

### 3.2. The 'Spells' of the Harris Magical Papyrus

#### 3.2.1. Translation and Interpretation of Spell I (Rto. VI, 4-9)

##### *First Stanza*

*mi -rk n.i*                      *h3 nb ntrw* °

Come to me, o lord of the gods;

*hsf.k n.i*    (VI, 5)    *m3iw hr mrw* °

Repel for me the lions of the edge of the desert,

*mshw hr itrw* °

the crocodiles on the river,

*r-ddft nbt psht m tph.t.sn* °

all biting snakes in their holes;

##### *Second Stanza*

*h3.k M<sup>c</sup>-g3 s3 Sth* °

You get back, Maga, son of Seth,

(VI, 6) *nn hnw.k*    *m sd.k* °

you shall not disturb the water with your tail,

*nn mh.k*                      *m <sup>c</sup>wy.k* °

you shall not seize with your arms,

*nn wn.k*                      *r.k* °

you shall not open your mouth.

##### *Third Stanza*

*hprw p3 mw*                      *m hh n ht r-h3t.k* °

May the water become a blast of fire before you,

*db<sup>c</sup> n p3 77 n ntr* (VI, 7) *m irt.k* °

the finger of the seventy-seven gods in your eye,

*iw.k snh.ti n*                      *n<sup>c</sup>yt wrt n Wsir* °

whilst you are bound to the great mooring-post of Osiris,

*iw.k snh.ti n*                      *t3 4 shnt n w3d-sm<sup>c</sup>t* °

whilst you are bound to the 4 posts of *w3d-sm<sup>c</sup>t*,

*lmy* (VI, 8) *h3t wi3 n R<sup>c</sup>* °

which are at the front of the bark of Re.

### Fourth Stanza

*i.ḥḥ n.k<sup>213</sup> M-ḥ-g3 s3 Sth* •

Stop<sup>214</sup>, Maga, son of Seth,

*mk ink Imn k3 mwt.f* •

See – I am Amun, bull of his mother,

### Terminal Formula

*ḏd-mdw <ḥr> twt n Imn<sup>215</sup> (VI, 9) 4 ḥr <ḥr> nḥb wḥ* •

Words to be spoken <over> an image of Amun, with 4 heads/faces <on> one neck,<sup>216</sup>

*sšw ḥr s3tw* •

drawn upon the earth,

*msh ḥr rdwy.f* •

a crocodile under his feet,

*ḥmnyw <ḥr> wnmy.f i3btt.f* •

the Ogdoad <on> his right and left,

*ḥr irt n.f i3wt* •

giving him adoration.

### 3.2.2. Commentary on Spell I

The first Spell consists of four stanzas and a Terminal Formula, as indicated. Although the First Stanza calls upon the ‘lord of the gods’ (Amun) to protect against lions and snakes in addition to crocodiles, the spell is primarily an injuration against crocodiles.

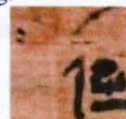
Many of the spells on the Harris Magical Papyrus are designed to repel crocodiles (see Spells K, L, P, S, T and V, and possibly Spells Q and R), and there are references to the threat of crocodiles in some of the hymns as well (see Hymn D §3.1.7., the ‘intrusive/refrain’ stanza, Hymns F §3.1.11. and G §3.1.13.); the Initial

<sup>213</sup> This is an ‘ethic dative’ (Gardiner 1957: §337. 2; 258 calls this the ‘reflexive dative’); it has little translational force.

<sup>214</sup> The verb ḥḥ most commonly means ‘to stand’, but it can mean ‘to wait’ (*Wb* I, 220.4-6), and here must be read in context as a command to prevent Maga son of Seth from moving.

<sup>215</sup> At this point there seems to have been a verse-point, which the scribe erased:

<sup>216</sup> The image of Amun with four heads on one neck



Formula at the beginning of the manuscript (*recto* I, 1) describes the contents of the papyrus as spells ‘which drive off the ones who are immersed’ (i.e. crocodiles).

Crocodiles were to be found in the Nile at this time (the Nile crocodile, *Crocodilus niloticus*, which could reach up to 6 meters in length (Brunner-Traut, 2001: 320), and was found not only over the full length of the Nile, but also in canals and pools, as well as Lake Moeris in the Faiyum). Crocodiles would have been dangerous not only to the general population, to whom these creatures could pose a potentially fatal threat, but also to livestock, which were often moved across the river (see Brunner-Traut, 1980: 791). The herdsman scenes in the chapel of the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Tomb of Ti at Saqqara shows clearly that the threat of crocodilian depredation, and the necessity for a magician to perform spells to protect cattle, was serious enough to be thematised in a mortuary complex (Wild 1953 (vol. 2): pl. 124; see also Ritner 1993: 225-7 for further examples and a discussion).

This threat may account for the existence of so many prophylactic spells against crocodiles: Borghouts (1978: xi) comments that the largest part of the collection of spells he presents is concerned with scorpions, crocodiles and snakes. Crocodiles are often referred to as ‘the one who is upon the water’, *nty hr mw*; indeed, Ritner (1993: 227-9) speculates that the herdsman scene in the Tomb of Ti at Saqqara (5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) shows a professional magician being employed to safeguard cattle as they are herded across the river. The fragmentary Middle Kingdom *Tale of the Herdsman*, preserved by accident at the end of P. Berlin 3024 (Gardiner 1909: pl. 16-17; Parkinson 1997: 287-288; see also Goedicke 1970 for a less probable interpretation) says ‘let the calves cross over and the herd spend the night...[with] the herder’s sages reciting a water-spell’. The second part of this is the crucial phrase (l. 12-13): *rhw ht nw s3w hr šdt hsw mw*, and it is followed by a phrase in red ink, *m dd r.f pn*, which has more in common with what I have here called initial/terminal formulae: it reads more as an instruction to the performer of a speech-act than as part of the speech-act itself. Although the text is very partially preserved, and is only known from this one copy, it seems to be a literary tale, suggesting that this phrase in red ink is a *reported* instruction, that is, an instruction which the audience is aware of, because it is reported in the narrative, rather than an instruction which is known only to the performer as in the Harris Magical Papyrus texts; the transmission of

these apparently technical, purely written formulae into an oral context is startling, and has implications for the decorum of access to magical texts.

The *Instruction of Khety* (Helck, 1970) uses the crocodile to illustrate the undesirability of any profession other than that of scribe (Helck, 1970: I, 37, IVc – *db<sup>c</sup>w.f mi-ht msh* ‘his [the metalworker’s] fingers are like the crocodile’s’; II, 106, XIXb – *s3h.f m hnty* ‘he [the washerman] is near to the crocodile’; II, 116, XXId – *sbw hn<sup>c</sup> msh* ‘he [the fisherman] who mixes with crocodiles’; XXIf – *nn dd.n.f tw msh* ‘he [the fisherman] cannot say when the crocodile comes’); the crocodile is used as a pejorative reference in the *Man and Ba*, in which the name of the man who is tired of life ‘reeks more than the stink of crocodiles’ (Faulkner 1956: 28, <95-97>).

In oath formulae, a common result of breaking the oath was that the swearer ‘be thrown to the crocodiles’, and a stela of Sarenput, from Elephantine, dating to the early 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Stela Elephantine 1373) threatens anyone who steals offerings, ‘I shall be against him as a crocodile on the water’ (Nordh 1996: 60). Damage to mortuary property was an offence punishable by the threat of a crocodile: ‘The crocodile in the water shall be against him, and the serpent on land be against him’ (Urk I 23. 12-13; cited in Morschauser 1991: 112. This threat has implications for the ‘denial of a ritual burial and the destruction of the criminal’s corpse’ (Morschauser 1991: 112)). Moers (2001: 202) notes the threat of crocodiles was often conflated with the threat of the water itself in metaphors of danger. Eyre (1976) discusses the mythological significance of crocodiles in literature, as agents of justice in the *Tale of the Two Brothers* and *Westcar* (1976: 105-6), as a form of one’s fate in *The Doomed Prince* (1976: 105-107) and in mortuary literature through associations with both Ammut and Apophis. Crocodiles were also deified as well as feared, as the number of mummified crocodiles found at various temple and cultic sites shows.

The spell, like all of those contained in this papyrus, shows prosodic features which define the structure of the spell, and linguistically underline the pragmatic functions.

The First Stanza is composed of four verses, the first of which is headed by an imperative form, followed by a preposition and suffix pronoun, comprising the



onset, followed by a vocative in the terminus of the verse. The second verse complements the first and is structured in parallel to it, being headed by a subjunctive form (future *sdm.f*), followed by the same preposition and suffix pronoun as the first verse, and a nominal phrase in the terminus. The final two verses of this stanza require us to understand the ellipsis of the onset of the second verse (*hsf.k n.i*) in order to function. These two verses are also structured in parallel, comprising nominal phrases in which dangerous creatures are named and located; although the nominal phrases fulfil different syntactic functions in each verse. This structure links these two parallel verses to the terminus of the second verse.

The fourth verse, *r-ddft nbt psht m tpht.sn* ‘all biting snakes in their holes;’ is a reasonably common phrase, paralleled in a number of places, including Hymn G here (see §3.1.14. with the other parallels mentioned there).

Whilst such exhortations cannot be considered examples of quotation between texts, they do show diachronic intertextual connections between texts designed for similar purposes.

The use of this apparently common formula serves to site this spell within a corpus of similar incantations, and perhaps magically invokes the power of other such spells.

The Second Stanza opens with *h3.k*, which must derive from the preposition *h3*, ‘back (of something), exterior’ (*Wb* III, 8.10-11; 10.1-13). Here it seems to be used as an exhortation or injunction of some sort, although it is not attested as a verb<sup>217</sup>. Treating the form as a pseudo-injunction ‘You get back’ can be justified in light of the parallelism with the onset of the first verse of the First Stanza, which is imperative; in addition, the first verse here also governs the three following verses, giving a similar feel to the previous stanza. Each of the dependent verses is headed by the negative *nn*, giving a negated future and each of the dependent verses is an address to Maga, son of Seth. This entity is mentioned several times in the text (see

<sup>217</sup> Cf. the formula *h3 tr.k*, found in Late Period texts, (see P. Bremner-Rhind IV, 22,1 – 32,12, *The Book of Overthrowing Apep*, Faulkner 1933) and a similar phrase is attested as far back as the Middle Kingdom in the Will of Mery from Lahun (UC 32037: Collier & Quirke 2004: 100-101): *s3 r.s*, ‘it is cancelled’ i.e. literally ‘back to it’, with reference to a previous draft of the will. Cf. also the texts of the Ptolemaic statue guérisseuse base in Klasens (1956: 17; 53), and the Graeco-Roman P. MMA 35.9.21 col. 29 (Goyon 1999: 68-70, pl.XXVIII and XXVIIIa) where *h3* seems to be used in a similar fashion.

Hymn D, II, 2-3; Spell I, VI, 5, VI, 8; Spell V, IX, 9, IX, 11<sup>218</sup>), and is the not meant to be considered a real offspring of Seth, rather the title invokes the trope of the danger of Seth (te Velde 1967: 150). He takes the form of a crocodile, and so in this spell seems to stand as a cipher for all crocodiles, to whom this incantation is addressed.

The three negative injunctions to the crocodile reveal the way in which the danger from crocodiles was conceived, and form a narrative of the danger the crocodile posed – from the first sign that a crocodile was in the water (the disturbance of the water caused by its tail), to the possibility of it seizing prey with its arms<sup>219</sup> and finally (the final verse of the stanza) the most visual reminder of the crocodile's threat, its gaping jaws.

The Third Stanza is the longest of the spell, and is the most mythological stanza, inasmuch as it mobilizes the greatest number of mythemes; two stanzas precede it and one follows.

The first two verses of the Third Stanza have similar syntactic structures: in each case the onset expresses the subject (*p3 mw / db<sup>c</sup> n p3 77 n ntr*), and the terminus expresses the indirect object (*m hh n ht r-h<sup>c</sup>t.k*) or the adverbial predicate (*m lrt.k*) – the pattern shows chiasmus in terms of length; in the first verse the onset is shorter than the terminus, in the second verse the onset is far longer than the terminus.

The first verse is headed by the subjunctive *hprw*, which recalls the use of the subjunctive in the First Stanza. The link between the First and Third Stanzas, which is paralleled by a linking of the Second and Fourth Stanzas gives the incantation an A-B-A-B structure overall.

The first verse of the Third Stanza can be compared to P. Geneva MAH 15274, a Ramesside magical papyrus which almost certainly comes from Deir el-Medina. *Recto* VI, 4-5, addresses a crocodile as one: *lrw n3 hnw n p3 mw ht [r]-h3t.f*

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<sup>218</sup> The repeated mentions of Maga, son of Seth, implies some level of coherence in the choice of texts; see §4.3.3.

<sup>219</sup> Although note that the crocodile actually uses its jaws to seize and hold prey under the water to drown it; the crocodile is not known to use its arms to hold prey.

‘...in front of whom the waves of the water are made into fire’ (Massart 1957: 179); there may also be a link between this verse and the symbolism of Coffin Text Spell 336 (Borghouts 1988), in which one of the porticos is surrounded by four rivers, consisting of flames of fire.

The semantic content of these phrases is similar enough to consider this an example of intertextual reference; however ‘water into fire’ is a basic semantic inversion, so it is possible that this phrase is commonly used for its rhetorical force, and is used here for that reason.

The second verse of the stanza uses the number 77, which belongs to the same family of numbers as the magically significant number 7, for this see Leitz (1994: 245 & n. 30) and Rochholz (2002: 204-218). The sun-god has an enemy, which, when it takes a serpent form, has 77 helpers to combat the 77 gods associated with the sun (Leitz 1994: 245). For both 7 and 77 in other magical spells, see Spell M (§3.2.7.).

7 is a number which recurs throughout the magical section of the papyrus, (e.g. Spell M, VII, 6; Spell S, VIII, 4; Spell T, VIII, 8; Spell U, IX, 2-3; Spell V, IX, 8). P. Geneva MAH 15274 refers to the ‘seventy-seven dogs’ of Baba (*recto* IV, 6-8, Massart 1957: 177-178). P. Chester Beatty VII mentions the number 7 in many spells (e.g. *recto* 2,5-3,1; 3,5-7; 3,7-4,4; 5,5-6,2; Gardiner 1935). A spell preserved on O. DeM 1057 (Posener, 1938: 31, lines 1-2) which dates to roughly the same period as the Harris Magical Papyrus, has *ind-ḥr tꜣ 7 hwt-ḥr* ‘Hail to you, seven Hathors’<sup>220</sup>, and Borghouts comments (1978: 100, n. 8) that ‘the traditional numbers of the guardians of Osiris are ‘4’ and ‘7’’. Several of the spells of P. Leiden I 348 make use of a piece of fabric with 7 knots to ward off headaches (see e.g. *recto* 2,9-3,3; 3,8-4,3; 4, 5-9; Borghouts 1970: 17-19).

The third and fourth verses of the Third Stanza have identical onsets (*tw.k snḥ.ti n*), marking their parallelism. This is further reinforced in the termini of each verse, which add new semantic information, and are connected by the use of two different words meaning ‘post/mooring post’ – *nꜣyt* (*Wb* 2, 207.17-19) and *shnt* (*Wb*

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<sup>220</sup> The Seven Hathors are also the deities who predict the three Fates of the *Doomed Prince*, one of which is a crocodile (Gardiner 1932:1, 4,4).

4, 254.7 – a noun, derived from the verb *shni*, ‘to rest, or alight’). In addition, since 4 and 7 are both numbers associated with the protection of Osiris (Borghouts 1978: 100, n.8), this pair of verses is linked to the previous pair through the use of these two numbers.

The final verse of this stanza is a ‘transitional verse’: the first and second stanzas are both four verses long, and structured so that the verses form a clear pattern; the Third Stanza has four verses which are structured into pairs, with the final, fifth verse being grammatically dependent on the previous verse, but otherwise not being part of this pattern. This ‘extra’ verse marks the transition towards the final verse, which is the culmination of the speech-act, and which is strongly illocutionary in character.

In the incantation (i.e. the part of the spell which constitutes the speech-act), the stanzas consist only of dialogue or address, with little or no narrative formula; this can be compared with some longer, more ‘mythologising’<sup>221</sup> spells, such as the Story of Isis and Re (see Gardiner 1935: 116-117; Borghouts 1978: 51-55) and others like this, which take a very narrative form. In this spell, the First Stanza, which is imperative in tone, is addressed to the *nb ntrw*, the ‘lord of the gods’, the following two stanzas, which show apparently weaker injunctive forms (see above), are addressed to Maga, son of Seth, and the final stanza returns to an imperative form, addressed to Maga, son of Seth.

The Fourth Stanza is the shortest so far, just two verses long, and pithily expresses the central theme of the spell, that is: the power of Amun outweighs the might of Maga, son of Seth. This is made apparent by the parallelism of the syntactic structure of each verse of the stanza: imperative / logical predicate (see Gardiner, 1957: 102, §127.4), followed by the name of the relevant deity: *m-<sup>c</sup>-g3 / imn* highlighting the direct contrast between these two deities, followed by the modifying adjectival phrase: *s3 sth / k3 mwt.f*, the semantic opposition between the ‘son’ of a malevolent deity (in this incarnation), and the ‘mother’ of the strongly protective deity, further underlining the way in which these verses are contrasted with one

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<sup>221</sup> I.e. spells which not only provide protection, but also provide extended parts of myths.

another, whilst still being strongly linked together. There is an declamatory, rhetorical feel to this stanza which marks it as the culmination of the performance. The onset of the first verse is headed by an imperative form; the use of the prothetic *yod* marks this imperative as strongly Late Egyptian in form. The first verse of this stanza is also a parallel for the first verse of the Second Stanza, as both are injunctions to retreat, addressed to Maga, son of Seth.

The spell is closed by a Terminal Formula, in which the directions for the proper administration and performance of the spell are given. The instruction to draw the figure of Amun standing on the crocodile (Maga, son of Seth), equates Amun with the healing power associated with Horus, who is often pictured standing on crocodiles, particularly on Horus cippi, in which images he may well also hold snakes in his outstretched hands, which are inscribed with prophylactic spells against dangerous creatures, primarily snakes (but also scorpions, lions and gazelles: Ritner 1989: 105; Kákosy 1980: 60)

The terminus of the first verse of the formula seems to be intertextually significant: see here P. Chester Beatty VIII, vs. 6, 1: *ir rn n n3 n b3 m ddw 4 hr hr nhb w<sup>c</sup>t* ‘As for the names of those souls in Mendes which have 4 heads upon one neck...’.

Gardiner, in commentary on this passage, points out that it refers to the ‘four-headed ram depicted on the [Great] Mendes Stela’ (Gardiner, 1935, I: 73, n. 10). Borghouts (1978: 100, n. 26) comments on this passage: ‘Ba<neb>djed, the ram god of Mendes (often represented four-headed) was identified at a certain moment with Osiris’. Of course, four is significant here again.

This formula is structured by means of the use of red and black ink; gods’ names and attributes (with the exception of Seth in his chaotic incarnations) are never written in red ink, which was considered to be a signifier of danger (see Posener, 1949). In this case, this forms a stichic pattern – the terminus of the first verse and the onset of the last verse of the formula are not rubricised; however, given that the verses of the spell are not laid out as separate lines, the impact on the ancient reader would probably not have been so immediate.

The use of *msḥ* in the third verse of the Terminal Formula is the same word for ‘crocodile’ as is used in the penultimate verse of the First Stanza (VI, 5). This may be a structuring device used to link the First Stanza and the Terminal Formula of this spell.

The fourth and fifth verses of the Terminal Formula are a chiasmic pattern in terms of the ink colour used – the fourth verse begins in black ink, but ends in red ink; the fifth and final verse begins in red ink, and ends in black ink.

### 3.2.3. Translation and Interpretation of Spell K (Rto. VI, 10 – VII, 1)

#### Initial Formula

*r tpy n ššsy m mw nb* •

First spell of all the water-spells

*iw dd hry-tp r.f* •

about which chief lector priests say:

*m wb3 im.f n k3wy* •

Do not reveal it to others;

*sšt3 m3<sup>c</sup> n pr-<sup>c</sup>nh* •

a true secret of the House of Life.

#### First Stanza

*s[w]ht n mw<sup>o</sup>*

Egg of the water,

(VI, 11) *nhh n t3* •

fluid of the land,

*mwy n hmnyw* •

seed of the Ogdoad,

#### Second Stanza

*wr m pt<sup>o</sup>*

Great one in the sky,

*sr m dw3t* •

prince in the Underworld,

*imy sšy hnty mr nh3.wy* •

who is in the nest, in front of the lake of knives.

#### Third Stanza

*pr.n(VI, 12).i r-hn<sup>c</sup>.k m mw* •

(Indeed) I came out with you from the water,

*bsy .i r-hn<sup>c</sup>.k m sšy.k* •

I flowed out with you from your nest.

(VI, 13) *ink Mnw n gbtyw* •



I am Min of Coptos,

*ink Mnw nb t3 gbtYW*<sup>222</sup>

I am Min, lord of the land of Coptos.

### Terminal Formula

(VI, 12) *dd.tw r pn <hr> swht n sin* •

This spell is to be spoken to<sup>223</sup> an egg of clay,

*rdiw m drt s m-h3t dpt* •

which is placed in the hand of a man at the front of a boat.

*ir pry nty hr mw* •

If the one who is on the water should come out,

*h3<sup>c</sup>.tw hr mw* °

it is thrown on the water.

### 3.2.4. Commentary on Spell K

The second spell in this section of the manuscript comprises three stanzas of incantation, with an Initial and a Terminal Formula. The poetic structure of the spell is achieved through a complex relationship between the word- and the clause-level patterning, echoed by the interaction of semantic wordplay with paronomasia, and is clear both linguistically and visually.

The formulae of spells were ‘stage directions’ for the magician, rather than part of the incantation.<sup>224</sup> The association of the colour red<sup>225</sup> with the god Seth, and the attendant forces of danger and chaos, is well-known, and it is very likely that the formulae of magical spells were for the benefit of the practitioner only (see below for a more detailed discussion of this point), and thus they contain stylistic devices different from those of the incantation. For example, there is clear evidence for intertextuality in this spell, in the opening verse of the Initial Formula:

*r tpy n shsy m mw nb*

First spell of all the water-spells

<sup>222</sup> This verse-point is not marked by Leitz in his transcription (1999: pl. 17), although it is included in his translation (1999: 40).

<sup>223</sup> We might expect *hr*, ‘over’, or another preposition here.

<sup>224</sup> Cf. P. BM EA 10188 (=P. Bremner-Rhind), Section 4, which has the title “The great apotropaic rite, not to be seen or heard. Words to be recited by the lector priest” (Smith 2009: 111).

<sup>225</sup> Although note that not all initial and terminal formulae were written in red ink (see §4.3.2.).

The word  $r^{226}$  is conventionally translated ‘spell’ or ‘incantation’ in this context, as the sign is that of the mouth, indicating that the word has something to do with speech or utterance (Ritner 1993: 40). Although  $r\ tpy$  is quite clearly written here, and the syntactic placement of  $tpy$  makes it adjectival, attributive to  $r$ , it is interesting to note that  $tp-r$  is usually understood to mean simply ‘utterance’ (Ritner 1993: 42). This spell is not the ‘first spell’ of the water-spells in the papyrus; as the manuscript is laid out, that is the previous spell (Leitz 1999: 38 – Section I) although interestingly, Chabas rearranges the order in his translations so that it does come first in his edition (1860: 144). So, perhaps the signs are reversed by mistake here and ‘utterance’ should be read in place of ‘first spell’; it is more likely, however, that this is an artefact of this spell in its original context, and that when the Harris Magical Papyrus was assembled as a compendium, the significance of this being the ‘first spell’ was ignored, especially since this part of the spell would not have constituted part of the speech-act.

However, if the translation ‘first spell’ is correct, this is significant, as it explicitly refers to the placement of the text within a collection of spells for similar purposes, and acknowledges the transmission of the spell through the medium of the *Harris Magical Papyrus* and perhaps has implications for the usage or purpose of the papyrus: the papyrus may be a group of magical texts collected according to their function.

The wording of the second verse of the Initial Formula (‘about which chief lector priests say’) perhaps indicates that the following pair of verses are a quotation (see §1.3.4.). Morawski (1970: 690) analyses one of the functions of quotation as lending authority, ‘by reason of the particular institution it serves and of the truthfulness of the evidence given’. Eyre (1990: 155) elucidates the difference between a quotation and a formula, by virtue of authorial intent. The first is meant to evoke a specific passage or text in the mind of the audience; the second to ‘[carry] a ring of familiarity’ (1990: 155), and as Eyre points out, it is often impossible to determine which function is intended. If the phrase ‘Do not reveal it...House of Life’ is a

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<sup>226</sup> Note that Ritner (1993: 40) among others, transliterates as  $r3$ , drawing on the morphology of the Coptic form,  $\rho\omicron$ .

quotation, presumably the audience would have been aware of the source, and its attendant authority.<sup>227</sup> If the formulae were not read aloud, this information would only have been available to the magician, and the entity addressed, but if the formulae were accessible to the audience in some way, the authenticity and power of the spell would have been apparent to the audience as well.

David Ross has coined the term ‘Alexandrian footnote’ to describe this phenomenon, with reference to the Roman poets, meaning

‘the signalling of specific allusion by a poet through seemingly general appeals to tradition and report, such as “the story goes” (*fama est*), “they relate” (*ferunt*), or “it is said” (*dicitur*)’ (Ross, 1975: 78, discussed in Hinds 1998: 2)

Hinds (1998) concludes that the ‘Alexandrian footnote’<sup>228</sup> was a device to allow the poet to signal his erudition; perhaps the author of this text was boasting of his knowledge of the secrets of the House of Life, thereby signalling the literary nature of his composition.

The clause-patterning of the whole of the Initial Formula of the spell is more complex than that of the First, Second and Third Stanzas, which comprise the incantation, although both display similar poetic structuring. The first and last verses of the Initial Formula are caption-style, descriptive sentences, with an indirect genitival structure. The second and third verses are more complex grammatical constructions, the first being a present relative clause, marked by *iw* and the second a negative imperative. This patterning by construction is far less obvious than the phonological patterning of the incantation, and therefore is appropriate to the part of the spell which did not constitute the speech act.

The First Stanza is a triadic pattern, in which the verses display grammatical parallelism with the repetition of the genitival *n* at the core, and variations at the peripheries of the line. This triadic patterning on a syntactic level is echoed by the semantic word-play between the onsets of each line - *swht*, ‘egg’ (*Wb* IV, 73.1-

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<sup>227</sup> For the ‘House of Life’ see Gardiner (1938 a-b); Habachi and Ghalioungui (1971), Ghalioungui (1973) and Schott (1990).

<sup>228</sup> The term of course refers to the traditions of copying and editing for which the Ptolemaic Library of Alexandria was famed.

74.1); *nhh* , which also occurs in P. Edwin Smith II, 23-4 (Breasted 1930: 172), meaning ‘bodily fluids/spittle’ (*Wb* II 319.4); and *mwy* ‘seed’(*Wb* II, 53.4),<sup>229</sup> all of which invoke the concept of creation and fertility. Additionally, the terminus of each verse has a slightly different role to play – *mw* and *t3* work in opposition as a conceptual pairing, and draw on the potential for fertility and creative force (Bickel 1994: 30) contained in both the water<sup>230</sup> and the earth.<sup>231</sup> The final word, *hmnyw*, neatly completes the triad by drawing together *all* the creative opposing pairs which made up the Ogdoad, in the Hermopolitan cosmogony (Nun and Naunet, Huh and Hauhet, Kuk and Kauket, Amun and Amaunet) (Morenz 1973: 175).

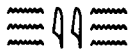
The Second Stanza continues the pattern of a repeated grammatical construction with the iteration of the prepositional *m* at the core, and variation at the periphery in the first two verses, which serves not only to link these verses together, but also connects the opening of this stanza to the previous stanza, giving a coherence to the spell, and a narrative to the poetic structure. Again, to continue the style of the preceding stanza, the nouns occupying the initial position in each verse are semantically, as well as orthographically similar (Gardiner 1957: 444, A21, comments on the similarity).

The terminus of each of the verses is another conceptual (or in this case ideological) opposition – *pt* is the taxonomic label for the realm above the earth as *dw3t* is for the part below (*Wb* I, 490.10-492.1; V, 415.3-416.10 ), one being the domain of Re and constant regenerative creativity, the other the location of Osiris, king of the dead. As if to underline this duality and opposition, *wr* does not have a divine determinative, whereas *sr* does.

This kind of subtlety, which works on an aural level as a bicolon<sup>232</sup> showing ‘synthetic parallelism’ (Kitchen 1999: xvi), also works on a visual level through the

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<sup>229</sup> Although note that the orthography used here:  differs significantly from that listed in

the *Wörterbuch*:  .

<sup>230</sup> The primaeval waters of Nun, from which the primordial earth springs; see Bickel (1994: 15; 23-31); also Coffin Text Spell 660 (CT VI: 280t-u) *n hpr.t mw n hpr.t Nww*.

<sup>231</sup> For a discussion of the fertility of the earth, see Roth (2000).

<sup>232</sup> Although the verses as I have represented them are not divided by a verse-point in this case; verses 8 and 9 may equally be conflated into one, making this stanza two lines long, rather than three:

*wr m pt*                                  *sr m dw3t*  
Great one in the sky, prince in the Underworld,

determinatives so that the written artefact of the text clearly contributes to the poetic structure and perhaps the performance of the magical act.

Although we might reasonably expect the last verse of this stanza to continue in the same syntactic model, to match the iterative triadic pattern of the First Stanza, this verse not only does not have the same grammatical pattern, but it is also longer and semantically different to the preceding bicolon: *imy sšy ḥnty mr nh3.wy*<sup>233</sup>, ‘who is in the nest, in front of the Lake of Two Knives’. This ‘transitional verse’ (see §1.4.4., and §4.3.4.1.) serves to mark the point at which the spell changes in style and ‘voice’. The following stanza has a dual structure, with two pairs of verses, rather than the triadic structure of stanzas one and two, the grammatical constructions become more complex and the narration is explicitly in the first person, rather than a generalised address ‘to/over’ the egg of the water.

The third stanza is the first to be addressed directly to the crocodile, and comprises two pairs of verses.

The first verse is headed by the *sḏm.n.f* of a verb of motion, which can be considered as a Second Tense (emphatic form; Loprieno 1995: 193) when not preceded by an initial particle such as *iw*. In support of this, the verb-form at the head of the onset of the second verse takes the contrasting *sḏm.f* form, suggesting that the *sḏm.n.f* was deliberately deployed here<sup>234</sup> to mark the shift of emphasis away from the address to/over the ‘egg of the water’ and onto the ‘speech’ of Min.

In each of these two verses, the core of the phrase is iterated, however in this case it is not a metrical, phrasal or even a lexical unit which is repeated, it is the first-person suffix pronoun, followed by the compound preposition *r-ḥn<sup>c</sup>.k* and the preposition *m*. This is a clear parallelism between the verses, which is not obvious on silent reading of the text: the lines are not visually divided into the non-syntactic, (but iterated) units I have shown above (purely to emphasise the iterated core); nevertheless this patterning would have been clear in performance and added to the poetic rhythm.

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*imy sšy ḥnty mr nh3.wy*

who is in the nest, in front of the Lake of Knives.

<sup>233</sup> It has been suggested to me that the reading of this ought to be corrected to *iw ḏs-ḏs*, however, the hieratic (recto VI, 11) clearly shows that the horizontal sign is *mr* rather than *iw*; see Möller 1927: vol 2, 30, no. 330 (not no. 334).

<sup>234</sup> Although, of course, it is possible that the *sḏm.f* in the second verse shows that the *sḏm.n.f* of the first verse ought to be emended to a *sḏm.f* form; this putative parallelism might simplify the reading of these two verses.

Again, in a form of semantic anaphor, the onset verbs in the first pair of verses have similar meanings, and the final words of the terminus in each case (*mw* and *sšy*) recall the earlier parts of the spell, a rhetorical and poetic device. The second pair of verses display the opposite grammatical patterning to the previous pair: an iterative periphery and a variation in the core, and the construction used is a nominal (identification) pattern in each case. The two verses are very similar, with less variation between them than in previous stanzas (in fact the second adds almost no new semantic information), and this may be very clearly identified as a rhetorical device, where the *parallelismus membrorum* of the two verses underscores the rhythm of the verse. Repetition of the same information may also have magical significance; the rubrics of spells often contain instructions to repeat part or all of the spell a certain number of times – for example, the following spell in the papyrus closes with the instruction “*To be recited four times*” (Leitz 1999: 40; *recto VII, 4*). See §1.4.5. for analysis of the terminal formulae of the spells, many of which have similar instructions.

The Terminal Formula is differentiated visually from the incantation, by the use of red ink, by the use of the unusual writing of *dd.tw* (see Leitz 1999: pl. 17 for this sign or Plate 12 here) as well as linguistically, and the clause-patterning of this formula seems to bear some resemblance to that of the Initial Formula, so that the first and last verses of the Terminal Formula contain the injunctions (impersonal passive) to the ritualist, supporting the interpretation of these formulae as stage directions to the magician rather than the incantation of the spell which is read aloud. Semantically, the verses are all connected to water or other creative forces mentioned earlier (the use of *swht* recalls the appearance of the “egg of water” earlier in the incantation: the opening of the first stanza - *recto VI, 10*). The use of the verb *pri*, in the third verse of this rubric recalls its earlier use (the opening of the third stanza - *recto VI, 11*) as a Second Tense to move the incantation into the first person narration of Min (see above discussion). Thus Min is in some sense standing in for the creative water out of which all life springs, and thus can combat the malevolence of the crocodile (‘the one who is on the water’) because of his power over the water, and his creative powers which combat the crocodile’s destructive potential (see §3.2.2.).

### 3.2.5. Translation and Interpretation of Spell L (Rto. VII, 1-4)

#### Initial Formula

*ky r* •

Another spell:

#### First Stanza

*ink stp n ḥḥ pry m dw3t* •

I am one chosen of millions, who came from the Duat,

*nn rh.tw rn.f* •

without his name being known<sup>235</sup>

#### Second Stanza

*ir dmw.tw rn.f* <hr> *spt (VII, 2) itrw* •

If his name is pronounced <on> the bank of the river

*k3 ḥmw.f* •

then it will quench.

*ir dmw.tw rn.f m t3* •

If his name is pronounced on land,

*k3 lry.f tk3* •

then it will make fire.

#### Third Stanza

*ink Šw twt n R* •

I am Shu, the image of Re,

*ḥms (VII, 3) m-<ḥ>nw*<sup>236</sup> *wḏ3t it.f* •

who sits inside the wedjat-eye of his father.

#### Fourth Stanza

*ir wn nty ḥr mw r.f* •

If the one who is on the water opens his mouth;

<sup>235</sup> A more sympathetic translation might be 'although my name is unknown'.

<sup>236</sup> The writing is a well-known abbreviation for *m-ḥnw*,  .



*ir kkt. f m ʿwy.fy* •

If he strikes with his arms:

*iw.i dit h3y t3 m [-hnw?]*<sup>237</sup> *Nnw* •

Then I will cause the land to fall into Nun,

*mtw rsy (VII, 4) ir mht* •

and the south to be turned into the north,

*mtw t3 kd.f* •

and the land to go around itself<sup>238</sup>

### *Terminal Formula*

*dd.tw sp 4* •

To be recited four times,

<hr> *wđ3t twt n In-hrt m-hnw.s* •

<over> a wedjat-eye with the image of Onuris inside it

*n sš <hr/m> đrt n s* •<sup>239</sup>

as a drawing <on/in<sup>240</sup>> the hand of a man.

### **3.2.6. Commentary on Spell L**

Spell L comprises four stanzas of uneven length, with initial and terminal formulae. The Initial Formula is very short, in contrast to the previous spell. The initial formula *ky r* (sometimes just *ky/kt*) was used frequently in magical papyri to separate the individual incantations<sup>241</sup> – sometimes the whole phrase is written in red ink, sometimes just the word ‘*r*’, as here. This must, on one level at least, have served an indexing function, allowing a scribe/lector priest to navigate through the manuscript to find the appropriate incantation; however, since all the evidence points more strongly to this being a more ‘archival’ copy, or a compendium, rather than necessarily a working manuscript, it is possible that this is an artefact of transmission, rather than a particularly significant device for practice<sup>242</sup>. The Initial

<sup>237</sup> Leitz (1999: pl. 18) suggests this restoration.

<sup>238</sup> This seems to be a reflexive pronoun here. The image is used elsewhere as a metaphor for chaos, see e.g. *Ipuwer* 2.8-2.9 (Enmarch 2008: 77-8), ‘O, yet the land spins round as does a potter’s wheel’.

<sup>239</sup> The colour of these verse-points is extrapolated from the instances in the previous spell where verse-points lie above text written in red ink; this column is not well enough preserved to be certain of their colour.

<sup>240</sup> Possibly the emendation here is unnecessary, and the phrase is a direct genitive ‘as a drawing of the hand of a man’.

<sup>241</sup> See, e.g. many of the spells of P. Leiden I 348 (Borghouts 1971); P. Turin 1993 (Pleyte & Rossi 1869-1876); P. Chester Beatty VII (Gardiner 1935).

<sup>242</sup> See §4.4. for a more detailed discussion of this point.

Formula, falling outside the incantation, is not considered to form a stanza in its own right, nor does it rightfully belong in the first stanza – it is almost a punctuation mark, rather than a verse or stanza *per se*.

The First Stanza comprises just two verses, being a nominal (identification) pattern, with a modifying negated adverbial clause. The speaker identifies himself with the Creator/Shu ('one of millions who came from the Duat') – in the Third Stanza he makes this even plainer. The structure of this stanza is duplicated in the third stanza, creating an intra-stanza structure, and linking the stanzas together.

The Second Stanza is formed of two pairs of verses, each headed by the conditional particle *ir* (heading the onset of the first and third verses), and marking the apodosis of each conditional (the head of the onset of the second and fourth verses) with the particle *k3*. Moreover, the onsets of the first and third verses are identical, with the termini being semantically linked; the 'bank of the river' and 'land', although clearly both areas of ground, are set here in opposition to one another, the bank of a river being a liminal zone when dealing with dangerous creatures such as crocodiles, which inhabit them. The second and fourth verses also have identical onsets, comprising in each case simply the particle *k3*, indicating resultant action, in this case the action which will occur if the premise of the protasis is fulfilled; they have different termini, although there is clearly a semantic link between the two, as each expresses an undesirable consequence – parallel destructive forces being unleashed. In this sense, this stanza accords well with the definition of a curse-formula given by Katarina Nordh (1996: 2-3; 80-82) – the crocodile is threatened by the lector-priest or magician. Significantly, the two forces, water and fire, are both contingent on the utterance of the name of the name of 'the one of millions': in this spell, Shu. The power of a name is invoked for magical purposes.

The Third Stanza, as mentioned above, parallels the first in its construction, and is composed of a two verses, which are syntactically similar to stanza one – a leading nominal pattern, with a following attributive clause. The speaker explicitly identifies himself as Shu, using the illocutionary statement pattern (see §1.4.4.)perhaps giving an intra-textual link to the 'hymns' in the first half of the papyrus, several of which are addressed to Shu.

The Fourth Stanza is the longest of the spell, and contains the explicit threat/curse (see Nordh, 1996: 81) communicated by this spell – that if the crocodile attacks, the magician, assuming the power of Shu, will cause chaos in the world. These kinds of threats, or consequences of undesirable action, are common in magical spells; perhaps the closest parallel to this spell can be found in P. Leiden I 348, vs. 11, 5-6 (Borghouts 1971: 31, 172, n. 415) ‘a weariness will occur in the southern sky, and a disturbance will break out in the northern sky’. P. Geneva MAH 15274 recto II, 7 – III, 9 contains a set of similar sounding threats addressed to the poison of a scorpion, including ‘[I shall cause] the earth to rise up to the sky’ (Massart 1957: 176). Clearly these sorts of threats to the natural order of the world are a powerful device.<sup>243</sup>

The first two verses of this stanza form a pair, being both conditional clauses headed by *ir*; the apodosis of these two conditionals comes in the following three verses. The first two verses are linked on a deeper syntactic level than simply being conditional-headed clauses: Each conditional particle *ir* is followed by the subjunctive *sdm.f* expressing future or uncompleted action – a ‘projective’ conditional (Collier 2005); in the first verse the subject of the verb is a relative clause *nty hr mw*, in the second, it is the third person suffix pronoun, a much shorter subject. The terminus of the first verse expresses the object of the transitive verb *wn*, which is *r.f*, a very short lexical object. The terminus of the second verse is a prepositional phrase, (*ktkt* being intransitive it needs no object) *m ʿwy.f*, which is longer than that of the first verse – so the triadic pattern of each verse is:

cond. particle + verb	subject (long)	object (short)
cond. particle + verb	subject (short)	prep. phrase (long).

Of course, the short subject in the second verse is an pronominal ellipsis of the longer subject in the first verse, linking the verses – they both set up conditions premised upon the actions of the same creature.

The third verse expresses the apodosis of the conditionals set up in the first two verses, using a typically Late Egyptian verbal periphrasis to express the result

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<sup>243</sup> Cf. Coffin Text Spell 1130 (CT VII, 462-471) and BD 175 (Neville 1886: pl. 198-99), both of which use similar ‘topsy-turvy’ language.

clause (although it should be noted that none of the usual Late Egyptian conditional lexemes (*ir tw*, *inn* or *h-n*) is used to mark the protasis (Collier 2006: 181-186)). The apodosis is less explicitly marked here than in Stanza Two, and this verse is the ‘odd one out’, a ‘transitional verse’, marking the transition between the protasis and the apodosis of the conditional construction. This is to be contrasted with the previous stanza in which conditionals were used, Stanza Two, which uses a much more Middle Egyptian formulation.

The final two verses are similarly marked Late Egyptian clauses, both conjunctive clauses (Černý-Groll, 1975: 438), and the termini are semantically linked as they both express chaos on earth.

The Terminal Formula of the spell is not entirely written in red ink, the phrase relating to the god Onuris not being rubricised for reasons of decorum (see Posener 1949).

The unusual or abbreviated writing for *dd.tw* is used again here at the onset of the first verse (see above, Spell Two, onset of terminal rubric) – it seems to have been some sort of scribal short-hand, or possibly a sign of colloquial usages being codified into writing. Again, the instruction is to recite the spell 4 times; see above §3.2.2. for a discussion of the significance of the number 4.

### 3.2.7. Translation and Interpretation of Spell M (Rto. VII, 4-7)

#### Initial Formula

*ky r* •

Another spell:

#### First Stanza

*mi n.i* (VII, 5) *sp sn p3 twt n hh n hh* •

Come to me, come to me, O image of millions of millions,

*p3 Hnm s3 w<sup>c</sup>* •

O Khnum, the unique son,

*p3 iwr m sf ms n p3 hrw* •

O one conceived yesterday, and born today

*p3 nty tw.i rh.kw* (VII, 6) *rn.f* •

O one whose name I know,

*p3 nty 77 n irt m-di.f* •

O one who has 77 eyes,

*77 n msdr m-di.f* •

and 77 ears;

#### Second Stanza

*mi n.i di.k sdm.tw hrw.i* •

Come to me, so that you may cause my voice to be heard,

*mi sdm.tw hrw* (VII, 7) *ng3g3 wr m grh* •

as the voice of the “great cackler” is heard in the night.

*ink b<sup>c</sup>hw (wr?)*<sup>244</sup> *sp sn* •

I am the (great?) Inundation, I am the (great?) inundation

#### Terminal Formula

*dd.tw sp 4* •

To be recited four times.

<sup>244</sup> The sign after *b<sup>c</sup>hw* might be part of the set of determinatives, however the orthography cited in the *Wb* does not include this determinative (*Wb* I, 448.1-8), so that it might well be read as the adjective *wr*, ‘great’; Leitz certainly reads this (1999: 41). Cf. PT 240, which reads *b<sup>c</sup>hw wr*, ‘great flood’.

### 3.2.8. Commentary on Spell M


The fourth spell in this manuscript is composed of two stanzas; like the preceding spell, it has very little in the way of Initial Formula – in this case the typically abbreviated introduction, *ky r*, is only partially rubricised<sup>245</sup>, and the Terminal Formula is a terse instruction. The two stanzas of the incantation are uneven in length, the first being longer than the second.

The First Stanza has a very clear structure, most apparent in the onsets of each verse. The first verse of the stanza is headed by an imperative form, and governs all the following verses in this stanza. This invocation ‘Come to me, come to me’ is an example of the magician assuming the identity of a divine entity in order to assimilate his powers and use them in the spell (see Ghalioungui 1973). The use of *sp sn*, to indicate that the imperative is to be spoken twice, is paralleled in the terminus of the final verse of the incantation, before the Terminal Formula. In addition, the Second Stanza also opens with an imperative, addressed to the god, linking the two stanzas of the incantation together, and differentiating them from the Initial and Terminal formulae.

The imperative onset of the first verse of the First Stanza is followed by the object of the imperative, *p3 twt n ḥḥ n ḥḥ*, ‘the image of millions of millions’. The following four verses all open with the masculine definite article *p3*, used as a vocative, ‘O’, and each expresses a further object of the imperative at the head of the first verse. This links these verses together into a stanza, and gives a rhythmic structure and rhetorical flair to the stanza.

The second verse of the First Stanza echoes the structure of the first (after the imperative onset): both preface the object (*twt* and *ḥnm*) with the masculine definite article *p3*, and both have an attributive clause following (*n ḥḥ n ḥḥ* and *s3 wʿ*). In addition, the god Khnum links the verses together on an ideological level – as well as being named in the second verse, he is invoked by the use of the word *twt* ‘image’ – in the Elephantine creation myths, Khnum fashions the world by making clay

<sup>245</sup> *Contra* Leitz (1999: pl.18). Chabas’s lithograph (1860: VII) makes it clear that the *r* was written in red ink. Since this is one of the few fragments preserved in the Heidelberg collection, it can be

verified by reference to that fragment:  (Bommas 1998: pl. 1)

images on his potter's wheel (L. Morenz 1999: 116)<sup>246</sup>. There is one further link between these two verses, and that is the oppositions between the 'millions' mentioned in the terminus of the first verse and the 'one' mentioned in the terminus of the second verse. Intra-textually, Stanza One of Spell L mentions 'millions' and Stanza Three mentions 'image', using the same words (see §3.2.5.) – this may be simply a coincidence, but the use of the two words to create structure on a semantic level in both spells is undeniable.

The third verse is the mid-point of this stanza – the first verse has the imperative form, followed by the *p3*-headed clause, the second is another *p3*-headed clause with the same structure as the clause in the first verse, and the following fourth and fifth verses are both headed by *p3 nty*, with the final verse filling the opposing structural slot to the introductory imperative clause heading the first verse (although the final verse is a separate verse-pointed unit):

Imperative Onset	Terminus	(verse 1)
	Verse	(verse 2)
	Verse	(verse 3)
	Verse	(verse 4)
	Verse	(verse 5)
	Verse	(verse 6)

To emphasise the role of the third verse as central to the stanza, it has an internally reflective structure on a semantic level, contrasting *twr* 'conception' *m sf* 'yesterday' in the onset and *ms* 'birth' *n p3 hrw* 'today' in the terminus. The imagery of conception and birth links this verse to the previous two which invoke imagery of creation, and is comparable to the well-known phrase in Coffin Text Spell 335(CT IV, 192a) (= BD 17): 'I am yesterday, I know tomorrow'.

The fourth and fifth verses are both headed by *p3 nty* – linking them to the first three verses by use of *p3*, and linking them together as a pair by the use of *nty* to mark the relative clause. The definite article *p3* is a typically (although not diagnostically) Late Egyptian usage, and the construction *tw.l rh.kw* is the Late Egyptian adverbial first present (Junge, 2001: 111); this spell is showing a number of Late Egyptian features

<sup>246</sup> Note that Khnum also controls the Inundation, so that the final verse of the incantation, in which the magician impersonates the Inundation, is also a reference to Khnum, and the reference to the Inundation is appropriate in the context of this collection of water-spells (see Spell K, §3.2.3.)



which were less evident in the first three spells in this manuscript, suggesting that this spell has a later composition date than the previous three, or perhaps that it has been written in a more contemporary register of language (see §2.1.5.).

The final verse of this stanza is linked to the preceding verse by use of the number 77. On a logical level, ‘one’ who has 77 eyes might also be reasonably expected to have 77 ears (although of course, 77 being an odd number, the eyes and ears would not be paired as they would on a human!), and 77 also occurs as a significant number in an earlier spell in the manuscript, Spell One. Of course, the power of the number seven is invoked twice over by seventy-seven, and this significance has been discussed (§3.2.2.; also Rochholz 2002: 39-42 on the association of the number 7 with Khnum, and *passim*.) In addition to this parallelism on a semantic/ideological level, the structure of the two verses is set in parallel:

<i>77 n irt</i>	<i>m-di.f</i>
<i>77 n msdr</i>	<i>m-di.f</i>

The Second Stanza is much shorter than the first, and comprises three verses. As already noted, the onset of the first verse of this stanza is headed by the same imperative as that opening the first stanza, *mi n.i* ‘come to me’, which links the stanzas together, and provides an episodic structure – the repetition of a formula is a common device in narrative to mark episodes, and is attested in many other narrative traditions.

The Second Stanza is patterned as strongly as the first, but using slightly different devices. The first and second verses are linked through homonymic parallelism in the onsets: *mi n.i* (imperative followed by prepositional phrase)/*mi* (preposition used as conjunction). Although *mi* provides the phonological link, it functions as a different grammatical object in each case.

In each verse, this onset is followed by the subjunctive *sdm.f* form; twice - active, then passive – in the first verse and once – passive – in the second. A further link between these two verses is that the passive subjunctive *sdm.f* is identical in both verses, with very similar objects:

imperative	active subjunctive	passive subjunctive + subj. ( <i>sḏm.tw ḥrw.i</i> )
prep. as conj.		passive subjunctive + subj. ( <i>sḏm.tw ḥrw</i> ) prep. phrase

The terminus of the second verse is the prepositional phrase [*ḥrw*] *ngʒgʒ wr m grḥ*, completing the object and balancing the extra syntactic object supplied by the active subjunctive in the previous verse – each verse has the same number of elements, some of which are directly parallel to one another, and some of which work in opposition.

The final verse of the stanza is the culmination of the spell. As in Spell I (final verse of Fourth Stanza; §3.2.1.), Spell K (final two verses of Third Stanza; §3.2.3.), and Spell L (first verses of First and Third Stanzas; §3.2.5.), this verse is a nominal (identification) pattern, equating the practitioner with a god or divine force, by the principle of assimilation (see §4.3.4.1.) (Ghalioungui, 1973: 21, comments on the similarity between this methodology and the deification of parts of the body, associating each with a god and that deity’s protective power), and making a bold declarative statement about the power of the magician and the spell he wields. As noted above, the terminus of the verse, containing the instruction *sp sn*, links the verse to the onset of the first verse of the First Stanza.

The Terminal Formula is the simplest kind, using the same unusual writing of *ḏd.tw* as Spells K and L, and the instruction to recite the spell four times (see above §3.2.2. for the discussion of the magical significance of the number four).

Kákosy (1990) published some fragments of a text in Budapest (Inv. No. 51.1960) which dates to the latter part of the New Kingdom (provenance unknown, Kákosy 1990: 140). Column A contains a spell which is a very close parallel to this spell, although badly preserved, with damage to the beginnings and ends of all the column lines. The text seems to have been verse-pointed in red (and twice in black, above a red-inked formula; for the most part the red verse-points are lost. All verse-points which are preserved are here reproduced), and is worth reproducing in full here:

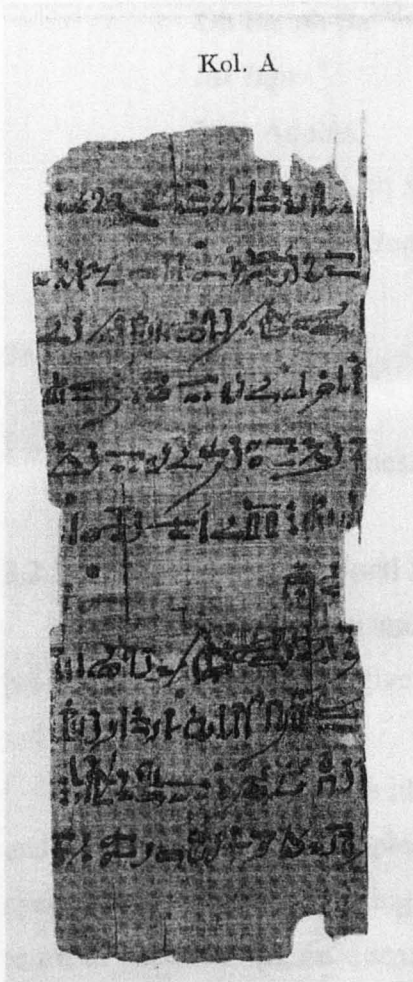
Col. A:

- (2) *ky• r mi [n].i [...]*  
Another spell. Come [to] me [...]
- (3) *[...i]wr m sf mst m p3 [hrw...]*  
[...co]nceived yesterday, and born today
- (4) *[...n]hbt• p3 nty rh.f rn.i [...]*  
[...n]eck. O one who knows my name [...]
- (5) *[...nt]y 777 n irty m-di.f p3 nty 77[7...]*  
[...wh]o has 777 eyes, O one who has 777 [...]
- (6) *[...] hrw ʿkk ʿ3 m grh [...]*  
[...] the voice of the great ʿkk in the night [...]
- (7) *[...h]ry ʿ k• [y r...]*  
[.u]pon ʿ Ano[ther spell...]

As this transliteration and translation shows, there are significant similarities between the Budapest spell and this one, and some enlightening differences. Although it is impossible to estimate how great was the loss of both the left and right margins, the phrase which ends with *nhbt*, which is lost from the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4 is not paralleled in the Harris spell; the phrase which follows the verse-point here departs from the Harris spell by reversing subject and object; in the Harris spell, ‘I’ know the name of the entity addressed, in the Budapest spell, the entity is the one ‘who knows my name’. There is clearly some line of transmission between the two spells, however, without a closer dating of either papyrus, no more can be said.

Most significantly for this study, there is a blank space in the Budapest spell (line 7) where the terminal formula would have been in our spell. Of course, there is no certainty that the Budapest spell would have had the same terminal formula as the Harris spell, but the fact the scribe has left this blank space does suggest rather strongly that he meant to come back and add in a phrase, or that he was deliberately leaving a blank space; the fact he does not simply write it in black ink after *hry* at the start of line 7 makes it reasonably certain that anything he intended to add in this space would have been in red ink. However, it must of course be observed that the

Budapest spell does have an Initial Formula written in red ink, and there is another Initial Formula, also in red ink at the end of line 7; in addition, there is one red verse-point extant (line 4), and two black verse-points (above the red Initial Formulae of lines 2 and 7), so the scribe cannot have forgotten, or been in some way prevented from returning to the manuscript to make the necessary insertions in red and black ink. Perhaps the blank space was deliberate; however it seems to me more likely that the scribe simply failed to write the Terminal Formula in red ink for whatever reason, and left the manuscript with this telling space:



(Kákosy 1990: pl. 6)

### 3.2.9. Translation and Interpretation of Spell N (Rto. VII, 7-8)

#### *Initial Formula*

*ky r* •

Another spell:

#### *Stanza*

*i b3 sp sn* •

Oh Ba, oh Ba<sup>247</sup>

*ink Inpw* •

I am Anubis,

(VII, 8) *Spd s3 Nbt-hwt* •

(and) Sopdu, son of Nephthys<sup>248</sup>

#### *Terminal Formula*

*dd.tw sp 4* •

To be recited four times.

### 3.2.10. Commentary on Spell N

The fifth spell in the manuscript is very short in comparison to the four which precede it, comprising only five verses, of which the first and fifth are the formulae.

The Initial Formula is identical to the initial formulae of Spells L (§3.2.5.) and M (§3.2.7.). It is the simplest, and one of the most common introductions to a spell, serving a simple indexing function, and having very little to add to the spell in terms of poetic or linguistic structuring (see §4.3.2.).

The vocative onset of the incantation in the first verse of the Stanza, marked by the use of the Late Egyptian prothetic *yod*, gives the spell an exclamatory immediacy. Ogdon (1989: 60) discusses the vocative interjection as a marker of the necessity of proper intonation by the magician, arguing that ‘the interjection *i* has a great emphatic force and it undoubtedly (sic.) was a basic *sound* of the recitation’, and

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<sup>247</sup> It is possible that this should be read ‘O Baba’, referring to the baboon god (Leitz 2002: II, 737)

<sup>248</sup> Leitz questions his transcription of this group.

that its utterance ‘is bound to transform the “profane” space into a “sacred” one, such as the High God generated the “Primaeval Space” (=Shu, the God of Air and Light) *in illo tempore* in order to begin his creative activity’.

Although Ogdon is correct that the vocative interjection is a reasonably common feature of anti-snake spells, and this point may add some weight to the argument that the formulae were not to be read aloud (the incantation may begin with ‘O’, the formula never does), it is a somewhat speculative idea that this word has an ‘immanent “supernatural power”’ (1989: 60).

The whole of the incantation here is address – there is no narrative element, thus the use of a vocative at the onset of the only stanza of incantation is appropriate.

The second verse of the incantation is another declarative nominal (identification) pattern, whereby the magician appropriates the identity of Anubis, as well as Sopdu, son of Nephthys (see §4.3.4.1.).

In each of the spells already analysed, similar nominal patterns/illocutionary statements (§1.4.4.) have been encountered (see Spell I, (final verse of fourth stanza), Spell K (final two verses of third stanza), and Spell L (first verses of first and third stanzas), Spell M, (last verse of the second stanza) although in this example, and that in Spell M, a divine determinative is used for the independent pronoun, as opposed to the seated man determinative used in Spells I, K and L. This use of the divine determinative is not unusual by any means, and it is quite usual for the pronouns which refer to gods to have such determinatives, however it seems a little odd that the usage is not consistent. Looking ahead, Spell O (which seems to mirror Spell N extremely closely, see §3.2.9.) has the same divine determinative for *ink*, Spell P has no such phrase, and Spell Q, verse 8, VIII, 1 (§3.2.15.) has a divine determinative. Spells R and S contain no such phrase, yet Spell T (§3.2.21.) has a whole series of nominal statements, with varying determinatives – see §4.3.4.1. for a full discussion of these.

The final verse of the incantatory stanza is a dependent clause, which is governed by the nominal pattern of the previous verse, and extends the identification of the speaker to include the god Sopdu. Leitz (2002: 289-290) does not list ‘Sopdu

son of Nephthys' as an epithet of Sopdu, and Givón (1984: 1107) notes that Sopdu appears in crocodilian form in the Pyramid Texts.

The Terminal Formula again uses the abbreviated writing of *dd.tw* – a sign which has so far been used to introduce the Terminal Formulae of Spells K, L and M. Once again, the number of repetitions specified is four – see above §3.2.2.



### 3.2.11. Translation and Interpretation of Spell O (Rto. VII, 8-8)

#### *Initial Formula*

*ky r*•

Another spell:

#### *Stanza*

*wnmy sp sn i3btt sp sn*•

Right, right, left, left.

*ink Inpw Spd s3 R<sup>c</sup>*•

I am Anubis, Sopdu, son of Re.

#### *Terminal Formula*

<*dd.tw?*> *sp 4*•

<To be recited?> four times.

### 3.2.12. Commentary on Spell O

Spell O is very similar to the spell which precedes it (§3.2.9.) – it has practically identical Initial and Terminal Formulae, and the two verses of the incantation are similar in structure, with semantic links to the previous spell. The Initial Formula is identical to that of Spells L, M and N: the simplest kind of formula, an indexing marker.

The incantatory verses are very similar to the incantatory verses of Spell N. In both cases, the first verse of the incantation is declamatory, and is addressed to an unnamed audience. Both have a repeated structure marked by the syntactic element *sp sn*; in Spell O this occurs twice in the first verse. This verse is also an internally reflective line, having the semantic opposition between *wnmy* ‘right’ in the onset and *i3btt* ‘left’ in the terminus. Presumably this related to some kind of ritualised action by/around the performer involving his right and left sides, however this is not preserved.

As noted above (§3.2.10.), the second verse of the incantation is a nominal pattern, equating the speaker to Anubis and Sopdu, son of Re (Schumacher 1991:

238-240 explores the occurrences of Sopdu together with Anubis). As in Spell N (above), the determinative of the independent pronoun is a divine falcon on a standard, conferring the divinity of the gods invoked on the identity of the speaker on a visual level at least; it is unclear whether different determinatives for the same word would entail any difference in vocalisation.

The Terminal Formula is even more abbreviated than in the preceding spells – the writing of *dd.tw* (  $\text{—} \overset{\circ}{\text{e}}$  ) is omitted entirely, and all that is written is  $\text{|||}^{\circ}$   
*sp 4* – presumably to be restored/read: ‘<to be recited> 4 times’.

### 3.2.13. Translation and Interpretation of Spell P (Rto. VII, 8-12)

#### Initial Formula

*ky r* •

Another spell:

#### First Stanza

*hw 3st (VII, 9) m dnḥ.s* •

Isis has beaten<sup>249</sup> with her wings,

*ḥtm.s rn itrw* •

and sealed the river's mouth,

*di.s sḏr p3 rmw ḥr ḥ3yt* •

and caused the fish to lie upon the flood water,<sup>250</sup>

*bw tḥb n.sw ḥ3nw* •

so that the waves cannot immerse them.

#### Second Stanza

(VII, 10) *b3g 3st*<sup>251</sup> <*ḥr*><sup>252</sup> *mw ts 3st ḥr mw* •

Isis was weary <on> the water; Isis rose up on the water;

*rmw.s m ḥ3y <r?> mw* •

her tears fell down <onto?><sup>253</sup> the water.

#### Third Stanza

*mk Ḥr nk.f mwt.f 3st* •

See,<sup>254</sup> Horus will copulate with his mother Isis,

*rmw.s m (VII, 11) ḥ3y r mw* •

and her tears will fall onto the water.

<sup>249</sup> The forms in this stanza are taken as Late Egyptian past (preterite) *sḏm.f* (Junge 2001: 154)

<sup>250</sup> The interpretation of this verse is problematic: are we to understand that Isis is using her wings to make the fish lie flat on the surface of the water, 'so that the waves cannot immerse them'? This would surely be rather counter-productive for the fish, but this spell may have been one for fishermen; it is not explicitly a prophylactic against crocodiles.

<sup>251</sup> See Leitz (1999: 42, n.87) and Lange (1927: 63) for this reading.

<sup>252</sup> Restored on the basis of the parallel phrase in the terminus of this verse.

<sup>253</sup> On the basis of the repetition of this line below, this restoration makes sense.

<sup>254</sup> The use of the particle *mk* here suggests that this stanza is framed in more Middle Egyptian language than the previous stanzas (Junge 2001: 80); *mk* + *sḏm.f* usually has the sense of future action (Gardiner 1957: 178, §234).

*Fourth Stanza*

*mḥ m wd*                      *m r n ʒᶜᶜn* •

A measure (handful) of *wd*-fish is in the mouth of the baboon;

*mḥ n ḥt ndm(/whm)*    *m r n ntr/dwʒw*<sup>255</sup> •

a measure of scented(?<sup>256</sup>) wood is in the mouth of the god.

*Fifth Stanza*

*m ʒst*                      *i.ir šdw* •

It is Isis who recited,

*bn mshw (VII, 12) i.irt* •

there is no crocodile which did (so).

*sʒ ty sʒ* •

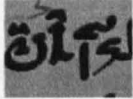
Protection; may protection come.

**3.2.14. Commentary on Spell P**

Spell P comprises five stanzas following the Initial Formula, which, as in Spells L to O above, is a simple indexing *ky r*. In fact, until Spell U, all these spells have this Initial Formula (Spell U is the first of four which deal with other dangerous creatures apart from crocodiles; possibly this speaks to the deliberate composition of the compendium, and the lack of necessity to differentiate too much between a series of spells for the same purpose).

<sup>255</sup> See Leitz (1999: 42, n.91) on the reading of *ntr* versus *dwʒw*.

<sup>256</sup> Leitz is unsure of his transcription here. Scented wood makes more sense than “repeated” wood,

though. The hieratic is:  which reads  $\overline{\Delta} \text{ } ^{\prime} ? \text{ } \overline{\equiv}$ . The unclear sign-group is transcribed as  $\overline{\text{I}}^{\text{e}}$  by Lange (1927: 62); Leitz (1999: pl.18) transcribes  $\overline{\text{I}}^{\text{A}}$ , but comments (42, n. 90) that this produces no sense, and suggests *ḥt ndm* as an alternative. From Möller, it is clear that Lange’s

interpretation cannot be right:  $\overline{\text{I}}^{\text{x}}$ , and that *ndm* is just as uncertain:  $\overline{\text{I}}^{\text{z}}$ , but that *whm* seems

reasonable:  $\overline{\text{I}}^{\text{w}}$ , however Leitz’s comment that this makes no sense is justified. An emendation to *ndm* seems likely.

The First Stanza is composed of four verses, followed by three stanzas (Second, Third and Fourth) composed of two verses, followed by a stanza (Fifth) of three verses. There is no Terminal Formula to this spell.

The first three verses of the First Stanza are simple *sḏm.f* patterns describing the actions of Isis. The first verse opens with a bare *sḏm.f* with no initial particle; in the context of this spell, which displays some clear Late Egyptian features (e.g. the negation *bw* in the fourth verse of this stanza; although the spell is not purely written in Middle Egyptian, see notes to Stanza 3), this is likely to be the past (preterite) *sḏm.f*, used here to evoke a mythological precedent for magical purposes.

Magical texts and spells which invoke the mythology of Isis are very common, largely because she plays a protective role in many myths, and therefore is an appropriate deity to call upon for protection (see the *Myth of Isis and Re* P. Turin 1993 vs. 6,11-9,5; Borghouts 1978: 51-55 and the various texts in which Isis heals Horus - Borghouts 1978: 59-69; see e.g. Sander-Hansen: 71-83; 89-100; 83-8). Borghouts (1978: x) comments that ‘the magician...expresses the will of supernatural powers by impersonating them, hence ... the frequent initial presentative clause ‘I am god X’.’

Isis using her wings to ‘beat’ (as a protective force) invokes the ideology of Isis as a protective funerary deity – many coffins feature Isis and her sister Nephthys spreading their wings around the coffin to protect it (Taylor 1989: 9).

The second verse, in which Isis seals the river’s mouth is a form of sympathetic magic, whereby the mouth of the crocodile and the mouth of the river are equated, if this is a spell against crocodiles. Of course, the mention of the crocodile in the spell is only explicit in the last stanza, and it is possible that this spell has a slightly different function than the previous ones (see n. 250).

The third verse of this stanza is the last of the three which describe the actions of Isis, using the word *rmw* to mean ‘fish’ – in Stanzas Two and Three the same word (with a different determinative is used to mean ‘tears’ – paronomasia around the writing of *rmw* is very common in Egyptian texts.

The final verse of the stanza is dependent upon the previous verse, and employs the Late Egyptian aorist *bw sdm.f*. The meaning of the last two verses is that Isis will cause all the fish in the Nile to die; the verses may also be linked through the use of homonymic words at the termini, *h3yt* and *h3nw*. In addition, *thb* can have the meaning ‘to irrigate’, (*Wb* V, 234.14) linking this word semantically to *h3yt* ‘flood water’.

The Second Stanza is the first to be comprised of two verses which form a pair; the second verse is identical to the second verse of the following stanza<sup>257</sup>, forming a kind of refrain, and linking the stanzas together. The Second Stanza is also linked to the First by the invocation of Isis, and by the word-play on *rmw*, as noted above. In addition to this, both of the final verses of the Second and Third stanzas open with the subject *rmw.s* and closes with the indirect object *r mw*, which must constitute word-play on a phonological level.

The first verses of each of these stanzas are both internally reflective sentences: in the second stanza this works on a semantic level, contrasting *b3g* ‘weary’ in the onset, with *ts* ‘rises’ in the terminus; in the Third Stanza Horus is contrasted with his mother Isis, a mythological and semantic opposition.

The Fourth Stanza continues this pattern, comprising two verses, both of which are internally reflective, and linked to one another on a syntactic, and semantic level:

<i>mḥ</i>	<i>m wḏ</i>	<i>m r n</i>	<i>3<sup>cc</sup>n</i>
A measure	of <i>wḏ</i> -fish	is in the mouth	of the baboon;
<i>mḥ</i>	<i>n ḥt nḏm(/wḥm)</i>	<i>m r n</i>	<i>nṯr/dw3w</i>
a measure	of scented(?) wood	is in the mouth	of the god.

<sup>257</sup> Note that stanzas two and three might be conflated into a single stanza (see §1.4.3.) – against this is the use of *mk* at the onset of the third stanza; which particle often signals a new passage or section. The division of the text into stanzas, as was discussed in Chapter One, is based on the semantic, phonological, grammatical and structural parallels between the verse, which serve to group verses into stanzas. These groupings are arbitrary, and are not reflected by any diacritics or punctuation in the Egyptian, and therefore need not reflect any Ancient Egyptian understanding of the composition; in cases where the groupings are less clear, the overall structure is not affected, and comments are included which reflect the multiple possibilities.

In each case, the first and third syntactic objects are identical, and there is a loose semantic association between the two products mentioned in the second syntactic slot: *wḏ* fish is the Nile tilapia (*Wb* I, 399.7-8), which was a symbol of rebirth and regeneration (Billen 1992), due to the breeding habits of *tilapia nilotica*, which holds its young in its mouth; scented wood (if this is the correct translation – see above n. 256) has been found in a number of funerary assemblages, so presumably has some ritual or religious significance. The placing of the *wḏ*-fish in the mouth of the baboon is equated here with the placing of scented wood in the mouth of the god. Why the baboon is used in this metaphor for the first time is unclear; the rest of the spell refers to Isis and Horus. Perhaps the first image is a cipher for the (far more dangerous) image of a human in the mouth of a crocodile, and the equation of the two verses serves to transpose the danger of the first image into a safe, sacred action. The stanza has a strong sense of acting as a commentary on, or narrative of a ritual performance.

The Fifth Stanza comprises a pair of verses followed by a final extra verse, which marks the end of the incantation. The first two verses are set in opposition – the first is phrased in the positive, the second in the negative voice – a participial statement, or Cleft Sentence (Junge, 2001: 178), followed by the Late Egyptian negation of a participial statement.

This phraseology links this final stanza back to the First and Second Stanzas, by the naming of Isis.

The first two verses of the Fifth Stanza are a significant statement of magico-religious belief: Isis as a practitioner of magic is well attested and understood, however the comment that crocodiles do not recite magic (as obvious as that may seem on a common-sense level) makes explicit the belief in the power of these spells to combat the crocodile. There is a parallel to this phrase in P. Geneva MAH 15274 recto III, 7-9 (Massart 1957: 176):

‘It is not I [who say it], it is not I who repeat it, O poison (8) ... every scorpion, which is in the limbs of M born of N; <it is> [I]sis who says it, it is she who (9) repeats it’.

The final verse, which stands alone in the structure of this stanza, has a declarative, almost illocutionary feel to it, and acts as the culmination of the spell. This phrase is paralleled in the Spells X and Y.

The whole spell could be read as a set of explanatory comments to a set of performative tableaux, particularly in light of the unusual choice of the Late Egyptian past *sḏm.f* as the major construction in this spell; although other spells do use past *sḏm.f* or the Middle Egyptian *sḏm.n.f* forms (see §4.3.6.), they show a stronger tendency to be less marked aspectually, and therefore to have less temporal reference. If this spell is the narration to a set of performative actions, or tableaux, this would accord well with the performative nature of the other spells, and suggests that this spell could have been reserved for more formal occasions, when more than one ritualist (or actor) was available.



### 3.2.15. Translation and Interpretation of Spell Q (Rto. VII, 12- VIII, 1)

#### Initial Formula

ky r •

Another spell:

#### First Stanza

p<sup>c</sup>p<sup>c</sup> rwk3 •

-

p<sup>c</sup>p<sup>c</sup> r3k3 •

-

p<sup>c</sup>p<sup>c</sup> rwr3 •

-

#### Second Stanza

n (VIII, 1)Hnm r šr •

Khnum will not šr (block?)<sup>258</sup>

n Tkmt hr šdt •

Tekmet(?)<sup>259</sup> is not reciting.


#### Third Stanza


imi šd.tw n.n hr mw •

Make recitation for us on the water.

ink Hr šdy •

I am Horus, who recites.

<sup>258</sup> Leitz (1999: 43, n. 94) notes that this may be an irregular orthography for *šri*, ‘to block’ (*Wb* IV, 527, 12-17) although the orthography would have to be radically different for this to be true, and he seems to restore *iri* for *r*, on the basis of his translation ‘will make no...’. *Wb* IV, 528.7 gives *šrm*, a Semitic loan-word, with the meaning ‘peace, greeting’ (Cf. ‘shalom, salaam’), and the orthography:  which would require emendation of the text, but at least fits the context – ‘Khnum will not greet/be peaceful’.

<sup>259</sup> The writing  might be a variant writing for the deity Tekem (*Wb* V, 333.8). Leitz (1999: 43) reads the last three signs as *šst*, ‘Isis’, however, if these determinatives are read as part of the name of the deity Tekem, the verse not only makes better sense, but stands in parallel to the previous verse. P. Leiden I 358 has a similar name, *tkm*, with a divine determinative (Goyon 1971: 119). On Tekem, see Darnell (2004: 447-8; also CT 404)

### Terminal Formula

*dd.tw sp 4* •

To be recited four times.

### 3.2.16. Commentary on Spell Q

This spell consists of three stanzas, with Initial and Terminal Formulae, only the first of which is written in red ink<sup>260</sup>, as far as we can tell (although it should be noted that neither the Initial nor Terminal Formulae are preserved on any of the extant fragments, and we must rely on Chabas's lithograph for the evidence), perhaps because the spell is so short. However, Spell O (§3.2.11.), has the same Initial and Terminal Formulae, both of which are partly written in red ink, and that spell is considerably shorter in length.

The First Stanza is written in a non-Egyptian, or possibly nonsense language, although the script is hieratic<sup>261</sup>. Leitz (1999: 42, n. 93) notes that 'the initial element of *pꜥpꜥ* remains obscure', commenting that the elements *rwk3* and *r3k3* might be a transcription of the demotic *lg*, 'to stop, cease' (Ritner 1993: 193, n. 890; Erichsen 1954: 264)

Another parallel comes from the Ptolemaic magical papyrus MMA 35.9.21, (the date according to Feder (2008: 72), who follows the dating of Joachim Quack, on the basis of palaeography and content; contra. Goyon (1975), who dates the MMA papyrus to the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty given the parallels to texts at the Hibis temple), with four parallels to other texts, which describe the mystery of Osiris and the four balls/beads of clay.

col. 27, 7-8:



*i.r3-k3 sp sn*

<sup>260</sup> contra Leitz's transcription (1999: pl. 18), although the fragmentary preservation does make it difficult to be absolutely certain.

<sup>261</sup> Alessandro Roccati is working on a 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty text in Turin which contains spells against snakes, which is partly written in the 'language of Qeheh', which he believes may provide parallels to this spell; however his work is currently unpublished. P. Leiden I 343 + I 345 rt. VI, 8-9 reads: '...that I belong to the people of *lrrk...3n3*, who can speak with the snakes' (Massart 1954:73). Massart comments briefly on this, but the evidence is limited.

This phrase is not translated by Goyon (1975: 368), and he comments (1975: 368 n. 5) that the interjections which are not translated are ‘abracadabra type’ word, and that only their sound is relevant.

Whatever the translation of the First Stanza, it is clearly euphonic and works on the principle of homonymy, having the linking element  $p^c p^c$  in the onset of every verse, and termini composed of the various elements  $rw-$ ,  $r\dot{z}-$ ,  $-k\dot{z}$  and  $-r\dot{z}$ . The best approximation I can make is to the phonologically authoritative utterance of the modern magician: “Abracadabra”; it seems unlikely that the Aramaic origin of this word (Dunn 2008: xi) is well understood by a modern audience.

The two verses of the Second Stanza, although obscure, are linked to one another by syntax – both verses open with the negation  $n$ , followed by the name of a deity (see above, n. 259 for a discussion of the meaning of  $tkm$ ), and the termini are in opposition: the  $r$  + infinitive in the first verse and the  $hr$  + infinitive in the second. The use of  $n$  to negate both of these constructions is unexpected; both would normally take  $nn$ .

The Third Stanza is easier to comprehend, and is addressed directly to an entity, using the imperative voice. The first verse is significant in terms of our understanding of the practice of these kinds of spells – the appeal to recite the spells ‘on the water’,  $hr mw$ , is a clear indicator that the spells had an immediacy and a present action; they were not prophylactic (or at least they were not explicitly and exclusively so), nor were they amuletic – they were designed to be working pieces of text.<sup>262</sup>

The second verse of the Third Stanza has the reasonably common equation of the magician to Horus, ‘who recites’. As has become clear, this nominal, identification pattern acts as a performative culmination of the speech-act of the spell, equating the practitioner/reciter to Horus, and thereby assuming his magical force. Ritner (1989: 109) comments on the use of  $\dot{s}dy$ , ‘the Reciter’ here, and its links to the spells of Horus cippi.

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<sup>262</sup> Although, of course, this papyrus does not seem to have been a working document (see §2.2.7.4.); nonetheless, the spells contain enough evidence that they were designed to be recited that the point stands.

### 3.2.17. Translation and Interpretation of Spell R (Rto. VIII, 2-4)<sup>263</sup>

#### Initial Formula

ky r °

Another spell:

#### First Stanza

h3y sp sn i3by pt i3by t3 °

Come down, come down, the eastern sky and the eastern earth.

imn ʿhʿ m hk3 tʿy.f hdt t3 drw.f °

Amun stands as the ruler, who has seized the white crown of the entire land.

#### Second Stanza

m sg3 °

Do not be silent

(VIII, 3) i.smt hfd3 htmw r.sn °

Go! Hurry<sup>264</sup>, seal their mouths.

iw ddfn nbt dmy.w p3 iwtn °

whilst all snakes are being joined<sup>265</sup> to the ground

m snd n (VIII, 4) phty.k imn °


from fear of your might, Amun.

### 3.2.18. Commentary on Spell R

The ninth spell consists of two stanzas, preceded by an Initial Formula which does not seem to be followed by a verse-point according to Chabas' lithographs (1860: pl. 8):

<sup>263</sup> Note that Fischer-Elfert (1998) provides rather a different reading of this spell. See below §3.2.18.

<sup>264</sup> Leitz (1999: 43, n. 99) suggests that *hfd3* may mean 'place (yourself?) in the boat', referencing *Wb* III, 75, 10-12; however *Wb* III, 75, 14 gives *hfd*, admittedly with a different orthography (

, as a Semitic loan-word (hence the group writing) meaning 'to rush, to flee in terror'. This would make a little more sense in the context – following the injunction not to remain silent, to go, comes the injunction to hurry, or to run away.

<sup>265</sup> Reading the form here as the Late Egyptian *tw.f sdm.w*, that is, the passive with circumstantial converter (Junge 2001: 190).

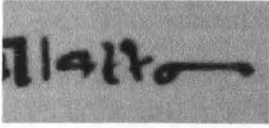


Fig. 20. Spell R, Initial Formula, *recto* VIII, 2.

This part of the text is preserved on a fragment in the Heidelberg collection, but it is unclear on the photographic plate in Bommas (1998: pl. 1).

The first verse of the First Stanza is unclear; Leitz (1999: 43, n. 97) comments that ‘the translation of this entire sentence is unclear’, and notes that Borghouts (1978: 89) translates ‘Hi, eastern side of heaven, eastern side of the earth!’. The imperative *h3y* is morphologically sound; Gardiner (1957: 257) comments upon the etymology of the *-y* ending to the plural form, which came out of the original *-i* ending, which ‘coalesced with a preceding radical *i* to form *y*’. It is possible that a preposition may have been omitted and *h3y sp sn i3by pt <hr> i3by t3* ‘Come down, come down, eastern heaven <onto> the eastern earth’ should be read. It is also possible that the *sp sn* in the onset of this verse is intended to balance out the semantic opposition of the earth and the sky (‘eastern sky, eastern earth’) in the terminus.

Such imperative addresses to the (personified) heavens and earth might seem rather unexpected, but magical spells seem less governed by the rules of decorum in such issues (see above, Spells I, M and Q for imperatives addressed to supernatural/divine beings).



The imperative *h3y* links this stanza to the Second Stanza, in which the first two verses have imperatives heading their onsets.

The second verse of the First Stanza seems to refer to a mythological narrative of some kind, apparently the coronation of Amun; certainly it is narrative in structure, employing the stative; this links it to the third verse of the following stanza, which also uses the stative, and has a narrative feel. The ‘white crown’, a symbol associated with the Eye of Horus, (see Goebis 1998: 448-451; Pyramid Text Spell 524 (PT 1233-1243)), and representative of the royalty of the gods, is used metonymically to stand for the throne of the entirety of Egypt.

The Second Stanza consists of four verses, of varying lengths. The first is a simple imperative, which must be addressed to the ‘eastern sky and eastern earth’, since no other addressee has been named. The pattern of using imperatives creates a sense of unity between the stanzas – rhetorically, using the same verb form repeatedly is a way of establishing coherence and unity. Leitz (1999: 43, n. 98) notes that Borghouts translates this verse as part of the previous clause: “...the entire land is in silence”, but points out the verse-point, and I concur with Leitz’s conclusion. Reading this verse as an independent imperative statement makes sense, both because it is a verse-pointed unit, and because of the repetition of the imperative form.

The following verse builds even further on this repetition; it consists of three imperative statements. The terminus of this verse ‘seal their mouths’ refers to a non-existent antecedent (‘them’), which must be understood to mean the snakes against whom the spell is directed; this assumption is confirmed by the subsequent verse. Of course litany-style spells for sealing the mouths of dangerous creatures are well-known (see, e.g. Klasens 1952: 58; P. Leiden I 349 1, 7-8; de Buck & Stricker 1940: 53-62)

The third verse of the Second Stanza is linked grammatically to the final verse of the previous stanza by use of the stative and the narrative voice. The final verse of the spell is dependent on the previous clause (grammatically). It seems that the spell entirely lacks a terminal formula.

Fischer-Elfert has presented a rather different interpretation of this spell (1998), in which he emends slightly, and interprets the text as a classic New Kingdom solar hymn in a crystallised form (1998: 107). He emends the determinative to *h3y* at the onset of the first verse of the First Stanza, from  to , citing some parallels for this reading. He also conflates the first verse of the Second Stanza with the last verse of the First Stanza (ignoring the

scansion indicated by the verse-points, despite retaining them in his transcription), giving a reading thus:<sup>266</sup>

*ky r*

Another spell:

*h3y h3y j3by p.t j3by t3*

The eastern sky and eastern earth rejoice

*Jmn.w 'h' m (hk3) t3y=f hq.t*  
crown

Amun stands as the ruler, who has seized the white

*t3 <r>-qr=f m-sg3*

(and) the whole land therefore lies in silence.

*j.šm hfd htm r'=sn*

Take your course, fly out, seal their mouths

*jw ddf.t nb.t dmy=w p3 jwtn*

when all reptiles choose to stick to the ground

*m sqd n ph.ty=k Jmn.w*

out of fear of your might, Amun.

He characterises the first stanza of this reading as a statement about the coronation of the divine king Amun (1998: 106) and the second as thematising the rising of sun, heralding the destruction of all enemies of the solar divinity. The parallels to such texts as the Great Hymn to the Aten and the *Sonnenpriester* are drawn out in this analysis, and his arguments are compelling. There is no reason why a solar theology should not be included in the Harris Magical Papyrus; indeed Fischer-Elfert comments that the preceding and following spell might have been used with this spell at the moment of fording the water (1998: 107). This reading has not been adopted here because it requires an interpretation which does not accord with my analysis of the function of verse-points as indicators of clausal structure, which is fundamental to my analysis of the scribal strategies displayed in this manuscript.

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<sup>266</sup> The reading is reproduced using the conventions of transliteration and translation followed by Fischer-Elfert (1998), which differ from my own.

### 3.2.19. Translation and Interpretation of Spell S (Rto. VIII, 4-5)

#### Initial Formula

*ky r* •

Another spell:

#### Stanza

*ind-hr.k p3 3<sup>cc</sup>n n mh 7* •

Greetings to you, the baboon of 7 cubits,<sup>267</sup>

*nty irt.f m ktm.t*<sup>268</sup> *spt.f m ht* •

whose eye is of gold,<sup>269</sup> and whose lip is of fire;

*mdt.f (VIII, 5) nb m nfr* •<sup>270</sup>

whose every word is flame(?).

*smn p3 smhw pr.<.i> wd3.kw* •

Stop the immersed (crocodiles<sup>271</sup>), so that <I> may go out safely.

### 3.2.20. Commentary on Spell S

This spell consists of an Initial Formula, followed by the incantation. The Initial Formula is the standard *ky r* ‘another spell’, which is most common in the magical section of the papyrus (§1.4.5.).

The Stanza has the onset *ind-hr.k*, ‘Greetings to you’. This onset is more familiar from hymns than magical spells, illustrating the way in which these two genres intersect in this papyrus. The entity greeted here, the ‘baboon of seven

<sup>267</sup> Leitz (1999: 43, n. 102) notes that Roeder (1959: 227) explores a possibility of equating this baboon with the ‘baboon colossi of Amenophis III before the Thoth temple in Hermopolis (although the height of these is given in the *Guide Bleu* as 4.5m, that is about 9 cubits).’ He also notes that the ‘baboon of 7 cubits’ denotes the full moon (1999: 43, n. 103), although why this is true is unknown to me.

<sup>268</sup> Leitz also mis-reads a verse-point after *ktm.t*, where this is clearly not the case, at least from the lithograph. The very end of this word is preserved on one of the Heidelberg fragments, however it is not clear from the plate (Bommas 1998: pl. 2) whether the verse-point is present or not.

<sup>269</sup> *ktm.t* is a Semitic loan-word (*Wb* V, 145.6-13; Hoch 1994: 338; §501), which is not unexpected in Late Egyptian, however, these spells do not show consistently Late Egyptian features, so this may be an example of a scribe inadvertently updating the vocabulary as he copies. It may of course be that foreign loan-words have a place in the magical register, because of their liminal, ‘otherness’, and their opacity to an audience possibly unfamiliar with foreign tongues. This is particularly appropriate to a spell addressed to a baboon (see te Velde 1988 on the arcane speech of baboons).

<sup>270</sup> This verse is indented to highlight its parallelism to the terminus of the previous verse.

<sup>271</sup> *Wb* 2, 122.20 gives ‘crocodile (lit. drowned one)’ for *mh.w*






cubits’, has magical connotations on two levels. The baboon is a relatively common motif in magical spells (te Velde 1988), representing not only the animal form of the god Thoth (Spiess 1991), but having strong solar associations, due to their propensity to emit loud cries at dawn, as the sun-god resumes his daily journey across the sky, having completed his dangerous nightly journey through the Underworld. The trope of solar re-birth and re-generation is a common one in magical spells and other texts, particularly solar hymns, evoking the power of the sun-god to overcome danger; by association, harnessing that power for magical ends.

The use of the number 7 is also explicitly magical; see above §3.2.2. for other spells utilising this number, and for its associations.

The second and third verses of the Stanza are relative clauses, subordinate to the initial main clause – the first verse – and describe attributes of the ‘baboon of 7 cubits’. The relative marker *nty* is only used at the onset of the second verse of this stanza, although it is understood to govern all three clauses, by ellipsis.

The qualities of the baboon described are similar to those of a god: cf. *The Shipwrecked Sailor* (Blackman 1972: §64-65), although note the slight variations: the baboon has an eye (singular) of gold, whereas deities usually have flesh of gold (see above, Hymn H, IV, 9; §3.1.15.); the references to lips and words of fire/flame are similar to, but not exactly the same as the descriptions of deities.

The use of the phrase *mdt.f nb m nfr* ‘his every word is flame (?)’ seems to invoke some of the mythology of Tefnut, whose associations with serpents and fire has been discussed above (§3.1.4.). The use of *nfr*  ‘flame’, seems unusual, perhaps a *hapax*: this orthography is not listed in the *Wb*, however it is possible that the scribe in fact meant *nsr*  ‘flame’ (*Wb* 2, 335.13-18).

The final verse is addressed to the baboon of 7 cubits, in the imperative; use of the imperative to deities and other divine beings has been discussed above. Leitz (1999: 44, n. 105 ) comments on the unusual use of  as a (probable) determinative of *pri*. Although this determinative is not attested for *pri* (*Wb* 1, 518-525.3), it is a common determinative of words such as *psg* ‘to spit’, and it is possible

that either the scribe became confused in his writing, or that he wanted to convey a level of meaning beyond the usual; that is, a further allusion to Tefnut, whose primordial nature is that of the liquid oral emission of the creator god Atum (Coffin Text Spell 76 (CT II, 4a); 77(CT II, 18e); 331(CT IV, 174f-g)).

This final verse provides the ‘magical’ impetus of the spell: the desired outcome, or goal, of the spell. Without this verse, the rest of the spell has little to distinguish it from hymnic style. The speech-act of saying this line would almost have been illocutionary; certainly it is the linguistic culmination of the spell.

### 3.2.21. Translation and Interpretation of Spell T (Rto. VIII, 5-9)

#### Initial Formula

*ky r* •

Another spell:

#### First Stanza

*bn iw.k hr r.i*

*ink Imn* •

You shall not be on my mouth, because I am Amun.

*ink In-hrt ḥ3w (VIII, 6) nfr* •

I am Onuris, the perfect warrior,

*ink wrw nb ḥps* •

I am the great one, lord of might,

#### Second Stanza

*m irt wn*

*ink Mntw* •

Do not gore(?) , for I am Montu,

*m ir wnwn*

*ink Sth* •

Do not sway, for I am Seth.

*\*m<sup>272</sup> f3 wy.k hr.i (VIII, 7) ink Spd* •

Do not lift your arms against me, for I am Sopdu,

*m ir ph*

*ink šdw* •

Do not approach, for I am the reciter.

#### Third Stanza

*iw n3 nty hrpw bn bsy.s<n>* •

Those who were submerged, they shall not emerge;

*n3 nty bsy bn hrpw.<sn>*°

those who were emerged, <they> shall not submerge;

*iw.w (VIII, 8) ḥ3c m-ḥd hr mt<rw>* •

Whilst they were sent north on the flood,

<sup>272</sup> This is emended from *n f3*, which does not accord with the rest of the stanza, nor can it be a negated subjunctive *sdm.f*, which would take *tm*. The only other possible translation of *n f3* would be 'you have not lifted your arms...', which does not make sense in this stanza.

*mi mtt hr mhyt* •

like the corpses on the flood,

*iw htmw r.w* •

when their mouths were sealed,

*mi htm.tw p3 7 htm* (VIII, 9) ʿ3 •

as the 7 great seals were sealed,

*i.htmw dt* • 𓂏 •

which seal eternally.

### 3.2.22 Commentary on Spell T

This spell, the eleventh in the manuscript, comprises an Initial Formula, followed by three stanzas of incantation. The prosodic structure of this spell seems particularly complex, and it is one of the longer spells in the manuscript (see §4.3.1.).

As is so frequent in this part of the manuscript, the Initial Formula is the simple indexer/introductory marker *ky r*.

The onset of the first verse of the First Stanza seems to be the Late Egyptian negation of the adverbial sentence (Junge 2001: 111-113), however the form ought to be *bn iw.tw.f* (Junge 2001: 111), suggesting that the scribe has conflated the Middle Egyptian *nn iw.f hr r.i* formulation with the Late Egyptian negation, and not quite converted successfully. This clause governs the remainder of the stanza: the clause which completes this verse and the following two verses. The use of marked Late Egyptian forms varies throughout the manuscript (see §4.3.6.). In addition, the use of the negation in the onset of this stanza links it grammatically to the following stanza, which is a series of negative imperatives/injunctives.

The three nominal clauses governed by the *bn iw.k hr r.i* negation are all headed by the first person independent pronoun *ink*. In each case, *ink* has a seated man determinative, despite the fact that in each case, the semantic content would suggest that a divine determinative might be more appropriate: the performer is equated to Amun, Onuris and ‘the great one, lord of might’. There are multiple

examples of these ‘impersonations’, or illocutionary statements in the manuscript, and the use of a divine determinative for the independent pronoun is not consistent.<sup>273</sup> The lack of consistency in the writing of a divine or a human determinative for *ink* in each case may be evidence of multiple redaction of the text, or it may be a repeated scribal error in the copying process. In contrast to this inconsistency, each of the names/epithets *is* determined with the divine falcon, as expected. This disjunction between the pronominal determinative and the titular determinative may be an explicit acknowledgement of the humanity of the performer, and an allusion to the nature of the incantatory power employed here: the performer assimilates the power of the beings mentioned, but does not become divine as a result; however the usage is not standardised enough to draw any conclusions firmly.

Onuris is mentioned a number of times elsewhere in the manuscript, most significantly in Hymn D, II, 3: *ink In-ḥrt nb ḥpš* ‘I am Onuris, lord of strength/might’, providing an intra-textual link between that hymn and this spell.

The Second Stanza of this spell is characterised by the repetition of negated injunctive forms at the onset of each verse; the repetition functions on a morphological, grammatical, phonological and semantic level: The first, second and fourth verses all employ the negated imperative form *m lri*; the third verse has been emended to the same form, since otherwise the form is rather problematic. This stanza shows a great deal of rhetorical structure on a number of levels: each terminus is a nominal statement headed by the first-person independent pronoun *ink*, followed by the name of a god or, in the case of the last verse, a nominalised relative form which functions as a title.<sup>274</sup> The lack of a divine determinative for *ink* in the third verse of this stanza (see above), combined with the choice of a different construction for this verse, suggests that it might function as a ‘transitional verse’ on some level:

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<sup>273</sup> Cf. Hymn D, II, 3; Spell M, VII, 7; Spell N, VII, 7; Spell O, VII, 8; Spell Q, VIII, 1, which all have divine determinatives for *ink*; Spell I, VI, 8; Spell K, VI, 13; Spell L, VII, 1; VII, 2; Spell U, VIII, 12, which do not. The use of determinatives is not consistent even within the bounds of this spell: the examples in the First Stanza do not have divine determinatives; in the Second Stanza, three of the four examples do have divine determinatives, and one (‘I am Sopdu’) does not. Perhaps this indicates that the choice of determinative for *ink* was not of great importance to the copyist.

<sup>274</sup> *šdw*, ‘the Reciter’, is a common epithet/descriptor of Horus, see P. Chester Beatty VII (Gardiner 1935); Ritner (1989: 109) comments on its significance.

the following stanza is far more discursive in tone, and has a pattern of indicative statements forming a narrative, rather than the injunctive mood of the first two stanzas. This shift from the injunctive to the indicative mood occurs just after the ‘transitional verse’.

The Third Stanza of this spell consists of six pairs of verses, with a final ‘transitional verse’ to end the spell. The six pairs are linked through repetition of *iw* at the onset of the first verse in each pair; although *iw* functions in a syntactically different way in each pair, the phonological repetition is evident. Each of the pairs is also semantically linked, as they all refer to the same subject: ‘those who are submerged’, i.e. crocodiles.

The first pair of verses in this stanza is clearly the pivotal utterance of the spell, containing the magical statement of intent. It employs chiasmus, as well as anaphor, and this complexity marks it as the most important statement in the spell. The use of *iw* at the onset of the first verse links this pair to the next two pairs of verses. The repetition of the relative clause *n3 nty* (although of course in the first verse, this is preceded by *iw*), as well as the repetition of *bn*, the Late Egyptian negation, at the head of the terminus of each verse is marked. The chiasmus of the two verbs, *hrpw* and *bsy*<sup>275</sup> contrasts with the repetition, and adds to the complexity

The suffix pronoun *.s* at the end of the first verse has been added in red above the line. The total omission of the same pronoun at the end of the second verse seems to confirm that the scribe is not confident in what he is writing here.

The second verse lacks a verse-point at the end, which Leitz (1999: 44) emends; this is justified on the basis that the end of a column line might provide a reasonable explanation for the (presumably accidental) omission of a verse-point.


The second pair of verses is headed by *iw* acting as a circumstantial marker, whilst providing the phonological repetition which links this pair to the first and third pairs of verses in the stanza. The second and third pairs of verses are further

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<sup>275</sup> For these two verbs and their significance in the initiation of priests, see Kruchten (1989).

linked by the repetition of *mi* at the head of the second verse in each pair. This second pair of verses also uses two different words for the flood, or inundation, to link the termini of each each verse (*mt[rw]/mhyt*: *Wb* II, 174.8-9/*Wb* II, 122.16). In addition, the image of crocodiles being ‘sent north on the flood’, that is, washed downstream by the inundation, links to the simile in the second verse ‘like corpses on the flood’,<sup>276</sup> because crocodiles are only likely to be washed downstream once they are dead.

The third and final pair of verses in this stanza is again headed by *tw*, which links the pair to the previous two pairs on a phonological level. The two verses are paired by the repetition of the verb *htm*, highlighted by the passive forms *htm.w* and *htm.tw*. The number 7, whose significance has been discussed above §3.2.2., recurs in the last verse of this pair.

The last verse of the spell is a ‘transitional verse’; there is no terminal formula. The participle *i.htmw* is dependent on the previous verse for its referent, meaning that this verse is not an independent grammatical unit. This is an example of the Late Egyptian use of the prothetic yod to mark the participial form. *i.htmw*; the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus are not consistently written in Middle or Late Egyptian. The end of the spell is marked by the third occurrence in the manuscript of the symbol  , *grh*, written in red ink (for which see §4.3.4.1.). In this instance, the sign seems to indicate that the next spell is rather out of the ordinary (see §3.2.24.); the previous two instances (II, 3 and IV, 9) seemed to be used to mark the end of an intrusive verse/refrain and the end of an initial formula respectively.

The mythological precedent being invoked here, of the ‘seven great seals’ is unfamiliar to me, except for its presence in the Book of Revelation in the Christian Bible (5:1; see also Schott 1930: 35-42 on P. BM EA 10081 a papyrus from the time of Nectanebo, containing spells to ward off the followers of Seth, and a later version of BD 175, which contains three incantations to ward off demons, each of which has a litany-style incantation to seal various things) but it is clearly a powerful one, using sympathetic magic to seal the mouths of crocodiles in the same way.

<sup>276</sup> Note that this image is a common one in literary tales: *Ipuwer* 2.6-2.7 (Enmarch 2008); *Man and Ba* 64-65 (Faulkner 1956: 23-7).

### 3.2.23. Translation and Interpretation of Spell U (Rto. VIII, 9- IX, 5)

#### First Stanza

*i nm<w> pwy n{t} pt sp sn* •

O that dwarf of the sky, O that dwarf of the sky;

*p3 nm<w> ʿ3 hr* •

the dwarf, great of face,

*k3 3ty hw<sup>c</sup> (VIII, 10) mnty* •

high of back and short of thigh<sup>277</sup>;

#### Second Stanza

*p3 wh3 ʿ3 nty ʃ3<sup>c</sup> m pt dw3t* •

O great pillar which originates in the sky and Duat

*p3 nb n t3 h3t ʿ3t nty htp m iwnw* •

O lord of the great corpse, which rests in Heliopolis,

*p3 nb ʿ3 ʿnh (VIII, 11) nty htp m ddt* •

O great living lord, who rests in Busiris.

#### Third Stanza

*tw.n.k (?) mn n mnt* •

*ʔʔ<sup>278</sup>* Men, born of Menet

*s3w -sw m hrw* •

Guard him in the daytime,

*rs -sw m grh* •

Watch over him in the night,

*mk -sw mi mk.k 3sir m (VIII, 12) imn rn.f* •

Protect him as you protect Osiris, as<sup>279</sup> the one whose name is hidden

*hrw pf n sm3-t3 m iwnw* •

on that day of burial in Heliopolis.

<sup>277</sup> The translation here is very literal, but serves as a reminder of the poetic qualities in these texts.

<sup>278</sup> Unclear; see discussion below.

<sup>279</sup> Presumably this, rather than 'from', in this context; the 'one whose name is hidden' is usually an epithet of the solar god (Assmann 1983b: 203).



#### Fourth Stanza

*ink rw m imt pr n bnw* •

I am the lion in Imet, the house of the Phoenix;

*hprw.k m g3f hr-s3 (IX, 1) khkh* •

Your form is that of the monkey after old age.

#### Fifth Stanza

*mtrt n3 m-dr h3b.k n.i* •

This is a witnessing<sup>280</sup>, since you have written to me,

*iw.tw sndm m Inb-hd* •

when one was seated in Memphis,

*r-dd imi iry.tw n.i (IX, 2) kri n mh gs* •

saying: “Cause to be made for me a shrine of half a cubit”

*iw ntk nhti mh 7* •

although you are a champion (giant?) of 7 cubits,

*iw.i dd n.k nn iw.k rh ʿk r p3 kri n mh gs* •

and I say to you that you will not be able to enter the shrine of half a  
cubit,

*iw (IX, 3) ntk nhti n mh 7* •

because you are a champion (giant?) of 7 cubits!

*iw.k ʿk iw.k htp m-hnw.f* •

And yet, you have entered, and are resting inside it;

*hr hrw.w mw mhyt(?) hm nwn* •

for, so they say, the water of the flood does not know Nun.

#### Sixth Stanza

**(IX, 4)** *p3 kri wn sp sn* •

The shrine is open, the shrine is open,

*p3 nty im.f hr n g3f* •

the one inside it has the face of a monkey.

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<sup>280</sup> This is translated by Leitz (1999: 45) as ‘I (?) testify to this’, who notes (45, n. 114) that Lange does not translate this phrase, and that Borghouts (1978: 90) translates a nominal clause: ‘This is an admonishment (*mtr.t n3*)’. *Wb* II, 172.11-16 gives ‘testimony’ for *mtr.t*; see also the use of the causative form of the word, *smt* in P. Ambras 2. 7-8 (Peet 1930 I: 182), where it seems to be used to describe a legal ‘examination’ concerning a tomb-robbery.

w3ww sp sn ht sp sn •

Woe, woe, fire, fire;

msy rpyt (IX, 5) 3<sup>cc</sup>n •

the (female) statue of a baboon is made (born!)

### 3.2.24. Commentary on Spell U

The twelfth spell in the magical section of the papyrus seems at first to bear little resemblance to the preceding spells, all of which deal with protection from crocodiles. According to the comments of Leitz (1999: 44), the second half of the spell invokes the moon (through the well-understood appearances of Thoth as a baboon, and as a deity associated with the moon), which is the enemy of the crocodile; this comment seems to be made in order to justify the presence of this text in the manuscript.

It is the only spell so far to have neither initial nor terminal formulae of any kind; in fact its beginning and end are not marked or indexed at all by any means (§4.3.2.); in addition it seems to employ a more hymnic style than the spells analysed so far (see §1.4.5.). Certainly it is the most obscure and arcane of the spells so far, making no direct reference to the entity with which it seeks to contend.

It is a long spell, comprising six stanzas, the first of which is addressed to the ‘dwarf of the sky’ *nm(w) nt pt*, whom Malaise (1990: 717) argues may be a form of the dwarf-god Bes who is syncretistically associated with Shu through the iconography of Bes’s plumed headdress. Dasen (1993: 30) comments that the term *nmw*, referring to both human and supernatural dwarves, is found from the Middle Kingdom onwards, mostly in magical and religious texts, and characterises the dwarf described here as achondroplastic. Dwarves are usually manifestations of the solar deity Re in magical texts (Dasen 1993: 46-48), and can have associations with Horus on Horus-cippi. The association of dwarves with Horus, in his incarnation as a healing deity in magical texts, seems to be the most relevant here. P. DeM I (Černý 1978: 9-10) vs. 4,5-7,4 is also an intertextual parallel to some parts of this text.

The First Stanza is an address to the ‘dwarf of the sky’, consisting of a verse in the vocative mood, followed by two dependent verses which describe the characteristics of the dwarf. The first and third verses are framed in parallel terms, with the first verse having the element *sp sn*, meaning that it would have been spoken twice, and the third verse being easily divisible into two elements: *k3 3ty/hw<sup>c</sup> mnty*. The first and second verses both contain the word *nm<w>*, ‘dwarf’, linking them together.

The Second Stanza has much more obvious prosodic patterning than the First, consisting of three verses which have anaphoric onsets and termini, each onset headed by the vocative *p3*, and each terminus headed by the relative marker *nty*. The second and third verse of this stanza are clearly a pair, more closely linked by the anaphora of *p3 nb* at the head of the onset, and of *nty htp* at the head of the onset in each verse. In addition, there is a parallelism between all three verses on a semantic level, with the invocation of ‘the great pillar’, and then the opposing ‘lord of the great corpse’ and the ‘great living lord’, all of which recall the mythemes of Osiris, who was the original king of Egypt, but is also Lord of the Underworld, and whose spine is the *dd* pillar, which separates heaven and earth (see van Dijk 1986: 8). The pairing of Heliopolis and Busiris – both Lower Egyptian cities – in the second and third verses, after the mention of the Duat at the terminus of the first verse, invokes the trope of the solar-Osirian unity of the middle of the night, that is, during the journey through the Duat: Heliopolis has strong solar associations (Kákosy 1976-77: 1112); Busiris has strong Osirid associations, and in Greek accounts, was considered to be the birth-place of Osiris (von Beckerath 1973-75: 883). Although the second and third verses of this stanza are very clearly paired, the first verse acts as a mediator/governing verse to the two: all three verses use forms of the adjective *3*, and the opposition of *pt*, ‘sky’ and *dw3t*, ‘Duat/Underworld’ parallels the opposition of Heliopolis and Busiris in the second and third verses.


The Third Stanza comprises five verses, in the imperative/injunctive mood. The first verse is somewhat obscure, *tw.n.k/tw n.k* seeming to require a verb, or perhaps to be a corrupt writing of *ntk* (Leitz, 1999: 45, n.110), making this a nominal statement: ‘You are Men, born of Menet’. Leitz refers to Lange’s comment (1927: 76), who suggests that *tw* must be the passive ending *.tw*, giving something like

‘Men has been x’d for you’. Leitz also comments unfavourably on Borghouts’ translation (1978: 90): ‘Pay attention (*tw n.k*) <to> NN born of NN’, but this seems rather unfair, as such a restoration/interpretation is not unjustified in the context of the following verses. Given the presence of the *n* after *tw*, it seems most likely that *tw* is a defective writing of *twt* ‘be like, be in agreement with’ (*Wb* V, 256-257.18) which is usually followed by the preposition *n*: *twt n.k mn*, ‘Men is like you’.

The following three verses of the Third Stanza are all headed by imperatives, with the added semantic repetition that the imperatives are all verbs of protection. The second and third verses of the Third Stanza form a clear pair, having precisely the same syntactic structure:

<u>Onset</u>	<u>Terminus</u>
<i>imperative + pronominal object</i>	<i>prepositional phrase</i>
<i>imperative + sw</i>	<i>m + noun: hrw/grh</i>

In addition, the two nouns which fill the final syntactic slot of each verse, *hrw* and *grh*, are in semantic opposition to one another; this highlighting of parallelism and repetition by opposition on a semantic level is a common rhetorical device throughout the manuscript.

The fourth verse of the Third Stanza is linked to the previous pair, by use of the repetition of the imperative form, at the onset, however the terminus is not parallel to the previous pairs’; it is linked to the onset of the verse by the repetition of *mk*, and it refers back to the previous verse by invoking the myth of Osiris. The ‘one whose name is hidden’ is Re (Borghouts 1978: 51-55), or Amun-Re, by syncretistic association – *imn*, written here only as , is of course the verb from which the name of Amun, *imn*, ‘the one who is hidden’ is derived. This is highlighted by the divine determinative of *rn.f*.

The last verse of this stanza is a ‘transitional verse’, grammatically dependent on the previous verse, and serving to tie the end of this stanza to the themes of the previous stanza, by the use of *sm3-t3* – linked to the *h3t 3t*, and by the repetition of Heliopolis, discussed above.

The Fourth Stanza moves into an explicitly first-person narration –the ‘transitional verse’ at the end of the previous stanza marks this transition. The onset of the first verse is paralleled in P. Salt 825, XIV, 4 (Derchain 1965), and it may be worth noting that P. Chester Beatty VII, 3,7 – 4,4 mentions the phoenix in conjunction with a box from Heliopolis (Gardiner, 1935: 58). Belluccio (1993: 26-7) traces the connection between Phoenixes and Heliopolis back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty.

The second verse is addressed to (presumably) the ‘dwarf of the sky’, and compares the dwarf to a ‘monkey after old age’. Leitz (1999: 45) translates *g3fy* ‘guenon’, where the *Wb* V, 155, gives only ‘monkey’, He further suggests that this may be the ‘Grass’ (Vervet) Monkey (*Cercopithecus aethiops*) (1999: 45, n. 113); however the Debrazza guenon (*Cercopithecus neglectus*, of the genus guenon) looks like this:



**Fig. 21.** *Cercopithecus neglectus*

The white beard of this monkey, which suggests old age, may explain Leitz’s suggestion. The same monkey is mentioned in the next spell – see §3.2.25., and of course the connection between baboons and the rising sun are well understood. Whatever this may mean, the use of imagery invoking old age contrasts this verse with the previous, in which the Phoenix, a symbol of rebirth, is used (Belluccio 1993). Certainly this spell is most unlike the spells which precede it on the manuscript.

The Fifth Stanza comprises eight verses, and appears to move into a very different form, which has some similarity to letter-style (the use of *h3b.k n.i* and *r-dd* seem to indicate this; see Bakir 1970: 17-18). This is unparalleled previously in the manuscript,<sup>281</sup> although it is attested in mythological literature, e.g. *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* in which several letters are exchanged by the gods (Gardiner 1935: 8-26).

<sup>281</sup> Although note that there appears to be a variant of this section in the next spell: §3.2.25.

The third verse is headed by the reported speech marker *r-dd*, so common in letters and reports, which marks the terminus of this verse as the beginning to open some sort of aphorism, joke, or humorous comment, and structurally, the repetition of *kri n mh gs* at the end of the fifth verse, contrasted with the repetition of *iw (m)ntk nhti mh 7* in verses four and six, seems to have some rhetorical power, possibly resting in the absurdity of a champion/giant of 7 cubits trying to fit into a shrine of half a cubit. This apparent paradox is paralleled in the last verse of this stanza, in which the ‘water of the flood does not know Nun’.

The penultimate verse of the Fifth Stanza is still addressed to the second person singular audience, possibly the ‘dwarf of the sky’ still, and resolves the issue of the shrine, saying that the addressee has entered and rests inside the shrine.<sup>282</sup> The second verse is the second instance in this papyrus of an ‘Alexandrian footnote’ (see Spell K; §3.2.4.), in which ‘received wisdom’ is referred to, inferring that the phrase which follows is a quote, or at least a well-known idiom. The sense of the phrase ‘the water of the flood does not know Nun’ seems to be that the constituent parts of a divine force do not know that they are divine, which is clearly paradoxical.

There are a number of typically Late Egyptian features in this stanza: the writing of *ntk*, and the use of *rḥ* in the fourth verse, to mean ‘be able to’, rather than its more usual Middle Egyptian meaning of ‘to know’. This stanza may be a feature of multiple redactions of the spell at different period.

The Sixth Stanza of the spell returns to a much more familiar form, comprising four verses, the first two of which are paired by the anaphor of the definite article *p3*. The first verse is also linked to the third verse, since both end with the instruction *sp sn* ‘twice’ (*Wb* III, 437.1-8), and the second verse refers again to the *g3fy* monkey, recalling the Fourth Stanza.

The first and second verses deal with *p3 kri*, ‘the shrine’, and its contents, providing a semantic link between the verses; the third and fourth verses are more in the nature of a gloss on the spell. Leitz (1999: 45, n. 118) points out that the second verse has parallels in both the spell below (Spell 12, *recto* IX, 10) and in Kákosy

<sup>282</sup> The dwarf must be a particularly small one, given that half a cubit is about nine or ten inches. Dasen (1993: 52) comments that dwarves, as divine beings, can be simultaneously small and giant.

(1990: 143, col. A, 9; see §3.2.8. for further discussion of this text) and the word *g3fy* is paralleled in a text inscribed on the Ptolemaic statue discussed by Jelínková-Reymond (1956: 40, l. 90-91; see §3.1.12. for a fuller discussion of this text): ‘the guenon, the guenon, the name of the moon’.

The third verse repeats *sp sn* at the end of both the onset and the terminus, giving a dual structure to both parts of the verse, and to the verse overall. There is a possible (weak) intertextual link here to an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tomb scene caption – the tomb of Neferhotep, TT49, has a scene of mourning women, above which the caption opens:

*imyw (?) sp sn*

*ʿd sp 4*

Woe! Woe!

Safe! Safe! Safe! Safe!

(de Garis Davies 1933: pl. 24; Lüddeckens 1943)

The first word, translated ‘woe’ is ; this is well attested in Middle Egyptian as *imw* (*Wb* I, 77.14-15).

The final verse has the air of a performative utterance designed to accompany the corresponding magical action – the creation of a statue of a baboon.

### 3.2.25. Translation and Interpretation of Spell V (Rto. IX, 5-14)

#### *Initial Formula*

*ky r* •

Another spell:

#### *First Stanza*

*i nty m-hnw hmt*<sup>283</sup> *n Nt* •

O one(s)<sup>284</sup> who are in the womb of Neith,

*m wsh wd*<sup>c</sup> *mdt* •

in the Hall of Judging Cases

*n3 (IX, 6) nbw n p3 rs-nt mh-nt* •

you lords of the *rs-nt* and the *mh-nt*

*im.tn f3 hr.tn {r?} imy m mw* •

you are not to<sup>285</sup> raise your faces {against ?}<sup>286</sup> those who are  
in the water.

#### *Second Stanza*

*wsir hr mw wd3t Hr m-c.f* •

Osiris is on the water; the wedjat-eye of Horus with him.

#### *Third Stanza*

(IX, 7) *mtrt n3 m-dr h3b.k* •

This is a witnessing, after you wrote,

*iw.tw hms m Inb-hd* •

when one was seated in Memphis.

*r-dd imi lry.tw n.i w<sup>c</sup> kri n (IX, 8) mh gs* •

saying: Cause a shrine of half a cubit to be made for me.

#### *Fourth Stanza*

---

<sup>283</sup> Following Leitz's suggestion (1999: pl. 20, n. 5a) for this transliteration and translation.

<sup>284</sup> See commentary for this translation.

<sup>285</sup> The form is somewhat unclear here, see discussion below.

<sup>286</sup> This translation perhaps ought to be amended as indicated, on the basis of parallel texts, and the sense of the statement. See commentary below.



*iw.tw dd n.k p3 s n mh 7 gs* •

It is said to you, the man of 7 ½ cubits,

*i.irw.k k r.f mi ih* •

‘How will you enter it?’

*iw.tw irt.f n.k iw.k htp (IX, 9) im.f* •

It is made for you, and you rest in it.

### *Fifth Stanza*

*m<sup>c</sup>-g3 s3 sth iw wn.f -sw* •

Maga, son of Seth came and open[ed] it,

*ptr.f p3 nty m-hnw.f* •

and he saw the one who was inside it.

*(IX, 10) iw.f m hr n g3f n snw n 3<sup>cc</sup>n* •

He had the face of a monkey, and the hair of a baboon.

### *Sixth Stanza*

*w3ww sp sn sp sn ht sp sn sp sn* •

Woe, woe, woe, woe, fire, fire, fire, fire!

*bn ink i.dd (IX, 11) -sw bn ink i.whm -sw* •

I am not the one who said it, nor did I repeat it.

*m m<sup>c</sup>-g3 s3 sth i.dd -sw ntf i.whm -sw* •

It is Maga, son of Seth who said it and he who repeated it.

### *Terminal Formula*

*(IX, 12) dd-mdw ...* •

Words to be spoken [over two crocodiles?]

*(IX, 13) rs-nt mh-nt mtw.k irt.w iwtm ? -pw* °?

*Rs-nt* and *mh-nt* and you make them ? this ground.

*(IX, 14) ph3y ht n p3 wi3* °?

wooden plank of the ship.

### 3.2.26. Commentary on Spell V

This spell has some of the most idiosyncratic features of any in the manuscript: it is the first and only spell in this manuscript to feature a pseudo-vignette (Terminal Formula, IX, 12), and the final two lines of the spell appear to be intrusive, or at least displaced. It can be divided into six stanzas of incantation, introduced by an Initial Formula, of the commonest type in the manuscript (§1.4.5. and Fig. 1.); there is a Terminal Formula, which is discussed at some length below.

The First Stanza comprises four verses, addressed to the ‘one(s) who are inside the womb of Neith’, considered by Leitz (1999: 46 and n. 120) to be the two crocodiles pictured in the terminal instruction/rubric/vignette. Earlier translations (Roeder 1959; Dasen 1993: 51) consider that the singular *nty* implies that the spell is addressed to the dwarf deity of the previous spell; however this argument does not take into account the semantic implications of the spell (the fourth verse of this stanza, ‘you are not to raise your faces against those who are in the water’), nor the plural *n3 nbw*, and *hr.tn* which follow, nor does it allow for the vignette of the two crocodiles at the end of the spell.

The first three verses of this stanza are an address to the ‘ones inside the womb of Neith’, comprising a vocative-headed verse, a dependent nominal clause, and a further vocative verse, before resolving into the fourth verse, which deploys the *lm.tn f3*, apparently to carry injunctive force. The form is unclear, and seems to be a confusion of the periphrastic negation of the imperative *m trt sdm.f* (Černý-Groll 1975: 356). An injunctive is a speech-act of direct address from the addressor to an addressee; the vocative is also a speech-act of direct address, so that these two styles work well together. Leitz (1999: 46, n. 122) notes that the fourth verse is paralleled in the *Metternichstele*, l. 40 (Sander-Hansen 1956: 31), and in Jelínková-Reymond (1956: 47, l. 101; see §3.1.12. for a fuller discussion of this text), and that on the basis of these parallels, perhaps the *r* is written here in error, and should be omitted, changing the translation to: ‘You are not to raise your faces, you who are in the water’, which seems to make some sense.

The next stanza is just one verse, and it is possible that this verse ought to belong to the previous stanza. Certainly it does not belong to the next stanza, and it seems unusual to have a stanza of just one verse in length. This verse is paralleled in the Metternich Stele (see Sander-Hansen 1956: 30, l. 38) and in the healing statue published by Jelínková-Reymond (1956: 47, l.100), and seems to have a declarative force, by invoking the protection of the wedjat-eye of Horus. In some senses it is a ‘transitional verse’, in others it is almost an illocutionary statement; certainly it has the sense of a ritual pronouncement which accompanies an action or tableau.

The Third Stanza comprises three verses, which show very strong parallels to the first three verses of the fifth stanza of the previous spell:

Spell U, beginning of Stanza 5

(IX, 1) *mtrt n3 m-dr h3b.k n.i*

This is a witnessing, since you have written to me,

*iw.tw snqm m Inb-ḥd*

when one was seated in Memphis,

*r-dd imi try.tw n.i (IX, 2) kri n mh gs*

saying: “Cause to be made for me a shrine of half a cubit”

The slight differences between the relevant parts of the two spells is negligible (the lack of the prepositional phrase *n.i* at the end of the first verse, the use of *snqm / ḥms* in the second verse, the use of *w<sup>c</sup>* in this spell, which is absent in the previous, in the third verse) and it seems clear that the two sections are variants of one another; however, this does not help to shed any light on the unexpected style and content of these verses!

The following stanza, the Fourth in the spell, seems to continue to parallel the previous spell, but more loosely:

Spell U, end of Stanza Five:

*iw (m)ntk nḥti mh 7*

although you are a champion (giant?) of 7 cubits,

*iw.i dd n.k nn iw.k rh ʿk r p3 kri n mh gs*

and I say to you that you will not be able to enter the shrine of

half a cubit,

*iw (IX, 3) (m)ntk nḥti n mh 7*

because you are a champion (giant?) of 7 cubits!

Spell V, Stanza Four:

*iw.tw ḏd n.k p3 s n mh 7 gs*

It is said to you, the man of 7 ½ cubits,

*i.lrw.k ʿk r.f mi iḥ*

‘How will you enter it?’

*iw.tw irt.f n.k iw.k htp (IX, 9) im.f*

It is made for you, so that you may rest in it.

There is a clear semantic parallel between the two stanzas, and it would seem that they both invoke the same mythological precedent, or well-known tale, to make their point: that a man (or even a dwarf) of 7 or 7½ cubits, cannot enter a shrine of ½ cubit, except by magic (see above §3.2.24. for comments on this paradox).

The last two Stanzas of this spell continue to show reasonably strong parallels to the previous spell: in each case, the shrine is entered/opened (in Spell U, by the champion of 7 cubits, in this spell, by Maga son of Seth, who has been discussed above (see n.218): the only off-spring of Seth, and a crocodile, therefore a doubly threatening entity. The ‘face of a monkey (*g3f*)’ recurs in both cases to describe the ‘one who is inside the shrine’, and the repetition of *w3ww* ‘woe’ and *ḥt* ‘fire’ is marked.

The last full Stanza of the spell comprises three verses, beginning with the repetition of ‘woe’ and ‘fire’ – in each case the instruction *sp sn* is written twice, and thus my translation (*contra*. Leitz, 1999: 46, who translates ‘Woe! Woe! Woe! Fire! Fire! Fire!’) reflects this doubled repetition.

The second and third verses of this stanza have the pattern ABAB, that is, the repetition of the clause *i.ḏd –sw* in the onset of each verse, and the repetition of the clause *i.wḥm –sw* in the terminus of each. This parallelism is underlined by the semantic opposition of the two verses: the first denies that the speaker said, or repeated ‘it’, the second assigns the blame to Maga son of Seth, thereby linking this

verse to the previous, by the invocation of this dangerous entity. In addition, the first verse repeats *bn ink* at the head of both the onset and the terminus, and the second uses the Late Egyptian *m* for *in* in a participial statement (Junge 2001: 178) followed by the nominal phrase *m<sup>c</sup>-g<sup>3</sup> s<sup>3</sup> st<sup>h</sup>* in the onset; this phrase is abbreviated to the independent pronoun *ntf* in the terminus, but the pattern is the same.

The second verse of the sixth stanza has a similar phraseology to a phrase in P. Boulaq 6,<sup>287</sup> *verso* I, 4 (Koenig 1981: 119-120); as well as having a marked similarity to a (verse-pointed) phrase in P. Geneva MAH 15274 (see Massart, 1954: 86):

[y <sup>3</sup> sp sn]	Ah, ah!
<i>nn ink</i> [ <i>dd</i> – <i>sn</i> ]	It is not I who [say it]
<i>nn ink whm</i> – <i>sn</i>	It is not I who repeat it.

It is also similar to a phrase in P. Leiden I 348, vs 11, 7 (Borghouts, 1971: 31, 173):

<i>nn ink i.dd</i> – <i>sw hr nn ink i.whm</i> – <i>st</i>
It is not me who says it and it is not me who repeats it
<i>in 3st i.dd</i> – <i>sw nts whm</i> – <i>st</i> [ <i>r</i> ]. <i>tn</i>
It is Isis who says it, she repeats it to you.

For other parallels, including Greek examples of this phrase, see Sauneron (1966: 60, n. 39).

In the Leiden example, Isis replaces Maga, son of Seth in the second part of the phrase; the phrase in the Harris spell employs the Late Egyptian negation *bn*, whereas the other two examples use the Middle Egyptian negation *nn*; the Leiden example uses the Middle Egyptian particle *in* to introduce the first part of the second half of the phrase – *in 3st i.dd* –*sw*, and the Late Egyptian orthography of the independent pronoun (*nts*, written with an *m* prefix) to introduce the second part of the second half. This either shows that there is some point of contact, or form of transmission between the two papyri (which are not closely dated enough to establish which is the earlier, but both date to the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty by palaeography – see §1.3.7., and Borghouts 1971: 5), or that both make use of a formulaic phrase. The Leiden papyrus has a Memphite origin, showing either

<sup>287</sup> P. Boulaq 6 = CGC 58039 A-G, a 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty papyrus, found in the Theban Assasif, under the head of a mummy (Koenig 1981: 5).

transmission of text between these two sites in the Ramesside period, or that the formula had currency at both sites (and possibly more widely still).

The Terminal Formula of the spell is perhaps the most interesting so far encountered. Fortunately it is preserved almost intact on one of the few fragments of this column to be left in the British Museum's collection:



Fig. 22. Spell V, Terminal Formula, *recto* IX, 12.

The two crocodiles, drawn in black ink, are presumably the ‘two who are in the womb of Neith’, referred to in the opening of the spell. They are surrounded by a red inked hieroglyph R24 (Gardiner, 1957: 503)  $\text{𓏏}$ , an emblem of Neith, which can be used ideographically to write her name. Thus on a visual level, the whole symbol is an ideogram of *nty m-hnw hmt n Nt*, ‘you who are inside the womb of Neith’. This binds the closing rubric to the opening verse, creating a linguistic ‘knot’ out of the whole spell. The visual representation encapsulating some or all of the written spell<sup>288</sup> (for which see Eschweiler 1994 *passim*) has a number of parallels in magical texts:

P. Chester Beatty VII, vs. 8 has this image, attached to a spell which is unfortunately too lacunose to interpret (see Gardiner 1935: 65, and n. 5 for a suggestion that the spell may have been directed against fever).



<sup>288</sup> The drawing/pseudo-vignette might also have functioned as a non-verbal instruction to the magician to reproduce the drawing as part of the ritual action accompanying the spell.



**Fig. 23.** P. Chester Beatty VII, verso 8 (Gardiner, 1935: pl. 38A)

P. Leiden I 348, Spell 21, rt 12, 6-7, where the rubric reads: *dd.tw r pn hr twt 2 n dhwtj sšw hr drt n s m ry.t w3d hr n w<sup>c</sup> r hr* ‘this spell is to be recited over two figures of Thoth, drawn on the hand of a man in fresh ink, the face of the one (turned) to the face <of the other>’ (Borghouts’ translation, 1971: 25), is followed by two divine figures turned to face one another:

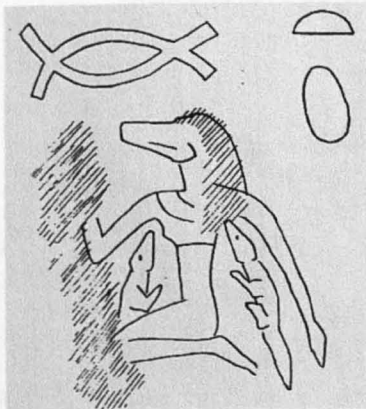


**Fig. 24.** P. Leiden I 348 recto 12, 6-7 (Borghouts 1971: pl.29)

Note that these figures are not significantly larger than the hieratic text, nor are they placed outside of the body of the text as a true vignette.

The last two lines (**IX, 13-14**) of this spell appear to be intrusive, or corrupt; it must be noted of course that line 13 has similarities to the third verse of the First Stanza as it invokes the *rs-nt* and *mḥ-nt*.

Schott (1967) discusses the meaning of *rs-nt* and *mḥ-nt*, citing a Hymn to Osiris from Saïs which states that Osiris is covered with ‘bindings (*mḥ.t*) of *Rs-n.t* and *Mḥ-n.t*’, ‘which the double Sobek (*šbk.wy*) made’. Schott concludes that *Rs-n.t* and *Mḥ-n.t* are buildings or locations associated with the temple of Neith (1967: 99-110). Of course, Neith is well attested as the mother of Sobek (see e.g. PT 510a), and an inscription from Kom Ombo, which reads ‘Neith, who has given birth to her children’, shows her suckling her young, two crocodile-headed gods:



**Fig. 25.** Neith suckling her young, Kom Ombo (Schott 1967: 107)

Neith of course, is associated with crocodiles elsewhere, including a depiction of her kneeling, suckling a crocodile, at Hibis Temple (Leitz 2002: 510-513).

Beyond this link the function of the two lines is unclear; they may be glosses or prescriptions of some sort, or even jottings on the bottom margin of the papyrus, especially in light of the abbreviated length of each of the lines, and the fact that the scribe turns the papyrus at this point to start writing on the *verso*, and begins not only a new column, but also a set of spells with a slightly different focus, as evidenced by the Initial Formulae of the next two spells, which label them explicitly as spells ‘for/of leaving the field’ and ‘for/of the tying of a halfa-grass’.



### 3.2.27. Translation and Interpretation of Spell X (Vs. I, 1- II, 1)

#### Initial Formula

*kt rw* •<sup>289</sup>

Other spells

*n h3<sup>c</sup> sht* •

for/of leaving the field:

#### First Stanza

*ntk iny m r n mniw* •

It is you who is repelled<sup>290</sup> by the spell of the herdsman,

*ʕs Hr sg{3}b m 3ht* •

Horus cries out in the field,

*{mi} k3 dd n3y.f (vs.I, 2) i3wt isk* •

so that<sup>291</sup> his cattle will say: ‘Wait’.

#### Second Stanza

*imi ʕs.tw n.i n 3st t3y.i mwt nfr* •

Have one call for me to Isis, my good mother,

*nbt t3 t3y.i snt* •


and Nephthys, my sister.

#### Third Stanza

*h3<sup>c</sup> n.i s3w* •

May protection be spread<sup>292</sup> for me,

<sup>289</sup> The colour of this verse-point is speculative, based on previous instances of verse-points above text written in red ink.

<sup>290</sup> Borghouts (1978: 50) translates *iny*  in the first verse of this stanza as ‘caught’ which is not unreasonable; *Wb* I, 90.2-91.10 gives ‘to bring, to bring away, to buy’. A more nuanced translation might be ‘It is you who is brought away’ i.e. ‘repelled’.

<sup>291</sup> This verse is problematic. Leitz (1999: 47, n. 129) suggests that *k3* is a particle, and rejects Lange’s suggestion (1927: 88) that *mi k3* is a variant writing of *mk* ‘see’. As written, the *k3* cannot indicate a *k3 sdm.f* construction, since these are not found after *mi*. The reading here assumes that *mi* was written in error by the scribe, and that a *k3 sdm.f* construction was intended.

<sup>292</sup> The meaning of *h3<sup>c</sup>* is problematic. The *Wb* has ‘to desert (something) along the way’ for *h3<sup>c</sup> hr w3t* (*Wb* I, 247.5; III, 228.12); ‘to turn one’s back on, to neglect’ for *h3<sup>c</sup> h3* (*Wb* III, 227.18); ‘discharge’ (medical symptom) for *h3<sup>c</sup>w* with rather different determinatives. In context, some variation of the first meaning seems likely – to leave protection out along a route, to spread protection widely, to ‘cast’ a spell.

r ršy.i (vs.I, 3) mḥt.i \*

to my south and my north,

imntt.i i3btt.i \*

my west and my east.

Fourth Stanza

ḥtm r n m3iw ḥtt<sup>293</sup> \*

May the mouths of lions and hyenas be sealed,

tp n i3wt nb k3 sd sp sn \*

first of all herds who have raised tails (x2!)

nty <ḥr><sup>294</sup> wnm.w (vs.I, 4) m iwf \*

those who eat flesh,

<ḥr>swri.w m snf \*

those who drink blood,

r stwh3.w<sup>295</sup> nḥm sḏmt.w \*

to cause them to retreat and to deprive them of hearing,

dit n.w kkw tm dit n.w ḥd \*

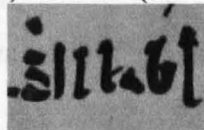
and in order to give them darkness and in order

not to give them light,

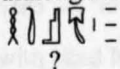
(vs.I, 5) dit n.w trwn tm dit n.w nw \*


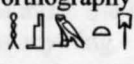
and in order to give them blindness (?)<sup>296</sup> and

<sup>293</sup> Leitz (1999: 47, n. 130) discusses the correct reading of the word ḥtt, arguing that ‘the facsimile by Chabas supports not a reading ḥtmt, but, as also taken by Wb (III, 203, 16), Borghouts and Roeder, a late orthography of the word for ‘hyena’, ḥtt. ḥtmt is most probably to be identified as the bear...’. It is unclear to whose reading Leitz is referring here, as Chabas (1860: 123) and Lange (1927: 89) both





read ‘hyena’. The hieratic appears unambiguous: although in Lange’s transcription (1927: 84) he reads



Wb III, 203.16-17 gives the orthography of ḥtt as  and the orthography of ḥtm.t (‘animal native to Syria (hyena? bear?)’) as , perhaps explaining Lange’s confusion over the third sign in the group.

<sup>294</sup> Unless the scribe has deliberately omitted the ḥr in order to add pluperfect meaning: “those who have eaten”.

<sup>295</sup> See Ritner (1993: 193, n. 890) for this term and parallels.

<sup>296</sup> The word trwn has the orthography  and is only attested here. Wb V, 387. 12-15 gives trm  ‘blink, wink’, which Leitz (1999: 47, n. 132) suggests as a possible root (?) for the hapax. The determinatives are of little assistance; the first seems to incorporate a writing of the

in order not to give them sight,  
*m ḥbsw.i nb m p3 grḥ* •  
 In all my holdings (ploughlands) in the  
 night.

*Fifth Stanza*

*ḥc n.k p3 wnš bin* •

Stand, evil jackal.

(vs.I, 6) *mi di.i iry.k p3 hrw* •

Come, so that I can make you spend the day,

*iw.k snḥ iw bn tf.tw.k* •

being bound, without being able to be released.

*iw<.i> m Hr i.di iry.k -sw* •

because <I> am Horus, who causes that you do it.

*Sixth Stanza*

*t3 pt wn.ti (vs.I, 7) ḥr.k* •

The sky is opened over you,

*wsf Ḥw-rw-n n3y.k šcr* •

Hauron ignores your protests;<sup>297</sup>

*šc.t<w> ḥpš.k n Hry-šfyt* •

Your leg is cut off for<sup>298</sup> Herishef,


*wcwc.ti n c nwt* •

you have been cut down for Anat;

(vs.I, 8) *šmt n ḥmt ḥrp.tw [n?] tbn.k* •

A weapon<sup>299</sup> of copper is aimed [at?] your head.

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verb *wn* ‘to open’, the second is a generalised determinative which can be identified as the ‘forearm with hand holding stick’, Gardiner’s D40. As Gardiner points out, this determinative replaces the  from the Middle Kingdom onwards, and usually has the implication of ‘force, effort’. Neither determinative, therefore, is of much use in narrowing down the meaning of *trwn*; in the context, ‘blindness’ seems as likely as anything.

<sup>297</sup> The translation of *šcr* ‘protests’ seems certain in light of the article cited by Leitz (Seidl, 1967: 134).

<sup>298</sup> contra. Leitz (1999: 48) who reads the preposition *n* as ‘by’. Cf. however the imprecations in the eighth inscription of Ankhtifi at Mo’alla (Willems 1990: 29-30; Doret 1994), in which the links between the threats and the practices of cultic butchery are made clear. The threat is not that the two Canaanite deities will dismember one, but that one will be transformed into cultic meat offerings to these deities.

<sup>299</sup> The word *šm.t* is clearly to be read ‘weapon’ (*Wb* IV, 462.6) (contra. Leitz (1999: 48, n. 136).

*mḥ Hr im.s stḥ r sḏ* •

Horus will seize it, Seth will break [it].

### *Seventh Stanza*

*ḥd ršy mḥt imntt i3btt* •

Travel downstream, south, north, west, east,

*t3 sḥt (vs.I, 9) m-di.k r-dr.s* •

The field belongs to you entirely;

*bn šn<sup>c</sup>.tw.k r.s* •

you are not repelled from it.

### *Eighth Stanza*

*m ir w3ḥ ḥr.k ḥr.i* •

Do not turn your face against me,

*i.irw.k w3ḥ ḥr.k r t3 i3wt n ḥ3st* •

but turn your face toward the herd of the desert.

*m ir (vs.I, 10) dlt ḥr.k r t3y.i mit* •

Do not place your face towards my path,

*i.irw.k dlt ḥr.k r kt* •

but direct your face towards another.

### *Ninth Stanza*

*iw.i stḥ3.k nḥm sḏmt.k* •

I shall make you turn back and lose your hearing,

*dit n.k kkw tm dit (vs.II, 1) ḥḏ* •

and give you darkness and not give (you) light.

*ntk p3 mniw kn Hw-rw-n* •

You are the brave herdsman, Hauron.

*s3[w] ḏd.i s3w* •

‘Protection’, I say, ‘protection’.

## **3.2.28. Commentary on Spell X**

This spell is one of three preserved on the verso of the manuscript. All three spells seem to deal with the dangers posed by predatory animals, other than crocodiles.

Leitz (1999: 47) comments that a foreign origin for the three spells preserved on the verso is likely, in view of the invocation of the Canaanite deities Anat and Hauron; in addition, the third of these spells (“Spell Z”, for which see Schneider 1989) is written in a Canaanite language, transcribed into hieratic.

The first spell, Spell X, opens with a Initial Formula of two verses length. This is slightly longer than the Initial Formulae of the other spells, with the exception of the long Initial Formula of Spell K (see §4.3.1.), and marks the slight shift in focus<sup>300</sup> of the spells on the *verso* of the papyrus. This spell, although it has previously been treated as a single entity, might be a collection of spells, in light of the plural in the Initial Formula, *kt rw*, ‘other spells’. However, in the absence of a Terminal Formula, the *grh* sign to mark the end of a section, a parallel text to show where internal divisions may lie, and in light of the internal coherence of the spell through the repetition of various phrases, I am inclined to treat the spell as a totality for now, and interpret the plural as referring to all three spells of the *verso*. The similarities between this spell and the next are marked, and strongly suggest that the scribe is compiling a compendium of spells with a similar theme or purpose. The inclusion of two such similar spells contiguously must have resulted from a process of collection, collation and copying.

The Initial Formula has been translated in accordance with the translation given by Leitz (1999: 47), although he notes that other scholars have emended the second verse to include a preposition: Borghouts (1978: 50) reads ‘Other spells, to be cast (*h3ʕ*) <over> the field (*sh.t*)’. Leitz comments (47, n. 127) that the restoration of a preposition may be unnecessary, especially in light of the verse in the fifth stanza (*verso* I, 5) ‘in all my holdings in the night’, suggesting that these spells are designed to be recited upon leaving the fields at the end of a day, in order to provide overnight protection from dangerous animals. In light of the specific animals invoked in the spell, this makes sense, since hyenas, jackals and lions are active hunters at night.

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<sup>300</sup> These spells show Canaanite influences, and are seemingly spells to protect grazing animals, or their herdsman from the dangers of predators such as lions and hyenas; the spells on the recto seem for the most part to be spells for protection from crocodiles and animals of the river.

The First Stanza is addressed to an unnamed ‘you’ (second person singular independent pronoun *ntk*); Leitz (1999: 47, n. 128) suggests that this is Hauron, a Canaanite deity,<sup>301</sup> although he is only addressed directly in the last stanza of the spell, and the intervening stanzas address dangerous creatures, exhorting them to retreat and not to ‘turn your face’ to the magician or his path. It is possible that the explicit address to Hauron in the last stanza implies that the first stanza should be similarly understood as an address to this deity, creating a parallelism between the opening and closing stanzas.

The Second Stanza opens with an imperative form, setting up a pattern which will be followed in the next three stanzas, each of which opens with an injunctive/imperative form, with decreasing force (Stanzas Three – Four) until the Fifth Stanza, which reverts to the imperative. In addition, to highlight this patterning of the stanzas, the Second Stanza invokes Isis ‘my mother’, and the terminal verse of the Fifth Stanza states ‘[I] am Horus’ – whose mother is Isis.

This Second Stanza displays parallelism between the two verses; not only are both the terminus of the first verse and the entirety of the first verse governed by the imperative in the onset of the first verse, on a semantic level, by the invocation of the protective dyad of Isis and Nephthys, who are sisters, both by birth and by marriage, and are frequently to be found paired, for example on coffins (Taylor 1989: 9) and extensively in mythology.

The Third Stanza capitalizes on this mythological invocation, and petitions for protection at all the cardinal points. The call for protection in the first verse ties this stanza to the previous one, since Isis and Nephthys are both strongly protective deities (Bergman 1977-79: 192; Graefe 1980-82: 458); the second and third verses

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<sup>301</sup> Although Horus, Isis and Nephthys are addressed in the first two stanzas of the spell; Hauron and Horus seem to have become identified with one another through the similarity of their names and functions; see Albright (1936: 2-4) and van Dijk (1989: 62-3). Albright discusses the nature of Hauron in various sources, and concludes that the primary identification here is of Hauron with Horakhty, or Horus in the Horizon, by means of the parallel that Horus was the enemy of Seth, who was equated with Ba’al in Ugaritic texts, and the enemy of Ba’al was Hauron (1936: 10-11). Certainly the designation of Hauron as a herdsman is unique to the Harris spell; although Hauron seems to have been a chthonic deity of the desert (van Dijk 1989: 62; Stadelmann 1967: 80), and his connection to Horus, specifically Horus-of-the-Desert might better be explained through his iconography in material from the Theban West Bank, particularly amulets from Deir el-Medina (van Dijk 1989: 62-3).

reinforce the association; Isis and Nephthys appear at fixed cardinal points on coffins (the head and foot; Taylor 1989: 9). The second and third verses of course are patterned by opposition, both within each verse (south versus north, west versus east) and are linked together because they each describe an axis of the compass.

The Fourth Stanza opens with an injunctive form, as discussed above. There is a weak parallel between this stanza and the first stanza of Spell I (*recto* VI, 4-5, see above), in which the ‘lord of the gods’ is exhorted to repel the lions at the edge of the desert, as well as the crocodiles on the water and biting snakes.

The meaning of the second verse of this stanza is somewhat unclear; *ibwt* is used of herds or flocks generally (*Wb* I, 29.15-16), and the apparent meaning is that the verse constitutes an epithet to be applied to one of the animals mentioned in the first verse.

Both lions and hyenas raise their tails to balance and to communicate during the hunt<sup>302</sup>, and both animals hunt in packs/herds, a readily observable behaviour, which might explain the verse. This verse is repeated in the next spell; the whole stanza is paralleled in the following spell. This stanza summarizes the immediate goal of the spell – to protect the herds from predators, possibly overnight.

Further support for this interpretation is to be found in the third and fourth verses of this stanza – both lions and hyenas eat flesh and might be considered to ‘drink blood’.

These two verses are patterned in parallel, with a marked relative clause employing *nty* opening the third verse, which also governs *swri.w* at the head of the fourth verse. This parallelism is reinforced by the semantic opposition of the two verbs ‘eat’ and ‘drink’, and the termini of both verses are in parallel, employing the *m* of predication followed by two nouns, *twf*, ‘flesh’ and *snf*, ‘blood’, which have an oppositional force (although of course ‘flesh’ and ‘blood’ are not the only substances of which bodies were comprised.)

The next three verses of this stanza are all similarly patterned on a semantic, and partially on a grammatical level. The first verse sets ‘retreating’ and ‘loss of

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<sup>302</sup> pers. comm. Gavin Opie, Director, Jackalberry Safaris; pers. comm. F. Stratford, Director, Damaraland Lion and Rhino Reserve. Both experts are of the opinion that lions and hyenas do not ‘raise’ their tails to signal their intention to attack, but rather hold their tails away from their bodies primarily to act as a rudder whilst running; however the image of both animals holding their tails away from their bodies when attacking is clearly a potent one.

hearing' in tandem; the verb *nḥm* is employed, which has here the semantic function of being a verb of negation – 'to deprive, to take away'. This is paralleled in the second and third verses by the use of the negative verb *tm* interposed between two opposing concepts in the onset and terminus of each verse – 'darkness' as opposed to 'light' and 'blindness' as opposed to 'sight'.<sup>303</sup>

The final verse of this stanza supports the idea that this spell, and likely the next one, which is very similar to this one, were designed to be recited at night, as the herdsman left the field, to protect his herds overnight.

The Fifth Stanza returns immediately to the imperative voice, which echoes the Second Stanza, and underlines the pattern in stanzas 2-5, that is, each opens with a verb-form imparting some injunctive force, and in each successive stanza the injunctive force is lessened.

The first verse opens with the imperative form of the verb *ḥc*, 'to stand' (*Wb* I, 218.3-219.20). The form seems to be either the imperative, followed by the ethic dative *n.k*, as I have read; it may otherwise be read as a *sḏm.n.f*, 'You have stood'.

The second verse, in parallel to the first, is framed in the imperative, addressed to the *wnš bln* 'the evil jackal'. The phrase *try.k p3 hrw* 'make you spend the day' seems to be in opposition to the previous stanza's mention of *p3 grh*.

The third and fourth verses of this stanza are circumstantial clauses, headed by *tw*. This has the function of making these two verses grammatically dependent on the first two verses.

There is also a parallel between the structure of the third verse and that of the fifth-seventh verses of the previous stanza: each opens with a positive injunction, followed by a negative counterpart:

Stanza 4

'cause to retreat...deprive of hearing'

'give darkness...deprive of light'

'give blindness...deprive of sight'

Stanza 5

'be bound...without being able to be released'.

On a semantic level, this link is apparent.

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<sup>303</sup> For this opposition and the implications of ill health that are encapsulated by the deprivation of light, see Ringgren (1969).



The final verse of the Fifth Stanza contains an illocutionary statement, an identification of the practitioner – ‘[I] am Horus’ (see §4.3.4.1.). This performative utterance, which marks the culmination of the magical force of the spell, marks a point of transition; the following stanza returns to the declarative, caption-style clauses of the First Stanza.

The Sixth Stanza consists of six verses of description; the change from injunctives/imperatives aimed at the dangerous entity/ies to caption-style declarative statements is marked by the previous stanza’s illocutionary statement – ‘I am Horus...’. Each of the six verses describes the measures directed against the malevolent creatures by various entities.

The ‘opening of the sky’ threatened in the first verse is a common trope of mortuary literature, although why it is used here, apparently as a threat, is not clear; perhaps it is used here to mean lightning.

The next three verses invoke the power of the main Canaanite deities invoked in this spell: Hauron, and Anat. Herishef is also invoked; although he is an Egyptian deity with a cult centre at Herakleopolis, he often becomes syncretistically associated with the murderous Canaanite deity Reshef (see Simpson 1983 for the nature of Reshef in magical texts as a ‘powerful killer’), possibly because both gods have strong associations with butchery.

The third and fourth verses of this stanza have a number of repeated phonemes, *š* in the third verse and *w*, or *wʿ* in the fourth. This would have provided some sort of phonetic rhetorical effect.

The final verse of this stanza returns the mythological allusions to the gods of Egypt, invoking the classic opposition of Horus and Seth; although the stanza (and indeed the spell) has made use of Canaanite deities, and their associated mythological force, the return to classical Egyptian mythology suggests that although this source may be Canaanite in origin, it has been integrated and absorbed into the Egyptian canon (van Dijk 1989).

The Seventh Stanza refers back to the Third Stanza by naming the cardinal compass points in the same order. This gives a structure to the spell – there are two stanzas preceding the Third Stanza, which invokes all four compass points, and two

stanzas following the Seventh Stanza, which does likewise. This stanza also returns to the pattern of the Second – Sixth stanzas, because it is framed in the imperative. It is somewhat unclear whom this stanza is addressed to, because it appears to contradict some of the admonitions of previous stanzas, which abjure the presence of dangerous animals and their potency in the fields; this stanza gives free rein over the ‘field’, and explicitly states that ‘you are not repelled from it’. It cannot, therefore, be addressed to any of the dangerous animals named thusfar in the spell, and in light of the structural link to the third stanza, it is possible that this stanza is addressed to ‘Protection’, possibly in the figures of Isis and Nephthys, who are invoked in the second stanza as protective deities. The word used for field is *šht*, which is used in the Initial Formula, but has not yet been used in the body of the incantation (the other words used have been *šht* and *ḥbsw*). Possibly then, the use of this word sheds some light on the meaning of this stanza: it may be addressed to the protective force engendered by the spell, and may be a conjuration to increase the scope and force of the spell itself. In this sense, it may be viewed as a performative statement (see §1.4.4.).

The Eighth Stanza continues in the imperative voice, and forms a counterpoint to the Fourth Stanza (just as the Seventh and Third stanzas are paired; see above paragraph), by the use of the negated imperative (in contrast to the (affirmative) injunctive tone of the Fourth Stanza), and by the mention of *t3 i3wt n ḥ3st* ‘the herd of the desert’, which not only creates a semantic link to the mention of lions and hyenas in the Fourth Stanza, but also employs the same word, *i3wt*, in the second verse as in the second verse of the Fourth Stanza.

The stanza is patterned into two paired statements; in each case, the first verse is framed by the negated imperative *m ir*, and the second verse is headed by a Second Tense imparting injunctive force, marked by the characteristically Late Egyptian prothetic *yod*, in counterpoint to the negated imperative. In addition, the two pairs are strikingly similar, and the use of *w3h* or *dit* in the second syntactical slot pairs the verses:

First Pair:     *m ir*   *w3h*   *ḥr.k*   *ḥr*     *.i*

Second Pair: *m ir*   *dit*   *ḥr.k*   *r*     *t3y.i mi.t*

First Pair: *i.irw.k w3h hr.k r t3 i3wt n h3st*

Second Pair: *i.irw.k dit hr.k r kt*

In addition, viewed this way, it becomes clear that there is an A-B-B-A pattern to the pairs: the terminus of the first verse of the second pair is much longer than the terminus of the second verse of the pair; in contrast to the varying lengths of the termini of the first pair.

The Ninth Stanza of the spell refers back to the Fourth Stanza, completing the pattern of three stanzas (Seven, Eight, and Nine) which refer back to earlier counterparts (Three, and Four), giving the spell an internal structure and resonance. The last two verses of the Ninth Stanza link to the first stanza by naming the ‘herdsman’ as Hauron, establishing the parallel between Hauron and Horus, (see Albright 1936) and more subtly because both stanzas include reported speech marked by the verb *dd*. The final phrase, “Protection’, I say, ‘Protection’”, acts as the realisation of the magical protection outlined in the rest of the incantation.

### 3.2.29. Translation and Interpretation of Spell Y (Vso. II, 1 – 9)

#### Initial Formula

ky r °

Another spell,

n °nb °nbw °

of/for the tying of alfa-grass:

#### First Stanza

°nb.i °nbw n mwt<.i> °<sup>304</sup>(vs.II, 2) Rnnwt hry rdwy.i °

I tied the alfa-grass for <my> mother Renenutet who is under my feet.

Hw-rw-n h3° n.i n sht °

Hauron, drive for me, from the field.

Hr m diyt dg3 °

Horus, do not allow wrong-doing<sup>305</sup>.

#### Second Stanza

tw.i nhbt <m> p3 r-° sšw nfr °

I am provided <with> the perfect spell-document,

(vs.II, 3) i.di p3-R° m drt.i °

which Re has put in my hand,

nty sth3 m3iw r3k3 rmt °

which causes lions to go back, and men to stop (?),

nty sth3 rmt r3k3 m3iw °

which causes men to go back, and lions to stop (?).

#### Third Stanza

štb (vs.II, 4) r n m3iw htmt °

Seal the mouths of lions and hyenas (?)<sup>306</sup>

wnšw tp n i3wt nb k3 sd °

<sup>304</sup> The verse-point here is not noted by Leitz in his transcription (1999: pl. 22), nor in his translation (1999: 48), but it is clearly present on the papyrus (see Plates), although it seems to be misplaced, since it breaks up a relative clause; probably the scribe added a verse-point here because of the line-break.

<sup>305</sup> Taken to be the imperative, with frontal extraposition of Horus, to add emphasis.

<sup>306</sup> See previous spell, n. 293 on the orthography of the word for hyena.

as well as jackals, first of all animals with raised tails,

*nty<hr> wnm.w m iwj* °

those who eat flesh,

*<hr>swrt.w (vs.II, 5) m snf* °

those who drink blood.

#### *Fourth Stanza*

*štb r n hzy* °

Seal the mouth of the *hzy*-animal,

*štb r n bg* °

Seal the mouth of the *bg*-animal

*štb <r n> dprm* °

Seal <the mouth of> the *dprm*-animal

*štb (vs.II, 6) r n t3 ph3t* °

Seal the mouth of the Pakhet.

*štb r n t3 nw* °

Seal the mouth of the (female) one who sees,<sup>307</sup>

*štb r n šhmt nfrt* °

Seal the mouth of Sakhmet the beautiful,

*štb r n t3-wr ʿnh* °

Seal the mouth of the living Ta-wer,

*štb (vs.II, 7) r n rmt p3 bin hr dr.w* °

Seal the mouth of the man, the evil one of all of them,<sup>308</sup>

#### *Fifth Stanza*<sup>309</sup>

*r dl.t gnn ʿwt* °

to cause their limbs to weaken,

*r tm dit hw.w p3y.w lwf* °

to stop them striking their flesh (prey?)

*p3y.w (vs.II, 8) ks* °

and their bones,

<sup>307</sup> Presumably this entity is somehow a parallel to either Sakhmet or the Pakhet. Perhaps a translation of 'the Stalker' might be appropriate here.

<sup>308</sup> Possibly corrupt. The *dr.w* may refer to all the beings who have been mentioned in this stanza.

<sup>309</sup> This stanza (as the next) opens with a phrase which is grammatically dependent on the previous stanza; the division therefore is questionable, and is retained here doubtfully, on the basis that without some division, the single resulting stanza would be abnormally long.

### *Sixth Stanza*

<r> *dit šww r.w* °

<to> cause their mouths to dry up,

*r dit n.w kkw* °

to give them darkness,

*tm di.t n.w ḥd* °

and to refuse them light,

*m ḥbsw.i nb p3 grḥ* °

in all my ploughlands in the night,

### *Seventh Stanza*

*štb (vs.II, 9) ʿ3r-tb h3y* °

Seal ?types of animal?

*ntk p3 mniw kni Ḥw-rw-n3* °

It is you who are the brave herdsman, Hauron,

*s3 dd.t s3* °

‘Protection’, I say, ‘protection’.

### **3.2.30. Commentary on Spell Y**

The second spell on the verso of the papyrus, which is the fifteenth spell in the magical section of the papyrus, bears striking resemblance to the previous spell – there are a number of extended parallel sections, and a number of points of congruence between the two spells; in fact, it might almost be that the two spells are variants or counterparts of the same incantation.

The Initial Formula comprises two parts, although there is no verse-point to separate them; however a comparison to the Initial Formula of the previous spell shows that this may have been an omission on the part of the scribe. The writing in red ink is partially preserved on a fragment of this column in the British Museum:



Fig. 26. Spell Y, Initial Formula, First verse, *verso* II, 1

from which it is reasonably certain that if a verse-point were present after the text written in red ink, it would be apparent on this fragment. The second part/verse of the Initial Formula (it is certainly part of the formula) is paronomasic, using the verb *ʿnb* (*Wb* I, 192.3-4) ‘to close (the mouth)’ in conjunction with the noun *ʿnbw* ‘alfa-grass’ (*Wb* I, 192.1).

This paronomasia is repeated in the onset of the first verse of the First Stanza. Renenutet, mentioned in the first verse, is a protective, cobra-form goddess, associated with the grain-harvest, and often equated with Isis in her role as the mother of Horus, by Atum (Beinlich-Seeber 1983: 233). This parallels the invocation of the two protective female deities, Isis and Nephthys, in the second stanza of the previous spell.

The second and third verses of the First Stanza are addressed to Hauron and Horus, the Canaanite deity being equated here with Horus (see Albright 1936; van Dijk 1989: 62-3; Lilyquist 1994) as he was in the previous spell, in the role of the divine shepherd, or herdsman. There are Ugaritic texts in which Hauron is presented as a god with power over snake-bites and other dangerous animals (van Dijk 1989: 61-2); in this role, his equivalence to Horus is clear.

The opening verse of the Second Stanza is perhaps the most intriguing and significant phrase encountered so far in the papyrus. It appears to provide the metatextual commentary on magical spells that is so sadly lacking in other documents, and provides a statement of belief regarding the efficacy of magical spells as transmitted on papyrus (as distinct from, but of course related to, the efficacy of such spells in oral transmission, or performance).

The assertion that the ‘perfect spell-document’ has been ‘put in my hand’ by Re is perhaps unsurprising; the deceased often claim possession of the requisite knowledge

or perfect speech in their tomb biographies (e.g. the Ramesside tomb-biography of Anhurmoise, High Priest of Onuris, from el-Mashayikh, just north of Abydos, which emphasises his command of ‘all the names of Amun-Re’ and that his ‘voice is free from fault’, Froot 2007: 110;114), and the antiquity and divine origin this would confer on the manuscript would enhance its prestige-value and its efficacy; this kind of archaising and mythologising is not uncommon in Egyptian texts (see for example Coffin Text Spell 577 (CT VI, 193n) – which claims to have been found under the flank of a statue of Anubis; P. Berlin 3038 15/1-5, a 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty text from Saqqara (Wreszinski 1909: v), which claims to originate from Letopolis in the time of King Den. For this tradition carried into the Graeco-Roman period magical handbooks, see Dieleman 2005: 261, 269-270).

The ‘perfect spell-document’, *sšw nfr*, most likely refers to this spell (given the heterogeneous origins of the texts in this manuscript) or possibly to the whole of the Harris Magical Papyrus. Certainly the two verses which follow refer directly to the function of this spell (and the previous spell in the manuscript) - to combat the danger of lions (amongst other dangerous creatures; it is easy to speculate that ‘lions’ stand for all the dangerous animals dealt with in these two spells). See here Ritner’s comments (1993: 196, n. 903) on the parallels to this phrase in P. Lee and P. Geneva MAH 15274. The word *r3k3* is used here (cf. Spell Q; §3.2.15.), and Leitz comments (49, n. 143) on the derivation of the demotic *lg* from this word.

The Third Stanza changes into address mode, appealing to (presumably) Hauron, who is named in the first stanza in the vocative, followed by the imperative: ‘Hauron, drive for me from the field’. This is confirmed in the final stanza, in which Hauron is addressed directly again.

As mentioned above (see previous spell; §3.2.27.), this stanza bears a striking resemblance to the Fourth Stanza of the previous spell. The second verse is identical (with the exception of the first word, *wnš*, which appears to be a continuation of the sense of the previous verse) to the second verse of the corresponding stanza in the previous spell, as are the third and fourth verses (see above for comments on these verses).



The Fourth Stanza is the longest of the spell, comprising eight verses patterned in parallel. Each verse has an identical onset: *štb r n*, ‘Seal the mouth of..’ – the imperative form of the verb followed by the object of the verb, *r*, followed by *n* to introduce the terminus, which in each case names an animal, deity or group of beings; these termini are in parallel because each contains the name of an entity whose ‘mouth is sealed’, i.e. whose potency is opposed, although of course, each terminus is different. This formula also links the whole of this stanza to the the first verse of the previous stanza.

The first three verses name types of animal, all of which were presumably dangerous – the *h3y*-animal, the *bg*-animal and the *dprm*-animal. Leitz suggests some tentative identifications of the first of these, the *h3y*-animal (1999: 49, n. 144); the identities are not pertinent to the rhetorical patterning, nor should they be the focus of this investigation. The entity ‘Pakhet’, *p3ht*, named in the fourth verse is ‘the Scratcher’, well-attested at Speos Artemidos, and an incarnation of the Eye of the Sun, hence associated here with Sakhmet (Leitz 2002: VII, 405; V, 77; VI, 557-558; Smith, M. 1984a: 1083; Verhoeven 1985: 298); ‘the (female) one who sees’ of the fifth verse is named using the participle *nw*, which is a typically Late Egyptian verb. Sakhmet, named in the sixth verse, is well-known for her fiery temper, which threatens humans (Germond 1981), so a protection against her manifestations is not unusual. The seventh verse has ‘the living Ta-wer’ as the entity posing a danger – presumably Taweret, the protective goddess who has the head and body of a hippopotamus, the paws of a lion and the tail of a crocodile, thereby representing a number of dangerous creatures. The final verse of this stanza is perhaps the most surprising: the invocation is against ‘the man, the evil one of faces’. This spell is the only one in this manuscript to invoke magical protection against human agents (in this case, the man is the conduit for the dangerous ‘face’ or ‘gaze’, i.e., the evil eye).

The Fifth Stanza might be conflated with the previous stanza, since it comprises clauses of purpose which are grammatically dependent on the previous stanza – the resumptive suffix pronouns *.w* in each verse refer to the various beings mentioned in that stanza. The same might also be said of the following stanza, which also refers back to the Fourth Stanza in this way. The final verse of the fifth stanza uses ellipsis of the verbal pattern.

The Sixth Stanza comprises several more clauses of purpose which depend grammatically on the fourth stanza for their coreferent – in each case, the suffix pronoun *.w* refers to the various beings mentioned in that stanza. In addition, the second, third and fourth verses are all parallels to clauses in the Fourth Stanza of the previous spell; it is worth noting that in this instance the second and third verses are separated by a verse-point, in the parallel in the previous spell, these two clauses constitute a single verse-pointed unit.

The first verse of the final stanza seems intrusive, and does not fit the pattern of the rest of the verses. The first word seems to be *Stb* again, as in the Fourth Stanza list of animals whose mouths are sealed, so it is possible that this verse represents a summary of the creatures against which the spell is deemed effective. The final two verses are an exact parallel for the last two verses of the previous spell.

In light of the foreign origin of both these spells, and their similarities and parallels, it is tempting to view them as variations on the same spell, or at least very closely related texts. The fact that these two spells are grouped with the Canaanite spell (the final incantation on the papyrus, which is written in a Canaanite language, but in hieratic script, for which see Schneider 1989), and that all three are written on the verso, with all the other magical spells written on the recto, suggests that perhaps they are to be considered as a separate element of the manuscript (as Leitz does).

## 4. Analysis and Conclusions

### 4.1. Introduction

The texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus clearly display a great deal of careful structuring; the deployment of complex rhetorical forms serves to pattern the hymns and spells into tightly organized, harmonious compositions, as the Commentaries to the texts (§3.) illustrate. The instances of scribal error are relatively infrequent, and there is not considerable evidence of erasure and rewriting of the texts, and only one lengthy insertion of omitted text has been made (§3.2.4.). The hand is reasonably fluent and confident (§2.1.4.).

Clearly then, this manuscript is a copy of some kind; whether it represents the redaction of discrete sources to create a single manuscript, or a copy of a unitary source is unclear, but it certainly falls into the sphere of textual transmission of an oral form; the rhetorical structures indicate that the texts belong to an oral tradition.

The analysis of the rhetorical forms, and compositional patterning of the texts is therefore an analysis of both the process of original composition and that of redaction. The physical process of creating the Harris Magical Papyrus seems to be at least partially distinct from this, and an analysis of the traces of the scribal copying processes which are extant in the text allow some reconstruction of the social context in which the papyrus was created (see §1.2.2.); particularly the level of sophistication of the scribe who copied the text. The points at which the scribe refills his pen show that he was scanning the texts as he wrote, and had a good awareness of the structure of the verses (as indicated by the verse-points, see §1.4.3.) of the texts (§4.2.). The relatively few errors and corrections, and the correlation between the errors which do occur and the points where the scribe overlooks the scansion of the texts in his copying supports this (§4.2.4.). Since the scribe must have added the verse-points to the texts after he copied them (see §4.2.3.), and corrected the texts at various points (§4.2.4.) during and after the copying shows that the Harris Magical Papyrus does not represent an artefact of mechanical copying, but rather the work of a highly literate and sophisticated scribe, dealing with complex texts, suggesting a temple, or similar, context for the creation of the manuscript.

The textual unity of the manuscript is also considered, through quantitative assessment of the comparative lengths of the texts and their formulae (§4.3.1.), leading to an analysis of the way in which the texts are ordered in the manuscript, and the overall structure of the document. The contents of the texts are briefly revisited (§4.3.3.) to determine whether a unifying theme exists, and the internal structure of the texts are also considered, in order to demonstrate the multiplicity of structuring and patterning devices which are used to build the complexity of the whole manuscript.

The intertextual parallels which were identified in many of the texts are discussed briefly in terms of what their presence suggests about the manuscript and its place in a socio-cultural context. The display of Middle and Late Egyptian features in various spells is also revisited briefly (§4.3.6.).

## 4.2. Pen refillings: case-studies

Since the hymns and spells of the Harris Magical Papyrus display many rhetorical features and complexity of structure, it is difficult to model a context in which the manuscript would have been created by an apprentice or a low-level scribe with only a basic level of literacy, i.e. one who had received only a school-level education, rather than the professional apprenticeship which seems to have been part of a scribal education (Osing 1997: 131; Quirke 2004: 37). The choice of papyrus as the writing medium, rather than ostrakon suggests that the copy was not intended to be a temporary or disposal one, nor was it a draft (see Donker van Heel and Haring 2003: 2-38). The lack of palimpsest traces makes it clear that clean papyrus was used to write the manuscript; the use of clean papyrus seems to have been more common in the copying of administrative, accounting and funerary texts (Caminos 1986: 49; Parkison & Quirke 1995: 48; §2.1.1.), i.e. texts which were written for posterity, rather than immediacy. Finally, the hand is clear and reasonably consistent throughout, with a few more ligatured groups on the *verso*, which seems to have been written more hurriedly (§2.1.4.).

All of these factors point to the manuscript being created by a scribe who was fully literate, and not an apprentice, and to the copying of the manuscript as a deliberate act of creation of a document intended to be kept, and used, for some time.

A great deal has been written about the level of literacy in Ancient Egypt (see for example, Baines and Eyre 1983; Lesko 1990: 656-67; Quirke 2004: 37-8), and estimates of the numbers of literate people have varied greatly. Literacy is not an absolute state, and a reductive approach to estimating numbers or percentages based on the opposition 'literate' versus 'non-literate' do not take into account the 'grades' of literacy,<sup>310</sup> nor the use of at least two different scripts at any one time (Quirke 2004: 37). Attempts to quantify it in any way are problematic, not least because there is virtually no discourse in the Egyptian record which explores the concept of literacy.

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<sup>310</sup> See here Quirke's model of modern computer literacy as a way of accessing the possible spread of literacy in Egypt (2004: 37-8); the most literate are the most highly trained (temple scribes/computer programmers), but this literacy is functional, rather than socially privileged: the social elite are not the same group as the most literate/highly trained.

The title of 'scribe', which is taken to mean a literate individual, is widespread, and seems not to correlate particularly well with the evidence we do have of literate individuals and their activities.

Peter der Manuelian's approach to refining the definitions of 'literate' and 'illiterate' is based on an examination of grammatical errors created by the erasure of signs in Theban tombs (1999: 286-296) during the reign of Akhenaten; his approach makes it clear that the two poles (literate/non-literate) are not sufficient to encapsulate the range of literacies suggested by the evidence, but that a more nuanced spectrum is required.

The scribe of the Harris Magical Papyrus had a relatively advanced level of literacy; had he not had, it is unlikely he would have been copying the texts on the papyrus. Since the text is verse-pointed throughout, and the verse-points serve to divide the text into meaningful units, usually (but not always) equivalent to clauses, it is instructive to analyse to what extent the scribe was aware of the structure of the texts as he copied: i.e. whether the scansion of the text is reflected in his copying, or whether he copied more mechanically, without much awareness of the rhythm and structure of the text. An awareness of the structure of a text seems to be reflected in the points at which the scribe chooses to refill his pen with ink (Allen 2002: 227-242; Parkinson 2009: 90ff.). Of course, there are practical concerns at work here too. When the pen ran low on ink, so that the writing became faint, it was necessary to recharge it in order to continue writing.<sup>311</sup> If this happened at an inconvenient time, in the middle of a clause for example, the scribe would be constrained by the physical necessity to dip his pen, which would over-ride any natural inclination to refill his pen at the ends of clauses and verses.

The process by which ink was applied to papyrus is reasonably well understood (see Černý 1952 and Parkinson & Quirke 1995), and the paraphernalia of the scribe necessitated him working in a particular way: a moistened reed brush was rubbed onto a cake of solid ink, to pick up a liquid form of the ink (see Parkinson & Quirke 1995: 30-32 for a more thorough description of this); this was then applied to

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<sup>311</sup> Of course, in theory a scribe would have been free to continue writing until the text became illegibly faint; in practice this does not seem to happen.

the papyrus. The fact that the reed brush held variable amounts of ink depending on the amount transferred to the brush with each refill (Parkinson 2009: 90), means that the number of signs<sup>312</sup> written before the ink runs out is variable; it also means that the distribution of the ink on the papyrus is not even and continuous: where the scribe refills his pen/brush from the inks on his palettes is evident, because the following word is written in much darker, denser ink.

#### 4.2.1. Case Study One: Hymn E

The analysis which follows takes one of the shorter texts as a starting point, and shows the methodology used to identify and analyse the points at which the scribe refills his pen, and the correlation between these pen refillings and the structure of the verses (as indicated by the verse-points, see §1.4.3.). Two longer texts are then treated in the same fashion, one hymnic, and one magical, in order to see if the pattern of pen refilling and its correlation to the verse structure of the text has any consistency through the manuscript.



Because of the partial preservation of the papyrus, (see the reconstruction of the damaged parts of the papyrus, §Appendix 1.), particularly *recto* VII-IX and corresponding *verso* columns I-II, it would be meaningless to attempt to analyse the pen refillings on any of the magical spells preserved on these fragments, and the loss of the last three pages of the papyrus makes analysis of the entirety of the manuscript highly problematic. Thus the texts chosen are taken from the well preserved columns of the papyrus.

To begin, Hymn E (III, 3 – III, 5; §3.1.9.) is considered; this hymn provides a useful first case-study because it contains both red and black ink in the text, a correction in red ink, and red verse-points. When writing a text in two or more colours of ink, the scribe normally used two or more brushes (Parkinson & Quirke 1995: 32), one for each colour, rather than washing his brush and changing the ink colour during his writing. Thus each colour of ink (in this case, black and red) ought to have its own schedule of pen refillings. Since there is little evidence that the

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<sup>312</sup> Note that Allen (2002: 227, n. 1; see §1.3.2.) considers that the number of strokes rather than the number of signs written between refillings of the pen is the most pertinent factor.

scribe left blank spaces for the text written in red ink<sup>313</sup>, it seems that he switched pens during the writing process, rather than writing in black, then returning to fill in spaces in red. The process of verse-pointing the text might be done at the same time as the scribe was writing the black and red text, in which case, the schedule of pen-refillings evident in the text written in red ink ought to encompass the pen refillings in the verse-points. If the verse-points are added to the text once it is complete, then the verse-points will have their own schedule of refillings, which will bear no resemblance to that of the text in red ink. The few corrections to the text, added above the line, in red ink, must have been added after the text was written; establishing whether the corrections were done at the same time as the verse-points were added would be informative, as it would suggest that as the scribe scans the text to discern verse-structure, he is at the same time reading the text for errors.

Each of the five verses of this hymn begins with a red-inked sign, , *i*, the vocative 'O'. Looking at all five examples, plus the correction in red at the start of line 5 of the column (the sign  is written to the right of the main body of the text here, clearly as a correction; see Plate 6), it is clear that the scribe has freshly refilled the pen with red ink before the first sign (III, 3), and does not refill the red pen again until the rubric at the start of the next section of text – in fact, the last sign to be written with this pen-full, the correction *i* at the start of the fifth column line, is extremely faint indeed (see below).

However, it is much harder to make out the pen-dips in the black inked text of this hymn. There is a pen refilling (A) at the start of the last verse of the previous section/hymn, and possibly another a few signs later (B):

<sup>313</sup> In fact, in cases such as the formulae of Spell K (§3.2.3.) and the terminal formula of Spell I (§3.2.1.), all of which are lengthy, and in the case of the second formula, written in both red and black ink, the red ink fits too perfectly into the text to have been added later into a space. Cf. §3.2.8., the parallel text to this spell, published by Kákosy (1990), in which a blank space is left, which might have contained the Terminal Formula, which would have been written in red ink; in that case, the scribe seems to have written the text in black first, then intended to add in the sections of text in red ink. In the case of the Harris Magical Papyrus, the text in red ink, primarily formulae, fits into the flow of the lines, and there is no sign that the scribe wrote in black first, then returned to fill in the text in red ink. For other examples of texts where a space has been left for text in red ink, and the text has not been added, or has been added in such a way that it does not fill the space adequately, see Černý's examples of Books of the Dead; 1952: 28) and two of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees published by Edwards (1960 I: xvii) which have blanks left before the names of the deities, which should have been filled with the word *dd* once the oracle had been given.



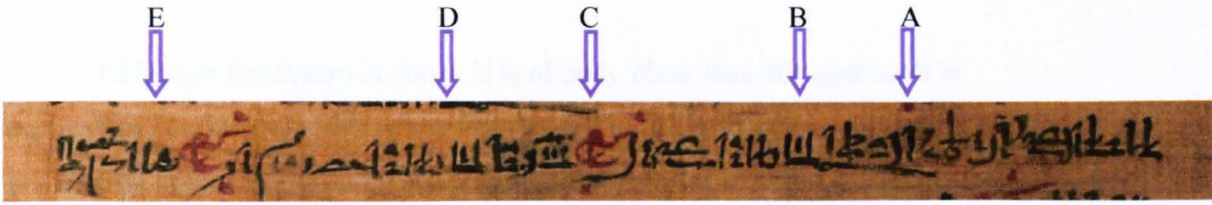


Fig. 27. Hymn E, *recto* III, 3

After the red-inked sign at the start of Hymn E, (C), the ink seems to be darker than before the red inked sign which marks the beginning of the text, and the scribe seems to have partially refilled his pen. After the *p* of *-pwy*, (D) the ink seems to fade, although certain signs are darker, e.g. *ir* and the slightly darker *d* sign of *dt.f*. There may be a partial refilling at the start of the second verse (E).

This ink lasts the length of the second verse, only beginning to fade at the beginning of the fourth column line (F):

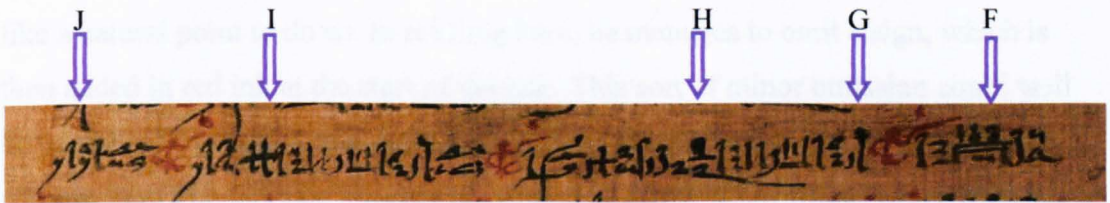


Fig. 28. Hymn E, *recto* III, 4

The scribe waits to refill, though, until the beginning of the third verse (G), although he clearly does not load his pen very much, as he has to dip again half-way through this verse (H). This pen-full lasts until more than halfway through the fourth verse, before seeming to dry up, whereupon the scribe refills (I). This dip lasts until the end of the column line, although looking at the ink at the end of the column line, which is still relatively dense (J), and the width of the lines produced by the freshly refilled brush at the start of the next column line (K, below), it seems that the refill may have been prompted more by the start of a new column line than by necessity. This pen-full lasts until the end of the section/hymn (L):



Although this hymn is short, it is already clear that this approach is worthwhile. In three of the five verses, the scribe has refilled his pen before starting to write the text of the verse in black ink; after the third of these, he refills again in the middle of the verse because his ink is starting to run low too quickly. He refills the pen more thoroughly this time, and the next refill occurs in the middle of the fourth verse – these two dips, although not at the beginning of verse, occur in similar parts of the verse, suggesting that the scribe is refilling rhythmically, taking approximately the same amount of time to write each verse. This would suggest his skill and experience.

The last pen-refilling is perhaps the most significant of all. The scribe begins a new column line halfway through the last verse, and although his pen is still relatively full of ink, he refills, perhaps because the movement to a new line feels like a natural point to do so. In refilling here, he manages to omit a sign, which is then added in red ink at the start of the line. This sort of minor omission could well be explained by the break in concentration occasioned by the movement to a new column line. The fact that an error is associated with a pen refilling which does not correspond to the beginning of a new verse may be significant, but further data are required; this case-study establishes a methodology for analysis of further texts to support this hypothesis.

#### **4.2.2. Case Study Two: Hymn F and Spell I**

Having established the methodology, Hymn F (§3.1.11.-12.) and Spell I (§3.2.1.-2.) are treated in the same way, and the results of this analysis presented below, and discussed in detail. This hymn and spell were chosen because the first contains points at which the scribe has omitted a sign or phrase, which has been added to the text later, and the second contains a lengthy Terminal Formula written in red and black ink.

**Hymn F** in transliteration and translation, with pen-dips marked thus: <sup>314</sup> or |? when uncertain:

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<sup>314</sup> For this formatting and presentation, I have used as a model Parkinson (2009: 280-322).

*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 they existed in the sky,

**(III,6)** |*nn wn.w.tn m t3* •

while you did not exist on the earth,

|*iw nn wn.w šw šd.tn* •

when there was no light, you illuminated.

*Second Stanza*

|*mi {n.n} n.i* |*wdʕ.tn n.i itrw* •

Come {to us} 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* •

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 šd t3 m 3bdw* •

as the land in Abydos was illuminated,

|*mi htm.tw* |*? r n kt n ʕnt ʕnstrt* •

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

sealed

|*t3 ntrt (III,9) |2 ʕ3.yt* •

The two great goddesses,

|*nty |twr nn msi.sn* •

who were pregnant without giving birth.

*|h̄tm.sn m Hr •*

They were sealed by Horus,

*sn{t}.sn m Sth •*

They were opened by Seth.

*|n3 (III,10) nty m t3 pt i.lrt s3.tn •*

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

After the text in red ink at the onset of the First Stanza, the scribe dips his black ink pen ready to begin writing the text; this is not unexpected.

The next pen refilling occurs at the start of the next verse, followed by a refilling just after the *iw* at the beginning of the third verse – perhaps because *iw* was such a common introductory word, and the scribe wrote it without thinking, before reloading his pen ready to write a new verse. This refilling lasts rather a long time, and he does not refill again until the beginning of the fifth verse (the last verse of the first stanza), despite the new column line; this refilling is not particularly dark, and the ink fades quite quickly towards the end of this verse.

The next pen refilling comes at the start of the Second Stanza, and the following one is at the start of the second verse of the Second Stanza. He may possibly refill again at the start of the new column line (III,7), to write *nty.f*, although the ink is not particularly dense here, so he may have partially refilled the pen, or remoistened it.

The Third Stanza seems to be a little less neat at the beginning: although the scribe refills his pen at the start of the stanza, he does not refill again at the start of the second verse, but he does refill in order to write the determinative of *h̄tm.tn*, <sup>Q</sup>. This pattern is paralleled in the fifth verse of this stanza, which is almost directly below this line as the column is set out.

The scribe seems to refill again in this second verse, just before *nb.tn*, which may account for the omission of the suffix pronoun *.tn* after *r*, which is later added in red ink above the line; this happens again at the end of this verse – the same suffix

pronoun is omitted, after the same word (*r*), and this happens just as the scribe refills his pen, perhaps explaining the error.

The next refill is at the start of the third verse of the third stanza, and the scribe refills again at the start of the fourth verse of the stanza. Once again, he does not refill his pen at the start of the new column line but waits until the start of the fourth verse.

In the fourth verse the determinative of *shd* <sup>Ṛ</sup> seems to have been erased and re-written immediately, causing it to appear blurred and fainter, giving the impression of a pen refilling at this point; comparing the relative density of the ink in the signs preceding and following the determinative of *shd*, it seems that there is little difference – it is only the determinative that is fainter.

The scribe then refills again at the start of verse five of the stanza, and then appears to refill before writing the determinative of *htm.tw* (in the same fashion as noted above). He refills again before writing *ṅstrt*, but then does not refill at the start of the sixth verse, but waits until the end of the column line to refill – perhaps because the pen is well-loaded with ink, and the movement to a new column line prompts him to refill.

In the seventh verse of the Third Stanza he seems to refill twice – after *nty*, and then again after *twr*, however the verse shows traces of a palimpsest – with the exception of *nn* in the centre, making the original pen-refillings hard to determine. He then refills at the start of the eighth verse of this stanza, and then finally refills again at the start of the final verse of the hymn – again, refilling a few signs before the start of the new column line, rather than at the end of the line. The refill at the start of the final verse of the hymn lasts until the end of the hymn.

Generally speaking, the scribe is showing a marked preference for refilling his pen at the beginning of each verse; only once does he refill at the beginning of a new column line *in preference to* the beginning of a verse. Of seventeen verses, the scribe refills his pen at, or very near to the beginning of twelve verses. In two cases where he does not refill his pen at the start of a verse, it is because the pen is still full enough with ink, and in one case, he refills at the start of a new column, partway through a verse.

In the other two instances where the pen refillings do not coincide with the beginning of a verse (i.e. just after a verse-point), the verse shows scribal error: in the first case the scribe omits two pronouns, and in the second, the palimpsest traces suggest that he erased and rewrote much of the verse.

These results strongly suggest that the scribe feels the rhythm of the text, and is aware of the verse structuring. Where he does not show such awareness of the structuring, he also seems more likely to make mistakes.

**Spell I** in transliteration and translation, with pen-dips marked as above:

*First Stanza*

|mi -rk n.i                      h3 nb nṯrw °

Come to me, o lord of the gods

|hsf.k n.i    (VI, 5)    m3iw hr mrw °

Repel for me the lions of the edge of the desert,

|mshw hr itrw °

the crocodiles on the river

|r-ddft nbt psht m tpht.sn °

all biting snakes in their holes;

*Second Stanza*

|h3.k m<sup>c</sup>-g3 s3 Sth °

You get back, Maga, son of Seth,

(VI, 6) |nn hnw.k    m sd.k °

you shall not disturb the water with your tail

|nn mh.k    m ʿwy.k °

you shall not seize with your arms

nn wn.k                      r.k °

you shall not open your mouth.

*Third Stanza*

|hprw p3 mw                                      m hh n ht r-h3t.k °

May the water become a blast of fire before you,

*|db<sup>c</sup> n p3 77 n ntr (VI, 7) m irt.k* •

the finger of the seventy-seven gods in your eye

*|iw.k snh.ti |n n<sup>c</sup>yt wrt n Wsir* •

whilst you are bound to the great mooring-post of Osiris

*iw.k snh.ti n |t3 4 shnt n w3d-šm<sup>c</sup>t* •

whilst you are bound to the 4 posts of *w3d-šm<sup>c</sup>t*

*imy (VI, 8) |h3t wl3 n R<sup>c</sup>* •

which are at the front of the bark of Re.

#### *Fourth Stanza*

*|i.<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup> n.k M-<sup>c</sup>-g3 s3 Sth* •

Stop, Maga, son of Seth,

*|mk ink Imn k3 mwt.f* •

See – I am Amun, bull of his mother,

#### *Terminal Formula*

*|dd-mdw <hr> twt n |Imn (VI, 9) 4 hr <hr> nhb w<sup>c</sup>* •

Words to be spoken <over> an image of Amun, with 4 heads/faces on one  
neck

*|sšw hr s3tw* •

drawn upon the earth

*msh hr rdwy.f* •

with a crocodile under his feet

*hmnyw <hr> wnmy.f l3btt.f* •

the Ogdoad <on> his right and left,

*|hr irt n.f l3wt* •

giving him adoration.

This spell begins with a very regular pattern of pen-refilling. The scribe refills his pen at the start of the spell, and again before starting each verse, until the last verse of the Second Stanza. The third verse of the Second Stanza is relatively short, and therefore the scribe does not need to refill his pen to write both the third and fourth verses. It should be noted that in the case of the beginning of the second verse of the Second Stanza, the pen refilling coincides with the beginning of a new

column line – at the beginning of the previous column line (VI, 5), the scribe has not refilled his pen, as this line break falls within a verse.

The next pen refilling is at the start of the Third Stanza, followed by refillings at the beginning of the second and third verses of this stanza. In the middle of the third verse, the scribe refills again just before writing the sign *n* – this, on some levels, supports the reading of this verse given in the commentary to the spell (§3.2.2.); the scribe perhaps pauses at the natural break in the verse.

This refilling is particularly intriguing, suggesting that the scribe might have been aware that the next verse will have the same onset, causing his to pause after the first instance of writing the repeated phrase, and refill there because his pen is running low on ink, and because the rhythm of the verse suggests it.

He does the same in the following verse, this time refilling *after* the natural break point in the middle of the verse, before writing *tʃ*. He does not refill at the start of the final verse of the Third Stanza, preferring instead to dip at the start of the new column line (VI, 8).

In the Fourth Stanza, he refills his pen at the start of both the verses.

The Terminal Formula opens in red ink, and the red pen has clearly been freshly refilled before the scribe starts writing, unsurprisingly; he seems to also refill the black pen before reverting to it at the end of the first verse, and again, apparently is not prompted to refill by the line break (VI, 9) which falls soon after this refilling. He refills the red pen again before use, at the start of the second verse of the Terminal Formula, but this dip is enough to last through this verse and the next. The penultimate verse of the spell opens in black ink, but it does not appear that the scribe has refilled his black pen at this juncture, preferring instead to write the few signs in black ink with the remains of the ink left from the previous refilling. When he swaps to the red pen partway through this verse, he does not refill; instead he refills the red pen at the start of the final verse, and again uses the black pen without refilling to write the final few signs of the spell.

Once again, the scribe shows a marked inclination to refill his pen(s) at the start of verses: of twenty verses, the refillings fall at the start of fifteen verses. Of



five column line-breaks, only one causes the scribe to refill his pen partway through a verse. Once he becomes a little less regular in his pen-refilling, in a pair of verses which show a marked parallelism of onsets; perhaps indicating that the scribe is reading ahead of his copying, and so anticipates the way that the verses fall into two parts. In the other three cases where the refillings do not fall at the start of verses, it seems as if the brevity of the verses explains the pattern.

Most significantly, in the Terminal Formula, the scribe does not refill his red pen in the fourth verse, despite having written the previous signs in black ink, but waits until the beginning of the final verse to refill this pen. Clearly, he is aware of the verse-structure here.

Although of course this analysis is based on just two case-study texts within the papyrus, since it is impractical to attempt to analyse the pen-dips throughout the papyrus, it seems reasonably clear that the scribe has a marked tendency to re-fill his pen with ink at the beginning of a verse (or, to phrase it another way, after he finishes writing the previous verse).

In the two examples above, in which the ink refillings are analysed, there are a total of 37 verses, and in 27 of these cases the scribe refills his pen at the start of each verse. There are a total of 39 pen refillings over these two sections of text. There are 2 cases in which the pen-dip is delayed until the line break which occurs during the verse, 1 case where the scribe dips immediately after the initial particle *tw* (which has been taken as equivalent to refilling at the start of a verse), 5 cases in which the verse is short enough not to require re-filling of the pen before it is written, leaving only 3 cases in which the scribe dips other than at the commencement of a verse; in two of these three cases the lack of pen refilling at the start of the verse is accompanied by a scribal error, and in the third case, the scribe has marked the internal rhythm of the verse, rather than the verse itself.

On the whole though, the scribe seems to have had an awareness of the clausal/verse structure of what he was copying. He seems to have understood where verses began and ended (which, given that it is unknown whether he was copying from a verse-pointed text(s), is possibly very significant for issues of the scribe's level of sophistication in literacy), and to have paced his writing accordingly. In

certain cases, he seems to have had an understanding of the patterning of a pair of verses (third and fourth verses of third stanza of spell); in other cases, pen-dipping other than at the end of one verse/beginning of the next seems to have caused him to make small errors (second verse of third stanza of hymn, above).

Lastly, there is only one instance in which the scribe does not refill his pen at the start of a new stanza: the beginning of the Fourth Stanza of Hymn F. In that instance, the scribe refills a few signs into the verse, at the beginning of a new column line instead. This goes some way towards supporting the division of these texts into stanzas.

#### 4.2.3. Case Study Three: Verse-points

The function of verse-points has been debated by many Egyptologists (see §1.3.2.); in this study, the verse-points have been taken as indicators of the division of the texts into meaningful, rhythmically discrete units of text (verses), which often equate to clauses (see §1.4.3.). The analysis of the pen refillings in the hymns and spells (§4.2.1.-2.) shows that the scribe copying the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus seems to have been aware of these divisions whilst he was copying the texts.

The deployment of verse-points can also be analysed according to the methodology applied to the hymns and the spell above.

A comparison of the two analyses should prove whether verse-pointing was done as the text was copied (i.e. a verse-point was added as each verse was completed), or whether it was added in after each text was complete, or whether the entire text was verse-pointed continuously at the end of the copying.

#### Hymn E (§3.1.9.):

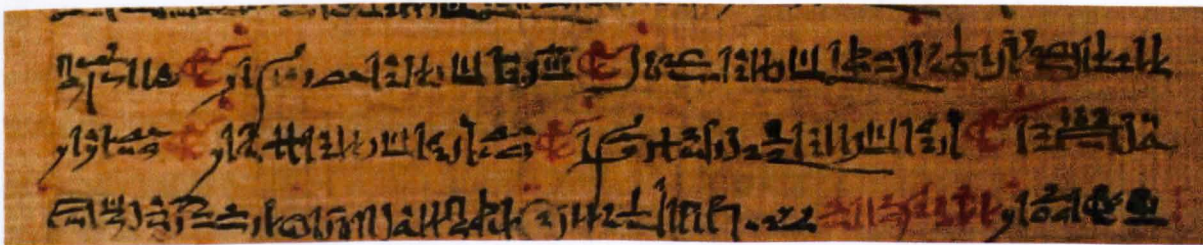


Fig. 29. Hymn E, *recto* III, 3-5

As has already been observed (§4.2.1.), the scribe dips his pen into the red ink in order to write the first sign of the text – the vocative *i*, ‘O’, (III, 3) and the steadily decreasing density of the red ink in each subsequent writing of the sign, at the onset of each verse of this hymn shows that he does not re-fill the red pen until the beginning of the rubric of the following hymn (III, 5). This is most clearly demonstrated by the comparison of the correction at the beginning of line 5 – the *i* of *imn* is added in faint red ink – with the bold red ink of the first few signs of *ind-ḥr.tn* which opens the next hymn.

Examining the red verse-points above the line, it is clear that the refilling of the pen used to write these verse-points does not correspond to the refilling of the pen used to write the red hieratic signs: again, this is most evident towards the end of Hymn E; the penultimate verse-point (III, 4) is far darker than the *i* which immediately follows it, and the next verse-point, the last of this hymn’ (III, 5) seems considerably less well-inked than the first signs of the rubric which immediately follow it.

Since it would seem unusual for the scribe to have simultaneously used two pens for writing in red ink, one for writing the text in red ink, and one to add verse-points, these two processes must have been carried out at different times, probably using the same pen. Since it seems clear that the scribe alternated between the black and red pens as he wrote the text (see above §4.2.1.), rather than writing all of the text in black ink and leaving spaces for the sections in red ink, and did not also use the red pen to add in verse-points as he wrote, he must have returned to the text later to add the verse-points.

This model is supported by the occasions in the text where the verse-points are slightly displaced; in several instances they lie above the determinative of the last word, rather than after it, in some cases they precede the determinative entirely. Were the scribe to write a single verse in black ink, then add a verse-point in red, it is extremely unlikely that he would displace his verse-points thus:



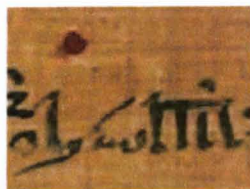


Fig. 30. Hymn B (§3.1.3.), *recto* I, 2.

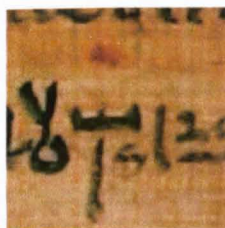


Fig. 31. Hymn G (§3.1.13.), *recto* IV, 7

#### 4.2.4. Corrections in red ink

Since it is clear that verse-points are added to the text after it is written, rather than being added during the writing process,<sup>315</sup> there is only one other set of instances of red ink in the manuscript which must be analysed: the corrections and insertions.

The most logical model would postulate that these are added to the text at the same time as the verse-points are added; as the scribe scans the text, marking it into discrete units, he might notice omissions, and emend them as he verse-points.

There are only nine instances of omitted signs or phrases being added into the texts of the first six columns, and they are not absolutely diagnostic, except in one case, which seems very clear-cut.

The first emendation is in the first *recto* column, line 3, where the suffix pronoun *f* is added below the line. The verse-point here lies almost directly above the correction, and looks rather darker than the ink of the correction:

---

<sup>315</sup> Since the pen refillings of the text written in red ink do not accord with the refillings evident in the verse-points, and since there is a schedule discernable for each, it is reasonably certain that the verse-points were added across the entirety of the text after it had been written. This also accords with the fluency of the hand. It is not clear whether the scribe was copying from a verse-pointed master copy/copies, so that the schedule of pen-refillings shows he was scanning these verse-points as he copied, or whether he is responsible for adding them to the text, i.e. that he is mentally scanning the structure as he writes.



Fig. 32. Hymn B (§3.1.3.) *recto* I, 3

This would seem to suggest that this correction was not made immediately before the verse-point was added, and seems unlikely to have been added immediately after the verse-point was made.

The second and third corrections are found in *recto* column II, lines 5 and 6. The verse-points which precede and follow both of these emendations could have been made at the same time as the emendation was made:

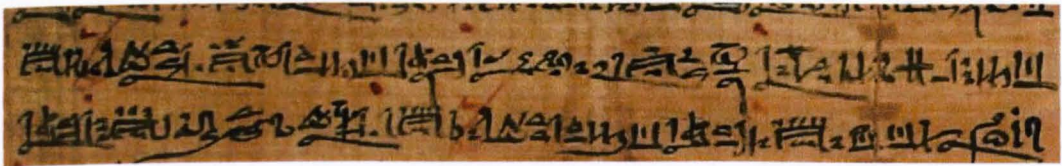


Fig. 33. Hymn D (§3.1.7.), *recto* II, 5-6

After the third correction, the verse-point indicates that the scribe has refilled his pen.

The first correction to *recto* column III has already been mentioned (§4.2.1.); the scribe adds *i* in the margin to the right of the column, line 5. This correction does not seem to have been made immediately after the verse-point which precedes it (at the end of the previous column line):



Fig. 34. Hymn E (§3.1.9.), *recto* III, 4-5

The verse point at the end of III, 4 is much darker than the emendation, and it seems extremely unlikely that these two instances of red ink were added to the text at the same time.



The fifth and sixth corrections are also both in *recto* column III, line 7:

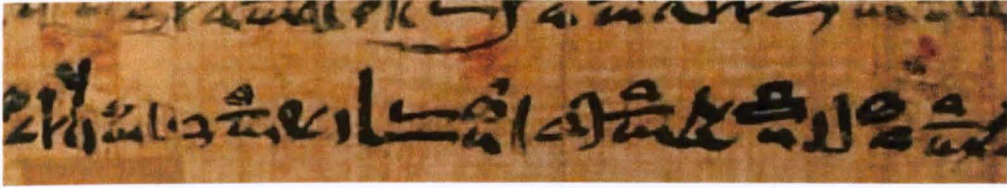


Fig. 35. Hymn F (§3.1.11.), *recto* III, 7

These corrections could have been made at the same time as the verse-points which precede and follow them, although the loss of most of the second example in a small lacuna makes the analysis problematic.

The fourth *recto* column has one correction in red ink, in line 9, where *m* is added above a sign (note that the emendation is slightly displaced here, see §3.1.16.). Comparing the density of the ink of the correction with the density of ink of the verse-points immediately before and after the correction, it is difficult to be certain, but it seems plausible that these three elements were written at the same time:<sup>316</sup>

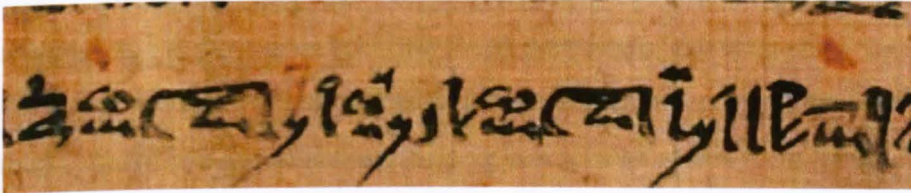


Fig. 36. Hymn H (§3.1.15.), *recto* IV, 9

There are no corrections or emendations on *recto* column V.

The last two corrections both occur on *recto* column VI, and must have been written at the same time as one another, since the first, in line 12, marks the position of the line to be inserted, the beginning of which is indicated by the same mark – the second of the emendations on this column:

<sup>316</sup> Note that it is expected that verse-points would appear slightly darker than signs written at the same time; making a verse-point with a brush allows more ink to be deposited on the papyrus than writing a stroke does.



Fig. 37. Spell K (§3.2.3.), *recto* VI, 12-13

In this case, the verse-points and the two red crosses might have been written at the same time, although it is difficult to be certain.

The correction at **III, 5** provides the most suggestive evidence to show that corrections were not made by the scribe at the same time as the verse-points. Of course, there is no reason why the scribe should have added the corrections in a formalised order, and it is entirely conceivable that some errors would have been noticed by him as he verse-pointed the text, and that some might have been noticed before or after this process was completed.

These corrections, which seem to have been made after the text was completed, i.e. during, or after the verse-pointing of the text, show clearly that the scribe did not edit the text mechanically; whether he verse-pointed throughout, and then ‘proof-read’ for mistakes, making corrections at this time, or whether the two processes were more simultaneous, the scribe’s literacy is sophisticated enough to allow him to identify and correct relatively minor errors.

### 4.3. Textual Unity?

Since the Harris Magical Papyrus seems to be a compendium of texts, which can be grouped into two general styles, hymns (texts B-H) and magical spells (texts I-Z), it is pertinent to consider the process by which the manuscript was assembled.

As discussed (§1.1.; §1.4.5.), the hymns and spells display different features, which has been used in this analysis to distinguish between these two types; the following analysis investigates the coherence of the manuscript as a textual unity, and observes the system by which the texts have been ordered and copied. The first part of this analysis is quantitative: investigating the extent to which the relative lengths of the texts in the order in which they are preserved on the papyrus is indicative of a systematic presentation.

#### 4.3.1. Quantitative Analysis

The hymnic section (texts B-H) comprises fewer texts than the magical section (texts I-Z), despite the fact that each section takes up roughly half the papyrus – the first five *recto* columns consists of hymns, as well as the first three and a half lines of the sixth *recto* column; there are five full columns of spells, as well as the remainder of col. VI and the lines of the third verso column.

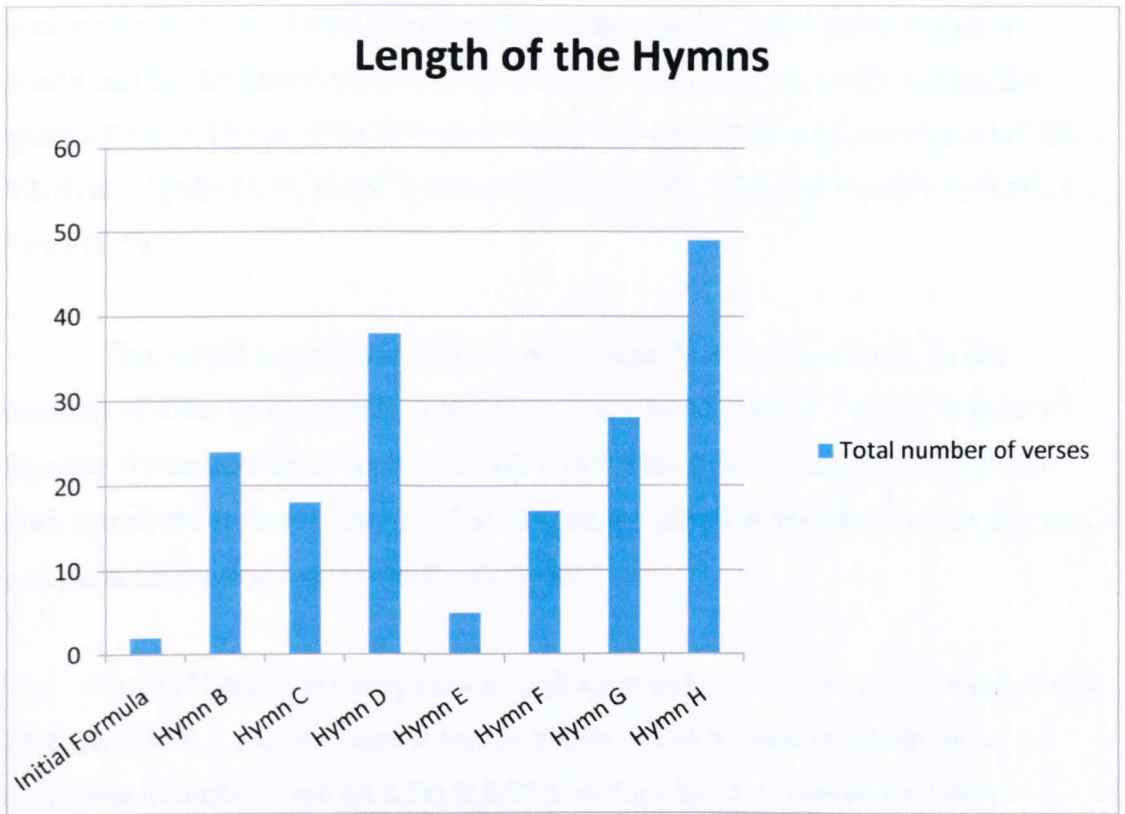
In fact, there is only a difference of a few column lines between the two sections – the hymnic sections comprises 55 full column lines<sup>317</sup> plus two partial lines (the first line of the first *recto* column, which is not full-length, and the last line of the hymnic section, VI, 4, of which part is magical); the magical section 58 full column lines plus six partial lines (the second half of VI,4, and the line added at the end of this column; the partial line at the end of column IX plus the two lines added in underneath, and the very short line at the end of the third verso column).

A comparison of the number of verses of each text in each section of the papyrus – hymnic and magical – shows that the texts have not been strictly grouped according to length:

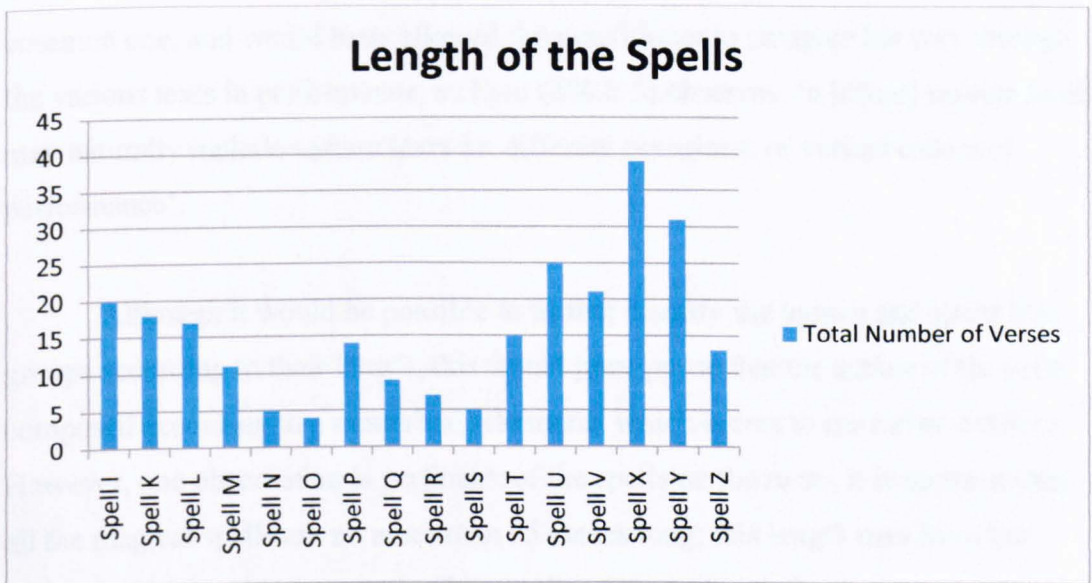
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<sup>317</sup> I.e. lines which stretch the full width of the column, rather than those which are abbreviated or finish partway across the column.





**Fig. 38.** Lengths of the texts in the Hymnic section of the papyrus



**Fig. 39.** Lengths of the texts in the Magical section of the papyrus

In both sections, it does seem as if the longer texts are collected towards the end of the section; Hymns G and H are the third-longest and longest hymns respectively, and together make up nearly half of the total length (in verses) of this

section; Spells U, V, X and Y are the four longest spells, and together make up nearly half the length (in verses) of the magical section. In terms of the physical space taken up, Hymns G and H cover nearly two and a half columns (*recto* III, 10 – VI, 4) and Spells U, V, X and Y cover approximately 3 full columns (*recto* VIII, 9 – *verso* II, 9).

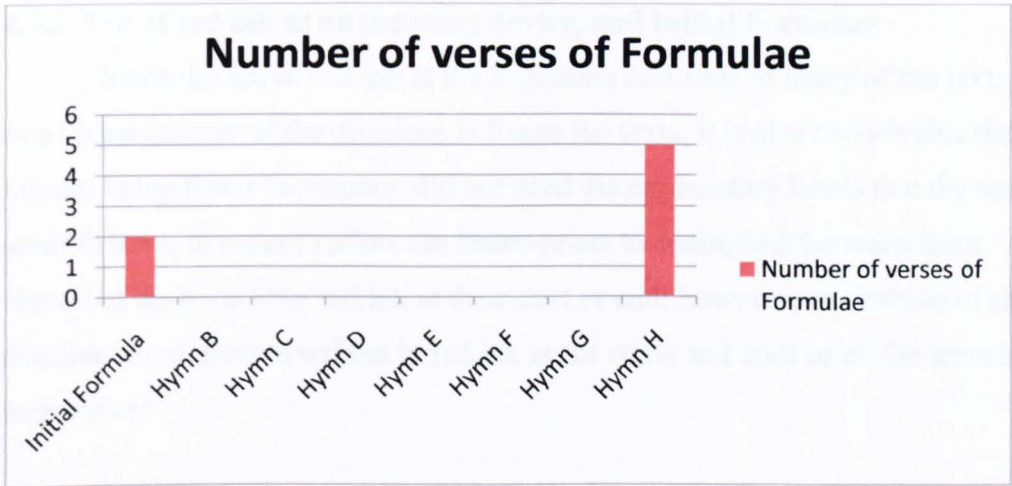
This would not necessarily have much significance, were it not for the contents of these texts: Hymns G and H are both found at Hibis Temple in the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (in variant form, but recognisably still related; see §3.1.14; 3.1.16.), and both hymns are solar in character, focusing on the physical manifestation of the sun, and the solar theology of Amun-Re-Horakhty.

Spells U and V are very similar, and seem to be variations of one another (see §3.2.24; 3.2.26.), and the same is true of Spells X and Y, both of which show Canaanite influences (see §3.2.28; 3.2.30.), as does Spell Z (Schneider 1989).

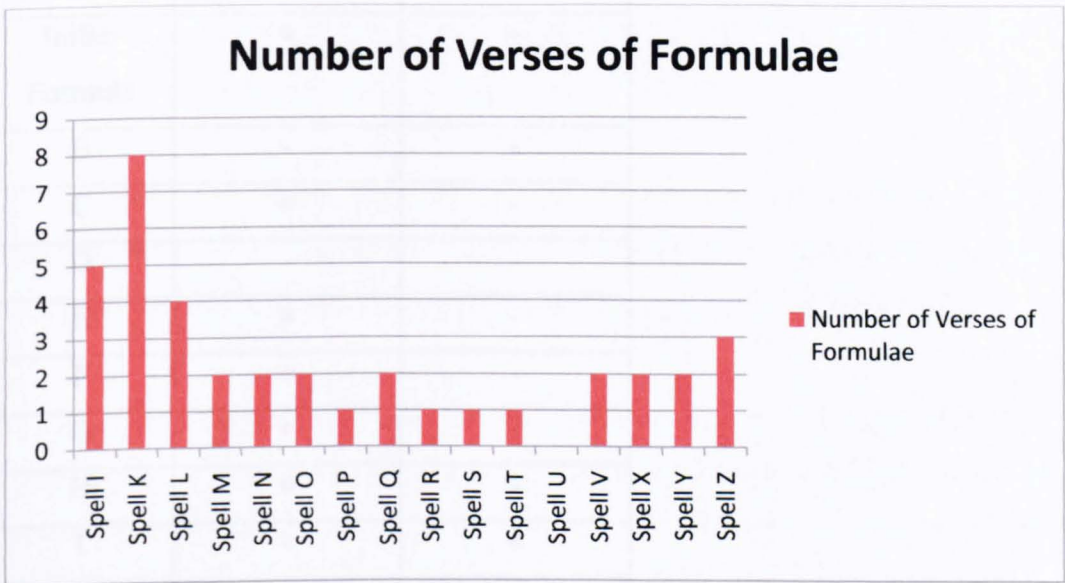
This suggests that the texts which had variants were collected at the end of each section; it seems likely that this method of organising the texts was a relatively common one, and would have allowed the practitioner to navigate his way through the various texts in performance; as Eyre (2002: 5) observes, ‘a [ritual] service-book may naturally include variant texts for different occasions, or variant orders of performance’.

Although it would be possible to further classify the hymns and spells into groups according to their length, this would presuppose that the author of the texts composed according to a numerical schematic, which seems to me rather unlikely. However, one observation is pertinent: of the spells on the *recto*, it is apparent that all the magical spells are no more than 25 verses long; this length may have had something to do with the nature of the spells: they deal with the dangers from crocodiles, and therefore may have needed to be performed quickly (to ward off imminent danger, or in order to assure a safe passage across the Nile without holding up the herdsmen too much).

The starting point for the classification of the texts into two ‘speech-styles’ was the presence or absence of Initial and Terminal Formulae (see §1.4.5.). This differentiation is now considered in more detail:



**Fig. 40.** Total Lengths of the Initial and Terminal Formulae in the Hymnic Section



**Fig. 41.** Total lengths of the Initial and Terminal Formulae in the Magical Section

Representing the data visually, the disparity between the two sections, hymnic and magical, is immediately apparent.

However, as discussed briefly in §1.4.5., classification of the spells according to this criterion would be rather mechanistic; in addition, it is possible that there is a practical, rather than formal, reason for the lack of Initial Formulae in the Hymnic

section: there are fewer hymns, therefore it is less necessary to provide headings, or labels, for each text.

**4.3.2. Use of red ink as an indexing device, and Initial Formulae**

Since the use of red ink at the beginning and ends of many of the texts serves as a visual indexer of the divisions between the texts, it is also conceivable that the hymns, being fewer in number, did not need the explanatory labels that the spells seem to have, in order to allow the lector-priest to distinguish between them. Not all of the texts have red ink at their start or end; however, an analysis of the distribution of phrases written in red ink at the starts and ends of all the texts is instructive:

<b>Text</b>	<b>Red Ink at Start</b>	<b>Red Ink at End</b>
Initial Formula	•	-
B	-	-
C	•	-
D	-	-
E	•	-
F	•	-
G	•	-
H	•	-
I	-	•
K	•	•
L	•	•
M	•	•
N	•	•
O	•	•
P	•	-
Q	•	-
R	•	-
S	•	-



T	•	-
U	-	-
V	•	•
X	•	-
Y	•	-

**Fig. 42.** Distribution of text written in red ink

Only Hymns B and D, and Spell U entirely lack any red ink to mark where they begin and end; Hymn B immediately follows the Initial Formula (I, 1), which is written in red ink at the onset of the first verse (see §3.1.1.), which is not only a brief section, but is written on its own column line, so that Hymn B is distinguished from the Initial Formula by being on a new column line.

Hymn D, which is the second longest hymn, is not marked by red ink at the start or end; there is no red ink at the end of Hymn C, meaning that in practice it would be difficult to distinguish between the two hymns.

Spell U is also not marked by red ink at the start or end, nor is the end of Spell T marked by text in red ink, but the *grh* sign is written at the end of that spell, which would also have served as a visual marker of the start of Spell U.

This reasonably consistent use of red ink as an indexer suggests that the papyrus was deliberately written in such a way as to allow a practitioner to access the individual texts separately, but the contents of the Initial Formulae should be considered, to discover whether the texts were discrete, and simply gathered onto the papyrus for archival purposes, or whether they represent discrete units of a whole ritual.

The Introductory Text A (I, 1; §3.1.1.) with which the scribe begins the manuscript has implications for the textual unity of the whole document. With the exception of the Initial Formulae of Spells K and X, it is the only initial formula/introductory text which refers to *rw* ‘spells’, suggesting that it governs more than one text. If the entirety of the manuscript is meant by *rw*, this implies that the whole manuscript was conceived of as a ritual text, with variant individual texts,

or sections of the ritual, whose function was to ‘drive off the ones who are immersed’.

There is no equivalent ‘overall’ introductory text at the beginning of the magical section; indeed the first magical spell, Spell I (VI, 4-9; §3.2.1.) does not have any Initial Formula at all.

When the Introductory Text A (I, 1; §3.1.1.) is compared to the Initial Formula of Spell K (VI, 10; §3.2.3.), it seems that there is a similarity between the two:

**(Introductory Text A)**

*r.w nfr.w n ḥsy*

The perfect spells to be sung,

*nty šhr p3 mḥw*

which drive off the ones who are immersed.

**(Initial Formula of Spell K)**

*r tpy n šḥsy m mw nb,*

First spell of all the water-spells.

Both formulae refer to more than one ‘spell’, and both suggest the intended functional context of the texts – they are labels to tell the practitioner that the spells are for use on water.

As noted above, Spell I (§3.2.1.), the first of the magical spells, does not have an Initial Formula, nor is it marked by the use of red ink at the start, and the atypical length of the Initial and Terminal Formulae of Spell K (see §4.3.1.), considered together with the contents of the Initial Formula, which seems to explicitly mark this spell as the ‘first spell’ in a collection (see §3.2.4.) all suggest that Spell K has been displaced in the process of redaction or copying, and should originally have been the first of the magical spells. Whether this happened during the creation of the Harris Magical Papyrus, so that the manuscript would represent an artefact of redaction, or whether it had happened previously is not clear.



Considering the manuscript this way makes a certain amount of sense: the texts begin with an Introductory Text, which serves as a title and label for the entire document; the beginning of the magical section of the papyrus is marked by a spell which has a particularly lengthy Initial and Terminal Formula, so that the spells could easily be found on the papyrus, and the content of the Initial Formula of Spell K would confirm to the practitioner that it was indeed the ‘first’ of the magical spells.

The Initial Formula of Spell X (§3.2.27.) also seems to have a similar function; it refers to *rw*, ‘spells’, and refers to the context in which the spells are to be performed: ‘the field’:

*kt rw*

Other spells

*n ḥ3<sup>c</sup> sht*

for/of leaving the field:

This, coupled with the placement of this spell and the following one, on the *verso* of the papyrus, as well as the unusual length of both these spells (see above §4.3.1.), and the fact that all three spells on the *verso* display non-native Egyptian influences suggest that this Initial Formula might serve to mark off another section of the papyrus.

#### 4.3.3. Contents of the texts

One approach to establishing to what extent the manuscript represents a textual unity is to examine the content of each of the texts, and see if a common purpose can be divined.

The Harris Magical Papyrus has always been characterised as comprising a number of hymns and spells (Leitz 1999: 1; Lange 1927: 8-9), and Lange comments (1927: 9) that a common purpose unites the texts B-V (his text designations are equivalent to those used here).

The first two hymns, B and C (§3.1.3.; §3.1.5.) are both addressed to Shu, as the ‘heir of Re’. They both open with the phrase *ind-ḥr.k*, ‘hail to you’, and go on to outline the divine qualities of Shu.

The third hymn, D, (§3.1.7.) is a litany, addressed to Shu.

The fourth hymn, E, (§3.1.9.) is a hymn addressed to Sepa, a funerary deity, associated with the Nile.

The fifth hymn, F, (§3.1.11.) is ostensibly a hymn addressed to ‘five gods’ (see §3.1.12.), but the Second and Third Stanzas seem to be framed as magical spells to ward off crocodiles: they use injunctive forms, and invoke the mythologically powerful precedent of Seth causing miscarriage to protect against the existence of Maga, son of Seth, who embodies the danger of crocodiles.

The sixth and seventh hymns, G and H, (§3.1.13; §3.1.15.) are both hymns to Amun, invoking his protection, the first in his syncretistic form of Amun-Re-Horakhty, and the second invoking the various different aspects of the solar-creator.

The majority of the magical spells are relatively clearly marked as spells to combat the danger of crocodiles, or other dangerous water-creatures. The prevalence of references to Maga, son of Seth is marked (see §3.2.2. and n.218). Some spells (e.g. N and O; §3.2.9; §3.2.11.) are too short to be certain about; others, such as Spell P (§3.2.13.), may be the incantation to accompany a performance, or performative tableaux (see §3.2.14.), or may be addressed to snakes rather than crocodiles (e.g. Spell R, see §3.2.18., and note Fischer-Elfert’s interpretation of the spell as a solar hymn (1998), which of course does not exclude the possibility that this text was deployed for other usages).

Spell U (§3.2.23. - 24.) seems to be somewhat anomalous in a number of ways; not only does it not have an Initial or Terminal Formula (see §1.4.5.) but it is longer than any of the other spells on the *recto* (see §4.3.1.); however it also displays some marked similarities to Spell V, which follows it (§3.2.25.), which is more obviously addressed to crocodiles.

Spells X and Y, as discussed above (§4.3.2.) seem to form a slightly separate set of spells; they have their own Initial Formula, at the start of Spell X, which indicates that their context of usage was in the fields, rather than associated with the



water, and they are both on the *verso* of the papyrus, and both have non-native Egyptian influences apparent in the invocations to Canaanite deities. They are followed by the final magical spell, which is written in hieratic, but which seems to be Canaanite (see Schneider 1989).

Overall, the manuscript therefore seems to constitute a series of hymns and invocations to deities, and a series of magical spells which had the function of repelling or protecting against dangerous animals, particularly crocodiles. The presence of these texts in a single manuscript suggests that they constituted some form of ‘ritual service book’ (Eyre 2002: 5), which could constitute one long ritual, episodic in structure, and which contained variants for use in different contexts, or on different occasions.

#### **4.3.4. Structure of the texts**

From the analysis above, and from the commentary on the texts (§3.), it seems clear that the individual texts, and the arrangement of texts contained in the Harris Magical Papyrus were composed and copied in a carefully patterned and structured way; this complexity has been discussed in the commentary, and the overall structure of certain texts has been considered in the commentaries, but a somewhat more thorough analysis is needed. The commentaries have analysed the internal structure of the stanzas of each text – showing how the verses are patterned into stanzas, and sometimes pointing out links between stanzas, but the overall shape of each text should be more carefully considered, in order to highlight the variety of patterns and structures deployed within the manuscript.

The Introductory Text A (§3.1.1.) is an introductory heading, and so is too short to have any significant internal structure.

As has been discussed (§4.3.3.), its position at the beginning of the manuscript may have implications for the textual unity of the manuscript; the hymnic texts do not all display such immediate application to the stated aim of the Introductory Text A, ‘to drive off the ones who are immersed’ as the magical texts do. There are exceptions; certain phrases in Hymns F and G, seem to have magical potential, and refer to driving off or protecting against crocodiles:

‘Come <to us> to me, that you may part the river for me,

and so that you may seal the one who is in it;  
 Those who are submerged, you shall not penetrate,  
 may you seal your mouths, and hold fast your mouths’

Hymn F, *recto* III, 6-7

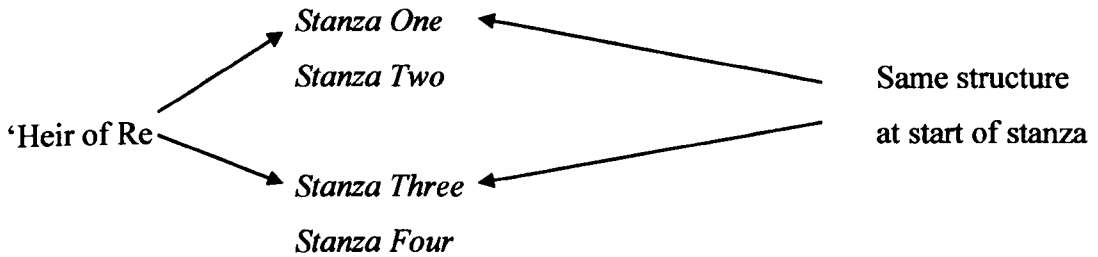
‘Words to be recited upon water and/or upon land’

Hymn G, *recto* IV, 1

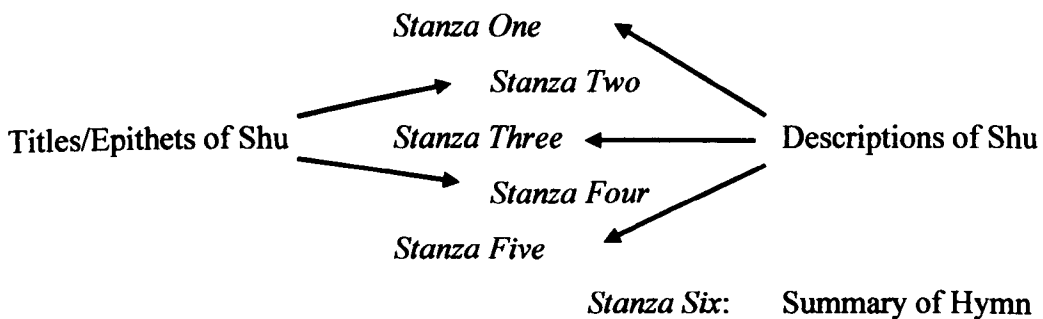
‘Come to me Reveller (?), lord, l.p.h. of the gods,  
 May you overthrow for me every evil,  
 any wild thing which is upon the river’

Hymn G, *recto* IV, 6-7

Hymn B (§3.1.3.), comprises four stanzas, the first and third of which are patterned in parallel at the starts, having a subject, named or described in the first verse(s), whose attributes are then further explored in the following verses. The Third Stanza returns to a description of the ‘heir of Re’, linking this stanza with the First Stanza on a semantic level, binding the spell on a structural level



Hymn C (§3.1.5.) has a slightly simpler overall structure, which can be considered as ABABAC: the First, Third, and Fifth Stanzas (A) are all description of the ‘son of Re’ (Shu) mentioned in the first verse, and the Second and Fourth Stanzas (B) give titles and epithets of Shu. The final stanza continues the same themes, and is not significantly different in style to the rest of the hymn, and seems to summarise the basic import of the hymn.



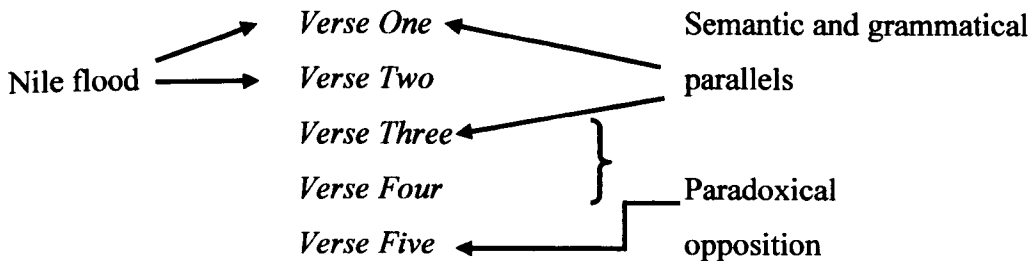
Hymn D has a very clearly defined structure, which does not vary through the hymn – with the exception of the Second Stanza, which seems to be intrusive, or to function as a refrain (see §3.1.8.). The other eighteen stanzas all comprise two verses, the first addressed to Shu, usually employing the second person singular form of address, and the second using the formula ‘in this your name of...’.

This gives a clear structure and rhythmical pacing to the hymn, and the structure suggests that this hymn is a litany.

Hymn E (§3.1.9.), in contrast to the preceding section, is rather abbreviated; nonetheless, there is a structure to the five verses which gives the hymn shape.

The first and third verses show semantic parallelism, as both deal with the trope of one who creates himself; this is highlighted by the similarity of the grammatical structure of these verses.

Verses three and four are linked by paradoxical opposition (see §3.1.10.), which is summarised in the fifth verse; the first and second verses are both concerned with the creative potential of the Nile, and the first and fifth verses are linked through the parallelism of self-creation versus creation of one’s own father.



Hymn F (§3.1.11.) comprises four stanzas, the first and last of which are patterned in parallel:

Each addresses the deities (‘O five gods’/’O two great goddesses’) in the first verse, followed by a relative clause in the second verse (headed by the participle *l.pry*/headed by the relative particle *nty*), and finally three dependent clauses (verses), each of which adds further information about the deities.

The middle two stanzas are of uneven length, but are linked on a stylistic level by their more magical tone, the use of imperatives and injunctives, and on a semantic level by the trope of protection from ‘those who are submerged’, i.e. crocodiles.

*Stanza One:* Initial verse

Relative clause

Dependent Verses

*Stanza Two*

*Stanza Three*

}

More magical character; use of imperatives and injunctives.

*Stanza Four:* Initial verse

Relative clause

Dependent clauses

Hymn G (§3.1.13.) has a complex structure, which functions on a number of levels. The hymn comprises five stanzas, of similar length, and is addressed to Amun-Re-Horakhty.

The first three stanzas have a very similar structure, consisting of an introductory verse, giving a title which describes an aspect of the syncretistic Amun-Re-Horakhty, followed by five further verses, which explore that aspect in more detail.

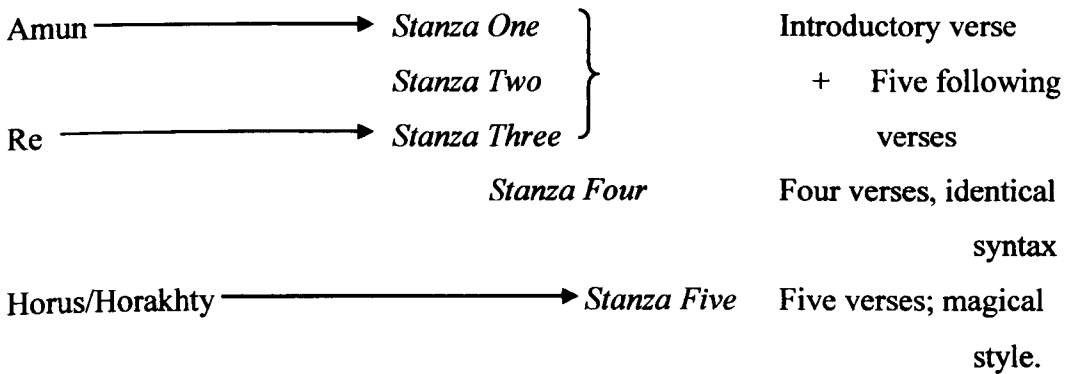
The First Stanza deals with the *primaeval* nature of the deity, and is primarily concerned with Amun. There is then an apparently intrusive line, ‘words to be recited upon water and/or upon land’.

The Second Stanza is addressed to ‘the one who has made himself into millions’, with the five following verses thematising the scope and reach of the solar deity. Both of these stanzas have some red ink at the start (see §3.1.14. for more detailed comments).

The Third Stanza is addressed to the ‘King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Amun-Re)<sub>i</sub>’, and explores the dichotomy of secrecy and revelation which characterises the solar deity. The primary aspect addressed here is Re, in the form of the sun-disc, despite the stanza not actually naming Re.

The Fourth Stanza is shorter than the first three, being only four verses long, and thematises the solar deity in terms of eternity and theogony. Each of the verses in this stanza has identical syntax, providing cohesion for the stanza.

The Fifth, and final Stanza is five verses long, and characterises the protective nature of the solar deity, which invokes the protective nature of Horus/Horakhty. The final stanza is also more magical in style, using imperative and injunctive forms, and asking for protection, notably from ‘any wild thing which is on the river’.



Hymn H (§ 3.1.15.) displays no evident overall structure on a grammatical or syntactic level, although the Initial Formula and ten stanzas are each internally patterned in various ways (§3.1.16.). However, the overall semantic themes of the hymn invoke numerous elements of a number of mortuary texts, including the Book of Gates (Zandee 1969), BD 144-145 (Navelle 1886: pl. 155-159), and the Book of Caverns (Piankoff 1954). The hymn does not follow the same structure as any of these works, but seems to draw on elements in order to present a picture of the theology, qualities and quotidian journey of the solar deity from sunrise to sunset, giving the hymn the qualities of a solar hymn:

<i>Initial Formula</i>	Primaevial and corporeal nature of solar deity
<i>Stanza One</i>	Hidden nature of solar deity
<i>Stanza Two</i>	Eye(s) of solar deity
<i>Stanza Three</i>	Sunrise - regeneration
<i>Stanza Four</i>	Sunset – burial/death
<i>Stanza Five</i>	Sunlight/sun-rays: revelation of solar deity
<i>Stanza Six</i>	Power over enemies: diurnal (crossing the heavens/sky)

<i>Stanza Seven</i>	Power over enemies: nocturnal (passage through Aker, the earth god)
<i>Stanza Eight</i>	Battle with and victory over Apophis: good over evil
<i>Stanza Nine</i>	Passage through Underworld, towards peace and eternity
<i>Stanza Ten</i>	Eternity and eternal praise

Thus, by the various themes of the stanzas, the hymn is structured: the Initial Formula and first two stanzas deal with the nature of the solar deity, establishing that he is *primaeval*, and acknowledged as such by the other ‘great ones’ (IV,8-9), that his body is divine; that he is both hidden and revealed as Amun-Re (IV,9-V,1), and that he is worshipped by his children, and given Maat, who can act as the eye of the solar deity (Smith, M., 1984a).

Stanzas Three and Four are a pair, set in opposition, describing sunrise (Stanza Three) and sunset (Stanza Four). The reference to ‘encircling’ in Stanza Three (V,3) recalls the *Mehen-serpent*, or *ourobouros*, a reasonably common vignette and theme in the Books of the Underworld.

Stanza Five, which is the central stanza of the hymn, thematises the revelation of the reborn solar disk, a daily event of regeneration, described in the final hour of the Book of Gates, and a great deal of other royal mortuary literature.

Stanzas Six and Seven are another pair, forming a symmetrical structure around the central fifth stanza. This pair are also an oppositional pair, both dealing with the power over enemies of the sun-god; the first is concerned with the enemies the solar disc encounters in the daytime (‘you traverse your two skies/heavens’), and the second to do with enemies encountered during the nighttime (the *wbn-r3* snake is another name for Apophis, who is encountered nightly by the sun-god, and defeated; the reference to the god Aker, who is a chthonic deity, through whose body the sun passes during the night, according to the cosmology of the Book of the Earth (Hornung, 1997: 97)). In both the Amduat and the Book of Gates, the seventh hour is the one in which the enemies of the sun-god are defeated, so that this pair of stanzas also refers to these sources (Hornung, 1997: 63; see also Zandee 1969 for a detailed treatment of the Book of Gates).

The final three stanzas, completing the symmetrical structure of the hymn, are concerned with the triumph of the sun-god over his enemy Apophis, and the peaceful passage to eternity, and eternal praise, which follows the battle. The narrative voice deployed in these final three stanzas, describing mythological events, contrasts with the first three stanzas, which describe the unchanging aspects of the solar deity. Perhaps to underline this duality, the first stanza is headed with *dd.in*, a narrative verb-form, and the last (tenth) stanza uses the aspectually complete *sdm.n.f* form, binding the beginning and end of the hymn together.

Spell I (§3.2.1.) is the first of the magical spells on the papyrus, although, as discussed above, it may have been intended to be the second (see §4.3.2.). The four stanzas of the incantation (the Terminal Formula is not considered as part of the spell, see §1.4.5.) are patterned on a grammatical level by the use of different strengths of injunctive verb-forms (for Injunctive Forms, see §1.4.4.) in the first verses; the First and Fourth Stanzas are both framed in the imperative, the Second Stanza is an injunctive of some form, although it is not clear how the preposition is being used here (§3.2.2.), and the Third Stanza is in the subjunctive voice. The Terminal Formula has instructional/injunctive force, which links it to the stanzas of the incantation. In addition to this structuring, the Second and Fourth stanzas are further linked by the direct address to Maga, son of Seth in both stanzas.

*Stanza One*: imperative

*Stanza Two*: injunctive ←

*Stanza Three*: subjunctive

*Stanza Four*: imperative ←

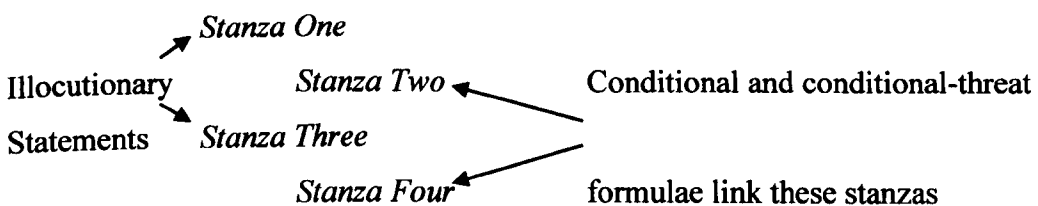
These two stanzas are linked by the use of the name of Maga son of Seth to address him

Spell K (§3.2.3.) comprises three stanzas of incantation, with an Initial and a Terminal Formula. As has been discussed (§3.2.4.), the Formulae of this spell are more complex and more tightly patterned than the incantation; they are also different in tone, and give instruction to the practitioner; this may be indicative of the intended position of the spell at the beginning of the magical section (see §4.3.2.).

The three stanzas of the incantation are bound together here by iteration: in each stanza there are elements which bind the stanza to the others, and new elements. The First Stanza relies on iteration of the core of each verse, with opposition at the termini; the Second Stanza uses this same pattern for the first two verses, then adds in a ‘transitional verse’ (§1.4.4), in order to change the voice in which the spell is cast (§3.2.4.); the Third Stanza uses the iterative core- oppositional termini pattern for the first two verses, then adds two further verses which are illocutionary (see §1.4.4.), and provide the performative culmination of the spell.

<i>Stanza One</i>	Iteration at core; Oppositional termini
<i>Stanza Two</i>	Iteration at core; Oppositional termini + one ‘transitional verse’
<i>Stanza Three</i>	Iteration at core; Oppositional termini + two illocutionary verses.

Spell L (§3.2.5.) has both an Initial (short) and Terminal (longer) Formula, between which lie four stanzas of incantation. These four stanzas are carefully structured into an overall pattern: the First and Third stanzas both open with an illocutionary statement, and the Second and Fourth stanzas both deploy a conditional-threat formula. In addition, both the First and Third stanzas are two verses long – these stanzas punctuate the conditional warning of the other two stanzas.



Spell M (§3.2.7.) has two stanzas of incantation, of uneven length, the first of six verses length, the second three verses. In both stanzas, the first verse has the same onset, linking the stanzas together, and the instruction *sp sn*, which occurs in the onset of the first stanza, is also to be found in the terminus of the second stanza, creating another link.

On a more complex level, each of the stanzas is patterned the same way by the parallelisms of the verses.



In the case of Stanza Two this is slightly confused by the fact that the second verse opens with *mi*, which is phonologically homonymic with the imperative *mi* at the onset of the first verse, however, the parallelism between the second element of the second verse and the terminus of the first verse is undeniable (see §3.2.8.).

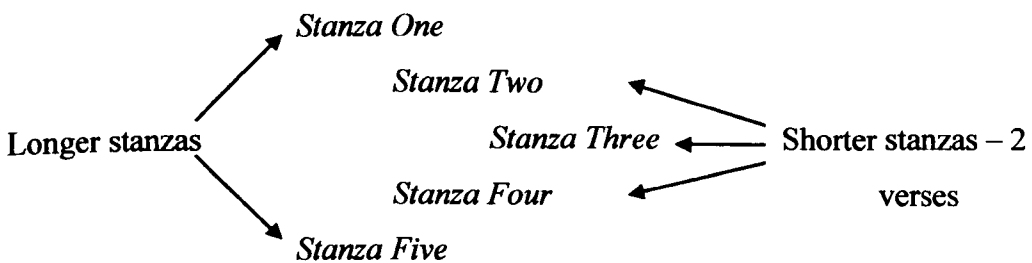
*Stanza One:* Imperative Onset      Terminus  
    Verse  
    Verse  
    Verse  
    Verse  
    Verse

*Stanza Two:* Imperative Onset      Terminus  
    Verse  
    Illocutionary Statement

Spells N (§3.2.9.) and O (§3.2.11.) are very short spells, having only one stanza of incantation in each, and so do not really have an overall structure; although for comments on the use of rhetorical devices in each spell, see §3.2.10. and §3.2.12.

Spell P (§3.2.13.) has five stanzas of incantation, of which the middle three (Stanzas Two-Four) are all two verses long; the First and Fifth Stanzas are longer, giving a structure to the spell.

Isis is mentioned in the First, Second, Third and Fifth Stanzas. The second verses of the Second and Third stanzas are identical.



Spell Q (§3.2.15.) has three stanzas of incantation, the First of which is ‘abracadabra’/phonologically patterned nonsense; the Second and Third Stanzas are both two verses long. There does not seem to be any obvious framework or structure to the spell.

Spell R (§3.2.17.) comprises two stanzas of incantation, linked by the imperative/negative imperative at the onset of each. The First Stanza is two verses long, the Second twice as long, and in each stanza, the last verse mentions Amun and his power.

Although the verse-points are clear, the Second Stanza might be emended to read two verses rather than four (ignoring the verse-points):

*m sg3(VIII, 3) l.šmt ḥfd3 ḥtmw r.sn*

Do not be silent! Go! Hurry, seal their mouths.

*iw ḏdft nbt dmy p3 lwtn m snd n (VIII, 4) pḥty.k imn*

All reptiles are joining the ground from fear of your might,  
Amun.

This would make the parallel to the First Stanza more apparent – a verse in the imperative voice, followed by one in the stative, describing the power of Amun. As the spell is written, it seems as if the structure is the same in both stanzas, but the second stanza is doubled. This may have been deliberate, to increase the power of the spell, or it may represent an error in the scribe’s understanding of the verse-structure.

In Fischer-Elfert’s reading of this text, the verse-structure is altered, so that the text is interpreted as a solar hymn (1989; see §3.2.18.). Since the scribe’s ability to scan the verse-structure as he writes, and to correct his errors after he has written the texts has been demonstrated (see §4.2.), it seems more likely that the verse-structure should not be emended, and that the verses which seem unclear should be considered as beyond our comprehension.

*Stanza One:* Imperative

Stative + participle

*Stanza Two:* Imperative

Imperative

Stative

Dependent clause

The power of Amun  
invoked

Spell S (§3.2.19.) has only one stanza, therefore does not seem to have an overall framework or structure.

Spell T (§3.2.21.) consists of three stanzas. The first two stanzas are carefully constructed with a number of links between the two stanzas – both are framed as negation + a clause of cause,<sup>318</sup> and each of the clauses of cause is an illocutionary statement equating the performer with a god, or powerful figure. The negation in the First Stanza is the Late Egyptian *bn*, used once to govern all the verses of the stanza; the negations in three of the verses of Second Stanza are the negative imperative, with the negated subjunctive in the third verse. The termini of all the verses in both stanzas are illocutionary statements.

The Third Stanza is patterned differently, with three pairs of verses and a terminal transitional verse. In each pair, the first verse is headed by *tw*; the first pair ends with a chiasmic pattern (see §3.2.22. for a fuller analysis), the second ends with a pair of phrases set in parallel by means of the repetition of ‘flood’, and the third ends with a pair of phrases set in parallel by means of the repetition of the passive subjunctives. Finally, there is a transitional verse.

Negative	{	<i>Stanza One</i>	} Illocutionary
Onsets		<i>Stanza Two</i>	

*Stanza Three:* *tw* + two phrases in chiasmic pattern

*tw* + two phrases in parallel (semantic)

*tw* + two phrases in parallel (grammatical)

Transitional verse.

Spell U (§3.2.23.) is rather an oddity on many levels (see §4.3.1.), and does not seem to have any particular links between the stanzas; there is no sense of an overall structure here, although the stanzas are internally patterned (see §3.2.24.)

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<sup>318</sup> In each case, the clause of cause is in apposition to the negation which precedes it, as a form of the ‘virtual clause of cause’ (Gardiner 1957: 166), although it should be noted that Gardiner expects the *sdm.n.f* or a prepositional adverb clause here, and does not include any examples of a nominal clause used thus.

Spell V (§3.2.25.), which bears a strong resemblance to the previous spell, seeming to be some sort of variant, or (less likely) a corrupted copy of the same, also has very little in the way of obvious structuring to the stanzas, with one exception: the opening verse of the incantation refers to the ‘ones who are in the womb of Neith’, and the Terminal Formula has a pseudo-vignette, which seems to be a representation of two crocodiles, contained within the hieroglyph for Neith, thus binding the beginning and end of the spell together. Possibly this image was a non-verbal instruction to the practitioner on the correct deployment of a drawing ritual to accompany the incantation.

Spell X (§3.2.27.), the first of three spells on the *verso* of the papyrus, all of which seem to have a non-native Egyptian source (possibly Canaanite, see §3.2.28.), is the longest spell of the papyrus (§4.3.1.).

The nine stanzas are structured on several levels. The verb-forms which govern each stanza form one part of this pattern; the contents of the stanzas support and underline this pattern, which can be divided into four parts.

Stanzas Five and Nine both use illocutionary statements – Stanza Five has the nominal equation ‘I am X’, which lends the magician the power of the deity or force invoked, and Stanza Nine is illocutionary in the sense that to speak the phrase ‘I make you turn back and lose your hearing (etc)’, is to perform the magical act of warding off the animals.

Stanzas Seven, Eight and Nine are further linked to Stanzas Three, Four and Five on a semantic and grammatical level: Stanzas Three and Seven both refer to the cardinal compass points, Stanza Four is injunctive in tone, promising to inflict negative qualities, which links it to the negated imperative of Stanza Eight; this link is reinforced by the fact that both stanzas refer to the dangerous desert animals and that the first two verses of Stanza Nine are almost an exact repetition of the last two verses of Stanza Four. The final two verses of the Ninth Stanza further bind the end of the spell to the beginning (symploce) with the mention of the ‘herdsman’, first mentioned in Stanza One, and invoked again at the end of the last stanza, this time named as Hauron.

Declarative	<i>Stanza One</i>	Horus
Imperative	<i>Stanza Two</i>	Isis and Nephthys
Injunctive	<i>Stanza Three</i>	Cardinal Points ←
Injunctive	<i>Stanza Four</i>	Dangerous animals ←
Imperative	<i>Stanza Five</i>	Horus
Declarative	<i>Stanza Six</i>	Illocutionary Statement
Injunctive	<i>Stanza Seven</i>	Cardinal Points ←
Imperative	<i>Stanza Eight</i>	Dangerous animals ←
Declarative	<i>Stanza Nine</i>	Illocutionary/ Culmination

Spell Y (§3.2.29.) comprises seven stanzas of incantation, and is very similar to the preceding spell (see §3.2.30.). The structure of the spell, however, is rather different, and the stanzas are grouped into pairs by the use of the same verb-form/mood: the First and Second Stanzas are framed in the Late Egyptian past *sdm.f* and the simple present *tw.i <hr> sdm* respectively. In each of these stanzas, the initial main clause in this form is followed by verses framed in other verbal patterns. Stanzas Three and Four are injunctive/imperative, forming the illocutionary magical thrust of the spell, and the last two stanzas, Five and Six, are both clauses of result using the *r* + infinitive pattern, which are grammatically dependent on Stanzas Three and Four.

<i>Stanza One</i>	}	Simple
<i>Stanza Two</i>		Present
<i>Stanza Three</i>	}	Injunctive/
<i>Stanza Four</i>		Imperative
<i>Stanza Five</i>	}	Clause of result
<i>Stanza Six</i>		<i>r</i> +infinitive

This kind of structuring, when considered in concert with the verse-level structuring (i.e. the patterning within verses and between verses which gives coherence to stanzas), points to a complex compositional process, and suggests that the hymns and spells were made effective on a number of levels. The majority of the

texts have a coherent and carefully constructed format, which supports the majority of the divisions between the texts as indicated by the Initial and Terminal Formulae (§1.4.3.) and the presence of text in red ink as an indexing device (§4.3.2.).

It seems unlikely that such carefully structured texts are the product of the process of original composition; the errors are too few, and the hand too fluent to model this manuscript as the output of a scribe composing a ritual for the first time; rather the Harris Magical Papyrus seems to be the result of a process of redaction.


#### 4.3.4.1. Structural Devices

There are a number of specific devices which seem to be used throughout the texts in order to mark the structure.

The first of these is the *grh* sign, which occurs four times in the papyrus: *recto* II, 3, *recto* IV, 9, *recto* VIII, 9, *verso* III, 4; this relatively even spacing may indicate points at which the scribe paused in his copying. They might also indicate (see Parkinson 2002: 114-5, particularly n. 5) that the recitation of the manuscript was intended as a single event, with four evenly spaced pauses. Certainly this would accord with the views of Römer (1987: 405), who points out that the Cairo Hymn (P. Boulaq 17, 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) is verse-pointed throughout, and contains four instances of the *grh* sign, which he uses to divide the hymn into four sections.

Grapow (1936: 53) comments on the use of the *grh* sign in hieratic texts (there are few examples which can be positively identified in hieroglyphic texts), and equates the meaning of the sign with the word *grh*, ‘to finish, to complete’ (*Wb* V, 182.4-183.3), and suggests it might have an equivalent function to words such as ‘Amen’, or ‘Sela’; however *grh* does not seem to have been uttered.

The use of *grh* has been associated with the discourse on scribal practice in the *Satirical Letter* (P. Anastasi I 11.1-2), in which a scribe is mocked for his ignorance about the stanzas of *The Teaching of Hordedef* (‘You have come, provided with great secrets/and have quoted to me a verse of Hordedef./You do not know whether it is good or bad;/ which stanza is before it, which after it.’; Fischer-Elfert 1986b: 94-6). Such divisions may result from later practices of education and/or codification of manuscripts (Parkinson 2002: 114).

The use of *grh* is not confined to any genre of text – Grapow points out that it is found in the Cairo Amun hymn, as well as being used in P. Bologna 1094 to separate the various letters from one another (1936: 53). It is characteristically found in verse-pointed texts (Grapow 1936: 53), and the occurrence in the love-songs of P. Harris 500 in the variant , *tr grh*, ‘make a stop/pause’, shows it could have an instructive nature (Parkinson, 2002: 114, n.5), and was clearly more than a graphic shape.


In the Harris Magical Papyrus, the first three examples seem to occur at points where the structure requires a visual marker: the first (*recto* II, 3) marks the end of the Second Stanza of Hymn D (§3.1.7.), which may be a refrain or chorus to the litany; the second (*recto* IV, 9) marks the end of the lengthy Initial Formula of Hymn H (§3.1.15.), and serves as a visual indexer to the beginning of the incantation; the third (*recto* VIII, 9) falls at the end of Spell T (§3.2.21.), and therefore serves in place of any text in red ink to mark the end of this spell and the beginning of the following spell; the fourth (*verso* III, 4) falls within the Canaanite spell on the *verso* and if Schneider’s reading of the text is correct (1989: 54) represents a new stanza.

The next device to be considered is the ‘Transitional Verse’ (see §1.4.4.); these are verses which do not fit into the structure of a stanza, or text, and which serve to shift the focus, voice or semantic import of the text into a new sphere. Each of these has been discussed in the commentary to the individual texts (§3.), and their deployment in the texts speaks to an awareness of the performative context for which the manuscript was intended. In each of the cases where the transitional verses occur, the text requires the audience’s attention or focus to shift, and the transitional verse, by breaking with the structure of the text, achieves this. For such a device to work, the rhythm and structure with which the transitional verse is breaking would have to be apparent in performance.

Finally, one of the criteria by which the magical spells were defined (see §1.4.5.) was the use of ‘illocutionary statements’ (see §1.4.4.). This terminology is

borrowed from the work of several modern authors on ‘speech-act theory’ (Austin 1975; 1979; Searle 1969; Alston 2000), and is used here in a more limited way to refer to ‘presentative’ clauses (Borghouts 1978: x), that is, nominal clauses headed by the first person singular independent pronoun *ink*, in which the person reciting the clause takes on the identity of a god or divine force: ‘I am Horus’. These utterances present themselves as transformative,<sup>319</sup> and are often positioned as the culmination of spells. Of course, in an Egyptian context, the act of mass participation in any ritual is not attested; rather the performer of the ritual seems to be undergoing the transformation, in order to better equip him to activate the magical potential of the texts.

As is clear from the table below, not only are the magical spells characterised by the presence of illocutionary statements, in contrast to the hymnic texts, which only have one instance of an illocutionary statement, but they are very common in the magical spells, and do not follow any obvious scheme in terms of the divinity invoked; all the gods invoked in the hymnic texts (texts B-H) except those of Hymn E (Sepa, Nun, and Hu) are invoked in the illocutionary statements.

Section	Illocutionary Statement	Location in text
Initial Formula	-	-
B	-	-
C	-	-
D	‘I am Onuris, lord of strength.  ’	Terminal verse of Stanza 2 (of 19)
E	-	-
F	-	-
G	-	-
H	-	-

<sup>319</sup> Rowan Williams, in an address to liturgical scholars at Lambeth Palace in 2009, characterised modern Christian ‘liturgy as transformation’, by which he meant the deliberate undertaking of liturgical ritual for the purposes of renewal in a faith. An address by the Archbishop of Canterbury given to a meeting of the Alcuin Club at Lambeth Palace; <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/2448>, accessed 07.09.09.



I	'See – I am Amun, bull of his mother'	Terminal verse of Stanza 4 (of 4)
K	'I am Min of Coptos, I am Min, lord of the land of Coptos'	Terminal verses of Stanza 3 (of 3)
L	'I am one of millions, who came from the Duat'	Initial verse of Stanza 1 (of 4)
	'I am Shu, the image of Re'	Initial verse of Stanza 3 (of 4)
M	'I am the inundation, I am the inundation'	Terminal verse of Stanza 2 (of 2)
N	'I am Anubis'	Central verse of Stanza 1 (of 1)
O	'I am Anubis, Sopdu, son of Re'	Terminal verse of Stanza 1 (of 1)
P	-	-
Q	'I am Horus, who recites'	Terminal verse of Stanza 3 (of 3)
R	-	-
S	-	-
T	'I am Amun'	Initial verse of Stanza 1 (of 3)
	'I am Onuris, the perfect warrior'	Central verse of Stanza 1 (of 3)
	'I am the great one, lord of might'	Terminal verse of Stanza 1 (of 3)
	'I am Montu'	Initial verse of Stanza 2 (of 3)
	'I am Seth'	Second verse of Stanza 2 (of 3)
	'I am Sopdu'	Third verse of Stanza 2 (of 3)
	'I am the reciter'	Terminal verse of Stanza 2 (of 3)
U	'I am the lion in Imet, the house of the phoenix'	Initial verse of Stanza 4 (of 7)
V	-	-
X	'I am Horus, who causes that you act so (make it?)'	Terminal verse of Stanza 6 (of 10)
Y	-	-

**Fig. 43.** Illocutionary Statements

In some cases (e.g. the illocutionary statements of Spell M, O and Q), the force of the transformation evinced by the illocutionary statement has led the scribe to add a divine determinative after the independent pronoun *ink*, as if the act of inscribing the text had had a transformative effect.

Dieleman (2005: 154) has commented that this is not unexpected: ‘Egyptian ritual works on the assumption that the practitioner is not so much communicating with the gods from a humble position as interacting with the gods on equal terms... he must become an actor in the cosmic drama’, and points to the equations of the first spell of the Book of the Dead in which the practitioner or ritualist must identify himself with various deities, including Thoth.

#### **4.3.5. Intertextual parallels**

In a number of the spells and hymns in the Harris Magical Papyrus, there is evidence that the text is deliberately constructed in such a way as to invoke or imply a connection or parallel to other text or texts. In some cases, the parallel is such a close one that it might almost seem as if the author of the Harris Magical Papyrus is quoting another text (although not strictly *verbatim*).

Of course, the identification of intertextual parallels relies on a cultural understanding which must be partial; a cultural or intertextual allusion may rely on a single word, or common phrase whose significance may escape us (see §1.3.4. for a full discussion of the scholarship on this topic), and the differentiation between a deliberate intertextual parallel between the Harris Magical Papyrus and one or more other specific texts and an allusion to a common formula or phraseology is highly problematic.

Allusion to, quotation of, or intertextual parallel with another text is a device of genre; it serves to link a text to another text, or another set of texts, and it can also serve to underline cases in which genre boundaries are being exceeded for the purposes of innovation, added meaning or even humour. As Parkinson has pointed out in his analysis of ‘genre’ within Middle Kingdom literary texts, ‘the inference of literary types draws on signals and indicators in the works themselves’ (2002: 108), and the lack of a surviving codified ancient system of text classification, with limited exceptions, means that any analysis of ‘genre’ can be ‘circular and self-fulfilling’ (Eyre 2002: 3). Since the application of genre analysis has not been widely applied beyond Middle Kingdom literary texts (§1.1.), and hymns (see Assmann 1999 [1975]), the analysis of the intertextual parallels between the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus and other texts cannot be used to define a genre into which the manuscript falls. The individual texts were classified according to their

characteristics (§1.4.5.), in order to formalise the intuitive understanding of the texts as being of two, non-discrete styles of speech.

Whilst intertextual parallels have been highlighted in the commentaries to the texts, this study does not seek to analyse the distribution of the parallels, or even claim to have discovered all of them. Rather, some of the more significant examples have been highlighted, and will be discussed here.

The presence of versions of Hymns G and H (§3.1.13. and §3.1.15.) on the walls of the temple at Hibis is significant for our understanding of the status and purpose of the Harris Magical Papyrus. That these two texts belong to a tradition of textual transmission is undeniable; Jochem Kahl's work (1999) on the transmission of First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom texts from Siut into New Kingdom and Saite funerary contexts at Thebes and beyond has shown that the systematic application of stemmatic textual criticism for such a corpus is fruitful, and the presence of such transmission through a long period of time through multiple copies (1999: 283-291) suggests a tradition of transmission which was widespread and well organised, probably involving the maintenance of archival copies of texts. The Hibis texts to which Hymns G and H are parallel, are also paralleled elsewhere, so that their inclusion on the Harris Magical Papyrus cannot simply be ascribed to the desire of a scribe to assemble a more or less random compilation of archival texts (i.e. texts which were copied in order to assure their later transmission, or 'reproductive transmission').

In his analysis of the Roman Period London-Leiden magical handbooks, Jacco Dieleman notes that the bilingual nature of both P. London-Leiden and P. Leiden I 384 suggests not only the proficiency of the ancient redactors in both Egyptian and Greek (2005: 11), but also that the original sources of the texts were rather disparate – the texts collected in these manuscripts were not conceived as a unity, but have been transmitted to us as such (2005: 285-294). This is particularly significant when we consider that the Theban Magical Library (from which these texts originate, see Tait 1995) is a collection of Demotic and Greek papyri, which includes not only magical handbooks, but also hymns and invocations to deities and demons of Egyptian and foreign origin (2005: 11). The Harris Magical Papyrus

seems to belong to a similar tradition, having both spells against crocodiles and other dangerous creatures, and hymns to Egyptian deities, with references and invocations to non-Egyptian deities.

Whilst the presence of such intertextual parallels in the Harris Magical Papyrus points to the nature of the manuscript as representing a tradition of redaction and transmission, it may also have served as a way of constructing a landscape in which the texts would have worked; a set of ‘genre’ indicators which placed the manuscript in a cultural *Sitz im Leben*, which would have affected the way in which it was used in performance.

This process of compilation, redaction and transmission accords with the ancient critical discourse on the value that was attached to writing in general, and to the written transmission of text in particular, as Parkinson (2002: 50-55) points out. The prestige associated with literacy, the ease of life as a scribe, and the importance of writing are all emphasised in various texts, but as Parkinson points out, the message in many *Teachings* is that whilst transmission by writing is privileged, the repute of a text comes from recital and word of mouth (2002: 51), which would allow for a productive transmission as well as the reproductive transmission through text copying.

#### **4.3.6. Linguistic registers**

As has been observed in some of the commentaries to the texts, the hymns and spells of the Harris Magical Papyrus do not seem to use only one register of language – there is evidence throughout the texts that both Classical Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian forms are used, with no particular systematisation apparent.

Morphological features of Late Egyptian abound, and whilst this study does not seek to explore every indication of different linguistic traditions, one particular example should be highlighted:

Spell P (§3.2.13., *recto* VII, 8-12) uses both Late and Middle Egyptian formulations in the incantation. The First Stanza uses the Late Egyptian past (preterite) *sdm.f* (Junge 2001: 154), as well as the Late Egyptian negation *bw sdm.f* as a negation of

the preterite *sḏm.f* (Junge 2001: 153). In contrast, the Third Stanza opens with the particle *mk*, which suggests the linguistic register is Middle Egyptian (Junge 2001: 80); *mk* followed by the *sḏm.f* is a Middle Egyptian form to imply future action (Gardiner 1957: 178, §234).

It seems therefore that the scribe may be copying texts which are written in more Middle Egyptian language, and that he is modernising the language into Late Egyptian at some points (Late Egyptian being the language with which he would have been far more familiar). This can be seen in the First Stanza of Spell T (§3.2.21.), in which the scribe seems to conflate the Late Egyptian *bn iw.tw.f* negation of an adverbial sentence (Junge 2001: 111-113) with the (rare) Middle Egyptian *nn iw.f* formulation (Gardiner 1957: 97, §120)

Certainly, the use of different registers shows very clearly that this manuscript cannot possibly represent one unitary composition, but must be the product of transmission and redaction of texts written in different registers. The scribe's apparent attempts to convert certain parts of the texts from the archaic Middle Egyptian forms into the more current Late Egyptian forms are not entirely successful, however the fact that he has apparently attempted to modernise the texts speaks to his sophisticated level of comprehension. No apprentice, or entry-level scribe would have been able to understand Middle Egyptian well enough to undertake such revisions.

#### **4.4. Conclusions**

The Harris Magical Papyrus consists of a number of texts, which display different, but non-discrete styles (§1.4.5.), and which can conveniently be referred to as hymns and spells. The presence of both styles on a single manuscript does not necessarily imply a lack of unity; the boundary, if any exists, between religious and magical texts, is a permeable one (§1.3.6.).

The papyrus cannot represent an artefact of original composition (§4.3. particularly §4.3.4.); it is too fluently written, with too few mistakes (§4.2.4.) and corrections for this to be the case. Whether the papyrus represents a copy of a single, unitary manuscript for a single purpose, or a redaction from multiple sources is less

certain, but it seems clear that the text as a whole represents the written transmission of a process of redaction from multiple, heterogeneous original sources (§4.3.2. demonstrates the possible dis-ordering of the magical spells, suggesting that the scribe is copying from multiple sources).

The scribe copying the text shows a marked preference to refill his pen in a way which indicates that as he copied the texts, he also scanned their verse-structure (§4.2.). Even if he copied the texts *verbatim* from a unitary, verse-pointed original, his awareness of the division of the verses is clear.

The analysis of the schedule of pen refillings within the verse-points shows that the verse points were added at one time, probably after the texts had been fully copied (rather than as each text was completed; see §4.2.3.), and at some point after the texts had been written, possibly in association with the verse-pointing, the scribe reads through the copied texts, correcting some errors (§4.2.4.).

Errors which are made, and which are corrected, or even those which are uncorrected, support this analysis; when he makes a mistake in copying, the scribe loses the scansion, and shows a stronger tendency to refill his pen in the middle of a verse or clause (§4.2.4.)

All these factors point to the scribe who copied the texts having been a highly literate individual, whose understanding of the texts he was copying was very sophisticated, with the few errors that occur representing the limits of his understanding. This would accord with the analysis of the papyrus are representing an artefact of redaction; this scribe's level of sophistication would certainly have allowed him to copy from multiple, heterogeneous sources onto one document. He copies both Middle and Late Egyptian forms (§4.3.6.) fluently, showing no particular tendency to make errors in either linguistic register, which speaks to the level of his education, and makes it entirely plausible that the copyist is a scribe who was trained in a temple scriptorium.

The texts show a complex deployment of rhetorical features, and a tightly patterned structure, both on the clausal (verse) level, and as patterned textual units

(§4.3.4.). The author(s) of the texts deployed multiple rhetorical and structural devices within each text to achieve ritual incantations which had tightly controlled structures, and which accessed a number of different cultural points of reference. In performance, for which these texts are clearly designed, these features would have had the effect of creating the impression of an efficacious incantation.

This document does not seem to have been used a great deal in its lifetime (§2.2.7.4.), and it seems that the likely original source of the manuscript would have been a temple scriptorium. There are significant links between the various texts, and the probable find-spot (see §2.2.9.), which suggest that this temple is most likely to have been Medinet Habu, the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, and it is possible that the document was created in order to be kept within the temple archive or library, rather than as a working document for a magician or lector-priest to use.

Certainly this papyrus should be considered as a ‘ritual service-book’ (Eyre 2002: 5), which includes variant copies of texts for different occasions; the order of the texts may have become slightly muddled at one point (§4.3.2.), although this is not necessarily significant. The presence of the ‘hymns’, which have fewer formulae to instruct a practitioner in their deployment and the accompanying rituals, may have something to do with the subject of the first four hymns: the god Shu. In CT 75 (372-3), Shu says: “I do not obey magic, for I have already come into being...” and (399) “my soul shall not be seized by magic.” The power of invocations and hymns to Shu is to invoke the ability to be unmoved by magical forces; thereby strengthening the force of the magical spells, and making them more effective at ‘driving off the ones who are immersed’.

Although it is perfectly conceivable that the texts of the Harris Magical Papyrus could have been used as discrete texts, and copied individually for use in other contexts, the presence of the texts on a single manuscript suggests that they formed some kind of a unified ritual. The lack of distinction in the initial formulae of many of the spells suggests to me that the spells did not each require an extensive ‘heading’ or ‘label’ to explain their contents, because they were copied onto this manuscript as episodes within a ritual performance; had this been a compendium of discrete texts, copied for archival purposes, and grouped only by subject matter,

more explanation of the contents of each text might be expected, in order to allow the manuscript to function as a reference work.



## **APPENDIX 1**

### **Reconstruction of the damaged parts of the Papyrus**

The Heidelberg fragments of the last three columns of the Harris Magical Papyrus have been rejoined to the small fragments of these columns which are preserved in the collection of the British Museum (see §1.4.6. for the methodology), using computer graphics software.

The fragments from Heidelberg are coloured blue here, to make them identifiable; the colour photographs of the British Museum fragments are used, and the lithographs from Chabas' edition of the papyrus (1860) are used as a template.

During the process of reconstruction, it became clear that whilst these lithographs provide an excellent representation of the text, they cannot be an exact replica of the text – some signs are shaped differently, and some of the fragments simply cannot be made to fit the lithograph exactly.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a reconstruction of a manuscript page. The text is written in black ink on a light-colored background. The script is dense and appears to be a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be grouped together. There are several large, irregular brown patches that appear to be remnants of the original manuscript or reconstruction artifacts. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be grouped together. There are several large, irregular brown patches that appear to be remnants of the original manuscript or reconstruction artifacts.

Fig. 44. Reconstruction of Column VII recto



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Fig. 45. Reconstruction of Column VIII recto



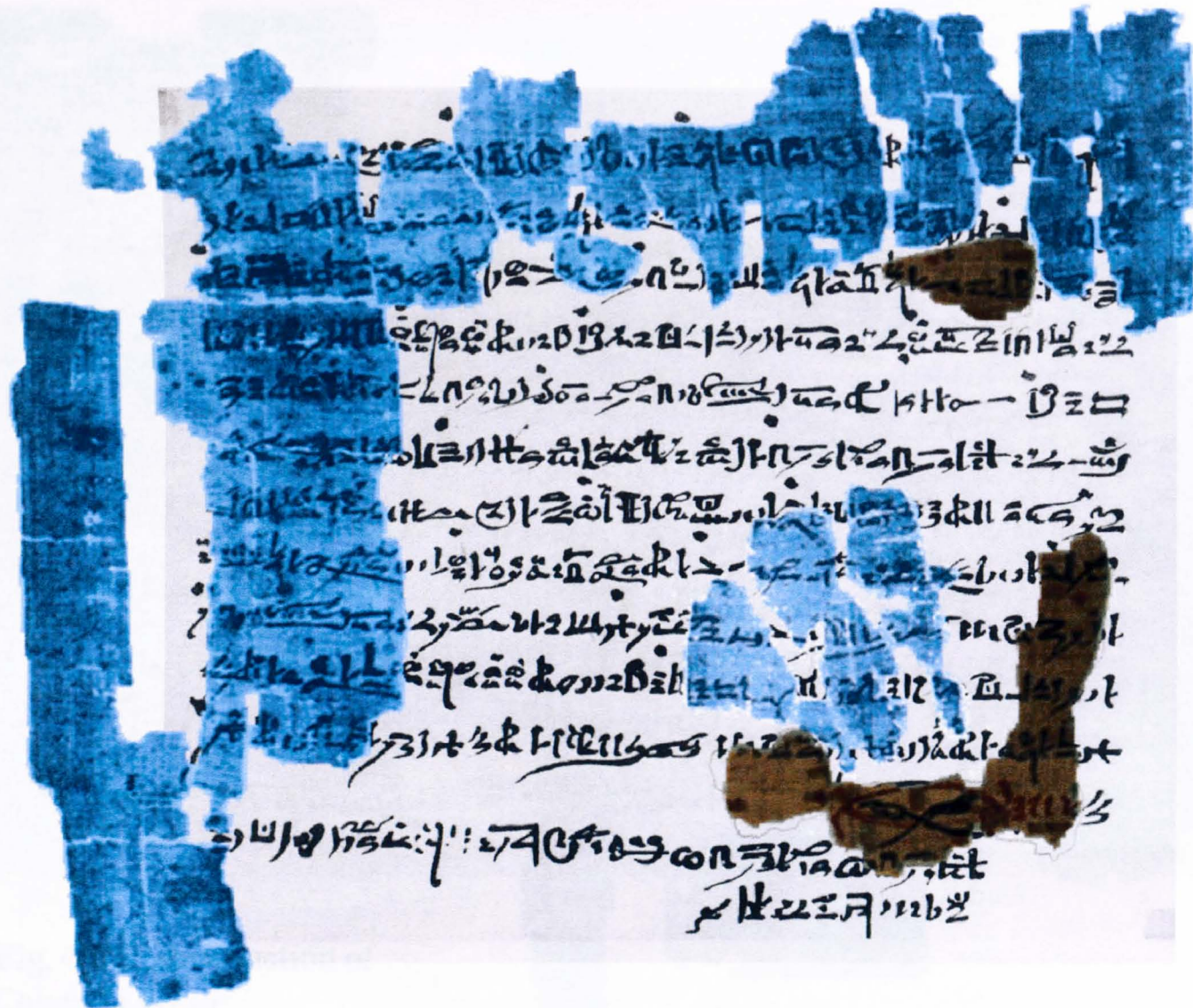


Fig. 46. Reconstruction of Column IX *recto*



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Fig. 47. Reconstruction of Column I verso





**Fig. 49.** Unplaceable fragments



Fragments of Column II *verso*



Fragment of Column VII *recto*

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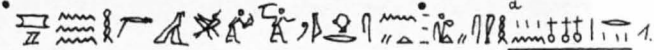
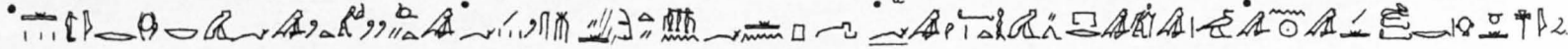
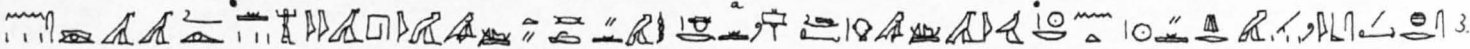
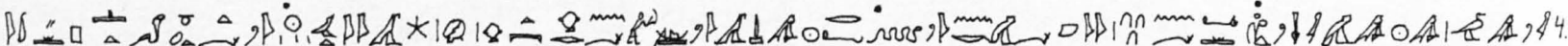
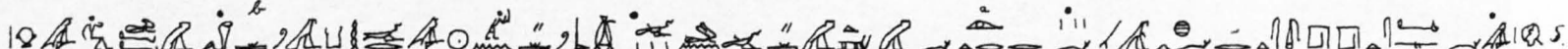
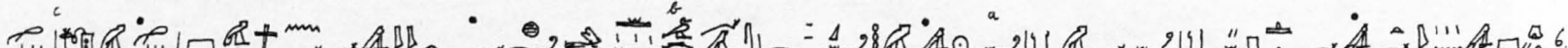
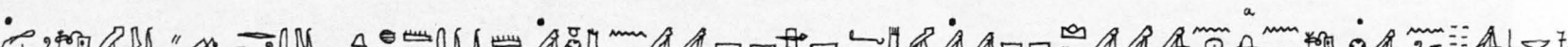
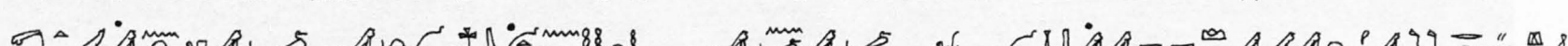
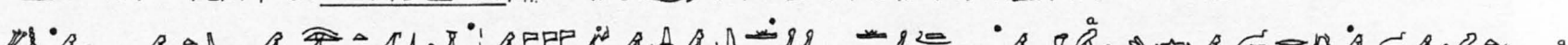
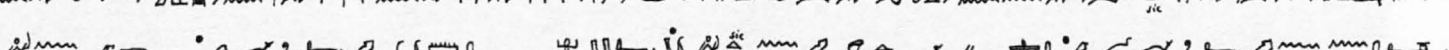
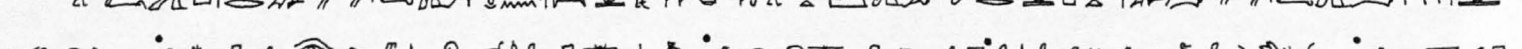
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Plate 12: P BM 10042 rto I








1. a) The rubrum ends here, the book roll (in Lange) is not present. 2. a) Added later in red. 3. a) Lange:  . 5. a) Lange:  . b) Or, with Lange, ligature  (cf. l. 10 wrt).  
 6. a) Lange:  . b) Lange:  . c) Lange:  . 7. a) Reading by Quack in Ling. Aeg. 3, 1993, 151 [*ss n tm3*]. 9. a) Lange:  .

Plate 1: Transcription of *recto* I (Leitz 1999: pl. 12)



I

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे श्रीकृष्णोवाच ॥  
 अहो भवति धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता  
 युयुत्सवः पाण्डवो च द्रुपदपुत्रः ॥  
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः  
 पाण्डवो च द्रुपदपुत्रः ॥  
 अहो भवति धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता  
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 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः  
 पाण्डवो च द्रुपदपुत्रः ॥  
 अहो भवति धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता  
 युयुत्सवः पाण्डवो च द्रुपदपुत्रः ॥  
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः  
 पाण्डवो च द्रुपदपुत्रः ॥



Plate 2: recto I (photograph copyright British Museum)





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Plate 4: recto II (photograph copyright British Museum)



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Plate 14: P BM 10042 rto III

1. a) the upper fragment belongs about 2 mm farther to the right. b) sign omitted in Lange. 2. a) ; ; ; omitted in Lange. 5. a) Added in red before the line. b) Lange + 𒀭, but this is part of the ligature 𒀭𒀭. 7. a) Added in red. 9. a.) sign omitted in Lange. b) Lange: 𒀭.

**Plate 5: Transcription of *recto* III (Leitz 1999: pl. 14)**

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Plate 6: recto III (photograph copyright British Museum)

1. 1.  
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 10. 10.

Plate 15: P BM 10042 rto IV

2. a) The obscured by a surcharged strip of papyrus. b) Lange without . 9. a) Added in red over the line, omitted in Lange.

**Plate 7: Transcription of *recto* IV (Leitz 1999: pl. 15)**





1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Plate 16: P BM 10042 rto V

1. a) Lange: . 3. a) For (Lange). 4. a) Lange gives as a dog. b) Lange: . 5. a) Signs included by Lange in the corrigenda. 6. a) Same sign as at the end of l. 5 (cf. also corrigenda to Lange). 7. a) Lange: . 8. a) Lange: .

**Plate 9: Transcription of *recto* V (Leitz 1999: pl. 16)**



III

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pahlavi, consisting of approximately 12 lines of text on a parchment leaf.

Plate 10: recto V (photograph copyright British Museum)

1. 1.  
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 13. 13.

Plate 17: P BM 10042 rto VI

2. a) Lange: . 3. a) Lange transcribes and in the commentary notes the similarity to . 5. a) Lange: , like an unusual determinative for *mrw*. 7. a) Lange: .  
 10. a) Lange: . b) Lange: + . 11. a) Not transcribed by Lange, but compare lines 5 and 8. 12. a) Red cross, insertion for l. 13. 13. a) Lange: .

Plate 11: Transcription of *recto* VI (Leitz 1999: pl. 17)







1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

Plate 18: P BM 10042 rto VII

3. a) Perhaps ?, Lange transcribes with question marks . 5. a) Lange: , omitting before this . 8. a) Doubtful, as the facsimile shows no . 11. a-b) Lange: .

**Plate 13: Transcription of *recto* VII (Leitz 1999: pl. 18)**

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

Plate 19: P BM 10042 rto VIII

3. a) Lange: . 6. a) Emended in red. 7. a) Emended in red. 12. a) Transcription uncertain.

**Plate 15: Transcription of *recto* VIII (Leitz 1999: pl. 19)**





1. 1  
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Plate 20: P BM 10042 rto IX

1. a) Lange: , but cf. l. 7. 3. a) Lange: . 5. a) or (with Lange) hmt: "womb". 8. a) Lange: . 9. a) Lange: . 12. a) crocodiles in black. 13. a) Lange: . b) Lange: . c) Lange: . d-e) Lange: .

**Plate 17: Transcription of *recto* IX (Leitz 1999: pl. 20)**





1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Plate 21: P BM 10042 vso I

3. a) Lange: , but cf. comments to the text. 4. a) Lange: . b) Group clear at the start of l. 5. 8. a) Lange: .

**Plate 19: Transcription of verso I (Leitz 1999: pl. 21)**





1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

Plate 22: P BM 10042 vso II

1. a) Lange: . 3. a) Lange: . 4. a) Lange: , but cf. vso I, 3. 5. a) Highly cursive form. 6. a) See 5. a) 7. a) Lange: . b) Lange: , . 8. a) Lange: .

Plate 21: Transcription of verso II (Leitz 1999: pl. 22)



Column XI

Verse D

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P 15974

MAGICAL PAPYRUS (HARRIS, 501)  
(Brit. Mus. Papyrus No. 30042)



Plate 22: verso II fragments (photograph copyright British Museum)



Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, likely Sumerian or Akkadian, arranged in approximately 10 lines on a wooden tablet. The text is partially obscured by a dark border on the right side of the image.

Plate 23: verso II partial column (photograph copyright British Museum)

1. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀  
 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀  
 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀  
 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀  
 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

Plate 23: P BM 10042 vso III

3. a) Lange: 𐎠𐎡, though cf. l. 4 (2 x), where there is also an ideogram stroke.

**Plate 24: Transcription of verso III (Leitz 1999: pl. 23)**

pHarris 501, Vso. Kol. 3

Handwritten text in a cuneiform script, likely Sumerian or Akkadian, arranged in approximately 12 vertical columns. The script is densely packed and covers the upper portion of the fragment. The fragment itself is a piece of reddish-brown clay with visible horizontal and vertical cracks.



Plate 25: verso III (photograph copyright British Museum)