MIDDLE ARABIC IN A COPTIC-ARABIC MANUSCRIPT

IN THE

"RÖHSSKA KONSTSLÖJDMUSÉET", GÖTEBORG, SWEDEN

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In 1927 the "Röhsska Konstslöjdmuséet" in Göteborg received a Coptic-Arabic manuscript as a gift from the late Sigfrid Lindstam who probably had bought it in Istanbul in 1911 or 1912.[1] The manuscript has the designation RKM 32-27.[2]

The manuscript contains the Coptic text of the baptismal ritual of the Coptic Church with an Arabic translation.[3] It consists of 103 folios. It is written by two hands. Hand A uses a neat and easily legible *nasxī* script while hand B is much cruder and clumsier. Hand B has written folios 18, 41-44, 63 and 76-83 which obviously replace the corresponding folios belonging to hand A which have been worn out. The manuscript, which is bound in a codex, shows traces of at least two mendings where the folios by hand A have been cut out and glued to new strips of paper in the inner margins. The manuscript is rather worn especially in the beginning and it is also stained by water in the folios containing the texts for the consecration of the baptismal funt.

Apart from the priestly readings and prayers belonging to the ritual the ms. also contains two sermons in rhymed prose, one of which is ascribed to al-Ṣafī b. al-ᶜAssāl (95v).[4]

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

Dating

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

(15r) ثم وكمل ذلك في خامس عشرين هتور سنه ‭ⲁⲧⲉ‬

"So this was completed on the 25th of Hatūr in the year 1305."

(93v) ثم وكمل ذلك في يوم الثلثا المبارك

تامن عشرين شهر كيهك المبارك

سنه ατε للشهداء الاطهار السعدا

الابرار رزقنا اللّه تعالي بركاتهم امين

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

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

It may be supposed that the ms. was written in Egypt. The earliest ms. of this
content noted by Graf is from 1307.[6] The great bulk of Coptic-Arabic texts is
from the 12th century and later.[7] Blau's studies on Christian and Jewish Middle
Arabic are based on texts from the 9th to the 13th centuries while the material
used by Knutsson starts in the 14th century.[8] Egyptian Middle Arabic material
has been studied by Blau (13th century) and Davies (17th century). Recently a
Muslim Egyptian text from the 14th century has been published with notes on
Middle Arabic elements by Lundén.[9] In the present study special reference will
be made to the parallells with Middle Arabic and Egyptian origin.

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

The Middle Arabic of the ms.

As pointed out by Blau, the term Middle Arabic is most properly used as a des-
ignation of the kind of Arabic found in several medieval Arabic texts which
show influences from a colloquial of more or less the same type as the modern
Arabic dialects.[12] Middle Arabic is thus not the Arabic spoken in the Middle
Ages but the language found in the texts, which hovers between Classical Ara-
bic, the colloquial and pseudocorrections. From this point of view, the pres-
ent ms. is of a clearly Middle Arabic type, showing many of the elements de-

scribed by Blau and others. The study of Middle Arabic is a part of the study
of Arabic diglossia in general. A distinction should thus be made between the
description of this diglossia at different stages of the history of Arabic and
between the problem of the origin of the diglossic situation. From this point
of view all periods of Arabic deserve to be investigated. This also holds for
"the dark centuries" after 1500 where Knutsson's study is the main contribu-
tion. The investigation of Arabic diglossia has, in general, been concentrated
on the present century and the earliest Islamic period.

H A N D   A

Vocalisation and diacritical points

The ms. is furnished with vowel signs. This is, however, a pseudovocalisation
since the *fatḥa* sign is used almost always, even in cases which should have
kasra or *ḍamma*, e.g. بالْعَلَومُ (94r) الدَين (ibid.) "religion". In a few words the
ḍamma is used correctly, e.g. ثُم (15v). Only once a *maġhūl* form is marked:
تُغلب (88r) "it is defeated", cf. سترت (35) "it was hidden".

The *sukūn* is never used. The *šadda* occurs consistently only in the word اللّه
(29v, 36r, 38r, 51v), and once in امّا (48v).[13] The perpendicular *'alif* is not
used.

The *tanwīn* is consistent only with the accusative ending ـا .[14] The genitive
-in is written in a few cases: كل ذكرٍ (5r) بحرقةٍ (29v), but mostly left un-
marked, e.g. الى مياه حلوه (69r). The nominative *-un* is never found written
with *tanwīn*. Worth noting is the spelling of a participle III *yā* وانت بـاقٍ
(4r). This is the only case of the indeterminate state of a root of this kind
in the ms.[15]

The *madda* is used with the ending -ā' but not consistently: للشهدآء (93v) but
للشهدا٬ (ibid.). The long -ā- is sometimes spelt with *madda* also when not fi-
nal: جآاو (5r). One may note the spelling جاوآ (6r) "they came".[16]

The *alif otiosum* is missing in جآاو above. On the other hand, it is once writ-
ten in a non-finite form: بانا٬ مملوا (96r) "with a filled vessel".[17]

The distinction between final *yā* and *'alif maqṣūra* is not made. Thus the end-
ings -ī and -ā are indiscriminately written *yā* as *mater lectionis*, sometimes
with the diacritical points and sometimes without them, no principle in the
spelling being apparent. Thus, e.g., the relative particle الذي ، التي is spelt
with ي 26 times in the first 40 folios, and with ى 18 times. The preposition
الى is written الي 7 times, but without the two dots three times only. Spel-

lings like يري for *yarā* (6r) موسي for *mūsā* (5r) ابتدي (49r) and مضي (47v) for
ʾibtadā and *maḍā* should also be noted. On the other hand, there are spellings
like الحقيقى (8v, 13r) and المشقى (ibid.) (for المشتقي).

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

H a m z a. The *hamza* sign is extensively used only in words ending in *-āʾ* in
Classical Arabic, but not consistently even here.[19] It has the invariable form
ءا or ءآ regardless of the case, e.g. فجآء (6r) "and he came", صرتم انآء لروح
القدس (102r) "You have become a vessel for the Holy Ghost". There are, however,
cases where it is not written, e.g. السعدا (93v) but ibid. للشهداء (both in
the genitive). Instances where the *hamza* is not written are: perfect of the
verb اضا (99r, cf. اضى 91v) "to enlighten" and يشا (52v) "to want". In the
same manner الهوا (72r) "air", عزا (5v) "comfort" (but العزاء 70v). "Virgin"
is العدري (8r, 13r).[20]

A few times *hamza* is found after a consonant: البدء (3v, genitive),[21] شيء
(39v). The latter is mostly spelt without *hamza*: شى (67v) or شي (70r).[22] Once
the *hamza* is put in front of the first consonant: كلءشي (34v).[23]

The *hamza* is never written on initial *ʾalif* and, except for one doubtful case,
never within a word. Thus the sequence C+*hamz*+V always appears with *ʾalif* on-
ly:[24] ياخد (35v), نسال (9v); cf. also شبا (16r), ملاك (9v). The Classical *hamz*
preceded by a short *-a-* is not marked either: يقرا (3r) تقرا (95v, passive).

The same principle is found in the few cases of *u*+*hamz*:[25] رووسكم (68r, 75r)
رووساء (101v). The word تومن (54r) may possibly have a small *hamza* written
over *wāw* but it is hardly discernible in the ms. The same might hold for
الودب (8v).

Sequences *iʾa/aʾi* are written with *yā*, mostly with the diacritical points;[26]
so always in the active participle of *verba IIw/y*: قايلا (16r) دايما (93v).
There is only one exception: خاـفـا (5v). In the same way the plural of "angel":
ملايكه (84v). Further: السمايين (84r), رييسا (50v). "Israel" is mostly spelt
with ـي but a few instances have اسرايل (53r).[27] One might further note ليلا
(55r) for لئلا . The word for "sins" is written السيات (55r).[28]

The sequence *-īʾa* is always written without *hamza*: رديا (31v, 32v, fem.)
الخطيه (27v) بريه (47r).[29]

H a m z a t   a l - w a ṣ l. The word for "woman" is written according to

Classical standards except in one case: مراه (16r). In other words, the *'alif*
is consistently written even in words with *hamzat al-waṣl*.[30]

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

t / ṯ . While there is no case of confusion between *sīn* and *šīn* in the ms.
(the latter always being written with three dots) the *tā* and *ṯā* alternate in
a way that seems to reflect a pronunciation different from the one found in
Classical Arabic.[34] The root ثبت is always written with *tā* (20r, 34v). The
same holds for ثوب (7v, 12v, 60r, 98r). Further الوارتين (38r) "inheritors",
تمره (9r, 13v) "fruit", الخبيت (39v) "the wicked one",[35] and التاني (95v) "the
second". In words of higher frequency the spelling varies: متل (60v), متال
(38v, 74v) but with *ṯā* in 9r, 14r, 62v, 64r (مثال), 48v (مثل). *ṯumma* is writ-
ten with *tā* a few times (10r, 19v), and "idols" is الاوتان in 23r and 24v. The
rather frequent numeral "three" is always written with *tā* except once in the
derived word "trinity": للثلوت المقدس (102r) which could be a contamination
with the abstract suffix *-ūt*.

d / ḏ . There are a few exceptional cases where the diacritical point is mis-
sing in *nūn* and *bā*. The relative particle الذي occurs 19 times with the dia-
critical point and 6 times without it in the first 40 folios of the ms. while
the plural الذين is found six times, always without the dot. This makes 19 *vs.*
12 for this word. Of 16 cases of هذه، هذا four are written with *dāl*. To this
may be added ها هو دا (7r, 49v) and من دى قبل (51v, but ذي 52v). One may also
compare دراعيه (35v), ادرعته (6r) "arms" and انقدهم (39r) "save
them".[36] Finally, the spelling الجديت (72v) "the new one" should be noted.[37]

ẓ ā . There are two cases of ط instead of ظ, both in the same word: موعطه (23r,
24r) "promised" (but موعظه 25r and ليوعظوا 21r). The highly frequent partici-
ple ضابط is once spelt with ظ (25v).[38]

ة / ه . The use of the diacritical points over final *hā* marking it as *tā mar-*
būṭa follows a clear pattern: the points occur when the word is in the con-
struct state: شركة سرايرك المقدسه (17r) "participation in Thy holy mysteries";
شجرة الزيتون اللديده معرفة الحق الى الضلاله من (35r) "the delicious olive tree";

ومن عبادة الاصنام (31r) "from error to knowledge of the truth and from service of the idols..."; من جهة بشارة اناجيله المقدسه (8v) "by the message of His holy Gospel". When occurring in the other states the *hā* is written without the two dots: الارواح المقاومه الشريره (31v) الحياه المهلكه (21v) "the death-bringing sin"; "the opposing evil spirits". Cf. also كانت مرتا (11v) مجتهده (*sic*) "Martha was busy" and القديسه مريم (8r, 13r) "Holy Mary". There are only a few deviations from this pattern: صلاه تحليل (15v) "the prayer of absolution" (the only case of ه in the construct state); للنعمة الذي (*sic*) (28v) "the Grace which..."; المراة التى (10v) "the woman who..."; سلطان الرحمة (30r) "the power of Mercy"; ومن الضلالة (26r) "from the Error".

The consistent differentiation between *hā* and *tā marbūṭa* must reflect a pro-nunciation -∅/-*t* as in the modern colloquial.[39] Some of the instances of *tā marbūṭa* in the non-construct states might be due to a pseudoclassical pronun-ciation -*t* when several words occur in a closer connection. The two cases where the word in ة is followed by the relative particle should be noted in this connection. Further examples are: سلطان الحية الدايمه (38v) "the power of the everlasting life"; المياة المره (69r) "the bitter waters"; بالامراة المومنه (10v) "by the woman who believes"; كانت امراة مومنه (10v) "[she was] a woman who believes"; بحرقة كتيره (29v) "with great agony"; نعمة المعمودية الغافرة اعمالك المعطية the Grace of Baptism which forgives sins"; but" (95v) الخطايا الحياه (33v) "Thy deeds which give life".

There is one example of confusion between ت and ة: واجبت ان تقيم معه (10v) "she has to live with him" (= I Cor. 7:12).[40]

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

Personal pronouns

The only instance of a form deviating from Classical Arabic is انتي (7r) "you" (fem.sing.).[41]

The definite article

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

'Iḏāfa

There is one instance of two *muḏāfāt* to one *muḏāf 'ilayhi*: هم جسد ودم الانن
(102v) "they are the body and blood of the Son". Like similar examples quoted
by Blau the two words in question are synonyms, parallells or otherwise con-
nected.[42]

There is often confusion between *'iḏāfa* constructions and attributive construc-
tions. Thus, "the First Letter to the Corinthians" is رسالة قورنتيه الاولي
(10r, 96r).[43] Rather frequent are negative *naḥt*-adjectives where the adjective
agrees with the noun and the article is attached to the *muḏāf*: الموهبه الغير:
فاسده (21r) "the incorruptible gift"; اللباس الغير فاسده (66r, 85v) "the incor-
ruptible clothing"; الحياه...الغير فاسده (85r-v, 89v) "the incorruptible life".
With the latter may be compared الحياه...عدم الموت (86r) "the immortal life".
Further: النور العلوي الغير موصوف (99v) "the heavenly, indescribable light";
"O (60v) يا سيدي الغير خاطي (14v) "the unsuccessful pains"; الاجاع الغير منجحه
Lord without sins".[44] Two cases occur with the article attached to a numeral:
السبع صلوات اواكي الكبار (7v) "the three prayers of peace"; الثلثه صلوات السلامه
(55v) "the seven great prayers".[45]

A special case is the expression "the Holy Spirit". In the ms. this is con-
sistently translated الروح القدس which seems to be the normal form in modern
Christian Arabic. Thus the modern Bible translation has it in e.g. Matthew
1:18 and 28:19 while Levin's texts here have the *'iḏāfa* روح القدس, "the Spirit
of Holiness".[46] In the present ms. the *'iḏāfa* is used with a possessive suf-
fix: روح قدسك (9v, 14v, 57v, 65v, 71r) "Thy holy Spirit". With the suffix the
attributive construction is sometimes employed: روحك القدوس (20r, 29r, 35r,
89v, 92r). With other nouns this latter construction is frequent, e.g.: مدبحك
المقدس (74r) "Thy holy altar"; اسمك القدوس (72r) "Thy holy Name".

Case inflection

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

N o m i n a t i v e. Oblique forms are often written instead of the nominative,
e.g., the genitive: الدين كتبوا اسمايهم (27v) "whose names are written"; الدين

(28r) وكـان ابيـه وامـه تقدمت اسمـايهم "whose names have been presented";[47]
يتعجبـان (6v) "and his father and his mother were astonished";[48] the accusa-
tive: الدين كتبـوا اسمـاهم (29v) "whose names are written". The accusative in
the first word of the Lord's Prayer is particularly striking: يقول الشعب ابانـا
(19v) "the people shall say: Our Father...".[49] It is doubtful if this should
be seen as a correct use of the accusative (as the object to the verb) since
the same form occurs with the verb in the *maġhūl*: يقال ابـانـا الدى فى السمـوات
(100v) "(then) is said: Our Father, which art in heaven...". The accusative
seems to be common in this passage (without the vocative particle $y\bar{a}$) since
the modern translation also has it, while Levin's text (Matthew) has ابـونـا.

The word اب "father" regularly lacks the special nominative construct form in
اب ربنـا (7v *passim*) "The Father of our Lord". As has already been shown, the
construct appears with pronominal suffixes in the accusative and genitive (al-
though incorrectly used).[50]

G e n i t i v e . Accusative occurs instead of genitive in a few cases: من قبـل
انبيـاه القديسين (57r) "from His holy prophets" (cf. الـه الانبيـاء ibid.: "the
God of the prophets"); فى امـانتك المقدسه ورجاك (17v) "in Thy true faith and
hope".[51] A striking case is وليس شي غير طاهرا امـامك (59v) "nothing is impure
before Thee".

A c c u s a t i v e . The final *'alif* marking the indeterminate state of the
accusative is absent in several cases: كان انسان صديقا خـافـا (5v) "he was
a righteous and (god)fearing man" (= Luke 2:25); فان عينـاى ابصرتا خلاصك...نـور
استعلن (6v) "and my eyes have seen Thy salvation...a light which has become
manifest"; كلل رسلـه الاطهـار القديسين وانبيـايه وشهدانـه (87r) "He crowned His
pure, holy apostles and His prophets and His martyrs"; ليكونـوا لبـاس غير فاسد
(64v) "so that they (the water and the oil) may become an incorruptible cloth-
ing"; الاكليل المملـو مجد (102r) "the crown filled with glory" (but مملـو مجدا(ال)
in e.g. 62r, 67v, 72r); يلبس المعمـوديـن تيـابـا بيض (85r) "He dresses the bapti-
zees in white clothes"; كان متمنطق (93v) "he was girdled".[52]

Gender

The word شيطان and its plural شيـاطين are both treated as fem. sing. and as
proper names (without the definite article): شيطان الظهيـره (39v) "the visible
devil"; كل شيـاطينك الرديه (32v) "all your evil devils". The word ملكوت is femi-
nine in accordance with Aramaic. Thus قربت ملكوت السمـوات (98r) "the kingdom of
heaven has come near"; ملكوتك الممجده (89v) "Thy glorious kingdom"; الملمكوت
السمـايـه (100v) "The heavenly kingdom".[53]

Adjectives and participles

An adjective found in other texts of this kind is المايت (95v) for الميّت "dead".
A participle derived from the noun منطقة "belt" occurs in 98v: وكان متمنطق
بادم (*sic*) "...and he (John the Baptist) was girdled with skin".[54]

Numerals

The numeral "two" is once used in the absolute state with a pronominal suffix:
ونزلا اتنينهم (49v) "and they (the two) descended".[55]

Weak verbs

There is one example of a *media geminata* conjugated as *III yā*: لانك استحقيت
(103r) "because you were entitled".[56]

There are some verbs *III hamza* written with *yā* in the ms. Thus the *maǧhūl* of
"read" is تقري (91r fem. 3rd person but تقرا in 95v). "To be filled" is spelt
in a way that suggests that it is conjugated according to this pattern: يمتلوا
ليستضوا بضياء انجل من قوتك (28v) "they are filled with Thy power".[57] Further: ليستضوا بضياء انجل
ملكوتك (39r) "so that they may be enlightened by the Light of the gospel of
Thy kingdom". Other forms of this verb are: يضي (30r), cf. the imperative and
jussive: اضي (99v); ليضي (73r); اضى (91v) = perf. This spelling probably re-
flects the vernacular forms of this verb which in Egyptian Arabic are formed
from the root *ḍwy*.[58] Of the same type is هيينٰاهم (87r) "we prepared them".

The tL form of the root *ḍdd*, "to oppose", is always strong in the ms. where it
only occurs as a participle: المضاددين (37v).[59]

Imperative

The verb "to give" has once a masculine singular imperative: اعطيه قوة (71r)
"give him power" (but واعط 29r "and give").[60] The verb "to prepare" (stem IV
of عدد) occurs once with the *ʾalif* and twice without it in the imperative:
اعدوا طريق الرب (98r) "prepare ye the way of the Lord", but: عدهم هيكلا (26v,
57r) "prepare them to a temple".[61]

Use of moods

The indicative is used instead of the subjunctive: امنحهم ان يحيون ويفكرون•••
ويفهمون (58v) "grant them that they may live...and think...and understand"
يجتمعوا الكهنه ويـاتوا بـانٰاء مملوا مآء ; (وامنحهم•••ان يدركوا الشفا :cf. 21v)
ويقول الكاهن (96r) "the priests shall gather and bring a vessel filled with
water and the priest shall say".[62] Once the writer has written the imperfect
of the verb "give" without the *yā*: ونسلال•••ان ينسى هذا الاولاد وينمحهم•••ويعطهم

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(102r) "and we pray that he will make these children forget...and that he will give them...". The *hā*, however, has two dots under it, which therefore must have been put there as a correction.

The subjunctive/jussive is once used instead of the indicative: عبيدك يا رب الدين يخدموك ويدعون اسمك (58r) "Thy servants, O Lord, who serve Thee and call upon Thy name".[63]

Gender/number agreement

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

a) masculine plural instead of feminine singular

لكى ينكشف افكار قلوب كثير (7r) "so that the thoughts of many hearts / the thoughts of the hearts of many may be re-vealed"

ايّاما قلايل (16r) "a few days"

وغلق الاعماق وختمهم "and He shut the depths and sealed them"

من بعد هذا يلبس المعموديين شيابا بيض (68v) "after this he dresses the baptizees in white clothes"

هذه الاكاليل الذين هيّيناهم لنلبسهم عبيدك...لكى يكونوا لهم اكاليل مجد (87r) "these crowns which we have prepared in order to put them on Thy servants...so that they may be to them crowns of glory"

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

b) masculine plural instead of feminine plural[66]

رسم الطهاره الواجبه على كل امراه تلد ان يلبتوا(*sic*) ايّاما قلايل كما قد رسمت لهم كيلا يلمسوا شيا... (16r) "the prescription of purification incumbent on every woman who has given birth that they shall abide during a few days as you have prescribed for them..."

ونضرع...عن اماتك هولاء التي حفظوا ناموسك واكملوا وصاياك واشتهوا الدخول الي موضع قدسك ويسجدوا امام هيكلك... (16v) "and we implore...on behalf of these Thy servants(f.) who have kept Thy law and ful-filled Thy commandments and who have longed to enter the place of Thy holiness and to prostrate before Thy temple..."

بارك اماتك...وليستحقوا شركة سرايرك المقدسه (17r) "bless Thy servants(f.)...that they may deserve participation in Thy holy mysteries..."

c) masculine plural instead of dual[67]

قدس هذا الماء وهذا الزيت ليكونوا   "sanctify this water and this oil so that
حميم الميلاد (64r)   they may become the hot water of birth"

Cf. the correct use of the dual: خالق السماء والارض وكل زينتهما (67r) "Creator
of heaven and earth and all their beauty". A special case is the following:
وليكن هذا المآء وهذا الزيت مباركين مملوين مجدا مطهرين... (73r-v) "may this wa-
ter and this oil be blessed, filled with glory, purified...". The Classical
spelling would have مملوّيِن for the dual accusative and مملوئين for the plural
accusative. The omission of one of two identical consonants when one of them
is *kursī hamza* is, however, frequent, and a decisive conclusion cannot be made
here. In view of the insecure handling of numeral agreement in the ms., espe-
cially of the dual (see below) makes this interpretation of the spelling plau-
sible.

d) dual instead of feminine plural

بارك اماتك وطهرهما وحللهما...   "bless Thy servants(f.) and purify them and
(17r)   absolve them..."

هكذا ايضا يا سيدنا هولاء الاطفال   "...in the same way, O our Lord, (bless) these
المولودين منهما (17r-v)   children born by them (= the female servants)"

e) dual instead of masculine plural

باركهما وقدسهما وتبتهما وات بهم   "bless them (i.e. the children mentioned in
الى حد القامه (sic) (17v)   d) and sanctify them and make them grow and
bring them to full stature"

f) masculine singular instead of feminine singular

This kind of disagreement always involves the relative particle الذي (cf. also
a, second last example, and b, second example).[69]

حبلتك الذي هو هذا الزيت (23r)   "Thy body which is this oil"
النعمة الذي تقدموا اليها (28v)   "the mercy toward which they have strived"
الامانه الذي لا يغلب الذي لا يقاوم   "the faith which cannot be defeated and which
(37v)   cannot be resisted"
بهده النعمه الذي استحقها اولادكم   "with this mercy which your children have de-
(102v)   served"
السراير الالهيه الدي هم جسد ودم   "the divine mysteries which are the body and
الابن (102v)   blood of the Son"

g) feminine plural instead of masculine singular

(52r) لا تعجبين "Do not be astonished" (= Jesus to Nicode-
mus, John 3:7)[70]

h) masculine singular instead of masculine plural

(102r) هذا الاولاد "These children"[71]

At last, a case of *constructio ad sensum*: دعيت جميع الامم (25v) "all nations
have been called".[72]

Passive

With the G-stem the *maǧhūl* form is the normal form in passive constructions
in the ms.[73] One verb has once *maǧhūl* and once Gt: وكما رفع موسي الحيه في البريه
هكذا ينبغي ان يرفع ابن البشر (53v) "and as Moses lifted up the serpent in the
wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up" (= John 3:14); ارتفعت
مداينته باتضاعه لان حياته ارتفعت من على الارض (48v-49r) "in his humiliation his
judgement was taken away...for his life is taken from the earth" (= Acts 8:33).[74]
There is only one example of an nG form in a passive construction: وانصبغوا
جميعا (96v) "and they were all baptised" (= I Corinthians 10:2). The Gt of ᶜmd
is used once in the homilies: المسيح الذى اعتمد في نهر اردن (103r) "Christ...
who was baptised in the river Jordan". In other passages this verb has the tD
in passive constructions. In the ms. the *maǧhūl* forms seem to occur with the
G stem only, augmented forms being used with derived stems. It is impossible
to decide whether these augmented forms (mostly tD) are also *maǧhūl* due to the
lack of consistency in the vocalisation of the ms.[75]

Passive constructions with agent extension are rather frequent. Some of them
may be influenced by the Coptic, and it is evident that the writer had no dif-
ficulty or restrictions in finding Arabic equivalents to such phrases.[76]

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

سلاح الامانه...الذي لا...يقاوم من "the armour of faith which cannot be resis-
المضاددين (37v) ted by the adversaries"

لكى نخلص من جهة بشارة اناجيله "so that we may be saved by the message of
(8v) His Gospels"[77]

هذا الذي من قبله دعيت جميع الامم "He is the one by whom all nations have been
من الظلمه (25v) called out of darkness"[78]

وكان قد اوحى عليه من قبل الروح "and it was revealed unto him by the Holy
القدس (5v-6r) Ghost" (= Luke 2:26)[79]

هذا الذي قيل من قبل اشعياء النبى   "This is he that was spoken of by the proph-
et Isaiah" (= Matthew 3:3)[80]

الذى اعتمد في نهر الاردن من يد   "who was baptised in the river Jordan by the
الصابق الصابغ يوحنا   Precursor John the Baptist"[81]

b) agent phrase by the preposition على

وانصبغوا جميعا على يد موس   "and they were all baptised by Moses"
(= I Corinthians 10:2)[82]

c) agent phrase with ب

الكلام الذى وعظوا به   "by whom they have been exhorted"[83]

Relative clauses

The tendency evident early in Classical Arabic for the relative particles to
become subordinate conjunctions or relative pronouns is documented by at least
one case in the ms.:[84] اقبلوا نعمة الروح القدس بالدى (sic) نالوا نعمة المعموديه
المقدسه (102r) "they drew near to the mercy of the Holy Spirit by whom/which
they received the mercy of Holy Baptism". The frequent cases of disagreement
with the relative particle quoted under "Gender/number agreement" f above may
be interpreted as evidence for this particle to have become a general subordi-
nating conjunction introducing relative clauses.[85]

Subordinate clauses

In one case the article ان is missing and the construction is asyndetic as in
the modern colloquial: من يقدر يقصه (49r) "who can tell it?".[86] لكي is once
used where ان would be more normal: فلنطلب...ونسال الله ... لكي يفتح مسامع
قلوبهم (29v-30r) "we beg...and ask God...that He will open the ears of their
hearts".[87]

امّا...ف

The particle ف is missing once in connection with the topicalisation particle
امّا: واما بقية الناس اقول (10r) "as far as the rest of mankind is concerned I
say...".[88]

Prepositional object

The preposition ل is sometimes used instead of others in non-locative verbal
complements: انعم لهم بمغفرة خطاياهم (21r) "bestow upon them forgiveness of
their sins". In 26v the normal construction occurs: ان تنعم عليهم بالنمو في
الامان. Further: ونبين لعرشك السمايي (38r) "and may we see Thy heavenly throne";
لنلبسهم لعبيدك (87r) "that we may put them (the crowns) on Thy servants";[89]

المضاددين لنا (37v) "our adversaries". The latter is interpretable as an objective genitive expressed analytically, a construction which is not entirely outside the system of Classical Arabic but still characteristic of Middle Arabic.[90]

H A N D   B

Spelling

In the folios of hand B there are no cases of ث, this always being replaced with ت. Also ذ is lacking except in a few instances of الذي, e.g. هدا الذى (44v). The two dots are also consistently written under all $y\bar{a}$'s, i.e. also when they are *'alif maqṣūra*. The *hamza* is written twice, in the words البدء (79v) and المآء (79v). One may also note the spellings احشاي (77v) "my bowels" and هولاي (63v) "these". The accusative *tanwīn* is always according to Classical standards. The handling of *tā marbūṭa* follows that of hand A. A possible case of short *-a-* instead of long is السلطين (43v) "the powers".[91]

Grammatical features

A negated adjective occurs in الحيه الموبده الغير مايته (83r) "the eternal, immortal life".

اضاء conjugated as *III yā* is found here as in hand A: واضوا بنور لاهوتك (80r) "and they are enlightened by the light of Thy divinity".

N O T E S

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

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

3 For a description of the archaic Coptic baptismal ceremony, see O. H. E. Burmester, The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A detailed description of her liturgical services... in *Textes et documents* (Publications de la Société d'Archéologie Copte), Le Caire 1967, pp. 111-126. For a more penetrating study of the text and its relations to the rituals of other Oriental churches, see *id.*, The Baptismal rite of the Coptic Church: A critical study, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* t. XI (1945), pp. 27-86.

4 al-Ṣafī b. al-ᶜAssāl, according to A. Mallon a Coptic counterpart to Bona-
   ventura and Thomas ab Aquino, lived in the first half of the thirteenth
   century. The exact years of his birth and death cannot be determined but
   according to Graf he was dead when his brother Abū Isḥāq composed his main
   work مجموع اصول الدين ومسموع محصول اليقين between 1253 and 1260, see Graf,
   Aulād al-ᶜAssāl, p. 129-130. The most complete survey of the work of the
   ᶜAssālids is found in Graf, Aulād and *id.*, Geschichte. See also A. Mallon,
   Ibn al-ᶜAssāl. Les trois écrivains de ce nom, in *Journal Asiatique* 10:6
   (1905), pp. 509-529, and A. J. B. Higgins, Ibn al-ᶜAssāl, in *The Journal
   of Theological Studies* 44 (1943), pp. 73-75.

5 The numbers are written with cursive Greek letters which is the usual form
   found in Coptic manuscripts. For these, see Mallon, 4th ed., p. 234. Be-
   fore it was possible to check the numbers in Mallon's work, Professor Ros-
   tislav Holthoer, Uppsala, suggested the 16th century on paleographic evi-
   dence with reference to Cramer ms. Nr. 54. This suggestion thus turned out
   to be correct.

6 Graf, Geschichte I, pp. 648-649.

7 Cramer (Vorwort).

8 Blau, Grammar, pp. 21ff.; Knutsson, pp. 220ff.

9 Blau, Observations, p. 215; Lundén, pp. 32ff.; Davies, pp. 4ff.

10 Graf, Geschichte II, p. 396. In Aulād Graf claims a homily on baptism to be
   contained in a manuscript in Cairo (Kopt. Patr. 749, Aulād, p. 140). When
   listing this manuscript in his Catalogue (p. 158 = Nr. 433) and in Geschich-
   te (II, p. 396), this holy homily is, however, not mentioned.

11 The dating of Kopt. Patr. 749 is somewhat contradictory, but according to
   the Hiǧra reckoning it is completed in 1239 A.D. (637 H).

12 Blau, Emergence, p. 215. This distinction was actually made by H. Blanc in
   his review of Blau's Emergence.

13 Cf. Blau, Grammar, p. 122f. Cf. Knutsson's karshuni ms. 1.5 (*'allāh*).

14 The accusative *-an* is, however, not used according to Classical grammar,
   see below under "Case inflection".

15 In MA texts these words often invariably and in *-ī* (Blau, Grammar, p. 317).

16 For the use of *madda*, see Wright, Grammar I, p. 24-26; Knutsson, p. 77 n. 49.

17 Cf. Blau, Grammar, pp. 127-128.

18 The lack of consistency in distinguishing between final *-ī*, *-ā* and *-ay* is
   found also in Knutsson's texts (judging from the facsimiles). To this may
   be added the ending *-ā'* which may be written in the same way in MA (cf.
   Blau, Grammar, pp. 81ff., and examples under *hamza* below). Levin suggests
   that the alternation between this latter ending and the spelling with *yā*
   might reflect *'imāla* (Levin, p. 20). This is supported by the evidence in
   Blau's Coptic ms. where *hawle* (for *hawlā'i*) and *beki* (for *beqī* = Class.
   baqā') are found (Blau, Observations, pp. 222-227). In Levin there is a
   case like انقضى for انقضاء. This suggests that the *'imāla* (if this is the
   correct interpretation) may be independent of faryngalised consonants like
   qāf and *ḍāḍ*. That this occurs even in modern dialects is well known (cf.
   Borg, Imaala, pp. 205ff.). For *'imāla* after *-r-*, cf. Talmoudi, Sūsa, p. 37
   hrām; *id.*, Diglossic situation, p. 104 *fikrä*, p. 42 *rāžiᶜan*, and the oppo-
   sition *žra* "it happened" *vs. žrä* "he ran" (oral communication). In light of
   this, Davies' *xḍrh* may after all reflect pausal *'imāla* (cf. *wikih* from

wikā'; cf. Davies, p. 81). In the present ms. "virgin" (Class. العذرا) is written العدري (see below under "*Hamza*"). The inconsistent use of the two dots in final *yā* might thus reflect a pronunciation where final -*ā*, -*ā'*, -*ī* and -*ay* sounded more or less the same. For the question of pausal *'imāla*, see Davies, pp. 81ff.

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

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

21 The same spelling of this word is seen in one of Cramer's manuscripts (Cramer, Tafel 87). The restitution of *hamz* in final position after a consonant is often found in the Egyptian Standard Arabic texts already mentioned. Thus, Diem has *bi-bad'i l-^cāmi* (p. 69, text 3 1. 2) "in the beginning of the year"; *quz'e mínha* (Diem, p. 72, text 7 1. 4) "one part of it"; cf. *'annaha quz'um min-al-waṭani* (Harrell, p. 57 1. 13) "that it is a part of the (Arab) world".

22 Blau, Grammar, p. 93.

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

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

25 Blau, Grammar, p. 97; cf. *id*., Observations, p. 236: *mouwaxah = mu'āxāt*. Davies, p. 72.

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

27 Knutsson, *loc. cit*.

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

29 Blau, Grammar, pp. 95-96.

30 Blau, Grammar, p. 99; cf. *ibid*., pp. 104-105; *id*., Observations, p. 236.

31 Blau, Grammar, pp. 77ff. and, especially Knutsson, p. 55 note 2, and p. 60 note 2.

32 Cf. note 13.

33 Cf. Knutsson, p. 55 note 2.

34 For this phaenomenon in Christian Arabic, cf. Levin, p. 19, and the thor-
ough discussion by Knutsson, pp. 78ff. See also Blau, Diqdûq, p. 34, and
the remarks in Observations, pp. 221-222. The main argument for this spel-
ling being a reflection of a pronunciation different from that of CA is
the difference in the use of diacritical points in the ms.: with certain
letters (ش/س, ب/ن, ز/ر, non-final ـج) there is a consistent use of these
signs according to the Classical ortography while ث/ت and ذ/د are differen-
tiated in a way that shows insecurity with the writer. As has been empha-
sised by Knutsson, the ث and ذ have in the modern colloquial (and conse-
quently also in medieval spoken Arabic) both t/s and d/z as corresponding
sounds. The words in the present ms. which show alternation between $t/\underline{t}$ and
$d/\underline{d}$ are precisely those which in modern Arabic are documented with s and z
respectively (cf. Knutsson, pp. 80-81 and *passim*). See also Blau, Emer-
gence, p. 76, and Davies, pp. 66f.

35 Cf. Knutsson, p. 81 note 13 for this word.

36 Blau, Grammar, pp. 107-108.

37 Blau, Grammar, p. 106 (top).

38 Due to the low frequency of words with ط in the ms. it is difficult to make
any conclusions as to the phonetic background of this spelling. Cf. the
discussion in Blau, Observations, p. 221.

39 This has not been found in the earlier investigations of MA but, interest-
ingly enough, it is clearly documented in Blau's Coptic-Arabic text (Ob-
servations, p. 246), cf. *id.*, Grammar, p. 115, and Knutsson, pp. 109-112.
One case of this is even visible in Knutsson's karshuni ms. (LII 1. 12 =
^{c}ašrat 'ālāf). A few examples are found in Davies, p. 81.

40 A similar case in Knutsson, p. 109 note 1 (confusion between ت and ة).

41 Blau, Grammar, p. 133; Knutsson, p. 54; Davies p. 177.

42 The same example in Levin, Matthew 4:16; cf. further Blau, Grammar, pp.
345-346; *id.*, Observations, p. 251.

43 Blau, Grammar, pp. 359-360. Observe the ة in the first word.

44 Cf. Blau, Grammar, pp. 350ff. For such constructions in Modern Standard
Arabic, see Monteil, pp. 140-141; Cantarino II, pp. 149-150. For modern
Arabic dialects, see Cowell, p. 456, Féghali, pp. 198-199.

45 Blau, Grammar, pp. 379-382. For modern dialects, cf. Cowell, pp. 471ff.,
Féghali, pp. 186-189. For Modern Standard, cf. Cantarino II, pp. 375-377.
The word اواكي is probably to be read اواشي and is an Arabic plural of the
Coptic ōši "prayer".

46 So also in Matthew 3:11, 12:32 and Mark 1:10. The form used in the present
ms. is also frequent in Knutsson (although not noticed by him), e.g. pp.
22, 26, 31 (cf. *id.*, p. 168). The Qur'ān has 'iḍāfa, e.g. 2:87, 2:253,
5:110, 16:102.

47 Blau, Grammar, pp. 90-91.

48 Blau, Grammar, p. 320; Knutsson, pp. 166-167.

49 Most of the cases with oblique case instead of the nominative are in pas-
sive constructions, cf. Blau, Grammar, p. 336, and *ibid.*, note 64. For the
use of the accusative in address, see Wright II, pp. 85-86; Blau, Grammar,
pp. 338-339.

50 Cf. Blau, Grammar, p. 72 rem. A. The interpretation of this form suggested
   there is now confirmed by the form *abb* in Blau, Observations, p. 245.

51 Blau, Grammar, p. 89; *id.*, Observations, p. 236: *warahom, ahdak* (= *ʾaᶜdāʾ-
   ika*).

52 Blau, Grammar, pp. 323ff.; Knutsson, pp. 160ff.

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

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

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

56 Blau, Diqdûq, pp. 80-81 אמתחקית; *id.*, Grammar, p. 167 note 124; Knutsson,
   pp. 126-127 and note 3; Davies, p. 108-109.

57 Blau, Grammar, pp. 176ff.; Knutsson, pp. 129-131.

58 Cf. Spiro, s.v., and Denizeau, s.v.; Talmoudi, Texts, p. 123; Blau, Gram-
   mar, p. 180.

59 Blau, Grammar, p. 167.

60 Blau, Grammar, p. 194.

61 Blau, Grammar, pp. 157-159.

62 Blau, Grammar, pp. 194ff.; Knutsson, pp. 135, 145.

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

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

65 In a) the masc. plur. refers to inanimate things where the modern dialects
   usually have the same form (cf. Cowell, pp. 420ff., pp. 501ff.). The first
   case here is somewhat problematic. It is a quotation from Luke 2:35 where
   the Greek is ambiguous: "the hearts of many" or "many hearts" (ἐκ πολλῶν
   καρδιῶν). The modern Arabic translation has the latter version: لتعلن افكار
   من قلوب كثيرة. So has the Vulgate: *ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogi-
   tationes.* The Syriac versions have the former: *lebawoṯō d-sagîē* (BFBS, Si-
   nai palimpsest).

66 Blau, Grammar, pp. 206ff.; Knutsson, pp. 136ff.

67 Blau, Grammar, p. 247; *id.*, Observations, p. 247.

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

69 Blau, Grammar, p. 550.

70 Cf. Knutsson, pp. 116-117. Observe the haplology. The form might also be
   seen as an *energicus* although, in light of the inconsistent handling of

agreement in the ms. this is less probable than the interpretation forwarded here.

71 Knutsson, pp. 117-118.

72 Blau, Grammar, p. 292.

73 For the passive in MA in general, see Blau, Grammar, pp. 150ff.

74 The modern translation has Gt of nz^c here: في تواضعه انتزع قضاؤه لانّ حياته
الارض من تنتزع . In the original passage in Is. 53:8-9 $ma\check{g}h\bar{u}l$ forms are
used: من الضغطة ومن الدّينونة اخذ وفي حيله من كان يظنّ انّه قطع من ارض الاحياء
In Luke 10:42 both the ms. (12r) and the modern translation have $ma\check{g}h\bar{u}l$:
لا ينزع منها "it shall not be taken from her".

75 Blau has the passive اعمد (Grammar, p. 158) and اعتمد ($ibid.$, p. 166, as
well as استاق "to be led" ($ibid.$, p. 166) while the ms. has سيق (48v) in
the same meaning. The modern translation uses the Gt in these passages
while Levin's text has Gt of صبغ (but cf. the apparatus to Mark 1:5
يعتمدون and Blau, Grammar, p. 424).

76 For agent extension with passive constructions in MA, see Blau, Grammar,
pp. 424-425; in modern dialects, see Retsö, pp. 169ff. For the passive
construction (with agent extension) in Coptic, see Steindorff, pp. 193-194.

77 Lit.: "from the direction of". The Coptic has *EBOL HITEN* which is the normal agent phrase (Steindorff, p. 194; Mallon, § 276).

78 The Coptic has *EBOL HITOTF* as agent preposition.

79 The Coptic has *M-* (= *n-*) which is dative or instrumental (Steindorff, p.
89; Mallon, § 361). The Greek original, however, has ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ
ἁγίου which must be agent.

80 The Coptic has *EBOL HITOTF N-ĒSAĒAS* as agent phrase while the Greek has διά
and the modern Arabic translation $bi-$ (rather instrumental).

81 This is part of one of the homilies which have no Coptic counterparts. One
could compare e.g. Mark 1:9 where the Greek has ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, while Levin
and the modern translation have min with the same verb (Gt).

82 It is possible that the Greek in this passage (εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν) reflects
the Hebrew (or Aramaic) $l-$ as agent preposition (the interpretation is dependent upon the exegesis of the verse). The Coptic has here *E-MŌYSĒS* which
is terminative (= Arab. $'il\bar{a}$) or dative (Steindorff, p. 89; Mallon, § 313).
The modern translation has $li-$. على يد is, however, not uncommon as agent
preposition in both Literary and colloquial Arabic (cf. Retsö, p. 171).

83 For $bi-$ as agent preposition, cf. Reckendorf, pp. 233-234.

84 Blau, Grammar, p. 563; Knutsson, pp. 178ff; Lundén, 75:10.

85 Blau, Grammar, pp. 549-550.

86 Blau, Grammar, p. 492; Knutsson, p. 177.

87 Blau, Grammar, pp. 522ff.

88 Blau, Grammar, pp. 482-483; Knutsson, p. 176.

89 Blau, Grammar, p. 251, 413ff.

90 Blau, Grammar, pp. 414ff.

91 Lundén, 83 note 5.

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