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Edenda curavit

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GEORG BARTH MAGNUS

Autographemes and Vowel Phonemes in Saidic Coptic

Abbreviations

- V Central element, syllable nucleus (autographeme, vowel phoneme).
- v Automatic do. (cf. §§ 5.2.2 and 6.2.3).
- C Marginal element (syngrapheme, consonant phoneme).
- B Do. belonging to the "Blemnar"-group (cf. § 4.2.0).
- S Do. not belonging to the "Blemnar"-group.
- ' Indicates primary syllable when necessary (cf. § 3.1).
- Between morphs when needed.
- ↗ Between morphs, of which the second is a suffixed pronoun.
- ≠ Opposition.
- = No opposition.
- || Delimits "configurative units" (cf. § 3.2.3).
- | Delimits "microunits" (cf. § 6.1).
- < > Graphemic transcription.
- / / Phonemic transcription.
- [] IPA phonetic transcription.

Introduction

0.1. The sounds of Coptic have been treated by several authors from a phonetic and etymological point of view. In addition to the grammatical standard works there are numerous papers by POLOTSKY, TILL, VYCICHL, WORRELL and others, and two major works on Egyptian phonetics: WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds*, 1934, and VERGOTE, *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien*, 1945, both dealing with Coptic, the latter, however, only with the consonants. From a phonemic point of view the Saidic Coptic vowels have been treated by EBBE E. KNUDSEN in his paper *Saidic Coptic Vowel Phonemes*, 1962.¹

0.2.1. It is my aim in the present paper to investigate the vowel system of Saidic Coptic by ascertaining the grapheme inventory of the language,

¹ Phonemic points of view are also brought up by POLOTSKY in his critical remarks on the treatment of the supralinear stroke in TILL, *Koptische Grammatik*, 1. Aufl. (in OLZ 52, 1957).

distinguishing the autographemes from the syngraphemes, investigating which autographemes are in opposition in different positions and finally ascertaining the underlying system of vowel phonemes. The solution of the last-mentioned problem will—naturally—be very tentative.

0.2.2. In principle, I have aimed at making a synchronic study of the Saidic dialect at the time when the classical orthography was established, i.e. the period at which a close correspondence may be assumed between speech and writing. Because of the insufficiency of the contemporary sources, non-contemporary material, too, has, however, to be taken into account, more especially Coptic transcriptions of Arabic words from the ninth or tenth century.

I shall disregard the numerous foreign words, mostly Greek, that abound in Coptic texts. They are as a rule borrowed in their Greek orthographic form, thus giving little information as to how they were adapted to the phonemic structure of Coptic.¹

0.2.3. I shall make no attempt to adhere to any definite school of phonemics, except that I use the commutation test and consequently regard meaning as known (to the extent, of course, that meaning may ever be known in a dead language).² In addition, I regard Coptic grammar as known, since it may—at least in theory—be induced from the graph-types without previous graphemic or phonemic analysis.

With regard to graphemic methodology I have been guided by ALLÉN, *Grafematisk analys*.

Coptic forms used as examples are taken mainly from CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*.

0.3.1. Surviving Coptic manuscripts, which form the basis for our knowledge of the Coptic language, are written in horizontal lines, with the graphs proceeding from left to right. In the manuscripts written in uncial or semi-uncial, the graphs are separated by sectures.³ Spaces are not used, and consequently graphic words cannot be distinguished. Punctuation is rare and—when it occurs—unsystematic.⁴

0.3.2. In modern editions punctuation is added, with the text in most cases broken up into words, there being no generally accepted rules for

¹ Cf. WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 88.

² Cf. PILCH pp. 7 f., ELERT § 1.2.

³ The terms "secture", "space", "graphic word", see ALLÉN, *Grafematisk analys* pp. 57 ff., 160 f.

⁴ TILL, G § 28.

such division.¹ I have confined myself to printed texts, disregarding however the modern word division and punctuation.

Graph-Type Classes

The Alphabet

1.1. The traditional Saidic alphabet consists of 30 letters in the following order:²

Ⲁ <i>A</i>	Ⲍ <i>L</i>	ϥ <i>Ph</i>
Ⲃ <i>B</i>	Ⲏ <i>M</i>	ϫ <i>Kh</i>
Ⲅ <i>G</i>	Ⲑ <i>N</i>	ϣ <i>Ps</i>
Ⲇ <i>D</i>	Ϩ <i>X</i>	Ⲕ <i>O'</i>
Ⲉ <i>E</i>	Ⲓ <i>O</i>	ϣ̅ <i>Š</i>
Ⲋ <i>Z</i>	Ⲕ <i>P</i>	ϥ̅ <i>F</i>
Ⲍ̅ <i>E'</i>	Ⲇ <i>R</i>	Ϩ̅ <i>H</i>
Ⲏ̅ <i>Th</i>	Ⲉ <i>S</i>	ϫ̅ <i>C</i>
Ⲑ̅ <i>I</i>	Ⲋ̅ <i>T</i>	ϣ̅̅ <i>K'</i>
Ⲓ̅ <i>K</i>	Ⲕ̅ <i>U</i>	ϥ̅̅̅ <i>Ti</i>

The symbols to the right in the list constitute a transliteration, which will be used in the body of the text of this paper in order to simplify printing.

To this must be added the supralinear stroke $\bar{}$, written above another letter. Since such a group often alternates with *E* preceding the other letter, the supralinear stroke is best regarded as preceding the letter above which it is written.³

Variants

1.2.0. We may regard the 30 letters of the alphabet together with the supralinear stroke as the graph-types⁴ of Saidic, taking them as our point of departure. The next step is to find the graph-type classes, i.e. classes of graph-types that appear in free variation and which are not in opposition.⁵

¹ TILL, G § 27. Cf. TILL, Zur Worttrennung im Koptischen.

² Further TILL, G § 11; STEINDORFF p. 11.

³ TILL, G § 25; STEINDORFF § 9. The supralinear stroke sometimes extends over the preceding letter too (or even further, see POLOTSKY, Till, Walter C. Koptische Grammatik. Bespr., OLZ 52, 1957).

⁴ The term "graph-type" denotes a class of typologically identified graphs. ALLÉN, Grafematisk analys, pp. 80, 163.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 86.

1.2.1. *G*, *D* and *Z* appear almost exclusively in Greek words. In the rare cases of their use in Coptic words, they are mere facultative variants of *K*, *T* and *S* respectively, e.g. *ANSE'BE* or *ANZE'BE* 'school'.¹

1.2.2. The graph-type *Th* and the sequence *TH* are in facultative variation, and so are *X* and *KS*, *Ph* and *PH*, *Kh* and *KH*, *Ps* and *PS* as well as *Ti* and *TI*, e.g. *ThE* or *THE* 'the manner'.² There are two theoretically possible solutions. The single graph-types *Th*, *X*, *Ph*, *Kh*, *Ps* and *Ti* could be regarded as graphic realizations of the sequences *TH*, *KS*, *PH*, *KH*, *PS* and *TI* respectively, or the sequences could be regarded as realizations of the single graph-types. The first-mentioned solution is to be preferred, as, unlike the second, it permits every occurrence of one of the six single graph-types to be regarded as a realization of one of the six sequences, thus reducing the number of units by six. Morphological arguments in favour of the first solution could also be cited, such as the fact that the six simple graph-types occur regardless of morpheme-boundaries, as in the example given above or in *P-HO* or *PhO* 'the face'. The second solution would lead to an unnecessarily complicated account of the morphology of the verb, too, e.g. qualitatives like *ROKH* or *ROKh* 'be burnt' could not be treated as a parallel to other qualitatives like *SOTP* 'be chosen'.

1.2.3. *EI* and *I* are in facultative variation in many morphemes, e.g. *EIO'T* or *IO'T* 'father', *COEIS* or *COIS* 'lord'. There is, however, a tendency to complementary distribution; initially in a morpheme or a group of morphemes that belong very closely together, *EI* is the usual spelling; medially and finally *I* is more common, e.g. *EIRE* 'do', *PIN* 'mouse', *PAI* 'this'.³

In other, considerably less numerous cases *EI* can be replaced by *EEI*, though the latter spelling is rare except in certain texts, e.g. *PEI* or (seldom) *PEEI* 'this'.⁴ In no case can *EI* be replaced by either *I* or *EEI*. There is opposition or homonymy as the case may be between *PEI* or *PI* 'kiss' and *PEI* or *PEEI* 'this'.

The simplest procedure would seem to be to regard *I* and *EI* as facultative variants (with a tendency towards complementary distribution) and *EI*=*EEI* as consisting of *E* followed by one of the facultative variants *I* and *EI*, this being born out by the fact that in *EI*=*EEI*

¹ STEINDORFF § 12; WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds* p. 85; KNUDSEN § 1.

² WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds* pp. 85 f.; TILL, G §§ 14, 17.

³ TILL, G § 15; STEINDORFF § 14.

⁴ Cf. KAHLE pp. 78 f.

there may be a morpheme boundary after the initial *E*, whereas this is never the case with *EI* = *I*, e.g. *E-I-ŠAN* or (rarely) *E-EI-ŠAN*¹ 'if I'. It may also be argued that since *I* = *EI* may be preceded by any other graph-type (except the supralinear stroke) it is likely upon occasion to be preceded by *E* too.²

Now the question arises as to whether *EI* should be regarded as a variant of a unit *I*, or *I* as a graphic realization of a sequence *EI*. This cannot be resolved along the same lines as was the *Th-TH*-problem in § 1.2.2, because no reduction of the number of units is possible here, this argument being consequently not applicable. There will be two units in any case, either *E* and *I* (with the variant *EI*) or *E* and *I*, the latter only occurring after *E* (with an alternative graphic realization *I* for the sequence *EI*). The latter solution imposes an awkward distributional restriction³ upon the unit *I*, while the former solution allows both units an almost unlimited freedom of occurrence, besides being intuitively simpler, and is thus to be preferred.

1.2.4. *OU* and *U* have complementary distribution in "good" orthography. *U* is found following an *A*, *E* or *E'*, within the same morpheme or group of morphemes that belong very closely together, while *OU* is found in all other environments;⁴ e.g. *NAU* 'for them', *TE-UŠE* 'the night', *OUŠE* 'night', *HAROOU* 'under them'. As is evident from the examples, the same morpheme is spelled sometimes *OU* and sometimes *U*, depending on the preceding graph-type. Since *OU* and *U* also occur in the same environments—at least in manuscripts with a less orthodox spelling⁵—it is preferable to regard them as variants.

OU and *U* should be considered two variants of a single unit according to the same reasoning that was applicable to *EI* and *I*.

Summary

1.3. The inventory of graph-type classes now consists of the following 22 units—variants are separated by oblique strokes:

¹ Loc. cit.

² An *EI* that is not found to be in variation with either *I* or *EEI* may indeed be ambiguous, but there are certain practical clues: morpheme boundaries have been mentioned; in primary syllables (see § 3.1.2 below) *EI* = *EEI* does not occur (STEINDORFF § 48:2); inter-dialect comparisons may be helpful.

³ PILCH p. 28.

⁴ TILL, G §§ 18–19; STEINDORFF §§ 13, 48; KNUDSEN § 1.

⁵ Cf. KAHLE pp. 88 f.

lowing, only the former will be dealt with, and for shortness sake they will sometimes be called simply "graph-type classes" instead of "graph-type classes that have been classified as autographemes". The term autographeme should properly not be used until they have been proved to be graphemes.

2.2. The distribution of the graph-type classes I/EI and OU/U corresponds to that of the syngraphemes as well as the autographemes.¹ A few examples should suffice as an illustration:

3-lit. verbs of the scheme $C_1VC_2\bar{C}_3$:²

ϥⲟⲩⲁ̅	'choose'
ⲣⲟⲕⲉ̅	'burn'
ⲙⲟⲩⲁ̅ⲗⲉ̅	'make salt' (V is OU/U)
ϥⲓⲱⲣⲁ̅	'stare' (C_1 is I/EI)
ϥⲟⲩⲟ̅ⲩⲉ̅	'gather' (C_2 is OU/U)
ⲟⲩⲱⲣⲁ̅	'send' C_1 is OU/U)

2-lit. verbs of the scheme C_1VC_2 :³

ⲕⲟⲩ	'build'
ⲉ̅ⲟ̅ⲗ	'loosen'
ⲙⲟⲩⲁ̅	'remain' (V is OU/U)
ⲟⲩⲱⲩⲱ̅	'desire' (C_1 is OU/U)

In its function as a syngrapheme I is sometimes written \bar{I} , but the diacritical dots are not so consistently written that a separate syngrapheme \bar{I} can be distinguished.⁴

found that any morph consisting of at least two graphs contains at least one representative of an autographeme. The same is true of any sequence of morphs, in which every morph includes at least one graph. There exist only a very limited number of one-graph grammatical morphs that lack autographeme. However, it can be shown that the eight autographemes have a special distribution, even without reference to morphemics. Divide a Coptic text into sections of n graphs each. For $n=1$, it is obviously true that the group of graph-type classes represented in each section of n graphs includes all the graph-type classes of Saidic. Trials will show that the same is true for $n=2$ and for $n=3$. But in the case of $n \geq 4$, the eight graph-type classes classified as autographemes, and only these, are included in the group represented in each section of n graphs. (In practice there is a limit to the value which may be assumed by n , for with increasing values of n there is obviously an increasing probability that each and every graph-type class by itself be represented in each section of n graphs.)

¹ Cf. TILL, G §§ 15, 18; STEINDORFF §§ 13-15.

² STEINDORFF §§ 233-234.

³ Op. cit. §§ 245-248.

⁴ TILL, G § 15; STEINDORFF § 14.

	B	K/r	λ	M	N	π	p	c/z	T/Δ	ψ	γ	z	x	σ		λ	ε	h	l/εl	o	oy/y	ω	-
B																Bλ	BH	+	BO		BW		
K/r																Kλ	KH		KO	KOY	KW		
λ																λλ	+	λl	λO		+		
M																Mλ	ME	MH	MI		MOY		
N																Nλ	+		+	NOY		+	
π																	πE	+	πEI		+		
p																pλ	pH	PI	PO		PW	+	
c/z																cλ	CE		CEI	CO	COY	CW	
T/Δ																	TE	TH	†	TO		+	
ψ																ψλ	ψE		ψI	ψO	ψOY	ψW	+
γ																+	+		γI	γO	+	γW	
z																zλ	ZE	ZH	ZI	ZO	ZOY	ZW	
x																	XE	XH	XI	XO		XW	
σ																σλ						σW	
λ	λB	+	λλ	+	+		+	λC		λψ	λγ	λz		+					+		λγ		
ε					+		επ	+	+	εψ	εγ	+	+								+		
h	+	+	hλ	+	HN	hπ	+		+			+	+					HI					
l/εl	εlB		+	+		+	+	εlC	+	lψ	+	+	+			εlA	εlH	εlI	+	+	εlW		
o	OB	+	Ol		ON		+	+	+	Oψ	+	Oz	Ox					OI	O				
oy/y		+		+	+			oyC(ε)		+	oyγ	+				OYA	OYE	OYEI			OYW		
ω	ωB	ωK	ωλ			ωπ	+	+	ωT	ωψ	ωγ	ωz	ωx	+				+		+	ω		
-					N̄	P̄				ψ̄													

Fig. 1. (To § 2.1.1.)

The fact that I/EI and OU/U function both as autographemes and also as syngraphemes is not contradicted by their being classified as autographemes in the combination diagram, for a graph-type class with both functions is always classified as autographeme according to that method.¹

The present paper will deal only with those members of the graph-type classes I/EI and OU/U that should in all probability be interpreted as having autographemic function. Whether they have this function or not is not always obvious. Sometimes inter-dialectal comparisons may be helpful. In what follows, doubtful cases will not be used as arguments without special mention.

¹ ALLÉN, *Grafematisk analys* p. 94.

As OU/U in autographemic function is not spelled U in “good” orthography, for the sake of simplicity I will write the graph-type class as OU instead of OU/U from now on.

The Configurative Unit

3.0. With the help of a few commutation lists it can be proved that the 14 graph-type classes which have been classified as syngraphemes, together with I/EI and OU/U in their syngraphemic function, are all in opposition, i.e. that they are graphemes, more specifically syngraphemes. As such they may be symbolized thus: $\langle B, I, K, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, OU, \check{S}, F, H, C, K' \rangle$.

Our concern here, however, is with graph-type classes that have been classified as autographemes. Their distribution is more complicated and involves many restrictions which have to be accounted for.

The Choice of Unit

3.1.0. Every language is characterized by certain distributional restrictions, and it is important to find the units within which these restrictions operate.¹ I have chosen to take as my point of departure a unit which admits of definition and which is doubtless graphemically and phonemically relevant: the configurative unit, which is based upon the following argumentation.

3.1.1. If—in a Coptic sentence—every morph that contains a representative of a graph-type class classified as autographeme be replaced by morphs containing representatives of other such graph-type classes, we find that the number of possible graph-type classes is not the same in different positions in the sentence. Take a sentence, e.g.

ⲁⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟⲩⲁⲛⲉⲓⲟⲩⲉⲧⲉⲧⲓⲛⲟⲟⲩ

‘One of our fathers sent his brother to fill up with water.’² If we try to exchange the morphs the result may look like figure 2. (For the sake of clearness each graph-type class has been given its own line in this figure,

¹ PILCH, p. 28, mentions syllable, morpheme and word as examples of such units. An analysis with the syllable as unit would display very few distributional restrictions. Many restrictions would also pass unobserved with the morpheme as unit. Word-division is lacking.

² From *Apophthegmata patrum* (ZOEGL, G., *Catalogus codicum Copticorum* ... Roma 1810, 343b) except the Greek word *MATHE'TE'S* that has here been altered to *SON*.

	Α	ΟΥΑ	Ν̄	Ν	ΕΝ	ΕΙΟΤΕ	Τ̄ΝΝΟΟΥ	Μ̄	Π	ΕΥ	CON	Ε	ΜΕ2	ΜΟΟΥ
Α	Α	ΟΥΑ			Α	CA2	ΟΥΕ2CA2NE	(T)	Α	ΧΑΧΕ	ΚΑ	ΚΑ2		
Ε	ΕΡΕ	2ΜΕ			ΕΝ	Ρ̄Μ2Ε	ΜΕ	Ε	ΕΥ	ΨΧΕ	ΜΕ2	ΒΕΚΕ		
Ι		ΨΙΤ			Ι	ΣΙΧ	ΕΙΝΕ		Ι	C2ΙΜΕ	ΧΙ	ΚΡΙ		
ΟΥ		ΨΜΟΥΝ			ΟΥ	ΝΟΥΤΕ	ΜΟΥΤΕ		ΟΥ	ΜΟΥΙ	ΤΟΥΝ	ΝΟΥΒ		
—	Ν̄ΝΕ	C̄ΝΤΕ				T̄B̄T		Μ̄		ῩΝΤ	Ν̄	2̄ΝΚΕ		
Η		ΜΗΤ				C̄NHΥ				ΨΗΡΕ		ΗΡ̄Π		
Ο		ΥΤΟΟΥ				ΕΙΟΤΕ	Τ̄ΝΝΟΟΥ			CON		ΜΟΟΥ		
Ω		ΣΟΥΩΤ				Π̄ΡΩΟΥ	ΟΥΩΡ̄Π			CWNE		ΕΡΩΤΕ		

Fig. 2. (To § 3.1.1.)

and the morphs in the original example have been repeated on their proper lines. Some of the forms may contain more than one morph.)

It appears from this kind of example that in some columns all the eight graph-type classes may be represented, including *E'*, *O* and *O'*, in other columns only a maximum of five, *E'*, *O* and *O'* not being among them.

The possibility of variation between eight graph-type classes applies only to one syllable nucleus of a single morph. This is immediately apparent from the fact that in one and the same morph there is never more than one representative of one graph-type class from the group *E'*, *O*, *O'*.¹

3.1.2. There are in other words in a Coptic sentence certain syllables that we may call primary syllables, each of which contains a single representative of one of the eight graph-type classes, while only five of the graph-type classes may be represented in the remaining syllables of the sentence, which may be called the secondary syllables. It is plausible that the primary syllables were characterized in speech by some culminative² feature lacking in the secondary syllables, some kind of accent.³

The Delimitation of the Configurative Unit

3.2.0. Every Saidic sentence may now be subdivided into what we may call "configurative units",⁴ each containing one primary syllable.⁵ It remains to discover where to draw the boundaries between the configurative units. To this end we may examine whether there are any limitations as

¹ Disregarding the "double vowels", treatment of which is deferred to § 8.

² BORGSTROM § 10.1.

³ Cf. STEINDORFF §§ 67, 71.

⁴ Corresponds to the "Akzentinheit" of STEINDORFF, § 71.

⁵ In theory. In practice it is not always obvious which syllables are primary syllables. Cf. TILL, G §§ 49, 66; TILL, Betrachtungen zum Wortakzent.

to what can precede the first or follow the last primary syllable of a sentence.¹

3.2.1. Several syllables and morphs may precede the first primary syllable, e.g.

ⲉⲥⲧⲉⲧⲏⲓⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧⲙⲓⲥⲙⲓⲥⲟⲙ

'If ye cannot ...'² There seems to be no upper limit.

3.2.2. Following the last primary syllable, on the other hand, we do not find more than one secondary syllable—disregarding the copula *PE*, *TE*, *NE*. As to morphology, I have not found more than one additional morph following the morph that contains the nucleus of the primary syllable—still disregarding the copula. This additional morph is always a suffix. Examples of sentence terminations:

	secondary syllables	additional morphs
ⲛⲟⲥ, ⲣⲱ	0	none
ⲱⲛⲉ, ⲱⲏⲓⲛ	1	none
ⲥⲱⲛ-ⲉ	1	feminine suffix
ⲥⲏⲏ-ⲧ	0	plural suffix
ⲛⲏ-ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲟ-ⲟⲧⲉ	1	plural suffix
ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲏ-ⲧ	0	qualitative suffix
ⲣⲱⲥⲣ, ⲛⲁⲥⲣ	0	suffix pronoun
ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲧ, ⲧⲟⲧⲛⲟⲥⲥⲣ	1	suffix pronoun

To this must be added, however, that the copula is sometimes found as a second secondary syllable and as a second morph, e.g.

ⲥⲱⲛ-ⲉ-ⲧⲉ, ⲛⲟⲧⲧⲉ-ⲛⲉ, ⲥⲏⲏ-ⲧ-ⲛⲉ.

The copula forms an exception to the rule that a maximum of one secondary syllable may follow the primary syllable and from the rule that a maximum of one morph may follow the morph containing the nucleus of the primary syllable, this morph being a suffix. As a matter of fact, the copula is not a suffix but an independent word.³ Theoretically it might have been a primary syllable. This is however unlikely, as it is

¹ Or of a text, if we do not want to presuppose a division into sentences.

² Judge 14:13 (THOMPSON, H., *A Coptic Palimpsest*, London 1911). Further examples in STEINDORFF § 73.

³ TILL, G § 244; STEINDORFF § 301.

unaccented in metrics and the Bohairic forms, too, are *PE*, *TE*, *NE*, although Bohairic *P* and *T* generally become *Ph* and *Th* respectively when they precede the syllable nucleus of a primary syllable.¹

It seems, however, as if the description of the language would be considerably simplified if the copula were to be regarded as a separate configurative unit, so I choose this way of proceeding in spite of the fact that I am not fully satisfied as to the nature of the copula in this connection. The solution is confirmed by the fact that punctuation marks sometimes occur before the copula.²

3.2.3. We are now able to postulate the following rules for determining the boundaries of the configurative units:

1. There is always a boundary somewhere after the nucleus of a primary syllable.
2. If the nucleus of a primary syllable is in a morph without suffix, the boundary immediately follows that morph.
3. If the nucleus of a primary syllable is in a morph followed by a suffix, the boundary immediately follows that suffix.
4. If a copula immediately follows such a boundary, there is a boundary after the copula too.

Rule number 4 appears to me to be necessary. If I decide to put a boundary before the copula, I am not by that allowed to assign the copula to the following configurative unit. A fifth rule might have been postulated: "There may be only one secondary syllable between the primary syllable and the following boundary." Such a rule would however be superfluous, because when the boundaries are determined according to rules 1 to 4 there will never be more than one secondary syllable following the primary syllable.

To indicate the boundary between two consecutive configurative units when necessary I shall use the symbol ||.

3.2.4. The subdivision into configurative units may be exemplified by the sentence quoted in § 3.1.1:

|| ⲁⲟⲩⲁ || ⲡⲓⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟⲩⲉ || ⲧⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧ || ⲙⲡⲉⲣⲥⲟⲛ || ⲉⲙⲉⲗⲙⲟⲩⲧ ||

The Graph-type Classes in Opposition in the Primary Syllable

4.0. Within the configurative unit, the graph-type classes that have been classified as autographemes are represented in primary as well as

¹ TILL, D § 19; MALLON §§ 24–25, 356.

² TILL, G § 244.

in secondary syllables. The former case will be dealt with here, the latter in sections 5 and 6. As has already been pointed out, all of the eight graph-type classes are represented in primary syllables: *A*, *E*, *E'*, *I/EI*, *O*, *OU*, *O'*, *-*.

Final Position

4.1. In final position the graph-type classes *A*, *E*, *E'*, *I/EI*, *O*, *OU*, *O'* are represented, all of them in opposition as is evident from the commutation lists following.

ϣⲁ 'winnowing fan'	ⲙⲁ 'place'		ϣⲁ 'rise'
ϣⲉ 'fall'	ⲙⲉ 'truth'		ϣⲉ 'wood'
ϣⲏ 'fore part'	ⲙⲏ 'urine'		
ϣⲓ 'thresh'		ⲉⲓ 'come'	ϣⲓ 'measure'
ϣⲟ 'face'	ⲙⲟ 'take!'	ⲟ 'be'	ϣⲟ 'thousand'
	ⲙⲟⲣ 'die'	ⲟⲣ 'what?'	
ϣⲱ 'suffice'		ⲱ 'conceive'	ϣⲱ 'sand'

The opposition *OU* ≠ *O'* has a low functional load. Immediately following <*M*> and <*N*> the graph-type class *O'* is rare, while in other environments *OU* is rare.¹ This holds good for non-final positions too.

Non-Final Position

4.2.0. When the nucleus of the primary syllable is immediately followed by a syngrapheme, three relevant types of environments may be distinguished:

1. The syngrapheme in question belongs to the so-called Blemnar-group <*B*, *L*, *M*, *N*, *R*>² and is not in final position in the configurative unit.

2. The syngrapheme is <*H*>.

3. Other cases.

(The position immediately preceding a syllable nucleus is disregarded. It exists but is very rare.)

4.2.1. In the first case all the eight graph-type classes are represented, though *A* is extremely rare.³ In the few words with known meaning where I have found *A* it appears in free variation with *-*, *E* or *O*:

¹ Cf. TILL, D §§ 29–31 for etymological background.

² Cf. STEINDORFF § 18.

³ Cf. TILL, G §§ 57–58 for etymological background.

ц̣ант̣	or	ц̣н̣т̣	or	ц̣ен̣т̣	'her nose'
ан̣	or	он̣			'yard'
с̣арт̣	or	с̣орт̣			'sword'

I have not found any case of opposition between $\bar{}$ and E ; they appear in free variation,¹ e.g.

ц̣н̣ч̣е	or	ц̣ен̣ч̣е	'scale (of fish)'
ѣ̣щ̣е	or	е̣ѣ̣щ̣е	'forgetfulness'
к̣л̣л̣е	or	к̣е̣л̣е	'bolt' (n) ²

The following six elements are in opposition: E' , I/EI , O , OU , O' , $\bar{}/E$. Examples of minimal pairs for the 15 oppositions:

н	≠ I/EI :	м̣н̣е	'daily'	м̣н̣е	'sort'
н	≠ O :	п̣н̣р̣ц̣	'red substance'	п̣ор̣ц̣	'be spread'
н	≠ O' :	м̣н̣е	'daily'	м̣он̣е	'remain'
н	≠ ω :	з̣н̣п̣т̣	'be near'	з̣он̣п̣т̣	'approach'
н	≠ $\bar{}/E$:	ѣ̣н̣н̣е	'swallow'	ѣ̣н̣н̣е	'dates'
I/EI	≠ O :	ц̣н̣ѣ̣	'change'	ц̣он̣ѣ̣	'be changed'
I/EI	≠ O' :	м̣н̣е	'sort'	м̣он̣е	'remain'
I/EI	≠ ω :	ѣ̣н̣н̣е	'bring'	он̣е	'stone'
I/EI	≠ $\bar{}/E$:	с̣н̣м̣е	'woman'	с̣м̣м̣е	'appeal'
о	≠ O' :	м̣он̣л̣	'be salt'	м̣он̣л̣	'make salt'
о	≠ ω :	о̣ѣ̣т̣	'be fixed'	о̣ѣ̣т̣	'fix'
о	≠ $\bar{}/E$:	ц̣он̣п̣т̣	'plait him'	ц̣н̣п̣т̣	'ask for him'
он̣	≠ ω :	к̣он̣н̣	'her bosom'	к̣он̣н̣	'kill'
он̣	≠ $\bar{}/E$:	м̣он̣л̣	'make salt'	м̣л̣л̣	'salt' (n)
ω	≠ $\bar{}/E$:	з̣он̣р̣ѣ̣	'break'	з̣р̣р̣ѣ̣	'form' (n)

¹ KNUDSEN (§ 4.5) regards $\bar{}$ and E as separate phonemes here.

² The doubling of the syngrapheme is automatic. A syngrapheme from the Blemnar-group is doubled, whenever it is immediately preceded by a supralinear stroke that constitutes the nucleus of a primary syllable, and is immediately followed by a syllable nucleus that is in final position. This doubling is predictable and consequently redundant. (In the numerous cases when the supralinear stroke is left unwritten, the doubling conveys the information contained in the supralinear stroke.) Cf. TILL, G §§ 58–59; STEINDORFF § 27:1–2. The doubled syngrapheme could also be regarded as a sequence of two syngraphemes. In that case only the supralinear stroke would occur preceding two similar syngraphemes. That would imply an unnecessary restriction of the distribution of the remaining graph-type classes, which makes this solution less satisfying. Cf. HARRIS § 7.41 et passim.

4.2.2. In case no. 2 above, i.e. when the nucleus of a primary syllable is followed by the syngrapheme $\langle H \rangle$, all of the eight graph-type classes are represented.

O seldom occurs in this environment, as a rule in morphemes with metathesis, e.g. $OHS\bar{F}$ 'reap it', which also has the form $OSH\bar{F}$. In some cases O and A appear in facultative variation, e.g. $LOHM\bar{F}$ or $LAHM\bar{F}$ 'boil it', but in other cases O and A are clearly in opposition, though this opposition has a low functional load.¹

The supralinear stroke is extremely rare, appearing only as a facultative variant of E , e.g. $N\bar{H}$ or NEH 'oil'.

E and E' do not seem to be in opposition preceding $\langle H \rangle$. E' has defective distribution² in relation to E . Preceding $\langle H \rangle$ + syngrapheme only E occurs, e.g. $NEHPE$ 'mourn' (v). Both E' and E are found preceding $\langle H \rangle$ + syllable nucleus and $\langle H \rangle$ in final position. I have found 6 morphemes that are only documented with E' (e.g. $SE'H$ 'be written' (qual.)), 2 with E only (LEH 'care' (n) and $-KEH$ 'arm' in $KELENKEH$ 'elbow'), 7 with E' or E in facultative variation (e.g. $ME'H$ or MEH 'be full' (qual.)).

The following six elements are in opposition preceding $\langle H \rangle$: A , E/E' , I/EI , O , OU , O' . Examples of minimal—in some cases subminimal—pairs for the 15 oppositions:

$\Delta \neq \epsilon/\eta$: $\mathfrak{m}\Delta\mathfrak{g}$	'nest, brood'	$\mathfrak{m}\epsilon\mathfrak{g}/\mathfrak{m}\eta\mathfrak{g}$	'be full'
$\Delta \neq \mathfrak{i}/\epsilon\mathfrak{i}$: $\mathfrak{t}\Delta\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'be drunken'	$\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'become drunken'
$\Delta \neq \mathfrak{o}$: $\mathfrak{p}\Delta\mathfrak{g}\bar{\mathfrak{c}}$	'prey'	$\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{g}\bar{\mathfrak{c}}$	'be bitten'
$\Delta \neq \mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}$: $\mathfrak{p}\Delta\mathfrak{g}\bar{\mathfrak{h}}$	'be yoked'	$\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{g}\bar{\mathfrak{h}}$	'yoke' (v)
$\Delta \neq \omega$: $\mathfrak{k}\Delta\mathfrak{g}$	'earth'	$\mathfrak{k}\omega\mathfrak{g}$	'be envious'
$\epsilon/\eta \neq \mathfrak{i}/\epsilon\mathfrak{i}$: $\mathfrak{x}\eta\mathfrak{g}$	'be anointed'	$\mathfrak{x}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}$	'spittle'
$\epsilon/\eta \neq \mathfrak{o}$: $\mathfrak{n}\epsilon\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{c}\epsilon$	'waken'	$\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{c}\epsilon$	'to reap you' (subm.)
$\epsilon/\eta \neq \mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}$: $\mathfrak{m}\epsilon\mathfrak{g}/\mathfrak{m}\eta\mathfrak{g}$	'be full'	$\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{g}$	'fill'
$\epsilon/\eta \neq \omega$: $\mathfrak{n}\epsilon\mathfrak{g}/\mathfrak{n}\eta\mathfrak{g}$	'be broken'	$\mathfrak{n}\omega\mathfrak{g}$	'break'
$\mathfrak{i}/\epsilon\mathfrak{i} \neq \mathfrak{o}$: $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'move'	$\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'set up'
$\mathfrak{i}/\epsilon\mathfrak{i} \neq \mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}$: $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'move'	$\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'evening' (subm.)
$\mathfrak{i}/\epsilon\mathfrak{i} \neq \omega$: $\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'move'	$\mathfrak{c}\omega\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'weave'
$\mathfrak{o} \neq \mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}$: $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{g}\bar{\mathfrak{u}}$	'be repeated'	$\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{g}\bar{\mathfrak{u}}$	'save' (subm.)
$\mathfrak{o} \neq \omega$: $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{g}\bar{\mathfrak{u}}$	'be repeated'	$\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\omega\mathfrak{g}\bar{\mathfrak{u}}$	'repeat'
$\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r} \neq \omega$: $\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'evening'	$\mathfrak{p}\omega\mathfrak{g}\epsilon$	'wash' (v)

¹ Cf. TILL, G §§ 51, 52.

² PILCH p. 11.

4.2.3. In case no. 3 (§ 4.2.0 above), i.e. when the nucleus of the primary syllable is followed by one of the syngraphemes <I, K, P, S, T, OU, Š, F, C, K> or by a member of the Blemnar-group in final position, all of the eight graph-type classes are represented. The supralinear stroke, however, is only found as a rare variant of other graph-type classes, e.g.

ѡа̑л̑ or ѡа̑л̑̑ 'a weapon'

ѡн̑м̑ or ѡн̑м̑̑ 'small'

Seven elements are in opposition: A, E, E', I/EI, O, OU, O'. E is comparatively rare, which makes it rather difficult to find unambiguous minimal pairs with E for the following list of the 21 oppositions.

а ≠ е:	ра̑к̑т̑̑	'bent' (n)	ре̑к̑т̑̑	'bend her'
а ≠ н:	ѡа̑л̑	'eye'	ѡн̑л̑	'be loosened'
а ≠ і/еі:	ка̑м̑	'reed'	ки̑м̑	'move'
а ≠ о:	ѡа̑л̑	'eye'	ѡо̑л̑	'outside' (n)
а ≠ оу:	ма̑с̑	'young'	мо̑у̑с̑	'strap'
а ≠ ѡ:	ѡа̑л̑	'eye'	ѡѡ̑л̑	'loosen'
е ≠ н:	ке̑т̑	'other'	кн̑т̑	'be built'
е ≠ і/еі:	ке̑те̑	'other' (f)	ки̑те̑	'double drachma'
е ≠ о:	те̑к̑̑	'throw her'	то̑к̑̑	'strengthen her'
е ≠ оу:	пе̑ѡ̑	'sailor'	по̑у̑ѡ̑	'gold'
е ≠ ѡ:	те̑к̑̑	'throw her'	то̑ѡ̑к̑̑	'pierce'
н ≠ і/еі:	ѡн̑и̑	'be near'	ѡи̑и̑	'vessel'
н ≠ о:	ѡн̑л̑	'be loosened'	ѡо̑л̑	'outside' (n)
н ≠ оу:	мн̑р̑	'be tied'	мо̑у̑р̑	'tie'
н ≠ ѡ:	ѡн̑л̑	'be loosened'	ѡѡ̑л̑	'loosen'
і/еі ≠ о:	ми̑се̑	'bear' (v)	мо̑се̑	'be born'
і/еі ≠ оу:	ѡи̑и̑	'vessel'	ѡо̑у̑и̑	'inward part'
і/еі ≠ ѡ:	ѡи̑и̑	'vessel'	ѡѡ̑и̑и̑	'approach'
о ≠ оу:	мо̑те̑	'neck'	мо̑у̑те̑	'call'
о ≠ ѡ:	ѡо̑л̑	'outside'	ѡѡ̑л̑	'loosen'
оу ≠ ѡ:	ѡо̑у̑и̑	'inward part'	ѡѡ̑и̑и̑	'approach'

The Graph-type Classes in Opposition in the Secondary Syllable Following the Primary Syllable

5.0. As has already been mentioned (§ 3.2.2), only one secondary syllable may follow the primary syllable within a configurative unit. As regards the graph-type classes in opposition, two relevant cases may be distinguished:

1. The nucleus of the secondary syllable is in final position within the configurative unit.
2. The nucleus is followed by a syngrapheme belonging to the same configurative unit.

Final Position

5.1. In final position two graph-type classes are represented as syllable nucleus: *E* and *OU*. They are in opposition. Examples of minimal pairs:

ⲡⲁⲧⲉ	'thy (f) foot'	ⲡⲁⲧⲟⲩ	'their foot'
ⲡⲁⲓⲉ	'fragment'	ⲡⲁⲓⲟⲩ	'hinder part'

It should be noted, however, that it is not at all evident that *OU* is to be regarded as a syllable nucleus in this position,¹ though cases like *TO'NE* for *TO'NOU*² make this view a rather plausible one.

Non-Final Position

5.2.1. As a syllable nucleus followed by a syngrapheme, three graph-type classes are represented: *A*, *E* and $\bar{\cdot}$. They are not found in opposition.³ The supralinear stroke is often left unwritten, i.e. it is in free variation with zero.⁴ *E* and $\bar{\cdot}$ have a tendency to complementary distribution, *E* in the environment CB-S, $\bar{\cdot}$ in other environments, e.g. *HOTBEF* 'kill him' but *SO'LP̄* 'break'; however, variant spellings like *HOTBĒ* and *SO'LEP* are common enough to make *E* and $\bar{\cdot}$ facultative variants.⁵ In the environment B-⟨*H*⟩, the graph-type class *A* is found as a facultative variant,⁶ e.g.

ⲙⲏⲉ̄	or	ⲙⲏⲁⲓ	'live' (v)
ⲉⲓⲱⲡⲉ̄	or	ⲉⲓⲱⲡⲁⲓ	'see'.

¹ In this position *OU* is considered by STEINDORFF to be a vowel (cf. §§ 56–57), by KNUDSEN to be a consonant (§ 4.1). But it is not evident that vocalic and consonantal *OU* were phonemically different.

² TILL, G § 72.

³ Cf. KNUDSEN § 2.

⁴ The supralinear stroke is never or almost never written after the syngraphemes ⟨*I*⟩ and ⟨*OU*⟩. Cf. KNUDSEN (§ 4.1), who considers these cases to be consonant clusters, as opposed to the more common cases with intervening *A*, *E* or $\bar{\cdot}$. As we shall see in § 5.2.2 below, the difference is graphic and possibly phonetic but not graphemic and consequently not phonemic—as far as we may judge in a dead language.

⁵ Cf. POLOTSKY, Zur koptischen Lautlehre II, p. 129; STEINDORFF § 68:1–3; TILL, G § 67.

⁶ Cf. TILL, G § 70.

5.2.2. As we have seen, there is only one graphemic unit in this environment. Zero occurs as a facultative variant of this unit. When the configurative unit does not end in a secondary syllable nucleus (the case dealt with in § 5.1 above), the nucleus of the primary syllable may be followed by three, two, one or no syngraphemes. In the case of one or no syngrapheme, there is no additional syllable nucleus. In the case of two, we find only -CVC and—less often—CC, which are not in opposition, e.g. *E'RP* or *E'RP* 'wine'. In the case of three, we find only -CCVC and as a less common free variant -CCC, e.g. *K'OSK'S* or *K'OSK'S* 'dance'.¹ Since there is only one graphemic unit that can occur as a syllable nucleus in this case, the syngraphemes being given, no further opposition is possible. Consequently, a non-final nucleus of a secondary syllable following the primary syllable is redundant within the configurative unit.² It is an automatic syllable nucleus.

The Graph-type Classes in Opposition in the Secondary Syllables Preceding the Primary Syllable

Subdivision of the Configurative Unit

6.1. A primary syllable may, as mentioned in § 3.2.1 above, be preceded by an unspecified number of secondary syllables within the same configurative unit. As syllable nuclei the five graph-type classes *A*, *E*, *I/EI*, *OU*, - are represented. The distributional restrictions applying to these graph-type classes cannot be specified within the configurative unit. A subdivision is required.

¹ There is only one exception, the syllable *MNT*, which apparently has the structure CVCC. The *N* is however predictable. In the environment between $\langle M \rangle$ and $\langle T \rangle$ in a secondary syllable (preceding as well as following the primary syllable), an automatic *N* generally appears between the syllable nucleus - and the $\langle T \rangle$. (Cf. STEINDORFF § 36; TILL, D § 17). The resulting syllable *MNT* and the very much less common *MT* are facultative variants. Examples: *ŠOMNT* (rarely *ŠOMT*) 'three', *MNTRE* 'witness'. If this *N* were taken as representing the syngrapheme $\langle N \rangle$ or the phoneme /n/ respectively, the description of the syllable structure would be unnecessarily complicated. The same is true of morphology; *ME'T* 'ten' has the stat. constr. *MNT*-, *ŠOMNT* the fem. form *ŠOMTE* etc. Phonetically an [n] may have been present, but it would probably not have contained any distinctive feature not already present in /m/ or /t/. The characteristics of the variant may be assigned to the environments (HOCKETT, Manual § 3222; PILCH pp. 72 ff.).

² In the case of sequences of configurative units, the syllable nucleus may function as a border signal indicating the exact position of the boundary between the configurative units.

It is often possible to divide a configurative unit into a final part that could constitute a configurative unit by itself, and an initial part without that capacity. In a long configurative unit, such a division could often be carried out at several points. If a boundary be drawn in at every point where the following part of the configurative unit could constitute a complete configurative unit, we obtain a subdivision of the configurative unit into smaller units, which I shall, for lack of a better term, call "microunits". The example quoted in §§ 3.1.1 and 3.2.4 may serve as an illustration. The microunit boundaries are indicated by a single vertical line.

ⲁ | ⲟⲩⲁ || ⲡ | ⲛⲉⲛ | ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲉ || ⲧⲡⲛⲟⲟⲩ || ⲙ | ⲛⲉⲛ | ⲙⲟⲛ || ⲉ | ⲙⲉⲗ | ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ||

It goes without saying that the conditions of distribution in initial position within these units are the same as for the configurative units as far as secondary syllables are concerned, but when we examine other positions within the microunit we find that the conditions of distribution are very similar in the corresponding position of different microunits and different in different positions within the same microunit. It seems in other words as if the distributional restrictions may be described to a considerable extent with the microunit as the unit, albeit a tentative one.

It should be noted that the case of three consecutive syngraphemes without intervening syllable nucleus (graphemic or automatic) is found only when there is a configurative unit boundary or a microunit boundary between the first and the second syngrapheme. In other words, three consecutive syngraphemes constitute a positive border signal.¹

Opposition

6.2.0. With regard to the distribution of the five graph-type classes *A*, *E*, *I/EI*, *OU*, - in secondary syllables preceding the primary syllable, several relevant types of environment may be discerned within the microunit. For the sake of simplicity they will be dealt with in four groups:

1. Initial position.
2. Medial position except in the last syllable of polysyllabic microunits.
3. Medial position in the last syllable of polysyllabic microunits.
4. Final position.

¹ Cf. PILCH p. 27.

Initial Position

6.2.1. *I/EI* does not occur. *OU* is only found preceding a single syngrapheme that is followed by a non-automatic syllable nucleus; i.e. it has the same distribution as a syngrapheme (cf. § 7 below). Examples like *PEUHOR* 'the dog', where the definite article is of the form *PE-* as is the rule when two consecutive syngraphemes follow,¹ indicate that *OU* has syngraphemic function here.

A and *E* are found in all environments. They are always in opposition.

The supralinear stroke is found followed by a syngrapheme from the Blemnar-group. It is always in opposition to *A*. When the following Blemnar syngrapheme is in final position or is immediately followed by a syngrapheme, *E* and $\bar{}$ are facultative variants.² The supralinear stroke is more common.³ Examples:

$\bar{\pi}$ - or $\epsilon\pi$ - 'bring'
 $\bar{\mu}\tau\omicron\pi$ or $\epsilon\mu\tau\omicron\pi$ 'be at rest'
 $\bar{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ or $\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ 'seed'

Followed by a Blemnar syngrapheme that is immediately followed by a syllable nucleus (automatic or not), *E* and $\bar{}$ are in opposition in a few microunits, facultative variants in others, e.g.

$\epsilon \neq \bar{}$: $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ - 'stone', $\bar{\eta}\eta\epsilon$ -⁴ (verbal prefix neg. fut. III)
 $\epsilon = \bar{}$: $\epsilon\rho\omicron$ or $\bar{\rho}\rho\omicron$ 'king'.

The supralinear stroke is also found followed by a non-Blemnar syngrapheme in final position. In this case the supralinear stroke is a variant of zero, e.g. \bar{F} - or *F*- 'he' (pres. I), which is different from *EF*- 'press' (v).⁵

¹ STEINDORFF § 137.

² See also KAHLE pp. 52 f.

³ A microunit never commences with BC except as a free variant of \bar{BC} , so $\bar{}$ is not in opposition to zero. It may therefore be considered to be an automatic syllable nucleus (so KNUDSEN § 4.3). This solution has the advantage of eliminating the distributional restriction on the Blemnar syngraphemes, viz. that they do not occur initially followed by C. A disadvantage of the solution is that it imposes a restriction upon $\bar{}$, and consequently also upon its facultative variant *E*, viz. that it does not occur initially followed by BC, thus leaving *A* as the only graph-type class in this environment, a situation unparalleled in Saidic.

⁴ A Blemnar syngrapheme is automatically doubled, when preceded by an initial $\bar{}$ of a secondary syllable and followed by any syllable nucleus, or preceded by medial $\bar{}$ of a secondary syllable and followed by a non-automatic syllable nucleus. This doubling is non-graphemic. (Cf. § 4.2.1 note 2.)

⁵ Cf. STEINDORFF § 46:1.

Minimal pairs exemplifying the cases in which $E = -$ or only E occurs (i.e. preceding V, S, B|, BC):

$\Delta \neq \epsilon / -$:	$\Delta \epsilon$ - 'meat'	$\epsilon \epsilon$ - 'press'
	$\Delta \pi$ - 'we' (perf. I)	$\bar{\pi} / \epsilon \pi$ - 'bring'

Minimal pairs exemplifying the cases in which $E \neq -$ (i.e. preceding BV or BV):

$\Delta \neq \epsilon$:	$\Delta \mu \acute{\epsilon}$ 'herd'	$\epsilon \mu \acute{\epsilon}$ 'hoe'
$\Delta \neq -$:	$\Delta \pi \bar{\epsilon}$ - 'I'	$\bar{\pi} \pi \epsilon \kappa$ - 'thou' (neg. fut. III)
$\epsilon \neq -$:	$\epsilon \pi \epsilon$ - 'stone'	$\bar{\pi} \pi \epsilon$ - (verbal prefix neg. fut. III)

Medial Position Except in the Last Syllable of Polysyllabic Microunits

6.2.2. I/EI and OU are found preceding a single syngrapheme in final position or followed by a syllable nucleus (automatic or not), but they are not found preceding two consecutive syngraphemes.¹ A and E are found in all environments.² The four graph-type classes A , E , I/EI and OU are always in opposition to the extent that they occur in the same environment. Commutation list:

$\Sigma \Delta \tau$ - 'speaking' (pc), $\Sigma \epsilon \tau$ - 'pierce', $\Sigma \pi \tau$ - 'olive', $\Sigma \omicron \tau$ - 'twenty'.

The supralinear stroke is found in all environments where a syngrapheme follows. When this syngrapheme belongs to the Blemnar-group and is followed by a non-automatic syllable nucleus, E and $-$ are in opposition in a few cases, facultative variants in others, e.g.

$\epsilon \neq -$:	$\tau \epsilon \acute{\epsilon} \epsilon$ - 'repay'	$\tau \bar{\epsilon} \acute{\epsilon} \epsilon$ - 'purify'
$\epsilon = -$:	$\pi \epsilon \pi \epsilon$ - or $\pi \bar{\pi} \pi \epsilon$ - 'turn'	

In all other cases E and $-$ are facultative variants with a tendency towards complementary distribution: preceding a Blemnar syngrapheme immediately followed by a syngrapheme, E is the more common variant; preceding a Blemnar syngrapheme in final position or followed by an automatic syllable nucleus, E and $-$ are about equally common; preceding a non-Blemnar syngrapheme³ the supralinear stroke is more common;⁴ e.g.

¹ Disregarding a few rather doubtful forms where initial $K'IN-$ is not with certainty to be interpreted as a separate microunit.

² The position immediately preceding V is disregarded, because the material is too scanty.

³ For the extra N in the syllable $M\bar{N}T$, cf. § 5.2.2. note 1.

⁴ See STEINDORFF § 68:4-5; POLOTSKY, *Zur koptischen Lautlehre* II, p. 129. Cf. KAHLÉ pp. 52 f.

сĕ̄тє-	or	сєĕ̄тє-	'prepare'
т̄м-	or	тєм-	'shut'
п̄р̄к-	or	пєр̄к-	'pluck'
с̄п-	or	сєп-	'dip'
с̄н̄с-	or	сєн̄с-	'entreat'

*Medial Position in the Last Syllable of Polysyllabic Microunits*¹

6.2.3. Only *E* and *-* are found in this position. They are facultative variants. The supralinear stroke is more common.² Examples:

т̄ĕ̄т̄ĕ̄-	or	т̄ĕ̄т̄єĕ̄-	'form' (v)
з̄є̄т̄з̄̄-	or	з̄є̄т̄з̄є̄т̄-	'examine'
з̄є̄т̄̄	or	з̄є̄т̄є̄р̄-	'join'

There is in other words only one graphemic unit in this position. It is only found preceding the final of two or three syngraphemes following the next to last syllable nucleus of a microunit that ends in a syngrapheme. Since it is not in opposition to zero either, this medial nucleus in the last syllable of a polysyllabic microunit without primary syllable is completely automatic, corresponding to the case dealt with in § 5.2.2.

Final Position

6.2.4. *A*, *E*, *I/EI* and *OU* are found in this position. They are in opposition.³ Examples of minimal pairs:

а	≠ е:	ка-	'place' (v)	ке-	'other'
а	≠ <i>ɪ</i> /εɪ:	за-	'under'	зи-	'on'
а	≠ оɔ:	за-	'under'	зоɔ-	'day'
е	≠ <i>ɪ</i> /εɪ:	те-	'land'	†	'give'
е	≠ оɔ:	те-	'land'	тоɔ-	'wind'
<i>ɪ</i> /εɪ	≠ оɔ:	ми-	'I' (neg. perf. I)	миоɔ-	'they' (neg. perf. I)

Syllabic Structure

*Rules*⁴

7.1.1. A microunit contains a certain number of non-automatic syllable nuclei (V). Between two consecutive V there are 0, 1 or 2 syngraphemes (C). Preceding the first V of a microunit there are 0, 1 or 2 C. There is a

¹ Applies in other words only to microunits without primary syllable.

² For the extra *N* in the syllable *MN̄T*, cf. § 5.2.2. note 1.

³ The microunits *A-* (verbal prefix perf. I), *E-* 'to' and *OU-* (indef. art.) constitute a special case; they are at the same time examples of initial and final position.

⁴ Cf. STEINDORFF §§ 62-64; KNUDSEN § 4.1.

restriction: when a microunit commences with CC, the first C cannot be a Blemnar syngrapheme (B); it must belong to the remaining syngraphemes (S).¹ Following the last V of a microunit there are 0, 1, 2 or 3 C. There is a restriction: in a microunit with more than one V but no primary syllable, the last V may not be followed by a single C.² When a microunit ends in CC or CCC there is as a rule an automatic (non-graphemic) syllable nucleus (v) preceding the last C.³

To this must be added microunits that are without primary syllable and consist of a single C, sometimes preceded by v.⁴

7.1.2. The last microunit of a configurative unit contains one primary syllable. If the last V is not in final position, it constitutes the syllable nucleus of the primary syllable, here abbreviated \dot{V} . If the last V is in final position, either this V or the last but one constitutes the primary syllable nucleus.

Formulae

7.2.0. The rules of syllabic structure may be summarized in a formula. Optional elements are written within (); recursive elements, occurring any number of times from zero upwards, are written within []; mutually exclusive elements are written above each other separated by a horizontal line.

7.2.1. If we disregard the non-graphemic automatic syllable nuclei, the microunit containing the primary syllable of any configurative unit may be summarized in the formula:

$$(S)[(C)V(C)](C)\dot{V}(C)(C)\left(\frac{C}{V}\right) \quad (1)$$

and every microunit without primary syllable of any configurative unit in the formula:

$$(S)\left((C)V(C)\left([[(C)V(C)]\frac{CC}{(C)V}]\right)\right) \quad (2)$$

Consequently every configurative unit may be written:

$$\left[(S)\left((C)V(C)\left([[(C)V(C)]\frac{CC}{(C)V}]\right)\right)\right](S)[(C)V(C)](C)\dot{V}(C)(C)\left(\frac{C}{V}\right). \quad (3)$$

¹ If an initial - followed by BC is not interpreted as automatic, cf. § 6.2.1 above (with note 3).

² Since in that case it is interpreted as automatic, § 6.2.3 above.

³ There is no graphic indication of an automatic syllable nucleus when one of the last two C's is *I/EI* or *OU* in syngraphemic function. See KNUDSEN § 4.1.

⁴ See § 6.2.1 above. The spelling is so varied that it is difficult to formulate a rule.

7.2.2. It may be worth mentioning that, if the difference between \acute{V} , V and the non-graphemic v be disregarded and every syllable nucleus be written W , and if we assume that v regularly occurs in every final sequence CC and CCC , formula (1) may be simplified to:

$$(4) (S)[(C)W(C)](C)W(C)$$

and formula (2) to:

$$(5) (S)[(C)W(C)]$$

and formula (3) for the whole configurative unit to:

$$(6) [(S)[(C)W(C)]](C)W(C).$$

Examples

7.3.0. An empty space indicates that no example has been found. A horizontal line is a positive statement that there is no such form in *CRUM*, A Coptic Dictionary.

7.3.1. Microunits containing a primary syllable (formula (1) above).

1. No secondary syllable preceding the primary syllable:

\acute{V}	ει	$C\acute{V}$	κω	$SC\acute{V}$	ζμε
$\acute{V}C$	αϣ	$C\acute{V}C$	ἔωλ	$SC\acute{V}C$	ϣμοση
$\acute{V}CC$	ηρπ	$C\acute{V}CC$	εωππ	$SC\acute{V}CC$	εμοπτ
$\acute{V}CCC$	οτηϣ	$C\acute{V}CCC$	εοτηϣ	$SC\acute{V}CCC$	κρομρμ
$\acute{V}V$	—	$C\acute{V}V$	ϣε	$SC\acute{V}V$	ϣτοε
$\acute{V}CV$	ειἔε	$C\acute{V}CV$	λιἔε	$SC\acute{V}CV$	ϣμοσηε
$\acute{V}CCV$	οτηε	$C\acute{V}CCV$	μοστε	$SC\acute{V}CCV$	εμπτε

2. One secondary syllable preceding the primary syllable:

(Only what precedes the primary syllable has been taken into account.)

$V\acute{V}...$	εδοσ	$CV\acute{V}...$	ζαε	$SCV\acute{V}...$	
$VC\acute{V}...$	αποκ	$CV\acute{V}C...$	μεριτ	$SCV\acute{V}C...$	ταδειο
$VCC\acute{V}...$	ετηω	$CVCC\acute{V}...$	ταηρο	$SCVCC\acute{V}...$	ϣτρωρ

There are of course microunits with more than one secondary syllable preceding the primary syllable, but they will not be exemplified here.

7.3.2. Microunits without primary syllable (formula (2) above). All structures given in *CRUM*, A Coptic Dictionary are included.

1. No V :

C ϣ-/ϣ-

2. One V; or two V, the latter of which is in final position:

V	ε-	CV	ϩɪ-	SCV	ɕɪ-
VC	επ-	CVC	ϣεπ-	SCVC	τρεϣ-
VCC	ερπ̄-	CVCC	ϣετ̄μ̄-	SCVCC	ϣ̄ⲁⲓⲧ-
VCCC	π̄τ̄ϣ̄-	CVCCC	ϣ̄ϣ̄ϣ̄-	SCVCCC	ϣ̄τ̄ϣ̄τ̄ϣ̄-
VV	—	CVV	πⲁε-	SCVV	—
VCV	ετε-	CVCV	πεⲭε-	SCVCV	τϣⲁⲕε-
VCCV	ετ̄ⲕε-	CVCCV	μεετε-	SCVCCV	τϣ̄ⲕⲕε-

3. Two non-final V:

VV...	—	CVVCC	ⲕⲁⲁⲙπ̄-	SCVV...	—
VCVCC	ⲁτετ̄π̄-	CVCVCC	ϣⲁτετ̄π̄-	SCVCVCC	τρετετ̄π̄-
VCCVCC	π̄τερ̄ϣ̄-}	CVCCVCC	ϣⲁⲓτετ̄π̄-	SCVCCV...	—
VCCVCV	π̄τερε-				

4. Three non-final V. Only one structure is found:

VCCVCVCC π̄τερετ̄π̄-

Doubling

8.0. The automatic doubling of syngraphemes has been mentioned in § 4.2.1 note 2 and § 6.2.1 note 4, but up to this point only single representatives of the graph-type classes classified as autographemes have been dealt with. It remains to be investigated what position in the structure these graph-type classes occupy when doubled.

Relation to Single Graph-type Classes

8.1.1. Only five of the eight graph-types occur doubled: *A, E, E', O, O'*.¹ In classical Saidic usage the doubling is found only in primary syllables.² In such syllables, double and single representatives of the same graph-type class are generally in opposition, though there are cases of facultative variation too, especially in less "good" texts.³ Examples of minimal pairs:

ⲕⲁⲁϣ	'place her',	ⲕⲁϣ	'bone'
ϣⲱⲱⲛⲉ	'exclude',	ϣⲱⲛⲉ	'be ill'

¹ The exceptions are apparent only, e.g., in *MOUOUT* 'kill', the second *OU* functions as syngrapheme, cf. stat. constr. *MEUT*-; in *HIEIB* 'lamb', the first *I* functions as syngrapheme, cf. the variety *HEIEB* and the fem. *HEIABE*.

² TILL, G § 33. See also STEINDORFF, *Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen*, to p. 111 (by POLOTSKY).

³ TILL, G p. 46 note 4.

Examples of facultative variation:

𐌲𐌳𐌳𐌲𐌸 or 𐌲𐌳𐌲𐌸 'be hard'
𐍂𐍇𐍇𐌺 or 𐍂𐍇𐌺 'leaf'

8.1.2. In less classical usage double *A* and *E* are found also in secondary syllables preceding the primary syllable, but only as a facultative variant of single *A* and *E*,¹ e.g.

𐍚𐍂𐍄- or 𐍚𐍂𐍂𐍄- 'cut'
𐍂𐍂𐍄- or 𐍂𐍂𐍂𐍄- 'defile'

Interpretation

8.2.1. We need now to find an interpretation of the five doubled graph-type classes in primary syllables such that we obtain a simple linguistic description with a few distributional restrictions as possible. To consider them simply as two consecutive realizations of the same graph-type class would, as should be evident from the preceding sections, imply a deviation from the whole structure outlined above and give rise to distributional restrictions of a type unparalleled in Saidic.² To consider the five doubled graph-type classes as five special graphemes would avoid these disadvantages but involve an unnecessary increase in the number of graphemes.

8.2.2. If the distribution of the five doubled graph-type classes is compared with the distribution of the syngraphemes and of those single graph-type classes classified as autographemes, it is evident that the doubled graph-type classes have the sequence $\dot{V}C$ as their closest equivalent. A doubled graph-type class may be preceded by any sequence that may precede a primary syllable nucleus, and it may—as is the case with the sequence $\dot{V}C$ —be followed by zero, $-C$, $-CC$ or $-CV$ but not by $-CCC$ or $-CCV$;³ e.g.

¹ Especially in the verb classes described in STEINDORFF, §§ 235, 238.

² Either e.g. *OO* would be two primary syllables in the same configurative unit, or the first *O* would be a secondary syllable nucleus in opposition to other graph-type classes but with the distributional restriction that it only occurs when the primary syllable has *O* too, there being no syngrapheme inbetween; for *OO* and *E'E'* etc. is found, but no *OE'* or *E'O* etc.

³ Disregarding the peculiar forms *BAAMPE* 'goat' (trisyllabic?, cf. Bohairic *BAĒMPI*), *K'ROOMPE* 'dove' (both two config. units?) and *ŠAANT* stat. pron. 'nose' (graphic contamination of the varieties *ŠAAT* and *ŠANT*?). See also Fecht §§ 146–154 with notes.

—	ωω	'conceive'
—C	μααα	'thirty'
—CC	τοοτῑ	'his hand'
—CV	μνννϥ	'multitude'.

If a doubled graph-type class is interpreted as a sequence $\acute{V}C$,¹ the number of graphemes is increased by only one unit, the C indicated by the doubling. The distributional restrictions are not significant: the C in question is only found after \acute{V} and is not found immediately followed by final -V, although other sequences $\acute{V}C$ are,² and the graph-type classes *I/EI* and *OU* are not found preceding this C. A further advantage of this interpretation is that the morphology is simpler than would be the case were other interpretations to be adopted.³

8.2.3. With the help of minimal pairs of the type $\acute{S}OOP$ 'exist'— $\acute{S}OR\bar{P}$ 'first' it may be demonstrated that the element functioning as a syngrapheme, indicated by the doubling of the graph of a primary syllable nucleus, is a syngrapheme in opposition to the 16 syngraphemes mentioned in § 3.0 above. The phonetic counterpart is supposed to have been a glottal stop,⁴ so the grapheme may suitably be symbolized $\langle P \rangle$.

The Graph-type Classes in Opposition Preceding $\langle P \rangle$

8.3. The five graph-type classes *A*, *E*, *E'*, *O*, *O'* that occur as primary syllable nuclei followed by $\langle P \rangle$ are all in opposition. Examples of minimal pairs for the ten oppositions:

α ≠ ε	ϣααρε	'smite'	ϣεερε	'daughter'
α ≠ η	οτααα	'be pure'	οτννν	'priest'
α ≠ ο	αατ	'make me'	οοτ	'snort'
α ≠ ω	λααα	'be bruised'	λωωω	'bruise'
ε ≠ η	ῥεεεε	'pour forth'	τνννε	'finger' (submin.)

¹ TILL, *Altes 'Aleph und 'Ajin*.

² The supposed phonetic background may perhaps provide an explanation. If the C in question corresponded to a glottal stop, and there was an automatic glottal stop preceding every syllable which began with a vowel, the doubling would be superfluous with a V following.

³ E.g. verbs like *SO'O'F* are included in the class 3-lit. of the type *SO'TP*, and *MOONE* in the class IV inf. of the type *MOSTE* (cf. STEINDORFF §§ 233, 238, 270); the morphographemic changes of the suffix pronouns become simpler; see TILL, *Altes 'Aleph und 'Ajin* p. 191.

⁴ VERGOTE pp. 89 ff.; TILL, *G* § 33.

ε ≠ ο	εετ	'be pregnant'	οοτ	'snort'
ε ≠ ω	εεεεε	'pour forth'	εωωεε	'bad'
η ≠ ο	τηηεε	'finger'	τοοεε	'be sealed'
η ≠ ω	τηηεε	'finger'	τωωεε	'seal' (v)
ο ≠ ω	εεοοο	'garment'	εεωωω	'garments'

The Autographemic System

9.1. The results of the paragraphs 4-6 and 8.3 may be summarized in tabular form as follows:

Graph-type classes in opposition

In primary syllables

In final position	<i>A</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>E'</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>O'</i>	<i>I/EI</i>	<i>OU</i>
Preceding non-final B		-/E	<i>E'</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>O'</i>	<i>I/EI</i>	<i>OU</i>
Preceding B , S except <H, P>	<i>A</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>E'</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>O'</i>	<i>I/EI</i>	<i>OU</i>
Preceding <H>	<i>A</i>	<i>E/E'</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>O'</i>	<i>I/EI</i>	<i>OU</i>	
Preceding <P>	<i>A</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>E'</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>O'</i>		

In secondary syllables after primary syllables

In final position	<i>E</i>	<i>OU</i>
Preceding C	autom. syll. nucleus	

In secondary syllables preceding primary syllables

In final position	<i>A</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>I/EI</i>	<i>OU</i>
In medial position except in last syllable of polysyllabic microunits:				
Preceding BV	<i>A - E</i>	<i>I/EI</i>	<i>OU</i>	
Preceding SV, C , C(v)C	<i>A -/E</i>	<i>I/EI</i>	<i>OU</i>	
Preceding CCV, CC(v)C	<i>A -/E</i>			

In medial position in last syllable of polysyllabic microunits:

Preceding C	autom. syll. nucleus
-------------	----------------------

In initial position:

Preceding BV, B(v)C	<i>A - E</i>
Preceding B , BCV, BC(v)C	<i>A -/E</i>
Preceding S	<i>A E</i>

9.2. It is evident from the table that the eight graph-type classes classified as autographemes are all in opposition. The maximum number

in opposition in the same environment is seven, viz. all except the supra-linear stroke. One might envisage the possibility of identifying the latter with some one of the remaining seven graph-type classes,¹ but this is not possible, because it is in opposition to each of the remaining seven in at least one environment.

The eight graph-type classes thus constitute the autographeme inventory of Saidic: $\langle A, E, E', I, O, OU, O', - \rangle$. The autographeme $\langle I \rangle$ has two allographs, I and EI . It should be noted that the functional load of the opposition $\langle E \rangle \neq \langle - \rangle$ is very small within the microunits. If the boundaries of the microunits are disregarded, this opposition is more common, e.g.

ⲡⲧⲙⲉ 'the villages', ⲉⲡⲧⲙⲉ 'to the villages'

9.3. Although the number of autographemes is eight, the maximal autographemic system, which is the ordinary system of primary syllables, consists of seven graphemes, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph. In two cases there are neutralizations leading to a system of six units, and preceding $\langle P \rangle$ we find a five-unit system due to the absence of $\langle I \rangle$ and $\langle OU \rangle$. A five-unit system is also found in secondary syllables preceding the primary syllable, as a maximal system. The two features neutralization of the opposition between $\langle E \rangle$ and $\langle - \rangle$ (or absence of the latter) and absence of $\langle I \rangle$ and $\langle OU \rangle$ lead to more common systems with four, three and two units in opposition. A minimal autographemic system with two units is likewise the only system in secondary syllables following a primary syllable.

The Graphemic System and the Phonemic System

10.1. We may take as our point of departure the assumption that a spoken language, for which an alphabetical writing system is introduced for the first time, is essentially spelled phonemically, i.e. every grapheme corresponds to one phoneme.² Phenomena that are not in accordance with this assumption are to be regarded as deviations in need of explanation.

When, as in the case of Coptic, the writing system has been borrowed from another language, there may be inconsistencies that have developed in the source language in the course of time and which are then borrowed

¹ Cf. HARRIS § 7.41.

² HOCKETT, Course § 62.4.

together with the alphabet.¹ E.g. the Greek sequence *ou* corresponded to a unit phoneme /u/ and has thus become a unit grapheme in Coptic, and *ι* and *ε* were counterparts to one Greek phoneme /i/ and consequently have become mere allographs of one grapheme in Coptic.

Inconsistencies may also arise from bad fit between the phonemic systems of the two languages. The graphemes of the source language may at certain points be too many, at other points too few. This may result in allographs in the borrowing language, as when Greek *κ*, the counterpart of /k/, and *γ*, the counterpart of /g/, become allographs of one Coptic grapheme, or in absence of counterparts to some phonemes, this lack being sometimes remedied by other means, like inventing new signs or borrowing from other sources.²

It should be noted that neither phonemes with no graphemic counterparts nor distinctions between several phonemes with the same graphemic counterpart can be discovered by synchronic analysis of the distribution of graphemes alone.³ In this respect we may say that the phonemic analysis has already been carried out by the Copts, when they adapted the Greek alphabet to their language, and we are not always in a position to improve it.⁴

10.2. The phonetic realization of the phonemes of a dead language can never be determined with accuracy. The phonetic values that may be arrived at are often only relative, e.g. the realization of Greek /ε/ had more in common with Latin /e/ than with Latin /a/; Greek /α/ was more open than Greek /ε/. The phonetic values are always approximative; we are ignorant of the exact pronunciation of both Latin /a/ and /e/ and Greek /α/ and /ε/.⁵ When phonetic notation is used in the following pages, it should accordingly be taken as an indication of very approximative or relative values, not as an attempt to reconstruct the Saidic pronunciation, this not being my aim.

¹ BLOOMFIELD § 17.6; HOENIGSWALD § 2.3.

² SAUSSURE p. 49; BLOOMFIELD § 17.6; HOENIGSWALD § 2.3.

³ DIDERICHSEN, *Probleme der altdänischen Orthographie* p. 136; HOENIGSWALD § 2.2. Cf. HOCKETT, *The Stressed Syllabics* p. 580.

⁴ HOCKETT, *Manual* § 3.0; POLOTSKY, Till, Walter C. *Koptische Grammatik*. Bespr. p. 221.

⁵ Loc. cit.; KNUDSEN § 3.5; cf. STURTEVANT § 15.

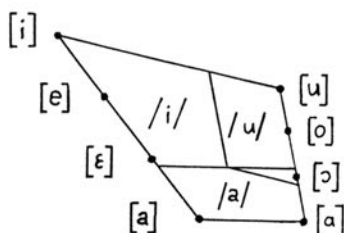


Fig. 3. (To § 12.1.)

The Greek Alphabet

11.0. It is reasonable to assume that, when Saidic spelling was fixed in the third century A.D.,¹ the Copts selected for every Saidic phoneme the Greek grapheme that corresponded to the nearest Greek phoneme. Then the phonetic values of the Greek autographemes at this period should give at least an approximate idea of the contemporary phonetic values of the Coptic autographemes.

11.1. The Greek vowel system² of the period looked like this:³

$$\begin{array}{ccc} /i/ & /y/ & /u/ \\ /e/ & & /o/ \\ & /a/ & \end{array}$$

There were no quantitative distinctions. As regards Greek, however, it is not in the first place the phonemics but the phonetic counterparts of the graphemes which interest us here. They may be summarized thus:

ι and ει were [i];

η was also [i] in the vernacular in many areas, but a standard pronunciation [e] persisted at the same time. It is possible that the standard pronunciation of η was closer than the pronunciation of ε and αι, so that we must still reckon with two distinct phonemes, /e/ written η, and /ε/ written ε or αι, in the standard usage, these phonemes having changed places, so to speak, with regard to quality, since the classical era.

ε and αι were [e] or perhaps better [ε].

α was [a].

ο and ω were [o].

ου was [u].

¹ TILL, G § 3.

² For Greek phonetics and phonemics, see BRANDENSTEIN pp. 38-40, 72, 74; STURTEVANT §§ 16, 17, 28, 30, 31, 42, 45, 49, 52; LEJEUNE §§ 198, 214, 215, 225, 226; MAYSER pp. 80, 85, 139; BLASS p. 35; DEBRUNNER §§ 161, 165.

³ See also HOCKETT, Manual pp. 86 f.

11.2. According to the Greek values, we may expect the phonetic counterparts of the Saidic autographemes to lie in the neighbourhood of the following values:

⟨I⟩	[i]	⟨O⟩	[o]
⟨E'⟩	[i] or [e]	⟨O'⟩	[o]
⟨E⟩	[e] – [ɛ]	⟨OU⟩	[u]
⟨A⟩	[a]	⟨-⟩	not borrowed from Greek

Transcriptions of Arabic Words

12.0. In “Coptic Sounds”¹ WORRELL analyses Arabic words transcribed into Coptic letters from a medical text found in Mashāyikh near Girga and published by CHASSINAT.² The text is written in Saidic and dated to the ninth or tenth century. The Arabic words seem to be transcribed according to their pronunciation rather than transliterated.³

The Arabic Vowels

12.1. The phonemic system and phonetic character of Arabic in the ninth and tenth centuries were probably closer to classical Arabic than to the colloquial Arabic spoken in modern Egypt. HARRIS BIRKELAND has divided the development of the latter into five stages.⁴ Since stage III cannot have been reached before the 14th century,⁵ the Arabic of CHASSINAT’s text must be assigned to stage I or II.

The vowel system was the same as in classical Arabic:

Short:	/i/	/u/	Long:	/ī/	/ū/
	/a/			/ā/	

(The development /ay/ > /ē/ and /aw/ > /ō/ had not yet taken place.⁶) The range of allophonic variation was wide in classical Arabic and still is in the Egyptian vernacular, though the scope of the long vowels is now more limited, because they are members of a five vowel system. With a certain exaggeration the allophones of the short vowels in modern Egyptian Arabic may be represented by dividing up the vowel figure as in fig. 3.

¹ § 12 is based to a large extent on WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds*, Part II, Chapter IV.

² CHASSINAT, *Un papyrus médical copte*.

³ WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds* p. 123.

⁴ BIRKELAND pp. 17–31.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 26.

⁶ WORRELL, *Coptic Sounds* p. 127.

The different allophones of /a/ (long as well as short) were—and still are—particularly clearly distinguished. In classical Arabic they were usually realized as front allophones like [æ], [ɛ]. This phenomenon is called *imāla*. Adjacent to the emphatic consonants, to /q/, /ḥ/, /ğ/ and in certain cases to /r/ and /l/ the *imāla* did not apply and long and short /a/ were represented by back allophones like [ɑ].¹ In modern Egyptian Arabic, /ā/ is usually represented by [æ:] to [æ:], but in the neighbourhood of emphatic consonants—including /r/ and /l/ when emphatic—and the rare /q/, /ā/ is represented by the allophone [ɑ:]. The usual allophone of /a/ is [æ] to [æ:], but adjacent to /h/ and /ç/ it is [a], and in the neighbourhood of the emphatics—including /r/ and /l/ when emphatic—and /q/, it is [ɑ].² It is not possible to make use of our information concerning these two stages of Arabic to interpolate the pronunciation of /a/ and /ā/ at the time of Chassinat's medical text. It can only be said that with a high degree of probability long and short /a/ were in most cases realized as front allophones like [æ]; and in some cases, at all events adjacent to the emphatic consonants and /q/, as back allophones like [ɑ].

Arabic-Coptic Equivalents

12.2. The Saidic autographemes are used in the following way to render the vowels of the Arabic words quoted by WORRELL³ from CHASSINAT's medical text.

⟨I⟩ is used for /ī/ and /i/, e.g. κηριτ for كبريت /kibrīt/.

⟨E'⟩ is used for /ī/, e.g. λαβης for لبیس /labīs/; for /i/, e.g. μηρῆ for ملح /milḥ/; once for /ā/ (front), κοϣητ for كوشاد /kūšād/.

⟨E⟩ is used for /ā/ (front), e.g. μαμιθα for ماميثا /māmīṭā/; for /a/ (front), e.g. βασα for بسد /basad/; once for /i/, ελθιτ for حليت /hiltīt/ (in this environment /i/ is realized as [ɛ] in modern Egyptian Arabic);⁴ once for zero, χωκελ for كحل /kuḥl/.

⟨A⟩ is used for /ā/ (front and back), e.g. νοϣατῖρ for نوشادر /nūšā-dir/, αρακι for عراقي /arāqī/; for /a/ (front and back), e.g. αλχαμμον for الكمون /alkammūn/, σαντελ for صندل /ṣandal/.

¹ For classical Arabic, see CANTINEAU pp. 96–99, 110–112.

² For modern Egyptian Arabic, see HARRELL pp. 45–72.

³ WORRELL, Coptic Sounds pp. 125–126, 129–131.

⁴ HARRELL § 7.2.1:A.3.

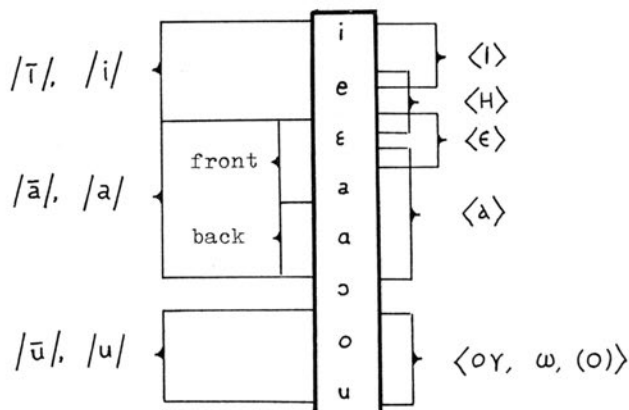


Fig. 4. (To § 12.3.2.)

<O> is only used once; it renders /u/ in $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\theta$ for قلة /qulla(t)/. (In this environment /u/ is realized as [o] in modern Egyptian Arabic.¹)

<O'> is used for /ū/, e.g. $\alpha\eta\alpha\rho\omega\theta$ for عنزروت /'anzarūt/; for /u/, e.g. $\mu\omega\rho$ for مر /murr/.

<OU> too is used for /ū/, e.g. $\theta\theta\theta\theta\iota\alpha$ for توتيا /tūtiyā/; for /u/, e.g. $\varsigma\omicron\mu\theta\iota\alpha$ for سنبل /sunbul/.

<-> is used for zero between the two last consonants of a word, e.g. $\mu\eta\rho\bar{\epsilon}$ for ملح /milh/; for /i/ in the corresponding position, e.g. $\kappa\omicron\tau\upsilon\alpha\tau\bar{\rho}$ for نوشادر /nūšādīr/; once for /i/ in another position, $\epsilon\pi\tau\iota$ for هندی /hindī/.

Conclusions

12.3.1. It appears from the Arabic-Coptic transcriptions that the phonemically relevant difference between the Saidic graphophonemes² was in the ninth or tenth century a difference of quality, not of quantity. Saidic <I> and <E'> are used for Arabic /i/ as well as /ī/, <E> and <A> for /a/ as well as /ā/, <O'> and <OU> for /u/ as well as /ū/.

¹ Op. cit. § 7.4.3:1.

² "[...] the concept graphophoneme is defined as the class of phonemes (and, when applicable, sequences of phonemes) that corresponds to a grapheme. [...] as a symbol for graphophonemic notation [I suggest] /< >/'." ALLÉN, *Grafematisk analys* p. 157, cf. pp. 38–40.

12.3.2. In figure 4 is a schematic summary of how the Arabic vowels are rendered by the Saidic autographemes. The placing of the cardinal vowels in the central column is of course very approximative. It should also be noted that the figure does not give the phonetic or the Arabic equivalents of the Saidic graphophonemes, but only within what regions the different Saidic graphemes were considered by the Copts themselves to be the nearest equivalents of the Arabic sounds. What can be read from the figure is in other words the relative order of the Saidic graphophonemes and within what limits their phonetic realization must be looked for.

12.3.3. In regard to <O>, CHASSINAT's text is rather inconclusive. In only one instance has <O> been considered appropriate for rendering Arabic /u/. In the remaining cases, Arabic /u/ has been rendered by <O'> or <OU>. It is obvious that the phonetic realization of the graphophoneme <O> did not correspond very well with the realization of any Arabic vowel phoneme. A possible explanation is that the realization of <O> was situated between Arabic /a/ and /u/, i.e. something like [ɔ]. This placing of <O> between <A> and <OU>, <O'> is corroborated to a certain extent in Coptic loan-words in modern Egyptian Arabic.¹

<A> > /ā/ and /a/, e.g. ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ 'oasis' > واحة /wāḥa/ 'oasis'.

<OU>, <O'> > /ū/ (or /ō/) and /u/, e.g. ⲛⲉⲕⲣⲟⲩⲡ 'the frog' > بقور /ba'rūr/ 'frog', ⲉⲁⲗⲱⲙ 'cheese' > حلوم /ḥalūm/ '(a kind of) cheese'.

<O> > /ū/ (or /ō/) and /u/ in some words, but in others <O> > /ā/ and /a/, e.g. ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲩⲉ 'suppurate' (?) > نوشه /nōša/ 'fever, typhoid', ⲛⲟⲩ 'large' > نوش /nūš/ or /nōš/ 'something very large', but ⲩⲟⲩⲩ 'border' > طاش /tāš/ 'border', ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲛⲉ 'an ephah' > وبة /wayba/ > /wēba/ 'dry measure = 33 litres'.

This vacillation between a- and u-phonemes in the identification of the Saidic graphophoneme <O> renders an intermediate position rather probable. It is improbable that <O> was realized as an essentially different kind of vocoid, say [ø] or [u], since after all it is once used to transcribe Arabic /u/ in CHASSINAT's text.

12.3.4. As we have seen, in Saidic the supralinear stroke is in most cases a mere variant of <E>. Only in certain environments are <-> and <E> in opposition (§§ 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 above). In the transcriptions from CHASSINAT's text quoted by WORRELL the supralinear stroke only occurs

¹ The examples are from WORRELL-VYCICHL, *Popular Traditions* pp. 329-342.

in the kind of positions where it is a common variant of $\langle E \rangle$ in Saidic. It appears in fact that $\langle - \rangle$ in the transcriptions from Arabic is not found in environments where $\langle E \rangle$ is not used too. The medical text of CHASSINAT is in other words rather inconclusive as far as $|\langle - \rangle|$ as a separate graphophoneme is concerned.¹

The Phonemic System

Relative Positions of the Phonemes

13.1. According to the Greek evidence (§ 11.2 above) the graphophonemes $|\langle I \rangle|$, $|\langle E \rangle|$, $|\langle A \rangle|$, $|\langle O' \rangle|$, $|\langle OU \rangle|$ follow in that order (from close front, via open, to close back vowels). $|\langle O \rangle|$ is adjacent to $|\langle O' \rangle|$, $|\langle E' \rangle|$ is adjacent to $|\langle I \rangle|$ or to $|\langle E \rangle|$. According to the Arabic evidence the order is $|\langle I \rangle|$, $|\langle E' \rangle|$, $|\langle E \rangle|$, $|\langle A \rangle|$, $|\langle O' \rangle|$. $|\langle OU \rangle|$ is adjacent to $|\langle O' \rangle|$. $|\langle O \rangle|$ is probably between $|\langle A \rangle|$ on the one side and $|\langle O' \rangle|$ – $|\langle OU \rangle|$ on the other.

This leads us to arrange these seven graphophonemes in the order given in the following table,² where the Greek phonetic values and the probable phonetic values of the Saidic graphophonemes according to the transcriptions of Arabic words have also been included, together with suggested phonemic symbols.

<i>Graphophonemes:</i>	<i>Greek values:</i>	<i>Arabic evidence:</i>	<i>Phonemes:</i>
$ \langle I \rangle $	[i]	[i] – [e]	/i/
$ \langle E' \rangle $	[i], [e]	[e] – [ɛ]	/e/
$ \langle E \rangle $	[e] – [ɛ]	[ɛ] – [æ]	/ɛ/
$ \langle A \rangle $	[a]	[æ] – [ɑ]	/a/
$ \langle O \rangle $	[o]	[ɑ] – [o] (?)	/ɔ/
$ \langle O' \rangle $	[o]	[o] – [u]	/o/
$ \langle OU \rangle $	[u]	[o] – [u]	/u/

¹ The same seems to be true of loan-words in modern Egyptian Arabic. I cannot find any difference in the treatment of $|\langle E \rangle|$ and $|\langle - \rangle|$ in the items listed in WORRELL-VYCICHŁ, *Popular Traditions*. They both become /a/ and /i/.

² This argumentation presupposes that among these seven Saidic vowels there were no central vowels, no rounded front vowels and no unrounded back vowels. There is no evidence that there were such vowels, and, furthermore, with the exception of $|\langle O \rangle|$, the transcriptions of Arabic words make it probable that there were not.

The Phonemes in Primary Syllables

13.2.1. As we have seen, it appears from the medical text of CHASSINAT that the Saidic autographemes in the ninth or tenth century did not correspond to graphophonemes differentiated by the presence or absence of phonemic vowel length. Furthermore <E> and <O> in all probability corresponded to vowels that were more open than <E'> and <O'>. It is reasonable to assume that the vowels in primary syllables may be arranged as a simple two-dimensional system with the axes open—close and front—back:

/i/	/u/
/e/	/o/
/ɛ/	/ɔ/
/a/	

13.2.2. This does not necessarily mean that there was no phonemically relevant vowel length at the period when the Saidic spelling was being established. There is, however, an indication that /<E>/ was more open than /<E'>/ (and consequently in all probability /<O>/ more open than /<O'>/) even as early as in classical Saidic, viz. the tendency to write <E> in place of <E'> preceding <H>, e.g. *MEH* for *ME'H* 'be full'.¹ There is, on the other hand, no indication of a phonemically distinctive difference in vowel length.² Furthermore, if there was a difference of length as well as opening, the most natural interpretation would be to consider vowel quality as phonemic and length as non-phonemic. This results in a more symmetrical vowel system with fewer distributional restrictions,³ which

¹ Examples like *O'NAH* for *O'NEH* 'live' prove that assimilation of a vowel to a following /h/ results in a more open vowel (§ 5.2.1 above). In Bohairic it is still more obvious that /<E>/ and /<O>/ were more open than /<E'>/ and /<O'>/. See WORRELL-VYCICHŁ, *Popular Traditions* p. 314; VYCICHŁ, *Zur Phonetik des Boheirisch-Koptischen*; cf. TILL, D §§ 28, 33, 39.

² Primary syllables containing one of the graphophonemes /<I, E', O', OU>/ seem to have developed from Egyptian open syllables, primary syllables containing one of the graphophonemes /<E, A, O>/ from closed syllables (cf. TILL, G §§ 48–61). If there was a difference in quantity or quality between the Egyptian vowels in open and closed syllables, that difference was consequently phonemically redundant (KNUDSEN § 4.2). When the Egyptian syllable structure subsequently changed, the allophones became different phonemes by secondary split (BORGSTRØM p. 128 HOENIGSWALD § 9.2). A difference of opening may then have become phonemic, as well as a difference of duration. For a different view, see KNUDSEN §§ 2 and 4.2.

³ KNUDSEN (§ 4.2) accepts the traditional view of the quality of Coptic vowels and, by postulating a special length phoneme, which reduces the total number of phonemes by one at the cost of considerable restrictions in the distribution of the

has also the advantage of being found in several living languages, such as Italian.¹

13.2.3. In the environments where there are fewer autographemes in opposition, we have to reckon with the corresponding reductions in the phonemic system. Preceding a non-final member of the Blemnar-group we thus find this system:²

	/i/	/u/
	/e/	/o/
	/ɛ/	/ɔ/
Preceding /ʔ/: ³		
	/e/	/o/
	/ɛ/	/ɔ/
	/a/	

The Phonemes in Secondary Syllables

13.3.0. In secondary syllables we meet with vowel systems with fewer units than in primary syllables. The identification of the units in the smaller and the larger systems has already been accomplished by the Copts themselves. Since we do not have access to the living language, we cannot form our own opinion as to what phonemes are lacking in a smaller system, or between what phonemes there is neutralization, but we have to accept the phonemic analysis by the Copts.⁴

13.3.1. The vowel system in secondary syllables after primary ones is reduced to a two-vowel system, provided that /<OU>/ is considered a vowel in this position:⁵

/ɛ/	/u/
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vowel phonemes and the length phoneme, arrives at a rather unsymmetrical system for primary syllables, with four short vowels and four non-corresponding long vowels:

Short:	/e/	/ə/	/o/	Long:	/i:/	/u:/
		/a/			/ɛ:/	/ɔ:/

Even in primary syllables KNUDSEN (§ 4.5) considers *E*, /e/, as phonemically distinct from *ə*, /ə/.

¹ HOCKETT, Manual § 2443. The first to my knowledge to doubt the traditional conception of a difference of quantity between *E*, *O* and *E'*, *O'* was VYČIČL, cited by WORRELL in *Popular Traditions* (AJSL 54, 1937); cf. VYČIČL, *Zur Phonetik des Boheirisch-Koptischen*.

² Cf. HOCKETT, Manual § 2442 (p. 86).

³ Op. cit. § 2442 (p. 85).

⁴ Op. cit. § 30 (p. 144).

⁵ Cf. § 5.1 above (with notes 1, 2).

13.3.2. In secondary syllables preceding the primary syllable we find /<>/ as a separate phoneme. The sources used have proved to be rather inconclusive with regard to its position in the phonemic system (§ 12.3.4 above).

An animated discussion has been carried on concerning the nature of the supralinear stroke, especially from a phonetic point of view. It has been considered to represent a vowel, possibly a central vowel [ə] or [i] (TILL), or an indication of the syllabic function of a consonant (WOREL).¹

In this connection it is not the phonetic realization that is of primary interest, but the function. POLOTSKY has put forward the opinion that the supralinear stroke does not correspond to any segmental phoneme but indicates the existence of a syllable. The phonetic realization may have been the syllabic function of a consonant in some cases, in other cases perhaps a nonphonemic vowel sound.² This seems very convincing as far as automatic syllable nuclei (v) are concerned. But it would make the description of the syllable structure more complicated than necessary if no instances of the supralinear stroke were to be considered as indicating a segmental phoneme. As we have seen, the sequence \bar{C} does not always correspond to vC in the syllable structure but sometimes also to VC. In the latter case the stroke is in opposition to other phonemic units.

The functions of the supralinear stroke may be summarized thus:

1. It may indicate an automatic syllable nucleus. Its phonetic realization is left out of consideration here.³
2. The supralinear stroke may indicate a syllable nucleus which is phonemic but which is only an allophone of /ε/. This occurs in primary as well as secondary syllables, usually preceding Blemnar consonants, only seldom preceding other consonants.⁴ The realization may have been the syllabic function of the consonant; there may also have been vocoid variants. In any case the phonetic realization cannot have been too different from the realization as a separate phoneme, since the same grapheme has been used.

¹ Bibliography in TILL, G § 25, note 8. See also KNUDSEN § 3.3.

² POLOTSKY, Till, Walter C. Koptische Grammatik. Bespr. pp. 221–225.

³ Even the position of the automatic syllable nucleus seems to admit of variation. Cf. POLOTSKY, Zur koptischen Lautlehre II. However, this does not affect the phonemic structure of Saidic, since the automatic syllable nucleus is non-phonemic.

⁴ STEINDORFF § 68:4–5; POLOTSKY, Zur koptischen Lautlehre II p. 129, VII–VIII.

3. In some cases the syllable nucleus indicated by the supralinear stroke was in opposition to /ε/. This is only found in secondary syllables preceding the primary syllable, and only preceding Blemnar consonants. In corresponding cases the stroke is not used to transcribe any Arabic vowel in CHASSINAT's text, which points to the realization of the stroke not being the nearest equivalent to any Arabic allophone. It is possible that the supralinear stroke in this case was realized exclusively as the syllabic function of the consonant.¹

If we accept the view that the supralinear stroke was realized as a central vowel—at least as a variant of the syllabic function of the consonant—and symbolize it by /ə/, the rather uncommon maximal system in secondary syllables preceding the primary syllable appears to be rather unsymmetrical:²

/i/	/u/
/ε/	/ə/
	/a/

The more common system with the opposition between /ε/ and /ə/ neutralized is more symmetrical:³

/i/	/u/
	/ε, ə/
	/a/

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¹ Cf. KNUDSEN (§§ 3.3, 3.5, 4.4, 4.5), who considers the supralinear stroke and /<E>/ to be different phonemes in primary syllables but not in any environment in secondary syllables. Instead he introduces a juncture phoneme that apparently does not, however, eliminate all cases of opposition between /<E>/ and the stroke (cf. § 6.2.2 above).

² Like the Oneida system minus a vowel, see HOCKETT, *Manual* p. 86.

³ Op. cit. p. 85.

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OTTO MEINARDUS

**A Critical Study on the Cult of Sitt Dimiana
and her Forty Virgins**

The impetus for this particular study on the most popular Egyptian female saint was given by the publication of *Motu Proprio* "Paschalis Mysteriori" of February 14, 1969, in which H. H. Pope Paul VI approved the new organization of the liturgical year and the new calendar. A significant point of the new calendar was the principle of the selection of those saints who are most important to the universal Church, as the Council ordered, so that other saints were left to a local cultus, whether national, regional, or diocesan.¹

The material of this study is arranged in four chapters: (1) St. Catherine of Alexandria and Sitt Dimiana, (2) A critical examination of the *vita* of Sitt Dimiana, (3) The emergence and the spread of the cult of Sitt Dimiana, and (4) The iconography of Sitt Dimiana.

1. St. Catherine of Alexandria and Sitt Dimiana

At first sight it appears as if the papal approbation has little if any relation to our exclusively Coptic virgin martyr Sitt Dimiana, whose name is neither mentioned in the Catholic, or for that matter Byzantine martyrologies, nor is referred to by the Bollandists. However, among the saints who are removed from the official calendar is St. Catherine of Alexandria, who is venerated by Catholic and Byzantine Christians on November 25. For an appreciation of the relationship of the Alexandrian apologist and virgin-martyr and the Coptic Sitt Dimiana, we shall turn to Mrs. E. L. BUTCHER. While some of her basic assumptions are sadly misleading, she, nevertheless, recognized a certain interrelationship between the two saints.

"At the present time the process of confusion of two saints one with another is going on in Egypt, and it is to be feared that the comparatively modern and doubtful personality will obliterate the other, for everyone

¹ L'Osservatore Romano, May 22, 1969, p. 6.

in the West has heard of St. Catherine of Alexandria, whereas few know the name of Sitt Dimiana, the most widely revered virgin-martyr of Egypt. Her picture is in every church, and there are few members of the Egyptian Church who cannot tell you her history. If St. Catherine existed at all, which is extremely doubtful, she is probably to be identified with Theodora, who was martyred at Alexandria about the date generally ascribed to St. Catherine. It is argued that Theodora before her conversion may have borne the name of Hecaterina, from the goddess Hecate, in which case she would have changed it at baptism. But this is pure assumption, and, so far as can be ascertained, the Egyptian Church never heard of St. Catherine till the Roman Catholics brought fame of her to her supposed native country centuries after her legendary martyrdom."

"When the European tourists came to see the Egyptian churches and asked for the picture of St. Catherine, the dragoman obligingly pointed out the picture of the only great virgin-martyr whom the priests knew anything about, Sitt Dimiana, with her palm-branch in her hands, surrounded by forty nuns. Some time ago, happening to be in one of the principal churches in Cairo, I overheard the priest describe the picture of Dimiana as that of Catherine. 'What made you say that?' I asked him. 'Has not that always been a picture of Sitt Dimiana?' 'What can I say?' answered the priest with a deprecatory gesture. 'Your excellency knows that it is Sitt Dimiana, but the tourists know nothing of Sitt Dimiana, and when I tell them they do not understand. They say that it must be St. Catherine, and what do I know? It may be that Catherine is the English for Dimiana. So I tell them it is St. Catherine, and they are content.' Since then I find that the picture in this church—almost the only one visited by the tourists—is always described as St. Catherine, and only the other day I found in Alexandria a further development. The Roman Catholics have dedicated a church here to their St. Catherine of Alexandria,¹ and the Egyptian Catholics have been made aware of her existence. I went into the only surviving Coptic church there, which has been restored of late years, and found a newly painted picture of Dimiana, represented, not with a palm branch, but with a wheel, in the midst of her forty nuns. The name Dimiana was painted on the picture, and I asked them why they had represented her with a wheel, as if she were

¹ This church was dedicated in 1850 and is maintained to this day by the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. Cf. *Un Seculo di Vita Parrochiale, Santa Caterina in Alessandria d'Egitto*. Alexandria, 1950.

St. Catherine. 'But the Frangis say she *is* St. Catherine' they told me. 'Catherine is the Frangi translation of Dimiana, so we have given Sitt Dimiana a wheel too.'¹

By commenting on Mrs. BUTCHER's statement we may be able to clarify several important points regarding the relationship of these two saints. Mrs. BUTCHER is correct in saying that the apparent confusion of the two virgin-martyrs was accentuated by the increase of Western travellers who were ignorant of Sitt Dimiana. On the other hand, we shall show that the cult of St. Catherine of Alexandria preceded the cult of Sitt Dimiana by approximately four to five hundred years, and Mrs. BUTCHER was ill-informed when she referred to St. Catherine as a "comparatively modern personality".

According to tradition, St. Catherine was a virgin-martyr at Alexandria in the early 4th century, but though she is among the most widely venerated women saints, she is not mentioned before the 10th century. According to the Roman martyrology and Simeon Metaphrastes, St. Catherine was a beautiful maiden of a noble family and of exceptional learning. She defended her Christian Faith in front of fifty pagan philosophers, demolished their arguments, and converted the Roman general and his soldiers who were straightaway beheaded. As a result of her protest against the persecutions of the Christians by Maxentius, she was tied to a spiked wheel; but it fell to pieces while some of the spectators were killed by flying splinters. Finally, St. Catherine was beheaded. From her severed veins there flowed not blood but milk. Her body was said to have been discovered around 800 on Mount Sinai, whither according to her acts it was transported by angels after her death. Another variation of the legend is that in which, having rejected many offers of marriage, she was taken to Heaven in vision and betrothed to Christ by the Virgin Mary. The wheel being her symbol, she is the patron-saint of wheelwrights and mechanics, as well as the tutelary saint of nuns and maidens, and of philosophers.² The doubts of Mrs. BUTCHER regarding the historicity of St. Catherine are well founded, and the new calendar of the Catholic Church has removed the Alexandrian virgin-martyr from

¹ BUTCHER, EDITH LOUISA, *The Story of the Church of Egypt*. London, 1897, vol. 1, pp. 125-128.

² Cf. KUNST, H., *Geschichte der Legende der Hlg. Katherina von Alexandrien und der Hlg. Maria Aegyptiaca*, 1890. PEETERS, PAUL, *Une version arabe de la Passion de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie*, *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVI, 1907, pp. 5-32. VITEAU, J., *Passions des Saints Ecaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie*, 1897.

the list of those saints who are to be universally venerated. On the other hand, her references to St. Theodora of Alexandria are misleading. It is most unlikely that the name Αἰκατερίνη was the native name of this virgin-martyr, who after her conversion to the Christian Faith adopted the name Theodora.¹ Is it conceivable that parents would call their daughter "Hecaterina" from the goddess Hecate, who was a formidable figure associated with uncanny things and the ghost world, a boggy, and connected with sorcery and black magic? Neither do I believe that we can explain the Αἰκατερίνη by the contraction of the words Αἰλάτη and εἰρήνη, the peace of Hecate, as suggested by Mr. E. SIDAWI.² On the contrary, Mr. NICOLAS J. DEBANNE is correct when he states that καθαρένη is the feminine diminutive of the adjective καθάρος, meaning pure, Αἰκατερίνη, therefore, being "the pure young virgin".³

Of course, it is incorrect to say that the Egyptian Church never heard of St. Catherine of Alexandria till the Roman Catholics brought fame of her to her supposed native country. Since the 10th century, the monastery at Sinai was known as the Monastery of St. Catherine; and in addition to Byzantine and Latin pilgrims, we know that monophysite pilgrims, Syrians, Ethiopians and Copts also went to Sinai to venerate the holy relics of St. Catherine. The large number of Arabic graffiti in the Chapel of St. Antony in the Monastery of St. Catherine is ample evidence of pilgrimages of Arabic Christians, presumably Copts.

There is no doubt that the mediaeval Copts were well aware of St. Catherine of Alexandria, and Mrs. BUTCHER is ill-informed when she credits the Catholics with introducing the cult of the Alexandrian virgin-martyr to Egypt. Indeed, it would have been rather the other way around. Already in 1026, the celebrated St. Simeon of Mt. Sinai came to Europe where he was hospitably received by Richard II⁴ in Rouen. Simeon had gone to Europe to collect the annual alms for the monastery, leaving behind some of the distinguished relics of St. Catherine,⁵ and by

¹ The Coptic Church commemorates an ascete named Theodora on the 11th of Barmūdah. She is said to have lived between 295 and 412, and several treatises on spiritual subjects as well as some sayings recorded in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (201) are attributed to her. Reference to her is also made in the *Historia Lausiaca*, XLI, 3.

² SIDAWI, ELIE, Sitti Dimiana, sa légende, son mouled, *Bulletin de la Société Sultanieh de Géographie*, N.S. VIII, 1, 1917, p. 81.

³ SIDAWI, ELIE, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁴ This was the Duke of Normandy (996-1026).

⁵ ROBINSON, EDWARD, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea*. London, 1841, vol. I, p. 180.

the latter part of the 15th century FELIX FABRI¹ had to remark that "so many of the relics of St. Catherine are taken, that only less than half of her sacred body is left".²

2. A Critical Examination of the Vita of Sitt Dimiana

We must now attempt an analytical description of the *vita* of Sitt Dimiana. We shall rely upon the tradition by John, Bishop of Burullus and of al-Za'fâran, according to an Arabic manuscript dated 1482 A.M. or 1776. According to E. SIDAŪI, Anbâ Yuhanna acquired the tradition from a monk of the adjacent monastery of al-Mima (?). This monk carried ancient liturgical books in Arabic and in Coptic, and among these books there was a *vita* of Sitt Dimiana by a certain Christodoulus, a scribe of Julius of Aqfahs. The reference to Julius of Aqfahs is interesting, for it provides the tradition with an alleged contemporary source.³

The following story is based upon two recensions, namely the English translation by IRIS HABIB EL-MASRI⁴ and the translation of the "Maimar ash-Shahîdah Damiânah", edited by GIRGIS FÎLÛTHÂÛS 'AWAD.⁵

Her name is given as Dimiana, the feminine form of Damian, a well-

¹ FELIX FABRI, *The Book of Wanderings*, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, vol. II, p. 586.

² Apart from the numerous relics of St. Catherine of Alexandria in the Western world, her skull and her left hand repose in the Church of the Metamorphosis of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai. A tooth is in the Monastery of Zoodochou Pigis on the Island of Andros and other parts are in the Serbian Monastery of Chilandari, Mount Athos; the Monastery of St. George, Malessina, Lokris; the Monastery of St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria, Vasilika, Salonica; the Church of St. Nicholas, Kato Patesia in Athens; the Monastery of Zerbitsa in Sparta; and the Monastery of St. George of Epanosephe, Monophatsiou, Heraclion, Crete.

³ Julius of Aqfahs, who is commemorated on the 22nd of Tût, is not only credited for his interest in securing the relics of the martyrs, but also for his composition of martyrologies. Towards the end of the Diocletian persecution, Julius inflamed with a desire to follow the martyrs' examples, went to the governor of Samanûd and confessed his faith. His martyrdom is legendary.

⁴ *El-Masri, Iris Habib*, *A Historical Survey of the Convents for Women in Egypt up to the present Day*, Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte, XIV, 1958, pp. 69-71. FARAG, F. R., *Sociological and Moral Studies in the Field of Coptic Monasticism*. Leiden, 1964, pp. 115-116.

⁵ *Girgis Fîlûthâûs 'Awad*, *Maimar ash-Shahîdah Damiânah*, by Anbâ Yûânnis, Bp. of Burullus. Cairo, 1917. Transl. in MEINARDUS, O., *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts*. Cairo, 1961, pp. 337-348.

known name among the Copts.¹ She was the only child of Mark, the governor of Burullus. Her father's name "Mark" infers the idea of a conscious tradition of the importance of the name of the Evangelist among the Egyptians. We must call to mind, however, that early authorities such as Origen and Clement of Alexandria make no reference to St. Mark as the founder of the Church of Alexandria. Eusebius gives it as a general belief that "the same Mark they also say, being the first that was sent to Egypt, proclaimed the Gospel there which he had written, and first established churches at the city of Alexandria"².

The martyrdom of St. Dimiana is placed in the reign of Diocletian and the region of Lower Egypt, where her father served as governor of Burullus. It is well known that the persecutions of Diocletian, actually the accession of the emperor to the imperial throne in 284 A.D. marks the beginning of the Coptic Calendar; and, therefore, we should expect her martyrdom to be placed into this, for the Copts, so significant period. We are informed that both Mark and his wife were converted from paganism and endeavoured to raise their only daughter in the fear of God. She was taught the Holy Scriptures from her earliest years. Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures was an important aspect of holiness among the early Copts, and her exposure to the written Word of God must be interpreted as supporting her upbringing in the fear of God.³ At the age of fifteen she had grown into a very beautiful young woman, and her parents were desirous to have her married to some rich nobleman of her rank. The references to her physical beauty and the encouragement of her parents to marry a wealthy person of rank, of course, increase the moral value of her self-negation and her choice of the ascetic life. As in the case of other *vitae* of virgin-martyrs, her deliberate turning away from the world, from marriage and wealth is the commencement of her martyrdom. She expressed her intention to dedicate her life to Christ to her parents. Whereas we should expect her parents to be either sorrowful or even displeased, they were, in fact, delighted and her father ordered

¹ Damian (22 Hâtur), the brother of Cosmas is one of the unmercenary saints. Damian (29 Masrî) was a martyr in Antioch, and Damian (18 Baûnah) was the thirty-fifth patriarch of the See of Alexandria. It is unlikely that the name is derived from Damia, the goddess of fertility, who was worshipped together with Auxesia in Epidauros, Aegina and Sparta.

² EUSEBIUS PAMPHILIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, xvi.

³ MEINARDUS, O., *Les Saintes Ecritures dans l'Eglise Copte, Bible et vie chrétienne* LXXXII, 1968, pp. 74-86.

his men to build a palace in Za'farân¹ at Wâdî as-Sisban. It is altogether possible that the reference to Za'farân in this particular tradition is related to the Wâdî Za'farân at the Red Sea, which leads to the Monastery of St. Antony. The Shrine of Sitt Dimiana used to belong to the archbishopric of Jerusalem and was administered by monks of the Monastery of St. Antony. It is conceivable, therefore, that these monks transferred the name of their *wâdî* to the site of the martyrdom of Sitt Dimiana. She withdrew to the palace, which her father built for her, and adopted the ascetic and virginal life which the Copts consider morally superior to the state of matrimony. Soon the daughters of other noblemen followed the example of Sitt Dimiana, and she and Forty Virgins served the Lord. The reference to the Forty Virgins is important since until the Middle Ages the Coptic Church was without her own Forty Martyrs. True, the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste are commemorated by the Coptic Church,² but the devotion and the piety to these Anatolian saints has never impressed itself very deeply upon the Copts. The Greek Orthodox monks of the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai venerate their own local Forty Martyrs of Tor,³ and the *hagiologion* of the Greek Orthodox Church includes altogether seven sets of different Forty Martyrs.⁴ Moreover, the Muslims of Lower Egypt venerate the Forty Martyrs who were soldiers in the Arab army of 'Amr ibn al-Âṣ, and who were killed in the course of the Arab Conquest in the 7th century.⁵ Lady DUFF GORDON refers to a tradition in Upper Egypt according to which

¹ The present village of az-Za'farân is situated 20 km west of the Shrine of St. Dimiana.

² The consecration of the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste by St. Basil is commemorated on the 15th of Amshir. Significantly, the only Coptic Church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste is situated in the Monastery of the Syrians in the Wâdî 'n-Natrûn. Undoubtedly this dedication goes back to the Syrian occupancy of the monastery.

³ LEWIS, AGNES SMITH, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai desert*. Cambridge, 1912.

⁴ The Forty Martyrs of Adrianoupolis (Sept. 1), the Forty Martyrs of Egypt and Palestine (Sept. 20), the Forty Children (Oct. 18), the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (March 9), the Forty Martyrs of Anatolia (March 20), the Forty Roman Martyrs (June 16), the Forty Martyrs of Sophianae (Dec. 3).

⁵ In *Orientalia Suecana* vol. XIV, XV (1966), p. 56, I suggested that the Muslims adopted the cult of the Forty Martyrs from the Coptic cult of Sitt Dimiana and her Forty Virgins. In fact, Copts and Muslims alike borrowed the "Forty Martyrs" from the Byzantine tradition.

Forty Virgins resided in Kos, where they spent their life reciting the Qurân.¹

In view of these various heterodox companies of martyrs, it seems understandable that the Coptic Church longed for her own indigenous group of Forty Martyrs. On account of their social rank and moral status, all being virgins, they could even be considered as surpassing the other martyrs in holiness. It is understood that the number 'forty' should not be taken literally. On the contrary, in the Hebrew-Christian tradition this number stands for a mythologically significant, perfect as well as complete quantity.

The element of witness is included in the tradition when at the time of the Diocletian persecution Sitt Dimiana exhorts her father to remain faithful to Christ. Her father, who had surrendered his faith, returned to Christianity and was subsequently beheaded. Some time later, the truth of the story of Sitt Dimiana's intervention was revealed to Diocletian. Hearing of her physical beauty and her religious zeal, the emperor commissioned one of his officers to win her over to the worship of the idols. The officer tried every means to dissuade Sitt Dimiana but his efforts were in vain. She refused to surrender her Christian Faith, and together with the Forty Virgins she suffered martyrdom.

Following the pattern of other 4th century martyrdoms, a large number of witnesses were converted by the steadfastness of the saint,² and four hundred of them joined Sitt Dimiana and the Forty Virgins in their martyrdom.

The holy relics of Sitt Dimiana and her Forty Virgins were piously collected and arranged in the form of a bee-hive. After the persecutions had come to an end, the Emperor Constantine declared Christianity to be the state-religion,³ and the story of the martyrdom of Sitt Dimiana and her Forty Virgins was related to the righteous king. Thereupon, the emperor provided his mother, St. Helena, for the journey to Egypt; and the queen is said to have paid a visit to the site on which the palace stood, which Mark had build for his daughter. True, Byzantine and Western

¹ WATERFIELD, GORDON, *Letters from Egypt by Lady Duff Gordon (1862-1869)*. London, 1969, p. 68.

² MEINARDUS, O., *Mystical Phenomena Among the Copts*, *Ostkirchliche Studien*, XV, 4, 1966, pp. 148-149.

³ Though the edict of toleration (Milan) was issued in 313, motives of political expediency caused Constantine to delay full recognition of Christianity as the religion of the state until he became sole ruler of the empire.

traditions inform us that at an advanced age St. Helena undertook a pilgrimage to Palestine to visit the Holy Places; her subsequent travels to Egypt, however, must be attributed to the realm of local Coptic legends of a rather late date.¹ In this connection, we must remember that according to Coptic tradition the Invention of the Holy Cross was the work of Eudoxia rather than St. Helena.² At any rate, the queen is said to have found the bodies of the martyrs like a swarm of bees and they were not touched by any beast or any bird. The theme of the incorruptibility of the body of a saint by the forces of nature or the beasts of creation again follows the pattern of many 3rd and 4th century martyrdoms. Queen Helena is said to have entered and to have received a blessing from the holy relics, and came to the stairway and went up to the palace where she found the body of Sitt Dimiana sitting upon the throne which she used to occupy when she was in the flesh, and the queen kissed it. The practice of enthroneing saints after their death is of Syrian origin. To this day, the Syrian metropolitans are buried fully robed and seated on the archiepiscopal throne.³ The queen assembled the workmen and architects and demolished the palace and built beneath it a strong vault and placed in it the bodies just as they were in the palace.⁴ Then she shrouded the body of Sitt Dimiana in a very costly shroud, and she made for her a magnificent couch of ivory fashioned with beautiful workmanship, and she placed the body of the saint upon it, and she made for it a curtain of costly silk after the fashion of Constantine, embroidered with Constantine's handwriting in red and gold lettering. The reference to Constantine is of significance for it bestows the imperial stamp of recognition upon the saint and her relics. Then she built above the vault a fine church with one small dome, which the

¹ It is noteworthy that neither the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (333), Eusebius, nor Cyril of Jerusalem seemed to have been aware of the queen's travels.

² Here we have another instance in which the Copts prefer to rely upon the Byzantine tradition rather than on their own. Cf. FROLOW, L., *La Relique de la Vraie Croix. Recherches sur le developpement d'un culte*. Paris, 1961, p. 156. NESTLE, E., *Die Kreuzauffindungslegende*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, IV, 1895, pp. 319-345.

³ In the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem, the deceased metropolitans are lowered into a vault underneath the altar where they sit enthroned until the death of a successor who then occupies the place of honour.

⁴ Following her practice in Jerusalem, the queen demolishes the "old buildings" to safeguard the relics of the True Religion.

father, the Patriarch Alexander (d. 328) consecrated on the 12th of Bashuns.¹

The *vita* and martyrdom of Sitt Dimiana follows in many ways the established pattern of the vast number of Egyptian martyrdoms in so far as the hagiologist has introduced and sufficiently described the necessary personages for a victorious martyrdom. First of all, there are the good and faithful parents who are first generation Christians. Then, there is the virgin-saint who is raised in the new faith and who witnesses fearlessly. She is arrested and instead of submitting to the demands of the evil king, she chooses to suffer the consequences of her refusal. Witnesses assemble and are converted by the faithfulness of the saint. Her martyrdom causes the incorruptibility of her bodily remains, which in turn produce faith in those who behold them. A good king or queen rescues the bodily remains and bestows imperial approval upon *vita* and martyrdom.

3. The Emergence and the Spread of the Cult of Sitt Dimiana

We must now ask the question for the reason of the widespread popularity and the very widespread veneration of Sitt Dimiana and her Forty Virgins among the Copts and Muslims. If we propose that her cult emerged and spread in the 16th or 17th centuries, we must ask for an explanation of this development at this rather late and otherwise unproductive time in the history of the Coptic Church. The fact that neither early nor mediaeval hagiography and art seem to have been aware of Sitt Dimiana or of any other Egyptian female saint,² suggests that at this given period a cultic need pressed for an indigenous virgin-martyr, whose *vita* and *martyrium* could successfully compete with the host of Byzantine and Latin virgin-martyrs. Is it not possible that un-

¹ Visiting the ancient churches and monasteries in the Delta and the Valley of the Nile, one receives a standard reply from the country priests and villagers with respect to the date of construction of the respective sanctuary: "Built by St. Helena!" "The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church" does not mention the consecration of this church by Alexander, which means that at the time of the compilation of "The History of the Patriarchs", the cult of Sitt Dimiana had not been established.

² The majority of the female saints in the Coptic Synaxarium are of non-Egyptian origin. And whereas there are numerous women who entered the ascetic life in the Egyptian deserts under the pretence of being monks and gained holiness, this practice was condemned by the Synod of Gangra in 345 A.D.

pleasant incidents and misunderstandings¹ between the Greek monks and Coptic pilgrims might have led to a temporary prohibition for the Copts to visit the Monastery of St. Catherine? Unable, therefore, to venerate the relics of St. Catherine,² the Copts established their own local cult of a virgin-martyr in competition to that of St. Catherine and encouraged its rapid spread throughout Egypt. The centre of the cult was placed in a region easily accessible to large numbers of pilgrims.³ Moreover, the introduction of apparitions and miracles supported the validity of the cult. From the testimony of the travellers we gather that the new cult depended very heavily upon the manifestations of the miraculous. WANSLEBEN (1672) says that after having for three days carefully watched the apparitions, which are alleged to take place at certain times in one of its chapels, he concluded that they were merely the shadows of passing objects. The chapel receives light through openings in its cupola, and a faint image of any one passing the church at a certain distance opposite these openings is thrown on the wall. If a man on horseback happens to pass, the superstitious congregation beholds its favourite St. George. If a woman passes with a child in her arms, the appearance of the Holy Virgin with Child is greeted.⁴ Also FR. CLAUDE SICARD, who visited the Shrine in 1714, testified to the many miracles associated with the cult.⁵ In May 1863 the Reverend GULIAN LANSING attended the annual pilgrimage at the Shrine of Sitt Dimiana and referred to the "visions of celestial riders that could be seen within its doors";⁶ and S. H. LEEDER referred to Sitt Dimiana for her ability to give fruitfulness

¹ The situation with respect to the privileges for non-Byzantine Christians to worship in the Monastery of St. Catherine was very similar to that in the churches of Jerusalem, which substantiates my assumption of ecclesiastical conflicts between the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian communities in the 15th and 16th centuries.

² Moreover, there exists the practice among Byzantine monks to exhibit their treasures only to members of their own community.

³ The Shrine of Sitt Dimiana is situated north of the town of Bilqas, 22 km from Maṣṣāra in the Nile Delta. The Shrine appears like a large farm and has an outer and an inner court. The southern buildings enclose four churches, while the northern and western buildings are used to accommodate the numerous pilgrims.

⁴ WANSLEBEN, J. M., *Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Egypte en 1672 et 1673*. Paris, 1677.

⁵ SICARD, CLAUDE, *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*. Paris, 1845, vol. III, pp. 204-205.

⁶ LANSING, G., *Egypt's Princes. A Narrative of Missionary Labour in the Valley of the Nile*. Philadelphia, 1864, pp. 376-408.

to barren women or long life to children of a woman who had lost many in infancy.¹

There is further evidence that the cult of Sitt Dimiana did not spread throughout Egypt prior to the 16th or even the beginning of the 17th century. In the account of the churches and monasteries of Egypt by the 13th century topographer Abû'l-Makârim, not a single monastery or church is mentioned which is dedicated to Sitt Dimiana.² Al-Maqrîzî, the 15th century Islamic historian, lists altogether eighty-six monasteries and seventy-two churches in Egypt, though again not a single church or monastery was named after Sitt Dimiana.³ In fact, WANSLEBEN may be one of the first witnesses to a cult in honour of the virgin-martyr when in 1672 he visited the Shrine.

With respect to the Coptic *Synaxarium*, Sitt Dimiana is neither mentioned in the 14th century recension⁴ nor in the 16th century one.⁵ True, the commemoration of her martyrdom on January 21 (Tûbah 13) is referred to in the 1936 edition of the *Synaxarium*. The important feast in honour of this saint, however, is celebrated on May 20 (Bashuns 12), when the consecration of the Church of Sitt Dimiana is commemorated. But again, the mediaeval recensions of the *Synaxarium* omit this commemoration and only the above-mentioned 1936 edition and A. MAI's edition of 1825 include it.⁶

In the last two hundred years the cult of Sitt Dimiana has rapidly spread throughout Egypt as far south as Luxor. This is evident from the numerous churches and altars which are dedicated to the virgin-martyr. In my travels through the Nile Delta and Nile Valley I have come across the following churches bearing the name of Sitt Dimiana although, undoubtedly, there are others which are named after her. There is a new church (1953) in Alexandria; a church in Kafr 'Abd ash-Shahîd, Kafr Sakr; a church in Manşûra; a church in Bûlâq, Cairo; a church in Kôm Bûha, Dairût; a church in Banûb Zahr al-Gamal, Dairût; a church in al-Awâna, al-Badarî, Asyût; a church in Tima; a church in Akhmîm; a

¹ LEEDER, S. H., *Modern Sons of the Pharaohs*. London, 1918, p. 136.

² EVETTS, B. T. A., *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some neighbouring countries attributed to Abû Salih the Armenian*. Oxford, 1895.

³ WÜSTENFELD, F., *Maqrîzî's Geschichte der Copten*. Göttingen, 1845.

⁴ BASSET, R., MS. B, No. 4869-4870, known as the Theban recension, *Patr. Orient.* I, III, XI, XVI, XVII.

⁵ BASSET, R., MS. A, No. 256, *Patr. Orient.* I, III, XI, XVI, XVII.

⁶ MAI, A., *Scriptorum veterum nova collecti*. Rome, 1825.

church in Naqâda. The monastery which used to be known as the Dair Abû Musîs west of al-Balyâna, is nowadays known as the Monastery of Sitt Dimiana. In Jerusalem, the Coptic primary and secondary school for girls is named after Sitt Dimiana.¹

Moreover, in several Coptic churches throughout the Nile Valley one discovers that one of the three, five or seven sanctuaries is dedicated to this saint. This is the case, for example, in the Monastery of St. Mercurius, Tammûah; in the Monastery of the Holy Virgin, Bayad an-Nasara opposite Benî Suef; the upper church at Apa Hor at Sawâda opposite Minya is named after St. Dimiana; so is the northern *haikal* of the Monastery of Naga'a ad-Dair opposite Girga. Moreover, the ancient church in the Monastery of St. Palamon at Qaşr as-Sayâd is dedicated to the virgin-martyr. In the Coptic desert monasteries her influence is negligible with the exception of the Monastery of St. Antony in the Eastern Desert, where one of the sanctuaries in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul is dedicated to Sitt Dimiana.

The relics of Sitt Dimiana are venerated only in her Shrine near Bilqas in the Nile Delta and in the following Coptic Churches in Cairo. In the Church of as-Saydah al-Mu'allaqah, Old Cairo, there is a wooden bolster with some relics on a shelf beneath the icon of Sitt Dimiana and her Forty Virgins on the east wall of the inner court of the Church. In the Church of the Holy Virgin Qaşriat ar-Rihân, Old Cairo, we find that among the five bolsters placed beneath the icon of the Holy Virgin on the south wall of the Church, there is one small bolster with some relics of Sitt Dimiana. In the Church of St. Barbara, Old Cairo, the bolster on the shelf beneath the icon of Sitt Dimiana in the Shrine of St. Barbara contains some relics of the saint. In the Church of the Holy Virgin, Ĥârat Zuwailah, Cairo, there is a shrine with six bolsters, two of which are said to contain relics of Sitt Dimiana; and finally in the Church of the Holy Virgin ad-Darag, Old Cairo, there are two bolsters with relics beneath the icon of the Holy Virgin which are said to belong to Sitt Dimiana.

Since the 17th century the Shrine of Sitt Dimiana in Lower Egypt served as the centre of the cult of the saint, and we can be reasonably certain that a widespread cult did not exist prior to the 17th century. The early cartographers were quite particular and very careful to indicate the monasteries and ecclesiastical centres on their maps, but none

¹ MEINARDUS, O., *The Copts in Jerusalem*. Cairo, 1960, p. 68.

of the 17th century maps show the Shrine of Sitt Dimiana. For that matter, the Shrine of St. Gemiana (*sic*) is first mentioned on the 18th century map of Bourguignon d'Anville of 1765. In the 19th century, we find the site indicated on the maps of John Wallis ("A Map of the Mouths of the Nile with the scene of action in Egypt") and Enouy. Furthermore, if an important Christian pilgrimage centre had existed in the 15th century, we can be assured that such mediaeval pilgrims as Felix Fabri, Breydenbach or Walther would have mentioned it. Their silence can be legitimately interpreted as evidence of the non-existence of the Shrine at their time.

4. The Iconography of Sitt Dimiana

In Coptic art, Sitt Dimiana appears relatively late on 18th and 19th century icons, which, however, are very numerous. As we shall demonstrate, the iconography lacks a standardized and canonical arrangement of Sitt Dimiana and her Forty Virgins as we find it with respect to other objects in early Coptic and Byzantine iconographic art. Thus, for example, the principal icon of Sitt Dimiana in the "old church" of her Shrine in the Nile Delta portrays the Virgin-martyr surrounded by Forty-eight Virgins. Upon inquiry I was told that the artist was interested in the symmetry of the icon and thus just added another eight virgins. Apart from the 20th century mural painting of Sitt Dimiana and her Forty Virgins in the northern aisle of the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Abbassiyah, Cairo, there exists no wall-painting or fresco of the saint, neither ancient nor modern.

Today, many of the more important churches in Cairo and elsewhere have acquired icons of Sitt Dimiana and her Forty Virgins, and although there are some very recent paintings of the saint, most of the icons ought to be assigned to the late 18th or 19th century. In addition to those icons in the churches of the Shrine of Sitt Dimiana near Bilqas, we find the better-known icons of the saint in the following churches: The Church of St. George, Mît Damsîs, Mît Ghamr; the Church of St. Macarius in the Dependency of the Monastery of St. Macarius, Atrîs; the Church of al-Mu'allaqah, Old Cairo; the Churches of the Holy Virgin and St. Theodore, Hârat ar-Rûm, Cairo; the Church of the Holy Virgin, Hârat Zuwailah, Cairo; the Church of St. Menas, Fûm al-Khalîg, Cairo; the Church of St. Shenute, Old Cairo; the Church of St. Mercurius, Old Cairo; the Church of St. Barbara, Old Cairo. A large icon of the saint adorns the iconostasis of the Cathedral of St. Mark in Alexandria.



Fig. 1.

For the purpose of introducing the iconography of Sitt Dimiana, we have selected nine 18th–20th century icons representing Greek-Arabo-phone, Coptic official and Coptic popular art. A closer examination of the icons betrays the distinct individuality of the iconographers which is typical of late iconography as well as of the fact that no iconographical canon beyond the bare minimum was ever established. As the bare minimum iconographical standard we must note the central position of Sitt Dimiana who is always adorned with the crown of martyrdom holding in either her right or her left hand a cross and palm-branch. The Forty Virgins showing iconographical similarities to the principal saint are arranged around her according to the individual design of the iconographer.



Fig. 2.

No. 1. Sitt Dimiana is seated and holds in her right hand a hand-cross. The cross has twelve points. In her left hand she holds a palm branch, the symbol of spiritual victory over physical death. On her head, which is slightly turned to the left, she wears a coronet; and in the background on her right and left there are the twenty-two domes of the Shrine of Sitt Dimiana near Bilqas, which were seen by FR. CLAUDE SICARD, when he visited the Shrine in 1714.¹ Each of the Forty Virgins wears a coronet and holds in the right hand a hand-cross and in the left hand a palm branch. The Forty Virgins are arranged around the centre picture of Sitt Dimiana. The miniatures of the four virgins portrayed above the centre picture show in addition four churches, though it is impossible to identify them. They may be the four churches dedicated to Sitt Dimiana

¹ SICARD, CLAUDE, loc. cit.



Fig. 3.

and the Holy Virgin. The text of the Arabic inscription below the centre picture reads as follows:

"Picture of Sitt Dimiana (and) her Forty Virgin Companions. Reward, O Lord, him who toiled in Thy Kingdom. Year 1185 A. H."¹

No. 2. The icons Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are the work of the 19th century Greek iconographer Astasî ar-Rûmî (Eustathius the Greek) of Jerusalem.² No. 2 shows Sitt Dimiana seated on a throne holding in her right hand a palm branch and in her left hand a cross. On her head she wears a nine-pointed coronet. Her face is turned to the left. Forty Virgins are ar-

¹ I.e. 1771 A.D.

² Eustathius the Greek (arabophone) of Jerusalem has painted many icons for Coptic churches and monasteries, e.g. a chalice ark in the Monastery of St. Macarius, Wādî 'n-Natrûn, dated 1864; two icons of the Holy Virgin and Child in the Monastery of al-Muharraḡ, Upper Egypt, dated respectively 1842 and 1870/71 as well as the so-called "miraculous" icon in the Church of the Holy Virgin, Gebel 't-Ṭair near Minya, dated 1838.



Fig. 4.

ranged around the centre picture of Sitt Dimiana. Each virgin is a miniature of the principal Saint. The virgins whose faces are turned to the left hold in the right hand the palm branch and in the left hand a cross, while those virgins whose face is turned to the right hold in the right hand a cross and in the left hand a palm branch. The centre picture is set in an architectural frame with two columns on either side. The capitals are ornamented with a design similar to that of the points of the coronet.¹ A simple arch connects the columns. There are two Arabic subscriptions. The text below the main picture reads:

"The holy martyr Sitt Gimiana (*sic*), dwelling in the deserts."

The other text at the bottom of the icon reads as follows:

"Remember, O my Master, Jesus Christ, the teacher George Abû Sa' ad, the provider for the icon of Sitt Gimiana (*sic*). A *waqf* to the Church of the

¹ This type of coronet is typical for the paintings by Eustathius. His icons of the Holy Virgin with Child show the same coronet.

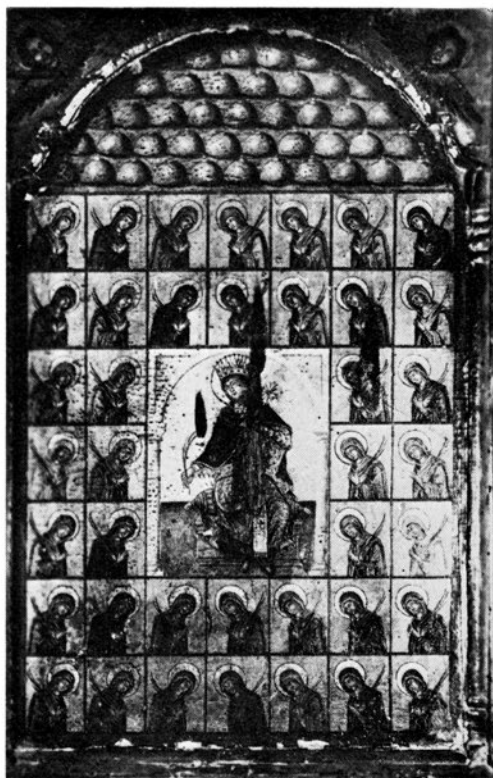


Fig. 5.

Lady, the Virgin Damshariyah in the lane . . . in Old Cairo¹. Reward, O Lord, him who toiled in Thy Kingdom. By the hand of the wretched Eustathius of Jerusalem, the Greek, the painter”.

No. 3. This icon portrays Sitt Dimiana seated on a carved throne holding in her right hand a hand-cross and in her left hand a palm branch. Her head is turned to the right,² and on her head she wears a nine-

¹ This is one of the ancient churches of Old Cairo, which was demolished by the order of Ali ibn Sulaiman, the Governor of Cairo, in 785 A.D., though rebuilt during the caliphate of Harūn ar-Rashīd (786–809 A.D.). The name of the church “ad-Damshiriyah” originates from the name of a Coptic notable who undertook the restoration of this church in the course of the 18th century.

² In most instances the iconographers paid special attention to have the saint turned to the cross. If she holds the cross in her left hand, her head would be turned to the left.



Fig. 6.

pointed coronet (cf. No. 2). Above her head there are portrayed three angels, two of whom hold in their hands a cross and a palm branch respectively. The centre picture is framed by two columns on either side with Corinthian capitals, and an arch rests on the columns. The Forty Virgins are grouped around the principal saint in twenty miniatures, two virgins to each miniature. They are crowned with five-pointed crowns holding in their hands a cross and a palm branch. The Arabic text above the centre picture reads:

"Picture of Sitt Timianah (*sic*) and the Forty Virgins Yu'ngahrat"(?).

No. 4. This icon is in many ways similar to No. 2. Sitt Dimiana is enthroned, and her head is turned to the left holding in her right hand a small palm branch and in her left hand a large cross. Iconographically, this large cross is reminiscent of the pictures of the Invention of the Holy Cross. On her head the saint wears a nine-pointed coronet, which, however, has been obliterated at a later time by a triangular ornamentation. Two columns with capitals frame the centre picture. The Forty Virgins are portrayed in forty miniatures of which fourteen are arranged above and below and six on either side of the centre picture. The Arabic text below the icon reads:



Fig. 7.

"Reward, O Lord, him who toiled in the Heavenly Kingdom. 1569 A.M.¹ By the hand of the wretched Eustathius of Jerusalem, the Greek."

No. 5. This icon shows Sitt Dimiana seated holding in her left hand a twelve-pointed cross and in her right hand a palm branch. On her head she wears a coronet. The Forty Virgins are arranged around the centre icon clothed in the monastic habit and holding in the right or left hands respectively only a palm branch. We should assign this icon to the last quarter of the 18th century.

No. 6. This late 19th century icon of Sitt Dimiana portrays the saint standing and holding in her right hand a cross and in her left hand a palm branch. On her head she wears a coronet. In the background there is shown the Shrine of Sitt Dimiana in Bilqas with one large and five small domes surmounted by crosses. The frame of the picture of the

¹ I.e. 1853.



Fig. 8.

virgin-martyr is oval-shaped. The Forty Virgins holding in their hands a cross and a palm branch are arranged around the centre picture.

No. 7. This is another late 19th century icon of Sitt Dimiana seated on an elaborately decorated throne holding in her right hand a cross and in her left hand a palm branch. On her head she wears a nine-pointed coronet and her head is surrounded by a nimbus. The Forty Virgins



Fig. 9.

clothed in the monastic habit hold only a cross in their hands. They are arranged around the centre picture.

No. 8. This 20th century icon of Sitt Dimiana is representative of Coptic popular art. It was painted by W. Kamel. The saint has her head turned to the left and wears a coronet. In her right hand she holds a palm branch and in her left hand a cross. The Forty Virgins are arranged around the centre picture.¹

No. 9. This is one of the very few icons which portrays Sitt Dimiana with the wheel of torture, the iconographical symbol of St. Catherine. This icon is located in the Church of St. George in Minya, and should be assigned to the late 19th century. The virgin-martyr is seated on a throne holding in her right hand a palm branch. In her left hand, which rests on the wheel, she holds a cross. On her head she wears a nine-pointed coronet. The inscription is in Greek and the letters H AΓΙΑ are still visible. The Forty Virgins are arranged around the centre picture in the same manner as in No. 4.

In the foregoing pages we hope to have established the following points pertaining to the identity and the cult of Sitt Dimiana.

1. The need for an indigenous virgin-martyr created a cult around a virgin-saint.

2. The hagiography of the saint follows closely the typical 4th century hagiologies of the Byzantine and Latin churches.

3. The emergence of the cult is relatively recent and should be assigned to the 16th or the 17th century.

4. The iconography of the saint does not follow a strict or well established canon.

5. In many ways this saint fulfills the cult-functions of St. Catherine of Alexandria.

¹ I have published this icon in "Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts". Cairo, 1961, p. 339.

Demotische Ostraka aus ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit

Die demotischen Ostraka, insgesamt fünfundzwanzig Texte, welche hier veröffentlicht sind, rühren aus verschiedenen Sammlungen her. Elf Scherben gehören zu dem Ostrakonbestand des British Museum London (DO BM), und zu der Sammlung des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums sieben Stück (DO Berlin)¹. Von den übrigen gehören vier Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien (DO Wien), eines dem Ashmolean Museum Oxford (DO A) und zwei dem Herausgeber (DO W).

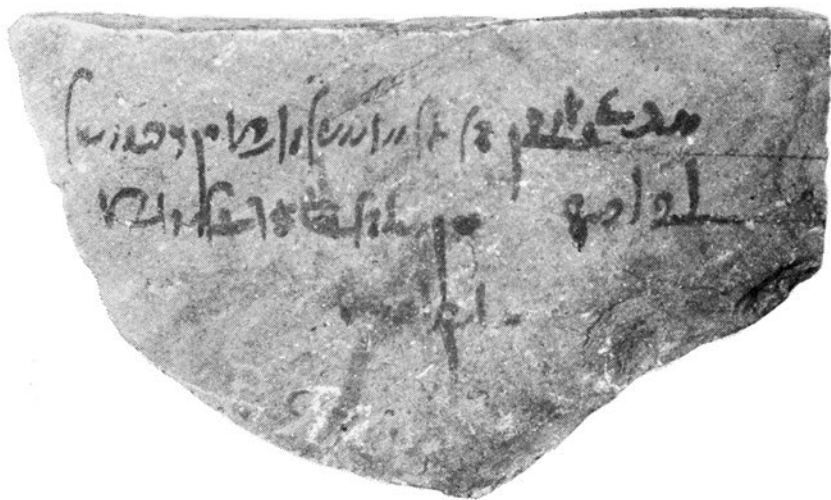
In Bezug auf den Inhalt der Texte handelt es sich vorzugsweise um Bescheinigungen über in Bargeld und in natura erlegte Abgaben².

In der ersten Gruppe (Bargeldeinzahlungen) sind die folgenden Steuerarten vertreten: τέλος (Nr. I–II), Salzsteuer (Nr. III), Kopfsteuer (Nr. IV–VIII), Dammsteuer (Nr. IX–X), Badesteuer (Nr. X), Staats-Steuer (Nr. XI), Forderung des Staates (Nr. XII), Diener(?) -Steuer (Nr. XIII) und eine nicht spezifizierte Abgabe (Nr. XIV).

Die zweite Gruppe (Einzahlungen in natura), die drei Dokumente umfaßt (Nr. XV–XVII), besteht aus Quittungen über Weizenlieferungen. Auch in den drei nächstfolgenden Dokumenten handelt es sich um Getreide (Weizen). Der Abfassung nach sind diese Texte als Verzeichnis über Weizenlieferungen (Nr. XVIII), Zumessung von Weizen (Nr. XIX) und Abrechnung über Weizen (Nr. XX) zu rubrizieren. Die letzten fünf Dokumente sind bis auf eine Warenrechnung (Nr. XXI) Abrechnungen über bzw. Naturalien (Nr. XXII), Bargeld (Nr. XXIII) und nicht angegebene Objekte (Nr. XXIV–XXV).

¹ Photos: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

² Die Lesung der vorkommenden griechischen Aufschriften verdanke ich Herrn Prof. Leiv Amundsen.



I. DO Berlin 9708.

Abgaben in Bargeld

Steuer (τέλος)

I. DO Berlin 9708. Grösse: 11 × 5,7 cm. Theben(?). 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.

Transkription

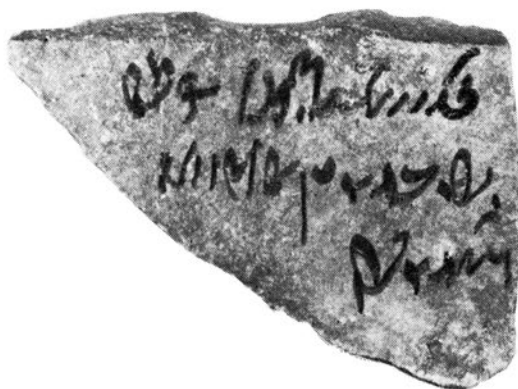
1. p^3 *tnj* *n* $h^3.t$ -*sp* 9 *Hp-htp*(?) $\langle s^3 \rangle$ P^3 -*tj*-*Hr-m-hb*(?) *ht* 14 *sh* *Pa-Wn-nfr*
2. $\langle n \rangle$ $h^3.t$ -*sp* 9 *tpj* *šm*(?) *sw* 2 *sh* P^3 -*šr-Imn* $\langle s^3 \rangle$ S^3 -*n*-*Wsr.t* *r ht* 14
3. *n* $h^3.t$ -*sp* 9 *tpj* *šm*(?) *sw* 2

Übersetzung

1. Die Steuer für Jahr 9. Hapihotep(?), (Sohn) des Petchoremheb(?), 14 Silberlinge. Es hat geschrieben Pauennofre
2. (im) Jahr 9, am 2. Payne(?). Es hat geschrieben Pshenamun, (Sohn) des Senuser, in Bezug auf 14 Silberlinge
3. im Jahr 9, am 2. Payne(?).



Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Das Wort *tnj* „Steuer“ liegt hier in einer von den üblichen Schreibungen stark abweichenden Form vor. Der Artikel (masc.) spricht aber dafür, dass es sich um das betreffende Wort handelt. — Der Name



II. DO Berlin 9650.

Hp-htp, Hapihotep (wörtl. „Apis ist gnädig“) ist m. W. früher nicht belegt.

Z. 3. Die Jahreszahl ist, wie es sich zeigt, verschiedenartig geschrieben. Gegen die Lesung „acht“, welche in den beiden ersten Fällen möglich ist, spricht die Monatsangabe. Die wagrechte Form ist für den Schreiber Pauennofre bezeichnend, während Pshenamun die Ziffer senkrecht zeichnet. Vgl. auch die ungleichartige Schreibung des *sh*-Zeichens ( bzw. ).

— Das Datierungsjahr bezieht sich auf entweder Ptolemaios III. Euergetes I. 9 (= Jahr 239/38 v. Chr.) oder Ptolemaios IV. Philopator 9 (= Jahr 214/13 v. Chr.).

II. DO Berlin 9650. Grösse: 6,7 × 5,3 cm. Theben(?). Wahrscheinlich 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.







Transkription

1. *Hr-m-hb* ^r*s*₃^r ^r*P*₃^r *-sn-2 tb* 3 1/2
2. *p*₃^j = *f tnj* <*n*> *ibt-2 šm sh Thwtj-mn*
3. *ibt-3 šm sw 24*

Übersetzung

1. Horemheb, Sohn des Psensneu, 3 1/2 Obol,
2. seine Steuer (für) Payne. Es hat geschrieben Thothmen
3. am 24. Epiphe.

Bemerkungen

Z. 1. *Hr-m-ḥb*, Horemheb. Die Lesung scheint mir sicher zu sein. Vgl. URSULA KAPLONY-HECKEL, Die demotischen Tempeleide, Nr. 179/4. — *P³-sn-2*, Psensneu. Zur Schreibung vgl. MATTHA, Demotic Ostraka, Nr. 24/1. — *tb^c* „Obol“. Das Sigel ,  (ptol.) bzw.  (röm.) geschrieben, als Bezeichnung für die Münzeinheit Obol ist hier *tb^c* transkribiert. Die Lesung *ḥmt*, welche früher für sowohl „Kupfer“ als für „Obol“ bzw. „1 Obol“ verwendet worden ist, bleibt nur in Bezug auf die erste Bedeutung, d. h. „Kupfer“, in Geltung. MATTHA hat diese Tatsache in seiner Berichtigungsliste *Notes and Remarks on Mattha's „Demotic Ostraka“*¹ hervorgehoben und hat für „Obol“ bzw. „1 Obol“ die Lesung *š^c.t* vorgeschlagen, welche Lesung er auf das hierogl. Wort  *š^c.t* (WB 4, S. 418:4) zurückführen will. Das Sigel ist 'the forearm with hand holding stick and the fem. *t'*. Das Sigel ist in der betreffenden Urkunde  geschrieben. Obwohl die Lesung *š^c.t* möglich sein könnte, wofür die Femininendung des dem Sigel folgenden Zahlzeichens zu sprechen scheint, dürfte aber die von Hughes² vorgeschlagene Transkription *tb^c*, welches Wort das kopt. *ⲧⲁⲃⲉ* „Obol“ entspricht, am wahrscheinlichsten sein. Das Sigel ist die demotische Wiedergabe der Hieroglyphe , welche in der angeführten Form erscheint³.

Z. 2. Wegen der Auslassung des Datierungsjahres ist eine nähere Zeitbestimmung nicht möglich zu geben.

Salzsteuer

III. DO Wien 129. Grösse: 12,2 × 9,8 cm. Theben. 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.

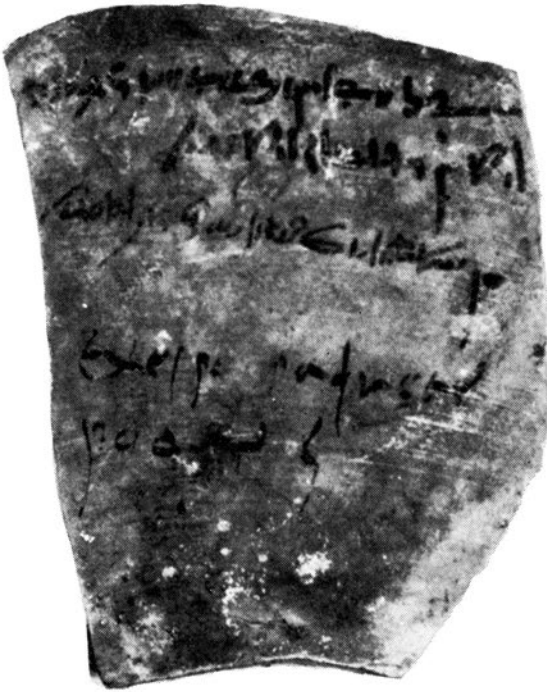
Transkription

1. *in Ta-p³-Ḳ^ch(?) t³ rmt.t Šbtj kt 1/4 <n> ḥt <n> ḥm³*
 2. *<n> ḥ³.t-sp 3 sh Pa-Thwtj-Ḳ^ch(?) <n> ḥ³.t-sp 3 ibt-2 šm sw 10*
 3. *sh Ns-Mn s³ 'nh-p³-ḥrt.t r kt 1/4 [ht] <n> ḥm³ <n> ḥ³.t-sp 3 ibt-2 šm sw 10*
- Griech. Text: *ἐχαιρογράφῃσεν*
ῥόδων 4

¹ Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, Vol. XVIII, Part 2, 1956, Cairo 1959, S. 59 ff.

² Durch briefliche Mitteilung. Vgl. auch PIERCE, Notes on Obols and Agios in Demotic Papyri (JEA 51, 1965, S. 155 ff.).

³ Vgl. ERICHSEN, Demot. Glossar, s.v. *ḥtm* „verschliessen“ (S. 372), *šn* in den Titeln *mr šn* und *sh šn* (S. 512) und *tb^c* „siegeln“, „Siegel“ (S. 623).



III. DO Wien 129.

Übersetzung

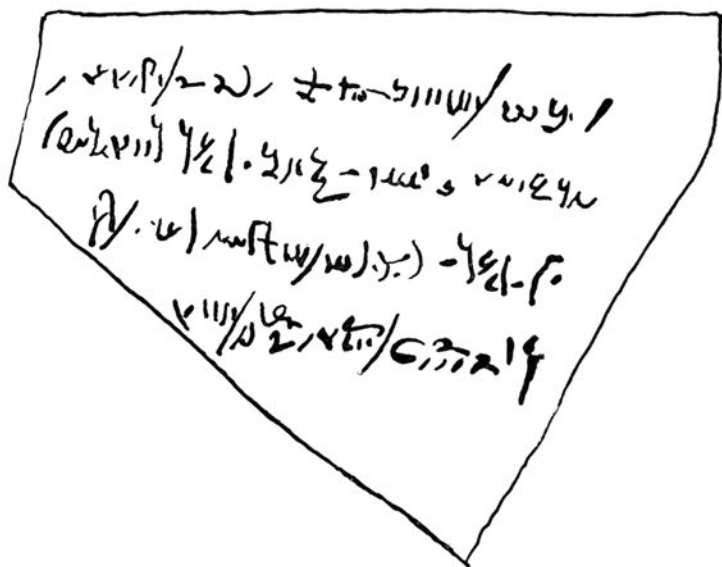
1. Es hat bezahlt Tapooh(?), die Frau des Shebti, 1/4 (Silber)-Kite (als) Salzsteuer
 2. (für) Jahr 3. Es hat geschrieben Pathothiah(?) (im) Jahr 3, am 10. Payne.
 3. Es hat geschrieben Esmin, Sohn des Enchpekhrat, in Bezug auf 1/4 (Silber)-Kite (als) Salzsteuer (im) Jahr 3, am 10. Payne.
- Griech. Text: Eigenhändig verbürgt hat Herodon (für) 1/2 (Drachme)¹.

Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Noch eine dieser Frau ausgestellte, vom Jahr 4 datierende Salzsteuerquittung ist von MATTHA veröffentlicht (Demotic Ostraka, Nr. 134).

Z. 2–3. Die Schreiber *Pa-Thwtj-Î^h(?)*, Pathothiah(?), und Esmin

¹ Der Steuerbetrag 1/4 (Silber)-Kite ist in Drachmen umgerechnet.



IV. DO BM 12614.

(S. des Enchpekhrot) erscheinen auch bei MATTHA. Der Name des erstgenannten ist dort *Pa-Thwtj-p³-I^ch(?)* geschrieben. — Jahr 3 kann entweder Ptolemaios III. Euergetes I. 3 (= Jahr 245/44 v. Chr.) oder Ptolemaios IV. Philopator 3 (= Jahr 220/19 v. Chr.) sein.

Kopfsteuer

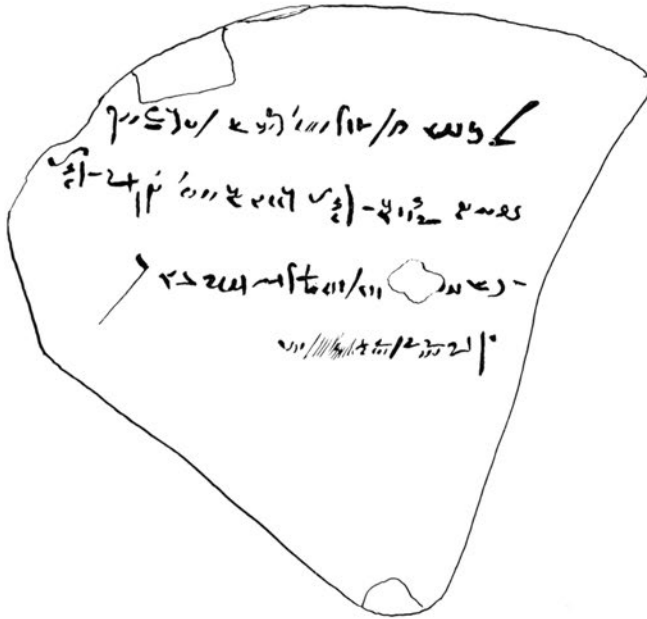
IV. DO BM 12614. Grösse: 9,3 × 7,5 cm. Theben (Karnak). Jahr 9/8 v. Chr.

Transkription

1. *r.wt Lsjmks s³ 3plw r*
2. *p³ shn hr p³ ht n 'p.t n h³.t-sp 22.t sttr 2.t hn^c kt 1*
3. *sh n h³.t-sp 22.t n Gjrsr tpj šm sw 17*
4. *sh 3pjkrts s³ Gphls*

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Lysimakos, Sohn des Apollo(?), an
2. die Bank für die Kopfsteuer des Jahres 22: 2 Stater und 1 Kite.
3. Geschrieben im Jahr 22 des Cäsar, am 17. Pachons.
4. Es hat geschrieben Epikrates, Sohn des Kephalos.



V. DO BM 19994.

Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Lysimakos ist wahrscheinlich identisch mit dem in DO Uppsala 1451/1 (Jahr 4/3 v. Chr.) und DO BM 12579/1 (Jahr 1/2 n. Chr.) vorkommenden Steuerzahler gleichen Namens [S. des Apollo(?)]¹.

Z. 2. Zur Lesung *sttr 2.t hn^c kt 1* „2 Stater und 1 Kite“ vgl. MATTHA, Demotic Ostraka, Nr. 39/2. Die Kurzschreibung *6 kt* „Kite“ als Bezeichnung für „1 Kite“ kommt häufig vor.

Z. 3. Jahr 22 des Cäsar (Augustus) = Jahr 9/8 v. Chr.

Z. 4. Über den Schreiber Epikrates (S. des Kephalos) vgl. WÄNGSTEDT, Ausgewählte demot. Ostraka, S. 13 f.

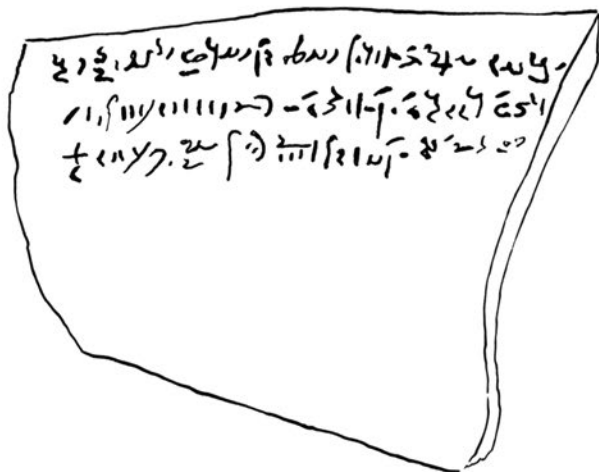
V. DO BM 19994. Grösse: 13 × 12,3 cm. Theben (Karnak). Jahr 7/6 v. Chr.

Transkription

1. *r.wt Hrj s³ Hr¹-sn-Is r p³ shn*

2. *hr p³ ht <n> p.t n h³.t-sp 24.t sttr 2.t hn^c kt 1 sh n h³.t-sp 24.t*

¹ Orientalia Suecana 7, S. 71 und 16, S. 26.



VI. DO Berlin 6453.

3. *n Gjrs ibt-4 šm sw 20*

4. *sh ꜥpjkrtš [sꜥ Gph]rs*

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Herieu, Sohn des Harsenese, an die Bank
2. für die Kopfsteuer des Jahres 24: 2 Stater und 1 Kite. Geschrieben im Jahr 24
3. des Cäsar, am 20. Mesore.
4. Es hat geschrieben Epikrates, [Sohn des Keph]alos.

Bemerkungen

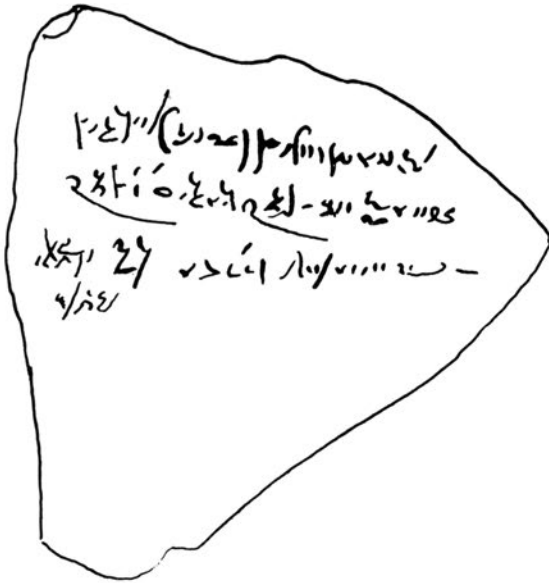
Z. 2–3. Zu *sttr 2.t hn ꜥ kt 1* „2 Stater und 1 Kite“ vgl. Nr. IV/2, Bem. — Jahr 24 des Cäsar (Augustus) = Jahr 7/6 v. Chr.

Z. 4. Zu dem Schreiber Epikrates (S. des Kephalos) vgl. Nr. IV/4, Bem.

VI. DO Berlin 6453. Grösse: 8 × 6,1 cm. Theben. Jahr 6/7 n. Chr.

Transkription

1. *r.wt Pꜥ-mnh sꜥ Pꜥ-šr-İmn r pꜥ shn hr ht <n> ꜥp.t*
2. *<n> hꜥ.t-sp 36 sttr 2.t kt 1 sh n hꜥ.t-sp 36 n Gjrs*
3. *ibt-2(?) šm sw 2 sh Pꜥ-tj-İmn-İpj <sꜥ> Gphls*



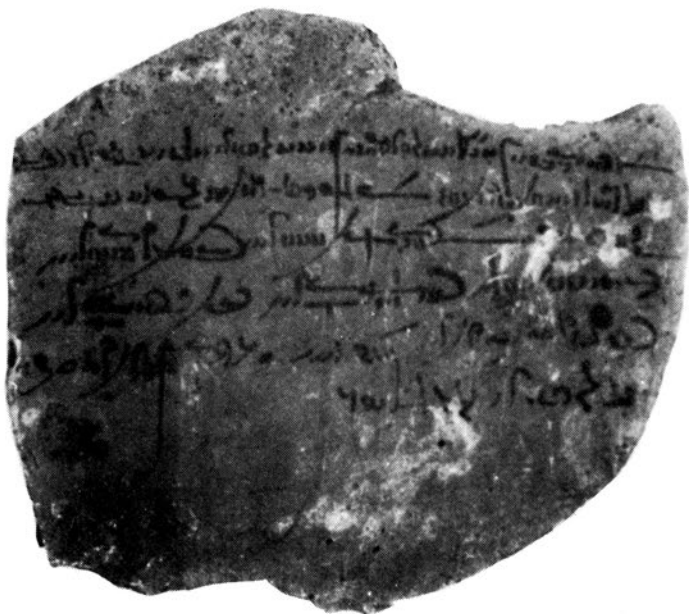
VII. DO BM 12601.

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Pemench, Sohn des Pshenamun, an die Bank für Kopfsteuer
2. des Jahres 36: 2 Stater 1 Kite. Geschrieben im Jahr 36 des Cäsar,
3. am 2. Epiphe(?). Es hat geschrieben Peteamenope, (Sohn) des Kephalos.

Bemerkungen

- Z. 1. Die Schreibung des Namens P^3-mnh , Pemench, ist ungewöhnlich.
- Z. 2. Jahr 36 des Cäsar (Augustus) = Jahr 6/7 n. Chr.
- Z. 3. Der Schreiber Peteamenope (S. des Kephalos) erscheint bei MATTHA, Demotic Ostraka, Nr. 36 (Kopfsteuer. Jahr 36 des Cäsar.). Mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit ist Peteamenope ein Bruder des Epikrates und des Piko, welche vom Jahr 9 v. Chr. bis an Jahr 16 n. Chr. bzw. vom Jahr 3 v. Chr. bis an Jahr 22 n. Chr. an der Bank in Theben amtierten (vgl. WÄNGSTEDT, a. A., S. 13 f.).



VIII. DO Wien 50.

VII. DO BM 12601. Grösse: 7,6 × 7,3 cm. Theben (Karnak). Jahr 10/11 n. Chr.

Transkription

1. *r.wt P³-tj-Hnsw s³ Pa-n³-nht.t(.w)(?) r p³ shn*
2. *hr p³ ht n^c p.t n h³.t-sp 39 sttr 2.t hn^c kt 1 sh n h³.t-sp 39*
3. *n Gj³sr ibt-3 šm sw 23 sh P³j-k³*
4. *s³ Gphls*

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Petechons, Sohn des Panechate(?), an die Bank
2. für die Kopfsteuer des Jahres 39: 2 Stater und 1 Kite. Geschrieben im Jahr 39
3. des Cäsar, am 23. Mesore. Es hat geschrieben Piko,
4. Sohn des Kephalos

Bemerkungen

Z. 2–4. Zu *sttr 2.t hn^c kt 1* „2 Stater und 1 Kite“ vgl. Nr. IV/2, Bem. Die Konjunktion *hn^c* „und“ hier in Gestalt eines kleinen schrägen Striches. — Jahr 39 des Cäsar (Augustus) = Jahr 9/10 n. Chr. — Über den Schreiber Piko (S. des Kephalos) vgl. WÄNGSTEDT, a. A., S. 13 f.

VIII. DO Wien 50. Grösse: 11,6 × 10,6 cm. Theben. Jahr 52 n. Chr.

Transkription

1. $Ns-n^3j=w-Hmn-iw$ s^3 $P^3-šr-İmn-ipj$ irm $P^3-šr-Hnsw$ s^3 $P^3-tj-nfr-htp$
 n^3 ntj dd n
2. $3-sn.w$ s^3 P^3-ljl^c $tw=n$ $mḥ$ n $sttr$ $2.t$ hn $p^3j=k$ ht n
3. $^c p.t$ n $h^3.t-sp$ [12] n $Tjbrjs$ $Glwtjs$
4. $Gjsrs$ $Sbsts$ $Grmnjks$
5. $3wtwgrtwr$ $ibt-4$ pr sw 27 sh $İmn-rwš$ s^3
6. $P^3-šr-Hnsw$ r $hrw=w$ n $h^3.t-sp$ 12

Übersetzung

1. Esnachomneu, Sohn des Pshenamenope, und Pshenchons, Sohn des Petenefhotep, sind es, die sagen zu
2. Khemtsneu, dem Sohn des Palil: „Wir sind vollbezahlt mit 2 Stater von deiner
3. Kopfsteuer für Jahr [12] des Tiberius Claudius
4. Cäsar Sebastos Germanikos
5. Autokrator, am 27. Pharmuthe. „Es hat geschrieben Amunrush, Sohn
6. des Pshenchons, auf ihr Geheiss, im Jahr 12.

Bemerkungen

Z. 1–2. Sowohl die Erheber als der Steuerzahler sind bei MATTHA belegt (Demotic Ostraka, Nr. 66. Kopfsteuer. Claudius 7.). — Der Name $P^3-tj-nfr-htp$, Petenefhotep, ist dort $P^3-tj-n^3-nfr-htp$ geschrieben.

Z. 5–6. Amenrush (S. des Pshenchons) hat auch das von Mattha veröffentlichte Dokument geschrieben. — Jahr 12 des Claudius = Jahr 52 n. Chr.

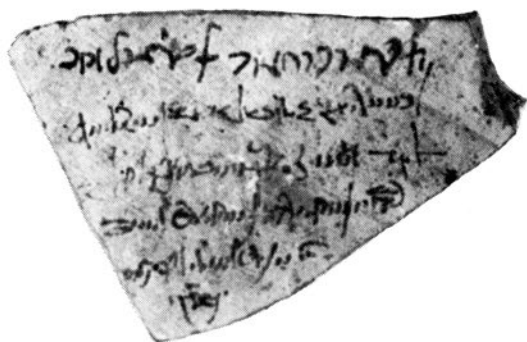
Dammsteuer

IX. DO Wien 63. Grösse: 9,2 × 5,6 cm. Theben. Jahr 21/22 n. Chr.

Transkription

Griech. Text (umgekehrt): $\psi\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega\nu\varsigma\ \varphi\alpha\eta\rho\eta\iota\varsigma$

1. $r.wt$ P^3-sn-2 s^3 $Pa-irj$ r p^3 shn ht $\langle n \rangle$ nbj
2. n $h^3.t-sp$ 7 $sttr$ 2 kt 1 tb^c 4 irm wt r h tb^c 1 $1/2$ sh $\langle n \rangle$ $h^3.t-sp$ $8.t$
3. $\langle n \rangle$ $Tbjrs$ $Gsrs$ ntj hwj p^3 ibt
4. $n-m^3j$ ntj hwj sw $^c rkj$ sh $3ntrws$
5. $\langle s^3 \rangle$ P^3j-k^3



IX. DO Wien 63.

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Psensneu, Sohn des Paere, an die Bank Dammsteuer
2. für Jahr 7: 2 Stater 1 Kite 4 Obolen, mit Zuschlag gemäss 1 1/2 Obolen. Geschrieben im Jahr 8
3. des Tiberius Cäsar Augustus, in dem neuen
4. ehrwürdigen Monat, Tag 30. Es hat geschrieben Andrus,
5. (Sohn) des Piko.

Bemerkungen

Z. 1. *ht* <*n*> *nbj* „Dammsteuer“. Über diese Abgabe vgl. MATTHA, Demotic Ostraka, S. 51 ff.

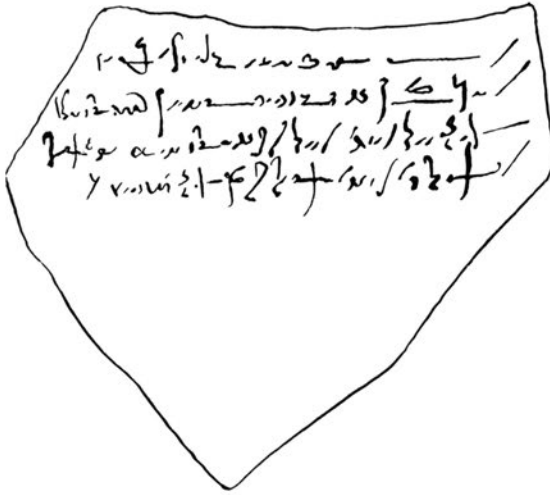
Z. 2–5. Zu *tb^c* „Obol“ vgl. Nr. II/1, Bem. — Jahr 8 des Tiberius = Jahr 21/22 n. Chr. — Zu *p³ ibt n-m³j ntj hwj* „der neue ehrwürdige Monat“ = Νέος Σεβαστός = Hathor vgl. MATTHA, Demotic Ostraka, S. 220. — Über den Schreiber Andrus (S. des Piko) vgl. WÄNGSTEDT, a. A., S. 13 f.

Bade- und Dammsteuer

X. DO BM 43560. Grösse: 11 × 9,6 cm. Theben (Karnak). Jahr 11/10 v. Chr.

Transkription

1. *r.in Gm_t s³ Ij-m-htp s³ Pa-Mnt*
2. *r p³ sh_n hr t³ s.t-ijwn*
3. *n h³.t-sp 20.t kt 1/2 r kt 1/4 r kt 1/2 ^cn ^cn hr <ht> <n> nbj kt 1/2 tb^c 5.t*
4. *r tb^c 5.t 1/2 r kt 1/2 tb^c 5.t ^cn sh_n n h³.t-sp 20.t ibt-3 šm sw 20*



X. DO BM 43560.

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Gemt, Sohn des Imhotep, des Sohnes des Pamonth,
2. an die Bank für das Bad
3. des Jahres 20: 1/2 Kite, ihre Hälfte macht 1/4 Kite = 1/2 Kite wiederum; ebenfalls für Dammsteuer: 1/2 Kite 5 Obolen,
4. ihre Hälfte macht 5 1/2 Obolen = 1/2 Kite 5 Obolen wiederum. Geschrieben im Jahr 20, am 20. Epiphe.

Bemerkungen

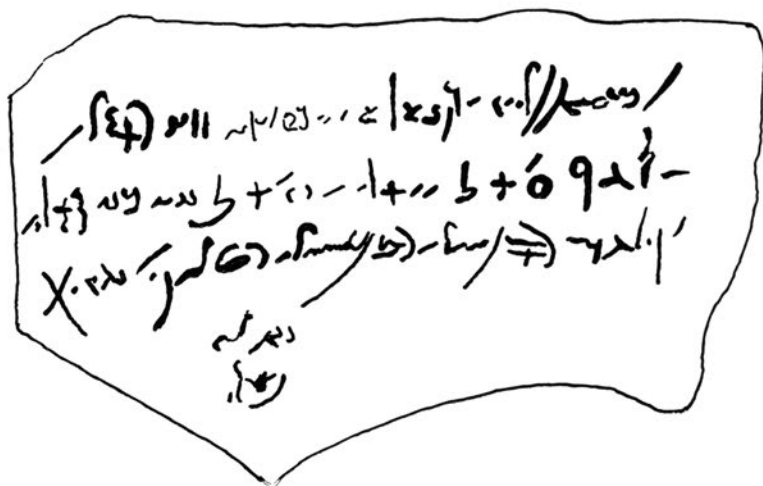
Z. 2. *t3 s.t-ijwn* „das Bad“, als Bezeichnung für Badesteuer. Über diese Abgabe vgl. MATTHA, Demotic Ostraka, S. 57 f.

Z. 3. Zu *ht <n> nbj* „Dammsteuer“ vgl. Nr. IX/1, Bem. — Zu *tb^c* „Obol“ vgl. Nr. II/1, Bem.

Z. 4. Jahr 20 = Augustus 20 = Jahr 11/10 v. Chr.

Staatssteuer

XI. DO BM 19524. Grösse: 10,1 × 6,2 cm. Theben (Karnak). Jahr 30/31 n. Chr.



XI. DO BM 19524.

Transkription

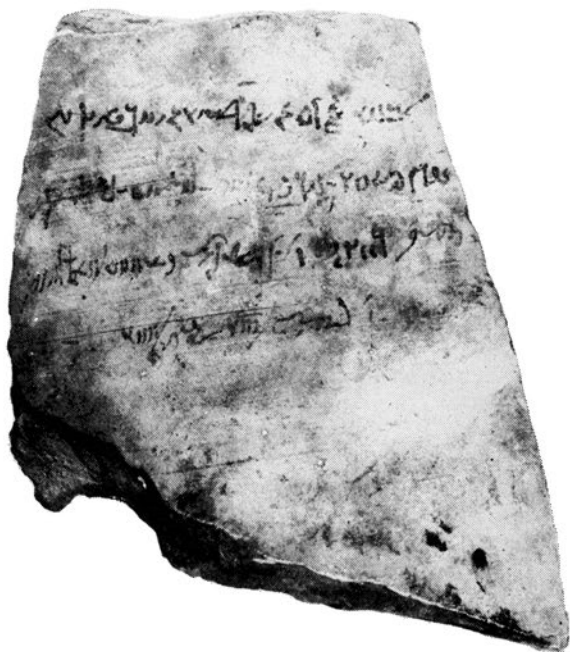
1. $r.wt\ Llw\ s^3\ Pa-irj\ r\ p^3\ shn\ p^3\ tnj\ Pr.^c^3$
2. $n\ h^3.t-sp\ 15\ kt\ 1\ tb^c\ 3\ <r>\ <kt>\ 1/2\ tb^c\ 1\ 1/2\ r\ kt\ 1\ tb^c\ 3\ irm\ wt\ r\ h\ tb^c\ 1\ 1/2$
3. $sh\ n\ h^3.t-sp\ 17\ <n>\ Tbrs\ Gsrjs\ ntj\ hwy\ ibt-2\ sm\ sw\ 19$
4. $[sh]\ \exists ntrws$
5. $<s^3>\ P^3j-k^3$

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Lilu, Sohn des Paere, an die Bank die Staatssteuer
2. für Jahr 15: 1 Kite 3 Obolen, (ihre Hälfte macht) 1/2 (Kite) 1 1/2 Obolen = 1 Kite 3 Obolen, mit Zuschlag gemäss 1 1/2 Obolen.
3. Geschrieben im Jahr 17 des Tiberius Cäsar Augustus, am 19. Payne
4. [Es hat geschrieben] Andrus,
5. (Sohn) des Piko.

Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Zu $tnj\ Pr.^c^3$ „Staatssteuer“ (wörtl. „Steuer des Königs“) vgl. MATTHA, Demotic Ostraka, S. 65. Das Determinativ in dem Namen $Pa-irj$, Paere, sowie die folgenden Zeichen bis an die Schlusszeichen wt in wt (tnj) treten wegen ungleichmässigen Tintenerguss in dünnen Federstrichen hervor.



XII. DO W 140.

Z. 2. Zu tb^c „Obol“ vgl. Nr. II/1, Bem.

Z. 3. Jahr 17 des Tiberius = Jahr 30/31 n. Chr.

Z. 4–5. Zu dem Schreiber Andrus (S. des Piko) vgl. Nr. IX/2–5, Bem.

Forderung des Staates

XII. DO W 140¹. Grösse: 10,6 × 8,5 cm. Theben. Jahr 7/6 v. Chr.

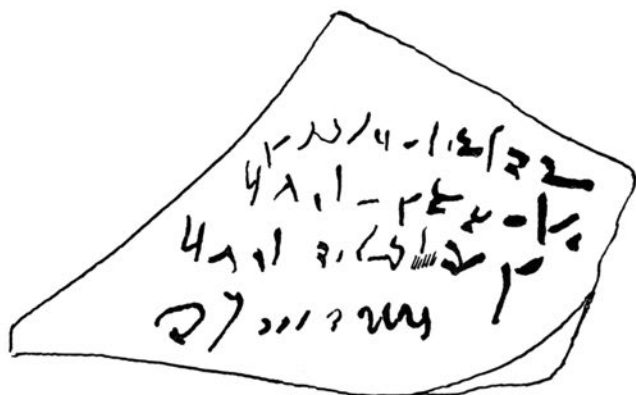
Transkription

1. $r.wt$ H^c - $Hr(?)$ s_3 $Thwtj-stm$ r p_3 shn
2. hr swn sw n mt Pr^c n p_3 sm n $h_3.t-sp$ $23.t$ sw^1
3. 4^1 $1/3$ $sttr$ $3.t$ kt $1/2$ sh n $h_3.t-sp$ 24 n $Gjsrs$
4. $ibt-2^1$ sm^1 sw^1 $11^1(?)$ sh $3pikrts$ s_3 $Gphls$

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Chahor(?), Sohn des Thothsotem, an die Bank

¹ Im Jahr 1967 in Kairo erworben.



XIII. DO BM 5712.

2. für (den) Wert des Weizens der Forderung des Staates in Bezug auf die Ernte des Jahres 23: Weizen
3. $4 \frac{1}{3}$ (Artaben) (macht) 3 Stater $\frac{1}{2}$ Kite. Geschrieben im Jahr 24 des Cäsar,
4. am 11.(?) Payne. Es hat geschrieben Epikrates, Sohn des Kephalos.

Bemerkungen

Z. 2-3. Zu dem Ausdruck *sw n mt Pr* „(der) Wert des Weizens des Staates“ vgl. MATTHA, Demotic Ostraka, S. 49. — *sw 4 1/3 str 3.t kt 1/2* „Weizen $4 \frac{1}{3}$ (Artaben) (macht) 3 Stater $\frac{1}{2}$ Kite“. Chahor(?), der als Staatliche Abgabe $4 \frac{1}{3}$ Artaben Weizen einliefern soll, zahlt den entsprechenden Wert in Bargeld. Dieser beläuft sich auf $1 \frac{1}{2}$ Kite pro Artabe, und dürfte der für das betreffende Jahr festgestellte Preis sein (vgl. MATTHA, Demotic Ostraka, Nr. 83). — Jahr 24 des Cäsar (Augustus) = Jahr 7/6 v. Chr.

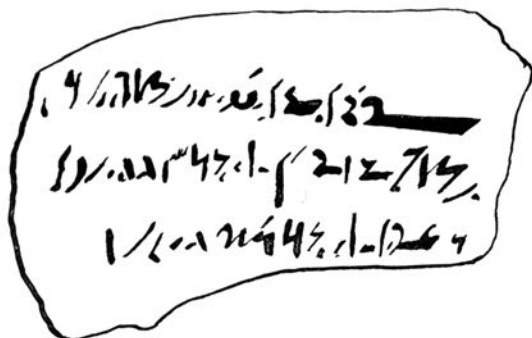
Z. 4. Zu dem Schreiber Epikrates (S. des Kephalos) vgl. Nr. IV/4, Bem.

Diener(?) - Steuer

XIII. DO BM 5712. Grösse: $8,3 \times 5$ cm. Oberägypten. Ptolemäische Zeit.

Transkription

1. *in Imn-htp s³ Pa-rt*
2. *kt 1 n ht <n> bk n h³.t-sp 12*



XIV. DO BM 43621.

3. *sh* *Thwtj-ir-rh* = *s* <*n*> *h³.t-sp* 12

4. *ibt-4* *h sw* 24

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Amenhotep, Sohn des Paret,
2. 1 Kite für Diener(?) - Steuer für Jahr 12.
3. Es hat geschrieben Thetharrechtes (im) Jahr 12,
4. am 24. Thoth.

Bemerkung

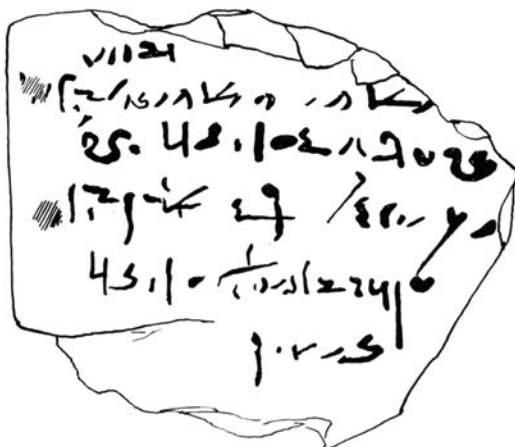
Z. 2. *ht* <*n*> *bk* „Diener(?) - Steuer“, „Sklaven(?) - Steuer“. Das Determinativ des Wortes *bk* ist dasselbe als in dem Namen *Pa-rf*. Das Wort (in der vorliegenden Schreibung) erscheint auch mit der Bedeutung „Urkunde“, aber eine „Urkundensteuer“ ist m. W. weder auf Demotisch noch auf Griechisch belegt. Auch nicht ist mir eine Diener- oder Sklavensteuer unter der Bezeichnung *ht* <*n*> *bk* früher bekannt. Bei MATTHA kommt ein frühptolemäisches Dokument vor, in welchem für *ht(?) mnh*, eine ebenso früher nicht belegte Abgabe, quittiert ist, und die er als „Sklavensteuer(?)“ identifiziert (Demotic Ostraka, Nr. 212).

Geldeinzahlung

XIV. DO BM 43621. Grösse: 8,8 × 6,6 cm. Oberägypten. Ptolemäische Zeit.

Transkription

1. in *Imn-htp s³ Hr ht-kt 4* <*r*> *sttr 2* <*r*>



XV. DO Berlin 8757.

2. $\langle ht \rangle$ -kt 4 $\langle n \rangle$ [sh] Ij-m-htp n h³.t-sp 22.t ibt-4 šm(?) sw 11 sh
 3. Pa-Hnm n h³.t-sp 22 ibt-4 šm(?) sw 11

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Amenhotep, Sohn des Hor, 4 Silber-Kite (=) 2 Starter (=)
2. 4 (Silber)-Kite wiederum. Es hat geschrieben Imhotep im Jahr 22, am 11. Mesore(?). Es hat geschrieben
3. Pakhnum im Jahr 22, am 11. Mesore(?).

Bemerkungen

Z. 2. Zur Lesung *ibt-4 šm(?) sw 11* „am 11. Mesore(?)“ vgl. Z. 3. — Das Regierungsjahr 22 kann entweder Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes 22 (= Jahr 184/83 v. Chr.), Ptolemaios VI. Philometor 22 (= Jahr 160/59 v. Chr.) oder Ptolemaios X. Alexander I. 22 (= Jahr 93/92 v. Chr.) sein.

Quittung über Weizen

XV. DO Berlin 8757¹. Grösse: 8,7 × 7,3 cm. Gebelén. Jahr 93/92 v. Chr.

Transkription

1. ...
2. [r] ^rp³ r³ $\langle n \rangle$ Pr-ht-Hr

¹ Scherbe aus Kalkstein.

3. $\bar{h}r p^3 \bar{s}m n h^3.t-sp 22 sw 1/2$
4. $r 1/4 r sw 1/2 ^c n st \bar{s}p n ip$
5. $\bar{s}h Pa-t^3-s.t-^c t n h^3.t-sp 22$
6. $\bar{i}bt-2 \bar{s}m sw 9$

Übersetzung

1. ...
2. [an] den Thesaurus (in) Pathyris
3. für die Ernteabgabe des Jahres 22: 1/2 (Artabe) Weizen,
4. ihre Hälfte macht 1/4 = 1/2 (Artabe) Weizen wiederum. Sie ist gut-geschrieben.
5. Es hat geschrieben Patseo im Jahr 22,
6. am 9. Payne.

Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Da allem Anschein nach diese Zeile die übliche Einleitungsphrase *in N N s³ N N* „Es hat bezahlt N N, Sohn des N N“ enthalten hat, ist die erhaltene Zeichengruppe ein Teil eines Namens, und zwar der Name des Vaters des Steuerzahlers. Es liegt nahe die Gruppe m^3j „Löwe“ zu lesen und in solchem Falle könnte der Name $[P^3]-m^3j$ „[Pe]mui“ sein. Für Gebelén ist der Name in DP Br. Mus. 881/3¹ und DP Heidelberg 781/1² belegt.

Z. 5. Über den Schreiber Patseo vgl. WÄNGSTEDT, Die demot. Ostraka der Universität zu Zürich, S. 27, und URSULA KAPLONY-HECKEL, MDAIK 21, 1966, S. 140. — Jahr 22 = Ptolemaios X. Alexander I. 22 (= Jahr 93/92 v. Chr.).

Quittung über Weizen

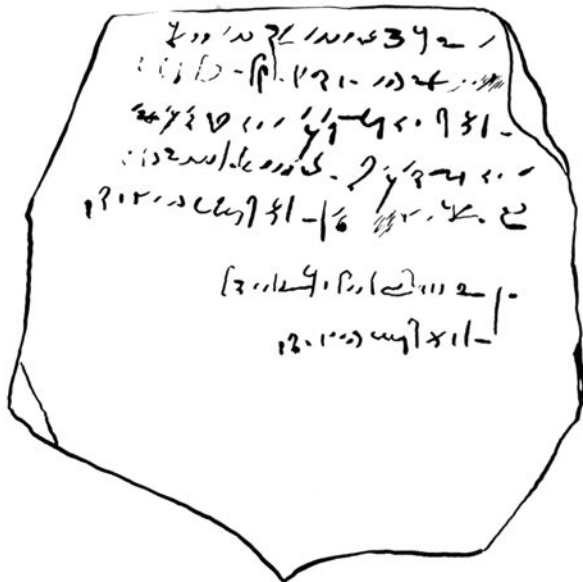
XVI. DO Berlin 892. Grösse: 9,8 × 9,7 cm. Theben. Jahr 6/7 n. Chr.

Transkription

1. $r.in Pa-Wn s^3 Hr \langle n \rangle tr.t Hr-s^3-Is$
2. $r p^3 r^3 n n^3 \bar{s}h(w) n ntr n \dots$
3. $n h^3.t-sp 35 sw 7 1/2 1/4 r sw 3 1/4 1/8$
4. $r sw 7 1/2 1/4 ^c n n h^3j n ijp.t$
5. $\langle n \rangle w\bar{s} n \bar{s}p \bar{s}h n h^3.t-sp 35 \bar{i}bt-4 \bar{s}m sw 5$
6. $\bar{s}h Mn-k^3-R^c s^3 Pa-Dm^3$
7. $n h^3.t-sp 35 \bar{i}bt-4 \bar{s}m sw 5$

¹ Rec. de Trav. 31, 1909, S. 102.

² ZÄS 42, 1905, S. 50.



XVI. DO Berlin 892.

Übersetzung

1. Es hat bezahlt Pauon, Sohn des Hor, durch Harsiese
2. an den Thesaurus für die Äcker des Gottes in ...
3. für Jahr 35: $7 \frac{3}{4}$ (Artaben) Weizen, ihre Hälfte macht $3 \frac{7}{8}$ (Artaben) Weizen
4. $= 7 \frac{3}{4}$ (Artaben) Weizen wiederum, mit dem $O\tilde{\iota}\phi\iota$ -(Mass),
5. ohne Extra-Zuschlag. Geschrieben im Jahr 35, am 5. Mesore.
6. Es hat geschrieben Menkare, Sohn des Padjeme,
7. im Jahr 35, am 5. Mesore.

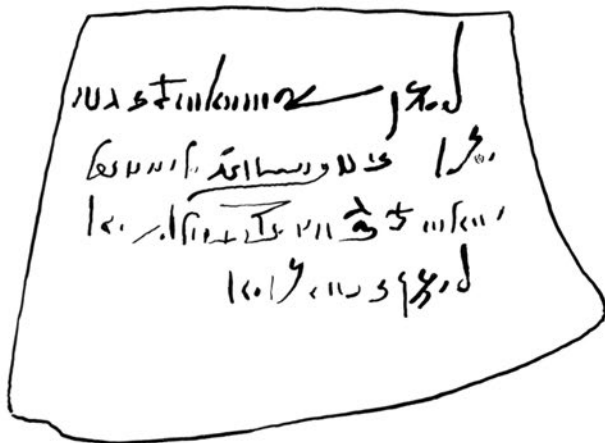
Bemerkungen

Z. 2. $\text{ḥ}(w) n ntr$ „Äcker des Gottes“ als Bezeichnung des den Tempeln gehörigen Ackerlandes.

Z. 4. Der $O\tilde{\iota}\phi\iota$ -(Mass) entsprach in ptolemäischer Zeit, nach der Einführung einer neuen Teilung der Artabe, $1/6$ Artabe.

Z. 6. Der Schreiber Menkare (S. des Padjeme) ist mir früher nicht bekannt.

Z. 7. Jahr 35 = Augustus 35 = Jahr 6/7 n. Chr.



XVII. DO Berlin 6271.

Quittung über Weizen

XVII. DO Berlin 6271. Grösse: 10,3 × 7,4 cm. Edfu. Jahr 10/11 n. Chr.

Transkription

1. $h^3.t-sp$ 39 <n> $Gjsrs$ $ibt-2$ pr
2. sw 21 wt P^3-bk s^3 P^3-t
3. s^3 Sws $\$m$ n Tb^3 sw 1
4. $h^3.t-sp$ 39 $ibt-2$ pr sw 21 sw 1

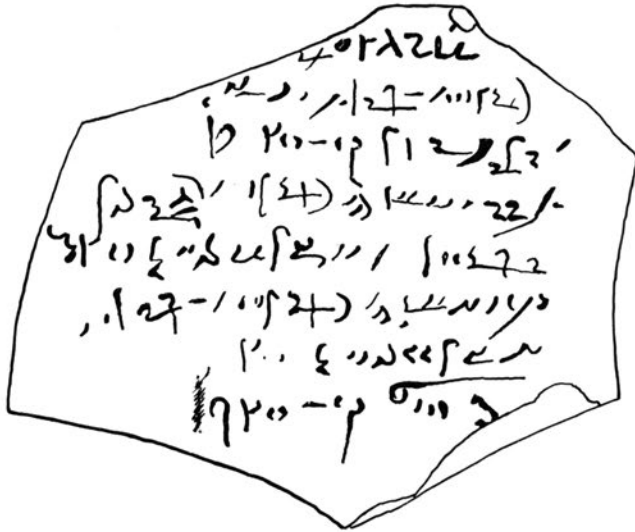
Übersetzung

1. Jahr 39 des Cäsar, Mechir,
2. Tag 21. Es hat bezahlt Pebek, Sohn des Peat,
3. des Sohnes des Sus, Ernteabgabe in Edfu: 1 (Artabe) Weizen.
4. Jahr 39, am 21. Mechir. 1 (Artabe) Weizen.

Bemerkungen

Z. 2. Dieser Pebek (S. des Peat) erscheint in mehreren Quittungen aus Edfu, die meisten unveröffentlicht. In zwei von MATTHA publizierten (Demotic Ostraka, Nr. 40 und Nr. 40 A) ist nur in der ersten das Zeichen für „Sohn“ ausgeschrieben (vor dem Namen Sws). In dem vorliegenden Dokument steht das Zeichen auch vor dem Namen P^3-t , weshalb es sich um zwei verschiedene Namen handelt und nicht, wie Mattha vermutete, um einen zusammengesetzten Namen (P^3-bk-p^3-t).

Z. 4. Jahr 39 des Cäsar (Augustus) = Jahr 10/11 n. Chr.



XVIII. DO Berlin 6570.

Verzeichnis über Weizenlieferungen

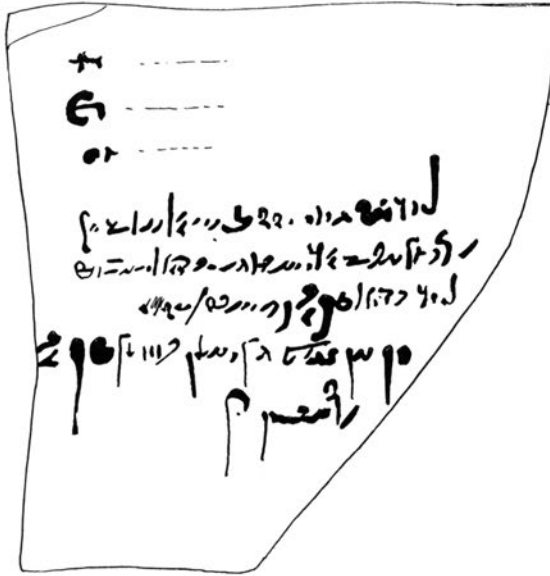
XVIII. DO Berlin 6570. Grösse: 10,2 × 8,7 cm. Theben. Römische Zeit.

Transkription

1. *ibt-3 šm sw 13 r p³ r³*
2. *<n> Pr-³ n N.t Hr-wd³(?)*
3. *s³ Imn-htp rtb n sw 3*
4. *sw 18 r p³ r³ <n> Pr-³ r Pr-Mn_t*
5. *... s³ P³-wr-i³bt_t sw 1 1/2*
6. *sw 20 r p³ r³ <n> Pr-³ n N.t*
7. *P³-wr-i³bt_t sw 1*
8. *wn n³j rtb n sw 5 1/2*

Übersetzung

1. Am 13. Epiphe. An den Speicher
2. des Königs in Theben: Haruodj(?),
3. Sohn des Amenhotep, 3 Artaben Weizen;
4. am 18. An den Speicher des Königs in Hermonthis:
5. ..., Sohn des Pueriebt, 1 1/2 (Artaben) Weizen;



XIX. DO BM 24923.

6. am 20. An den Speicher des Königs in Theben:
7. Pueriebt 1 (Artabe) Weizen.
8. Sie sind (da) diese 5 1/2 Artaben Weizen.

Bemerkungen

Z. 4. *Pr-Mnt* (wörtl. „Haus des Month“), hier als Bezeichnung der Stadt Hermonthis (vgl. ERICHSEN, Demot. Lesest. 2, Glossar, S. 200). — Das Zeichen vor dem Namen muss ein Verschreiben sein [*r* statt *n* (indir. Gen.)].

Z. 5. Der Schreibung nach *sw* 1/2 „1/2 (Artabe) Weizen“ zu lesen. Der letzte senkrechte Strich in *sw* „Weizen“ steht aber hier und in der folgenden Zeile auch für die Ziffer 1.

Zumessung von Weizen

XIX. DO BM 24923. Grösse: 11,5 × 11 cm. Oberägypten. Wahrscheinlich Jahr 116/15 v. Chr.

Transkription

1. ...
2. ...
3. ...
4. $h^3.t-sp$ 2 $ibt-3$ pr sw 8 h^3j $\langle r \rangle$ $P^3-tj-*Wsir*$
5. s^3 Hwn p^3 hp n p^3 wn n $\langle n^3 \rangle$ $pr.w$ n p^3 $šm$
6. $\langle n \rangle$ $h^3.t-sp$ 2 $pr.w$ sw 9 1/6 sh $Hj^3rgl(?)$
7. sh $P^3-tj-Hr-sm^3-t^3.wj$ s^3 $P^3-šr-Ihj$ sw 9 1/6
8. r h p^3 ntj sh hrj

Übersetzung

1. ...
2. ...
3. ...
4. Im Jahr 2, am 8. Phamenoth ist zugemessen Peteusire,
5. dem Sohn des Hune, das Recht des Getreideanteils der Ernte
6. (für) Jahr 2. Getreide 9 1/6 (Artaben) Weizen. Es hat geschrieben $Hj^3rgl(?)$.
7. Es hat geschrieben Peteharsemtou, Sohn des Pshenihj: Weizen 9 1/6 (Artaben)
8. gemäss dem, was oben geschrieben ist.

Bemerkungen

Z. 5. p^3 hp n p^3 wn n $\langle n^3 \rangle$ $pr.w$ n p^3 $šm$ „das Recht des Getreideanteils der Ernte“. Der Ausdruck ist wohl so zu verstehen, dass Peteusire als Pächter oder als Verpächter seinen Anteil des geernteten Getreides (im letzteren Falle den Pachtzins) erhalten hat.

Z. 6. Jahr 2 ist entweder Ptolemaios IX. Soter II. 2 (= Jahr 116/15 v. Chr.) oder Auletes 2 (= Jahr 80/79 v. Chr.). Die erste Alternative scheint mir die wahrscheinlichste zu sein.

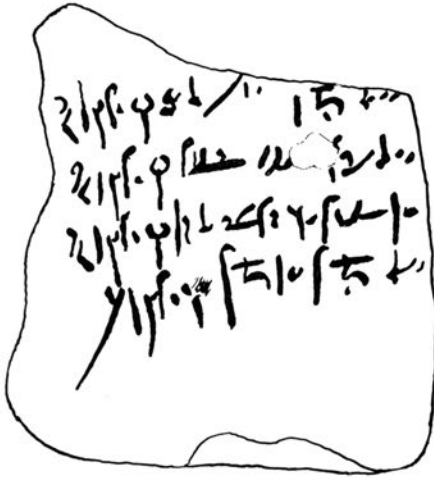
Z. 8. $P^3-šr-Ihj$, Pshenihj (wörtl. „der Sohn des Ihi“). Der Gott Ihi ist als Sohn der Hathor von Dendera und des Horus von Edfu in dem erstgenannten Ort heimisch. Diese Tatsache deutet ihrerseits darauf hin, dass Dendera den Herkunftsort des Dokuments sein könnte.

Abrechnung über Weizen

XX. DO BM 31283. Grösse 8 × 7,2 cm. Oberägypten. Römische Zeit.

Transkription

1. $P^3-šr-Mn$ $\langle s^3 \rangle$... rtb $\langle n \rangle$ sw 1 1/6



XX. DO BM 31283.

2. P^3 -šr-*Thwtj* [s^3] *Hr-bj*(?) *rtb* <*n*> *sw* 1 1/6
3. P^3 -*tj-Wsir* s^3 *Pa-n^3-nht.t.w* *rtb* <*n*> *sw* 1 1/6
4. P^3 -šr-*Mn* < s^3 > P^3 -*tj-Mn* *rtb* <*n*> *sw* 1 1/6

Übersetzung

1. Pshenmin, (Sohn) des ..., 1 1/6 Artaben Weizen.
2. Pshenthoth, [Sohn] des Harbi(?), 1 1/6 Artaben Weizen.
3. Peteusire, Sohn des Panechate, 1 1/6 Artaben Weizen.
4. Pshenmin, (Sohn) des Petemin, 1 1/6 Artaben Weizen.

Bemerkungen

Z. 2. Das Zeichen für „Sohn“ ist, wenn ausgeschrieben, durch die Abspaltung weggefallen. — *Hr-bj*(?), Harbi(?). Zur Schreibung des Wortes *bj* „Seele“ vgl. ERICHSEN, Demot. Glossar, S. 111.

Warenrechnung

XXI. DO A 51. Grösse: 9,5 × 9,5 cm. Oberägypten. Jahr 120/19 v. Chr.

Transkription

1. $h^3.t$ -*sp* 51 n^3 *nkt.w ntj lw = w wh^3 n ibt-2 pr sw 11 wp.t*
2. *tm(.t) w^c.t ht 1 kt 5* (supra lin.) $^c.wj n ^c.r^c$ *1 ht 1 kt 5* (supra lin.) *dp*
3 ht 1 kt 5 (supra lin.)



XXI. DO A 51.

3. $\text{t}^3 \text{t}^3$ 1 ht 12 kt 5 (supra lin.) ht ht 10 ibj ht 1/2
4. hm³ 1/6 [ht] (?) 16 (supra lin.) gdh ht 4 nhh
5. ht 15 klm ht [15] wr^c
6. ht 6 ^cršn 1/6 ht 5 ... ht 1
7. rtb <n> ^cdf 10 ht 7 kt 5
8. n³ wn.w ht 10 p³ sp hw
9. ht 20
10. [r ht] ^c126^c

Übersetzung

1. Jahr 51. Die Sachen, welche man verlangt hat am 11. Mechir. Spezi-
fikation:
2. eine Matte 1 Silberling 5 (Silber)-Kite (supra lin.); ein Kübelschrank
1 Silberling 5 (Silber)-Kite (supra lin.); drei Schalen 1 Silberling
5 (Silber)-Kite (supra lin.);

3. ein Esel ... 12 Silberlinge 5 (Silber)-Kite (supra lin.); Holz 10 Silberlinge; Honig 1/2 Silberling;
4. Salz 1/6 (Artabe) 16 [Silberlinge] (?) (supra lin.); *gdh*-Frucht 4 Silberlinge; Öl
5. 15 Silberlinge; ein Kranz [15] (Silberlinge); *wr*^c
6. 6 Silberlinge; Linsen 1/6 (Artabe) 5 Silberlinge; ... 1 Silberling;
7. ^c*df* 10 Artaben 7 Silberlinge 5 (Silber)-Kite;
8. die Schreinöffner 10 Silberlinge. Die übrigen Unkosten
9. 20 Silberlinge;
10. [macht] 126 [Silberlinge].

Bemerkungen

Z. 1. Jahr 51 = Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. 51 (= Jahr 120/19 v. Chr.).

Z. 2. *tm(.t)* „Matte“. Die fem. Endung der nachfolgenden Ziffer zeigt, dass das Wort hier als Femininum zu fassen ist. — ^c*wj n* ^c*r* „Kübel-schrank“. Dem Determinativ des Wortes ^c*r* nach zu schliessen kann es sich um eine Art Krug oder Behälter handeln. Das Wort (bei ERICHSEN, Demot. Glossar nicht belegt) dürfte die demotische Entsprechung des kopt. *ape* 'pail', 'bucket' sein (CRUM, Copt. Dict., S. 15). — *dp* „Schale“, kopt. *xon*, ein in Mitgiftlisten vorkommender Gegenstand.

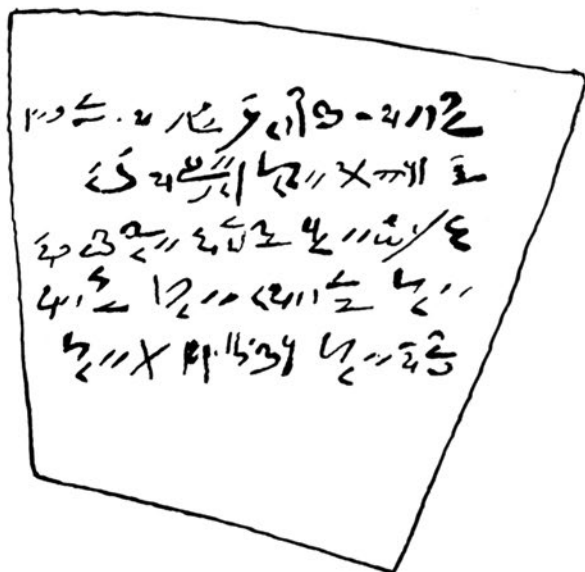
Z. 3. Die Bedeutung des Wortes 𐤏𐤍𐤕 , vielleicht *t*³ zu transkribieren, ist mir unklar. Dem Determinativ nach zu deuten könnte es ein Kraut sein, oder, worauf die Wortstellung deutet, eine Art Stoff aus welchem eine Esselfigur hergestellt ist. — Vor dem auf *ibj* „Honig“ folgenden Bruch ist wohl *ht* „Silberling“ zu ergänzen, so auch in Z. 4 [(*ht*) 16] und in Z. 5 [(*ht*) 15].

Z. 4. *hm*³ 1/6 „Salz 1/6“. Man hat sich hier die Artabe als Mass hinzudenken, und die Quantität entspricht dem Scheffel (*oĩφι*), eine Fraktion der Artabe. — *gdh*, wahrscheinlich eine Art Frucht oder Kraut.

Z. 5–6. *wr*^c, griech. *ῥαρχος*, eine Hülsenfrucht. (Vgl. SCHNEBEL, Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten, S. 185 ff.) — ^c*ršn* 1/6 „Linsen 1/6“. Zu dem Masse vgl. Z. 4, Bem.

Z. 7. ^c*df*, wahrscheinlich eine Art Frucht o. ä.

Z. 10. Von der Summe ist das Zeichen für „100“ deutlich erkennbar.



XXII. DO BM 66325.

Abrechnung über Öl verschiedener Art nebst anderen
Erzeugnissen

XXII. DO BM 66325. Grösse: 7,7 × 7,6 cm. Abydos¹. Römische Zeit.

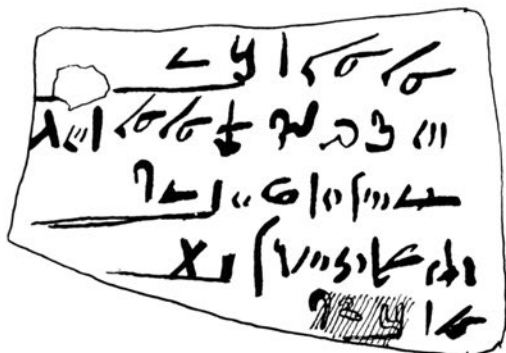
Transkription

1. $n\dot{h}h\ n\ m^{\text{3}}^{\text{c}}\ 1/4$; $n\dot{h}h\ n\ tkm$
2. $1/8 \dots kt\ 4.t\ ibj\ 1/16(?)$
3. $hl\ kt\ 2.t\ mn\dot{h}\ kt\ 8.t\ mth$
4. $kt\ 4.t\ tp.t\ kt\ 3.t\ ^{\text{c}}t$
5. $ntm\ kt\ 4.t\ sm\dot{t}\ kt\ 4.t$

Übersetzung

1. Echtes Öl $1/4$; tkm -Öl
2. $1/8$; ... 4 Kite; Honig $1/16(?)$;
3. Mürrha 2 Kite; Wachs 8 Kite; Salböl
4. 4 Kite; $tp.t$ -Öl 3 Kite; Süsses
5. Fett 4 Kite; Augenschminke 4 Kite.

¹ Aus dem Scheingrab des Seti I. (Eg. Expl. Soc., Mem. 39:2, Pl. 93:8.)



XXIII. DO BM 12464.

Bemerkungen

Z. 1. *nḥḥ n m³* „echtes Öl“, kopt. *ⲛⲟⲙⲉ* (S), nach CRUM „Olivenöl“ (a. A., S. 240). — *nḥḥ n tkm* „tkm-Öl“, möglicherweise als Brennöl verwendet [vgl. *ⲁⲩⲩⲟ dgm* (WB 5, S. 500)]. Das Wort *nḥḥ* ist etwas nachlässig geschrieben. Für die beiden Ölsorten sowie für den Honig (Z. 2) ist kein Mass angegeben.

Z. 2. Das erste Zeichen kann nur ein Bruch sein, welcher sich auf das *tkm*-Öl bezieht, wahrscheinlich 1/8. — Das folgende Wort ist hinsichtlich des Determinativs rätselhaft. Liegt vielleicht eine Schreibung für *ḥsmn* „Natron“ vor? — Im Gegensatz zu den erwähnten Ölsorten und dem Honig ist für dies Erzeugnis der Geldwert angegeben, was auch für die übrigen aufgezählten Produkte gilt.

Z. 4–5. *t ntm* „süßes Fett“ (im ERICHSEN, Demot. Glossar nicht verzeichnet). — Die Gruppe *ⲧⲛⲧⲛ* ist, wie es mir scheint, eine ungewöhnliche Schreibung für *smṯ* „Augenschminke“.

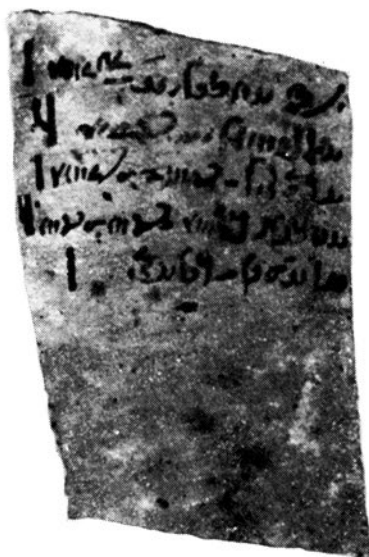
Abrechnung

XXIII. DO BM 12464. Grösse: 8,2 × 5,8 cm. Oberägypten¹. Römische Zeit.

Transkription

1. *krkr 1 <ḥt> 240*

¹ Möglicherweise Elephantine.



XXIV. DO Wien 329.

2. Smn^3 $krkr$ 1 ht 10
3. $Bj-^{nh}$ ht 145
4. T^3 -šr.t-ns-mtr $\langle ht \rangle$ 130
5. $\langle r \rangle$ $krkr$ 1 $\langle ht \rangle$ 275

Übersetzung

1. Ein Talent 240 (Silberlinge).
2. Semne: ein Talent 10 Silberlinge.
3. Bionehe: 145 Silberlinge.
4. Tshenesmet: 130 (Silberlinge).
5. Summe ein Talent 285 (Silberlinge).

Bemerkungen

Z. 2. Smn^3 , Semne, griech. Σέμνη.

Z. 3. Zu dem Namen $Bj-^{nh}$, Bionehe, vgl. WÄNGSTEDT, Ausgewählte demot. Ostraka, Nr. 78/3, 5.

Z. 5. Vor dem Wort $krkr$ „Talent“, das hier in abgekürzter Schreibung erscheint, ist das Zeichen für „Summe“ zu ergänzen. Auch das Zeichen für „Silberling“ ist, wie in Z. 1 und Z. 4, ausgelassen. In der Schluss-Summe — zum grössten Teil ausgetilgt — sind die Beträge in Z. 2, 3 und 4 zusammengezählt,

Abrechnung

XXIV. DO Wien 329. Grösse: 10 × 6,2 cm. Oberägypten. Römische Zeit(?).

Transkription

1. <i>sw 14 P³-hm s³ Hr-kn</i>	1
2. <i>P³-šr-İh^j s³ P³-b^j</i>	2
3. <i>P³-htr s³ p^jkrts</i>	1
4. <i>P³-hm s³ Pa-h^j s³ šk³s</i>	2
5. <i>P³-tj-Hr-sm³-t³.wj s³ Pa-t³.wj p³ hm</i>	1

Übersetzung

1. Tag 14. Peakhem, Sohn des Harken,	1
2. Pshenihi, Sohn des Pebo,	2
3. Phatre, Sohn des Epikrates,	1
4. Peakhem, Sohn des Pachi, des Sohnes des Askas.	2
5. Peteharsemtou, Sohn des Patou des Jüngeren,	1

Bemerkungen

Z. 3. Die Schreibung des Namens *P³-htr*, Phatre (wörtl. „der Zwilling“) ist ungewöhnlich.

Z. 4. *šk³s*, Askas, griech. Ἀσχαῖς.

Z. 5. Für die Lesung *Pa-t³.wj*, Patou, vgl. die Schreibung des Wortes *t³.wj* in dem Namen des Vaters.

Abrechnung

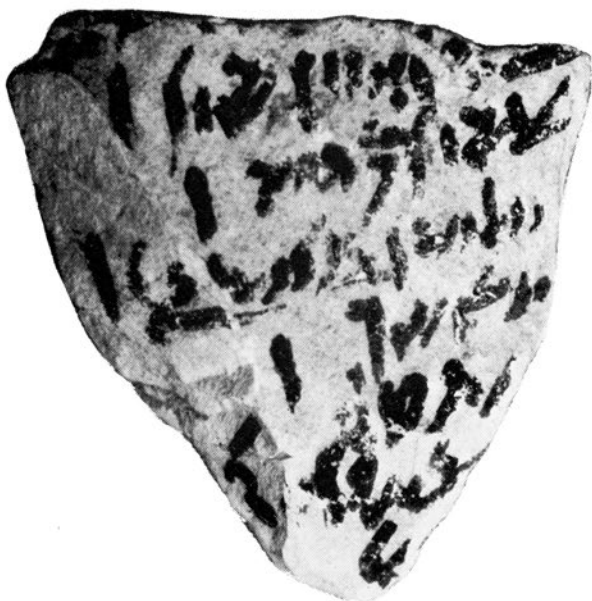
XXV. DO W 87. Grösse: 8 × 7,8 cm. Oberägypten. Ptolemäische Zeit.

Transkription

x + 1. ... s ³ P ³ -tj-šw	1
2. <i>Ns-šw-Tfnw.t</i>	1
3. <i>P³-šr-p³-bk s³ Hr-bk</i>	1
4. <i>P³-mr-ih(?)</i>	1
5. <i>r 13</i>	
6. ...	1/2
7. ...	

Übersetzung

x + 1. ..., Sohn des Peteshu,	1
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XXV. DO W 87.

2. Esshutefnut	1
3. Pshenpebek, Sohn des Harbek,	1
4. Pleeh(?)	1
5. macht 13	
6. ... 1/2	
7. ...	

Bemerkungen

Z. $x+1$. P_3 -*tj*-*Šw*, Peteshu. Zur Lesung des Gottesnamens *Šw*, Shu, vgl. Z. 2.

Z. 2. Zu dem Namen *Ns-Šw-Tfnw.t*, Esshutefnut, vgl. SETHE, Bürgerschaftsurkunden, Nr. 13 und Nr. 14.

Z. 4. P_3 -*mr-ih*(?), Pleeh(?). Die Schreibung ist ungewöhnlich. Das Personendeterminativ **𓂏** erscheint nur ausnahmsweise (vgl. MIRIAM LICHTHEIM, Medinet Habu Ostraca, Nr. 10/8).

Third person singular pronoun suffixes in Proto-Semitic.¹

(With a theory on the connective vowels in Tiberian Hebrew)

1. *The two allomorphs in Biblical Hebrew.* Biblical Hebrew object suffixes of the 3rd person singular are known to have two allomorphs. For Sg. 3 m. there is *'ennū* and *'ēhū* (or *-ō* after consonant and *-hū*, *-w* after vowel); for Sg. 3 f. there are *'ennā*, and *'ehā* (or *-āh* after consonant and *-hā* after vowel). The first allomorphs contain a geminate *n*, hence we shall call them "*n*-suffixes". The other allomorphs contain several sub-allomorphs.

The *n*-suffixes have been explained by most scholars as containing the energetic morpheme of Semitic (attested in Arabic, etc.) *-an* or *-anna*.² Only BARTH (1907, pp. 2 ff.) contested this explanation on phonetic grounds,—the connective vowel *-e-* that corresponds to Aramaic *-i-* in *-in-*, according to him, cannot be derived from the Arabic *-a-* of *-an(na)*, (see also BARTH, 1913 p. 14 for further arguments).

MAYER LAMBERT (see his 1903) was the first scholar to examine closely the distributional rules between the two main allomorphs mentioned above.³ While the sub-allomorphs of the second main allomorph obey distributional rules of a purely phonetic character, both main allomorphs may occur in apparently the same position, e.g. *yīšmar-'ennū* and *yīšmar-'ēhū*. The distributional rules of the two main allomorphs are of

¹ This is an extended version of a paper read in the 178th meeting of the American Oriental Society, Berkeley, March 19–21, 1968. I also take this opportunity to thank my chairman Dr. Harry Steinhauser for reading my manuscript and for making some interesting comments on it.

² See for instance C. BROCKELMANN 1910, p. 153: "Des restes de l'énergique, ayant perdu sa signification originelle, se trouvent aussi à l'imparfait avec les suffixes; par ex. *īqqāḥennū* de **īqqāḥenhū* 'il le prendra'..."

³ LAMBERT mentions in his quoted article that the idea to wonder about the existence of such distributional rules came from BERLINER, in his "Beiträge zur hebr. Grammatik" (1879) p. 46, where he arrived at approximately correct conclusions.

morphological (and not phonetic) character. Let us see what LAMBERT says about the 3rd person Sg. suffixes (p. 138): "1° au futur indicatif [= Imperfect] on emploie les suffixes *-ennū -ennā*;¹ en poésie on emploie quelquefois *-ḫū, -ehā*. 2° Avec le vav conversif on emploie *-ḫū, -ehā* ou *-āh*. 3° Au futur impératif [= Jussive] on se sert toujours de *-ḫū, -ehā* à la 2° et à la 3° personne; à la 1^{re} on emploie plutôt *-ennū* que *-ḫū* et toujours *-ennā*. (...) 6° Les suffixes de l'impératif sont *-ḫū, -āh*, plus rarement *-ehā, -ennū, -ennā*."

These definitions of LAMBERT's are valid for those persons of the prefix-conjugations that do not require any special suffix, thus not for Sg. 2 f. (*-ī*), Pl. 2/3 m. (*-ū*) and Pl. 2/3 f. (*-nā*). On the other hand, after forms that had presumably had the *yaktub-u* pattern with a final *-u* (all the other persons of the Imperfect), there are *n*-suffixes, whereas after forms that had had the *yaktub* pattern (the same persons of the Jussive and the Prefix-Perfect after waw conversive), there is no *-nn-*. The first persons of the latter group, however, behave as if they had belonged to the first pattern,—in other words, after 1st persons of Jussive and Prefix-Perfect one finds *n*-suffixes.

The first impression we can get is that *n*-suffixes are used after an original **-u*.² After original long vowels (Sg. 2 f., Pl. 2/3 m./f.), consonants (other persons of the Jussive and the Prefix-Perfect), and presumably after the **-n*³ of the Imperfect in Sg. 2 f. and Pl. 2/3 m./f. **taktubī-n* and

¹ My transcription. Henceforth, quotations originally in Hebrew characters will be transcribed.

² In *yešnō* "there is", the suffix *-nō* can be explained by assuming that the original form of *yēš*, as suggested by Akkadian, was **yišu*. In Akkadian (see von Soden 1952, § 78b), this verb uses a form of the Imperfect in the functions of a Stative, *išu* "er hat". After this *-u*, an *n*-suffix is expected in Hebrew, hence *-nō*. Similarly for *qobnō* "curse him!", Num. 23: 13 (root **qbb*). This form is supposed to represent **qubb-ennū*. If this reconstruction were correct, the ending *-nō* could not be explained, there is no change **-ennū* → *-nō*. The original form of the Imperative could be **qubb^u* with a homorganic, euphonic *-u* (after final gemination) that required *n*-suffixes. Then, the short *-u* disappeared and a contraction took place. The reason why **-nnū* had yielded here *-nō*, and *-ennū* as elsewhere, is that in all the other cases *-u* was a final indicative marker, while in **yišu* it was part of the stem and in **qubb^u* a euphonic vowel. When final short vowels began to disappear, those final vowels that constituted an independent morpheme were most probably slower to yield than these two, less functional *-u*'s. Thus, *-nō* could be an earlier contraction and *-ennū* a somewhat later one.

³ Arabic and ancient Canaanite documents suggest that this ending originally was *-na* with a final *-a*. Northern Guraige, however, (see HETZRON 1968) indicates *-n* only. Probably, one more factor must be taken into account. Arabic had *-ni* after dual

**yaktubū-n* (see Table 2 below, with reservations) as well as after other consonants, the allomorphs *-*hū*/-*hā* were used. After Perfect, no *n*-suffixes were used (see Section 4 below).

According to the second part of LAMBERT's definition 3°, after 1st persons of the second pattern (Jussive and Prefix-Perfect) *n*-suffixes are used. If we posit original forms Sg. lc. **aktub*, Pl. lc. **naktub*, the above rule does not seem to be valid,—after consonant we have *n*-suffixes.

Yet this divergence of the first persons from the general pattern tallies with another one. The Sg. lc. Jussive forms, and to a lesser extent Pl. lc., tend to be augmented by a final element -*ā*. This element was also identified with the energetic ending -*an* (according to BARTH 1907, p. 12, fn. 2, the originator of this explanation is STADE). BIRKELAND (1940, p. 14) objected to this etymology on the ground that the change -*an* → -*ā* is not attested in Hebrew. The other explanation (BAUER-LEANDER 1922 § 36d and JOÜON 1923 p. 315, fn. 1) equates -*ā* with the subjunctive ending of Arabic *yaktub-a*. In this case, however, final short -*a* ought to disappear in Biblical Hebrew. BIRKELAND (p. 14) suggests that the final -*ā* in Hebrew was borrowed from a neighbour-dialect that had not lost final short vowels, and Hebrew lengthened it to make it fit the requirements of Hebrew phonetism. MORAN (1960) has brought up very strong arguments in favour of the identification with the Arabic subjunctive. He has found a form *yaktuba* in ancient Canaanite expressing wish (his pp. 2-5) or used in subordination in purpose clauses (p. 6 ff.). He has even established a rule of "modal congruence" for the latter use. This means: "if the verb of the first clause states a fact (perfect, indicative), then in the purpose clause the verb is in the indicative; if the verb of the first clause is an imperative, a jussive or a *yaqtula* expressing a wish, etc., then in the purpose clause the verb is a jussive or *yaqtula*" (p. 9). MORAN further says that the functions of **yaktuba* in Biblical Hebrew are fairly similar to his ancient Canaanite (of Byblos): "In independent clauses in

indicative: *yaktubā-ni* "they both write" and nothing after Pl. 2/3 f. *t/yaktubna* + Ø. We suggest that the original indicative marker after long vowels was -*n*. This would have created a final closed syllable with a long vowel, which is impossible in Arabic. Then a final euphonic vowel was introduced to make the syllable with the long vowel open. The choice of the euphonic vowel followed the principle of contrast, -*na* after -*ū* and -*ī*, and -*ni* after -*ā*. Thus, the final -*a* and -*i* after -*n*- must not be taken into consideration in establishing Proto-Semitic allomorphic conditioning: they are later developments. Unfortunately, neither Hebrew nor any Ethiopian language shows traces of dual in verbs to enable us to check the extent of the rules of contrastive euphonic vowels posited for Arabic.

the rare third person it expresses a wish (...), in the first person determination, exhortation, self-encouragement, etc.; in purpose clauses it is governed by the rule of modal congruence" (p. 12). This suggests that **yaktuba* had had a meaning very close to, if not identical with, that of the Jussive. MORAN declares himself (on p. 19) that it is impossible to decide whether it had the same meaning as the Jussive or not.

A very important fact is that while *yaktuba* freely occurs with a neatly volitive value in ancient Canaanite, Hebrew has very few occurrences of it outside of the first person (and the masculine singular imperative). This may give us a clue as to its original meaning.

If not governed by a grammatical construction (e.g. after the prohibitive particle *ul*, in purpose clauses according to the modal congruence, in conditional), the subject of *yaktuba* seems in ancient Canaanite to be always the King. This suggests that *yaktuba* is a very polite way to express request or wish (see MORAN, p. 2), while Jussive may express plain order. In other words, *yaktuba* is a cohortative expressing exhortation or strong urging to do something rather than giving an order. For Hebrew *-ā*, the cohortative meaning was recognized quite early.

Unless it is governed by a syntactic construction, the primary function of the Jussive is to give an order. While order and request are conceivable in the second and (indirectly given) in the third persons, and furthermore in Pl. lc. (order or request directed to a group of which the speaker is a member), a Sg. lc. order or request, literally interpreted, is hardly plausible. First person orders may represent either self-encouragement (as also stated by MORAN) or a question asking for instructions "Shall I ...". The cohortative form **aktuba* implying "to urge, to encourage" could have come to express self-encouragement, and as such, to replace the hardly plausible Sg. lc. Jussive in part of its functions.¹ Although a Pl. lc. order/request is plausible, the analogy of the singular could be a serious factor in adopting *naktuba*, cohortative, instead of the plain Jussive *naktub*. Furthermore, the Prefix-Perfect, that had most often become homonymous with the Jussive, also adopted the ending *-ā*, partially, in the first persons.

Consequently, combinations of the Jussive/Prefix-Perfect first person

¹ Another example of a language's reacting differently to first person Jussive than to other persons: the interrogative imperative of the third person is in French *Qu'il s'en aille?* "Shall he leave?" with the subjunctive, while the use of the indicative *Est-ce qu'il s'en va?* "Is he leaving?" is a question requesting information. In the first person, however, the question is *Est-ce que m'en vais?* "Shall I go?" with indicative for requesting instructions.

forms and object suffixes of Sg. 3 m./f. do not come from **aktub* + *-hū*, but from the longer form **aktuba*—and then the *n*-suffix, yielding *ektəbennū*. The rarer uses of the *n*-suffixes after the Imperative Sg. masc. also reflect the older, extenuating, polite, cohortative ending *-ā*. The only question still left open is, how the final *-a* of **aktuba* had become long in Biblical Hebrew. It seems to be originally short, because it became reduced before the *n*-suffixes, leaving its indirect trace in the choice of the *n*-suffixes. Probably, to save the decadent final vowel that still had a morphological function, this vowel was stressed,—and this unusual stress lengthened it.

All this means that we have to modify our rules given above to a little extent. Correctly stated, the *n*-suffixes were used after the original short vowels *-u* (Indicative Imperfect Sg. 1c., 2 m., 3 m./f., Pl. 1c.) and *-a* (Jussive/Prefix-Perfect first persons and sometimes Imperative masculine singular) only, while *-hū*/*-hā* were used everywhere else: after long vowels and after consonants. Poetry sometimes deviated from this rule and tended to generalize the latter allomorphs, maybe to compensate for the fact that in biblical times the Indicative Imperfect had lost its final *-u*, so that the originally phonetic conditioning had become arbitrary, only morphologically motivated.

2. *The energetic in Biblical Hebrew.* Even the establishment of the above distributional rules by LAMBERT did not modify the generally adopted theory about the origin of the *n*-suffixes. LAMBERT says about the origin of *-nn-*, himself (p. 183): “il correspond à l'énergique arabe et se rattache très vraisemblablement à la particule *nā*.”

Several objections may be brought against the identification of the *-nn-* of the *n*-suffixes with the energetic morpheme. First of all, the Arabic energetic is usually dubbed a “mood”, but it is not. It is a category superposed on moods. Thus, Arabic *yaktuban(na)* may represent either the Indicative *yaktubu* or the Jussive *yaktub*. Consequently, there is no structural reason why one mood should adopt and generalize the energetic in Hebrew, whereas the other mood would completely dispense with it. The connection with the Hebrew cohortative particle *nā* is even less plausible. This particle may be associated with Jussive and Imperative only,—just the opposite of *-nn-*.

The other, very weighty objection is that Biblical Hebrew does have a few occurrences of the energetic in combination with object suffixes, and they differ in form and in distribution from our *n*-suffixes.

The partial survival of the energetic in Hebrew was recognized by scholars, but only before object suffixes. It is not impossible, however, that part of the instances with *nun paragogicum* found after Sg. 2 f. and Pl. 2/3 m. prefix forms is not a survival of the ancient **-na*, the indicative marker after *-ī* and *-ū* (see fn. 3, p. 102), but of the energetic. There are quite a few occurrences of such a final *-n* after verbs that reasonably represent the Jussive. For instance, Ex. 34:13 contains three subsequent emphatic orders, using the prefix-conjugation (and not the Imperative) with final *-n*; in Ruth 2:8 two negative orders are followed by a positive order, prefix-form with *-n*; on the other hand, in purpose clauses Deut. 6:2 after *lma'an* "in order that", and in Ps. 104:9 twice after *bal* "lest" where Jussive or Subjunctive is expected. These occurrences look more "energetic" than anything else.

We are here interested in energetic forms followed by an object suffix. Curiously enough, we find them before singular object suffixes only. Here are the attested forms:

TABLE 1

Sg. 1c.	<i>-(ā)nānī</i> ¹ (Ps. 50:23) (maybe also <i>-ennī</i> ?)
2 m.	<i>-n(ak?)kū</i> (Jer. 23:24, in pause)
2 f.	unattested, see Table 2.
3 m.	<i>-(e)nhū</i> , (Ex. 15:2, in pause, Jer. 5:22)
3 f.	unattested, see Table 2.

After subjects of Pl. 2/3 m., the situation is ambiguous. The extra *n* appearing between the plural marker *-ū* and the object suffix may either be the energetic *-an-* or the original indicative marker *-n* (the other allomorph of which is *-u*).² The attested forms after Pl. 2/3 are:

TABLE 2

Sg. 1c.	<i>-nānī</i> (Pr. 1:28 three examples, one in pause, Hos. 5:15 in pause) or <i>-nanī</i> (Job. 19:2)
2 m.	<i>-nka</i> (Ps. 63:4, in pause and Ps. 91:12 in questionable pause)
2 f.	<i>-nek</i> (Jes. 60:7, both in secondary pause)
3 m.	<i>-nhū</i> (Jer. 5:22, in pause) ³
3 f.	<i>-nhā</i> (Jer. 2:24, in pause)

¹ The connective vowel *-ā-* is certainly a survival of the original vowel of **-an-*.

² Most scholars prefer the second explanation; see for instance BAUER-LEANDER, p. 388, § 48 p. See also here below.

³ Once there is *-nō* in *yilkəḏunō*. Prov. 5: 22. Since there is an explicit object beside this verb, the object suffix does not seem to be legitimate. There must be some mistake in the text.

In Job 19:2, the *n* seems rather to be part of the plural marker. The preceding verb in the same verset is *tōgyūn*, containing the archaic plural marker *-ūn*. The probability is that the two verbs have parallel forms. On the other hand, we may also consider that the energetic morpheme is used in both cases, once with and once without an object suffix.

On the other hand, the example from Jer. 5:22 looks like a genuine energetic plural. The pausal verb *yaʿabrunhū* is preceded by *yaʿabrenhū* (in secondary pause). The probability is that both verbs ending in *-nhū* contain the energetic morpheme.

At any rate, it seems that the combination of the energetic morpheme and the Sg. 3 m. object suffix yields *-nhū* while the *n*-suffix of the same person is *-ennū*. It is also true that in the Bible one can find enough morphological doublets, but this is not one of them. The proportions of occurrence contradict it. The energetic form is fairly rare in the Bible. There is no doubt about the forms' contained in Table 1 being energetic and probably most of Table 2 are also energetic. The number of occurrences of the Sg. 3 m./f. endings *-nhū/-nhā* corresponds neatly to the number of the energetic with other persons of object. If *-nhū* and *-ennū* were stylistic or dialectal variants, their distribution should be different. While *-nhū* is as rare as the energetic with other persons of object (the undoubtedly energetic forms), *-ennū* is a very current form, depending on the syntactic status of the verbal form to which it is suffixed, and possesses no energetic connotation.

Furthermore, the distributional features definitely invalidate any identification of *-nhū* and *-ennū*. The energetic *-nhū* may occur after any person, with a neat preference for pausal positions. On the contrary, *-nnū* is only used after Sg. 1c., 2 m., 3 m./f., Pl. 1c. of the Indicative Imperfect compulsorily, and almost compulsorily after Sg./Pl. 1c. of the Jussive and the Prefix-Perfect, both in context and in pause.

Consequently, we must look elsewhere for the origin of the *n* in the *n*-suffixes *-ennū/-ennā*.

3. *Outer South-Ethiopic Heavy and Light suffixes.* The Outer South-Ethiopic languages are divided into three groups: Gafat (recently extinct), Northern Gurage (the relatively most archaic group, most probably the direct survival of the common stock from which the rest had split off) and Western Gurage (three subgroups: Mäsqaṇ,—Central Western Gurage with Čäha, Eža, etc. and—Peripheral Western Gurage with Gyeto, Ennämör, etc.). They have conserved a number of very

archaic features of Proto-Semitic, especially Northern Gurage. All these languages have at least two sets of complement suffixes, called Heavy and Light (see POLOTSKY 1938, p. 160 ff., and 1951, p. 29 ff.). Roughly, Heavy suffixes are used after original long vowels and Light ones elsewhere. As vocalic length ceased to be relevant in these languages, these distributional rules, originally phonetically conditioned, became arbitrary. Here is a table of the singular object suffixes¹ in a Northern Gurage language: Soddo.

TABLE 3

Heavy		Light		
		a	b	c
Sg. 1 c.	- <i>np</i>	- <i>e</i>	- <i>e</i>	- <i>e</i>
2 m.	- <i>kkā</i>	- <i>hā</i>	- <i>hā</i>	- <i>nnāhā</i>
2 f.	- <i>kk^y</i>	- <i>h^y</i>	- <i>h^y</i>	- <i>nnāh^y</i>
3 m.	- <i>u</i>	-:	- <i>u</i>	- <i>nn</i>
3 f.	- <i>a</i>	-: <i>a</i>	- <i>wa</i>	- <i>nna</i>

The Heavy suffixes are used after Sg. 2 f., Pl. 2 m./f. and Pl. 3 m./f. of both tenses (Imperfect and Perfect) and the Jussive (after original *-ī/-ū/-ā). Light *a* suffixes are used after all the other persons of the Imperfect and the Jussive; the symbol ":" marks that the preceding consonants become geminated. Light *b* suffixes are only used after Sg. 3 f. of the Perfect (e.g. *sābbārätt*- 'she broke'), and Light *c* after Sg. 2 m. and 3 m. of the Perfect.² (In Western Gurage, suffixes of Light *c*-type replaced Light *b* completely.)

We can see that in Light *c* suffixes there is -*nn*- in the second and third persons. The Sg. 3 m. form can be reconstructed as *-*nnū* (see POLOTSKY 1938, p. 161). In Peripheral Western Gurage, Enär and Endägän still have -*nu*.³ The element -*nn*- in the second persons seems to be a secondary development, by the analogy of the third persons. This can be proved the following way.

First of all, the connective vowel between -*nn*- and the second person

¹ The plural object suffixes are parallel in most respects with the singular ones.

² After the Perfect Sg. 1c. Heavy suffixes of 2nd and Light *c* of 3rd persons are used. In languages other than Soddo, Heavy suffixes are used exclusively after Pl. 1c. of the Perfect. For details, see HETZRON 1968, Section 2.

³ From an older *-*nnum*, while older *-*nnu* became -*n*.

marker may be *a* (in Central Western Gurage and in the Northern Muxər), *ä* (in Peripheral Western Gurage) and *ə* (in Soddo and Gogot of Northern Gurage),—and probably *i* in Gafat. This heterogeneity already proves the relative recentness of these suffixes.

Moreover, there is another, stronger proof. In Light *a* (used after Imperfect) the gemination represents an older *n* that became assimilated to the preceding consonant: **yəsäbər-n* → *yəsäbərr*-. Muxər still has, besides the assimilated form, a free variant *yəsäbränn*-. In languages other than Soddo and Gogot, an “Internal Labialization” takes place before this Sg. 3 m. suffix that proves that the original form must also have been approximately **-nu*, e.g. **yəsäbər-nu* → *yəsäb^wərr*-. This also happens in the Perfect in Mäsqaṇ and Central Western Gurage: *säbb^wäränn*- “he broke him”. In Sg. 3 f., the *-a* after Imperfect also represents an older **-nnä* (Polotsky, *ibid.*). Muxər, besides *yəsäbər-ra*- also admits *yəsäbränn-a*- “he breaks her”. At the same time, there is no trace of such a *n* in the second persons of the object suffixes after Imperfect (Light *a*). We contend that the suffixes after the Imperfect represent a more archaic situation than those after the Perfect (see Section 4 below).

In the second and first persons of object suffixes, there is a contrast between Heavy and Light suffixes, namely Sg. 1c. Heavy *-n_n* vs. Light *-e* and Sg. 2 m./f. Heavy *-kkä/-kk^y* against Light *-hä/-h^y* (communicated through a secondary *-nn*- in Light *c*). On the other hand, in the third persons Light *b* and the Heavy suffix seem to agree, m. *-u* and f. *-a/-wa* (at any rate with no trace of *n* in an apparently Light position) against Light *a* and *c* that had reconstructibly been *-nnū* and *-nnä* with the *n*. This indicates that there were two different allomorphic splits in different periods that have led to the present situation.

Light *b* and Heavy suffixes of third person agree against Light *a* and *c*. Let us try to find out what the original environment had been, what features were shared by the positions of Light *a* and *c* against the other two (or vice versa).

To reconstruct the development of these suffixes, we must go back to Proto-Semitic. Northern Gurage has “Main Verb Markers” (see HETZRON 1968) etymologically corresponding to the Arabic indicative markers *-u/-na*, namely **-u* in a Light position and **-n* in a Heavy one (the same distribution as in Arabic). Today, these markers are *-u/-n* in Soddo and Gogot, and *-u/-tt* in Muxər. In the article to which I refer above, I reconstructed Proto-Gurage **-wt/-nt* with a final *-t*, a special Ethiopian development from the original *-u/-n* (cf. fn. 3 on p. 102). Besides actual

functions, a difference between the Arabic morpheme and the Northern Gurage one is that the first precedes eventual object suffixes, while the latter follows them. Thus, we have in Arabic *yulabbis-u-ki* "he clothes you (f. sg.)" with an object suffix *-ki* at the end, while the corresponding Soddo form has *-h'* (from an older **-ki*) in a penultimate position: *yaläb-bəs-h'-u*. Our assumption is that Proto-Northern Gurage had originally had the same order as Arabic.

Thus, we start out from a Proto-Semitic situation. The indicative morpheme was then **-u/-n*. Proto-Semitic had two allomorphs for Sg. 3 m./f. object suffixes, **-nnū/-nnā* vs. **-hū/-hā*. The first ones were used after short vowels, such as the indicative marker *-u* (and subjunctive *-a*), and the second one after the rest. The Sg. 3 m. Imperfect in Northern Gurage is still *yəsäbr-u*. Probably, the second radical was once geminated: **yəsäbbär-u*, cf. F. RUNDGREN, *Erneuerung des Verbalaspekts im Semitischen* (1963) p. 70–72. After this short *-u*, the Sg. 3 m. object suffix used was *-nnū*, thus **yəsäbbär-u-nnū* for "he breaks him".

The original conditioning of the appearance of **-nnū/-nnā* limited it to the position after short vowels of the Imperfect (see Section 4.). In Proto-Ethiopic these allomorphs, the *n*-suffixes, were also adopted after the short vowels of the Perfect, namely Sg. 2 m. **säb(b)ärkä-* and Sg. 3 m. **säb(b)ärä-*. This is the origin of Light *c* in Table 3. After long vowels as well as consonants of the Perfect, the allomorphs without *n*, namely *-hū/-hā* were used (subject to further phonetic changes). Thus, *säbbärätt-u-* for "she broke him" and *yəsäbrəma-w-* "they (f.) break him", *säbbär-ma-w-* "they (f.) broke him". Consequently, the same allomorph was used after a consonant and a long vowel. The corresponding feminine object suffix **-hā* later adopted a *-w-* after consonant, —*wa*, probably through the metanalytical analogy of what had happened after long **-ū*, where the vowel was reduced into a labial appendix. The form *yəsäbärm^w- + -a-* "they (m.) break her" was misinterpreted as if it were composed of *yəsäbärm- + -wa-*.

We have assumed that the original order in Proto-Gurage was "indicative marker—object suffix". The later transfer of the indicative marker *-u* to the end brought the final radical and the *n* of the object suffix in contact: **yəsäbbär-u-nnū* → **yəsäbr-u-nnu* → **yəsäbär-nnu-u*. This is still a very early stage. The Proto-Ethiopic extension of the indicative morpheme from **-u/-n* to **-wt/-nt* must have either taken place afterwards, or else it had originally been reserved to word-final positions (**yəsäbbär-ut* "he breaks" and when there was an object suffix following,

no *t* appeared, **yasäbbär-u-nnū*). At any rate, after the transfer of this morpheme to a final position everywhere, even with object suffixes, the *t* (re)appeared. From this **yasäbbär-nu-ut*, after the reduction of the gemination of the Mid radical and the assimilation of the *n*, Muxər yielded *yasäb^wər-rə-t* through a further transfer of the labiality from a full-fledged vowel in the suffix to an Internal Labialization in the stem, and Soddo and Gogot, by completely dropping the labiality, yielded *yasäbər-rə-t*.

Since after the transfer of the *-u* behind the object suffix the original phonetic conditioning of the allomorphs with *n* became invalid, the Jussive imitated the similar Imperfect by using the same object suffixes, in the same distribution. Thus, *yasäb^(w)ər-r-* for the indicative Sg. 3 m. "he breaks him" and *yasb^(w)ər-r* for the Jussive "let him break him". This took place despite the fact that the latter form had originally ended in a consonant (originally requiring *-hū*) unlike the first one. What happened was that the prefix-conjugation Jussive joined the other prefix-conjugation form, the Imperfect, that also came to be ended in a consonant in certain persons. The Imperfect, in spite of the changes, maintained the original *n*-suffixes and the similar Jussive adopted them.

So far, the distribution of the allomorphs of the 3rd person object suffixes had been established, **-hū* in a Heavy position and after consonant in the Perfect, and **-nnū* elsewhere (also after consonants of the prefix-conjugations). After this another allomorphic split took place. After long vowels (Sg. 2 f. *-ī*, Pl. 2/3 m. *-ū* and Pl. 2/3 f. *-ā*), initial consonants of suffixes became geminated, maybe to compensate for the loss of the relevance of vocalic length, thus *-ū + -kä → -u-kkā*. After the still remaining final short vowels (Perfect Sg. 2 m. **säbbärkä-* and Sg. 3 m. **säbbärä-* only), the *n* of the 3rd person object suffixes (already a later extension) was not only maintained (while assimilated after consonants), but also extended to objects of second person: **säbbärä + -kä → säbbärä-nnähä* "he broke you (m. sg.)". As an intermediate stage, we may posit **säbbärä-hä* to justify the weakening *k → h* after a short vowel. This is still the form in one Peripheral Western Gurage language: ʕndägäṇ-sapärä-hä (and *-n-* appears in the third person objects only). The heterogeneity of the vowel after *nn-* (see above, after Table 3) suggests that the weakening did not take place because of *this* vowel.

As a conclusion, the distribution of the allomorphs of the object suffixes of 3rd person was still fixed in Proto-Semitic, **-nnū* after the final short vowels of the Imperfect and **-hū* elsewhere (after long vowels,

consonants and any Perfect form). This underwent later some modifications (Jussive adopted **-nnū*). The distribution of the allomorphs of the second persons is already a later, Ethiopian development that took place when the vocalic length ceased to be relevant. At the first stage (Proto-Semitic), the final short vowels (Light₁, Sg. 3 m./f. object suffix with *n* after the Imperfect only) were opposed to the rest (Heavy). An intermediate (Proto-Ethiopian) stage was to generalize the *n*-suffixes after any short vowel, in other words to extend them to the Perfect. At the final stage, final decadent long vowels (Heavy₂) were opposed to the rest (Light₂) with a further split: this Light₂ mainly meant "after consonant", and for the still remaining final short vowels (in the Perfect only) the *n* was extended to the objects of the second person too (except in ʒndägäp). The first stage left its imprint on the distribution of the 3rd person object suffixes, and the final one on the second persons.

We do not intend to deal here with the Sg. 1c. object suffixes. They probably represent a Proto-Semitic distribution (see later the end of Section 8). The Pl. 1c. object suffixes behave like the 2nd person suffixes.

4. *The suffixes after verbs.* Both Biblical Hebrew and Outer South-Ethiopic seem to indicate that after the *-u* of the Light persons of the Imperfect (those that do not require long vowel-suffixes), and in Hebrew also after short *-a*, the Proto-Semitic Sg. 3 m./f. object suffixes were **-nnū/-nnā*,—and **-hū/-hā* elsewhere. The latter allomorphs were used after long vowels: Sg. 2 f. and Pl. 2/3 m./f. of the Jussive, and the Prefix-Perfect; after consonants: the other persons of the Jussive and the Prefix-Perfect and probably after the *-n* of the Heavy persons of the Imperfect (see fn. 3 on p. 108). The allomorphs **-hū/-hā* thus had a larger distribution, the *n*-suffixes being used for certain persons of the Imperfect only. Therefore the more often used suffixes tended to be generalized. In all the Semitic languages other than Biblical Hebrew and Outer South-Ethiopic they managed to eliminate the *n*-suffixes almost completely.

In Biblical Hebrew no *n*-suffix is used after the Perfect. On the other hand, in Outer South-Ethiopic, after those persons of the Perfect that end in a short vowel, in addition to adopting the *n*-suffixes of 3rd person, the element *n* was extended to the 2nd person objects too. In other persons of the Perfect, the Heavy suffixes are mainly used.

This confrontation suggests that Proto-Semitic had no *n*-suffixes after the Perfect, and that in Outer South-Ethiopic it is a secondary development. The reason must be the following.

The Perfect form conjugated by means of suffixes is, according to most Semitists, a relatively late development. Most probably, Akkadian Prefix-Perfect (preserved after *waw* conversive in Biblical Hebrew) was the original Semitic Perfect. The original function of the suffix-conjugation must have been similar to the Akkadian suffix form *Permansive*, a nominal form with no tense implication. If the suffixes were added to a verbal noun (in Akkadian they can be added to any type of noun), they still remained nominal forms, just as well as participles and infinitives did. As a matter of principle, if these verbo-nominal forms had pronominal objects, they could be expressed by means of possessive endings. This, however, was ambiguous, it could also indicate the subject: Arabic *qatlī* "my killing" may either be a nominalization of "I kill" or of "X kills me" (cf. RUNDGREN, *Orientalia Suecana* 13, 1965, p. 75 and p. 83). Another, safer solution was to use Independent object pronouns, a conjugated form of ²*ōt*-/²*e* in Hebrew, *iyya*- in Arabic, *kiya*- in Gəʿəz, etc.

When the Suffix-Perfect had been admitted into the verbal system by obtaining its tense-value, it was entitled to get real object suffixes. Since the *n*-suffixes for the third person were decadent even in Hebrew (the poetic language could already dispense with them), it is no wonder that the new Perfect adopted the more productive Sg. 3 m./f. suffixes *-hū/-hā* (that were also homonymous with the possessive endings, the original pronouns affixed to the still nominal suffix-conjugation). On the other hand, in Proto-Outer South-Ethiopic, the *n*-suffixes of the 3rd person singular were not decadent,—they were generalized after the short vowels of any verbal form including the Perfect, and later also after the consonants of the Jussive. A further development in Western (but not Northern) Gurage generalized the *n*-suffixes after all the consonants, so that after the Imperfect (that had transferred its final *-u* after the object suffix and came to end in consonants) and Jussive,—Sg. 3 f. Perfect also adopted them, e.g. *ʒʒa säbb^wäräčč-ənn-* "she broke him" against *säbbärätt-u-/säbbäräčč-u-* of Northern Gurage. The *n*-suffixes, unlike elsewhere, remained very vigorous in Outer South-Ethiopic.

In Gafat, however, the *n*-suffixes did not turn out to be so productive. This Outer South-Ethiopic language maintained a clear trace of the *n* in the Imperfect (see LESLAU 1956, p. 59 ff.), *yədärəs-si* "he finds him" and *yədärəs-sa* "he finds her", the gemination of the last radical representing **n*, in older **-ni/-na* (for **-nu/-na*). The *-u* of **-nu* that usually became dissimilated into *i*, left its trace in the occasional labialization of the preceding consonant, e.g. *tib* "you give" and *tib^wi* "you give him". After the

Perfect, the *n*-suffixes do not seem to have been adopted, we have *däräso* "he found him" (from **däräsä-u*). However, Perfect *had* been affected because the only non-assimilated survival of *n* is after the Perfect Sg. lc.: *däräshu-nni* "I found him" and *däräshu-nna* "I found her".

What has been said now is valid for the Gafat described in LESLAU 1956, based on his investigation with the last speakers of this now extinct language. However, in 18th century Gafat described in LESLAU 1945, we can find further, rather precarious evidence of the old use of *n*-suffixes after the Perfect, that was dropped later. This evidence is provided by a unique form found on p. 125, Col. 8(23) of LESLAU 1945: *yädäräsänihu* erroneously translated "if you meet". In European languages, the government of the verb "to meet" is such that the protagonist of the story is the subject and the new participants the complement: "I met a man", etc. In Ethiopian languages, however, the newcomer is the subject and the original protagonist the complement. "I met a man" must be translated into Amharic by *säw agäṗṗäṗṗ*, literally "A man found/met me". Thus, *yädäräsänihu* is literally "if (*yä*) he finds you (pl.)", with *-nihu* containing the *n*.

The corresponding Gurage suffix (Pl. 2 m. in Gurage, as there is no gender distinction in the plural in Gafat) is *-nnahu/-nnähu* in most Western Gurage languages and Muxər with a connective vowel *a/ä*, and *-nnəhmu* in Soddo and Gogot, with a closed connective vowel *ə*. Thus Gafat *-nihu* with its closed *i* is closer to the latter type. This perfectly matches our previous assumption (see HETZRON 1968) that while Northern Gurage is the direct survival of the common stock, Western Gurage split off from the dialect group represented now by Muxər, and Gafat from the dialect group represented today by Soddo and Gogot. This suffix also joins the list of isoglosses that constitute the foundation of this division.

However risky it is to accept the evidence of a *hapax legomenon*, the testimony of the connective vowel makes it plausible that *-nihu*, an innovated *n*-suffix similar to Gurage, was used after the Perfect in an older stratum of Gafat.

5. *Conjugated adverbs in Biblical Hebrew*. In addition to the verbal system, the Sg. 3 m./f. suffixes *-nnū/-nnā* also occur in certain conjugated prepositions and adverbs.¹ In these cases, the Sg. lc. ending is also *-nī*, a

¹ BAUER-LEANDER quote BROCKELMANN (ZA, 14) for the explanation of the *-nn-* as representing the Proto-Hebrew equivalent of Arabic *anna* "that" (conjunction).

“verbal” suffix, instead of the expected $-i$. Yet, while the use of $-nnū/-nnā$ in the 3rd person singular presupposes $-nī$ in the first person, this is not true conversely. We have *kamō-nī* “like me”, but *kamō-hū* “like him” (see end of Section 8).

The negative particle $ʔeyn$ is used as a negative copula (also with participles). For its conjugated form, it has two variants in Sg. 3 m./f., either $ʔeyn-ō/ʔeyn-āh$ with Possessive endings or $ʔeyn-ennū/ʔeyn-ennā$ with n -suffixes. One could argue here that since this particle may be used as a predicate, the function mainly reserved for the verb, it has optionally adopted verbal suffixes, by analogy. But this cannot be said about the next element.

The preposition *min* has a complicated conjugation. “From me” is *mimm'ennī*, then *mimm'ennū/mimm'ennā* for “from him/her”. No analogy with verbs can be posited here to justify the use of the n -suffixes.

A solution to this problem is offered by the behavior of the adverb $ʔōd$ “still, more”. When conjugated, the Sg. 3 m. form is $ʔōdennū$ “he still ...” and Sg. 3 f. $ʔōdennā$.¹ On the other hand, when this adverb is preceded by a preposition, the suffixes without n appear: Sg. 3 m. $bəʔōd-ō$ “while he ...” and $məʔōd-ō$ “ever in his life”, etc.² It is reasonable to posit that the verb $ʔōd$ had originally ended in the adverbial-accusative ending $-a$, namely $*ʔawda$ (but the possibility of the locative-adverbial ending $-u$ is not excluded either). After a preposition, however, the ending became $-i$, genitive, like in the Arabic compound prepositions *taḥta* “under” vs. *min taḥti* “from under”. Thus, after original $*bi-ʔawdi-$ and $*min ʔawdi-$ the Sg. 3 m./f. suffixes $-hū/-hā$ were selected. After the bare adverb that ended in $-a$ (or $-u$), the n -suffixes were used. As there is no verbal form ending in short $-i$, it is impossible to check the distributional

¹ P. H. MÜLLER (as quoted by BARTH 1907, p. 9, fn. 1.) says that $ʔōd$ is a “verbal noun”, hence the use of object suffixes. The sentence hereunder contradicts this explanation.

² There are contradictory examples in the Bible, due, in my opinion, to later confusions. EWALD (1838, p. 297) found a semantic distinction between $bəʔōdennī$ “as long as I am” against “the poetic innovation (das dichterisch erneute)” $bəʔōdī$ “in my life”. Cf. also in BAUER-LEANDER § 80v. $bəʔōdī$ “mein Leben lang”, $bəʔōdennī$ “während ich noch war”, etc. This may be descriptively correct.

As for the concrete examples: there is one occurrence of $ʔōdī$ (Ps. 139: 18) against the two instances of $ʔōdennī$. There is once $bəʔōdennī$ (Dt. 31: 27) vs. two $bəʔōdī$ (Ps. 104: 33 and 146: 2) in exactly the same context. $ʔōdennū$ occurs twenty times and there is no $*ʔōdō$. There is one $bəʔōdennū$ (Gen. 25: 6) in exactly the same context as $bəʔōdennī$ above (before *hay* “alive”), this confirms EWALD’s distinction. There is no n -suffix after $məʔōd-$.

rules of the allomorphs in a verbal environment. The case of this adverb suggests that the *n*-suffixes were used after short *-u* and *-a*, but the other allomorphs after short *-i*, long vowels and consonants.

In the light of this, it is likely that the survival of the *n*-suffixes after *min* is due to its older ending **-a*. In Arabic, the usual final euphonic vowel is *-i*, e.g. *ʿan + -r-raġuli* = *ʿan-i-r-raġuli*. After *min*, however, we find an unusual euphonic *-a*, e.g. *min + -r-raġuli* = *min-a-r-raġuli* that can be the trace of an older **mina* only (cf. end of Section 7). The corresponding Gəʿəz preposition is *əmənnä* with final *-ä* (short *a*, further preceded by a gemination). For Proto-Hebrew, we must posit **mimma-* as one of the possible forms of the preposition. LAMBERT (1892, p. 302) posits **minnennū* where the first *-nn-* became *-mm-* under the assimilatory influence of the preceding *m*. This allows us to reconstruct Proto-Semitic **minna*, the gemination of which also tallies with Gəʿəz and with the form of "from me" in Arabic, *minnī* analyzed into *minn + -ī*.

Since prepositions and adverbs do not usually behave morphologically like verbs, but take nominal, possessive pronouns, we may wonder whether the *n*-suffixes were not used after real nouns as Possessive endings of Sg. 3 m./f.

Here I adhere to UNGNAD's theory recently modified by DIAKONOFF. UNGNAD posited no case-endings at all for the construct state (1906, p. 174 ff.). According to DIAKONOFF (1965, pp. 60–1, *status pronominalis*), Proto-Semitic construct state nouns distinguished only between two cases; they had a genitive ending in *-i* and a "direct case" with no case ending for all the other syntactic functions. It is obvious that Possessive endings are added to construct state nouns, even in Arabic which has all the three cases in construct state. If originally Possessives were added indeed to construct state nouns, they could be preceded by *-i* (genitive, *-i-* in Akkadian), long vowels (plural, certain short nouns) and consonants (most nouns in the singular "direct case" nominative-accusative) only, so that there was no final *-u* or *-a* governing the *n*-suffixes in the nominal system, even if later there were connective vowels between noun and Possessive having the sound [a], etc. The choice of the connective vowel was conditioned by the subsequent consonant, and it consequently could not condition the choice of the same subsequent consonant: the suffix (see UNGNAD, p. 178). This is the situation in Akkadian. Already in Akkadian we can see that the eventual connective vowels between noun and Possessive (e.g. after gemination *libb-*) tend to become the same as the case endings in the given context, thus *libbu-ka* "your heart"

for nominative and *libba-ka* for accusative.¹ This connective vowel established complete case-marking for certain nouns (with final geminates) before Possessive, and as further consequence of this, full case-marking before Possessive was introduced for all the nouns in Arabic,² Proto-Ethiopic and possibly Ugaritic (see HARRIS 1939, pp. 41–2). The lack of case-marking before Possessive of Sg. lc. in all these languages but not in Akkadian and Phoenician, and the partial case-marking “genitive vs. the rest” after Sg. lc. in the latter two languages (HARRIS 1936, p. 48)³ confirm this hypothesis: before the Sg. lc. ending starting in a (semi-)vowel no connective vowel had to be admitted, thus no full case-marking was developed. The old two-case marking was maintained in Akkadian and early Phoenician, but dropped in Arabic⁴ and in Gəʿəz.

Adverbs, unlike nouns, did end in a constant *-a* and had no construct state forms, so that when they admitted pronoun suffixes, they had the proper conditioning for the choice of the *n*-suffixes.

As for the prepositions other than *min*, the situation must have been the following. According to the testimony of Arabic, there were three morphological preposition classes: 1) primary, monosyllabic prepositions such as *b-*, *l(a)-*; 2) prepositions ending in the adverbial *-a*, e.g. *tahta*

¹ UNGNAD (p. 177) states that the original connective vowel could be *u*, *i* or *a* indifferently in the nominative and accusative, but in the genitive there is mostly, but not always, *-i*. This supports DIAKONOFF's later theory about the originality of the *-i* here. See also UNGNAD, p. 181: “Als Hilfsvokal findet sich *i* (besonders im Gen.) und *a* (im Nom. und Akk.), nie im Gen.” The secondary character of the connective vowel can be proved by the fact that it appeared after the undissolvable consonant clusters, the geminates, only,—the other consonant clusters were dissolved, cf. *kalab-ka* “your dog” (direct case) and *kalb-ī-ka* “of your dog” from *kalb-* vs. *libbu/a-ka* and *libb-ī-ka* from *libb-*.

² UNGNAD, p. 177: “Wir sehen nun, daß in späteren Perioden der babylonisch-assyrischen Sprache, wo die Kasusendungen noch streng unterschieden werden, als Hilfsvokale mit Vorliebe gerade die Vokale des betreffenden Kasus genommen werden, eine Eigentümlichkeit, die sich im klassischen Arabisch durchweg eingestellt hat.”

³ Akkadian has *kalb-ī* “my dog” direct case vs. *kalbi-ya* “(of) my dog” (gen.). Phoenician has the graphemic representation *ʔb* for “my father”, direct case, and *ʔby* for the genitive. There is only one instance of other case-distinction for Sg. lc. Possessive: in Eastern Gura. For example, Səlṭi has *gar-e* “my house” for the common case, vs. *gar-ä-yyä* “my house” in accusative. This is a later development.

⁴ Akkadian has *-ī* “my” for nominative and accusative, and *-ya* after the *-i* of the genitive. Arabic reorganized these allomorphs to fit another phonetic conditioning. *-ya* is used after long vowels (or reduced long vowels: *muʿallimiyya* “my teachers”), and *-ī* elsewhere.

“under”, and 3) prepositions ending in *-ay*, such as *‘alay*. The final *-y* of the last type is preserved (though unpronounced) in the Arabic orthography, and also in the poetic variant of the preposition in Hebrew *‘aley*. It seems that the final diphthong *-ay* was considered either as a long vowel or as a final short *-i* ($= -y$), since there is no trace of *n*-suffixes after this type in Hebrew.

The final *-y* ceased to be pronounced quite early. Arabic pronounces *‘ala* where it writes *‘alay*, and the corresponding Gəʿəz preposition is *laʿlä* (*-ä* for short *-a*, older **-ay*). This made these prepositions similar to the *tahta*-type that had genuine *-a* endings. All the final *-a*'s (both from **-a* and **-ay*) were dropped in Hebrew. In spite of the phonetic identity of the final *-a* from **-a* and **-ay*, Arabic maintained the morphological differentiation between them, before suffixes: *tahta-ka* “under you (sg. m.)” but *‘alay-ka* “on you” with a restitution of the *-y*. In Gəʿəz, however, these two classes merged: *tahte-kä* and *laʿle-kä* for both, with a false restitution of *-ay* → *-e* for the first one. Similarly, Hebrew has *tahtē-kā* “under/instead of you” as well as *‘ālē-kā*. While *-(a)y* (in Gəʿəz *-e* and in Hebrew *-ē*) is historically justified after “on”, it is by no means legitimate after “under”.¹ We contend that the *-y*- in “under” is due to a late merger of two preposition classes and *tahta*- in Proto-Hebrew had other suffixes.

A few survivals in Biblical Hebrew still show the older *n*-suffixes that were appropriate after short *-a*. In Sg. 1c. there is *tahtēni* in 2 Sam. 22:37 against the usual *tahtay*; then Sg. 3 f. *tahtennā* “instead of her” Gen. 2:21, for *tahtēhā*. The alternation between Pl. 3 m. *tahtām* and the more recent *tahtēhem* also belongs here. No analogy can explain the use of *n*-suffixes here. They must be survivals. The first variant of the Pl. 3 m. form is derived from **tahta* still unaffected by the analogy of the **-ay* class. Likewise, Ps. 139:11 has *baʿadēni* “about me”² instead of *baʿadī* from *bāʿad*. Arabic shows the older form *baʿda* “after” with an original final *-a*. All the same, this preposition had not joined the **-ay* class in Hebrew, but adopted the usual Possessive endings as used after singular nouns. The Sg. 3 m. form is *baʿadō* in Hebrew. The reason for this may be that the initial *b-* was misinterpreted as the preposition *b-*. Consequently **baʿda* became **baʿdi* and no *n*-suffixes on the one hand, nor suffixes used after the **-ay*- type (identical with those used after plural nouns) on the other could be adopted. This assumption is confirmed by

¹ The usual explanation for the suffixes of “under”, probably BARTH's, is that this preposition imitated its antonym “on”.

² Usually explained as necessitated by the rhyme with *yəšūpēni*.

the actual independent form of the preposition: *bəʿad* against the form *baʿad*- before prepositions and *mib-baʿad* "from behind". The latter bound forms correspond better to Arabic *baʿda* with a vowel *a* after the first consonant. The independent form *bəʿad* cannot be a construct state form either. It must be explained as a result of the curtailment of the *a* of the first syllable that took place when the initial *b*- was mistaken for *b(ə)*- "in".

6. *Conclusions.* The preceding reconstructions suggest that Proto-Semitic had two allomorphs for the Sg. 3 m./f. pronoun suffix, **-nnū/-nnā* and **-hū/-hā*. The first ones were used after the short vowels **-u* and **-a*, and the latter ones everywhere else. There was probably no essential difference between Possessive endings and Object pronouns. However, for purely phonetic reasons, *n*-suffixes could not be used after nouns,—they originally never ended in short *-u* or *-a* before Possessives. Adverbs and prepositions, however, did end in *-a*, hence the survival of the *n*-suffixes in certain Hebrew conjugated adverbs. If these adverbs came to be preceded by a further preposition, their *-a* was replaced by an *-i* (genitive) and the *n*-suffixes could not be used anymore. The only preposition that originally ended in *-a* but admitted the other allomorphs is *l(a)*- "to". In Arabic, it is *li*-, but has an *-a* before pronoun suffixes: *laka* "to you" vs. *bika* "by you", and it is *lā*- in Gəʿəz and *lākā* for "to you" vs. *bākā* "in you", from *bā*-. It is possible that the final short *-u/-a* governing the *n*-suffixes had basically to be an independent morpheme (see however fn. 2, p. 117) that was not the case for *la*-. After the Perfect, only the other allomorphs were used, owing to the fact that the Suffix-Perfect comes from a nominal form. When it was admitted to the verbal system, it was entitled to get object suffixes, and it adopted the latter allomorphs that, having a wider distribution, were becoming more productive.

The *n*-suffixes were completely eliminated by the other allomorphs in Semitic languages other than Biblical Hebrew and Outer South-Ethiopic, and possibly Aramaic (see Section 8).

Biblical Hebrew maintained *-nnū/-nnā* after original **-u* of the Imperfect and after the **-a* used after first person Jussive and masculine singular Imperative. These suffixes also survived after a few adverbs and conjugated prepositions that had ended in *-a*. Most prepositions ending in *-a*, however, joined another class of prepositions, those that had originally ended in **-ay*, and the *n*-suffixes were subsequently eliminated.

In Outer South-Ethiopic (Gafat, Northern and Western Gurage), *-nnū/-nnā* were maintained after short vowels of the Imperfect. By generalizing the distributional rules, they were also adopted after the final short vowels of the Perfect. In the latter case, the *n* of the 3rd person suffix was transferred also to objects of the 2nd person. Then the indicative marker *-u*, which had stood before object suffixes, was shifted behind them (with modified functions), but the old *n*-suffixes were maintained. They were no longer motivated phonetically, because through the displacement of the connecting *-u-* they came in contact with the last consonant of the verb. By analogy, the Jussive also adopted the same suffixes as the Imperfect, in the same persons, since it also ended in the same consonant. The *n* of the suffix became assimilated to the last consonant, and *-u* of the masculine (in **-nnu*) more or less reduced. After long vowels as well as consonants of the Perfect, developments of the latter allomorphs **-hū/-hā*, namely *-u/-(w)a*, were used. Western Gurage partly reorganized the system, it generalized the *n*-suffixes after all the consonants (also after Sg. 3 f. of the Perfect) and limited the use of the other allomorphs to the case after original long vowels.

A special Outer South-Ethiopic development took place later. After final decadent long vowels, initial consonants of suffixes became geminated. Since 3rd person suffixes had *-u/-a* after long vowel, starting with a vowel, no gemination was possible. In other persons, however, there was an initial consonant. The initial *-k-* of the second person suffixes was geminated after original long vowels, $\bar{V}-k \rightarrow V-kk-$, while the same *k* was spirantized in all the other positions, $k \rightarrow x \rightarrow h$.

Thus, we find in Outer South-Ethiopic two distributional boundaries for the allomorphs of the object suffixes. One for the 3rd person perpetuating the Proto-Semitic situation: *n*-suffixes after original short *-u* (and *-a*) vs. all the rest. One for the other persons,—as a compensation for the loss of relevant vocalic length there is a division: gemination after original long vowels vs. non-gemination (and spirantization) for all the rest.

7. *The connective vowel in Tiberian Hebrew.* In Biblical Hebrew, according to the Tiberian vocalization system, the suffixes *-nnū/-nnā* are connected with the verbal stem by the vowel *-e-*. This *-e-* also occurs elsewhere as a connective vowel. The usual explanation for it is that this vowel is the result of a metanalysis in IIIy verbs (see for instance JOÜON 1923, 61 f.): *yilwe-nnū* 'he will borrow it' interpreted as *yilw-ennū*. BAUER-LEANDER

(§ 48r) think that it is a development of the energetic ending *-an* → *-en*. BARTH (1907, p. 2) objects to this that parallel forms in certain Aramaic dialects have the connective vowel *-i-*, and while *-e-* may be a development from *-i-*, both *-e-* and *-i-*, and especially the more original *-i-*, cannot go back to *-a*. Our explanation is laid on a completely different basis.

The term “šwa” in Hebrew is primarily the name of a diacritic symbol, two vertically aligned dots under a consonantal letter. It may represent zero (lack of vowel) or a neutral, ultra-short vowel ə. In linguistics, the term “šwa” designates the neutral, characterless vowel that is the result of the degradation of a full vowel that cannot be reduced to complete zero. It is the latter definition that should be applied to the Hebrew šwa (not the graphemic symbol that also marks lack of vowel!): namely, šwa is a vowel that results from the attempt to reduce a vowel to zero (except in *c* below). Our hypothesis is that in different conditions such a šwa was realized through different vowels, at least in the Tiberian system.

We do not know whether a vowel, except in a final position, could be reduced to complete zero in Biblical Hebrew or not. A form like **samarat* “she guards” yielded, according to the Masoretes, *šāmārā* with a vowel ə.¹ Although a šwa is traditionally not considered as a center of syllable, its occurrence must still be determined in terms of the syllable of which the šwa is the peak.² The rules to be given here are approximate and require further refinements. We are not going to deal here with šwa in contact with a laryngeal that has the allophones [a] and [e] in distributions different from that of *b* and *c* below, and the ḥaṭap-vowels as representatives of our *a*.

a) The šwa is [ə] when it constitutes an open syllable (followed by -CV...), e.g. *šāmārā* “she guarded” and *lə-bayit* “to a house”.

b) The šwa is [i] in a non-final closed syllable, e.g. *yīšmor* from both **yašmuru* “he guards” and **yašmur* “let him guard”, and also when pre-

¹ Probably, the problem of the šwa *Medium* can be solved by adopting this statement. This šwa represents a reduced vowel in positions where, if it were reduced to complete zero, a consonant cluster would be possible, cf. LAMBERT 1895, p. 228 (**mlakay*). When such a cluster is not possible, there is a šwa anyhow, and nobody wonders why.

² See LAMBERT 1895, p. 230: “On peut bien admettre (...) que le *schevâ nâ* lui-même est une voyelle ...”

ceding another šwa of the above type *a*, e.g. *li-zəḵūt* “to the merit of” (dissimilation?).

c) A šwa is [e] in a final closed syllable, e.g. *šəməārātek* “she guarded you (f. sg.)”, *way-y'iben* “he built”. The proof that [e] represents a šwa here is that the parallel form of a verb which has a stop in the final position, e.g. *way-y'ešt* “he drank”, does contain a grapheme šwa = zero in the same position (see also *d* below). Here the šwa is not the result of a reduction. It represents a genuine consonant cluster in a final position when ending in a liquid. Such a cluster is always dissolved in a final position, whatever the final consonant is, in the so-called segolate nouns, with the expected [e] for šwa: *m'eleḵ* for **mark* “king” *s'eṣper* for **sipr* “book” and *h'odeš* for **hudš* “month”.

In rules *a* and *b*, šwa represents a reduced vowel. This vowel may be reduced because it bears no stress. Stressed vowels are more resistant to change. Later reorganizations of the system, however, may drive the stress to the syllable created or rescued by the šwa. Rules *a-b-c* refer thus to unstressed syllables, and for the stressed ones, the following rules are given:

d) The šwa is [e] in a final stressed syllable, e.g. possessive ending of Sg. 2 f. *-eḵ*, *way-y'eṭ* “he bent”, *šəm* “name”, *way-y'ešt* “he drank”. (A case contradicting the last example is *way-y'išb* “he captured” with [i] instead of the expected [e].) The proof that [e] represents šwa is that the allomorphs of the word *šəm* illustrate rules *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* in an eloquent way. There is *a*) *šəm-* with [ə] before vocalic suffixes (open syllable, e.g. *šəmeḵ* “your (f. sg.) name”), *b*) *šim-* with [i] before consonantal suffix (closed syllable, e.g. *šimḵā* “your (m. sg.) name”), *c*) construct state *šem* with [e] (unstressed final syllable,—unstressed by position), all these bearing no stress,—and *d*) the stressed form *šəm* (final stressed syllable). The corresponding Arabic word is *ism* with no vowel between *s* and *m*; Gə'əz has *səm*. This makes the reconstruction **šəm* as the basis for all the above allomorphs very plausible. See also LAMBERT 1895, p. 230.

e) The šwa is [e] in a non-final stressed syllable, *1*: when it is closed, our *n*-suffixes *-'ennū/-'ennā*, etc., *2*: before final *-ā*, e.g. Sg. 3 f. object suffix *-'ehā*, Sg. 2 m. possessive ending *-'eḵā*.

f) The šwa is [e] in a non-final stressed open syllable, except when the final vowel is *-ā* (see *e2* above), e.g. Sg. 1. object suffix *-'enī*, Sg. 3 m. *-'eḥū*, Pl. lc. *-'enū*, etc.

Furthermore, connective vowels may be the survival of an older vowel

(cf. Section 5 above for Arabic *min(a)-*), e.g. *šamār-a-nī* "he guarded me" from older **šamara* later *šāmar*, *šamart-ī-nī* "you (f. sg.) guarded me" from older **šamarti* later *šāmart*, etc.

In our case, the object suffixes of Sg. 3 m./f. are *-nnū/-nnā*. A morphophonemic rule of Tiberian Hebrew is that when verbs are followed by an object suffix, the stress never falls on the verbal stem¹. Since the object suffixes Sg. lc. *-nī*, Pl. lc. *-nū* and Sg. 3 m./f. *-nnū/-nnā* (in other words, suffixes containing an *n*) may, for obscure reasons, never carry stress, and since the stress cannot be relegated to the verbal stem,—an anaptyctic šwa vowel is created between the verbal stem and the suffix that serves as a support for the stress, realized [ɛ] and [e] according to rules *e* and *f* above.

8. *Survey*. The present study has dealt with 3rd person singular pronoun suffixes only. Another type of Sg. 3 m. suffix (still contested by certain scholars) is attested after verb, noun and adverb: *-*mu*, that is *-mō* in Hebrew and *-m* in Phoenician (see ALBRIGHT 1966, pp. 34–5). As for 3rd person plural suffixes, Hebrew shows no allomorphs with *n*. Outer South-Ethiopic, however, has Pl. 3 m./f. *-nnāmu/-nnāma* after the Perfect and *-ämu/-äma* after the Imperfect with the gemination that represents an assimilated *n*. The contradiction between these languages and Hebrew prevents us from drawing conclusions about Proto-Semitic. Since the 3rd person plural endings *-mu/-ma* for masc./fem. are Outer South-Ethiopic innovations, maybe the preceding *n* is also an innovation. Let us remember, however, that Hebrew has no occurrences of the energetic *-n* before plural suffixes either (see Table 1). This would suggest that before the bisyllabic plural suffixes (against monosyllabic singulars) every inserted *n* had been completely eliminated. Phoenician (see HARRIS 1937, pp. 49–50 and 57) has a possessive/object suffix of Pl. 3 m. *-nem* used after vowel only. After a consonant, there is *-em*. This may be an extension of a Proto-Semitic allomorph originally reserved to a position after short *-u/-a*, and generalized after vowels. HARRIS explains *-nem* by a metanalysis of the plural ending *-ūn + -em* yielding *-ū + -nem*, and the latter *-nem* is generalized after a vowel both in the verbal and the nominal system.

In certain Aramaic dialects (BARTH 1907, p. 3), after the Imperfect

¹ In the Perfect, it may fall on the subject suffixes too. This morphophonemic rule suggests that object suffixes had once been independent words with their own stress.

and later also the Jussive, suffixes containing *-in-* were currently used after any person (but no suffix of 2nd person plural is attested). One should investigate further the extent of the use of these suffixes. They also may be a survival of the *n*-suffixes, generalized after all the persons of the prefix-conjugations and for all the persons of object. In another dialectal distribution (partly coinciding with the above-mentioned phenomenon), we find in Aramaic Pl. 3 m. object suffixes *-innūn/-inhō*, indiscriminately used after any tense and also the infinitive (BARTH 1913, p. 70). In the first case, the common denominator was "after prefix-conjugations: Imperfect and Jussive"; here it is "Pl. 3 m. of object after any tense", that is, one person. It is obvious that the two cases are not comparable. BARTH (1913, p. 39) did not realize the difference between them. The latter Pl. 3 m. suffix still requires an explanation. Probably it is the independent pronoun of Pl. 3 m. used as a suffix.

The suffixes brought forth by BARTH (1907, p. 6 and 1913, p. 56) from Omani Arabic *-(in)no* "him", *-innhe* "her" and *-(in)nek* "you" must be later innovations because they occur (exclusively!) after original participles used now as a Perfect.

Another interesting point is the occurrence of a Sg. 3 m. suffix *-nu* in a type of Baghdadi Arabic (in this person only) after vowels, in verb, noun and preposition. BARTH (ibid., pp. 10–12) thought that this *-nu* was nothing but the dialectal Sg. 3 m. independent pronoun *hīnu* "he", used as a suffix. According to him, the *-nu* in *hīnu* would come from the Syriac Imperfect prefix of 3rd person *n-*,—a rather farfetched explanation. Apparently unsatisfied with it, later (BARTH 1913, pp. 18 and 55), he suggested that *-nu* would be identical with the Agaw 3rd person singular independent pronoun *nī* (correctly *ŋi*). This is not plausible either. BLANC (1964, p. 64 ff.) also mentions *-nu* after a vowel (against *-u* after a consonant) in the Jewish and Christian (but not Muslim) dialects of Baghdadi Arabic, and further in Mosul and in "some Central Asian dialects" (p. 66). As independent pronoun "he", he gives *huwwi/huwwa* in the Baghdadi dialects but mentions "the unusual Mosul form */hīnu/*" (p. 60 and also p. 164). He explains it (p. 192, fn. 90) as the result of a metanalysis of *hīya* "she" into a basis *hī-* and the Sg. 3 f. pronoun suffix *-ya* (properly *-a*, but after *-i* there is a hiatus sound *-y-*). Then, "he" is accordingly reshaped as basis *hī-* + Sg. 3 m. pronoun suffix *-nu* "his, him". This explanation is much more plausible than BARTH's. Today the occurrence of *hīnu* "he" is geographically more limited (in Mosul only) than that of *-nu* "his, him" itself, but BLANC indicates (pp. 60 and

164) that it may have been more widely used in older times than today.

The question is whether this *-nu* may be related to Proto-Semitic *-nnū* or not. If it is, it must be a borrowing from the Aramaic substratum. It is less likely that this suffix is the survival of a Proto-Arabic form lost elsewhere. There are two arguments against the Proto-Semitic origin: 1) *n* occurs in suffixes of the Sg. 3 m. only, while, according to Proto-Semitic, we would expect it in Sg. 3 f. too; 2) a weaker argument is that *-nu* occurs mainly after long vowels, while *-nnū* is legitimate after short *-u* and *-a* only. This second counter-argument can easily be discarded by positing a generalization of *-nu* after every vowel, and after the reduction of final short vowels, only long vowels could maintain it. Thus it is impossible to decide now whether Baghdadi *-nu* is connected with Proto-Semitic *-nnū* or not. (See further G. Oussani, JAOS, 22, pp. 104-6, 1901).

As for the second person singulars, Biblical Hebrew (or shall we say Tiberian Hebrew?) does have a Sg. 3 m. object suffix *-'ekkā*, besides the usual *-k'ā*. The first allomorph is usually interpreted as the result of an assimilation from **-en-kā*, the energetic form (or for BARTH, the deictic *inna*). However, the energetic morpheme combined with Sg. 2 m. yields the curious form *-en(əʔ)kā* in Table 1. On the other hand, all the examples brought forth by LAMBERT (1903, p. 182) prove, against LAMBERT, that *-'ekkā* is nothing but a pausal allomorph of *-k'ā*. It does not obey any particular distributional rule and appears indiscriminately after the Imperfect, Jussive and Prefix-Perfect, after the regular Perfect (e.g. Dt. 24:13, etc.), Infinitive (e.g. Hi. 33:32), Participle (e.g. Dt. 8:5) and after an adverb (Prov. 25:16) always in pause. BARTH (1907, p. 5) did not realize that his "*n*-haltige Suffixe" used after an Infinitive and Participle in Hebrew all belong to Sg. 2 m. *-'ekkā* in pause; there is no *-ennū* after these forms. Therefore, our dissociation of *-'ekkā* from *-ennū* is imperative. Thus, *-'ekkā* must be interpreted the following way. Pausal forms often tend to contrast contextual ones by changing their stress. Because of the morphophonemic rule, which does not allow stress on the verbal stem itself (see end of Section 7), the only contrast that could be established was by means of a šwa between the stem and the suffix to support the transferred stress. Then, according to rule *e* in Section 7, either *-'ekā* or *-'ekkā* was obtained. According to the Masoretic interpretation, the second one is rather reserved to verbs but it may occur after non-finite verbal forms too. The first one is used after a noun, but it may also occur after verbs, and it is the normal allomorph for the non-finite

verbal forms. This imperfect differentiation may be due to the fact that final short vowels of verbs did not disappear at the same time as similar vowels of the nouns, so that *-'ekā* and *-'ekkā* were introduced in two different periods.

The first person singular pronoun suffixes are more complicated and deserve a special study. There usually is *-nī* after verbs and *-ī/ya* after nouns (cf. fns. 3, 4 on p. 117). The distribution of the form with *n* is by no means the same as for the Sg. 3 m./f. *n*-suffixes. As a preliminary presentation we suggest that in Proto-Semitic there was **-ni(ya)* only. Later the *n* was dropped (assimilated?) after a consonant and after *-ī* (through *n→y?*), while it was maintained elsewhere. Since the noun could only offer positions after a consonant and *-ī*, the *n* was altogether dropped here. As *-nī* had thus become a symbol of "non-noun", it was generalized after a verb, even following a consonant (or a long *-ī* of Sg. 2 f.). Old Assyrian (see VON SODEN § 84e) still maintains the old distribution, *-ī* after consonant (*iktašd-ī* "er erreichte mich") and *-ni* after long vowel (*imxurū-ni* "sie wandten sich an mich"). Outer South-Ethiopic also maintains both allomorphs after verbs, *-n* in a Heavy position (for **-nī* after original long vowels) and *-e* (from **-ya*, in Gafat *-(ä)y*) in all Light positions: after consonants, but also after short vowels unlike what we posit for Proto-Semitic. The actual cases where *-e* is used after a short vowel is in the Perfect (after *-ä*). Since, as said in Section 5, object suffixes after the Perfect are a relatively late development, this anomaly *vis-à-vis* Proto-Semitic is understandable.

The first person plural suffixes are the least problematic in the whole pronominal system of Semitic.

In addition to presenting a theory on Proto-Semitic pronoun suffixes, the aim of this study has been to remind Semitists of the importance of the Ethiopian languages spoken today for reconstructing Proto-Semitic.

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Notes on the Alleged Coptic Morphological Influence on Egyptian Arabic

Coptic and Arabic lived in conjunction in Egypt for several centuries after the Arab conquest of the country in A.D. 642.¹ It is only natural that Egyptian Arabic could not be wholly uninfluenced by Coptic, but the extent and nature of this influence still remain a controversial question. The existence of a lexical influence is certainly beyond dispute,² but no consensus has been reached as regards a Coptic phonological and grammatical substratum in Egyptian Arabic. While SPITTA had to state that he could not find any grammatical feature in the dialect which could with some certainty be considered as a Coptic influence,³ PRAETORIUS proposed as such the peculiar word order in interrogative sentences,⁴ and, a little later, LITTMANN brought up two further instances, the use of positive plus 'an as a comparative pattern side by side with the more common elative plus *min*, and the use of dem. pron. plus pers. pron. for adverb plus pers. suff.⁵ GALTIER could not accept any of these; in a short comparative study he came to the conclusion that the grammatical

¹ DE LACY O'LEARY, Notes on the Coptic Language, *Orientalia* n.s. III (1934), pp. 243-58, estimates the duration of the living contact as six or seven centuries (p. 247 f.).

² WILHELM SPITTA-BEY deals with the subject briefly in his *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, Leipzig 1880, p. x, Note 2. It is also treated by O'LEARY, pp. 256-8, and more comprehensively, although not without considerable exaggerations and rash propositions, GEORGY SOBHY BEY, *Common Words in the Spoken Arabic of Egypt, of Greek or Coptic Origin*, Le Caire 1950 (*Publications de la Société d'archéologie Copte*). A sober and reliable study is WILSON B. BISHAI, *Coptic Lexical Influence on Egyptian Arabic*, *JNES* 23 (1964), pp. 39-47. Coptic words often occur in place names; most loan-words are technical terms such as words connected with Christian worship, names of tools, animals, plants etc.

³ SPITTA, p. x.

⁴ FRANZ PRAETORIUS, *Koptische Spuren in der ägyptisch-arabischen Grammatik*, *ZDMG* 55 (1901), pp. 145-7. The same proposition was, incidentally, made earlier by L. STERN, *Fragment eines koptischen Tractates über Alchimie*, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 23 (1885), pp. 117-9 (p. 119, Anm. 1).

⁵ ENNO LITTMANN, *Koptischer Einfluss im Ägyptisch-Arabischen*, *ZDMG* 56 (1902), pp. 681-4.

Coptic influence was only a hypothesis and far from being proved¹. This stand was also taken by O'LEARY.² More recently, MUNZEL denied the alleged Coptic influence on the word order in interrogative sentences and regarded it as a result of an internal development of Arabic.³ BROCKELMANN's opinion was cautious: Coptic did not give anything new but it directed the course of development of Egyptian Arabic in cases where hesitation prevailed between different unestablished usages.⁴

Similarly, opinions differ as to the extent of the Coptic phonological influence. PRAETORIUS considered the abundance of vowel colours in Egyptian Arabic a possible Coptic influence,⁵ but LITTMANN thought this was improbable, mainly because the vocalism of Palestinian Arabic is almost as rich as that of the dialect spoken in Egypt.⁶ PRINCE attributed the phoneme *g* to Coptic influence,⁷ but this proposition has not been accepted. According to O'LEARY, 'as far as phonology is concerned nothing in modern Egyptian dialect can be traced with confidence to the influence of Coptic';⁸ WORRELL believed that the Coptic sounds became arabicized during the contact between the two languages and not *vice versa*.⁹

The most recent study of the Coptic substratum is BISHAI's dissertation,¹⁰ also published in concise form in four separate articles.¹¹ The author considers that Cairene is not phonetically and phonologically influenced

¹ É. GALTIER, De l'influence du copte sur l'arabe d'Égypte. Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 2 (1902), pp. 212-6.

² O'LEARY, p. 252 f.

³ KURT MUNZEL, Zur Wortstellung der Ergänzungsfragen im Arabischen. ZDMG 100 (1950), pp. 566-76.

⁴ CARL BROCKELMANN, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen II, Berlin 1913, § 116b.

⁵ PRAETORIUS, p. 145.

⁶ LITTMANN, p. 681.

⁷ D. PRINCE, The Modern Pronunciation of Coptic in the Mass. JAOS 23 (1902), pp. 289-306 (p. 303).

⁸ O'LEARY, p. 256.

⁹ W. H. WORRELL, Coptic Sounds. Ann Arbor 1934 (p. 122).

¹⁰ WILSON B. BISHAI, The Coptic Influence on Egyptian Arabic. Baltimore, Maryland, 1959.

¹¹ Notes on the Coptic Substratum in Egyptian Arabic. JAOS 80 (1960), pp. 225-9; Nature and Extent of Coptic Phonological Influence on Egyptian Arabic. JSS 6 (1961), pp. 175-82; Coptic Grammatical Influence on Egyptian Arabic. JAOS 82 (1962), pp. 285-9; Coptic Lexical Influence on Egyptian Arabic. JNES 23 (1964), pp. 39-47.

by Bohairic in any way; in Upper Egyptian dialect, on the other hand, no phonemic change can be attributed to Coptic influence, but three allophonic changes can be regarded as Sahidic influence, viz. the lack of aspiration of voiceless stops, palatalization of velar sounds (e.g. $k - k^y$), and fronting certain points of articulation (e.g. $j - d$, $q - g$).¹

In the grammar of Egyptian Arabic, BISHAI regards as a certain Coptic substratum both the peculiar word order in interrogative sentences and the use of dem. pron. plus pers. pron. for adverb plus pers. suff., and as an uncertain substratum the use of positive plus 'an as a comparative pattern for the usual elative plus *min*. In addition to these three instances given earlier by LITTMANN, BISHAI proposes two further features as certain Coptic influence: the use of *mā* as an imperative prefix, and the use of 'a plus pronoun plus perfect as a past tense form.² The author assigns these two instances to morphological interferences. It is well-known that this kind of interinfluencing is not unparalleled, but most instances are rather lexical, e.g. the analogical transition of a suffix indicating agent from loan-words to native words. The two examples given by BISHAI show, however, a more deep-reaching influence of one foreign language on the structure of another. It would, therefore, be necessary to reconsider the tenability of the hypothesis.

mā as an Imperative Prefix

Beside the normal form 'iktib, the imperative 'write' is also sometimes rendered in Egyptian Arabic by *mā* plus imperfect: *mā tiktib*. This usage does not seem to have any parallel in classical Arabic. Having itemized all the cases where *mā* is used in classical language, BISHAI states quite categorically: 'it is rather inconceivable to think of a negative construction changing into an imperative one through an internal development in the language, especially when no other Semitic language or dialect has exhibited a similar feature.'³ He finds the only possible source in Coptic where *ma-* appears as an imperative prefix, e.g. *mat(ə)bbo* 'become clean', *matamio* 'make'. It should be noticed, however, that in Coptic the prefix *ma-* is not very widely used but appears solely with *t*-causatives.⁴ In Coptic, original imperative forms are rare; the impera-

¹ BISHAI, JAOS 80, p. 227.

² JAOS 82, pp. 285-9.

³ BISHAI, JAOS 82, p. 288.

⁴ J. MARTIN PLUMLEY, *An Introductory Coptic Grammar (Sahidic Dialect)*. London 1948 (p. 113).

tive is usually rendered by an infinitive.¹ Thus, the form with *ma-* is not the only imperative form, not even the commonest, but only used in one verb class, and there, too, side by side with infinitive forms (*tābbo, tāmio*).² The meaning given by the prefix *ma-* is probably optative.³

BISHAR's argument may convince, but only cursorily. A similar feature, it is true, cannot be found in any other Semitic language, but the historical development of the negative *mā* already forbids the introduction of rash assertions concerning Arabic. As a matter of fact, the negative particles *mā* and *lā* are used in classical Arabic with the imperfect in a function not far from imperative, viz. as *ḥurūfu t-taḥḍīdī wa-l-'arḍi*, particles of requiring with urgency, or with gentleness. Yet there is an essential difference: in classical Arabic *mā* and *lā* are in this case connected to other particles, e.g. *lawmā, lawlā, hallā, 'allā*.⁴

It is, however, noticeable that *'amā*, which is usually a *ḥarf* *t-tanbīhī*, a particle of drawing attention, is also used to denote requiring a thing in a gentle manner, i.e. as a *ḥarf* *l-'arḍi*: *'amā taqūmu* 'why don't you stand up?', *'amā taf'alu* 'why don't you do?'⁵ According to WRIGHT, "in later times the simple *mā* is so used; as *mā taqūmu* 'dost thou not stand up?' or 'thou dost not stand up!' equivalent to 'pray, stand up'."⁶

The feature also seems to appear in Palestinian Arabic, e.g. *walak inte bti'ab lamīn, ma yi'ab abu l-'ēle?* 'Du, für wen mühst du dich ab? Soll sich denn der Vater der Familie nicht auch abmühen?'⁷ The question is

¹ PLUMLEY, p. 112; WALTER C. TILL, *Koptische Grammatik (Saidischer Dialekt) mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnissen*. 2. Aufl., Leipzig 1961 (pp. 150–2).

² L. TH. LEFORT, A propos de syntaxe copte. *Le Muséon* 60 (1947), pp. 7–28 (p. 23 f.).

³ PLUMLEY, p. 113, TILL, p. 151.

⁴ W. WRIGHT, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. 3rd ed. rev. by W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeje. Cambridge, I 1896, II 1898 (II, p. 310 f.).

⁵ EDWARD WILLIAM LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*. London and Edinburgh, I 1863 (p. 92). MICHEL FEGHALI, *Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban*, Paris 1928 (*Bibliothèque de l'École des langues orientales vivantes*, 9), p. 222 f., deals with the affirmative and energetic use of *mā* in Lebanese Arabic deriving its origin from *'amā*. This is possibly true, but the development *'amā* > *mā* cannot have been purely phonetic as Feghali believes, since *mā* is similarly used also in those dialect areas where *a* has been preserved in unstressed open syllables. The reason for the absence of *'a-* is more probably grammatical: the interrogative particle *'a-* is not used in the dialect in question.

⁶ WRIGHT II, p. 211 A.

⁷ HANS SCHMIDT und PAUL KAHLE, *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*. Göttingen, Bd. 1 1918, 2 1930. (*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 1. Folge 17–18), 1, 33, 2.

clearly rhetorical and emphasizes what actually or better should be done. The sentence *ya ġárna ma tōhīd haz-zalame ma'ak ḥallīh yuḥrutle 'ukbe 'ukbe ma'āk balčš t'allam* 'Nachbar, willst du nicht diesen Mann mit dir nehmen? Lass ihn ein kleines Weilchen mit dir pflügen. Vielleicht lernt ers'¹ begins with a negative question denoting a request, which is in continuation rendered with an imperative (*ḥallīh*). Similarly, *mā* is a *ḥarfu l-'arḍi* in the following instance: *wi' i d-ḍēf it-tāni ḳal-le: ya amīr int ḳā'id tḳamḳiš fi ḥatab u-ḡalle ta-ti'mal ḳahwē? ma tnabbih 'abdak? ḥallīh isawwi badālak!* 'Der andere, der Gast, erwachte, er sprach zu ihm: 'Du Emir, du sitzt da und sammelst Reisig und trocknen Mist, um Kaffee zu machen? Willst du nicht deinen Knecht aufwecken, lass es ihn doch an deiner Stelle tun!' "² One of the commonest uses of rhetorical questions is in reproaches, where the meaning of *mā* plus imperfect is nearly the same as that of imperative, but more affective, e.g. *ya 'ēbak ma tistaḥi bitduḳḳ fi mart aḥūk* 'O Schande über dich, schämst du dich nicht? Du greifst nach der Frau deines Bruders?'³

Often *mā* plus imperfect is no more a negative question but rather an urgent demand, *taḥḍīd*, e.g. *ya 'amm bitbi' had-dīš? kāl: lā, ya sīdi! ḳal-le: mā-tbi'e?* 'Onkel, willst du mir den Hahn verkaufen?' Er sprach: 'Nein, mein Herr!' Er sagte zu ihm: 'Willst du ihn nicht verkaufen?' "⁴ The context shows that the buyer necessarily wants to buy the cock, and that *mā-tbi'e* means 'won't you sell it (for any price)?', or better, 'you must sell it'.

It is worth noting that the negative affirmative *-š* does not occur in the given instances, although it is regularly, even if not obligatorily, suffixed to negations in the dialect in question. The modal nature of the question is also clearly shown by the simple imperfect form: the syntactic contrast between *b*-imperfect and the simple (*y*-)imperfect in Palestinian Arabic is primarily indicative vs. modal.

A similar instance is given by BAUER: *ma tšukḳ 'alēna* 'besuch uns doch' "im Sinne eines dringenden Wunsches, ursprünglich verneinende vorwurfsvolle Frage und daraus der Wunsch: tu es doch!"⁵ The expres-

¹ SCHMIDT-KAHLE, 1, 30, 5.

² *Ibid.*, 2, 110, 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 1, 38, 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2, 121, 5.

⁵ LEONHARD BAUER, Das palästinische Arabisch. Die Dialekte des Städters und Fellachen. 3. Aufl., Leipzig 1913 (p. 111).

sion is also used in Damascus, and in 3. pers., too, e.g. *ma y'âm yrûh* 'ala *bêto ba'a* 'Er soll doch endlich nach Hause gehen!'¹

Examined side by side with the above instances the Egyptian Arabic forms given by SPITTA appear to be of exactly the same character, e.g. *mâ t'rûh* or *matrûh* 'wirst du nicht gehen?', i.e. 'so geh doch!', *ma tigi* 'wirst du nicht kommen?', i.e. 'so komm doch!', *gal-li mâ t'sûq* 'er sagte zu mir: so treib doch (die Esel) an!', *inte mâ hadt^e el-kire mâ tâhod et-tehîn iṭhanoh* 'du hast doch den Lohn genommen, so nimm doch auch das Korn und mahle es!', *mat^eqâm terûh warâh lammâ tešûf yerûh l'hadd^e fên* 'steh doch auf und gehe ihm nach, damit du siehst, wohin er geht', *mâ tâklî yâ bint^e* 'ammî 'so iss doch, Cousine!', *w^e-hatt^e el-bêda fi* 'ibboh *gâlû-loh mathalliha hene lamma tirma* 'und er steckte das Ei in seine Tasche: sie sprachen zu ihm: lass es doch hier, bis du zurückkehrst!'² These instances show that the Egyptian Arabic expression has parallels in other dialects, but it must also be noticed that the feature seems to be more common in Egypt, and, besides, in some idioms has developed further, e.g. *galli: 'ma-tyalla* 'al-balad it-tânya...' gut: 'yalla' "Dann sagte er: 'Los! Gehen wir ins nächste Dorf ...' Ich sagte: 'Gehen wir!'" According to ABUL-FADL, *ma-tyalla* is a contamination of the words *mâ ti'mil* and *yalla*.³

If the use of *mâ* plus imperfect as an expression of an urgent demand outside Egypt were limited to adjacent areas only, it might be possible to suppose that the feature there be an Egyptian Arabic influence, but its general occurrence also outside this area renders this presumption impossible. The expression belongs especially to a vivid colloquial, and therefore is not frequently found in published texts. The following Baghdadi Arabic lines are very typical of vulgar conversation: *lak, matgulli intâ hîloqt êš?* 'He! Was bist du denn für ein Kreatur?',⁴ i.e. 'tell me etc.', *ê, yirhâma labûk, matgulli qâbil âni da agâddî* 'gott erbarme sich deines Vaters! Sag, bin ich denn ein Bettler?'⁵

It is, then, impossible to regard this expression as an exclusive Egyptian Arabic feature influenced by a relatively rare Coptic imperative

¹ ARIEL BLOCH und HEINZ GROTZFELD, Damaszenisch-arabische Texte in Transkription mit Übersetzung und Glossar hrsg. AKM 35, 2, Wiesbaden 1964 (p. 126, 24).

² SPITTA, p. 344.

³ FAHMI ABUL-FADL, Volkstümliche Texte in arabischen Bauerndialekten der ägyptischen Provinz Šarqiyya mit dialektgeographischen Untersuchungen zur Lautlehre. Diss. Münster 1961 (p. 89, 6).

⁴ GEORG KROTKOFF, Bagdader Studien. ZDMG 114, 1 (1964), pp. 66-90 (p. 70, line 2 bottom).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71, line 2.

form. In all probability it is the result of an internal development of Arabic, most likely traceable to negative affective rhetorical questions.

The Pattern 'a plus Personal Pronoun plus Perfect

In Egyptian Arabic a particular type of past tense is rendered by the pattern 'a plus personal pronoun plus perfect, e.g. 'a *hu seme* 'he heard'. According to BISHAI, this construction has no parallel in any other Arabic dialect, but an equivalent pattern is found in Coptic: $a + f + s\dot{o}t\dot{e}m$ = prefix *a* plus sing. 3. masc. pers. pron. bound form plus verb 'to hear', probably in infinitive form.¹ BISHAI does not think it possible to trace the feature to an internal development of Arabic, 'since there is no apparent source in the Semitic morphological structure from which it could have sprung.'² He supposes that the Coptic pattern was transferred into Egyptian Arabic so that 'the Egyptians apparently borrowed the Coptic prefix *a* together with its grammatical function and joined it to their native stems.'³ Thus, BISHAI seems to regard the feature not as a substratum but as a superstratum. Actually, this development would have been rather strange. BISHAI gives as a parallel case the borrowing of the Turkish suffix *-çi* and its joining to native Arabic words. However, these two cases are quite different: the borrowing of the prefix concerned would involve both the straight borrowing of the prefix *a*- and the translation borrowing of the pattern. In addition, no such loan-word which might have given the source to the analogical transferring of this verbal prefix is to be found. A more natural way would, in my opinion, have been that those Copts who became bilingual identified an Arabic form resembling the Coptic pattern *a* plus pers. pron. plus verb, and then began using this pattern in Arabic in the sense of the Coptic pattern.⁴

Compared with classical Arabic, the Egyptian Arabic pattern is undoubtedly different. But does the Coptic pattern really furnish the only possible source for the development of an outwardly corresponding pattern in Egyptian Arabic? The construction 'a plus pers. pron. is in fact not uncommonly used in Egyptian Arabic as a demonstrative particle, e.g. *hene āhó* 'hier da', *d'ana āhó* 'das bin ich hier', *āhó di el-maṭlāb* 'siehe da, das ist der Gesuchte'.⁵ This 'ā cannot be but a variant of the common

¹ TILL, p. 159.

² BISHAI, JAOS 82, p. 289.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Cf. URIEL WEINREICH, *Languages in Contact. Findings and Problems*. (Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No. 1. New York 1953), p. 39.

⁵ SPITTA, p. 76.

Semitic demonstrative interjection *hāʾā*.¹ As to its use with a personal pronoun (*ʾāhūwa*, *ʾāhiya*, *ʾāhumma*; more common: *ʾāhū*, *ʾāhī*, *ʾāhum*; *ʾāhō*, *ʾāhē* *ʾāhóm*), there are two peculiarities: (1) It is used with 3rd person only, (2) its occurrence is not bound to the beginning of a sentence.² The former of these peculiarities distinguishes the use of the pattern from most Arabic dialects, but also from Coptic. In perf. I, all the persons occur after the prefix *a-* in Coptic.³ The latter peculiarity is by no means associated with perfect forms only, but concerns similarly all uses of *ʾa* plus personal pronoun. Thus, neither of these peculiarities suggests Coptic influence.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that the pattern *ʾa* plus personal pronoun plus perfect is not unknown in Arabic dialects outside Egypt. For comparison, the most suitable instances are perhaps to be found in Djidjelli, Algeria, where such forms as *āu*, *āi* and *ām* are used side by side with *hāhu*, *hāu*, *hāhi*, *hāi*, *hāhum*, *hāhām*, *hām*, etc. as actualizing particles in the beginning of a sentence, e.g. *hāhi bēntēk* 'voici justement ta fille', *ām wāldikum* 'ils sont vos parents', *āu rāqēd* 'il est à dormir', but also with perfect form: *āu tǧāni* 'il a commencé et continue à me faire mal', *āi tmēšhrēt bīk* 'elle a commencé et continuent à se moquer de toi', *ām klāuni* 'ils ont commencé et continuent à me manger (mon bien)', *ām hāllṣo l-hṣād* 'ils vont avoir achevé la moisson', *āu rōht* 'je vais incessamment être parti'.⁴ The 3rd persons have partially superseded the other persons. This clearly shows an intermediate stage in the development concluded in Egyptian Arabic. In Djidjelli it is impossible to think of Coptic influence. Thus it seems necessary to regard this feature also as the result of the internal development of Arabic both here and in Egypt.

Summary

In both cases of the alleged Coptic morphological influence on Egyptian Arabic the development can justifiably be explained as an internal development of Arabic. Besides, neither of the two peculiarities is un-

¹ WOLFDIETRICH FISCHER, *Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte*. 's-Gravenhage 1959 (pp. 167-71).

² *Ibid.*, p. 169, Anm. 1.

³ TILL, p. 159.

⁴ PHILIPPE MARÇAIS, *Le parler arabe de Djidjelli (Nord constantinois, Algérie)*. (Publications de l'Institut d'Études Orientales d'Alger, 16. Paris 1956, pp. 153, 445-7).

paralleled in other Arabic dialects. However, it would be too daring to maintain that Coptic had nothing to do with these features; nothing can prove this. But the greatest contribution Coptic may have made to Egyptian Arabic morphology in the cases so far discussed is the preference of certain patterns over some other because of an accidental identification of an utterly similar pattern in Coptic by bilingual speakers during the transition period. This may also have influenced both the meaning and frequency of the Egyptian Arabic 'imperative' *mā* plus imperfect and the pattern 'a plus personal pronoun plus perfect.

Arabisches *xarīf*- „Herbst“ und *xarūf*- „Lamm“

Die Namen der Jahreszeiten weisen im Arabischen keine einheitliche Nominalform auf. So heisst „Winter“ *šitā'un*, „Sommer“ *ṣayfun*, „Herbst“ *xarīfun* und „Frühling“ *rabī'un*, d. h. *fi'āl*, *fa'l* und *fa'il*. Was nun zunächst *xarīf*- „Herbst“ betrifft, gehört es ohne Zweifel zu *xarafa*, *yaxrufu*, *xarfun* „Früchte pflücken, sammeln; Obst ernten“. Die Art des Apothematismus deutet auf die Iterativklasse hin, vgl. Verf., *Studia Classica et Orientalia* Antonino Pagliaro oblata III/1969 S. 180 ff. Die Bedeutung „(Herbst)regen“ ist natürlich sekundär, vgl. *summiya xarīfan li'annahu tuxrafu fihi ttimāru 'ay tuḡtanā. wa lxarīfu 'awwalu mā yabda'u mina lmaṭari fi 'iqbāli ššitā'i* (Lisān s. v.) „(die Jahreszeit) wird *xarīf*- genannt, weil zu dieser Zeit die Früchte *tuxrafu*, d. h. abgepflückt werden. Und *xarīf*- ist auch der erste Regen bei der Ankunft des Winters.“; *'awwalu mā'i lmaṭari fi 'iqbāli ššitā'i smuhu lxarīfu wa huwa lladī ya'ti 'inda širāmi nnaxli* (Lisān s. v.) „das erste Regenwasser bei der Ankunft des Winters heisst *xarīf*-, und es ist das, was beim Beschneiden der Dattelpalmen kommt“.

Im Hebräischen entspricht *ḥorāp* „Herbst“, „reifes Mannesalter“ mit dem Denominativ *tāḥ^arāp* „den Herbst (und Winter) zubringen“ (Jesaia 18, 6) zu einem **yihrap*.

Besonders interessant ist hier das Akkadische, wo *xarpū* „(frühe) Ernte“ und „Sommer“ ist. Von der Bedeutung „frühe Ernte“ aus hat sich bei *xarāpum* eine neue Bedeutung „früh sein, früh kommen“ entwickelt, vgl. weiterhin das Adverb *xarpiš* „früh, schnell“ und *xurāpu* „im Frühling geboren“, z. B. „Frühjahrs-lamm“ in *kalūmu xurāpu*. Zu Grunde liegt auch hier ein *xarāpu* : (y)*ixrup* „abpflücken, ernten“.

Im Aramäischen findet sich schliesslich *ḥurpā*, *ḥurpotā* „Lamm“, nach BROCKELMANN „annicula unius anni (ovis)“ (Lexicon Syriacum, s. v.), vgl. *ḥurpitā* „(einjähriges) Lamm“ bei DALMAN, Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch s. v. und NÖLDEKE, Mandäische Grammatik S. 60.

Eine ausgezeichnete Parallele zur Bedeutungsentwicklung des arab. *xarīf*- und des akkad. *xarpū* gewährt uns nun das deutsche „Herbst“,

ahd. *herbist*, das auf ein german. **harbista-* zurückgeht, etwa „was mit Früchten verbunden ist“ = „Zeit der Fruchternte“ (vgl. oberdeutsch. *Herbst* „Obsternte, Weinlese“) oder „was mit dem Pflücken verbunden ist“ = „Zeit des Pflückens“, je nachdem man es von einem Nomen oder von einem Verbum herleitet, vgl. KLUGE-MITZKA, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, 18. Aufl. 1960. Dieses **harbista-* tritt ein vorgerman. **qarpisto-* „die geeignetste Erntezeit“ < „am besten zum Pflücken, Ernten geeignet“, vgl. engl. *harvest* und zum Bedeutungswandel akkad. *xarpū* „(frühe) Ernte“. Es gehört also mit *χαρπός* „Frucht, Ertrag“ (< „Abgepflücktes“) und lat. *carpere* „abpflücken“ zusammen. Zu *carpere* stimmt somit bedeutungsmässig arab. *xarafa*, zu *χαρπός* arab. *xurfat-* „(gepflückte) Früchte“ und zu *Herbst* also arab. *xarīf* „Herbst“, akkad. *xarpū* aber „Sommer“.

Demzufolge dürfte *xarīf-* eigentlich „die Zeit des Abpflückens, die Erntezeit“ bezeichnet haben, vgl. sonst *xarāf-*, *xirāf-* „die Zeit der Fruchternte“. Zu diesem Gebrauch der Form *fa'īl* lassen sich z. B. hebr. *'āsīp* „Obsternte“ zu *'āsap* „sammeln“ (*yā'ā sop!*), *qāšīr* „Ernte(zeit)“ zu *qāšar* „abschneiden“ (*yiqšor!*) und *hārīš* „Pflügezeit“ zu *hāraš* „pflügen“ (*yah'roš!*) zum Vergleich heranziehen. Es wird sich hier um die Spezialisierung alter Verbalabstrakta handeln, etwa *xarīf-* „das Abpflücken“, vgl. LAGARDE, Übersicht S. 173; *xarīf-* kann gelegentlich auch passivisch sein. Während hier also der Bedeutungswandel in der Richtung „Ernte(zeit)“ > „Herbst“ geht, liegt z. B. beim griech. *θέρους* „Ernte“ die umgekehrte Entwicklung vor: *θέρους* „Sommer“ (< „Hitze“) > *θερίζειν* „ernten“ (< *sommern) > *θέρους* „Ernte“, vgl. schwed. „hösta in, inhösta“ zu *höst* „Herbst“.

Wie zu erwarten, kann *xarīf-* auch „Jahr“ bedeuten, und hierin berührt sich das Arabische mit dem Altäthiopischen, wo *xarīf* „annus praesens, dieses Jahr, heuer“ bezeichnet (Verf., Intensiv und Aspektkorrelation S. 200 N. 1), vgl. Gə'əz *yōm* „heute“ und DILLMANN-BEZOLD, Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache (1899) S. 340.

Hier erhebt sich eine besondere, nicht ganz einfache Frage, die Frage nämlich nach der semantischen Entwicklung des Wortes *xarūf-* „junges Schaf, Lamm, Hammel“, vgl. akkad. (*kalūmu*) *xurāpu* „Frühjahrs-lamm“. Da die Auffassungen der Araber von der „Grundbedeutung“ dieses Wortes auseinandergehen, lässt sich nicht so leicht feststellen, ob *xarūf-* von dem Verbum *xarafa* „abpflücken“, vom Begriff des Herbstes oder von der sekundären Bedeutung „Jahr“ ausgeht.

Wenn *xarūf-* von Pferden gebraucht wurde, hat man es vielleicht mit

xarīf- im Sinne von „Jahr“ in Verbindung gebracht, denn nach Ibn as-Sikkīt wird im *Lisān* die folgende Notiz zitiert: *'idā nutiġati l'farasu yuqālu li waladihā muhrun wa xarūfun fa lā yazālu kādālika ḥattā yaḥūlu 'alayhi lḥawlu* „Wenn die Stute gebiert, wird ihr Junge 'muhr' und 'xarūf' genannt, und es wird so benannt, bis es ein Jahr alt geworden ist“ (so LANE) oder vielleicht „bis das Jahr zum Ende gelangt ist“, vgl. Qāmūs: (*xarūfun*) *muhru l'farasi 'ilā muḍīyi lḥawli 'aw 'idā balaġa sittata 'ašhurin 'aw sab'atan* „(*xarūf*) ist das Füllen des Pferdes, bis dass das (ein?) Jahr vergangen ist oder wenn es sechs oder sieben Monate erreicht hat“, vgl. *ḥawliyun* „in seinem ersten Jahr“ oder „ein Jahr alt, Jährling“. Eine andere Tradition lautet: *alxarūfu minā l'xayli mā nutiġa fī l'xarīfi* „*xarūf*- von Pferden ist was im Herbst geboren wird“. Demzufolge ist *xarūf*- so viel wie „Herbstling“. Hier besagt wohl „Herbst“ zunächst den Herbst des eben vorhandenen Jahres, und so dürfte auch *xarūf*- im Sinne von „Jährling“ zu verstehen sein, d. h., das in diesem, eben vorhandenen Jahre geborene Füllen“, vgl. Gə'əz *xarīf* „dieses Jahr, heuer“. So kann das Füllen höchstens bis zum nächsten Herbst (Jahr) bezeichnet werden; nach dem Verlauf eines Jahres ist es ein *anniculus* „ein Jahr altes Tier“, vgl. H. FRISK, *Kleine Schriften* (1966) S. 48 ff. Es gibt aber, wie schon angedeutet, auch eine andere Deutung. Von der Geburtsstunde bis nach dem Verlauf von 6–7 Monaten wird das Füllen *xarūf* genannt. Dies könnte auf eine ursprüngliche Teilung des Jahres in zwei Hälften deuten, vgl. die zwei Hauptteile des äthiopischen Jahres, *kəramt* „Regenzeit“ und *baġā* „die trockene Zeit“ sowie mesopotam. *emeš* „Sommer“: *enten* „Winter“ bzw. *ummātum* „Sommer“: *kuššu* „Winter“ (SALONEN, *Agricultura Mesopotamica*, 1968, S. 190). Im *Lisān* finden sich sonst Hinweise auf eine Teilung des Jahres in sechs Abschnitte: *xarīf*, *wasmī*, *šitā*, *rabi*, *šayf*, *ḥamīm*, und *xarīf* soll drei Monate umfassen, vom Ende des Sommers (*qayz*) bis zum Anfang des Winters (*šitā*) oder *mā bayna ṭulū' i ššī' rā 'ilā ġurūbi l' Arquwatayni* „vom Aufgang des Sirius bis zum Hinuntergang der beiden 'Arquwa“, vgl. LANE 726 b und R. H. ALLEN, *Star Names* (1963) S. 324.

Was nun *xarūf*- „junges Schaf, Lamm, Hammel“ betrifft, so herrscht unter den Arabern eine ganz andere Auffassung. Nach den arabischen Lexikographen ist hier von *xaraḥa* „abpflücken, abweiden“ auszugehen, vgl. z. B. *alxarūfu yusammā xarūfan li'annahu yaxrūfu min hāhunā wa hāhunā* „*xarūf* wird so genannt, weil es diese oder jene Stelle abweidet“ (Maqāyis alluġa s. v.); *alxarūfu: waladu lḥamali wa qila huwa dūna lġada'i minā dda'ni xāššatan ... wa štiqāquhu 'annahu yaxrūfu min*

hāhunā wa hāhunā 'ay yarta'u „*xarūf*- ist das Junge des Schafes, und nach einigen besonders mit Ausschluss des *ḡada'* von dem Kleinvieh ... und seine Grundbedeutung ist, dass es von hier und da *yaxrufu*, d. h. zur Satttheit weidet“ (Lisān s. v., so auch HOMMEL, Die Namen der Säugethiere (1879) S. 238 und FLEISCHER bei LEVY, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch I S. 426). Sprachlich stimmt das zum Gebrauch der Form *fa'ūl*- als eines aktiven Partizips.

Gegen diese Auffassung sprechen jedoch Notizen wie die folgenden: *almuxrifu: annāqatu llātī tuntaḡu fī lxarīfi wa qīla hiya llātī nutiḡat fī mītli lwaḡti llādī ḡamalat fīhi min qābilin wa l'awwalu 'aṣaḡḡu li'anna l'iṣtiḡāqa yamudduhu wa kadālika ṣṣātu* „*muxrif*- ist diejenige Kamelin, die im Herbst gebiert, und nach anderen ist es diejenige, welche zu der Zeit, wo sie (im vorigen Jahr) schwanger wurde, im nächsten Jahr gebiert, aber das erste ist richtiger, weil die Etymologie es bestätigt, und dies gilt auch für das Schaf“ (Lisān s. v. *muxrif*-), vgl. *wa qad'axrafati ṣṣātu: waladat fī lxarīfi fa hiya muxrifun. wa qāla Šammaru: lā'a'rifu* „*axrafat*“ *bi hādā lma'nā 'illā min lxarīfi, taḡmilu nnāqatu fīhi wa taḡa'u fīhi* „das Schaf „*axrafat*“: gebiert im Herbst, und es ist ein *muxrif*-, und Šammar sagte: Ich kenne „*axrafat*“ im diesem Sinne nur von *xarīf*-; in diesem wird die Kamelin schwanger, und in diesem gebiert sie“ (Lisān ibid.). Das im Herbst gebärende Tier wird somit *muxrif*- genannt, das von *xarīf* „Herbst“ abgeleitet ist. Schon diese Tatsache legt die Annahme nahe, auch *xarūf*- „junges Schaf“ sei eher mit *xarīf*- „Herbst“ als mit *xarafa* „abweiden“ zusammenzubringen. In diesem Falle wäre also die Zusammenstellung mit „pflücken“ als (gelehrte) Volksetymologie zu beurteilen. Für eine derartige Auffassung sprechen in der Tat mehrere Umstände.

Es ist schon darauf hingewiesen worden, dass *xarūf*- von Pferden das im Herbst geborene Füllen bezeichnet. Sodann, dass auch von Schafen der Ausdruck *muxrif*- sich auf diese Jahreszeit bezieht. Hierzu kommt akkad. *xurāpu* „Frühjahrs-lamm“, das gleichfalls mit der Jahreszeit *xarpū* zu verbinden sein dürfte. Das aram. *hurpā, hurpītā* „(einjähriges) Lamm“ scheint am besten zu einem **xurp*- „Herbst“ zu stellen zu sein, da auch hebr. *ḡorāp* „Herbst“ auf ein **xurp*- zurückgeht. In Betracht kommt hier schliesslich eine Reihe von indogermanischen Parallelen. Ausser dem schon erwähnten lat. *anniculus* sei hier auf gotisches *wiprus* „Lamm“ (> „Widder“), griech. ἔταλον „junges Tier“, lat. *vitulus* „Kalb“, altind. *vatsá-* „Kalb“ hingewiesen, welche alle zum Stamme **wet*-, „Jahr“ in ἔτος, hethit. *wet*- gehören.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch an das noch unklare arab. *xaraḥun* = *ḥasādu l'aqli min al-kibari* und *xarifa rraḡulu* = *ḥasada 'aqluhu min al-kibari* erinnert. Zu arab. *xarifa* „mente alienatus fuit“ stellt BROCKELMANN syr. *ḥarap* (*xarap*) „miscuit, mulsit (vinum)“, vgl. *Lexicon Syriacum* 258. Da aber *xaraḥa*, *yaḥruḥu* auch „abschneiden“ bedeutet, stellt sich für *ḥarap* „mischen“ z. B. arab. *qaṭa'a* „abschneiden“ als Parallele ein, das ja vom Weine auch „(mit Wasser) mischen“ bedeutet: *qatta'a l-xamra bi l-mā'i*. Hingegen gehört *xarifa* usw. entweder mit *xurāfat*- „abgepflückte Frucht“ > „amüsante Geschichte“ > „unsinnige Rede“, wie sie bei der senilen Demenz vorkommt, zusammen, oder aber kann es sich — besonders im Hinblick auf lat. *vetus* „alt“ : *vitulus* „Kalb“ — um eine Entwicklung *xarīf* „Jahr“ > „vergangenes, altes Jahr“ > *xarifa* „alt sein“ > „altersschwach reden“ oder sogar „herbstlich sein“ > „alt sein“ usw. handeln, vgl. schwed. „på sin ålders höst“, aber hebr. *ḥorāp* „reifes Mannesalter“. Syr. *ḥarīpā* „promptus, celer“ stellt BROCKELMANN zu arab. *ḥarf*, während NÖLDEKE an arab. *ḥarf* „früh reifen“, aram. *'ḥrp* „eilen“ denkt (Mandäische Grammatik S. 60), vgl. aber auch targum. *ḥrpy* „Frühsaaten“ : *'ply* „Spätsaaten“ Prediger 11, 2 (SPERBER)¹, was an akkad. *xarpū* usw. erinnert. Zu syr. *ḥarīpā* „conviva“ ist wohl ferner nicht in erster Linie arab. *xarifa* zu vergleichen (BROCKELMANN), sondern eher arab. *ḥarīf* „companion in drinking“ (LANE).

¹ Vgl. akkad. *aplum* „spät“ und VON SODEN, *Orientalia* 27/1958 S. 252.

Einige metrologische und metallurgische Termini im Arabischen

In al-Hamdānīs *K. al-Ğauharatain al-‘atīqatain* (Uppsala 1968, *Studia Semitica Ups.* 1.), das über Metallurgie und Münzherstellung handelt, kommen mehrere Termini auf dem Gebiet der Metrologie und der Metallurgie vor, die fremder Herkunft sind, und von denen einige hier untersucht werden.

1. Qafla

Das Wort *qafla* kommt als Adverbial vor: *wa-kāna la‘allahu yanfaḥu min aṣ-ṣurra al-kabīra at-talāṭa ad-darāhim qaflatan* 27b und *wa-kāna waznuhu qaflatan arba‘a darāhim* 46a, mit der Bedeutung „auf einmal“, „alles in allem“, „in summa“. Das Wort ist in dieser Bedeutung wohl bekannt — im *Lisān* steht s.v. *i‘ṭā’uka insānan ṣai’an bi-marra: a‘ṭāhu alfan qaflatan*.

Ferner kommt das Wort im Ausdruck *dirham qafla* vor, wie *fa-kāna yaqa‘ al-muṭawwaq min al-ḥiḍḍa ‘iṣrīn dirhaman qaflatan* „und 1 [dīnār] muṭawwaq (siehe unten sub 2.) entspricht in Silber 20 dirham qafla“ 25b, *yakūnu waznuhu min dirham qafla ilā miṭqāl* 34b, *mā yanquṣu min kull mi’a dirham qafla dirham* 43b. Der Ausdruck heisst im Plural *darāhim qafla*: *yuhallīṣu minhā ‘aṣāra darāhim qafla* 61a, *wa-ammā rub’ ḥabba fī ḡamī’ al-‘iyār alladī huwa arba‘a darāhim qafla* „und was [einen Mangel von] 1/4 ḥabba vom ganzen Standardgoldstück betrifft, das 4 dirham qafla ist“ 47a. Im ersten Beispiel könnte *qafla* allerdings auch als Adverbial aufgefasst werden. Eindeutig ist das Wort aber, wenn der Ausdruck in bestimmter Form steht: *sa‘at ad-dirham al-qafla* 51b, *ḡilaṣ ad-dirham al-qafla* 29a, „die Weite“ bzw. „die Dicke einer dirham qafla [-Münze]“.

Die Bedeutung des Wortes ist klar: *Lisān* und *Tāğ al-‘arūs* s.v. und Ibn Sīda, *K. al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ* 12:29, zitieren Ibn Duraid, der sagt: *wa-dirham qafla ai wāzin wa’l-hā’ aṣliya*. Und dazu sagt al-Azharī, *Lisān* ibd.: *hādā min kalām ahl al-Yaman wa-lā adri mā arāda bi-qaulihi al-hā’ aṣliya*.

Dass das *hā'* zur Wurzel gehört, bedeutet natürlich, dass es nicht als Femininendung aufzufassen ist, was auch richtig ist, da *dirham* maskulin ist. *Qafla* steht also nicht als Attribut von *dirham*, sondern ist ein Substantiv, das als Apposition zu *dirham* steht (s. H. L. FLEISCHER, Kleinere Schriften 2:1, Leipzig 1888, 44 ff.). A. GROHMANN (Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet, 1, Wien 1922, 201 Fussn. 1, übers. aus al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat ḡazīrat al-ʿarab*, hrsg. von D. H. MÜLLER, Leiden 1884, 1:194) hat *dirhamu qaflatin* gelesen, aber diese Lesung ist unmöglich, weil es im Ack. *dirhaman qaflatan* und in bestimmter Form *ad-dirhamu'l-qaflatu* heisst.

Die Wurzel QFL ist im Arabischen nicht ungewöhnlich. Man scheint zwischen zwei Wurzeln unterscheiden zu können: 1) mit der Bedeutung „zurückkehren“, zu welcher das bekannte Wort für Karawane *qāfila* gehört — damit hängt die Bedeutung „wenden“, „abwenden“, „fortbringen“ derselben Wurzel im Aramäischen, Mandäischen und Äthiopischen zusammen; 2) mit der Bedeutung „trocken sein“. Letztere ist schwächer belegt in den übrigen semitischen Sprachen. Nach Fraenkel, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter 16, handelt es sich um dieselbe Wurzel: eine Pflanze legt sich zusammen = wird trocken. Eine dritte Bedeutung „schliessen“, „zumachen“, „bewahren“ scheint Denominativ aus *qufl* „Schloss“, „Riegel“ zu sein, das wiederum über aram. קופלא (nicht bei Fraenkel) von *copula* entlehnt ist (dazu gehört *qufala* in dem Ausdruck *raḡul qufala* = *ḥāfiḡ li-kull mā yasmaʿ*, *Lisān* s.v.; zur Form s. BROCKELMANN, Grundriss 1:352).

Keine von diesen Bedeutungen gibt einen Anhalt für die Etymologie unseres Wortes. Es gibt aber noch ein Wort *qafla*, das uns auf die richtige Spur bringen kann, und zwar mit der Bedeutung „Hinterkopf“. Das kann aram. ܩܦܠܐ sein, von griech. κεφαλή, κεφαλίδος (Dimin. von κεφαλή „Kopf“) mit der Bedeutung „Kopfende“ (J. LEVY, Neuhebr. und chald. Wörterbuch s.v.). Das Aramäische hat viele Wörter, die dem κεφαλή mit Ableitungen entlehnt worden sind — eins von ihnen begegnet auch im Äthiopischen: ክፍል „Kapitel“. *Qaffala* „einen Baum abköpfen“ in der syrisch-arabischen Mundart gehört auch hierher. Aber was in diesem Zusammenhang am meisten interessiert, ist syr. مِقَالَة von κεφάλαιον in der Bedeutung „Geldsumme“ und der Ausdruck حِمَالَة von ἐν κεφαλῇ „in summa“, denn hier ist der Ursprung von eben unserem *qafla* in *dirham qafla* und im Adverbial *qaflatan* „auf einmal“, „total“, „im ganzen“. Auch die europäischen Sprachen haben ja Lehnwörter wie „summa“ und „total“ für diesen Begriff.

Dirham qafla bedeutet also ein *dirham* im ganzen, ein vollständiger *dirham* ohne Mangel. Die Bedeutung steht derjenigen nahe, die BEESTON (in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of H. A. R. GIBB*, Leiden 1965, 103) für das aus Sura 12:20 bekannte *darāhim ma'dūda* zeigt, aus ἀρίθμια νομισμάτια. Vgl. damit die Ausdrücke *dīnār 'adad* und *'ain mu'addad* (A. GROHMANN, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, 1, Praha 1955, 187). Die gezählten Münzen wurden aber auch gewogen (GROHMANN *ibid.*), und auch *dirham qafla* wird im *Lisān* etc. (s. oben) mit *wāzin* erklärt.

Was zuletzt den Wert eines *dirham qafla* betrifft, so erhält man eine relative Schätzung durch die Bemerkung al-Hamdānīs in *Ṣiḡat ḡazīrat al-'arab* 194: „man bekommt 6 *raṭl* Honig für 1 *dirham baḡdādī* aber 7 oder 8 für 1 *dirham qafla*“. Vgl. auch unten unter *dīnār muṭawwaq*.

2. Muṭawwaq

Nach al-Muqaddasī (*Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, ed. DE GOEJE, Leiden 1877, BGA 3, 99, übers. von H. SAUVAIRE, *Matériaux pour servir à l'hist. de la numism. et de la métrol. musulm.*, Extr. du JA, Paris 1882, Nr. 90, 145) wurden die *danānīr muṭawwaq* von den Mekkanern benutzt. Al-Muqaddasī vergleicht sie mit den yamanischen *darāhim*, weil beide nach Zahl empfangen wurden (vgl. oben unter *dirham qafla*). Sie entsprachen $2/3$ *mitqāl*. Diese Gewichtsangabe wird von al-Hamdānī, *Ṣiḡa* 114, bestätigt, wenn er sagt, dass 1 *dīnār muṭawwaq* 1 *dirham qafla* entspricht. Noch genauer nennt al-Hamdānī den Wert im *K. al-Ġauharatain* 25b, wo es heisst, dass 1 *dīnār muṭawwaq* $2/3$ *mitqāl* und 2 [Gold-] *ḥabba* entspricht, d. h. $7/10$ *mitqāl*. Bekanntlich ist 2:3 im Handel, 7:10 nach der *ṣarī'a* das Verhältnis zwischen *dirham* und *dīnār (mitqāl)* (W. HINZ, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, HO Erg. Bd. 1:1,1). Vom Wertverhältnis des *dīnār muṭawwaq* zum Silber-*dirham* erfahren wir von al-'Alawī (GAL S I:230, *Sīrat al-Hādī*, zitiert in C. VAN ARENDONK, *De opkomst van het zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leiden 1919, 215 Fussn. 10), dass $292/905$ 1 *dīnār muṭawwaq* $120 \frac{1}{6}$ -*dirham*, also 20 *dirham*, entsprach. Ibn Rusta (*al-A'lāq an-naḡṣa*, ed. DE GOEJE, Leiden 1892, BGA 7, 109, 112), der zu etwa gleicher Zeit schrieb, gibt aber nur 60 bis 100 $\frac{1}{6}$ -*dirham*, d. h. 10–16 $\frac{2}{3}$ *dirham*, pro *dīnār* an. Al-Hamdānī erzählt im *K. al-Ġauharatain* 25b f., dass man 20 *dirham qafla* in Silber für 1 *dīnār muṭawwaq* bekam, aber als die Grube von ar-Raḡrād 270/833 verlassen wurde, bekam man für 1 *dīnār muṭawwaq* nur 1 *ūqīya*, d. h.

10 *dirham*, Silber. Wegen der schweren Dürre 290/903 wurde das Verhältnis 1 *dīnār muṭawwaq* = 20 *dirham* Silber wiederhergestellt. Ähnliche Schwankungen gehen aus der Tabelle bei GROHMANN, Einführung 190 f., hervor.

Nach al-Muqaddasī entspricht 1 *dīnār muṭawwaq* 24 [*darāhim*] *muzabbqa*. Al-Bīrūnī (*al-Ġamāhir fī ma'rifat al-ġawāhir*, ed. KRENKOW, Ḥaidarābād 1355, 230; russ. Übers. von BELENITZKIJ und LEMMLEIN, Leningrad 1963, 216) erwähnt neben einander *az-zībaq* (Var. *al-muzabbqa*) und *ad-dīnār al-muṭawwaq*, was seine Übersetzer mit „Quecksilber“ und „überzogener“ oder „falscher“ (*nakladnoi*) *dīnār* wiedergeben, wobei sie offensichtlich die Bedeutung von *muṭawwaq* aus der Zusammenstellung mit *zībaq* hergeleitet haben. Die Stelle bei al-Muqaddasī zeigt aber, dass mit der Variante [*ad-dirham*] *al-muzabbqa* zu lesen ist. Was dieses *muzabbqa* bedeutet, ist mir augenblicklich nicht klar — ich kann mir aber schwer vorstellen, dass es mit *muza'baq* oder *muzaibaq* identisch sein sollte, da diese ja verfälschte Münzen sind (wie die *muḥaḥala*, vgl. SAUVAIRE Nr. 153 und *K. al-Ġauharatain* 81b, und die *martakīya*, *K. al-Ġauharatain* ibd.), während die *muzabbqa* wie die ihnen entsprechenden Gold-*muṭawwaqa* kursierendes Geld waren. Die *muṭawwaqa* werden sogar im *K. al-Ġauharatain* 51a zu den besten Goldmünzen, die im islamischen Reich hergestellt wurden, gerechnet. Wahrscheinlich ist die Bildung des Wortes *muzabbqa* derjenigen gleich, die eben für *muṭawwaq* nachgewiesen werden wird. — Auch Abū Maḥrama (schrieb Ende des 15. Jh., GAL S II:239 f.) erwähnt die *muṭawwaqa* (O. LÖFGREN, Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im MA, 2, Uppsala etc. 1950, 129).

Dass das Partizip *muṭawwaq* ein Denominativ von *ṭauq* darstellt, ist schon längst erkannt worden. SAUVAIRE übersetzt „à cercle“ und jüngst übersetzt DUNLOP (in *Studia Islamica* 8/1957, 37 Fussn. 3) „apparently 'with a border'“. DE GOEJE im Glossar zu al-Muqaddasī (BGA 4:292) hat aber nur „denarius meccanus“. *Ṭauq* ist nach Lane s.v. „anything that surrounds another thing“. Gewöhnlich ist die Bedeutung „Halsband“, wie im bekannten Sprichwort *ḵabira 'Amr 'an aṭ-ṭauq* „‘Amr ist zu alt, um ein Halsband zu tragen“ (zitiert im *K. al-Ġauharatain* 63a). DOZY s.v. hat noch „bord“ (z. B. der Rand des Astrolabs, EI² s.v. *Aṣṭurlāb*), „bordure“, „lisière d'une étoffe“. Davon denominiert ist die II. Stammform *ṭawwaga* „mit einem *ṭauq* versehen“. Es heisst bei al-Maqrīzī (*K. Šuḍūr al-'uqūd*, ed. TYCHSEN, Rostock 1797, 15, ed. AL-KARMALĪ in „an-Nuqūd al-'arabīya“, Kairo 1939, 36): *wa-ṭawwaga'd-*

dirham 'alā waḡhaihi bi-ṭauq wa-kataba fi't-ṭauq al-wāḥid ... Auf Münzen heisst *ṭauq* also der Rand für die Umschriftung (Randlegende), eine Bedeutung, die das Wort wiederholt im *K. al-Ġauharatain* (74 b f., 77 b) und auch heute noch hat (N. M. AN-NAQŠBANDĪ, *ad-Dīnār al-islāmī fī Maḥaḡ al-'irāqī*, 1, Bagdād 1372/1953, 56), als Gegensatz von *markaz* und Synonym zu *hāmiš* ('A. FAHMĪ, *Mausū'at an-nuqūd al-'arabīya*, 1, Kairo 1965, in den Münzbeschreibungen im Katalog).

Ehe wir zu der Frage übergehen, warum eben die südarabischen Dīnāre *muṭawwaq* „mit Rand[legende] versehen“ genannt wurden — auch andere Dīnāre tragen ja Umschriftung — wollen wir uns mit der Etymologie des Wortes beschäftigen. Mit dem Wort *ṭauq* scheint im Arabischen kein selbständiges Verb zusammenzuhängen. Die II. Stammform hat noch die metaphorische Bedeutung „jemand mit etwas (Schwierigkeit, Lob, Tadel, Kraft) [als Halsband] versehen“ — daher *ṭauq* „Kraft“, aus dem die I. und IV. Form denominiert sind. „Kraft schenken“ heisst auch „[einem etwas] ermöglichen“, was für *muṭawwaq* auch die Bedeutung „möglich zu bearbeiten“ ergibt — *K. al-Ġauharatain* 71 b: *muṭawwaq bi'n-nār* als Gegensatz zu *ṣalīb 'ala'n-nār*. *Al-Muṭawwaq* ist auch noch der Name eines Berges mit der Bedeutung „mit *ṭā'iq/ṭāq* 'Absatz' versehen“, al-Hamdānī, *Šifa* 126.

Auch den anderen semitischen Sprachen scheint die Wurzel ṬWQ zu fehlen. Meines Erachtens handelt es sich hier um ein iranisches Lehnwort, und zwar eine Nebenform zu *tābaq* „Pfanne“ aus pehl. *tāpak*, neupers. *tāba* (P. HORN, Grundriss Nr. 372, und H. HÜBSCHMANN, *Persische Studien* 46), das wohl ursprünglich eine runde Schüssel bezeichnet, vgl. *tābīdan* „drehen“. Der Übergang *ab > au* (wie *kabkab > kaukab*) wird bestätigt durch das Vorkommen desselben Wortes in den beiden Formen im Syrischen: ܬܡܩܩ und ܬܡܩܦ, beide mit der Bedeutung „Schüssel“.

Nach GROHMANN, Einführung 183, wurde die koptische Entsprechung von *dīnār* aus ܕܝܢܐܪܝܘܢ „mit ganzem Kreise“ übernommen, weshalb das iranische Lehnwort vielleicht gleichzeitig eine Lehnübersetzung aus dem Griechischen darstellt.

Über das Aussehen der *muṭawwaq*-Dīnāre geben uns zwei Quellen Auskunft: al-Hamdānīs Bericht im *K. al-Ġauharatain* über die Herstellung der Münzen und die Münzen selbst. Al-Hamdānīs Bericht, 79 a, ist leider recht dunkel. Die Prägung ist dreierlei: *'alā ṭauq 'alā ṭulṭai ṭauq wa-'alā nišf ṭauq*. *Mā kāna'd-dīnār wa'd-dirham aṣṣaḡ min aṭ-ṭauq fa-ḡuzza minhu ḡamī'an*. *Wa-ḡu't-ṭulṭain mā waqa'at ḡurūfuhu fī nišf aṭ-ṭauq*

fa'mtadda fa-šāra tāmman wa-summiya'l-mardūd. Wa-du'n-niṣf yakūnu qaṣīran ya'ḥuḍu ḥurūfuhu adāni't-ṭauq fa-idā umidda fi'l-ḥadīd aḥada't-ṭauq akṭar min niṣfihi ilā ṭuṭaihi wa'l-mudawwar ḥafarahā.

Bei den Münzen mit $\frac{2}{3}$ Rand und $\frac{1}{2}$ Rand scheint also bei der Prägung eine Ausdehnung auf dem Stempel stattzufinden. Demgemäss sollten die *muṭawwaq*-Dināre flächenmässig ebenso (oder fast ebenso) gross wie die gewöhnlichen Dināre sein, obwohl sie um etwa $\frac{1}{3}$ weniger wiegen. Dann könnte der Sinn des Ausdruckes *dīnār muṭawwaq* sein: „*dīnār*, der [durch die Ausdehnung bei der Prägung] mit Rand[legende] versehen worden ist“.

Zuletzt wollen wir die Münzen selbst untersuchen. Nachfolgend wird eine Aufstellung über südarabische Münzen gegeben, die in der Zeit 222–340 geprägt wurden, und deren Gewicht und Durchmesser aus der Münzlitteratur zu ermitteln waren. Sämtliche Münzen sind in Ṣan'ā' geprägt ausser denjenigen aus dem Jahr 298, welche in Ṣa'da geprägt wurden.

Jahr	Durchmesser	Gewicht	Quelle (Nr. im Münzkatalog)
222	22 mm	3,45 g	FAHMĪ 2003
224	19 mm	3,225 g	ibd. 2004
224	20,6 mm	4,154 g	NAQŠBANDĪ 141 a
224	19,4 mm	3,48 g	ibd. 141 b
224	18,5 mm	3,34 g	G. C. MILES, Rare Islamic coins, New York 1950, Numism. notes and monogr. 118, 139
228	19 mm	1,87 g	FAHMĪ 2047
229	20,5 mm	3,48 g	MILES 143
237	19 mm	3,175 g	BM LANE-POOLE 9:62, 317 p
238	20 mm	3,16 g	Berlin, NÜTZEL 1462, „stark beschnitten“
249	18 mm	2,87 g	BN LAVOIX 973
249	18 mm	2,91 g	BN 974
256	17,5 mm	2,95 g	Berlin 1527
256	18 mm	2,9 g	BN 991
257	20 mm	2,91 g	MILES 151
259	20 mm	2,9 g	ibd. 157
265	20 mm	2,915 g	BM 9:69, 355 k
280	20 mm	2,86 g	FAHMĪ 2393
283	18 mm	2,9 g	BM 378

298	20	mm	2,785 g	BM 360-200
298	21	mm	2,82 g	FAHMĪ 2462, beschnitten
298	21	mm	2,85 g	ibd. 2463
299	20	mm	2,82 g	MILES 177
304	17,5	mm	1,944 g	BM 9:75, 411f
306	17,5	mm	2,91 g	Berlin 1644
307	18	mm	1,95 g	BM 360-140
313	18	mm	1,879 g	BM 360-145
314	18	mm	1,9 g	BN 1121
315	18	mm	1,92 g	BN 1122
335	18	mm	1,879 g	BM 360-160
338	18	mm	1,814 g	BM 360-163
338	18	mm	1,749 g	BM 360-164
340	19	mm	1,749 g	BM 360-167
340	18	mm	1,814 g	BM 360-168

Das Normalgewicht eines Dīnārs ist 4,25 g. In der Periode 222–238 der Übersicht erreicht keiner der Dīnāre dieses Gewicht — die meisten zeigen ein erhebliches Untergewicht. Zwischen 238 und 249 wurden die *muṭawwaq*-Dīnāre eingeführt, welche das Gewicht des Dirhams haben, d. h. 2,98 g. Das Flächenmass bleibt aber ziemlich unverändert — die Verminderung des Durchmessers ist durchschnittlich 0,75 mm. Die Münzen weichen nur wenig vom Dirham-Gewicht ab. Ab 307 werden diese *muṭawwaq*-Dīnāre von Dīnāren abgelöst, die alle unter 2 g wiegen und deren Durchmesser noch 1 mm geringer ist (die Münzen im British Museum haben im Katalog die Überschrift „half-deenārs“, aber in der Legende steht *ḍurība ḥāḍa'd-dīnār*, nicht *ḥāḍa'n-niṣf*). Ob die Gewichtsverminderungen nur dadurch zustande gekommen sind, dass die Münzen dünner gehämmert worden sind, wie nach al-Hamdānī zu verstehen ist, oder aber dadurch, dass ihr Feingehalt verändert worden ist, kann natürlich nur durch eine Untersuchung der Münzen selbst beurteilt werden.

Zuletzt soll die Mitteilung al-Muqaddasīs erwähnt werden, nach der die *muṭawwaqa* den *ʿat[ta]rīya* gleich sein sollten (*Aḥsan at-taqāsīm* 99, vgl. Ibn Ḥauqal, BGA 2, 20, beide Stellen übers. von SAUVAIRE Nr. 90, vgl. LÖFGREN in EI² s.v. *ʿAthr*, und Arabische Texte, Glossar s.v.). Da mir aber nur zwei *ʿat[ta]rī*-Dīnāre bekannt sind (aus dem Jahr 342, 2,47 g, BN 1268, und aus dem Jahr 348, 16,5 mm, 1,3 g, BM 478), ist aus dieser Mitteilung nichts zu schliessen.

3. Saqûm

Das Wort *saqûm* ist mir nur aus zwei arabischen Texten bekannt. Im *K. al-Ğauharatâin* 50a heisst es: *Al-wazn yaşihhu 'alâ wağhain: immâ bi-ra'sain wa-immâ bi-saqûm ... wa-amma's-saqûm fa-in lâ yakûnu'l-mâl mimma yataqassamu miṭl al-qi'a al-wāhida wa'd-dīnār al-wāhid wa'd-dirham al-wāhid, wa'l-wağh fi dālīka an ta'mida ilā tilka'l-qi'a min al-māl fa-tuṣayyirahā fi'l-kiffa al-yumnā wa-tağ'ala miṭqalahā fi'l-kiffa at-tāniya mā tašū'u min auzān au ḥadīd au ḥiğāra au milḥ au gair dālīka min ar-raşāş wa's-şuḡr wa-mā amkan. Fa-idā qāma'l-mulassan au i'tadala 'amūd aš-šāhīn wa'stawat wa-waqa'at al-kiffatān minhu aḥrağta qi'at al-māl wa-naẓarta mā yaqūmu maqāmahu fi'l-mizān min al-auzān al-ma'rūfa fa-mā kāna fa-huwa waznuhā bi's-şihḥa li-anna qi'at al-māl taşīru ka-annahā tilka'l-auzān fi kiffatihā wa'lladī fi'l-kiffa al-uḥrā huwa's-saqûm wa-biḥi šabbahta rummānat al-qaraşūn.* „Das Wiegen ist auf zweierlei Weise richtig: entweder mit zwei 'Hauptteilen' oder mit *saqûm* ... Und was *as-saqûm* betrifft, so ist das, wenn das Geld zu dem gehört, was nicht geteilt werden kann, wie eine einzige Münze und ein einziger Dīnār und ein einziger Dirham, und die Art ist in diesem Falle, dass man dieses Stück Geld nimmt und es in die rechte Waageschale legt, je nach Wunsch in Gewichten oder Eisen oder Steinen oder Salz oder etwas anderem wie Blei oder Kupfer und was noch möglich ist. Und wenn die Zunge aufrecht steht oder der Balken der Waage im Gleichgewicht ist und die beiden Waageschalen von ihm [gleich] herabhängen, nimmt man das Geldstück heraus und untersucht was ihm in der Waage von den bekannten Gewichten entspricht, und was da ist, ist sein richtiges Gewicht, denn dieses Geldstück wird wie jene Gewichte in seiner Schale, und was in der anderen Schale ist, das ist *as-saqûm*, und mit ihm kann man das Laufgewicht der Schnellwaage vergleichen.“

Der andere Text, in dem dieses Wort vorkommt, ist *Maqāla fi'l-auzān wa'l-makāyil* von Iliyā (Elias bar Sināyā, 975–1049), Erzbischof von Nisibīn. Handschriften von diesem Werk sind vorhanden in Paris (Bibl. Nat. Arabe 206 Bl. 164b–184b, unvollständig), Gotha (1331) und Kairo (Taimūrīya, Riyāḍa 341). Die Pariser Handschrift wurde von H. SAUVAIRE in JRAS N.S. 9/1877, 293–313, die in dieser Handschrift fehlenden Abschnitte aus der Gothaer Handschrift in JRAS N.S. 12/1880, 110–125, ins Französische übersetzt.

Es heisst nach der Pariser Handschrift Bl. 182a: *Fa-in kāna's-si'r aqall min 'ašarat darāhim li'd-dīnār tarakna'l-kiffa allatī hiya'r-rummāna*

'alā dālīka'l-miqdār min al-'amūd wa-ǧa'alnā fi'l-kiffa al-laṭīfa allatī fi't-ṭaraṭ al-aṭwal min as-saqūm mā ya'tadilu ma'ahu'l-kiffa al-kabīra wa'l-'amūd. *Tumma taǧ'alu'd-ḍahab fi'l-kiffa allatī hiya'r-rummāna wa-taḍā'u fi'l-kiffa al-kabīra min ad-darāhim mā yastaqīmu ma'ahu'l-wazn wa-yuwāzi'l-'amūd li'l-uṣq.* „Und wenn der Kurs weniger als 10 Dirham für 1 Dīnār ist, lassen wir die Waageschale, die als Laufgewicht dient, auf jenem Mass (=10 Dirham) am Waagebalken (der also nach Dirham eingeteilt ist) und legen in die kleine Waageschale, die am längeren Arm ist, so viel von *as-saqūm*, dass die grosse Waageschale und der Balken damit ins Gleichgewicht kommen. Dann legst du das Gold in die Waageschale, die als Laufgewicht dient, und legst in die grosse Waageschale so viel von den Dirham, dass das Gewicht damit ins Gleichgewicht kommt und der Balken horizontal steht.“ Und ferner Bl. 183a: *Tumma aḥriǧ ad-darāhim min al-kiffa wa'zilhā wa'ǧ'al al-kiffa allatī hiya'r-rummāna min al-'amūd 'alā 'alāmat tamām mablaǧ as-si'r wa-'addilhā bi's-saqūm.* „Nimm dann die Dirham aus der Waageschale und lege sie zur Seite und setze die Waageschale, die als Laufgewicht dient, auf das Zeichen am Balken, das den vollen Betrag des Kurses bezeichnet, und stelle das Gleichgewicht mit *as-saqūm* wiederher.“

Die Bedeutung des Wortes geht aus dem Zusammenhang hervor. Bei al-Hamdānī handelt es sich um das Gewicht in der einen Waageschale, das dem Gewicht des in der anderen Waageschale zu wiegenden Goldes genau entspricht, bei Iliyā um ein Gegengewicht, mit dem das Gleichgewicht der Waage hergestellt wird, ehe das Gold in eine längs dem Waagebalken bewegliche Waageschale und die zu berechnende Zahl der Dirham in die dem *saqūm* gegenüberhängende Waageschale gelegt werden.

Die Lesung der Konsonanten des Wortes scheint unzweideutig zu sein: die Hamdānī-Handschrift (Uppsala Nov. 551, Zetterstéens Katalog 204) hat allerdings zweimal *سقوم* aber dreimal *سقوم* und die Iliyā-Handschrift sogar beide Male *السقوم* — auf die Vokale komme ich zurück: die Lesung *suqūm* wäre an und für sich auch möglich.

Es gibt im Arabischen ein Verb *saqima/saquma*, Inf. *saqm*, *suqm* und *saqām[a]* (aber kein Inf. *suqūm*), das „krank sein“ bedeutet (Lane, *Lisān* s.v.). Es gibt ferner ein *saqūm*, das „Sykomorenfeige“ bedeutet (Dozy s.v.) und bei Lane *saugam* und in Landbergs Glossaire *daṭinois suqum* heisst.

Unser Wort scheint also nicht echt arabisch zu sein. Da Termini auf dem Gebiet des Gewichtes oft dem Griechischen entlehnt sind, liegt es

nahe zu vermuten, dass auch *saqūm* ein griechisches Lehnwort sein könnte. Ein Wort, das sich dann ungesucht meldet, ist gr. *σῆζωμα*, das eben „geeichtes Gewicht“, „Gegengewicht“ bedeutet. Das Wort findet sich auch im Syrischen wieder als *ܣܩܘܡ* „Mass“ mit dem dazu gebildeten Verb *ܣܩܡ* „messen“ — dieses Verb hat auch das Mandäische mit der Bedeutung „vollenden“, „vervollständigen“.

Aus *σῆζωμα* hätte man eine arabische Form *sāqūm* erwartet — die vorliegende Form dürfte aus ihr entstanden sein: *sāqūm* > *saqūm*. SAUVAIRE verstand das Wort als Plur. *suqūm* zu einem Sing. *saqm* (und übersetzte „de petites tares“, JRAS 9/1877, 311 und Fussn. 1, wie auch TH. IBEL, Die Wage im Altertum und Mittelalter, Diss. Erlangen 1908, 102: „kleine Gewichtsstückchen“). Der Satz *huwa's-saqūm wa-bihi šabbahta rummānat al-qaraṣūn* bei al-Hamdānī zeigt aber, dass *saqūm* Sing. ist.

Im Unterschied zum Syrischen scheint das Arabische kein Verb zu *saqūm* gebildet zu haben — jedenfalls ist ein Verb *saqama* mir nicht bekannt (über eine II. Form im Dialekt s. unten). Zu einem *saqama* hätte man aber *saqūm* als Inf. auffassen können, und das Verb selbst wäre als Kausativ zu *qāma* zu verstehen mit ähnlicher Bedeutung wie *aqāma* (sc. *waznahu*) „wiegen“ (*K. al-Ġauharatain* 45a ff.). Eine VIII. Form von *saqama* und X. von *qāma* würden einander sehr ähnlich sein — einige *sa*-Kausative sind ja auch Rückbildungen aus der X. Form (BROCKELMANN, Grundriss I:522). Das Verfahren, mit *saqūm* zu wiegen, wird *taqsīm* genannt (*K. al-Ġauharatain* 46b, 50a). Es mag Zufall sein — der Gedanke liegt aber nahe, dass zu *saqūm* ein Denominativ in der II. Form (wie im Syr.) hätte gebildet werden können, da diese Form ja oft zur Bildung von Denominativa und um ein technisches Verfahren zu bezeichnen benutzt wird (die II. Form existiert im maġrib. Arabisch mit der Bedeutung „ordnen“, ptep. pass. auch „richtig“, M. BEAUSSIER, Dict. pratique arabe-français, Alger 1887, s.v.). Das Verfahren würde dann *tasqīm* heissen, was mit Metathese *taqsīm* ergeben würde, ein Wort, das gewöhnlicher und vertrauter klingt, und dessen Sinn einigermaßen in diesen Bereich passt.

4. Zarsīm

Im *K. al-Ġauharatain* kommt an mehreren Stellen ein Wort vor, das der Schreiber offensichtlich nicht verstanden hat, da er es abwechselnd *درستم*, *درستم*, *درستم* und *درستم* wiedergibt.

Das Wort ist *zarsīm* zu lesen, zusammengesetzt aus den beiden per-

sischen Wörtern *zar* „Gold“ und *sīm* „Silber“. Eine ähnliche Zusammensetzung — allerdings mit dem ersten Glied übersetzt — findet sich im syr. ܙܪܫܡ, für ἡλεκτρον wieder.

Diese Lesung und Etymologie wird von der Bedeutung des Wortes gestützt. Um die Edelmetalle aus einem Gold-Silber-Erz zu gewinnen bedient man sich des Amalgamierens mit Quecksilber. Wenn das Amalgam erhitzt wird, wird das Quecksilber abdestilliert, und eine Gold-Silber-Legierung bleibt zurück, die al-Hamdānī *fiḍḍat az-zarsīm* nennt. Auch als Ergebnis des Schwefelprozesses erhielt man *zarsīm* (*K. al-Ġauharatain*, Einl., 28, 30). Das *zarsīm* ist widerstandsfähig gegen Feuer aber weich unter dem Schmiedehammer — Armbänder und Fussringe aus *zarsīm* halten nicht lange wegen seiner Weichheit. Das goldene *zarsīm*, *az-zarsīm ad-ḍahabīya* (das Wort ist also fem.), hat einen höheren Schmelzpunkt als Grubensilber; man braucht es nicht zu probieren, weil es durch den Schwefelprozess gereinigt wird; es kommt ursprünglich aus reinem Silber.

Das Wort ist mir in dieser Form aus keinem anderen arabischen Text bekannt — dagegen kommt es in der Form *sarsīm* vor in Ibn Baʿras *Kašf al-asrār al-ʿilmīya bi-Dār ad-ḍarb al-mišrīya*, hrsg. v. ʿA. FAHMĪ, Kairo 1385/1966, 53, als Ergebnis des Salzprozesses. Mit dieser Gold-Silber-Legierung ist vermutlich diejenige *fiḍḍa ḍahabīya* identisch, von der Ibn Baʿra sagt, dass sie das Silber ist, das aus dem Golde kommt und zu Gold werden würde, wenn es in der Grube hätte bleiben dürfen, nach der Theorie, dass Silber unreifes Gold sei (Ibn Baʿra 54).

Der Wechsel *z/s* hindert die Identifikation der beiden Wörter nicht, da dieser Wechsel im Arabischen häufig vorkommt. *K. al-Ġauharatain* selbst zeigt zwei Beispiele: *zaḥaqa* 54a = *saḥaqa* 66a, 68a „pulverisieren“, und *iltizāq* 29a = *iltaṣaqa* ibd. (eben zu *laṣiqa/lasiqa/laṣiqa* siehe A. FISCHER in WZKM 29:433 ff.; viele Beispiele in BROCKELMANN, Grundriss 1:156; H. FLEISCH, *Traité de philologie arabe* 1:80; LANDBERG, *Glossaire Daṭinois* 401, 1815, 1833; Lane *sandūq/zandūq/ṣandūq*).

A. EHRENKREUTZ, in seiner Analyse von Ibn Baʿras Buch in BSOAS 15/1953, 423–447, meint S. 428 *sirsīm* (wie er liest) sei „corrupt“ und ändert in *sirr as-sīm* „the essence“ oder „the core of gold“ und weist für die Bedeutung „Gold“ für *sīm* auf Ibn Sīda, *K. al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ* 12:22, aber soviel ich verstehe, steht da nicht *sīm* sondern *siyam* als Plur. von *sāma*.

KARL H. MENGES

On the Etymology of Slav. *sani*, Ural. **śona*,
Alt. *čana* "sledge"

Slav. *sani*, plur. tantum, fem. *i*-stem, originally probably dualis, "sledge", OChSl., ORuss. (MIKLOSICH, LexPSlGrLat., 822; VASMER, RussEtWb., II, 576 f.) is a difficult etymon. It has by some been considered an Uralic loanword in Slavic, while VASMER and others prefer to assume genuinely Slavic origin. Moreover, this word has some relation to one of the Altaic etyma for "sledge". It is a common-Slavic etymon, well attested for in all Slavic languages, and its oldest occurrence, as far as known, is in the Old-Russian Igoř-Tale and in an entry s.a. 1015 in the Povest' Vremennyx Let (Nestor-Chronicle), as quoted e.g. by ČIŽEVSKA (Glossary of the Igoř Tale, p. 305). The different forms from the other Slavic languages are listed by VASMER l.c. The Polabie and Kašubie forms are not quoted by VASMER and seem to be unknown. MIKLOSICH adduces (l.c.) *zohnäü* from the Drevjanic language, probably after DOBROVSKÝ's *Slowanka* (P. ROST, "Die Sprachreste der Draväno-Polaben im Hannöverschen", Leipzig 1907 is not available to me here): this form in a German spelling with *z-* for initial unvoiced *s-* and *h* for vocalic length seems to mean **śonäü* and might well be a gen. loc. du. **sānbyju*. As a metaphor, the direction of which is not clear, this etymon may designate, in some Slavic languages, "cheek-bone, lower chin-bone, jaw-bone", as e.g. in Russian dialects: dim. sg. *sánka* "skula, čeljust'" (DAL', IV, 30), pl. *sánki* "id." in Pskov, Tver', likewise "the breast-bone of birds" (the same metaphor is found also with the synonym *salázki*, f/pl., in the dialect of Tambov: "cheek-bone, jaw-, chin-bone", and as a pejorative for "face": "sysala, susala; 'mug'" (DAL', IV, 11), the same in Čech: *sáňe* "sledge; upper and lower chin-bone; cheek-bone". According to DAL', IV, 30 f., *sáni* in general means, besides "sledge", "polózja, the runners of a sledge"; in Ukrainian, the diminutive *sánka* means "runner". VASMER lists, together with all the forms of *sáni*, also OChSl., ORuss. *санъ* f., "snake", Če. *sáň*, f., "dragon, serpent", as if this were

one and the same etymon. He based himself, apparently, upon the semantic varieties of derivatives from the Slavic root **polz-* "to creep" as found in Russian *póloz* "runner (of a sledge)" and its exact equivalent in Če. *plaz* "reptile", but while in Russian *polózja* may be used as a pars pro toto designating "sledge", i.e. may stand for *sáni*, the derivation of OChSl., ORuss. *sanь*, Če. *saň* "snake, dragon, serpent" and *sáni* "sledge, runners of a sledge" from one and the same etymon is obviously very questionable and, as it appears in connection with the Uralo-Altajic relatives of this etymon, probably erroneous.

As Russian *póloz* "runner" and Če. *plaz* "reptile" belong to one semantic group or family, VASMER sees in this fact an argument in favor of genuine-Slavic origin of *sáni*, at least he considers genuine-Slavic origin as "more probable than borrowing". Then, VASMER adduces Indo-European etyma which so far had been quoted as possible or probable relatives of *sáni*: Lith. *šónas* "Seite; side (also side of the body)", Latv. *sāns* "id.", originally "rib"—very improbable, although, in view of the semantic features of "sledge" ~ "cheek-bone, chin-bone, 'mug'", one of "side, rib" > "sledge" might not appear too far-fetched; "whether Gr. *σπίς*, -ίδος f., "pole, block, board" (possibly with **ks-*) belongs here, is uncertain", says VASMER, and compares, further on, Gr. *σπινίχη ἄτροχος* *ἄμαξα*, according to Hesychios, a word which was considered, by HIRT, SCHRADER-NEHRING, ROZWADOWSKI and JACOBSON as "East-European" (exact quotations of the sources are always given). Then, he states, "the attempts to consider *sáni* as a loan from Finno-Ugric (Kola-Lappic *šionne* "kind of a Lappic sledge", Vogul *šun*) are to be rejected (against KALIMA and himself—RÄSÄNEN's article in *Uralaltaische Jahrbücher*, XXV, 1953, pp. 19–27, should also have been mentioned here—KHM), also the similarity with Qazan *čana*, Mongolian *čana*, Buřat *sana*, Qalmyq *tsan*" "sledge, snow-shoe, ski" (VASMER quotes the dictionaries) are probably accidental only (against P. SCHMIDT in *JSFOu.*, XLII, 5)". Forms such as Suomi *saani*, Estn. *sāñ*, Liv. *zāñ*, Hung. *sān*, *sānkā*, Latv. *sāñus*, *sanas*, Ruman. *sanie*, all loanwords from Slavic, are not dealt with by VASMER.

Sáni is genuinely-Slavic, perhaps—however doubtfully so—Balto-Slavic, but not Indo-European, and this is probably not only for geographical and climatological reasons, but also on account of the more archaic and conservative state of Balto-Slavic within Indo-European—as e.g. compared to that of Germanic. Greek *σπίς* does not fit on account of its semantics, and BOISACQ is certainly right when rejecting a rela-

tionship with the Slavic word. Different is the matter with *σηνίκη* "ἄτροχος ἄμαξα" which may very well belong here, both phonetically and semantically. The word is not listed by BOISACQ and is perhaps not of Greek origin. It will recur later in the discussion. VASMER is certainly right in declining a possible borrowing of *sani* from Finno-Ugric, as the phonetics of either etymon show. Inasmuch as the similarity of *sani* with the Altaic etymon, čana etc., is concerned, it is hardly accidental, as VASMER is inclined to assume, for the agreement between the two etyma is too considerable. But the initial *s-* in Slavic against initial č- in Altaic (and perhaps even Ural-Altaic) exclude any borrowing. Even if we assumed a proto-Ural-Altaic loanword in proto-(Balto-) Slavic, the initial Ural-Altaic affricate would not appear in (Balto-) Slavic as a mere sibilant, *s-*. RÄSÄNEN (l.c., p. 23) and COLLINDER (Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary, pp. 76; 147, no. 54) are right in putting the Uralic forms, Kola-Lappic *čyēnne*, Māñši (Vogul) *šun*, *sun* "sledge" together with the Altaic ones, Turkic čana (and variants), Mongol. čana > cana. In Altaic, the vocalism is more consistent and conservative than in Uralic, as also seen in this example. With regard to the vocalism, the agreement of the Altaic forms with those of Slavic is considerable.

In Altaic, the basic form is čana, appearing in both Turkic and Mongolian, and its meaning may either be "sledge" or "runner(s)" and "ski(er)": Tar., Qn., N.-Uj., Özb., Qγ., Qmq., čana (Qγ. also čanā, JUD., 842 f.), "sledge", Tel., Leb. "runners, skier"; šana: Šor "skier", Qq.-Qqlpq., Noγaj "sledge"; sana: Bažq. "sledge"; cana: Küarik "skier, runners", Mišār "sledge"; čana, Qarač'aj "id."; in his article (in UAJbb., XXV, p. 23) and his "Türkische Miscellen" (Stud. Orient. Soc. Or. Fenn., XXV, 1; 1960; p. 10) RÄSÄNEN lists Türkmen šāna, taken from ALIJEV's and BÖRIJEV's Türkmen Dictionary of 1929, considered by him as loanword from Qazaq *šāna, šana "sledge", but the length is not attested for in Qazaq, so that Tkm. šāna is due to contamination of Qq. šana with a Tkm. *čāna which must have been lost; also šāna does not figure any more in the Türkmen dictionaries (e.g. in XAMZAJEV's) which means that it is not considered literary; in its stead, one has Russ. *sáni* or the queer circumscription *gār arabasy* "snow-car"; šaya: Šor (VERBICKIJ) "skier"; šaya, Saγaj "id."; čanaq < *čana(-aq), with suffix -(aq), usual with diminutiva: Alt., Tel., Leb. "sledge" (Ča. čanaq "stirrup", listed in WB under this entry, is to be put under the following, together with Osm., Qrm. čanaq "earthen cup, plate, dish"), šanaq, Šor, "sledge", Lit.-Soj. (Tuva) "id."; a sanaq "sledge", quoted by RADLOFF as Čaγataj

after VÁMBÉRY is due to an error, probably on VÁMBÉRY's part; *canaq*, Bar., Küä., Qom. "sledge"; *syñāx*, Jakut., "runner(s)" (PEKARSKIJ, 2470), while "sledge" is *sīrya*, *syarya*, *sārya* (op. cit., 2425) < Mong. *čirya* "id."; *šuna*, *šona*, *ĭävaš*, < **čana-q*, "sledge". Morphologically unclear derivatives are Qn. *čanya*, Qq. *šanyy*, N.-Uj. *čanyu*, Bšq. *sanyy* "skier"; Saɣaj *saɣa* and Šor *šaɣa* might go back to **čanya* and not have alternation of intermediary -n/-ŋ-, which seems to be present in Jakut. The word is—so far—not attested in the ancient Turkic languages; it is apparently absent in Qoman, against RADLOFF's statement (Qom. *canaq* "sledge") which may actually refer to Qārā'im. Lit.-Mong. has *čana* (> *cana*) "snow-shoes, sleigh, ski", Xalxa *cana* "id." (LESSING, 164), Buɣat *sana*, Qalm. *can* "id." (RAMSTEDT).

Neither from Samojed, nor from Tungus, cognate etyma have become known so far. They seem to be lacking also in Korean. The Ewenki dialects of the Stony Tunguska and the Sym have the Russian loanword *čanki* < *sánki*, since these dialects have no *s*- (Stony Tunguska has only *h*- < *s*-, Sym only *š*-), Russian *s*- being replaced by *č*-; *čanki* means there "rózval'ni", a type of sledge with sides curved outward (VASILEVIČ); and the derivative *čankit*, haplogically from **čanki-kit*, in the same dialects, "sannaja doroga; sledge-way", instead of the genuinely-Tungus *tolgo-dō-kit*. The common-Tungus etymon for "sledge" is Ewenki *tolgoki* and its relatives, as e.g. Nānaj *toqi*, a cognate of A.-Mong. *tälägän* "cart, carriage". The common-Samojed etymon for "sledge" is e.g. Tavgy (Nanasan) *kanta*, Jenisej (Eneć) *koddo*, Jurak (Neneć) *han*, Ostjak (Selqup) *kanč*, *kanže* etc. (CASTRÉN, Wvz., 272 f.) which seems to have a counterpart in Mari (Čeremis) *künžō* "vectura" so that it may be considered as common-Uralic, as done by COLLINDER (op. cit., p. 30).

In the distribution of the etyma for "sledge" etc. we find, on the one hand, in Uralic, a number of different etyma designating different types of sledges, while in Altaic, Turkic and Mongolian possess one etymon, *čana*, for "sledge" as well as "snow-shoe, "ski" and "runner(s)", and another one for "sledge", *čirya* in Mongolian which also occurs in Tungus, although Tungus prefers the etymon (Ew.) *tolgoki* as the generic term. In no Tungus language one of those etyma seems also to signify "snow-shoe" or "ski(er)". The Jenisejic languages have different terms, one of which, Kott. *čugar*, *čukar*, was borrowed by Turkic, Madur and Šor as *šor*, Saɣaj and Qojbaɭ *sōr* "id." and is identical with the tribe name of the Šor (cf. A. J. JOKI, Die Lehnwörter des Sajansamojedischen, MSFOu., CIII, 1952, p. 295 f., and K. H. MENGES in CAJ, II, 1955, pp. 171 ff.).

Turkic and Mongolian *čana* was borrowed by a number of peoples who apparently did not know sledges or had lost the word for it together with its use. The source of all the borrowings following was without doubt Turkic: Tāžik *čānā* "sledge", Pers. *čana*, *čāna* "id.", apparently occurring here only in some historical texts, as e.g. with Rašidu-'d-Dīn, in the description of the Mongolian Urjanqat (quoted in extenso by DOERFER, *Türk. und Mong. Elemente im Neu-Pers.*, III, 105 ff.), otherwise it is little known and usually not listed in the dictionaries, so that it is questionable whether it may be considered an actual loanword. Persian possesses a word *čāna* "lower jaw-bone, chin; jaw, jabber, talk; a dropping, distilling; a lump of dough, enough to make a cake; a cup" (STEINGASS, 387) which was borrowed into Čaγataj where چانکا is to be read *čaya* or *čāyā*, not only *čaya*, as RADLOFF lists it (III, 1851), Osm. *čānā* and *čāyā*, Āz. *čānā* "lower jaw-bone, chin" which, on its part, has been reborrowed into Persian as چنه *čana*, only in the meaning of "lower jaw, chin" (STEINGASS, 401). The Turkic word for "sledge" is also found in Caucasian, as I quote from DOERFER, l.c.: Georgian *č'ana*, Avar. *č'anay*, Andi *č'anay*, Abaze *č'anax*—the latter three probably < Turk. *čanaq*. DOERFER considers Oset'i *zonyy*, *zonuy*, *c'onāy*, *c'onuy* "id." as "possibly borrowed from the last-quoted words", but as "hardly belonging here (against ABAJEV) Armen. *sahnak*", "id.". Concerning the Armenian word, he is right, since it is a derivative of Arm. *sahel* "qajdur-to have slide", *sahec'mel* "id.", *sahil* "qaj-, zalq et-; to glide, slide" (cf. *saslik sahel* قيزاق كبي قيزامق "to glide like a sledge"—BEPROS Zek'i ĞARABEDJAN, *Armen.-Osman Dict.*, 726, *Osman-Armen. Dict.*, 624). Neither *sahel* nor *sahnak*¹ are listed by HÜBSCHMANN, and they are probably not of Indo-European origin. The Oset'i forms show some digression in both consonantism and vocalism. Initial *c'*- is regular for common-Iranian *č*-, but not initial *ž*-; while in Oset'i *o* in position before nasals goes back to *a/ā* and, therefore, *c'onāy* may be the regular result of **čānāy*, as ABAJEV (l.c.) says, the vacillation of the initial *c'*-/*ž*- remains unexplained. The varying Oset'ian forms point to either a different but cognate source or to one or several intermediaries between the Oset'i forms and their source which might not have been Altaic *čana* or *čanaq*, but the Uralic etymon underlying Lappic *čyēnne* and Vogul *šun*, *sun*. This latter assumption becomes more probable in view of the ancient close contacts of the north-

¹ - Under a consonant means glottal occlusion.

ern Iranian nomad groups with Uralic peoples, particularly those of the Alanoi-Aorsoi complex with both the Ugrians and, probably somewhat later, the Volga-Finns.

The Hesychian gloss *σηνίκη ἄτροχος ἄμαζα* resembles Arm. *sahnak* more than Slavic *sani*. Without doubt, *σηνίκη* stems from an ancient North-Eurasian complex to which Uralic Lapp. *čyēnne* as well as Altaic *čana* belong; its initial σ- may not necessarily mean *s*-, but another sound which the Greeks could not write, in this case perhaps *č*-. Armenian *sahnak* might very well be due to an adaptation, under the stress of popular etymology, to the base of *sahel*, *sahil*. It does not seem to be known from the literature or the traditions of the Caucasian peoples whether the sledge is genuinely Caucasian or whether they became acquainted with it in relatively late historical times, as e.g. Altaic *čana* with the above-mentioned four Caucasian languages would suggest. In this connection, ABAJEV's remark is valuable when he says that in the language of the Svanet'i, the western K'art'velian neighbors of the Oset'i on the southern side of the central range of the Caucasus, the word *sav* means both "sledge" and "Oset'i"—with a differentiation only in the pl.: *sav-ar* "sledges", *sav-iar* "Oset'ians" —, and that with the Balqars, their northwestern Turkic neighbors who live in the valleys of the north side of the central range, near the Elbrus, the ethnikon of the Digor, *Dügär*, means "Digor(ian)" as well as "transom, crossbeam in a sledge" (l.c. and his "Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor", 302, n., 280 f.), wherefrom he concludes that the Oset'is or their Alanic ancestors brought about a technical innovation in the construction of sledges. It might, however, also mean that the Svanet'i and Balqars did not possess the sledge or this particular type of sledge. Also ABAJEV seems to have no closer knowledge of the realia than we Westerners do. From here, then, more detailed research has to start. But this fact at least hints at the priority, in the Caucasus, with the Oset'is of the acquaintanceship with the sledge and its construction. Oset'i offers an interesting semantic parallel to Čech *sáně* and *sáni*, *sánki* in Russian dialects, "sledge" and "lower jaw, chin (bone)" in *ζονγγυ* *!sár* "jaw, chin of the sledge" for "runner(s)" and the occasional use of *ζονγγυ* for "lower chin, jaw-bone" (ABAJEV, *ibidem*, without reference to Russian and Čech), but to assume, as ABAJEV does, basing himself upon Pers. *čāna* "lower jaw-bone" which he erroneously connects with Turkic *žanax*, *janak* (to be read *žanaq/žanax*, *janaq* "cheek"), that the sledge was so named after its similarity to the lower jaw-bone, is not at all convincing.

Altajic *čana*, with its few derivatives in Turkic, *čanaq* and *čaŋŋa*, *čaŋŋy*, *čaŋŋu*, *šaŋŋy*, is an etymon by itself and cannot be linked with any other stem, nominal or verbal. DOERFER (op. cit., III, 108) tried to derive it, in Turkic, from a verbal stem **čan-* which, as he says, does not seem to be attested; he thinks, however, it might be found in Kāš. *čantur-*, causat., which is rendered in the New-Osman translation of Kāš. (passing under the name of B. ATALAY) by *žajdyr-* "to cause to renounce, to refuse", so that on this basis DOERFER assumes a simplex **čan-* "to renounce" as having semantically developed from "to slide away, to recede (?)"; this is not convincing, in spite of another derivative of this hypothetical **čan-*, Kāš. *čanač* "fearful, lax, weak; coward". BROCKELMANN renders *čantur-* as "to cause to refuse", and in addition to it *čandyš-* as "sich befeinden; to become enemies, to act as enemies", while the meanings given in the Drevne-Tjurkskij Slovař (Leningrad, 1969, p. 138 f.) are "to cause to blame, vituperate, scold" for *čantur-*, and "to be rough with somebody" for *čandyš-*, both quotations being only from Kāš., while the Taškent Kāšŋarī-edition (vol. "Indeks", 1967) renders the latter as "sostjazat' sja v spore; to contend, compete, in a quarrel, an argument" and the former as "zastavit' sporit', poricat'; to cause to quarrel, argue; to cause to blame, vituperate". Whatever the exact interpretation of Kāšŋarī's Arabic explanation be, it does not fit in with the semantics of "sledge, snow-shoe, runner, ski". The same is true for *čanač*, also if it derives from another etymon than **čan-*. The New-Osman translation of Kāš. *čantur-* by *žajdyr-*, WB, IV, 6: "otgovarivat' ot čego-libo, jemanden von etwas abbringen; to deflect somebody from, dissuade, talk sb. out of", causative of *žaj-* "to deviate, decline (intr.), aberrate; be deflected, to renounce" (WB, IV, 2 f.) would suggest the etymological identity of both words as going back to **žaň*—as an alternate of AT. *jaň*-, later > *jaĵ*- "to expand, dissipate" (WB, III, 5 f.)? —, so that the form with Kāšŋarī should be read with *ž*-, not *č*-, this being one of the rare examples with ancient-Turkic *ž*- preserved from common-Altajic. A combination of this etymon with that of *čana* "sledge, etc." is impossible.

Russ. *súni*, pl., "Schlittenkufen, Schlittschuhe aus Holz; runners; skates from wood" (VASMER, III, 46), attested in the dialect of the Terek region only, is compared by VASMER with Táv. *šuna* which it resembles most, and with Qn. *čana* "sledge"; furtheron, VASMER refers to the alternate *cúni*, *čúni*, pl., also *čúnki* "Renntierschlitten mit hohem Ständer; reindeer-sledge with a tall stand", known in the dialects of

Kola, Keń, Mezeň, Šenkursk, Olonec, Arxangel'sk, Vologda, as "sledge" in those of Čerepovec, Jaroslavl', Vladimir, the Don region, and *cúni*, *cjúnki*, pl., "id." in Kargopol'. DAL' lists only *čúnki*, Arxangel'sk, Olonec, Novgorod, Vologda, Don region, and *čunáški*, pl., Novgorod, "small sledge, hand-sledge" (IV, 1377), *cúni*, pl., "id.", Voronež (IV, 1263). Concerning *cuni*, *čuni* VASMER assumes, with KALIMA and ITKONEN, a borrowing from Lappic Kildin *čuanne* "Lappic sledge", Kola *čioinne* "id." for the North-Great-Russian dialects, but considers it "extremely improbable" for the Don region for which he thinks of a borrowing from Turkic, ad-ducing Țăv. *šuna* and from other Turkic languages *čana*.

As we have seen, *súni* neither can go back to common-Turkic *čana*, nor to Țăv. *šona*, *šuna*. While *súni*, *cúni* etc. is quite close to Țăv. *šuna*, the initial does not agree, for, Țăv. *š-* is in Russian never represented by an affricate, but always by a sibilant, usually, in agreement with its nature in Țăvaš, a palatalized one, *š-*. This has correctly been stated by DOERFER (op. cit., III, 107), who furtheron says "that the area of the Țăvaš, while not so far away as that of Lappic, still is 500 km distant from the Don region and somewhat more from that of the Terek", and asks whether it might not be preferable to suppose North-Great-Russian settlers to have brought this Lappic loanword from their old home to the south. DOERFER's assumption is quite convincing and explains well this far-reaching migration of a Lappic term. A few Altaic words have migrated very far in the opposite direction, into the basin of the Northern Dvina as well as to the region of Leningrad or Pskov. In the instance of *súni*, the anlaut may have been influenced by the analogy with *sáni*.

One of the Uralo-Altaic etyma for "sledge" has its counterpart in Slavic in two different varieties, the one as a genetically related common-Slavic, perhaps also common-Balto-Slavic, sib, that of OChSl., ORuss. *sani* etc. and in the Hesychian gloss σῆνις, and the other as an Uralic loanword, *čúni*, *cúni*, etc. and *súni*. While the first one, the genetically related term, is an ancient North-Nostratic etymon, the Uralic loanword was locally borrowed into Great-Russian only. In accordance with the reconstruction of Nostratic as proposed by V. M. ILLIČ-SVITYČ (cf. *Materialy po sravnitel'nomu slovarju nostratičeskix jazykov*, in *Etimologija* 1965, Moscow 1967, pp. 321 ff.), the Nostratic forms would have had an initial affricate, *č-, *c-, *ć- or *č- (p. 323), whose results were, in the various constituent language groups, as follows:

**č*- > IE *(*s*)*k*-, *(*s*)*q*- (?), Alt. *č*-, Ural. *š*- (?), K'art'v. *č*-, Sem.-Hamit. *š*-, Drāvid. ? (no clear examples);

**c*- > IE *(*s*)*q*-, *(*s*)*k*- (?), Alt. *č*-, Ural. *š*-, Drāv. *č*-, K'art'v. *c'*-, Sem.-Ham. *s*-;

**č*'- > IE ?, Alt. *č*-, Ural. *č*-, Drāv. *č*-, K'art'v. *c'*'-, Sem.-Ham. *š*-;

**č*'- > IE *sq*-, *sk*-, Alt. *č*-, Ural. *č*-, Drāv. *č*-, K'art'v. *c'*'₂-, Sem.-Ham. *š*-.

As the affricates constitute by their very nature an intricate phonological series, a number of correspondences could not yet be clearly established so that it still is impossible to assign *sani*, *čana*, *čyēnne*, *šun* a definite place in one of the four rows. The Uralo-Altajic evidence would favor **č*'- or **č*'₂-, for the former, Indo-European correspondences have not been established by ILLIČ-SVITYČ, so that, in this instance, IE *(*s*)*q*-, *(*s*)*k*- might tentatively be posited; for the latter, IE had *(*s*)*q*-, *(*s*)*k*-, while the IE correspondences of the non-palatalized affricates **c*- and **c*'-, are *(*s*)*q*-, *(*s*)*k*-, but it is well-known how considerable the vacillations of these initial groups in IE are. The assumption of Uralic **š*- (**šona*; COLLINDER, op. cit., p. 147) would favor Nostratic **c*- or **č*-. Thus, in Indo-European, Slavic *sani* would go back to either **skān-ei* or *(*s*)*kān-ei* where with the Satem sound-change the initial **ss*- would have become simplified to *s*-. During the Nostratic period, the root-vowel might have been *o* that yielded Altajic *a*, but was preserved in Uralic (cf. ILLIČ-SVITYČ, l.c., p. 324 f.; COLLINDER, l.c., assumes **o*), however, it is likewise possible to suppose an ancient Uralo-Altajic ablaut *a*||*o*||*u* to have been present in this root. In the light of this theory the above Caucasian forms—the Oset'i ones excepted—, if they be ancient, might very well be genuine descendants from the Nostratic proto-language.

This ancient North-Nostratic etymon was lost in the majority of the Indo-European languages, without doubt after their migrations to areas on which sledges etc. became impracticable, while in Uralo-Altajic it has been preserved in Finno-Ugric and in Turkic and Mongolian.

A parallel relic from Nostratic times which survived in Russian folklore, at least in older times, seems to have been the custom of carrying the dead for burial upon sledges even during the snowless seasons, mentioned by VASMER, II, 577 with reference to SREZNEVSKIJ, *Mat.*, III, 258, and for which DAL' (IV, 31) quotes an example, *сѣдѣ на санѣхъ* from the words of Vladimir Monomax, "sitting upon the sledge", with the meaning of "lying on the death-bed". A similar custom is found with

subarctic peoples, but they are of lesser significance, since these peoples have, or, until recently had, no other means of transportation than sledges (or boats), the wheeled cart having until quite recently been unknown to them. With the ancient Russians who already had wheeled carriages, this custom has nevertheless been practiced in its original Nostratic, neolithical, form.

DAVOUD MONCHI-ZADEH

Contributions to Iranian Dialectology

Explanation of Verses in Old Tabari

To Stig Wikander on his 60th birthday

Of the Northern Iranian dialects, it would seem that Mazandarani has preserved a long written tradition. Thus, *Marz(u)bān-Nāma* was compiled at the beginning of the 11th C. by Ispahbad Marzbān b. Rustam b. Šahryār b. Šarvīn and now exists in two New Persian translations: the 1st by Sa'd i Varāvīnī from Azerbaijan, 1225, and the 2nd entitled *Rauḍat al-'Uqūl* by Muḥammad b. Ġāzī from Malaṭya, vizir of the Seljuks in Anatolia at the end of the 13th C. We also possess a Turkish *M.-N.* translated from the Persian version and an Arabic one based on the Turkish version (cf. Marzbān-Nāma, Preface XIV f.).

The same prince has compiled in Tabari (older Mazandarani) a divan called *Nikīye-Nūme* (Pers. *Nēkī-Nāma*), of which it is said to be دستور نظم طبرستان 'the rule of versification of Ṭabaristān' (T. Tab. 1, 137; cf. BROWNE, Hist. of Tab. 86).

The existence of another book in Tabari verse called *Bāvande-Nūme* (Pers. *Bāvand-Nāma*) may be supposed from this notice, in T. Tab. 1, 4

تاریخ طبرستان جز باوند نامه که بعهد ملک حسام الدین شهریار ابن قارن از تکاذیب اهل قری وافواه عوام الناس بنظم جمع کرده اند دیگری نیافتند

Notices: My transcription is schematized for better comprehension although according to W. GEIGER, GIrPh I, 2, 348, 'Der Vocalismus dieser Mundart ist charakterisiert durch eine auffallende Unbestimmtheit und Farblosigkeit'. For reasons of commodity I write Tabari and Mazandarani in the English text and not Ṭabarī and Māzandarānī. Variants A, B, C in the apparatus refer to BROWNE's mss. and Iq to Tāriḫ i Ṭabaristān ed. 'A. IQBĀL. I thank Mrs. Judith Josephson for her precious collaboration especially in correcting my English.

Ş. KİYÂ has carefully collected the Tabari-Mazandarani verses and sentences scattered throughout the Pers. literature in the introduction to his edition of *Nişāb i Ṭabarī*.^a This edition with glossary etc. is called "Vāža-Nāma i Ṭabarī". According to KİYÂ, V.-N. Tabari 13, there exists in the *Kitāb-xāna i Millī i Malik* in Teheran a translation of *Maqāmāt Ḥarīrī* (completed 1110-11) from the 13th century (20 × 28 cm pp. 286, every page contains 8 lines in Arabic and 8 lines of translation into Tabari with notations in Arabic).

The translations of the collected Tabari verses and sentences given by KİYÂ seem to me to be sometimes unsatisfactory, while his etymological explanation ungrounded. However, his merit in giving the modern Mazandarani forms of the words occurring in *Nişāb* and especially in pointing out the unreliability of MĪRZĀ ŠĀFĪ's translation is undisputable^b (V.-N. Tabari, 22). In the following pages I propose my own solutions:

I. Concerning two poems from the poet Dīvāre-vaz, also called Masta-Mard, I quote BROWNE, *Hist. of Tab.*, 87 ff. (cf. T. Tab. I, 137): "The following account is given of the manner in which this poet obtained these titles. He came from Ṭabaristān to Baghdad to visit the Shāhin-shāh 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawla^c ... sought the assistance of his compatriot 'Alī Pīrūza, who, however fearful lest his eloquence and wit might make him a dangerous rival in that prince's favour, made excuses for delay, hoping that the new-comer would weary of waiting and return home. After a while, however, Dīwārwaz formed some idea of the truth; and, when 'A.-D. was one day drinking in a garden with some of his friends, he climbed over the wall and approached him. Some of the attendants, thinking him to be a robber or assassin, rushed upon him with blows and cuffs. 'A.-D. hearing his cries, caused him to be brought before him and questioned him, whereupon he told the story, and how 'A. P. has treated him, after which he recited a qasida which he had composed. 'A.-D., charmed with its grace and sweetness, expressed a doubt as to whether he was really its author, and, to prove him, bade him to extemporize some verses on a singing-girl clad in blue silk who happened to be near. Thereupon he recited the following verses in Ṭabarī:

^a N. i T. was completed in 1264 H. / 1847-48.

^b One has the feeling while studying MĪRZĀ ŠĀFĪ's translations that he had tricked B. DORN. I am preparing a longer article on this subject.

^c 'A.-D. the Buide (949-82) was in Baghdad in 977.

1 کوو سدره تيله 2 بداو 3 آئين
 4 واديم 5 کتي 6 ديم اي مردمون 7 وشاين
 8 خيري بنهون 9 گردو 10 نرگيس 11 نماين
 12 اي خوي 13 دادستي 14 اور اين 15
 16 کوي 17 خوره شي 18 بابين 19 بومداين 20
 21 اي دريا و نيمي و نيومه 22 آين

1. C - 2. Iq - 3. C - 4. Iq - 5. B - 6. B - 7. Iq - 8. Iq - 9. Iq - 10. B, Iq - 11. C - 12. B - 13. C - 14. B, Iq - 15. C - 16. B - 17. آين - 18. Iq - 19. Iq - 20. B, Iq - 21. C - 22. Iq

'A.-D. was delighted, and gave him gifts, and caused his name to be inscribed in the register of his poets, and he received the title of *Díwár-waz*.

After the death of 'A.-D. he came to Ámul, when Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús was still reigning over Ṭabaristán. One day he had been drinking with his friends, and, while returning home, passed the gate of the shrine of Náṣir-i-Kabír, whence the clergy and custodians, seeing his state, came forth, seized him, beat him and cast him into prison. Thence he made his escape, came to Gurgán, and described his adventures in the following Ṭabarí verses, which he laid before Qábús, who honored and rewarded him, and gave him the title of *Masta-mard*.

1 داهي گيهون اي خور خورمي 2 وندا
 3 مست 4 آو و مستو آتشن بيا نا
 5 داه شاه بگيهون سا يه 6 سري دلشا
 7 بريه و کت 8 اونرا 9 که خور ها
 10 آوي داد از ابني آينا
 11 شر اي واک وارسته کيهون و جا
 12 مردم خورم 13 اي خور ايرونه بومي
 14 زلش بمن چون 15 کته کيون 16 شومي
 17 آين 18 پم يسکي 19 شو مست 20 مو 21 بي مو لس 22

بدای¹⁵ شمنی¹⁶ دل¹⁷ دنهراسن¹⁷ ای کس
 ناگاه¹⁸ بمن او کتن یکی دو¹⁹ نا دون
 ها کتن برون²⁰ زن²¹ بز ندون²²

1. C, Iq وا - 2. C. خرمی - 3. B سست - 4. C. هست Iq, سست B - 5. C, Iq شاسته Iq - 6. Iq شاسته Iq - 7. C. بربده دکت - 8. Iq کیه کنون Iq, کنه کبون C - 9. Iq 11-11. C. خرم qI - 10. Iq 9. Iq هابرا - 11. Iq 12-12. Iq هوبی مونس Iq, هوبی موس C - 12. B سست - 13. B سست Iq, شمیمی B - 14. C به ای - 15. C 17-17. C. شمسای Iq, شمیمی B - 16. B 18. B نا کا - 19. C om. دو - 20. B, C, Iq بردن - 21. B, Iq ازو - 22. B بز ندون Iq, نربنون C, زلیدون

KIYĀ, V.-N. Tabari 226 f., proposes the translation in Pers. for the 1st poem:

دختر سدره نبیلی به آواز (؟) آیان
 با صورت، بزرگ صورت مردمان از پوشان (؟)
 خیری پنهان کرد و نرگس نمایان
 از خیری خود است (؟) به آستین پوشان (؟)
 گوئی خورشید به این بوم است آیان
 از دریا نیمی (؟) ...

and for the 2nd:

تا گیهان از خور خرمی یافت
 مست آب و مست باد و آتش ...
 تا شاه بگیهان سایه سر است (؟) دل شاد (؟)
 ...
 بیداد (؟) ... نبود (؟) آئین
 ... گیهان ...
 مردم ایران بوم خرم از خور
 زنش شومی کیوان (؟) بمن چون افتاده است
 آیان بودم یکی شب مست و بی مونس

بجز (؟) از شمس (؟) نا هراسان (؟) از کس
 نا گاه بمن در افتادند یکی دو نادان
 بگرفتند بردند زدند بزدان

As far as we can see, no explanation has been given of how a Tabari verse really functions. If we go through the Pāzavārī divan (DORN Maz. I-II) we can establish a simple regularity: each hemistich is made up of 12 syllables and disregards the question of quantity, which in general is very fluctuant in the Caspian dialects. As to the qualities, I am unable to give any indications. Thus, I read the 1st poem:

korūe sedre nīla pēdā vā-āyan
vā dīm kat e dīm ay mardomūn vesāyan
xīrī pa-nihūm kard o nargīs namāyan
i xīrīye xoy e da ostī var-āyan
gu xor e šī ba-āyan o būm da-āyan
ay daryō vīn'me o na bō me ō āyan

The small girl in a blue shirt becoming visible,
 (Her) face covered (lit. on (her) face is fallen (the veil)), she turns away
 (her) face from the people.
 She hides the *xīrī*-flower (i.e. the face) and shows the narcissus (i.e. eye)
 This is the twig of *xīrī* coming out from the sleeve.
 It seems (lit. you say), that the sun itself is coming and rising over the
 roof.
 I see again and again the sea but the water is beyond my reach (lit. is
 not coming to me).

kor-u, texts KWW; Kurd. *kor* 'son, boy', Gil. *kor* 'young girl' (cf. Farhang i Gilakī); -*u* dim.

sedre, Pers. *sudra* (Ar. *ṣudra*) 'vêtement court, sorte de tunique'

(ZENKER); *sedre* 'white shirt' of Zoroastrians (Farhang i Bihdīnān).

vesāyan, texts -š-, Pers. *gusānīdan* caus. of *gusistan*

xīrī 'hesperis tristis, mallow rose'

ostī, Pers. *āstīn*, *ōstīm* 'sleeve'

xo, Pers. *xau* 'plant, grass'

var-āyan Pers. *bar-āyān* 'going up'

ey, Tehrānī *hey* 'again and again'

And the 2nd, with 11 syllables in every hemistich:

vā geyhūn ay xore xorramī-vandā
mast' ō o mast' vā o taš an be-y-anbā
vā šah' ba geyhūn sāye-sar e del-šā
barna o kat ūn rā ke xor hā-bar-ā
avī-dād ar vena bayye āyīnā
šer ay varka vā-rast e geyhūn ve jā
mardom xorram ay xor irūne būm e
zaneš ba man čūn kanne keyvūn šūme
āyan bīm' yakī šo mast mo bī mūnas
be ay šams-ī del da-na-h'rāsan ay kas
nāgā ba man okattan yak do nādūn
hā-gittan o bardan zanan ba zīndūn

Within the world, o prosperous Sun (i.e. Šams al-Ma'ālī)
 Furious water, furious wind and fire are piled up.
 Through the king's protection are rejoicing (in their) hearts
 The young and the old in the same way (as under) the rising sun.
 If injustice was his mode (of rule),
 The lion on his own account (lit. in his place) would have cleaned the
 world of lambs.
 (While) the people of the Iranian country are glad because of the Sun
 (Šams [al-Ma'ālī]),
 How can the ominous Saturn strike me?
 I was walking one night, I myself (lit. we), without companion
 Not fearing anyone except a Šams.
 Suddenly a few ignorants fell upon me
 They caught and carried (me), beating (me), to prison.

xorramī-vand, Pers. *xorramī-mand*.

ba-y-anbā, Pers. *bī + anbārda, anbāšta*.

barna, Pers. *burnā*, texts BRBH, BRYH.

kat, Pers. *gut(a)* 'large, big, old'; Teher. *kat* in *kat o koloft* 'big and thick'.

ūn rā, Pers. *ān rā (mānad ki)* 'resembling that'.

hā-bar-ā, Pers. *(hā)-bar-āyanda* 'going up'.

avī-dād, Pers. *bē-dād*.

varka, Pers. *bar(r)a*, texts W'K (cf. V.-N. Tabari 208).

be ay, Mp. *bē hač* 'except' (see also V.-N. Tabari 228).

II. A certain Tabari poet, Ibrāhīm Mu'īnī, says in his dialect about the *Nīkīye-Nūme* mentioned above

چنین^۱ کته^۲ دونای زرین کتاره به نیکیه^۳ نومه که شر جا دیاره^۴
 این پری بیا جه اندوهن^۵ کاره بیا چه کمارزم برده این پیاره^۶

1. A چتن - 2. Iq گته - 3. Iq بنیکی - 4. Iq دباره, دیاره, دپاره - 5-5. این پیری بیاچه اندوهن Iq, این پری ساجه اندومن, B omits this line, C and Iq's 2 mss. omit this line.

(BROWNE, Hist. of Tab. 86; T. Tab. 137; V.-N. Tabari 14 and 232.)

čanīn gotte dūnāye zarrīn katāre
ba nīkīye-nūme ke še(r) jā dīyār e
īn pīriya ba-pā če andūhen kār e
ba-pā če kam āzarm bard e īn patyāre

Thus has spoken the sage with golden dagger,

In N.-N. which occupies a place all of its own (lit. apparent on its own place):

Watch this old age because it is a sorrowful thing;

Watch, because it is a shameless ugly one!

še(r) jā dīyār e, Pers. (*dar*) *jā i x'ad dīdār ast*; see also Dorn, Maz. II, 112:

rūjāye šō-āhang ke še jā dīyār an
unhā hame te kōš ra dast hā-īt dāran

The shining (lit. drawing) stars of the night which are visible in their own place

They hold, all of them, your shoes in their hands.

kam āzarm bard, Pers. *kam āzarm burd(a)* 'the one with little shame, the shameless'; texts —'RZM—.

patyāre, texts YP'RH.

III. About a verse occurring in T. Tab. I, 89 I quote BROWNE, Hist. of Tab. 41 f.:

"*Anecdote of the Dragon and Sám-i-Narimán*. The poet of Ṭabari-stán (B. adds in the footnote 'probably Abu'l-'Amr ...') says:

تنه^۱ هشتتر تر^۲ بوم بدلیری ای سوم

بر. 2. - تنه^{*} 1. Iq:

There once appeared in Shahriyār-Kúh a dragon fifty thousand cubits in length, and in that region, as far as the sea-cost, no animal dared pass through plain or mountain for fear of it, so that they abandoned that district, whereupon it advanced as far as Sári. Then the inhabitants besought Sám to help them, and he came forth, saw it from afar, and said, 'With this weapon I can do nothing'. By the time he prepared suitable weapons, ... The dragon, on seeing Sám, rushed upon him. Sám smote it on the head with his mace, so that it fell asunder, ... It then strove to encircle Sám with its tail, but he sprang back forty paces. *It continued to move for three days and then died, ...*'

'A. IQBĀL, the editor of T. Tab., renders the verse into Persian (loc. cit. footnote)

از دلیری این سام تنه* اژدر بر زمین است

and following him, K1YĀ, V.-N. Tabari 231,

تنه اژدر بر بوم بدلیری از سام

IQBĀL's translation presupposes

taneye haštar bar (i) būm (8 or 9 syl.)

ba delīriye ī sūm (7 syl.)

while K1YĀ's reading of the 2nd part, which is different from IQBĀL's, is

ba delīrī ay sūm (6 syl.)

But the dragon was twisting for 3 days and that is an important fact for understanding what the poet meant. So, تنه* should be read *tane* equivalent to Pers. *tanad*: *tanīdan* 'to twist; to be twisted, ...' Thence:

tane haštar bare būm (7 syl.)

ba delīriye ī sūm (7 syl.)

The dragon twists (moves, winds) on the ground

Through the bravery of this Sām.

IV. When Ustāndār Kai-Kāūs, with the approval of his chief judge, Qāḍī Serom i Rūyānī, revolted against Ispahbad Rustam Šāh Ġāzī (1141-65) and burned his palace (*kōšk*) in Xarrāṭ Kalāta, Rustam marched to Rūyān to meet him, devastating and setting fire to the whole country. To commemorate this the Ispahbad Xuršīd b. Abū'l-Qāsim Mamṭīrī composed the following verses in the dialect of Ṭabaristān (BROWNE, Hist. of Tab. 60; cf. T. Zahir 43):

تدبیر^۱ کرده کاری^۲ کی کوشک بسوجن^۳
 اون که^۴ شی^۵ کوشک^۶ بریدو^۷ تابلوچن
 نون کشور بوین سوجن کهون اورجن^۸
 تدبیر^۹ کرده^{۱۰} کاری^{۱۱} دیر هار^{۱۲} موچن

1. B اونى كه Iq, اونى كى B - 4. بوجن C - 3. كادى Iq - 2. لاس تد بير B - 5. Iq سى - 6. A omits this w. - 7. C بریدد Iq, پرندہ Iq, بریدو B - 8. B بریدویدو, پرندہ Iq, بریدد C - 9. Iq تدبیر - 10. A, Iq's one ms. omits کرده, B ه - 11. Iq کادى - 12. C ما

(BROWNE, Hist. of Tab. 61; T. Tab. 108; V.-N. Tabari 12 and 229.)

tadbīr karde kādī ke kuška ba-sūjan
unī ke sī kušk parand e tā ba lūjan
nūn kešvar ba-vīn sūjan gehūn orūjan
tadbīra-gar kādī ye dīvhā ra mūjan

The cadi counselled to burn the pavilion

(Of) one who possesses thirty pavilions (filled) with silk up to the opening
 in the roof.

Now, see the country burning (and) the world in flames

The plotting cadi teaches (even) the devils!

dīvhā, texts DYRH', DYRM'.

mūjan, Pers. *ā-mōzān*: *āmōxtan*.

Concerning Rustam's love for silk and his accumulation of it, we have a clear passage in T. Zahir 45:

'Such was the rule and the habit of Šāh Ġāzī, that when he stood up (to leave) the banquet of amusement and joy, he opened the treasury to be plundered by (his) companion in the assembly. (Thus things went on) until one night when, according to his habit, he gave the treasury over to be plundered and Amīr 'Alī Sābiq ad-Daula and 'Alī-Riḍā came in. When they arrived they found nothing but an ass-load (*xarvār*) of silk. Each one took (then) what he could carry on his back (*puštṵāra*) of that silk.'

V. T. Tab. I, 137 names the poets of Ṭabaristān. I quote BROWNE, Hist. of Tab. 87: "Ustād Alī Pīrūza (mentioned above), the panegyrist of Aḍudu 'd-Dawla Shāhinshāh Fanākhusrāw. Hamadān is said to have been given to him in fief." Furthermore, BROWNE renders into English "The following verses in Ṭabarī dialect is by him".

پروجه¹ که خورد همیون شودارو² ای وی³ بسهون کمتر با⁴ نیرو⁵

بنیرو Iq, یزون C 5 - یا Iq 4 - دی C 3 - دارد C 2 - پیروجه Iq 1

but T. Tab., loc. cit., has

وشاعری طبری میگوید باسترزادت

‘and a certain poet of Ṭabaristān in order to request more favour (from the king) says’.

It is only this sentence that makes it possible to understand the above-noted verse, which I read:

pīrūje ke xorde hamayūn šē dārū
ay vey ba sahūn kamtar me yā ba neyrū

P. who has food even from Hamadān (or: from the purse)

Am I less than he in word or in power?

šē, texts ŠY.

hamayūn, could also be ‘a long hanging purse’, Pers. *ham(a)yān*. The poet is making a play on words.

dārū, for *dār(n)e* very usual in Maz.

VI. T. Tab. II, 115, cf. T. Zahir 177, reports an account of Gerda-Bāzū Yazdgird the eldest son of the above-mentioned Ispahbad Rustam Šāh Ġāzī: ‘He (G.-B.) was a prince endowed with poetical genius and a knower of the science of songs. There is no archer like him in our time. He used to draw (his) crossbow and until now his hand bow, with which he shot the deers, has lain on his tomb ... it is one *fitr* (the distance between the thumb and the index) thick. ... until the day (his) father, at the instigation of the people, became angry with him ... The son was afflicted by (his) father’s fury, and an illness with a hectic fever appeared and turned to cholic ... His illness increased day by day. In Tabari dialect he sang, describing his condition:

جل و من کرد این نکرده وا یکی بو
 ور آورد بناز هو برد بخاکه واشو
 بویت و پنج سال می تن بی بلا بو
 کاشکی بیکی بازو نیاور دادو

(T. Tab. loc. cit., cf. V.-N. Tabari 12 and 230.)

čal vā man kard īn na karde vā yakī bū
var-āvurd ba nāz hū-bard ba xāke rāšū
ba vīst o pañj sāl mī tan pīye balā bū
kāškī ba yakī bār ve bi-yōre dārū

What the destiny (lit. sphere) has done with me, should not have been done with anyone!

Brought (me) up in grace (and) plunged (me) into the black dust.

At the age of 25 my body should be ground by calamity!

Would that it (i.e. destiny) bring a remedy at once!

bū, Pers. *bū*, *bavad* (*buvad*). The 3rd hemistich has PW.

hū-bard, Pers. *-burd*. The preverb *hū-* and *hā-* occur often in Pāzavārī for ex. DORN, Maz. I, 144 *har kas tane xidmat ra kaj hū-kaše dam. rāšū*, text W'SW, Pers. *rāš* 'a kind of dark coloured date' (STEINGASS);

Kurd. *rāš* 'black'; DORN, Maz. II, 22 *yā dūnasse hā-kard e, me rūz ba-vū raš(t)* (-*t* is added for rhyme). For *-ū* supra.

pīye, V.-N. Tabari *pīya*, *peha* 'flour'; cf. Qābūs-Nāma 1 پیش از آنکه

دست زمانه ترا نرم کند '... before the hand of time grinds you'; or

آسیای چرخ 'the mill of the sphere'.

bārū, text B'ZW

dārū, text D'DW

VII. T. Tab. II, 97 has the following account of the mighty vizir of the same Ispahbad: "During his reign the vizirate of Māzandarān reached such a degree (of power) that neither before nor after him was there a vizir to the Bāvands, whose commands were more obeyed. It is said the Ispahbad entrusted a sum of 400,000 *dīnārs* to him. When the time of (his) death came, they said to the Ispahbad: 'The vizir is about to die.' He sent (people) to him (to ask him) where he had put the deposit. He sat up while in agony and said: 'Tell the Ispahbad, I am still alive and shall not die. When I get up (from the illness), I shall tell (it) orally (to him).' As soon as the couriers had left the house, his (last) breath came out and the sum was not to be found ... When Mujīr died (one of) the poets of Sārī composed this verse:

مجیر تو جانا بر نه اون مجیری که گتن بتی سزد اردها بمیری

mojīr, to jennae per na ūn mojīr ī
ke gottan: ba tī saze ažd'ha ba mīrī."

The context gives us a picture of a terrifically authoritative and greedy man for whom these affronts and insults were written:

O Mojir, you son of a whore, are you not that M.

Of whom the people said: a dragon is better than you for governing?
jenna, I take it for Pers. *jinda* 'whore'.

per (see Pers. text), Pers. *pūr*, cf. Pāzavārī divan (DORN, Maz. I) 501

ūn per ke mā ra halqe da-karde ba gūš and 500 *pere gāleš* 'cowboy'.
saze, Pers. *sazad: sazīdan* 'to fit, to be suitable'.

VIII. "The Bāvand prince (Šams al-Mulūk Ardašīr 1249-65) and the Gāvbara prince (Ustāndār Šahrākīm 1242-73) ... obeying the ... order of (Hülāgū) Xān (1251-65) went together to besiege the fortress Gerda-Kūh (Pers. *Gird-Kōh*). This fortress is situated in Dāmḡān in a village known as Maṣṣūr-Ābād. When the spring came and the conquest still had not been carried out, a certain poet called Quṭb i Rūyānī ... composed in Tabari dialect a *tarjī* describing spring, hunting and the like. He presented it to the prince. This *qaṣīda* enjoys a wide reputation in Ṭabari-stān. Its initiatory verse is

تا وره و رشی بچل شم ای شیم
وا پی گرد نیاز دشکست و هار بیحیره دیم

The meaning of this couplet is: When the sun went up from Pisces to Aries, at the foot of Gerda-Kūh the flowers blossomed

چون از حوت آفتاب بحمل رفت باز [پی] گرد که بهاریات شکفته است

Because *vara* is *bara*, allegorically used for Aries

čale šam is *šam' i čarx* ... for the Sun

and *šim* in Tabari dialect is *māhī* ... for Pisces.

Its refrain is:

ها گیر کرده کوه¹ دزره² بریو و نیرنگ
یا بهل انداج که نیه³ آن⁴ یکی سنگ

Variants according to V.-N. Tabari 1.: او⁴ - بینہ³ - در² - کویی¹

This *bait* presents no difficulties and its meaning is clear." (T. Zahir 60; ed. DORN 86.)

BROWNE, Hist. of Tab. 260 f. gives 3 strophes of this poem. I quote here the 1st of them with my translation:

داواوره¹ ورشی² چل شم ای شیم
 3 وا پی کرد بناز وشکت³ وها⁴ بجیر دیم⁵
 کنی کرم⁶ وا دکت سرما وکالیم⁷
 روباری او هارش بای⁸ ورفالیم⁹
 میه¹⁰ شی شنه ای سنبله خوری بیم
 آهو سنبل¹¹ ور¹² بکرد زیله رازیم¹³
 نرگس دهیت¹⁴ جام زر دربودپات¹⁵ سیم
 دپیری¹⁶ 17 بیازریر بسیم¹⁷ زری میم
 ونوشه بناز¹⁸ هو کرد سرودرومه¹⁹
 چادر بکهو کرد بکلون کردجومه²⁰

1. C. داواوه, T. Zahir - 2. C. ورشتی - 3-3. T. Zahir کرد - 4. A. بهار, T. Zahir -
 5. A. بجیر دیم, B. هجیر دیم, C. هجیرویم, T. Zahir (ed. DORN بناز دشکست) - 6. B. کرمه - 7. B. دکالیم - 8. B. بای - 9. A, C
 (ed. DORN سحره دیم) - 10. C. مید - 11. B. سنبل - 12. C. در - 13. C. رازیم - 14. B
 15. B. دیست - 16. A, B, C. دپیری - 17-17. A
 18. B. بنازو - 19. B. سروادرومه - 20. C. کرچومه .

dā vā varae var šī čale šam ay šīm
vā-peye gerda napār veškat vahārīm

gonnī garma vā da-kat sarmā ra kālīm
rūbāre ō hā-r-eš bayye varfālīm

mēh šī šanne ay sonbole-y-e xore bīm
āhū sonbole var ba-kard zīle rāzīm

narges dā-hūt jūme zar zaryū da-pāt sīm
danēre nīyāz rīze ba sīm-zare mīm

vanūše ba nāz hū-kard sar o dar-ūme
čador ba kahū kard balgūna kard jūme

When the sphere's candle (i.e. the sun) went up from Pisces to Aries
 At the foot of Gerda (-Kūh) fortress the flowers blossomed.

It seems (lit. you say) that the warm wind has attacked the body of the cold:

Look at Rūbār (Rūdbār)'s water, it is mixed with snow.

The fog (or: cloud) sprays dew (i.e. tears) for fear of the sun of Virgo (*sunbula*).

The gazelle entrusted to the hyacinth the secrets of (his) heart,

Narcissus drew out the golden cup, marygold scattered coins:

As donation coins (*dīnārs*) it pours out waxen (i.e. soft) gold money.

The violet shot up with grace and sprang (from the ground),

It made (its) scarf from a blue (cloth) and robe from the (green) leaves.

The refrain (does not occur in BROWNE):

hā-gīr gerda-kūh dez ra ba rīv o neyrang
yā be-hel andāj ke bīne ūn yakī sang

Take the fortress (*dez*) of Gerda-Kūh with stratagem and trick

Or, give up the attack and let the stone (i.e. G.-K. and its fortress) stand there.

The 2nd *miṣrā'* of this strophe is badly corrupted, and it is only with the help of T. Zahir's explanation that the reconstruction and translation have been possible.

napār, T. Zahir-DORN 86 NB'Z; V.-N. Tabari *naḡār*, *napār* 'a high platform for watching a field'; DORN, Maz. I, 132 translates (II, 523) into Pers. *tālār* and II, 572 simply as *bālā-xāna*.

vahārīm, Pers. *bahār-ān* 'flowers'; cf. pl. ending *-ēn* in NW dialects plus the change from *-n* to *-m* for ex. Maz. *andarīm*: Pers. *andarōn* etc. — Between *vahār-* and *-īm* is an intercalation certainly not belonging to the verse.

veškāt, Pers. *bi-š'kuft*, *bi-š'ikaft*.

kālīm, I take it to be a variant of *kālūn*, V.-N. Tabari 177 'husk, rind, bark'; DORN, Maz. II 99; cf. Pers. *kālū* 'model, mould, body'.

varfālīm, Pers. *barf-ālōd*, *barf-ālōn*; *ālōdan* like *farmūdan*, *āzmōdan* ... has two pres. st. *ālā-/ālōn-*, *farmā-/farmān-*, *āzmā-/āzmōn-* ... Here *-ālōn*: Maz.-*ālīm*.

rāzīm, Pers. *rāz-ān*.

da-hīt: Pers. *-hēxtan* 'to draw'.

zaryū: Pers. *āḡdar-gōn(-yōn)*, *zar-gōn*.

danērē nīyāz, for Pers. *dīnār i nīyāz* (with usual *imāla*); see Pers. text.

balgūn, Pers. *barg-ān*; texts BKLWN.

andāj, Pers. *andāz*, MP. *handāčīšn* 'attack, intention'.

IX. T. Zahir quotes three *du-baitīs* in Tabari from Kiyā Afrāsiyāb Čalābī (Čalāvī) † 1358. Two of them present some difficulties and we treat them here. One is written on the occasion of the defeat of Kiyā Jalāl i Matīmar (? perhaps Māmaṭīr, Bārfurūš-Deh, now Bābul). "Afrāsiyāb has marched many times to conquer the fortress of Fīrūz-Kūh with Āmul's army. He was not able to free it. A sole time he met and defeated K. J. in the field and the mentioned Kiyā retired to a fortress. A. composed a Tabari on his flight.

ادی^۱ من بویمه لشکر گاه بدیمه لیران^۲ اردها ره بدمها کشیمه
شی دشمن ره^۳ وایسته بیان^۴ بدیمه اوی^۵ من شمای^۷ بوزین^۸ بویمه

The two editions I have used have the following variants:

1. اوی - 2. DORN, 338 لیرون - 3. om. - 4. وابسته - 5. پیا - 6. پورین - 7. شمای - 8. اوین

and this Vīma is a place near to the fortress Fīrūz-Kūh." Op. cit. 243 f.

ēdī man ba vīme lašgar-gāh be-dīme
līrrūna aždahā ra ba dom hā-kašīme
šī dašman ra vā-boste payūn be-dīme
ēdī man šoma-y-a bū zanan ba vīme

Thus I saw the battle field in V.;
I pulled the roaring dragon by (his) tail;
I saw my enemy as having been broken in pieces;
Thus, I am (the one) having beaten you at V.

ēdī, Pers. *ēdōn* 'so, in this manner'.

vā-bost, Pers. *vā-gusast(a)*, *vā-gusīxt(a)*, cf. V.-N. Tabari

bū, man ... bū Pers. *bavam/buvam*.

On Vīma we possess an interesting notice in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*:

ویمه: بلیدة فی الجبال الری و طبرستان و مقابلها قلعة حصينة يقال لها
بیروز کوه من عمال دنباوند . . .

The 2nd *du-baitī* is about the dervishes who molested the Kiyā greatly, after he entered their order (op. cit. 246 f.): "... At the time of

the rice harvest (the dervishes) used to go to the private field of K. A. and beg for rice, saying: 'The dervishes have not planted (any field) and make a petition to you to grant (them) some bundles of rice.' K. then also obligingly used to say: 'Give some bundles (sing. *kar*) to the dervishes!' (But) they themselves went to the field and bound together some loads (sing. *pašta*) and called every load one bundle ... K. A. concerning this matter composed in Tabari:

درویش بدرویشی نبستی تو این کر این کر نیه این لمبره ها وشا پر
1 کر اونه که بوی¹ بدستور این شر این اون کره که دو نبری یکی خر

کر اونکه اون به 1-1

darvīš ba darvīši na bastī to īn kar
īn kar nīye īn lambar e hā-vešā par
kar ūn e būe ba dastūre īn šar
(or: *kar ūn ke ūn bū ...*)
īn ūn kar e ke do na bare yakī xar

O dervish, you have not bound this bundle in the manner of dervishes
(or: in poverty).

This is not a bundle, this is (as large as) a full opened skirt.

A bundle is that which accords with religious rule.

This bundle is such that an ass could not carry two.

lanbar / *lambar* 'skirt' (cf. V.-N. Tabari) the same as Pers. *lunbar* / *lumbar* 'buttocks'.

hā-vešā, Pers. *hā-gušād(a)*.

par, Pers. *pur(r)*.

šar, Pers. *šar*'.

X. Further, Ṣahīr ad-Dīn reports two Tabari *du-baitīs* in T. Zahir 392 f. from a curious person among the notables of the country contemporary with the author, who completed his history 1476-77. The poet was a descendant of Sayyid Qawām ad-Dīn the Great. He is described as follows (T. Zahir 389): "When Sayyid Ṣā'id was murdered, his brother, Mīr 'Abd al-'Azīm, a learned man ... of powerful frame, intrepid and renowned for his generosity, revolted in the forest of Āmul to take revenge ... His (only) garments were a black *kalā-pušt* (a special jacket of goat's hair worn in Māzandarān and Gīlān) and black woollen trousers, without

a shirt. He lived in that forest with a magnificent sword and a huge superb shield. In rain and snow he stuck 3 sticks into the ground, put the shield on top of them and sat himself beneath it ...” He composed these verses after his brother had been murdered:

تا ندیمه تی چره تر و خور رنگ
کلا پشت می پوشش گمان می ینگ
یا دشمن چش کنم خاک یکی چنگ
یا دشمن بمی خون کنی جامه را رنگ^a

(Cf. V.-N. Tabari 19 and 224.)

tā na dīme tī čere tar o xore rang
kalā-pašt e mī pūšēš kamūn e mī pang
yā ba dašmane češ kanme xāk yakī čang
yā dašman ba mī xūn kanne jūme rā rang

Since (the day) I have not seen your fresh and sun-like face,
Kalā-pašt is my dress, the bow is my walking stick.
Either I throw a handful of dust in the enemy's eye
Or the enemy dyes his gown in my blood.

pang, Pers. *pang* ‘rod, stick, baton, ...’ (STEINGASS).

من دوم بدریو انگومه میر بسومون تیجن بکنار چاک بزه تا بدامون
اسری برزی کو کردمچیک بکو خون انگومه رزی کو بمشک ویابون

man dūm ba daryō angūmme mīr ba sūmūn
tajan ba kanār čāk beze tā ba dūmūn
esrī be-reze kūkar vemčī(š)k be-g're xūn
angūme reze kōk ba mašge vīyābūn

^d Pāzavārī divan (DORN, Maz. II, 70) has a variant of this *du-baitī*

تا نوینم چیر ترا خور رنگ
کلا پشته مه پوشش کمر منه چنگ
تا کنم چشم دشمن را خاک یکی چنگ
با مه دشمن خین کنی شه جومه رنگ

I throw a net over the sea (i.e. I catch it) and death over the land,
Having split the bank of the Tajan (river) (i.e. entering into it) up to
the height of my skirt.

Kukar (a certain bird) pours tears, sparrow weaps blood
And partridge strips turmoil in *Muškin-Dašt*.

angūmma: (*da-y-*) *angūan* 'to throw'.

mīr, Pers. *mīr* 'death'.

kūkar, Gil. *kūf-kar* 'a certain bird living at the water's edge', Farhang i
Gilakī.

kōk, text KW, Pers. *kabk*

vemčī(š)k, text has DMJYK, I connect it with Pers. *gunjišk*, *binčišk* ...
'sparrow'.

angūme, Pers. *hangāma*

ba-g're, text BKW, Pers. *bi-giryad*

sūmūn, text S'MWN, Pers. *sāmān* 'boundary, foundation of a house, ...'
mašge viyābūn, is most probably the true Maz. form of *Muškin-Dašt*,
a locality in Nūr not far from Āmul (cf. RABINO, Maz. and As. 111).

XI. The chapter XX of Qābūs-Nāma^o begins with the sentence

چون تو در کارزار باشی . . . و بر جان خود مبخشای که کسی را که
بگور باید خفت بخانه نخسبد بهیچ حال ، چنانکه من دو بیتی گفته‌ام در
این معنی

"Once you engaged in battle ... but take no precautions for your
own life; he that is destined to sleep in the grave will never again sleep
at home. This I have expressed in the following quatrain:"^f

سی¹ دشمن بشر توداری ر مونه نه‌راسم² وری میر² کهون وردونه
چنین گته دونا که بوین³ هر زونه بگور خته نخسه آنکس بخونه

variants according to V.-N. Tabari

بین 3. - وری مبر 2. - صی 1.

^o 'Unşur al-Ma'ālī Kai-Kāūs b. Iskandar b. Qābūs, reigned 1060-82 in Māzanda-
rān. He is the grandson of Kāūs Šams al-Ma'ālī, mentioned above.

^f Some editions have a true Tabari *du-baitī*, which I give here, and some, a Pers.
rubā'i with much artificiality and awkwardness. I cite the verse following V.-N.
Tabari 12. For the editions: Qābūs-Nāma, Introduction 3 f. — English translation
after R. LEVY, A mirror for Princes 87.

šē dašman ba šēre tō-dār-ē da-mūne
na h'rāsme v'ar mēre gēhūne vardūn e

čanīn gotte dūnā be-vīn har ūn-ē
ba-gūr-xat e na xasse ūn kas ba xūne

Even though the enemy resembles a roaming lion
 I don't fear (him), even if he is the sun of the revolving universe.
 Thus says the wise man: 'See, the one
 Who is destined to sleep in the grave, he will (never) sleep at home.'

tō-dār, Pers. *tab-dār* 'roaming'; *šēr tab kardā* 'st' 'the lion roams'.

da-mūne, text RMWNH.

gēhūne vardūn, Pers. *jihān i gardān*.

mēr, Pers. *mīhr* 'sun' and not Pers. *mīr/mēr* 'lord', which could imply a blasphemy.

har ūn-ē, for Pers. *har ān-ē* (*kī*).

ba-gūr-xat, Pers. *ba-gōr-xuft* (*xuft* pres. st.) the same as *ba-gōr-xusp* 'the one who ought to sleep in the tomb'.

Additional Notes

(1) Curiously enough the name of the small fortress *Gird-Kōh* occurs in Chinese historical literature as *Ki-du-bu-gu* (*Ch'i-tu-pu*, PELLIOU) in Ch'ang Tē's account on his journey in 1259, BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, London 1888, I, 133 and in Yuan Che (ed. Kouo-tseu-kien de Nankin des Ming) 147, 6 a. Cf. P. PELLIOU, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris 1959-63, II, 786.

(2) *pang* 'stick, baton' occurs in GARDEZĪ, *Zain al-Axbār*, ed. 'A. ḤABĪBĪ, Teheran 1347/1967, 287: *In Čandālān hamē ravand u andar dast MKY* (YKY?) *dārand u andar sar i ān čōb ḥalqa-ē* ... MINORSKY, *Gardīzī on India in Iranica* (200-215 = BSOAS. 1948, XII/3, 625-40), 202 gives the following translation: 'These Chandala go about with a piece (of wood) in their hands; at the end of that piece of wood there is a ring ...'

Thus M. sees in both mss. (King's College 213, Cambridge and Ouseley 240, Bodleian Lib., Oxford) a form like YKY (and not ḤABĪBĪ's MKY) which he presumably has read *yak-ē* and translated with 'one piece (of wood)'. It is quite obvious that neither *yak-ē* nor *muk-ē* (*muk* 'a javelin, short spear' STEINGASS) gives a satisfactory meaning to the *passus*.

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Once Again Meghadūta, st. 25

In the *Orientalia Suecana*, XVI/1967, pp. 215–219, Dr. G. LIEBERT has written in refutation of some remarks which I had made on his interpretation of Meghadūta, st. 25, that had appeared in an earlier issue of this Journal. That calls for further comments.

To dispose of a point of grammar first. Dr. LIEBERT remarks that *prauḍhapuṣpaiḥ* could as well be a substantive determinative compound as a Bahuvrīhi and adds that this difference plays no role. There is, of course, no doubt that theoretically *prauḍhapuṣpaiḥ* can be looked upon as a Karmadhāraya compound. However, it is not possible to do so in the present instance. For, as a Karmadhāraya, the word would be a new substantive in addition to the substantive *kadambaiḥ* which is already there. That would mean that we have to understand a *ca* 'and' as a conjunctive to join the two substantives. Further, the question would arise what 'full-blown flowers' are these over and above and independent of *kadambaiḥ*? The two translations of the expression referred to with approval by Dr. LIEBERT show that *prauḍhapuṣpaiḥ* is understood there as a Bahuvrīhi. And to say that the difference between the two kinds of compounds plays no role, i.e. has no significance shows, to my mind, unawareness of the nature of these two different types of compounds.

Dr. LIEBERT refers me to WHITNEY for loose constructions with compounds. He has done well to state WHITNEY's criterion in that respect: 'a word in composition has an independent word in the sentence depending upon or qualifying it alone rather than the compound of which it forms a part' (§ 1316). WHITNEY has given some examples of such loose constructions. Most of the compounds in the examples given are either Tatpuruṣa or Karmadhāraya; the only instance of a Bahuvrīhi compound that is given is *syandane dattadṛṣṭiḥ* from the S'ākuntala. There is no doubt, however, that this has been erroneously included by WHITNEY among his examples of compounds with a loose construction. For, it does not fulfil the criterion laid down by himself. Neither *datta*

nor *dr̥ṣṭi* (a word in composition) has *syandane* (an independent word in the sentence) depending upon or qualifying it alone. We, therefore, do not have here a compound with a loose construction. In fact, the very nature of a Bahuvrīhi compound is such that the words forming it constitute a compact unit, so that it is not possible to construe syntactically any member of that compound with a word outside it. In the present instance, neither *prauḍha* nor *puṣpa*, which form the Bahuvrīhi compound, has *kadambaiḥ* (which is in the Instrumental case) depending upon it alone or qualifying it alone. It must, therefore, be asserted once again that grammatically *kadamba* and *puṣpa* cannot be construed together to form a single idea, viz., the plant Kadambapuṣpā.

Dr. LIEBERT reminds me that his interpretation of *prauḍhapuṣpaiḥ kadambaiḥ* in the sense of *prauḍhābhiḥ kadambapuṣpābhiḥ* contains only a concealed or veiled (*versteckt*) allusion and adds that this allusion has taken the form of a pun in which the expression actually used is substituted by another construction, viz., *prauḍhābhiḥ kadambapuṣpābhiḥ*. Assuming for the moment that a pun is intended in the stanza, one should like to know how Dr. LIEBERT would understand the expression *prauḍhapuṣpaiḥ kadambaiḥ* before the pun supposed to be contained in it is thought of. Surely the expression conveys an unconcealed meaning before one can think of a veiled meaning on the basis of a possible pun? What is this unconcealed, open, primary meaning, according to Dr. LIEBERT?

Ordinarily it might be expected that the unconcealed meaning of the expression as understood by all commentators and as found in the translations quoted with approval by Dr. LIEBERT himself, viz., 'because of Kadambas, whose flowers are full-blown', where Kadamba stands for some tree, would be acceptable to him. But apparently Dr. LIEBERT will have nothing to do with the Kadamba tree so far as this stanza is concerned. For, he asserts that the discussion started by me has led him to the conclusion that 'whatever plant Kālidāsa may have had in mind in st. 25, it has not been the Kadamba tree'. One must naturally ask what plant must Kālidāsa be supposed to have had in mind when he used the word *kadambaiḥ*? Dr. LIEBERT's rejoinder leaves no room for doubt that, according to him, Kālidāsa had in mind only the Kadambapuṣpā plant when he wrote the stanza. For, although in the opening paragraph he has stated that the allusion to the Kadambapuṣpā is only concealed (*versteckt*), the rest of the article makes it abundantly clear that he would regard the supposed reference to the Kadambapuṣpā as not only

the unconcealed, open meaning, but probably the only possible meaning of the expression used. His refusal to accept Kadamba as the name of the well-known Kadamba tree is one indication of this.

A rather curious reason why Dr. LIEBERT would not think of the Kadamba tree in st. 25 is the circumstance that, according to him, the real Kadamba tree is already mentioned under the name of Nīpa in st. 21 and is described there as having had only buds. Is it likely, he asks, that Kālidāsa would come back again to the Kadamba tree a few lines further on and describe its flowers as fully blossomed? Falling in line with this piece of reasoning, one could perhaps point out that in the interval between the two stanzas the cloud was expected to spend some time on each mountain on the way, *kālakṣepaṃ kakubhasurabhau parvate parvate te* (st. 22); might not the time so spent be considered sufficient to allow the buds to blossom? Let us hope that Dr. LIEBERT does not inquire how much time in days, hours and minutes the cloud was expected to spend on the way in this manner.

Dr. LIEBERT is now prepared to grant that the stanza in question is in its proper place and need not be transferred to the Himalayas, as he had originally suggested. However, he now thinks that Kālidāsa had known the Nard plant only from hearsay and had not himself seen it. Even the great 19th century Orientalist, Sir William Jones, knew this plant only from hearsay and was mistaken about the source of its perfume, we are told by Dr. LIEBERT. So it is no wonder, according to him, that Kālidāsa too learnt about it from hearsay. Nevertheless the description of the plant in this stanza as interpreted by Dr. LIEBERT, that its flowers are carried away by the rains, leaving only hair-like filaments visible on the ground (*Orientalia Suecana*, XIII/1964, pp. 126 ff.) is such as to satisfy the most exacting modern botanist. An amazing feat indeed by a poet who, Dr. LIEBERT now asserts, knew the plant only as a perfume!

Proceeding on the assumption that Kālidāsa knew the Nard only as a perfume, Dr. LIEBERT thinks that the poet believed the Nard plant to be a general mountain plant, not restricted to the Himalayas, that he, therefore, planted it wherever it suited him, on a poetical mountain, and that he furnished this mountain, covered with Nard plants, with caves for the perfume-loving courtesans. Now, if the allusion to the Nard plant in the stanza is to be understood as only veiled, what need is there for these suppositions? Is it possible to suppose that the mountain Nicaira is a poetical invention of Kālidāsa and that he invented it just in order that a veiled allusion may possibly be made to the Nard plant? Does

not Dr. LIEBERT accept the fact that all places mentioned in the Meghadūta, beginning with Rāmagiri and ending with Alakā on the Kailāsa, whether the places are real or imaginary, bear names by which they were already known when Kālidāsa wrote and that none of them can be regarded as poetically invented by him? In this particular case, moreover, the mountain is referred to as *Nicairākhyā giri* 'the mountain bearing the name (*ākhyā*) Nicaira'. That clearly shows that it was known to the people living nearby by this name and that therefore the name cannot be looked upon as that of a mountain invented by the poet. When Dr. LIEBERT refers to the 'perfume-loving' courtesans, he apparently has in mind the perfume of the Nard proving an attraction to them. But if the courtesans' love of perfume is suggested to him by the word *parimala* used in the stanza, it must be pointed out that the word has nothing to do with the perfume of any plant growing on the mountain. In his enthusiasm for the Nard plant Dr. LIEBERT has obviously lost sight of the fact that even according to him the allusion to that plant is only veiled and is not to be understood as the directly expressed, primary meaning of any expression in the stanza.

An additional reason why Dr. LIEBERT rejects the Kadamba tree in favour of the Kadambapuṣpā plant is stated by him in this way: the cloud is asked to take rest on this mountain (*vis'rāmahetoḥ*); for that purpose the hair-like filaments of the Kadambapuṣpā plant would provide a more soft, a more pleasant and a more suitable bed for the cloud to lie down upon for taking rest than the knotted branches of the Kadamba tree. Evidently the assertion made in the beginning that the allusion to the Kadambapuṣpā is only veiled has been completely forgotten, and Kadambapuṣpā is understood as primarily meant in the stanza.

Because I do not see any pun in this stanza, Dr. LIEBERT seems inclined to think that according to me there is no pun anywhere in Kālidāsa. He is welcome to such thought.

Book Reviews

KARL H. MENGES, *Tungusen und Ljao*. Wiesbaden 1968. 60 S., 1 Aus-schlagtafel. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, im Auftrage der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Anton Spitaler, XXXVIII, 1).

In dieser Arbeit, wo die Erforschung des Liao-Komplexes in bezug auf seine altaischen Elemente fortgesetzt wird, gibt der Verfasser eine einleitende Übersicht über die Tungusen in Ost-Asien vor dem Liao-Reich (S. 1–16) und versucht dann an Hand des Liao-Šy festzustellen, welche Stammesnamen (S. 17–26), sonstige Eigennamen (26–29), Titel (30–37) und andere Nomina (37–54) tungusischen Ursprungs sein können. Wegen der sehr großen Schwierigkeiten, die z. B. die chinesische Hieroglyphik und die bisher mangelhafte Erforschung der tungusischen Sprachen dem Forscher hier bereiten, ist es kaum verwunderlich, daß nur ein Dutzend der 123 Stammesnamen und auch nicht mehr Wörter aus dem eigentlichen Wortmaterial mit einiger Sicherheit als tungusisch identifiziert werden können. Das Heft enthält außerdem höchst interessante Kommentare zu allgemein-altaischen Problemen, besonders unter „Titel und Amtsbezeichnungen“ S. 30 ff. und in einem Abschnitt über „Ljao-Wörter in anderen altajischen Sprachen“ (S. 54–58). Von den ethnologischen Charakteristika der Qytan deutet, wie der Verfasser feststellt, lediglich das Vorkommen des Gebärzeltes unzweideutig auf tungusischen Einfluß.

Lars Johanson

R. S. MCGREGOR, *The Language of Indrajit of Orchā. A Study of Early Braj Bhāṣā Prose*. (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, No. 13.) Pp. x, 265. Cambridge University Press, 1968.

This book is a pioneer work. The author has produced the first edition and a study of an early Braj text in prose, dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is self-evident that a prose text might be expected to give us more positive knowledge of the syntax of Braj than what can be deduced from the artistic verses of Surdas or Tulsidas. However, the prose studied in this book proves to be of a special kind. It is a rather meagre commentary on a number of Sanskrit verses, the Nīṭisāṭaka of Bhartṛhari. The largest portion of the commentary on each verse consists in showing the syntactic connection, the *anvaya*, of the Sanskrit words. This is done mostly by lemmata being taken out of the Sanskrit text (*mūla*) and put in an order that facilitates the analysis of the *mūla*. The lemmata are translated into *bhāṣā* with the additions that are required in Braj to show the syntactic

function of the Sanskrit words quoted. In this way the commentator often succeeds in forming phrases that at times convey an impression of genuineness, but quite often they unveil their dependence on Sanskrit syntax by peculiarities of word order. Sometimes a lemma is not translated at all, but is put into the syntactic order in its Sanskrit form or in a slightly altered form. Now and then the commentary does not offer anything that can be qualified as a lemma, and in such cases the impression of genuineness may be particularly strong. But it is often a false impression. The editor has italicised the words he considers to be lemmata. It would have facilitated the reading and the judgment of the dependence or independence of the commentary considerably, if also those words that translate a word of the mūla directly, without an intervening lemma, had been marked in some way (e.g. 1b <11> *pramāṇa* = *māna* in the mūla, 2a <2> *vrahmāū* = *vrahmāpi* in the mūla, etc.). Generally speaking, it would have added considerably to the value of the edition and of the study contained in the second part of the book, if the author had made an attempt to keep apart those highly technical sections which are closely dependent on the Sanskrit text and on a possible Sanskrit commentary from those—to my mind small—sections which are less technical and are likely to be genuine. But such a partition is hardly to be expected in this book in view of the fact that the author has a totally different opinion of the general character of the commentary, as expressed e.g. on p. 14: “The style of the commentary is for the most part relatively fluent and selfconsistent. The material is also extensive enough and in general independent enough of the Sanskrit text to make it probable that it represents a genuine sample of a Sanskritised, educated style of language current in Orchā in Indrajit’s time”. The impression I have won after a thorough perusal of the material is that Indrajit’s *ṭikā* is even less an exponent of a natural and fluent style than the style of Sanskrit *ṭikās* generally is. On the following pages I shall give several examples that are likely to show that Indrajit’s technique is more or less the same as that to be found in most Sanskrit commentaries of this kind. But as a sample of technical prose this commentary is of considerable interest, and it is well worth being studied by those interested in the development of Indo-Aryan. It is the importance of the material presented in this book that accounts for the extensiveness of the critical examination given below.

The present reviewer often finds it difficult to determine how the editor analyses the text, and would have welcomed a more thorough commentary, or perhaps even a translation of the whole text. The extensive insertion of commas and semi-colons does not make up for this deficiency; on the contrary, it is disturbing and often shows an erroneous analysis. (In the sequel I shall ignore these insertions and restore the punctuation of the MS.) Finding out what exactly the opinion of the author is, often requires some work, now and then fruitless. One example: 1b <13> *ihiṃ prakāra bhartṛhari maṃgalācaraṇa karikāi prathama hiṃ nitiśata kari tatva loka kauṃ kahata hai*. A note on *kari tatva* first directs the reader to 3: 169, where he finds that *kari* ‘possibly’ functions as a genitive particle. This seems to imply other possibilities. But they are not mentioned or rejected at 3: 179 and 3: 180. We find the whole

phrase quoted at 1b <6>, note, but the discussion there is too vague to give any definite idea of what it means, i.e. what function it fulfils in the context. Is this a possible literal translation: "Having in this way made *maṅgalācāraṇa*, Bhartṛhari first, by making the *Nīṭisātaka*, teaches *tattva* to the world"?

An attempt to translate the whole text would undoubtedly have saved the author a mistake in the discussion of the Sanskrit text on p. 12 sq. Discussing three verses whose commentary is introduced by the words *yā śloka kau yaha artha* the author says that one of the verses, viz. 64, is introduced by the final sentences of the commentary on verse 63. But this is true also of the two other verses, i.e. the one which has the number 23 and the one which stands between 52 and 53 and is marked 1. The commentary on verse 22 is introduced by these words 7a <9>: *yā saṃsāra viśai dhana aisau vaḍau hai jā kai āgaiṃ na jāti ganijai. na gunu ganijai na silu ganijai. yaha yā śloka viśai kahijatu hai*. "In this world wealth is so important, in the presence of which (i.e.: that in the presence of it) birth is not considered, quality is not considered, moral is not considered. This is told in this śloka". After the commentary proper, these words follow: *jav dhanu hai tau jāti koṃ na pūchatu. aru jāti hai dhanu nāmhi tau jāti tana dhanu vina koṃ nāmhi citavatu. aiseṃ hī auraū saba guna akele dhana vinu kacchū kāmma kau nāmhi. yaha bhartṛhari kahī āgaiṃ kahī hai*. "If there is wealth, then nobody asks for birth. And (if) there is birth, (but) not wealth, then no one looks at birth, without wealth. In exactly the same way [*aiseṃ hī*] also (in) other (cases) [*auraū*]: there is no use of all qualities, excepting wealth alone. This (which is) said by Bhartṛhari, is said below (*āgaiṃ* = skt. *agre*, viz. verse 65: *yasyāsti vittaṃ sa naraḥ kulīnaḥ*, etc.)." Thereafter Indrajit quotes this very verse 65 *yasyāsti vittaṃ*, etc., and introduces his commentary on it with the words *yā śloka kau yaha artha*, "of this śloka this is the meaning". It is clear from this that the verse *yasyāsti vittaṃ*, etc., with its commentary, in this context originally formed part of the commentary on verse 22, where it functions as an illustration. The same is true of the verse *sahasā vidadhīta*, etc., which is a part of the commentary on verse 52. The quotation of this verse is accounted for by these words, 14b <4>: *yaha aura hū graṃtha viśaiṃ kahī hai*. "This is said also in another book".

It is obvious that the reason why Indrajit uses the phrase *yā śloka kau yaha artha* in connection with these three verses is that he wanted to show that they were quotations and that they were appropriate. The explanation given p. 13 is out of place.

In the commentary on verse 41 we find a Sanskrit pāda quoted in exactly the same way, but being easy to understand it is not translated by INDRAJIT. The context runs 11b <14>: *sahasra doṣa kau doṣu akeloḥ lobha hai. yaha aura hū graṃtha viśai kahī hai lobhamūlāni pāpāni*. "The sin of thousand sins is greed alone. This is said also in another book: sins have their root in greed". What the author says about this on p. 14 is misleading.

The vighraha of the bahuṃvrihi presupposes the reading 1b <7>: *svānubhūtye-kamānāya*, not *-aika-*: *sva kahetaiṃ apanoḥ ju anubhūti kahī anubhavaḥ soḥ eka muṣya hai pramāṇa jini viśai [aise haiṃ]*. For the interpretation

eka = *muṣya* cf. 4b <9>. *anubhūti*, which is explained by the more common Sanskrit term *anubhavaḥ*, is preceded by *ju*, which makes it clear to the Braj reader that he has to understand a “non-oblique” form (function). The bahuvrīhi is interpreted in the “nominative case”: *aise haiṃ*. The dative gets its expression line 12: *aise [īśvara] kahuṃ [namaskāra]*.

1b <15>: *aru viśeṣajñāḥ viśeṣa kau jānanahāra ju hai. paramacatura ...* The editor has deleted the *daṇḍa* after *hai* and put in a comma before *ju*. In my opinion the punctuation of the MS is correct. *ju hai* shows that *viśeṣajñāḥ* and its gloss *viśeṣa kau jānanahāra* are non-oblique. Thereafter follows, parenthetically, an explanation: *paramacatura*. Practically all occurrences of *ju hai* in the book should be interpreted after this pattern.

2a <1>: *jñānalavadurvidagdhāṃ. gyāna ke lava kari ju durvidagdhā hai kahā mahādūrāgrahī hai su etādṛśa nara* (read: *naraṃ*) *manuṣyahaiṃ*. The tatpuruṣa compound in the accusative is dissolved in the nominative case, marked first by the relative construction *ju [durvidagdhā] hai* (with a parenthetical gloss *kahā durāgrahī hai*), and then by the demonstrative *su*. Consequently, a break should be made after *su*. The connecting link between this tatpuruṣa, presented in the nominative case, and the principal noun in the accusative (oblique in Braj): *naraṃ manuṣyahaiṃ*, is *etādṛśa*. This word is to be understood as oblique. The principle, then, for this kind of dissolution of a Sanskrit compound is first to dissolve it in “uninflected” form (nominative) (marked in Braj by *hai* or *su*); thereafter it is re-introduced into its syntactic relation. This is true also of the second instance treated at 3: 58. But there we have one single Sanskrit word in the instrumental case, 7b <11> *kṣudhā*, which is first analysed in the nominative: *atibhūṣa ju lagī su*, thereafter put into its proper place syntactically by *tā taiṃ*. Consequently, none of these two instances treated at 3: 58 supports the author’s explanation “*su* may be a colloquialism, introduced by analogy with the frequent cases where it occurs correctly as a correlative to preceding *ju*”. It is, on the contrary, a highly technical use of *su*.

Paragraph 3: 58 is on the whole too short and unsatisfactory in its treatment of this important word. In fact, a correct understanding of *su* and *ju* often gives the clue to many technical constructions. I shall analyse a section of the commentary on verse 100 to show this. (The interpunction and other devices are my own.) Mūla: *kiṃ kūrmasya bharavyathā na vapuṣi kṣmāṃ na kṣipaty eṣa yat, kiṃ vā nāsti pariśramo dinapater āste na yan niścalaḥ*. Tīkā: *eṣaḥ = yaha: kūrmu, yat = ju; [apani pīṭhi para taiṃ] kṣmāṃ na kṣipati = prthivīṃ nāmhi dāri detu, su koṃ yaha jani jānahuṃ ki kūrmasya = kūrma ke vapuṣi = śarīra viśaiṃ bharavyathā na = [prthvi ke] bhāra ki vithā nāmhi. kiṃtu vithā bahuta hota hai, aru [dinapati ju hai = sūrya, su] niścalo yat nāste = niścala hvai ju nāmhi baiṭhi rahatu, su koṃ yaha janya jānahuṃ ki dinapateḥ = sūraja kai pariśramo nāsti = [rāti dinu phirivai kau] śramu nāmhi. śramu tau ati hotu haiṃ*. The two *yat* of the Sanskrit text mean “because”, and so do the corresponding Braj translations: *ju*. The corresponding *su* is consequently to interpret as “therefore”, and the context should be interpreted as follows: “*eṣa* = this, (viz.) the

tortoise, *yat* = because [from its own back] *kṣmām na kṣipati* = it does not throw the earth, therefore no one should think this, namely: *kūrmasya* = on the tortoise's *vapuṣi* = body *bharavyathā na* = the pain of the burden [of the earth] is not. On the contrary, the pain is great". The rest after this pattern. It should be noted that *kim* is paraphrased by *koṁ yaha jani jānahum*.

It is obvious that *su* under certain circumstances functions as Sanskrit *tad* (= therefore, so), and, for that matter, as modern Hindi *so*. Only the context or a Sanskrit original may perhaps remove all doubts. The following I regard as a rather sure instance, considering the context: 20b <9> *su hama jau namra na haumhige tau saba koṁ hamāre phala-phūla torata atiduṣi hvaihaiṁ*. Also this one: 22a <11> *su rājāni kī sevā karata jini kai itane ṣaṭaḡuṇa nāmhi upajata tina kauṁ rājasevā taiṁ kacchū kārya nāmhi bhayau*. (This at first sight appears to be a conclusion which is independent of the wording of the Sanskrit text. But the words *karata jini kai* raise one's suspicion and, in fact, the construction is understandable only as a translation of the mūla: *yeṣāṁ ... ṣaḍḡuṇā na pravṛttās teṣāṁ ...*, as follows: "for whom (*jini kai* = *yeṣāṁ*), doing service of the kings (*rājāni kī sevā karata*) these many six qualities (*ṣaṭaḡuṇa* = *ṣaḍḡuṇās*) do not appear (*nāmhi upajata* = *na pravṛttās*), for them (*tina kauṁ* = *teṣāṁ*) of king's-service there is no need". It should be noted that *na pravṛttās* was not commented upon in the preceding section of the commentary. The technique is actually somewhat free here, and it is noteworthy that the editor has not been able to mark any word as lemma. But the absence of lemmata in a pure Sanskrit form is no proof of genuineness or independence.)

Especially in those cases where *su* is connected with an oblique form of the same or of another pronoun, and where *su* cannot correspond to a *ju*, the meaning "therefore" or "so" seems to deserve consideration, e.g. 16a <14> *su tā taiṁ iṇdra kahā pauraṣa na kinau hatau. pai hoi kahā jītvai kau bhāgya nāmhi*. "So therefore would Indra not have shown manliness? But [this is not meant, for] what is said is: he was not destined to conquer". I think *hoi kahā* corresponds to the phrase so common in Sanskrit commentaries: *uktaṁ bhavati*. This interpretation, which is in fact the one required by the context, removes the complication which MCGREGOR is led into by his translation "what could it avail him" (p. 95). The form *kahā* is—I think rightly—accepted by MCGREGOR at 3: 126 and 3: 239.

However, in those cases where *su* is followed by a non-oblique form of a pronoun and the meaning "so, therefore" does not fit into the context, the collocation might imply reinforcement: *su yaha* = *tad etat*. I shall discuss some instances below, and two of the cases seem quite sure. Since the crucial point, which has been misunderstood by the author, becomes clear only in its context, the discussion of the first case must needs be extensive. The line commented upon is this: 19a <15> *na ko'pi caṁḍakopānām ātmīyo nāma bhūbhujām*, and the *drṣṭānta* that follows shall also be quoted since it contributes to the understanding of the commentary: *hotāram api juhvaṁtaṁ* (sic!) *spṛṣṭo dahati pāvakaḥ*. Commentary: *bhūbhujām rājāni kai. ko'pi ātmīyo na. koṁ apanauṁ nāmhi. taisoṁ apanau taisoṁ parāyau. rājā kaise haiṁ. caṁḍakopānām. pracanḍa hai kopa jina kau. aise haiṁ. jaba rājā kopu*

*karata haiṃ taba parāyeni hīṃ para kopu karata hai. apanaiṃni para nāmhī karata. Su yaha rājāni kai nāmhī. rājāni kai jaisoi apanau taisoi parāyau. “bhūbhujāṃ for kings ko’pi ātmīyo na there is no ‘his own’. [‘His own’ would imply this behaviour:] ‘His own like that, the stranger like that’ [i.e. they are treated differently]. How are the kings [who are mentioned in the verse]? caṇḍakopānām: whose anger is violent. Such are they. [One would believe that] ‘when a king is angry, then he is angry only with strangers, with his own he is not’. [But] exactly that (*su yaha*) is not [the behaviour] of kings. Of kings [the behaviour is this:] ‘as his own, so the stranger’.”*

The same collocation at 24b <10> at first sight gives the impression of meaning *tad etat*, but the context and the relation to the Sanskrit text cause some doubt: *tā taiṃ pratipannavastuni nirvāhaḥ apanaiṃ aṃgikṛta kau nivāhivau ju hai su yaha. satāṃ. vaḍeni ke. gotravratam. kula kau vratu hai*. It is fairly sure that *su* corresponds to *nivāhivau ju hai* in the usual way and that *yaha* translates *etat*, which is in the *mūla* but has not been quoted as a lemma. So if a comma is necessary, it should be put after *su*, not before *su*. (The reading *etaddhi* of the MS should of course have been retained in the verse, not changed to *etat hi* (sic!).) An analogous problem arises at 15b <6>, where *su yaha saba* seems to translate *tat sarvam*. But *su* may correspond to a preceding *ju*.

16a <7> *su yaha maināka parvata gayāra kinī*: according to MCGREGOR *su yaha* is “an introductory phrase: ‘in so doing’”. For my part I do not really know what to do with the phrase beginning with *ju* and ending with *āyau*, unless the punctuation after *kinī* be deleted and a pause be made after *āyau*: *su yaha maināka parvata gayāra kinī ju pitā himācalahiṃ tusāra ke kleśa hī madhya chāḍi āyau. su muku iṃdra ke vajra kai mārāiṃ mari jaivau bhalau hato pai yaha bhāgi vacivau bhalau nāmhī*. “This the mountain Maināka did wrong, that it left Himālaya, the father, in the pain of the snow. Even this, (viz.) to die because slain by Indra’s vajra, would be better than this, (viz.) to run away”. *mari jaivau* paraphrases the gloss line <4> *prāṇa nikasi jaivau = prāṇacchedo*, and *yaha bhāgi vacivau* is identical with the gloss line <6> *yaha bhāgi vacivau*, which is a rather free rendering of *asau saṃpātāḥ*. So there is no doubt that *su* and *yaha* have the function ascribed to them in my translation. Therefore it is also clear that the phrase *ju ... āyau* corresponds to the collocation *su yaha*, and the function of the collocation most naturally is that of reinforcement.

Without any other plan than the order of the Sanskrit verses I shall continue my discussion of some of the points where I disagree with the author or where I have not been able to ascertain his opinion. In order to make the discussion less verbose I shall make use of brackets and various typographical devices, which are hoped to be understood without further explanations.

3b <9> *lakṣmiḥ* (sic!) *samāviśatu. saṃpati* [*suṣu pāikai gṛha viṣai āvati hai tau.*] *samāviśatu. ābahu vā. atha vā.* [*duṣa pāikai jo cchoḍi gayau cāhai tau.*] *yatheṣṭam. apani icchā gacchatu. jāu*. As will be seen I have removed the daṇḍa of the MS between *gayau* and *cāhai*, thus solving the alleged problem of note 3b <10>, and split *saṃpatisuṣu* in order to remove the

problem of note 3b <9>. The additions made by the commentator are put in brackets, and their meaning is: “[if], bringing happiness, it [viz. *sampati* = *lakṣmī*] comes into the house, then ...” and “having brought unhappiness, if one wishes it to leave (the house), then ...”

4b <6> *bahuta kahāṃ laṃ kahijai* hardly means “how far, to what extent can it be said that (the light) is great” (note). I suggest that it be understood as corresponding to Sanskrit **kīṃ bahunā uktena* or something of that kind. It seems to fit quite well after an enumeration. A comparison with the context in which the same phrase occurs in Indrajit’s commentary on Śṛṅgāraśataka (acc. to Appendix I, p. 236) might be expected to confirm or disprove this suggestion.

The long vighraha of the bahuvrīhi 4b <1> *unmattebhavibhinnakumbhakavalagrāsaikabaddhasprhāḥ* at 4b <8> *unmatta ju ibha*, etc., is not complete. It lacks what would mark the compound as a bahuvrīhi, viz. a relative pronoun. Since the reading *sprhāhi* according to footnote 5, p. 24 is not without certain problems and the construction *bāndhī hai sprhāhi* also causes problems p. 225, note 3, I suggest that one reads *sprhā* [*ji*]*hi*[*m*].

8b <3> *aisau* should be emended to *asau*, being a lemma, glossed by *vaha* = *manyāru sarpu*.

It is impossible to accept the analysis of the commentary on verse 30 which one can infer from the notes. The emendation of 8b <9> MS *samāna* to *saṃmāna* is out of place. The line is an explanation of what is meant when it is said that the milk gives its qualities to its friend the water. 8b <8> *dūḍha apānāṃ saṃsargī jala sauṃ aisi prīti kinī ju apuna samāna kinauṃ* = “The milk felt such affection for the water which was mingled with it, that it made (the water) like itself (the milk)”. 8b <10> *dugdhahiṃ auṭata jala sauṣyu jāta hai* cannot mean “the milk is unhappy at the water’s boiling”, which is completely out of the context. It is an explanation of what is implied when the verse and the commentary say that the water sacrifices its essence (*svātmā*) to the fire when it sees how its friend the milk is tormented when it is being boiled (8b <9> *jaba oṭijatu hai*). So what the phrase says is this: “When the milk is boiling (*dugdhahiṃ auṭata*), the water (*jala* or, as MS, *jalu*) gets dry”. As will be noted, I consider *dugdhahiṃ* to play the rôle of subject of the verb *auṭata*. This interpretation might be contested, since also “when one is boiling the milk” would be possible—somewhat complicated, though. But the reason why I think my suggestion is worth discussing are the following instances. In the conclusion, in which the friendship of good people is compared with that of the milk and the water, it is said: 8b <13> *mītrahiṃ vinu deṣaiṃ marijatu hai. aru mītrahi deṣata hīṃ jīāijatu hai*, which I find it natural to translate: “Without being seen by the friend, one is killed, and as soon as the friend sees (one), one is brought to life”. Also in this case one could possibly turn it the other way, but then *jīāijatu* should be interpreted otherwise (“keep alive”) and one would perhaps have to reconsider the meaning of imperfective participle + *hīṃ* established by MCGREGOR 3: 227 (and confirmed by constructions in the modern dialects, cf. e.g. JAISWAL, A Linguistic Study of Bundeli, p. 166: *hamāē ātaī bō bhaga gaō* „as soon as I came he ran away”. Note *hamāē*, to be compared with the

constructions with genitive below.) The construction *aurahi deṣata hīm* in the immediate context 11b <5> *nāmtaru eka asādhu aise hota hai ju aurahi deṣata hīm ūmce caḍhi vaiṭhatu hai. sādhu aise hai ju para kahūṃ namratā hīm kari ūmce hvai baiṭhatu haiṃ* I certainly find it natural to interpret as “as soon as another looks at him”, but in the wider and rather difficult context of the Sanskrit text and the rest of the commentary, the interpretation appears to present difficulties which it would take too much space to discuss at length here. So this instance shall not be insisted upon.

It is quite easy to subscribe to the general principle expressed by MCGREGOR on p. 8 sq.: “As far as has been practicable the language of the text selected has been analysed in its own terms, with the aim of avoiding false equations between its grammar and that of the standard poetic language, or other extraneous forms of speech”, but I cannot abstain from adducing two instances from Sursagar as parallels to the interpretations suggested by me: *ika larikā abahīm bhaji āyau, rovata dekhyau tāhi* (838), where I suggest the interpretation **tāhi rovata dekhyau* “I saw him crying” (lit. him crying he was seen), and *mo dekhata kānhara ihiṃ āṃgana paga dvai dharani dharāhīm* (693), where *mo dekhata* means “when I am looking”.

Another point is that the construction *dugdhahīm auṭata*, interpreted as “when the milk is boiling”, has a parallel in the construction *yā kai deṣata* a few lines below, 9a <12>: *yaha nāmhī sakucatu ki mohi iṃdra deṣatu hai. haum yā kai deṣata yaha karma na karaum* = “This he does not consider, viz. ‘Indra is looking at me. I should not do this action while he is looking (at me)’”. (Incidentally, 9b <4> *iṃdra hotaiṃ* not “in a king’s presence”, but “in Indra’s presence”.) 19a <9> *naiṃka hī kai cchuvata hīm* should perhaps also be adduced here. The translation given 3: 203 “on being touched by” is unsatisfactory and does not agree with the one given in note 8, p. 99: “as soon as he touches it”. If this is a parallel to *yā kai deṣata* it would mean: “as soon as even a good person touches it”, and it would be an absolute construction inserted parenthetically between *vāhi* and *jāratī hai*. Differently MCGREGOR 19a <8>, note.

My last observation on verse 30 concerns 8b <13> *su yaha jugatu āhi*. MCGREGOR translates: “and so a means is found (of restoring the union)”. But this of course renders *yuktam* in the *mūla* (just as 16a <10> *yaha jugata hai* renders *idam eva yuktam*). The commentator’s interpretation might seem forced, but it has parallels, see e.g. the South-Indian commentary published by KOSAMBI in the edition of the Southern archetype (Bharatiya Vidya Series No. 9, 1946, p. 38), where *yuktam* is glossed *sthāne*. So *su yaha jugatu āhi* would mean “therefore, this (= the following) is adequate”.

9b <8>, note, is totally unnecessary. It is obviously based on the false reading *kṣudhā śāmtaye*, both in the Sanskrit text and as lemma, instead of *kṣudhāśāmtaye*.—10b <4>: *aisī* in concord with *saṃgatī*, not with *muktā*, as said in the note.

The argumentation in the note on 10b <10> for the view that the repetition of the lemma *viṣṇuḥ* is suspect, is not convincing. Since INDRAJIT’s commentary has several interesting technical aspects, I shall discuss the whole context, which is a relative phrase. Sanskrit: *viṣṇur yena daśāvatāragahane*

kṣipto mahāsaṃkṣaṭe; INDRAJIT'S commentary: [*aru*] *viṣṇuḥ*. *viṣṇu* [*phuni*]. *jīhiṃ* [*karama*] *kari* *daśa* [*hūm*] *avatāra* *kau* [*ju*] *dharivau* [*tihim*] *kari* *ati-saṃkṣaṭa* *viṣai* *gahi* *dāri* *dae* *haiṃ*. [*viṣṇuḥ*.] Everything that is not in brackets has its correspondence in the Sanskrit text. So one can see that the dissolution of the tatpuruṣa compound *daśāvatāragahana* is made according to the rules, but also that *gahana* has been interpreted as if it were *grahaṇa* (rendered by *dharivau*). This in turn would imply, either that the commentator did read *grahaṇa* in his Sanskrit text, or that he made a mistake, because of his dialect. The locative is rendered by *kari*, but this obviously does not necessarily presuppose another case form in the Sanskrit original. What Indrajit wants to say is that Viṣṇu by adopting ten avatars is thrown into a great disaster because of his karma. It is possible that the Sanskrit form *viṣṇuḥ* was added at the end of the gloss in order to make it clear that *dae haiṃ* had Viṣṇu as its subject, since the initial bhāṣā form *viṣṇu* was at some distance and in addition might perhaps by a reader be mistaken for an oblique form to be connected with *dharivau*.

11a <13> *dūrataś cet*, etc., means: "If he stays away, then everybody says this, viz.: *ayaṃ apragalbhaḥ* that one is a great coward, who is not (= because he is not) near (*ju* *lagatu* *nāmhī*). He is able to come, but he remains far away." Cf. 25a <5> *apaśabdahim ... lagatu* *nāmhī* *jātu* (so, no comma after *nāmhī*!) "not going near abuse", paraphrasing *apaśabdaṃ dūrataḥ tyaktvā*.

12a <2> read: *jana* *ju* *hai*: *sevakani* *kahā* *lauṃ* *kivai*. This is short for expected **jana* *ju* *hai*, *sevaka*, *tini*, etc. (Cf. *passim*, practically on every page, e.g. 12a <8> *ambhojinī* *ju* *hai*, *kamalinī*, *tini* *ke*.) The argumentation 12a <2>, note, demonstrates the absurd consequences of the punctuation *jana*, *ju* *hai* *sevakani*, *kahā* *lauṃ* *kivai*.

Verse 42: The compound *ambhojinīvananivāsavilāsam* is dissolved very elegantly 12a <8>: *ambhojinī* *ju* *hai*, *kamalinī*, *tini* *ke* *vana* *viṣaiṃ* *ju* [*haṃsa* *kau*] *nivāsu* *aru* *vilāsu*, *su*, *tā* *hī*. Sanskrit *nivāsavilāsam* is interpreted as a dvandva, marked by *ju ... su*, the accusative is marked by *tā* (*hī*).

The double negation 12a <10>, and note, is not so difficult to account for as it might seem at first. *yaha* *nāmhī* glosses *na* of the Sanskrit text. Thereafter follows an explanation of the two remaining Sanskrit pādas which is comparatively long. Therefore it is natural that the negation is repeated, otherwise the reader might lose sight of it; cf. the shorter expression line 7: *yaha* *tau* *nāmhī* *ju* *vā* *kī* *kirtti* *meṭi* *jāi*. So 12a <10> *yaha* *nāmhī* *ju* may be rendered "Not this, namely", whereafter follows: *dūdha* *aru* *jala* *kau* [*ju*] *bhinnakarivau*. (= *dugdhajalabhedavidhi*-) [*tā*] *kī* (= transl. of loc. <*vidh*>*au*) *cāturi* *kari* (= *vaidagdhya*-, instr.) *haṃsa* *kī* (= *asya*) *kirtti* (= *kirtti*-) *vaḍhi* *rahi* *hai* (= *prasiddhā*? perhaps **pravṛddhā*) *tā* *kīratihim* (= *kirttim*, repeated) *meṭivai* *kahum* (= *apaharttum*) *vidhātāu* (= *asau*) *samartha* *nāmhī* (= *na ... samarthaḥ*). I would suggest that the reason why *kirtti*- is repeated, in the oblique form, is that the commentator did not use a construction with *ju* before the nominative *kirtti*. So I do not think it is necessary to assume omission of *ju* here (cf. note). My interpretation presupposes a pause after *vaḍhi* *rahi* *hai*.

12b <11> read: *śauryasya. sūratā kau.* 13b <6>: what would be expected as translation of *prasādayati* is *prasanna karatu hai*, rather than *prabala k. h.* 14b <7>: I suggest that one reads *dhari* instead of *ghari*. It is easier to connect *dhari rahatu hai*, = hold, with Sanskrit *vr̥ṇvate*, interpreted by Indrajit as “surround”.

Verse 53. 14b <10>: the reading of the MS should be retained: *keśavo vā śivo vā. kai keśavaḥ. kiṃvā śivaḥ.* The difficulty, which Indrajit wants to remove for the Braj reader, is the dissolution of the sandhi. That is why he repeats the Sanskrit names in their pausa form, with visarga and danḍa. He seems to have viewed a difficulty of an analogous kind in *bhūpatirvāyā-tirvā*, which ought to have been what he found in his text. Here he made use of a different device to make the reading clear: *kai bhūpati rājā. kiṃvā jati viraktu.* Whether *bhūpati* should be termed lemma or not, I do not dare to decide. In my judgment MCGREGOR too often deletes a visarga in order to arrive at a clean partition into Sanskrit lemma and bhāṣā gloss. It might be doubted that Indrajit was equally dogmatic. It would take too long to enter deeper into this matter. Suffice it to refer to the commentary on verse 49 for further examples.

16a <3> read: *ju maghavā imdru.*

17a <12> *jāi rahata haiṃ.* The translation “they go off (cease their efforts) and remain (in peace)” is contrary to the thought expressed in the Sanskrit verse. It is enough to quote the context to show this: *kiṃtu java vaha vāṃchī vastuḥi pāuta haiṃ taba jāi rahata haiṃ* = “On the contrary, when they are trying to obtain that wished-for thing, then they continue going (until they find it)”. Cf. 17a <14> *jaba jāya parama suṣa pāyau taba samudra kau mathivau cchāṃḍi dayau* = “When, having gone (= persisted) they had obtained supreme happiness, then they left the churning of the ocean”. The emendation suggested in the note is out of place.

18a <3> *yat. ju. nijabhālapaṭṭalikkhitam. jīva* (sic!) *kau [ju] bhālu [kahaitam līlāta] [soi ju] paṭṭa [kahetem paṭonā] [mājha] liṣya dīnau hai.* The subject of *liṣya dīnau hai* is the first *ju* (not *soi ju* ..., as said in the note). *soi* corresponds to *ju bhālu* and connects this with *ju paṭṭa*. This is the technical device to denote that *bhālapaṭṭa* is interpreted as a descriptive compound. The locative case in the *vigraha* is denoted by *mājha*, but without a demonstrative pronoun. All this is well-known in Sanskrit commentaries.

Verse 87. The almost too literal translation of the idiomatism *varam-na* (better than) by “good ... not good” is worth noting: 21b <7> *muku itanī vātaiṃ karī bhalī paiṃ apanau śilu cchāḍivau bhalau nāṃhī ...* <9> *ṭūku ṭūku muku hvai gayau bhalau ...* <10> *hāthu nāyau muku nīkau ... āgi māṃjha parivau muku bhalau ... sila kau cchāḍivau bhalau nāṃhī.* It is easy to see that the construction of all these phrases is the same as in *cchāḍivau bhalau nāṃhī*, i.e. the form of *bhalau*, *bhalī*, *nīkau* is determined by a nominal form: *cchāḍivau*, *gayau*, *nāyau*, *parivau*. (Further examples verse 59, quoted above, and verse 62.) As a consequence of this, the translation of 21b <7>, note, *muku itanī vātaiṃ*, etc., as “even if these many things are done they may turn out well” is difficult to accept as an analysis of the construction. Similarly 21b <9>, note, “even if it is shattered, it does not matter” as a translation of

ṭūku ṭūku muku hvai gayau bhalau. In my opinion the construction should be analysed after this pattern: "even these many things done (are) good (things)".

21 b <8>, note, (*mahā*)*viṣama* according to context not "fearful", but "very uneven".

The editor is not seldom misled by his efforts to arrive at a fluent syntax. However, since he has been careful in indicating where he has deleted *daṇḍas*, it is possible to restore the wording of the manuscript. P. 67, line 3 *daṇḍa* must be retained after *hai*, in spite of the fact that a relative subordinate clause ends there. INDRAJIT begins by giving a word-by-word interpretation of a relative clause, 22a <14>. After that he says, 22a <15>: *yā kau yaha arthu. ju puruṣu uttama upadesu daikari duṣṭahim sādhanī kai mārga calāyau cāhatu hai*. "The meaning of this (word-by-word commentary) is the following: the man who, giving the best instruction, wishes to lead a wicked man on the way of the good". The phrase *yā kau yaha arthu* obviously functions analogously to Sanskrit *ity arthaḥ*. The editor appears to treat this as a "second gloss", for he says in his note: "Indrajit loses sight of the pl. number of *khalān* after his first gloss, *duṣṭa janani*". Now when giving the *artha*, a commentator is freer in relation to the wording of the text he is commenting on, and may well allow himself to use the singular instead of the plural number in a general statement like this one. It should be noted that explanations of this very kind may possibly represent genuine language, provided it is possible to prove that the whole is not a slavish adaptation of a Sanskrit commentary.

The emendation 22b <3> *rahata tau* from MS *rahai tau* is not wholly convincing. *tau* does not seem to fulfil any function in the context. Would not *rahatau* (= *rahata-u*) be better? Cf. 8a <6> *paratau, uṣṭatau*, and 3: 229.

The note 23a <5> is not comprehensible to me. I cannot see that *asādhāraṇa* is a wrong gloss for *niṣa*, on the contrary. The analysis of the dissolution of the bahuvrīhi *daivād avāptavibhava-* is too complicated to be plausible. If one abstains from extorting a fluent phrase, the analysis is fairly simple: *daivāt. [kaṣṇa hūm apanaim] adṛṣṭa taim. avāpta [kahā] pāyau [hai] vaibhava [jihim]*. Before presenting his *vigraha* the commentator asks *kaṣṇa hūm* "exactly what (or: whose) [*daiva*]", and gives the answer *apanaim* "his own". This shows, as do many other traits in this commentary, that the lemmata are an integral part of the commentary text, and consequently it is wrong to leave them out and read the *bhāṣā* text only. INDRAJIT's main purpose must be assumed to have been to facilitate the understanding of the Sanskrit text, not to create a literary work in its own right. Moreover, he must have taken for granted a certain amount of Sanskrit knowledge at the disposal of his readers, since he now and then does not give any gloss at all, or he uses unusual Sanskrit words as glosses, e.g. 21 b <4> *dedīpyamāna* (glossing *sphurat*). The curious 9a <7> *karttum anyathā karttum* has not been commented upon by the editor. As it stands it does not make sense. A small emendation will change it into an elegant half-Sanskrit gloss on *bhagavatīm*. This is the context: *phuni kriyā kaisī hai. bhagavatīm. karttum anyathā karttum samartha hai*. (Edition: *karttum; asamartha hai*.) "Further, how is the action? *bhagavatīm*. It is capable to create and to change."

23a <11> *aru videśagamane. videśa gaye taiṃ. vidyāi paraṃ daivatam. vaḍau devatā.* In my opinion *taiṃ* cannot have the unique meaning of “in the case of” (note, and 3: 176). Indrajit has certainly misunderstood the Sanskrit text, but his own gloss is in itself understandable, literally: “Knowledge is a deity, higher than to have gone to a foreign country” = knowledge is a great thing, a deity, more difficult to reach than it is to go to a foreign country. Consequently, the function of *taiṃ* is to express comparison in connection with an adjective (3: 176).

23b <9> read a compound: *vijayibhujayoḥ*, because of the gloss *vijayī puruṣa ke bhujāni kau.*

23b <15>, and note: *saca* is not a bhāṣā word meaning “truly”; it is the lemma *sa ca*, glossed [*sakala prthvī sahita*] *vaha* [*śeṣanāgu*].

INDRAJIT’s commentary on verse 103 is somewhat confused, because he has misunderstood the text and strained Sanskrit grammar. Nevertheless, it is possible to arrive at a more accurate understanding of the commentary than the interpretation given in the notes. 25a <15> *upanayet. [adr̥ṣṭu] pahumcāi hiṃ rahatu haiṃ.* This does not mean “fate brings it and remains (omnipotent)”, but simply: “fate keeps bringing it”. The *daṇḍa* must be retained after this gloss, for what follows belongs to the sequel. *manāg api. kiṃvā thorau. mahān vā. kiṃvā vaḍau. upāśrayaḥ* (McGREGOR’s emendation of MS *upāyaḥ*) *kāraṇaṃ na. [vā vastu kī prāpti kahuṃ.] [parāyau] āśraya kāraṇa nāmhi. [kiṃtu adr̥ṣṭa hi dei ju rahyau hai. āśraya rahaṃ pāijatu nāmhi.]* “*manāg api*: either small *mahān vā*: or great *upāśrayaḥ kāraṇaṃ na*: [for the attainment of that thing.] [another(’s)] receptacle is not the cause. [No, fate indeed is (the cause), which (or: because it) keeps giving. Even if there is a receptacle, it (= what one wants) is not reached.]” What INDRAJIT wants to say is that the receptacle may be small or great, what it gets depends on fate (karma). 25b <3> *su cātaka kahā jaladhara kau āśraya thorau karatu hai paṃṃ karai kahā. adr̥ṣṭa jītau ku divāvatu hai titanau pāvatu hai.* “Therefore, does the cātaka-bird make (= represent) a (too) small receptacle for the cloud? (No!) but what can it do? Just as much as fate causes (the cloud) to give, that much (the bird) receives”.

25b <7>, text and note. It is highly possible that Böhtlingk is right in ascribing the meaning “opposing armies” to *kula* in the Sanskrit verse. But I fail to see that this fits into the context of the commentary: *vā sūra ke ubhaya kula kī ju sādhuwāda kahetaṃ sarāhanā hotu hai.* The natural interpretation of the first five words seems to be: “the two families of that hero”. Otherwise it will not be easy to account for *ke*. I do not dare to form an opinion as to whether “a Sanskritised, educated style of language” was current in Orchā in Indrajit’s time round A.D. 1600 (p. 14). Possibly it was, but it is hard to accept that the small phrase 25b <13> *ju vāni saṃskṛtaḥ līnai haiṃ* “confirms the existence in his time of a recognised Sanskritised style of speech of high prestige” (25b <13>, note, repeated pp. 10 and 15). This is a translation of Bhartṛhari’s [*vāni*] *yā saṃskṛtā dhāryate*, and I cannot see why it should be considered to be an incorrect gloss (p. 15). The grammar—and the context—is not simple, that is true, but it is much easier to account for the translation “the speech which is kept adorned” than for “speech

embellished with Sanskrit". Why should INDRAJIT, who seems usually to reason soundly, be assumed to have at this point formed the strange idea that Bhartṛhari was talking about vernaculars?

This examination of INDRAJIT's commentary has convinced me that it is a work on a par with Sanskrit ṭīkāś, and consequently of a rather technical character. So my conclusion differs decidedly from that of the editor, who considers the style to be for the most part fluent, selfconsistent and independent of the Sanskrit text. My conclusion is that the style is no more natural than the poetical language is. And since the technique of the commentary follows an old Sanskrit tradition, minute philological work much more extensive than that done as yet will be required before a linguistically reliable material is brought about. Therefore it might have been better if the author of this book had taken upon himself "the determination of historical sources for the contents of the commentary" (p. 9.) in connection with the editorial work. Such a study is likely to shed light on many difficult details, of which it has been possible to treat only a sample in this review.

The second part of the book consists of a very useful descriptive study based on the material of the first part. Also here the almost total absence of translations makes the reading troublesome for the reader who has become aware of the difficult technicalities of the text. As a whole, though, the second part is a fine piece of work, clearly organized, and bearing witness of sound judgment. The whole book is a very important contribution to Indian studies, offering a large quantity of completely new material. The critical observations given in this long review should not convey the impression that we are dealing with an insignificant work. The contrary is true.

Nils Simonsson

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