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BIFAO 57 (1958), p. 203-213

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Some Coptic Etymologies III.

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## SOME COPTIC ETYMOLOGIES III "

BY

#### JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

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Mentions of the formidable nomads Βλέμνες 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 (?). 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 1 (5 17) 44 in Pap.

Dodgson, l. 21 (6). Spiegelberg adduced

Pap. Hauswaldt no. 6, l. 1 (7), and suggested that the group \$10/0/21 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

<sup>(1)</sup> See Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum, pp. 35-47; Agyptologische Studien Hermann Grapow zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet, 30-7.

<sup>(3)</sup> This figure in headings refers to the pages and columns of Crum's A Coptic Dictio-

<sup>(3)</sup> Some have been collected by KIRWAN, Annals of Arch. and Anthropology XXIV, 76, n. 1, and Orford University Excavations at Firka,

<sup>(4)</sup> Cat. of the Rylands Papyri III, 271, n. 18. and 420.

<sup>(5)</sup> PSBA XXXI [1909], 291.

<sup>(6)</sup> 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.

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

<sup>(8)</sup> GRIFFITH, Cat. of the Rylands Papyri, II. pl. 23; Griffith's reading and interpretation was different, see loc. cit. III, 225, n. 10.

<sup>(9)</sup> GRIFFITH, loc. cit. I, pl. XXVII.

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. bassur, B. bassur (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 \ \] \(\bigcap\_{\bigcap}\)\(\bigcap\_{\bi

male name (A), "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  $2^{-1}$  of the Onomasticon of Amenope (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  $\frac{1}{2}$ , but this latter is equally doubtful, and imight have stood there after all (7).

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

<sup>(2)</sup> So still in 1910 to W. Max Müller, Egyptol. Researches II, 69 ff.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cat. no. 1816 (Fabretti-Rossi-Lanzone, Regio Museo di Torino, p. 222).

<sup>(4)</sup> At the University of Toronto, D. 169, unfortunately not included in Gardiner-Thomp-

SON-MILNE, Theban Ostraca, but see GRIFFITH, PSBA XXXI, 291.

<sup>(5)</sup> Dict. géogr. II, 3-4.

<sup>(6)</sup> GARDINER, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, pl. X.

<sup>(7)</sup> Gardiner, loc. cit. I, p. 212\*, does not of course envisage the identity of Brhs, as he now reads the name, with 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 ματεστε, «army» (not in Grum'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 usterte, "army" (4), is the Demotic feminine mtgt or mtkt 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".

<sup>(1)</sup> MACADAM, The Temples of Kawa I, pls. 15 and 16.

<sup>(2)</sup> Loc. cit. I, p. 49, n. 37.

<sup>(3)</sup> Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien, p. xix.

<sup>(4)</sup> 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.

<sup>(5)</sup> Erichsen, Dem. Glossar, 193. Some

references are: Rosetta Decree, 1. 7 and IInd. Philae Decree, 1. 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, 1. 3 (= ZÄS 42, pl. III); Serapeum Stela, no. 110 (= ZÄS 57, 69).

<sup>(6)</sup> ZAS 55 [1918], 93.

<sup>(7)</sup> OLZ 4 [1901], col. 319-320.

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. worp, "box for incense" (206a) = \( \sum\_{\chi} \) = 1A, mbyr, "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 A. . 1A, followed in both cases by  $\square$   $\wedge$  A and  $\square$   $\wedge$  A. Of these mndm is known to be a kind of basket (Wb. II, 93, 16-17) and A, hitherto unrecorded, is certainly an exceptional spelling of - ca, nhr, «sieve» (Wb. II, 344, 11)(3). The determinative  $\alpha$  suggests that mhyr too was a receptacle made in wicker-work. In its form Coptic ugip, "box" is identical with the name of the month Mekhir umpp, and this fact makes plausible its derivation from \( \) prototype of the month-name Mekhir  $\sum_{n=1}^{\infty}$  contained in the name of the festival \_\_\_ X \ \_ \_ as it can be reconstructed from the ostr. Brit. Mus. 563qa, vo.  $6^{(4)}$  and the Pap. Cairo J.  $86637^{(5)}$ . The name of the festival means literally "That of the mhyr". Mhyr therefore is a masculine word and the determinative  $\Box$  suggests that mhyr was originally a building. One thinks immediately of  $\Sigma \subseteq \Xi$ , mhr of the Onomasticon of Amenope (6), but there the Editor thinks that  $\square$  was borrowed from  $\supseteq$   $\square$ . pr, "(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-

<sup>(1)</sup> Spiegelberg in Griffith Studies, 176-7, n. 7.

<sup>(2)</sup> Published in Černy-Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, pl. IXI, 3.

<sup>(3)</sup> Nhr accompanies mndm, 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 (= Inser. in the Hierat. and Demotic Character, pl. XIX); ostr. Gardiner 6,3; ostr. Petrie 17, 7; ostr. Berlin 14211, vo. 9-10; etc.

<sup>(4)</sup> Published in Inscr. in the Hierat. and Dem. Character, pl. XXVIII; transcription in Černý-Gardiner, Hieratic Ostraca, pl. LXXXV.

1. The end of mhyr is lost there, but the ostracon supplies the initial which is in a lacuna in the Pap. Cairo J. 86637.

<sup>(5)</sup> See ASAE 43 [1943], 179; ibidem, p. 174 other writings of the month-name Mekhir.

<sup>(6)</sup> Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onosmastica I, p. 95\*, no. 211.

As for the meaning of Gardiner masticon of Amenope. conjectured "buyer (?)", since the word is found among occupations; it has been compared with Hebr. מחיר, «price», which again sounds like מחיר, the Aramaic form of Mekhir (1). The possibility of an influence by []  $\longrightarrow$  1  $\square$ , hirw, "street", cannot be entirely excluded, since this word, though written quite differently, must have been pronounced \*hir as its Coptic descendant 31p: 51p shows. In view of all these possibilities it is therefore better to be resigned to determining the original meaning of ps mhyr 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  $\psi \bullet \psi \uparrow k_3 - hr - k_3$ , kusihku in cuneiform transcription, which like umip also served for measuring incense (2) and received its name from the festival and month of Khoiakh. This was originally a funerary festival called 🗽 🗓 ⇒ "tu -, nhb-ksw, "Uniting the ka's", so that ki-hr-ks meant "ka [was] Another possible case of an object receiving its name from a 'Ipip, a later form of \ , 'Ipt-hmt' (5). The origin of 'Ipip is obscure: it eventually as the hippopotamus-goddes Toëris and identified at Thebes with 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

(though are provided with queries) and in Parker, Calendars of Ancient Egypt, p. 38, fig. 16. The reading is confirmed by for the astronomical ceiling in the tomb of Senenmut (Winlock, Excavations at Deir el Baḥri 1911-1931, pl. 66), and for in Ramesseum (Revue dég. 10, pl. 1). A later expanded form was Ipt-lim.s., see Wb. I, 66. 21: JNES 7, pl. VIII, l. 13.

1/1.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. ASAE 43, 177.

<sup>(2)</sup> Pap. Harris 36 a, 6.

<sup>(3)</sup> See GARDINER, ZÄS 43 [1906], 139.

<sup>(4)</sup> Wb. I, 69, 4; ASAE 43, 175.

<sup>(5)</sup> This is the correct transcription in Pap.

## 4. S. wopt, "awning, veil" $(588 b) = \frac{1}{3} \times \frac{1}{3}$

- (1) See Bruxere, 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  $\frac{6}{N}$  8; 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.

In the first and last example the material of which hrd was made is stated to be pik and sšr-nsw<sup>(1)</sup>, in the rest the material is not given. Thus whenever the material of the hrd is indicated <sup>(2)</sup> it is of fine quality and both in Wenamun and the Kawa stelae the word might well have designated a veil as wort sometimes does.

It is hardly necessary to mention that the phonetic correspondence between brd and yopt is perfect; the final w of Wenamun 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. wee-, co-, component of a place-name $(618b) = \int \Box \cdot A = 1$ , sg, whill (?) r.

- (1) It is not necessary to assume, as Macadam does, that hrd in these two cases is a measure in which various garments are measured. In III, 2, prk is the material and refers to the following four words (hrd, šndt, rwd, mnht) which all designate garments; IX, 59 is simply ~8 hrd-garments (made) of byssus, and not ~8 hrd-measures of byssus.
- (2) Among Demotic examples I Kham. and Apis Ritual mention šs-nsw as the material of hrt.
- (3) Probably before M. K. according to Sethe,  $\ddot{ZAS}$  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 FAULKNBB, The Wilbour Papyrus IV, 88; one or two can be added from GAUTHIER, Dict. géogr. V, 67-68. Incidentally, Program a The sg of n'rtreen is the correct name (we are evidently in the Heracleopolite nome which had the n'rt-tree as its ensign), misinterpreted as a The sg of n'r-fish, under Shoshenk I (GAUTHIER, l. c.). The genitival n has been omitted before the following n'r.

14 A

of  $Tkw^{n(1)}$ . This sgr, as well as sg, has been translated as "keep, fortress", but is sg not really the old word  $\bigcap A$ , 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 A representing the slope of a hill and the strange sign A which invariably accompanies the sg of the New Kingdom may through misinterpretation originate in this A. As determinative this A might have been provided in hieratic with two side strokes to distinguish it from  $A = k^{(3)}$ , and finally given origin to  $A^{(4)}$ . The word sgr of Anastasi V would then be a quite different word in its spelling, meaning ("fortress") and origin (a loan-word from meaning (5). If the author of an inscription writes in the XXIInd Dynasty  $\bigcap A$  besides  $\bigcap A$  besides  $\bigcap A$  besides that no A was pronounced at the end. The etymology here advocated reveals co- as the original form, while in A of the A changed into A before A before A before A before A of the schanged into A before A before A before A before A of the schanged into A before A bef

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<sup>(1)</sup> See GAUTHIER. Dict. géogr. V, 67.

<sup>(2)</sup> VANDIER, Mo'alla, p. 30-1, and the list of occurrences, p. 301. The word  $\bigcap Wb$ . IV, 324, 16, belongs also here.

<sup>(3)</sup> Like  $\triangle$  and  $\checkmark$  (sdm).

<sup>(4)</sup> From sg "hill" it invaded the word sg? "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  $\Delta$ .

<sup>(5)</sup> Wb. IV, 324, 6 (not recognized as such

by Burchardt, Altkanaan. Fremdworte II, p. 42, no. 821) and Caminos, Late-Egyptian Miscellanies, p. 257.

<sup>(6)</sup> Mélanges Maspero I, 823.

<sup>(7)</sup> Cf. S. шкер, шбир besides the normal сбир "sail" (Grum 388b) and S. шбра  $_{2}$  T besides сбра  $_{3}$  T "rest, be quiet" (Grum 389b).

<sup>(8)</sup> Only the recto of this papyrus has been published so far (PLEYTE-Rossi, Papyrus de Turin, pl. 139-140).

 $<sup>\</sup>stackrel{(9)}{Fk^{\mu}}$  is used intransitively here, as quote often is.

deduced from the Demotic form  $\forall n \not\geq 0$  of Dem. mag. pap. (1) recognized by Hess (2). The word contained a 'ayyin and was therefore dissyllabic (\* $f\bar{o}$ 'ey) as postulated by the Bohairic and Fayyûmic forms (3).

7. A. പ്രസ്തേത്ര, "rust" (629 b) = A. പ്രപ്രേ, "dust" + സ്ത്രേ, "red".

8. S. ελοπ, A. ελλπ, «vessel for pouring» (671a) = Dem. hrp, «vessel for wine».

Erichsen records (5) from an early Demotic papyrus a word 14, hrp tor a vessel with which wine is measured or distributed (6). This is the rare Coptic 2001; the 2 of the Akhmîmic form agrees well with the Demotic h.

9. B. zou, "shoemaker"  $(674a) = \frac{1}{1}$  ?  $\longrightarrow$  (1) ) , hmwu(-tbwy), "shoemaker".

This is the Sa'idic **zau**, "craftsman" (673b), which is otherwise known in Bohairic only in construct form **zau-**, au-, and has the old  $\$ , hmww, "craftsman" as its prototype. For "shoemaker, sandal-maker" Egyptian had

<sup>(1)</sup> References in GRIFFITH-THOMPSON, The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, 111, p. [33], no. 331.

<sup>(</sup>Freiberg, 1892), p. 7.

<sup>(3)</sup> Sethe, Verbum, I, \$ 54 c, 1, was not yet in a position to reconstruct the original form.

<sup>(4)</sup> Sethe in ZDMG 77 [1923], 195.

<sup>(5)</sup> Dem. Glossar, 392.

Obem. pap. Gairo 50061 a, Spiegelberg, Demotische Denkmäler, III, Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (CGC), pl. XXIII-IV. The word occurs col. I. 1. 23, 25, and verso, I, 5: II, 5, 10.

## 10. S.A.F. $\operatorname{dix}: B. \operatorname{xix}$ , "hand" $(839 \ b) = 1 \operatorname{xix}$ , " $\operatorname{kd}(t)$ , "hand".

The Demotic ancestor of oix was identified by Brugsch as long ago as 1855 (2); it is the feminine word 312 m gyd or 312 m kyd occurring five times in the Dem. Magical Papyrus (3) and elsewhere (4). As far as earlier periods him by Steindorff in the (feminine?) proper name  $I \subseteq I \subseteq I \subseteq I \subseteq I$ , ndm-gd, «one with tender hand n of a New Kingdom stela (6). The authors of the Wb. did not admit this word gd, 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, 50 is translated into Late Egyptian as [ L] . L • 11 - [tsy.k] kd at 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 The state of the and her left hand  $\pi$ . In the enumeration of the parts of body kdt is placed between drt, "hand", and kip "hollow of the hand", it was therefore in the XXIInd Dynasty not quite synonymous with drt as the meaning of six might lead us to believe.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cat. 25581, verso 3-4; see Cerny, Ostraca hiératiques (CGC), 52\* and pl. XLII.

<sup>(3)</sup> Grammaire démotique, p. 28, \$ 56, and p. 73, \$ 159.

<sup>(3)</sup> See Griffith-Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyrus III, p. [85], no. 905.

<sup>(4)</sup> E. g. Spiegelberg, ZAS 53 [1917], 123,

n. 5; Erichsen, Dem. Glossar, 595.

<sup>(5)</sup> Kopt. Handwörterbuch, 282, n. 12.

Personennamen I, 215, 20, who prints II

<sup>(7)</sup> SCHOTT, Urk. VI, p. 83, 6.

#### 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  $\mathbf{uupp}$  (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  $\mathbf{uupp}$  and mhyr are derived from the name of the month remains — I believe — indubitable.

<sup>(1)</sup> CRAIBL 1945, 565.

<sup>(2)</sup> Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du Musée Charles X (Paris, 1827) is meant.