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A Greek text in Arabic
«James' martyrdom» according to Eusebius of Caesarea's
Historia ecclesiastica (Sin. ar. 535)*

Introduction

The Library of St. Catherine's Monastery, on Mount Sinai, keeps seven pages, in other words three and a half folios (fols. 110^r-113^r) following the numbering used, which contain an Arab version of the 'Martyrdom of Saint James',¹ known as the brother of Jesus, entitled *Qiṣṣat Ya 'qūb*, „History of Saint James”.

This Arab version is based on the text produced by the pioneer of 'ecclesiastical history',² Eusebius of Caesarea,³ specifically chapter XXIII book II of his great *Historia Ecclesiastica*, whose descriptions of martyrs offer useful information at various levels of study,⁴ at a time when even the definition of the first 'followers of Jesus' gives rise to constantly changing hypotheses.⁵

The three and a half folios that contain the 'Martyrdom of Saint James' are included in Codex 535. This codex comprises hagiographic material and various other works such as homilies, and was dated back to the 13th Century⁶ by the team that performed the microfilming process in the 1950s.⁷

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1 For an analysis of „James' martyrdom”, see A. Böhlig, „Zum Martyrium des Jakobus”, *Novum Testamentum* 5 (1962), pp. 207-213.

2 Glanville Downey, „The perspective of the Early Church Historians”, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 6:1 (1965), pp. 57-58.

3 On this author, see D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1960, about his life pp. 11-38.

4 Cf. Joseph Patrich, „The Martyrs of Caesarea: The Urban Context”, *Liber Annuus* 52 (2002), pp. 321-346.

5 See Bruce J. Malina, „Jewish Christianity or Christian Judaism: toward a hypothetical definition”, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 7 (1976), pp. 46-57.

6 Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955, p. 21 (nº. 535); Murad Kamil, *Catalogue of all manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970, pp. 46-47 (nº 544 = 535).

7 About this mission, see Aziz S. Atiya, „The Monastery of St. Catherine and the Mount Sinai Expedition”, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96:5 (1952), pp. 578-586, espec. 582-586 on the MSS.

The Arab text edited and translated below is not only of interest for the textual tradition of this and other martyrdoms of the first followers of Jesus;⁸ it also offers, as is so often the case with manuscript texts produced by Arab-Christian authors, an interesting volume of linguistic data about the register used in such works, so-called „Middle Arabic“: from purely graphological and linguistic phenomena at a morpho-phonological and syntagmatic level, to the different kinds of ‘loan -translation’,⁹ including lexical loans, discussed in depth below.

1. Linguistic study

1.1. Writing and spelling¹⁰

1.1.1. General features

The Arab text reflects the peculiarities of the Medieval Arabic manuscript tradition which seeks to attain the classical register, but with constant interferences from the register known as „Middle Arabic“,¹¹ although the phonetic peculiarities that can be drawn from the text do not pertain to this linguistic register, but rather to Neo-Arabic, common to Christians, Jews and Muslims.¹² The graphological type used by the scribe is *nashī*, common to a large number of copies from the *scriptorium* of Mār Katirīna.

We can see instances of flawed spelling in the lack of diacritics:¹³ e. g. the singular relative pronoun *allaḏī*, which lacks the dots of the *yā*’ (110^v); or the appearance of dots where they should not be, e. g. two dots on *sīn* of *muskir* (110^v); the disappearance of dots from the final *yā*, e. g. *yuṣalā* < *yuṣallī* (110^v; cf. however, one line below *yuṣalī*) or in the form *qāla* (111^r). The final *nūn*, for example, is

8 Cf. Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, „El ‘Martirio de Ananías’ en el Sinaxario del Patriarca melquita antióqueno Makāriyūs b. al-Za’īm“, *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 64 (2001), pp. 129-150.

9 J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic based mainly on South-Palestinian texts from the First Millennium*, „Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium“ 267, 276, 279, Subsidia 27-29, Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1966-67, I, pp. 54-58; II, pp. 354, 401, 420, 454; and III, p. 569. Henceforth: GCA.

10 Interesting assessments in Bernhard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien-Übersetzung. Vat. Borg. Ar. 95 und Ber. orient. Oct. 1108*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1938, pp. 12-16. Cf. also Agnes Smith Lewis & Margaret Dunlop Gibson, *Forty-one Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic Manuscripts*. With an Introductory Observations on Arabic Calligraphy by the Rev. David S. Margoliouth. „Studia Sinaitica“ xii, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907; Eugène Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium*. „Tabulae in usum scholarum“ 8, Bonn: A. Marcus et E. Weber, 1914; Louis Cheikho, *Kitāb ma’riḏ al-ḥuṭūṭ al-‘arabiyyah*, Beirut: Maṭba‘at al-Abā’ al-Yasū‘iyyin, ¹⁸1911 = 1885; Yiannis E. Meimarīs, *Κατάλογος τῶν νεῶν ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης τοῦ ὁρους Σινῶ*, Athens: Ethnikon Idruma Ereunōn, 1985, pp. 74-100 (n^{os} 3-8, 23-28, 32, 35-37, 41, 45-46, 56).

11 On ‘Middle Arabic’ register see the synthesis included in Ignacio Ferrando, *Introducción a la historia de la lengua árabe. Nuevas perspectivas*, Zaragoza, 2001, pp. 147-158.

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

13 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 122-125 §§ 25-26.3.2.

never written with its diacritic: e. g. *muḥālīfīn* (111^r). Furthermore, the change /ḥ/ < /ǧ/ that takes place in *al-ḥiḥārah* < *al-ḥiǧāra'* (112^v), does not correspond to a phonetic phenomenon but rather is another example of flawed spelling.

On occasions, the lack of one or several diacritics is not actually an absence *per se*, since the place they should occupy is replaced by the stroke of a nearby grapheme: e. g. *al-suḥūd* < *al-suǧūd* (111^r), where the location of the diacritic *ǧīm* is occupied by the final flourish of the *alīf* in the article immediately below. The same occurs with *aǧl* (111^r) in which the dot of the *ǧīm* is created with the final stroke of the *nūn* of the preposition *min* at its base.

Along these same lines, the diacritics of *yā'* in the passive form *yud'ā* (111^r) are replaced by the final stroke of the *nūn* in the preceding *kāna* form. In the case of *al-kuttāb* (111^r), the inclination of the medial body of the consonant *kāf* on the *tā'* replaces the graphic realisation of the dots. In the case of *yargūmū-hu* the infralinear diacritic of *ǧīm* (112^v) is replaced by the end of the previous *rā'* (cf. however, *yargūmū-hu* with its diacritic in line 6 of 112^v), the same resource used on the following line with *raǧa'a* (112^v) in which that same diacritic is replaced by the end of the *nūn* of the conjunction *lakin*.

1.1.2. Haplography

Suppression of the *alīf* through haplology, owing to the dissimilation of /'/ in contact with the preceding /n/:¹⁴ *minaǧlī* < *min aǧlī* (111^r, on 2 occasions; 111^v, on 2 occasions; 112^r; *minaǧlī-nā* in 112^v, 113^r) through interference from the dialectal register, although it also appears written correctly as *min aǧl* (111^v).

1.1.3. Abbreviations

There is one instance of abbreviation: *intahā* which the author abbreviates in the pairing *hā'-yā'* (113^r) in which the latter adopts the habitual morphology from left to right.

1.1.4. Signa et symbola¹⁵

The copyist uses just three signs in the text: ✧ (110^v) to indicate the end of a sequence; (.) a full stop (passim) as an orthographical mark for the end of a sentence or sequence, although its use is arbitrary; and (+) a small cross (112^r) to indicate the two cases in which the copyist has forgotten to copy a term (cf. infra § 1.1.5).

14 Cf. Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1908, I, p. 239.

15 On the several signs and symbols, see Juan P. Monferrer Sala, „Notas de crítica textual al „Vaticano Arabo XIV“. Más datos para la reconstrucción de la *Vorlage* siriaca perdida del *Diatessaron*“, in Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala y Manuel Marcos Aldón (eds.), *Grapheion. Códices, manuscritos e imágenes. Estudios filológicos e históricos*. „Studia Semitica“ 2, Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba, 2003, pp. 158-159 § 2.3.

1.1.5. Marginalia

There are very few instances in which the copyist has to resort to making annotations in the left-hand margin of the text frame, specifically two: e. g. *ra's* (113^r) and *Yasū'* (112^r), both careless errors on the part of the copyist.

2. Vocalism¹⁶

This text reflects a total absence of brief vowels,¹⁷ although on two occasions it marks *tanwīn*,¹⁸ in the accusative and genitive case, respectively: e. g. *qāyilan* < *qā'ilan* (111^r) or *ḥīnayidīn* < *ḥīna'idīn* (113^r).

2.1. Scriptio plena¹⁹ and scriptio defectiva²⁰

The following instances of scriptio plena can be found: *Ya'qūb* (110^r, 110^v, twice, 111^r, 111^v, on 2 occasions; 112^r, 112^v, 113^r, on 2 occasions), *Awsābiyūs* (110^r, 110^v, 113^r), *Dāwūd* (112^r). An instance of *scriptio defectiva* can be found in *ṭalāṭah* < *ṭalāṭah* (110^r).

16 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 61-83 §§ 3-10; Jean Cantineau, *Études de linguistique arabe. Mémorial Jean Cantineau*, Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1960, pp. 89-116; Simon Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic. Based upon papyri datable to before A.H. 300/A.D. 912*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 1-18 §§ 1-16; Bengt Knutsson, *Studies in the Text and Language of three Syriac-Arabic Versions of the Book of Judicum with Special Reference to the Middle Arabic Elements*. Introduction—Linguistic Notes—Texts by B. Knutsson, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974, pp. 52-59; Federico Corriente, *A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle*, Madrid: Instituto

Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1977, pp. 22-31 § 1.1.1-1.4.6; Federico Corriente, *Introducción a la gramática comparada del semítico meridional*. „Lenguas y Culturas del Antiguo Oriente Próximo“ 1, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996, pp. 23-24; Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriß...*, pp. 44-116 §§ 36-43; William Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*. Edited with a Preface and Additional Notes by W. R. Smith with a New Introduction by Patrick Bennet. „Gorgias Reprint Series“ 28, Piscataway [NJ]: Gorgias Press, 2002 = Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890, pp. 75-94; J. Brage, *Estudios sobre el vocalismo en los dialectos árabes*. „Cuadernos de Lengua y Literatura“ 3, Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1988).

17 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 61-65 §§ 3-5; Simon Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 2-8 §§ 2-6.

18 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 89-92 §§ 11.3.6.1-11.3.7; Simon Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 22-25 § 21; Bernhard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische*, p. 20.

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

20 Cases of *scriptio defectiva* can be seen in Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 77-81 §§ 9-9.3; Simon Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 10-14 § 10; Joshua Blau, *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 2002, p. 32, § 14; Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 102-104 § 3.2.2; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicum*, p. 55-57.

2.2. Alif maqṣūrah²¹

Morphological change /ay/ < /ā/ is observed in the following prepositions: *'aly* < *'alā* (110^v, 111^f, 112^f, 113^f, on 2 occasions), *ily* < *ilā* (110^v, twice, 111^v, 112^f, 112^v, 113^f).

2.3. Imālah

Given that the phenomenon of *imālah* can only be appreciated when the words that include it are vocalised or contain mater lectionis, this text does not present specific cases, except for the *imālah* of the pronoun *īs* (/ēš/) < *ayš* (111^f, on two occasions; 112^f, 112^v).

3. Suprasegmentals

3.1. Šaddah or tašdīd²²

Except for on two occasions – both with the same verb form – when the *šaddah* is realised (*ḥabbar-nā*, 111^v) and *ḥabbara* (112^v), as well as the cases in which the voice *Allāh* does contain it (112^f), this suprasegmental is systematically omitted: e. g. *qīṣah* < *qīṣṣa'* (110^f), *sillīḥ* (110^f, twice, 110^v), *awal[an]* < *awwalan* (110^f), *ṣiḥah* < *ṣiḥḥa'* (110^v), *al-rabb* (110^v), *samū-hu* < *sammū-hu* (110^v), *kul(u-hu[m])* < *kull(u-hu[m])* (110^v, 111^f, 111^v, on 4 occasions; 112^v), *rabi-nā* < *rabbī-nā* (110^v, 113^f), *yusamūna* < *yusammūna* (110^v), *fa-amā* < *fa-'ammā* (110^v, 111^f, on 2 occasions), *umi-hi* < *'ummi-hi* (110^v), *qidīs* < *qiddīs* (110^v), *li-ana-hu* < *li-'anna-hu* (110^v), *qaṭ* < *qaṭṭu* (110^v, twice), *ḥamām* < *ḥammām* (110^v), *lakina-hu* < *lākinna-hu* (110^v), *yuṣalā* < *yuṣallī* (110^v, 112^v), *yuṣalī* < *yuṣallī* (110^v, 113^f), *mutaqadim* < *mutaqaddim* (111^f), *ḥaq* < *ḥaqq* (111^f, on 2 occasions; 112^v), *muḥaliṣ* < *muḥalliṣ* (111^f), *al-sīd* < *al-sayyid* (111^f), *farīsiyīn* < *farīsiyyīn* (111^f), *li-ana-hum* < *li-'anna-hum* (111^v, 112^v), *ana-hu* < *'anna-hu* (111^v), *al-ayām* < *al-'ayyām* (111^v), *li-anā* < *li-'annā* (111^v, on 2 occasions), *ṣadūqiyah* < *ṣadūqiyya'* (111^v, 113^f, on 2 occasions), *al-umah* < *al-'umma'* (111^v, 112^f), *liyalā* < *li'allā* (111^v), *kulu-nā* < *kullunā* (111^v), *sabaḥū* < *sabbaḥū* (112^f), *taqadamū* < *taqaddamū* (111^v), *yaḍal* < *yaḍalli* (112^f), *lamā* < *lammā* (112^f), *al-quwah* < *al-quwwa'* (112^f), *yatim* < *yatimmu* (112^f), *rabī* < *rabbī* (112^v), *mirzabah* < *mirzabba'* (112^v), *al-qaṣār* < *al-qaṣṣār* (112^v), *tamat* < *tammāt* (112^v), *ana-hum* < *'anna-hum* (112^v), *muta'agḡabīn* < *muta'agḡabīn* (113^f), *ḥatā* < *ḥattā* (113^f), *muqadas* < *muqaddas* (113^f), *qimah* < *qimma'* (113^f), *bir* < *birr* (113^f).

Interestingly, however, in contrast to what we normally found in Arab-Christian manuscript texts, the name *Allāh* appears with *šaddah*, i. e. with typically Islamic morphology, which Christian copyists invariably avoid.

21 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 81-83 §§ 10.1-10.3; Simon Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 14-16 § 12; Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 104 § 3.2.3; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 58-59.

22 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 122-125 §§ 26.1-26.3.2; Simon Hopkins, *Studies*, p. 49 § 48; Federico Corriente, *Sketch*, pp. 66-67 § 3.2.1-3.2.2.

3.2. Alif maddah²³

This suprasegmental sign is always omitted: *al-an* < *al-ʾān* (110^v, 111^v, 112^r, on 2 occasions), *al-Ab* < *al-Āb* (112^v), *aḥar* < *āḥar* (113^r).

4. Consonantism²⁴4.1. *Hamzah*²⁵

In contrast to Classical Arabic, in which the phoneme /ʾ/ is stable in all positions, in Neo-Arabic it is only realised in the initial position, even though in this position it lost its independent phonemic function early on.²⁶ This fact is borne out by the representation of the /ʾ/ as *alif* in the initial, medial and final position, and by /w/ or /y/ in the medial position, or its absence in any position. In this text, the /ʾ/ is omitted in any position: initial *hamzah*, followed by *sukūn*, intervocal and final, which reveals that the articulatory break /ʾ/ is not perceptible in the register used by the scribe, reflecting the vernacular pronunciation of this consonant.

4.1.1. Initial *Hamzah*. In the initial position /ʾ/ is never written: e. g. *Awsābiyūs* (110^r, 110^v, 113^r), *awal[an]* < *ʾawwālan* (110^r), *ana-hum* < *ʾanna-hum* (110^r), *aḥhara* < *ʾaḥhara* (110^r), *amra-hu* < *ʾamra-hu* (110^r), *ila(y-nā)* < *ʾila(y-nā)* (110^v, twice; 111^v, 112^r, 112^v), *insān* < *ʾinsān* (110^v), *umi-hi* < *ʾummi-hi* (110^v), *akala* < *ʾakala* (110^v), *amana* < *ʾamana* (111^r), *aḥyār* < *ʾaḥyār* (111^r), *aḥad* < *ʾaḥad* (111^r, 112^r), *fāḥada* < *fā-ʾaḥada* (112^v), *aʾmāl* < *ʾaʾmāl* (111^r, 112^r), *ūminū* < *ʾūminū* (111^r), *amanū* < *ʾamanū* (111^r, on 2 occasions), *ana-hu* < *ʾanna-hu* (111^r), *an* < *ʾan* (111^v, 112^r), *aḡmaʾnā* < *ʾaḡmaʾnā* (111^v), *aʾlā* < *ʾaʾlā* (111^v, on 2 occasions), *ayḍan* < *ʾayḍan* (112^r, on 2 occasions), *iḍ* < *ʾiḍ* (112^r, on 2 occasions), *asfal* < *ʾasfal* (112^v), *asalu-ka* < *ʾasʾalu-ka* (112^v), *Irmiyā* < *ʾIrmiyā* (112^v), *ana-hum* < *ʾanna-hum* (112^v), *ahlaka-hum* < *ʾahlaka-hum* (112^v), *aṣāb* < *ʾaṣāba* (113^r, on 2 occasions), *aḥū* < *ʾhū* (113^r), *aḵtar* < *ʾaḵtar* (113^r).

4.1.2. Medial *Hamzah*. Never written: *rās* < *raʾs* (110^r, 112^v), *fa-amā* < *fa-ʾammā* (110^v, 111^r, on 2 occasions), *li-ana-hu* < *li-ʾanna-hu* (110^v, 112^r, 113^r), *rāsi-hi* < *raʾsi-hi* (110^v), *māwā-hu* < *maʾwā-hu* (110^v), *qāyim* < *qāʾim* (110^v, 112^v),

23 Simon Hopkins, *Studies*, p. 49 § 49i.

24 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 83-121 §§ 11-24.4; Jean Cantineau, *Études de linguistique arabe*, pp. 13-88; Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 108-128 §§ 3.2.5-3.2.16; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicium*, pp. 59-112; Federico Corriente, *Sketch*, pp. 31-60 §§ 2.1.1-2.28.7; Federico Corriente, *Introducción a la gramática comparada*, pp. 15-23; William Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 42-74.

25 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 83-89 §§ 11-11.3.6.1; Simon Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 19-33 §§ 19-28; Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 1108-114 §§ 3.2.5-3.2.5.3; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicium*, pp. 59-78; Federico Corriente, *Sketch*, p. 58-60 §§ 2.28.1-2.28.7.

26 Joshua Blau, „Das frühe Neuarabisch in mittelarabischen Texten“, in Wolfriedrich Fischer – Helmut Gätje (eds.), *Grundriß der Arabischen Philologie. I. Sprachwissenschaft*, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1982, pp. 100-101; Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 83-84 §§ 11-11.1.

yasalū-hu < *yas'alū-hu* (111^r), *qāyilīn* < *qā'ilīn* (111^r, 111^v, on 2 occasions), *fāḡāba-hum* < *fa-'aḡāba-hum* (111^r), *qāyilan* < *qā'ilan* (111^r, 112^r), *hūlā* < *hā'ulā'i* (111^r, 111^v, 113^r), *yūminū* < *yu'minū* (111^r), *maḡī-hi* < *maḡī'i-hi* (111^r), *ruwasā* < *ru'asā'* (111^r), *li-ana-hum* < *li-'anna-hum* (111^v, 112^v), *yātī* < *ya'tī* (111^v, 112^r), *al-ayām* < *al-'ayyām* (111^v), *li-anā* < *li-'annā* (111^v, on 2 occasions), *tāḡuḡu* < *ta'ḡuḡu* (111^v), *al-umah* < *al-'umma'* (111^v, 112^r), *liyalā* < *li'allā* (111^v), *li-an* < *li'an* (111^v, 112^v, 113^r), *al-qabāyil* < *al-qabā'il* (111^v), *fānā* < *fa-'anā* (111^v), *fāḡāba-hum* < *fa-'aḡāba-hum* (112^r), *tasalū* < *tas'alū* (112^r), *'inayidīn* < *'ina'idīn* (112^r), *ḡinayidīn* < *ḡina'idīn* (112^r, 112^v, on 2 occasions, 113^r), *bayis* < *ba'isa* (112^r), *yūmin* < *yu'minu* (112^r), *yākul* < *ya'kūlu* (112^r), *fāḡaḡū* < *fa-'aḡaḡū* (112^v), *al-arḡ* < *al'arḡ* (112^v), *asalu-ka* < *'as'alu-ka* (112^v), *ilāhī* < *'ilāhī* (112^v), *wāḡad* < *wa-'aḡad* (112^v), *iḡdū* < *'iḡdū* (112^v), *fāḡaḡa* < *fa-'aḡaḡa* (112^v), *bān* < *bi'an* (112^v), *hūlāyik* < *hā'ulā'ika* (113^r).

4.1.3. Final *Hamzah*. Never written: *maḡī* < *maḡī'* (110^v), *ṣay* < *ṣay'* (110^v), *ridā* < *ridā'* (110^v), *istiḡṣā* < *istiḡṣā'* (111^r), *hūlā* < *hā'ulā'i* (111^r, 113^r), *ruwasā* < *ru'asā'* (111^r), *al-samā* < *al-samā'* (112^r, on 2 occasions, 113^r), *iḡ* < *'iḡ* (112^r).

4.1.4. *Hamzah* following the article. Never written: *al-ayām* < *al-'ayyām* (111^v), *al-umah* < *al-'umma'* (111^v, 112^r), *al-arḡ* < *al-'arḡ* (112^v).

4.1.5. Loss of /ʾ/ after the sound *fathah*: *rās* < *ra's* (110^r, 112^v), *fa-amā* < *fa-'ammā* (110^v, 111^r, on 2 occasions), *rāsi-hi* < *ra'si-hi* (110^v), *māwā-hu* < *ma'wā-hu* (110^v), *ridā* < *ridā'* (110^v), *qāyim* < *qā'im* (110^v, 112^v), *istiḡṣā* < *istiḡṣā'* (111^r), *qāyilīn* < *qā'ilīn* (111^r, 111^v), *qāyilan* < *qā'ilan* (111^r, 112^r), *hūlā* < *hā'ulā'i* (111^r, 111^v, 113^r), *ruwasā* < *ru'asā'* (111^r), *yātī* < *ya'tī* (111^v, 112^r), *tāḡuḡu* < *ta'ḡuḡu* (111^v), *al-qabāyil* < *al-qabā'il* (111^v), *fānā* < *fa-'anā* (111^v), *fāḡāba-hum* < *fa-'aḡāba-hum* (112^r), *'inayidīn* < *'ina'idīn* (112^r), *ḡinayidīn* < *ḡina'idīn* (112^r, 112^v, on 2 occasions, 113^r), *bayis* < *ba'isa* (112^r), *fāḡaḡū* < *fa-'aḡaḡū* (112^v), *hūlāyik* < *hā'ulā'ika* (113^r).

4.1.6. Dissimilation of /ʾ/ after /s/: *tasalū* < *tas'alū* (112^r), *asalu-ka* < *'as'alu-ka* (112^v).

4.1.7. Loss of /ʾ/ after the sound *kasrah*: *maḡī* < *maḡī'* (110^v), *ṣay* < *ṣay'* (110^v), *li-ana-hu* < *li-'anna-hu* (110^v, 112^r, 113^r), *maḡī-hi* < *maḡī'i-hi* (111^r), *li-ana-hum* < *li-'anna-hum* (111^v, 112^v), *li-anā* < *li-'annā* (111^v, on 2 occasions), *liyalā* < *li'allā* (111^v), *li-an* < *li'an* (111^v, 112^v, 113^r), *al-samā* < *al-samā'* (112^r, 113^r).

4.1.8. Loss of /ʾ/ after the sound *ḡammah*: *yūmin* < *yu'minū* (111^r, 112^r), *ruwasā* < *ru'asā'* (111^r).

4.2. /t/ < /t̥/:²⁷ As in dialectal registers²⁸ /t̥/ has lost its interdental fricative realisation and is voiced as a dental implosive: *mītl* < *mīṭl* (111^r), however *kaṭīrīn* (110^v), *kaṭīr* (111^r) and *mīṭl* (113^r) are written.

4.3. /h/ < /h̥/:²⁹ *aḥbar-nā* < *aḥbar-nā* (110^r, 112^r; cf. however *ḥabara* and *ḥabarnā* in 110^r), *aḥū* < *aḥū* (110^v), *masīḥ* < *masīḥ* (112^r).

4.4. /d/ < /d̥/:³⁰ *alladī* < *allaḏī* (110^r, 110^v), *hadā* < *haḏā* (110^v), *dakarnā* < *ḏakarnā* (111^r), *hadihi* < *hāḏihi* (111^v), *dalika* < *ḏālīka* (112^r); *ḥīnayidin* < *ḥīna'īdin* (112^v, on two occasions, 113^r). However, it is orthographically realised in *haḏihi* (110^r, 113^r), *bi-kaḏā* (110^r), *naḏkura* (110^r), *fa-li-ḏālīka* (110^v), *ḏabiḥah* < *ḏabiḥa'* (110^v), *al-maḏkūrīn* (111^r), *allaḏī* (111^r, on 3 occasions; 112^v, on 2 occasions, 113^r, on 3 occasions), *allaḏīna* (111^r, 111^v, 113^r), *tāḥuḏu* < *ta'ḥuḏu* (111^v), *'īnayidin* < *'īna'īdin* (112^r), *ḥīnayidin* < *ḥīna'īdin* (112^r, 113^r), *fāḥaḏū* < *fa-'aḥaḏū* (112^v), *haḏā* (112^v, 113^r), *fāḥaḏa* < *fa-'aḥaḏa* (112^v), *haḏā* (112^v), *liḏālīka* < *liḏālīka* (113^r).

4.5. /s/ < /š/:³¹ *sa'b* < *ša'b* (110^v), *yasrab* < *yašrab* (110^v), *sahādah* < *šahāda'* (112^v, 113^r, on 2 occasions).

4.6. /t/ < /z/:³² *lī-taṭhara* < *litazhara* (111^v).

4.7. *Tā' marbūṭah*:³³ This is realised systematically without diacriticals throughout the text: e. g. *qīṣah* < *qīṣṣa'* (110^r), *ṭalaṭah* < *ṭalāṭa'* (110^r), *qurnah* < *qurna'* (110^r, 111^v, on 2 occasions), *ḥaṣabah* < *ḥaṣaba'* (110^r), *ṣīḥah* < *ṣīḥḥa'* (110^v), *ḏabiḥah* < *ḏabiḥa'* (110^v), *al-zīnah* < *al-zīna'* (110^v), *al-zāwīyah* < *al-zāwīya'*

27 Joshua Blau, GCA, p. 106, § 12.4; 107-108 § 15.2; Joshua Blau, „Neuarabisch“, p. 101; Chaim Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1951, p. 129; Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen. Sprachproben und grammatische Skizzen*. Im Anhang: Zur Syntax der Sprache von Ugarit vom Carl Brockelmann, Ismaning: Max Hueber, 1993 = München, 1928, p. 157; and 34 §§ 30a and 34; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 78-94; Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 114-119 § 3.2.6; Bernhard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische*, p. 19; Federico Corriente, *Sketch*, pp. 44 § 2.12.2; Joshua Blau, *The Emergence and linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the origins of Middle Arabic*, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 1981, pp. 76, 227 and 231.

28 W. Fischer – O. Jastrow, *Handbuch der arabischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1980, p. 50.

29 Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, I, p. 121 § 45.

30 Joshua Blau, GCA, p. 108 § 16.2; Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 98-100; Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 116 § 3.2.6; Bernhard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische*, p. 19; Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *Einführung*, 157; Federico Corriente, *Sketch*, p. 45 § 2.13.2; Joshua Blau, *Judaeo-Arabic*, pp. 76, 227 and 231.

31 Joshua Blau, GCA, p. 110-111 § 17.2; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 104-105; Per Å. Bengtsson, pp. 122-123 § 3.2.9; Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 122-123 § 3.2.9; Federico Corriente, *Sketch*, p. 50 § 2.18.2; Federico Corriente, *Introducción a la gramática comparada*, p. 20 § 1.1.8; Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, I, p. 130 § 46; Joshua Blau, *Judaeo-Arabic*, p. 229.

32 Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, p. 123 § 3.2.10.

33 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 115-121 §§ 24.1-24.4; Simon Hopkins, *Studies*, pp. 44-48 § 47; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 109-112; Per Å. Bengtsson, *Two Arabic Versions*, pp. 124-127 § 3.2.13.

(110^v), *kaṭrah* < *kaṭraʿ* (110^v, 111^r), *šīʿah* < *šīʿaʿ* (111^r), *bi-l-qiyāmah* < *bi-l-qiyāmaʿ* (111^r), *ṣadūqiyah* < *ṣadūqiyyaʿ* (111^v, 113^r, on 2 occasions), *al-umah* < *al-ʿummaʿ* (111^v, 112^r), *al-quwah* < *al-quwwaʿ* (112^r), *šahādah* < *šahādaʿ* (112^r, 112^v; cf. *sahādah* < *šahādaʿ* en 112^v, 113^r, on 2 occasions), *ṭamarah* < *ṭamaraʿ* (112^r), *al-ḥiḥārah* < *al-ḥiḡāraʿ* (112^v), *al-kahnah* < *al-kahnaʿ* (112^v), *mirzabah* < *mirzabbaʿ* (112^v), *ḥikmah* < *ḥikmaʿ* (113^r), *qimah* < *qimmaʿ* (113^r), *al-qadrah* < *al-qadraʿ* (113^r), *mukāfāh* < *mukāfāʿ* (113^r).

5. Nomina³⁴

The nominal use presents, on occasions, features characteristic of the 'Middle Arabic' register, in which classical rules are combined with dialectal features as well as elements pertaining to Neo-Arabic, which gives rise to pseudo-corrections, such as the desinence of the oblique case {-in}, which appears in the context of the nominative function: e. g. *kaṭīrīn(a)* < *kaṭīrūna* (110^v), *muḥālīfīn(a)* < *muḥālīfah* (111^r) through *contaminatio* with *al-maḍkūrīna* in the same phrase; and *kānū mutaʿagābīn(a)* < *kānū mutaʿagḡabūna* (113^r).

5.1. Onomastics

Yaʿqūb (110^r, 110^v, twice, 111^r, 111^v, on 2 occasions; 112^r, 112^v, 113^r, on 2 occasions) seems to come from the Syriac ܝܥܩܒ (Yaʿqūb),³⁵ although we cannot dismiss its possible root in the Hebrew יעקב (Yaʿqōb).³⁶

Awsābiyūs (b. Mutaqāmis) (110^r, 110^v, 113^r). Awsābiyūs is the transliteration of the Greek anthroponym Εὐσέβιος.

Qalamanṭus (110^r, 112^v) is an adaptation of the Greek name Κλήμεντος.

Ibn Dāwūd (112^r). Although the Hebrew דוד / דָּוִד (Dāwīd/Dāwīd) has been proposed as the ancestor to the Arabised form Dāwūd,³⁷ it seems more logical to think of an Aramaic transmission,³⁸ in light of what happens in Mandaic.³⁹

34 Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 136-145; Federico Corriente, *Sketch*, pp. 74-100 §§ 5.1.0-5.12.5; Federico Corriente, *Introducción a la gramática comparada*, pp. 26-33 § 2.1; Carl Bröckelmann, *Grundriß*, I, pp. 329-504 §§ 114-255; William Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 131-160.

35 Alphonse Mingana, „Syriac Influence on the Style of the Kurʿān“, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 11:1 (1927), p. 82; cf. Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʿān*, with a preface by Gerhard Böwering & Jane Dammen McAuliffe, „Texts and Studies on the Qurʿān“ 3, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007 (= Baroda, 1938), p. 291.

36 Joseph Horowitz, „Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Koran“, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 2 (1925), p. 152. Cf. A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʿān*, p. 291. On this proper name, see Martin Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966 (= Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1928), pp. 46-47.

37 J. Horowitz, „Jewish Proper Names...“, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 2 (1925), pp. 166-167. Cf. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen...*, p. 183.

38 A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʿān*, p. 128.

39 E. S. Drower & R. Macuch, *A Mandaic dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 98b.

The scribe uses a single form for the anthroponym Jesus: Yasū', which comes from the Syriac ܝܫܘܥ (Yašū'; 111^r, 111^v, on 4 occasions; 112^r, on 4 occasions; Yasū' al-Masīḥ in 113^r, on 2 occasions).⁴⁰

Iša'yā (112^r). The Arabised form seems to be closer to the Syriac ܝܫܥܝܐ ('Iša'yā), than the Hebrew יֵשׁעָיָה (Yēša'yāh).⁴¹

Yasū' al-Masīḥ b. Allāh (112^v). See this same paragraph regarding the case of Yasū'; 5.3 for the theological technicality *masīḥ*. As for the morphology of Allāh in this text, see *supra* 3.1.

Ben Rihāb b. Rāhābīn (112^v) goes back to the Hebrew בֶּן־רִיחָב בֶּן־רִיחָבִים (Ben-Rēḳāb ben-Rēḳābīm), but in this text it is an adaptation realised through the Greek νιὸς Ρηγαβ νιὸν Ραχαβεῖμ.

Irmiyā (112^v). As with the case of Iša'yā, the Arabised form Irmiyā seems to be closer to the Syriac ܝܪܡܝܐ ('Irmiyā), than the Hebrew יִרְמְיָה (Yirmēyāh).

Isbīsānūs (112^v) is a corrupt form of *Isbasiyānūs*, an adaptation of the Greek proper noun Οὐσπασιανός.

Iḡsibus (112^v) is an adaptation of the Greek anthroponym Ἰγῆσιππος.

5.2. Toponyms

The only toponym that appears in the text is *Bayt al-Muqaddas* (113^r), calqued from the Aramaic בֵּית מִקְדָּשָׁא (*bēt maqdēšā*, „temple“) through a previous *bayt al-maqdis*.⁴²

5.3. Lexical loans⁴³

Sillīḥ (110^r on two occasions; 110^v) is a loan word from the Syriac ܫܠܝܚܐ (*šēlīḥā*).⁴⁴

40 Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, „Algo más acerca de 'Isā, el nombre de Jesús en el Islam“, *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 47 (1998), pp. 399-404. Cf. K. Vollers, „Ueber die lautliche Steigerung bei Lehnwörtern im Arabischen“, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 45 (1891), p. 352.

41 Cf. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen...*, p. 36.

42 Oleg Grabar, „al-Ḳuds“, *EI*², V, p. 322.

43 For a general approach on the loan-words in Semitic, see W. G. E. Watson, „Loanwords in Semitic“, *Aula Orientalis* XXIII:1-2 (2005), pp. 191-198 [= *Proceedings of the Barcelona Symposium on Comparative Semitics, 11/19-20/2004*]. On specific cases in Christian Arabic texts, see Georg Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini*, „CSCO“ 147, Subsidia 8, Louvain: Imprimerie orientale L. Durbecq, 1954. See also Peter Kawerau, *Christlich-arabische Chrestomathie aus historischen Schriftstellern des Mittelalters*, „CSCO“ 385, Subsidia 53, Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1977, vol. III, and Samir Kussaim (= alias Samir Khalil Samir), „Contribution à l'étude du moyen arabe des coptes. L'adverbe ḥāṣṣatan“, *Le Muséon* 80 (1967), pp. 153-209 and Idem, „Contribution à l'étude du moyen arabe des coptes (part synthétique)“, *Le Muséon* 81 (1968), pp. 5-78. Cf. J. Blau, „The influence of living Aramaic on Ancient South Palestinian Christian Arabic“, in Michael Sokoloff (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition*, Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983, pp. 141-142. See also Jan Retsö, „Aramaic/Syriac Loanwords“, in Kees Versteegh (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2006, I, pp. 178-182, Dimitri Gutas, „Greek Loanwords“, in K. Versteegh (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, II, 2007, pp. 198-202 and P. Monferrer-Sala, „Notas lexicográficas sobre textos árabes extralámicos“, *Estudios de Dialectología Norteafricana y Andalusí*, 9 (2005), pp. 79-85.

44 G. Graf, *Verzeichnis*, p. 61.

Al-Quds (110^v) is a loan from *הקדש* (*ha-qôdes*).

Haykal (110^r, 110^v, 111^v, on 2 occasions; 112^v), which comes from the Aramaic *היכלא* (*hayklā*);⁴⁵ its etymon is the Akkadian *ekallu(m)* < Sumerian *e-gal*.⁴⁶

Qiddīs (110^v) comes from the Syriac *ܩܕܝܫ* (*qaddīš*).⁴⁷

Masīh (with an article in 111^r, 111^v, 113^r; without an article in 112^r) comes from Syriac *ܡܫܝܚ* (*m^ešihā*) which in turn is from the Hebrew *משיח* (*mašīaḥ*).⁴⁸

Qiyāmah (111^r) is a loan word from the Syriac *ܩܝܡܬܐ* (*qēyamṭā*).

Yahūd (111^r, 112^v, 113^r, on 2 occasions), from the Hebrew *יְהוּדִי*, perhaps through a south Arabic dialect.⁴⁹

Farīsiyyīn (111^r, 111^v, 112^r) is the Arabised form of the Aramaic *ܦܪܝܫܝܐ* (*pērīššayyā*; Hebrew: *פְּרוּשִׁים* *pērūšīm*) through the Greek *φαρισαῖοι*.

Al-Fiṣḥ (111^v, on 2 occasions) comes from the Hebrew *פסח* (*pesaḥ*) through the Syriac *ܦܨܚܐ* (*fesḥā*).⁵⁰

Šahādah (112^r, 112^v, 113^r) is a loan from the Syriac *suhdū*,⁵¹ whose etymon is the Greek *μαρτύριον*.

Ūṣannā (112^r) is a transcription of the Greek *ὠσαννά*, whose etymon is the Hebrew *חֲשִׁיעָה נָא* (*hōšī'āh nā*).⁵²

Mirzabbah (112^v) is a loan word from the Aramaic *ܡܪܙܒܬܐ* (fem. *ܡܪܙܦܬܐ*; *marēzōpā*, *marēzapētā*).⁵³

Hunafā' (112^v) is a loan word from the Syriac *ܚܢܦܐ* (*hanpē*, sing. *hanpā*).⁵⁴

Subḥ (113^r) is a loan word from the Syriac *ܫܒܚܐ* (*šubḥā*).⁵⁵

Āmīn (113^r) is a loan word in Arabic from the Hebrew *אָמֵן* (*'amēn*), very probably without mediation, although in certain ecclesiastical or monastic con-

45 Siegmund Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Hildesheim – New York: Georg Olms, 1982 (= Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1886), pp. 274-275. About the Semitic cognates of this term, see Giuseppe Furlani, „I termini mandei per tempio, santuario e chiesa”, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1956, I, pp. 342-348.

46 Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985, I, pp. 191b-193a. Cf. Heinrich Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss*, Leipzig: Typis A. Edelmanni, Typogr. Acad., s.d., p. 8.

47 G. Graf, *Verzeichnis*, p. 88.

48 Cf. G. Graf, „Wie ist das Wort al-Masīh zu übersetzen?“, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 104 (1954), pp. 119-123.

49 Cf. A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, p. 294.

50 S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, pp. 276-277.

51 Cf. sin embargo Graf, Georg, *Verzeichnis*, p. 68.

52 G. Graf, *Verzeichnis*, p. 16.

53 Marcus Jastrow, *A dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols., Jerusalem: Hōreb, s.d. (= New York: Pardes House, 1959), II, p. 840b.

54 Cf. Juan P. Monferrer-Sala, „*Hanīf* < *hanpā*. Dos formas de un mismo concepto en evolución. Notas filológicas en torno a un viejo problema”, *Anaquel de estudios árabes*, 14 (2003), pp. 177-187.

55 Cf. Juan P. Monferrer-Sala, „Notas lexicográficas sobre textos árabes extralámicos”, *estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí*, 9 (2005), p. 82.

texts, following the Arabic-Islamic occupation, there could have been mediation through the Greek ἀμήν or possibly the Syriac ܐܡܝܢ (*'amīn*).⁵⁶

5.4. Neologisms

Ṣadīq (110v, twice, 111r, 111v, 112r, on 3 occasions, 112v, in 3 occasions; 113r, on 2 occasions). The formation of the neologism *ṣadīq* has been explained elsewhere through the following sequence: < gr. *dikaíos* < heb. *ṣaddīq* < heb. *nazīr*.⁵⁷

Al-Sayyid (111^r) to refer to the Lord (Jesus), cf. ὁ κύριος (Ἰησοῦς).

Kuttāb (111^r, 111^v, 112^r) is equivalent to the Hebrew ספרים (*sōfērīm*), through the Greek γραμματεῖς.

Yasū' b. al-insān (112^r) is the translation of Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, from which ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is a calqued Aramaic expression בר נשא / בר נשא' (*bar nāš' / bar nāšā'*).⁵⁸

Āb (112^v) to refer to (God) Father, cf. (Θεός) Πάτερ.

6. Verb forms⁵⁹

Although in general this manuscript follows the patterns of Classical Arabic, there are instances of the incorrect use of personal verb forms. The desinence of the oblique case {-*in*} appears in the context of the nominative function: e. g. *fa-qatalū-hu al-malāyīn(a)* < *fa-qatalū-hu al-malā'ūna* (113^r). Other pseudo-corrections are as follows:

We also note the lack of desinence realisation {-*na*}, as a consequence of the loss of the imperfect modes: e. g. *kānū yadḥulū* < *kānū yadḥulūna* (110^v), *taqadamū* < *taqaddamūna* (111^v). As a result of this loss of imperfect modes, we have one case of hyper-correction as model discrimination of the 3rd personal singular apocopate is not applied following *lam* in the paradigm ykwk in accordance with the rules of Classical Arabic: e. g. *lam yamūt* < *lam yamut* (112^v).⁶⁰

It mixes a modal in the syndetic coordination, owing to the translating technique of *verbatim*, producing irregularity in the agreement between subject and

56 G. Graf, *Verzeichnis*, p. 14.

57 See on this issue Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, „*Marginalia semitica. II: entre la tradición y la lingüística*”, *Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo*, 25:1 (2007), pp. 115-119.

58 Geza Vermes, „The use of בר נשא / בר נשא in Jewish Aramaic”, in Matthew Black, *An Aramaic approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, pp. 310-330. See also Maurice Casey, „The use of term 'Son of Man' in the Similitudes of Enoch”, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 7 (1976), pp. 11-29.

59 Joshua Blau, GCA, pp. 144-201 §§ 35-102.2; Bengt Knutsson, *Judicum*, pp. 119-136; Federico Corriente, *Sketch*, p. 100-120 §§ 6.1.0-6.6.6; Federico Corriente, *Introducción a la gramática comparada*, pp. 51-63 §§ 2.3-2.4; Carl Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, I, pp. 504-642 §§ 256-273; William Wright, *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 161-285.

60 J. Blau, „Hyper-Correction and Hypo-Correction (Half-Correction) in Pseudo-Correct Features”, *Le Muséon* LXXVI (1963), p. 364. Cf. J. Blau, GCA, pp. 260-264 § 171.2.1.

verb, as well as an incorrect construction in the modifying verb + main verb pair-ing: *kānū qad ya'qidū wa-ṣārū* < *kānat ta'qidu wa-ṣārat* (111^r).

Lack of subject-verb agreement: *kānū šī'ah* < *kāna(t) šī'ah* (111^r), *yahlikū hūlā* < *yahliku hā'ulā'i* (111^v), *wa-ḥalq intafa'ū wa-sabbahū* < *wa-ḥalqun intafa'a wa-sabbaha* (112^r), which can also be detected in the sequence *kāna al-ḥalq yašhadū* < *kāna al-ḥalq yašhadu* (113^r).

In non-personal forms, the active plural participle of the 1st form, *fā'il*, always appears in oblique case in a nominative context: e. g. *wa-kānū ... qāyilīn(a)* < *wa-kānū qā'ilūna* (111^r), *wa-kāna ša'b kaṭīr ... qāyilīn(a)* < *wa-kāna ša'b kaṭīr ... qā'ilūna* (111^v), *fa-ṣāḥū qāyilīn(a)* < *fa-ṣāḥū qā'ilūna* (111^v).

7. Prepositions

Use of the pairing *ḥattā + an* (110^v), fusion in *minaḡli* of the pairing *min + aḡl* (111^r, on 2 occasions; 111^v, on 2 occasions; *minaḡli-nā* in 112^v, 113^r), although it is written correctly as *min aḡl* (111^v).

8. Syntagmatics

In nominal and verbal constructions, in its various sentence and prepositional possibilities, we find characteristics pertaining to the *corpora* of Arab-Christian texts represented by translations of originals into other languages, in which syntactical calque is constantly detected, together with amplifications or reductions, and expansions. Elsewhere we note variants or interpolations introduced by the author in a constant asyndetic framework, and, as well as the other cases of pseudo-corrections included in §§ 5 (introductory lines) and 6, incorrect usage in relative constructions: e. g. *ḥattā an rakaba-hu min kaṭrat al-suḡūd kānū qad ya'qidū* < *ḥattā an rukaba-hu kaṭrati al-suḡūd allatī kānat qad ta'qidu* (111^r) and *fa-amā hūlā muḥālīfīn(a) allaḡī* < *fa-ammā hā'ulā'i muḥālīfūna allaḡīna* (111^r); the latter example also reveals an absent mark following the presentative *ammā*: *fa-ammā hūlā muḥālīfīn(a)* < *ammā hā'ulā'i fa-muḥālīfūna*.

In this type of text, represented by translations, the modes classified as 'loan-translations' are of particular interest,⁶¹ and are listed and classified below:

LITERAL

οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, διὰ Ἰάκωβον	فَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ أَوْمَنُوا مِنْجَل يَعْقُوبُ أَمَنُوا	10
ἡμεῖς γὰρ μαρτυροῦμέν σοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὅτι δίκαιος εἶ καὶ ὅτι πρόσωπον οὐ λαμβάνεις	وَنَحْنُ مَعَ جَمِيعِ الشَّعْبِ نَشْهَدُ عَلَيْكَ بِالْصِّدْقَةِ وَلَيْسَ تَأْخُذُ بِالْوُجُوهِ	10

61 See on this issue J. Blau, GCA, I, pp. 54-58; II, pp. 354, 401, 420, 454; and III, p. 569.

- στήθι οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ,
ἵνα ἄνωθεν ἦς ἐπιφανὴς καὶ ἡ
εὐάκουστά σου τὰ ῥήματα παντὶ τῷ
λαῷ διὰ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα συνελήλυθας
πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν
- 11
- ἔστησαν οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι
γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι τὸν
Ἰάκωβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ναοῦ,
καὶ ἔκραζαν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπαν δίκαιε, ὦ
πάντες πείθεσθαι ὀφείλομεν, ἐπεὶ ὁ
λαὸς πλανᾶται ὀπίσω Ἰησοῦ τοῦ
σταυρωθέντος, ἀπάγγειλον ἡμῖν τὴν
θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ
- 12
- ἄρῳμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος
ἡμῖν ἐστὶν τοίνυν τὰ γενήματα τῶν
ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται
- 15
- καὶ ἔλεγον ἀλλήλοις λιθάσωμεν
Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον
- 16
- καὶ λαβόν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εἰς τῶν
γναφέων, τὸ ξύλον, ἐν ᾧ ἀποπιέζει τὰ
ἱμάτια, ἤνεγκεν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ
δικαίου, καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρησεν
- 18
- ὥς καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἔμφρονας
δοξάζειν αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς
παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτοῦ
πολιορκίας τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ
- 19
- أقف الآن في أعلا قرنة الهيكل
لتظهر لهم من فوق وتسمع الشعب
كلّ كلامك لأن من أجل الفصح
تقدموا كلّ القبائل والشعب
- فأوفقوا الكتاب والفريسيين ليعقوب
في أعلا قرنة الهيكل. فصاحوا
قائلين يا صديق حبرنا فأنا واتقينا
بك أجمعنا كلّ الشعب يضلّ خلف
يسوع المصلوب فأحبرنا أمن هو
باب يسوع
- يدفع الصديق لأثته قد صار مسيح
الآن من ثمرة أعمالهم يأكلوا
- وقال بعضهم لبعض نرجم يعقوب
الصديق
- فأخذ أحدهم مرزبة القصّار وضرب
بها رأس الصديق وحينئذ تمّت
شهادته
- واليهود كانوا يمدحونه بالحكمة. وبعد
شهادته هذه كان سبب هلاك بيت
المقدس

SIMPLIFIED

- Πολλῶν οὐκ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων
πιστευόντων
- وكثير من الرؤساء آمنوا

WITH MINIMAL CHANGES

- Ἀπὸ τοῦ πτερυγίου βεβλήσθαι ξύλῳ τε
τὴν πρὸς θάνατον πεπλήχθαι αὐτὸν
ἱστορηκότος
- 3
- Ἰακώβον
- 4
- ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ
τῶν τοῦ κυρίου χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν
- أنهم رموا بالسليح من قرنة الهيكل
وقتلوه بالخشبة
- فلذلك سمّوه الشعب كله صديق من
مجيء ربنا وحتى الآن

- οὗτος δὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἅγιος ἦν 5 فأما هذا وكان من بطن أمه قديس
- οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἔπιεν οὐδὲ ἔμψυχον ἔφασεν, ξυρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἔλαιον οὐκ ἠλείψατο, καὶ βαλανεῖφ οὐκ ἐχρήσατο 5 لألته شراب ومسكر لم يشرب ولا أكل زبحة قط وموس لم يصعد على رأسه ولا مسح بدهن قط. ولا دخل حمام
- παρακαλοῦμέν σε, ἐπίσχε τὸν λαόν, ἐπεὶ ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν, ὥς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ 10 اقتنع الشعب لأنهم قد ضلوا ببسوع وقالوا أنه المسيح
- παρακαλοῦμέν σε πείσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα περὶ Ἰησοῦ 10 فتجب منك أن تقتع كل من يأتي في هذه الأيام منجل الفصح منجل يسوع
- καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ 13 فأجابهم بصوت عالي قائلا
- καὶ αὐτὸς κάθηται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως, καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 13 يسوع جالس في السماء عن يمين عظيم القوة وهو عند أن يأتي على سحاب السماء
- τότε πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν τοιαύτην μαρτυρίαν παρασχόντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀλλὰ ἀναβάντες καταβάλωμεν αὐτόν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες μὴ πιστεύσωσιν 14 حينئذ الكتاب والفريسيين قال بعضهم لبعض بنس ما صنعنا إذ صيرناه يشهد لبسوع ولكن نصعد الآن فيطرحه من فوق ليفزعوا الأمة ولا يؤمن به أحد أيضا
- καὶ ἔκραξαν λέγοντες ὦ ὦ, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος ἐπλανήθη 15 فصاحوا وقالوا له والصدیق أيضا قد طغا
- ἀναβάντες οὖν κατέβαλον τὸν δίκαιον 16 عند ذلك صعدوا إلى الصدیق و طرحوه إلى أسفل
- ἀλλὰ στραφεῖς ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα λέγων παρακαλῶ, κύριε θεὲ πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν 16 ولكن رجع و وضع ركبه في الأرض وقال أسألك ياربّي وأب إلهي [اغفر] كلهم هذا الفعل لأنهم ما بدروا ما يصنعوا
- ἦν δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον αὐτοῖς συμβῆναι ἢ διὰ τὸ κατ' αὐτοῦ τολμηθὲν ἄγος 10 لا من سبب آخر سواه الذي أصاب هؤلاء الذين استجروا على مثل هذا الفعل

WITH EXPANSIONS

καὶ μόνος εἰσῆρχετο εἰς τὸν ναὸν	وكان يدخل وحده إلى الهيكل فوصلى	6
ἐξ ὧν τινες ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός	وقد آمن به خلق بحق هو يسوع المسيح السيد	9
ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ λεγόντων ὡσαννα τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ	وخلق انتفعوا وسبحوا الله منجل شهادة يعقوب وقالوا أوصنا ابن داوود	14

REDUCTIO in some element

Ὡς ἀπεσκληκέναι τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ δίκτην καμήλου, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτειν ἐπὶ γόνυ προσκυνοῦντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ	حتى أن ركبه من كثرة السجود كانوا قد يعقروا وصاروا مثل ركب الجمل لكثرة دوامه وسجوده لله	6
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REDUCTIO + INTERPRETATION

αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὠβλίᾱς, ὅ ἐστιν Ἑλληνιστὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη	كان يدعا صديق ومتقّم الشعوب	7
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9. Textual analysis

The Arab version of the ‘Martyrdom of Saint James’, as indicated in the previous paragraph, is practically a literal translation, which includes changes and variations as regards the original Greek text contained the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. The summary tables included below list the variants between the Arab and Greek texts, divided into sections.⁶²

We should clarify that these variants, which differ in terms of type and degree, correspond to different textual motives. Hence, in the third section, for example, variant 1 is really a *reductio* of the Greek text, whereas in the 2nd and 3rd sections they are interpolations included by the Arab translator. Moreover, in section 3, the anthroponym *Awsābiyūs* represents a bad interpretation rather than the correct Hegésippos offered in the Greek text. Along these same lines, in section 20, variant 1 includes a variant because it is in fact a kind of hyper-correction made by

62 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, „Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [dre] Jahrhunderte“, 3 vol., Leipzig: Teubner, 1903-1909; Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. G. Bardy, *Eusèbe de Césarée. Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3 vols., „Sources chrétiennes“ 31,45,55, Paris: Cerf, 1952, 1955, 1958.

the Arab translator, who changes the name included in the text, *Iósēpos*, which is the direct source of Eusebius, for the latter.

Furthermore, the brief introduction to the 'Martyrdom', which the Arab version refers to appropriately as 'History' (*qiṣṣāh*), and its final section, both separated in our edition by three asterisks, are not included in the Greek text.

— 3 —

τὸν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Ἰακώβου τελευτῆς τρόπον ἤδη μὲν πρότερον αἱ παρατεθεῖσαι τοῦ Κλήμεντος φωναὶ Δεδηλώκασιν	ينبغي لنا أولاً أن نذكر كقول قلمنطس	1
<i>omit.</i>	كذلك خبرنا وأظهر لنا أمره بالصحة	2
<i>omit.</i>	صار إلينا إنسان يقال له أوسابيوس	3

— 4 —

διαδέχεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν	وهو الذي كان قيّم الهيكل	1
μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰάκωβος	ويعقوب هذا السليح هو أخو الرب	2
ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι ἐκαλοῦντο	كثيرين كانوا يسمون يعقوب صديق	3

— 6 —

Τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐξῆν εἰς τὰ ἅγια εἰσιέναι οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐρεοῦν ἐφόρει, ἀλλὰ Σινδόνας	ولكنّه كان يدخل إلى القدس وفيه كان مأواه. ولا كان فليس شيء من الزينة. ولكن رداء فقط	1
<i>omit.</i>	فيصلي	2
<i>omit.</i>	وكانوا يدخلوا من بعده	3
ἠύρίσκετό τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν καὶ αἰτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφεσιν	فيجده قائم بصلي في الزاوية يطلب من الله ليغفر للشعب	4

— 7 —

διὰ γέ τοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης	ومن أجل طيب أخياره وقدهسه	1
Ὡς οἱ προφηταὶ δηλοῦσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ	بحق كما قال النبي منجله	2

— 8 —

τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἐπτὰ αἰρέσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ λαῷ	وكانوا شيعية من الشعب مخالفين من المذكورين	1
τῶν προγεγραμμένων μοι (ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν)	<i>omit.</i>	2

ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτοῦ τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγεν τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν σωτήρα	وكانوا يسألوه باستقصاء قائلين خبرنا أيّس يسوع هو المخلص	3
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— 9 —

<i>omit.</i>	السيد	1
αἱ δὲ αἰρέσεις αἱ προειρημέναι οὐκ ἐπίστευον οὔτε ἀνάστασιν οὔτε ἐρχόμενον ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ	فأما هو لا مخالفين الذي ذكرناهم فلم يؤمنوا به. ولا بالقيامة ولا بيوم مجيئه الذي [إي]—جدا في كلّ أحد على قدر أعماله	2

— 10 —

ἦν θόρυβος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων λεγόντων ὅτι κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν προσδοκᾶν	وكان شعب كثير من اليهود والكتاب والفريسيين قائلين يهلكوا هؤلاء الذين رجاهم بيسوع	1
Ἐλεγον οὖν συνελθόντες τῷ Ἰακώβῳ	ويذهب إلى يعقوب ويقول له	2
		3

— 11 —

πεῖσον οὖν σὺ τὸν ὄχλον	<i>omit.</i>	1
καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ πάντες πειθόμενά σοι	وهذه الأمة لأنّا كلنا نقبل منك	2
		3

— 13 —

τί με ἐπερωτᾶτε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου	لما تسألوا عن يسوع بن الإنسان	1
καὶ αὐτὸς	يسوع	2
		3
		4
		5

— 14 —

καὶ πολλῶν πληροφορηθέντων καὶ δοξαζόντων	وخلق انتفعوا وسبحوا الله	1
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— 15 —

καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν γραφὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐα γεγραμμένην	فیتّم قول [إ]شعيا	1
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— 16 —

καὶ ἥρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καταβληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν	فأخذوا الحجارة وكانوا يرمونه وعند ما لقوه لم يموت	1
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— 17 —

εἷς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν υἱῶν Ῥηχὰβ υἱοῦ Ῥαχαβεῖμ	واحد من الكهنة يقال له بن ريحاب بن راحابين	1
παύσασθε τί ποιεῖτε; εὐχεται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ δίκαιος	أيش تفعلوا بإناس أهدوا عنه لأنّ الصديق يصلي منجلنا	2

— 18 —

καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ παρὰ τῷ ναῷ, καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἡ στήλη μένει παρὰ τῷ ναῷ	وأنهم دفنوه بحدّ الهيكل الذي فيه عمود قائم	1
μάρτυς οὗτος ἀληθὴς Ἰουδαίος τε καὶ Ἑλλησιν γεγένηται ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστίν	شهادة هذا الحقّ صارت لليهود والحنفاء بأن يسوع المسيح بن الله	2

— 19 —

ταῦτα διὰ πλάτους, συνωδὰ γέ τῷ Κλήμεντι καὶ Ὁγήσιππος	وهذا خبر الإقليمطي و إجيسبس	1
οὕτω δὲ ἄρα θαυμάσιός τις ἦν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ βεβόητο ὁ Ἰάκωβος	وكانوا متعجبين لأن كان الخلق يشهدوا على يعقوب بالصدوقيّة حتّى واليهود كانوا يمدحوه بالحكمة	2

— 20 —

ἀμέλει γέ τοι ὁ Ἰώσηπος οὐκ ἀπόκνησεν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτύρασθαι δι' ᾧ φησιν λέξεων	حينئذ أوسابيوس يحرص ونشاط كتب هذه الشهادة	1
ἐπειδήπερ δικαιοτάτον αὐτὸν ὄντα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπέκτειναν	لأنّه كان أكثر صدوقيّة وبرّ منهم	2

9. Edition

/110^r/ هذه قصّة يعقوب السليح ونياحتة كما أخبرنا أوسابيوس بن متقاس هو الذي خبر
ثلاثة وعشرين رأس¹ عن الهيكل بكذا قال

* * *

[...] 1

[...] 2

3 ينبغي لنا أولاً أن نذكر كقول قلمنطس أنهم رموا بالسليح من قرنة الهيكل وقتلوه
بالخشية. كذلك خبرنا وأظهر لنا أمره /110^v/ بالصحة → صار إلينا إنسان يقال له
أوسابيوس

4 ويعقوب هذا السليح هو أخو الربّ وهو الذي كان قيّم الهيكل. فلذلك سمّوه الشعب كله
صديق من مجيء ربّنا وحتى الآن كثيرين كانوا يسمون يعقوب صديق

5 فأمّا هذا وكان من بطن أمّه قديس لأنّه شراب ومسكر لم يشرب ولا أكل ذبيحة قط
وموس لم يصعد على رأسه ولا مسح بدهن قط. ولا دخل حمّام

6 ولكنه كان يدخل إلى القدس وفيه كان مأواه. ولا كان فليس شيء من الزينة. ولكن
رداء فقط. وكان يدخل وحده إلى الهيكل فيصلّي. وكانوا يدخلوا من بعده فيجده قائم
يصلي في الزاوية يطلب من الله ليغفر للشعب حتى أن ركبته من كثرة /111^r/
السجود كانوا قد يعقروا وصاروا مثل ركب الجمل لكثرة دوامه وسجوده لله

7 ومن أجل طيب أخياره وقده كان يدعا صديق ومتقدّم الشعوب بحقّ كما قال النبيّ
منجله.

8 وكانوا شيعة من الشعب مخالفين من المذكورين وكانوا يسألونه باستقصاء قائلين
خبرنا أيش يسوع هو المخلص

9 وقد أمن به خلق بحقّ هو يسوع المسيح السيّد فأمّا هو لا مخالفين الذي ذكرناهم فلم
يؤمنوا به. ولا بالقيامة ولا بيوم مجيئه الذي [بـ]اجدا في كلّ أحد على قدر
أعماله.

10 فأمّا الذين آمنوا منجل يعقوب آمنوا وكثير من الرؤساء آمنوا. وكان شعب كثير
من اليهود والكتاب والفريسيين /111^v/ قائلين يهلكوا هؤلاء الذين رجاهم بيسوع
ويذهب إلى يعقوب ويقول له اقتع الشعب لأنهم قد ضلّوا بيسوع وقالوا أنّه المسيح
فتجب منك أن تقتع كلّ من يأتي في هذه الأيام منجل الفصح منجل يسوع لأنّا
أجمعنا واثقين بك ونحن مع جميع الشعب نشهد عليك بالصدوقية وليس تأخذ
بالوجه

11 وهذه الأمة لنلا يهلكوا بيسوع لأنّا كلنا نقبل منك اقف الآن في أعلا قرنة الهيكل
لتظهر لهم من فوق وتسمع الشعب كلّ كلامك لأن من أجل الفصح تقدموا كلّ القبائل
والشعب

1 الذي خبر في has been written twice in the margin. The sentence should be corrected into
الرأس الثلاثة والعشرين.

- 12 فأوفقوا الكتاب والفريسيين ليعقوب في أعلا قرنة الهيكل. فصاحوا قائلين يا صديق حَبَرْنَا فَأَنَا وَاتَّقِينَ بِكَ أَجْمَعْنَا كُلَّ /112^r/ الشعب يضلّ خلف يسوع² المصلوب فأحبرنا أَمِنْ هُوَ بَابِ يَسُوع.
- 13 فأجابهم بصوت عاليّ قائلاً لما تسألوا عن يسوع بن الإنسان يسوع جالس في السماء عن يمين عظيم القوّة وهو عننذ أن يأتي على سحاب السماء
- 14 وأخلق انتفعوا وسبّحوا الله منجل شهادة يعقوب وقالوا أوصنا ابن داوود. حينئذ الكتاب والفريسيين قال بعضهم لبعض بئس ما صنعنا إذ صيرناه يشهد ليسوع ولكن نصدع الآن فيطرحة من فوق ليفزعوا الأُمّة ولا يؤمن به أحد أيضاً
- 15 فصاحوا وقالوا له والصديق أيضاً قد طغا فبتم قول [[شعيا إذ قال يدفع الصديق لأثّه قد صار مسيح الآن من ثمرة أعمالهم يأكلوا
- 16 عند ذلك صعدوا إلى الصديق وطرحوه /112^v/ إلى أسفل. وقال بعضهم لبعض نرجم يعقوب الصديق. فأخذوا الحجارة وكانوا يرمجوه وعند ما لقوه لم يموت ولكن رجع و وضع ركبته في الأرض وقال أسألك ياربيّ وأب إلهي انر³ كلهم هذا الفعل لأنهم ما بدروا ما يصنعوا
- 17 وعندما كانوا يرمجوه واحد من الكهنة يقال له بن ريجاب بن راحابين الذي شهد عليه إرميا النبيّ صاح وقال أيش تفعلوا ياناس أهدوا عنه لأنّ الصديق يصليّ منجلنا.
- 18 فأخذ أحدهم مرزبة القصار وضرب بها رأس الصديق وحينئذ تمتّ شهادته وأنهم دفنوه بحدّ الهيكل الذي فيه عمود قائم شهادة هذا الحقّ صارت لليهود والحنفاء بأن يسوع المسيح بن الله حينئذ أهلكهم اسبيسانوس⁴
- 19 وهذا خبر الإقليمنطي و إجيسبس وكانوا /113^r/ متعجّبين لأن كان الخلق يشهدوا على يعقوب بالصدوقيّة حتّى واليهود كانوا يمدحوه بالحكمة. وبعد شهادته هذه كان سبب هلاك بيت المقدس لا من سبب آخر سواه الذي أصاب هؤلاء الذين استجروا على مثل هذا الفعل.
- 20 حينئذ أوسابيوس يحرص ونشاط كتب هذه الشهادة وما أصاب اليهود من النعمة مكافاة ما فعلوا يعقوب الصديق الذي كان أخو يسوع المسيح لأنّه كان أكثر صدوقيّة وبرّ منهم

* * *

فقتلوه الملاحين ولذلك صار صديق وفي السماء يصليّ منجلنا مع طلبه إلى ربّنا يسوع المسيح الذي له القدرة والسيح والمجد إلى دهر الداهرين آمين هـ

2 has been written in the margin.

3 Sic for اغفر. The stroke used for writing انر is thinner than the rest of the handwriting of the text. This perhaps explains that انر is an abbreviation of اغفر which has been written a posteriori.

4 Sic for اسبيسيانوس.

10. Translation

/110^f/ This is the history of the apostle St. James and his death, as passed down to us by Eusebius b. Mutaqāmis.¹ It is the one referred to [in] chapter twenty-three [of the second book] about the temple, saying:

* * *

1 [...]

2 [...]

3 Firstly, we must remember what Clement said: that they threw the apostle down from the top of the temple and killed him with a stick. Furthermore, he referred us to and expounded the events /110^v/ with fidelity. [All this] has reached us [through] a man named Eusebius.

4 This St. James the apostle is the brother of the Lord,² who was the head of the church.³ And for this reason all people called him 'Just' from the arrival of our Lord and even now many still call him St. James [the] 'Just'.⁴

5 But he was a saint from his mother's breast, because he never tasted fermented drink (*muskir*), nor did he eat sacrificed meat (*dabiḥah*), no blade [ever] shaved [the hair from] his head, nor was he ever anointed with balsam, nor did he bathe.

6 But he entered the 'holy place' that was his dwelling place and he had no luxury, only a cloak.⁵ He would enter the temple alone and begin to pray. Those who entered after would find him in the corner praying, asking God to forgive the people until his knees, from being down on bended knee for so long /111^r/, became emaciated and like the knees of a camel for he spent so much time kneeling down before God.

7 For the goodness of his virtues and his holiness he was called 'Just' and 'Head of the people'⁶ truthfully, as the prophet said of him.

8 There was a group of people, different from the others described, who, wishing to find out more, asked him 'tell us, is Jesus the Saviour?'

1 We do not know where the *kunya* Ibn Mutaqāmis comes from, since there is a lack of information on Eusebius' family, see D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, pp. 11-12.

2 *Aḥū al-Rabb* is the translation of the Greek ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου.

3 This is our rendering of the syntagm *qayyim al-haykal*, since the Greek text gives the reading διαδέχεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. The literal translation „the chief of the temple“, is lacking in *Sitz im Leben*.

4 A collection of information on this character were gathered by William Scarborough, „James the Just“, *Journal of Bible and Religion* 9:4 (1941) 234-238.

5 Cf. Num 6,1-21. On the Nazirate, see G. Dellling, „Nasiräer“, en Bo. Reicke – Leonhard Rost (eds.), *Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch (BHH)*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1962-79, II, pp. 1288-1289.

6 *Ṣadiq wa-mutaqaddim al-ṣu'ūb* is the adaptation of the Greek ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὀβλίς.

- 9 It is true that some believed Jesus was the Messiah, the Lord. But this was not so of the opponents we have described, who did not believe in him nor in the resurrection nor in the day of his arrival, which will deliver to each in accordance with his actions. But those who believed did so thanks to Saint James.
- 10 Many of the principals believed.⁷ A great crowd of Jews, scribes and pharisees⁸ /111^v/ said: 'those whose hope is placed in Jesus will err' and going before Saint James they said to him: 'contain the people, since they are in the wrong about Jesus, since they say he is the Messiah.'⁹ You must turn away all those who come here over these next few days to celebrate the Resurrection of Jesus, because we trust in you. We, and all the people, bear witness to [your] justice.
- 11 Take all these people so they are not led astray by Jesus because we will all follow you. Stand at the highest of the pinnacle of the temple to show yourself from on high and all the people will you're your words because all the tribes and peoples are coming because of the Resurrection.
- 12 The scribes and pharisees stood Saint James at the top of the temple and shouted at him: 'Oh Just! Tell us [what to do], because we trust in you and follow you, because all /112^r/ the people have been led astray, following Jesus the crucified. Tell us, who is the gate of Jesus?'.¹⁰
- 13 Then he responded in a great voice, saying: 'why do you ask me about Jesus, the Son of man? Jesus is sitting in heaven, at the right hand of the almighty power and, when it is time, he will come on the clouds from heaven'.¹¹
- 14 Some took this opportunity¹² and glorified God through the testimony of Saint James, saying: *Hosanna Son of David!*¹³ Then the scribes and the pharisees said to each other: 'we did wrong asking him to give testimony to Jesus! But we shall go up there now and throw him down so the people are afraid and no one believes him'.
- 15 Then they began to shout: 'the Just has also been led astray!' and what Isaiah said came to pass when he said: *Say ye of the righteous, that it shall be well with him: for they shall eat the fruit of their doings.*¹⁴
- 16 Then they went up to [the place of] the 'Just' and threw him /112^v/ down, saying to each other: 'let us stone James the 'Just!'. They took rocks and they began to stone him, because he did not die when they threw him down, but

7 Cf. Jn 12:42.

8 On this group, see D. Goodblatt, „The Place of the Pharisees in the First Century Judaism: The State of the Debate“, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 20 (1989), pp. 12-30.

9 Cf. Jn 12:19.

10 Cf. Jn 10:9.

11 Cf. Mt 26:64; Mk 14:62. Cf. Acts 7:56.

12 *Intafa'ū* is a free translation of the Greek πληροφορηθέντων (<πληρο-φορέω).

13 Mt 21:9.

14 Isa 3:10 (LXX).

- rather knelt down on the ground and said: 'I beg you Lord God our Father, forgive them for they know not what they do!'.¹⁵
- 17 When they were stoning him, one of the priests whom they called ben Riḥāb b. Raḥābīn of whom the prophet Jeremiah had given testimony,¹⁶ shouted: 'What are you doing? Leave him, because the 'Just' is praying for us.
- 18 Then, one of them took an iron bar from the fuller and struck the Just on the head thereby ending his martyrdom. They buried him at the edge of the temple, where there is a column standing, becoming a testimony for the Jews and the Pagans to the truth that Jesus is the Messiah, the son of God. Then, Vespasian annihilated them.
- 19 Clement and Hegesippus referred to this. They /113⁷/ admired [the Jews] because some of them testified for St. James for [his] justice; some Jews even praised him for the wisdom [he possessed]. After his martyrdom, this was the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem, and for no other reason, this happened to those who committed such an act.
- 20 Then Eusebius¹⁷ recorded [it] jealously and wrote of this martyrdom and everything that befell the Jews as punishment for what they did to James the 'Just', who was the brother of Jesus, the Messiah, given that he was the most just and virtuous of them all.

* * *

The evil ones killed him. For this reason he became just and in heaven he prays for all of us, begging Our Lord Jesus the Messiah, whose is the kingdom, the power and the glory forever and ever. Amen. End.

15 Cf. Lk 23:34. Cf. Acts 7:60.

16 Jer 35:2-19.

17 Awsābiyūs, opposite the Greek text, which reads Ἰώσηπος, i. e. (Flavius) Josephus.