Contents

Acknowledgements ---- VII

Preface —— IX

List of Figures —— XIX

Part 1

1	Approaching the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus and the Curse of
	Artemisia — 3
1.1	Interests of Enquiry – Motivation and Mechanism —— 4
1.2	Path to Enquiry – Rethinks, Revelations, and Rewrites — 6
1.3	Dimensions of Enquiry – Who, what, where, when, whence, why, and
	how9
1.4	Frames of Enquiry – Content, Context, and Concept —— 10
1.5	Layout of Enquiry —— 14
2	Petitioning the Divine in Egypt —— 17
2.1	The Ritual Tradition of Petitioning the Divine from Egypt —— 18
2.1.1	The "Letters to the Dead" —— 19
2.1.2	The "Letters to Gods" —— 23
2.1.3	Considering <i>Concept</i> – The Collaborative <i>Mechanism</i> of Petitioning the
	Divine from Egypt —— 28
2.2	The Textual Tradition of Letters to Gods from Egypt —— 31
2.2.1	Considering Content — 32
2.2.2	Considering Contexts —— 37
2.2.2.1	Material Context – The Letters to Gods upon Media —— 38
2.2.2.2	Spatial Context – The Letters to Gods in Space —— 39
2.2.2.3	Temporal Context – The Letters to Gods in Time —— 46
2.2.2.4	Textual Context – The Letters to Gods in Textual Traditions —— 46
2.2.2.4	.1 Letters (to Human Recipients) —— 47
2.2.2.4	.2 Petitions (to Human Recipients) —— 50
2.2.2.4	.3 Documents of Self-Dedication —— 55
2.2.2.4	.4 Oracle Questions —— 58
2.2.2.4	.5 Potential Predecessors in Hieratic – Products of "Personal Piety" —— 61
2.2.3	Considering Concept — 66
2.2.3.1	Motivation —— 67
2.2.3.2	Mechanism — 70

2.2.3.3	Practice — 76
2.3	Letters to Gods in Greek vs. "Prayers for Justice" from Egypt — 86
2.3.1	Considering Content – The Category Characteristics of "Prayers for
	Justice" —— 90
2.3.1.1	Considering the Corpus – The Corpus of Letters to Gods in
	Greek —— 105
2.3.1.2	The "Curse of Artemisia" —— 106
2.3.1.3	The Esna Ostraca —— 113
2.3.1.4	Other Contenders? —— 121
2.3.2	Considering Contexts – Comparing the Category Characteristics of
	Letters to Gods and "Prayers for Justice" —— 127
2.3.3	Considering Concept – The Mechanism behind the "Prayers for
	Justice"——134
2.3.3.1	Current Consensus - Publicly Displayed "Prayers for Justice" 142
2.3.3.1.1	The "Confession Inscriptions" —— 143
2.3.3.1.2	The Medium of Marble —— 144
2.3.3.1.3	Examples upon Moveable Media —— 146
2.3.3.1.4	Curses against Thieves – A "Subcategory" of "Prayers for
	Justice" —— 150
2.3.3.2	Counter-arguing the Consensus – Deposited "Prayers for
	Justice" —— 156
2.3.3.2.1	Knidos —— 156
2.3.3.2.2	Acrocorinth —— 163
2.3.3.2.3	Britain —— 165
2.3.3.3	"Prayers were Public" but "Curses were Concealed": Display then
	Deposition – A Convenient Conclusion Discourse from Display – A
	False Presupposition —— 167
2.3.3.4	Categorising Coptic Curses —— 174
2.3.3.4.1	"Proactive" and "Reactive", "Imperative" and "Supplicative" Curses
	exhibiting or lacking "Specific/Rhetorical Justification" and "Judicial
	Features" —— 181
2.3.3.4.2	Can Motivation inform Mechanism? —— 192
2.3.3.4.3	An Excursus on Contemporary Cursing in Egypt —— 194
2.3.3.5	Modern and Historical Concept – Etic and Emic Mechanisms —— 198
2.3.3.5.1	Implicit Social Mechanism —— 198
2.3.3.5.2	Explicit Social Mechanism —— 203
2.3.3.5.3	Implicit and Explicit Priestly Mechanism —— 206
2.3.3.5.4	Psychological Mechanism —— 208
2.3.3.5.5	Attribution Mechanism —— 209
2.3.4	Significant or Superficial Similarities? Transmission and
	Transformation from the Letters to Gods to Prayers for Justice —— 213

Part 2

3	The Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus (OCSP) —— 225
3.1	The Manuscript of the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus —— 225
3.1.1	Provenance – The Spatial Context of the Old Coptic Schmidt
	Papyrus —— 226
3.1.1.1	The Archival History of Crum MS XII.10 —— 228
3.1.1.2	"Mon papyrus de Tehneh" —— 233
3.1.2	Materiality – The Material Context of the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus —— 236
3.1.3	Dating – The <i>Temporal Context</i> of the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus —— 242
3.1.4	Palaeography – A Unique Old Coptic Script —— 245
3.1.5	Orthographic Conventions and Dialect – Old Coptic yet Sahidic —— 253
3.1.6	Why Old Coptic?—— 257
3.1.6.1	The "Nature" of Old Coptic —— 258
3.1.6.2	Past Assumptions and Fallacies in the Study of Old Coptic — 267
3.1.6.3	Past Interpretations of the Rationale behind the Utilisation of Old Coptic in the OCSP —— 270
3.1.6.4	"Context is (the) King (of the Two Lands)" – A "Dead End" in (the) understanding (of) Old Coptic —— 286
3.2	The Text of the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus —— 290
4	Contextualising the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus —— 313
- 4.1	Esrmpe's Urban Environment – Tehne (Akoris) (Tahna al Jabal) in the
4.1	Time of Esrmpe — 314
4.1.1	Tehne in the Pharaonic Period —— 317
4.1.2	Tehne = Akōris in the Graeco-Roman Period —— 321
4.2	Esrmpe's Cultic Environment – Temple Institutions and their Cults at
7.2	Tehne in the Time of Esrmpe —— 325
4.2.1	The North Chapel —— 326
4.2.2	The Western Temple Area – The Animal Mummy Tombs of Amun and
	Sobek — 328
4.2.3	The Central Temple Area —— 334
4.2.4	Tehne Today – Contemporary Ritual Practices at the Historical
	Site —— 336
4.3	Petitioning the Divine at Tehne —— 337
4.3.1	The Eastern Slope Cemetery – The Corn Mummy Cemetery of Osiris
	Khentiamentiu —— 338
4.3.2	The Mysteries of Osiris during the Khoiak Festival —— 346
4.3.2.1	Ritual Prescription —— 350

4.3.2.2	Ritual Production —— 357
4.3.2.3	Ritual Recitation —— 366
4.4	Context is (the) King (of the Two Lands): The Sitz im Nachleben of the
	Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus —— 376
5	Reading the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus —— 379
5.1	Textual Content —— 379
5.1.1	Past Readings —— 379
5.1.2	Revised Reading —— 384
5.1.2.1	Esrmpe's Address — 384
5.1.2.1	1 smy among the Letters to Gods in Demotic and cพีผธ e- among curses in Coptic — 389
5.1.2.2	Esrmpe's Case — 395
5.1.2.2	1 hp among the Letters to Gods in Demotic and ελπ among curses in Coptic —— 395
5.1.2.2	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
5.1.2.3	•
5.1.2.4	
5.1.2.5	•
5.1.2.6	
5.2	Motivation —— 430
5.2.1	Past Interpretations —— 430
5.2.2	Revised Interpretation – A right to be fulfilled —— 435
5.3	Mechanism —— 444
5.3.1	Past Interpretations —— 445
5.3.2	Revised Interpretation – Perpetual Petitioning of Divine Agents through
	Eternal Deposition —— 453
Part 3	
6	The Curse of Artemisia (CA) —— 459
6.1	The Manuscript of the Curse of Artemisia —— 459
6.1.1	Provenance – The Spatial Context of the Curse of Artemisia —— 459
6.1.2	Materiality — The Material Context of the Curse of Artemisia —— 465
6.1.3	Dating – The Temporal Context of the Curse of Artemisia —— 467
6.1.4	Palaeography – The Epigraphic yet Literary Hand of the Curse of Artemisia —— 471
6.1.5	Dialect – The Language Variety of the Hellenomemphites —— 475
6.2	The Text of the Curse of Artemisia —— 476

7	Contextualising the Curse of Artemisia —— 481
7.1	Artemisia's Urban Environment – Memphis in the Time of
	Artemisia —— 481
7.1.1	The Urban Topography of Memphis —— 481
7.1.2	Artemisia's Community – The Hellenes of Memphis —— 489
7.1.2.1	Artemisia's Identity —— 489
7.1.2.2	The Hellenomemphites —— 491
7.1.2.3	
7.1.2.4	Speech and Script Communities and Social Networks among the
	Hellenomemphites —— 503
7.2	Artemisia's Cultic Environment – Saqqara in the Time of
	Artemisia —— 507
7.2.1	The Cult Topography of Saqqara —— 507
7.2.1.1	The Serapeum (pr - m s m - m p = Ποσερ m απι = Σερ m ε m ε m ον) —— 510
7.2.1.2	The Sacred Animal Necropolis (ḥp-nb≈s) —— 518
7.3	Petitioning the Divine at Saqqara —— 533
7.3.1	Letters to Gods and Oracle Questions from the Northern Enclosure of
	the SAN —— 536
7.3.2	Letters to Gods from the Central Temple Enclosure of the SAN —— 545
7.3.3	Letters to Gods and Oracle Questions from the Southern Dependencies
	of the SAN —— 548
7.3.4	Letters to Gods and Oracle Questions from a site east of the
	Serapeum —— 550
7.3.5	Letters to Gods and Oracle Questions from Saqqara, but without a
	secure provenance —— 553
7.3.6	A Letter to a God from near a Tomb Shaft – The Earliest Egyptian
	Curse? —— 558
8	Reading the Curse of Artemisia —— 565
8.1	Textual Content —— 565
8.1.1	Past Readings —— 567
8.1.2	Revised Reading —— 569
8.1.2.	Artemisia's Address —— 569
8.1.2.	
8.1.2.	
8.1.2.	
8.2	The Motivation behind the Curse of Artemisia —— 598
8.2.1	Past Interpretations —— 598
8.2.2	Recent Interpretations —— 604
8.2.3	Revised Interpretation – Retribution, not Restitution —— 605
8.3	Mechanism —— 607
8.3.1	Past Interpretations and Current Consensus —— 609

X۱	/11	١	 r	n	n	t	۵	n	t	

8.3.2	Issues with the "Public Display" Thesis for the Curse of
0.5.2	Artemisia —— 612
8.3.3	Reinterpretation – Petitioning Divine Agents through Temporary
	Deposition —— 615
Part 4	

Petitioning Osiris — 623 9

Appendices

Tables ---- 649 Letters to Gods (sorted by site, date, and medium) --- 649 Letters to Gods - Secure, Unpublished --- 652 Letters to Gods - Insecure, Unpublished --- 653

Letters to Gods - Insecure, Unpublished, Lost --- 653

Bibliography —— 655 Abbreviations --- 655 Works cited --- 655

Indices --- 677

List of Words in Old Coptic Script — 677 Select List of Words in Egyptian Transliteration — 679 Select List of Words in Greek Script --- 682 Manuscript Traditions cited by Title --- 683 Manuscripts cited by Publication Number/Conventional Title — 684 Manuscripts cited by Inventory Number — 686 Subject Index --- 689