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Quotations in Old Kingdom Inscriptions

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It was the scholar to be honoured by this "Festschrift" who first extensively exploited the Egyptian texts for indications revealing the phrasaeology of the spoken language as preserved in the written documents 1). In this paper the topic is taken up in regard to the inscriptions of the Old Kingdom which, like those of other periods, reflect the speech of the people of their time, but whereby the investigation has been restricted to a particular problem whitin the wide range of the subject. The texts of this early period exceed in riches and variety of reproduction of verbal or written statements those of later times, since at this time the distinction between written and spoken language was not as strongly felt as later. Numerically the strongest group among them consists of the allocutions to the visitors of the tomb which are formulated as personal addresses by the deceased, and which narrate in form of a direct appeal assuming the dead person as their speaker. Those have been repeatedly and extensively investigated²) and shall be disregarded here. A second group, also rather large, comprises exclamations and sayings annotating scenes and representations of earthly life on the walls of the Old Kingdom tombs. This group likewise received thorough investigations³) and will be neglected here.

Object of this study will be a third group which numerically is rather small; it consists of such cases where in the course of an inscription reference is given to a statement of a person or to a written document, whereby the wording is repeated more or less faithfully. Such cases, which justly can be called "quotations", are not as infrequent as one is inclined to assume and open an interesting aspect of the stylistic of the Old Kingdom texts. For the approach of the material a twofold way seemed most appropriate: first it shall be dealt with them according to the topics concerned, while the observations made in this connection will follow afterwards. The intention thereby is to collect the examples and to point out certain particularities concerning their stylistic.

¹⁾ Hermann Grapow, Wie die Alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüßten und wie sie miteinander sprachen. Abh. d. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss. 1939—1942.

²) Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, L'appel aux vivants dans les texts junéraires égyptiens des origines dans les textes funéraire a la fin de l'Ancien Empire, Le Caire 1938; Elmar E del, Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches; Josef Janssen, De traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk, Leiden 1946.

³⁾ Adolf Erman, Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Grabbildern des Alten Reiches, Abh. d. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss. 1918; Pierre Montet, Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptien de l'Ancien Empire, Strasbourg 1925; Herman Junker, Zu einigen Reden und Rufen auf Grabbildern des Alten Reiches, Sitzb. b. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, 1943.

The quotations to be studied here can be divided into two groups which I should like to call "immediate" and "mediate" quotations. The first one comprises those cases where the person is directly concerned, either as speaker or as addressee, while the latter denotes such occurrences where another source outside the beforementioned relationship is cited, and which can be the statement of a third person or repetitions from a written document; the particuliarity is that an intermediate agent is involved thereby.

Immediate quotations

A. Statements by the King

These cases are the most frequent ones and occur in the following examples:

,[His Majesty said:] Kiss not the ground! Kiss my foot!

Concerning the lacuna Sethe in note f) in his edition rightly points out that it also could have preceded the introducing $\underline{d}d\cdot in\ \underline{h}m\cdot f$. For the significance of the Royal dictum which seems to express a special favour, cf. $Urk\ I\ 53$, 2—3: $rdi\ \underline{h}m\cdot f$ $\acute{s}n\cdot f$ $rd\cdot f$ $nn\ rdi\cdot n\ \underline{h}m\cdot f$ $\acute{s}n\cdot f$ t; His Majesty caused him to kiss his leg and not allowed him His Majesty to kiss the ground. (1)

,His Majesty said: He used to do everything to (my) satisfaction. (I) shall come to him to the palace-residence.

The second part of the King's statement is not too clear. However, it is certain that it expresses an action conducted by the King as a result of the satisfaction concerning the previous behaviour. The difficulty lies in the precise meaning of hnw-'; WB III 372, 10 gives for it "Teil des Palastes", but which rendering might be misleading in this connection, since it seems incomprehensible to assume that it would be specially emphasised when the Pharaoh went to the palace being his domicile. I am therefore inclined to unterstand hnw-' as that part of the palace which housed the officials of the King's suit and which was not directly part of the King's living quarters. This explanation seems confirmed by the other occurrences of this term as far as they have an intelligible context, so Urk I 51, 13; 83, 14; 86, 6; 178, 14 and Mariette, Mastabas C 1.

,His Majesty said: Tell me your thousand wishes! 2)

¹⁾ Cf. H. Müller, MDIAA K 7 (1937) 96.

²⁾ This translation was proposed by Sethe in his "Urkunden des Alten Reiches".

Remarkable is the use of the numeral in this connection to express the entireness¹), and which one could render here probably better as ,,all your wishes".

, You may say it to the captain: Sail to the Residence!

 $\underline{D}d\cdot k$ here considered as an imperfective $sdm\cdot f$ (Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar²) § 440.5), could also be understood as an old perfective "And I said to the captain", on account of the lacking context. However, from the general trend of the narrative, the rendering as proposed here seems more likely. For $\underline{s}\underline{d}s$ in regard to going by boat, cf. Wb IV 378, 11; the use of the causative word is here necessary, since the captain does not move the boat himself, but merely gives the necessary orders.

,... [You] indeed are very strong (lit. great of strength). You have done more than thousand strong men $\dot{}$.

Although the introduction is missing, it seems certain from the occurrence of the suffix k that we have here a quotation. For wr phty, cf. Wb I 539, 16 of which expression this example seems to be the earliest occurrence. Phty, strong one is not listed in the dictionary, cf. however the later kni (Wb V 44) which has the same significance. H_2 , thousand here like above (A 3) to express a large number.

.... like the wish of (My) Majesty concerning it. You are its real pilot²).

The text is not clear in all parts, however, the second sentence is undoubtedly a literal quotation of the King's statement.

His Majesty said: I am like the cruising of Re' in the Great Lake.

Interesting is the picture used here which draws a parallel between the travelling of the King and the crossing of the sun god. For § 3, cf. Wb I 161, 7.

,His Majesty said: . . . It is now you who make loose among them.

'Irr, imperfect active participle. The meaning of the passage is obscure, primarily on account of the lack of context.

¹⁾ Cf. Wb III 219, 5 and Sethe, Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern, Straßburg 1916, p. 15.

²) Cf. Wb III 81, 14.

,His Majesty said: Look at this which is in this sphinx.

The passage, which is isolated by gaps on either end, is highly obscure and the given renderning far from being certain. To consider $m_{\tilde{s}\tilde{s}}$ as imperative was proposed by Sethe, but an imperfective $s\underline{d}m_{\tilde{s}\tilde{s}}$ with omited suffix first person seems likewise possible. Wb II 12, 1 proposes for the "Royal sphinx" the reading $m_{\tilde{s}\tilde{s}}$ whereby the use of two determinatives is rather suspicious, but I am unable to submit any suggestions.

,His Majesty said: You are well! So said His Majesty. (1)

Note the change of suffix between the introductory $r \cdot f$, to him and the second person in the quotation. For the resumptive $hrw hm \cdot f$, cf. Gardiner, op. cit., § 437.

,Then His Mayesty said: Beloved one(s) of My Majesty: He is very well! Not was the stroke for him!

This statement of the Pharaoh which follows immediately the one dealt with before, changes the addresse. While before the King spoke directly to the victim of his erroneous stroke, here he explains his action to his suit. Mry, perfect passive participle, addresses the people of his attendance, while the suffix f refers back to the stricken official. For the adverbial wrt, cf. Wb I 331, 1 and Gardiner, op. cit., § 205.4. Skr is either an infinitive or a noun (cf. Wb IV 308, 1), whereby the possibility of a supplementing of it by the suffix first person seems not at all unlikely.

The interpretation of this passage submitted here differs considerably from previous ones 2) and therefore needs a more detailed justification. Gunn JEA 34 [1948] 28) translated the passage: "His Majesty said, "My Majesty wishes that he prosper greatly", he (the King) not striking (him), for he was more [precious] to His Majesty than anyone." Against this rendering speaks the following. The inscription refers to the official involved in the third person, therefore the passage $\delta k \delta w \delta p \delta \delta h m f r s nb$ continues the narrative and cannot be linked with the preceding. This is also underlined by the introducing δk which points to a new sentence, taking up the trend of the text interrupted by the quotation. Further, hm f is used here in reference to the Pharaoh, while in the quotation it is hm (i). Therefore this sentence has to be considered as being unconnected with the preceding. As for $ny \delta k r n f$. Gunn took it as a sdm n f, but by doing so he was forced to rather extensive emendations which seem unjustified considering the high quality of the text and it is only by interpreting the text as proposed above that those difficulties vanish.

¹⁾ For this and teh following example, cf. also Selim Hassan, Excavations at Giza I, p. 18.

²⁾ Cf. Edel, op. cit., § 59, h): ,No beating has been done to him'.

B. Orders

,His [Majesty ordered: One shall put] (it?) in writing at his tomb.

Wdi m sš, to put in writing, Wb III 478,10 and the following example. Here as well as in the parallel the object seems omited.

,His Majesty ordered: One shall put (it) in [writing] at his tomb which is in the necropolis.

What follows suggests that $wdi \ m$ ss denotes an official statement which is inscribed in the tomb and concerning which a document had to be issued containing the permission to do so.

, His Majesty ordered to the rp't: One shall give . . . in writing at [his tomb].

The passage is, except of the different verbs, identical with the preceding examples. Rdi m sš, cf. Wb III 478, 15.

, [His Majesty ordered:] One shall give him offerings consisting of everything, which . . . ' $\,$

'Iht offerings', cf. Wb I 124, 5 and Urk I 31, 2.

C. Requests

,The great physician Ny-'nh-Shmt said to His Majesty: May your $K\bar{a}$ order this, beloved one of Re': One shall give to (me) a false-door of stone for that (my) tomb of the necropolis 1)'.

This passage consists of two quotations, namely the repetition of the physician's address to the King in which another is embedded containing the request. For hw, introducing a request, cf. Gardiner, $op \cdot cit$., § 450.5 and below (C 5). The vocative $mry \ R^c$ stated without introducing interjection, is used like $mry \ n \ hm$ (·i) above in

¹⁾ Cf. H. Grapow, op. cit. II, 45.

⁷ Festschrift Prof. Grapow

A 11. In the prosumed Royal order the suffixes are incorrectly applied, since the King logically would say ,for him', but which is changed here to ,for me', this being a practice frequently found in Egyptian texts.

,(I) begged from the Majesty of the Lord¹): Let one bring (me) a coffin of lime-stone from Turah.

Wb V 439, 19 considers the sentence following the request as being dependent from the latter, but the assumption seems more likely that it repeats the wording of it; cf. also the two following examples. 'Inr $h\underline{d}$ krs could also be understood as ,limestone (for) (my) coffin' with supplying the suffix 'i after krs.

,(I) begged as $(my)^2$) wish from the Majesty of (my) Lord, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkare', living eternally: Let one procure coffin, garments and aromatics for this $D^{\iota}w$.'

The request is virtually identical with the preceding one, but extended by $m \pm i s r$, for which cf. above A 3. $\pm i s t$ in connection with the burial cutfit not so much ,,to take away" (,,entnehmen" Wb IV 561, 10 and 12), but has more the meaning ,,to procure" as a supply.

,(I) begged [from His Majesty:] May I be appointed to the rank of hsty of that $\underline{D}^\iota w.`$

For this passage, cf. the similar statement $Urk \text{ I } 137, 17. \ N\underline{d}$,,to appoint a person", Wb II 373, 21, the form being presumably a passive $s\underline{d}m \cdot f^3$).

Mry is most likely to be Mereruka's short name, used here by his wife to address him. The end of the line is unintelligible to me.

¹⁾ Grapow, ibid.

²⁾ It is rather uncertain, if the suffix first person should be supplied in this place and a rendering with the indefinite article ,,a wish" seems also appropriate.

³⁾ Prof. Černý most kindly drew my attention to Spiegelberg's article "Die Symbolik des Salbens im Ägyptischen", Rec. Trav. 28 (1906) 184, but it cannot be the place here to discuss this matter.

The rendering of this rather obscure passage is not at all certain. Remarkable is the accumulation of three particles in the beginning.

D. Oath

The examples falling into this category have been dealt with by Wilson (JNES 7 [1948] 129ff.) and do not need to be restated here. The passages involved are: *Urk* I 39, 5—9; 119, 6—10; 180, 8—10.

E. Miscellanea

"... according to the wish of] (My) Majesty concerning it: Indeed (My) Majesty brought you concerning it (since?) (My) Majesty knows...

The meaning of the passage is obscure, due to the mutilated context. However it seems probably that it contains a quotation on account of the reference to the King by hm (i), (My) Majesty.

, His Majesty said: . . . one shall call the vizier Re'shepses in the Palace.

It is uncertain if the two passages divided by a gap of unknown length belong together; the assumption of a quotation is indeed possible.

,Oh Re'shepses, I say to you a million of times, saying: Beloved one of his Lord, Praised one of his Lord, Favourite of his Lord, Confidant of his Lord.'

The passage is contained in a Royal letter and therefore not absolutely right in place here. However, since it obviously repeats the wording of a statement, its quoting in this connection has some justification.

Summing up the cases of immediate quotations as given here, the following observations can be derived: In all examples the quotation is cited without any

introduction and follows immediately after a verb of saying $(\underline{d}d, w\underline{d}, db\underline{h})$. In rare cases a vocative of the person addressed is given; so in A 11, C 1, C 5. As a rule the speaker refers to the addressee in the second person singular, except in A 11 where a third person is additionally involved or in relation to the King where the impersonal tw is applied. The reference to the speaker is throughout by the first person, even when the King is speaking (A 1, A 2, A 3, A 7, E 3) and only in rare cases by hm (i), My Majesty" (A 6, A 11, E 1). This unceremonous way of expressing, that namely the King uses for himself simply the first person singular, reveales a certain lack of formality in the relation of the Pharaoh to his subjects and which is not found in this form in later periods.

Concerning the verbal forms used, the perfective sdm·f exceeds any other form in frequency of occurrence, owing to its usage for expressing wishes (Gardner, op. cit., § 450.4). Among the rarer forms have to be mentioned: The imperative (A 1, A 3, A 9?), which is used only by the King; the imperfective sdm f (A 2, A 5, A 11) with reference to past costum (Gardiner, op. cit., § 440.2); the old perfective (A 10) and in three cases a noun clause (A 5, A 6, A 8). Concerning the grammatical structure of the given exemples of quotations, no particular construction can be called typical for this kind of sentences.

Mediate Quotations

G. Statement of a third person

These cases comprise such examples where either a common saying is expressed of which the speaker is not discriminated or when there are third persons present at an occasion and which differ from the main person of the text and the one he is in direct relation with. I am able to quote an example for either instance.

One said that what is: Strong rebells are among those beduines in the land of "Gazelle-nose"".

The passage is not without its difficulties, especially as far as the understanding of the beginning is concerned. In order to follow the Egyptian way of expression here and in the following cases the introductory wnt is translated literally, although the English phrase is rather clumsy. However, this disadvantage was chosen to avoid any association with an indirect speech which does not prevail here. In those cases were wnt is followed by a suffix, the rendering by the indirect form was nevertheless used to mark the difference in the Egyptian wording likewise in the translation.

Since btk (Wb I 485, 2) according to Urk I 105, 4 is a noun, a has to be an adjective and is prosumably a writing for nht, strong'.

,They said to His Majesty that he has fainted.

The suffix $\cdot \acute{s}n$ refers to a group of people which are witnesses of an accident and which they report to the King. $Db \circ \rlap{/}h \cdot \rlap{/}f$ denotes an unique incident in the past, the form therefore being perfective $sdm \cdot \rlap{/}f$. For the reading of the word as $db \circ \rlap{/}h$ and its meaning, see Grdseloff, ASAE 38 (1938) 353ff.

H. Statements from written sources

These eamples are quite frequent and have to be divided into literal quotations where the original expression of the first person singular is retained and such citations which state the contents of a massage. To the first category belong:

,My Majesty saw this your letter which you have made in order to let (My) Majesty know everthing which is: I have done for you in . . . plan (?) of the *mrt-'Issi* which is at the lake of the Palace'¹).

The translation of the end of the quotation is not certain, but this is of minor importance in this connection. The verbal form $irr(\cdot i)$ $n\cdot k$ deserves special attention²). To consider it as $sdm\cdot n\cdot f$ is excluded from the beginning on account of the spelling and which on the other hand urges the supplying of the suffix $\cdot i$. From the spelling with geminating r and from the fact that it expresses one particular event, it has to be considered as perfective $sdm\cdot f$.

,And you said to (My) Majesty that what is: (I) made it for you with [a length of] 1000 cubits [and a width of] 404 + x xubits according to what has been ordered by you in the Palace.

¹⁾ Cf. Junker, Giza VI, 7.

²) A collation of the passage with a field-photograph of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, which was made possible by the kindness of Mr. W. S. Smith, showed the correctness of Reisner's reading.

,You said [according] to this your letter that what is: You are bringing all kinds of very beautiful gifts, given by Hathor, mistress of 'Imim for the Ka of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkare', living for ever and eternally.'

The difficulty here, as well as in the following example, lies in the suffix k preceded by ini written with two n. The assumption of a $sdm \cdot n \cdot f$ form seems improper on account of the fact that a narrative tense cannot be involved and it is therefore necessary to consider it as $sdm \cdot f$. From the geminating spelling it seems correct to consider it as an imperfective $sdm \cdot f$, whereby the use of this form is justified by the inherent meaning of the passage. The suffix k would suggest an indirect quotation, but it is more correct to recognize it as a misquoting of the suffix, whereby the original k was substituted by the second person, since otherwise a reference to the writer of the letter could be wrongly concluded. That this passage repeats the word of the letter and does not give the contents of it, results from the respectful expression $n k \cdot n \cdot n \cdot swt \cdot b \cdot ity$, repeating faithfully the order received concerning the gifts the man is bringing to the King. Rdi being an imperfective active participle, the logical subject introduced by n, though it also can be considered as a relative form.

,You said according to this your letter, that what is: You are bringing a dwarf . . . '

For the construction of this passage, cf. the preceding example.

"It was said according to this order: (I) shall do for you every excellent thing in exchange for this great task [you have done] by bringing your [father] (back)."

 \underline{Dd} is impersonal and cites the statement made in the Royal mandate which was brought to Sabny in order to express the King's satisfaction about his pious action, cf. also the following example for this way of quoting a

document. The suffix first person to be supplied after iw refers to the King. For the construction iw f r irt expressing future, cf. Gardiner, op. cit., § 332. Sm Wb IV 120, 15 "Großes", "große Tat". This quotation, although cited from a letter, is not introduced by wnt, the reason of which will be discussed below.

And it is said according to those documents: Not shall one do any exemption in the exempted towns which are in this Upper Egypt.

The passage repeats literally a stipulation contained in a Royal administrative document, and the tense of it points to future. Two facts need special observation, namely that no introduction is used and that it is negated. Both points will be dealt with later.

Concerning that what was said to (My) Majesty, that what is: Sealed are Royal orders for Upper Egypt concerning the performing of assignments of (for) work-of-the-king...

The passage, contains a complaint concerning services and which was directed to the King with request for relief. The petition is quoted here in its relevant part. The action referred to lies in the past in regard to the complaint. For the significance of the sentence, cf. my forthcoming study on the Royal decrees of the Old Kingdom¹).

,Do this survey thoroughly in order that he reports to . . . in order that you will be revarded on account of it: He has executed the order according to the order to him to do this survey . . . '

This rather difficult passage contains a challenge of the King to a number of officials to execute task orderly. If it is acted this way a report is sent concerning a recognition, whereby the suffix 'f refers to the vizier who is going to write it. What follows is the assumed wording of such a favourable notice, but which was not written at the time the Royal mandate is issued and still lies in future. Attention has to be given to the fact that the quotation is not introduced.

¹⁾ A similar complaint is probably contained in *Urk* I, 207, 17, but where the text is too much destroyed to permit an investigation.

,You said to (My) Majesty: Never was a case of bringing one like him by anybody else who explored 'Ism before.'

Like the other passages from this inscription (H 3, H 4, H 13) it refers to the letter written by *Ḥrḥwf* to the Pharaoh, although the reference to the document is omited here. For the later observation on the grammatical structure of the quotation it is necessary to note that here is a case of negative statement. 'Iri in connection with a country is presumably "to explore" rather than "to travel" merely.

"... to the palace in order to let (My) Majesty know that what is: The Royal order was brought to you concerning..."

Here like in H 3, H 4 we have an adjustement of the suffix which correctly should be *i*, but which was changed in order to avoid any connection with the writer of the letter.

Those cases where the content of a communication is sumed up without consideration of the original wording, are rendered best as indirect quotations. The examples are:

,[You said] to (My) Majesty that you would make the pool (?) according to what has been said in the Palace.

Wnt·k r irt lit., that what you were to do" with clear reference to future, but seen from a point lying in the past. The lacuna in the beginning might probably be more adequately restored $\begin{bmatrix} 1 & 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 & 1 \end{bmatrix}$ according to the following example.

You said to (My) Majesty that you would . . .

The passage is badly destroyed, but it remains enough to show that it was parallel to the preceding one.

,(I) perceived the words of this your letter which was made by you... in order to let one know that you have returned safely from Ism together with the troop which was with you.

The wording of the notification is not given, but the most important news contained there and which represents a concluded fact. The verb hiti is an old perfective.

,(I) wrote letters in order that one know that (I) went out in order to bring that (my) father who [died] in W_{swst} or $W\underline{t}\underline{t}$.

Like the preceding example the passage contains a factual statement which was made generally known. The verbal form, parallel to the afore-listed sentence is an old perfective.

I. Knowledge

Two examples have to be listed here which represent cases where a knowledge of a person is summarized and which belong here for their way of being expressed.

,(My) Majesty knows that every ship is upon its foundation.

The nominal sentence wh' nb hr nfrwf expresses the knowledge of the King concerning a specific matter, but which cannot be rendered literally; therefore a translating in indirect form seems justified.

,(I) presume 1) that never before happened something like this.

A literal translation of the passage would be: "I presume that what is not is a case of happening of an equal before." The sentence, like the preceding one, states a thought and gives thereby its contents.

Suming up the examples of mediate quotations listed above, it can be said that their main characteristic is the use of an introductory word and which is not found in the other group. This introduction is done by ntt (H 1 and H 14) or wnt, and in the case of a negation by iwtt (H 9, I 2). Concerning those words of introduction and in particular wnt, Gardiner (Revue Egyptologique, N. S. 2 [1920] 53) showed that they represent feminine perfective participles used independently. While he is inclined to consider them as mere particles with the meaning "that", in most of the examples quoted above the original verbal character, refering to the past, is still prevailing and has been considered in the translation. Differing from Gardiner's

¹⁾ So Sethe in note f, in his edition.

opinion, I wish to consider the element of introduction as belonging to the preceding statement of "saying" or "knowing" and not as part of the quotation.

Concerning the grammatical structure of this kind of quotations the following observations could be made:

No difference is recognizable between the use of wnt and ntt. The negation is accordingly iwtt, whereby the latter in the two examples (H 9, I 2) expresses the non-existence, while the quotation itself is positive.

In those cases where the quotation takes place from a mediate source, but is still a literal repetition, wnt or ntt (H 1) are used without suffix. In cases where the following passage gives not the original wording, but merely a resumé of it, wnt or ntt (H 14) is connected with the suffix which is identical with that of the verb of the following sentence. The examples are: H 2, H 11, H 12, H 13.

Three examples show no introductory element, namely H 5, H 8 and H 6, the latter being negated. Those cases have in common that they all refer to future events; since wnt is a past participle it cannot introduce an action which is going to take place in the future, which shows that it still had some verbal qualities. The negation in this case is done by nfr n.

Only a part of the Old Kingdom inscriptions could be used here, since the Pyramid texts had to be excluded. The intention was to draw the attention to a number of passages which represent quotation of verbal or written statements and by recognizing them as such, the texts containing them become much more lively and bring this long elapsed time closer to our understanding. To have pointed out the way in this direction is to the merit of the scholar honoured by this "Festschrift".