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(Cracow)

The Language of 'a l - M u q a f f a's *Sīrat Mārī Marqus*

A Contribution to the Studies on the Christian Middle-Arabic

One of the interesting monuments of the Christian-Arabic literature from the 10th century is 'a l - M u q a f f a's *Kitāb siyari 'l-ābā'i 'l-baṭārika*¹. 'Abū'l-Bašār 'ibn 'al-Muqaffa' vel Severus, a monophysite Copt, the bishop of 'Ašmūnayn from the year 987 is known as a defender of his creed against the attacks of Eutychius a physician and Melkite patriarch from Alexandria who died in 940. His defense he exposed in his written in Arabic history of the first four Councils. 'A l - M u q a f f a' is also the author of the mentioned *History of the Alexandrian Patriarchs* mainly based on the Coptic sources, translated by the deacon Mihā'il 'ibn Burayd and others which he made use of in a somewhat shortened but more polished form. His works, like those of other Copts who wrote in Arabic, show the influence of the Syrian Christians which, as a matter-of-course, is the result of the fact that the incitement to write in Arabic came to the Copts from Syria².

The analysis of the language of the *sīra* of Saint Marc included in the *History of the Alexandrian Patriarchs* in question is the subjects of the present paper, as a part of a larger study.

¹ The text was published in: *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptorum Arabici*. Textus. Seria Tertia. Tomus IX. Severus Ben El-Moqaffa', *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*. Tomus I, fasciculus I, ed. Ch. F. Seybold, Beryti-Parisiis 1904, pp. 16-22. The pages are reproduced here.

² C. Brockelmann, *Die syrische und die christlich-arabische Litteratur*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 3-74, p. 71.

Reproduction of pages 16-22 of Ch. F. Seybold's edition:

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(15) بِسْمِ الْآبِ وَالْإِبْنِ وَالرُّوحِ الْقُدُسِ إِلَهِ الْوَاحِدُ لَهُ الْحَمْدُ دَائِمًا أَبَدًا آمِينَ

السيرة الأولى من سير البعثة المقدسة

سيرة (1) ماري مرقس الحواري الانجيلي رئيس اساقفة المدينة العظمى الاسكندرية قاولهم

لما كان في زمان تدير الرب المخلص الرحوم يسوع المسيح عند ما جعل له
تلاميذ يتبعوه كان اخوين ساكنين في مدينة من اعمال الخمس مدن التي في
المغرب تدعى اقربولس (2) اسم اكبرهما ارستوبولس واسم الاخر وكانا فلاحين وكاليرثايس
يزودعا ويحصدا وكان لهما اواشي كثيرة وكانا عارفا بناموس موسى معرفة جيدة وحفظا
كتب كثيرة من العتيقة وناهما بلايا عظيمة من قبلاقي البربر والحبس ونهب جميع
ما كان لهما في زمان اوجسطس قيصر ملك الروم لاجل ذهاب ما لهما وما تزل عليها
من البلايا رحلا من تلك الكورة واهتما بمخلص انفسهما وانتجعا الى بلاد اليهود
وكان لارستوبولس ولد ذكر يسمى يوحنا فلما سكنا في اعمال فلسطين بالقرب من
مدينة اورشليم وكان يوحنا الطائل يشمو وينشو في قامته بنعمة روح القدس وكان
لهذين الاخوين ابنة عم وهي زوجة سيمان بطرس الذي صار رئيس تلاميذ السيد
المسيح وكان يوحنا المذكور قد اسمه مرقس وكان يروي عند بطرس ويتعلم عنه من
الكتب المقدسة التعاليم المسيحية ولما كان يوم من الايام اخذ ارستوبولس ولده مرقس
الى الاردن فبينما هما ماشيان لقيهما اسد وابوة فلما نظر ارستوبولس اليهما متباين اليه
ونظر شدة غضبهما قال لولده مرقس يا ولدي هوذا تنظر غضب هذه الاسد المقبلة
الينا لتهاكنا فامضي انت الان وانج بنفسك يا وادي ودعهما يا كروني فكما اراد الله
ضابط الكل اجاب تلميذ المسيح مرقس القديس قائلا لا بوء لا تخاف يا ابا المسيح

1) C add. القديس

2) Cod. A, B ابرباتولوس, C

conject = *Kopryv. πόλις* (hodie ruinae urbis appellantur Grenthe), cfr. Lipsius, die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten II 2, 332, 336: *Kopryvatos*; etiam 344 Qaboursha = *Kopryv. قبرية* ex قبرص corruptum censes.

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الذي اؤمن به ينجيننا من كل شدة فلما قرب منهم الاسد صاح عاليا مرقس تلميذ
 السيد المسيح بصوت عظيم وقال السيد المسيح ابن الله الحي يا مارك ان تذبثا ويتقطع
 جنسكما من هذا الجبل ولا يكون لكما فيه ولدان الى الابد فالتفتا الاسد واللبرة الوقت
 والساعة من وسعاهما وماتا لوقتتهما من تلك الساعة وانقطع نسلهما فلما نظر ارسطورس
 ابوه هذه الاعجوبة العظيمة التي ظهرت من مرقس ولده بقوة الرب يسوع المسيح الذي
 لا يغلب قال لولده انا ابوك الذي ولدتك يا مرقس ابني وانت اليوم ابني ومخاضني ومختبرني
 والآن يا ولدي الحبيب انا واخي نسألك ان تجعلنا عبيد للرب يسوع المسيح الذي تبشّر
 به وحينئذ تعلم ابو القديس مرقس وعمته تعاليم المسيح من ذلك اليوم (16) ومريم
 امه هي اخت برثا تلميذ الرسل وبعد هذا كان في تلك النواحي في بلد تسمى
 ١٠ ازود اصل زيتون كبير جدا وكان الناس يتعجبوا من عظمه وكان اهل تلك المدينة
 يسجدوا للقمر ويصاؤون لشجرة الزيتون فنظر القديس مرقس صلاتهم وقال لهم هذه
 الزيتون التي تأسكوا ثمرتها وتوقدوا اعصابها للنار ثم تسجدون لها كالاله ماذا تصنع
 هوذا كلمة الله الذي اعبدته امر هذه الشجرة ان تسقط على الارض بلا حديد يدنو
 منها فقالوا له نحن نسام انك تعمل سحر الجليلي صاحبك ومهما اردت فعلنه ونحن
 ١٥ فنذعو الهنا القمر الذي اقام لنا هذه الشجرة الزيتون نصلي لها اجاب القديس مرقس
 وقال لهم انا اطرحها على الارض فان اقامها الهكم فانما اعبدوه معكم فرضوا بهذا
 القول منه وابعدوا جميع الناس عنها وقالوا انظروا لسلا يكون انسان محتفي فيها
 حينئذ رفع القديس مرقس وجهه الى السماء وحمل وجهه الى ناحية المشرق وفتح
 فاه ودعا وقال يا سيدي يسوع المسيح ابن الله الحي اسمع عبدك وامر القمر
 ٢٠ الذي هو خادم ثاني لهذا العالم الذي يقضي في الليل بامرك وسلطانك ان يظهر
 صوته على هؤلاء الذين ليس لهم اله ويعرفهم من خلقه وخلق جميع الخليقة ومن هو الله
 حتى يسبده وانا اعلم يا ربّي والهي ان ليس له صوت ولا نطق ولا جرت عادة ان
 يكلم احد لكي يسمع كلامه في هذه الساعة بقوتك التي لا تقاوم ليعرف هؤلاء
 الذين ليس لهم اله ان ليس هو اله لكنه خادم تحت سلطانك وانت اله وهذه
 ٢٥ الشجرة التي يصاؤون لها تقع على الارض ليعرف الكل ربوبيتك ان ليس اله الا انت

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والرب الصالح والروح القدس الحي إلى الأبد. وفي تلك الساعة عند تمام صلاته
 حدثت قلعة عظيمة تصف الآفاق. وظهر لهم القمر مضيئاً في السماء وسمعوا صوتاً
 من القمر قائلاً: أما نحن القليلي الإيمان ليس أنا الله فتعبدوني بل أنا عبد الله ومن
 بعض خلقه. ربما خادم المسيح ربّي الذي يبشّر به هذا مرقس تلميذه فهو وحده
 الذي عبده وتخدمه. عند ذلك سقطت شجرة الزيتون وصار خوف عظيم على كل
 من شاهد هذه الأعجوبة فأمّا القوم الذين كانوا ينجذروا للشجرة ويسجدون لها فأنهم
 غضبوا وأزرقوا (1) ثابهم وسكوا القديس مرقس وضربوه وسأموه لليهود المخالفين
 وطرحوه في السجن وفي تلك الليلة رأى القديس مرقس في نومه السيد المسيح يقول
 بطرس انا اخرج كل من هو معتقل فلما اذنبه من نومه رأى ابواب السجن مفتوحة
 ١٠ فخرج هو وكل من كان معه في السجن وكانوا حفظية السجن نيام كالاموات فأمّا
 الجوع الذين شاهدوا ما كان قالوا ما يتم لنا عمل مع هؤلاء الجليليين لانهم يفعلوا
 هذه الاعمال ابعاثبول (2) رئيس الشياطين. وكان مرقس من السبعين تلميذ (17) وهو
 من جهة الخدام الذين استقوا الماء الذي صيّره سيّداً خمرأ في عرس قانا الجليل وهو
 الذي حمل الحرة الماء في بيت سمعان القرياني في وقت العشاء السري وهو ايضاً الذي
 ١٥ كان في القلاية في منزل في زمان آلام السيد المسيح ومن بعد قيامته من
 الاموات حيث دخل عليهم والابواب مغلقة وبعد صعوده الى السماء مضى مرقس
 مع بطرس الى يروشليم وبشّروا الجميع بكلام الله وظهر الروح القدس لبطرس
 واسمى ان يضي الى المدن والقرى التي هناك فمضى بطرس ومعه مرقس الى عمل
 ٢٠ في يروشليم وبشّروا بكلام الله واقام بطرس هناك ايّاماً فنظر في المنام ملاك الله يقول
 ٢٢ لي كورنيليوس عظيم فقال بطرس للملاك اي الكور تعني. قال انه مدينة
 الاسكندرية وكلمة كورنيليوس هو غلام من خبز وماء بل هو غلام من ذاة معرفة
 كلام الله الذي تبشّر به قدامنا بطرس من نومه فلما رآه مرقس ما شاهد في
 ٢٥ نومه ومن بعد ذلك مضى بطرس ومعه مرقس الى اعمال رومية وبشّرا هناك بكلام الله
 ٣٠ فمضى بطرس ومعه مرقس الى اعمال رومية وبشّرا هناك بكلام الله

وخرقوا (1)

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ماري مرقس الاب الانجيلي الى مدينة الاسكندرية ليُبشِّر فيها ويكرز بكلام الله
وانجيل السيد يسوع المسيح الذي له ينبغي المجد والكرامة والسجود والاب والروح
القدس الله الواحد الى الابد امين (١)

شهادة القديس ماري مرقس وبشارته بمدينة الاسكندرية

وهي الثانية من سير البيعة

لما كان في زمان تدير الرب الخالص يسوع المسيح من بعد صعوده الى السماء
قسم جميع الكور على الرسل بالهام الروح القدس ليكرزوا فيها بكلام البشارة بالسيد
يسوع للمسيح ومن بعد زمان وقع نصيب مرقس الانجيلي ان يمضي الى كورة مصر
ومدينة الاسكندرية العظمى باسم الروح القدس لكي يسمعهم كلام انجيل السيد
المسيح ويثبتهم عليه لاجل ضلالتهم وانغماسهم في عبادة الاوثان وعبادة الخلق دون
الخالق وكان عندهم برابي كثيرة لآلهتهم المزدولة يخدموها في كل مكان ويعبدوها
بكل اسم وسحر ويدمجوا لها بنهم قرايين لانه اول من كرز في كورة مصر وافريقية
والخمس المدن وجميع اعمالها فلما عدى القديس مرقس من رومية قصد الى الخمس
مدن اولا وبشر في جميع اعمالها بكلام الله واظهر عجائب كثيرة حتى انه ابرى
١٥ الابله وطار البرص واخرج الشياطين بنعمة الله الحالة فيه وآمن كثير بالسيد المسيح
من اجله واكسروا اوثانهم التي كانوا يعبدونها وكل الشجر التي كانت الشياطين
تأوي اليها وتحاطب الناس منها وعمدتهم باسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله
الواحد (18) ولذلك ظهر له الروح القدس وقال له ثم امضي الى مدينة الاسكندرية لترزع
فيها الزرع الجيد الذي هو كلام الله فقام تلميذ المسيح ونهض وتقوى بروح القدس
٢٠ كمثل مقاتل في الحرب وسأهم على الاخوة وودعهم وقال لهم السيد يسوع المسيح يسهل
طريقي لامضي الى الاسكندرية وابشر فيها بانجيله المقدس ثم دعا وقال يا رب
ثبت الاخوة الذين قد عرفوا اسمك المقدس وأعزذ اليهم فرحاً بهم فشيّعوه الاخوة
وتوجه الى مدينة الاسكندرية فمما دخل من بابها انقطع شيع حذاء فلما رأى ذلك

١) له الشكر دائماً آمين الله D (١)

على الأرض فقامت له الرب سهل طريق في ثم التفت فنظر الى اسكاف هناك فتقدم اليه
 ودفع له البشارة ليعلما فلما اخذه الاسكاف وتناول الشفا ليعمله ثقب الثقب الشفا
 كنه فقال ابن تارس الذي تأريفة الواحد الله فلما سمعه القديس مرقس يذكر انهم
 اذ فرح جدا وعزل وجهه الى الشرق وقال يا سيدي يسوع المسيح انت الذي تسهل
 طريق في كل مكان ثم تقف على الارض واخذ منه طينا ووضع على موضع ثقب
 الشفا الذي في يد الاسكاف فقال باسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد
 الحي الابدي تماقا يد هذا الانسان في هذه الساعة ليتمجد اسمك القدوس
 فعرفت يده في تلك الساعة قال له القديس مرقس اذا كنت تعرف ان الله واحد
 فلماذا تعبد هذه الآلهة الكثيرة فقال له نحن نذكر الله بافواهنا لا فية وما نعرف من
 ١٠ اعر وبقى الاسكاف متعجبا من قوة الله الحائلة في القديس مرقس ثم قال له
 انا اسألك يا رجل الله ان تصير الى امثول ١) عبدك لتستريح وتاكل خبز لانني اراك
 اليوم قد رحمتني ففرح القديس مرقس وقال له يعطيك الرب خبز الحياة في السموات
 ومضى معه الى بيته فلما دخل الى منزله قال بركة الله تكون في هذا البيت وصلى
 فلما اكلموا قال له الاسكاف يا ابني اريد ان تعرفني من انت الذي عملت هذه
 ١٥ الاحجوة العظيمة فاجاب القديس وقال له انا اعبد يسوع المسيح ابن الله الحي
 الى الابد قال له الاسكاف : انا اريد ابصره قال له القديس مرقس انا ادعك تنظره
 ثم بدأ يشرح له انجيل البشارة وقوة الحمد والعز والسلطان الذي لله من البداية ووعظه
 بمواعظ وتعاليم كثيرة يشهد بها سيرته ثم انتهى معه الى ان قال له ان السيد المسيح
 في آخر الزمان تجسد من مريم العذراء وجاء الى العالم واخذنا من خطايانا وبين له
 ٢٠ ما تنبأت به الانبياء عليه شيئا شيئا فقال له الاسكاف هذه الكتب الذي ذكرتها ما
 سمعت بها قط لكن كتب الفلاسفة اليونانيين هي التي تعلمها الناس لاولادهم
 هاهنا وكذلك المصريين فقال له القديس مرقس (19) فلاسفة هذا العالم باطل عند
 احكمة الله (2) فلما سمع القديس الاسكاف كلام الكتب القدسية من
 القديس مرقس وما تلوته من تعاليم العالم الذي فعلا في يده مال قلبه اليه

١) مثلي الا D

٢) انهم

وآمن بالرب وتقدموا له كل عمل ياتيه وحصل من ثماره ومن السنة التي
 فلما كثروا المؤمنين بالمسيح وسبح أهل المدينة ان ماذا رجل يهودي جليلي
 قد دخل اليها وهو يريد ان يقاب عباد الاوثان الهتهم وقد منع جماعة من عبادتها
 طالبوه في كل مكان ونصبوا له قوم يرصدونه فلما علم القديس مرقس وامرهم قسم
 انيانوس اميناً الاسكندرية وثلاثة قسوس وسبعة شمامسة هولاي الاحدى عشر
 جعلهم يخفوا ويثبتوا الاخوة المؤمنين وخرج من بينهم ومضى الى الخمس مدن
 واقام بها سنتين يبشّر ويقسم (1) اساقفة وقسوس وشمامسة في كل اعمالها وعاد الى مدينة
 الاسكندرية فوجد الاخوة قد تثبتوا على الامة وكثروا بنعمة الله واهتموا ان يبنوا
 بيعة في موضع يعرف برعى البهائم قريبة من البحر عند صخرة يقطع منها الحجارة
 ١٥ فخرج القديس مرقس بذلك فرحاً عظيماً وسجد على ركبته وبارك الله اذ ثبت خدام
 الامة الذين رتبهم في تعاليم السيد المسيح ونكثوا عن عبادة الاوثان فلما علم
 اولئك الكفرة ان القديس مرقس قد عاد الى الاسكندرية امتسوا غضباً لاجل
 الاعمال التي تعملها المؤمنين بالمسيح من ابراء الامراض واخراج الشياطين واطلاق السنة
 الحرس وسداع الطارش وتطهير البرص ونحوها عن القديس مرقس بغضب عظيم فلم
 يجدوه وصرخوا اعليه باسنانهم (2) في برايههم ومواضع اوثانهم بغضب وقالوا ما تنظروا
 ظلم هذا الساجر فلما كان في احد السبوت يوم عيد فصيح السيد المسيح اتفق في
 تلك السنة يوم تسعة وعشرين امن (3) يومه وكان فيه ايضاً عيد الكفار الوثنيين
 وطالبوه باجتهاد فوجدوه على الهيكل فجمعوا [عليه] واخذوه وجعلوا في احلته (4) حبل
 وجروه على الارض وكانوا يقولوا جروا التين في دار البقر وكان القديس اذا جروه يسبح
 ٢٠ الله ويقول الشكر لك يا رب اذ جعلتني مستحقاً ان اتألم على اسمك القدوس وكان
 لحمه ينقطع ويتصدق بحجارة الشوارع ودمه يجري على الارض فلما كان المساء مضوا
 به الى الاعتقال حتى يتشاوروا باي هلاك بهلكوه فلما انتصف الليل وابواب السجن
 مغلقة والحراس نيام على الابواب واذا زلزلة عظيمة واضطراب شديد فترل له ملاك

١) يوم د. بوقد.

٢) ل. اسانهم D.

في D.

عقيد D.

— ٢٢ —

الرب من السماء ودخل الى القديس وقال له يا مرقس عبد الله هوذا قد كتب اسمك في سفر الحياة وعددت في جماعة القديسين وروحك تسبح مع الملائكة في السموات وجسدك (20) لا يهلك ولا يزول من على الارض فلما استيقظ من نومه رفع عينيه الى السماء وقال اشكرك يا ربي يسوع المسيح واسألك ان تقبلني اليك لأتنبه بمصالحك فلما تم هذا القول ثم ايضاً فظهر له السيد المسيح في الشخص الذي ترفه التلاميذ وقال له السلام لك يا مرقس الانجيلي المصطفى فقال له القديس اشكرك يا مخلصي يسوع المسيح اذ جعلتني مستحقاً ان اتألم على اسمك القدوس ودفع له السيد المخلص سلامه وغاب عنه فلما انذبه واصبح الصبح اجتمع الجمع واخرجوا القديس من الحبس وجعلوا في حلقه ايضاً حبل وقالوا جزوا التين في دار البقر وزحفوا بالقديس على الارض ١٠ وهو يشكر السيد المسيح ويعجده ويقول انا اسلم روحي في يديك يا الاهي قال القديس هذا القول واسلم الروح فجمع خدام الاوثان الانجاس خطباً كثيراً في موضع يدعي الانجيليون ليحرقوا جسد القديس هناك وكان بامر الله ضباب عظيم وريح شديد حتى ارتفعت الارض وهطلت امطار كثيرة ومات قوماً كثير من الخوف والرعب وكانوا يقولوا ان دوس الصنم افترق الانسان الذي قتل في هذا اليوم فاجتمع الاخوة المؤمنين ١٥ واخذوا جسد القديس ماري مرقس من الرماد ولم يتغير فيه شيء ومضوا به الى البيعة التي كانوا يقدسوا فيها وكفّوه وصلّوا عليه كما جرت العادة وحفروا له موضع ودفنوا جسده فيه ليتمسوا تذكاره في كل وقت بفرح وابتهاال وبركة لاجل النعمة التي دفعها لهم السيد المسيح على يديه في مدينة الاسكندرية وجعلوه في الشرق من البيعة في اليوم الذي تمت فيه شهادته وهو اول من استشهد من الجليليين على اسم السيد يسوع ٢٠ المسيح بالاسكندرية في آخروم من برمودة المصريين وهو ثمانية من اقلنطس مايس (١) من شهور الروم وهو اربعة وعشرين يوماً من نيسان من شهور العبرانيين ونحن ايضاً بنو الارثوذكسين نصعد الجسد والتقديس والقربيل لسيدنا ومخلصنا يسوع المسيح الذي له ينبغي الجسد والكرامة والسجود للاب والابن والروح القدس المحيي المساوي الآن وكل اوان

٢٥ قبطي مانواص C ، قبطي مانا A ، قبطي مانا D ؛ Kalendas Maius 1)

Translation

In the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit the Only God, permanent praise be to Him. The First Life-Sketch from the Lives of the Holy Church.

The Life of Saint Marc, the Disciple and Evangelist, Head of the Bishops of the Mighty City of Alexandria and the First of Them.

In the time when the Lord, Most Merciful Redeemer Jesus the Messiah was teaching and disciples began to follow Him, two brothers lived in 'Aqranābūlis (Kyrenepolis) one of the towns of the Pentapolis province situated in Maghrib. The elder was named Aristobulos, the second Barnabas. They were peasants who sowed and harvested and had many sorrows. They knew well the Law of Moses and memorized many Books of the Old Testament. They experienced many disasters from the Berber and Ethiopian tribes, and in the times of the Emperor August the Ruler of Rome, they were robbed of everything they had. Because of their bereavement and sufferings, they left that province seeking rescue and refuge in the land of the Jews. To Aristobulos a male child named Yuḥannā was born³ when they lived in the regions of Palestine, near the city of Jerusalem. The child Yuḥannā grew up and gathered strength with the grace of the Holy Spirit. Those two brothers had a cousin, the wife of Simon-Peter who became the head of the disciples of Lord the Messiah. The mentioned Yuḥannā had been named Marc. He used to visit Peter³ and learned from him the Messianic Teachings included in the Holy Books. One day, Aristobulos took his boy Marc to Jordan, and while they were walking, a lion and a lioness met them. When Aristobulos noticed them approaching and saw the violence of their wrath, he said to his boy Marc: "My son, here you see the wrath of those lions approaching us in order to devour us, so go away and save yourself, my boy, and let them devour me." But with God's, the Commander of All, will, Saint Marc the Messiah's disciple, answered his father: "Do not be afraid my father, the Messiah in Whom I believe will save us from all oppressions". And when the lions approached them, Marc, the disciple of Lord the Messiah shouted at them with a high voice and said: "The Lord Messiah, Son of the Living God orders you to get torn and that your kind might perish on this mountain so that you will have here no more youngs for ever". And in this very moment, the lion and the lioness both were torn in two and died instantly and their youngs perished. When Aristobulos, his father, saw this great miracle which his son Marc performed with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ Who is unconquerable, he said to his boy: "Marc, my son, I am your father and it is I that has begotten you, but to-day you became my father, my saviour and my rescuer. So now, my beloved son, I and my brother are asking you to make us servants of Lord Jesus Christ on Whom you preach the Good News". And then, since that day, the father of Saint Marc and his uncle were learning the teachings of Christ. And Mary, his mother, was a sister of³ Barnabas, the disciple of the Apostles.

³ Concerning the contents of the lines 2-17, 22, 46 cf. Rev. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, Braunschweig 1884, II, 2, p. 332; *Pismo święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*, Poznań 1965, p. 1258.

Some time afterwards, in those regions in a town called Azdūd, there was a very big stem of an olive-tree whose bigness the people admired. The inhabitants of the town worshipped the Moon and prayed to the olive-tree. Saint Marc saw once their prayers and he said to them: "What would this olive-tree whose fruits you eat and whose branches you use for kindling the fire and which you adore like a god do if the Word of God Whom I worship would order this tree to fall down to the earth without any iron approaching it?" They answered him: "We know that you practise magic of the Galilean your Friend and whatever you wish you do. As for us, we pray to our god the Moon who set up this olive-tree for us that we might pray to it." Saint Marc answered saying to them: "I shall fell it to the ground and if your god raises it I shall worship him together with you." They were satisfied with his words and all people hastened away from the tree and said: "See that no man was left hidden in it." And then, Saint Marc raised his face to Heaven and turning it towards the East, he opened his mouth and prayed saying: "Oh my Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, hear your servant and order the Moon which is the second servant to this World and at your instance and with your power shines at night, to manifest its voice before those who have no god and to teach them who created it and all creatures and Who is the God so that they might serve Him. I know, my Lord, that the Moon has no voice and is not able to speak nor is it its custom to speak to anyone but, pray, with your might which nothing can oppose, let them hear its word at this very moment so that those who have no god might learn to know that it is not it which is the God but it is only a servant under your rule and You are the God. And let this tree to which they pray fall down to the ground, so that they all learn to know your Divinity and that there is no god except You, the Good Father and Holy Spirit, the Animator for ever, amen." And at that very moment he finished his prayer great darkness fell at noon, and the Moon shining in the sky appeared before them and they heard the voice of the Moon saying: "Oh people of little faith, I am not the God, and though you serve me, I am but a God's servant and one of His creatures. I am a servant of Christ my Lord about Whom this Marc His disciple preaches the Good News and He is the Only One Whom we worship and Whom we serve." At this moment the olive-tree fell down and a great fear arose among all those who witnessed this miracle⁴. And those who served the tree and worshipped it flew into rage and having torn their garments they captured Saint Marc and beat him and then handed him over to the opposing Jews and those thrust him into prison. That night, Saint Marc saw in his sleep the Lord Christ saying to Peter: "I shall lead out each one who is imprisoned". When he awakened from his sleep, he saw the gate of the prison open, so he went out as well as all who were with him in the prison while the prison's guard were sleeping like dead. As for the crowds who witnessed what had happened they were saying to each other: "This is no end of our trouble with these Galileans because they perform these deeds with the help of Belzebub the ruler of Satans." Marc was a dis-

⁴ Concerning the contents of the lines 48-86, cf. Lipsius, op. cit. II, 2, p. 332.

disciple, one of the seventy, and was one of the servants who drew the water which our Lord changed into wine at the wedding in Ka'na Galilea and it was also he who brought the jar of water to the house of Simon 'al-Qurbānī at the time of the Last Supper. He also sheltered the disciples in his tenement during the Passion of Lord Christ and after His Resurrection when He came to them while the door was closed. And after His Ascension, Marc with Peter went to Jerusalem and preached the Word of God to the crowds. (And while they were doing this), the Holy Spirit appeared before Peter and ordered him to go to the towns and villages which were there and so Peter went to Bethany and Marc went with him and there they preached the Word of God. When Peter had been staying there already for many days, he saw in his sleep a God's Angel who said to him: "Two regions suffer from a great oppression". Peter asked him: "Which of the regions do you have in mind?" The Angel answered: "The city of Alexandria and the region of Miṣr. This is not the oppression because of bread and water but the oppression because of the little knowledge of the Word of God which you preach." When Peter awakened from his sleep, he said to Marc what he had seen in his dream, and after that Peter and Marc went to the Roman provinces and there they preached the Word of God. And when there came the thirty fifth year after the Ascension of Christ, Saint Peter sent Saint Marc the Father Evangelist to the city of Alexandria to preach there and to teach about the Word of God and the Gospel of Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom praise, worship and adoration are due as well as to the Father and the Holy Spirit the Only God for ever, amen.

The Martydom and Apostleship of Monsignor Saint Marc in the City of Alexandria

This is the Second of the Life-sketches of the Church

Because of what was (going on) in the time of the teaching of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, after His Ascension to Heaven, with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, all regions had been divided among the Apostles so that they might teach there the Word of the Gospel about the Lord Jesus Christ. After some time, it became Marc's the Evangelist share to go to the region of Miṣr and to the mighty city of Alexandria by the order of the Holy Spirit in order to let them hear the learnings of the Gospel and to strengthen them in it because of their errors and their worship of idols and of the created things and not of the Creator. They had many temples for their transient gods whom they served in every place and worshipped them with all kind of debauchery and magic and killed their sons for sacrifice. He is the first who taught in the region of Miṣr, in 'Ifriqiya and Pentapolis and all its provinces. And when Saint Marc crossed (the borders) of the Roman lands, he first went to Pentapolis and preached the Word of God in all their provinces performing many miracles. He even healed diseases, cleaned from leprosy and by the grace of God present in him drove out the Satans and caused many to believe in Lord Christ because of him. He made them break their idols which they worshipped and destroy all trees in which the Satans found their shelter and were talking to the people from them. He baptized

the people in the Name of the Father and Son and the Holy Spirit the Only God. Therefore the Holy Spirit appeared before him and said to him: "Get up and go to the city of Alexandria to sow the Good Seed which is the Word of God." So the disciple of Christ got up and strengthened himself with the Holy Spirit like a warrior before the battle and having greeted the brothers he bid them farewell and said to them: "Lord Christ directs my steps so that I go to Alexandria to preach there His Holy Gospel." Then, he prayed saying: "Oh Lord, strengthen the brothers who already learned to know Your Holy Name so that I might come back to them and rejoice with them". The brothers accompanied him and he went to the city of Alexandria. When he entered its gates, the heel of his shoe broke. Having seen this, he said: "Now, I have learned that the Lord removed all obstacles from my way." Then he looked around and saw there a cobbler. He went to him and gave him the shoe to repair it. When the cobbler took it and caught hold of the awl to do this, the awl pierced the hole in his palm and he said: "Eis Theos" which means "The Only God". When Saint Marc heard him mentioning the Name of God, he rejoiced greatly, and having turned his face to the East he said: "My Lord Jesus Christ, You are the One Who removes the obstacles from my way in every place." Then he spat on the earth and having taken from it a little clay, he put it on the place pierced by the awl on the palm of the cobbler and said: "In the Name of the Father and Son and the Holy Spirit the Only Living Eternal God let the hand of this man be healed at this very moment, so that Your Most Holy Name might be praised." At that moment the cobbler's hand was healed and Saint Marc said to him: "If you know that the God is One, why do you worship these numerous gods?" And the cobbler replied: "We mention God with our mouths, nothing else, but we do not know Who He Is", and he admired the God's might manifesting itself in Saint Marc. Then he said to him: "I am asking you oh Man of God that you go to the tenement of your servant to rest and to eat some bread because hardly I saw you to-day and you already showed me your mercy". Saint Marc rejoiced and said: "May Lord bestow on you the Bread of Life in Heaven" and he went with him to his house. When he entered the cobbler's house, he said: "May God's blessing come and stay in this house" and he began to pray. After they had eaten, the cobbler said to Saint Marc: "My Father, I wish you to make me know who are you who performed such a great miracle?" And Saint Marc answered him saying: "I worship Jesus Christ the Son of the Everliving. God". The cobbler said to him: "I would like to see Him." Saint Marc answered him: "I shall let you see Him", and he began to recite the Gospel of Good News for him as well as His glorious and mighty Words and to preach the power which the God possesses since the beginning of time. Then he taught him the regulations and many other teachings to which his life gave the witness. At last he reached with him to the moment at which he said to him that the Lord Christ finally accepted the flesh from Mary the Virgin and having come to the World, He redeemed us from our sins and little by little, he explained to the cobbler what the Prophets prophesied about Him. The cobbler said then to Saint Marc: "Of these Books which you mentioned I heard nothing at all but the books of Greek and Egyptian philosophers are those

from which the people here teach their children". And Saint Marc said to him: "The philosophers of this World are nothing in comparison with the Wisdom of God." When the cobbler heard the Wisdom and the Words of Holy Books and combined this with the great miracle which Saint Marc performed with his hand, his heart inclined to him and he believed in the Lord and accepted the baptism as well as all his house and all his neighbours and his name was now Amianus.

When the believers in Christ became numerous and the inhabitants of the city heard that there is a Jew from Galilea who entered the city and wanted to abolish the worship of idols their gods, and that many had already stopped to worship them they looked for him everywhere and sent people after him in order to stone him. When Saint Marc learned to know their intentions, he ordained Amianus the bishop of Alexandria as well as three priests and seven deacons. He appointed those Eleven so that they served and strengthened the brothers who believed. Having left them, he went to Pentapolis where he was staying for two years preaching the Gospel and ordaining bishops, priests and deacons in each of its provinces. Then he returned to the city of Alexandria and found the brothers strengthened in faith and grown in number with the grace of God. The brethren got also busy building a church in a place known as Mar'ā 'l-Bahā'im (The Lambs' Pasture) near the sea, beside a rock from which the stones were cut out. Saint Marc rejoiced greatly at that and having knelt on both his knees, he blessed the God for that He had strengthened the servants of Faith whom he introduced in the teachings of Lord Christ and who renounced the worship of idols.

When those pagans learned that Saint Marc was already back in Alexandria, they filled with anger because of the deeds performed by the believers in Christ, like: healing diseases, expelling the Satans, solving the tongues of the dumbs and ears of the deaf and cleaning from the leprosy, they searched for Saint Marc with great wrath but they did not find him, so they gnashed with great anger against him in their temples and in the places of their idols and were saying: "Do not pay attention to the ignorance of this magician!" And when there came one of the saturdays, the feast-day of Pascha of Lord Christ which in that year fell on the twentieth ninth day of Bermūdāh (and it was also the feast-day of the pagans the worshippers of idols intensively looking for him), they found him at the altar and rushed to him and captured him and having put a rope on his neck they drew him on the earth and were saying: "drag this stinker to the stall!" And Saint Marc, when they were dragging him so, was praising the God and saying: "Thank you oh Lord for that you made me worthy of suffering for Your Holy Name", while his flesh was falling off sticking to the stones of the road and the blood was flowing down to the ground. When the evening came, they brought him to the prison in order to deliberate on how to destroy him. And when the midnight came and the gates of the prison were closed and the guards at the gates were sleeping, there was a powerful quake and a great commotion and the God's angel descended from Heaven to the Saint and having entered to him he said: "Marc, servant of God, your name has been registered in the Book of Life and you have been included among the Saints. Your soul will announce the praise together

with the angels in Heaven and your body will not be destroyed nor will disappear from the surface of the Earth." When the Saint awakened from his sleep, he raised his eyes to the sky and said: "Thank you my Lord Jesus Christ I am asking you to receive me so that I might enjoy your goodness". And when he had finished to say this, he again fell asleep and Lord Christ appeared in Person which the disciples learned to know him in, before him and said to him: "Peace be with you Marc, the Chosen Evangelist." And the Saint answered Him: "Thank you Jesus Christ, my Redeemer for having made me worthy of suffering for Your Most Holy Name" and Lord the Redeemer gave him His greeting and disappeared from him. When he awakened and the morning came, the crowd gathered and led him out of the prison and having put again a rope on his neck, they said: "Take the stinker to the stall." Then they dragged him on the ground while he was thanking Lord Christ and praising Him and said: "Oh my Lord I am entrusting my soul to Your hands". Hardly he had said this, he gave up his spirit and the impure servants of idols collected plenty of wood in a place called "The Evangelists" in order to burn the body of the Saint there. Then at the instance of God a great mist and a violent wind arose, so that the Earth shook and abundant rains began to pour down. Many people died from fear and horror and some were saying: "God Zeus demands the man who was killed to-day." As for the brethren the believers, they gathered themselves and took the body of the Venerable Saint Marc from the ash and (having noticed) that there was no change in it, they carried it to the church in which they used to say the Holy Mass and clothed the Saint in the grave-clothes. Then, they prayed over him according to the usage and digged a place for him and buried his body in it so that, whenever they wished, they might remember him at any time with joy, imploration and blessing for the grace which Lord Christ showed them through his mediation in the city of Alexandria. He has been laid to the East of the church on the day in which his martyrdom took place. He was the first Galilean who bore witness to the Name of Lord Jesus Christ in Alexandria, and this was on the last day of Bermūdāh according to the Egyptians corresponding with the eighth day of Calendas Maias of the Roman calendar i.e. on the twentieth fourth day of April according to the calendar of the Hebrews. Also we, the Sons of the Orthodox Church raise the praise, sanctification and psalms to our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ to Whom praise, worship and adoration are due, the Father and Son and Holy Spirit the Animator Equal to Them Both, now and in all time⁵.

Linguistic analysis

The language of the above text shows the following characteristics:

⁵ For the differences and congruencies in the contents of the lines 104–295, cf. Lipsius, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pp. 332–336.

I. ORTHOGRAPHY

A. Substitution of 'alif maqṣūra

a) ة instead of ي

It occurs once in our text, viz.: الاولة instead of الاولى ('al - Muqaffa', p. 16, 1.2). Like in the Judaeo-Arabic, the final long *ā* vowel seems to be shortened also here and written alternatively with *tā' marbūṭa* or 'alif maqṣūra or *mamdūda*, and pronounced as short *a* (cf. Bla u, *The Emergence*, p. 70). In this case, it may also be the result of contamination of two feminine endings: ي and ة (cf. V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache*, pp. 156–159). Though this phenomenon is naturally at least partly the result of the changes in phonology (the shortening of final vowels), I consider it on the orthographical level since indeed ة — signalling on one side the short pronunciation of final *-ā* on the other represents, and perhaps even more impressively, its graphical consequence.

b) ا instead of ي

It occurs twice in our text: 1. تعافا instead of تنافى in: تعافا يد هذا الانسان: تنافى (p. 16, 1. 6); 2. تدعى instead of تدعى in:

في مدينة من اعمال الخمس مدن التى في المغرب تدعى اقربا بولس ('al - Muqaffa', p. 20, 1.7). This may be the result of a dialectical pronunciation of *ā* as *ā* ascribed to 'aṭ-Ṭayyi' (cf. V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache*, pp. 103–104) and also written with 'alif *mamdūda* (cf. Bla u, *The Emergence*, p. 74).

B. The Imperative I from أمر with a prothetic 'alif

a) وأمر instead of وأمر . It occurs only once in our text, viz. in: وقال يا سيدي يسوع المسيح (p. 17, 1.19). ابن الله الحي أسمع عبدك وأمر القمر ... أن يظهر صوته على هؤلاء الذين ليس لهم اله . No mention of such an instance in F ü c k's 'Arabiya, V o l l e r s', *Volkssprache* nor Bla u's, *The Emergence*.

C. The inconsistency in the use of ص and س

a) ص instead of س

This occurs 11 times in our text, viz. in: مرقص instead of مرقس ('al - Muqaffa', p. 16, 1.14, 15, 17; p. 18, 1.12, 16, 22, 23; p. 19, 1.14), what represents 32% of the total number of occurrences of this name (cf. F ü c k, 'Arabiya, p. 9, and Bla u, *The Emergence*, pp. 28, 126, 134, who ascribes this phenomenon to the *mufahham* pronunciation). Perhaps in our example it results, though inconsistently, from the influence of the post-velar *q* although it is testified only in the case of the name in question.

D. Long ī instead of short i

a) فامضي instead of فامض in: فامضي انت الان وانج بنفسك ('al - Muqaffa', p. 16, 1.18) and in: وقال له قم وامضي الى مدينة الاسكندرية ('al - Muqaffa', p. 19, 1.18). This occurs twice in our text and with the same verb. This long *-ī* is probably to be con-

sidered as a mater lectionis, perhaps suggested by the corresponding feminine form of the imperative (cf. Bla u, *The Emergence*, pp. 71–71).

II. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

A. Hamza

a) The loss of hamza in 88% of its occurrences (cf. F ü c k, *'Arabiya*, pp. 88–89; V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache*, pp. 9, 91–92; B l a u, *The Emergence*, pp. 12, 74–75, 125–126).

b) Inconsistency in the use of hamza in the word: ملاك . ملائكة appears three times ('a l - M u q a f f a', pp. 18, 1.19, 20; p. 21, 1.24) in the opposition to الملائكة once ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 22, 1.2).

c) Tahfif 'al-hamza

α) ' ≥ w in the intervocalic position: u — a in: مؤامرة instead of مامرة ('a l - M u - q a f f a', p. 21, 1.4; cf. F ü c k, *'Arabiya*, p. 116; V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache*, pp. 83–97 — particularly pp. 89 and 96; B l a u, *The Emergence*, pp. 75, 125; L e b e - d e v, *Sr. Arab.*, p. 47).

β) ' ≥ y in: امتلوا 'imtalaw like التقوا 'iltaqaw instead of املتوا ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 21, 1.12) as a result of changing Vba III' into Vba III y (cf. F ü c k, *'Arabiya*, p. 116; V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache*, pp. 84–87; B l a u, *The Emergence*, p. 74).

γ) ' ≥ w and ' ≥ y in intervocalic positions respectively: a — u and a — i in: هؤلاء instead of هولاء. It occurs once in 'a l - M u q a f f a', p. 21, 1.5 (cf. B l a u, *The Emergence*, p. 74).

III. MORPHOLOGY

A. The Loss of tanwīn

a) With the verbs:

يتبعوه instead of يتبعونه in: عندما جعل له تلاميذ يتبعوه ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.5);

يزرع instead of يزرعان in: وكانا يزرعا ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.7);

يحصد instead of يحصدان in: وكانا يزرعا ويحصدا ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.7);

يتعجبوا instead of يتعجبون in: وكان الناس يتعجبون ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.10);

يسجدوا instead of يسجدون in: وكان أهل تلك المدينة يسجدون ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.10–11);

يصلوا instead of يصلون in: وكان أهل تلك المدينة يصلوا شجرة الزيتون ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.11);

تأكلوا instead of تأكلون in: وقال لهم هذه الزيتون التي تأكلوا ثمرتها ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.12.);

توقدوا instead of توقدون in: وتوقدوا اغصانها للنار هذه الزيتون التي تأكلوا ثمرتها ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.12.);

فتعبدوني instead of فتعبدونني in: أيها الناس القليلي الايمان ليس أنا اله فتعبدوني ('a l - M u q a f f a' p. 18, 1.3.), although in this case the form فتعبدوني is also possible (with haplology⁶);

⁶ Cf. W. W r i g h t, *Grammar*, vol. I, 1860, p. 102.

يخدموا instead of يخدمون in: الذين كانوا يخدموا ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 18, 1.6.) and in: جعلهم يخدموها ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 19, 1.11.); وكان عندهم برابي كثيرة لآلهتهم المردولة يخدموها ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 21, 1.6.);

مايتم لنا عمل مع هؤلاء الجليلين لآلهتهم يفعلوا هذه الافعال in: يفعلون instead of يفعلوا ('al - Mu - q a f f a', p. 18, 1.11);

وكان عندهم برابي كثيرة لآلهتهم المردولة يخدموها ... ويعبدوها in: يعبدون instead of يعبدوا ('al - Mu - q a f f a', p. 19, 1.11);

وكان عندهم برابي كثيرة لآلهتهم المردولة يخدموها في كل مكان ويعبدوها بكل اثم in: يذبحون instead of يذبحوا ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 19, 1.12.); , وسحر ويذبحوا لها بنينهم

طلبوه في كل مكان ونصبوا له قوم يرصدوه in: يرصدونه instead of يرصدوه ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 21, 1.4.);

جعلهم يخدموا ويثبتوا الاخوة المؤمنين in: يثبتون instead of يثبتوا ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 21, 1.6.);

وكانوا يقولوا in: يقولون instead of يقولوا ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 22, 1.13-14.);

مضوا به الى الاعتقال حتى يتشاوروا باى هلك يهلكوه in: يهلكونه instead of يهلكوه ('al - Mu - q a f f a', p. 21, 1.22.);

كانوا يقدسوا in: يقدسون instead of يقدسوا ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 22, 1.16.).

The above-mentioned forms without ن appear in 84% of the respective forms, though inconsistently as e.g. in the case of: يسجدوا (s.a.) but also يسجدون ('al - Mu - q a f f a', p. 17, 1.12; p. 18, 1.6.) or يصلوا (s.a.) but also يصلون ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 17, 1.25.) For this phenomenon cf. B l a u, *The Emergence*, p. 84, n. 3; L e b e - d e v, *Sr. Arab.*, p. 43-44.

b) With Nomina:

وكان لها أواسى كثيرة in: أواس instead of أواسى ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 16, 1.7);

الذي هو خادم ثانى لهذا العالم in: ثان instead of ثانى ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 17, 1.20.).

In the text in question there are only two occurrences of this phenomenon (cf. F ü c k, *'Arabiya*, p. 107; B l a u, *The Emergence*, pp. 168 ff., 177-178).

B. The Retention of *tanwīn*

a) ومات قوما كثيرا in: قوم instead of قوما ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 22, 1.13). This phenomenon occurs only once in our text and, no doubt, represents the case of an indefinite noun before its attribute in which instance in the Middle Arabic it often retained *tanwīn*, usually in the form of *-an* (cf. B l a u, *The Emergence*, p. 173-176.)

C. The Reduction of Flexion

a) Plural instead of Dual:

α) With Verbs:

ونظر شدة غضبهما قال لولده مرقس يا ولدي هو ذاتنظر غضب هذه الاسد المقبلة in: ليهلكانا instead of لنهلكنا ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 16, 1.18.); or ياكلاني instead of ياكلونى ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 16, 1.18.); with eventual haplology in: دعهما ياكلوني ('al - Mu q a f f a', p. 16, 1.18.).⁷ بشروا in: مضى مرقس مع بطرس الى يروشليم وبشروا الجموع بكلام الله in: بشرا instead of بشرا ('al - Mu q a f f a',

⁷ Ibid.

p. 18, 1.17.), and in: فمضى بطرس ومعه مرقس الى عمل بيت عينا ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 18, 1.19.). This phenomenon appears in our text only in 21% of the respective verbal forms (cf. B l a u, *The Emergence*, p. 17, n. 2, 28-29; 31 n. 1; 64, n. 2; 128; L e b e d e v, *Sr. Arab.*, p. 41).

β₁) With Nomina:

الأسد instead of الأسدين and الأسد instead of الأسدان respectively in: فبينما هما ماشيان لقيهما اسد وليوة فلما نظر ارسطو بولس اليهما مقبلين اليه ونظر شدة غضبهما قال لولده مرقس : يا ولدي هو ذا تنظر هذه الاسد المقبلة اليها لتهلكنا ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.17.) and in: فلما قرب منهم الاسد صاح عليهما مرقس عبيد ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.1.); والان يا ولدي الحبيب انا وافى نسألك ان تجعلنا عبيد الرب يسوع المسيح in: عبيد ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.7.).

β₂) Plural form of a substantive + pronominal suffix in dual:

أنفسهما instead of نفسيهما in: واهما بخلاص انفسهما وانتجعا الى بلاد اليهود ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.10).

This appears in our text in 17% of the total number of occurrences of the respective nominal form (cf. F ü c k, *'Arabiya*, p. 145; B l a u, *The Emergence*; L e b e d e v, *Sr. Arab.*, p. 55; as for the β₂) the dual form of the noun in question seems to be implied by the pronominal suffix).

b) The omission of the accusative 'alif with the indefinite nomina:

وحفظا كتب كثيرة من العتيقة in: كتبا instead of كتب ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.8.); نحن نعلم أنك تعمل سحر in: سحرا instead of سحر ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.14.); ولاجرت عادته أن يكلم أحدا in: أحدا instead of أحد ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.3.); ليس هو الاله in: الاه instead of الاه ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.24.); وكان مرقس من السبعين تلميذ in: تلميذا instead of تلميذ ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 18, 1.12.); وتأكل خبز in: خبزا instead of خبز ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 20, 1.11.); وجعلوا in: حبلا instead of حبل ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 21, 1.4.); نصبوا له قوم in: قوما ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 22, 1.9.); حفروا له موضع in: موضعا instead of موضع ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 22, 1.16).

This appears in the discussed text in 40% of the number of occurrences of the respective form (cf. V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache*, p. 163-165; B l a u, *The Emergence*, p. 127-128; L e b e d e v, *Sr. Arab.*, p. 55).

c) Casus obliquus instead of casus rectus:

α) in dual:

كان اخوين ساكنين في مدينة من اعمال in: أخوان instead of اخوان ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.5.).

β) in plural:

أيها الناس القليلي الايمان in: القليلو الايمان instead of القليلي الايمان ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 18, 1.3.); لأجل الأعمال التي تعملها المؤمنون in: المؤمنون instead of المؤمنين ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 21, 1.13.) and in: فاجتمع الاخوة المؤمنون ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 21, 1.14) or in: فلما كثروا المؤمنون ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 22, 1.3.) This kind of confusion of cases in our text is confined to five cases out of which three occur in connection with the same noun (cf. F ü c k, *'Arabiya*, p. 93; V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache*, p. 29, 31-32; 79, 126-127, 127 n. 1, add. 127; L e b e d e v, *Sr. Arab.*, pp. 55-56),

d) Jussive supplanted by indicative:

فكما أراد الله ضابط الكل اجاب تلميذ المسيح مرقص القديس قائلا لابوه لانتخاف يا اب in: تخف instead of تخاف ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.19.). This phenomenon occurs only once in our text (cf. F ü c k, 'Arabiya, pp. 94, 180; B l a u, *The Emergence*, p. 86).

e) Confusion of genders:

نقل على الارض وأخذ منه طينه in: منها instead of منه ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 20, 1.5.). Only one occurrence in our text. The phenomenon might have been caused by the fact that the pronominal suffix refers to a substantive of the feminine gender but from the group of exceptions which have no formal exponents of it and therefore could easily have been confounded with a noun of masculine gender, especially in the time when many grammatical categories in Arabic began to become vague. The more so that it is to be borne in mind that the author of our text was not a born Arab (cf. B l a u, *The Emergence*, pp. 106-107).

IV. SYNTAX

A. Singular instead of plural

a) باطلون instead of باطل in: فلاسفة هذا العالم باطل عند حكمة الله ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 20, 1.22.). This phenomenon occurs only once in our text.

B. Nominative instead of Genitive

a) أبوه instead of أبيه in: لأبيه ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.19.). This occurs only once in our text (cf. F ü c k, 'Arabiya, pp. 92, 94; V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache*, pp. 166-167; B l a u, *The Emergence*, pp. 81-82).

C. Nominative instead of Accusative

a) عارفان instead of عارفين in: وكان عارفان ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.7.). It occurs only once in our text (cf. F ü c k, 'Arabiya, pp. 92-93; V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache*, pp. 161, 163).

D. Accusative instead of Nominative

a) ولدا instead of ولد in: ولا يكون لكما فيه ولدا الى الأبد ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 17, 1.3.). The phenomenon occurs only once (cf. F ü c k, 'Arabiya, pp. 92-93). But it may also be that the tanwīn 'alif here marks the indefinite Nominative as a probable indication of the only survived *tanwīn*-ending used optionally without distinction between the cases (cf. B l a u, *The Emergence*, pp. 128, 204, 205, a.o.).

E. The conjunction و introducing the consequent of a temporal sentence with لما

a) فلما سكنوا في اعمال فلسطين بالقرب من مدينة اورشليم وكان يحنا الطفل ينمو وينشوي في قامته بنعمته الروح القدس ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 16, 1.11-12.). Such a construction appears only once in our text. It is undoubtedly the case of contamination of the conjunction و with لما

often joining the *apodosis* with *protasis* of temporal sentences but with *إذا*⁸ (cf. Bla u, *The Emergence*, pp. 95–96).

V. VOCABULARY

A. Linguistic calque

a) Loanblend and loantranslation:

الخمس المدن ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 19, 1.13.) and الخمس مدن ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 21.17.) from the Greek Pentapolis (cf. Bla u, *The Emergence*, pp. 157–158). Note the inconsistency in the use of 'al—with مدن the second member of the name.

B. Loan-words

a) ماري ('a l - M u q a f f a', p. 19, 1.14; p. 22, 1.5.) from the Syriac ܡܪܝ used in Christian texts before the names of Saints.

In the light of the above-presented analysis it appears that:

a) the language of our text is relatively close to the Classical Arabic and shows little deviations from it.

b) The deviations cover ca 40% of the forms and affect the orthographic, phonetic and phonological, morphological and syntactic levels as well as the vocabulary.

c) The fact that they almost all are noted in the works referred to in this paper prove their commonness to all variants of the Middle Arabic. The only exceptions are the imperative I from أمر written with a prothetic 'alif (s.a. IBa) and the use of Sg. instead of Pl. in a nominal sentence with a normal word order (s.a. IVAa) and are not noted by any of the cited authors and seem to enrich the list of characteristics of the Christian Middle Arabic.

Abbreviations

Bla u, *The Emergence* — Joshua Bla u, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*, Oxford 1965.

Fü c k, 'Arabiya — Johann Fü c k, *Arabiya*, Paris 1955.

Le b e d e v, *Sr. Arab.* — V. V. Le b e d e v, *Pozdniü srednearabskii yazyk (XIII–XVIII vv.)*, Moskva 1977.

'a l - M u q a f f a' — Severus Ben El - M o q a f f a', *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*. Tomus I, fasciculus I, ed. Ch. F. Seybold, Beryti-Parisiis 1904, pp. 16–22.

V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache* — Karl V o l l e r s, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, Strassburg 1906.

⁸ Cf. H. Re c k e n d o r f, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, p. 467.