Horus, Isis, and the Dark-Eyed Beauty
A Series of Magical Ostraca in the Brigham Young University Collection

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Abstract: O.BYU Mag., a Coptic love spell written continuously over three successive ostraca, consists largely of a narrative in which Horus asks for the help of his mother Isis to win the love of a woman whom he meets in the underworld. It is one of twenty-two known Coptic magical texts that mention Egyptian or Greek deities, and its narrative is paralleled almost exactly in three of these. Dating to the seventh or eighth century CE, it provides important evidence regarding the knowledge and survival of Egyptian deities at a time when Egypt was thoroughly Christian.

Keywords: Magic, Coptic, Ostraca, Horus, Isis

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The survival of Pharaonic culture into Egypt's Christian and Islamic periods has been the subject of considerable scholarly interest;[1] indeed, the

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[1] See for example S.-A. Naguib, "Survivals of Pharaonic Religious Practices in Contemporary Coptic Christianity," in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2008), online at <http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/27v9z5m8>; O. El Daly, *Egyptology: The Missing Millennium. Ancient Egypt in Medieval*

early modern birth of Coptic studies largely resulted from the quest to rediscover the ancient Egyptian language[2] – an endeavor which bore fruit when Coptic enabled the decipherment of the Hieroglyphic and Demotic scripts.[3] However, the culture transmitted by these scripts – whose most recognizable forms can be found in the monuments of the royal, temple, and funerary cults – seems to disappear from Egypt along with the temples, showing a marked decline from the third century CE onward. Roger Bagnall has persuasively argued that the traditional Egyptian cults were largely defunct by the fourth century,[4] with the sole exception of the temple to Isis at Philae, which closed officially in the late 530s CE.[5] The resultant spiritual and cultural vacuum was filled by Christianity – in both its orthodox and less-orthodox forms – so that by the mid-fifth century we should imagine that Egypt was almost entirely Christian.[6]

Nonetheless, there is evidence that while the most obvious markers of Pharaonic culture disappeared from the archaeological record, there was

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Arabic Writings (London: UCL Press, 2005); H. Behlmer, "Ancient Egyptian Survivals in Coptic Literature: An Overview," in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (Leiden, 1996), 567–90; L. Kákosy, "Survival of Ancient Egyptian Gods in Coptic and Islamic Egypt," *CoptCongr*. III (1990), 175–77; R. Rémondon, "L'Égypte et la suprême résistance au christianisme (V^{e}–VIII^{e} siècles)," *BIAO* 51 (1952), 63–78; A.M. Badawy, *L'art copte. Les influences égyptiennes* (Cairo, 1948); W. Blackman, *The Fellāhīn of Upper Egypt. Their Religious, Social and Industrial Life with Special Reference to Survivals from Ancient Times* (London, 1968 [1927]), 280–316; A. Erman, "Heidnisches bei den Kopten," *ZÄS* 33 (1895), 47–51.

[2] E.D. Zakrzewska, "The Coptic Language," in G. Gabra (ed.), *Coptic Civilization: Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Egypt* (Cairo, 2014), 84–87; A. Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439–1822: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church* (Oxford, 2006), 203–74.

[3] F.L. Griffith, "The Decipherment of the Hieroglyphs," *JEA* 37 (1951), 38–46.

[4] R.S. Bagnall, "Combat ou vide: Christianisme et paganisme dans l'Égypte romaine tardive," *Ktema* 13 (1988), 285–96.

[5] The last inscription attesting cultic activity at Philae is almost one hundred years earlier (456/57 CE), which may suggest that the temple was operating on a greatly reduced scale, if at all, by the 530s. See J.H. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298–642 CE)* (Leuven, 2008).

[6] R.S. Bagnall, "Religious Conversion and Onomastic Change in Early Byzantine Egypt," *BASP* 19 (1982), 105–24; R.S. Bagnall, "Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply," *ZPE* 69 (1987), 243–50; M. Depauw and W. Clarysse, "How Christian was Fourth Century Egypt? Onomastic Perspectives on Conversion," *VC* 67 (2013), 407–35; cf. D. Frankfurter, "Onomastic Statistics and the Christianization of Egypt: A Response to Depauw and Clarysse," *VC* (2014), 284–89. See also L.H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden, 2012), 237–80.

continuity in daily life well into the period of Islamic rule that began in the middle of the seventh century.[7] David Frankfurter has argued that this continuity extended into the religious sphere, with local, community-level religious practices surviving the collapse of the official cults.[8] While aspects of his thesis are in need of further refinement (and perhaps even revision),[9] it has long been recognized that Christianization in both the Eastern and Western halves of the Roman Empire was a complex process in which aspects of "paganism"[10] may have existed alongside, and ulti–

[7] The question of cultural continuity and change in late antique Egypt cannot be dealt with fully here, but we may give as examples the continuity in legal practices (R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* [Princeton, 1993], 193–95), funerary practices (F. Dunand, "Between Tradition and Innovation: Egyptian Funerary Practices in Late Antiquity," in R.S. Bagnall [ed.], *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* [Cambridge, 2007], 163–84), customs surrounding menstruation (T. Wilfong, "Menstrual Synchrony and the 'Place of Women' in Ancient Egypt [OIM 13512]," in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson [eds.], *Gold of Praise. Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* [Chicago, 1999], 428–32; T. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt* [Ann Arbor, 2002], 77), and weaning (J. Cromwell, "From Village to Monastery: Finding Children in the Coptic Record from Egypt," in L. Beaumont, M. Dillon and N. Harrington [eds.], *Children in Antiquity* [in press]; references to a three-year period of breastfeeding can be found as far back as the *Teaching of Ani*, pBoulaq 4 XX.19, composed perhaps in the XVIII Dynasty).

[8] D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton, 1998); cf. M.S.A. Mikhail, *From Byzantine to Islamic Egypt: Religion, Identity and Politics after the Arab Conquest* (London, 2014), 50–135.

[9] See for example M. Smith, "Aspects of Indigenous Religious Traditions," in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (Leiden, 2002), 245–47; P. van Minnen, "Saving History? Egyptian Hagiography in its Space and Time," in J. Dijkstra and M. van Dijk (eds.), *The Encroaching Desert: Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West* (Leiden, 2006), 57–91; R.S. Bagnall, "Models and Evidence in the Study of Religion in Late Roman Egypt," in J. Hahn, S. Emmel and U. Gotter (eds.), *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2008), 23–41; E.O.D. Love, *Code-Switching with the Gods* (Berlin/Boston, 2016), 242–59; M. Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford, 2017), 421–537.

[10] "Pagan" and its derivatives are used here in a relational sense to describe the ensemble of non-Christian beliefs and practices which preceded and existed alongside early Christianity in the Roman and Byzantine worlds. This ensemble of beliefs displayed considerable heterogeneity according to numerous divisions, among them geographic (on the level of village, province, etc.), ethno-linguistic (Egyptian, Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc.), and educational/socio-economic (philosophical vs. more popular interpretations of cults). At the same time, they would have shared a few important similarities across these lines; e.g. the central importance of the burnt offering, whether of incense or an animal, in most

mately been absorbed into, local expressions of Christianity, resulting in what are commonly, if perhaps misleadingly, called "pagan survivals" in folklore and folk rituals.

In Egypt in particular, this transition can be seen in the unique range of texts preserved from this period that, at times, shed light on the processes of Christianization and the survival and transformation of pre-Christian beliefs in greater detail than elsewhere. O.BYU Mag. represents one such document. It consists of a small archive of magical texts produced during a time when Egypt was predominantly Christian, but draws extensively upon the earlier cosmology of Pharaonic Egypt. This article will present an edition of the text, followed by a brief discussion of its relationship to other, similar documents, and suggest some preliminary conclusions about its implications for the religious landscape of Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt.

Description of Texts

O.BYU Mag. consists of a single text written out over three ostraca, and was acquired by the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah), as a donation from the late Aziz Atiya in the early 1980s.[11] Unfortunately, however, there is no record of the original prove-

cult and private practices. Thus, despite its inadequacy, we will sometimes use "paganism" to refer to this ensemble as it existed in contrast to Christianity/-ies, and as an object of Christian discourse. The most relevant referent in the context of this article is to the Egyptian temple cults which originated in the Pharaonic period, yet alongside this we must include the popular practices which must have existed alongside them, as well as the Graeco-Roman adaptations of and influences on the Egyptian cults. For discussions of the term "paganism," especially in its late antique context, see J.-C. Fredouille, "Heiden," *RAC* 13 (1986), cols. 1113–49; P. Chuvin, *Chronicle of the Last Pagans*. Trans. B.A. Archer (Cambridge, 1990), 7–13.

[11] Atiya (1898–1988) joined the faculty at the University of Utah in 1959 as a professor of Languages and History and was instrumental in establishing its Middle East Center. During the course of Atiya's tenure he made numerous visits to his native Egypt and procured various artifacts for the University of Utah as well as other institutions. The modest Coptic collection at Brigham Young University was acquired almost entirely by Aziz Atiya. See L.H. Blumell and T.A. Wayment, "Coptic New Testament Fragments in the Brigham Young University Collection," *JCSCS* 6 (2014), 59; L.H. Blumell, "Two Coptic Ostraca in the Brigham Young University Collection," *ChrEg* 88 (2013), 182.

The catalogue records for the three ostraca that comprise O.BYU Mag. are laconic and indicate that they were donated in 1980, although Atiya himself did not sign the catalogue

nance of the ostraca, or where they were acquired by Atiya in Egypt. The three ostraca bear almost consecutive inventory numbers – 76, 77, and 81 – which suggests they were acquired at the same time by the library.[12] The text takes the form of a single love spell, with no instructions or title, which is written continuously across the three ostraca, starting with no. 81, continuing onto no. 77 and then to no. 76, totaling 40 lines of text. The presence of the generic name marker (ϟ ϟ)[13] at two points (ll. 10, 15) suggests that these documents may represent a formulary or reference text that would have been consulted or served as a model in the course of a ritual. Applied or documentary magical texts – those created in the course of specific rituals – generally replace this marker with specific personal names. While some examples of applied texts do retain the generic marker, it seems that applied love spells were generally deposited in or around graves or homes as part of the associated ritual,[14] and so we might expect that if O.BYU Mag. represented one of these, the invocation would have been copied onto both sides of a single ostracon rather than across three to make deposition easier.[15] When we consider parallel cases of documents written across multiple ostraca – intended to serve as aides in copying petitions or performing liturgies (see below) – their use as reference texts seems more likely.

The hand is the same on all three ostraca, and represents an upright informal majuscule, generally bilinear and bimodal, but highly irregular; the vertical stroke of the alpha may be straight or curved, the curved strokes of the beta may be more or less angular, the arms of the kappa may or may not touch the stem, and so on. Particularly distinctive letterforms

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until 31 Dec. 1981, which may indicate that they were not transferred to BYU until this time. A record of an appraisal of the donation by Bernard M. Rosenthal is held by the Harold B. Lee Library, dated 26 Jan. 1982, and records it as a series of "Ostrakha" [sic].

[12] The ostraca all come from a non-diagnostic boditure of a closed vessel.

[13] The symbol ϟ derives from Greek magical practice, where it was the abbreviation for δ(ε)ῖ(να) "so-and-so/NN," doubled to indicate ὁ/ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνος ("NN child of NN"); the equivalent full writing in Coptic is ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡ/ⲧⲱϵⲛⲛⲓⲙ; see J. Dieleman, "What's in a Sign? Translating Filiation in the Demotic Magical Papyri," in A. Papaconstantinou (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids* (Farnham, 2010), 132–34.

[14] R.M. Hernández and S.T. Tovar, "The Use of the *Ostracon* in Magical Practice in Late Antique Egypt: Magical Handbooks vs. Material Evidence," *SMSR* 80 (2014), 781–88.

[15] The concave interior sides of the ostraca are covered with a dark brown residue or patina (possibly from ancient pitch) that would have made writing difficult, if not impossible.

include the upsilon, generally shaped like the Latin letter ‹V›, and the lambda, which at times takes the same form rotated by 180 degrees. This high level of irregularity may have partially resulted from the unevenness of the writing surface, but is more probably a consequence of the level of training the writer had received. The hand resembles the type that Raffaella Cribiore, in her study of educational texts, labels "the evolving hand," which "exhibits many irregular and clumsy features" and a "difficulty in maintaining alignment," but is nonetheless "moderately fluent."[16] A more specific example of a similar hand is that of Tsie, one of the correspondents of the eighth-century Theban monk Frange, whose hand is described as "maladroite" by the editors.[17]

Similar hands also appear in a number of Coptic magical texts, dated between the fifth and tenth centuries CE by their editors.[18] This wide disparity in dating is common for informal Coptic hands, but an insightful discussion of these texts by Ian Gardiner and Malcolm Choat suggests a narrower seventh- or eighth-century date.[19] This is close to the dating of similar practice texts, as well as those of Tsie, and so we will accept this general range, despite the unavoidable uncertainty in assessing informal hands.

While the hand may suggest that the writer had received some training, like many magical texts O.BYU Mag. displays a great deal of non-standard orthography and grammar, and in a few places (see ll. 16, 19), a break-down in the sense of the text may suggest limited literacy on the part of the copyist. In terms of orthography, many of the features are distinctive but rather unremarkable: itacisms,[20] haplography,[21] the use of

[16] R. Cribiore, *Writers, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, 1996), 112. Practice texts with broadly similar hands include Cribiore no. 94 (TM 65271; VI–VII CE) and no. 105 (TM 108776; VIII–IX CE). The hand also shares some general graphic trends with the following texts in the Petrie collection: UC62754 ("Byzantine Period"); UC62740 ("Byzantine Period"); UC62759 ("Byzantine Period").

[17] O.Frangé, p. 15; texts written by Tsie include nos. 247–62, 265, 266, 294–318.

[18] Naqlun N.45/95 (TM 108435; V–VI CE); P.Duke inv. 460 ined (TM 132027; V–VI CE); ACM 55 (= PCtYBR 1792; late VI/early VII CE); ACM 107 (= PCtYBR inv. 882(a); VI–VII CE); P.Colon. Inv. 1470 (*Enchoria* 5 [1975], pl. 35; VII CE); P.Macq. I 1 (VII–VIII CE); ACM 52 (IX–X CE).

[19] M. Choat and I. Gardner, *A Coptic Handbook of Ritual Power (P.Macq. I 1)* (Turnhout, 2015), 3–4.

[20] The phonetic merging of the vowels iota, eta, and upsilon and several diphthongs: e.g. ⲡⲛⲁⲏ for ⲡⲩⲁⲏ, ll. 8–9.

trema where the text does not call for it,[22] and the confusion of visually similar letters which may betray an inexperienced copyist.[23] More notable is the frequent absence of the weak consonant hori,[24] or the writing of two adjacent consonants with the same point of articulation with one grapheme (e.g. ⲙⲡ/ⲙⲃ as ⲙ).[25] A still more unusual orthography is the writing of ⲧϯ for ϯ, which is rare, but attested in at least two other manuscripts.[26] Some of the orthographic variations are more complex still, though shared between too many dialects to be particularly revealing.[27] There are a few features which display clear phonological or grammatical divergence from standard Sahidic norm, the use of ⲃ for ^{S}ⲫ is the most distinctive, though common in non-literary Sahidic north of Thebes, and a few other features suggest affinities with Bohairic or Fayumic;[28] Fayumic characteristics have been noted in many other magical texts.[29]

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[21] Haplography results in repeated adjacent sounds being written only once: ⲁϊ for ⲁⲓⲉⲓ, l. 9, l. 16; ⲩⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ for ⲉⲓⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ, l. 34. At times vowels that occur between two consonants drop out; presumably these were unstressed and replaced in speech with an unwritten schwa-sound: ⲯⲭⲏ for ⲯⲩⲭⲏ, l. 13.

[22] For example, ⲁⲓϭⲩⲛⲉ, ⟨ⲧ⟩ⲩⲓⲥⲓⲙⲉ, ⲧⲩⲉⲁⲓⲏ, l.10; ⲉⲕⲣⲩⲙⲡⲉ l.18, where the iota does not constitute a syllable in itself.

[23] See for example the epsilon/sigma confusion in ⲏ[ⲉ]ⲥⲉ (l. 5), ⲉⲁⲓⲏ for ⲥⲁⲓⲏ (l. 10).

[24] Hori is often, but not always, omitted where it is adjacent to another consonant: ⲥⲓⲙⲉ for ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ, ll. 10, 22; ⲛⲁⲣⲉ for ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ-, l. 17; ⲁⲣⲟⲕ for ⲁϩⲣⲟⲕ, l. 18; ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲛⲁⲥ for ⲙⲉⲥⲉⲣϩⲛⲁⲥ, l. 27, but cf. l. 16.

[25] The labial sequences ⲙⲡ and ⲙⲃ are regularly reduced to ⲙ, or less often, ⲃ: ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ for ⲙⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ, ll. 9, 21–22; ⲙⲉⲥ for 3rd f.s. neg. 1 perfect ⲙⲡⲉⲥ, ll. 15, 16, 26, 27; ⲕⲁ ⲃⲁⲗ for ⲕⲁ⟨ⲙ⟩ ⲃⲁⲗ, l.11, cf. ⲕ̄ ⲃⲁⲗ, l.23; ⲙⲁⲟⲩⲱϣ for ⲙⲡⲁⲟⲩⲱϣ, l. 37. By contrast, this is hyper-corrected in one instance where ⲙ is written as ⲙⲡ: ⲣⲓⲙⲡⲉ for ⲣⲓⲙⲉ, l. 18, but cf. l. 16. Similarly, the alveolar sequence ⲛⲧ may be reduced to ⲛ: ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲱϣ for ⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲱϣ (l. 19); ϭⲛ for ϭⲛⲧ, l. 30; ϩⲛ ϭⲟⲙ for ϩⲛ ⲧϭⲟⲙ, l. 39; ⲛⲁ- for the conjugation base of the 2 perfect ⲛⲧⲁ-, l. 20, and similarly ⲉⲛⲁ- for the relative of the 1 perfect ⲉⲛⲧⲁ-, ll. 12–13, 24. The sequence ϣϫ is reduced to ϫ; phonetically this is a reduction of /ʃtʃ/ to /tʃ/ (ⲉϫⲉ for ⲉϣϫⲉ, l. 29), cf. the sequence ϣⲧ apparently simplified to ϣ (ⲉⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱϣ<ⲧ>, l. 15).

[26] E.g. ⲧϯⲟⲩⲟϣ, ⲉⲧϯⲕⲁ, l. 11; ⲧϯⲥⲁⲓⲏ, ll. 22–23; ⲧϯⲟⲩⲟⲃϣ, l. 23; ⲉⲧϯ for ⲉⲧⲓ *l.* ἥδῃ, l. 38). Although apparently rare, this phenomenon is also attested in P.Bodmer XIX and XXI (in the texts of Matthew 22:16 and Joshua 1:6 respectively), and may perhaps be explained by the tau acting as a "phonetic complement" to the ti, indicating that the sign is a grapheme rather than, for example, a cross.

[27] See, for example, the confusion of open and closed vowels revealed by the writing of the copula ⲧⲉ as ⲧⲏ at one point (l. 24).

[28] See ϫⲱⲃ for ϫⲟⲩϥ, ll. 12, 24; ⲧⲏⲣⲃ for ⲧⲏⲣϥ, ll. 37–38); for discussions of this phenomenon see F. Hintze, "Bemerkungen zur Aspiration der Verschlusslaute im Koptischen," *Zeitschrift für Phonetik* 1 (1947), 199–213; F. Hintze, "Zur koptischen Phonologie," *Enchoria* 10 (1980), 23–91; R. Kasser, "Alphabet in Coptic, Greek," in A.S. Atiya

In addition to its unusual contents and linguistic characteristics, the text displays two interesting paratextual features. The text on each ostracon begins with a cross, a feature common in all types of papyri (literary, documentary, graffiti), although one that might not be expected in magical papyri, especially texts with ostensibly "pagan" content. But, as discussed by Malcolm Choat,[30] while the writing of a staurogram (ⲯ) or simple cross (+) at the beginning of texts may have originated as a marker of Christian identity in or before the fourth century, it quickly became a standard scribal practice to the extent that it cannot be considered a positive statement of a strong religious identity.[31] Such crosses are present in several other Coptic magical papyri with both Christian and "pagan" content,[32] including three of the parallel Horus-Isis texts.[33]

The second notable paratextual feature is the presence of a punctuation mark consisting of three vertical dots ‹⁝› used to separate the *voces magicae* at the beginning of the first ostracon. Similar groups of three or four vertical dots are found with an identical purpose in several other magical

(ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1991), 8.30–32; P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* (London, 1954), 1.136–38; cf. C. Peust, *Egyptian Phonology: An Introduction to the Phonology of a Dead Language* (Göttingen, 1999), 136–37 (§ 3.12.4). Also notable are the regular use of the strong article ⲧ in place of ⲧ(ϵ)-: ll. 10, 11, 22, 23, attested in Bohairic (B4) and Fayumic (F4); see also the forms ⲙϵⲣⲓ- ([S]ⲙϵⲣϵ, l.24; cf. [F]ⲙϵⲣⲓ), ⲁ[ⲡ]ⲁⲧ (l. 32–33, [S]ⲁⲡⲁⲧ, cf. [F]ⲁⲡⲁⲧ) and ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲏ (l.35, [S]ⲛⲕⲁ, cf. [B]ⲛϫⲁⲓ, [F]ⲛⲕϵⲓ); see also the writing of single vowels for standard Sahidic double vowels, ⲙⲁⲟⲩ (ll. 17, 19–20; [S]ⲙⲁⲁⲩ, cf. [B]ⲙⲁⲩ, [F]ⲙⲏⲟⲩ), ⲱⲟⲡ (l. 35; [S]ⲱⲟⲟⲡ, cf. [BF]ⲱⲟⲡ), although this is common in many non-literary Sahidic texts (cf. Kahle, *Bala'izah* [n. 28], 1.61–62, 83–84).

[29] For example, Columbia University 1–2 (TM 102257; VI–VIII CE); the texts of the Berlin Library (TM Archive 435; VII–VIII CE); P.Carlsberg 52 (TM 65321, 102256; VII CE); and the texts of the Heidelberg Library (TM Archive 421; X–XI CE).

[30] M. Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnhout, 2006), 116–18.

[31] R.M. Hernández and S.T. Tovar, "A Magical Spell on an Ostracon at the Abbey of Montserrat," *ZPE* 189 (2014), 176.

[32] See for example texts: P.Berlin 8314 (= ACM 75), 8318 (= ACM 121), 8319 (= ACM 56), 8320 (TM 105606), 8325 (= ACM 76), 8327 (TM 108886), 8328 (TM 102260), 8329 (TM 107298); all of these Berlin texts should be dated to VII–VIII CE; Florence 5645 (= ACM 97); London Hay 10391 (= ACM 127; VI–VII CE); London Oriental Manuscript 6796 (1) (= ACM 131; V–VI CE); P.Berlin 982 (TM 107313; VI–VIII CE); Yale 882(A) (= ACM 107; VI–VII CE); T.Vat. Copt.7 (TM 99591; VII CE).

[33] Hs. Schmidt 1 (= ACM 48; TM 98043; IV–VII CE); Hs. Schmidt 2 (= ACM 72; TM 98063; IV–VII CE); P.Berlin 8313 (= ACM 48; TM 98044; VII–VIII CE).

papyri,[34] as well as in a single liturgical text,[35] and two ostraca written by the monk Frange: the first a letter,[36] the second consisting of a liturgical prayer intended to be used as an amulet.[37] Given the fact that *voces* would not generally be recognized as comprehensible words, it is likely that the divisions were used to indicate to readers where the names began and ended, and would thus serve the same purpose as the practice of overlining names attested in Greek and Coptic magical papyri,[38] as well as in some Greek documentary texts, where non-Greek names may be similarly surligned.[39]

While it has been noted that the use of ostraca for Coptic magical texts is somewhat unusual,[40] we are aware of 17 other instances of pottery ostraca of magical or possibly magical contents,[41] and a further 10 lime-

[34] Naqlun N.45/95 (TM 108435; V–VI CE); Pap.Heid. N.F. IX (= P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685; ca. X CE); BKU I 17 (TM 108887; IX CE); P.Mich. inv. 593 (TM 100021; ca. 600 CE); P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 407 (unpublished; XI CE); P.Macq. I 1 (VII–VIII CE); Vienna K 8637 (TM 91419; X–XI CE) uses three oblique strokes for the same purpose.

[35] P.Palau Rib. inv. 138 (X/IX CE), apparently a eucharistic text, which uses at least three patterns of dots, including a line of four vertical dots, as punctuation; see H. Quecke, "Ein koptischer Papyrus mit den Einsetzungsworten der Eucharistie (PPalau Rib. Inv. 138)," *Studia Papyrologica* 8 (1969), 43–53.

[36] O.Frangé 50 l.16. We would like to thank Chantal Heurtel for pointing this example out to us.

[37] O.Crum ST 18.10 (TM 111157; VIII CE, Thebes): here four groups of four vertical dots are used to mark the name of the patriarch Jacob: ⲓ⁝ⲕⲱ⁝ⲃ⁝.

[38] Coptic examples of this practice include P.Berlin 8105 (TM 108882; VIII CE); P.Heid. inv. Kopt 408 (unpublished); P.Heid. inv. Kopt 684 (= ACM 73; XI CE); P.Stras. Inv. Copt. 216 (X CE; for edition see H. Vela, "A Magical Text concerning the Eyes and Face," in A. Boud'hors et al. [eds.], *Coptica Argentoratensia: Textes et documents de la troisième université d'été de papyrologie copte [Strasbourg, 18–25 juillet 2010]* [Paris, 2014], 128–30); Vienna K 7093 (= ACM 50; X CE).

[39] There is at present no comprehensive treatment of the practice of supralineation; J.-L. Fournet is currently working on a study of this scribal phenomenon in documentary papyri. For briefer discussions see J. Keenan, "On Language and Literacy in Byzantine Aphrodito," *PapCongr*. XVIII.2 (1988), 162. An identical phenomenon can be found in the Latin texts of Jerome; see A. Souter, "Greek and Hebrew words in Jerome's Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel," *HTR* 28 (1935), 1. The authors thank Jean-Luc Fournet for providing a discussion of the phenomenon of supralineation.

[40] T.S. Richter, "Markedness and Unmarkedness in Coptic Magical Writing," in M. de Haro Sanchez (ed.), *Écrire la magie dans l'Antiquité – Scrivere la magia nell'Antichità: Proceedings of the International Workshop (Liège, October 13–15, 2011)* (Liège, 2015), 86–87.

[41] Cairo, Egyptian Museum 49547 (TM 102068); Coptic Museum O. 5517 (TM 108488); Los Angeles, County Museum of Art MA 80.202.214 (TM 642006); O.Crum 490

stone ostraca,[42] representing ca. 5.1% and ca. 2.8% respectively of the total of 356 Coptic magical texts (published and unpublished) known to us.[43] A few of the smaller ostraca seem to have been applied texts, used as amulets,[44] and Andrew Wilburn has suggested that others may represent copies made from larger formularies to be carried and used by practitioners *in situ*.[45] Neither of these possibilities would seem to apply to our manuscript – it appears to represent most likely a formulary, though not a particularly portable one. Of the ten pottery ostraca for which their provenance is known or suspected, half (5) come from Thebes, and of the remainder, one each come from Assiut, Elephantine, Mazura, "Middle Egypt," and Wadi Sarga.

(TM 83379); O.Crum ST 399 (= ACM 153; TM 99593); O.Monts. Roca inv. no. 1472 (TM 144245); O.Wadi Sarga 20 (TM 108461); P.Berlin 936 + 971 (TM 107312); P.Berlin 982 (TM 107313); P.Berlin 1019 (TM 107318); P.Berlin 1082 (TM 107320); P.Berlin 12236 (TM 107337); P.Berlin 20692 (TM 107338); P.Berlin 20870 (TM 107339); P.Berlin 5162 (TM 107327); P.Berlin 5176 (TM 107336); Private collection Moen 34 (= ACM 114; TM 102264). It is possible that some of these texts, as well as those in the following note, are not "magical," but belong to the category of, for example, liturgical texts (intended to assist in the performance of church rituals) or scholarly exercises (copied in the process of education); for a discussion of some of the issues in distinguishing between these genres, see N. Carlig and M. de Haro Sanchez, "Amulettes ou exercises scolaires: sur les diffi–cultés de la catégorisation des papyrus chrétiens," in M. de Haro Sanchez (ed.), *Écrire la magie dans l'Antiquité – Scrivere la magia nell'Antichità* (n. 40), 69–83.

[42] Coptic Museum 4746 (TM 108487); Egyptian Museum CG 8147 (TM 110393); O.Crum 487 (TM 83376); O.Crum ST 18 (TM 111157); Milan, Museo Archeologico E 0.9.40455 (TM 108569); P.Berlin 368 (TM 107311); P.Berlin 747 (TM 102261); P.Berlin 924 (TM 81827); P.Berlin 1768 (TM 107322); P.Berlin 11217 (TM 102262).

[43] Cf. Hernández and Tovar, "The Use of the *Ostracon*" (n. 14), 781–82, who suggest that ostraca are typically used for "aggressive magic."

[44] Possible or certain amulets include O.Crum ST 18, a prayer written by the monk Frange to protect livestock (see A. Boud'hors and C. Heurtel, *Les ostraca coptes de la TT 29* [Brussels, 2010], 1.158–59); P.Berlin 747 may have been intended in a similar fashion to bless a place with peace. Others with indicators of being applied texts include those containing personal names: P.Berlin 5162 ("Susanna"), P.Berlin 11217 ("Pesunthios"); those which contain common amuletic formulae (*Sator Arepo; Phone Aner*): Egyptian Museum CG 8147, P.Berlin 982 and O.Crum 490 (the last of these also contains the instructions to "give it to my brother"); and those consisting of Psalms: Milan, Museo Archeologico E 0.9.40455 (Ps 1:1), P.Berlin 1019 (Ps 95:5a), although these may also be understood as practice texts (see above, n. 42).

[45] A.T. Wilburn, *Materia Magica: The Archaeology of Magic in Roman Egypt, Cyprus, and Spain* (Ann Arbor, 2013), 123–25. Among the texts listed here, O.Crum 487 and O.Wadi Sarga 20 are certainly formularies, containing multiple magico-medical recipes.

The practice of writing a single text across multiple ostraca is apparently even rarer; among the examples known to us are two second- or third-century Demotic petitions from Narmouthis written across four and seven ostraca respectively,[46] two series of Greek ostraca from the Theban region containing sequential or nearly sequential verses of biblical texts,[47] and a number of Coptic texts, including four letters,[48] and a list of household items,[49] all of which come from the Theban region. The Demotic and Coptic examples would seem to provide good parallels to O.BYU Mag., being written on only one of the faces of their ostraca, whereas the Greek biblical examples are written opisthographically. Nonetheless, in each case the intent seems to have been to produce relatively long texts in geographical contexts (Narmouthis and Thebes) where ostraca are more common than papyrus. This information, and the general predominance of a Theban origin among magical ostraca, might lead us to tentatively suggest that these pieces derive from this region, although at least one other ostracon from Atiya's donation is known to derive from Bawit, north of Assiut, offering a second plausible place of origin,[50] while the non-

[46] These are O.Narm. Dem. III 155–157 + P.Narm. 2006 15, dating to 198–206 CE (TM 91501, 91502, 91503, 128999), belonging to Phatres son of Horminos; and OMM 272, 206, 1504, 758 + 1518, 1507 + two unnumbered ostraca, belonging to Horos, perhaps Phratres' brother (see E. Bresciani et al., *Narmouthis 2006: Documents et objets découverts à Medinet Madi en 2006* [Pisa, 2010], 79–80).

[47] These are O.Petr. Mus. 4–7 (TM 68817; VI–VII CE), containing selections from Acts 2:22–19:9; the closest sequence is that from 4v to 5r, where a lacuna may hide a direct transition from Acts 2:24–2:25. See also O.Petr. Mus. 13–16 (TM 61646), containing selections from 1 John 2:12–4:21. We thank Anne Boud'hors and Ágnes Mihálykó for having alerted us to these texts.

[48] O.Frangé 255 + 256 (TM 219797 + 219798; VIII CE); O.Crum 84 (TM 82975; VI–VII CE) and O.Crum 401 (TM 83292; VI–VIII CE); although the other ostraca of these latter two texts are unknown, Crum notes (for no. 84) "[t]his text appears incomplete; the document must therefore have occupied more than one ostracon" (W.E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others* [London, 1902], 15, cf. 75). We thank Chantal Heurtel and Frederick Krueger for providing us with the details of these and the following text.

[49] O.Crum 465 (TM 83354; VI–VII CE); as with the letters from the same volume, the connected ostraca are unknown, but can be inferred from the fragmentary nature of the text.

[50] Blumell, "Two Coptic Ostraca" (n. 11), 182–87. Interestingly, BYU Ostracon inv. no. 79, whose inventory number is very close to the present text that occupies nos. 76, 77, and 81, probably came from Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu) based on onomastic considerations. BYU Ostracon inv. no. 78 is a *dipinto* that contains a Greek inscription that includes the phrase θεοῦ χάρις κέρδος, but as this phrase had a wide geographic circulation on ampho-

standard dialectal features might suggest an origin even further north, in Lower Egypt or the Fayum.

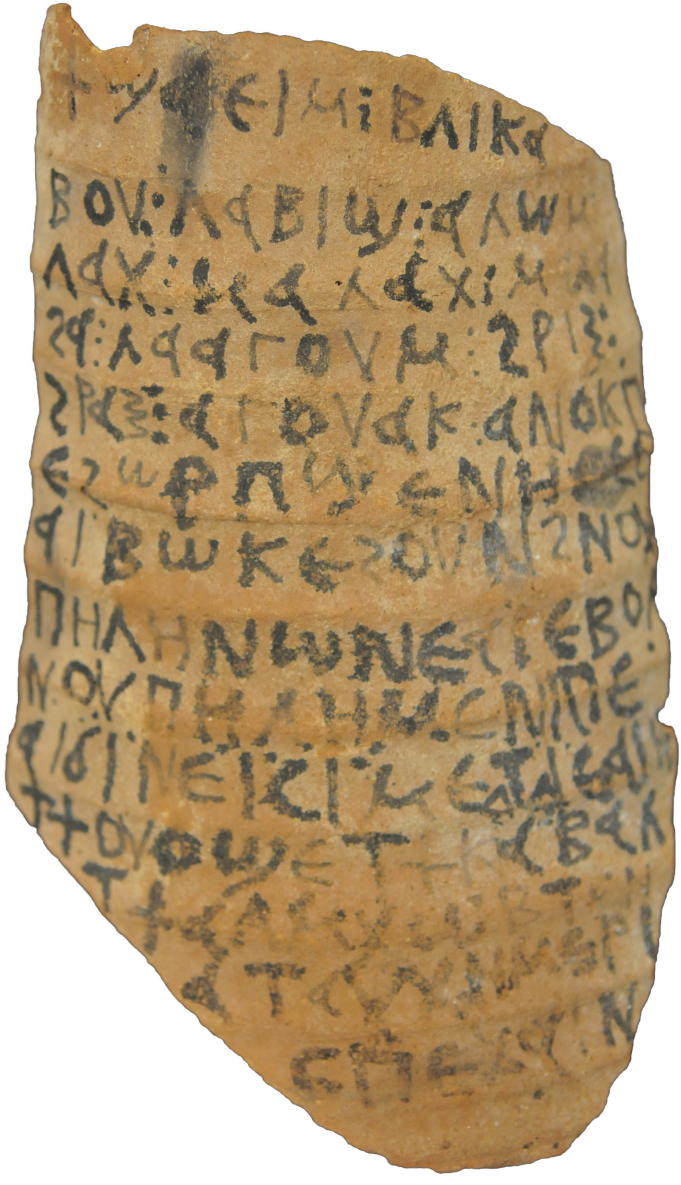
Text

O.BYU Mag. 1 (inv. no. 81) 21.5 x 12cm (H x W) VII–VIII CE (?)
Provenance unknown

+ ϣⲁⲉⲓⲙ ⁝ ⲃⲗⲓⲕⲁ-
ⲃⲟⲩ ⁝ ⲗⲁⲃⲓϣ ⁝ ⲁⲗⲱⲙ ⁝
ⲗⲁϫ ⁝ ⲙⲁⲗⲁϫ ⁝ ⲙⲁⲗⲁ-
ϩⲁ ⁝ ⲗⲁⲁⲅⲟⲩⲙ ⁝ ϩⲣⲓⲍ ⁝
ϩⲣⲁⲍ ⁝ ⲁⲅⲟⲩⲁⲕ ⁝ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡ-
ⲉ ϩⲱⲣ ⲡϣⲉⲛⲏ[ⲉ]ⲥⲉ
ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ-
ⲡⲏⲗⲏ ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲏⲗⲏ ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⁝
ⲁⲓⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲓⲥⲓⲙⲉ /ⲏⲏ\ ⲧⲓⲉⲁⲓⲏ
ⲧ†ⲟⲩⲟϣⲉ ⲧ†ⲕⲁ ⲃⲁⲗ
ⲧ†ⲁⲗ ⲙⲭⲱⲃ ⲧⲉⲛ-
ⲁⲧⲁ⳯ⲭⲏ ⲙⲉⲣⲓ-
ⲥ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲓ ⲛ-

8 *l.* ⲡⲩⲗⲏ (Grk. πύλη); *l.* ⲁⲓⲉⲓ **9** *l.* ⲡⲩⲗⲏ (Grk. πύλη); *l.* ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ **10** *l.* ⲛ̄†ⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ; *l.* ⲧⲓⲥⲁⲓⲏ **11** *l.* †ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣⲉ; *l.* ⲧⲁ†ⲕⲁⲙ? **12** *l.* ⲧⲁ†ⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛⲭⲱϥ? **12–13** *l.* ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁ-⳯ⲩⲭⲏ (Grk. ψυχή)

rae it is not especially helpful for determining the provenance of the present text. See T. Derda, "Inscriptions with the Formula θεοῦ χάρις κέρδος on Late Roman Amphorae," *ZPE* 94 (1992), 135–52 and J.-L. Fournet and D. Pieri, "Les *depinti* amphoriques d'Antinoopolis," in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis I* (Firenze, 2008), 176–216.



O.BYU Mag. 1

O.BYU Mag. 2 (inv. no. 77) 22.5 x 19 cm (H x W)

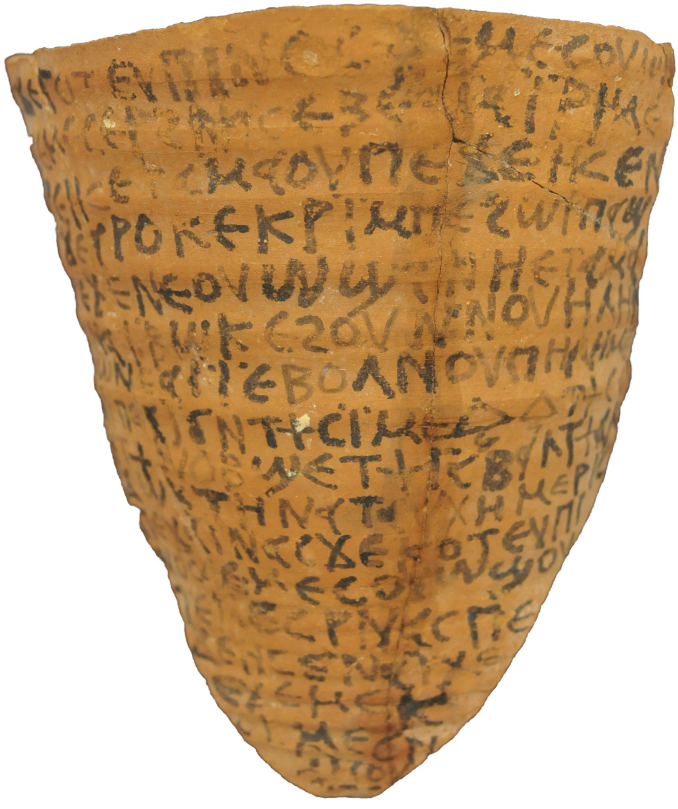
15 + ⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲅⲟⲧⲉ <ⲉ>ⲩⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲍ̣ ⲉⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱ
ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲥⲉⲣⲥⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲙ̣ ⲁ̣ⲓ̈ⲣⲓⲙⲉ
ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲏⲥⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲏⲥⲉ ⲛ-
ⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲣⲓ̈ⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲱ-
ⲏⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧ̣ⲛ̣ ⲏ<ⲥ>ⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲁ-
20 ⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲏⲗⲏ {ⲛ}
ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲓⲓ̈ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲏⲗⲏ ⲙⲉ-
ⲛⲓ̈ⲡⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲛⲧ†ⲥⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲍ̣ⲍ̣ ⲧ†ⲥⲁⲓ̈-
ⲏ ⲧ†ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲱⲉ ⲧ†ⲕ̄ ⲃⲁⲗ ⲧ†ⲁⲗ ⲙ-
ⲭⲱⲃ ⲧⲏⲛⲁⲧⲁϥⲭⲏ ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲥ
25 ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲟⲧⲉ <ⲉ>ⲩⲡⲓ-
ⲛⲟⲥ ⲍ̣ ⲉⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲟⲩ-
ⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲛⲁⲥ ⲡⲉ-
ⲭⲉ ⲏⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲭⲉ
ⲉⲭⲉ ⲙⲉⲕ-
30 ⲉⲓⲙⲉ <ⲉ>ⲥⲛ
ⲁⲙⲟⲩ
ⲉ]ⲛ̣ⲁ̣[ⲡ-

15 inscr. ⲁ·ⲥ; *l.* ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲉⲩⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ (Grk. πίνος); *l.* ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱ **16** Grk. οὐδέ; *l.* ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲣⲥⲛⲁⲥ; *l.* ⲁ̈ⲣⲓⲙⲉ **17** *l.* ⲛⲁⲣⲡⲛ-; *l.* ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲁⲩ **18** *l.* ⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲣⲓⲙⲉ **19** *l.* ⲛⲧⲉ–ⲟⲩⲱⲱ **20** *l.* ⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲃⲱⲕ; *l.* ⲥⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲩⲗⲏ (Grk. πύλη) **21** *l.* ⲁⲓⲉⲓ; *l.* ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲩⲗⲏ (Grk. πύλη) **21–22** *l.* ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ **22.** *l.* †ⲥⲓⲙⲉ **22–23** *l.* ⲧⲏⲥⲁⲓⲏ **23** *l.* †ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲱⲉ; *l.* ⲧⲁ†ⲕⲁⲙ? ⲧⲁ†ⲁⲗⲟⲙ **24** *l.* ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲧⲁϥⲭⲏ (Grk. ψυχή) **25–26** *l.* ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲧⲕ ⲉⲩⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ (Grk. πίνος) **26** *l.* ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱ **27** *l.* ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲥⲉⲣⲥⲛⲁⲥ **29** *l.* ⲉⲱⲭⲉ **30.** *l.* ⲉⲥⲛⲧ

O.BYU Mag. 3 (inv. no. 76) 19.5 x 11.0 cm (H x W)

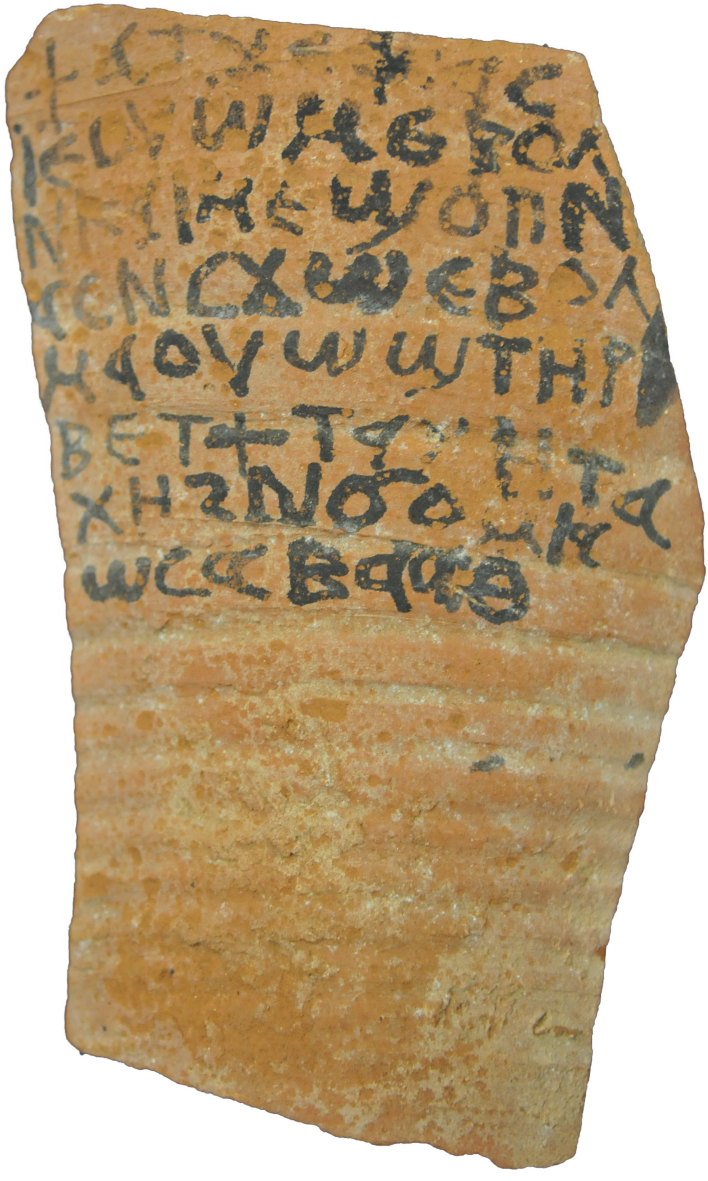
+ ⲁⲧ ⲭⲉ̣[.]ⲕ̣ⲁⲥ
ⲏⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
35 ⲛⲕ̣ⲁⲓⲙ ⲉⲱⲟⲡ ⲛ-
ⲁ̣ⲥ ⲛⲥⲭⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲙⲁⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲏⲣ[.]-
ⲃ ⲉⲧ† ⲧⲁⲭ̣ⲏ ⲧⲁ-
ⲭⲏ ⲥⲛ ⲥⲟⲙ ⲓⲁ-
ⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ

34 *l.* ⲉⲏⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ **35–36** *l.* ⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲕⲁ ⲉⲥⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲥ **36** *l.* ⲛ̄ⲥⲭⲱⲕ **37** *l.* ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲟⲩⲱⲱ **38** Grk. ἤδη **38–39** Grk. ταχὺ ταχύ **39** *l.* ⲥⲛ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ



O.BYU Mag. 2 center

O.BYU Mag. 2 right side



O.BYU Mag. 3

Continuous Translation

[1] + Shaeim, Blikabou, Labish, Alom, Lakh, Malakh, Malaha, Laagoum, Hriks, Hraks, Agouak. I am Horus the son of Isis. I went in a gate of stone; I came out a gate of iron. I found the woman NN daughter of NN, the beautiful one, the white one, the one with the black eyes, the one with the burning pupils, the one that my soul loved. I said to

[2] + her, "Lie on the dirt, NN." She did not want me, neither was she willing … I cried before Isis, my mother. Isis said to me, "Why are you crying, Horus, my son?" (I said), "Do you not want (me to cry?), Isis, my mother? I have gone in a gate of stone; I came out of a gate of iron. I found the woman NN daughter of NN, the beautiful one, the white one with the black eyes and the burning pupils, the one my soul loved. I said to her, 'Lie on the dirt, NN.' She did not want me, neither was she willing." Isis said to me, "(Even) if you did not know how to find me, (say (?)) 'Come to [my c]u-

[3] + -p (?) that I may eat from her vessel, and she will fulfill all my desires. Now, quickly, quickly, by the power of Iaō Sabaōth.'"

Notes

1 ϣⲁⲉⲓⲙ. This name, and the other *voces magicae* in the initial section, are generally without parallel in published magical texts; this is not unusual, given the variety and number of *voces magicae* found in this genre. A number of the words invoked in this section could be understood as belonging to a Semitic language, perhaps Hebrew or Aramaic, although the absence of the definite article /-a/ at the end of most of the words makes Aramaic less likely. If there is a Semitic word somewhere behind ϣⲁⲉⲓⲙ there would be a number of possibilities: שם ("name"); שים ("to put, place"); חיים ("life", but a corrupted form).

1–2 ⲃⲗⲓⲕⲁ|ⲃⲟⲩ. This name is also without parallel. While ⲃⲗⲓⲕⲁⲃⲟⲩ seems to be one word (the three dots indicating a word-break occurs at the end of other lines, but not here) if we were to understand it as two, the second element (ⲃⲟⲩ) could be compared to βιου βιου (*PGM* V.483).

2 ⲁⲁⲃⲓϣ. This name is also without parallel, although it bears a strong resemblance to Hebrew לבש (“to clothe, to put on”) and might form a pair with the following word, ⲁⲁⲱⲙ.

ⲁⲁⲱⲙ. This name is also without parallel; cf. ⲁⲁⲙⲟⲩⲣⲓ (London Ms. Or. 6796 (2, 3) verso l.34 = AKZ vol. 1 H). This word might form a pair with ⲁⲁⲃⲓϣ, as it could be understood as the Hebrew עלם (“secret thing, secret one”) or perhaps even a mishearing of the more common ערום (“naked”) – thus perhaps “clothe the secret one/thing,” or “clothe the naked.”

3 ⲁⲁⲭ. This name is also without parallel. We might see here the Hebrew לך, which is either “to/for you” (masc. sing.) or “go” (imperative); it could form a trio with the preceding two words (as an ethical dative “clothe the hidden one for your benefit”?) or a pair with the following word ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲭ.

ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲭ. Cf. ⲙ̣ⲁⲣⲁϧ (London Hay 10376 l.1; = ACM 78). The origin of this word could be in the Hebrew root מלך, which would be “king” (*melek*), but the a-vowels make the Hebrew “angel” or “messenger” (מלאך) more likely. If it were paired with the previous word it might have the sense of “you have an angel” [as a protector] or “go, angel!” Alternatively, it could be a variant of the Canaanite god Molokh (מלך, Μολόχ) mentioned in the Old Testament: Lev 18:21, 20:2–5; 2 Kings 23:10, 32.35, Amos 5:26.

3–4 ⲙⲁⲗⲁ|ϩⲁ. This name does not readily lend itself to a Semitic root and it is probably derived from ⲙⲁⲗⲁⲭ using the device, common in lists of magical names, where words are simply repeated with slight variation. On this phenomenon see H.S. Versnel, “The Poetics of the Magic Charm,” in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 2002), 131–32.

4 ⲗⲁⲁⲅⲟⲩⲙ. Cf. ⲗⲁⲭⲟⲛ, one of the “fifteen helpers from the seven virgins of the light” in *The Second Book of Jeu* (197.19), and ⲗⲁⲭⲟⲙ, a name which appears as a label for a figure drawn on the recto of Leiden F 1964/4 (XI CE).[51]

[51] M. Green, “A late Coptic Magical Text from the Collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden,” *OMRO* 67 (1987), 29–43.

ⲍⲣⲓϫ. Cf. ριξ (*PGM* III.413, *PGM* XIII.937, 971, 986), ριγχ (*PGM* V.484), φριξ (*PGM* I.203); cf. also ῥύξ/ῥήξ, which appears as an element of several of the names of the *decans* (stellar demons) in the *Testament of Solomon*, probably as a corruption of the Latin *rex* ("king"), which should properly be understood as the title used by the demons to address their interlocutor, king Solomon. On this interpretation see R. Daniel, "The Testament of Solomon XVIII 27–28, 33–40," in H. Loebenstein and H. Harrauer (eds.), *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P.Rainer Cent.). Fest–schrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österrei–chischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1983), 1.296.

5 ⲍⲣⲁϫ. Probably derived from ⲍⲣⲓϫ (cf. n. 3–4 above), but also compare Ἀβραξας (cf. *PGM* III.449, XLV.1), a variant of the more common Ἀβρασάξ.

11 ⲧ†ⲟⲩⲟⲱϣⲉ. While this could be understood simply as an irregular form of ⲟⲩⲱⲃϣ (Crum 476b), it may in fact represent a rare attestation of a predicted feminine form, ⲟⲩⲟⲃϣⲉ from older *wbḥ.t* (cf. ⲃⲱⲛ/ⲃⲟⲟⲛⲉ < *bỉn/bỉn.t*, "bad"). Compare ⲍⲁⲛⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲃϣⲓ, noted by Crum 476b., where we see the variant in writing of the final vowel ⲉ > ⲓ which we would expect in Bohairic.[52]

12 ⲧ†ⲁⲗ ⲙϫⲱⲃ. This clause poses a problem of interpretation. From the context, it seems plausible to understand ⲁⲗ as an anomalous form of the word ⲁⲗⲟⲩ (Crum 5a), "pupil (of the eye)"; the most obvious other choices would not seem to fit – ⲁⲗ ("deaf", Crum 3b) and ⲍⲁⲗⲙⲉ ("fountain", Crum 670b) would not seem to make sense in the larger clause, while ⲁⲗ ("pebble, hailstone, testicle, spot", Crum 3b) and ⲁⲗⲟⲙ ("breast", 6a) are masculine. ϫⲱⲃ is still more problematic; among other options it could be understood as a form of ϫⲟⲩϥ ("costly, rare", Crum 796a) or ϭⲱⲃ ("weak", Crum 805b), but here we suggest ϫⲟⲩϥ (Crum 795b), "burning." The syntax of this passage is difficult to parse; in the parallels (see below), the subordinate clauses ("black-eyed" and so on) are preceded by ⲛ- to indicate an attributive construction, but the presence of the definite article before ⲁⲗ makes this impossible in this case. The initial tau may function in ll. 11 and 12 as the determinator pronoun, ⲧⲁ- ("the one with"), as we suggest in the apparatus, giving the sequence ⲧⲁ-† "the one with the… ." This would provide a parallel to two of the other charms discussed below as comparanda: *PGM* IV.109: ⲡ[ⲁ]ⲧⲓϭⲁⲗⲁⲩϭ ⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲙⲛⲧ

[52] We would like to thank Sebastian Richter for pointing this out to us.

ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲧⲓⲃⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ (“the one with the bronze feet, the one with the iron heels”); P.Berl. 8313 col. 2 ll. 15–16: ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲓⲥⲓϫ ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ (“the one with one eye, the one with one hand”).

15 ⲅⲟⲧⲉ <ⲉ>ⲩⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ. This phrase is difficult, but we understand the first word as the verb ^{S}ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲧⲕ (“sleep”, Crum 224a). Forms ending in epsilon and lacking the initial nu are noted by Crum and R. Kasser (*Compléments au dictionnaire de Crum* [Cairo, 1964], 37). The writing of kappa as gamma here (though not where the phrase is repeated in l. 25) may reflect voicing triggered by the unwritten nu *(/n/ + /k/ > /ŋg/)*. The second word is most easily understood as the Greek πίνος, “dirt, filth”, although a Coptic word, such as ⲡⲱⲱⲛⲉⲥ (“movement”, Crum 265b), ⲡⲟⲓ (“bench”, Crum 260b), or ⲡⲛⲛⲏ (“threshold”, Crum 266a), or perhaps the otherwise unattested Greek loanword ὕπνος (“sleep”) may be intended. Πίνος, in the form ⲡⲓⲛⲟ probably appears, albeit in a different context, in P.Kell. Copt. I 35.11, a separation spell: ⲡⲍⲁⲥⲃ̣ ⲛ̄ⲡ̣ⲓⲛⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲁⲃⲓⲁ (“oh dirty natron [?] of Arabia”).

16 ⲙⲉⲥⲉⲣⲍⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲙ̣. This phrase is repeated in l. 27 as ⲙⲉⲥⲣ⟨ⲍ⟩ⲛⲁⲥ (“she was not willing”) without the second element. This element is probably to be understood as ⲉ- + infinitive, but ⲃⲉⲙ does not clearly resemble any verb, and is probably best understood as some kind of copying error. A resemblance to βῆμα (“judgment seat”) is undeniable (assuming haplography with the following alpha), but meaningless in this context. One extremely speculative possibility would be to understand a writing of ^{S}ⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ (“to sleep”), with the hori unwritten, as is common in this text, the nu labialised as mu through the influence of the beta, and metathesis changing the positions of beta and mu; this is made somewhat more likely by forms such as ^{B}ⲍⲛⲓⲙ, where the iota is unwritten, and the presence of the word in the parallel text in HS. Schmidt 1 l: ⲙⲡⲉⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲍⲓⲛⲏⲃ (“not one of them [the women] has slept”). Another alternative would be to read ⲙⲉⲥⲉⲣⲍⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲉⲙ̣ⲁ̣, with the final element as the Greek noun (ἀσέβημα), although this loanword seems to be otherwise unattested in Coptic. In this hypothecial scenario, at some stage of the text’s redaction ⲍⲛⲁⲥ was misunderstood as an abbreviation to which the subsequent letters were added. The compound ⲉⲣⲍⲛⲁⲥⲉⲃⲉⲙ̣ⲁ̣ would be understood as ⲉⲓⲣⲉ + ⲍⲉⲛ + ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲙⲁ (“do some impious acts”). Ἀσεβής (“impious person”) is attested in Coptic; see H. Förster, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten* (Berlin, 2002), 113. Where this latter word does appear, the reference is usually to an indi-

vidual who is generally impious or ungodly, rather than specifically to sexual impropriety, as seems to be the case here. A few exceptions can be found; most notable is that in the Greek text of Lev 18:17: "You shall not uncover the shame of a woman and her daughter. You shall not take her son's daughter and her daughter's daughter to uncover their shame, for they are of your own household; it is an *impious act*" (ἀσχημοσύνην γυναικὸς καὶ θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀποκαλύψεις· τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς οὐ λήμψῃ ἀποκαλύψαι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτῶν· οἰκεῖαι γάρ σού εἰσιν, *ἀσέβημά* ἐστιν). For other instances in which the ἀσεβ- lexemes have a sexual connotation, see Lev 20:12; Ezk 22:11; Jude 15, 18; 1 Enoch 13:2; a knowledge of these passages, or similar uses in other authors, could have led a redactor of this text to use the word here.

19 ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲧⲛ̣ ⲏ⟨ⲥ⟩ⲉ. Another problematic passage. The regular writing of ⲛⲧ- as ⲛ-, as well as the parallels in Hs. Schmidt 1 l.10 and Hs. Schmidt 2 l.15 (discussed below), suggest that we should read ⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲱϣ. The copyist's problem with the name ⲏⲥⲉ (c.f. l. 6) would explain the omission of sigma in ⲏⲥⲉ, which might be expected before the word ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲟⲩ. The intervening sequence ⲧⲛ is more difficult; the parallels in Hs. Schmidt 1 & 2 have ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲛ; ⲧⲛ could be an abbreviation of this sequence (consisting of the first and last letters; cf. perhaps the abbreviation ⲕ̄ for ⲕⲁⲙ in l. 23) or a scribal error; it is conceivable, for example, that the copyist omitted a line when copying from a source text.

32–33 [ⲉ]ⲛ̣ⲁ̣[ⲡ]|ⲁⲧ. This reconstruction must remain speculative, but it seems to fit the context; the form ⲁⲡⲁⲧ for the standard ^{S}ⲁⲡⲟⲧ ("cup") is given by Crum (14b) as Fayumic, but R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire de Crum* (Cairo, 1964), 3 notes instances in both Sahidic and Lycopolitan. Perhaps cf. P.Berlin 8318 (= ACM 121) ll. 9–11: "I entreat you into this wine and this honey that is mixed with water that is in this cup" (†ⲥⲟⲡⲥ ⲛ̇ⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲛ̣ⲏ̣ⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲡⲓⲉⲃⲓⲱ̣ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲕⲉⲣⲁ ⲣⲛⲟⲩⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲣⲛ̇ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧ); P.Berl. 8319 (= ACM 56) ll. 4–5: "I call upon you today that you come down to me upon this cup" ([†ⲉⲡⲓ]ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ̣ⲓ̣ ⲙⲟⲕ ⲙⲡⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ [ⲉⲕⲉⲉⲓ] ⲛ̣ⲁⲓ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧ); London MS. Or. 6794 (=ACM 129) l. 16: "… and you come upon this cup..." (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲭⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧ); London Hay 10391 (= ACM 127) l. 41: "… and you come down upon this cup..." (ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ ⲡⲉⲁⲡⲟⲧ); P.Yale 1791 (=ACM 122) ll. 49–50: "…and you stay in this cup that is before me …" (ⲛ̄ⲅⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧ ⲣⲉϫⲉ

ⲛⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲉⲧⲕⲏ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲙⲡⲁⲙⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ). An alternative would be to read [ⲉ]ⲣⲁ{ⲁ}ⲧ "to me".

35–36 ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲙ ⲉⲱⲟⲡ ⲛ|ⲁⲥ. The first word here is probably [S]ⲛⲕⲁ, written as ⲛⲕⲁⲏ, with a visual copying error of mu for eta. While this exact form is otherwise unattested, forms with a final diphthong are found in several dialects: [B]ⲛϫⲁⲓ, [F]ⲛⲕⲉⲓ. Here we use the translation "vessel," which seems appropriate in context; although there would seem to be few attestations in other Coptic magical texts, this usage would be paralleled by that of the Demotic writing *nkt* in e.g. *PDM* xiv.145, 344, 705. ⲛⲕⲁ also has the more general meaning of "thing" in general, and "food" in particular, although ⲛⲕⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲙ seems more common in this context. A more speculative alternative reading might ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲁⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲁⲥ – "you shall not leave me until it happens to her …," an understanding which would require considerable haplography.

38–39 ⲉⲧ† ⲧⲁϫⲏ ⲧⲁ|ϫⲏ. The repetition of the words ἤδη ("now") and ταχύ ("quickly") at the end of magical texts is very common, see e.g. *PGM* I.262: ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ; in Coptic texts this is found in ACM 46, 48, 66, 76, 97, to give only a few examples.

39–40 ϩⲛ ϭⲟⲙ ⲓⲁ|ⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ. Cf. P.Mil. Vogl. Copt. 16 (a love spell mentioning Egyptian deities including Isis and Osiris) CIII l.2: ϩⲛ ϭⲟⲙ ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ.

Textual parallels

The corpus of Coptic magical texts consists of roughly 300 published texts,[53] and perhaps more than 100 unpublished manuscripts. While most of these are the product of a worldview which could be characterized (very broadly) as Christian, there are a small number (see Table 1 in Appendix below) in which the deities of Egyptian, and less often Greek, polytheism are mentioned in invocations or *historiolae*. Within this subcorpus is a smaller set, consisting of texts in which Horus descends to the underworld, finds a woman (or women) there, and cries out to his mother Isis for help when he is unsuccessful in his attempts to seduce her (or

[53] See R. Bélanger Sarrazin, "Catalogue des textes magiques coptes," *APF* 63.2 (2017), 367–408. In preparing this article we also consulted a number of unpublished, but publicly available, texts as comparanda.

them). These Horus-Isis texts belong in turn to a larger sub-category of magical texts which we will call "charms"[54] – a type of text known in many other cultural traditions.

This genre is characterized by its form: relatively brief narrative *historiolae* which take place in "mythic-time," and in which figures of religion or folklore encounter a difficulty which parallels the problem which the charm is intended to solve. The Coptic examples, which contain both Christian and "pagan" characters, often end with a collapse of this mythic time (in which the narrative takes place) and the present time (in which the ritual using the charm takes place). For example, in two of the Coptic charms involving Jesus, Jesus encounters a doe with a problem – painful labor or an injured eye – which mirrors that of the charm's patient.[55] The doe asks him for healing, and Jesus promises to send an angel to heal her. The collapse of mythic/present time occurs at the text's end, in which the angel, and thus the individual reciting the charm, speaks a magical formula to heal the doe/human patient. Jesus' promise, therefore, explicitly creates a precedent and process for invoking his power in situations which parallel the initial *historiola*. As we will see, the Horus-Isis charms are generally similarly explicit about this relationship between charm and ritual. Before discussing the broader cultural position and significance of these texts, we will set out in detail the direct and indirect parallels between these charms in order to demonstrate the ways in which O.BYU Mag. both follows and diverges from the pattern of the Coptic Horus-Isis charms.

Textually, the closest parallels to O.BYU Mag. are: (1) Hs. Schmidt 1;[56] (2) Hs. Schmidt 2;[57] and (3) P. Donadoni.[58] In addition to these three, there

[54] See for example J. Roper "Introduction: Unity and Diversity in Charms Studies," in J. Roper (ed.), *Charms, Charmers and Charming International Research on Verbal Magic* (Basingstoke, 2009), xiv–xxvii. Roper's definition of the charm is slightly broader than the one used here, but we feel it is worth using the term in this way here to distinguish the brief narrative charms from longer invocations with significant non-narrative content.

[55] British Museum EA 29528 (TM 82864; VII–VIII CE); P.Berl. 8313 col.1 (= ACM 48; TM 98044); cf P.Heid. Inv. Kopt. 678 (TM 102077; X–XI CE), in which Jesus encounters a sleeping serpent.

[56] Papyrus dating to the seventh century or earlier describing the descent of Horus to the underworld. The purpose of the spell is apparently to cause sleep (TM 98043).

[57] Parchment manuscript with the same hand and date as Hs. Schmidt 1, describing the descent of the narrator to the underworld, containing a love spell (TM 98063).

[58] A seventh-century papyrus manuscript describing the descent of the narrator to the underworld; another love spell (TM 102259).

are a number of other texts with less direct, but nonetheless significant, parallels.[59] The following synopsis will look at the *historiolae* from these texts, broken down into nine episodes, each of which may be found in some, or all, of the parallel texts: (1) Protagonist's Descent to the Underworld; (2) Protagonist Encounters Figure(s); (3) Protagonist Makes Demand of Figure(s); (4) Figure(s) Refuses Demand; (5) Protagonist Cries Out; (6) Isis Responds to the Protagonist; (7) Protagonist Explains Situation; (8) Isis Promises Help; and (9) Final Invocation.

1. Protagonist's Descent to the Underworld		
Papyrus	**Text**	**Translation**
O.BYU Mag. ll. 5–9	ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ϩⲱⲣ ⲡϣⲉⲛϩ[ⲉ]ⲥⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲏⲗⲏ ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲏⲗⲏ ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ	I am Horus the son of Isis. I went in a gate of stone; I came out of a gate of iron …
Hs. Schmidt 1	– – – – – –	– – – – – –
Hs. Schmidt 2	ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁ̣ⲁ̣ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲡⲉ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ϫⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲣⲁⲧ	I am NN. I went in a door of stone; I came out of a door of iron. I went in head-first, I came out foot-first …
P. Donadoni l. 1	ⲁⲉⲓ̈ⲙⲟⲟⲱⲉ ϩⲓ̈ⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉ	I went to the door of Amente …
London Hay 10391 ll. 14–15	ⲁϩⲱⲗ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲗⲗⲱⲛⲓⲇⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲱ ⲙⲙⲡⲉⲡⲓⲛⲓⲡⲉ	I flew down to Pellonida from a door of iron…
P.Berlin 8322 l. 4	[…ⲉ]ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ̣ ⲉⲁⲙⲏ̣ⲛⲧⲉ	[…] down to Amente

[59] These are: London Hay 10391 (TM 100015; VI/VII CE): a leather roll containing a number of recipes. Within a section of the initial invocation (ll. 14–15) is a description of the descent of the narrator to the underworld – this section is, again, part of a love spell; P.Berlin 8313 (TM 98044; VII/VIII CE): a papyrus containing two spells, the second of which contains a *historiola* in which Horus becomes ill while hunting birds and calls upon Isis for help; P.Berlin 8322 (TM 100006; VII/VIII CE): a papyrus from the same archive as P.Berlin 8313 (above) – it appears to be an invocation for power, and contains a short passage (ll. 4–5) in which the narrator descends to the underworld and finds a being seated on a throne; P.Mich. 136 ll. 60–114 (TM 92874; VI CE): a codex containing several recipes, including one in which the god Amun relieves a woman (perhaps Isis) in childbirth; *PGM* IV.94–153 (TM 64343; IV CE): an Old Coptic love charm in which Isis goes to her father Thoth to request a spell to win back the love of her husband and brother Osiris; P.BM EA 29528 (TM 82864; VII/VIII CE): a short charm in which Jesus heals a doe with an injured eye.

The opening of the charms quickly establishes the primary protagonist and the action which begins the narrative. The identity of this protagonist as Horus is only explicit in O.BYU Mag., Hs. Schmidt 1, and P.Berlin 8313, the last of which diverges in important ways from the others. In the other versions of the narrative the protagonist goes unnamed, mentioned only in first person pronouns (for example, *I went*… in P.Donadoni). In Hs. Schmidt 2 (l. 1) and P.Donadoni (l. 13) this is to be expanded with the ritualist's name (marked by ϤϤ or similar); thus, only O.BYU Mag. has the speaker explicitly claim their identity as Horus. Nonetheless, the underlying identity of the protagonist as Horus should be clear, not only from explicit mentions of his name, but also from his relationship to Isis and, more tenuously, to the maiden(s) he encounters (see below). The allusiveness of these texts reaches its height in texts such as London Hay 10391 and P.Berlin 8322, where many of the specific elements are stripped away, leaving us only with a generic protagonist who descends to the underworld and encounters an enthroned figure; it is indeed possible that the composers and users of these texts would have been unaware of the origin of the narrative in a story involving Horus.

Most of the Coptic, and indeed Graeco-Roman, charms from Egypt see the protagonist passing into an otherworldly – or at least liminal – sphere in which the action takes place. In the example of the Jesus-charms mentioned above, and many of the Roman-period charms discussed below, this is frequently the mountain-desert, the "red land" of Egypt beyond the "black land," the narrow belt of arable, and thus civilized, land; this "red land" was traditionally home to the foreign, demonic, and dangerous. This pattern is found in P.Berlin 8313, where Horus goes to the mountain to hunt birds. In most of the Horus-Isis charms, however, and in O.BYU Mag., Horus travels into the underworld. This is most explicit in P.Donadoni and P.Berlin 8322, where the word used is "Amente," etymologically "the Western Land" (*imn.tt*; referring to the earlier Egyptian land of the dead to which the setting sun retired), used in Christian texts to translate the Greek Ἅδης. In the other manuscripts euphemisms are used: he travels to Pellonida, or he passes through doors of stone and iron.

While the origin of the name "Pellonida" must remain uncertain for now,[60] the doors of stone and iron have a longer and clearer pedigree. The

[60] One possibility is a reference to the Pellanis (ἡ πηγὴ Πελλανίδα), a well in Pellana, Sparta, mentioned by Pausanias (3.21.2); he tells the story of a maiden falling into the well while drawing water, and her veil appearing in another spring, implying that the two were somehow both portals to a single subterranean realm. While the reference is rather literary,

idea that the underworld had metallic gates is attested as early as Homer, who describes Tartaros as having "gates of iron and a bronze threshold" (σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός) in the *Iliad* (8.15), a phrase echoed in the *Aeneid*.[61] The earliest biblical instance of this image seems to be in LXX Psalm 106:14–16, where the Lord is described as having "brought them [Israel] out of darkness and death's shadow … he shattered bronze gates and iron bars he crumpled."[62] While this biblical text was originally a reference to the power of the God of Israel to free prisoners, the conflation of his shattering of the iron/bronze gates and the iron/bronze gates of the Hellenic underworld was extremely common in descriptions of the Harrowing of Hell. One explicit example may be found in the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*,[63] where hell has bronze doors and iron bars, which Jesus destroys as he enters the kingdom of death and the devil. The widespread reception of this idea can be attested by its echoes in numerous early Christian texts in Greek, Latin, Coptic, and other languages.[64] If the door of iron through which Horus exits is the door to the underworld, the stone door which leads from the world of the living may represent the mouth of a cave or a tomb – a reminiscence of the tomb

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it does not seem impossible that some version of this story, in which a stone well serves as a gate to another world, survived in Egypt. Another possibility is that the word represents a descriptive name for the underworld derived from πελλός ("dark-coloured"; cf. πελιδνός, "dark").

[61] 6.551–53: … *porta aduersa ingens solidoque adamante columnae, uis ut nulla uirum, non ipsi exscindere bello caelicolae ualeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras* …; cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, 8.56: … *ferrea Cerbereae tacuerunt limina portae* …

[62] --- καὶ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ σκότους καὶ σκιᾶς θανάτου --- συνέτριψεν πύλας χαλκᾶς καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συνέκλασεν; ⲁϥⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲙ ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲥⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲩ … ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣϥ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲛⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲛ̀ⲥⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲣⲃ ⲛ̀ⲥⲉⲛⲙⲟⲭⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ; 14, 18

[63] --- τὰς πύλας τὰς χαλκᾶς καὶ τοὺς μοχλοὺς τοὺς σιδηροῦς --- (Recension M1 & M2 21.1.12–14; Recension M3 21.1.13–14).

[64] See for example, Tertullian, *Res*. 44, where the author clearly understands the Psalm as referring to Jesus' victory over death. For a discussion of other Christian adaptations of these verses see J.L. Lightfoot, *The Sibylline Oracles: With Introduction, Translation, and Commentary on the First and Second Books* (Oxford, 2007), 494–95. Examples surviving in the Coptic language examples include the *Discourse of Apa Athanasius Concerning the Soul and the Body* (Budge, *Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* p. 129 ll. 19–20): "He [Jesus] burst open the gates of brass, He broke through the bolts of iron (ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣϥ̄ ⲛ̀ ⲛ̀ⲣⲟⲛ̄ ⲥⲟⲙⲛⲧ̄ ⲁϥⲥⲱⲣⲃ̄ ⲛⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲭⲗⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ), and He took the souls which were in Amente and carried them to His Father," and the earlier *Teaching of Silvanus* (NHC VII 110.20–22): "This one [Jesus], being God, became man for your sake. It is this one who broke the iron bars of Amente and the bronze bolts" (ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲭⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲙⲉⲧ).

through which the body of Jesus passed, one of the caves which led to the underworld in Graeco-Roman folklore,[65] or more likely the doors to the underworld which appear in several late Roman stelae (see below). The Egyptian mythological tradition knew multiple gates to, and within, the underworld, which might present an alternative explanation for the succession of doors through which Horus passes; but there seems to be no direct reference in the Coptic charms to the Pharaonic underworld-gate tradition, at least as it survives in the texts of the temple and mortuary cults.[66] By contrast, the inversion mentioned in Hs. Schmidt 2 ("I went in head-first, I came out foot-first") may represent an echo of the Egyptian idea of the underworld as a topsy-turvy place, where the dead might have to walk on their heads.[67]

A mystery still remains as to why this charm revolves around Horus' descent to the underworld; no specific tradition of Horus in the underworld is known to the authors. In Pharaonic charms, Horus-Isis spells involved Horus being attacked by enemies while Isis was away from him, and this pattern is the same for other parent/child-god charms (see below); the problem is thus the sting or fever suffered by the child. P.Berlin 8313 broadly follows this pattern, with Horus suffering from a stomachache, although in this text it is Horus who has left Isis rather than vice-versa. It is almost certain that there were Roman-period narratives involving Horus which have not come down to us, and although *historiolae* need not necessarily make reference to known myths, the specificity of the story found in the Coptic Horus-Isis charms leads us to postulate that it may draw upon an otherwise unattested myth.[68] It is possible that Horus' descent to the underworld draws upon his solar characteristics, since in Egyptian cosmology the sun daily descended to and rose from the land of the dead, yet a more relevant, if less clear, parallel might be found in the mysterious funerary stelae from the late Roman period depicting the gate to the underworld, often surmounted by the bust of Harpocrates, the child Horus, wearing a dionysiac crown. Stelae of this type, with Harpocrates replaced by the *crux ansata* or Egyptian cross, continued to be used after Egypt's

[65] D. Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy* (Princeton, 2004), 18–28.

[66] J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy: According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden, 1960), 114–25.

[67] Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (n. 66), 73–78.

[68] D. Frankfurter, "Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical Historiolae in Ritual Spells," in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, (Leiden, 2001) 458–59.

Christianization.[69] These busts, as well as numerous other artifacts, show that Harpocrates had been associated with the Greek Dionysos,[70] and a story preserved by Diodorus Siculus – in which Horus is revived after having been killed by titans just as Dionysos-Zagreus had been[71] – suggests that some of Dionysos' myths may have been absorbed by Horus. It is thus possible that these charms preserve a myth from Roman Egypt in which Dionysos' descent to the underworld to rescue the soul of his mother Semele[72] had become Horus' descent into the underworld to encounter a parallel female figure, perhaps his wife (see below). Still more speculatively, the mention of a figure encountering a well in the underworld (see episode 2) may recall the descriptions of the "Orphic" golden tablets.[73] We know that initiatory Dionysiac texts which may have resembled these tablets circulated in Ptolemaic Egypt,[74] but the parallels between our texts and the golden tablets is too slight, and the temporal gap too great to warrant any definitive conclusions.

2. Protagonist Encounters Figure(s)		
Papyrus	**Text**	**Translation**
O.BYU Mag. ll. 10–14	ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲓⲥⲓⲙⲉ ⲏ ⲏ ⲧⲓⲥⲁⲓⲏ ⲧⲧⲟⲩⲟⲱϫⲉ ⲧⲧⲕⲁ ⲃⲁⲗ ⲧⲧⲁⲗ ⲙⲭⲱⲃ ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁϥⲭⲏ ⲙⲉⲣⲓⲥ	I found the woman NN daughter of NN, the beautiful one, the white one, the one with the black eyes, the one with the burning pupils, the one that my soul loved.

[69] On these see É. Drioton, "Portes de l'Hadès et portes du Paradis," *BSAC* 9 (1943), 59–78; K. Parlasca, "Eine Gruppe spätantiker Grabreliefs aus Ägypten," in C. Fluck et al. (eds.), *Divitiae Aegypti* (Wiesbaden, 1995), 246–51.

[70] Parlasca, "Eine Gruppe spätantiker Grabreliefs aus Ägypten" (n. 69), 249; V. Rodot, *Derniers visages des dieux d'Égypte* (Paris, 2013), 249–51.

[71] Diodorus Sic., *Bibliotheca historica* 1.25.6.1–4; cf. A. Burton, *Commentary to Diodorus Siculus Book I* (Leiden, 1972), 109.

[72] For this story see Diodorus Sic. 4.25.4; Ps.-Apollodorus, *Biblio*. 3.38; Pausanias, 2.31.2, 2.37.5; Ps.-Hyginus, *Astron*. 2.5; Charax, *FrGrHist* 103 F 13; Clement, *Protr*. 2.34.3–5; Arnobius, *Adv*. *Nat*. 5.28; cf. Aristophanes, *Ran*., which may be a parody of this story; see C.H. Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero* (Cambridge, 1964), 333–34.

[73] See B1–12, where a spring (κρήνη) is described in the hall of Hades; cf. A1–3, in which the participant addresses Persephone, queen of the Underworld, who he has apparently encountered there; see also R.G. Edmonds III, "The 'Orphic' Gold Tablets: Texts and Translations, with Critical Apparatus and Tables," in R.G. Edmonds III (ed.) *The "Orphic" Gold Tablets and Greek Religion: Further along the Path* (Cambridge, 2011), 16–50.

[74] See G. Zuntz, "Once More: The So-Called 'Edict of Philopator on the Dionysiac Mysteries' (BGU 1211)," *Hermes* 91.2 (1963), 228–39.

Hs. Schmidt 1 ll. 2–5	ϫϵ ⲁⲓⲥⲓⲥϵ ⲟⲩⲟⲑ ϵⲥⲁⲱϥϵ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥϵ ϫⲓⲛ ϵⲡⲱⲟⲙⲧϵ ⲙⲡϵⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ ϫⲡϥⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϵⲩⲱϩ ⲙⲡϵⲟⲩϵⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲛϩⲃ ⲙⲡϵⲓ̈ ⲟⲩϵⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ϫⲓⲣϵⲕⲣⲓⲕϵ	(Horus) says, "I have suffered alone (?) for seven women from the third hour of the day to the fourth hour of the night, not one of them has slept, not one of them has nodded her head."
Hs. Schmidt 2 ll. 4–6	ⲁⲓⲃⲓ̈ⲛϵ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲱϥ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑϵⲛⲟⲥ ϵⲩⲥⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲥⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲩⲣϩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ	I found seven maidens sitting by a well of water …
P.Donadoni ll. 1–4	ⲁⲓ̈ⲥϵ <ϵ>ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓ̈ϵ ⲛⲁⲣⲁⲩ ⲛⲕⲁⲙ ϥⲁⲣ ϵⲥⲥⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲥϵϫϵ ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲧϵ ⲛⲱⲛϵ ⲉⲣϵⲟⲩϥϵⲥϵⲕⲓ̈ⲛ ⲥⲓ̈ϫⲱⲥ ϵⲥⲥⲱⲕ <ⲙ>ⲙⲟⲩ ϵⲕⲁⲧϵⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟ̣ⲙϵⲧ ϵⲥ[....]ⲣⲁ̣ⲓ̣ⲉ̣ ⲙ̣ⲡ̣ⲓ̈ⲛ̣ⲓ̈ⲡϵ	I found a beautiful woman, white with black eyes[75] sitting by a well of stone, a jar (?) beside her, drawing water with (?) a bronze wheel, which was … of iron.
London Hay 10391 ll. 15–16	ⲁⲓⲕⲓⲛϵ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓϵⲓⲏ ⲛⲧⲱⲣⲱ ⲛⲕⲁⲙ ⲃⲁⲗ ϵⲥⲥⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϵ[ϫⲛ ⲟ]ⲩⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ϵⲩϫⲟⲟⲥϵ ⲁⲓϵⲡⲓⲑⲏⲙⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ	I found a beautiful woman, red with black eyes, sitting on an exalted throne. I desired her.
P.Berlin 8322 ll. 4–6	ⲁⲓ̈ⲥϵ ϵⲗⲟⲩϫⲙⲉ̣ … [ⲑ]ⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟ[ⲥⲧ]	I found Eloukhme … throne of fire …

Once the setting and protagonist have been introduced, the narrative presents its central conflict. Horus encounters one or seven female figures, described variously as "women" (ⲥⲥⲓⲙϵ, ⲛⲟⲩⲥϵ[76]), "beauties" (ⲥⲁⲓϵⲓϵ), or

[75] ϥⲁⲣ should probably be understood as a writing of ⲃⲁⲗ ("eye") rather than ⲱⲁⲁⲣ ("skin"), as Donadoni suggests; the ⲣ/ⲗ confusion can be seen earlier in the same passage, ⲁⲣⲁⲩ for ⲁⲗⲁⲩ ("white"). We would like to thank Anne Boud'hors for pointing this out.

[76] This word is a *hapax* in Coptic; the most promising connection is to the Demotic *nsy*, apparently meaning "prostitute" (J.H. Johnson, *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* [Chicago, 2001], 'N' p. 121), which appears in P.Krall 16/20; this word may be related to *nḏs.t/nts.t*, "small (i.e. 'low') woman" (EG 235), hence "prostitute." Kropp (AKZ vol 2 p. 4 n. l. 3) already connected the seven women in the temple of Habin to the institution of temple prostitution. It should be noted that this institution is not well attested in Egypt (see J. Quack, "Herodot, Strabo und die Pallakide von Theben," in T.S. Scheer [ed.], *Tempelprostitution im Altertum: Fakten und Fiktionen*, [Berlin, 2009], 154–82, esp. p.160 on the *nts.t*; and R. Scholl, "Tempelprostitution im griechisch-römischen Ägypten? Hierodouloi als Tempelsklaven und Tempelprostituierte?," in T.S. Scheer [ed.], *Tempelprostitution im Altertum: Fakten und Fiktionen* [Berlin, 2009], 183–97). A link between *nsy* and ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓ has already been suggested in F. Hoffman, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros* (Vienna, 1996), 315–16, nn. 1798–99; Kropp also draws a connection to St. Shenousi (شنوسى, "son of the *nousi*"?), mentioned in the Coptic Syn–axarium (25 Abib; AKZ vol. 2 p. 4 note to l. 3). The presence of a single *nu* at the beginning of the word raises the possibility that we should read ⲟⲩⲥϵ, and one alternative might be to see this as a feminine of ⲟⲩⲥ, the title of a particular class of priest of Hathor;

maidens (ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ). The description of her/them focuses on her/their skin (white or red)[77] and eyes (black), and her/their seat, near a fountain or well, or upon a throne. The desire of the protagonist for her/them is immediate.

As Robert Ritner has argued,[78] these women are almost certainly derived from the seven scorpion-brides of Horus, known almost exclusively from Pharaonic magical texts, the most prominent of whom was *Tȝ-Bỉṯ.t*;[79] these scorpion-women may be related to the seven scorpions who accompanied Isis as her protectors when she fled with the child Horus from her brother Seth, or the seven hypostases of Horus' other wife, Hathor. According to the myth reconstructed from fragmentary mentions in magical spells,[80] Horus deflowered his wife, causing her to bleed and sting him, perhaps a reference to the stinging (and at times killing and eating) of the male that may accompany scorpion mating.[81] Horus burns with the poison, and is healed by fluids (saliva, beer) and knotted bands, which seem to be produced, in some versions, by the repentant wife. Like the women en-

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this word seems to derive from *ỉȝs*, "bald," however, and so this link seems less likely (W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* [Leuven, 1983], 237b).

[77] It may be that ⲧⲱⲣⲱ ("red") in London Hay 10391 represents a miscopying of ⲧ<ⲟⲩ>ⲱⲃⲱ ("white") with the *rho-beta* confusion caused by a visual error.

[78] R. Ritner, "The Wives of Horus and the Philinna Papyrus (PGM XX)," in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, Part II (Leuven, 1998), 1032–41.

[79] Frankfurter also connects *Tȝ-Bỉṯ.t* to Tabitha/Tabithia, mentioned in the Apocalypse of Elijah and P.London Hay 10391 (= ACM 127; VI–VII CE), but this connection seems less secure; D. Frankfurter, "Tabitha in the Apocalypse of Elijah," *JThS* 41.1 (1990), 13–25.

[80] Ritner, "The wives of Horus" (n. 78), 1032–41; B. van de Walle, "Une base de statue-guerisseuse avec une nouvelle mention de la déesse-scorpion Ta-Bithet," *JNES* 31.2 (1972), 67–82; B. van de Walle, "L'Ostracon E 3209 des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire mentionnant la déese scorpion Ta-Bithet," *ChrEg* 42.83 (1967), 13–29; E. Drioton, "Une statue de Ramsès III dans le désert d'Almazah," in *Pages d'Égyptologie* (Cairo, 1957), 60–62; see also J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of P.Leiden I 348* (Leiden, 1971), 149–51, who refers to *Tȝ-Bỉṯ.t* as a snake goddess, although both snakes and scorpions belonged to the Egyptian category of *ḏdf.t* (ϫⲁⲧϥⲉ), which referred to crawling and/or venomous creatures whether reptiles, insects or arachnids. Borghouts is also critical of the details of Drioton's reconstruction of the myth, but those presented here, based on Ritner's analysis, seem secure.

[81] A.V. Peretti and L.E. Costa, "Sexual Cannibalism in Scorpions: Fact or Fiction?," *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society* 68 (1999), 485–96; cf. Ritner, "The wives of Horus" (n. 78), 1032 n. 36.

countered in the Coptic charms, a particular focus is found in one text on *T3-Bi̯ṯ.t*'s colour – she is "faïence-faced" (*ṯḥn-ḥr*);[82] this is perhaps a reference to the dark, glossy carapace of the scorpion, which may vary in colour from black to red to yellow (compare the descriptions of the women as white or red, or as black-eyed).[83] Another close parallel, again identified by Ritner, is the charm contained in ll. 4–12 of the early Roman (I BCE/I CE) *PGM* XX, in which the child of a goddess is burned on a mountain-peak, and seven dark- or faience-eyed (κυανώπιδες) maidens draw water to cool the fire, although Christopher Faraone has pointed out that similar narratives may be found in Greece, Mesopotamia, and the Near East.[84] These observations highlight the complex cross-cultural processes at play in the ancient Mediterranean, and should warn us against attempts to trace influences to a single cultural source.

The Egyptian charms involving the wife of Horus do not explain all of the elements in the Coptic Horus-Isis charms; rather than deflowering the maidens, Horus simply lusts for them and is rebuffed. One interpretation of this could be, of course, the adaptation of the original *historiola* from the context of a healing charm to that of a love spell, with the burning of lust, a common trope in Greek literature,[85] replacing the burning of poison. In Hs. Schmidt 1 we see an apparent third function – the adaptation of the model to a sleep spell,[86] although this departure from the more widely attested genre of "love spells" may be illusory; Horus' command in

[82] AEMT 101 (= JdE 69771, spell 1 left side, l. 6); text in E. Drioton, "Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III," *ASAE* 39 (1939), 67; updated translation in Ritner, "The wives of Horus" (n. 78), 1033.

[83] W.M. Salama and K.M. Sharshar, "Surveillance study on Scorpion Species in Egypt and Comparison of their Crude Venom Protein Profiles," *The Journal of Basic & Applied Zoology* 66 (2013), 79.

[84] See C.A. Faraone, "The Mystodokos and the Dark-Eyed Maidens: Multicultural Influences on a Late-Hellenistic Incantation," in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), 297–333.

[85] L. Lidonnici, "Burning for It: Erotic Spells for Fever and Compulsion in the Ancient Mediterranean World," *GRBS* 39.1 (1998) 63–98; C.A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, 1999), 43–55. An intriguing parallel may be found in J.W. Frembgen, "The Scorpion in Muslim Folklore," *Asian Folklore Studies* 63.1 (2004), 106–08, who notes that "[i]n the popular culture of Indo-Pakistan, for instance, the scorpion [sting] is used as a metaphor of pain, carnal desire, and lust – and, in a more concrete way, of coitus itself."

[86] On this see R.M. Hernández and S.T. Tovar, "'You who Impose Sleep upon Abdimelech for Seventy-Two Years:' An Egyptian Spell against Insomnia," in M. Piranomonte and F.M. Simón (eds.), *Contesti magici, contextos mágicos* (Rome, 2012), 309–12.

O.BYU Mag. that the woman "lie down" (ⲅⲟⲧⲉ, ll. 15, 25), and his complaint that she did not sleep (l. 16?), may offer a parallel instance in which "sleep" is understood as submitting sexually. This could imply a more sinister purpose to HS Schmidt 1's goal of sending the spell's target to sleep.[87] P.Berlin 8322 diverges from the other texts at this point: rather than a woman, the protagonist encounters a male being named "Loukh–me," who sits on a throne of fire, and who sends the protagonist on a series of journeys to other supernatural beings to acquire power.

The narrative continues with three short sections in which Horus propositions the women and they refuse him, followed by him crying out to his mother.

3. Protagonist Makes Demand of Figure(s)		
Papyrus	**Text**	**Translation**
O.BYU Mag. ll. 14–15	ⲡⲉϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲅⲟⲧⲉ <ⲉ>ⲩⲡⲓⲛⲟ̣ⲥ ⲍ̣	I said to her, "Lie on the dirt, NN."
Hs. Schmidt 1	– – – – – –	– – – – – –
Hs. Schmidt 2 ll. 6–9	ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲱⲱ ⲁⲓⲡⲓⲑⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲡⲓⲑⲉ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ̄ ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙ ⟨ⲛ⟩ⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉϫⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲓ	I desired but they did not desire, I wanted to love NN the daughter of NN, but she did not want me to kiss her…
P.Donadoni ll. 4–5	ⲙⲉϫⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁ ⲥⲁⲓⲉ ⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲡⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲓ	I said to her, "Beauty! give me a kiss!"
London Hay 10391 ll. 16–17	ⲁⲓⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲓϫⲱ ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲱⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲥⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲟⲟⲩ	I called out saying, "Come to me, myself, today!"

4. Figure(s) Refuses Demand		
Papyrus	**Text**	**Translation**
O.BYU Mag. ll. 15–16	ⲉⲙⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲥⲉⲣ̣ⲥⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲉⲙ̣	She did not want me, neither was she willing ...
Hs. Schmidt 1	– – – – – –	– – – – – –
Hs. Schmidt 2 ll.6–9	ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲙⲡⲟⲩ⟨ⲟⲩ⟩ⲱⲱ ⲁⲓⲡⲓⲑⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲡⲓⲑⲉ	I desired but they did not desire, I wanted to love NN the daughter

[87] Compare, for example, *Joie et Soeur-de-Plaisir* (XIV CE), *Perceforest* (XIV CE), and *Sole, Luna, e Talia* (1634–1636 CE), the literary predecessors of *Sleeping Beauty*, in which a sleeping princess is forcibly impregnated by a visitor; G. Roussineau, "Tradition littéraire et culture populaire dans l'histoire de Troïlus et de Zellandine ('Perceforest', troisième partie), version ancienne du conte de la belle au bois dormant," *Arthuriana* 4.1 (1994), 31, 35, 37.

	ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ̄ ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙ ⟨ⲛ⟩ⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲉⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲓ	of NN, but she did not want me to kiss her…
P.Donadoni ll. 5–7 (?)	ⲙⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ[…]…	She said to me…

5. Protagonist Cries Out		
Papyrus	**Text**	**Translation**
O.BYU Mag. ll. 16–17	ⲁ̣ⲓⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲣⲉ ⲏⲥⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲟⲩ	I cried before Isis, my mother.
Hs. Schmidt 1 ll. 1–2	ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲍⲱⲣ ⲉⲫⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲍⲱⲣ ⲉⲫⲁⲱⲁⲍⲟⲙ	Listen to Horus, crying, listen to Horus sighing …
Hs. Schmidt 2 ll. 9–12	ⲁⲓⲧⲟⲕⲧ ⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲍⲉⲣⲁⲧ ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲁⲓⲁⲱⲁⲍⲟⲙ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲛⲣⲙⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲍⲱⲃⲥ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲡ ⲛⲣⲁⲧ	I strengthened my resolve, I stood up and I cried and I groaned until the tears of my eyes soaked the soles of my feet.
P.Donadoni l. 7	ⲁⲓ̈ⲍⲓ̈ⲥⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲣⲓ̈ⲙⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲁⲍⲟⲙ	I suffered, I cried, and I sighed.
P.Berlin 8313 front col. 2 ll. 5–6	ⲁ̣ⲫⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲍⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟ̣ⲑⲛⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲭⲓ ⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲧⲁ[ⲙⲁⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲣⲟ̣ⲓ ⲛⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲓⲟⲩⲉⲱ ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲙⲟⲛ ⲧⲁⲭⲟⲟⲩⲩ̣ ⲱ̣ⲁⲏⲥⲉ	He cried a great cry, saying, "I will bring Isis, my mother, to me today, I want a demon to send to Isis."

The cry of the infant god is a consistent feature in charms of this type (see the discussion below), and is found in every version of the text where Horus and Isis interact. The cry catches Isis' attention, and it would, of course, have had an experiential parallel in the cries of children in pain or hunger who called for their parents. P.Berlin 8313 is again the outlier; in this text Horus summons a series of three demons, each named after the biblical villain Herod Agrippa,[88] whom he sends to request help from Isis.

6. Isis Responds to the Protagonist		
Papyrus	**Text**	**Translation**
O.BYU Mag. ll. 17–19	ⲡⲉⲭⲉ ⲏⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲣⲓ̈ⲙⲡⲉ ⲍⲱⲣ ⲡⲁⲱⲏⲣⲉ	Isis said to me, "Why are you crying, Horus, my son?"
Hs. Schmidt 1 ll. 5–10	ⲁⲏⲥⲉ ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲫ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲣ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲁⲃⲓⲛ ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲥⲍⲟ ⲕⲉⲧ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲭⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲱⲫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲥⲁⲱⲫⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉ ⲕⲏⲧ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲭⲙ	Isis his mother replied to him from within the temple of Habin, her head turned to the seven women, the seven women turned to her face,

[88] Probably Herod Agrippa I, referred to as ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ in the Sahidic translations of Acts 12:1–4, although the Greek and Bohairic refer to him as *Herodēs* in the same passages.

	ⲡⲉⲥⲥⲟ ϫⲉ ϩⲱⲣ ⲁϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲣⲓⲙⲉ ϩⲱⲣ ⲁϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲉⲕⲁⲱⲁϩⲟⲙ	saying, "Horus, why do you cry, why do you sigh?"
Hs. Schmidt 2 ll. 12–15	ⲁⲛⲥⲉ ⲣ̄ⲟⲩⲱ ϫⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲉ ⲉⲕⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲱⲁϩⲟⲙ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲱⲃⲥ ⲛⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲣⲁⲧⲕ̄.	Isis replied saying, "What is wrong with you, man, child of the sun, crying and sighing until the tears of your eyes soak the soles of your feet?
P.Donadoni ll. 7–8	ⲙⲉ[ϫⲉ ⲏ]ⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ϫⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲟⲕ ⲕⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲕⲁⲱⲁϩⲟⲙ	Isis said to me, "Why do you cry? Why do you sigh?"
P.Berlin 8313 front, col. 2 ll. 21–22	ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲡⲁⲏⲙⲟⲛ ⲁⲅⲣⲓⲡⲡⲁⲥ ⲉⲕⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ	She said to the demon Agrippas, "Why did you come to this place?"
PGM IV.95-98 (94–153)	ⲁⲡⲉⲥⲓⲱⲧ ⲑⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲟ ⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲟⲩ́ⲛ ⲉⲣⲓⲉⲥ ⲁⲃⲅⲉ́ⲛⲥ ⲅⲉ ⲁⲣⲟ ⲧⲁⲅⲉ́ⲣⲓ ⲏⲥ[ⲉ] [ⲉ]ⲧⲅⲟⲩ ϫⲁ ⲅⲟⲩⲅ ⲓ̈ⲁⲧⲓ ⲁ ⲉⲙⲣⲏ́ {ϫⲉ} ⲉⲧⲏ ⲁ ⲉ́ⲟⲙ [ⲧ]ⲫⲧⲏⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲅⲉⲛⲧⲱ ⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲉⲣⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲉ́ⲓⲧⲉ́	Her father, great Thoth, came to her, he asked her, "What is it, my daughter Isis, your head covered in dust, your eyes full of tears, your heart full of sighs, the garment of your robe soiled by the tears of your eyes?"
P. BM EA 29528	ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁϩⲣⲟ ⲧⲉⲓⲟⲩⲗ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲧⲉ⳨ⲣⲙⲉⲓⲉⲓ	He (Jesus) said, "Why, oh deer, are you crying? Why do you shed tears?"

Isis responds to the cries of Horus by asking him (or his envoy demon) what the matter is; Hs. Schmidt 1 includes the interesting detail that she and the maidens are facing one another, perhaps an indication of the relationship between Isis and the women, originating in their role as her scorpion attendants. This text also includes the detail that she is within the temple of Habin (Hebenu),[89] perhaps paralleled to some extent by P.Berlin 8313, where she sits in the mountain-desert of On (Heliopolis), kindling a bronze furnace (ll. 18–20); the former is the only apparent reference to a cult in the Horus-Isis charms. An interesting echo of this episode is found in the Thoth-Isis charm of PGM IV, and in P.BM EA 29528, the charm in which Jesus asks a doe with an injured eye why she is crying; as in several

[89] This seems to be the city known in the Graeco-Roman period as Alabastron Polis, modern Kom el-Ahmar (TM Geo ID 2684); temples of Apollo (probably Horus) and Isis are attested there in SB XVI 13030.2 (TM 16347; 205 CE). A particular form of Horus was associated with the city of Hebenu, a war-god who is depicted as victorious over an oryx representing the forces of chaos: see P. Derchain, *Le sacrifice de l'oryx* (Brussels, 1962); H. Meulenaere, *Horus de Hebenou et son prophète* (Paris, 1969), 21–29.

of the Horus-Isis charms the question is repeated twice with the wording altered in the second repetition.

7. The Protagonist Explains Situation		
Papyrus	**Text**	**Translation**
O.BYU Mag. ll. 19–20	ϫϵ ⲛϵⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲛ̣ ⲏ<ⲥ>ϵ ⲧⲁⲙⲁⲟⲩ	(I said), "Do you not want (me to cry?), Isis, my mother?"
Hs. Schmidt 1 ll. 10–14	ϫϵ ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̣ⲟⲩⲱⲩ̣ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲙϵ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧϵⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲁⲁⲱⲁⲍⲟⲙ ⲁⲛ ϫⲓⲛ ϵⲡϫⲡⲱⲟⲙⲧϵ ⲙⲡϵⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲱⲁ ϫⲡϥⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧϵⲩⲱⲏ ϵⲓⲟⲩⲱⲑ ϵⲥⲁⲱϥϵ ⲛⲟⲩⲥϵ ⲙⲡϵⲟⲩϵⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲍⲓⲛⲏϥ ⲙⲡϵⲟⲩϵⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ ϫⲓⲣϵⲕⲣⲓⲕϵ	(He) said, "Do you want me not to cry? Do you want me not to sigh from the third hour of the day to the fourth hour of the night? I melt (?) for seven women, from the third hour of the day until the fourth hour of the night. Not one of them has slept, not one of them has nodded her head."
Hs. Schmidt 2 ll. 15–16	ϫϵ ⲛⲥⲁⲟⲩ ⲏⲥϵ ⲛ̄ⲧϵⲟⲩⲱⲱ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲙϵ ⲁⲛ̄	(I) replied to Isis, "Do you want me not to cry?"
P.Donadoni ll. 8–10	ϫϵ ⲁⲍⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ [ⲧⲁⲣⲓ]ⲙϵ ⲛⲁⲁⲩⲟⲩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲩϵ ⲛⲥⲍⲩⲙϵ ϵⲩⲟⲩⲱⲱ ϵⲁⲩ ⲟⲩⲡ[ϵ ϵ]ⲣⲱⲥ ⲙⲡϵⲥⲁⲱ<ⲛ> ⲡⲁⲍϵⲧ	(I) said, "It is not my fault. I am crying because I found a beautiful woman, I wanted to give her a kiss, but she did not return my heart."

Horus' response to Isis begins defensively – "Do you want me to not cry?" or "It is not my fault" – but continues in each case with a near-verbatim repetition of the events of the beginning of the charm which led to his cries (omitted in the table). HS. Schmidt 1 makes the choice to abbreviate the whole account, beginning *in medias res* in episode 5 with the cries of Horus, and filling in the story through his response to his mother.

8. Isis Promises Help		
Papyrus	**Text**	**Translation**
O.BYU Mag. ll. 27–30	ⲡϵϫϵ ⲏⲥϵ ⲛⲁⲓ ϫϵ ϵϫϵ ⲙϵⲕϵⲓⲙϵ <ϵ>ⲟⲛ <ϫϵ>	Isis said to me, "(Even) if you did not know how to find me, (say (?))"
Hs. Schmidt 1 ll. 14–18	ⲕⲁϵⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ̣[ⲕⲟⲛⲧ] ⲙⲡϵⲕⲟⲓⲛϵ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ: ϫⲓ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲡⲟ̣[ⲧ ⲍⲓ]ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲙ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ: ϵⲓϵⲓ ⲟⲩⲕⲟ[ⲩⲓ ⲛⲛⲓ]ⲃϵ ϵⲓϵ ⲛⲛⲓⲃϵ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲕ ϵⲓ[ϵ] ⲛⲛⲓⲫϵ ⲛ̄[ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲕ]	(Isis said,) "Even if you had not found me, and had not found my name, take a little cup of water, whether a little breath or a breath of your mouth or a breath of your

	ⲛⲓ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉⲭⲱⲟⲩ	nose, you call down over them …"
Hs. Schmidt 2 ll. 24–31	ⲭⲉ ⟨ⲉ⟩ⲕⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲣⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩ ⲛⲓ̄ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲣⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ ⲛⲓ̄ⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲱϥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛⲓ̄ⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ̄ ⲧⲱⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲧⲙⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲭⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲡⲏ̈ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟⲕ ⲛⲓ̄ⲅⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧⲕ ⲛⲓ̄ⲧⲉⲕ ⲥⲁⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲑⲏⲧϥ̄ ⲍ	
P. Donadoni ll. 10–11	ⲙⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲕⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉ [ⲉⲣⲟ]ⲏ̈ ⲙⲡⲉ⟨ⲕ⟩ⲣⲉ ⟨ⲉ⟩ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉ ⟨ⲉ⟩ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲏ̈ⲱⲟⲙⲉ [.]ⲛⲁⲛⲕ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ	She said, "Even if you had not found me and you had not found my name on this precipice, take yourself (?) to her…."
P.Berlin 8313 back ll. 2–6	ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲁⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛⲡⲉⲕⲥⲛ ⲡⲁ̀ⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲣⲉⲙⲏⲧ ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲁϥⲃⲏ̈ⲡⲣⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲙⲛ̂ ⲛⲃⲓⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲉⲡⲓⲏⲃⲧ ⲛⲃⲃⲓⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲩⲓⲗⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲉⲁⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲛⲙ̀ⲣⲏ ⲛⲕⲧⲁⲣⲕⲟⲟ́ⲩ ⲛ̀ⲙ̀ⲱⲉⲙⲧⲱⲉ ⲛⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲉⲧⲕⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲉⲗⲡⲉ	She said to him, "Even if you had not found me, and you had not found my true name, that carries the sun to the west, that carries the moon to the east, that carries the six altar stars that are beneath the sun, you could adjure the three-hundred sinews that are around the belly…"
P.Berlin 8322 ll. 29–31	ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲭ̣ⲁ̣ⲩ ⲛⲁ̈ⲓ […].ⲛⲡⲉⲕⲣⲉ ⲉ̣ⲣⲟ̣ⲛ̣ ⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲉ̣ⲕⲣⲉ ⲉⲛ̣ⲉⲛ̣ⲣ̣ⲁ̣ⲛ ⲛⲡⲉⲕ. ⲉ ⲉ.[..]ⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲕⲁ. ⲛⲕⲉⲡⲏ̈ⲕⲁⲗⲉ ⲛ[ⲡ]ⲉⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲏ̈ ⲉⲭⲟ\ⲥ/ ⲛⲕⲛ[.]ⲉⲥ ⲛⲥⲁⲑⲏ ⲛⲛⲓⲙ̣ ⲡⲱⲛ̣ⲛ̣ⲓⲙ̣ [	They said to me… [even if] you did not find us, and you did not find our names, and you did not find [this corner of the earth?], you call our names upon it, and you throw it to NN son of NN…
P.Mich. 136 ll. 77–81	ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲏⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲣⲙ̄ ⲛⲓ̄ⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲟⲩⲧ[ⲉ] ⲡⲗⲉⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲥⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲕ̄ⲭⲉⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ	(If) you had not found me, and you had not find my name, and you had not found a little oil to carry out, you would put it against her spine towards the bottom, and you would say…

The final part of the narrative which all of the versions (with the exception of Hs. Schmidt 2) have in common is Isis' reply, and its basic format is also preserved in at least two texts with a more distant relation to the Horus-Isis charms: P.Berlin 8322, which contains the descent of an unnamed protagonist to a figure enthroned in the underworld; and P.Mich.

136 (pp. 5.1–7.15), a gynecological charm in which Amun apparently goes to help Isis give birth. As in the example (discussed above) in which Jesus sends Gabriel to help a doe, Isis' response promises to serve as a paradigm for help in future cases in which the original source of power (Jesus, Isis or another deity) is absent. The basic form of this promise is, "even if you had not found/do not find me/us, you could do X to call upon my power" – that is, even without access to the deity, the actions listed afterwards – the speaking of formulae or the carrying out of ritual acts would still bring about the same desired effects. It is here that the collapse of the separation between narrative and ritual time begins, as the deity in the story describes the ritual acts which the practitioner is, presumably, carrying out. Hs. Schmidt 2 has a slightly different pattern here, with Isis instead asking a series of rhetorical questions.

The lacunose nature and unusual language of O.BYU Mag make it difficult to be certain of the text from this point, but we suggest that Isis' promise consists of the simple apodosis "if you do not know how to find me" and the protasis "say" (ϫⲉ), which may have been accidentally omitted here. This insertion appears necessary to make sense of the next section, apparently an invocation spoken by the protagonist.

9. Final Invocation		
Papyrus	**Text**	**Translation**
O.BYU Mag. ll. 31–40	ⲁⲙⲟⲩ [ⲉ]ⲡ̣ⲁ̣[ⲡ]ⲁⲧ ϫⲉ̣ⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲥ̣ ϊⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲕ̣ⲁ̣ⲓⲙ ⲉϣⲟⲡ ⲛⲁ̣ⲥ ⲛⲥϫⲱ⟨ⲕ⟩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲁⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲧⲏⲣⲃ ⲉⲧ† ⲧⲁⲭ̣ⲏ ⲧⲁⲭⲏ ϩⲛ ϭⲟⲙ ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ	Come to [my c]up that I may eat from her vessel, and she will fulfill all my desires. Now, quickly, quickly, by the power of Iaō Sabaōth.
Hs. Schmidt 1 ll. 18–25	ⲡⲕⲉ̅ⲭⲡ[. . . .] ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ[ϩⲓ]ⲛⲏϥ ⲉϫⲛ ⲁϥⲧⲓⲙⲉⲗⲉⲭ ⲛ̅ϣⲃⲉ ⲥⲛⲟⲟⲥ ⲉⲛ[ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ] ⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁ̣ⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̅ ⲇ ⲇ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧ[ⲛ]ϩⲣⲟϣ ⲉ̣ϫⲛ̅ ⲧϥⲁⲡⲉ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲟⲧ ⲛ̅ⲥⲓⲕⲉ ⲉϫⲛ ⲛϥⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϭⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛϣⲱ ϣⲁⲛ†ϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲁⲏⲧⲏⲙⲁ ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲙⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲉⲧⲓ ⲧⲁⲭⲏ ⲧⲁⲭⲏ	Oh cher[ubim (?)] ... oh two angels who set sleep on Abdimelech for seventy-two [years], place sleep on NN, make his head heavy like a millstone upon his eyes, like a sack of sand, until I complete my request, and I fulfil the desire of my heart, now, now, quickly, quickly!
Hs. Schmidt 2 ll. 32–38	ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲉϩⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲓⲙ̅ ⲧϣⲛⲛⲓⲙ ⲣ̅ϩⲙⲉ ⲛ̅ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ̅ ϩⲙⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲏ ⲉⲥⲁϣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲓ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲉ ϩⲁ ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣ ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ ϩⲁ ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲡⲣ̅ⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ	Oh great one among the spirits, I want NN daughter of NN to spend forty nights and forty days clinging to me like a bitch under a dog, like a sow under a

	ⲛⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧ [ϫ]ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲱⲱ	boar, for it is I who calls you, and you who will complete my wish.
P.Donadoni ll. 12–16	ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲉ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲥⲕⲉ ⲉⲩⲏⲩ̈ⲯ [. . .]ⲁⲉⲧⲛⲩ̈ⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧ ⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁ ⲱⲉ ⲛⲛⲩ̈ⲙ ⲁⲁⲱⲱ[ⲡⲉ] ⲛⲉⲙⲁⲥ ⲁ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ϫⲉ ⲛⲁⲁⲉⲡⲉⲑⲉⲙⲩ̈ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲅ[ⲛⲟ]ⲩ ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲭⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲇⲉ <ⲉ>ⲡⲉⲱⲭⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲧ<ⲉ> ⲉⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ [ⲉ]ⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲁϫⲉ	Lord, Lord … my feet, NN child of NN, and I will [be] with her, NN. Come, for I desire her, and come to the images of the seven gods, who surround her in a circle. Quickly, quickly!
P.Berlin 8313 back ll. 6–8	ⲱⲟⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲓ ⲥⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲥⲓⲧⲓⲧⲕⲁⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲥⲛ ⲥⲏⲧϥ ⲉⲛⲓⲙ ⲡⲱⲛⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲁⲟ ⲛⲧⲉϥⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲓ ⲛⲡⲧⲁⲗⲟ	Let every sickness and every suffering and every aching be healed that is in the belly of NN son of NN be healed now, it is I who calls, it is the lord Jesus who grants healing.[90]

The final section follows on directly from the last, as Isis' promise and the ritual instructions which accompany it culminate in the recitation of the magical formula spoken simultaneously by Isis in the narrative and the practitioner in the actual ritual. While this section exists in each of the parallels – and is also found in several similar charms (see below) – there is no standardization of their form, suggesting that they had a different transmission, or compositional history, from the larger Horus-Isis charm tradition in which they are found.

The damage in O.BYU Mag. ll. 32–33 makes it difficult to be certain of the context of several of the clauses, and it is possible – although unlikely, given the generally brief nature of the final two "episodes" – that there is a missing fourth ostracon (between O.BYU Mag. 2 and 3). The invocation in this text has as its implied speaker Horus (in mythic time) or the spell's user (in the ritual present); the invocation commands a divine being, perhaps the being named by the *voces magicae* at the beginning of the text, to come to the speaker. The reference to a "vessel" (ⲛⲕⲁⲓⲏ, l. 35 = ^{S}ⲛⲕⲁ), to a "cup" (ⲁ[ⲡ]ⲁⲧ, ll. 32–33) and to "eating" (l. 34) suggest that the ritualist

[90] This passage seems to make reference to Matthew 4.23: "Jesus went throughout Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, proclaiming the good news of the kingdom, and *healing every disease and sickness* among the people," a passage commonly echoed in Christian amulets and magical texts; see T. de Bruyn, "Appeals to Jesus as the One 'Who Heals Every Illness and Every Infirmity' (Matt. 4:23, 9:35) in Amulets in Late Antiquity," in L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu (eds.), *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2008), 65–81. For other Coptic sources which make reference to this passage, see Sarrazin, "Catalogue des textes magiques coptes" (n. 53).

had to consume some kind of empowered foodstuff; compare the parallels for "cups" noted in the commentary, and the mention of the cup in the invocation of Hs. Schmidt 1. In most of these it seems we are dealing with a liquid (with a base wine and/or water), although here it seems that solid food may be involved as well, or instead. The mechanism of this ritual might be twofold; by eating from a vessel which belongs to the female victim, the ritualist or client would create a link with her, and by consuming empowered food or drink he would gain the power of the summoned being. While we might expect that a love spell would more usually involve feeding something to the victim, not the user,[91] we can compare three spells intended to give the user a good singing voice by calling divine power into a cup from which they drink;[92] this is conceived in one of these as imparting "grace" (χάρις)[93] which attracts customers to listen to them and pay for their services, and this same "grace" is elsewhere in Coptic magic used to express the power of inspiring social favor and sexual attraction.[94]

The formula ends with the phrase "now, quickly, quickly" – almost universal in Coptic invocations, and indeed many of the Greek texts which precede them – and the adverbial phrase, "by the power of Iaō Sabaōth." This final phrase suggests an attempt to integrate a non-Christian charm into a Christian framework, and can be seen as a parallel to the deeper integration implied by the presence of the Christian demon Agrippas in P.Berlin 8313, a charm whose simple call for all illness to be healed also ends with the phrase: "it is I [i.e. Horus or the practitioner] who calls, it is

[91] See e.g. London Hay 10376 ll. 20–23 (= ACM 78; VI–VII CE); Michigan 593 spell 28 (= ACM 133; IV–VI CE); Berlin 8325 ll. 5–14 (= ACM 76; VII–VIII CE); see also the Greek examples gathered in Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (n. 85), 112–20.

[92] P.Berlin 8318 (= ACM 121; VII–VIII CE); Yale 1791 (first text) (= ACM 122; VI–VII CE); London Oriental Manuscript 6794 ll. 17–18 (= ACM 129; c. 600 CE).

[93] London Oriental Manuscript 6794 ll. 17–18 (= ACM 129; c. 600 CE): ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲕⲏ ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲁϩϥ ⲛ̄ϫⲁⲣⲏⲥ ⲉⲓ ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ("… descend upon this chalice that is placed before me, and fill it with grace and holy spirit").

[94] See e.g. P.Mich. 136 ll. 115–123 (= ACM 43; VI CE): ϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ … ⲧⲉϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲣⲡ̄ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ … ⲙⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲱ ⲡⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁϩ : ⲙⲁⲗⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲣⲛ- ⲁ̄ⲁ̄ ("(For) Grace … Give me the power of Iao, the strength of Abrasax, the grace of Sabaoth before all people … especially before NN"); London Hay 10414 ll. 1–23 (= ACM 79; VI–VII CE) an erotic spell entitled "The grace that was given to the stone (?) of King Solomon that carries away (?) the virginity and love of women" (ⲧⲓϫⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲁⲡⲟⲛⲏ ⲛⲛⲟⲣⲟ ⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙ[ⲱⲛ] ⲉ̣ⲧ̣ⲫ̣ⲓ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲩⲛⲉ ϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲛⲥⲓⲙⲉ, ll. 1–2).

the lord Jesus who grants healing" (back l. 8).[95] Similarly, the formula in Hs. Schmidt 1 is an invocation calling upon conventional Christian powers (cherubim, angels) and using the Christian *topos* of Abdimelech to bring about sleep.[96] While P.Donadoni refers to images of seven gods surrounding the victim of the spell – perhaps a reference to a ritual procedure – the call to the "Lord" with which the invocation opens is certainly Christian. Hs. Schmidt 2 uses a different, but equally common *topos*, the persuasive analogy of animal sexual behaviour.[97]

The foregoing analysis has shown that the various instances of the Horus-Isis charm show considerable overlap, though, as we would expect, the texts that adapt the basic *historiola* more freely display fewer commonalities. O.BYU Mag. occupies a particularly important place among the four key manuscripts: it contains most of what we might consider the characteristic details of the charms – the identity of the protagonist as Horus, the coloured skin and dark eyes of the woman, the promise of Isis – and thus represents an almost archetypal example linking each of the other variants. Alongside the four parallel texts in which Horus descends to the underworld (O.BYU Mag., Hs. Schmidt 1, Hs. Schmidt 2, P.Dona-

[95] It would likely be a mistake, however, to read too much Christian anxiety over paganism into these passages; P.Berlin 8313 contains another charm, featuring Jesus with almost the same ending ("... it is I who speak, it is the Lord Jesus who gives [healing]," col.1 ll. 17–18), implying that such final flourishes may have been as automatic as the presence of initial crosses or "quickly, quickly" phrases.

[96] Cf. Berlin 5565, an invocation containing a fragmentary Horus-Isis charm (ll. 7–10): ϩωρ ϣηρϵ ⲛϵϵϲϵ ⲁϥⲛ.ⲟⲛ̄ⲟⲩϩⲓϲϵ ϲⲟⲩⲟⲩϵ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ. ⲁϩⲣⲱⲧⲁⲧϲ ϵⲥⲕⲱⲧϵ ⲁⲡⲣⲏ ϵⲭⲗⲗⲁⲩ \ⲕⲱⲧϵ ⲁⲡⲟϩ/ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧϵ ⲛⲧⲡϵ ϵⲧⲕⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲏⲧϵ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡϵ ϵⲥⲥϵ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥ̄ⲃⲑⲱ ⲧϵ ⲥⲛⲧϵ ⲛⲥⲱⲛϵ ϵⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲕϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ϵⲧⲗⲩⲡⲏ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ϵⲧϩ[ⲙ] ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ ϫϵ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ ⲡϵ ⲁϧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ ⲡϵ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲍⲁⲭ ⲡⲁⲓⲧⲏⲗⲟⲥ ϵⲧϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ϩⲓϫⲙ̄ ⲡϣⲏⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲧⲟⲓⲥⲟⲥ ϵⲧⲁϩϩϵ ⲛⲧⲕⲓⲧϵ ϫⲛ ⲁⲃⲧⲓⲙϵⲗⲗϵϫ ⲛ̄ⲥϩⲃⲩⲧⲏⲛϵⲙ ⲡϵ ϵⲕⲁϵⲓⲛ ⲧⲕⲓⲧϵ ϵϫⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲡϣⲏ ⲛ[ⲓ]ⲙ ϵⲧⲏ ϵⲧⲏ ⲧⲁϫⲏ ⲧⲁϫⲏ ("Horus, the son of Isis, was troubled, far away from her, unseen. To the sun she turns, to the moon she turns, in the middle of the sky, to the Pleiades in the midst of the sky, Isis and Nephthys are the two sisters who are troubled within, who are grieved within, who are in the abyss, for you are Ax, you are Abrazakh, the angel who sits over the tree of paradise, who sent sleep to Abdimelech for seventy-five years; you will bring sleep to NN son of NN, now, now, quickly, quickly!"). For the story of Abdimelech the Ethiopian who was put to sleep to be spared the sight of the destruction of Jerusalem, see Jeremiah 38:7–13, 15–18; Baruch 3:95–5:3. For the miswriting of ⲛ̄ⲃⲑⲱ (Nephthys) as ⲥ̄ⲃⲑⲱ cf. Love, *Code-Switching with the Gods*, 34 n. 90, who notes the existence of her alternative name Senephthys (ϲⲉⲛⲉⲃⲑⲱ in *PGM* IV.101).

[97] On these analogies see the discussion in D. Frankfurter, "The Perils of Love: Magic and Countermagic in Coptic Egypt," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 10.3/4 (2001), 480–500.

doni), the six less-direct parallels are important in suggesting the relationship of the Horus-Isis charms with wider Egyptian magical practice. The two early charms (P.Mich. 136 and *PGM* IV.94–153) establish a connection to the still earlier Roman charms discussed below,[98] while the three texts with predominantly Christian content (P.London Hay, P.Berlin 8322, P.BM EA29528) suggest that the Horus-Isis charms were well enough known that fragmentary episodes, or even the overall structure (P.Berlin 8322) could be recontextualized, with specific details, such as the identities of Horus and Isis removed.

Parallel Episodes in Horus-Isis Charms									
Episode:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
O.BYU Mag.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hs. Schmidt 1	–	X	–	–	X	X	X	X	X
Hs. Schmidt 2	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
P.Donadoni	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
P.London Hay	X	X	X	–	–	–	–	–	–
P.Berlin 8313	–	–	–	–	X	X	X	X	X
P.Berlin 8322	X	X	–	–	–	–	–	X	X
P.Mich. 136	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(Amun promises	X

[98] Compare the phrases "her eyes full of tears, hearts full of sorrow" (*PDM* lxi.121: *ỉw ỉr.ṯ=s ḫr rym.t ỉw ḥ⸗ṯ=s ḫr ḥm; PGM* IV 94.95, cf. l.97: ϊⲁⲧⲓ ⲁ ⲉⲙⲣⲏ́ {ϫⲉ} ⲉⲧⲏ ⲁ ⲉ́ⲟⲙ), "going on the mountain at midday in the season of summer/inundation" (*PDM* xiv.1219: *mšᶜ r-ḫry ḫr tw n mtr.t n ⸗ḫt; PGM* IV.94: ⲛⲏ́ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲱⲙ) and "riding a white horse, black horse under him, the scrolls of Thoth with him, those of the Great-One-of-Five in his hands/breast" (*PDM* xiv.1219–20: *ỉw=f dy.t-ᶜlᶜy.ṯ r wᶜ ḫtr ḫḏ … r wᶜ ḫtr km ỉw n⸗ ḏmᶜ [ḏḥwty n ḏr]ṯ(?)=f n⸗e p⸗ wr-dyw ḫn ḳne=f;* P.Mich. 136 ll. 66–69: ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲗⲏⲩ ⲉⲥⲧⲟ ⲥⲁⲧ ⲥⲧⲟ ⲕⲁⲙⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲁⲣⲟⲓ̈ ⲉⲣⲉⲛ̄ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲧ ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣ†ⲟⲩ ⲥⲛ ⲛⲁⳋⲓϫ); all three of which appear verbatim (or nearly so) in both Coptic and Demotic spells, centuries apart. Cf. *PGM* IV.11–25 (Old Coptic) and *PDM* xiv.123–31 (Demotic), which contain very similar invocations of Osiris. The parallels between *PDM* xiv and *PGM* IV may perhaps be partially explained by the fact that they were probably part of a single archive (the Theban Magical Library) at one point in their histories, and so may have been produced in similar contexts; see K. Dosoo, "A History of the Theban Magical Library," *BASP* 53 (2016), 251–74.

								help)	
PGM IV.94–153	–	–	–	–	(Isis calls out to Thoth)	(Thoth Responds)	(Isis explains what has happened)	(Thoth agrees to help)	X
P.BM EA 29528	–	–	–	–	–	(Jesus asks doe why it cries)	(The doe ex–plains what happened to her)	–	X
(1) Protagonist's Descent to the Underworld; (2) Protagonist Encounters Figure(s); (3) Protagonist Makes Demand of Figure(s); (4) Figure(s) Refuses Demand; (5) Protagonist Cries Out; (6) Isis Responds to the Protagonist; (7) The Protagonist Explains Situation; (8) Isis Promises Help; (9) Final Invocation.									

The Genre of Charms in Roman Egypt and Continuity in the "Pagan" Coptic Spells

As pointed out by David Frankfurter in his study of the Coptic Horus-Isis charms,[99] forerunners to these texts can be found in the corpus of similar material from Pharaonic Egypt. A full list of these texts is beyond the scope of this article, but it is worth briefly discussing some of their key features. Similar charms are found in over twenty papyri, ostraca and healing *cippi* dating as far back as the Middle Kingdom (if not earlier).[100] The most common pattern has Horus burning from the poison of a venomous creature (a snake or a scorpion)[101] and calling out to Isis to help him.[102] She answers, and uses a spell to heal him, at times using a liquid (often produced by her own body: milk, beer, the Nile flood) to help extinguish the fire. Alongside this recurrent story are found variants; the child may be a goddess, in one case the cat goddess Bast, who calls out to her

[99] D. Frankfurter, "Laments of Horus in Coptic: Myth, Folklore, and Syncretism in Late Antique Egypt," in U. Dill and C. Walde (eds.), *Antike Mythen: Medien, Transformationen und Konstruktionen* (Berlin, 2009), 229–47.

[100] The oldest known to the authors seems to be AEMT 69, dated to Dynasty XIII (XVIII–XVII BCE), a spell in which Isis and Nephthys heal Horus of the *b^{cc}* demon.

[101] See AEMT 91–94, 96; BM EA 9997 incantations 3, 5, 6; BM EA 10309 incantation 3; BM EA 10085 + 10105 sections 1, 2, the latter three manuscripts in C. Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* (London, 1999).

[102] AEMT 7, 26, 45, 69, 93, 94; BM EA 9997 incantation 6; BM EA 10042 section X; for these last see Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101).

father, the sun god.[103] A subset of the Horus-Isis charms begin with Isis lamenting that Horus is injured, and calling out to Re to help her; he may in turn respond directly, or send a subordinate, usually Thoth, to help.[104] In addition to the sting or bite of a venomous creature, Horus may be disturbed by a bad dream,[105] various diseases,[106] headaches,[107] or stomachaches (caused in one case by eating the sacred *ꜣbḏw*-fish).[108] In some stories he is an adult, not a child, and sustains a head-injury while fighting his uncle Seth,[109] while in one he asks for help in protecting his herd of cattle from predators.[110] In this last case, and in others, he may call out to his aunt Nephthys as well as Isis.[111] These texts often have Horus separated from Isis – he is in a nest,[112] in a field,[113] in the desert[114] – while Isis may be away, in the marshes during their flight from Seth,[115] or making libations to Osiris.[116] A few examples follow the basic pattern while making major changes to the details – one has Osiris healed of a disease by Isis,[117] while another has Isis healing the child of a woman stung by her guardian scor-

[103] AEMT 87; BM EA 9997 incantation 2 (unnamed goddess) in Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101).

[104] AEMT 91; BM EA 9997 incantations 3, 5, 6; cf. BM EA 10059 incantation 6 (Isis calls out to Osiris); these last in Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101); Berlin 3027 1.4–9 in A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind* (Berlin, 1901), 10–11.

[105] AEMT 7.

[106] AEMT 26; BM EA 10059 incantation 6 in Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101).

[107] AEMT 43–44.

[108] AEMT 49; for the detail that Horus' sickness follows his eating of a sacred fish cf. the Horus-Isis charm in P.Berlin 8313 (= ACM 49; VII–VIII), where Horus's stomach aches after he eats birds he has caught in the mountain-desert.

[109] AEMT 43–45.

[110] BM EA 10042 section X in Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101).

[111] AEMT 26, 45, 69; BM EA 9997 incantation 6; BM EA 10042 section X; BM EA 10059 incantation 34, these last from from Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101). Compare the mention of Isis and Nephthys in the brief Horus-charm in P.Berlin 5565 ll. 5–10 (= ACM 47; VI–VIII CE).

[112] AEMT 91; BM EA 10059 Incantation 34 in Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101).

[113] AEMT 94, BM EA 10042 section X in Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101).

[114] BM EA 10059 incantations 35 and 36 in Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101).

[115] AEMT 69.

[116] AEMT 94.

[117] BM EA 10059 Incantation 24 in Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri* (n. 101).

pions after the woman refuses to shelter the fugitive goddess.[118] The elaborate narrative surrounding the name of Re involves Isis herself creating a serpent to bite the elderly sun-god, who calls out to all the gods to help him; Isis responds and heals him, but not until he has surrendered the secret of his true name.[119]

As with the Coptic examples, we can see that the early charms from Pharaonic Egypt followed a basic pattern, but allowed for variation – in fact significantly more variation than the Coptic charms. The lacuna in magical material that intervenes between the Late and Roman periods prevents us from accessing magical texts that might bridge the gap, thereby providing earlier examples of features such as the adaptation of the format to a love spell, the entrance of Horus into the underworld, and the presence of Horus' love interest(s). Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to suggest that the Coptic charms represent the last surviving branch of a tree that was once much larger. This becomes even clearer when some of the charms which survive from the late Roman period are considered, which would have presumably existed alongside the direct predecessors of the Coptic examples.[120]

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[118] AEMT 90.

[119] AEMT 84–85.

[120] *PDM* xiv.594–620 (Spell to heal a sting; Demotic, III CE): Sekhmet-Isis comes to Syria to bring back her son Anubis. Anubis is stung by a venomous creature, and Isis comes to him; narrative and ritual spheres collapse as Isis and the ritualist recite a formula and lick the sting. *PDM* xiv.1097–1103 (Spell to heal ophthalmia; Demotic, III CE): Amun comes from Meroe to Egypt and finds Horus. He speaks three formulae to him in Kushitic, and the narrative says that he will do the same to the spell's target. Narrative/ritual spheres collapse as Amun and the ritualist speak the three spells in Kushitic. *PDM* xiv.1219–27 (Spell against fever; Demotic, III CE): Horus goes up a mountain on a horse to meet the gods; they invite him to eat but he complains that he has a fever. In what is probably to be interpreted as the gods' response, a spell follows, calling upon the fever to be removed. *PGM* XX.4–12 (Spell against inflammation, Greek, I BCE/I CE): The child of a goddess is burnt on a mountain peak; seven dark-eyed maidens draw water to cool the fire. There is no final formula. *PGM* IV.825–829 (Spell to restrain anger (?); Greek, IV CE): Zeus goes up a mountain with a golden bullock; he gives a share to "all" (πᾶσιν) except a figure called Amara, and narrative/ritual spheres collapse as Zeus/the ritualist recite a spell. *PGM* IV.94–153 (Love spell; Old Coptic, IV CE): Isis discovers that her husband Osiris has betrayed her by sleeping with their sister Nephthys; she goes to her father Thoth in the desert for help, and he instructs her to carry out certain ritual actions. The charm ends with the merging of the narrative/ritual spheres as Thoth, Isis and the practitioner recite a spell.

The *PGM* also contains a number of shorter texts that could also be described as charms such as *PGM* VII.199–201; *PGM* XXIIa.9–10. Outside Egypt, charms from the Roman

Like the Pharaonic examples, the Roman examples show more variety than the Coptic—Anubis and Isis both play the role of the child-god, and indeed there is generally a larger cast of deities, including the Greek Zeus. One interesting recurrent theme is the setting of the scene in the liminal mountain-desert, a feature, as we have noted, that is also found in later Coptic texts, including those of an entirely Christian character. It is also important to note that there is evidence that the Coptic texts were connected to a wider Mediterranean charming tradition, the most dramatic example of this comes in the *adunata*–lists of impossible things. P.Berlin 8313, in which Horus gets a stomachache after catching a bird which he "cut without a knife, cooked without fire, ate without salt" (col. 2 ll. 3–4), is paralleled in three Latin charms for healing stomach problems in which shepherds eat sows which they have "killed without knives, cooked without fire, eaten without teeth."[121]

Nevertheless, the continuities with earlier Egyptian material are strongly suggestive of a direct line of transmission from the Pharaonic period, and we should note that our textual attestations provide an almost unbroken link.[122] The alternative would be to assume that the Coptic spells

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period survive in collections such as Marcellus of Bordeaux's *De medicamentis*, and the *Hippiatrica*.

[121] Pelagonius Saloninus, *Ars veterinaria* (IV CE) 121; Marcellus de Bordeaux, *De medicamentis* (V CE) 21.3, 28.16. An intriguing echo of the phraseology is found in the New Kingdom magical ostracon in hieratic for treating a disease, O.DeM 1640, in which Re commands "Divide [the meat] with a knife, cook it with grain, chew it without salt" (*sfd sw m sf ḏ3f sw m nfrw wšˁ sw ỉw mn ḥm3m*, r x.4–6; B. Mathieu, "Cuisine sans sel. Une interprétation de l'ostracon magique O. DeM 1640," *GM* 218 (2008), 63–70); despite the notable echoes of the later texts, extensive, and probably unwarranted, emendation would be required to make it agree with the Coptic and Latin examples.

[122] While we share Frankfurter's assumption of a predominantly oral transmission of the Horus-Isis charms, it is worth correcting an error he makes in assuming that the Old Coptic texts were translated from Greek, rather than a result of a continuous Egyptian-language tradition which interacted with similar Greek material without being entirely replaced by it (*Laments of Horus*, 236); the verbatim Demotic parallels discussed above (n. 99) provide strong evidence for this. His claim arises from a misreading of Satzinger's argument that the Coptic of *PGM* IV.94–153 was *copied* by a Greek-speaker. While Satzinger's main reason for assuming this seems to have been the fact that the majority of *PGM* IV, and indeed the ritual instructions that accompany the Old Coptic texts, were in Greek, he also suggested that the presence of numerous superlinear annotations offering alternative orthographies of words was an attempt by an individual fluent in one Coptic dialect to annotate a less familiar dialect (see H. Satzinger, "An Old Coptic Text Reconsidered: PGM 94ff.," in S. Giverson et al. [eds.], *Coptology: Past, Present, and Future: Studies in Honour of Rodolphe Kasser* [Leuven, 1994], 220; "Old Coptic," in A. Atiya (ed.), *The*

were re-created from the kind of literary knowledge of pagan cults which existed among Christian authors, ultimately traceable to authors such as Plutarch.[123] Peter van Minnen has suggested that such imaginative reconstructions to be at work in the descriptions of pagan cults often found in the hagiographies from which Frankfurter attempted to reconstruct the survival of traditional Egyptian cultic practice; the hagiographers, rather than relying on local or cultural memory may simply have used earlier classical or biblical literature.[124] His conclusions may be correct for these hagiographies, but we do not think they can be maintained for the Horus-Isis charms.

The fact that the names of the gods are written in their Egyptian forms – – ⲏⲥⲉ in place of Ἶσις, for example – might be a point against this, but it is not decisive; the Coptic translator of Epiphanios of Salamis' *Ancoratus* replaced the Hellenised forms of the gods' names with their proper Egyptian forms in a polemic which was probably dependent upon Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*.[125] More significant is the almost total absence of Greek religious elements in the Coptic "pagan" spells. The decline of the Egyptian temples, which had been the vehicles not only for the maintenance of Egyptian cultic and written traditions, but also the artistic norms which drew upon the Pharaonic past, led to the almost total disappearance of explicitly "Egyptian" or even "Graeco-Egyptian" material culture from the fourth century onwards. We can see one example of this in the early history of what is frequently referred to as "Coptic" art—the material culture of late Roman and early Islamic Egypt—which is dominated by motifs drawn from the Greek cultic traditions: Bacchus, Nymphs, Heracles, the Nile as a river god, etc. While much of this material was probably produced by Christians, it still attests to the rapid Hellenization of Egypt, in particular among the elites, in the absence of the indigenous traditions

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Coptic Encyclopedia [n. 28], 8.174). His conclusion seems far from obvious, however: many (perhaps most) literate individuals whose first language was Egyptian used Greek as their primary written language in Roman Egypt, and an unfamiliar language variety might require annotation regardless of whether or not the copyist was a native speaker of that language. For example, such annotation might be necessary for a native speaker of Standard American English to understand a text written in Scots. For a more recent, and more thorough, analysis see Love, *Code-Switching with the Gods* (n. 9), 91–112.

[123] In particular *De Iside et Osiride*.

[124] van Minnen, "Saving History?" (n. 9), 74.

[125] See J. Leipoldt, "Epiphanios' von Salamis 'Ancoratus' in saïdischer Übersetzung," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 54 (1902), 136–71.

which had hitherto resisted their wholesale absorption into the Greek cultural model.[126] Similarly, Shenoute of Atripe (ca. 347–465 CE) seems to have had some awareness of traditional Egyptian deities and cultic practices, and (although this point remains controversial) he may have had some contemporaries who still worshipped them. He claims to have disrupted their worship by destroying the temple of Triphis near his monastery, where smaller-scale acts of devotion may have continued despite the apparent end of official cultic activity in the third century.[127] Yet, despite his awareness of the Egyptian names of the deities, his knowledge of learned Hellenic culture is on display in his preference for using their Greek equivalents in his writings, and in his disparaging references to the Greek (rather than Egyptian) myths associated with them.[128] This same

[126] H. Torp, "Leda Christiana: The Problem of the Interpretation of Coptic Sculpture with Mythological Motifs," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 4 (1969), 101–12; T.K. Thomas, *Late Antique Egyptian Funerary Sculpture: Images for this World and the Next* (Princeton, 2000), 36–38; A.G. López, *Shenoute of Atripe and the Uses of Poverty: Rural Patronage, Religious Conflict, and Monasticism in Late Antique Egypt* (Berkeley, 2013), 108–11; cf. W. Liebeschuetz, "Pagan Mythology in the Christian Empire," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 2.2 (1995), 193–208 for a discussion of the role of Hellenic culture in late antiquity more broadly.

[127] For the temple of Triphis, see D. Klotz, "Triphis in the White Monastery: Reused Temple Blocks from Sohag," *AncSoc* 40 (2010), 205–08. While Shenoute makes many claims about the pagan activities of his adversaries (see n. 129 below for a fuller bibliography), among his more concrete claims of cultic practice are the accusations that some of them pour libations to Petbe-Kronos on the Nile, burn lamps to the various tutelary spirits who go under the name of *Pshai*, and make libations and offerings to "Satan" in the abandoned temple of Triphis; see E. Amélineau, *Œuvres de Schenoudi: Texte copte et traduction française* (Paris, 1907–1911), 1.383.5–8; H. Behlmer, *Schenute von Atripe: De Iudicio* (Turin, 1996), 91–92, 247; D. Brakke and A. Crislip, *Selected Discourses of Shenoute the Great: Community, Theology, and Social Conflict in Late Antique Egypt* (Cambridge, 2015) 203. For a fuller presentation of the evidence from Shenoute see Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (n. 8), 45–142, and for analyses of the evidence presented in this study see Bagnall, "Models and Evidence in the Study of Religion in Late Roman Egypt" (n. 9), 23–41; S. Emmel, "Shenoute of Atripe and the Christian Destruction of Temples in Egypt: Rhetoric and Reality," in J. Hahn, S. Emmel, and U. Gotter (eds.), *From Temple to Church. Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2008), 161–201; López, *Shenoute of Atripe and the Uses of Poverty* (n. 126), 102–126; M. Smith, *Following Osiris* (n. 9), 430–47.

[128] At times Shenoute refers simply to the gods by their Greek names (Apollo, Ares, Hekate, Hephaistos, Kronos, Pan, Rhea, Zeus), sometimes making allusion to Greek myth (the castration of Ouranos by Kronos, the killing of Adonis by Ares in the form of a boar, the promiscuity of Apollo): see e.g. Amélineau, *Œuvres de Schenoudi* (n. 127), 1.383.15–385.3; Brakke and Crislip, *Selected Discourses of Shenoute the Great* (n. 127), 111, 172,

practice of depicting pagan cult as primarily Hellenic, and secondarily biblical, is equally present in Coptic hagiographies, which are full of references to Apollo, Artemis, and the "seventy gods."[129] This preference for

178, 201–03, 206, 267, 273, 279. At other times he uses their Greek names, and then glosses them with their Egyptian equivalents ("Pan, who is Min," "Kronos, who is Petbe," "Hephaistos, who is Ptah"), perhaps suggesting these latter may have been more familiar to his less-literate listeners: see e.g. Amélineau, *Œuvres de Schenoudi* (n. 127), 1.383.15–384.1, 385.2; I. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia. III* (Paris, 1908), 89.12–14. More rarely he refers to Egyptian deities by their own names, but these seem to be restricted to those who lacked clear literary Greek equivalents – Isis and Pshai: see e.g. Amélineau, *Œuvres de Schenoudi*, 1.378.5–8, 2.407.10–408.4. For further discussions see, *inter alia* J. van der Vliet, "Spätantikes Heidentum in Ägypten im Spiegel der koptischen Literatur," in *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten* (Riggisberg, 1993), 110–15; S. Emmel, "Ithyphallic Gods and Undetected Ligatures: Pan Is Not 'Ours,' He Is Min (Rectification of a Misreading in a Work of Shenute)," *GM* 141 (1994), 43–46; Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (n. 8), 45–142; S. Emmel, "From the Other Side of the Nile: Shenute and Panopolis," in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: Acts from an International Symposium Held in Leiden on 16, 17 and 18 December 1998* (Leiden, 2002), 100–13; S.H. Aufrère, "ϫⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ, un crocodile justicier des marécages de la rive occidentale du Panopolite au temps de Chénouté?," in S.H. Aufrère (ed.), *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'Univers végétal. Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne III, Orientalia Monspeliensia XV*, (Montpellier, 2005), 77–88; Emmel, "Shenoute of Atripe and the Christian Destruction of Temples in Egypt" (n. 127), 161–201.

[129] The sole incontrovertible mention of a clearly Egyptian deity in a Coptic hagiography occurs in the *Life of Moses* (W. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden* [Rome, 1935–1936], 2.52–53, 71–72 [trans.]), where Bes appears. The more common pattern of Coptic hagiographies mentioning only the Greek names of gods include the *Life of Moses of Abydos* (Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden* 49, 68 [trans.]), which locates a temple of Apollo at Abydos; *The Martyrdom of Saint Victor the General*, which describes Diocletian as worshipping Apollo, Artemis and "70 gods" (E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London, 1914], 1–2, 253–254 [trans.]; 22, 274 [trans.] etc.); *The Life of Saints Eustathius and Theopiste and Their Two Children*, which mentions Apollo again (Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 124, 377 [trans.] etc.); *Martyrdom of Saint Eusebius* with Apollo and Artemis (H. Hyvernat, *Les Actes des martyrs de l'Égypte* [Paris, 1886], 1.24 etc.); *Martyrdom of Kosmas and Damianos*, Apollo again (Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Martyrerlegenden*, 2.1161.18, 166 [trans.] etc.); *Life of Pisentius*, which has Poseidon (E. Amélineau, "Un évêque de Keft au VIIIe siècle," *Mémoires présentés à l'Institut Égyptien* 2 [1889], 407). Compare the *Martyrdom of St. George*, probably written in Greek but translated into Coptic (as well as into numerous other languages), and which may have served as a model for Coptic compositions; it lists Apollo, Poseidon, Hermes, Astarte, Ezabel, Uranus, Scamandros, Antaeus, Herakles, Zeus, the Sun, the Moon, and Artemis among the imperial gods (E.A.W. Budge, *The Martyrdom*

and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia [London, 1888], 1, 204 [trans.], 5, 207 [trans.], 15, 215 [trans.], etc.).

As should be apparent from this partial list, Coptic-language depictions of both imperial and Egyptian paganism tended to concentrate on Hellenic deities, and to a lesser extent biblical imagery: the 70 gods are probably drawn from 70/72 sons of El in the Jewish mystical tradition mentioned in Deut. 32:8 (Heb. בני אלוהים; Grk. υἱῶν θεοῦ], and connected with the seventy nations (cf. Gen. 10). An explicit connection may be found in *On the Origin of the World* 105.14–16, in which the "seventy-two gods" (ⲡⲱⲃⲉⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) take shape on the chariot of Sabaoth to rule over the "seventy-two languages of the nations" (ⲧⲭⲃⲉⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥ) (B. Layton, *The Coptic Gnostic Library, vol. 2: Nag Hammadi Codex II.2-7* [Leiden, 1989], 44–45); for a full list of mentions of the "70 gods" in Coptic hagiography, see N. Kouremenos, "The Account of Seventy Idols in Coptic Hagiographical Tradition," in P. Buzi, A. Camplani and F. Contardi (eds), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times* (Leuven, 2016), 2.1095–1115, and for a history of the idea of the 70/72 nations and their 70/72 angels/gods, see J. Daniélou, *Théologie du judéo-christianisme* (Paris, 1957), 177–78.

A disputed case is the mysterious Kothos "brother of Apollo" mentioned in the *Panegyric of Makarius of Tkow* who has been claimed as both Greek and Egyptian by different authors (for an up-to-date overview see Love, *Code-Switching with the Gods* (n. 9), 247–51). Robert Ritner has suggested that the name, written as ⲕⲟⲑⲟⲥ or ⲅⲟⲑⲟⲥ, may be a corruption of ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, the *interpretatio Graeca* of the Egyptian deity of fate, Shai (in D. Frankfurter, "Illuminating the Cult of Kothos: The Panegyric on Macarius and Local Religion in Fifth-Century Egypt," in J.E. Goehring and J.A. Timbie [eds.], *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity: Language, Literature and Social Context* [Washington, D.C., 2007], 178). As Mark Smith has pointed out (*Following Osiris* [n. 9], 440 n. 126), this seems unlikely from a phonological perspective. An alternative solution, to see a relationship between Kothos and the magical name Kethos, preserved in the third-century demotic papyrus *PDM* xiv (D.W. Johnson, *A Panegyric on Macarius Bishop of Tkôw attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria* [Louvain, 1980], 21 n. 49), seems superficially plausible, but in fact this "name" appears as part of a string of *voces magicae* which is repeated four times in the manuscript; the form ⲕⲉⲑⲟⲥ (a gloss to the Demotic *geth-ʿ-s*, l. 193) appears in only one of these, while the remaining three have ⲕⲉⲑⲟⲩ (glossing *gʿthw*, l. 475), ⲕⲉⲑⲱ (*geth-ʿ*, l. 478), and ⲕⲉⲑⲟ (*geth-ʿ*, l. 514). The word which follows it in two versions, ⲥⲉⲑⲟⲩⲣⲓ (*sethwry*, l. 478; *seth-ʿ-ry*, l. 514; note the intrusive ⲃⲁ- in ll. 193, 475; cf. the similar intrusive ⲃⲁ- in l.473), may have provided the sigma through re-analysis of a semantically meaningless word. Spaces between the glosses and verse points in the Demotic text allow us to be fairly certain of the intended word division. It seems likely that the original form lacked the final sigma, and that this "name" was simply part of a longer string which was prone to re-analysis, rather than an independently circulating divine name. A third possibility, alluded to by Love, is that Kothos is Κόθος, a minor Greek hero whose name is usually anglicised as Cothus, the founder of the city of Chalcis on the island of Euboea (Strabo, *Geography* 10.1.8). While it is unlikely that such a minor figure had a cult in Egypt, it is possible, in light of mentions of other minor figures such as Scamandros in hagiographies, that the author of *Panegyric* had the hero Cothus in mind, perhaps having encountered him in Strabo, Plutarch (*Greek Questions* 296D-F) or some similar work.

non-Egyptian deities is all the more striking given the fact that literate Christian authors would have been able to access the names and stories of Egyptian deities through the Greek literary tradition. All this suggests that a hypothetical Christian compositor would have drawn upon a Christian model of paganism, with Hellenic and biblical but not Egyptian elements, if they were attempting to self-consciously reconstruct a "pagan" magical tradition *de novo*;[130] this model was readily available in learned discourse, and commonly used in other Christian narratives of "pagan" worship. Indeed, something like this seems to be at work in the list of Hellenic deities added to the end of P.Carlsberg 52: the main body of the spell is an invocation to the late Egyptian deity Petbe, which suggests a continuous memory of this god, who was almost unknown in literature but apparently enjoyed a cult in Roman Egypt.[131] But to the invocation is appended a list of Hellenic deities, including Eos and Ouranos, and the "seventy gods," deities which one would be much more likely to encounter in literature, than in the cultic practice of Roman Egypt.[132]

[130] Cf. G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1990), 61–69. Compare the comments of Bowersock on the "centrality of Greek language and mythology in presenting the ancient Egyptian [religious] traditions" (p. 61).

[131] For a summary of the evidence for Petbe, see L. Kákosy, "Probleme der Religion im römerzeitlichen Ägypten," *ANRW* II 18.5 (Berlin/New York, 1995), 2984–86; J. Quaegebeur, "De l'origine égyptienne du griffon Némésis," in F. Jouan (ed.), *Visages du destin dans les mythologies (Mélanges Jacqueline Duchemin)* (Paris, 1983), 41–54. The only apparent mention of Petbe in literature is in the *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, but the existence of theophoric names such as Πετβῆς are strongly suggestive of a popular cult; Shenoute seems to have considered Petbe-Kronos to be the chief deity of the (real or imagined) pagans of Panopolis, a choice difficult to explain except by reference to a popular cult, or at the least its memory; for a recent treatment see S.H. Aufrère, "ϰρονος, un crodocile justicier" (n. 128), 77–88.

[132] The full list is "Salpiax, Pekhiel, Sasmiasas, Mesemiasimm, and the seventy gods, and Artemis, the mother of the all gods, and Apollo and Athena and Kronos and Moira and Pallas and Aphrodite and Eos and Serapis and Ouranos" (ll. 57–62). While several of them – Apollo, Athena, Kronos, Aphrodite, and Serapis – did certainly have cults in Egypt (either as the *interpretationes Graecae* of Egyptian gods, or as Hellenic deities), Moira, Pallas, Eos and Ouranos seem out of place; none of them appear in the festivals recorded in papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt catalogued by F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d'Égypte Ptolemaïque et Romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque,* (Leuven, 1993), and none seem to be mentioned as deities on the papyri.info database. All four, however, appear in the Homeric epics (Pallas as an epithet of Athena), with which almost everyone literate in Greek would be somewhat familiar. Thus, while it is possible that minor cults to these gods existed and were remembered by this text's composer, it seems more likely that the entire list draws upon the literate Christian discourse of

In contrast, the Horus-Isis spells show great continuity in structure with earlier charms, with some specific textual phrases found in Coptic texts from this tradition being shared with Demotic texts,[133] and no clear indicators of the Christian "discourse of paganism." Nonetheless, they represent a *reduced* form of the earlier tradition – essentially a single variant drawn from the many which once existed. As Frankfurter suggests, it seems too much to see evidence of a living cult to the "pagan" gods in these text, but a few elements suggest that such cults were remembered by the texts' composers.[134]

The absence of functional cults is suggested not only by the survival of only a single variant of these charms, but also by the reduced range of characters. In the Pharaonic and early Roman-period charms we find a rich cast of Egyptian, and even Hellenic, deities; as new charms were generated from the model, supplementary characters were drawn from the wide cast of contemporary cultic practice. By contrast, the near-total absence of traditional figures other than Isis and Horus suggests that no such cults existed, and indeed, where other characters are inserted, they are – like Agrippas, Jesus, and Iao – instead drawn from the dominant Christian worldview.

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paganism; cf. the list of divine statues which the *Vita Severini* 34–35 claims were found in the temple of Isis of Menouthis: a dragon, Dionysus, Kronos, Zeus, Athena, Artemis, Ares, Apollo, and Aphrodite, each of which the onlookers respond to by mentioning episodes from Homer (M.-A. Kugener, "Vie de Sévère, par Zacharie le Scholastique," *Patrologia Orientalis* 2 [1904], 34–35). Compare the list, and in particular the Seventy Gods, with the texts mentioned in n. 130 above, and with the names of Greek deities within lists of *voces magicae* in P.Heid. Kopt. 518 (TM 99553; VII–XI CE), a love spell which contains the names "Zeus, Devil" and perhaps "Apollo," "Kronos" and "Antinous" (ⲡⲍⲉⲩⲥ ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲡⲟ[ⲗⲗⲱⲛ]... ⲡⲕⲟⲛⲟⲥ... ⲡⲁⲛ†ⲛⲟⲥ; ll. 30–31), and P.Heid. 500 + 501 (TM 102087; VII–VIII CE), which contains the names "Devil, Apollo, Zeus" (ⲁⲛⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲗⲟⲛ ⲥⲉⲩⲥ ..., l. 52); as in the hagiographies, the Greek deities are treated as being interchangeable with the devil.

[133] See n. 99 above.

[134] E.g. the temple of Habin/Hebenou mentioned in HS. Schmidt 1 l. 6, and the Greek spell calling Isis "Mistress of the gods of heaven" (δέσποιν[α] θεῶν οὐρανοῦ) in P.Mich. 136 ll. 19–20.

The Transmission of the Horus-Isis Charms

Frankfurter has suggested that the origin of the charms should be seen in the oral tradition, and more specifically the form of the lullaby.[135] But even if this particular social context cannot be recovered, the broader suggestion of orality seems more likely, at least in the case of the Horus-Isis charms. Relatively little is known of the transmission of magical texts in late antiquity. We have some evidence that written transmission played some role: a letter from fourth-century Kellis contains a bilingual Greek-Coptic separation spell alongside an explanation that it was copied and sent as a result of a request from the recipient, as well as the mention of exchanging other spells.[136] We know that applied texts were copied from handbooks,[137] while multiple copies of individual texts, less-exact parallels between similar texts, and explicit mentions of copying, make it clear that most texts in handbooks were not original compositions, but copies of earlier copies. But the key question concerns the type of transmission that took place; do the texts that survive represent a primarily written tradition with texts copied from written exemplars? Do they represent written instances of texts usually transmitted orally? Or, is there some combination of the two modes of transmission, oral and written, at work? We would suggest that most of the surviving magical texts derive from a mixed oral-written environment, but that the Horus-Isis charms, and perhaps the genre of charms more generally, may have more often been transmitted orally rather than through writing.

An excellent summary of research on oral and written transmission can be found in David Carr's recent study of the formation of the Hebrew Bible.[138] Based on modern research and historical case studies, he suggests that oral transmission creates distinctive textual alterations which he calls

[135] Frankfurter, "Laments of Horus" (n. 99), 239–40.

[136] P.Kell. Copt. V 35 (TM 85886; IV CE); for a discussion see P. Mirecki, I. Gardner, and A. Alcock, "Magical Spell, Manichaean Letter," in P. Mirecki and J. Beduhn (eds.), *Emerging from Darkness: Studies in the Recovery of Manichaean Sources*, (Leiden, 1997), 1–32.

[137] Applied texts which reproduce text that has been found in handbooks include P.Kell. I 87 (applied) & P.Kell. I 85b ll.16–17 (handbook); *PGM* CXXIIIa (handbook) and *PGM* CXXIIIb–f (applied?); *PGM* IV.296–434 (handbook) and R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* (Opladen, 1989) vol.1 nos. 46–51 (applied texts); *PGM* LVIII (handbook) & DTAud 188 (applied).

[138] D. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford, 2011), 14–36.

"memory variants."[139] Such variants result in the gradual abbreviation of texts, the replacement of less common terms by more familiar synonyms, the rationalization of unfamiliar material, the loss of proper names, numbers, and so on.[140] While there may be some striking verbatim reproduction in sequences of oral transmission of particular phrases (in particular initial phrases),[141] the trend is to create texts which reproduce the meaning of the original (as it is understood by the individual who transmits it), but not the specific words, grammatical constructions, or length or sequence of passages.[142] In certain cultures, specific recall strategies may lessen these tendencies[143] – these include the process of oral-formulaic composition identified by Milman Parry and Albert Lord for the Homeric epics[144] – but we have no particular reason to think that such processes were at work in Coptic magical texts.

The copying of written texts, by contrast, should naturally result in a closer verbatim reproduction; among the variants specific to written transmission are "graphic variants" (the confusion of visually similar letters) as well as the accidental omission of letters, words or lines (haplography, parablepsis, homeoteleuton, etc.).[145] Both oral and written transmission may show "aural variants," where similar sounding words are confused, and the study of written texts shows that even copyists of literary texts may introduce "memory variants," as they accidentally reproduce or alter texts which resemble those with which they are familiar, so that we should

[139] E.g. F.C. Bartlett, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* (Cambridge, 1932); R.K. McIver and M. Caroll, "Experiments to Develop Criteria for Determining the Existence of Written Sources, and Their Potential Implications for the Synoptic Problem," *JBL* 121.4 (2002), 667–87. Carr describes these as "artificial exercises" with a "faint other-wordly quality" which are nonetheless "useful in documenting overall contrasts between the shape of exclusively oral transmission (fluid, tendency toward streamlining) and writing supported textual transmission (stable with cognitive variants, tendency toward expansion)" p. 25, cf. his discussion pp.14–36.

[140] Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (n. 138), 14–15, 17, 25.

[141] Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (n. 138), 26 citing D.C. Rubin, *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-out Rymes* (Oxford, 1997), 179–83.

[142] Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (n. 138), 14–15.

[143] Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (n. 138), 16–17.

[144] M. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. I: Homer and Homeric Style," *HSPh* 41 (1930), 73–143; M. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. II: The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry," *HSPh* 43 (1932), 1–50; A.B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, 1960).

[145] Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (n. 138), 17.

probably see most textual transmission in literate cultures as being produced by the interaction of oral and written variation.[146] It is, of course, difficult to distinguish all of these accidental changes from deliberate variants – intentional interventions in a text, in which a scribe may attempt to improve upon the text or its orthography, but a close study may reveal particular patterns which suggest oral or written variation as primary.

Even if we look at the section of the Horus-Isis charms which displays the least variation – notably this is the initial phrase, as we might expect in a primarily oral context – we may note that the variation suggests the primacy of "memory variants": the dropping out or insertion of the nexus particle; the presence or absence of the proper name ϩωρ; the variation in verb (ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ or ⲃⲱⲕ) and noun (ⲡⲏⲁⲏ or ⲣⲟ); rephrasing so that what is implied becomes explicit (the door of stone is the door of Amente); and even the complete omission of this initial section.[147]

O.BYU Mag.	ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ	ϩωρ ⲡⲱⲩⲉⲛϩⲥⲉ	ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ	ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲏⲁⲏ ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲟⲩⲡⲏⲁⲏ ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ	
Hs. Schmidt 1	[This section is omitted]				
Hs. Schmidt 2	ⲁⲛⲟⲕ	⸗ ⸗	ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ	ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲛⲱⲛⲉ ⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲡⲉ	ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲭⲱⲓ̈ ⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲧ
P.Donadoni			ⲁⲉ̈ⲓ- ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲉ	ϩⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉ	

[146] Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (n. 138), 18–21.

[147] One possible example of a graphic variant in the Horus-Isis charms is found in London Hay 10391 l. 15, where ⲧⲱⲣⲱ ("red") is found where O.BYU Mag. has ⲧ†–ⲟⲩⲟⲃⲱ ("white") and P.Donadoni has the synonymous ⲁⲣⲁⲩ ("white"), so that we might suspect that an earlier exemplar had the form ⲧ<ⲟⲩ>ⲱⲃⲱ, and a *beta* was miscopied as a *rho* at some stage in the transmission. It may be notable, however, that this variation is found not in one of the four Horus-Isis charms proper, but in a much longer invocation which has merely appropriated the first three episodes, whose length, complexity and similarity to other invocation texts make it a likelier candidate for written transmission. The visual copying errors of O.BYU Mag. suggest that it too may have been dependent upon a written prototype; see e.g. the epsilon/sigma confusion in ll. 6 and 10, and the possible mu/eta confusion in l. 35. Furthermore, the problems in ll. 16, 19 may perhaps be understood as copying errors.

If we compare this to a section of a Coptic invocation which survives in two parallel copies (P.Macq. I 1.2.26–3.1 and BL MS Or. 5987.57–60[148]), we can see that while there is still variation, this generally consists of orthographic variation (ϫⲟⲩⲧⲁϥⲧⲉ or ϰ̄ⲁ̄), or the omission of one or more words. The parallel phrases seem to be preserved verbatim between copies, which would suggest a more prominent place for written transmission, even if the two versions which we have are widely separated in this tradition.

P.Macq. I 1.2. 26 –3.1	ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ	ⲛⲛⲉⲕ	ϰ̄ⲁ̄	ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲉ– ⲗⲟⲥ		ⲉⲣⲉⲛ- ⲉⲩⲥⲛⲃⲉ	ⲧⲟⲕⲙ	ⲉⲩⲧⲏⲙ	[see left]	
BL MS Or. 5987. 57–60	ⲥⲟⲃⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ	ⲛ̄	ϫⲟⲩⲧ ⲁϥⲧⲉ	ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲧⲉ– ⲗⲟⲥ	ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟ- ⲟⲩ	ⲉⲣⲉⲛ- ⲉⲩⲥⲛⲃⲉ	ϫⲣ̄	ⲉⲩⲧⲙ̄	ⲉⲩ– ⲧⲟⲕⲙ̄	ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̣ⲉⲩ- ⲅⲓϫ ⲛ̄- ⲟⲩ– ⲛⲁⲙ

If this interpretation is correct, it suggests that while all surviving Coptic magical texts are the product of a mixed oral-written context, invocations may have typically been transmitted through writing, while the Horus-Isis charms represent written instances of a primarily oral text type. The content being transmitted might be described as semantic or narrative rather than lexical; it would have been stored in the memory as a series of narrative episodes, which would be retold with slightly different word choice and constructions in each telling. This mode of transmission would occasionally allow major variations in the structure and even the purpose of the spells, with Hs. Schmidt 1 beginning *in mediis rebus*, and perhaps being used as a sleep spell.

This difference in context of production may also explain the formal differences between the charms and the invocations; to take only three of the common characteristics of Coptic magical texts, of the five Horus-Isis charms, none seem to show the use of *charactēres* or performative phrases ("I invoke you" or "I adjure you"), and although two use *voces magicae*, these are not integrated into the *historiola* itself.[149] This may suggest that the charms, including the Horus-Isis spells, were not restricted to literate

[148] W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905), 418–20 (= P.Lond. Copt. I 1008; ACM 70).

[149] O.BYU Mag. ll. 1–5; Hs. Schmidt 2.31.

specialists, but were used by a wider public who may have employed them when necessary in their daily lives. Where this model breaks down, however, is in the invocations which end most of the charms, which show no real continuity with one another, but often significant similarities with other magical material (for instance the repetition of "yea, quickly" in several examples, common in magical texts). This implies that the charms and formulae may have circulated separately, with the formulae being added to the charms when they were written, probably composed along similar lines to other magical texts. They may have taken the place of simpler formulae which literate practitioners found less satisfying.

Conclusions

The model that we tentatively suggest here is of a small range of traditional charms – drawn from a much larger earlier range – which survived, in an adapted form, in the oral tradition. Although they are certainly stereotyped, the charms suggest some basic knowledge of the ancient myths; while a child calling out for his mother is a cultural universal, the specific identity of the child as Horus and the mother as Isis carries more significance. The charms may even reflect a memory of a particular late myth, now lost to us, of Horus finding his wife or wives in the underworld. The adaptation of these charms to the new, predominantly Christian, worldview is suggested by the insertions of Jesus and Iaō Sabaōth into the charms, while an ambivalence in the attitude towards the old gods is suggested by their relationship, in P.Berlin 8313, to the biblical villain Herod Agrippa. These texts thus attest to the survival of memories of the traditional polytheism at least into the eighth century, if not later. There is an interesting parallel here with slightly earlier (V/VI CE) Greek texts, in which house-protection spells may invoke Horus, Aphrodite and the "Artemisian scorpion" alongside Adonai, Sabaoth and St. Phocas.[150] While these texts may not provide evidence of secret cults, they do attest a fascinating larger tradition of popular theology that can be glimpsed in a handful of written texts. The texts clearly belong to a worldview dominated by Christianity, but they suggest something more complex than either the wholesale erasure of pre-existing beliefs by Christian (or Hellenic) ones, or the survival of crypto-paganism. Instead, they imply an accom-

[150] *PGM* XXVIIIa–c, *PGM* Christian nos. 2, 2a, 3.

modation, a dynamic attempt to fit old cultural narratives into a new worldview, to find a place for Horus and Isis within a moralised cosmology in which God and Satan were two nearly-matched poles orbited by angels, saints and lesser devils. If the position of the "pagan" gods was clear to theologians, it was less clear to the composers of the magical texts: Horus might summon demons to send a message to his mother, but Isis might in turn anoint Osiris with the oil which flowed from below the throne of God.[151]

The case of Egypt is not unique; similar survivals of pre-Christian beliefs can be traced in many other European and non-European magical traditions. To give but one example, the *Nine-Herbs Charm* is an Old English spell against poison, illness and enchantment, preserved in a tenth-century manuscript, which describes the god Woden destroying a serpent with thunder, before moving on to tell how the Lord created the nine titular herbs while hanging from a cross, echoing the myth of Woden's discovery of the runes while hanging on the World Tree.[152] But while this late text represents an almost entirely isolated witness to English pre-Christian beliefs,[153] the almost unbroken line of surviving Egyptian texts allow us to trace the transformation and accommodation of Christianity and pre-existing beliefs more closely, from the Middle Kingdom through to the Roman and early Islamic period, before Horus and Isis are fully eclipsed by Jesus.

[151] P.Mich. inv. 4932f.1–4 (TM 99569; V/VI CE): "Oh oil, oil, holy oil! Oil which flows from beneath the throne of Iao Sabaoth, oil with which Isis anointed the bones of Osiris" (ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲡⲛⲉϩ • ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ • ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲏⲥⲉ ⲧⲁϩⲥϥ ⲛⲕⲉⲉⲥ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲓⲣ).

[152] B4 in F. Grendon, "The Anglo-Saxon Charms," *Journal of American Folklore* 22.84 (1909), 191–95, 226–29; for the syncretism between Woden and Christ see W.A. Chaney, "Paganism to Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England," *HTR* 53.3 (1960), 202–03.

[153] R. Hutton, *Pagan Britain* (New Haven and London, 2013), 382–86.

Appendix

Old-Coptic and Coptic Magical Texts Containing Egyptian or Greek Deities[154]			
Sigla	Date (CE)	TM No.	Description
PGM III.633–731	III	64511	Fragmentary Old Coptic invocation
PGM IV.11–25	IV	64343	Old Coptic invocation to Osiris. *Partial Demotic parallel in PDM 14.627–35*
PGM IV.94–153	IV	64343	Old Coptic Isis-Thoth charm used as love spell
Hs. Schmidt 1	IV–VII	98043	Horus-Isis charm used as sleep or love spell
Hs. Schmidt 2	IV–VII	98063	Horus-Isis charm used as love spell
BNF Suppl. Grec. 1340	V	145245	Invocation of female power; apparently mentions Artemis[155]
P.Michigan 4932	V–VI	99569	Love spell using oil described as "the oil with which Isis anointed the bones of Osiris"
Naqlun N. 44/95	V–VI	–	Unpublished separation spell (?) containing fragmentary text which may include the beginning of the Typhonic logos (*Iō Erbēth*…), and two fragmentary figures which may be Seth-Typhon[156]

[154] Excluded here, but often used as a comparandum for Coptic magical texts, is the Old Coptic Schmidt Papyrus (TM 92845; I–II CE), an Old Coptic letter to Osiris of Hasro asking for judgment, part of the larger genre of Letters to the Gods which are also attested in Greek and Demotic. Similarities in its language to later Coptic curses have been noted by Richter, "Markedness and Unmarkedness in Coptic Magical Writing" (n. 40), 92–93.

[155] "Listen to me today, and send Artemis to me" (ϲⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲧⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲣⲧⲙⲓⲥ, l. 5). This text is currently being edited by Korshi Dosoo.

[156] See J. van der Vliet, "Les Anges du Soleil", *Études Coptes* VII (2000), 320–21. An image appears in J. van der Vliet, "Magic in Late Antique and Early Medieval Egypt", in Gawdat Gabra (ed)., *Coptic Civilization: Two Thousand Years of Christianity in Egypt* (Cairo and New York, 2014), 149.

P.Michigan 597	V-VII	–	Unedited text; contains a spell that mentions "the golden cup of Isis, the silver cup of Osiris."[157]
P.Mil. Vogl. Copt. 16 (C. I–C. III)	V–VII	102252	Love spell; Apis, Isis, Osiris, Seth and Petbe mentioned
P.Michigan 136 (5.1–7.5)	VI	92874	Isis-Amun (?) charm for easy childbirth *Partial Demotic parallel in PDM 14.1219–27*
P.Berlin 5565	VI–VIII	98042	Spell to cause sleep, contains abbreviated Horus-Isis charm
P.Carlsberg 52 pp. 1–3	VII	65321, 102256	Invocation calling upon Petbe, as well as other deities including Artemis, Apollo, Athena, Kronos, Moira, Pallas, Aphrodite, Eos, Serapis, and Ouranos
P.Donadoni	VII	102259	Horus-Isis charm used as love spell
P.Strasbourg K 204	VII–VIII (?)	–	Unedited text; mentions Isis and Osiris.[158]
P.Berlin 8313 (front col.2, back)	VII–VIII	98044	Horus-Isis charm used to heal stomach pain
P.Heid. 500–501	VII–VIII	102087	Lengthy Coptic-Arabic formulary; contains the names of Apollo and Zeus in a list of *voces magicae*.
O.BYU Mag.	VII–VIII	–	Three ostraca containing a Horus-Isis charm used as love spell
London Ms. Or. 1013 A	VII–IX	100012	Spell to bind or silence a dog; describes itself as "the phylactery that Isis wrote."
P.Berlin 8323	VII–IX	108884	Small sheet with *charactērēs* and an image of Seth-Typhon wielding a whip

[157] "You are… the golden cup of Isis, the silver cup of Osiris" (ⲛⲧⲟⲕ̄ ⲡⲉ… ⲡⲭ̄ⲱ̄ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲥⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛ̀ⲍⲁⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲓⲣⲉ, front ll.7-8); see Crum 221b and the image online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-3656/597r.tif> (last accessed 4/3/2017).

[158] T.S. Richter, "Magical Texts in the Papyrus Collection of the Université de Strasbourg," in A. Boud'hors et al. (eds.), *Coptica Argentoratensia: Textes et documents de la troisième université d'été de papyrologie copte (Strasbourg, 18–25 juillet 2010)* (Paris, 2014), 109.

P. Köln Inv. 4353	VIII–IX	–	A fragmentary, unedited text, apparently containing magico-medical recipes in Bohairic. The verso may contain the name of Osiris.[159]
P.Heid.Kopt. 473	IX–X	102083	Fragmentary spell containing the Typhonic logos and fragmentary image that may be Seth-Typhon
P.Heid.Kopt. 518	IX–XI	99553	A love spell which contains the names of Zeus, Apollo, K⟨r⟩onos and Antino⟨u⟩s among the beings invoked

[159] See the website for the Papyrus-Sammlung in Köln, online at: <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/inedita/PKI4353.html> (last accessed 20/1/2017). Line x + 4 of the verso reads [ⲟ]ⲩⲥⲓⲣⲓ.