7

On the Demise of Egyptian Writing:
Working with a Problematic Source Basis

Martin Andreas Stadler

For the study of the end of Egyptian writing systems, demotic is of special relevance, because Egyptian texts continued to be notated in demotic long after other Egyptian scripts were abandoned ('Demotic' refers to the Egyptian language of 650 BC onwards and 'demotic' to the script). The demotic Philae graffiti are the latest of all Egyptian inscriptions. Therefore the focus should lie on demotic, which underwent dramatic changes from being originally an everyday script to one that became perfectly acceptable for religious texts. However, the case of hieroglyphic and its demise is also revealing and should be compared to the end of demotic. I therefore discuss the following topics: After summarizing the models that Egyptologists have proposed for interpreting the disappearance of Egyptian scripts and culture, I discuss briefly the ups and downs of Egyptian writing competence throughout Egyptian history. I then ask whether available sources and data allow us to draw definite conclusions. I explore in some detail the impact of increasing complexity in hieroglyphic temple inscriptions in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods in the wider context of the development of intellectual trends in that epoch. Finally, I reflect on whether demotic followed the same trajectory as hieroglyphic when it applied so-called unetymological or phonetic writings, which turned demotic into a script of restricted knowledge.

At the outset I should address one point of terminology. To speak of 'Egyptian writing' is vague because it does not specify to which script I refer: writing has never ceased in Egypt since late predynastic times, when the first hieroglyphs are found in Egypt (Dreyer 1998; cf. Breyer 2002; Morenz 2004a), but the vernacular Egyptian scripts (for the triscript system in Egypt see Houston *et*

al. 2003: 440)—were replaced by the Greek alphabet writing Coptic and by the Arabic script in Islamic times; and all texts notated in Coptic and Arabic within the geographical area of Egypt may be called 'Egyptian writing(s)'. However, as an Egyptologist I use 'Egyptian writing', 'Egyptian script', or the like, for purposes of convenience, to refer to the indigenous scripts. This usage also encompasses the triscript system, which underwent changes in its historical development as described by John Baines (Houston *et al.* 2003: 439–42), and should be perceived as a unity, since certain basic features are shared by hieroglyphs, hieratic, and demotic. All Egyptian scripts (hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic) use a complex combination of one, two, and three consonant signs, ideograms, and determinatives; all are interrelated, for all are more or less descendants of hieroglyphs.

Script and Civilization in Roman Egypt:
A Review of Previous Research

The article by Houston *et al.* (2003) is not the only indicator of a reawakened scholarly interest in the end of Egyptian writing. Research on Roman Egypt is also increasing and beginning to reach the general public (e.g. Lembke 2004, including a descriptive chapter on writing and administration by Günter Vittmann, 85–98). At about the same time, and independently from Houston *et al.*, Eugene Cruz-Uribe (2002) published a study on the end of demotic in Philae in which he uses the word 'death', which Houston *et al.* found inadequate to describe script obsolescence because of its biological metaphor. Contrary to the Egyptological section in Houston *et al.* 2003, which prudently concentrates on describing phenomena pertaining to the end of Egyptian writing rather than offering a full explanation, Cruz-Uribe explores the possibility of identifying the causes of the end of demotic in Philae. He is able to do this by focusing on a single script (demotic) and a single place (Philae). Of course the island of Philae is of particular interest, because the latest demotic inscriptions, that is, the latest Egyptian writings, consist of graffiti in its temple of Isis. Cruz-Uribe identifies various factors concerning the death of demotic there, of which he believes the most important to be the role of the Nubian peoples and the idea of the 'state' in Nubia. He emphasizes how sacred the island was to the Nubians who were virtually the last worshippers of Isis, whereas Egypt had mostly converted to Christianity. The absence of Nubian support for the island, together with the imperial intervention in AD 536, put an end to the Isis cult.

Consideration of the end of Egyptian writing always touches upon the quest for the causes of the demise of ancient Egyptian civilization in general. Some scholars tend to blame the loss of state support for the temples and their priesthood, coupled with a shift from the vernacular language to Greek as the language of administration already in the Ptolemaic period. The former measure deprived the population of the means of expressing themselves in their traditional

cult, while the latter left the Egyptians without the possibility of undertaking legal actions in their own language. This process would have been reinforced by the introduction of Coptic, which Roger Bagnall (1993: 235–40, 261–8) sees as a deliberate invention for the translation of the Bible. All three factors, however, are problematic. The focus on the financial state support for the temples disregards the private aspect of Egyptian religion and the local level, that is, private worship and local support for the temples. Greek was not the only language used for higher- and middle-level administration during the Ptolemaic period: demotic documents had full legal validity if officially registered (Lewis 1993). The role of demotic in the Roman period is not yet fully understood—a point to which I return in more detail below. Finally, Coptic could not be seen as an invented language. Bagnall's incorrect statement (1993: 238) is based on a misunderstanding of an article by Quaegebeur (1982: 132), who was writing about the invention of the Coptic script, not language. Demotic—a term that does not mean just a script, but also the stage of the Egyptian language from 650 BC until the fifth century AD—shows a clear development from a proto-demotic idiom in the latest phase of Late Egyptian (Quack 1995) to an idiom very close to Coptic (Johnson 1976: 2). Thus we must assume a gradual progression from Demotic to Coptic, rather than the introduction of an invented Esperanto-like language.

Both Frankfurter (1998: 249–50) and Bagnall (1993: 237–8) stress the linguistic isolation of demotic texts and the social isolation of those who used the script, the priests. Frankfurter's theory of Greek as a widely used conversational language already in the Ptolemaic period must be modified if not rejected, as he illustrates it with the *Oracle*, or rather *Apology of the Potter*, which he interprets as 'militantly anti-Greek yet composed in Greek'. The anti-Greekness of the text, however, is not so clear and indeed questionable, while the Greek texts moreover claim to be translations from an Egyptian original (Koenen 2002: esp. 172–83). It is not unlikely that an Egyptian, demotic version will come to light, as it did for *Nectanebo's Dream* (Gauger 2002; Ryholt 2002), another literary text that earlier scholars had seen as nationalist propaganda, but for which more differentiated interpretations have recently been proposed (Blasius and Schipper 2002). This is not the place to discuss in depth the intentions and direct relationship of the Greek and demotic versions of *Nectanebo's Dream*, still less the so-called apocalyptic and prophetic texts in general, but it cannot be overstressed that our knowledge of demotic literature is still very imperfect and any new fragment that is published can shatter current views. Kim Ryholt, for instance, advocates a much more direct relationship between the demotic and the Greek versions of *Nectanebo's Dream* than Jörg-D. Gauger does. Ryholt (2002: 232) even argues that the newly discovered demotic fragments support the postulation of an Egyptian original of the *Apology of the Potter*, because the two texts are very similar. Finally, it is not the case that demotic texts of the Roman period were 'in a state of sacred isolation from common tongue that was steeped in Greek loanwords' (Frankfurter 1998: 249). This

implication that demotic was unable to adjust to the current language is problematic, because the demotic magical papyri of the second or third centuries AD (Fig. 7.1) exhibit a mixture of Greek and demotic spells, with Greek transcribed into demotic and vice versa (Johnson 1986; Dieleman 2005). Furthermore, these texts contain a considerable number of Greek words, names of demons, nouns, and even verbal forms which are transcribed into demotic (Quack 2004).
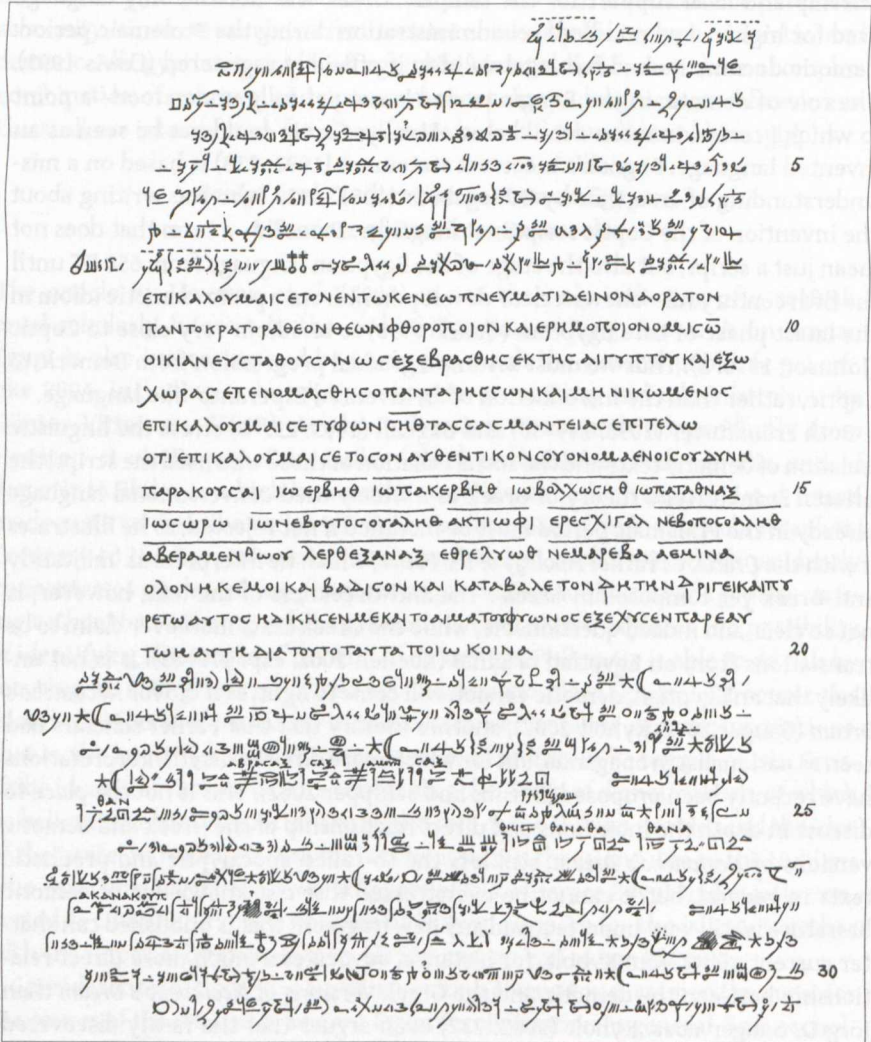

Figure 7.1   A column from the London–Leiden magical papyrus showing the mixture of demotic (lines 1–8, 21–31) and Greek (lines 9–20) scripts, with foreign words transcribed into demotic and accompanying glosses in Greek letters (lines 24, 26, 28) in order to safeguard the correct pronunciation.

It becomes evident that the quest for the reasons for Egyptian writing's demise is interwoven with matters of the Egyptian history of thought in Ptolemaic and Roman times, as well as Egyptian identity during times of foreign rule. Religion plays a crucial role here, as religion provides imagery, rhetoric, and definitions of identity. Searching for the causes of the Egyptian religion's extinction, Peter Hubai (2003) has suggested that the focus of Egyptian religion on the Egyptian nation (whereby one becomes a member of this religious community and its soteriological conceptions through birth and not initiation) did not fit the new circumstances of Egypt as a multi-cultural society. According to Hubai, the new conceptions of human beings that Christianity brought to Egypt could not be expressed in the Egyptian language, which had developed during Pharaonic times for a very different conception. This difficulty is reflected in the high proportion of loan-words in Coptic. The Isis religion that spread all over the Roman Empire could not counteract the trend and give new vigour to the dying Egyptian religion, because its deity was not an Egyptian Isis but a universal goddess worshipped as Isis. This approach too is unconvincing, for it is doubtful whether the Isis religion was Hellenistic rather than Egyptian. Several Egyptologists have recognized Isis as Egyptian outside Egypt even in Late Antiquity (e.g. Junge 1979, cf. Schulz 2000). The iconography of the Iseum Campense, the major Isis temple in Rome, as well as the Greek Isis aretalogies, for instance, how a quite detailed knowledge of the Egyptian myth of Isis and Osiris, and of the Egyptian cult pertaining to it (Quack 2003a). The aretalogies may indeed be Greek translations of Egyptian originals (Quack 2003b). Apart from the tendency of Egyptologists to defend 'their' Egyptians against classicists (Stadler 2005a) and to emphasize the Egyptian nature of Isis, the case of the Iseum Campense indicates that Isis can be more Egyptian outside Egypt than classicists are inclined to acknowledge. In general the question why people turned to Christianity with its new conceptions of human beings, and why they ceased to adhere to their traditional cults, remains open.

Robert K. Ritner's answer (1989) to this question is surprisingly simple and at first sight very attractive: It is not that Egyptian religion dissolved 'in a debased cult and foreign-inspired magic of Greco-Roman eras, a collection of moribund superstitions which readily collapsed before a vigorous Christianity', but that late Egyptian religion became too complex: 'the latest Egyptian theologians [...] seem to have produced a religion too intellectually sophisticated for general understanding. The contrasting simplicity of Christianity was undoubtedly a factor in its success'. While Ritner concedes it may have been very significant, one might argue that many Church fathers developed a complex theology. In favour of his hypothesis, however, Ritner could cite a sermon of the fifth century Coptic monk Apa Shenoute, an abbot of the White Monastery in Akhmim (Emmel 2002), who saw hieroglyphs as 'nonsense and humbug'. Hieroglyphic texts are 'prescriptions for murdering man's soul that are therein, written with

blood and not with ink alone'. Shenoute contrasts this symbol of pagan magic and evil with Christianity: Christian writings on the other hand come with *logos* and save souls (Young 1981; cf. Morenz 2002). It may be inferred that for Shenoute this logical clarity finds its graphic expression in the new script, the Greek alphabet. Since the latest attested Egyptian writing is contemporary with Shenoute's life (c. 361/2–441/51; see Behlmer 1996: LV–LX), his sermon is a direct source about the discourse on religion of the century that witnessed the final extinction of Egyptian writing.

Recent research exemplifies how the end of Egyptian scripts should be studied together with the demise of Egyptian civilization (with religion as its defining framework), because all Egyptian scripts (hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic) were national scripts. General factors favouring the rise and final victory of Christianity in Egypt have been identified, whereas scholars who concentrate on the specific phenomenon of script obsolescence have introduced as additional factors the lack of financial support from Roman officials and, for the temple of Isis on Philae island, from the Meroites who had come to Philae to worship and now stayed away, in combination with particular political events of the East Roman Empire.

Scholarly Presuppositions, Cultural Context of Sources, and the State of Publication

I now turn to Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi's contributions to the study of the decay of Egyptian writing. The issues she has raised relate to how we should interpret the sources and whether it is possible to draw unambiguous conclusions from them. This reflection is the principal focus of my chapter and raises methodological issues rather than pointing to reasons for the script obsolescence. Sternberg-el Hotabi (1994) studied the decay and the death of writing in Egypt ('Schriftverfall und Schrifttod'), using as her point of departure the Horus cippi (see also Sternberg-el Hotabi 1999; Gasse 2004). The Horus cippi are stelae which show Horus as a child, usually standing on crocodiles and seizing snakes, scorpions, and other wild animals. On the more elaborate specimens of the group, this symbol for the young god's victory over evil is accompanied by magical spells against evil in all its manifestations. The smaller pieces are designed as apotropaic amulets and some contain inscriptions that are illegible or rather pretend to be inscriptions. Looking at the Horus cippi Sternberg-el Hotabi dates the beginning of the decay of Egyptian writing as early as the mid Ptolemaic period (second century BC). This dating has been rejected for three reasons. First, the Horus cippi are as a special, private group of monuments an inadequate source basis to postulate a general decay, while both hieratic papyri and temple inscriptions are written for at least another 400 years (Houston *et al.* 2003: 445). Second, some forgeries have been included in her discussion and

weaken her argument (Quack 2002: 725–6). Third pseudo-hieroglyphs can be found as early as the early dynastic period (late fourth millennium BC, Houston *et al.* 2003: 444) and then again, for example, in the eighth century BC (Raven 1991: 29, pl. 25). Many later copies of the Egyptian Book of the Dead in the late first millennium BC are often corrupt. No one would argue that the decay of Egyptian writing started as early as that. Other explanations must be sought for the writing on the Horus cippi, including their owners' social status, the prestige of writing as a magical instrument, and the sacredness of hieroglyphs that prompted the craftsmen's customers or—if coffins and other funerary objects were made for a market—the craftsmen themselves to fashion objects with pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions to enhance their ritual value (Houston *et al.* 2003: 444–5). It is therefore doubtful whether the Horus cippi suffice by themselves to postulate a decay or decline of Egyptian writing at any period. As private religious monuments the stelae might be compared to short formulaic mortuary texts that were written in demotic and designed to accompany the deceased as a sort of passport on his or her way to the netherworld. One of these has a line of hieroglyphs that yield no sense, but precede a perfectly comprehensible demotic composition (Fig. 7.2). This is a further example of the magical and ritual prestige that was accorded to hieroglyphs.

Scholars should also bear in mind the limitations of knowledge: the ancient writer or carver of an inscription is not necessarily to be blamed for an apparent illegibility. Egyptologists did not succeed in deciphering the two well-known hymns in the temple of Esna that were basically written with ram-signs in one case and crocodile-signs in the other case until Christian Leitz (2001) and Ludwig Morenz (2002) independently proposed readings. The graphic form of the two texts contains a pictorial dimension that contributes to the textual message and vice versa—visual poetry, as Morenz (2002) terms it—demonstrating the author's magisterial command of principles of the hieroglyphic script (Figs. 7.3). It could hardly be doubted that the hymns were meaningful, because of their context in a temple and the (in this case correct) presupposition that a temple's priesthood would not allow gibberish to be carved into its walls. It turns out that both hymns are very conventional, and Leitz (2001: 252) argues that if that had not been the case and unique texts had been encoded cryptographically in this way, then even learned Egyptians would have had no prospect of reading them.

The example of Esna is instructive in different ways. Esna is the apogee of a priestly practice of enriching religious texts with an extra dimension by exploiting the pictorial aspect of hieroglyphs and/or incorporating mythological symbolism pictorially (cf. Kurth 1983). Thus, hieroglyphs could be distanced from their standard phonetic values by the mythological reinterpretation. Three examples can illustrate these principles: Before the Ptolemaic period the hieroglyph of a beetle 𓆣 normally encoded the three consonants *ḫpr*.
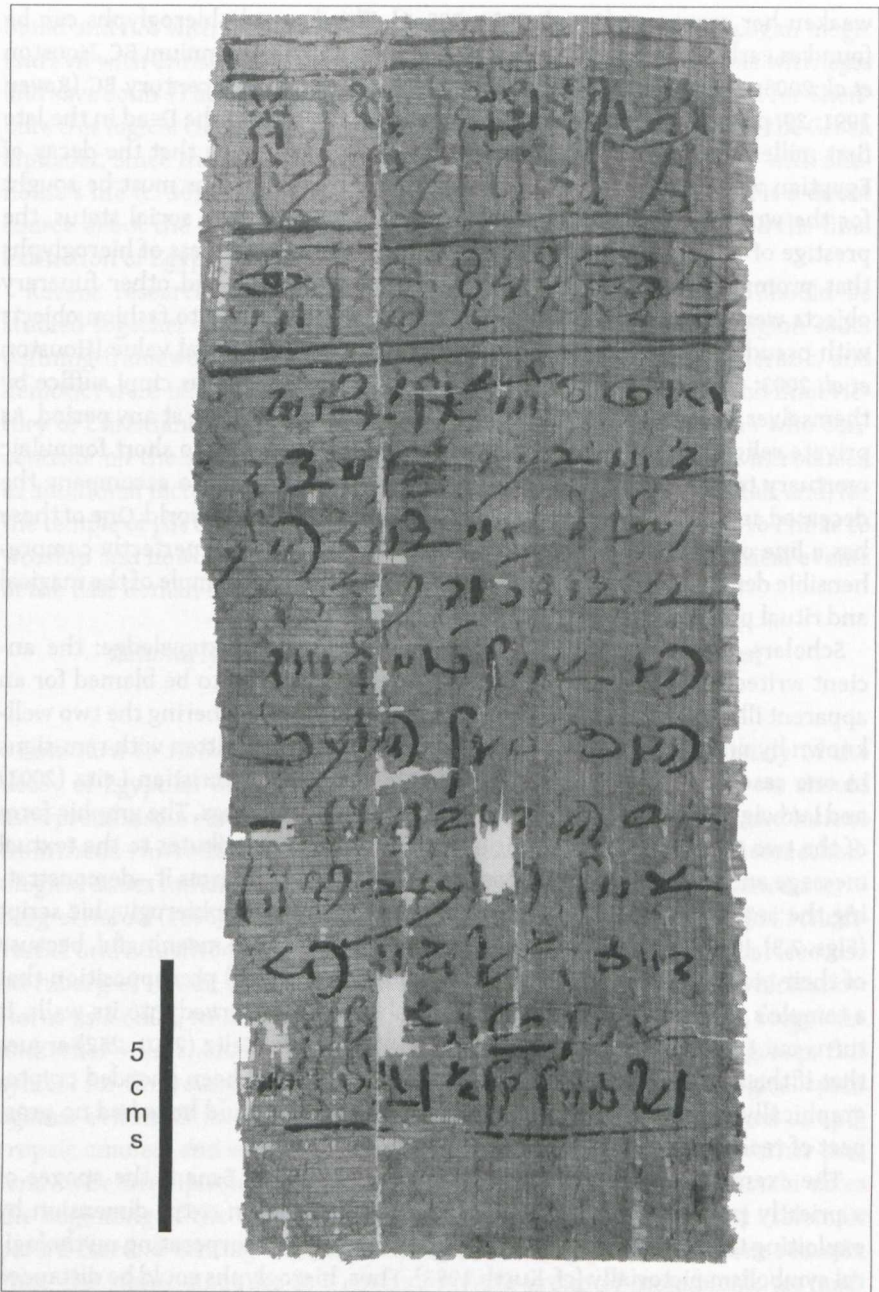
Figure 7.2   Papyrus British Museum EA 10415: The hieroglyphs beneath the vignette do
not form a legible text, whereas the following demotic section is perfectly
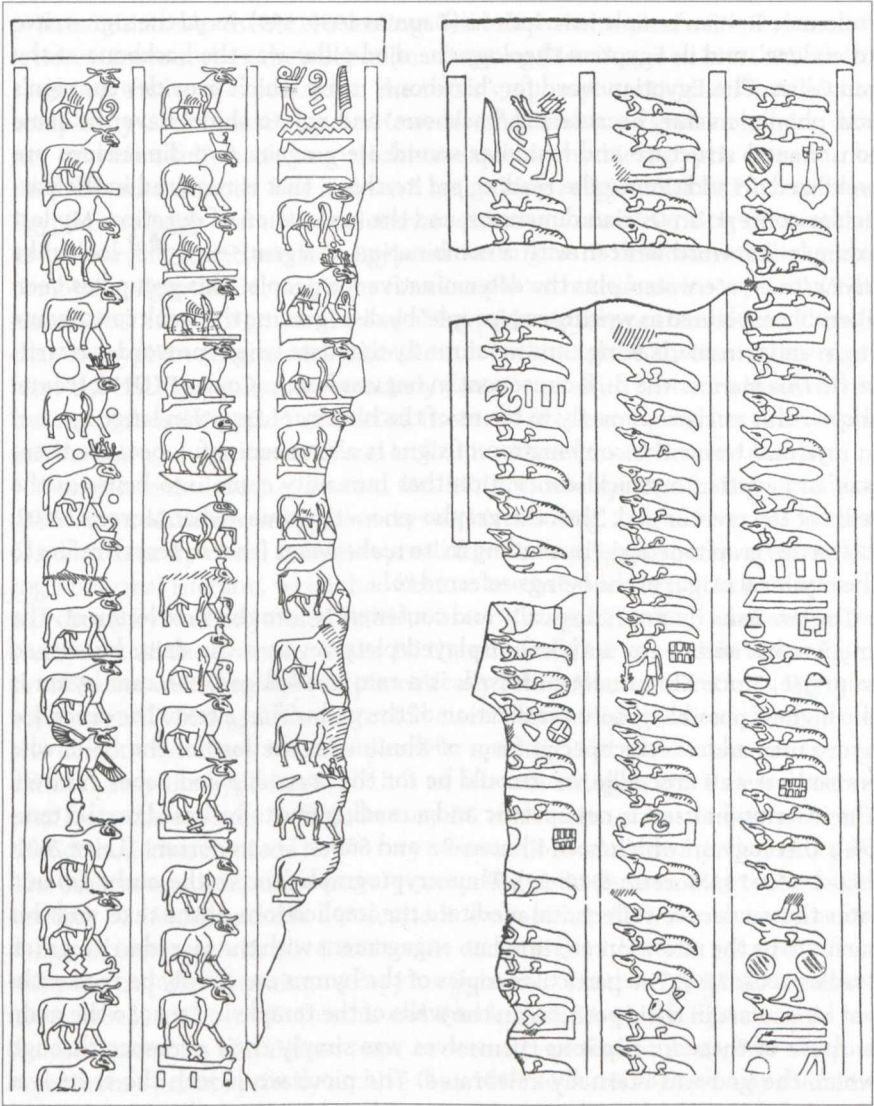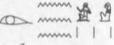comprehensible (Stadler 2004b).

Figure 7.3 Excerpts from the ram hymn (left) and the crocodile hymn (right) at Esna.

The scarab that the hieroglyph represents emerges from the earth and that is probably why it acquired the new phonetic value *t3* 'earth' (Daumas 1988: 389). The traditional value *ḫpr*, meaning 'to come into being', remained valid, and the reader would have retained an awareness of it, so that text writing *t3* 'earth' with the scarab operates on at least two levels. Similarly, but more theologically, the djed-pillar 𓊽 usually read *ḏd* (hence its name) can have the value *psḏ* 'to shine' in

Ptolemaic-Roman temple inscriptions (Daumas 1990: 599). As *ḏd* the sign writes 'to endure', and in Egyptian theology the djed-pillar was the backbone of the god Osiris. The Egyptian word for 'backbone' is *psḏ* which provides the sign's new phonetic value, because *psḏ* 'backbone' and *psḏ* 'to shine' have the same consonantal structure and a similar sound. Here again, two dimensions are mobilized, in addition to the reading *psḏ* 'to shine' that is required in the particular context: an Osirian dimension and the association of duration. My last example is a word written with a combination of signs: ⬭ ⁓ 𓊌 𓀀 looks like *iri mw* 'to create water' plus the determinative for people. This group has been plausibly explained as writing *rmṯ* 'people' by disregarding the weak consonants *i* in *iri* and *w* in *mw*, leaving *r* and *m* for *rm*. By that date when the word was written in this manner the final consonant in *rmṯ* was lost, as Coptic ⲢⲰⲘⲈ (rōme) shows. This analysis is partly in terms of the history of Egyptian language, but in mythical terms the combination of signs is also meaningful, because there was an Egyptian mythical conception that humanity came into being as the tears of the creator god. Thus the grapho-phonetic value—what Morenz (2002: 82) terms 'graphonetics'—in alluding to 'to make water (that is, tears)' refers to the mythical origin of the beings referred to.

The two Esna hymns fit logically and consistently into this development. The anonymous author (or authors) displayed piety towards the deity he wished to praise. Since Khnum, lord of Esna, is a ram-headed god, the ram hymn is the highest possible graphic realization of the god within a text. The crocodile hymn may address the special form of Khnum-Re, the lord of the field, who is manifest as a crocodile, or it could be for the crocodile god Sobek himself. The inscription itself is not specific and a reading has to be based on the temple's theology, in which both Khnum-Re and Sobek are important (Leitz 2001: 252–4, 262–73; Morenz 2002: 92). Thus cryptography forces the author(s) and later the readers to reflect and meditate the implications of the text, and this seems to be the intention: to stimulate engagement with the sacred writings (cf. Stadler 2004: 275). The particular copies of the hymns can hardly be read without binoculars in their position on the walls of the temple in Esna. So the main purpose of these inscriptions themselves was simply their presence through which the god was eternally celebrated. The pious work with the texts was already achieved at the moment of their grapho-phonetic composition. It is not unlikely that a copy on papyrus existed which did not survive.

It has been argued that fewer and fewer people were able to tackle such compositions, because on a generous estimate only a few hundred priests knew hieroglyphs and demotic in Roman Egypt (Bagnall 1993: 237–8). Thus the general tendency of Egyptian religion to keep sacred writings secret (cf. Morenz 1996: 78–87) was an internal factor that provided a trigger for the religion's obsolescence and was connected with that for the obsolescence of the writing system which encoded the religion's compositions. When the number of

priests initiated to the sacred writings fell below the mark of critical mass that is necessary to sustain the institution of writing (Houston *et al.* 2003: 432–3), the seclusion that was expressed in the text's grapho-phonetical and intellectual complexity would cause it to die. However, the demise of Egyptian religion does not provide a fully satisfying model to explain why hieroglyphs ceased to be used, because demotic was also used for writing religious texts. Furthermore, Egyptian religion did not absolutely require any use of writing (Traunecker 1991), nor did it exclude non-Egyptian writing, as is demonstrated by stelae combining Egyptian iconography for example with Aramaic inscriptions (Vittmann 2003: 106–7). Nor was the end of Egyptian writing contemporaneous with that of Egyptian religion: at Philae the cult continued for another eighty years after the last Egyptian, more precisely demotic, graffito had been inscribed on the temple's walls (Cruz-Uribe 2002). In search of other approaches to an explanation I turn now to demotic, and look at its development in more detail.

Demotic came into use around 650 BC, presumably as a further graphical abstraction of the Lower Egyptian cursive hieratic (Fig. 7.4), and was used at first for documentary texts. Demotic spread from Lower Egypt southwards, replacing Abnormal Hieratic, which had been in use in Upper Egypt. In extension of a proposal by Anthony Leahy (1985), Günter Vittmann (2003: 10) has suggested that, just as in the seventh century BC the ethnically Libyan elite in Lower Egypt preferred to write hieroglyphs phonetically rather than in traditional Egyptian etymological writing, demotic could be seen within this framework in view of the demotic tendency towards phonetic spelling. Vittmann concedes that he cannot prove the hypothesis, but it is an attractive suggestion. Unless a literary text from the seventh to fifth century BC in demotic comes to light, it seems that demotic was not used for literary compositions until the fourth century BC. The earliest unquestionable literary compositions in demotic date to the fourth century BC (Smith and Tait 1983), and it was another 200 years or more before religious compositions were written in demotic (Smith 1978: 17). Apart from the song inspired by Amun in Papyrus Rylands 9 (sixth century BC: Vittmann 1998: 198–203, 639–43; Hoffmann and Quack 2007: 51–4), the first more or less isolated examples of religious texts in demotic are three hymns, two of which come from a private priestly archive (Ray 1976: 46–8, 66–73), and may therefore belong in a documentary context. Another unedited text of the second century BC seems to be literary with a mythological topic, rather than religious in a narrower sense (cf. Smith 1978: 17). In any case, hymns are documents of private or personal religiosity of people who might have wished to write them down in the most current script, which was certainly demotic for Egyptians of the second century BC. Thus hymns are examples of the use of demotic as an everyday script in the second century BC, while they also broke new ground for religious texts, especially mortuary compositions which became more common from the first century BC onwards (e.g. Smith 1987, 1993), whereas the first century AD
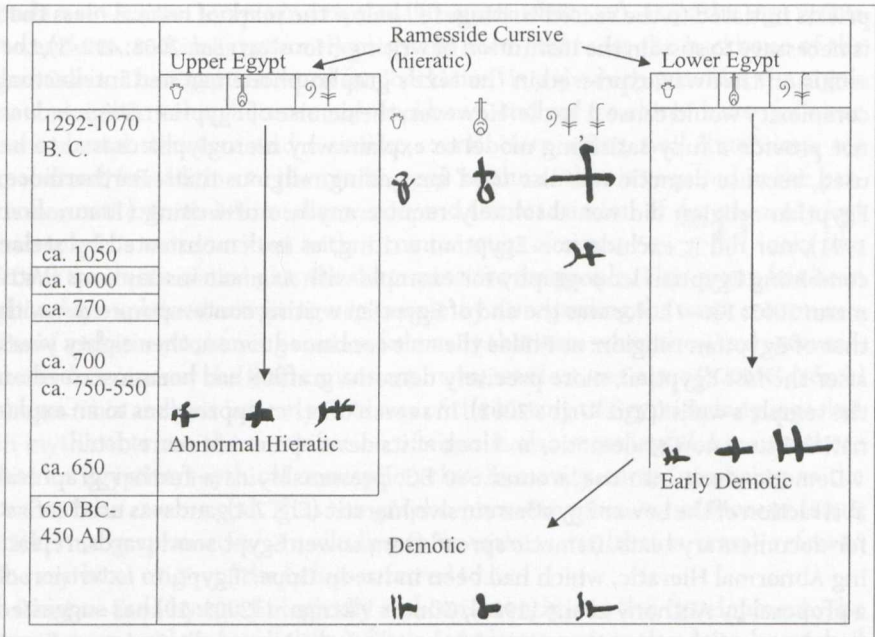
Figure 7.4 The development from hieroglyphs to demotic illustrated by three examples. For some characters, including those in the example, graphic abstraction results in almost identical shapes in demotic despite different phonetic values and hieroglyphic origins.

witnessed a further increase in their currency (e.g. Widmer 1998; Stadler 2003, 2004a, and forthcoming b).

Alongside this considerable extension of text genres, demotic underwent significant changes in its orthography to accommodate religious texts, which belong to a conservative sphere, in a development that is paralleled by hieratic in earlier periods. Demotic religious texts are in three forms of the language (Smith 1987: 28): texts in pure Classical Egyptian, a stage of Egyptian that was some 1700 years older than the current language; texts with traces of Classical Egyptian; texts entirely written in Demotic language. This required that grammatical and lexical archaisms had to be represented in writing (Smith 1978, 1979) and may have been the point of departure for the phenomenon known as unetymological writing.

Before tackling this I should give an impression of the high proportion of demotic texts that is still unpublished (Fig. 7.5; for progress since this figure was compiled, see Lippert and Schentuleit 2006a, 2006b). One demotist has stated within the context of discussing demotic inscription on stone: 'demotic inscriptions should die out with demotic scribal praxis in the 1st cent. AD' (Vleeming 2001: 250). Naphtali Lewis (1993)—who states that demotic is not his field—

argues from published demotic texts. In so doing he adds to the hazards of phys-
ical survival those of publication (cf. Zauzich 1983: 78–9), which are particularly
severe: scholars have preferred to study and edit the generally better pre-
served, formulaic, and therefore less difficult documentary texts of the Ptole-
maic period such as contracts and receipts (letters, by contrast, pose extreme
difficulties). Ptolemaic demotic also tends to be more accessible for modern
scholars than Roman demotic. On the other hand, apart from a few well-known
exceptions, many literary and religious texts have tended to be disregarded.
This may be exemplified by Richard Holton Pierce's ironical statement, at the
first conference of demotic studies in Berlin 1978, in response to the question
as to the kind of demotic texts in which people would like to specialize, that
unpublished, well-preserved, and easily decipherable demotic papyri were his
favourite area of research.

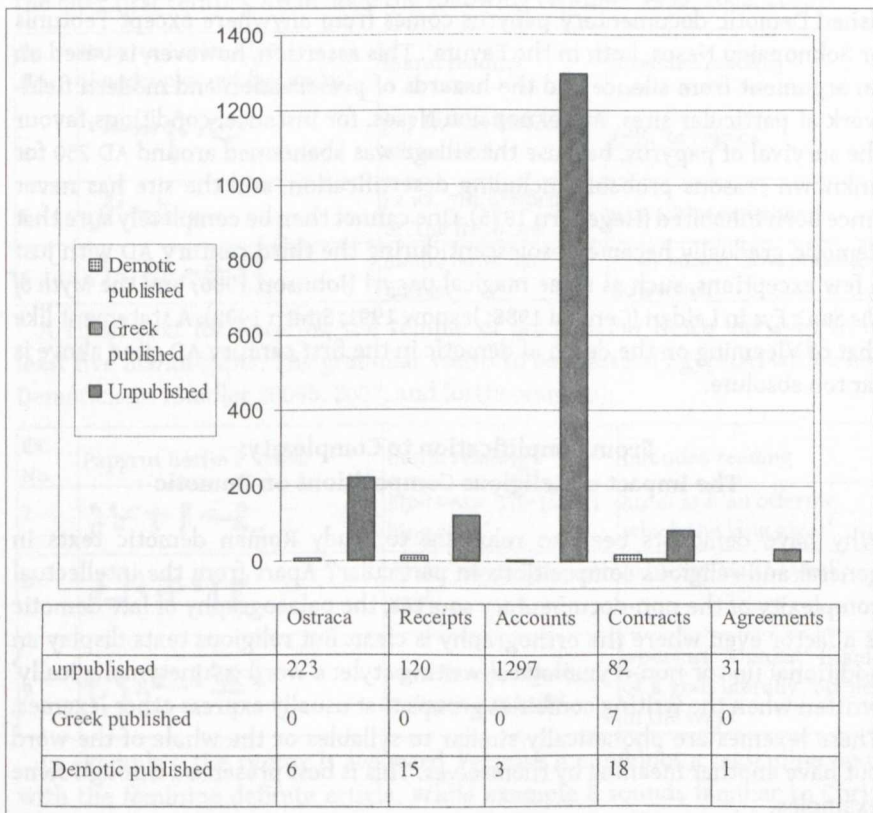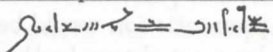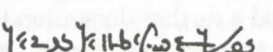|	Ostraca	Receipts	Accounts	Contracts	Agreements
unpublished	223	120	1297	82	31
Greek published	0	0	0	7	0
Demotic published	6	15	3	18	1

Figure 7.5 Unpublished versus published demotic material from Soknopaiou Nesos
in the Fayyum: Documentary texts (as of August 2004, courtesy Sandra L.
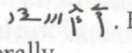Lippert and Maren Schentuleit).

The intensive study of Roman demotic texts—documentary, literary, and religious—began with serious effort just over thirty years ago in works by Karl-Theodor Zauzich (e.g., 1971, 1972, 1974, 1977—ground-breaking for the study of demotic in Sokonopaiou Nesos), Mark Smith (e.g. 1987, 1993), and Friedhelm Hoffmann (1995, 1996). Younger scholars such as Ghislaine Widmer (1998, 2002) and myself (2003, 2004a, b) continue to work in the field of demotic religious compositions. A Würzburg research project with Sandra Lippert and Maren Schentuleit, under Zauzich, to study the documentary texts from Roman period Soknopaiou Nesos in the Fayyum has significantly changed the figures cited by Lewis (1993: 276). Lewis counted 600 published papyrus documents in demotic dating to the Ptolemaic period, but fewer than sixty from the Roman period even including Greek documents with brief demotic notations or signatures. Roger Bagnall (1993: 237), referring to Zauzich (1983), has stated that the range of demotic texts is 'geographically narrow: after Augustus not a single published Demotic documentary papyrus comes from anywhere except Tebtunis or Soknopaiou Nesos, both in the Fayum'. This assertion, however, is based on an argument from silence and the hazards of preservation and modern fieldwork at particular sites. At Soknopaiou Nesos, for instance, conditions favour the survival of papyrus, because the village was abandoned around AD 250 for unknown reasons probably including desertification, and the site has never since been inhabited (Hagedorn 1975). One cannot then be completely sure that demotic gradually became obsolescent during the third century AD with just a few exceptions, such as some magical papyri (Johnson 1986) and the *Myth of the Sun's Eye* in Leiden (Cenival 1988; Jasnow 1991; Smith 1992). A statement like that of Vleeming on the death of demotic in the first century AD cited above is far too absolute.

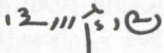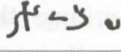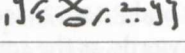## From Simplification to Complexity: The Impact of Religious Compositions on Demotic

Why have demotists been so reluctant to study Roman demotic texts in general and religious compositions in particular? Apart from the intellectual complexity of the non-documentary sources, the palaeography of late demotic is a factor even where the orthography is clear. But religious texts display an additional un- or non-etymological writing style: a word is 'unetymologically' written when the writing combines groups that usually express other lexemes. These lexemes are phonetically similar to syllables or the whole of the word but have another meaning by themselves. This is best presented through some examples.

The earliest known papyrus that is entirely notated in this sort of writing is the Papyrus Vienna D 6951, which is securely dated by the colophon to 8 BC (Hoffmann 2002).
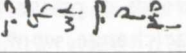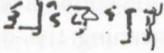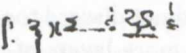
Ex. No.	Papyrus Vienna D. 6951 (handcopies not facsimiles)	literal reading	intended reading
1	[handcopy]	*ptḥ i.ir snfy*, 'Ptah who created blood'	*ptḥ rsy inb=f*, 'Ptah south of his wall'
2	[handcopy]	*tš*, 'nome, province'	*tꜣ š*, 'land of the lake' (= Fayyum)
3	[handcopy]	*ḫr-ry.t ḫr-ib-tp*, 'under the room in the middle of the first'	*ḫry-ḥb.t ḥry-tp*, 'chief lector priest'

Example 1 is a current writing of an ancient epithet of Ptah (Quaegebeur 1980; Devauchelle 1998: 591–2), whereas, for example 2, a standard demotic writing could be: [handcopy]. Example 3 would not yield any sense in context if it were taken literally.

Published examples of unetymological writing in Papyrus Berlin P 6750 of the later first century AD include the following (Widmer 1998, 2002, 2005):

Ex. No.	Papyrus Berlin 6750 (handcopies not facsimiles)	literal reading	intended reading
4	[handcopy]	*ḫnt šy*, 'the foremost of the lake'	*ḫntš*, 'to rejoice'
5	[handcopy]	*pꜣ wt*, 'the offspring' or 'the fresh one'	*pꜣ wt*, 'the embalmer'
6	[handcopy]	*ḥsm(n) mr.w*, 'mr-natron'	*ḥs.wy mr.wy*, 'how praised, how loved'

A ritual text for entering the temple of Soknopaiou Nesos survives in at least five manuscripts. The grammar seems to be Classical Egyptian with a few Demoticisms (Stadler 2005b, 2007, and forthcoming a):

Ex. No.	Papyrus Berlin P 15652	literal reading	intended reading
7	[handcopy]	*ḥtp-tꜣ-nsw* 'The (fem.) king rests'.	*ḥtp di nsw* 'an offering which the king gives'
8	[handcopy]	*nṯr-ḥnꜥ-tw=tn* 'god with you'	*ind-ḥr=tn* 'Hail to you!'
9	[handcopy]	*wp w* 'to open the bark' or 'open the bark'	*wp-wꜣ.wt* 'Upuaut' (name of a god, literally 'opener of the ways'

In example 7 the syntax is awkward, because it combines a masculine noun with the feminine definite article. While example 8 sounds familiar to Christians, it is not an Egyptian phrase, is ungrammatical at least in a pre-demotic form, and again does not yield sense in context.

These unetymological writings can be divided into two categories: phonetic

writings, and visually poetic writings. Phonetic writings are cases when ancient words would not be properly rendered in demotic either because there was no demotic standard spelling for the word, or the pronunciation would be best notated by using other words as components that language change had brought close to a current phonetic form (cf. Smith 1977: 118). By visually poetic writings I mean ones that deliberately use other words as components, even though standard demotic spellings were available, to add a further dimension to the written word (for the term 'visual poetry' see Morenz 2002, 2004b). Words in the second category are mainly religious terms, names of gods, and other sacred matters in particular. On the other hand, one could argue that unetymological writings should be seen within the context of changes in the language that would make it impossible to notate an ancient or archaizing form in proper demotic, so that it would be necessary to use other words as components to indicate the vocalization. Most examples in papyrus Vienna D 6951 (examples 1 and 2 of the list above) favour such an interpretation (Hoffmann 2002).

Why, however, should the scribe choose to write a potentially misleading *tš* 'nome, province' in order to encode a normal *t3 šy*? The glosses in other texts, such as the manuals of priestly wisdom from Tebtunis (Osing 1998) or the London–Leiden magical papyrus (Griffith and Thompson 1904–9), show that to ensure a proper pronunciation, which would be particularly necessary in ritual texts, other means could be used, either demotic alphabetic writings, that is, use of uniconsonantal signs, or Greek letters.

Many unetymological writings in Berlin papyri P 6750 and P 15652r seem to exhibit the intent to add another layer of meaning to the words, as the contemporary priests designing hieroglyphic inscriptions did. Example 4 would evoke the crocodile god Sobek who is the foremost of the lake, that is, the Fayyum, and is the god a Fayyumic worshipper might think of when rejoicing, whereas in example 5 the writing of *p3 wt* 'offspring' or 'the fresh one' would imply the embalmer's rejuvenation of a corpse; similarly the graphic reference to embalming substances in example 6 actually encodes words of praise. While *nṭr-ḥnc-tw=tn* in example 8 is to be explained by phonetic change, *wp-w* 'open the bark' for Upuaut, a god for whom demotic provides a conventional writing (ʃˑⱅ or similar, Erichsen 1954: 87), again has a twofold meaning: the 'opener of ways' is also the god who helps to clear the way for the solar bark. Therefore the editor of an unetymological demotic text should not discard too readily the possibility that its writings may convey two or more layers of meaning. Demotic seems to follow the same lines of development as hieroglyphs took some 400 years earlier, reaching a stage at which it was fully effective for encoding priestly wisdom alongside hieroglyphs and hieratic. Hieratic, however, barely partook in this development and usually kept the traditional orthography. The unetymologically written demotic texts ceased to be easy to compose and quick to read.

I propose the analysis that demotic was fully functioning in the Roman period for both documentary and religious texts. Furthermore, new graphic, visually poetic options were developed for religious compositions through unetymological writings; this development was the beginning of the end of demotic. Yet such analyses face three serious objections. The first is that only a few of the known religious texts are consistently written unetymologically, whereas most other texts have only a smattering of unetymological words. Second, all known entirely unetymologically written texts come from a single site: Soknopaiou Nesos in the Fayyum. Third, all documentary sources of the period—again mostly from Tebtunis or Soknopaiou Nesos—originated in the administration and economy of the temples: in other words demotic did cease to be an official script of the Roman administration. This latter point is supported by the rich Greek documentation from Soknopaiou Nesos (e.g. Jördens 1998), which clearly demonstrates that economic and legal transactions outside the temple or between the temple and the Roman administration had to be written down in Greek.

The first and second objections might be disproved over time with new discoveries, but for now they remain valid and should caution us from generalizing. The third objection concerns the theory of the full functioning of demotic in Roman times and points to the diminution in the use of Egyptian writing, from a broad range of contexts to very restricted priestly circles, whereby demotic abandoned, or was forced to abandon, its character as an everyday script. However, study of the temple's economic documentation from Soknopaiou Nesos shows that this particular institution remained a regional economic centre (Lippert and Schentuleit 2005a).

There were too few people still using Egyptian scripts to keep them alive forever. Although the priests did not abstain from interaction with non-priestly contemporaries in everyday life, they appear to have cultivated an intellectual and religious exclusivity. This in itself would not be a problem, if the cultural environment had not changed, but in Roman Egypt it did so at an accelerating pace. The absence of a king was an initial blow for the temples, but one that they learned to remedy (Hölbl 2000: 9–46). A second-century-AD demotic ostrakon from Medinet Madi seems to indicate that the only way to earn one's living with Egyptian scripts outside the temple was to be an astrologer or fortune-teller (Hoffmann 2000: 45–7), although Jacco Dieleman (2003) suggests that the piece must be seen as belonging in a temple milieu. It might be inferred that, similarly to the situation of cuneiform (see David Brown, 'Increasingly Redundant: The Growing Obsolescence of the Cuneiform Script in Babylonia from 539 BC', in this volume), the shift to scripts that were easier to write and more widely understood demolished the last strongholds of Egyptian writing outside the temples. Greek certainly played a major part as sole official language for legal transactions that the Roman administration recognized, together with the decrease in financial support of the temples, but these pressures were complemented by the

exclusivist attitude, expressed in an intellectual complexity that the common worshippers could not follow. A new religion, which was propagated as clear, logical, and accessible to everyone, found fertile ground on which to grow.

Conclusions

It is difficult to interpret the source material, as it is diverse, complex, and little explored. Philae, and the death of demotic there, offers a very special case, because it seems to be the last flicker of a candle. Egyptian culture at Philae was finally snuffed out by vigorous imperial military intervention: the imperial commander of the Thebaid Narses closed the temple and converted it into a Christian church in 536. Yet demotic had ceased to exist more than two generations earlier, and the last demotic inscriptions, from 452, were left by a Meroite, not an Egyptian. One might conclude that Egyptian culture and religion could indeed exist without Egyptian writing. The inverse is in fact impossible: Egyptian writing makes no sense without its cultural and religious background and backbone. It is therefore doubtful whether general conclusions may be drawn from the situation at Philae in the fifth century AD, because it only explains the cultural, political, and historical environment in which Egyptian culture could survive for a relatively short period; the abrupt end of the Egyptian cult at Philae cannot be expanded to account for Egypt as a whole. In my opinion, the end of demotic in Philae can easily be described and explained. For the rest of Egypt, however, the picture is far more colourful and it is impossible to specify any one factor that would account for the beginning of its demise. Some factors emerge as significant, such as religious development, economic circumstances, and political events. We may add to these the attitude of Egyptian priests in Roman Egypt responsible for the traditional pagan cult. They became culturally and religiously isolated, and supported that development by composing both hieroglyphic and demotic texts encoded in a most difficult system. Texts written in that manner required some effort to be understood and were regarded as obsolete, because they did not respond to the contemporary social environment.

References

Bagnall, Roger
    1993   *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Behlmer, Heike
    1996   *Shenoute von Atripe De Iudicio*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie Prima—Monumenti e Testi 7. Turin: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali—Soprintendenza al Museo delle Antichità Egizie.

Blasius, Andreas, and Bernd Ulrich Schipper (eds)
    2002   *Apokalyptik und Ägypten. Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 107. Leuven: Peeters.

Breyer, Francis A. K.
    2002   'Die Schriftzeugnisse des prädynastischen Königsgrabes U-j in Umm el-Qaab: Versuch einer Neuinterpretation'. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 88: 53–65.

Cenival, Françoise de
    1988   *Le Mythe de l'œil du soleil*. Demotische Studien 9. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich.

Cruz-Uribe, Eugene
    2002   'The Death of Demotic at Philae, a Study in Pilgrimage and Politics'. In Tamás A. Bács (ed.), *A Tribute to Excellence: Studies offered in Honor of Ernő Gaál, Ulrich Luft and László Török*. Studia Aegyptiaca 17. Budapest: La Chaire d'Égyptologie: 163–84.

Daumas, François (ed.)
    1988   *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* vol. 2. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.
    1990   *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* vol. 3. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.

Devauchelle, Didier
    1998   'Une invocation aux dieux du Sérapéum de Memphis'. In Willy Clarysse, A. Schoors, and Harco Willems (eds), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of J. Quaegebeur*. Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 84. Leuven: Peeters, vol. 1: 589–611.

Dieleman, Jacco
    2003   'Claiming the Stars: Egyptian Priests Facing the Sky'. In Susanne Bickel and Antonio Loprieno (eds), *Basel Egyptology Prize: Junior Research in Egyptian History, Archaeology, and Philology*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 17. Basel: Schwabe, 277–89.
    2005   *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 153. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Dreyer, Günter, Ulrich Hartung, and Frauke Pumpenmeier
    1998   *Umm el-Qaab vol. 1. Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 89. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

el-Aguizy, Ola
    1998   *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign of Taharka to the End of the Ptolemaic Period (684–30 BC)*. Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 113. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Emmel, Stephen
    2002   'From the Other Side of the Nile: Shenute and Panopolis'. In Arno Egberts, Brian R. Muhs, and Jan van der Vliet (eds), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*. Leiden: Brill, 95–113.

Erichsen, Wolja
    1954   *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard.

Frankfurter, David
  1998   Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gasse, Annie
  2004   Le stèles d'Horus sur les crocodiles. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux.

Gauger, Jörg-D.
  2002   'Der "Traum des Nektanebos"—die griechische Fassung'. In Blasius and Schipper 2002, 189–219.

Griffith, Francis Ll., and H. Thompson
  1904–9   The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden. London: Grevel.

Hagedorn, Dieter
  1975   'Dimeh.' In Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (eds), Lexikon der Ägyptologie vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1094.

Hölbl, Günter
  2000   Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Hoffmann, Friedhelm
  1995   Ägypter und Amazonen. Neubearbeitung zweier demotischer Papyri. P. Vindob. D 6165 und P. Vindob. D 6165 A. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung Erzherzog Rainer 24. Vienna: Gebrüder Hollinek.
  1996   Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros. Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung Erzherzog Rainer 26. Vienna: Gebrüder Hollinek.
  2000   Ägypten. Kultur und Lebenswelt in griechisch-römischer Zeit. Eine Darstellung nach den demotischen Quellen. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
  2002   'Die Hymnensammlung des P. Wien D6951.' In Kim Ryholt (ed.), Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999. CNI Publications 27. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 219–28.

Hoffmann, Friedhelm, and Joachim Friedrich Quack
  2007   Anthologie der demotischen Literatur. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4. Berlin: Lit.

Houston, Stephen, John Baines, and Jerrold Cooper
  2003   'Last Writing: Script Obsolescence in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Mesoamerica.' Comparative Studies in Society and History 45: 430–79.

Hubai, Peter
  2003   'Religionswechsel im Ägypten der Römerzeit.' In Zahi Hawass (ed.), Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000. Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, vol. 2, 316–23.

Jasnow, Richard
  1991   Review of Cenival 1992. Enchoria 18: 205–15.

Jördens, Andrea
 1998   *Griechische Papyri aus Soknopaiu Nesos (P. Louvre I)*. Papyrologische Texte und
        Abhandlungen 43. Bonn: Dr Rudolf Habelt.

Johnson, Janet H.
 1976   *The Demotic Verbal System*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 38. Chicago:
        The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
 1986   'Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri.' In Hans D. Betz (ed.), *The Greek
        Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago and London:
        University of Chicago Press, lv–lviii.

Junge, Friedrich
 1979   'Isis und die ägyptischen Mysterien.' In Wolfhart Westendorf (ed.), *Aspekte
        der spätägyptischen Religion*. Göttinger Orientforschungen IV: 9. Wiesbaden:
        Harrassowitz, 93–115.

Koenen, Ludwig
 2002   'Die Apologie des Töpfers an König Amenophis oder das Töpferorakel.' In
        Blasius and Schipper 2002: 139–87.

Kurth, Dieter
 1983   'Die Lautwerte der Hieroglyphen in den Tempelinschriften der griechisch-
        römischen Zeit—zur Systematik ihrer Herleitungsprinzipien.' *Annales du
        Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 69: 287–309.

Leahy, Anthony
 1985   'The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation.' *Libyan Studies*
        16: 51–65.

Leitz, Christian
 2001   'Die beiden kryptographischen Inschriften aus Esna mit den Widdern und
        Krokodilen.' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 29: 251–76.

Lembke, Katja
 2004   *Ägyptens späte Blüte. Die Römer am Nil*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Lewis, Naphtali
 1993   'The Demise of Demotic: When and Why.' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
        79: 276–81.

Lippert, Sandra L., and Maren Schentuleit (eds)
 2005a *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des interdis-
        ziplinären Symposions in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg vom 11. bis zum 13.12.2003*.
        Demotische Dokumente aus Dime Sonderband. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Lippert, Sandra L., and Maren Schentuleit
 2005b 'Die Tempelökonomie nach den demotischen Texten aus Soknopaiou Nesos.'
        In Lippert and Schentuleit 2005a, 71–8.
 2006a *Ostraka*. Demotische Dokumente aus Dime 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 2006b *Quittungen*. Demotische Dokumente aus Dime 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Morenz, Ludwig
 1996   *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit.*
        Ägypten und Altes Testament 29. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

2002   'Schrift-Mysterium. Gottes-Schau in der visuellen Poesie von Esna—Ins-
        besondere zu den omnipotenten Widder-Zeichen zwischen Symbolik und
        Lesbarkeit.' In Jan Assmann and Martin Bommas (eds), *Ägyptische Mysterien?*
        Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 77–94.
2004a   *Bild-Buchstaben und symbolische Zeichen. Die Herausbildung der Schrift in der
        hohen Kultur Altägyptens.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 205. Fribourg and Göt-
        tingen: Academic Press/Paulusverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
2004b   'Visuelle Poesie als eine sakrale Zeichen-Kunst der altägyptischen *hohen
        Kultur*'. *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32: 311–26.

Osing, Jürgen
1998   *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I.* Carlsberg Papyri 2 = CNI Publications 17.
        Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Quack, Joachim F.
1995   'Notes en marge du Papyrus Vandier.' *Revue d'Égyptologie* 46: 163–70.
2002   Review of Sternberg-el Hotabi 1999. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 97: 713–39.
2003a   'Zum ägyptischen Ritual im Iseum Campense in Rom.' In C. Metzner-Nebel-
        sick *et al.* (eds) *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart. Studien zur
        Vorderasiatischen, Prähistorischen und Klassischen Archäologie, Ägyptologie, Alten
        Geschichte, Theologie und Religionswissenschaft.* Interdisziplinäre Tagung vom
        1.–2. Februar 2002 an der Freien Universität. Berlin and Rahden/Westfalen:
        Leidorf, 57–66.
2003b   '"Ich bin Isis, die Herrin der beiden Länder"—Versuch zum demotischen
        Hintergrund der memphitischen Isisaretalogie.' In Sibylle Meyer (ed.),
        *Egypt—Temple of the Whole World. Ägypten—Tempel der Gesamten Welt. Studies in
        Honour of Jan Assmann.* Leiden and Boston: Brill, 319–65.
2004   'Griechische und andere Dämonen in den spätdemotischen magischen Texten.'
        In Thomas Schneider (ed.), *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafri-
        kas und der Ägäis.* Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum ägyptisch-nichtsemitischen
        Sprachkontakt Basel 9.–11. Juli 2003. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 427–507.

Quaegebeur, Jan
1980   'Une épithète méconnaissable de Ptah.' In Jean Vercoutter (ed.), *Livre du cen-
        tenaire, 1880–1980.* Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français
        d'archéologie orientale du Caire 104. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie
        orientale, 61–71.
1982   'De la préhistoire de l'écriture copte.' *Orientalia Lovanensia Periodica* 13: 125–36.

Raven, Maarten J.
1991   *The Tomb of Iurudef: A Memphite Official in the Reign of Ramesses II.* Excavation
        Memoir 57. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Ray, John D.
1976   *The Archive of Hor.* Texts from Excavations 2. London: Egypt Exploration
        Society.

Ritner, Robert K.
1989   'Horus on the Crocodiles: A Juncture of Religion and Magic in Late Dynastic
        Egypt.' In James P. Allen *et al.*, *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt.* Yale
        Egyptological Studies 3. New Haven, CT: Egyptological Seminar, Department
        of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 103–16.

Ryholt, Kim
    2002   'Nectanebo's Dream or The Prophecy of Petesis.' In Blasius and Schipper 2002: 221–41.

Sauneron, Serge
    1963   *Le Temple d'Esna* II. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Schulz, Regine
    2000   'Warum Isis?' In Manfred Görg and Günter Hölbl (eds), *Ägypten und der östliche Mittelmeerraum im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Ägypten und Altes Testament 44. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 251–79.

Smith, Harry S., and William J. Tait
    1983   *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri* vol. 1. Texts from Excavations 7. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Smith, Mark
    1977   'A New Version of a Well-Known Egyptian Hymn.' *Enchoria* 7: 115–49.
    1978   'Remarks on the Orthography of Some Archaisms in Demotic Religious Texts.' *Enchoria* 8/2: 17–27.
    1979   'The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452.' Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.
    1987   *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus British Museum 10507.* Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. London: British Museum Publications.
    1992   Review of Cenival 1992. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39: 80–95.
    1993   *The Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing.* Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Stadler, Martin A.
    2003   *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month (P. Bibl. nat. 149).* Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
    2004a   *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung. Neue religiöse Texte nach dem Papyrus Wien D. 12006 recto.* Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung Erzherzog Rainer. Vienna: Gebrüder Hollinek.
    2004b   'Fünf neue funeräre Kurztexte (Papyri Britisches Museum EA 10121, 10198, 10415, 10421a, b, 10426a) und eine Zwischenbilanz zu dieser Textgruppe'. In Friedhelm Hoffmann and Heinz-Josef Thissen (eds), *Res severa verum Gaudium. Festschrift Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004.* Studia Demotica 6. Leuven: Peeters, 551–72.
    2005a   'Zur ägyptischen Vorlage der memphitischen Isisaretalogie.' *Göttinger Miszellen* 204: 7–9.
    2005b   'Das Ritual, den Tempel des Sobek, des Herren von Pai, zu betreten. Ein Ritualtext aus dem römischen Fayum'. In Burckhard Dücker and Hubert Roeder (eds), *Text und Ritual. Essays und kulturwissenschaftliche Studien von Sesostris bis zu den Dadaisten,* Hermeia 8. Heidelberg: Synchron, 150–63.
    2007   'Zwischen Philologie und Archäologie: Das Tägliche Ritual des Tempels in Soknopaiou Nesos'. In Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli (eds), *New Archaeological Researches on the Fayyum. Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology, Lecce, June 8th–10th 2005.* Papyrologica Lupiensia 14/2005. Lecce: Congedo, 283–302.
forthcoming a   'Drei Textzeugen eines neuen magisch-religiösen Textes (Berlin P 8043 verso, P 15799+23538, P 15652 recto).' In Karl-Theodor Zauzich (ed.), *Akten*

der 8. Internationalen Konferenz für demotische Studien, 27.–30. August 2002. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

forthcoming b Einführung in die demotische religiöse Literatur. Berlin: Lit.

Sternberg-el Hotabi, Heike
1994 'Der Untergang der Hieroglyphenschrift. Schriftverfall und Schrifttod im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit'. Chronique d'Égypte 69: 218–54.
1999 Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen. Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. 2 vols. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 62. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Traunecker, Claude
1991 'Observations sur le décor des temples égyptiens.' In Françoise Dunand, Jean-Michel Spieser, and Jean Wirth (eds), L'Image et la production du sacré. Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 77–101.

Verhoeven, Ursula
2001 Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift. Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 99. Leuven: Peeters.

Vittmann, Günter
1998 Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9, 2 vols. Ägypten und Altes Testament 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
2003 Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Vleeming, Sven P.
1991 The Gooseherds of Hou (Pap. Hou): A Dossier Relating to Various Agricultural Affairs from Provincial Egypt of the Early Fifth Century B.C. Studia Demotica 3. Leuven: Peeters.
2001 Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects and Gathered from Many Publications. Studia Demotica 5. Leuven, Paris, and Sterling, VA: Peeters.

Widmer, Ghislaine
1998 'Un papyrus démotique religieux du Fayoum: P. Berlin 6750.' Bulletin, Société d'Égyptologie Genève 22: 83–91.
2002 'Pharaoh Maâ-Rê, Pharaoh Amenemhat and Sesostris: Three Figures from Egypt's Past as Seen in Sources of the Graeco-Roman Period.' In Kim Ryholt (ed.), Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999. CNI Publications 27. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 377–93.
2005 'P. Berlin P 6750: On Egyptian Religion in Soknopaiou Nesos during Roman Times.' In Lippert and Schentuleit 2005a, 171–84.

Young, Dwight W.
1981 'A Monastic Invective against Egyptian Hieroglyphs.' In Dwight W. Young (ed.), Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky. East Gloucester, MA: Pirtle and Polson, 348–60.

Zauzich, Karl-Theodor
1971 'Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden.' Enchoria 1: 29–42.

1972   'Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden II.' *Enchoria* 2: 83–6.
1974   'Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden III.' *Enchoria* 4: 71–82.
1977   'Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden IV.' *Enchoria* 7: 151–80.
1983   'Demotische Texte römischer Zeit.' In Günter Grimm, Heinz Heinen, and Erich Winter (eds), *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 26–30 September 1978 in Trier*. Aegyptiaca Treverensia 2. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 77–83.