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.

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**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 anagignöskomena “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

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\(^1\) 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,


i.e. prayers or songs from the Old and New Testaments, are also transmitted in hymn books, often in conjunction with Psalms. 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*). 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.

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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. 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

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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 STENVENSON & 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 JELLCOE, *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 Kölnner 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 Peshiṣṭa, Susanna is either transmitted among the women’s books or in connection to Daniel. In the famous Ambrosian manuscript (7al) Susanna is transmitted among the Women’s books while Bel and the Dragon is found as an adjunct to Daniel.9

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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. 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.

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

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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.

group. The Vorlage is indicated below in superscript letters ($^{\text{Sy}}=$Syriac; $^{\text{Gr}}=$Greek; $^{\text{Hebr}}=$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:

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

Most of the translations produced between the ninth and twelfth centuries are only loosely related (Dn.Ar$^{\text{Sy}}$1*) or even unica translations (Dn.Ar$^{\text{Hebr}}$1). Yet, the manuscripts in Dn.Ar$^{\text{Sy}}$1* have many renderings in common which are not extant in other groups and they share a set of translation techniques. These translations, as well as Dn.Ar$^{\text{Hebr}}$1, exhibit numerous explanatory 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. 

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Between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, three distinct versions of Daniel and associated works were frequently reproduced in homogenous copies: Dn. ArSyr2; Dn. ArSyr3; and Dn. ArGr1. While the translation character of Dn. ArSyr3 in many aspects is reminiscent of those in Dn. ArSyr1, albeit with fewer omissions, Dn. ArSyr2 exhibits an extensive number of stylistic additions and is written in more elevated language.13 Dn. ArGr1 is the only clearly Greek-based version of Daniel. It is commonly attributed to a certain priest named al-‘Alam al-‘Iskandari 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

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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 Pollack, 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. «Biblia Arabica: Texts and Studies» (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).


London Polyglot and therefore not extant in copies of it.\textsuperscript{16} According to Henry Gehman who surveyed the Polyglot version of Daniel, al-\textsuperscript{5}Alam’s translation is literal, yet not literalistic.\textsuperscript{17}

Dn. Arab\textsuperscript{5y}4 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 Peshitta.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{17} Henry S. Gehman, “The ‘Polyglot’ Arabic Text of Daniel and Its Affinities”, \textit{Journal of Biblical Literature} 44/3 (1925), pp. 327-352.


\textsuperscript{19} Löfgren, \textit{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 Vacciari, “Una Bibbia Araba”, \textit{Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph} 10/4 (1925), pp. 79-104; Paul Féchiali, “The Holy Books in Arabic”, in Sara Binay & Stefan Lieder (ed.), \textit{Translating the Bible into Arabic: Historical, Text-critical and Literary Aspects}, col. \textit{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. Lieder (ed.), \textit{Translating the Bible into Arabic}, pp. 75-84; and R. Vollandt, “Che portono al ritorno qui 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. There are indications that Dn.Ar²⁵⁷:3 and Dn.Ar²⁶¹ originated among the Rûm Orthodox (Melkite) communities in Muslim Egypt while Dn.Ar²⁵⁷:2 sprung from East Syriac circles. 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. The most striking example is their adoption of the Jewish Gaon, Saadia al-Fayyûmi’s Arabic version of the Pentateuch.


According to Löfgren, Dn.Ar²⁶¹ was probably the official Arabic text in use among the Rûm Orthodox communities. The ecclesiastical 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.


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”:\footnote{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.}

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 [nīlāh]. 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.
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.\footnote{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,” \textit{Journal for Semitics} 19/2 (2010), pp. 661-697, espec. p. 663.}

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\textsuperscript{Syriac12} and Dn.Ar\textsuperscript{Syriac13}, began to be reproduced in a number of homogeneous copies. In the fourteenth century, a third version appears: Dn.Ar\textsuperscript{Greek1}. These three versions continued to be copied for several centuries though by the eighteenth century, copies of the \textit{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.\footnote{The standardization process of biblical works is being elaborated upon in Hjalm, \textit{Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel}, pp. 294-295.} 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
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. 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.ArSyr3 and Susanna (Sus) to Sus.ArGr2 like the rest of the manuscripts in this version. However, Bel and the Dragon (Bl.) belongs to Bl.ArSyr2 and not to Bl.ArSyr1a which is normally the case in this group. The narratives of Daniel in MS Sinai Ar. 539 are thus correctly described as: Dn.ArSyr3 + Sus.ArGr2 + Bl.ArSyr2 (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. However, the folios are glued together and the manuscript cannot be properly examined.

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27 For a more thorough account of the various Christian Arabic versions of Daniel, see LOGFREN, Studien; and HJÅLM, 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.Ar₃Gr₁) 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.ArSyr₂. Sus.Ar₃Gr₁ was not very popular and in the rest of the manuscripts in Dn.ArSyr₂ it is substituted for a more widespread Greek-based translation: Sus.Ar₃Gr₂, which is the standard version in Dn.ArSyr₃. 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.ArSyr₃ and Dn.ArSyr₂ 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.ArSyr₂, 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.Ar₃Gr₂.

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 da-bayeh da-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.
[1] In the third year of the reign of Joachim, king of Judah, came Buṭṭa 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 Sinḡār, 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 Buṭṭa 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. 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\textit{Sy}r\textit{3}, 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\textit{Sy}r\textit{3} and Dn.Ar\textit{Sy}r\textit{2} but a third version, the one transmitted together with the translation attributed to al-
\textit{A}\textit{l}\textit{A}\textit{m}: Sus.Ar\textit{Gr}\textit{3}. When Susanna ends, Daniel chapter 1 starts anew according to Dn.Ar\textit{Gr}\textit{1}. Thus, the principle was copied but not the text. Compare the following text from the London manuscript (fols.164a-172a):

\begin{quote}
في السنة الثالثة من ملك يوذا اتى يختصر ملك بابل الى اروشليم واحاط بها [2] والرب اسلمها في يده ويوافق ملكها ولانية بيت الرب اتى الى ملك بابل [Sus] وكان رجل ساكنا في بابل اسمه يوافق [...] وصار دانيال عظيما امام الشعب من ذلك اليوم وما بعد الوحي الثاني في السنة الثالثة من ملكه يوذا آتى يختصر ملك بابل الى اروشليم واحاطها ودفع الرب في يده يوافق [...] 
\end{quote}

\textit{Vaticana, Ar. 468; Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, 169 (karš.), see LÖGFREN, 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.}

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

\text{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).
In the third year of the reign of Joachim, king of Judah, came Bukšanaššar, 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 Šingär, 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 Bukšanaššar, 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 موجود (!) في القبطي وقد اخراجناه 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 Yūnus\(^\text{34}\) that in turn is based on al-ʿAlam’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.\(^\text{35}\) 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. LOGFREN, Studien, pp. 42-43.

\(^{35}\) VACCARI, “Le versioni”, pp. 407-408; and LOGFREN, 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-‘Alam’s version do not reflect the interpolated verses from Dn.Ar₃Sy but begins directly with Susanna. See for instance Ms. London, British Libr., Or. 1326 dated 1585-7 AD. As mentioned above, al-‘Alam’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. Nevertheless, Sus.Ar₃Gr₂ and Sus.Ar₃Gr₃ 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.Ar₃Gr₁; Sus.Ar₃Gr₂; Sus.Ar₃Gr₃; 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

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

36 See also Mss Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bibl. 79 and 80 and, most likely, the other manuscripts listed by Lögren as containing al-‘Alam’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. The rest of the manuscripts in Dn.ArSyr1*, which all predate the twelfth century, exhibit a similar text, here referred to as Bl.ArSyr1*. A second version which is also based on the Peshiṭta is contained in Ms. Sinai Ar. 2 dated 939/40 AD: Bl.ArSyr2. It is, with minor textual variation, attested to in the twelfth century Ms. Sinai Ar. 539 as well. A revision of Bl.ArSyr1* is transmitted in most manuscripts belonging to Dn.ArSyr3, i.e. the more standardized translation in use among some Byzantine and Coptic communities in Muslim Egypt from the thirteenth century onwards: Bl.ArSyr1a. Typically, text units that are not included in the earlier version

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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 Syr 1* and Ms. Sinai Ar. 539 from Bl.Ar Syr 2 with the renderings in the widespread version Bl.Ar Syr 1a represented by Ms. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Arch Seld. A. 67:

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 Syr 3 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 Syr 3 whereas Bel represents almost exactly the same version exhibited in Ms. Sinai Ar. 1 slightly influenced by Bl.Ar Syr 2.

Yet another Peshitta-based version of Bel (Bl.Ar Syr 3) 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 Syr 2.42

By the fourteenth century, a fourth Arabic version of Bel circulated in Egypt, this time based on a Greek Vorlage (=Bl.Ar Gr 1). This text is
transmitted together with the translation of Daniel attributed to al-ʿAlam 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 (ܕܐ) 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 /yah/. 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 /ū/ in
West Syriac, see Theodore NOLDEKE, 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 mīkūl exclusively used in Iraq, and
certain translation techniques, such as alternate renderings which are commonly
associated with the East, cf. VOLANDT, 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 Peshiṭta, which are similarly phrased in the Greek Bible versions, with that in the tenth century Ms. Sinai Ar. 513:

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

εὐλογεῖτε ἡλιος καὶ σελήνη τὸν κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

eὐλογεῖτε ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

See Alfred RAHLFS, Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Privileg, Württenbergische 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 ونجم السماء 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. 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. 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. 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

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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:\textsuperscript{51}

\begin{align*}
\text{S22} & \quad \text{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} \\
\text{S513} & \quad \text{Bless the Lord, the sun and the moon and the stars of heaven, sing praise to him and highly exalt him forever}
\end{align*}

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


\textsuperscript{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. Moreover, the liturgical version exhibited above became so popular that it supplanted the longer biblical text in Dn.ArSy3, 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 AD53 both based on the Peshitta. A continuous Greek (Theodotion)-based version is transmitted in Dn.ArGr1. 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.ArSy3, 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.ArSy2, 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^Sy^3 and in the collections of Psalms and Odes.

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^Sy^1*, 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^Sy^3, and to the eleventh century Ms. Sinai Ar. NF. 9 belonging to Dn.Ar^Sy^2. The later dated and more homogenous manuscripts in Dn.Ar^Sy^3 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^Sy^3 as well as the Odes exhibit the same text with only minor variations. Thus, it appears that a standardization of

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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.
the Song begun in the liturgical material, perhaps to some degree influenced by continuous biblical versions, and reached a comparatively stable form in the tenth century.

In his survey on the use of the Three Young Men, Heinrich Schneider points out that in the fifth century “die Ode der Jünglinge war inzwischen geradezu volkstümlich geworden”. 55 Considering the fact that the Ode superseded the biblical version of the Song in many Arabic manuscripts, it apparently enjoyed vast popularity also in ninth-tenth century Palestine.

The Prayer was not subjected to the same kinds of liturgical influences as the Song. By and large, the rendition of the Prayer follows the protocanonical Daniel compositions in the manuscripts. That is, despite many independent renderings, Mss. Sinai Ar. 1; 513, 597 and Oxford, Bodl. Libr., (Or.) 257 belong to Dn.Ar.Syr*. Within this group, only Ms. Sinai Ar. 513 and the Oxford manuscript are closely related. Ms. Sinai Ar. 539 clearly belongs to Dn.Ar.Syr.3 but certain independence is evident. The Ode in Ms. Sinai Ar. 22 is not particularly reminiscent of any continuous biblical version. Ms. Sinai Ar. NF Paper 9 exhibits significant independence in the beginning of the Prayer but after a few verses the text concords with the rest of the Dn.Ar.Syr.2 group. Dn.Ar.Gr I exhibits a different translation. The Peshiṭta is used as the Vorlage of most translations but Mss. Sinai Ar. 513, Sinai Ar. 539, and especially Sinai Ar. 597 exhibit certain influence also from the Greek text. Al-ʿAlam’s translation uses the Greek Theodotion. Compare verses 26 and 27 in the Prayer in different Arabic versions and note their internal relations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ܡܒܪܟ} & \quad \text{ܐܢܬ} \quad \text{ܡܪܝܐ} \\
\text{ܐܠܗܐ} & \quad \text{ܕܐ} \quad \text{ܒܗܬܢ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ܡܘܫܒܚܬ} \quad \#3 \quad \text{ܘܡܪܡܪܡ} \quad \text{ܘܡܫܒܚ} \quad \text{ܫܡܟ} \quad \text{ܠܥܠܡ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ܡܒܪܟ} & \quad \text{ܐܢܬ} \quad \text{ܡܪܝܐ} \\
\text{ܐܠܗܐ} & \quad \text{ܕܐ} \quad \text{ܒܗܬܢ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ܡܘܫܒܚܬ} \quad \#3 \quad \text{ܘܡܪܡܪܡ} \quad \text{ܘܡܫܒܚ} \quad \text{ܫܡܟ} \quad \text{ܠܥܠܡ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Blessed are you Lord […] since you are righteous in all your doings to us and all your works are truth

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-ʿashābīhi* “The Hymn of Ḥanāniyā and his friends” is used to introduce the Prayer in Ms. Sinai Ar. 513; *ḥadiḥi al-tasbihu ʿalāti ʿazāriyā* “this is the Hymn: The Prayer of ʿAzāriyā” in Ms. Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Seld Arch. A. 67; (wa-yaqūłūna) *ḥadiḥi al-tasbih* “(and they said) this Hymn” in Ms.

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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 Peshitta four different rubrics are at display: *šlōṯā ḏā-hananiyā w-ād-ḥabraw* “The Prayer of Hananiyā and his friends”; *šlōṯā ḏā-bayt ḥananiyā* “The Prayer of the house of Ḥananiyā”; *šlōṯā ḏā-‘azariyā w-ād-ḥabraw* “The Prayer of ‘Azāriyā and his friends”; *šlōṯā ḏā-‘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

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The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

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

Daniel and Hagiographical Works


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. 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.

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<sup>Syr</sup>1 includes Daniel, the Song and the Prayer, and Bel; Dn.Arab<sup>Heb</sup>1 includes Daniel and Bel; Dn.Arab<sup>Syr</sup>2 includes Daniel, the Song and the Prayer, Bel and sometimes Susanna; Dn.Arab<sup>Syr</sup>3 includes Daniel, Susanna incorporated into Daniel chapter 1, the Song and the Prayer, and Bel; Dn.Arab<sup>Greek</sup>1 is found in three different constellations: 1) Susanna is included in Daniel 1 according to Dn.Arab<sup>Syr</sup>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 concords 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. Instead, several translations coexisted and new versions were readily accepted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mss</th>
<th>Daniel 1-12 (+the Prayer)</th>
<th>Susanna</th>
<th>Bel &amp; Dragon</th>
<th>The Song</th>
<th>Order of narratives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sinai Ar. 1</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²⁷;¹*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bl.Ar²⁴;¹*</td>
<td>Full version (Pesh)</td>
<td>Dn, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai Ar. 2</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²²b;²</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bl.Ar²³;²*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dn, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai Ar. 513</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²⁷;¹*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bl.Ar²⁵;¹*</td>
<td>Abbreviated version</td>
<td>Dn, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai Ar. 597</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²⁷;¹*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bl.Ar²⁵;¹*</td>
<td>Abbreviated version</td>
<td>Dn, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodl. Fr.273</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²⁷;¹*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bl.Ar²⁵;¹*</td>
<td>Abbreviated version</td>
<td>Dn, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai Ar. 539</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²⁷;³*</td>
<td>Sus.Ar²;²*</td>
<td>Bl.Ar²³;²</td>
<td>Full version (Pesh)</td>
<td>Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai Ar. 597</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²⁷;²* (1-6:13?)</td>
<td>Sus.Ar²;¹*</td>
<td>(lacuna)</td>
<td>Abbreviated version</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai Ar. 9</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²⁷;²; Dn.Ar²⁴;³ ch.1:1-2</td>
<td>Sus.Ar²;²*</td>
<td>Bl.Ar²³;³*</td>
<td>(lacuna)</td>
<td>Dn, Bl, Dn 1:1-2, Sus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, Bodl. Arch.Seld. A67</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²⁷;³</td>
<td>Sus.Ar²;²*</td>
<td>Bl.Ar²³;¹a</td>
<td>v.52-56 = Odes v.57-88 = SinAr.513 89-93 = independent 93- Sin.Ar.539</td>
<td>Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milan, Bibl.</td>
<td>Dn.Ar²⁷;³</td>
<td>Sus.Ar²;²*</td>
<td>Bl.Ar²³;¹a</td>
<td>v.52-56 = Odes v.57-</td>
<td>Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ambros, C. 58 Inf.</th>
<th>Dn.Ar$^{53r2}$</th>
<th>Bl.Ar$^{53r3}$</th>
<th>Full version (Pesh)</th>
<th>88=Sin.Ar.513 89-93=independent 93-Sin.Ar.539</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berlin, SB, Diez A fol. 41</td>
<td>Dn.Ar$^{53r3}$ ch.1:1-2; Dn.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
<td>Sus.Ar$^{53r3}$</td>
<td>Bl.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
<td>Full version (Theo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, BL, Or. 1314</td>
<td>Dn.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
<td>Sus.Ar$^{53r3}$</td>
<td>Bl.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
<td>Full version (Theo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London, BL, Or. 1326</td>
<td>COP, Bibl. 81</td>
<td>Dn.Ar$^{53r3}$</td>
<td>Sus.Ar$^{53r2}$</td>
<td>Bl.Ar$^{53r1a}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP, Bibl. 89</td>
<td>Dn.Ar$^{53r3}$</td>
<td>Sus.Ar$^{53r2}$</td>
<td>Bl.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
<td>Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP, Bibl. 82</td>
<td>Dn.Ar$^{53r3}$</td>
<td>Sus.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
<td>Bl.Ar$^{53r3}$</td>
<td>Sus, Dn, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP, Bibl. 77</td>
<td>COP, Bibl. 87</td>
<td>Dn.Ar$^{53r2}$</td>
<td>Sus.Ar$^{53r2}$</td>
<td>Bl.Ar$^{53r3}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP, Bibl. 13</td>
<td>Dn.Ar$^{53r3}$ ch.1:1-2; Dn.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
<td>Sus.Ar$^{53r3}$</td>
<td>Bl.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
<td>Dn, Sus in Dn 1:2, Bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COP, Bibl. 79</td>
<td>COP, Bibl. 80</td>
<td>Dn.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
<td>Sus.Ar$^{53r3}$</td>
<td>Bl.Ar$^{53r1}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Ar²⁹¹* 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 (‘ṣūdām) have been brought in line with common spelling norms of Classical Arabic. In many early manuscripts neither /hamzah/, /maddah/, /waṣlah/, nor /taṣdīd/ 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 Peshitta. 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
{}    Ditography
[]    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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S1} &= (\text{Ar}^{\text{Syr}1*}) \text{ Sinai Ar. 1, ninth century. Peshi\text{\textita}-based.} \\
\text{S597} &= (\text{Ar}^{\text{Syr}1*}) \text{ Sinai Ar. 597, dated 1002 AD. Peshi\text{\textita}-based.} \\
\text{S513} &= (\text{Ar}^{\text{Syr}1*}) \text{ Sinai Ar. 513, tenth century. Peshi\text{\textita}-based.} \\
\text{O1} &= O1 (\text{Ar}^{\text{Syr}1*}) \text{ Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Fraser (Or.) 257, eleventh century (or later). Peshi\text{\textita}-based.} \\
\text{SNF9*} &= (\text{Ar}^{\text{Syr}2}) \text{ Sinai Ar. NF Paper 9, tenth century. Peshi\text{\textita}-based.} \\
\text{Ar}^{\text{Syr}2} &= \text{ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Diez. A. 41, dated 1325 AD. Peshi\text{\textita}-based.} \\
\text{S539*} &= \text{ Sinai Ar. 539, twelfth century. Peshi\text{\textita}-based.} \\
\text{Ar}^{\text{Syr}3} &= \text{ Milan, Bibl. Ambros. C 58 inf. dated 1226 AD. Peshi\text{\textita}-based with a Greek influence.} \\
\text{S22\text{\textupsilon\textupsilon\textupsilon}} &= \text{ Sinai Ar. 22, tenth century. Collection of Odes.} \\
\text{Ar}^{\text{\textupsilon\textupsilon\textupsilon}} &= \text{ London, British Libr., Or. 1314, dated 1373/4 AD. Greek-based.} \\
\text{BSA} &= \text{ BSA Copt. Orthodox Patr., Bibl. 73, dated 1756 AD. Apparently based on the Latin Vulgate.}
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms/group</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Verse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>مس بحون الله جميعا ويباركون في الادخود وجعلوا يقولون...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S597</td>
<td>[16a:12] جعلوا يسبحون الله جميعا وباركون في الادخود وجعلوا يقولون...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S513</td>
<td>فاقبلوا ثلثتهم من فم واحد يسبحون وباركون ويجدون في الأتون ويقولون...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O1</td>
<td>[168b:13] هناك جعلوا يسبحون الله جميعا وباركون في الحدود ويتولون...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNF9</td>
<td>[xb:18] حينئذ كانوا الثنائى يسبحون الله ويباركون ويجدون في الأتون ويقولون...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ArSyr2</td>
<td>[240b:16] هناك قالوا ثلاثتهم قولوا واحدا وسبحوا تسبيحا لله من جوف الأتون...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S539</td>
<td>[230a:14] حينئذ ثلاثتهم كن فم واحد جعلوا يسبحوا الله وباركون في جوف النا...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ArSyr3</td>
<td>[xb:7] حينئذ ثلاثتهم كن فم واحد جعلوا يسبحوا الله وباركون في جوف النا...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S22</td>
<td>[252a:8] حينئذ سبحوا الثلاثة فين كن فم واحد فباركون [252b] ومجدوا الله في الأتون قابلين...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ArSyr1</td>
<td>[189a:20] حينئذ الثلاثة فين مثل من فم واحد سبحوا ومجدوا الله [189b] في وسط الأتون قابلين...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSA</td>
<td>[141a:11] حينئذ حالوا الثلاثة كن فم واحد كانوا يسبحون ومجدوا الله وباركون الأتون قابلين...</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verse 52a**

**Translation**

Takrak Rima Riba Abara Masbiح Anث ومتاعل او الدهر
Takrak Rima Aiba Abara ومستح Anث ومتاعل او الدهر
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>مبارك انَّا بِرَبِّ الْاَبْيَانَ وَتَعَالَ اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>مبارك انَّا رَبِّي وَبِرَبِّ الْاَبْيَانَ مَسْجِحَ اِنَّا وَتَمْعَالَى اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>مبارك الربِّ الْاَبْيَانَ وَتَعَالَ اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>تَبَارَكْنَا بِرَبِّ الْاَبْيَانَ وَتَمْعَالَى اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>مبارك انَّا بِرَبِّ الْاَبْيَانَ وَتَعَالَ اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>مبارك انَّا بِرَبِّ الْاَبْيَانَ وَقَوْفَ الْمُسْجِحَ اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>مبارك انَّا بِرَبِّ الْاَبْيَانَ وَقَوْفَ الْمُسْجِحَ اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>مبارك انَّا بِرَبِّ الْاَبْيَانَ وَقَوْفَ الْمُسْجِحَ اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
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<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>مبارك انَّا بِرَبِّ الْاَبْيَانَ وَقَوْفَ الْمُسْجِحَ اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52a</td>
<td>مبارك انَّا بِرَبِّ الْاَبْيَانَ وَقَوْفَ الْمُسْجِحَ اِلَى الْاَدْهَارَ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

66 This addition [تباركت رنا 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 [الله]. 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] likely results from an inadvertent omission of the latter part of the source text. Compare the rendition in the previous sentence [وتعاليت الى الدهر] and note that the translator avoided repetitive language, cf. Hjälm, Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel, pp. 130-131.  
68 Word crossed over by the scribe.
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

S22  
ومبارك اسم مجدك القدس ووفاق المستح على المتعالي الي الدهور

ArGr  
مبارك اسم مجدك القدس ووفاق المتعالي الي الدهور

BSA  
مبارك اسم مجدك القدس ووفاق المتعالي الي الدهور

S1  
وتباركت في محرابك المقدس وتعاليت الي الدهر

S597  
وتباركت في بيتكم المقدس وتعاليت الي الدهر

S519  
وتباركت في هيئة مجدك المقدس ووفاق المتعالي الي الادهار

O1  
وتباركت وتعالى في هيئة مجدك المقدس ووفاق انت الي الدهور

SNF9  
وتباركت وتعالى في هيئة مجدك المقدس ووفاق انت الي الدهور

ArSw2  
وتباركت في هيئة مجدك المقدس ووفاق انت الي الدهور

S539  
مبارك انك في هيئة مجدك المقدس وتعالى علوك الي الادهار

ArSw3  
مبارك ان في هيئة مجدك المقدس ووفاق انت الي الادهار

S22  
مبارك ان في هيئة مجدك المقدس ووفاق انت الي الادهار

ArGr1  
مبارك ان في هيئة مجدك المقدس ووفاق المتعالي الي الدهور

BSA  
مبارك ان في هيئة مجدك المقدس ووفاق المتعالي الي الدهور

69 The order of verses 54 and 55 is reversed in the Septuagint and in the Latin Vulgate (but not in Theodotion). Note that only the BSA reflects the latter order.

70 The addition [ملاكك “your angels”] likely serves to explain the word “cherubim”.

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The addition [ملاكك “your angels”] likely serves to explain the word “cherubim”.

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The addition [ملاكك “your angels”] likely serves to explain the word “cherubim”. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 182 | بلغني وباركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي(tealm) ووقف تسبحتك ووقف علوك إلى الدهر | Miriam Lindgren Hjälm
| 204 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | الدهر |
| 226 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | SNF9 |
| 248 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | ArSyr2 |
| 270 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | ArSyr3 |
| 292 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | S22 |
| 313 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | ArGr1 |
| 335 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | BSA |
| 357 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | S1 |
| 379 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | S97 |
| 391 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | S513 |
| 413 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | O1 |
| 435 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | S597 |
| 457 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | O1 |
| 479 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | SNF9 |
| 501 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | ArSyr2 |
| 523 | باركوك، وانت جالس على الكرسي، وفيها البحرومجرم | S539 |

In ms: الإغماق
71 In ms: الإغماق
72 In ms: الإغماق
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. Hjalm, Early Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel, pp. 143-145. See also ArSyr2.
مبارك انت على كرسي مجد ملكك فوق المستويات إلى الأبد
مبارك انت على كرسي مجد ملكك وسبح وتعالي إلى الدهر
مبارك انت على كرسي مجد ملكك فوق المستويات إلى الأبد
مبارك انت على كرسي مجد ملكك وسبح وتعالي إلى الدهر
مبارك انت على كرسي مجد ملكك وسبح وتعالي إلى الدهر
مبارك انت على كرسي مجد ملكك وسبح وتعالي إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في فلك السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في فلك السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في فلك السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في فلك السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في جلد السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في جلد السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في فلك السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في فلك السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في جلد السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في جلد السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك انت في جلد السماء وسبح وتمجيد إلى الدهر
مبارك كله من خلقك سبحو وعظموه إبدا
مبارك كل عمل للرب سبحا وتعالي إلى الدهر
مبارك كل عمل للرب سبحا وتعالي إلى الدهر
مبارك كل عمل للرب سبحا وعظموه إبدا
[مسحوحات (?)] أبارك الله جميع أعماله سبحا وعظموه عظيمته إلى الدهر
[تم سبحة ابتداء الثلاثة فتبها واحده وصوت واحد و unordered بأبارك الله جميع أعماله سبحا
وعظموه الله إلى الدهر
وأبارك الله جميع أعماله سبحا وعظموه الله إلى الدهر
Baraka k'kul e'gal rab sabilu wulo elaldehar
Baraka rab sabilu wulo elaldehar
Baraka k'kul e'gal rab sabilu wulo elaldehar

[Arabic text]

S539
A5
S22
A5
BSA

Baraka k'kul e'gal rab sabilu wulo elaldehar
Baraka k'kul e'gal rab sabilu wulo elaldehar
Baraka k'kul e'gal rab sabilu wulo elaldehar
Baraka k'kul e'gal rab sabilu wulo elaldehar
Baraka k'kul e'gal rab sabilu wulo elaldehar

[Arabic text]
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

(see previous verse)

59

باركوا الرب يا ملاكهة الرب جميع سببحوه ورفعوه إلى الدهور

باركوا يا السمواء للرب امدحوه ورفعوه إلى الدهور

60

ière معلومة صعبة لفهم، مصاغها، مصاغها، لحلل

S1

فسبح كل جنوده سببحوه وعظموه ابدا (فسبح كل جنوده سببحوه وعظموه ابدا)

59

بارك الماء الذي فوق كل السما [b10(9)] وجشع قوة الرب للسبحانك و تعالىت الدهر

S597

بارك كل الامياه التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

59

[60]ا] بارك كل الامهات التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

S513

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

59

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

O1

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

59

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

SNF9

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

59

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

Ar stere2

بارك كل الامهات التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعظموه النهاة

59

بارك كل الامهات التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه وعظموه النهاة

S22

بارك كل الماء الذي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب [b253b] سببحوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد

59

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات وجشع قوات الرب سببحوه ورفعوه الى الدهور

Ar Gi1

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات سببحوه ورفعوه الى الدهور

60

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات سببحوه ورفعوه الى الدهور

BSA

بارك كل المياه التي فوق السوات سببحوه ورفعوه الى الدهور

60

معلومة صعبة لفهم، مصاغها، مصاغها، لحلل

74 Copying mistake: الامهات

75 Misreading: الامهات
S1

يسبح الماء الذي [6b] فوق السماء سبحوه وعظموه ابدا
(see previous verse)

S597, S513, O1, SNF9

(see previous verse)

ArSy2

تبرك الماء الذي فوق السماء زرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد
(see previous verse)

S539, ArSy3

(see previous verse)

S22

(see previous verse)

ArGr1

باركي الرب يا جميع قوات الرب سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع قوى الرب للرب فامدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور

BSA

باركوا يا جميع قوى الرب للرب فامدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور

S1

يسبح الشمس والقمر سبحوه وعظموه ابدا

61a

60a

61b

60b

61

61

62

61
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

161

S597  باركوا للرب الشمس والقمر ونجوم السماء سبجوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد
S513  باركوا للرب الشمس والقمر ونجوم السماء سبجوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد
O1    (see previous verse)
SNF9   (see previous verse)
A5v2  تبرك الشمَس والقمر اللَّه سبجوه وعظَمَه الى الابد
S539  بارك الشمَس والقمر للرب سبجوه وعظَمَه الى الابد
A5v3  باركوا للرب الشمس والقمر ونجوم السماء سبجوه وعلوا علوه الى الابد
S22   (see previous verse)
A6v1  (see previous verse)
BSA   (see previous verse)

S1    يبارك كل المطر والطل والرياح للرب سبجوه وعظَمَه الى الابد
S597  يبارك كل المطر والطل والرياح للرب سبجوه وعظَمَه الى الابد
S513  (see previous verse)
باركوا الرب المطر وندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الابد
باركوا الرب كل مطر وندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا الرب المطر وندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الابد
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
باركوا يا جميع الامطار والاندا وجميع الأرواح سبحوه وعلوه الى الدهور
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

S513

باركو الله النار والحر والليل والنهار والابد [320b]

62

O1

باركو الله النار والحر والليل والنهار والابد [320b]

62

SNF9

باركو الله النار والحر والليل والنهار والابد [320b]

62

ArSyr2

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

66b

S539

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

64

ArSyr3

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

64

S22

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

64

ArGr1

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

66

BSA

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

66

S1

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

S597

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

S513

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

O1

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

SNF9

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

ArSyr2

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

S539

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

ArSyr3

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

S22

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

ArGr1

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

BSA

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

S1

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

S597

باركوا النار والحر والليل والنهار [320a]

65

(see previous verse, i.e. 61)
تبرك النّور والظلمة وتعالوا إلى الابد
باركوا النّور والظلمة وتعالوا إلى الابد
باركوا النّور والظلمة وتعالوا إلى الابد
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

1 O1 (see previous verse)
2 SNF9 (see previous verse)
3 Arșv2 (see following verse)
4 S539 (see previous verse)
5 Arșv3 (see previous verse)
6 S22 (see previous verse)
7 ArGr1
8 BSA

باركوا الزّب والجَلِيد سُبحَوهُ وَرفعوهُ إلى الآيَاد
باركوا يا أَيُّها الزَب والجَلِيد سُبحَوهُ وَرفعوهُ إلى الآيَاد

يضبِحه الشَّمْسُ والجَلِيد سُبَحَوهُ وَعَظَموهُ ابْدا

باركوا يا أيها الزَب والجَلِيد سُبَحَوهُ وَرفعوهُ إلى الآيَاد
باركوا الزّب والجَلِيد سُبحَوهُ وَرفعوهُ إلى الآيَاد
باركوا يا أَيُّها الزَب والجَلِيد سُبَحَوهُ وَرفعوهُ إلى الآيَاد
باركوا الزّب والجَلِيد سُبحَوهُ وَرفعوهُ إلى الآيَاد
باركوا يا أَيُّها الزَب والجَلِيد سُبَحَوهُ وَرفعوهُ إلى الآيَاد
باركوا الشَّمْسُ والجَلِيد سُبَحَوهُ وَعَظَموهُ ابْدا
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.
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

The text appears to be a translation or commentary on a verse from the Bible, specifically from Daniel. The Arabic text is layered over the English translation, indicating a study or explanation of the original text. The Arabic script is shown over the English text, which suggests a parallel or comparative study. The text is structured in a way that allows for a dual-language study, typical of biblical exegesis or religious commentaries.

The text includes various annotations and references, which are likely scholarly notes or explanations. The annotations are written in different styles, with some in Arabic script and others in Latin script, indicating a blend of sources or a historical approach to biblical study.

The document features a mix of scriptural citations and explanatory comments, which are common in religious or theological works. The layout suggests that it is meant for scholars or readers familiar with both languages, providing a rich resource for understanding the text in a comparative context.

The page is marked with page numbers 167 and 65, indicating it is part of a larger work, possibly a book or a series of commentaries. The layout is dense with text, typical of scholarly or academic works, aimed at providing a deep understanding of the biblical text.
This rendering differs from the Vorlage.

The verse is missing in this ms. In London, British Libr. (Or.) 8745 this verse is included: باركوا يا جمع نبات الأرض امدهوا وارفعوه الى الدهور.
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

S1

بكر الباحر والابنابار والعيون وكل منتجم في الماء للرب سبحوه وعظموه ابدا

S597

(see previous verse)

S513

(see previous verse)

O1

(see previous verse)

SNF9

(see previous verse)

ArSyr2

باركوا البحار والابنابار والعيون وعطرعوا الى الابد

S539

(see previous verse)

ArSyr3

(see previous verse)

ArGr1

باركوا ايا البحار والابنابار سبحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور

BSA

باركوا ايا البحار والابنابار للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهور

[77?]

S1

تسبحه ينابيع الامهاب سبحوه وعظموه ابدا (see previous verse)

S597

(see previous verse)

S513

(see previous verse)

O1

(see previous verse)

SNF9

(see previous verse)

ArSyr2

ترك الباحر والابنابار الرب سبحوه وعظموه الى الابد

S539

(see previous verse)

ArSyr3

(see previous verse)
The verse is missing in this ms. In London, British Libr. (Or.) 8745 this verse is included:

"باركوا يا ايتها المعينات للرب امدحوه ورفعوه الى الدهور"
باركوا كل طيور السماء وكل الحيوانات وكل النباتات وجلوه للإلهار

باركوا كل طيور السماء وكل النباتات وجلوه للإلهار

باركوا كل طيور السماء وكل النباتات وجلوه للإلهار

باركوا كل طيور السماء وكل النباتات وجلوه للإلهار

باركوا يا جميع طيور السماء للرب أمدحوه ورفعوه الى الدهور

باركوا يا جميع طيور السماء للرب أمدحوه ورفعوه الى الدهور

باركوا يا جميع طيور السماء للرب أمدحوه ورفعوه الى الدهور
يس بحه جميع البشر سبحوه وعظموه ابدا
[82]

باركوا كل بني الناس وبارك اسرائيل للرب سبحانه [8(11)0] و تعالى الى الدهر
[80]

باركوا البر بنو البشر وبارك اسرائيل ويمع علوه الى الابد
[83]

باركوا البر بنو البشر سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الدهر
[83]

باركوا البر بنو البشر وبارك اسرائيل ويمع علوه الى الابد
[83]

باركوا يا بني البشر سبحوه وعلو علوه الى الدهر
[83]

باركوا يا بني الناس اسحوكو ووضعوه الى الابد
[83]
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

S539
ArSv3 (see previous verse)
S22 (see previous verse)
ArGr1
BSA

82
تبارك يا كهنة الرب وعبيد الرب سببحو وارفعوه الى الدهور

84
ليبارك اسرائيل الرب سببحو وارفعوه الى الدهور

81
ليبارك الرب يا كهنة الرب وعبيد الرب سببحو وارفعوه الى الدهور

69
باركوا كهنة الرب وعبيد الرب سببحو وارفعوه الى الابد

67
باركوا كهنة الرب وعبيد الرب سببحو وارفعوه الى الدهر

67
باركوا كهنة الرب وعبيد الرب سببحو وارفعوه الى الدهر

85
باركوا كهنة الرب وعبيد الرب سببحو وارفعوه الى الابد

81
يسله الاير كله

84
س ببحه والابرار كلها

85
س ببحه والابرار كلها

82
This ought to be regarded as a substitution of the original wording.
تبرك جميع عباد الرب متواضعين في الدنيا.  

(see previous verse)  

(see previous verse)  

(see previous verse)

83

For متواضع؟  
84

In ms: مباركوا. Copying mistake where separating dots have been understood as /mīm/.
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

باروكا يا ايتها الارواح ونساء الآثار للرب امدحو وارفعوه الى الدهور

jamin مجدتكم، مجدتكم لحنة، حنة، مجدتكم، لحنة

85a

S1

يس بحه

83

S597

(see previous verse)

88

S513

(see previous verse)

76

O1

(see previous verse)

88

SNF9

(see previous verse)

85

Ar

Syr

2

تبرك المحتبون والمتوضعين القلوب للرب

88

S539

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

BSA

باركوا يا ايتها مستوره ومتغصparation القلوب للرب

85b

Compare however next verse

86a

S1

يس بحه

88a

S597

(see previous verse)

84a+

S513

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

O1

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

SNF9

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

Ar

Syr

2

 Compare however next verse

85

Gr

1

يس بحه

Compare however next verse

88a

S22

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

(see previous verse)

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الشهداء كلهم سبقحو وعظتموه ابداً 85

S597 بارك حانانيا وعزريا ومشيايل للرب سبقحو وعظتموه ابداً 69a
S513 بارك الرّب حانانيا وعزريا ومسيايل سبقحو وعظتموه ابداً 71a
O1 بارك حانانيا وعزريا ومسيايل للرب سبقحو وعظتموه ابداً 69a
SNF9 بارك الرّب حانانيا وعزريا ومسيايل سبقحو وعظتموه ابداً 69a
Ar852 تبرك حانانيا وعزريا ومشيايل للرب سبقحو وعظتموه ابداً 89a
S397 باركوا حانانيا وعزريا ومشيايل سبقحو وعظتموه للابهار 77a
Ar853 بارك الرّب حانانيا وعزريا ومشيايل للرب سبقحو وعظتموه ابداً 71a
S22 باركوا للرب حانانيا وعزريا ومشيايل سبقحو وعظتموه ابداً 71+
والله وروح [القدس] 255a [ائتلى وثنين] باركوا الرّب والابتها شهد الرّب
للرب سبقحو وارفعوه الى الدهر من الان ولهيبها امن 89a
Ar81 باركوا للرب حانانيا وعزريا ومشيايل سبقحو وارفعوه الى الدهر
BSA باركوا حانانيا وعزريا ومشيايل للرب امدحوه وارفعوه الى الدهر 86a

ملحق ومضمون في مصدري: مصري تطورته سماهم 86b
[88b]
S1 اه خلصنا واجيننا من الموت ولهبنا وارفعنا من 17a [الجحيم]
واخذنا من النار ولهبنا وارفعنا منها 84b
S597 لا להخلصنا من الموت واجينا من الجحيم ولعبنا من النار وارفعنا منها 69b
S513 لا خلصنا من الموت واجينا من الجحيم ولعبنا من النار وارفعنا منها 71b
O1 لا خلصنا من الموت واجينا من الجحيم ولعبنا من النار وارفعنا منها 69b
SNF9 لا خلصنا من الموت واجينا من الجحيم ولعبنا من النار وارفعنا منها 69b

85 Note the long addition.
86 In ms: مباركوا. See fn. 83.
87 Perhaps originally التفرعت.
The Christian Arabic Book of Daniel

89b

La Bon Dieu nous a sauvé de la mort et de l'enfer. Il nous a sauvé de l'amour du feu et de la fumée. Nous avons sorti de l'amour du feu et de la fumée.

77b

جَعَلَ هُمَا نَجَانًا مِّنَ الْمَوْتِ وَالْحَيَابِ. أَخْرَجَهُمَا مِّنَ الْنَّارِ. وَأَخْرَجَهُمَا مِّنَ الْبَلْدَةَ...
اشكروا الرَّبِّ إِلَى الْدُّنْيَا وَإِلَى الْآخِرَةِ، وَإِلَى رَحْمَتِهِ، يُسَيِّبُكُمَا لِلْأَلْهَةِ وَيَشْكُرُكُمَا إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ، وَيَشْكُرُ الرَّبَّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ. إِنَّ رَحْمَتَهُ كَانَتِ كَأَنَّهَا أَأَمْدَحَتْ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ.

يا إِياً الَّذِينَ يُخَشَونُ اللَّهَ وَيَشْكُرونَ الرَّبَّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ، وَيَشْكُرونَ الرَّبَّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ.

واشكر الرَّبّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ، وَيَشْكُرونَ الرَّبَّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ، وَيَشْكُرونَ الرَّبَّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ.

واشكرهُ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ، وَيَشْكُرونَ الرَّبَّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ، وَيَشْكُرونَ الرَّبَّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ.

وَيَشْكُرونَ الرَّبَّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ، وَيَشْكُرونَ الرَّبَّ إِلَى الْآخِرَةِ.