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ERIK GREN †

Vol. VIII (1959)

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ERIC SEGELBERG

Evangelium Veritatis

— a confirmation homily and its relation to the Odes of Solomon

Introduction

In this essay I want to discuss the terminology in *Evangelium Veritatis* (EV) as far as it appears to deal with the liturgy of Baptism and Chrism. This terminology should be compared to that in other sources, especially the *Odes of Solomon*.

A problem in this connection is whether this terminology, which is influenced by the liturgy, is used merely metaphorically or reflects a liturgical reality. This is indeed a most intricate question. Every student of the Early Church knows how difficult it is to find the proper answer in similar matters. Some NT texts may be regarded as indicating the existence of chrismation in the apostolic age, but some scholars will, no doubt, object that the apostolic writer uses a metaphoric language probably influenced by the OT.

Neither are the sources from the sub-apostolic age more abundant than those of the apostolic time and therefore a liturgical interpretation must always be uncertain.

At the end of the second century some writers such as Irenaeus and Tertullian speak clearly about the rites, and from the early third century the so-called Apostolic Tradition presents the first description of the ritual of baptism and confirmation.

In a great number of cases it is difficult to prove the truth of a liturgical interpretation. So it is significant how dissimilarly scholars such as Bernhard¹ and Harris-Mingana² have understood the *Odes of Solomon*. To Bernhard they were baptismal hymns. Harris and Mingana were prepared to accept only a few allusions to the baptismal ritual. It is also well known how widely scholars have differed in their

¹ BERNHARD, J. H., *The Odes of Solomon. Texts and studies.* VIII, 3. Cambridge 1913.

² HARRIS and MINGANA, *The Odes of Solomon, I, II,* 1916, 1918.

interpretation of the Manichaean texts. Some have discovered sacraments, some have not.

When interpreting EV in a liturgical way one will always meet opponents. And there are many uncertain factors to reckon with. We do not know enough about the authorship. The most generally accepted theory that EV is an early Valentinian document is not proved, and it may be a document from the early third century although this seems less probable.

We know that EV is a Gnostic document of Valentinian type¹ and we do know that the Gnostics had certain ceremonies although the information given by the Fathers about the Gnostics is not always univocal. There are some other facts too in favour of a liturgical interpretation. The Church soon developed a rich liturgy the bases of which are presumably ancient and the only Gnostic community surviving to present day, the Mandaean, have a rich liturgy. If we did not know the externals of the Mandaean religion we would not be prepared to interpret the Mandaean texts in such a liturgical way as we do.

Objections will perhaps be raised saying that I have in the texts "discovered" rites which really did not come into use until later. The reply to this is that the dating of EV is not quite certain and further that evidence from other sources prove at least the probability of a liturgical understanding of the texts.

There is, however, also another reason why we are entitled to stress a liturgical interpretation, and that is the *Evangelium Philippi* (EP). EP belongs to the same library as EV, which of course does not necessarily imply that the two texts illustrate the same kind of Gnosis. I will here recall the hypothesis of Säve-Söderbergh saying that the library of Nag-Hamadi might be a haeresiological collection, such as Epiphanius must have used when writing his *Panarion*. The texts seem to represent too many various Gnostic trends to be regarded as a library of one Gnostic community.² EP may in many ways cause the interpreter trouble; one thing is, however, quite certain: namely, that it speaks clearly about the sacraments, which are five in number, baptism, chrism, eucharist, apolytrosis, and the bride chamber

¹ SCHENKE when denying its Valentinian character, seems not convincing [Die Herkunft des sog. EV, 1959, p. 20–25.]. Cf. H. RINGGREN, RoB 1958, p. 41–53, on EV and the Valentinian Gnosis.

² Det koptiska »*Evangelium Veritatis*«, in RoB XVII 1958, Uppsala 1959, p. 29 sq.

(EP 68).¹ Of particular value for the understanding of EV is the fact that EP clearly distinguishes between baptism and chrism, the latter being a sacrament of higher rank. So EP 95: "The chrism is superior to the baptism. Because of the chrism we are called Christians, not because of the baptism."

The Nature of Evangelium Veritatis

The nature of EV has been discussed by several authors. Obviously it is not a Gospel in the traditional sense. Doresse calls it *un simple traité* and further says: "*Ce texte, de mauvaise rhétorique, est, en même temps, particulièrement vide.*"² Schenke who calls it a homily³ appreciates EV highly: "*Die Anschauungen unseres Unbekannten sind von solch bestechender Konsequenz, Tiefe und Schönheit, dass sein Name sehr zu Unrecht der Vergessenheit anheimgefallen ist.*"⁴ Giversen also regards it as a homily,⁵ whilst Rudolph objects against this classification.⁶ When Säve-Söderbergh, also regarding EV as a homily, independently of Schenke⁷ and Doresse⁸, about New Year 1958 discovered the missing leaves of EV, he thought the text proved EV to be a baptismal homily.⁹

Like Giversen, Säve-Söderbergh emphasizes the homiletic character of EV pointing out the fact that the author never uses the word "write" about his work but "speak" and that there are a number of exhortations. In the rediscovered missing leaves the parenetic paragraph following the parable of the lost sheep is continued and then comes a text, which according to Säve-Söderbergh, it is possible to understand only if put in relation to the Valentinian baptism. Thus the text distinguishes between three kinds of people, *ἀνομοι, δίκαιοι, πνευματικοί*, a partition which he in accordance with Sagnard¹⁰ regards as

¹ The text of EP in LABIB, Coptic Gnostic Papyri I, Cairo 1956, p. 99–134. Translated by H.-M. SCHENKE, Das Evangelium nach Philippus, ThLZ 1/1959, p. 1–26. I use here his numeration.

² DORESSE, Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte, 1958, p. 254.

³ ThLZ 7/58 p. 497 n. 1. Die fehlenden Seiten des sog. Evangeliums der Wahrheit.

⁴ Die Herkunft des sog. Evangelium Veritatis, 1959, p. 29.

⁵ Sandheden's Evangelium, 1957, p. 39, 45–48.

⁶ KURT RUDOLPH in his review of SEGELBERG, Maṣbūtā, in ZRGG XI, 3/59, p. 295.

⁷ Die Herkunft des sog. Evangelium Veritatis, 1959, p. 4.

⁸ Op. cit. p. 254.

⁹ Op. cit. p. 29, 23.

¹⁰ SAGNARD, La Gnose Valentinienne, Paris 1947, p. 460, 469 sq., 474 sq.

Valentinian. The text continues, describing how the *πνευματικοί* are the fragrance of the Father, a fragrance of which only the Spirit can be sensible, and which guides the saved one to the place of rest. The Spirit leads him away from the first fragrance which is cold and psychic as cold water (=baptism). By the “hot pleroma of love” God puts an end to the division and brings about “the unity of the perfect thought”.¹

Säve-Söderbergh then demonstrates that the cold fragrance is “the baptism of the revealed Jesus for the remission of sins”, it is psychic, *εἰς μετάνοιαν*. To this last mentioned idea the text alludes when referring to the longing of the elect for salvation, EV 35: 22 sq. Following the baptism in water comes in Valentinian tradition the chrismation and so also in EV 36: 13 sq. “Therefore Christ he was called in their midst in order that ... he might anoint them with unction.”

The points of Säve-Söderbergh to which I have already referred seem to be enough to vindicate a liturgical interpretation of EV. I want, however, to mention one more observation of Säve-Söderbergh which is important for the classification of EV as a baptismal homily, namely, that the author of EV when dealing with *πνευματικοί* is addressing them: “But ye ...” (33: 30 sq.).

The text of EV

Before treating the material systematically I want to survey the EV briefly, pointing out the most important passages where there is reason to suspect liturgical allusions.

When the Gospel is explained it is said to be “the Gospel of Him whom they seek, and which He revealed to the Perfect, thanks to the clemency of the Father, as a hidden mystery” (18: 11 sq.). The Perfect, *τέλειος*, Copt. ψηκ εἴσολ is the fully initiated faithful, the confirmed one.² Through Jesus Christ, the Father, “enlightened (*φωταειν*) those who were in darkness ... He enlightened them and indicated a path”, “the truth which He taught them”. Thus having referred to the preparation for baptism, which the neophytes have recently undergone³, the preacher continues his homily saying that “because of

¹ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, RoB p. 34 sq.

² SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, RoB p. 36, when he identifies the baptized with the *τετελεσμένος*, probably the fully initiated who have received the chrism.

³ Cf SAGNARD, Clément d’Alexandrie. Extraits de Théodore (Sources Chrétien-nes, 23), 1948 (quoted Extraits), p. 234, dealing with the preparatory acts for baptism among the Valentinians.

the teaching of Jesus, Error became angry with Him, persecuted Him, oppressed Him, annihilated Him". He was crucified and "became a Fruit of the Gnose of the Father which did not bring perdition upon them because¹ they ate of It". And now the preacher has reached the stage where the neophytes are: They are going to receive the Eucharist for the first time, or they have just received their first Communion and he continues: "Those who ate of It he caused to be joyful because of this discovery." (18: 28). Jesus as the fruit of the Tree of Life is a Christian idea which we here recognize. The result of eating the Perfect is a complete Communion-union: "He (the Father) found them in Himself, and they found Him in themselves, that Incomprehensible, Inconceivable (One), that perfect Father, who retained in Himself their Perfection, which he had not accorded to the All" (18: 30-38). Here the meaning of the confirmation and the Communion are woven together: the confirmed have received Perfectness from the Perfect, in the Communion they are one with the Father.²

Also in 19: 10-34, which deals with the Saviour as a teacher a term recurs related to the confirmation, when it is said about the children: "to whom belongs the Gnose of the Father". When they were "confirmed (took) they were taught about the aspects of the face of the Father".³

The following passage 19: 34-21: 8 does not deal with liturgical but with dogmatic matters, an explanation of the death of Christ, but a language is used which may reflect the liturgical practice, the divesting—investiture: "He clothed Himself in Incorruptibility, which it is impossible for anyone to take away from Him" (20: 32). It reminds the congregation of the baptismal mystery into which they have all once been initiated.

Certainly there are biblical texts which may have influenced this, although possibly both NT and EV may reflect the same ritual.

EV 21: 8-22: 2 contains a saying about the Father, in whom all Perfection is, the Father who has what man is lacking until he receives

¹ XC with SÄVE-SÖDERBERG (op. cit. p. 7) and SCHENKE, Die Herkunft, p. 35, translated 'because'. MALININE has here a rel. pronoun.

² Eucharistic texts are also found in EP e. g. 15, (26), (27), 68, 108, Cf. Exc. ex Theod. 13 (Extraits p. 84).

³ Translation according to SÄVE-SÖDERBERG, Evangelium Veritatis etc. in Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses (=SBU) 16, 1959, p. 8: Bestyrkta blevo de undervisade om Faderns anletes former.

Perfection from the Father. In this text there is probably a reference to the giving of a name in the ritual of initiation, most likely in connection with the immersion. "Those whose names He knew in advance, were called at the end, so that he who knows, is he whose name has been spoken by the Father. For he whose name has not been pronounced, is ignorant."¹

The next paragraph, which Säve-Söderbergh considers to be 22: 2–23: 18, mentions (22: 6) a turning. It has also *en passant* an expression which may refer to a rite of the initiation, the raising up, Mand. מִרְאָק, when it is said about the intoxicated who has become sober: "and having come to himself, (he) reaffirms that which is essentially his own" (22: 18). The **Tερο απέτεινε** in the edition of Malinine translated "reaffirms" (*rétablissement*) might possibly better be rendered by raise up.² This would better render a reference to the liturgical act.

The hymn which then follows (23: 18–23: 32) is certainly extremely important from hymnological point of view, and it *may*, though most improbably, contain references to such ceremonies as coronation: "His honour (τιμή)³ is like a crown on Its head" (23: 23). This hymn may belong to the ritual of initiation, but more probably it is a hymn of general Christian-Gnostic character used on various occasions.

A short pericope now follows (23: 33–24: 20) which has a verse of interest: "It (= the word of the Father) makes a choice there and also takes (upon Itself i. e. invests itself in) the form(?) (μορφή) of the All, purifying (καθάρισμα) it and causing it to return ..." (24: 3–6). The word καθάρισμα recurs 25: 13: "By means of the Gnose, he shall purify himself." There may be a liturgical background to this verse, such as investiture and bath of purification, but one should also have in mind such preparative acts as exorcism, and genuflexions.⁴

Now follow some paragraphs which are of little interest, although they may contain some references to the bride chamber (26: 30 sqq.), and a few allusions to the Name, the Spirit, but they are in no way remarkable.

¹ Name — baptism, Cf. Exc. ex Theod. (Extraits 22: 4): Οἱ ‘βαπτιζόμενοι’ δέ, φασίν, ‘ὑπὲρ [ἡμῶν] τῶν νεκρῶν’, οἱ ἄγγελοί εἰσιν οἱ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν βαπτιζόμενοι, ἵνα ἔχοντες καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ “Ονομα μὴ ἐπισχηθῶμεν κωλυθέντες εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα παρελθεῖν τῷ “Ορῷ καὶ τῷ Σταυρῷ. Cf. Exc. ex Theod. 22: 6 sq.

² SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, SBU p. 10 «återupprättat».

³ So understood by SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH p. 11.: «hans Heder är en krans på dess huvud».

⁴ SAGNARD, Extraits p. 234.

But from 30: 6 on we find a passage of extremely great importance. In the first sentence (30: 6–12) the image of sleeping—opening eyes—raising up is used to describe a part of the Gnostic *Ordo salutis*, but at the same time a kind of explanation of the ritual. The “pre-Gnostic” stage is described as being asleep, lying down (*πνατκε*),” during the time when he was ignorant”, and now he rises (*εα/γ/πνε*) again as when he awoke (*νεγεε*, arise). The arising either means the act when the neophyte after the immersion rises in the “country of the living”, who are not sleeping any more, or it is a preparatory act consisting of a symbolic sleep—awakening—rising up, in order to go to the baptismal water.¹

In the following sentence (30: 13–16) He is praised, blessed, who opened the eyes of the blind. One is here tempted to assume that there was a rite recalling the NT text *Ephphetha* (*ἐφφαθά*) and the ceremony similarly named known from later Roman rites. This ceremony does not occur in the Apostolic Church Order by Hippolytus, but is known from comparatively early sources.²

In EV 30: 16–23 the same theme of raising up is further developed, and it is interesting to observe that now the Spirit is said to act: “And the Spirit came to him . . . in order to raise him up (*πτρεψτον-*
ναστι).”

The translation of Malinine 30: 19 sq. ‘Venu à l'aide’ is perhaps not quite accurate.

Säve-Söderbergh translates more literally: “and giving his hand to him who was stretched out on the ground, he raised him upon his feet, because he had not yet resurrected”.³

This may indicate that the baptizand was not only kneeling, but prostrated (“sleeping”) on the ground, somewhat as still occurs in the Roman rite both at ordination and profession. There is little if any evidence of such a rite at baptism in the Early Church. This text, however, may indicate its existence in certain Christian circles.⁴

¹ This sentence and the following should also be understood in the light of Eph. V: 13 sq.: πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον φῶς ἔστιν. διὸ λέγει· ἔγειρε, ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

² C. CALLEWAERT, *Sacris Erudiri*, MCMXL, Chapter De ceremoniis Ephphata, abrenuntiationis et inunctionis . . . p. 719. The priest touches the ears and nostrils of the baptizand. So already AMBROSIUS, *De Sacramentis* I. 1.

³ Op. cit., p. 16.

⁴ One should possibly here recall Mark 5: 41, 9: 26 sq.

To those who are now prostrated he, i.e. not the Spirit, but the *minister sacramenti* acting “in the name of the Spirit”, stretches out his hand (*ε&ριτός τοστή* should be understood so and not merely as “having helped”), an act which reminds one of the Mandaean baptism where the priest at the immersion grasps the hand of the baptizand.¹ It is, however, not the same as *kuštu*, the handclasp which, although similar, has another meaning.² To which rite in the Christian baptism this is corresponding is difficult to say, because we do not know whether this is an act before the immersion or after. Most likely it is an act before the immersion. The baptizand is stretched out on the ground, “the conductor” takes his hand, brings him down to the water and up again. Then he is placed (raised) upon his feet, *τοκ ἀρετή*, a significant baptismal term. This act symbolizes the resurrection, as is indicated by the final clause of the sentence: “because he had not yet resurrected (*απαντήθωσην*)” (30: 23). This is perhaps a better rendering than that of Miss Wall: “for truly he had not yet reappeared”³.

After a verse about the Gnosis of the Father and the revelation of His Son it is said (30: 27): “For when they had seen Him and heard Him (or It), He allowed them to taste of Him, to smell (*μαλμε*) of Him, and to touch (*εμαρτε*) the beloved Son.” This recalls the communion which at the Christian initiation immediately follows the baptism and the chrism. It is no problem to understand what is meant by tasting and touching. The communion was received by the Christian in his hands⁴ and the same may have been the custom of our Gnostic sect, which did believe in the “real presence” in some way (Cf. 18: 28). The smelling is more difficult to explain. Miss Wall renders it “feel” which makes *μαλμε* almost equivalent to *εμαρτε*. The last word often has the meaning of “embrace” and might lead our thought to the kiss of peace or even the bridal chamber, but in this context it probably means touch or embrace the chalice. If, however, *μαλμε* does not mean feel but smell⁵ it may refer to the wine of good odour,

¹ SEGELBERG, Mašbūtā, p. 52 sq.

² Op. cit., p. 63 sq.

³ The French text is more accurate: ‘aussi bien il n'avait pas ressurgi’. I have here also followed the translation by SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, SBU, p. 16.

⁴ Tertullian, De idolatria, ch. 7. (CSEL 20: 36), Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. Myst. V. 21 sq. (QUASTEN, Mon. 108–110). Cf. Jungmann, Missarum Sollemnia II. 1952, p. 469 n. 33.

⁵ So Crum, Dict 559 b.

to the scent of the chrism,¹ or even to the incense although there is little evidence of the use of the latter among Christians and Gnostics at so early a time. The best way to understand the three words, taste, smell, touch is to regard them all as referring to the act of receiving the communion of bread and wine, with perhaps milk and honey.² “When instructing them about the incomprehensible Father, he revealed himself and insufflated in them that which is in the Thought, accomplishing His Will, and when many received the Light, they (who belonged to) *hyle* turned to him . . .” (30: 32 sq.). Here are three ceremonies: insufflation or exsufflation, tradition of baptismal candle, and turning, all known from the Roman or the Eastern rites. Exsufflation and turning are preparative rites, belonging to the catechumenate, insufflation and baptismal candle are postbaptismal acts.

But judging from the context one is justified in assuming that in this case it is a postbaptismal act.³

“Receiving the Light” (*ε&ργει πνονα&μη*) certainly does at the first sight look as if it meant receiving the Spiritual Light. In this context however it may allude to the baptismal candle or lamp. This candle was probably in use already in early Christian times (*ἡτε γάρ πνοτε σκότος, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν κυρίῳ*. Eph. V: 8).⁴

“They turned to him” (*ἀγκατον απ&λ*) may also be a liturgical term. We should remember the “act of conversion” in e.g. the Byzantine Coptic and Syrian rite, a part of the catechumenate.⁵ The baptizand has to *ἀποτάσσειν τῷ σταυρῷ* and having done so he turns eastward in order to *συντάσσειν τῷ Χριστῷ*. Our Gnostic sect may have had an act corresponding to the Byzantine one.

In the following there are few and mostly uncertain reminiscences of liturgical acts⁶ until we come to 33: 39, the beginning of the important passage dealing with the children of the Father which are His fragrance (*στ&ει*). The fragrance, the good odour, which proceeds from

¹ Didache, coptic fragment, ed. HORNER, JTS 25 (1924) p. 224–31.

² HIPPOLYTUS, Apostolic Tradition, Ed. DIX 40–42. GIVERSEN, Sandh. Ev., p. 106, is aware of the possible sacramental interpretation.

³ So insufflation appears at “confirmation” in Coptic ritual, M. Woolley, Coptic offices, 1930, p. 45.

⁴ See below p. 32 sq.

⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. Myst. 19: 6, Canones Hippolyti 19. 119, Raes, Introductio in Lit. orient. 1947, p. 131.

⁶ Negative way: not see, not know, and 33: 6 *πτετήτοντες* and 7: *πτετηγές* *πιετηκάτε* The exorcism 33: 19 sq. is discussed below p. 15.

the Father and is given to His children, this fragrance is the Spirit because it is not the ears which feel the fragrance, but (as regards) the fragrance¹, it is the Spirit which has the faculty of feeling the fragrance (34: 9–12). Why is the image of fragrance chosen? Is it because the Spirit is given with the fragrant chrism? One should here recall the text in the Coptic version of Didache, the prayer for the holy unction, the Greek original being only preserved in the Apostolic Constitutions, where the oil or the unction are not explicitly mentioned but just the *επιμοργή*.²

The ears hear the “call”, τὸ πνεύμα πνεῖ, the μυρισμένοι are μυρίζοντες. Thus we have in the image of fragrance a kind of analogy to the word for Christians in Syriac ~~አረመ~~ those who have received the chrism ~~አረመ~~, and to the Greek χριστιανός he who is anointed.³

But soon we learn that there is not only one fragrance but two kinds thereof, one cold and the other warm. The cold fragrance is *psychikos* and is related to water (34: 16).⁴ This is the best text indicating the existence of a baptism in water, which is regarded as inferior to the chrism, confirmation. The same attitude to the two sacraments appears in the EP 95: ‘The chrism is superior to the baptism.’

And now, the cold fragrance is made warm; “when a wind blows over it, it becomes warm” (34: 25 sq.).⁵ One should observe, that wind (*πνεῦ*) is the same word as is used to denote insufflation 30: 34, and the Greek as well as the Hebrew word for Spirit and wind are the same, πνεύμα and רוח respectively. This indicates that the insufflation, as was previously suggested, is an act not belonging to the catechumenate but to the “confirmation”. The relation between the warmth

¹ It is not necessary with Schenke, Die Herkunft, p. 49, n. 6a, to regard this *πεταῖ* as a dittography. I have here followed the translation of SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, SBU, p. 20.

² See HORNER, JTS 25 (1924) p. 225–231. Cf. Irenaeus, saying that Valentinians anointed with ‘balsamon’ (Cf. EP. 48), which is’ τύπον τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα εὐωδίας (Adv. Hær. 21: 3). — In Syriac the word for Spirit and fragrance are related, cf. Mand. fragrance: **רִיחָא בְּבָשָׂר**.

³ Cf. EP 95: We are called Christians because we have received the chrism, not because we are baptized, and Theoph. Ant. Ad Autol.: τοιγχροῦν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τούτου εἶνεκεν καλούμεθα χριστιανοὶ ἐπειδὴ χριόμεθα ἐλαίῳ Χριστοῦ (PG. VI, 1042).

⁴ 34: 16 away from the first fragrance, which is cold—there is something of psychic “plasma”, which is as water which is cold, . . .

⁵ GIVERSEN translates ‘gather’ (Thomas Ev. p. 154), SCHENKE (Die Herkunft p. 50) ‘sich sammeln.’

and the Spirit may also be illustrated by the hot water poured into the consecrated wine in the Byzantine rite, the priest saying: Ζέσις πίστεως, πλήρης πνεύματος Ἀγίου.

In the paragraph 34: 35–36: 13 there are few references to the terms of the ritual of initiation, as 35: 19 παρεδωκεν αρετήν. The last verse of this passage uses the image of finding the Light of Truth, which perhaps is a reminiscence of a use of baptismal candles.

EV 36: 13–39 is from our point of view perhaps the most important passage of the whole EV.

“Therefore ‘Christ’ they called him¹ in their midst in order . . . that he should anoint them with unction” (36: 13–17). This text is not as good in Coptic as in the supposed Greek original: ‘Χριστόν’ ἔλεγον (εσαν) ἵνα χρίσῃ αὐτοῦς χρίσματι; the Coptic runs, ἀποχέε αὐψεψε αράρ . . . πατραρχον παπιτωρᾶ. And this τοῦς “is the mercy of the Father who will have mercy upon them.” Here the Coptic has not been able to express the Greek original in all its aspects: I suppose that the word for unction, oil, has been ἔλαιον and the sentence:

τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ πατρός παπιτωρᾶ πεπιπάε λαπιωτ
ὅς ἐλεήσει αὐτοῦς ετε εφπαπαε πετ

The two Greek words for oil and mercy may have been pronounced similarly, an indication among others that EV was originally written in Greek.

And now we learn that the anointed ones are those who were made perfect (36: 19):

πεπαγματαρχον αε	οἱ δὲ χρισμένοι
πε πεει παραρχωκ αβαλ	οἱ τετελεσμένοι εἰσιν

Here τοῦς once again seems to be the translation of χρίω and ωκ αβαλ is the well known term denoting the meaning of “confirmation”.

The anointed is a filled σκεῦος:

πικενος ταρ ετμηρ	οἱ κεχρισμένοι γάρ
πετεψαοταρχον	σκεῦη πεπληρωμένα

This is a verse which reminds us of the formula according to St.

¹ GIVERSEN, op. cit., p. 154, and SCHENKE, op. cit., p. 50, translate αὐψεψε spoke (about Christ). The translation is uncertain. μακε renders λαλεῖν, λέγειν, διηγεῖσθαι, Crum, Dict, 613 α.

Irenaeus used by the Valentinians σκεῦός εἰμι ἔντιμον. This σκεῦος has received the *pleroma*.¹

“But as soon as someone’s unction vanishes he is made empty” (36: 22–24). The explanation now following is rather difficult to translate: “And the reason why he is in want is the thing² through (or from) which his unction shall go away.³ Because just at that moment a wind (an insufflation) carries him off by the power of that which is in it.” This is probably an antichristian text. When a Gnostic is deceived into receiving Christian baptism and chrism, a wind i. e. the Holy Spirit, which from Valentinian point of view is evil, liturgically expressed by an insufflation, an act of Christian initiation, “exorcizes”, carries off the “gnostic unction”.

EV 36: 30 sq. gives some new information: “But with him further, who is without lack, one does not break the seal (*τάξη*) for him, nor does one pour out anything (*μαρτυρῶ*)” but where is lack, the “perfect Father fills it again.”

The most important word is *παρτέσῃ*, to break the seal, indicating that the term seal, *σφραγίς*, Copt. *τάξη*, is known as an equivalent to chrism, and *τελείωσις*.⁵

The next image is that of plants: “He knows his plants because he it is who has planted them in his paradise. The paradise is His restingplace.” Plant is also a technical term in the baptismal sphere.

The ‘Name’, *ρεπ*, (38: 29, 39: 19 sq.) and the ideas connected thereto fit very well into a baptismal homily.⁶

In the following there are a few terms of baptismal character. The text is, however, in no way dominated by baptismal thoughts.

P. 41: 34 one should observe the term *ἀσπασμός*, which most probably is referring to the bridal chamber. (Cf. EP 76, 122, 125–127).

¹ Adv. hæreses XXI 5.

² ξωὴ, πράγμα, ἔργασία, thing or act. It would then be the act of apostasy. GIVERSEN, Thomas Ev. p. 156 transl. ‘thing’.

³ SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH has pointed out to me another possible translation: is the fact (?) that his unction will go away (= be abolished).

Cf. SCHENKE, Die Herkunft, p. 51: die Ursache . . . ist der Gegenstand, von dem seine Salbung weichen wird.

⁴ So Schenke and Giversen: noch giesst mann etwas aus . . . (Die Herkunft, p. 51). But Säve-Söderbergh, SBU p. 22, nor is he lacking anything.

⁵ Extraits 96: 2: οὗτος καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ πιστή, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας λαβοῦσα σφράγισμα, τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιφέρει Σφραγίς = Baptism 83. Cf. Eph. 4: 30, Säve-Söderbergh, RoB p. 39, n. 32. Segelberg, op. cit., p. 168 sq.

⁶ Säve-Söderbergh, RoB. p. 38.

P. 42: 32 we find the term **ματή**, the Greek **ἀναπτωθώ**, which is a Valentinian liturgical term.¹

In the final clause (from 43: 5) allusions to the baptismal realities confirm the theory, that EV is a homily to be used at the end of a baptismal feast, when the neophytes have received the chrism and are gathered with the faithful to take part in their first Eucharist.

And the “true Brothers over whom hovers the Love of the Father and among whom nothing of Him is lacking. It is they who are truly manifested since they are in that true and eternal Life and speak about the Light, which is perfect and filled with the seed of the Father, and which is in His Heart and in the Pleroma, while His Spirit rejoices in Him and glorifies Him, in whom It exists, because He is good. And His children are perfect and worthy of His name, for they are children such as He, the Father, loves.”

The number of baptismal allusions is great in this text. I want to point out the passages about the **ἀγάπη**, and the word **σπέρμα**, which is an equivalent to **πνεῦμα**.² The children are perfect, confirmed, and worthy of the Name given to them at their initiation.

To be ‘worthy of His Name’, 43: 21, **καημα** may also be a ritual term, **ἄξιος**,³ the answer to the question **τί κωλύει**.⁴

¹ Sagnard, La gnose, p. 423.

² Cf. 1. Joh. 2: 20, 27 and 3: 9. Säve-Söderbergh, RoB p. 38, emphasizes the equivalence of **σπέρμα** and **πνεῦμα** and how the context indicates that the reception of the Spirit in baptism is meant.

³ The “**axios**” at a Byzantine ordination is well known, but there is reason to believe that a similar act took place at baptism. In the present Coptic baptismal rite a threefold **ἄξιος** is said at the crowning and the following transmission of the Holy Spirit: ‘Receive the Holy Spirit, O thou who hast received Holy Baptism’. ‘Worthy’ (thrice). Woolley, Copt. Offices p. 46 sq. Cf. also Ermoni: Rituel copte du Baptême, Rev. del’ or. Chr. 7, 1902, p. 306: **αριτος μηε ἀημα μηιχω εθολ πτειοσηοι**.

⁴ In his article “Les traces d’ une vieille formule baptismale dans le Nouveau Testament (Revue d’histoire et de philosophie religieuses, XVII, 1937, p. 424-434) OSCAR CULLMANN has pointed at the use of **κωλύω**, and **δικωλύω** as baptismal terms in four NT texts (Matth. III, 14, Acts VIII, 36; X, 47; XI, 17) as well as in a fragment of the Gospel of the Ebionites preserved in the Panarion Epiphanios XXX, 13. As baptismal terms the verbs denote a certain act before the immersion, when probably the bishop or priest asks, What hinders the baptism of this candidate. Judging from Acts VIII, 36 the candidate may have asked himself: **τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι;**

According to CULLMANN this question was used at a time when the catechumenate was not yet developed and baptism was conferred without much preparation.

EV a baptismal or confirmation homily

The result of our analysis can be summed up in two conclusions. First: EV is a baptismal or a confirmation homily. As Säve-Söderbergh points out, the central thoughts of EV are related to the baptism-chrism complex. We can understand the whole EV fairly well if we regard it as delivered in connection with a baptismal feast or at the point when the chrism has been conferred upon the neophytes and they have received or are going to receive the Eucharist. Against its reflecting the character of a baptismal feast, one may object that EV gives baptism no central place. This fact may force us rather to stress the confirmation aspect. If we dare to judge from EP we may be right in saying that the two acts, baptism and confirmation, are kept apart as different acts, theologically, and probably also liturgically. I.e. they do not as is done in the Apostolic Constitutions form one liturgical procedure. Thus the reason why the baptism is overshadowed by the chrism is perhaps that it has been celebrated on an earlier occasion and that the homily was intended for the solemn act of the chrismation in connection with the Eucharist.

Secondly: EV is not in such respect a liturgical homily that it is a commentary on the baptismal-confirmation ritual. It seems impossible to discover a strict arrangement according to such lines. In some cases it seems as if we had a number of references to the baptismal ritual in the same few sentences, in other cases references to final acts are discovered also in the earlier parts of EV although allusions to the preliminary acts may be more numerous in the beginning. The main impression is that EV is an exposition of the Gnostic faith adapted for a special liturgical occasion, the (baptism-)confirmation feast.

But when the catechumenate was established there was no need any more for this question, which would explain why there are few traces of it in the early church.

EINAR MOLLAND, accepting this theory of CULLMANN has brought forth another example from the early church, namely the story of the baptism of the mother of Clement in the pseudo-Clementines (Hom. XIII, 5 sq. and parallels in the Rec. VII, 30.). In that text the mother of Clement asks: τί οὖν κωλύει σήμερόν με βαπτισθῆναι, and later one of her sons says: οὐκοῦν οὐδὲν κωλύει αὐτὴν βαπτισθῆναι. (MOLLAND's article on the subject 'Une trace de la formule archaïque τί κωλύει dans un rite baptismal' in the *Εὐχαριστήριον. Τιμητικός τόμος . . . Αρ. Σ. Αλιβιζάτου*, Athens, 1958, p. 262–265. Cf. above p. 6 n. 1.)

EV compared to the Odes

Exorcism

In EV there is a passage which mentions the devil, 33:19-21.

**ληφθω τοι ερετιος
πτοπος παπακεβολος κε
ατεπιονυ μερεπιονυσετ λημαζ**

Do not become place for
the devil, because you have
already thrown him out.

In this parenetic part of the EV an exhortation like this does fit into the context very well, especially if the whole homily is regarded as originally given at a baptismal feast.

There is one word which is of special importance here namely οὐωσῆ used also 18:24 and 32:25 and usually translated “be idle, annul, annihilate”. In 32:25 it should be translated “remain inactive”, in 18:24 it is translated by Malinine “annihilate”, both translations confirmed e.g. by Säve-Söderbergh.¹ In 33:21 Schenke translates “zunichte gemacht”,² but Säve-Söderbergh, “driven him away” which seems doctrinally ‘sound’.³ It should be recognized as a parallel to line 17 sq.: ότε ατεπίοτο ερεπίπονγε μιαρ αβάλ ‘because you have already thrown him out’. One should understand this text as referring to an act of exorcism, an act preparing for baptism.

This would mean a close resemblance to early Christian and Gnostic⁴ tradition. In the Odes I have not noted any text of the same type. Moreover Bernhard says that there is no explicit reference in the Odes to the rite of exorcism, but in the conquering of the dragon with seven heads (Ode XXII:5) he believes himself to have found what the exorcism is taken to express.⁵

¹ SBU p. 19.

² Die Herkunft, p. 49. So also GIVERSEN, Thomas Evangeliet, 1959, p. 152.

³ "Fördrivit", Crum: *ɛk'trɪβεɪv*, alternative is "annihilate", "omintetgjort". SBU p. 19.

⁴ Preparative acts such as fasting, kneeling, prayers necessary according to Ex. ex Theod. (Extraits 83–84) in order to chase the demons who want to receive baptism together with the faithful. The fight of the Spirit against evil powers, an illustration of the nature of baptism: Extraits 81. Cf. Extraits 82: 2: Οὐτως καὶ τὸ ὄντωρ, καὶ τὸ ἔξορκιζόμενον καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα γινόμενον οὐ μόνον χωρ<ιζ>ει τὸ γείρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγνωστὸν προσλαμβάνει.

⁵ BERNHARD, op. cit. p. 95, HARRIS and MINGANA, op. cit. II, p. 327 cite some texts which may illuminate this theme.

To open eyes

To sleep and to open eyes when waking, or to be blind and made seeing,¹ are images in EV used to express the process of salvation. So we find p. 30: 14 sq.: "And blessed ($\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omega\zeta$) is He who has opened the eyes of the blind. And the spirit came to him in haste when it resuscitated him." This expression recalls the *Ephphetha* of the Gospel and of the ceremony of the same name, known from the Roman baptismal ritual.² As this expression is so closely connected with the following baptismal text (30: 19–31) it is likely that it does refer to a ceremony used by the Gnostics as an act preparatory to baptism.

In the Odes there is no striking resemblance to this text, although naturally eyes are mentioned from time to time. In a text obviously imbued with baptismal thought we find a verse which may be used as a parallel to the phrase from EV: "They gave strength to their coming and light to their eyes" (6: 17). Cf. 15: 3 sq.: "In Him I have acquired eyes, and have seen His holy day: Ears I have acquired, and I have heard His truth." The context, however, does not encourage a liturgical interpretation.³

To turn, conversion

There are some expressions which may denote an act of turning, "conversion", as a part of the ritual. It is extremely difficult to say, whether it is used just as a common phrase, influenced by biblical phraseology, or if it really does refer to an act, turning e. g. from west to east. EV 22: 4 says: "If he is called, he hears, replies, and turns towards him ($\mu\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omega\bar{\eta}$) who calls him, in order to reascend to him who called him." The verb $\nu\circ\gamma\omega\epsilon$ appears also 22: 17, 18 although with the meaning (18) "come to himself" and (17) "turn from".

Another verb is $\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$ meaning to turn (EV 30: 37) in a context in-

¹ This motive has been discussed by GÄRTNER, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, London 1960, p. 192 sq.

² The priest, having moistened his finger with saliva, originally with consecrated oil, touches the upper part of the lips and the ears of the candidates, after the manner of our Lord's healing the deaf-mute (Mark VII, 34), saying: Effeta, quod est adaperire, in odorem suavitatis . . . (DUCHESNE, Christian Worship, 5th ed. p. 303 sq.) The formula should be compared with the "fragrance", EV 36: 10 sq.

³ An Ode which recalls Ephphatha is IX, which begins: "Open your ears and I will speak to you." BERNHARD, op. cit. p. 64 refers thereto, although he reminds one that *ephphetha* usually is regarded as a Western rite and not an Oriental one.

dicating that the author has the ritual in his mind: insufflate, receive the light. In EV the verb **κρωτε** seems to denote the turning:

εαγκαὶ πεπονασειν πᾶσι γάρ Many received Light
ἀπκατον αράq and turned towards Him

It may refer to a ceremony after the immersion, although from a Christian point of view it would be most natural if it were regarded as a preparatory act.

The theological sense of this act may be explained by EV 35:22. "This returning (**ταξτό**) is called **μετάνοια**." Cf. 21:7 etc. and

24:6: **εγεωτῷ πάματ** It (= the Logos) purifies it (= the All)
εφέτο πάματ αροτη απιωτ. and causes it to return to the Father.

In the Odes we find a vaguely similar expression 10:3: "(The Lord) gave me to speak the fruit of His peace: To convert (**μετα!**) the souls of those who are willing to come to Him."

The turning may have been connected with a renunciation of the devil and acceptance of Christ.¹

¹ The term **ἀποτάσσω** and related terms are known already in Christian texts from the second century. DANIÉLOU (Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme, 1958, p. 376) has quoted Clement of Alexandria: I have guided you on the good road, renounce (**ἀπόστα**) the way of error. Justin in Apol. XLIX:5 has the two terms **ἀπετάξαντο-ἀνέθηκε**. Hermas in Prec. VI, 2,9 says: It is good to follow (**ἀκολουθεῖν**) the angel of justice and to renounce (**ἀποτάξασθαι**) the angel of evil. REICKE has found an equivalent of syntasso in **ἐπερώτημα** 1 Petr III, 21. (Disobedient Spirits, p. 182–186.) and F. L. Cross accepts his theory (I. Peter, A Paschal Liturgy, p. 32). A term which may mean 'renounce' is **κρω**, **καὰ** 30:3 (= **ἀποθεῖν**, Rom. XIII: 12):

ἀλλα ψαυκαὰ τ πεωσοτ πρίντε But they abandon (renounce) them as
πονρεσούτε ὅπ τοτψη. a nocturnal dream,

and so does **πονχε** 29:33:

πρίντε πε πεει πιεπταγηπονχε it is thus that they cast ignorance
πήμπτατσαγηε αβαλ πάματ far away.

(**πονχε** εἴδοl is acc. to CRUM, Dict., p. 248 a = **ἀποβάλλειν**, **ἐκβάλλειν**, **ἀποθεῖν** etc.) This renunciation is known also from Valentinian sources: e.g. Exc. ex. Theodo. 77,1 Extraits p. 200: Ταύτη θάνατος καὶ τέλος λέγεται τοῦ παλαιοῦ βίου τὸ βάπτισμα, **ἀποτασσομένων** ἡμῶν ταῖς πονηραῖς Ἀρχαῖς . . . Cf. op. cit. appendix F. p. 231. Terms denoting **συντάσσειν** are **ρωτ**, **τωψ**, **εμπε** but in EV they seem not to appear in that particular sense.

The affinity between EV and the Odes in this case should not be regarded as important, because the liturgical character of the quotation from the Odes is most uncertain.

Stretching out the hand.

“Reaching out Its hand to him who was stretched out upon the ground, It placed him upon his feet” (EV 30: 19 sq.) This text, *אָלֵת תֹוֹתֶת*, which the ed. translates “Having helped him etc” is by Säve-Söderbergh rendered more literally “giving its hand”.¹

In this baptismal context it is reasonable to interpret this expression also in a ceremonial way, and it is not difficult to imagine an act in which the initiand who has been stretched out on the floor, is now raised up by the priest’s catching his hand and guiding him to the mystery of baptism or chrism.

In the Odes there is no corresponding expression. Some texts telling about stretching out hands (*لَمْ يَكُنْ يَعْلَمُ*) refer to the lifting up of the Lord, e.g. XLII: 1 sq. “I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord; For the stretching out of my hands is His sign; And my expansion is the outspread wood (tree) that was set up on the way of the Righteous One.”²

When comparing the two texts we find here that the reaching out of hand is an expression peculiar to EV. In Manichaean Literature it is, however, not unknown.³

Water.

It is remarkable how little attention is paid to “water” in EV. The word *מַיִם* is used only once, 34: 20, and is not explicitly said

¹ Op. cit., p. 16: och i det han gav handen åt den, som ...

² BERNHARD, op. cit., p. 90, mentions a stretching out of the hand as a rite of abrenunciation. The catechumens with outstretched and uplifted hands faced eastward and professed their covenant with Christ. His sources are Cyril of Jerusalem, Rituale Armenorum, and Tertullian, who is said to mention a similar postbaptismal rite (which seems rather to refer to the prayer with uplifted hands together with the faithful: “Cum de illo sanctissimo lavacro novi natalis ascenditis et primas manus apud matrem cum fratribus aperitis” [De bapt. 20]).

One should here recall a similar rite among the Mandaeans, the taking of the oath. See DROWER, Water into Wine, p. 231, SEGELBERG, op. cit., p. 89.

The Syriac term should be compared with Mandaean *תְּאַשֵּׁת נְאַשְׁרָה*, though ritually different.

³ ALLBERRY, A Manichaean Psalmbook, p. 10: He came and helped (*אָלֵת תֹוֹתֶת*) his brother out of the abyss.

to be baptismal. It is regarded as something cold, ψυχικόν. When a wind, the spirit, is blowing over it, it becomes warm (line 25). Thus baptism is regarded as something inferior to the chrismation, which is the spiritual fulfilment of the ‘psychic’ baptism in water.

Here let us remember what we know about the Valentinian baptism. According to Sagnard it consists of two parts, the baptism in water, and the chrism. The first is regarded as inferior and ‘psychic’, the second as spiritual.¹

Thus we find here a close similarity between the Valentinian tradition and that of EV.

Comparing EV with the Odes of Solomon, we observe a great difference. In the seven Odes water does play a distinct role. Reference is made to “living water” (11:7), “speaking water”, “stream of water” (6).

Ode 6, which is dominated by the idea of water which is spread over the whole earth and is given to the thirsty to drink, does lead one’s thoughts to the liturgical drinking. There is no explicit mention of baptism in water, immersion, but verses 15–17 tell of some of the gifts of the baptism: “held back from death; fallen limbs straightened and set up, strength to their coming and light to their eyes”. Especially valuable is the Coptic version of this Ode, which also uses baptismal terms: αγαρο πρειμελος ερατος εαργε. It is an interesting fact that a Gnostic targum² and a commentary³ on this Ode are preserved in Pistis Sophia. The targum, dealing mainly with light, does not even mention the word “water”, and the commentator only uses the word ονος in quotation, the commentator saying immediately it means light.⁴ Thus there is obviously a great difference between the Ode and the Gnostic author of Pistis Sophia. Water is certainly to the Odist something ritually important, to the Gnostic writer it may be of little or no importance.

In other Gnostic systems, as for instance the Mandaean, water and light are closely knit together, there is a Light-Jordan, Light-Euphrates etc.

¹ La gnose valentinienne, 1947, p. 421 sq. and Extraits, 1948, appendix F p. 224–239.

² Quoted from Harris–Mingana p. 45–L.

³ Op. cit. p. ۲۵۰–۲۵۱

⁴ E. g. p. ۴ sq. Σε πτανθη παν πεπει εθολ γιποοτη ππετ ροσ ετε παιπε οε ππανθη πονοει παν εθολ γιποοτε πηλ αποροια π οροιη.

Probably one is right in assuming that the anti-water-attitude of Pistis Sophia has something to do with the similar attitude of EV.

Submersion (To Ode XXIV).

In the Odes the term ψύχει is used on two occasions: 24: 7 and 31: 2 b, meaning submerge. Harris-Mingana say that 24 is another Ode thick with obscurity.¹

H.-M. comment that the Ode begins with an uncanonical description of the baptism of Christ, but “the baptismal incident is soon ended, and we are apparently plunged into Hades along with Christ whom the abysses are expecting to devour”.² And further ibidem: “There seems to be some occult connexion of ideas between the baptism of Christ and the descent into Hades; what else does it mean when it says ‘the abysses were submerged in the submersion of the Lord’.”

The presupposition is probably that Christian-Gnostic baptism is a descent into Hades, death with Christ and resurrection with him, and that this sacramental interpretation of baptism is regarded as prefigured in the baptism of Christ, which has a universal significance. As all mankind is crucified with Christ on the cross, so was all mankind, even Hades itself, submerged with Christ in baptism.

It is interesting to note that the terms in Syriac and Mandaic for baptism, مَسْعُدَةٌ and מַצְבָּה, are derived from roots denoting dip, submerge. In the Odes the usual Syriac term for baptism is not used.

It is most interesting to observe that the word ψύχει does mean both submerge and sign (8: 15). Does this have anything to do with the double meaning of σφραγίς as denoting not only seal but also baptism?

The sign used in the Odes is probably made crosswise, as is indicated by Odes 27: 1 and 42: 1. The (crosswise) expansion of my hands (for prayer) is his sign (¶¶) (27: 1).

In the EV there are no traces of any term similar to the Syriac denoting submerge, submersion unless perhaps ωμένη.³

The word ωμένη.

The Greek word βαπτίζειν is often used in Coptic but there is also a pure Coptic word for the same action, ωμένη, which occurs once, EV

¹ II p. 344. ² Ibid.

³ See next paragraph. Cf. also the obscure εργάτη 35: 18.

34:13: "the Spirit attracts him to himself, and he sinks (*ωμέτ*) down into the odour of the Father". One should observe, that possibly there is a play upon words here, to sink down — to be baptized, a suggestion which is made not less probable by the fact, that in the following part we find almost the only text more explicitly dealing with the first baptism, i. e. in the cold fragrance.

An analogous expression seems to appear EP 43.¹

The drinking of the water.

In EV there are no traces of any ceremonial drinking whereas the Odes have a number of texts indicating the drinking of water, milk and wine.

In two texts (11:7, 30:12) it is explicitly said that living water is given to drink; the same seems to be the case in Ode 6:11. This recalls a Gnostic rite of drinking water at baptism.²

More curious are the texts dealing with the milk from the breast of the Father (8:16) and the cup of milk that was offered to drink (19:1). If this has any liturgical significance it certainly should be compared with the cup of milk and honey mentioned by Hippolytus as a part of the post-baptismal meal.³

The third kind of drink, wine, *νεῦ*, is the drink offered by the deceiver, the drink of "their intoxication". One is here tempted to think that the Odes belong to an "aquarian" tradition.⁴

It is possible to interpret almost all these texts as referring not to baptismal drinking of water but to a post-baptismal act (drinking milk) or to the Eucharist (drinking water with refusal of wine). Ode 6, however, seems most likely to refer to baptism and drinking of baptismal water.

Minister of the water.

In the Odes there is one text indicating certain ministers for the ritual.

¹ If the painter dips what should be painted in a 'bath of dye', it seems not necessary to change the second *βάλανιζε* to *βάλαντε*.

² Cf. SEGELBERG, op. cit., p. 59 sq. (76–85). The Gnostic book of Baruch (Hippolytos, Refutatio, V. 27. 2 sq.), among the Ophites.

³ The Ap. Trad., ed. Dix, p. 40.

⁴ Cf. the Mandaeans who drink water both after the immersion and at the post-baptismal meal. Only in the *masiqa-* meal and at marriage do they drink *hamra*, unfermented wine. See DROWER, Water into Wine, p. 7, 62. 239–41.

لَهُوَ أَوَّلٌ مِنْ سَمِّعَةٍ فَمَا
 مَرْسَأَتْ لَهُوَ قَوْدَفَ
 لَهُوَ أَوَّلٌ
 مَرْسَأَتْ لَهُوَ

For from the most High the draught was given.
 Blessed then are the ministers of that draught
 Who have been entrusted with that water of his (6: 12–13)

The minister, *لَهُوَ*, is the term used for a deacon, and the Coptic version of the same Ode, and the targum, use the word *πατρον*, probably the term of the Greek original.¹

The translation “minister” is rather general and does not say if there is meant a priest, a deacon or somebody else and there are facts speaking in favour of such a translation. Much is however also to be said in favour of translating “deacon”. First, the term both in Syriac and in Greek-Coptic may be understood in this more strict way; secondly, communion both at the post-baptismal meal (according to Hippolytus)² and at the Eucharist may be given by a deacon.

A possible explanation is also that the water given to the neophyte to drink after the immersion—if such was the order of baptism—was given by a deacon.

In EV it has not been possible to find any traces of ministers or deacons.

Divesting—investiture.

The image of divesting—putting on robes of immortality is known from EV in one case, 20: 30–37, a passage about Christ, whose suffering and cross are interpreted as follows: “Having divested Himself of these perishable rags (*πλεσί*),³ He clothed Himself in Incorruptibility, which it is impossible for anyone to take away from Him.” The image of investiture is known from Valentinian sources.⁴ The term for divesting is *ἴωμι* (*ἀθάλ*) (20: 30), Qual. *ἴωμι* (20: 37). The term for putting on is *πέπλω* 20: 30, 32.

This text it is possible to use only as vague evidence for the existence of an investiture in the baptismal act, and one must emphasize that this vague evidence should be brought forth for one reason

¹ Βεη μακαριος ιε παταρον απεω επεματ.

² Ed. DIX p. 41.

³ Cf. BERNHARD p. 61. Cf. τραχὺ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν “the rough garments of sin”, Cyril of Jerusalem, cited by BERNHARD, op. cit., p. 108.

⁴ Irenaeus, Adv. hær. 59: 1 sq. (VI: 1).

only, to help demonstrate the generally close relation between EV and the baptismal-confirmation ritual proved by other facts.

In the Odes the same image is used frequently. In some cases we find the term strip off **مَلِك** (11:9, 15:8, 21:3) and in a number of texts we find the term put on, **مَلِك**, as put on grace (4:6 baptismal context, 20:7), put on joy, grace, love (23:1 sq.) put on incorruption (15:8), "clothe yourself with his (Christ's) Holiness (13:3) etc. (It is never said about Christ.)

The term cover, **مَلِك**, seems synonymous with cloth, **مَلِك**, and **مَلِك**, with to divest, **مَلِك**, 25:8, also interpreted by Bernhard as baptismal.¹

This image, so common in the Odes, should probably be understood not in a merely figurative way, but as reflecting a ritual reality. Schlier does not include this ceremony in his description of the baptismal ritual of the Odes, but I have tried to point out its presence².

Thus the resemblance between EV and the Odes is in this case fairly slight: Whereas the Odes often use this image about the faithful, EV uses it only once and then about Christ.

Crown.

In the baptismal rites the crowning, usually following the investiture, is sometimes important. In EV it seems to be unknown. The word crown **κλαδον**, does, however, occur once in 23:24, where honour is called a crown on the head of the Father. It would be to see liturgy everywhere if that verse were used to prove the existence of a crowning at baptism.

In the Odes the **مَلِك**, the crown or garland, is mentioned several times. Ode I is a crown-ode! Ode 17:1 says:

مَلِكْ مَلِكْ I was crowned by my God
مَلِكْ مَلِكْ And my crown is living.³

The image of putting on vestments and crown is preserved in 20:7.

¹ BERNHARD, op. cit., p. 107 sq. HARRIS & MINGANA, II, p. 350 have some Manichaean evidence from Ephraim.

² Mašbūtā, p. 166. The eschatological aspect is preserved Ode 33:12: "And they who have put me on shall not be injured. But they shall possess incorruption in the new world." Investing, crown, paradise, 20:7. Cf. Gal. III. 27: ὅσιοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθησαν, Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε.

³ Cf. Mandaean terminology. SEGELBERG, op. cit., p. 120 (garments of Life).

لَهُ وَبِنَعْمَاهُ مَدْنَاتٌ لَا سَمَاءٌ
وَإِنْ لَفْتَ بَسَطَهُ مَحْمِلًا فَمَأْتَهُ

But put on the grace of the Lord without stint
And come into His Paradise and make thee a garland from His tree.

For the discussion of these texts I refer to Bernhard, p. 45 sq., and to Harris-Mingana II, 207-215. I want to stress the possible baptismal interpretation of the Coronation-Odes (following Bernhard etc) by mentioning the fact that the coronation in such an old rite as the Mandaean—originally in connection with the putting on of baptismal garments—is an essential ceremony.¹

Here again one cannot find any similarity between EV and the Odes.

unction.

As has already been mentioned, unction plays a central role in EV. It knows that Christos means “anointed”, because it argues (36: 13 sq.): “Therefore ‘Christ’ they called him in their midst, in order that . . . he should anoint them with unction (*πειταρεσον/πειτωχε*)” and this unction is “the mercy of the Father”, the Greek original is probably, as was pointed out above: τὸ δὲ ἔλαιον τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ πατρός.² Those who are anointed are the *τέλειοι* (*πε' νεις παταρών*), the Syriac *لُّكْسَم*, often related to confirmation, chrism.

One would of course expect to find a great number of parallels in the Odes, but this is not the case. There is just one text which we may use, namely Ode XXXVI. The Odist speaks about his experience in terms related to baptism (He made me to stand on my feet in the high place of the Lord), and in verses 3-8 Christ is regarded as saying: For according to the greatness of the Most High, so she (sc. the spirit) made me; And like His own newness He renewed me³ (6) and

oláusso zo umeso He anointed me from His own perfection.

وَأَنْتَ مَعِي تَرْكُوا And I became one of those who
are near to Him.

¹ Op. cit., p. 50 sq., 61 sq., 111-115.

² See p. 11.

² Or: "He (or she) made me glad with his own gladness", according to an emendation of HARRIS-MINGANA, II p. 385. Cf. ἔλατον ἀγαλλιάσεως. Hebr. I. 9.

Here Christ is the anointed, and this may be an argument against the use of this text as evidence for the existence of unction in the Odes. Neither Bernhard, Schlier, nor myself have considered this rite to be in the Odes.¹ And I cannot see any strong reason for changing this opinion. If there were any other evidence for it, one might have said that what happened to Christ, is now done with the Christians.

But as things are, I am afraid that I must regard this as one of the more important differences between EV and the Odes: Unlike the Odes, the EV regards the meaning of the unction, chrism, as essential for the true understanding of that whole work or homily.

Odour.

In one interesting passage EV speaks about fragrance. We learn that the children of the Father are his odour 33:39 sq. Therefore the Father loves his odour, and when he calls *hyle*, he gives his odour to the light. And it is further said (34:9 sq.) "it is not the ears which sense the odour, but (as regards) the fragrance, it is the spirit which has the faculty of sensing the odour". Later we learn that the first odour is cold, 'psychic', and related to (baptism in) water, whereas the second odour is warm. "If a wind blows over it, it becomes warm, because the odours, which are cold, belong to the division. Therefore God arrived and made an end of the division, and brought the hot pleroma of love . . ." (34:25 sq.).

The odour is here related to the *pneuma*, possibly having something to do with the chrism of good odour.² It would also be possible, although less likely, that it is connected with incense. The Syriac expression for good odour is the same as that used in Mandaean texts for incense.³ The oil is as far as I know never regarded by the Mandaeans as being of good odour.

¹ BERNHARD, op. cit., p. 122: "This may carry an allusion to the anointing with oil, which was part of the baptismal ritual; but the baptismal thoughts of the Odist are apparent without pressing this." Cf. SEGELBERG, op. cit., p. 166.

² Cf. the Valentinian expression according to *Irenaeus*, Adv. Haer. I, 21,3: τὸ γὰρ μύρον τοῦτο τύπον τῆς ὑπέρ τὰ ὅλα εὐωδίας εἶναι λέγουσιν, and Basilides (Hippol. Refut. VII. 22,14.): ὁσπερ εἰς ἄγγος ἐμβληθὲν μύρον εὐωδέστατον εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπιμελῶς ἐκκενωθεῖη, ὅμως δομή τις ἔτι μένει τοῦ μύρου καὶ καταλείπεται, κανὸν δὲ κεχωρισμένον τοῦ ἀγγείου, . . . οὕτως τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον μεμένης νιότητος ἀμοιρούν καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένον, ἔχει δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ μύρου παραπλησίως τὴν δύναμιν, <τῆς οὐτότητος> τὴν δομήν.

³ בָּרְכָתָה נָתָרִי Mandaean Liturgies nr 8 (LIDZBARSKI and DROWER), translation, DROWER, The canonical prayers, p. 5 sq.

In the Odes there is one text which deals with the pleasant odour of the Lord, but nothing indicates a close relation to EV.

—**لَهُمْ مَنْدَبِلُو** And my nostrils had the pleasure
لَهُمْ مَنْدَبِلُو حَسَنَةٌ Of the pleasant odour of the Lord.
 (XI: 15)¹

The fragrance is thus a term which seems to be common to EV and the Odes, (and the Mandaeans) but it is uncertain whether there is a common liturgical reality behind it. In EV one would expect its source to be the chrism, though among Mandaeans it is the incense, while in the Odes the chrism is not a well established fact.

Seal.

In baptismal terminology the seal, *σφραγίς*, plays an important role. In EV it only occurs once and, as one would expect, in the text speaking about the chrism of Christ, 36: 13–37: 1. Line 29 begins a sentence saying:

αλλα զար ուս պետ եւ օրացիւ ու մաշնացտեն պլառ զարիւ	But with him, who is without deficiency, one does not break the seal . . .
---	--

The previous lines were dealing with those who by some act lost their unction, and as a synonym to the unction, the seal is mentioned, the seal which is not broken. The word *մաշնացտեն* is a hapax legomenon, but its translation is almost certain.²

From liturgical texts the word *τέλο* is not known to me. The Greek word *εφρασίς* is probably the more regular.³

The corresponding Syriac term is **لَهُمْ** used in two of the Odes, 4 and 23. Ode 23, dealing with the seal of the letter, reminds us of the **כְּנָרֶת** of the Mandaeans, the bottle containing oil which is sealed by a clay seal.⁴ But in Ode 4: 6–7 there is a text which may be understood as reflecting the baptismal ritual:

¹ Even BERNARD, op. cit. p. 74, doubts that incense is meant, but he has no explanation.

² SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH hence shows some hesitation, he translates “sigillbrytas(?)” (op. cit., p. 22). SCHENKE translates without any uncertainty “entsiegeln” (SCHENKE, Die Herkunft p. 51). S. GIVERSEN, Thomas Evangeliet, p. 156: hos ham skall intet segl brydes (with him no seal will be broken).

³ See e. g. the texts quoted by SEGELBERG, op. cit., p. 168 sq.

⁴ DROWER, the Mandaeans p. 169 sq. SEGELBERG, op. cit., p. 131 sq. DROWER, The canonical prayerbook of the Mandaeans, Leiden 1959 (nr 73 = Lidzbarski) p. 61 sq.

ﻷَّا إِنْ كُوْنَتْ مَعَكُمْ ﻫَلْ
 ﻷَّا إِنْ كُوْنَتْ مَعَكُمْ
 ﻰَهْوَ لَكُمْ ﻢَلْكٌ
 ﻰَهْوَ لَكُمْ ﻢَلْكٌ

For who is there that shall
 put on thy grace, and be injured?
 For thy seal is known:
 and thy creatures are known to it.

The liturgical interpretation is here accepted by Bernhard¹ and by Harris and Mingana regarded as possible². They think it means circumcision.

To me it seems most likely that Ode 4 really deals with baptism. Not only the word seal indicates this, but also "milk and honey" do the same, not to mention some other less important terms. In the *Exc. ex. Theod.* 83 and probably also in 80:3 σφραγίς means baptism.

Thus in the use of the term seal there is a similarity between EV and the Odes, a similarity which is certainly important. On the other hand there may be a difference. Seal in the Odes probably means baptism, as in Hermas and others³, in EV judging from the context it most probably refers to the unction. The material is, however, too scanty to allow us to make much of the probable difference.

Sign.

A term closely connected to "seal" is "sign" *مَاءِمَة* which is found EV 32:16, although it is not possible to give it a liturgical interpretation.

The term *لَمْ* which, as was above noted, in some cases indicates the sign of the cross, is also used in some Odes in a way which may indicate a signation, and most probably then a signation at baptism or chrism.

- | | | |
|------|--|------------------------|
| 29:7 | ﻷَّا إِنْ كُوْنَتْ
For the sign in them is the Lord | He showed me his sign. |
| 39:7 | ﻰَهْوَ لَكُمْ
And the sign becomes the | way of those who cross |
| | ﻰَهْوَ لَكُمْ
(the river) in the name | of the Lord. |

Should this Ode be understood in the light of baptism, prefigured by the children of Israel passing the river Jordan?

¹ BERNHARD, op. cit., p. 51.

² HARRIS-MINGANA, op. cit., p. 223 sq.

³ LAMPE, The seal of the Spirit, 1951, p. 105, 235–246,

In summing up we must say that whereas in the Odes the signing and sign play a not unimportant role, in EV it is not at all evident, which is remarkable especially because we understand EV as being closely related to baptism and chrism, where a kind of signing was to be expected.

We thus have to note a certain dissimilarity.

Perfect and Perfection.

A verb which plays a distinct role in EV is **σιωπεῖ**, in the dialect of EV **σιωπάθει**, ‘to make perfect’, Qual. **σικός** meaning ‘perfect’. We read about a perfect book (23: 13), perfect light (32: 30), the perfect thought (34: 34).

The Father is perfect (27: 24, 36: 35) but also the initiated is perfect. A most illuminating text is 36: 20 where we learn that those who have received the chrism are perfect, and the same thing is expressed in another way (25: 35): the full **σκέψη** are those who are made perfect, and in the end of EV we hear that “His children are made perfect” (43: 19). The system is that the Perfect Father makes his children perfect by chrism.

The Coptic term obviously is a translation of the Greek **τέλειος**, **τελειοῦν**.

In the Odes, the corresponding terms being **ἰατός**, **ἰατεῖν**, verb. **ἴα-**, we observe by comparison that there also the Father is perfect (41: 13: The Son in the perfection of His Father). Cf. 36: 2, 7: 11, 13, 17: 7 etc.

We further learn about Christ that he was anointed from the perfection of the Father (36: 6), a text quoting Psalm XLV: 6,7 via Hebrews 1: 8.¹

Some verses present ideas similar to those in EV although not very striking: “your end (or perfection **ἰατός**) is incorruptible” (9: 4) and “do [not] restrain from me thy perfection” (18: 5).

Instead of dealing with unction 19: 4 says that the Holy Spirit mingled milk from the two breasts of the Father and gave the mixture to the world . . . and those who take it are in the fulness of the right hand. This may indicate what was regarded as the result

¹ The same kind of thought is preserved in a Valentinian source such as the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 10,4 and 15,1: “‘Ως δὲ ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ, φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου’, τοῦ πνευματικοῦ, κατὰ προκοπήν τελειούμενοι.

of a certain post-baptismal communion conferring "perfection". There are similarities between the terminology of EV and the Odes. But we have not found any parallel to the chrism-perfection of EV, except the above mentioned text where the anointed is Christ (36: 6)¹.

Raise up.

A term, to which there is reason to attribute a special importance is the raising up. In EV several words are used to denote the raising up.

In 30:19–23 there is an illuminating text

еаç† тоотq
æпетшнij дагриi զi пe
сит' аçтреçток аретq
азп i пeçтерите же пe
æпатqтвооги же

Here are two terms τωκ ἀρετ and τωση.² The first means place (raise up), and the second resuscitate, arise and they are connected to one another, the second is an explanation of the first and says that the raising up is a symbol for the resurrection. This text is one of the most evidently baptismal texts.

³ Probably 19:30 has a similar meaning: for when they had been confirmed (raised up ~~earlier~~) they learned to contemplate . . .

In 33:5 sq. the word **תָוַעַת** is used, meaning raise up:

питетиториес иинс етодыше
а тоони raise them up who want to
арise.

A similar meaning has possibly ḡwəq aṣrəq in the obscure text 35:19.

օշազ լոցք
լոշազ ըսմալի

There is something which is sinking
there is something which is resting

¹ See the chapter on Unction. At Coptic chrismation is said: The perfection (*πεντηκοντά εκθόλ*) of the grace of the Holy Spirit (Woolley, op. cit., p. 44. Ermoni, Rituel Copte, Rev. de l'Orient Chr. 9, 1904, p. 528).

² 30: 18 sq. ὃ περιέπτοντας ἐγένετο when it resuscitated Him.

³ The opposite, not to be raised up, to be unstable οὐμπίταττον 29: 3. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, RoB p. 38 sq. understands τοκ 19: 30 sq. as confirm, στηρίζω, a term used in the baptismal formula by the Valentinians according to Irenaeus (Adv. hær. 21: 3), but he regards my translation (publ. Masbūta p. 171, n. 3) as possible. EV 30: 19 seems to make my interpretation of 19: 30 more probable.

παρεστήσεται πε

and they raise themselves (at the finding of him who came)¹

Here also we are right to trace liturgical terms. The words rest-raise up are antithetic.

The verb *εστίν* may have a similar meaning 30:11:

οὐαρά πρήτε πε πει π

and thus

τρεψατης κατα θε π

he rises again as if he were

ταφνεως

awakening.²

In the Odes there are some texts which may be interpreted in a liturgical way, referring to the rite of raising up, the Mandaean **תְּרִירָה**.

5:13: Even if everything should be shaken,
I stand firm (لَمْ يَمْهُدْ).

The verse preceding is somewhat analogous:

And He is a garland upon my head,
And I shall not be moved.

The “garland” may strengthen our opinion that we have a reference to the baptismal liturgy here.

It is a great pity that this Ode in its Coptic version has lost verse 13, and the targum does not take up this motive at all.

6:16 is also interesting:

And limbs that had fallen
They have straightened and set up (وَسَعَمَ وَأَنْجَلَ)

These two Syriac words are well known from Mandaean baptismal texts.³ Both the Coptic version and the commentary have here the translation: αγταρο ὑμελο σερατος εανγε (restituerunt membra quae ceciderunt (collapsa sunt)). This text follows a part of the Ode dealing with water, the water of the Lord, the context is full of liturgical allusions, which encourage the liturgical interpretation of our verse.

¹ Acc. to the translation of GIVERSEN, THOMAS Ev., p. 155. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH (SBU p. 21) and SCHENKE (Die Herkunft, p. 50) translate somewhat differently.

² SCHENKE, Die Herkunft, p. 45, translates “sich ausstrecken”.

³ LIDZBARSKI, Mand. Lit. and DROWER, Canonical prayers XIX and XXIX (שְׁחַרְיַצְתּוֹן וְעַתְקָאִימַתּוֹן). Cf SEGELBERG, p. 89 sq.

BERNHARD, p. 59, understands this verse to have reference to the supposed beneficial effect of baptism on the health of the body.

Ode 8:3, also full of liturgical allusions, may very well be interpreted as referring to the act and fact of raising up.

Rise up and stand erect (~~عَصَمِلُو عَصَمُ~~)
Ye who were sometimes brought low.

Also Ode 11:5 should be remembered, where the usual term ~~عَصَم~~ is not used but ~~عَصَمَ~~ (note the play on word with ~~لِهِ~~):

I was established on the rock of truth
where he had set me up (~~عَصَمَنِي~~).

16:12 uses the term ~~عَصَم~~ in a text dealing with the creation:

And He fixed the creation and set it up:
And He rested from His works.

Especially interesting is the beginning of Ode 36.

I rested on the Spirit of the Lord;
and (the Spirit) raised me on high:
(2) And made me to stand on my feet in the
high place of the Lord (~~عَلَى مَكَانِهِ عَلَى مَكَانِهِ عَلَى مَكَانِهِ~~);
Before His perfection and His glory;

It is difficult to neglect the possible liturgical allusion.

Thanks to the term plant (~~عَصَمَ~~) which refers to the baptism, Ode 38:16 is more easily understood:

And I was established (~~عَصَمَنِي~~) and lived
and was redeemed;
And my foundation was laid by the Lord;
For He planted (~~عَصَمَ~~) me.

These texts from the Odes have certainly confirmed the idea that the rite of raising up has influenced the treasury of images from the baptismal sphere used in the Odes. I am sorry to say, that in my dissertation I did not point out this fact. I merely accepted what such an authority as Schlier regarded as the ritual of the Odes, with the one exception that I added the rite of investiture.¹

I further think that these images are in all probability here used in reference to a living ritual.

¹ SEGELBERG, op. cit., p. 166.

Comparing the Odes and the EV we are obliged to say that here the two traditions agree, and they agree with other Christian-Gnostic texts and traditions, such as the Mandaean.

Receive the light.

To receive the light is certainly a common Christian and Gnostic expression which need not necessarily be explained by referring to some ceremony. But as we know how the candle, the light, plays a role in Jewish ceremonial¹ and in certain Christian rites², we are right to consider if there are any traces of the use of lamp or candle.

There are three texts which should be remembered here: EV 18: 17 sq., 30: 36 sq. and 36: 11.

When illuminate (*ποραειν*) is used in EV 18: 17, 18 one need not primarily understand it as a baptismal term, but rather as an ex-

¹ According to Baumstark the Church has preserved the Jewish custom of Sabbath light, a Jewish custom of which Seneca and Flavius Josephus had heard. This custom is, according to Baumstark, preserved in the Lucernarium of the Church (Byzantine rite [φῶς ἡλικρόν] and in Milan). The Paschal candle is also of high antiquity (Liturgie comparée, 3rd ed. 1953, p. 148 sq.). There is some reason to assume a kind of relationship between sabbath light–paschal candle–baptismal light.

² One has the right to ask whether Eph. 5: 8 “ἥτε γάρ ποτε σκότος, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν κυρίῳ.” has a baptismal connection. But I want to mention that F. L. Cross (I. Peter. A Paschal Liturgy, 1954, p. 30–35) has pointed out some specific references to Baptismal Practice, among which is the reference to ‘light’ in 1. Pet. 2,9 (p. 33 sq.): Referring to Dom B. Capelle’s article on the Exultet, the blessing of the Paschal candle, he says: “It may, therefore, not be over-bold to see an allusion to such customs in: ‘Who has called you out of darkness into His marvellous light’ (2,9). It is at least far more probable than Perdelwitz’s attempt to find here an influence from the pagan mysteries, where the initiate proceeded through a darkened chamber into a blaze of light.”

Cf. Ambrose, De lapsu virginis ch. 5. about *lumina neophytorum splendida*, Gregory Nazianzus *Lampades quas accendis, venturae est illuminationis mysterium, cum qua obviabis Sponso* (Martène lib. I, ch. 1 art. 15. n. IX, quoted from C. CALLEWAERT, Sacris erudiri, cf. De candelis et lampadibus accensis, p. 723 onwards). In the Byzantine baptismal rite there is sung after the immersion: εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ φωτίζων καὶ ἀγιάζων πάντα ἀνθρώπους ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

A related term denoting baptism is φωτισμός, illumination, those who are about to be baptized being φωτιζόμενοι (BAUMSTARK, op. cit., p. 212). Among christian authors the term φωτισμός is used by JUSTINUS, Apol. 1,61 (Flor. Patr. II, 61 Rauschen), *Clement of Alexandria*, Pædagogus, I, 6, 26,2 (GCS Clem. Alex. I, 105 Stählin) and often. It is used already in Hebr. VI, 4: τοὺς ἀπαξέ φωτισθέντας and is a commonplace in early christian literature. BERNHARD, op. cit., p. 78.

pression for giving of Gnosis. As we know the baptismal meaning of the expression from early Christian sources it seems right to remember that we may however have a baptismal allusion here, baptism being a way of giving Light-Gnosis.¹

In some ways more convincing is the text EV 30:36 sq.: εαγχι πνοραειη πσι ραρ' αγκατογ αραρ' 'Many received the Light and turned towards him.' Against a strict liturgical interpretation speaks the fact that one would expect the turning to be an act preceding the receiving of light.

Also 36:8 sq. But as soon as that little which he is lacking, has been received, he revealed Himself, being πλήρωμα. "That it is which is the finding of the light of truth (πσιη πνοραειη πτμη)".

In the Odes where the term light does frequently occur we also find a text, which may indicate a ceremonial use of light:

Thou didst set me a lamp (*λαμπτη*)² at my right hand
and at my left,
That in me there may be nothing that is not bright
(25: 7).

Harris-Mingana have observed the biblical origin of these expressions (Ps 132:17) and they try to explain why there are two lamps here.³ The explanation of Bernhard is not less improbable than that mentioned. The texts which he refers to are later than the Odes, but it seems possible that they can illumine the Ode.⁴

Especially valuable is what he has quoted from St Ephrem *Hymni in Epiph.* VII, 9 (Ed. Lamy I, p. 66):

اَنْتَ مَهْدِيَ الْمُهَمَّدَةِ اَنْتَ حَمْدَةُ الْمُحَمَّدَةِ اَنْتَ مَهْدِيَ الْمُهَمَّدَةِ	Baptizati accipite lampades vestras ut lampades viri Gedeonis, lampadibus vestris tenebras discutite ...
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¹ Cf. II Cor. 4:4 φωτισμός = SB οὐδεῖν, Eph. 1:18 φωτίζω = B. βογοεῖν, S. κι οὐδεῖν. SHENUTE κι οὐδεῖν (by baptism) and πενταγχι οὐδεῖνε πέρρε = newly baptized (Crum, Dict. 481 α). Cf. Copt. bapt. ritual: Τζμαριοντ πάχε πσέ φ† φη ετερονοι ερωμι πιέει εφινογ επικοσμος, Blessed is the Lord who giveth light to every man that cometh into the world (Woolley, op. cit, p. 41, Ermoni op. cit. p. 526).

² In the Copt. version ριής, a word unknown to EV.

³ II p. 351.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 107.

Even if the symbol of light, even baptismal lamp or candle, may be common to both the Odes and EV, one difference still remains, namely that there is no sign of two lamps in EV.

Exsufflation and insufflation.

In Christian liturgies an act of insufflation is known from several rites, the act having a Biblical origin.¹ In a baptismal connection it is used both before and after the immersion, not to mention its function at the consecration of the baptismal waters. Most common is the ante-baptismal act, usually called exsufflation, its aim being to drive away the evil powers.² The post-baptismal insufflation, symbolizing the giving of the Holy Spirit is practised by the Coptic Church.³ In Gnostic sources both exsufflation and insufflation are observed.⁴

As these acts are so well documented from Christian and Gnostic

¹ Gen. 2: 7, and John 20: 22 the new creation. (Α2: αγιμένε αροτη απορρό· ατω πανεμεγ μετ ρε κι παππα ετοναδά, The Gospel of St John, ed. H. Thompson, 1924, p. 43).

² In Testamentum Domini the priest after the exorcism insufflates the catechumenoi: Postquam sacerdos exorcizaverit eos, qui oblati fuerunt, aut qui inventus fuerit immundus, insuflet (رسق مفعى) in ipsos, signet eos in fronte, ad nares etc. (Ed. Rahmani, p. 125 sq.). Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. K. 3: ὥσπερ γάρ τὰ ἐμφυσήματα τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπίκλησις, ὥσπερ σφοδροτάτη φλὸς καίει καὶ ἐκδύωσις δάμνονας. At Byzantine baptism insufflation takes place in connection with the prayer *ad faciendum catechumenum* and the exorcisms (Τρεμπέλας, Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον, Α', p. 336, 342). In Maronitic and Coptic rites an insufflation is also in use having exorcistic character (*Raes, Introductio*, p. 129, sq.). (Insufflation at the point of blessing the baptismal waters. Roman, Byzantine, Syriac, Maronite, Armenian, Raes p. 140.)

³ The more unusual post-baptismal insufflation is found in the Coptic rite after the chrismation when the priest lays his hand on the neophyte saying: Mayst thou be blessed with the blessing of the heavenly ones . . . May the Lord Jesus Christ bless thee; and in his name (here he shall breathe in the face of him that has been baptized and say) receive the Holy Spirit and be a purified vessel (σι ποτηπᾶ εφορά οὐρος ψωτι ποτηκενος εφορά); through Jesus Christ etc. (Woolley, Coptic Offices p. 45, Ermoni, op. cit. p. 528). If we do have a liturgical allusion in EV 34: 34 it would rather be of the second type.

⁴ Exsufflation: Fragm. Heracl. (Sagnard, *La Gnose*, p. 252, n. 3) τὸ φραγέλλιον . . . τοῦ Ἅγιου Πνεύματος ἐκφυσώντος τοὺς χείρονας. Insufflation: Clem. alex. Strom. IV. 13. 4 b (2. Vol. 287, 27 sq. PG. VIII); the Spirit is insufflated in its psychic image τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ ἐμφύσημα τοῦ διαφέροντος Πνεύματος, δὲ ἐμπνεῖται τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ εἰκόνῃ τοῦ Πνεύματος (Sagnard, op. cit., p. 138 sq.). Insufflation in Creation, Irenaeus, Adv. hær. V. 5.

sources one is right also to look for them in EV and some texts are rather obvious.

In EV the word **υρέ** is both a verb and a noun, meaning to inspire, insufflate, and blow as wind, and when used it is closely connected with the Spirit. Following a passage dealing with baptism and communion, EV 30: 34 says : "He (Christ) insufflated (inspired) them with that which is in the Mind." EV 34: 25 says that the cold odour becomes warm, when a breath blows over it.¹ Also in EV 36: 28 the word has relation to the Spirit, although not the Spirit which is holy to the Gnostic but to the Christian.

There is reason to think that *mæte* refers to an insufflation, which may have taken place either in relation to the chrism, judging from the contexts, or in connection with the preparatory acts.

In the Odes it is not impossible to find a text with similar ideas. The obscure Ode 18 has in verse 15 an interesting text:

وَمِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ أَنْ يَقُولُوا إِنَّمَا مَا نَعْلَمُ مِنْ حَقٍّ وَمَا نَعْلَمُ إِنْ هُوَ بِحَقٍّ And on their part they spake truth.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مِنْ إِلَهٍ يُشْرِكُونَ

This is the only text which has the word **سُعَى** which seems to be the Syriac term corresponding to **υρέ**. It should, however, be observed that in the Odes **لِهَوْ**; which usually means Spirit, but sometimes also wind, is never used in a way indicating that there might be a rite of insufflation. As regards the term insufflation the Odes thus do not seem much akin to EV.

Milk and Honey

Ode 4:10 says:

This text was understood by Bernhard as dealing with post-baptismal communion of milk and honey, which as he shows is known from various ancient sources such as the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus and from Marcion, according to Tertullian. The practice must then date back to the middle of the second century.²

¹ So SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, SBU p. 20, who remarks that **cark** (with Schenke, Die Herkunft, p. 50) may also be rendered 'samla sig', SCHENKE 'sich sammeln'.

² BERNHARD, op. cit., p. 53, cf. p. 67 sq.

Harris and Mingana who are usually rather sceptical towards Bernhard, this time not only acknowledge that he may be right, but also strengthen his proof by showing that verse 8 may really speak of the angels as clad with baptismal grace. They adduce the evidence both from Clement of Alexandria saying that Theodotus the Gnostic taught that the angels were baptized at the beginning and from the belief in Jewish circles that the Angels were circumcised.¹

In EV on the other hand there is no trace of any such communion as is mentioned, not even the words for milk and honey are mentioned in the texts.²

A Valentinian formula.

Säve-Söderbergh has already observed that EV seems to quote a Valentinian formula.³ According to Irenaeus the Valentinian initiand is greeted by the faithful with this formula: εἰρήνη πᾶσιν ἐφ' οὓς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐπαναπέπαυται.⁴ In the long passage dealing with the “Name” (38: 6–40: 29) there is a certain reference to the formula quoted: “And the sons of the Name in whom reposed the Name of the Father, are themselves in their turn resting in his Name” (38: 28–32).

The rest, repose (*мати, мтани*) is a term not infrequently used in EV, sometimes probably with a liturgical significance. In a typically baptismal-chrism context (36:35 sq.), where it is said that the Father knows his plants, which he has planted in his Paradise, the text continues: "The Paradise is his place of repose."

⁵ There may be an allusion to the formula also in 33: 5, "Take care of the hungry and the heavy-laden, give them peace" (*πετεῖτε τοῖς ἔμαινοις*).⁵

In the Odes certainly a corresponding term *ムス*, "rest", occurs, but not in connection with 'the Name'. There is no reason to be-

¹ HARRIS and MINGANA, op. cit. II, p. 223 sq.

² SCHENKE, Die Herkunft, p. 28 sq. observes that EV 24: 9-11 deals with the bosom of the Father which he compares with the Odes 19: 1: the milk from the breast of the Father.

³ BoB n. 36.

⁴ Adv. hær. XXI: 3. SAGNARD, La Gnose p. 421 sq. Cf. the usual Christian Liturgical greeting: εἰρήνη πᾶσιν. John 20: 19 SA, ተምህር ስነታ, in Coptic Liturgy not translated either.

⁵ So SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, SBU p. 18, but SCHENKE, Die Herkunft, p. 48, 'verschafft Lindormen'.

lieve in a specially close connection between EV and the Odes in this detail.

Plant.

To plant, plantation, are terms with baptismal connotations. EV 36: 35–39 uses the image of plantation. One should observe that this passage comes in the end of that part of EV which is most imbued with baptismal thought. Having dealt with those who have received the unction and whose seal has not been broken, the author says that the perfect Father fills him with what he is lacking,

<p>ያዥጥ ስዕት በዕስጥ ጥሩ እና በተፈገኝ ይረዳ በተፈገኝ ስዕት ይሸጣል በዕስጥ በዕስጥ በዕስጥ በዕስጥ በዕስጥ በዕስጥ በዕስጥ በዕስጥ</p>	<p>He knows his plants, because he it is who has planted them in his paradise. His paradise is his place of repose.</p>
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The Coptic term for planting is **መ**.

There are two Odes where the same terms are used, namely number 11 and 38, the second one is quite illuminating. The first part of that Ode deals with the deceiver and his work, but from verse 15 the “author” says: “I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the Deceiver.” And he continues: “And I was established and lived and was redeemed (እርምጃ) and my foundations were laid (እርምጃ) by the Lord; For He planted me (እርምጃ)” The faithful are planted by the Lord, according to EV by the Father. And verse 17 continues: “For He set the root: And watered (እርምጃ) it and fixed it (እርምጃ) and blessed it (እርምጃ).” Do these three verbs refer to the act of baptism, signing and eucharist? In the verses 19–21 the same image of planting, plantation, is used.

In Ode 11 we find not only that the Lord has planted, we find also that he has planted them in his Paradise, another parallel to EV 36: 37. Verse 18: “And I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they that are planted in thy land, and that have a place in thy Paradise.” Cf. v. 21, 23. Bernhard regarded Ode 11 as an example of baptismal hymns, and Harris-Mingana do not deny that there are elements “that lend some support to him”.¹ But neither Bernhard nor Harris and Mingana use the term plant as evidence for a baptismal interpretation.

From the Mandaean texts we know that the term plant is a bap-

¹ II p. 270.

tismal term (**תָּמִים**) and there seems to be little doubt that both in the Odes and in the EV we come across the same thing.

We should note that EV and the Odes here are very close to each other.

An expression related to plant is ‘to set’ **טָהַר**, several times used in a way leading to that interpretation: “By my own right hand I set my elect ones” (8: 20). Cf. 38: 17: “For He set the root.”

A term related to plant is also “root” **נֶזֶן**, Syriac **ରୂପ** EV: For this reason all beings which have emanated from Him have their roots in Him who cause them all to grow in Himself (41: 14–18). Cf. Odes 38: 17 quoted above.¹

The term ‘plant’, with its obvious Biblical foundation, its use in the Qumran texts and in Mandæan literature² expresses a typical Gnostic thought and therefore it is not surprising to find it both in EV and the Odes.

Σκεῦος

St Irenæus says that in Valentinian gnosis a formula was used: **σκεῦός εἰμι ἔντιμον**, a formula used probably at the end of the apolytrosis.³ It is interesting to observe that the word **σκεῦος** recurs in EV, and the Greek word is used as a loan word in four cases: “Like people who have left a neighbourhood, where, in certain places (**τόπος**), they possessed vessels (**σκεῦος**) which were not good, they broke them. Nevertheless, the master of the house does not lose anything, but (**ἀλλά**) rejoices, for instead of these bad jars (**σκεῦος**) there are other ones which are full and which became perfect” (25: 25–35).

We hear that when the Logos appeared a great confusion reigned “among the vessels (**σκεῦος**)”,

because some were empty	others were filled
some were provided for	others were overthrown
some were sanctified	still others were broken to pieces.

The meaning of these texts is explained by 36: 19–24: “Those whom he has anointed are they who were made perfect. Because full vessels (**σκεῦος**) are the anointed. But as soon as someone’s unction is taken away, he becomes empty.”

There is thus little reason to doubt that EV as well as the Valen-

¹ GÄRTNER, Die rätselhaften Termini p. 23.

² op. cit., p. 30.

³ I, 21,5.

tinians regards the term σκεῦος as liturgical and, as our texts indicate, it should be understood as closely connected with the chrism.

The Syriac term corresponding to σκεῦος is ملحو known also from Mandæan sources,¹ but I have not observed it in the Odes and the term لعنة, 19: 1, cannot be regarded as synonymous.

Conclusions.

The result of our comparison may be summed up as follows. We distinguish between three kinds of rites, preparative, baptismal and chrismation rites.

The preparative rites are in EV represented primarily by the exorcism and further by the ephphetha, the turning, the stretching out of hand and insufflation. Of those the three last-mentioned may also be regarded as belonging to some post-baptismal act.

The most important of these rites, the exorcism, does not appear in the Odes, nor does the stretching out of the hand.

There are possibly but improbably traces of turning, ephphetha, and insufflation. The kinship between the two texts is not obvious and having in mind what a small role baptism in water does play in EV, contrary to the case in the Odes, there seems to be still less reason to regard this kinship as striking. One would have expected that the preparative rites should have been more stressed in the Odes where the act of baptism in water seems to be rather in the centre.

The baptismal acts proper are not in the centre of EV. The baptism itself is not explicitly mentioned, but we have been able to prove its existence. Among acts connected with the immersion are investiture and coronation, but evidence for their existence is most vague. Sign and seal should probably be counted among the chrismation acts. In the Odes there is plenty of evidence for the baptism in water, for submersion and "minister of the water" and also the drinking of water may be interpreted as baptismally. Investing with garments and crowning with a wreath are common thoughts.

¹ Left Ginza, II. 18: מַלְחוֹת אֲנָשָׁה זְהִרְיָה רְבִיָּה.

Mand. ملحو = vas, instrumentum, persona, corpus, σκεῦος, acc. to M. NORBERG, Lexicon Codicis Nazarei, 1816, p. 115. LIDZBARSKI following and developing his interpretation, GINZA, p. 65, n. 1, and SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook, p. 125.

Cf. DROWER. The secret Adam, Oxford, 1960, p. 2, 46, 47–49, where the origin and meaning of the two Mandaic words 'manā' are explained.

The kinship between the two texts is not very striking here either, but contrary to what was done in the first case, one should not further lessen it. As has been pointed out, EV seems to be a homily, for use at confirmation, an act probably in time and space separated from the baptism in water. In the Odes baptism is in the centre. It is thus not very astonishing if baptism and connected rites are not frequently mentioned in EV. The difference here may therefore be rather a difference of emphasis than of ritual.

The rites connected with the third stage, the chrism, are many and there is plenty of evidence for them in EV. Unction with chrism is in the centre; connected with the very act of chrismation may be terms such as seal, sign and fragrance. In the Odes on the contrary the unction is not mentioned, only Christ is the anointed. Seal and sign are mentioned, but they need not necessarily be understood as connected with an unction. They may very well be performed without any matter. The Odour of the Lord may also be interpreted in a merely metaphoric way.

A confirmation term in EV is perfection, which is only vaguely documented in the Odes. To raise up, plant are terms common to both, *σκεῦος* is used only in EV, milk and honey are proper to the Odes. To receive light may be a common term too.

In this third part there are no doubt a number of affinities, but also dissimilarities. The most important difference is the absence of chrism in the Odes. And here again one must stress the difference, because the reason is not that the Odes are dealing with the baptism in such a way that they do not pay any attention to the later acts of the initiation. On the contrary, the raising up, perfection, milk and honey and possibly also seal and sign prove that post-baptismal acts also are in the mind of the Odist, and yet chrism is not mentioned. It would also seem most unlikely that the Odes were regarded as intended for the use of a group of baptized but not confirmed faithful. Thus we must here emphasize not the kinship but the difference between the two texts, EV and the Odes.

The result of our comparing the two is thus that from a liturgical point of view we as against Schenke and Braun are not prepared to accept a close relationship between the Odes and the Evangelium Veritatis, but we must rather stress the difference between them.

URSULA KAPLONY-HECKEL

Acht demotische Prozesseide auf Ostraca

Die Ostracasammlungen der Universitäten Zürich und Uppsala besitzen Prozesseide in demotischer Schrift, von denen hier acht veröffentlicht werden können¹. Die drei Eide in Zürich stammen aus Gebelén, ebenso der erste in Uppsala². Die übrigen Eide dieser Sammlung lassen sich nach den angerufenen Göttern oder nach den Eidesformeln als thebanisch bestimmen³.

Die vorliegende Publikation beabsichtigt, die Prozesseide philologisch auszuwerten, um sie für eine juristische Bearbeitung bereitzustellen.

DO Zürich Inv. Nr. 1837 (alte Nr. 20)

Umschrift

1. *ḥt p₃ 'nḥ ntj iw-irj Pa-t₃wj s₃ P₃-mr-ḥlt r irj-f n Ns-[. . .]*
2. *s₃ Pa-mnḥ n ḥwt-nṭr n t₃ Bḥnt n ḥ₃t-sp 16*

¹ Auf die demotischen Eide in Zürich, die wohl aus der ehemaligen Sammlung J. J. Hess stammen, machte mich zuerst Prof. M. Malinine/Paris aufmerksam; Prof. H. Blösch, der Direktor des archäologischen Instituts der Universität Zürich, erlaubte mir, die Stücke zu kopieren. Beiden Herren möchte ich hier für ihre Hilfe danken. Eine gemeinsame Veröffentlichung der Eide von Zürich und Uppsala wurde von Dr. S. V. Wångstedt/Uppsala angeregt; er sandte mir die Aufnahmen der Stücke von Uppsala und half, meine Lesungen an den Originalen nachzuprüfen und zu ergänzen. Seine Vorschläge sind im folgenden mit [W] bezeichnet. Für alle seine Hilfe gilt ihm mein besonderer Dank.

² Ein vierter Eid aus Zürich, Inv. Nr. 1836 (alte Nr. 10), stammt ebenfalls aus Gebelén; er nennt die Termini *ḥtp-nṭr* und *rm₃ nmḥ* und soll bei späterer Gelegenheit zusammen mit ähnlichen Eiden anderer Sammlungen behandelt werden.

³ Noch vier weitere Prozesseide in Uppsala kommen aus Theben: DO Uppsala 702, mit Anruf des Gottes *Hnsw*, DO Uppsala 959, aus dem Jahr 32 beim Stier von Medamod; vor der gleichen Gottheit ist auch der Eid DO Uppsala 1191 aus dem Jahr 36 und vielleicht der des sehr verwitterten Stückes DO Uppsala 1190 abzuleisten. Wegen ihres überaus fragmentarischen Zustands wurden diese vier Belege nicht in die Publikation aufgenommen.

3. *tpj šmw sw 10 + 8(?) 'nh Sbk ntj htp dj irm ntr nb ntj htp*
4. *irm-f pɔj(?) hd(?) 800 + [...] r(?)-ip(?)-k n-j hr pɔ [dm'?)*
5. *bn-pw-k djt st n-j n swn it irj-k djt st n-j hr nɔ hdw*
6. *r-wn.nɔ-w mtw-j r-k iw mn*
7. *n.im-f hr pɔj-k ip iw-f irj pɔ 'nh mtw Pɔ-mr-iht pɔj-f šrj*
8. *irj-f r-drtj-f dd 'nh mɔ pɔj iw-w irj-f mtw-f wɔj*
9. *r-f iw-w stɔtj r tm irj-f mtw-f djt rdb it 42 iw-w qb*
10. *[...]it 84*

◆

Übersetzung

1) Wortlaut des Eides, welchen *Pa-tɔwj*, Sohn des *Pɔ-mr-iht*, dem [...], 2) Sohn des *Pa-mnh*, schwören soll am Tempel des Turmes im Jahre 16, 3) im ersten Sommermonat am 18. (?) Tag:

„Sowahr *Sbk* lebt, der hier wohnt, und jeder Gott, der 4) mit ihm wohnt!

Diese 800 [und x] Silberlinge, die du mir ‚gezählt‘ hast auf dem [Papyrus?], 5) die hast du mir nicht gegeben als Preis für Gerste; du hast sie mir für die Silberlinge gegeben, 6) die du mir schuldig gewesen bist, wobei nicht ... 7) davon für deine ‚Zählung‘ existiert.“

Wenn er den Eid leistet, und *Pɔ-mr-iht*, sein Kind, 8) ihn in seine Hand leistet, mit den Worten: „Dies ist ein wahrer Eid!“, wenn sie ihn leisten, so soll er sich 9) von ihm entfernen.

Wenn sie sich weigern, ihn zu leisten, so soll er 42 Artaben Gerste, indem sie verdoppelt sind, 10) [macht] 84 Artaben Gerste, geben.

I. Schreiber

Die Hand des Schreibers zeigt in der Wiedergabe des ‚*nh* im Anruf die Eigentümlichkeit, unter das *h*-Zeichen noch ein weiteres Zeichen zu setzen, sodass auf das erste senkrechte Zeichen das Wort *hr* zu folgen scheint. Das ‚*nh* des Anrufs „sowahr .. lebt!“ unterscheidet sich demnach phonetisch deutlich von dem ‚*nh* der Bedeutung „Eid“, wie sie in z 7) und z 8) vorliegt. Infolgedessen wird es hier durch das im Koptischen als *ui(a)* umschriebene *hr* des Tempus *hr-sdm-f*, *hr-irj-f sdm* (Spiegelberg § 129, § 133, Steindorff § 342¹ praesens consuetudinis) wiedergegeben, wie dies schon Spiegelberg (§ 434) beobachtet hat.

¹ An Abkürzungen werden ausser den allgemein bekannten die folgenden verwendet:

Spiegelberg § = W. Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik (1925)

Steindorff § = G. Steindorff, Lehrbuch der koptischen Sprache (1951)

Von den bei Spiegelberg (§ 434) für die Schwurpartikel ‘*nḥ* [ψε]

„bei“ aufgeführten Beispielen kommt der Schreiber des DP Strassburg wiss. Ges. 19 dem des Zürcher DO-1837 am nächsten, der auch das erste senkrechte Zeichen im Anruf beibehält und nur das ‘ ausfallen lässt. Doch gibt er noch nicht die zwei kleinen Zeichen zwischen dem *ḥ* und dem Determinativ für „Sprechen“ auf, wie es Zürich 1837 tut.

Die gleiche eigenwillige Form des ‘*nḥ* im Ausruf weisen auch drei andere unveröffentlichte Eide bei *Sbk* auf: DO BM-31955, DO Str-180 und DO Zürich-1836 (vgl. S. 43, Anm. 2). Eine Zusammenstellung der gemeinsamen Wörter dieser drei Eide und unseres Eides zeigt nicht nur Uebereinstimmung in der Wahl der kleineren Zeichen, wie etwa bei *ḥwt-ntr*, *n tʒ Bhnt* und *ntj ḥtp dj irm ntr nb ntj ḥtp irm-f*; sondern auch die Ausdehnung der einzelnen Wörter und der Zwischenräume entspricht sich; aus alledem lässt sich für die vier Belege ein und derselbe Schreiber ansetzen.

II. Datum

Diese Tatsache erlaubt es, das in Zürich 1837 genannte Jahr 16 genau zu bestimmen. Da nämlich die drei anderen Eide mit der angegebenen Doppeldatierung „Jahr 13 = Jahr 10“ (DO BM-31955), „Jahr 15 = Jahr 12“ (DO Str-180, Zürich 1836) aus der Doppelregierung von Kleopatra III. und Ptolemaios X. Alexander stammen, kommt für ein „Jahr

LMH = M. Lichtheim, Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu (1957)

MDO = G. Mattha, Demotic Ostraca (1945)

TTO = H. Thompson, Theban Ostraca (1913).

Unveröffentlichte demotische Ostraca (DO), die zum Vergleich herangezogen sind, werden nach den Sammlungen folgendermassen zitiert:

DO A Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

DO B ehemals Bodleian Library, heute ebenfalls Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

DO BM British Museum, London

DO L Louvre, Paris

DO MHE unveröffentlichte Eide aus der Grabung des Oriental Institute Chicago 1929/1930 in Medinet Habu, die sich heute wieder im Museum in Kairo befinden:

DO MHE-1 = MH 399 der Ausgrabungsnumerierung

DO MHE-4 = MH 595 — —

DO MHE-9 = MH 1756 — —

DO MHE-12 = MH 3655 — —.

Miriam Lichtheim/Los Angeles war so freundlich, mir die Photographien zum Studium zur Verfügung zu stellen.

DO Str Universitätsbibliothek Strassburg.

16“ der gleichen Handschrift nur das 16. Regierungsjahr von Ptolemaios X. in Frage, nämlich 99/98 v. Chr.

Nach Skeat (The Reigns of the Ptolemies) lässt sich für den 18. Tag des ersten Sommermonats im Jahr 16 der 1. Juni 98 als Datum unseres Eides berechnen.

III. Ort

Als Ort des Eides ist *ḥwt-nṯr n tȝ Bhn(t)* „Tempel des Turmes“ angegeben; in anderen Eiden bei *Sbk* findet sich stattdessen *ḥwt-nṯr n nb Bhn* „Tempel des Herrn des Turmes“ (z. B. DP Ryl 36, DP Adl 28).

IV. Personen

Als Beklagter begegnet uns im folgenden *Pa-tȝwj*, Sohn des *Pȝ-mr-iȝt*, dem als Eidhelfer sein Sohn, nach dem Grossvater *Pȝ-mr-iȝt* geheissen, zur Seite steht. Eine Person *Pa-tȝwj*, Sohn des *Pȝ-mr-iȝt*, kommt in Gebelēn um die Wende des 2. zum 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. noch in drei anderen Urkunden vor:

Als Zeuge in DP Ryl 17, v 14 aus dem Jahr 118 v. Chr.,

als Kläger in DP Adl 17,5 aus dem Jahr 94 v. Chr, wo er als Nachkomme des *Pȝ-hb*, Sohnes des *Pa-nȝ-nȝtw*, auftritt,

als Vater der an zweiter Stelle genannten Partei in DP Strassburg 12,5 aus dem Jahr 88 v. Chr.

Darf man in den vier Belegen dieselbe Person erkennen, so können wir von 118 bis 94 v. Chr. einen Mann verfolgen, der zu der landbesitzenden Bevölkerung in Gebelēn gehört.

Auch unter dem Namen seines Sohnes *Pȝ-mr-iȝt*, S. des *Pa-tȝwj*, lassen sich verschiedene Nachweise zusammentragen, die wohl die gleiche Person betreffen:

Als Zeuge unterschreibt in DP Ryl 19, v 14 vom Jahr 118 v. Chr., in DP Ryl 27, v 4 von 106 (oder 110?) v. Chr. und in DP Adl 14,14 von 97/96 ein *Pȝ-mr-iȝt*, Sohn des *Pa-tȝwj*; dem Schriftzug nach handelt es sich um ein und dieselbe Person, die auch mit dem Absender eines Briefes von 102/101 v. Chr. des unveröffentlichten DO Turin 12694 identisch sein kann.

Der Altersunterschied der beiden Verwandten ist von Bedeutung für die Lösung der Frage, warum der Sohn als Eidhelfer beigezogen wird. Für den Fall, dass der Vater zahlen soll, aber vor Begleichung der Schulden stirbt, hat der Sohn die Lasten zu übernehmen. Einen ähn-

lichen Fall liefert DP Ryl 21, wo der Sohn die Getreideschulden seines Vaters in Raten abzahlt.

Der Kläger, [...], Sohn des *Pa-mnh*, bleibt unbekannt. Ein Vorschlag, seinen Namen als *Ns-pȝ-ntr* zu lesen, ist wegen des verblassten Textes unsicher. Der Name *Ns-pȝ-ntr* ist für diese Zeit in Gebelén durchaus gebräuchlich, z. B. bei dem vielfach belegten Schreiber *Ns-pȝ-ntr*, Sohn des *Dd-hr*, im Archiv der Adlerpapyri. Eine Person *Ns-pȝ-ntr*, Sohn des *Pa-mnh*, ist aus den Texten von Gebelén bisher nicht nachzuweisen.

V. Philologischer Kommentar

4: *r-ip-k n-j*. Die Lesung von *r-ip-k* ist fraglich. Zwar ist das entsprechende Nomen in z 7) *pȝ-k ip* genauso geschrieben; aber *ip* „zählen“, „zahlen“ wird sonst nicht mit *n-* konstruiert. In DP Heidelberg 723,26 und DP Ryl 9, 6/5 wird *ip* „Abrechnung machen mit jmd.“ mit *irm-* verbunden, in DP BM 10593,7 (Siut) in der Bedeutung „dir aufrechnen“, „zu deinen Lasten anrechnen“ mit *r*¹.

hr pȝ [dm']. Auf dem Original ist nach dem *d* oder *d* nichts mehr zu erkennen bis auf ein abschliessendes längeres Zeichen, das unter die Zeile reicht. Die geringen Spuren, die man auf Malinine's Photographie sieht, widersprechen einer Lesung als *dm'* nicht. Sethe hat *dm'* als einen Terminus der saitisch-persischen Urkundensprache beobachtet und erwartet es nicht in den Dokumenten der ptolemäischen Periode (Bürgschaftsrecht, 278). Doch scheint *dm'* noch in späteren notariellen Schreiben Verwendung zu finden: Abgesehen von unserem unsicheren Beleg kommt *dm'* in DO BM-19948 aus dem Jahr 44 vor, das eine

¹ Vielleicht findet die Konstruktion von *ip + n* eine Erklärung durch Vergleich mit *wȝj+r* und *irj wȝj+n*. Die Wurzel *wȝj* „fern sein“ wird als Verbum mit der Präposition *r* verbunden im Sinn von „sich von jmd. entfernen, von jmd. ablassen“. In der Zusammensetzung *irj-wȝj* „einen ‚Abstand‘ (d. h. eine Abstandsschrift) machen“ schliesst sich die Person mit *n* an. Die erste Form *wȝj+r* ist in dem richterlichen Entscheid bei den Prozesseiden gebräuchlich, vgl. DO Zürich 1837, 5/9, Zürich 1838,8, DO Uppsala 611, 6, DO Uppsala 772,6, DO Uppsala 919,10. Für die Zusammensetzung *irj wȝj+n* vgl. DP Adler 19,11: *mtw-w irj n-f wȝj* „so sollen sie ihm den ‚Abstand‘ machen“; DO Leiden 96,7 (1901/1): *mtw-j irj n-k wȝj* „und ich werde dir einen ‚Abstand‘ machen“, ebd., 13: („wenn er den Eid leistet,) *mtw NN irj n-w wȝj* „so soll NN ihnen einen ‚Abstand‘ machen“.

Entsprechend den beiden Wendungen mit *wȝj* ist zu dem geläufigen *ip+r* eine Parallelkonstruktion *irj ip+n* zu vermuten. Eine solche würde in unserem Fall in der Relativform nicht nur aus *r-irj-k irj n-j ip* zusammengezogen zu *r-irj-k n-j ip*, sondern erscheint ganz verkürzt als *r-ip-k n-j*.

Abrechnung über Getreide (*p³ ip*) enthält; im Verlauf des Textes heisst es: *tw-s* (= *dj-s*) *n-j p³ dm'*, „sie gab mir das Schreiben“. Auch im Rechtsbuch von Hermopolis ist *dm'* als „Dokument“ belegt: CG 89141,1; CG 89138,5.

5: *bn-pw-k djt st n-j swn it irj-k djt st n-j hr n³ hdw*. Die Gegenüberstellung eines negativen und eines positiven Satzes mit gleichem Verb, Subjekt und Objekt, bei denen nur das Adverb variiert, begegnet in den Eiden mehrfach und liefert Beispiele für die Tempora secunda im Demotischen¹. Weitere Belege finden sich in DO BM-31677, 6–7 und DO A-37, 7.

6: Die zweite Hälfte der z 6) ist dadurch unleserlich geworden, dass der Schreiber schon mit der Nachschrift *iw-f irj p³ 'nh* angefangen, diese dann aber getilgt und neu überschrieben hat. Vom darübergeschriebenen Text ist mit Sicherheit nur der Beginn *iw mn* „indem nicht existiert...“ zu lesen. Dem Zusammenhang nach hat man eine Behauptung des Beklagten zu erwarten; doch erlauben die ineinander-gelaufenen Zeichen keine Rekonstruktion.

7: *hr p³j-k ip*. „für deine Zahlung“. Mehrfach bezeichnet die Wendung *hr p³j-k ip*, oder *hr p³ ip NN* die „Steuerablieferung jemands“, z. B. LMH 160,2, ähnlich DO BM-32012,9. Ob hier die gleiche Bedeutung anzusetzen ist, lässt sich nicht ermitteln.

8: *iw-w irj p³ 'nh*. Damit werden nur die beiden kurzen Sätzchen *iw-f irj p³ 'nh* und *mtw p³j-f šrj irj-f* zusammengefasst und der Übergang zum Nachsatz *mtw-f...* gebildet.

9: *rdb it 42 iw-w qb [...] it 84*. Die hier vorliegende Verdoppelung der Schuldsumme steht vereinzelt; vielleicht ist sie noch in einem Eid aus Medinet Habu, DO BM-20082, und einem Eid beim Gott *Hnsw*, DO Str-2011, nachzuweisen; beide Belege sind aber so fragmentarisch, dass sie keine Erklärung der sonst unbekannten Verdoppelung erlauben.

VI. Sachverhalt

Es handelt sich um einen Zivilprozess über die Lieferung von 42 Artaben Gerste. Nach der Angabe des Klägers ist der Beklagte hierzu vertraglich verpflichtet. Den Preis für die Lieferung will der Kläger schon entrichtet haben und legt hierüber eine auf 800 Silberlinge lautende Quittung vor; auf ihr ist allerdings das Rechtsgeschäft nicht angegeben, weshalb die Zahlung geschehen ist. Der Beklagte bestreitet

¹ Vgl. dazu H. J. Polotsky, Études de syntaxe copte II, Les temps seconds § 10.

den Anspruch des Klägers. Er gibt zu, die Quittung ausgestellt zu haben, wendet aber ein, sie beziehe sich auf die Rückzahlung einer Geldschuld, die der Kläger dem Beklagten gegenüber gehabt habe; ein anderer Rechtsgrund für die Ausstellung der Quittung bestehe nicht.

Dem Beklagten wird auferlegt, zusammen mit seinem Sohn die Wahrheit seiner Einrede zu beschwören. Leisten beide den Eid, so wird der Kläger abgewiesen. Verweigern sie den Eid, so hat der Beklagte die doppelte Menge Gerste zu liefern, wovon 42 Artaben auf die ursprüngliche Schuld entfallen; die weiteren 42 Artaben sind vielleicht als Vertragsstrafe zu erklären.

DO Zürich Inv. Nr. 1838 (alte Nr. 44)

Umschrift

1. *ht pʒ 'nḥ ntj iw-irj Pa-wn r irj-f hr*
2. *tʒ hjt n 'gnj irm nʒj-f irjw*
3. *n hʒt-sp 17 'nḥ Hwt-Hr ntj htp*
4. *dj irm nʒr nb ntj htp irm-s pʒj hmʒ*
5. *1/2 ntj iw-irj-k mdt irm-j m-dbʒtj-f bn-pw-j*
6. *fʒjtj-f bn-pw-j fʒj-w (sic!) s bw-irj-rh-j*
7. *kj rmf iw fʒj-f s iw-f irj pʒ 'nḥ*
8. *ntj sh hrj mtw (sic!) wʒj r-f*
9. *iw-f stʒtj r irj-f (sic!) hr*
10. *pʒ hmʒ*
11. *1/2 ntj iw-f*
12. *wnh-f mtw-f djt s*

Übersetzung

1) Wortlaut des Eides, welchen *Pa-wn* 2) über den Aufwand dem '*gnj* und seinen Genossen leisten soll 3) im Jahr 17:

„Sowahr Hathor lebt, die hier wohnt, 4) und jeder Gott, der mit ihr wohnt!

Diese halbe (Artabe) Salz, 5) deretwegen du mit mir geredet hast, ich habe sie nicht 6) weggenommen; ich habe nicht veranlasst, dass sie weggenommen wurde; ich kenne keinen 7) anderen Menschen, der sie weggenommen hat.“

Wenn er den Eid leistet, 8) der oben geschrieben ist, so sollen sie sich von ihm entfernen.

9) Wenn er sich weigert, ihn wegen der 10) halben (Artabe) Salz zu leisten, 11) so soll er (das Salz), das er 12) „offenbaren“ wird, geben.

I. Schreiber

Es ist nicht gelungen, den Notar oder Gerichtsschreiber unter den im allgemeinen gut bekannten Notaren vom Hathortempel in Gebelén herauszufinden¹.

II. Datum

Es fällt auf, dass die sonst in Gebelén übliche Angabe von Monat und Tag fehlt. Für das Jahr 17 kommen aus der Ptolemäerzeit folgende Jahre in Betracht:

Jahr 17 von Ptolemaios V. Epiphanes: 189/188 v. Chr.

(Jahr 6 von Ptolemaios VI. Philometor =) Jahr 17 von Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II.: 165/164 v. Chr.

Jahr 17 von Kleopatra III. (= Jahr 14 von Ptolemaios X. Alexander): Sept.–Okt. 101 v. Chr.

Jahr 17 von Ptolemaios X. Alexander: 98/97 v. Chr.

Jahr 17 von Ptolemaios XII. Auletes: 65/64 v. Chr.

Von diesen fünf Möglichkeiten möchte man die letzten drei ausschliessen; denn eine vergleichbare Gruppe von Eiden aus Gebelén von der Wende des zweiten zum ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. weist eine leichtere Schriftführung und mehr Füllzeichen ohne Lautwert auf. Außerdem kennt sie nicht die Angabe des Streitgegenstandes im Eingang des Eides, wie hier *tʒ hjt*. Ferner ist für den richterlichen Entscheid die Wendung *ntj iw-f wnh-f*, die in thebanischen Eiden seit der Zeit des Harmachis (DP BM 10079 A) auftritt, nur hier für Gebelén belegt. Schliesslich trifft man in dem umfangreichen Personenkreis von Gebelén um 100 v. Chr. niemals auf den Personennamen ‚*gnj*‘.

III. Die angerufene Gottheit

Durch den Anruf der Göttin Hathor wird bezeichnet, dass der Eid im Tempel der Hathor in Gebelén geleistet werden soll. Die beiden anderen bisher publizierten Eide bei Hathor, DO Newberry (Spiegelberg, Demotica I, Nr. 18) und DP Strassburg 12, nennen als Schwurort den Tempel oder den Dromos (im Tempel) der Hathor.

¹ Vgl. auch die Zusammenstellung der Notare vom Hathortempel in Gebelén bei Griffith, The Adler Papyri, 67.

IV. Personen

Der Name des Beklagten lautet *Pa-wn*; das ausgeschriebene *n* ist daran höchst auffällig. Eine andere Möglichkeit ist, *Hwn* zu lesen; doch wird dieser Name im allgemeinen mit dem „Kind“ und dem Götterdeterminativ geschrieben, die hier fehlen. Beide Namen sind in Gebelén in regulärer Schreibung gebräuchlich.

Der Kläger ist *'gnj* samt seinen Genossen. Der Name *'gnj* ist im Demotischen sonst nicht bekannt; am nächsten steht der Name des *Hr-kn* aus Edfu, der in DP Hauswaldt 5 belegt ist. Nun existiert aber in einiger Entfernung (etwa 5 km) südlich von Gebelén ein Ort *'gn*, als dessen Herrin die Göttin Hathor erscheint. Vielleicht lässt sich *'gnj* als Kurzname, etwa „Der zur Göttin von *'gn* gehört“, erklären¹.

V. Philologischer Kommentar

2: *hr tʒ hjt*. Hier wird in z 2) *hr tʒ hjt*, in z 9) *hr pʒ hmʒ 1/2* eingefügt und muss sich entsprechen. Durch *hr pʒ hmʒ 1/2* wird zugleich *hr tʒ hjt* in seiner Bedeutung als „wegen des Aufwandes“ gesichert. Die bei Erichsen (Glossar 266) gegebenen Beispiele für *hj* „Unkosten, Ausgaben“ sind ohne den „schlagenden Arm“ und ohne das „Holzzeichen“ geschrieben; außerdem ist bei Erichsen auch der Artikel maskulin, also von *tʒ hjt* verschieden. Vielleicht haben sich hier von der Verbalwurzel *hj* „fallen, abfallen, ausfallen“ eine maskuline und eine feminine Nominalform abgeleitet, ohne dass der Sinn stark differiert. Das Nebeneinander von maskuliner und femininer Form ist von *dnjt* her bekannt, das mit femininem Artikel allgemein einen „Anteil“ bezeichnet, mit dem maskulinen Artikel speziell für den „Steuanteil“ gebraucht wird².

3: *'nh*. Die Schreibung des *'nh* im Anruf nur mit dem „senkrechten Strich“, d. h. dem kursiv geschriebenen *'nh*-Zeichen, und dem *h* ist bei Spiegelberg (§ 434) bloss für den aus der Perserzeit stammenden DP Ryl 9 aus El-Hibe in Unterägypten zitiert. Sie tritt aber in Gebelén ausser in diesem Eid auch noch in DO BM-29703, ebenfalls bei Hathor, und in den Eiden bei *Sbk*, DO Zürich-1839 (s. u.), BM 30250, B-1455, DP Adler 17 auf; hiernach darf sie in Zürich-1838 nicht als Zeichen der Altertümlichkeit bewertet werden.

¹ Vgl. H. Ranke, PN II, 192 n 1.

² Vgl. auch J. Černý, Festschrift Crum, 42, und G. Hughes, JNES 16,60.

5: 1/2. Das Zahlzeichen könnte sowohl 1/2 wie 50 andeuten. Aus dem Zusammenhang ergibt sich jedoch, dass hier „ein halb Salz“ gemeint ist. Das Fehlen des Schrägstriches bei Bruchzahlen ist auch sonst nicht selten; so muss in dem weiter unten behandelten Eid, DO Uppsala 772, die Menge an Salz ebenfalls als „ein Sechstel“ zu lesen sein. Die dort angegebene Massseinheit von Artaben ist auch hierher zu übertragen.

6: *bn-pw-^j tʒj-f*. Die Pleneschreibung des *-j-* in *tʒj* erscheint beim suffigierten Infinitiv häufig, so auch in den Eiden aus Gebelén, DO B-587 und DO BM-29703. Es ist nicht notwendig, diese Schreibweise mit Spiegelberg (§ 107) auf späte Texte zu beschränken. Es ist hier in phonetischer Schreibweise die lange offene Silbe *-i-* dargestellt, wie sie z. B. bei *hj* „messen“ immer vorliegt.

bn-pw-^j tʒj-w s Der Ausfall des *djt* „veranlassen“ vor *tʒj-w* ist wieder phonetisch zu erklären. Nach Ausweis der koptischen Kausativbildung, wie *əo* zu *ŋe* aus *djt-šm-* „veranlassen, dass geht“, d. h. „senden“, oder *əno* zu *ŋone* aus *djt-hpr-* „veranlassen, dass wird“, d. h. „erschaffen“, verbindet sich der Infinitiv von *djt* „veranlassen“ eng mit dem untergeordneten Verbum. Im Falle von *tʒj* „nehmen“, koptisch *əi*, fällt der anlautende Dental des enttonten *djt* mit dem Anlaut von *tʒj* zusammen. Entgegen Spiegelberg (§ 115) scheint die Zusammensetzung *djt+tʒj* schon zu einem Begriff verschmolzen zu sein. Weitere Belege findet man in den thebanischen Eiden DO B-293 und B-553.

Die Formel „Ich habe nicht weggenommen; ich habe nicht veranlasst, dass weggenommen wird; ich kenne keinen anderen Mann, der weggenommen hat“ ist für Eide gut belegt, z. B. aus Gebelén in DO Str-180, aus Theben in DO Str-406.

8: *mtw* (sic!) *wʒj*. Das Ausfallen des Pluralsuffixes *-w* bei *mtw-w* ist als Haplographie und Haplologie zu erklären, die durch den Anlaut des folgenden *wʒj* verursacht worden ist.

9: *stʒtj r irj-f*. Hier liegt der einzige Fall vor, dass nach *stʒtj* „sich weigern“ die Negation *tm* weggelassen ist. Vielleicht ist der Ausfall aus Platzmangel zu erklären.

10: *hr pʒ hmʒ 1/2 ntj iw-f wnh-f*. Der Adverbialausdruck *hr pʒ hmʒ 1/2* gehört zu *irj-f*. Zum folgenden Relativsatz vermisst man das Beziehungswort; es ist dem Sinn nach aus dem unmittelbar vorhergehenden *pʒ hmʒ* „das Salz“ zu entnehmen.

12: *wnh* bedeutet in der Gerichtssprache „offenbaren, eröffnen“;

auch in DP BM 10079 A und im Siut-Archiv (Glossary Nr. 80) hat *wnḥ* den Sinn „allgemein bekannt machen, öffentlich bekannt geben“.

VI. Sachverhalt

Gegenstand des Eides ist eine halbe Artabe Salz, für deren Verlust der Beklagte von den Klägern haftbar gemacht wird. Ueber den rechtlichen Grund der Haftung (Vertrag, z. B. Salzpacht, vgl. DP Eleph 11, oder unerlaubte Handlung) ist nichts auszumachen. Die richterliche Entscheidung räumt dem Beklagten die Möglichkeit ein, sich freizuschwören. Wird der Eid verweigert, so schliesst sich ein weiteres Verfahren an, in welchem der Beklagte die Beweislast für die Höhe des Verlustes hat.

DO Zürich Inv. Nr. 1839 (alte Nr. 59)

Umschrift

1. *ht pʒ ‘nḥ ntj iw-irj Pʒ-dj-Hr-smʒ-tʒwj*
2. *sʒ Hrj-İnpw r irj-f n hwt-nṛ*
3. *nb Bhnt hʒt-sp 21 tpj ʒht [sw ...]*
4. *Pʒ-dj-Hr-smʒ-tʒwj sʒ Pʒ-išwr hn‘ Pa-tʒ-ist-‘ʒt*
5. *‘nḥ Sbk ntj htp dj irm nṛ nb ntj htp irm-f*
6. *bn-pw hʒl nkt ijt r dṛtj(-j) hn nʒ nktw*
7. *Pʒ-śr-mnḥ sʒ Pa-tʒwj m-sʒ pʒj isw*
8. *... . . . n-j hr-f iw-f irj pʒ ‘nḥ*
9. *ntj sh hrj mtw Ta-Gb tʒj-f rm̄t [hier hat der Schreiber mitten in der Zeile aufgehört.]*

Übersetzung.

1) Wortlaut des Eides, den *Pʒ-dj-Hr-smʒ-tʒwj*, 2) Sohn des *Hrj-İnpw*, im Tempel des 3) Herrn des Turmes im Jahr 21 im ersten Überschwemmungsmonat am [...] Tag] leisten soll 4) dem *Pʒ-dj-Hr-smʒ-tʒwj*, Sohn des *Pʒ-išwr*, und dem *Pa-tʒ-ist-‘ʒt*:

5) „Sowahr *Sbk* lebt, der hier wohnt, und jeder Gott, der mit ihm wohnt!

6) Nicht ist Geld oder Habe in meine Hand gekommen aus dem Gut des 7) *Pʒ-śr-mnḥ*, Sohnes des *Pa-tʒwj*, ausser diesem ‚Ersatz‘, [...] 8) [...] mir dafür.“

Wenn er den Eid leistet, 9) der oben geschrieben ist, und wenn *Ta-Gb*, seine Frau, [hier bricht der Schreiber ab].

I. Schreiber

Der Schreiber ist mit demjenigen des DP Adler 17 identisch, der das ‘*nh* im Anruf und als „Eid“ ebenso kurz, mit Weglassung des Determinativs für „Sprechen“ und der kleinen Zeichen nach dem *h* schreibt. Auch andere Wörter, wie *hut-ntr nb B̄nt*, *irj-f* und *ntj htp dj irm ntr nb ntj htp irm-f*, stimmen im Duktus überein.

II. Datum

Das Jahr 21 ist durch die Beobachtung, dass DP Adler 17 vom gleichen Schreiber stammt, bestimmt. Es handelt sich hier wie dort um das 21. Regierungsjahr des Ptolemaios X. Alexander. Der erste Monat der Überschwemmungszeit, von dem das Tagesdatum nicht mehr lesbar ist, beginnt am 16. September 94 v. Chr.

III. Personen

Der Beklagte *Pʒ-dj-Hr-smʒ-tʒwj*, Sohn des *Hrj-İnpw*, ist mit dem Beklagten in DO BM-30250, einem Eid aus dem Jahr 25 bei *Sbk*, identisch. Den Namen seiner Frau, die auch dort Eidhelferin ist, hat man nach DO BM-30250 als *Ta-Gb* zu lesen.

Der Kläger, *Pʒ-dj-Hr-smʒ-tʒwj*, Sohn des *Pʒ-išwr*, ist sonst unbekannt. Das gilt auch für den in z 7) genannten *Pʒ-şr-mnḥ*, Sohn des *Pa-tʒwj*. Der Genosse des Klägers, *Pa-tʒ-ist-‘ʒt*, lässt sich nicht bestimmen, weil der Name seines Vaters fehlt.

IV. Philologischer Kommentar

6: *drtj* statt *drtj-j*. Dass das Suffix der 1. Person Sing. nicht dargestellt ist, hat man als phonetische Schreibung zu erklären, die vom koptischen *tooτ* „meine Hand“ bestätigt wird.

hn nʒ nktw, wörtlich „in den Sachen jmds.“ bedeutet „innerhalb der Vermögensmasse jemands befindlich“; dass *hn* „in“ bei Verben der Trennung durch „aus ... heraus“ wiedergegeben wird, begegnet in den Eiden mehrfach, z. B. auch in LMH-160,4: *mtw-w ḫ dtj-f hn tʒ-s grgt* „so sollen sie es von ihrer Aussteuer abziehen“.

7: *pʒj isw*. Das Wort *isw* wird in maskuliner und femininer Form gebraucht, vgl. für mask. ausser unserem Beleg DO Str-180, für fem. DO B-244 und Str-1951, dazu MDO-228 ff. Nach Hughes (JNES 16, 58) haben beide Formen entgegen der Annahme Erichsens denselben Sinn. Welche von den bisher vorgeschlagenen Deutungen, „Quittung, Zahlung, Ersatz, Lohn, Preis“, in unserem Fall einschlägig ist, lässt sich wegen der folgenden Textlücke nicht feststellen.

8: Die Spuren der einzelnen Zeichen erlauben keine Herstellung des ganzen Satzes.

V. Sachverhalt

Der Rechtsstreit bezieht sich wahrscheinlich auf einen Erbfall. Die Streitgenossen *P₃-dj-Hr-sm₃-t₃wj*, Sohn des *P₃-išwr*, und *Pa-t₃-ist-‘₃t*, die wohl die Erben sind, machen dem Beklagten den Vorwurf, dass er sich aus dem Nachlass des *P₃-šr-mnh* Geld oder Gut angeeignet habe. Der Beklagte gibt zu, dass er etwas, nämlich ein *isw*, aus dem Vermögen erhalten habe, streitet aber im übrigen alles ab und soll nun diese Aussage eidlich bekräftigen. Seine Frau ist als Eidhelferin wohl deshalb zugezogen, weil sie neben ihrem Mann haftbar gemacht wird.

DO Uppsala 611

Umschrift

1. *ht p₃ ‘nh ntj iw-irj P₃-dj-Wsir s₃ Hwn*
2. *r irj-f n hwt-n₃r n nb B₃hnt t₃ hwt*
3. *n hl p₃ r-irj P₃-dj-[. . .]*
4. *wn nktw r-irj-j t₃b r p₃j-j itj*
5. *n.im-s iw-f irj p₃ ‘nh ntj sh*
6. *h₃rj mtw-w w₃j r-f iw-f st₃tj*
7. *r tm irj-f mtw-f djt(?) h₃d(?) 30(?)*
8. *sh n h₃t-sp 54.t tpj ₃ht sw 20+6(?)*
9. *. . .*
10. *. . .*

Übersetzung

1) Wortlaut des Eides, den *P₃-dj-Wsir*, Sohn des *Hwn*, 2) im Tempel des Herrn des Turmes leisten soll:

„In dem Grab, 3) wo *P₃-dj-[. . .]* die . . . gestohlen hat, 4) dort befanden sich Gegenstände, die ich meinem Vater geopfert habe.“

5) Wenn er den Eid leistet, der 6) oben geschrieben ist, so sollen sie von ihm lassen.

Wenn er sich weigert, 7) ihn zu leisten, so soll er 30(?) Silberlinge(?) geben(?).

8) Geschrieben im Jahr 54, im ersten Überschwemmungsmonat, am 26. (?) Tag.

9–10) . . .

I. Schreiber

Die Hand des Schreibers ist von anderen Belegen unbekannt. Im Gegensatz zu den übrigen Gebelén-Eiden wird am Eingang der Termin für die Eidleistung weggelassen und in z 8) stattdessen das Datum der Niederschrift gebracht. Auffällig ist ferner, dass der Anruf des Gottes fehlt.

II. Datum

Das Jahr 54 ist als Datum angegeben. Es fällt zusammen mit dem 54. Regierungsjahr des Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II., 117/116 v. Chr. Der 26. Tag des ersten Überschwemmungsmonats ist nach Skeat (The Reigns of the Ptolemies) der 16. Oktober 117.

III. Ort und angerufener Gott

Als Ort des Schwurs ist in z 2) der „Tempel des Herrn des Turmes“ genannt. Dadurch ist mittelbar der anzurufende Gott angegeben, nämlich *Sbk*, der in Gebelén „Herr des Turmes“ heisst.

IV. Personen

Der Beklagte, *Pʒ-dj-Wsir*, Sohn des *Hwn*, ist aus anderen Urkunden nicht bekannt. Der Name des Klägers ist ausgelassen. Von dem im Eid in z 3) erwähnten Dieb fehlt der Vatersname. Sein eigener Name ist nicht sicher zu lesen. Nach Kollation durch [W] ist *Pʒ-dj-pʒ-ntr* oder *Pʒ-dj-pʒ-R'* möglich; diese beiden Eigennamen sind weder für Gebelén noch für andere Orte der demotischen Epoche nachgewiesen. Eine Lesung *Pʒ-dj-Hnsw* ist nach [W] ausgeschlossen.

V. Philologischer Kommentar

2: *tʒ hwt*. Für diese Zeichenfolge ist die Lesung als *hwt* derjenigen als *ist* „Platz“ oder als *rnp̄t* „Jahr“ vorzuziehen; sie widerspricht nicht der Schreibung von *hwt-ntr* der gleichen Zeile.

2–3: *tʒ hwt n ɦl pʒ ... r-irj Pʒ-dj-[...]*. Hier ist zur Beschreibung des fraglichen Grabes die im Demotischen häufige Konstruktion des Infinitivs mit Objekt gebraucht, dem das logische Subjekt durch die Relativform von *irj* angeschlossen wird (vgl. Spiegelberg § 234, § 551).

n ɦl pʒ ... Der Artikel *pʒ* dürfte sicher sein. Den folgenden Komplex zu entziffern, ist bisher nicht gelungen.

4: *wn nktw*. Die ersten beiden Wörter der Zeile sind beschädigt, dürfen aber als *wn nktw* richtig ergänzt sein. Nach der Regel der Gram-

matik ist nach *t_bb* ein Objektssuffix zu erwarten, das sich auf *nktw* bezieht (Spiegelberg § 528); bei inhaltlich einfacher Wortfolge kann es ausgelassen werden, vor allem, wenn es sich, wie hier, um ein nicht-persönliches Objekt handelt.

t_bb „befeuften, ausgiessen“ hat auch die Bedeutung „libieren, Totenopfer bringen“, vgl. DO BM-19948, Abrechnung über den Auftrag, an einem bestimmten Datum die Libation zu besorgen (*t_bb*), ferner DO BM-20096, Verpflichtung, für den Vater des Auftraggebers während mehrerer Monate den Opferdienst zu leisten (*t_bb r p²j-k itj*); vgl. DP CG 50108 b, 4.

5: *n.im-s*. Damit wird das zur Hervorhebung an den Anfang des Wortlautes gesetzte *hwt* wieder aufgenommen.

7: *mtw-f djt h_d 30*. Die Lesung von *djt* und *h_d 30* wird von [W] vorgeschlagen; beides ist auf der Photographie nicht deutlich zu erkennen.

9–10: Die letzten beiden Zeilen sind unleserlich. Eine Nachschrift, die irgendwie den hier vorkommenden Zeichen entspricht, ist m. W. für Gebelén unbekannt.

VI. Sachverhalt

Es handelt sich um die Beraubung eines Grabes, in die der Beklagte verwickelt ist. Er scheint sich dadurch verdächtig gemacht zu haben, dass er am Ort des Grabes beobachtet wurde. Nach seiner Angabe bezog sich seine Anwesenheit dort auf Opferdienst für seinen Vater. Kann er diese Behauptung nicht eidlich bekräftigen, so wird über ihn eine Geldstrafe verhängt. Wie ein Vergleich mit den Strafen der Kultgenossenschaftstexte ergibt, ist die Strafe verhältnismässig niedrig¹.

DO Uppsala 772

Umschrift

1. *ht p² 'nh ntj iw-irj Ta-Hnm r irj-f pr(?)-[Hnsw]*
2. *n h³t-sp 34 ibd 4 šmw sw 29 dd 'nh Hn[sw ... ntj htp dj irm n²]*

¹ Vgl. etwa DP Prag und Erichsens Kommentar (Die Satzungen einer ägyptischen Kultgenossenschaft). Ein ähnlicher Fall von Aufenthalt an einem heiligen Ort ohne besonderen Auftrag wird in DP Prag z 12) behandelt: „Wenn ein Mann von uns opfert ohne Auftrag, so beträgt seine Busse 10 Silberlinge.“ Der Papyrus Prag stammt — im Gegensatz zu unserem Eid — aus Unterägypten, aus dem Fajum, und ist 20 Jahre früher abgefasst, im Jahr 137 v. Chr.

3. *ntj htp dj irm-f pʒj rdb hmʒ 1/6 [...]*
4. *n swntj-w r-hr-t ... [...]*
5. (Beginn getilgt) *mn tw-t* (sic!) *kj hd r-hr-j[... mn mdt 'd]*
6. *n pʒ 'nh iw-s irj pʒ 'nh mtw Tʒ-šrt-Hnsw wʒj [r-s iw-s stʒtj r tm irj-f]*
7. *mtw-s djt hd 25 sh hʒt-sp 34 ibd 4 šmw sw 29*

Übersetzung

1) Wortlaut des Eides, welchen *Ta-Hnm* im Tempel [des *Hnsw* ...] leisten soll, 2) im Jahr 34 im vierten Sommermonat am 29. Tag, mit den Worten:

„Sowahr *Hn[sw]* lebt, [der hier wohnt, mit denen, die] 3) mit ihm hier wohnen!

Dieses Sechstel Artabe Salz [...] 4) als ihren Gegenwert zu deinen Lasten. [...] 5) ...

Es existiert kein anderes Geld, das dir gehört zu meinen Lasten. [...] Es ist kein Falsch] 6) in dem Eid.“

Wenn sie den Eid leistet, so soll *Tʒ-šrt-Hnsw* sich [von ihr] entfernen. [...]

[Wenn sie sich weigert, ihn zu leisten], 7) so soll sie 25 Silberlinge geben.

Geschrieben im Jahr 34, im vierten Sommermonat am 29. Tag.

I. Schreiber

Die Hand des Schreibers ist aus keinem anderen Eid nachgewiesen.

II. Datum

Der gedrungenen Schreibart unseres Dokuments stehen vier Eide von Medinet Habu, DO MHE-1, 4, 9, 12, am nächsten, die aus den Jahren 29, 30, 33 und 49 stammen und durch das Datum des Jahres 49 in die Regierung von Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. gehören. Unser Text würde hierdurch auf den 19. September 136 v. Chr. bestimmt.

III. Ort und angerufener Gott

Auf der Photographie meint man in z 2) Ende den Beginn des Got tesnamens *Hnsw* zu erkennen; diese Vermutung hat [W] am Original nochmals geprüft und bestätigt. Gilt der Anruf dem Gott *Hnsw*, so ist Theben als Herkunftsstadt des Eides zu bestimmen. Dem entsprechen auch zwei Formulierungen, die für die Eide von Theben typisch sind,

in Gebelén nirgends vorkommen: *dd* in z 2) zur Einleitung des eigentlichen Wortlauts und [*mn mdt 'd*] n *p³* 'n_h in z [5])–6).

IV. Personen

Der Name der Klägerin ist *T³-šrt-Hnsu*, wie sich aus z 6) ergibt, der der Beklagten *Ta-Hnm*. Bei beiden Personen ist kein Vatersname angegeben. Der Name *Ta-Hnm* weist auf eine Beziehung zum ersten Katak- rakt hin.

V. Philologischer Kommentar

3: *rdb hm³ 1/6*: Das Zahlzeichen kann als 6 oder 1/6 gelesen werden, vgl. oben DO Zürich 1838. Die letztgenannte Zahl ist vorzuziehen, wenn die später genannte Summe von 25 Silberlingen mit der Lieferung des Salzes in Beziehung steht; vgl. dazu DO Leiden-55, wo in einer Abrechnung 1/24 Salz mit 2 Silberlingen 5 Kite notiert ist.

4: *n swntj-w r-hr-t*. Damit ist ausgesagt, dass die Klägerin sich den Gegenwert von Salz und vielleicht anderen Objekten anrechnen lassen muss und ihre Forderung bis zu dieser Höhe getilgt ist.

Die Bedeutung der folgenden Zeichen ist unsicher. [W] schlägt eine Lesung *irm t³ mst iutj sp* „mit den Zinsen ohne Rest“ vor.

5: *mn tw-t* statt *mn mtw-t* ist als phonetische Schreibung der drei aufeinanderfolgenden enttonenden Nasale zu erklären. Sie erscheinen im Koptischen als **μῆτας | μῆτη** (Steindorff § 397 ff.).

VI. Sachverhalt

Der sehr fragmentarische Text lässt folgende Rekonstruktion möglich erscheinen:

Die Klägerin fordert von der Beklagten 25 Silberlinge. Der Rechtsgrund hierfür wird nicht genannt, scheint sich aber aus dem Zusammenhang mit der in z 3) erwähnten Lieferung von 1/6 Artabe Salz zu ergeben. Die Beklagte gibt zu, dass sie für den Preis dieser Lieferung aufzukommen hat, behauptet jedoch, dass der Gegenwert bereits an die Klägerin gelangt ist, und stellt in Abrede, aus einem anderen Rechtsgrund der Klägerin verpflichtet zu sein.

DO Uppsala 858

Umschrift

- x + 1. *ntj htp dj [irm ntr nb ntj htp dj irm-f n³j . . .]*
 2. *r-dj-k mdt irm-j m-db³tj-w bn-pw-k [djt st n-j mn mdt 'd]*

3. *n p₃ 'nh iw-s irj p₃ 'nh mtw-f djt hd [. . .]*
4. (Anfang getilgt) *iw-s st₃tj r tm irj-f p₃ ntj [iw-s r]*
5. *wnh-f mtw-s šp-w hn t₃ . . .*
6. *ʒrjstn*

Übersetzung

x+1) „. . . welcher hier wohnt, [und jeder Gott, der hier mit ihm wohnt! Diese . . . ,] 2) deretwegen du mit mir geredet hast, die hast du [mir] nicht [gegeben. Es ist kein Falsch] 3) in dem Eid.“

Wenn sie den Eid leistet, so soll er [...] Silberlinge geben. (Anfang von z 4) getilgt).

- 4) Wenn sie sich weigert, ihn zu leisten, so soll sie das, [was sie]
- 5) offenbart, quittieren innerhalb der . . .
- 6) *ʒrjstn* (Ariston).

I. Schreiber

Der Schreiber ist mit Hilfe eines anderen Eides nicht nachzuweisen. Der Schriftcharakter deutet auf die späte Ptolemäerzeit.

II. Datum, Ort und angerufener Gott

Datum und angerufener Gott sind aus den erhaltenen Zeilen nicht ersichtlich. Die in z 3) in *n p₃ 'nh* vorliegende Formel *mn mdt 'd n p₃ 'nh* verweist auf das thebanische Gebiet.

III. Personen

Was die Personen betrifft, so ist aus der Urkunde lediglich zu ersehen, dass es sich in dem Streit um einen Mann und eine Frau handelt. Die Namen des Klägers und der Beklagten sind nicht erhalten.

Die Nachschrift bringt einen alleinstehenden Personennamen *ʒrjstn*, wohl Ariston. Derselbe Name taucht auch in einem Eidesfragment auf, DO B-263; ob eine Identität der Person da und dort besteht, kann nicht festgestellt werden, weil nirgends der Vatersname angegeben ist.

IV. Philologischer Kommentar

2: *bn-pw-k*. Die Zeichenreste hinter *m-db₃tj-w* lassen deutlich *bn-pw-k* erkennen. Dieselbe Wendung findet sich in einem Eid bei *Hnsw* aus dem Jahr 44, in DO Str.820; dort heisst der Zusammenhang: *p₃j rdb sw ntj iw-irj-k mdt irm-j m-db₃tj-f bn-pw-k djt s n-j n prt [. . .] mn*

mdt 'd n p² 'nh „Diese Artabe Weizen, deretwegen du mit mir geredet hast, du hast sie mir nicht als [Saat]korn gegeben. Es ist kein Falsch in dem Eid.“ Für unseren Eid ist eine ähnlich knappe Formulierung zu erwarten, da nicht viel Platz zur Verfügung steht. Sie entspricht auch dem nachfolgenden richterlichen Entscheid.

3: *hd* [...]. Die Zahl für die Summe der Silberlinge ist nicht erhalten.

4: Der Beginn dieser Zeile ist vom Schreiber so stark gelöscht worden, dass nichts mehr zu verstehen ist.

5: *šp*. Der Nachsatz heisst wörtlich; „so soll sie sie empfangen“. Nach der Formel der Steuerquittungen *st šp n ip* „sie sind als gezahlt empfangen“ muss hier die Bedeutung „als empfangen quittieren“ vorliegen. Die einzige Parallele für *šp* „quittieren“ liefert der DP BM 10505 A; dort heisst es: *iw-j tm djt irj-f n-k sh hr-f mtw-j šp-k n ip hn t₃j-j dnjt* „Wenn ich nicht veranlasse, dass er dir darüber eine Schrift macht, so werde ich dir als gezahlt quittieren innerhalb meines Anteils“¹.

hn. Das Ende der Zeile, mit der Angabe, aus welcher Summe sie die Quittung zu erlegen hat, ist unleserlich. Eine ähnliche Verwendung von *hn* findet sich in LMH-160, 4: *mtw-w šdtj-f hn t₃j-s grgt* „So sollen sie es von ihrer Aussteuer abziehen.“

6: In keinem anderen vollständigen Eid findet sich in der Nachschrift ein alleinstehender Personenname. Ob *ʒrjstn* von anderer Hand als die übrige Urkunde geschrieben ist, lässt sich aus dem Fragment nicht erkennen. Von der Formel *tw p² 'nb r-drtNN* „der Eid werde in die Hand des NN gegeben“ sind keine Spuren vorhanden.

V. Sachverhalt

Streitgegenstand ist eine Schuld von Silberlingen, deren Betrag nicht feststellbar ist. Der Kläger behauptet, der Beklagten das Geld erstattet zu haben, kann jedoch keine Quittung darüber vorlegen. Die Beklagte streitet den Empfang des Geldes ab. Wird der Eid geleistet, so muss der Kläger zahlen. Wird der Eid verweigert, so muss die Beklagte die Quittung in einer Höhe ausstellen, die in einem Nachverfahren von ihr zugegeben wird.

¹ Das Objektssuffix der Person in *šp-k* des DP BM 10505 A, 12 überrascht; ein ähnlicher Fall ist m. W. nur noch in DP CG 89127,13 nachzuweisen.

DO Uppsala 895

Umschrift

1. *ht p₃ 'nh ntj iw-irj T₃-šrt-Imn-ipj*
2. *ta Hr r irj-f n Ist-wrt ta P₃-dj-Hr-wr*
3. *r irj-f n pr Mn₃w nb W₃st dd 'nh Mn₃w*
4. *ntj htp dj irm ntr nb ntj htp dj irm-f*
5. *bw-irj rh-j mš' nkt(?) n p₃ t₃ mtw-t hn'*
6. *rm₃ n p₃ 'š(sic!) r rdb sw 1 hd(?) 25(?) mn mdt '[d]*
7. *n p₃ 'nh iw-s st₃tj r tm irj [p₃ 'nh p₃ nkt ntj iw-s r(?)]*
8. *wnh-f mtw-s djt [-s]*

Übersetzung

- 1) Wortlaut des Eides, den *T₃-šrt-Imn-ipj*, 2) die Tochter des *Hr*, der *Ist-wrt*, der Tochter des *P₃-dj-Hr-wr*, leisten soll, 3) leisten soll (sic!) im Tempel des *Mn₃w*, Herrn von Theben, mit folgenden Worten:
„Sowahr *Mn₃w* lebt, 4) der hier wohnt, mit jedem Gott, der hier mit ihm wohnt!
 - 5) Nicht weiss ich das Wegkommen (irgend-) einer Sache der Welt, die dir gehört samt 6) einem Menschen, in der Höhe von mehr als einer Artabe Weizen und 25(?) Silberlingen(?). Es ist kein Falsch in dem Eid.“
- Wenn sie sich weigert, [den Eid] zu leisten, [so soll sie das Gut, das sie] offenbaren wird, geben.

I. Schreiber

Der Schreiber ist nicht nachzuweisen. Typisch ist für ihn eine phonetische Wiedergabe der Wörter, vgl. unten IV.

II. Datum

Das Datum ist im Eingang des Eides nicht genannt. Auch die im Eid aufgeführten Personen liefern keinen Anhaltspunkt für eine Datierung.

III. Personen

Die Beklagte heisst *T₃-šrt-Imn-ipj*, Tochter des *Hr*, die Klägerin *Ist-wrt*, Tochter des *P₃-dj-Hr-wr*. Ein Mann des gleichen Namens *P₃-dj-Hr-wr* findet sich als Vater des Klägers *P₃-šr-Mn₃w* in einem anderen Eid vor dem Gott *Mn₃w* aus dem Jahr 14, DO BM-26101. Es

ist nicht festzustellen, ob es sich um die gleiche Person handelt. Die beiden Eide sind von zweierlei Schreibern geschrieben.

IV. Philologischer Kommentar

3: *r irj-f . . . r irj-f*. Eine solche Dittographie ist auch in DO TTO-104 nachzuweisen.

Wʒst. Diese ausführliche Schreibung findet sich auch in dem Eid BM 31200, aus dem Jahr 15.

‘*nh*, im Anruf, ist hier wie die Partikel *hr* geschrieben; sogar der in Zürich 1837 (s. o.) noch verhandene „senkrechte Strich“ ist hier weggelassen. Somit entspricht das Schriftbild dem von Spiegelberg (§ 434) zitierten ‘*nh* des Anrufs in dem Eid DO Str-277 beim Stier.

5: *bw-irj rh-j*. Die Formel *bw-irj rh-j* kommt in den Eiden am häufigsten bei der Abstreitung eines Diebstahls vor („Ich habe nicht genommen; ich habe nicht veranlasst, dass sie nehmen; ich kenne nicht einen anderen Menschen, der genommen hat“, vgl. oben Zürich 1838); dabei ist *rh* „kennen, wissen“ mit persönlichem Objekt konstruiert. In einer anderen Konstruktion folgt auf *bw-irj rh-j* der status constructus eines Infinitivs mit nachstehendem Subjekt, hier „Das Weggehen eines Gegenstands“. Zum Vergleich können drei andere Eide auf Ostraca herangezogen werden: DO BM-19513: *bw-irj rh-j mš̄ irp* „Ich weiss nicht das Abhandenkommen von Wein“; DO B-58: *bw-irj rh-j mš̄ sw hn pʒ ʒh* „Ich weiss nicht das Abhandenkommen von Weizen aus dem Feld“; D/GO Str-53: *bw-irj rh-j mš̄ sw n dwjt ntj mtw-k* „Ich weiss nicht das heimlich Abhandenkommen von Weizen, der dir gehört“¹.

Die eben erwähnte Bedeutung von *mš̄* „Weggehen“ ist sonst m. W. nur von lebenden Wesen gebraucht, hier dagegen als juristischer Terminus für das „Abhandenkommen“ eines Objekts verwendet.

nkt. Die Rekonstruktion der Spuren zwischen *mš̄* und *n pʒ tʒ* zu *nkt* darf für sicher gelten.

6: *rmt*. Dass *rmt* alleinstehet, ist sonst nicht belegt. Zur Ergänzung bieten sich zwei Möglichkeiten, entweder *mtw-t hn̄ rmt* (*mtw-t*) „die dir oder einem Menschen von dir gehört, d. h. einem deiner Angehörigen“, oder *mtw-t hn̄ rmt* (*nb*) „die dir oder irgendeinem Menschen gehört“. Die zweite Formel wäre in einer negativen Aussage wie hier durchaus zu erwarten, ist aber aus dem Material der Eide sonst nirgends nachweisbar. Für die erste gibt es verschiedene Varianten: *r-hr-j hn̄ rmt*

¹ Einschlägig ist wohl auch der nur in Handkopie von Revillout vorliegende Eid, DO L-9056 beim Stier aus dem Jahr 17, vgl. Revillout, Mélanges, 175 n.

mtw-j „gegen mich oder einen Menschen, der zu mir gehört“ (DO B-700,7); *r-tw-t st hn^c n^zj-t rmtw* „die du samt deinen Leuten gegeben hast“ (DO Str-1548), ebenso *r-hr-j hn^c n^zj-j rmtw* „gegen mich und meine Leute“ (DO A-17).

n p^z 'š r. 'š ist aus dem Zusammenhang heraus als falsche Schreibung von *bj* (kopt. *μη*) zu verstehen. Der Schreiber hat den *μ*-Laut von *bj* (vgl. das Koptische) in Verbindung mit dem bestimmten Artikel *p^z* und der folgenden Präposition *r* irrtümlich zu *n p^z 'š r* aufgelöst. 'š, wörtlich „rufen, klagen“, ergibt keinerlei Sinn. Derartige Missverständnisse bei *n p^z bj r* sind häufig, z. B. in DO BM 31940 *n p^z ih r*, wo *ih* in seiner Bedeutung „was?“ ebenfalls keinen Sinn ergäbe. Andere Belege für *n p^z bj r* mit Weizen oder Weizenartaben liefern die DO A-17, B-228, B-479, BM-20049, BM-20045, Str-1657, mit *tkm*-Oel Str-349, mit Silberlingen DO BM-23386, BM-25392, Str-787, Str-843, Str-1322, Str-1782. Nur ein einziges unsicheres Beispiel für Weizen und Geld nebeneinander ist in DO Str-1321, 4–5 nachzuweisen.

hd 25. Die Lesung der Zahlen ist nicht sicher.

V. Sachverhalt

Es handelt sich um den Streit zwischen zwei Frauen, deren rechtliche Beziehung zueinander wir nicht kennen. Die Beklagte wird von der Klägerin dafür verantwortlich gemacht, dass Weizen und Geld abhanden gekommen sind. Das Risiko des Verlusts bis zur Höhe von einer Artabe Weizen und 25 Silberlingen hat die Klägerin selbst zu tragen. An dem richterlichen Entscheid fällt auf, dass nur die Rechtsfolge der Verweigerung des Eides angegeben wird, nicht dagegen diejenige der Eidleistung. Für den Terminus *wnh* bei verweigertem Eid vgl. o. DO Zürich 1838.

DO Uppsala 919

Umschrift

1. *ht p^z 'nh ntj iw-irj*
2. *ȝmnjs [s^z] r irj-f*
3. *m-bȝh Hnsw nb 'h^c [n hȝt-sp ibd ...]*
4. *sw 16 (?) n Pȝj-k^z s^z ȝ-phtj (?) [dd]*
5. *'nh Hnsw nb 'h^c ntj htp dj*
6. *irm n^z ntj htp irm-f ...*
7. ...

8. ... *bw-irj rh-j rm̄t iw-f*
9. ... *nkt (?) ...*
10. *iw-f irj pʒ ‘nḥ mtw-f wʒ r-f*
11. *iw-f tm irj-f [...*

Übersetzung

- 1) Wortlaut des Eides, welchen 2) *ȝmnjs*, Sohn des [...], leisten soll
- 3) vor *Hnsw* dem Herrn der Lebenszeit, im Jahre [...], am 16. Tag,
- 4) dem *Pȝj-kȝ*, Sohn des *ȝ-phtj*, mit den Worten:
- 5) „Sowahr *Hnsw*, der Herr der Lebenszeit, lebt, der hier wohnt,
- 6) und die, die mit ihm wohnen! 7) ... Nicht kenne ich 8) einen Menschen, der ... 9) Nicht existiert ...“ 10) Wenn er den Eid leistet, soll er sich von ihm entfernen. 11) Wenn er ihn nicht leistet, soll ...

I. Schreiber

Der Schreiber ist nicht zu ermitteln. Paläographisch berührt sich unser Dokument mit dem DO BM 20046: Da wie dort ist *'h* gleich geschrieben und *Hnsw* mit einem dicken untergesetzten Punkt versehen; doch deutet die Form des *'nḥ* im Anruf auf zweierlei Hände.

II. Datum

Vom Datum hat sich nur die Angabe des Tages erhalten.

III. Ort und angerufener Gott

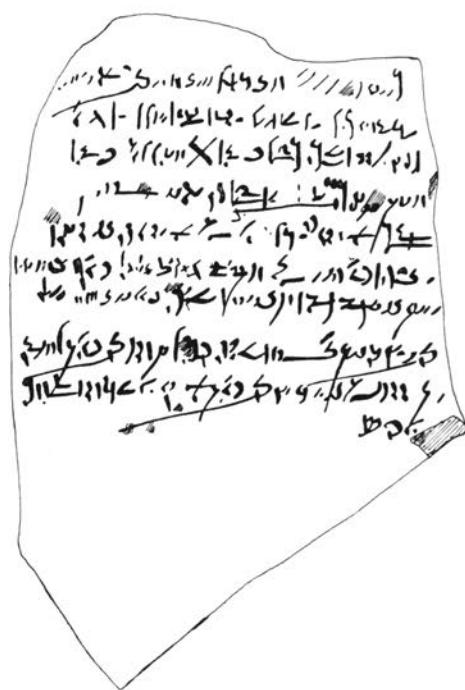
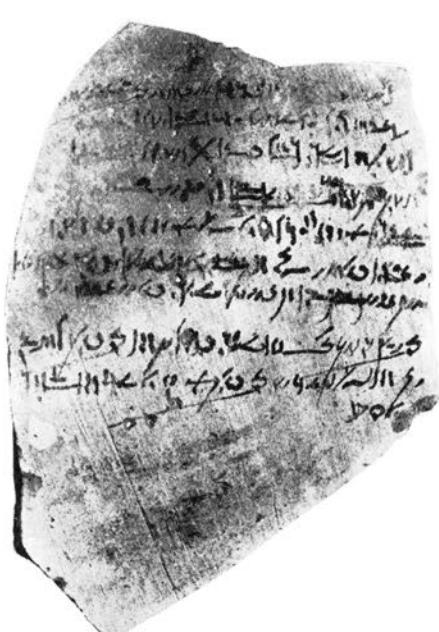
Der Eid ist vor dem Gott *Hnsw* zu leisten und gehört also nach Theben.

IV. Personen

Der Kläger, *Pȝj-kȝ*, Sohn des *ȝ-phtj*, ist aus anderen Texten nicht bekannt, und von dem Beklagten, namens *ȝmnjs*, Ammonios, fehlt der Vatersname. Gleichfalls ein *ȝmnjs* wird als Beklagter in dem Eid bei *Hnsw*, DO BM 20046, genannt. Ob in beiden Urkunden der gleiche Mann gemeint ist, lässt sich nicht ausmachen.

V. Sachverhalt

Aus dem sehr lückenhaften Wortlaut lässt sich nur schliessen, dass es sich um einen Reinigungseid handelt, vgl. o. DO Zürich 1838.

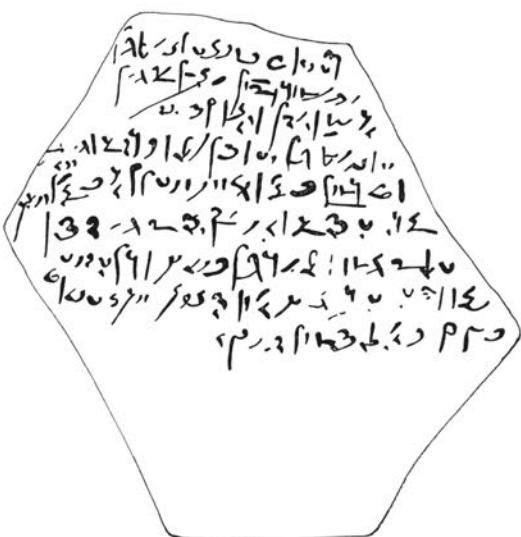


DO Zürich 1837.
(17,5 × 12 cm.)

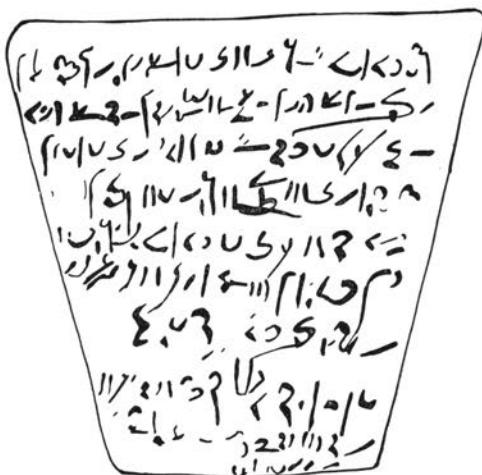


دو در جا در

DO Zürich 1838.
(9,5 × 9 cm.)



DO Zürich 1839.
(15,3 × 15,6 cm.)



DO Uppsala 611.
(13 × 13,5 cm.)



DO Uppsala 772.
(8,2 × 11,5 cm.)



DO Uppsala 858.
(8,5 × 10,6 cm.)



DO Uppsala 895.
(8,5 × 11 cm.)



DO Uppsala 919.
(9,8 × 7,5 cm.)

HJALMAR LARSEN

Ein neolithisches Steingefäß aus Merimde in der ägyptischen Abteilung des Mittelmeermuseums.

Die ägyptische Abteilung des Mittelmeermuseums in Stockholm besitzt ein einziges Exemplar eines Steingefäßes aus Merimde Benisalame, im Deltagebiet Ägyptens, an der Grenze zur westlichen Wüste. Es kam auf die folgende Weise in den Besitz des Museums: Eines Tages im Beginn des Jahres 1934 kam ein Fellah aus dem Dorfe Benisalame zu Dr. Ludwig Keimer in Kairo und wollte ihm ein Steingefäß verkaufen. Der Fellah behauptete, er hätte es bei der Sebach-grabung gefunden an dem Ort, den die Einwohner in Benisalame Merimde nannten und wo Prof. Hermann Junker seit mehreren Jahren wissenschaftliche, archäologische Ausgrabungen vorgenommen hatte. Da er keinen Grund zur Be Zweiflung der Angabe des Mannes sah, kaufte Dr. Keimer das Gefäß. Durch Vermittlung Prof. Junkers wurde es für die Rechnung des Ägyptischen Museums vom Verfasser übernommen. Es hat in unserem Museum die Nummer E 1409 erhalten bzw. MM 11409 als spätere Numerierung, d. h. nachdem das Ägyptische Museum die ägyptische Abteilung des Mittelmeermuseums geworden ist.

Das Steingefäß hat folgendes Aussehen: Das Material ist Diorit, mit einer Korngrösse zwischen 0.5 mm und 3 mm schwankend, und von ungefähr derselben Proportion aus weissem, opakem Feldspat und schwarzer bis grünlich schimmernder Hornblende. Von der ebenen Stehfläche, mit einem Diam. von 57 mm, steigt die Wand ziemlich lotrecht ungefähr 1 cm auf, um dann in einer schwachen Krümmung nach aussen und wieder nach oben ihre grösste Weite, etwa 2 cm unter der Mündung, zu erreichen. Von hier setzt sich die Wand mit nur einer äusserst unbedeutenden Einziehung bis zur Mündungsrand fort. Das Innere des Steingefäßes ist wie eine 70 mm tiefe, becherförmige Schale mit gerundetem Boden gestaltet. Der Mündungsrand ist gerade abgeschnitten. Die Höhe des Gefäßes beträgt 100 mm, der äussere Diam. der Mündung 109 mm, deren Innendiam. 89 mm. Die Wanddicke ist 10 mm an der Mündung, nahe am Boden 17 mm. Der Abstand zwischen Schalenboden und Stehfläche ist 30 mm. Sowohl



Abb. 1 a und b. Das Steingefäß E 1409. 1 : 2.5.

aussen wie innen ist das Gefäß sorgfältig poliert worden, so dass keine Spur von einem Arbeitsgerät geblieben ist.

Die Steinarten, die in ägyptologisch-archäologischen Arbeiten Diorite genannt werden, sind zwei mineralogisch verschiedene Typen, einmal die allgemeinere aus Plagioklas und Pyroxen, das zu Hornblende verwandelt worden ist, zum anderen eine Art mit Anorthit und Hornblende als hauptsächlichen Bestandteilen. Die letzte Steinart ist mitunter halb durchleuchtend; Lucas hat für sie die Benennung Dioritgneiss vorgeschlagen. Aus dieser Art, vorzugsweise in dem Alten Reiche verwendet, ist das Gefäß E 3786 = MM 13786 verarbeitet worden, das in *Orientalia Suecana*, Bd. V, S. 7–10 publiziert wurde. Der Diorit des hier zu behandelnden Steingefäßes aus Merimde gehört dem ersten Typ an.

Nach Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 2. Auflage, London 1934) wurde Diorit dieser Art zu allen Zeiten in Ägypten verwendet, von neolithischer Zeit an (er verweist auf Funde in Fajum, u. A. eine Axt) bis in alle späteren Zeiten. In prädynastischer und dynastischer Zeit wurde diese Steinart vorwiegend zu Keulen, Schalen, Vasen und bisweilen zu Paletten verarbeitet. Die allerbekanntesten Fundorte für Diorit dieser Art liegen in der Nähe von Assuan, wo wenigstens Granite schon sehr früh gewonnen worden sind, und in den Gebirgsgegenden der östlichen Wüste, nördlich des Weges zwischen Kene und Kosseir. Vereinzelte, ausgiebige Fundstätten sind aber auch in anderen Gebieten sowohl in der östlichen wie der westlichen Wüste bekannt. Die Merimdeleute haben also sehr wohl ihr Gestein aus nicht allzu weiter Entfernung holen können.



Abb. 2. Das 1929 ausgegrabene Steingefäß. 1 : 2.5.

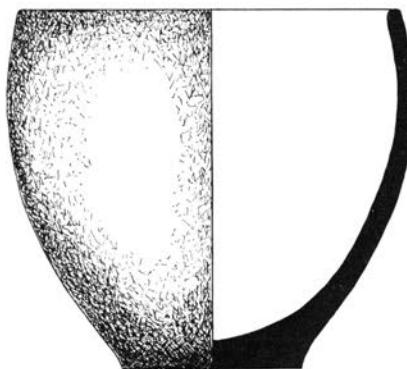


Abb. 3. Tongefäß im Quadrat B17 gefunden. 1 : 3.

Dieselbe Steinart ist in Merimde auch für andere Gegenstände verwendet worden. In der ägyptischen Abteilung des Mittelmeermuseums befinden sich z. B. eine Miniaturaxt (Amulett?), E 1791 = MM 11791, und ein grösseres Bruchstück einer Keule, E 1913 = MM 11913, aus dieser Dioritart. Sie wurden im Quadrat Q4 in 220 cm Tiefe und im Quadrat T4 in 200 cm Tiefe gefunden. Sie gehören mithin der ältesten Schicht Merimdes an.

Steingefäße sind auch während Prof. Junkers Ausgrabungen aufgehoben worden. Zwei Fragmente waren Oberflächenfunde, das eine ist aus Basalt, das andere aus einer harten, graugrünen Steinart (siehe West-delta, S. 21 und Taf. XVII a). 1929 aber fand man auch ein ganzes Steingefäß. Es ist aus Basalt, hat eine Höhe von 7 cm und ist sowohl aussen wie innen gut geglättet. Die Form unterscheidet sich von unserem Gefäß, und die Stehfläche ist schwach gewölbt. Es wurde im Quadrat SOI (Sl auf der Planzeichnung in Orientalia Suecana, Bd. VII,

S. 4) in 50 cm Tiefe gefunden, und gehört folglich der jüngsten Phase der Merimdekultur an.

Betreffs der Form des Steingefäßes E 1409 kann Vergleichsmaterial in dem Tongefäßbestand Merimdes leicht gefunden werden. Ein Unter teil derselben Form wie bei dem Steingefäß kommt sowohl bei Schalen wie bei tieferen Gefäßen vor; soweit ich bisher sehen kann, jedoch nur in Schicht III (der jüngsten). Das am tiefsten liegende Stück, das bis jetzt katalogisiert worden ist, wurde aus einer Tiefe von 100-110 cm aufgehoben. Auch ein fast ganzes Tongefäß von derselben Form und mit ähnlicher, obgleich nicht ganz so markierter Bodenpartie wurde in dem Quadrat B17 gefunden (vgl. Abb. 3). Leider ist jedoch die Tiefe des Fundes im Ausgrabungsprofil nicht zu erkennen. Ähnliches gilt für ein solches Detail wie den gerade abgeschnittenen Rand. Das Normale an Tongefäßen aus Merimde ist ein abgerundeter Mündungsrund. Doch kommt dann und wann der gerade Rand vor. In keinem Falle habe ich jedoch einen solchen in Schicht I gesehen. Im übrigen ist die Form des Steingefäßes in der Merimdekultur gewöhnlich aus Ton. Die Tongefäße derselben Größenverhältnisse haben jedoch eine dünnerne Wand. Der Unterschied hat wohl seine Ursache in der Unfähigkeit der Merimdeleute, in Stein zu arbeiten, besonders wenn es galt, ein Gefäß auszuhöhlen. Es handelt sich ja hier in Merimde um die ältesten Steingefäße, die überhaupt angefertigt worden sind.

Aus dem Obenerwähnten dürfte als äusserst wahrscheinlich hervorgehen, dass der Fellah aus Benisalame bei der Angabe an Dr. Keimer hinsichtlich der Fundumstände unseres Steingefäßes die Wahrheit gesagt hat und weiter, dass das Gefäß am ehesten der jüngsten Periode der Merimdekultur zuzuweisen ist.

Was die Frage über das absolute Alter des Steingefäßes E 1409 betrifft, kann der Verf. auf seinen Aufsatz in dem vorigen Band von *Orientalia Suecana* verweisen, wo die jüngste Merimdekultur auf ca. 6600 Jahre geschätzt wird, d. h. etwa 4600 bis 4700 v. Chr.

OLOF GJERDMAN

The Ainu Language. A contribution

In 1926 I had an article dealing with the language of the Ainu people published in "Le monde oriental". I entitled it "Word-parallels between Ainu and other languages". Previously I had been interested in the Ainu language from a phonetic point of view. I had for a while been engaged in trying to discover how *p*, *t*, *k*, were pronounced, especially in final position, in various parts of the world. While studying the Ainu pronunciation more closely in this respect I became interested in the language in its entirety. My phonetic studies gave rise to an essay [“Non-plosive stops (in Oriental languages)’] in the same periodical and the same year as the article “Word-parallels etc”. In this later essay I compare Ainu principally with the Malay-Polynesian languages, but draw attention also to some word-parallels between Ainu and the so-called Mōn-Khmēr languages in Indo-China, and the Muṇḍa languages in India. When the comparison has been made, I point out in the essay that the word-parallels are so numerous (between Ainu and the Malay-Polynesian languages alone, over seventy) that these similarities cannot, in my opinion, possibly be attributed solely to chance. Consequently I use them as a base for my conclusion that the Ainu and the Malay-Polynesian languages are originally related to each other, or have obtained the words they appear to have in common, from the same sources, or mutual borrowings have taken place, or one of them has borrowed from the other. I also emphasize my opinion that, with the exception of the very few Ainu and Malay-Polynesian words, for which I have given possible Japanese parallels, the Ainu-Malay-Polynesian parallels of which I treat are all to be regarded as vocable differences between the Malay-Polynesian languages and Japanese. I also express my opinion that it will probably not be possible to collect as many word-parallels between Japanese and the Malay-Polynesian languages as between these and Ainu. Finally I point out in my essay that when collecting similarities between different languages one should be mindful inter alia of the following facts: namely, that the occurrence of a word having the same form and meaning in two languages can be purely a matter of chance; that it can also be due to the operation of the phonetic laws in both languages,

by which words which have once been dissimilar come to resemble each other, and that one certainly cannot base a theory about the connection between two languages solely on the existence of so-called onomatopoetic words, but that conformities between onomatopoetic words should not therefore be disregarded, if the languages to be compared also show similarities between words which do not appear to be onomatopoetic.

In 1926 I did not think it possible to make any further progress in the study of the degree of relationship or contact between the Ainu and other languages, without exhaustive research of the phonetics, grammatical structure and dialectological conditions obtaining in Asia, undertaken in the region inhabited by the Ainu people. This was over thirty years ago. To the best of my knowledge, it was not until this year that a major work dealing with the Ainu language made its appearance. It was published in the year-book of the University of Lund (1958) by Pierre Naert, and entitled "La situation linguistique de l'aïnou. I. Aïnou et indoeuropéen". I was interested, and set about reading this work. However I had not got very far when I began to feel dubious. Somewhere in my essay—to be precise, on p. 40—I had drawn attention to the manner in which different scholars have spoken of and indicated the *r*-sound in Ainu; one, for instance, using *r* and *t*, another *r*, *tr* and *kr*, a third *r*, *t*, *tr* and *kr*. Consequently, I wrote with regard to Ainu -*r*: "If it has always been *r* or if several sounds coincide in it, we do not know, but I consider it necessary to keep the latter possibility in mind, when the Ainu vocabulary is compared with those of the Malay-Polynesian languages, not only because *r* and *l* coincide in many of these, but also because '*r* (*l*)' in some of them has developed out of other sounds, among others out of a certain velar sound that is now differently represented in different languages; for instance, by *g*, *r*, *l*, *s*." Naert mentions this statement of mine, and "clarifies" it thus, p. 27: "(ainsi aï. [= aïnou] *r* = mal.pol. *g*, *r*, *l*, *s*; pourquoi pas 'etc.' ??)". I fail to comprehend why Naert uses the derisive sign ?? in his parenthesis. If he has any command of English he should have understood that if I write "for instance" before "by *g*, *r*, *l*, *s*" the implication is more or less the same as though I had written 'etc.' after "by *g*, *r*, *l*, *s*". And if he could not understand that, he should have grasped what I meant when about the middle of p. 43 I wrote: "*d*, *r*, *l*, *s* (and so on)". The English expression "and so on" is the same as "etc.". If he did not understand the expression "for instance", or forgot that I had used it, he should at least, before permitting himself his little gibe, have checked what I said.

Naert's above-cited parenthesis appears to me also to betray his inadequate knowledge of the manner in which sounds can be modified in the Malay-Polynesian languages. My remarks in the essay on *d*, *r*, *l*, *s*, and in the other place on *g*, *r*, *l*, *s*, are based on word-parallels such as (for the organ "nose"): Malay (*h*)*idung*, Javanese (*h*)*irung*, Tagalog *ilung*, Ibanag *ijung*, Dayak *urong*, Batakan *igung*, Fidji *udu*, Samoan *isu*, Tongan, Maori, Tahitian, Hawaian and Easter Island *ihu*. Otto Dempwolff, who was once one of my instructors in these language-groups, assumed, as I have stated on p. 43 of my essay, that *d*, *r*, *l*, *s* etc. have evolved from an earlier palatalised *g*: *higün*.

On p. 207, Naert considers that my attempt (p. 39 in my essay) to prove that *b*, *d*, *g* formerly occurred at the beginning of Ainu words is completely fallacious. I presume that by my "attempt" he means my supposition that De Charencey's form of writing *tché* ("three") is not, as he himself declares, a "forme archaïque", but the form of writing used for an *re*, in which the *r* has lost its tone, and *re* has become *tche*. As Naert apparently does not understand my argument in this context, I will put it in a simpler form. In his opinion and, for that matter also in mine (p. 39), Ainu, as opposed to the Indo-European languages, has only a toneless series of explosives in initial sounds, thus only *p*, *t*, *k*, whereas the Indo-European languages have also *b*, *d*, *g*. At this point it is necessary to indicate that, if all Ainu dialects are to be included, Batchelor has a memorandum in his dictionary under the letter B: "Excepting in Saghalien no initial sentence in Yezo Ainu ever properly commences with a *b*." And furthermore under D: "As *d* never appears to commence a sentence in Yezo Ainu, and is therefore, excepting in Saghalien, only heard in composition, it always appears in this work, when used initially, under *t*." So Batchelor says that, at least, *b* and *d* occur as initial sounds on the island of Sakhalin. This pronunciation appearing there may conceivably be regarded as a novation but I permitted myself to give utterance, on p. 39 of my essay, to the modest exhortation to myself and others, when comparing Ainu words with Malay-Polynesian ones, to give due consideration to the possibility of Ainu having at one time had *b*, *d*, *g* as initial sounds. And I append: "The possibility of earlier initial *b*, *d*, *g* in Ainu seems far from improbable when we consider that even intitial *r* now shows a tendency to be unvoiced." Here I wish to add that, unlike Naert, I cannot understand why Ainu cannot once have had both initial *b*, *d*, *g* and initial *p*, *t*, *k* although Naert avers that the language does not have any trace of *b*, *d*, *g* as initial sounds nowadays.

I can even entertain the idea that the explosive sounds in Ainu have been subjected to mutations of this kind more than once in the course of the vast stretches of time in which the Ainu have used their language. For many years scholars have been at work on the problem of the racial and linguistic affiliations of the Ainu. Some have dubbed them australoid; others have been inclined to relate them more directly to the Polynesians or to one segment or other of the mixture of various races which the Polynesians constitute, in their opinion. Lastly, still others have wished to assign them to the white race. The racial characteristics of the Ainu are now, surely, considered by most of the authorities to be (sunburned) white skin, exuberant growth of hair on the body, abundant, black wavy hair (in the women often less wavy than in the men) on the head; brown eyes (the men's often light-brown or even greenish, the women's more frequently "middle"-brown), short stature, square build, moderate dolichocephaly, deep-set eyes, strongly-marked eyebrows and prominent superciliary arches, absence of Mongolian folds; concave, straight or somewhat aquiline nose, European facial expression. Many writers have found old Ainu men in some respects, to show considerable resemblance to old Russian peasants, indeed several have asserted that photographs of old Ainu men can show a surprising resemblance to those of Tolstoy. In my essay of 1926 I expressed my agreement with certain scholars who ascribe the Ainu to the Caucasian (white) race. Naert, like his countryman, George Montandon, also puts them in this category, although he employs the term European (or white) race.

Some scientists have surmised not only that the Ainu (formerly) inhabited the entire area of Japan before the Japanese, and were driven by them to more inhospitable parts of the country, but that they were autochthonous in Japan. Others maintain that they have come from other regions to the Japanese islands. Naert himself is of the opinion that their forefathers migrated from the neighbourhood of Lake Baikal. He also presumes that the Indo-Europeans lived somewhere to the west of this region, before their linguistic unity was disintegrated. To be more precise, they presumably, in his opinion had their place of abode in the North of Central Asia, with an eastern offshoot extending as far as the banks of the upper Jenisej River or even to the shores of Lake Baikal. In support of his argument he cites (p. 24) an Ainu word *shum* (south) and a derivate *shum-rera* (south wind) 'western wind'. In the latter section of his dictionary, in which the title-words are English with Ainu translations, Batchelor lists *shum* not only under the heading of

'south' but also under the headings of 'west' and 'wind': ("The south wind, *shum rera*"). Another *shum* is translated by him as "Thin, Withered, Poor". Naert declares that the original meaning of *shum* 'south' is undoubtedly 'withered' = 'desséché'. He thinks that this is the word *shum* found in *shum-rera*, which actually, according to him, signifies 'le vent sec, brûlant'. He adds that *shum-rera* in that sense is quite the opposite of the south and west winds in Japan, but on the other hand would be a very suitable Ainu designation for the dry winds which in the Asian Continent storm over the regions to the north of the Mongolian deserts. But the reader must in his astonishment ask himself why the *shum* of *shum-rera* should necessarily be the *shum* which means 'withered', and why it cannot be any other word but that one. There are plenty of so-called homonyms in these linguistic groups. Batchelor also gives a word *shum* 'Oil, Fat, Seum', which according to Naert is derived from the Indo-European *seu* 'biegen, drehen, in Bewegung setzen, heftig bewegt sein'. Naert assumes that the Ainu *shum*, *sum* 'to be drowned, to be washed away' cannot have any connection with *shum(-rera)*. That is possible. But he has not advanced any convincing reason for his opinion.

Naert apparently thinks that the forefathers of the Ainu migrated from their original dwelling-places in North Central Asia to northern regions of Japan, and that some of their number later went from thence further and further South. During their wanderings from Northern Central Asia, they are also presumed to have left traces of their presence, consisting of place-names which it is not yet possible to elucidate. He tries to find support for this theory by citing Batchelor's opinion that very many Siberian place-names have originated in Ainu words. Naert does indeed consider most of these combinations made by Batchelor to be amateurish flights of fancy, but according to him two or three of them could repay further investigation, especially the numerous toponyms of *-kota* in the neighbourhood of Amur; this is a word conjoined by Batchelor with the Ainu word *kota* 'village etc.'. For my part, in my article "Word-parallels" I have envisaged—as one possibility, viz: that the Ainu might have come to Japan from the South, and have accordingly cited among the word-parallels between Ainu and the Malay-Polynesian languages (p. 45) the Ainu word *kotan* 'village, place, city, town' and the *kota* which is to be found in some Indonesian languages, e.g. Malay, in which it might conceivably be a loan-word from Sanskrit. But in connection with the *kotan* of the Ainu language one must likewise bear in mind the *kot* 'a house plot' and *an* 'there is, to be', or an abbreviation

of *an-i* ‘abode, the place where something is’, also mentioned in my article with the addition of our Swedish word *kåta* ‘Laplander’s tent’ and its presumptive equivalents in other Germanic languages; there is indeed a goodly store of material for the ratiocinations of a conscientious comparatist. The original home of the Indo-Europeans may be an interesting but is alas as yet not a very rewarding subject to read about, as the opinions and theories of the scholars in that field are so extremely divergent, due to the paucity of material for research. For purposes of comparison with Naert’s theory that their earliest home was in Northern Central Asia I would like to draw attention to an opinion expressed by Alf Sommerfelt. Last year (1958), i.e. in the year in which Naert’s book was published, although at a slightly later date, Sommerfelt had an article published in “Norsk tidskrift for sprogvidenskap, bind XVIII”, entitled “Some remarks on the problem of the original Indo-European habitat”. He writes, p. 141: “Neither in Scandinavia nor in Central Europe can we therefore look for the original habitat of the Indo-European tribes. They must have come from the *South East*.¹

When one embraces the opinion that a people such as the Ainu may possibly belong or be nearly akin to the Caucasian or white race, one naturally wonders whether the language of the Ainu can be related to the Indo-European group. I was dubious of this idea at first, as in my opinion the biological relationship between the Ainu and branches of the Caucasian race must be of very remote origin and the connection between race and language also constitutes a crux. I did not wish to undertake any more detailed enquiry into the question of a possible linguistic relationship at that time, as I did not think it could be conducted with sufficient thoroughness.

Naert delivers a sweeping verdict on the collocations of words in my article “Word-parallels” in the following passage on p. 27 of his book: “Du total d’environ 85 rapprochements, il faut immédiatement en rayer au moins une trentaine comme supposant, soit des changements sémantiques trop importants, soit des lois phonétiques invérifiables ou de par trop libérales (ainsi aï. *r* = mal.-pol. *g*, *r*, *l*, *s*; pourquoi pas « etc. »?!), ou bien et cela très souvent, opérant sur des mots manifestement descriptifs. La quarantaine de rapprochements qui reste mérite cependant attention — dans plusieurs cas il y a même certainement identité entre les termes comparés. Qu'il y ait des éléments malayo-polynésiens en aïnou n'a cependant rien d'étonnant, puis qu'il y en a

¹ The italics are mine.

en japonais, et n'empêche évidemment pas que l'aïnou soit plus étroitement apparenté à une autre famille linguistique." I am not going to enter into the subject of the parts of this quotation which consist solely of allegations; the objections included therein have already been or will be refuted in these pages. If the fact that word-parallels between Ainu and the Malay-Polynesian languages do not affect the likelihood of Ainu being more closely related to a language-group other than the Malay-Polynesian is to be used as an adverse criticism of me, it will miss its mark, as I have never even asserted that the Ainu and Malay-Polynesian languages are related to each other. I have merely postulated a presumptive relationship between them as one of at least four different hypotheses by means of which the word-parallels between the Malay-Polynesian languages and Ainu might be elucidated.

Naert is firmly convinced that the Ainu language is related to the Indo-European languages, that it is one of them, a member of the sisterhood. He has accordingly attempted to demonstrate the validity of his conviction. The method or methods of which he avails himself for this purpose may, however, occasion some surprise. He asserts in the preface of his book that it is the first volume of a series. A second work will deal with Ainu and the Ural-Altaic languages, a third with Ainu and the languages of contiguous regions. He says in this context (p. 9) that he will certainly be taken to task for having entered upon his comparisons between Ainu and other languages with a linguistic group so geographically remote from Ainu as are the Indo-European languages. Ought one not rather to compare Ainu with Japanese, Korean, Giljaccian etc.? His answer is: "L'ordre dans lequel on compare des langues avant de publier ses résultats a peu d'importance — si, ce qui est peu probable, une comparaison plus approfondie de l'aïnou et d'autres langues révélant par la suite des rapports plus important d'un autre côté, cela ne pourrait pas de toute façon infirmer l'existence des éléments communs à l'aïnou et à l'indo-européen que la présente étude met en lumière. Il faudrait tout au plus rayer quelque dizaine de rapprochements."

In contradistinction to Naert himself, I think he was very unwise not to begin the presentation of his argument with an exhaustive critical survey of the Ainu language, its structure and history insofar as it is known to us, and to proceed with a thoroughly worked-out critical scrutiny of the languages which he regards as worthy of consideration for purposes of comparison. Readers of Naert's book are, after all, under no obligation to accept all that he says as gospel, and without having

been first given access to any closely-reasoned comparative debate, to assent to his assertion that Ainu is nearly related to the Indo-European languages. In fact, his method involves a grave risk. If one is as completely convinced of the existence of such a relationship as he is, and if one has stated one's opinion so categorically, there is a conscious or subconscious temptation thereafter to dismiss, deprecate or make light of facts and circumstances which might otherwise induce one to express oneself with greater caution.

For instance:

The Ainu word *pirika* 'good, beautiful, just' etc. is relegated by him either to the Indo-European root **bhili-*, **bhilo-* 'ebenmässig, angemessn, gut, freundlich' or to the root **bheleg-* 'glänzen'. I have compared *pirika* with the word meaning 'to choose'; in Samoan and Tonga *fili*, Maori *whiri*, Subanu, Fidji and Tagalog *pili*, Macassar *pele*, Malayan and Javanese *pilih*, Bontoc Igorot *piliak* or *mapili*, Dayak *kampili* 'auserlesen, ausgewählt, gut, schön', Subanu *pinili*, *pinoli*, 'good' (with the infix formed from *pili* 'to elect, to choose').

The Ainu word *tara* 'a sling used for carrying bundles' has been compared by me to several Mal.-Pol. words, e.g. Tagalog *dala* 'that borne', Subanu and Fidji *dala* 'to carry, to bear', Easter Island *tari* 'to lead, to carry', Paumoto *tari* 'to carry', Mangareva *tari* 'to carry, to transport', Marquesan *tai* 'to carry', Dayak *talian* 'das gebracht, geleitet, übergebracht sein', Javanese *tarik* and Malay *tariq* 'trekken'; Fidji *ndali* and Mota *tali* 'a cord', Malayan *tali* 'a rope, string, bandage', Formosan *tarych* and Madagascar *tadi* 'a rope'. I have also compared it to Bahnar *töléy* and Khasi *tyllai* 'Strick'. Naert compares this Ainu word *tara* with the Indo-European root **der-*, **derə-* (Schwere Basis) etc., 'schinden, die Haut abspalten, spalten'.

In my article I connected the Ainu words *pas* and *paspas* 'charcoal, cinders, tinder', *pas* 'black', *upara* 'soot' and *upas* 'snow' with various Malay-Polynesian words. *U* in *upas* and *upara* is the collective prefix *u-*. *Pas* 'black' is said by me in this essay to be certainly affiliated to the other words quoted above, taking its meaning from the colours of charcoal and soot. Among Malay-Polynesian words with which I compare the words cited above I may mention Malay *bara*, Dayak *barah*, *bahæ*, Bugi *wara*, Visayan *bara*, *baya*, *baha*; Subanu and Tagalog *baga* 'living coals', Palau *bas* 'charcoal', Favorlang *paspas* 'stofregenen'. I observe in my article that the

vast difference in meaning between ‘charcoal’ on the one hand and ‘stofregen’ and ‘snow’ on the other appears to me to lose its significance if we presuppose the existence of intermediate interpretations such as ‘sparkle, fly about, blow about’, significations which do actually occur in some Ainu words which appear to be connected with those above-quoted, e.g. *paru* ‘to fly about as dust or chaff’, *parase* ‘to fly before the wind, to drift’, *para(ra)se* ‘to burn, to burn up in thousands of sparks as spray wood or thorns’, *upare* ‘the flaring of the fire, the spreading out of fire as before the wind’, *uparu* ‘to flame, to spread out as fire before the wind’. I add that if the words under discussion are originally onomatopoetic they may possibly be closely related to such words as *pa* ‘steam, smoke’, *epara*, *ewara* ‘to blow (with the mouth)’. Naert cites among other Ainu words *pas*, *paspas* ‘charcoal, cinders, tinder’, *paš-paš* ‘ashes’, *pas* ‘charbon’. He says in parenthesis that *pas* ‘charbon’ is almost certainly identical with *pas* ‘black’. Although he does not mention it, he is thus, as far as I can understand, of one mind with me as to the manner in which the word *pas* has acquired the meaning of ‘black’. He compares the Ainu words he has cited with the Indo-European roots **pes-* and (nasalised) **pēns-* ‘Staub, Sand’. Discussing the origin of an Old Slav word of this type meaning ‘sand’ he quotes: “vermutlich als ‘der wehende, gewehte’ benannt und zu l. *pēs* ‘blasen’”. The above passage would almost appear to indicate that Naert regards both the Ainu words and the Indo-European roots as onomatopoetic, but surely this cannot be the case, as he assigns the Ainu words *pas* etc. cited by me to the thirty or so words he felt obliged to ‘draw a line through’ (rayer), inter alia in consequence of their being “manifestement descriptifs”.

In my opinion, Naert should at an earlier stage of the work have told his readers why the Malay-Polynesian words quoted by me cannot be as closely related to the Ainu words cited therein as the much less similar Indo-European ones indicated by him.

A closer survey of the material used by Naert to prove a relationship between Ainu words and Indo-European roots reveals the fact that he is occasionally satisfied by a resemblance confined to a single sound; thus for instance when he compares the Ainu words *sa* and *sappo* ‘an elder sister’ with the Indo-European *s(u)esor-* ‘Schwester’, Old Indian *svasar*, Latin *soror*, Gothic *swistar*. The resemblance undoubtedly appears to be very slight.

His habitual method of collocating an Ainu word, not with one but with several (two, three or even four) Indo-European roots and rootlets, raises suspicion. Here are some instances:

In the Ainu words *piru-* ‘to peel off’ and *piru*, *piruru* ‘to wipe, to level off as grain in a measure’ Naert considers that the Indo-European **pel-*, **pelo-* etc. ‘verdecken, verhüllen, Haut, Fell, Tuch, Kleid’ or *pi-lo* ‘Haar’ or a confusion of both roots is present.

Among the word-parallels in my article I included the Ainu word *tereke* ‘to jump, to spring as an animal upon its prey’, *tereke-tereke* ‘to jump about, to skip about’. I there compare them with *tari-tari* ‘to be tossed up and down as when riding’, *tantaraki* ‘to canter, to trot’ and *tarakin-tarakin* ‘to be severely shaken or bumped’. I also compare *tereke* with, inter alia, the Malay *tari* ‘huppen, dansen’. Naert, who does not mention my parallels, compares this word with the Indo-European roots **der-* in the extensions **drā-* etc. (as in Old Indian *drāti* ‘läuft, eilt’ or *dreh-* (chiefly in the Greek $\tau\varphi\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ ‘laufen’), or **tragh-* and **tregh-* ‘ziehen, am Boden schleppen (daher auch: Spur), ziehen = sich bewegen, laufen’; (“au sens de ‘courir’, sans doute dans got. *pragian*”), or with **trek-* (in, for instance, a Serbian word meaning ‘laufen’).

He collocates the Ainu word *poro* ‘large, big, great, much’ with the Indo-European root **bel* ‘strong’, or with **b(e)u-*, **bh(e)u* ‘aufblasen schwollen’, or with **polo*, **pōlo* ‘geschwollen, dick, gross’ or with the Ainu words *para* ‘broad’ and *pira* ‘open, spread out’, the latter being finally compared by him with the Indo-European **pele* etc. ‘breit und flach, ausbreiten’ etc.!

In my opinion the comparisons with Indo-European made by Naert, and his method of dealing with the Ainu words fall very regrettably short of what might be expected. For instance:

The Ainu word *wara* in, e.g. *warapo*, *wappo* ‘a young child’, is collocated by him with the Indo-European root **uirós*, which, in all the Indo-European languages in which its existence can be proven, means ‘man’. The difference between the sense of the two words appears to be considerable, but Naert has evidently not been so inclined to dismiss his own parallel as he was to dispose of some of mine (he does not particularize them) motivating their exclusion as due to “des changements sémantiques trop importants”.

On page 116 Naert collocates the Ainu word *teunin* ‘to sparkle as the eyes of an animal in the dark’ with the Indo-European root **deju-* which is found in the Old Indian *dēvah* ‘god’, Latin *deus* etc. When I

encountered this collocation I could not but think of the part of Trymskvida in which the giant Trymr says, alluding to Tor disguised as Freya: 'Why do Freya's eyes blaze so fiercely? Meseems a fire is burning in those eyes.' Naert should preferably have given a more exact indication of the manner in which he conceives the import of the Ainu *teunin* on the one hand to be fused with that of the Indian *dēvah* and the Latin *deus* etc. on the other.

We are given no information whatever about *-nin* which after all constitutes one-half of the word *teunin*. For my part I should like to see some consideration given to the question of whether *nin* in *teunin* 'to sparkle as the eyes of an animal in the dark' might not be connected with *nin* in *ninninkeppu* 'glowworm', *shiunin* 'yellow, green' (compare *ninge* 'gall', *shiu* 'bitter', *shiube* 'bile'). But maybe these words cannot be connected with some Indo-European root or other, and so they are perhaps for this reason not worthy of note in this context (concerning 'gods').

The Ainu word *ne-manup* 'the object called' in, for instance, *seta ne manup* 'the object called dog' is analysed as follows by Naert: "-*p* est 'the object', *ne* peut être = 'which is', d'où *manu* = appeler, signification qui ne saurait en aucune façon être portée par le seul *manu* des dictionnaires, à savoir l'auxiliaire de présent." He compares *ne-manup* with the Indo-European **en(o)mṇ-*, **(o)nomṇ*, **nōmṇ* 'Name' in the Old Indian *nama*, Latin *nomen* etc. He conceives several different ways in which the evolution of the Ainu *ne-manup* from the Indo-European roots may have taken place. I do not propose to deal with these suppositions. I find it difficult to believe that the Ainu word should be connected in any way with the above-mentioned Indo-European roots. I am of the opinion that *manu* in *ne-manup* has nothing whatever to do with 'name' or 'called'. According to Batchelor's Dictionary, *manu*, as Naert himself emphasizes, is used to indicate the past tense. Why can *seta ne manup* not be simply interpreted as 'that (the object) which was a dog', or 'the dog'? Compare in Batchelor's Dictionary under *ne*: *seta ne ruwe ne* 'it is a dog', and under *ruwe ne*: *Ainu ne ruwe ne* 'it is a man'.

According to Naert, the Ainu *riuka*, *ruika*, *ruka* 'bridge' belongs to the same category as the Indo-European **bhru*, **bhreu* 'Balken, Prügel, Übergang über ein Gewässer: Brücke'. But is it really necessary, in order to explain the words *ruika* etc. to invoke the aid of the Indo-European languages? I think it should be possible to avail oneself for this purpose of such Ainu material as: *ru* 'way, path, line, road'; *ka* 'the

top of anything, up, over'; *ika* 'to run over, to pass from one to another'. Naert says that *ruika* has evolved itself from *riuka*, but he gives no reason why *riuka* might not instead have been developed from *ruika*. Has he perhaps found the establishment of a relationship between the Ainu word and an Indo-European root a more attractive proposition than the possibility that it is of purely Ainu origin?

Naert has classified the word-material used by him to prove the close relationship he finds between Ainu and the Indo-European languages mainly into groups dealing with particular subjects; e.g. water, climate, the parts of human and animal bodies. He also deals separately with different classes of words. I have chosen as an object for closer scrutiny one of these groups of which he treats, viz. the numerals 1–10, and 20.

In my article "Word-parallels" (p. 65) I have collocated the numeral *shine* 'one' in Ainu with such words as the following—compound or uniform—words in the Malay-Polynesian languages: Samoan and Futunan *tasi*, Easter Island, Mangarevan, Tahitian and Maori *tahi*, Hawaiian *kahi*, Bugi and Macassar *si*, Malayan *sa(-tu)*, Tagalog and Subanu *sa*, *isa*, Visayan *osa*. In the same manner I have also collocated there the Ainu word *tu (to)* 'two' with the Tahiti, Maori, Mangarevan, Easter Island and Visayan *rua*, Samoan and Hawaiian *lua*, Moriori and Efate *ru*, Malayan and Subanu *dua*, Javanese (ngoko) *ro, roro, loro*. I also compare the Ainu word *ru* 'half' with the Malay-Polynesian words for 'two'. I then add: "None of the remaining [numerals] can be connected with the Mal.-Pol., at least not without a great deal of trouble." I had in mind chiefly the words meaning 'three' when writing this additional passage. On p. 78 I give the Ainu words *a, an, at* and *ara* 'one of two, one of a pair'. I indicate that *a, an* and *at* have been evolved from *ara* under the influence of the initial sounds of the ensuing words. I also point out that the Ainu words *are* 'side', *ara* 'open', *ara* 'tongs', *ara* 'earwig' are probably very closely connected with *ara* 'one of two, one of a pair'. I emphasize the fact that the Ainu word resembles in form and significance the word *ār* in the Assam language, Khasi. I also institute comparisons between the word *lai* in Standard Khasi, *lai-re* in Lyngngam, *lē* in Synteng, *lāi* in War and *lai* in Wa and the Ainu word *re* (and *?rai*) all of which mean 'three'.

Naert does not mention my collocations, but may perhaps intend to do so at some future time, if he lives long enough to get the third volume advertised in his preface ready for publication.

In the present work he compares the first syllable of the Ainu word

shine ‘one’ and the second syllable of the word *osane* ‘only one’ with the Indo-European roots **se-*, **so-* “la base pronominale bien connue — — — qu'il faut sans doute retrouver au sens de ‘1’ dans gr. ἐ-κατόν, qui s'explique plus naturellement comme **se-k̑ptóm* que comme < **sm-k̑ptóm* > *ἀ-κατόν, changé en ἐ-κατόν d'après εἰς ou comme *ἐ-κατόν (< **sem-*)”.

The Ainu word *tu* ‘two’ is coupled by him with the European **dúō(u)* ‘two’.

He links the Ainu word *re* ‘three’ with the Indo-European *trei* ‘three’. He classifies *rere* and *reraï* as variants of *re* and asserts that: “le -rai de la dernière peut être comparé au degré *troi de l'ie”. He then says that it may perhaps not be too audacious to include the Ainu word *chishurap* ‘the three year old bear cub’ in this category. He relegates it to “la forme féminine de l'ie. *-trei-, à savoir *tiser-, tisr- … Un proto-aïnou *tisr- doit donner aïnou actuel čišur-.” He concludes his discussion of the word *chishurap* with the addendum that the collocation made by him provides in any case the only method of giving a proper significance to this word. For my part I have always thought that *chishurap* should be collocated with Ainu words such as *chish* ‘to cry, to weep’ etc., *chish koromimse*, *chish koshishirapa* etc. for ‘to cry’ and ‘to weep’.

The Ainu word *ine* ‘four’ is not compared by Naert to any Indo-European word but he says that an old Ainu word for the number ‘four’ “certainement” is embodied in the word *watchirewe*, *wachirewe* ‘square’. He does not quite know what to do with the ending of the word, -ewe, but the remainder is collocated by him with the Indo-European **kʷetuer-*, *kʷetuor-* etc. ‘four’. Naert declares that from *kʷetuer-* one arrives at *yatuir-* by the assimilative influence of the ensuing *u-* on *kʷ*. He goes on to say that this *yatuir* normally produces *uattir-* and from the latter *watchir-* is evolved. I consider that a serious—even if somewhat audacious—attempt to account for *watchirewe* ‘square’ by using Ainu alone would be decidedly preferable to such an involved attempt at a doubtful connection (with the aid of merely suppositious intermediate forms) with an Indo-European root for ‘four’ as that made herein by Naert.

He also combines the Ainu word for ‘five’ *ashikne* with an Indo-European root, viz. **penqʷe* ‘five’, which he supposes once meant ‘hand’. He traces the primary sound *a* in *ashikne* back to *a* ‘one of two’ and assumes that *ashi* in *ashikne* has its origin in an earlier **asi* < **ose* or **eṣe*. Furthermore, he supposes that *-ne* is derived from **nei* or **ne*. He postulates that the whole word originated with an **ose-penqʷe-nei*

and adds the substantival *-p*; this aggregation in his opinion at some time culminated in *ašipinq^ui-nēp-*; “mot vraiment peu pratique et singulièrement exposé à une contraction *ašikinep*, surtout si le stade intermédiaire n’eut pas été *asipink^uinēp*, mais *ašik^uink^uinēp*, avec l’assimilation du latin”!

Apropos the Ainu word for ‘six’: *iwan*, Naert mentions the form *Suab*, advanced by the Swedish geographer Strahlenberg in 1730. Naert adds, that if the *s* in *suab* is not a printer’s error, the Indo-European initial is present in the Ainu word for ‘six’. He proceeds to say: “*Suab* serait-il **suəks* (l’ainou ne peut pas prononcer *ui*, et un *sueks*, non retouché aurait produit ce groupe) + ai. *-p* de substantivation, assimilé nécessairement en **suapp* (> Str. *Suab*) > **uap(p)* (d’où **ua* par abstraction), terme inutilisable à cause de l’homonymie avec *wa* ‘10’). Dans ce cas on aurait différencié en *i-wa*.” He then reverts to Strahlenberg’s *s-* “qu’on ne saurait ignorer”. The elision of the *s* in the transition, surmised by Naert, of the hypothetical *suapp* > the hypothetical *uap(p)* > the hypothetical *ua* does not, moreover, appear to have any basis in Ainu, but is merely an assumption made by Naert, for the usual reason, I presume.

He does not collocate the Ainu word for ‘seven’, *arawa*, or the words for ‘eight’ and ‘nine’: *tupesan* and *shinepesan*, with any Indo-European roots, but on the other hand he asserts that an old word for the numeral ‘eight’ occurs in a series of Ainu compounds, viz. in *atkoro guru*, *atuina*, *atuinao*, *atuinne* ‘An octopod, Devil fish, Octopus punctatus, Gabb’. Batchelor interprets *at-koro-guru* as follows: *koro* = ‘to have’, *guru* = ‘creature’, *at* = ‘sucker arms, suckers; feelers’, hence the whole = ‘creature which has sucker arms’. The word *at* is given the following meanings in his dictionary: ‘Elm fibre. A string. A thong. A boot-lace’. Also ‘an elm tree’ (see *at-ni*). ‘Suckers. Feelers’. In his opinion the word *atuina* is a combination of *at* = ‘sucker arms’ and *uina* which is the plural form of the verb *uk* ‘to take’; *atuina* might therefore be translated as ‘take (plural) with sucker arms’ and according to him the words are literally ‘(the) sucker arms take’. Naert considers *atuinnep* to mean ‘creature with many sucker arms’, as *uinne* means ‘many’. He disputes Batchelor’s explanations with, inter alia, the following remarks: “comme *ni* signifie ‘arbre’, il n’y a aucune raison de donner à *at* le sens de ‘elm tree’, quand on compte soi-même avec un sens ‘elm fibre’! Ensuite, pourquoi aurait-on employé le pluriel (de l’objet! Cf. Gr., p. 71). De plus l’ordre des éléments dans *atuinnep* ‘tentacules-beaucoup’ ne paraît pas satisfaisant.

Enfin et surtout, pourquoi les Aïnous auraient-ils donné ces noms à l'animal en question, alors que tout le monde l'appelle de nom ayant trait au nombre — et non à la vague multitude — de ses pieds, ou bras — et non "fibres" (!) ou lanières — ou à l'encre qu'il émet?"

I fail to understand why *at* cannot mean 'elm tree' because *at* may also mean 'elm fibre'. There are after all Swedes for whom the word 'grain' simply means 'grain whisky', and one can also be reminded in this connection of our expression *kornblå* corn[flower]blue and the use of the word 'elm' for 'elm tree'. Batchelor has in all probability simply heard Ainu use the word *at* when speaking of an elm tree. Nor can I comprehend Naert's remark "et non 'fibres' (!) ou lanières". Batchelor's translation in his dictionary of *at* as 'Elm fibre. A string. A thong. A boot-lace' etc. does not necessarily imply his sanction for the interpretation of *at* in the word *atuinnep* as 'fibres' or 'lanières'. Naert had after all just mentioned the fact that *uinne* means 'many', and the whole word *atuinnep* 'creatures with a multitude of arms'. He obtained this interpretation from Batchelor. Furthermore, the latter translates *at* as, in addition to the words above-cited, 'suckers' and 'feelers'. According to Naert, the definition 'sucker-arms' given by Batchelor to *at* in *atkoro guru*, *atuina* etc. "fort l'air d'avoir été déduit justement de ces mots à expliquer". Why? I am equally at a loss to understand why *koro* in *atkoro guru* cannot signify, as it does in Batchelor's work '(creature(s)) having (sucker arms)'. Naert's interpretation of *koro* as a noun meaning 'extremities' and translation of *atkoro guru* as "8 bras, ou pieds — individu" is evidently due to his anxiety to find a close relationship between the Ainu word *at* and the Indo-European *oktō(u)* '8'. "Man merkt die Absicht und wird verstimmt." It might be possible to surmise that *atuinao* is a combination of *atui* 'sea' and *nau* 'little chips, small branches', 'a shaving'. Compare the Ainu words *inao* and *inau* 'whittled pieces of willow, lilac and other wood which are stuck in the ground as offerings to the gods'. *Atuinao* (*atuinau*) might then be translated as 'sea-inaus' and be regarded as a kind of image or allegory. But one is certainly not entitled to misunderstand and misinterpret Batchelor in order to arrive at such a conclusion.

Much remains to be said on the subject of Naert's treatment of *at*. I shall, however, merely dwell on one or two further details. In his opinion the vowel *u* after the *t* in *atuina* can perhaps be traced back to the *u* in the Indo-European root *oktō(u)*. He also envisages the possibility of the same component forming a part of *atuita* 'ten' (used only in counting

animals)! The first half of the word would in this case mean ‘eight’ and the final syllable perhaps “et deux”; the whole accordingly: 8 + 2 (= 10).

Naert does not enter into any detailed study of the manner in which the Ainu word *wan(n)* ‘ten’ should be interpreted, but promises to do so “dans notre prochaine étude”. In the work under discussion the reader, he says, will find more to interest him in the elucidation of a word which has been carefully concealed in Batchelor’s dictionary, namely the word *kuntu*. He quotes from the latter’s grammar, in a note affixed to the beginning of the chapter on numerals: “in Saghalien a bundle of ten skins of animals is called *shine kuntuku*.” The word *kuntuku* is sometimes written as *kunkutu*. This form is easily accounted for, says Naert, as a metathesis. He compares *kuntu* to the Indo-European “Ab-lautendes [de *de km̥-t(i) ‘Dekade’] (*d km̥t- (Dual), (d)km̥mt — (Plur.) ‘in den Zehnerzahlen’, dans par ex. ... gr. τριάκοντα (< *κωντα). After this comparison he writes: “Anticipons pour une fois sur nos conclusions, et adaptions l’ainou comme le membre *kuntu* de la famille *centum*!”

Naert’s etymology of *kuntu* must be accounted for by his having adopted a theory according to which the word *kuntu* cannot originally have had any other meaning than ‘ten’ and is related to the Latin *centum*. I am indeed surprised that he does not conclude his dissertation on *kuntu* in the same manner in which he culminated his discussion of *chishurap*: “ce rapprochement est en tout cas le seul moyen de donner un sens au mot en question”. Batchelor does not include the word *kuntuku* in the first part of his dictionary, or in the second. But he gives a word *tonto* meaning ‘leather’ and in the second part of the dictionary, for the word ‘bundle’: *tantaku*. I am not certain, but I can conceive the possibility of this *tantaku* having been a mistaken version of an indistinctly written *tontuku* or *tontoku*. The above-mentioned *tonto* can scarcely be a printer’s error or a phonetic transmutation of *konto*, as Batchelor also includes a word *tonto-ne* ‘hairless’, and the *n* in *tonto* appears to be derived from an *r*, changed to *n* before *t*; compare *torara* ‘leather thongs’, ‘thongs made of the skins of the sea lions or other animals’, ‘a strap’. Naert collocates *torara* and *tonto* and also *tara* to the Indo-European *der-, Schwere Basis *derə. Compare *tara* above p. 103. The expression *shine kuntuku* cited by Batchelor in the note appertaining to the chapter on numerals is, it appears, not more necessarily likely to embody a *kuntu* ‘10’ than is *shike* in the expression *shine shike* also given therein to mean ‘20’, although it is used on Sakhalin to indicate ‘20 (fishes)’. Batchelor translates the expression *shine shike*

cited above as 'one load'. In the dictionary he translates *shike* with 'Luggage. Baggage. A bundle'. For purposes of comparison one might employ the Swedish word *kast*, which in certain circumstances is used to signify 'four (of)', i.e. concerning (small) Baltic herrings. If one has seen how fishermen count these herrings, one knows how the word *kast* 'fling, jerk, toss, throw, cast' has acquired, in this connection, the meaning of 'four of ...'. If one has not seen the fishermen do this, one is nevertheless not obliged to believe that *kast* always means, or has originally meant 'four'.

Naert traces the Ainu word *hot* and *hot-* in the extension *hotne*, both = '20, a score' to the Indo-European **bhou* 'both' + *dwo(u)* (Ai. *tū*), "à comprendre comme 'les deux paires (= les mains et les pieds)' ou 'deux fois les deux [mains]' or + *tōu*, "duel du pronom démonstratif, à comprendre de la même façon" or "simplement *-t- suffix".

I am far more concerned about the circumstantial reasons which have tempted Naert to undertake his foolhardy etymologies of, for instance, the numerals 4, 6, 8, 10 and 20, than about the etymologies per se. I can only suppose that Naert has assumed that the Ainu have once had the same numerals for 1 etc. as the people who speak Indo-European languages, but have then forgotten or abandoned some of them and filled in the gaps with words from a different linguistic stock when they devised the, in some respects, rather clumsy arithmetical system, with which the present-day Ainus have to contend. He probably assumes, that the degeneration of the old system took place when the Ainu encountered the Japanese and were either conquered or driven away by them, and consequently were weakened as a race, by disease, drunkenness, mixing with the Japanese etc. One day, shortly after I had published my essay on the Ainu, a university acquaintance in Uppsala asked me if I was still at work on those ragamuffins, the Ainu. I answered that I was, and would continue to occupy myself with them for many a long day, in my spare time. I felt some astonishment at his use of the expression 'ragamuffins'. I could still vividly recall the words of my professor, Adolf Noreen, that a linguist will find the humble wildflower in the flora of philology at least as interesting and important as the carefully-cultivated blossoms. The Indo-European languages are good in their way, but other tongues can after all be good in theirs. For my part I am far from convinced that the Ainu, in the course of their degeneration, their decline into the 'ragamuffin' status, ceased to use certain numerals and replaced them with others. The numerals in

the borrowing of one of the languages in its entirety, or a greater or smaller part thereof by the other. During the upwards of thirty years which have passed since I wrote my Ainu essay, I have often wondered why the Ainu language has not been subjected to any thoroughly-prosecuted critical study. If there is to be any hope of obtaining a reliable conception of its possible relationship to other languages, it appears to me absolutely necessary that a radical analysis of its structure and vocabulary should be undertaken. As I have indicated above, this must, as far as I can see, entail the carrying-out of the analysis in the regions in which Ainu is spoken, and the work must be done by people who have given themselves time to obtain a thorough knowledge of the language and are familiar with its dialects. That is the first objective. The second would be to subject the Ainu language, as it were, from its own point of view, to a general and particular analysis, and the third, to compare the analysed word material in Ainu with words and parts of words in other languages which might be taken into consideration, primarily the languages of neighbouring countries. By use of such methods one might perhaps be enabled to obtain linguistic aid in the formation of a fairly probable conclusion as to whether the Ainu are autochthonous in Japan or have migrated thither, and in the latter case whether their migration has begun in the North or in the South or somewhere in between. One should also thus be enabled to obtain some enlightenment as to the identity of the other languages with which Ainu has been in contact, and where this eventual contact took place; and finally whether Ainu is to be regarded as a residue of what was formerly a major linguistic group, or as an isolated language, or whether it is really deserving of notice because it is cognate with another language, and in that case to what language it is allied.

The widely-divergent views professed by Naert and by me gave rise to some controversy between us, with three contributions made by him, and three by me. For the progress of this controversy I refer the reader to "Språkliga bidrag", vol. 3, no. 11–12, Lund 1959.

LARS HARTMAN

Notes sur la récitation des textes avestiques

Mon oncle, Sven S. Hartman, qui m'a donné l'occasion d'étudier à son séminaire les matériaux dont il sera question ici, nous donne, à leur sujet, les renseignements suivants:

« Les récitations avestiques traitées dans cet article sont extraites d'un ensemble d'enregistrements magnétiques faits à Téhéran en 1958 grâce aux subventions du Konung Gustaf VI Adolfs 70-årsfond för svensk kultur. Le récitant en est le mobad Ervad Rostam Shāhzādi; l'enregistrement a été fait dans la maison du père de mon ami Zacaria Ghatan et je lui exprime ici ma reconnaissance pour l'aide précieuse qu'il m'a accordée.

Mon neveu Lars Hartman a étudié ces récitations avec moi. Il s'y est intéressé principalement du point de vue musical. Je lui ai transcrit les textes avestiques actuels; il en a noté les mélodies et les a analysées, ce dont il rend compte dans la suite. Les textes en question sont les suivants: celui de la cérémonie entière du Drōn (cf. Pavry, Bāj-dharnāne lagatī pāv-mahalnī kriyāo. Bombay 1938. Pp. 61–103) et ceux des deux chapitres gāthiques Y. XXIX et XLVII. Les deux derniers révèlent ici un intérêt particulier à cause de la correspondance entre leurs mètres et leurs mélodies. »

Avant de discuter certains détails de la récitation nous voulons observer quelques-uns de leurs traits généraux. Il convient de remarquer, ainsi, que les notes employées et la tonalité ne diffèrent guère de ce qu'un Occidental trouve naturel ou accoutumé — à l'exception, peut-être, du registre assez bas. Le mobad récite à peu près dans la tonalité de *si* bémol majeur avec des modifications qui s'expliquent par le fait qu'il s'agit d'une récitation très longue et exécutée à différentes reprises. Pour simplifier, nous avons transposé le tout en *ut* majeur. Les notes employées sont alors *si*, *ut*, *ré*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*. Dans un seul cas nous trouvons un *fa* dièse, et, dans un petit nombre d'endroits, des notes qui ne s'accordent pas avec notre échelle chromatique. Ces notes sont transcrrites ici par : *f-*, *h+*, etc. Nous les avons

comprises comme des modifications involontaires causées, sans doute, par la fatigue. Mais nous les avons pourtant notées aussi exactement que possible. Le style est simplement récitatif, c.-à-d. que chaque note se répète généralement sur plusieurs syllabes, et dans la cérémonie du Drōn il n'y a pas de vocalises. Dans Y. XXIX et Y. XLVII, nous trouvons des cas où une syllabe comporte plus d'une note, mais rarement plus de deux. (Y. XXIX, 1; XLVII, 5.) Sauf de rares exceptions, le chant se meut diatoniquement, et l'étendue (ou l'ambitus) ne dépasse que rarement celle de la quarte, ce qui veut dire que les deux notes finales de l'hexacorde, *fa* et *sol*, sont employées beaucoup plus rarement, que les autres. Les teneurs — c.-à-d. les notes comportant une récitation plus ou moins longue — sont de préférence *mi* et *ut*, et *ut* a aussi le caractère de « note tonique ».

En examinant plus en détail cette récitation, nous trouvons qu'elle se fonde sur une mélodie fondamentale variée continuellement et de façons diverses. Cette mélodie fondamentale se compose de trois motifs:

- a) un motif descendant, *mi ré ut*;
- b) un motif ascendant, *si ut ré*;
- c) le premier motif répété, *mi ré ut*.



Pourquoi n'avons-nous pas considéré le deuxième motif comme la fin de la mélodie ? Parce qu'il est assez rare qu'une phrase¹ plus longue ne se termine pas par *mi ré ut*. Il est peut-être significatif que cette mélodie fondamentale se rencontre entièrement et au début de la cérémonie du Drōn, comme au début de nos deux textes gāthiques. Chacun des motifs mentionnés, invarié ou varié, peut pourtant s'employer aussi séparément. Dans ce cas le motif du milieu se prolonge très souvent ainsi:

si ut si ut si ut ré
ou *si ut ré ut ré ut ré*.

¹ Par phrase nous entendons une partie de la récitation, limitée par des pauses.

La dernière figure est particulièrement fréquente lorsque le texte énumère des objets du culte, des épithètes divines, etc. (Voir Y. III, 18 de ci-dessous p. ex.) On a parfois l'impression qu'il s'agit surtout ici d'une récitation sur la teneur *ut*, dont le chanteur ne s'écarte que d'une seconde pour varier la mélodie. (Voir Y. III, 15 p. ex.) Dans les énumérations en question les écarts ont pourtant une fonction ponctuante, là où la seconde ascendante sert de « virgule », car elle y coïncide toujours avec l'enclitique *-ča*.

Le premier motif, *mi ré ut*, peut être précédé d'un « levé » ou d'une introduction, à savoir *ré*. (Voir *χvarəθəm myazdəm...* devant Y. III, 5 et *sāvanhē vīsyāiča...* de Y. III, 5, etc.) Ce « levé » se retrouve peut-être, augmenté et varié, dans les figures suivantes:

« Levé »	Le premier motif
<i>ré</i>	<i>mi ré ut¹</i>
<i>ré fa</i>	<i>mi ré ut²</i>
<i>fa</i>	<i>mi ré ut³</i>
<i>mi ré fa</i>	<i>mi ré ut⁴</i>

Il ne nous semble pas exclus qu'on doive expliquer les figures suivantes de la même manière:

<i>mi ré fa sol fa</i>	<i>mi ré ut⁵</i>
<i>sol fa</i>	<i>mi ré ut⁶</i>

(Pour expliquer la figure *sol fa mi* on pourrait même supposer qu'elle est le motif initial transposé d'une tierce plus haut. Mais le demi-ton *fa-mi* y fait des difficultés et ne semble pas correspondre bien au ton entier *ré-ut* du motif initial. Dans ce cas on serait plutôt tenté de parler d'une parenté entre les deux motifs.)

Ces deux variantes sont assez rares — nous n'en avons que neuf exemples dans la cérémonie du Drōn. Ce « levé augmenté » ne continue que rarement jusqu'au *si* du motif médian mais finit le plus souvent après *mi ré ut* du premier motif.

¹ V. p. ex. Y. III, 5 *aoχtōnāmanō*.

² V. p. ex. Y. IV, 19 *rasastātō*.

³ V. p. ex. Y. III, 17 *dahmayā*.

⁴ V. p. ex. Y. V, 3 *tōm ahmākāiš*.

⁵ V. p. ex. Y. VII, 23 *yasnyāča*.

⁶ V. p. ex. Y. III, 20 *gāuš hudā*.

Nous pourrions regarder comme une autre variante du premier motif (*mi ré ut*) la figure *ré mi ut ré si ut* (de Y. III, 5 p. ex.), où l'on récite sur *ré*, *ut*, *si*, respectivement, et où *si ut* passent à la cadence *mi ré ut*.

Cela nous entraînerait trop loin de noter toutes les variantes des motifs, mais il nous semble qu'en examinant les matériaux ci-après on pourra ramener toutes les variantes à notre mélodie fondamentale, comme nous l'avons montré seulement pour les quelques variantes les plus fréquentes.

En examinant les pauses de la récitation, il nous semble que, par leur différence, elles sont cadences finales ou demi-cadences. Ceci paraît intéressant surtout en ce qui concerne les chants gāthiques, où les cadences se placent assez régulièrement aux dernières syllabes des vers. La cadence finale se termine toujours par *ut*, souvent répété sur plusieurs syllabes.

Pour revenir à la mélodie fondamentale, nous pourrions dire que la phrase peut être cadencée après chacun des trois motifs formant la mélodie fondamentale. Cela implique que l'étendue de la phrase varie considérablement parce que les motifs peuvent s'étendre, se raccourcir ou disparaître. Ainsi nous avons p. ex. les cas suivants:

- a) une phrase comprenant les seules notes *mi ré ut*;
- b) une phrase commençant par le motif médian (*si ut ré*) et continuant par le motif final (*mi ré ut*);
- c) une phrase commençant par un «levé augmenté» et cadencée après le premier motif (*mi ré ut*).

Les cadences finales contiennent, généralement, les notes *mi ré ut*, mais les fins suivantes sont aussi assez courantes: *ré ut*, *ut ré ut* et *si ut*.

La demi-cadence se termine par un *ré* précédé par *si ut* ou *ut*, c'est-à-dire qui'elle se compose du motif median, varié ou invarié, de la mélodie fondamentale. Quant à l'étendue des phrases, nous y trouvons les mêmes variations que dans les cadences finales.

Voici une démonstration nette de la manière dont la mélodie fondamentale forme la base de la récitation des textes: la juxtaposition suivante 1) du début de la cérémonie du Drōn, 2) de celui de Y. XXIX, et 3) de celui de Y. XLVII.

Dr. |————— A —————|————— B —————|

Y. xxix

Y. XLVII

|————— C —————|————— D —————|

E

Nous avons marqué certains passages du tableau ci-dessus par les capitales A, B, C, D et E. À A et à D, Y. XXIX et XLVII ont prolongé le motif médian. — À B la phrase de Y. XLVII commence au milieu de la mélodie fondamentale et est ensuite cadencée, tandis que les phrases des deux autres textes y commencent par le premier motif. — À C la Cérémonie du Drōn a la forme la plus complète, tandis que Y. XXIX répète le motif médian et Y. XLVII recommence la mélodie fondamentale après la cadence sous B. — Le fait que, à E, tous les trois textes portent des tons « irréguliers » est sans doute un simple effet du hasard.

Ayant examiné le principe de variation, nous pouvons aussi démontrer que le mobad, chaque fois qu'il récite un texte, a vraisemblablement la liberté d'en varier la mélodie fondamentale. Car, dans les textes de la Cérémonie du Drōn revenant dans d'autres cérémonies, non publiées ici, cette mélodie comporte d'autres variations. D'ailleurs, les passages qui se rencontrent plusieurs fois dans la Cérémonie du Drōn ne prennent pas en général les mêmes notes. Ainsi les douze passages (sauf deux) de la prière *Ašəm vo^hu* diffèrent les uns des autres, même si les différences ne sont pas toujours très grandes.¹ En comparant le deuxième et le quatrième *Ašəm vo^hu* de Y. VIII, 9 avec celui de Y. VII, 1, on peut constater entre eux une ressemblance assez grande, mais l'adaptation de la mélodie aux syllabes n'est pas la même dans les trois cas. — Il en est de même en ce qui concerne d'autres passages, ceux de *χvarəθəm myazdəm...*² p. ex. et celui de Y. VII, 20 dont le texte se répète deux fois.

Il n'est donc pas non plus vraisemblable que, dans la tradition orale de ces textes, la musique ait été un moyen mnémotechnique.

Le principe qui consiste à varier certains motifs fondamentaux est un phénomène assez ordinaire dans l'histoire de la musique. Ainsi, on le trouve dans les *rāga* indiens, les nomoi grecs et les *maqām* arabes, et on l'a même trouvé dans le chant grégorien³ et dans celui des juifs.⁴

¹ Le début de la Cérémonie du Drōn, Y. VII, 1, Y. VIII, 1 (3 exemples, dont les deux premiers sont identiques), Y. VIII, 4 (2 exemples), Y. VIII, 9 (5 exemples).

² Y. III, 20 (2 exemples), Y. VII, 20 (2 exemples), Y. VIII, 1.

³ V. p. ex. Fr. Aug. Gevaert: Les origines du chant liturgique de l'église latine, 1890, spéc. p. 25.

⁴ A. Z. Idelsohn: Gesänge der jemenitischen Juden, 1914, et le même: Gesänge der persischen Juden, 1922, en donnent des plusieurs exemples.

On peut se demander si cette manière de réciter est ou non originale. Les matériaux dont nous disposons ne nous permettent pas de donner une réponse sûre, mais, en tout cas, il nous semble vraisemblable que cette façon de faire ne vient pas des Musulmans.¹ Les cas de récitation sacrée musulmane que nous avons rencontrés ont un registre plus ample, une mélodie moins diatonique, un nombre plus grand de notes hors de notre échelle, et surtout des vocalises dont la fonction n'est pas seulement ornementale et ponctuante, mais, surtout, recherche de l'effet expressif.

Il y a aussi des auteurs qui pensent que la récitation avestique rappelle celle des hindous. Ainsi, M. Haug² dit: « At present, the priests do not make any distinction as to the way of repeating the different parts of the Zend-Avesta; they recite them equally in a singing tone. That is not to be wondered at, the different constituents of the Yasna being unknown to the present priests, which was not the case in ancient times... » Et dans une note³ il ajoute: « Frasravay is the solemn recital in the form of a very simple tune, comparable to the way of singing the Sama-Veda by the Brahmans. »

Quoi qu'il en soit, les matériaux de Felber⁴ nous montrent plusieurs exemples d'une récitation sacrée dont la structure ressemble au chant de notre mobad par le registre assez petit, le style sans de vocalises, et la manière de varier la mélodie fondamentale.⁵ En effet, Strangways et Bake disent⁶: « The Rigveda was and is chanted to three notes, and these were increased in the Samaveda, the oldest liturgy in the world, to five, six and seven. »

Ces faits semblent ouvrir des perspectives assez intéressantes quant à l'origine de la manière de réciter l'Avesta. Si la récitation parsie et celle des Hindous ont une origine commune indo-iranienne (cf.

¹ H. G. Farmer dans l'article Music de Pope-Ackerman: A Survey of Persian Art, 1939, p. 2785 ss. cite des témoignages qui vont plutôt en sens opposé. Cependant nous nous trouvons là dans le domaine de la musique artistique.

² Essays... éd. 3^{me}, 1884, p. 143.

³ Ibid., note 1.

⁴ Die indische Musik der vedischen und der klassischen Zeit, 1912.

⁵ V. p. ex. op. cit., 103 s., où les chants sont pris de Samaveda. C'est le cas aussi pour l'exemple de Bake dans l'article Indische Musik de Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, tome 6, 1957, p. 1155, où il cite Taittirīya-āranyaka X, 11, chanté dans une manière qui rappelle beaucoup les documents que nous étudions.

⁶ F. Strangway dans l'article Indian Music, revisée par A. Bake, dans Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, tome 4, 1954, p. 456.

Haug, op. cit., p. 143), on se demande laquelle des deux représente le stade primaire, la première qui est plus libre, ou la seconde qui est plus fixée par une notation. Le chant de notre mobad ne montre aucun des traits que la science musicologique regarde généralement comme des signes d'un développement plus avancé où la musique comme telle, cultivée par des artistes et ornée par des ornementations riches, en est venue à attirer l'attention. Il ne nous semble pas donc incroyable que cette manière de réciter soit assez ancienne et mérite une recherche plus approfondie.

La cérémonie du Drōn¹

χšnaoθra ahurahe mazdā |

ašəm vohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ ašāi vahištāi
 ašəm barəsmana daθušō ahurahe mazdā rāēvatō χvarənanuhatō amə-
 šanām spəntanām χvarəθəm myazdəm āyese yešti haurvata amərətāta
 gāuš hudā āpā urvara aēsmā baoīdi χšnūmaine ahurahe mazdā amə-
 šanām spəntanām sraošahe ašyehe āθro ahurahe mazdā raθwō bərə-
 zatō yō ašahe

III, 5 āyese yešti² hāvanē ašaone ašahe raθwe āyese yešti sāvanhēe
 vīsyāiča ašaone ašahe raθwe āyese yešti miθrahe vourugaoyaoitōiš
 hazanragaošahe baēvarəčašmanō aoχtōnāmanō yazatahe rāmanō χvās-
 trahe

III, 14 āyese yešti (tava)³ āθrō ahurahe mazdā puθra maṭ vīspaēibyō
 ātərəbyō āyese yešti aiwyō vanuhibyō vīspanāmča apām mazdaðā-
 tanām vīspanāmča urvaranām mazdaðātanām

III, 15 āyese yešti māθrahe spəntahe ašaonō vərəzyanuhāhe dātahe

¹ Il faut observer que, dans la notation suivante, les lettres des tons ne sont pas répétées, où plusieurs syllabes comportent la même note. // et | marquent les pauses, dont // marque une plus longue et | une plus brève.

² PAVRY ajoute ici: *asnyāēibyō ašahe ratubyō*.

³ *tava* manque chez GELDNER.

vīdaēvahē dātahe zarađuštrōiš darəyayā upayanayā daēnayā vanhuyā
māzdayasnōiš

III, 16. āye se yešti garōiš ušidarənahe mazdađatahe ašaχvāđrahe
vīspaēšamča gairinām ašaχvāđranām pouruχvāđranām mazdađatanām
kāvayehēča χvarənanhō mazdađatahe aχvarətaheča χvarənanhō maz-
dađatahe āye se yešti ašōiš vanhuyā čistōiš vanhuyā ərəđē vanhuyā
rasastātō vanhuyā χvarənanhō savanhō mazdađatahe

III, 17 āye se yešti dahmayā vanhuyā āfritōiš dahmaheča narš ašaonō
uγraheča taχmahe dāmōiš upamanāhe yazatahe

III, 18 āye se yešti ānhām asanhāmča šōiđranāmča gaoyaoitināmča
maēđananāmča avōχvarənanāmča apāmča zēmāmča urvaranāmča ain-
hāsča zēmō avainheča ašnō vātaheča ašaonō strām māphō hūrō
anayranām raočanhām χvađatanām vīspanāmča spəntahe mainyōuš
dāmanām ašaonām ašaonināmča ašahe rađwām

III, 20 χvarəđəm myazdəm āye se yešti haurvata amərətātā gāuš
hudā āpē urvara aēsma baoiđi χšnūmaine sraošahe ašyehē taχmahe
tanumāđrahe darśidraoš āhūiryehē aoχtōnāmanō yazatahe χvarəđəm
myazdəm āye se yešti haurvata amərətātā gāuš hudā āpē urvara
aēsma baoiđi χšnūmaine sraošahe ašyehē taχmahe tanumāđrahe dar-
śidraoš āhūiryehē aoχtōnāmanō yazatahe

III, 22 āye se yešti ašāunām fravašinām uγranām aiwiđūranām
paoiryōtkaēšanām fravašinām nabānazdištanām fravašinām

(III, 23) āye se yešti vīspaēibyō vanhuđābyō yazataēibyō mainyaoi-
byasča gaēđyaēibyasča yōi hənti yasnyāča vahmyāča ašāt hača yač
vahištāt

(III, 24) fravarāne mazdayasnō zarađuštriš vīdaēvō ahurađkaēšō

g f e e+ e c d h c
 hāvanē ašaone ašahe raθwe yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča frasas-
 tayaēča sāvanhē vīsyāiča ašaone ašahe raθwe yasnāiča vahmāiča
 χšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča

(III, 25) (c) e d c | h c
 yaθā ahū vairyō zaotā frāmē mrūtē aθā ratuš ašātčit
 hača frā.ašava vīðvā mraotū

(IV, 1) #f--- f e d c | h c
 ima humatāča hūχtāča hvarštāča ima myazdašča zaoθrāsča
 h c d | e d c h+ c d c d
 haurvata amərətātā gāmča huðānħem apəmča urvarāmča aēsmasča
 c d c d e d c ||
 baoiðimča pairiča dadəmahī āča vaēðayamahī

IV, 2 āaṭ diš āvaēðayamahī ahurāiča mazdā sraošāiča ašyāi amə-
 řaēibyasča spəntaēibyō ašāunamča fravašibyō ašāunamča urvōibyō
 e d c || h c d | e d c || d f
 āθraēča ahurahe mazdā raθwaēča bərəzaite vīspayā sačatča ašaonō
 stōiš yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča

(IV, 3) āaṭ diš āvaēðayamahī ima humatāča hūχtāča hvarštāča ima
 e c d h c d e d c || d c
 myazdasča zaoθrāsča haurvata amərətātā gāmča huðānħem apəmča
 urvarāmča aēsmasča baoiðimča pairiča dadəmahī āča vaēðayamahī

IV, 4 āaṭ diš āvaēðayamahī aməšaēibyō spəntaēibyō huχšaθraēibyō
 h c d c || e d f
 huðābyō yavaējibyō yavaēsubyō yōi vanhēuš ā mananhō šyeinti yāšča
 uiti

IV, 5 āaṭ diš āvaēðayamahī frāyehiš ahe nmānahe fradaθāi ahe
 d c || e d c h c d c
 nmānahe pasvāmča narāmča zātanāmča zahyamnanāmča ašaonām
 e d
 yēhe aēm hənti

IV, 6 āaṭ diš āvaēðayamahī ašāunām vanuhibyō fravašibyō yā
 c d e d c e d
 uγrāsča aiwiðurāsča ašaonām avanhe

IV, 7 āaṭ diš āvaēðayamahī daθušō ahurahe mazdā raēvatō χvarə-
 d c h c d c
 nañuhatō mainyōuš mainyaoyehe aməšanām spəntanām yasnāiča
 c h c d c ||
 vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča

(IV, 8) *āat̄ dīš āvaēdayamahī asnyaēbyō ašahe ratubyō hāvanēe
ašaone ašahe raθwe yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča
sāvanhē¹ vīsyāiča ašaone ašahe raθwe yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča
frasastayaēča*

IV, 17 *āat̄ dīš āvaēdayamahī (āθrō) ahurahe mazdā puθra maṭ
vīspaēbyō ātərəbyō yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča āat̄
dīš āvaēdayamahī aiwyō vanuhibyō vīspanamča apām mazdaðatanām
vīspanamča urvaranām mazdaðatanām yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča
frasastayaēča*

IV, 18 *āat̄ dīš āvaēdayamahī māθrahe spəntahe ašaonō vərəzya-
nuhahe dātahe vīdaēvahē dātahe zaraθuštōiš darəγayā upayanayā
daēnayā vanhuyā māzdayasnōiš yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča frasas-
tayaēča*

IV, 19 *āat̄ dīš āvaēdayamahī garōiš ušidarənahe mazdaðatahe aša-
χvāθrahe vīspaēšamča gairinām ašaχvāθranām pouruχvāθranām maz-
daðatanām kāvayeheča χvarənanhō mazdaðatahe aχvarətaheča χvarə-
nanhō mazdaðatahe yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča āat̄
dīš āvaēdayamahī ašōiš vanhuyā čistoiš vanhuyā ərəθē vanhuyā rasas-
tātō vanhuyā χvarənanhō savanhō mazdaðatahe yasnāiča vahmāiča
χšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča*

IV, 20 *āat̄ dīš āvaēdayamahī dahmayā vanhuyā āfritōiš dahmaheča
narš ašaonō uγraheča taγmahe dāmōiš upamanahē yazatahe yasnāiča
vahmāiča χšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča*

IV, 21 *āat̄ dīš āvaēdayamahī ənhām asənhāmča šōiθranāmča gaoyaoi-
tināmča maēθananāmča avōχvarənanāmča apāmča zəmāmča urvara-*

¹ PAVRY ajoute avant ce mot: *āat̄ dīš āvaēdayamahī.*

namča aiñhāsča zemō avainheča ašnō vātaheča ašaonō strām māñhō
 hūrō anaγranām raočañham χvaðātanām vīspanāmča spāntahe mai-
 nyēuš dāmanām ašaonām ašaonināmča ašahe raθwām yasnāiča vah-
 māiča χšnaoðrāiča frasastayaēča

(IV, 23) āat diš āvaēðayamahī sraošahe ašyehē tazmahe tanumāðrahe
 darśidraoš āhūiryehē χšnaoðra yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoðrāiča frasas-
 tayaēča

IV, 24 āat diš āvaēðayamahī ašāunām fravašinām uγranām aiwiðū-
 ranām paoiryōtkaēšanām fravašinām nabānazdištanām fravašinām
 yasnāiča vahmāiča χšnaoðrāiča frasastayaēča

(IV, 25) āat diš āvaēðayamahī vīspaēibyō vanhuðābyō yazataēibyō
 mainyoibyasča gaēðyaēibyasča yōi hənti yasnýāča vahmyāča ašāt
 hača yať vahištāt aməšā spāntā huχšaðrā huðāñhō yazamaide

IV, 26. yenhe hātām āat yesnē paitī vañhō mazdā ahurō vaēðā
 ašāt hača yāñhāmčā tāščā tāščā yazamaide

V, 1 iðā āt yazamaide ahurēm mazdām yē gāmčā ašəmčā dāt
 apasčā dāt urvarāsyā vanuhīš raočāšča dāt būmīmčā vīspāčā vohū
 ahyā χšaðrāčā mazənāčā havapanghāiščā

V, 2 tēm at yasnānām paurvatātā yazamaide yōi gōuš hačā ſyeintī

V, 3 tēm at āhūiryā nāmān̄j mazdā-varā spāntōtēmā yazamaide
 tēm ahmākāiš azdibīščā uštānāiščā yazamaide tēm ašāunām fravašī
 narāmčā nāirināmčā yazamaide

V, 4 ašəm at vahištēm yazamaide hyať sraeštēm hyať spāntēm
 aməšēm hyať raočanghvāt hyať vīspā vohū

V, 5 vohučā manō yazamaide vohučā χšaðrēm vanuhīmčā daēnām
 vanuhīmčā fsəratūm vanuhīmčā ārmaitim

V, 6 yephē hātām āat̄ yesnē paitī vanhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā ašāt̄
 hačā yānhāmčā tāscā tāscā yazamaide

VI, 1 daðvāhām ahurōm mazdām yazamaide aməšā (?) spəntā
 hužšaðrā huðāhō yazamaide

VI, 2 asnya ašavana ašahe ratavō yazamaide hāvanīm ašavanəm
 ašahe ratūm yazamaide sāvanhaēm vīsimča ašavanəm ašahe ratūm
 yazamaide miðrəm vourugaoyaoitīm hazanragaošəm baēvarəčašmanəm
 aožtōnāmanəm yazatəm yazamaide rāma žvāstrəm yazamaide

(VI, 11) (θwām) ātrəm ahurahe mazdā puθrəm ašavanəm ašahe ra-
 tūm yazamaide mať vīspaēibyō atərəbyō āpō vanuhīš vahistā maz-
 daðātā ašaoniš yazamaide vīspā āpō mazdaðātā ašaoniš yazamaide
 vīspā urvara mazdaðātā ašaoniš yazamaide

VI, 12 māθrəm spəntəm ašžvarənānəm yazamaide dātəm vīdōyūm
 yazamaide dātəm zaraðuštī yazamaide darəyām upayanām yazamaide
 daēnām vanuhīm mazdayasnīm yazamaide

VI, 13 gairīm ušidarənəm mazdaðātəm ašažvāθrəm yazatəm yaza-
 maide vīspā garayō ašažvāθrā pouružvāθrā mazdaðātā ašavana ašahe
 ratavō¹ yazamaide uγrəm kavaēm žvarənō mazdaðātəm yazamaide
 uγrəm ažvarətəm žvarənō mazdaðātəm yazamaide ašim vanuhīm yaza-
 maide žšoīθnīm bərəzaitīm amavaitīm huraoðam žvāparām žvarənō
 mazdaðātəm yazamaide savō mazdaðātəm yazamaide

VI, 14 dahmām vanuhīm āfritīm yazamaide dahməmča narəm aša-
 vanəm yazamaide uγrəm tažməm dāmōiš upamanəm yazatəm yaza-
 maide

VI, 15 imā apasča zəmasča urvarāšča yazamaide imā asāsča

¹ Les mots *ašahe ratavō* manquent chez PAVRY.

e d c d c d c d e d c || g f
 šōiθrāsča gaoyaoitīšča maēθanyāsča avōγvarənāsča yazamaide iməmča
 e d c d e d
 šōiθrahe paitim yazamaide yim ahurəm mazdām

c || d c
 (VI, 17-18) haurvata amərətāta yazamaide gāuš hudā yazamaide
 d e d c h c d c || g
 apəmča urvarāmča yazamaide aēsmasča baoiðimča yazamaide sraošem
 f e d c d c d e d
 ašim huraoðem vərəθrājanəm frādaṭgaēθəm ašavanəm ašahe ratūm
 c ||
 yazamaide

d e (c) d h d c ||
 VI, 19 ašāunām vanuhīš sūrā spəntā fravašayō yazamaide

e *** d c || h d c | h
 (VI, 20) vispe ašavanō yazata yazamaide hāvanīm paiti ratūm sā-
 e d c
 vanhaem vīsimča paiti ratūm

e d c || d e e d
 VI, 21 yehē hātam āat yesnē paiti vanhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā
 h c d c ||
 ašāt hačā yāθhamčā tāsčā tāsčā yazamaide

c e f - e d f e d c || d e
 (VII, 1) ašəm vohū vahistəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyat ašai
 d h+ | d e d c | h c d
 vahistāi ašəm ašaya daðamī γvarəθəm myazdəm haurvata amərətātā
 h d c d e d c || d
 gāuš hudā āpē urvara aēsməq baoiði γšnūmaine ahurahe mazdā amə-
 řanām spəntanām sraošahe ašyehē āθrō ahurahe mazdā raθwō bərə-
 zatō yō ašahe

c || e c *** f e d c || d e
 VII, 5 ašaya daðamī asnyaēibyō ašahe ratubyō hāvanē ašaone
 ašahe raθwe ašaya daðamī sāvanhē vīsyāiča ašaone ašahe raθwe
 ašaya daðamī miθrahe vourugaoyaoitōiš hazanragaošahe baevarəča-
 manō aoxtōnāmanō yazatahe rāmanō γvāstrahe

c || g - f d e +
 (VII, 14) ašaya daðamī tava āθrō ahurahe mazdā puθra maṭ vī-
 paēibyō ātərəbyō (?)¹ ašaya daðamī aiwyō vanuhibyō vīspanāmča apām
 e d c | h c d c || d f
 mazdaðātanām vīspanāmča urvaranām mazdaðātanām

c || e d c || d e
 VII, 15 ašaya daðamī māθrahe spəntahe ašaonō vərəzyaŋuhahē

¹ Le point d'interrogation désigne un mot pas identifié de la récitation. Il manque chez GELDNER et PAVRY.

h c || d f e d c || e
dātahe vīdaēvahē dātahe zaraθustrōiš darəγayā upayanayā daēnayā
vanhuyā māzdayasnōiš

VII, 16 ašaya daðāmi garōiš ušidarənahe mazdaðātahe ašaχvāθrahe
vīspaēšamča gairinām ašaχvāθranām pouruχvāθranām mazdaðātanām
kāvayeheča χvarənānhō mazdaðātahe aχvarətaheča χvarənānhō maz-
daðātahe ašaya daðāmi ašōiš vanhuyā čistōiš vanhuyā ərəθē vanhuyā
rasastātō vanhuyā χvarənānhō savanhō mazdaðātahe

VII, 17 ašaya daðāmi dahmayaå vanhuyā āfritōiš dahmaheča narš
ašaonō uγraheča taχmahe dāmōiš upamanahē yazatahe

VII, 18 ašaya daðāmi ånhām asanhāmča šōiθranāmča gaoyaoitināmča
maēθənanāmča avōχvarənanāmča apāmča zəmāmča urvaranāmča ain-
hāsča zəmō avainheča ašnō vātaheča ašaonō strām mānhō hūrō ana-
γranām raočaňham χvaðātanām vīspanāmča spəntahe mainyēuš dā-
manām ašaonām ašaonināmča ašahe raðwām

(VII, 20) ašaya daðāmi χvarəθəm myazdəm haurvata amərətātā gāuš
hudā āpē urvara aēsmā baoiði χšnūmaine sraošahe ašyehe taχmahe
tanumāθrahe daršidraoš āhūiryehē aoxtōnāmanō yazatahe

(Répétition) ašaya daðāmi χvarəθəm myazdəm haurvata amərətātā
gāuš hudā āpē urvara aēsmā baoiði χšnūmaine sraošahe ašyehe taχmahe
tanumāθrahe daršidraoš āhūiryehē aoxtōnāmanō yazatahe

VII, 22 ašaya daðāmi ašāunām fravašinām uγranām aiwiðūranām
paoiryōtkaešanām fravašinām nabānazdištanām fravašinām

(VII, 23) ašaya daðāmi vīspaēibyō vanhuðabyō yazataēibyō mai-
nyaoibyasča gaēθyaēibyasča yōi hənti yasnyāča vahmyāča ašāt hača
yat vahištāt

VII, 24 ašaya.nō paiti jamyāt yehyā savā išānti rādanhō θwōi

staotarasčā māθranasčā ahura mazdā aogəmadaēčā usmahičā vīsāma-
daēčā hyaṭ miždəm mavaēθəm fradadāθā daēnābyō mazdā ahurā¹

VII, 25 ahyā hvō nē dāidī ahmāičā ahuyē manahyaičā taṭ ahyā yā
taṭ upā ġamyāmā tavāčā sarəm ašahyāčā vīspāi yavē yaθā ahū vairyō
aθā ratuš ašātčit hačā vanhēus dazdā mananhō šyaoθananām anhēuš
mazdai ġshaθrəmčā ahurāi ā yim drigubyō dadaṭ vāstārəm yaθā ahū
vairyō aθā ratuš ašātčit hačā vanhēuš dazdā mananhō šyaoθananām
anhēuš mazdai ġshaθrəmčā ahurāi ā yim drigubyō dadaṭ vāstārəm

(VII, 26) ahunəm vairim yazamaide aršuχdəm vāčim yazamaide
dahmām vanuhim āfritim yazamaide uγrəm taχməm dāmōiš upama-
nəm yazatom yazamaide haurvata amərətātā yazamaide gāuš hudā
yazamaide apəmča urvarəmča yazamaide aēsmasča baoiðimča yaza-
maide frasasti dahmayā vanhuyā āfritōiš

(VII, 27) yehē hātām āaṭ yesnē paitī vanhō mazdā ahurō vaēθā
ašāt hačā yāphamčā tāscā tāscā yazamaide

VIII, 1 ašəm vohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ ašāi
vahištāi ašəm ašəm vohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ
ašāi vahištāi ašəm ašəm vohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi
hyaṭ ašāi vahištāi ašəm ašaya daðəmi ġvarəθəm myazdəm haurvata
amərətātā gāuš hudā āpē urvara aēsmā baoiði frasasti ahurahe mazdā
ahunahe vairyehē aršuχdəhe vāγš dahmayā vanhuyā āfritōiš uγrāi
dāmōiš upamanāi haomaheča māθraheča ašaonaēča zaraθuštrahe
ašaya.nō paiti ġamyāt

VIII, 3 aməša spənta daēne māzdayasne vanhavasča vanuhīšča
zaoθrāsča yō aēsva mazdayasnāešva mazdayasnō aojanō ašahe rāθma jiš-

¹ La suite de Y. VII, 24 manque dans la récitation mais se trouve chez PAVRY.

d c | d f e d c d
tayamnō yāθwa gaēθā | ašahe mərəyente avi tū dim disyata yā apasča
h e d |
urvarāšča zaoθrāšča

e d c h c
(VIII, 4) yasča aētaēšam mazdayasanam pərənāyunam aiwizūzuya-
d e d c | c d c ||
nam ima vačō nōīt vīsaiti framrūite aētām ā yātumanahe jasaiti
h c d e d c ||
ašom vohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ ašai vahištāi ašom
e d f e d ||
yaθā ahū vairyō aθā ratuš ašātčit hačā vanhēuš dazdā manahō
c h c d c ||
šyaoθananam aŋhēuš mazdāi χšaθrəmčā ahurāi ā yim drigubyō dadaṭ
|| d f d c || h d c ||
vāstarəm ašom vohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ ašai
||
vahištāi ašom

e d c h c d
VIII, 5 vasasča tū ahura mazda uštāča χšaēša havanam dāmanam
c d c d c || h c ||
vasō āpō vasō urvarā vasō vīspa vohū ašačiθra χšayamnəm ašavanəm
d f e d c || d c ||
dāyata aχšayamnəm drvantəm

h d c f
VIII, 6 vasōχšaθrō hyaṭ ašava avasōχšaθrō hyaṭ drvā gatō hamistō
e ~ c h c d (c) e d c || f e
nižbərətō hača spəntahe mainyōuš dāmabyō varatō avasōχšaθrō

c e d c ||
VIII, 7 haχšaya azəmčit yō zaraθuštrō fratəma nmānanamča visqmča
c d c h c d c d ||
zantunamča dahyunamča ainhā daēnayā anumatayaēča anuχtayaēča
c e d c ||
anvarštayaēča yā āhūriš zaraθuštriš

f e #f e d c d
VIII, 8 ravasča χvāθrəmčā āfrināmi vīspayā ašaonō stōiš azasča
c h c || d c ||
dužāθrəmča āfrināmi vīspayā drvatō stōiš

h c d c
(VIII, 9) ašom vohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ ašai
|| e d f e d c ||
vahištāi ašom yaθā ahū vairyō aθā ratuš ašātčit hačā vanhēuš dazdā
manahō šyaoθananam aŋhēuš mazdāi χšaθrəmčā ahurāi ā yim drigubyō dadaṭ
|| d f (e) d c ||
vāstarəm yaθā ahū vairyō aθā ratuš ašātčit hačā vanhēuš dazdā manahō šyaoθananam aŋhēuš mazdāi χšaθrəmčā ahurāi
ā yim drigubyō dadaṭ vāstarəm yasnōmča vahmōmča aojasča zavarəča
d c || e d c h c ||
āfrināmi sraošahe ašyehe taχmahe tanumāθrahe darśidraoš āhūiryehē

ašəm ^evohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ ašāi vahištāi
 ašəm ahmāi ^draešča ^fχvarənasča ahmāi tanvō drvatātəm ahmāi tanvō
 vazdvarə ahmāi tanvō vərəθrəm ahmāi ištīm pourušχvāθram ahmāi
 āsnāmčit frazantīm ahmāi darəyām darəyōjītīm ahmāi vahištəm ahūm
 ašaonām raočānħəm vispōχvāθrəm ašəm ^cvohū vahištəm astī uštā astī
 uštā ahmāi hyaṭ ašāi vahištāi ašəm hazanrəm baēšazanām baēvarə
 baēšazanām hazanrəm baēšazanām baēvarə baēšazanām hazanrəm
 baēšazanām baēvarə baēšazanām

ašəm ^evohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ ašāi vahištāi
 ašəm jasa. mē avanhe mazda jasa. mē avanhe mazda jasa. mē avanhe
 mazda anahe hutāstahe huraoðahe vərəθraγnahe ahuraðātahe vanain-
 tyāsča uparatātō əwāšahe χvaðātahe zrvānahe akaranahe zrvānahe
 darəyōχvaðātahe ašəm ^cvohū vahištəm astī uštā astī uštā ahmāi hyaṭ
 ašāi vahištāi ašəm

Y. XXIX

1. ^eχšmaibyā ^dgəuš ^curvā ^dgorəždā ^ckahmāi ^dmā ^eθwarōždūm ^dkēmā ^ctašat
^dāmā ^caēšəmō ^dhazasčā ^drəmō ^cāhišāyā ^ddərəščā ^ctəviščā
2. adā tašā ^dgəuš ^epərəsaṭ ^cašəm ^dkaðā ^ctōi ^dgavōi ^cratuš
^hhyaṭ ^ehim ^ddātā ^cχsayantō ^dhadā ^cvāstrā ^egaodāyō ^dəwaxšō
3. ahmāi ^dašā ^{e+}nōiṭ ^{e-}sarəjā ^dadvaēšō ^cgavōi ^hpaitimravat̄
^davaēšam ^cnōiṭ ^dviduyē ^cyā ^dšavaitē ^cādrēng ^eərəšvānhō
4. mazdā ^dsaxvārə ^emairištō ^cyāzī ^dvāvərəzōi ^cpairičiθit̄

daēvāišā mašyāišā yāčā varəšaitē aipīčiθīt
 hvō vičirō (mazdā)¹ ahurō aθānē anhaṭ yaθā (?) hvō vasat̄

5. at̄ vā ustānāiš ahvā zastāiš frinəmnā ahurāi ā

mē urvā gəušcā azyā hyat̄ mazdām (*lapsus linguae*) dvaidī ferasābyō
 nōit ərežəjyōi frajyāitiš nōit fşuyentē drəgvəsū pairī

6. at̄ ē vaočaṭ ahurō mazdā vīdvā vafūš vyānayā

nōit aēvā ahū vistō naēdā ratuš ašāt̄čit̄ hačā

at̄ zī əwā fşuyantaēčā vāstryāičā əwōrəstā tatašā

7. tōm əzūtōiš ahurō māθrəm tašaṭ ašā hazaošō

mazdā gavōi χšvīdəmčā hvō urušāebyō spəntō sāsnayā

kastē vohū manaphā yē dāyāt̄ əəvā marətaēbyō

8. aēm mōi idā vistō yēnē aēvō sāsnā gūšatā

zaraθuštō spítāmō hvō nē mazdā vaštī ašāičā

čarəkərəθrā srāvayenħē hyaṭ hōi hudəmēm dyāi vaχədrahyā

9. at̄čā gōuš urvā raostā yē anaēšəm χšānmənē rādəm

vāčəm nərəš asūrahya yēm ā vasəmī išā χšāθrīm

kadā yavā hvō anhaṭ yē hōi dadaṭ zastavaṭ avō

10. yūžəm aēibyō ahurā aogō dātā ašā χšāθrəmčā

avaṭ vohū manaphā yē hušəitiš rāməmčā dāt̄

azəmčit̄ ahyā mazdā əwām mənhi paourvim vaēdəm

11. kudā ašəm vohučā manō χšāθrəmčā at̄ mā mašā

yūžəm mazdā frāχsnənē mazōi magāi ā paitīzānatā

ahurā nū nā avarē əhmā rātōiš yūšmāvatām

¹ mazdā manque chez GELDNER.

Y. XLVII

1. spəntā e d c h c
 h c d c ||
 hačā ašāt šyaoθanāčā vačanhāčā
 d c |
 ahmāi dān haurvātā amərətātā
 h c d ēd c ||
 mazdā χšaθrā ārmaitī ahurō
1. spəntā e d c h c
 || e d c ||
 hačā ašāt šyaoθanāčā vačanhāčā
 c h+c d h+ |
 ahmāi dān haurvātā amərətātā
 d c ||
 mazdā χšaθrā ārmaitī ahurō
2. ahyā manyeuš spəništahyā vahištəm
 h c hizvā uχδāiš vanhōuš ēeānū mananhō
 d c h+ c d e c |
 ārmatōiš zastōibyā šyaoθanā vərəzyač
 c d e(ē) c ||
 ōyā čistī hvō patā ašahyā mazdā
 d c d |
3. ahyā manyeuš tvəm ahī tā spəntō
 h c d e d c ||
 yē ahmāi gām rānyōskərətīm hēmtašat
 h c d |
 ač hōi vāstrāi rāmādā ārmaitīm
 c || d - - c ||
 hyat hēm vohū mazdā hēməfraštā mananhā
 h c || c d |
4. ahmāt manyeuš rārošyeintī drəgvantō
 h c d e d c ||
 mazdā spəntāt nōit iθā ašāunō
 h+ c | c d |
 kasōuščīt nā ašāunē kāθē aňhač
 h c d c |
 isvāčīt hās paraoš akō drəgvāitē
5. tāčā spəntā manyeuš mazdā ahurā
 d (ēd) c h c c d |
 ašāunē čōiš yāzī čičā vahištā
 e ēfē d c ||
 hanarə θwahmāt zaošāt drəgvā bayšaitī
 h c d c ||
 ahyā šyaoθanāiš akāt āšyās mananhō

ARNE MELVINGER

Quelques remarques sur le calendrier iranien moderne¹

Lorsqu'on est amené à s'occuper de questions touchant les conditions de la vie moderne dans de grandes parties de l'Orient et, en particulier, en Iran (autrefois la Perse), on ne tarde pas à remarquer les nombreuses lacunes de nos connaissances. Tout le monde sait qu'après la guerre mondiale de 1914–1918 et après les évènements qui la suivirent, dans tout le proche Orient la vie nationale, sociale, culturelle et, par suite, religieuse — celle-ci étant intimement liée à toutes les autres — fut profondément bouleversée. Sous la direction de chefs énergiques, les courants nationaux qui mûrissaient depuis longtemps dans l'âme des peuples, virent alors le jour et provoquèrent la création de nouveaux états succédant aux anciens trop faibles. On introduisit les méthodes et les moeurs de l'Europe moderne, dans la mesure où on les trouvait utiles et praticables, et on organisa la vie d'une manière plus effective et plus pratique qu'autrefois. La Turquie, étant le pays le plus proche de l'Europe, ne s'arrêta pas à mi-chemin, et, à la veille de la seconde guerre mondiale, on pouvait la considérer comme un état européen tout à fait moderne. En Iran, par contre, pays plus éloigné et de caractère plus oriental, on ne put faire de réformes aussi radicales.

Cependant la réforme du calendrier fut une des innovations introduites à cette époque. La religion a toujours joué un rôle de premier plan en Orient, et dans tous les pays musulmans qui ne se trouvaient pas directement sous l'influence de l'Europe, on avait le calendrier musulman compté à partir de l'hégire, c'est à dire la date de la fuite de Mahomet de la Mecque à Médine. Il pouvait y avoir d'autres calendriers, mais ils étaient peu employés.

L'année musulmane, qui commence le 16 juillet 622 ap. J. C. est une année lunaire de douze mois, comptant 354 jours et 9 heures; elle est donc fortement en avance sur l'année solaire puisque 97 années solaires correspondent à 100 années de l'hégire. Ainsi, par exemple, l'an 700

¹ Cet article, excepté le tableau comparatif des années 1331–1356, doit paraître dans *Le Monde Oriental* 36 (1942–46). Il n'existe actuellement que sous la forme d'un extrait.

de l'hégire correspond à l'année 1300–1301 ap. J. C. et l'an 800 de l'hégire à 1397–98 ap. J. C., l'année de l'hégire 1343 à 1924–25 ap. J. C., etc. Ces différences étaient peu pratiques à plusieurs égards et présentaient des difficultés dans les relations sans cesse plus fréquentes entre l'Orient et l'Occident. En Turquie, le calendrier européen fut introduit à partir du 1^{er} janvier 1926¹, mais en Iran, cette innovation était beaucoup plus difficile à faire à cause du conservatisme du peuple. Toutefois, on y adopta un calendrier plus pratique. Si, dans l'espoir de trouver quelques renseignements sur cette question, on cherche dans des encyclopédies ou dans des ouvrages de référence, on s'étonne un peu de constater qu'un ouvrage aussi spécialisé que les *Vergleichungs-Tabellen der persischen und christlichen Zeitrechnung* de Eduard Mahler, imprimé à Leipzig en 1931, n'en fait pas mention. Pour cette raison, nous avons été amenés à faire des recherches détaillées sur le calendrier iranien moderne. Dans l'ouvrage bibliographique, excellent mais encore inachevé, de C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, I-II: 1–3, London 1927–1939, on trouve au tome II:2, imprimé en 1936, p. 249 au numéro 332(1), l'indication suivante sur l'année de tirage d'un certain livre : « *Tīhrān A. H. S. 1307/1928* », et au numéro (2) : « *Tīhrān A. H. S. 1306/1928* », et au numéro (3) : « ... 1308/1929 ». Ces différences de date nous étonnent un peu si on les compare avec l'indication donnée *ibid.* au numéro 248(1) : « (A. H. 1313/1895–96 ...) » et « *Tīhrān 1324/1906* ». Cependant, d'après l'ouvrage cité ci-dessus II:1, imprimé en 1935, p. xxix, A. H. S. signifie « *Anno Hegirae Solaris ... prefixed ... to dates in the Hijrī i Shamsī era adopted some years ago in Persia.* »

Il ne faut pas confondre ce calendrier avec le calendrier yezdegerdien, qui comptait aussi d'après les années solaires, mais commençait en 632 ap. J. C. et d'après lequel les années 1306–1309 correspondaient aux années 1936–1939 du calendrier julien. La différence de 13 jours qui existe entre le calendrier julien et le calendrier grégorien ne joue ici aucun rôle².

Si l'on cherche des renseignements dans l'*Oriente moderno*, revue d'ordinaire très bien informée de tout ce qui concerne le proche Orient, éditée par l'*Instituto per l'Oriente*, à Rome, on trouve au tome V, 1925, p. 492 sur « *L'aviazione commerciale e postale in Persia* » les renseignements suivants : 6) Con la presente legge il Parlamento decreta che sulle economie dei crediti già approvati par l'anno 1304 (1) un credito di 72.000 *tōmān*. (Near East and India, 17–9–1925.) Et à la note (1) on lit : « Deve

¹ *Oriente moderno*, XIII, 1933, p. 549.

² Mahler, *op. cit.*, table B.

essere errore di stampa per 1344 dell'égira (22 luglio 1925–11 giugno¹ 1926). »

Dans la même revue, au tome VI, 1926, p. 253, on écrit au sujet du « Trattato di amicizia e sicurezza concluso fra la Persia e la Turchia il 22 aprile 1926 » : « Le jeudi I^{er} ordibéhecht 1305 (22 avril 1926) (I) la Délégation persane ainsi composée : ... » Et à la note (I) : Sull'attuale calendario civile persiano, approvato dal Parlamento (*mağlis*) nel marzo od ai primi d'aprile del 1925, si vedano le notizie — alquanto incomplete — date nella *Revue du Monde Musulman*, vol. LXI, 1925, pp. 165–166.

Dans cette dernière revue, éditée à Paris, on lit au passage cité :

Restauration du calendrier pehlevi

1^o *Texte de la loi concernant l'ère persane officielle.*

Article premier. — L'Assemblée Nationale (Medjlis) approuve que dès le début du newrouz de l'année 1304 l'ère officielle annuelle du pays soit fixée de la façon suivante, que le Gouvernement doit mettre en vigueur dans tous les établissements gouvernementaux :

- a) L'origine de l'ère est l'année de l'hégire du prophète Mohammed ben Abdollah, de la ville de la Mecque à Médine;
- b) Le commencement de l'année est le premier jour de printemps;
- c) L'année est conforme à l'année solaire réelle;
- d) Le nom et le nombre des jours dans les mois sont :

1. *Ferverdine*, 31 jours; 2. *Eurdi-béhicht*, 31 jours; 3. *Kheurdad*, 31 jours; 4. *Tir*, 31 jours; 5. *Merdad*, 31 jours; 6. *Chehriwer*, 31 jours; 7. *Mehr*, 30 jours; 8. *Aban*, 30 jours; 9. *Azer*, 30 jours; 10. *Dey*, 30 jours; 11. *Behmen*, 30 jours; 12. *Isfend*, 30 jours.

Remarque. — Dans les années bissextiles, l'*Isfend* sera de 29 jours.

Art. 2. — D'après l'année astronomique, les fautes et les inexacititudes qui se trouvaient dans les calendriers précédents se trouveront annulées lors de la confirmation de cette loi.

(*Hablulmatin*, n° 11, 17–IV–25.)

2^o *Les noms des jours dans le mois.*

- 1. Ormouzd; 2. Wahmen; 3. Eurdi-béhicht; 4. Layour; 5. Sfendar-Mouzd; 6. Zerdad; 7. Emerdad; 8. Déitasser; 9. Azer; 10. Aban;

¹ 11 giugno est naturellement une faute d'impression. Il devrait y avoir : 11 luglio.

11. Khéir; 12. Mâh; 13. Tir; 14. Ghoûch; 15. Déï-bémehr; 16. Mehr; 17. Srouîch; 18. Rech; 19. Ferverdine; 20. Werhéram; 21. Ram; 22. Yade; 23. Déï-bédine; 24. Dine; 25. Ord; 26. Echtad; 27. Espân; 28. Dâmyad; 29. Mantéré-Sfrend; 30. Enaram.

(*Hablulmatin*, n° 14, 15-V-25.)

(Analyses et extraits de presse persane, d'après le *Hablulmatin* de Calcutta, trad. par A. M. Kassim.)

Cependant ces renseignements sont très incomplets et laissent sans réponse bien des questions. Le *Guide book on Persia* de G. H. Ebtehaj, Tehran (1931), p. 53 ss. et *Deutschland und der Wirtschaftsaufbau des Vorderen Orients* de Reinhard Hüber, Stuttgart 1938, p. 114, qui contiennent l'un et l'autre un exposé assez bref sur le calendrier, ne donnent pourtant pas de renseignements complets ni tout à fait exacts. Il semble d'ailleurs que de tels renseignements soient impossibles à obtenir. Des revues comme *Oriente moderno*, *Mitteilungen der deutsch-persischen Gesellschaft*, *Orientnachrichten*, *Der nahe Osten* et *Archiv der Gegenwart*, de Keesing, qui contiennent des notices sur la Perse (Iran), ne nous fournissent portant aucun renseignement, ou alors des renseignements incorrects ou contradictoires. Mais on peut établir une comparaison entre le calendrier iranien moderne et le calendrier grégorien en triant minutieusement le matériel dont nous disposons et en combinant tous les éclaircissements que nous pouvons obtenir, ainsi que les dates sûres du type suivant :

... il Governo persiano ha fatto trasmettere all'Agenzia Havas il seguente comunicato : « Le Parlement persan a prononcé, en date du 9 Aban 1304 (31 octobre 1925) la déchéance de la dynastie des Kadjars ... »¹;

« Teherân, 18 ottobre 1927 corrispondente al 25 Mihr-mâh 1306 [dell'era persiana]. » (Pièce officielle tirée du journal persan *Sitâreh-i Irân* à Téhéran, 21-10-1927)²;

... Art. 20. — Questa legge va in vigore dal 1º mihrmâh 1310 (24 settembre 1931).³

L'année persane est selon la loi une année solaire commençant à l'hégire. L'année solaire a 365 jours et un peu moins de six heures, et c'est pourquoi il faut ajouter un jour intercalaire tous les quatre ans.

¹ *Oriente moderno*, X, 1930, p. 338.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, 1928, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*, XI, 1931, p. 496.

Dans le passage du Hablumatlin ci-dessus cité, on dit que l'Isfend, le dernier mois de l'année, a 30 jours les années ordinaires et seulement 29 les années bissextilles. Il y a eu là une interversion des chiffres. Car, en effet, si le texte de loi reproduit ici était correct, cela impliquerait que la début de l'année serait avancé de deux jours à chaque cycle de quatre ans, ce qui est impossible puisqu'il est clairement indiqué que l'année doit commencer à l'équinoxe de printemps. Ebtehaj et Hüber disent aussi dans leurs ouvrages précédemment cités que le dernier mois de l'année compte d'ordinaire 29 jours et, les années bissextilles, 30. Le calendrier persan actuel fut adopté le onze ferverdine 1304 (le 31 mars 1925)¹.

On n'indique pas les motifs qui ont amené à commencer l'ère à l'année 1304. D'après le calendrier musulman utilisé jusqu'à présent, en 1343, le mois du ramadhan commença le 26 mars 1925. Il est bien naturel que l'on ait pensé adopter un calendrier solaire, puisqu'on en avait déjà un depuis l'an 485 av. J. C., époque à laquelle fut créé le calendrier mazdayasnién². Plus tard, ce calendrier fut corrigé par Yezdegerd III (632–651), dernier roi des Sassanides. Le 16 juin 632 ap. J. C. fut fixé comme marquant le début de l'an 1 et l'année comptait exactement 365 jours³. Afin de remédier aux inconvénients causés par le quart de jour restant, Malikshah Djelaladdin, sultan des Seldjoukides, réforma le calendrier en 1079 ap. J. C. en le basant sur l'année tropicale de 365 jours, 5 heures, 48 minutes, 46 secondes.⁴ Un jour intercalaire était ajouté tous les quatre ans, en principe, mais une fois sur deux après sept et de même après huit cycles de quatre ans, le jour intercalaire fut avancé d'un an, afin de tomber la vingt-neuvième puis la trente-troisième année. De cette manière les années bissextilles djélaliennes et grégoriennes coïncidaient plus rarement. D'après ce calendrier, le jour de l'an, le newrouz⁵, c'est à dire le premier ferverdine, tombait à l'équinoxe de printemps, et, d'après le calendrier djélalien l'an 847 commençait le 21 mars 1925. D'après le calendrier yezdegerdien, l'année 1294 commença le 10 août 1924. Evidemment, le calendrier iranien moderne n'est pas basé sur ce calendrier yezdegerdien, même si l'on ajoute les dix ans, de l'hégire,

¹ *Oriente moderno*, XX, 1940, p. 267.

² H. S. Nyberg a traité en détail de ce calendrier dans *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Leipzig 1938 (Berlin, Vorderasiat.-aegypt. Ges., Mitteil., Bd 43), S. 38 ff.

³ E. Mahler, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, 1931.

⁴ Mahler, *op. cit.*

⁵ Pour ce qui concerne ce grand jour de fête, voyez E(tto) R(ossi), Usanze iraniane del « Nawruz ». *Oriente moderno*, XX, 1940, p. 266–68.

622, à 632. Mais par contre, si l'on recompte le temps en partant de l'hégire jusqu'au début de l'ère djélalienne, c'est à dire en 1079 ap. J. C. et si l'on ajoute ce nombre, 457, à 847, on obtient 1304.

La disposition des mois inégaux constitue la plus grande différence entre le calendrier djélalien et celui de Riza Shah Pehlevi. Tandis qu'autrefois l'année comptait 12 mois de trente jours et cinq jours supplémentaires, on a maintenant 31 jours les six premiers mois, 30 jours les cinq mois suivants et 29 le dernier mois (30 les années bissextiles). Les noms des mois sont à peu de chose près ce qu'ils étaient autrefois depuis l'époque où l'on avait le calendrier mazdéen, à l'exception des changements produits dans la langue. Les jours de la semaine sont les suivants après un almanach de l'année 1319 (1940–41) : Shanbeh, samedi; yek shanbeh, dimanche; do shanbeh, lundi; se shanbeh, mardi; chahar shanbeh, mercredi; pandj shanbeh, jeudi; adineh, vendredi. Dans Ebtehaj, *op. cit.*, p. 55, on a « Jom'eh Friday » au lieu de ādineh.

Nous ne possédons malheureusement aucun renseignement sur le calcul des années bissextiles du calendrier moderne. Mais il semble qu'on se soit le plus possible réglé sur des systèmes antérieurs. L'année djélalienne 847 était bissextile et il en est de même de l'année correspondante 1304. Ensuite on aurait pu s'attendre à ce que les années 1308, 1312, 1316, etc. fussent bissextiles, mais cela ne concorde pas avec les renseignements dont nous disposons. D'après ceux-ci, le jour intercalaire suivant n'est inséré qu'après cinq ans, c'est à dire en 1309, et, dans la suite, il l'est tous les quatre ans. Le dixième jour intercalaire de l'année de l'hégire après l'année 1900 tombe le 21 mars 1939, tandis que le dixième jour intercalaire du calendrier grégorien n'arrive que le 24 février 1940. Par conséquent le calendrier iranien est un peu en avance sur le nôtre. Nous ne savons pas si, comme dans le calendrier djélalien (voir plus haut), le jour intercalaire doit être avancé jusqu'à la vingt-neuvième puis jusqu'à la trente troisième année, mais cela ne paraît pas trop invraisemblable. Les années bissextiles iranienne et grégorienne ne coïncident pas, et c'est à cause de cela que les mois persans ne commencent pas tous les ans par le même jour que les mois de l'année grégorienne. Ainsi, le newrouz de certaines années est avancé d'un jour. D'après le décret mentionné plus haut, l'année doit commencer le premier jour de printemps. D'après le calendrier djélalien, l'année commence « with the astronomical Nauroz (New Year) at the entrance of the sun in the sign of the Ram (it is known that the constellation varies on account of the precession) on the Ispahan meridian, provided that the phenomenon takes place before

noon »¹. Malheureusement nous ne possédons pas de renseignements astronomiques sur l'horizon d'Ispahan, mais la différence avec Stockholm ne doit pas être considérable, et par conséquent elle reste sans importance pour notre sujet. Si l'on suppose que le calendrier moderne suit, à cet égard, les règles du calendrier djélalien, et si, prenant ce dernier pour point de départ, nous cherchons quand commence l'année, on trouve que, d'après l'almanach suédois

En 1933 le soleil entrait dans le Bélier le 21—3— 3 h

» 1934 »	»	»	»	»	»	»	21—3— 8 »
» 1936 »	»	»	»	»	»	»	20—3—20 »
» 1937 »	»	»	»	»	»	»	21—3— 2 »
» 1939 »	»	»	»	»	»	»	21—3—13 »
» 1940 »	»	»	»	»	»	»	20—3—19 »
» 1941 »	»	»	»	»	»	»	21—3— 1 »

En 1312, l'A.H.S. commença le 21—3—1933².

» 1313,	»	»	»	21—3—1934 ² .
» 1315,	»	»	»	21—3—1936 ² .
» 1316,	»	»	»	21—3—1937 ² .
» 1318,	»	»	»	22—3—1939 ² .
» 1319,	»	»	»	21—3—1940 ² .
» 1320,	»	»	»	21—3—1941 ² .

Basé sur l'argumentation que nous venons de faire, voici un tableau comparatif de l'année solaire iranienne d'après l'hégire et de l'année grégorienne à partir de l'introduction de l'année solaire iranienne de 1304 jusqu'à 1356. Les années bissextilles sont indiquées par un astérisque. Les chiffres soulignés indiquent les années bissextilles du calendrier grégorien. Les dates du tableau ci-joint correspondent exactement aux dates données dans les calendriers persans pour les années 1312, 1313, 1315 et quelques années suivantes.

¹ Samuel M. Zwemer, *The Persian Calendar, The moslem world*, XVII, 1927, p. 81 ss. *Ibid.*, p. 83 : « The Jalali year began for example March 22nd, 1922 (the astronomical Nauroz, or New Year, took place at night at a quarter past one); 845 began March 22nd, 1923; 846 started March 21st, 1924. »

² Cette dernière indication correspond à un almanach persan officiel contenant les jours des calendriers persan, musulman et chrétien.

Je veux remercier la Légation Impériale iranienne à Stockholm qui a eu l'amabilité de me donner quelques almanachs iraniens des dernières années.

Année solaire persane après l'hégire	Ferver-dine 1 jours	Eurdibéhicht 2 jours	Kheur-dad 3 jours	Tir 4 jours	Mer-dad 5 jours	Cheh-riwer 6 jours	Mehr 7 jours	Aban 8 jours	Azer 9 jours	Dey 10 jours	Beh-men 11 jours	Isfend 12 jours
1304*	1925 21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1926	20.2 30.j.
1305	22.3	22.4 jeudi	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1927	21.2
1306	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1928	21.2
1307	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1929	20.2
1308	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1930	20.2
1309*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1931	20.2 30.j.
1310	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1932	21.2
1311	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1933	20.2
1312	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1934	20.2
1313*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1935	20.2 30.j.
1314	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1936	21.2
1315	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1937	20.2
1316	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1938	20.2
1317*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1939	20.2 30.j.
1318	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1940	21.2
1319	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1941	20.2
1320	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1942	20.2
1321*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1943	20.2 30.j.
1322	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1944	21.2
1323	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1945	20.2
1324	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1946	20.2
1325*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1947	20.2 30.j.
1326	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1948	21.2
1327	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1949	20.2
1328	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1950	20.2
1329*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1951	20.2 30.j.
1330	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1952	21.2

Année solaire persane	Ferver-dine 1 31 jours	Eurdibéhicht 2 31 jours	Kheur-dad 3 31 jours	Tir 4 31 jours	Mer-dad 5 31 jours	Cheh-riwer 6 31 jours	Mehr 7 30 jours	Aban 8 30 jours	Azer 9 30 jours	Dey 10 30 jours	Beh-men 11 30 jours	Isfend 12 (30) jours
1331	1952 21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1953	20.2
1332	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1954	20.2
1333*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1955	20.2 30 j. 1956
1334	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1957	21.2
1335	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1958	20.2
1336	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1959	20.2
1337*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1960	20.2 30 j. 1961
1338	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1962	21.2
1339	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1963	20.2
1340	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1964	20.2
1341*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1965	20.2
1342	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1966	21.2
1343	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1967	20.2
1344	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1968	20.2
1345*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1969	20.2 30 j. 1970
1346	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1971	21.2
1347	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1972	20.2
1348	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1973	20.2
1349*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1974	20.2
1350	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1975	21.2
1351	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1976	20.2
1352	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1977	20.2
1353*	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1978	20.2 30 j. 1979
1354	22.3	22.4	23.5	23.6	24.7	24.8	24.9	24.10	23.11	23.12	22.1 1979	21.2
1355	21.3 1977	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1977	20.2
1356	21.3	21.4	22.5	22.6	23.7	23.8	23.9	23.10	22.11	22.12	21.1 1978	20.2

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