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Latin words processing in Christian Arab translations of the Gospels from the Near East[*]

Introduction

Research addressing lexical issues and translation techniques in versions of the Bible produced by Syriac translators has already yielded valuable information.[1] A similar approach to the analysis of texts by Christian Arab translators can throw considerable light on the translation strategies adapted by them in the interlinguistic context[2] in which they had worked[3] ever since the Melkites made Arabic the vehicle for the transmission of their textual heritage.[4]

The Arabic language in its many varieties, including the 'Middle Arabic' used by Christian Arab translators (whose several written forms differed in varying degree from Classical Arabic),[5] contains strata of non-Semitic languages, including Latin, whose presence forms part of the history of Arabic and its dialects.[6]

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[1] Sebastian P. Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979), pp. 69-87; Idem, "Toward a history of Syriac translation technique", *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 221 (1983), pp. 1-14.

[2] Kees Versteegh, "Contacts between Arabic and Other Languages", *Arabica*, 48:4 (2001), pp. 470-508.

[3] Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, "From Antiquity and Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Translating in a Multilingual Setting", in Eva Parra-Membrives et al. (ed.), *Aspects of Literary Translation: Building Linguistic and Cultural Bridge in Past and Present*, Tübingen: Narr Verlag, 2012, pp. 61-79. For a precise view of the context of the early translations of the Gospels into Arabic, see Sidney H. Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic: an inquiry into its appearance in the first Abbasid century", *Oriens Christianus* 69 (1985), pp. 99-146. See also Idem, "The monks of Palestine and the growth of Christian literature in Arabic", *The Muslim World* 78 (1998), pp. 1-28. A first attempt at classification according to the respective *Vorlagen* was made by Ignazio Guidi, "Le traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiópico", *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* CCLXXXV (1888), pp. 6-37.

[4] Joshua Blau, "A Melkite Arabic *lingua franca* from the second half of the First Millennium", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57 (1994), pp. 14-16.

[5] See J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic based mainly on South-Palestinian texts from the First Millennium*, 3 vol., Louvain: CSCO, 1966-67.

[6] The Palestinian Arabic dialect is a case in point, cf. Ibrahim Bassal, "Strata of foreign languages in Palestinian spoken Arabic in Israel", *Lingua-Culture Contextual Studies in Ethnic Conflicts of the World (LiCCOSEC)* 15 (2010), pp. 8, 13.

The use of Latin in the Near East, while attributable in part to the presence of Roman groups, largely reflects the multifaceted legacy of the Roman Empire. For centuries – especially during the Achaemenid period – Aramaic was used over a wide geographical area as a *lingva franca* for all kinds of documents. But it had to coexist alongside the languages of conquerors and settlers, such as the Greeks and Romans,[7] who introduced a considerable number of terms into Aramaic. This is evident, for example, in Palmyrene inscriptions.[8]

As part of an overall research project started some years ago,[9] the present paper examines the strategies adopted by Arab translators of the Gospels in dealing with the Latin loanwords retained in the Greek text of the New Testament. It also looks at cases where the Arabic version derives from a Syriac *Vorlage*, or has been influenced by a Syriac version generally – but not always – based on the Peshīṭā.[10] It should be borne in mind that Christian Arab translators, especially Palestinians and Syrians, were working in an Aramaic-speaking milieu in which language contact and linguistic interference were a constant feature.[11]

In the present survey of Latinisms the full list of proper nouns, common nouns and phrases compiled by Robertson has been used.[12] Each loanword in the list was checked against Moulton and Geden's *Concordance,* in order to establish whether it was used in the LXX or other Greek versions of the OT including the Apocrypha (*) or is to be found in an earlier version though not in translations

7   John F. Healey, *Aramaic Inscriptions & Documents of the Roman Period. Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, Volume IV*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 18-20.

8   S. P. Brock, "Greek and Latin Words in Palmyrene Inscriptions. A Comparison with Syriac", in Elenora Cussini (ed.), *A Journey to Palmyra. Collected Essays to Remember Delbert R. Hillers*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005, pp. 11-25.

9   See the following articles by the present writer on both fields of study: "Estrategias de traducción en un texto árabe cristiano con Vorlage siriaca ApVir(ar) 4-5 [ApVir(sir) 5-6]", *Estudios de dialectología norteafricana y andalusí* 12 (2008), pp. 17-41; "Medical Vocabulary in a Greek Gospel of Luke (BnF Suppl. Grec 911, 1043 AD)", *Folia Orientalia* XLVII (2010), pp. 215-227; "Loan translations from Greek in Christian Middle Arabic", in J. P. Monferrer-Sala and Nader Al Jallad (eds.), *The Arabic language across the ages*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2010, pp. 75-91; "Plumbing the depths: sidelights and strategies of the Medieval Christian Arab Translators", *Journal for Semitics* 19:2 (2010), pp. 661-697; "Arabic renderings of νόμος and νομικός in an eleventh century Greek-Arabic Lectionary", *Folia Orientalia* 49 (2012), pp. 309-317 (Festschrift in Honour of Professor Andrzej Zaborski).

10   J. P. Monferrer-Sala, J. P. & Ángel Urbán, "A Syriac background of Luke 7:29 in a Greek-Arabic bilingual lectionary from 1043 AD", *Parole de l'Orient* 36 (2011), pp. 139-155.

11   J. Blau, "The Influence of Living Aramaic on Ancient South Palestinian Christian Arabic", in J. Blau, *Studies in Middle Arabic and Its Judaeo-Arabic Variety*, Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1988, pp. 288-290.

12   A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914, pp. 108-111. For Latin proper names in the New Testament, see Richard Bauckham, "Paul and Other Jews with Latin Names in the New Testament", in Alf Christofersen et al. (ed.), *Paul, Luke and the Graeco-Roman World: Essays in Honour of Alexander J. M. Wedderburn*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002, pp. 202-220 (rep. in R. Bauckham, *The Jewish World around the New Testament*, Grand Rapids, MI: Bakr Academic, 2010, pp. 371-392).

made by the LXX from the Hebrew Canonical Scriptures (**), and also to confirm that the word was not in classical Greek use (†).[13]

This analysis of Latin loanwords draws on five Arabic versions which can be divided into two groups, depending on the *Vorlagen* on which the translations are based: a) Greek: Sin. ar. 72, BnF,[14] B, VB and V;[15] and b) Syriac: Ar. Diat.[16] Several Syriac versions were also consulted, with a view to gathering information which might facilitate a closer examination of the terms used by the various translators.

Latin loanwords in the Synoptic Gospels

Anthroponyms and toponyms were excluded from the list of Latinisms, as was the title *caesar* (> καῖσαρ > *qaysar*), which entered various language versions of the NT as a loan-translation. The eighteen Latin terms found in the three Synoptic Gospels and in John's Gospel – and occasionally in other books of the NT[17] – are distributed as follows:

Latin loanwords	Latin etymon	English translation	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jo	Other NT Books
ἀσσάριον	*assārion*	'small as'	10:29	–	12:6	–	–
δηνάριον	*denarius*	'denarius'	18:28 20:2 20:9	6:37 12:15	7:41 10:35	6:7 12:5	Re 6:6

13   *A Concordance to the Greek New Testament*. According to the texts of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and the English Revisers, edited by William F. Moulton and Alfred S. Geden, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1897, pp. x, xi.

14   On this unpublished Ms, see Paul Géhin, "Un manuscrit bilingue grec-arabe, BnF, Supplément grec 911 (année 1043)", in François Déroche – Francis Richard (dir.), *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997, pp. 162-188; J. P. Monferrer Sala, "Por dentro de la traducción. Exégesis de un pasaje del Suppl. grec. 911 de la BnF (año 1043)", *Ḥikma* 2 (2003), pp. 107-117; J. P. Monferrer-Sala, "Descripción lingüística de la columna árabe del BnF Suppl. grec. 911 (año 1043)", *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 2 (2005), pp. 93-139; Ángel Urbán & Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, "Some regards on textual criticism in a Greek-Arabic MS (BnF Suppl. Grec 911, A. D. 1043)", *Parole de l'Orient* 30 (2005), pp. 79-102; Á. Urbán, "An Unpublished Greek-Arabic MS of Luke's Gospel (BnF, Suppl. grec. 911, A. D. 1043): A Report", in J. P. Monferrer-Sala (ed.), *Eastern Crossroads. Essays on Medieval Christian Legacy*, «Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies» 1, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007, pp. 83-95; J. P. Monferrer-Sala & Á. Urbán, "A *membrum disjectum* or the reconstruction of a lost bifolio: St. Petersburg 'grec 290' from BnF 'Suppl. Gr. 911'. Edition and commentary", in *Eastern Christians and Their Written Heritage. Manuscripts, Scribes and Context*, «Eastern Christian Studies» 14, ed. J. P. Monferrer-Sala, H. Teule, S. Torallas Tovar, Louvaine – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2012, pp. 115-134.

15   Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vol., Città del Vaticano, 1947-1953, I, pp. 146, 142, 143 (hereafter GCAL).

16   G. Graf, GCAL, I, pp. 152-154.

17   For these occurrences, see Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes*, Zürich – Frankfurt am Main: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1958, p. 163 §2.

			20:10 20:13 22:19	14:5	20:24		
κεντυρίων	centŭrĭo	'centurion'		15:39 15:44 15:45	–	–	
κῆνσος	census	'capitation-tax'	17:25 22:17 22:19	12:14	–	–	–
κοδράντης	quādrans	'small coin'	5:26	12:42	–	–	–
κουστωδία	custōdĭa	'guard'	27:65 27:66 28:11	–	–	–	–
λεγιών	lĕgĭōn	'legion'	26:53	5:9 5:15	8:30	–	–
λέντιον	lintĕum	'towel'	–	–	–	13:4 13:5	–
λίτρα	lībra	'pound'	–	–	–	12:3 19:39	–
μίλιον	mīlia / millia	'mile'	5:41	–	–	–	–
μόδιος	mŏdĭus	'measuring vessel'	5:15	4:21	11:33	–	–
ξέστης	sextus	'cup; pitcher'	–	7:4	–	–	–
πραιτώριον	praetōrĭum	praetorium; governors' palace/residence	27:27	15:16	–	18:28[2] 18:33 19:9	Acts 23:35 Phil 1:13
σουδάριον	sūdārĭum	'handkerchief'			19:20	11:44 20:7	Acts 19:12
σπεκουλάτωρ	spĕcŭlātor	'executioner'	–	6:27	–	–	–
τίτλος	tĭt(ŭ)lus	'title'	–	–	–	19:19 19:20	–
φραγέλλιον	flăgellum	'whip'	–	–	–	2:15	–
φραγελλόω	flăgello	'to whip'	27:26	15:15	–	–	–

It should be noted, in examining the translation strategies used to deal with these Latin loanwords, that the terms came to the Arabic (and Syriac) translators largely through Greek, except in those cases where they entered Arabic through different Aramaic dialects. In order to take account of the information gleaned from Syriac texts, the entry for each Latinism is accompanied by the *lectiones* contained in the various Syriac versions used here, preceded by the relevant abbreviations, which are explained at the end of the paper.

The following symbols have been used in each entry:

|xxx| English translation
||xxx|| *loca evangeliorum*
{xxx}   Syriac renditions

1.1. ἀσσάριον | 'small as'| || Mt 10:29 ~ Lk 12:6 ||[18] {P ܐܣܪ/ syᵖʰ اَسُارِيُو / syᵖˡ
      ܐܣܪ (Lk 12:6) / syᵛ ܐܣܪ}

	Mt	Lk
Sin. Ar. 72	*ribāṭ*	*fals*
B	*fals*	—
VB	*fals*	—
V	*fals*	*fals*
W	*fals*	*fals*
Ar. Diat.	*fals*	—

Sin. Ar. 72 differs from the other five versions in interpreting the Latinism
ἀσσάριον ('assarion; farthing', a Roman copper coin worth 1/16 of a denarius)[19]
in Mt 10:29 as *ribāṭ* ('[economic] tie', i. e. economic obligation),[20] the other trans-
lations giving *fals* ('obol'). The reading *ribāṭ* is also offered by the Arabic text of
the *Diatessaron* edited by Ciasca and by two other Mss: Codex Borgia n. 250 in
the Vatican Library, and the (photographed) Codex in the Bibliothèque de l'École
Biblique of Jerusalem.[21] Interestingly, however, the translator of Sin. Ar. 72 opted
to render ἀσσάριον as *fals* in Lk 12:6, a strategy also adopted in the other ver-
sions. None of the translators chose to retain the Latinism, unlike P, syᵛ and syᵖʰ
which preferred to denote this small Roman copper coin using the calques *'asar*
and *'asāriyū* (< ἀσσάριον), respectively.

18   R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 79, 163.

19   Max Zerwick, *Analysis philologica Novi Testamenti graeci*. Editio altera emendate, Rome: Pon-
     tifical Biblical Institute, 1960, p. 25 *ad locum*. Cf. Henry George Liddell & Robert Scott, *A Greek-
     English Lexicon*, New York – Chicago, CI: American Book Company, 1897 (8ᵗʰ ed.), p. 234b;
     James Hope Moulton & George Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated
     from the papyri and other non-literary sources*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1914-1929, p.
     86b. Cf.

20   R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires árabes*, 2 vol., Leiden – Paris: E. J. Brill – G.-P. Maison-
     neuve et Larose, 1967 (3rd ed.), I, p. 501b s. v. *rabṭah*, pl. *ribāṭ* (*rabṭah min darāhim* = 'a bag of
     dirhams') and *ribāṭ*, pl *ribāṭāt*. Cf. Federico Corriente, *Dictionary of Arabic and Allied Loan-
     words: Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Galician and Kindred Dialects*, «Handbook of Oriental
     Studies. 1. The Near and Middle East» 97, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008, p. 410a, s. v. *rabatico*.

21   *Tatiani evangeliorum harmoniæ arabice*. Nunc primum ex duplici codice edidit et translatione
     latina donavit P. Augustinus Ciasca, Rome: Ex Typographia Polyglotta, 1888, p. 51, and n. *ad lo-
     cum*. Cf. *Diatessaron de Tatien*, ed. A.-S. Marmadji, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1935, p. 124,
     n. 1 on Mt 10:29.

1.2. δηνάριον ¦ 'denarius'¦ || Mt 18:28; 20:2,9,10,13; 22:19 ~ Mk 6:37; 12:15; 14:5 ~ Lk 7:41; 10:35; 20:24 ~ Jo 6:7: 12:5 ||[22] {P ܕܝܢܪܐ/ syᵖʰ دينار / syᵖˡ ١٩١ / syʸ ܕܝܢܪܐ / TDiatˢʸ ܕܝܢܪܐ} | Re 6:6 |

	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jo	Other NT witnesses
Sin. Ar. 72	*dīnar*	6:37 *dīnar* 12:15 *dīnar* 14:5	*dīnar*	*dīnar*	–
BnF	–	–	*dīnar*	–	–
B	18:28 *dīnar* 20:2 *dīnar* 20:13 *dīnar* 20:9 *dīnar* 20:10 *dīnar* 20:19 *dīnar*	*dīnār*	–	–	–
VB	18:28 *dīnar* 20:2 *dīnar* 20:13 *dīnar* 20:9 *dīnar* 20:10 *dīnar* 20:19 *dīnar*	*dīnār*	–	–	–
V	*dīnar*	*dīnār*	*dīnar*	*dīnar*	–
W	*dīnar*	*dīnār*	*dīnar*	*dīnar*	Re 12:5 *dīnar*
Ar. Diat.	18:28 *dīnar* 20:2 *dīnar* 20:9 *dīnar* 20:10 *dīnar* 20:13 *dīnar* 20:19 –	–	7:41 *dīnār* 10:35 *dīnār* 20:24 –	*dīnar*	

The only noteworthy feature with regard to the rendering of this well-known Latinism – also found in Palmyrene inscriptions,[23] where Arab translators opted to use a calque on the Greek loanword δηνάριον which replaced the drachma (δραχμή)[24] that gave *dīnar* in Arabic – is that Sin. Ar. 72 opts indiscriminately

22   R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 87, 163.
23   S. P. Brock, "Greek and Latin Words in Palmyrene Inscriptions", in E. Cussini (ed.), *A Journey to Palmyra*, p. 14 (n. 20).
24   H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 340b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 145b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*,

either for the *scriptio plena (dīnār)* or the *scriptio defectiva (dīnar)* of the term. The latter, in widespread use amongst Christian Arab copyists and characteristic of so-called 'Middle Arabic', drops vowel quantity in favour of a realisation based on the tonic accent, which in this case suggests a dual phonological realisation *dīnár/ dínar*. It is also interesting to note that, following the Syriac translation tra‐dition, in sy[pl] the term is rendered as *zūz*, equivalent to one drachma.

1.3. κεντυρίων ¦ 'centurion'¦ || Mk 15:39,44,45 ||[25] {P ܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ / sy[ph] ܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ – ܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ – ܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ / sy[v] ܩܢܛܪܘܢܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	ṣāḥib al-ḥarbah
B	ṣāḥib al-ḥarbah
VB	ṣāḥib al-ḥarbah
V	15:39 qā'id al-mi'ah 15:44 qā'id 15:45
W	15:39 qā'id al-mi'ah 15:44 qā'id 15:45
Ar. Diat.	15:44 'arīf al-rajjālah 15:39 — 15:45 —

Three different strategies have been adopted to translate the Markan Latinism κεντυρίων, recorded in various Aramaic texts[26] as well as Nabataean[27] and Palmy‐rene inscriptions[28] and equivalent to the familiar ἑκατόνταρχος:[29] a) Sin. Ar. 72, B

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961, p. 343b. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*. Founded on the Translation of *Freund's Latin-German Lexicon*. Revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten, New York – Oxford: Harper & Brothers Publishers – Clarendon Press, 1891, p. 545 a-b.

25   R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 112, 163.

26   Friedrich Schwally, *Idioticon des christlich palästinischen Arameisch*, Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1893, p. 107. Cf. Christa Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen. I. Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Formenlehre*. «Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik» 6. Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Georg Olms, 1991, p. 105 § 4.2.1.12.6.2.

27   John F. Healey, "Lexical loans in early Syriac: A comparison with Nabataean Aramaic", *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 12 (1995), p. 77; J. F. Healey (1995): 77. See also J. F. Healey, *The Religion of the Nabateans. A Conspectus*, «Religions in the Graeco-Roman World» 136, Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2001, p. 36.

28   Delbert R. Hillers & Elenora Cusini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, Baltimore – London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, p. 360a. Cf. S. P. Brock, "Greek and Latin Words in Palmyrene Inscriptions", in E. Cussini (ed.), *A Journey to Palmyra*, p. 17 (n. 37).

and VB all opt for *ṣāḥib al-ḥarbah* ('lord of the spears' i. e. 'leader of the spear-bearers'), a clear reference to the infantry; b) V and W prefer the literal rendering *qā'id al-mi'ah* ('leader of the centuria'), which – since the rank appears in three nearby *loca* within the same chapter – the translators have abbreviated in the two following references (15:44,45); c) Ar. Diat. offers an interpretative translation, parallel to a), giving *'arīf al-rajjālah* 'leader of the men', i. e. 'leader of the infan-try'.

1.4. κῆνσος ¦ 'tax, tribute' ¦ | | Mt 17:25; 22:17,19 ~ Mk 12:14 | |[30] {P ܟܣܦ / sy[ph] ܟܣܦܐ / sy[pl] ܟܣܦܐ sic (Mt 22:17,19) / sy[v] ܟܣܦ / TDiat[sy] ܟܣܦ}

	Mt	Lk
Sin. Ar. 72	17:25 *jibāyah* 22:17 *kharāj* 22:19 *dīnar al-kharāj*	*kharāj*
B	17:25 *dīnār* 22:17 *dīnār* 22:19 *dīnār al-kharāj*	*kharāj*
VB	17:25 *dīnār* 22:17 *dīnār* 22:19 *dīnār al-kharāj*	*kharāj*
V	17:25 *jizyah* 22:17 *jizyah* 22:19 *dīnār*	*jizyah*
W	17:25 *jizyah* 22:17 *jizyah* 22:19 *dirham al-jizyah*	*jizyah*
Ar. Diat.	17:25 *al-maks wa-l-jizyah* 22:17 *jizyah* 22:19 *dīnār al-jizyah*	—

As also occurs in Syriac,[31] the strategies used to translate the term κῆνσος[32] clearly vary, even within the work of a single translator. Whilst for the quotation from Luke two options are to be found: *kharāj*[33] (Sin. Ar. 72, B, and VB) and

29   H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 796a; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, pp. 340b-341a; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 744b. Cf. Ch. T. Lewis & Ch. Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 316c.

30   R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 112, 163.

31   F. Schwally, *Idioticon*, p. 107.

32   H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 803b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 343a. Cf. Ch. T. Lewis & Ch. Short, *A New Latin Diction-ary*, p. 315b.

33   Cl. Cahen, A. K. S. Labton, C. Orhonlu, Abdus Subhan, "Kharad̲j̲", EI², IV, pp. 1062b-1087b.

jizyah[34] (V and W), for the three quotations from Mt there is a greater degree of divergence, appreciable in the classification shown below:

A) Mt 17:25
   a) *jibāyah* (Sin. Ar. 72)
   b) *dīnār* (B, VB)
   c) *jizyah* (V, W)
   d) *al-maks wa-l-jizyah* (Ar. Diat.)
B) Mt 22:17
   a) *kharāj* (Sin. Ar. 72)
   b) *dīnār* (B, VB)
   c) *jizyah* (V, W, Ar. Diat.)
C) Mt 22:19
   a) *dīnar al-kharāj* (Sin. Ar. 72, B, VB)
   b) *dīnār* (V)
   c) *dirham al-jizyah* (W)
   d) *dīnār al-jizyah* (Ar. Diat.)

These interesting strategies inevitably prompt some reflexion on the terms cho—sen by the Arab translators and on their contextual referents. While in Mt 17:25, all the translators opt for a *reductio* to convey the pair τέλη ἢ κῆνσον ('customs or poll-tax'), they favour different approaches, for the full pair is maintained in the form of a 'conceptual adaptation' (*vide infra* Conclusions § 2b) only in Ar. Diat. (*al-maks wa-l-jizyah*). The term *jibāyah* ('collection') thus appears to have been chosen in view of its harmless legal and religious connotations; unlike the calque *dīnār* and the technical term *jizyah* (for both, see entry for Mt 22:19 below), it reflects the general nature of the taxation system implemented under the Roman Empire to which the New Testament passage refers.

As in the earlier entry, three different options are selected in Mt 22:17 (*kharāj*, *dīnār* and *jizyah*) to render the ac. sg. κῆνσον. In this case, however, the trans—lators have each reversed their strategies in order to reflect the changed referent. Of the three versions, *kharāj* comes closest to the Greek term, whilst *dīnār*[35] would have been more appropriate if the Greek had been δηνάριον. The choice of *jizyah* would seem equally unsuitable because it represents an anachronism, even though it reflects the translator's desire to provide a modern legal-religious context (see entry for Mt 22:19 below).

In their versions of Mt 22:19 the Arab translators also adopt two strategies of considerable interest:

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34   Cl. Cahen, Halil Inalcik, P. Hardy, "Djizya", EI², II, pp. 573a-581a.
35   G. C. Miles, "Dīnār", EI², II, pp. 305a-307a.

a) Turning the ac. sg. νόμισμα and the gen. sg. κήνσου into an *iḍāfah* con-
struction using three different options: *dīnar al-kharāj* (Sin. Ar. 72, B, and
VB), *dirham al-jizyah* (W), and *dīnār al-jizyah* (Ar. Diat.).

b) Opting for the reverse process of *reductio*, i. e. conflating the ac. sg.
νόμισμα and the gen. sg. κήνσου into a single term: *dīnār* (V)

Use of strategy a) yields radically different results in Arabic, since – although
all opt to use an *iḍāfah* to translate τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου ('the coin of the trib-
ute'), the *nomen rectum* and the *nomen obliquum* are different in each of the
three cases. The option *dīnar al-kharāj* seems to be the most suitable, in that it
uses the loanword *dīnār* to translate the Latin etymon *denarius* through the Greek
loanword δηνάριον, both of which denote a gold coin. The other two options, *dir-
ham al-jizyah* and *dīnār al-jizyah,* are less suitable; *dirham*[36] is the equivalent of
the Greek δραχμή, a silver coin, and thus does not accurately convey the sense of
the source-term δηνάριον. While *dīnār al-kharāj* is acceptable, since *dīnār* re-
flects the ac. sg. δηνάριον used in the same verse, a more literal translation such
as *naqd al-kharāj* ('the coin of the tribute') would surely have been more appro-
priate to the context. As pointed out above, strategy b) is a *reductio* of the terms
νόμισμα and κήνσου, but undoubtedly refers to the term δηνάριον which
appears at the end of the same verse, where it is translated using a direct calque.

The difference between the terms *kharāj* and *jizyah* is not without interest:
whilst *kharāj* can be applied more generally, and fully covers the sense of the
Latinism κήνσος, the word *jizyah* is clearly an anachronism, in that it refers spe-
cifically to the poll-tax levied on the *ahl al-dhimmah* and thus on the Christians to
which the text refers.[37]

1.5. κοδράντης ¦ 'quarter penny'¦ ||[38] Mt 5:26 ~ Mk 12:42 ~ Lk 12:59 || {P
ܩܕܪܢܛܣ / sy^ph ܠܦܬܐ / sy^pl ܩܢ (Mt 5:26) ܩܘܕܪܢܛܣ / sy^v ܩܕܪܢܛܣ}

	Mt	Mk	Lk
Sin. Ar. 72	*fals*	*fals*	*fals* (< λεπτὸν)
BnF	–	–	*fals* (< λεπτὸν)
B	*fals*	*fals*	–
VB	*fals*	*fals*	–
V	*fals*	*fals*	*fals* (< λεπτὸν)
W	*fals*	*fals*	*fals* (< λεπτὸν)
Ar. Diat.	*fals*	*fals*	–

36 G. C. Miles, "Dirham", EI², II, pp. 328b-329b.
37 For taxes in Palestine after the Muslim conquest, see Moshe Gil, *History of Palestine, 634-1099.*
    English translation by Ethel Broido, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 143-146.
38 R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 113, 163.

Here there is full agreement amongst the translators, even in the case of Lk 12:59, where rather than the Latinism κοδράντης,[39] also used in Rabbinical literature,[40] it is the Greek term λεπτὸν ('lepton') that is translated, although it was actually the equivalent of a ½ *quādrans*.[41] As in the case of ἀσσάριον (cf. §1.1), the Latin-ism κοδράντης refers to a copper coin of low value (here, a quarter of an as),[42] which the Arab translators all render as *fals*, the word also used to translate the Latin loanword ἀσσάριον. The Syriac versions in P and sy[ph], whilst using a calque of the Latinism to translate ἀσσάριον, opt here for *shamūnā*, i. e. 'obol' and *zūz* (= δραχμή), whereas sy[pl] prefers to transcribe the Latin loanword.

1.6. κουστωδία ¦ 'guard'¦ || Mt 27:65,66; 28:11 ||[43] {P ܩܘܣܛܘܢܪܐ/ sy[ph]

ܩܘܣܛܘܢܪܐ – ܩܘܣܛܘܢܪܐ/ sy[v] ,ܩܘܣܛܘܢ – ܩܘܣܛܘܢܪܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	*ḥaras*
B	*ḥaras*
VB	*ḥaras*
V	*ḥirās*
W	*ḥirās*
Ar. Diat.	27:65 *ḥaras*
	27:66 —
	28:11 —

Eschewing the calques favoured by the Syriac versions,[44] the Arab translators opt to render the Latinism κουστωδία[45] using strategies that differ from each other only in morphological terms: whilst three versions give *ḥaras*, the other two have *ḥirās*, two *maṣādir* of the same verb form *ḥaras – yaḥri/us* ('guard, watch over').

1.7. λεγιών ¦ 'legion'¦ || Mt 26:53 ~ Mk 5:9 ~ Lk 8:30 ||[46] {P ܠܓܝܘܢ/ sy[ph]

ܠܓܝܘܢ/ sy[pl] ܠܓܝܘܢ/ sy[v] ܠܓܝܘܢ/ TDiat[sy] ܠܓܝܘܢܐ – ܠܓܝܘܢ}

39 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 820b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 349b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 759b.

40 Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum. Mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw*. 2 vol., Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1898-99, II, pp. 500b, cf. 513a.

41 J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 349b. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 1499a.

42 G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 759b.

43 R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 114, 163.

44 F. Schwally, *Idioticon*, p. 107.

45 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 838b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 356b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 773b. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, pp. 504c-505a.

46 R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 116, 163.

	Mt	Mk	Lk
Sin. Ar. 72	*ribwah*	*lajiyūn*	*lajiyūn*
BnF	—	—	*laji'ūn*
B	*ribwah*	*lajiyūn*	—
VB	*ribwāt*	*lajiyūn*	—
V	*jawq*	*lājāwun*	*lājāwun*
W	*jawq*	*lājā'ūn* (*sic*)	*lājāwun*
Ar. Diat	*ithnā 'ashr qabīlah min al-malā'ikah*	—	*lighyūn*

The Latinism λεγιών,[47] also found in Palmyrene inscriptions,[48] occurs in two con‐texts. In Mt 26:53 it indicates 'legions of angels', whilst in Mk 5:9 and Lk 8:30 it is used as the name of the devil (δαιμόνιον), clearly as a figurative indication of the power of a legion, in this case of demons. This difference in meaning is reflected in the use of two different translations, one for Mt 26:53 and the other for Mk 5:9 and Lk 8:30.

Three different translations are given for the term as used in Mt 26:53: a) *ribwah* and its pl. *ribwāt* ('ten thousand'); b) *jawq* ('host; crowd'); and c) *ithna 'ashr qabīlah min al-malā'ikah* ('twelve tribes of angels'),[49] since the formula δώδεκα λεγιῶνας ἀγγέλων ('twelve legions of angels') refers to an enormous number (more than 72 000 angels, according to the expression). The Latin term *lĕgĭōn* indicates a Roman army division of ten thousand soldiers, comprising six thousand infantry and the four thousand cavalry. Thence, the term came to mean a large number of people, thus accounting for two of the strategies adopted by the Arab translators: a) literal translation of the Latinism λεγιών *(ribwah/ribwāt)*; and b) an interpretation *(jawq)* intended to convey the sense of the whole phrase δώδεκα λεγιῶνας ἀγγέλων 'twelve legions of angels'.

By contrast, in rendering Mk 5:9 and Lk 8:30, the only difference between the strategies employed lies in the morphology of the transcriptions of the Greek form λεγιών:[50] *lājāwun* matches the *lectio* found in Beirut Ms. BO 434 fol. 65ʳ (= 'Bibliothèque Orientale') of the Coptic-Arabic versions of the Gospels made by al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl, whilst the Milan (Ambrosiana C 47, fol. 82ʳ-82ᵛ) and Cairo

47 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 880a; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 371b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 794b. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 1047a.

48 S. P. Brock, "Greek and Latin Words in Palmyrene Inscriptions", in E. Cussini (ed.), *A Journey to Palmyra*, p. 18 (n. 44).

49 Codex Borgia n. 250 in the Vatican Library and the photographed Codex in the Library of l'École Biblique of Jerusalem both give *kardūs*, 'cavalry squad', cf. *Diatessaron de Tatien*, ed. A.-S. Mar‐madji, p. 461, n. on Mt 26:53.

50 For the transcriptions of Greek names in Arabic, see J. P. Monferrer-Sala, "*Mutatio nominum*. Onomástica griega en transcripción árabe", *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 4 (2007), pp. 73-108.

Mss. (Coptic Patriarchate, Bible 119) opt for *lajyūn*.[51] Ar. Diat., for its part, offers a transcription closer to the phonological realisation of the Latinism in its Greek calque: *leghyón* (< *ligh[i]yūn*) = *legión* (< λεγιών).

1.8. λέντιον ¦ 'towel; apron' ¦ || Jo 13:4,5 ||[52] {P ܠܰܢܬܐ/ sy^{pl} ܣܕܘܢܐ / sy^{v} ܠܰܢܬܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	*izār*
B	—
VB	—
V	*mandīl*
W	13:4 *minshafah*
	13:5 *mandīl*
Ar. Diat.	*minshafah*

Three similar strategies are employed in the Arabic versions that include John's Gospel to translate the Latin *lintĕum*,[53] through its Greek calque λέντιον.[54] The difference lies in the nouns used: whilst the oldest translation (Sin. Ar. 72) uses *izār*, a garment similar to a veil, linen cloth or apron, V offers *mandīl*, i. e. 'apron'. The translator of W uses *minshafah*, i. e. 'towel' in one case (13:4), an option also used by Ar. Diat., whereas in the other (13:5) he gives *mandīl*, though preceded by the verb *yanshafuhā*, thus harmonising with the strategy adopted in the previous verse.

These three strategies establish an interesting link between the terms *izār*, a veil covering the face and/or body,[55] *mandīl*[56] and *minshafah* ('cloth, piece of linen),[57] since *mandīl* is itself a Greek loanword (μανδήλιον) that entered Arabic through the Aramaic term *(mandīlā)*[58] widely used in Christian Arab literature, e. g. to refer to the sudarium on which the likeness of Jesus was imprinted (μανδήλιον = σινδών).[59]

51   Samir Khalil Samir, "La version arabe des évangiles d'al-As'ad ibn al-'Assāl", *Parole de l'Orient* XIX (1994), p. 511.

52   R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 116, 163.

53   Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 1069a.

54   H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 884b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 374a; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 796b.

55   R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban s. d. (= Amsterdam: Jean Müller, 1843), pp. 24-46.

56   R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, pp. 414-418.

57   R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, p. 419.

58   Cf. F. Rosenthal, "A Note on the Mandīl", in Idem, *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam*, Leiden: Brill, 1971, pp. 63-69.

59   Cf. J. P. Monferrer-Sala, "La 'leyenda del rey Abgaro' contenida en un manuscrito árabe del siglo XVI", *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 62 (1999), p. 126, n. 73.

Amongst the Syriac versions, it is interesting to note that sy[pl] gives *sabanī*, probably a *lectio mendosa* for *sabanā* ('linen'), from the Greek σάβανα ("[funeral] linen", sg. σάβανον),[60] a loanword also found in a Christian Arab text to denote the shroud in which the body of a Christian martyr was wrapped.[61]

1.9.   λίτρα ¦ 'pound' ¦ || Jo 12:3; 19:39 ||[62] {P ܠܝܛܪܐ – ܠܝܛܪܐ / sy[pl] ܠܝܛܪܐ – ܠܝܛܪܐ / sy[v] ܠܝܛܪܐ ܠܝܛܪܐ (Jo 12:3) / TDiat[sy] ܠܝܛܪܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	*raṭl*
B	—
VB	—
V	*raṭl*
W	*raṭl*
Ar. Diat.	12:3 *qarrābah*
	19:39 *raṭl*

The measure of capacity denoted by the Graecised λίτρα (the name of a Sicilian silver coin)[63] is unanimously rendered by three translators as *raṭl* ('pound').[64] Ar. Diat. also uses that translation in one instance, but elsewhere opts for *qarrābah*, 'container', clearly intending to draw a distinction between the two; a similar strategy is used in P (cf. sy[v]) to denote the containers referred to in the two pas‒ sages, which hold differing amounts of unguents. The Syriac version in P, for example, opts in one case for a calque on the Latinism *līṭrā* 'pound' (12:3), as in sy[pl], and in the other for *shaṭīftā* (19:39), more properly a 'pound box'.

1.10.   μίλιον ¦ 'mile' ¦ || Mt 5:41 ||[65] {P ܡܝܠܐ / sy[ph] ܡܝܠܐ / sy[pl] ܡܝܠܐ / sy[v] ܡܝܠܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	*mīl*
B	*mīl*
VB	*mīl*

60 E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Byzantine and Roman Periods*, Cambridge, MA – Leipzig: Harvard University Press – Harrassowitz, 1914 (reed. Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Georg Olms, 1992), p. 975.

61 J. P. Monferrer-Sala, "Christians in the Red Sea area in Late Antiquity. On the Arabic version of the 'Martyrdom of Athanasius of Clysma'", in Angelika Lohwasser & Frank Feder (ed.), *Ägypten und sein Umfeld in der Spätantike. Vom Regierungsantritt Diokletians 284/285 bis zur arabischen Eroberung des Vorderen Orients um 635-646*, «Philippika», Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013, p. 262, and Vassilios Christides, Christian Høgel & J. P. Monferrer-Sala, *The Martyrdom of Atha‒ nasius of Klysma. A Saint from the Egyptian Desert*. Study, edition & translation of the Greek and Arabic texts, Athens: Istitute of Graeco-Oriental and African Studies, 2012, pp. 119, n. 388.

62 R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 117, 163.

63 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 898b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 377a. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 1060c-1061a.

64 G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum*, II, p. 160b.

65 R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 121, 163.

V	*mīl*
W	*mīl*
Ar. Diat.	*mīl*

The spatial unit μίλιον (a calque on the Latin pl. *mīlia* / *millia*),[66] also recorded in Palmyrene,[67] is also unanimously rendered by the loanword *mīl*,[68] as also occurs in P and sy[ph].

1.11.   μόδιος ¦ 'tub; basket; bucket' ¦ ‖ Mt 5:15 ~ Mk 4:21 ~ Lk 11:33 ‖[69] {P ܣܐܬܐ / sy[ph] ܩܦܣܐ – ܣܐܬܐ / sy[pl] ܟܝܠܐ / sy[v] ܣܐܬܐ (Mt 5:15) / TDiat[sy] ܣܐܬܐ}

	Mt	Mk	Lk
Sin. Ar. 72	*mudī*	*mudī*	*mudī*
BnF	–	–	*mudī*
B	*mudī*	*mudī*	*mudī*
VB	*mudī*	*mudī*	*mudī*
V	*mikyāl*	*mikyāl*	*mikyāl*
W	*mikyāl*	*mikyāl*	*mikyāl*
Ar. Diat.	*mikabbah*	–	–

As the chart shows, the three Gospel quotations containing the Latin measure through Graecised μόδιος (a common vessel used in measuring grain, about one peck or 8.75 litres, and equal to 16 *sextarii*),[70] which appears also in Palmyrene inscriptions,[71] are rendered in Arabic using three different translations: a) *mudī*, a calque on the Latinism, also found in the Syriac versions sy[ph] and sy[pl] in the forms *mūdiyūn* and *mūdiyā*; b) *mikyāl*, an Arab measure for both fluids and dry sub-stances,[72] a strategy also employed by P, which gives *sāthā* 'bushel', a term also used on one occasion by sy[v]; and c) *mikabbah ('panier boisseau')*, a dialectal term found in Iraq, and more particularly in Mosul, used by Ar. Diat.[73]

66   H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 967b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 412b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 871b. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 1144b-c.
67   S. P. Brock, "Greek and Latin Words in Palmyrene Inscriptions", in E. Cussini (ed.), *A Journey to Palmyra*, p. 18 (n. 46).
68   G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum*, IV, p. 225b.
69   R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 121, 163.
70   H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 973b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 415b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 875a. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 1155a-b.
71   S. P. Brock, "Greek and Latin Words in Palmyrene Inscriptions", in E. Cussini (ed.), *A Journey to Palmyra*, pp. 18-19 (n. 47).
72   G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum*, IV, p. 75b.
73   *Diatessaron de Tatien*, ed. A.-S. Marmadji, p. 75, n. on Mt 5:15.

1.12. ἑέστης ¦ 'cup; pitcher; jub; pot'¦ || Mk 7:4 ||[74] {P ܩܣܛܐ/ sy[ph] ܩܣܛܐ / sy[v] ܩܣܛܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	kūs (< ku'ūs)
B	kūs
VB	kūs
V	kuwūs (< ku'ūs)
W	aqdiḥah
Ar. Diat.	awānī l-nuḥās

With the exception of Ar. Diat., which opts for awānī al-nuḥās ('copper vessels'), all the texts render the Roman dry measure ξέστης,[75] recorded in Palmyrene in-scriptions,[76] by the pluralis fractus ku'ūs ('glasses; cups'). The exception, in this case, is the most accurate, since it offers the hyper-correct form aqdiḥah (instead of classical aqdāḥ)[77] meaning 'vessels' and, like the Latin, the Arabic also denotes a unit of measurement.[78] P, sy[ph] and sy[v] again prefer the calque, transliterating the Greek loanword as qeṣṭē (< *ܩܣܛܐ qseṣṭē).

1.13. πραιτώριον ¦ 'praetorium; governors' palace/residence'¦ || Mt 27:27 ~ Mk 15:16 ||[79] {P ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ / sy[ph] ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ – ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ / sy[pl] ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ – ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ / sy[v] ܦܪܛܘܪܝܢ } | Acts 23:35; Phil 1:13 |

	Mt	Mk	Other NT witnesses
Sin. Ar. 72	balāṭ	abraṭūriyūn	–
B	abraṭuriyūn	abraṭūriyūn	–
VB	abraṭuriyūn	abraṭūriyūn	–
V	abrūṭūr	abrūṭūriyūn	–
W	abrūṭūriyūn	dār al-abrūṭūriyūn	Acts 23:35: īwān Phil 1:13: majlis ḥakim (sic)
Ar. Diat.	dīwān	–	

All the Arabic translations except Sin. Ar. 72 and Ar. Diat., which render the ac. neut. sg. πραιτώριον[80] in Mt 27:27 by balāṭ and dīwān, respectively, opt for a

74   R. Morgenthaler, Statistik, pp. 124, 163.

75   H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, p. 1018a; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, p. 434a. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, A New Latin Dictionary, p. 1688b.

76   S. P. Brock, "Greek and Latin Words in Palmyrene Inscriptions", in E. Cussini (ed.), A Journey to Palmyra, p. 19 (n. 51).

77   G. W. Freytag, Lexicon arabico-latinum, 4 vol., Halle: C. A. Schwetschke et filium, 1830-37, III, p. 405a-b.

78   W. Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte. Umgerechnet ins metrische System, Leiden – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1970, p. 39.

79   R. Morgenthaler, Statistik, pp. 134, 163.

calque on the Latinism, as also found in the Syriac versions,[81] yielding the follow‐
ing:

a) Three variations in vocalisation and vowel quantity: *abraṭūriyūn* / *abraṭuriyūn* / *abrūṭūriyūn*.
b) Apocopation of πραιτώριον, in which the form *abrūṭūr* loses the false de‐
sinence -*iyūn*.
c) Harmonisation of *dār al-abrūṭūriyūn*, by harmonising τῆς αὐλῆς 'the atrium', and πραιτώριον, i. e. the *praetōrium* or 'governor's residence'.

The calque on πραιτώριον includes the following singular features with regard to the Arabic transcription, with the allophonic equivalences shown below:

a) Prosthetic *alif* in all cases
b) /b/ < /π/
c) /a/ < /α/ ≈ /ū/ < /α/
d) Lost of /ı/
e) /ṭ/ < /τ/
f) /u/ < /ώ/ ≈ /ū/ < /ώ/
g) Diphthong /iyū/ < /ıo/ ≈ /ø/ < /ıo/
h) Lost of the false desinence -*iyūn* en *abrūṭūr*

Returning to the exceptional employment of *balāṭ* mentioned earlier, it is worth noting that this is itself a calque on the Latin *plătĕa*, which came into Ara‐ bic through Aramaic פלטיא (*pĕlaṭyā*; cf. Syriac *plaṭiyā*), the transliteration of Greek πλατεῖα.[82] This term essentially means "pavement; paved road", i. e. *via*, but also 'palace', which is the exact meaning of the present translation.[83] Interest‐ ingly, the translator of Sin. Ar. 72 chose to translate the Latinism πραιτώριον using a calque on another Latinism, because the designation of a holy place as a *balāṭ* was a widespread practice applied to other Palestinian *loca sancta*, regard‐ less of the fact that these might be Muslim holy places, such as the *al-Balāṭah al-Sawdā'* or 'Black-Paving Stone' found within the Dome of the Rock.[84] At the same time, the difference with respect to Mk 15:16, where the translator employs the

80 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1263a; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, pp. 532b-533a; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp. 1126b-1127a. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 1436b.
81 F. Schwally, *Idioticon*, p. 111.
82 Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Georg Olms, 1987 (= Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1898-1899), II, pp. 456b-457a.
83 D. Sourdel, "Balāṭ", EI², I, p. 1018. Cf. Nigel Groom, *A dictionary of Arabic topography and placenames*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1983, p. 56. For the same meaning, see J. P. Monferrer-Sala, "Christians in the Red Sea", in A. Lohwasser & F. Feder (ed.), *Ägypten und sein Umfeld in der Spätantike*, p. 260, and V. Christides, C. Høgel & J. P. Monferrer-Sala, *The Martyrdom of Athanasius of Klysma*, p. 61.
84 Amikam Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, Leiden – New York – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995, pp. 78-81.

calque *al-abraṭūriyūn,* is due to the presence of the prepositional phrase ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς, ὅ ἐστιν πραιτώριον, i. e. 'within the atrium called the Praetorium'.

The term *dīwān* used in Ar. Diat. indicates an adaptation of an administrative kind, in that it denotes an Arab administrative concept current during the early days of Islam, interpretable as 'governorship' or 'prefecture'. Even so, we cannot rule out the possibility that *dīwān* is in fact a *lectio* deriving from a hyper-correction of the Syriac *īwan* (ܐܘܳܢ), which is the option favoured by the translator of W for the same term in Acts 23:35 *(vide infra hic ipse)*.

The phrase τῆς αὐλῆς 'the atrium' or 'the hall', also led in W to the use of *dār al-abrūṭūriyūn* 'the palace/house of the Praetorium', equivalent to the use in Phil 1:13 of *majlis ḥakim* 'governor's council', to translate the dat. neut. sg. τῷ πραιτωρίῳ 'the Praetorium'. As indicated above, the Syriacism *īwān* is a calque on the Syriac *īwan* with which W translates the dat. neut. sg. τῷ πραιτωρίῳ (τοῦ Ἡρῴδου) 'in the Praetorium (of Herod)' in Acts 23:35. The oldest known version gives *bahw* ('hall; palace').[85]

1.14. σουδάριον ¦ 'handkerchief'¦ || Lk 19:20 ~ Jo 11:44; 20:7 ||[86] {P ܣܘܕܪܐ – ܣܘܕܪܐ / sy[pl] ܣܘܕܪܐ / sy[v] ܣܘܕܪܐ (Lk 19:20) – ܣܘܕܪܐ (Jo 11:44; 20:7) / TDiat[sy] ܣܘܕܪܐ (Jo 20:7)}

	Lk	Jo
Sin. Ar. 72	*mandīl*	11:44 *lifāfah* 20:7 *izār*
BnF	*mandīl*	—
B	—	—
VB	—	—
V	*mandīl*	11:44 *'imāmah* 20:7 *mandīl*
W	*mandīl*	*mandīl*
Ar. Diat.	*mandīl*	*'imāmah*

The translation of the Latinism σουδάριον (sweat cloth for the face or the neck)[87] used by Luke and John is of particular interest. The term is retained only in W, which opts for the Aramaic loanword *mandīl* (cf. §1.8 on λέντιον). The strategies employed by other translators vary depending on the context: whilst retaining

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85 Cf. *Mt. Sinai Arabic Codex 151. Act of the Apostles. Catholic Epistles,* edited and translated by Harvey Staal, CSCO 463-463, Scriptores Arabici 42-43, Louvain: E. Peeters, 1984, I, p. 63 (Arabic), II, 67 (English).

86 R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik,* pp. 142, 163.

87 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon,* p. 1409a; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament,* p. 581b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon,* p. 1244b. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary,* p. 1790a.

mandīl in Lk 19:20, in Jo 11:44 they give *lifāfah*[88] and *'imāmah*,[89] both with the sense of 'cloth covering the face', whereas in Jo 20:7 Sin. Ar. 72 and V opt for *izār*, and *mandīl*, respectively.

The reason for this dual strategy is simple: in Jo 11:44, the text states that the whole body was covered, whereas in Jo 20:7 only the head was covered. Although the Greek original uses the same term in both cases, the Arab translators have drawn a distinction by referring to two separate garments of clearly different sizes, larger in the first case *(lifāfah / 'imāmah)* and smaller in the second *(izār / mandīl)*.

It is worth noting that P and sy[pl] follow the Greek text, retaining the Latinism through the calque *sūdarā* in both passages from John; in Lk 19:20, however, both opt for *sedūnā* ('cloth'), probably to distinguish it from the garment used to cover the body or face of a corpse.

1.15. σπεκουλάτωρ ¦ 'executioner'¦ || Mk 6:27 ||[90] {P ܐܪܘܩܠܘܒܐ / sy[ph] ܣܘܒܐܠܘܩܣܐ / sy[pl] ܐܪܘܛܠܩܘܒܣܐ / sy[v] ܐܪܘܩܠܘܒܐ }

Sin. Ar. 72	*sayyāf*
B	*sayyāf*
VB	*sayyāf*
V	*sayyāf*
W	*sayyāf*
Ar. Diat.	*sayyāf*

This Latin loanword was used in Greek and Aramaic,[91] originally to denote an official belonging to the emperor's staff as a scout or spy, although the term later came to mean executioner. All the Arab versions translate this Markan Latinism σπεκουλάτωρ (originally 'scout', 'courier')[92] by *sayyāf* ('executioner'). While the Latin term *spĕcŭlātor*[93] does not specify the instrument used in the execution (although it may be inferred, since John the Baptist is beheaded), the Arabic noun *sayyāf* implies the use of a sword *(sayf)*. By contrast, P/sy[v], sy[ph] and sy[pl] retain the Latinism by means of the respective calques *'espūqlaṭrā*, *spekūlāṭūrā* and *spequlaṭūrā* ('executioner').

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88 Cf. *milaffah* in R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes*, pp. 33, 403.

89 In the case of Ar. Diat. Codex Borgia n. 250 (Vat. Lib.) and the photographic Codex in the Library of l'École Biblique of Jerusalem both give *minshafah*, cf. *Diatessaron de Tatien*, ed. A.-S. Marmadji, p. 302, n. on Lk 19:20.

90 R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 142, 163.

91 F. Schwally, *Idioticon*, p. 112.

92 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1413b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 582b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp. 1247b-1248a.

93 Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 1739a-b.

1.16.   τίτλος ¦ 'title' ¦ || Jo 19:19,20 ||[94] {P ܠܘܚܐ – ܕܚܐ / sy[pl] ܠܘܚ – ܠܘܚܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	ṣakk
B	—
VB	—
V	lawḥ
W	lawḥ
Ar. Diat.	lawḥ

The Latinism τίτλος[95] appears only twice in John's Gospel, and is found nowhere else in the New Testament. On both occasions, the translator of Sin. Ar. 72 uses the noun ṣakk ('title'), whilst the other two versions give lawḥ. This latter term interprets not the text contained in the inscription but rather the support on which it was written, as occurs in P and sy[pl], which give lūḥā ('table, tablet') in 19:19. By contrast, the noun ṣakk refers both to the support and to the text inscribed on it. While P uses lūḥā in 19:19, it prefers dafā ('board; tablet') in 19:20,[96] because the text inscribed on that board is referred to in the compound sentence with which this verse closes, through the participle adjective ketība ('written'). The Latinism τίτλος clearly refers to both the inscription and the support.

1.17.   φραγέλλιον ¦ 'whip' ¦ || Jo 2:15 ||[97] {P ܦܪܓܠܐ / sy[pl] ܦܪ ܓ – ܦܪܓܠܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	dirrah
B	—
VB	—
V	mikhṣarah
W	mikhṣarah
Ar. Diat.	dirrah

Two different strategies are adopted by the Arab translators in dealing with the Latinism φραγέλλιον,[98] neither involving a calque of the sort used in the Peshīṭtā, which transcribes φραγέλλιον as fragelā.[99] The translator of the oldest version

94 R. Morgenthaler, Statistik, pp. 149, 163.

95 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, p. 1559b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, p. 637a; G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, p. 1394b. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, A New Latin Dictionary, p. 1875a-b.

96 Ciasca's edition (Tatiani evangeliorum harmoniæ arabice, p. 194) and Codex Vat. Ar. XIX both use the Arabic cognate daff, 'surface', cf. Diatessaron de Tatien, ed. A.-S. Marmadji, p. 491, n. on Jo 19:20.

97 R. Morgenthaler, Statistik, pp. 154, 163.

98 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, p. 1690a; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, p. 675a. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, A New Latin Dictionary, p. 755a.

99 F. Schwally, Idioticon, p. 113.

used here (Sin. Ar. 72) offers the literal rendering *dirrah* ('whip'), while the other two both use *mikhṣarah*, strictly speaking a 'stick'.

1.18.   φραγελλόω ¦ 'to whip' ¦ || Mt 27:26 ~ Mk 15:15 ||[100] {P ܦ̄ܪ̄ܓ̄ܠ – ܦ̄ܪ̄ܓ̄ܠ / syᵖˡ ܢܓܕ / syᵛ ܢܓܕ – ܡܬܢܓܕܐ}

	Mt	Mk
Sin. Ar. 72	*ḍaraba bi-l-dirrah*	*ḍaraba bi-l-dirrah*
B	*ḍaraba bi-l-dirrah*	*ḍaraba bi-l-dirrah*
VB	*ḍaraba bi-l-dirrah*	*ḍaraba bi-l-dirrah*
V	*jalada*	*ḍaraba*
W	*jalada*	*mujallad*
Ar. Diat.	*jalada bi-l-dirar*	–

The verb φραγελλόω is a Greek calque on the Latin form *flăgello*,[101] so that φραγελλώσας ('having scourged') refers to flogging with a lash having sharp bits for tearing the flesh. This aorist active participle is handled differently in the Arabic versions consulted. One translator opts for the literal *ḍaraba bi-l-dirrah* ('to whip'; lit. 'to flog with the whip'). P offers the calque *fargel* ('to whip') for Mt 27:26, but in Mk 15:15 uses the part. pael *mnaged* ('to beat'); syᵖˡ gives *ngad,* while syᵛ uses *ngad* (Mt 27:26) and the part. Ethpael *metnagdā* (Mk 15:15) to translate this Latinism.

The other Arab translators employ different strategies. One of these is exegetic: *ḍaraba* (Viena Ms. 34 on Mk 15:15) appears to reflect some interference from the Syriac version in the Peshīṭṭā, which gives the act. part. pael *mnaged* ('to beat'). The omission of the prepositional extension *bi-l-dirrah* ('with the whip') required for a literal translation of the verb φραγελλόω (cf. Peshīṭṭā *fargel*) is due to harmonisation with Mk 15:19 ἔτυπτον (αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν) ('they beat [his head]'), cf. P *maḥeyn (hwaw leh 'al rīsheh)* ('they beat [on his head]'). The translator of Ar. Diat., by contrast, has opted for a literal rendering of the verbal Latinism, offering *jalada bi-l-dirar* ('to flog with the whips').

The remaining translators use the literal *jal(l)ada / mujallad;* the hypercorrection deriving from the use of the faʿal form both for the perfective and for the pass. part. is intended to intensify the effect. However, it is the faʿal form which has the specific sense of 'to whip, scourge'.

100 R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, pp. 154, 163.
101 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1690a; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 675a; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1485b. Cf. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A New Latin Dictionary*, p. 755a.

Greek terms against Latin loanwords

Another interesting issue is Luke's use of five Greek terms as equivalents to the Latinisms employed in the other Synoptic Gospels. It should be noted that Luke's style is the most refined and classical of the three.[102] Moreover, Luke's Gospel uses fewer Latinisms than the other three, and includes only one Aramaic term, σίκερα in 1:15[103] (from Aramaic שִׁכְרָא;[104] cf. Syriac ܫܲܟܪܵܐ *shakhrā*), indicating a fermented liquor especially used for beer; the word is linked to the Hebrew cognate form *shēkhār* (שֵׁכָר;[105] cf. LXX σίκερα)[106], whose etymon is the Assyrian *shikaru* ('date wine').[107]

Luke's use of Greek terms instead of the Latinisms favoured by the other Synoptic Gospels is examined in detail in the chart below.

Greek terms	English trans-lation	Latin loan-words	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jo	Other New Tes-tament Books
ἐπιγραφή	'inscription'	τίτλος	—	—	23:38	19:19 19:20	—
λεπτὸν	'lepton'	κοδράντης	5:26	12:42	12:59	—	—
παιδεύω	'to chasten'	φραγελλόω	27:26	15:15	23:16 23:22	—	—
							Acts 9:15 Acts 10:11 Acts 10:16 Acts 11:5 Acts

102 On style and language use in Luke, see Adelbert Denaux, "Style and stylistics, with special refer-ence to Luke", and "Characteristic language use in Luke. The Search for reliable criteria", in Idem, *Studies in the Gospel of Luke: structure, language and theology*, «Tilburg Theological Studies», Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2010, pp. 329-347, and 349-370 respectively.

103 See on this issue Gerard Mussies, "The Use of Hebrew and Aramaic in the Greek New Testa-ment", *New Testament Studies* 30/3 (1984), pp. 416-432.

104 Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vol., London – New York: Luzac & Co. – G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903, II, p. 1576b.

105 F. Brown, S. R. Driver & C. H. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. With an appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius, Boston – New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1906, p. 1016a-b.

106 Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Louvain – Paris – Walpole, Ma: Peeters, 2009, p. 621b. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two Way Index to the Septua-gint*, Louvain – Paris- Walpole, Ma: Peeters, 2010, pp. 106b s. v. σίκερα, and 366 s. v. שֵׁכָר.

107 *The Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD), Chicago, Il. – Glückstadt: Oriental Institute – J. J. Augustin Ver-lagsbuchhandlung, 1992, p. 428 §2a.

| σκεῦος | 'vessel' | μόδιος | 12:29 11:16 | 3:27 17:31 | 8:16 | 19:29 | 27:17 Ro 9:21 Ro 9:22 Ro 9:23 2 Co 4:7 1 The 4:4 2 Ti 2:20 2 Ti 2:21 He 9:21 1 Pe 3:10 Re 2:27 Re 18:12 |
| φόρος | 'payment' | κῆνσος | 17:25 22:17 22:19 | 12:14 | 20:22 23:2 | – | Ro 13:6 13:7 |

1.19. ἐπιγραφή ¦ 'inscription' ¦ || Lk 23:38 ||[108] {P ܟܬܒܐ / sy[pl] ܟܬܒ / sy[v] ܟܬܒ}

Sin. Ar. 72	maktūb
BnF	ṣaḥīfah
B	–
VB	–
V	kitāb
W	kitābah
Ar. Diat.	–

Reference was made earlier (§1.16) to the Arabic translations of τίτλος in Jo 19:19,20. One translator opted for a literal translation of the Latinism (ṣakk 'title'), whilst the others employed a metonymic strategy (lawḥ 'tablet'). Here, various strategies are used to translate the subs. nom. f. sg. ἐπιγραφή meaning 'inscription',[109] ranging from a literal translation (kitābah 'inscription') to the freer renderings kitāb ('writing; document; book') and ṣaḥīfah ('sheet'), and the pass. part. maktūb ('written'). While P translates τίτλος as lūḥā ('table, tablet') and dafā ('board; tablet') for the two references in John, here it opts for the subst. ktabā ('writing, document, book'), cognate with the Arabic kitāb used by the translator of Viena Ms. 34. Both sy[pl] and sy[v] prefer the participle adjective ketīb ('written').

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108 Cf. R. Morgenthaler, Statistik, p. 98.
109 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, p. 530a; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, p. 237a; G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon, p. 519b.

1.20. λεπτὸν ¦ 'lepton' ¦ || Lk 12:59 ||[110] { P ܫܡܘܢܐ / sy[ph] ܠܡܘܢܐ / sy[v] ܫܡܘܢܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	fals
BnF	fals
B	—
VB	—
V	fals
W	fals
Ar. Diat.	—

This very small coin was worth half a *quādrans* and 1/128 of a *denarius*. It was noted earlier, in the discussion of κοδράντης (§1.5), that the Arab translators rendered the subst. ac. neut. sg. λεπτὸν (the smallest coin)[111] by *fals* in Mt 5:26 and Mk 12:42. Here, as in the case of the Latinism κοδράντης, P, sy[ph] and sy[v] give *shamūnā* ('obol').

1.21. παιδεύω ¦ 'to chast' ¦ || Lk 23:16,22 ||[112] { P ܪܕܐ ܐܢܫ / sy[v] ܪܕܐ ܐܢܫ – ܪܕܐ ܐܢܫ}

| Sin. Ar. 72	addaba
BnF	addaba
B	—
VB	—
V	addaba
W	addaba
Ar. Diat.	addaba

Like φραγελλόω (cf. §1.18), παιδεύω[113] indicates punishment, but of a more restricted kind ('to train children; to chasten, correct (by means of beating)', cf. Rev 3:19; cf. παιδεία and παιδεύειν). This sense clearly presents the Arab trans‐ lators with a range of lexical options, although here they all opt for the intensive fa''al form *addaba–yu'addib*, with the meaning of 'to instruct, correct, discipline'. Both P and sy[v] use the imperfect peal *'erdeywhī* ('to chastise; instruct'), whereas they render φραγελλόω by the calque *fargel* ('to whip') in Mt 27:26 and by the act. part. pael *mnaged* ('to beat') in Mk 15:15.

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110 Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 116.
111 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 885a; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 374a; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 798a. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 429a-b.
112 Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 127.
113 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1107b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 474a; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 996b. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 519a.

1.22. σκεῦος ¦ 'vessel' ¦ || Lk 8:16 ||[114] {P ܡܐܢܐ/ sy[pl] ܡܐܢܐ / sy[v] ܡܐܢܐ /
TDiat[sy] ܡܐܢܐ}

Sin. Ar. 72	inā'
BnF	inā'
B	–
VB	–
V	inā'
W	inā'
Ar Diat.	–

The term σκεῦος the Greek equivalent of the Latinism μόδιος (cf. §1.11), is
handled differently from it by the Arab translators.[115] Whilst the Latinism is trans-
lated either by the calque *mudī* or by the unit of measurement *mikyāl*, the Greek
term – which has a much more general meaning – is rendered by the subst. *inā'*
'vessel'.[116] P, which earlier gives *sāthā* ('bushel') for μόδιος, here translates σκεῦος
as *mānā* ('vessel'), as do sy[pl] and sy[v].

1.23. φόρος ¦ 'payment' ¦ || Lk 20:22 ||[117] {P ܡܟܣ / sy[v] ܡܟܣ}

Sin. Ar. 72	kharāj
BnF	jizyah
B	–
VB	–
V	jizyah
W	kharāj
Ar. Diat.	–

The earlier discussion of κῆνσος (cf. §1.4) highlighted the range of strategies
adopted by Arab translators; two of those strategies were also employed when
rendering the subst. φόρος, a more general term applicable to any kind of tribute
or tax:[118] *kharāj* and *jizyah*. The more suitable choice would appear to be *kharāj*,
since *jizyah* is anachronistic in the sociological context of the New Testament
(*vide supra* §1.4). As it does for κῆνσος, P gives *ksep* ('silver; money').

114 Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 141.
115 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1396b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The
     Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 577a-b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*,
     p. 1236b. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 623b-624a.
116 G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum*, I, p. 67a.
117 Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 154.
118 H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 1689a-b; J. H. Moulton & G. Milligan, *The
     Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, p. 674b; G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*,
     p. 1488b. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 719b.

Conclusions

Whilst aware that the lexical data yielded by the translations examined can be classified in various ways, we have chosen here to assign them to one of four trans—lation strategies: 1. Translation of the Latinism (10 occurrences); 2. Adaptation of the meaning to an equivalent Arabic term (7 occurrences); 3. Interpretation (3 oc—currences); and 4. Retention of the Latin loanword (6 occurrences).

1. Translation. The loanword is translated in two different lexical circumstances:
   a. When no exact equivalent is found for a Latin technical term, e. g. ἀσσάριον, translated by *ribāṭ* (cf. §1.1); κεντυρίων, rendered by *qā'id al-mi'ah*, abbreviated to *qā'id* (cf. §1.3); λίτρα by *qarrābah* (cf. §1.9); ξέστης by *kūs / kuwūs* (< *ku'ūs*) (cf. §1.12); and σπεκουλάτωρ by *sayyāf* (cf. §1.15).
   b. When the Latinism, though not a technical term, favours translation: examples include the translation of κουστωδία by *ḥaras* and *ḥirās* (cf. §1.6); λέντιον by *izār, mandīl* and *minshafah* (cf. §1.8); μόδιος by *mikabbah* (cf. §1.11); ξέστης by *awānī l-nuḥās* (§1.12); σουδάριον by *mandīl, lifāfah, izār,* and *'imāmah* (§1.14); τίτλος by *ṣakk* (cf. §1.16); φραγέλλιον by *dirrah* and *mikhṣarah* (cf. §1.17); and φραγελλόω by *ḍaraba bi-l-dirrah, jalada bi-l-dirar, jalada,* and *mujallad* (cf. §1.18).

2. Adaptation. The use of an Arabic equivalent of the Latinism, if it meets three conditions:
   a. Semantic similarity: e. g. ἀσσάριον, adapted to *fals* (cf. §1.1); κοδράντης to *fals,* even when (Lk 12:59) it is the Greek term λεπτὸν which is trans—lated (cf. §1.5); λίτρα to *raṭl* (cf. §1.9).
   b. Conceptual similarity: e. g. κῆνσος, adapted to *jibāyah, kharāj, dīnār, jizyah, dīnar al-kharāj, dirham al-jizyah,* and *al-maks wa-l-jizyah* (cf. §1.4); μόδιος to *mikyāl* (cf. §1.11); ξέστης to *aqdiḥah,* though all other versions offer a translation (§1.12); πραιτώριον to *dīwān* (< Syr. *īwan*?) (cf. §1.13).
   c. Modernisation of a *locus sanctus*: e. g. πραιτώριον, adapted to the Latin—ism *balāṭ* (< *plătĕa*) because it designates the governor's palace in Jerusa—lem once occupied by Pontius Pilate (cf. §1.13).

3. Interpretation. Two different interpretation strategies are employed by the Arab translators:
   a. Focussing on lexical and semantic equivalence: e. g. κεντυρίων interpreted as *ṣāḥib al-ḥarbah* and *'arīf al-rajjālah* (cf. §1.3); τίτλος as *lawḥ* (cf. §1.16); φραγελλόω as *ḍaraba* (cf. §1.18).
   b. Exegetic: e. g. λεγιών interpreted symbolically as *ribwah / ribwāt* and *ithnā 'ashr al-qabīlah min al-malā'ikah* on the basis of the number 12 and its mul—tiples, or using an indefinite quantitative form like *jawq* (cf. §1.7).

4. Retention of the Latinism. Three options are preferred for this strategy:
    a. Use of an existing Arabised form: e. g. δηνάριον as *dīnār* (cf. §1.2); μίλιον as *mīl* (cf. §1.10).
    b. Use of a calque on the Graecised Latinism: e. g. λεγιών rendered as *laji− yūn, laji'ūn, lājāwun, lājā'ūn, lighyūn* (cf. §1.7); μόδιος as *mudī* (cf. §1.11); πραιτώριον as *abraṭūriyūn, abraṭuriyūn, abrūṭūriyūn, abrūṭuriyūn, abrūṭūr* (cf. §1.13).
    c. Use of a calque on the Graecised Latinism + additional explanatory term: e. g. πραιτώριον rendered as *dār al-abrūṭūriyūn* (cf. §1.13).

With regard to the Arabic translation of the five Greek terms used by Luke where the other Gospels employ a Latinism, the following general conclusions can be drawn:

1. None of the Arab translators opts to use a Latinism.
2. Literal translation of the Greek term: e. g. ἐπιγραφή by *kitābah* (cf. §2.1); παιδεύω by *addaba* (cf. §2.3); σκεῦος by *inā'* (cf. §2.4).
3. Adaptation of the Greek term: e. g. λεπτὸν to *fals* (cf. §2.2), also used to translate the Latinism κοδράντης (cf. §1.5, and Conclusions §2a); φόρος adapted to *kharāj* and *jizyah* (cf. §2.4).

Sigla and abbreviations

Arabic Mss.	References and editions
Sin. Ar. 72	Sinaitic Arabic 72 (9th c.)
	(Samir Arbache, *Une ancienne version arabe des Evangiles. Langue, texte et lexique*, 3 vol., Bordeaux: Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux III, 1994).
BnF	Bibliothèque national de France 'Supplement grec 911' (11th c.)
B	Berlin orient. Oct. 1108 (year 1046/47)
	(Bernhard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien− Übersetzung Vat. Borg. ar. 95 und Ber. orient. oct. 1108*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1938)
VB	Vaticana Borg. ar. 95
	(Bernhard Levin, *Die griechisch-arabische Evangelien− Übersetzung Vat. Borg. ar. 95 und Ber. orient. oct. 1108*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1938)
V	Viena Ms. 34 (14th c.)
	(*Die Vier Evangelien arabisch aus der Wiener Handschrift heraus− gegeben*, ed. Paul de Lagarde, Leipzig: F. A, Brockhaus, 1864).
W	*Kitāb al-'Ahd al-Jadīd, ya'nī Injīl al-Muqaddas li-Rabbinā Yasū' al-Masīḥ*, ed. Richard Wats, London, 1820.
Ar. Diat.	Copy from the Library of the 'École Biblique' of Jerusalem
	(*Diatessaron de Tatien*, ed. A.-S. Marmadji, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1935).

Syriac versions

TDiat[sy]	Tatian's Diatessaron
	Biblia Polyglota Matritensia. Series VI. Vetus evangelium syrorum et exinde excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani, ed. Ignacio Ortiz de Urbina, Madrid: CSIC, 1947.
Peshīṭṭā	Peshīṭṭā
	George A. Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels. Aligning the Old Syriac Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshitta and Harklean Versions*, Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004 (3.ª ed.).
sy[ph]	Syriac Philoxene
	Sacrorum Evangeliorum versio Syriaca philoxeniana, ed. Joseph White, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1778.
sy[pl]	Syriac Palestinian Lectionary
	The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels. Re-edited from two Sinai MSS. and from P. de Lagarde's edition "Evangeliarium Hierosolimitanum", ed. Agnes Smith Lewis & Margaret Dunlop Gibson, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1899.
sy[v]	*Vetus Syra*
	Remains of a very ancient recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, ed. William Cureton, London: John Murray, 1858.
	The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-Mepharreshê, ed. A. Smith Lewis, London: Williams and Norgate, 1910.
	The Old Syriac Gospels, ed. E. Jan Wilson, 2 vols., Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002.