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BIFAO 57 (1958), p. 203-213

Jaroslav Cerny

Some Coptic Etymologies III.

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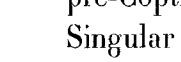
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SOME COPTIC ETYMOLOGIES III[1]

BY

JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

1. S. ⲃⲗⲉⲙⲩⲟⲩ, B. ⲃⲁⲗⲉⲙⲩⲟⲩ, «Blemys» (38 *b*)[2] = *, *Brhm.*

Mentions of the formidable nomads Βλέμυες in the Egyptian language of pre-Coptic times are not numerous[3]. Griffith[4] was the first to find a Singular  in a document of 152 B. C. which he read *Blhn* (?). The last sign or group of signs before the determinative  seemed uncertain and he hesitated between reading *n* or *s*. It was only later[5] that he recognized that this last group is to be read and the whole name after he had encountered another example in Plural in Pap. Dodgson, l. 21[6]. Spiegelberg adduced from Dem. Pap. Hauswaldt no. 6, l. 1[7], and suggested that the group *Brhrm(t)* of the Dem. Pap. Rylands IX, 5, 5, concealed the ethnic Blemys[8]; the photograph[9] indeed seems to admit of his reading. Since Pap. Rylands

[1] See *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, pp. 35-47; *Ägyptologische Studien Hermann Grapow zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, 30-7.

[2] This figure in headings refers to the pages and columns of Crum's *A Coptic Dictionary*.

[3] Some have been collected by Kirwan, *Annals of Arch. and Anthropology* XXIV, 76, n. 1, and *Oxford University Excavations at Firka*, 46.

[4] *Cat. of the Rylands Papyri* III, 271, n. 18, and 420.

[5] *PSBA* XXXI [1909], 291.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, pl. XI; cf. pp. 105 and 291. According to Griffith (*loc. cit.*, 102) the papyrus is of «a middle date in the Ptolemaic age», that is of about 180 B. C.

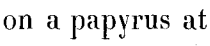
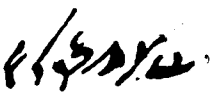
[7] *Die dem. Papyri Hauswaldt* [1913], p. 22 and n. 3; pl. 10. The date of the papyrus is 220/19 B. C.

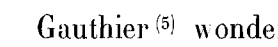
[8] Griffith, *Cat. of the Rylands Papyri*, II, pl. 23; Griffith's reading and interpretation was different, see *loc. cit.* III, 225, n. 10.

[9] Griffith, *loc. cit.* I, pl. XXVII.

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IX is dated in the reign of Darius I (522-485 B. C.), this would be by far the earliest mention of Blemyes who appear in Greek sources only since the time of Theocritus[1] (3rd century B. C.). The importance of the Demotic spellings is considerable, for they discourage any further attempt at an Egyptian etymology of the name of Blemyes which the Coptic forms S. ⲃⲗⲉⲙⲩⲓ, B. ⲃⲁⲗⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩ (and variants) seemed to invite[2].

It has been overlooked that there is also a clear hieroglyphic example of *Brhm* in the name of the female owner of the Book of the Dead written in hieroglyphs on a papyrus at Turin[3]. She was called , *T-brhmt*, «The (female) Blemys», therefore a feminine counterpart of the Demotic male name , *Blhm(t)*, «Blemys», which H. Thompson quoted to Griffith from a Demotic ostracon[4], there not preceded by the definite article. The date of the Book of the Dead of *T-brhmt* has not been stated and is probably difficult if not impossible to fix owing to the uncertainty which still hovers over the palaeography and history of the Book of the Dead, but we are certainly not far off the mark if we guess at the second half of Ptolemaic or early Roman period as its date.

Two other early references which have been claimed for Blemyes, however, are doubtful owing to the absence of the last consonant *m* of the name. Gauthier[5] wondered whether  of the Onomasticon of Amenōpe (4, 9) did not designate Blemyes and considered changing the into in the transcription of the hieratic text. This, as the photograph published since[6] shows, is unjustified, being well preserved and beyond doubt. Gardiner, it is true, changed his earlier reading into , but this latter is equally doubtful, and might have stood there after all[7].

(1) Idyll VII, v. 114; see Sethe, *Blemyes* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* III, 566.

(2) So still in 1910 to W. Max Müller, *Egyptol. Researches* II, 69 ff.

(3) Cat. no. 1816 (Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, *Regio Museo di Torino*, p. 222).

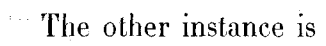
(4) At the University of Toronto, D. 169, unfortunately not included in Gardiner-Thompson-Milne, *Theban Ostraca*, but see Griffith, *PSBA* XXXI, 291.

(5) *Dict. géogr.* II, 3-4.

(6) Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, pl. X.

(7) Gardiner, *loc. cit.* I, p. 212*, does not of course envisage the identity of *Brhs*, as he now reads the name, with Blemyes.

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The other instance is  of a hieroglyphic stela of the Ethiopian king Anlamani[1], who is thought to have been contemporary with the Egyptian XXVIth Dynasty. Macadam[2] admits the possibility of this name being identical with that of Blemyes.

In fact, the lack of the final *m* in both these cases need not necessarily stand in the way of the identification. In both the country of Blemyes and not the inhabitants themselves are meant, while all the later instances quoted above refer to single persons. For all we know the final *m* might have been a native ending to form names of people from names of countries. This is, of course, a pure guess, for of the language of the Blemyes nothing has come down to us except for a few personal names.

2. Mani ⲙⲁⲧⲉϭⲧⲉ, «army» (not in Crum's dictionary) = Demotic *mtgt*, «military camp, army».

From Manichaean Homilies Polotsky collected a number of new words[3] for which he promised to supply references and etymologies (as fas as these were known to him) in the index. Since to my knowledge neither has the index appeared nor have etymologies of most of the new words been pointed out elsewhere, I may be permitted to record in these Notes one which is appearent at the first sight. Mani ⲙⲁⲧⲉϭⲧⲉ, «army»[4], is the Demotic feminine *mtgṯ* or *mtkṯ* of the same meaning[5]. Lidzbarski[6] confirmed an earlier suggestion by W. Max Müller[7] that the word was a loan-word from Semitic, proposing a derivation from Assyrian *madaktu*, «military camp».

[1] Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa* I, pls. 15 and 16.

[2] *Loc. cit.* I, p. 49, n. 37.

[3] Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, p. xix.

[4] References from the Manichaen Psalms are indexed in Allberry, *A Manichaen Psalmbook*, Part II, p. 16*. A rapid perusal of Polotsky's *Manich. Homilien* revealed only one example 20, 10.

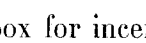
[5] Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 193. Some references are : Rosetta Decree, l. 7 and IInd. Philae Decree, l. 8 (both in Spiegelberg, *Der demot. Text... von Kanopus and Memphis*, p. 135. no. 164); Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, p. 28*, no. 179; Pap. Erbach, l. 3 (= *ZÄS* 42, pl. III); Serapeum Stela, no. 110 (= *ZÄS* 57, 69).

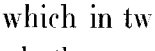
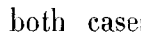
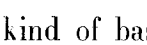
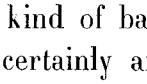
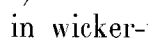
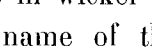
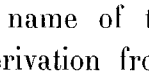
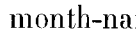
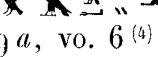
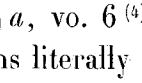
[6] *ZÄS* 55 [1918], 93.

[7] *OLZ* 4 [1901], col. 319-320.

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The meanings of the Demotic and Assyrian words did not quite agree, but this sole obstacle to the identification was removed, when the Demotic word was also found, though masculine in this case, with the meaning «camp»[1].

3. B. ⲙⲯⲓⲣ, «box for incense» (206*a*) = , *mḫyr*, «a basket.»

Many years ago Dr. Keimer presented me with a limestone ostracon[2] of Ramesside date which in two lists of objects contained two mentions of , followed in both cases by  and . Of these *mnḏm* is known to be a kind of basket (*Wb.* II, 93, 16-17) and , hitherto unrecorded, is certainly an exceptional spelling of , *nḫr*, «sieve» (*Wb.* II, 344, 11)[3]. The determinative suggests that *mḫyr* too was a receptacle made in wicker-work. In its form Coptic ⲙⲯⲓⲣ, «box» is identical with the name of the month Mekhir ⲙⲯⲓⲣ, and this fact makes plausible its derivation from , for this too is identical with the prototype of the month-name Mekhir  contained in the name of the festival  as it can be reconstructed from the ostr. Brit. Mus. 5639*a*, vo. 6[4] and the Pap. Cairo J. 86637[5]. The name of the festival means literally «That of the *mḫyr*». *Mḫyr* therefore is a masculine word and the determinative  suggests that *mḫyr* was originally a building. One thinks immediately of , *mḫr* of the Onomasticon of Amenōpe[6], but there the Editor thinks that  was borrowed from , *ḫr*, «(Royal) Tomb», though this is chiefly a Theban local word which one would not expect to influence a text written far from Thebes as is the Ono-

[1] Spiegelberg in *Griffith Studies*, 176-7, n. 7.

[2] Published in Černy-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. LXI, 3.

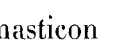
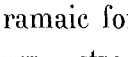
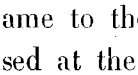
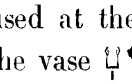
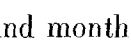
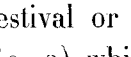
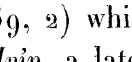
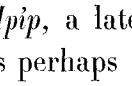
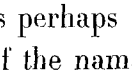
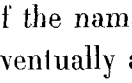
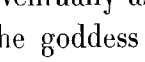
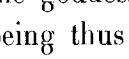
[3] *Nḫr* accompanies *mnḏm*, though not yet *Urk.* IV, 762, 5 and 763, 8, almost always in Ramesside lists on ostraca and papyri, *e. g.* several times on ostr. Brit. Mus. 5630 (= *Inscr. in the Hierat. and Demotic Character*, pl. XIX); ostr. Gardiner 6,3; ostr. Petrie 17, 7; ostr. Berlin 14214, vo. 9-10; etc.

[4] Published in *Inscr. in the Hierat. and Dem. Character*, pl. XXVIII; transcription in Černý-Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. LXXXV, 1. The end of *mḫyr* is lost there, but the ostracon supplies the initial which is in a lacuna in the Pap. Cairo J. 86637.

[5] See *ASAE* 43 [1943], 179; *ibidem*, p. 174 other writings of the month-name Mekhir.

[6] Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, p. 95*, no. 211.

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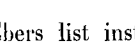
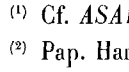
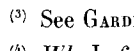
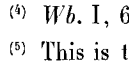
masticon of Amenōpe. As for the meaning of  Gardiner conjectured « *buyer* (?) », since the word is found among occupations; it has been compared with Hebr. מְחִיר, « price », which again sounds like מחיר, the Aramaic form of Mekhir[1]. The possibility of an influence by , *ḫsrw*, « street », cannot be entirely excluded, since this word, though written quite differently, must have been pronounced **ḫīr* as its Coptic descendant ϩⲓⲣ : ϧⲓⲣ shows. In view of all these possibilities it is therefore better to be resigned to determining the original meaning of *pꜣ mḥyr* in the month-name until ampler evidence becomes available. The festival and month gave the name to the receptacle  which was probably a prominent object used at the festival. A good parallel to such a development is the case of the vase  *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ*, *kuꜣiḫku* in cuneiform transcription, which like ϣⲱϣⲓϥ also served for measuring incense[2] and received its name from the festival and month of Khoiakh. This was originally a funerary festival called , *nḥb-kꜣw*, « Uniting the ka's », so that *kꜣ-ḥr-kꜣ* meant « ka [*was*] *upon* ka »[3]. Another possible case of an object receiving its name from a festival or month name is , *ỉpỉp*, « *ein Gerät aus Alabaster* » (*Wb.* I, 69, 2) which seems clearly connected with the month-name [4], *'Ipip*, a later form of , *'Ipt-ḥmt*[5]. The origin of *'Ipip* is obscure : it is perhaps nothing more than the late form , *'Ipip* (*Wb.* I, 69, 3) of the name of the old goddess , *'Ipy* (*Wb.* I, 68, 8.9) interpreted eventually as the hippopotamus-goddes Toëris and identified at Thebes with the goddess , *'Ipt* (*Wb.* I, 68, 7). The alabaster object  being thus connected with the goddess Toëris, we may perhaps see in it a designation for libation or purification basins or bowls from which water was

(1) Cf. *ASAE* 43, 177.

(2) Pap. Harris 36 *a*, 6.

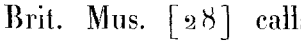
(3) See Gardiner, *ZÄS* 43 [1906], 139.

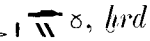
(4) *Wb.* I, 69, 4; *ASAE* 43, 175.

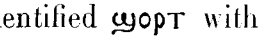
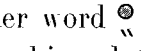
(5) This is the correct transcription in Pap. Ebers list instead of  which figures in *Wb.* I, 68, 11, and all publications except in Gardiner's article, *ZAS* 43 [1906], 141 (though  are provided with queries) and in Parker, *Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, p. 38, fig. 16. The reading is confirmed by  of the astronomical ceiling in the tomb of Senenmūt (Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Baḥri 1911-1931*, pl. 66), and  in Ramesseum (*Revue d'ég.* 10, pl. 1). A later expanded form was *'Ipt-ḥm.s.*, see *Wb.* I, 66. 21: *JNES* 7, pl. VIII, l. 13.

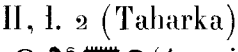
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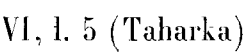
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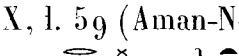
taken and poured on the ground, as an offering to this goddess [1]. Most of these basins are inscribed with a *ḥtp-dì-nsw*-prayer to Toëris whom the basin Brit. Mus. [28] calls  « *Toëris, the pure water* » [2]. It is, however, fair to say that the preserved basins are not made of alabaster, but of less precious stones, limestone, sandstone or basalt.

4. S. ϣορτ, « awning, veil » (588 *b*) = , *ḥrd*, « a garment. »

Brugsch [3] identified ϣορτ with *ḥrt* in  *wʿ ḥrt n šs(-n)-nsw*, « a *ḥrt* of byssus », of I Kham. 4, 19 [4] and Erichsen [5] compared it with  *šrt*, some kind of cloth (*Wb.* IV, 524, 8-11). It is impossible to contradict this latter identification, for *šrt* is a word occurring only in the texts of Graeco-Roman period; the nature of its final *t* is obscure, but if it were meant to be the feminine ending the identification would be, of course, impossible. There is, however, a much older word  *ḥrd* (*Wb.* III, 331, 2), which occurs twice in Wenamūn [6] and is a cloth (*ḥbs*) made of « good Upper Egyptian » material. This escaped Macadam [7] when he was considering several examples of a word which must be the same. In Ethiopian hieroglyphic stelae from Kawa we find :

Stela no. III, l. 2 (Taharka) : (pl. 5 and 6);
l. 9 :  (*loc. cit.*);

Stela no. VI, l. 5 (Taharka) :  (pl. 11 and 12);

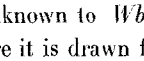
Stela no. IX, l. 59 (Aman-Nēte-yerike) :  (pl. 19 and 24);
l. 69 :  (*loc. cit.*).

[1] See Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1929), pp. 20-2 and fig. 2.

[2] Published by Bruyère, *loc. cit.*, p. 21-2. Not mentioned by Bruyère is the libation bowl Brit. Mus. [465], *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (*Sculpture*), p. 181, no. 651.

[3] *Hierogl.-dem. Wörterbuch*, 1132.

[4] See Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 367, for the word. Other examples are Dem. mag. Pap. 6, 13; Petubastis 7, 12 (also of « byssus »), twice in Apis Ritual (v. Bergmann, *Hieratische und hieratisch-demotische Texte*, pl. XIV, 1).

[5] Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 367. Lexa, *Grammaire démotique*, p. 87, no. 16, quotes as its hieroglyphic ancestor a word ; this is unknown to *Wb.* and I am unable to find where it is drawn from.

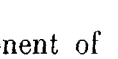
[6] 2, 40 and 42.

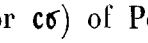
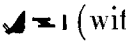
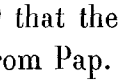
[7] Macadam, *Kawa* I, p. 9, n. 7.

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In the first and last example the material of which *ḫrd* was made is stated to be *pꜣḳ* and *sšr-nsw* [1], in the rest the material is not given. Thus whenever the material of the *ḫrd* is indicated [2] it is of fine quality and both in Wenamūn and the Kawa stelae the word might well have designated a veil as ϣⲟⲣⲧ sometimes does.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the phonetic correspondence between *ḫrd* and ϣⲟⲣⲧ is perfect; the final  of Wenamūn and  of Kawa stelae nos. III and VI cannot represent anything else than a *t* since the passage of *d* into *t* had long ago taken place [3].

5. S. ϣⲟⲉ-, ⲥⲟ-, component of a place-name (618 *b*) = , *sg*, «hill (?)».

Only one place-name containing this element is known in Coptic : ⲡ(ⲉ)ϣⲟⲉ-ⲡⲟϩⲉ or ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲡⲟϩⲉ, «the ϣⲟⲉ (or ⲥⲟ) of Pohe». Ⲡⲟϩⲉ itself derives from , *pꜣ ihy*, «the camp»; which Pohe, however, is meant here is impossible to say for two localities of this name are known, and several others with a differentiating genitive following [4]. But ϣⲟⲉ- or ⲥⲟ- is clearly the same word as  (with variants), *sg*, contained in the name of no less than seven (possibly eight) places in Pap. Wilbour. In discussing these Gardiner has suggested [5] that the word *sg* is identical with , *sgr*, previously known from Pap. Anastasi V, 19, 7 in the expression «*sgr*

[1] It is not necessary to assume, as Macadam does, that *ḫrd* in these two cases is a measure in which various garments are measured. In III, 2, *pꜣḳ* is the material and refers to the following four words (*ḫrd, šnḏt, rwḏ, mnḫt*) which all designate garments; IX, 59 is simply «8 *ḫrd*- garments (made) of byssus» and not «8 *ḫrd*- measures of byssus».

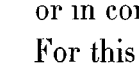
[2] Among Demotic examples I Kham. and Apis Ritual mention *šs-nsw* as the material of *ḫrt*.

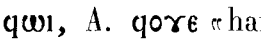
[3] Probably before M. K. according to Sethe, *ZÄS* 50 [1912], 97.

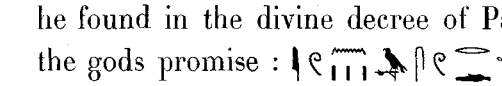
[4] See Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, p. 100-102.

[5] *The Wilbour Papyrus* II, *Commentary*, p. 35. The eight places are listed by Faulkner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* IV, 88; one or two can be added from Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* V, 67-68. Incidentally, *Pꜣ-sg-nʿr* «The *sg* of *nʿr*-tree» is the correct name (we are evidently in the Heracleopolite nome which had the *nʿrt*-tree as its ensign), misinterpreted as «The *sg* of *nʿr*-fish» under Shoshenk I (Gauthier, *l. c.*). The genitival *n* has been omitted before the following *nʿr*.

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of *Ỉkw* »[1]. This *sgr*, as well as *sg*, has been translated as «keep, fortress», but is *sg* not really the old word , *sgs*, known as a place-name alone or in compositions since the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period[2]? For this latter word the meaning «hill» is guaranteed by its determinative  representing the slope of a hill and the strange sign  which invariably accompanies the *sg* of the New Kingdom may through misinterpretation originate in this . As determinative this might have been provided in hieratic with two side strokes to distinguish it from = *ḳ*[3], and finally given origin to [4]. The word *sgr* of Anastasi V would then be a quite different word in its spelling, meaning («fortress») and origin (a loan-word from סְגוֹר)[5]. If the author of an inscription writes in the XXIInd Dynasty  besides [6], he may be confusing *sg* with *sgr*, but the of the first spelling indicates that no *r* was pronounced at the end. The etymology here advocated reveals ⲥϭ- as the original form, while in ⲱϭⲉ- the *s* changed into ⲱ before ϭ[7].

6. S. ⲭⲱ, B. ⲭⲱⲓ, A. ⲭⲟⲩⲉ «hair» (623 *a*) = , *f*, «hair».

To round off into a decade the present series I. E. S. Edwards kindly allows me to include his fine discovery of the prototype of ⲭⲱ, «hair» which he found in the divine decree of Pap. Turin Cat. 1983[8]. Vo., l. 47-48, the gods promise : , «We will make the hair of her lock grow, we will not let it fall out»[9]. This example is welcome in confirming what we

(1) See Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* V, 67.

(2) Vandier, *Mo'alla*, p. 30-1, and the list of occurrences, p. 301. The word *Wb.* IV, 324, 16, belongs also here.

(3) Like and (*sḏm*).

(4) From *sg* «hill» it invaded the word *sgs* «to be silent» (*Wb.* IV, 320, 7.8) which presumably is only a N. K. writing of the old *sgr*. This latter must have lost its final *r* and is — remarkably enough — never written with .

(5) *Wb.* IV, 324, 6 (not recognized as such by Burchardt, *Altkanaan. Fremdworte* II, p. 42, no. 821) and Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 257.

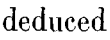
(6) *Mélanges Maspero* I, 823.

(7) Cf. S. ⲱⲕⲉⲣ, ⲱϭⲏⲣ besides the normal ⲥϭⲏⲣ «sail» (Crum 388 *b*) and S. ⲱϭⲣⲁⲍⲧ besides ⲥϭⲣⲁⲍⲧ «rest, be quiet» (Crum 389 *b*).

(8) Only the recto of this papyrus has been published so far (Pleyte-Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. 139-140).

(9) *Fḳs* is used intransitively here, as ⲭⲱϭⲉ often is.

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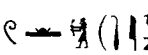
deduced from the Demotic form  of Dem. mag. pap.[1] recognized by Hess[2]. The word contained a *ʿayyin* and was therefore dissyllabic (**fōʿey*) as postulated by the Bohairic and Fayyûmic forms[3].

7. A. ϩϩⲧⲱⲣⲯ, «rust» (629 *b*) = A. ϩⲁⲉⲓϩ, «dust» + ⲧⲱⲣⲯ, «red».

Crum cites neither under S. ⲱⲟⲉⲓⲯ, «dust» (605 *a*) nor under its Akhmîmic form ϩⲁⲉⲓϩ (629 *b*) a *status constructus* of this word, though further on in the same column (629 *b*) as the latter he records A. ϩϩⲧⲱⲣⲯ, «rust, red blight». This, of course, is clearly ϩⲁⲉⲓϩ + ⲧⲱⲣⲯ, lit. «red dust». The word for «rust» is etymologically connected with «red» in many languages, *e. g.* Indoeuropean (Engl. *rust* itself, latin *robigo*, etc.), and ⲉⲧⲏⲱⲓ, the Bohairic equivalent of ϩϩⲧⲱⲣⲯ, is itself a derivative (**ʾidrēšet* < **ʾidšēret*) from  *dšr*, «to become red» (S. ⲧⲣⲟⲯ and S. A. ⲧⲱⲣⲯ, B. ⲑⲱⲣⲉⲯ, Crum, 432 *a*)[4].

8. S. ϩⲗⲟⲡ, A. ϩⲗⲁⲡ, «vessel for pouring» (671 *a*) = Dem. *ḥrp*, «vessel for wine».

Erichsen records[5] from an early Demotic papyrus a word , *ḥrp* for a vessel with which wine is measured or distributed[6]. This is the rare Coptic ϩⲗⲟⲡ; the ϩ of the Akhmîmic form agrees well with the Demotic *ḥ*.

9. B. ϩⲟⲩ, «shoemaker» (674 *a*) =  (), *ḥmww* (*-ṯbwy*), «shoemaker».

This is the Saʿîdic ϩⲁⲩ, «craftsman» (673 *b*), which is otherwise known in Bohairic only in construct form ϩⲁⲩ-, ⲁⲩ-, and has the old , *ḥmww*, «craftsman» as its prototype. For «shoemaker, sandal-maker» Egyptian had

[1] References in Griffith-Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, III, p. [33], no. 331.

[2] Hess, *Der gnostische Papyrus von London* (Freiberg, 1892), p. 7.

[3] Sethe, *Verbum*, I, § 54 *c*, 1, was not yet in a position to reconstruct the original form.

[4] Sethe in *ZDMG* 77 [1923], 195.

[5] *Dem. Glossar*, 392.

[6] Dem. pap. Cairo 50061 *a*, Spiegelberg, *Demotische Denkmäler*, III, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* (*CGC*), pl. XXIII-IV. The word occurs col. I, l. 23, 25, and verso, I, 5: II, 5, 10.

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besides , Late Egyptian , *tbw* (*Wb.* V, p. 363, 11 f.), another expression, namely *ḥmww-tbwy*, lit. « shoe-craftsman », attested in the Plural in a Cairo XIXth Dyn. hieratic ostracon [1] : . This would be in Coptic S. *ϩⲁⲩ-ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ, B. *ϩⲁⲩ-ϭⲱⲟⲩⲓ, which could be shortened into S. ϩⲁⲩ, B. ϩⲟⲩ, lit. « craftsman » when there was no danger of misunderstanding as to which kind of craftsman was meant.

10. S.A.F. ϭⲓϫ : B. ϫⲓϫ, « hand » (839 *b*) = , *ḳd(t)*, « hand ».

The Demotic ancestor of ϭⲓϫ was identified by Brugsch as long ago as 1855 [2]; it is the feminine word *gyḏ* or *kyḏ* occurring five times in the Dem. Magical Papyrus [3] and elsewhere [4]. As far as earlier periods are concerned Spiegelberg was able to adduce [5] a , *gḏ*, quoted to him by Steindorff in the (feminine?) proper name , *ndm-gḏ*, « one with tender hand » of a New Kingdom stela [6]. The authors of the *Wb.* did not admit this word *gḏ*, presumably because they felt some doubt as to its real existence. Its authenticity, however, should not be doubted, for the expression « your two hands » of the Pap. Louvre 3129, 5o is translated into Late Egyptian as [] [*ṯsy.k*] *ḳḏ 2t* by Pap. Brit. Mus. 10252 [7]. These papyri are as late as the second half of the IVth century B. C., but the bridge to the N. K. example of the Leipzig stela is supplied again by a divine decree, Pap. Turin Cat. 1984, vo. 20-21, to which I. E. S. Edwards drew my attention. There the deities promise « We will make healthy her right hand and her left hand ». In the enumeration of the parts of body *ḳḏt* is placed between *ḏrt*, « hand », and *ḥsp* « hollow of the hand », it was therefore in the XXIInd Dynasty not quite synonymous with *ḏrt* as the meaning of ϭⲓϫ might lead us to believe.

[1] Cat. 25581, verso 3-4; see Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques* (*CGC*), 52* and pl. XLII.

[2] *Grammaire démotique*, p. 28, § 56, and p. 73, § 159.

[3] See Griffith-Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus* III, p. [85], no. 905.

[4] *E. g.* Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53 [1917], 123, n. 5; Erichsen, *Dem. Glossar*, 595.

[5] *Kopt. Handwörterbuch*, 282, n. 12.

[6] Leipzig, no. 122; see Ranke, *Die äg. Personennamen* I, 215, 20, who prints .

[7] Schott, *Urk.* VI, p. 83. 6.

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POSTSCRIPT

S. Sauneron kindly draws my attention to the following passage of the paper *L'Égypte et le Vocabulaire de Balzac et de Th. Gautier,* read by G. Lefebvre in the Académie des Inscriptions at the session of 16th November 1945 [1] :

« C'est également dans Champollion que Gautier a trouvé le terme bizarre « amschir », qui revient six fois au cours du roman, particulièrement dans ces deux passages : « Des prêtres, se retournant à intervalles égaux, allongeaient vers lui leurs amschirs après avoir jeté de l'encens sur les charbons allumés dans la petite coupe de bronze..., et marchaient respectueusement à reculons pendant que la fumée odorante et bleue montait aux narines du triomphateur » (p. 107). Et plus loin, Pharaon s'écrie : « Lorsque je passe sur mon char d'or ou dans ma litière..., les prêtres m'encensent avec la fumée des amschirs » (p. 207). Ce terme est donc synonyme d'encensoir. Et c'est en effet la définition qu'en donne Champollion dans la *Notice* [2] (p. 69). »

The etymology which Lefebvre offers for *amschir* is ingenious but can hardly be upheld. It is quite clear that Champollion's *amschir* is Coptic ⲁⲙϣⲓⲣ (n° 3 above). Crum's dictionary knows the word only from Kircher and this probably was also Champollion's source. If the word designated a censer, and consequently an object made of metal, it could not, of course, be a direct descendant of *mhyr,* which is a basket, but that both ⲁⲙϣⲓⲣ and *mhyr* are derived from the name of the month remains — I believe — indubitable.

[1] *CRAIBL* 1945, 565.

[2] *Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du Musée Charles X* (Paris, 1827) is meant.

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Some Coptic Etymologies III.
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