

hat, während es im Türkischen verkümmert ist und hier nur noch mit Possessivendungen vorkommt. Der Gebrauch von *-äs + i*, *-as + i* an Stelle des einfachen **-äs*, **-as* könnte von der „relativischen Anknüpfung“ seinen Ausgang genommen haben: *kiläs + i yıl* „das Jahr, welches kommen wird“. Falls diese Vermutung richtig ist, muß man weiter annehmen, daß infolge falscher Silbentrennung (*kilä + si*) statt *kiläs + i*) bei den Türken der Eindruck entstand, daß das Gerundium auf *-ä*, *-a* die Basis dieser Form bilde, so daß nach vokalischem Stamm- auslaut die Endung *-s* zu (osm.) *-yäsi*, *-yası* (auch in der Negation: *-mäyäsı*, *-mayası*) wurde. Die in Anm. 3 angeführte tat. Form *talasi* < **tala-si* neben *asısi* < **asayi-si* zeigt, daß auch die alte Bildungsweise noch nicht ganz ausgestorben ist.

Nun wird man auch den Gedanken nicht mehr ohne weiteres von der Hand weisen können, daß das negative Participium futuri *-mäs*, *-mas* des Wolgatürkischen, Kasakischen, Kirgisischen, Usbekischen die genaue Entsprechung des tschuw. *-mes*, *-mas* ist und infolgedessen von dem alttürk., uig., osm., aserb., türkmen., krimtürk. *-māz*, *-maz* getrennt werden muß²³⁾. Die lautgesetzliche Entsprechung dieses *-māz* findet sich im tschuw. *mar* „ist nicht“, von dem schon in Anm. 6 die Rede war, wodurch die Verschiedenheit der beiden Endungen *-mäs* und *-māz* ganz deutlich wird. Damit beheben sich auch die Schwierigkeiten der Erklärung, daß *-mäs* durch eine sonst in den betr. Dialekten nicht nachweisbare Entstimmung des *z* aus *-māz* entstanden sei.

Ich bin mir selbst der Tatsache bewußt, keine überzeugenden Beweise für meine Mutmaßungen geliefert zu haben. Aber die oben festgestellten vielfachen Übereinstimmungen scheinen mir für die vorgeschlagene Erklärung immerhin eine so starke Stütze zu bilden, daß ich glaube, damit vor die Kritik der Fachgenossen treten zu dürfen.

23) Zur Erklärung von *-māz*, *-maz* vgl. BANG, „Das negative Verbum der Türk Sprachen“ sowie BANG'S 4. Brief in UJ VII (1927), S. 36.

Arabic Marriage Contracts among Copts

By Nabia Abbott, Chicago

(I am deeply indebted to Professor Sprengling for many valuable suggestions incorporated in the translation and the notes)

Marriage documents among the Copts, whether in Coptic or in Arabic, seem to be very rare. Of the former only five are known, and these span a considerable period of time from Byzantine to Islamic Egypt of the thirteenth century of our era¹⁾. Of the latter none, so far as I know, have come to light until now, though Arabic marriage contracts among Muslims and converted Copts are fairly well represented. In two Arabic marriage contracts recently published, the names of the chief contracting parties are all Coptic, but it is nowhere definitely stated in either document that these chief parties were Christians²⁾. Though converts to Islam usually adopted some Muslim personal name, it cannot be positively stated that all of them did so. It was perhaps to guard against the possibility of their being considered Muslims that some Christian Copts though bearing Coptic names did nevertheless definitely designate themselves as Christians³⁾. Thus, though the two Arabic contracts in question may involve Christian Copts, we cannot be positively sure that they do.

In contrast with these, Oriental Institute No. 10552, recto and verso, presents us with two marriage documents

1) GEORG MÖLLER, „Ein Koptischer Ehevertrag“, Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, vol. LV (1918) pp. 67—74; HERBERT THOMPSON, „A Coptic Marriage Contract“, Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. XXXIV (1912), pp. 152—79.

2) Egyptian Library: Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library (APEL), ed. by ADOLPH GROHMANN (Cairo, 1934), I Nos. 40 and 43 dated 271/855 and 306/918 respectively.

3) Ibid. I Nos. 54, 62, 63, 68f., 70f.

among related families that are definitely known to be Christians and that belong to the lower clergy—families with priests and deacons among their members. The documents are drawn up in accordance with the usual Muslim law and procedure, are dated in the Muslim era, and are witnessed entirely by Muslims¹⁾—the recto having perhaps the longest list of witnesses yet known. The sums stipulated as dowry are high, that of recto—ninety dinars—being higher than any as yet mentioned in similar published Arabic documents. The verso has the added interest of a tangible security given for the balance of the dowry. Furthermore, recto and verso taken together have the unique distinction of representing related families in two successive generations, with forty-two Hijrah years separating the drafting of the two documents. Thus from several points of view these documents are different enough from other known marriage contracts to deserve our special attention.

Oriental Institute No. 10552

Date: Recto—21st Jumādā II 336 A. H./7th–8th January, 948 A. D.

Verso—Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 378/12th March–11th April, 989.

General Description: Reddish brown leather, 30 × 11" but irregular in shape, and with a leather strip on top for tying the document when rolled²⁾. The upper right corner is torn off but is preserved with the rest except for the loss of a

1) In all three respects these differ from the contracts drawn in Coptic. Of these latter some are ecclesiastical affairs, with copious Biblical citations, dated in the Diocletian era of the martyrs and witnessed by few Coptic Christians; cf. MÖLLER, *op. cit.*; THOMPSON, *op. cit.*; others are simpler agreements of which one is dated by indiction, cf. CRUM, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London, 1907), p. 42.

2) For other reddish brown leather documents cf. *APEL* I Nos. 48 and 56, and MORITZ, *B. Arabic Paleography* (Cairo, 1905) Pls. 112f.; GROHMANN's "Arabische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin", *Der Islam* XXII (1934), p. 19, No. 7.

small and mostly blank piece. The document is otherwise in good condition of preservation. The leather is coarse and in some sections much wrinkled. The recto, which is the hair side of the leather, is fully utilized by the text of the document and the long list of 77 witnesses, some of whom had to crowd in their testimony at the end of and in between the lines and in the margins. The verso, which is here the flesh side of the leather, has one line of Coptic on top followed, after generous spacing, by the comparatively short text of the second document; the lower half is blank.

Script: The text proper of the documents is written in a fair naskhī, that of recto being larger and clearer. Diacritical points, except for a very few instances, are lacking. The long list of witnesses in recto represents several hands all of which are more or less extremely cursive with peculiar ligatures and some typical abbreviations.

Locale: From verso line 7 it is clear that the contracting parties lived in Aswān where in all probability both recto and verso were drawn. The piece was acquired by Dr. James H. Breasted from Mohareb Todrous at Luxor in 1920.

Recto

Text¹⁾

١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
٢ هذا ما اصدق تيدر بن سمويل بن سلد لارس بن شوده الشماس دبلې اداى
ابنت يحنس بن بقطر
٣ بن يحنس القسيس وتزوجها به اصدقها تسعين دينرا ذها عينا جادا صحاحا
مناويل عينا
٤ معسولة عجل لها من ذلك خمسة عشر دينر بهذه المصفة فقبضها منه ابوها يحنس
بن بقطر
٥ وابراة منها وبقى على تيدر بن سمويل لامراته دبلې اداى ابنت يحنس بن
بقطر من هذا الصداق خمسة

1) [] indicate scribal omissions; () indicate solution of abbreviations.

- ٦ وسعون دينرا ذها عينا جيادا صحاحا مفايل عينا معسولة ديننا ثابتا وحقا واجبا لها عليه
- ٧ هو يقرانه تلى بذلك واصل اليه كل ذلك عليه في جمادى الاخره من سنة سبع وثلثين وثلثمائة وتولا يحسن
- ٨ بن بقطر بن يحسن عقد نكاح ابنته دبلى اداى من تيدر بن سمويل وكتاب هذا الكتاب لها عليه
- ٩ وهى بكر في حجرة بيتها بعد ان اشترى بها في ذلك فضمنه وقبله بهذا الصداق المسما في هذا الكتاب
- ١٠ ويحالف الله به من حسن الصحبة وجيل العشرة شهد على اقرار تيدر بن سمويل بن سلد لارس بن شنوده
- ١١ ويحس بن بقطر بن يحسن النصرانى بما في هذا الكتاب في صحتها وجواز امرها طابعين غير مكرهين
- ١٢ يوم الخميس لاحدى وعشرين ليلة خلت من جمادى الاخرة سنة ست وثلثين وثلثمائة
- ١٣ جعفر بن ابرهيم بن احمد شهد على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ١٤ فضل بن جعفر بن ابرهيم بن احمد [شهد] على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ١٥ شهد عبد الله بن يعقوب بن ابرهيم بن نافع على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ١٦ شهد الحسن بن عبد الله بن زيد على اقرار الزوج والولي بما في هذا الكتاب
- ١٧ شهد محمد بن اسمعيل بن ابرهيم بن فهد على اقرارهما بما فيه
- ١٨ شهد القسم بن محمد بن القسم بن عبد الله على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ١٩ شهد محمد بن عبد الله بن موسى بن خالد على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٢٠ شهد محمد بن على بن اسحق على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب [تاريخه]
- ٢١ وعلى بن محمد بن احمد شهد على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٢٢ شهد على بن محمد بن على على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٢٣ شهد جعفر بن محمد بن عبد الاحد بن قاسم على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب [تاريخه]

- ٢٤ واحمد بن ابرهيم بن احمد شهد على اقرار الزوج والولي بما فيه
- ٢٥ ومحمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن معبد كتب شهادته على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب [تاريخه]
- ٢٦ وعبد الله بن احمد بن محمد بن الحكم شهد على اقرار الولي والزوج بما فيه وكتب بخطه [تاريخه]
- ٢٧ عبد الله بن اسمعيل بن ابرهيم بن اسحق شهد على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب [تاريخه]
- ٢٨ شهد عمر بن محمد بن مروان بن عبد الله شهد على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٢٩ شهد ابرهيم بن محمد بن احمد بن حجاج على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٣٠ ومحمد بن احمد بن ابرهيم بن المدنى وكتب شهادته على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب [تاريخه]
- ٣١ والحسين بن محمد بن على بن هرون وكتب شهادته على اقرار الزوج والولي بما فيه [تاريخه]
- ٣٢ واحمد بن سهل بن هرون وكتب شهادته على اقرار الزوج والولي بما في هذا الكتاب بتاريخه
- ٣٣ شهد عبد الله بن محمد بن احمد بن عبد القادر بن عمر على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب بتاريخه
- ٣٤ وعبد الله بن احمد بن محمد بن يوسف وكتب شهادته على اقرار الزوج والولي بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٣٥ شهد عبد الملك بن يوسف بن عبد الملك بن عبد الرحيم بن ابن شرح شهد على اقرار الزوج والولي بما في هذا الكتاب [تاريخه]
- ٣٦ شهد محمد بن احمد بن فخر بن فهد بن على [على] اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب وكتب بخطه
- ٣٧ شهد احمد بن محمد بن احمد بن ابرهيم الوراقى على اقرار الولي بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٣٨ شهد محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن حماد بن زيد على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٣٩ شهد محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن يحيى على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٤٠ شهد الربيع بن محمد ابى رجا على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب [و] كتب [تاريخه]

- ٤١ شهد رزق الله بن محمد بن مموه بن اقرار الولي والزوج با فيه
 ٤٢ شهد احمد بن نعيم بن محمد بن نعيم بن اقرار الولي والزوج با في هذا الكتاب
 ٤٣ شهد الحسن بن علي بن عبد الله بن زيد بن اقرار الولي با في هذا الكتاب
 (تاريخي)
 ٤٤ شهد يحيى بن محمد بن يحيى المختبر على اقرار الولي والزوج با في هذا الكتاب
 وكتب بخطه
 ٤٥ شهد ابراهيم بن محمد ابي رجا على اقرار الزوج والولي با فيه
 ٤٦ شهد حماد بن محمد بن عبد العزيز بن حماد بن زيد بن اقرار الزوج والولي با
 فيه (تاريخي)
 ٤٧ شهد عبد المومن بن عبد الله بن يعقوب بن ابراهيم بن بكر بن . . . على اقرار
 الولي والزوج با في هذا الكتاب
 ٤٨ شهد ابراهيم بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن ابي المسم على اقرار الولي
 والزوج با في هذا الكتاب
 ٤٩ شهد جعفر بن محمد بن احمد الطراز على اقرار الزوج والولي با فيه
 ٥٠ شهد محمد بن سهل بن جوهري على اقرار الولي والزوج با فيه (تاريخي)
 ٥١ شهد يوسف بن محمد بن المهاجر بن اقرار الولي والزوج با في هذا الكتاب
 (تاريخي)
 ٥٢ وابراهيم بن محمد بن فرج بن عمر وكتب شهادته على اقرار الولي
 والزوج با فيه (تاريخي)
 ٥٣ وابراهيم بن محمد بن ابراهيم محمد بن فرج [شهد] على اقرار الولي والزوج بجميع
 ما فيه
 ٥٤ محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن مريد [شهد] على [اقرار الزوج والولي بجميع
 ما في هذا الكتاب
 ٥٥ شهد ناجح بن محمد بن اسحق بن ناجح و[كتب] شهادته على اقرار الولي
 والزوج بجميع ما في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)
 ٥٦ وعبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله بن اسحق بن ناصح شهد على اقرار الزوج با
 في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)
 ٥٧ شهد يوسف بن محمد بن يوسف بن اقرار الولي والزوج با في هذا الكتاب
 (تاريخي)
 ٥٨ شهد طاهر بن عمر بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن ابي النبي على اقرار الولي
 والزوج با في هذا الكتاب

- ٥٩ شهد احمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن الزبير على اقرار الزوج والولى بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٦٠ وطاهر بن احمد بن طاهر شهد على اقرار الزوج والولى بما في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)
- ٦١ شهد محمد بن ابراهيم بن اسحق على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٦٢ شهد دينر بن محمد بن محمد بن هرون على اقرار الزوج والولى بما في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)
- ٦٣ شهد زيد بن عبد الرحمن القيسى على اقرار الولي
- ٦٤ والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب

Beginning with the middle of line thirteen, additional witnesses use up the space at the end of lines and between lines for their signatures, which frequently occupy parts of several lines. A vertical bar separates the parts which fall in the different lines; an asterisk indicates inter-linear space used by these witnesses.

- ١٣*-١٣ عبد الله بن عبد الله بن سلمه بن يونس شهد على اقرار | الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)
- ١٣*-١٥ شهد محمد بن جعفر بن ابراهيم بن احمد على | اقرار الولي والزوج | وكتب شهادته بجميع ما في هذا الكتاب
- ١٦*-١٦ عبد الله شهد على اقرار الزوج | والولى بما فيه
- ١٧*-١٧ شهد عبد الله بن الزبير بن علي على اقرار الولي والزوج | بما في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)
- ١٨-١٩ شهد يوسف بن محمد بن يوسف بن سمعان على اقرار | الولي والزوج بجميع ما في هذا الكتاب
- ٢١ وجعفر بن احمد بن عيسى بن عبد الرحمن شهد على اقرار الولي والزوج
- ٢١* شهد على بن الحسن بن عمر بن يحيى على اقرار الولي والزوج بما في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)
- ٢٣-٢٥ شهد محمد بن احمد بن عبد الرحمن | بن موسى على اقرار الزوج والولى بما في هذا الكتاب
- ٢٥*-٢٦ ومحمد بن احمد بن عبد الله شهد على | اقرار الزوج والولى بما في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)

- ٢٨ شهد علي بن فهد بن عباس بن سهيل على اقرار الولي والزوج با فيه (تاريخي)
- * ٢٩ - ٣٠ والقسم بن عبد الرحمن بن القسم بن عبد الله شهد | على اقرار الولي والزوج با في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)
- ٣١ - ٣٢ ومحمد بن عبد الرحيم بن قاسم شهد على اقرار الولي والزوج | با في هذا الكتاب [و] كتب بخطه
- ٣٤ - ٣٥ ومحمد بن علي بن محمد شهد على اقرار الولي والزوج | با فيه (تاريخي)
- ٣٢* - ٣٣ شهد محمد بن احمد بن عبد القادر بن بشر على اقرار الولي | والزوج با في هذا الكتاب (تاريخي)
- ٣٧ - ٣٨ وعبد الله بن عمر بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عمر شهد على اقرار | الزوج والولي با في هذا [الكتاب] (تاريخي)
- * ٣٨ - ٤٠ شهد محمد بن ابراهيم بن محمد بن احمد بن حجاج على | اقرار الولي والزوج با في هذا الكتاب
- ٣٩ - ٤٠ وطلي بن محمد بن ابراهيم بن عيسى بن بكير | شهد على اقرارهما با في هذا الكتاب
- ٤١ - ٤٢ شهد عبد الله بن طلحة [على] اقرار | الولي والزوج با فيه (تاريخي)
- * ٤٥ - ٤٥ شهد احمد بن محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن على اقرار الزوج | والولي وكتب شهادته با فيه (تاريخي)
- * ٤٥ - ٤٦ شهد علي بن احمد بن محمد بن هرون بن اسحق على | اقرار الولي والزوج با فيه
- * ٤٦ - ٤٨ شهد الحسن بن علي بن سالم | بن عبد الله على اقرارهما | با فيه وكتب بخطه
- * ٤٨ - ٤٩ شهد محمد بن عبد الله بن جبريل بن اسحق على اقرار الولي | والزوج با فيه (تاريخي)
- ٥٠ - ٥١ شهد اسمعيل بن ابراهيم بن وهب على اقرار الولي | والزوج با في هذا الكتاب
- * ٥١ - ٥٢ شهد عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن سلم بن زيد | على اقرار الولي والزوج با في هذا الكتاب

Two more witnesses added their testimony on the right hand margin.

شهد الحسن بن احمد بن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله على اقرار الولي
والزوج با في هذا الكتاب
شهد محمد بن سهل بن محمد على اقرار الولي والزوج با فيه (تاريخي)

Notes: Line (2) The reading of تيدر is ascertained from line 8 where the *tā'* is dotted; that of سلد from line 10, though there is some possibility that the third letter is a *rā'*. The first of the woman's two names seems to begin with a *dāl* or *dhāl* rather than a *rā'* or *zā'*; the second letter, to judge from the name in lines 5 and 8 could also be *nūn* or a *tā'* if the dots are indeed meant for it, for the parchment has several dots that are not related to the script; the last letter seems to be a *yā'*, though *nūn*, preceded by a *bā'* or a sister letter, is also paleographically possible. (4) Note the miniature *mīm* of المصفة, the most likely reading here. However, the word may be read as الصفة. See the main notes to this line. (7) The *yā'* of يقر has overlapped the *wāw* of هو. (9) The *hā'* of هي gives the impression of being two letters, e. g. *hā'* and *kāf* but when compared with several other initial *hā'*s in the document, its form here is readily understood. (13ff.) There is not much to be gained by detailed, and, in many cases repetitious, comments on the writing of the witnesses. It is difficult to tell how many hands are represented; for though we have no statement that a witness signed for any other or others, the script of several is very much alike. Peculiar ligatures and abbreviations, most of which are met in other documents (see *APEL* II, Index "Abbreviations" and "ligatures") are freely used, especially in the much crowded signatures on the margins and in between the lines. Since we have to deal here not with any new and significant text but only with well-known types of formulae commonly used by witnesses, we will limit ourselves to pointing out a few specimens of these ligatures and abbreviations. And since the reading in these formulae is in most cases assured, we will,

for consideration of space and the almost prohibitive cost of reproducing irregular Arabic forms and combinations, refrain from reproducing these here and content ourselves with their solution as is indicated in the reading of the text. We will, however, comment on such names as present some paleographic difficulties. The ink has in many places either discolored into a greyish shade or considerably faded so that in these instances what is clear on the document itself is not so clear in the reduced reproduction; in some cases the letters are hardly visible at all, while in others shadows and stains in the leather give letters and words a misleading appearance. (13) Note ligatures in *علي اقرار* and *هذا الكتاب به* the *به* being an abbreviation of *بتاريخه*, which phrase is sometimes fully spelled out e. g. in lines 32f.; cf. *APEL* II No. 139 lines 9 and 15 where the abbreviation being preceded by *fī* stands for *تاريخه*. (15) The last name seems to be a word of four letters ending with an 'aīn or possibly with a *hā'*, in which case the name may be *ناصح* or *ناجح*. (17) Note the miniature *hā'* in *فهد* and the ligature of the *dāl* to the following 'aīn. (20) The first part of the line, very faint in the reproduction, is nevertheless quite clear in the original; note the ligature in *بنا فيه*. (21) What I read as *محمد بن احمد* is ligatured into one unit, the last word of which may be *استحق*. (22) There is some possibility of reading *عمر* instead of *محمد*. (25) The *mīm* of *معبد* looks questionable, but it is not so different from that of *محمد*. Note the ligatured and abbreviated *وكتب شهادته* here and in lines 30-32, 34, 52 and others. It is not always clear which of the letters in the phrase are represented. cf. *APEL* II No. 90 line 4 and No. 121 line 12. (28) The *mīm* of *مرون* is somewhat doubtful; perhaps it is meant for a *hā'* giving us *هرون*. (32) *بتاريخه* is fully spelled out at the end of the line. (33) The first part of *عبد القادر* has left very faint traces on the leather which hardly show in the reproduction. Note the elaborate attempt at writing *بتاريخه*. (35) Perhaps there is a possibility of reading *الرحمن* instead of *الرحيم*; a break in the leather gives the false impression of a *kāf* in the reproduction. Another possibility for *شرح* may be *سرح*. The second and

unnecessary *شهد* is written diagonally in the interlinear space, and only the first letter shows in the reproduction. (36) Either the name following the last *bin* is missing or that name is 'Alī and the preposition *علي* was overlooked. The first two letters of *بخطه* are clear, the last two are much contracted. (37) The omission of *الزوج* is likely an oversight. (38) Note the peculiar ligatures of the last three letters in *الرحمن; الرحيم* seems a more likely reading at first sight, but careful inspection shows clearly the execution of a circular *mīm* attached to the *hā'*. Note also the ligatured *alif* and *dāl* of *حامد* which makes the word look like *حامد*; there is a bare possibility that we have *خلد*, sometimes meant for *خالد*. The 'aīn of *علي* has overlapped the greater part of the *dāl* of *زيد*. (40) The several strokes that follow *الكتاب* are too many for the usual *به* for *بتاريخه*. (44) Note the contracted and ligatured *وكتب بخطه*. (48) The last name may be *المهر*. (50) Note the excessive ligatures. There is a possibility of reading *فهد* instead of *سهل*. (52) Another though less likely reading of *فوج* is *فوح* or *فوح*, cf. Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-Mushtabih fī Asmā' al-Rijāl*, ed. DE JONGE (Leyden, 1881), p. 402; the *fā'* is more questionable in reproduction than in the original; the word following would normally be *بن* but it is difficult to read that here. Could it be read as *شبح*? (53) The reproduction is misleading for the last two names, which are clearer in the original; the final letter of *فوج* or *فوح* or *فوح*, quite clear in the document, looks in the reproduction as though it were an initial letter followed by a second letter which looks like *rā'* or *zāy*. (54) Note the word and letters left out by this witness. (56) The reading of the last name as *ناصح* is given with some hesitation, the third letter appearing too small or compressed for *šād*; reading this third letter as a *fā'* or a *kāf* would call for a letter between it and the final letter, giving us *ناصح*, and I know of no name that answers this. The omission of *الولي* here was probably an oversight, as in the case of the omission of *الزوج* in line 37. (58) The ink covered name may be *طاهر*, *ظهير*, *ظفر*, or *ظفر*; for the last two, cf. Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, p. 326, n. 1, and p. 461 for *النتى*. (17a) It is possible

that the first letter, because of its size and extension in an otherwise crowded signature, may be an abbreviation of *وكتب شهادته*. (18) *سيمان* seems the most likely reading here; the name is not common among Muslims though found occasionally, cf. *Dhahabī, Mushtabih*, p. 275. (28) Though the most likely name is apt to be *عباس* (or *عتاس* or *عياش*, cf. *Mushtabih*, index) it is not altogether impossible to read *عيسى*. (38) The word *الكتاب* is called for after *هذا* and is hardly to be read into what looks no more than the common *به* for *بتاريخه*. (46-48) There is some possibility that the last word is *بتاريخه*. (49-48a) Note the completion of the testimony in the line above instead of the one below.

Translation

1. In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!
2. This is what Tidor son of Samawil son of S-l-d Lāris son of *Shinūdah* the deacon has assigned as a dowry to Dbely(?) Adāy daughter of Yuḥannis son of Boktor
3. son of Yuḥannis the priest; and he has taken her in marriage thereby. He has assigned as her dowry ninety dinars, gold, current coins, good, correctly-minted *Mathākīl*, current (gold-) coins,
4. true. Of that he made an immediate down payment to her of fifteen dinars by this coin frontlet and her father Yuḥannis son of Boktor received it from him,
5. and she receipted it for him. And there remained against Tidor son of Samawil to his wife Dbely Adāy daughter of Yuḥannis son of Boktor of this dowry five
6. and seventy dinars, gold, current-coins, good, correctly-minted *mathākīl*, current (gold-) coins, true—a valid debt and a binding claim due her from him,
7. he acknowledging that it is the balance outstanding (of that dowry and) connected with it; all that (debt) is due to be paid by him in Jumādā II of the year three hundred and thirty seven. And Yuḥannis

8. son of Boktor son of Yuḥannis has undertaken (to secure) the marriage contract of his daughter Dbely Adāy from Tidor son of Samawil, the writing of this deed being due her from him,
9. she being (then) a virgin in the chamber of her home, after he had consulted her in regard to that. And he (Tidor) made it secure and accepted it with this dowry that is named in this document.
10. And he swears to God for good companionship and pleasant association. The following witnesses have testified to the acknowledgement of Tidor son of Samawil son of S-l-d Lāris son of *Shinūdah*
11. and (to that) of Yuḥannis son of Boktor son of Yuḥannis the Christian, in regard to that which is in this document, both (being) in sound health and in the control of their affairs, willing not compelled,
12. (on) Thursday twenty-one nights having elapsed of Jumādā II of the year three hundred and thirty six.
13. Ja'far ibn Ibrahim ibn Aḥmad has testified to the acknowledgement of the trustee and the husband in regard to that which is in this deed.
- 14-64. Marginal and interlinear text represent the monotonous testimony of 76 additional witnesses given, in almost precisely the same terms as that of Ja'far. None of the witnesses give the date in full, though many indicate it to be the same as that of the drafting of the document by the use of the phrase, *بتاريخه*, usually abbreviated. A few add *بخطه*, "in his own hand." The witnesses seem to be all Muslims with common Arabic names, though a few of the names present some paleographic difficulties, and these have been touched on already. There is, therefore, for the non-Arabist, nothing to be gained by a translation of this long list of testimonies; while for the Arabist, with the transcription of the Arabic text before him, such a translation would be superfluous.

Main Notes

Line 1. Some of the Coptic names present the usual difficulties, and no attempt is made to exhaust all their possibilities. The reading of the less known names may well be considered tentative where not left indefinite. Both the bride and groom seem to bear double names, a practice known among the Copts; cf. GUSTAV HEUSER, *Die Personennamen der Kopten* (Leipzig, 1929) I 123-25. I have not been able to find a Coptic or Greek name to correspond to *سلد* though *لارس* may well be the Coptic *λαρης*, "belonging to the south," meaning here a "South Egyptian", a possibility tentatively suggested by HEUSER (ibid., p. 22), that fits well in this document from Upper Egypt. *دبلى* as the first of the girl's two names may well be the Arabicized form of the Coptic *ⲧⲏⲉⲗⲏ*, "the blind," cf. HEUSER, pp. 18 and 40. The second name, *ادى* may be a variant of the Arabic form *ادوى* though again no Greek or Coptic parallel seems available for either; cf. *APEL* I No. 61 line 9 and the note on p. 197.

Line 2. A dowry of ninety dinars is the highest we know of in similar Arabic documents; cf. *APEL* I 71f. A higher sum may be involved in the verso—the second of these two documents—where the balance due is eighty dinars and where the first payment may have been, as here, fifteen dinars, making a total of ninety-five dinars. There are instances of first payments of twenty dinars, both in the Arabic and the Coptic marriage documents; one of the latter—that published by THOMPSON, and already referred to in note 1 above—stipulates a total of one hundred dinars, twenty down, and the rest at the end of five years, cf. THOMPSON, ibid., pp. 173 and 177.

Line 4. The term *ممسولة* calls for some explanation. In my *Monasteries of the Fayyūm* (Chicago, 1937), pp. 8 and 16 where the term occurs in opposition to *خوان*, I translated it as "unadulterated" and the term *خوان* as "debased." A true, sound coin has to be one that is true in both weight and purity of metal. Since in the Fayyūm document weight was

specifically mentioned, I was led to put the emphasis on the purity of the metal. In the recently published *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, GROHMANN has translated the term *ممسولة* as "correctly counted out." (*APEL* I Nos. 57 line 9; 59 line 6; II Nos. 83 line 7; 86 line 6; 87 line 8; 97 lines 4-5; 113 line 3.) MARGOLIOUTH seems to accept the term as meaning "of full weight"; cf. JOHN RYLANDS Library, *Catalogue of Arabic Papyri* . . . (Manchester, 1933) hereafter *APJRL*, pp. 24 and 26. Both GROHMANN and MARGOLIOUTH seem to have been influenced by KARABACEK's treatment of the word and both seem to have misunderstood that treatment. KARABACEK (*Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer II-III*, Wien, 1887, pp. 160f.) gives numerous instances of the word used either alone and translated by him as simply "richtig" or "wahr;" or used in the combination *ممسول عدد* and translated "richtig gezählte;" and again used in the combination *ممسول وزن* and translated "richtigen Gewichtes." This distinction, well-made by KARABACEK, of the use of the word alone and of its use in combination with either *عدد* or *وزن* seems to have been completely overlooked by MARGOLIOUTH who accepted the term to mean *always* "of full weight," and by GROHMANN who accepted it to mean *always* "correctly counted out." Aware of the fact that neither of these terms applied to the term *ممسولة* standing alone, influenced by the use of the term *خوان* in opposition to it, and sensing the importance of purity of metal when debased coins and counterfeit coins were not uncommon, I took the term *ممسولة* standing alone and meaning basically "true," "faithful," to refer to the purity of the metal. Though I still think this interpretation of the term is possible, I do not think it is the only or the best interpretation possible. Leaving the word *ممسولة* alone for the while let us consider the term *خوان* vocalized either *خَوَان* or *خَوَان* and meaning basically "treacherous," "faithless" or "very treacherous," "very faithless." We do find this root in the second form *خَوْن* means "to diminish, waste, impair, or take from by little and little" which certainly allows for a gradual quantitative loss. This in the

case of coins could well mean to diminish the weight of the coin, perhaps by the usual process of clipping it little by little. Clipping was one of the easiest and commonest ways of tampering with coins; such coins, however, though kept in circulation were usually accepted for what they were worth, especially if the clipping was evident and considerable in quantity, that is, the coins would pass by weight and not by count. There is, therefore, the possibility that *خوان* used with coins may have reference to a coin deficient in weight. Yet it is not necessary to limit the meaning of the term *خوان* to this, for the idea of loss by weight would be covered by the essential meaning of the root in the first form. As an intensive adjective applied to a coin it can very well mean that the coin is not true either in weight or in metal or in both. For if clipping was common so was counterfeiting and the use of debased coins—coins that did not ring true. It is, therefore, possible that the term is a general term applicable to one or more defects that make a coin not true. Unfortunately we know, so far, of no other instance of the use of the word in these and other legal documents where money is involved, though *ممسولة* is met with, as we have seen, quite frequently. Now this last word when used without the following *عدد* or *وزن* is found either with a series of other adjectives all emphasizing some phase of the trueness of a coin, as in the present document, or it is used by itself alone, and therefore renders service as an all sufficient specification of a good coin, as for instance in *APEL* II No. 113 line 3 and *APJRL*, pp. 24 and 26. Thus I am led to believe that the term *ممسولة* standing alone in a series of adjectives is used redundantly—redundancy being exceedingly common in legal terminology—to cover all those adjectives, and when used alone it covers all those qualities which make a coin “faithful,” “true.”

Many varied terms are used in connection with the genuineness, full-weight, and purity of the metal of coins. Some of these are sometimes struck on the coins either in full or in abbreviated form; cf., for instance, O. CODRINGTON, *A manual of Musalman Numismatics* (London, 1904), pp. 9f.

or any other work on Islamic coins. The lists I have been able to consult include neither *خوان* nor *ممسولة*, though CODRINGTON lists *امان*, “not false,” that is, “true.” This word is, therefore, used in the same sense as *ممسولة* and as an antonym of *خوان*, since *امن* and *خان* have opposite meanings. Neither the legal terms nor the terms on the coins themselves seem to have much in common with the terms used in literary and historical sources, where one meets with the use of *زغل* and *غش* in connection with adulterated coins; cf. Lane, *Lexicon* under these words and see Suyūṭī, *Husn al-Muḥāḍarah* (Cairo, 1299 A. H.) II 16f. and Ibn al-Athīr, *Annals*, XIV 469f. for an account of how the Fatimid Mu‘izz passed off gilded-copper coins for gold dinars on Ibn al-Jarrāḥ of Ṭayy in 363/974, that is, in the period between the dates of these two documents, using the term *زغل* and *خالص* to describe the bad and the good coins respectively. A comprehensive study of the terms met with on the coins themselves, in documents and in literary sources might well form the subject of a separate study.

Another possible reading for *المصفة* is *الصفة*, which according to Hava’s *Arabic-English Dictionary* means in the dialects of Syria “golden coins worn as a woman’s hair ornament.” The term *صف* is also in use among the Christians of northern Mesopotamia for the elaborate hair ornament in which rows of gold coins play a prominent part. Though the Arabic lexicons do not give *صف*, *صفية*, and *مصفة* in this sense, yet their use can be readily understood. The groom of the document is therefore making the first payment of the dowry in the form of fifteen gold-dinars worked into a head ornament. In almost all Christian communities of the Near East some sort of coin frontlet, among other ornaments, is frequently stipulated for in the bridal gifts. The ornament does not seem to have been in use among Muslim women, and must not be confused with another hair ornament, the *صفا*, defined by Spiro Bey in his *Arabic-English Dictionary* (Cairo, 1923) as a “hair ornament (*chains of gold or silver coins attached to the tresses*) for native ladies of the lower classes.” As a rule the coins in both orna-

ments would have to be pierced in order to be either strung or sewn. Another, though less likely, reading is to assume a scribal omission of the letter *dāl* and read *الص*[د]ة.

Line 7. An alternative though less likely reading of *تلي* is *يلي* emphasizing the stipulation that the balance is to be paid in the year immediately following. It is interesting to note here that the remainder of the dowry is to be paid in one installment at the end of a year, instead of the more common practice of several payments stretching sometimes over several years; cf. *APEL* I Nos. 38ff.

Line 9. For the assertion that the bride is a virgin under the care and protection of her guardian who is usually her father, cf. *APEL* I Nos. 41 lines 3f., 42 lines 7f.; *Der Islam*, loc. cit. No. 8 line 12 and No. 9 line 3 expresses the idea of protection and guardianship in the phrase *في حجره وولايته*.

Line 10. For this provision of good companionship cf. *Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1928), *Sūrah* 4:19; *APEL* I Nos. 38 lines 10f., 41 line 12, 44 line 6. Variant phrases are sometimes used in this connection; cf. *Der Islam*, loc. cit., No. 9 lines 6f.

Line 12. For this and other methods of expressing the day and night of the month in dating, cf. *Ṣūlī*, *Adab al-Kuttāb* (Baghdad, 1922), pp. 181–83 and *APEL* II 192.

Line 13ff. The witnesses Muḥammad of line 13a and Faḍl of line 14 are apparently brothers and the sons of Ja'far, the first witness in line 13. Al-Ḳasim of line 18 may be a cousin of al-Ḳasim of lines 29a–30. Al-Rabī of line 40 and Ibrahim of line 45 are apparently brothers.

It is difficult to see why so many witnesses were called on when a few were sufficient to validate the contract. For other long lists, not quite as long as this, cf. *APEL* Nos. 48 and 56; *Der Islam* XXII (1934) p. 19 No. 7 which has 42 witnesses. The three documents bear some comparison with the one published here, though their subject matter is varied. Like the present document they are written on reddish leather; the first two dated A. H. 233 and 239 respectively come from Edfu, the last dated 304 comes from Nubia, and ours dated 336 comes from Aswān. The four together may mean that

in these southern regions reddish leather and a long list of witnesses were in use and favour in the third and fourth centuries of the Hijrah. An earlier evidence of the use of many witnesses in Upper Egypt is to be found in a second century trilingual Greek-Coptic-Arabic official document, coming most probably from Akhmīm and having fifty-four witnesses in the Coptic section. This most interesting and valuable papyrus document, considered by GROHMANN the most prominent piece in the whole collection in the Egyptian Library, and dated by him "VIII Century A. D." is to be definitely dated, at the latest, to the year A. H. 140/A. D. 758; cf. *APEL* III (1938) pp. v, 67, 86f.; NABIA ABBOTT, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script and Its Qur'ānic Development* . . . , "Oriental Institute Publications" L (Chicago, 1939) p. 15 n. 89.

Verso

Date: Dhū al Ḥijjah, 378 A. H./12th March.–11th April, 989 A. D.

General Description: See Recto.

Text

(One line of Coptic)¹⁾

	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	١
	شهد الشهود المسمون في صدر هذا الكتاب ان السه ابنت انتناس بن يحسن	٢
	بن سلد لارس النصراني	٣
	اقرت عندهم واشهدتهم على نفسها في صحة بدنها وتامة عقلها وجواز امرها انها	٤
	ايرات زوجها	٥
	فمره بن تيدر بن سمويل النصراني من جميع الباقي لها عليه من موخر صداقها الذي	٦
	كان عقد	٧
	عليه نكاحها وهو ثمانون ديناراً مثاقيل ذهباً عينا وازنا صحاحاً جيداً معسولة عزيزية	
	واسقطت رهته عنه وجعلته من جميعه في حل وسعة في الدنيا والاخرة واقرت ان	
	جميع	
	ما ينسب اليها من منزل باسوان وما ضمه من اصناف الامتعة كلها من ثياب	
	ونحاس وحديد	

1) As yet unread by our Coptic scholars.

- ٨ وشوار وخشب وقليل وكثير مما يتنوله الناس لزوجها صرفه بن تيدر مالا من ماله
وحقا
- ٩ من حقوقه وملكا له دونها ودون الناس اجمعين بامر حق واكتبت ذكر (ق)
بحريته لزوجها الاحرار له به
- ١٠ فقبل ذلك منها مخاطبه منه اباهما عليه شهد على اقرارهما بما في هذا الكتاب في
صحتها وجواز امورها طابعين
- ١١ غير مكرهين في ذو الحجة من سنة ثمان وسبعين وثلاثمائة شهد على بن جعفر بن
ابراهيم بن احمد
- ١١* على اقرارهما بما في هذا الكتاب
وكتب شهادته بخطه
- ١٢ شهد الحسن بن احمد بن رزق الله بن محمد وكتب شهادته على اقرار السه
ابنت انتناس بتاريخه
- ١٣ شهد عبد الله بن ابراهيم على اقرار الزوج بخطه

Notes: Line (1) The girl's name, if Arabic, can be readily read as التية. (4) The man's first name here and in line 7 is clear as to basic letter forms. (5) In the reproduction رازنا appears as رازنة, but the traces of the final *alif* are clearly to be seen in the document. (7) The *bā'alif* of باسوان are written similar to those letters in بامر of line 9 and اباهما of line 10. (9) The lower part of the *rā'* in ذكر has peeled off. The next letter seems to be separate *hā'*; (see main note to this line). There are some traces of what seems to be an initial *hā'* in the word following, though it is also possible that a *bā'*, which need not be any heavier or larger than the *yā'* in Yuḥannis in line 2, precedes this *hā'*. (12) The ink in the phrase وكتب شهادته has faded and the leather has peeled off for the most part leaving very faint traces in the original.

Translation

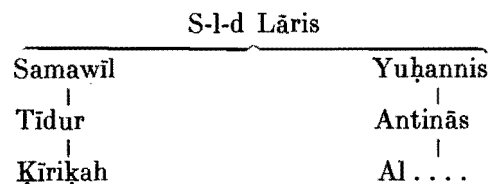
1. In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!
2. The witnesses named in this document testify that Al.... daughter of Antanās son of Yuḥannis son of S-l-d Lāris the Christian

3. acknowledged before them and caused them to bear witness for her, she being sound in body and sane of mind and capable of transacting her affairs, that she released her husband
4. *Ḳiriḳah* (?) son of Tīdur son of Samawīl the Christian from all of the balance due her of the deferred instalment of her dowry which had been contracted
5. for her in her marriage contract, that being eighty dinars, *mathākīl* gold-coin, of full-weight, correctly-minted, good, true dinars of 'Azīz.
6. And she released him from his pledge for it and set him with respect to all of it free and at ease in this world and the next. And she acknowledged that all
7. that which pertained to her by way of a residence in (the) house at Aswān and (all) that is connected with it of all the variety of furnishings, of clothes, and brass, and iron,
8. and kitchen-ware, and wood, and little and much that the people handle—all this belongs to her husband, *Ḳiriḳah*, son of Tīdur, as a property of his properties and a rightful holding
9. of his rightful holdings, and as a possession belonging to him exclusive of her and of all people by legal mandate. And she caused to be written for her husband a legal deed regarding his freedom which constitutes his release.
10. And he accepted that from her (having) discussed it with her father. Testimony was given to their acknowledgement of what is in this document the two being in sound health and capable of transacting their affairs, voluntarily
11. and without compulsion, in *Dhū al-Ḥijjah* of the year three hundred and seventy-eight. 'Alī ibn Ja'far ibn Aḥmad testified
- 11a. to their acknowledgement of what is in this document and wrote his testimony with his (own) hand.

12. Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Rizk Allah ibn Muḥammad gave witness and wrote his testimony regarding the acknowledgement of Al . . . daughter of Antanās on the same date as that of the document
13. 'Abd Allah ibn Ibrahim testified to the acknowledgement of the husband with his (own) hand.

Main Notes

Line 1ff. Ḳirīkah, the husband in this document, is the son of Tīdur and most probably also of Dbely Adāy, unless Tīdur had married more than once. His wife Al . . . is a distant paternal cousin, whose relationship to him is to be seen from the following:



In the forty-one years that elapsed between the date of recto and verso, the economic condition of Tīdur's family seems not to have suffered any adverse change, if one is to judge by the sums involved in both documents.

It is hardly likely that the wife had an Arabic name; still, it is a temptation to point the letters to give the good Arabic name, التنية. We may have here the Arabic article combined with a non-Arabic name e. g. the Coptic τανια: cf. HEUSER p. 18. انتياس may also be read انتياس or انتياس, cf. *APEL* II 62f.

Line 4. The husband's first name may well be Arabicized from κυριακος or κυριακος; cf. HEUSER, pp. 81, 87f. Or again it may be something quite different beginning instead with a *fā'*, e. g. Fabricius.

Line 5. For the term *مسولة* see notes on recto line 4. It is interesting to note here the specific mention of the dinar of 'Azīz. The monetary reforms of Jauhar and Ya'qūb ibn

Killis in the reign of the Fāṭimid Mu'izz (341-65/953-75) resulted in the stabilization of the dinar of Mu'izz at the expense of that of al-Rādī, and in the acceptance of only the dinar of Mu'izz for tax payments. The reforms carried over into the reign of 'Azīz (365-86/975-96). Cf. WALTER J. FISCHER, *Jews in the Economic and Political Life of Mediaeval Islam* (London, 1937), pp. 53-56; Makrīzī, *Kitāb Itti'āz al-Hunafā'* . . . ed. HUGO BUNZ (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 76, 80, 97 f.; *APEL* I 203.

Lines 6-9. It is interesting to note that the wife seems to have had, by way of a tangible security for the balance of her dowry, a right to joint ownership of the list of objects enumerated.

Line 9. The letters, and therefore the words, between ذك and زوجها are difficult to decipher with certainty. Though the reading here given is possible enough, I have not hitherto met with the use of separate *hā'* as an abbreviation of *hakk*. For other instances of the use of the phrase ذكر حق cf. *APEL* I 72 and 116; *Der Islam* XXII 43.

Line 11. 'Alī might be the son of the Ja'far of recto, line 13, and the younger brother of Muḥammad and Faḍl of lines 13a-14 respectively.

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