MIDDLE ARABIC IN A COPTIC-ARABIC MANUSCRIPT

IN THE

"RÖHSSKA KONSTSLÖJDMUSÉET", GÖTEBORG, SWEDEN

BY

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In 1927 the "Röhsska Konstslöjmuséet" in Göteborg received a Coptic-Arabic manuscript as a gift from the late Sigfrid Lindstam who probably had bought it in Istanbul in 1911 or 1912. The manuscript has the designation RKM 32-27.

The manuscript contains the Coptic text of the baptismal ritual of the Coptic Church with an Arabic translation. It consists of 103 folios. It is written by two hands. Hand A uses a neat and easily legible *nasīl* script while hand B is much cruder and clumsier. Hand B has written folios 18, 41-44, 63 and 76-83 which obviously replace the corresponding folios belonging to hand A which have been worn out. The manuscript, which is bound in a codex, shows traces of at least two mendings where the folios by hand A have been cut out and glued to new strips of paper in the inner margins. The manuscript is rather worn especially in the beginning and it is also stained by water in the folios containing the texts for the consecration of the baptismal font.

Apart from the priestly readings and prayers belonging to the ritual the ms. also contains two sermons in rhymed prose, one of which is ascribed to al-Ṣafī b. al-ʿAssāl (95v).

It is clear that hand B has written both the Coptic and the Arabic while this is less obvious with hand A. The Arabic stands on the right side of the page in a rather narrow column.

**Dating**

The ms. contains two colophons by hand A which run as follows:

\[\text{الع} \text{ذي تم} \text{وكمل ذلك في خمس عشرين هنور سنة} \text{15ر} \]

"So this was completed on the 25th of Hatūr in the year 1305."
"So this was completed on the blessed Tuesday, the 28th of the
blessed month of Kīhak in the year 1305 of the pure, blessed and
pious martyrs. May God grant us their blessings! Amen."

The year 1305 according to the Coptic "Era of the Martyrs" is 1589 A.D. and
the months Hatūr and Kīhak correspond to November and December.5

It may be supposed that the ms. was written in Egypt. The earliest ms. of this
content noted by Graf is from 1307.6 The great bulk of Coptic-Arabic texts is
from the 12th century and later.7 Blau’s studies on Christian and Jewish Middle
Arabic are based on texts from the 9th to the 13th centuries while the material
used by Knutsson starts in the 14th century.8 Egyptian Middle Arabic material
has been studied by Blau (13th century) and Davies (17th century). Recently a
Muslim Egyptian text from the 14th century has been published with notes on
Middle Arabic elements by Lundén.9 In the present study special reference will
be made to the parallels with Middle Arabic and Egyptian origin.

The homily ascribed to al-Ṣafī b. al-ʿAṣāl in the ms. is also found in two
mss. in the Vatican Library from the 16th and 17th centuries.10 This sermon
was thus a part of the baptismal liturgy at least from the 16th century. The
oldest version of the homily may be as early as the 13th century, i.e. when
al-Ṣafī was still alive.11 The letters in the two sermons, which are in Arabic
only, are somewhat larger than in the sections translated from the Coptic and
they are also written with a slightly thicker pencil. This is explicable by
the more ample space available to the writer when he did not have to pay re-
gard to the Coptic text. The handwriting is in all other details identical
with hand A. The second colophon concludes the homily of al-Ṣafī.

The Middle Arabic of the ms.

As pointed out by Blau, the term Middle Arabic is most properly used as a des-
ignation of the kind of Arabic found in several medieval Arabic texts which
show influences from a colloquial of more or less the same type as the modern
Arabic dialects.12 Middle Arabic is thus not the Arabic spoken in the Middle
Ages but the language found in the texts, which hovers between Classical Ara-
bic, the colloquial and pseudocorrections. From this point of view, the pres-
ent ms. is of a clearly Middle Arabic type, showing many of the elements de-
scribed by Blau and others. The study of Middle Arabic is a part of the study of Arabic diglossia in general. A distinction should thus be made between the description of this diglossia at different stages of the history of Arabic and between the problem of the origin of the diglossic situation. From this point of view all periods of Arabic deserve to be investigated. This also holds for "the dark centuries" after 1500 where Knutsson's study is the main contribution. The investigation of Arabic diglossia has, in general, been concentrated on the present century and the earliest Islamic period.

HAND A

Vocalisation and diacritical points

The ms. is furnished with vowel signs. This is, however, a pseudovocalisation since the fatha sign is used almost always, even in cases which should have kasra or damma, e.g. مالک لله (94r) "religion". In a few words the damma is used correctly, e.g. فَهْمُ (15v). Only once a madshuul form is marked: مَّلْعْبَ (88r) "it is defeated", cf. سَتَر (35) "it was hidden".

The sukun is never used. The šadda occurs consistently only in the word آل (29v, 36r, 38r, 51v), and once in إما (48v). The perpendicular 'alif is not used.

The tanwīn is consistent only with the accusative ending ل. The genitive -in is written in a few cases: مالک لله (29v), but mostly left unmarked, e.g. مَّلْعْبَ (69r). The nominative -un is never found written with tanwīn. Worth noting is the spelling of a participle III يذ (4r). This is the only case of the indeterminate state of a root of this kind in the ms. 13

The madda is used with the ending -ا but not consistently: لله (93v) but لله (ibid.). The long -ا- is sometimes spelt with madda also when not final: جَالَوْ (5r). One may note the spelling جَالَوْ (6r) "they came".

The alif otiosum is missing in جَالَوْ above. On the other hand, it is once written in a non-finite form: بَيْنَا مَعَكَ (96r) "with a filled vessel".

The distinction between final يذ and 'alif maqūra is not made. Thus the endings -ذ and -ذ are indiscriminately written يذ as mater lectionis, sometimes with the diacritical points and sometimes without them, no principle in the spelling being apparent. Thus, e.g., the relative particle الذي is spelt with ذ 26 times in the first 40 folios, and with ذ 18 times. The preposition إلى is written ل 7 times, but without the two dots three times only. Spel-
lings like گر for یار (6r) موسي (49r) and موص (48v) for "iba�" and nadj should also be noted. On the other hand, there are spellings like الحقيق (8v, 13r) and الحقيقى (ibid.) (for the مختلس).

The same inconsistency in the use of the diacritics is found in the spelling of final -"ay. Thus لك (6r) but لكي (8v, 9v). It should be remarked that this haphazard use of the diacritical points occurs only with final یادة.18

H a m s a. The همسا sign is extensively used only in words ending in -" in Classical Arabic, but not consistently even here.19 It has the invariable form ٕٙ or ٖٙ regardless of the case, e.g. په (6r) "and he came", فی (102r) "You have become a vessel for the Holy Ghost". There are, however, cases where it is not written, e.g. عل (93v) but ibid. (both in the genitive). Instances where the همسا is not written are: perfect of the verb اما" (99r, cf. غث (91v) "to enlighten" and اما (52v) "to want". In the same manner ار (72r) "air", عل (5v) "comfort" (but ار (70v). "Virgin" is the العل (8r, 9r).

A few times همسا is found after a consonant: ٖٙ (3v, genitive), (39v). The latter is mostly spelt without همسا: ٖٙ (67v) or ٖٙ (70r).22 Once the همسا is put in front of the first consonant: ٖٙ (29v).23

The همسا is never written on initial "الپ and, except for one doubtful case, never within a word. Thus the sequence C+همسا+V always appears with "الپ only: ٖٙ (35v), سل (9v); cf. also ٖٙ (16r), ٖٙ (9v). The Classical همسا preceded by a short "ا- is not marked either: ٖٙ (3r) ٖٙ (95v, passive).

The same principle is found in the few cases of ٖٙ (68r, 75r) ور (101v). The word for "sins" is written ٖٙ (54r) for ٖٙ (55v).28 However, ٖٙ (54r) may possibly have a small همسا written over ٖٙ but it is hardly discernible in the ms. The same might hold for ٖٙ (8v).

Sequences "أ/أ" are written with ٖٙ, mostly with the diacritical points;26 so always in the active participle of verba "I خ/ي: ٖٙ (16r) دب (93v). There is only one exception: ٖٙ (5v). In the same way the plural of "angel": ٖٙ (84v). Further: ر (84r), ملک (50v). "Israel" is mostly spelt with ٖٙ but a few instances have لیل (53r).27 One might further note لیل (55r) for ٖٙ. The word for "sins" is written ٖٙ (55v).

The sequence ٖٙ is always written without همسا: ٖٙ (31v, 32v, fem.) and ٖٙ (27v).29

H a m s a t a l - ٖٙ. The word for "woman" is written according to
Classical standards except in one case: مراه (16r). In other words, the 'ālīf is consistently written even in words with hommat al-waqāf. 30

Long ڭ - There are a few cases of defective spelling. It occurs twice with "three": طلت (73v, 75v), 31 and once in سوك (4r) "except you". The word الله is always spelt in the Qur'anic way (mostly also with سودا). 32 With 'ilāh-, however, there is an inconsistency. The derived adjective 'īlāhīyy- is always defective; when the word 'ilāh- has a pronominal suffix (e.g. "our God") the plene writing is twice as frequent as the defective. Without suffix it is always defective, thus الا الله but الا الا الله. 33

t / َ . While there is no case of confusion between َئ and َئ in the ms. (the latter always being written with three dots) the ِئ and ِئ alternate in a way that seems to reflect a pronunciation different from the one found in Classical Arabic. 34 The root لئب is always written with ِئ (20r, 34v). The same holds for ثوب (7v, 12v, 60r, 98r). Further لئرت (38r) "inheritors", لئمره (9r, 13v) "fruit", لئيبيت (39v) "the wicked one", 35 لئث (95v) "the second". In words of higher frequency the spelling varies: لئتل (60v), لئل (38v, 74v) but with ِئ in 9r, 14r, 62v, 64r (مئل), 48v (مئل). لئمما is written with ِئ a few times (10r, 19v), and "idols" is لئانث in 23r and 24v. The rather frequent numeral "three" is always written with لئ except once in the derived word لئن "trinity": لئلل لئول (102r) which could be a contamination with the abstract suffix لئن.

d / َ . There are a few exceptional cases where the diacritical point is missing in نئن and َئ . The relative particle لئن which occurs 19 times with the diacritical point and 6 times without it in the first 40 folios of the ms. while the plural لئن is found six times, always without the dot. This makes 19 of 25 for this word. Of 16 cases of this four are written with لئن. To this may be added لئن (7r, 49v) and من لئن (51v, but 52v). One may also compare لئن (6r) "arms" and لئن (35v) "save them". 36 Finally, the spelling لئن (72v) "the new one" should be noted. 37

ض / ُ . There are two cases of لئ instead of لئ, both in the same word: لئوط (23r, 24r) "promised" (but لئوط (25r and لئوط (21r). The highly frequent participle لئب is once spelt with لئ (25v). 38

أ / ُ . The use of the diacritical points over final لئ marking it as لئ marbūṭa follows a clear pattern: the points occur when the word is in the construct state: لئرة لئرة (17r) "participation in Thy holy mysteries"; لئرة (35v) "the delicious olive tree"; من لئرة to معرفة الحق 39
from error to knowledge of the truth and from service of the idols...

"by the message of His holy Gospel". When occurring in the other states the ĥā is written without the two dots: the death-bringing sin; the opposing evil spirits. Cf. also (sīra) was busy and the Holy Spirit (8r, 13r) "Holy Mary". There are only a few deviations from this pattern: the prayer of absolution (the only case of in the construct state); the Grace which...; the woman who...; the power of Mercy; and the Error.

The consistent differentiation between ĥā and tā marbūta must reflect a pronunciation -/\-t\ as in the modern colloquial. Some of the instances of tā marbūta in the non-construct states might be due to a pseudoclassical pronunciation -t when several words occur in a closer connection. The two cases where the word in is followed by the relative particle should be noted in this connection. Further examples are: the power of the everlasting life; the bitter waters; the woman who believes; [she was] a woman who believes; with great agony; the Grace of Baptism which forgives sins; but the deeds which give life.

There is one example of confusion between and (10v) "she has to live with him" (= I Cor. 7:12).

The general impression is that the differentiation between homographs by means of diacritical points is not made haphazardly in the ms., but reflects the pronunciation of the writer. This is evident in the distribution of ĥā and tā marbūta. In words with t/t and d/d the interdentals tend to be replaced by the dentals in words of low frequency, while in words of higher frequency, like the relative particles, there is a more insecure handling of the diacritical points. As will be shown later, the use of these particles in the ms. indicates that the writer does not have a natural intuition or even a grammatical insight into the rules for their use. Lastly, the rendering of the Classical haram shows that the writer does not have this phoneme in his speech, and it is restituted in special cases only in order to indicate a more Classical reading.

Personal pronouns

The only instance of a form deviating from Classical Arabic is (7r) "you" (fem.sing.).
The definite article

There is a kind of popular etymology of the name Pontius Pilate: بلَأَطِلِ الْبُطُوْن (24r). This may be a reflex of the definite article P- in Coptic.

ًىدُسُا

There is one instance of two muḏḏāfāt to one muḏḏāf ًىلاَيُن: هم جد ودم الأثن (102v) "they are the body and blood of the Son". Like similar examples quoted by Blau the two words in question are synonyms, parallels or otherwise connected. 

There is often confusion between ًىدُسُا constructions and attributive constructions. Thus, "the First Letter to the Corinthians" is رسالة قورنتيه الأولى (10r, 96r). Rather frequent are negated aḥt-adjectives where the adjective agrees with the noun and the article is attached to the muḏḏāf: الموهوب الخبر (21r) "the incorruptible gift"; اللباس الخبر فاسده (66r, 85v) "the incorruptible clothing"; الجماهير فاسده (85r-v, 89v) "the incorruptible life". With the latter may be compared (86r) "the immortal life". Further: النور العلوي الخبر موصوف (99v) "the heavenly, indescribable light"; يا سيدي الغر خاطئ (14v) "the unsuccessful pains"; "O Lord without sins". Two cases occur with the article attached to a numeral: الثلاثة ملوك الكبار (7v) "the three prayers of peace"; السبع ملوك السلام (55v) "the seven great prayers".

A special case is the expression "the Holy Spirit". In the ms. this is consistently translated الروح القدس which seems to be the normal form in modern Christian Arabic. Thus the modern Bible translation has it in e.g. Matthew 1:18 and 28:19 while Levin's texts here have the ًىدُسُا, "the Spirit of Holiness". In the present ms. the ًىدُسُا is used with a possessive suffix: روح القدس (9v, 14v, 57v, 65v, 71r) "Thy holy Spirit". With the suffix the attributive construction is sometimes employed: اسم القدس (72r) "Thy holy Name".

Case inflection

Since the vocalisation does not render the pronunciation, the use of the case endings is reflected only in the consonantal spelling. The handling of the Classical inflectional system is, on the whole, rather insecure.

N o m i n a t i v e. Oblique forms are often written instead of the nominative, e.g., the genitive: الذين كتبوا اسمهم (27v) "whose names are written";
The word אב "father" regularly lacks the special nominative construct form in אב conveying "The Father of our Lord". As has already been shown, the construct appears with pronominal suffixes in the accusative and genitive (although incorrectly used).

Genitive. Accusative occurs instead of genitive in a few cases: من قبل الله الآبیناء "from His holy prophets" (cf. ii2:25) "in Thy true faith and hope".

Accusative. The final 'alif marking the indeterminate state of the accusative is absent in several cases: كان إسمايل صادقا خالقا "he was a righteous and (god)fearing man" (Luke 2:25; Luke 2) "and my eyes have seen Thy salvation...a light which has become manifest";

 ليكونوا فاضلا فاقدًا "so that they (the water and the oil) may become an incorruptible clothing";

 كان متمتمفق "he was girdled".

Gender

The word שטן and its plural שדים are both treated as fem. sing. and as proper names (without the definite article): שטן הגברhoot (39v) "the visible devil"; כל שדים (32v) "all your evil devils". The word מלך is feminine in accordance with Aramaic. Thus has been treated subsequently with the kingdom of heaven has come near"; "Thy glorious kingdom"; The heavenly kingdom".
Adjectives and participles

An adjective found in other texts of this kind is "dead". An adjective found in other texts of this kind is "dead". A participle derived from the noun "belt" occurs in 98v: "...and he (John the Baptist) was girdled with skin".54

Numerals

The numeral "two" is once used in the absolute state with a pronominal suffix: "and they (the two) descended".55

Weak verbs

There is one example of a media geminata conjugated as III يَا (103r) "because you were entitled".56

There are some verbs III همآ written with يَا in the ms. Thus the مَذْحِل of "read" is همآ (91r fem. 3rd person but همآ in 95v). "To be filled" is spelt in a way that suggests that it is conjugated according to this pattern: همآ (28r) "they are filled with Thy power".57 Further: همآ (39v) "so that they may be enlightened by the Light of the gospel of Thy kingdom". Other forms of this verb are: همآ (30r), cf. the imperative and jussive: همآ (73r); همآ (99v) = perf. This spelling probably reflects the vernacular forms of this verb which in Egyptian Arabic are formed from the root حَدَّ.58 Of the same type is حَمَّا (87r) "we prepared them".

The تَع form of the root تَحَم, "to oppose", is always strong in the ms. where it only occurs as a participle: المضاديين (37v).59

Imperative

The verb "to give" has once a masculine singular imperative: همآ (71r) "give him power" (but هل واط 29r "and give").60 The verb "to prepare" (stem IV of عِد) occurs once with the تَحَم and twice without it in the imperative: "prepare ye the way of the Lord", but: عِد (26v, 57r) "prepare them to a temple".61

Use of moods

The indicative is used instead of the subjunctive: امتحن ان يبهون وبكرون... (58v) "grant them that they may live...and think...and understand" (cf. امتحن... ان يدركوا الشا... 21v; امتحن... ان ينتمح 96r) "the priests shall gather and bring a vessel filled with water and the priest shall say".62 Once the writer has written the imperfect of the verb "give" without the يَا: ونسل... ان ينسي هذا الأولاد وينتمح... ويعظم...
(102r) "and we pray that he will make these children forget... and that he will give them...". The א, however, has two dots under it, which therefore must have been put there as a correction.

The subjunctive/jussive is once used instead of the indicative:

עימד יא רabi

(58r) "Thy servants, O Lord, who serve Thee and call upon Thy name". 63

Gender/number agreement

Deviations from the strict rules of agreement of Classical grammar are rather frequent in the ms., and many of them bear witness to the writer's own speech. Here all cases of interest will be given. 64

a) masculine plural instead of feminine singular

לך ינקטש אפكار כלוב كثير (7r)

"so that the thoughts of many hearts / the thoughts of the hearts of many may be revealed"

איאמה קלאיל (16r)

"a few days"

וחלכ הערט الاقتصادية וחתים

"and He shut the depths and sealed them"

מנבע מד זה יביס המאמרה דיאמה (68v)

"after this he dresses the baptizees in white clothes"

هذه האלית הלכ לחיים להלימים עימד יא קלאיל

"these crowns which we have prepared in order to put them on Thy servants... so that they may be to them crowns of glory"

Cf. also the examples 27v and 29v quoted under "Nominative" above and 55v under "The definite article". 65

b) masculine plural instead of feminine plural 66

"the prescription of purification incumbent on every woman who has given birth that they shall abide during a few days as you have prescribed for them..."

"and we implore... on behalf of these Thy servants(f.) who have kept Thy law and fulfilled Thy commandments and who have longed to enter the place of Thy holiness and to prostrate before Thy temple..."

"bless Thy servants(f.)... that they may deserve participation in Thy holy mysteries..."
c) masculine plural instead of dual

قَدْ قَدَرْتُ هَذَا الْبَيْطَ وَهَذَا الْيَلْبَحَ لَا يُبْقَينَ حَيْمَ المِيلَادَ

"sanctify this water and this oil so that they may become the hot water of birth"

Cf. the correct use of the dual: خَالِقُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأرْضِ وَكُلُّ زَبُّنِيْهَا (67r) "Creator of heaven and earth and all their beauty". A special case is the following: وَلَيَّمَنَ هَذَا الْمَآءَ وَهَذَا الْيَلْبَحُ مُبَارَكَ مَعْلُوَبَينَ مِجَادًا مِثْبَرِينَ... (73r-v) "may this water and this oil be blessed, filled with glory, purified...". The Classical spelling would have spelled مُعْلُوَبَينَ مُعْلُوَبَينَ for the dual accusative and مُعْلُوَبَينَ مُعْلُوَبَينَ for the plural accusative. The omission of one of two identical consonants when one of them is مَعْلُوَبَينَ مُعْلُوَبَينَ is, however, frequent, and a decisive conclusion cannot be made here. In view of the insecure handling of numeral agreement in the ms., especially of the dual (see below) makes this interpretation of the spelling plausible.

d) dual instead of feminine plural

بَارِكُ امْلُكَ وَظُهُرُهَا وَحَلََّلِهَا... "bless Thy servants(f.) and purify them and

(17r) absolve them...

هُكَذَا إِذَا أَيْدَى الْإِنْسَانُ وَأَخَوَاهُ: ...in the same way, O our Lord, (bless) these

الْعَبَادُ الْمُؤَلِّدُونَ مِنْهُا (V 17r-v) "children born by them (= the female servants)"

e) dual instead of masculine plural

بَارَكُوا وَقَدْ سَمُوَّهَا وَحَلَّلُوا وَاتَّهَمُوا... "bless them (i.e. the children mentioned in

الْجَمِيعِ (V 17v) d) and sanctify them and make them grow and

bring them to full stature"

f) masculine singular instead of feminine singular

This kind of disagreement always involves the relative particle الَّذِي (cf. also

a, second last example, and b, second example).69

جَهَلَةُ الَّذِي هُوَ هُدَى الْزَّادِ (V 23r) "Thy body which is this oil"

هَيَّةُ الَّذِي تَقْدِمُوا الْبَيْحَ (V 28v) "the mercy toward which they have strived"

الإِمَامُ الَّذِي لا يُقَامُ عَلَيْهِ (V 37v) "the faith which cannot be defeated and which

cannot be resisted"

بيَّنَ الْإِمَامُ الَّذِي أَسْتَحْقَقَهَا أَوْلَادُكُمْ (102v) "with this mercy which your children have
deserved"

السَّرَابُ الْأَلِيمُ الَّذِي هُمْ جَدُّ وَدُمُ 

الأَمِينِ (V 102v) "the divine mysteries which are the body and

بَلَّدُ الْمُسَرَّبِ الْأَلِيمُ الَّذِي هُمْ جَدُّ وَدُمُ الأَمِينِ (V 102v) "the divine mysteries which are the body and

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g) feminine plural instead of masculine singular

لا تعجب (52r) "Do not be astonished" (= Jesus to Nicodemus, John 3:7)\(^70\)

h) masculine singular instead of masculine plural

هذا الولد (102r) "These children"\(^71\)

At last, a case of *construatio ad sensum*: دعى جميع الامم (25v) "all nations have been called".\(^72\)

**Passive**

With the G-stem the *mağhul* form is the normal form in passive constructions in the ms.\(^73\) One verb has once *mağhul* and once Ct: وكما رفع موسى الجبه في البرية (53v) "and as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up" (= John 3:14) ارتفعت: مداينته باتجاهه أن حياته ارتفعت من على الأرض (48v-49v) "in his humiliation his judgement was taken away...for his life is taken from the earth" (= Acts 8:33).\(^74\)

There is only one example of an nG form in a passive construction: راىوا جميعا (96v) "and they were all baptised" (= 1 Corinthians 10:2). The Ct of *'md* is used once in the homilies: المسيح الذي أُصمت في نهر أردن (103r) "Christ... who was baptised in the river Jordan". In other passages this verb has the tD in passive constructions. In the ms. the *mağhul* forms seem to occur with the G stem only, augmented forms being used with derived stems. It is impossible to decide whether these augmented forms (mostly tD) are also *mağhul* due to the lack of consistency in the vocalisation of the ms.\(^75\)

Passive constructions with agent extension are rather frequent. Some of them may be influenced by the Coptic, and it is evident that the writer had no difficulty or restrictions in finding Arabic equivalents to such phrases.\(^76\)

a) agent phrase with the preposition من (with noun)

سلاح الامام (الذي لا... يقاوم من المقادرين (37v) "the armour of faith which cannot be resisted by the adversaries"

لكي تخلص من جهة بشرة انجيله (8v) "so that we may be saved by the message of His Gospel"\(^77\)

هذا الدي من قبل دعى جميع الامم (25v) "He is the one by whom all nations have been called out of darkness"\(^78\)

وكان قد أوصى عليه من قبل الروح القدس (5v-6r) "and it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost" (= Luke 2:26)\(^79\)
Middle Arabic in a Coptic-Arabic manuscript

This is he that was spoken of by the prophet Isaiah (= Matthew 3:3). 80

who was baptised in the river Jordan by the Precursor John the Baptist. 81

b) agent phrase by the preposition علي

and they were all baptised by Moses (= I Corinthians 10:2) 82

c) agent phrase with ب

by whom they have been exhorted 83

Relative clauses

The tendency evident early in Classical Arabic for the relative particles to become subordinate conjunctions or relative pronouns is documented by at least one case in the ms.: 84 اقـلوا عـمة الروح القدس بالذي نالوا عـمة المعمودة المذكورة (102r) "they drew near to the mercy of the Holy Spirit by whom/which they received the mercy of Holy Baptism". The frequent cases of disagreement with the relative particle quoted under "Gender/number agreement" I above may be interpreted as evidence for this particle to have become a general subordinating conjunction introducing relative clauses. 85

Subordinate clauses

In one case the article إن is missing and the construction is asyndetic as in the modern colloquial: (49r) "who can tell it?". 86 ذلك is once used where it would be more normal: فنطلب...ونسل الله...لقي يفتح مسامع فخلوهم (29v-30r) "we beg...and ask God...that He will open the ears of their hearts". 87

The particle د is missing once in connection with the topicalisation particle وأما بفية الناس أقول: "اما (10r) "as far as the rest of mankind is concerned I say...". 88

Prepositional object

The preposition ل is sometimes used instead of others in non-locative verbal complements: ان نعم لهم مثمرة خطاياهم (21r) "bestow upon them forgiveness of their sins". In 26v the normal construction occurs: ان نعم عليهم بالنمو في الإيمان. Further: ونسين للملك المسيحى (38r) "and may we see Thy heavenly throne"; لتلبسهم لعيدها (87r) "that we may put them (the crowns) on Thy servants". 89
"our adversaries". The latter is interpretable as an objective genitive expressed analytically, a construction which is not entirely outside the system of Classical Arabic but still characteristic of Middle Arabic. 90

HAND B

Spelling

In the folios of hand B there are no cases of َئ, this always being replaced with ُئ. Also ُئ is lacking except in a few instances of ُئ الذي (44v). The two dots are also consistently written under all َل's, i.e. also when they are 'ال maqṣūra. The َئ is written twice, in the words البديد (79v) and المآئ (79v). One may also note the spellings ُئ (77v) "my bowels" and ُئ (63v) "these". The accusative كان in is always according to Classical standards. The handling of َئ marbūta follows that of hand A. A possible case of short َئ instead of long is the َئ (43v) "the powers". 91

Grammatical features

A negated adjective occurs in َئ the eternal, immortal life".

*واعموا بنور لاهوئك* (80r) "and they are enlightened by the light of Thy divinity".

NOTES

1 S. Lindstam (1879-1942), who was a Graecist and a teacher of Classical languages, undertook in the years 1911-1913 a journey to Italy, Greece and Turkey. The manuscript must have been bought during this journey, probably in Istanbul. According to Professor Åke Fridh, Department of Classical Studies, Göteborg, Lindstam in 1939 himself mentioned a manuscript for which he had paid 200 Swedish crowns. In the present ms. the figure 200 is written twice on the first page. There is also written, by another hand, £420, which might be the original price in Turkish pounds. For the data on Lindstam, see Göteborgs Högskolas matrikel 1916-41 (Göteborg 1942).

2 I want to express my thanks to the "Rönnas Konstslöjdmuseum" and especially Mr. Thomas Baagöe for giving me the opportunity to work with the manuscript.

3 For a description of the archaic Coptic baptismal ceremony, see O. H. E. Burmester, The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A detailed description of her liturgical services... in Textes et documents (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte), Le Caire 1967, pp. 111-126. For a more penetrating study of the text and its relations to the rituals of other Oriental churches, see id., The Baptismal rite of the Coptic Church: A critical study, in Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte t. XI (1945), pp. 27-86.
4 al-Ṣafī b. al-ʿAssāl, according to A. Mallon a Coptic counterpart to Bonaventura and Thomas ab Aquino, lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. The exact years of his birth and death cannot be determined but according to Graf he was dead when his brother ʿAbū Ḥasan composed his main work. The numbers found in Cairo (Kopt. Patr. 749, Aulād, p. 140) when listing this manuscript in his Catalogue (p. 158 = Nr. 433) and in Geschichtte (II, p. 396), this holy homily is, however, not mentioned.

5 The lack of consistency in distinguishing between final -ā, -ā and -ay is found also in Knutsson's texts (judging from the facsimiles). To this may be added the ending -ā, which may be written in the same way in MA (cf. Blau, Grammar, pp. 81ff., and examples under hama below). Levin suggests that the alternation between this latter ending and the spelling with qā might reflect 'ināla (Levin, p. 20). This is supported by the evidence in Blau's Coptic ms. where ʿālā (for ʿawālāt) and ʿādā (for bekāt = Class. bāqā) are found (Blau, Observations, pp. 222-227). In Levin there is a case like ʿināli. This suggests that the 'ināla (if this is the correct interpretation) may be independent of faryngalised consonants like qāf and qād. That this occurs even in modern dialects is well known (cf. Borg, Imāla, pp. 205ff.). For 'ināla after -ā, cf. Talmoudi, Sūsā, p. 37 ʿālām ʿid., Diglossic situation, p. 104 ʾikrā, p. 42 rāšat, and the opposition ʿāna "it happened" vs. ḍārā "he ran" (oral communication). In light of this, Davies' ʿānā may after all reflect pausal 'ināla (cf. ʿikāḥ from
In the present ms. "virgin" (Class. امرأة) is written "hamsa" (see below under "hamsa"). The inconsistent use of the two dots in final yā might thus reflect a pronunciation where final -ā, -ā', -ī and -ay sounded more or less the same. For the question of pausal ūmā-la, see Davies, pp. 81ff.

19 For hamsa in general in Christian Arabic, see Blau, Grammar, pp. 83ff.

20 Cf. Blau, Grammar, p. 89. The hamsa may be seen as a classicizing element in the spelling signalling one of the most conspicuous differences between colloquial and Classical accentuation. In the Egyptian colloquial the words which in CA end in -ā' have -ā, and the accent is on the first syllable if all syllables are short, and on the penultimate if this is short and the antepenultimate is long (Diem, pp. 34-35; Harrell, pp. 9-13). The colloquial accentuation is mostly extended even to borrowings from CA, e.g. rūyasa "gangers"; rī'asa "chiefs" (Mitchell, p. 212). The restitution of hamsa in these words with ensuing shift of accent to the ultima is an obvious signal of attempts to speak "fāḡīb". This restitution is common in the modern Standard Arabic texts analysed by Harrell and Diem. Cf. also Palva, Notes, p. 26; Blanc, Stylistic variations, p. 95; Davies, p. 73. Of special interest is the following case in Diem: bi-ṣahādā' (Diem, p. 72 1.9 in the Arabic text) "with its martyrs". The speaker here restores hamsa but is not able to form the correct case ending at the same time. Mostly, the case endings are lacking in these texts with nouns ending in -ā'. The restitution of hamsa and the consequent accentuation opposed to the colloquial seems to have higher priority than the 'ārāb, which, of course, is more difficult. The same picture emerges from the present ms. where the restitution of hamsa is pervading in these words while the handling of the case inflection is rather chaotic (see below under "Case inflection").

21 The same spelling of this word is seen in one of Cramer's manuscripts (Cramer, Tafel 87). The restitution of hamsa in final position after a consonant is often found in the Egyptian Standard Arabic texts already mentioned. Thus, Diem has bi-bad'ī l-dā'ārī (p. 69, text 3 1. 2) "in the beginning of the year"; gus'te mānha (Diem, p. 72, text 7 1. 4) "one part of it"; cf. amaha gus'tam min-al-wājānī (Harrell, p. 57 1. 13) "that it is a part of the (Arab) world".

22 Blau, Grammar, p. 93.

23 This could be a reflex of the anaptyctic vowel typical for Egyptian Arabic: kolle bāqa (Tomiche, p. 42-43, 201). Cf. Diem, p. 71 text Nr. 6 1. 8: kolle mā fīha etc. One could also compare the Syro-Palestinian form 'sāt (Cowell, p. 142).

24 Blau, Grammar, pp. 99-100; Knutsson, p. 77; Lundén, p. 36.


26 Blau, Grammar, pp. 93-95; Knutsson, pp. 65ff.

27 Knutsson, loc. cit.

28 Blau, Grammar, p. 86, 96 rem. A; Knutsson, p. 76.

29 Blau, Grammar, pp. 95-96.


31 Blau, Grammar, pp. 77ff. and, especially Knutsson, p. 55 note 2, and p. 60 note 2.
32 Cf. note 13.
34 For this phenomenon in Christian Arabic, cf. Levin, p. 19, and the thorough discussion by Knutsson, pp. 78ff. See also Blau, Diqāq, p. 34, and the remarks in Observations, pp. 221-222. The main argument for this spelling being a reflection of a pronunciation different from that of CA is the difference in the use of diacritical points in the ms.: with certain letters (\(\text{\textcopyright}\), \(\text{\textcopyright}\), \(\text{\textcopyright}\), non-final \(\text{\textcopyright}\) there is a consistent use of these signs according to the Classical orthography while \(\text{\textcopyright}\) and \(\text{\textcopyright}\) are differentiated in a way that shows insecurity with the writer. As has been emphasised by Knutsson, the \(\text{\textcopyright}\) and \(\text{\textcopyright}\) have in the modern colloquial (and consequently also in medieval spoken Arabic) both \(t/s\) and \(d/z\) as corresponding sounds. The words in the present ms. which show alternation between \(t/z\) and \(d/z\) are precisely those which in modern Arabic are documented with \(s\) and \(z\) respectively (cf. Knutsson, pp. 80-81 and passim). See also Blau, Emergence, p. 76, and Davies, pp. 66ff.
35 Cf. Knutsson, p. 81 note 13 for this word.
37 Blau, Grammar, p. 106 (top).
38 Due to the low frequency of words with \(\text{\textcopyright}\) in the ms. it is difficult to make any conclusions as to the phonetic background of this spelling. Cf. the discussion in Blau, Observations, p. 221.
39 This has not been found in the earlier investigations of MA but, interestingly enough, it is clearly documented in Blau's Coptic-Arabic text (Observations, p. 246), cf. id., Grammar, p. 115, and Knutsson, pp. 109-112. One case of this is even visible in Knutsson's karshuni ms. (LII 1.12 = \(\text{\textcopyright}\text{\textcopyright} \text{\textcopyright}\text{\textcopyright}\text{\textcopyright} \text{\textcopyright}\)). A few examples are found in Davies, p. 81.
40 A similar case in Knutsson, p. 109 note 1 (confusion between \(\text{\textcopyright}\) and \(\text{\textcopyright}\)).
41 Blau, Grammar, p. 133; Knutsson, p. 54; Davies p. 177.
42 The same example in Levin, Matthew 4:16; cf. further Blau, Grammar, pp. 345-346; id., Observations, p. 251.
43 Blau, Grammar, pp. 359-360. Observe the \(\text{\textcopyright}\) in the first word.
44 Cf. Blau, Grammar, pp. 350ff. For such constructions in Modern Standard Arabic, see Monteil, pp. 140-141; Cantarino II, pp. 149-150. For modern Arabic dialects, see Cowell, p. 456; Féghal, pp. 198-199.
45 Blau, Grammar, pp. 379-382. For modern dialects, cf. Cowell, pp. 471ff., Féghal, pp. 186-189. For Modern Standard, cf. Cantarino II, pp. 375-377. The word \(\text{\textcopyright}\) is probably to be read \(\text{\textcopyright}\) and is an Arabic plural of the Coptic \(\text{\textcopyright}\) "prayer".
46 So also in Matthew 3:11, 12:32 and Mark 1:10. The form used in the present ms. is also frequent in Knutsson (although not noticed by him), e.g. pp. 22, 26, 31 (cf. id., p. 168). The Qur'\(\text{\textcopyright}\)\(\text{\textcopyright}\) has \(\text{\textcopyright}\text{\textcopyright}\), e.g. 2:87, 2:253, 5:110, 16:102.
49 Most of the cases with oblique case instead of the nominative are in passive constructions, cf. Blau, Grammar, p. 336, and ibid., note 64. For the use of the accusative in address, see Wright II, pp. 85-86; Blau, Grammar, pp. 338-339.
50 Cf. Blau, Grammar, p. 72 rem. A. The interpretation of this form suggested there is now confirmed by the form ḍḥḥ in Blau, Observations, p. 245.

51 Blau, Grammar, p. 89; id., Observations, p. 236: wārahom, āhdāk (= "ādāt-ūtkā)."


53 Parallels in Blau, Grammar, pp. 203-205.

54 Cf. Blau, Grammar, p. 71, ibid., p. 106, where the imperative of the verb is noticed.

55 For nēn in the construct state, cf. Blau, Grammar, pp. 222ff. The numeral "two" in this form with a pronominal suffix is documented in Judeo-Arabic ḍḥḥ (blau, Diqdûq, p. 104), cf. Davies, p. 145; Lundén, p. 37. The preservation of -n in the construct (and pronominal) state is a characteristic feature of modern Egyptian colloquial, cf., e.g., Tomiche, pp. 183-84.


60 Blau, Grammar, p. 194.

61 Blau, Grammar, pp. 157-159.


63 A similar case (with both -ū and -ūn in the same phrase) in Blau, Observations, p. 248.

64 In general, see Blau, Grammar, pp. 275ff., pp. 285ff.

65 In a) the masc. plur. refers to inanimate things where the modern dialects usually have the same form (cf. Cowell, pp. 420ff., pp. 501ff.). The first case here is somewhat problematic. It is a quotation from Luke 2:35 where the Greek is ambiguous: "the hearts of many" or "many hearts" (εἰς καρδίαν καρδίων). The modern Arabic translation has the latter version: لعلٍ إنكار من قلوب كثيرة. So has the Vulgate: ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes. The Syriac versions have the former: lebawoq gθ-σαγε (BFBS, Sinai palimpsest).


68 The suffix - humiliation is thus replaced by -humā. It is not impossible that this form may reflect a masc. plur. -humā which is found in texts of Egyptian origin. This form occurs as an independent personal pronoun, cf. Blau, Observations, p. 238: homē. It is not clear if the example on p. 220 (loc. cit.) is a dual or a plural: atrochodhome "I shall expel them". One case occurs in Diem, p. 83: benhumma "mitten unter ihnen". Cf. examples from Judeo-Arabic ḍḥḥ, ḍḥħ (blau, Diqdûq, p. 58). Cf. further Blau, Grammar, pp. 134-135, and note 8 ibid.; Knutsson, pp. 116-117.


70 Cf. Knutsson, pp. 116-117. Observe the haplology. The form might also be seen as an energetico although, in light of the inconsistent handling of
agreement in the ms. this is less probable than the interpretation forwarded here.

71 Knutsson, pp. 117-118.
72 Blau, Grammar, p. 292.
73 For the passive in MA in general, see Blau, Grammar, pp. 150ff.
74 The modern translation has Gt of *n* here: في تواضع انثرع قضاءه لآن حياته. In the original passage in Is. 53:8-9 mağhul forms are used:

من الغلطة ومن الذئبة tekn在这里. من كان يعقل أن قطع ما كان أرى الأحياء

In Luke 10:42 both the ms. (12r) and the modern translation have mağhul: لا ينزع منها "it shall not be taken from her".

75 Blau has the passive لائد (Grammar, p. 158) and لائد (ibid., p. 166, as well as لائد "to be led" (ibid., p. 166) while the ms. has لائد (48v) in the same meaning. The modern translation uses the Gt in these passages while Levin's text has Gt of لائد (but cf. the apparatus to Mark 1:5 and Blau, Grammar, p. 424).
76 For agent extension with passive constructions in MA, see Blau, Grammar, pp. 424-425; in modern dialects, see Retsö, pp. 169ff. For the passive construction (with agent extension) in Coptic, see Steindorff, pp. 193-194.
77 Lit.: "from the direction of". The Coptic has EBOL HITEN which is the normal agent phrase (Steindorff, p. 194; Mallon, § 276).
78 The Coptic has EBOL HITOTF as agent preposition.
79 The Coptic has M- (= n-) which is dative or instrumental (Steindorff, p. 89; Mallon, § 361). The Greek original, however, has إى ألم فك إمامتي إه اذإي which must be agent.
80 The Coptic has EBOL HITOTF ن-ÉSÁÉAS as agent phrase while the Greek has انأ and the modern Arabic translation ب- (rather instrumental).
81 This is part of one of the homilies which have no Coptic counterparts. One could compare e.g. Mark 1:9 where the Greek has انأ 'إلمي دوعأص while Levin and the modern translation have انأ with the same verb (Gt).
82 It is possible that the Greek in this passage (إس ألم مأوأ) reflects the Hebrew (or Aramaic) ل- as agent preposition (the interpretation is dependent upon the exegesis of the verse). The Coptic has here إMOYÉES which is terminative (= Arab. 'LÚ) or dative (Steindorff, p. 89; Mallon, § 313). The modern translation has ل- is, however, not uncommon as agent preposition in both Literary and colloquial Arabic (cf. Retsö, p. 171).
84 Blau, Grammar, p. 563; Knutsson, pp. 178ff; Lundén, 75:10.
86 Blau, Grammar, p. 492; Knutsson, p. 177.
87 Blau, Grammar, pp. 522ff.
89 Blau, Grammar, p. 251, 413ff.
90 Blau, Grammar, pp. 414ff.
91 Lundén, 83 note 5.
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