

Coptology: Past, Present, and Future

Studies in Honour of Rodolphe Kasser

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AN OLD COPTIC TEXT RECONSIDERED: PGM 94 FF.*

HELMUT SATZINGER – Wien

The Paris Magical Papyrus (pBibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574; translations: Preisendanz 1933: 64ff.; Betz 1986: 36ff.) is an impressive collection of prescriptions for various kinds of magical practice, including divination, black magic, and love spells. It is a book of 72 pages made up of 18 sheets. The first two and the last two pages are left blank¹, and the same is true of p. 6 and fol. 16 (pp. 31-32). Commentators agree in general that the text was compiled in the fourth century AD, and probably in its first half².

In general, the language of the texts is Greek. In the beginning, however, there are a number of Old Coptic texts (cf. Haardt 1949: 3; Satzinger 1984: 139 no. 11; Satzinger 1991: 170 no. 1.5), often interspersed with Greek passages: A³, ll. 1-4 (= fol. 1^r ll. 1-4): magical names⁴; B, ll. 5-10 (= fol. 2^r ll. 1-7): magical names, with Greek remark; C, ll. 11-25 (= fol. 2^r ll. 7-21): Old Coptic incantation of Osiris⁵; D, ll. 25-51 (= fol. 2^r ll. 22-47), and E, ll. 52-72 (= fol. 2^r ll. 48-57 and 2^v ll. 1-11): Greek prescriptions; F, ll. 73-77 (= fol. 2^v ll. 12-16), G, ll. 78-82 (= fol. 2^r ll. 17-21), H, ll. 83-85 (= fol. 2^r ll. 22-24), I, ll. 86-87 (= fol. 2^r ll. 25-26), and K, ll. 88-93 (= fol. 2^r ll. 27-32): short Old Coptic spells, introduced by Greek texts. In line 94 is the beginning of what is by far the most important of the Old Coptic texts of this papyrus, and the most attractive of the Old Coptic texts in general⁶ (L, ll. 94-122 = fol. 2^r ll. 33-54 and 2^r ll. 1-7). The contents of the text are a rather lengthy love spell embedded in a mythological frame. The topic of the latter is Osiris' adultery with Nephthys, and the other deities immediately involved are Isis and Thoth who is here regarded as her father⁷. Three more texts follow, viz. two Old Coptic love spells that are each concluded by a Greek remark: M, ll. 123-137 (= fol. 2^v ll. 8-22), and N + P, ll. 138-146 (= fol. 2^v ll. 23-31); and another Old Coptic love spell: Q, ll. 147-153 (= fol. 2^v ll. 32-38). The

* *Lieber Roudi, ich hätte Dir gern zu dieser schönen Gelegenheit einen neuen koptischen Dialekt dargeboten, aber leider hatte ich keinen zur Verfügung. Der PGM läßt sich für diesen Zweck meines Erachtens nicht benützen, spricht doch hier nach meiner Überzeugung nicht ein "Kopte", sondern ein "Grieche". Nichtsdestoweniger haben hier echte ägyptische Idiome ihren indirekten Niederschlag gefunden. Möge diese kleine Studie Dein Interesse finden! H.*

¹ Though four lines of magic words were later added.

² Cf. Meyer 1985: 194.

³ The numbering by letters of the individual texts follows Erman 1883.

⁴ See above, note 1.

⁵ For this, see now DuQuesne 1991a; DuQuesne 1991b.

⁶ For these, see the overviews in Satzinger 1984: 138-139; Satzinger 1991: 169-170.

⁷ Cf. Kákosy 1963: 125 and n. 14; also Bleeker 1973: 115.

remaining texts are all in Greek (except for a short Old Coptic passage in ll. 1231-1239) and therefore outside the scope of this study. Actually, it is only the Old Coptic texts in ll. 94-153 that will be considered here. The language and the alphabet of these texts (i.e., L to Q) seem to be consistent to a sufficient degree to allow them to be analysed together. This is not true though, of the Old Coptic texts preceding l. 94⁸.

The present study is based on a new transcription of the text. It is based primarily on the photographs that accompany Erman's 1883 article. This transcription was collated with the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in March 1985. The entire text of ll. 94-153 is given below, including an annotated translation.

§ ΗΣΕ ΠΕΤΝΗΟΥ ΝΠΤΟΥ ΝΜΕΡΕ
ΝΒΩΜ

ΕΤΒΟΥ Α (95) ΒΟΥΘ ΕΪΑΤ· ΧΑ ΕΜΡΗ
ΕΕΤΗΣ ΧΑ ΕΟΜ

ΑΠΕΣΙΩΤ^{ΟΥ} (96) ΘΟΥ[Τ] Ο ΕΙ ΕΟΥΝ
ΕΡΙΕΣ

ΑΒΘΕΙΣ· ΒΕ ΑΡΘ ΤΑΒΕΡΙ (97) ΗΣ[Ε]

[Ε]ΤΒΟΥ ΧΑ ΒΟΥΘ ΙΑΤΙ· Α ΕΜΡΗ ΧΕΕΤΗ
Α ΕΟΜ

(98) ΠΜ· ΝΤΕΒΕΝΤΩ ΟΡΠ· ΝΕΡΜΟΥ
ΝΙΕΤΕ

ΠΕΒΕΣ (99) [ΝΕQ] ΘΕ ΝΑΡΟΪ ΕΝ
ΠΑΙΟΥΤ ΠΑΝΑΘΟΥΤ· ΠΑΝΑΘΟ(100)
[ΟΥΤ] ΠΑΙΟΥΤ
ΑΙΒΟΛΙΤΕΝ ΤΑΡΕΙ ΕΝΣΙΜΕ

ΑΪΚ[Ι]ΜΕ (101) [. .] ΛΦ· ΒΕ
ΣΕ ΝΕΒΩ ΕΣΕΝΚΑΤΚΕ ΜΕΝ^{ΝΕΜ} ΟΥ[CΙ]ΡΙ

(102) [.... Π]ΑΣΟΝ ΠΘΕ ΝΤΑΜΕΟΥ
ΝΕΜΑΪ

ΠΕΒΑQ ΝΑΣ (103) [ΒΕ Ο]ΥΜΕΝΤΒΑΪΡΕ
ΝΑΡΕΝ ΤΕ ΤΑΒΕΡΙ Η[CΙ]

(104) [ΠΕΤ]ΒΑΣ ΝΑQ ΒΕ ΟΥΜΕΝΤΒΑΪΡΙ
ΝΑΡΑΚ Τ[Ε]

ΠΑΙΟΥΤ (105) [ΠΑΝ]ΑΘΟΥΤ·
ΠΑΝΑΘΟΥΤ· ΠΑΙΟΥΤ·

ΟΥΜΕΝΤΩ^{ΟΥ} ΑΝΟΚ (106) [Ω]ΩΤ ΤΕ
ΠΕΤΒΑQ ΝΑΣ ΒΕ ΤΩΥΝΙ ΤΑΘΕΡΙ ΗCΙ

Once^a Isis came from the desert at noon in
summer,

being^b dried up^c by dust, her eyes being full
of tears,^d her heart being full of sighs.^e

Her father, the Great Thoth, came in^f unto
her.^g

He asked^h her, "What is the matter with
you,ⁱ my daughter Isis,

(that) you are dried up^j by dust, (that) your
eyes are full of tears, (that) your heart^k is
full of^l sighs;

(that) the 'cloth'^m of your garment is
smudged by the tears of your eyes!"

She said to him, "(It is) not my fault,ⁿ
my father, Baboon^o Thoth, Baboon Thoth,
my father.

I have been weakened^p by my female com-
panion.^q

I have found 'a secret' (?).^r

Verily, (the fact is) Nephthys sleeps^s with
Osiris,

'he being^t my brother, the child of my
mother, as I am (too) (?)^u!"

He said to her: "It is adultery against you,^v
my daughter Isis!"

She said to him: "It is adultery against
you,

my father, Baboon Thoth, Baboon Thoth,
my father!

It is a pregnancy of my own!"^w

He said to her, "Arise, my daughter Isis,

⁸ Cf. Kahle 1954: I 242-245.

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(107) [TEBOK]· EPHC NNÉ EPEMIT·
NNABΩT

OYON (108) [OYB]ECPNHΘ OM(T) NMEOY
DEBÍ NÁQ BELLQ PÁ BELLQ

(109) Π[Α] TIBALLAOGB' NOMB· PA
NITIBCB· NVENIPE

(110) [ETP]EBMOYΓ' NÉ NOYIBT
NVENIPE NÁTPPE

(111) EQ[THK] NBΩQ EQBOOME NPETB
EQBOB NPEBΛÁ[C] (112) [E]QACIWOY
NPEQBENIPÍ

ENAI NMOC EHT
COP (113) NMOC EN PECNOB NOYCIRE
MEIQ TENCEME'

(114) CMOY OYAK ECER IOPI
TICATE ETTE MCKATE AXΩI
CETE

(115) ECATI NIBE PICI NIBE
EOM NIBI EAWB NIBI (116) BOIOIO NIBI
ETKNAAITOY PHÍ ENPAID NCBATI

(117) EKEAITOY PHÍ NFHT' NPMAYOCÉ

PKATAKOITI (118) NΘELPI NΘH NNIM·
NMECIE NIM·

TBANINI (119) NMOC NNHI NNIM
EMECIE NIM

NCTI NPETEN(120)TOOTC· ETOOT·

PETHPWC EPWI PETENXHC EXHT

(121) PETENECNOY NCIMÉ ENANOY
MOYNT·

EXEN (122) TIOTI TATE EXEN
TIOYNOY TIOYNOY

(123) S BOIDA NERWOY NALLXÁ BE
MHÍ NOYPOKE.

(124) NESC ENOYTI NIM EMECIE NIM·

TATAYWOC (125) EBOII NEM NIM
EMECIE NIM·

BE ANK TO (126) CI NTO ANK POPY CI
NPOPY

ANK ANOYB EQBI (127) PK/LOM·
NWOY NPHH

EQTI NMOQ EBEN PERO (128) OYCIRI

and go^w to the south of Thebes, to the north^x
of Abydos.

There is^y a coppersmith^z there who is called
(?)^{aa} Belf, he of Belf,^{bb}

the one with the bronze feet,^{cc} the one with
the iron heels,

to make him produce^{dd} for you a double
iron nail

with a thick head and a subtle^{ee} leg, with a
firm tip and of light iron.

Bring it before me.^{ff}

Dip it in the blood of Osiris.

Hand it over, and we will appeal

(magically):^{gg}

Praise a ... that is spinning,

O flame^{hh} that does not sleep above me (?)ⁱⁱ!

As to^j every flame, every cooking,

every sigh, every steaming, every sweating^{kk}
which you will perform inside^{ll} this flaming
stove,

you will perform it (also) inside^{mm} the heart,
the liver,

the vagina (?),ⁿⁿ the navel, the belly^{oo} of NN.

So bring^{pp} her to the house^{qq} of NN,

and she will give what is in her hand to my
hand,

what is in her mouth into my mouth, what
is in her belly into my belly,

what is in her female parts onto my male
parts –

quickly, quickly, at once, at once!

Rise up to the kings of Alk-hah who tell
the future^{rr} in Ou-poke!

Arouse any god (after NN) whom NN has
born,

and I shall recite it (?)^{ss} upon myself and
NN whom NN has born.

For I am To ('Earth'?) son of To. I am
Pour ('the Great') son of Pour.

I am Anubis who bears the glorious crown
of Re

(and) puts it upon King Osiris,

περό οὔσερ οὔενάβρε
ἀ τα πνεςζι (129) ἡπτο τηρϣ

ὁ εκενεΛσι ἡφῆτ ἡνιμ· ἐμε(130)σιε
νιμ·

ὁε εἴεμμι νετενπесῆт εροι ἐνιμ
(131) ἐμεσιε νιμ τεῖ ἡπποϣ

King Osiris Onnophris,
who has given (?)^u arousing^{uu} to the whole
earth,
that you may arouse the heart of NN whom
NN has born,
that I may know^{vv} what is in her heart in
respect to me (and) to NN whom NN has
born, here,^{ww} today!

(132-137, in Greek:) If a large amount of saliva forms in your mouth as you speak, understand that she is distressed and wants to talk with you; if you yawn frequently, she wants to come to you. But if you sneeze two times or more, she is in good health and is returning to where she lives; if you have a headache and are crying, she is distressed or even dying.

(138) § βοῖ ετπέ νεΛσε πβόι ἡσα
τβαπβι

βοῖ (139) ἐπποϣν νεΛσι ἡωγῶ· ἡσα
ναβίν

νέΛσι (140) ἡφῆτ ἡπικό снѣоу̇. ὦπ
μεν ἐμνεϣι

(141) νεΛσι ἡφῆт ἡοϣσιри ἡσα ησι·
νεΛσε. (142) ἡπρη ἡσα πογοῖν·

νεΛσε ἡφῆт (143) ἡνιμ ἐμεσιε нίμ·
ἡσα нιμ· ἐμεσιε нιμ·

Rise up to heaven. Arouse Pshoy ('the High
One'?) after the Lady.

Rise up to the abyss. Arouse Thoth after
Nabin (?).

Arouse the hearts of the two bulls, Apis
and Mnevis.

Arouse the heart of Osiris after Isis.

Arouse the heart of the Sun after the light.

Arouse the heart of NN whom NN has born
after NN whom NN has born!

(144-146, in Greek:) (Say) these things on behalf of women. But when (you are speaking) about women, then speak, conversely, so as to arouse the females after the males.

(147) § ὁε εβόιπε εссó· εβóиπε
εсоуóиm

εβóиπε (148) εснкóωт· мен кеуóé
εἶεπεεr εēt ηс (149) ἡтаπεεr фсῆт

ἡтаπεεr пстноу ἡтаπεεr (150)

тесбomте ἡбе се тн келι

таπεεr' песчоун (151) тоўнι
ἡmanaмaῖ

бaнтесí ἀροῖ ἡтаῖmι (152) епете
мпесῆт

басr оу мен петесмϣу! ероϣ

(153) еēн тióтi тióтi тiоуноу
тiоуноу

So whether she drinks, whether she eats,

whether she sleeps with someone else,

I will bewitch her heart and bewitch her
heart

and bewitch her breath and bewitch her
365 members

and bewitch her withdrawing (?)^{xx} inner
part, wherever I wish,^{yy}

until she comes to me and I know what is
in her heart,

what she does, and of what she thinks –
quickly, quickly, at once, at once!

97, ηс[é] the gloss ι is preserved. — 98, нiéтé: what is rendered here as a gloss ι could perhaps also be an accent: нiéте. — 103, наrēн те: actually, there is a space between é and н: наrē нте.

Comments

a. This is not a Cleft Sentence (*pace* Meyer 1985: 196; 1986: 39) but rather the introductory construction #Noun + $\pi\epsilon$ + Relative Clause# which is a variant of #Noun + $\pi\epsilon$ + Clause of Circumstance#, and others (cf. Shisha-Halevy 1989: 106). They can be found in various communications; *e.g.*, in business texts: $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\ \pi\epsilon\tau\varsigma\alpha\iota\ \bar{\eta}\pi\alpha\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ NN. BKU III.367; $\pi\kappa\omicron\mu\epsilon\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\alpha\iota\ \bar{\eta}$ -NN. ... BKU III.366 (orders of oil and wine, resp.). These constructions can be traced back as far as Middle Egyptian where #Noun + *pw* + Circumstantial Form# (more rarely #Noun + *pw* + Participle#) serve a similar purpose; cf. the introductory wording of the *Eloquent Peasant*, *s pw wn(.w)*, *Hw-n-jnpw rn.f* 'there was once a man whose name was Kh.', or the *Shipwrecked Sailor*'s first answer to the Serpent (line 89), *jnk pw h3j.kw r bj3* ... '(what happened is that) I had set out to the mines ...'.

b. The text has here definitely $\epsilon\tau$ -, but a clause of circumstance is expected, viz. $\epsilon\epsilon$ -.

c. Although an expression for 'being covered' is the first guess, this is probably the qualitative of $\omega\theta\theta\gamma\epsilon$, 'to become dry', $\omega\theta\gamma\omega\gamma$. As \bar{o} is represented by $\theta\gamma$ in our text in several instances (see below, Appendix 2), $\epsilon\theta\gamma$ could here represent * $\epsilon\theta\gamma\theta\gamma\theta\gamma$ (*šūūy*).

d. $\epsilon\mu\pi\eta$ by metathesis of $\epsilon\pi\mu\eta$, which is the characteristic *B* form, whereas the other dialects have -*mĭe*, -*mĭē*. The metathesis mentioned is probably a mistake, as the plural form is given without metathesis in line 98: $\epsilon\pi\mu\theta\theta\gamma$. Here, again, lack of the *j* is characteristic for *B* ($\epsilon\pi\mu\omega\theta\gamma\iota$, as against *S* $\pi\mu\epsilon\iota\theta\theta\gamma\epsilon$, etc.).

e. Lit. 'her eyes being under tears etc.'

f. One would expect $\epsilon\chi\acute{o}\gamma\eta$ or $\epsilon\chi\theta\gamma\eta$.

g. $\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\varsigma$, probably erroneously for $\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\varsigma$, or rather $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ *ehrés*, *SB* $\epsilon\pi\pi\alpha\varsigma$. *MV* $\epsilon\pi\pi\epsilon\varsigma$. 'towards her face', 'in front of her' (cf. Griffith 1900: 91).

h. If the *h* sign is to be taken serious this is an instance of the $\gamma\alpha\gamma$ - Perfect.

i. One would expect $\alpha\chi\bar{\rho}\theta$ or $\alpha\chi\theta$.

j. After $\alpha\gamma\theta$ + pronoun, one might expect the First Present, $\tau\epsilon\theta\theta\gamma$, cf. CD 25a-b; numerous New Testament examples can be found in Wilmet 1957: 32-34.

k. Expected forms: $\epsilon\chi\tau\eta$ or the like.

l. Expected forms: $\chi\acute{\alpha}$ or $\chi\alpha$.

m. Wessely thought he could see $\pi\mu\alpha\pi\pi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\tau\omega$ at the beginning of the line, see Griffith 1900: 91. What I saw in the original resembles a $\pi\mu\omega\eta\text{-}\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\tau\omega$, though the μ seems rather shallow. The present rendering of the first lexeme by "cloth" is a mere guess.

n. Read $\bar{\eta}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\iota\ \alpha\eta$ (*pace* Meyer 1985: 196; 1986: 39), *lit.* 'not by reason of me', see CD 633a (c).

o. For the vocalization of $\alpha\eta\alpha$ -, see Fecht 1960: 209-210.

p. Read $\beta\omega\lambda$; see below, Appendix 2, for examples of rendering the \bar{o} sound of our text by *o*.

q. The feminine form of the nisba adjective *irj* is either **ειρε* *īre* (in personal name *Ταιριε*, see Osing 1976: I.315; II.463) or **αρει* *arēi* (see Osing 1976: I.314; II.463). Hence, read probably *τααρει*. – Read *ἐνσιμε*.

r. Read *[νογ)]λωφσε?* – What I saw in the papyrus looked rather like *]λωφσε*. The reading *λωφσε* is due to Revillout, see Griffith 1900: 91; cf. *Σλωβε* ‘to hide’. An example of *Σ θ: Β χ* is found in the line before, but in this case it is represented by *κ*. Therefore it is hard to believe that the above reading is right. *Σ *ωω* ‘to intrude’, or *ωχ* ‘thief’ may be considered. *σε* may also be regarded as the introductory particle of the following sentence.

s. #Proper Name + Clause of Circumstance#, one of the introductory constructions alluded to in note (a).

t. *[εις π]α-?* More letters seem to be needed.

u. Taking the phrase as the transformation of an underlying utterance, **οὔσιρε (πε) πωε νταμααυ νμμαϊ* ‘Osiris and I are the children of my mother’ (?). Cf., e.g. *ανον δε τηρν νμμακ ζωωκ ον* ‘all of us, and you too’ *Pistis Sophia* (ed. Schmidt) 16,25f. (quoted by Funk 1991: 30 #41). A clause of circumstance, *[ερεπ]ασον ...*, ‘while my brother, the son of my mother was with me’, is not very probable.

v. = *ναρρε, ναρρη*; expected forms: *ναρε* or *ναρη*.

w. The conjunctive is to be expected; there is not enough space for the longer form *ντε-*. Elsewhere in the text, we find both the longer form *ντα-* (lines 149 [ter], 151) and the shorter forms *τα-* (lines 124, 150) and *τεν-* (line 113). Also cf. *νс-* (line 119).

x. Read *επεμιτ*.

y. The forms with an unreduced vowel are characteristic of *B* (*ογον*) and *F* (*ογαν*).

z. = *Σ ουβесннт (н)ζομнт*. This is perhaps the most essential improvement of the existing editions and translations of the text that can be presented here. Cf. the following note.

aa. The context shows clearly that *βελq* is the coppersmith’s name. One is tempted to emend to something like *(ε)σαγσω^{sic lege} ναq <σε>* (*Σ εωαγχω ναq χε*), or, less correctly, *(ε)σαγσεσι ναq <σε>* (*Σ εωαγωαχε ναq χε*), as an archaic equivalent of *εωαγομυτε εροq χε*. Note that *αγχι ναq* would mean ‘to him was brought’; *χι н-* (dat.) is ‘to fetch for someone’, thus ‘to lead or bring to someone’ (CD 749b, and cf. Late Egyptian and Demotic *ḥj n*). *χι ναq* cannot, therefore, be an imperative, ‘take from him!’.

bb. *I.e.*, most probably, ‘son of B’.

cc. Read *πα н-*, as *σαλαους* is an unequivocal plural form.

dd. *μογr* is *SL μογнr*, *F μογκ*, *мооγнr* (*могнк* in *SLFB*), see Westendorf 1965/1977: 95, 519

ee. Qualitative of *ωμα*.

ff. ‘To the north’ would probably be spelt *εεχнт* or the like.

gg. *I.e.*, *Σ нтнснме*.

hh. As **ΤΙCΑΤΙ/ΤΙCΕΤΕ** is a definite noun, it cannot be an apposition to the indefinite **ΟΥΑΚΕ**; hence vocative.

ii. Erman was the first to equate **ΚΑΤΕ** with *B* **ΚΑ†** 'to understand' (Crum 123a notes two cases of **ΚΑ† ΕΧΕΝ**-, 'to know about'); if this were right, one would expect either **ΚΑΤΙ** or **ΚΕΤΕ**; cf. **CΑΤΙ/CΕΤΕ**. Crum 224a regards **ΚΑΤΕ** as the verb **ΝΚΟΤΚ, ΝΚΟΤΕ** 'to sleep, to lie down', and compares the expression with ἀκάματον πῦρ.

jj. One is tempted to regard **ε-** as a decendent of the Egyptian **ε-** focus-introductory *ir*, though the latter seems already to be extinct in Demotic.

kk. This word is puzzling. **ΟΙ** (no trema!) is one of the presentations of **ō** in this text, see below. This is confirmed by the gloss, **Ω**. Thus, the word seems to represent a noun **bō'ih**. This is not a likely Coptic form. Identification with *S* **ϣΩΤΕ, ΒΩΤΕ, B ϣΩ†** 'sweat' (so already Griffith 1900: 90) is a likely guess: both the indication of a glottal stop and that of a final **h** may be overcorrections of a Greek-speaker (to whom both sounds are alien).

ll. Read **ῤΗῖ hrēj**.

mm. Note the frequent use of **ΕΝ, ἄ, Ν** 'in' (also in lines 117-121, 123) which is a rather archaic feature; **ΕΝ, ΕΧΕΝ, ΕΕΝ** *hen* is found in lines 113, 121, 153.

nn. Although **ΠΚΑΤΑΚΟΙΤΙ** lacks an initial **ἄ-**, it is probably parallel to 'heart', 'liver', 'navel', and 'belly'. The female sexual parts may be expected in this enumeration, and such a taboo expression is likely not to be attested otherwise. The word in question may be a reduplicated ***κΩΤΕ**. For the pre-stress vocalization **ΚΑΤΑ-** cf. above, note **n**. For an etymology, cf. hieroglyphic **ḳt**, with the same meaning; actually, a derivative form has to be assumed that preserved the **t**, lost otherwise since the end of the Old Kingdom (but cf. also *S* **ΟΟΤΕ, ΟΤΕ, ΤΟΤΕ**, etc., 'womb, vagina', from hieroglyphic *idt.*). The word **ΚΑΤΑΚΟΙΤΙ** reminds one of the strange **σαρακοιτιν** in Dioscorus' Greek-Coptic glossary where it is said to mean the same as **κυόφορος** and **καιφος** (gloss (κ)ε(φος) = κέπφος), viz. **ΠΧΑΧ**. The editors deduce from the context that "we have here some hitherto unknown slang use of the word", which is otherwise recorded only in the sense 'the sparrow' but thought to mean here 'the womb' (Bell-Crum 1925: 205-206). As the following three entries seem to mean 'membrum virile', **ΧΑΧ** and its alleged Greek equivalents may as well be words for 'vagina'.

oo. *I.e.*, **nthē** gloss **nthē**

pp. *I.e.*, **S ΧΕ ΔΙΝΙΕ**.

qq. See Griffith 1900: 92 for Demotic parallels for the use of the plural of **Ηῖ**.

rr. Read **(ΕΤ) ΣΕ ΜΗῖ**, *lit.* 'who speak truth'.

ss. See CD 442b for **ΤΑΥΟ= ΕΧἄ-**, 'to say, pronounce upon'.

tt. **Δ** could be the very rare perfect participle form, *S* **ΔΖ-**, non-literary Theban **ΔΩ-**. For this, cf. CD 24a (Ep 544); Roquet 1978: 537 (#7-8); then, **ΤΑ** is for **ΤΕ-**, **†-**, or, if absolute state is assumed (omitting the following **ἄ-**), *B* (etc.) **ΤΟ**, *F* (etc.) **ΤΑ**.

topic

uu. Read *nehsi*, as in the following. For the use of similar *h* signs in other Old Coptic texts, see the survey in Satzinger 1991: 173.

vv. Read $\text{ϫϫ εῖ} \langle \epsilon \rangle \text{εμμι} \langle \text{n-} \rangle$ or similar (Third Future).

ww. τεῖ is, of course, *SB ταῖ* (pace Meyer 1985: 197; 1986: 40); see Griffiths 1900: 92.

xx. Read $\langle \epsilon \rangle \text{τογῆ}$ (*S -ογε*, infinitive).

yy. 152 $\bar{\text{n}}\text{μαναμαῖ}$ 'in (any) place I like', as Erman 1883: 106 sensed already. See also Haardt 1963/1964: 98; Satzinger 1975: 43 for αμα= as a relative form. Cf. in Middle Egyptian, *m swt.f nbt mrt.f* 'in all his places which he may like' (prospective relative form, see Polotsky 1976: 13) *Coffin Texts* VII.128d. The phrase may be a contracted $\bar{\text{n}}\text{μα} \text{nim} \text{αμαῖ}$.

I want to repeat an opinion expressed on other occasions (Satzinger 1984: 145; Satzinger 1991: 171): it seems very natural to assume that the writer of the text was not a native speaker of Coptic but rather a Greek-speaker. The text presents more than one idiom. This can be seen most clearly where a word shows a different form when being repeated: $\text{τιοτι} \text{τιατε}$ l. 122; or where it is glossed in a different form: τικατι , gloss τιcετε l. 114; μεν- , gloss nem- l. 101. One of the idioms involved is obviously very close to *B*. Here are some relevant forms (in the order of their occurrence): lack of *t* in $(\lambda\text{β})\text{ϫεν= c}$ l. 1. 96; lack of $\dot{\text{i}}$ in εμρη l. 97 and νερμοογ l. 98 (see above, note (d)); $(\pi)\text{ανα(θooγτ)}$ l. 99; *m* in $\text{κ[ι]με/gloss (κιμ)ι}$ l. 100; nem l. 101; νεμα=ι l. 102; τωγνι l. 106; oγon- l. 107; ϫαλαoγϫ l. 109; lack of *n* in ομτ l. 109; μει= q l. 113; ρηῖ l. 116. 117; μηῖ l. 123; lack of initial *e-* in ωoγ l. 127; εῖεμμι (*S εῖμε, εῖμμε, μμε; M εῖμε; A μμε; L εῖμε, μμε; F (ε)ῖμι; B εμι*; cf. Westendorf 49+504); κελι l. 150. In respect to phonology, note in particular that there is a $\text{h} [\text{x}]$ sound, spelled x , which corresponds to *B* h , but not to *A* z (see $\text{ϫοῖς} \text{šoiš}$ ll. 94. 97 which is *B* ϫωιϫ , *A* zαιz).

The other dialectal component seems to be an amalgam of *L*, *M*, and also *F* (cf. nibi , also nibε/gloss (nib)ι l. 115). Here are forms with non-*B* characteristics: εom l. 95; εριεc l. 96; ιετε/gloss (ιετ)ι l. 98. $\text{πεϫεc/gloss (πεϫ)α(c)}$ l. 98; εn l. 99; κκατκε l. 101; μεn- l. 101; μεoγ l. 102; $\bar{\text{n}}\text{μεoγ/gloss (n̄m)α(oγ)}$ l. 108; μογρ l. 110; ϫooμε l. 111; ρετ= b l. 111; εναῖ/gloss α(ναῖ) l. 112; $\text{ιοπι/gloss (ι)α(πι)}$ l. 114; τοοτ= l. 121; αγκ- l. 125; oγεναβρε l. 128; τεῖ l. 131; ϫαπσι l. 138; cνεoγ l. 140.

Although the text was often described as being some kind of *S*, there is not a single element that can be explained by *S* only; e.g., τοοτ= is also *L*; εom may be an amalgam of *L* εzαm , and αzom which may be both *S* and *B*. At any rate, none of the idioms involved has any particular affinity to *A*. This is the more remarkable as the papyrus is said to have been acquired at Thebes. Later non-literary texts from this place show very strong influence of an *A* substratum and one may assume that it was part of the *A* speaking area.

Appendix 1

Use of various *h* signs and how *h* sounds are rendered

	h	ḥ	ḥ = ḥ (≠ ḥ > š)	others
Ø		(N-)αρῶι 99 ENCIME 100, NCIME 121 EΠEMIT 107 PHĪ 117 HT 152	ΠEEP 150	
* or *	ΕΟМ 95 ΕΟМ 97, 115 ΕΛΩВ 115 NĒCI 124	ĒRIEC 96 ITEN 100 NAPĒH 103 NAPAK 104 (N-)OMT 109 (N-)ATPE 110 EHHT 112, HT 130 NDOYNT 121 ALLA 123	Ā 94 EOYN 96 APÓ 96 EN 113 ΠEEP 148, 149 ^{ter} ĀPOĪ 151	-BĪ 126
Ē or Ē (?)		EEETHC 95, EEETHC 148	EEN 153	
NECZI 128 NELCĪ 129, 139 ^{bis} , 141 NELCE 138, 141, 142				
χ plus * or *		XEETH 97	χα 94 (N-)ΘH 118 EXEN 122 XOYN 150 χα 94 -ENXHc 120 EXHT 120 EXEN 121 ALLA 123	
with Θ or φ		ΘOOUT 96, 99 ^{bis} , 105 ^{bis} -PHHT 117, 129, 140, 141, 142 NEBOW 101	(N-)ΘEΛΠĪ 118 (N-)ΘH 118	
with Θ or φ plus * or *		[OYB]ECNHΘ OM(T) 108 ΦCHT 149		

Appendix 2

The *ō* sounds

Coptic <i>ō</i>	spelled <i>ω</i>	<i>ογ</i>	<i>οι</i> ⁹	<i>ο</i>
<i>S ω, M ο</i>	<i>αβωτ</i> 107 (gloss <i>οι</i>) <i>ασιωογ</i> 112 <i>ελώβ</i> 115 <i>ιωτ</i> 95 (gloss <i>ογ</i>) <i>(-κ)ωτε</i> , gloss, 115 <i>ρωε</i> 120 (<i>bis</i> ; gloss <i>ο</i>), 123 <i>σωπ</i> 112 <i>ώπ</i> , <i>apis</i> 140 <i>εωε</i> , <i>χωε</i> 111, 114 (gloss <i>οι</i>) <i>(β)ωω(θ)</i> , gloss, 116 (if = <i>qwτε</i>)	<i>ιογτ</i> 99, 100, 104, 105; gloss <i>(ι)ογ(τ)</i> 94 <i>97ογ</i> (if = <i>ωογωογ</i>) 94, 97	<i>(αβ)οι(τ)</i> , gloss, 107 <i>εεοιπε</i> 147 (<i>ter</i>) <i>-κοιτι</i> 117 (gloss <i>ωτε</i>) <i>ογοιμ</i> 147 <i>εοι</i> 125, gloss <i>(χ)οιε</i> 114 <i>βοιοιθ</i> 116 (gloss <i>ωω</i>) (if = <i>qwτε</i>)	<i>βολ</i> 100 <i>(ρ)ο(ε)</i> , gloss 120 (<i>bis</i>)
<i>S ω, A (L) ογ</i>	<i>*λωωσε</i> 101 <i>νεβωθ</i> 101 <i>ω</i> 105 (gloss <i>ογ</i>) <i>[φ]ωτ</i> 106 (gloss <i>[ο]ο</i>) <i>εεντω</i> 98	<i>ογ</i> , gloss, 105		<i>co</i> ¹⁰ 147 <i>[δ]ο(τ)</i> , gloss, 106
in <i>S οογ, B ωογ</i>	<i>τωογνι</i> 106 <i>θωγθ</i> 129 (= Greek form) <i>ωογ</i> 127			<i>ερμοογ</i> 98 <i>θooγτ</i> <i>pas-sim</i> <i>όογντ</i> 121
in <i>S οει, B ωι</i>				<i>πεοι</i> 138 <i>εοι</i> 138

⁹ *οι* probably renders a vowel of an *ø* or *ö* sound; cf. *οιρπ* (= *S ηρπ*), BM 441, no. 1063 (see Vycichl 1983: 54b, also cf. p. 52 s.v. h).

¹⁰ Westendorf (1965/1977: 175) gives *cō* as *M* form (and as "Ak" form, which is obviously this passage); after Quecke's (1974: 88 n. 10) comment, he adds his reference, viz. Kasser 1964 (see Westendorf 1965/1977: 536). Several instances of the expected *M* form *cω* can be found in the *M* Matthew gospel (see Schenke 1981: 169).

Appendix 3

Analysis of the glosses¹¹

vowels, stressed:

- o. gloss a: iopi/(i)a(pi) 114
 ō. gloss ou: -iōt/(-i)ou(t) 95; mentō/(ment)ou 105
 ō. gloss o: [hō]ōt/[(h)o]o(t) 106; rōs/(r)o(s) 120, rōi/(r)o(i) 120
 ō. gloss oi: abōt/(ab)oi(t) 107; ačōi/ (ač)oi(i) 114
 ō. gloss ō: boioith/(b)ōō(th) 116; katakoiti/(katak)ōte 117
 e. gloss a: pešes/ (peš)a(s) 98; nmeou/(nm)e(ou) 108
 e. gloss e: tisati/tisete 114, esati/(e)sete 115

vowels, unstressed:

- e (final, unstressed), gloss -i: ēse/(ēs)i 94, 97; kime/(kim)i 100; nibe/(nib)i 115 *bis* (nibi *ibid. ter*): maouse/(maous)i 117
 -i (final, unstressed), gloss -e: katakoiti/(katak)ōte 117; helpi/(help)e 118; s(h)imi/ (s(h)im)e 121
 e- (initial, unstressed), gloss a-: enai/a(nai) 112; ehom/a(hom) 115

consonants:

thē/tix(ē) 118;

larger units:

men/nem 101; nem/men 125 (cf. men 148, 152)
 šeši/((e)š)au(šō še) or <e>š)au(šeši še) (?) 108
 sati/sete 114, 115.

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¹¹ There is no gloss beyond line 125.

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