

**“Every Golden Scale”: Scribal and Rhetorical Strategies in
the Harris Magical Papyrus**

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for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Joanna Alexandra Kyffin
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Abbreviations

All abbreviations, apart from those listed below, are those set out in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VII (Helck *et al.* 1992: xiv-xxxviii).

- PT Sethe, K., 1908-1922, *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. 4 vols. Leipzig: J.C.Hinrichs.
- CT de Buck, A., 1935-, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 7 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- BD Naville, E., 1886, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch*. 2 vols. Berlin: A. Asher & Co.
- MERLIN Records from the British Museum internal collection database; this database is accessible on application to the curators, and provides greater detail about objects than the collection database accessible through the Museum's website:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx
- Wb* Erman, A., & Grapow, H., 1926-1963, *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen sprache*. 7 vols. Leipzig and Berlin: Akademie Verlag
- Möller Möller, G., 1927, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit*. 3 vols. Leipzig.
- Doomed Prince* Gardiner, A.H., 1932, *Late Egyptian Stories*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. 1-9.
- Eloquent Peasant* Parkinson, R.B., 1991a, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Horus and Seth* Gardiner, A.H., 1932, *Late Egyptian Stories*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. 37-60.

- Ipuwer* Enmarch, R., 2005, *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Man and Ba* Faulkner, R.O., 1956, "The Man who was Tired of Life" *JEA* 42, 21-40.
- Shipwrecked Sailor* Blackman, A.M., 1972 [1932], *Middle-Egyptian Stories*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. 41-48.
- Simuhe* Koch, R., 1990, *Die Erzählung des Simuhe*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Tale of Two Brothers* Gardiner, A.H., 1932, *Late Egyptian Stories*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. 9-29.
- Wenamun* Gardiner, A.H., 1932, *Late Egyptian Stories*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. 61-76.
- Westcar* Blackman, A.M., 1988, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians. Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033)*. Reading: J.V. Books.

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1. Introduction and Methodology

This thesis is a study of the Harris Magical Papyrus (P. BM EA 10042), focusing on three aspects of the document: the provenance and archival history of the papyrus since its discovery in 1854/55, the rhetorical structuring of the texts, and the scribal strategies employed by the text's copyist.

The first part of the thesis focuses on the provenance and archival history of the Harris Magical Papyrus. It begins with a description of the papyrus, with a plan to show the original format of the document, and comments on the dating and palaeography of the text.

There follows a study of the origins of the papyrus, which includes an account of the discovery/acquisition of the papyrus, and the identification of a possible find-spot, data regarding the sale of the papyrus to the British Museum in 1872, some possible explanations for the current state of the document, and an analysis of the collection to which the papyrus belongs. This part of the study is inevitably limited by the available data; the acquisition of Egyptian objects in the nineteenth century was a popular activity, and the records of collectors are usually somewhat uneven. Whilst an exact provenance for the papyrus is unlikely to be forthcoming, a plausible picture of the context in which the papyrus was created and its later deposition can be drawn, and this informs the analysis of the intended function of the document.

The second part of the thesis presents detailed translations of the texts, subdivided into sections which follow the divisions within the manuscript, with a commentary on each section which focuses on accessing the rhetorical strategies employed within the text, and highlighting some instances in which the text is paralleled in other sources. The translations are for the most part literal, relying on the commentary to highlight the artistry of the text, and the commentary does not aim to present a full grammatical or philological treatment of the text, but comments are included where they are essential to the understanding of the text. A transliteration is presented, formatted in a manner which highlights the rhetorical structure within the texts. Scribal inconsistencies and variations, including corrections, omissions and insertions, are also noted.

The third part of the thesis presents a detailed study of some of the markers of the scribal processes and strategies which underlie the copying of this text. This is presented as case-studies of the frequency of the pen refillings, and the process of verse-pointing the manuscript; the sophistication of the scribe's understanding of what he is copying is considered.

A reconstruction of the papyrus, integrating the fragments of the last three pages from the Heidelberg collection with the much smaller fragments preserved in the British Museum, is also presented. Colour plates of all the columns are also included, from photographs made available by the British Museum; the transcriptions of the text are taken from Leitz (1999); where my readings differ from Leitz's, this is noted in the commentary.

Although no other copies of the entire manuscript of the Harris Magical Papyrus exist, there are parallels to parts of some of the texts, and in limited instances, these parallels have been used to suggest plausible emendations of the text; however the purpose of this study is to access the actions of the ancient copyist, and the social context in which he was writing, so these emendations are restricted to instances where the sense of the text cannot otherwise be understood.

1.1. The Harris Magical Papyrus in context

The Harris Magical Papyrus, P. BM EA 10042, currently in the British Museum, London, with significant fragments housed in the Portheim-Stiftung collection in Heidelberg, is an hieratic manuscript of the Ramesside Period of the later New Kingdom. The text was most recently published by Leitz (1999). The papyrus contains a number of texts, which have been characterised as hymns and magical spells (Leitz, 1999: 1), inscribed in the same regular literary hand throughout (§2.1.4.), which can be palaeographically dated to the early Twentieth, or possibly late Nineteenth Dynasty (Leitz 1999: 1; §2.1.5.).

The papyrus is part of a collection of manuscripts acquired by Anthony Charles Harris in the mid-nineteenth century, the majority of which were sold to the British Museum after his death by his daughter, Selima (§2.2.).

The papyrus consists of nine sheets in total; nine columns are inscribed on the *recto*, and three columns on the *verso*. The overall length of the original papyrus would have been just over 2m (Bommas 1998: 6-8; §2.1.1.). The last three columns of the papyrus were thought to be lost, with only very small fragments remaining in the collection of the British Museum, until significant portions of these columns were discovered, in a fragmentary state, in the collection of the Portheim-Stiftung Museum in Heidelberg (§2.2.7.3.). The hieratic text is verse-pointed throughout.

The internal division of the papyrus into individual texts is indicated on the manuscript by the presence of Initial and Terminal Formulae (§1.4.3.), some of which are wholly or partially written in red ink, to serve as a visual index to the texts; these divisions, which are observed here, follow the format of the text presented by Leitz (1999).

The first section of the text has the character of an Initial Formula, seemingly introducing the entirety of the texts, and is referred to here as ‘Introductory Text A’ (§3.1.2.). The following seven texts (§3.1.3. – §3.1.15.), which are of varying lengths, invoke a number of deities, principally Shu, Amun and Amun-Re. These texts are followed by fifteen further texts (§3.2.), the majority of which deal with the danger posed by crocodiles, and one final text, which is considered to be written in

the Canaanite language, transcribed into hieratic (Schneider 1989). The first seven texts after the Introductory Text A seem to display hymnic features, whilst the last fifteen texts seem to display features which are more magical in nature (§1.4.5.); whilst these numbers suggest that the division between these two types of text is not particularly even, in fact there are almost exactly the same number of lines devoted to each type (see §4.3.1.); the hymnic texts cover five full and one partial column, as do the magical texts.

Since definitions of any genre of Egyptian literature are extremely problematic (see e.g. Parkinson 2002: 34), this study seeks to characterise the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus according to their rhetorical and structural features (§1.4.5.), in order to build a more coherent picture of the nature of the document, and to contextualise its contents. The textual unity of the contents of the papyrus is considered (§4.3.), in light of the interrelation between the various texts (e.g. the Initial Formula of Spell K, which designates that spell as ‘first spell of all the water-spells’, §3.2.3.).

As Parkinson (2002: 34) cogently observes, ‘the system of genre is not an aggregate of fixed categories. Genre can be understood through relations between types...Genre is a dynamic phenomenon’. Starting with the premise that this manuscript was created for a purpose, with a coherence and structure commensurate with this (for this approach, see Eyre 2002: 1-5), the contents of this papyrus are considered as texts meant to be performed, and the internal indications of the purpose of each text are used to support the analysis that the texts cannot be neatly divided into categories of type (§1.4.5.); rather the points of congruence between the various texts are used to point out the fluidity of the genre boundaries evidenced in the manuscript, and the sophistication of the textual composition which explores and pushes the boundaries of genre. Other compositions which deploy this sort of sophistication in including multiple formats and styles, and whose essential textual unity is perhaps more securely established than that of the Harris Magical Papyrus, for example *Sinuhe* and *Ipuwer*, have been much studied, and the different textual traditions on which they draw have been analysed (see e.g. Baines 1982 for *Sinuhe*; Enmarch 2008 for *Ipuwer*). The intertextual parallels between the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus and other sources (§4.3.5.), and the artfulness of the overall

composition in its deployment and density of different structures (§4.3.4.)

demonstrate that the manuscript belongs to a rich tradition of transmission of ritual texts.

1.2. Aims and purpose of thesis

This thesis aims to address two main questions: what is the Harris Magical Papyrus? And what can the manuscript tell us about the ancient social context of the creation of such a document? The interrelation of the various texts on the manuscript, the different linguistic registers in which they are framed, and the purpose behind the creation of the manuscript are considered, in order to understand why the document is shaped and formatted as it is. The division of the texts, by formulae and the writing of some parts of these formulae in red ink, is observed, and the hymns and spells are considered as individual textual units; the internal links between the texts and the overall coherence of the manuscript are considered in order to understand the intended function and access the context and strategies of composition and copying of the texts onto this papyrus.

The provenance of the manuscript is explored; this is necessarily limited by the survival of data regarding the discovery of the papyrus in a cache. The papyrus is considered within the context of the composition of the cache, in order to try to form a picture of how and why the manuscript was deposited, and all available data are synthesised in an attempt to provide a coherent picture of the likely find-spot of the cache. The nature of the Harris cache makes it impossible that this find-spot was the site of the original or intended deposition of the papyri (§2.2.9.); although there is no direct evidence of the geographical or institutional origin of the Harris Magical Papyrus, it is possible to provide some indirect evidence of the likely source of the manuscript.

A translation and commentary of the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus is presented, with grammatical and philological commentary provided where it is necessary to our understanding of the text (§3.). A transliteration of the texts is also offered, in such a format as to illustrate the artistry and rhetorical strategies employed in the composition of the texts, highlighting parallelisms between verses and the structural form.

The papyrus was published most recently by Christian Leitz (1999), and his translations and philological and grammatical commentary on the texts proved invaluable to this study. The inclusion of the publication of the manuscript by Leitz

within a volume of a number of magico-medical papyri of the New Kingdom necessarily limited the quantity of his commentary; the focus of the commentary presented here builds on Leitz's readings and seeks to draw out the features of the texts which are germane to the analysis of the rhetorical format.

The commentary presented here is inevitably not exhaustive, nor is it intended to provide a systematic critical exegesis of the contents of the texts, but rather is focused on the structuring of the texts, the rhetorical and poetic devices employed, and the intertextual parallels and allusions between the Harris Magical texts and other sources. Accessing the cultural context of magico-religious texts is problematic, not least owing to the partial nature of the surviving evidence; the meaning and underlying ideology and theology of the incantations and the rituals prescribed in the texts is not fully analysed here. Rather, the structures and rhetorical strategies evident within each text are analysed, and these are considered in the context of the texts as performance literature, attempting the 'enterprise of defining the socio-economic and intellectual contexts that were presupposed as points of reference by both author and contemporary audience' (Eyre 2002: 3). Of course, any reading of an ancient text is shaped by the cultural *Weltanschauung* of the reader and critic (Parkinson 2002: 19-21). In this study, the focus is not on understanding the meaning or attempting to provide a full reading of the texts, but on accessing the authorial choices, of word, of structure and form, of intertextual and intercultural allusion, which lie beneath the composition and copying of the texts.

The materiality of the papyrus is considered, and an analysis of the extant evidence of the physical writing processes which inform our understanding of the scribal context in which the texts were laid down on the papyrus is presented; this allows some comment to be made on the level of sophistication of the scribe who copied the texts, and the extent of his redactional involvement in the process. Whilst the copyist's identity cannot be discovered, the scribal *milieu* to which he belonged can be glimpsed.

1.2.1. Provenance and Archival History of the Papyrus

The exploration of the surviving evidence pertaining to the original find-spot of the Harris Magical Papyrus seeks to site the papyrus in a geographical, temporal and to some extent, a functional landscape. Whilst the papyrus was found as part of a cache which was redeposited, presumably in antiquity, the exploration of the data germane to Anthony Harris's discovery/purchase of the papyrus, which shows that the papyri were found in a tomb in Western Thebes (probably within the cemetery of Qurnet Murai, which unfortunately is not a cemetery that is limited to burials of only one period, so does not serve to provide a *terminus post quem* for the deposition), presents some clues to the origins of the Harris cache.

The reconstruction of the papyrus (§**Appendix 1**), using digital images of both the British Museum columns and fragments, and the Heidelberg fragments, aims to present a fuller picture, both of the original materiality of the papyrus, and of the current state of preservation, which pertains to the questions surrounding both the 'modern' find-spot, and the possible original deposition, the archival history of the papyrus since its discovery in the mid-nineteenth century, and the function of the papyrus in antiquity (i.e. whether it was a 'working' handbook showing evidence of use, wear, rolling and unrolling, or an archival copy).

The provenance of the Harris cache of papyri is examined in some detail, drawing on sources both published and unpublished, for two reasons. Firstly, the Harris Magical Papyrus was found as part of a cache, deposited in a Theban tomb. This may have some relevance to its context of creation and ownership. Second, the composition of the cache can be used to date its deposition, which is compared to the palaeographical dating of the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus (§2.1.5.; §2.2.9.), in order to establish not only the date of composition of the papyrus, but also some clues as to the chronological distance between the creation of the document and its deposition.

1.2.2. Scribal Strategies

The surviving textual¹ and archaeological² record presents scribes as privileged individuals, and scribal accomplishment is associated with the highest classes of Egyptian culture (Baines 1983: 585; Baines & Eyre 1983: 81; 86-87; te Velde 1986; Roccati 2000), although of course, the most highly trained scribes were not necessarily members of the highest élite (Quirke 2004: 37).

The place of the author in the Egyptian textual tradition is far less clear. Texts to which the author attaches his name are the exception rather than the rule, and the identity of the author is not always marked in a way that is clear to a modern audience; clearly such concerns were not paramount to the contemporary audience (although see Derchain 1996).

In the case of the Harris Magical Papyrus, the scribe who copied the manuscript is almost certainly not the original author(s) of the texts; §4.3. summarizes the evidence for this manuscript being a compendium or handbook of texts, copied from another source or sources.

This means that the strategies displayed in the papyrus must be dealt with on two levels: the strategies employed by the original author/composer of the texts, which are primarily evident in the careful structuring and intertextual referencing displayed by the texts (rhetorical strategies), and the strategies employed by the copyist scribe, which are displayed in the choice of texts³, the order in which they were laid down on the papyrus, the physical processes of writing (the refilling of the pen, the use of both red and black ink, the process of verse-pointing).

Whilst it is clear that the copyist-scribe of the Harris Magical Papyrus was not an apprentice or low level scribe, from the fact that the manuscript is papyrus

¹ For example, P. Lansing (Gardiner 1937: 100) I,3; I,7; I,8- II,1: '[the scribe] makes friends with those greater than he', 'You will be advanced by your superiors, you will be sent on a mission... Love writing, shun dancing, then you become a worthy official'; (Lichtheim 1976: II, 168).

² Funerary scribal statues of princes, see Baines and Eyre (1983: 79) with the examples quoted there. See also Scott (1989); Delvaux (1992) for two 18th Dynasty examples of high élite scribal statues in a temple context.

³ Although of course, this is not certain; the copyist may not have been involved in the redactional process. By 'copyist', I refer throughout to the scribe who inscribed the Harris Magical Papyrus, and who may well be the most recent of a series of copyists who copied these texts.

rather than written on an ostrakon (see Donker van Heel and Haring 2003 for evidence that ostraca were used for drafting), and this would suggest a relatively sophisticated understanding of the texts, this analysis seeks to examine more closely how complex his comprehension was.

The various texts on this papyrus display different linguistic registers, and some signs that they may originate from different time-periods, (see §4.3.6.), and these indications are considered in order to analyse the textual unity of the document, and to examine more closely how coherent is the use of Middle versus Late Egyptian. The date of the manuscript (see §2.1.5.) means that the scribe would have considered Classical Middle Egyptian a very archaic form of the language; his mastery (or otherwise) of what is effectively a foreign language, speaks to the level of his education and skill.

Scribal copying is a careful and deliberate process, however, it inevitably introduces errors and divergences from the original text(s); since a stemmatic analysis of the possible sources of the texts has not been undertaken (Maas 1958 [1927]: 42-49), many of these errors and variations must go unnoticed.

In any case, isolated and unique errors are not particularly informative, as these can be made by any copyist regardless of his level of skill or understanding (Parkinson 2004: 55; Donker van Heel and Haring 2003: 41-8 illustrate that errors can be a sign of professional expertise in the case of the scribe Qenherkhepshef). Habitual or repeated errors, on the other hand, are far more revealing in this respect, and can indicate more clearly whether the copyist understands what he is copying.

Those errors which are corrected by the scribe himself, or which are apparent from the corruption of the text (see particularly Hymn H, §3.1.16.) are discussed since they can reflect the level of sophistication of the copyist (see §4.2.4.).

The ability of a scribe, regardless of his experience, to maintain concentration has an effect on his propensity to make mistakes (Eyre 1979: 86) and there is a natural tendency to lose concentration, or to hurry when approaching the end of a piece of work, or the end of a day's work, (possibly even because the copying done later in a day is done in poorer light). Hymn H of the Harris Magical Papyrus

(§3.1.15.) which lies halfway through the papyrus, shows that the scribe has made more errors in his copying than in the hymns which precede it, or the spells which follow it: twice he misplaces a verse-point (IV, 10 and V, 3), once he omits a word, which must be emended by comparison with the later Hibis copy of the text (IV, 10), he adds an unnecessary *m* at the start of a verse (V, 7) and mis-spells⁴ *ḥbdw* as *ḥbwt* (V, 7), and corrects the omission of the preposition *m* in red ink (IV, 9), placing it before the suffix pronoun which it ought to follow. There are also a couple of rather unexpected uses of red ink (IV, 9; VI, 2; see §3.1.16.).

These errors, in the last of the ‘hymns’ of the papyrus may indicate that this text represents the last section of work completed by the scribe in one day/unit of time; however it should be noted that this hymn is a particularly lengthy and grammatically complex text, and the errors may therefore more reasonably point to the limits of this scribe’s comprehension. The final possibility to explain these errors is of course that the scribe is copying from a damaged original.

The presentation of the translations of the hymnic and magical texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus aims to highlight the physical processes of composition – the verse-pointed units/ verses are end-stopped, that is, each verse comprises one syntactic unit. The case-study analysis of the pen-dips and ink colour (§4.2.) considers such matters in greater depth.

This leads to an examination of certain instructive features of the process of compiling a document such as the Harris Magical Papyrus.

1.2.3. Rhetorical Strategies

The translations and commentary on the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus seek to draw out the various rhetorical and poetic devices embedded within the texts, the overall structure on which the text is constructed, and the framing devices used to predicate the aesthetic and artistic nature of the texts. The function of these rhetorical strategies is discussed (§4.4.).

The choices made by the original author(s) of the texts can only be seen at a remove – this manuscript does not seem to be an original composition, but rather a

⁴ This mistake is unsurprising, and probably reflects the pronunciation of the word.

redaction/compendium; some traces of the original author(s) remain in the way in which the texts are structured and patterned, and the way in which reference and allusion is made to other texts, but the original author(s) are not necessarily even alive at the time of the creation of the Harris Magical Papyrus.

The study of any text requires a modern scholar to undertake a number of hermeneutic processes, not least the restoration of lacunae and textual emendation (see Newton 1990). On one hand, the cultural *milieu* of the reader shapes the reading of an ancient text; on the other, the impossibility of establishing for certain the intent of an ancient author has been much discussed in recent years (Parkinson 2002: 19-21), and the interpretations presented here attempt to take a middle road between these two poles, accepting that the intent of an ancient author may not have produced the desired effect in the responses of an ancient audience, let alone a modern one. Nonetheless, in some cases, authorial choice can be discerned, and the analysis of the choices the author has made in the composition of these texts, and an examination of the stylistic features, not only facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the texts, but also challenges the definition of these recitational texts as simply technical or functional items of text – the aesthetic nature of the texts, which must have been at least partly a function of their performative nature, is highlighted in this study.

Modelling an ancient audience for the reception of these texts is beyond the scope of this thesis; the reconstruction of ancient performance often relies on anthropological considerations, and has been approached with some success by scholars (see for Egyptological examples Eyre 1997; Gillam 2006; for a useful survey of approaches in other ancient cultures, see Inomata & Coben 2006).

The intertextual parallels and allusions, as well as the mythological allusions which permeate both the hymnic and magical texts are emphasised, although this study does not seek to provide a full catalogue of intertextual references; rather to point out the cultural and literary links between the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus and others of contemporaneous, earlier, or in some cases, later date, which serve to set the texts in a cultural and literary milieu, a *Sitz im Leben* which can contextualise and help to point out the linguistic register of the texts.

1.3. Survey of previous scholarship

The Harris Magical Papyrus has been published several times since its discovery in 1854/55, although a full edition including both photographic plates and detailed philological commentary does not yet exist; the publication by Budge in 1910 comprises a description of the papyrus, a continuous translation and transcription into hieroglyphs, with minimal commentary, but most significantly, a full set of photographic plates; Lange's publication of 1927, whilst including a detailed commentary, does not include photographic plates; Leitz's edition of 1999 is included within a volume of other magico-medical papyri of the New Kingdom, and so does not present a full grammatical and philological commentary, and the photographic plates included by Leitz omit part of one column, preserved on the obverse of *recto* column VI.

Issues of compositional and scribal strategies in the transmission of magical texts are not very widely studied, although of course magic and magical texts are often treated in academic literature (see §1.3.6.).

The provenance of the Harris Magical Papyrus has not been discussed in detail in any single publication, and it is only discussed in passing in the various editions of the text.

On the subjects of Rhetoric, Poetics and Metre, a wealth of scholarship, Egyptological and otherwise, exists, some of which has directly informed this study (see §1.3.3.).

1.3.1. Publication of the Harris Magical Papyrus

At the behest of Anthony Harris, the papyrus' original owner, the texts were first published in 1860, by François Chabas, the noted French linguist. Chabas is not known to have visited Egypt in his lifetime (Virey 1898; §2.2.7.1.), and therefore could not have visited the Harrises in Alexandria, where the Harris papyri were kept at the time of his publication.

There is some evidence that Chabas received photographs of the papyrus from Anthony Harris, from which he produced the lithographs (see Dawson, 1949: 165, n.4; §2.2.7.1.) in his edition. Chabas makes no mention of having seen photographs

in his edition, thanking L. Landa for the lithographs, but making no comment as to their basis (1860: 187).

Bommas (1998: 2) suggests that facsimiles of the papyrus, from which Chabas worked, were made by Harris himself, apparently basing this on a comment of Budge's (1910: xv; §2.2.8.), although actually it seems that Selima Harris was the one to make copies of various of the papyri (see Maspero 1913: 134; §2.2.7.4.; §2.2.8.); none of these seem to be extant.

Chabas's edition includes a detailed translation and commentary on the text (1860: 20-151), as well as various discursive chapters on the study of hieroglyphs and of original documents in general.

Budge includes the Harris Magical Papyrus in his 1910 work, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Papyri in the British Museum*, including a description of the papyrus and its contents (1910: xv-xvi), a continuous translation (1910: 23-27), a transcription into hieroglyphs (34-40) and photographic plates (1910: pl. XX-XXX⁵), which are notable for two reasons: they appear to have been made before the papyrus columns were mounted into the frames in which they currently reside, since the edges of the papyrus are visible and the frames are not; second, Plate XXX includes the half of the second *verso* column which is preserved on the obverse of *recto* VI-VII, and which is not included in the photographic plates published by Leitz (1999: pl. 22). The colour plates at the end of this thesis do include this section (Plate 23). Its survival is particularly significant, since it is not certain that the scribe who wrote the *recto* is the same scribe who wrote the *verso* columns; §2.1.4. presents the palaeographic evidence that can be found in the surviving parts of the *verso* columns. See also the reconstruction of the papyrus (§Appendix 1).

Ernst Akmar published an edition of the papyrus in 1916 with a transliteration and translation of the text, which he acknowledges owe a great deal to the previous publications of Chabas and Budge (1916: 46-50); he also includes a detailed discussion of some of the more obscure passages (1916: 50-92), making some important emendations to the reading of the hieratic (e.g. I, 8: 1916: 55), he

⁵ Note that pls. XXVI-XXIX, i.e. *recto* VII-*verso* II are reproductions of Chabas' lithographs from his 1860 volume, and do not include images of the fragments of these pages which are now mounted in frames with copies of the lithographs in the British Museum.

points out that the verb is in the causative). Akmar's translation differs significantly from more recent readings of the text (see, e.g. 1916: 93, his translation of Hymn B, which he terms 'Hymne à Shou', I, 2: 'toi, qu'il a destiné avant ta naissance à être puissant comme maître des transformations'; cf. §3.1.3.). He also does not follow the divisions of the text into sections by means of the text written in red ink, nor does he indicate these passages. Akmar was the first to provide a detailed commentary on his transcription of the hieratic into hieroglyphs, and he comments on the difficulty of transcribing the hieratic (1916: 47). In his 1925 work on magic, François Lexa also translated the Harris Magical Papyrus (1925: II, 35-44).

H.O. Lange, the celebrated philologist and founder of the Carlsberg Papyrus Collection, published an edition of the papyrus in 1927, which did not include plates of any kind, but is notable for its detailed philological commentary, which remains the most up to date commentary on the texts, and is extensively referred to by Leitz in his edition (1999).

Martin Bommas published the 43 fragments of the papyrus which are currently housed in Heidelberg, in 1998, including some hitherto unpublished archival information and suggestions on how the Heidelberg fragments came to be in the collection of the Portheim-Stiftung. He also includes, most pertinently, black and white plates of the fragments, which have been mounted in their reconstructed format and a transliteration, translation and commentary of the texts preserved on these fragments.

In 1999, Christian Leitz re-published the Harris Magical Papyrus in a collection of other Magico-Medical Papyri in the British Museum. Despite constraints of space, the publication is cogent and the philological commentary builds on that of Lange. Leitz provides a photographic record of the papyrus (1999: pls. 12-25; although it must be noted that one of the verso columns is not included in Leitz's plates – *verso* II, Plate 22 in Leitz's publication, is a reproduction of the earlier lithograph published by Chabas. See Plate 23 here for a colour plate of this section); as well as a transcription, and continuous translation, prefaced by a very brief description of the dimensions of the papyrus (with no other technical data as to condition of the manuscript – 1999: 31), some philological notes to his translations,

which serve to explain difficult or obscure passages, and a useful index for all the papyri included in his volume. Since this was not intended to be a full edition of the papyrus, Leitz does not include a full commentary or analysis of the papyrus' contents.

1.3.2. Verse points and Pen refillings

Verse-points in Egyptian text are rarely found before the New Kingdom (Grapow 1936: 53; Brunner, 1984: 1017; Parkinson 2002: 115). Several scholars have discussed their function in literary and other types of texts, taking verse-points as markers of completed syntactic units (Tacke 2001), and suggesting that they are a remnant of a scribal education system (Buchberger 1993: 22⁶).

It has been suggested that verse-pointing could have been optional in the New Kingdom (Spalinger: 2002: 115-116⁷), despite its prevalence in hieratic literary texts written in columns of horizontal lines (Parkinson: 2002: 115), and Burkard (1983: 106) argues that their presence can serve to distinguish 'poetic' from 'prose' texts. This argument is refuted by Buchberger (1993: 25) who points out instances of 'prose' texts (by Burkard's definition) which are verse-pointed.

The use of verse-points in the Harris Magical Papyrus corresponds to a system of indicating units of meaning, i.e. clauses or prepositional phrases⁸ (see Grapow 1936: 52-3), and it is notable that the instances of misplaced or missing verse-points are relatively few (*pace* Lange 1927: 7, who comments that in his estimation, the scribe is not particularly conscientious, pointing out that there are misplaced and forgotten verse-points, and that in places the scribe appears to have misunderstood what he was copying).

⁶ Parkinson (2002: 115) adds that in the New Kingdom, copies of Middle Kingdom literary texts written by apprentice scribes have verse-points, as do copies of both Middle and New Kingdom literary texts, written by non-apprentice scribes.

⁷ Discussing the links between P. Sallier I and III, Spalinger points out that neither text contains verse-points, and speculates that this is due to the political intent inherent in these texts – supporting his argument by reference to the *recto* of P. Chester Beatty I, the Tale of Horus and Seth, and the Poem of the Battle of Kadesh on P. Chester Beatty III, both of which are free of verse-points, despite the presence on P. Chester Beatty III of love-poems on both the *recto* and *verso*, which are verse-pointed.

⁸ The term 'verse' is used *passim* to refer to one verse-pointed unit of text; §1.4.3.

In fact, these instances provide a useful insight into the practical considerations of writing, and usually correspond to the ends of column lines, where it is understandable that the break of the column line provides a substitute, deliberately or accidentally, for the verse-point. Occasionally, mis-placed verse-points correspond to another mistake in the copying process, for example in Hymn H (§3.1.15.), where the later Hibis copy of the hymn shows that the scribe appears to have omitted a word, which must be emended for sense.

Tacke (2001: 137) comments that it seems clear that verse-points were added in after the text was written, except in the cases of rubra (his corpus is Ramesside school texts), because of the sign groupings – in some cases the verse-point over a ligatured group is not situated exactly correctly, because the second sign in the group is the first sign of a new verse. His examination is based on a metrical analysis of the texts according to the prosodic principles laid out by Fecht (e.g. 1964, 1965: 28-38, 1982), taking into account Fecht's own conclusions that some Ramesside 'school-texts' did not accord with his principles of prosodic patterning and verse-counting.

The analysis of the material concerns of the process of writing, namely the analysis of the points at which the scribe refills his pen with ink, has only recently been applied to selected Egyptian texts. James Allen noticed that the regularity with which the scribe refills (or "dips") his pen might have some significance in his excellent study of the Hekanakhte Papyri (2002⁹); this observation has been exploited most profitably by Richard Parkinson in his presentation of three Middle Kingdom tales preserved on the four papyri which make up the so-called 'Berlin library' (P. Berlin P 3022-5), with the pen-dips marked in the continuous translations of the texts (Parkinson 2009: 280-322), and in his detailed analysis of the copies of Sinuhe and the Eloquent Peasant which make up part of the Berlin collection (2009: 90-112; Chloe Ragazzoli of the Sorbonne is in the process of applying this analysis to the Late Egyptian Miscellany texts). As Parkinson notes, the contingencies of writing are such that only broad impressions may be drawn; in the Harris Magical Papyrus, as in the Middle Kingdom texts analysed by Parkinson, there are numerous

⁹ In which he quantifies the number of brush strokes made with each refilling of the pen (see Allen 2002: 227-242), noting that 'strokes are more indicative of brush usage than signs, since the latter may vary in complexity' (227: n. 1)

points at which the scribe deviates from a perfectly regular pattern of writing and refilling his pen, and it is not possible in every case to account for the deviation. Nor is it possible to do more than catch a glimpse of the individual scribe copying the texts, but that glimpse can be informative.

Allen (2002: 77) comments on the standard reed brush: “Its nib was normally about 1mm wide, but could expand with pressure to 2mm or more; it also tended to widen slightly with use... Most dips of the brush are clearly marked by the abrupt change from lighter to darker ink...New dips normally correspond to natural units of text such as the beginning of a word, clause or sentence, or a new column or line, but were also made within words and even individual signs.” (2002: 77). Allen’s methodology forms the basis of the analysis of pen-refillings and their correlation to the units of text indicated by the verse-points in this study (§4.2.).

1.3.3. Rhetoric, poetics/style and metre

Rhetoric and poetry have been discussed by a number of scholars, including Junge (1984), Fox (1985), Kitchen (1999) and Coulon (1997, 1999 on the thematisation of rhetoric in Middle Egyptian literature; 2004). Several anthologies of ‘poems’ are in print (e.g. Fox 1985), many of which define poetry in broad and inclusive terms, including John L. Foster’s work (1995), which groups hymns, prayers and ‘songs’ in the same volume; however the work of Bernard Mathieu (1996: 131-215) subjects his collection of ‘love poems’ (primarily the texts of P. Chester Beatty I (P. BM EA 10681), P. Harris 500 (P. BM EA 10060) and P. Turin 1966) to modal, thematic and formal (metrical) analysis, in order to establish the diagnostic features of this specific genre of poems, emphasising throughout the creative actions of the author, which often transcend our attempts to define genre.

Although literary tales from the Middle and New Kingdoms have been extensively analysed (see Baines 1982 on *Sinuhe*; Baines 1990 on the *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*; Parkinson 1992 on the *Eloquent Peasant*; Broze 1996 on *Horus and Seth*; Moers 2001 on both *Sinuhe* and *Wenamun*; Enmarch 2008 on *Ipuwer*), and their aesthetic features have been subjected to analyses informed by various schools of literary theory (see Loprieno 1996 for a survey of the application of literary theory to Egyptian texts; Parkinson 2002: 22-29), this analysis has not been widely applied

outside of this relatively narrow genre of texts. Fully accessing rhetorical poetry from an ancient culture requires a level of literacy equivalent to that of the ancient audience to whom it was read, an understanding which a modern reader cannot hope to achieve. The cultural and historical setting in which the texts were to be understood cannot be fully reconstructed, and thus the resonance of the texts can only be partially discovered. Parkinson (2002: 63) comments that much magico-medical and hymnic literature:

‘is highly aesthetic in style and non-utilitarian, and identical with ‘literature’ in many respects, especially commemorative and religious texts, eulogies and narratives. Many are susceptible to a common ‘literary’ analysis.

Nevertheless, they can be differentiated from works of literature in the narrow sense by their contextually determined manner of reception, by their decorum, and by not being fully fictionalized’.

This is a useful definition in some ways, but has often led to these ‘technical’ texts being excluded from literary analysis, and therefore their aesthetic qualities being overlooked; this approach fails to take into account the original purpose of the performance of these texts, which was to create an effect in the mind of the audience. Literary theory is concerned with analysis of the intended and perceived response to literary texts; this thesis is concerned with discerning the authorial choice behind the composition of the texts. Whilst authorial intent cannot be definitely discerned (a problem not limited to the study of ancient literature), authorial choice can be mapped to some extent, and these choices, in context, can uncover some of the purposes for which these texts were written.

The disagreements over prosody and poetics in Egyptian texts are manifold (see Fecht 1982; Burkard 1996; Parkinson 2002: 112-7), and discussions of stylistic and rhetorical devices are equally numerous (see Grapow 1936; 1952; Guglielmi 1984b, 1986a&c, 1987, and 1996). Gerhard Fecht’s metrical principles of analysis of verse (see e.g. Fecht 1982) have been widely debated and adapted (see for example Lichtheim 1971-2; Mathieu 1988; Foster 1993, 1994; Burkard 1983, 1996).

The Harris Magical Papyrus is verse-pointed throughout, and it seems that the verse-points are an authentic ancient marker of some kind of scansion of the texts; in this analysis they have been interpreted as indicators of clausal structure,

and the ‘verses’ they indicate are taken as the basic unit of structure of the texts (§1.4.3.). Fecht’s metrical analysis of texts, in which verses are comprised of either two or three cola, derived from the systematic stresses placed on words and word-clusters, has not been followed, as this approach proved less productive in the analysis of the structure of the texts.

In this analysis, the grouping of verses, by means of stylistic devices, into stanzas, as I have termed them, is based on intuitive principles, rather than a numerical or quantitative analysis, allowing for the characteristic Egyptian flexibility in linguistic form (§1.4.3.). The stanzas indicated in the translations of each text represent the identification of coherent groups of rhetorical and thematic structures, which shape each text (§4.3.4.), and I do not claim any determinacy for the stanza divisions, since they do not seem to be indicated by any punctuation or other textual marker in the manuscript.

Rather than using the analysis of the rhetorical features and the poetic artistry of the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus to argue for a new system of classification of the texts, this study focuses on the way in which the rhetorical devices are deployed in order to create tightly patterned and complex texts, which access a set of cultural beliefs and ideology, allowing some insights into the social context in which these texts were created and used (see Eyre 2002: 12-15; de Moor and Watson 1993 for Ancient Near Eastern verse; Watson 2005 [1984] for analysis of the stylistics of the text as discourse in Hebrew poetry, and particularly 32-35 on the functions of poetic devices; see also Goelet 2001 on the use of anaphor to create structure¹⁰).

1.3.4. Intertext, allusion and quotation

Parkinson (2002: 60) comments that ‘[i]ntertextuality, an important component of poststructuralist literary theory, implies that “a text is never a truly original creation of its author, but is inevitably part of a dynamic “universe of texts” with which it dialectically interrelates” (Loprieno 1996; Moers 2001: 106-54)’.

¹⁰ Although note that Goelet’s analysis is rather partial, and does not take into account the presence of other structuring devices; he claims that anaphoric verse stands in place of punctuation (2001: 76). His approach, in broad terms, has some points of interest.

In defining what constitutes an intertextual parallel, the Egyptologist encounters serious difficulties; not least in the partial nature of the surviving record, which makes identification of direct quotations very difficult. Eyre (1990: 155) points out the difficulty of identifying quotations as opposed to formulae which are common to multiple texts; although the two have different functions, the first being to evoke a specific text or extract of text in the mind of the audience, the second to ‘[carry] a ring of familiarity’, it is often problematic to distinguish between the two in practice. Derchain (1994; 1996) also stresses the presence of the author’s intent in including quotations and allusions in his work. Morawski (1970) points out that the presence of quotations is indicative of a level of education and learning, and serves to highlight the erudition of an author, and in some cases serve as an appeal or reference to a higher or more established authority in order to lend weight to an argument or statement.

The presence of quotations, or allusions to other works, in pessimistic and wisdom literature is unsurprising, as these texts emphasise their authority and often their antiquity. Brunner (1979) attempts to establish the intertextual parallels between various wisdom texts and other works, concluding that literal or exact quotations are the exception, and adapted quotations or allusion are more common, and discusses the difficulties of defining a quotation, given the diachronicity of the language (1979: 106-7), asking whether a quantitative approach might be usefully employed, based on the recurrence of a number of keywords, but concluding that the relative infrequency of literal quotation makes such a methodology problematic (1979: 171).

Guglielmi (1984a) points out that the productive transmission of Egyptian texts is apparent in the appropriation of quotations by new authors; this tendency makes it rather more difficult for a modern audience to identify or appreciate quotations, but speaks to an Egyptian literate culture which appreciated these subtle allusions.

The transmission of literature between different time periods, and therefore different stages of the language, often encompassing different media (for the transmission of texts between Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom monumental contexts via a (hypothetical) intermediary papyrus ‘pattern book’, see Kahl (1999)) also creates many problems in identifying direct quotations of texts. Of course, intertextual parallels are a form of textual transmission, but the fact that this survives

only in written form may obscure the transmission of text and text-fragments (quotations) through oral practices, specifically performance (see Eyre 2002: 20; Finnegan 1992). Richard Jasnow's work on the transmission of wisdom texts of the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms into the Late Period and beyond (1999) shows that the 'aphoristic' nature of apparent quotations in Demotic literature makes it difficult to be certain whether the author has accessed the quoted source directly or indirectly (1999: 203)

The presence of intertextual parallels in the Harris Magical Papyrus signifies commonalities between those texts and other sources; these might either be interpreted as indicative of a close link between the two (or more) texts, suggesting transmission, or they might point to a common vocabulary and use of formulaic phrases. Whilst it is not possible to distinguish between these two possibilities in most cases, the parallels highlighted in the texts (see §3.; §4.3.5.) are often to multiple sources, suggesting that their deployment in the texts was in order to access a common sphere of reference, rather than an indication of specific transmission between texts; it also seems likely that the intent of the author in including such parallels was at least partly to signal his erudition and access to restricted knowledge. The initial formula of Spell K (§3.2.3.) includes an 'Alexandrian footnote' (Ross 1975: 78, discussed in Hinds 1998: 2), a device used in Roman poetry to signal erudition.

Quotation of texts is attested outside of 'genre boundaries', as in the case of magico-medical texts quoted in literary sources (see Parkinson 2002: 62; see Fischer-Elfert, 1983: 70; 1986b: 60 for the Ramesside *Satirical Letter* which shows direct reference to magico-medical texts); the parallels identified in this study of the Harris Magical Papyrus texts are generally restricted to a set of texts which can be broadly defined as 'ritual', encompassing magical, medical and religious traditions of text.

1.3.5. Hymnody

An exclusive definition of what constitutes a 'hymn' is problematic, since hymnic texts are found in both temple and funerary contexts, and can be both liturgical and non-liturgical; much of the work of Jan Assmann has been devoted to

the interpretation and study of hymns, particularly New Kingdom solar hymns, which were extensively copied in funerary contexts (Assmann 1983a). Hymns are recitational texts, belonging to that broad category of ‘ritual’, and constituting in the widest sense a written artefact of a human interaction with the divine.

From collections of hymns (most notably Assmann, 1999 [1975] and Barucq and Daumas, 1980), it is possible to define hymns very broadly as laudatory texts framed as an address to a god.

Meeks (2000) discusses two forms of hymns (which he terms *prières*, or prayers), with the incipits *dw3* and *l3w*, and points out the difficulties in applying the ethnographic methodologies of Mauss to an ancient culture (2000: 9-10), particularly because the only record left of prayers and hymns is a written one, which precludes access to the oral form of such texts. Meeks touches briefly on the opposing views of Barucq (1980) and Assmann (1999) with regards to the use of the *incipit* of prayers as a classificatory guide (Assmann arguing that the same prayer may be found with two different *incipits*), and comments that the ideas of Barucq may have been underexplored, that the presence of the two different *incipits* in the same text may not indicate that the terms were used interchangeably, but rather to indicate different aspects of the prayer. Meeks equates hymns with the *incipit dw3w* to hymns of creation, which celebrate the solar rebirth (2000: 12), and those with *l3w* as falling more into the realm of ‘personal piety’, in hymns and prayers in which the supplicant asks for divine intervention, or thanks the deity for his presence/actions (2000: 14-16). However, as Froid (2007: 23) points out, tomb biographies from the mid 18th Dynasty through to the Ramesside Period, could be framed as hymns/prayers ‘characterised by such titles as ‘giving praise to’’. Since the use of *incipits* is not standardised, it cannot be the only criterion on which texts are catalogued (cf. the use of *sb3yt* to introduce different kinds of wisdom texts; Parkinson 2002: 109-110)

Barucq and Daumas (1980) do not really provide an explanation of their understanding of what constitutes a ‘hymn’ or ‘prayer’ in their volume, referring to Assmann (1999 [1975]) for issues of signification, technique and interpretation (1980: 21).

Assmann distinguishes various types of hymnic discourse (1994), including royal eulogies and hymns and *Verklärungen* or glorification spells (1994: 43-50), and has distinguished between liturgical and non-liturgical hymns of the New Kingdom (1969, 1983a) through his exhaustive analyses of the solar hymns of the New Kingdom, found in funerary contexts. He has also suggested a system of classification of hymnic texts into:

- general hymns, which have the features of giving praise, and greeting the gods
- prayers, which have the features of asking for something, and the identification of the individual making the prayer (1999 [1975]: 13)

and a division by the contexts in which hymns and prayers are found into:

- cult hymns
- funerary hymns
- individual prayers
- literary prayer-lyrics (1999 [1975]: 15).

The texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus which display ‘hymnic’ features (see §1.4.5.) fall into Assmann’s category of ‘general hymns’, and their presence in the Harris Magical Papyrus, alongside ‘magical’ texts (§4.3.3.), suggests that the function of these hymns was as part of a prophylactic ritual.

1.3.6. Magic

The volume of scholarship on the topic of magic in ancient Egypt is large, and it would be impossible to survey the entirety of that scholarship here; Robert Ritner provides the most comprehensive and up to date survey of literature and theory on the topic (1993: 4-13; see now Baines 2006 for a survey of magical practice in the Old Kingdom; see also Altenmüller 1980 with bibliography). Many scholars, until relatively recently, have relied upon classical views of magic in Egypt as their inspiration or starting point (see, for example, Pinch 1994: 61); the anthropological approaches of Marcel Mauss (1902-3) and Sir James George Frazer (1922 [2002 abridged]) were historically cited in Egyptological scholarship, but the reading of these sources is problematic (for a critique of the Frazerian approach, see Ritner 1993: 9-11). More recent ethnographic and anthropological approaches are

inspired by the work of Malinowski (1948) on the culture of the Trobriand islanders, and Eliade (1987 [1959]) on the structuring of human experience through reference to the sphere of ‘sacred’ experience, and most significantly Evans-Pritchard (1937; see also Borghouts 1980) whose model of magic as a societal force which maintained harmony because it provided an explanation for misfortune, was attractive to many scholars.

The desire to articulate the ‘exact lines of demarcation (if any exist) of the boundaries between religion, magic and medicine’ (Ritner 1993: 5) has been the focus of much Egyptological research, and as Thomassen (1999: 56) points out, a distinction between ‘religious’ and ‘magical’ texts on the basis that the first is communicative, the second performative, ‘fails...to take the problem of ritual seriously’ (1999: 59¹¹). Ritner argues along the same lines that ‘no opposition between religion and magic can be framed in Egyptian terms, for if *hk3* provides a rough approximation for our term “magic”, no Egyptian word corresponds to the English “religion”’ (1989: 104).

One possible avenue of exploration is to assess what small amount of critical discourse does exist in the Egyptian record on the subject of magic. The word *hk3*, *Heka*,¹² which refers both to the practice of magic and incantations, and the personification of the force into the god Heka, is relatively well attested in funerary literature, notably the Pyramid and Coffin Texts,¹³ as well as in pessimistic literature. Perhaps the most striking passages are these:

ir.n.f n.sn hk3 r ʿh3.w r hsf n hprry rs-tp.tw hr.s<n> grh mi hrw

‘He made for them magic as weapons, to protect against events, watching over them by night as by day’.

Instruction for King Merikare 47 (Helck 1977: 86; translation Lichtheim 1976: I, 106)

¹¹ Cf. the sweeping argument of Sørensen (1984: 5), who asserts that ‘among ancient Egyptian ritual texts there is a well-defined group, traditionally called magical texts, which neither belongs to temple cult nor to funerary and mortuary ritual’.

¹² For treatments of the concept of *hk3*, see te Velde 1970; Kákosy 1977; Ritner 1993: 15-38.

¹³ See e.g. Pyramid Text spell 245 (PT 250d: I, 137); spells 273-4 (PT 397b: I, 207; 410c: I, 214); Coffin Text spell 261, (CT III 382a; III 389e).

iw ms hk3w sh3w smw shnw snh3.w{t} hr sh3(t) –st in rmtw

‘O, yet magic is stripped bare; omens (?) and predictions (?)¹⁴ are made dangerous because of their being recalled by people’.

The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All 6.6-6.7 (Enmarch 2005; 2008)

These two passages present apparently paradoxical statements regarding the place of magic in Egyptian culture, but when it is recalled that the practice of magic is reserved for a professional priesthood, the *Weltanschauung* of Egyptians becomes clearer: magic is powerful and prophylactic *in the right hands*.

The pervasiveness of *Heka* in Egyptian culture, as Alan Lloyd (2006: 71) has pointed out, also makes a treatment of magic, as distinct from religion/ritual/medicine, problematic. Lloyd’s exploration of the place and significance of magic in the literary tales reveals some interesting points about the place of magic in Egyptian culture. For example, he points out that the episodes of magical practice in the stories of P. Westcar (*The Tale of King Cheops’ Court*, see Parkinson 1997: 102-127 for a translation) are presented as entertainment and diversion for the king. This might suggest that magic and the practice of magic were commonly considered as such, or it may be a literary device intended to shock or surprise the audience, implying that magical practice was viewed with more propriety/reverence. Whichever of these was the intention of the author, it is certainly clear that the inclusion of magical episodes in literary tales is not proscribed by decorum, and therefore magical practice at least was an activity which could (in a fictional setting at least) be *performed* in front of an elite audience, and *recounted* before a (slightly less?) elite audience. Lloyd also highlights an interesting recurrent phrase in P. Westcar, which refers to a magician’s accomplishments as *sp.f n rh*, ‘his deed of knowledge’ (Blackman 1988). This has a number of implications: the magician’s accomplishments are built on knowledge, particularly of the magical spells (which have significant force in the magical episodes of Westcar). If knowledge of magic and magical spells is desirable, then a memorable formulation for spells is advantageous. The structural rhythm of many of the texts contained in the Harris Magical Papyrus certainly fulfil this criterion.

¹⁴ Enmarch discusses the exact meanings of the terms *smw* and *shnw* (2008: 225), pointing out that their exact nuances are somewhat problematic.

Ritner (1992) reviews modern and ancient theories of magic from various sources, and then tests their applicability to the Egyptian evidence, in an attempt to discover a universal theory of magic, and points out that in the Egyptian record, it is clear that *Heka* is the force which animates Egyptian religion¹⁵ (1992: 194), and he has also pointed out, pertinently to the collection of texts gathered on the Harris Magical Papyrus, that ‘the same text may serve both as a “mainstream” religious hymn and as private spell, while both temple and private ritual may use identical operations’ (Ritner 1989: 103). For the same approach see also Kousoulis (2003).

The work of Joris Borghouts has been concerned with magic (e.g. 1980) and magical texts (e.g. 1971; 1978), and his anthology of magical writings (1978) is still the standard reference work in English. A more recent anthology of spells, translated into German, by Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert (2005) includes an up to date survey of the literature on Egyptian magic in the introduction.

Yvan Koenig (1994) provides a survey of magical practice in Egypt from the Pharaonic to the Graeco-Roman Period, including some reference to the survival of ancient practices in modern Egyptian belief. In 2002, Koenig edited a volume of conference proceedings; the aim of the conference was to explore the place of magic in Egyptian society. As Ritner has observed, much Egyptological scholarship has focused on the practice of magic, rather than the texts of magic (see e.g. Borghouts 1994, 1995, Koenig 2002).

Probably the closest we can come to understanding ‘magic’ as the Egyptians viewed it, and the most pertinent approach for the study of the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus is the argument put forward by Robert Ritner (1992: 194) that magic was a tool, and was frequently a tool of religion, ‘it is the force which animates Egyptian religion. The techniques of *ḥkꜣ* are in every case those of temple ritual’. The presence of both magical and hymnic texts on the Harris Magical Papyrus suggest that these two styles of text could be used together for a common purpose.

¹⁵ See *The Book of the Heavenly Cow*, ll 218-20, where Re says of spells (*rꜣ.w*): “Behold Heka himself is in them. As for him who swallows/knows them, there am I” (Hornung 1982b).

1.3.7. Archives and Libraries

The definition of an 'archive' (Helck 1975) in Ancient Egypt differs from the modern definition 'institutionalised storage of documents no longer in use' (Quirke 1996: 379); the modern 'Egyptological' use of the term, to designate 'what has survived and is accessible', is used by Quirke (1996: 380) as a starting point for his investigation into the 'Egyptian' concept of archive.

Quirke outlines the survival of 'groupings' of literary manuscripts, including the Late Middle Kingdom Ramesseum and Berlin 'libraries', the Lahun archive, and the New Kingdom Chester Beatty library of the scribe Qenherkhepshef (1996: 390-1). A brief survey of the composition of these ancient groups of papyri is provided:

The Ramesseum library comprised twenty-three papyri, in a very fragmentary state, which were discovered in 1896 in a tomb-shaft of the late 13th Dynasty, part of a late Middle Kingdom cemetery which now lies under the Ramesseum temple (Gardiner 1955: 1; Parkinson 2004: 59). The majority of the papyri are medical and magical texts, but the cache also included three liturgical texts, an onomasticon and literary and wisdom texts; the various dates of the documents 'suggest that it was built up over several generations, and several [of the papyri] seem to derive ultimately from a temple library' (Parkinson 2004: 59).

The 'Berlin' library, which consists of four literary manuscripts, generally dated to the late 12th Dynasty, seems to have been found as a cache (Parkinson 2003: 121; 2004: 52-3). It has been suggested that the 'main' copyist, i.e. the copyist of the majority of the texts, was also the owner of the papyri (Parkinson 2004: 54).

The 'Chester Beatty library', that is the collection of texts collected by the scribe Qenherkhepshef and his descendants, who belonged to the gang of workmen at Deir el-Medina in the Ramesside Period, has been characterised as a 'private library' (Pestman 1982: 155; see also the remarks of Baines and Eyre 1983: 89) in light of the number of literary texts included in the find. Other papyri in this collection include a significant number of magical and medical papyri (Gardiner 1935: xi-xii). The collection was passed through the hands of several owners, all of whom had some effect on the collection, for more than a century before it was deposited (Pestman 1982: 163).

The Lahun cache of papyri, from the Middle Kingdom town site of Kahun, include the only veterinary papyrus extant from Egypt (UC 32036); letters (Collier and Quirke 2002); mathematical, legal, literary, medical and religious documents (Collier and Quirke 2004); and accounts and administrative papyri (Collier and Quirke 2006). These texts cannot have belonged to a single non-royal individual, but must rather represent some kind of town-archive.

Donker van Heel and Haring (2003: 7-18) have provided compelling evidence for the existence of a central administrative archive in Deir el-Medina, by the examination of several factors, including 'clues in the written sources from (the context of) Deir el-Medina', and several ostraca and papyri, each of which contains entries separated in time, i.e. evidence that some documents were kept, filed, and then added to systematically over time. They have also shown (with many caveats as to the partial nature of the evidence) that the methodology of grouping documents according to their headings has some merit in this context (2003: 179), and allows a detailed, and probably reasonably accurate, picture to be drawn of the system upon which the administration (at least 'on paper') of Deir el-Medina was organised (see also Haring 2007).

The Leiden hieratic papyri, most of which derive from the collection of Athanasi, may have originally comprised one or more archives; certainly there are connections between the papyri (e.g. Enmarch 2005: 2-3, P. Leiden I 343 + 345 and P. Leiden I 344 show very similar patterns of damage, and probably originate from the same tomb context), and it has been suggested that the magico-medical papyri which date to the 19th Dynasty, and all of which are recorded as having a Memphite provenance (Saqqara, see Enmarch 2005: 2), P. Leiden I 346; I 347; I 348; and I 349, were originally found together (Borghouts 1971: 14; see also Tait 1995 on the possibility that the Leiden Greek and Demotic magical papyri bought by Anastasi formed a library).

The evidence concerning temple archives, and temple scriptoria is rather sparse; Quirke points out that the only architectural attestations of the 'House of Life' and the 'Store of Documents of Pharaoh, l.p.h.' before the Ptolemaic period

come from stamped bricks from the town site of el-Amarna (1996: 394). The 'House of Life' has been discussed in much literature, often covering the same ground with little progress made (Gardiner 1938a-b; Ghalioungui & Habachi 1971; Ghalioungui 1973; Morenz, L. 2001).

Considering that the Harris Magical Papyrus was found as part of a cache (§2.2.4.), and that it seems to have belonged originally to a temple context (see §2.2.9.), it might have been part of the temple archive of Medinet Habu (see §4.4.).

1.4. Methodology

1.4.1. Provenance and modern archival history

The provenance and modern archival history¹⁶ of the papyrus has not been fully explored in print. Martin Bommas discusses the archival history of the Heidelberg fragments, tracing their journey to Heidelberg after the discovery of the cache (1998: 2-4).

Certain facts were well established by other scholars, for example, the sale of the Harris collection to the British Museum in early 1872 is well documented by Stephanie Moser (2006: 174, 275, n. 14), who even traces the various offers and counter-offers between Selima Harris and the British Museum trustees, in which process Samuel Birch was heavily involved.

Dawson (1949) establishes a basic biography of Anthony Harris, with supplementary details provided by Bierbrier (1995) in his *Who was who in Egyptology* (3rd Edition).

The handwritten proof copy of Samuel Birch's publication of the Harris papyri (which is held in the Archive of the British Museum's Ancient Egypt and Sudan Department, although it is uncatalogued) provided the most useful clues to the actual find-spot of the papyri cache. The information provided by Birch is reproduced from one of the ten notebooks which Anthony Harris kept in his lifetime, which are now housed in the library of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (copies of these were made by Dr. G. Hamernik, and donated to Dr J. Malek of the Griffith Institute in Oxford, who kindly allowed me to view these copies).

From these, and other sources, several of which are unpublished collections of manuscripts and letters housed in the British Library, it was possible to reconstruct a fuller picture of the discovery and/or purchase of the papyri by Harris (§2.2.4.), their sale in 1872 to the British Museum (§2.2.3.), the origins of the (probably apocryphal) tale of an explosion in Alexandria which damaged the papyri (§2.2.7.4.), and the journey of the fragments of the last three columns to Heidelberg (§2.2.7.3); it was also possible to reconstruct the probable original composition of the cache (§2.2.9.), and thus to speculate as to the reasons for the cache being

¹⁶ By which I mean the history of the Harris Magical Papyrus, and the Harris cache, after their discovery in Thebes, until the present day.

redeposited in a Theban tomb, and further the probable original context of the Harris Magical Papyrus in a temple scriptorium or archive (see also Tait 1995: 174).

1.4.2. Verse points and Pen refillings

As has been pointed out above (§1.3.2.), verse-points and other ‘punctuation’ markers found in Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom and later have received a reasonable amount of scrutiny by scholars, and their function is reasonably well-understood.

The mistakes in verse-pointing, which are identified and discussed in the textual analysis, are relatively infrequent, but where they do occur, they allow a close reading of the process by which the scribe copied, and later verse-pointed the document, which analysis is supplemented by scrutiny of the patterns of pen-refillings in the verse-points and red-inked sections of text (§4.2.).

The erroneously placed verse-points in Hymn H (see §3.1.16.) which also survives in a later copy in Hibis temple in the Khargeh oasis, are evidence that the scribe has misplaced verse-points because he omitted a word; this provides an insight into the process of copying and compiling the papyrus. Of course, the partial preservation of the papyrus in the last three *recto* and first two *verso* columns means that this analysis is limited to the well-preserved columns.

The pattern of the pen-refillings is mapped and discussed in detail in §4.2. The methodology for this analysis is taken from the work of Allen (2002) and Parkinson (2009) (see §1.3.2.). In light of the partial preservation of the manuscript, it seemed prudent to perform this analysis on a case-study basis, since the fragmentary nature of the later columns and the facsimile nature of the lithograph of Chabas (the only surviving record of the full text of these columns) cannot be relied upon to produce a continuous enough text for study (see comments on Reconstruction of the Papyrus §Appendix 1).

Pen-refillings are characterised by a darker colour, higher density inking of signs, which can have a rather daubed appearance due to the amount of ink picked up by the brush. However, as Parkinson observes, the refillings are never identical (2009: 90), and thus the amount of ink carried on the brush from each refilling varies

considerably. Identifying refillings, and points at which the scribe rotated the ‘nib’ of the pen in order to use the ink from the other side of the brush, or sharpened or replaced the pen (see Allen 2002: 77), is an intuitive and subjective process, requiring a careful reading of the hieratic. The aim of this analysis was to show that the scribe had a level of literacy which allowed him to scan the versification of the text as he was copying, naturally showing a tendency to refill his pen at the start of verses (i.e. after the verse-point, or the place where he knows the verse-point will fall; or to look at it another way, to refill his pen after completing verses, performing this refilling when he reaches a point where the verse-point will fall).

Both ‘pen-turnings’ and pen-refillings are artefacts of the scribe pausing in his copying, suggesting a subconscious identification of a ‘break’ in the text, i.e. the end of a verse.

The pen-refillings in the case-studies included in §4.2. were identified and then collated against the original papyrus in the British Museum. During this process of collation, I examined the Introductory Text A on the first *recto* column (§3.1.1.), and the following black-inked text, which appeared to be much fainter than expected. When beginning the copying of a manuscript, it might be natural to expect the scribe to fill both his black and red pens before commencing; on examination of the papyrus, this did not appear to be the case, rather the ink of both the opening rubric and the following black ink appeared to be rather pale, suggesting at first that perhaps the scribe had not filled his pen before commencing his copying. An alternative explanation¹⁷, and one that seems to make far better sense of the materiality of the writing, is that the scribe had over-moistened his ink cakes at the start of the copying process, and the ink was correspondingly rather faint. By the time the first refilling occurs, at the start of the second verse of the first section, the excess water has begun to disappear, and the ink is darker and more dense in colour. The presentation of the transliterated texts, with pen-refillings marked (for which §4.2.2.) is based on the methodology of Parkinson (2009: 279-322).

¹⁷ R. Parkinson *pers. comm.*

1.4.3. Verses and stanzas: text divisions

As noted above (§1.3.3.), the Fechtian tradition of prosodic analysis defines ‘verses’ by means of analysis of accented syntactic elements, which make up cola; cola are then grouped into verses, and the verses are grouped by means of *parallelismus membrorum*.

The presence of verse-points in the Harris Magical Papyrus is indicative of the original Egyptian division of the texts into smaller units, or verses, and ‘verse’ here is taken to mean a unit of text delimited by verse-points, which is usually, but not always, equivalent to a clause, rather than equating to the Fechtian usage of the term ‘verse’ (Fecht 1982).

These verses are grouped into what are termed here ‘stanzas’; although this term has some other definitions in Egyptological literature¹⁸, it is readily understandable, and reflects the definition which is adopted here: a group of verses which show some form of *parallelismus membrorum*, on a syntactic, grammatical or semantic level, and which can be intuitively understood as a unit. This definition is deliberately flexible, to reflect the variety of structures deployed in the texts here, and there are several instances in this analysis where stanzas might readily be conflated, or divided further without affecting the overall shape of the text; these instances are noted in the commentaries to the texts.

The texts contained on the Harris Magical Papyrus are divided visually by means of passages in red ink. These might strictly be referred to as ‘rubrics’, in the literal sense that they are written in red ink¹⁹, however since this term has been used more generally to mean something closer to ‘introductory phrase’ (Allen, T. 1935; Posener 1949), or according to the other usage of the word, ‘a set of rules of conduct, instructions for use’, in the case of the Harris Magical Papyrus the terminology needs careful deployment. In some cases, instructions for the deployment of a spell, or a magical substance activated by the spell, are given in red ink at the close of an incantation (e.g. Spell K, terminal formula, §3.2.3.).

¹⁸ See Parkinson 2002: 114-5 for stanzas as sections of text that ‘are marked off from one another by rubrics of some or all words of the first verse’, or delimited by the *grh* sign; these accord with what are here taken to be markers of divisions between texts.

¹⁹ From the Latin *ruber* – ‘red’.

Therefore, the terms ‘initial formula(e)’ and ‘terminal formula(e)’ will be used in this analysis to denote the parts of each text which lie outside the speech-act of the text; i.e. those passages which provide a metatextual commentary, including ‘instructions for use’ (usually, but not always in the terminal formula, e.g. ‘to be recited four times’), or a heading, acknowledging the placement of the text within a corpus, or briefly describing its contents (e.g. ‘another spell’). This designation means red-inked text *may* be part of an initial or terminal formula, but does not *have* to be. In the case of several of the hymns, where one or more words of the *incipit* or opening verse is written in red ink, this allows this text to be treated as a purely visual indexer, a way of marking textual divisions in the papyrus, without excluding the text from the speech-act of the hymn, which in several cases would be nonsensical.

It is clear from an analysis of the text in red ink in the papyrus that the scribe-copyist viewed the use of red ink in a partly pragmatic and functional sense; sections which close with extensive red-inked text are usually followed by sections where the use of red ink to mark the beginning of the text is less extensive, or absent, presumably because in these cases the divisions between the texts are clear enough from the red ink at the close of the previous incantations (§4.3.2.).

In light of this terminology, the word ‘incantation’ is used throughout this analysis to indicate the speech-act²⁰ of a text, i.e. that which was intended to be spoken, as opposed to that which was not intended for utterance. The use of this word is not intended to imply any theoretical standpoint about the practice of magic or hymnody, or the performance of the texts, but rather reflects a distinction evident in the structure and contents of the texts; in the few cases where the distinction becomes more problematic, this is discussed in the commentary to the text.

The sections into which the papyrus may be divided, according to the formulae, are taken from Leitz (1999), although these designations are revised here in order to provide a clearer picture of the division of the manuscript into different

²⁰ The term ‘speech-act’ is borrowed from the theories of John Austin (1975; 1979) and his successors (see Searle 1969; Alston 2000, and is used here to indicate the locutionary nature of parts of the texts, as distinguished from the instructional nature of the formulae.

types of text. A concordance of the section titles used here with those given by Leitz is provided (§1.4.6.). These section divisions are based on the presence of text in red ink delimiting the beginning and end of the texts; however I do not claim any determinacy for the divisions, since, as Eyre (2002: 5) notes, it is possible that the individual texts may comprise a longer, episodic ritual, with ‘variant texts for different occasions, or variant orders of performance’.

1.4.4. Rhetorical devices

As has been outlined above (§1.3.3.), the identification of poetic features can be problematic, and the theories on what constitutes prosody are not yet in agreement. Kitchen (1999: xiii) defines poetry, broadly, as ‘the artistic use, and variation in use, of language in non-mundane formats, to create special effects in the minds of readers or hearers’.

Guglielmi (1986a) comments that ‘style’ is very hard to define – it might be considered ‘linguistic decoration’, or the characteristic expressions of a single author or work, or more broadly. She groups stylistic devices into: devices of repetition, devices of word and sentence position (i.e. syntactic devices), devices of abbreviation, devices of accumulation, tropes, and devices of periphrasis and disguise, and goes on to list all the possible devices within each category.

Not all of these devices are present in the Harris Magical Papyrus, and some of the devices listed by Guglielmi are considered to be reasonably standard features of written Egyptian, e.g. ‘prolepsis’, which comes under Guglielmi’s category of ‘devices of word and sentence position’, and which is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary*²¹ as ‘the rhetorical figure in which a matter is stated in a brief summary manner before the particular details, aspects, etc., are set out’. The use of anticipatory emphasis in Egyptian is relatively common in narrative and other contexts (Gardiner 1957: 114-117).

The devices identified and discussed in the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus, and the terminology used to explore the rhetorical and structural patterning

²¹ <http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.liv.ac.uk/>

of the texts, are listed below as a convenient (but by no means exhaustive) catalogue, with definitions of rhetorical figures²² taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary*. In each case, if the device belongs to a category observed by Guglielmi (1986a), this is indicated in parentheses before the definition:

Terminology used in this analysis:

Onset: the first part or clause of a verse.

Terminus: the last part or clause of a verse.

Onset and Terminus are not definitive syntactic or semantic elements; rather the terminology is used to refer more generally to parts of the verse, there being no clear division in Egyptian between the beginning part and the ending part of a verse.

These terms are not derived from any particular tradition of linguistic analysis, and were chosen to be descriptive.

Transitional verse: A verse which falls outside the pattern of the verses in a stanza, or marks a point of departure between stanzas. This may occur either at the end of a hymn/spell, or at a transitional point within the text (often to mark a change of focus, such as the transition between narrative and dialogue). Used structurally to effect transition/ending.

Illocutionary Statement: These are nominal patterns with first person independent pronoun, used to equate and transform the practitioner into (or allow him to impersonate and use the characteristics of) a powerful force or deity: e.g. ‘I am Horus’. Such utterances usually occur after other parts of the incantation have been spoken - these can be seen as analogous to the ‘necessary and sufficient conditions’ which characterise a successful performative speech-act: the illocutionary statement (Austin 1975: 14-15; 33-38; Searle 1969: 57-62; with modifications to the theory by Alston 2000).

An Illocutionary Statement can also occupy the structural and functional place of a Transitional Verse. On the technique of identification of a practitioner with a divine entity, see Kousoulis 2002: 56).

²² Note that some of the terminology used here does not apply only to rhetorical figures, nor is it the usual vocabulary of textual analysis. In these cases, my own definition is appended.

Chiasmus: (device of word and sentence position); ‘A grammatical figure by which the order of words in one of two parallel clauses is inverted in the other’, forming the pattern A-B-B-A. In this analysis, the more modern, broader meaning of the device is used, so that both inverted grammatical structure and inverted word order and meaning are encompassed.

Alliteration: (device of repetition); ‘The commencing of two or more words in close connexion, with the same letter, or rather the same sound’. Although the phonetics of Egyptian are not fully understood, the repetition of the same phoneme at or near the start of several words is evident, and must have had some alliterative force.

Anaphor: (device of repetition); ‘The repetition of the same word or phrase in several successive clauses’, specifically, the repetition of the same word or phrase at the onset of successive verses or clauses. See also Goelet (2001: 75-76).

Paronomasia: (device of repetition); ‘Wordplay based on words which sound alike; an instance of this, a pun’. Although the vocalisation of Egyptian is not well understood, on a morphological level, it is possible to identify words which share enough phonemes to suggest that a form of paronomasia is intended; the use of homonymic words is relatively common in the Harris Magical Papyrus.

Wordplay: (device of repetition; see also Guglielmi 1986c); ‘The action of playing with words; witty use of words, esp. of verbal ambiguities’; this term is used with paronomasia to describe the verbal wit of some of the texts.

Asyndeton: (abbreviation) also referred to as apposition; ‘A rhetorical figure which omits the conjunction’.

Ellipsis: (abbreviation); ‘The omission of one or more words in a sentence, which would be needed to complete the grammatical construction or fully to express the sense’. Ellipsis in Egyptian is fairly common, and can be used as a functional device in monumental contexts to allow more text to be fitted into a space (see Gardiner 1957: 410-412).

Personification: (trope); ‘The attribution of human form, nature, or characteristics to something; the representation of a thing or abstraction as a person (esp. in a rhetorical figure or a metaphor)’.

Metaphor: (trope); ‘A figure of speech in which a name or descriptive word or phrase is transferred to an object or action different from, but analogous to, that to which it is literally applicable’.

See also Guglielmi (1986b) on similes using *mi* and equivalent expressions.

Antonomasia: (periphrasis and disguise); ‘The substitution of an epithet or appellative, or the name of an office or dignity, for a person's proper name, as *the Iron Duke* for Wellington, *his Grace* for an archbishop. Also, conversely, the use of a proper name to express a general idea, as in calling an orator *a Cicero*, a wise judge *a Daniel*.’ The use of epithets in place of names, particularly of the gods, is extremely well-attested in Egyptian texts, and the Harris Magical Papyrus is no exception.

Paradox: (periphrasis and disguise); ‘*Rhetoric*. A figure of speech consisting of a conclusion or apodosis contrary to what the audience has been led to expect’.

Symploce: ‘A figure consisting in the repetition of one word or phrase at the beginning, and of another at the end, of successive clauses or sentences; a combination of *anaphora* and *epistrophe*’, creating a ‘ring’ composition; this is very common in magical spells, not just of the Harris Magical Papyrus, some of which also mention the knotting of a piece of fabric, as a ritual action to underscore the symploce.

Parallelism: repetition of a conceptual unit, construction or non-metrical unit within two or more contiguous verses. This also works on a semantic level, where two or more verses are connected by means of shared semantic reference. This term is less specific than Anaphor, and refers to instances where the repetition is not obvious on a morphological (i.e. when the repetition is not of a word/phrase, but of the same idea/concept), or syntactic level (when the repetition is not of a syntactic object/unit), but works on a cultural, linguistic, phonological or grammatical level.


Injunction: this term is in a modal sense to encompass a number of constructions (including the imperative, the subjunctive/prospective, and emphatic forms) which are framed as instructions in stronger (*realis*) or weaker (*irrealis*) terms (Saeed 2003: 139-140).

1.4.5. Classification of the texts by characteristics


As discussed above (§1.1.; 1.3.3.; 1.3.5.; 1.3.6.), identification of textual genres and the delimiting of the boundaries of those genres is highly problematic. Nonetheless, the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus do display features which allow for an internal differentiation between the two ‘styles’ of text, which are gathered into the two sections of the papyrus (§1.1.). As convenient labels, the terms ‘hymn’ and ‘spell’ are retained here (see Leitz 1999: 1 for the characterisation of the texts as ‘hymns and invocations’ and ‘conjurations to be spoken on water’). The use of these terms is not intended to convey implications of function; rather it is a reference to the compositional style of the texts, the ‘speech-styles’ they display, which can incorporate features of both ‘hymns’ and ‘spells’ (see §1.3.3.; 1.3.5.; 1.3.6.)

This approach is in part inspired by the work of Koen Donker van Heel and Ben Haring on administrative documents from Deir el-Medina (2003: 85-122), in which they take as their point of departure for the classification of administrative texts the Egyptian terminology used to describe such texts in their ‘headings’ (the first lines of documents; 2003: 85), and investigate how consistently the internal features of these documents allow a classification of texts according to their headings.

The aim here is to distinguish between two speech-styles, and to investigate whether some analogue of the ‘document heading’ of Donker van Heel and Haring can be used as a classificatory tool. It has already been observed (§1.4.3.) that some of the texts have initial and terminal formulae, which fall outside the incantation, i.e. which do not seem to form part of the speech act. Even the most cursory of glances at the texts suggests that this approach has some merit: of the seven texts after the Introductory Text A (§3.1.1.), only one has any form of initial formula, and that is Hymn H (§3.1.15.); of the next fifteen texts, only two have no initial formula, the first, Spell I (§3.2.1.) and the twelfth, Spell U (§3.2.23.). This would seem to be a good system by which to classify the texts, with these three exceptions. In fact, where the texts have initial formulae, these even seem to be reasonably consistent as labels, and the terminal formulae, where they exist also have some consistency of function:

Text ²³	Initial Formula	Terminal Formula
A	n/a	n/a
B	None	None
C	None	None
D	None	None
E	None	None
F	None	None
G	None	None
H	<p><i>dd.in hmnyw• nw p3wtyw tpy• wry tri ntr imy.sn• ks<w>.f hđ iw.f m nbw• hrw-tp.f m hsbđ m3^c•</i> </p> <p>Then spoke the Ogdoad, of the first primaeval gods, the great ones who show respect for the god who is among them, whose bones are bright/silver, whose flesh is (of) gold, that which is on his head is of true lapis-lazuli.</p>	None
I	None	<p><i>dd-mdw <hr> twt n Imn 4 hr <hr> nhb w^c• sšw hr s3tw• msh hr rdwy.f• hmnyw <hr> wnmy.f i3bt.f• hr irt n.f i3wt•</i></p> <p>Words to be spoken <over> an image of Amun, with 4 heads/faces <on> one neck, drawn upon the earth, a crocodile under his feet, the Ogdoad <on> his right and left, giving him adoration.</p>
K	<p><i>r tpy n ššsy m mw nb• iw dd hry-tp r.f• m wb3 im.f n k3wy• sšt3 m3^c n pr-</i></p>	<p><i>dd.tw r pn <hr> swht n sin• rdiw m drt s m-h3t dpt• ir pry nty hr</i></p>

²³ For the texts labelled thus, see below §1.4.6. (Concordance).

	<p><i>ḥnh</i>[•]</p> <p>First spell of all the water-spells about which chief lector priests say: Do not reveal it to others; a true secret of the House of Life.</p>	<p><i>mw</i>[•] <i>h3c.tw hr mw</i>[°]</p> <p>This spell is to be spoken <over> an egg of clay, which is placed in the hand of a man at the front of a boat. If the one who is on the water should come out, it is thrown on the water.</p>
L	<p><i>ky r</i>[•]</p> <p>Another spell</p>	<p><i>dd.tw sp 4</i>[•] <hr> <i>wḏ3t twt n In-hrt m-hnw.s</i>[•] <i>n sš</i> <hr/m> <i>drt n s</i>[•]</p> <p>To be recited four times, <over> a wedjat-eye with the image of Onuris inside it as a drawing <on/in> the hand of a man.</p>
M	<p><i>ky r</i>[•]</p> <p>Another spell</p>	<p><i>dd.tw sp 4</i>[•]</p> <p>To be recited four times.</p>
N	<p><i>ky r</i>[•]</p> <p>Another spell</p>	<p><i>dd.tw sp 4</i>[•]</p> <p>To be recited four times.</p>
O	<p><i>ky r</i>[•]</p> <p>Another spell</p>	<p><<i>dd.tw?</i>> <i>sp 4</i>[•]</p> <p><To be recited?> four times.</p>
P	<p><i>ky r</i>[•]</p> <p>Another spell</p>	None
Q	<p><i>ky r</i>[•]</p> <p>Another spell</p>	<p><i>dd.tw sp 4</i>[•]</p> <p>To be recited four times.</p>
R	<p><i>ky r</i>[°]</p> <p>Another spell</p>	None
S	<p><i>ky r</i></p> <p>Another spell</p>	None
T	<p><i>ky r</i>[•]</p> <p>Another spell</p>	None, only  .
U	None	None
V	<p><i>ky r</i>[•]</p> <p>Another spell</p>	<p><i>dd-mdw ...</i>[•]</p> <p>Words to be spoken [over two crocodiles?]</p>

X	<i>kt rw[•] n h3^c shi[•]</i> Other spells for/of leaving the field	None
Y	<i>ky r^o n ɛnb ɛnbw</i> Another spell, of/for the tying of alfa-grass	None

Fig. 1. Initial and Terminal Formulae of all texts

None of the first seven texts after the Introductory Text A has a terminal formula of any kind, and only one of these, the last (Hymn H, §3.1.15.) has an initial formula. In contrast, most of the following fifteen texts have both initial formulae, and eight of these also have terminal formulae. The most common initial formula is *ky r*, ‘Another spell’, and the element *r* or *rw* ‘spell/spells’ is common to all these initial formulae. This term, although it is most frequently translated as ‘spell’, does not in itself infer that the text is magical in nature; Ritner (1993: 40-42) discusses the use of this term in labelling sections or chapters of mortuary literature such as the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead, and to describe the ritual incantations of lector-priests. Nonetheless, the consistency with which the term is appended to some of the texts here does suggest the beginning of a framework within which the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus can be differentiated and classified.

The terminal formulae are similarly consistent; although the exact content and length varies (see also §4.3.1.), all the formulae include reference to the speech-act of the incantation (‘words to be spoken’, ‘this spell is to be spoken’, ‘to be recited’), and all of them provide instructions as to the performance of the spell; in the terminology of speech-act theory, they specify the conditions under which the incantation becomes successful (see above §1.4.4. and Austin 1975: 25-38; Searle 1969: 57-62; Alston 2000). The implication of this is that the performance of the texts which have a terminal formula requires these instructions to be followed; of course this cannot be taken to mean that the texts which do not have a terminal formula could be performed in any old way: the performative conditions of these texts may simply have been well known enough not to require textual transmission.

Although the first seven texts after the Introductory Text A do not have initial formula of their own, that is they do not have any sort of ‘label’ or heading, five of the seven do have an opening phrase which may be significant:

Text	Opening phrase
B	<i>ind-hr.k</i> Hail to you
C	<i>ind-hr.k</i> Hail to you
D	-
E	<i>i</i> O
F	<i>ind-hr.tn</i> Hail to you
G	<i>dw3w</i> Adoration
H	Initial Formula – n/a

Fig. 2. Opening phrases of the Hymns (Texts B-H)

From this, it becomes apparent that although these phrases cannot be taken as analogues of the initial formula, in that they do require to be spoken aloud (see §1.4.3.) to make sense of the incantation, they also indicate the attitude of the text, that it is explicitly framed as a direct address to the god(s) (see the theory of Meeks (2000: 12), who uses the different *incipits* of hymns as a classification of their purpose, §1.3.5.).

However, this classification, by the presence or absence of initial and terminal formulae, and the content of these formulae, would be rather empty and mechanistic, and has no real relevance unless the texts (i.e. the incantations, rather than the formulae) classified thus into two groups share some common features. It is possible to identify certain features of the spells (i.e. Texts I – Y) which are apparent on a relatively cursory reading, and use these as possible criteria for a system of classification; these features include: use of the injunctive forms (imperative, subjunctive, emphatic *sdm.f* used to convey an injunction) in the incantations, use of the illocutionary statement (see §1.4.4.) to impersonate a god or powerful force (the equation ‘I am X’), and the deployment of a threat or a conditionality formula (see Morschauer 1991: 1-37) which threatens the

consequences, usually using the particle *ir* to mark conditionality²⁴. An analysis of the frequency²⁵ with which these features appear in each of the texts will show whether the classification of the texts as ‘hymnic’ (generally not having an initial or terminal formula; see §1.3.5.) and ‘magical’ (generally having an initial formula which includes the element *r* or *rw*, and a terminal formula which includes instructions for the recitation of the incantation; see §1.3.6.) is legitimate. It will also suggest a broad basis for the characterisation of each group of texts. The Introductory Text A (§3.1.1.) is excluded from this analysis.

Text	Injunctive forms	Illocutionary Statements	Threats or Conditional formulae
B	0	0	0
C	0	0	0
D	1 ²⁶	1	0
E	0	0	0
F	5	0	0
G	1	0	0
H	0	0	0
I	8	1	1
K	0	2	0
L	0	2	4
M	3	1	0
N	0	1	0
O	1	0	0
P	1	1	0
Q	1	1	0

²⁴ Although note that the Sixth Stanza of Spell X (§3.2.27.) is taken as a list of threats, despite not being framed thus.

²⁵ This analysis is necessarily somewhat approximate, since different readings of verb-forms are possible, and instances where a form is followed by *sp sn* have been taken as only one instance; in addition, the use of the conditional particle *ir* can govern more than one ‘consequence’, and therefore could be counted as a different number of occurrences, where here the number of instances of phrases governed by *ir* have been included; nonetheless, the analysis is instructive in broad terms.

²⁶ Note that the injunctive form and the illocutionary statement here both fall within the stanza which may be intrusive (see §3.1.8.)

R	3	0	0
S	2	0	0
T	4	3	0
U	4	1	0
V	2	0	0
X	10	1	6
Y	11	0	0

Fig. 3. Frequency of the magical features in the texts

From this analysis it seems that in broad terms the division of the texts into the two categories has some merit – broadly the second set of texts contains more of the features discussed than the first set; the labels of ‘hymn’ and ‘spell’ are therefore applied, to distinguish between the two styles of text, rather than to arbitrate as to their function, or context of usage. This distinction, which retains the idea that magical texts can be used as hymns and vice-versa, allows for the complexity of the texts, many of which contain elements of both ‘styles’.

1.4.6. Reconstruction of the papyrus

Since 1860, when Chabas first published the Harris Magical Papyrus, complete with lithographs plates of all the columns of the papyrus, no full photographic edition of the papyrus has been made available in print. Budge (1910) published photographic plates of the columns of the papyrus which were preserved in the collection of the British Museum, as part of his series of facsimiles of papyri, notably including an image of part of the second *verso* column, which is preserved on the obverse of the sixth and seventh *recto* columns – of which the whole of the sixth, and a small section of the right hand edge of the seventh *recto* column are preserved in the British Museum (frame 3) –see Plates 12 & 23. This part of the second *verso* column is inexplicably missed out of Leitz’s 1999 photographic plates.

Neither Akmar’s 1916 nor Lange’s 1927 publication included any images at all of the papyrus, and it was not until Bommas’ 1998 publication of the Heidelberg fragments that the existence of these partially preserved, hitherto ‘missing’ columns was suspected. Leitz’s publication of the Harris Magical Papyrus in 1999 was as part of a wider collection of New Kingdom magical and medical papyri in the collection

of the British Museum, and as mentioned above, his photographic plates omit one part of the preserved *verso*. Leitz comments (1999: 1) that he sought permission to publish the Heidelberg fragments with the British Museum columns, but publication of the Heidelberg fragments by Bommas was already underway.

Although the black and white photographic plates in Bommas' publication of the Heidelberg fragments are not particularly easy to make out, it is possible, using the lithographs published by Chabas in 1860 as a guide, to reconstruct what remains of the seventh, eighth and ninth *recto* columns, and the first and second *verso* columns, using computer graphics packages to fit together the significant Heidelberg fragments and the much smaller British Museum fragments from these columns. This synoptic reconstruction, shows that the lithographs published by Chabas are not a tracing of the hieratic text. The lithographs were based on photographs (or possibly facsimiles) of the papyrus made by either Anthony Harris or his daughter Selima, sent to Chabas (§2.2.7.1.), and although they provide an excellent image of the text, do not exactly reproduce the hieratic and its format on the papyrus.

1.4.7. Concordance

Since the texts have been given slightly different designations in this study than those of Leitz (1999: 31-50), a concordance is provided:

<u>Designation of text</u>	<u>Leitz's Designation</u>
Introductory Text A – I, 1	Section A
Hymn B – I, 2 - I, 8	Section B
Hymn C – I, 8 – II, 2	Section C
Hymn D – II, 2 – III, 3	Section D
Hymn E – III, 3 – III, 5	Section E
Hymn F – III, 5 – III, 10	Section F
Hymn G – III, 10 – IV, 8	Section G
Hymn H – IV, 8 – VI, 4	Section H
Spell I – VI, 4 – VI, 9	Section I
Spell K – VI, 9 – VII	Section K
Spell M – VII, 4 – VII, 7	Section M
Spell N – VII, 7 – VII, 8	Section N

Spell O – VII, 8	Section O
Spell P – VII, 8 – VII, 12	Section P
Spell Q – VII, 12 – VIII, 1	Section Q
Spell R – VIII, 2 – VIII, 4	Section R
Spell S – VIII, 4 – VIII, 5	Section S
Spell T – VIII, 5 – VIII, 9	Section T
Spell U – VIII, 9 – IX, 5	Section U
Spell V – IX, 5 – IX, 14	Section V
Spell X – Vs. I, 1 – II, 1	Section X
Spell Y – Vs. II, 1 – II, 9	Section Y
Spell Z – Vs. III, 1 – III, 5	Section Z

2. Description of the Papyrus, Provenance, Acquisition and Archival History

2.1. Description of the Papyrus

2.1.1. Introduction

Papyrus BM EA 10042, usually referred to as the “Harris Magical Papyrus”, currently in the collection of the British Museum, with significant fragments in the Portheim-Stiftung collection in Heidelberg (Inv. Nr. 24475)²⁷ was acquired by the Museum in 1872 from Ms Selima Harris, the daughter of Mr A.C. Harris, who was a resident of Alexandria, and avid collector of Egyptian antiquities.

Since its discovery, the papyrus has attracted interest, not only because of the nature of its contents, but because of the good preservation of the manuscript (at least in the case of the remaining columns), and the relative fineness of the hieratic hand in which it was written.

Although the papyrus was republished relatively recently, by Christian Leitz (1999, reviewed Müller, 2002: 425-435²⁸), with transcriptions and plates, much of the technical data about the papyrus contained in this volume relies heavily on the much earlier editions of the papyrus by Chabas (1860 and 1873), Budge (1910) and Lange (1927) (see §1.3.1.), despite the fact that none of these editions contained photographic plates: Chabas included only lithographed plates²⁹ in his volume, and did not collate his work against the originals, since he never visited Egypt (see 2.2.7.1). Chabas re-edited the papyrus in 1873, giving a new translation, and a brief comment on the function of the verse-points, but included little further description (Chabas 1873: II, 242-278).

A careful examination of the papyrus in the British Museum has yielded a great deal of further information relevant to this analysis, which is not included in Leitz’s

²⁷ There are 43 fragments in total in the Heidelberg collection, many of which have been carefully rejoined; the plates in Bommas (1998) show the results. See also the reconstruction of the papyrus; §Appendix 1.

²⁸ Müller praises Leitz’s edition for presenting the hieroglyphic transcription, translation and photographic plates together for the first time, but comments that the quality of the black and white photos is sometimes strained, and that digital publication on the Internet of colour plates would have been advantageous (2002: 425). He also suggests that the fragments on plates 24-25 that cannot be identified as belonging to the missing pages, may belong to another Harris papyrus (2002: 433).

²⁹ Based on photographs sent to him by Harris; see §2.2.7.1.

edition³⁰. Since this study will rely on textual and physical markers in the papyrus, it is pertinent to include a full description of the manuscript.

The *recto* originally consisted of nine columns, and the *verso* of three columns, inscribed horizontally from right to left in hieratic. The text is mainly inscribed in black ink, with formulae and corrections in red ink, and is verse-pointed throughout, mostly in red ink, except where verse-points lie above a formula in red ink, in which case the verse-points are made in black ink.³¹

The colour of the papyrus of the remaining columns is reasonably consistent, being a light golden-brown. There is no evidence of any varnishes or other substances being applied to the surface, although a few joins and breaks have been reinforced. Cols I – VI are generally in a very good state of preservation, with a few lacunae to the edges, most of which do not hinder reading of the text, and one or two small lacunae along page joins or folds where the papyrus has become most worn. No conservation data is available on the papyrus, so it is to be assumed that the reinforcement of the joins was done some time ago.³²

The papyrus is of a fine quality and even texture, with no traces of palimpsest visible, which is unusual for a magical papyri – generally speaking only administrative, funerary and accounting texts were transcribed onto clean rolls (Parkinson & Quirke 1995: 48 comment on the prestige attached to a document written on a ‘new roll’, e.g. in the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, B2 129, Parkinson 1991a; Caminos 1986: 49). There are occasionally instances where the scribe erased and re-wrote a word as he went along.

³⁰ For example, as Müller observes (2002: 433), Leitz’s plates do not show the left hand half of the second verso page, preserved on the obverse of rto. V-VI, although this image is included in the plates of Budge’s much earlier edition (1910: pl. XXX).

³¹ The choice of red and black ink, although most usual for papyrus documents of this sort, nonetheless seems to have had some symbolic significance; Černý (1952: 12-13) comments on the association of black with *kmt* (Egypt, fertile land) and red with *dšr* (desert, liminal lands). Hence red ink was avoided in writing gods’ names, since the colour was inauspicious (see Posener 1949); this is exemplified, e.g. in the Terminal Formula of Spell I (§3.2.1.)

³² The Conservation Department was only formed in 1979; no reports exist of the state of the papyrus upon accession to the Museum in 1872, nor are there conservation reports for this papyrus since 1979.

Of these nine *recto* columns, the first six are preserved with little or no damage, and the last three are almost entirely destroyed, with some fragments surviving. Of the three *verso* columns, part of the second and all of the third column are preserved on the obverse of *recto* V-VI.

Budge³³ (1910: xv) says that ‘the total length of the two remaining portions is 5 feet [1.52m], and the average width is 8 ½ inches [21.6cm]’. Leitz (1999: 31) records the total length of the remaining columns (I-VI) as 1.60m, and the height as 21.5cm. The Heidelberg fragments are substantial enough to reconstruct the greater part of the whole papyrus, with an estimated original length of 2.09m in total (Bommas 1998: 6-8).

This height would accord with Černý’s measurements for a half-roll during the New Kingdom, specifically in the Ramesside Period, which was the most common size of roll for literary texts at this time (1952: 16; see also Parkinson & Quirke 1995). The choice of papyrus size would of course partly have depended on the intended text to be inscribed on the papyrus.³⁴

The fibres of the *recto* are horizontal over vertical (H/V), and the *verso* is vertical over horizontal (V/H), which is the most frequent configuration (Parkinson & Quirke 1995: 14; Bommas 1998: 8).

2.1.2. Detailed description of the papyrus, by column.

The nine *recto* and three *verso* columns are mounted in six frames in the British Museum. The second and third frames are mounted so that the top and bottom margins of the papyrus are not visible (see Plates), so that the heights given for cols. III-VII are only approximate; this also means that measuring the top and bottom margins is impossible. The relationship of the inscribed columns to each of the British Museum frames is as follows:

Frame 1: *recto* col. I-II

Frame 2: *recto* col III-IV

Frame 3: *recto* col. V-VI (with the right hand margin of col. VII preserved at the left

³³ Neither Chabas nor Lange comment on the dimensions of the papyrus.

³⁴ Other considerations which might affect the choice of papyrus size would have been the availability of different sizes of roll, and the decision to use a clean roll, rather than re-use (a re-used roll could be cut down to a smaller size, but would not have been made taller).

side of the frame); obverse: *verso* col. II (partially preserved) and III (fully preserved).

Frame 4. fragments of *recto* col. VII, mounted with a copy of Chabas' lithograph of this column; obverse of fragments: *verso* col. II

Frame 5. fragments of *recto* col. VIII, mounted with a copy of Chabas' lithograph of this column; obverse of fragments: *verso* col. I

Frame 6. fragments of *recto* col. IX, mounted with a copy of Chabas' lithograph of this column; obverse of fragments: blank, part of blank margin on the *verso* (see §2.1.3.)

Kolleseis are right over left which is the usual way of joining papyrus sheets into a roll (Parkinson & Quirke 1995: 15).

At the beginning of the roll, i.e. the right hand vertical edge of the sheet containing Column I there is a margin, measuring 7.6cm (average) horizontally; collation of the original proves that this is a separate sheet, joined to the sheet of Column I, right over left, and perfectly clean, with no sign of any palimpsest traces; leaving a margin at the beginning of a roll is standard practice for beginning a text on papyrus, allowing for the possible damage which would result from the rolling and unrolling of the papyrus (Černý, 1952: 19). There are some small lacunae in this margin, which do not obscure any signs.

Column I *recto*

Height of text column: 16.0cm

Width of text column: 24.4cm³⁵

Dimensions of the papyrus sheet³⁶: height – 21.4cm; width – 24.9cm.

Number of lines of text: 11 (1 short line, 10 full lines)

The top margin measures 2.3cm (min) vertically.

The bottom margin measures 2.9cm (min) vertically.

³⁵ Note that these measurements are the maximum dimensions of the area of the inscribed columns of text (cf. Leitz 1999: 31).

³⁶ These dimensions are given in order to show the size of the original sheets of papyrus on which the text was inscribed; the height is the average vertical distance between the top and bottom edges of the papyrus (where visible); the width is the average horizontal distance between the kolleseis.

The text of Column I begins 1.0cm (average) horizontally to the left of the kollesis to the margin/sheet.

The next kollesis falls almost exactly at the end of the inscribed column of text (*recto* column I) with a few signs just overflowing onto the next sheet; columns I and II remain joined.

The margin between the two text columns (I and II) measures 2.0cm horizontally (average).

Column I is mounted so that the outer edges of the papyrus are visible, the only sheet to be thus mounted. There is a small lacuna in line 2, which obscures part of one sign, and there are a number of vertical cracks in the sheet, which are to be expected as the result of unrolling; none cause any significant lacunae in the text. The obverse of this sheet is backed with paper in the mounting, and is believed to be blank.

Column II *recto*

Height of text column: 16.0cm

Width of text column: 23.4cm

Dimensions of the papyrus sheet: height - 21.4 cm; width - 25.0cm.

Number of lines of text: 11

The top margin measures 2.3cm (min) vertically.

The bottom margin measures 2.9cm (min) vertically.

The horizontal margin between the kollesis with column I and the beginning of the text of column II measures 1.7cm (average).

The kollesis falls almost exactly at the end of the inscribed column of text (*recto* column I) with a few signs just overflowing onto the next sheet, a small margin of which is preserved, since the cut falls to the left of the kollesis.

Column II, which is mounted with column I, so that the outer edges are visible, has a vertical crack which has been reinforced, and a small lacuna in the top margin, which obscures a couple of signs of the first line of this column. The mounting is backed with paper, obscuring the obverse, which is believed to be blank (see below for discussion and §2.1.3.).

Column III *recto*

Height of text column: 15.8cm

Width of text column: 23.2cm

Dimensions of the papyrus sheet: height - 19.2 cm + x ; width - 23.5cm.

Number of lines of text: 11

The text of column III begins a margin of 0.8cm (average) horizontally to the left of the sheet edge (cut).

The kollesis falls almost exactly at the end of the column lines, again with a few signs just overspilling onto the next sheet; columns III and IV remain joined.

The margin between the two text columns (III and IV) measures 1.2cm-2.1cm horizontally.

Column III is mounted with column IV, unfortunately in such a way that the top and bottom edges of the papyrus are not visible, making the exact height of the sheet impossible to ascertain for certain; nonetheless, the whole frame is considerably less wide than the first frame containing columns I-II. The column has a lacuna in the top margin of the papyrus, of which a fragment remains; this is slightly displaced to the left in the mounting, so that the top parts of some signs do not attach to the bottom parts (see §3.1.7.). Some signs of the first line of the column are lost. This frame is also mounted with paper obscuring the obverse, which is believed to be blank.

Column IV *recto*

Height of text column: 15.8cm

Width of text column: 23.2cm

Dimensions of the papyrus sheet: height -19.4cm + x ; width – 24.5cm.

Number of lines of text: 10

The margin between the kollesis with column III and the beginning of the text of column IV measures 1.6cm (average) horizontally.

The kollesis falls almost exactly at the end of the column lines, again with a few signs just overspilling onto the next sheet, a small margin of which is preserved, since the cut falls to the left of the kollesis.

The column contains 10 full lines of hieratic, possibly because the writing at the left hand side of the column shows a tendency to slope downwards, compressing the available space for the other lines.

There is a vertical crack, which has been reinforced, and some tiny amounts of damage to signs in lines 5-7, but otherwise the column is almost perfectly preserved. The obverse is obscured by paper and is believed to be blank.

Column V *recto*

Height of text column: 15.5cm

Width of text column: 23.3cm

Dimensions of the papyrus sheet: height – 19.1cm +x; width – 24.1cm.

Number of lines of text: 10

The text of column V begins after a margin of 0.6cm (average) horizontally to the left of the sheet edge (cut).

The kollesis falls almost exactly at the end of the column lines, again with a few signs just overspilling onto the next sheet; columns V and VI remain joined.

The margin between the two text columns (V and VI) measures 2.0cm horizontally (average).

Column V is mounted with column VI, and the beginning of column VII, unfortunately in such a way that the top and bottom edges of the papyrus are not visible, making the exact height of the sheet impossible to ascertain for certain. A large margin (in comparison to the bottom margin of sheet VI) is left at the bottom of sheet V – almost as if the scribe were leaving space for another line. There are three vertical cracks, two of which have had to be reinforced, and some insignificant lacunae; no signs are lost. The obverse of this sheet preserves the left hand side of column III *verso*.

Column VI *recto*

Height of text column: 15.8cm

Width of text column: 23.7cm

Dimensions of the papyrus sheet: height - 19.1cm +x; width - 25.1cm.

Number of lines of text: 12 + 1

The margin between the kollesis with column V and the beginning of the text of column VI measures between 1.0cm (average) horizontally.

The kollesis falls almost exactly at the left hand edge of the text column, with a few signs just overspilling onto the next sheet, a significant margin of which is preserved, since the cut falls to the left of the kollesis.

This column contains 12 full lines of hieratic, as well as one smaller inserted line written separately beneath the main column, marked for insertion by a small cross at the right hand end of the line.

There is a significant vertical crack, partially reinforced, due to which some signs are lost. There is a reinforced vertical crack along the kollesis to column VII, the first few signs of each line of this column being preserved, due to the mounting of the papyrus. The obverse of this sheet preserves about a third of the left hand side of column II *verso* (not shown in Leitz's plates) and the right hand side of column III *verso*.

Column VII *recto*

Height of (preserved part of) text column: 15.6cm

Width of text column: unknown

Dimensions of the papyrus sheet: height - 19.1cm +x; width unknown.

Number of lines of text: 12

The text of column VII begins after a margin of between 1.2cm (average) horizontally to the left of the kollesis; the total preserved width of this sheet is 3.6cm (max) horizontally.

The margin between the two text columns (VI and VII) measures 1.6cm horizontally (average).

This column is now in a fragmentary state. In the collection of the British Museum, the 11 extant fragments of the remainder of the column are mounted beneath a copy of the lithograph published in Leitz (1999: pl. 17a; for the original of the lithograph, see Chabas 1860: lith. VII), with the position of the fragments traced onto the lithograph, and numbered, by Leitz (see Plate 14); the right-hand edge of the sheet is preserved, still joined to column VI.

In the collection in Heidelberg, two fragments of the column are preserved, one of which preserves significant parts of the left hand side of the first eight lines (see §**Appendix 1.**).

The 11 fragments in the British Museum are partially rejoined into 8 groups and measure as follows:

Fragment 1: 6.5cm width (av.), 6.0cm height (max). Part of the top margin is preserved, measuring 2.9 – 3cm. The fragment preserves parts of the first two lines of this column.

Fragment 2: 3.2cm width (av.), 3.5cm height (av.). Parts of lines 4-6 are preserved.

Fragment 3: 2.0cm width (av.), 2.2cm height (av.). Part of line 8 preserved.

Fragment 4: 2.2cm width (av.), 2.3 cm height (av.). End of line 8 preserved.

Fragment 5: 2.0cm width (av.), 2.4 cm height, (av.). Parts of lines 9-10 preserved.

Fragments 6 + 8: 6.8cm width (max), 3.1 cm height (av.). Parts of lines 9-11 preserved.

Fragments 7 + 10 + 11: 13.8cm width (max), 4.1cm height (av.). Parts of lines 9-12 preserved.

The obverse of the fragments of the column correspond to fragments of column II *verso*.

Column VIII *recto*

Height of text column: unknown

Width of text column: unknown

Number of lines of text: 12

This column contained 12 lines of hieratic according to Chabas' lithograph (1860: lith. VIII), and is even more poorly preserved than column VII, with only two tiny fragments preserved in the British Museum, mounted beside a reproduction of the lithograph, with the original position of the fragments traced onto the lithograph. There are also 14 fragments of varying sizes in Heidelberg, from which no one line can be fully reconstructed (see §**Appendix 1.**), nor can the exact dimensions of the original sheet be ascertained.

The two fragments that are preserved in the British Museum measure as follows:

Fragment 12: 1.4cm width (max), 2.5cm height (av.). Part of line 1 is preserved.

Fragment 13: 2.2cm width (av.), 2.0 cm height (av.). Part of lines 9-10 is preserved.

These fragments correspond on the obverse to parts of column I *verso*.

Column IX *recto*

Height of text column: unknown

Width of text column: unknown

Number of lines of text: 12 + 2

Column IX originally contained 12 lines of hieratic, the last of which did not stretch the full width of the column. Beneath this, there are two further partial lines, neither of which is aligned on the right hand side with the main column.

Only three fragments are preserved in the British Museum collection, numbered by Leitz and mounted in two groups beside a copy of the lithograph (Chabas 1860: lith. IX) with the positions of the fragments marked. One of the fragments fortunately preserves the unusual terminal formula of the crocodile sign/mini-vignette at the end of this column.

The measurements of the British Museum fragments are as follows:

Fragment 14: 3.1cm width (av.), 2.0cm height (av.). Part of line 3 preserved.

Fragments 15 + 16: 7.5cm width (max), 7.0 cm height (max). Parts of lines 8-12 preserved.

To these can be added a number of fragments preserved in the Heidelberg collection, although as the reconstruction of these columns of the papyrus shows (see §**Appendix 1.**), this sheet has sustained the worst damage, and it is not even possible to verify the total number of column lines.

The obverse of *recto* IX does not seem to have been inscribed, the scribe having left this substantial margin once he had turned the papyrus around a vertical axis, having finished writing the *recto*. He did not turn the papyrus around a horizontal axis, so that the top of the *recto* corresponds to the top of the *verso*.

Column I verso (obverse of Column VIII recto)

Height of text column: unknown

Width of text column: unknown

Number of lines of text: 10

The first column to be inscribed on the verso, after the extensive blank margin which covers the width of the obverse of *recto* IX, falls almost exactly on the obverse of *recto* VIII. From the reconstruction of the Heidelberg fragments (see Bommas 1998: 7) it seems that the scribe has fitted this column into the boundaries of the sheet, so that the columns of writing on both the *recto* and *verso* are contained almost exactly within the boundaries of the papyrus sheet; this is not always the case, often scribes will write over a kollesis on the obverse of a papyrus.

For comments on the dimensions of the fragments preserved, see the comments above on Column VIII *recto*.

Column II verso (obverse of Column VII - VI recto)

Height (of preserved section of text column): 10.1cm

Width (of preserved section of text column): 10.0cm

Number of lines of text: 9

This column is partially preserved on the obverse of the fragments of Column VII *recto* and the obverse of Column VI *recto* (see §2.1.3.). For comments on the fragments and their dimensions, see above, Column VII *recto*.

The second *verso* column seems to have been rather wide, since the obverse of the fragments of Column VII *recto* (both the British Museum and Heidelberg fragments) preserve the majority of the right-hand side of the column, and the left-hand side is preserved on the obverse of Column VI *recto*.

This column therefore, did not fall exactly on the obverse of one sheet as the first *verso* column (and margin) did; since the first *verso* column did not seem to over-run the kolleseis, the right hand margin of the second *verso* column would (presumably) have been aligned with the kollesis, thus the column lines must have been longer, causing the lines to overflow the kollesis to the left by a considerable distance. This resulted in the happy accident that when the papyrus was cut for mounting (in modern times), the left hand side of the second *verso* column was preserved on the obverse of Column VI *recto*.

Column III verso (obverse of Column VI - V recto)

Height of text column: 4.5cm

Width of text column: 22.0cm

Number of lines of text: 5

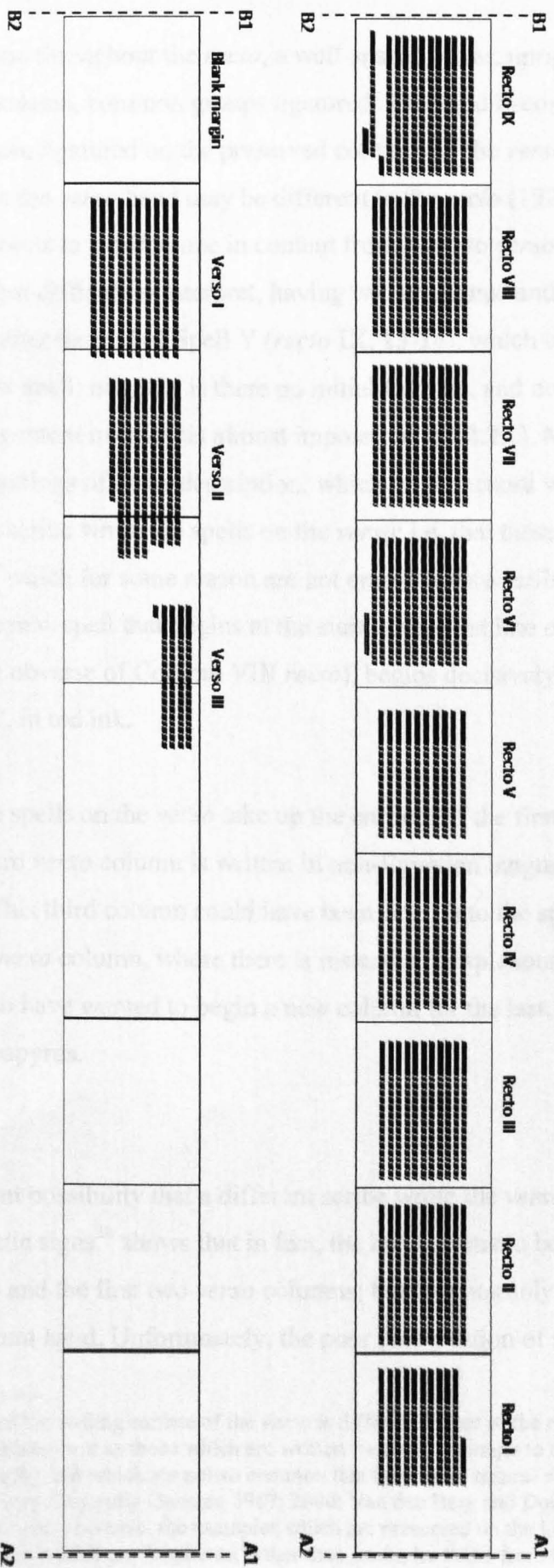
The third *verso* column is preserved intact on the obverse of Columns VI-V *recto*, again, overflowing the sheet join. There is a sizeable blank space between Column II and III *verso* (6.5cm (max) horizontally), which is wider than any of the spaces between the columns preserved on the *recto*.

The column consists of a mere four full lines, and one very short line, of hieratic, which are written much closer to the top of the papyrus sheet than the preceding column, which is unexpected considering that the text ends there, leaving the remainder of the obverse of Column V *recto* and (presumably, although the backs of

the other two frames are not visible due to the mounting) the remaining four sheets of the verso blank. This suggests that the scribe perhaps intended to write another text below the third *verso* column, and therefore started his writing closer to the top edge of the papyrus to create space. Since the papyrus contains no further text, this is highly speculative, and cannot be proven.

The vertical crack in this sheet only obscures one sign, otherwise the various areas of damage have no effect on the text.

2.1.3. Plan of the Papyrus



2.1.4 Hand

The hand is the same throughout the *recto*, a well-spaced, clear, upright literary hand, with some isolated, common groups ligatured. The hand becomes a little less confident and more ligatured on the preserved columns of the *verso*³⁷; indeed Lange suggests that the *verso* hand may be different to the *recto* (1927: 7; Bommas 1998: 10), and points to a difference in content from *recto* to *verso*. The end of the *recto* is somewhat difficult to interpret, having two unaligned and apparently intrusive lines after the end of Spell V (*recto* IX, 13-14), which certainly cannot be the start of a new spell: not only is there no initial formula, and no text written in red ink, but the content makes this almost impossible (§3.2.25.). Most likely these two lines are jottings of some description, which might accord with the suggestion that a different scribe wrote the spells on the *verso*; i.e. that these are the final musings of scribe A, which for some reason are not erased before scribe B writes the *verso* texts. The new spell that begins at the start of the first line of the first *verso* column (i.e. the obverse of Column VIII *recto*), begins decisively with the phrase *kt rw*, ‘other spells’, in red ink.

The two Canaanite spells on the *verso* take up the entirety of the first two *verso* columns, and the third *verso* column is written in non-Egyptian language, transcribed into hieratic. This third column could have been fitted into the space at the bottom of the second *verso* column, where there is instead a conspicuously deep margin; the scribe seems to have wanted to begin a new column for the last, and most obscure text on the papyrus.


2.1.4.1. Diagnostic signs

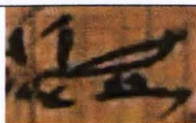


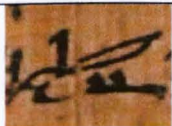




Despite the apparent possibility that a different scribe wrote the *verso* texts, an examination of diagnostic signs³⁸ shows that in fact, the hand seems to be the same throughout the *recto* and the first two *verso* columns; but that possibly the third *verso* column is in a different hand. Unfortunately, the poor preservation of some of

³⁷ Possibly because the texture of the writing surface of the *verso* is different to that of the *recto*.

³⁸ Diagnostic signs have been chosen here as those which are written frequently enough to display the scribe’s characteristic palaeography, but which are not so common that they show natural variation, as happens when a sign is written very frequently (Janssen 1987; 2000; Van den Berg and Donker van Heel 2000). The signs listed here are, of course, the examples which are preserved on the intact columns or the British Museum or Heidelberg fragments, rather than examples taken from Chabas’ lithographs (see §1.4.6. and §Appendix 1.)

the columns makes this analysis problematic in places; however it is possible to demonstrate the consistency of the hand across the *recto* and first two *verso* columns, and to suggest that the third *verso* column may be in a different hand:

1. Horus falcon -  Gardiner (1957: 467) G5; Möller G184

<i>Location in Text</i>	
I, 7	
I, 8	
II, 10	
III, 9	
IV, 4	
VII, 10	
VIII, 1 ³⁹	
IX, 6	

³⁹ Note that this image is taken from the reconstruction of the British Museum and Heidelberg fragments, see §Appendix 1.

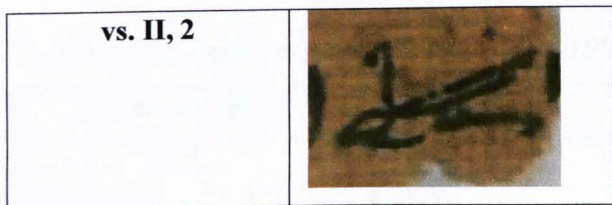


Fig. 4. Instances of the *Hr* sign

2. Seth headed god -  Gardiner (1957: 449) C7







<i>Location in Text</i>	
III, 9	
V, 8	
VI, 5	
VI, 8	
vs. I, 8 ⁴⁰	
vs. III, 4	

Fig. 5. Instances of the Seth-headed god determinative

Notice that the example on the third *recto* column is rather different: the ears of the god are pointed forward, and the downward stroke at the back of the god is more angular than in all the other examples.

⁴⁰ This instance is definitely the correct sign, but the preservation of the fragment is not great enough to show the sign very clearly.

3. Man with hands raised -  Gardiner (1957: 445) A28; Möller A4


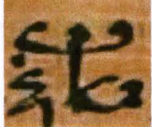
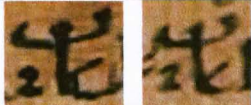


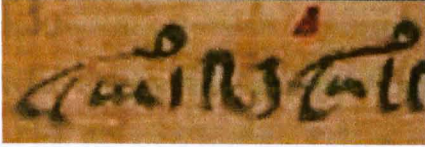




<i>Location in Text</i>	
I, 3	
I, 10	
II, 4	
vs. I, 3	

Fig. 6. Instances of the man with both hands raised determinative

4. Papyrus book determinative  Gardiner (1957: 523) V12; Möller V522

<i>Location in Text</i>	
I, 7	
I, 8	
III, 8	
VI, 10	
VII, 4	

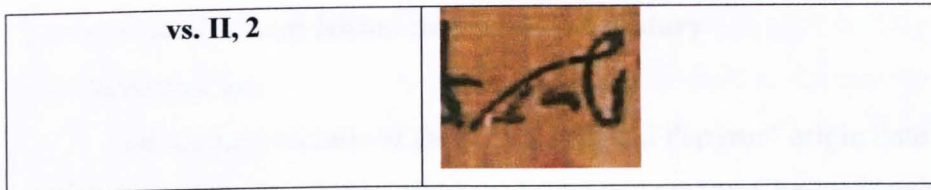


Fig. 7. Instances of the papyrus book determinative

Note that the example from the second *verso* column seems somewhat different to the examples on the *recto*, however without further examples, this could simply be an instance of scribal variation.

From these examples it is possible to be reasonably certain that the hand is consistent across the *recto* columns and the first two *verso* columns, and it seems possible that the third *verso* column may have been written in a different hand.

2.1.5. Dating the papyrus

According to Budge the Harris Magical Papyrus probably belongs to the latter half of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1910: xv); this dating is supported by Lange (1927: 7) and Leitz (1999: 1), although without specific reasoning given, and the palaeographic dating of the text by Bommas (1998: 8-12) shows that the papyrus can be dated to the reign of Ramesses III. Möller uses the Great Harris Papyrus as one of his forms in the second volume of his work on Hieratic Palaeography (1927), and the palaeography of the Harris Magical Papyrus is very close to this. This date, in the context of the composition of the cache to which the Harris papyrus belonged, is considered below (§2.2.9.)

2.2 Provenance, Acquisition and Archival History

2.2.1 Introduction

The earliest records of the Harris Magical Papyrus' origin date to the winter season 1854-55, when it was obtained by a Mr Anthony Charles Harris, of Alexandria, during a trip to Luxor⁴¹, accompanied by a friend (Dawson, 1949: 163). Like so many Egyptian papyri, the exact find-spot is difficult to pin down, and all that can be said for certain is that the papyrus was found on the Theban West Bank.⁴² After its discovery, apparently as part of a cache, the papyrus remained in the collection of Anthony Harris for some time, passing to his daughter Selima on his death. She sold the papyrus to the British Museum in 1872, along with other papyri from the Harris collection. The circumstances under which the fragments which are currently housed in Heidelberg came to be there are not entirely clear, but some parts of the story can be reconstructed (see §2.2.7.3).

2.2.2. Anthony and Selima Harris

Anthony Charles Harris was a British merchant and commissariat officer, who spent much of his working life living in Alexandria, and travelling around Egypt; born in 1790 in London, he briefly entered into business with his brother, trading as "Harris & Co." before leaving for Alexandria. He is usually recorded as having been the "Consul" or "Consul-General" in Alexandria (see for example, Budge, 1910: xv), however, this is inaccurate (Dawson, 1949: 161; Bierbrier, 1995: 191)⁴³.

He was a collector of, and sometimes a dealer in, Egyptian antiquities and his collection upon his death was extensive and extremely important, especially in terms of the papyri he gathered.

⁴¹ Chabas (1860: 1) and Lange (1927: 5) both give the more precise date of "February 1855" which cannot be justified further: Harris' notebooks do not mention the date of the discovery.

⁴² For the apparent connections between the Harris Magical Papyrus and Medinet Habu, see §3.1.14. and §3.1.16.; also §4.4.

⁴³ Amongst Warren Dawson's papers, now housed in the British Library, Dept. of Manuscripts, there is a copy of a letter from the Foreign Office, to Dawson, confirming that Anthony Harris is not recorded as a Consul at Alexandria at any time between 1828 and 1869, but that there is a record 'of the death in Nov. 1869, of a Mr. Anthony Charles Harris of Alexandria, a pensioner, formerly of Her Majesty's Commissariat Department (Dawson mss 13: Biography, No. 56285, Letter from the Under-secretary of State, 18th Nov. 1948.)

His notebooks, of which twelve are preserved amongst his papers in the collection of the Library of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria,⁴⁴ provide a record of Harris' numerous visits to many sites in Egypt, often returning again and again,⁴⁵ and his copies of inscriptions and monuments, often with detailed measurements and calculations.

Harris seems to have filled his notebooks in a rather haphazard fashion; although some entries are carefully dated⁴⁶ and explained, others are more mysterious, and the dates in the notebooks show that he did not fill one notebook and then start the next; thus Notebook 10 contains the dates 1857-8, then eighty pages later, 1855, then 1859 again, twenty pages later. It seems possible therefore that the notebooks may represent later copies of data collected at various points, explaining the lack of chronological order.

He was esteemed amongst the Egyptological community as a scholar, and for his discovery of two Greek papyri,⁴⁷ the Hypereides Papyrus, and a copy of the greater part of the Iliad, the former of which he published in 1848 (Harris 1848); he published a second monograph, *Hieroglyphical standards representing places in Egypt supposed to be its nomes and toparchies* in 1852.

He was President of the Egyptian Society in Cairo in 1836, and died Alexandria, 23 November 1869 (Dawson, 1949: 163; Bierbrier, 1995: 191).

His collection passed on his death to his daughter, Ms Selima Harris, born c.1827 to Harris and "an African lady" (Bierbrier, 1995: 191) (although other sources report that Selima was adopted by Harris: see Dawson, 1949: 164; Brugsch

⁴⁴ Donated by Selima Harris to the then-Director of the Museum G. Botti in 1896 (Hamernik in prep.). Copies of these notebooks were made by G. Hamernik, and donated to Dr. Jaromir Málek, of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, who kindly allowed me to view the copies.

⁴⁵ Brugsch also comments on Harris' travels, adding that his 'abundant means' allowed him to travel on 'his own Nile ship' every winter (1894: 121).

⁴⁶ E.g. Notebook 4, Sheet 4.125 bears the inscription '24 Dec/Mar – Gurneh' and a detailed note about the quarries there.

⁴⁷ Brugsch comments (1894: 121-2) on Harris' discovery: 'Thus on his visit to a cave full of crocodile mummies, opposite the town of Monfalut in Upper Egypt, he came upon embalmed human corpses, which had found their last resting-place, no one knows for what reason, in the midst of the monsters. On the body of one of them he discovered two voluminous papyrus rolls with writing in Greek letters. One contained the speeches of the Greek orator Hyperides, the other the greatest part of Homer's Iliad. Both finds deserved sensation in the scientific world at that time and the name Harris was on everyone's lips.'

1894: 122 seems very certain of her adoption, almost certainly for reasons of decorum).

She was educated in England, and later became her father's "constant companion" (Bierbrier, 1995: 191), being fluent in French, Italian and Arabic as well as English, she was a celebrated heiress and society hostess in Alexandria, and Heinrich Brugsch, who met her in 1851, declared her 'downright charming' (Brugsch 1894: 122; 136⁴⁸).

August Eisenlohr (then professor of Egyptology at Heidelberg; Bierbrier 1995: 96) visited the Harrises in 1869 shortly before Anthony's death, and it was Selima who showed him the papyri, as her father was too unwell. C.E. Wilbour, writing in 1880 mentions her with great affection (Capart 1936: 3, 6), and she corresponds with Chabas after her father's death (Dawson 1949: 163). Florence Nightingale met the Harrises in Cairo on her return from Nubia in 1850 and she leaves a touching portrait of Selima:

The next day we sat at home, we were weary, and the H-----s came to wish us goodbye, and to see my sacred Ibis, and compare it with the ancient sculptures - they had never seen one, it has become so rare. Mr Harris is now the best antiquarian in Egypt, and his daughter is very learned too. I was very sorry to part; she is almost the only person I can talk to about Egypt - we "understand each other".

(Nightingale 1988 [1854]: 185)

Due to severely straightened circumstances (Brugsch 1894: 123) after the death of her father, Selima brought the Harris collection to England in 1871,⁴⁹ and later sold it to the British Museum.

⁴⁸ Although it should be noted that Brugsch's comments are not entirely flattering: 'Even though her Negro face left everything to be desired in beauty, one forgot the ugliness of her face in conversation with her, for besides her intellect she possessed a pleasing eloquence and a sparkling wit, which immediately won the hearts of her listeners. Only the great fortune which was assured her through the will of her foster father, after his death, attracted many a suitor, but she once remarked to me, smiling, "Tell me, with such a face, what European will marry me out of purest love?"' (1894: 122)

⁴⁹ See correspondence between Selima and Birch, now stored in the Archives of the British Museum (AES/ME) No.s 2237-2324, 1868-1881, Ha-Hem.

Selima was nominated as a Lady Member of the Society of Biblical Archaeology in 1872, by Samuel Birch, then Keeper at the British Museum (Bierbrier 1995: 27-28). She died in Ramla, Alexandria on the 18 March 1899, leaving her property to Waynman Dixon, the civil engineer who participated in the removal of Cleopatra's Needle from Luxor to London (Bierbrier 1995: 87).

2.2.3. The Harris collection

During his frequent travels around the sites of Egypt, Anthony Harris amassed a large collection of Egyptian material, the most famous part of which was a collection of papyri, to which the Harris Magical Papyrus belonged. The majority of this collection was sold to the British Museum after his death. The material sold included:

- The Harris Magical Papyrus (P. BM EA 10042) 19th/20th Dyn. (Leitz 1999; Bommas 1998)
- The Great Harris Papyrus (P. BM EA 9999) 20th Dyn. (Grandet 1994)
- The “literary” Papyrus Harris 500 (P. BM EA 10060) 20th/19th Dyn. (Budge 1923)⁵⁰
- Three Tomb-Robbery Papyri: BM EA 10052-4 20th Dyn. (Peet 1930)
- Hieroglyphic Book of the Dead: BM EA 9990 ?*Date unknown – fragment too small* (Unpublished)
- Hieratic Book of the Dead: BM EA 10203 21st Dyn. (Unpublished; see Niwiński 1989: 335)
- A small demotic fragment: BM EA 10442 (now joined to P. BM EA 10404, from the Hay Collection, acquired by the Museum in 1868) *Ptolemaic*. (Andrews 1990)
- Greek Papyri No 107 (*Iliad*) and 108 (*Hypereides*)⁵¹ and one other. *Greek*
- Numerous objects, including stelae, a stone sarcophagus and small objects (Dawson, 1949: 164: e.g. BM EA 857, 961, 968-70, 982, 1001).

It should be noted that the Harris numbering system, whereby, for example, the Great Harris Papyrus is “Papyrus Harris No. 1” and the Harris Magical Papyrus is

⁵⁰ See also Fox (1985: 7-29) and Mathieu (1996: 55-65).

⁵¹ See Whitehead (2000: 19 and ff.).

“Papyrus Harris 501” should not be taken to indicate that Harris possessed over 500 papyri in his lifetime – it is believed that this numbering system was applied by Harris to the entirety of his collection, which may well have numbered into the hundreds (Grandet, 1994: 4). Indeed, catalogues of the Harris collection,⁵² in the Archives of the British Museum, support this; they seem to have been drawn up by Selima Harris, after her father’s death, in order to offer the collection for sale, and the numbering system they employ corresponds to the “Harris numbers” recorded in the British Museum catalogue.

There seems to have been some haggling over the price of the collection; a ‘Copy of bill of Sale: Trustees of the British Museum to Miss Selima Harris of Alexandria, Egypt’⁵³ lists the total purchase price of the ‘9 Egyptian, 5 Greek’ papyri as £3300.00, but goes on to lay out the contents of the purchase thus:

‘Great Papyrus	5000
Other hieratic papyri	200
Gk papyri	1500’

The remainder of the collection is then detailed, with a final price of ‘1892.50’, bringing the price of the whole collection to £8592.50. These figures do not seem to tally with the purchase price of £3300, nor do they accord with the final purchase prices recorded in the Minutes of the Standing Committee of the Trustees (see below, n. 58-59); the reason for the discrepancies is unclear.

However, this is not the full story. In 1869, Samuel Birch, then Keeper of the Egyptian Department of the British Museum, had emphasised the importance of the Harris collection, and suggested to the Trustees that Stuart Poole, Assistant Keeper of the Antiquities Department, be sent to Egypt to examine it. Poole’s letters are preserved in the Archives, one of which, dated 10th February 1870, discusses the importance of the Great Harris and Harris Magical Papyri, and goes on to say:

‘With respect to the value of the collection, the price asked is £15 000. The late viceroy Sa’eed Pasha offered £10 000, a friend of the owners informed

⁵² AES Ar. 229, which comprises 29 pages of a handwritten list of what must be the Harris collection; Ar. 241, entitled ‘Catalogue of Egyptian and Greek antiquities collected by the late Mr A.C. Harris of Alexandria, consisting of a distinguished series of Monuments and the most valuable Papyri now offered for sale on application to J. Bonomi Esq. Curator of Sir John Soane’s Museum, 13, Lincoln’s Inn Fields, London.’, followed by a list of the Egyptian and Greek papyri offered for sale.

⁵³ At the end of AES Ar. 241.

Mr Poole that he believed £8 000 would be accepted. Mr Poole is, however, of opinion that £10 000 is the minimum price, and should such a price be offered it is not certain that it would be accepted without the withdrawal of some objects not absolutely required for the Museum collection. A valuation is appended with the inventory'.⁵⁴

A much more informal note, at the start of this volume in the Archive, and probably penned by Poole, reads:

'A much more important subject is that of Mr Harris' papyri as Mr Harris is now an old man and has had paralysis. His faculties are not greatly impaired yet. I saw him in bed and he talked with coherence (?) about the Papyri. Still, it appears likely that he will not live very long.

His daughter (whose property he declares the papyri to be) will not part with them as long as her father lives, but upon his decease she will no doubt be ready to treat as they are considered to form an important item in her fortune. She is a highly intelligent female and quite alive to the value of the collection'.

However, in 1871, the Trustees rejected the purchase of the collection for £15,000,⁵⁵ and they again rejected Selima's next offer,⁵⁶ a year later in 1872, for £5,000.⁵⁷ Birch disagreed with this decision, and the trustees finally agreed to purchase the papyri for £2,000,⁵⁸ paying another £1,700 in 1874 for the remainder of the Harris collection.⁵⁹ It seems that Selima's 'fortune' was not to materialise from this sale; the Acquisition Register of 1872, Vol. 1 lists 9 Egyptian papyri, with the same entry for all, under the column 'How Acquired': 'Purchased of Miss Selima Harris of Alexandria together with five⁶⁰ Greek Papyri for £3,300.' This figure is unexpected, and would suggest that the purchase of the objects other than the papyri (which number over 300) was for a rather paltry £400. How the final prices given in the various sources correlate with one another is unclear.

⁵⁴ AES Ar. 244.

⁵⁵ MSCT December 9, 1871:12312. See also Moser 2006: 174, and 275, n. 14.

⁵⁶ Made through Isabella Mary Martin, sister-in-law to Joseph Bonomi, who acted as Selima's agent in England (this is shown in the correspondence between Selima and Birch, see above, n. 49.)

⁵⁷ MSCT March 9, 1872: 12374.

⁵⁸ MSCT October 12, 1872: 12530.

⁵⁹ MSCT June 13, 1874: 13029.

⁶⁰ This number does not accord with other accounts of the number of Greek papyri in Harris' collection; see §2.2.6.

The British Museum was not the only institution to have an interest in the Harris collection. As early as 1867, Karl Richard Lepsius attempted to acquire the Great Harris Papyrus from Anthony, who turned him down (Virey 1898: 72, n. 5); in 1871, Auguste Mariette writes to François Chabas that he offered 50 000 francs for the Great Harris Papyrus on behalf of the Bulaq Museum, but was refused by Selima (Virey, 1898: 120, n.1; §2.2.7.2.).

2.2.4. The acquisition of the Harris papyri by A.C. Harris

In the winter season 1854-5 Anthony Harris visited Upper Egypt as was his custom, apparently accompanied by ‘a London business friend, who happened to be visiting him at Alexandria’ (Dawson, 1949: 163). The letters from this friend to his wife, which Dawson cites, suggest that during this visit, Anthony Harris purchased some papyri, some of which he later re-sold, from an Italian antiquities dealer, Castellari,⁶¹ who lived in a structure on the roof of Luxor temple.

However, there are some difficulties with this supposition: Bierbrier’s biographical entry for Castellari (1995), records that he died in 1848. Harris himself records that he purchased papyri from ‘a dealer in antiquities at Thebes of Upper Egypt in the spring of 1847’; he goes on to note that ‘in a visit to Thebes during the Spring of the present year [1848], I used my best endeavours to ascertain the spot from which these mss were taken by the Arab excavators, but without success’ in his introduction to his publication of the Greek Hypereides papyrus (1848: Introduction); this dealer seems likely to have been Castellari,⁶²

⁶¹ Romer, 1846: 148, ‘Signor Castellari, a Roman who resides at Luxor for the purpose of collecting antiquities, would soon make himself known to us, and we had also been cautioned about the prices he would ask us for his *objets de curiosité*; so thus forewarned, we deemed ourselves forearmed: but the wily Italian was too many for us.’ There is no mention of papyri in any of her dealings with Castellari, although she mentions his ‘abode (for he occupies the apartment constructed fifteen years ago among the ruins for M. Lebas, the French engineer, who came out to Luxor to superintend the removal of the obelisk from its original position before the temple to the Waterside...’ (1846: 149).

⁶² Castellari is also mentioned in the letter of Joseph Arden to Lord Londesborough, Feb. 14, 1858, Dawson Mss. 23, f. 143 (British Library, Department of Manuscripts). Arden (1800 – 1879), an English barrister and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries is known to have visited Egypt in 1846-7, and the letter to Lord Londesborough records that during this visit, he purchased some antiquities, including another of the Hypereides papyri, from ‘native diggers’, on the understanding that this purchase was to be kept secret, so that Castellari, who appears to have had something of a monopoly on selling antiquities to Europeans, would not find out (Dawson 1949: 162, n.5). Castellari’s activities seem to have been rather nefarious; the writer and political economist Harriet Martineau, visiting Egypt in 1846, encountered Castellari, and reported that he had ‘settled himself at Thebes, to discover

although Harris' account does not accord with the observations of Brugsch on the discovery/purchase of the Greek papyri (see n. 47) above; Brugsch 1894: 121-2 records that Harris himself found both the Iliad and the Hyperides Greek papyri (BM Greek Papyri 107 and 108).

There are several conflicting stories regarding the find-spot of the Harris papyri which Anthony Harris obtained in 1855.

Dawson seems convinced that there were two caches of papyri being disposed of at the time, possibly by the same dealer: one set, which included the Harris Magical Papyrus, the Great Harris Papyrus and the literary P. Harris 500, he terms the 'box' papyri (1949: 163), apparently basing this classification on a comment of Budge's⁶³ that he repeats (somewhat inaccurately); the other set including the 'judicial documents' (the papyri which are part of the Tomb-Robbery series, four of which Harris purchased), which Dawson asserts rather mysteriously 'could hardly have been found with the others in the box'.

The mention of the 'box' cannot be traced back any further than Budge (1910), and it seems possible that the reference is due to a confusion with the Middle Kingdom Ramesseum papyri find, which were discovered in a box (Gardiner 1955: 1).

August Eisenlohr, who published the Great Harris Papyrus in 1872 (Eisenlohr 1872a), says that it "was discovered by the Arabs, with a great number of other papyri, in the rubbish of a tomb behind the temple of Medinet-Abu" (1872b: 358⁶⁴).

antiquities... and to sell specimens to such as have money enough to pay his very high prices for them. It is only by connivance that he does these things, for the Pasha's pleasure is that none of the antiquities shall leave the country.' (Martineau 1848: 159).

⁶³ Dawson quotes 'in a box hidden under the remains of the Ramesseum at Thebes' (1949: 163); although see Budge (1910: xv), who *actually* says that the Harris Magical Papyrus was found 'together with Harris Papyrus No 1 and several other papyri, in a box in the foundations of a temple'. Although the difference is not great, if this comment were to be taken seriously, it would be significant; it seems possible that Dawson has conflated the discovery of the Middle Kingdom papyri from the Ramesseum with the Harris cache, which may have been associated with Medinet Habu.

⁶⁴Eisenlohr's comment in full: 'I was of this opinion (that no Egyptian accounts of the Jewish religion being established would come to light) till the winter of 1869-70, when I was permitted to study in Alexandria the Great Papyrus which the late A.C. Harris obtained during one of his journeys in the valley of the Nile, just as it was discovered by the Arabs, with a great number of other papyri, in the rubbish of a tomb behind the temple of Medinet-Abu. This papyrus, the most beautiful, best preserved, and largest of any yet discovered, has now been, I am happy to state, recommended for purchase by the Trustees of the British Museum' (Eisenlohr 1872b: 358).

This comment accords with one made in the British Museum Trustees' publication of the Great Harris Papyrus in 1876 (GHP 1876), which says

‘this papyrus, measuring 133 feet in length by 16 ½ in breadth, and written in the hieratic hand, was found in the year 1855 in a tomb behind Medinat Habu, on the left bank of the Nile. It formerly belonged to Mr A.C. Harris of Alexandria. The record is of gifts made by Ramesses III to the temples of Heliopolis, Memphis and Thebes; but it is probable that the roll formed part of the archives of the palace,⁶⁵ rather than that of the temple of Amen at Medinat Habu.’ (Hilmy, 1886: 150; Grandet, 1994: vii).

Budge, as discussed, asserted that the Harris cache was found in the foundations of a temple (1910: xv).

Another mention of the find-spot comes from Breasted in his publication of the *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, in his discussion of the origins of the Ebers papyrus, which might have been part of the Harris cache, saying that the group was ‘reported to have been found in a “grotte”, a rough shaft in the rocks, some twenty feet deep by Deir el-Medineh’ (1930: 25).

The most compelling clue comes from Samuel Birch’s handwritten proof copy of the publication of the Harris papyri,⁶⁶ which is kept in the British Museum archives (bound, but uncatalogued). In his introduction, Birch comments on the find-spot:

‘The exact spot where the rolls were discovered was in a tomb behind the the (sic) temple of Medinat Habu on the left bank of the Nile, in the valley which leads to Dehr el-Medinat at a distance of 225 feet on the path passing over the mound of rubbish of the north-eastern angle of the wall at that place.

There is at that spot a cave-tomb in the rock which when opened was found full of mummies which had been torn in pieces and destroyed in recent times. Under the mummies in this tomb was a rude hole in the rock in which the rolls of papyrus were found deposited together. This hole was covered by

⁶⁵ This theory seems rather unlikely; the composition of the cache is such that a temple archive would be far more likely.

⁶⁶ Entitled ‘Introduction to Harris Papyri’.

sherds of pottery which were held together by mortar so as to protect and conceal the papyri. Nothing else except bones and linen wraps of mummies was discovered in this sepulchre. It is supposed to have been connected with a better and more important tomb which was originally over the grotto and had been destroyed. In this tomb a stamped brick was only found but the age of the brick has not been recorded.

It is not necessary in the present work which contains only the facsimiles to enter into further details than to state that the other rolls appear to have been related to some robberies of the exchequer or other places which happened in the 17th (sic) Year of Ramesses IX (sic) from which it is evident that the whole of the documents as far as they are known were deposited in the place where they were found subsequent to that date.’

He goes on to comment that the Great Harris Papyrus had been divided ‘by Mr Harris’ into 79 sheets – this is significant, as it suggests that Harris not only unrolled the papyri in his possession, but that he divided them into sheets, which may go some way towards accounting for the distribution of the Harris Magical Papyrus between two museums after Harris’ death.

Most tantalisingly of all, upon examination of the copies of Harris’ notebooks in the Griffith Archive (Oxford), it becomes clear that Birch’s comment is derived from Harris’ own notes on the papyri, preserved in Notebook 10, page 47⁶⁷:

‘The Papyrus – Place

Behind the Tple of Medinet Haboo in the gorge leading to Derr il Medinet 225 paces walking over the mounds from the NE corner from the walls of the Derr il ~~Medinet~~⁶⁸ to the base of the S^o Hill of the gorge – about 20 feet under ground is a rough grotto in the rocks which when first opened was found filled with mummies all of them pulled to pieces in former times. In this grotto under the bodies was a rough hole in the rock in which the papyri were found altogether. It had been covered over with pottery kept together by mud on the earth put over it - We found nothing in this grotto but mummy (?)

⁶⁷ The page numbering seems to have been done by Harris himself, although on copies it is difficult to be certain.

⁶⁸ Struck out by Harris, with ‘Derr il’ added in above the struck out word.

cloth and bones. This place was probably connected with some better tomb above the grottos and now broken up. Found a stamped brick.’

This account is clearly the source of Birch’s comments (see above) – although he has cleaned up the prose (225 feet rather than ‘paces’), and depersonalised.

Unfortunately Harris’ note is undated, and there is nothing before or after this note to contextualise it. As noted above (§2.2.2.), Harris does not appear to have used each notebook sequentially, but rather to have written in different notebooks at different times. From this tantalising clue it is impossible to be certain whether Harris bought the papyri, and is repeating the tale he was told by the dealer, or the original finders, or whether he was involved in the discovery himself (see above §2.2.2. , n.17 and §2.2.4. for the conflicting accounts of the purchase/discovery of the Greek Hypereides and Iliad papyri in 1847). The use of ‘we’ in Harris’ note seems to suggest that he was involved in the discovery, but this note may record the comments of the original finder(s) or dealer.

This spot is not particularly easy to identify, particularly in light of the critical ambiguity of the phrase ‘Derr il ~~Medinet~~’, where the word ‘Medinet’ has been scored out by Harris, and ‘Derr il’ added in above this, which might indicate that Harris originally meant Medinet Habu, but that he later altered it, meaning Deir el-Medina. The spot described may therefore be 225 paces (feet?) from the North East corner of Deir el-Medina, suggesting that the papyri may originate from the Grand Puits (located North-East of the village of Deir el-Medina; Mathieu 2003: 119), or from the mortuary temple of Ay/Horemheb, close to Medinet Habu (Stadelmann 1980: 1258-1261).

No tomb near this site, matching the description given, is listed in Porter and Moss, however an examination of some photographs⁶⁹ of the general areas does not discount the possibility that a tomb could have been found here.

2.2.5. The sale of a papyrus in Egypt

As will be discussed below (§2.2.6.), the exact number of papyri in Harris’ possession after the 1854/55 find is in some doubt; contemporary sources differ in

⁶⁹ Taken in April 2009 by my colleague Miss A. Garnett, to whom I am very grateful for her assistance.

their reports, and even the Acquisition Register of the British Museum, to which most of the Harris papyri were sold in 1872-5, does not appear to record the correct numbers.

What is known is that Harris re-sold one of the papyri he acquired in 1854/55, to Dr Henry Abbott of Cairo, (now the Abbott Papyrus, P. BM EA 10221; Dawson 1949: 163). This is one of the Tomb-Robbery series of papyri, and was subsequently purchased by the British Museum, from Abbott (MERLIN report).

2.2.6. The composition of the Harris purchase/find: How many papyri did Harris have?

The exact number of papyri in Harris' possession at any time remains unclear; even the exact number of Egyptian and Greek papyri offered for sale to, and purchased by the British Museum from the Harris collection is not certain.⁷⁰

A letter from Edward Hincks⁷¹ to Francois Chabas, dated Dec 28⁷², 1863 says that the papyri in Harris possession numbered thirteen (Davidson, 1933:119), but a letter written by Charles Goodwin⁷³ to Sir Peter Le Page Renouf⁷⁴ in March 1866 (Dawson 1934: 122) said that Goodwin had seen Harris' papyri when in Egypt the previous year and that there were '18 or 20 of them'.

There is corroborating evidence for this in the handwritten proof copy of the manuscript by Birch, housed in the British Museum archives, entitled *Introduction to Harris Papyri*.⁷⁵ Birch comments:

'The Arabs it appears had found twenty of these rolls of papyrus at the time, but Mr Harris was unable to purchase the entire collection on the occasion and the other papyri were dispersed in different directions, being sold to various travellers.'

⁷⁰ See below; the second page of BM AES Ar. 241 seems to mention a great many other papyri with rather confusing descriptions, however the numbers attached to these papyri, which may represent the Harris collection numbering system, are repeated, leading me to believe that this catalogue was not finalised.

⁷¹ The Irish clergyman, Assyriologist and Egyptologist; see Davidson (1933).

⁷² Dawson (1949: 163) gives the date as Dec 26th.

⁷³ Charles Wycliffe Goodwin, an English judge and Egyptologist (Bierbrier 1995: 119).

⁷⁴ Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum 1886-1891 (Bierbrier 1995: 246).

⁷⁵ Bound mss. uncatalogued, mss. notes by Birch, according to the AES archive notes on this document.

Whether or not Harris acquired the full cache as it was found in 1854/55, it certainly seems that the nine Egyptian papyri were not the full extent of the original cache.

The three Tomb-Robbery papyri from the Harris collection which were sold to the British Museum (P. BM EA 10052-54) were part of a larger collection of papyri published by Eric Peet (1930, with the earlier publication of P. Mayer A + B, 1920).

These papyri were published as part of the Tomb Robbery papyri by Peet (1930), all of which deal with the looting of royal tombs and temples by the necropolis workers of Deir el-Medina and various priests at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, must have been composed around the same date, and they form a textual grouping on the internal evidence of their contents: accusations of theft and confessions of the thieves during their trials; in several cases the accounts on the various papyri are also dated closely together.

Peet (1925 and 1930), groups the various papyri (including those in the Harris collection) according to their dates and the “particular thefts with which they deal” (1925: 37): the Harris papyri fall into different groups, dealing with different events, which suggests that their discovery in a single cache must either be taken as evidence that the entirety of the cache from which the Harris papyri were taken included all of the Tomb-Robbery papyri, or that these four (including the Abbott Papyrus) papyri were for some reason grouped, and later redeposited in the Harris cache.

Peet grouped the texts preserved on the eleven papyri into seven groups,⁷⁶ each of which is associated with an episode of tomb-robbery, and commented that they do not form a ‘completely homogeneous series’ (1930: 1), and that not all of the papyri were entirely devoted to Tomb-Robbery accounts (e.g. P. BM EA 10054, which also contains other administrative texts). The dates contained within some of the earliest accounts on the papyri refer to the regnal years of Ramesses IX (Peet 1930: 1), and the accounts which are later in date span the period of the *whm-mswt* at the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

The Tomb-Robbery accounts, as grouped by Peet, according to content and date (1930: 1-3) comprised:

⁷⁶ Peet's classification of the tomb-robbery papyri is perhaps now somewhat dated, but provides a convenient overview from which to discuss the papyri briefly here.

Group I

P. Abbott (P. BM EA 10221)

P. Amherst (No. VI of the papyri in the collection of Lord Amherst; Newberry 1899)

Group II

P. BM EA 10054 (one of the Harris papyri)

Group III

P. BM EA 10068

P. BM EA 10053 *recto* (originally named 'Harris A')

Group IV

P. BM EA 10053 *verso* (Harris A)⁷⁷

P. BM EA 10383

Group V

P. Abbott – Dockets (*verso* 8)

P. BM 10052 (originally 'Harris C')

P. Mayer A

P. BM EA 10403

Group VI

P. Mayer B

Group VII

P. Ambras ('Vienna 30')

A full investigation into the provenance of all these papyri is beyond the scope of this investigation, but a brief survey of the origins of some of the other Tomb-Robbery papyri will suffice:

- P. BM EA 10068 & 10403 were bought by Luigi Vassalli,⁷⁸ later Auguste Mariette's⁷⁹ assistant, who sold them to the British Museum in 1856 (Dawson 1949: 163; MERLIN report).
- P. Mayer A & B, bought by the Rev. Henry Stobart,⁸⁰ and then sold by him to Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, who presented them to the Liverpool Museum (now the World Museum, Liverpool) in 1867. These papyri cannot be traced

⁷⁷ Note that the two sides of this papyrus contain differently dated accounts, and therefore are interpreted by Peet as belonging to two different groups.

⁷⁸ Unfortunately the date of this purchase is unknown. For Vassalli's brief biography, see Bierbrier 1995: 292-3.

⁷⁹ Bierbrier (1995: 194-196).

⁸⁰ Bierbrier (1995: 282).

back any further than the date of the acquisition of the Harris papyri, but Stobart acquired his collection of Greek and Egyptian papyri during a visit to Luxor in 1854 (Gibson & Wright, 1988: 53), and sold them on to Mayer in 1857.

- P. BM EA 10383, bearing the name of Vanbrugh (or Van Burgh, de Burgh), presented to the BM in 1856. (MERLIN report: ‘purchased from Mrs de Burgh⁸¹ in 1856’).
- The Amherst Papyrus, divided into two parts horizontally, and separately disposed of. These two pieces went to Lord Amherst and the Brussels museum eventually, (see Capart *et al.* 1936: 169) (originally called P. Amherst VI⁸² and P. Leopold II), the upper half (P. Leopold II = P. Bruxelles E 6857) being discovered inside a wooden statue on display in Brussels!

From these dates of discovery/purchase it is clear that these six papyri could have been part of the ‘Harris’ cache. In support of this supposition, the hand of P. Mayer A is thought to be the same as that of P. BM EA 10052 (Peet 1930: 135), one of Harris’ Tomb-Robbery papyri; the hands of P. Abbott (known to have originally belonged to Harris) and P. Amherst are identical (Peet 1930: v and 29, citing the opinion of Möller), and the hands of P. Amherst and P. BM EA 10053 *recto* may be identical (Peet 1930: v). P. Ambras records an inspection of two sealed jars containing papyri (1930: 4; see now Salah el-Kholi 2006: 15-23). This inspection took place in Year 6 of the *whm-mswt*, and the second jar contained documents pertaining to the thieves, of which Peet identifies four as being P. BM EA 10068 *recto*, P. Abbott, P. Amherst and P. BM EA 10053 *recto*. He goes on to suggest that since the *verso* texts of P. BM EA 10068 and P. BM EA 10053 are not mentioned, that they may have been added at the time of inspection or later. This provides another tentative link between the one of the Harris Tomb-Robbery papyri and three of the six papyri listed above.

⁸¹ She is not cited in Bierbrier’s volume (1995), so presumably was not particularly associated with Egyptology.

⁸² Originally edited by Newberry (1899), and since passed into the collection of the Pierpont Morgan library, New York.

Although the number of papyri sold to the British Museum by Selima Harris in 1872 is usually recorded as ‘9 Egyptian and 3 Greek’ (e.g. Dawson 1949: 163), an examination of the Acquisition Register⁸³ for that year does not support that number. While the nine Egyptian papyri listed above (2.2.3.) are listed, and can be accounted for, the fourth column has the same entry for all of these papyri: ‘Purchased of Miss Selima Harris of Alexandria, together with five Greek Papyri for £3, 300’ (Acquisition Register 1872, Vol. 1: 160).

The ‘Catalogue of Egyptian and Greek antiquities collected by A.C.Harris...’ (BM AES Archive Ar. 241) sheds a little light on this mystery: under ‘Greek Papyri’, five manuscripts are listed, thus:

‘1,2. Homer’s Iliad, V.1-171

V. 311-316

found in the curious catacomb of Ma’abdy near Moufalut.⁸⁴

3. Oration of Hypereides... 32 fragments on 11 plates.

4. Papyrus of Apollodorus 16 ½ x 11".

5. Greek horoscope, on 4 plates, nicely written.’

For some reason, the last two papyri seem not to be mentioned in connection with Harris anywhere else, but they would explain the apparent discrepancy between the three Greek Papyri usually mentioned, and the ‘five Greek Papyri’ mentioned in the Acquisition Register of 1872.

If Goodwin is correct, the ‘18 or 20 papyri’ owned by Harris comprised the nine Egyptian and five Greek papyri, together with the six Tomb-Robbery Papyri discussed above (one of which, the Abbott, is known to have belonged to Harris originally).

Given that the Hypereides and Iliad papyri (three of the five Greek papyri owned by Harris) seem to have been purchased earlier, in 1847 (see §2.2.4.) it seems very

⁸³ Stored in the Archives of the British Museum, Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan. The picture is further confused by a search of the online Collection database of the British Museum (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx), which adds two further Egyptian papyri to the collection purchased from Selima Harris: P. BM EA 10334 & 10267; the second of these is apparently a copy of the Amduat, however no images are available for these objects, nor is anything further known about them; both seem to be unpublished.

⁸⁴ Note that this accords with Brugsch’s comments on the discovery of the Iliad papyri, see §2.2.2. and n. 47.

unlikely that the five Greek papyri, which were sold to the British Museum as part of the Harris collection, were among the papyri obtained by Harris in 1854/55.

If Birch's comment that twenty papyri were found in 1854/55 is correct, this cache might have comprised the eleven Tomb-Robbery papyri published by Peet, plus the six other Harris papyri (BM EA 9999, 10042, 10060, 9990, 10203, 10442), making seventeen papyri in total. To these may be added perhaps the Turin Necropolis Diary, which Peet discusses in connection with the Tomb-Robbery collection (1930: 72-79), making eighteen papyri in total. In light of the fact that P. Abbott was split into two pieces (possibly by the original discoverers, Peet 1930: 28), and that P. Amherst was divided into two pieces, which were reunited in 1935 (Capart et al. 1936: 169), this might explain the number twenty.⁸⁵

2.2.7. Between 1854/55 and 1872 – Damage to the Harris collection

2.2.7.1. Chabas and Publication of the Harris Magical Papyrus

In 1860, François Chabas published the Harris Magical Papyrus. Anthony Harris had written to Chabas in June 1858 to ask for his help with two pages of a 'very difficult papyrus in his collection' (Virey 1898: 18-19), and received a positive response. By September of the same year, Harris has written again to announce the dispatch of photographs⁸⁶ and giving Chabas permission to publish the papyrus (Virey 1898: 18-19). Chabas never visited Egypt, and so relied upon the photographs for his publication. He comments in his introduction:

'Ce papyrus est dans un état parfait de conservation; il n'y manque pas une seule lettre; il faut sans aucun doute attribuer cette conservation surprenante, moins à la qualité du papyrus lui-même, qui est de la plus belle sorte, qu'au soin particulier dont ce manuscrit, à raison de son sujet, a dû être l'objet de

⁸⁵ The two 'extra' Harris papyri listed on the British Museum online collection database might instead be included in this number, see n. 54.

⁸⁶ On which Chabas' lithographs were presumably based; Newberry (1899) says that they were 'lithographed not from tracings, but from photographs that Harris himself had sent in Sept. 1858' (see also Dawson, 1949: 165, n.4; Peet, 1925: 48). However the lithographs were made, they are not absolutely accurate, as shown by the reconstruction of the papyrus (§Appendix 1); in several places the lithographs made by Chabas do not fit the text preserved on the Heidelberg fragments of the papyrus.

la part des possesseurs qui se le sont transmis d'âge en âge, comme une espèce de talisman.'⁸⁷

Since Chabas never saw the papyrus in the original, his comments would have had to have been based on the correspondence with Harris.

2.2.7.2. Attempts to purchase the papyri

In 1867, Karl Richard Lepsius unsuccessfully attempted to purchase the Great Harris Papyrus from Anthony Harris (see Virey 1898: 72, n. 5; §2.2.3.).

In 1869 August Eisenlohr, then a lecturer at the University of Heidelberg, visited the Harrises in Alexandria, only days before Anthony's death. He writes that Selima showed him the papyri, since Anthony was too ill to do so.⁸⁸ Three days later, Selima Harris wrote to Chabas to announce her father's death (Virey 1898: 101).

In September 1871, Mariette wrote to Chabas saying that he offered Selima 50 000 francs⁸⁹ for the Great Harris Papyrus on behalf of the Bulaq museum. She refused (Virey, 1898: 120, n.1; §2.2.3.).

In the spring of 1872, Eisenlohr returned to Alexandria to attempt to secure the Harris collection for Heidelberg University (letters to Chabas dated 16th and 23rd May 1872; see Virey 1898: 120, n.1), but was also unsuccessful. As discussed above (§2.2.3.), Selima eventually sold the collection to the British Museum in 1872 and the years following. In his letters to Chabas, Eisenlohr makes no mention of any damage to the Harris papyri.

⁸⁷ 'This papyrus is in a perfect state of conservation; it does not lack even one letter; without doubt, it is necessary to assign this surprising conservation, less to the quality of the papyrus itself, (which is of the most beautiful kind) and more to the particular care given to this manuscript by its owners over the years, because of its subject, and because it was an object considered to be a species of talisman.' This suggestion, that the Harris Magical Papyrus was considered some sort of talisman (or amulet) cannot be verified by any evidence now preserved on the manuscript, and seems to suggest that Chabas misunderstood something about the find-spot.

⁸⁸ Letter from Eisenlohr to Chabas, Nov. 26 1869 (Virey 1898: 101). The papers of Chabas are now housed in the French Institute; I have not yet been able to view them.

⁸⁹ This would be equivalent to £150 000 today.

In 1872, upon its arrival at the British Museum, Charles Goodwin examined P. Harris 500, and makes no mention of any damage to the papyrus. In his publication of the papyrus a year later, he mentions only wear and tear to the papyrus (Goodwin 1873).

2.2.7.3. The Heidelberg fragments

The significant fragments of the last three sheets of the Harris Magical Papyrus, which are currently housed in the Portheim-Stiftung collection in Heidelberg, were uncovered and published by Martin Bommas (1998). In his concise volume, he traces some of the history of the Heidelberg fragments, which were purchased in the 1890's by Dr. Victor Goldschmidt, whose wife (and cousin) Leontine, was of the Von Portheim family. How Goldschmidt came into possession of the fragments is unknown: he and his wife embarked on a world-tour, which took them to Cairo in 1894 (Bommas 1998: 3), and it is just possible that they purchased them there.

However, as Bommas observes, it seems more likely that the division of the papyrus would have taken place prior to the sale in 1872, otherwise the British Museum would have acquired the whole papyrus (Bommas 1998: 4); unless of course Selima Harris did not send/sell the entire papyrus to the British Museum in 1872.

Although there is no record of the transaction, it seems most likely that Eisenlohr must have acquired the fragments for Heidelberg in either 1869 or early 1872 (Bommas 1998: 4⁹⁰). In support of this, Dawson (1949: 165, n. 3; §2.2.8.) repeats a comment made to him by Budge, that when the Harris papyri arrived at the British Museum, they had 'already been cut into lengths and were laid between sheets of paper in cardboard covers'. This must have been done by Harris, or Selima, and would have allowed the last three columns to be sold or bequeathed to Eisenlohr.

⁹⁰ Note that Bommas suggests that Eisenlohr may have inherited the fragments from Harris shortly after his death.

2.2.7.4. The ‘explosion’ and damage to the papyri

In his 1872 publication of the Great Harris papyrus, Eisenlohr mentions a serious explosion in a powder/gun magazine, which affects the Harris papyri. This story is repeated in Maspero’s 1879 publication of P. Harris 500, who says that the manuscript was intact when found, but mutilated ‘several years’ later, by the explosion of a ‘poudrière’ which ‘renversa en partie’ the house where the papyrus was deposited in Alexandria (1879: 1-2). He also mentions that Selima Harris made a copy of P. Harris 500, which could not be found. The story is elaborated upon by Budge in his 1910 publication of the Harris Magical Papyrus (1910: 23), who goes on to say that the Harris Magical Papyrus was ‘found to be in a seriously mutilated state’ after its purchase in 1872 (1910: xv).⁹¹

Dawson’s scepticism about the story of the explosion is evident in his 1949 article, and a brief examination of the effects of the supposed explosion on the various papyri in Harris’ possession shows why:

- Great Harris Papyrus (BM EA 9999): **NONE**
- Hieratic Book of the Dead, 21st Dyn (BM EA 10203): **NONE**
- Three Tomb-robbery papyri (BM EA 10052-4):
 - 1: BM EA 10052: **NONE**
 - 2: BM EA 10053 (Harris A): lower quarter horizontally lost along full length
 - 3: BM EA 10054: ‘upper layer of papyrus from part of the recto stripped completely off and gummed over the corresponding page of the verso’ (Peet, 1925: 45)
- P. Harris 500 (BM EA 10060): some damage to upper margin, cracks and breaks in direction of fibres, lots of wear and tear.
- Demotic fragment (BM EA 10442): Fragment too small to allow assessment.
- Hieroglyphic BoD, 19th/20th Dyn (BM EA 9990): too fragmentary to assess – also the colour of papyrus is very dark, precluding much profitable study.

The Harris Magical Papyrus is certainly ‘affected’: recto VII, VIII, IX are almost entirely fragmented. However, even the most cursory examination of the remaining pages and fragments of the Magical Papyrus is sufficient to cast severe doubt on the

⁹¹ The story is repeated by Maspero, reviewing Newberry’s publication of the Amherst Papyri (1913: 134) and again by Peet (1925: 47).

likelihood of the damage to the Harris papyri, and the Magical Papyrus in particular having been caused by an explosion of any sort – there is no evidence of any charring, burning or other fire damage to the papyrus, and the far left margin of *recto* VI is preserved, as is a small slice of *recto* VII, preserving the first couple of signs of most of the lines of the seventh column. There is no sign that the papyrus was affected by any kind of explosion at this point (see Fig. 8):



Fig 8. P. BM EA 10042, rto V-VI (frame 3, left hand side, showing left margin of *recto* VI, kollesis, and the right hand margin of *recto* VII; photo copyright of the British Museum)

The break at the very far left of the frame, which marks the end of the fully preserved sheets, can clearly be seen to show no evidence of having been caused by explosion or fire.

Turning to the Great Harris Papyrus (Fig. 9), the first column, which has the most extensive damage of all of the forty-two odd feet of the roll, it is clear that this damage was not caused by an explosion:

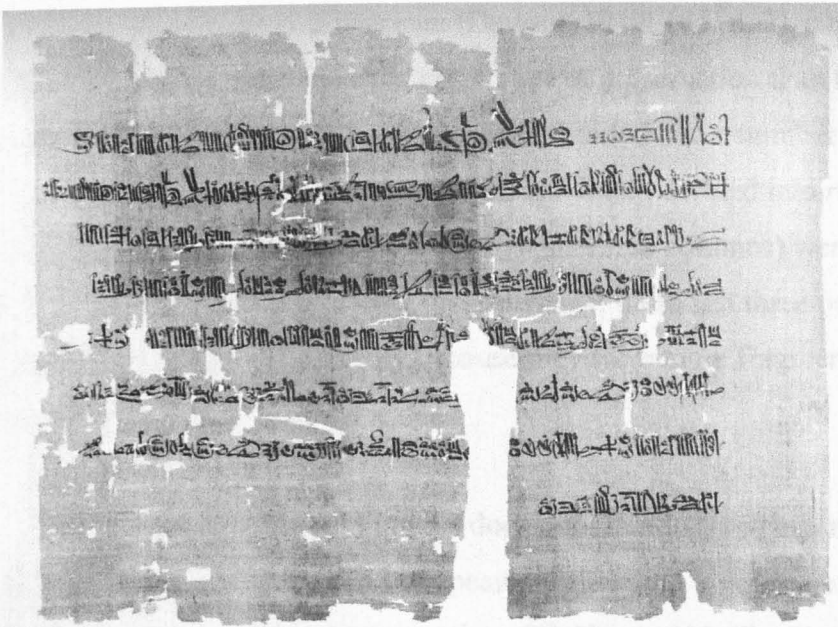


Fig. 9. The Great Harris Papyrus, col. 1 (Grandet, 1994, pl.1)

Similarly, the literary P. Harris 500 (BM EA 10060) (Fig.10) is fragile and has been subject to the normal pattern of wear and tear along the top and bottom edges of the papyrus, caused by rolling and unrolling the manuscript, but it has clearly not reached this state by way of an explosion:



Fig. 10. P. Harris 500/P. BM EA 10060 (Bourriau, 1988: 76)

The loss of the last three sheets (Cols. VII-IX *recto* and therefore Cols. I-II (partial) *verso*) seems rather to have been caused by these sheets being separated from the first six columns, and thence ending up in the collection in Heidelberg. Budge's comment to Dawson, that the Harris papyri had been cut into sheets before

their arrival at the British Museum (Dawson 1949: 165, n. 3), supports this. Since these three pages are in a much worse state of preservation than the first six pages, it seems plausible that the papyrus had been divided into a number of ‘pages’ by the Harrises, and that the last three columns (probably divided into *recto* cols. VII-VIII and IX, based on the divisions of the first six *recto* columns) were stored separately at some point, thereby incurring more damage; these last three pages were then obtained by Eisenlohr, possibly because they were more fragmentary than the first six columns.

The Harris Magical Papyrus does not seem to show extensive amounts of damage that might be caused by repeated rolling and unrolling of the papyrus (cf. the damage to the top and bottom margins of P. Harris 500, Fig. 3); the papyrus would have been re-rolled after each reading, and the usual practice was to leave the first columns on the outside of a roll, so that the next time the papyrus was unrolled to be read, the first columns would be the first to be revealed (Parkinson & Quirke 1995: 38). The first *recto* column would therefore have been most likely to incur damage, being outermost of the roll as it would have been stored; this column is not particularly damaged.⁹² Of course, without a modern conservation report, it is difficult to be certain, but it seems that the pattern of wear and tear on the papyrus is not consistent with a ‘working’ document, i.e. one that was unrolled and re-rolled repeatedly, because it was in constant use.

⁹² Note though, that the blank margin at the start of the roll is made up of a separate sheet; it is possible that this sheet has been trimmed to remove damage, since it measures only 7.6cm horizontally (§2.1.2.).

2.2.8. Timeline of events

Key

1900: date significant to the Harris Magical Papyrus' provenance/damage

1900: dates less relevant to the Harris Magical Papyrus – lifetimes/other publications of Harris etc.

1900: dates relating to other Tomb-Robbery Papyri, believed to be part of same find as the three/(four) Harris Tomb-Robbery papyri, but not sold by Castellari.

Timeline:

1790: A.C. Harris born, London.

1827 (c.): Selima Harris born

1836: Harris made President of the Egyptian Society in Cairo.

1847: Harris finds/purchases the Hypereides Papyrus and possibly the other Greek papyri, on a trip to Upper Egypt with Joseph Arden.

1848: Harris publishes the Hypereides Papyrus.

1852: Harris publishes "Hieroglyphical standards"

1854-5: (Chabas, 1860: 1: 'Feb 1855') Harris travels to Upper Egypt; purchases a number of papyri.

1856: P. BM EA 10068 & 10403, owned by Luigi Vassalli (later Mariette's assistant), are sold to the British Museum – possibly these originate with the Tomb-Robbery papyri which constitute part of the Harris collection.

1856: Papyrus bearing the name of Vanbrugh/Van Burgh, de Burgh, now P. BM EA 10383, presented to British Museum/purchased from Mrs de Burgh.

1857: Abbott Papyrus (P. BM EA 10221) sold by Abbott to BM: this papyrus was sold to "Dr Henry Abbott of Cairo" by Harris out of the 1854-5 purchase (Dawson 1949: 163)

1858, June 10th: Harris writes to Chabas to ask for help with 'two pages of a very difficult papyrus in his collection.'

1858, Sept 24th: Harris writes to Chabas to announce the dispatch of the photographs to Chabas and to grant permission to publish.

1860: Chabas publishes the first edition of the Harris Magical Papyrus (Chabas 1860).

1863, Dec 26th: Hincks writes to Chabas saying there are 13 Harris Papyri.

1866, March: Goodwin writes to Renouf that in 1865 there were 18 or 20 papyri.

1867: Lepsius attempts to procure Great Harris Papyrus from Harris. Harris refuses.

1867: Joseph Mayer (Liverpool) presents the Mayer A & B Tomb-Robbery papyri, bought from the Rev. Henry Stobart, to the Liverpool Museum.

1869, November 26th : Eisenlohr writes to Chabas that he visited the Harrises in Alexandria. No mention of damage to papyri, which he had viewed a day or so before. Only a few days before Harris' death.

1869, November: A.C. Harris dies in Alexandria.

1871, September 15th: Mariette writes to Chabas that he offered 50 000 francs for the Great Harris Papyrus on behalf of the Bulaq museum. Selima refuses offer.

1872, spring: Eisenlohr goes to London to try and secure Harris collection for Heidelberg University; British Museum agree to purchase for a better price however.

1872: Eisenlohr publishes the Great Harris Papyrus, and mentions the explosion in 1870 (Eisenlohr 1872a)

1872: Selima Harris sells Harris collection to British Museum (Samuel Birch).

Total papyri sold at this time: 9 Egyptian

The Egyptian Papyri are:

- 1) Harris Magical Papyrus (P. Harris 501): BM EA 10042
- 2) Great Harris Papyrus (P. Harris No 1): BM EA 9999
- 3) A small demotic fragment: BM EA 10442
- 4) Literary papyrus (P. Harris 500): BM EA 10060
- 5-7) Three Tomb-robbery papyrus: BM EA 10052-4
- 8) Hieroglyphic Book of the Dead (19th/20th Dyn.)(P. Harris 498):
BM EA 9990
- 9) Hieratic Book of the Dead (21st Dyn) (P. Harris 506): BM EA
10203

1872: On their arrival at Museum, Goodwin sees P. Harris 500 and makes no mention of explosion damage, only normal wear and tear damage.

1872: Selima Harris becomes “lady member of the Society for Biblical Archaeology. Recommended by Samuel Birch.

1873: Goodwin publishes P. Harris 500 – again no mention of explosion damage to text (Goodwin 1873).⁹³

1879: Maspero publishes the P. Harris 500 and repeats the story of the explosion that damaged the papyri (Maspero 1879).

1880, December 28th: *Wilbour calls on Selima Harris in Alexandria. She still has “a few hieroglyphics”, which Wilbour does not see then, but resolves to see later (Capart, 1936: 6-7).*

c.1890: Dr Victor Goldschmidt purchases some part of the Harris Magical Papyrus for his library (his wife is Leontine, born Von Portheim, hence how it passes into the Museum’s collection).

⁹³ See BM Add. MSS 31278: 91-113 (now housed in the British Library, with the same accession number) for a hand copy of P. Harris 500 by Goodwin, which also makes no mention of any damage.

1899, March 18th: *Selima Harris dies, Ramla, Alexandria. Her estate left to Waynman Dixon.*

1910: Budge reiterates tale of explosion in the case of P. Harris 500 (Budge 1910: 23), but makes no mention of it in his discussion of the Harris Magical Papyrus. In fact he goes so far as to say that when the Harris Magical Papyrus ‘passed into the hands of Mr Harris it was in a complete state’ . He goes on to say that after its purchase in 1872, it was then ‘found to be in a seriously mutilated state’ (Budge 1910: xv).

He also says that copies of ‘the texts inscribed upon them (the rolls of papyrus in the box)’ were made by Harris between their purchase and the date of their sale to the British Museum, but ‘unfortunately none of these copies was subsequently forthcoming’.

Newberry (who publishes EA 10053, in his *Amherst Papyri*) states that the tracings were made by Selima, not her father, and that Chabas’s plates of the Harris Magical Papyrus were ‘lithographed not from tracings, but from photographs that Harris himself had sent in Sept. 1858’ (Dawson 1949: 165, n. 4).

1931: Budge says to Dawson ‘that when the Harris papyri arrived at the BM they had already been cut into lengths and were laid between sheets of paper in cardboard covers, and added that they were probably not mounted and glazed for some time afterwards’ (Dawson 1949: 165, n. 3).

2.2.9. Building a picture of the Harris collection

Since the Harris papyrus collection is believed to have been part of a single find, a brief examination of the contents and dates of the other papyri in the collection may help to shed some light on the nature of this find, and may offer some clues as to the origins of these documents, and possibly their find-spot.

Other caches of papyri, for example, the Middle Kingdom Ramesseum Papyri (Gardiner, 1955), and the New Kingdom Chester Beatty and Leiden papyri collections are reasonably wide-ranging in the scope of their subject-matters

(although, see Parkinson, 2002: 71; see §1.3.7. for a more extensive discussion of the contents of these collections).

Since the Harris papyri seem to date to different periods, it is impossible to give a definitive date for the entire collection, however, it is possible to suggest a *terminus post quem* for the deposition of the papyri in their eventual find-spot.

The “Great Harris Papyrus” (P. BM EA 9999)

This well-known papyrus, dating to the reign of Ramesses IV, is a vast list of all the temple endowments during the reign of Ramesses III, as well as a short account of his reign.

The “literary” Papyrus Harris 500 (P. BM EA 10060)

On the recto there are New Kingdom love songs (Lichtheim 1976,v.2: 189-192; Fox 1985: 7-29), and the Harper’s Song from the tomb of Intef. The *verso* contains the New Kingdom tales of the *Taking of Joppa* and the *Doomed Prince* (Bourriau 1988: No. 59). The suggested original source for the Harper’s Song is the Royal Necropolis of the Eleventh Dynasty at Thebes (Bourriau, 1988: 76), although this papyrus is certainly a Ramesside copy; the composition date of the text is not under consideration here.

The Tomb-Robbery Papyri (P. BM EA 10052-4)

P. BM EA 10052 is sorted by Peet (1925: 40) into the same group as the P. Mayer A and P. BM EA 10403 – one of the Vassalli papyri. The Abbott dockets, which are part of this group, bear the dates: *rnpt-sp 1 ... hft rnpt-sp 19*. The equation of ‘year 1’ and ‘year 19’ are therefore certain; modern interpretations have allocated these to ‘year 1 of the *wḥm-mswt*’ and ‘year 19 of the reign of Ramesses XI’ respectively (Thijs 2001: 99-103). P. BM EA 10403 has *rnpt-sp 2 m wḥm-mswt* in its first part (1.1).

The clear overlaps between the namelists of the Abbott dockets and P. BM EA 10052 and P. Mayer A strongly suggest that the ‘year 1’ of the Abbott dockets ought to be equated with the more explicit *rnpt-sp 1 m wḥm-mswt* of P. BM EA 10052.

P. BM EA 10053, also known as ‘Harris A’, is ‘restored by the aid of tracings made by Miss Harris before the accident’ (Peet, 1925: 47-8) of its *recto*, preserving a list of names thought by Peet to represent the list of persons to whom the stolen copper was passed. The dating of this manuscript is utterly secure because of the heading, ‘Year 17, first month of peret, day 8 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, King Neferkere Setpenre’ (Ramesses IX) (Peet, 1930: pl.17). An unpublished fragment of the Necropolis Journal, (numbered 2005 in their catalogue) in Turin can be connected to this document by means of prosopography. The *verso* is associated with P. BM EA 10383, the Van Brugh or de Burgh papyrus, but the dating of these texts is problematic: the *recto* of EA 10053 is dated to Year 17, presumed to be of Ramesses IX, and as the *verso* is usually the latest part of the papyrus to be written on,⁹⁴ the date on the *verso* of “Year 9” must attach to a reign after that of Ramesses IX. The Van Brugh papyrus dates to “Year 2”, which, were it not for the association with the *verso* of EA 10053, would be comfortably understood to be Year 2 of the *whm-mswt*. Peet (1925: 54) refuses to say anything conclusive about this issue.

P. BM EA 10054 is linked to P. Mayer A by the repetition of one incident in both (Peet, 1925: 43), but is otherwise not part of these internal groupings. The first preserved date on the papyrus is Year 18 (Ramesses IX), which fits well with the proposed dates of the Mayer A group.

A small demotic fragment: BM EA 10442

A Demotic legal text – understood to be Ptolemaic, now rejoined to EA 10404, which was purchased from R.J. Hay in 1868. Perhaps the Harris fragment was added to the bundle bought by Harris to make the purchase more attractive⁹⁵; it does not seem to be associated with the rest of the collection.

Hieroglyphic Book of the Dead: BM EA 9990

No MERLIN report exists in the object database of the British Museum for this fragment. The image of the text shows it to be highly fragmentary, and unlikely to preserve even a name; this fragment is not of much help here. The papyrus is very

⁹⁴ Assuming that the papyrus is not palimpsest, which this papyrus is not.

⁹⁵ Of course, it may originate from another purchase or find of Harris’.

dark in colour (this is certainly not the result of charring, but may be the result of the papyrus having been varnished), making decipherment even more problematic.

Hieratic Book of the Dead: BM EA 10203

Book of the Dead of Ankhes – 21st Dynasty/Third Intermediate Period (MERLIN report).

Greek Papyri No 107 (*Iliad*) and 108 (*Hypereides*) and one other

Since these must have been part of another find (see §2.2.2. and §2.2.4.), they are not pertinent to this part of the investigation.

Of the Harris papyri, clearly the Great Harris Papyrus would have been the most valuable, and the most important of the collection – not only is it a record of royal endowments, which would make it a prestigious item, but it is the longest surviving papyrus from Egypt, and simply in terms of size, it must have been an important object.

How it came to be deposited in a tomb (most probably), with a magical papyrus, a literary papyrus, two mortuary papyri and three juridical/administrative documents is unclear. The Ptolemaic demotic fragment cannot have belonged to this cache originally, and must have been added at some point, either by the vendors in 1855, or by Harris from a previous purchase or find.

Clearly the original intended context of the Great Harris Papyrus would not have been in a non-royal tomb. It was a document of the temple scriptorium, and could conceivably have been kept in a temple archive. The same is true of the Tomb-Robbery papyri. The apparent re-deposition of these documents in a private tomb may have been intended to preserve the documents in antiquity.

The magical and funerary papyri could well be from a private mortuary context, although it is possible that the funerary papyri never reached their intended deposition in a tomb, and that the cache represents the collection of one or more individuals (much like the Chester Beatty find). How and why this individual's collection might have come to include the Great Harris and Tomb-Robbery Papyri is problematic.

The papyri seem to date to the 19th, 20th and 21st Dynasty, and of course the collection cannot have been finalised by the author/copyist/owner of the earlier papyri – the Hieroglyphic Book of the Dead and the Harris Magical Papyri, both considered to be 19th Dynasty (see §2.1.5.).

Given the presence of so many of the Tomb-Robbery papyri in the Harris cache (taking into account the Abbott Papyrus as well, which was part of the original find/purchase), it may be possible to date the deposition of the cache to some time after Year 6 of the *wḥm-mswt* (see above §2.2.6.).

Since the Greek papyri were certainly part of an earlier purchase, and that the Ptolemaic fragment must not have belonged to the original cache, this leaves the Hieratic Book of the Dead (BM EA 10203) as the only text which does not fit this analysis. The dating of this papyrus to the 21st Dynasty seems reasonably secure (Quirke 1993: 31; Niwiński 1989: 335 dates the papyrus to the ‘late 21st Dynasty’). Perhaps this document was added to the cache later, or perhaps it too is intrusive, and belongs to a different acquisition/purchase by Harris.

The nature of the various papyri which comprised the cache in which the Harris Magical Papyrus was discovered, and the dating of the papyrus on paleographical grounds to the reign of Ramesses III (see §2.1.5.), is significant. The presence of the Tomb-Robbery papyri in the cache, some of which are dated to the later part of the reign of Ramesses XI (§2.2.6.), and the possible inclusion of the hieratic Book of the Dead (P. BM EA 10203) in the cache, which suggests a deposition date in the 21st Dynasty, means that the cache as it was deposited cannot have been the collection of a single individual – there is a chronological distance upwards of a hundred years between the dates of the various papyri. In addition, the presence of the Great Harris Papyrus, and the Tomb-Robbery papyri, which were administrative documents of the state, together with a magical papyrus and some mortuary documents, make it very unlikely that this cache represents the personal or professional accumulation of one individual. Whether the cache was deposited for exigency, or represents the result of an archival process which is only partially understood, is unclear; the probable origin of the Harris Magical Papyrus is the temple scriptorium at Medinet Habu (§4.4.), and the date of the deposition of the

cache makes it possible that the papyrus was stored in the temple for some considerable time before its deposition.

The location of the original find-spot in a tomb (according to the comment in Harris' Notebook, see §2.2.4.) is difficult to relate to an exact monument; the comment only really refers to a 'grotto underground', presumably a tomb-shaft, which is rather difficult to identify; given the description of the location of this shaft, it likely lies somewhere in the cemetery of Qurnet Murai, and is not yet documented (see §2.2.4).

3. Translation, Commentary and Interpretation

3.1. The ‘Hymns’ of the Harris Magical Papyrus

The use of editorial marks in the transliteration and translation is based on the methodology of Maas (1958), and follows the Leiden papyrological conventions (see Jouguet *et al.* 1932):

[...]	lacuna
[<i>s</i> <u><i>d</i></u> <i>m</i>]	certain reading of sign(s) largely lost in lacuna
[<i>s</i> <u><i>d</i></u> <i>m</i> (?)]	uncertain reading of sign lost in lacuna
< >	omission by the scribe
{ }	added in error by the scribe
...	illegible traces
· ·	blank space in manuscript
*	proposed emendation
<i>s</i> <u><i>d</i></u> <i>m</i> . <i>f</i> /he hears	words or phrases written in red ink
•	verse-point in red ink
•	verse-point in black ink
◦	missing verse-point which should be restored

In the transliteration, the column and line numbers are indicated in the the text, in parentheses.

The transliteration and translations of the texts are formatted to bring out the semantic, grammatical and syntactical parallelisms between verses (as indicated by the verse-points; see §1.4.3.); the spacing does not represent the way the text is physically laid out on the papyrus. Verses are often divided into component parts, so that the parallel elements are aligned with one another. The indenting of the verses is designed to mark groupings of verses, rather than to indicate any form of grammatical dependency.

3.1.1. Translation and Interpretation of Introductory Text A (I, 1)

Introductory Text A – I,1

*rw nfrw n ḥsy*⁹⁶

The perfect spells for singing,⁹⁶

*nty šhr p3 mḥw*⁹⁶

which drive off the one who is immersed.

3.1.2. Commentary on Introductory Text A

Although this section is marked out as the first ‘Section’ by Leitz (1999: 31)⁹⁷, it functions as the heading or introduction to the whole papyrus. The clause is not written entirely in red ink, which might be expected of a section heading; however it seems clear that it functions as an introduction and indexer to the papyrus. This introduction seems not to function as part of a speech-act, and as such therefore is to be considered an initial formula for the whole papyrus, or possibly just for the first section, the hymns (texts B-H; §1.4.3.); for the titles of texts or their *incipits* which functioned as titles, see Parkinson (2002: 109-12).

Fischer-Elfert (1986a: 48-9) refers to this line, arguing that it provides a full version of a title found on a Ramesside ostrakon from Deir el-Medina bearing a copy of a Hymn to the Nile, (Posener 1977: pl. 81-84, O. DeM 1675), which reads (vs.3-4): *gmy šḥm sh[r]p dpy nšny / ḥns i{3}b.sn* ‘(Again) found: Spell book to keep immersed the furious crocodiles, so that their hearts sting’.

This suggests the function of the papyrus as a compendium of spells described by function, rather than a collection compiled by a known individual for personal use, which might be explicitly marked as such (see Pestman (1982: 158-9) for the case of the Chester Beatty archive; Edwards (1960: xv) published the Late New Kingdom magical/amuletic charms, which explicitly name the owner whom they are designed to protect).

⁹⁶ *ḥsy* is described by Gardiner as the infinitive after the genitival adjective (1957: 229); Cf. this to, e.g. the example cited by Gardiner (1957: 229): *r n wnm t m ḥrt-ntr*, ‘an incantation for eating bread in the necropolis’, which parallels this heading very well. Note that *ḥsy* could be read as a participle, i.e. ‘the perfect spells for the singer’, but the determinative of *ḥsy* is inconclusive.

⁹⁷ Unless otherwise indicated, the section divisions follow those of Leitz (1999: 31-50), who in turn followed Lange (1927). See §1.4.3..

mhw, the terminus of the second verse, is a participle. The crocodile ('the one who is immersed') is the object of most of the magical spells in the papyrus, and it is thus appropriate that this creature is invoked in the heading of the texts. The end of this formula is also the end of a column line, even though it is abbreviated (see Plate 2). This is a visual marker of the formula's function as a heading, indexer and introduction.

3.1.3. Translation and Interpretation of Hymn B (I,2 – I,8)

First Stanza

(I,2) *ind-hr.k iw^cw n R^c*

Hail to you, heir⁹⁸ of Re,

s3 wr pry m h^ct.f •

The eldest son, who came forth from his⁹⁹ body,

stp.n.f hnty msw.f •

whom he has chosen, the foremost of his offspring,

ph^ty.f m nb hprw •

whose strength is like that of the Lord of Appearances,

(I,3) *sh^r sbiw m-hrt hrw nb* •

who defeats the rebels in the course of every day.

wi3 hr m3^c °

When the sacred barque is sailing,¹⁰⁰

*ib.k ndm m^cndt m ih<h>y*¹⁰¹ •

your heart is happy, and the morning-barque rejoices.

m33.sn (I,4) Šw s3 R^c m m3^c-hrw •

When they see Shu, the son of Re, in triumph,

dl.n.f ‘bb.f m nkiw •

after he has placed his harpoon¹⁰² in the Nik-serpent¹⁰³.

Second Stanza

R^c d3l.n.f hr pt hr-tp dw3yt •

Re, he has crossed the sky, chief¹⁰⁴ of the morning;

⁹⁸ Leitz here (and in Stanza 5) twice incorrectly transcribes E34 (Gardiner)/E132 (Möller) - desert hare (𓆎 wn), for E9 (Gardiner)/E143 (Möller) – newborn bubalis/hartebeest (𓆎 iw).

⁹⁹ The suffix pronoun is added later in red – it is below the line of the text.

¹⁰⁰ Reading this as a *hr* + infinitive construction, since this hymn seems to display more Middle Egyptian features.

¹⁰¹ *ih3y* is written in error for *lhhy*.

¹⁰² *Wb* I, 178.13; also listed in the Ptolemaic lexicon (Wilson 1997: 148). The word also occurs on a wooden tablet in Berlin (inv. no. 23308, see Schott, 1931: 106-110) which dates to the Late Period. It is written as $\overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \overset{\circ}{\circ} \downarrow$ and Schott comments on its associations with Horus killing his enemies, which date back to the Pyramid Texts.

¹⁰³ Note that Leitz (1999: 31) translates *nkiw* as ‘Apophis’, appending the transliteration ‘(nik)’ after this translation; Nik is a well-attested serpentine danger, and appears as an epithet of Apophis (Leitz 2002: III, 528).

*iw Tfnwt *hr (I,5) tp.f*•

Tefnut is at his brow¹⁰⁵,

*di.s sthh.s*¹⁰⁶ *r hftyw.f*•

she places her obstructions before his enemies

r irt.f m tmw wn•

in order to make him non-existent.

Third Stanza

dbw n R^c wr-hk3•

The one adorned by Re, great of magic.

m iw^cw hr (I,6) nst n it.f•

as the heir¹⁰⁷ upon the throne of his father,

h^tpy k3.f m k3 R^c•

he whose *k3* rests as the *k3* of Re.¹⁰⁸

Fourth Stanza

*mhw r.s (f3w/3fy)*¹⁰⁹ *n wnw hr.f*•

She who fills her mouth with the magnificence of the catch
(of fish and fowl) which is before him,

try.f n.f imyt-pr•

he for whom he drew up an *imyt-pr* deed,

m sš (I,7) nb hmnw•

¹⁰⁴ *Contra* Leitz (1999: 31), I read this as apposition, rather than translating *hr-tp* as prepositional.

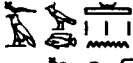



¹⁰⁵ This emendation follows the reading of Leitz (1999: 31).

¹⁰⁶ This word is not found in the *Wb*, but its meaning is made clear by the determinative. Leitz (1999: 31) translates ‘casting her fire’, apparently deriving this etymologically from *st-hhw* (Amduat III, 783; Hornung 1987) ‘he who sets millions aflame’. The image of the cobra/serpent who spits flame is a common iconography of the Uraeus (PT 220-221); however, it is more likely that this word derives from *sthl*, ‘to obstruct’ (Lesko 1987: III, 118).

¹⁰⁷ See n.98 above

¹⁰⁸ *Contra* Leitz, who translates ‘he whose ka is content with the sustenance of Re’. The parallel to BD 15a, in which the Re-Osirian unity of the middle of the night is described: *r^c -pw htp m wstr lwstr -pw htp m r^c*, ‘It is Re who rests as Osiris, it is Osiris who rests as Re’, strongly suggests that the point of this verse is that the *ka* of the heir of Re has become assimilated with/identified with Re himself.

¹⁰⁹ This seems to be a hybrid word, in which the writings of several words have been conflated:

 *f3w/3fy*, derived from: *f3w*,  ‘magnificence/splendour’ (*Wb* I, 575.3-15), *f3w*  (note the different determinative), ‘food-supplies/catch of fishing and fowling’ (*Wb* I, 575.2) and *3fy* , ‘the catch (from fishing and fowling)’ (*Wb* I, 9.16).

as a document of the Lord of Hermopolis;
sš n tm3 n Rc-Hr-3hty •
the scribe of the cadaster¹¹⁰ of Re-Horakhty,
m ḥt¹¹¹ ḥwt-3 nt iwnw •
in the Palace of the Great House of Heliopolis.
mn.ti smnh.ti srwd.ti m sš •
(It is) lasting, made effective and strengthened as a document,
(I,8) *hry rdwy n Rc-Hr-3hty* •
under the feet of Re-Horakhty,
sw3d.f –sw n s3 n s3.f r nhḥ hnḥ dt •
so that he may bequeath it to the son of his son for ever
and ever.

3.1.4. Commentary on Hymn B

The first real incantation of the papyrus consists of four stanzas, and lacks an initial formula before the incantation; this may be because the Introductory Text A immediately prior to this (§3.1.1.) functions as an initial formula for this hymn as well as a heading for the whole text.

The First Stanza is structured as an address to the ‘heir of Re’, followed by a set of clauses, each of which is headed by a form dependent on the subject *s3 wr*, written only once at the onset of the second verse, and by ellipsis providing the subject for each of the following verses (as indicated by the verse-points; see §1.4.3.). There is a pattern to the forms chosen for the dependent clauses: *pry/stp.n.flphty.flshr* - participle/relative form/unmarked relative clause/participle. This pattern gives structure to the first part of the stanza in two ways – the repeated use of the various dependent clauses with the ellipsis of the subject gives this part of the stanza an internal grammatical coherence, and the use of the participle in both the first and fourth verses of this part of the stanza provides a rhetorical completeness.

¹¹⁰ See Quack (1993: 151) on *sš n tm3*

¹¹¹ In classical Middle Egyptian, the word is masculine, *ḥt*, but here the scribe has feminised the word; note that the following genitival adjective *nt* agrees with the writing *ḥt*.

At the terminus of the second verse of the First Stanza, the suffix pronoun of *h^rt.f* is added in below the line, which indicates that the correction must be a later addition¹¹². In addition, the sign is written in red ink, lending weight to the argument that the red-inked corrections and verse-points are not added in as the text is composed (i.e. the scribe switching between brushes) at the end of each verse, but are an editorial marker, whereby the scribe returns to the text and adds in verse-points and other markers and corrections, in red ink (§4.2.4.). This is further supported by the case study (§4.2.) of the pen-dip distribution amongst the verse-points.

At the terminus of the third verse, the divine falcon determinative of the word *msw.f* lies after the verse-point; i.e. the verse-point has been added slightly carelessly so that it does not mark the very end of the last word. This seems to happen relatively regularly in the this section of the manuscript.

The second part of the First Stanza comprises four verses, which are structured as two pairs, which have the same circumstantial structure: each has the temporal sense of “when...then”, linking the two pairs together. The first two verses of the second part of the First Stanza are made up of three constructions - an adverbial predicate (the first verse), a stative and the pseudo-verbal *m*+infinitive (the second verse). Normally, it would be expected that each of the three phrases would be a verse¹¹³ (i.e. a verse-pointed unit, see §1.4.3.), giving a clear parallelism between the three clauses, but in this case, the phrases are very short and so the last two run together to make up a single verse (according to the verse-points given). This division of the three clauses into two verses also sets the first two verses in parallel to the second two verses in terms of structure.

The verse-point is emended here at the terminus of the sixth verse of the First Stanza (as marked) to make sense of the three pseudo-verbal clauses – the second (stative) and third (pseudo-verbal *m* + infinitive) clauses must depend upon the first

¹¹² If the correction was made before the scribe moved onto the next verse, the sign would have been added in the correct position, or the whole word erased and re-written before continuing to the next verse.

¹¹³ In general in the manuscript, each verse, i.e. each verse-pointed unit, comprises a single grammatical or syntactic clausal unit, those verses which are longer being extended by prepositional or adjectival clauses which supplement the main semantic point; see §1.4.3.

grammatically to make sense; this is supported by two factors: the length of the verse without this verse-point (three clauses) is unusual, and the following pair of verses shows a similar structure as the one suggested here; this parallelism of structure links the two pairs.

The last two verses of the First Stanza are structured similarly to the previous two verses, and the contingency of the second verse on the first echoes the previous two verses, although this time the patterns are verbal – the circumstantial *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f*. The first verse of the following stanza (the third) may be a gloss, perhaps on both stanzas – if the morning-bark sails successfully on the breeze, causing rejoicing, and Shu has already harpooned the Nik-serpent/Apophis¹¹⁴, the dangers of the night are past, and the sun is proceeding safely across the morning sky.

The Second Stanza continues the pattern of the previous stanzas by beginning with an initial main clause, on which all the following verses are grammatically dependent. The extra-position of the subject Re (*R^c*) in the first verse confers extra emphasis on the subject. This might support the interpretation of this verse as a gloss on the preceding stanza;¹¹⁵ however, without this subject, the following three verses make no sense – the third person suffix pronouns have no referent – so this verse must be associated with the following three verses.

The invocation of Tefnut in the second verse of this stanza creates a parallelism between this stanza and the second part of the previous one, since Shu and Tefnut, as the two children of Atum, are the embodiments of the creative spark/air (Shu) and creative moisture-emission (Tefnut)(Coffin Text Spells 76 (CT

¹¹⁴ The destruction of the Nik-serpent is usually an action of Horus (see Stewart 1960: 89), here appropriated by Shu.

¹¹⁵ I.e. giving a structure like this:

Second Stanza

wl3 hr m3^c °

When the sacred barque (sails) on the breeze,

ib.k ndm m^cndt m <lh3y>

your heart is happy, and the morning-barque rejoices.

m33.sn (1,4) \$w s3 r^c m m3^c-hrw

When they see Shu, the son of Re, in triumph,

dl.n.f^cbb(?)f m nik

after he has placed his harpoon (?) in the Nik-serpent.

r^c d3l.n.f hr pt hr-tp dw3yt

Re, he has crossed the sky chief of the morning;


II, 4a), 77(CT II, 18e), 331 (CT IV, 174f). Tefnut¹¹⁶ is here acting as the Uraeus of Re; Re has crowned his ‘heir’ with the Uraeus, in the form of Tefnut (who is frequently depicted snake-form, and who is also the ‘Eye of Re’ and ‘Daughter of Re’, and therefore a uraeus goddess, along with Hathor and Sekhmet; Leitz 2002: VII, 405; V, 77; VI, 557-558; Smith, M. 1984a: 1083; Verhoeven 1985: 298), and of course, the one who wears the Uraeus is the king – and thus the bodily heir of Re on earth, linking this stanza back to the opening verse, in which the hymn is addressed to ‘the heir of Re’.


The Third Stanza returns to a description of Shu, tying this stanza to the second part of the First Stanza, and emphasising Shu’s inheritance of the position of his father, Re. The third verse of this stanza equates the heir of Re with Re himself. On a prosodic level, the noun *k3* is repeated in both the onset and the terminus of the verse; when the verse is viewed as a reflective phrase, with the core/pivot being the *m*:


htp.y $\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ k3.f \\ \uparrow \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \vdots \\ m \\ \vdots \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \uparrow \\ k3 \\ \uparrow \end{array}$ *r^c*



it is clear that the *k3* in each half of the verse is placed to highlight this patterning.

The Fourth and final Stanza is rather longer than the others, and opens with a reference to a female individual ‘she who fills her mouth’. This might be a mistake by the scribe, since the suffix pronoun at the terminus of this verse refers to a male individual; however, the invocation of Tefnut in the Second Stanza suggests that this phrase refers to her, and that she eats from the ‘catch’ which is placed in front of Re or possibly Shu, thereby placing Tefnut and Shu in parallel with one another. The stanza then reverts to references to Shu (presumably), including a lengthy exposition

¹¹⁶ Note the odd form of the cobra determinative of Tefnut’s name here: . This form

is repeated in I, 5, as the determinative of *wr[t]-hk3*: . This does not accord with Möller’s

palaeographic paradigm for this sign (Möller, 1936: 22, §245): , and seems closer to the shape of

his  cobra, (1936: 23, §250): .

on the *imyt-pr* deed,¹¹⁷ which ties this stanza into the main theme of the hymn: the inheritance of Shu and Tefnut from their father Re.

¹¹⁷ An *imyt-pr* deed was a deed of transfer. See e.g. P. Kahun 13 (Ray 1973: 223); the Deed of conveyance of Mery, P. UC 32037, the Transfer deed of Wah (P. UC 32058), both of which are named as *imyt-pr* (Collier and Quirke 2004: 100-01, 104-05); see also Logan 2000.

3.1.5. Translation and Interpretation of Hymn C (I,8 – II,2)

First Stanza

ind-ḥr.k *s3 –pw n R^c •*

Hail to you, o son of Re,

wtt (I,9) n Tm ds.f •

begotten of Atum himself,

ḥpr ds.f nn wn mwt.f •

who came into existence, by himself, without his mother;

Second Stanza

m3^ct<y> *nb m3^cty¹¹⁸•*

Truthful One, Lord of the Two Truths,

šḥm *šḥm n nṯrw •*

Powerful One, Power¹¹⁹ of the Gods,

Third Stanza

in wd3t n it.f R^c •

who brings the *wd3t* eye to his father Re,

ḥnk.sn (I,10) n.f m ^cwy.fy ds.f •

to whom they offer, from his own hands¹²⁰,

šḥtp wrt m nš<ni>.t¹²¹ •

who placates the Great One (the Uraeus) in her fury,

ḥy pt smn –sw m ^cwy.fy •

who raises the sky and keeps it firm in his arms.

Fourth Stanza

¹¹⁸ This seems to be the dual writing, taking the two *šw* feathers as standing for the goddess Maat written twice, hence reading *m3^cty*, as Leitz notes (1999: 32, n.9; see *Wb* II, 21.1-3). It might also be read as *nb šwty*, ‘lord of the two plumes’, which is an epithet of Amun (Leitz 2002-3, III: 748). Cf. the Declaration to the 42 gods in BD 125 – ‘O Lord of Maat, who comes from Maaty’ (Naville 1886: pl. 134.)

¹¹⁹ Leitz reads ‘incarnation’. See Roeder (1994: 50-55).

¹²⁰ For the trope of all offerings ultimately coming from the gods to whom they are offered, see Hornung (1982a: 203-4).

¹²¹ *nštt.t* is written in error for *nšni.t*. The hieratic clearly shows a non-ligatured *t*. The form is more problematic; it might be emended to *nšnit*, making the construction the pseudo-verbal *m+* infinitive. For the pacifying of the fiery one (the Uraeus), Cf. CT Spell 691 (VI, 322q).

rhn (I,11) ntr nb hr.f •

Every god depends upon him,

nsw-bity (Šw s3 R) | ˁ.w.s •

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Shu, son of Re, l.p.h.

ntr pn m sp tp(y) •

this god from the first time.

Fifth Stanza

db3w.k m shd wd3t m iwnw •

You are clothed in the brightness of the Wedjat eye, as a Heliopolitan,¹²²

r shr (II,1) sbiw hr it.k •

in order to defeat the rebels against your father.

di.k nˁy wi3 m htp •

You cause the sacred bark to cross in peace,

*lst.f m [ršrš?] ˁ*¹²³

and its crew is [joyful?]

Sixth Stanza

ntrw nbw m ihhy hnw •

All the gods are in rejoicing and jubilation,

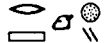

(II,2) hft sdm.sn rn.k •

when they hear your name.

3.1.6. Commentary on Hymn C

The second hymn on the manuscript (after the Introductory Text A) is indexed by the writing of the onset of the first verse (as indicated by the verse-points,

¹²² This might be read ‘in Heliopolis’, except that *iwnw* lacks the characteristic town determinative. This might be because Heliopolis is being invoked as a mythologically significant location, rather than a geographical one, however, the divine determinative suggests the clause *m iwnw* refers to an attribute of Shu: divinity. ‘A Heliopolitan’, therefore refers not just to an inhabitant of the city of Heliopolis, but to a member of the Ennead, the primary gods of the Heliopolitan theology.

¹²³ Leitz (1999: 32) reads *sp sn* at the end of the final verse of this stanza (according to his translation) but the verbal form *ršrš*, from *ršwt*, is written , suggesting that the signs  should be read as the determinative of the verb *ršrš*. The verse-point which has been restored here cannot be confirmed, as the papyrus has been repaired in modern times, covering any verse-point which might have been extant.

see §1.4.3.) in red ink, which marks the beginning of a new text. This *incipit* is very similar to that of the previous hymn.

The First Stanza opens with an address to the ‘son of Re’ – cf. the address to the ‘heir of Re’ in the previous hymn. An heir would also often be a son, although the two are not entirely equivalent. Of course, the *ind-hr.k* greeting is identical in both cases, but this is a common introductory formula for hymns (see Assmann, 1999 for numerous examples).

The second and third verses of the First Stanza are grammatically dependent on the first verse, which provides the subject and antecedent of the participles which head each of the verses.

The semantic content of these verses is not unexpected, and many parallels for this can be found; the use of Atum as a creative force, and the trope of self-creation is well attested in Egyptian theological discourse (Allen 1988), except that here it is applied to Shu, rather than his father Atum. Shu, as Atum’s son, and his heir, appropriates this trope (Coffin Text Spells 75-76 (CT I, 314-II,17); 78-9 (CT II,19-26)), and creates the Heh-gods directly from his body, without sexual intercourse (Willems 1996: 201). Coffin Text Spell 75 (CT I, 354b-c) specifies that Shu is ‘he whose shape was exhaled, he (Atum) did not fashion me with his grasp, he did not conceive me with his grasp’, Spell 76 (CT II, 3f) says ‘I was not built up in the womb, I was not knit together in the egg, I was not conceived’ i.e. that Shu was not created through any physical emanation from Atum; the third verse here specifies that Shu came into existence ‘without his mother’. The goddess Hathor is sometimes called the Hand of Atum, that is, the sexual stimulus to ejaculation, or female role in procreation; this hymn is explicitly denying her role in the creation of the god Shu.

The Second Stanza employs repetition in two different ways to create a balanced structure; in each verse the onset is repeated in the terminus – in the first verse this is at the end of the terminus, in the second verse, it is at the beginning of the terminus:

mꜣt nb mꜣty
šm šm n ntrw

In the first verse, the writing $\beta \beta \overline{\text{||||}}$ seems to be the dual¹²⁴, as noted by Leitz (see *Wb* II, 21.1-3), although the orthography is rather abbreviated here. This word might also be read *šwty*, i.e. ‘double plumes’, which is an epithet of Shu, however this reading does not allow for the careful phonological patterning of the verse; possibly there is some kind of visual pun intended. In the second verse, in contrast, the word *šhm* is written almost identically in both instances.

The Third Stanza contains four parallel relative verb-forms (verses 1, 3 and 4 are participles, verse 2 is a relative form), each of which employs as its subject the totality of the previous stanza. This structure (that each verse is a further description of the deity described in the first two stanzas) serves to give the stanza coherence. The descriptions of the actions of the ‘heir of Re’ evoke the mythology of Shu in the so-called ‘Shu-spells’ of the Coffin Texts: Spell 75 (CT I, 378b-c) describes how Shu ‘calms the soul of her who burns’ and ‘quietened her who is in the midst of her rage’. The description of Shu as raising the sky refers to his fathering the eight *Heh*-gods, who are the pillars which hold up the sky (see Spell 76 (CT II, 7c-d) and 78 (CT II, 22a); Willems 1996).

The Fourth Stanza finally names the deity described in the preceding three stanzas – ‘Shu, son of Re’, showing that this hymn has very similar themes to the previous hymn (§3.1.4.)

In the first verse of the Fourth Stanza, the verse-point again precedes the suffix pronoun, but is situated after the divine determinative. This happens reasonably frequently – cf. **I,9** and n. 124.

The cosmogony invoked here, in which Shu is the corporeal ruler of Egypt, part of the father-son divine succession of kingship (Atum-Shu-Geb-Osiris), and is therefore afforded the same titulary as the king, refers to the separation of Geb and Nut by Shu (here see Verhoeven 1991: 319-330; Willems 1996: 201); by which space was created in which life could flourish. This also refers back to the previous stanza, in which Shu ‘raises the sky, and keeps it firm in his arms’ – a reference to

¹²⁴ Note also that the verse-point here falls before the determinative papyrus roll and plural strokes, showing that the verse-points seem to have been added after the copying of the texts; see §4.2.3.

his creation of the Heh-gods, the pillars of the sky (Coffin Text Spell 76 (CT II, 7c-d) and 78 (CT II, 22a); Willems 1996: 201).

The Fifth Stanza is composed of two pairs of verses; in each case the first verse opens with an address in the second person to Shu, and the second verse is grammatically an adjunct to the first.

The final Stanza is not a terminal formula; it continues the themes and style of the hymn, and constitutes part of the speech-act of the incantation; there is also no red ink to mark the end of the hymn.

Rather surprisingly, there is no divine determinative after *rn.k*, at the end of the second verse (and therefore at the end of the entire hymn) which seems odd as the hymn is addressed to the god Shu, thus ‘your name’ would be the name of a god.

3.1.7. Translation and Interpretation of Hymn D (II,2 – III,3)

First Stanza

sšt3.k wr{ty}.k r ntrw •

You are more secret, and greater than the gods,

m rn.k -pwy n Šw s3 R^c •

in this, your name of Shu, son of Re.

Second Stanza

ḥ^c n.k M-^c-g3 s3 (II,3) Sth •

Rise, Maga, son of Seth,

ink In-ḥrt¹²⁵ nb ḥpš • —⁰

I am Onuris, lord of strength.

Third Stanza

ʿ3y.k wr.k r ntrw •

You are greater than, and older than/senior to¹²⁶ the gods,

m rn.k -pwy n ʿ3-wrt •

in this, your name of Great one of the Uraeus.

Fourth Stanza

(II,4) *k3.k r pt m šwty.k* •

You are higher than the sky in your double-plume crown,

m rn.k -pwy n k3y-šwty •

in this, your name of High of Double Plumes¹²⁷.

¹²⁵ The determinative (?) of *In-ḥrt* is an old man – this may be an epithet, Onuris the Great. This title is listed in Leitz (2002-3, I: 380) and is attested in the New Kingdom.

¹²⁶ *wr* could mean ‘senior to’, usually used of those of senior status or rank (and therefore likely of greater age as well), or it could mean ‘older than’. The determinative does not distinguish. The writing could as well be *smsw*, ‘eldest of’, except for the phonological parallelism between the two verses (see below §3.1.8.).

¹²⁷ Cf. the previous hymn (§3.1.5.), second stanza, first verse, where the epithet might be ‘lord of the Double Plumes’. Min is given a similar epithet in the 20th Dynasty P. Geneva MAH 15274, which almost certainly comes from Deir el-Medina (Massart 1957: 172-174; II, 2). See also Leitz (2002-3, I: 380) for *In-ḥrt-Šw-s3-R^c-k3-šwty-Ḥr-Ṛm3-^c*, ‘Onuris-Shu-son-of-Re-High-of Double-Plumes-Horus-Strong-Armed’ attested at the Temple of Khonsu and on a Graeco-Roman bas-relief from Behbet el-Hagar.

Fifth Stanza

iw.k im hr-tp i3ty.k °

You come/return thence upon your standard,

m rn.k (II,5) -pwy n imy-i3t.{k} °

in this, your name of the One who is upon {your}¹²⁸ Standard.

Sixth Stanza

in.k hrt m m3wd.k °

You bring the far one with your carrying-pole,

m rn.k -pwy n In-hrt °

in this, your name of Onuris.

Seventh Stanza

dr.k šnit (II,6) šqd.n.k ipg3 °

You subdue the rain-storm, once you have brightened the (rain-clouds?)¹²⁹

m rn.k -pwy n dr-šnyt °

in this, your name of Storm-subduer.

Eighth Stanza

hsf.k 3d pry m Nwn °

You repel the savage one (crocodile), emerging from Nun,¹³⁰

m rn.k (II,7) -pwy n hsf-3dw °

in this, your name of Repeller of the Savage Ones (crocodiles).

Ninth Stanza

spd.k bb.k m dsr-tp-nik °

You stab¹³¹ your harpoon¹³² in the *dsr-tp-nik* snake,

m rn.k -pwy n spd-hnty.k °

in this, your name of sharp-horned¹³³

¹²⁸ The scribe seems to have confused his suffix pronouns – read *imy-i3t.f*

¹²⁹ This would seem to be similar to *(i)gp*, the ‘darkening of the sky’ in the *Cannibal Hymn* (Eyre 2002: 7, 77, 210). See also Ward (1973: 229).

¹³⁰ This might also be read ‘who emerges from Nun’.

¹³¹ This reading takes *spd* as a transitive verb.

¹³² Cf. *recto* I, 4 (§3.1.3.) for the meaning of this word.

Tenth Stanza

(II,8)dm<.k> r phtytw °

<You> impale those who reach you,

m rn.k -pwy n dm-hnty¹³⁴ •

in this, your name of piercing-horned

Eleventh Stanza

tni irr.k r ntrw •

Your forms are more distinguished¹³⁵ than the gods’,

m rn.k (II,9) -pwy n hry-ib tni •

in this, your name of the One who Dwells in Thisis.

Twelfth Stanza

s3^c n.f R^c m s3^c.k •

Re began for himself when you began,

m rn.k -pwy n Šw s3 R^c •

in this, your name of Shu, son of Re.

Thirteenth Stanza

t3y.k ‘bb.k¹³⁶ shrw.k (II,10) sbiw •

You seize your spear/harpoon and subdue the rebels,

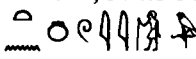
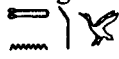
m rn.k -pwy n Hr tm3[-^c ?]¹³⁷ •

in this, your name of Horus Strong-[armed?].

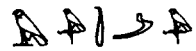
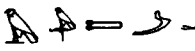
¹³³ *Contra* Leitz (1999: 33, n. 14) who suggests this is a variant orthography of *hnyt*, ‘lance’. *Wb* III, 109.14-110.4 gives *hnt* as ‘horn’, so that *hnty* is the dual writing.

¹³⁴ Following the dual horns determinative, there are two divine determinatives, followed by another of the black dots/space-fillers (see above), then what appears to be an s, ^{||} (*contra* Leitz’s transcription of a third divine determinative). This sign falls before the verse-point, but may attach to the first word of the next stanza, making *tni* a causative form.

¹³⁵ *Wb* V, 374.1-375.28 gives *tni*, ‘to distinguish, to be distinguished’. The orthography here,

 is different to that given in the *Wb*,  but the meaning must be the same.

¹³⁶ For the origins of this word see the note on *recto* I,4 (§3.1.3.) above, and cf. to the example at *recto* II,7 above for further contextualisation.

¹³⁷ The orthography is , *Hr-ti-m3*, presumably for , *Hr-tm3-c*.

Fourteenth Stanza

dr.n.k iwntyw t3-sti •

You have subdued the foreigners of Nubia,

m rn.k -pwy n sti (II,11) R^c •

in this, your name of successor of Re.

Fifteenth Stanza

sm3.k mntyw sttyw •

You kill the *mntyw* and the *sttyw* Asiatics,

m rn.k -pwy n shnw smsw •

in this, your name of Commander of the Elders¹³⁸.

Sixteenth Stanza

wsr rn.k (III,1) r ntrw •

Your name is more powerful than the gods',

m rn.k -pwy n hry-ib skty •

in this, your name of He who is in the Evening Bark.

Seventeenth Stanza

{i} *hwn fnd.k m rh¹³⁹ w3s* •

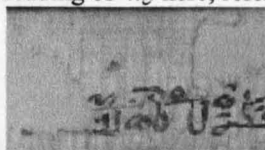
Your nose is rejuvenated in life and dominion,

*m rn.k -pwy n (III,2) *shnw smsm¹⁴⁰* •

in this, your name of (Commander) of the Elders.

¹³⁸ The reading here is *contra* Leitz (1999: 33, n. 16), who emends *h<w>nw smsm*. The divine determinative after *-pwy n* is not expected, and might be read as a poorly executed *s*, giving *shnw*, which makes more sense in the context.

¹³⁹ Leitz (1999: 34, n. 17) questions the reading of *rh* here, referring to the earlier edition by Akmar.



The reading seems clear in the hieratic:

However, it should be noted, as Leitz points out, that the upper fragment adjacent to the top margin of the page “belongs about 2mm farther to the right” (Leitz, 1999: Plate 14, n.1 a). In the case of the *rh* sign, it is obvious that the top of the sign has become displaced from the lower part in this mounting of the fragment.

¹⁴⁰ {*ihwn smsm*} is written in error, presumably for *shnw smsw*; cf. n. 138 above, although the orthography here is rather odd for a simple misreading; it might be explained by the extra *i* prefixed to the verb *hwn* at the onset of the first verse of this stanza, leading the scribe to copy the same orthography without thinking about it. It is also possible that the scribe has misunderstood *hwn smsw*, ‘youth of the Elders’ here. For *hwn*, see *Wb* III, 54.3-10.

Eighteenth Stanza

š^ct.k m tpw sbiw •

You cut off the heads of the rebels,

m rn.k –pwy n nb š^ct •

in this, your name of Lord of Slaughtering.

Nineteenth Stanza

mš^c.k (III,3) wš m mš^cw nfr •

You steer the bark with a good wind,

m rn.k –pwy n Mš^ct •

in this, your name of Maat.

3.1.8. Commentary on Hymn D

The third hymn in the papyrus is not indexed or separated from the previous hymn by means of any red ink, but its internal coherence of structure (which suggests this should be read as a litany¹⁴¹) marks it as a text in its own right. Eighteen of the nineteen stanzas are couplets in which the first verse is addressed to Shu in the second person singular, or describes a characteristic of Shu. In each couplet, the onset of the second verse is *m rn.k –pwy n* ‘in this your name of’, followed by a name or epithet of Shu, often relating very closely to the description given in the first verse in a semantic or phonological way. There is one exception to this – the Second Stanza, which may well be some kind of refrain.

In the First Stanza, there appears to be a scribal error – *wr.ty.k* is written, suggesting that the scribe intended the comparative formulation, *wr.k r ntrw*, ‘you are greater than the gods’ but he writes *wr.ty.k*, which might be the ‘how great’ formulation. Compare the syntax of this with the first verses of stanzas 3, 4, and 16, all of which have the structure:

adjectival verb + suffix pronoun (.k) *r* nominal phrase

¹⁴¹ *wdnw* texts/litanies are common from the Pyramid Texts onwards. See Assmann (1980) and Derchain-Urtel (1997: 47-54)

The expression of the subject with a suffix pronoun shows that this cannot be an adjectival predicate, but must be the *sḏm.f* of an adjectival verb. Perhaps the scribe's confusion stems from his instinct to write *.tw* as the subject.

The onset of the first verse of the First Stanza, *sšt3.k* seems to have a phonological link to the terminus of the second verse *šw s3 rʿ*; the sibilance of the phonemes *s* and *š* would probably have had some resonance.

The Second Stanza in this hymn is considered by Leitz (and Lange 1927: 22) to be intrusive and he suggests it may have 'reference to the general aim of the compendium' He goes on to speculate that it may be 'a refrain to be repeated after each of the eighteen invocations' (1999: 33). Whilst this is an attractive idea, the *grh* sign which ends the second verse of this stanza (note that there is also a verse-point here), is usually used to indicate the end of a stanza, or pause in performance (Parkinson, 2002: 114; see also IV, 9, Hymn H, §3.1.16. and §4.3.4.1.). Of the cycle of Hymns to Senwosret III preserved on a papyrus from Kahun (UC 32157; Collier & Quirke 2004: 16-19), two of the four hymns have an apparent chorus, or refrain, which is labelled *inyt*, and which was intended to be repeated; the Harper's Song from the tomb of King Intef (P. Harris 500 = P. BM EA 10060, Fox 1985: 345-347), has an apparent refrain, indicated by *m3wt*. Fox comments that this may be derived from *m33*, 'be new' (1985: 347, n. g). This stanza, marked with a *grh* sign, seems to function in a similar way; although it is noticeable that there is no blank space left after each stanza to indicate a refrain, as might be expected (Parkinson & Quirke 1995: 41).

This verse is also a parallel to phrases elsewhere in the papyrus, an intratextual link: Spells I (§3.2.1., VI, 4-9: *i.ʿhʿ [n?].k m-ʿ-g3 s3 sth/ mk ink imn k3 mwt.f* 'Rise, Maga, son of Seth,/See – I am Amun, bull of his mother'), and T (§3.2.21., VIII, 5-9: *ink in-hrt ʿh3w nfr ink wrw nb hpš* 'I am Onuris, the perfect warrior, /I am the great one, lord of might'), although the epithets of Onuris are conflated here. Perhaps the copyist accidentally copied out part of another text which was meant to go elsewhere on the papyrus here, although this is highly speculative. Certainly this stanza does not have quite the same structure as the others – the second verse does not have the same onset as all the other stanzas, and the first verse

is addressed to Maga, son of Seth, who cannot be considered the same deity as Shu. Whether or not it is strictly ‘intrusive’ is somewhat more difficult to ascertain without another copy of the text. Were this stanza to be removed, the hymn would be eighteen stanzas long, which seems a more symmetrical and pleasing number; if the stanza is a refrain, which would accord with the litany-style of the hymn, the text would be thirty-six stanzas long in performance.


The Third Stanza resumes the pattern outlined above. The two verses of this stanza are linked on a phonological level – the name ‘Great One of the Uraeus’ at the terminus of the second verse is a play on the use of both *ʿ3* and *wr* in the onset of the first verse.

The Fourth Stanza refers to the iconography of Shu, who is shown crowned with two plumes (see §3.1.5.). This stanza has a slightly different structure in that the onset *and* terminus of the first verse are paralleled in the terminus of the second verse; this is due to the syntactic requirements of the first clause.

The Fifth Stanza refers to the *ibty*, ‘standard’ in the termini of both verses, which is usually used of cult objects; suggests that the cult image of the god(s) is being referred to here. Some of the epithets used here are also used of Sopdu, with whom Shu is often associated (Schumacher 1988: 251-2 and *passim*.)

The Sixth Stanza puns on the phonological similarity between *in.k ḥrt*, ‘you bring the far-one’ at the onset of the first verse, and *In-ḥrt*, ‘Onuris’ at the terminus of the second verse.

Stanza Seven illustrates the underlying structure of this hymn perfectly: the first verse is addressed to Shu, employing the second person suffix pronoun, and the action mentioned in the onset of the first verse (‘subdue the rain-storm’) forms the semantic basis for the title/name given in the terminus of the second verse (‘Storm-subduer’). This is particularly apparent in the Egyptian, since the same words are used in both verses: *dr.k šnyt* and *dr-šnyt*. The appearance of such similar phrases at the beginning of the onset of the first verse and the end of the terminus of the second

verse serves to bind the whole stanza. In both cases, the words are emended in red to make the meaning clear - the  added above and through the line:

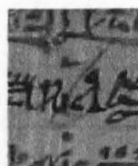



Fig. 11. Hymn D, Stanza Seven, First verse, *recto* II, 5.

Without this emendation, the word would read *šn^ct*, still having the meaning ‘to turn back, repulse, repel’; perhaps the scribe went back to make his meaning clearer, although it should be noted that the determinative for rainstorm,  is written in black, as usual, so is probably original.

In the second verse, *šnyt* is emended in the same way but there is also a small black dot beneath the verse point (indicated – Fig. 2); the function of this is unclear, but it would seem to be a typical Late Egyptian space filler:

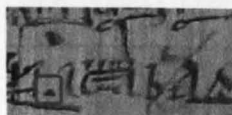


Fig. 12. Hymn D, Stanza Seven, Second verse, *recto* II, 6.

The following stanza (Stanza Eight) employs the same device as the previous – repeating the same phrase at the onset of the first verse and the terminus of the second verse of the stanza, in order to bind the whole stanza by symploce; this parallelism is highlighted by the fact the phrase is singular in the first verse and plural in the second.

The next two stanzas, Nine and Ten are also related to one another, by use of *hnty*, and other words for ‘sharp, piercing, stabbing’, and by using a verb at the onset of the first verse which is then incorporated into the epithet which closes the second verse:

spd.k ... spd-hnyt.k / dm.k... dm-hnyt

Stanza Eleven refers to Shu as more distinguished than the gods, invoking the mythology of Shu presented in the ‘Shu-spells’ of the Coffin Texts (Spells 75-80¹⁴²).

¹⁴² In Coffin Text Spell 75 (CT I, 374d) Shu claims to be ‘older than the gods’.

There is also a nice use of paronomasia between the verb *tni*, ‘be distinguished’ at the onset of the first verse, and *tni*, ‘Thinis’¹⁴³ at the terminus of the second verse.

In Stanza Twelve, the onset construction is the *sḏm.n.f*, which contrasts with the use of the *sḏm.f* to open most of the other stanzas. Perhaps this construction is employed to underline the fact that the creation of the world, i.e. the point at which ‘Re began’ is an aspectually completed action. The use of the *sḏm.n.f* here might also be associated with the fact that this is the only stanza in which the subject of the verb in the first verse is not Shu (framed as the second person singular, ‘you’, since the hymn is addressed to Shu); however the *sḏm.n.f* form is used again two stanzas later with none of these associations.

This stanza again seems to rely on phonology to link the two verses, using *š3̣.n.f* at the onset of the first verse and *šw š3̣ ṛ* at the terminus of the second, in a similar way to the First Stanza (see above).

Stanzas Thirteen to Fifteen seem to form a coherent grouping: all three stanzas deal with duties of the king. In this hymn, Shu in his role as primaeval king of the gods¹⁴⁴ is being equated with the king of Egypt, and these three stanzas seem to emphasise the mortal or earthly duties of a king – to protect Egypt from her enemies (see Maderna-Sieben 1997). The enemy forces mentioned are used to structure the three stanzas linguistically – they refer to the enemies in order of geographical closeness, which would make sense, as the king’s primary interest should be with rebels within the borders of Egypt itself, followed by enemies immediately to the south and north; these two sets of enemies are paired. This is reminiscent of the encomium to Senwosret I in *Simuhe* (B47-73; Koch 1990) in which the king’s power over foreign rulers is emphasised; B71-73 is particularly relevant.

The two verses of Stanza Thirteen are phonologically linked through the repetition of the phoneme *t* in the onset of the first verse (*ṭy.k*) and the terminus of the second verse (*tm3̣[-̣ ?]*), although this parallelism may not have been particularly apparent.

¹⁴³ Thinis, of course, is a centre of Onuris worship (Endrödi 1992).

¹⁴⁴ e.g. Coffin Text Spell 333 (CT IV, 178).

In the second stanza (Stanza Fourteen), the use of *iw^w* is paronomasic, both phonologically and visually: *iwntyw*, ‘foreigners’ (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏) can also be derived from *iwnt*, ‘bow’ (𓆎𓅓), from which we derive the participial form, *iwntyw*, ‘those of the bow’, meaning of course, ‘foreigners’ by implication. With alternative orthography, *iw^w* 𓆎𓅓𓏏 is Heliopolis, quite the opposite of a ‘foreign’ place. This stanza again uses the *s^dm.n.f* form in the onset of the first verse, but in this instance there is no clear reason why this should be. The link between the verses here falls in the terminus of each verse: *ḫ-sti/sti r^c*.

In the third of these stanzas (the Fifteenth), the onset of the first verse is *sm³.k* and the terminus of the second verse is *shⁿw smsw*; this seems to provide a phonological parallel between the verses.

The four final stanzas of the hymn seem to provide a sort of gloss on the themes of the hymn, summing up the attributes of a successful king or ruler: possessing a powerful name, rejuvenation by the gods, military prowess and the ability to defend one’s country against attack or invasion by foreign powers, and, most importantly, the divinely inspired ability to govern a country according to the principles of Maat.

Stanza Sixteen does not display the same parallelism between the two verses as all the other stanzas (except Stanza Two): there is no obvious apparent link between the two verses except that the second syntactic element in both is *rn.k*. However, this does not follow the pattern of the other stanzas, and it is possible that this departure from the usual structure marks the final four stanzas as a ‘summary’ of the hymn.

Stanza Seventeen returns to the standard structure of the stanzas, punning on *h^wn*, ‘to rejuvenate’ at the onset of the first verse, and *shⁿw*, ‘Commander’ at the terminus of the second. This paronomasic link seems to lead the scribe into two erroneous writings: *ih^wn* for *h^wn* and *ih^wn smsm* for *shⁿw-smsw*.

The third of the last four stanzas (Stanza Eighteen) refers back to the set of three stanzas which preceded this last group of four stanzas, by referring to the military actions of a king – cutting off the heads of rebels. The word *šʿt* also provides a phonological link between the two verses.

The final stanza of this set of four (Stanza Nineteen), and of the whole hymn summarises the essential nature of kingship – to steer one’s people according to the principles and precepts of Maat; however the composition as a whole deals more with cosmic paradigms of kingship rather than earthly rule. The root *mʿ* appears in three different forms in this stanza: *mʿ.k*, ‘you steer’; *mʿw*, ‘wind’, and *mʿt*, ‘Maat’; the structure of most of the stanzas is therefore referenced (parallelism of the onset of the first verse and the terminus of the second) with the addition of an ‘extra’ reference at the terminus of the first verse.

All the verbs used in this hymn seem to be unusual, or used in contexts other than their usual ones to create a specific effect; possibly demarcating a register of magical language.

Structurally, the most common pattern for the stanzas is a semantic, paronomasic or phonological paralleling of the onset of the first verse with the terminus of the second verse (a kind of symploce): thirteen of the nineteen stanzas have this structure.

Linguistically, the verb-forms used in the onsets of each verse are not consistent; certainly, they are apparently all declarative forms, which fits with the fact that this is a hymn, therefore composed largely of statements concerning the god.

Assmann (2001: 84) comments that the earliest hymns were litanies, by which he means a pattern, or refrain, into which divine naming elements were inserted. This hymn seems to have a litanistic style, which may suggest a relatively early composition date for this hymn, or an archaising style.

3.1.9. Translation and Interpretation of Hymn E (III,3 – III,5)

i Spw –pwy ir dt.f[•]

O this Sepa, who made his (own) body,

i nb w^r pry (III,4) m Nwn[•]

O sole lord, who emerged from Nun,

i Hw –pwy km³ –sw ds.f[•]

O this Hu, who created himself,

i ir Hw –pwy imy.f[•]

O, one who created this Hu, and who inhabits him,

i ir.y it.f (III,5) imn mwt.f[•]

O, one who created his father, whose mother is hidden.

3.1.10. Commentary on Hymn E

The fourth hymn on the papyrus is far shorter than the preceding three, and marks a change in the deity addressed – this set of invocations is addressed to Sepa, where the first three hymns (§3.1.3; 3.1.5.; 3.1.7.) were all addressed to Shu. The hymn is litany-style, and each invocation is introduced with an anaphoric ‘O..’, providing an overall structure to the hymn.

Sepa is a funerary deity, associated with the waters of the Nile, as Goyon (1988: 37-38) discusses (with regards to P. Jumilhac; see also Leitz 2002: VI, 269), and therefore is an appropriate deity to invoke in a collection of texts which includes one explicitly marked as a ‘water spell’ (Spell K, §3.2.3.)

Hu, the incarnation of divine speech is also invoked, as is Nun, the primaeval waters, and the contents of the invocations makes it clear that this hymn is concerned with creation and cosmogony: invoking the various mechanisms and paradoxes of creation: self-creation, emergence from a primordial void, creation by another, self-creation including one’s own antecedents. It expresses a cosmology, and yet is framed as a direct address, employing the vocative particle. The speech-act of this hymn would be to address the creator-deities and outline their cosmogonic roles.

The hymn consists of five verses (as indicated by the verse-points, see §1.4.3.), which express a series of interlinked ideas which progress through the


incantation. The third verse, for example, is intimately linked to the fourth, providing the classic logical paradox that the deity addressed is both Hu and the creator of Hu: he is himself and his own father! This verse is also grammatically parallel to the first verse, having the structure:

Vocative + god's name + *-pwy* participle + object

which is highlighted on a semantic level by the similarity of the termini of both verses: 'who made his (own) body'/'who created himself'.

The first three verses all show structural similarity, although the second verse does not follow the exact paradigm of the first and third shown above.

The relationship of Sepu to the flood waters binds the first two verses together semantically – Sepa creates himself, and emerges from the primordial flood waters of Nun. The central verse, which invokes Hu, the power of the creative word, or divine utterance, seems to have some of the attributes and function of a 'transitional verse' (see §4.3.4.1.), moving the cosmogony from the primordial (first two verses) into the creation of the first forces, and opening the paradox of the creator who created his own ancestors, which trope binds the final two verses (although see here Leitz (1999: 34), who considers that each verse refers to a different god). Of course, the name Hu is similar to the verb *hwi*, 'to flood' (*Wb* III, 50.1), and this aural allusion may have connected the third verse to the first two.

The use of red ink to write the vocative *i* at the start of each verse is unusual – it does not seem to fulfil the same function as the use of red ink to write the first word, phrase or verse, since it is repeated in every verse of the hymn. In the last verse, *mn* is emended to *imn* in red ink, showing that red ink is used to edit a text after composition/copying (see §4.2.4.). The red, vocative *i* at the start of each verse cannot be explained as such – the signs fit perfectly into the text, and are not inserted above or below the line. They do not fulfil any indexing purpose (i.e. they do not mark only the start of the hymn), nor are they corrections. The sign used to write the *i*,  is not the most common orthography for the vocative particle, and it seems likely that the sign has some of the qualities of a formula; perhaps instructing the

performer as to the appropriate gesture to accompany the incantation (for this see Dominicus 1994: 79, and Fischer-Elfert 2006: 23, n.2).

3.1.11. Translation and Interpretation of Hymn F (III,5 – III,10)

First Stanza

ind-hr.tn p3 5 ntrw ʕ3.y •

Hail to you, O five great gods,

i.pry m hmnw •

who have come forth from Hermopolis,

iw nn wnw.tn m pt •

before you existed in the sky,

(III,6) *nn wnw.tn m t3* •

while you did not exist on the earth,

iw nn wnw šw shd.tn •

when there was no light, you illuminated.

Second Stanza

mi {n.n} n.i wdʕ.tn n.i itrw •

Come {to us}¹⁴⁵ to me, that you may part the river for me,

htm.tn (III,7) nty im.f •

and so that you may seal the one who is in it.

Third Stanza

nty hrp.w nn bsy.tn •

Those who are submerged, you shall not break out,

*htm.tn m r.tn ʕnb.tn r.tn*¹⁴⁶ •

may you seal your mouths, and hold fast your mouths,

mi htm.tw sšdd (III,8) m ddw •

as the window in Busiris was closed,

mi shd t3 m 3bdw •

¹⁴⁵ This may not be an error by the scribe; it could be read as apposition (with ellipsis of the imperative *mi*): ‘Come to us, to me...’; the presence of the first person singular pronoun as the indirect object of the terminal clause of the verse does suggest that *n.n* was written in error, but it is not corrected or erased by the scribe.

¹⁴⁶ Note that Leitz (1999: 35) emends the verse-point here; collation with the original document shows that it is present, although slightly displaced to the left by the correction in red ink; clearly the verse-point was added after this correction.

as the land in Abydos was illuminated,

mi htm.tw r n kt¹⁴⁷ n 'nt 'strt •

as the mouth of the womb (?) of Anat and <the womb of ?¹⁴⁸> Astarte was
sealed;

t3 ntrt (III,9) 2 '3.yt •

the two great goddesses,

nty iwr nn msi.sn •

who were pregnant without giving birth.

htm.sn m Hr •

They were sealed¹⁴⁹ by Horus,

sn{t}.sn m Sth •

They were opened(?)¹⁵⁰ by Seth.

n3 (III,10) nty m t3 pt i.ir s3.tn •

They, who are in the sky¹⁵¹, are the ones who make your
protection.

3.1.12. Commentary on Hymn F

The fifth section of the papyrus has the traditional hymnic opening *ind-hr.tn* (see §1.4.5.), and is addressed to five gods. Leitz (1999: 34 and n. 20) comments that the five gods may be ‘perhaps Thoth and the Ogdoad before its fissioning at the

¹⁴⁷ The sign used to write *ktldt* is Gardiner’s F143 (Gardiner’s Extended Sign-list, Hannig 1995: 1141).

¹⁴⁸ By ellipsis, if the reading of ‘womb’ is correct.

¹⁴⁹ This verse is slightly problematic; I have read the verb-form as the passive *sdmw.f*, in light of the following preposition, which precludes the reading of *Hr* as the direct object of *htm.sn*.

¹⁵⁰ See Leitz’s lengthy note on this verb-form here (1999: 35, n. 26). In the context of the stanza, reading *snl*, ‘open’, with the *t* being interpreted as an indicator of the passive ending *.tw*, would allow this verse to stand both in grammatical opposition with the previous verse by the use of the unmarked/marked passive forms, and in semantic opposition, paralleling the ‘sealing’ by Horus with the ‘opening’ by Seth, whose violent opening of the uterus of his mother Nut are known from the Pyramid Texts, Spell 222 (PT 205a-b: I, 118); the Levantine goddesses Anat and Astarte being assimilated to an Egyptian mytheme here. Leitz points out the implications of ‘sealing’ the womb, which was considered necessary, after conception, to prevent miscarriage/abortion (‘opening’) or premature birth. Ritner (1984: 216-7) objects to this reading, arguing that it suggests a chronology of action which is unlikely: that Horus seals their wombs, *after which* Seth opens them (providing the possibility that they might successfully give birth. He argues instead that the line *snl.t<w>.sn m sth* (as I would render it) should be read as an explanation appended to the previous verse: ‘they were sealed by Horus, *because* they had been opened by Seth’; in this context, the ‘opening’ by Seth refers to the sexual union between Seth and Anat and Astarte which is well attested (as in P. Chester Beatty VII, verso I, 5; Gardiner 1935: 61-3). The offspring of Seth would necessarily be considered dangerous, the more so because the only attested child of Seth is Maga, the crocodile.

¹⁵¹ This of course refers to Anat and Astarte’s qualities as storm/sky goddesses (Leclant 1975: 254-5).

creation by the sun-god', interpreting the Ogdoad as four undifferentiated pairs rather than eight gods, or (more likely in his estimation), the five gods whom he considers are invoked in the previous hymn. However, the previous hymn does not seem to be so much an invocation to separate deities as a cosmogonic progression detailed in invocation-form, and the suggestion that the five gods may be Thoth and the Ogdoad before it split into the component eight gods is supported by the second verse of the First Stanza – 'who have come forth from Hermopolis'.

The hymn shows more Late Egyptian features than any of the texts earlier in the manuscript – the use of the definite article *p3*, whilst not diagnostically Late Egyptian (it is attested in Middle Egyptian literature), becomes codified by this stage of the language. The participial form in the second verse of the First Stanza shows a much more Late Egyptian orthography for the participial form – cf. earlier examples which lack the prothetic *yod* (I, 2-3; I,6; I, 9-10; and III, 3-5), and more closely resemble the Middle Egyptian orthography for participial forms. This strengthens the argument that this manuscript represents a compendium of texts of heterogeneous origin (see §4.3.), collected on account of their subject matter, and copied by one scribe, possibly for the purposes of compiling a reference or archival copy of these spells and hymns. This is also (as Leitz comments (1999: 34)) the first text directed against crocodiles – another reason to think that it is not a 'hymn' as opposed to a 'spell', but one of the assorted texts here collected, defying conventional genre definitions (see further §1.4.5.; 4.4.).

The last three verses of the First Stanza are all characterised by the use of *nn wn.w* – the first and third of these verses preface the form with *tw*, the second does not, giving a pattern A-B-A on a syntactic and morphological level.

The Second Stanza of this hymn seems to have more in common with the contents of the first Spells – it is an invocation against crocodiles (*nty im.f*, 'the one who is in it (i.e. the river)' is the crocodile – cf. Spell K, terminal rubric (§3.2.3. *recto* VI, 12), Spell L, fourth stanza (§3.2.5. *recto* VII, 3), Spell T, third stanza (§3.2.21. *recto* VIII, 7 – although this is less obviously a parallel), Spell V, first stanza (§3.2.25. *recto* IX, 6)). This commonality between the 'hymns' and the

‘spells’ suggests that the manuscript might be considered as a composition which had a unified purpose (see §4.3.).

In the first verse of the Second Stanza, the {*n.n*} seems to be a mistake, given the following *n.i* (see above, n. 145), and the corresponding use of the dative first person suffix after the secondary verb, *w_d^c.tn*. It is perhaps significant that three verses later the scribe emends two suffix pronouns (in red, above the line – further evidence of the scribal practice of editorship in red ink); it is possible that the hymn being copied here is corrupted, or that the scribe is making mistakes in the process of copying (§1.2.2.).

The Third Stanza continues in this incantatory style – this stanza cannot be characterised as conforming to the ‘hymnic’ speech-style (§1.3.5.; 1.4.5.): there is no praise or adoration of a deity here, nor is there a recounting of the deeds of a deity, rather the stanza commands/instructs the crocodiles not to ‘penetrate’, and to ‘seal your mouths and hold fast your mouths’, following this with an extended mythological simile. This sense of immediate purpose has more in common with the magical texts of the papyrus than the hymns.

The first verse of the Third Stanza bears a very strong resemblance to the first verse of the third stanza of Spell T of the Harris Magical Papyrus (§3.2.21. *recto* VIII, 7): *iw n3 nty hrp.w bn bsy.sn*, ‘those who are submerged, they shall not enter.’ Kruchten (1989: 148-9) comments on the opposition *hrp-bsl*, pointing out its common attestation in medical texts; the opposition of these two verbs is marked, giving a bipartite structure to the verse which is paralleled in the following verse, in which the two verbs appear to be in accordance rather than opposition.

In the second verse, the second person plural suffix pronouns attached to the two occurrences of *r*, ‘mouth’ are both written in red ink, above the line; again, this shows that red ink is used as an editing tool after writing; in addition the presence of the second correction displaces the verse-point to the left (see here §4.2.4. for a discussion of the significance of this).

This verse is also intertextually significant; it is repeated in several places. The Saite healing statue of *Djed-Her-le-Sauveur* (Jelínková-Reymond 1956: 48, 53)

shows a parallel inscription on the left hand side of the statue. P. Chester Beatty XI, recto 4, 3-4 (Gardiner 1935) also shows some similarity to this phraseology (see also the spells of P. BM EA 10081: Schott 1930: 35-6).

The three dependent, preposition-headed clauses of contingency which constitute the third-fifth verses of the Third Stanza expand on the first two verses of the stanza. The verses ‘as the window in Busiris was closed, as the land in Abydos was illuminated’ express the opposition and duality of the Nile Delta¹⁵² and Nile Valley¹⁵³, which combine to make up the state of Egypt.

The sixth verse of the stanza, ‘as the mouth of the (womb?) of Anat and (the womb of?) Astarte was sealed’, brings these two images together through the imagery of the Semitic goddesses Anat and Astarte, who appear in Egypt at the end of the Middle Kingdom and into the Hyksos Period (Leclant, 1975: 253-8), but only become well-attested during the Ramesside Period, in the Delta. Leclant (1975: 254-5) comments that it is difficult to distinguish between Anat and Astarte in texts, and notes that they frequently occur in healing contexts (e.g. P. Leiden I 343 + I 345, rto XVIII, 1; Massart 1954: 85, pl. 24).

The presence of Anat and Astarte in this hymn suggests either a non-native Egyptian origin for the spell, or (more probably) the assimilation of Ugaritic mythology into Egyptian mythemes. This is paralleled later in the papyrus by the presence of three strikingly ‘foreign’ spells, considered to be Canaanite in origin (see §3.2.27. - §3.2.30.).

The rest of the Third Stanza continues on the theme of Anat and Astarte; the eighth - tenth verses make comment on their procreative abilities, and should be read in the sense that Ritner (1984: 216-7) suggests: the eighth verse states that the two goddesses carried offspring but were not capable of parturition; the following two verses explain this state of affairs, that they were impregnated by Seth, and therefore prevent from delivering their offspring by Horus.

¹⁵² Busiris is located in the central Delta, in the Ninth Lower Egyptian Nome.

¹⁵³ Abydos lies north of Thebes in the Nile Valley, in the Eighth Upper Egyptian Nome

The final verse of the stanza seems to suggest that the presence of these two goddesses in the sky protects from crocodiles – an example of ‘sympathetic magic’: since they cannot bear (crocodilian) offspring, they act as a talisman against crocodiles.

3.1.13. Translation and Interpretation of Hymn G¹⁵⁴ (III,10 – IV,8)

First Stanza

dw3w Imn-R^c-Hr-3hty hprw ds.f•

Adoration of Amun-Re-Horakhty, who created himself,

grg t3 m 33^c.n.f•

who founded the earth, when he began¹⁵⁵,

(III,11) *ir.n n3 hmnw nw p3wt tp*•

whom the the Ogdoad of the beginning of time created,

sw33.sn hm n ntr pn 3psy•

they pay honour to the majesty of this august god,

Imn p3wty t3.wy•

Amun, primaeval (god?) of the Two Lands,

(IV,1) *wbn.f m Nwn Nwnwt*•

when he rises from Nun and Naunet.

ddt hr mw hr t3•

What is said upon water and/or upon land.

Second Stanza

ind-hr.k w^c i.irw –sw m Hhw•

Hail to you, one who has made himself into millions.

3w (IV,2) wsh.f nn-drw.f•

His breadth extends without limits;

sh^m spd mss –sw ds.f•

sharp sceptre¹⁵⁶, who gave birth to himself.

i^crt¹⁵⁷ t3 c3 nby•

Uraeus, the great one of flame,¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ This hymn is treated by Assmann (1999: no. 129); Barucq (1980: 318-29). See also Cruz-Urbe (1988:126-30).

¹⁵⁵ *Contra* Leitz, who reads ‘who established the land as his first deed’ (1999: 35), taking 33^c as nominal, with *n.f* as a possessive genitive (‘the first deed of his’).

¹⁵⁶ *Contra* Leitz’s translation (1999: 36) of ‘Effective divine power’; but see Roeder 1994: 50-55.

¹⁵⁷ Written with dittography, although I have not transliterated this.

¹⁵⁸ Possibly a new stanza begins here, since the subject moves to the feminine, however the suffix pronoun in the last verse of the stanza (as shown here) reverts to *f*, the masculine.

wrt-ḥk3 št3 (IV,3) irw •

Weret-Heka, hidden one of forms,

b3 št3¹⁵⁹ iry n.f šfyt •

Hidden Ba, for whom respect was made,

Third Stanza

nsw-bity (imn-rꜥ) ʿ.w.s. ḥprw ds.f •

King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Amun-Re), l.p.h. who came into existence
(himself),

3ḥty (IV,4) Hr i3bt •

Horizon-one, Horus of the East,

wbny šḥd sšp •

who rises/shines, brightens, lightens,

3ḥw 3ḥ r nṯrw •

Sunlight, more blessed than the gods,

imn.k –tw m Imn (IV,5) wr •

you hide yourself as Amun, the Great One.

itn.k m ḥprw.k m itn •

You oppose/distance (yourself) in your forms as the sundisk,

Fourth Stanza

T3-tnn stnw –sw r nṯrw •

Tatenen, who distinguishes himself above¹⁶⁰ the gods.

i3wt rnpi sbb (IV,6) nḥḥ •

The rejuvenated Elder who crosses *nḥḥ*,



Imn mn m ḥt nbt •

Amun, who endures in all things,

nṯr pn š3ꜥ t3 m šḥr.f •

this god who originates the world as his plan.

Fifth Stanza

¹⁵⁹ It is conceivable that the writing of *št3* is meant as an orthographic (visual) pun here – the opposition of  and  being used to phonetically spell out the word (Smith 1984b).

¹⁶⁰ This phrase has the association of Tatenen, the personification of the primaeval land rising out of Nun. (Leitz 2002: VII, 346-7)

mi -irk n.i h3y nb ʿ.w.s ntrw •

Come to me rejoicing one, lord, l.p.h. of the gods,

(IV,7) *shr.k n.i dwt nbt* •

May you overthrow for me every evil,

[*nh3*] *nb nty hr itrw* •

any wild animals¹⁶¹ which are on the river.

*ir.n.k -sn n.i ʿnr*¹⁶² *hr h3st* •

You have made¹⁶³ them pebbles upon the desert for me,

*mi sd.t hkr*¹⁶⁴ (IV,8) *m-ht mrrt* •

like the broken beer-vessels around the street.

3.1.14. Commentary on Hymn G

Leitz (1999: 35) notes that this is an extract from a longer hymn, attested in a lengthier form on the West Wall of the Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Hibis at el-Khargeh (de Garis-Davies, 1953: pl.33).

This temple dates to the 26th Dynasty, as do the majority of the texts there (Klotz 2006: 2), and shows ‘elements of both New Kingdom and Saite, as well as Greco-Roman linguistic variants’ (de Garis-Davies, 1953: vii). A number of hymns to Amun-Re are preserved on the walls of this temple, and many of the theological traditions they thematise are representative of older traditions, particularly Ramesside hymns and magical texts.

¹⁶¹ Lloyd (1975: 64) comments on the translation of *nh3* ‘wild things’, which has often been translated ‘Typhonic things’, leading to a more general interpretation of ‘peril’. He traces the meaning from the range of literal meanings (‘rough’), drawn primarily from medical texts, the range of metaphysical meanings: ‘sadness, anguish’, ‘wild, fierce, violent’, ‘dangerous’. He goes on to cite this verse and remarks on the ‘parallelism with *dwt* and the use of *nb* suggest that we are dealing here with a general word meaning something like ‘peril.’ Of course, there are only so many ‘wild things’ which are ‘on the river’, that is, crocodiles and hippopotami, so that the interpretation may be needlessly vague in this case. In the context of this hymn, I would suggest that ‘wild animals’ is a preferable translation.

¹⁶² See *Wb* I, 192 for this orthography; *contra* Leitz’s transcription, there is no *m*, and the first sign of this word is Gardiner’s O29, Möller’s 363B.

¹⁶³ Leitz (1999: 36) reads this as ‘may you make’, presumably either ignoring the *n* suffix (although *contra* this, see his transcription on Plate 15), or perhaps erroneously reading it as the phonetic complement *r* to the verb *ir*; however the hieratic clearly shows an *n*, rather than an *r*. His reading is understandable, as a prospective *ir.k*, ‘may you make’ seems preferable to the apparent *sdm.n.f*, especially in light of the parallel provided by IV,7: *shr.w.k n.i dwt nbt*, ‘may you overthrow for me every evil’. Possibly the *n* is a scribal error, and we should read *ir.k*. See below (§3.1.14.) for a parallel which may confirm this.

¹⁶⁴ This word is not attested in the *Wb*, and it is likely that <*krht*> is meant, by metathesis (*Wb* V, 62.12-63.4). This is supported by the Turin statue parallel cited below (§3.1.14.), in which the orthography is *krht*, however the meaning is clear from the determinative and from the parallel texts cited below.

Indeed, the Hibis hymns, including this one, are found repeated (often *verbatim*) throughout the Graeco-Roman temples (Kom Ombo and Esna in particular: Klotz 2006: 2). Klotz points out that the theology of Amun, extant at Hibis, was transmitted widely, not just in temple contexts, but in private autobiographies, votive stelae and magical papyri and amulets ‘thus, Amun theology was available to all who might be interested, in practically all forms of textual transmission’ (2006: 3).

The connection between this hymn and the later copy found at Hibis temple is somewhat problematic; Leitz (1999: 35) characterises the Harris Magical Papyrus hymn as an ‘extract from a longer hymn’, but the longer hymn from which this is taken has not been identified. The Hibis version of the text cannot be the original ‘longer hymn’ from which the Harris version is extracted, for chronological reasons.

The location of the hymns at Hibis, which are later versions of this hymn and the following one (§3.1.15.), is significant, as Klotz shows: they are found in the Hypostyle Hall, filling the middle registers of the south, west and north walls; the middle register of the eastern wall is filled with baboons singing adoration to the sunrise. These baboons are the Eastern Bas, solar baboons, who in Egyptian solar theology greet the sunrise daily. The Eastern Bas are found in a similar context in the Solar Chapel at Medinet Habu (The Epigraphic Survey of Medinet Habu 1964: vol, VI: pl. 421). The epithets directed to the sun by the Hibis baboons resemble those in the Book of the Day (Klotz 2006: 10); this text is also present in the the Solar Chapel of Medinet Habu, where the texts above the baboons are taken from the Great Amun Hymn, indicating, as Klotz argues, that these eight baboons are simultaneously to be understood as the Ogdoad (Klotz 2006: 10). There is a strong association between Amun and the Ogdoad at the Small Temple at Medinet Habu, and Klotz argues that ‘their striking presence at Hibis suggests some relation between the theology of Medinet Habu and Hibis’ (2006: 11). This association supports the theory that the origin of the Harris Magical Papyrus is Medinet Habu temple, and that the hymnic parts of the Harris Magical Papyrus must in part come from a liturgical or temple context (see §2.2.9. for supporting arguments).

The First Stanza opens with the word *dwꜣw*, ‘adoration’, in red ink. This use of red ink seems to have been an indexing one (see §4.3.2.), much like the *ky r*

formulation commonly used to open the ‘magical’ spells in the second part of the papyrus, and serving as a visual guide to the beginnings of new texts/hymns/spells. This particular *incipit* may have served as a genre label, as discussed by Meeks (2000; see also §1.3.5.; §1.4.5.).

The First Stanza thematizes the primaeval nature of the solar deity (in this case in the incarnation of Amun-Re-Horakhty, and the mytheme of creation and self-creation by the solar deity). The structure of the stanza seems to be that the verses are linked entirely by the semantic content, rather than by particular rhetorical devices or grammatical parallelisms; although the first three stanzas do have the same structure of: an introductory verse, addressing the deity, followed by five verses describing his characteristics (see §4.3.4.).

The third verse, which is also at the beginning of the eleventh column line, is rather unexpectedly rubricised; this appears quite deliberate:



Fig. 13. Hymn G, Stanza One, Third verse, *recto* III, 11.

It is possible that the use of red ink is prompted by the line break, although this requires that the scribe deliberately changes his pen at this point; in titles and *incipits* of texts which contain names, *ir.n* is often written in red, whilst the names are written in black ink (see Posener 1949 for the use of black ink to write gods names in rubrics), so that the scribe might have mistakenly written *ir.n* in red ink here.

The fourth verse of this stanza, describing how the Ogdoad ‘pay honour to the majesty of this august god’ may allude to the festival (which dates back at least as far back as the Eighteenth Dynasty) in which the cult image of Amun crossed the Nile at Thebes, from Luxor Temple, to visit the ‘Tomb of the Ogdoad’ at Medinet Habu (Murnane 1980: 76). This festival is connected with the cycle of death and resurrection, and is alluded to by several New Kingdom pharaohs, notably Ramesses II (Murnane 1980: 76). If this connection was intended, this hymn may be liturgical in some sense.

The fifth verse of this stanza refers back to the third verse by use of the adjective *p3wtj*. Atum is of course ‘primaeval’ in the sense of existing at the point of creation (or perhaps earlier in some cosmogonies). The *p3wt tp* is that moment, making Atum the *ntr p3wtj*, which is possibly abbreviated here to *p3wtj* – primaeval one, or primaeval god.

The hymn continues with text written in red ink; if it were not for the presence of a parallel to this hymn at Hibis, it would seem likely that this would mark a point at which the hymn should in fact be further divided into component parts; possibly the red ink here is an artefact of this hymn’s heterogeneous origins, rather than a scribal error. Possibly the red ink is used here to mark the phrase as an instruction, rather than part of a speech-act.

In the structure of this hymn (see §4.3.4.), the verse does seem to be intrusive/outside of the incantation, functioning in the way that the terminal formulae of the spells do, by providing instructions to the ritualist which do not constitute part of the incantatory act (§1.4.3.). This hymn is the only one to feature such an instruction, which is common in the formulae of the magical spells.

The Second Stanza comments on the reach and scope of the power of the solar deity. The onset of the first verse of the stanza is again written in red ink, probably because it is such a common introductory, indexing formula for hymns. These sections written in red ink, which seem to lie within the body of the hymn, rather than marking the initial or terminal formula, or providing instruction to the practitioner may suggest something about the source(s) being copied here. If the scribe is compiling this text from multiple sources, rather than copying it as a unitary text, these section of text in red ink may be artefacts of the beginnings and ends of the original sources. Of course, the Harris Magical Papyrus may simply be a *verbatim* copy of an earlier papyrus, and may not represent the point at which this synthesis happened. The presence of *dw3w* in red ink at the onset of the first verse of the First Stanza and of *ind-hr.k* in red ink at the onset of the first verse of the Second Stanza certainly seems to show the presence of two separate hymnic texts here. How

the other sections of text written in red ink relate to this structure is more difficult to ascertain.


The second verse uses two words with similar meanings in different contexts: the use of *wsh* as a verb means ‘to traverse (the land)’ (*Wb* I, 365.4-5), but is etymologically from the same root as *wsh*, ‘breadth’, (*Wb* I, 365.6-12), linking it to the subject of the phrase, *3w* ‘length’ (*Wb* I, 4.10-14).

The Third Stanza continues in much the same vein, giving further descriptions and epithets of the solar god. This stanza thematizes an essential opposition of the solar deity: revelation versus secrecy – the solar deity as both a manifest entity and a hidden force. The stanza is also structured in the same way as the previous two: introductory verse addressing the god, with five following verses describing his characteristics.

The first four verses thematise the manifest nature of Amun-Re, in his incarnation as the paradigmatic King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and as the sun-disc on the horizon and in the East (at dawn), and the visible effect of this force – sunlight. This stanza, and the following one, seem most concerned with Re, or at least the ‘Re aspect’ of the syncretistic deity Amun-Re-Horakhty.

The final two verses deal with the ‘hidden in plain view’ nature of the god - Allen (1969: 2) comments that the name of Amun is ‘a significant index of his primary function’, and goes on to point out that ‘*imn.w* employs the same radicals as those of the verb *imn*, “conceal, be hidden”, from which it probably derives as a *nomen agentis*, “Hidden One”’. The Pyramid Texts usually employ the determinative of negation’. Allen also comments on the frequency with which Amun is associated with hiddenness, of self or name, in his descriptions and epithets. Of course, the sun-disc is hidden for a significant portion of each daily cycle, which is the source of these descriptions and epithets.

The final three verses of the Third Stanza are paronomasic; in each verse the initial word is repeated later in the verse, but with a different meaning: *3hw* and *3h*; *imn.k* and *imn*; *itn.k* and *itn*.

In the last of these three cases, the verb *itn* is determined with the aten-disk and a divine determinative, as is the nominal form at the terminus of the verse, so that the verbal meaning ‘to oppose/distance’ (*Wb* 1, 145.15-16):  has to be inferred from the context, rather than the orthography; however, this has the effect of linking the onset and terminus, whilst also paralleling the device of the previous two verses. This links the two aspects of Amun-Re – the solar and the hidden.

The Fourth Stanza evokes themes of eternity, continuing to explicate the theology of Re (see above), and providing a thematic opposition to the previous verse: Manifest nature/Eternity.

Each verse in the stanza is patterned in the same way: subject, in each case a divine entity of some sort (‘Tatenen’, ‘the rejuvenated Elder’, ‘Amun’, and ‘this god’), followed by the participial form of a verb (*stnw*, *sbb*, *mn* and *šꜣꜣ*), and then the object of the verb. This patterning serves to link the verses together to form a stanza. In addition, it appears that each verse deals with theogonic structures of the world – Tatenen is the deification of the land which first emerges from Nun (Leitz 2002: VII, 346-7), the rejuvenated Elder crossing *nḥḥ* sounds like a mythology of the cyclical nature of existence, Amun is of course one of the foremost creator gods, and ‘enduring in all things’ refers to the presence of the divine in the world because of its divine origin. The last verse in this stanza is the most explicitly theogonic – invoking the creator god’s plan for the creation of the world.

The crossing of *nḥḥ* becomes codified as the theme of several copies of the *Book of Traversing Eternity* in the Ptolemaic Period (Smith 2009: 397); mortuary texts which provide the deceased with a guide for their participation in feasts and festivals after death.

The Fifth Stanza exhorts the god to provide protection from the dangers of the river. The final two verses of this stanza are common to many Horus cippi (Ritner 1989: 105), for example, an inscription on a statue fragment in Turin (Schiaparelli, 1887: 121-124; N° 1011¹⁶⁵). The relevant line of the inscription reads:

¹⁶⁵ The only description given is: “(1788) Frammento di statua virile ritta in piedi, nell’atto di sostenere colle mani una stela, sulla quale è rappresentata in alto rilievo la scena mitologica di Oro sui cocodrilli”. It seems likely that the statue is of late New Kingdom/Ramesside date, or later, given the



r ddfi/hf3w nb psh m {hpt.sn} ir.k -st n.i mi 3r hr h3st

mi sd hnkt krht m-ht mrrt šd.k

Every biting snake in its {hole¹⁶⁶}, may you make them for me like stones upon the desert; like the breaking of beer vessels around the street.

The phrase *r ddfi/hf3w nb psh m hpt.sn* is also paralleled later in the Harris manuscript (see VI, 4-9, Spell I, §3.2.1. – an nice intratextual reference.)

These last two verses are also paralleled in the Metternich Stela 117-119 (Sander-Hansen 1956: 52-3):

hsf.k n<.i> m3iw nb hr mrw mshw nb hr itrw r nb psh m tph.sn

ir.k -st n.i mi 3r n h3st mi sd krht m mrrt

You oppose for <me> all the lions in the desert, all the crocodiles upon the river, all biting (snakes) in their holes;

you make them for me like stones in the desert, like the breaking of beer-vessels in the street.

Part of this phrase is also paralleled in Spell V of an inscribed statue base now in Leiden, inv. No F/1950/8.2, identified and partially published by Drioton (1927 & 1929) as a “statue guérissante” – a standing or seated statue covered with spells against the bites of scorpions and snakes, carrying in front of it a Horus cippus (Lacau 1921-2). The statue base is probably later than 26th Dynasty (Klasens, 1952: 99, note to g.3-4).

From the Leiden statue (B in Klasens’ publication) we read:

r shtht n.f m3i nb hr mrt

to avert for him every lion on the edge of the desert

shi nb hr itrw

every crocodile on the water

r nb psh m r.sn

presence of Horus cippus parallels here, but this is conjectural (on the appearance of Horus cippi, see Kákósy 1980).

¹⁶⁶ Presumably this is a faulty writing, and *tph.sn* is meant, although the writing is *hpt.sn*, which, with a different determinative means ‘their embrace’. Contextually, it seems likely that ‘their holes’ is meant.

all snakes which bite with their mouths.

Versions T1 and L3 (P. Turin 1993, pl.77+31, l. 5-12; Pleyte and Rossi 1869-1876; and P. Chester Beatty XI, rto. 4, 2-7; Gardiner 1935, respectively) have

r ddf̄t nbt psh̄ m

all biting snakes in...

The Saite healing statue published by Jelínková-Reymond (1956), also has an exact parallel to this phrase and P. Turin 1993 vs. 7,6 – 10,1 (see Borghouts 1978: 4-5) has a similar phraseology, invoking (and protecting against) various forms of death, including ‘death of (by?) a crocodile, death of a lion, [death of a ...], death of a snake (*hf̄3w*)’.

The phrase also recalls a passage from the Great Hymn to the Aten (Sandman 1938: 94), which relates that when the sun disc is absent, *m3iw nb pr m rwty.f ddf̄t nb psh̄.sn*, ‘every lion comes out from his den, all snakes bite’.

The protective element invoked here is associated with Horus; this completes the references to the three aspects of Amun-Re-Horakhty, showing that the structure of the whole hymn hinges on thematizing Amun, Re and Horus/Horakhty, providing a theology of this syncretistic deity.

In a number of cases in this verse, the verse-points seem to float over the last ligatured group in each verse, rather than falling after the last sign of the verse; this phenomenon is discussed at greater length, see §4.2.1.

3.1.15. Translation and Interpretation of Hymn H (IV,8 – VI,4)

Initial Formula

dd.in hmnyw •

Then spoke the Ogdoad,

nw p3wtyw tpy •

of the first primaeval gods,¹⁶⁷

*wry tri (IV,9) ntr imy.sn*¹⁶⁸ •

the great ones who show respect for the god who is among them,

ks<w>.f hđ iwff m nbw •

whose bone<s> are bright/silver, whose flesh is of gold,

hrw-tp.f m hšbd m3c •¹⁶⁹ ↵

that which is on his head is of true lapis-lazuli.

First Stanza

hmnyw dd •

The Ogdoad says:¹⁷⁰

(IV,10)¹⁷¹ *Imn imn –sw m đfd.f* •

Amun, who hides himself in his pupil¹⁷²,

b3 psd m wd3(t).f °

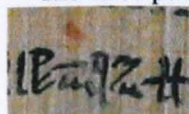
B3 who shines in his *wd3t*-eye,

bi3yt { • } hprw dsry iwty rh –sw •

miraculous of forms, sacred one, of whom no-one knows,¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ Leitz (1999: 36) conflates the first two verses, using Fechtian rules of prosody whilst marking the verse-point that separates them. In this analysis, the verse-points are taken to indicate clause structure (see §1.4.3.)

¹⁶⁸ The verse-point here falls above the last group, not after it:



¹⁶⁹ This verse-point is not noted in Leitz's transcription (1999: pl. 15), although it is noted in his translation (1999: 36); it is clearly present on the manuscript.

¹⁷⁰ This has been read as frontal extraposition of the subject, rather than a stative (by syntax).

¹⁷¹ Here Leitz restores the vocative 'O' at the onset of the verse, by collation with the Hibis copy of the hymn. However, the two versions of the hymn show considerable differences, and the restoration is not essential.

¹⁷² Klotz (2006: 81-3) argues that this word means 'iris', and is used metaphorically to refer to the sun. Whichever part of the eye is referred to (the determinative has historically been interpreted as the pupil, but could equally be the iris of the eye), certainly the metaphorical reference to the sun is clear.

(V,1) *h3y irw.f sdg3*¹⁷⁴ –sw m 3hw.f •

whose forms are radiant, who hides himself in his radiant Eye¹⁷⁵

st3 st3w nn rh st3.f •

Secret One of secrets, whose secret is not known,

Second Stanza

(V,2) *hknw ir.k r dt n Nwt* •

Praise to you at the body/womb of Nut.

iw <s>m3c -t<w> msw.k ntrw •

Your children, the gods, justify you

*hnm<.k> M3c r {kri.k}*¹⁷⁶ *st3* •

<You> assume Maat at your secret shrine,

s3h (V,3) {n}tw mwt.k Mrw •

Your mother Meret glorifies you¹⁷⁷

Third Stanza

*nhp n.k stt*¹⁷⁸ *m nhp<w>* •

The (sun's) rays revive you in the early morning,

snw.n.k t3wy m psd.k °

after you have encircled¹⁷⁹ the Two Lands with your shining.

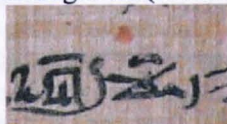
¹⁷³ See below for discussion of this problematic verse.

¹⁷⁴ This word, as Leitz comments (1999: 37, n. 40) is written as if *sdg3*, 'cause to see', (*Wb* IV, 373.3-6), including the eye determinative, however this would seem to be an orthographic error for *sdgi*, 'to hide' (*Wb* IV, 372.5-13). If the first meaning is intended, this would give the translation 'whose forms are radiant, who reveals himself in his Radiant Eye', which has the attraction of being set in opposition to the second verse of the stanza, 'Amun, who hides himself in his pupil'; however the trope of this whole stanza is Amun, who is hidden 'in plain sight', which argues for the reading given here (Klotz 2006: 82-83).

¹⁷⁵ This word seems to be derived in some way from *i3hw*, 'radiance' (*Wb* I, 33.3-5); the eye determinative replaces the more usual sun-disc with rays, seemingly giving a meaning which should be viewed in parallel to the term *dfd* three verses earlier, see n. 172 above.

¹⁷⁶ This word seems to require emendation; *kri* is a Semitic loan-word for 'prison' (*Wb* V, 135.3), presumably what was meant was *k3r*, 'chapel, shrine' (*Wb* V, 107.12-108.12).

¹⁷⁷ For the last verse, the Hibis copy (1,8) here has *s3h tw s3t(y).k(y) Mrty* 'your two daughters, the Meret goddesses, glorified you'; this may be preferable here in Leitz's opinion (1999: 37, n. 43). On Meret written with the eye hieroglyph, see Guglielmi (1991: 6-7 and 16-18). The cobra determinative



to *Mrw* again falls after the verse-point:

¹⁷⁸ Leitz (1999: pl. 16, n. 3a) follows Lange in emending the divine falcon at the beginning of *stt* to the *s*; the shape of these two signs would be easy to confuse.

rmn.k <°> *ḏw* (V,4) *pn nty m igrt* °

You shoulder (carry) this mountain which is in the Underworld;

Fourth Stanza

dw3w -tw *ḥry-m-r*¹⁸⁰ °

The chief overseers adore you;

Stḥ *ḥr* *dw3w.k* °

The Seth-animals also adore you;

šsp -tw ḥwt nt s3b °

The bodies¹⁸¹ of the jackal receive you,

(V,5) *st3.w w3.k m ḏw imn* °

as they drag your barque in(to?¹⁸²) the hidden mountain¹⁸³.

Fifth Stanza

i°nn3.k *b3w i3bt* °

Your baboons, the Bas of the East,

htt.sn *n m3wt* (V,6) *itn.k* °

they show adoration for the rays of your disk.

hnw n.k *b3w Nḥn* °

The Bas of Hierakonpolis are jubilant before you,

ḥḏḏwt.k *šḥd m* *ḥr.sn* °

your brightness brightens their faces.¹⁸⁴

Sixth Stanza

¹⁷⁹ At the start of the second verse of this stanza, the Hibis text 1,9 has *sn.k* ‘as you circle’ (Leitz 1999: 37, n. 45) (this is Leitz’s transliteration, although surely *šn.k*) for *šnw.n.k*, which seems to read more fluently.

¹⁸⁰ The parallelism between the two verses here is paronomasic; the repetition of *ḥr* as an element of *ḥr-m-r*, ‘chief overseers’ and as the preposition *ḥr* in the second verse (where it functions as part of the *tw.f ḥr sdm* form).

¹⁸¹ *Contra* Leitz (1999: 37) who reads ‘body of jackals’; however the plural determinative of *ḥwt* does not support his reading.

¹⁸² The preposition *m* can have the implication of being inside, without the sense of movement that a preposition such as *r* confers. An emendation to *r* may be preferable; otherwise the meaning is closer to ‘they drag your barque, (being) in the hidden mountain’.

¹⁸³ The ‘hidden mountain’ *ḏw imn*, would seem to be a metaphorical term for the Underworld; the *Wb* gives several specific ‘mountain’ locations, including the ‘mountain of wonders (Gebel el-Ahmar)’, *ḏw-n-bi3t*, (*Wb* I, 493.4) and the ‘pure mountain (Gebel Barkal)’ *ḏw-w°b* (*G DG* VI, 115), but does not list this toponym.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. to BD 15A4 (Allen 1974), including vignette (often incorrectly labelled Spell 16 – see Faulkner 1972: 42-43 for examples of this vignette, showing solar baboons worshipping the sun-disc.

n^cy.k r pty.k nn hftyw.k •

You traverse your two heavens/skies, without your enemies existing,

(V,7) *m wps.n hh.k nh3-hr*¹⁸⁵ •

as your flame has incinerated the *nh3-hr* serpent.

s3w dšrw mw n wi3.k •

The red fish¹⁸⁶ guard the water of your barque,

sr n.k (3bwt¹⁸⁷) wnty •

The *3bdw* fish foretells¹⁸⁸ to you the *wnty*-snake.

(V,8) *dmw nbty šsrw.f im.f* •

The Ombite (Seth) pierces it with his arrows,

nwi.n.f pt t3 m kri n.f •

when he has shaken¹⁸⁹ the sky and earth with a storm¹⁹⁰

Seventh Stanza

*hk3.f šhm*¹⁹¹ (V,9) *hr dr hfwf.f* •

His magic is powerful, and expels his enemies,

‘bb.f mds m wbn-r’ •

His sharp harpoon¹⁹² is in the *wbn-r3* snake.

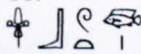
nhp –sw 3kr iry.f s3w.f •

Aker protects it, and he keeps watch over it

*3mm.n.f –sw inty.n.f (V,10) –sw m itnw.f*¹⁹³ •

¹⁸⁵ Hibis 1,11 suggests that the *m* may be a scribal error: <*m*> *wps.n hh.k nh3-hr* (Leitz, 1999: 37, n. 48)

¹⁸⁶ *dšrw* – see *Wb* V, 492.10-11.

¹⁸⁷ Although *3bwt* is written , it seems that the *3bdw* fish is meant (see Billen 1992) with all its attendant solar and protective symbolism. This is quite plausible as a reflection of the actual pronunciation of the word.

¹⁸⁸ *Contra* Leitz (1999: 37), who translates ‘forewarns you’. *Wb* IV, 189.15-190.17 gives ‘to foretell, to make known’.

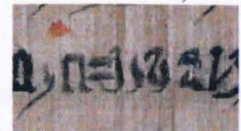
¹⁸⁹ We should probably read *nwr.n.f* – *Wb* II, 222.8-13– ‘to shake, to tremble’, as Hibis 1.11.

¹⁹⁰ The *n.f* falls after the verse-point here, and may be a corruption.

¹⁹¹ This is one of the rare stative forms in this manuscript

¹⁹² Cf. I, 4 and II, 7; II, 9 above.

¹⁹³ *itnw.f* is rather unusual; Leitz (1999: 38, n. 52) records that the *Wb* I, 146, 8, lists this as a *hapax legomenon* and that it may be simply a variant for *iwn* ‘ground’, pointing out a comparison with the 18th Dynasty orthography in *Wb* I, 58.5-10; The *Wb* in fact notes this orthography with reference to the Harris Magical Papyrus, suggesting ‘(snake’s) hole?’ and cross-references it with *iwn/in*,



‘ground, earth, dust’. The suffix pronoun, *f*, falls after the verse-point again:

When he has seized it, and forced it into its hole,

Eighth Stanza

wnm –sw irt{y}.k wr 3h –sw im.f •

Your eye(s?¹⁹⁴) consumes it, it is great and radiant in/over it.

*wnm.n –sw wnumt nbyt wr*¹⁹⁵ **(VI,1)** *ir.f* •

The consuming flame, the flame greater than it, consumes it.

*š3^c.s hr.f ph.s tbwty.fy*¹⁹⁶ •

She begins with the head, and she ends with the (soles?¹⁹⁷) of its feet,

*{nhf}*¹⁹⁸ *.s ʿwt.f nbt m n3y.s rkhw* •

she burns all its limbs with her fire

Ninth Stanza

š3s.k <tswt> iswt.k m m3^cw nfr •

You travel <the sandbanks¹⁹⁹>; your crew (sails²⁰⁰) on a good wind.

(VI, 2) *mr-dmty m htp hr.k* •

The Lake of Knives is peaceful beneath you,


h^cw wi3.k swsh w3t.k •

Your barque rejoices because your roads/ways are wide

dr ink.k pf3 dw-kd •

Since you have embraced²⁰¹ that *dw-kd*

*iḥmw-sk (VI, 3) iḥmw-wrd*²⁰² *s3h*²⁰³ *n.w m m3^c-hrw* •

¹⁹⁴ *irt{y}.k* seems to be a dual writing of the *irt*, ‘eye’, but given the dependent pronoun *f* at the end of the verse which refers to it, it should clearly be read as the singular. The writing is: , and it seems possible to me that the first eye sign is the writing of *irt*, with the second functioning as a determinative. Leitz (1999: 38, n. 53) points out that the word is also singular in the Hibis parallel (1, 12). It is possible, of course, that the writing here is simple an orthographic error.

¹⁹⁵ The manuscript seems to show that at this point the scribe added a verse-point, then erased it:



¹⁹⁶ Thus for *tbwty*; (*Wb* V, 361.9 – 363.3).

¹⁹⁷ The ‘it’ referred to by the repeated suffix pronoun *f* in this stanza seems to be the *wbn-r3* snake of the previous stanza – which makes the reference to ‘soles of its feet’, snake feet?!

¹⁹⁸ For *hnf*; (*Wb* III, 291. 15-16).

¹⁹⁹ Restoration is after Leitz (1999: 38, n. 55), with reference to Hibis l.13

²⁰⁰ Implied.

²⁰¹ *Contra* Leitz (1999: 38), cf. *Wb* I, 100.19-101.7. The sense here is of a less than amicable embrace.

²⁰² Both orthographies are unusual here, cf. *Wb* I, 125.14; 125. 15-16

The indestructible stars and the unwearying stars arrive for us as justified (ones).

Tenth Stanza

hnm.n.t(w).k <m> mskt hpt -tw mwt.k [•]

You were united <with²⁰⁴> the *mskt*, where your mother embraces you;

š3s.n.k šhty (VI, 4) imntt [•]

after you travelled the western horizon.

pd t3 ʿwy.fy r šsp.k [•]

The earth stretches out its arms to reach you;

dw3w -tw wnnt nbt [•]

Everything which exists praises you.

3.1.16. Commentary on Hymn H

The last hymn of the papyrus before the magical section (see §1.4.5.), this is also the longest text so far on the manuscript. Once again, this hymn is attested in a lengthier form on the walls of the Hypostyle Hall of the Hibis temple, as with the previous hymn²⁰⁵; the parallels between this hymn and its copy at Hibis are more marked than the previous hymn. The spell thematizes the hidden and revelatory nature of Amun, exploring the manifest nature of the sun's disc as well as the hidden (and night-time solar) character of Amun.

The beginning of this hymn is marked by the use of red ink to write the first word, which functions as an indexer; this is particularly necessary in view of the length of this hymn. The first part of the hymn is not framed as a speech act, but rather falls into the category of Initial Formula (§1.4.3.), describing the contents of the incantation which follows. This is reinforced by the use of the *grh* sign in red at the end of this formula/introduction; cf. the previous instance of this sign, in Hymn D, where its use seemed to mark an intrusive verse (which was possibly a refrain) (§3.1.7.).

²⁰³ At this point, there is a partially erased verse-point:



²⁰⁴ This emendation follows Leitz (1999: 38, n. 58).

²⁰⁵ See references there (§3.1.14.); Lange (1927: 43-44), as well as the translations in Assmann (1999: N° 130); Barucq/Daumas (1980: 329-41); Cruz-Urbe (1988: 132-9).

This Initial Formula is paralleled in the Great Amun Hymn at Hibis, as Klotz (2006: 68-71) notes:

‘Col 1A:²⁰⁶

dd.hr Hmni.w wr.w nw p3wty tpy

Then says the Great Ogdoad of the initial moment

twr ntr ntr.wt lmy[tw=s]n

as they respect the god [sic] who is between [th]em

Cols 1-2:

ks.w=f m hd

Whose bones are silver,

inm=f m nwb

whose skin is gold,

hr-tp=f m hbsd m3^c

whose hair is true lapis-lazuli.’

The second verse, *nw p3wtyw*, ‘of the first primaeval gods’, attaches to the subject of the previous verse, *hmnyw*, and recalls a phrase in the preceding hymn:

III,11 *imn p3wty t3.wy*

Amun, primaeval god of the Two Lands.

Klotz (2006: 68) notes that this is a ‘frequent epithet of the Ogdoad’ (see El-Sayed, 1980: 236, n.c); for the links between Hibis and Medinet Habu see the commentary to Hymn G (§3.1.14.).

The last three verses of the Initial Formula are linked on a grammatical level by the use of three different relative forms: the participle *tri*, the unmarked relative clause, and the relative form *hr.w-tp.f*. They also provide a description of the god (Amun, although he is not yet named), which is a reasonably well-attested one, for example in *The Myth of Isis and Re* and in the *Myth of the Destruction of Mankind*, although of course, in these myths it is Atum/Re, not Amun who is thus described. *The Myth of the Destruction of Mankind* (Hornung, 1982a: 1) reads (vs. 2): *ksw.f m*

²⁰⁶ Transliteration and translation after Klotz (2006: 68-71), who uses conventions which differ from my own.

ḥd ḥ^cw.f m nbw šnw.f m ḥsbd m^{3c}: ‘seine Knochen waren Silber, seine Glieder waren Gold, sein Haar war echter Lapislazuli.’ (1982: 37²⁰⁷); *The Shipwrecked Sailor* (P. St-Petersburg 1115, see Blackman 1972: 43; 64-67) describes the snake deity: ‘His flesh overlaid with gold, and his eyebrows of true lapis lazuli’ (Parkinson 1997: 93).

P. Boulaq 6, a 21st Dynasty Theban magico-medical papyrus, provides another parallel for the last verse of the initial formula: rto. XI, 9: *nty šnw.f m ḥsbt šwt* ‘dont les cheveux sont en lapis lazuli véritable’ (Koenig 1981: 117).

In the penultimate verse of the Initial Formula, there is a correction in red ink, where the scribe has added in the omitted preposition *m*; in this case, he fits it into the space above the suffix pronoun *f*, although this sign should in fact precede the preposition:

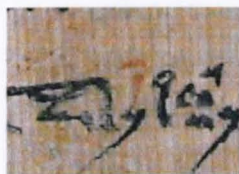


Fig. 14. Hymn H, Initial Formula, Fourth Verse, *recto* IV, 9.

For more detailed analysis of the corrections in red ink, see §4.2.4..

This is further evidence to support the theory that the editing work, done in red ink after the black text has been written, is added at the same time as the verse-points.

At the end of the last verse of the Initial Formula it seems that the *grḥ* sign marks the end of the Initial Formula, and seems to indicate a pause before the commencement of the incantation. It is possible that this sign is employed because the Initial Formula is longer than that of other Hymns, and since it is not written entirely in red ink, the red *grḥ* sign would serve as a visual signal of the beginning of the incantation.

The First Stanza opens in a similar vein to the initial formula, writing *dd* in red ink to mark the start of the incantation. In the Initial Formula, the *sḏm.in.f* form of the verb *dd* is used, which is a verb-form associated with narratives and tales, and therefore appropriate for a narrative or description of the incantation to follow. Here

²⁰⁷ See Hornung’s comments on this passage for further references to parallels for this description.

at the onset of the First Stanza the form of *dd* is stative, marking the change of style into the incantation, i.e. the speech-act.

Klotz (2006: 81-2) gives the parallel to this stanza in the Great Amun Hymn, from Hibis:

'Cols 6-8:

Hmni.w hr dd

The Ogdoad says:

i Imn-R^c

O Amun-Re,

imn=f sw m dfd=f

who hides himself in his iris!

b3 psd m wd3.ty=fy bi3.w

Ba, who illumines by means of his oracular wedjat-eyes

hpr-hprw

who manifests a manifestation

dsr(y) ni rh.tw=f

sacred one, who cannot be known.

h3y irw.w

Brilliant of visible forms,

sdg3 sw m 3h.ty=fy



who hides himself with his mysterious akh-eyes:

st3y ni rh.tw sst3.w=f

mysterious one, whose secrets cannot be known.'

From this it is clear that the hymn in the Harris manuscript is not an exact copy of the one found at Hibis, and indeed there are some problematic parts of our text that might benefit from emendation based on the later Hibis version of the hymn.

However, as was argued above, in the commentary to Hymn G (§3.1.14.), the Harris copy of these hymns pre-date the Hibis copies by several hundred years. The process of transmission of these hymns is not fully clear, and emendation must be done with a light hand, accepting that this earlier copy may be corrupted, or may represent an earlier, divergent version of the hymn.

The second verse of the First Stanza shows the first of many instances of paronomasia which characterise much of this hymn. The use of *imn*, the name of the god, determined by the divine falcon on the standard: , followed by the participial form of the verb *imn*,  from which the name of the god is derived, with the meaning ‘who hides’, is typical of this manuscript. Orally, these two homophonous words would have been distinguishable by their context, visually, they are distinguishable by their determinatives, and possibly their vowel structure would also have distinguished them, however they must have had some phonological similarity.

The third verse lacks a verse-point at the end; it seems to have been transposed by one word here, as the *bi3yt* ought to belong with the following verse, as the text is written here; see below for a more likely explanation of this verse. Looking at the manuscript, the incorrectly placed verse-point (circled) is very faint in comparison with the previous one, although it should be noted that the verse-point appears to fall on a fold in the papyrus, and so may have faded due to rolling and unrolling:

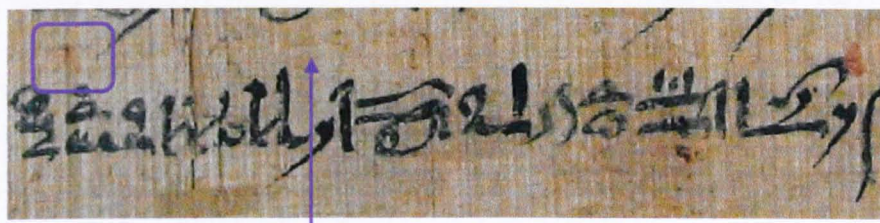


Fig. 15. Hymn H, First Stanza, Third-Fourth verses, *recto* IV, 10.

The arrow marks the position where the verse-point ought to be according to the structure of the verses. A comparison with the later Hibis version of this part of the hymn (see above) suggests another solution to the problem: restoring the third and fourth verses as follows:

b3 psd m wd3.f bi3yt

B3 who shines in his miraculous *wd3t*-eye,

**hpr hprw dsry iwty rh -sw*

who manifests a manifestation, sacred one, who is unknown,

which restoration would mean that the verse-point as the scribe has written it is correctly placed (after *bi3yt*), and that the scribe has in fact omitted a word. This suggestion is made more attractive by the the repetition of *hpr* at the onset of the fourth verse, providing a parallel to the second verse of this stanza; this repetition

reaches its zenith in the sixth verse, in which *št3* is repeated, not only at the onset of the verse, but at the terminus as well. In this last verse the parallel to Hibis 1,7 ‘suggests dittography, reading simply ‘secret one’,’ according to Leitz (1999: 37, n. 41). Although this evidence seems useful, there is no particular reason to emend an earlier manuscript copy on the basis of a later monumental copy. There is no viable reason why ‘Secret One of Secrets’, should not be perfectly acceptable, especially in light of the parallelism of the repeated word in the onset to verses two and four.

The third and fifth verses may also be framed in parallel: the use of *b3* at the onset and *wḏt.f* at the terminus of the third verse parallels the use of *h3y* at the onset and *3hw.f* at the terminus of the fifth verse; in each case the two words are closely linked. The *b3* is a manifestation of the god, as is the *wḏ3t* eye of Horus, which is conceptualised in many texts as an incarnation of the force of Horus or Re (see Gwyn-Griffiths 1958; Ogdon 1985 on the equation of the Eye of Horus with the Eye of Re); the verb *h3y*, ‘to be radiant’ *Wb* III, 14.9-15.3 is semantically paralleled by *3hw.f*, which derives from *i3hw*, ‘sun(shine); radiance (esp. of Re)’ (*Wb* I, 33.3-5).

The Second Stanza is also paralleled in the Great Amun Hymn at Hibis (Klotz (2006: 83):

‘Cols. 8-9:

nis-ḥknw r-k r ḥ.t n Nw.t

sm3^c tw ms.wt=k ntr.w

Hymns are made [sic] to you at the womb of Nut,

It is so that Maat might unite with you at your secret chamber

ḥnm tw M3^c.t r ḥ=k št3

s3ḥ tw z3.ty=k(y) Mr.ty=k(y)

that your divine children direct (*sm3^c*) you,

as your daughters, your Merti, transfigure you.’

Klotz (2006: 84) goes on to comment:

‘Maat, as the daughter of Re, can function as his eye or eyes; the ritual presentation of Maat seems to parallel the ritual offering of the *wedjat*-eye.

As Maat is characterized by her single plume, the placing of two Maat’s upon Re’s head (i.e., two eyes, or equivalently two apotropaic uraei) can be represented by the double-plumed crown, or the *atef*-crown.’

The differences between the two copies of the hymn are subtle, but interesting; in the first verse, for example, the Harris copy uses *dt n Nwt*, ‘body of Nut’ (in the sense of ‘my bodily son’ (Walker 1996: 106-7), whereas the Hibis copy has *ht*, ‘torso’ (Walker 1996: 93 – Nut is the deity most associated with *ht* in the anatomical lists – referencing the journey of sun through her torso). Walker also says that *dt* is a later form of *ht* (1996: 279), although without any particular discussion of the point.

At the end of this verse, once again, the cobra determinative of Nut falls after the verse-point:

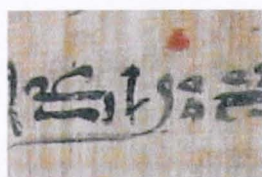


Fig. 16. Hymn H, Second Stanza, First verse, *recto* V, 2.

This is further confirmation of the process by which the verse-points are added to the manuscript – were the scribe to have finished this verse with the cobra determinative, then used the red ink (using a different brush) to add the verse-point, it would be unlikely that he would place it to the right of the previous sign (writing right to left, this would involve him moving his hand back over a sign he had just completed, and then potentially smudging it). Waiting until some number of lines of texts are complete, whether a single line, or a whole column of text, or even the whole manuscript, then adding the verse-points for that section of text fits the evidence better.

The second and third verses of this stanza differ significantly in the Hibis version (l. 8), and Leitz advocates emending to follow the Hibis version (1999: 37, and n. 42), reading:

sm3^c –tw msw.k ntrw

Your children the gods praise you,

hnm m3^ct k3r.k št3²⁰⁸

Maat joins your sacred shrine.

²⁰⁸ Presumably, although Leitz does not supply transliteration here

The Third Stanza is paralleled in Hibis (Klotz 2006: 83):

‘Cols. 8-9:

nhp n=k stw.t=k n nhp

It is at dawn (*nhp*) that your rays leap up (*nhp*) for you,

šn=k t3.wy m psd=k

so that you might encircle the two lands with your radiance.

rmn=k hr dw pwy n Igr.t

When you set (yourself) upon this mountain of Igeret,

dw3ty.w hr ššp m stw.t=k

the Datians glow in your rays.’

The translation of *nhp*, used twice in this verse with different meanings²⁰⁹ seems to provide some difficulties; Leitz notes that Hibis 1,8-9 has ‘your rays shine for you early in the morning’ (Leitz, 1999: 37, n.44) and draws attention to the determinative of the first *nhp*, which is a sun-disc (de Garis-Davies 1953: pl.33). *Wb* II, 283.9-284.2 has ‘revive’, for *nhp*, *contra* Leitz’s translation of *nhp* as ‘leap’ (1999: 37).

At the end of the second verse of the Third Stanza, the verse-point seems to have become misplaced; it is positioned after *rmn.k* at the start of the next verse, which makes no sense. It seems from the syntax of the verses that the verse-point ought to lie at the end of the middle verse of this stanza, after *psd.k*. The transposition of the verse-point here adds weight to the argument that verse-pointing is done after the text is complete, and thus small errors like this are bound to creep into the text; however, the presence of a similar error in the First Stanza (IV,10) may indicate that the scribe is finding the text somewhat difficult to comprehend.

At the start of the third verse of this stanza, Leitz apparently disregards the *r* here, reading *mn.k* ‘you rest’ and emending an omitted preposition, ‘on’ after this (Leitz, 1999: 37); it is clear however that there is a sign in hieratic which precedes *mn* (indicated).

²⁰⁹ Note that this hymn features this device several times – in the second stanza, *imn*, *št3* and possibly *hpr* are used in the same way.

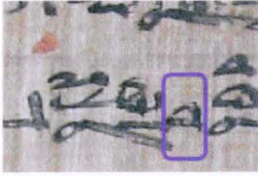


Fig. 17. Hymn H, Third Stanza, Third verse, *recto* V, 3.

Leitz does transcribe this sign (1999: pl.16), as *r*, but seems to ignore it in his translation. Although the hand seems to vary significantly when writing this sign, there are comparable nearby examples (e.g. V, 6) which confirm this reading:

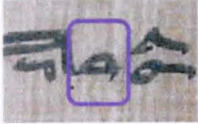


Fig.18. Hymn H, Sixth Stanza, First verse, *recto* V, 6: *r*.

rmn (*Wb* II, 419.4-18) ‘to carry, support’ works well in the context, and the determinatives strongly support this reading, therefore Leitz’s emendation is unnecessary.

The Fourth Stanza continues the praise of Amun, this being the third stanza in which the qualities, actions and theology of Amun are extolled. At the end of the first verse (as laid out above), Leitz (1999: 37, n. 46) restores a verse-point; this seems reasonable, on the basis that the two verses would then display a chiasmic pattern of sorts – the onset of the first verse is very similar to the terminus of the second verse, they have in common the core of the verse, the element *hr*, and the terminus of the first verse, *m-r* is set in ideological opposition to *sth* at the onset of the second verse.

The Fifth Stanza, in contrast to the previous one, refers to the revelatory aspect of Amun which is particularly evident at sunrise – the baboons, who are referred to as the ‘Bas of the East’ were heard to shriek at dawn on the East bank of the Nile (see te Velde 1988 on the association of baboons with ritual), thus leading to their association with the dawn and the disk of the sun. The determinative for *htt.sn*, at the onset of the second verse, is transcribed by Leitz as a baboon with its forepaws raised in adoration, a sign not in Gardiner’s original sign list (1957: 544-548), nor Möller (1927: vol II, 11-12), but included in Gardiner’s extended sign-list, as E51 (Hannig 1995: 1137); the sign also resembles Möller’s A2 in some ways:

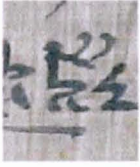


Fig. 19. Hymn H, Fifth Stanza, Second verse, *recto* V,4.

The determinative is particularly appropriate to the action described and may constitute a lexical/visual echo of the physical action intended/described here.

Fischer-Elfert has expressed the view that demonstratives ‘might be taken as markers of performance, if we “read” them as accompanying specific gestures of the healer’.²¹⁰ See also Dominicus (1994: 77-88 and *passim*).

The whole stanza functions as two pairs of verses– the first and third verses are linked on a semantic level by the repetition of *b3w*, in the first case, the Bas of the East, in the second, the Bas of Hierakonpolis. In each pair, the second verse shows grammatical dependence on the first, in that the referent for the suffix pronoun *.sn* in each case is the subject (*b3w i3bt/Nhn*) in the previous verse.

The first and third verses (i.e. the first verse of each pair) displayed the parallelism that the termini both comprise *b3w* + genitive element.

The second and fourth verses display chiasmus on a certain level – the onset of the second verse and the terminus of the fourth verse contain the referential pronoun *.sn* discussed above, and the terminus of the second verse and the onset of the fourth verse contain the pronoun *.k*, referring to Amun himself.

The Sixth Stanza makes reference to a number of supernatural entities – the *nh3-hr* serpent, the *d3rw* ‘red fish’, the *3bdw* fish and the *wnty* snake, culminating in a reference to *nbtj*, ‘the one of Ombos, the Ombite’, an epithet of Seth’s attested as far back as the Pyramid Texts (Spell 268 (PT 370b)). The Hibis version (1,11) replaces Seth with Horus, which may be compared to the removal (in the following verse), of the Seth-animal determinative (Seth as storm-god) from *kri*, ‘storm’, ‘using instead the cloud determinative with *igp*, in *Hibis* 1, 11-12’ according to Leitz (1999: 37, n. 50).

The structure of this stanza is that the two verses at the beginning parallel the last two verses, and the two central verses, the core, have the same structure. The core

²¹⁰ pers.comm. See also Fischer-Elfert (2006: 23, n.2).

verses also relate back to the previous two stanzas because they describe the reactions of other creatures to the presence of Amun. The second verse and the last verse are grammatically circumstantial to the first and penultimate verses, giving the symmetrical structure to the stanza.

The Seventh Stanza invokes Amun's magical properties. In the third verse, the use of *nhp* relates this stanza back to the fourth stanza, in which the word is used twice (see above) – it is a reasonably unusual word, so this seems to have been deliberate on the author's part. Leitz (1999: 37) here translates *nhp* as 'overturns'.

The Eighth Stanza details the destruction of the *wbn-r3* snake by Amun; this is thematised in mortuary literature. The *Wb* (I, 295.7) records that *wbn-r3* is a form of Apophis as a hostile snake (See Leitz 2002: III, 317). There are strong similarities between the events of this text and the Book of Gates²¹¹ – the solar baboons, the barque, the Lake of Knives, the defeat of the incarnations of Apophis by Seth/the sun-god's venom-spitting Eye, or cobra goddess (Zandee 1969: 286; 292; and *passim*).

The first two verses of this stanza are structured in parallel – each onset is a verbal pattern, either *sdm.f* or *sdm.n.f* (although in the second instance, the *n* is not that clear in the hieratic, and could be a space-filler; it would also make more sense to read *wnm –sw*); the termini are different.

The third and fourth verses are also structured in parallel, with clear bipartite structure, as indicated above.

The Ninth Stanza has very strong connotations of the solar passage through the Underworld – the sandbanks, the Lake of Knives, the rejoicing in the solar barque and the reference to Apophis being defeated, as well as the reference to the two types of star – circumpolar and non-circumpolar.

The stanza is arranged in an ABABC pattern, with the first and third verse consisting of two clauses in apposition to one another (asyndeton, see §1.4.4.), and the second and fourth verses consisting of single clauses; this structure is reinforced by the semantic similarity of the pairs – the first and third verses refer to travel and

²¹¹ See §4.3.4. for the analysis of the structure.

movement, whilst the second and fourth verses are concerned with stillness/completed action. The *dw-kd* at the end of the fourth verse, is, of course, written in red ink because it is a name of Apophis, as Leitz notes; the red ink is used for ideological reasons, rather than as an indexer.

The final stanza of this hymn comprises four verses, although from the structure of them, it seems possible that one of the verse-points ought to be ignored,²¹² and the stanza made three verses long: the first verse consists of two clauses, which are circumstantially linked to one another, the onset of this verse is a bare *sdm.n.f*, suggesting it has emphatic usage here; the terminus of the verse invokes the trope of embracing. Compare this to the second and third verses: the second opens with a bare *sdm.n.f* of a verb of motion, an emphatic usage (Loprieno 1995: 193), and the third verse could be circumstantially linked to the second, as well as having the theme of embracing.

The final verse of the hymn is an evocative summary of everything which has gone before: 'Everything which exists praises you'.

Since this hymn seems to contain a number of scribal errors, and requires some emendation and revision to produce a coherent reading, an emended copy is reproduced below, incorporating all the suggested revisions discussed above. The presence of a relatively high number of errors in this text, some of which require emendation to make sense of the text, does suggest that the Harris Magical Papyrus version of the text is not the most reliable *Ur-text*.

²¹² Although generally, the verse-points are a good indicator of the intended scansion of the text, and therefore should only be ignored when the case for doing so is strong.

Hymn H Emended Version

Initial Formula

dd.in hmnyw

Then spoke the Ogdoad,

nw p3wtyw tpy

of the first primaeval gods,

wry tri (IV,9) ntr imy.sn

the great ones who show respect for the god who is among them,

krs.f hq twf.f m nbw

whose bones are bright/silver, whose flesh is (of) gold,

hrw-tp.f m hsbd m3^c ° —^d

that which is on his head is of true lapis-lazuli.

First Stanza

hmnyw dd

The Ogdoad says:

(IV,10) Imn imn -sw m dfd.f

Amun, who hides himself in his pupil,

b3 psd m wd3(t).f bi3yt

B3 who shines in his miraculous *wd3t*-eye,

<*hpr> *hprw dsry twty rh -sw*

<*who manifests> a manifestation, sacred one, who is unknown,

*(V,1) h3y irw.f sdg*i -sw m 3hw.f*

whose forms are radiant, who hides himself in his radiant Eye

st3 st3w nn rh st3.f

Secret One of secrets, whose secret is not known,

Second Stanza

(V,2) hknw ir.k r dt n Nwt

Praise to you at the body/womb of Nut.

<*s>*m3^c -t<*w> msw.k ntrw*

Your children, the gods, justify you

*hnm<.*k> M3^ct r *k3r.k st3*

<*You> assume Maat at your secret shrine,

*s3h (V,3) {n}-tw *s3t(y).k(y) Mrty*

Your *two daughters, the Meret goddesses, glorify you

Third Stanza

*nhp n.k *stt m nhp<w>*

The (sun's) rays revive you in the early morning,

**šn.k t3wy m psd.k < • >*

as you encircle the Two Lands with your shining.

rmn.k dw (V,4) pn nty m lgrt

You carry this mountain which is in the Underworld;

Fourth Stanza

dw3w -tw hry-m-r < • >

The overseers adore you;

Sth hr dw3w.k

The Seth-animals also adore you;

šsp -tw hwt nt s3b

The bodies of the jackal receive you,

*(V,5) st3.w wi3.k *r dw imn*

as they drag your barque *into the hidden mountain.

Fifth Stanza

i'nn3.k b3w i3btt

Your baboons, the Bas of the East,

htt.sn n m3wt (V,6) ltn.k

they show adoration for the rays of your disk.

hnw n.k b3w Nhn

The Bas of Hierakonpolis are jubilant before you,

hddwt.k shd m hr.sn

your brightness brightens their faces.

Sixth Stanza

n'cy.k r ptwy.k nn hftyw.k

You traverse your two heavens/skies, without your enemies existing,

(V,7) wps.n hh.k nh3-hr

as your flame has incinerated the *nh3-hr* serpent.

s3w dšrw mw n wi3.k

The red fish guard the water of your barque,

*sr n.k *3bdw wnty*

The *3bdw* fish foretells to you the *wnty*-snake.

(V,8) *dmw nbty šsrw.f im.f*

The Ombite (Seth) pierces it with his arrows,

**nwr.n.f pt t3 m kri n.f*

when he has *shaken the sky and earth with a storm.

Seventh Stanza

hk3.f šhm (V,9) hr dr hfwt.f

His magic is powerful, and expels his enemies,

‘bb.f mds m wbn-r^c

His sharp harpoon is in the *wbn-r3* snake.

nhp –sw 3kr lry.f s3w.f

Aker (overturns?) it, and he keeps watch over it

3mm.n.f –sw inty.n.f (V,10) –sw m itnw.f

When he has seized it, and forced it into its hole,

Eighth Stanza

wnm –sw irt.k wr 3h –sw im.f

Your eye consumes it, it is great and radiant in/over it.

wnm –sw wnmyt nbyt wr (VI,1) ir.f*

The consuming flame, the flame greater than it, consumes it.

*š3^c.s hr.f ph.s *tbwty.fy*

She begins with the head, and she ends with the (*soles?) of its feet,

**hnf.s ‘wt.f nbt m n3y.st rkhw*

she burns all its limbs with her fire

Ninth Stanza

*š3s.k <*šwt> lswt.k m m3^cw nfr*

You travel <*the sandbanks>; your crew (sails) on a good wind.

(VI, 2) *mr-dmty m htp hr.k*

The Lake of Knives is peaceful beneath you,

h^cw wi3.k swsh w3t.k

Your barque rejoices because your roads/ways are wide

dr ink.k pf3 dw-kd

Since you have embraced that *dw-kd*

ihmw-sk (VI, 3) ihmw-wrd s3h n.w m m3^c-hrw

The indestructible stars and the unwearying stars arrive as justified
(ones).

Tenth Stanza

*hnm.n.t(w).k <*m> mskt hpt -tw mwt.k*

You were united <*with> the *mskt*, where your mother embraces you;

s3s.n.k 3hty (VI, 4) imntt

after you travelled the western horizon.

pd t3 ^cwy.fy r šsp.k

The earth stretches out its arms to reach you;

dw3w -tw wnn.t nbt

Everything which exists praises you.