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MEDICAL VOCABULARY  
IN A GREEK-ARABIC GOSPEL OF LUKE  
(BNF SUPPL. GREC 911, 1043 AD)

## Introduction

The MS included in BnF Suppl. grec 911 was copied during the first half of the 11th century. This *codex* contains a fragmentary bilingual Greek-Arabic Gospel of Luke, coming from the Library of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The copy of this MS, according to the information given in the colophon by the copyist was finished in June AD 1043. This copyist, named Eufemius, is designated as a clerk (κληρικόν) in the Greek text, but in the Arabic text he is called *šammās*, “deacon” according to the colophon which was written in Greek and Arabic.<sup>2</sup>

An important feature of this MS is the good condition in which the text survives from the contents viewpoint with regard to other biblical MSS. Thus, this MS text contains a lack of about 22 pages from a total of 328, with the following *lacunae*:

- 1) 1:22b–25 (1 leave)
- 2) 5:10b–34a (7 leaves)
- 3) 8:8b–14 (2 leaves)
- 4) 10:13b–17a (1 folio)
- 5) 18:28–19:15a (7 leaves)
- 6) 24:8–38 (4 leaves)

All these *lacunae* are due to leaves or MS sections which, by haphazard, have been torn out of the binding, and which are likely to appear some day scattered round several libraries in the world. This is the case, for instance, of a recently rescued loose pages (*lacuna* 3), which belong to one part of the “parable of the sower” (Lk 8:8b-14).

These two leaves, which have been recently edited and studied,<sup>3</sup> were taken by the Russian bishop Porphyrius Uspenskij from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem at the end of the nineteenth century, and were kept later by the same bishop in Saint Petersburg National Library,<sup>4</sup> where they are still under the signature ‘Grec 290’. Despite bishop Uspenskij’s incident, the text of the two leaves has not been deteriorated, thanks to its wide margins.

The linguistic register used by the Arabic translator is that of the Middle Arabic, i.e. that register which Blau has called “the missing link” between Classical Arabic and modern dialects or Neo-Arabic.<sup>5</sup> In the case of the Christian Arab authors and translators that lived under the Muslim

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<sup>1</sup> On this MS, see 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. Cf. 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.

<sup>2</sup> A photograph with this colophon is included in Ángel Urbán & Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, “Some regards on textual criticism...”, *Parole de l’Orient*, 30 (2005), p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> J.P. Monferrer-Sala & A. Urbán, “St. Petersburg ‘grec 290’, a *membrum disiectum* from BnF ‘Suppl. gr. 911’. Edition and commentary”, in J.P. Monferrer-Sala & Sofia Torallas (eds.), *Manuscripts, Scribes and Context*, Louvain: Peeters, forthcoming.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 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), p. 163. Cf. J.P. Monferrer-Sala, “Descripción lingüística...”, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 2 (2005), pp. 95-96.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic based mainly on South-Palestinian texts from the First Millennium*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 267, 276, 279, Subsidia 27-29 (Louvain, 1966-67), I, pp. 19-58 (‘Introduction’).

rule, Arabic language did replace their mother-tongues (mainly Greek, Aramaic and Coptic)<sup>6</sup> and it was employed for creating an important and rich *corpus* of texts written by Christians for Christians in “Middle Arabic” since it was born.<sup>7</sup>

This literary *koiné*, used for translations as well as for original works in the hands of the Christian, Jewish and Muslim authors,<sup>8</sup> shows many Middle Arabic phenomena through the different levels of the Arabic language caused by pseudo-corrections, but also as interferences from the Neo-Arabic dialects.<sup>9</sup> Although not only these, the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries Arabic texts of the New Testament<sup>10</sup> were copies of earlier translations which were done from different *Vorlagen*,<sup>11</sup> with interferences of a third language, as it occurs with Aramaic in texts from the Palestinian area. These interferences were possible in Arabic loans or calques from Aramaic, since Aramaic was a living tongue in Palestine at the eve of the Muslim conquest and during some centuries after that.<sup>12</sup> This is the case, for instance, of the loanword *malakūt*, “kingdom” (fol. 1r, line 10) from Syriac *malḵū(ō)*, corresponding to Aramaic *malḵū*, since it is explained through the preservation of spirantization after *šēwa medium*.<sup>13</sup>

As for the handwriting, like almost the entire part of the MS, the Arabic kind of writing exhibited by the two leaves which we have just edited above can be considered as a “transitional late-*kūfī*–*nashī*”, i.e., a handwriting which keeps some features of the evolved post-kufic type, with some specific features in some consonants, not to be mentioned here<sup>14</sup>.

We have quite often a division of words in two lines: vgr. *talā* / *mīḏu-hu* (1r), *bi-l-a* / *mīāl* (1r), *atmā* / *ru-hum* (2v).

As for the diacritics, the copyist use to omit the in some letters. This is the case for the *nūn*: *āḡān* (1r), *an* (1r, twice), *yakūna* (1r), *li-l-bāḡiyyīn* (1r), *yarūna* (1v), *al-sāmi-ūn* (1v), *min* (1v; 2v), *allaḡīna* (1v; 2r; 2v), *yaḡbalūna* (2r), *yu?minūna* (2r), *zumayn* (2r), *zamān* (2r), *al-imiḡhān* (2r), *yanḡhāzūna* (2r), *bayna* (2v), *yasma-ūna* (2v), *yanḡaliḡūna* (2v). Final *yā?* is always omitted: vgr. *u-ḡiya* (1r), *li-kay* (1v), *ya?ī* (1v), *ḡi* (2r).

As it occurs in the Andalusi and Maghrebi MSS, the dots of *fā?* and *qāf* are written under and over their respective graphemes. However, as it is well known, the same feature is also documented in some MSS from the Middle East.<sup>15</sup> This is the case in *fā-* (1r, twice; 1v, three times; 2r; 2v), *qāyilīn* (1r), *fa-qāla* (1r), *qulūb* (1v), *yafhamū* (1v), *al-ḡafā* (2r), *yaḡbalūna* (2r), *al-qawl* (1v; 2r), *faraḡ* (2r), *ḡi* (2r), *waḡaḡa* (2v), *yanḡaliḡūna* (2v), *yaḡtaniḡūna* (2v). In some instances the dot of the *qāf* has not been written: vgr. *al-ḡariḡ* (1v).

<sup>6</sup> See in this respect Sidney H. Griffith, ‘From Aramaic to Arabic: The Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 51 (1997), pp. 11-31. For the case of the Arabic of the Egyptian Christian writers, see Johannes den Heijer, ‘Remarques sur la langue de quelques textes copto-arabes médiévaux’, in Jérôme Lentin – Jacques Grand’Henry (eds.), *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l’arabe à travers l’histoire. Actes du Premier Colloque International (Louvain-la-Neuve, 10-14 mai 2004)*, «Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain» 58, Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain – Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 2008, pp. 113-139, espec. 116-118, 125-139.

<sup>7</sup> See Federico Corriente, ‘The Psalter fragment from the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus. A birth certificate of Nabatī Arabic’, in *Eastern Crossroads...*, ed. J.P. Monferrer-Sala, pp. 303-320 (see n. 1).

<sup>8</sup> An attempt of bibliographical essay about the scientific task done is in Jérôme Lentin, ‘Moyen arabe et variétés de l’arabe: premier essai de bibliographie’, in J. Lentin – J. Grand’Henry (eds.), *Moyen arabe*, pp. XXV-LXXXVII.

<sup>9</sup> See J. Blau, ‘Hyper-Correction and Hypo-Correction (Half-Correction) in Pseudo-Correct Features’, *Le Muséon*, LXXVI (1963), pp. 363-367. Cf. Kees Versteegh, ‘Breaking the Rules without Wanting to: Hypercorrection in Middle Arabic Texts’, in *Investigating Arabic. Current Parameters in Analysis and Learning*, ed. Alaa Elgibali (Leiden – Boston, 2005), pp. 3-18.

<sup>10</sup> See Aziz S. Aṡiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai* (Baltimore, 1955), pp. 4-7.

<sup>11</sup> On the early Arabic versions of the New Testament, see Bruce M. Metzger, *The early versions of the New Testament. Their origin, transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 257-268.

<sup>12</sup> For a possible Syriac origin of the variant *ḡoḡaḡaw* in this MS, see J.P. Monferrer-Sala & Á. Urbán, ‘A Syriac background of Luke 7:29 in a Greek-Arabic bilingual lectionary from 1043 AD’, *X<sup>o</sup> Symposium of Syriac Studies*, forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> See J. Blau, ‘Marginalia Semitica I’, in J. Blau, *Topics in Hebrew and Semitic Linguistics* (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 215-216.

<sup>14</sup> On this issue in J.P. Monferrer-Sala, ‘Descripción lingüística...’, pp. 93-139 (see n. 1).

<sup>15</sup> See on this issue, J. P. Monferrer-Sala, ‘Once again on the earliest Christian Arabic apology: remarks on a palaeographic singularity’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, forthcoming.

Our aim in the present paper is to offer the medical vocabulary employed in the narrative accounts of the miracles as contained in the fragmentary Arabic version of the Gospel of Luke preserved in the “Bibliothèque nationale de France” in light of its Greek *Vorlage*, which is also included in the same codex (Suppl. grec 911), and the terminology adduced out of the Greek medical authors.<sup>16</sup> Obviously, those possible medical terms which have been not used in a medical sense in the text have been excluded of this paper in order to give a first attempt of lexicostatistics of the adapted Greek terms into Arabic by the Christian Arab translators.<sup>17</sup>

The following signs and symbols are given in the entries:

- refers the item attested in the MS
- + in statistics sums the quotations of an item in Luke and Acts
- [xxx] context words
- {xxx} *loca evangelii*
- ! xxx ! Pešītā
- | xxx | Statistics in the Gospels, Acts, and (/) the Septuagint.

### Vocabulary

— A —

ἀνακύπτω → [μη δυναμένη] ἀνακύψαι [εἰς τὸ παντελές] = [lā tuṭīqu] *al-intiṣāb* [*bi-l-kulliyyah*] {13:11} | [𐤀𐤎𐤊𐤁𐤏] 𐤀𐤎𐤊𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤀 [𐤀𐤏𐤌𐤀 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤀 𐤏𐤁] | | Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 0 |<sup>18</sup>

“[She was quite unable] to stand up [straight]”. ἀνακύψαι, an infinitive aorist active, is used in LXX Job 1:15 (ἐάν τε γὰρ ἀσεβῆς ὁ οἶμμοι ἐάν τε ὦ δίκαιος οὐ δύναμαι ἀνακύψαι πλήρης γὰρ ἀτιμίας εἰμί = “Or if I should be ungodly, woe is me: and if I should be righteous, I cannot lift myself up, for I am full of dishonour”), where Hebrew *qal peššā?* (< נפשׁ) has been rendered.<sup>19</sup> This aorist is also attested in Josephus’ *Bellum Iudaicum* 6,8,5, *passim*. Obviously, as the Arabic translator has not opted for a verb, the incoactive *Aktionsart* of ἀνακύψαι is present in the Arabic *maṣḍar intiṣāb* only in a marginal way.<sup>20</sup>

ἀνορθόω → ἀνορθώθη = *intaṣabat* {13:13} | 𐤀𐤎𐤏𐤔𐤏𐤁𐤀 | | Lk + Ac: 2 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 17 |<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See in this respect William Kirk Hobart, *The medical Language of St. Luke*, Dublin: Baker Book House, 1954 (reed. Gorgias Press, 2004), pp. 1-34.

<sup>17</sup> About the several benefits provided by the lexicostatistics, in this case for rejecting the ‘Central Semitic theory’, see Federico Corriente, “Lexicostatistics and the Central Semitic Theory”, in Gregorio del Olmo Lete, L. Feliu, A. Millet (eds.), *Studies Presented to Joaquín Sanmartín on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, «Aula Orientalis Supplementa» 22, Barcelona: AUSA, 2006, pp. 139-144. For the translation movement in Arabic by the Christian authors, see Sidney H. Griffith, “The monks of Palestine and the growth of Christian literature in Arabic”, *The Muslim World* 78 (1988), pp. 1-28.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistik des Neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes*, Zürich – Frankfurt am Main: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1958, p. 72. Cf. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Louvain – Paris – Walpole, Ma: Peeters, 2009, p. 41b.

<sup>19</sup> Johannes F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus sive Lexicon in LXX et reliquos interpretes graecos ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti*, London, Glasgow, Leipzig: Jacob Duncan, 3 vols., 1821, 1822, 1829, I, p. 186b. Cf. E. Hatch & H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, p. 78c. On נפשׁ, see Ludwig Koehler – Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 2 vols., Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), I, p. 683bff. Henceforth HALAT

<sup>20</sup> On the several kinds of ‘actions’ in the Greek of the New Testament, see Juan Mateos, *El aspecto verbal en el Nuevo Testamento*, Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1977; cf. James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906, I, pp. 108ff; and A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914, pp. 823ff.

<sup>21</sup> R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 74. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 56a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961, pp. 148b-149a.

*Medical vocabulary in a Greek-Arabic Gospel of Luke ...*

“She stood up straight”. ἀνωρθώθη is an indicative aorist pass. 3<sup>rd</sup> p. sg. of ἀνωρθόω, which has the same meaning of ἀνακύπτω,<sup>22</sup> and translates several Hebrew verbs: יָקַם (1 Ch 17:24), דָּרְגָהּ (17:39), הָקַץ (Ps 145:7), and הָקַם (2 Sam 7:18).<sup>23</sup> Arabic perfective *intaṣabat* shows the punctual aspect of Greek ἀνωρθώθη as well as with a complexive action at the syntagmatic level according to the past situation which is described in the text.

ἀποθνήσκω → ἀποθανεῖν = *māt* {16:22} | ܐܘܬܝܢܐ |

| Lk + Ac: 5 – Mt: 5; Mk: 9; Jn: 28 / LXX: 8 |<sup>24</sup>

“He died”. ἀποθανεῖν, an infinitive aorist active, is used with the same meaning in the following passages of the LXX, where ἀποθανεῖν has rendered several Hebrew terms like מָוַת (Gn 7:21; Nm 17:13; 20:3), מָוַת (Koh 8:12), מָוַת (Gn 2:17; 3:3), etc.<sup>25</sup> The complexive action of the Greek verb has been completely grasped by the Arabic translator.

ἀπολύω → ἀπολέλυσαι = *qad uṭliqat min* {13:12} | ܩܕ ܐܘܬܠܝܩܬ ܡܝܢ |

| Lk + Ac: 28 – Mt: 19; Mk: 12; Jn: 5 / LXX: 5 |<sup>26</sup>

“To set free from”. The verb ἀπολύω is used in the Gospels with a double meaning: a) in a legal framework (related to the divorce, as in Lk 6:37; 16:18 [cf. also 8:39]; cf. Mt 5:31.32; 19:3.8.9; Mk 10:2.11; or related to a criminal accusation, like in Lk 23:18.20.22.25; cf. Mt 27:15.21.26; Mk 15:6.9.11.15; Jn 18:39; 19:10.12); b) in a medical context as is the present case (ἀπολέλυσαι τῆς ἀσθενείας σου = *qad uṭliqat min*, “you are set free from your ailment!”; cf. also Lk 14:4). At the same time, it should be noticed that this verb is also used to indicate a farewell (“to let; to say goodbye”), like in Lk 2:29; 9:12. In the present passage the perfect pass. form (ἀπολέλυσαι) marks the ingressive aspect of a continuous state, which is grasped in the Arabic translation.

ἀσθένεια → ἀσθενείας = *ʿillah* {13:12} | ܐܝܠܠܗܐ |

| Lk + Ac: 5 – Mt: 1; Mk: 0; Jn: 2 / LXX: 7 |<sup>27</sup>

“Ailment; weakness”. The term ἀσθένεια occurs in the sentence γύναι, ἀπολέλυσαι τῆς ἀσθενείας σου = *ayyatu-hā al-marʿah qad uṭliqat min ʿillati-ki* (“woman, you are set free from your ailment!”). In LXX Ecclesiastes 12:4 ἀσθένεια is used for לָפֶשׁ (“low”) or in LXX Jer 18:23 for the *hofal* participle ms. pl. מְלִפְפֵּי (“they are made to stumble”).<sup>28</sup> The expression in 13:11 (πνεῦμα [ἔχουσα] ἀσθενείας = [*kānat bi-hā*] *rīh maraḍ*, “[a woman who] had had a spirit of infirmity”) gives some interesting details in the Arabic translation. The Pešittā gathers ܐܝܠܠܗܐ ܐܝܠܠܗܐ (“a spirit of infirmity”). Chase suggested that the reading exhibited by the Codex Bezae (KAI ΙΔΟΥ ΓΥΝΗ ΕΝ ΑCΘΕΝΕΙΑ ΗΝ ΠΙNC) could be a possible retranslation from the Syriac.<sup>29</sup> From the literary viewpoint, together with the physical illness, the term can show a psychological one.<sup>30</sup> The Arabic rendition of the the Greek πνεῦμα as *rīh* (“wind”, perhaps “humor”) can be connected with Galen’s ideas, who accepted three faculties in men: animal, vital and natural, and at the same time he was inclined to think in the hypothetical presence of related spirits. In any case, the earliest reference to the three spirits (or perhaps “humors”) in

<sup>22</sup> Johannes P. Louw – Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on Semantic Domains*, New York: United Bible Societies, 1988-89, n. 17.33.

<sup>23</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, I, p. 236.

<sup>24</sup> R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 76. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 74a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 193a.

<sup>25</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, I, p. 291. Cf. Edwin Hatch & Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal Books)*. Introductory Essay by R.A. Kraft & E. Tov. Hebrew and Aramaic Index by T. Muraoka, Grand Rapids, Mi: Baker Academic, 1998 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 128a.

<sup>26</sup> R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 77. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 79b. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 201b.

<sup>27</sup> R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 79. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 97a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 243a.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, I, pp. 376-377.

<sup>29</sup> Frederic H. Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, London: Macmillan and Co. (reed. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004), pp. 41-42.

<sup>30</sup> On this passage, see R. F. O’Toole, “Some Exegetical Reflections on Luke 13,10-17”, *Biblica* 73 (1992), pp. 84-107.

man comes from the celebrated Nestorian translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (d. 873).<sup>31</sup> This conception will be successful in the East during the Muslim period, and in the West as well.<sup>32</sup>

ἀφρός = *luṣāb* {9:39} | لوصاب |

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 0 |<sup>33</sup>

“Foam”. Noun m. sg. ἀφρός is attested in Homer, *Iliad* 20:168.

— B —

βλάπτω → βλάψαν = *yasī* {4:35} | ياص |

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 1, Jn: 0 / LXX: 6 |<sup>34</sup>

“[He] hurt [him not]”. βλάψαν is a participle aorist active neuter sg. This term occurs very often in Greek writings from Homer down, as well as in the OT, e.g. in Tobit 12:2 indicative present passive 1<sup>st</sup> p. sg. βλάπτομαι (“I [do not] harm”). The complexive action denoted by βλάψαν is offered in Arabic through the negation particle *lam*, which take the yusive for describing a past action.

— E —

ἐγείρω → ἐγέρθητι = *qum* {7:14} | قوم |

| Lk + Ac: 30 – Mt: 36; Mk: 19; Jn: 13 / LXX: 0 |<sup>35</sup>

“Rise!”. ἐγέρθητι is an imperative aorist passive. The present active imperative ἐγέρθητι is used for arousing (“rise!; come!; up!”). In the LXX the middle voice ἐγείρομαι chiefly translates *qūm* and *qūm* (“to arose; cause to rise”).<sup>36</sup> The punctual aspect of the Greek form is completely grasped in the Arabic imperative.

ἐλκοῦμαι → ἐλκωμένος = *qarīḥan* {16:20} | قارحان |

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 0 |<sup>37</sup>

“Covered with sores”. ἐλκοῦμαι (cf. Syr. *pa’el* par. *mēmāḥay*) a derivative of ἔλκος (“sore, ulcer”),<sup>38</sup> is a participle perfect pass. m. sg. (see the next item). The durative-continuous aspect of ἐλκοῦμαι is not grasped by the *maṣdar qarīḥan*.

ἔλκος → ἔλκη = *ḡirāḥ* {16:21} | قارح |

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 14 |<sup>39</sup>

“Sores”. The term ἔλκη is a noun neuter pl. common, whereas *ḡirāḥ* is a noun m. sg. The pl. ἔλκη is attested three times in the LXX OT (Ex 9:9; Lev 13:18; Job 2:7), where Hebrew *ḡirāḥ* have been rendered.<sup>40</sup> Like it occurs with the Aramaic cognate *šēḥīn* (cf. Syriac *sūḥnā* or Samaritan *ḡirāḥ*),<sup>41</sup> this Hebrew common m. sg. properly means “boil”, and in a collective sense

<sup>31</sup> Vivian Nutton, “John of Alexandria Again: Greek Medical Philosophy in Latin Translation”, *The Classical Quarterly* [NS] 41:2 (1991), p. 514.

<sup>32</sup> Clifford Edmund Bosworth, “A Pioneer Arabic Encyclopedia of the Sciences: Al Khwārizmī’s Keys of the Sciences”, *Isis* 54:1 (1963), p. 108. Cf. Mark D. Jordan, “The Construction of a Philosophical Medicine: Exegesis and Argument in Saemitan Teaching on the Soul”, *Osiris* [2<sup>nd</sup> series] 6 (1990), pp. 42-61; and Boyd H. Hill Jr., “The Grain and the Spirit in Mediaeval Anatomy”, *Speculum* 40:1 (1965), pp. 63-73.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 81.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 83. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 118b.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 91. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, pp. 185b-186a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp. 398b-399a.

<sup>36</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, I, p. 662-663. Cf. E. Hatch & H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, p. 364a.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 94.

<sup>38</sup> J. P. Louw – E. A. Nida, *Lexicon*, n. 23.180. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 224a-b.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 94. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 224a.

<sup>40</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, I, p. 747. On , see L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner, HALAT, II, p. 1356b.

<sup>41</sup> Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols., Jerusalem: Hōreb, s.d. = New York: Pardes House, 1959, II, p. 1547b; R. Payne Smith, *Theosaurus syriacus*, collegerunt

“eruption”, but if the term is applied to men or to animals it can be identified with leprosy (cf. Lv 13:18.19.20; 13:23; Ex 9:9.10.11; Dt 28:27).<sup>42</sup>

ἐνοχλέω → ἐνοχλούμενοι = *marhūqūn* {6:18} | ܡܪܗܘܩܘܢ |  
| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 9 |<sup>43</sup>

“Troubled”. ἐνοχλούμενοι is a participle present passive. ἐνοχλέω (“to trouble; to annoy”) in LXX chiefly renders לָחַץ (“be weak, sick”).<sup>44</sup> The intensive aspect of ἐνοχλούμενοι is absent in the Arabic *marhūqūn*.

ἐπιβλέπω → ἐπιβλέψαι ἐπὶ = *unzur ilā* {9:38} | ܘܢܘܘܪ ܝܠܐ |

| Lk + Ac: 2 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: ca. 100 places |<sup>45</sup>

“Look upon”, just for examining the appearance of a patient. ἐπιβλέψαι (< ἐπιβλέπω, “look upon with care”), is an infinitive aorist active which has been rendered through an imperative in Arabic, since Greek δέομαι σου ἐπιβλεψαι is an imperative expression of politeness. The form ἐπιβλέψαι occurs several times in the OT of the Septuagint for rendering several Hebrew terms.<sup>46</sup> Thus, for instance, in Jonas 2:5 and Lam 4:16 ἐπιβλέψαι renders Hebrew *hifsil* infinitive construct חִפְּסִיל (“look upon; behold”), in Malachi 2:13 *qal* infinitive construct קִיבֵּן (“to look”) is attested. The incoative aspect denoted by ἐπιβλέψαι has not been rendered in the Arabic imperative *unzur*.

ἐπιμελέομαι → ἐπεμελήθη = *istanā bi-* {10:34} | ܝܣܬܢܐ ܒܝ | Cf. ἐπιμελήθητι = *itkallaf* {10:35} | ܝܬܟܠܠܝ |

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 15 |<sup>47</sup>

“He took care”. ἐπεμελήθη is an indicative aorist pasive 3<sup>rd</sup> p. sg., is only attested in the passive voice in the NT.<sup>48</sup> The punctual-complexive aspect of the Greek verb is also present in the Arabic *istanā*.<sup>49</sup> In 10:35 occurs ἐπιμελήθητι, imperative aorist passive 2<sup>nd</sup> p. sg. (“to take care”), which is used in Gn 44:21 (LXX) for rendering the construction אֲנִי יָשִׁיב אֶת עֵינָי עָלָיו (“I may set my eyes [on him]”). Arabic *itkallaf* is a pseudo-correction of *takallaf* (“take care”).<sup>50</sup> The effective aspect of ἐπιμελήθητι has been not grasped by *itkallaf*.

ἐπιτίθημι → ἐπέθηκεν (αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας) = *waḡaṣa (bi-yadī-hi ṣalay-hā)* {13:13} | ܘܘܓܘܨܐ ܒܝܝܕܝܗܝ ܨܠܝܗܐ |

| Lk + Ac: 19 – Mt: 7; Mk: 8; Jn: 3 / LXX: 200 |<sup>51</sup>

“He laid (his hands on her)”. The aorist ἐπέθηκεν shows through a punctual aspect the instrument used for the cure. The expression ἐπιτίθημι τὴν χεῖρα (or pl. τὰς χεῖρας) is used in

Stephanus M. Quatremere et al., 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879 & 1901, II, p. 4121a; Abraham Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2000, II, p. 886a.

<sup>42</sup> 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, 1006b.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 96. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 240a.

<sup>44</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, I, p. 784. Cf. G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Lexicon of the New Testament*, Edinburgh – New York: T&T Clark, 2005 (rep. of 1936), p. 155. F. Brown, S. R. Driver & C. H. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, p. 317b.

<sup>45</sup> R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 98. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, pp. 268b-269a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 517b.

<sup>46</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, I, pp. 845-846.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 99. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 277a.

<sup>48</sup> Max Zerwick, *Analysis philologica Novi Testamenti graeci*, editio altera emendata, Rome: Biblical Pontifical Institute, 1960, p. 165, lines 7-8.

<sup>49</sup> The sentence ἐπιχέων ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον (= aḡraḡ zaytan wa-ḡamran, “pouring oil and wine”) shows explicitly one of the several forms for taking care. Different kinds of oil and wine were used like remedies in Antiquity, cf. H. C. Kee, *Medicine*, pp. 42, 42-43, 51.

<sup>50</sup> On pseudo-corrections from Neo-Arabic which alternates in “Middle Arabic” texts, see Kees Versteegh, “Breaking the Rules without Wanting to: Hypercorrection in Middle Arabic Texts”, in Alaa Elgibali (ed.), *Investigating Arabic: Current parameters in Analysis and Learning*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005, pp. 3-18.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 100.

the NT to indicate a blessing (Mt 19:13.15), the transmission of the Spirit or recognition (Ac 6:6; 8:17.19; 9:17; 13:3; 19:6; 1 Ti 5:22),<sup>52</sup> and like in this case (13:13), the way in which the cure is performed (Mt 9:18; Mk 5:23; 6:5; 7:32; 8:23.25; 16:18; Lk 4:40; Ac 9:12; 28:8).<sup>53</sup>

— H —

ἡμιθανής → ἡμιθανῆ = *mayt* {10:30} | مَلِكٌ مَيِّتٌ مَيِّتٌ |  
| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 1 (in the apocrypha) |<sup>54</sup>

“Half dead”. ἡμιθανής is an adjective normal ms. sg. The term ἡμιθανής (from ἡμί “half” and θνήσκω, “to die”, perfect “to be dead”, cf. Syr. *qalil* [...] *naṣṣō*, “little life”) means “the state of being somewhere between life and death”,<sup>55</sup> i.e. half dead or nearly dead, *semi-mortuus*,<sup>56</sup> a meaning which has not been correctly grasped by the Arabic translator, who has interpreted it like “dead” (*mayt*).

— Θ —

θεραπεία → θεραπείας = *al-šifāʾ* {9:11} | شَفَاؤُهُمْ |  
| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 6 |<sup>57</sup>

“Healing”. This noun feminine sg. common translates Hebrew pl. קְרוּקִים (“they who heal”) in LXX Est 2:12 (cf. 5:1). It is interesting to note that, together with the meaning of “cure”, “medical treatment”,<sup>58</sup> the nominative sg. θεραπεία occurs in LXX Gen 45:16 for translating עֲבָדָי, “servants”, the same meaning of θεραπείας in Lk 12:42, where the Arabic translator rendered it like *ṣabīd*, “servants”.<sup>59</sup>

θεραπεύω → ἐθεράπευσεν = *šafā* {7:21} {13:14} | شَفَا | Cf. θεραπεύσαι = *al-šifāʾ* {14:3} | شَفَاؤُهُمْ |  
| Lk + Ac: 19 – Mt: 16; Mk: 5; Jn: 1 / LXX: ca. 25 places |<sup>60</sup>

“He healed”. ἐθεράπευσεν is an indicative aorist active 3<sup>rd</sup> p. sg. This Greek form is attested with the same meaning in both in the *Septuagint* (Tob 12:3; Wis 16:12; Sir 38:7) for translating several Hebrew terms,<sup>61</sup> and in the NT (Math 4:24; 8:16; 12:15.22; 14:14; 15:30; 19:2; 21:14; Mk 1:34; 3:1; 6:5). In the case of 2 Sam 19:25 ἐθεράπευσεν has rendered *qal* עָשָׂה (*šāšā*, “do; make”). It should be noted that in secular Greek θεραπεύω means “to serve”, “to be serviceable”, but also “to serve god” in religious contexts, whereas in other contexts means “to care for the sick”. Greek-speaking Judaism gathers the same uses of this verb, i.e. the secular (Ezra 1:1b; 2:19; 6:10), the religious (“to serve God”, Judith 11:17) and the third one (Tob 2:10). However, in the NT the verb is never used in its secular meaning.<sup>62</sup> The complexive-punctual aspect of ἐθεράπευσεν has been well-described by perfective *šafā* in Arabic.

In 14:3 occurs the infinitive aorist active θεραπεύσαι, attested in Mt 12:10; 17:16. The resultative aspect stated in θεραπεύσαι is clearly noticeable in the noun *šifāʾ*. In 4:23 the

<sup>52</sup> Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 537b.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 537b.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 104. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 320a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 607b.

<sup>55</sup> J. P. Louw – E. A. Nida, *Lexicon*, 23.122.

<sup>56</sup> M. Zerwick, *Analysis philologica*, p. 164.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 105. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 327b. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 644b § C.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. 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, pp. 288b-289a.

<sup>59</sup> G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 206.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 105. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 327b. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 645a § B.

<sup>61</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, p. 50.

<sup>62</sup> Herman Wolfgang Beyer, “θεραπεύω”, in G. Kittel—G. Friedrich, *The Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* [Computer version: *Logos Library System 2.1g*], Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000.



expression *θεράπευσον σεαυτόν* (*išfi nafsa-ka*, “Cure yourself!”) should be understood like a retort, according to Gn Rabbah 23:4. On the other hand, the affliction due to a menstrual disorder described in 8:43 (ἦτις οὐκ ἴσχυσεν ἀπ’ οὐδενός θεραπευθῆναι = *fa-lam yumkin-hā al-burūr? min aḥad*; cf. Pešīṭtā *w-lō eškḥaṭ d-men noš teṭaʿsē*, “and could not be cured by any one”) leads the woman to a situation of ritual impurity.<sup>63</sup> In this context, the infinitive pass. describes the impossibility that this woman can be cured by any physician.

— I —

ἰάομαι → ἰάτο = *tušfiya* {6:19} [cf. ἰάτο = *šāfā* {9:11}] | ܐܘܪܝܐ | Cf. ἰάσατο = *abraʿa* {14:4} {22:51} | ܐܘܪܝܐ |  
| Lk + Ac: 15 – Mt: 4; Mk: 1; Jn: 3 / LXX: ca. 50 places |<sup>64</sup>

“He healed [all of them]”. The verb ἰάτο, an indicative imperfect middle 3<sup>rd</sup> p. sg., has been rendered in Arabic by a passive imperfect. The verb ἰάομαι chiefly translates in LXX Hebrew *שָׁפַר* (“to heal”).<sup>65</sup> The iterative-progressive aspect (cf. the Spanish rendition “él [los] iba curando [a todos]”) denoted in the verb ἰάτο is grasped by the Arabic verbal construction *kānat* (...) *tušfiya*. Cf. also the use of ἰάτο in 9:11 (τοὺς χρεῖαν ἔχοντας θεραπείας ἰάτο = *šāfā alladīna bi-him ḥāḡa ilā al-šifāʿ*, “he healed those who needed a cure”).

In 14:4 occurs the indicative aorist middle 3<sup>rd</sup> p. sg. ἰάσατο (“he healed”), which is used in the OT of the *Septuagint* (Gen 2:17; 1 Kg 18:32; 2 Ch 3:20; Ps 106:20; Job 12:21; Wis 16:10) for translating *qal* consecutive imperfect of *שָׁפַר* (“to heal”). The complexive-resultative aspect of ἰάσατο is changed in Arabic into a complexive-(pseudo-causative) action in the Arabic *abraʿa*.

ἰασις → ἰάσεις (< ἰάομαι) = *ašfiyah* | ܐܨܦܝܗ |  
| Lk + Ac: 3 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 2 |<sup>66</sup>

The noun ἰασις (13:32, ἰάσεις ἀποτελῶ = *uqaḍḍī ašfiyah*, “I do cures”) is only used in the NT by Luke (Lk 13:32 and Ac 4:22.30). In this passage, the use of the future ἀποτελῶ includes a nuance of obligation (“I must finish”) which has been emphasized by the Arabic translator through the verbal form *qaḍḍā – yuqaḍḍī* (“to ensure [the law]”), which has a legal meaning.<sup>67</sup> The Pešīṭtā, on the contrary, has rendered the expression like ܐܘܪܝܐ ܐܨܦܝܗ ܐܨܦܝܗ ( “and I perform cures”).

ἰατρός → ἰατρε = *ṭabīb* {4:23} [cf. ἰατροῦ = *ṭabīb* {5:31} / ἰατροῖς = *al-aṭibbāʿ* {8:43}] | ܐܘܪܝܐ |  
| Lk + Ac: 2 – Mt: 1; Mk: 2; Jn: 0 / LXX: 13 |<sup>68</sup>

“Physician”. Greek physicians were conceived as great scientific teachers, even over the philosophers.<sup>69</sup> The term *ṭabīb*, which is preceded by the vocative particle *ayyuhā* according to the vocative ἰατρέ. This Arabic translation seems not to have reached the essence of the Greek word, since *ḥakīm* would be preferable for rendering Greek ἰατρός. This previous term occurs only seven times in the NT and only once (Mt 9:12 = Mk 2:17; Lk 5:31) a positive consideration is offered.<sup>70</sup> In LXX this term translates Hebrew *שָׂרֵפ* (“physician”).<sup>71</sup>

<sup>63</sup> V. K. Robbins, “The Woman Who Touched Jesus’ Garment: Socio-rhetorical Analysis of the Synoptic Accounts”, *New Testament Studies* 33 (1987) 502–515.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 106. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 336a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 661b.

<sup>65</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, p. 81.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 106. Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 662a.

<sup>67</sup> Changes for theological reason in Christian ‘Middle Arabic’ texts are not scarce, Joshua Blau, *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 2002, p. 95.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 106. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 336b. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 662a-b.

<sup>69</sup> Owsei Temkin, “Greek Medicine as Science and Craft”, *Isis* 44:3 (1953), p. 218.

<sup>70</sup> Howard Clark Kee, *Medicine, Miracle and Magic in New Testament Times*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 65–66.

<sup>71</sup> G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 212.

— K —

καταδέω → κατέδησεν = *dammad* {10:34} | كح |

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: ; Jn: 0 / LXX: 7 |<sup>72</sup>

“He bandaged”. κατέδησεν is an indicative aorist active 3<sup>rd</sup> p. sg., which occurs in LXX for translating Hebrew כָּבַד (“to bandage; to bind”) in Ez 30:21.<sup>73</sup> The resultative action of κατέδησεν (cf. the intensive pre-verb κατα-) is grasped by the intensive perfective *dammad*.

καταψύχω → καταψύξη = *yabrud* {16:24} | كس |

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 1 |<sup>74</sup>

“He cool”. καταψύξη is subjunctive aorist active 3<sup>rd</sup> p. sg. In the LXX (Gn 18:4) the imperative aorist 2<sup>nd</sup> p. pl. καταψύξατε is used for rendering the *nifal* imperative masc. pl. of קָוַח (“to lean”) in the *Septuagint*.<sup>75</sup> The effective aspect with an intensive nuance (κατα-) denoted by καταψύξη is also present in Arabic through the syntactic construction *li-yaṣbuḡa* + CD + adverbial complement + *yabrud*.

— Λ —

λέπρα = *baras* {5:12} | كبرص |

| Lk + Ac: 2 – Mt: 1; Mk: 1; Jn: 0 / LXX: 2 |<sup>76</sup>

“Leprosy”. This noun feminine sg. common occurs several times in the OT and NT. In LXX λεπρα is used for translating Hebrew feminine נִשְׁרָפָה.<sup>77</sup> This passage shows the influence of the ancient medicine in the Gospels.<sup>78</sup>

— M —

μάστιξ → μαστίγων = *ṣāhāt* {7:21} | كسياح |

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 3; Jn: 0 / LXX: 2 |<sup>79</sup>

“Diseases”. μαστίγων is a feminine pl. Apart from Heb 11:36 and 2 Mac 7:37, the feminine pl. μαστίγων occurs, for example, in the LXX for translating Hebrew מִשְׁכָּה (“whip”) in 1 Kg 12:11.14; Job 5:21; Prov. 26:3; Nah 3:2.

— N —

νεκρός → νεκρῶν = *amwāt* {16:30} | كذا |

| Lk + Ac: 31 – Mt: 11; Mk: 8; Jn: 8 / LXX: ca. 50 places |<sup>80</sup>

“Dead”. This adjective (νεκρῶν, m. gen. pl.) occurs in the LXX chiefly for κη.<sup>81</sup>

νόσος → νόσων = *amrād* {6:18} [cf. νόσων = *asqām* {7:21}] | كداء |

<sup>72</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 110. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 370a.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. other verbal forms in J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, pp. 169-170.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 111. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 388a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 728a.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, p. 281.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 116. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 429a.

<sup>77</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, p. 368. On this term, see C. Creighton, “Leprosy, Leper”, in T. K. Cheyne & J. Sutherland Black (eds.), *Encyclopedia Biblica. A Dictionary of the Bible*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1902, III, pp. 2763-2768. For the status of the leper in Islam, see Michael W. Dols, “The leper in Medieval Society”, *Speculum* 58:4 (1983), pp. 891-916.

<sup>78</sup> H. C. Kee, *Medicine*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 119. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 442a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 834a.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 122. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, pp. 472b-473a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp. 900b-902a.

<sup>81</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, p. 496.

*Medical vocabulary in a Greek-Arabic Gospel of Luke ...*

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 13 |<sup>82</sup>

“Infirmities”. νόσος (νόσων, fem. gen. pl.) is the common term for any kind of illness, which in the LXX renders Hebrew יָלֵף (“sickness, disease”), for instance in Dt 7:15 or in Dt 28:59.<sup>83</sup>

— Ξ —

ξηρός = *yābisah* {6:6} | ܘܒܝܫܐ |

| Lk + Ac: 3 – Mt: 2; Mk: 1; Jn: 1 / LXX: 2 |<sup>84</sup>

“Dry; paralyzed”. ξηρός (adj. nomin. fem. sg.) used in this passage in nominative feminine (ξηρά). This feminine form is attested in the LXX translating the Hebrew feminine sg. יַבֶּשֶׁת (yab-baš-šāh, “dry [land; ground]”) in Gn 1:9.10. In Ez 37:2.4 the adjective occurs in pl. יַבֶּשֶׁתִּים, and in Ez 37:11 the *qal* perfect יַבֶּשְׁתִּי is used. As it can be noticed, the Arabic translation is a cognate of the Hebrew term (cf. Syr. *yabišō*), which is also present in the several Aramaic dialects,<sup>85</sup> and in the Judaeo-Arabic register as well under different spellings.<sup>86</sup>

— O —

ὀδυνάω → ὀδυνῶμαι = *mutaṣadḍib* {16:24} | ܡܘܬܥܘܕܝܒܐ |

| Lk + Ac: 4 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 11 |<sup>87</sup>

“I am in agony”. ὀδυνῶμαι is an indicative present passive 1<sup>st</sup> p. sg. The participle present passive ὀδυνώμενοι occurs in LXX for translating *qal* חִיל, hif'il מְרַחֵם or *qal* מְרַחֵם.<sup>88</sup> The durative aspect of ὀδυνῶμαι is reflected in the Arabic participle passive *mutaṣadḍib* (cf. Syr. *meṣṣanaq*).

— Π —

παραλύω → παραλελυμένος = *muhallaṣ* {5:18} | ܡܘܚܠܠܐ |

| Lk + Ac: 4 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: ca. 25 places |<sup>89</sup>

“Paralyzed”. παραλελυμένος is a participle perfect passive. In LXX Ez 7:27, παραλυθήσονται is used for rendering the *nif'al* imperfect 3<sup>rd</sup> fem. pl. בְּתַהֲלֵנָה (*tib-bahalēnāh*, “[the hands of the people of the land] are troubled”), and in Jer 50:36 and Ez 21:12 for the *qal* waw consecutive 3<sup>r</sup> p. common pl. הֲתִרְפוּ (“[they have been] broken down), and for רָפוּ (“quiet had been [all hands]”) respectively.<sup>90</sup> The continuous durative aspect of the perfect παραλελυμένος is realized through the Arabic participle passive *muhallaṣ*.

πῦρ → πυρετός [μέγας] = *hummā* [ʕazīmah] {4:38} | ܡܘܚܠܠܐ |

| Lk + Ac: 3 – Mt: 1; Mk: 1; Jn: 1 / LXX: 1 |<sup>91</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 123. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 477a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 922b.

<sup>83</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, p. 511.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 124. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 481a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 933a.

<sup>85</sup> On the influence of the Aramaic on Melkite Palestinian Arabic texts, see J. Blau, “The Influence of Living Aramaic on Ancient South Palestinian Christian Arabic”, in Michael Sokoloff (ed.), *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition*, Ramat-gan: Bar Ilan University, 1983, pp. 141-142 (reed. J. Blau, *Studies in Middle Arabic and its Judaeo-Arabic Variety*, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1988, pp. 288-290).

<sup>86</sup> J. Blau, *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts*, Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language – The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2006 p. 788.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 124. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 486a.

<sup>88</sup> G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 310.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 129. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 529b. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1021b.

<sup>90</sup> See other possibilities for the translation of παραλύω in J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, pp. 658-659.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 138. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 608b. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp. 1208a-1211b.

“[She was suffering < συνεχομένη, part. pres. pass] a [great] fever”. In LXX Dt 28:22 renders Hebrew *qad-dahat* (“fever”), but *πυρετός*, *πυρ* and *πυρός* also translate Hebrew *שָׂרָף* (“fire”).<sup>92</sup> Cf. below the *lemma* *συνέχω*).

— P —

ῥύσις → ῥύσει αἵματος = *nazfal-dam* {8:43} [cf. ῥύσις τοῦ αἵματος {8:44}] | *ܢܙܦܠ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢܐ* |  
| Lk + Ac: 2; Mt: 0; Mk: 1; Jn: 0 / LXX: 17 |<sup>93</sup>

“Blood flow”. The menstrual flow could be a translation from Aramaic syntagm *ܕܡ ܙܘܒ* (“blood flow”).<sup>94</sup> In the Aramaic dialectal area the variant *ܙܘܒ* is attested,<sup>95</sup> cf. Syriac *dawbā nešayā*, “flow of the women”, i.e. menstruation.<sup>96</sup> *ܙܘܒ* could be related to Assyrian *zābu* with the secondary meaning of “to flow”.<sup>97</sup> In Arabic, *nazf* is a word used for women menstruation.<sup>98</sup>

— Σ —

συνέχω → συνεχομένη = *madšūka* {4:38} | [*ܡܕܫܘܟܐ*] *ܡܕܫܘܟܐ* |

| Lk + Ac: 9 – Mt: 1; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: ca. 50 places |<sup>99</sup>

“[She] was suffering”. The passive *συνεχομένη* (cf. the previous *lemma* *πῦρ*) is rendered like the passive participle *madšūka* (“pulverized”). This Greek form which is usually employed by Luke (4:38; 8:37.45; 12:50; 19:43; 22:63; Act 7:57; 18:5; 28:8) occurs only three times in the rest of the NT (Mt 4:24; 2 Cor 5:14; Php 1:23). The verb *συνέχω* use to translate Hebrew verbs *צָבַר* (“to restrain”), and *חִבַּר* (“to be joined”).<sup>100</sup> The durative aspect of *συνεχομένη* is expressed through the participle passive *madšūka*.

— T —

τραῦμα → τραύματα = *širāhāt* {10:34} | *ܫܝܪܗܐܬ* |

| Lk + Ac: 1 – Mt; Mk; Jn / LXX: 20 |<sup>101</sup>

“Wounds”. The pl. *τραύματα* occurs in Prov 27:6 for Hebrew *פְּצָעַי* (“wounds”) and in Ps 68(69):26 for *לְלִי*.<sup>102</sup> The sg. form is used in Gn 4:23; Ex 21:25; Is 1:6 for sg. *פְּצָעַי*, but also for *כַּחַר* (“wound”) in Jer 10:19.<sup>103</sup>

τυφλόϛ → τυφλοῖϛ = *šumyān* {4:18 [= LXX Is 61:1ff]; 7:21} | *ܫܘܡܝܢܐ* |

| Lk + Ac: 9; Mt: 17; Mk: 5; Jn: 16 / LXX: 2 |<sup>104</sup>

<sup>92</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, p. 925. Cf. Joseph Henry Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti*, translated, Revised and Enlarged by J.H. Thayer, Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1905, n. 4596.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 139. Cf. G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1219a.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. M. Jastrow, *A dictionary of the Targumim*, I, p. 383a; G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch. Mit Lexicon der Abbraviaturen*, Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1901, p. 118a.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. for instance A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, I, p. 171.

<sup>96</sup> R. Payne Smith, *Theasurus syriacus*, I, p. 831a.

<sup>97</sup> *The Assyrian Dictionary (CAD)*, ed. in-charge A. Leo Oppenheim, Chicago, IL.: The Oriental Institute, 1998 (4<sup>th</sup> ed.), vol. XXI, p. 10a. For a possible relation with Babylonian *šesu*, see H. F. Lutz, “A Contribution to the Knowledge of Assyro-Babylonian Medicine”, *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 36:1 (1919), p. 68 and n. 3 in p. 75. Cf. L. Koehler – W. Baumgartner, *HALAT*, I, p. 255a.

<sup>98</sup> G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latimum*, Halle, 1837, IV, p. 267a.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 146. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 656a-b. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1326b.

<sup>100</sup> G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 428.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 149. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 685a. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1400b.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. E. Hatch & H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint*, p. 1369c.

<sup>103</sup> See other possibilities in J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, pp. 327-328.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 150. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, pp. 690b-691a.

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“Blinds”. Noun ms. pl. in both occurrences. This pl. translates in LXX Is 61:1 Hebrew *gal* passive participle ms pl. עִוְרִים. Sg. τυφλός is rendered in LXX Lev 21:18; Dt 28:29, Is 42:19 for עִוֵר (“blind”) an adjective used like substantive.<sup>105</sup>

— Y —

ὑγιαίνω → ὑγιαίνοντα = *ṣahīh* {7:10} | سَلْمٌ |  
| Lk + Ac: 3 – Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: ca. 10 places |<sup>106</sup>

“In good health”. ὑγιαίνοντα is a participle present active, which has been rendered by the Arabic translator with the substantive *ṣahīh*, “healthy”. The verb ὑγιαίνω (“be in good health”) is chiefly for עִוְרִים in the OT *Septuagint* in passages like 1 Sam 25:6.<sup>107</sup> The continuous–durative aspect of ὑγιαίνοντα has been compressed in the substantive *ṣahīh*.

ὕδρωπικὸς = *bi-hi istisqā?* {14:2} | سَقَمٌ مِمَّا يَنْجُو مِنْهُ |  
| Lk + Ac: 1; Mt: 0; Mk: 0; Jn: 0 / LXX: 0 |<sup>108</sup>

“Suffering from dropsy”. ὕδρωπικὸς is an adj. ms. sg. Cf. the Syriac rendition of the Pešīttā “[a man] who had collected water” ([*gabrā*] ḥad *daḵniš hēwā mayyā*).

<sup>105</sup> J. F. Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus*, II, pp. 354-355.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 150. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, p. 692b. Cf. also G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1422b.

<sup>107</sup> G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. 454.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik*, p. 150.