وراى / تتوقد > تشعلٍ), phrasal reduction (شهاب النار > بلهيبٍ من نارٍ), prepositional modulation (من وسط العوسجه > وسَط العَوْسَجه), determination (النّار > نارًا), replacement of noun by personal pronoun, in both cases with a subjective function, with changed word order (وهي لا تحترق > ولا تحترق العَوْسَجَه > ܗܘ̇ ܕܝܢ ܣܢܝܐ ܠܐ ܝܩܕ).

Lev 6:7–11[54]

Syro-Hexaplar text

ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܕܒܚܐ ܗܘ̇ ܕܢܩܪܒܘܢܝܗ̇
ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܕܐܗܪܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ
ܠܘܩܒܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܘܢܪܝܡ ܡܢܗ
ܒܩܘܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܢ ܣܡܝܕܐ ܕܕܒܚܐ
ܥܡ ܡܫܚܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܥܡ ܟܠܗ
ܠܒܘܢܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܠܝܢ
ܕܐܝܬܝܗܝܢ ܥܠ ܕܒܚܐ ܘܢܣܩ
ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܥܘܗܕܢܐ ܪܝܚܐ
ܕܒܣܝܡܘܬܐ ܪܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܕܝܠܗ
ܠܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ̇ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܪܟ ܡܢܗ
ܢܐܟܠܘܢܗ̇ ܘܒܢ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܝܠܗ
ܦܛܝܪ̈ܐ ܢܬܐܟܠ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ
ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܒܕܪܬܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ
ܕܙܒܢܐ ܢܐܟܠܘܢܗ̇ ܠܐ ܬܬܐܦܐ
ܚܡܝܥܐ ܡܢܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܝܗܒܬܗ̇
ܡܢ ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܩܘܕܫ
ܕܩܘܕ̈ܫܐ ܐܝܟܘܬܗ̇ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܗܘ̇
ܕܚܛܗܐ ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܗܘ̇ ܕܬܘܩܠܬܐ
ܟܠ ܕܟܪܐ ܕܒܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܢܐܟܠܘܢܗ̇
ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܠܕܪ̈ܐ
ܕܝܠܟܘܢ

Esc. 1857

هَذه سُنَّة الذبحه التى تقربها بنو
هَرُون أَمامَ الربِّ قُبالة المذبح
ولياخُذ مِلء يده بقبضتهِ من
حوَّارِى الدبحةِ مع دهنهِ ومع
جميع الكُندرهِ الذى على
الدبحةِ ربد الدسه رائحه نَشأةً
رائحه ذكيهً للربِّ وما بقى منه
فليا كلهُ هرون وَبنُوه وليوكل
فطيرًا في المَوضع المُطهّر في دَارِ
قُبَّة الزَّمان فَليا كلُوه ولا تُخبَزُ
مُخمَّرًا فقد جَعلتهُ خظّهم من
ذبائح ورَوبُود الربِّ وهو قدس
القُدوس مثل الذى الخطيهِ
ومثل الذى الجهلِ والياكلهُ
كل ذكر من الاحبار سُنَّةً الى
الابدِ لدهُوركم من ربود ذبايح
الرَبِّ وكل من دَنا منهُ فقد
تقدَّس

Sinai Arabic 3

وهذه سنة السميد ليقربه بني
هارُوون قدّام الله بين يدى المدبح
ويخص منه ملا قبضته من
السميد المنخول ومن الدهن ومن
جميع اللبان الذى علي السميد
فليرفعه علي المدبح لريح الراجة
تدكرة للرب وما بقى منه فلياكلهُ
هَارُوون وبنيه فطيرًا ولياكلوه في
مكان طاهر في رحبة قبة الزمان
ولياكلوه فطير بلا خمير فانى قد
اعطيتهم ذلك نصيب من قرباني
وهو طهر مطهر من الخطيه
فالياكلُوه مثل القربان جميع
ذكُورة بنى هَارُوون ميثاق الي
الدّهرِ ولخلوفكم من بعدكم ايضًا
يتطهر ياكلُوه من قربان الله ومن
دنا منه فانهُ

54 *Sinai Arabic 3*, fol. 171^{v}; *Esc. 1857*, fols. 237^{r}–237^{v}; A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla*, fol. 71^{r}–71^{v}.

This example, like the second sample from Gn 47:23–27 analysed above, sheds interesting light on the nature of the reviser's task. It should be noted that Lev 6:7–11 does not appear in the translation by al-Ḥārith b. Sinān b. Sunbāṭ transmitted in *Codex Laud. Or. 258*, so we have turned here to *Codex Escurialensis 1857*, where the passage is to be found. In addition to minor lexical, grammatical and syntactic shifts and modulations, a different version is provided of certain passages. These major changes are shown more clearly apparent in the synoptic table below:

	Syro-Hexaplar text	*Esc. 1857*	*Sinai Arabic 3*
1	ܗܕܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܕܐ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܒܢܝ ܗܪܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗ ܒܝܢ ܝܕܝ ܕܡܕܒܚ	هَذِه سُنَّة الذبحه التى يقربها بنو هَرُون أَمامَ الربِّ قُبالة المذبح	وهذه سنة السميد ليقربه بني هارُون قدّام الله بين يدى المدبح
2	ܘܢܬܚܠܨ ܡܢܗ ܡܢ ܚܠܒܗ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܫܡܝܕܐ ܕܡܬܟܠ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܠܒܐ ܕܠܒܢܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܫܡܝܕܐ	وليأخُذ مِلء يده بقبضتهِ من حوَّارِى الذبحة مع دهنهِ ومع جميع الكُندرهِ الذى على الذبحةِ	ويخص منه بلا قبضته من السميد المنخول ومن الدهن ومن جميع اللبان الذى علي السميد
3	ܘܢܪܝܡ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܠܪܝܚ ܕܢܝܚܐ ܕܠܡܪܝ ܘܡܕܡ ܕܫܪܐ ܡܢܗ	ويرفع علي المذبح لريح ذكيةً للربِّ وما بقى منه	فليرفعه علي المدبح لريح الراجة تذكرة للرب وما بقى منه
4	ܘܢܐܟܠܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܗܪܘܢ ܘܒܢܘܗܝ ܒܐܬܪ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܒܐܬܪ ܕܩܒܬܐ ܕܙܒܢܐ	فليأكلهُ هرون وَبنُوه وليوكل فطيرًا في المَوضع المُطهّر في دَارِ قُبَّةِ الزَّمان	فلياكلهُ هَارُون وبنيه فطيرًا ولياكلوه في مكان طاهر في رحبة قبة الزمان
5	ܘܢܐܟܠܘܢ ܦܛܝܪ ܕܠܐ ܚܡܝܪ ܕܢܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܪܒܢܐ	فَلياكلُوه ولا تُخبَزُ مُخمّرًا فَقد جَعلتُه خظَّهم من ذبائح وروبُود الربِّ	ولياكلوه فطير بلا خمير فانى قد اعطيتهم ذلك نصيب من قرباني
6	ܘܗܘ ܛܗܪ ܡܛܗܪ ܡܢ ܚܛܝܬܐ	وهو قدس القُدوس مثل الذى الخطيهِ ومثل الذى الجهلِ	وهو طهر مطهر من الخطيّه
7	ܟܠ ܕܟܪ ܒܟܗܢܐ ܢܐܟܠܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܢܝ ܗܪܘܢ	والياكلهُ كل ذكر من الاحبار	فالياكلُوه مثل القربان جميع ذكُورة بنى هَارُون

	ميثاقى الي الدّهرِ ولخلوفكم	سُنّةً الى الابدِ لدهُوركم من	ܒܪܝܬܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܕܪܘܬܟܘܢ ܡܢ
8	من بعدكم ايضًا يتطهر ياكلُوه	ربود ذبايح الرَبِّ وكل من	
	من قربان اللّه ومن دنا منه	دَنا منهُ فقَد تقدَّس	
	فانهُ		

In the eight sections into which the five verses have been divided – with the exception of section 4, which introduces only syntactic changes (وليوكل فطيرًا < فطيرًا وليا كلوه), different lexical options (في دارِ قبّةِ الزّمان < في رحبة قبة الزمان / المَوضع المُطهّر < مكان طاهر < السميد / سُنّةً < ميثاقى ,ܬܩܘܡܗ ܘܩܘܡܗ < قدس القُدوس < < طهر مطهر / ܩܘܪܒܢܐ < قُبالة < بين يدى / ܕܩܪܒ < ܒܪܝܬܐ, etc., and certain grammatical changes (ليوكل < ليا كلوه) – the text in *Sinai Arabic 3* offers a different version from that found in al-Ḥārith's translation:

a) Loss of case agreement: يقربها بنو هَرُون < ليقربه بني هارُوون.
b) Changed prepositional regime: ومع جميع < ومن جميع.
c) Partial reworking: فَليا كلُوه ولا تَخبزُ خَمرًا < وليا كلوه فطير بلا خمير (< ܕܢܐܟܠܘܢ ܠܦܛܝܪ ܕܠܐ ܚܡܝܪ ܢܬܒܪܟ).
d) Complete reworking: فَقد جَعلتُه خظَّهم من ذبائح < فانى قد اعطيتهم ذلك نصيب من قرباني ميثاقى الي الدّهرِ ولخلوفكم من بعدكم / (ܕܝܬܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܪܒܢܝ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܚܠܩܐ ܕܢܬܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܪܒܢܐ ܕܐܠܗ ܘܡܢ ܕܢܐ ܡܢܗ ܦܢܐ ܩܕܫ < وروبُود الربِّ سُنّةً الى الابدِ لدهُوركم من ربود ذبايح الرَبِّ وكل < يتطهر ياكلُوه من قربان اللّه ومن دنا منه فانهُ ايضًا من دنا منهُ فقَد تقدَّس
e) *Reductio*: وهو قدس القُدوس مثل الذى الخطيه ومثل الذى الجهلِ < وهو طهر مطهر من الخطيّه (< ܘܗܘ ܩܕܝܫ ܩܕܫܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܚܛܝܬܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܠܬܐ ܕܩܘܡܗ ܘܩܘܡܗ).
f) *Amplificatio*: فالياكلُوه مثل القربان جميع ذكُورة بنى هَارُوون < واليا كلهُ كل ذكر من الاحبار (< ܗܠܝܢ ܕܢܐܟܠܘܢ ܠܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܕܟܪ ܡܢ ܟܗܢܐ).

The lexical change adopted by the reviser of *Sinai Arabic 3* represents a correction of al-Ḥārith's translation of Paul of Tellā's Syro-Hexaplar text: اللبان < الكُندرِ < ܠܒܢܐ.

Lev 24:10–16[55]

Syro-Hexaplar text	*Laud. Or. 258*	*Sinai Arabic 3*
ܘܢܦܩ ܚܕ ܒܪܬܐ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܬܝ ܒܬܘܟ ܒܢܝ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܚܕ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܒܡܚܢܐ ܚܕܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܚܛܝܐ	وَخَرَج ابن امْراه اسرائليّه وَكَان هّذَا ابن رجُل مصري	وخَرج ابن امرَاةٍ اسرايليه وكان ابن رجُل مصري بيّن بنى

[55] *Sinai Arabic 3*, fol. 200[v]; *Laud. Or. 258*, fol. 245[v]; A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla*, fol. 96[r].