

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA

ANALECTA

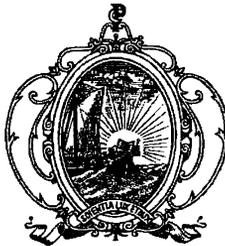
————— 175 —————

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN DEMONOLOGY

Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic
and the Divine in Egyptian Magic

edited by

P. KOUSOULIS



UITGEVERIJ PEETERS en DEPARTEMENT OOSTERSE STUDIES
LEUVEN – PARIS – WALPOLE, MA

2011

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

- P. KOUSOULIS (University of the Aegean)
The Demonic Lore of Ancient Egypt: Questions on Definition IX
- Y. KOENIG (Catholic Institute of Paris & C.N.R.S.)
Opening Greeting to the Demonology Symposium on Rhodes XXIII

PART I

DEMONS AND PERSONIFICATION

- R.K. RITNER (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)
An eternal curse upon the reader of these lines (with apologies to M. Puig) 3
- P.J. FRANDBSEN (University of Copenhagen)
Faeces of the creator or the temptations of the dead . . . 25
- K. SZPAKOWSKA (University of Wales, Swansea), *Demons in the dark: nightmares and other nocturnal enemies in ancient Egypt* 63
- P. WILSON (University of Durham)
Masking and multiple personas 77
- A. ROCCATI (University of Turin)
Demons as reflection of human society 89

PART II

MAGIC AND THE COSMICIZATION OF THE WORLD

- A.B. LLOYD (University of Wales, Swansea)
Egyptian magic in Greek literature 99
- Y. KOENIG (Catholic Institute of Paris & C.N.R.S.)
Between order and disorder: a case of sacred philology . . . 121

J.F. QUACK (Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg)	
<i>Remarks on Egyptian rituals of dream-sending</i>	129
H. GYÓRY (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest)	
<i>Some aspects of magic in ancient Egyptian medicine</i>	151
Bibliography.	167
Index	193

INTRODUCTION
THE DEMONIC LORE OF ANCIENT EGYPT:
QUESTIONS ON DEFINITION

Panagiotis KOUSOULIS
University of the Aegean

“That is not dead which can eternal lie.
And with strange aeons even death may die”.¹

The practice of magic² and the conceptualisation of personified demonic agents³ are central to the Egyptian understanding of the workings of the world from the very continuation of the cosmos itself down to the vicissitudes of existence faced by individuals. In particular, both magic and the articulation of the involvement of demonic agency form one of the crucial links in ancient Egypt between individual existence on the human level and the level of nature or the cosmos, the realm of the gods. But while the notion of magic, *heka*, has a clear denotation in the Egyptian language and ideology, free from all pejorative connotations that borne

¹ LOVECRAFT, in: S.T. JOSHI (ed.), *Call of Cthulhu*, 141.

² For foundation studies on Egyptian magic, see RITNER, *Mechanics*; RITNER, in: M. MEYER and P. MIRECKI (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, 43-60; ÉTIENNE, *Heka*; KOENIG (ed.), *La magie en Égypte*; ESCHWEILER, *Bildzauber*; SZPAKOWSKA (ed.), *Through a Glass Darkly*; ASSMANN, in: P. SCHÄFER and H.G. KIPPENBERG (eds.), *Envisioning Magic*, 1-18; also, LLOYD, this volume.

³ For Pharaonic Egypt, see TE VELDE, *LÄ I* (1975), cols. 980-84; MEEKS, *Genies*, 18-84; MEEKS, in: D. REDFORD (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia*, vol. I, 375-78; KURTH, in: A. LANGE, H. LICHTENBERGER and K.F. DIETHARD RÖMHELD (eds.), *Die Dämonen*, 45-60; KAPER, *God Tutu*; LEITZ, in: S. JOHNSON (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World*, 392-6; LUCARELLI, in: B. BURKARD, I. MUNRO and S. STÖHR, *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 203-12; LUCARELLI, in: G.P.F. BROEKMAN, R.J. DEMARÉE and O.E. KAPER (eds.), *Libyan Period*, 231-9; LUCARELLI, in: P. KOUSOULIS and N. LAZARIDIS (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress*, forthcoming; SCHIPPER, in: F. REITERER, T. NICKLAS, and K. SCHÖPFLIN (eds.), *Angels*, 1-19; SZPAKOWSKA, *JARCE* 40 (2003), 113-22; KOUSOULIS, in: J.-Cl. GOYON and C. CARDIN (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress*, 1043-50; KOUSOULIS, in: P. KOUSOULIS and N. LAZARIDIS (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress*, forthcoming; KOUSOULIS, in: N. STAMPOLIDIS (ed.), *Immortality*, forthcoming; for Coptic Egypt, see FRANKFURTER, in: N. BOSSON and A. BOUD'HORS (eds.), *Actes*, vol. 2, 453-66; FRANKFURTER, *Evil Incarnate*, Chapter 2; for a compendium of textual sources related to demons and deities, see LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vols. I-VIII. Also, RITNER, FRANDSEN, SZPAKOWSKA, ROCCATI, LLOYD, QUACK, this volume.

by modern terms and are so attached to the Western European understating of the term magic, a generic term for the demonic is completely lacking. The words “demon” and “demonology” as it is used in contemporary English (and also as its cognates “Dämon”, “démon”, “demone” and “demonio”, for example, are used in contemporary German, French, Italian, and Spanish respectively) are drawing on our own, Judaeo-Christian, cultural heritage and are seen as negative aspects of cultural conceptualisation and practice. To what extent such a negatively polarized term can be safely assigned to denote and describe diverse attitudes and roles in the Egyptian cultural environment? Moreover, what would the criteria be for the formation of a category or categories of beings that could be mapped together and systemised to become a “demonology”, especially when the majority of them do not possess an apparent ontological essence or a clearly defined denotation in the Egyptian belief system? To put in another way, what are the causes for the genesis and formation of the demonic in Egyptian thought that there is no need for a concrete terminology to be conceptualised as such? For the scope of this brief introduction, these questions can only be touched upon here and they will be fully discussed in a separate study.⁴

The root for own word “demon” is the Greek term *δαίμων* (*daimon*).⁵ Although there is no systemised demonological treatise before Plato, the word is already found in Homer, where it is a vaguer equivalent for *θεός*, a divine being of any kind.⁶ Also in Hesiod, the men of the golden race after death received a special function and “they are called pure spirits dwelling on earth, and are kindly, delivering from harm, and guardians of mortal men” (*Works* 122-123). There are numerous (“ten thousand spirits”) and watch over the living all over the earth (*Works* 252-253). According to Empedocles, *daimones* are “demi-gods, fugitives from the gods and wanderers” (*fr.* B 115). This sporadic attestation of the demonic finds its most explicit denotation in Plato’s dialogues and the work of his successors, Phillippus of Opus and Xenocrates of Chalcedon. Plato derives the word *δαίμων* from *δαήμων* “connoisseur” (*Cratylus* 397c4-

⁴ See KOUSOULIS, in: P. KOUSOULIS (ed.), *Abstracts of Papers*, 135-6 and forthcoming paper in the Proceedings (n. 2 above).

⁵ For a general survey of the word in Greek literature, BOEFT, *Clacidius*, 1-7; VAN DER TOORN, BECKING and VAN DER HORST (eds.), *Dictionary of Gods and demons*, s.v. ‘Demon’; LLOYD, this volume.

⁶ This equivalency is generally seen in a completely neutral sense, e.g. *σύν δαιμόνι* “with the help of a god” (*Ilias*, A 792). Possibly in the *Odyssey* there is a tendency towards a pejorative use of the term, e.g. 24, 149, where Amphimedon’s ghost blames Odysseus’ home-coming on a *κακός δαίμων* “evil *daimon*”.

398c5) and regards it as “a great spirit between divine and mortal, interpreting and transporting human things to the gods and divine things to men” (*Symposium* 202d-e). Puillippus of Opus, elaborates further this idea by mapping a cosmic system of five spheres—fire, aether, earth, air, water, earth—and placing demons between the second and the third of these domains as “interpreters of all things, to one another and to the highest gods” (*Epinomis* 985b1-3). Along the same lines, Xenocrates of Chalcedon moves a step further and differentiates between good and wicked demons,⁷ an idea which influenced later demonological systematisations, most importantly among them that of Apuleius in *De deo Socratis*. Apuleius *daimones*’ characteristic and role as “mediators” between gods and mortals (Ch. 13) and, also, draws a distinction between two classes of *daimones*, one being subject to incorporation and the other has been created as such (Ch. 15-16).

Thus, Greek *daimones* could be any number of far less powerful entities, including special souls of dead who had been elevated to positions of power as a reward for their good behavior while alive. They are occasionally regarded as gods, for example in Hesiod, but more often, as in Plato, they acted as mediums between the divine and the mundane world. In both cases there exists a clear terminological attestation alongside with the god category.⁸ Methodologically, here, it is reasonable to use a comparative method. If demons do exist and interfere with the living world in ancient Egypt, Egyptian demons are not going to be materially or conceptually different from ancient Greek *daimones*. Such an approach defines a demon simply as an individual spiritual entity that humans may meet, and with which personal interaction is possible. However, to the clear definition of the “god- category” (*ntr/ntrt*), no axiomatic term exists to involve all aspects of the demonic idiosyncrasy.⁹ Egyptian demons are usually understood by Egyptologists as “minor divinities”, assistants to superior powers, or agents of chaos and evil.¹⁰ It is probably a convenient research method to classify the demonic according to function and role (e.g. apotropaic, protective, benign, malicious) or according to certain

⁷ As cited by PLUTARCH, *De Defecto Oracolorum*, 416d.

⁸ This diverse character of the demonic, as well as its anthropomorphic iconographical representation are the semantic oppositions that differentiate Greek *daimon* from our word “demon”; see JOHNSTON, *Restless Dead*, 162-3.

⁹ MEEKS, *op. cit.*, regards demons as part of the god-category and distinguishes between deities acting as assistants to the creator god, demons and genies; see FRANDSEN, this volume.

¹⁰ See TE VELDE, *LÄ I* (1975), col. 981; MEEKS, in: D. REDFORD (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 375.

iconographical features (e.g. monstrosity),¹¹ but the overall picture will be flawed if we do not take into account the inexorable mixing of positive and negative attitudes within a single demonic identity.

Although certain criteria that distinguish divine from demonic entities occasionally exist, as Frandsen points out in his contribution,¹² diversity and multiplicity of names and forms are not idiomatic privileges of the demonic but they have been taken after the exemplar within the society of the divine. The most striking prototype is that of Seth, whose malevolent nature as the rival of Horus, is appeased by protective attributes towards Re and against Apophis,¹³ or that of Bes/Beset who seems to operate in the luminal areas of transformation between the human/animal on the one hand and the devine/demonic on the other.¹⁴ In a similar fashion, the transformation plague-bearing demons, “the seven arrows” (*ḥ3(y)ry.w*, translated also as “demons of decease”, “knife-bearers”, “murderers” and “nightly spirits”), the term for demons used in this passage, loosed at the critical turn of the New Year, are minions of Sakhmet, whose baleful influence threatens deities and mankind alike.¹⁵ Demonic beings could even appear in personal names compositions and conceptualised the way human society is formed.¹⁶

What actually prevails in the written and archaeological record that survives from ancient Egypt, is lists of demonic names, epithets, hypostases, manifestations and acts of contact or interference in highly

¹¹ FISCHER, in: A. FARKAS, P.O. HARPER and E.B. HARRISON (eds.), *Monsters and Demons*, 13-26.

¹² Those include worship and festivals (gods are worshiped, demons are not; Cf. GUGLIELMI, *LÄ* (1982), col. 983), specific iconographic conventions (e.g. monstrosity) and even determinatives as conceptualised metaphors of the unseen (gods are generally assumed to be associated with determinatives such as 𓆎 , or 𓆏 , while demons typically are indicated by the knife or the deceased-enemy determinative, although exceptions do occur; see SHALOMI-HEN, *Classifying the Divine*, 39, 43-6). Note, however, the individual cult of the first of the seven demons of Neith and Mut, the so-called 3 phty in KAPER, *Tutu*, 61-2. At Ptolemaic Thebes, a resident cult of *ḥty.w* “genies” was served by a formal prophet (THISEN, *Die demotischen Graffiti*, 30-1 and 33), while the deity Tutu could be regarded as “image” (*twtw*) of the “summation” of decease-bringing demons; see RITNER, this volume.

¹³ Earlier attempts to explain such diversity in the sethian behaviour as reminiscent of the supposed positive divine role that Seth possessed once have been failed in favour of a more semasiological analysis of the sethian positive attributes; see BRUNNER, in H. BRUNNER, *Das hörende Herz*, 121-9; TE VELDE, *Seth*, Chapter 4.

¹⁴ See WILSON, this volume.

¹⁵ See RITNER, this volume.

¹⁶ See, for example, the case of the *p3-(n)-n3-ḥtlw* “he who belongs to the *ḥtlw*-demons”, predominantly appear in the Late Period onomastica in LEAHY, *GM* 87 (1985), 49-51, and more in RITNER, this volume.

contextualised way. For pharaonic Egypt the list provides the characteristic framework of knowing; the whole is defined as the list of its part.¹⁷ “Listing” as a literary technique penetrates every aspect of Egyptian thought and knowledge, including knowledge and definition of god, ritual, science. Its contribution was crucial to the understanding of any theological or ontological issue, without the need of any further narrative or verbalistic explanation.¹⁸ For the demonic discourse, especially, this finds its best exemplification in the funerary corpus of the *Book of the Dead* genre, where individual demons and collective forces of entities are listed in a variety of attitudes and roles that range from protective, as guardians and apotropaic figures, to malicious and vice versa,¹⁹ in the abundance of the demonic names that lack any ontological denotation in the *Oracular Amuletic Decrees* of the Twenty-first Dynasty,²⁰ in the Apophian hypostases and personae in the P. Bremner Rhind of the Late Period,²¹ or in the door-guardians of the Ptolemaic temples,²² just to mention a few representative examples of such demonic compilations. Thorough investigation of the contextual materialisation of the demonic is crucial in classifying (= analysis) and interpreting (= synthesis) the demonic idiosyncrasy in ancient Egypt.²³

¹⁷ This finds the clearest expression in the extensive lists of the names or forms of a god, as in the *Litany of Re* of the New Kingdom, potentially describing the totality of his nature, without targeting a general systematization. See HORNUNG, *Conceptions*, 86-91, who speaks of theology of classification; ASSMANN, *Ägypten-Theologie*, 102-7; cf. BAINES, in: J. BAINES (ed.), *Pyramid Studies*, 124-33, for the funerary function of an Abydos “list” of gods.

¹⁸ Cf. BAINES, *JNES* 50 (1991), 100-4; according to GRIFFITHS, in: M. HEERMA VAN VOSS *et al.*, *Studies Zandee*, 53-5, the enumeration technique in the spells from the *Pyramid Texts* could be encrypted behind the phenomenon of the Early Egyptian syncretism.

¹⁹ See LUCARELLI, in: B. BACKES, I. MUNRO, S. STÖHR (eds.), *Totenbuch-Forschungen*, 203-12; also, SZPAKOWSKA, *Dreams* and this volume. The demonic nature of the malicious dead and spirits in the Underworld is a very perplex subject, which touches upon the problem of belief and organization of mortuary ideology; see, recently EYRE, in: MU-CHOU POO (ed.), *Rethinking Ghosts*, 33-46.

²⁰ EDWARDS, *Hieratic Papyri, Fourth Series*; see recently LUCARELLI, in: G.P.F. BROEKMAN, R.J. DEMARÉE and O.E. KAPER (eds.), *Libyan Period*, 231-9; LUCARELLI, in: P. KOUSOULIS and N. LAZARIDIS (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress*, forthcoming.

²¹ FAULKNER, *Bremner-Rhind* and *JEA* 24 (1938), 41-53; see KOUSOULIS, *Magic and Religion*, Chapter 5, and *Apophis*, forthcoming.

²² GOYON, *Les dieux-gardiens*.

²³ Cf., for example, Ritner’s analysis and diverse interpretation of *ḥꜣwt/ḥꜣt* as “inspiration”, “ecstasy”, “exorcism”, “doom”, “fate”, “fury” and “curse”, according to the specific context (legal, literary, votive, magical) it appears.

Thus, extreme caution should be exercised when foreign terms, like our modern word “demon”, carrying specific values within a certain local and cultural environment are employed to describe Egyptian notions of a diverse and multidimensional nature. They have different connotations in different contexts, scholarly and popular, and are therefore liable to be misleading or completely inappropriate in certain circumstances and local environments.²⁴ Egyptian demonic entities could be either beneficent or maleficent whereas “demons” in our modern sense are almost always maleficent, either because of personal grudges they bear their victims or because they are the factotums of evil powers such as Satan.²⁵ To frame the issue posed by the questions in the beginning of this introduction in another way, the question that needs to be the focus of future research on the subject is not “What is an Egyptian demon?”, but “When is an Egyptian demon?” In his article, Frandsen has proved quite convincingly that, at least for one category of “evil” phenomena – that of being *bwt* – manipulation is the key to understand why a person or thing could be temporally assigned with *bwt* or not.²⁶ *Bwt* is not a quality, but intrinsic to things, material or immaterial, as part of their own nature from the time of creation. Since creation was not a static process, but it was re-enacted and renewed every day by the king and the priests within a proper sacramental environment, this creator-giving property of *bwt* could be manipulated in each case.

Manipulation through ritual performance is the key to unlock the multifarious character and role of the demonic in the Egyptian belief system. Instead of searching for static representatives of good or evil, we should look at certain literary and iconographical devices of the Egyptian craft —puns and paranomasia, homophony, alliteration and wordplays on meaning, just to name a few—, which are well known from the funerary texts of the Old Kingdom and continued to be an important feature of funerary and temple texts until the end of the Egyptian language, when Coptic magical texts continued the tradition, and are equally employed for manipulating and exposing the demonic within different ritual frameworks. The inner magical mechanism of the latter, especially through the exploitation of sounds and recited formulae, artificially creates and manipulates names and, thus, divine or demonic beings, since the former are indelibly connected to the essence of the latter.

²⁴ Cf. FRANKFURTER, *Evil Incarnate*, 13-5 and n. 2 for comparative literature.

²⁵ Cf. JOHNSTON, *Restless Dead*, 162-3; FRANKFURTER, *Evil Incarnate*, 13-5.

²⁶ See FRANDSEN, *BSAK* 3 (1988), 153-6, and also his contribution in this volume.

A glance forward

The contributors to this volume were aware of the fact that both magic and demon are value-loaded concepts and that an in depth knowledge of their nature could only be achieved if both notions are placed within their own temporal and cultural framework. They take into account the diverse character and agency of the demonic and to oppose the idea of the predominance of the negative characteristics in it, which has been determined by the arrogant, mainly Christian, concept of primitive religious concepts and ethics developing into higher forms of religiosity in post-Christian times. Similarly, the opposition between magic and religion and the faulty idea of a linear development from magic to ever higher forms of religion that characterized most anthropological and historical studies of religion since the seminal work of James George Frazer in 1900 is clearly refuted.²⁷ Despite, however, the inappropriateness of the word “demon” to describe the entities on whom this volume focuses, some cognates words, such as “demonic” (the totality of malign characteristics or roles of these spiritual entities) and “demonology” (the whole complex of such beliefs in the Egyptian culture), are used as convenient ways of expressing ideas that otherwise would require elaborate periphrasis.²⁸

This collective volume of essays on ancient Egyptian demonology and magic owes its origins to the first symposium on Egyptology ever held in Greece. This memorable gathering of scholars took place on the island of Rhodes in July 2003. The symposium was sponsored by the Department of Mediterranean Studies of the University of the Aegean, the Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, and the Metaekdotiki Publishers, and was organized by Dr. Mark Collier (University of Liverpool) and myself. In accordance with the thematic sessions of the Symposium, this volume is divided in two sections: the first explores the nature and hypostases of the demonic in theology and magic, the reflections of demons in the Egyptian society, and the demonic interference in dreams. The second section presents new insights at Egyptian magic and magical texts, rituals and apotropaic objects. Each article offers a specific perspective and all cover a wide span of time.

In his paper, ROBERT RITNER examines the close interaction between otherworldly forces of destruction and benefaction as exemplified by the term *khyt*. Translated variously as “inspiration”, “fury” and “curse”, the word is specifically linked to Heka and other deities in magical contexts

²⁷ See, especially, LLOYD’s article and n. 2 above for further references along this line.

²⁸ Cf. JOHNSTON, *Restless Dead*, 165.

that often suggest a state comparable to demonic “possession”. Examples survive in Late Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic texts, with comparable expressions in late Coptic curses. Like their Demotic antecedents, these spells inflict their force on the accidental reader of the lines. The author emphasizes the ambiguous nature of divine force which may be both hostile (demonic) and beneficent (divine). Some parallel contexts in which gods and demons are listed as comparable hostile forces are also mentioned.

Keeping our focus on the diverse nature of the demonic, PAUL JOHN FRANSEN addresses the category “demon” from the vantage point of “reversal” and discusses the so-called reversal text in the *Coffin Texts*. The expression of danger in these texts, whether phrased in negative or, less frequently perhaps, positive formulae, was an attempt to convince the deceased that his salvation was dependent on his belief that life beyond death was a reversal of the world of the living. The deceased is, in these texts, constantly enticed into accepting reversals as the norm. In a similar manner, the deceased must distinguish between the *heka*, magic, that he must acquire or be transformed into, and the *heka*, magic, of the beings of the otherworld to which he should not respond. The danger described in these texts was very real, and apparently so imminent, that it would seem hazardous to have a spell begin with a dialogue, even though a discourse organized around the assumption of a co-present participant can be shown to be the matrix for all these texts.

KASIA SZPAKOWSKA examines demons’ nocturnal attributes and characteristics and their interference with the living through dreams. The dream in ancient Egypt functioned as a liminal zone between the land of the living and the farworld. However, the dream was also a phenomenon over which the dreamer had little control, and its permeable boundaries allowed both the divine and the demonic inhabitants of the beyond access to the visible world. Sometimes the result was a positive beneficial experience, as is attested in New Kingdom royal texts and elite hymns that relate the awe-inspiring contact a dreamer could have with a god or a goddess. But another more disturbing belief was that dreams could also allow the vulnerable sleeper to be watched or even assaulted by the hostile dead. While today we call these events “anxiety dreams” or “nightmares” and consider them psychological phenomena, the Egyptians blamed them on external monsters or demons crossing over from the other side. These entities included the dead, and here it appears that the line between the justified transfigured dead and the malevolent unjustified dead might not have been an immutable one. Drawing upon both

textual and material evidence primarily from the New Kingdom, SZPAKOWSKA explores the identity and nature of the hostile entities who dared to disturb the sleep of the living. Surviving spells, prescriptions, and apotropaic devices attest to the prevalent fear of nightmares and nocturnal enemies, while the intricate steps one could take to ensure safety in the night emphasize the tangible nature of these fears. To protect themselves against the dreadful demons of the dark, sleeping mortals could access the same potent energies that restored order and kept at bay the chaotic enemies of the sun-god himself.

The multiple visualisation of the demonic is also addressed by PENELOPE WILSON, who focuses in this case on the practice of masking for ritual and ceremonial purposes in Egypt, which is attested from the earliest times and continued to be an element of ritual practice into the Roman period. Though masking was used primarily in the performance of ritual, the actual reasons behind it and the underlying implications of the mask have not been explored in much detail. The author of the present chapter explores some of the issues relating to masking in Egypt. If a ritual is to be seen as the performance of an actor, which takes the actor and other players into another sphere, then what is the role of the mask in this drama? The mask enables the actor to be identified as another being, be it an animal, demon or person, and to take on the power of that person in the ritual. In its own right and when used with the correct words and gestures the mask will transform and empower a person into another identity. In this new role, they are then capable of carrying out actions which may be outside the normal realm of acceptable behaviour or which are only possible in another sphere of existence. It is partly the visible appearance of the person and, therefore, the mask, which allows this to happen. The person behind it is hidden and cannot be made responsible for the actions they carry out. This may be partly because they are “hidden”, partly because they “become someone/-thing else” and partly because once revealed, the old persona can be discarded. The whole process may represent a process of transformation for the actor as well of enabling him or her to perform the ritual. WILSON looks at the ritual role of masking, simply to highlight it as a neglected area of study and goes on to look at understanding how the ideas behind masking can open up ways of approaching ‘masks’ in two other areas. The most obvious of these is perhaps in the way in which the gods themselves are depicted. Do the gods wear masks or is the animal-headed deity simply taking on the qualities of the animal chosen. If they are masked - who or what are the beings wearing the masks? Are they human or are they divine creatures, not

meant to be revealed to ordinary eyes? The other masked realm is that of the dead who are given masks at death, the most notable example being the funerary mask of Tutankhamun. Do the masks in these contexts hide the real “dead” form of a person and transform them into the newly born *ka* in the afterlife? The masks in this case may again represent the means of transformation and the image of what will result. In this case the funerary masks have a real function rather than just being idealised portraits of the dead. The underlying transforming powers of the mask may be relevant to the images in sculpture and relief. The issue of portraiture could be rendered totally irrelevant if these “masks”, these images are simply the necessary means to transform the person behind the mask.

Another aspect of the demonic identity, seen as reflection of human society, is presented by ALESSANDRO ROCCATI. The divine world was organised following the patterns of mankind, so that evidence related to it supplements what is known about the human world. This subject is tested in the frame of some papyri kept in the Egyptian Museum of Turin and dated to the Ramesside period. The first of these concerns the well-known *Apopis book*, which reminds of rituals performed against the opponents of the pharaoh’s rule. This text has a long history and inserting it in its effective environment may convey some additional meaning. Another magical book of the same period bears on the language current among people in the lower class. Actually the magician introduced a distinction according to whether he addressed the gods or the demons. Both features can enlighten a particular stage in the development of the ancient Egyptian culture, and it is argued about the nature of language, the restrictions concerning talks about folks of different standing, the relation between human beings and the others, from the animals to the superior beings. The search for order and organisation was probably a late trend and represents a further step towards the knowledge of the world, even in its hidden aspects. From the New Kingdom onwards, we may also observe the growth of a different divine society consisting of a lower layer and ordered according to a peculiar pattern, opposed as such to the traditional level of the heavenly gods, or “great gods” as they used to be defined thereafter.

The articles of the second section deal with Egyptian magic and the cosmication of the world, focusing especially on certain sources that define the boundaries between the divine and the demonic in magic. ALLAN LLOYD attempts to identify the extent to which Greek literary discussions of Egyptian “magical” activity accurately reflect the realities

of Egyptian belief and practice. Firstly, he constructs a model which postulates (a) a correlation between perceptions of divinity and areas of fear/anxiety/the uncanny, (b) a major role for the gods in a society's cosmicizing of its world, and (c) a correlation between the character and *modus operandi* of society and those of the gods. Then, he examines the Egyptian concept of the gods and the world order, which embodies a view of the god as a being characterized by power, immanence, dependence, anthropomorphized behaviour, mutability of form, a capacity for communication, and finally as occupying a critically important position in a continuum of being. LLOYD argues that this concept of a continuum of being, which may be defined in terms of varying degrees of power and capacity, is crucial to an understanding of the way in which the Egyptians mapped their world and came to terms with it. Within this world there is no such thing as a concept of the natural order, which can be contravened or transgressed, and there is no such thing as the supernatural. It is a world of limitless possibilities, which range from the normalities of human experience to the highly unusual, but all are part of one spectrum of possible phenomena. For most Egyptians their capacities lay at the normal end of the spectrum, but for those with knowledge of words and actions of power, the range of the possible is infinitely greater. These are the masters of *heka*, and they are persons of great prestige who can even feature in tradition as kings. The author supports a clear differentiation between the *mageia*, or whatever term Greeks used, and *heka*. The former covers a phenomenon which is only sharply defined in the fifth century BC, and it is clearly regarded as a secretive and reprehensible activity which is to be avoided and shunned by right-thinking people. It is seen as an activity interrupting the course of nature, which frequently involves coercion of the gods and is, therefore, impious. The context of the activity is, therefore, seen in quite different terms from that of *heka*, and the perception and status of the practitioner in Egypt and Greece are quite different. These Greek concepts were passed on to Rome and have become basic to the Western concept of "magic". The author makes it clear that the disparities between Egyptian *heka* and Greek and post-Greek "magic" are so great that the use of the term "magic" in Egyptian contexts is quite inappropriate. The present chapter concludes with the discussion of a series of Classical texts, including Herodotus, Virgil, Thessalus of Tralles, Josephus, Lucian, Apuleius, Pseudo-Callisthenes, Porphyry and Heliodorus, in order to identify the extent to which these texts present Greek or Egyptian perceptions of such activities.

The next two chapters deal more precisely with certain magical material and practices. YVAN KOENIG presents the context of the papyrus Louvre E32308. The papyrus' paleography betrays that for the edition of this text the scribe has been inspired by the fore text of Turin's magical papyrus. But, instead of copying it, he has been using graphical and phonetical amphibologies. These phenomena of intertextuality shed new lights on the creation of magical texts.

JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK returns back to the world of dreams from a ritual perspective, commenting on Egyptian rituals of dream-sending. Although dreams play an important part in ancient Egyptian civilisation, as Szpakowska demonstrated previously, it is only from very late sources that we have attested rituals for sending dreams to other persons. Most come from one single source, the Demotic papyrus Louvre E3229. They can be augmented by some Greek-language magical texts as well as the literary reflections in the Greek Alexander romance. The Demotic texts have been edited only comparatively recently, and the edition did not cover the questions of content in detail. These sources have not been used in the egyptological discussion about dreams. Quack's paper addresses that material in detail. The normal technique of the dream-sending rituals is to get a spirit interested in performing the trick. He goes to the person concerned and appears to her in a dream, normally disguised as her favourite god. The message he transmits is, of course, not really from the gods but intended to further the personal interests of the ritualist or his client. Normally it aims at economic gains or a love affair. One question will be the historical dimension. To which degree can the Roman-period manuals be seen as reflections of a longer tradition? Given that dreams were taken rather serious, that is not inherently implausible. Besides, the language and script of the source itself can contribute. Although the Louvre papyrus is basically in late Demotic, there is a very conspicuous use of hieratic sections and more traditional language in parts of the rituals. This points to an earlier origin of at least parts of the spells. With their emphasis on private gains, the dream-sendings certainly were not part of the normal public ritual activities of a temple. Still, the use of Egyptian script (especially hieratic) at such a late date points to priestly affiliations of the user of the manuscript. Besides, the contents reflect strongly on traditional temple rituals. For example, there is a manual rite which closely mimics the confection of a Khoiak figurine. Discussing the identity and concepts of the actual performers might help to clarify the thorny question of the relation of Egyptian magic to religion.

HEDVIG GYÓRY discusses some aspects of magic in Egyptian medicine and the use of a special category of apotropaic objects, the *Pataikos*-amulets. There are many good examples to show the ancient Egyptian medical view, that the physical or chemical therapies themselves were not thought to be enough to achieve a positive result in health state. Ancient Egyptians needed to have the support also of the divine power. Their explanation is clear, as the general indisposition, unnatural alterations in the body or spirit, wounds or maladies were finally the consequences of the effects or penetration of malign human, animal or demonic/divine beings. Of course, the antidote had to have some similar power: Egyptian healers asked in various ways for the support of benign supernatural beings, called as diverse deities. According to the Ebers papyrus ch. 1, it was Ra and Neith who gave the ability to cure as “protection” to the physician, in other texts the medicine man identified himself with Horus or Isis, or claimed to have his power from Hathor, Chnum, Imhotep or other gods. He benefited from their help during manual treatments as well as during the preparation or application of the medicaments. Whatever type of method he used, his aim was always to restore the earlier, ordered world of the patient, the realisation of the *ma’at*. The disturbers of this personal order were mostly connected to Seth and his associates. This phenomenon can be seen not only in the pregnancy and delivery problems, or in the cure of the snakebites, but also e.g. at the immobilised mouth of a patient or at some eye-diseases. The theological background is completely evident in the words and hints of the medical texts, and — according to GYÓRY — it takes also shape in the dull lists of prescriptions as e.g. Eb. 365: “Another one to stop the malady *ʒd.t* in the eye: faeces of pelican 1, Lower-Egyptian salt 1, incense 1, to make them in one thing and put this in the inner part of the eye.” The material medical they used fulfilled namely two different requirements: beside to be an effective substance they had to contain also the magical power for curing. The same healing power could be intermediated, however, also by specific acts and speeches or specially initiated objects. These last ones were mostly amulets, fabricated in a geographically and temporally given design, describing the aim by iconographical patterns.

ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΝΑΡΞΗ ΤΟΥ
ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΥ ΣΤΗ ΡΟΔΟ
(OPENING GREETING TO THE DEMONOLOGY
SYMPOSIUM ON RHODES)

Yvan KOENIG

Αγαπητοί Συνάδελφοι,
Κυρίες και Κύριοι,

Αποτελεί ιδιαίτερη τιμή για μένα η απόφασή σας να μου αναθέσετε την προεδρία της εναρκτήριας αυτής συνεδρίας, και αυτό για δυο κυρίως λόγους: Πρώτον, γιατί το Συμπόσιο μας —το πρώτο εξειδικευμένο Συνέδριο Αιγυπτιολογίας που διοργανώνεται στην Ελλάδα— εντάσσεται σε μια σειρά συνεδρίων, η οποία εγκαινιάστηκε με το Συμπόσιο που οργάνωσε στο Μιλάνο, το 1985, ο Καθηγητής Yvan Koenig, και συνεχίστηκε με εκείνο που οργάνωσα ο ίδιος στο Λούβρο το 2000. Η συχνότητα και τακτικότητα αυτή μαρτυρεί σαφέστατα την ύπαρξη αυξανόμενου ενδιαφέροντος για τη μελέτη της Αιγυπτιακής μαγείας και δαιμονολογίας, γεγονός που μας χαροποιεί όλους, και μένα προσωπικά, εφόσον στα θέματα αυτά αφιέρωσα, όπως είναι γνωστό, ένα πολύ μεγάλο μέρος των ερευνών μου. Αλλά αισθάνομαι ιδιαίτερη χαρά και για έναν άλλο λόγο: επειδή έχω αρχίσει εδώ και μερικά χρόνια να ενδιαφέρομαι για τη Νεοελληνική γλώσσα και λογοτεχνία.

Θα ήθελα για τους δύο αυτούς λόγους να εκφράσω της θερμές μου ευχαριστήριες στον κ. Παναγιώτης Κουσουλή και στο Πανεπιστήμιο του Αιγαίου, που διοργάνωσαν με θαυμαστή ευσυνειδησία και μεθοδικότητα το παρόν Συμπόσιο, και που μου έδωσαν την ευκαιρία να συνδυάσω δύο ερευνητικά πεδία, δύο επιστημονικά ενδιαφέροντα, που μου είναι ιδιαίτερα προσφιλή.

PART I

DEMONS AND PERSONIFICATION

AN ETERNAL CURSE UPON THE READER OF THESE LINES (WITH APOLOGIES TO M. PUIG)

Robert K. RITNER

Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

Introduction

In retribution for the “prying” or “intrusive curiosity” inherent in the reading of another’s words, the Argentine novelist Manuel Puig entitled a 1980 work *Eternal Curse on the Reader of these Pages*. The same sentiment appears in Egyptian magic. A Coptic curse preserved in the British Museum (Oriental Ms. 5986) begins with an invocation for divine wrath directed not against its primary victims (who are later damned by name), but against the accidental discoverer:

“God of heaven and earth! Whoever shall open this papyrus and read what is written in (it), may all those things written in it descend upon him”.¹

A counterpart is provided by the Coptic Papyrus Lichačev, which concludes a specific curse with similar generic warning:

“Whoever opens this papyrus and reads it, what is written on it will come upon him, by order of the lord god”.²

Such invocations of divine hostility have their origin well before Coptic Christianity, in magical practices of Late Period Egypt that exploit the bond between the demonic and the divine.

The distinction between gods and demons in ancient Egypt is often tenuous at best.³ The “trickster” character of Seth is well-known, but his ambiguous qualities can be shared by other gods as well. In the famous New Kingdom tale of the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, the conflict is resolved only when Osiris abandons any subtlety and threatens to dispatch demons from the underworld to chastise the divine tribunal itself:

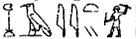
¹ MEYER and SMITH, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 187. The following article is an expansion of comments in the same volume (RITNER, ‘Curses’, in: MEYER and SMITH, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 183-6).

² MEYER and SMITH, *Ancient Christian Magic*, 191.

³ For a general discussion of demons, see TE VELDE, *LÄ I* (1975), cols. 980-4; MEEKS, in: P. CARELLI (ed.), *Génies, Anges et Démons*, 17-84; VERNUS, *Athribis*, 135-71 (no. 141).

“Now you pay attention to this matter! The land in which I am is full of savage-looking messengers (*wꜣwty.w*) who fear no god or goddess. If I sent them out, they will bring me the heart of every evildoer, and they will be here with me!”.⁴

In a similar fashion, plague-bearing demons, “the seven arrows” loosed at the critical turn of the New Year, are minions of Sakhmet,⁵ whose baleful influence threatens deities and mankind alike. Protective hymns at Dendera and the Theban Mut temple redirect her fury toward state and temple enemies: “It is she who dispatches the slaughtering demons against those disaffected-of-heart”.⁶

Translated also as “demons of decease”, “knife-bearers”, “murderers” and “nightly spirits”,⁷ the term for demons used in this passage, *ḥꜣ(y)ty.w* , is attested from the *Pyramid Texts* until Hellenistic times both as a designation for the ferocious assistants of Re and Sakhmet and as forces inimical to the fate of the living and of the blessed dead.⁸ Cultic infractions can unleash such demons by divine orders:

“If one neglects all the rites of Osiris at their times in this district, ... the slaughtering demons (*ḥꜣty.w*) and wandering demons (*šmꜣy.w*), armed with their knives, will come and go under his (Anubis’) order ... the slaughtering demons will seize (*tꜣi*) the inhabitants of Egypt”.⁹

By the seventh century, such demons are converted into personal protectors in the names *Pa-nꜣ-ḥty.w* and *Ns-nꜣ-ḥty.w*, each signifying “he of the slaughtering demons”.¹⁰ At Ptolemaic Thebes, a resident cult of *ḥty.w* “genies” was served by a formal prophet.¹¹ A desire to achieve the same ends underlies the late veneration—and supplication—of the multi-form deity Tutu, a personification or “image” (*twtw*) of the “collectivity” or “summation” (*twtw*) of decease-bringing demons.¹²

⁴ Col. 15/4-6; GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, 58; LICHTHEIM, *Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, 222.

⁵ See the discussion in GERMOND, *Sekhmet*.

⁶ GERMOND, *Les invocations*, 66-7 and 76, n. 33 for further bibliography. The Dendera example follows a protective hymn for the sacred falcon and ibis.

⁷ See the reference in RAVEN, in: J. VAN DIJK (ed.), *Essays te Velde*, 282-3.

⁸ *Wb.* III, 236/6-7, with *Beleg.* III, 51. See FAULKNER, *Pyramid Texts* (hereafter cited as *PT*), spell 578, §1535: ‘the slayers fall on their faces at you’ (*PT*, 234). Further discussion by MEEKS, in: CARELLI (ed.), *Génies, Anges et Démons*, 44-9; QUAEGBEUR, *CdÉ* 54 (1979), 42-6; and GOYON, *Les dieux-gardiens*, n. 1.

⁹ P. Jumilhac, col. 18/5-8; see VANDIER, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 130 (differing translation) and 203, n. 629.

¹⁰ LÜDDECKENS et al., *Demotisches Namenbuch* I/8, 552 and *Demotisches Namenbuch* I/9, 679. For discussion, see PESTMAN, *RdÉ* 25 (1973), 32-4. The earliest examples date to the seventh century; see LEAHY, *GM* 87 (1985), 49-51.

¹¹ Medinet Habu Graffito 45, l. 3; see THISSEN, *Die demotischen Graffiti*, 30-1 and 33.

¹² See RITNER, in: W.K.SIMPSON, *Religion and Philosophy*, 111-12; RITNER, ‘Plaque of

Egyptians did not live in terror of their gods' capricious whims, nor was Egyptian theology fixated on the vindictive or jealous nature of a god in the manner of Genesis 20:5. Nevertheless, the pairing of gods and demons is not unusual in certain contexts, particularly in magical spells designed to heal or avert a malady. Thus, the medical Papyrus Ebers begins with two generic spells that may be recited for all the following prescriptions in the compendium. Both the "first spell for applying remedies on any limb of a man" and the following "spell for loosening any bandage" proclaim their efficacy to dispel "the strokes of a god, goddess, dead man, dead woman, etc."¹³ where the etc. can include a "male adversary, female adversary" and "everything bad, evil and malevolent". In the same papyrus, a letter spell to remove the corruptive agent *wh̄dw*, the source of bodily aging, decease, natural death and decay, again pairs male and female forms of the demon with "the stroke of a god, the stroke of a goddess" and other hostile forces.¹⁴ From the perspective of the human practitioner, the role of a deity in such texts is thus bivalent: a possible source of affliction but the necessary source of the cure. In the following note, I shall examine this ambiguity regarding otherworldly forces of destruction and benefaction as exemplified by a single late term for divine manifestation which has received frequent comment in brief textual notes, but never a systematic study.¹⁵

First attested in Late Egyptian as *h̄3wt* ¹⁶ the term proliferates in Demotic in the form *hyt*¹⁷ and survives in Coptic biblical passages as $\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\tau$.¹⁸ Depending upon context, it has been translated variously as "inspiration", "ecstasy", "exorcism", "doom", "fate", "fury"

Tutu', in: D.P. SILVERMAN (ed.), *Searching for Ancient Egypt*, 36 and 82-83 (no. 22); SAUNERON, *JNES* 19 (1960), 269-87. The god's name is also common in late devotional personal names: *P3-šr-Twtw*, *P3-Twtw*, *Twtw-p3-3* and *Twtw-šy*; see LÜDDECKENS *et al.*, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I/17, 274, 344 and 1273-5. The link between the name Tutu and the notion of 'amalgam' is now denied in KAPER, *Tutu*, 193, since the earliest forms of the god depict a sphinx (p. 195) with its lion's tail ending in a serpent (p. 199)! Contrary to Kaper's assessment, however, sphinxes are inherently composite creatures —and even more so with snakes as tails!

¹³ Cols. I/1-II/1.

¹⁴ Col. XXX/6-17.

¹⁵ GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus III*, 65; SPIEGELBERG, *Der Sagenkreis*, 49*, no. 326; SPIEGELBERG, *Demotica I*, 47, n. VI; SETHE, in: W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotica II*, 5 'Verdammungsurteil (o. ä.)'; THISSEN, *Die Demotischen Graffiti*, 201; VITTMANN, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, 539-40. For the Coptic forms, see ČERNÝ, *Coptic Dictionary*, 253; WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 307 and OSING, *Nominalbildung*, 166 and 664, n. 722 (for link w/Coptic $\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\tau$).

¹⁶ *Wb.* III, 226/9-10 (citations from Wenamon only); wrongly transliterated as *h̄3'* in LESKO, *Dictionary*, 160.

¹⁷ ERICHSEN, *Demotisches Glossar*, 350.

¹⁸ CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, 590a.

and “curse”. The earliest examples of the word appear in *The Voyage of Wenamon*, col. 1/39 and 40, in the passages detailing an oracular pronouncement before the prince of Byblos:

“Now when he offered to his gods, the god (Amon) seized a great seer from among his (1/39) great seers,¹⁹ and he caused him to be in an ecstatic state (*ḥšwt*). He said to him (the prince of Byblos):

‘Bring up the god!

Bring the messenger who bears him! (1/40)

It is Amon who has sent him.

It is he who has caused that he come’.

But the ecstatic became ecstatic (*pš ḥšwt ḥšwt*) on that night only after I had found (1/41) a ship heading for Egypt ...”²⁰

As has long been noted, the statement that the god “seized” (*tšī*) the seer indicates that the Phoenician oracular procedure entails a form of “possession”. In contemporary Egypt, the most common oracular process entailed divine possession of a processional statue, but of necessity such possession also extended to the priestly bearers who made the portable bark-shrine advance, retreat or shake violently as indication of the divine decision.²¹ Assuming that the process was not consciously fraudulent, the movement of the bark would be comparable to that of the planchette on a ouija board; a slight movement by one party (however motivated or inspired) can produce a group action perceived to be supernaturally driven. In any case, the god was felt to compel the actions of his bearers, forcing the movement of their feet and arms.

Divine inspiration of humans is more specifically indicated in Rameside Egyptian statuary, where seated scribes are depicted with baboons perched atop their shoulders or above their heads. These baboons are not their pets, but images of their patron deity Thoth, who is shown inspiring their writing.²² As Christiane Ziegler has noted, such statues are the tangible counterpart to a New Kingdom prayer in Papyrus Anastasi V: “Come to me, Thoth ... scribe of the divine Ennead ... Come to me that you may give advice and make me skillful ...”²³

¹⁹ The term for ‘medium’ is written as the common Egyptian word for ‘youth’, but on the basis of context it has been suggested to represent a Semitic word for ‘seer’, perhaps related to Aramaic ‘*ddn*’; for discussion and bibliography, see HOCH, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts*, 86-7.

²⁰ Translation from my *Libyan Anarchy*, 93-4.

²¹ ČERNÝ, ‘Egyptian Oracles’, in: R.A. PARKER, *Saite Oracle*, 35-48, esp. 43-5.

²² Berlin 20001, Cairo CG 42162 (JdE 36582), 59291, MMA 29.2.16, and various Louvre examples; see VANDIER, *Manuel*, 449-50 and pls. CL and CLXXIII; and DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT (ed.), *Great Pharaoh*, no. 7.

²³ P. Anastasi V, 9/2-10/2; see SIMPSON (ed.), *Literature*, 440 and DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT (ed.), *Catalogue*, 136-37, no. 32.

Possession, however, may have negative aspects as well, and the medical papyri note several related conditions that may be considered forms of “demonic possessions”: *hy.t*,²⁴ *tmy.t*²⁵ and *nsty.t*, all written with the deceased enemy determinative that is indicative of their evil nature.²⁶ The last is expressly stated to be “something that enters (the body) from outside”,²⁷ and Ebbell and others have identified it as “epilepsy”, the disease linked in early Greek thought with wrathful divine possession. Maspero had made the same identification for the *ḥ3wt* of Wenamon.²⁸

How such possession might be envisioned is recounted in the “Bentresh Stela” (Louvre C 284), in which a portable statue of “Khonsu-the-Authority, the great god who expels wandering spirits” is sent abroad “to save the daughter of the prince of Bakhtan”²⁹ since “a malady has pervaded her body”.³⁰ The statue is sent after an Egyptian physician had found the princess Bentresh “in the condition of one who has a ghost (*3ḥ*). He found him to be an enemy with whom one could contend”.³¹ The physician’s diagnosis of an illness with which “one could contend” is a literal quotation of one of the three standard options given by Papyrus Edwin Smith, and the simple statement indicates the unexceptional nature of the complaint. The disgruntled ghost is pacified with a party and food offerings.

Paralleling the threat of underworld demons and empowered ghosts, hostile possession by the gods themselves becomes a standard feature in the Persian through Roman eras within Demotic texts that again employ the notion of *ḥ3wt*. While additional examples may have escaped me or await publication, I have identified 54 certain and two possible attestations of the term, a total that reflects an extraordinary resurgence of a formerly rare word (see the appendix). Now written phonetically as *hyt* (𓂏𓂛𓂏, 𓂏𓂛𓂏, 𓂏𓂛𓂏 or 𓂏𓂛𓂏), the Demotic term appears in four categories: legal, literary, votive and magical texts. It is particularly common in the last category, appearing in all of the great Demotic magical papyri —London and Leiden, Leiden I 384 vo. and Louvre E. 3229— in addition to the minor magical texts on ostraca or wood (O. Strassburg D. 1338, T. Leipzig Qaw and O. Leiden 331). The London and Leiden

²⁴ *WbMT* II, 563. Literally, ‘monster’, it appears also as the name of a snake in *PT* 225c.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 952-53.

²⁶ *WbMT* I, 480-81. Cf. also *nb3*, described as ‘something entering from outside’, in *ibid.*, 455.

²⁷ P. Berlin 3038, spell 112.

²⁸ MASPERO, *Popular Stories*, 208 and 261.

²⁹ ll. 15-16. A new translation of the text appears in SIMPSON (ed.), *Literature*, 361-6.

³⁰ l. 9.

³¹ ll. 11-12.

papyrus alone contains thirteen attestations of the word, and one might conclude that the mere presence of this word defines a magical context regardless of text category. A representative example is provided by col. 6, ll. 35-36, directed to the lamp used in a spell for divination. The original editors, Griffith and Thompson, translated the word *hyt* as “fury”:

“The *fury* of Sakhmet your mother and of Heka your father is cast (*hwy*) against (*r*) you. You shall not be lighted for Osiris and Isis ... until you have given me an answer ...” (Appendix, no. 19).

Heka, the god of Magic, is himself invoked in this passage, and further examples in this papyrus expressly combine the term *hyt* with other magical terminology. In col. 10, ll. 3-7, the magician practitioner commands Anubis to escort spirits invoked for another divinatory spell. The recitation employs three instances of *hyt* and ensures that the spirits are properly “enchanted” (*phr*) in accordance with (*r-h.t*) the force of *hyt*:

“Let them come into being, in proper form, established, correct, *enchanted* (*phr*) in accordance with the *fury* [of him who is great] of reverence, for I am ZW, for I cast (*hwy*) *fury* against (*r*) you (*scil.* Anubis), ZW, the *fury* of all these gods, whose name I have uttered here today” (Appendix, nos. 22-24).

The force of *hyt* again produces a form of magical control within a spell to cure a dog bite, col. 19, ll. 33-35, in which the term for enchantment is now *št* (< older *šd*). Here the original editors have translated *hyt* as “exorcism (?)”:

“By the *exorcism* (?) of Amon and the Maiden (Triphis). Say: ‘I am ZW ... the dog who has *enchanted* (*št*) this dog ...’” (Appendix, no. 27).

Together, the two passages form the most common models for the mention of *hyt* in Demotic texts. In a dozen of the surviving examples, *hyt* is cast (*hwy*) against a person, deity or object to compel an action. As noted by Griffith and Thompson, the corresponding Greek approximation is *ἐξορκίζω σε*.³² Within the London and Leiden papyrus, the “victims” can be the assistants for producing a divination (such as the lamp [6/35] or Anubis [10/3, 4, 7]) or any recalcitrant deity who might be slow to respond:

“You cry: ‘I cast (*hwy*) against (*r*) you *fury* of him who cuts you, of him who devours you’” (col. 8/4; Appendix, no. 20).

“Reveal to me, you great gods, ... I cast (*hwy*) against you (pl.) *fury* of the great god” (Vo. 22/15-16; Appendix, no. 31).

³² GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, 56 and 75.

The nuance of “fury” seems particularly apt for an invocation in col. 21, ll. 30-32, which casts this force to direct a feverish passion inflicted by an enchanted scarab:

“I cast (*hwy*) *fury* against you today, ZW, for every burning ... that you make today, you shall make them in the heart ... of NN” (Appendix, no. 28).

If one may so characterize this force from its intended results, then “control” can be added to “fury” on the basis of the wording of a wooden tablet designed as a mummy ticket to compel ghostly assistance:

“The *hyt* of Osiris-Sokar, the great god, Lord of Abydos, and (2) the *hyt* of Isis the goddess is cast (*hwy*) (3) against NN, son of NN, whom NN bore, (4) so as not to *control* (lit. “seize” *mht*) NN, son of NN, whom NN bore, (B/1) forever and ever, so as not (B/2) to give burial ...” (T. Leipzig Qaw, A/1-B/2; Appendix, nos. 15-16).

As revealed by the previous passages, the combination of “controlling by seizing” with “enchantment” and “inflamed passion” defines the essence of the Egyptian concept of *hyt*. No single English word captures all these nuances, but “compulsion” is a reasonable, and generally serviceable, equivalent.

When *hyt* is not explicitly “cast”, the second, and most common, pattern employs *p3 hyt* at the beginning of a sentence or clause, where it is often translated as an oath: “(By/by) the *hyt* of a deity NN”. An introductory oath formula occurs repeatedly among the pious graffiti at Medinet Habu:

“(By) the *hyt* of Amun of the Ogdoad! Do not erase these writings!” (Graffito Medinet Habu 47, 1.1; Appendix, no. 36).

“(By) the *hyt* of Amon-Re, king of the gods of Djeser-set, and of Rattawi, resident in Thebes, and of Rattawi, [resident in Medamud,] and of the gods of Djeme! He who will erase these writings, the gods will cut off his lifetime” (Graffito Medinet Habu 45,14; Appendix, no. 34).

In the London and Leiden papyrus, even Isis may be threatened by his formula:

“Rouse their *ba*-spirits and their secret images! (By) the *hyt* of She-whose-son-is-Wonte, daughter of Ar ..., rouse them for me!” (9/26-27; Appendix, no. 21).

Both the oath and “casting” patterns are conjoined in two “love” (properly “submission”) spells. Column 13, ll. 3-5, separates two would-be lovers:

“as the heart of his father was bitter at sight of him (by) the *hyt* of him whose *ba*-soul is of fire ... The *hyt* of every god and goddess, ZW ... is cast [against] NN son of NN and NN daughter of NN ...” (Appendix, nos. 25-26).

Verso, columns 12/9-13/2, inflict love sickness:

“Let her feel a yearning ... she seeking for him in every place (by) the *hyt* of ZW, for I cast against you (pl.) *hyt* of the great gods of Egypt ... Waste her away, O ghost (*3h*), take her sleep, O man of the Underworld (*Imn.t*)!” (Appendix, nos. 29-30).

The notion of “casting” *hyt* “against” (*r*) a victim provides yet a further connection with magical terminology, since *heka* is itself “cast” against victims—and with the same verb *hwy*. The parallelism is explicit in *The Adventures of Setna and Si-Osire* (*Setna* II), in which the young magician Si-Osire three times compels a Nubian sorcerer to admit the veracity of his ability to read a sealed letter, which itself contains three instances of Nubian sorcerers “casting magic” against Egypt. Thus, in column 3, ll. 27-28, Si-Osire challenges his opponent:

“Woe, O villain of Cush, at whom Amon, his god, rages! You who have come up to Egypt, ... saying: ‘I shall take [its] humiliation to the land of Nubia’. The *hyt* of Amon, your god, is cast (*hwy*) against you! The words that I shall utter, which are those that are written in the letter, do not tell a lie about them before Pharaoh, your lord!” (Appendix, no. 45).

Si-Osire’s words here, and in columns 4/22 and 5/25, are a direct response to the phraseology of the letter, which recounts that the chieftain of Nubia “heard the voices of three shamans of Cush [in the] latrine,³³ while one of them spoke with a loud voice saying:

‘But that Amon not find fault with me and the chieftain of Egypt have [me punished], I would cast my magic (*hwy* ... *hyq*) up against Egypt and I would cause the masses of Egypt to spend three days and three nights, [having] seen [no] light but only darkness’” (col. 4, ll. 3-5).

Si-Osire’s invocation of Amon’s rage corresponds to the Nubian’s explicit fear of that god’s blame, and the act of casting *hyq* is repaid by casting *hyt*.³⁴ The very context of the contest is magical in nature, for both parties are magicians, and the ability to read a sealed letter is a subject of Demotic magical manuals.³⁵ Griffith’s bland translation of *hyt* as “inspi-

³³ Literally, ‘the place of the buttocks’, contra QUACK, *RdÉ* 40 (1989), 197, who reinterprets the phrase as ‘maison de l’ennemi ... bien que son sens exact soit peu clair’.

³⁴ The casting of magic (*hwy* *hyq*) is noted in *Setna* II, cols. 4/4, 6, 9, 11, 13; and 6/2.

³⁵ See RITNER, in: W. HAASE and H. TEMPORINI (eds.), *ANRW*, vol. 2, §18.5, 3344-5.

ration (?)” seems inadequate, for the hostile context implies “possessive wrath”.

Such hostile casting of *hyt* occurs not only in magical and literary texts, but also in a legal document. Thus in a Ptolemaic judicial oath now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the plaintiff swears against the accused thief of clothing: “I have already caused that there be cast *hyt* against him in the town regarding them also” (O. MMA Acc. No. 21.2.121, ll. 9-10; Appendix, no. 38). The last editor, Kaplony-Heckel, translates *hyt* as “Fluch” (“curse”).

A rather different notion is to be understood within the judicial context of Papyrus Rylands IX, dated to year 9 of Darius and thus the earliest Demotic attestation of *hyt*. Recounting events in the reign of Amasis, the papyrus states that a plaintiff caused a superintendent of fields “to make a letter of *hyt* in order to have comparable land given in exchange for fields under dispute” (Appendix, no. 41). The term *hyt* was translated as “divine inspiration (?)” by Griffith, who envisioned a link to oracular practice or even a “furious letter” in contrast to a friendly one.³⁶ More recently, Vittmann has signaled the defensive invocation of *hyt* on Demotic stelae with reference to the concluding injunctions of earlier donation texts. The Rylands example would record a similar divine invocation to force compliance with property settlement.

Like the Medinet Habu introductory oaths, Demotic funerary stelae and graffiti commonly open with mention of *p3 hyt* of one or more deities. In these cases, however, *hyt* is specifically directed against the reader of the inscription.

“They are praised forever, they are rejuvenated forever —the men whose names I have said and who are dead. The *hyt* of Apis-Osiris, ... Lord of the gods, is upon the man who will read the stela. Do not let him erase them. Let him bless them” (S. Serapeum Revillout, ll. 1-3; Appendix, no. 44).

Both Revillout and Spiegelberg analysed the text differently, translating “...they are rejuvenated forever —the men who died *in* the *hyt* of Apis-Osiris, ... The man who will read the stela, do not let him erase them ...” The correct interpretation, however, is secured by numerous parallels, from which I extract only a few below:

“His name remains here before Osiris, Horus and Isis, and the Agathos Daimon of the House of Cool Water, NN son of NN. (2) The *hyt* of Isis is upon (n) the man who will read these writings. Let him present my obeisance

³⁶ GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri*, 102, n. 3.

together with that of every man of mine entirely” (Graffito Philae 350, ll. 1-2; Appendix, no. 40).

“The *hyt* of the ibis is upon everyone who will read this writing. May he be the servant of the ibis” (Northampton Ibis gallery graffiti no. 19, ll. 1-3; Appendix, no. 39).

“The *hyt* of Isis and Osiris is upon any man on earth who will read these writings. Let him offer water to me. Do not let him move (i.e. “remove”) my stela” (S. Akhmim, ll. 6-8; Appendix, no. 1).

“The *hyt* of Osiris-Apis the great god is upon (*n*) him who will move the stela” (S. Cairo 31147, ll. 1-2; Appendix, no. 6).

On the basis of the hostile connotations of the last example, Adel Farid disputed in 1994 the unexceptional wording of a stela recovered from the North Saqqara ibis galleries: “The *hyt* of the gods who rest here is upon him who will read these writings” (S. Saqqara North, ll. 4-5; Appendix, no. 43).³⁷ For Farid, the inherently negative connotation of *hyt* requires serious emendation to the text: “(May the) curse of the gods ... (take effect!).³⁸ He who will read these writings (let him offer me water)”. In the absence of a comprehensive study of *hyt*, Farid was unaware of the many parallels to the Saqqara North inscription itself, and to the clearly bivalent nature of *hyt*.

The standard interpretation that “the *hyt* of the gods ... is upon him who will read these writings” is guaranteed by the examples of Graffito Philae 350 and Stela Cairo 31147, which both supply an unambiguous preposition before *p3 nt-ihw=f* “him who will ...”. Although Spiegelberg and others have assumed that this common pattern contains an ellipse of *hwy r* “is cast upon”,³⁹ the two examples that write a preposition use *n*, not *r*, and show that the literal meaning of the phrase is that “the *hyt* of the gods ... is *in* him who will read these writings”. As will be seen below, this literal meaning has its basis in the imagined transmission of *hyt*.

The ambiguous nature of *hyt* is apparent from stelae and graffiti noted above, as well as from literary texts. The compulsive force acts negatively against those who erase or displace a text, but positively to elicit religious service and blessing:

“The *hyt* of Isis the great, chief of the multitude/army is upon every man on earth who will read these writings. Do not let [him ...] attack (them), do not let him disparage the writings. Every man on earth who will find these

³⁷ FARID, *RdÉ* 45 (1994), 121-2; restated in FARID, *Fünf demotische Stelen*, 23, 25 and 29.

³⁸ This restoration parallels that of SPIEGELBERG, *RdT* 26 (1904), 164, which also cites S. Cairo 31147 (but wrongly noted as 31145).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 164; and VITTMANN, *Papyrus Rylands* 9, 539.

writings and erase or disparage the writings, Isis the great, chief of the multitude/army will decrease his lifetime because of it, while every man who will give praise and respond regarding them, [he will be praised (?) before Isis the great, the [great] goddess" (Graffito Aswan 13, ll. 6-13; Appendix, no. 2).

"The *hyt* of Osiris is upon him who will read the stela. Let him offer water because of the fact that his name will be pure when he is dead" (S. Cairo 31122, ll. 2-3; Appendix, no. 5).

"The good name of Pamont son of Padiese remains here before Montu, the great god, forever. The inspiration of Montu, the great god, is upon him who will read this good name. Let him raise his hand, let him do a dancing leap before Montu, the great god" (G. Silsila 282, ll. 1-4; Appendix, no. 48).

In the last example, the physical effect of the god's possessive "inspiration" (a leaping dance) seems particularly close to that visited upon the ecstatic of Wenamon many centuries before.

A distinctly beneficent aspect of *hyt* is noted in the literary Petubast cycle, where the Pharaoh greets the hero Min-neb-maat with the phrase combining *hyt nfr* and *wḏḏy*:

"(As for) these things, I have called them out (= requested them in oracle) before Amon the great god just so that I might see you without loss of good *hyt* or health" (P. Spiegelberg, 16/25-26; Appendix, no. 49).

As is evident from another passage within this cycle, the "good *hyt*" probably refers to the hero's "inspired zeal" for combat, whose origin is revealed to be a divine force mediated through demonic transmission.

The contentious events of the Inaros tale of the Petubast cycle (Papyrus Krall) are first set in motion by an act of the god Osiris.

"Osiris called to Strife-lover and Horus-Nemesis, the two demons (*ht*). [He said to them: 'Do not delay in going to the] earth. Go to Heliopolis and create strife in the heart of Pimay the younger, the son of Inaros, against Wer-tiamonniut, the son of Inaros ..."⁴⁰

Strife-lover and Horus-Nemesis, [the two demons (*ht*)], did not delay in going to Heliopolis. They found the general Pimay the younger, the son of Inaros, just as he was sitting at a festival with his 40 men. [The] two demons (*ht*) entered into him (*n-ḫm=f*). At that very moment his heart forgot the festival, [and he said to his men]: 'O may they live, my brothers and friends! I wish to fight —(by the *hyt* of Atum, the [great] god, [Lord of Heliopolis!])'" (P. Krall, col. 2/3-6; Appendix, no. 12).

The divine interference in human affairs echoes events of the Greek Iliad, a parallelism which the Egyptian author surely exploited and which his

⁴⁰ Col. 1/4-5 in HOFFMANN, *Inaros*, 132-5 and 594.

audience could surely appreciate, but the dispatch of demons by Osiris is no Hellenistic innovation, as the traditional Horus and Seth tale proves.⁴¹ Here, however, the story details the actual process of possession. The *h̄t*-demons enter into Pimay and inflict a state that he perceives as *hȳt* “inspiration”, while wrongly attributing it to his local god Atum. The passage of *hȳt* into its victim corresponds precisely to the wording of contemporary stelae and graffiti, which threaten divine *hȳt* in (*n* < old *m*) the one who will read the inscription. It is striking that Osiris’ agents are none other than the traditional *h̄ṣty.w*-demons in late vocalization, so there is an intentional word-play between the *h̄t*-demons and the *hȳt*-force they inflict.

In 1976, Černý has suggested an etymological link between the *h̄ṣwt*-ecstasy of Wenamon and the *h̄ṣty.w*-demons,⁴² and this Demotic evidence strengthens the proposed link, though perhaps as a “folk-etymology” of late speculation. In contrast, one must reject Stricker’s 1954 etymology of *hȳt* in this passage as deriving from the *hr-tw*-oracle of *Wb.* III, 318, since that term probably survives as *r-hrw* in Demotic.⁴³ The prominence in the Inaros tale of these *h̄t*-demons as emissaries of Osiris and agents of *hȳt* stresses the close bond between the categories of supernatural beings. From the Eighteenth Dynasty onward, such demons had been largely indistinguishable from gods. An invocation in P. Leiden I 346 salutes 12 spirits designated as *h̄ṣty.w*-demons “who make slaughter, who create disturbance, who hurry through the land, who shoot their arrows from their mouths”, while the accompanying vignette depicting the 12 spirits shows proper “deities” beginning with Sakhmet and ending with Khnum.⁴⁴ Raven has noted that “the opening lines ... suggest that the twelve gods invoked are identical to the *h̄ṣty.w* mentioned immediately after”,⁴⁵ though he is uncomfortable with this equation since it would make the deities themselves “murderers”. The power of the gods to inflict destructive wrath is not, however, unusual. It is defined by the conceptual ancestor of *hȳt*, the force of *b̄ṣw*, the plural of *b̄ṣ*-spirit.

⁴¹ Greek influence is discounted by HOFFMANN, *Inaros*, 49-78 and *passim*, but the sophisticated Egyptian author will have noted and exploited the literary currents of his time, including features of Greek literature. This does not, however, demean the Egyptian character of the work. Goethe’s celebrated awareness of world literature (‘Weltliteratur’, a term he himself coined) did not make his work less ‘German’; see DAMROSCH, *World Literature*, 1-36.

⁴² ČERNÝ, *Coptic Dictionary*, 253.

⁴³ STRICKER, *OMRO* 49 (1954), 47-64; said to be questionable by HOFFMANN, *Inaros*, 144, n. 576; and noted without critique by BRESCIANI, *Inaros*, 113. For *r-hrw*, see JASNOW, in: J. VAN DIJK (ed.), *Essays te Velde*, 210.

⁴⁴ RAVEN, in: J. VAN DIJK (ed.), *Essays te Velde*, 282-3.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 283.

Though often translated blandly as “power”, *bšw* designates a dramatic divine manifestation and often acquires the notion of “wrath”.⁴⁶ It is this negative aspect alone that survives into common Demotic in the term *b(‘)y.t.*⁴⁷ Libyan-era donation stelae employ *bšw* in warnings directly comparable to those in Demotic which use *hyt*:

“As for the one who will disturb them, the wrath (*bšw*) of Neith comes to be against him forever and ever. His son will not be confirmed in his office” (Athens Donation Stela of Tefnakht, ll. 7-8).⁴⁸

“He is in the wrath (*iw=fm bšw*) of Amon, Mut and Khonsu. His name will not exist in the land of Egypt. May he die of hunger and thirst” (Cairo Stela Möller).⁴⁹

At Roman Esna, *bšw* even becomes a term for divine possession and thus a synonym for *hyt*. Restrictions regarding festival participants warn: “Do not allow any man to enter the temple who is possessed (*hr bšw*) or enchanted (*hm.t-sšw*)”.⁵⁰ It is perhaps significant that the London and Leiden separation spell noted earlier derives inflammatory *hyt* from “him whose *ba*-soul is of fire”.⁵¹

If anticipated by *bšw*, *hyt* is bequeathed to Coptic Christianity as $\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\tau$, a term used to translate $\phi\omicron\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ “to be inspired/prophesy” in Deuteronomy,⁵² and $\theta\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ “inspired/frenzied”⁵³ and $\epsilon\mu\mu\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ “frantic/raving” in the Wisdom of Solomon.⁵⁴ Dialectical variants serve to indicate “madman”.⁵⁵ Although the word $\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\tau$ does not appear in the surviving Coptic magical texts, the historical influence of the concept

⁴⁶ For a general discussion of *bšw* with references, see BORGHOOTS, in: R.J. DEMARÉE and J.J. JANSSEN (eds.), *Gleanings*, 1-70. VITTMANN, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, 539, notes the parallelism with *hyt* without detailed discussion.

⁴⁷ ERICHSEN, *Demotisches Glossar*, 111 and 113. A dissenting opinion is found in QUACK, *ZÄS* 123 (1996), 62-9. Quack’s translation as ‘character’ does not fit the relevant contexts. Rare writings of *by.w* with a positive connotation (‘glory’) do survive in one funerary text; see SMITH, *Papyrus BM 10507*, 166.

⁴⁸ SOTTAS, *Préservation de la Propriété Funéraire*, 153. The translation is taken from RITNER, *Libyan Anarchy*, 440.

⁴⁹ SOTTAS, *Préservation de la Propriété Funéraire*, 161.

⁵⁰ *Esna V*, 340 and see SAUNERON, *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 111-5.

⁵¹ Col. 13/3.

⁵² Deuteronomy 14.1; see LIDDELL, SCOTT and JONES (eds.), *Greek-English Lexicon*, 1947a.

⁵³ Wisdom of Solomon 12.5 (< $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$); see LIDDELL, SCOTT and JONES (eds.), *Greek-English Lexicon*, 787b.

⁵⁴ Wisdom of Solomon 14.23; see LIDDELL, SCOTT and JONES (eds.), *Greek-English Lexicon*, 541a.

⁵⁵ CRUM, *Coptic Dictionary*, 588b ($\omega\theta\omicron\tau$) and 631a ($\beta\theta\omicron\tau$). OSING, *Nominalbildung*, 166 and 664, n. 722, postulates an original $h\beta y t / *h\beta r t$. The link with $h\beta w t$ -demon would require a corresponding $*h\beta r t$.

certainly does. The patient listener may now recall this paper's opening curses, which warned that the magical effect of the text would come upon the reader "by order of the lord god". As I hope is now evident, such warnings parallel the near contemporary threats of Demotic inscriptions "by the compulsion of the gods".

Appendix

Demotic examples of *hyt* listed by collection published; published translations of *hyt* given in ()

- 1) S. Akhmin, l. 6 (= S. Hamburg C 4059, Roman)
(ll. 6-8): "The *hyt* (curse) of Isis⁵⁶ and (7) Osiris is upon any man on earth who will read these writings. Let him offer water to me. Do not let him move my (8) stela".⁵⁷
- 2) Graffito Aswan 13, l. 6 (Ptolemaic?)
(ll. 6-13): "The *hyt* (inspiration) (7) of Isis the great, chief of the multitude/army is upon every man on earth who will read (8) these writings. Do not let [him ...] attack (them), do not let him (9) disparage the writings. Every man on earth who will find these writings and (10) erase or disparage the writings, Isis the great, (11) chief of the multitude/army will decrease his lifetime because of it, while every man (12) who will give praise and respond regarding them, [he will be praised (?)] (13) ... before Isis the great, the [great] goddess".⁵⁸
- 3) S. Cairo 22136, l. 5 (Ptolemaic)
(ll. 5-8): "The *hyt* (curse) of (6) Isis and Osiris is upon him who will read (7) this stela. Let him offer (8) water to me".⁵⁹
- 4) S. Cairo 31099, l. 17 (Ptolemaic)
(ll. 17-18): "The *hyt* (curse) of the gods who rest with Osiris-Apis (18) is upon [him] who will read these writings (?). The

⁵⁶ SPIEGELBERG, *RdT* 26 (1904), 161-2, read Min (?), corrected to Isis in his notebooks.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 160-5, esp. 164-5; SPIEGELBERG, *RdT* 30 (1908), 158-9; and FARID, *Fünf demotische Stelen*, 25 and 29.

⁵⁸ BRESCIANI and PERNIGOTTI, *Assuan*, 128-9 and pl. 39.

⁵⁹ SPIEGELBERG, *RdT* 26 (1904), 164 (order of Isis and Osiris reversed); and *idem* 1906, 67-8 and pl. XXII.

one who does obeisance to this stela, may he bless the above-mentioned Anemho, called Pasekhem”.⁶⁰

5) S. Cairo 31122, l. 2 (Roman)

(ll. 2-3): “The *hyt* (curse) of Osiris is upon him who will read the stela. (3) Let him offer water because of the fact that his name will be pure when he is dead”.⁶¹

6) S. Cairo 31147, l. 1 (Roman)

(ll. 1-2): “The *hyt* (curse) of Osiris-Apis the great god is upon (n) him (2) who will move the stela”.⁶²

7) S. Cairo 31156, l. 1 (Roman)

“The *hyt* (curse) of Osiris-Apis (?) [... is upon him who will ...]”.⁶³

8) S. Chicago Field Museum 31673, Demotic l. 5 (Roman)

“The *hyt* of Osiris is upon any man on earth who will read these. Let him offer water to me”.⁶⁴

9) Graffito Dakka 4, l. 4 (Roman)

(ll. 4-5): “The *hyt* (inspiration) of Thoth of the Nubs-tree, the great, is on him who (5) will read these writings. May he present [my obeisance]”.⁶⁵

10) Graffito Dakka 10, l. 2 (Roman)

(ll. 2-3): “The *hyt* (inspiration) of (3) Thoth, [the great, of the] Nubs-tree is on him who will read these writings. May he present my obeisance”.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ SPIEGELBERG, *RdT* 26 (1904), 164; and SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotische Inschriften*, 28-9, 31 and 33 and pl. VI. Spiegelberg translated *hyt* as ‘curse’ and restored *hwy* ‘cast’ for the damaged traces of *pʃ nt-ḫw=f šm nʒy ḫ ...* in l. 18. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, 896, copied *pʃ nt-ḫw=f šm nʒy ḫ ...* ‘the one who will enter this grave (?)’.

⁶¹ SPIEGELBERG, *RdT* 26 (1904), 164; and SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotische Inschriften*, 48 and pl. XI.

⁶² SPIEGELBERG, *RdT* 26 (1904), 164 wrongly as 31145; and SPIEGELBERG, *Die demotische Inschriften*, 58 and pl. XVII.

⁶³ *Idem.*, 63 and pl. XIX.

⁶⁴ FARID, *Fünf demotische Stelen*, 21-3 and 29.

⁶⁵ GRIFFITH, *Demotic Graffiti*, 19, translated ‘(By) the inspiration ...’. See also the discussion, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 20, translated ‘(By) the inspiration...’.

11) Graffito Dakka 54, l. 2 (Roman)

“The *hyt* of Thoht of the Nubs-tree is on him who will read these writings. May he present my obeisance”.⁶⁷

12) P. Krall, 2/6 (Roman)

(2/3-6): “All of this happened while Strife-lover and Horus-Nemesis, [the two demons (*hyt*)] did not delay in going to Heliopolis. They found the (4) general Pimay the younger, the son of Inaros, just as he was sitting at a festival with his 40 men. [The] two demons (*hyt*) entered into (5) him. At that very moment his heart forgot the festival, [and he said to his men:] ‘O may they live, my brothers and friends! (6) I wish to fight —(by) the *hyt* (inspiration) of Atum, the [great] god, [lord of Heliopolis]’”.⁶⁸

13) O. Leiden 331, l. 1 (Ptolemaic)

(ll. 1-4): “(By) the *hyt* (curse) of Rattawi, [...] (2) resident in Djeme.⁶⁹ Every man [who...] (3) of Amon and the remainder of the men [...] (4) Do not make excrement! [...]”.⁷⁰

14) P. Leiden I 384, vo. I*/10 (Roman)

Revelation spell for a curse through a vision of Imhotep; invocation to Shu or a lamp(?) (ll. 9-11): “May he give witness, Imhotep the great, the son of Ptah, (9) born of Khereduankh, to the *hyt* (fury) against you (*r-r=k*) before Nephthys, saying: ‘O Shu, (11) the living, O living ba-spirit, Live, O Shu, Live, O Osiris, ...’”.⁷¹

15-16) T. Leipzig Qaw, A 1 and 2 (Roman)

(A/1-B/2): “The *hyt* (curse/compulsion) of Osiris-Sokar, the great god, Lord of Abydos, and (2) *hyt* (curse/compulsion) of Isis the goddess is cast (*hwyt*) (3) against NN, son of NN, whom NN bore, (4) so as not to control (lit. “seize” *mht*) NN, son of NN, whom NN bore, (B/1) forever and ever, so as not (B/2) to give burial ...”.⁷²

⁶⁷ BRESCIANI, *Graffiti demotiques*, no. 54 and pl. 70 (untranslated).

⁶⁸ Col. 2/3-6, in BRESCIANI, *Graffiti demotiques*, 142-4 and 594.

⁶⁹ Nur el-Din read *Tn* (?).

⁷⁰ NUR EL-DIN, *Demotic Ostraca*, 262-3, 650 (fig.) and pl. 25 (= F 1897/6.306).

⁷¹ JOHNSON, *OMRO* 56 (1975), 34-5 and pl. 9.

⁷² SPIEGELBERG, *Demotica I*, 39-41. Written on two sides of a mummy-ticket shaped wooden tablet, the text was excavated by Steindorff at Qaw; see RITNER, in: W. HAASE and H. TEMPORINI (eds.), *ANRW*, vol. 2, §18.5, 3344.

17-18) P. Dem. Lille 31, A/14 and A/14a (Roman)

“Cast *hyt* (a charm), cast *hyt* (a charm) on the one who will do it”.⁷³

19) P. London and Leiden, 6/35 (Roman)

(To a lamp, 6/35-36): “The *hyt* (fury) of Sakhmet your mother and of Heka your father is cast (*hwy*) against (*r*) you. You shall not be lighted for Osiris and Isis ... until you have given me an answer ...”.⁷⁴

20) 8/4 (Against a recalcitrant god who does not come in at a request):

“You cry: ‘I cast (*hwy*) *hyt* (fury) at (*r*) you of him who cuts you, of him who devours you””.⁷⁵

21) 9/26

(Against Isis, 9/26-27): “Rouse their *ba*-spirits and their secret images. (By) the *hyt* (fury) of She-whose-son-is-Wonte, daughter of Ar ... (27), rouse them for me!”.⁷⁶

22-24) 10/3, 4 and 7

(Against Anubis to bring in spirits, ll. 3-7): “Let them come into being, in proper form, established, correct, enchanted (*phr*) in accordance with the *hyt* (fury) [of him who is great] of reverence, for I am ZW, for I cast (*hwy*) *hyt* (fury) against (*r*) you (*scil.* Anubis), ZW, the *hyt* (fury) of all these gods, whose name I have uttered here today”.⁷⁷

25-26) 13/3 and 4

(In a separation spell, ll. 3-5): “As the heart of his father was bitter⁷⁸ at sight of him (by) the *hyt* (fury) of him whose *ba*-soul

⁷³ DE CENIVAL, *CRIPÉL* 7 (1985), 101, 103, 110 and fig. 2; and DE CENIVAL, *CRIPÉL* 9 (1987), 62. The second writing of *hwy hyt* is written above the line (A/14a). DE CENIVAL translates: ‘Jeter un charme, jeter un charme, voilà ce qu’il fait’.

⁷⁴ (= P. British Museum 10070 + P. Leiden 383); GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, 57; and BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 206.

⁷⁵ GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, 65; BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 208.

⁷⁶ GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, 73; BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 211. *Wonte* is a name of Apep (*Wb.* I, 325/14).

⁷⁷ GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, 75 and BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 212. All translate ‘like the fury ...’.

⁷⁸ *wwhe* < ⲟⲩⲁⲩⲓ – ⲩⲥⲏⲧ CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 508b.

is of fire ... (4) ... The *hyt* (fury) of every god and goddess, ZW ... is cast (*hwy*) [against] NN, son of NN, and NN, daughter of NN ...”.⁷⁹

27) 19/33

(Spell spoken to the bite of a dog, ll. 33-35): “(By) the *hyt* (exorcism?/fury) of Amon and the Maiden (Triphis). Say: ‘I am ZW ... the dog who has enchanted (*st*) this dog ...’”.⁸⁰

28) 21/30

(Against a drowned scarab for love spell, ll. 30-32): “I cast (*hwy*) *hyt* (fury) against you today, ZW, for every burning ... that you make today, you shall make them in the heart ... of NN”.⁸¹

29-30) Vo. 12/9 and 11

(In a love compulsion spell to invoked spirits, vo. 12/9-13/2): “Let her feel a yearning ... she seeking for him in every place (by) the *hyt* (fury) of ZW, for I cast (*hwy*) *hyt* (fury) against you (pl.) of the great gods of Egypt ... Waste her away O ghost (*sh*), take her sleep, O man of the Underworld (*Imn.t*)!”.⁸²

31) Vo. 22/16

(Vision spell; directed to the great gods attendant upon the sun, ll. 15-16): “Reveal to me, you great gods, ... I cast (*hwy*) *hyt* (fury) upon you (pl.) of the great god”.⁸³

32-33) P. Louvre E. 3229, 1/19 and 1/21 (Roman)

“[Another] spell for sending a dream. [... the] *hyt* (anger) (20) [of] the great [...] of the sea [...] Nun at night, (21) [... the] *hyt* (anger) of the one who is in the depths [...]”.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, 93; BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 217.

⁸⁰ GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, 127 and BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 227.

⁸¹ GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, 141 and BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 231.

⁸² GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, 185 and BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 245.

⁸³ GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 1, 195 and BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 248.

⁸⁴ JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977), 59, 66 and plate 10; JOHNSON, in: BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri*, 324.

- 34) G. Medinet Habu 45, l. 14 (Ptolemaic, 50 B.C.)
 “(By) the *hyt* (curse) of Amon-Re, king of the gods of Djeser-set,⁸⁵ and of Rattawi, resident in Thebes, and of Rattawi, [resident in Medamud], and of the gods of Djeme! He who will erase these writings, the gods will cut off his lifetime”.⁸⁶
- 35) G. Medinet Habu 46, [l. 1] restored (Ptolemaic, Cleopatra VII)
 [“(By) the *hyt* (curse) of the] gods of Djeme! Do not erase these writings! He who will erase them, Amon will cut off his name”.⁸⁷
- 36) G. Medinet Habu 47, l. 1 (Ptolemaic, 37 B.C.)
 “(By) the *hyt* (curse) of Amon of the Ogdoad! Do not erase these writings!”.⁸⁸
- 37) G. Medinet Habu 228, l. 1 (Ptolemaic?)
 (ll. 1-3): “(By) the *hyt* (curse) of Rattawi, resident in Thebes, and of Rattawi, resident in Medamud and of Amon-Re of Djeser-set, (2) and of the gods of Djeme! Every [man] on earth who will erase these writings which are below, (3) the gods who rest here will erase his name together with that of every man of his entirely”.⁸⁹
- 38) O. MMA Acc. No. 21.2.121, l. 10 (Ptolemaic, 127 B.C.)
 (Oath; ll. 9-10): “I have already caused that there be cast (*hwy*) (10) a *hyt* (curse/condemnatory judgment) against him in the town regarding them (*scil.* stolen clothing) also”.⁹⁰
- 39) G. Northampton Ibis gallery 19, l. 1 (Ptolemaic)
 (ll. 1-3): “The inspiration (*hyt*) of the ibis is upon everyone who (2) will read this writing. May he be (3) the servant of the ibis”.⁹¹

⁸⁵ The Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu.

⁸⁶ THISSEN, *Demotischen Graffiti*, 30-1 and 201.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 37-8 and 201.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 41-2 and 201.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 135-6 and 201.

⁹⁰ See KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Demotischen Tempelsteine*, 299-300, no. 180 (formerly O. Newberry); SPIEGELBERG 1925, 44-8 and pl. 3, and *idem* 1928, 4-6.

⁹¹ SPIEGELBERG, in: NORTHAMPTON, *Report*, 21 and pl. XXIX; and SPIEGELBERG, *RdT* 26 (1904), 164.

- 40) G. Philae 350, l. 2 (Roman)
 (ll. 1-2): “His name remains here before Osiris, Horus and Isis, and the Agathos Daimon of the House of Cool Water, NN son of NN. (2) The *hyt* (inspiration) of Isis is upon (*n*) the man who will read these writings. Let him present my obeisance together with that of every man of mine entirely”.⁹²
- 41) P. Rylands IX, col. 18/1 (dated 513 B.C., event set in the time of Amasis)
 (Col. 17/20-18/1): “Khelkhons caused him to make a letter (18/1) of *hyt* (divine inspiration?) to cause the 484 ½ arouras to be given [as] the equivalent of the 484 ½ arouras” (under dispute).⁹³
- 42) P. Dem. Saqqara 2, 6/17 (Persian-Early Ptolemaic)
 (Vengeance of Isis): “A *hyt* (spell/doom) of Isis is upon you (fem.). You have brought to me Isis in her own flesh”.⁹⁴
- 43) S. Saqqara North, l. 4 (Ptolemaic, 89 B.C.)
 (ll. 4-5): “The *hyt* (fate/curse) of the gods who rest here (5) is upon him who will read these writings”.⁹⁵
- 44) S. Serapeum Revillout, l. 2 (Ptolemaic, 102 B.C.)
 (ll. 1-3): “They are praised forever, they are rejuvenated forever—the men whose names I have said and who are dead. (2) The *hyt* (mystery) of Apis-Osiris, Lord of the gods, is upon the man who will read the stela. Do not let him erase them. (3) Let him bless them”.⁹⁶
- 45) Setna II, col. 3/28 (Roman)
 (Si-Osire to Nubian magician, col. 3/27-29): “Woe, O villain of Cush, at whom Amon, his god, rages! You who come up to Egypt, the beautiful garden of Osiris, the footstool of Re-

⁹² GRIFFITH, *Demotic Graffiti*, 99-100 and 9-10.

⁹³ GRIFFITH, *Demotic Papyri*, vol. III, 102, n. 3; 244, n. 6; and 337; VITTMANN, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, vol. I, 176-7 and vol. II, 539-40.

⁹⁴ SMITH and TAIT, *Saqqara Demotic Papyri I*, 73, 91 and 82, n. cu: ‘the spell a deity may wield over a human being: ‘doom’ seems appropriate here’.

⁹⁵ SMITH, *Visit*, 48 translates: ‘May the fate of the gods who rest here be upon him who reads this himself’. See also WILDUNG, *Imhotep*, 64 (# 42) and pl. 10; with the review in RITNER, *JNES* 43 (1984), 354; contra FARID, *RdÉ* (1994), 121-22; restated in FARID, *Fünf demotische Stelen*, 23, 25 and 29.

⁹⁶ REVILLOUT, *RdÉ* 7 (1896), 167 (*hyt* translated as ‘mystère’). Revillout, followed by Spiegelberg in his notebooks, assumed that the deceased ‘died (in) the *khyt* of Apis-Osiris’.

Horakhty, (28) the beautiful horizon of Fate, saying: ‘I shall take [its] humiliation to the land of Nubia’. The *hyt* (inspiration/possessive wrath) of Amon, your god, is cast (*hwy*) against you! The words that I shall (29) utter, which are those that are written in the letter, do not tell a lie about them before Pharaoh, your lord!”.⁹⁷

46) Setna II, col. 4/22

(Nubian forced to answer truthfully thereafter, col. 4/22-24): “The *hyt* (inspiration/possessive wrath) of Amon, (23) your god, is cast (*hwy*) against you! The words that I am [saying], are they what is written according to the letter that you possess? The shaman of the Cushites said: (24) ‘Read on beyond what you have read. As for every word that you are saying, they are all true’”.⁹⁸

47) Setna II, col. 5/25:

(Col. 5/25-26): “The *hyt* (power/possessive wrath) of Amon, your god, is cast (*hwy*) upon you, O villain of the Cushites! The words that I am saying, are they (26) what is written on this letter? The shaman spoke with his head lowered, saying: ‘Read on beyond what you have read. As for every word that you are saying, they are what is written in this letter’”.⁹⁹

48) G. Silsila 282, l. 2 (Roman, AD 31-32)

(ll. 1-4): “The good name of Pamont son of Padiese remains here before Montu, (2) the great god, forever. The inspiration (*hyt*) of Montu, the great god, is upon him who (3) will read this good name. Let him raise his hand, let him do a dancing (4) leap before Montu, the great god”.¹⁰⁰

49) P. Spiegelberg, 16/26 (Late Ptolemaic/Early Roman)

(Pharaoh greets the hero Min-neb-maat, col. 16/25-26): “These things, I have called them out (= requested them in oracle) before Amon the great god just so that I might see you without loss of (16/26) good *hyt* (fate/spirit/strength) or health (*wḏjy*)”.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ (= P. BM 604); GRIFFITH, *Stories*, 170-72, with note, p. 172. New translation by RITNER, in: SIMPSON (ed.) *Literature*, 479.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 481.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 484.

¹⁰⁰ PREISIGKE and SPIEGELBERG, *Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften*, 17 and n. 5.

¹⁰¹ SPIEGELBERG, *Der Sagenkreis*, 6 (date), 32-3 and 49*, no. 326 (etymology); for the

50) O. Strassburg D. 443, l. 4 (?) (Ptolemaic)

(Letter of man to father regarding payments): “The *šyt* (inspiration?) of the men who are here is upon these/my [...]”.¹⁰²

51) O. Strassburg D.1338, l. 3 (Roman)

(Spell for causing blood to descend from the body of a woman, aiding menstruation, ll. 2-3): “O sea, do not create waves, while the *hyt* (?) (compulsion) is before the great noble god who rejoices over order”.¹⁰³

52-55) ll. 10, 11 and 13

(ll. 9-15): “Perform this which I say to you. (By) the *hyt* (anger/compulsion) of the one who is on this Bark of Millions (Seth or Ra), which the face of women [...] worship, the *hyt* (anger/compulsion) of Ptah-Tenen, the Father of the Gods, the Great Daimon, the Abyss who is under the earth, the *hyt* (anger/compulsion) of the two sisters Isis and Nephthys, these two goddesses. Move, move together with Renenet the Great Daimon, (by) the *hyt* (anger/compulsion) of every god and goddess of Upper and Lower Egypt”.¹⁰⁴

56) S. Tuna el-Gebel 433, l. 3 (Ptolemaic)

(l. 3): “The *hyt* (untranslated) [of ...]”.¹⁰⁵

attribution to the late Ptolemaic period, see HOFFMANN, *Enchoria* 22 (1995), 38-9 and *Inaros*, 144, n. 576 (taking *hyt nfr* as ‘spiritual health’ in contrast to *wḏy* ‘physical health’). See further the remarks of MASPERO, *Popular Stories*, 261, n. 3 (translating the compound as ‘strength’).

¹⁰² Questionable; written with *š*. Hand copy in Spiegelberg Nachlass and cited in unpublished Chicago SPIEGELBERG, *Notebooks*, 121: *šyt n nš rmt.w nt ty n nšy [...]*.

¹⁰³ SPIEGELBERG, *ZAS* 49 (1911), 34-7 (translated ‘Zorn’); RITNER, in: HAASE and TEMPORINI (eds.), *ANRW*, vol. 2, §18.5, 3343-4 (translated ‘compulsion/fury/possession’). The example in l. 3 is uncertain as the final ‘*t*’ is copied by Spiegelberg as a snake determinative.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ EBEID, *BIFAO* 108 (2008), 89-90.

FAECES OF THE CREATOR
OR
THE TEMPTATIONS OF THE DEAD

Paul John FRANSEN
University of Copenhagen

Introduction

Demons are often understood as agents or representatives of chaos or evil. They are aggressive, even when their function is protective. They are also classified as “minor deities” or assistants to superior powers. This paper will address the category “demon” from the vantage point of “reversal”. The idea of reversal has many different guises in the Egyptian material. One familiar context for this is found in the *Coffin Texts* where the reversed world is associated with the eating of faeces and drinking of urine. An examination of the texts in which this theme occurs provides clues as to the role of the demonic in the transition to the next life.

The reversal theme: the nature of the evidence

Within the vast corpus of the *Coffin Texts* (CT) a group of spells stands out by virtue of their “preoccupation” with phenomena related to faeces. The claim of membership for most of these texts of this group has never been called in question, and they were therefore collected in a single volume in de Buck’s edition. The spells found in that volume are fully representative of this, at first sight, rather odd concern with faeces and impurities, and it does not, in fact, matter a great deal whether a few more spells are added to those already included in CT III. In the course of my work on the concept of *bwt*, I have actually added a few texts to de Buck’s “corpus”, but it falls outside the scope of this conference to go into the technicalities of this operation.¹ Suffice to say that a certain ele-

* I am very grateful to Lana Troy for useful comments and for correcting my English text.

¹ The present paper is an abbreviated version of a much larger, but still unpublished, study of *bwt* in the *Coffin Texts* (hereafter cited as CT). The corpus that I have worked out is, by and large, similar to that which formed the basis of TOPMANN’S, *Die “Abscheu”-Sprüche*. The differences may be listed as follows. Texts not found in my corpus, but

ment of arbitrariness does enter into the process of selecting the features that define this group of texts. This is built into any hermeneutic process, as is well known, and my analysis of the reversal-texts is no exception to the standard procedure. A preliminary interpretation based on a few criteria will elicit further criteria and components, and thus there is, in principle, no end to the process, which is believed to be *largely* self-correcting. Many of the building stones or formulae in the *Coffin Texts* are found in differing contexts, and the analytical procedure therefore quickly results in the construction of a somewhat elaborate hierarchical system of components to the material.

Consequently, the corpus of texts providing the foundation for the present study has been compiled, using the presence of one or several defining features, from (1) a group of 17 formulae involving a *bwt*; (2) a group of 16 formulae expressing fear of having to walk upside down; (3) a group of 36 formulae dealing with various forms of impurities; (4) a group of 12 formulae dealing with the hale and sound theme; and (5) a group of miscellaneous formulae that will be of no importance for the present argument. The investigation has also dealt with the question of the sequence of spells, their position on the object on which the texts are located, general distribution, etc. It should be noted that it is impossible to identify the primary versions of these texts. Similar or different versions of the reversal-texts occur in the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Book of the Dead*, but the *Coffin Texts* versions, of which many have several parallels, are treated as variants of a common topic. Ideally, all of these variants should be studied as part of the sequence of texts occurring on any given object. While this procedure might shed some interesting light on the selection process and the intended function of the texts, as well as on the interplay of texts and other decorative features, it would not necessarily contribute to the subject matter of this inquiry. Nor would the study of the corpus from a single object, in most cases a coffin, give an added perspective. While it might suffice to study the components listed above, these have been singled out with a possible measure of arbitrariness. Thus I would prefer to take the complete texts themselves as our starting point.

included in the inventory of Topmann: 368, 417, 744. Texts found in my corpus, but considered as borderline cases (*fraglich*) by TOPMANN: 215, 771. Texts not found in my corpus, and considered as borderline cases by TOPMANN: 183, 196, 212, 367, 707, 737, 770, 796. Texts found among my borderline cases, but not listed by TOPMANN: 21, 90, 105, 156, 160, 179, 207, 224, 225, 427, 479, 574, 698. Texts found among my borderline cases, but included in the inventory of TOPMANN: 894. Texts found among my borderline cases, and considered as borderline cases also by TOPMANN: 674.

In recent years *CT* Spell 173 has received some attention, “probably”, as one of the authors states, because it is “as good an example as any” of the “scatophagous” texts, to borrow an expression coined by the same writer.² There is much to be said in favour of that choice because this spell is one of the most varied of the different versions. To balance the demands of a contextual analysis of the type mentioned above and the study of one single text, I shall offer a translation of those texts found on B1L and B2L (BM 38040, 38039), the inner and outer coffins of one owner. The reversal-spells attested on both coffins provide a comprehensive selection of the entire group. As there does not seem to be any overlapping, in contrast to e.g. the similar pair of coffins B2Bo and B1Bo, it may be inferred that the spells on the London coffins were intended to be complementary in their distribution.³ This inference seems justified when viewed in light of the distribution of the spells found on B1L and B2L. As might be expected the spells related to *The Book of the Two Ways* are represented on both coffins,⁴ but the rest of the texts gives the impression of supplementing one another.

The texts from the inner coffin B1L

Spell 184⁵

“(79) To repel⁶ the cauldron-carrier.⁷ I am that lotus-haunting heron (*nwr zšnty*),⁸ who acts the migratory bird (*ir gš*),⁹ who terrifies mil-

² KADISH, *JSSSEA* 9 (1979), 203-17; ZANDEE, *BiOr* 41 (1984), 5-33.

³ I do not wish to press the point too far in view of the cautious remarks by WILLEMS, *Chests of Life*, 51: “It is a well-known fact that Egyptians often possessed two, and occasionally even three coffins, which fitted into one another. The reasons for this remarkable practice are still ill-understood, though in the N.K., outer and inner coffins may have served different (religious) purposes. For the M.K., no functional variance could be determined. The inner and outer coffins of sets like B3-4Bo and Sid2-3X, for instance, are well-nigh identical”.

⁴ Section VIII and IX are only attested on B1L. Cf. LESKO, *Book of the Two Ways*, 136; PIANKOFF, *Wandering of the Soul*, 1-37. Cf. also HERMSEN, *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits*, 51ff.

⁵ *CT* III, 79-84b.

⁶ Of the six parallel versions of this spell, only B1L has this introduction. T1L has the rubric: “NOT TO EAT FAECES IN THE NECROPOLIS. NOT TO WALK UPSIDE DOWN. TO HAVE POWER OVER WATER AND AIR. TO GO FORTH INTO THE DAY”.

⁷ For the probable sense of cauldron in this particular context “carrier of a pot with excrement”, see MUELLER, *JEA* 58 (1972), 121.

⁸ So FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, 154; BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 384 has: “Je suis ce héron-*nour*, l’oiseau-*sechenti*”. Cf. also WOLTERMAN, *JEOL* 32 (1991-1992), 123.

⁹ For the dead as a migratory bird see HORNUNG, *Das Buch der Anbetung*, vol. 2, 122,

lions.¹⁰ What is *bwt* for me is that which I *bwt*,¹¹ and I will not eat. (80) Excrement (*hs*) is *bwt* for me, discharge (*hṯp-k3*), I will have no contact with it,¹² I will not approach it with my hands, I will not step on it with my sandals.

– (81) ‘What will you live on? What will you eat of?’ say the gods to me.

– ‘On bread from the Field of Offerings will I live, I will have abundance in the Field of Rushes, my basket of roots¹³ being in my hand, (82) my cloth-bag being of *twn*-plant. I will not bow down to kiss my father Geb, and I do not drink water in the shadow spreading over the water.¹⁴ There has been given to me¹⁵ the state of being a transfigured spirit as a substitute for carnality, rejoicing as a substitute for lust¹⁶ (*rd n=i 3ḥ m-znw¹⁷ nk 3wt-ib m-znw iwt-ib*),¹⁸ (83) for I am, in fact, this heron (*n ntt lnk ls nwr pw¹⁹*) which is on the ram-

n. 210; HORNING and STAEHELIN, *Skarabäen*, 135-6. Cf. However, MEEKS, *Cercle Lyonnais d'Égyptologie Victor Loret* 4 (1990), 40-1.

¹⁰ So three of the four extant versions. B1L has , which is open to many different interpretations.

¹¹ In B1L the scribe inadvertently left out *zp-sn*.

¹² For *hmy* see FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 154, n. 6; MEEKS, *Année Lexicographique*, 78.3017; BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 385 renders: “la crotte, je n’y mettrai pas la main”; and MUELLER, *JEA* 58 (1972), 120, translates: “I don’t contact it”; ZANDEE, *Death*, 75 renders it: “The satisfaction of the *ka*, I am not disturbed by it”.

¹³ *Nnt*, see FECHT, *Literarische Zeugnisse*, 89, n. 50.

¹⁴ For this interpretation see Derchain, *RdÉ* 30 (1978), 61-4.

¹⁵ For the similarity of the content of this phrase to *Book of the Dead* 175 (hereafter cited as *BD*), see OTTO, *Der Vorwurf an Gott*, 9 and *CdÉ* 37 (1962), 249-56; also, KAKOSY, *BiOr* 25 (1968), 324.

¹⁶ *Iwt-ib* does not seem to be attested elsewhere, but for the sense cf. the following passage from the *Apophis Book*: ‘my heart came into my hand and semen (cf. BORGHOUTS, *P.Leiden I* 348, 99-100) fell into my mouth (*ty n=i lb m drt=l 3’ hr m r3=i*)’, P. Bremner-Rhind 29, 2.

¹⁷ BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 385, renders this passage: “On m’a donné la puissance-*akh* après le coït, la joie (de la victoire) après l’orgasme”, making a reference to a note by GILULA, *JNES* 28 (1969), 122-3, where it is suggested that *m-znw* is a variant of *m-ht*. The evidence is two passages in the *CT* where in the first case, *CT* V, 62-64a, we have three instances of the phrase ‘after his head has been severed’. In 62a, 2 out of 13 extant parallels have *m-znw* instead of *m-ht*, while in 62b and 64a all extant versions have *m-ht* (14 and 8 instances respectively). In the other passage, *CT* II, 332-333d, Re is said, according to Gilula, to have given Pe to Horus “after” the injury of his (Horus’s) eye. Here 12 texts have *m-izw*, while three have *m-znw*, and there can be little doubt that the rendering of *m-znw* as “after” makes poor sense. The normal, original sense of *zntfzwn*, *Wb*. III, 457/3, makes perfect sense and thus *m-znw* should be rendered “as a substitute for”. Cf. also KUENTZ, *BIFAO* 28 (1929), 107-11.

¹⁸ Two parallels (T1L and B4C) add: “peace of heart as a substitute for eating bread (*hṯp-ib m-znw wnm t*)”.

¹⁹ One text has *hr ntt* and no *ls*, two have just *ntt* ... *ls*. For *ntt* being a part of what

parts of the horizon of the sky, flying up on to the eastern side of the sky, alighting on the western side of the sky,²⁰ crossing the sky like Re, (84) landing like Thoth. I am one of these two (*sny*)”.

Spell 185²¹

“What is *bwt* for me is that which I *bwt*, and I will not eat. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat; discharge (*hṭp-kš*), I will have no contact with it, for I am, in fact, Anubis, the bull of his side”.

Spell 186²²

“(85) What is *bwt* for me is that which I *bwt*, and I will not eat. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat; discharge (*hṭp-kš*), I will have no contact with it. I will not walk upside down for you, I will not drink urine for you, for I am, in fact, this Great One who fought the hostile ones (*zntt*),²³ for whom are made nine portions in the store of Osiris; four portions are in the sky with Re, three portions are on earth with Geb, (86) two portions are in the temple.²⁴

- ‘Oh, Swallower, Oh Swallower (*šḥbw zp-sn*),²⁵ son of *išhnn*,²⁶ Oh Nu(n), go in and tell Qaqa that I have the power over the portions and I will most certainly not eat excrement’.²⁷
- ‘What will you live on? What will you swallow?’, say the gods.
- ‘I will live on that date-palm which is in the god’s shrine’.²⁸

follows it, rather than linked with the preposition, see GILULA, *JEA* 57 (1971), 16. See now also DEPUYDT, *GM* 136 (1993), 11-25.

²⁰ This is undoubtedly what is meant, although three texts, including B1L, have the sides reversed.

²¹ *CT* III, 84.

²² *CT* III, 85-87c.

²³ Thus FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 155, n. 2, with some hesitation.

²⁴ For this type of partition see CANNUYER, in: A. THÉODORIDES, P. NASTER and A. VAN TONGERLOO (eds.), *Humana Condicio*, 321-30.

²⁵ For *šḥb* see OSING, *Festschrift Edel*, 303, n. 9.

²⁶ So FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 155; BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 386, translates: “certes fils de Henen”. The phrase is very far from being clear, but *is* cannot possibly be the particle if the preceding sign is to be read *sš*, because this would violate one of the fundamental rules of grammar.

²⁷ For this interpretation, see OSING, *Festschrift Edel*, 309-10. For subordination by means of *wnt/ntt* ... *is*, cf. e.g., *CT* II, 217e and GILULA, *JEA* 57 (1971), 17.

²⁸ In the translations of this and the numerous variant passages there are basically two renderings of the *lmy kšr* phrase: the deceased is said to eat the dates (or from the date-palm) (a) *which* are (is) in the god’s shrine or (b) *of* him who is in his shrine. Both translations may be substantiated, as will be seen from the following list. Note, moreover, that where *ht* is written with the capital letters *HJT* this means that the word is without a deter-

- (87) 'Where have you been permitted to eat?'
- 'Under this sycamore tree of She who is foremost of Nefrusi, under the tresses of Itenus (*hr sm3w 'Itnws*)²⁹ will I eat''.

Spell 187³⁰

"(87) What is *bwt* for me is that which I *bwt*, and I will not eat. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat; discharge (*htp-k3*), (88) I will have no contact with it, for to me belongs, in fact, this white bright crown of Anubis (*n ntt ink*³¹ is *hdt tw sšpt nt 'Inpw*). Its bread is of jujube (*nbs*³²), its beer is of white emmer, portions being made for it

minative or has the "abstract" determinative; in these cases *ht bnrt* should probably be rendered 'sweet things' or "date-cakes".

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| (a) Spell 186 = III, 86i | <i>ht pwy bnr nty m k3r ntr</i> | (B9C) |
| | <i>ht pw bnr imy k3r (?) ntr</i> | (B1L) |
| | <i>ht [///] bnr imy k3r ntr</i> | (B3Bo) |
| Spell 201 = III, 127d | <i>Ht bnrt imyt k3r ntr</i> | (S1C) |
| | <i>IHT bnrt</i> | (B1Bo) |
| | <i>//////////imyt (?) k3r ntr</i> | (BH3Ox) |
| (b) Spell 173 = III, 58g | <i>ht n bnrtw imy k3r=f</i> | (all 3 versions) |
| Spell 202 = III, 129a | <i>ht pw imy k3r=f</i> | (S1C) |
| | <i>ht pw bnr imy k3r=f</i> | (B1Bo) |

The "he" in these phrases is Re, witness the example from Spell 211 (*m k3r R*) and also the continuation of the example from (Spell 202), which in its proper context goes like this: "What will you live on?', say the lords of Pe. 'I will live on what they live on, I will eat on what they eat, I will live on that tree/ on that date-palm of him who is in his shrine, on which these followers of Re live. I am indeed he who is in the midst of his shrine'" (CT III, 128m-129c). B1L differs in fact from the two other versions in having "date-palm which is in the shadow of the god!"

²⁹ Cf. the parallel phrase in CT III, 93f-g: *hr nht nt 'ntyw hr t3w nfrws. hntt nfrws* might possibly be identical with the similar epithet of Mut, known from the "Crossword Stela", cf. LGG V, 911b. The precise "meaning" of the next entity is still rather uncertain, cf. FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 2, 127, n. 8; ALLAM, *Hathorkult*, 106-7; and ZANDEE, *BiOr* 41 (1984), cols. 13-14. Cf. also BORGHOOTS, *P. Leiden I 348*, (72-)75 and 99. Latest discussion in BILLING, *Nut*, 228-9.

³⁰ CT III, 87d-91.

³¹ This rendering is also that of FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 156. It obviously "sounds" rather natural, but one wonders whether it is indeed the "correct" rendering. On the one hand, in the phrase *ink is šhm m ht* 5, CT III, 86d (B1L), *ink* can hardly be anything but used possessively; on the other hand, we have the non-possessive patterns of argumentation, CT III, 83b; 84i; 85i, and the CT are known, moreover, to distinguish carefully between *ink* and *nink*, the latter being the form of the typical possessive predicate, see GILULA, *RdE* 20 (1968), 55-61. Thus, BARGUET's translation might be preferable: "car je suis bien cette couronne blanche, lumineuse, d'Anubis, dont le pain..." (*Textes des Sarcophages*, 386).

³² *Zizyphus spina Christi*, cf. GERMER, *Flora*, 114-5; and BAUM, *Arbres et Arbustes*, 169-76.

of red emmer.³³ The elevation of the white crown and the glorification of the uraei come out for me (*iw pr n(=i)*)³⁴ *sṯw n ḥdt sšḥw n i'rt*). There are two fields in the midst of the two ...-gods. There is a throne for me, which the Silent One will take to me (89) for the purpose of protecting his food (*iw nst n=i lty n=i 'Igr r nd wnmf=f*),³⁵ and thus³⁶ I will not eat excrement for you.

- ‘What will you live on?’, say the gods.
- ‘I will live on those three portions that were made for Osiris. One is for Horus, another for Osiris,³⁷ and another for me, I am the third one of them’.
- ‘What will Osiris live on?’, say the gods.
- ‘He will live on this green plant (90) which is on the river-banks of Gegus’.

Today I have come into the presence of Ptah and he has provided me with a warrior’s baton (*sšm*).³⁸ <³⁹ He has made me a seat on that dais which is in the forecourt of the horizon of the sky (*hr dbṯ tw ḥrt pgṯ ṣḥt nt pt*).⁴⁰ I found Khonsu on the way as he was heading for Punt

³³ This translation actually attempts to combine the two versions yielded by three parallel texts. Faulkner’s translation follows the version of B9C and B3Bo (*ir.t(w) n=s ḥt im m bty dšrt*): “there is made for it a portion therefrom of red emmer” (*Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 156). BARGUET’s translation (*Textes des Sarcophages*, 386), takes some elements from the version of B1L (*ir.t(w) n=s {n} ḥt 4 dšrt*): “et on en a préparé pour elle les portions avec du blé rouge”.

³⁴ For this passage see POLOITSKY, *Transpositions du Verbe*, 32-3, n. 56. The sense is that the deceased shall be elevated and transfigured by the reception of the white crown and the uraei.

³⁵ *lty* is not a relative form, because *nst* is masculinum. BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 386, translates: “et moi, j’(y) ai un trône, étant celui qui a été amené au Silencieux pour sauvegarder ses nourritures”, thus taking B9C to read *iw nst n=i lty n 'Igr r nd t=f*. B3Bo has *iw nst n NN tn lty n 'Igr r nd t=f*.

³⁶ See OSING, *Festschrift Edel*, 310.

³⁷ Only B1L; B9C and B3Bo have Seth.

³⁸ For the significance of being equipped with this emblem see POSENER, *GM 25* (1977), 63-6. The two other texts have “their warriors”, which hardly makes any sense.

³⁹ The passage between angle brackets has been left out by the scribe in the transition from the back to the front.

⁴⁰ The crux of this sentence is not so much the word *dbṯ*, as FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 156 n. 5 and 6, seems to think (sim. BARGUET): “on the block (?) which is over the entrance of the horizon of the sky”. Obviously, if *pgṯ* is rendered as “entrance”, that which is “over” it can hardly be more than a block. But the meaning of *pgṯ* as a part of a building was probably “Vorhof”, i.e., the court before the first entrance of a given structure, as demonstrated by JUNKER, *Weta und das Lederkunsthandwerk*, 30-1, and in that the imagery evoked in the earlier part of this spell is that of an investiture, I would suggest that the *dbṯ* is the platform or dais in that court on which such a ceremony may have been performed.

(*gm.n=i hnsw hr w3t h3.n=f Pwnt*),⁴¹ and he caused thousands to stand up for me> and hundreds to sit down for me, my brother and my sister, my concubines,⁴² (91) men, my household (*3bwt*), my fellow-citizens, male and female (*m niwtyw m niwt(yw)t*), all those who have been raised to the sky (*šwy*).⁴³

It is as they live that he has come to his realm, with his *pg3*-jar in his hand and his *nit*-vase behind him.⁴⁴

– ‘Would that you would drink,’ say the horizon-dwellers to me. ‘May you live on what we live on, may you eat of what we eat of, and may you drink of what we drink of’”.

Spell 188⁴⁵

“(92) What is *bwt* for me is that which I *bwt*, and I will not eat. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat; discharge (*htp-k3*), I will have no contact with it, I will not approach it with my hands, I will not step on it with my sandals, I will not touch (*zm3*) it with my fingers.

Cf. the platform in the so-called Heb-Sed court in the pyramid complex of Djoser; and LAUER, *Histoire monumentale*, 145 and pl. XII, for the interpretation of its function. The word traditionally rendered as forecourt, *w3t*, is not attested in the earlier periods, and may, in fact, mean nothing but entrance, cf. WALLEY-LEBRUN, *GM* 85 (1985), 67-88.

⁴¹ For *h3.n=f* see POLOTSKY, *Transpositions du Verbe*, 28.

⁴² Lit. *nhww nhwt* “the living, male and female”, but as argued by BERLEV, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 26 with n. 2, only the latter term designates a real member of the household, while the former, in this particular context, represents “sans doute un parallèle artificiel à *nhwt* ‘concubines’”. For the household, *3bwt*, see MEEKS, *RdÉ* 26 (1974), 52-65; FRANKE, *Alt-ägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 277-88; and ASSMANN, *Ma’at*, 88 n. 132.

⁴³ All the three texts have *šwy* at the end of the list, and in that it has no determinative it is difficult to determine what it means. Faulkner apparently followed *Wb.* IV, 431/14 ff. and translated “fellow-citizens, male and female, who are raised up (?)” (*Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 156), while BARGUET’s rendering, “sans exception” (*Les Textes des Sarcophages*, 387), is inspired by *Wb.* IV, 426 ff. This and similar passages (e.g. III, 52d below = Spell 173) echo the spells enabling a man to be united with his family, cf. HEERMA VAN VOSS, in: W.J. KOOIMAN and J.M. VAN VEEN (eds.), *Pro Regno Pro Sanctuario*, 227-32.

⁴⁴ It is almost impossible to make sense of III, 91b-c. If the sentence is taken as a part of the preceding speech, the =f must refer to either Khonsu or Ptah, while the =sn (B1L and B3Bo) would refer to those who stand up and sit down for the dead. However, such an interpretation does not seem to yield any, even slightly meaningful, translation, and we must therefore accept, I am afraid, a change of subject, from the 1st prs. to the 3rd prs. sg. This does not really improve my understanding of the passage, but it does make it possible to work out two renderings. The first one is that of BARGUET, *Les Textes des Sarcophages*, 387, who follows B9C: “Il est venu à son domaine (?), son bol sur sa main, sa jarre derrière lui comme quand il vivait (*m nh=f*)”. But if we stick to the versions having *m nh=sn*, we might translate: “as they live (i.e. those who have been raised up) has he come to his realm, his *pg3*-jar (only B3Bo has the cup-determinative) being in his hand and his *nit*-vase behind him”.

⁴⁵ *CT* III, 92-95.

- ‘<What>⁴⁶ will you live on in the place to which you have come?’, say the horizon-dwellers to me.
- ‘I will live on those seven portions (93) which are issued from the alters of the Bas of Heliopolis. Four of the portions are in the sky with Re, three of the portions are on earth with Geb’.
- ‘Where have you been permitted to eat?’, say the horizon-dwellers to me.
- ‘I will eat under this myrrh-tree, under the breezes of Nefrusi’.
- ‘Come then,⁴⁷ may the flock swim across, then we will swim on your tail (*nb sht{=f}*)⁴⁸ *nb=n hr sd=k*), (94) we will live on the cakes of your store-chest (*fkʒw n hʒdt=k*),⁴⁹ (94b) we (?)⁵⁰ will drink of the content of your (=k) jars’.
- <(94c) ‘How shall I act? (94d) (since?) you will live on the cakes of my store-chest, (94e) you will drink of the content of my jars.’->
- (94f) ‘You will be taken care of since we will dig your ponds, we will plant your sycamores and we will build your mansions’.⁵¹
- ‘There is bread for him who does my work, I will give bread to him who does my work, (95a) there is bread for him who does my work’.⁵²

I will knot the ropes of Re in the sky, I will land him in the ultimate (*nfr*) West, I will knot my ropes in the sky, I will land in the ultimate West. Bring me this.

- ‘Who are you?’, say the *sʒw* to me’”.

⁴⁶ *M isst* is preserved in B3Bo.

⁴⁷ *ʾtw hm* could either be an Imperative followed by the *hm*, or, as suggested by FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 157, n. 2, we might read *tw [wy] hm* “Welcome”.

⁴⁸ Of the three extant versions only B9C does not have the =*f*.

⁴⁹ For *hʒdt* see FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 157, n. 6 and MEEKS, *Année Lexicographique*, 77.2604.

⁵⁰ 94b-f seem somewhat garbled and do not, at any rate, fit easily in with the rest of the text. 94b begins with what appears to be a shift of pronoun, *swr=in*, which both FAULKNER and BARGUET tacitly emend into a 1st prs. pl. Then, in B1L 94c-e has been left out, “due to homoioteleuton”, according to DE BUCK (*CT* III, 94, n. 1). Furthermore, the unattested jar *zift* (B9C) or *zlt* (B1L) just might be an error for *nlt*, which is found in III, 91c (Spell 187) in two versions (B9C, var. *nlt* (B1L) as against *zlt* in B3Bo; for *nlt* see *Wb*. II, 202/12 and MEEKS, *Année Lexicographique*, 78.1978. For *sʒw* see FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 157, n. 7.

⁵¹ The rendering of *ir m* is really no more than a wild guess, motivated by my understanding of the context. FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 157, translates: “Act when we dig”...., while BARGUET, *Les Textes des Sarcophages*, 388, has “Qu’il en soit ainsi!” For *iri m* “provide with”, cf. BORGHOUTS, *P. Leiden I 348*, 59-60 (68).

⁵² 95a only in B1L.

Spell 189⁵³

“(96) What is *bwt* for me I will not eat. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat; discharge (*hṭp-k3*), I will have no contact with it, I will not step on it with my sandals, I will not touch (*zm3*) it with my fingers. I <have> ploughed. I have reaped, that I might make (*iry=i*) a cake⁵⁴ of dough in the Island of Fire. I will spend the day on white barley, (97) I will spend the evening on red⁵⁵ emmer. My gifts are seven portions issued from the great altar of the Bas of Heliopolis. Four of the portions are in the sky with Re, three of the portions are on earth with Geb. I have tied the bark for myself to the land, and my gifts are of those who are in Heliopolis. It is I who cut the papyrus for it (*dyt=f*), who twisted its ropes⁵⁶ and bound its hull, having (thus) made my road to the sky.⁵⁷ I am the king of those who are yonder”.

Spell 190⁵⁸

“What is *bwt* for me is that which I *bwt*, and I will not eat. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat; discharge (*hṭp-k3*), I will have no contact with it, I will not approach it with my fingers, I will not step on it with my toes. If they say to me: ‘What will you live on?’ –I will live on the white emmer which is in the eastern corner of the sky. As a swallow have I gone up, as a goose have I cackled, and on this great plateau have I alighted. As for <anyone> who alights on it, he does not die (*n mni.n=f*), and he whose hands are hidden will be seen as a god

⁵³ CT III, 96-97.

⁵⁴ The other extant version, B9C, has *lw 3sh.n=i iw sk3.n=i ir.n=i*.

⁵⁵ Following FAULKNER’s suggestion (*RdÉ* 24 [1972], 61).

⁵⁶ For *n’ sm’* see TEETER, *JEA* 73 (1987), 75-6.

⁵⁷ Reading tentatively *w3t=i*. FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 158, translates “A way to the sky is made for me”, while BARGUET, *Les Textes des Sarcophages*, 388, takes the *ir* as an imperative: “Fais-moi un chemin...” As a matter of fact, the latter rendering seems preferable in most contexts such as CT VII, 226u-v (and y) (= Spell 1011), where the address to the door-keeper followed by *ir n=i w3t lm=s sw3=i* makes it virtually certain that we should translate “make me a path in it that I may pass”. Sim. VI, 286u (= Spell 660), where the addressee is Re and the beneficiary in the 3rd prs. so that we have *ir w3t n N pn*; VII, 273c (= Spell 1033) *ir n=f w3t* var. *ir w3t n N pn*; VI, 288a (= Spell 662) *ir n=tn w3t n N pn*; VI, 406p-s (= Spell 772) *i iry-3* (...) *wn n=i ir n=i w3t s(w)sh n=i ir n=i w3t hmsw k3=i m bw mr=f lm* “O janitor (...), open to me, make a path for me, extend and prepare a path for me, so that my *ka* may sit where it wishes to be”; VI, 231c-e (= Spell 619) *ir n=i w3t sw3=l r=l ir tm=tn ir n=i w3t sw3=i r=i* “make a path ... if you do not make a path....” Cf. also VI, 281g (= Spell 660) *dr ir=sn w3t n N pn*; VII, 267a (Spell 1033) *ir n=i w3t m h3t wi3=f*; etc.

⁵⁸ CT III, 98.

(*dgg imn 'wy=f*⁵⁹ *m ntr*). I have gone up after I have plunged into the water and after having vomited a river (*pr.n=i tšh<.n>=i nt nh.n=i itrw*).⁶⁰ Open for me the gates of the horizon, the good place (*bw nfr*) of the sky that I may dwell therein”.

Spell 191⁶¹

“(99) SPELL FOR NOT EATING FAECES IN THE WEST. Oh, young man, who cries out: “Excrement!” (*i hwn hsi hsw*), do not bring <your> excrement to me (*m in hš<=k>*⁶² *r=i*).

– (99d) ‘What will you live on?’, (99e) says he who is in the presence of (?) excrement, who is at the border of the sky.⁶³

– I am the possessor of these, five great portions with Osiris, (100) three portions having been made to the sky and three to the earth.⁶⁴

‘He-who-has-been-assigned-to-life’ is this my name (*sip n 'nh rn=i pw*) for eternity after he has disgorged me from his mouth and blown me out of his nose, (? as) one assigned to (*sip <n>*)⁶⁵ these two very great gods, who eat provisions on the banks of the sky. <When they ascend to>⁶⁶ the sky as falcons, I am on their wings (<*prr=sn*> *r pt m bikw iw=i hr dnhw=sn*), (101) when they descend to earth <as snakes>,⁶⁷ my feet are on their coils (*hšw=sn*⁶⁸ *r tš m hfšw iw rdwy=i*

⁵⁹ Probably a reference to the mummified dead.

⁶⁰ FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 158, translates “My springs (?) of water go forth for me, the stream is spat out for me, and there are opened...” BARGUET, *Les Textes des Sarcophages*, 389, renders: “Je suis sorti, j’ai troublé le flot et j’ai chraché un fleuve. Ouvrez-moi les...” The present translation takes the meaning “plunge” from *Wb.* V, 233/9-10 and 8. The transitive use of the verb is attested in *CT* V, 373e (Spell 467) and the later version in *BD* 110, C.37 (= Budge 1898, 229).

⁶¹ *CT* III, 99-101.

⁶² The =*k* is preserved in the four of five versions.

⁶³ Thus B1L with a stretch of imagination. The two Siut versions both seem to have *ink kš hnnt lmyt đr pt* “I am the Bull of Hennet which is...”, while B9C goes: “says the Bull of Hennet which is at the border of the sky”. B1L and B4C are probably a bit corrupt.

⁶⁴ Sic. The other versions have the correct number: 5 (= 3+2).

⁶⁵ The three other versions all have *sip n*. I do not think it makes sense to take *sip n* as a *sđm.n=f* form, that-form or otherwise, since the phrase clearly ends at III,100g; nor is it possible to take *sip* as a stative or a passive *sđm=f*, according to the prevailing rules of grammar. BARGUET, *Les Textes des Sarcophages*, 389, renders: “Ces deux très grands dieux ont fait assignation, eux qui mangent...” FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 159, translates: “These two ... who eat ... have ordained that when they ascend to the sky...”

⁶⁶ Only in S1C and S2C. In B1L and B9C the preceding *pt* “sky” is separated from the following *pt* by a horizontal line –written in red in B1L.

⁶⁷ Only in the two Siut-texts.

⁶⁸ S1C and S2C have *hšš=sn*. For this and related formulae see SCHENKEL, in: D.W. YOUNG (ed.), *Studies Polotsky*, 513 with n. 20; NICCACCI, *Liber Annuus* 30 (1980), 197-224; and JUNGE, “*Emphasis*”, 25.

hr k3bw=sn). There has been given to me the six-day festival for my breakfast and the *dnit*-festival for my supper”.

Spell 192⁶⁹

“(102)⁷⁰ What is *bwt* for me is that which I *bwt*, (103) and I will not eat. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat; discharge (*htp-k3*), I will have no contact with it, (104) I will not approach it with my fingers, I will not step on it with my toes. Discharge (*htp-k3*) shall not enter into this my belly.

- (105) ‘What will you live on?’, they say to me.
- ‘I will live on the seven portions;’⁷¹ (106) four portions are in the sky with Orion, three on earth with the Day-bark, coming (*pr{=i}*) from the altar of the Bas of Heliopolis, (107) for I am, in fact, this Sole One over whom Anubis has bowed, whose members Anubis has strengthened’.
- (108) ‘Where will you eat?’
- Upon the rushes, upon the rushes (*i3rw*) which are in front of Hekenus, (109) that I may make jubilation for my ka”.

Spell 193⁷²

“(109)⁷³ Oh filth (*i htp-wr*), (110) I will not eat you with my mouth, I will not approach you with my hands, I will not tread on you with my feet, (111) because my garden is in the Field of Offerings, and my *h3wt* in the Field of Rushes. Keep away from me, bearer of excrement (*hry hs*)”.

Spell 194⁷⁴

“(112) Recitation for not eating excrement.⁷⁵ Re is hungry, Hathor is thirsty,⁷⁶ and I will not eat what Geb lifts up (i.e. dust⁷⁷) and what those

⁶⁹ CT III, 102-109b.

⁷⁰ Four of the eight parallel versions of this spell (S1C^b, S2C and B2Bo (bis)) open with the title NOT TO EAT EXCREMENT, which in two versions (Siut) is continued by NOT TO DRINK URINE.

⁷¹ Following the seven other versions, as against “the seven-day festival” in B1L.

⁷² CT III, 109c-111.

⁷³ Of the seven versions only B2Bo has the title SPELL FOR NOT DRINKING URINE.

⁷⁴ CT III, 112.

⁷⁵ Of the three versions only T1C has this title.

⁷⁶ B1L and B9C have: *hkr r' ib zp-sn hwt-hr*, while T1C has: *hkr r' zp-zn ibt hwt-hr zp-sn*. It is tempting to assume that the “original version” would have had a balanced sen-

pw), you two who opened this great sky, I know you and I know your names: the Great One (*wr*) is it and the Radiant One (*i3hw*). If I stand up, you stand up; if I sit down, you sit down (*h' = i r = i h' = tn hms = i r = i hms = tn*). (202) I will walk on that road on which you walk and I will land at the sky, because [it is] the place where I wish to dwell (*zm3 = i t3 r pt n ntt bw mrr = i hmst*)! I will join the Sisterly Twin Companions (*rhty snt-snty*),⁸³ Imes and Imeset. I will not eat excrement for you, I will not drink urine for you, I will not travel (*š3s*) upside down for you as (?)⁸⁴ these *swnw-hr*-demons (,⁸⁵

- ‘WHY WILL YOU NOT EAT EXCREMENT AND DRINK URINE⁸⁶ FROM THE BOTTOM (*šwt*)⁸⁷ OF HORUS AND SETH?’
- Because I am made for four portions from upon the great alter of Osiris on the west side of the sky, (203) *šns*-loaf, a *ds*-jug, *psn*-bread, some piece of meat (*nkt 't nt iwj*), *tpriw*,⁸⁸ and I will travel upon that upper road, the sky, and that lower road, the earth (*w3t tw hrt pt hrt t3*), north of Itenus,⁸⁹ I will eat on the Field of Offerings at the Lake of Turquoise,⁹⁰ it is *d''-wtt* ()⁹¹ who feeds me’.

3. The texts from the outer coffin B2L

Spell 173⁹²

“(47) NOT TO EAT EXCREMENT NOT TO DRINK URINE IN THE NECROPOLIS. What is *bwt* for me is that which I *bwt*, and I will

⁸³ For these see MÜNSTER, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, 150, n. 1614; QUAEGBEUR, *CdÉ* 46 (1971), 158-72; and MUELLER, *JEA* 58 (1972), 114-5.

⁸⁴ B3L has *mm* ‘among’.

⁸⁵ Attested only here, cf. *LGG* VI, 216a.

⁸⁶ B1L: *hr l3st lr <f> tm = k wnm h3 swr wzšt*; B3L:  *n i3st lrf tm = k wnm h3 swr = k* (? or *swr (= k)*) *wzšt*.

⁸⁷ Either *Wb.* IV, 425/16 ff. or perhaps “that which Horus and Seth emptied out”.

⁸⁸ FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 175, translates: “and a piece of a limb of the flesh of him who is upon the *ryw*-plant”.

⁸⁹ Or maybe “the upper road of the sky and the lower road of the earth”, as usually translated. For *Ymws* cf. n. 29 above.

⁹⁰ For the celestial significance of this locality, see AUFRÈRE, *L'univers minéral*, 496-511; BRUNNER, in: J. OSING and G. DREYER (eds.), *Form und Mass*, 54-9; and ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder*, 127.

⁹¹ Attested only here, cf. *LGG* VII, 606a.

⁹² *CT* III, 47-59. In addition to the two standard translations (FAULKNER and BARGUET) this spell has been studied twice, in 1979 by KADISH and in 1984 by ZANDEE. Especially the latter has a very full commentary, and I shall therefore keep my notes to the bare minimum.

not eat. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat; discharge (*hṭp-k3*), it shall not enter into this mouth of mine, I will not eat it with my mouth, I will not touch it with my head,⁹³ I will not step on with my toes, because I will not eat excrement for you, (48) I will not drink urine for you, I will not go (*h3*) upside down (*m šhd*) for you, I will not take this mat of *šsmṯt* for you, because I will not eat for you the discharge (*hṭp-k3*) which came forth from the buttocks of Osiris.

- ‘Eat!’, they say to me.
- ‘I will not eat for you’.
- ‘Why?’, they say to me.
- ‘Because I am shod (49) with these sandals of Sokar’.
- ‘Eat!’, they say to me.
- ‘I will not eat for you’.
- ‘Why?’, they say to me.
- ‘Because that staff which marked out (*dṣr*) the sky and which marked out the earth is in (my) hand’.
- ‘Eat!’, they say to me.
- ‘I will not eat for you’.
- ‘Why?’, they say to me.
- ‘Because the stick which is in the acacia has prevented me from (50) eating the discharge (*hṭp-k3*) which came forth from the buttocks of Osiris’.⁹⁴
- ‘What will you live on?’, these gods say to me, ‘in this land to which you have come?’
- ‘I will eat bread of white emmer, I will drink beer of red emmer’.
- ‘What is the bread of white emmer? (51) What is the beer of red emmer? What will you live on?’
- ‘Because seven portions are in this land to which I have come, four portions on high with Re, three portions below with Geb’.

⁹³ *Nn šfn=l sw m tp=i* in B1C and B2L are probably less unlikely than previously assumed since *šfn* is also attested in CT VI, 64j. Cf. already KADISH, *JSSSEA* 9 (1979), 205, n. 9. B3C has *šfd ... m db w*.

⁹⁴ This is likely to be an early reference to the stick of acacia, attested in several later sources, that Re used to defeat his enemies and the forces of chaos. For the later material see SMITH, in: P.J. FRANSEN and K. RYHOLT (eds.), *Demotic Texts and Studies*, 102-3.

- ‘Where have you been permitted to eat?’⁹⁵
- ‘In the booths under the *im*3-tree of *’Itnws*,⁹⁶ next to...,⁹⁷ (52) because I have entered into the flame and have gone forth from Sehel driving the two she-asses of Shu, my father, my mother, my brothers and sisters, my fellow-villagers (*dm*3yw) and the entire household (*ḥbwt*) having been given to me, because I have protection as far away as from Elephantine and at every place where I wish to be that I may dwell there’.

(53) I am the Bull, the oldest of Kenzet, the keeper of five portions in this temple, five portions being on high with Re, five portions below with Osiris. The sacred (*ḏsr*) doors are open to me, the doors of the West are thrown open for me and my messenger has appeared.⁹⁸ Be high, Thoth! awake, transfigured spirits! Will you roar, you who are in Kenzet before the Great Egret, (54) and Wepwawet who emerged from the top of the tamarisk bush.⁹⁹ I wash myself, I cleanse my mouth, I sharpen my teeth,¹⁰⁰ I keep excrement away from me ()

⁹⁵ *Rd n=k wnm.k irf in {sw}*. If we accept the presence of the *sw*, we must also follow FAULKNER in his rendering: “He who has granted to you to eat; where is he?” (*Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 148; sim. ZANDEE, *BiOr* 41 [1984], 5-33). However, without the *sw* we would have a fairly common phrase, also current in the reversal-texts, and I am therefore inclined to believe that *sw* should be left out, despite its being present in all of the three versions of this spell. This seems also to have been the view taken by BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 379.

⁹⁶ For the *im*3-tree, *maerua crassifolia*, see BAUM, *Arbres et Arbustes*, 183-96. For *’Itnws* cf. n. 29 above.

⁹⁷ FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 148: “in the presence of *shr* who makes (men) subordinate (?)”; ZANDEE, *BiOr* 41 (1984), col. 6: “in the presence of (*shr ss itnw*)”; and BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 380: “auprès d’elle, comme son Horus-itenou”.

⁹⁸ This passage is not clear to me. B2L has (53e) *wn n=i ’ḥwy ḏsrwy* (53f) *sn n=k ’ḥwy=k n ’Imnt*, while in the parallel versions the beneficiary of the act of opening is identical with the beneficiary of the first sentence: *sn n=i* (B1C) or *sn n=s* (B3C). In that 53f in the version B1C mentions the doors of Kenzet (*’ḥwy knzt*), the (*’ḥwy*)=*k n ’Imnt* just might be a mistake for *knzt*. Since, moreover, B3C also has (53e) *lw wn* it is possible to make a certain amount of grammatical juggling, without reaching any reasonably certain interpretation.

⁹⁹ In this rendering I have assumed that the *CT*-versions at this point are transmissions of *PT* 126a ff. (Spell 210), and I have therefore translated the verbal forms accordingly. Cf.

PT 126 *iqḥ ḏhwty rsw ḏsrw nḥsl imyw knzt tp-’wy ḏḥ wr pr ḥzḥ*

CT 53h *qḥ ḏhwty rs ḥḥw nḥmḥm imyw knzt tp-’wy ḏḥ wr*

PT *Wp-wḥwt pr m ’Isrt*

CT 54a *Wp-wḥwt pr m wpt isḥt* (B2L) / *sḥrt* (B1C) / *’ḥrt* (B3C)

Despite the identification of *sḥrt* with *Cyperus Longus* I cannot help wondering whether the plant mentioned in the *Coffin Texts* was really meant to be different from the *isrt* in the *Pyramid Text*? For *sḥrt* see KOEMOTH, *SAK* 24 (1997), 147-59.

¹⁰⁰ (54b) *l’(=i) wī sw’b=i rḥ.i snšmšm(=i) (?) nḥḏt=i mk wī ḥs twr wī wzšt mī bwt*

Spell 174¹⁰⁸

“On Shu have I gone up, on the light have I climbed,¹⁰⁹ (60) my offerings being in Heliopolis, three portions in the Field of Rushes. Excrement are *bwt* for me, I will not eat it, I will not smell <it>”.¹¹⁰

Spell 204¹¹¹

“(139) NOT TO WALK UPSIDE DOWN.¹¹² (140) Oh Provider of life (*htm*),¹¹³ bring me this, for I am Ahet¹¹⁴ and Apis, who is in the sky, long of horns, (141) perfect of names, far-sighted, far-striding, while I am nursing (*iw(=i) hr mn't*).¹¹⁵ Efflux is *bwt* for me, excreta, I will not drink, (142) I will <not> approach it with my fingers,¹¹⁶ I will not step on it with my sandals, I will walk on my feet, I will not be upside down”.

Spell 215¹¹⁷

“(175) NOT TO EAT EXCREMENT AND NOT TO DRINK URINE IN THE NECROPOLIS. (176) I am the Great One, Nepri-hety, possessor of great offerings, possessor of nine portions at the head of the Great Ennead, (177) three in Busiris, three in Heliopolis and three in the House of the *gmwt* in the Field of Rushes.¹¹⁸ (178) The food (-offerings) of Re are my food (-offerings) and the hunger of Re is my hunger,¹¹⁹ I will live on what he lives on. (179) Ptah washes him and

¹⁰⁸ CT III, 59d-60.

¹⁰⁹ For sunshine as the source of creation, see e.g. CT II, 82a-83a = Spell 96.

¹¹⁰ The *sw* is preserved in the other two versions, B1C and B3C, who add “urine, I will not drink it, I will eat with my mouth, I will defecate with my anus, I will not walk *bdn.kwi* (var. *bdn*) for you”.

¹¹¹ CT III, 139h-142.

¹¹² One version, S1C, has RECITATION FOR NOT EATING FAECES AND FOR NOT WALKING UPSIDE DOWN IN THE NECROPOLIS.

¹¹³ BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 396, chooses the ‘other’ *htm*: “O Anéantisieur de la vie”.

¹¹⁴ Following idem, 396, who takes *hst* var. *ht*, *sh*, *sh* —all attested only here— as an early mention of the celestial cow *Th*.

¹¹⁵ FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 166-7 translates: “I am at nurse”, ‘Lit. ‘I am on my nurse’”, while BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 396, has: “Je suis chargé des (dieux) nourriciers”.

¹¹⁶ In all the six texts this formula is found in a rather sloppy version, although B2L is the only one to leave out even the negation.

¹¹⁷ CT III, 175-189.

¹¹⁸ Thus nearly all the texts. B2L, however, appears to have: “four portions <in> Abydos, four portions in $\frac{\text{A}}{\text{o o}}$, four portions in the House of the etc.”. For the mysterious *hwt gmwt* see GRIESHAMMER, *Jenseitsgericht*, 96.

¹¹⁹ Or: when Re is hungry I am hungry.

he gives bread to those who are in *hdw*.¹²⁰ (180) There is given bread to me in the presence of Ptah, when my mouth has been opened (*iw rdl n=i t m-bšḥ Pth wp-rʃ(=i)*),¹²¹ the four Ptah open my mouth (*iw Pth 4 wp=sn rʃ=i*) (181) in the tribunal where Horus opened the mouth of Osiris, and everyone says (?¹²² *dd=f dd=f*): ‘It is his son, (182) it is his heir (*sʃ=f is pw iw=f is pw*).¹²³ Ptah, *hry-bʃk.f*, (183) *imy-ḥnt-wr, ḥnty-tnt*¹²⁴ give to me life just as Isis gave water to Horus, (184) the Bull of Offerings, that I may be satisfied. I am¹²⁵ the owner of four portions in the temple, [two] portions in the sky with Re, (185) two portions on earth with Geb. I am Atum, when I sit down I sit down to eat bread, and Re sits down to eat bread,¹²⁶ (186) and water will be given to the Two Enneads. Arise, O flood (*ʃgb*), butler of Re, at my offering-table, I have come to you, (187) Flood, that you may give me bread, when I am hungry, your mouth, may it give, (188) your lips, may they *mnt*¹²⁷ when you have greeted the face of Re and when you

¹²⁰ For this sentence see above n. 100.

¹²¹ Only B2L has this omission.

¹²² Thus BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 401.

¹²³ M22C and P.Gardiner II* continue: “it is Horus, it is I (*hr is pw lnk is pw*)”.

¹²⁴ For these “Ptah’s”, LGG I, 248b; V, 876a-c and VI, 36a-37a.

¹²⁵ It is not quite obvious how one should interpret 184b. FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 171-2 translates: “I am content, (even I) the guardian of offerings in the temple”; while BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 401, renders the passage: “Je suis satisfait assurément, étant préposé à trois portions”, apparently following S2C. The disturbing factor is the sémant odd presence in several versions, including B2L, of a *wnt* after the preceding *sdm=f* form: *ḥtp=i wnt hry* (or in other versions *hryt*); and I would therefore prefer to follow B1Y which has *ḥtp=i lnk wnt hry lšst 4* (cf. M22C *lnk wnt* //). *wnt* after an independent pronoun is well-attested, and one might even be inclined to take *lnk* as a possessively used pronoun in spite of the fact that in the *Coffin Texts* this function seems to be the privilege of *nnk*. Cf., e.g., exx. 10-12 in GILULA, *RdÉ* 20 (1968), 58.

¹²⁶ FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 172: “if I sit down to eat bread, then will Re sit down to eat bread”. BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 401: “Je suis Rê-Atoum, celui qui s’est assis pour le repas et a qui l’Ennéade a donné (les nourritures)” [B1Bo has *psdt* instead of R’]. With some variations (also B2L) the text would seem to have: *ḥms zp.sn r wnt t ḥms R’ r wnt t*. The same phrase occurs *verbatim* at the opening of the “provisiontext” Spell 167 (CT III, 16c-17a, rendered by FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 144: “Sit down, sit down for food, for Re sits down for food”). The same differing renderings of the two passages are also found in SIMONET, *CdÉ* 62 (1987), 66. BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 378: “Celui qui s’est assis s’est assis pour le repas, Rê s’est assis pour le repas” and in PT 1063a (where FAULKNER, *Pyramid Texts*, 176, following Sethe, translated: “Someone sits to eat bread, Re sits to eat bread”). While the first *ḥms* may quite clearly be taken as a participle I see no objections, on the analogy of e.g., the variation in variation in the similar *bwt*-phrase (*bwt(=i)* var. *bwt=i zp-sn*) to reading *ḥms(=i)*. For this type of “construction” cf. SCHOTT, *ZÁS* 79 (1954), 54-65.

¹²⁷ MEEKS, *Année Lexicographique*, 78.1921, suggests “prendre, saisir”, and this is also the way BARGUET has rendered the passage: “Que ta bouche donne, que tes lèvres saisissent” (*Textes des Sarcophages*, 402). I fail to see the sense.

have satisfied the two Enneads. (189) May you, gods, give to me of bread and beer, and my hands will be on it””.

Spell 217¹²⁸

“(194) GIVING GIFTS IN HELIOPOLIS.¹²⁹ I am the protector of the Hare-city (*wnwt*), son of the *Bas* of Heliopolis. I will walk on my feet, I will not walk upside down; excrement is *bwt* for me, I will not eat; I keep urine at a respectful distance just as Re (keeps) sleep and Atum (keeps) death (at a respectful distance) (*twr wi wzšt mi R' kdd 'Itm mt*),¹³⁰ because I am the Bull of Kenzet in Heliopolis. A piece of meat is in Heliopolis, five portions are in <Heliopolis>, two portions in the sky with Re, three portions on earth with Geb. NOT TO WALK UPSIDE DOWN AND NOT TO EAT EXCREMENT”.¹³¹

Spell 218¹³²

“GIVING BREAD IN HELIOPOLIS. I am the [bull] with the braided lock, the leader of the sky, (196) Lord of celestial appearances,¹³³ the great illuminator who came forth from the heat, the leader of every god, in that my bones are firm, my lengthy lashings loosed (*wnf htrw*)¹³⁴ and the course (*šmt*) of the sun having been given to me. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat it, nor will I drink urine. I will walk on my feet, (197) I will not be upside down.¹³⁵ I am the possessor of five portions in Heliopolis; two portions are with Re and three portions are with Min, and it is the night bark and the day bark which [bring] (this) to me from¹³⁶ the house of the god in Heliopolis, I will stretch out the ropes and make the ferry ready (*dwn=i ꜥꜥ smꜥ=i mhnt*)¹³⁷ (198) that I may ferry across from the west of the sky to the east of the sky. I will live on what they live on, <I eat of what they eat of>, I have eaten bread from the chamber of the possessor of the great offerings in Heliopolis”.

¹²⁸ CT III, 194-195g.

¹²⁹ The rubric in B2L is misplaced.

¹³⁰ The comparison is incomplete and the missing term could be either *mk (mkt)*, *twr* or possibly *bwt*.

¹³¹ This terminal rubrum only in B2L.

¹³² CT III, 195h-198.

¹³³ Following FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 174, n. 3.

¹³⁴ Following idem, 174, n. 5 and 102, n. 9.

¹³⁵ Cf. CT III, 142d (= Spell 204).

¹³⁶ Cf. the parallel in PT 717d (= Spell 409).

¹³⁷ The translation, put forward without too much conviction, is inspired by PT 1376a and 1742b. FAULKNER's translation (*Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 173) is grammatically doubtful: “I am stretched out straight, I make ready the ferry-boat”.

What is the meaning of the reversal-texts?

There has never been any agreement as to the interpretation of these texts. Most Egyptologists are aware of the existence of these “bizarre ideas”, but it is my experience that the very nature of the evidence tends to make them pass over the subject altogether or to subscribe to rationalistic explanations that see the lack of food-offerings and utter destitution as the reason for resorting to eating faeces.¹³⁸ I shall not go into the details of the research history, and content myself with a few remarks on its more salient points.

1. Being upside down

The earliest interpretations noted the frequent association of the formulae designed to keep away faeces with those dealing with the notion of not having to walk upside down —or bowed down, *ksî*, as the alternative goes. Even though the two sets of formulae are occasionally found separately, there is little doubt that they belong to the same sector of the cultural horizon —the more so since they may be interchangeable. Any explanation that fails to account for both concepts, must therefore be considered inadequate. Let us begin with a look at what is meant by being *shd* “upside down”. Most of the evidence —and certainly all the relevant occurrences— has been collected by Zandee,¹³⁹ and from this it appears that there is a location somewhere in the hereafter, where the dead may be placed with their head downwards. Thus Spell 224:

“SPELL FOR NOT WALKING UPSIDE DOWN IN THE REALM OF THE NECROPOLIS. Thus says NN: ‘I <will not> walk upside down for you. I will walk on my feet and I will not walk upside down for you. I will walk like Horus, I will stride over like Atum, my tomb being like that of a transfigured spirit (*šh*), while I go and come like one being in possession of his faculties as a transfigured spirit (*mî imy šhwt=f*), who opens the mounds of the gods’”.¹⁴⁰

Being upside down thus means being subject to a treatment that could, and should, be avoided. There are some “people” who live upside down, and the dead does not wish to be among them, but, as always, the text says nothing about what is required to attain either status.

¹³⁸ See e.g. DERCHAIN, *RdÉ* 30 (1978), 62.

¹³⁹ *Death*, 73-78 et *passim*.

¹⁴⁰ *CT* III, 211.

Later, however, in the rather rare *Book of the Dead* 101, we find evidence, known also from sources of a rather different kind,¹⁴¹ that being *shd* is a normal phase, or part of the life cycle, of the dead:

“O Re, in this your name of Re, as you pass by (*ir sw3=k*) those who are yonder head downwards, then you shall make Osiris NN stand up on his feet (*ntyw im m shd k3=k s'h' =k NN hr rdwy=f*); if you are sound, he will be sound” (*BD* 101, 5-6 [Nu]).

Thus, according to such sources, during their stay in the underworld the dead will be in a state of *shd* until the sun god descends to meet with his corpse for the purpose of rejuvenating himself and the world. It would seem to be a fate that cannot be avoided—but which remains within the eternal cycle of death and renewal, pre-existence and existence. Being upside down, however, is also the permanent state of the condemned, those who have died the second death and have become a part of the regions of the damned, in short, of the nonexistent. The difference in terms of hopes for salvation between the two types of *shd*-existence forms an important part of the history of Egyptian soteriology in the second millennium, but at the time of the *Coffin Texts* only the annihilating aspect appears to have been worked out. In these texts being *shd* is tantamount to non-existence and entails the necessity of accepting—either inadvertently or out of ignorance—the idea that life after death is a reversal of normal life.

2. The hale-and-sound theme

For the deceased to be saved¹⁴² he had to be acquitted before the court where he would be held responsible for his deeds and this-worldly life. He was also examined concerning his future intentions and, by implication, with regards to his knowledge of the conditions of life in the other world, because even that world was not free of dangers. The forces of chaos and evil were a constant menace and the notion of purity was as relevant in the Beyond as it was on earth. The deceased must therefore insist that that which was *bwt* for him as a mortal being would still be considered *bwt* in his new form of existence. Maat permeated both spheres of creation. The order and organization of the life that he accepted

¹⁴¹ Cf. ZANDEE, *Death*, 78 and HORNUNG, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen*, 15-6; HORNUNG, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 217-26.

¹⁴² In whatever form or manner the salvation was thought to come about. I use the terms “salvation”, “save”, in a strictly neutral, technical sense, to designate the ultimate purpose of existence after death.

while being on earth held good also in that part of “non-existence” which was possible to transform into “existence”. Only the damned would find themselves in a region without hope, without Maat.

The texts gave the deceased the means to achieve this end in two ways, one negative and one positive. Interestingly enough, the deceased does not try to give a complete account of how “normal” he is, but protests that he walks upright and that he is normal as far as his orifices are concerned. As a representative example we may quote Spell 197:¹⁴³

“(116) NOT TO EAT EXCREMENT IN THE NECROPOLIS. I am the fellow of these two gods who ascend to the sky as falcons with me ascending on their wings (*prrw r pt m bikw pr=i hr dnhw=sn*), who descend to the earth as snakes (117) with me descending on their coils (*h33w ... h3y=i*). I will not eat excrement for you, I will not walk upside down for you (*nn šm=i n=tn šhd.ki*),¹⁴⁴ I will not go away bowed down for you, I will go away upstanding (*n rwy=i n=tn ks.ki rwy=i 'h'.ki*), with my phallus on me, it being attached, (118) with my anus on me, it being attached (*hnn=i r=i dmi(.w) 'rt=i r=i dmi.t(i)*), and I eat with my mouth and defecate with my anus (*wnm=i m r3=i fng=i m 'rt=i*).

- ‘What will you live on?’, say those who are yonder to me.
- ‘Two *srt*-plants have been pruned¹⁴⁵ for me (*iw sr n=i srt 2*) in Busiris and two fields have been opened for me in Iru,¹⁴⁶ because I belong to those messengers of If-he-wishes-he does’”.

The phraseology of the hale-and-sound theme is the positive version, as it were, of the typical denials so characteristic of the reversal-texts. The theme, attested already in the *Pyramid Texts*,¹⁴⁷ is evoked in numerous combinations. Thus, for instance, in Spell 574, where the S1C version opens with the rubric NOT TO GO HEAD DOWNWARDS SO THAT A MAN MAY HAVE POWER OVER HIS LEGS, the deceased adduces the argument that he has taken the *3h*-forces of those older than him because he is in possession of the appropriate magic and “cats with his mouth and defecates with his bottom (*phwy*)”, and because he is “a god, the Lord of the Netherworld”.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ CT III, 116-119. Cf. also the very similar Spell 198 (= CT III, 119-122), and e.g., Spell 580 (= CT VI, 195).

¹⁴⁴ Of the six versions only S6C has this phrase.

¹⁴⁵ No more than a guess; for *srt* cf. CT III, 21a. FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, 161-2 with n. 2 translates: “I have stopped up the two apertures (?) in Djedu”; BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 392 renders: “On a fermé pour moi deux sacs de grains (?) à Busiris”.

¹⁴⁶ For this locality see KAPLONY, *Kleine Beiträge*, 154-5.

¹⁴⁷ PT 510b = Spell 317: “W. eats with his mouth, W. urinates and copulates with his phallus”.

¹⁴⁸ CT VI, 183-184.

The argument and its presentation

Gathering together the threads of the arguments, the real danger in these texts, whether phrased in negative or, less frequently perhaps, positive formulae, is found in the attempt to convince the deceased that his salvation was dependent on his accepting the proposition that life beyond death was a reversal of the world of the living. The deceased is constantly being enticed into accepting the reversals as the norm. When told that he will be accepted as a god if he joins the seven *šḥw* of Re, “who live on excrement and quench their thirst with urine, and who walk upside down”,¹⁴⁹

“Then this NN shall say that he rejects those seven transfigured spirits who lift up Re (... etc.)” (CT, Spell 205).¹⁵⁰

To the information that the faeces which he is invited to eat comes from the very buttocks of Osiris he replies that he will not eat it

“Because that staff which marked out (*dsr*) the sky and which marked out the earth is in (my) hand”.

and

“Because the stick which is in the acacia has prevented me from eating the discharge (*ḥtp-k3*) which came forth from the buttocks of Osiris” (CT Spell 173).¹⁵¹

The answers reveal the deceased to be well aware of the trap. In the first refusal he claims to be in possession of the staff that the creator used to separate heaven and earth. In the second reply he probably refers to the stick of acacia, attested in several later sources that Re used to defeat his enemies and the forces of chaos.¹⁵²

The deceased must be able to differentiate. The world reversed must be rejected because it embodies chaos and evil, and the deceased knows that the gods have no place in that world:

¹⁴⁹ Cf. also Spell 191: “(...) O, young man, who cries out: ‘Excrement!’, do not bring <you> excrement to me” (CT III, 99b-c), or Spell 193: “Keep away from me, bearer of excrement” (CT III, 111c), both quoted above. See further Spell 200 (where CT III, 125b is to be rendered “O excrement, your name is not excrement”); Spell 214, with the heading: “Not to walk upside down, to repel Khnum who brings excrement” (CT III, 173a); and Spell 367 to be quoted below.

¹⁵⁰ CT III, 148c-149b.

¹⁵¹ CT III, 49e and 49i-50a.

¹⁵² For the later material see SMITH, in: P.J. FRANSDEN and K. RYHOLT (eds.), *Demotic Texts and Studies*, 102-3.

“Excrement is *bwt* for me and I will not drink its sister urine. Each god who tells me to eat that which is *bwt* for me, may he eat with me (*ntr nb dd wnm=i bwt=i wnm=f hn'=i*)” (CT, Spell 581).¹⁵³

Or:

“(V, 28d) SPELL FOR NOT WALKING UPSIDE DOWN. If I am upside down, then he is upside down (*shdhđd=i shdhđd=f [...]*). (29f) I walk upright, I do not walk not upside down (*šm=i 'h'.kwł n šm=i shđ.kwł*)” (CT, Spell 367).

“(30a) Get back excrement, your name is not excrement (*n hs is rn=k*), Re is your name (*r' rn=k*), Ihy is your name, Re on his double throne. If you say “Eat this”, then Re would have to eat tortoises’ (CT Spell 368, in its entirety).¹⁵⁴

Bodily refuse is not to be accepted as being of ‘me’, and in spite of the fact that eating a god is one of the ways by which an Egyptian could transcend his terrestrial mortality and succeed to office,¹⁵⁵ bodily waste should not be regarded as a *pars pro toto*. Beyond death the phenomena might be reversed, but norms and basic patterns were not. Maat endured and the deceased was still hoping for an existence among the gods which also implied eating what the gods eat. The dead wished to partake of the divine and, as far as food was concerned, he had to insist on eating like the gods, in the same place as the gods, of the offerings made for the gods, etc. The invitation to eat the refuse of Horus and Seth must be turned down: “Because I am made for four portions from upon the great altar of Osiris on the west side of the sky...”, was the answer in Spell 220.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ CT VI, 198n-p.

¹⁵⁴ CT V, 28d-30f. BARGUET lists 367 and 368 together (*Textes des Sarcophages*, 405-6), while GUTBUB, *Hommages Sauneron*, vol. 1, 405 ff. would include Spell 370 as well. According to ALTENMÜLLER, SAK 16 (1989), 2-8, the sequence comprises Spells 363-373. For the tortoise as a representative of “evil” see VAN DE WALLE, *La Nouvelle Cléo* 5 (1953), 173-89, esp. 178 ff. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 175-80; FISCHER, *Turtles*, [7]. The texts in KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, vol. III, 286-7. Cf. also GUTBUB, *Hommages Sauneron*, vol. 1, 404-13. GUTBUB’s interpretation of his evidence puts a heavy emphasis on the concept of reversals without understanding, however, the wider implications of the concept. For a showpiece example of a hippopotamus in an incorrect context, see OMLIN, *Papyrus 55001*, pl. XIII; cf. also FRANSEN, in: B. ALSTER and P.J. FRANSEN (eds.), *Dagligliv Blandt Guder og Mennesker*, 73-83; and finally BEHRMANN, *Nilpferd*, Dok. 174.

¹⁵⁵ See EYRE, *Cannibal Hymn*, 131-74; KAMMERZELL, *Lingua Aegyptia* 7 (2000), 183-218, who prefers to use the term *Theophagie* to describe the content of the Cannibal Hymn, which, moreover, he proposes to interpret as a literary grotesque; and RITNER, *Mechanics*, 102-5. Cf. also RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *LÄ* III (1980), cols. 314-5, s.v. “Kannibalismus”.

¹⁵⁶ CT III, 202.

In similar manner, the deceased must distinguish between the Heka, magic, that he must acquire or be transformed into,¹⁵⁷ and the Heka, magic, of the beings of the other-world to which he should not respond. For his need of Heka we may again refer to Spell 574 with the title (S1C) “NOT TO GO HEAD DOWNWARDS SO THAT A MAN MAY HAVE POWER OVER HIS LEGS”, in which the deceased claims that he has taken the *3h*-forces of those older than him because he is in possession of (*pr*) the appropriate magic (*hk3w*) so that he “eats with his mouth and defecates with his bottom (*phwy*)”, and because he is “a god, the Lord of the Netherworld”.¹⁵⁸ For the magic that has to be turned down reference should be made to Spell 407:

“(224b) May you (the seven *tzw*) save me from any evil (*dwt*), (d) nothing evil shall happen to me, (e) because I am an excellent transfigured spirit who does not respond to magic (*nut ink 3h lkr iwty sdm.n=f hk3w*), (...) (h) I will not walk upside down (*nn sm=i shd.kwi*), (i) I will walk on my feet (*hnd=i hr rdwy=i*) (j) firmly established in my place”.¹⁵⁹

The fear described in these texts is presented in a dramatic and forceful way. But who are the agents of these dangerous temptations, the “they” that occur in some dialogues or the anonymous entities embedded in various linguistic devices such as passive constructions? Before we attempt to answer that question we must look at some aspects of the presentation of these perils.

Analysis of the context of an utterance is a vital part of the interpretation of the utterance itself. In the *Coffin Texts* the context is obviously the different and novel environment to which the deceased must relate and into which he wants to become integrated. The means at his disposal may vary (burial and embalming rituals, offering liturgies, threats, decoration of coffin, etc.), but the very fact that they all seem ready at hand, located as they are in the immediate vicinity of the dead—the coffin and the tomb—does not imply that all the texts serve the same purpose or belong to the same textual category. It is well known that many liturgies are

¹⁵⁷ Cf. *CT* Spell 261 = III, 382-389.

¹⁵⁸ *CT* VI, 183-184; cf. also *CT* Spell 229: “(III, 297e, G1T) I am one who does *Maat* (*ink lr m3't*), (f) *isefet* is *bwt* for me”.... (l) I am in the following of Osiris, among those provisioned (*lm3hyw*), the possessor of offerings, (298a), it is equipped with magic that I have come, (b) I will not die (*n mt=i*), (c) the breath for my nose shall not be taken away, (d) I am a possessor of offerings” (III, 297e-298d). A1C has a more interesting version of 297f: “what is *Isfet* to Osiris is *bwt* for me” (*ink lr m3't bwt(=i) pw lzft Wsir*).

¹⁵⁹ *CT* V, 224b-j, only M6C has the full version. See further *CT* Spells 535 *n sdm.n=i n hk3w* (*CT* VI, 132n); 87 *iwty sdm=f hk3w* (*CT* II, 53g) *n sdm.n=i n hk3w* (II, 54d-e); 88 *n sdm.n=i n hk3w* (*CT* II, 54i), and possibly also 75 *n 3mm b3=i in hk3* (*CT* I, 398b).

embedded into the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Coffin Texts*, but it is also clear that not all texts in these *corpora* can make a claim to being ritual texts.¹⁶⁰ Several criteria for distinguishing between the various genres may be brought into play. Liturgies may virtually be labelled as such. Offering rituals or *Glorifications* (*s3hw*) are good examples of this practice. Other texts may occur in contexts that leave no doubt as to their function or they may be provided with instructions as to their use, as for example “to be recited...”. Such criteria are not available for our purposes and, in their absence, we must take recourse to a pragmatic and contextual analysis of the texts, that is, applying a three-way deictic distinction between speaker, addressee and audience.¹⁶¹ Thus the deceased, to take an obvious example, may be the speaker, the addressee or the one who is talked about.

The reversal-spells may be divided into two groups, those in which a dialogue is explicit and those that give the impression of being without dialogue. The distribution is as follows:

Spells with dialogue:	173, 184, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 195, 197, 198, 199, 202, 203, 205, 220, 581, 660, 772, 1011, 1012.
Spells without dialogue:	174, 181, 185, 189, 193, 194, 200, 201, 204, 206, 208, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 580, 587, 661, 662, 667, 771, 910, 1013, 1014.

A pragmatic, contextual analysis, however, shows that the reversal texts take the form of a conversational structure, which may or may not be a proper dialogue. For the analysis of the content this distinction does not make any significant difference and we may therefore proceed with our discussion on the assumption that there is a fundamental affinity between the two types.

A programmatic statement in which the deceased states his intentions almost invariably introduces the texts containing a dialogue proper. The phraseology encountered in this introductory declaration often bears a close resemblance to the spells without dialogue; witness a comparison between many of the spells quoted above and e.g., the “monologue” Spell 213:

¹⁶⁰ For the problems in identifying liturgical texts see most recently ASSMANN, *Alt-ägyptische Totenliturgien* I.

¹⁶¹ Cf. LEVINSON, *Pragmatics*, 72. For some remarks on the use of the pronouns in the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Coffin Texts* see BARTA, *Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte*, 65-67; ASSMANN, in: S.I. GROLL (ed.), *Studies Lichtheim*, vol. 1, 6 ff. Cf. also DORET, *RdÉ* 40 (1989), 51.

phenomena. In short, they were not what Assmann has called “umfunktionierte” liturgies.

The conversational structure further implies—and this is the reason for these few remarks on the presentation of the argument—the presence of an evil interlocutor, of someone trying to trap the deceased. It is in the nature of things that this entity is almost totally faceless. Most spells lack any indication of the identity of this being, whereas others yield a few pieces of precious information.

In some cases the interlocutor is nothing but faeces,¹⁶⁴ mostly addressed in the guise of some sort of personification or what is traditionally called a euphemism. In Spell 200 the protagonist is addressed as “O excrement, your name is not excrement’ ( i *hs n hs ls rn=k*)”.¹⁶⁵ The same is the case in Spell 368:

“Get back excrement, your name is not excrement ( *hs=k hs n hs ls rn=k*), Re is your name (*r’ rn=k*), Ihy is your name, Re on his double throne. If you say ‘Eat this’, then Re would have to eat tortoises’ (*CT* Spell 368, in its entirety)”.¹⁶⁶

As *hṭp-wr*, faeces appears again preceded by the vocative morpheme in Spell 193: “Oh filth ( i *hṭp-wr*),¹⁶⁷ I will not eat you with my mouth, I will not approach you with my hands, I will not tread on you with my feet”.¹⁶⁸ And in Spell 220:

“What is *bwt* for me is that which I *bwt*, and I will not eat. Excrement is *bwt* for me, and I will not eat, urine is *bwt* for me, and I will not drink. Oh filth ( i *hṭp-wr*), I will have no contact with you. Do not take my hands. I will not step on it with my sandals. I will not walk upside down for you”.¹⁶⁹

In other texts the interlocutor is the purveyor of faeces. In Spell 193 just quoted the text ends with the exhortation: “Keep away from me, bearer of excrement’ ( *hr.t(i) r=l hry hsw*)”.¹⁷⁰

Spell 184 is likely to contain another reference to a bearer of excrement. In the B1L version cited above, the spell opens with the words: “To

¹⁶⁴ Pace ALTENMÜLLER, *SAK* 16 (1989), 2-8.

¹⁶⁵ *CT* III, 125b

¹⁶⁶ *CT* V, 30a-f.

¹⁶⁷ Of the seven versions only B2Bo has the title SPELL FOR NOT DRINKING URINE.

¹⁶⁸ *CT* III, 109c-110.

¹⁶⁹ *CT* III, 201a-k.

¹⁷⁰ *CT* III, 111c.

These faeces-creatures are hierarchically organized, witness the fact that they themselves have purveyors of food, the so-called butlers *wdpw*. Thus in a fisherman spell:

“The butler who comes to take fish (*šsp=f*) from it is *šbd-wr*, the butler of *hṭp-wr*. Oh *šbd-wr*, the butler of *hṭp-wr*, you shall not seize me / you have not seized me (*n šmm=k wī*),¹⁸⁰ you shall not grab me (*n hṭf=k wī*), you shall not do what you wish to do towards me (*n lr=k mrt=k r=i*), because I am the *ibi*-plant, the  *bwt* of fish (— *n ntt ink ls*), I am the small one, the *bwt* of the gods” (Spell 479).¹⁸¹

Deceptively, the very same creature may be attested under a slightly different name in another fisherman spell:¹⁸²

“NN knows the name of the butler who takes (*šsp*) fish from it; it is *šbd*, the butler of the gods (*wdpw nṯrw*). This NN knows the name of the table of his on which he places it (*hṭp=f wšh=f sw* ) , it is the well-known (*pw*) *hṭp-wr* (or great offering table) who satisfies each god’ (           

with the heading “To ward off Gebga (the determinative is clearly a black bird) and the potter (𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏)”, ends with two stanzas that both begin with the address “Get back you black bird ($h\dot{3}=k \dot{3}pd km$)” and concludes with the words: “your reward is faeces ($g\dot{i}t=k \dot{h}s$)”.¹⁹³

Gebga, the faeces eating raven, the god associated with earthenware, and the other creatures are not the only tricksters in these texts. A creature by the name of $\dot{b}\dot{3}w$ is a manifestation of the world reversed. Not only does he violate the oldest, most fundamental and pivotal attested bwt by living on faeces, but he is also the epitome of reversals with his tongue between his legs and his phallus in his mouth. He is mentioned in several *Coffin Texts*, and in Spell 698 there is a description of him. The opening lines are not easy to understand, but the rest of the text is straightforward as *Coffin Texts* go:

“(332a) TO OPPOSE, IN THE NECROPOLIS, HIM WHO COMES TO CLOSE A MAN’S MOUTH. (332b) O you of the archers (𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏) of Shu,¹⁹⁴ (332c) who closes the mouth of him who sends out his boomerang¹⁹⁵ against that which he sees, (332d) your eye shall be crushed and your boomerang be broken, (332e) Ihy (the Sistrum player) having turned you back and (332f) Re having set his sun-folk as my protection against you (g) your tongue being in your crotch and (332h) your phallus being in your mouth ($ns=k m \dot{i}t=k \dot{h}nn=k m r\dot{3}=k$). (332i) Get back, Iaa (𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏) who lives on his urine. (332j) I am saved from you by the Faceless One who was born before his father ($in \dot{i}wty \dot{h}r=f msy \dot{t}p-wy \dot{i}t=f$). (332k) This is your true nature ($\dot{i}rw=k pw$), (332l) it is not my true nature ($n \dot{i}rw=i \dot{i}s pw$). (332m) This is your image ($\dot{s}m=k pw$), (332n) it is not my image ($n \dot{s}m=i \dot{i}s pw$). (332o) Your mouth has seized me ($\dot{i}w \dot{i}t.n \dot{w}l r\dot{3}=k$), (332p) but your foot has no power over me ($n shm rd=k im=i$), (332q) because I have come today from 𓄏 (?). (332r). I have risen up having joined myself together ($\dot{t}s.n=i dmd.n=i$). (332s) My members are your members, Re, who lives in his mother ($\dot{w}t=i \dot{w}t=k R \dot{c} \dot{n}h m mwt=f$)” (CT Spell 698).¹⁹⁶

There is no way one can prove the basic identity between the interlocutors mentioned in the texts that have been reviewed here and Iaa. They do have what Wittgenstein called family resemblances and I have there-

¹⁹³ CT VI, 318a, h, m, n, and r.

¹⁹⁴ For this interpretation, cf. CT II, 21f (Spell 78); CT VI, 265j (Spell 645). FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 263, translates: “O you of the expanses of Shu”, while BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*, 213, renders “O Archer de l’Espace”.

¹⁹⁵ This is the version of BARGUET, *Textes des Sarcophages*. The text contains a sign group which DE BUCK transcribes as 𓄏, and BARGUET evidently takes it as an ideographic writing of 𓄏𓄏𓄏𓄏 Wb. I, 186. FAULKNER, *Coffin Texts*, vol. II, 263, translates “who points his finger against him”.

¹⁹⁶ CT VI, 332. See further FRANDBEN, *GM* 179 (2000), 9-34.

fore no qualms about putting them into the same class.¹⁹⁷ Class similarity, however, is not enough. Neither will it do, I think, to try to invoke the term “multiplicity of approaches” in order to account for the problem of the identity of those who tempt the dead. The point is, however, that if there is some sort of basic identity between the faeces-tricksters and Iaa, then the question of the definition of god contra demon comes on a different and firmer footing.

It is well known that we have difficulties in defining the demonic.¹⁹⁸ In contrast to the category *ntr/ntrt*, there is no generic term for demon. Many demons have a name of their own, while a few terms such as *hftyw*, *mwtw*, *šmzyw*, *hštyw*, or *wpwtyw* designate a group or a subdivision of “demons”.¹⁹⁹ It is possible that the reason for the lack of a general term for what apparently is a class of demons is due to the simple fact that no such class actually exists. Attempting to identify a class may entail attributing to the category of god something that was alien to the Egyptians. We do, however, have several criteria at our disposal for distinguishing between gods, humans, and non-humans.

- Worship. Gods are worshipped, and if we have evidence of a cult we conclude that we are dealing with a god. But there are gods for whom no cult is attested.²⁰⁰
- Festival. If we have a religious festival, it must be for a god or something associated with a god.

¹⁹⁷ Class membership based on “family resemblances” or the so-called “polythetic” principle implies that the members of a class may each have a majority of defining properties in common, and yet no single property need be common to all of them, and the missing property may be different for each object. For this type of class see NEEDHAM, *Symbolic Classification*, 65 and LAKOFF, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, 16-21 *et passim*.

¹⁹⁸ HERMAN TE VELDE wrote the entry on demons in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. His text is interesting not only for the information it provides, but also because it reflects the ambiguity of the problem under consideration. A long array, for instance, of characteristic features ends with the words: “Thus one might call all demons representatives of chaos, or beings pertaining to non-being or at least to a form of being different from that of created being” (*LÄ* I [1975], col. 981, my emphasis). MEEKS finds it even more difficult to separate the two “categories”. “From an Egyptian point of view, any being, whether supernatural, human, or material, which was involved in a ritual at some time, whether occasional or incidental, was a “god”. The performance of a ritual did not necessarily require a temple, and thus demons were part of the “god-category”” (in: D. REDFORD [ed.], *Oxford Encyclopaedia*, vol. I, 375). In practical terms, however, MEEKS distinguishes between deities acting as assistants to the creator god, demons and genie, cf. *loc. cit.*

¹⁹⁹ For these groups see now conveniently *LGG* II, 364c ff; III, 274b ff; V, 635c ff; V, 728a ff; VII, 78c ff.

²⁰⁰ Cf. HORNING, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 65 ff.; and GUGLIELMI, *LÄ* IV (1982), col. 983.

- **Iconography.** We use iconography to separate gods from demons, and in the later sources where we have representations of even the non-existent, the concept of *monstrosity* is probably rather useful.
- **Determinatives.** The central working hypothesis of some recent studies is “that the grouping of certain words under the umbrella of certain determinatives is a reflection of what may cautiously be termed conceptual categorization; more specifically, that it reflects some conceptual categories of the ancient Egyptians, or at least of the social groups that were involved in writing and education in Ancient Egypt. The determinative system may thus be treated as a traceable juncture of language and world knowledge in Ancient Egypt”.²⁰¹ Gods are generally assumed to be associated with determinatives such as , or ,²⁰² while demons typically are indicated by the knife-determinative . The evidence presented by our material, however, appears to indicate that determinatives are less useful to distinguish between gods and demons than might be thought.

On the basis of such criteria it may be concluded that *hs* is not divine. The *hsw* have been given an ontological status, reflected in their capacity to be addressed with the vocative *i* or *pw*. They are located in a realm beyond the world of the living, and they are in a position to interrogate the deceased. They do not, however, have determinatives other than , , or variations thereof. *htp-wr* (filth), on the other hand, has the determinative , a fact that may be consonant with the euphemistic character of that term. The predominant determinatives connected with *Iaau*, whose principal iconographical feature is reversal of top and bottom, are  or  . If the bird in question is G38 the group would be similar to the traditional rendering of the name Geb.²⁰³ If the bird is G39 , it is tempting to read it as *s3 ntr. htp-k3* has the same determinative as *htp-wr*, but is never found with a vocative.

The tenuous distinction between gods and demons is pushed to extremes by what appears to be gods appearing as demons or, alternatively, by the occurrence of the demonic, i.e., destructive, chaotic, side of certain gods. Among the gods who appear in the role of “demon”, Khnum is the more frequent. In Spell 214 he is mentioned as a purveyor

²⁰¹ GOLDWASSER *apud* DAVID, *De l'infériorité à la perturbation*, p. VIII.

²⁰² SHALOMI-HEN, *Classifying the Divine*, 39, 43-6.

²⁰³ Is it merely a mistake that   is also the writing of Gebga in Spell 392 = CT V, 66c (B1C and B2L)?

of excrement, and it is therefore not impossible that the address  in the same spell might simply mean “potter”. “He who smears or flattens excrement” in Spell 660 may also refer to the divine maker of earthenware. Khnum is also mentioned together with Sakhmet and several other gods/“gods” in the two lists of twelve gods and *h3tyw*-demons found at the beginning of P.Leiden I 346.²⁰⁴ The references to Re and the seven transfigured spirits, to the “food” producing buttocks of Osiris, Horus and Seth, as well as to the alleged existence of excrement in Heliopolis are perhaps even more disturbing owing to the elevated status of these gods. Re and Horus appear also in the list of gods/demons in P.Leiden I 346.

Iaau’s “career”, on the other hand, may perhaps be seen as an expression of the process that separated the demonic from the divine, as the Egyptians saw it. I have discussed this creature at length elsewhere,²⁰⁵ and it will therefore suffice to present some of the basic conclusions here, together with some additional remarks arising from the present discussion.

Iaau lived in the belly of the Unique One before existence came into being (*CT*, Spell 162). Accordingly he had a double nature. He was the negative side of the creator. In this conception of creation, the world was an imperfect place, in the sense that creation was not all good. The cosmogony began with the creation of the four winds, and, as the negative side of the creator, Iaau engendered the “evil” west wind. Iaau became a threat to creation, but the young sun-god succeeded in assuming his position as ruler without Iaau being able to prevent it. The world, in other words, resulted from the victory of “good” over “evil” (*CT*, Spells 162, 148, 170).

As the representative of the negative, Iaau was eventually expelled from the body of the creator. He became the negative incarnate. On the one hand he is a negative being, physically reversed so that his phallus is placed where the head should be and his mouth is found where his phallus belongs. He drinks urine, an archetypal or prototypical violation of a *bwt* (*CT*, Spell 698). On the other hand he is *hs*, the excrement of the creator god which, like all bodily refuse, is extremely ambiguous, being both ‘me’ and ‘not me’.

The specific cases analysed here imply that there is a difference between god and demon in the sense that demons originated in god but were later separated from them as faeces. I am uncertain, however, as to

²⁰⁴ Cf. RAVEN, in: J. VAN DIJK, *Essays te Velde*, 275-7 and 282-4.

²⁰⁵ FRANDSEN, *GM* 179 (2000), 9-34.

whether it is possible to generalize further. Instead of saying that the category “demon” is the result of a process of separation from that of “godhead”, it would perhaps be safer to refer to the divine as having a dual personality. The prototypical example would here be Sakhmet. In the Late Period things became more complicated and paradoxical. On the one hand the distinction between gods and demons became blurred, while on the other it became clearer because the boundaries between the two became better defined, as is seen in the long tradition from the onomastica of the second millennium culminating in the many sacerdotal manuals from the Graeco-Roman period.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Cf. also the contributions by ROCCATI and KOENIG and elsewhere in this volume.

DEMONS IN THE DARK:
NIGHTMARES AND OTHER NOCTURNAL ENEMIES IN
ANCIENT EGYPT

Kasia SZPAKOWSKA
University of Wales, Swansea

The dream in ancient Egypt functioned as a liminal zone between the land of the living and the farworld. However, dreams and nightmares were also phenomena over which the dreamer had little control, and their permeable boundaries allowed both the divine and the demonic inhabitants of the beyond access to the visible world. Sometimes the result was a beneficial experience, as is attested in New Kingdom royal texts and elite hymns that relate the awe-inspiring contact a dreamer could have with a god or a goddess. But another more disturbing belief was that dreams could also allow the vulnerable sleeper to be watched or even assaulted by the hostile dead. While today we call these events “anxiety dreams” or “nightmares” and consider them psychological phenomena, the Egyptians blamed them on external monsters or demons crossing over from the other side. These entities included the dead, and here it appears that the line between the justified transfigured dead, and the malevolent unjustified dead might not have been an immutable one. Drawing upon both textual and material evidence primarily from the New Kingdom, this paper will explore the identity and nature of the hostile entities who dared to disturb the sleep of the living and the methods for their repulsion.

Like good dreams, nightmares or anxiety dreams usually occur during REM sleep,¹ but are characterized by feelings of intense fear and paralysis or a terrifying inability to move. These types of dreams are a common occurrence in adulthood, and can usually be easily recalled immediately upon awakening. The phenomenon of nightmares should not be confused with ‘night terrors’ or “*pavor nocturnes*”,² a condition that mod-

¹ The following is a synopsis of discussions in FISHER *et al.*, *JAPA* (1970), 747-82; SPIELMAN and HERRERA, in: S.J. ELLMAN and J.S. ANTROBUS (eds.), *Mind in Sleep*, 25-80; KAHN, FISHER and EDWARDS, in: *Mind in Sleep*, 437-47; VAN DE CASTLE, *Dreaming Mind*.

² This is the technical term used for the phenomenon by psychologists and sleep disorder specialists.

ern psychologists classify as a waking disorder. Night terrors occur during “slow-wave sleep” and are more commonly suffered by children rather than by adults. The characteristics include sudden intense vocalization, sleepwaking, sharp increases in the breathing and heart rate, followed by severe confusion. The content of the dream itself is rarely recalled. While the “*pavor nocturnes*” phenomenon does not seem to appear in Egyptian texts, the typical characteristics of nightmares can be recognized in a number of spells, while other genres of text report the occurrence of dreams, both bad and good.

There were two specific words commonly used for “dream”: *rsw.t*, a substantive that finds its roots in the word *rs*, “to awaken”, and *kd.t*, a substantive from the verb *kd*, “to slumber”. While *rsw.t* was commonly used from the late Old Kingdom through the Coptic period, the use of *kd.t* was restricted by period and genre.³ Dreams could be either explicitly called “good dreams” (*rsw.t nfr.t*), or “bad dreams” (*rsw.t dw.t*). Nightmares could be referred to less specifically, often as animated entities who assaulted the vulnerable sleeper. Whether the term *rsw.t* or *kd.t* was used, it was always used as a substantive and never a verb, usually in a context associated with verbs of visual perception, such as *m33* “to see”. In Egyptian terms one did not “do dreaming”, it was not an action; one would “see a dream” or “see something in a dream”. It was thus perceived as an uncontrollable phenomenon external to the dreamer, and this is an important distinction to bear in mind.

From its earliest appearance in Egyptian texts, the dream seemed to have functioned as a link between the inhabitants of this world and the farworld, a landscape inhabited by the gods, the justified dead and the unjustified dead.⁴ While literary texts such as the *Teaching of Ptahhotep* use the metaphor of dreams to emphasize that which is ephemeral, untrustworthy, and potentially dangerous, other texts treated the dream as a sort of liminal space between the two worlds—a space the boundaries of which were not opaque but transparent, rendering the entities of one

³ This lexeme is found in non-royal documents from the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period: a letter (P. Deir el-Medina 6 v. 1-3; KITCHEN, *Rameside Inscriptions*, vol. VI, 266-7), the biographies of Jpuy (Stela Wien 8390) and Djehutiemhab (TT194; KITCHEN, *Rameside Inscriptions*, vol. VII, 153), the early versions of the Opening of the Mouth ritual, and the oracular amuletic decrees (P. British Museum 1025 v. 44-47, P. Turin Museum 1985 r. 18-24, P. Louvre E. 8083 r. 4-7, Bibliotheque Nationale 182 r. 5-8, Cairo Museum 58035 70-77, University of Philadelphia E 16724 A 4-7, and P. Berlin Museum 10462 r. 6-8) as numbered in EDWARDS, *Amuletic Decrees*. See discussion in SZPAKOWSKA, *Behind Closed Eyes*, 16-21.

⁴ The “farworld” or “afterlife” that in Egyptian was called *Duat*.

world visible to the other.⁵ But just as the dead were able to freely come and go to access the land of living, the contact via dreams seems to have been initiated by the inhabitants of the farworld, rather than the living dreamer, who had no control over his visions.⁶

It has been conjectured that the dreamer himself awakened in the confines of the farworld,⁷ but the evidence suggests that this is not quite precise. The texts indicate that while in a dream, the sleeper could see into the farworld, into a world beyond, while he himself remained in his own sphere; what he saw was “over there” or “far away”. In one example, the individual complains to his deceased father that he has seen another dead man over there, *m rsw.t m njw.t w' t [hn'] = k*, “in a dream in one sole city with you”.⁸ Another passage stresses the power to see something that is far away,⁹ as if it were close enough to touch the dreamer *mj.t tw=j hr m33 w3.w mj=j m dmj.t n=j*.¹⁰ Nevertheless, there is no indication that the dreamer was thought to go anywhere, but rather he remained outside the *Duat*, powerless to affect the events playing out before him in the dream. Thus, it was used as an effective simile in the *Tale of Sinuhe* where the author selects the dream to emphasize the uncontrolled and involuntary nature of Sinuhe’s flight. In a sense, the sleeper remained in the periphery of the *Duat*, and awakened (*rsw.t* being a substantive form of the verb *rs* “to awaken”) in a state from which he could see both the inhabitants of the farworld, and perhaps those who were still living, even though they were physically distant from the dreamer. This ability to see across distances may be suggested in one passage of the Ramesside

⁵ SZPAKOWSKA, in: S.B. NOEGEL, J. WALKER and B. WHEELER (eds.), *Prayer, Magic and the Stars*, 21-9.

⁶ JOHN GEE (2002) has suggested that *Coffin Text* 103 (and perhaps 89, 98-101, 104) refers to dreams. If one accepts that the spells refer to events that occur in the land of the living, at best, some of the spells might allude to the possibility of seeing *3hs*, but these spirits or ghosts are not necessarily related to dreams at all. If any of the spells contained a reference to dreams, I would expect it to use one of the words commonly used for dream (in the context of the *Coffin Texts*, I would expect *rsw.t*), or to specifically mention visitations to a sleeping earthly being in the night. The parallel Gee cites is from the Roman period, more than two millennia later than the *Coffin Texts*, and should be used with caution.

⁷ HORNUNG, *Idea into Image*, 95-6; ASSMANN, *Tod und Jenseits*, 182.

⁸ Letter to the Dead Nag ed-Deir 3737, line 3. New translations of all the dream texts discussed in this article can be found in SZPAKOWSKA, in: S.B. NOEGEL, J. WALKER and B. WHEELER (eds.), *Prayer, Magic and the Stars*.

⁹ The ability to see from afar is mentioned in *Book of the Dead* 108, *Coffin Text* 160, as well as in the oracular amuletic decrees and P. Chester Beatty VIII, v. 4, 203 (BORGHOUTS, *JEA* 59 [1973], 114-50).

¹⁰ P. Chester Beatty III, r. 10.11.

Dream Book¹¹ (“If a man sees himself in a dream seeing people far away...”) as well as in a New Kingdom song (“May you see in the dream that which is upon earth”).¹² But neither the dreamer nor his soul seem to have traveled anywhere.

Sometimes the dream could be a positive beneficial experience, as is attested in New Kingdom royal texts and elite hymns that relate the awe-inspiring visions a dreamer could have of a god or a goddess. To emphasize their close personal relationship with the gods, the pharaohs Amenhotep II,¹³ Thutmose IV¹⁴ and Merneptah,¹⁵ publicly claimed to have received visions of, respectively, Amun, Hor-em-Akhet-Khepri-Ra-Atum and Ptah. While surviving records of non-royal dreams remain rare, the stela of Jpwy¹⁶ and the tomb inscription of Djehutiemhab (TT194)¹⁷ attest to the possibility of contact with the divine through dreams, in each of these cases specifically in the form of the goddess Hathor. In both royal and non-royal cases the visions came unbidden and unsought to the dreamer. With the exception of Merneptah, the dreamer was described as sleeping or resting, thus in a passive receptive state, allowing for direct access on the part of the deity. In these positive good dreams, it was not the human who initiated the contact, but rather the deity who chose to allow him or herself to be seen, or even to step through a permeable boundary into the presence of the individual who was in a liminal dream-zone. These divine dreams were of course welcomed, and eventually encouraged,¹⁸ but this was certainly not the case for all types of dreams that one could see.

Nor were gods the only entities one could see in dreams. Going back to the First Intermediate Period, one letter to the dead reveals that the living could also hope to see a deceased loved one in a dream.¹⁹ But another perhaps more common perception was that the dream was an

¹¹ In P. Chester Beatty III, r. 9.4 we find the dreamer able to see those far away *jr m33 sw s m rsw.t hr m33 rml.t w3j*.

¹² The song written on O. Collin Campbell 4 (O. Glasgow D. 1925.69) suggests that the visions seen in dreams are of events or inhabitants on earth *m33.tn m t3 rsw.t nty hr tp-t3* (r. 8-11).

¹³ Memphis Stele 20-2; *Urk.* IV 1306.11-1307.2.

¹⁴ Sphinx Stele 8-13.

¹⁵ Karnak Stele 28-30; KITCHEN, *Rameside Inscriptions*, vol. IV, 5, ll. 10-15; For a recent translation of the text see MANASSA, *Great Karnak Inscription*, 40-1.

¹⁶ SATZINGER, in: P. POSENER-KRIEGER (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II, 249-54.

¹⁷ ASSMANN, *RdÉ* 30 (1978), 22-50.

¹⁸ SZPAKOWSKA, *JARCE* 40 (2003), 113-22.

¹⁹ WENTE, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/1976), 595-600.

experience to be avoided, as one could potentially see distressing visions, or the dreamer could become the focus of an evil gaze, or even be assaulted by the malevolent dead in what we would call an anxiety dream or nightmare. This is attested in a letter to the dead,²⁰ while some Middle Kingdom execration texts even include bad dreams (*rsw.t ḏw.t*) at the end of a long list of hostile individuals, groups, and intangible forces that could potentially harm an individual.

Numerous spells and prescriptions have survived, particularly from the New Kingdom, that incorporate instructions on how to avoid and repulse various malicious entities, including those who were responsible for nightmares. Three of the spells that can most reliably be said to focus specifically on nightmares are Papyrus Leiden I 348, vs. 2,²¹ ostrakon Gardiner 363,²² and the Invocation to Isis on Papyrus Chester Beatty III r. 10.10-10.19²³ (hereafter referred to as the Leiden, Gardiner, and Chester Beatty spells).

The Leiden spell introduces itself as a *md̄3.t n.t dr snd.wt nty hr jj.t r h̄3y.t hr s m gr̄h*, “book of driving out terrors which come in order to descend upon a man in the night”. The Egyptian verb *h̄3j* used for “descend” can mean literally “to fall down”.²⁴ This feeling of being crushed, often by something monstrous or demonic, coming down on top of the sleeper is a feature typically associated with what we call anxiety dreams or nightmares, and indeed is the common semantic concept for expressing ‘nightmare’ in many languages.²⁵ Pharaonic Egypt, however, was a land without any monsters in the realm of the living. Rather, its monsters were often emissaries of beings in the beyond, or the dead themselves, crossing over from the other world.

We find this stated explicitly in the Leiden spell. It begins by exhorting the invading denizens of the land of the dead, the male and the female *3̄h.w* (that is those that we usually think of as the transfigured and justified dead), the male and female *mwt* (the unjustified dead), the male and the female *d̄3y* (adversaries), who come from the Heaven (*hr̄j*) and from

²⁰ Nag’ ed-Deir 3737.

²¹ BORGHOUTS, *P. Leiden I 348*.

²² RITNER, *JARCE 27* (1990), 25-41.

²³ GARDINER, *Chester Beatty Gift*.

²⁴ *Wb.* II, 473C; DZA 26312750.

²⁵ Arabic, Estonian, Mandarin, and English are just a few examples of languages whose words for “nightmare” incorporate the concept of an external demon or goblin. However, this is by no means a universal phenomenon, and in Greek, for example, the word for nightmare (*ephialtes*) refers to the person who betrayed the Spartans to the Persians. Nightmare here includes the connotation of something that is untrustworthy and potentially dangerous—an association that can also be found in certain Egyptian references to dreams.

the earth (*ḥ*) to turn backwards, and contemplate the arrival of a host of powerful deities. The Chester Beatty spell, though it does not name these usual suspects, also treats bad dreams as if they were invaders to be driven out and away from the dreamer. In the Gardiner papyrus, a spell designed to protect sleepers, we find a similar though shorter list of entities, in this case male and female adversaries and male and female dead. These are the same hostile dead, adversaries, and generic enemies that were blamed for a host of problems in lists from the *Coffin Texts*, exorcism texts, medical texts, and even the oracular amuletic decrees. These entities seemed to be particularly blamed for problems related to possession or invasion of individuals and of spaces and are attested in a number of spells whose purpose was to thwart them. One example, P. Chester Beatty VI, vs. 2.5-9, was designed to prevent any adversaries or dead, who might be within the body of the victim, from killing him,²⁶ while another case, P. Chester Beatty VIII [8] vs. 1.1-2.4, was meant to protect a house from any of these enemies who might attack in the day or the night.²⁷ Other spells were designed to ward off these beings that were also deemed responsible for the ‘plague of the year’,²⁸ fevers or cold,²⁹ eye disorders³⁰ including night blindness,³¹ bleeding (possibly associated with miscarriage),³² or ones whose influence had entered specific parts of the victim’s body such as the belly,³³ the head,³⁴ or the breasts.³⁵

While all of these potential invaders resided in the farworld, their roles and attributes varied. The ones that were labeled as enemies (*ḥfty.w*), or adversaries (*djy*), or simply as the host of dead (*mwt*), were those who had threatened or transgressed against the gods, and for whom the proper rituals were not carried out. They were therefore doomed to eternal punishment and unrest —predisposed to intimidate the living in whatever way they could. But these spells also mention the *ḥh.w*, the “transfigured

²⁶ P. Chester Beatty VI, vs. 2.5-9 (AEMT #8). Throughout this paper AEMT (Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts) refers to spells in BORGHOUTS, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*.

²⁷ P. Chester Beatty VIII [8] vs. 1.1-2.4 (AEMT #11).

²⁸ P. Edwin Smith [53] 19.2-14 (AEMT #18).

²⁹ AEMT #55.

³⁰ LEITZ, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 79 (BM EA 10059 Section XIII Incantation 57 [Wreszinski Incantation 22]).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 64 (BM EA 10059 Section VIII Incantation 22 [Wreszinski Incantation 34]).

³² *Ibid.*, 69 (BM EA 10059 Section IX Incantation 28 [Wreszinski Incantation 40]) and 70 (BM EA 10059 Section IX Incantation 30 [Wreszinski Incantation 42]).

³³ AEMT #27, P. Leiden I 348 [22] rt. 12.7-11 (BORGHOUTS, *P. Leiden I 348*); AEMT #47; AEMT #76.

³⁴ AEMT #39, 40, 41.

³⁵ AEMT #64.

dead". The irony is that a so-called demon could include an Egyptian who had worked very hard to become an *ꜥḥ*, one of the blessed dead who were not only allowed unrestrained travel throughout the many regions of the farworld, but also free passage into the land of the living. A number of spells in the *Book of the Dead* ensured that this ability would be granted to the *ꜥḥ*. It seems that these *ꜥḥ.w* or justified dead, who could appear as benevolent ghosts,³⁶ also had the power and the will to potentially harm the living in the same manner as the generic enemies and unjustified dead. These pugnacious beings, who inhabited the farworld along with the gods, were able to step through the permeable membrane between the worlds and attack as nightmares.

The link between the entities who threatened those on earth and those who were considerable vile enemies in the afterlife is also made clear by reference to their being reversed. The Gardiner ostrakon warns that "he will not go forth face forwards, limbs as sound limbs". Ritner explains that this posture is compatible with other references to both demons and the enemies of the pharaoh who are twisted with their head facing backwards, unable to see forwards.³⁷ This posture is also described in the "spell for a mother and child" (P. Berlin 3027 C1, 9/2-6)³⁸ to protect the vulnerable individual (in this case a child) against demons that attack in the dark. In similar fashion, the enemies of the gods and the unjustified dead could be forced to live a reversed life in the *Duat*. Those who were not instantly relegated to the second death were condemned to a variety of indignities, tortures that might include living a life incompatible with *maat*, eating their own faces and drinking their own urine.³⁹ The Leiden spell orders the fiends to

"Place your head behind, when you raise your face,
together with your *ba*, your shapes, your corpses, your magic, together
with your shapes, your forms.
Oh male *akhs*, ..."

In addition, it forces these beings to look at (the word here used is *dgi*, implying the conscious act of "looking", rather than "passively see-

³⁶ A levitating ghost is described in P. Chassinat II (POSENER, *RdÉ* 12 [1960], 75-82) while the story of Khonsuemhab and the Ghost (for the publication see VON BECKERATH, *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 90-107 and for an English translation SIMPSON, *Literature*, 112-5) tells the tale of a ghost who is unhappy with the state of his tomb.

³⁷ RITNER, *JARCE* 27 (1990), 28-30.

³⁸ ERMAN, *Mutter und Kind*, 11-2.

³⁹ KADISH, *JSSEA* 9 (1979), 203-17.

ing”)⁴⁰ the immense divine force that the speaker of the spell has amassed to oppose them, as the most powerful deities are called upon:

“You shall contemplate and look!
 It is the Lord of All, and it is Those Who Are,
 It is Atum, it is Wadjet: the Lady of dread in the Great Bark, it is
 the child
 It is the Lord of Truth;
 It is the Lord of Truth,
 It is the figure of Atum on the upper road,
 It is the consuming flame by Sia, Lord of Heaven”.

The spell now calls upon the most effective weapon that can be used to destroy the chaotic forces: fire.

“The earth is on fire, the sky is on fire, the people and the gods are
 on fire.
 You say you are hidden against it (but) ‘it is come’ - Is its name in
 truth.
 Beware of the flame which comes forth from the Two Horizons!”

Even the name of the flame, “it is come”, expresses the inevitability of its arrival and the futility of attempting to escape this massive cosmic conflagration.⁴¹ But Egyptian visual iconography is more subtle than our imagery and the idea of a portal or barrier of fire is found decorously represented in the *Book of Gates* by snakes, which spit fire. From the *Coffin Texts* to the *Royal Books of the Afterlife* and the *Book of the Dead* we find the belief expressed that those who had achieved transfiguration and justification in the farworld could pass through barriers of flame and lakes of fire as if through water. Fire, a preferred weapon of the gods, appears in the Chester Beatty spell where Isis threatens to target flames at any entities frightening the dreamer. She commands the dreamer

“Do not allow that which you saw to get out,
 (in order that) your numbness may be terminated,
 your dreams retire,
 and fire go forth against that which frightens you”.

⁴⁰ For the active sense of *dgj* see DEPUYDT, *Or 75* (1988), 1-13 and WINAND, *SAK 13* (1986), 293-314.

⁴¹ For fire as a divine weapon against chaotic entities see especially HORNING, *Valley of the Kings*, 149-65; HORNING, *Idea into Image*, 97-107; ZANDEE, *Death as an Enemy*, 133-42.

For the gods of the afterlife and for the pharaoh on the earth the main method of distributing fire was by means of the *j'r.t* or uraeus — the cobra ready to strike and kill with her piercing gaze, spitting flames with her fiery breath. Cobras are common in Africa today and one of the most dangerous is the spitting or black-necked cobra. This snake can spray its burning venom directly at the eyes of its provoker from a distance of eight feet. This spray was depicted in Egyptian art by a series of dots and described as *h.t* “fire”. Because Egyptian iconography is not directly representational, other forms of snakes were also depicted as spitting fire, such as “Big and Fiery”, a python type snake who perpetually burns the enemies of the sun god in the ninth hour of the *Book of the Gates*. Horus himself commands the serpent:

“Open your mouth, expose your jaws,
That you spit fire on the enemies of my father!
That you burn their corpses
And cook their souls
With the burning breath of your mouth,
With the embers in your body”.⁴²

We are all familiar with the multiplicity of roles played by the uraeus on the brow of the pharaoh.⁴³ She was not only a symbol of Lower Egypt and of power, but was also the physical manifestation of the protective fiery eye of the sun itself who dispels the chaotic darkness with her light. But the use of this fiery weapon was not restricted to the pharaoh and the gods; a non-royal mortal could also call upon the uraeus for aid. In the Leiden spell, the cobra goddess Wadjet is summoned, while in the Gardiner spell she is referred to as “the Striker” and her role is to consume the hearts of the demons. The end of this spell promises the fiends that they “will not escape from the Four Ladies”. The instructions state that this spell is “to be said over the four uraei made of pure clay and fire in their mouths. One is placed on each corner of each room in which there is a man or a woman sleeping”.

Other spells also combine the deadly weapon of fire with the power of the cobras, sometimes referred to as the “Four Noble Ladies” with “fire in their mouth”.⁴⁴ Fire, snakes and various objects including figurines

⁴² HORNUNG, *Valley of the Kings*, 155-6.

⁴³ For the early manifestations of the cobra goddess see JOHNSON, *Cobra Goddess*.

⁴⁴ See the discussion in RITNER, *JARCE 27* (1990), 32-3. Other spells include the AEMT #11 (Protection of a House) and AEMT #93 (The Metternich Stela).

made of clay are essential components in many spells. The Leiden spell was supposed to be spoken over an image drawn on a piece of linen that was to be placed on the dreamer's throat. Physical specimens of linen charms have survived,⁴⁵ and it is possible that physical examples of the uraei mentioned in the Gardiner spell to keep away nightmares have survived as well.

Small uraei made of clay (usually Nile silt) have been excavated in New Kingdom sites such as Amarna,⁴⁶ the settlement of Kom Rabia (in Memphis),⁴⁷ Qantir,⁴⁸ Sais,⁴⁹ Kom Firin,⁵⁰ Akoris,⁵¹ in burials in Sakkara,⁵² in the fortress-town of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham,⁵³ in the way-station of Haruba,⁵⁴ the town of Kamid el-Loz⁵⁵ and the Late Bronze Age garrison at Beth Shan.⁵⁶ Many are often found in association with other objects connected to domestic use such as headrests, figures of Bes, Taweret, male and female figurines, clay balls and amulets. Many of the clay cobras are freestanding with flat bottoms, often decorated in blue, red, yellow and black paint, but wavy-edged bowls with cobra figures rising from the bottom of the bowl have also been found in Amarna⁵⁷ that were likely variations of the freestanding versions. While some of figurines are

⁴⁵ MAARTEN RAVEN (in: J. VAN DIJK (ed.), *Essays Te Velde*, 275-85) has studied a number of surviving linen charms now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden.

⁴⁶ See examples in KEMP, *CAJ* 5 (1995), 31-2; KEMP, *JEA* 67 (1981), 5-20; ROSE, in: B.J. KEMP (ed.), *Amarna Reports I*, 133-53; ROSE, in: B.J. KEMP (ed.), *Amarna Reports V*, 82-114; FRANKFORT and PENDLEBURY, *City of Akhenaten II*, 42, 59 and 62; PENDLEBURY and ČERNÝ, *City of Akhenaten III*, 111; Number 22/140 in PEET and WOOLLEY, *City of Akhenaten I*, 79-80, pl. 23; Number 22/131 in *ibid.*, pl. 23. The latter two objects are, respectively, currently in the Bolton Museums, Art Gallery and Aquarium (museum number 15.22.9) and the British Museum (EA 55594) and are discussed in detail in SZPAKOWSKA, *JARCE* 40 (2003), 113-22. See also the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by ANNA STEVENS (2003) of Monash University.

⁴⁷ GIDDY, *Survey of Memphis II*, 13-28, pl. 1-7 and pl. 77-79.

⁴⁸ ASTON, *Egyptian Pottery*, 402-3.

⁴⁹ Personal communication Penny Wilson.

⁵⁰ SPENCER, *Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (2004), 38-40.

⁵¹ I would like to thank Kyoko Yamahana for kindly making available the preliminary report and further information. Some of the clay cobras have been published in KAWANISHI and TSUJIMURA, *Akoris 2002*, 9-11, fig. 7 no 18, and 15-7, fig. 12 no 8-9. They have been found in fill, and their dating is therefore still insecure. They have been tentatively assigned to the Late Period, but Ramesside objects have been found in the same context in close proximity.

⁵² SOWADA, CALLAGHAN, and BENTLEY, *Teti Cemetery at Saqqara IV*, 13, pl. 6, 35.

⁵³ Personal communication Steven Snape.

⁵⁴ OREN, *Qadmoniot* 13 (1980), 26-33, 31, pl. 8; OREN, in: E. STERN, A. LEVINZON-GILBOA and J. AVIMAR (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations*, vol. IV, 1386-96, 1390.

⁵⁵ ECHT, in: R. HACHMANN (ed.), *Bericht über die Ergebnisse*, 37-52, pl. 9-12.

⁵⁶ JAMES, MCGOVERN and BONN, *Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison*.

⁵⁷ KEMP, *JEA* 67 (1981), 5-20.

shaped simply as cobras with flared hoods rising up from coiled tails,⁵⁸ others are more complex, and include a shape resembling a small offering stand rising from the base. Others have two protuberances added to the main body which could possibly represent two smaller snakes on either side of the offering stand or bowl. Some of the snakes without offering stands may have been incorporated into the architecture of a temple as a cobra frieze. The figurines with an offering cup, however, were more likely designed to stand upright (either on their own or within a larger bowl), allowing the cup to hold an offering of some kind.

The function of the clay cobras has yet to be determined. They have usually been termed votive objects, and are thought to represent devotions to one of a number of goddesses including Renenutet, Meretseger, Neith, Wadjet, Mut, or Weret Hekau “Great of Magic”, or a combination of these deities.⁵⁹ The nature of Egyptian gods was fluid and adaptable, as was their iconography. Unless specifically named it is often difficult to associate an artifact with a specific deity and syncretizations are common as well. For example, at Deir el-Medina has provided votive figures, stele, sketches and sculptures dedicated to either Meretseger or Renenutet in snake form, but they have also been dedicated to the combined form or Renenutet-Meretseger.

They might also have been used to keep away poisonous snakes in the land of the living, or to protect the vulnerable sleeper from nightmares and other demonic assaults in the night. Kemp noted that a clue to their use might be found in spells such as the Gardiner spell discussed earlier.⁶⁰ These clay cobras could represent surviving examples of ones that were used by the Egyptians to protect themselves from nightmares and other hostile entities, and could represent the physical manifestation of the “Noble Ladies” that are named in certain spells. The noble ladies are also described as having “fire in their mouths”. It is possible that the bowls found on some of the snakes were used to hold incense, or a coal, thus creating a sort of fire. However, the extant examples that I have examined do not show any obvious evidence of burning, or of having held any sort of resin. Ones that were part of bowls may have been at the centre of a pool of oil that was then lit as a lamp. Another possibility is

⁵⁸ Few complete examples remain. Most have been broken at the junction between base and hood, with only one or the other surviving intact—in some instances only the head has been recovered.

⁵⁹ For example, SADEK (*Popular Religion*, 118-25) has noted votive objects dedicated to the combined form of Renenutet-Meretseger found in Deir el-Medina.

⁶⁰ KEMP, *CAJ* 5 (1995), 31-2.

that the fire in their mouths was metaphorical, referring to the burning power of protective cobra, which could have been activated by the very presence of the figurines in a room.

The suggestions that the snakes were created as votive objects dedicated to a deity and were used as apotropaic devices in connection with spells are not incompatible. Few objects can be assigned a single restrictive function or a unique purpose, and it is likely that the use of clay cobras would vary according to the specific needs of the individual. The line between the royal and non-royal use is also more ambiguous than often proposed, and protective creatures such as fire-spiting cobras that can appear on a pharaoh's brow, or in restricted books of the afterlife, would be just as effective for domestic use. The cobra represents the fiery power of the sun, illuminating the night, and effectively destroying enemies, whether the cobra is associated with a particular deity at the time, or is used as a powerful protective icon on its own.

Numerous other spells, including a few that became part of the *Coffin Texts*, prescribe the use of various clay objects shaped as balls, or eggs, or women, or even cobras. A spell has not yet been found in the same context as these figures, but nevertheless it is likely that one method of protecting a sleeper from nightmares and other demonic influences of the night would have been through the use of clay snakes, whose fiery power would have been activated by means of a spell.

These are not the only artifacts that might have been used to keep away demons of the dark. Headrests could also be decorated with protective spells and apotropaic figures including some that wield the striking cobra.⁶¹ These depictions can be found on the top of the base of the headrest, on the supporting pillar, and on the underside of the curved portion that actually supports the individual's head. Carved into one wooden example⁶² is the image of Neith (a goddess who is also associated with the uraeus whose emblem appears on the inside of numerous representations of the rearing cobra) shooting her arrows into a demon who is turning away, his back towards the goddess, hiding his face in his arms. While the spell inscribed on the headrest offers wishes for good sleep, it is likely that the image was in part designed to help ward away nightmares. Other headrests are carved with the form of Bes or one of the many related deities,⁶³ images that we would expect to find on

⁶¹ PETRIE, *Objects of Daily Use*, Gurob #40; SCHOTT, ZÄS 83 (1958), 141-4, Heidelberg #290.

⁶² DARESSY, *ASAE* 10 (1909-1910), 177-9.

⁶³ Examples can be found in PETRIE, *Objects of Daily Use*, Gurob #40; SCHOTT, ZÄS

domestic furniture, and perhaps he appears on these in his capacity as an aid to fertility. But on certain headrests, when the figure is depicted as facing forward and wielding weapons, its identity is perhaps better identified as that of *ḥ3*, “the fighter”, whose image also appears on the so-called magic wands particularly associated with the Middle Kingdom.⁶⁴ These artifacts were used to protect vulnerable individuals, including children and women, and perhaps sleepers as well, from the onslaught of demonic forces by creating a sacred space within which the individual would be protected.

That a protective capacity was part of the function of *ḥ3* and the other figures that can be found on the headrests has been confirmed by Milena Perraud. She noted two Middle Kingdom headrests upon which are inscribed spells for protection whose formulaic expressions are virtually identical to those found on a number of inscribed apotropaic wands also dated to the Middle Kingdom. The formula include: *dd-mdw jn* + name of the protective entity, followed by an expression such as *jj=n* “we come”, and finally the phrase *stp-s3* “protection” often with the preposition *ḥ3* “concerning” + “the object”.⁶⁵ The similarity in formula is not coincidental, and confirms that both the wands and headrests could function in a similar manner.

Like the magic wands, many of the figures appearing on headrests are in the form of griffins, hippopotamus goddesses, or fantastic creatures containing the most recognizable portions of powerful animals, such as the crocodile. Similar figures are described in the *Coffin Texts*, and can be occasionally seen in the composition known as the *Book of Two Ways*. Here, their function was to guard the passageways within the farworld thus restricting access to those who had proved themselves worthy by correctly identifying their names and epithets, or by speaking the correct spell. These composite beings are often termed “demons”, but this is a misnomer, for they were not harmful to those who legitimately belonged, but only towards intruders.

83 (1958), 141-4; PAVLOV and KHODZHASH, *Khudozhestvennoe*, Pushkin Museum #5016; FREED, *Egypt's Golden Age*, 74-5 (Brooklyn Museum number 37.44E); EGGBRECHT, *Ägyptens Ausstieg*, 278-80 (Hannover #2890); SEIPEL (ed.), *Ägypten: Götter, Gräber und die Kunst*, 242-3 (Louvre N3736a and British Museum EA 35807); and PERRAUD, *RdÉ* 49 (1998), 161-6 (Louvre E4321 + E4293).

⁶⁴ To the list of apotropaia mostly published in ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Apotropaia* and SAK 13 (1986), 1-27, pl. 1-4 we should now add the apotropaic wand recently discovered in Dra abu El-Naga' (Voss, *MDAIK* 55 [1999], 390-9).

⁶⁵ PERRAUD, *BIFAO* 102 (2002), 309-26. Her discussion includes headrests from the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (#128) and the British Museum (EA 35807).

The wands, headrests, and other artifacts upon which these powerful entities appear, acted as apotropaic devices, forming protective barriers around those who were particularly defenseless. These included expectant and new mothers, neonates and children, those who were ill, or, as is suggested by their manifestation on headrests, those who were asleep. Along with their frightening appearance, these deities guarded and defended their vulnerable wards with an assortment of weapons such as spears, daggers, hand-held snakes and rearing striking cobras. In some cases the cobras can be seen in the mouth of the deity, their power in the process of being consumed and absorbed by the deity, while in others the snakes are firmly grasped in their hands. As Ritner has noted, this gesture graphically depicts the ultimate control that the deities have over dangerous and wild animals, a gesture that parallels that of the pharaoh grasping his stereotypical enemies by the hair.⁶⁶ But in some cases, it appears that these snakes are wielded in the same manner as more conventional weapons such as spears and daggers. The rearing snakes here offered a mortal the same kind of protection they afforded the gods.

Reconstructing the private practices in ancient Egypt is not an easy task. Perceptions do change, and the evidence of course offers only brief glimpses onto specific aspects in particular times and places. A dream is an intensely personal experience — contents remain invisible until it is reported, and compared to some other types of documentation the surviving records mentioning dreams in pharaonic Egypt are frustratingly few. Nevertheless, there remains enough evidence to indicate that a dream, good or bad, could be thought of as an external phenomenon — a liminal zone between the world of the living and of the divine. It provided visual access to the inhabitants of the *Duat*. Thus a god could make him or herself visible to a mortal in a dream, but so could the hostile dead who were held responsible for terrifying nightmares. These entities included not only the traditional enemies of the gods, the unjustified dead, but also the transfigured dead. New Kingdom spells, prescriptions, and apotropaic devices attest to the prevalent fear of nightmares and other nocturnal enemies, while the intricate steps one could take to ensure safety in the night emphasize the tangible nature of the demons of the dark.

⁶⁶ RITNER, *Mechanics*, 224, n. 1041.

MASKING AND MULTIPLE PERSONAS*

Penelope WILSON
University of Durham

Introduction

The practice of masking for ritual and ceremonial purposes seems to have been important in Egypt from the earliest times and continued to be an element of ritual practice into the Roman period.¹ Though masking could be used primarily in the active or passive performance of ritual,² the actual reasons behind it and the underlying implications or parameters for masking seem to be difficult to tease out from an apparently meagre set of actual evidence. There is also the issue of how easy it is to recognise masking and the limits surrounding the practice, which are set by modern focuses of attention.

Previous studies of masking in Egypt have covered some of the main evidence for masking from the physical remains and in particular from the funerary material. It seems worthwhile, however, to stop once more to look at this material, and then maybe to explore more difficult cases where the very definitions of masking versus actual appearance are at issue. Lévi-Strauss defined the two main areas of social life in which masking played a part as the area of rank, social function and role playing, and also as the means by which to enter the supernatural world in a socially controlled way.³ These two areas are not mutually exclusive, but this paper will look at the relationship between these roles in ancient Egypt.

* I would like to acknowledge the support and suggestions of my colleagues at the symposium on *Ancient Egyptian Theology and Demonology: Studies on the Boundaries between the Divine and the Demonic in Egyptian Magic* (Rhodes, 27-29 June 2003) and the Department of Mediterranean Studies of the University of the Aegean for hosting us so well.

¹ See SFEER, in: *LÄ III*, cols. 1196-9, s.v. 'Maske'; TAYLOR, in: J. MACK (ed.), *Masks*, 168-89.

² MURRAY, in: *Mélanges Maspéro I*, 251-5.

³ LÉVI-STRAUSS, *Way of the Masks*, 93, 115 and 187.

Material Evidence

It is clear from the material evidence (the actual artefacts) that there is a problem. There are only a handful of surviving objects relating to ritual or ceremonial masking practices and they represent specific sets of entities:

1) The Kahun mask⁴ was found in a room in a house at the workman's village with a wooden statuette of a masked dancer, since lost,⁵ in the next room of the same house. Made of layers of linen, coated with gesso and painted, the mask has holes for the nostrils and eyes, one of them having been enlarged. The precise nature of this mask is debated, with some seeing it as a Bes-face and others as a lioness face. In this case, it might be similar to the wooden figure from the Ramesseum magician's horde.⁶ The female is wearing or has the face of a demon, perhaps slightly leonine and maybe related to Beset, a female version of Bes. She holds two serpent wands in her hands, of which an actual version was also discovered in the Ramesseum group. Whatever the use for these objects, the Kahun fragments place the use of this example in a domestic context and maybe suggest part of the reason why more of the same objects have not been found. Domestic contexts have not been so extensively studied in Egypt as funerary contexts and material is not so well preserved from valley sites. If Bes and Beset are personas who could be imitated in domestic situations and perhaps during the birth of children, then the use of amuletic Bes masks may derive from the practice. At Deir el Medina, two painted clay Bes "masks" were found in House S.E.IX in Room 1 which contained one of the "lit clos" features, along with a set of offering tables, stelae and other inscribed and practical ritual objects.⁷ If there was no actual person to impersonate and act out the role of Bes in warding away danger, then a Bes-mask by itself may have afforded the same kind of protection.

2) An example of an Anubis mask is shown being worn in a procession of priests in Dendera temple.⁸ Most of the priests carry standards in the symmetrical procession to the roof chapels, some related to nomes and

⁴ Working number EGY123 from web-site <http://www.kahun.ucl.ac.uk>. See PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 30 and pl. VIII, 27 and FORMAN and QUIRKE, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife*, 108.

⁵ DAVID, *Pyramid Builders*, 137.

⁶ BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 110-1.

⁷ BRUYÈRE, *Fouilles*, 276-7 and fig. 148.

⁸ MARIETTE, *Denderah IV*, pl. 31.

others to cult emblems. One man is guided by a colleague and wears over his head what seems to be a two dimensional representation of the actual pottery Anubis “mask” in the Hildesheim Museum (No. 1585).⁹ It was provided with two eye holes to enable the wearer to see and while restricting the movement of the wearer, it could clearly create an imposing presence. The mask also suggests that certain embalming priests may have worn Anubis masks at various stages of the embalming process and it is striking that in the plethora of New Kingdom tomb scenes showing the mummy at the tomb or on its bier, Anubis is often present. This may suggest the reality of an Anubis impersonator, masked and in character at ritual episodes of the embalment or burial.

3) There are many thousands of masks belonging to the funerary sphere of the ordinary individual and they have been typed, classified, their evolution charted and studied to a large degree. Their actual function has not been so explicitly linked to the ritualised aspects of masking. Corcoran acknowledges the transformational nature of masks in that they enable people to cross over into another sphere, in particular from the mortal to the divine state.¹⁰ The implication of this may be that the “normal” appearance of a mummy or dead body is not enough to effect this transformation and some further magical means is required. Exactly how this happens is left “unsaid” or “unimagined” and the mask provides a convenient metaphor without having to provide the detail. In addition, the chosen medium represents the mode of appearance in the afterlife and is the desired final facial form of a person.

Ritual and role playing

The Bes/Beset masks seem to operate in the liminal areas of transformation between the human/animal on the one hand and the divine/demonic on the other. People could wear masks in order to take on the powers attributed to Bes/Beset, the latter being especially important at transformational times of life such as birthing or illness and maybe even rites of passage such as acceptance to adulthood or marriage. Beset is known from the statuette above, as well as from depictions on the ivory wands and the mask suggests the physical presence of a person playing this role. The *persona*¹¹ taken on by the person would have the power of Beset to

⁹ SEIDEL, in: A. EGGBRECHT (ed.), *Pelizaeus-Museum*, 87.

¹⁰ CORCORAN, in: D. REDFORD (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, 345-8.

¹¹ *Persona* is the Latin word for a “mask” especially as worn by actors in Greek and

drive away dangers from mother and baby and the potential to transform the baby from its state in the womb to its place in the community as a new individual entity. The person wearing the mask might need to have special qualities themselves or “perform” in response to the spells recited by a lector priest or midwife. The activities of Bes/Beset might involve dancing, leaping, shouting and spitting and the brandishing of wands. In the manner of a clown from western cultures, the true persona is hidden by the mask as it takes over or provides an “image” for the *ba* of Bes/Beset to inhabit. The transformed Bes is frightening and funny, but controlled for good, as Warner has explored in the image of the “Bogeyman” in other cultural contexts and the transformation here brings about the necessary redemption.¹² If the Bes-person was able to go beyond the bounds of what was socially acceptable and towards the demonic, then the person transforming their social status and identity was protected by the mask. In their transformed state they can behave in normally unacceptable ways and once the mask was removed they are transformed back to their usual social identity. It is easier to follow this idea, than it is to suggest who might have worn such masks or say anything about the status of such people in Egyptian society. The description of mask wearing seems familiar from western culture with its traditions of circus and theatre. Presented as entertainment, they hide older rituals with the entertainment itself construed as a ritual gathering.

At moments of danger and crisis, people in Egypt could step out of this world and into the divine/demonic sphere in order to utilise directly the power there and to control it in this world. One could make a case for any section of Egyptian society to perform these roles and there is little to help us in discussing this aspect. It should be noted that pygmies or dwarves seem to have been regarded as especially powerful in this respect. It is significant that the Bes image is dwarf-like and that the earliest recorded Bes figures are attested as the dwarf dancers of the Old Kingdom became more rarely portrayed.¹³ The substitution of the real and unmasked, by the masked player may mark a shift towards greater acknowledgement of the demonic presence. The role of Bes/Beset as a composite demon ensures that he is not recognisable in this world but outside it. The mask had to be worn to ensure that the correct identity was taken, otherwise in the liminal world it would be dangerous to let any demon in. The mask may

Roman drama, and hence the meaning “roles”, “character derived from” (SIMPSON, *Latin Dictionary*, 442) or “recognised position” (LATHAM, *Latin Word List*, 345).

¹² WARNER, *No Go the Bogeyman*.

¹³ VOLOKHINE, *BSÉG* 18 (1994), 86-9.

then acknowledge a two-way process. It continued to have a powerful force through its use in the Late Period *cippus* stelae and amulets with the Bes mask, even emerging as a Hellenised and Roman form.

In addition, such performances in Egypt may also cover a myth, now lost, and could be compared with the masking of children at Halloween, a memory of the ancestor collections for the dead from the Celtic New Year rituals.¹⁴ It may relate also to the relief from an Old Kingdom tomb in the British Museum may be significant in this context. It shows a group of boys underneath a booth or canopy and has been interpreted variously as a ritual game or initiation ceremony for the coming of age (BM 994).¹⁵ One of the figures wears a lion-like mask which may be the forerunner of the Bes mask, or perhaps is even Bes himself. The masked figure could be taking on the role of Bes in order to be transformed to the next stage of his life. The limited text does not help, nor the uniqueness of the scene in trying to interpret what was happening.

Similarly, the god Anubis occupies a liminal zone, hovering on the boundary of two worlds. An embalmer who worked directly on dead bodies to create mummies was a transforming entity in his own right. He turned dead bodies into mummies, the hosts for *kas* and *bas*. In the human sphere such a person may have been at the limits of respectability, but in the divine sphere, it is Anubis who occupied this role, working on the flesh of Osiris. Embalming workshops were situated at the edge of the necropolis, neither in it nor in the world of the living. In a special booth, unspeakable but necessary things were done to the bodies of the dead to create a "living image". Anubis here was himself masked but also created a face and body mask for the dead. His role was practical but liminal, and the person identified with this actual job might not want to be identified within a social context. The wearing of the Anubis mask not only makes his work acceptable, but ensures that he is removed personally from the reality of it. The onus of responsibility is thrown onto the masked image and away from the human individual. What is transformed here is not necessarily the religious entity but a social role, using the mask as a metaphor for the authority of the supernatural world or myth. It may be significant that both the Bes and the Anubis aspects function in everyday life, not within the temple context.

The Stela of Ikernofret detailing the Abydos Mysteries of Osiris, seems to underline this secular function. The enemies of Osiris are

¹⁴ POPPI, in: J. MACK (ed.), *Masks*, 205.

¹⁵ JAMES, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 26 and pl. XXV.3.

“fought off” in a performance by men protecting the image of Osiris. Taking part in these “performances” is as much a social ranking activity as anything else, and the same may also apply to such cult dramas as the Triumph of Horus at Edfu much later. Also prominent at Abydos is Wepwawet, the only other god mentioned with Osiris. The procession could have been led by a priest wearing a Wepwawet mask or, perhaps more likely, carrying a Wepwawet standard along with other masks or markers of divine presences at the procession (Louvre Stela C15).¹⁶ In this case the status conferred by the carrying of the standard is meant to be visible, so that the person associated with the role is visible to all and honoured. The man in the charnel house has his actions given greater value by being able to step into the role of Anubis, but his social standing is also retained.

In both of these cases it was possible for people to have more than one *persona* — their own and another *persona* from a different sphere of being, enabled by the wearing of the mask. The mask enables the existence of the *hprw* “forms” and the transformation process and there is a well established process, so that the transformation can be controlled by means of the mask. Even the appearance of the *ka* as a *ka*-statue acknowledged this process — an outward form, unchanging and ideal with the inside entity. It may reflect the fact that though an individual’s appearance changed over time, they themselves internally seem the same over the span of their lifetime. On the other hand, it may reflect that there was a certain standard to which individuals could conform. If they did not, they remained outside, judged on their “mask” of appearance.

Masked Entities

The Anubis mask also raises the question of the extent to which gods were masked in Egypt. They certainly appear as humans masked with animal heads, or human heads wearing distinctive regalia. This animal headed form was not the original form of Egyptian gods and seems to have been a deliberate formalisation of appearance in the Old Kingdom. If the gods could be impersonated in this way, then temple rituals may have been more produced and directed than the texts on the walls give credit for. The texts make it clear, however, that the relief forms and temple statues were regarded as more than adequate bodies for the *bas* of the gods in which they could reside. The actions of the priests seem to have

¹⁶ DRIOTON, *RdÉ* 1 (1933), 203-29; EISSA, *MDAIK* 58 (2002), 227-46.

been performed without a physical divine presence. Some of the earliest forms of gods suggest that they may have been masked at least, or even decapitated. This group includes the Bat-mask which became Hathor, the bull head from Heliopolis shown attached to a column, the falcon headed or masked mummy from Hierakonpolis and the face within the well known Sekhmet-aegis image. Even the frontality of the masquerade face of Hathor may allude to her mask-like qualities, though there is so little information from the earlier periods. Already by the Pharaonic period, the image of Hathor was entrenched in the Egyptian system and maybe the original significance underplayed.

Diodorus Siculus described how the kings of Egypt wore masks of lions, bulls and dragons (I.62) and in *The Golden Ass* (Book XI, ch. 11) the appearance of the gods in the procession of Isis possibly indicated masked actors led by Anubis.¹⁷ The *Triumph of Horus* play at Edfu may however have required some masked actors to take to the ritual stage in order to impersonate the gods. Less effectively, images could have been carried from place to place, but there is no real background. If actors were provided then Horus and Seth would be needed as well as Isis and a host of harpooners, and the cohorts of Seth. In their insect, reptile, crocodile and hippopotamus form they would have been strange and frightening indeed. It is difficult to know how far back in time this practice went and whether there were other influences on the development of the drama at this time.

The goddesses Isis and Nephthys were certainly impersonated by women such as the Twins at Memphis.¹⁸ This could have been accomplished by wearing with masks or by being painted with the names of the goddesses, and elaborate disguise might have been unnecessary as they were already twins and virgins and also the goddesses had human form and fulfilled non-threatening roles. The difficult life of the Twins raises questions about how they were regarded within their community and whether their roles gave them additional status. Were they regarded as having two personas — a real identity and a mythical identity, or were they simply actors who played certain roles? The answer to this question matters because in the social context people needed these actors to ensure the completion of funeral rituals and ensure the passage of the dead to the afterlife.

¹⁷ MURRAY, in: *Mélanges Maspéro I*, 255.

¹⁸ THOMPSON, *Memphis Under the Ptolemies*, 201-2.

Cosmetic Masks

The faces of the Twins could also have been painted in a formal way with cosmetic lines around the eyes in particular. Make-up masks do not survive archaeologically, but the cosmetic masks may be just as real, widely attested and relevant in many ways as the funerary mask. Tomb goods from the Predynastic period and Old Kingdom emphasise the importance of cosmetic palettes, continuing through to the kohl pots of the Middle Kingdom and the diverse range of containers and kohl tubes from the New Kingdom. All produced black and green pigments to be applied to the face. By hiding certain parts of the face, or by emphasising others such as the eyes and mouth, masking had a day-to-day role in social interaction. The importance of zoomorphic palettes in Nagada II period, may also have heightened access to the powers of those individually represented animals, hence the possible appearance of an animal masked musician on the Two Dog palette from Hierakonpolis.¹⁹

The attention given to the cosmetic enhancement of the face means that each face represented in tomb reliefs could be regarded as being masked to a greater or lesser extent. The cosmetic eye-lines, the reddened lips and also the wigs draw attention to those areas of the face with the most practical importance for seeing, breathing/speaking and hearing (wigs can emphasise the ears as in the common Middle Kingdom style). Eyes, mouth and ears are entry/exit points of contact in visual, aural and a physical manner. The mask created in this way enhances the points of communication but while it may enhance an individual in a particular social role, it really creates an iconic image or identity very similar to the others. Everyone looks the same and conforms to the identity of an Egyptian at a certain social level. The mask of make-up allows access to that role.

If this is taken to its logical conclusion, then there never was any need to look for individual portraits in reliefs and statuary because the individual identity is created by the inscribed name and the social status is created by the image. Similarly, for the divine, their animal heads and headdresses mark them out as having the status of Egyptian gods.

The Egyptian desire to classify things resulted in this tight classification system and enabled the different levels of being to be controlled. If it was necessary to step out of this system, then other types of masks were required, hence the Bes mask and maybe many others which have

¹⁹ HOFFMAN, *Egypt Before the Pharaohs*, 300, fig. 72.

not survived. This then treats the masks as necessary elements of social life and not as markedly magical or religious objects.

Funerary Masks

The most overwhelming category of masks are the funerary masks. There are now the Hierakonpolis masks, which earlier writers did not have to consider, and they may fall into this category having been found in tomb contexts dating to the Naqada III period. They came from a robber's trench to the south and east of Tomb 16 at Locality 6, Hierakonpolis and are believed to have come from the tomb itself. They could have been worn in the funerary ceremony and left as divine or ancestral protectors, to accompany the dead person. Their form as shaven headed, pointed-bearded men is a common divine form from this time, but its exact nature is still uncertain.²⁰

From the Old Kingdom, along with the development in mummification, there is a clear interest in creating a face for the outer wrappings of a mummy. This was done first by painting eyes and moustaches (for men) onto the outer bandages, then covering the face and occasionally the whole body with plaster²¹ and then from the Middle Kingdom creating separate face masks or covers which were placed over the mummy.²² The plaster mask experiment may have posed a problem in that they were too realistic as they created an accurate representation of the dead. As this was not the aim of the mask, the practice was abandoned. Miniature plaster masks also form a small understudied corpus in the early New Kingdom, perhaps as the face covers for small secondary mummy bodies²³ in case the "real" mummy was destroyed.

The "classic" face masks show, "the faces of both men and women with their over exaggerated eyes and enigmatic half smiles, were framed by long tripartite wigs, kept secure by a decorated headband".²⁴ From a practical point of view the mask covers a dead person's face. Decay would be hidden, but in conceptual terms the release of the *ka* by means of the *Opening of the Mouth* ritual would begin. A mask with eye holes in the real world, enables a real person behind the mask to be briefly seen and to speak; but, in the afterlife, it is important to emphasise those parts

²⁰ ADAMS, *Egyptian Archaeology* 15 (1999), 29-31.

²¹ ROEHRIG, in: D. ARNOLD, K. GRZYMSKI and C. ZIEGLER (eds.), *Egyptian Art*, 476.

²² BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, 89-90 (Fitzwilliam Museum E.198.1903).

²³ ROGGE, in: S. D'AURIA, P. LACOVARA and C.H. ROEHRIG (eds.), *Mummies and Magic*, 132-3.

²⁴ CORCORAN, in: D. REDFORD (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia*, 346.

of the face as the person is actually dead. The eyes are perhaps the most obvious sign of life and allow contact to be made where it was no longer possible in reality. The mask also allows the end product to be seen and the starting point to be hidden. The mummified face has become a painted image, without having the actual process explicitly detailed. The mask shows that all the key elements are preserved in place, providing a home for the transformations of the *ka* and retaining the same, unchanging, recognisable end point.

Multiple Personas

The Chapters of the *Book of the Dead* and the *Coffin Texts* acknowledge that the dead have multiple personas and provide the spells for successive transformations of the deceased into a phoenix, lotus flower, crocodile and so on. Yet, multiple personas really belong to the realm of the sun god. He embraced many forms for each hour of the day and night. Like the snake in the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, who is surely the sun god, he can slough off an old skin and have a new, sleek form. He enjoyed a transformational journey from a child to an old man and back again through the cycle each day, changing his form and power at each stage. Apparently the sun god could transform without a “mask”, but it may be pertinent that the blinding light of the sun hides the disk behind it, so that it is effectively masked. The iconography of Akhenaten may relate to this light form of the sun with the hidden disk behind it. The human mummy mask alluded to this in Egypt by having gilded or golden faces.

In *Coffin Texts* 531 and *Book of the Dead* 151B there is a spell “for the secret head”: “Hail to you whose appearance is good, Lord of the eyes... kindly of appearance among the gods”. All the parts of the face are identified in terms of gods and not only the sun god: “The right eye is the night barque, the left eye is the day barque, your eyebrows are those of the Ennead, your forehead is that of Anubis, the back of your head is that of Horus, your locks of hair are those of Ptah Sokar”.²⁵ The vignette from the Papyrus of Nebseni shows a male head and the standard scene, for example in the Papyrus of Nakht, shows Anubis at the funerary bed — the masked god par excellence masking the mummy.²⁶ The text inside the mask of Tutankhamun refers to the precise qualities of the mask: “You are in front of the Osiris, he sees thanks to you. You

²⁵ After ALLEN, *Book of the Dead*, 147.

²⁶ FAULKNER, *Book of the Dead*, 146-7.

guide him on good roads, you smite for him the allies of Seth, so that he may overthrow your enemies before the Ennead". These texts have good solar overtones and also address the issue of transforming the sun into a dead god.²⁷ They also provide protection for the dead and perhaps this should be taken at face value as a declaration of the protection afforded by the physical mask. Again it seems to be rather practical in nature and mono-functional. It is not really the means by which transformations occur, but seems to be the initiator of the process of transformation from death to afterlife and it represents the fact that the dead person has succeeded in attaining that afterlife. In a social context, the state of "being provided for" (*im}hw*) is demonstrated by the possession of a mask, suggesting a certain level of social status in both lives.

Summary

It is helpful for "religious" and "magical" artefacts to be put into a social context in order to begin to understand a wide range of objects within a cultural framework, but it is sometimes difficult to disentangle where one raft of meanings and interpretations begin and another end. The magical aspects of the process may obscure the social importance of masking. On the evidence available it is difficult to say how common and widespread the practice of masking was in Egypt. It may have happened as necessary, or it may have been confined to special occasions such as festivals or temple dramas; it may have happened in both temple and in homes. It seems that it could have offered one route for people at times of crisis or danger to control and access the supernatural world and bring beings from it into this world to help them. Clearly such help was not provided by the temple or by state institutions. For the dead, the mask marked a visual key to access the divine and begin the transformation process of the *ka* in its new life and preserved home. It established their final persona after a lifetime of changing personas and marked out their eternal "social" status and appearance.

²⁷ TAYLOR, in: J. MACK (ed.), *Masks*, 179-80.

DEMONS AS REFLECTION OF HUMAN SOCIETY

Alessandro ROCCATI
University of Turin

Questo è Nembròt per lo cui mal coto
pur un linguaggio nel mondo non s'usa.

(Dante, *Inf.* XXXI 78-79)

Introduction

The ancient Egyptians organised the divine world according to the patterns of mankind, therefore an enquiry into its arrangement may convey some additional evidence in order to implement our knowledge of trends related to the ancient cultural anthropology. The various categories of demons were associated with the lower people in the Egyptian society or the enemies. The demons are mostly observed under a negative light and they were executed during the courses of specific execration rituals, which were equally performed against divine demons and the opponents of the pharaoh.¹ The performative role of the pharaoh is a feature that originated in the earliest periods of the Egyptian history and was maintained under a ritual perspective throughout thousands of years.

Among the rituals against demons, the *Apopis Book* must be highlighted. It is dated in the Ramesside period, according to a copy preserved at Turin, regardless of variations in use and meaning.² At that time it was echoed by some spells in the *Book of the Dead*, with the purpose to ward off dangerous beings in the thereafter. Also, relevant curses are found in “magical books” from the same environment, e.g. P. Chester Beatty VIII, book V.³ They are not yet demons in the hell, what they will eventually become later: they have a function, like armed guards, but they have no hopeless existence, like damned souls.

¹ MAURER, *Die Feinde des Königs*.

² FAULKNER, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*; FAULKNER, *JEA* 23 (1937) 166-85; *JEA* 24 (1938), 41-53; ROCCATI, *Aspetti di dio Nella Civiltà Egizia*; ROCCATI, *Orientalia* 70 (2001), 193.

³ Cf. FISCHER-ELFERT, *GM* 165 (1998), 110-1.

Magical language

Actually a conception of evil as a counterpart of good was not worked out, in spite of some very old oppositions, as *m3't* “what is straight” opposed to *h3bt* “what is crooked”.⁴ There were several words in (classical) Egyptian for “good” (*iqr*, *m3'*, *mnh*, *nfr*) and “evil” (*iw*, *3p*, *bin*, *dw[y]*), with different nuances, but an opposition between them did not exist. They looked rather as normal conditions of mankind and the world. These moral ideas were easily personified. Thus, snakes used to be marked both as good (like the agathodaimon) or bad entities, as for example the opponent of the sun god, Apopis. Apopis, whose name was derived from an earlier root for “evil”, did not exist as such before the Middle Kingdom (second millennium BC). It embodied the negative qualities inasmuch the sun god Re resumed the divine properties.

Spell 39 of the *Book of the Dead* consists of a “Spell for repelling the Rerek-snake (a drake) in the realm of the dead”. It reads:

“Get back! Crawl away! Get away from me, you snake! ... Your *words* have fallen because of Re, your face is turned back by the gods, your heart is cut out by Mafdet, you are put into bonds by the Scorpion-goddess, your *sentence* is carried out by Maat, those who are on the ways fell you”.⁵

The emphasis is mine. The importance of the word is supported by the enhancement given to Thoth, who had become the divinity of science and magic as well as writing, all practices related to the language and to the idea people had of language at that time. Similarly, *Book of Dead* spell 182 reads:

“Book for the permanence of Osiris, giving breath to the Inert One in the presence of Thoth, and repelling the enemy of Osiris, who comes yonder in his various shapes; the safeguarding, protection and defence in the realm of the dead which Thoth himself has carried out in order that the sunlight might rest on him every day.

I am Thoth the skilled scribe whose hands are pure, a possessor of purity, who drives away evil, who writes what is true, who detests falsehood, whose pen defends the Lord of All; master of laws who interprets writings, whose words establish the Two Lands ... I am Thoth who foretells the morrow and foresees the future, whose act cannot be brought to naught ...”.⁶

⁴ ROCCATI, *JEA* 54 (1968), 18.

⁵ FAULKNER, *Book of the Dead*, 60-1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

We find the same conceptions in P. Bremner-Rhind 27,6 ff.:

“What the Great Enchanters spoke, it was the very essence of magic; they were commanded to destroy my foes by means of the *spells of their utterance*, and I dispatched those who came into being through my body to fell that evil foe. He it is who is fallen to the fire, (even) Apopis with the knife in his head, and he cannot (?) see, and his name shall not be in this land ... His moment (of action) is nullified when he rages, he is made to vomit from his heart, he is guarded, bound and fettered, Aker has taken away his strength, I have cut away his flesh from his bones, I have broken his legs, I have cut off his arms, I have closed his *mouth* and his *lips*, I have drawn his teeth, cut away his *tongue*⁷ from his gullet, taken away his *speech*, blinded his eyes, taken away his hearing, and cut out his heart in (?) his place, his seat, and his tomb; I <have> made him as one non-existent, and his name shall not be, his children shall not be ...

- (28, 6) Crush, chastise, burn all the foes of Pharaoh, dead or alive.
- (28, 7) Burning be on you! They shall have no souls thereby, nor spirits nor bodies nor shades nor magic nor bones nor hair *nor spells nor utterances nor words*. They shall have no grave thereby, nor house nor hole nor tomb. They shall have no garden <thereby>, nor tree nor bush. They shall have no water thereby, nor bread nor light nor fire.
- (28, 18) And when thou hast written these names of all foes, male and female, whom thine heart fears, namely all the foes of Pharaoh, dead or alive, the names of their fathers, the names of their mothers, and the names of <their> children, within the box (?), (they) are to be made in wax, put on the fire after the name of Apopis, and burnt when Re manifests himself; thou shalt <do the like of?> the first time at the middle of the day and when Re sets in the West, when the sunlight flees to the mountain.
- (29, 6) They made conjuration in my name that they might fell their foes; they created the *magic spells* for felling Apopis ...
- (29, 23) Get thee back, O Apopis, thou bowel of Re! Get thee back, thou intestine of the viscerae, thou fallen one, thou rebel, who hast neither arms nor legs, thou long-tailed one who comest forth from thy cavern.
- (29, 26) Upon thy face! Thou shalt have no tomb, but thou shalt enter into the fiery furnace, for the great god who came into being shall fell thee and those who are in his bark shall destroy thee in his bark by means of the *spells of their utterance* and by means of the *magic* which is in their bodies.

⁷ SAUNERON, *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 31-41.

(31, 5) Thou shalt not exist: and thy *magic* shall not exist and thy *mouth* shall not exist' etc.”

I have selected the sentences that state the importance of language in the production and the destruction of magic, and that refer to a way of life that can be envisaged also for demons.

Whatever ancient these utterances may be — and the ritual itself is probably even older than its written layout— its application in the Rameside period paralleled a meaningful device restricted to the lower class of superior beings. According to some magical books, when the magician addressed himself to gods, he employed the divine language, i.e. classical Egyptian. On the contrary, to make himself properly understood with demons, he had recourse to the popular speech,⁸ which was extensively recorded in Late Egyptian. During the Ramesside period the oral language used to be also written down, for writing was no longer felt as a permanent tool tied to one and unchanging language, but it was transformed in order to render not only a new language, Late Egyptian, but even several registers of the language,⁹ which eventually were not meant for writing as they belonged to the oral communication, in the same way as different, foreign languages.

Actually the magician might pronounce spells in unknown languages and these were sometimes recorded in the Egyptian writing: they were not languages which possessed a proper script of their own, like e.g. cuneiform akkadian. On the contrary, those spells were certainly drawn from the oral sphere, and in the Ramesside cosmopolitan world full consciousness had been acquired of the existence of many languages, either written or spoken, which could even be compared with Egyptian. In a way they balanced the official use of foreign languages mainly in the cuneiform script that had been adopted by the royal chancellery since the Amarna period.

As such, the performance of the magician displayed a mature manifestation of the “discourse”,¹⁰ a genre which was only implicit in the older linguistic behaviour. The “discourse” in general pertains to the lower (colloquial) register of expression, but its use with demons does not contain any hint of contempt. Demons, however, could not speak nor read

⁸ BORGHOUTS, in: A. ROCCATI (ed.), *La Magia in Egitto*, 261 ff.

⁹ ROCCATI, *ASGM* 28 (1987), 49-56; ROCCATI, *La Parola del Passato* 268 (1993), 26-37.

¹⁰ HINTZE, *Untersuchungen*; GOLDWASSER, in: S.I. GROLL (ed.), *Studies Lichtheim*, 200-40; JANSEN-WINKELN, *Text und Sprache*; and *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 85 (1990), 85-115; cf. ROCCATI, *Orientalia Antiqua* 29 (1990), 140-2.

(aloud), so that they had no language of their own. Moreover the colloquial register of Late Egyptian was on the way to acquire a literary dignity, as its use in works like the *Report of Wenamun* will witness. The users of ritual texts belonged undoubtedly to the higher hierarchies. They were priests who belonged to the official clergy. However, the magical books and the material therein drawn from temple books, had become a burden also of common folk, for they were spread even in a community of workmen like that of Deir el-Medina. Also, from the viewpoint of speech use, different levels of people may be envisaged in the Ramesside period, which could handle both the high and the low speech registers.

It is interesting to realise that at that time the magical text, endowed with performative strength, might cover all speech registers: it is then the referential context that introduces the performative power of the speech act, but in relation to demons the lower register must work basically as an imitation of the older language, still used in the higher relations.

Demons and society

The fact that Apopis appeared only at the beginning of the second millennium BC, may convey a thematisation of a special category of negative forces, at the same time when divine figures began to enter an organised society of their own. Hitherto they were probably just existential beings, as this was the primary meaning of 'nhj,¹¹ in the beliefs of people living along the Nile valley and its whereabouts. They had not yet acquired particular roles or aspects, for these pertain rather to an attitude interested in description and narrative, that would have developed at a successive stage. Therefore, it must certainly be distinguished between periods extending over a large range of centuries that cannot be considered as a whole, even if there may be connections over a very long span of time. It was during the second millennium BC that the nature of demons was better outlined.

From the observation of Borghouts it may be argued that demons were featured as a low class of beings. It corresponds with an overview of an unusual layer of people as it was already done in the reliefs of the memphite chapels,¹² or in a literary work like the *Satire of Trades*.¹³ They

¹¹ IVERSEN, *GM* 155 (1996), 59.

¹² MONTET, *Scènes de la vie privée*.

¹³ ROCCATI, *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 148 (2000), 5-17.

kept silent¹⁴ or spoke seldom (e.g. the gate-watchers in chapter 146 of the *Book of the Dead*). Moreover, they were supposed to understand only the current language and not the higher speech. On the one hand, the old performative language was a tool in the powerful society of gods, while such a capacity could not be granted to the inferior beings. In comparison with the higher gods, demons behaved like wild animals in opposition to the human creatures. Perhaps the language of communication (Late Egyptian) was distinguished from the “perfect” language of ritual, practised among priests and courtiers. An old traditional expression insists on the “secret” of hieroglyphs, “the gods’ speech” (*sšṯ n mdw ntr*). It is not casual that Late Egyptian (we might say “men’s speech”) was written mostly in hieratic on papyri, what was felt as ephemeral, contra to the monumental inscriptions. It can be assumed that here, too, existed two different levels of speech: a higher one, to defeat demons by magic, and a lower one to communicate with them, in order perhaps to handle them in a more effective manner. Therefore demons, unlike the damned,¹⁵ can hear and understand. It must, also, be reminded that domestic animals could equally express themselves in the higher¹⁶ and lower speeches (P. D’Orbiney I 10 sq., V 8 sq.). In the *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor* (Nauf. 73-76), this latter answers the Snake’s words as follows: *hw<.k> mdw.k n.ī nm wī hr sḏm st*, “you (the divine snake) talk to me but I do not understand it”. Similarly in P. Turin we read:

“Stand still, scorpion that has come forth from under the fundament, that has come forth from under me, that sets fire to the great tree under which Pre is sitting! If <you> bite, I am Osiris! If you take me along, I am Horus! I am the Snake that came forth from Heliopolis, the enemy! As for a scorpion, that enemy — a mountain is what lies before you. You will not know how to pass it”.¹⁷

Some of the demons were considered of foreign origin, so that they could not understand any kind of Egyptian. This was probably the reason to pronounce spells against them in their own languages, as for example in a spell from Harris Magical Papyrus XII 1-5.¹⁸ The efficacy of spells in foreign languages, that are specified by name, was probably not entailed in their mysterious nature. The need to use some other special language was undoubtedly felt by the magician in order to make himself better

¹⁴ ERMAN, *Mutter und Kind*.

¹⁵ HORNUNG, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen*, 14.

¹⁶ TE VELDE, in: J.H. KAMSTRA (ed.), *Fs. Heerma van Voss*.

¹⁷ BORGHOUTS, *Egyptian Magical Texts*, 77, n. 106.

¹⁸ LEITZ, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 49-50.

understood. So, the Egyptian language was “overturned” for practical purposes.

This different attitude in dealing with different beings is deeply rooted in the nature of the beliefs and of the referential system encompassing them: its knowledge is indispensable in order to properly understand the object of the research. Formerly the execration texts were drawn in the sole available language that had been associated with writing. It was writing that distinguished between two opposite kinds of assessments: the sacralised ones were laid down in hieroglyphics, and the ordinary ones used a non imagerial script, called much later “hieratic” by the Greek.¹⁹ But this latter script was equally chosen for a “lower” purpose, that is in order to destroy the adversaries. In the Ramesside Period hieratic became the current writing of papyri in its generalised role of a book script. It was the red colour that served the same purpose. Apopis names, as well as those of other fiends, were henceforth written red.

During the New Kingdom the duplicity present in language concerned also the society, whereas the alleged original cultural unity split into a variety of possible cultural manifestations. That variety applied of course also to the projection of imagination in the heavenly world and in the Netherworld, where demons were classified according to patterns of human society.

Eventually the accession of demons to literature found place especially in the so-called “magical texts” uprising during the New Kingdom. These had their roots in earlier periods —sometimes even outside Egypt — but became increasingly structured towards the end of the second millennium BC and embodied a variety of genres. In these books, however, demons were quoted but were no actors, whereas the major gods were the players in several novels and recited their myths. Apparently demons had no stories to tell about — more or less in the same way as the human world was reserved to high standing people and commoners had hardly a place or got some consideration — they were often nameless and their existence was recorded rather on a negative level, as killers, robbers, disease-carriers: in other words they did not undergo in general a process of thematisation. Some categories were tied to some main gods, whom they served as “messengers”, others shared some physical feature — like snakes, although snakes were also the nature of primeval gods, like Atum — or resulted from the combination of several natures, mixing the features of different monstrous beings. They might be the personification of

¹⁹ ROCCATI, in: Y. KOENIG (ed.), *La Magie*, 69-79.

feelings, like dread, illness or fate. Finally they were no true beings, their condition depending on the extant forces that played an effective role, as the gods of the sanctuaries. These possessed homes and cults, while demons might dwell in hovels like a jar; the gods ate delicious things, and the demons rotten things.

Actually, as in human society, where the lower people, as well as animals, were better described and characterised in their nature than the higher hierarchies, which were submitted to a ritual restriction, demons were sometimes listed and named according to their role, even described in their physical features.²⁰ There is for sure a trend to classify and inventory at least some categories. The search for order and organisation is probably a late one and represents a further step towards the knowledge of the world, even in its hidden aspects. From the New Kingdom we may observe also the growth of a different divine society representing a lower layer but being ordered according to a peculiar pattern and opposed as such to the traditional level of the heavenly gods, or “great gods” as they used to be defined more and more.

²⁰ SAUNERON, *Brooklyn Magical Papyrus*.

PART II

**MAGIC AND THE COSMICIZATION
OF THE WORLD**

EGYPTIAN MAGIC IN GREEK LITERATURE

Alan B. LLOYD

University of Wales, Swansea

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to analyse a series of Greek literary texts which reflect, or purport to reflect, Egyptian magical practice in order to determine whether we are confronted with accounts where Greek concepts have completely eradicated the Egyptian context or whether a genuine Pharaonic dimension has survived and exercised an influence on the conception and presentation of magical activity. In order to pursue this enquiry it is essential to begin by defining as clearly as possible not only the nature of magical activity but the specific character of Greek and Egyptian perceptions of magic and the conceptual world within which it operated.

Any student of ancient religions would probably analyse specific religious systems in the same broadly similar terms. The analysis would run something like this: the system breaks down into two elements, a belief system and an action system. Both, however, presuppose a conviction of the existence of a power or powers which are capable to a greater or lesser degree of affecting the individual or society or, at the very least, the conviction of the existence in the cosmos of mechanisms of manipulation and control which pass beyond what is accessible to normal human sense perception. The latter is well described by Fowden as “a belief in universal forces that are empirically uninvestigatable, yet capable of being turned to Man’s advantage once access has been gained to the necessary occult knowledge”.¹ What gives rise to the conviction that such a power or systems is present? A large part of the answer is probably provided by Malinowski in his account of the religious beliefs of the Trobriand Islanders relating to fishing:

“An interesting and crucial test is provided by fishing in the Trobriand Islands and its magic. While in the villages on the inner lagoon fishing is done in an easy and absolutely reliable manner by the method of poisoning,

¹ FOWDEN, *Egyptian Hermes*, 77.

yielding abundant results without danger and uncertainty, there are on the shores of the open sea dangerous modes of fishing and also certain types in which the yield greatly varies according to whether shoals of fish appear beforehand or not. It is most significant that in the lagoon fishing, where man can rely completely upon his knowledge and skill, magic does not exist, while in the open-sea fishing, full of danger and uncertainty, there is extensive magical ritual to secure safety and good results".²

The thesis pleaded here is, essentially, that the fear, awe, anxiety, a sense of the uncanny generated by technological inadequacies drove the islanders to ritual acts in order to placate or thwart the forces which were felt to confront them. We should not, however, restrict our vision simply to technological contexts such as this, instructive though they may be. Comparable situations can be found in much broader contexts; for such experiences of power can arise generally at the frontiers of man's physical and psychological capacities. Whenever such a power was felt to be present, this could be conceptualized as a spirit being with more or less human behaviour or as the operation of an intangible system of influences and effectivities which was not perceptible to the majority of the members of the community. Thus, there would arise the notion of the existence of a whole corpus of beings or lines of control at the crucial frontiers of a society's capacities. These may be experienced as operating in the physical world outside man, in and through the social and political system, or in aspects of the psychological make-up of human beings themselves.

Fear does not, however, provide an all-embracing solution to the problem of the origin of the concept of spirit beings or mysterious and uncanny systems of control; for fear, with its attendant cult action, is not always in evidence — indeed, there are divine beings in many religious traditions who never receive a cult of any kind and, therefore, require another explanation — and such an explanation is readily available. The human psyche is clearly endowed with an invincible drive to create conceptual order which, to use a modern analogy, may be described as hard-wired into the system. Indeed, the capacity of human beings to negotiate terms with the world in which they find themselves is dependent on this trait. Part of this process involves the operation of a phenomenon which can be described as "the Teleological Imperative" which may be defined as an innate predilection of the human mind to think in terms of ends and sources. Mankind compulsively asks "What is its purpose?", and, once we start thinking in terms of purposes, we have already taken a critical

² MALINOWSKI, *Magic, Science and Religion*.

step towards thinking that a creative intelligence is involved; for the concept of a purpose by its very nature presupposes the presence of an intelligent being to formulate one.

Once the concept of the existence of such beings and systems of influence has been generated, it becomes critically important to establish and maintain relations with them, if they are conceptualized as divine beings, or to acquire a direct or indirect capacity to deal with or control less anthropomorphised forces so that this conceptual world of *invisibilia* can be made tractable. That is what ritual systems are largely for. But what is ritual? It may be defined as a set of words and associated actions which are believed not only to establish links with the divine order but also to be able to affect it, sometimes in radical ways. It is within the context of ritual that the discussion of magic fundamentally belongs, though there has been a huge debate as to the relationship between the two, some scholars striving manfully to make a clear distinction, others arguing, as I should myself, that the distinction is meaningless and misleading in many contexts because the loading of the word 'magic' is so heavily determined by the Christian belief system and its long-term sociological consequences.³

From such subliminal beginnings each society will develop concepts and practices in its own, sometimes very idiosyncratic, ways. Our specific concerns in this paper lie with Egyptian and Greek cultures, and it is to the analysis of their expression of these imperatives and concepts that we now turn.

The Greek perception

Greeks denoted divine beings by a number of terms some of which reflect a hierarchy of power (*theoi*, *daimones*, *herōes*), whilst others are less sharply focused, such as *to theion*, "that which is divine". These vaguer terms indicate a conviction that divine activity is present but also an unwillingness to be definite about who or what is involved.⁴ The Classical Greek gods were immanent, unconditionally immortal, and possessed of an enormous power which placed them far beyond the constraints

³ See, for example, GOODE, *Ethnos* 14 (1949), 172-82; TAMBIAH, *Magic, Science, Religion*; THOMASSEN, in: H. MONTGOMERY, E. THOMASSEN and D.R. JORDAN (eds.), *World of Ancient Magic*, 55-66.

⁴ In general see BURKERT, in: R. HÄGG (ed.), *Greek Renaissance*, 115-9; *Greek Religion*; EASTERLING and MUIR (eds.), *Greek Religion and Society*; GUTHRIE, *Greeks and their Gods*; KEARNS, in: A. POWELL (ed.), *Greek World*, 511-29.

imposed on normal human action. At the same time they were anthropomorphized in their psychological makeup and normally in their forms. Certainly, it was acknowledged that gods could be polymorphous, Zeus being a conspicuous example, but such mutability was not a recurrent or pervasive feature of the Greek concept of divinity. These gods played a crucial role in human affairs and, in the main, operated in moral terms, though that morality was firmly defined within Greek parameters and could involve attitudes and behaviour which we should regard as distinctly reprehensible. The gods patrol the moral system, and it follows that the gods' cosmicizing role is a conspicuous theme in Greek thought, a theme which is based ultimately on a concept of a universe demarcated by boundaries where everything and everybody has its fixed time and place. These must be respected, and the transgression of these boundaries was regarded as a guaranteed recipe for disaster. Increasingly from the late sixth century onwards this conceptual universe is mentally structured to all intents and purposes as a system, both mechanical and moral, which has its laws that are knowable and which human beings are expected to recognize and obey. Within this world "magic" has no proper place.

Mageia, *manganeia*, or whatever term Greeks might use to denote "magic", covers a phenomenon which is only sharply defined in Greek texts from the fifth century BC and is regarded as conspicuously failing to recognize the principles just described by trying to overthrow them; it is clearly regarded as a reprehensible activity which is to be avoided and shunned by all right-thinking people. Its practitioners are seen as interrupting the course of nature itself and are frequently regarded as even attempting to coerce the gods themselves. The magician's actions are, therefore, quite clearly impious and an insult to the divine. Dickie puts the issues very well when he describes the fifth-century view as one of "abhorrence for a form of conduct that is at the same time mysterious, secretive, audaciously wicked, irreligious, that seeks to upset the due course of nature and that does not accord the gods their proper dignity, but treats them as creatures to be manipulated at will".⁵ The development of the distinctive Hellenistic cosmogonical system associated with the Egyptian luminaries Nechepso, Petosiris, and Hermes Trismegistos, if anything, accentuated this view. This system, which lay at the basis of astrology and magic, taught that the universe was based on a series of

⁵ DICKIE, *Magic and Magicians*, 27. In general see BREMMER, *ZPE* 126 (1999), 1-12; FARAONE and OBBINK (eds.), *Magika Hiera*; FLINT, in: R.L. GORDON, V. FLINT, G. LUCK and D. OGDEN (eds.), *Athlone History of Magic*, 277-348; GRAF, *Magic in the Ancient World*; OGDEN, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts*.

concentric spheres within which heavenly bodies moved. These astral bodies and all things within the cosmos were interlinked by the principle of *sympatheia* which worked through emanations or *energeiai* which might even be anthropomorphized as the *daimones* of traditional Greek religion or the *angeli* of Judaeo-Christian tradition. Even in this strangely unclassical world Greeks still took the view that meddling with the mechanism was a thoroughly unacceptable course of action. This Greek perception of “magic” has cast a very long shadow. It has been handed on to the Christian Church and has radically affected perceptions of magical activity in Medieval and modern Europe.

The Egyptian perception

The Egyptians mapped their world in very different terms from those employed by the Greeks of the Classical period, though the Greeks themselves had a marked tendency, quite wrongly, to assimilate Egyptian thinking to their own.⁶ To be sure their concept of the gods and the world order at some points agrees with that of the Greeks, their gods are characterized by enormous power, immanence, and anthropomorphized behaviour. On the other hand, the Egyptian gods were absolutely dependent on human aid, show a marked mutability of form, enjoy only a conditional immortality, and occupy a supreme position in a continuum of being far different from that of the Olympian gods. This concept of a continuum of being, within which status is determined by varying degrees of power and capacity, is crucial to an understanding of the way in which the Egyptians structured their world and came to terms with it.⁷ There is, however, in addition, a notion that there is also a nexus of intangible links within this cosmos which could be described by the word *heka* and which bears so close a resemblance to the principle of *sympatheia* that a connection must be extremely probable.

Heka has caused no end of trouble, usually without anyone being aware of it. The standard English translation is “magic”, and this rendering has its parallels in all European languages with which I am familiar. The trouble with such translations is that the term “magic” and its counterparts have overwhelmingly a negative loading, implying activities which are at best ridiculous and, at worst, downright wicked. *Heka* has none of these

⁶ Herodotus is the best known exponent of this thinking: see LLOYD, *Herodotus Book II*.

⁷ In general see HORNING, *Conceptions*; LLOYD, in: W.K. SIMPSON (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy*, 117-33; SHAFER (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt*.

implications because “magic”, in our sense, did not exist for much of ancient Egyptian history. The best English rendering of the word by far is “ritual power”.

Heka is an essential part of the makeup of the Egyptian gods. The *Book of the Celestial Cow*, which first appears in its current form in the tomb of Tutankhamun, has much to say of it in describing the cosmogonical process which is the main thrust of the text.⁸ Here Re speaks of *heka* as being his soul, and the ritualist who is to use the text is required at one point to intone the words: “I am this Pure *Heka* which is in the mouth, and in the body of Re ... I am his (i.e. Re’s) soul — Pure *Heka*”. In Papyrus Bremner Rhind written in 312 BC⁹ it features very prominently as an integral part of divine beings: at 24, 3-4, the defeat of Apophis, the foe of Re and embodiment of chaos, is described in the following terms: “... thy (power of) movement is taken away, thy flesh is beaten from thy body, thy soul is parted from thy shade, thy name is destroyed, thy magic is crushed, and thou art destroyed”; at 24, 8 ff we read: “the great flame which issues from the Eye of Horus comes forth against thee ... and fierce is its flame against thy soul, thy spirit, thy magic, thy body and thy shade”. In these and parallel texts *heka* is presented on the same terms as the standard elements of the Egyptian concept of the personality, i.e. it has the same physical reality as they did. *Heka* is equally a possession of positive and negative divine forces; in this text it is used or usable by Re, Re’s assistants, Thoth, Isis, and the protective goddess named the “Glorious Eye”. On the other hand, throughout the text we are continually informed that *heka* is equally a possession of the demonic Apopis. In the practice of *heka* the importance of purity is continually and forcefully emphasized: in the *Book of the Celestial Cow* we read:

“If a man pronounces this spell over himself he should be anointed with oil and unguent, the censer being in his hands with incense. Natron must be behind his ears, *bed*-natron must be in his mouth, dressed in two new garments, having washed himself in inundation water, shod in white sandals, and the figure of the Truth goddess being painted on his tongue in green painter’s colours. If Thoth intends to read this for Re, he should purify himself with a purification of nine days. Servants and men should do the same”.

Within this world there is no such thing as a concept of the natural order which can be contravened or transgressed, and there is no such thing as the supernatural. It is a world of limitless possibilities which range from

⁸ For a full translation see PIANKOFF, *Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, 27 ff.

⁹ For a full translation see FAULKNER, *JEA* 22-24 (1936-1938).

the normalities of human experience to the highly unusual, but all are part of one coherent spectrum of possible phenomena. Gods, however, are one thing, human beings another. Men too can mobilize *heka*, but for them it is not an intrinsic quality but something which must be acquired by learning. For most Egyptians their personal capacities lay at the normal end of the spectrum, but for those with a knowledge of words and actions of power, the range of the possible is infinitely greater. *Heka*-practitioners are, therefore, typically called *rhw-h(w)t*, “knowers of things”; only such as these are masters of *heka*, and they are persons of great prestige who can even feature in tradition as gods or kings.¹⁰ Their activities are not seen in any way as being intrinsically culpable, though clearly it would be possible to use one’s knowledge in ways which were regarded as such.¹¹

Some Greek literary texts on Egyptian magic

As far back as Homer Greek texts show an inordinate respect for Egyptian *sophia* and *phronēsis*. The *Odyssey* speaks with awe of the potent effects of the drugs of Egypt and of the medical expertise of the Egyptians,¹² but the relevant lines give no explicit indication that magic is involved. Later writers are not so reticent. Josephus in the first century AD informs us that the wisdom and prudence of Solomon even surpassed that of the Egyptians, despite the fact that the Egyptians were regarded by everyone as excelling all men in understanding. It is clear from later comments that this is meant to include expertise in *epōdai*, “incantations”, and *exorkōseis*, “exorcisms”, which could be used to drive out *ta daimonia*.¹³ Pseudo-Callisthenes is equally fulsome:

“The wisest Egyptians, offspring of the gods, having established the measurements of the earth, calmed the waves of the sea, having taken the measurements of the Nile, having demarcated the position of the stars in the heavens, handed on to the world mastery of language <and> the invention of the power of magic”.¹⁴

Similar paeans of praise can also be found in the *Hermetika* and related literature.

¹⁰ For studies of Egyptian magic see BUDGE, *Egyptian Magic*; JACQ, *Magic and Mystery*; PINCH, *Magic*; RITNER, *Mechanics*; WILKINSON, *Symbol and Magic*.

¹¹ E.g. Nemtynakhte’s desire to use magic for purposes of theft in *Eloquent Peasant*: see LICHTHEIM, *Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, 170.

¹² IV, 219 ff.

¹³ Josephus *Jewish Antiquities*, VIII, 42-5.

¹⁴ KROLL, *Historia Alexandri*, I, 1.

The earliest explicit Greek reference to magic in Egypt occurs at Herodotus, II, 181. This arises in connection with his discussion of Amasis' alliance with Cyrene where we are informed that Amasis, who was Pharaoh from 570-26 BC, married Ladike, who was probably the daughter of Battus II, but then found that he could not have intercourse with her. As a result of this he accused her of witchcraft: "O woman, you have put a spell on me". Ladike then made a vow to Aphrodite that she would send a divine image to Cyrene if Amasis had intercourse with her, and she was then successful in her marital relations with the king. For our purposes it does not matter whether all the details here are historical, though I have little doubt of the reality of the alliance itself. Our concern is with the passage as evidence of the Greek perception of what was alleged to have gone on, and that brings me, in the first instance, to the justification of the translation which I have just given. The Greek reads: "Ἔγω γύναι, κατά με ἐφάρμαξας". The verb *katapharmassō* is translated by Powell as "drug".¹⁵ It does not occur elsewhere in Herodotus, but there is a most instructive passage in Book VII which uses a closely cognate word:

"The *magoi* tried to get favourable omens by sacrificing white horses into it (i.e. the River Strymon). Having performed these magic rites into the river, and many other things in addition to them in Edonian Ennea Hodoi, they marched over the bridges which they found already over the Strymon".¹⁶

Here the word which I have rendered "perform magic rites" is *pharmakeuō*. The context itself demonstrates that we are not dealing with drugs, and that the word already has the more general meaning 'to perform magical rites', and it seems extremely probable that such an extended use of the related verb also has those implications in Book II. If we accept this interpretation, several points become noteworthy: in the first place, references to what we and the Greeks would refer to as magic are extremely rare in Herodotus, and to comment on such things was clearly under normal circumstances well beneath his dignity; in both cases we are dealing not only with foreigners but with foreigners who subsequently acquired a formidable reputation in the Classical World for expertise in the magical arts, i.e. Persian *magoi* and Egyptians. To Herodotus, it would appear, "magic" was a more visible phenomenon amongst non-Greeks; such activities as that ascribed to Ladike were a pervasive and accepted part of life in Egypt, where rituals designed to

¹⁵ POWELL, *Lexikon to Herodotus*, 190.

¹⁶ VII, 113/2-114/1.

achieve success in matters of love are well known and did not intrinsically carry the negative loading which they would have done in Greece where such actions would be concealed or ignored as far as possible — and that, in itself might well suggest that we are dealing here with an element of Egyptian rather than Greek tradition. It might be argued that, since the activity in question is regarded in a negative light, we might well be confronted with the intrusion of Greek attitudes to magic, but, as already stated, the Egyptians themselves were more than willing to recognise that such rituals of control could have their negative dimensions.

Rather later we encounter another historical Egyptian king involved in ritual acts which the Greeks categorized as “magic”, but in this case he is the protagonist rather than the victim. The ruler in question is Nectanebo II and the text the pseudo-historical *Alexander Romance* whose surviving versions do not antedate the third century AD.¹⁷ However, it is clearly an amalgam of material which is sometimes much earlier, and that must surely hold true of the Nectanebo episode with which it begins; for the impulse to claim an Egyptian ancestry for Alexander the Great is likely to have arisen much closer to the Macedonian conquest of the country than the heyday of the Roman Empire, and it seems reasonable to accept an early Hellenistic date for the genesis of this element at least, though there can be no doubt that it has been subjected to overlays of later material.¹⁸

From the very beginning this fascinating narrative presents us with the king himself as a consummate master of the magical arts. He is superior to all men in *magikē dynamis* (magical power). He had mastery of the elements of the universe and never used his military forces to repel an attacker, but he went into the palace and took a bronze bowl, filled it with water, recited a spell, brandished an ebony wand, and called on the “messengers” (*angeloi*) and Ammon. The following text is damaged, but he clearly placed models of the enemy ships into the bowl and destroyed them, thereby destroying the enemy. Subsequently, whilst engaged in a similar activity, he had a vision of the enemy ships being steered towards Egypt by the gods of Egypt, and he departed the country in disguise to end up eventually in the Macedonian city of Pella. There he took to wear-

¹⁷ For this text see KROLL, *Historia Alexandri*; MERKELBACH, *Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*; STONEMAN, *Alexander Romance* and in: J.R. MORGAN and R. STONEMAN (eds.), *Greek Fiction*, 117-29.

¹⁸ The Egyptian dimensions have been discussed, amongst others, by LLOYD, *Historia* 31 (1982), 33-55; STONEMAN, in: J.R. MORGAN and R. STONEMAN (eds.), *Greek Fiction*, 117-29; AUFRÈRE, in: A. MOREAU and J.-C. TURPIN (eds.), *La Magie*, 95-118.

ing the typical dress of an Egyptian *prophētēs* and set himself up in business as an astrologer. In Egypt the oracle of Hephaestus (Ptah) was consulted, and the prophecy was received that Nectanebo would return in the form of a young man (i.e. as Alexander the Great).

Meanwhile back in Macedonia Nectanebo's fame as a prophet reached such heights that he came to the attention of Olympias, wife of King Philip II, who proved most anxious to avail herself of his abilities. He was summoned and presented himself to the queen. We are told that Nectanebo had a taste for the ladies and was much taken by the queen's beauty. She addressed him as "best of astrologers" and entered into conversation with him. She asked for confirmation that he really was an Egyptian, clearly an important consideration, and then asked him what method of prophecy he used. He replied that there were many different ways of doing it, providing a long list, and then commented that he used all of them but "being pre-eminently an Egyptian prophet, I am both a *magos* and an astrologer". He then indicated that it had been prophesied that he would foretell the future of a queen and that what he had said would be found to be true. He then cast a horoscope for her, putting together a most elaborate chart made of ivory, ebony, gold, and silver and proceeded to provide her with the information she required. He then indicated that, as an "Egyptian prophet and *magos*", he could be of much use to her in future, as and when required, but he then stated that, on the basis of her birth details, it was fated that she would have intercourse with a god on earth, would conceive by him, and would have a child who would be her avenger for the wrongs which Philip had done to her. She then enquired as to the identity of this god and was informed that it would be the Libyan Ammon. Nectanebo then left the palace and proceeded to collect plants which were most suitable for giving rise to dreams. Through these he enchanted her (*mageusas*). The Greek text of the *Romance* does not tell us how these were used, but the Armenian version is more obliging. Nectanebo first made a decoction of them and then fashioned a wax female figurine and wrote Olympias' name on it. He then made a wax bed for it to lie on. He then lit a lamp and threw the liquid onto it, calling up with oaths the relevant demons by means of which he was able to implant images in Olympias' mind.¹⁹ As a result she dreamt of having intercourse with Ammon who informed her that she had her avenger in her womb. She then sent for the astrologer and told him to arrange things so that she could associate with the god during the day. Nectanebo then laid claim

¹⁹ For a translation of the Armenian see OGDEN, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts*.

to omniscience and ostensibly set about organizing what the queen required, though in fact setting things up for his own purposes. He told her to arrange for a chamber to be made available next to hers so that he could ensure that she was not frightened by helping her “through my incantations” because the god would first come as a snake, then would change into Ammon, then into Dionysus, and then into the form of Nectanebo himself. The mixture of cunning and extraordinary skills continued to the end of the episode, and included a display of mastery over an animal, a further episode involving the ability to engender dreams, and another feat of astrology which enables her to give birth at the right time. “Sit down just now, Queen, on the birth stool that bestows blessing ... Jupiter is in midheaven ... and becomes Aries-Ammon ... and makes an Egyptian man king and ruler of the universe”.²⁰

Clearly the driver of this narrative is the old Egyptian concept of the theogamy as the theoretical basis for the divinity of the king.²¹ But, since this is not strictly speaking an example of magic, we must pass on to issues which fall into that category:

1. The concept of the king as a master of *heka* and esoteric learning in general is firmly established in Egyptian tradition and fits Nectanebo perfectly.
2. The master of *heka* is also presented as a visionary able to foretell the future. This was clearly regarded as part and parcel of *magikē dynamis*, and this again has Egyptian parallels.²²
3. The Egyptian concept of divine mutability is clearly present.
4. The association of Ammon with the snake is well established in Egyptian religion.²³
5. The praxis is compatible in numerous respects with Egyptian usage: lecanomancy is known in Egypt from at least the New Kingdom;²⁴ and the use of wands, the invocation to a god, the employment of models, performing enchantments through secret knowledge of the properties of plants and the use of names, and mastery over animals all have Egyptian parallels.
6. Nectanebo dresses as an Egyptian priest in a Macedonian context, evidently because Egyptian practitioners were expected to distinguish themselves in this way even in a Graeco-Macedonian environment.

²⁰ Translation after *ibid.*, 59.

²¹ BONNET, *Reallexikon*, 383.

²² E.g. Djedi in the Westcar Papyrus is both a *heka*-practitioner and a prophet: LICHTHEIM, *Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, 217 ff.

²³ LLOYD, *Herodotus Book II*, 325.

²⁴ DEMICHELIS, in: Y. KOENIG (ed.), *La Magie*, 149-63.

7. The protagonist is able to set himself up in business as an Egyptian *prophētēs*, something which was quite normal at a time when itinerant Egyptian practitioners, genuine or fraudulent, were very much part of the cultural landscape.²⁵
8. The importance of the astrological dimension is very great, and it emerges that, although there are many methods of prophecy available, the true Egyptian *prophētēs* must be an astrologer. Fowden writes of this dimension: “the fundamental presupposition of astrology — namely belief in a direct and calculable connection between planetary movements and human actions — first emerged in the aftermath of Alexander’s conquests, through a fusion of Greek with Egyptian and Babylonian ideas effected principally by the Stoics”,²⁶ i.e. when we are faced with astrology, there is *ipso facto* an Egyptian input.
9. The true Egyptian *prophētēs* was also expected to be a *magos*, i.e. a master of incantations and the casting of spells. Here again we are in the world of the Egyptian *heka*-practitioner.
10. There is an element of trickery involved in that Nectanebo uses his mastery of *heka* to achieve his own sexual ends, but it is doubtful whether a double-dyed Egyptian would regard this as incompatible with a practitioner’s calling since the trickster dimension can even appear in Pharaonic accounts of divine action.²⁷

We turn next to a much discussed passage in Porphyry’s life of the Neoplatonist philosopher Plotinus (205-269/70 AD), a work which Porphyry (232/3-c.305) produced as a preface to his edition of the latter’s *Enneads* at the very beginning of the fourth century.²⁸ Plotinus himself was born in Egypt, apparently in Lycopolis in Upper Egypt, and had been a pupil of Ammonius who is alleged to have come from Bruchion in Alexandria. This Egyptian luminary is claimed to have had a great influence on Plotinus, and indeed on a number of other major figures in the intellectual life of the time, though for us he remains, as Theiler rightly commented, nothing more than “ein grosser Schatten”.²⁹ Without new evidence it will

²⁵ They were far from unknown in earlier Greek tradition: BURKERT, in: R. HÄGG (ed.), *Greek Renaissance*, 115-9.

²⁶ OGDEN, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts*, 91

²⁷ E.g. Horus wins his boat race with Seth by trickery in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*: LICHTHEIM, *Egyptian Literature*, vol. II, 220 ff.

²⁸ Greek text in HENRY and SCHWYZER, *Plotini Opera I*, 82; translation and commentary in EDWARDS, *Neoplatonic Saints*.

²⁹ Quoted by DODDS, *Fondation Hardt pour l’étude de l’antiquité classique. Entretiens*, 32.

continue to be an open question, notwithstanding Ammonius' very Egyptian name, how much native Egyptian culture had influenced Ammonius' thought or, by association, that of Plotinus. Plotinus subsequently moved to Rome where he opened a school, but the Egyptian connection continues since a number of Egyptians gravitated to his circle, including one with the decidedly Egyptian name of Potamon³⁰ "whose education was Plotinus' concern".³¹ These connections gave rise to the very episodes which are our immediate focus of interest.

At Chapter 10 of the *Life* we are informed that an Alexandrian called Olympius, another pupil of Ammonius, was filled with jealousy of Plotinus and tried to surpass him in philosophy. This led him to have recourse to magic. We are not told the details, but we are clearly informed that the magic was astral in character. The key word in the Greek is *astroboleō* which Liddell and Scott and Ogden both translate as "sun-scorch".³² However, given the structure of the Hellenistic cosmology which I have already described, it is much more probable that it means "starblast", and Edwards' recent translation "injure through the stars" seems infinitely preferable. This must have meant that he used his expertise in magic to affect the *energeiai* which were widely claimed to emanate from astral bodies and which were believed in classic astrological doctrine to influence human affairs. Dodds characterizes these actions in rather general terms as "the use of aggressive magic",³³ whilst Fowden suggests that he activated "malign astral energies".³⁴ Ogden is inclined to regard the magic as taking the form of a binding spell on the basis of the similarity of the symptoms described by Plotinus and those which occur in other descriptions of binding magic,³⁵ and he may well be right — clearly one way of using astral *energeiai* would be to activate malign forces, but an equally effective strategy would be to redirect the *energeiai* which normally played upon Plotinus so that he became less effective in his practice of philosophy. Be that as it may, Olympius' efforts ricocheted, and, although Plotinus suffered spasms which are likened to "purse-strings being drawn tight", he was protected from harm by the potency of his soul (*psychē*).

³⁰ EDWARDS, *Neoplatonic Saints*, 18 ff.

³¹ *Ibid.* It should be noted that the term "Egyptian" is ambiguous in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It may denote someone who is ethnically Egyptian, a person of Greek culture who lived in Egypt, or any mixture of the two.

³² LIDDELL, SCOTT and JONES, *Greek-English Lexikon*, 263; OGDEN, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts*, 218.

³³ *Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique. Entretiens*, 29

³⁴ FOWDEN, *Egyptian Hermes*, 129

³⁵ OGDEN, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts*, 218.

It cannot be said that the legacy of Pharaonic Egypt is particularly evident in this passage. It is in some degree present in the Hellenistic astral cosmology which lies at the base of the narrative, and the talk of purse strings also recalls the Egyptian magician's interest in knots and their binding capabilities.³⁶ On the whole, however, the feel of the narrative, particularly its condemnatory attitude towards the use of magic to harm, is very Greek. The sequel, however, is an altogether different matter.

The discussion of the personal genius continues in the same chapter with a description of the arrival of an Egyptian priest who became acquainted with Plotinus. This priest persuaded Plotinus to participate in the conjuration of Plotinus' personal *daimōn*. This Plotinus agreed to do, and the conjuration took place in the temple of Isis which was the only site regarded by this priest as sufficiently pure for the purpose. During the conjuration it was a god (*theos*) who emerged, not a *daimōn*, though it did not prove possible to talk to the god because a companion participating in the rituals strangled the birds which he had been holding as a protective device.

What are we to make of this narrative? In particular, is there anything here which we can regard as Pharaonic? Clearly the distinction between *theos* and *daimōn* belongs firmly in a traditional Greek context, but other elements do not. The association of an Egyptian priest with magical practice lies unequivocally within the bounds of acceptable Pharaonic practice; the location in a temple of Isis as well as the heavy emphasis on the importance of purity belongs in the same context; as has already been pointed out, astrology is, at least in part, an Egyptian creation; furthermore, the idea that human beings may have a god residing within them is also securely rooted in the Egyptian conceptual world, e.g. in a New Kingdom funerary text we read the words, "May you enter eternity in joy in the favour of the god who is within you. May your heart be with you and not forsake you".³⁷ It is, of course, true that, as early as the great days of Classical Athens, we find Socrates speaking of his being guided by *to daimonion*³⁸ and that it is possible to argue that passages like that in Porphyry reflect this thinking, but it cannot be ignored that the concept of the *oikeios daimōn*, which plays such an important part in Egyptian astrology,³⁹ could well owe something to Pharaonic Egyptian thought and that

³⁶ E.g. PINCH, *Magic*, 189.

³⁷ The development of this idea is analysed by BONNET, *Reallexikon*, 225 ff.; OTTO, *Biographischen Inschriften*, 38 ff.

³⁸ *Apology* 31c.

³⁹ EDWARDS, *Neoplatonic Saints*, 19, n. 106.

we should, at the very least, allow for a convergence of thought where concepts of the two cultures have reached an easy accommodation. The conjuration of the *theos* out of Plotinus' body is more problematic. At first sight the reader may be inclined to think of the Egyptian concept of the *ka*, an element in the human body which was separable and which can feature as an entity comparable to a guardian spirit, but the *ka* could only be separated from the body at death and does not look like a probable prototype for the idea lurking behind the concept in Porphyry.⁴⁰ There is, however, an approximate parallel in the Egyptian idea that spirits could inhabit a living body and could be extracted by a master of *heka*, the late pseudepigraphic tale of the *Princess of Bakhtan* providing an excellent example.⁴¹ Be that as it may, we must concede that the evidence that there are Egyptian elements lurking in this part of the narrative of Porphyry is strong.

So much for historical figures. Let us now turn to even more fictional descriptions of what the Greeks regarded as Egyptian magical prowess, first a passage from Thessalus of Tralles' *De Virtutibus Herbarum*. The historical Thessalus was a contemporary of the emperor Nero, though the surviving tradition on his work is sometimes considerably later than that.⁴² At one point in the surviving material we are told that Thessalus has such an appetite for achieving the highest standards in several branches of learning, particularly healing, that he went to Alexandria to pursue these interests and gained access to a book of Nechepso and tried it but found that it did not work. His abortive efforts made him a figure of fun, and he tried to recover the situation by travelling in Egypt because he felt he could not return home without registering some success in the art of healing. He asked the gods for assistance, initially, it would seem, without success. Eventually he arrived at Thebes where he consorted with the priests, but he found most of them wanting. One priest, however, stood out from the rest, and he offered Thessalus instruction in lecanomancy. This priest he eventually prevailed upon to arrange for him to have a conversation with a god. The priest promised to organize this, but instructed Thessalus to purify himself for a period of three days. On the third day Thessalus presented himself to the priest who had prepared a pure chamber, and he was instructed to ensure that he had writing materials to note down any words which were spoken. He was then offered the option of necromancy or a conversation with a god, and opted for a conversation

⁴⁰ For a detailed discussion of the *ka* see BONNET, *Reallexikon*, 357 ff.

⁴¹ LICHTHEIM, *Egyptian Literature*, vol. III, 90 ff.

⁴² For this intriguing figures see FRIEDRICH, *Thessalos von Tralles*; OGDEN, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts*; FOWDEN, *Egyptian Hermes*, 244, Index s.v.

with Asclepius on a one-to-one basis. The priest was clearly not very pleased at this but agreed to cooperate. Thessalus was then shut up in a chamber which contained a throne, and the god was summoned up by the priest's use of a series of names. After an encouraging address from the god Thessalus asked him why he had failed in his attempts to use the book of Nechepso. The god replied:

“King Nechepso was very sensible, and endowed with all virtues, but he received none of the things which you seek to learn from the voice of a god. But these excellent qualities allowed him to observe the affinities of stones and plants, and he was aware of the times at which and the places in which the plants had to be picked. For everything waxes and wanes in due season under the influence of the stars. The divine spirit is composed of the smallest particles and pervades all existence and in particular those places in which the stellar influences fall upon the structure of the universe”.⁴³

We are confronted here with another example of the recurrent recognition that Alexandria and Egypt, in general, are major places for the acquisition of learning, particularly expertise in healing. As for the magic, there are a number of Egyptian inputs:

1. The Hermetic dimension is very marked: King Nechepso, who is associated with the priest Petosiris, is endowed in Hermetic literature with great expertise in astrology; Asclepius is the Latin equivalent of Hermes = Thoth; the god's comments are classic Hermetic doctrine in that they foreground the importance of astrological knowledge in insisting on “the crucial role played by the stars in the dissemination of divine “energies” through the universe, and in the related working of cosmic sympathy and fate”.⁴⁴
2. The acquisition of arcane knowledge in secret or hidden chambers has its parallels in Egyptian tradition, e.g. in the Demotic story cycle of Setne Khaemwese we find Setne discovering the existence of a book of magic which had been written by Thoth but which had been buried with a prince called Naneferkaptah. This tomb he then entered in order to recover the document.⁴⁵ We should also remember that hidden chambers or crypts are a common phenomenon in late temples in Egypt and that they were clearly regarded as places where arcane reli-

⁴³ Trans. OGDEN, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts*, 53-4.

⁴⁴ FOWDEN, *Egyptian Hermes*, 91.

⁴⁵ LICHTHEIM, *Egyptian Literature*, vol. III, 127.

gious lore and artefacts could be stored away from the eyes of the uninitiated.⁴⁶

3. The insistence on purity fits Egyptian practice very well.
4. Lecanomancy is again mentioned as part of priestly lore.
5. The Egyptian priest also offers necromancy as one possible experience available to Thessalus, but he prefers to go for a conversation with a god. This is intriguing. In the first place, Thessalus avoids necromancy, reflecting the standard Greek view that such activities were highly reprehensible. The priest, on the other hand, has no qualms about participating in it. The subject of necromancy in Egypt has recently flared up into a major and highly fruitful debate. To some degree the argument is a matter of definitions, i.e. what exactly is necromancy? It is best defined as the summoning up of the dead to a confrontation with the living for the purpose of obtaining advice or knowledge frequently, but not necessarily, relating to the future. It has long been recognized that necromancy in this sense was practised in Egypt from the mid first millennium BC, but R. Ritner has recently been able to demonstrate that this practice and closely related phenomena are endemic in Pharaonic civilisation from a much earlier period and do not appear to bring with them any dimension of culpability.⁴⁷
6. The use of the significant number three has many Egyptian parallels,⁴⁸ though it must be conceded that three and its multiples are used in this way throughout the world.⁴⁹

Lucian's *Philopseudes*, written in the second century AD contains another intriguing tale of alleged Egyptian magic.⁵⁰ In it a certain Eucrates is presented as narrating a discussion on the supernatural which had recently taken place at the house of a friend (Lucian's idea behind this narrative is to prove that people will believe anything). Eucrates claims that he

⁴⁶ BONNET, *Realexikon*, 401 ff.

⁴⁷ See RITNER, in: Y. KOENIG (ed.), *La Magie*, 285-304. Not all the instances cited by RITNER seem equally valid, e.g. at p. 293 he argues that we should regard the *Instruction of Amenemhet I* as a necromantic text. I see no reason to believe that the reader or audience for this text would have assumed that the dead king had been summoned up from the underworld to deliver the address to Senwosret, and I am, therefore, disinclined to follow his view that this is a case of necromancy here. That is not to deny that we are not very far from it in such cases.

⁴⁸ WILKINSON, *Symbol and Magic*, 126 ff.

⁴⁹ THOMPSON, *Folk-Literature*, Index 791 ff.

⁵⁰ *Philopseudes* 33-6. Greek text in MCLEOD, *Luciani Opera*; translation and commentary in OGDEN, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts*, 33-6.

was sent to Egypt by his father to further his education. Whilst there he decided to sail south to try to hear the voice of Memnon, and in this he succeeded. This, however, he passes over, because he is much more interested in telling his audience about his experience on the voyage south inasmuch as he was accompanied by a man from Memphis who was one of the scribes of the temple and deeply learned in Egyptian culture. It was claimed that he had acquired his learning from Isis by living underground for twenty-three years in Egyptian sanctuaries. It turned out that Arignotus, who was present at this story-telling session, knew this individual, whose name was Pancrates, and he describes him as “a holy man, clean shaven, in white linen, always deep in thought, speaking imperfect Greek, tall, flat-nosed, with protruding lips and thinnish legs”. On the journey south this priestly figure performed many marvels, including riding on crocodiles. He became great friends with Eucrates and by his capacity to convert objects into humans was able to provide whatever servants they needed. Pancrates was not prepared to teach the spell (*epōdē*) for this, but Eucrates eventually learned it and tried it out for himself, but his knowledge was only partial, and he got himself into serious difficulties from which he was only extricated when Pancrates returned. This was the end of their beautiful friendship.

Once more we are confronted with a narrative in which Egypt is presented as a fount of wisdom and knowledge, and here again we find elements that reflect aspects of Egyptian magical activity or attitudes to it:

1. Scribes of the temple could indeed be men of great learning, though we are treated to a highly satirical stereotype of what such a person might be expected to look like! The name Pancrates, “All-powerful”, reflects, possibly ironically, the Greek perception of the high level of expertise enjoyed by Egyptian priests.
2. This learned priest performed many marvels which seem to have been carried out for entertainment purposes. This situation is very reminiscent of episodes in the *Westcar Papyrus* where examples of *heka* in action are clearly being used for precisely this purpose.⁵¹
3. The text is based on the idea that it is possible to change objects into other things by reciting spells; there is no mention of a manual rite, but that is not excluded. Here again we have a trait which fits Egyptian practice,⁵² though it must be conceded that it is far from confined to the Egyptian milieu.

⁵¹ LICHTHEIM, *Egyptian Literature*, vol. I, 215 ff.

⁵² FAULKNER, *Book of the Dead*.

Our final author is the fourth-century Greek novelist Heliodorus. In Book 3 of the *Aithiopiaka* we are presented with the figure of Calasiris who is said to be an “Egyptian and a prophet”. Theagenes, the hero of the novel, is described as wanting his assistance in dealing with a love affair, a request which leads Calasiris to comment that people are misled:

“into thinking that the wisdom of the Egyptians is all one and the same. One is common and, as it were, creeps over the ground. It attends ghosts and circles around the bodies of the dead. It clings to plants and relies on incantations. Neither does it result in any good, nor does it confer any good on those that use it. For the most part it slips itself up, although it occasionally achieves some miserable trivial successes. It can make that which does not exist appear to do so, and it can cheat people of their hopes. It is an inventor of lawless activities and the servant of licentious pleasures. But the other wisdom ... the true one, of which the first variety is a corrupted version, masquerading under the same name, is one practised by priests and the prophetic caste from childhood. It looks up toward heaven; it associates with the gods and participates in their nature. It tracks the movements of the stars and so derives the benefit of knowledge of the future. It has nothing to do with these earthly evils but it devotes itself to all that leads to good and that is helpful to man” (III, 16).

This contrast also emerges in Book 6, 12 ff. The passage begins with Charicleia and Calasiris coming upon the corpses of Persians and Greeks left over from a battle. They encountered an old woman embracing the corpse of one of the Egyptians. Initially this woman concentrated on standard mortuary offerings but then moved on to performing rituals which are described in some detail and which were designed to bring her son back to life. Heliodorus comments that this whole procedure was “impious but customary for Egyptian women”. When the son is resurrected by her magic (*manganeia*) and made to stand upright, she grilled him about the fate of her other son. Her son then collapsed and was ruthlessly brought back to life by the woman a second time. Charicleia wanted Calasiris to avail himself of the opportunity to get information on Theagenes, but the priest refused on the grounds that it was unholy:

“It did not befit a prophet either to attempt or to attend such rites. Prophets derived their divination from lawful sacrifices and pure prayers, but the impure and earthly actually derived their divination from circling around corpses”.

The corpse then embarked on a blistering critique of his mother’s actions which are described as breaking the laws of humanity, violating the decrees of the gods, and unfixing with sorcery what was fixed. She is stated not to have any concern for his burial rites and to be concerned only

for herself. Soon after she accidentally fell onto spear-point and died of her wound.

These fascinating episodes prompt a number of observations:

1. Whilst the names of the protagonists are unequivocally Greek, the prophet/*heka*-practitioner is given an Egyptian name based on a word which had been known in the Greek world since at least the time of Herodotus.⁵³ This may be little more than local colouring, but it might still reflect awareness on the part of the writer that there was something distinctively un-Greek about the way in which Egyptian priests and magicians operated.
2. Egyptian magic is represented as a possible instrument for dealing with a love affair. This is certainly a sphere in which Egyptian practitioners were highly active.⁵⁴
3. The narrative clearly encapsulates both Greek and Egyptian perceptions of magical activity:
 - a) We are informed in terms of considerable distaste that there were Egyptian practitioners whose activities are thoroughly culpable. Indeed, the wording is very typical of the comments often made by Greeks against practitioners in Greek contexts and evidently reflects the standard Greek attitude to magic.
 - b) There is particularly heavy emphasis on necromancy as a magical activity which is not simply reprehensible but highly dangerous to boot. Here again it is impossible to escape the suspicion that we are confronted with a Greek overlay.
 - c) The best Egyptian practitioners, who are obviously considered to be exponents of the ancient tradition, are priests, amongst whom the *prophētai* are singled out. Much emphasis is placed on astrology and its potential for telling the future. These practitioners are engaged in activities which are entirely positive and helpful to mankind. As so often in late texts, the Egyptian priests are cast very much in the mould of such philosophical schools as the Pythagoreans.⁵⁵ This view may be regarded as reflecting the Egyptian perception of *heka*-activity as something which is intrinsically positive, even though it can be misapplied by the evil-minded.

⁵³ LLOYD, *Herodotus Book II*, 341.

⁵⁴ PINCH, *Magic*, 189, s.v. 'love charms'.

⁵⁵ FOWDEN, *Egyptian Hermes*, 56.

Conclusions

We began by posing the question as to how much of Pharaonic magical practice and attitudes can be detected in Greek accounts of Egyptian or Egyptianizing magic. The earliest explicit reference seems to appear in Herodotus during his discussion of the relationship between Amasis and Ladike. References to magic are very rare in Herodotus, and this example may well reflect the higher profile which magic enjoyed in Egypt. The attitude to magic in the passage in question is condemnatory to the extent that its alleged effects were regarded as negative, but this need not in itself indicate contamination by Greek attitudes since the Egyptians were fully aware that *heka* could be used for nefarious purposes. We are firmly in an Egyptian context in the Nectanebo episode at the beginning of the *Alexander Romance*. Pharaoh as a *heka*-practitioner is a frequent phenomenon, and the techniques are easily paralleled in Pharaonic sources, as is the association of the *heka*-practitioner with prophecy. Even the trickster dimension in Nectanebo is not out of place in Ancient Egypt. On the other hand, there is much talk of astrology and horoscopes which takes us firmly into the intellectual and religious *koinē* of the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman world where syncretism is so pervasive that defining origins is sometimes quite impossible, but even here we can be certain of a Pharaonic legacy. This late cosmological thinking is also present in the Olympius episode in the *Life of Plotinus*, but here, as so often, the Pharaonic dimensions are too deeply enmeshed with Greek material to be separated out with any precision. However, several features in the account of the conjuration of Plotinus' *daimōn* have a certain or possible Egyptian provenance.

We can be significantly more confident with the tales of Thessalus of Tralles and the adventures of Lucian's Eucrates where strong Pharaonic elements in the accounts of magical practice are beyond all dispute. Finally, Heliodorus provides a striking demonstration of the awareness which could still exist even at that late date of the differences which prevailed between Greek and Egyptian attitudes to magic. Overall, it is noteworthy that nearly all the passages show the traditional Egyptian ease with activities which Greeks would have describes as *mageia*. However, while there is much that an Egyptian *heka*-practitioner would have found entirely familiar, external influences have frequently led to marked changes from Pharaonic practice, the most prominent and pervasive being the introduction of astrology. Despite the undoubtedly seminal role of Greeks and Babylonians in its development, astrology was taken up with

such enthusiasm by the Graeco-Egyptian population of Egypt that Egyptians came to be regarded as the greatest exponents of this lore. Necromancy, despite ancient and respectable credentials in the land of the Nile, has been contaminated by the very negative Greek attitude to the practice. Even the character of the Egyptian priesthood has been subjected to Greek influence in that they are clearly being presented and could doubtless present themselves as though they were groups comparable to Pythagoreans. At one level, all these Greek elements are to be seen as examples of the convergence of two cultural traditions, each taking from the other what it wants, to the point where the interpenetration and interaction become so complex that it is sometimes difficult to establish what is Egyptian and what is Greek. However that may be, although we are confronted in these texts with something approaching balanced reciprocity, the future is soon to see a violent swing to a perception, even amongst educated Egyptians, that Greek culture is the elite culture and the culture to espouse, and this perspective is to lead ultimately to the destruction of Pharaonic civilisation with the slow but irresistible fulfilment of the old Hermetic prophecy:

“And yet a time will come when it will seem that the Egyptians have in vain honoured God with pious heart and assiduous devotion, and all holy reverence for the gods will become ineffective and be deprived of its fruit. For God will return from earth to heaven, and Egypt will be abandoned”.⁵⁶

And yet God did not entirely abandon Egypt. Rather, it may be argued that the religious influence of Pharaonic culture was its most enduring legacy in that the Egyptian stratum in the Hermetic Corpus is a major influence and that, through the dissemination of that corpus in the ancient and early modern world, the religion of the Pharaohs continued to cast its mysterious and invincible spell, and in some measure still does.

⁵⁶ *Stobaei Hermetica* xxiv in NOCK and FESTUGIÈRE (eds.), *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. IV.

BETWEEN ORDER AND DISORDER: A CASE OF SACRED PHILOLOGY

Yvan KOENIG

Catholic Institute of Paris & C.N.R.S.

Introduction

The theme of the specialized conference, “Egyptian Theology and Demonology: Studies on the boundaries between Divine and Demonic in Egyptian Magic”, the acts of which this book presents, leads us to precise that contrary to societies based on monotheistic revealed religions, we cannot oppose a world of a good god to nefast demonic beings. Or, to put it in other words, the notions of good and evil in ancient Egypt cannot be superposed on those of our societies, precisely because in ancient Egypt the gods can be at the origin of evil. In the magical texts, the gods are exactly on the same level as dangerous dead or ghosts. All of them are beings who may seriously endanger human life.

A good example of this fact is offered by a passage of Turin’s magical papyrus (PR¹ 120, 5-8): “Royal Decree of Osiris foremost of the Westerners ... to drive away a male dead, a female dead and so on ... the influence of a god, the influence of a goddess, to wit a male dead, a female dead ...”.²

A good part of P. Deir el Medineh 1, 1-2 is a manual giving indications to fight against the deadly manifestation of the gods and their specific symptoms according to the identity of the god in question. The wrath of the gods (*b3w*) is compared with the impurity and the illness caused by a spirit: “Take care of so and so born of so and so, rescue him from hunger, from thirst, from nakedness, from the wrath (*b3w*) of every god (10), every goddess, every impurity (*b*) of every male spirit, male adversary, female adversary” (PR 119, 9-10). In another passage of the same text the magician explicitly puts on the same level the deified dead

¹ The abbreviation PR refers to the publication of PLEYTE and ROSSI, *Papyrus de Turin*. The number following the abbreviation refers to the number of the plate in the publication.

² BORGHOUTS, *Egyptian Magical Texts*, 4.

(*šhw*) and the gods, when he expresses the wish that the gods should remain in their temples as the dead souls remain in their tombs so that humankind may live in peace (PR 119, 9-10). I would like to examine a passage from the same papyrus (PR 118, 1-3):

“My mouth is pure, my word is useful (*šh*), all what I have done is effective (*mnḥ*) (because) I am pure in my own body on this day (2) of the falcon. I came to save so and so born of so and so from every fear, from every trembling, from the wrath of every god, every goddess, of every male spirit, every female spirit, and from every bad and evil thing”.

The mythological events lived by the gods may be lucky or unlucky as shown by the *Calendars of Lucky and Unlucky days*. This duality inside the divine characterizes every aspect of an Egyptian divinity.

First of all Sekhmet, whose case has been well studied. A text dealing with the fearful goddess says: “You will have no power on me; I am of course the *wʿb*, who belongs to you”.³ Once neutralized by the purity of her priest, the dangerous goddess is henceforth submitted to him: “Then takes place a phenomenon of transfer and of assimilation of the qualities of the goddess by her officiating priest. So Sekhmet’s priest is able at one and the same time, to transmit the diseases and to cure them”.⁴ The ambivalence of the divinities may be more accentuated in the New Kingdom than before, in correlationship with the movement of personal piety.

The first device, at least in speech, used by the *wʿb*-priest and magician is purification. Once purified, he could approach the gods and use their power with efficiency. Otherwise, the divine power might have been proved dangerous for him. The magical word consists of the core of the magical action. The basic device used by the magician is the transfer: he transfers a situation lived by the patient in the divine world. The magical text is therefore fundamental and the magician is above all a scholar.

The variants of the Louvre papyrus: a case of sacred intertextuality?

In Egyptological literature what is called “magical texts” are usually divided in two groups:

- A. The great compilations of texts.
- B. The texts which were effectively used for practical purposes (amulets).

One could logically expect that a great part of the amulets were copies of texts from the first category. In fact, up to now only a small number of

³ VON KÄNEL, *Les prêtres-ouâb*, 238.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 239.

amulets have been found in direct relation with the compilations of texts, and those are mere parallels. The case of the magical papyrus from the Louvre, however, is different. If its content was obviously inspired by that of the Turin papyrus, its variations —apart from one case— can only be explained by a voluntarily choice of the scribe, who deliberately introduced graphical or phonetical varieties, which were nevertheless meaningful, without hesitating to change the order of the sentences. Let us examine these transformations one by one.

a. Simple parallel:

“He is Horus in the nest of Chemnis” (PR 123, 5-6). It is found as such in the Louvre papyrus.

b. Change of deictic:

“He is the (*pw*y) youth son of Hathor” (PR 123, 6). It becomes “she is this (*pf*) youth son of Bastet” in the Louvre papyrus.

The opposition *pw*y/*pf* might introduce a subtle opposition between the “now” of the speaker and the *in illo tempore* of the gods with the deistic *pf* indicating the distance.⁵

c. The variants of PR 124, 4:

“Soped, master of the East, will scatter (*hrhr*) your nest and break (*šd*) your egg”.

This passage is at the origin of two different texts of the Louvre papyrus.

c1. P. Louvre 3-4: “We shall destroy (*hyhy*) you in your tomb”.

This variant may be considered as a kind of explicitation of the metaphor of the Turin papyrus.

c2. P. Louvre 7-8: “And I shall break (*šd*) your egg”.

The two sequences are separated in the Louvre papyrus where the image of the destruction of the tomb is underlined, the egg signifying in that context the sarcophagus, so the Louvre version does accentuate the explicitation of the metaphor.

d. The variant of PR 124, 12:

“We shall search (*hh*) you in the Necropolis, and we shall search (*wḥh*) for your tomb”, becomes in P. Louvre, 4: “And we shall search (*wṯḥh*) for you with violence (*m ḥdf*)”.

⁵ VERNUS, *Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche* 7 (1990), 27-45.

The difficulty comes from this expression which is both rare and defectively written, but the reading is sure. Nevertheless, the difficulty is solved while considering the graphic similarity in hieratic of the groups *hrt-ntr* and *h'dt*. The later being a deformation of *hrt-ntr*.

e. The first variant of PR 124, 13:

“And we shall not allow you to sail up to the North, and we shall not allow (you) to fare down to the South with the wind”.

The use of the parallelism between the North and the South is well attested in magical texts e.g. also in the Turin magical papyrus (PR 136, 11). It is also found in a magical text from the Chester Beauty papyrus VIII, vs., where it is used as a kind of refrain. In that case the threat is directed against a ghost: “I will not allow him to sail up to Abydos, I will not allow him to fare down to Busiris”.

This first variant corresponds to Louvre, 5-6: “We shall not allow you to sail up to the South, and we will not allow you to land”. This variant is meaningful, but if we compare the two texts, we notice that the hieratic group *hnt* has been changed into *mnty*. This transformation may also be explained by the graphic similitude of the two groups in hieratic. This concerns two groups of signs:

- The group *hnt* is followed by a phonetic complement /n/ as in PR 124, 5.
- The group *mn* normally followed by a phonetic complement /n/.

The relative analogy of shapes between the two groups gives to the scribe the possibility of a play on signs, replacing one by another.

f. The second variant of PR 124, 13:

The second part of line 13 of the Turin text gives the following example: “And I shall make that the net (*ih*) will be against you in the sky, while Seth will be against you on earth”.

In the version from the Louvre papyrus, the moon (*i'h*) becomes the net (*ih*), with the drop of the *'ayn*. This desperation also belongs to the basic principles of the formation of the Ptolemaic script, as established by Fairman.⁶ But in our case the formation of the new word is both the normal use of a phonetic law and a kind of exegesis founded on that law, an explication based on the phonetic amphibology. Thus, we reach the sphere of the sacred philology.

⁶ FAIRMAN, *ASAÉ* 43 (1943), 296-7, 300, n. 1 and 320, n. 2.

Sacred philology and intertextuality in the papyrus from the Louvre Museum

According to Drioton, the sacred philology “fut un système d’explication du monde, qui passa sans doute en son temps, apparemment très reculé, pour le dernier mot de la science: il était fondé sur le postulat que, le langage étant d’institution divine, les mots expriment par leurs sons la réalité profonde et les propriétés essentielles des choses, si bien que les rapprochements verbaux permettent d’atteindre avec certitude les rapports métaphysiques ou historiques réglés par les dieux. Les récits de la création par calembours, [...] furent inspirés par cette philosophie”.⁷ This device leads to the graphic alchemy of the Esna texts.⁸

In our case, the author made use of devices based both on phonetic amphibology and on graphic similitudes inside the hieratic writing. Some plays on signs are attested in demotic,⁹ but they are mere literary games without any editorial function. In the Louvre papyrus, however, these modifications are used to create a new text. This is why we are authorized to speak of sacred intertextuality. This intertextuality may be defined as being a copresence relationship between two texts or more¹⁰ and, as such, being an aspect of sacred philosophy. The use of the graphic similitude is explained by the fact that: “Comme bien d’autres peuples, les anciens Égyptiens considéraient l’image non seulement comme la représentation d’une réalité, mais aussi comme un de ses modes de manifestation, une hypostase, pour ainsi dire ... On a parlé à très juste titre, de “philologie sacrée”; on pourrait dire que les recherches sur l’écriture étaient une philosophie”.¹¹ It should not be forgotten that writing has divine origin and, as such, is sacralised.

The editorial technique of the composer of the Louvre papyrus displays a certain number of devices: simple copy, change of deistic, exploitation of the metaphor (PR 124, 4 and Louvre 10), amphibologies proper to the hieratic script and, finally, the passage of *i’h* to *ih* with the meaning of “rope” or “net”. As we have already seen, it is also the exploitation of a phonetic law. The same play on words is attested in other texts, too.¹²

⁷ DRIOTON, *ASAÉ* 44 (1944), 138.

⁸ SAUNERON, *Esna*, 55-6.

⁹ MALÉNE, *RdÉ* 19 (1967), 163-6 and PESTMAN, *RdÉ* 25 (1973), 21-4.

¹⁰ GENETTE, *Palimpsestes*, 8.

¹¹ VERNUS, in: G. FLAMMARION (ed.), *Histoire de l’Écriture*, 62.

¹² DERCHAIN, *RdÉ* 15 (1963), 11.

It is also a paronomasis, which is well documented in texts since the pyramid corpus, as noted by Otto Firchow:

“Auch in der Paronomasie wird man demnach mehr als eine spielerische Häufung stammverwandter Lautverbingungen zu sehen haben, in ihrem magisch bedingten Ursprung ist sie mehr eine Verstärkung des Kraft, die das Wort enthält und die damit zu erhöhter Wirkung kommt”.¹³

The paronomasia strengthens the magical potentiality of the words. But in the case of the Louvre papyrus this paronomasis is an understatement, since it is effective only to the extent that the Turin text is considered by the scribe as acting in the Louvre papyrus. It consists of a paronomasia at distance, as noted by Firchow:

“Der Name ist die geistige, abstrahierte Form der Wesen und Dinge, in der Urzeit vom Welt schöpfer durch seinen Ausspruch geschaffen, unabhängig von Raum und Zeit”.¹⁴

In a way, one could notice that every text refers to this initial assignment of the name. In the case of the Louvre papyrus, there is a double connection with both the original assignment of the names and with the Turin text. The assessment of Firchow may also explain why the scribe launches himself out in this complex game of variations. This game reinforces the magical potentialities of the text. In the case of the moon, its dangerous characterization relies, also, on its ancient identification with Khonsu as a war-god.¹⁵

The variants' common characteristic is that they are not used to compose a new text. The scribe of the Louvre papyrus draws his inspiration from the Turin text almost for the whole text. He constantly refers to the original text from Turin, using for that purpose the technical devices he possesses as a scribe. The initial text is used as a sacred reference, which cannot be modified, but it is explicated through appropriate literary techniques. He develops potentialities which are contained in the foretext. This sacralisation of the Turin text also manifests itself in the use of a different level of language: the Turin's text is written in traditional Egyptian,¹⁶ that imitates imperfectly the classical language including, nevertheless, some new Egyptian forms. The use of this “*égyptien de tradition*” clearly refers to a strong intention of sacralisation, and most of the magical texts from New Kingdom are written in this language. The scribe of

¹³ FIRCHOW, *Grundzüge*, 216.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ KOENIG, *Magie et magiciens*, 64.

¹⁶ I use here the definition of what P. Vernus called: “*l'égyptien de tradition*”.

the Louvre text chose mostly passages in the Turin papyrus which are written in New Egyptian, demonstrating an intention of efficacy and not one of sacralisation as in the Turin text.

The variation between the Turin text and the Louvre papyrus refers clearly to what J.F. Quack calls the “open edition”, which means that among Egyptian literates (like in the European Middle Ages), there was never a strict observance of the general archetype; this aspect was introduced only in Hellenistic times¹⁷ acknowledging there is no necessity to make of this fact a general rule.¹⁸ In a way the double attitude of the scribes towards the original magical text, that is to say simple copy or creation of a “new” text may also be compared with their attitude concerning “holy texts”, which may be “reproductive” or “productive”,¹⁹ but this comparison is only partially valid, since the status of magical texts was less formal than the status of highly sacralised texts. Nevertheless, the latter were also subject to variations, which were generally based on adaptations to a new context, and their tendency to canonization is more pregnant in the Late Period.²⁰

This intertextuality is not manifested as an adaptation, but as a “scientific research”: “saisir le monde partout où se manifestait sa substance, débusquer l’entrelacs des apparentements, des analogies derrière l’apparence des êtres et des choses”.²¹ This technique is used since the *Pyramid Texts* with a specific purpose: to express the multiplicity of the potentialities of the creator.²² All this sheds a new light on the creation of magical texts as well as on the use of great compilations of magical texts. This double exploitation of graphics and of phonetic possibilities announce the elaboration of Ptolemaic writing:

“Moins que jamais les prêtres considéraient les hiéroglyphes comme de simples outils orthographiques: ils étaient parvenus à en faire, pratiquement, un mode d’expression triple, pouvant à volonté (et parfois simultanément) servir de lettres (éléments phonétiques constitutifs d’un mot), figurer des tableaux parallèles à l’idée exprimée, doublant la perception auditive d’une conscience visuelle [...] Partis sans doute de simples jeux graphiques, les scribes sacrés en étaient venus à considérer que la riche écriture dont ils disposaient permettait, au-delà de son usage immédiat comme moyen d’expression, de parvenir à une définition à la fois visuelle et symbolique du monde”.²³

¹⁷ QUACK, *Die Lehren des Ani*, 17 ff.

¹⁸ ROCCATI, *BiOr* LVI, no 1/2 (1999), 57.

¹⁹ ASSMANN, *Re und Amun*, 8.

²⁰ VERNUS, in: H. WILLEMS (ed.), *World of Coffin Texts*, 161 and n. 98.

²¹ VERNUS, in: FLAMMARION (ed.) *Histoire de l’Écriture*, 62.

²² MATHIEU, in: Y. KOENIG (ed.), *La Magie*, 190-1.

²³ SAUNERON, *Les Prêtres*, 132.

The development of this device in the Hellenistic period leads to a system of a great suability, which includes not only the writing but also the representations and the architecture, as in the temple of Dendara²⁴ or Edfu,²⁵ which gives to the texts a “sens ajouté”.²⁶ All these confirm the fact that the magical techniques lead to “sacred philology”, which from philosophy becomes a spirituality in the Hellenistic period, as P. Derchain (see n. 26) rightly emphasized it.²⁷

²⁴ LEITZ, *Die Aussenwand des Sanktuars in Dendera*.

²⁵ LABRIQUE, *Stylistique et Théologie*.

²⁶ DERCHAIN, *SÁK* 31 (2003), 101-6.

²⁷ Cf. also A.J. FESTUGIÈRE (in: A.J. FESTUGIÈRE (ed), *Hermétisme*, 159) who showed that in Hellenistic times magical techniques were often transcended by a real spiritual quest.

REMARKS ON EGYPTIAN RITUALS OF DREAM-SENDING

Joachim Friedrich QUACK
Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

Introduction

Among the Egyptian magical texts, the demotic spells have normally led a rather shadowy existence. Even though most of them have been made available, at least in facsimile drawings, by the beginning of the 20th century, they did not really form part of mainstream Egyptology. Only F. Lexa has made full use of them in his three-volume study on Egyptian Magic.¹ Recently, those texts have seen quite a bit more of attention, thanks especially to scholars from Chicago.² However, much still remains to be done towards a detailed interpretation of all the texts.

I will focus my attention not on the great demotic magical papyrus of London and Leiden,³ but on a smaller manuscript of similar date now at Paris. Papyrus Louvre E 3229 was already published with facsimile drawings and a draft translation by G. Maspéro,⁴ but it was not until more than 100 years later that a full edition with photographs, transcription and translation by J. Johnson appeared.⁵ Since then, she has also given a reworked version of her translation in the collective translation volume of all Greek magical papyri.⁶ The Paris papyrus is of special interest due to the rather specific nature of its content. Most of the spells contained in it aim at sending dreams to other persons. My intention is to study the better preserved ones among them, to point to contemporary parallels and to discuss possible Egyptian antecedents.

¹ LEXA, *La Magie*.

² See especially the new editions by JOHNSON (*OMRO* 56 [1975], 29-64, pl. VIII-XIII; *Enchoria* 7 [1977], 55-102, pl. 10-17), as well as her translations in BETZ, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 195-251, 287-90 and 323-7; studies and comments by RITNER, in: BETZ, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 286 ff.; also, RITNER, *Mechanics*; RITNER, in: W. HAASE and H. TEMPORINI (eds.), *ANRW*, vol. 2, §18.5, 3333-79.

³ GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*.

⁴ MASPÉRO, *Mémoire*, 113-25.

⁵ JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977), 55-102, pl. 10-17

⁶ JOHNSON, in: BETZ, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 323-7. The Greek texts are edited PREISENDANZ, *Papyri graecae magicae*, and DANIEL and MALTOMINI, *Supplementum Magicum*. They are cited in this paper from their editions as *PGM* and *SM*.

Rituals of dream-sending

There are seven different rituals of dream-sending at least partially preserved in the papyrus. However, poor state of preservation makes the first three less suitable for a complete translation and analysis. I will begin by giving an annotated translation of the better preserved examples, then follow with a commentary on their specific practical means and theological methods.

A) P. Louvre E 3229 2,10–3,1:

“Another spell for sending a dream, recitation: Hear my voice, oh noble spirit of a dead man⁷ who takes shape [...]. Come to me and you shall do for me such-and-such an affair today, because I am invoking you in the name [of the lords of] Abydos who rest in the prince’s house, whose name are this, who are content with truth — variant: who are [...] with truth — Abyss [...],⁸ who completes the ritual, great one, Abyss is your true name, [Bay]-Sholbay, Nuhro is your true name, really. Nuneo, By-Ha [... Nune]o, great one, Abyss is your true [name]. Soul of souls — another manuscript has said “Soul of a bull” — [...] Abyss is your true name, Soul of souls, Sholbay, Nuhro is your true name [... Nu]neo, By-h[a], Abyss, Neo, great one, Abyss of truth.⁹

May you hear my voice [...] in all his forms, [spir]it, noble mummy of a dead man, because I [invoke] your name of Si[...]isira, Sirathma, because I am [Nebu]to. Oh Soual[eth,] Neboutosoulaeth, Sirathma, because I am [...]s. Oh Sou[aleth], Neboutosoualeth, may a soul awake for me, the [mummy of] a noble spirit, and he may go to the place where NN is and may he be given an omen¹⁰ [...] in order to cause him to do for me such-and-such a thing about which I am asking in a dream(?).¹¹

Its preparation: [You shall] write these names with blood of a [hoop]poe(?)¹² [on] a reed leave, and you shall put them on [the skull] of a dead man and you shall place a [...] of clay under the skull before

⁷ Literally “man of the necropolis”.

⁸ Remnants of two divine determinatives and plural strokes. Perhaps to be restored as *ntrw* “gods”.

⁹ The passage from “[Nu]neo” until “of truth” is marked in such a way as to suggest that it should be deleted as erroneous reduplication of an already existing passage.

¹⁰ For the meaning of *šm'*, see RITNER, *Mechanics*, 36 ff. and n. 167.

¹¹ The traces can probably be read as *n rsw*ʃ.

¹² The word written in cipher can be reconstructed as *[kwk]wpt*, see already the discussion by JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977), 78 ff.; also, GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 3, 110, n. 29 with a very similar writing.

it [...] and you recite them to it again. You do it on the last day of the lunar month and you put it in a [pure hidden] place. If tardiness occurs, you shall [...] the hoof of a male donkey on frankincense [bef]ore it and you shall beat the ground. Then it stops¹³... If it happens that you [act against a male, then you use a] male [...]. If it happens that you act against a female, then you should use a female [...].”

B) P. Louvre E 3229 3,1–4,15:

“Another spell for sending a dream; recitation: Oh noble divine spirit, whose [Soul is in heav]en, his body is in the netherworld and his mummy is [in the necropolis],¹⁴ oh good messenger of Osiris, oh follower of Horus(?) who is foremost of his bed (*hnti-nm.t=f*),¹⁵ oh divine¹⁶... his ..., oh guardian(?) of the one who is in Alqah! I am the [...] soul of the one who is in his Udjat-eyes, who circulates his(?) limbs¹⁷ every day as Udjat. [...] ... [...] I am(?) the seed of Khepri, the divine semen(?) of the one whose name is hidden.¹⁸ [...] scarab [...], the body of the noble mummy which is(?) in the secret chest which rests in the netherworld. [I am] the correct one¹⁹ in the embalming workshop; I am the bull of the [...],s, I am the lion; I am the <double> lion,²⁰ I am [...] of the [...];s; I am the soul of the sun-god, the throat of Shu. I am the egg of the snake [...], the pill of the scarab. I am the navel-string²¹ of...²² I am the divine efflux of the living [limb(?)].²³ I am the noble head which is in Abydos.

¹³ š' lk=s has to be considered as an Aorist.

¹⁴ This restoration seems more logical than “among the living” (JOHNSON, in: BETZ, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 325).

¹⁵ The first sign is clearly the hieratic form of .

¹⁶ The orthography clearly shows that *ntri* “divine” is to be read, not simply *ntr* “god”.

¹⁷ To be read , not *'t=f* as JOHNSON, *Enchoria* 7 (1977), 60.

¹⁸ I would propose to read *mw*  *n* *'Imn-rn=f*. Even though written like the god Amun, the final element is more likely to be the composite expression “the one whose name is hidden”.

¹⁹ To be read , the reading seems to have been realised by JOHNSON, in: BETZ, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 325.

²⁰ Since a simple repetition *ink rw ink rw* does not make much sense, I propose *ink rw ink rw<tl>*.

²¹ The rendering “the lord” by Johnson does not fit with the orthography . This should be identified with the word *npj* “navel-string”; see for that WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 510 with references.

²² The reading *imh.t* “underworld” (thus Johnson) can be excluded for two reasons. The first is the masculine article *pj*, the second the determinative of the phallus. However, I have no positive proposal for a translation.

²³ The recognisable traces are a demotic flesh determinative, afterwards hieratic .

them daily³⁶ for seven days until they grow. [Then you shall] pull them out, you shall let them dry until full moon, you shall pound them with myrrh, malachite, antimony, hematite(?), henna(?),³⁷ mustard(?)³⁸ and the seven leaves of reed mentioned above. Afterwards, you shall [fetch] a scarab with a bull-[face],³⁹ you shall put [it] into a copper vessel which is in a vessel of ... [you shall] heat⁴⁰ until it dies.⁴¹ You shall take it out, you shall put the ... on top of the ..., you shall give blood of your left leg and your <right> leg to it. You shall knead(?)⁴² them, you shall [form] them into a mummy of Khontamenti being seven fingers long, you shall wrap it with myrrh, ointment and [a cloth of] byssos. Afterwards, you shall <fetch> clean sand and you shall make a socle of sand below it in your house(?),⁴³ you shall fix the figure on the socle of sand, you shall put the scarab on the body of the [figure(?)] after first wrapping it (the scarab) in myrrh, ointment and a cloth of byssos, also. You shall write the things which you wish (accomplished) on a new papyrus-roll with juice of the carob-tree(?), you shall put it before the figure and you shall make the skull which is on top of it bend down. You shall bring bandages of four colours to it: red, purple, white, black on top of the skull. You shall leave it in a hidden place and you shall place incense, barley(?) and the “great medicament” onto the brazier before it, you shall offer to him bread, beer and milk before it,⁴⁴ you shall let blood from yourself drop into the brazier and you shall put a part of a red(?) lizard before it, and you shall read these writings to it up to seven times at night, you being in a pure place and lying down⁴⁵ before it. It is very good”.

³⁶ I would propose to read *n mn.[y]*.

³⁷ For the meaning of *nh-iml*, see recently GERMER, *Heilpflanzen*, 110 ff., who doubts the identification as henna.

³⁸ For the reading and meaning of *sn.w-p.t*, see lastly AUFRÈRE, *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 31-3 and QUACK, *BiOr* 54 (1997), col. 332. For the use of mustard in magical rituals see DANIEL and MALTOMINI, *Supplementum Magicum*, 227.

³⁹ Only the determinative is visible. The restoration “[fat?] of a bull” proposed by JOHNSON (in: BETZ, *Greek Magical Papyri*, 326) is unlikely because an insect put into fatty matter would die immediately, but the scarab is killed only later by heating. For a bull-faced scarab, compare “the bull-shaped scarab” (*PGM* IV 65).

⁴⁰ Probably to be read *[hm]m*.

⁴¹ Only the determinative is preserved.

⁴² From the traces, read *[w]š[m]* compare Coptic Ⲡϣⲱϣⲙ.

⁴³ The traces fit $\overline{\text{ⲁⲓⲓ}} \overline{\text{ⲁⲓ}}$, [*’wl*], the last word might also be *[mʾ’]* “place”.

⁴⁴ In spite of the preceding $\overline{\text{ⲁⲓⲓ}}$, this is more probably to be read *m-bʾh=f* than *mtl=f* “its middle” (thus Johnson).

⁴⁵ I read *l:ir=k di.t sdr.yt*; this seems to be a qualitative formed secondarily from a causative verb (comp. Coptic ⲭⲧⲐ).

C) P. Louvre E 3229 4,15–30:

“Another spell for sending a dream, recitation: Oh Anubis, the high one of heaven, go to the netherworld! May the head of Osiris stop being far from him! Give favour, love and renown to NN before NN! May he do everything, which he will write to him, totally! Move him! Give your iron staff, which is in your hand to the spirit! May he go to NN whom NN has born, may he stand before him in the form of the god who is honoured in his heart, until he brings him to the road where NN is, looking for him; and you shall send a breathing spirit to NN and he may stand before him in the form of the god who is honoured in his heart, and you shall say: ‘Give all good things, silver and gold⁴⁶ to NN! [May] he do⁴⁷ everything which he will say to you, totally, while the ... of Isis, the great goddess is in it. May it be ordered before the gods!’

If however you tarry because of it - “Will you be tardy against me and scorn the blood of Osiris-Moon, Thot on the full moon night?”

Its preparation: On a new papyrus roll and you shall draw a figure of Anubis with blood of a black dog and you shall write these writings below it and you shall put them into the mouth of a black dog of the embalming workshop and you shall make a great oblation before him; you shall put incense on the brazier before him and you shall make a libation of a black cow’s milk for him — or a spirit whose face is grim(?),⁴⁸ and you shall place its spell into its mouth. Very good”.

D) P. Louvre E 3229 5,1–14:

“Another way of sending a dream, recitation: Oh morning star(?), call to heaven! Speak to the netherworld! May Osiris stop spending the night while his head is far from him until one sends a strong-handed spirit who does not sleep at night and he shall stand above NN in the form of the god who is honoured in his heart and he says to him: ‘Raise yourself and do such-and-such a matter for NN! Do all what he will wish!’

Come to me, oh divine spirit whom Anubis has sent to NN, saying: ‘Do every matter which NN will desire!’

Will you not do it, oh noble spirit? Then one shall not let your soul rise to heaven on Khoiak 25 until the morning of Khoiak 26 while the capable spirits are awake!

⁴⁶ I would read *hd nb.w*; compare the sign forms of these words in GRIFFITH and THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, vol. 3, 46, nr. 455 and p. 62, nr. 618.

⁴⁷ The text seems to write [*my*] *iri=f*, but the addressee (“you”) should be meant.

⁴⁸ Probably to be read *hs*’, the word seems deliberately smudged. The whole section beginning with “or” seems to be a later addition at the end of the page.

To be recited on a jackal of pure clay lying on his belly; moisten with milk and efflux of a jackal of the embalming workshop, while an Udjat-eye is on his leg; and you shall write your affairs on a new papyrus-roll and you shall put it into the mouth of the jackal and you shall put the jackal on a copper (part) of a lamp while a “hand” is lighted to it. You shall recite these writings to it at night and you shall stamp onto the earth with your foot”.

Interpretation

All spells work within a relatively similar framework — namely, to move a spirit into appearing to another person in a dream. In two examples (C and D) as well as in one not translated here (pLouvre E 3229 2,9), the ruse is presented in more detail: The spirit should take on the form of the favourite god of the person at whom the operation is aimed. Obviously, given the widespread believe in divination by dreams in antiquity, including Egypt,⁴⁹ the normal reaction of a man would be to obey if his personal god should appear to him in a dream and recommend certain actions. The magician (or his client) makes use of this conception and smuggles in messages to his own profit, disguised as if coming from a trustworthy source.

Remarkably, the spells never discuss the question of how the spirit should achieve this goal. It seems to be presupposed that a spirit would know on his own how to do the requested task, provided that he accepted the job. This, however, is the really important part of conjuration and manual rite: You have to find measures apt at interesting spirits in your case. How is this made possible? Given the nature of spirits, the obvious recourse is to the realm of the dead. In two cases, skulls of dead people are used (A, B). At least in one case, it seems to be somebody who died a violent death. This corresponds to a very general rule in ancient magic that such persons are especially useful for a magician.⁵⁰

In Text B, the use of the skull of the dead is combined with another important item which deserves closer attention. I mean the confection of something which is a Khoiak-figurine in miniature size. There are several texts concerned with recipes for making such a figurine. The most important of them is the great Khoiak text at Dendera (*Dendara X 26,3–49,10*), which has seven different books with separate and sometimes

⁴⁹ VON LIEVEN, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26 (1999), 77-126; SZPAKOWSKA, *Behind Closed Eyes*.

⁵⁰ HOPFNER, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*.

divergent indications written over a long time-span.⁵¹ Shorter notices are found in P. Salt 825, 16,1–18,8,⁵² as well as in P. Jumilhac, texte basse III, 3-10.⁵³

Basically, there are two different principles of manufacturing the Khoiak figurines.⁵⁴ One type, generally called Khontamenti-figure, is basically produced by germinating barley in sand — that's the well-known corn mummy. The other type is called the Sokar-Osiris figure. It is more complicated and at the same time more variable in its composition. Our example corresponds to the Khontamenti-type in using barley which is germinated by moistening it with water of the sacred lake. The specific source of the water is indicated identically in the Dendara text (*Dendara X* 42,5.9). This is also the way things are done according to P. Jumilhac.

The Dendara Text indirectly prescribes nine days of watering the grains (*Dendara X* 29,2 and 6; 29,12 and 30,2; 42,1 and 43,8), the Louvre papyrus only seven. This means, of course, that the germs would have less time to sprout. But since they are ground finely afterwards anyway, it would hardly matter. However, in Dendara, the corn mummy is used for the rituals on the day following its unification into one single figure whereas the Louvre text lets it dry for about 7 to 8 days — the exact number depends on the specific lunar cycle.

Other elements of the Louvre papyrus rather correspond with the Sokar-Osiris figurine. For that, soil from the sacred hill and date pulp are the most substantial parts, but myrrh, frankincense, aromatic plants and precious stones as well as a bit of water from the sacred lake are also present (*Dendara X* 44,6-12; 46,9-47,10). Among the precious stones, malachite (*wṣd.t*), antimony (*msdm.t*) and hematite(?) (*ks-nḥ*), just the three sorts of stones mentioned in the Louvre papyrus, are really used (*Dendara X*

⁵¹ Monographic study by CHASSINAT, *Khoiak*, new study by CAUVILLE, *Les Chapelles Osiriennes*. See for the analysis of the redactional history, QUACK, in: C. EYRE (ed.), *Seventh International Congress*, 921-30.

⁵² DERCHAIN, *Papyrus Salt 825*, 90-5; 143-5; 17*-19*.

⁵³ VANDIER, *Papyrus Jumilhac*, 35.

⁵⁴ For the archaeological side with actual examples see RAVEN, *OMRO* 63 (1982), 7-38; *Materiały Archeologiczne* 30 (1997), 5-11; and in: W. CLARYSSE, A. SCHOORS and H. WILLEMS (eds.), *Studies Quaegebeur*, vol. 1, 227-39; COULON, LECLÈRE and MARCHAND, *Cahiers de Karnak X* (1995), 205-38, pl. I-XIII; TOOLEY, *JEA* 82 (1996), 167-79, pl. 13-5; LECLÈRE and COULON, in: C. EYRE (ed.), *Seventh International Congress*, 649-59; LECUYOT and GABOLDE, in: C. EYRE (ed.), *Seventh International Congress*, 661-6; VON LIEVEN, *Bulletin Société d'Égyptologie Genève* 24 (2001-2001), 59-70; COULON, in: Z. HAWASS (ed.), *Eighth International Congress*, vol. 1, 138-46; LECLÈRE, in: Z. HAWASS (ed.), *Eighth International Congress*, vol. 1, 295-303.

34,4f.; 47,5f.). The plants, however, are entirely different. According to the Dendara text, the Sokar figurine is left in its mould for seven or only five days (Khoiak 12 to 19, see *Dendara X* 44,3 and 44,14, 45,7f. and 45,9; or Khoiak 14 to 19, see *Dendara X* 40,5 and 13f.; 31,13). Afterwards, it is left to dry and anointed for about four days, until Khoiak 23 (*Dendara X* 45,10). The time-span for the moulding compares well with the Louvre text but the drying is quite a bit shorter.

The use of the textiles of four different colours is well attested in the Khoiak rituals (*Dendara X* 39,11 ff.).⁵⁵ Also, embalming the figurine with myrrh, ointment and byssos is reasonably close to the temple ritual (e.g. *Dendara X* 48,10-12; 49,4 ff.). In the dimensions, the Louvre papyrus shows an obvious reduction by prescribing only 7 fingers in length. The normal dimension for a Khoiak figurine is about one cubit, i.e. 7 palms. However, telescoping dimensions is, in principle, a typical feature of the Khoiak rituals. E.g. one day the figurine passes in the mould is reckoned as ten “real” days (*Dendara X* 41,1 ff.).

A specific feature of the Louvre papyrus, not present in the versions of the temple ritual is that the officiant has to mix some of his own blood as a component of the figurine. This is probably due to the rather private nature of the ritual accomplished here. I suppose it serves to mark the figurine as part of the specific enterprise of an individual. Otherwise, given the extreme local variants of the different Khoiak figurines, it would not be surprising if also those points where the Louvre papyrus is divergent from the Dendara text turn out to be based on an authentic temple ritual. The use of the scarab is somewhat peculiar and not mentioned in the temple rituals. However, it is quite normal in Graeco-Roman magic to kill sacred animals.⁵⁶ Still, there is a possible connection with the Khoiak rituals. There is a specific form of Osiris called *fn̄=f-’nh̄*. This can be connected with a myth that a scarab came out of his head, or he himself can be depicted as a scarab.⁵⁷ He is localised, on the one hand, in the eastern delta in a place called *hw.t-ḥpr̄r* “house of the scarab”, on the other hand, he is connected with Abydos and specifically with the head-reliquary there.⁵⁸ Given the preoccupation of our ritual with the head, the use of the scarab obviously would make sense. Furthermore, in several cases of preserved corn mummies, there are scarabs of wax put on the breast of the figurine inside the coffin.

⁵⁵ EGBERTS, *In Quest of Meaning*, 179-86.

⁵⁶ *PGM* I 4 ff.; III 1 ff.; IV 750-757; 2455-2459; VII 974.

⁵⁷ P. Rhind I 6h8 = 6d7, see MÖLLER, *Totenpapyrus Rhind*, 33 and 84 ff., n. 102.

⁵⁸ For *fn̄=f-’nh̄*, see HERBIN, *Livre de Parcourir l'Éternité*, 109 ff.

Perhaps one can go even a bit further. In the famous Mithras liturgy (*PGM IV 475-829*),⁵⁹ there is a practical prescription concerning a scarab (*PGM IV 750-769*). It is put into a cup at the time when the moon is invisible⁶⁰ and fed with a special mixture which kills it. Afterwards, it is first kept for seven days in a glass vessel with rose oil. Then it is embalmed with myrrh, wine and fine linen and put into a sprouting bean field. The questioning of the god himself is supposed to take place, according to a later note in the papyrus (*PGM IV 797 ff.*), at full moon. Even though, this time, there are beans and not grain, and no actual figurine is formed, the parallels to the Louvre papyrus should be evident, in the objects used as well as in the timing in connection with the lunar cycle.

The skull in combination with the Khoiak figurine is quite notable.⁶¹ Also in the great Dendera Khoiak text, there is a mention of the skull-reliquary⁶² of Abydos, the *in-swī* (*Dendara X 36,12-37,2*). The headless body lies near to it in a hollow wooden cow (*Dendara X 37,2 ff.*). Also, the calendrical dates are of great relevance. Contrary to the Dendara texts, the Louvre ritual is not fixed on yearly occurrence. Instead, it is usable within each lunar cycle. The lunar connotation of the rite has to be stressed. The preparation has to begin on the day called *wrš*. This word designates the lunar month as such, but also specifically the last day of the lunar cycle.⁶³ The first seven days of the ritual are for the germinating of the barley. Depending on whether *wrš* is to be equated with the last day of the old month or the first one (*psdn.tiw*) of the new one, that would bring us to about the day called *sn.wt* (6th day) or *dnl.t* (7th day), both of them highly important in Osirian context. The ritual itself takes place at full moon. That is always an auspicious date, and given the lunar affiliation of Osiris,⁶⁴ he would be thought to have special power on that day.

⁵⁹ For that, see DIETERICH, *Mithrasliturgie*; MEYER, *Mithras Liturgy*; MERKELBACH, *Abraxas 3*; FAUTH, *Helios Megistos*, 7-33; BETZ, *Gottesbegegnung und Menschwerdung*.

⁶⁰ In the Greek text ἐν ἀρπαγῇ τῆς σεληνῆς "at the seizure of the moon". This is not strictly the new moon as understood by PREISENDANZ, *PGM*, vol. 1, 99 and MEYER, *Mithras Liturgy*, 53, n. 100, but rather the Egyptian concept of the moonless day (*psdn.tiw*).

⁶¹ See also the skull ritual *PGM IV 2006-2125* which is also usable for sending dreams.

⁶² In spite of the strong criticism by BEINLICH, *Die 'Osirisreliquien'*, I still continue to use the word "relics" for the Osiris body parts. For a critique of BEINLICH see PANTALACCI, *CdÉ* 62 (1987), 108-23; and especially the notice by LUKIAN, *Iuppiter Tragoed*, 42 where it is noted that some Egyptians consider a shoulder or half a head as a god (HOFFNER, *Fontes Historiae*, 312).

⁶³ A more complete philological analysis of the meaning of *wrš* will be given in my edition of the demotic animal omnia.

⁶⁴ For those, see lastly VON LIEVEN, *Himmel über Esna*, 22 ff. and 86 ff.; QUACK, in: H. FALK (ed.), *Vom Herrscher zur Dynastie*, 39 and 48.

Actually, Plutarch in *De Iside*, chapter 39 (351 F) even connects the confection of some sort of Osirian figurine with a specific date of the lunar cycle and reasons about their moon-shape.⁶⁵

One meaningful number has to be considered, namely the number seven which is recurrent in the ritual. It is also present in the Dendara text where the subterranean crypt has seven gates (*Dendara X 39,3*) and the god rests in it on a layer of seven cubits of sand (*Dendara X 39,4 ff.*). Given the late antique date of our papyrus, I suppose that it was thought to be connected with the seven planets, and thus to work in a way of cosmic sympathy.

Once the figure is ready and the date is right, the final placement is made. The figurine is put on a layer of sand, with the scarab on its body. The skull is placed on its top, probably looking down if I understand the text correctly. Such apposition would be quite normal for an Osiris lying down in his place of rest before being awakened by divine officiants like his son Horus or his wife Isis. Finally, we have the use of food-offerings and incense-burning before the figurine. While hardly specific, this is a well-known feature of many magical rituals.⁶⁶ It simply shows that the figurine is treated as a god.

Given the obvious Osirian connotations of the objects used, it comes as no surprise that just such themes are taken up in the recitation text. Quite at the beginning, a noble messenger of Osiris is invoked, and probably he is the one who should really do the job. Also the remainder of the spell is full of tell-tale catchwords. Alqah, the Osirian necropolis of Abydos, is mentioned. We have expressions like noble mummy (*s'ḥ šps*), netherworld (*dw3.t*), bed (*nm.t*) and secret chest (*'fd.t št3.t*),⁶⁷ finally also shrine (*knḥ.t*). All of them are quite characteristic for Osirian contexts.

The ritualist presents himself as related to important gods. Actually, he seems to fluctuate a bit between being a subservient helper of Osiris and Osiris himself. E.g. we have on the one hand a predication “[I am] the correct one in the embalming workshop” which would be fitting for Anubis or Horus. But on the other hand, we also have the final statement “I am the noble head which is in Abydos” which is more in line if the speaker sees himself as Osiris. There seems to be a deliberate blurring of identity.

⁶⁵ For the background, see the discussion in LEITZ, *Tagewählerei*, 127-9; for the calendrical interpretation, see already MALAISE, *Les conditions de pénétration*, 226 ff.

⁶⁶ ESCHWEILER, *Bildzauber*, 256-8.

⁶⁷ For that, compare e.g. *Dendara X 39,5*.

Finally, there is one remaining complex in the recitation, namely the menaces. The spell invokes the possibility of fire and catastrophes for the solar barks unless his wishes are fulfilled. I strongly suspect that this is not empty verbiage. Rather, if he does not notice any success in his endeavour, the magician would be quite ready to apply fire or at least heat to the objects of his arrangement. We will encounter a similar procedure in spell D. Besides, it is possible that the killing of the scarab already corresponds to such a menace. After all, at least part of the catastrophes evoked concerns the course of the solar bark, and the scarab is a solar animal. Also, the fire mentioned in the invocation would be parallel to the heat that killed the beetle. An interesting parallel is found in a Greek-language magical spell where a bull-shaped scarab is not actually killed but just lightly touched by the fire (*PGM* IV 63-68).⁶⁸

Summing up, this is a particularly interesting ritual. In the details of the manual rite, it is obviously a derivative of a complex temple ritual; and most especially one of very restricted access. We will come back to that point later on. The motives used in the invocation have well-conceived connections with the objects used. This must be the work of some high-level theologian.

Several similar ideas turn up in the other spells, even if they are normally less elaborate. Spell A has the use of a skull and the turning to the lunar phase in common with spell B, but the Osirian connection is less strongly articulated. It is still present, however, with the mention of Abydos and the "house of the prince" (*Hw.t-sr*). Otherwise, the spell gives the impression of being a younger composition. It has obvious connections with other Graeco-Roman magical texts of Late Antiquity in its use of strange magical names. One of them, Neboutosoualeth, is actually well attested in Greek papyri where it is normally an epithet of Hecate.⁶⁹ This makes sense in so far as Hecate-Artemis is invoked as a lunar deity in those texts, and our papyrus uses just the lunar connection. Still, a female lunar deity is not a traditional Egyptian conception but an innovation due to Greek influence.⁷⁰ Somewhat incongruously, the donkey's hoof used in case of tardiness seems to point back to the older Egyptian conceptions. The donkey is theologically connected with Seth, the enemy of Osiris, so

⁶⁸ As in the Louvre Papyrus, the lunar connotation is quite evident from the prescribed behaviour.

⁶⁹ See P. Mag. LL. 23, 16; 22; P. BM 10808 II, 8; *PGM* IV 306. 1418. 2213. 2485. 2602. 2665f. 2750. 2913 ff.; VII 317f.; 496 ff.; XII 116; XVI 27; LXXII 9; *SM* 54, 13; DELATTE and DERCHAIN, *Intailles*, Nr. 517; 254 ff.

⁷⁰ VON LIEVEN, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, 194.

using part of it would be a menace to Osiris. This gives the impression that an older ritual making use of lunar mythology centered around Osiris has been adapted and remodelled by adding Hecate-Artemis to it.

Such an analysis can be endorsed by a look at the outward appearance of the spell. Most of the papyrus is written in demotic, but some individual words and phrases are still in hieratic.⁷¹ In this case, except an non-distinctive *rn=k* “your name” (2, 14), there are *nti htp hn Hw.t-sr* “who rests in the prince’s house” (2, 12), *Nnw* “Abyss” (2, 13), *ʿrk-irw* “who completes the ritual (i.e. of Osiris)”⁷² and *iʿ3* “donkey” (2, 28). All these tally well with Osirian conceptions, so the older mythology seems really to have some affinity with the more traditional script.

With spells C and D, we remain entirely within traditional Egyptian mythology, and also in the realm of the dead. Now, however, the focus of the magician is set more on Anubis than on Osiris. In the first case, the recourse on Anubis is made in threefold fashion. On the one hand, an image of Anubis is drawn on papyrus. More specifically, it is drawn with the blood of a black dog. Finally, this is placed in the mouth of a dead black dog undergoing mummification. The triple symbolism of image, material and container provides a most strong link to Anubis. As usual with magical images, it is again initiated by presenting an offering and incense to it. The deposition of the formula finds a good parallel in *PGM XXXVI 370*, where the invocation is to be placed into the mouth of a dead dog.⁷³

Given the powerful and compelling image-sorcery, the magician seems to have thought the rest quite easy, for the invocation is quite short and straightforward. Anubis is invoked in his function as guardian of the embalming of Osiris, and then the god is supposed to provide a helpful spirit who will do the rest.

Spell D is of a similar gist, and actually one phrase of the invocation is really a variant formulation of one in spell C. The Osirian theology of the invocation, however, has a new variant. The spirit is menaced of not being able to rise together with the other spirits in the night from Khoiak 25 to 26. This night is, of course, the peek of ritual activity centered around the Khoiak images — exactly those which were so present in spell B of the Louvre papyrus.⁷⁴

⁷¹ In the case of spell B (as well as C and D), there are also some hieratic groups, but they are distributed quite evenly in the text which gives the impression of being homogeneous (and quite traditionally Egyptian in content).

⁷² For meaning and parallels, see LEITZ, *LGG II*, 180.

⁷³ See also the ritual *PGM IV 1870-1926* involving a living dog.

⁷⁴ GRAINDORGE-HEREIL, *Le Dieu Sokar*, 228-51.

As in spell C, the pictorial symbolism is centered on Anubis. This time, he is formed of clay and moistened with milk and the efflux of a jackal undergoing embalming. So, the reference to the god at whom the ritual is aimed is doubly present. The most interesting new point this spell contributes is the use of threatening actions. The clay image of Anubis is put on a copper part of a heated lamp, so it is submitted to heat if not actual fire. This is, obviously, a menace to the god. The symbolic heat at the figure signifies the threat of real fire and destruction in the mythological world. Just such a threat was present in spell B where I had conjectured the possibility of a similar action. Such a use of fire on the effigy of the gods is quite well attested in other Graeco-Roman texts.⁷⁵

Now, we can draw conclusions as to the nature of the rituals for dream-sending in the Louvre papyrus. They are relatively homogenous, with a theological focus on the world of the dead. Anubis and Osiris are most prominent. Only spell A shows foreign influence by its use of strange magical names and of the invocation of Neboutosoualeth connected with the greek lunar deity Artemis-Hecate. The overwhelmingly Egyptian mythology makes it quite probable that the idea as such has a strong Egyptian background. The frequent use of the more traditional hieratic script would point in the same direction. That question shall be pursued further on.

One word might be useful given the focus of our conference on the difference between the divine and the demonic. In our spells, there is a fairly straightforward differentiation. A deity might be specifically invoked or not but it is always a demon who has to do the dirty work — the god, if involved at all, just orders the spirit around. The social reality of Egypt with rulers and subordinates is clearly reflected in the imaginary concepts of the supernatural beings.

Even though we know nothing about the findspot and archaeological context of the papyrus, some conclusions are possible. The use of demotic and most especially hieratic writing strongly points to its use by somebody with a background in the Egyptian clergy. The content of the rites is concomitant with that. It presupposes a detailed knowledge of Egyptian theology, most especially the Khoiak rituals. Exactly these rituals, however, were strongly guarded by secrecy and restrictions. Within the Dendara Khoiak text itself, there is a note that it should be handed down

⁷⁵ PGM II, 48-52; XXXVI 333-340; VII 469; see also XXXVI 332-360. It is also found later, in medieval Jewish magical texts, see SCHÄFER and SHAKED, *Magische Texte II*, 259-61, 263, 323-25, 329-31 and 333; SCHÄFER and SHAKED, *Magische Texte III*, 92, 96 and 101 ff. See now the detailed study in RUIZ-MONTERO, in: M. PASCHALIS et al. (eds.), *Greek and Roman Novel*, 38-56.

exclusively from father to son.⁷⁶ In Papyrus Salt 825, the one who reveals the ritual is threatened with premature death. Good evidence for secrecy also comes from the still unpublished “Book of the temple” whose edition I am preparing. There also, the technical knowledge is passed from father to son. Besides, people being caught within the area of the sacred mound and the sacred lake without permission are put to death and burned on the brazier. This is all the more relevant since, for the ritual of spell B, water from the sacred lake was to be used. This leaves only few alternatives. Either the ritualist, in this case, was an official priest of a temple and had access to the Osirian complex, or he must have been a very daring individual — unless he knew that the guarding of the complex was not really effective. Besides, the officiant must also have had access to the embalming workshop of the sacred animals. All this indicates quite clearly that the rituals were composed by Egyptian priests for their own use.

In principle, this result seems in agreement with the conclusion by R. Ritner that the demotic magical papyri were part of a temple scriptorium.⁷⁷ However, things are not that simple.⁷⁸ The rituals aim at deceiving one Egyptian individual to the profit of another. This cannot possibly have been part of an officially permitted or desired temple cult. Actually, the illegal character of the Louvre papyrus can be shown by another spell not discussed here. It aims at robbing the sleep and giving sorrow to a person. The spell was considered so risky by the possessor of the manuscript that he effaced the indication of the aim in the title line (P. Louvre E 3229 5,22).⁷⁹ Such egoistic profit-seeking to the detriment of other people would not only be counter to Roman legislation but also unacceptable according to Egyptian social norms.

In order to understand the intricacies, we have to realise that the situation was a bit more complicated than just an opposition between a priest

⁷⁶ For the larger context, see VON LIEVEN, ‘Im Schatten des Goldhauses. Berufsgeheimnis und Handwerkerinitiation im Alten Ägypten’, *SAK* 36 (2007), 147-55.

⁷⁷ RITNER, in: W. HAASE and H. TEMPORINI (eds.), *ANRW*, vol. 2, §18.5, 3361 ff.

⁷⁸ For a critic, see already QUACK, *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 15 (1988), 82 ff. and 85.

⁷⁹ The effacement was effective enough to prevent JOHNSON from reading the passage, but at least the expression *dj̄i kt̄* can still be recognised and shows that the aim expressed in the title was substantially identical to that mentioned within the body of the invocation (5,28). For the intentions, compare *PGM* IV 2709-2784; 2942-2966; VII 374-376; 652-660; XII 376-396; XXXVI 112; 148; 305; LXX 24 ff.; *SM* 43, 9; 45, 6 u. 45 ff.; 48, 9 u. 23; 49, 25 ff.; 50, 55 ff.; 71, Fr. 22, 4; 73, 5 (perhaps also *PGM* IV 3255-3274). It seems to be an extreme form of the *agogê*.

serving assiduously his official duties and a free-lance black magician doing everything just for money. We have to reckon with the possibility that some Egyptian priests were not above improving their economic situation by exploiting their access to temple knowledge and temple objects. They would devise rituals making use of esoteric theology and use them although that was not what they were officially supposed to do. Probably quite a bit can be learned by carefully collecting all indications from the Demotic as well as the Greek-language magical manual concerning the social milieu of the practitioners.⁸⁰ For the moment, may it suffice to say that the high-level book culture with frequent collations of variants of spells as well as formulae recurring in manuscripts of divergent origin show quite sufficiently that these were not poor itinerant mendicants but rather a well-to-do group with a real network of an exchange of ideas.⁸¹ Of course, it would be by no means unusual if priests use rituals for their private gain which are not officially sanctioned by their religion.⁸²

Contemporary Parallels

The most interesting parallel within the demotic papyri can be found in a short section of the great demotic magical Papyrus of London and Leiden (P. Mag. LL, vs. 17,1-7). There, the magician has to write magical signs on a reed leaf with the blood either of an unidentified animal or of a hoopoe. It can be used to get dreams for oneself or to send dreams to others. Most remarkable, if used for sending dreams, it should be placed in the mouth of a mummy. The main purpose of the ritual is love magic to get a woman into the bed of a man.

The parallels to the Louvre text, most especially text A, are obvious. The use of a reed leaf and the blood of a hoopoe are identical. Whereas spell A and B only operate in general with the skull of a dead man, in spell C and D the text is placed in the mouth of a jackal, either a dead one or the figure of one. In order to draw a connection from theoretical handbook to practical use, it should be pointed out that one love spell (P. Berlin 9909, *PGM* XIXa) was really found placed in the mouth of a mummy⁸³ — although the conjuration in that case does not specifically mention the sending of dreams.

⁸⁰ For the situation of the magicians, see GRAF, *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber*, 83-107.

⁸¹ Cases in point are P. Mag. LL 8, 12 and 18, 7 where it is specifically noted that the copyist received the spells from a priest of Kusae or a physician of Oxyrhynchus.

⁸² D. JORDAN aptly points out to me that the texts edited by DELATTE, *Anecdota Aethiopsica*, vol. 1 contain many illicit rites, yet the manuscripts come from monastic context.

⁸³ PREISENDANZ, *PGM*, vol. 2, 141.

Interesting material also turns up in the Greek Magical Papyri.⁸⁴ In most cases, sending dreams is only incidentally mentioned within larger rituals where spirits or gods invoked can do many things, among them also send dreams or tell about the sending of dreams (*PGM* I 98; 349 ff.; III 163; IV 1852; 1869 ff.; 2077; V 488; VII 916 ff.; XII 15 ff.). *PGM* VII 407-410 is more specifically aimed at sending a vision of the client in a dream to a woman, but is very short and does not help very much concerning practice and theological background. Similarly, *PGM* XII 41-43 and 82 ff. also mentions that the spirit should appear in the form of the god or goddess to whom the man or woman is praying and tell what is written down. This is connected with strong menaces of burning the scarab of the sun — although there is no manipulation of an actual beetle mentioned in the manual part of the rite.

Somewhat more interesting is a slander ritual to Selene transmitted in two variants. There, sending dreams is one of the options (*PGM* IV 2444; 2451; 2624), and especially in order to get the love of a woman. In that case, the goddess (or spirit) invoked is supposed to appear in the shape of the god to which the woman normally prays (*PGM* IV 2500 ff.) — just as in the Louvre Demotic papyrus.

Specifically conceived for the sending of dreams are two rituals transmitted one directly after the other (*PGM* XII 107-121 and *PGM* XII 121-143). In the first case, a black tom-cat who has died a violent death is used. The spell is written with myrrh on a papyrus strip and placed in his mouth. This procedure compares well to the use of parts of dead black dogs in the Louvre papyrus, especially the case of the figurine of Anubis into whose mouth the text is placed. Although the invocation formula shows Jewish influence e.g. in the use of the formula Ablanathanalba Akramakhamari, the technical aspects would be consistent with an Egyptian background.

Even more Egyptian in character is the other case. There, an elaborate description of how to draw a “pantheistic” divine figure is given. Although the Persian magician Ostanès is mentioned, the iconographic details show the cultural origin of the ritual quite clearly.⁸⁵ The deity used is different from those instrumentalised in the Louvre Demotic papyrus, but it is also clearly Egyptian.

Another text for sending dreams (*PGM* XIII 308-318) makes use of a hippopotamus of red wax, hollow and filled with gold, silver and a Jew-

⁸⁴ See in general MERKELBACH, *Abrasax*.

⁸⁵ QUACK, *JNES* 65/4 (2006), 267-81.

ish ritual object. The dream to be sent is written with myrrh ink and blood of a baboon on a papyrus and made into a wick. Then, with the wick, a lamp is lit and the foot of the hippopotamus placed on the lamp. Although some details are different, the use of the lamp still stands in the tradition of the Louvre papyrus where we have also encountered it. Obviously, the heat of the lamp working on the figurine is seen as an effective menace against the god embodied in it.

It seems worthwhile to draw also on a literary account in Greek about the dream-sending activities of an Egyptian magician. I am alluding, of course, to the famous Alexander romance.⁸⁶ There, the last Egyptian king Nectanebos settles in Macedonia after having fled before the invading Persians. He is portrayed as a great magician able to do execration rituals in the Egyptian style⁸⁷ as well as astrology and other kinds of divination.⁸⁸ In two crucial situations, he has recourse to dream-sending by magic. The first occasion comes when he has set his eyes on queen Olympias and intends to dupe her into sleeping with him. After already having announced to her in the course of an astrological consultation that the god Ammon would beget a son on her, he tries to reinforce this by sending a dream.⁸⁹

For that, he takes some herbs from a solitary spot whose magical properties he knows. Then, he forms a female figurine from wax and writes the name "Olympias" on it. He sets lights, pours the juice of the herbs over the figurine and invokes some demons who preside over such magic. As a consequence, Olympias really has a nightly vision of being embraced by Ammon. By these artifices, Nectanebos really manages to sleep with the queen and to get her pregnant, but now he has a problem — the husband of his lover who is absent on war campaign and would be quite

⁸⁶ Critical edition of the Greek text KROLL, *Historia Alexandri Magni I*; German translation PFISTER, *Der Alexanderroman*; bilingual version (Greek-German) of a younger version VAN THIEL, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien*; English translation (following the same version as VAN THIEL.) by DOWDEN, in: B.P. REARDON, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, 650-735. See also the English translation of the Armenian Version in WOLOHOJIAN, *Romance of Alexander*.

⁸⁷ Section I, 1, 3 ff. in the old recession, KROLL, *Historia Alexandri Magni I*; Section I, 1, 5 ff. in the version treated by VAN THIEL, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien*, 2 ff. The Egyptian character of this scene was explored already by BUDGE, *History of Alexander the Great*, XXXVII-LI; BUDGE, *Life and Exploits of Alexanders*, X-XVIII; in more recent times by RITNER, *Mechanics*, 219, n. 1020.

⁸⁸ Section I, 4; KROLL, *Historia Alexandri Magni I*, 3-6; VAN THIEL, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien*, 6-9.

⁸⁹ Section I, 5; KROLL, *Historia Alexandri Magni I*, 6; VAN THIEL, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien*, 8 ff. (a longer version of this passage which is followed here).

astonished to find his wife pregnant without his participation. This also is solved by means of a dream.⁹⁰ This time, the Egyptian takes a see-hawk, enchants it and tells it by his magical arts what to say to the king. So, Philipp sees in his dream how Olympias is visited at night by the god Ammon who tells her that she shall bear a son to him.

Of the two dream rituals in this text, the first is quite obvious. The use of a wax figurine with a name written on it is perhaps not exclusively specific to Egypt, but at least well known there, e.g. for execration rituals. Actually, there is even a Greek-language love spell from Egypt (*PGM IV* 296-466) where wax (or clay) figurines are used — although the details are somewhat different.⁹¹ More interesting is the second procedure. The use of a hawk has obvious Egyptian connotations. There are even more detailed comparisons possible. *PGM I*, 1-195 has long rituals aiming at gaining a familiar spirit. They focus on the use of a falcon who is drowned in the milk of a black cow (*PGM I* 4f.). The resulting *Parhedros*⁹² is supposed to fulfill every mission at the request of the magician — including the sending of dreams (*PGM I*, 98). So, both dream sending rituals in the Alexander Romance tally well with the Egyptian tradition. This is in accordance with the observation by other scholars that especially the Nectanebos section of this text has a strong Egyptian coloring — R. Jasnow has even proposed that it might be the translation of a Demotic original.⁹³

Precedents?

Very recently, J. Gee has proposed that the *Coffin Text* spells 89 and 98-104 should be considered as being part of the same ritual as the demotic and greek techniques of dream-sending.⁹⁴ Several of the comparisons he

⁹⁰ Section I, 8; KROLL, *Historia Alexandri Magni I*, 8 ff.; VAN THIEL, *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien*, 12 ff.

⁹¹ Detailed treatment in RITNER, *Mechanics*, 1993, 112 ff.

⁹² CIRAOLO, in: M. MEYER and P. MIRECKI (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, 279-85.

⁹³ JASNOW, *JNES* 56 (1997), 95-103.

⁹⁴ GEE, in: L. CIRAOLO and J. SEIDEL (eds.), *Magic and Divination*, 83-8; GEE, in: Z. HAWASS (ed.), *Eighth International Congress*, vol. 2, 231, he erroneously ascribes all instances of the *PGM* to one single archive (the Theban find which he somewhat prematurely labels “third century CE priestly archive from Thebes”). *PGM IV* 3172-3254; V 370-446; VI; VII 222-249; 250-254; 255-259; 359-369; 478-503; 664-685; 703-726; 795-845; 1009-1016 (not 1069-1076, as written by GEE); VIII 64-110; XII 144-152; 190-192; 271-335; XVIIb; XXIIb 27-31; 32-35; XXIII have to be discarded from his list. These rituals aim at getting true dream visions, not at sending faked ones to others. *PGM VII* 311-315, X 124-28 aim at preventing nightmares and are also not relevant for dream-sending because there is not the slightest indication that these are dreams sent by others

adduces are obviously not pertinent. For example, he compares the nether-world visit by Si-Usire and Setne and claims that they did it in order to get information about the future from the gods.⁹⁵ As a matter of fact, Si-Usire organises the tour in order to show his father Setne how the nether-world tribunal punishes the wicked and extols the virtuous. There is not a shred of information by way of divination within this text. Also in another Setne story Gee adduces,⁹⁶ the dead son of Naneferkaptah is able to relate what has happened at the court of Re but he does not make any revelations about future events. And besides, neither of these texts has anything to do specifically with dream-sending.

Equally, he regards the use of clay images as relating and, specifically, interprets this as evidence that the ritual has its origin in execration practices. However, using clay images is just a simple inexpensive technique for producing figures. There is no compelling reason why the execration ritual should be its single monolithic source. Actually, images of quite diverse substances and shape turn up in numerous magical rituals used to quite different ends,⁹⁷ and figurines of very diverse material can be used in execration rituals.⁹⁸ Finally, it would be most unbelievable that the funerary equipment of a man should contain rituals destined for an execration ritual aiming at the annihilation of his *bʿ* – but Gee’s interpretation would imply this, because the figurine with the name of the man⁹⁹ written upon it would, in his view, be a parallel to the writing of names on execration figurines.

In the details, there are many problems with understanding the purpose of the *Coffin Texts* spells adduced here. Spell 89 should definitely be excluded. There, somebody who feels that his days on earth have been shortened by another man gets permission to proceed against him. Although it is mentioned that the man sends his *bʿ*, there is no indication whatsoever that he operates by sending faked dreams. Spell 98 does not have the explicit aim against any enemy but is similar in some formulations. There also, I fail to see any clear connection with dream-sending.

(besides, none of the actual dream-sending texts works by nightmares). *PGM XVIIa* does not explicitly mention dream-sending although it is wished that the beloved girl should think of the man who loves her in every situation (including dreams). XIII 271-345 should be corrected into XIII 308-318.

⁹⁵ GEE, in: Z. HAWASS (ed.), *Eighth International Congress*, vol. 2, 230.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ ESCHWEILER, *Bildzauber*.

⁹⁸ QUACK, *BACE* 13 (2002), 154 ff.

⁹⁹ GEE, in: Z. HAWASS (ed.), *Eighth International Congress*, vol. 2, 230 glosses over the difficulty by translating “the name of a man”, but the substantive *sl* “man” without any additions in a post-script usually stands for the beneficiary of the ritual.

The spells 99-104 and 413 pose more problems of interpretation.¹⁰⁰ They seem to express, in spite of some divergence of detail, the idea that the soul of a man should stand in his true form before either a man or a god. Who is this man or god and what should the *b3* do there? I must admit that the spells seem quite enigmatic to me. The fact, however, that reaching this man or god is always the main goal rather militates against seeing this as a case of dream-sending. In that case, too many crucial details would be left out. I would rather suppose that this enigmatic figure is some powerful divine entity in whose vicinity the dead person wants to be.¹⁰¹

Besides, the differences to the Demotic papyrus are quite marked. In the coffin text spells, the beneficiary is already dead and the *b3* is taking shape out of his body remnants. All intentions concern benefits for the afterlife. In the dream-sending rituals, the client is always living and seeking gains for this world. Furthermore, in those rituals the magician or his client never sends his own soul on the errand — and besides, it would be quite contrary to their intentions to reveal that they themselves operate in this. Rather, they appeal to a deity to send a spirit who is not in his true form but disguised as the private god of the victim. Summing this up, I cannot see any close connection between those rituals.

Not only J. Gee,¹⁰² but before him R. Ritner¹⁰³ have connected the dream-sending rituals of the Roman-period papyri with passages in the oracular amuletic decrees of the Third Intermediate Period. However, on closer inspection, I doubt the validity of this comparison. The passages invoked speak more or less of things like “We shall make her dreams good and those which every other male or every other female will see for her (we shall make them) good likewise”.¹⁰⁴ Obviously, this does not indicate in any way that these are dreams sent purposely by somebody else with the intend of manipulating the dreamer by them. Rather they are true and potentially menacing dreams which might really indicate bad luck, unless the gods intervene. If seen by somebody else and potentially menacing, they are certainly not sent by the one whom they concern.

¹⁰⁰ See the global interpretation by OTTO, in: *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 151-60; ŽABKAR, *Ba*, 99-101.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 100, n. 70 interprets “god” and “man” as Atum and Osiris.

¹⁰² GEE, in: Z. HAWASS (ed.), *Eighth International Congress*, vol. 2, 231.

¹⁰³ RITNER, in: W. HAASE and H. TEMPORINI (eds.), *ANRW*, vol. 2, §18.5 (1995), 3346, n. 37. As RITNER has informed me personally, he had only the intend to show globally by this reference that dreams were liable to being manipulated, and in that restricted sense, the comparison is still apt.

¹⁰⁴ Papyrus T. 2 rt. 10-13 in the edition of EDWARDS, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, vol. 1, 63 and vol. 2, pl. XXII, the very passage invoked by RITNER (see *supra*, n. 102).

So, our hunt for earlier parallels has turned out rather unsuccessful. None of the parallels adduced up to now stands up to close scrutiny. I also have not found anything better fitting. Still, the mythology and the manual rites used in the Louvre papyrus seem quite thoroughly Egyptian, except later accretions in one of the cases. The conspicuous use of hieratic in many passages also militates in favour of a relatively early composition. Also the parallels in Greek-language papyri mostly still have many elements of obvious Egyptian origin.

So, I would suppose that we have to reckon with a lacuna in transmission. This is not surprising if we consider the nature of the texts. They are very egoistic spells intent on ensuring profit for one client while really damaging the interests of someone else. As such, they are outside the social norms, and thus not the kind of texts one would openly display or store in a community or temple archive. The lack of earlier examples of dream-sending rituals is, actually, paralleled by a similar dearth of other damaging spells for private profit. From Ramesside times, we have only one love-charm and very few private texts of black magic against private enemies¹⁰⁵ even though there certainly was much use of such genres in Ancient Egypt.

¹⁰⁵ SHORTER, *JEA* 22 (1936), 165-8; SMITHER, *JEA* 27 (1941), 131 ff. An unpublished ostrakon at Leipzig will be published by K. STEGBAUER.

SOME ASPECTS OF MAGIC IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MEDICINE

Hedvig GYÓRY
Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

Introduction

The Egyptian medical papyri have shown that the ancient Egyptians were masters in drug therapy, in applying ointments or arranging bandages, and in recognising the internal and external features of various infections and diseases. Their results were well known and appreciated even outside Egypt — some of them were also transferred through Graeco-Roman and Arab medicine into European healing art. The Egyptian approach to medical therapy was based on a concatenate protocol of empirical observation and magical applications which was deeply rooted in the religious system of beliefs and practices.

The two facets, experiment and belief, were regarded as equally important. The practitioner had to come in terms with not only the physical symptoms of the disease, but also the supernatural cause of illness. In many cases he had to repel the demonic influence that caused the disease and restore its harmful effect. A case from P. Ebers 131 describes the action against the *wḥdw*-demon, a pathogenic element circulating in the *mtw*, which was also regarded as a disease-demon:

“Offerings will not be made in Abydos until the influences (= symptom, *jswt-ʿ*) of a god, the influences of a goddess, the influence(s) of *wḥdw*, the influences of *wḥd.t*, the influences of a dead man (*mt*), the influences of a dead woman (*mt.t*) and any other citable influences – that is the influences of all evil things which are in this my body, in this my flesh, in these my members, are driven out”.¹

The same intimate link between religious belief and medical practice can be illustrated by the introductory paragraphs of the papyrus, which accompanied the act of applying the medicament (*phr.t*), taking off the bandages and drinking the potion (*swj phr.t*):

¹ P. Ebers (par.) 131.

“Another speech of relieving any bandage. Released, released by Isis. Horus was released by Isis from the evil which was done to him by his brother Seth, when he (= Seth) killed his (Horus’) father, Osiris. Oh Isis-Werethekau, may you release me, may you liberate me from anything bad (*bjn*), evil (*dw*) or harmful (*dšr*); from the influence of a god, the influence of a goddess; from the dead man or dead woman; from an opponent or an opponent woman, the ones who might oppose me — just as you were released, just as you were loosened from your child Horus (i.e. when he was born)”.²

It is evident from these texts that the medical protocol was composed of performative techniques similar to those used in any type of magical or cultic rite: e.g. prayers, mythological explanations and threats.³ Yet, the outcome of the treatment depended on god’s will, because any disease or suffering were regarded as divine punishment or fury against the patient. This is expressed very clearly in P. Ebers, case 1 (= P. Hearst 78):

“Speech of placing the medicament on any member of the patient. I have come forth from Heliopolis with the Great ones of the Great Mansions, the Lord of Protection (*m’k.t*), the Rulers of Eternity, after I had saved myself. I have come forth from Sais with the mother of the Gods. They have given me their protections (*m’k.t-sn*). To me belong the spells (*tzw*) which the Lord of All has made; for driving out the influences of a god, of a goddess, the influences of a dead man or dead woman, and so on, who are in this my head, in this my neck, in this my shoulder, in this my flesh, in this my member; for punishing (*ssn*) the trespasser (*srhy*), the overseer of those, who enter the disturbance (*hnn*) in this my flesh and the anxiety (*bjbj*) in this my member, as something, which enters in this my flesh, in this my head, in this my shoulder, in this my body, in this my member. I belong to Ra, he has said: “It is me who will protect him from his enemies. It is Thot who will guide him. He has caused the writing to speak, he has made the compilations of remedies, he has given power (*3h*) to the learned, to the physicians who are in his following, in order to release the one whom the god loves, he will make him live”. It is to say, when a medicament is applied to any member of the patient, who is ill. Excellent indeed, million times”.⁴

As a surplus, it also points to the fact, that parallel to the theological schools, there existed also medical schools, focused around the religious centres. In the passage quoted above, two such schools are mentioned: one in Heliopolis, dominated by the All-creator Sun god Ra, and the other in Sais, driven by Neith. Those were the places where the healers came

² P. Ebers (par.) 2.

³ Threats are rare in purely medical texts, but they can be found more often in magico-medical ones.

⁴ P. Ebers (par.) 1 = P. Hearst 78.

from. However, by the time of the New Kingdom, the theories of these schools were strongly merged into each other — the healer uses the protective power of both of them together, in this case with the supremacy of Ra, as he is referring to the spells of Ra in driving out the the evil influences. Thus, though both gods have given his/her protection, Ra is the one who is the main protector of the patient. This must have been the teaching of a fairly widespread New Kingdom medical school,⁵ since the medical P. Berlin 190 speaks also similarly about the goddess “Isis, the great one practises the art of Ra, the physician of the gods who soothes the gods!” As the medical knowledge was mostly written, it could only be used by the help of Thot, which also means, that physicians were equally trained as scribes and healers. But the help of Thot was not enough, his knowledge was only helpful for curing patients, whom the Great God wanted to keep alive.

New Kingdom trends in ophthalmology in the case of the disease $\text{3d}(y)t$

The need for the assistance of (several) god(s) were also characteristic in specialised fields of medicine (e.g. ophthalmology), as we can see in the following case:

“Speech for placing a medicament on the eyes. Oh that eye of Horus, formed (*zntt*) by the spirits of Heliopolis, brought by Thot from Hermopolis, from the Great House, which is in Heliopolis, that which is in Pe, that which is in Dep. What is to be said of it: How welcome is that eye of Horus, the noble one, which is in the eye of Horus, which was brought to drive out the influence of a god, the influence of a goddess, of an opponent (*d3yw*) and opponent woman, of a dead man and dead woman, of an enemy and a female enemy, those who oppose the eyes of this man, who is under my fingers. Protection (*s3*) is behind, protection, there comes protection. This speech is to say four times, when the medicament is applied to the eyes”.⁶

The base for this ophthalmologic treatment is the combination of a rational technique and divine intervention. In every aspect of the ancient Egyptian medicine, from the choice of *materia medica* to the preparation of the medicament, the mythical/religious perception was vital. Such is the case of the 13 prescriptions (nos. 365, 369-375, 409-413) for the treatment of the $\text{3d}(y)t$ -disease in P. Ebers. The 13 prescriptions are divided

⁵ Oils and ointments of Re: Eb 242-247 = H 71-75, they are effluxes or sweat of Re. See P. Boulaq III. 3.6, 3.10, 9.9; 2.2, 10.16; 2.8, 2.13, 2.21 = SAUNERON, *Rituel de l'embaumement*.

⁶ P. London 22 (7,1-8) = LEITZ, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, no. 57; WRESZINSKI, *Londoner medizinische Papyrus*; cf. DARESSY, *ASAE* 27 (1927), 180, a theban ostrakon.

into three groups and have derived from three different, specialised ophthalmologic treatises. This specific disease was identified by Bendrix Ebbell as pterygium.⁷ The treatment involves the application (*rdi*) of drugs in similar way as in most ophthalmologic cases: *hr-s, m jrt / jrtj, r s3 n jrtj, m hnw n jrtj, r k'hw n jrtj*. The last method is mentioned only in two cases of *3dyt*, namely in Eb 412-413. The materials frequently used for the treatment are the *msdmt* (“galenit”), a product of honey, the *mnšt* (red ochre), the *snn*-balm (? myrrh), the *stj* (yellow ochre), the *w3ḏw* (malachite), the *bj3* (iron), the *sj3 šm'* (Upper-Egyptian auripigmentum),⁸ the *sntr* (frankincense), the *ds kmt* (black obsidian), the *ht-ʿw3* (pulver made from a tree), sorts of excrement and sorts of egg. The *hm3t mht* (Lower Egyptian salt), the *h3tm* (manganoxid)⁹ and the flour of *hnwt* plant were mentioned only once.

Most of these materials are connected with the divine essence and power.¹⁰ The *msdmt*¹¹ belonged to Hathor and it was used together with *sntr* as offering in the temple cults. The honey originated from the tears of Ra according to P. Salt.¹² The *mnšt* is the beneficent red colour, with which the gates of temples were also protected against the demons.¹³ The *sj3* was used to pacify the gods,¹⁴ while the *stj* was a substitute for gold, closely associated with Tefnut¹⁵ and similar to *bj3*, the heavenly metal.¹⁶ *W3ḏw* is both the word for “fresh”, “juvenile” and “papyrus”. The Lord of *w3ḏw* was Horus¹⁷ and its Lady was Neith.¹⁸ The *ds kmt* was used for the construction of the ceremonial knives and as an instrument to open the body during the mummification process. Three types of *hm3t* were used in medical texts: the *hm3t j3bt* from mining, the *hm3t h3swt* (natron collected in Wadi Natrun and other areas) and the *hm3t mht*, the Lower

⁷ LEFEBVRE, *Essai sur la médecine égyptienne*, 77-8.

⁸ DAWSON, *JEA* 19 (1933), 135-6. In HANNIG, *Großes Handwörterbuch I*, 665: “mineralischer Stoff”.

⁹ SAUNERON, *BIFAO* 57 (1958), 159-60.

¹⁰ An article with JOZSEF GYÓRY is in preparation.

¹¹ AUFRÈRE, *Univers Minéral*, 581.

¹² GOYON, *Rituels Funéraires*, 77.

¹³ P. Leiden I. 348, ro. 1,9 = BORGHOUTS, *Papyrus Leiden I. 348*, 43-4, n. 21; AUFRÈRE, *Univers Minéral*, 651-2; cf. also KEES, *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 11 (1943), 446-64.

¹⁴ AUFRÈRE, *Univers Minéral*, 661, n. 71.

¹⁵ For example, P. Leiden I 348, ro. 13,2 = BORGHOUTS, *Papyrus Leiden I. 348*, 26.

¹⁶ For example, “the iron is in your body, your flesh is gilded ... you will not be damaged, you will not perish” = SANDER-HANSEN, *Die religiösen Texte*, 11 and JELINKOVA-REYMOND, *Statue Guérisseuse*, 33, no. 1.

¹⁷ SETHE, *Pyramidentexte*, 457c.

¹⁸ HARRIS, *Lexicographical Studies*, 103.

Egyptian salt, which probably represents the sea-salt. As it was also called *jšš Stš* “the foam of Seth”, its demonic character is clear.¹⁹ The excrement was an abyss, thus even the evil demons did not want to get in contact with it, while the egg symbolises the beginning of life — the Great One hatched out of it for example — and seemed to be an effective instrument thrown into water against crocodiles.²⁰ The (faeces of the) lizard could be thought rather effective since the lizard was regarded as a small crocodile²¹ and it was associated with Seth.²² In the Cairo Calendar, however, Anubis is taking his shape.²³ Lizards were also associated to the sun, possibly because they like sunbathing and after winter-sleep they appeared suddenly in great quantity to enjoy the sunshine.²⁴ Unresolved is the identification of the *ḥt-‘wš* and *ḥnwt* plants. The explication of their medical use needs also further researches, as well as that of the *ḥtm* mineral.

(See Table 1, p. 156)

The basic material used for curing eye diseases was the *msdmt*, accompanied by some greasy material — most often oil or honey. The use of honey in the *šdyt*-cases suggests that the disease was thought to be a type of injury.²⁵ The standard treatment (group 2) used, also, the ochre, known to ancient physicians as demon repellent (red and in several cases yellow) and the *snm* balm. A less homogeneous group (no. 3) is composed of four prescriptions with Upper-Egyptian components, where the *msdmt* can be lacking. The fourth group (Eb 375, Eb 412) has two typical liturgical materials: the *sntr*, frankincense as a powerful chemical in the treatment, and the *ds kmt*, the material for ceremonial knives. As for the treatment of the *šd(y)t*, ancient Egyptians usually did not use frankincense or obsidian, I suppose, here they came from general purifying rituals, thus their use seems to be based on a ritual, and so I would call this type of treatment a ritualised version. Here again the typical eye-drug *msdm.t* could be neglected.

¹⁹ AUFRÈRE, *Univers Minéral*, 636-7; REVILLOUT, *RdÉ* 12 (1907), 62; MASPERO, *ASAE* 11 (1911), 145-161.

²⁰ Magical P. Harris, spell K (VI,10-VII,1) = LANGE, *Papyrus Harris*, 53-4.

²¹ Cf. *Wb.* IV, 192 *ḥdt* “mainland crocodile”. The lizard cult in Fajum is also in connection with the crocodile aspect; cf. BONNET, *Reallexikon*, 164-65.

²² Cf. DERCHAIN, *RdÉ* 16 (1964), 19-24, pl. 2. Cf. also, KAKOSY, *Jenseitvorstellungen*, 66, n. 2.

²³ BAKIR, *Cairo Calendar*, pl. X, Rs. X.11.

²⁴ BRUNNER-TRAUT, *LÄ I* (1975), cols. 1204-1205.

²⁵ SIPOS, GYÓRY, HAGYMASI, ONDREJKA and BLAZOVICS, *World Surgery Journal* (January, 2005), 211-6.

Materia medica used for the treatment of *3dyt* = pterygium

Group	Eb no.	<i>msdmt</i>	<i>bjt</i>	<i>mnšt</i>	<i>snn</i>	<i>stj</i>	<i>w3dw</i>	<i>bjš</i>	<i>sjš šm'</i>	<i>ht-^wš</i>	<i>sntr</i>	<i>ds kmt</i>	<i>hs</i>	<i>swht</i>	other
1.	409	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x nt nrt	-
2.	371	x	<i>hpr n x</i>	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	373	x	<i>hpr n x</i>	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	410	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	411	x	<i>hpr dsf n x</i>	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	413	x	<i>hpf dsf n x</i>	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	369	x	<i>x nt hpr / gw n x</i>				x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
3.A	370	x	<i>hpr n x</i>	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x <i>hntšsw</i>	-	-
3.B	372	-	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.C	374	-	x	x	-	-	-	Kusae	x	x	-	-	-	x n 'w	<i>htm</i> , flour of <i>hnwt</i>
4.	375	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-
	412	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-
5.	365	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x nt <i>hnwt</i>	-	<i>hmšt mh̄t</i>

1. group – primitive, connected with vulture cult
2. group – general treatment, shows the main stream
3. group – Upper Egyptian version
4. group – ritualised version
5. group – magic based version

In all the above cases honey is generally used as a major material for curing any type of injury. There are only two cases, where honey was left out (in two separate groups 1 and 5). In the first case (P. Ebers 409) a vulture egg was used for liquefying the medicament. It seems to be a very ancient, primitive way of treatment, which was probably in connection with a vulture cult. Word magic played also a role in the designation of the bird, which also meant "fear, scare". In P. Ebers 374 an ostrich egg replaced the vulture, a hint for an Upper-Egyptian link. The yolk of ostrich egg was also used for treating a skull injury in P. Smith, the only case in its roll, which is accompanied by a spell for the healing process.²⁶

The other case where honey is missing is P. Ebers 365. It does not contain any specific ophthalmologic cure-material. The general divine power of the drop was given by frankincense, a material useful in pacifying any god in any case. It was completed by two unusual things: the salt and the excrement. Ancient physicians used these two substances together, in order to neutralise the acid content of the salt by the lye of the liquid bird-faeces and not to harm the eye. The balance was perfect also from mythical point of view: the chaos and darkness on one side, associated with Seth, and, on the other side, the (faeces) of the pelican as the symbol of light and renewed life.²⁷ The latter was associated with the Heliopolitan solar cult and thus strengthens the impression that the prescription was composed in Lower Egypt, most probably in Heliopolis.

Let us now examine the name of the *3d(y)t*-disease. It is written out three times, always with the determinative of pus sign at the end. There is also one variation (P. Ebers, case 369), where a crocodile image was added to the word, indicating that the demon hidden behind the disease had most probably the shape of a crocodile, or the etymology of the disease name was in connection with this animal. The root of *3d(y)t* is *3d*, which means "angry, cross", "to harm", or "to smear the pot" with a crocodile determinative, and also, "to rot, decay" with the pus sign as determinative.²⁸ From the picture of a typical pleat of the *pterygium* it could be assumed that both of the possibilities are acceptable for describing the disease. The surface of the eye looks like a pot smeared rudely at a spot, while this same spot is similar to the picture of the crocodile swimming in the water — an important moment about crocodiles, which were also called in magical incantations as "swimmers".²⁹

²⁶ P. Smith, V/1-4, case 9 = BREASTED, *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, 219.

²⁷ KAKOSY, *LÄ IV* (1980), cols. 1030-9.

²⁸ *Wb I*, 24-25.

²⁹ For example, Magical P. Harris, spell A (1,1) = LANGE, *Papyrus Harris*, 12.

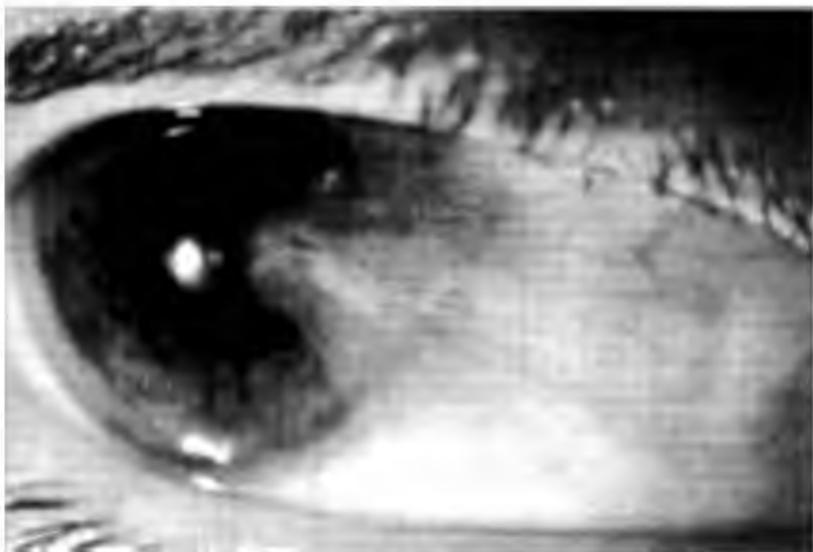


Fig. 1. Eye in the state of pterygium.

Unfortunately, we do not have a historical outlook about the development of these treatments, as the disease name is mentioned only in this New Kingdom papyrus. With the help of the components we could, however, distinguish several medical traditions or schools at the given period, whose therapy protocol and choice of drugs developed until this point differently due to geographical-theological factors. Ancient physicians must have collected many accidental experiments, and some of them were surely built into the books. Egyptian medicine had already a long history behind by the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, though its early history is unknown to us.³⁰ We can be sure of the existence of ophthalmology at the latest from the Old Kingdom period on the ground of the titles, but that is all, since no other sources are given for any details for the state of early stage of this special field of medicine. Later sources of pharaonic medicine are again mute about this disease, at least as for the known publications.

The mythological background encrypted behind the treatments is very clear but its origin could not be traced easily. The Eighteenth Dynasty interpretation might be completely different to that of earlier or later peri-

³⁰ GYÓRY, in: M. EL-DAMATY and M. TRAD (eds.), *Egyptian Collections*, vol. I, 215-24.

ods manifested in ritual phenomena that have survived. There might be ideological changes even if the drugs were the same. In fact, such changes can be traced in the iatromagical use of the so-called Pataikos amulets.

Trends in the treatment of snake bite or delivery shown by Pataikos amulets in later periods

The dwarf amulets were produced from the New Kingdom onwards in continuously increasing amount. Already during the Eighteenth Dynasty they split into two main iconographical groups: the Bes, with the typical high headdress and leonine character, and the dwarf without any special attributes. This latter figure, based on a description of Herodotus, is called usually Pataikos. In P. Leiden I 348, spells 30-31, dwarf amulets are used to facilitate delivery. Spell 30 reads:

“Another spell for the dwarf (*nmj*): Oh good dwarf, come on account of the one who sent you to say: “Ra is standing, while Thot is sitting. Both of his legs are on the ground, encircled by Nun, and the hands are on the beam. Come down, placenta, come down, placenta, come down! I am Horus, the conjurer”. And the one who is giving birth has become well, as that, who has already delivered. “Oh Sepertusenet, wife of Horus, Nechbet, the Nubian and the Eastern, Unu, Lady of Ashmunein! Come and act for those who are under your power! Seth, Hathor will put her hand on the health amulet. I am Horus who charms (*šdj*) him!” Words to be said four times over a dwarf of clay, placed on the forehead of a woman who is giving birth (and suffering)”.³¹

Thus, during the Ramesside period the dwarf figure was a medical accessory in the course of childbirth, being considered as the health amulet of Hathor and the messenger of Ra³² who sustained the word.³³ At the same time it was the enemy of Seth who incorporated disorder and darkness. The accompanied ritual action consisted of the placement of the amulet on the forehead during labour. Since there is no other specification written in connection with its appearance, any type of dwarf representations could be used.

The form of the ordinary standing dwarf amulets underwent only stylistical changes through the following periods.³⁴ During the Eighteenth

³¹ P. Leiden I 348, vs. 12,2-6 (Spell 30) = BORGHOOTS, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 29.

³² Cf. GRIFFITH, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, 82-3, col. XI.6-7: “I am the sacred child, who is in the house of Ra, the sacred dwarf, who is in the cavern...”.

³³ Cf. P. Turin 1993, vs. 4,6-8.

³⁴ GYÖRY, in: M. EL-DAMATY and M. TRAD (eds.), *Egyptian Collections*, vol. I, 491-502.

Dynasty a new, complex type appeared which developed in several variations until the Hellenistic time: a dwarf standing on crocodiles, holding knives or *maat* feathers, biting snakes in the mouth, with a scarab on its top and seal inscription on its bottom. This variation appeared occasionally together with the representation of other gods. The iconographical structure of this latter type points to another use, namely that of the Horus *cippi*. Thus one can assume, that the ordinary Pataikos amulet was used for delivery, while the complex one against snake bite. A composite or pantheistic type (body re-shaped and combined with other beings — in the beginning with a hawk headed god) developed from the complex type by the end of the Third Intermediate Period. Thus in these latter cases the picture of the same god changed sometimes considerably. The iconographical representation of the amulets, though, testifies no change in their function: they remained paramedical instruments against snake bites or labour-aid at all periods.

One question, however, arises: were those two functions of the Pataikos amulet, labour-aid and treatment against snake bites, really strictly divided into the two main iconographical types? Could eventually the amulets have also some other functions, not written in the preserved texts? Or could the ordinary Pataikos figures be used only for delivery and the complex ones only against snakes? Or was there an overlapping even between these two functions? Unfortunately, we do not know how the amulet was used exactly against the snake venom, as it is not written or known. The interconnection between ordinary and complex types, however, is established on the iconographical level (as, for example, complex Pataikos lost one or more elements and developed into an ordinary one,³⁵ or elements from the complex or composite type were added to the ordinary one³⁶). Thus an alternate use of both types is probable at least from the Third Intermediate Period. In fact, we can also read in Late New Kingdom spells against snake bites about a dwarf, the messenger of Ra, without any specification of his appearance.

The permeability can be explained from the theoretical side: the death ratio in ancient Egypt both for mother and newborn was very high,³⁷ thus the concept, that delivery was a repetition of the creation in her microcosmos was right in both respects: giving a new life (for the baby) and oppose

³⁵ GYÓRY, *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 94 (2001), 27-40 and 129-140.

³⁶ For gods with knives and without crocodiles, see BRUNTON, *Matmar*, pl. LVIII, no. 736; for a god with hawk head and moon disc, see CGC 38818.

³⁷ GYÓRY, *Orvostörténeti Közlemények* 170-173 (2000), 103-19.

the death, and fight the power of the darkness³⁸ for being able to return to life (for the woman). Among snake charms one can also read, that ancient Egyptians felt the effect of venom similar to that of the labour, and experienced the same facial distortions.³⁹ These patients also faced death. Thus healers could easily handle both cases parallel, and use the same instruments in their treatment.

On the base of the textual and iconographical evidence we can state that the complex type of the Pataikos amulet during the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period was considered as manifestation of Ra.⁴⁰ It could also be assimilated to Amun, Atum and Ptah. This latter god is hinted at in some amulet variations also iconographically: around the complex dwarf figure, there are represented other gods from the circle of Ptah: Nefertem or Sachmet at the back, Sachmet (and Neith) on both sides, or two hawks of Sokaris or Horus on the shoulders.⁴¹

Other variations of Pataikos amulets show the double feather crown of Tatenen on their head, which also indicate a connection with Sokaris — the combined Memphite form of Ptah and Osiris. There is a peculiar spell against snake-bite in the Twenty-first Dynasty funerary papyrus of *P3ys-inf*,⁴² where Horus is addressed in the capacity of the messenger of Ra, as the dwarf usually was called in similar cases. Below in this spell the Lord of Heliopolis is identified with the Great One in Busiris, i.e. the two gods in one, and he is described as a person who consumed the snake in the West — the exact picture of a complex or an early composit Pataikos with a snake in his mouth.



Fig. 2.

The inscriptions on the figures, the various iconographical links of the amulets and hints in texts make it clear, that besides the main meaning as solar god there was the possibility to interpret the Pataikos figures in many other ways. As the mythological background

³⁸ In P. Leiden I. 343 + I. 345 the association of the snake and the difficult delivery are expressed by the words: *iw.s hr šn.t hr rmyt / n p3 hf3w pw* "And how does she give birth? It means that she is suffering and weeping because of the snake, the one, which the god has assigned to you!" (vs. 5,1-2) = BORGHOUTS, *Papyrus Leiden I 348*, 158, n. 382. MASSART, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus*, 105, vs. 5,1-2, is translating it as: "I made your mother who was pregnant with thee. How does (she) bring forth? She readeth an incantation weeping because of the serpent which the god hath given thee..."

³⁹ MASSART, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 178, pl. 29, rt. IV.1-2.

⁴⁰ GYÓRY, in: G. TAKÁCS (ed.), *Memoriam Vycichl*, 55-68.

⁴¹ GYÓRY, *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 98 (2003), 11-29 and 87-103.

⁴² REYMOND, *ZÁS* 98 (1972), 125-32 (Book of the Dead, spells 170-171).

underwent serious changes not only in the funerary sphere, the interpretation of the figure of the “medical” Pataikos altered, too. And this was signed also in iconography, with new mythological links, which gave, however, from their side, also new impulse to actualise the figure on a new base. So became e.g. the back pillar the central part of two pairs of wings on the back of one type (Third Intermediate Period), which embraced the whole figure.⁴³ Thus, a sort of divine protection manifested behind Pataikos — the visual representation of the usual phrase behind pharao: $s\dot{3} \dot{h}\dot{3}=f$, or of some magico-medical spell as e.g. the above quoted P. London passage: “Protection is behind, protection, there comes protection”.⁴⁴ Another amulet version personifies this protection as a lion headed woman with sun disc or a completely human figure with cow horns and sun disc crown, or a bird figure with sun disc on the head — in all cases with wings at her sides. While the first is characteristic for the Third Intermediate Period, the others are usually attested in later periods. The connection of the lion headed goddess with the dwarf god is not clear. A possible connection could be seen in her assimilation with Bastet as the fertility goddess, who furthered also human prosperity,⁴⁵ and who also had power against the harmful animals in the form of the cat.⁴⁶ In such cases she could be helped by Ptah.⁴⁷

The lion headed goddess on the back or side of the complex Pataikos amulets in the TIP can also be interpreted most probably as Sachmet, the blood thirsty goddess, who could also be an appropriate opponent to the blood drinking snakes (see e.g. the above quotation of papyrus of *P\dot{3}ys-trf*). This possibility is stressed also by the frequent presence of Nefer-tum, her son. Further link to the snake annihilator Pataikos can be, that she was also responsible for the heart, which is strongly attacked by the snake venom.⁴⁸ The protection of the heart was thus an effective instrument against the snake venom. Particularly important at Memphis, the city of Ptah, she personifies the untamed fiery heat of the sun — the venom was felt also as heat by the Egyptians⁴⁹—, and she was, from the

⁴³ BRUNTON, *Matmar*, pl. LVIII, no. 39 (Tomb 1204).

⁴⁴ LEITZ, *Magical and Medical Papyri*, 57

⁴⁵ Cf. the lion headed goddess amulets with feline ears in CHAPPAZ and CHAMAY, *Reflète du Divin*, 38, nos. 21-22; GYÓRY, *Studia Aegyptiaca* XII (1989), 129-38.

⁴⁶ See JELINKOVA-REYMOND, *Statue Guérisseuse*, 12; LEFEBVRE, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 92.

⁴⁷ See the cat chapter of the Horus cippi, as formulated in the Metternich stele I.23, where it is stated that “Your (sc. the cat’s) heart is the heart of Ptah, who made perfect (*s-nfr*) your heart (i.e. liberating) from this evil venom which was in your body”.

⁴⁸ JELINKOVA-REYMOND, *Statue Guérisseuse*, 19, (n. 2), 43 and 77.

⁴⁹ LEFEBVRE, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 93.

other side, when appeased and pacified — similar to Pataikos — also the goddess of healing, the “Lady of Life”. Her capacity to decimate human population explains, however, her association with epidemic(fever)s, thus her presence could add to the Pataikos-complex the idea of the “pestilence of the year”. And indeed, during the Third Intermediate Period, there were a few Pataikos amulets with New Year wish. This direction popped out, however, as a deadlock for later there is no more mention of this wish in Egypt — but among the Phoenician imitations it seems to be a relatively frequent interpretation.

At the same time a, much more rare variation of the dwarf figure presents different facial and bodily characteristics. He is shown holding snakes in his hands and wearing a uraeus and two straight double-feathers crown, which indicates a possible identification with Sopdu. At the back of the figure stands a winged lion headed goddess surmounted by the sun disc and the inscription *dj-‘nh B3stt* above.⁵⁰

Another variation shows a composite figure: a female dwarf holding a Bes figure on the shoulders, similar to simple female figures with cats or monkeys around them.⁵¹ The ancient Egyptians had an extraordinarily rich and diverse heritage of myth pertaining to many gods at local or state level, which they often used to the alleviation of illness and suffering. These figures might be used as a reminder. The faith connected to their symbolism helped their effectiveness. As sometimes only the recitation of stories was considered as the sole or the essential treatment, these amulets might be seen as substitutes or supplementary instruments for the spells.



Fig. 3.

The various types of Pataikos amulets during the Third Intermediate Period can be interpreted in the light of changes and innovations in religious ideology during this period: the rise and fall of different deities according to their political role in which they were composed or in which they were being used. The tradition of their production might reflect different theological systems at various religious centres of different social or political interests. It is quite noteworthy, however, that none of the complex Pataikos variations of the Third Intermediate Period survived into the Late Period.

Around the Saitic era, there was a great change in the perception of the Pataikos figure, which ruled out all the other variations till the Ptolemaic

⁵⁰ DARESSY, *Catalogue Générale*, 317-18 (CGC 39270).

⁵¹ BULTÉ, *Talismans Égyptiens*, Docs. 5-7, 22, 35, 59-60 and 68-69.

period: the latent link to Horus, which existed already in the types from the Ramesside period, became so dominant in prayers, magical spells and rituals, that the Pataikos figure was also identified as Harpocrates. Iconographically, this change was first indicated by the presence of Isis/Maat at the back and Isis/Nephtys at sides of the amuletic figure. The figure could also acquire a youth lock making his appearance even closer to Harpocrates. The connection is also explicit in contemporary textual material, where Horus appears as triumpher over poison afflictions:

“The force (*nht*) of the god has no power (*nm shm*) over him,
 There is no goddess causing damage to him.
 My hand is on him in (token of) life, prosperity and health:
 I am Horus the Oldest one (*Hr-smsw*), who can pacify (*htp*) the god,
 who became stronger (*snht*) than the god... The poison has died!”⁵²

The identification with Horus excluded all other variations of the complex Pataikos amulets, which were gradually replaced by the Horus *cippi*. Of course, during these times, there were also other attempts in its perception, e.g. as a form of Amun — shown by the Amun feather on the head. The intimate link to Horus, however, was much more prominent.

In brief, the main role of Pataikos amulets in therapeutic practice remained always the same: helping and securing birth and relieving the victim from the fatal danger of snake bite, but at the end, he became even more powerful. Although the main iconographical units were fixed, details changed and so the effect was reached from time to time by different ways. First the dwarf was formed with a baby like body, which fitted excellently to its perception as the new born sun-child (as Ra, Kheper-Ra-Atum or Amun-Ra), who was grown old every day (cf. his aged face). Later, the dwarf was also identified as the god of creation par excellence, Ptah, an excellent candidate to visualise the cosmic and personal creation. Ptah was also associated with craftsmen — many of them dwarfs — and the renewal of life in Memphis, one of the places, where the manufacture of Pataikos amulets was favoured. But this association is shown only indirectly through the iconography (the presence of his family beside the dwarf, or the hawks on the shoulders), and rarely by inscriptions. In his city, however, there were used various other types of Pataikos too, with different mythological connotations, thus the intimate link to Ptah was only one, among others, which however, was dominating for a long period, shown also by the fact that the Phoenicians took the Pataikos as a form of Ptah. As the function of the figure was expanded he became an omnipotent god (excellently shown by the composite or pantheistic

⁵² JELINKOVA-REYMOND, *Statue Guérisseuse*, 8 and 19-20, lines 32-34.

figures); as the victorious enemy of Seth he dominated fertility and the vital field of life in every respect. Namely, he reversed any negative effects and restored health. In this perception it was easy to integrate the dwarf, not only to the circle of Horus-the-saviour, but also into the Ptolemaic Harpocrates fertility cult (together with the other peculiar dwarf god, Bes), where he gradually lost his identity and by the Roman period he vanished.

Conclusions

To summarise, as the applied methods of various fields of ancient Egyptian medicine, e.g. in the *3d(y)t* disease in ophthalmology, the delivery and the snake bite treatments discussed here, have shown magic could be embodied into ancient Egyptian therapy in various ways. The way of integration, however, depended strongly on local religious traditions and theological conceptions, as well as on social structures. Thus, for understanding as exactly as possible the way they worked, each symptom, material, instrument or rite must be placed in its general context and their given way of use must be compared to those. For example, if we look only at the ordinary Pataikos amulets, we could think, nothing was changed in their use for centuries. But knowing the possibility, that they also could be used instead of the other Pataikos types, we can realise that they fitted into a much broader range of application with various magical rites. Or, we know several methods for curing a special eye disease, but it is not known which spell had to be recited during which treatment. In the knowledge of several medical schools, it seems to be also probable that there might be completely different ways of application.

Besides, the local traditions are also to research, as the same thing can assume various meanings in different geographical contexts and periods (cf. above hawk or lion headed goddess), thus the same conception was not necessarily appreciated in the same way. It could be evaluated differently. Even the same drug in a given prescription could hint at different conceptions and links in the various medical schools (cf. also the use of faeces in the medical protocol for treatments),⁵³ as the same iconographical type of a Pataikos figure could also be interpreted in different ways according to local traditions. We have to bear in mind, however, that our knowledge is very defective, which will change hopefully by the better understanding of objects and with new publications of medical texts of all periods, but will never be complete.

⁵³ GYÓRY, *GM* 189 (2002), 47-56; SÍPOS, GYÓRY, HAGYMASI, ONDREJKA and BLAZOVICS, *World Surgery Journal* (January, 2005), 211-6.



Fig. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, B.

- ‘Unprecedented discoveries at Hierakonpolis’, *Egyptian Archaeology* 15 (1999), 29-31.

Allam, S.

- *Beiträge zum Hathorkult bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 4 (München, 1963).

Allen, J.P.

- *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, Bibliotheca Aegyptia 2/1-2 (Malibu, 1984).

Allen, T.G.

- *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 37 (Chicago, 1974).

Altenmüller, H.

- *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens: Eine typologische und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der sogenannten "Zaubermesser" des Mittleren Reiches*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (München, 1965).
- ‘Ein Zaubermesser des Mittleren Reiches’, *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 13 (1986), 1-27, Pl. 1-4.
- ‘Kälberhirte und Schafhirte. Bemerkungen zur Rückkehr des Grabherrn’, *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 16 (1989), 2-8.

Assmann, J.

- *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 19 (Berlin, 1969).
- ‘Eine Traumoffenbarung der Göttin Hathor’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 30 (1978), 22-50.
- *Re und Amun. Die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.-20. Dynastie*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 51 (Göttingen, 1983).
- *Ägypten. Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* (Stuttgart, 1984).
- *Ma’at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten* (München, 1990).
- ‘Egyptian mortuary liturgies’, in: S.I. Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1990), 1-45.
- ‘Magic and theology in Ancient Egypt’, in: P. Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg (eds.), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, Studies in the History of Religions LXXV (Leiden/New York/Köln, 1997), 1-18.
- *Altägyptische Totenliturgien I: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg, 2002).
- *Mort et au-delà dans l’Égypte ancienne* (Monaco, 2002).
- *Tod und Jenseits im alten Ägypten* (München, 2003).

Aston, D.A.

- *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth – Seventh Centuries B.C.): Tentative Footsteps in a Forbidding Terrain* (Heidelberg, 1996).

Aufrère, S.

- ‘Études de lexicologie et d’histoire naturelle XVIII-XXVI’, *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 87 (1987), 21-44.
- *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque d’Étude 105 (Le Caire, 1991).
- ‘Quelques aspects du dernier Nectanébo et les échos de la magie égyptienne dans le Roman d’Alexandre’, in: A. Moreau and J.-C. Turpin (eds.), *La magie* (Montpellier, 2000), 95-118.

Baines, J.

- ‘An Abydos list of gods and an Old Kingdom use of texts,’ in J. Baines (ed.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (London, 1988), 124-133.
- ‘Egyptian myth and discourse: myth, gods, and the early written and iconographic record,’ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50 (1991), 100-104.

Barguet, P.

- *Les Textes des Sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire. Introduction et traduction*, Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient 12 (Paris, 1986).

Barta, W.

- *Die Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbenen König*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 39 (München, 1981).

Baum, N.

- *Arbres et arbustes de l’Égypte ancienne. La liste de la tombe thébaine d’Ineni (no. 81)*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 31 (Leuven, 1988).

Behrmann, A.

- *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter, Teil I: Katalog* (Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York/Paris, 1989).
- *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter, Teil II: Textband* (Frankfurt am Main/Berlin/Bern/New York/Paris/Wien, 1996).

Beinlich, H.

- *Die “Osirisreliquien” . Zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 42 (Wiesbaden, 1984).

Berlev, O.

- ‘Les prétendus “citadins” au Moyen Empire’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 23 (1971), 23-48.

Betz, H.D.

- *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic Spells* (Chicago, 1992²).
- *Gottesbegegnung und Menschwerdung. Zur religionsgeschichtlichen und theologischen Bedeutung der “Mithrasliturgie” (PGM IV 475-820)*, Berlin/New York, 2001).

Bidoli, D.

- *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze in den altägyptischen Sargtexten* (Glückstadt, 1976).

Billing, N.

- *Nut: the Goddess of Life in Text and Iconography*, Uppsala Studies in Egyptology 5 (Uppsala, 2002).

- Bonnet, H.
– *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952).
- Borghouts, J.F.
– *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden 51 (Leiden, 1971).
– ‘The evil eye of Apopis’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59 (1973), 114-150.
– *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, Nisaba 9 (Leiden, 1978).
– ‘Divine intervention in ancient Egypt and its manifestation (*b3w*)’, in: R.J. Demarée and J.J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 1 (Leiden, 1982), 1-70.
– ‘The edition of magical papyri in Turin: a progress report’, in: A. Roccati (ed.), *La Magia in Egitto al Tempi dei Faraoni* (Verona, 1987), 257-269.
- Bourriau, J.D.
– *Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Bremmer, J.N.
– ‘The birth of the term magic’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 126 (1999), 1-12.
- Bresciani, E.
– *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros (Papyrus Krall)* (Vienna, 1964).
– *Graffiti démotiques du Dodecaschoene: Qertassi, Kalabcha, Dendour, Dakka, Maharraqa* (Le Caire, 1969).
- Bresciani, E. and Pernigotti, S.
– *Assuan*, Sezione Egittologica 16 (Pisa, 1978).
- Brugsch, H.
– *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, vol. V (Leipzig, 1891).
- Brunner, H.
– ‘Die grüne Sonne’, in: J. Osing and G. Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 12 (Wiesbaden, 1987), 54-59.
– ‘Seth and Apopis’, in: H. Brunner (ed.), *Das hörende Herz*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 80 (Freiburg, 1988), 121-129.
- Bruyère, B.
– *Fouilles de Deir el Medineh (1934-1935) III: Le Village* (Le Caire, 1939).
- Buchberger, H.
– *Transformation und Transformat. Sargtextstudien I*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 52 (Wiesbaden, 1993).
- Budge, E.W.A.
– *The History of Alexander the Great, Being the Syriac Version, Edited from Five Manuscripts, of the Pseudo-Callisthenes with an English Translation, Accompanied by an Historical Introduction on the Origins and the Various Oriental and European Version of the Fabulous History of Alexander, with Notes, Glossary, Appendixes, Variant Readings, and Indexes* (Cambridge, 1889; reprint Amsterdam, 1976).
– *The Book of the Dead* (London, 1898).
– *Egyptian Magic* (London/Boston, 1899).

- *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, Being a Series of Ethiopic Texts Edited from Manuscripts in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with an English Translation* (reprint New York/London, 1968).
- Burkert, W.
- ‘Itinerant diviners and magicians. A neglected element in cultural contacts’, in: R. Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation* (Stockholm, 1983), 115-119.
- *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985).
- Cannuyer, Ch.
- ‘Répartitions quinaire et septénaire des rations alimentaires du défunt dans les textes funéraires égyptiens. Évolution du thème et essai d’interprétation’, in: A. Théodoridès, P. Naster and A. Van Tongerloo (eds.), *Humana Conditio, La condition humaine* (= *Acta Orientalia Belgica* 6 [1991]), 321-330.
- Cauville, S.
- *Le temple de Dendara: les chapelles osiriennes*, 3 vols., Bibliothèque d’Étude 117-119 (Le Caire, 1997).
- Černý, J.
- *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Oxford, 1976).
- Chassinat, É.
- *Le mystère d’Osiris au mois de Khoiak* (Le Caire, 1966-1968).
- Clère, J.J.
- ‘Recherches sur le mot ⲟⲗ des textes gréco-romains et sur d’autres mots apparentés’, *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 79 (1979), 305-307.
- Ciraolo, L.J.
- ‘Supernatural assistants in the Greek magical papyri’, in: M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l’Empire Romain 129 (Leiden/New York/Köln, 1995), 279-285.
- Corcoran, L.
- ‘Masks’ in: D. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 2001), 345-348.
- Coulon, L.
- ‘Le sanctuaire de Chentayt à Karnak’, in: Z. Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000, Volume 1. Archaeology* (Cairo/New York, 2003), 138-146.
- Coulon, L., Leclère, F. and Marchand, S.
- ‘«Catacombes» osiriennes de Ptolémée IV à Karnak. Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouilles 1993’, *Cahiers de Karnak* X (1995), 205-238, pl. I-XIII.
- Crum, W.E.
- *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939).
- Damrosch, D.
- *What is World Literature?* (Princeton, 2003).

- Daniel, R.W. and Maltomini, F.
– *Supplementum Magicum* (Opladen, 1990-1992).
- Daressy, D.
– ‘Neith protectrice du sommeil’, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 10 (1909-1910), 177-179.
- David, A.
– *De l’infériorité à la perturbation. L’oiseau du “mal” et la catégorisation en Égypte ancienne*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten 38/1 (Wiesbaden, 2000).
- David, A.R.
– *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt. A Modern Investigation of Pharaoh’s Workforce* (London, 1986).
- de Buck, A.
– *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vols. I-VII, Oriental Institute Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87 (Chicago, 1935-1961).
- De Cenival, F.
– ‘Les nouveaux fragments du mythe de l’œil du soleil de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille’, *Cahier de Recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille* 7 (1985), 95-115.
– ‘Transcription hiéroglyphique d’un fragment du Mythe conservé à l’Université de Lille’, *Cahier de Recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille* 9 (1987), 55-70.
- Delatte, A.
– *Anecdota Atheniensa, tome I. Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l’histoire des religions* (Liège/Paris, 1927).
- Delatte, A. and Derchain, Ph.
– *Les intailles et gemmes magiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Paris, 1964).
- Demichelis, S.
– ‘La divination par l’huile à l’époque ramesside’, in: Y. Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d’une définition. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 Septembre 2000* (Paris, 2002), 149-163.
- den Boeft, J.
– *Clacidius on Demons (Commentarius Ch. 127-136)*, *Philosophia Antiqua* 33 (Leiden, 1977).
- Depuydt, L.
– ‘Zur Bedeutung der Partikeln $\{\text{𓆎} \Leftrightarrow \text{jsk}$ und $\{\text{𓆎} \text{js}$ ’, *Göttinger Miscellen* 136 (1993), 11-25.
– ‘Die ‘Verben des Sehens’: Semantische Grundzüge am Beispiel des Ägyptischen’, *Orientalia* 75 (1988), 1-13.
- Derchain, Ph.
– ‘La pêche de l’œil’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 15 (1963), 11-25.
– *Le Papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051). Rituel pour la conservation de la vie*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1965).
– ‘Miettes, §9: L’aiguade sous un palmier’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 30 (1978), 61-64.
– ‘Kabbale et mystique: à propos d’un livre récent’, *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 31 (2003), 101-06.

- Desroches-Noblecourt, C. (ed.)
 – *Ramsés le Grand* (Paris, 1976).
 – *The Great Pharaoh Ramses and his Time* (Montreal, 1985).
- Dickie, M.W.
 – *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London/New York, 2001).
- Dieterich, A.
 – *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig 1903; 1910²; 1923³).
- Dodds, E.R.
 – ‘Numenius and Ammonius’, *Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique. Entretiens* (Vandoeuvres/Geneva, 1960), 3-32.
- Doret, É.
 – ‘Phrase nominale, identité et substitution dans les Textes des Sarcophages [première partie]’, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 40 (1989), 49-63.
- Dowden, K.
 – ‘Pseudo-Callisthenes: The Alexander Romance’, in: B.P. Reardon (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1989), 650-735.
- Drioton, E.
 – ‘Une figuration cryptographique sur une stèle du Moyen Empire’, *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1 (1933), 203-229.
 – ‘Les dédicaces de Ptolémée Evergète II sur le deuxième pylône de Karnak’, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 44 (1944), 111-162.
- Easterling, P. and Muir, J.V. (eds.)
 – *Greek Religion and Society* (Cambridge, 1985).
- Ebeid, M.
 – ‘Six Demotic inscriptions on stone from Tuna el-Gebel’, *BIFAO* 108 (2008), 83-94.
- Echt, R.
 – ‘Die Schlangenfiguren aus Kamid el-Loz und verwandte Kleinplastiken in Syrien und Palästina’, in: R. Hachmann (ed.), *Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in Kamid el-Loz in den Jahren 1971 bis 1974*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 32 (Bonn, 1982), 37-52, pl. 9-12.
- Edwards, I.E.S.
 – *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fourth Series. Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* (London, 1960).
- Edwards, M.
 – *Neoplatonic Saints. The Lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their Students* (Liverpool, 2000).
- Egberts, A.
 – *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 8 (Leiden, 1995).
- Eggebrecht, A. (ed.)
 – *Ägyptens Ausstieg zur Weltmacht* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987).
- Eissa, A.
 – ‘Zur Bildreihe der Stele Louvre C15 - Parallelen und Bedeutung’, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 58 (2002), 227-246.

- Erichsen, W.
– *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954).
- Erman, A.
– *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind aus dem Papyrus 3027 des Berliner Museums* (Berlin, 1901).
- Eschweiler, P.
– *Bildzauber im alten Ägypten. Die Verwendung von Bildern und Gegenständen in magischen Handlungen nach den Texten des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 137 (Freiburg/Göttingen, 1994).
- Étienne, M.
– *Heka: magie et envoûtement dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 2000).
- Eyre, C.J.
– *The Cannibal Hymn. A Cultural and Literary Study* (Liverpool, 2002).
– 'Belief and the dead in Pharaonic Egypt', in: M. Poo (ed.), *Rethinking Ghosts in World Religions* (Leiden/Boston, 2009), 33-46.
- Faraone, C.A. and Obbink, D. (eds.)
– *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York, 1991).
- Farid, A.
– 'Sieben Metallgefäße mit demotischen Inschriften aus Kairo und Paris', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 45 (1994), 117-132.
– *Fünf demotische Stelen aus Berlin, Chicago, Durham, London und Oxford mit zwei demotischen Türinschriften aus Paris und einer Bibliographie der demotischen Inschriften* (Berlin, 1995).
- Faulkner, R.O.
– *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (British Museum No. 10188)*. *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 3 (Bruxelles, 1934).
– 'The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus I', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 22 (1936), 121-140.
– 'The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus II', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 23 (1937), 10-16.
– 'The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus III', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 23 (1937), 166-185.
– 'The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus IV', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (1938), 41-53.
– *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969).
– 'Boat-building in the Coffin Texts', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 24 (1972), 60-63.
– *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 3 vols. (Warminster, 1973-1978).
– *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 1993⁴; reprint of New York, 1972).
- Fauth, W.
– *Helios Megistos. Zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike*, *Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain* 125 (Leiden/New York/Köln, 1995).
- Fecht, G.
– *Literarische Zeugnisse zur "Persönlichen Frömmigkeit" in Ägypten. Analyse der Beispiele aus den ramessidischen Schulpapyri* (Heidelberg, 1965).

- Festugière, A.J.
 – 'L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos', in: A.J. Festugière (ed.), *Hermétisme et mystique païenne* (Paris, 1967), 141-180.
- Firchow, O.
 – *Grundzüge der Stilistik in den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Berlin, 1953).
- Fisher, C., Byrne, J., Edwards, A. and Kahn, E.
 – 'A psychophysiological study of nightmares', *The Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 18 (1970), 747-782.
- Fischer, H.G.
 – 'The ancient Egyptian attitudes towards the monstrous', in: A.E. Harkas, P.O. Harper and E.B. Harrison (eds.), *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval World. Papers Presented in Honor of Edith Porada* (Mainz am Rhein, 1987), 13-26.
- Fischer-Elfert, W.-H.
 – 'Legenda Hieratika – I', *Göttinger Miszellen* 165 (1998), 105-112.
- Flint, V.
 – 'The demonisation of magic and sorcery in Late Antiquity', in: R.L. Gordon, V. Flint, G. Luck and D. Ogden (eds.), *The Athlone History of Magic and Witchcraft in Europe* (London, 1999), 277-348.
- Forman, W. and Quirke, S.
 – *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife* (London, 1996).
- Fowden, G.
 – *The Egyptian Hermes. A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton, 1993).
- Frandsen, P.J.
 – 'Bwt – Divine kingship and grammar', in: S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologenkongresses München 1985. Band 3: Linguistik, Philologie, Religion, Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beiheft 3* (Hamburg, 1989), 153-156.
 – 'En flodhest i træet - eller den omvendte verden' ['A Hippopotamus in the Tree - or the World Reversed'], in: B. Alster and P. Frandsen (eds.), *Dagligliv blandt guder og mennesker. Den nære Orient i oldtiden* (Copenhagen, 1993), 73-83.
 – 'On the Origin of the Notion of Evil in Ancient Egypt', *Göttinger Miszellen* 179 (2000), 9-34.
 – 'Bwt in the Body', in: H. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Leiden University, 6-7 June, 1996*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 103 (Leuven, 2001), 141-174.
- Franke, D.
 – *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, *Hamburger ägyptologische Studien* 3 (Hamburg, 1983).
- Frankfort, H. and Pendlebury, J.D.S.
 – *The City of Akhenaten II: The North Suburb and the Desert Altars*, *Egypt Exploration Society, 40th Excavation Memoir* (London, 1933).
- Frankfurter, D.
 – *Evil Incarnate: Rumors of Demonic Conspiracy and Ritual Abuse in History* (Princeton/Oxford, 2006).

- ‘Demon invocations in the Coptic magical spells’, in: N. Bosson and A. Boud’hors (eds.), *Actes du huitième congrès international d’études coptes, Paris, 28 juin - 3 juillet 2004*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 163 (Leuven/Paris/Dudley, 2007), 453-466.
- Freed, R.E. (ed.)
- *Egypt’s Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom, 1558-1085 B.C.* (London, 1982).
- Friedrich, H.-V.
- *Thessalos von Tralles. Griechisch und lateinisch* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1968).
- Gardiner, A.H.
- *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Bruxelles, 1932).
 - *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift* (London, 1935).
- Gee, J.
- ‘Oracle by image: Coffin Text 103 in context’, in: L. Ciruolo and J. Seidel (eds.), *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*, Ancient Magic and Divination 2 (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2002), 83-88.
 - ‘B3 Sending and Its Implications’, in: Z. Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000, Volume 2. History. Religion* (Cairo/New York, 2003), 230-237.
- Genette, G.
- *Palimpsestes* (Paris, 1982).
- Germer, R.
- *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz am Rheim, 1985).
 - *Die Heilpflanzen der Ägypter* (Düsseldorf/Zürich, 2002).
- Germond, P.
- *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica 9 (Geneva, 1981).
 - *Les invocations à la bonne année au temple d’Edfou*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica 11 (Geneva, 1986).
- Giddy, L.
- *The Survey of Memphis II. Kom Rabi’a: The New Kingdom and Post-New Kingdom Objects*, Egypt Exploration Society, 64th Excavation Memoir (London, 1999).
- Gilula, M.
- ‘An adjectival predicative expression of possession in Middle Egyptian’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 20 (1968), 55-61.
 - ‘Two new conjunctions in Middle Egyptian’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 28 (1969), 122-123.
 - ‘Coffin Texts Spell 148’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 57 (1971), 14-19.
- Goldwasser, O.
- ‘On the choice of registers. Studies on the grammar of Papyrus Anastasi I’, in: S.I. Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), 200-240.
- Goode, W.J.
- ‘Magic and religion: A continuum’, *Ethnos* 14 (1949), 172-182.

- Goyon, J.-C.
 – *Les dieux-gardiens et la genèse des temples d'après les textes égyptiens de l'époque gréco-romaine: Les soixante d'Edfou et les soixante-dix-sept dieux de Pharbaethos*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 93 (Le Caire, 1985).
- Graf, F.
 – *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber. Die Magie in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (München, 1996). English translation: *Magic in the Ancient World*. Translated by Franklin Philip (Cambridge Mass/London, 1997).
- Graindorge-Héreil, C.
 – *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten 28 (Wiesbaden, 1994).
- Grieshammer, R.
 – *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 20 (Wiesbaden, 1970).
- Griffith, F.L.
 – *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester/London, 1909; reprinted Hildesheim, 1972).
 – *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1900; reprinted Osnabrück, 1985).
- Griffith, F.L. and Thompson, H.
 – *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, vol. I-II (London, 1904-1909).
 – *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, vol. III (Oxford, 1921).
 – *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus* (Oxford, 1937).
- Griffiths, J.G.
 – 'The Inverted Use of *Imy*', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 28 (1942), 66-67.
 – 'Motivation in early Egyptian syncretism,' in M. Heerma van Voss, D.J. Hoens, G. Mussies, D. van der Plas, H. te Velde (eds.), *Studies in Egyptian Religion dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden, 1982), 43-55.
- Grimm, A.
 – 'Aelians Krähe des Königs Mares. Berichte antiker Autoren über den Raben im Lichte altägyptischer Quellen', in: R. Schulz and M. Görg (eds.), *Lingua restituta orientalis. Festgabe für Julius Assfalg* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 135-154.
- Guglielmi, W.
 – 'Personifikation', in: W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. IV (Wiesbaden, 1982), 983.
- Gutbub, A.
 – 'La tortue - animal cosmique bénéfique à l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine', in: J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. I: *Égypte pharaonique*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 81 (Le Caire, 1979), 391-435.
- Guthrie, W.K.C.
 – *The Greeks and their Gods* (London, 1950).
- Heerma van Voss, M.S.H.G.
 – 'Hereniging in het hiernamaals volgens Egyptisch geloof', in: W.J. Kooiman and J.M. van Veen (eds.), *Pro Regno Pro Sanctuario. Een bundel studies en bijdragen van vrienden en vereerders bij de zestigste verjaardag van Prof. Dr Gerardus van der Leeuw* (Nijkerk, 1950), 227-232.

- Henry, P. and Schwyzer, H.-R.
 – *Plotini Opera I* (Oxford, 1964-1982).
- Herbin, F.-R.
 – *Le Livre de Parcourir l'Éternité*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 58 (Leuven, 1994).
- Hermesen, E.
 – *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits. Das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch und seine Topographie*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 112 (Freiburg/Göttingen, 1991).
- Hintze Fr.
 – *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* (Berlin, 1950).
- Hoch, J.E.
 – *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, 1994).
- Hoffman, M.A.
 – *Egypt Before the Pharaohs. The Prehistoric Foundations of Egyptian Civilization* (London/Henley, 1980).
- Hoffmann, F.
 – 'Neue Fragmente zu den drei grossen Inaros-Petubastis-Texten', *Enchoria* 22 (1995), 27-39.
 – *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros* (Vienna, 1996).
- Hopfner, Th.
 – *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* (Leipzig, 1921-1924).
 – *Fontes historiae religionis aegyptiacae* (Bonn, 1922-1925).
- Hornung, E.
 – *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen*, *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* 59/3 (Berlin, 1968).
 – *Der Eine und die Vielen. Ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen* (Darmstadt, 1971). English translation: *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt. The One and The Many*, translated by J. Baines (London, 1982).
 – *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)*, 2. vols., *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 2-3 (Geneve, 1975-1976).
 – 'Zu den Schlusszenen der Unterweltbücher', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 37 (1981), 217-226.
 – *The Valley of the Kings. Horizon of Eternity*, translated by D. Warburton (New York, 1990).
 – *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought* (New York, 1992).
- Hornung, E. and Staehelin, E. (eds.)
 – *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, *Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz* 1 (Mainz, 1976).
- Iversen E.
 – 'The Reform of Akhenaten', *Göttinger Miszellen* 155 (1996), 55-59.
- Jacq, C.
 – *Magic and Mystery in Ancient Egypt*, translated by J.M. Davis (London, 1998).
- James, F.W., McGovern, P.E. and Bonn, A.G.
 – *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII* (Philadelphia, 1993).

- James, T.G.H.
 – *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.* I² (London, 1961).
- Jansen-Winkeln, K.-H.
 – ‘Nisbeadjektiv und Partizip’, *Lingua Aegyptia* 3 (1993), 7-16.
 – *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit. Vorarbeiten zu einer spätmittelägyptischen Grammatik*, *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 26 (Wiesbaden, 1994).
 – ‘Diglossie und Zweisprachigkeit im Alten Ägypten’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 85 (1995), 85-115.
- Jasnow, R.
 – ‘The Greek Alexander Romance and Demotic Egyptian Literature’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56 (1997), 95-103.
 – ‘A Demotic omen text? (P. BM 10238)’, in: J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, *Egyptological Memoirs* I (Groningen, 1997), 207-218.
- Johnson, J.
 – ‘The Demotic magical spells of Papyrus Leiden I 384’, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 56 (1975), 29-64, pl. VIII-XIII.
 – ‘Louvre E3229: A Demotic magical text’, *Enchoria* 7 (1977), 55-102, pl. 10-17.
- Johnston, S.I.
 – *Restless Dead: Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1999).
- Junge, F.
 – ‘“Emphasis” and Sentential Meaning in Middle Egyptian’, *Göttinger Orientalforschungen*, IV. Reihe: *Ägypten* 20 (Wiesbaden, 1989).
- Junker, H.J.B.
 – *Weta und das Lederkunsth Handwerk im Alten Reich* (Wien, 1957).
- Kadish, G.E.
 – ‘The scatophagous Egyptian’, *The Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 9 (1979), 203-217.
- Kahn, E., Fisher, C. and Edwards, A.
 – ‘Night terror and anxiety dreams’, in: S.J. Ellman and J.S. Atrobus (eds.), *The Mind in Sleep: Psychology and Psychophysiology* (New York, 1991), 437-447.
- Kákosy, L.
 – Review of P. Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens Égyptiens*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 25 (1968), 322-324.
- Kammerzell, F.
 – ‘Das Verspeisen der Götter. Religiöse Vorstellung oder poetische Fiktion?’, *Lingua Aegyptia* 7 (2000), 183-218.
- Kaper, O.E.
 – *The Egyptian God Tutu. A study of the sphinx-god and master of demons with a corpus of monuments*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 119 (Leuven, 2003).

- Kaplony, P.
 – *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 15 (Wiesbaden, 1966).
- Kaplony-Heckel, U.
 – *Die demotischen Tempeleide*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 6 (Wiesbaden, 1963).
- Kawanishi, H. and Tsujimura, S. (eds.)
 – *Preliminary Report Akoris 2002* (Tsukuba, 2003).
 – *Preliminary Report Akoris 2003* (Tsukuba, 2004).
- Kearns, E.
 – ‘Order, interaction, authority: ways of looking at Greek religion’, in: A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London/New York), 511-529.
- Kemp, B.J.
 – ‘Preliminary report on the El-Amarna expedition, 1980’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67 (1981), 5-20.
 – ‘How religious were the Ancient Egyptians?’, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5 (1995), 25-54.
- Kitchen, K.A.
 – *Ramesseide Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, 8 vols. (Oxford, 1968-1990).
- Koemoth, P.P.
 – ‘La plante *s(3)r(.t)* et la crue du Nil’, *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 24 (1997), 147-159.
- Koenig, Y.
 – *Le papyrus Boulaq 6: transcription, traduction et commentaire*, Bibliothèque d’Étude 87 (Le Caire, 1981).
 – *Magie et magiciens dans l’Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1994).
 – *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d’une définition. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000* (Paris, 2002).
- Kousoulis, P.
 – *Magic and Religion as Performative Theological Union: the Apotropaic Ritual of Overthrowing Apophis*, PhD Dissertation, University of Liverpool (Liverpool, 1999).
 – ‘Naming and classifying the demonic: ancient Egyptian demonology in context’, in P. Kousoulis (ed.), *Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists: Abstracts of Papers, University of the Aegean* (Rhodes, 2008), 135-136.
 – ‘Naming and classifying the demonic: ancient Egyptian demonology in context’, in P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, Rhodes 22-29 May 2008* (Leuven/Paris/Walpole, forthcoming).
 – ‘Egyptian versus otherness and the issue of acculturation in the Egyptian demonic discourse of the Late Bronze Age’, in: N. Stampolidis (ed.), *Immortality: the Earthly, the Celestial and the Underworld in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age*, forthcoming.
 – *Apophis: a Study of his Nature and Ritual Execution*, forthcoming.

Kroll, W.

- *Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes), Vol. 1 Recensio Vetusta* (Berlin, 1926).

Kuentz, C.

- ‘A propos de Westcar 6/7’, *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 28 (1929), 107-111.

Kurth, D.

- ‘Suum cuique: Zum Verhältnis von Dämonen und Göttern im alten Ägypten’, in: A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger and K.F. Diethard Römheld (eds.), *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* (Tübingen, 2003), 45-60.

Labrique, F.

- *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou. Le rituel de l’offrande de la campagne: étude de la composition*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 51 (Leuven, 1992).

Lakoff, G.

- *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago, 1987).

Lapp, G.

- ‘Die Papyrusvorlagen der Sargtexte’, *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 16 (1989), 171-202.

Latham R.E.

- *Revised Medieval Latin Word List* (London, 1965).

Lauer, J.-Ph.

- *Histoire monumentale des pyramides d’Égypte*, tome I: *Les pyramides à degrés (III^e Dynastie)*, *Bibliothèque d’Étude* 39 (Le Caire, 1962).

Leahy, A.

- ‘*ḥtꜣw*-demons in Late Period onomastica’, *Göttinger Miszellen* 87 (1985), 49-51.

Leclère, F.

- ‘Données nouvelles sur les inhumations de figurines osiriennes. Le tombeau d’Osiris à Karnak’, in: Z. Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists Cairo, 2000, Volume 1. Archaeology* (Cairo/New York, 2003), 295-303.

Leclère, F. and Coulon, L.

- ‘La nécropole osirienne de la ‘Grande Place’ à Karnak. Fouilles dans la secteur nord-est du temple d’Amon’, in: Chr. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 82 (Leuven, 1998), 649-659.

Lecuyot, G. and Gabolde, M.

- ‘A ‘Mysterious *dwꜣ.t*’ Dating from Roman Times at Deir el-Rumi’, in: Chr. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 82 (Leuven, 1998), 661-666.

Lefebvre, G.

- *Essai sur la médecine égyptienne de l’époque pharaonique* (Paris, 1956).

- Leitz, C.
- *Tagewählerei. Das Buch ḥꜣt nhḥ ꜥḥ.wy dt und verwandte Texte*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 55 (Wiesbaden, 1994).
 - *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* (London, 1999).
 - *Die Ausseiwand des Sanktuars in Dendera. Untersuchungen zur Dekorationssystematik*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 50 (Mainz am Rhein, 2001).
 - *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band I-VIII*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110-116, 129 (Leuven/Paris/Dudley MA, 2002).
 - ‘Deities and demons’, in: S. Johnson (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World* (Cambridge MA, 2004), 392-396.
- Lesko, L.H.
- *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (Berkeley, 1972).
 - *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 3 vols. (Providence, 1982-1987).
- Levinson, S.C.
- *Pragmatics* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Lévi-Strauss, L.
- *The Way of the Masks*, translated by S. Modolski (Seattle, 1982).
- Lexa, F.
- *La magie dans l'Égypte antique de l'ancien empire jusqu'à l'époque copte*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1925).
- Lichtheim, M.
- *Ancient Egyptian Literature I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1973).
 - *Ancient Egyptian Literature II: The New Kingdom* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1976).
 - *Ancient Egyptian Literature III: The Late Period* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1980).
- Liddell, H.G., Scott, R. and Jones, H.S.
- *A Greek-English Lexikon* (Oxford, 1940).
- Lloyd, A.B.
- *Herodotus Book II. Commentary I-98* (Leiden, 1976).
 - ‘Nationalist propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt’, *Historia* 31 (1982), 33-55.
 - ‘Psychology and society in the Ancient Egyptian cult of the dead’, in: W.K. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, Yale Egyptological Studies 3 (New Haven, 1989), 117-133.
- Lovecraft, H.P.
- ‘The call of Cthulhu’, in S.T. Joshi (ed.), *The Call of Cthulhu and Other Weird Stories* (London/New York, 1999 [1928]).
- Lucarelli, R.
- ‘Demons in the Book of the Dead’, in: B. Burkard, I. Munro and S. Stöhr, *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005* (Wiesbaden, 2006), 203-212.
 - ‘Popular beliefs in demons in the Libyan Period: the evidence of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees’, in: G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée and O. Kaper (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt. Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st – 24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007* (Leiden/Leuven, 2009), 231-239.

- ‘Ancient Egyptian demons. The evidence of the magical and funerary papyri of the New Kingdom and of the Third Intermediate Period’, in: P. Koussoulis (ed.), *Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists: Abstracts of Papers, University of the Aegean* (Rhodes, 2008), 151-152.
 - ‘Ancient Egyptian demons. The evidence of the magical and funerary papyri of the New Kingdom and of the Third Intermediate Period’, in: P. Koussoulis and N. Lazaridis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, Rhodes, 22-29 May 2008* (Leuven/Paris/Walpole, forthcoming).
- Lüddeckens, E. *et al.*
- *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I/8 (Wiesbaden, 1988).
 - *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I/9 (Wiesbaden, 1989).
 - *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I/17 (Wiesbaden, 2000).
- Malaise, M.
- *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie, Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l’Empire Romain* 22 (Leiden, 1972).
- Malinine, M.
- ‘Jeux d’écriture en démotique’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 19 (1967), 163-166.
- Malinowski, B.
- *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (New York, 1948).
- Manassa, C.
- *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah: Grand Strategy in the 13th Century BC*, *Yale Egyptological Studies* 5 (New Haven, Conn./Oxford, 2003).
- Mariette, A.
- *Dendérah. Description générale du grand temple de cette ville*, vol. IV (Paris, 1873).
- Maspéro, G.
- *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre* (Paris, 1875).
 - *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1967; reprint of 1915 English edition).
- Massart, A.
- *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345* (Leiden, 1954).
 - ‘The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274’, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 15 (1957), 172-185.
- Mathieu, B.
- ‘Les formules conjuratoires dans les pyramides à textes,’ in: Y. Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d’une définition. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 29-30 septembre 2000* (Paris, 2002), 185-206.
- McLeod, M.D.
- *Luciani Opera*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1972-1987).
- Meeks, D.
- ‘Génies, anges, démons en Égypte’, in: P. Garelli (ed.), *Génies, Anges et Démons, Sources Orientales* 8 (Paris, 1971), 17-84.
 - ‘Notes de lexicographie (§1)’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 26 (1974), 52-65.
 - *Année Lexicographique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1980-1982).

- ‘Les oiseaux marqueurs du temps’, *Cercle Lyonnais d’Égyptologie Victor Loret* 4 (1990), 40–41.
 - ‘Demons,’ in: D. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. I (Oxford, 2001), 375–378.
- Merkelbach, R.
- *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*, Zetemata: Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft 9 (München, 1977²).
 - *Abrasax. Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts* (Opladen, 1990–1996).
- Meurer, G.
- *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 189 (Fribourg/Göttingen, 2002).
- Meyer, M.W.
- *The Mithras Liturgy* (Montana, 1976).
- Meyer, M.W. and Mirecki, P. (eds.)
- *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden/New York/Köln, 1995).
- Möller, G.
- *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg*, Demotische Studien 6 (Leipzig, 1913).
- Montet, P.
- *Les scènes de la vie privée d’après les tombeaux de l’Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1925).
- Morenz, L.D.
- ‘*Htp wr* - “grosse Opfertgabe” (= Urin). Zu einem typisch sakraltextlichen Euphemismus in den Sargtexten’, *Göttinger Miszellen* 160 (1997), 63–68.
- Müller, D.
- ‘An early Egyptian guide to the Hereafter’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58 (1972), 99–125.
- Münster, M.
- *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 11 (Berlin, 1968).
- Murray, M.
- ‘Ritual masking’, in: *Mélanges Maspéro I. Orient Ancien* (Le Caire, 1934), 251–255.
- Needham, R.
- *Symbolic Classification* (Santa Monica, 1979).
- Niccacci, A.
- ‘Su una formula dei “Testi dei Sarcofagi”’, *Liber Annuus* 30 (1980), 197–224.
- Nock, A.D. and Festugière, A.J. (eds.)
- *Corpus Hermeticum*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1944–1954).
- Northampton, the Marquis of, Spiegelberg, W. and Newberry, P.
- *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898–9* (London, 1908).
- Nur el-Din, M.A.A.
- *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden 1 (Leiden, 1974).

- Ogden, D.
 – *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: a Source Book* (Oxford/New York, 2002).
- Omlin, J.A.
 – *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften* (Torino, 1973).
- Oren, E.D.
 – ‘Egyptian New Kingdom Sites in North Sinai’, *Qadmoniot* 13 (1980), 26-33 (in Hebrew).
 – ‘North Sinai’, in: E. Stern, A. Levinzon-Gilboa and J. Avimar (eds.), *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. IV (Jerusalem, 1993), 1386-1396.
- Osing, J.
 – *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1976).
 – ‘Zur Entstehung der mittelägyptischen Negation $\overline{\text{m}}$ ’, in: M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds.), *Festschrift Elmar Edel 12. März 1979, Ägypten und Altes Testament 1* (Bamberg, 1979).
- Otto, E.
 – ‘Die Anschauung vom *b3* nach Coffin Texts Sp. 99-104’, in: *Miscellanea Gregoriana. Raccolta di Scritti pubblicati nel I centenario dalla fondazione del Pont. Museo Egizio* (Vatican, 1941), 151-160.
 – *Der Vorwurf an Gott. Zur Entstehung der ägyptischen Auseinandersetzungsliteratur* (Hildesheim, 1951).
 – *Die biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit. Ihre geistesgeschichtliche und literarische Bedeutung* (Leiden, 1954).
 – ‘Zwei Paralleltexte zu TB 175’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 37 (1962), 249-256.
- Pantalacci, L.
 – ‘À propos de reliques osiriennes’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 62 (1987), 108-123.
- Parker, R.A.
 – *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (Providence, 1962).
- Pavlov, V. and Khodzhash, S.
 – *Khudozhestvennoe Remeslo Drevnevo Egipta* (Moscow, 1959).
- Peet, T.E. and Woolley, C.L.
 – *The City of Akhenaten I. Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at el-'Amarneh*, Egypt Exploration Society, 38th Excavation Memoir (London, 1923).
- Pendlebury, J.D.S.
 – *The City of Akhenaten III. The Central City and the Official Quarters*, Egypt Exploration Society, 44th Excavation Memoir (London, 1951).
- Perraud, M.
 – ‘Un raccord au Louvre: l’appui-tête E 4231 + E 4293 à figurations de Bès’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 49 (1998), 161-166.
 – ‘Tête à inscription magique et apotropaïa’, *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 102 (2002), 309-326.
- Pestmann, P.W.
 – ‘Jeux de déterminatifs en démotique’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 25 (1973), 21-34.

- Petrie, W.M.F.
 – *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (London, 1890).
 – *Objects of Daily Use* (London, 1927).
- Pfister, F.
 – *Der Alexanderroman mit einer Auswahl aus den verwandten Texten*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 92 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1978).
- Piankoff, A.
 – *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (Princeton, 1955).
 – *The Wandering of the Soul* (New York, 1974).
- Pinch, G.
 – *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994).
- Pleyte, W. and Rossi, F.
 – *Papyrus de Turin*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1869-1876).
- Polotsky, H.J.
 – *Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique* (Tel-Aviv, 1976).
- Poppi, C.
 – 'The other within. Masks and masquerades in Europe', in: J. Mack (ed.), *Masks. The Art of Expression* (London, 1994), 191-215.
- Posener, G.
 – 'Une nouvelle histoire de revenant', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 12 (1960), 75-82.
 – 'Les quarante rouleaux de lois', *Göttinger Miszellen* 25 (1977), 63-66
- Powell, J.E.
 – *A Lexikon to Herodotus* (Hildesheim, 1977).
- Preisendanz, K.
 – *Papyri graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols. (Leipzig/Berlin, 1928-1931).
- Preisigke, F. and Spiegelberg, W.
 – *Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften und Graffiti aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile (Oberägypten)* (Strassburg, 1915).
- Quack, J.-F.
 – 'Sur l'emploi euphémique de *hft* «ennemi» en démotique', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 40 (1989), 197-198.
 – *Die Lehren des Ani: Ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 141 (Göttingen, 1994).
 – 'Zwei demotische Ausdrücke zur Bezeichnung des Charakters', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 123 (1996), 62-69.
 – Review of R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 54 (1997), 328-334.
 – 'Sprach- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen am Choiakttext von Dendera', in: Chr. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 2005*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 82 (Leuven, 1998), 921-930.
 – 'Kontinuität und Wandel in der spätägyptischen Magie', *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 15 (1998), 77-94.
 – 'Zwischen Sonne und Mond. Zeitrechnung im Alten Ägypten', in: H. Falk (ed.), *Vom Herrscher zur Dynastie. Zum Wesen kontinuierlicher Zeitrechnung in Antike und Gegenwart* (Bremen, 2002), 27-67.

- ‘Some Old Kingdom execration figurines from the Teti cemetery’, *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 13 (2002), 149-160.
 - ‘Les mages égyptianisés? Notes on some surprising points in supposedly Magusean Writings’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 65 (2006), 267-281.
- Quaеgebeur, J.
- ‘Le nom propre Tsonesontis’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 46 (1971), 158-172.
 - ‘La situle de Nesnakhtiou’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 54 (1979), 26-56.
- Raven, M.J.
- ‘Corn-mummies’, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 63 (1992), 7-38.
 - ‘Four corn-mummies in the Archaeological Museum of Cracow’, *Materiały Archeologiczne* 30 (1997), 5-11.
 - ‘Charms for protection during the Epagomenal Days’, in: J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, Egyptological Memoirs I (Groningen, 1997), 275-291.
 - ‘A new type of Osiris burials’, in: W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaеgebeur, Part I*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 84 (Leuven, 1998), 227-239.
- Reardon, B.P.
- *Collected Ancient Greek Novels* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1989).
- Revillout, E.
- ‘Textes égyptiens et chaldéens relatifs à l’intercession des vivants en faveur des morts’, *Revue égyptologique* 7 (1886), 164-182.
- Ritner, R.K.
- Review of D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43 (1984), 353-355.
 - ‘Gleanings from magical Texts’, *Enchoria* 14 (1986), 95-106.
 - ‘Horus on the crocodiles: a juncture of religion and magic’, in: W.K. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, Yale Egyptological Studies 3 (New Haven, 1989), 103-116.
 - ‘O. Gardiner 363: A spell against night terrors’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), 25-41.
 - *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54 (Chicago, 1993).
 - ‘The religious, social, and legal parameters of traditional Egyptian magic’, in: M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden/New York/Köln, 1995), 43-60.
 - ‘Egyptian magical practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic spells and their religious context’, in: W. Haase and H. Temporini (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2, §18.5 (Berlin, 1995), 3333-3379.
 - ‘Des preuves de l’existence d’une nécromancie dans l’Égypte ancienne’, in: Y. Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d’une définition. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000* (Paris, 2002), 285-304.
 - *The Libyan Anarchy: Documents from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period*, Writings from the Ancient World 21 (Atlanta, 2009).

Roccati, A.

- ‘Una lettera inedita dell’ Antico Regno’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 54 (1968), 14-22.
- *Aspetti di dio nella civiltà egizia: Dio nella Bibbia e nelle civiltà ad essa contemporanee e connesse* (Torino, 1977).
- ‘Varietà linguistica e registro umile nella letteratura egizia tarda’, *Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese* 28 (1987), 49-56.
- Review of E. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian*, *Orientalia Antiqua* 29 (1990), 140-142.
- ‘La lingua diffusa. Politica e lingua nell’Egitto ramesside’, *La Parola del Passato* 268 (1993), 26-37.
- Review of J.F. Quack, *Die Lehren des Anî*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 56 (1999), 55-60.
- ‘Réflexions sur la Satire des Métiers’, *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie* 148 (2000), 5-17.
- Review of Chr. Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, *Orientalia* 70 (2001), 193-195.
- ‘Qu’est-ce que le texte magique dans l’Égypte ancienne? En quête d’une définition’, in: Y. Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d’une définition. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000* (Paris, 2002), 69-79.

Roehrig, C.

- Catalogue entry 197, ‘Mummy mask and Body Covering’, in: D. Arnold, K. Grzymiski and C. Ziegler (eds.), *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York, 1999).

Rössler-Köhler, U.

- ‘Kannibalismus’, in: W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. III (Wiesbaden, 1980), 314-315.

Rogge, E.

- Catalogue entry 65, ‘Face of mummy mask’, in: S. D’Auria, P. Lacovara and C. Roehrig (eds.), *Mummies and Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1992).

Rose, P.J.

- ‘The pottery distribution analysis’, in: B.J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports I* (London, 1984), 133-53.
- ‘Evidence for pottery making’, in: B.J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports V* (London, 1989), 82-114.

Ruiz-Montero, C.

- ‘Magic in the ancient novel’, in: M. Paschalis, St. Frangoulidis, St. Harrison and M. Zimmermann (eds.), *The Greek and the Roman Novel: Parallel Readings*, *Ancient Narrative Supplements* 8 (Groningen, 2007), 38-56.

Sadek, A.I.

- *Popular Religion in Egypt During the New Kingdom*, *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 27 (Hildesheim, 1987).

Säve-Söderbergh, T.

- ‘Eine ramessidische Darstellung vom Töten der Schildkröte’, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 14 (1956), 175-180.

- Sandman Holmberg, M.
 – *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946).
- Satzinger, H.
 – ‘Zwei wiener Objekte mit bemerkenswerten Inschriften’, in: P. Posener-Krieger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. II, Bibliothèque d’Étude 97/2 (Le Caire, 1985), 249-254.
- Sauneron, S.
 – *Rituel de l'embaumement* (Cairo, 1952).
 – *Les prêtres de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1957).
 – ‘La différenciation des langages d’après la tradition égyptienne’, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 60 (1960), 31-41.
 – ‘Les possédés’, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 60 (1960), 111-15.
 – ‘Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et le rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoès’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 19 (1960), 269-87.
 – *The Brooklyn Illustrated Magical Papyrus* (New York, 1970).
 – ‘L’écriture ptolémaïque’, in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, Bibliothèque d’Étude 64/1 (Le Caire, 1972), 45-56.
 – *L’écriture figurative dans les textes d’Esna* (Le Caire, 1982).
- Schäfer, P. and Shaked, Sh.
 – *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza, Band II*, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 64 (Tübingen, 1997).
 – *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza, Band III*, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 72 (Tübingen, 1999).
- Schenkel, W.
 – ‘*sdm=f* und *sdm.w=f* als Prospektivformen’, in: D.W. Young (ed.), *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (East Gloucester, Mass., 1981), 506-527.
- Schipper, B.
 – ‘Angels or demons? Divine messengers in ancient Egypt’, in: F. Reiterer, T. Nicklas and K. Schöpfung (eds.), *Angels: The concept of celestial beings. Origins, development and reception*, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook (Berlin/New York, 2007), 1-19.
- Schott, S.
 – ‘“Zweimal” als Ausrufungszeichen’, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 79 (1954), 54-65.
 – ‘Eine Kopfstütze des neuen Reiches’, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 83 (1958), 141-144.
- Seeber, Ch.
 – ‘Maske’, in: W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. III (Wiesbaden, 1980), 1196-1199.
- Seidel, M.
 – Catalogue entry 84, ‘Anubis-Maske’, in: A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim. Die Ägyptische Sammlung* (Mainz, 1993).
- Seipel, W. (ed.)
 – *Ägypten: Götter, Gräber und die Kunst: 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube*, Schlossmuseum Linz 9. April bis 28. September 1989 (Linz, 1989).
- Shafer, B.E. (ed.)
 – *Religion in Ancient Egypt. Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (London, 1991).

- Shalomi-Hen, R.
 – *Classifying the Divine. Determinatives and Categorisation in CT 335 and BD 17*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten 38/2 (Wiesbaden, 2000).
- Shorter, A.W.
 – ‘A Magical ostracon’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 22 (1936), 165-168.
- Silverman, D.P. (ed.)
 – *Searching for Ancient Egypt* (Dallas, 1997).
- Simonet, J.-L.
 – ‘Le héraut et l’échanson’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 62 (1987), 53-89.
 – *Le collège des dieux maîtres d’autel. Nature et histoire d’une figure tardive de la religion égyptienne* (Montpellier, 1994).
- Simpson, D.P.
 – *Cassell’s Latin Dictionary* (London, 1997).
- Simpson, W.K. (ed.)
 – *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (New Haven/London, 2003³).
- Smith, H.S.
 – *A Visit to Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1974).
- Smith, H.S. and Tait, W.J.
 – *Saqqara Demotic Papyri I* (London, 1983).
- Smith, M.
 – *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507* (London, 1987).
 – ‘P.Carlsberg 462. A fragmentary account of a rebellion against the Sun God’, in: P.J. Frandsen and K. Ryholt (eds.), *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies (The Carlsberg Papyri, 3)* (Copenhagen, 2000), 102-103.
- Smither, P.
 – ‘A Ramesside love charm’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27 (1941), 131-132.
- Sottas, H.
 – *La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l’ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 1913).
- Sowada, K., Callagan, T. and Bentley, P.
 – *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara IV: Minor Burials and Other Materials* (Warminster, 1999).
- Spencer, N.
 – ‘The temples of Kom Firin’, *Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (2004), 38-40.
- Spiegelberg, W.
 – ‘Ein demotischer Grabstein aus Achmim’, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 26 (1904), 160-165.
 – *Die demotische Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1904).
 – ‘Zu dem demotischen Grabstein aus Akhmim’, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 30 (1908), 158-159.
 – *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis* (Leipzig, 1910; reprinted Milan, 1978).
 – ‘Aus der Straßburger Sammlung demotischer Ostraka’, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 49 (1911), 34-41.
 – *Demotica I* (Munich, 1925).
 – *Demotica II* (Munich, 1928).
- Spielman, A. and Herrera, C.
 – ‘Sleep disorders’, in S. James and J.S. Antrobus (eds.), *The Mind in Sleep: Psychology and Psychophysiology* (New York, 1991), 25-80.

- Stoneman, R.
 – *The Greek Alexander Romance* (Harmondsworth, 1991).
 – ‘The *Alexander Romance*. From history to fiction’, in: J.R. Morgan and R. Stoneman (eds.) *Greek Fiction. The Greek Novel in Context* (London/New York, 1994), 117-29.
- Stricker, B.F.
 – ‘De strijd om het pantser van koning Inahrow’, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 35 (1954), 47-64.
- Szpakowska, K.
 – ‘The open portal: dreams and divine Power in Pharaonic Egypt’, in: S.B. Noegel, J. Walker and B. Wheeler (eds.), *Prayer, Magic and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (Pennsylvania, 2003), 111-124.
 – ‘Playing with Fire: Initial Observations on the Religious Uses of Clay Cobras from Amarna’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 40 (2003), 113-122.
 – *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, 2006).
 – *Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams & Prophecy in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, 2006).
- Tambiah, S.J.
 – *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Taylor, J.H.
 – ‘Masks in Ancient Egypt: The image of divinity’, in: J. Mack (ed.), *Masks: the Art of Expression* (London, 1994), 168-189.
- Teeter, E.
 – ‘Techniques and terminology of rope-making in Ancient Egypt’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), 75-76.
- te Velde, H.
 – *Seth, God of Confusion: a Study of his Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion* (Leiden, 1967).
 – ‘Dämonen’, in: W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. I (Wiesbaden, 1975), 980-984.
 – ‘Some remarks on the mysterious language of the baboons’, in: J.H. Kamstra (ed.), *Funerary Symbols and Religion. Essays dedicated to Professor M.S.H.G. Heerma van Voss on the Occasion of the Retirement from the Chair of the History of Ancient Religions at the University of Amsterdam* (Kampen, 1988), 129-137.
- Thissen, H.-J.
 – *Die Demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu* (Sommerhausen, 1989).
- Thomassen, E.
 – ‘Is Magic a subclass of ritual?’, in: H. Montgomery, E. Thomassen and D.R. Jordan (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic* (Bergen, 1999), 55-66.
- Thompson, D.J.
 – *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, 1988).
- Thompson, S.
 – *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, 6 vols. (Copenhagen, 1995-1998).
- Tooley, A.M.J.
 – ‘Osiris bricks’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 82 (1996), 167-179, pl. 13-15.

Topmann, D.

- *Die "Abscheu"-Sprüche der altägyptischen Sargtexte. Untersuchungen zu Textemen und Dialogstrukturen*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, IV. Reihe: Ägypten 39 (Wiesbaden, 2002).

Van de Castle, R.L.

- *Our Dreaming Mind* (New York, 1994).

van der Toorn, K., Becking, B. and van der Horst, P.W. (eds.)

- *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden, 2009²).

van de Walle, B.

- 'La tortue dans la religion et la magie égyptiennes', *La Nouvelle Clío* 5 (1953), 173-189.

Vandier, J.

- *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, vol. III (Paris, 1958).
- *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris, 1961).

van Thiel, H.

- *Leben und Taten Alexanders von Makedonien. Der griechische Alexanderroman nach der Handschrift L* (Darmstadt, 1974).

Vernus, P.

- *Athribis. Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l'histoire d'une ville du Delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 74 (Le Caire, 1978).
- 'La structure ternaire du système des déictiques dans les Textes des Sarcophages', *Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche* 7 (1990), 27-45.
- 'La position linguistique des Textes des Sarcophages', in: H. Willems (ed.), *The World of Coffin Texts. Proceedings of the Symposium held on the Occasion of the 100th Birthday of Adriaan de Buck*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 9 (Leiden, 1996), 143-196.
- 'Les écritures de l'Égypte Ancienne', in: G. Flammarion (ed.), *Histoire de l'écriture* (Paris, 2001), 44-63.

Vittmann, G.

- *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (Wiesbaden, 1998).

Volokhine, Y.

- 'Dieux, masques et hommes: À propos de la formation de l'iconographie de Bès', *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève* 18 (1994), 81-95.

von Beckerath, J.

- Zur Geschichte von Chonsemhab und dem Geist', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 119 (1992), 90-107.

von Lieven, A.

- 'Divination in Ägypten', *Altorientalische Forschungen* 26 (1999), 77-126.
- *Der Himmel über Esna. Eine Fallstudie zur religiösen Astronomie in Ägypten am Beispiel der kosmologischen Decken- und Architravinschriften im Tempel von Esna*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 64 (Wiesbaden, 2000).
- 'Ein neuer Kornosiris im Abenteuermuseum Saarbrücken', *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève* 24 (2000-2001), 59-70.
- *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch* (Copenhagen, 2007).
- 'Im Schatten des Goldhauses. Berufsgeheimnis und Handwerkerinitiation im Alten Ägypten', *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 36 (2007), 147-155.

- von Känel, F.
 – *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serqet*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses 87 (Paris, 1984).
- Voss, S.
 – 'Ein "Zaubermesser" aus K98.2', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 55 (1999), 390-399.
- Wallet-Lebrun, C.
 – 'À propos d'*wb3*. Note lexicographique', *Göttinger Miszellen* 85 (1985), 67-88.
- Warner, M.
 – *No Go the Bogeyman. Scaring, Lulling and Making Mock* (London, 1998).
- Wente, E.F.
 – 'A misplaced letter to the dead', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7 (1975-1976), 595-600.
- Westendorf, W.
 – *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965-1977).
- Wildung, D.
 – *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 36 (München, 1977).
- Wilkinson, R.H.
 – *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art* (London, 1994).
- Willems, H.
 – *Chests of Life. A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, Mededelingen en Verhandelingen Ex Oriente Lux 25 (Leiden, 1988).
- Wilson, P.
 – *A Ptolemaic Lexicon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, *Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta* 78 (Leuven, 1997).
- Winand, J.
 – 'Champ sémantique et structure en égyptien ancien: les verbes exprimant la vision', *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 13 (1986), 293-314.
- Wolohojian, A.M.
 – *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes. Translated from the Armenian Version with an Introduction* (New York/London, 1969).
- Wolterman, C.
 – 'On the names of birds and hieroglyphic sign-list G22, G35 and H3', *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 32 (1991-1992), 119-130.
- Žabkar, L.
 – *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 34 (Chicago, 1968).
- Zandee, J.
 – *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960).
 – 'Egyptian funerary ritual: Coffin Texts, spell 173', *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 41 (1984), 5-33.

INDEX

- ʿp* 90
ḥʿ 75
ḥ 121
ʿbd 56
 abyss 24, 130, 141
 Abydos 124, 130, 131, 137, 140, 151
 adversary, male 5, 121
 —, female 5, 121
ʿdyt-disease 153, 155, 157 ff.
 Aker 41, 91
 Akhenaten 86
 Akoris 72
 Alexander Romance 107, 108, 119,
 146
 Alexander the Great 107, 108, 110
 Alexandria 110, 114
 Amarna 72
 Amasis 106, 119
 Amenhotep II 66
 Ammonius 111
 amulets 81, 123, 160 ff.
 Amun 20, 21, 23, 66, 107, 108, 161
 Amun-Re, 21
angeloi 103, 107
nh 93
ʿh 7, 20, 47, 67 ff., 122, 152
 Aithiopika 117
 Anubis 8, 20, 30, 36, 79, 81, 82, 86,
 134
 Aphrodite 106
 Apis-Osiris 9, 10, 23
 Apopis 90 ff., 104, 132
 —, teeth 91
 —, tongue 91
 —, speech 91
 —, book 89
 apotropaic 76
 Asclepius 114
astroboleō 111
 astrology, Egyptian 112, 118
 Atum 41, 44, 70, 161
 Baboon 7
bʿ 80, 81, 148, 149
bʿw 15, 16, 19, 121
 Bas of Heliopolis 33 ff.
 Bastet 123
 bark, day 36, 132
 —, Great 70
 —, night 132
 —, of Millions 24
 —, solar 140
 Bat-mask 83
 Bendresh Stela (Louvre C 284) 7
 Bes 72, 74, 78 ff., 159, 162
 Beset 78 ff.
 Beth Shan 72
bin 90
 blood 24, 133, 146
 Book of the Celestial Cow 104
 Book of the Temple 143
 Book of the Dead 26, 46, 69, 70, 86,
 89, 90
 Book of Gates 70
 Book of the Two Ways 27
 brazier 133, 134
 Bruchion 110
 bull 83
 Busiris 42, 47, 124
bwt 25 ff.
 Calasiris 117
 Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days
 122, 155
 chaos 25, 48
 chapel, Memphite 93
 charm 19
 cippus 81
 cobra 71 ff.
 Coffin Texts 25 ff., 68, 70, 74, 86, 147
 compulsion 9
 creator 25
 crocodile 76, 155, 160

- Cushite 23
 curse 12
 —, Coptic 3
 Cyrene 106
- dšy* 68
daimon 101, 103, 112, 119
 —, *agathos* 12, 22
 —, Great 24
 —, *oikeios* 112
Daimonion, to 112
 De Virtutibus Herbarum 113
 dead 23, 25, 67, 121, 142, 149
 —, man 5, 121
 —, woman 5, 121, 151
 deity 4, 5, 11, 15, 73
 demon 3, 5, 14, 18, 25, 58, 60, 62, 63,
 76, 89, 92 ff., 142, 145, 154
 —, disease 4 ff.
 —, knife bearers 4 ff.
 —, murders 4 ff.
 —, plague-bearing 4
 —, slaughtering 4
 —, underworld 3
 —, wandering 4
 demonic 58, 79, 80
 —, possession 6, 7
 Demotic, spells 129
 Dendera 4, 78, 128, 135 ff.
 determinatives 60
 disease 151 ff.
 Diodorus Siculus 83
 Dionysus 109
 divine 3, 6, 79, 80, 85
 Djehutiemhab 66
 Djeme 21
 Djeser-set 21
 dog 134, 141
 donkey 140, 141
 dragon 83
 dream 21, 63 ff., 129 ff.
 —, Book 66
 —, rituals 129 ff.
dšr 152
ḏw 152
 dwarf-amulets 159 ff.
- Edfu 82, 83
- Egypt 3, 4, 10, 23, 24, 77, 83, 86, 87,
 106 ff., 135
 —, great gods of 20
 Egyptian 5, 63, 64, 84, 89, 107 ff.
 —, Ramesside 6
 Elephantine 40
 Embalming 81
 —, workshop 137 ff.
 Emmer 31
 Enemies 89
 —, of Osiris 81
energeiai 111
 Ennead 42, 44, 86, 87
Enneads 110
 Epilepsy 7
epōdē 105, 116
 Esna 125
 Eucrates 116, 119
 evil 5, 25, 48, 61, 90, 118, 121, 132,
 155
 —, glance 67
 —, nature 7
 evildoer 4
 excrement 29 ff.
existense 47
exorkōseis 105
- faeces* 25 ff.
 Fate 23
 Festival 59
 Field of Offerings 28, 36, 38
 Field of Rushes 28, 36, 41
 Fire 132, 142
 Flame 71
 Foreigner 106
- Geb 28, 29, 33, 34, 39, 44
 Gebga 57, 58
genies 5
 god, Egyptian 3, 5, 12, 22, 24, 29, 31,
 44, 48, 57, 59, 60, 62, 83, 84, 105,
 112, 121, 135, 151
 —, great 23
 —, Greek 101, 102
 Golden Ass, the 83
 Graffito, Aswan 13
 —, Dakka 18
 —, Medinet Habu 45 21

- , Medinet Habu 46 21
 —, Medinet Habu 47 21
 —, Medinet Habu 228 21
 —, Northampton Ibis gallery 19 22
 —, Philae 350 12, 22
 —, Silsila 282 13
 Greece 105 ff.
 Greek Magical Papyri 145
 Griffin 75
- h3j* 67
h3br 90
 Hale 26
 Harpocrates 164, 165
 Haruba 72
 Hathor 36, 83, 123, 154, 159
h3tyw 4 ff., 14, 15, 59, 61
h3wt 7
 headrest 76
 Heka, god 8, 19
 —, magic 50, 103 ff.
 —, practitioner 110, 118, 119
 Hecate-Artemis 140, 141
 hell 89
 Hephaestus 108
hk3w 50
 Heliodoros 117, 119
 Heliopolis 14, 18, 41, 42, 44, 83, 152,
 161
 —, Lord of 14
 Hermes Trismegistos 102, 114
 Hermetika 106, 114, 120
 Herodotus 106, 119, 159
 Heron 28
hftyw 58, 68
 Hierakonpolis 84, 85
 hippopotamus 75, 146
hprw 82
hs 28, 60
ht 71
 Honey 157
 Homer 105
 Horus 3, 14, 22, 31, 41, 43, 49, 57, 83,
 86, 123, 131, 139, 152, 161, 164
 —, Eye 104, 131
 —, children of 132
 —, the Saviour 165
 human 89
- hwt-hpr* 137
hwy 9, 19, 20, 21, 23
hyt (Demotic) 6 ff.
hyt 7
- Iaau 58, 61
 ibis 22
 Iliad 14
im3hw 87
 Imhotep 18
imnt 20
 Impurity 26
iqr 90
 Isis 10, 12, 13, 19, 22, 24, 83, 104,
 112, 116, 139, 152, 164
 Island of Fire 34
iw 90
- jackal 135
 Jahwe 115 ff.
- Ka 81, 82, 85, 86, 113
 Ka-statue 82
 Kamid el-Loz 72
katapharmassō (“drug”) 106
 Khepri 131
 Khnum 15, 54, 60
 Khoiak 134, 135 ff.
 Khonsu 7, 31, 126
 Kom Firin 50
 Kom Rabia 72
ksi 45
- Ladike 119
 Lake of Turquoise 38
 lecanomancy 113, 114
 lion 83
 Litany 56
 Literature, Greek 99 ff.
 lizard 133, 155
 Lord of All 70
 Lucian, *Philopseudes* 115
 Lycopolis 110
- Maat 37, 47, 52, 90, 164
m3' 90
mageia 102, 119
 magic, Egyptian 3, 91 ff., 99, 103 ff.

- , Greek 103, 106
 magical 87
 —, texts 122, 127
 magician 94, 118, 135, 146
 —, language 90, 92
magikē dynamis 107, 109
magoi, Persian 106
magos 108, 110
manganeia 102, 117
 manifestation, divine 5
 mask 78 ff.
 —, of Bes 78 ff.
 —, cosmetic 84 ff.
 —, funerary 85 ff.
 —, Kahun 78
 —, of Anubis 78
 —, of Tutankhamun 86
 masking 77 ff.
 Medamud 21
 Medicine 151
 Medinet Habu 11
 Memphis 83, 116
 Memnon 116, 117
 menstruation 24
 Merneptah 66
 Meretseger 73
 milk 135
 Min 44
 Mithras liturgy 138
mnḥ 90
mnšt 154
 monstrosity 60
 Montu 23, 24
msdmt 154, 155
mtw 151
 Mut 73
 mummy 85, 86, 131, 139
mwt 67
mwtw 58
 Mysteries of Osiris 81
- Nechepso 102, 113, 114
 Nectanebo II 107 ff., 146
 Nefrusi 33
 Neith 73, 74, 152
 Nephthys 18, 24, 83
 netherworld 48, 131, 134, 139
- , lord of 47
 nightmare 63, 67
ns-n3-ḥty.w 4
nsyt 7
 Nubia 23
 Nubian, magician 23
 Nun 21, 29
- Ogdoad 21
 Olympias 108, 146
 Olympius 111, 119
 Opening of the Mouth 85
 Oracular Amuletic Decrees 149
 Osiris 3, 13, 14, 19, 22, 23, 29, 31, 35,
 38, 39, 46, 49, 81, 86, 121, 134, 137
 ff., 152
 Osiris-Moon 134
 ostrakon, Gardiner 363 67 ff.
 —, Leiden 331 8, 18
 —, MMA Acc. No. 21.2.121 22
 —, Strassburg D. 443 24
 —, Strassburg D. 1338 8, 24
 —, T. Leipzig Qaw 8
- Padiese 23
 Pamont 23
 Panocrates 116
 Pataikos-amulets 159 ff.
 papyrus, Anastasi 7
 —, Bremner Rhind 91, 104
 —, Chester Beatty III 67 ff.
 —, Chester Beatty VIII 89, 124
 —, Demotic Lille 31 19
 —, Demotic magical 8
 —, Demotic Saqqara 22
 —, Ebers 5, 151 ff.
 —, Edwin Smith 7
 —, Gardiner II 57
 —, Jumilhac 136
 —, Harris Magical 94
 —, Hearst 152
 —, Krall 13, 18
 —, Leiden I 346 15
 —, Leiden I 384 8, 18, 67 ff., 159
 —, Lichacev 3
 —, London and Leiden 8, 10, 19, 129,
 144

- , Louvre 121 ff.
 —, Louvre E 3229 8, 21, 129 ff.
 —, Nakht 86
 —, Nebseni 86
 —, Rylands IX 11, 22
 —, Salt 825 136, 143
 —, Spiegelberg 13, 24
 —, Turin 94, 121 ff.
 —, Westcar 116
 persona 77, 79, 82
 Petosiris 102, 114
 Petubast 13
pharmakeuō 106
 Philip 108
phronēsis 105
 prophet 118
phr 8, 20
phrt 151
 Plotinus 110, 111, 119
 Plutarch, *De Iside* 139
 Porphyry 110, 113
 Princess of Bakhtan 113
prophētēs 108, 110
 Pseudo-Callisthenes 105
psychē 111
 Ptah 18, 31, 42, 43, 66, 108, 161
 Ptah-Sokar 86
 Ptah-Tenen 24
 Punt 31
 Pyramid Texts 26, 47, 127
- Qantir 72
 Qatna 176
- Rattawi 21
 Re 4, 28, 33, 34, 36, 42 ff., 91 ff., 104,
 152, 153, 159
 Re-Horakhty 23
 religion, Egyptian 109
 Renenet 24, 73
 rerek-snake 90
 reversal 25
rḥw-ḥ(w)t 105
 ritual 77, 79, 112, 143, 152, 159
 —, New Year 81
 —, power 104
 role-playing 79
- rswt* 64, 65
- sḥw* 51
 Sais 72, 152
 Sakhmet 4, 15, 19, 83, 122, 161
 Saqqara 72
 Satire of Trades 93
 scarab 9, 133, 138, 140
 Seth 3, 14, 49, 57, 83, 87, 124, 132,
 140, 152, 155, 159
 Setna 10, 23, 114
shd 45 ff.
 scriptorium 143
 Shipwrecked Sailor, Story of 86, 94
 Shrine 29, 139
 Shu 18, 19, 39, 41
 Sia 70
 Silent One 31
šmꜣyw 59
 Snake 71, 109, 159, 161
 Society, Egyptian 89, 93
 Sokar-Osiris 9, 39, 136
 Sopdu 162
sophia 105
 spirit 8, 15, 28, 134
 statuary 6
 stela, Akhmim 12
 —, Cairo 31122 13
 —, Cairo 22136 17
 —, Cairo 31009 17
 —, Cairo 31122 17
 —, Cairo 31147 12
 —, Cairo 31156 17
 —, Cairo Möller 15
 —, Chicago Field Museum 31673 17
 —, Louvre C15 82
 —, of Ipwy 66
 —, of Ikernofret 81
 —, Saqqara North 12, 22
 —, Serapeum Revillout 22
 —, Silsila 282 13, 23
 št 8
 Stoics 110
stp-sꜣ 75
 stroke, of god 5
 —, of goddess 5
 Swallower 29

- šwnw-ḥr*-demons 38
 Sycamore tree 30
sympatheia 103

 tablet 9
ḥi 6
 Taweret 72
 threat 152
 Teaching of Ptahotep 64
 Tale of Sinuhe 65
 Tefnut 154
 Thebes 21, 113
 Thessalus of Tralles 113, 114, 119
 Theos 112
 Thoth 7, 90, 104, 114, 134, 153
 transformation 86, 87
 Triumph of Horus 82, 83
 Tuthmosis IV 66
 Tutu 5
 Two Dog palette 84

 Udjat-eye 70, 73, 131, 135
 underworld 20
 uraei 31, 71 ff.
 urine 25, 41, 49

 wand 76
wṣḏw 154
wḏpw 55
wḏḥw-demon 151
 Wenamun 14, 93
 —, Voyage of 6
 Wepwawet 40, 82
 Weret Hekau 73, 152
wḥḏw 5
 worship 58
wḏwtyw 3, 59
wrš 138

 Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham 72

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA

1. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I.*
2. J. QUAEGBEUR, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique.*
3. P.H.L. EGGERMONT, *Alexander's Campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the Siege of the Brahmin Town of Harmatelia.*
4. W.M. CALLEWAERT, *The Sarvāṅgī of the Dādūpanthī Rajab.*
5. E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East I.*
6. E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II.*
7. M.-C. DE GRAEVE, *The Ships of the Ancient Near East (c. 2000-500 B.C.).*
8. W.M. CALLEWAERT (ed.), *Early Hindī Devotional Literature in Current Research.*
9. F.L. DAMEN, *Crisis and Religious Renewal in the Brahma Samaj Movement (1860-1884).*
10. R.Y. EBIED, A. VAN ROEY, L.R. WICKHAM, *Peter of Callinicum, Anti-Tri-theist Dossier.*
11. A. RAMMANT-PEETERS, *Les pyramidions égyptiens du Nouvel Empire.*
12. S. SCHEERS (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata I. Numismatica Antiqua.*
13. J. QUAEGBEUR (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata II. Orientalia Antiqua.*
14. E. PLATTI, *Yahyā ibn 'Adī, théologien chrétien et philosophe arabe.*
15. E. GUBEL, E. LIPIŃSKI, B. SERVAIS-SOYEZ (eds.), *Studia Phoenicia I-II.*
16. W. SKALMOWSKI, A. VAN TONGERLOO (eds.), *Middle Iranian Studies.*
17. M. VAN MOL, *Handboek Modern Arabisch.*
18. C. LAGA, J.A. MUNITIZ, L. VAN ROMPAY (eds.), *After Chalcedon. Studies in Theology and Church History.*
19. E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *The Land of Israel: Cross-Roads of Civilizations.*
20. S. WACHSMANN, *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs.*
21. K. VAN LERBERGHE, *Old Babylonian Legal and Administrative Texts from Philadelphia.*
22. E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.*
23. M. HELTZER, E. LIPIŃSKI (eds.), *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (1500-1000 B.C.).*
24. M. VAN DE MIEROOP, *Crafts in the Early Isin Period: a Study of the Isin Craft Archive from the Reigns of Išbi-Erra and Šū-ilišu.*
25. G. POLLET (ed.), *India and the Ancient World. History, Trade and Culture before A.D. 650.*
26. E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Carthago.*
27. E. VERREET, *Modi Ugaritici. Eine morpho-syntaktische Abhandlung über das Modalsystem im Ugaritischen.*
28. R. ZADOK, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy and Prosopography.*
29. W. CALLEWAERT, M. LATH, *The Hindī Songs of Nāmedv.*
30. A. SHISHA-HALEVY, *Coptic Grammatical Chrestomathy.*
31. N. BAUM, *Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne.*
32. J.-M. KRUCHTEN, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI^e-XXIII^e dynasties) et autres textes relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon.*
33. H. DEVIJVER, E. LIPIŃSKI (eds.), *Punic Wars.*
34. E. VASSILIKA, *Ptolemaic Philae.*
35. A. GHAITH, *La Pensée Religieuse chez Ġubrān Ḥalil Ġubrān et Miḥā'il Nu'ayma.*
36. N. BEAUX, *Le Cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III.*
37. G. POLLET, P. EGGERMONT, G. VAN DAMME, *Corpus Topographicum Indiae Antiquae. Part II: Archaeological Sites.*
38. S.-A. NAGUIB, *Le Clergé féminin d'Amon thébain à la 21^e dynastie.*
39. U. VERHOEVEN, E. GRAEFE (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag.*

40. A.R. GEORGE, *Babylonian Topographical Texts*.
41. A. SCHOORS, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words. A Study of the Language of Qohelet. Part I: Grammatical Features*.
42. G. REININK, H.E.J. VAN STIPHOUT (eds.), *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East*.
43. C. TRAUNECKER, *Coptos. Hommes et dieux sur le parvis de Geb*.
44. E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible*.
45. L. ISEBAERT (ed.), *Studia Etymologica Indoeuropaea Memoriae A.J. Van Windekens dicata*.
46. F. BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*.
47. W.J. VAN BEKKUM, *A Hebrew Alexander Romance according to MS London, Jews' College no. 145*.
48. W. SKALMOWSKI, A. VAN TONGERLOO (eds.), *Medioiranica*.
49. L. LAUWERS, *Igor'-Severjanin, His Life and Work — The Formal Aspects of His Poetry*.
50. R.L. VOS, *The Apis Embalming Ritual. P. Vindob. 3873*.
51. Fr. LABRIQUE, *Stylistique et Théologie à Edfou. Le rituel de l'offrande de la campagne: étude de la composition*.
52. F. DE JONG (ed.), *Miscellanea Arabica et Islamica*.
53. G. BREYER, *Etruskisches Sprachgut im Lateinischen unter Ausschluß des spezifisch onomastischen Bereiches*.
54. P.H.L. EGGERMONT, *Alexander's Campaign in Southern Punjab*.
55. J. QUAEGBEUR (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*.
56. A. VAN ROEY, P. ALLEN, *Monophysite Texts of the Sixth Century*.
57. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics II*.
58. F.R. HERBIN, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*.
59. K. GEUS, *Prosopographie der literarisch bezeugten Karthager*.
60. A. SCHOORS, P. VAN DEUN (eds.), *Philohistōr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii*.
61. M. KRAUSE, S. GIVERSEN, P. NAGEL (eds.), *Coptology. Past, Present and Future. Studies in Honour of R. Kasser*.
62. C. LEITZ, *Altägyptische Sternuhren*.
63. J.J. CLÈRE, *Les Chauves d'Hathor*.
64. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*.
65. K. VAN LERBERGHE, A. SCHOORS (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński*.
66. G. POLLET (ed.), *Indian Epic Values. Rāmāyaṇa and its impact*.
67. D. DE SMET, *La quiétude de l'Intellect. Néoplatonisme et gnose ismaélienne dans l'œuvre de Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī (X^e-XI^e s.)*.
68. M.L. FOLMER, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period. A Study in Linguistic Variation*.
69. S. IKRAM, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*.
70. H. WILLEMS, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418). A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*.
71. C. EDER, *Die Ägyptischen Motive in der Glyptik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes zu Anfang des 2. Jts. v. Chr.*
72. J. THIRY, *Le Sahara libyen dans l'Afrique du Nord médiévale*.
73. U. VERMEULEN, D. DE SMET (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras I*.
74. P. ARÈNES, *La déesse sGrol-Ma (Tārā). Recherches sur la nature et le statut d'une divinité du bouddhisme tibétain*.
75. K. CIGGAAR, A. DAVIDS, H. TEULE (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States. Context – Contacts – Confrontations I*.
76. M. BROZE, *Mythe et Roman en Égypte ancienne. Les Aventures d'Horus et Seth dans le papyrus Chester Beatty I*.

77. L. DEPUYDT, *Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt.*
78. P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu.*
79. A. HASNAWI, A. ELAMRANI, M. JAMAL, M. AOUAD (eds.), *Perspectives arabes et médiévales sur la tradition scientifique et philosophique grecque.*
80. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar.*
81. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara I. Traduction.*
82. C. EYRE (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists.*
83. U. VERMEULEN, D. DE SMET (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras II.*
- 84-85. W. CLARYSSE, A. SCHOORS, H. WILLEMS (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years.*
86. U. VERMEULEN, J.M. VAN REETH (eds.), *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society.*
87. U. VERMEULEN, D. DE SMET (eds.), *Philosophy and Arts in the Islamic World.*
88. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara II. Traduction.*
89. G.J. REININK, A.C. KLUGKIST (eds.), *After Bardaisan. Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers.*
90. C.R. KRAHMALIKOV, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary.*
91. M. TAHTAH, *Entre pragmatisme, réformisme et modernisme. Le rôle politico-religieux des Khattabi dans le Rif (Maroc) jusqu'à 1926.*
92. K. CIGGAAR, H. TEULE (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States. Context – Contacts – Confrontations II.*
93. A.C.J. VERHEIJ, *Bits, Bytes, and Binyanim. A Quantitative Study of Verbal Lexeme Formations in the Hebrew Bible.*
94. W.M. CALLEWAERT, D. TAILLIEU, F. LALEMAN, *A Descriptive Bibliography of Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938).*
95. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara III. Traduction.*
96. K. VAN LERBERGHE, G. VOET (eds.), *Languages and Cultures in Contact: At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm.*
97. A. CABROL, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes.*
98. J. PATRICH, *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present. Monastic Life, Liturgy, Theology, Literature, Art, Archaeology.*
99. U. VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift.*
100. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion.*
101. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara IV. Traduction.*
102. U. VERMEULEN, J. VAN STEENBERGEN (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III.*
103. H. WILLEMS (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms.*
104. K. GEUS, K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Punica – Libyca – Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huß, zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen.*
105. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara. Les fêtes d'Hathor.*
106. R. PREYS, *Les complexes de la demeure du sistre et du trône de Rê. Théologie et décoration dans le temple d'Hathor à Dendera.*
107. A. BLASIUS, B.U. SCHIPPER (eds.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten. Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten.*
108. S. LEDER (ed.), *Studies in Arabic and Islam.*
109. A. GODDEERIS, *Economy and Society in Northern Babylonia in the Early Old Babylonian Period (ca. 2000-1800 BC).*
110. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, Band I.*

111. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band II.
112. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band III.
113. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band IV.
114. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band V.
115. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band VI.
116. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band VII.
117. M. VAN MOL, *Variation in Modern Standard Arabic in Radio News Broadcasts*.
118. M.F.J. BAASTEN, W.Th VAN PEURSEN (eds.), *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*.
119. O.E. KAPER, *The Egyptian God Tutu. A Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments*.
120. E. WARDINI, *Lebanese Place-Names (Mount Lebanon and North Lebanon)*.
121. J. VAN DER VLIET, *Catalogue of the Coptic Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Copt.)*.
122. A. ŁAJTAR, *Catalogue of the Greek Inscriptions in the Sudan National Museum at Khartoum (I. Khartoum Greek)*.
123. H. NIEHR, *Ba'alšamem. Studien zu Herkunft, Geschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines phönizischen Gottes*.
124. H. WILLEMS, F. COPPENS, M. DE MEYER, P. DILS, *The Temple of Shanhūr. Volume I: The Sanctuary, The Wabet, and the Gates of the Central Hall and the Great Vestibule (1-98)*.
125. K. CIGGAAR, H.G.B. TEULE (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader States. Context – Contacts – Confrontations III*.
126. T. SOLDATJENKOVA, E. WAEGEMANS (eds.), *For East is East. Liber Amicorum Wojciech Skalmowski*.
127. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Itineraria Phoenicia*.
128. D. BUDDE, S. SANDRI, U. VERHOEVEN (eds.), *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit. Zeugnisse aus Stadt und Tempel als Spiegel des Interkulturellen Kontakts*.
129. C. LEITZ (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band VIII.
130. E.J. VAN DER STEEN, *Tribes and Territories in Transition*.
131. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara V-VI. Traduction. Les cryptes du temple d'Hathor*.
132. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara V-VI. Index phraséologique. Les cryptes du temple d'Hathor*.
133. M. IMMERZEEL, J. VAN DER VLIET, M. KERSTEN, C. VAN ZOEST (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium. Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies. Leiden, August 27 - September 2, 2000*.
134. J.J. VAN GINKEL, H.L. MURRE-VAN DEN BERG, T.M. VAN LINT (eds.), *Redefining Christian Identity. Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*.
135. J. MONTGOMERY (ed.), *'Abbasid Studies. Occasional Papers of the School of 'Abbasid Studies, Cambridge, 6-10 July 2002*.
136. T. BOYI, *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon*.
137. B. JANSSENS, B. ROOSEN, P. VAN DEUN (eds.), *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek Patristic and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*.

138. S. HENDRICKX, R.F. FRIEDMAN, K.M. CIAŁOWICZ, M. CHŁODNICKI (eds.), *Egypt at its Origins. Studies in Memory of Barbara Adams.*
139. R. ARNZEN, J. THIELMANN (eds.), *Words, Texts and Concepts Cruising the Mediterranean Sea. Studies on the Sources, Contents and Influences of Islamic Civilization and Arabic Philosophy and Science.*
140. U. VERMEULEN, J. VAN STEENBERGEN (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV.*
141. H.T. DAVIES, *Yūsuf al-Shīrbīnī's Kitāb Hazz al-Qūḥuf bi-Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf ("Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abū Shādūf Expounded").* Volume I: Arabic text.
142. P. VAN NUFFELEN, *Un héritage de paix et de piété. Étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène.*
143. A. SCHOORS, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words. A Study of the Language of Qoheleth. Part II: Vocabulary.*
144. M.E. STONE, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies. Collected Papers: Volume 1.*
145. M.E. STONE, *Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha and Armenian Studies. Collected Papers: Volume 2.*
146. M. CACOUROS, M.-H. CONGOURDEAU (eds.), *Philosophie et sciences à Byzance de 1204 à 1453. Les textes, les doctrines et leur transmission.*
147. K. CIGGAAR, M. METCALF (eds.), *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean I.*
148. B. MICHALAK-PIKULSKA, A. PIKULSKI (eds.), *Authority, Privacy and Public Order in Islam.*
149. E. CZERNY, I. HEIN, H. HUNGER, D. MELMAN, A. SCHWAB (eds.), *Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak.*
150. J.-Cl. GOYON, C. CARDIN (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists. Actes du neuvième congrès international des Égyptologues. Grenoble, 6-12 septembre 2004.*
151. S. SANDRI, *Har-pa-chered (Harpokrates). Die Genese eines ägyptischen Götterkindes.*
152. J.E. MONTGOMERY (ed.), *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy. From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank.*
153. E. LIPŃSKI, *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age. Historical and Topographical Researches.*
154. M. MINAS-NERPTEL, *Der Gott Chepri. Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeugnissen und ikonographischen Quellen vom Alten Reich bis in griechisch-römische Zeit.*
155. H. WILLEMS, *Dayr al-Barshā Volume I. The Rock Tombs of Djehutinakht (No. 17K74/1), Khnumnakht (No. 17K74/2), and Iha (No. 17K74/3). With an Essay on the History and Nature of Nomarchal Rule in the Early Middle Kingdom.*
156. J. BRETSCHNEIDER, J. DRIESSEN, K. VAN LERBERGHE (eds.), *Power and Architecture. Monumental Public Architecture in the Bronze Age Near East and Aegean.*
157. A. CAMPLANI, G. FILORAMO (eds.), *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority in Late Antique Monasticism.*
158. J. TAVERNIER, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.).* *Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts.*
159. P. KOUSOULIS, K. MAGLIVERAS (eds.), *Moving Across Borders. Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interactions in the Ancient Mediterranean.*
160. A. SHISHA-HALEVY, *Topics in Coptic Syntax: Structural Studies in the Bohairic Dialect.*
161. B. LURSON, *Osiris, Ramsès, Thot et le Nil. Les chapelles secondaires des temples de Derr et Ouadi es-Seboua.*
162. G. DEL OLMO LETE (ed.), *Mythologie et Religion des Sémites occidentaux.*

163. N. BOSSON, A. BOUD'HORS (eds.), Actes du huitième congrès international d'études coptes. Paris, 28 juin - 3 juillet 2004.
164. A. BERLEJUNG, P. VAN HECKE (eds.), The Language of Qohelet in Its Context. Essays in Honour of Prof. A. Schoors on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday.
165. A.G.C. SAVVIDES, Byzantino-Normannica. The Norman Capture of Italy and the First Two Invasions in Byzantium.
166. H.T. DAVIES, Yūsuf al-Shirbīnī's Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abū Shādūf Expounded (Kitāb Hazz al-Qūḥuf bi-Sharḥ Qaṣīd Abī Shādūf). Volume II: English translation, introduction and notes.
167. S. ARGUILLÈRE, Profusion de la vaste sphère. Klong-chen rab-'byams (Tibet, 1308-1364). Sa vie, son œuvre, sa doctrine.
168. D. DE SMET, Les Épîtres sacrées des Druzes. Rasā'il al-Ḥikma. Volumes 1 et 2.
169. U. VERMEULEN, K. D'HULSTER (eds.), Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras V.
170. W.J. VAN BEKKUM, J.W. DRIJVERS, A.C. KLUGKIST (eds.), Syriac Polemics. Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink.
171. K. D'HULSTER, J. VAN STEENBERGEN (eds.), Continuity and Change in the Realms of Islam. Studies in Honour of Professor Urbain Vermeulen.
172. B. MIDANT-REYNES, Y. TRISTANT, J. ROWLAND, S. HENDRICKX (eds.), Egypt at its Origins 2.
173. J.H.F. DIJKSTRA, Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion. A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE).
174. I. UYTTERHOEVEN, Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period. Life and Death in a Fayum Village.
175. P. KOUSOULIS (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Demonology. Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic.
176. A. KARAHAN, Byzantine Holy Images – Transcendence and Immanence. The Theological Background of the Iconography and Aesthetics of the Chora Church.
177. J. NAWAS (ed.), 'Abbasid Studies II. Occasional Papers of the School of 'Abbasid Studies, Leuven, 28 June - 1 July 2004.
178. S. CAUVILLE, Dendara. Le temple d'Isis. Volume I: Traduction.
179. S. CAUVILLE, Dendara. Le temple d'Isis. Volume II: Analyse à la lumière du temple d'Hathor.
180. M. ZITMAN, The Necropolis of Assiut.
181. E. LIPÍŃSKI, Resheph. A Syro-Canaanite Deity.
182. C. KARLSHAUSEN, L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle en Égypte au Nouvel Empire.
183. U. VERMEULEN, K. D'HULSTER (eds.), Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras VI.
184. M. IMMERZEEL, Identity Puzzles. Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon.
185. D. MAGEE, J. BOURRIAU, S. QUIRKE (eds.), Sitting Beside Lepsius. Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute.
186. A. STEVENSON, The Predynastic Egyptian Cemetery of el-Gerzeh.
187. D. BUMAZHNOV, E. GRYPEOU, T.B. SAILORS, A. TOEPEL (eds.), Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient. Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag.
188. J. ELAYI, A.G. ELAYI, The Coinage of the Phoenician City of Tyre in the Persian Period (5th-4th Century BCE).
189. F. HAGEN, J. JOHNSTON, W. MONKHOUSE, K. PIQUETTE, J. TAIT, M. WORTHINGTON (eds.), Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East. Literary and Linguistic Approaches.
190. V. VAN DER STEDE, Les pratiques de stockage au Proche-Orient ancien du Natoufien à la première moitié du troisième millénaire avant notre ère.

191. W. CLAES, H. DE MEULENAERE, S. HENDRICKX (eds.), *Elkab and Beyond. Studies in Honour of Luc Limme.*
192. M. MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects.*
193. I. JACOBS, *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space. The 'Classical' City from the 4th to the 7th c. AD.*
194. H. KNUF, C. LEITZ, D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen.*
195. I. REGULSKI, *A Palaeographic Study of Early Writing in Egypt.*
196. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara XIII. Traduction. Le pronaos du temple d'Hathor: Façade et colonnes.*
197. M. KUHN, *Koptische liturgische Melodien. Die Relation zwischen Text und Musik in der koptischen Psalmodia.*
198. B. SNELDERS, *Identity and Christian-Muslim Interaction. Medieval Art of the Syrian Orthodox from the Mosul Area.*
199. K. CIGGAAR, V. VAN AALST (eds.), *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean II.*
200. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics III.*
201. S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara XIV. Traduction. Le pronaos du temple d'Hathor: Parois intérieures.*
202. K. DUISTERMAAT, I. REGULSKI (eds.), *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean.*
203. F.S. JONES, *Pseudoclementina, Elchasaiticaque inter Judaeochristiana. Collected Studies.*