

The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus*

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In *JEA* 28 (1942), 21, W. E. Crum mentions an unpublished Old Coptic papyrus which, as he said, was “acquired by Carl S(chmidt), 1937, who gave me a photograph.” In a footnote he adds, “Not among his MSS. bought by Michigan University (so Worrell); others he had sold to Louvain, 1936 (*Muséon* L, 5). Its present whereabouts I know not.” Professor Schmidt died in 1938.¹

It was not until 1954 that mention was again made of that document.² P. E. Kahle says in his *Bala'iza*, I, 254 n. 3, “I have been able to make use of a photo of this invaluable papyrus in the Griffith Institute, Oxford . . .” The present writer has tried to trace the Schmidt Papyrus for some years,³ but in vain. It cannot be excluded that it was either destroyed in the war or perhaps passed into a private collection, in which case its reappearance will depend on mere accident. Although the original text is not available, I feel that it is justifiable to publish the photograph⁴ anyway, due to the significance of both its content and its language. As one may judge from plate XIII, the photograph is very clear.⁵ Probably a study of the original would hardly be of any help in clarifying the text or in solving any of the problems that are left open.

The text is written on the horizontal fibres of a papyrus sheet. The size of the latter cannot be given with certainty, since it is not known whether or not the photograph is the same size as the original. Judging from the normal size of the letters, however, it is reasonable to assume that the original had approximately the same measurements, that is 13,2 by 10,2 cm.

The papyrus seems to consist of at least four fragments:

- a. lines 1–10, left side.
- b. lines 1–13, right side, fitting exactly to a,
- c. lines 11–18, left side, fitting not as closely to a as it would seem from the photograph at first sight,⁶ and
- d. lines 15–18, right side, fitting exactly to c only on the very lowest edge.

There exists a slight possibility that there is a gap of one or more lines between fragments a and c. If the papyrus were accessible this could probably be determined from the fibre structure. Apart from this possible (though not probable) gap there are lacunae of one to three letters in lines 11, 12, 16, 17, and 18. There are also larger ones in lines 13 and 15, and line 14 is almost entirely lost.

Smile

THE WRITING SYSTEM

The writing was dated by Crum to approximately 100 A.D.⁷ As other Old Coptic texts, it does not make use of the letters \mathfrak{z} , \mathfrak{z} , ϕ , \mathfrak{x} , or ψ , which is mostly due to the complete lack of words of Greek origin. But even θ , in its function as a bi-consonantal sign for t + h, seems to be avoided, if the reading *hathōr* in line 15 is correct. On the other hand, \mathfrak{a} is once used instead of \mathfrak{T} , that is,

in Δ OGIM, line 8, and once again in the unintelligible group at the end of line 11. Γ (which I suggest to correct to Γ T) is possibly used for $\mathbf{K} + \mathbf{T}$ in $\mathbf{N}\Delta\Gamma\Gamma$, line 6. This use of Δ and Γ is to be regarded as exceptional, since otherwise full use is made of \mathbf{T} and \mathbf{K} .

The fund of Greek signs is complemented by a set of signs of Demotic origin, which are shown in fig. 1.⁸

1. / for ξ
2. / for f :  > Demotic  > Coptic \mathfrak{f}
3. \mathcal{B} for h :  > Demotic \mathcal{B}
4. \mathcal{Z} for h :  > Demotic \mathcal{Z} > Coptic \mathfrak{z}
5. \mathcal{A} for t and d (when they are \mathbf{x} , not \mathbf{T} , in Valley and Fayyūmic Coptic):  > Demotic \mathcal{A} > Coptic \mathfrak{x}
6. Δ for g (when it is \mathbf{G} , not \mathbf{K} , in Valley and Fayyūmic Coptic): maybe from  > Demotic \mathcal{r} , \mathcal{z} , \mathcal{z}
7. \mathcal{H} for \bar{o} (for which \mathbf{O} is also used):  (determinative of \mathfrak{t} 'back') > Demotic \mathcal{H}
8. \mathcal{P}' for final r (?): \mathfrak{p} with diacritic marks?
9. \mathcal{T}
10. \mathcal{K}

Fig. 1. Additional signs

Comments on fig. 1:

No. 1: This sign is otherwise unknown, since other Old Coptic texts use signs derived from \mathfrak{z} , like Coptic \mathfrak{O} . Crum thinks it possible that it is derived from the oblique stroke (Gardiner, Sign List, Z 5), used mainly in Hieratic instead of determinatives which are difficult to draw. Note that the sign is used for both \mathfrak{z} > \mathfrak{O} and \mathfrak{z} > \mathfrak{O} (in Akhmimic \mathfrak{z}), which means that no etymological distinction is made, as is done between \mathfrak{z} > \mathfrak{z} and \mathfrak{z} > \mathfrak{z} : see comments 3 and 4.

No. 2: The oblique form of \mathfrak{f} is used in most other Old Coptic texts.

No. 3: The sign also occurs in the Demotic Magical Papyrus⁹ (3rd cent. A.D.) and in the Egyptian Oxyrhynchus Papyrus¹⁰ (ca. 100–150 A.D.). But in these texts it is also used for \mathfrak{z} > \mathfrak{z} in addition to the specific \mathfrak{h} -sign, whereas the equivalent of sign no. 4 is used several times for \mathfrak{z} > \mathfrak{z} in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus.¹¹ This means that by then phonetic differences between the two sounds had ceased to exist. Although it is true that the Schmidt Papyrus has a very short text, in none of the other two texts mentioned can one find a passage of comparable length where the distinction of the two historical \mathfrak{h} -sounds is as strictly observed as here.¹² This shows that the author was familiar with Egyptian scribal traditions.

No. 4 and 5: Similar forms are found in the other Old Coptic texts, some of them more closely resembling the Demotic prototype.

No. 6: This sign is only found in the Schmidt Papyrus. Crum wrongly puts it on the same line as the $\sigma > \ominus$ of other Old Coptic texts, though he notes that it is the equivalent of Valley Coptic σ , which is usually represented by κ or the Demotic form of \curvearrowright (prototype of σ) in the Old Coptic texts.

No. 7: This sign is known from the cryptographic system used in the Demotic Magical Papyrus.¹³ In the Schmidt Papyrus, ω is only used once, namely in the place-name $\Sigma\Lambda\sigma\text{P}\omega$ ¹⁴ (*Hsr(y)t*). In five other words (7 instances) the Demotic sign is used. Other examples where the use of ω for the transcription of Egyptian \bar{o} is avoided, are: 1) the use of Ypsilon in graecized names, e.g. $\text{ΑΣυρ} \sim \Sigma\Lambda\theta\omega\text{P}$, $\text{Τεντυρα} \sim \text{ΝΙΤΕΝΤΩΡΕ}$, 2) the use of ω for the o-sound only in half-stressed words (i.e., in the construct state), while O is used for \bar{o} in fully stressed words, in the Egyptian Oxyrhynchus Papyrus,¹⁵ and 3) the use of O for ω in the Middle Egyptian dialect of Coptic¹⁶ and in the "Coptic documents in Greek script".¹⁷

No. 8: Line 15 may offer a clue as to the value of this sign, since the last word should quite probably be read $\Sigma\Lambda\theta\omega\text{P}$. Thus the sign in question seems to be used for expressing an r-sound of a special quality. It seems to occur only in the final position, P being used otherwise. On the other hand, it is only in the personal name $\Sigma\omega\text{P}$ that P is used in the final position. Assuming this explanation to be correct (although admittedly by applying it elsewhere in the text no new words are understood), the sign is to be described as a P with diacritic marks.¹⁸

No explanation can be offered, however, for the strange signs 9 and 10 (lines 11 and 18, resp.) except that the fuzziness of sign 9 could suggest that it is a correction.

TRANSLATION

It is Esrmpē,^a the (daughter)^b of Kllaouč,^c who^d is complaining^e about Hōr,^f the (son) of Tanesnēou.^g

My lord Osiris, (Lord) of Hāsro!^h I complain to you, do justice to meⁱ and^j Hōr, the (son) of Tanesnēou, concerning^k what I have done^l to him and^m what he has done to me. Namely, he does not cohabit with me (?),ⁿ I having no power,^o I having no protector-son.^p I am unable^q to help (myself).^r I am childless (?).^s There is no one who could complain^t concerning me^u before you (lit. him)^v because of Hōr.^w

.....^x I complain to [you ...] ... Osiris, listen to my calls!^y^z what he has done to me. Open the way for (lit. Give way to) your [messengers (?)]^{aa} Osiris, (lord) of Abydos,^{ab} Osiris [.....] Isis, Ophois (?),^{ac} Hathor (?), nurse [of] Anubis the Osiride,^{ad} the cowherd^{ae} of^{af} do justice to me^{ag}!

COMMENTARY

a. The Greek form of $\sigma\text{P}\mu\text{P}\mu\text{E}$ is Ἐσερεμφίς , Ἐσερεμπίς , found in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Preisigke,¹⁹ Foraboschi²⁰). While it is generally used as a feminine personal name, it is once found as an epithet of the goddess Isis: $\text{Ὑπάρχοντος ἐν κώμῃ Θεαδελφείᾳ τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου ἱεροῦ Ἰσιδος Ἐσερέμφιος θεᾶς μεγίστης}$ 'there being in Theadelphia of the Arsinoite nome a shrine of Isis Eseremphis, the very great goddess'.²¹ *Ad hoc*, W. Spiegelberg²² proposed the etymology Ἰστ-ἰρί-ρν-νφρ , 'Isis who makes a good name', but this cannot be accepted on account of the variants displaying μP , μE instead of ϕP . Furthermore, an etymology should

ΕΣΡΜΠΕ ΤΑ ΚΛΛΑΟΥΑ ΤΕΤΣΜΜΕ <Ε-
 3#P ΠΑ ΤΑΝΕΣΝΗΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΑΔΟΙΣ
 ΟΥΣΙΡΕ ΝΖΑΡΩ ΤΙΣΜΜΕ ΝΑΚ
 ΔΡΙ ΠΑΣΑΠ ΝΜ 3#P ΠΑ ΤΑΝΕΣ-
 5 ΝΗΟΥ ΝΝΕΡΑΕΙ ΝΑΥ ΝΜ ΝΕΡΑΥ
 ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΨΝΑΓΓ ΔΝ ΕΜΜΝΤΙ
 ΔΟΜ ΕΜΜΝΤΙ ΝΑ/ΤΕ Ν/ΗΡΕ
 ΜΝΤΙ / ΕΡ ΔΟΕΙΜ ΔΝΕΚ ΔΔΡΗΝ
 ΜΝ ΠΕΤΥΕΣΜΜΕ <Ε>Δ#ΕΙ <Ε3>ΡΑΥ Ñ-
 10 3#P Ε.ΜΠΑΤΙΡΤΕΡ' ΤΙΣΜΜΕ
 Ν[ΑΚ .]οϊ ΟΥΣΙΡΕ ΣΤΜ ΝΑ# / ΔΨ
 /Ε.[Ñ]Α/Ε ΝΕΡΑΥ ΝΑΪ ΜΑ ΟΥΟΪ
 ΕΝΕΚ[^{ca. 7 letters}]ΟΥΣΙΡΕ ΝΑΒ#Τ
 ΟΥΣΙΡ[Ε -----]
 15 ΗΣΕ ΟΥ[...] ΟΥΠΟΥ[²ο][²ι][²ε̇][²ζ]ΑΤ3#P[¹]
 ΤΜΟΝ[Ε Ν]ΑΝΟΥΠ ΣΙ ΟΥΣΙΡΕ ΠΕΛΟΙΣ
 ΝΝΕΝ[.̇²]ΡΤΕΡ' ΝΑΜΟΥΖΡΚΗΡ'
 ΝΑΖΡ.[.̇] ΔΟΥ ΔΡΙ ΠΑΣΑΠ

Fig. 2. The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus

take into account such variant forms as Τεσερεμφις and Ἐσευρεμφις (also Ἐσενεμπίς ; Foraboschi), which suggest a structure $t(\text{article})-es(e)-n(\text{genitive})-rmp̄e$. Accordingly, both $es(e)-$ and $rmp̄e$ should be nouns. W. Brunsch of Würzburg has proposed to me as an etymology $wsr-rmp̄wt$ 'mighty of years' *Wörterbuch*, I, 361, a fuller form being, according to him, Ἰσερεμφις . For the vocalisation of $rmp̄wt$, he refers to ἆΝ ΝΡΜ᾽ΠΕ ΡΙΝΟΥ (i.e., ΝΡΙΝΟΥ), 'in the years named', in the Old Coptic Horoscope,²³ 141.

Whereas this explanation seems possible phonetically, there are contradictory arguments to be considered. Why, for example, is Ἐσερεμφις (and variants) used as a feminine name only? Furthermore, it is an epithet of kings rather than of a goddess like Isis. Ἰσερεμφις , on the other hand, is used as a masculine name. It contains the divine name Osiris in construct state,²⁴ as results from a comparison with Νεβθεμπίς fem. (Preisigke; construct state of ΝΕΒΘΩ [Nephtys] plus $-emp̄(h)is$), and Τνεφρεμφις fem. (Preisigke; construct state of ΤΝΟΦΡΕ 'the beautiful one' plus $-emph̄is$). However, Ἐσερεμφις cannot be explained on this basis (i.e., as containing the name of Isis plus $-emph̄is$), because then there would remain an element $-(e)r-$ unexplained.

$\text{Wsr}(t)-rmp̄wt$, suggested by Brunsch, is not found as a personal name in Hieroglyphic. But compare $wiḏ(t)-rmp̄wt$ 'flourishing of years' *Wörterbuch*, I, 366, found as a personal name²⁵ both in its masculine and feminine form (its most prominent bearer was Queen Hatshepsowe).

As was said above, ΡΜΠΕ may be $rmp̄wt$ 'years'. It may, as well, be the infinitive of $rmp̄i$ 'to rejuvenate'. For the vocalisation pattern cf. the intransitives ἘΡΦΕ (from $srft$) 'to be at leisure', ΝΕΞΠΕ (from $nhpi$) 'to mourn', and Boh. ḲEMCI (from $hmsi$) 'to sit', and verbs derived from causatives, like ḲMNE (more often ḲMINE), Boh. ḲEMNI (from $smni$) 'to establish', 'to be established', and ḲΛΧΕ (from $sddi$) 'to speak'. In this case, ḲΡΜΠΕ could either be $iw-s-r-rmp̄i$ 'she shall rejuvenate', or Ἰst-hr-rmp̄i 'Isis rejuvenates'. However, the variant form Τεσερεμφις , which obviously contains the feminine definite article, contradicts these etymologies. In consequence, it is not possible to suggest an explanation that would reconcile all the contradictory evidence for the personal name ḲΡΜΠΕ . It is an Egyptian name, found elsewhere from the Ptolemaic period onward, but only in Greek context (Ἐσερεμφις , etc.).

b. From the New Kingdom on, filiation is expressed by the patterns A s; B, 'A, the son of B', and A p; (n) B, 'A, the one from B'; cf. Harsiēsis and Harpaēsis.²⁶ The latter pattern is also used for mentioning the place of origin: 'A, the one from B'.²⁷ In Coptic documents, filiation is usually expressed by A ΠΩΕ-Ḳ-B , 'A, the son of B', while A ΠΛ-B , 'A, the one from B', is reserved for mentioning the place of origin (also A ΠΡḲ-B , 'A the man of B'). The A ΠΛ-B pattern expressing filiation of the present text may, therefore, be regarded as a pre-Coptic feature of our text.

c. The Greek form of this name is Κελλαῦθις , Κολλαῦθις (in the a/e-vocalisation:²⁸ $-eῦθις$),²⁹ which is, it seems, the feminine form of Κολλούθης , Κολλούθος , and variants, the hieroglyphic prototype being Qrt , Qrd ³⁰; cf. also Qrd-šmi ,³¹ 'Kelūd̄j junior', and Κολλουτχηῖμις .³² For the vocalisation of the feminine form, as compared to *ḲΛΛΟΥΧ , cf. Ἄμουνη ³³ as compared to Amūn . Instead of the expected *ḲΛΛΟΥΧ we find in Coptic ΚΟΥΛΟΥΧ , ΚΕΛΟΥΧ , fem. ΚΟΥΛΟΥΧΕ , and variants³⁴ on the one hand, and ΚΟΛΘΕ and variants on the other. While the first group continues the Egyptian form, but is influenced by the Greek (note especially that the feminine form is secondarily derived from the masculine form, as already the Greek feminine form Κολλούθη ³⁵ as compared to Κολλαῦθις of the genuine Egyptian feminine pattern), the second, ΚΟΛΘΕ , is clearly derived from the Greek form and has not direct connection with the Egyptian prototype.

d. For the construction used, see H. J. Polotsky, "Nominalsatz und Cleft Sentence im Koptischen," *Orientalia* 31 (1962), 413-30.

e. ḲΜΜΕ ,³⁶ as already smi from the New Kingdom on, means 'to accuse', 'to appeal'. The prepositions used are, in the main, n , N- , for the person to whom application is made, and r , Ḳ- ,

for the accused. See further, notes i, u, v, and w. Thus, Esrmpe is asking for a lawsuit against Hōr, the god Osiris being the judge.³⁷

f. Hōr is used as a personal name from the Old Kingdom onward until Christian times.³⁸

g. Πανεσνεῦς, fem. Τανεσνεῦς, and variants, is often found in the Roman period.³⁹ The etymology is *Pz-(n)-nz-snw*, 'The one belonging to the (divine) brothers', cf. *Pz-n-sn-Hr* 'The one belonging to Horus' brother'.⁴⁰

h. ΟΥCΙΡΕ ΝΞΑCΡΩ renders *Wsr nb Hsrt*; cf. below, line 13, ΟΥCΙΡΕ ΝΑΒΩΤ. On Hāsro see Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, 81*. It is perhaps Tūna l-Jebel near Hermopolis. From the mention of this otherwise hardly known place, Crum⁴¹ deduces that the papyrus was written somewhere nearby.

i. Following Ch. Nims, "The Term hp, 'law, right' in Demotic," *JNES* 1 (1948), 243-60, esp. 260 *sub* E.I. The 'doing of the hp' is what a complainant demands, cf. P. Lille 39, 23 (translated by Nims, *op. cit.*, 247): *pz-rm nt iw-f smy e rm i-ir-hr na pz-y, mtw-w ir n-f pz-hp [e ts-m] dt rn-s*, '(As for) the man who complains against (another) man before those of the (chapter) house and they do for him the hp of the matter named' Note *smy* 'complain' (Coptic **CMME**) construed with *e* 'against' and, as below, line 9, *i-ir-hr* (Coptic **Ε2P̄N-**) 'before' an authority or court. Compare further *ir n-f pz-hp* 'to do right to him' with Coptic **ΑΡΙ ΠΕC2ΑΠ** 'do his right'. In other cases *ir pz-hp n* may be paraphrased 'to punish'.⁴² In older days the latter expression runs *iri hp r*, cf. the Haremheb Decree,⁴³ line 17, *iri-tw hp r-f, m swz fnd-f* 'It is by cutting his nose that he shall be punished'; sim. *ibid.*, *passim*, and in the Nauri Decree of Seti I,⁴⁴ line 46 and *passim*. In the Coptic period, **ΑΡΙ ΠΑ2ΑΠ**, 'do justice to me', occurs in connection with **CMME** 'to complain', in the magical texts *ÄZ* 34 (1896), 85ff. and *BKU* III,⁴⁵ 389. Father A. Kropp⁴⁶ translated it in a more concrete sense: 'Conduct my case!' (*führe meinen Prozess*).

j. Taking **NM-** (Sa'īdic **ṢN-**) in its function of continuing pronouns. Cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 169 b **ΝΟΥΝ ṢNMAQ** 'ours and his' (*BIFAO* 23, 63).

NM-, recalling Bohairic and Fayyūmic **NEM-**, is the main non-Sa'īdic feature of our text. It must be remembered, however, that the metathesis of the Valley form **ṢN-** is an innovation as compared to the Late Egyptian and Demotic prototypes.⁴⁷ It may be assumed that it was not as wide-spread in the first century A. D. as it was in later times.

k. In Coptic proper, 'concerning' is expressed in another way, e. g. by **ETBG-**. The use of **N-**, found also in Demotic,⁴⁸ is one of the pre-Coptic features of the text.

l. Judging from Crum's and Kahle's remarks in *JEA* 28 (1942), 23, and *Bala'iza*, I, 256, n. 3, respectively, neither of the two scholars recognized the true nature of **EPAZ-**, since both take it as the preposition, Sa'īdic **EPOZ-** (and therefore as a testimony of Fayyūmic influence on the language of the text). Actually **EPAZ-** is the Late Egyptian and Demotic relative form *i-ir-f* 'which he did'. Thus our fund of survivals of that form⁴⁹ is enlarged for one item, see fig. 3.⁵⁰

Note that the text does not say **NEPAQ EPOGI** 'what he has done against me'.

m. In accordance with the established rule,⁵¹ the preposition **N-** is not repeated after **NM-**.

n. The elements of this passage are to be separated like this: **XE Q NAΓΓ AN E MMNTI** etc. Thus, 'He does not . . . , I not having' There is no verb **NAΓΓ**, **NAKK**, **NAŃΓ**, or the like. Therefore an emendation to **NAΓT** (for ***NAKT**) is suggested, which I think is the pronominal state of a verb ***NIKE** plus the pronoun 1st pers. sing., having zero value after **T**.⁵² Although it is true that there is no **NIKE** in Coptic, it can be easily explained as the descendant of Egyptian *nki* 'to copulate'. The form given in the *Wörterbuch* is *nk*. If our assumption is right, however, we have to read *nki* instead.

	nominal subject		pronominal subject	
<i>i-dd·f</i> 'which he said'	Π-ΕΧΕ- (S.B.F.M)	Π-ΛΧΕ- (A.A ²)	Π-ΕΧΛ: (S.B) Π-ΕΧΕ: (F.M)	Π-ΛΧΕ: (A.A ²) Π-ΛΧΛ: (PBodm VI)
<i>i-tr·f</i> 'which he did'		Π-ΛΡΕ- (DMP)	Π-ΕΡΛ: (PSch)	
<i>i-in·f</i> 'which he brought'				Π-Λ(ΝΕ): (DMP)
<i>i-mr·f</i> 'which he likes'				ΛΜΛ: (?) (PMP)
<i>i-msi...</i> 'to whom...gave birth'	ΕΜΕΙΕ- (PMP)	ΛΜΕΙΕ- (DMP)		

Fig. 3. Coptic and Old Coptic residues of the Late Egyptian relative forms.

The meaning proposed may, however, be questioned on grammatical grounds. According to Jernstedt's Rule⁵³ there should not be a direct object in a sentence displaying a durative tense.⁵⁴ Negligence of this rule cannot be explained as a pre-Coptic feature. As was shown by R. Parker,⁵⁵ the very same rule already applied to VIth century Demotic (P. Rylands IX). Anyhow, exceptions do occur in Coptic,⁵⁶ and most probably in Demotic, too.

o. The reading **COM**, as well as **ΛΡΗΝ** in the next line, was already recognized by Crum.⁵⁷

p. A stange expression, not noticed elsewhere. For the construction see Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §117.

q. **(M)ΜΝ†**, 'I have not', plus infinitive, means 'I cannot'⁵⁸ Before the infinitive, **Θ**- 'be able' is inserted tautologically. Thus, lit., 'I cannot be able to'

r. For **ΕΡ-ΔΟΕΙΜ** read **Ρ-ΤΟΕΙΜ**, cf. **ΤΑΙΜ** (A₂), **ΤΑΕΙΜ** (M), **ΤΑ(Ε)ΙΜ(Ε)** (F) 'to help', 'to strengthen', see W. Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 225; **ΕΛ-ΤΑΙΜ** (F) 'to help' (intransitive!), see Crum, *Dictionary*, 412b; extremely rare in Coptic proper.⁵⁹

s. **ΛΡΗΝ** 'barren female', according to Crum, *Dictionary*, 26b.⁶⁰ Here, however, the context does not suggest physical inability to conceive but rather, more generally, childlessness.

t. Read **ΜΝ ΠΕΤΕΡΕ-**, i.e., **(M)ΜΝ-** 'there is not' plus a relative clause of the Third Future substantivised by means of the definite article. In Coptic, as well as in Demotic and in Late Egyptian, a substantivised relative clause is not necessarily defined, despite the use of the article. The construction used here appears somewhat archaic, that is to say, pre-Coptic, **ΜΝ ΛΑΛΥ ΕΡΕ-ΣΜΜΕ** being expected. See, however, W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §441, note,⁶¹ for Coptic (and Demotic) parallels. The Third Future seems to have here, not "volitive",⁶² but rather irrealis meaning.

u. Haplography of **Ε**. Crum, *Dictionary*, 336b, quotes Bohairic parallels for **ΣΜΜΕ ΕΧΝ-** 'to complain concerning'.

v. To be read **ΕΡΛΑΡ**. R. Haardt, in his *Versuch einer altkoptischen Grammatik*,⁶³ 53, quotes for the omission of the h-sign before **ρ**, magical names like **ΚΑΡΡΗ** (Demotic *g'rhre*) and **ΠΡΑΤ** (for

ⲡⲈⲢⲘⲀⲦ 'the child', Demotic *ḫr* in the Demotic Magical Papyrus.⁶⁴ For Coptic proper cf. ⲢⲀⲢⲘⲀⲢ for ⲢⲀⲢⲘⲀⲢⲘ (Crum, *Dictionary*, 631b).

No Coptic parallels are found for ⲘⲙⲙⲎ ⲈⲢⲢⲢ. In Demotic, *smḳ i-ir-ḫr* means 'to complain before' an authority, cf. the passage of P. Lille 39 quoted above, note i. Therefore the pronoun must refer to Osiris as the entity invoked.

w. ⲡⲈⲦ(Ⲉ)ⲘⲘⲙⲎ ⲢⲘⲠⲢ cannot mean here 'who would complain to Ḫōr', as one might expect from ⲦⲘⲙⲎ ⲢⲀⲔ in line 3. Therefore Ⲣ- will mean here 'concerning', 'because of', as above in line 5 (see note k).

x. Considering ⲘⲦⲙ ⲢⲀⲘⲘ 'listen to my calls!' in the next line, one may expect an imperative sentence here too. I thought of a construct imperative *ⲈⲘⲙ- 'learn!' from ⲈⲙⲎ 'to know' (of a vocalisation pattern different from ⲘⲢⲢ-, ⲘⲢⲢ-), but the second letter is rather a Ⲙ than an Ⲉ. ⲡⲀ- may be the masculine possessive pronoun of the 1st person sing. The following element, ⲦⲢⲦⲈⲢ', recurs perhaps in line 17, possibly preceded by the plural possessive pronoun of the 1st person plur. Cf. below, note af.

y. ⲘⲦⲙ- is the construct form of ⲘⲘⲦⲙ. One would expect ⲘⲈⲦⲙ-, but cf. ⲈⲘⲦⲙ ⲢⲢⲢ 'who have heard my name' in the Egyptian Oxyrhynchus Papyrus,⁶⁵ col. I, 12 (sim. line 37). In Coptic proper, this verb is construed with an indirect object (the preposition Ⲉ- being used), except in a few instances.⁶⁶ Once again the text displays a pre-Coptic feature.

z. Suggestions can be made neither for the enigmatic group at the end of line 11 (an emendation?) nor for the traces of signs at the beginning of line 12. After the gap in line 12, traces would suggest on first reading ⲢⲢⲀⲘⲎ ⲢⲈⲢⲀⲘ 'numerous is what he has done', although this is quite difficult to reconcile with the context.⁶⁷

aa. One is reminded of the letter written by Osiris to the gods' assembly in the Late Egyptian Story of Horus and Seth, 15, 4-5,⁶⁸ *ir ḫr-ti nty tw-i im-f, sw mh m ipwtyw ḫsrw-ḫr; iw bn st (ḫr) snd n ntr ntrt; iw-i (r) di-t pri-sn* 'As to the land in which I am, it is full of grim-faced messengers who fear neither god nor goddess. I will send them forth'.

ab. I.e., *Wsr nb sbdw*. Cf. above, note h.

ac. The traces could suggest a reading ⲘⲘ[ⲘⲈⲢ] ⲘⲢⲢⲢⲘ[Ⲙ]Ⲣ[Ⲉ] 'Osiris-Ophois' (for the construct form of ⲘⲘⲘⲢⲈ cf. the Old Coptic Paris Magical Papyrus, line 128: ⲘⲘⲘⲈⲢ ⲘⲘⲎⲀⲢⲢⲈ 'Osiris-Onophris'). However, there is no evidence that these two gods were ever equated, Wepwawet being generally regarded as a son of Osiris.

ad. Several goddesses claim to have borne Anubis, e.g. Baste⁶⁹ and the *ḫst* cow of Atfih.⁷⁰ Here, allusion is made to the myth related by Plutarch (*De Iside*, chap. 14)⁷¹ of Osiris begetting the god⁷² with Nephthys. In consequence of this adultery, the goddess abandons her child right after his birth out of fear of her husband Seth. And it was Isis, Osiris' wife, who, though knowing his parentage, searched for him and brought him up. In our text, Hathor is substituted for Isis, which offers no problem, since both goddesses are often equated in the last stages of Egyptian religion.⁷³ Maybe it is the milk-giving role of a nurse that suggested the introduction of a cow-goddess (cf. also the *ḫst* cow mentioned above). But regarding the nature of the text — a love charm — one is more tempted to see the reason for this substitution in the aspect of Hathor as a protectress of love and fertility.⁷⁴

ae. For ⲈⲀⲘⲢ see W. Westendorf, *Handwörterbuch*, 34. Cf. the following note.

af. The mention of Anubis as a cowherd recalls the Tale of the Two Brothers of the d'Orbiney Papyrus.⁷⁵ Anūp's younger brother, Bata (identified by Gardiner with the local bull-god of Saka/Kasa⁷⁶ in the seventeenth Upper Egyptian nome) is herding cows. Later he becomes a bull himself, his elder brother accompanying him. But already before this metamorphosis the gods address him, "Ho, Bata, Bull of the Ennead!" (9,4 = *LES* 19,3). This background suggests that we see here an

epithet of Anubis alluding to his role of a companion of the divine bull, such as **ϮΛΟΙϩ ΝΝΓΝ[ΤΗ]ϩ**, 'Cowherd of the Gods'.⁷⁷ But then the remaining group, **ΤϮϩ'**, would be unexplained. On the other hand, line 10 suggests reading here **ΝΝΓΝ[ΤΙ]ϩΤϮϩ'** '(cowherd) of our *tirter* (plur.)', though no suggestion can be offered as to the meaning of this word (cf., however, note x).

ag. The whole passage remains enigmatic. In line 17 one cannot isolate **ΛΜΟΥ**, 'come!', since there is a gap between **ϩΤϮϩ'** and **ΝΛΜΟΥ**, indicating that the **Ν** belongs to the latter group. Note that in both lines an element - **ϩϩ-** is contained (construct form of 'Horus?'). The element **ΝΛ-** may be recognized as 'my' (plur.) in both lines: 'my *mouhrker*', my *hr* *ou!* (vocative). At the beginning of line 18 one may also read **ΝΛϩϩΝ-** 'towards'. The sign after the gap in line 18 may be an 'ankh sign turned horizontally — but in what function?

THE LANGUAGE

The most astonishing aspect of the language of the Schmidt Papyrus is its strongly prevailing Sa'ïdic character.⁷⁸ Non-Sa'ïdic features are 1) **ΝΜ-** 'with' for **ΜΝ-**, corresponding both to **ΝΓΜ-** (B, F), and the Demotic prototype *irm*, and 2) simple vowel instead of double vowel in **ΜΟΝΓ** 'nurse', in agreement with Bohairic usage. This is very little indeed as compared with other Old Coptic texts. It proves beyond doubt that Sa'ïdic (or rather a parent idiom of Sa'ïdic) existed in the Nile Valley quite some time before the spread of Christianity, in a purely pagan surrounding.

The mingling of dialects in texts like the Paris and Demotic Magical Papyri can be explained most plausibly, as P. Kahle observes,⁷⁹ on the assumption that Sa'ïdic had the role of a *koinē*. The writers and/or redactors of these texts were speakers of local vernaculars, but attempted to use the *koinē*. In the Paris Papyrus, however, the situation seems more complicated — it is a conglomerate of at least three dialects. The first part of the Old Coptic text (esp. lines 11–25) is just Sa'ïdic. The story of Isis (lines 94ff.) and the spells connected with it (lines 114ff.) show a mixture of Sa'ïdic, Middle Egyptian, Bohairic, and, in the spells, and before, in the glosses, an idiom otherwise unknown (it is characterized by the use of **ΟΙ** instead of **Ϭ**). It seems that this part of the text was copied from an original written in some kind of Middle Egyptian (a/e-vocalism;⁸⁰ use of **Ο/ΟΥ** for **Ϭ**). For the spells (i.e., lines 114ff.) I assume that a special magical idiom (**ϮϩΟΙΝΓ ϮϮΟ ϮϩΟΙΝΓ ϮϮΟϩΟΙΜ** (line 147), etc.) was used. The redactor's vernacular was rather near to Bohairic (existence of the *h*-phoneme; o/a-vocalism;⁸¹ simple instead of double vowels, more often than not; vocalic ending **Ι** instead of the **Ϯ** of the Valley dialects; **ΝΙΒΓ**, gloss **ΝΙΒΙ**, 'every' (line 115f.), cf. **ΝΙΒΝ** (B); **ΝΓΜ-** (gloss) 'with' (lines 101, 125), cf. **ΝΓΜ-** (B); *m* instead of *n* in **ΚΙΜΓ**, gloss **ΚΙΜΙ**, 'to find' (line 100), cf. **ΧΙΜΙ** (B) versus **ϮΙΝΓ** (S); **ϩΓΝϩ** 'to ask' (line 96) like Bohairic, cf. **ϩΝΤϩ** (S)). He intended to write a local and a *koinē* (Sa'ïdic) version at the same time, by adding glosses of a different vocalisation above the line, a local gloss on a *koinē* text and *vice versa*. The local version appears in the main as a mixture of a sort of Bohairic (i.e., the writer's own idiom) and Middle Egyptian (by influence of the original text). For various reasons it is hard to assume that the writer originated from the Delta, i.e., from the realm of Bohairic proper. The northernmost place that will plausibly be assumed is Memphis. Thus the local vernacular of that city, otherwise unknown, may be preserved in this component of the language of the Paris Magical Papyrus.

In the Schmidt Papyrus, the non-Sa'ïdic elements **ΝΜ-** and **ΜΟΝΓ** could have originated in the vernacular of the writer, which would then be similar to the one of the writer of the Paris Papyrus, i.e., some kind of Bohairic, perhaps Memphitic. But other explanations are possible. 1) **ΝΜ-** is an older form than **ΜΝ-**, perhaps it was actually (proto-)Sa'ïdic at that early date (cf. above). 2) No one can tell with certainty how the double vowels of Coptic were pronounced. It may

be seriously doubted if they contained a sharp glottal stop, as is generally assumed, since this sound is otherwise alien to Coptic. The difference between double and simple vowels in pronunciation was probably a rather slight one, as it is often enough neglected in writing. By the time the Schmidt Papyrus was written, perhaps the device of doubling vowels in writing had not yet been invented. **MONG** may thus render exactly the same pronunciation as the **MOONE** of classical Sa'īdic.

Whenever the Valley dialects would display doubled (i.e., lengthened) consonants, the Schmidt Papyrus does also: **ΚΑΛΛΟΥΧ** (liquida both closing pre-stress syllable, and opening stressed syllable, as in Sa'īdic **ḲḲMΛϠ**); **CMMG** (liquida both closing stressed syllable, and opening post-stress syllable, as in Sa'īdic **ḲḲMḲ**). This "Valley" feature is not a superficial one that was easy to observe by a writer whose mother tongue did not have this peculiarity. We therefore have another reason not to assume that the writer's own dialect was some kind of Bohairic.

Thus, the language of the Schmidt Papyrus is Sa'īdic, though of a rather archaic appearance. In comparison to Coptic proper, a number of archaic features have been noted above:

- 1) use of **ΠΛ-**, **ΤΛ-** for expressing parentage,
- 2) the preposition **Ν-** (**ΝΛ-**) meaning 'concerning',
- 3) the relative form **ΕΡΛ-** of **ΕΙΡΕ** 'to do' still in use,
- 4) use of the verb **ΝΙΚΕ** 'to copulate with' instead of **Ḳ-ΝΟΕΙΚ**,
- 5) use of **Ḳ-ΤΟΕΙΜ** 'to help' instead of **Ḳ-(Ḳ)ΤΟΟΤ**.⁸²
- 6) use of **ΜΝ-** 'there is not' + relative clause, which is rare in Coptic proper,
- 7) **CMMG ΕΡΠΝ-** 'to complain before' an authority, not found anymore in Coptic proper,
- 8) the use of **ḲΩΤḲ** with direct object, which is seldom found in Coptic proper, and, as in the Old Coptic texts in general,
- 9) avoidance of Greek loan words.

Another pre-Coptic feature, characteristic of the Old Coptic texts, may be seen in the redundancy of the graphic system, apparent in even so short a text:

- for t both **Τ** and **Λ**,
- for k both **Κ** and **Γ**,
- for ō both **Ϡ** and **Ω**, and
- for h two different signs, distinguished etymologically, but not phonologically.

The graphic system, with respect to the syllabic consonants, is inconsistent. The signal for the syllabic quality of a consonant may be:

- 1) **Ε:** **ΕΡ-** (line 8), **ΛΝΕΚ-** (ibid.), **ΤΙΡΤΕΡ'** (? - lines 10, 17),
- 2) two dots: **ḲḲ-** (line 9), and
- 3) no signal: **CMMG**, **Ν-**, **ΝΜ-**, **(Μ)ΜΝ-** (lines 6-9), **ḲΤΜ-** (line 11).

CONCLUSION

The Schmidt Papyrus has the function of a love charm, but in format it differs from the other known samples of this kind. The text has the form of a complaint, of an appeal to a court. This reminds one of the close connection that existed, at least from the New Kingdom onward, between jurisdiction and oracular practices. The text is not necessarily to be termed magical, in reference to the contents. It is simply a prayer, asking the god for help in a personal affair.⁸³ In respect to the sobriety of its speech it stands in marked contrast to other love-spells. But the mere fact that it is written in the "Old Coptic" script shows that magical ideas are involved, since this writing system was generally chosen in order to establish the exact pronunciation of a text that had to be recited aloud.⁸⁴

Thus, the text must be regarded as an important source for the study of Egyptian magic, due to its unique character. Unfortunately, parts of the invocations of the second half are either lost or incomprehensible. Still, they are welcome as evidence for the last stages of Egyptian religion. The allusion to Anubis being the son of Osiris and Nephthys is a further testimony for this myth. Furthermore, the allusion to Anubis as a cowherd seems to be connected with the interesting god Bata and his myth.

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Postscriptum

A few additions occurred during the printing.

Commentary, n. t: Although the construction \overline{MN} 'there is not' plus relative clause is not as often found as $\overline{MN} \lambda\lambda\lambda\gamma$ plus clause of circumstance (cf., in the New Testament, Mc 4,22 (*bis*); Ro 3,12; Heb 6,13, *versus* Mt 10,26; Mc 7,15; 9,39; 10,29; Lc 8,17 (*bis*); 18,29), it cannot be called a pre-Coptic feature. However, the use of the Third Future in a relative clause, or in a clause of circumstance, is to be regarded as archaic. In Coptic proper, the First Future has generally replaced the Third Future in these and other cases (cf. Polotsky, *Orientalia* 29, 1960, 400: § 18, n. c), while in Demotic the latter still prevails (cf. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §§ 139. 542. 544). In Late Egyptian there is only the Third Future (apart from a *sdm.f* form with future meaning, which is most probably a residue of Middle Egyptian, cf. Théodoridès, *Chronique d'Égypte* 44, 1969, 272).

Commentary, n. ag: B. H. Stricker discusses a strikingly similar Demotic sign in *OMRO* 42, 37. None of its various meanings seems, however, to conform with our context.

N. 71: For Anubis being the son of Osiris, V. Wessetzky refers me to Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac*, 155. 122. 126 (III,25; XII,2; XV,7), where Osiris is mentioned as the father of Anubis, to Griffiths, *op. cit.*, 141. 318, and to *Inpw ss Wsir*, inscription of a wall scene of a Ptolemaic (?) chapel at Tūna I-Jebel (see Sami Gabra, *ASAE* 39, 1939, 487). Also cf. Diodorus I 18 (see Vandier, *op. cit.*, 84, n. 1).

N. 74: In the Dendera temple inscriptions, the Hathor of the 18th Upper Egyptian nome is said to have given life "to Anubis with her milk", see Kees, *MIO* 6, 174.

N. 75: Also cf. the legend of Seth-Bata and Anubis, in the Jumilhac Papyrus, see Vandier, *op. cit.*, 105 (communicated by Wessetzky).

* Dedicated to G. T., on the occasion of her 70th birthday (December 29, 1975).

¹ See *AZ* 74 (1938), 70.

² Actually the Schmidt Papyrus was already taken into account by Robert Haardt in his doctoral thesis, *Versuch einer altkoptischen Grammatik*, Vienna, 1949 (unpublished), in which, however, the author had to confine himself to repeating Crum's observations, since he had access neither to the papyrus nor to the photograph.

³ This search was suggested by R. Haardt. Thanks are due to a number of keepers of collections and librarians for their assistance in this search, esp. W. Müller and F. Luft of Berlin (East), P. M. M. Geurts of the University Library Utrecht, and P. S. van Koningsveld of the Library of the Rijksuniversiteit at Leiden.

⁴ Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Miss Helen Murray of the Griffith Institute was kind enough to locate it for me.

⁵ Note, however, that restorations of lost letters (namely O in $\text{OYPOY}[\text{O}]\text{I}\text{E}$ line 15, and N in $\text{N}\lambda\text{Z}\rho$. line 18) were added with pencil by someone, and that the gaps were transversed by strokes, wrongly combining parts of lines in some cases. Also the line-numbering 15 is wrong, see the following footnote.

⁶ The numbering of lines added on the Oxford photograph is therefore wrong. What is designated as 15, is actually 16, etc.

⁷ See *JEA* 28 (1942), 21, and cf. Kahle, *Bala'iza*, I, 256.

For *i·ir·f* also cf. ⲪⲓⲢⲉ-, ⲪⲓⲢⲁ: 'to be like', 'to resemble' (?), see Crum, *Dictionary*, 827a, from (*h*³) *qī i·ir·f*, 'the shape he has assumed', (suggested by G. Fecht, Berlin, in a letter to R. Haardt). *i·ir·f* used as an auxiliary (see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §551) is preserved in Coptic in the obsolete relative particle ⲪⲢ-, see R. Haardt, in *WZKM* 57 (1961), 90ff., and 62 (1969), 30f.

ⲢⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠ (PMP 151) is explained by R. Haardt, *WZKM* 59/60 (1963/1964), 98 (following A. Erman, *ÄZ* 21 (1883), 106) as a descendent of *m bw nb mrr·i*, 'in any place I like', 'wherever I want'. But ⲠⲠⲠⲁ: is, to judge from its form, not the imperf. relative form *mrr*, but rather the perfective one, *mri* (seen already by G. Fecht, in his letter to Haardt). The present tense, in contrast to the preterite tense of the Late Egyptian relative in general, may be due to the abnormal character of this verb (as well as of *msdī* 'to dislike'), on which see, e.g., Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, §536, and Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, §2, n. 2. ⲢⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠⲠ may, however, go back to a different construction. Cf. ⲠⲠⲠⲠ ⲠⲠⲠⲠ ⲠⲠⲠⲠ ⲠⲠⲠⲠ ⲠⲠⲠⲠ ⲠⲠⲠⲠ ⲠⲠⲠⲠ, *n* (read *m*) *st nb n mrr·s* 'wherever she wants', lit. perhaps 'in any place of her liking', in P. BritMus 10083, rto., 73-74 (see Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, II, pl. II).

⁵¹ See Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §377.

⁵² See Till, *op. cit.*, §189.

⁵³ See P. Jernstedt, "Das koptische Praesens und die Anknüpfungsarten des näheren Objekts," *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSR* (1927), 69ff.; already noticed by L. Stern, in his *Koptische Grammatik*, §494 (cf. H. J. Polotsky, "Coptic," 566, in *Current Trends in Linguistics* (The Hague, 1971), part 6, 558ff.)

⁵⁴ On the durative tenses of Coptic see H. J. Polotsky, "The Coptic Conjugation System," *Orientalia* 29 (1960), 392ff.

⁵⁵ *JNES* 20 (1961), 180ff.

⁵⁶ Cf. P. Nagel, *Grammatische Untersuchungen zu Nag Hammadi Codex II*, 461, strangely enough in: Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, V, part 2, chap. 19: 393ff. — A. Shisha-Halevy, *Le Muséon* 86 (1973), 457, note 8, states that "this basic, indeed crucial observation is still in need of modification and extension, especially since it is distributionally incomplete."

⁵⁷ Cf. *JEA* 28 (1942), 21, n. 7.

⁵⁸ See Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §295.

⁵⁹ For Demotic *tym* 'to protect,' see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 607.

⁶⁰ In Demotic, this word is once attested as *skrn*, namely in P. Vienna D 10000, III, 2 (see J. M. A. Janssen, in *Varia Historica (Festschrift Byvanck; Assen, 1954)*, 17ff. (communicated by R. L. Vos, Leiden).

⁶¹ Referred to by Polotsky, *Orientalia* 29 (1960), 409.

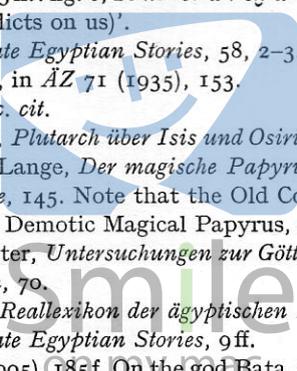
⁶² Cf. A. Théodoridès, in *Chronique d'Égypte* 44 (1969), 272.

⁶³ Cf. above, n. 2.

⁶⁴ Cf. above, n. 9.

⁶⁵ Cf. above, n. 11.

⁶⁶ See Crum, *Dictionary*, 363b (sub II).

⁶⁷ Compare, however, the passage in the Demotic Michailidis papyrus published by G. H. Hughes in: *Studies . . . John A. Wilson*, 43ff.: fig. 6, 20 *n3·s3·w r sh·w* 'they are too numerous to write them (. . . . namely, the stringencies, etc., which N. inflicts on us)'.


⁶⁸ Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 58, 2-3.

⁶⁹ See H. Kees, in *ÄZ* 71 (1935), 153.

⁷⁰ See Kees, *loc. cit.*

⁷¹ See Hopfner, *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris*, Prague, 1940/1941; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*. Cardiff, 1970. Cf. further Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, 61: 'I am Anubis-Sopd, the son of Nephthys', and Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 145. Note that the Old Coptic part of the Paris Magical Papyrus also alludes to this myth.

⁷² Thus, in the Demotic Magical Papyrus, col. II, 19, Anubis is called 'the beautiful son of Osiris.'

⁷³ See M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis* (Münchener Ägyptologische Studien, 11), 119ff., and Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth*, 70.

⁷⁴ Cf. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 282.

⁷⁵ Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 9ff.

⁷⁶ *PSBA* 27 (1905), 185f. On the god Bata, see E. Blumenthal, in *ÄZ* 99 (1972), 4ff.; *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (ed. Helck and Otto), I, 632ff.

⁷⁷ This is hardly an allusion to the aspect of a god of shepherds and cowherds of the Greek Hermes, since there seem to be no other references to Greek mythology in the present text.

⁷⁸ See Kahle, *Bala'iza*, I, 255f. For the unjustified assumption of Fayyūmic influence (see Crum, *JEA* 28 [1942], 23), see above, n. 1.

⁷⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁸⁰ See above, n. 28. The text has, however, **OO** (like Subakhmīmic, Akhmīmic. and Saʿīdic), where Middle Egyptian would have **AA** (like Fayyūmic).

⁸¹ I.e., the Saʿīdic and Bohairic vocalism of stressed syllables. See above, n. 28.

⁸² More often **BOHŌGI**, esp. in non-literary texts.

⁸³ One may compare the Demotic appeals to Thoth published by G. H. Hughes, *JNES* 17 (1958), 1 ff.; *JEA* 54 (1968), 176 ff.; and *Studies John A. Wilson*, 43 ff.

⁸⁴ However, it may be argued that the reason for the use of the "Old Coptic" script, instead of Demotic, is the language used, which is less formal than that of contemporary Demotic texts and more closely resembles the spoken language. But it may well have been this choice of an untraditional script that favored a less formal language.



Smile
on my mac

