

Translating the Realities of Cult

The Case of the *Book of the Temple*

Joachim Quack

The *Book of the Temple* is an enormous manual about the ideal Egyptian temple, its architecture and the way it should be run, including a detailed list of the rights and duties of all different categories of priests and temple employees.¹ This is a text which tells very little about theology or mythology, and rituals are at the most only described from a functional perspective: for example, about which rooms are needed for them. Neither is there a complete description of a festival nor do we get the texts to be recited. By contrast, we hear a lot about the everyday aspects of temple life. The structural layout of the building, the rooms and their orientation towards each other, the doors and where they open, gets full coverage. This is not limited to the inner temple rooms with their focus on ritual activities, but also on the more functional rooms (mainly in the outer areas of the temple), economic installations like the cattle pen and the duck pond, and even the rubbish heap. Also, we get a much more detailed description of which rights, duties, and work assignments many different kinds of priests have than from other sources. So, the realities of cult in their practical organization are the focus of the text.

It has a transmission which is of unusual complexity, not only for the sheer amount of different manuscripts (at the latest count about

¹ For preliminary reports, see Quack (2000), (2003), (2004), (2005a), (2005b), id. (2007), (2009b), (2010a), (forthcoming).

50 different ones),² but even more so for the coverage of different languages and scripts. All extant manuscripts are of the Imperial Roman period (first and second century CE), but there are reasons to believe that the composition as such goes back to an older archetype.

The basic text which is numerically the best attested is a version in classical Egyptian language and hieratic script. Somewhat less common is the Demotic version, and at the moment the distribution is rather unbalanced, with only one Demotic manuscript which can be attributed to the section about duties³ while all the rest covers the architectural section. Most of the Demotic manuscripts show a notable admixture of isolated hieratic signs. This is relatively likely to indicate that the archetype of the Demotic version was written in hieratic script, even if in Demotic language. Such a situation was most typical for the early Demotic period.⁴ With some likelihood, we can conclude that the Demotic version was produced during that time, most probably the Saïtic dynasty.

It is, however, the Greek version which is of particular interest for the actual question, and here we have some paradoxical features. While the Greek version is much less well attested and preserved than the Egyptian one, with only two fragments from a single manuscript currently known, it is completely edited⁵ while the greatest part of the Egyptian fragments are unpublished. That might tell a bit about the relative state of the different disciplines, including the fact that Greek papyrologists take it as normal to edit texts from the Roman Period, while most Egyptologists have a distinct preference for older material.

Still, the history of publication and interpretation of the Greek fragments is a story of errors and misjudgements which in itself might have some value in teaching us not to draw too hasty

² In addition to the report by Quack (2005b), esp. p. 114, I can now signal a newly identified manuscript in Strasbourg (most probably from Soknopaiu Nesos), as well as fragments in Aberdeen belonging to one of the already known manuscripts.

³ Papyrus Tebtunis Tait 23; even though I have no hieratic parallel for it, the attribution to the *Book of the Temple* seems fairly certain from the content. Most of the problems which Tait (1977), 78f., had with the text can be solved once it is recognized that he has misread the personal pronoun *mtw=w* 'they' as simple *mtw*.

⁴ See in detail Quack (2010b).

⁵ At least to my knowledge, but here I would be most grateful to anybody who could find additional fragments.

conclusions. The first fragment to be published was Papyrus Oslo 2. But that was originally published as a magical papyrus,⁶ and remains classified as such with the label PGM XXXVII even in the most recent treatments of Greco-Egyptian magical papyri.⁷ Nobody ever explained in detail why he thought the fragment to be magical, and the only possible reason I see is that one obviously non-Greek word in the text is presented with a supralinear stroke in the same way many names of demons are treated in the magical texts. I will come back later to that word.

Scholars did not feel completely happy with such a labelling.⁸ There was a proposal to recognize it as part of a manual on the plant peony.⁹ In the only translation ever published, it was proposed that the recto of the text was a biblical or theological text, the verso a divinatory text.¹⁰ By far the best idea was that of Totti (never developed in great detail) to see the manuscript as a parallel to the fragment published by Schulman (which I shall discuss below).¹¹ Until now, the manuscript has generally been assumed to come from the Fayum area and to date to the fourth century CE. I will show below that both points are likely to be wrong.

Of far more immediate comprehensibility was the second Greek fragment, papyrus Washington University inv. 138. Archaeologically, it is ascertained to come from Oxyrhynchus where it was excavated by Petrie in early 1922.¹² Already in the *editio princeps* by Schulman it was recognized as a text about Egyptian priests and temples.¹³ A restudy by Merkelbach brought some precision to the understanding. He differentiated between the texts on the recto and the verso of the papyrus which were written by different hands. The recto he proposed to recognize as a priestly oath to be taken during initiation, while he saw the verso as part of a

⁶ Eitrem (1925), 18.

⁷ So since Preisendanz (1973–4), II, 175f.

⁸ So e.g. Martínez and Sanchez Romero (1987), 360, without taking a definite position.

⁹ Peterson (1926), 508.

¹⁰ R. Kotansky, in Betz (1985), 278.

¹¹ Totti (1985), 24. Accepted by Merkelbach (2001), 171 n. 3.

¹² For the exact date of the dig, see Petrie (1925), 1.

¹³ Schulman (1960). The text has been re-edited in Maresch and Packman (1990), 31–5 (recto as no. 71) and 36–9 (verso as no. 72).

manual of the *moskhosphragistes* (calf-slaughterer).¹⁴ I will come back to the question of the identity of the verso at the end of this article.

Merkelbach's contribution opened up the way for subsequent discussions by Egyptologists, mainly because he noted similarities between the oath passages in the Greek papyrus and the declarations of innocence in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*. Grieshammer took up the fact of similarities between the two compositions and postulated that the Egyptian text, in spite of its funerary attestations, had an original *Sitz im Leben* in priestly oaths.¹⁵ While this was accepted by some scholars and used for further argumentations,¹⁶ others disagreed, mainly pointing out that the Greek papyrus of the second century CE was too late to be of relevance for the much older attestations of the *Book of the Dead*.¹⁷ Without openly engaging with this discussion, Robert Ritner has proposed that the Egyptian funerary text was not about permanent taboos but about restrictions and abstinence preparatory for entrance into a sacred space and state;¹⁸ however his argumentation is based upon questionable interpretations of the text which, contrary to his assumptions, does not speak about "unavoidable actions" but is rather more specific.¹⁹

In this controversial discussion, I brought in a new element by showing that there were Egyptian hieratic fragments which, on the one hand, could be safely attributed to the *Book of the Temple*, and, on the other hand, were obviously parallel to the oath transmitted in the Greek papyrus.²⁰ Since then, progress could be made on the Egyptian as well as the Greek side.

For the Greek side, the single most important point to be made is that the two fragments belong not to two different manuscripts, but form part of a single one and are actually almost directly joining.²¹ The hands of both sides look very similar, and my Heidelberg colleague Andrea Jördens has confirmed to me from a photograph provided by Oslo University Library that the Oslo fragment should

¹⁴ Merkelbach (1968), 13–30; see further id. (1987).

¹⁵ Grieshammer (1974).

¹⁶ e.g. Junge (1979), 110; Assmann (1990), Gee (1998).

¹⁷ Griffiths (1991), 218–24; Lichtheim (1992), 127.

¹⁸ Ritner (2000), p. 60f.

¹⁹ It is beyond the scope of this article to enter into a detailed philological discussion of the passages on which Ritner bases his argument, e.g. the "winking" in the text is not an everyday harmless activity but a rather hidden signal of allegiance with one party in a dispute.

²⁰ Quack (1997). This discovery was already used by Kucharek (2005), 71–8.

²¹ Already briefly noted in Quack (2005b), 106.

also be dated to the second century CE, not the fourth as proposed in the original edition. Also, Gunn Haland from Oslo University Library has confirmed to me that the batch of papyri acquired by Eitrem contained material from Oxyrhynchus as well, not only from the Fayum.²²

Furthermore, it should be noted that the first column of the Washington University papyrus ends²³ with a group read $\acute{\alpha}\gamma$ by Schulman²⁴ and $\acute{\alpha}\lambda$ by Blake²⁵ while the first line of the Oslo papyrus²⁶ begins with $\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$. I would postulate that this should be combined and slightly corrected in reading to give $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$.²⁷ So, the text can be directly continued from the first column of the Washington University papyrus to the Oslo papyrus which forms the upper part of its second column and of which only about half a letter is missing at the very beginning of the lines.

For the Egyptian side, at the moment I have one fragment belonging to P.Carlsberg 312 and three fragments belonging to PSI Inv. I 89 which are relevant for the sections covered by the Greek papyrus. In both cases, they form only a small part of a much larger (even though quite fragmentary)²⁸ manuscript of which several other fragments are safely paralleled by other manuscripts of the *Book of the Temple*. Both manuscripts are in hieratic; at the moment for this specific section there are no Demotic manuscripts available. The fragment of P.Carlsberg 312 is, with some probability, directly parallel to one of those belonging to PSI Inv. I 89.

Here, a provisional edition of the Egyptian fragments will be given:²⁹

²² Personal information, April 2000.

²³ It should be stressed that this is really the last line of the column preserved up to the last letter; the lower margin is clear on the photograph. Thus, it is a bit strange that Totti (1985), 22, reconstructs parts of a further line for this column.

²⁴ Schulman (1960), 163.

²⁵ Blake, *apud* Merkelbach (1968), 17, taken over by Totti (1985), 22.

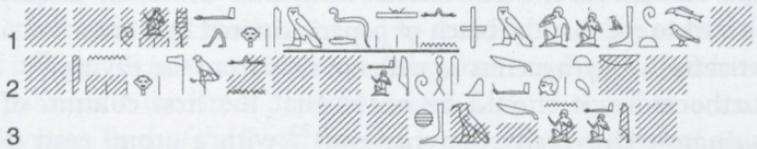
²⁶ The upper margin is clearly preserved.

²⁷ According to the photograph, the letter in question is almost completely destroyed; Maresch and Packman (1990), 24, even read $\acute{\alpha}[\lambda\lambda\omicron]$, marking it as completely destroyed (although three letters are certainly more than can be fitted within the lost part at the end of the line).

²⁸ Still, in comparison to other manuscripts, they have to be counted among the better preserved and more important testimonies.

²⁹ I would like to note that hatched areas without hieroglyphs can mean total loss of the papyrus as well as remnants of signs which have up to now resisted attempts at deciphering them. One hatched square at the beginning and end of each line is used to signal that no margin is preserved. The underlined signs are red in the original (marking the beginning of a new section).

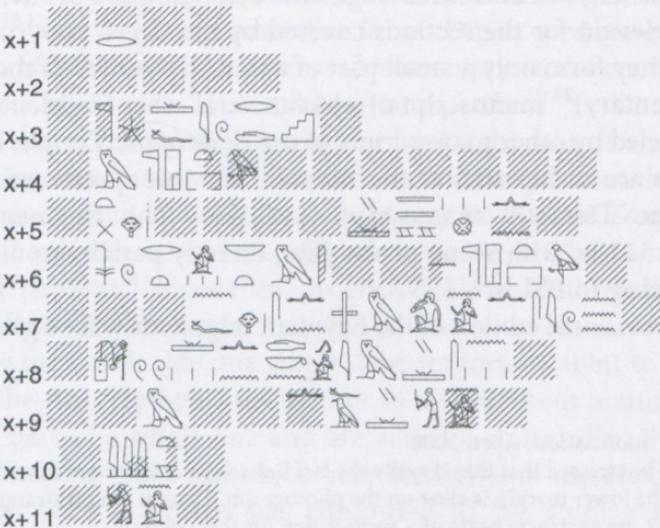
PSI Inv. I 89, first fragment



PSI Inv. I 89, second fragment



PSI Inv. I 89, third fragment



P.Carlberg 312



Fig. 11.1. PSI Inv. I 89, first fragment PSI Inv. I 89, second fragment, PSI Inv. I 89, third fragment P.Carlberg 312

While the internal order of the fragments could be in doubt, the Greek parallel provides a guide for the arrangement. I provide a translation here, adding alongside the various parallels in the Greek text.

PSI Inv. I 89, first fragment.

1 [...]...³⁰ who stand by it, saying: 'I will not eat a taboo [...]
cf.: P.Washington, I, 16–18: *παρόντων τῶν πρωτο[στολιστῶν π]ρὸς μαρτυρ-
ίαν ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω [ἃ οὐκ ἕξεσ]τιν ἱερεῦσι.*

2 [...] them with the god. I do/did not [...] ³¹ my arm in order to cut off
any head [...]

For the second part, cf. P.Washington I, 20: *οὐκ ἀφείρηκα κεφαλὴν ζώου.*

3 [...] I do [not] cut(?) my arm in order to [...]

No clear correspondence.

PSI Inv. I 89, second fragment

x+1 [...] my/me. [I] have never [...]

Cf. perhaps P.Washington I, 21 [*οὐ πεφόνε*]υκα. It is not impossible that line x+1 of this fragment forms part of the same line as line 3 of the first fragment.

x+2 [..] I [will not] [mi]ngle³² [with...]

Cf. P.Washington I, 22 or 23 (both have *οὐ μέμγμαι*).

x+3 [...] in her/their³³ impurity [...]

Cf. P.Oslo 1 *ἀκαθάρτων* or 2 *[μεμολυσ]μένων*.

x+4 [...] them wi[th³⁴...]

PSI Inv. I 89, third fragment

x+1 [...]... [...]

x+2 [...]... [...]

x+3 [... cause to] adore³⁵ god at the stairway [...]

No certain correspondence, but maybe cf. P.Oslo 8 [*ἐν τῷ*] *προαστείῳ μεγάλης φων[ῆ]*; especially if *προάστειον* does not denote the suburb but an area of the forecourt of a temple.³⁶

x+4 [...] in the temple [...]. [...]. [...]

No obvious correspondence, maybe at the lost end of P.Oslo 10.

x+5 [... ex]cept the [...] of the two lands. [I will] not [...]

³⁰ According to the determinative, a group of persons.

³¹ Maybe to be restored '[stretch out]'.

³² To be restored as *[nn ʒb]h.n=i [hn^c...]*.

³³ The suffix might be either 3 sg. fem =s or 3 pl. =s[n].

³⁴ To be restored *h[n^c]*.

³⁵ To be restored probably as *[rč̣i.t] ṭwʒ=f-nčr* in accordance with P.Carlsberg 312, 2, even if that specific line does not necessarily cover the very same passage in the text.

³⁶ For the meaning, see Vanderlip (1972), 11.

Possibly corresponds to lost parts in P.Oslo 12.

x+6 [...] any man himself in the. [...] of the temple [...]

Cf. P.Washington II, 3 *ἐάν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἰ[ερῶ].*³⁷

x+7 [...] for him because of it. I will not eat nor drink [...]

Cf. P.Washington II, 5–6 *αὐτὸ[ν κατὰ τὸ] ἀδίκημα. οὐ μὴ φάγω οὐ μὴ π[ίω].*

x+8 [...in the] writing; I will not come close to them [with my fingers³⁸ ...]

cf. P.Washington II, 7–8 *ε]ν τοῖς βε[βλίοις] οὐδὲ οὐ μὴ κολλήσω τοὺς δακτύλου[ς...].*³⁹

x+9 [...]... [I] will not lift [...]

cf. P.Washington II, 9f. *οὐ μ[ὴ ἄρω ἐν] τῇ χειρὶ ζυγόν.*

x+10 [...] field [...]

Cf. P.Washington II, 10 *γ[ῆν].*

x+11 [...] I [will not...]

This could correspond to P.Washington II, 11 or 12 where we have negated phrases.

P.Carlsberg 312

1 [... half-]moon festival,⁴⁰ at the...⁴¹ [...]

2 [...] to initiate him, to cause [him] to [adore] god⁴²

3 [...] I [will not eat] any taboo of [...]⁴³

4 [...] I [not... I...] not kill [...]

For the placement of the fragment of P.Carlsberg 312, the likeliest possibility is that it runs parallel to the beginning of the first oath (thus its line 3 would be parallel to PSI Inv. I 89, first fragment, 1). First, there we have the direct object *bw.t* immediately after the verb while at the other possible placement (parallel to PSI Inv. I 89, third fragment, x+7), a second negated verb comes immediately, and any direct object only afterwards. Secondly, in P.Carlsberg 312, with line 3

³⁷ It should be noted that probably the first two lines of the Washington papyrus provide the missing first letters of the last two lines of the Oslo papyrus.

³⁸ I restore [*m ěb^c.w=i*] according to the Greek version.

³⁹ The Egyptian text shows that the interpretation of *κολλήσω τοὺς δακτύλους* as ‘let stick to the fingers’ in the sense of ‘purloin temple property’ (proposed by Youtie, *apud* Schulman (1960), 167f.; doubted by Schulman himself, but accepted by Merkelbach (1968), 18) or ‘get bribed’ (proposed by Merkelbach (2001), 171 n. 6 and accepted by Kucharek (2005), 75 n. 2), is to be abandoned. I have some reservations about the usual restoration of *οὐδενί* at the end of the line.

⁴⁰ To be restored as [*tn*].*t*.

⁴¹ Probably another date, according to the determinative.

⁴² To be restored as *rĉi.t [tw3=f] nĉr ... [...]*.

⁴³ A possible restoration would be ‘of a priest’.

we are clearly within the wording of the oath, but line 2 still describes the corresponding ceremony, and in P.Washington I, 17, the phrase about not eating improper food comes as the first of all promises while in P.Washington II, 7, the second promise of not eating taboos comes after several more lines of promises within the wording of the oath. Also, line 4 is likely to be a correspondence to P.Washington I, 21.

Looking up the relative correspondence of the versions, it seems that for most of the text, one line of Egyptian corresponds to about two lines of the Greek text. However, for the last lines of PSI Inv. I 89 (from x+8 onwards), the ratio shrinks to about one line of Egyptian for one line of Greek. Since it is highly unlikely that the line size in any of the manuscripts widened or diminished dramatically within the same column, we have to suppose that either the Egyptian text is secondarily expanded at this point or, perhaps more likely, that the Greek text has abbreviated the original here. In spite of this unsolved problem, as far as the conservation of both texts permits to judge, the Greek version provides a relatively faithful rendering of the Egyptian text (especially if we considered that it might have been not directly dependent upon the Middle-Egyptian text presented here, but filtered through the intermediary of a Demotic version).

One grammatical point might be worthy of special notice. Merkelbach had already pointed out that the Greek text distinguishes between two categories in the oath phrases. On the one hand, there are oath formulae in the perfect, on the other hand, those with aorist subjunctive.⁴⁴ He interpreted them as distinction between grave sins which nobody was allowed to have committed if he wished to become a priest, while the other ones were relevant for somebody who actually was a priest but irrelevant for the time before service.

In the Egyptian text, we can also notice a distinction. Most preserved sections concern the form *nn sçm.n=i* which is a graphic mixture between two different Middle-Egyptian constructions, namely *n sçm.n=i* 'I do not do (habitually)' and *nn sçm=i* 'I will not do'. In addition, we have at least one instance of the writing *nn sp sçm=i*, and this, in spite of the neutralization between *nn* and *n* in late orthography, can only be a negation of the past (classical *n sp sçm=i* 'I have never done'). Thus, the distinction in the Greek text obviously

⁴⁴ Merkelbach (1968), 23.

goes back to its Egyptian model, and Merkelbach's explanation is likely to be right.

The text preserved here is likely to come from the section about priests in general which, in the *Book of the Temple*, at the moment is rather free-floating. I know of several, sometimes quite extended sections which speak about material provisions of priests, care for widow and children in case of death, the right of access to certain off-limit parts of the temple (including cases where the priest is not on his own turf but visits other temples), but none of them has an established material link giving the direct switchover to or from another section. Internal logic would speak in favour of placing all this group of fragments between the architectural section and the treatment of the different individual classes of priests, thus from about the middle of the composition, but this cannot be considered as certain.

As it is evident most clearly from the Greek, we have here, embedded in a section about the initiation of priests (the keyword *μυστηριασθήναι* is preserved in P.Washington I, 12),⁴⁵ the actual wording of two different oaths to be sworn in two different situations. The first direct speech goes from P.Washington I, 17 to P.Oslo 3; the second one from P.Oslo 11 to P.Washington II, 13. P.Carlsberg 312 seems to provide evidence that the initiation was tied to certain dates, especially in connection with phases of the moon. This is not surprising, since in Egypt, from the later Middle Kingdom onwards,⁴⁶ priestly service in the temple was regulated according to the lunar cycle (either by direct observation or through schematic calendars).⁴⁷

The question of the practical performance brings up again the word *ουσοεθουχι* given with a supralinear stroke in the Oslo part (l. 6), probably as a place where to proceed to. My proposal for interpreting it would be as *wsh.t* ^c*3.t nti hr wh3.w* 'large hall which is provided with columns'. This proposal is inspired by the actual attestation, within the hieratic text, of several instances of a *wsh.t* ^c*3.t hr(.t) wh3.w* 'large hall provided with columns'. Since this in itself would not yet explain the presence of the element *εθ* and since we have more probably to reckon with a contemporary (i.e. Demotic)

⁴⁵ This is also a good indication that the word *bsi* appearing in P.Carlsberg 312, 2 can also be translated as 'to initiate' which provides welcome evidence concerning the question of mysteries and initiation in Ancient Egypt; see Quack (2002b).

⁴⁶ For the probable introduction of this system during the reign of Sesostri III, see Luft (1992), 190f. and 196f.

⁴⁷ See most recently Bennet (2008), cols. 525–54.

form where the nisbe-form *hr(.t)* would no longer be grammatically active, I propose the version given above as a postulated Demotic Egyptian form which would be an almost perfect phonetic match for the actual Greek rendering.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, it is impossible to judge with certainty whether the Greek translation ever covered the whole of the *Book of the Temple* or was limited to a specific section about the initiation of (higher) priests.

I should also remark at least briefly, in returning to the starting point of the discussion about *Book of the Dead* chapter 125, that, in my opinion, the funerary text is not a direct derivation of a priestly oath of initiation. I see it rather as a development out of a structurally similar initiatory ritual for the royal court, but a detailed discussion would go beyond the limits of this study.⁴⁹

Some remarks on the verso text are also in order. It was understood by Merkelbach to form part of a manual of the calf-slaughterer (moschosphragistes).⁵⁰ This was based mainly on one single occurrence of the word in P. Washington II, 12 and some speculative interpretations of tatters of sentences. My own proposal would be quite different. The most obvious feature of the text is that it is structured in a number of phrases beginning with *ἐάν* 'when/if', thus it contains casuistic sections. The scope of them is about behaviour within the framework of a temple, and they provide laws, as shown by the actual preservation of *ἄλλος νόμος* 'another law' (P. Washington University I, 8).⁵¹ They seem to be severe, P. Washington II, 15 speaks of cutting off ears and nose.⁵² I know of similar fragments in Egyptian language, forming part of a manual somewhat similar to the *Book of the Temple*, even though obviously a different composition. This treats temple law and regulations for the

⁴⁸ The element *wsh.t* "hall" would shift phonetically to *wsš(.t)* and be reduced in stress, thus *ovσ* is a good rendering; the adjective *εἰς* is *ω* in Coptic, thus *o* is a good rendering; the relative converter *nti* becomes *εἰ* in Coptic; the preposition *hr* is *κλ* (the Greek *η* is the only less than perfect fit), and *wh3.w* "columns" fits well with *ουχι* (no vocalised form available).

⁴⁹ See for the moment the short remarks in J. F. Quack, 'Concepts of Purity in Egyptian Religion', in Chr. Frevel, Chr. Nihan (eds.), *Purity in Ancient Judaism and the Ancient Mediterranean World and the Forming of Religious Traditions*, in press.

⁵⁰ Merkelbach (1968), 8–13; accepted by Maresch and Packman (1990), 36–9.

⁵¹ This expression might also be restored in P. Washington I, 4 f. and P. Oslo 4 f.

⁵² This is a frequent Egyptian punishment, see Müller-Wollermann (2004), pp. 205–8.

priests, and it has a section structured by the heading *kīi hp* 'another law'.⁵³ It includes also rather harsh punishments, mentioning impalement as well as beating. I see it as quite likely that the Greek text on the verso of the papyrus Washington University inv. 138 + P.Oslo 2 forms part of a translation of this composition, although I cannot yet provide any Egyptian section directly paralleling the preserved parts. It would certainly make sense to have on one side of the papyrus the *Book of the Temple*, and on the other one a manual of temple law; and since both are relatively extended compositions, the probability increases that originally, all of the *Book of the Temple* was present, not only a small selection.

Another point is of interest for evaluating the place of the Greek translation in the community of Oxyrhynchus. Up to now almost exclusively Greek papyri from Oxyrhynchus have been published, and this is one factor which has contributed to the fact that the side of Egyptian religion and culture at Oxyrhynchus is still seriously underestimated in current research.⁵⁴ But there is a limited amount of hieratic and Demotic material with ascertained provenance from that place as well.⁵⁵ Among them, there is one hieratic manuscript which certainly forms part of the *Book of the Temple* (it can be paralleled by other manuscripts) and at least one more which is likely to belong to it as well, even though up to now it cannot yet be paralleled by any other manuscript of the composition. There are also attestations for practically all normal textual genres of Egyptian religious literature, attesting to an ongoing Egyptian-language cult. This hardly comes as a real surprise, given that the most important sanctuary of the city was the one for Thoueris, an Egyptian goddess.⁵⁶

Another text in Egyptian language, even though using Greek letters (plus some signs taken from Demotic) is the quite difficult 'Late-Egyptian' papyrus BM 10808.⁵⁷ While the text is very difficult and actual

⁵³ See Quack (2000) 18 f.

⁵⁴ To take an example, Bowman (2007), 179f., is in need of serious revision. Also the position of Whitehorn (1995), 3071, that these are texts showing an antiquarian interest of Greeks in Egyptian religion is hardly adequate.

⁵⁵ Nowadays housed in the papyrus collection of the EES, Oxford. The following remarks are based on a personal inspection. For the following discussion, compare Quack (in press b).

⁵⁶ Krüger (1990), 101–5; Whitehorn (1995), 3080–2.

⁵⁷ See especially Osing (1976); the new edition by Sederholm (2006) is in general not a step forward.

interpretations diverge widely,⁵⁸ it can at least demonstrate beyond doubt that there was a group at Oxyrhynchus which stood in the traditional Egyptian tradition of incantations but switched the graphic (not linguistic) medium, at least as far as the wording of the incantation is concerned.⁵⁹

On the other hand, Oxyrhynchus is also a place from which we have good evidence for texts which either claim to be translations from Egyptian into Greek, or at least have some likelihood to actually be translations or free adaptations. The best-known case is probably the papyrus carrying on the recto the praise of Isis (P.Oxy. 1380),⁶⁰ and on the verso the aretology of Asclepius-Imouthes (P.Oxy. 1381).⁶¹ The first one in particular can be profitably compared with an Egyptian Demotic composition attested in probably at least three different manuscripts, calling for worship of Isis to the exclusion of any other deity and enumerating identification of Isis at different places in topographical order.⁶² There is even an unpublished Demotic papyrus which, like the Greek text, extends the equation of Isis with local deities to non-Egyptian ones.⁶³ For the second one, there is even a possibility that we might have remnants of the actual Demotic composition.⁶⁴

A further example is P.Oxy. 2552, a papyrus with drawings of gods in Egyptian style, combined with scanty remains of a Greek text that might describe these deities.⁶⁵ Perhaps rather closely related is P.Washington University inv. 139.⁶⁶ It was originally understood as

⁵⁸ I myself have proposed, in Quack 2009c that it contains spells for gaining favour and affection.

⁵⁹ The remains of the second column demonstrate that the description of the manual rite was given in Demotic Egyptian, see Dieleman (2004) and more fully the evidence of the newly discovered fragment. The choice of the Greek alphabet with additional signs for the incantation could be based on a desire to record the pronunciation as exactly as possible.

⁶⁰ *Editio princeps* Grenfell and Hunt (1915), 190–220; see especially the indications of Totti (1985), 62–75; the epithets are used in Bricault (1996), 11–75.

⁶¹ *Editio princeps* Grenfell and Hunt (1915), 221–34; French translation Festugière (1950), 52–5; commentary with bibliography Wildung (1977), 93–8; new edition Totti (1985), 36–45; German translation by Jördens (2010), 318–21.

⁶² See Kockelmann (2008); Quack (2009a), 107–8.

⁶³ Described briefly by M. Stadler *apud* Kockelmann (2008), 86.

⁶⁴ Quack (2009a), 69f.

⁶⁵ Edition J. W. B. Barns, in Barns, Parsons, Rea, and Turner (1966), 71.

⁶⁶ *Editio princeps* Packman (1976), 177–79; new edition by Maresch and Packman (1990), 47–51 (text 74); Daniel and Maltomini (1992), 90–4 (text 70).

magical, but Thissen has plausibly suggested that it should be interpreted as an Egyptian cosmogonic text.⁶⁷

Also describing Egyptian deities, especially chronocratoric ones, is P.Oxy. 465.⁶⁸ It contains Egyptian names with sometimes Greek explanations of the meaning. The form of the deities is clearly within the range of polymorphic Egyptian iconography.

P.Oxy. 470 expounds an astral allegorization of a board game.⁶⁹ To judge from the genuine Egyptian words preserved in it, it is likely to be translated from Egyptian.

P.Oxy. 2332 is one manuscript of the *Oracle of the Potter*.⁷⁰ This text directly confirms that it is translated from the Egyptian, and even if there is still no fragment of such a version identified, the claim does not seem unlikely. In any case, the genre is well attested in Egyptian Demotic.⁷¹

Among the juridical texts, one can mention P.Oxy. 3285⁷² which is a direct translation of the Demotic legal manual of which the best preserved copy (directly paralleled in the Greek fragment) comes from Hermopolis.⁷³

Furthermore, we have literary compositions like the Sesostris/Sesonchosis romance P.Oxy. 1826⁷⁴ and P.Oxy. 2466 + 3319.⁷⁵ They

⁶⁷ Thissen (1996), p. 156. Already Turner, *apud* Maresch and Packman (1990), 47, proposed to see it as a cosmology and not as a magical text.

⁶⁸ Grenfell and Hunt (1903), 126–37; photograph of a part in Gundel and Gundel (1966), pl. III. I should stress that the identification of this text as part of the Salmeschiniaka, as already proposed in the *editio princeps* and further elaborated by Gundel (1936), 39–41 and 413f. is likely to be wrong. For a more detailed discussion, see Quack (2002a).

⁶⁹ *Editio princeps* Grenfell and Hunt (1903), 141–6; see especially Pieper (1931), 29–32; *id.*, (1934); Gundel and Gundel (1966), 37 and 168f.

⁷⁰ *Editio princeps* Lobel and Roberts (1954), pp. 9–99; for the text, see Koenen (2002); Quack (2009a), 178–81.

⁷¹ Quack (2009a), 174–88.

⁷² *Editio princeps* J. R. Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XLVI (London 1978), pp. 30–8.

⁷³ Study of the parallel sections by Pestman (1985); handy edition of the Demotic as well as Greek texts by K. Donker van Heel, *The Legal Manual of Hermopolis [P. Mattha]* (Leiden 1990).

⁷⁴ *Editio princeps* Grenfell/Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XV, S. 228f.

⁷⁵ *Editio princeps* J. Rea, in E. G. Turner/J. Rea/L. Koenen/J. Ma. Fernandez Pomar (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XXVII [GRM 39] (London 1962), pp. 130–6, and M. West in R. A. Coles/M.W. Haslam, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XLVII (London 1980), pp. 11–19. See further Luppe (1981); O'Sullivan and Beck (1982); Ruiz-Montero (1989); Stephens and Winkler (1994), 246–66; Ladynin (2010), p. 122–42.

are not necessarily direct translations of Egyptian compositions, but by this point genuine Demotic fragments of a story about Prince Sesostris are known.⁷⁶ Also a tale about Amen[o]ph[this] in P.Oxy. 3011⁷⁷ is at least under suspicion of being based on an Egyptian model.⁷⁸

The general picture emerging from this evidence shows a milieu of cultural mixture and translations from Egyptian to Greek.⁷⁹ It should be stressed that real translations (as opposed to free adaptations) of Egyptian texts in Greek are mainly attested for, on the one hand, religious texts,⁸⁰ on the other hand, juridical texts. These are texts which are needed not for their literary and stylistic merits but for the contents which were still of real relevance. In this line I also see the Greek translation of the *Book of the Temple*: as a text needed for practical means in a community which adhered to Egyptian cultic traditions while its cultural outlook otherwise was probably dominated by Greek literature and philosophy, mingled with Egyptian heritage.⁸¹ The fact of the translation could be an indication that within this group, competence in Egyptian writing was no longer taken for granted, even if linguistic competence as such was present. This is, of course, to be seen within the general framework of a rather rapid decline of texts in Egyptian language writing in the Roman Empire,⁸² countered only to some degree when the new religion of Christianity brought renewed relevance for literary and religious texts in Egyptian language.

⁷⁶ Widmer (2002), 377–93; Quack (2009a), 32f.

⁷⁷ J. P. Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XLII (London 1974), pp. 41–3; Quaegebeur (1986), 101; Kussl (1991), 178f., who also discusses whether P. Freiburg 47 belongs to the same composition.

⁷⁸ Quack (2009a), 34f.

⁷⁹ Cf. Frankfurter (1998), 238–48; Dieleman (2005), esp. 103–44; Fewster (2002), Papaconstantinou (ed.) (2010).

⁸⁰ This applies also, in my view, to the translation of the Demotic Myth of the Sun's Eye attested in P. BM 274. While I have treated that text in Quack (2009a), 148–60 among literary compositions, in order to satisfy expectations, I would consider the text as being rather more a religious composition than a purely literary work.

⁸¹ Obviously, this kind of cultural intermingling lies at the base of such phenomena as the Hermetic literature but I cannot go into the details here. See also Jasnow, in this volume.

⁸² See e.g. Zauzich (1983); Lewis (1993).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Assmann, J. (1990), *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (Munich).
- Barns, J. W. B., Parsons, P., Rea, J., and Turner, E. J. (1966), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XXXI (London).
- Bennet, C. (2008), 'Egyptian Lunar Dates and Temple Service Months' *BiOr* 65, col. 525–54.
- Betz, H. D. (1985), *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago/London).
- Bowman, A. K. (2007), 'Roman Oxyrhynchus: City and People', in A. K. Bowman, R. A. Soles, N. Gonis, D. Obbink, P. J. Parson (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (London), 171–81.
- Bricault, L. (1996), *Myrionymii. Les épicleses grecques et latines d'Isis, de Sarapis et d'Anubis* [Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 82] (Stuttgart/Leipzig).
- Daniel, R. W., and Maltomini, F. (1992), *Supplementum Magicum*, Vol. II [Pap. Col. XVI, 2] (Opladen).
- Dieleman, J. (2004), 'Ein spätägyptisches magisches Handbuch. Eine neue PDM oder PGM?', in F. Hoffmann, H. J. Thissen (Hrsg.), *Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, *Studia Demotica* 6 (Leuven/Paris/Dudley, Mass.), 121–8.
- Dieleman, J. (2005), *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)*, [RGRW 153] (Leiden/Boston).
- Eitrem, S. (1925), *Papyri Osloenses*, Fasc. I., *Magical Papyri* (Oslo).
- Festugière, A.-J. (1950), *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, I. L'astrologie et les sciences occultes* (Paris²).
- Fewster, P. (2002), 'Bilingualism in Roman Egypt', in J. N. Adams, M. Janse, S. Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and the Written Text* (Oxford), 220–45.
- Frankfurter, D. (1998), *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton).
- Gee, J. (1998), 'The Requirements of Ritual Purity in Ancient Egypt' (Diss. Yale).
- Grenfell, B. P., and Hunt, A. S. (1903), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. III (London).
- Grenfell, B. P., and Hunt, A. S. (1915), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XI (London).
- Grieshammer, R. (1974), *Zum 'Sitz im Leben' des negativen Sündenbekenntnisses*, *ZDMG Supplement* 2, 19–25.
- Griffiths, J. G. (1991), *The Divine Verdict. A Study of Divine Judgement in the Ancient Religions* [Numen Supplement 52] (Leiden/New York/Copenhagen).

- Gundel, W. (1936), *Dekane und Dekansternebilder: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sternbilder der Kulturvölker*, Mit einer Untersuchung über die Ägyptischen Sternbilder und Gottheiten der Dekane von S. Schott (Glückstadt/Hamburg).
- Gundel, W., and Gundel, H. G. (1966), *Astrologumena. Die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte*, [Sudhoffs Archiv Beiheft 6] (Wiesbaden).
- Jördens, A. (2010), 'Griechische Texte aus Ägypten', in *TUAT* NS 5, 317–50.
- Junge, F. (1979), 'Isis und die ägyptischen Mysterien', in W. Westendorf (ed.), *Aspekte spätägyptischer Religion* [GOF IV/9] (Wiesbaden), 93–115.
- Kockelmann, H. (2008), *Praising the Goddess: A Comparative and Annotated Re-Edition of Six Demotic Hymns and Praises Addressed to Isis*, [AfP Beiheft 15] (Berlin/New York).
- Koenen, L. (2002), 'Die Apologie des Töpfers an König Amenophis oder das Töpferorakel', in A. Blasius and B. U. Schipper (eds.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten: Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, [OLA 107] (Leuven/Paris/Sterling), 139–87.
- Krüger, J. (1990), *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit: Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* [Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III, Serie II, Band 441] (Frankfurt a.o.).
- Kucharek, A. (2005), 'Reinheit für alle: Priesterliche Reinheitsvorschriften und das "Negative Sündenbekenntnis" in Totenbuch 125', in C. Ambos, St. Hotz, G. Schwedler, St. Weinfurter (eds.), *Die Welt der Rituale* (Darmstadt), 71–8.
- Kussl, R. (1991), *Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane* [Classica Monacensia 2] (Tübingen).
- Ladynin, I. (2010), 'Sesostris–Sesonchosis–Sesoosis: The Image of the Great King of the Past and Its Connotations of the Lybian Time in Egypt', *Cultural Heritage of Egypt and Christian Orient* 5 (Moscow), 122–42.
- Lewis, N. (1993), 'The Demise of the Demotic Document: When and Why?', *JEA* 79, 276–81.
- Lichtheim, M. (1992), *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* [Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 120] (Freiburg/Göttingen).
- Lippert, S., and Schentuleit, M., *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum* (Wiesbaden).
- Lobel, E., and Roberts, C. H. (1954), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XXII [GRM 31] (London).
- Luft, U. (1992), *Die chronologische Fixierung des ägyptischen Mittleren Reiches nach dem Tempelarchiv von Illahun* [ÖAW 598] (Vienna).
- Luppe, W. (1981), 'Das neue Bruchstück aus dem Sesongosis-Roman', *ZPE* 41, 63–6.
- Maresch, K., and Packman, Z. M. (1990), *Papyri from the Washington University Collection, St. Louis, Missouri*, Part II [P. Wash. Univ. II] (Opladen).

- Martínez, J. L. C., and Sanchez Romero, D. (1987), *Textos de Magia en Papiros Griegos* (Madrid).
- Merkelbach, R. (1968), 'Ein ägyptischer Priestereid', *ZPE* 2, 17–30.
- Merkelbach, R. (1987), 'Die Unschuldserklärungen und Beichten im ägyptischen Totenbuch, in der römischen Elegie und im antiken Roman' [Kurzberichte aus den Papyrussammlungen 43] (Gießen).
- Merkelbach, R. (2001), *Isis regina — Zeus Sarapis. Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Munich/Leipzig²).
- Müller-Wollermann, R. (2004), *Vergehen und Strafen. Zur Sanktionierung abweichenden Verhaltens im Alten Ägypten* [PdÄ 21] (Leiden/Boston).
- Osing, J. (1976), *Der spätägyptische Papyrus BM 10808* [ÄA 33] (Wiesbaden).
- O'Sullivan, J. N. (1984), 'The Sesonchosis' Romance', *ZPE* 56, 39–44.
- O'Sullivan, J. N., and Beck, W. (1982), 'P. Oxy. 3319: The Sesonchosis Romance', *ZPE* 45, 71–83.
- Packman, Z. M. (1976), 'Three Magical Texts from the Washington University Collection', *BASP* 13, 175–80.
- Papaconstantinou, A. (ed.) (2010), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the ptolemies to the 'Abbāsids* (Farnham).
- Pestman, P. W. (1985), 'Le manuel de droit égyptien de Hermoupolis: Les passages transmis en démotique et en grec', in id. (ed.), *Textes et études de papyrologie grecque, démotique et copte* (P.L. Bat. 23) (Leiden), 116–43.
- Peterson, E. (1926), review of 'Eitrem, Papyri Osloenses, Fasc. 1', *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 51, cols. 508–10.
- Petrie, W. M. F. (1925), *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* [BSAE 37] (London).
- Pieper, M. (1931), 'Ein Text über das ägyptische Brettspiel', *ZÄS* 66, 16–33.
- Pieper, M. (1934), 'Zum astronomischen Papyrus von Oslo', *Symbolae Osloenses* 13, 65–7.
- Preisendanz, K. (1973–4), *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Leipzig 1928–31; 2. verbesserte Auflage Stuttgart 1973–4).
- Quack, J. F. (1997), 'Ein ägyptisches Handbuch des Tempels und seine griechische Übersetzung', *ZPE* 119, 297–300.
- Quack, J. F. (2000), 'Das Buch vom Tempel und verwandte Texte. Ein Vorbericht', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2, 1–20.
- Quack, J. F. (2002a), 'Beiträge zu den ägyptischen Dekanen und ihrer Rezeption in der griechisch-römischen Welt' (habilitation thesis FU Berlin).
- Quack, J. F. (2002b), 'Königsweihe, Priesterweihe, Isisweihe', in J. Assmann and M. Bommas (eds.), *Ägyptische Mysterien?* (Munich), 95–108.
- Quack, J. F. (2003), 'Le Manuel du Temple. Une nouvelle source sur la vie des prêtres égyptiens', *Égypte Afrique & Orient* 29, 11–18.
- Quack, J. F. (2004), 'Organiser le culte idéal. Le Manuel du Temple Égyptien', *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 16, 9–25.

- Quack, J. F. (2005a), 'Ämtererblichkeit und Abstammungsvorschriften bei Priestern nach dem Buch vom Tempel', in M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Genealogie – Realität und Fiktion von Identität* [Internetbeiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie V], 97–102.
- Quack, J. F. (2005b), 'Die Überlieferungsstruktur des Buches vom Tempel', in S. L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos. Leben im römischen Fajum* (Wiesbaden), 105–15.
- Quack, J. F. (2007), 'Die Götterliste des Buches vom Tempel und die gauübergreifenden Dekorationsprogramme', in B. Haring and A. Klug (eds.), 6. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume*, Leiden 4.–7. September 2002 (Wiesbaden), 213–35.
- Quack, J. F. (2009a), *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III. Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, [Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 3. Zweite, veränderte Auflage] (Berlin).
- Quack, J. F. (2009b), 'Die Theologisierung der bürokratischen Norm. Zur Baubeschreibung in Edfu im Vergleich zum Buch vom Tempel', in R. Preys (ed.), 7. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Structuring Religion. Leuven, 28. September – 1. Oktober 2005* [KSG 3,2] (Wiesbaden), 221–9.
- Quack, J. F. (2009c), *Review of V. Sederholm, Papyrus British Museum 10808*, OLZ 104 (2009), 27–33.
- Quack, J. F. (2010a), 'Les normes pour Osiris et son culte. Les indications du Manuel du Temple sur les lieux et les prêtres', in L. Coulon (ed.), *Les cultes d'Osiris au 1^{er} millénaire. Découvertes et travaux récents. Actes de la table ronde internationale tenue à Lyon, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée (Université Lumière-Lyon 2) les 5 et 9 Juillet, 2005*, [BdÉ 153] (Cairo), 23–30.
- Quack, J. F. (2010b), 'Inhomogenität von ägyptischer Sprache und Schrift in Texten aus dem späten Ägypten', in: K. Lembke, M. Minas-Nerpel, St. Pfeiffer (eds.), *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt under Roman Rule* (Leiden/Boston), 313–41.
- Quack, J. F. (in press), 'Between Magic and Epidemic Control. On Some Instructions in the *Book of the Temple*', in S. Seidlmayer (ed.), *Religion in Context. Imaginary Concepts and Social Reality*.
- Quack, J. F. (in press (a)), 'Concepts of Purity in Egyptian Religion', in C. Frevel and C. Nihan (eds.), *Purity in Ancient Judaism and the Ancient Mediterranean World and the Forming of Religious Traditions*.
- Quack, J. F. (in press (b)), 'The Last Stand? What remains Egyptian at Oxyrhynchus', in K. Ryholt and G. Barjamovic (eds.), *Canon and Canonicity*.
- Quaegebeur, J. (1986), 'Amenophis, nom royal et nom divin. Questions méthodologiques', *RdE* 37, 97–106.
- Ritner, R. K. (2000), 'The Context of Scripture', in W.W. Hallo (ed.), *Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, Vol. II (Leiden/Boston/Cologne), p. 60f.

- Ruiz-Montero, C. (1989), 'P. Oxy. 2466: The Sesonchosis Romance', *ZPE* 79, 51–7.
- Schulman, V. B. (1960), 'A Second-Century Treatise on Egyptian Priests and Temples', *Harvard Theological Review* 53, 159–70, pls. 1–2.
- Sederholm, V. H. (2006), *Papyrus British Museum 10808 and its Cultural and Religious Setting* [PdÄ 14] (Leiden/Boston).
- Stephens, S. A., and Winkler, J. J. (1994), *Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Princeton), 246–66.
- Tait, W. J. (1977), *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek* (London).
- Thissen, H. J. (1996), 'Κμηφ — ein verkannter Gott', *ZPE* 112, 153–60.
- Totti, M. (1985), *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapisreligion*, [Subsidia Epigraphica 12] (Hildesheim/Zürich/New York).
- Vanderlip, V. F. (1972), *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* [American Studies in Papyrology 12] (Toronto).
- Whitehorne, J. (1995), 'The Pagan Cults of Roman Oxyrhynchus', in *ANRW* II 18, 5 (Berlin/New York), 3050–91.
- Widmer, G. (2002), 'Pharao Maâ-Rê, Pharao Amenemhat and Sesostri: Three Figures from Egypt's Past as Seen in Sources of the Greco-Roman Period', in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999* [CNI Publications 27] (Copenhagen), 377–93.
- Wildung, D. (1977), *Imhotep und Amenhotep. Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*, [MÄS 36] (München/Berlin).
- Zauzich, K.-T. (1983), 'Demotische Texte römischer Zeit', in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten, Akten des internationalen Symposiums 26.–30. September 1978 in Trier* [Aegyptologia Treverensia 2] (Mainz), 77–80.