

## 2 Linguistic Change and Religious Change: Thinking about the Temples of the Fayoum in the Roman Period

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THE REMARKS THAT FOLLOW are essentially some reflections on the contributions that new evidence has brought in the last ten years to the question of the way in which Coptic arose in the Roman period and became a crucial language and script for early Christianity. Much of this evidence comes from the Fayoum, although one very important piece comes from the Dakhla Oasis. My focus will be not on Christianity or Christian use of Coptic, but on new information about the development of Coptic and its relationship to the milieu of the Egyptian temples. Little that I have to say will offer any novelty to Coptic philologists, but I hope that scholars in other areas who are not familiar with this new evidence may find something of interest.

A landmark article on the subject by Jan Quaegebeur (1982) has been the best available description of the phases through which Coptic came into existence—best in the sense of being most intellectually rigorous and the most sensitive to differences not always observed by others. Like his teacher J. Vergote, Quaegebeur recognized three phases: (1) a long period in which Egyptian words, principally but not exclusively personal and geographic names, were rendered in Greek script; (2) “Old Coptic,” a term used for the signs visible in an assortment of texts of a coherent attempt to create a new writing system using Greek characters supplemented by several more letters drawn from Demotic to represent sounds not present in Greek; and then (3) Coptic proper, in which the

supplemental signs have been standardized and the language, not only the script, is Coptic. These stages, as Quaegebeur defined them, were not entirely sequential; phenomena belonging to stage 1 continue to occur to the end of antiquity, even after Coptic was in full use.<sup>1</sup>

In this typology, the distinction between stages 2 and 3 was relatively easy to recognize, but the distinction between 1 and 2 was not, and Quaegebeur devoted most of his attention to trying to define that boundary, although he conceded that it could not be defined by any single criterion. Particularly critical was his insistence that for stage 2 all of the Egyptian consonantal phonemes had to have their own specific signs, and that the full set of such signs must be present (even if not yet standardized). The texts meeting these criteria, the Old Coptic texts proper, all came from pagan religious contexts and were magical, astrological, or otherwise religious. Standard Coptic (stage 3), by contrast, is found only in Christian circles and has been widely seen (including by Quaegebeur himself) as a deliberate Christian creation aimed at making the Bible and preaching much more widely available to the Egyptian population.<sup>2</sup>

This picture has encountered revisionist thinking in the last decade. One major challenge has come from David Frankfurter, who offers a very different model of development, in which Coptic is the product of the temples and there is continuity between temple and monastery, for he argues both that the primary use of both Old Coptic and of Coptic was ritual and that "Coptic writing in the era of these texts [i.e., late third and early fourth century] was for the most part a monastic system" (Frankfurter 1998: 259). His view of continuity, he says,

requires only that among those who entered the monastic environments were individuals who had been originally trained in priestly traditions and who thus would carry the ritual idiom and traditions with them, perhaps even already in Coptic. One argument for this demographic continuity, of course, is the Coptic medium itself: while systematized for Christian literature in the fourth century, the writing system, we have seen, probably originated in the temples for ritual purposes (Frankfurter 1998: 261).

The argument is in a sense circular—it assumes the correctness of Frankfurter's view of the origins of Coptic—but that is not in itself enough to show that this competing model is mistaken. The emphasis on the

monasteries, however, is one element probably needing revision; the Coptic documentary papyri from Kellis, mainly letters, originating in Manichaean lay circles and dating to the mid-fourth century and the years following, show Coptic in everyday use in a non-monastic context within some fifteen to twenty years of the earliest known monastic use, and the small quantity of documentation and the hazards of survival make this short interval too slender a foundation on which to base an argument for monastic priority.<sup>3</sup> But the more important and interesting question is whether there really is continuity from “Old Coptic” to Coptic and where the line between Quaegebeur’s stages 2 and 3 is to be drawn.

An exceptionally significant contribution to this problem comes from an ostracon excavated at Kellis in 1997, containing a letter written in what its editor, Iain Gardner, described as the “first evidence of Old Coptic from the site” (Gardner 1999). It contains nothing but greetings as it stands, although I am not entirely persuaded that the editor is necessarily

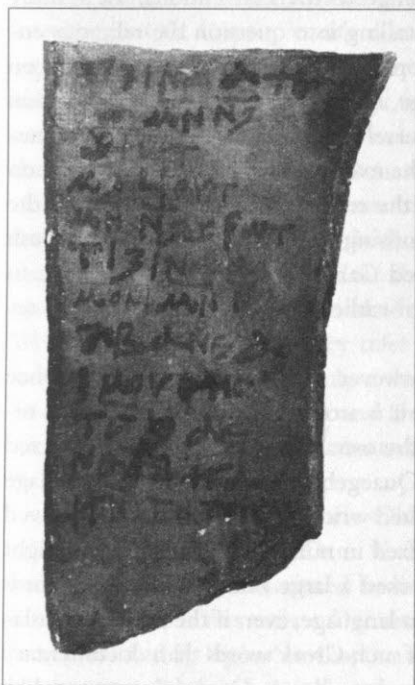


Fig. 2.1. Ostracon from Ismant al-Kharab (Gardner, 1999).

right in thinking that it is complete, for it could well be broken at top. Its date, considering archaeological context and pottery style, is likely to be of the later third century, although precision is impossible. In concluding his discussion, Gardner makes the following important observations and claims:

I have argued that the script of this ostracon should be labelled Old Coptic on the basis of the written form (and indeed number) of the letters derived from Demotic, for Coptic proper is characterised by a standardised script (and a standard alphabet). It should also be emphasised that despite some archaic lexical features, the language

is most definitely Coptic. . . . If these arguments are accepted, then a series of most important hypotheses are suggested, viz.:

OC was not simply a rather restricted attempt to write out a number of pagan religious (magical and astrological) texts but rather refers to a number of competing systems for writing the emerging Coptic language. These could be used for purely secular purposes, and (as indeed the substantial finds of fourth-century Coptic documentary papyri from Ismant al-Kharab also evidence) the dominant role generally assumed for temple and church in the collapse of Demotic and the rise of Coptic may need to be reassessed. Whether the triumph of a standardized Coptic orthography, and the demise of its rivals, was exactly linked to the process of Christianisation . . . remains to be confirmed. If that were so, then the piece published here would be a most rare remnant of pagan Coptic from prior to the (complete) evangelisation of the area (Gardner 1999: 200).

Gardner thus offers his own challenge to the conventional view, more radical than that of Frankfurter in calling into question the religious environment in which Coptic developed. It is the content of the ostrakon on which he relies in this challenge, not its context, for it was found in the debris from the collapse of a barrel vault in a room inside the temenos of the Temple of Tutu, which the excavator says was still in operation at the time of the construction of the room. Given the context and the possibility that part of the text is missing, it would be a mistake to push a secular view too hard, and indeed Gardner's concluding reference to "pagan Coptic" contradicts his own earlier attempt to downplay the religious context.

A still more interesting issue, however, is the viability and coherence of the category "Old Coptic," and it is around this question that my remarks will center. Gardner classes the ostrakon with the texts considered to be Old Coptic on the basis of Quaegebeur's description of that stage as characterized by a non-standardized writing system with the borrowed characters from Demotic not yet fixed in number and shape. One might also point to the fact that Coptic used a large number of Greek words that were clearly part of the spoken language, even if the biblical translations have a much larger number of such Greek words than documentary texts, which reflect everyday speech more closely. Gardner's ostrakon, like all Old Coptic texts, is completely lacking in these Greek words. Indeed, Gardner points out that it does not even seem to reflect the Egyptian

lexicon of the dialect in use in the region in the fourth century. So "Old Coptic" may seem to be a good description.

But when we look at the texts from a century earlier that are usually used to define Old Coptic for that period, it becomes less certain that clarity is well served by using the term for both the earlier texts and the ostracon from Kellis. Two major additions to the Old Coptic corpus from the Fayoum have been published in recent years, and I turn to these now. One of them is a substantial installment from the ostraca found in 1938 in two large jars in a room inside the Temple of Renenutet at Narmouthis, Madinat Madi, brilliantly published in 1997 by Paolo Gallo. Although most of these are Demotic, a small number are Hieratic with glosses in what may be called Old Coptic, datable to the last part of the second century or the very start of the third.<sup>4</sup> Gallo notes that the signs from Demotic are not "derived" from Demotic but taken over unaltered; the Hieratic is thus glossed with a Greek-Demotic hybrid. He argues that the aim in these texts was the recovery and preservation of ancient knowledge: Old Coptic, in this context, is specifically backward-looking, not forward-looking.<sup>5</sup> There are also Greek-Demotic ostraca, with interleaved phrases, amounting to a fifth of the entire find; most of these concern legal, administrative, and notarial concerns, for which Greek was the principal language in use, Demotic being limited largely to temple administration and informal private texts. Despite the labors of Gallo and the other Narmouthis editors, both of the Greek and of the Demotic ostraca, much still remains unclear about the purpose of these compositions, which come from a period of economic decline for the temples.<sup>6</sup> We do not really know if they refer to real situations, transactions, and individuals, or if they have only a theoretical and pedagogical purpose.<sup>7</sup> The command of both Greek and Demotic by the writers is often poor, and unintelligible expressions abound in the bilingual ostraca, just as they do in the Greek ostraca.<sup>8</sup>

One example of the Hieratic-Old Coptic exercises will give an idea of the character (O.Narm.Dem. II 37). The curious mixture of Greek and Demotic may be illustrated by lines 4-5, the second ruled-off panel, in which there is not only a Demotic character for the sound that will be represented by 'kyima' in Coptic, similar to that in the Kellis ostracon but not quite identical to it, but also a Demotic 'n' under it, rather than a second 'nu' in the Greek before 'noub.' In lines 9-10 the writer took two tries at rendering the Hieratic. Many of the editor's interpretations



Fig. 2.2. O.Narm.Dem. II 37, an example of Hieratic-Old Coptic exercises (Gallo, 1997).

of the Hieratic and the attempts to render it in this mixture of Greek and Demotic are conjectural, because what is written is often extremely difficult to understand. As I have noted, the same is true even when one is dealing only with Greek, as is the case with about 40 percent of the roughly fifteen hundred ostraca. There is much that can be read fairly easily but not readily understood.

The same may be said of the "Old Coptic" in the other great publication of recent years, the edition by Jürgen Osing of P.Carlsberg 180 (including fragments of several papyri in other collections, Osing 1998). This long but extremely fragmentary

papyrus contains a kind of dictionary for Middle Egyptian and a compendium of priestly knowledge, in Hieratic. Numerous glosses are written throughout the text, some in Demotic and others in Greek letters with supplementary Demotic characters. As with the Narmouthis ostraca, these correspond in part to the signs that eventually came to be used in Coptic, but not entirely, as 't' is absent, two signs represent sounds present in Coptic but with different characters, and another sign has no Coptic counterpart. The vocabulary at stake is very learned; the glosses evidently aimed to help the user vocalize unfamiliar words. Osing dates the papyrus to the second half of the second century; it is thus roughly contemporaneous with the ostraca.

It seems to me that it will be useful, in thinking about how Coptic comes into being, to distinguish the second-century texts from the Kellis third-century ostracum. In the temple texts, be they elegant and learned, as in the case of the Carlsberg papyrus, or clumsy and lower on the educational scale, as in the Narmouthis ostraca, we are far from having anything that could be called a system of communication. Rather, we are in the

midst of an experimental process of representing Egyptian in a mixture of scripts. In both cases, the motivation is the increasing difficulty in keeping ancient learning alive in a world where knowledge of the older forms of the language was becoming a rare attainment. Frankfurter's attribution of this kind of glossing entirely to ritual purposes seems to me much too reductionist; it is the obscurity of the Hieratic, not its importance in a ritual, that leads to its glossing. There is an enormous gulf between this philological experimentation and the writing system of the Kellis ostrakon, despite their sharing of some fundamental traits like the unsettled character of the Demotic letters and the absence of Greek loanwords. To call both of them Old Coptic probably introduces more obscurity than clarity. And the gulf between these experiments and the fully formed system of communication we call Coptic looks wider, rather than narrower, the more we have of these temple writings of the second century. Moreover, in neither case can we reasonably describe the language of the text as Coptic, even in formation.

The Kellis ostrakon is an entirely different matter. It represents a fully fledged writing system, a script representing a language. Between the Fayoum glosses and the ostrakon is a much larger chasm than that between the ostrakon and fourth-century Coptic letters. It may even be argued that if the ostrakon is broken at top, we cannot properly say that this early Coptic lacked Greek loanwords. The concluding greetings of letters in Coptic are not always the natural home for such vocabulary. For example, the last eight-plus lines of P.Kell.Copt.V 15 contain no Greek words at all in their greetings and farewell, and if it were not for a couple of technical religious terms, the last eleven-plus lines would contain only one Greek preposition. And, it should not be forgotten, the Kellis ostrakon spells the name Imouthes with its Greek grammatical form.

When one considers the small size of the sample presented in the ostrakon, in fact, its most important difference from mature Coptic is simply that some of the signs are not those eventually chosen by Coptic to represent the phonemes they apparently represent here. There are, however, some significant resemblances to forms used in the Fayoum temple texts. To give just one example, the forms for '*kyima*' in both texts appear to be the Demotic signs for '*g*' (from the hieroglyph for a jar-stand, Gardiner W11), not that for the '*k*' (from the basket with handle, Gardiner V31\*), from which the Coptic sign comes. Looked at genetically, these differences might be considered evidence that the Kellis ostrakon comes from

a branch in the development of Coptic which had no future, not from the ancestor of standard Coptic.

On the one hand, that might be the most interesting possible conclusion, because it would point to the existence of multiple independent developments of full writing systems based on Greek and Demotic signs used complementarily, one line of which eventually prevailed. On the other, it gives no comfort to the notion that there is a single line of descent leading from the temples to the churches and monasteries. On the contrary, it suggests that a branching must have occurred earlier in the third century. It would hardly be surprising if a branch adopted by Christians wound up prevailing, given the institutional strength of the church compared to the temples as the third century wore on. In that event, the conventional view of the origins of Coptic as a deliberate creation of Christianity may turn out to be correct, but as part of a larger story of which we can still see only a small bit.

The other consequence of the argument presented here is that some of the material traditionally called 'Old Coptic' should be reclassified both for the sake of clarity and because of fundamental differences. It may be that Quaegebeur's category 1 deserves to house much that has been called Old Coptic. In that case, however, I suspect that this category will need subdivision, because clarity is no better served by lumping together the Carlsberg papyrus and the Narmouthis ostraca with ordinary transcriptions of Egyptian proper names into Greek characters than it is by putting them in the same group as the Kellis ostrakon.

### Notes

1. He points out that his stage 1 goes back to pre-Hellenistic times.
2. See Bagnall 1993: 235–240 for a derivative summary, heavily indebted to Quaegebeur 1982 and citing other bibliography.
3. See Gardner, Alcock, and Funk 1999, vol. 1. Frankfurter (1998: 258) was aware of the Kellis literary material but could not yet use the documents. The Kellis Manichaean appear to regard themselves as Christians; their use of Coptic therefore does not broaden the user base of early Coptic writing beyond Christianity.
4. Gallo 1997: li–liiii. The attempt by Pernigotti (1999) to date the archive a century later is certainly unfounded; the Greek texts cannot be dated that late palaeographically. Cf. Messeri and Pintaudi 2002: 210, n. 4 on this point.
5. His suggestion at no. 34, line 4, that the intent was to preserve the Middle Egyptian pronunciation rather than the contemporary one, however, has been rejected by Quack (1999: 195).
6. Gallo's discussion of this subject in his introduction (1997: xxi–xxx) is detailed and important. He stresses that there is no evidence of building or repair at



Narmouthis after the ninth decade A.D., and he argues that the situation in the Delta was if anything worse than in the Fayoum and Upper Egypt, with outright dismantling of temples going on in the Roman period.

7. O.Narm.Dem. II 92 is a particularly remarkable piece, offering among other things an apparent mention of a *katholikos* which has been the source of difficulty in dating the archive (it is the foundation of Pernigotti's late date). But there is in fact no particular reason to believe that it is here a title for the Harpochration mentioned just before *ton katolikon* (*sic*). There are other difficulties in this text that deserve discussion elsewhere. See Quack 1999: 196 on lines 5–6. For general reflections on the problem of the nature of the find, see Gallo's introduction (1997) as well as Pernigotti 1999.
8. See Messeri and Pintaudi 2002 for some striking examples; cf. especially their discussion on pages 210–213 of the enigmatic 'ep̄to'.

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